CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

The North-eastern region is known for its diversity as different tribes inhabit the region. This region of India is bounded by the political boundary of China in the north, Bhutan in the west, Burma in the east and Bangladesh in the south. It is comprised of eight states and they are Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikhim and Tripura. Assam is the major state of the region. It comprises the Brahmaputra and Barak river valleys along with Karbi Anglong and North Cachar hills with an area of 78438 sq. km. According to 2001 census of India, the total population of Assam is 26,655,528. Different languages of different language families are found in Assam. But most of the languages belong to Tibeto-Burman family of languages. The Assamese, as Indo-Aryan language, is the official language of Assam.

Tiwa is also one of the tribes of Assam, of Mongoloid origin. In a linguistic perspective, the Tiwa language belongs to the Bodo-Naga sub-group of Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan language family. In ancient linguistic literature, they were known as Lalung. However, they prepared to call themselves as Tiwa, while the name Lalung was used only by the non-Tiwas. In Tiwa language, ‘Ti’ means water and ‘wa’ means superior. The Lalungs originally inhabited the region of Tibet but the origin of their migration to the plains is yet to be traced and known. They followed the course of river Brahmaputra and settled on the plains. They introduced themselves as Tiwa to the eager and curious non-Tiwas of the plains. The very name Lalung was given by the non-Lalungs.

1.1 Cultural and historical background

As mentioned earlier, the original abode of the Lalungs is the region of Tibet and their migration to the plains still remains unknown. Opinions differ regarding their abode on the banks of the river Jamuna near Allahabad in the hoary past but few
Lalungs octogenarians believe that they were pushed out by the Aryans from their original habitat near Allahabad and came towards east following the Himalayan passes (Dr. G.C. Sarma Thakur, 1985). They took a long journey to reach Pragjyotisha. There they established a state ruled by a prince and ruled it for several years. In ancient scripture, the Lalungs were mentioned as Kiratas, while they call themselves as Tifras. The Lalungs were forced to move further towards the east by king Narakasura. Then they came to the Kapili valley and ruled it for several years. In the year 1900 B.C. they established a state in the valley known as 'Tribeg' (R.M. Nath, 1978). Pratyardan was the first ruler of the Lalungs in the Kapili valley according to the records. However, the exact location of Tribeg could not be traced. According to probable reports, it was somewhere near Kasua Gaon which lie on the juncture of two rivers of Barpani and Kapili. The Lalungs are known as the worshippers of Lord Mahadev. 'The Basundhari Than' on a hillock on the western part of Barpani still exists today. It is said that the Lalungs worship lord Mahadev even today. This gives us the evidence that the Lalungs have been occupying the area since ancient periods. The villagers as well as the Raja of Sahari, who were Lalungs, perform the worship. The Tifras or Lalungs are known to have ruled Tribeg for about sixteen generations (R.M. Nath, 1978). The subjects of Tribeg were unhappy during the rule of the 15th king of Tribeg due to his inefficiency. The famine suffering subjects did not get any famine relief from their king. For this reason the people of Tribeg abandoned their places and went to distant places. Later on the 15th king of Tribeg was murdered and his son Trilochan ascended to the throne as the 16th ruler of Tribeg. The king handled the situation successfully and restored the peace in the kingdom. He married the Kachari princess to establish and maintain a good relationship with the Kacharies. The two sons namely Drikpati and Dakshin were born. After the death of the Kachari king, Drikpati was ascended to his throne and his younger Dakshin became king of the Tifra after his father's death. But being the eldest son of the 16th Tribeg king Drikpati claimed the throne of Tifra which led to a fierce fighting between Drikpati and Dakshin in which Dakshin was defeated. After that Dakshin proceeded towards southern direction along with his loyal subjects and after crossing the Barail range he established a state. Later on, the

