Chapter -One

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The Sino–Tibetan language family, that was originally a single language has been developed into a vast, diverse group of languages under the pressure of natural change and the contact with speakers of other languages since its Neolithic Yang–Shao culture in Yellow river valley (Thurgood and La Polla 2003). Byansi belongs to the Almora branch of the west Himalayish section of the Bodic division in the Tibeto –Burman language group under Sino–Tibetan Family (Yadava 2004).

Languages of Himalayas section under Sino-Tibetan family are richer and more productive in the field of verb morphology. The verb morphology plays pivotal role in the study of any language. Byansi possesses some interesting quality in the field of verb morphology to be studied. It exhibits Sinospheric morphological type mainly. However it borrows some Indospheric lexical items and morphology.

1.2 Statement of Problems

This study has its own problems on which the research activity is based. The problems are based on how Byansi verbs are structured what they function. It has the following related problems that have inspired the researcher to find out and solve the problems.

J	What are Byansi verb classes and how are they classified?
J	What are derivational affixes?
J	How are negative and interrogative constructed?
J	How to trace back tense and aspect of Byansi?
J	How are Byansi moods expressed?
J	How do Byansi verbs inflect according to person and number agreement system?

How do morphophonemic exhibit their nature?

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The research work is influenced by functional typological linguistic framework which is the recent and perhaps more popular in the fieldwork of linguistic research. However it just adapts this theory only for basic theoretical concern but not for vast analysis.

In relativist point of view there cannot be universals and every language must be described on its own terms. It totally rejects the importance of generalizations. On the other extreme universalists attempt to reduce all of grammar to a few rules. The formalism views that all languages theory laden or theory bound.

Furthermore, the generative linguistic is based on an analogy with physics. They do not talk about language change. There must be an account for change and room for mutation. The structural linguistic is based on the analogy with taxonomy.

However functional typological linguistic views that the descriptions need to be informed by theoretical notions but not dominated by theoretical construction (Watters 2006). The functional typological grammar is based on analogy with biology which include concept of both structure and function. It is the user friendly, in that it is not theory bound or theory laden but employs natural language prose in its descriptions in which most of insight have come from. '..the margin of unpredictability and fuzzy-edges is just as important from a functional point of view. It allows the organism to exercise context-sensitive, contingent, subtle, and flexible judgment in matter of relative importance, perspective changes, shades of emphasis and gradation along the phenomenological continua' (Givon, 2001).

1.4 Previous Research

Some linguists and ethnographers have done research studies about Byansi people and their language. There are comparatively better studies done in the field of ethnography.

Grierson (1903) first traced back some nominal and verbal morphology of Byansi language and its genetic affiliation to T.B. language. He sub grouped this language as a complex pronominalized language.

Sharma (1989) also has done the study on Byansi language. He also analyzed Byansi phonology, morphology and syntax in the traditional method.

Tribedi (1991) has tried to introduce Byansi grammar framework. He briefly described Byansi morphology, phonology and syntax in his research work. His work is more or less based on the traditional grammar.

Sharma (2001)'s sketch grammar is perhaps the recent study on Byansi language. He has also briefly sketched all the above mentioned grammatical fields. However his work is limited to sketch grammar.

Nawa (2002) has done the study with importance in the field of sociolinguistics.

Toba (2004), in his paper *Byansi an endangered language*, has tried to give a sociolinguistic overview of Byansi language. According to him, Byansi belongs to the Almora branch of the west Himalayish section of the Bodic division in the Tibeto – Burman language group under Sino–Tibetan Family

Roka et al. (2007) have tried to give general overview of Byansi verbs with other word classes briefly.

Several research works have been done in this language. However, in the field of Phonology and verb morphology, except some common findings, all above mentioned research studies vary from one to another. They have limited themselves into sketch grammar only. They have not studied especially in the field of verb morphology. The findings are confusing because of surface study and traditional concept of grammar knowledge.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are to;

J describe Byansi verb classes such as copula verbs and transitivity,
J find out derivational affixes such as causative morphology and reflexive verbs,
J find out negative and intro-negative markings and constructions,
J find out person and number agreement systems,
J find out tense aspect and modality markings,

find out constructions of morphological types (i.e. analytic, fusion and agglutinate) and how they are processed through(derivational and inflectional) and

) search of past findings by other researcher in the field of verb morphology in this language.

1.6 Research Methodology

This section presents a brief discussion on research methodology adopted to collect and analyze the data needed for the study. The research methodology includes selection of the study area, nature of data, research design, and data collection technique which have been employed to pick up necessary information to make findings reliable of the research output. In this study, descriptive research method has been applied to get overall objective of this study.

1.6.1 Selection of the Study Area

Sjangkang and Changru villages have been selected which are located in Shitola and Byans VDCs respectively of Darchula district. These two villages are the permanent and geographically central point of settlement area of Rang (Byansi) people. However the informants were contacted in Kahmandu by Central Department of Linguistics.

1.6.2. Research Design

The overall objective of this study is mainly to describe Byansi (Rang Boli) verb morphology. In this study, descriptive research design has been employed. This design has been chosen because it is helpful for studying the various aspects of Byansi verb morphology.

1.6.3 Nature of the Data

Both primary and secondary data have been used for this study. The present study has been mainly based on the primary data. The primary data have been collected from the field work in Kathmandu. The informants were contacted in Kahmandu by Central Department of Linguistics and they were from above mentioned places. The actual field work has been taken more than three months. The language teachers have been selected from both sex and age groups. Whereas for the secondary data, various books, journals, articles, dissertations, etc. related to the study have been consulted from the Central Department of Linguistics TU, the Central Library of TU, Kirtipur, and other related institutions. The data are both qualitative and quantitative in nature.

1.6.4 Data Collection Technique

The necessary data have been collected by using the tools and technique such as questionnaire, interview, and participant observation. Both quantitative and qualitative categories of data have been collected. Here has been used a framework which has been provided by Central Department of Linguistics, Kirtipur, a commonly used by students of linguistics while working in their field works. Furthermore, other questionnaires and ideas have been taken from David E. Watters (2002), Lindsay J. Whaley, and Thomas E. Payne mainly. The study has not tested statistical hypothesis. The collected data have been processed and put into tabular form sometimes on the basis of research content. Moreover, to give strengths to the findings of the study various maps and photographs have been incorporated for the content analysis.

1.7 Significance and Output

The study on 'The Verb Morphology of Byansi Language' has importance in different ways. This research on Byansi verb morphology will give brief information about Byansi verb morphology. It will give information about Byansi verb class, tense, aspect and modality, mood, derivational morphology, negative and interrogative construction, person and number agreement, and morphological type. Furthermore, it may help to produce reading material on Byansi language indirectly. It also may help for promotion, documentation, and preservation of our cultural heritage which is endangered. It also reminds us about humanistic, cultural, and ethical values in our system.

Finally it may inspire and help to enjoy researchers who want further study on Bjansi language.

1.8 Delimitation of the Study

Every research study is bound within its limitations. The study of the Byansi verb morphology is not free from its limitations, which are as followings,

The study focuses only Byansi verb morphology especially in the field of Byansi verb class, derivational morphology, negative and intero-negative markings, agreement system, tense and aspect, mood, and morpho-phonemics.

Apart from this limitation, the study has other methodological limitations as well which are as followings:

- Data are collected from informants available in Kathmandu from Changru and Rapla villages of Darchula District provided by Central Department of Linguistics and National Foundation of Nationalities. So it is limited to the dialect spoken in these two villages.
- Collected data are processed in descriptive method.
- The study is less analytical in nature and less theoretical as well.

Chapter- Two

Byansi People and Their Language

This chapter includes two units including brief introduction of Byansi people and their language.

2.1 People and their Culture

2.1.1 Origin of Byansi People

The origin of Byansi people is not clear. Some Byansi people call themselves Chetri under Hindu caste system because they have adopted Hindu religion and culture. Some of old Byansi people call themselves as descendant of Khasas especially Kallyal Shahi of medieval Jumla (Rana Magar 2057 BS).

However, such kinds of logics do not have enough evidence to support the truth because Byansi people seem to be a branch of Kiranti. First of all they have their own language which is genetically affiliated to Sino-Tibetan language family. Secondly, their physical structures also possess Mongoloid feature. Furthermore, they believe in Shamamism, a common culture among Kirant groups of the Himalayan range.

2.1.2 Geographical Location

Byans is located in the northern part of Darchula district in far western region of Nepal, lying north of the Api Mountain and adjacent to both India and China. The area is composed of the uppermost valley of the *Mahakali* River which constitutes India—Nepal Borders. The area consists of nine villages, only two of which lie within the territory of Nepal, Other seven being in the state of Utterancal, India (Nawa 2002). Northern part of Byans valley is called 'yerjumkhu' consists of five villages: *Kuti, Rankang, Nabi, Gunji* and *Napalcyu*, whereas, rest part of *Byans* valley is called 'pang jimkhu' consists of four villages: *Garbyang, Budi, Changru*, and Tinker. Apart from *Tinker and Changru* villages Rag people live in *Rapang* and *Dumling* villages of *Rapla* VDC and *Syangkang* village of *Sitaula* VDC of Darchula district in far western Nepal (Nawa 2002).