1 Thakur, Dr. G.C Sarma (1985). The Lalungs (Tiwas)
2 Nath, R.M. (1978). The Background of Assamese Culture
3 Nath, R.M. (1978). The Background of Assamese Culture
descendants of Dakshin established ‘Tippara’ or Tripura kingdom. The Tifras who hid themselves in hilly areas without accompanying Dakshin and their descendants were later on known as Lalungs. Again, a large numbers of Tifras shifted to the nearby Jayantiya kingdom. In the Jayantiya kingdom the Tifras lost their identity and ungrudgingly accepted the culture of Jayantiyas. Till the accession of the Jayantiya kingdom to the British empire, these Tifras lived in the Jayantia kingdom extending a period about 3000 years (Dr. G.C. Sarma Thakur, 1985).4

The Tifras, who were the subjects of Kachari king had to abide by the orders of the king. The Ahoms defeated the Kachari king and it helped Jayantias to extend their kingdom to the Kalang and Kapili on the northeastern side of Nagaon district. The chiefs of the Lalungs of this area were established by the Jayantiya king as Tributary Chiefs. The Tributary heads who ruled under the Jayantiya king Ramsingha were four brothers Gobha, Nellie, Khala and Sahari. Among them chief Gobha was prominent who ruled from Marjong and other three were titular chiefs. They are mentioned as ‘Dantir Charibhai’ by the Lalungs who are living in the plain areas of Brahmaputra valley. The Lalungs believe that there were four different passes extending from Gobha on the west and Amsoi on the east through which the four brothers visited to the Jayantia king. The descendants of these four tributary heads have a good relationship with the Jayantias still today. Their annual religious festivals are attended by Jayantias to show their friendship. They are preserving the belonging of these Chiefs such as their traditional king’s dresses and ornaments, wooden and stone images of gods and goddesses, swords, shields and javelins etc.

1.2. Origin of the word Lalung

The karbis called those people as Lalung who were living on the south bank of the river Brahmaputra. ‘La’ means water and ‘Lung’ means rescued. The river Brahmaputra rescued or gave shelter to the Bohemian people, hence they were known as Lalungs. It is said that there was a branch of the river Daiyang in the Karbi Anglong called ‘Nilalung’. During the reign of the Kamata kings, the Lalungs had to leave their original habitat and established villages on the bank of river ‘Nilalung’.

4 Thakur, Dr. G.C. Sarma (1985). The Lalungs (Tiwas)
In course of time the people living on the bank of river were known as Lalungs (*Dr. G.C. Sarma Thakur, 1985*). \(^5\)

### 1.3. Mythical origin

We find different mythological and historical origin in Tiwa community. According to legends, lord Shiva created a god named ‘Lungla Mahadeo’. ‘Lung’ means a stream of juice arising out of Lord Shiva and ‘la’ means the formation of living being out of that juice. Three daughters were born from the union of Lord Lungla and Jayanti Devi, i.e. goddess Durga. The Karbis were created from the eldest daughter. On the other hand, Boro Kacharies and Lalungs were created from the second and youngest daughter respectively.

Another popular legend behind the word Lalung is that originally the Lalungs were ruled by the Demon king Bali who was a faithful devotee of Lord Vishnu. The king wanted that all his subjects should adhere to the royal religion. A section of the Lalungs refused to accept that religion and as a result the king’s fury fell heavily upon them. As a punishment they had to bear a red imprint ‘(Lal)’ on their forehead and were turned out of the country later on those bearers of red mark on their forehead came to be known as Lalungs (*Dr. G.C. Sarma Thakur, 1985*). \(^6\)

### 1.4. Origin of the word Tiwa

As we already came to know that the Lalungs prefer to call themselves as ‘Tiwa’ and the name Lalung was given by the non-Lalungs. The word ‘Tiwa’ has two different roots ‘ti’ and ‘wa’. ‘Ti’ means water and ‘wa’ means superior. The Lalung introduced themselves as ‘Tiwa’ to the non-Tiwas after they landed on the plains following the course of the river Brahmaputra.

Probably ‘Tiwa’ derives its origin to the term ‘Tibbatia’ meaning people hailing from Tibbet (*Dr G.C Sarma Thakur, 1985*). \(^7\) As the period progressed, the term

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\(^5\) Thakur, Dr. G.C Sarma (1985) *The Lalungs (Tiwas)*  
\(^6\) Thakur, Dr G.C. Sarma (1985) *The Lalungs (Tiwas)*  
\(^7\) Thakur, Dr G C Sarma (1985) *The Lalungs (Tiwas)*
‘Tibbatia’ might have changed into Tiwa. During ancient times the three great members of the Bodos namely Tifra, Tiwa and Dimasa lived along the banks of a lake near Tibet. As time passed, they entered Assam through the North-east passes. However, the local people could not pronounce Tifra and thus in their tongue Tifra became Tippera. The Tiwas introduced themselves to the local people as ‘Tiwa Libung’ or ‘Tiwa Libing’. In their case the prefix ‘Tiwa’ was eliminated and in place of ‘Libung’ or ‘Libung’, Lalung came to be used (Dr. G.C. Sarma thakur, 1985). And the Dimasa came to be known as Dimasa Kochari as a result of suffix added to its original name. Therefore, traditionally, we find close affinities among Tipperas, Lalungs and Dimasa Kocharies. The Tipperas use ‘Ti’ for water and ‘phra’ for father. While the Lalungs also use ‘phra’(pha) for father. The Lalungs of Nagaon (undivided) district address their lords as ‘Pha Mahadeo’. The Lalungs as well as the Kocharies worshiped Lord Shiva as their supreme god.

1.5. Gobha

Gobha (Gova) was the ancient kingdom of the Tiwa. Tiwa people are known to be closely associated with the princely state of Gobha. The folk tradition of the Lalungs contains interesting details about the origin of the Gobha Raja. As result of the battle between Drikpati and Dakshin, the Lalungs were deprived of their king. The depressed Lalungs prayed to Lord ‘Mahadeo’ for a king. Lord ‘Mahadeo’ and His consort Parvati flew to earth but the Lord was so much excited to see the natural beauty below that he could not check the sexual desire. He made a small packet of his semen and threw it down which fell on a beel near the Lalung inhabitations. A Mali fish was swallowed those semen and in course of time a human baby was born from the womb of that fish. The Lalungs take care of the baby and in course of time made him their king as he possessed certain kingly features. As the king was born out of a ‘Mali’ fish, his descendants took clan name MaloialiY’

The Tiwa people are known to be closely associated with their state of Gobha. It is said that the Gobha Raja belonged to a Tiwa clan and his territory covered more or

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8 Thakur, Dr G C. Sarma(1985). The Lalungs (Tiwas)
9 Thakur, Dr. G C. Sarma(1985) The Lalungs (Tiwas)
less the cultural realm of the Tiwa. Gobha has been mentioned since the early 18th century in the Burunjis. It was regarded as an important market for the trade between the Ahom dominated plains i.e. Assam, and the Jayantia kingdom. Therefore, these two powerful neighbours have been competing for their authority over the state of Gobha with varying success. The Janbeel Mela, an old fair, held every year is an important aspect which depicts the historical role of Gobha. It is in this fair that its historical role as well as the role of the Tiwas as mediators between plains and hills in central Assam is enacted every year.

1.6. Geographic and Demographic distribution

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. Thus we find close affinities with other constituent of the Bodo group like Bodo, Dimasa, Kok-Borok, Garo, Rabha, Hajong etc. Tiwa language is spoken mainly in the Nagaon, Morigaon and Kamrup district of Assam. Moreover, the Tiwas can also be found in small scattered areas of Karbi Anglong, Lakhimpur and Jorhat districts of Assam, and also in some areas of Jowai sub-division of Jowai district 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).