The main inhabitants of this valley are basically Mongoloid people who speak a distinct Tibeto–Burman language. Because of high altitude except farming and animal husbandry; many of them are traditionally involved in trans-Himalayan trade. They have their own culture and language. In India side there are eleven villages in *Gauri valley*, eighteen villages in *Dhauli valley* and ten in *Chandans* valley in Uttarancal, where, Rang people live. However, people of *chaudans* valley and *Darma* valley speak different language variety. Our focus of the study is based on language of *Changru*, *Rapang* and *Dumling* villages of Darchula District. The permanent settlement area expands about 7000 ft to 12,330 ft. high of Byans valley. However, most of Rang people migrate seasonally to different places for different purposes.

2.1.3 Population Distribution

The number of Byansi language speaker is not clear because organizations and researchers have calculated it with different results. In Nepal the population of Rang ethnic group is more than 4000 and out of which 3800 people speak this language (Toba and et al 2002). Similarly Gopal Singh estimates about 2003 of Rang people and among them 1756 speak Byansi language as the mother tongue. According to the population census 2001 only 1734 people speak Byansi language as the mother tongue (Yadava 2004). The actual data are needed to be collected to make the real number of Byansi language speakers.

Table- 1 : The Distribution of Byasi Language Speakers

Villages	Number
1. Changru+Tinker	707
2. Rapang + Dumling	729
3. Syangkang	320
Total	1756

(The source from individual contact with Gopal singh Bohara)

2.2 Byansi Language

This unit includes brief introduction of Byansi language including ethnonyme and glotonyme, its dialects, genetic affiliation, attitude to language of native speaker, phonology, noun, adjective, adverb, syntax and constituent order.

2.2.1 Ethnonyme and Glotonyme

In various documentations, people who are neither Tibetan nor south Asian in Himalayan valleys in far-western Nepal as well as kumaun and Garhwal in India, have been called Byansi, Sauka, and Bhotia with confusion between name and ethnographic reality (Nawa 2002).

Byansi name means the inhabitants of Byans valley in both Nepali and Hindi. Secondly, Bhotia is common name in Nepali and Hindi word which connotes Tibetan and Tibetanoid people. Sauka is a word to refer to them in the pahari dialects of far western Nepal and the adjacent region of India. This term means 'money lender' in pahari word (Nawa 2002). Rang is the ethnonym, which they use to refer to themselves in their own mother tangue. They call 'pang' for Tibetan and 'Wolan' for pahari people. Rang people call their language *Rangboli* or *Ranglwo* which means Rang language in English. Therefore, Sauka and Bhotia boli, names referred to them, are perhaps heteroglotonyme of the language.

2.2.2 Byansi Language and its Dialects

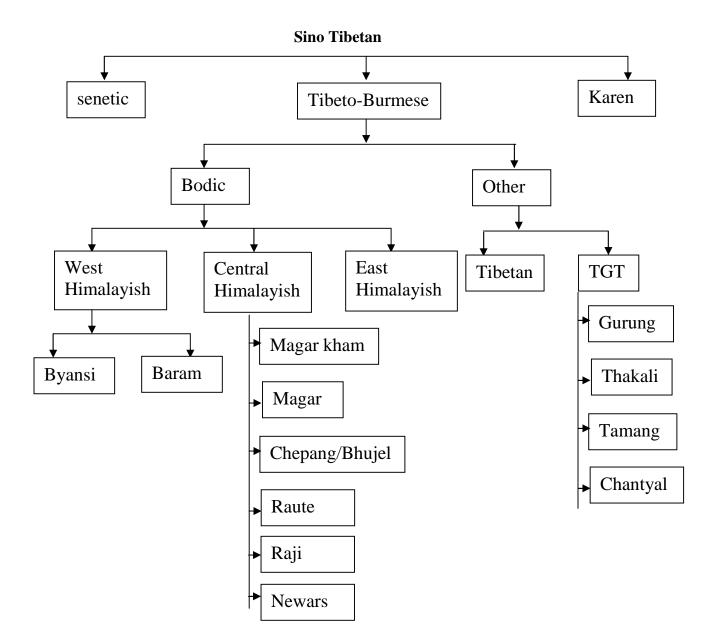
Two sub-varieties of Byansi are called 'yerjungkhu boli' (spoken in Gunji, Nabi, Rangkang and Naplachyu) and 'Pang jungkhu boli' (spoken in changru, Garbyang, and Budi and the variety of Tinker is called as Tinker Boli. Byanasi language differs slightly village to village. The present study includes Changru and Rapla villages from Darchula district. The languages spoken in these two villages are similar grammatically but differ slightly in phonetics. All these bolis are however treated basically as sub division of the bracket category Rang boli (Nawa 2002).

2.2.3 The place of Byansi in Tibeto–Burman

The listing on lower level subgroups of T.B. language by modern linguists is clearer. Many of sub groups are backed by full reconstruction of the lexicon and with description of the corresponding sound changes, and some are backed by shared morphological innovation. However, lack of this type of evidence and knowledge sometimes forced the linguists to make subgrouping guesses on the basis of geography, ethnography and so on.

The following diagram of T.B. language is a division by Dr. Yadava (2004) and David Bradley. This grouping and sub-grouping of TB language adapt both shared lexical and morphological bases.

Diagram 1: Family Tree of Byansi Language



According to this diagram, Byansi belongs to the Almora branch of the west Himalayish section of the Bodic division in the Tibeto-Burman language group under Sino-Tibetan Family.

On the basis of shared morphological innovation in T.B. languages (Thurgood and La Polla 2001), we can determine the place of Byansi language under Almora subgroup of the West Himalayish group of the Rung branch in Tibeto–Burman major Subgroup under the Sino Tibetan language family.

2.2.4 Phonology

This unit gives the summary of segmental phonemes such as consonant and vowel phonemes of Byansi. It further gives the example of syllable structure of this language. The study has extracted a few tables and summaries of phonemic findings as it is from the `Byansi Documentation Programme` by the Central Department of Linguistics and National Foundation of Indigenous People. Phonemic System in Byansi language is a little bit complex in nature. Various sounds found in this language have been analyzed with the help of computer and reshaped as phoneme on the basis of phonological rule. There are about forty segmental phonemes in Byansi language. The findings are given as below.

2.2.4.1 The Consonant Phonemes

There are altogether 31 consonant sounds found as phonemes in Byansi language. The voiceless quality occurs almost in all series of nasal, glides and liquids. The contrastive between alveolar and retroflex sound series is another quality in Byansi, which is perhaps aerial feature, diffused in this language. However, this contrastive feature between alveolar series and retroflex series is irregular. This contrastive feature between alveolar and retroflex does not appear in fricatives and nasals. e.g. [s] and $[\phi]$ sounds show only allophonic variation rather than phonemic.

Table- 2: Environment Chart of Consonant /s/ and / ϕ /

	# -	-#	- c	- c	- e	-i	- j	- 0	- u	- a	v–v	
[s]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
• \$ '	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	_	_	_	+	

Note:here 'C' denotes consonant and 'V' denotes vowel

In this way $[\phi]$ is followed by only front vowels, but [s] occurs everywhere i.e. preceded or followed by all sorts of vowels. Thus these two sounds are allophonic variations of the single phoneme /s/. However, the rule of pattern congruity requires $[\phi]$ as a phoneme.

Table 2: Phonemic Inventory of Consonant Sounds

Place		Labial	Alvedar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Manner		vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	
Plosive	non aspirate aspirate	p b	t d	d h		k g k ^h	
Fricative	non aspirate aspirate	S					h
Affricate	non aspirate aspirate			c dz ch dz ^h			
Nasal	non aspirate aspirate	mP m	nP n			ΠΩΠΩΠΩΠΩΠΩΠ	
Trill	non aspirate			rP r			

	aspirate				
Liquid	non		1P		
	aspirate		1		
	aspirate				
Glide	non	wP		jР	
	aspirate	w		j	
	aspirate				

2.2.4.2 The Vowel Phonemes

In Byansi there are nine vowels which are presented as following:

Diagram -2: The Phonemic Inventory Chart of Vowel Sounds



2.2.4.3 Syllable Structure

There are 6 types of canonical structures of the syllable in Byansi which are presented in the following table-3.

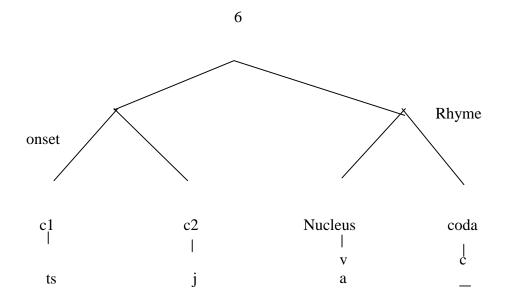
Table-3: Syllable Structure

S.N	types of syllable	Example	Meaning
1	V	o	he/she
2	VC	u_	stone
3	CV	la	hand

4	CVC	sin	tree
5	CCV	nja	fish
6	CCVC	tshja_	wall

The figure in canonical structure of the syllable in the word tshja is as follows.

Diagram-3 The Syllable Structure of Byansi Language



2.2.4.4 Consonant Clusters

Byansi language only allows consonant cluster where a semi-vowel/j/ or /w/, and trill/r/, as the second consonant (c2) \cdot for eg.

c) -r- g dro 'ditch'

2.3. Nominal Morphology

In this section it has been tried to give brief information on Byansi noun morphology. This is for a supportive role in the analyses of verb morphology.

2.3.1 Formation of Noun

To construct noun there are two types of noun stems in this language: the noun with a mono syllabic morpheme and the noun formed with various suffixes. A monosyllabic noun is made of only one syllable. Byansi noun are mostly monosyllabic. Another type of noun is disyllabic or suffixed noun. Such type of noun stems is composed of a root and suffix. Byansi nouns have many suffixes attached on such as /-bu/, /-pu/, /-pa/, /-ma/, /-la/, /-sa/, /-n m/, and so on. However there are no obvious meanings of these suffixes.

2. /-bu/ suffix

- a) nu-bu -'insect'
 - kho-bu 'snake'
 - pal -bu 'frog'
 - tim-bu 'sky'
 - ni- bu 'lemon'

dzum-bu 'a particular kind of spice'

- b) /-pu/ ni- pu mouse
- c) /-pa/ tshjappa 'summer'

kho-paa 'ankle'

ra-pa funeral

d) /-ma/ kar-ma 'star'

ge-ma 'a local dish of milk'

e) /-la/ ma-la 'sheep' la-la 'grand -mother '

the-la 'dirt'

f) /-sa/ k -sa 'cloud' tok-sa 'direction, side'

g) /-n | m/ dzj | r-n | m 'east' sy | r-n | m 'north'

2.3.2 Compound Nouns

The compound nouns are formed by taking two or more morphemes and combining them into a compound noun. There are two types of compound noun.

Type-1

In type one the meaning of both constituents can be predictable.

3. a) /mi - tti/ 'tear'

eye - water

b) /ak -tsk | m/ 'moustache' mouth-hair

Type-2

In this type, the meaning of one constituent carries direct meaning and another carries indirect meaning or more or less metaphorical meaning.

4. a) /bu-ti/ 'butter milk'

? -water

b) /sil-ti/ 'saliva'

? - water

c) /la-ti/ 'semen'

hand-water (Sharma 2001)

2.3.3 Gender

There is no grammatical gender in Byansi. The gender of all animate participants is determined either by separate lexical item or by adding sex marker on the noun only. It does not inflect on the verb obviously.

siri 'boy' cl me 'girl' sinsja 'sister' pje 'brother'

Some feminine noun stems are formed by adding /mo-/ prefix before them.

masculine feminine

5. a) r n 'horse' mo-r n 'mare '

FEM-horse

b) nikhi 'dog' mo-nikhi 'bitch'

FEM-dog

The femines of some noun stems are suffixed by /-sja/ morpheme.

masculine feminine

6.a) rithi 'husband''master' rithi—sja 'wife'

owner -FEM

b) bju-lo 'groom' bju-li—sja 'bride

Wedding -3MAS wedding-3FEM - FEM

The *byuli*- term is borrowed from Nepali is feminine itself and added feminine marker /-sja/ on it to make it feminine again.

Some masculine noun stems end with /-pa/ and /-mi/ and feminine noun stems with /-sya/

Masculine Feminine

7.a) $t^s \kappa a \rho ru - pa$ $t^{sh} a \rho ru - sya$

cha_ru-MAS cha_ru-FEM

' a man from $t^{sh}a\rho$ ru' 'a woman from $t^{sh}a\rho$ ru'

Tibetan -MAS Tibetan-FEM 1

'a Tibetan man' 'a Tibetan woman'

2.3.4 Number

Byansi language contains two kinds of numbers i.e. grammatical and non-grammatical.

2.3.4.1 Singular and Plural (Grammatical number)

Byansi nouns have two grammatical numbers i.e. singular and plural. However it has dual number without grammatical number. Each singular forms are prefixed by plural marker /-map / to construct plural form of any noun.

SG PL

8.a) mi mi-*ma*__

man-γ man-PL

man 'men'

b) uρ uρ -*ma*_

stone- ς stone-PL

stone 'stones'

c) nja nja-ma_

fish- ς fish-PL

'fishes'

d) g| 1 g| 1-ma_

yak- ς yak-PL

yak 'yaks'

2.3.4.2 Dual forms (Non-grammatical Number)

The prefix /nis-/ sometimes attached to the nouns to indicate dual number. Grammatically dual has no separate marker. It inflects as in plural.

9.a) t^s me *nis*-ts me ς -daughter two-daughter daughter 'Two daughters' b) mi nis-mi ς -person two-person a person 'Two persons' c) siri 'boy' nis-siri ς -boy two-boy 'Two boys' boy

2.3.5 Pronouns

The pronoun is a word-class that is used in place of a noun or noun-phrase. Byansi language has its own typical pronouns. This sub-unit gives brief information about Byansi pronouns such as personal pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, interrogative pronoun, reflexive pronoun, and relative pronoun.

2.3.5.1. Personal Pronoun

The personal pronouns stand for the three persons: (i) the person speaking i.e. first person, (ii) the person spoken to i.e. second person, (iii) the person spoken by i.e. third person. Similarly Byansi personal pronoun possesses three persons i.e. first person, second person and third person and three numbers. However dual number is not a grammatical number. It is optional and occurs as a preffix on the nouns to indicate the dual form.

you-DAT what be.2SG-PT

'What happened to you?'

b) Å ti- se tepli r ρ-ta

he-ERG knife sell-PR.3SG

'He sells knife.'

Other personal pronouns are given in the table 4.

Personal Pronoun

Table- 4

	Number	
Person	Singular	Plural
First Person	dze	in
Second Person	g n	gl ni
Third Person	O/l ti	usi/l timap

2.3.5.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are used to point out the objects to which they refer. Byansi demonstrative pronouns differentiate a five way contrast with regard to distance and elevation relatives to the speakers location and whether an object is visible to the speaker or not. e.g.

11. a) **ai** tsim

this house

'This house.'

b) ati tsim

that house

'That house.'

Other demonstrative pronouns are as follows:

			(Sharr	ma 2001)
i	ti	teti	thoti	joti
Proximate	Distal	obviate	Higher	lower
Distance		Sight	Height	

2.3.5.3 Interrogative pronouns

Those pronouns which are used for asking questions are called interrogative pronouns. Byansi has the following interrogative pronouns

/ulo/ 'where'

- 12.a) gl n ts m *ulo* le
 - you house INT.PRO be

'where is your house ?'

- b) am *ulo* in
 - path INT.PRO be
 - 'where is the path?'

/una/ 'who'

c) | ti mi *una* le

that man INT.PRO be 'who was that man ?'

d) **una** —SE ati nippe t^sum-ta

INT.PRO–ERG that cock catch-PR.3SG

'Who catches the rooster?'

/kYV/ 'what'

- e) $g = -dza \quad kYV \quad le-t^so$ you-OBJ INT.PRO be-2SG.PT
 'What happened to you?'
- f) | ti kYV le that INT-PRO be 'What is that ?'

@^}r__fru' r@8**when'**1

g) ram *ula_padza* t^{sh}aku dza-so

Ram INT.PRO rice eat-3SG.pt

'When did Ram eat rice?'

/ula_/ 'How many/ much'

- h) gl -ni-gη sop-khu **ula**_ ts m in-an you-PL-poss village-in INT.PRO house be-PR.PL 'How many houses are there in your village?'
- i) | i bh| insi-sη *ula*_ ti tuρ -ρ| n this huffalo-ERG INT.PRO water drink -PR.SG 'How much water does this buffalo drink'?

2.3.5.4 Reflexive Pronouns

They are called reflexive pronouns when the action done by the subject turns back upon the subject. An example of Byansi reflexive pronoun *api* is as follows:

2.3.5.5 Relative Pronouns

Relative person refers or relates to some nouns going before. In some cases it is also called conjunctive pronoun. Byansi has a single relative pronoun, which is perhaps borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages. They are as follows:

- 14. a) **dz**VsV njarη t^{sh}aku dza-so Å *ti* ram ma-de

 REL PRO yesterday rice eat -PT that Ram NEG-be

 'That is not Ram who ate rice yesterday.'
 - b) Ram-se njare **dz**V dza-so | ti t^{sh}aku ma-de Ram -ERG yesterday RELPRO eat-PT that rice NEG-be 'What Ram ate yesterday was not rice.'

2.3.6 The Case Marking in Byansi

The case is the form of a noun or a pronoun showing its relationship to another word. In the classical ergative configuration the subject of an intransitive clause and the object of a transitive clause receive the same case marking, while the subject of a transitive clause is marked differently (Watter 2002). In Byansi ergative marker has split type which is marked by suffix $/-s\eta/$.

In nominative case the subject of both transitive and intransitive clause receive the same marking while the object of a transitive clause is marked differently. In Byansi, there is null marking for the nominative. I am not clear about objective marker in Byansi. The associative case marker gives meaning of accompaniment. Byansi associative case receives the suffix /-te/.

The instrument case is the instrumental tool which is inanimate, by which an agent accomplishes an action (Watter 2002). The morpheme /-sη/ functions as instrumental case in Byansi. Dative case in Byansi is marked by suffix /-dza/. The genitive case in Byansi is marked by suffix /-gη/. The genitive means some kind of dependent relationship between the head noun and some other words. The general locative is marked by sffix /-ko/ in Byansi. Like in other TB languages Byansi possesses rich locative suffixes. In Byansi, locative suffixes show static location, dynamic motion, and complex locatives. The adessive expresses to a general region. In Byansi it is marked by suffix /-ko/. The inessive basically expresses location in or within something. In Byansi inessive also is marked by suffix /-ko/. The summary of case suffixes in this language has been given in table 5.