One of the striking peculiarity of the Tiwa is their division into two sub-groups, namely as Hills Tiwa and Plains Tiwa. These two sub-groups display contrasting cultural features. The Hills Tiwa live in the west most areas of Karbi Anglong district of Assam as well as north eastern corner of Meghalaya. The plains Tiwas live on the flat lands of the southern bank of the Brahmaputra valley mostly in the Nagaon, Morigaon and Kamrup districts of Assam.

As already mentioned, there are no exact records regarding the migration of the Lalungs in the plains of Assam. Even Grierson in his ‘Linguistic Survey of India’ (1903-28, Vol. III part II) kept the date of migration of the Lalungs to Nagaon unmentioned. How and when the Lalungs came to their present site is yet to be
known. Neither they are mentioned by the historians of Ahom nor given a place in the accounts of the Koch kingdom. In Nagaon, they are said to have a tradition that they came from the Jayantia hills. However, in the later district, some of the Lalungs are of the view that their ancestors have migrated to that places during the reign of the Jayantia Raja U Mon Gohain. While according to another account, the Lalungs claim themselves as the indigenous inhabitant of the Jayantia hills.

As we already know that there is no clear cut date about the migration of the Lalungs to the plains of Assam. However, assumption have been made that they had migrated to the plains during the mid-seventeenth century A.D. In 1658, Promota Rai rebelled against his grand father Jasa Manta Rai, Raja of Jayantia and called on a tributary chief of Gobha to help him. The later refused and Promata Rai thereupon destroyed four of his villages. He appealed for help to the Kacharies who were preparing to come to his assistance when the local Ahom officials intervened and said that, as the Ahoms were the paramount power, it was they whose protection should be sought. The Gobha chief accordingly went with seven hundred men to Jaydhwaj Singha and begged for help. Orders were issued to the Borphukan to establish him in Khagarijan corresponding more or less to modern Nagaon and this was accordingly done (Dr. G. C. Sarma Thakur, 1985). Thus, the process of migration began along with this incident. And in due course of time batches after batches of Lalungs began to enter the plains of Assam due to various reasons like socio-religious as well as political.

1.7. Genetic classification

The Tiwa is the name of language as well as of a community. They are the member of the great Bodo race. The great Bodo race is an amalgam of tribes like Boro Kachari, Chutia, Deori, Garo, Tifra etc. Even the various tribes of Assam such as Mech, Dimal, Koch, Saranias, Dimasas, Hojais, Lalungs, Garos, Hajongs came within the fold of the great Bodo race, according to Sidney Endle’s ‘Ethnography on the Kocharis.’ Ethnically, the Tiwas are of Mongoloid origin, their language belongs to Tibeto-Burman language family. As per the classification given by Robert Shafer,

10 Thakur, Dr. G C. Sarma(1985). The Lalungs (Tiwas)
The Tiwa language belongs to the branches of Barish section of under the Baric division of the Sino-Tibetan language family. G.A. Grierson, on the other hand, has described the Tiwa as a member of the Bodo, giving a sub-section under the Assam-Burmese group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family in his 'Linguistic Survey of India' (1903-28, Vol. III, part II). Following the Linguistic Survey of India, a brief tabular of the Sino-Tibetan family of the language is given below.

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Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Chinese Speech Family

  Sino-Tibetan proper
    probably early modification of Sino-Tibetan

    Tibeto-Burman

    Siamese-Chinese
    Man
    Karen

    Tibetan Himalayan
    North-Assam
    Assam-Burmese

    Aka
    Abor (Abor)
    Miri
    Dalha
    Mishmi etc.

  Bodo
  Naga

  Burmese-Kuki-Chin

      Kachin-Lolo

  Bodo (Boro)
  Naga

      Kuki-Chin
      Lolo, Kachin
      Singpho
      Burmese

  Mikir

      Mikir

Boro (Kochari)
Dimasa
Garo
Lalung (Tiwa)
Rabha
Tipra etc.
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1.8. Position of Tiwa language

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 section 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.