Table-5: Byansi Case Marking

	First Person		Second Per	rson	Third Person	
Cases	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Ergative	-se	-se	-se	-se	-se	-se
Dative	-dza	-dza	-dza	-dza	-dza	-dza
Instrumental	-se	-se	-se	-se	-se	-se
Genitives	-gη	-gη	-gη	-gη	-gη	-gη
Associative	-te	-te	-te	-te	-te	-te
Locative	-ko	-ko	-ko	-ko	-ko	-ko
Path	-leke	-leke	-leke	-leke	-leke	-leke
Objective						
Ablative	-kutsi	-kutsi	kutsi	kutsi	kutsi	kutsi

(Roka et al 2007)

2.3.7 Numeral Classifiers

In Byansi the numeral classifier serves to categorize a noun in terms of its animacy, shape and other inherent properties. To express bundle of noun such as grass and things with the similar categories, it takes/-pher/ suffix on the numerals. Similarly to express lump or piece of things it prefers to use suffix /-tho/. The drop of liquid such as oil and other liquids with same quality are expressed with suffix /-t≤/ and so on. The detail orders of numeral classifier in Byansi are given in the table 6.

Table –6: Numeral Classifier in Byansi

Numeral	Classifier	Noun	Meaning of Classifier	Num-Class-Noun Phrase
tigη 'one'	-phl r	t ^s i 'grass'	bundle of	tip-phÅ r t ^s i
tigη 'one'	-tho	atsk ar 'pickle	piece/lump of	<i>tik- tho</i> at ^s ar
tigη 'one'	-tho	tsĸa 'salt'	lump/piece of	tik- tho tsha
tigη 'one'	-khap	dza 'rice'	mouthful	tik-kha_ dza
tigη 'one'	-t≤	ti 'water'	drop of	<i>tik-t</i> § ti
tigη 'one'	-woρ	mala 'sheep'	flock of	tigV- wo_ mala
tigη 'one'	-t ^{si} bĸ	phuts ^s ib 'rice'	handful of	<i>tik-t^sib</i> ^h phut ^s b
tigη 'one'	-woρ	mimaρ 'men'	gang of/group of	<i>itg</i> V <i>-wo</i> mi- maρ
tigη 'one'	-tiki	sabun 'soap'	piece of	<i>tig</i> V- <i>tiki</i> sabun
tigη 'one'	-t ^{sh} op	uku 'sugarcane'	Piece of	tigV tshyo_ uku
tign'one'	-dzop	susle 'ox'	Yoke of	tidzo susle
tigη 'one'	-t ^{sh} jo	koto 'bread'	half piece	to t ^{sh} yo koto
tigη 'one'	-bup	langi	Pile of	tige bu_ langi
tigη 'one'	-t ^{sh} jar	leben 'book'	pile of (books)	ti tshjare lebin

(Roka et al 2007)

2.3.8 Summary of Nominal Suffixes in Byansi

The summary of nominal suffixes is presented in the table 7.

Table-7: Nominal Suffixes in Byansi

PL- -map

IN--ko

GENLOC--ko

ADE--ko

SUPESS--jerto

ALLAT- -m≤,-toksa

CISE- -pho

ASC- -tη

INST- -sη

ERG- -sη

GEN- -gη

FEM--sja

DAT- -dza

PATH- -leke

ABL- -kutsi

DUAL- nis-

MAS- -pa,-mi

2.4. Adjectives

The major function of adjective class is modification. However there is no clear boundary of this word class. The classification of it in the word classes is overlapping.

2.4.1 Types of Adjective

Byansi adjectives can be classified into two types mainly which are true type of adjective and derived type of adjective. These adjectives are like a noun sometimes and like a verb sometimes. Byansi adjectives mostly take /-wu/, /-tsi/, /-d η /, and /the/ suffixes

2.4.1.1 True Type of Adjective

There are only a few of true type of adjectives.

2.4.1.2 Derived Type of Adjective

Apart from some true adjectives there are some other adjectives which are derived from verbs. Such types of adjectives are mostly suffixed by morpheme /-d η / and /-t^h η /. The following data show the example of derived adjectives.

```
16. a) tin-mo 'to shorten', 'to squeeze' (V)
shorten-INF
tin-thη 'short' (ADJ)
shorten-NOM
b) kaρ-mo 'to pain' (V)
pain -INF
kang-thη 'sick' (ADJ)
pain-NOM
c) thu-mo 'to become lean/thin' (V)
```

thu-tη 'thin/lean' (ADJ)

Both adjectives have modification function. The functions of adjectives are further described as follows

2.4.1.2.1 Qualitative Function

Qualitative adjectives precede the noun they qualify. Such types of adjectives are mostly suffixed by morphemes /-d η / and /-t^h η /.

17. /-dV a) nu:dV kh sepuse

new clothes

'The new clothes'

 $/-t^h V/$ tsan: $t^h V$ 'sharp'

bun:t^hV 'tall, long'

2.4.1.2.2 Simulative and Demonstratives

The particle /-na/ can be suffixed to some nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs to derive the adjectival meaning 'like'.

18.a) la-**na** tshate

moon-like light

'The light like moon' (Sharma2001)

2.4.1.2.3 Quantitative Adjectives

Some adjectives express the quantity of some entity. Such kinds of adjectives are given below.

19. a) **lÅ iri** tap mala

all cattle

'The all cattle'

Other examples of quantitative adjectives are as follows:

duma 'some'

m thn 'many'

2.4.1.2.4 Numerals

Byansi possesses a rich and regular cardinal number which counts one to hundred in their native way. Cardinal numbers in Byansi from one to ten are as follows:

20. 'one' tigη nise 'two' 'three' sum 'four' pi 'five' ne 'six' tugu ni:se 'seven' dzede 'eight' 'nine' qui tsi 'ten'

2.4.1.2.5 Multiplicative

The multiplicative are formed through the process of reduplication of the basic numerals, sum-sum 'three times' and so on or adding the suffix /-tsu/ to the basic numeral, eg. /ti-tsu/,'once', /sum-tsu/, 'thrice,' and so on (Sharma 2001). Similarly by adding /-ba/ on the basic numeral we can process multiplicative, e.g. /p -ba/ 'four fold' /ne-ba/ 'five fold' etc.

2.5 Adverbs

The adverb is a word class that adds more information about place, time, manner, cause or degree to a verb, an adjective, a phrase or another adverb. This unit gives the examples of simple adverb of time, place, and manner.

2.5.1 Adverb of Time

```
21. a) u-se njare g n duρ -so he-ERG yesterday you beat(3SG) -PT 'He beat you yesterday'.
```

Other examples of adverb of time are as follows:

```
thinja 'today' sjel 'rainy season'
suku 'Friday' hap 'then'
hrajin 'last year'
```

2.5.2 Adverb of Place

22. a) ram dipho p -rra

Ram CIS PT-come

'Ram came on the side of this part.'

Other examples of adverbs of place are as follows:

t| -pho 'on the side of that part'

yer-tho 'above'

ser-th| m 'left'

2.5.3 Adverb of Manner

23. a) Å ina 1 b-jo
this way beat-IMP(2SG)
'Beat this way.'

tak-th m 'right'

Other examples of adverb of manner are as follows:

t-na 'like that'

2.6 Syntax

Sentence is a string of words in systematic order and syntax is the scientific study of sentence pattern. It is not a serious concern to describe Byansi syntax deeply because our concern is verb morphology at present. However it is helpful to know about basic word order in a sentence and the effect of this relationship in morpheme order. In this unit it has just been tried to give Byansi constituent order. Furthermore, it has been tried to give some examples of co-ordination, interrogative, negative, and affirmative sentences.

2.6.1 Constituent Order

Byansi, like other languages of the area, is an SOV language. Similarly NumN, GN, AN order are phrase level orders.

```
24.a) sjam -se dze lib -so

Syam-ERG I beat (3SG)-PT

S OBJ V

'Syam beat me.'

25. a) p| ikhu mi
brave person

ADJ N

'Brave person'

b) ti-dzoρ susle
one-pair ox

NUM N
```

'a pair of oxen'

2.6.2 Negativization

In negative construction tha-\mu-negative markers are added on the verb as prefix to make any negative sentence in Byansi.

negative

b) timbu l ts -₩||ℑρ||||⇒ ↑||∂ℑ|-∃₩ sky thunder-PT CONJ rain come-PT

'It thundered and the rain began.'

Negative

timbu
$$mu$$
 -1 ts- o||||| $\Im \rho$ |||| \Rightarrow \uparrow || $\uparrow \Delta$ -ra-so

ווון $\exists \rightarrow \exists$ ווון NEG-thunder-PT CONJ. rain NEG-come-PT.

'It didn't thunder and then didn't rain.'

`May he work better!`

Prohibition

'May he not work better!'

2.6.3 Interrogative

There are two types of interrogative sentence constructions in Byansi: direct and indirect question. Like in Kham (Watters 2002) indirect question is possible in Byansi.

2.6.3.1 Direct Question

The direct question is constructed in two ways in Byansi.

2.6.3.1.1 Intonation Based Question

- a) The most common direct interrogative sentence construction in Byansi is by producing high tone at the end of sentence utterance. e.g.
- 28. a) ram tsκaku dza pu⊂-ddη?ram rice eat PT-go-3rd.'Did Ram go for dinner?'
 - b) o-dza ai gha mu -rap -si -so?

 he-OBJ this paddy NEG -sell-DET-PT

 `Wasn`t this paddy sold to him?`
 - c) g n mojap r n -m≤ las i-g n? you basket weave-INF know-PR-2SG

'Do you know how to make a basket?'