G.A. Grieson in his Linguistic Survey of India has mentioned about 40,000 Tiwa speaker in 1891. But the figure came down to 10,576 according to 1961 census and 9954 in 1971. Assimilation of the Tiwas into the Assamese life and culture is the major cause of this decreasing trend. However, according to 2001 census the total number of Tiwa speakers amounts 26,481.

Tiwa language has not been introduced as a subject in any government educational institution. However, Don Bosco, a missionary school introduced Tiwa as a subject from class I to class V in 2004. Further, there is no original script of Tiwa language. Roman and Assamese scripts are used by Tiwa people for literary purpose till today.

1.9. Socio-cultural life of the Tiwas

A society's culture depicts a total way of life. Since Tiwas are spreading in both plains and hills areas of Assam, the socio-cultural pattern of both the plains and hills differs considerably which is reflected in their food habit, dress, religious beliefs and practices. But plains Tiwas are maintaining close relation with the hill Tiwas and there is mutual exchange. The hill Tiwas are still maintaining their traditional characteristic in trait but the plain Tiwas have lost most of their traditional traits including language. Both individual and joint families are found in their society. In the past, the Tiwas were matriarchal and matrilineal but today the plains Tiwas are patriarchal and patrilineal. But the hills Tiwas are still maintaining their old tradition.
1.9.1. Dormitory system

The dormitory in Tiwa society is called Shamadi or Dekashang. It is a bachelor's dormitory and no doubt the most significant social institution of the Tiwa people. Only male youths are allowed to stay in this institution. Women are strictly prohibited to enter the Shamadi. The boys who attain at age of 7 become the member of the Shamadi. However, the youths staying in Shamadi are divided into three groups according to their age. They are ‘khorkiya’, age from 7 to 16, ‘panthai’ age from 16 to 28 and ‘gra panthai’ those who cross their marriage age. They have to attend this dormitory usually at the night. There is a committee named ‘panthaikhel’ to run this dormitory. Shangdoloi and Shangmaji, Khuramul and Suruma are the head of the Shamadi. However, this Shamadi or youth dormitory institution is fast disappearing from the plains Tiwas where the hills Tiwas are still running this institution with traditional splendour.

1.9.2. Religion

The Tiwas call their god as Mindai. The religion of Tiwa is based on the belief in some deities. The hill Tiwas worships stone images of deities while the plain Tiwas do not install any image in the altar. However, the zela or tripod is found in their altar which is the symbol of Lord Siva. ‘Loro’ is the head entrusted to perform religious ceremonies by hill Tiwas. Besides Loro, Deori and Changmaji are the officials who perform the religious ceremonies. Pha Mahadeo is their supreme god.

1.9.3. Marriage

Marriage is the accepted form of union between a man and women among the Tiwas. Illegal unions or incestuous relation are very much hated and under no circumstances, the society recognises such type of unions. Usually boys and girls marry between the ages of 20 to 25 and 16 to 22 respectively. The people are monogamous and marriage within the clan is strictly prohibited. There is no bar for a widow to enter into marriage if she gets a widower. Cases of divorce between the couple are few and far between. The Tiwas have four forms of marriage viz. Bor Biya, Gobbia Rakha, Joron Biya Paluai Biya.
1.9.4. Dress

The dress of the Tiwa women of the plains is similar to those worn by the other rural Assamese women. The traditional dress of the Tiwa women is called Kashong Phaskai. This typical dress of the Tiwa women constitutes one Mekhela (Kashong) and one Chadar (Phaskai). One of the noteworthy characteristic of the Tiwa women is that they are expert weavers and they weave all the clothes for both male and female.

The dresses of the men folk are similar as well to those of other Assamese men folk. In the past, dhotis woven by women folk were the major items of dresses. However, nowadays only elderly man wears dhotis. ‘Nimai Sola’ and thagla were the shirts of men folk but these dresses are no more in vogue. Moreover, the dresses of the hill Tiwas are quite different from those of plain Tiwas. Men folk of hill Tiwas put on a narrow strip of the cloth called ‘Lengti’ which is about a half a cubit in breadth and six or seven feet in length. Lengti is worn as a piece of traditional dress. The male Tiwas also wear a shirt prepared locally. And the elderly people wear turbans.