2.6.3.1.2 Insertion of Interrogative pronoun

- b) Another way of interrogative sentence construction is by inserting interrogative lexicons just in front of verb. This type of direct question is common in Byansi. e.g.
- 29. a) ram-s η njare khV dza-so?

ram-erg yesterday WH. eat- PT
`What did Ram eat yesterday?`
b) | ti mi *una* ni-so

- that man who be-PT
 `Who was that man?`
- c) ram njarη *khe* dza-so?Ram yesterday what eat-PT`What did Ram eat yesterday?`
- d) nunu *kho*__ te ph n -ne-so brother why weep-CAUS-2PL-PT 'Why did you make your brother weep?'
- e) nunu *kho* te ph n -n n-co brother wh weep-CAUS-3PL-PT 'Why did they make their brother weep?'

2.6.3.2 Indirect Questions

Indirect Questions are also possible in Byansi. Like in the direct question indirect questions are constructed in two ways. In indirect question the speaker talks self and expresses emotion and curiosity but does not intend to the outcome.

3.6.3.2.1 Use of Intonation

The tone of the indirect question is different from the direct question. The direct question produces rising tone at the end of the sentence whereas indirect question produce neutral tone. Formally both types of questions possess the same quality where as functionally they differ from each other

- 30. a) gl n-i nunu p -dde you-PL brother PT-go 'Your brother went.'
 - b) g n-i nunu p -dde
 you-PL brother PT-go
 'Did your brother go?'

3.6.3.2.2 Insertion of Interrogative Pronoun

- 31. a) nunu khop te -ph n -ne-so
 brother why weep-CAUS -2PL-PT
 'Why did you make your brother weep?'
 - b) nunu kho te -ph n -n n-co brother why weep-CAUS-3PL-PT 'Why did they make their brother weep?'

Some other interrogative pronouns which are used to construct question are given below. *kh*V 'what', 'which', *unas*V 'by whom', *una* `who,` *ham* 'how', *kho*_ 'why,' *ula*_ 'how', *ula_ padza* 'when, and' *ulo* `where`

2.6.3.3 Interro-Negative

The intro-negative in Byansi functions as usual and normal interrogative function.

32. a) o-dza | i gha mu-raρ-si-so
he-OBJ this paddy NEG-sell-REFL-PT
`Wasn`t this paddy sold to him?` 'was it sold to him?'

2.6.4 Co-ordination

Co-ordination occurs when the two clauses are combined but neither one is embedded to or dependent on the other. The following examples are Byansi co-ordination.

2.6.4.1 Copulative

In Byansi simple sentences are conjoined by conjunction 'ap ' when these are in equal status. e.g.

33.a) ram b zar de-so
$$a_{\perp}$$
 libin tuk-so

Ram bazar go-PT CONJ book buy-PT

'Ram went to bazzar and bought a book.'

2.6.4.2 Adversative

In such sentences the two main clauses are opposed in meaning to each other. The followings are the examples of Byansi adversative co-ordinations.

'Though Ram eats rice.....'

Some other examples of conjunction markers in Byansi are as follows:

t | r | 'but', m | ta 'otherwise', lhema -cjap $\partial \downarrow$ 'eventhough' etc.

2.6.4.3 Alternative

In such sentences the two clauses have a choice between them. In Byansi, grammaticalized types of conjunctions are found.

he weep must CON money pay must

'Either he must weep or pay money'.

2.6.4.4 Illative

In such sentence the second clause draws an inference from the first.

36.a) u prishrami in *aina-se* pas hle -k -an

he laborious be. CON pass become-PR-3SG 'He is laborious therefore, he passes exam'.

Chapter-3

Verb Morphology

This chapter has included the core subject matter of the research work. It has tried to put all the related units into the single chapter. This chapter includes Byansi verb class, tense aspect and modality, person number category, nominalized paradigm, negative interrogative markings and morphological types. It also presents the summary of their position class.

3.1. Byansi Verbs and its Class

This unit gives general overview on Byansi verb class. Based on collected data and findings, it has just described Byansi copula, transitive and intransitive verbs.

3.1.1 Copula Verbs

A copula is any morpheme (affix, Particle, or verb) that joins, or couples, two nominal elements in a predicate nominal construction (Payne 1997). Like in kham /le/ and /ta/ (Watters 2002) Byansi has two copula verbs /in/ and /leh/ which function as linking verbs.

3.1.1.1 Copula /in/

When they talk about location, existence, attribution, and possession of something, they prefer to use copula verb /in/. The examples of copula verb /in/ are as follows:

3.1.1.1.1 Existence

The existance talks about the existence of something. In Byansi existential predicate is linked by verb /in/.e.g.

1. a) | eko mi **in**here man COP
'Here is a man'.

b) | t | ku sop in

there village COP

'There is a village'.

3.1.1.1.2 Attributive

It talks about attribution of something. In Byansi attributive predicates also are linked by /in/.e.g.

2. a) ram sjo ka ρ th η in

ram kind COP

'Ram is Kind'.

b) sita siputi in

Sita skillful COP

'Sita is skillful'.

3.1.1.1.3 Possession

It talks about possession of something. In Byansi this type of linkage is marked by morpheme /in/ to show possession.

3. a) dze-dza tige rupya in

I-POSS on rupee COP

'I have one rupee'.

3.1.1.1.4 Location

The location talks about location of two nominal elements. In Byansi it is linked by /in/.

4. a) libin teb 1-jerto in

book table-on COP

'The book is on the table'.

The above example shows that Byansi possesses the constituent order of NP NP COP or NP AP COP.

3.1.1.2 Copula /leh/

Byansi people use /leh/ copula to show equivalence of something when they link them.

3.1.1.2 Equative

The equative copula talks about equivalence of something. It joins or couples two nominal elements. In 5(a-b) the copula /le/ is preferred to express equivalence of two nominal elements.

5 a) ti $dz\eta$ - $g\eta$ nunu leh

he I-POSS brother COP

'He is my brother'.

b) dzη-gη min kadzi **leh.**

I-POSS name Kadzi COP

'My name is Kaji '.

3.1.2 Transitivity

In terms of transitivity, Byansi verb has dummy subject verbs, transitive, and intransitive verbs.

3.1.2.1 Dummy Subject Verb

It is the state or event that they represent is indistinct from the participant. Such type of verb takes a syntactic subject but not prototypical subject.

6. a) n m p -rra

rain/sky PT-come

'It rained'

3.1.2.2 Transitive verb

There are significant morphological differences in Byansi between transitive and intransitive verbs. Byansi roots are added by present tense suffix /-t| /and /g| / for transitive stem. However /-g| / is brought by intransitive stem as well..

7. a) dze-se g n duρ -t-o
I -ERG you beat-PR-1.SG
'I beat you.'
b) ram tsitκi ri-t-a
Ram letter write-PR-3SG
'Ram writes a letter.'

3.1.2.3 Intransitive Verb

Many Byansi intransitive stems are formed from the transitive bases by adding the suffix /-si/. However the formation of intransitive verb does not bring this marker always. This intransitive marker is used with middle and reflexive like verbs only.

- 8. a) khobu se-si-g -n

 Snake crawl-REFL-PR-3.SG

 'The snake crawls.'

 b) khobu k -se -si
 - snake PT-crawl-REFL

 'The snake crawled.'
 - c) ram poρ -si-g | -n

 Ram jump-REF-PR-3SG

 'Ram jumps.'

The Byansi verb roots are basically monosyllabic. Some examples of Byansi verb intransitive and verb transitive stems are as follows:

Transitive

da- 'give'

dza- 'eat'

tung- 'drink'

Intransitive

de- 'go'

ra- 'come'

ya- 'sleep'

3.2 Derivational Affixes

There are two morphological verb derivations in Byansi- the transitivising/causative derivation that increases the valence of the verb and detransitivising/reflexive derivation that decrease the valence of the verb.

3.2.1 Causative Morphology in Byansi

Causative is a term used in grammatical description to refer to the causal relationship between alternative version of a sentence (Crystal 2003). Causativization in Byansi verb is very interesting. Some morphological causativizations of Byansi are as follows:

In some intransitive verbs with morpheme marker /-si/, are causativized by removing this marking. This process is derived from transitivization process perhaps.

9. a) po -si -m≤

strol-DET-INF

'To wander'

```
po-m≤ (causative)
       strol-INF
       'To make some body wander'
b)
       mak -si -m≤
       Enter-DET-INF
       'To enter'
       ma -m≤ (causative)
       enter- INF
       'To penetrate'
       la -si -m≤
c)
       descend-DET-INF
      'To descend'
       la-m≤
      'To cause sb. to descend'
```

However, some intransitive verbs maintain the intransitive marker morpheme/-si/ when such verbs are suffixed by causative morpheme marker /-phum/ or /-phum/. For example.

```
10. a) jen -si -m≤ 'to walk'
walk-DET-INF
jen- si -phum-m≤ 'To make somebody walk'
walk-DET-CAUS-INF
c) pher -si -m≤ 'to wander'
wander-DET-INF
pher -si-phum -m≤ 'To make sb wander'
wander-DET-CAUS-INF
```

Most of transitive verbs are causativzed by adding causative morpheme /-phun/or /-phum/ as a suffix.