1.9.5. Festivals

Janbeel Mela of Gobha, one of the popular festivals of Tiwa is observed in the month of Magh. During the occasion, a huge bazaar is held. A few days before the mela starts, hill Tiwas come down with products and interchange their goods with the plains Tiwas in a barter system. It is said to be a high-tech age barter system and perhaps the only fair in India where barter system is still alive. It starts on Thursday and ends on Saturday. Before the mela takes place, an Agni Puja (fire worship) is performed for the well being of the mankind. The mela starts with community fishing in the Janbeel wetland. The theme of the mela is harmony and brotherhood among the tribes and communities scattered in the northeast India. People perform their traditional dance and music, making the whole atmosphere full of the joy and fun. The Gobha king along with his courtiers visits the mela and collects taxes from his subjects. The hill Tiwas bring sesame, ginger, turmeric, arum, potato, chillies, cotton, brinjal, cane and bamboo products etc. and exchange those with dry and raw fish, rice cakes of the plain Tiwas. They bring some presents to the Gobha Raja also.
Moreover, ‘Bihu’ or ‘Bisu’ is one of the important festivals of Tiwas. The Tiwas call the Bihu as Bisu. The Tiwas observe all these three Bihus i.e. Baisak Biju, Magh Bihu and Kati Bihu with a great enjoyment. Besides these three Bihus, they observe several other festivals throughout the year. Among them Yangli, Shogramichawa, Wanshuwa and Langkhon are mentionable. Songs and dances are the important items in their festivals.

1.9.6. Cultivation

One of the common characteristics feature of the tribal of the north eastern region especially those living in the hills is that they practised ‘Jhum’ system of cultivation. It is already mentioned that the Tiwas had lived in the Jayantiya kingdom for a considerable period of time. There they adopted the ‘Jhum’ system while they stayed in the hills. As they moved downwards towards the plains, they practised the ‘Sali’ paddy cultivation and it is the major crop cultivated by the plain Tiwas today. Apart from the ‘Sali’, the Tiwas also cultivate Ahu and Bao paddy and also some quantities of sesame, matikali, mustard, arum, ginger, turmeric chillies etc. And the method of cultivation used by them is settled plough cultivation.

1.9.7. Foods

One of the important cultural traits of a community or society is the food. The Tiwas also have a food culture of their own. Rice is known to be the important food of the Tiwas. There are two major meals in a day which consists of rice and vegetables. Meat, fish and eggs are an important part of the menu. Fowl and pork are regarded as the delicious of the Tiwas. The guests are served with meat, especially chicken or duck’s flesh. Almost all the Tiwas rear pigs and fowls, since pork and chicken are essential items in their meals as well as in socio-religious ceremonies. However, milk is not considered as an item of food. Rather, the Tiwa people prefer to take locally made rice beer viz. ‘zu’ in their day to day life. It is also an essential item in certain religious ceremonies.
The hills Tiwas have their own delicacies. 'Kharisa' (a mixture prepared out of bamboo shoots) and dry fish are the favourite items of food. They used kharisa in any kind of preparation. 'Chu' (zu) is freely taken by them. The older generation cooked food in bamboo pipes and they relished such food most.

1.9.8. Village administration

The Tiwa society is a stratified society and there are different office bearers in village having socio-religious assignments. The social organisation is divided into two categories. The first category may be called as secular village organisation which is headed by the 'Gaonbura'(village Headman) and assisted by an official called 'Barika'. There are four categories of officers namely Shangdoloi, Shangmaji, Suruma and Khuramul who run the affairs of Shamadi. The non secular organisation is run by the three office bearers namely Ghar bura, Zela and Hari kunwari. Besides, there is ‘Deori’ (Priest) who presides over the worship of ‘Than’.