11. a) $1 \text{ b-m} \le \text{'to beat'}$

beat-INF

1 b -*phum* -m≤ 'to make somebody beat'

beat-CAUS-INF

b) t^se-m≤ 'to cut'

cut-INF

tse-*phum*-m≤ 'to let sb cut'

cut-CAUS-INF

c) hari- se ram hi-phÅ n-ta

Hari-ERG Ram laugh-CAUS-PR.3SG

' Hari makes Ram laugh.'

d) hari-se ram hi-k $-ph \mathring{A} n$

Hari-Erg Ram laugh-PT-CAUS

'Hari made Ram laugh.'

The last sound of causative morpheme changes according to the environment. The [n] sound occurs with alveolar sound environment whereas [m] sound occurs with labial sound environment.

Some Byansi verbs are transitivised by voicing alternation. Such function of voicing alternation functions as causativization. In this process, voiced initial sounds of the verb are replaced by voiceless sounds. For example:

12. a) womm≤ 'to get out'

wPomm≤ 'to make sb out'

b) g mm≤ 'to fight'

 $k \text{ mm} \leq$ 'to make others fight'

- c) bjum≤ 'to be afraid'pjum≤ 'to frighten
- d) b rm≤ 'to fall' ph rm ≤ 'drop'
- e) g ik nta p -gge

 pot PT-shatter/break

 'The pot broke.'
- f) ram -se g i k nta p -k ke

 Ram-ERG pot PT-break

 'Ram broke the pot.'
- g) p -dzjap -the mi
 PT -die -NOML man/woman
 'A person who is dead.'
- h) p -ccjaρ -the miPT kill -NOML man/woman'A person who is killed.'

In 4 (a-h), initial voiced sounds of the verbs are replaced by voiceless sounds and they are changed into causative verb. Such type of causative formation comes out because of morphophonemic process. Many TB languages possess /s / -/ or /s-/ prefix to construct causative verb. The deletion of causative prefix /s / -/ or /s-/ may be maintained by the initial sound of the verbs in this language. In morphophonemic, this kind of sound shifting is called assimilation. In Tibeto-Burman languages such difference in terms of voicing alternation differs semantically in terms of transitivity. The item with the voiced initial is intransitive and the item with voiceless initial is transitive.

The causative verb /pjumo/ 'to frighten' may be derived by the process of deletion and then assimilation from proto-causative verb form /s -bjumo/ in Byansi. The voiceless quality of /s / or /s/ may be shifted to voiced initial sound of the verb /bjumo/ `to afraid of` may be changed into /pjumo/.

3.2.2 Reflexive Verb

In semantic definition, reflexive verb is that action in which 'the subject and object of the event or state, regardless of their semantic roles, are co-referent. That is, the subject acts upon itself (Givon, 2001: 95).

Byansi has reflexive verbs which are marked by suffix /-si/. This marker occurs as suffix on the verb stem.

13. a) dze-ge duli-se k -ll b-si

I-ERG stick-INST PT-beat-REFL

'I beat myself with the stick.'

b) ram -se api k -ll b-si

Ram-ERG himself PT-beat-REFL

'Ram beat himself.'

3.3 Tense and Aspects

The tense frequently combines and intersects in complicated ways with aspect and modality. The verbs are less time stable concepts. Tense and aspects are categories of verb specifying various temporal relationships that characterize the event of state being described. Though there is considerable overlap between categories, the presences of certain value, for reason of logic, traditionally have been kept separate (Watters 2002). Semantically Byansi verbs reflect three kinds of tense which can be divided into two i.e. past and non-past tense morphologically.

3.3.1 Tense

3.3.1.1 Non-Past

A verb that refers to present and future time is said to be in the non-past tense. The non-past form is constructed by adding suffixes /-k /, /-g /, and /-t / on the verb root in Byansi. Non-past tense forms are divided into different imperfective aspects which have been mentioned in 3.3.2.

- 14.a) dzi-se g n-i 1 b-to

 I-ERG you-PL beat -PR.1.SGL

 'I beat you (more than one)'
 - b) jin-se g n l b-t -nje

 we- ERG you -beat-PR-1PL

 'We beat you.'
 - c) dze de-g -ye

 I go-FUT-1SG
 'I shall go.'

3.3.1.2 Past Tense

In Byansi the past tense has two types of markers. The first type of past marker is suffixed by the verb which is perhaps rare feature in Himalayish languages under Tibeto-Burman group. These are prefix /p -/, /t| -/, and /k| -/ of which /k| -/ is more frequently used where as /p -/ prefix is used only with verb roots /-de/ 'go',/-wan/ come out,` and /-ra/ 'come'. The prefix /t| -/ occurs as the alternative form of prefix /k| -/ sometimes. The past marker /k| -/, and /p -/ mostly occurs with perfect aspect. This may be because of two type of verb forms i.e. v1 and v2. This type of past tense marker does not inflect according to number and person agreement. This type of marker seems to be a perfective marker. It needs detail study with deep insight.

15. a) dze-ge siri **p** -rra

I -POSS son PT-come

'My son came.'

b) ram -se hari kÅ-ll bh

Ram-ERG Hari PT-beat

'Ram beat Hari.'

In another form of past, the verb stems are suffixed by /-so/ and /-tso/ past markers of which /-tso/ occurs with third person plural subject only. With this marker, the verb inflects according to number and person.

- 15. c) yin-se | ti-map 1 b-nje-so

 we- ERG they -PL beat-1st.SGL-PT

 'we beat them
 - d) g -se dze 1 b-ni-so
 you- ERG I beat-2SG.PT
 'you beat me'
 - e) | ti-map -se in 1 b-n | n-co They-PL-ERG we beat-3PL-PT 'They beat us.'
- f) | ti-maρ-se g| n-i lib-n| n-**co**they-PL-ERG you-PL beat-3PL-PT
 'They beat you.'

3.3.2 Aspect

The tense locates an event in time whereas the aspect characterizes internal structure of an event. The mood describes actuality of the event in terms of possibility,

necessity, or desirability (Watters 2006). The most common binary in grammatical aspectual systems is between perfective and imperfective.

3.3.2.1 Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect expresses a terminal boundary of an event therefore it has well-bound and compact nature. The perfectives are mostly associated with past tense. In Byansi /k -/, /p -/, and sometimes /t -/ prefixes function as the perfective event.

16. a) ram libin **k**Å-ll bh-si

Ram book PFV-read-DET

'Ram read the book.'

b) ram-se sin **t**Å-tse

Ram-se tree PFV-cut

'Ram cut down the tree.'

c) p llo tsho-kutsi **p**-gwan

frog pond-out of PFV-come out

'The frog came out of the pond.'

3.3.2.2 Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect extends over short terminal range of events. Byansi imperfective aspects are given briefly as follows:

3.3.2.2.1 Present Indefinite Aspect

- 17. a) dzi-se g n l b-to

 I- ERG you beat- PR.1.SGL

 'I beat you'
 - b) dzi-se | ti 1 b-to

 I- ERG he beat-PR.1SGL

 'I beat him'
 - c) jin-se o 1 b-t -nye

 we ERG he/she beat-PR-1PL

 'We beat him/her'
- 18. a)g n-se o 1 b-t -na $you ERG he \leftarrow beat -PR -2.SGL$ 'you beat him'
 - b) g| -se/g| n-se dze 1 b-t| -na you- ERG I— beat-PR-2SGL 'you beat me'
 - c) gl -se l ti-map l b-tl -na
 You- ERG that-PL beat- PR-2SGL
 'you beat them.'
 - d) g -ni-se dze 1 b-t -ni
 you-PL- ERG I beat-PR-2PL
 'you (PL) beat me'

- e) gl -ni-se o l b-tl -ni
 you-PL- ERG he beat-PR- 2PL
 'you beat him'
- f) g \mid n-i-se \mid ti-map 1 b-t \mid -ni you-PL- ERG he-PL beat-PRS-2 PL 'you beat them'
- 19. a) ram-se dze l b-ta

 Ram- ERG I beat-PR-3 SGL

 'Ram beats me'
 - a) | ti-map -se g| n 1 b-t| -n| n he-PL- ERG you beat- PR-3.PL 'They beat you'
- 20. a) dze de-gl -ye b) in de-gl -nje
 I go-PR-1SG we go-PR-1PL
 'I go.' 'We go.'
- 21. a) gl n de-gl -no b) gl n-i de-gl -ni you go-PR-2SG you go-PR-2PL 'You go.'
- 22. a) o de -g| -n b) | ti-map de-g| -n| n
 he go-PR-3SG They go-PR-3PL
 'He/she goes.' 'They go.'

3.3.2.2.2 Continuous aspect

The Continuous aspect expresses the continuity of an action. In Byansi the continuous aspect is marked by suffix /-tat/. The examples are given below.

- 23. a) dze-se o 1 b-k -tat-o

 I-ERG he beat-PR-PRO-1SG

 'I am beating him now.'
 - b) in- se o 1 b-k -tat-nje

 we-ERG she beat-PR-PRO-1PL

 'We are beating him/her.'
- 24. a) gl n-i-se o 1 bkl -tat-ni
 You -PL-ERG he beat-PR.- PRO-2PL
 'You are beating him'
 - c) gl n-i-se usi 1 bkl -tat-ni
 you-PL-ERG they beat-PR-PRO-2PL
 'you are beating them.'
- 25. a) | ti-maρ-se usi 1 bk| -tat| -n| n that-PL-ERG they beat-PR-PRO- 3PL 'They are beating them'
- 26. a) dzi-se ram-dza libin da-ge-ta-ye-so

 I-ERG Ram- to libin give-NF-PROG-1SG-PT

 'I was giving a book to Ram.'

3.3.2.2.3 The Habitual Past

The habitual past form indicates an action taking place in past as a matter of habit or practice. In Byansi the habitual past aspect is expressed as non-final verbs followed by 'be' verbs.

- 27. a) u -se in kh dze l p-t -le

 he- ERG we always teach-NF be.3SG

 'He used to teach us always.'
 - b) l p-t le-je

 teach-NF be-1SG

 'I used to teach.'
 - c) l p-t le-no
 teach-NF COP-2SG
 'You used to teach.'

3.3.2.3 The Perfect

The perfect is neither a pure tense nor a pure aspect but combines features of both (Watters 2002:276). In semantic terms, the perfect describes a past occurrence with current relevance (Givon 1984:280). It relates some state to a preceding situation (Comrie1976:52).

- 28 a) dze-se o k -ll p-te in-ye

 I-ERG he PT-beat-NOML be-1SG

 'I have beaten him.'
 - b) ram tskaku k -dza -de in

 Ram rice PT-eat- NOML be

 'Ram has eaten rice.'
- 29 a) dze-se o k -ll p-te ni-je-so

I - ERG he PT-beat-NOML be-1sg-PT 'I had beaten him.'

b) ram -se tsk aku k -dza-de ni-so

Ram-ERG rice PT-eat-NOML be-PT

'Ram had eaten rice.'

In the examples of 14.(a-b) and 15. (a-b) the past form of verb with nominalizing form followed by 'be' verb has expressed the perfect form.

3.3.2.4 Future Modes and Aspects

The future aspect expresses events of the future.

3.3.2.4.1 Predictive Mode

The predictive mode is a kind of future that occurs in strong assertion about future situation (David E. Watter 2002).

- 30. a) dze lo-mo cap pas le-ka-ye $I \quad \text{study-INF if} \quad \text{pass be-PR-1SG}$ 'If I study Γ ll pass the exam.'
 - b) g n lo-mo cap pas le-k -no you study-INF If pass be-PR-2SG 'If you study you will pass the exam.'
 - c) o lo-mo cap pas le-k -n

 he study-INF if pass be-PR-3SG

 'If he studies he will pass the exam.'

3.3.2.4.1.1 Counter-Factive

The past form of predictive mode is not a prediction but a declaration in an alternative past world which is called counter-factive (David E. Watter 2002).

- 31. a) dze l p-si-mo-cang pas l p-t -ni-ye-so

 I study-DET-INF-if pass be-PR- COP-1SG-PT

 'If I studied I would pass.'
 - b) g n l p-si-mo cang pas l p-t -ni-n -so you study-DET-INF if pass be-PR-COP-2SG-PT 'If you studied you would pass.'
 - c) o l p-si-mo -cang pas lap-t -ni-so
 he study-DET-INF-if pass be-PR-3SG-PT
 'If he studied he would pass.'

In example (a-c) the present form of verb followed by the past marker expresses counter factive.

3.4. Mood

The different modes or manners in which a verb may be used to express an action are called mood. It is a grammatical category through which speaker of a language can indicate whether they believe that an event or state actually occurs, does not occur or has the potential to occur. This conceptual domain is called modality (Whaley1997). This section presents probability, imperative, deontic, predictive, mirative, and capability moods of Byansi verbs.

3.4.1 Probability

The probability mood expresses an event that is likely to happen. The Byansi probability is marked by /-je_/ suffix.

32. a)dzη dza-jeρ-je

I eat-PROB-1st.

'I would eat'

b) g n dza-jeρ-noyou eat-PROB-2.SG.

'You would eat'

In (a-b) /-jep / suffix expresses probability mood.

3.4.2 Deontic Mood

The deontic mood expresses duty or obligation and permission. In Byansi it is marked by 'P| rkhan'

- 33. a) gl -se | inaa hjuρ-mo pl rkhl n
 you -ERG this way do -INF must
 'You must do this manner'.
 - b) dze-se | ina hjup-mo p| rkh| n

 I-ERG this way do-INF must

 'I must do this way/manner'.
 - c) u-se | inaa hjup -mo p rkh n he-ERG this way do-INF must 'He must do this way.'
 - d) ram-se chaku dza-mo p rthe-ni-so

 Ram-ERG rice eat-INF must-COP-PT

 'Ram had to eat rice.'

3.4.3 Capability

The capability mood expresses the state of ability. In Byansi it is marked by suffix $\mbox{\sc /-tar/}$.

3.4.4 Mirative

According to Delancy (1997) mirative is the marking of information that is new or surprising to the speaker, not yet integrated into his or her overall knowledge structure. The following examples are Byansi miratives.

- b) gl -se mu-ll b-si-no
 you-ERG NEG-study-DET-2SG
 'You did not study'.
- c) usi mu-l b-si-ni

 They NEG-study-DET-3PL

 'They did not study.' (But I didn't know at that time.)

The examples of 4. (a-c) shows that mirative is expressed in past form of verbs followed by present tense person and number marker markers.

3.4.5 Imperative Mood

The imperative is the form of verb that expresses an order. In Byansi imperative mood, the verb root is followed by imperative marker. Followings are example of imperative mood. There are two types of imperative sentence construction in Byansi language (Rang lo).

The followings are example of imperative mood.

3.4.5.1 Direct imperative

Direct imperative can be further divided into immediate and non-immediate imperative forms.

3.4.5.1.1 Immediate Imperative

It addresses a current problem and elicits immediate response. e.g.

36. a) g n de g n-i di-ni

you go.IMP.2SG you-PL go-IMP.2PL

`go` (you) go`(immediately)

b) hi-jo hi-ni

laugh-IMP.2SG laugh-IMP.PL

37. a) sin tse-jo sin tse-ni

wood cut-IMP.2SG wood cut-IMP.PL

b) lib-jo lib-ni

beat-IMP.2SG beat-IMP.2PL

`beat` (immediately)

In (a-b) verb root followed by number marking expresses the immediate imperative.

3.4.5.1.2 Non-Immediate Imperative

The non-immediate imperative is an on-going applicability to the command. It is without terminal boundary (Watters 2003).

Intransitive

38. a) Singular b) plural

g n he-mo g n-i he-mo

you laugh-IMP you-PL laugh-IMP

`(you) laugh` (you) laugh`

Transitive

39. a) singular b)plural

sin tse-mo (gan-i-se) sin tse-mo

wood cut-IMP you -PL-ERG wood cut-imp

In 38 (a-b) and 39 (a-b) the verb root plus infinitive marker expresses the non-immediate imperative mood.

3.4.5.1. 3 Hortative

40. a) de-mo

go-HOR

`Let`s go`

b) hjup -mo

do-HOR

`Let`s do`

c) tse-mo

cut-HOR

'Let's cut'

In the examples of 9 (a-c), the verb root tagged by infinitive marker functions as a hortative mood.

3.4.5.2. Indirect Imperative

The difference between direct and indirect imperative is that the indirect imperative can be predicated also of third person. The 'you' of the subordinate structure is not a manipulee of the higher structure, but still a volitional agent. The result is a weakened expression. Whereas direct imperative elicits a direct response. It is limited to second person subject (Watters 2002).

3.4.5.2.1 Optative

Byansi optative occurs as a suffix at the end of verb. It is marked by suffix /-l /.

41. a) dze-se pude | l | n hjup -| l |

I-ERG better work do-OPT

`may I work better(way)`

b) pude l n hjup -n n-l

better work do-PL-OPT

`May they work better (way)`

c) o pude lib-si-l

he better read-DET-OPT

'May he read well'

3.5 Verb Agreement

Brain Hodgson (1871) noticed the verb agreement markers in some T.B. languages. Later other linguists proposed a hypothesis that Tibeto-Burman languages borrowed this feature from Munda language. However Henderson (1957), after looking at some of the Chin languages of Burma, suggested that it was perhaps a native feature of Tibeto-Burman languages. In Byansi there is also agreement marker which occurs according to subject.

	Dialect -Shitola	a Byansi	Verb- lib 'beat'	
	Tense: -Past (V	erb Transitive)	Singular -Object	et
	1s obj.	2s	obj.	3s obj.
42.	a) 1s agt	l b-k	u -so	l b-ku -so
		beat-	ISG-PT	beat-1SG-PT
		'I bea	t you.'	'I beat him.'
	b) 1p agt	lb-ne	e -so	l b -ne -so
		beat-1F	PL-PT	beat-1PL-PT
		'We be	at you.'	'We beat him/her.'
43.	a) 2s agt 1 b-1	10		l b -ne -so
	beat-	-2SG-PT		beat-2SG-PT
	'You	beat me.'		'You beat her/him.'
	b) 2p agt g	n-i-se dze l b-ni-	so	g n-i-se u l b-ni-so
	bea	t-2PL-PT		beat-2PL-PT
	'You	ı beat me.'		'You beat him/her.'
44.	a) 3s agt U-se	dze l b-so	u-se g n l b-so	ti-se ti l b-so
	beat	-PT	beat -PT	beat-PT
	'He/s	she beat me.'	'He/she beat you.'	'He/she beat him/her.'
nÅ n-		se dze l b-nÅ n-	co usi-se gan l b-n	Å n-co ati-mang-se ati l b-

beat-3PL-PT beat-3PL-PT beat-3PL-PT 'They beat me.' 'They beat you.' 'They beat him/her.' **Plural Objects** a) 1s agt----- dze-se g n-i l b-ku-so dze-se ti-man l b-ku-45. SO beat-1SG-PT beat-1SG-PT 'I beat you.' 'I beat them.' in-se g n-i **l b-ne-so** in-se ti-map l b-ne-so b) 1p agt----beat-1PL-PT beat-1PL-PT 'We beat you.' 'We beat them' **46.** a) **2s** agt g -se in **l** b-ne-so ----g -se ti l b-ne-so beat-2SG-PT beat-2SG-PT 'You beat them.' 'You beat us.' **b) 2p agt** g n-i-se in **l b-ni-so** -------g n-i-se ti **l b-ni-so** beat-2PL-PT beat-2PL-PT 'You beat us.' 'You beat them.' ti-se ti-map 1 b-so ai-se g n-i **l b-so 47.** a) **3s** agt u-se in **1** b-so beat-PT beat-PT beat-PT 'He beat them.' 'He beat you.' 'He/she beat us.' b) 3p agt ati-map -se in l b-nÅ n-co...g n-i lib-nÅ n-co-. ti-map l b-nÅ n-co beat-3PL-PT beat-3PL-PT beat-3PL-PT 'They beat us.' 'They beat you.' 'They beat them.'