1.9.9. Property and inheritance

Generally, in Tiwa society the property is inherited by the sons. After the death of father or even before his death, the land is divided equally among his sons. The father may keep one share of his use, which is after his death goes to that son who lives with him and takes care of him till his death. The house is also owned by that son who lives with his father. Among the plains Tiwas, daughters do not inherit property. But since the hills Tiwas are matrilineal, the case is opposite. The hills Tiwas allow the daughters to inherit the property from the mothers.

1.10. Organisation of the study

The present research work is organised in six chapters excluding appendix and bibliography. The chapters are Introduction, Review of Literature, Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Conclusion.
The introduction chapter contains a write up about the Tiwa people, their migration and origination and socio-cultural life which include festivals, dormitory system, marriage, foods, cultivation and village administration.

The second chapter deals with the literary review of selected books on Tiwa language. Since no linguistic work has been done on Tiwa, a few books are selected for the purpose.

The third chapter discusses phonology and morphophonemics. In this chapter, five vowel phonemes which occur initially, medially and finally are established. There are twenty-one consonantal phonemes in this language. All the consonantal phonemes do not occur in all three positions. The phonemes /p, t, k, g, s, z, c, y/ do not occur in the final position. On the other hand, the phoneme /g/ occurs only in medial position. But the occurrence of /b, d, z/ in initial position is very rare in comparison with other phonemes.

The fourth chapter deals with morphology in detail that includes the various grammatical categories like noun, pronoun, gender, case, verb, tense and aspect etc. It is found that Tiwa does not have grammatical gender but has a natural gender. Both human and nonhuman nouns are differentiated for masculine and feminine genders. All the inanimate nouns are considered neuter. The gender of animate nouns in case of human beings [+human - inanimate] in Tiwa is denoted by the marker /mewa/ ‘male’ and /margi/ ‘female’. Consider the following example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mas.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mewa libin/</td>
<td>‘male person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/margi libin/</td>
<td>‘female person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mewa alohi/</td>
<td>‘male guest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/margi alohi/</td>
<td>‘female guest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mewa korkhia/</td>
<td>‘male child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/margi korkhia/</td>
<td>‘female child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mewa kamsamai/</td>
<td>‘male servant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/margi kamsamai/</td>
<td>‘female servant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the case of animals, the marker /-mosowa/ meaning ‘male’ is postposed to the generic form of nouns to denote masculinity and /-muslur/ meaning ‘female’ is posted to denote feminine as exemplified below-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mis mosowa/</td>
<td>/mis muslur/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘male buffalo’</td>
<td>‘female buffalo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/masu mosowa/</td>
<td>/masu muslur/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ox’</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/meja mosowa/</td>
<td>/meja muslur/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘male tiger’</td>
<td>‘female tiger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wa mosowa/</td>
<td>/wa muslur/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘male pig’</td>
<td>‘female pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mos mosowa/</td>
<td>/mos muslur/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘male deer’</td>
<td>‘female deer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To express the plurality, Tiwa uses the markers like /raw/, /bur/ and /man/. Pronouns in Tiwa distinguish number but no gender. Pronouns may be classified into the following categories.

(i) Personal pronoun

(ii) Demonstrative pronoun

(iii) Reflexive pronoun

(iv) Interrogative pronoun

(v) Indefinite pronoun

The Tiwa language has seven cases. These seven cases are Nominative case, Accusative case, Dative case, Genitive case, Locative case, Instrumental case, and
Ablative case. To form words, Tiwa makes use of all the known techniques such as compounding, derivation, reduplication etc.

The fifth chapter on syntax briefly deals with the grammar of Tiwa. In this chapter, we discussed briefly the various constituents like noun phrase, verb phrase, adjective phrase, adverb phrase etc. Different types of clauses, sentences including various kind of Wh-question, negation and interrogative sentences are also discussed along with examples in this chapter. The normal word order of this language is SOV.

The chapter sixth is the conclusion. This chapter contains a brief summary of the Tiwa language and research findings and a comprehensive idea about the linguistic structure of this language is given.