Intransitive

Verb: hi 'laugh'

PR PT SG PL SG PL

1AGT

- 48. dze hi-kÅ-je in hi-kÅ-ne dze hi-je-so in hi-ne-so
 I laugh -PR-1SG we laugh-PR-1PL I laugh-1SG-PT we laugh-1PL-PT
 'I laugh.' 'We laughed.' 'We laughed.'
- 49. 2AGT
 gan hi-kÅ-no gan-i hi-kÅ-ni gan hi-ne-so gan-i hi-ni-so
 you laugh-PR-2SG laugh-PR-2PL ..laugh-2SG-PT ..laugh-2PL-PT
 'You laugh 'You laugh' 'You laughed.' 'You laughed.'

3AGT

50. o hi-kÅ -n u-si hi-kÅ -nÅ -n o hi-so u-si -hi-nÅ n-co he laugh-PR-3SG they laugh-PR-3PL he laugh-3SG they laugh-3PL-PT 'He laughs.' 'They laugh.' 'They laughed.' ?

The given data show clearly that there are irregular marks in pronominalization process. Therefore it is complex pronominalized language as Grierson (1909) mentioned. There is no clear object marker on the verb. In singular subject the verb is marked by suffix /-≤/ where as /-ne/ for plural subject as a first person marker. Similarly for the second person singular subject the verb is marked by suffix /-n≤/ and for plural subject it is marked by suffix /-ni/. This marker occurs at the end of the verb as a suffix (V-T-agreement marker). However in the past form the person agreement marker is preceded

by the tense marker in Byansi (V-agreement marker- T). It has been tried to make clearer about subject verb agreement by giving the following paradigm.

Table -9: Transitive Paradigm of Verb Agreement

Present	Past	
1 SG V-T-≤	V-ku/je-T	
PL V-T-ne	V-ni-T	
2 SG V-T-n≤	V-ne-T	
PL V-T-ni	V-ni-T	
3 SG V-T-a	V-ς -T	
PL V-T-n n	V-n n-t	

Table -10: Intransitive Paradigm of Verb Agreement

1 SG V-T-je	V-ne-T
PL V-T-ni	V-ni-T
2 SG V-T-n≤	V-ne-T
PL V-T-ni	V-ni-T
3 SG V-T-n	V-ς -Τ
PL V-T-n n	V-n n-T

By observing the table 10 and 11 of past and present paradigm it can be predicted that Byansi tense marker precedes number in present tense and follows it in past tense. Therefore the position class of number and person agreement changes according to the tense.

3.6 Nominalization

Nominalization refers to the process of forming noun from other word classes (David Crystal 2003). Now it means the process of forming noun from the verb.

3.6.1 Nominalized Declarative

Past Tense Present Tense

51. a) First Person Singular

dze-ge ts m dze-ge ts m

I-POSS house I-POSS house

'My house.' 'My house.'

dzi-ge hjuρ -si-**de** ts m dzi-ge hjuρ -**mo** ts m

I-ERG make-PT-NF (NOM) house I-ERG make-INF(NOM) house

'The house I made.' 'The house I make.'

b) Second Person Singular

n -ge ts m n -ge ts m

you-POSS house you-POSS house

'Your house.' 'Your house.'

g -se hjup -si-**de** ts m g -se hjup -**mo** ts m

you-ERG make-REFL-NF.NOM. house you ERG make INF(NOM)

'The house you made.' 'The house you make.'

The above given examples of 1 (a- b) indicates that the verb with suffix /-de/ and /-mo/ are nominalized declarative markers.

c) Third Person Singular

u-se hjuρ -si-**de** ts m u-se hjuρ -**mo** ts m

he-ERG make-REFL-NF(NOM) house he-ERG make-INF(NOM) house

'The house he made.'

'The house he makes.'

3.7 Converb

The converbs are non-finite verbs that are used for showing the simultaneous and sequential actions.

3.7.1 Simultaneous Converb

In Byansi /-lap / is the simultaneous marker. It occurs as suffix on the verb to show simultaneous action.

52. a) ram-se chaku dza-la_.....

Ram-ERG rice eat-CON....

'While Ram was eating....'

3.7.2. Sequential Converb

In Byansi /-se/ is sequential converb marker. It occurs on the verb to show sequential action.s

53. a) ram-se chaku k -dza-de leh- m -se.....

Ram-ERG rice PT-eat-PRF COP-INF-CON

'Since Ram has eaten rice...'

3.8 Negativization

Like in many other Himalayan languages Byansi verb has negative marker as the prefix on it. In negative construction tha-\mu-negative markers are added on the verb.

54. a) g | n de-g | -n | .

you go-PR-2nd.
'you go'

- b)g n *mu*-de-n you *NEG*.-go-PR-2nd 'you don,t go.'
- a) timbu l| ts-||||||3 ρ |||||| \Rightarrow |1|||03- \exists 4|1|| sky thunder-PT CONJ rain come-PT 'It thundered and the rain began'

- b) timbu mu-l| ts- ψ |||||||| $\Im \rho$ |||| \Rightarrow \uparrow ||| $\uparrow \Delta$ - $\partial \Im$ - $\exists \psi$ |||| $\exists \rightarrow ||||NEG$ -thunderPT CONJ rain NEG-come-PT.

 'It didn't thunder and then didn't rain.'
- 55. a) o pudη | n hjuρ -| he better work do-OPT

 `May he work better!`
 - b) o pudŋ l n *tha*-hjup -l he better work NEG-do-OPT

 `May he not work better!`

3.9. Intro-Negative

To construct intro-negative sentence Byansi takes intro-negative marker just before the main verb as a prefix.

56. a) g n-i nunu mu-de-so
You -PL brother NEG-go-PT
'Your brother did not go.'
a) g n-i nunu mu-de-so
You -PL brother NEG-go-PT
'Did not your brother go?'

3.10 Morphophonemics

3.10.1 Morphological Type

Byansi exhibits mixed type of language. It possesses both agglutinative as well as fusion type of morpheme. It displays its own characteristic of agglutinative and fusion.

First of all, Byansi is agglutinative because it has words which can contain several morphemes but the words are divided into their component parts (root and affix).

root: dza 'eat'

- 57. a) dza-ye-so eat-1SG-PT '(I)ate.'
 - b) dza-ne-so eat-2SG-PT

'(you) ate.' c) dza-so

eat- ς -PT

'(He/She) ate.'

However it is fusion as well because it has words which cannot be divided into their component parts. For example with the verb of perfective aspect marker /ka-/ or /p-/ we cannot separate person and number affixes.

58. a) k -dza
PT-eat

'I ate.'

b) k -dza
PT-eat

'You ate.'

c) k -dza
PT-eat
'He ate.'

3.10.2 Sound Change

3.10.2.1 Metathesis

Metathesis involves a change in positioning of segments. In Byansi the copula form /in/ changes into /ni/ for the past form.

59. a) na-ge tsim pude in

you-POSS house big COP 'Your house is big.'

b) na-ge tsim pude ni -soyou- POSS house big COP-PT'Your house was big.'

3.10.2.2 Buccalization

In Byansi voiceless glottal fricative sound /h| / can change into voiceless palatal fricative sound /sh/. I would like to call it buccalization because it has opposite process from debuccalization.

3.10.2.3 Consonant deletion

The loss of segment is called deletion. The final segment of the second person is lost when it is attached with case marking /-se/.

3.10.2.4 Voicing Alternation

If two lexical items differ phonetically in terms of the voicing or aspiration of the initial, we call this process voicing alternation. This process differs semantically in terms of transitivity. The item with the voiced initial is intransitive and the item with voiceless

initial is transitive (Benedict 1972:124). This phenomenon occurs in Byansi to construct the causative verb.

62 a) bju-m≤ 'to be afraid'

pju-m≤ 'to frighten'

b) b r-m≤ 'to fall'

ph r-m≤ 'drop'

Chapter-4

Summary and conclusion

Byans is located in the northern part of Drachula district in far western region of Nepal. Byansi name means the inhabitants of *Byans* valley in Nepali. They are Trans-Himalayan traders. They adapt high altitude farming and animal husbandry. Sauka is a word to refer to them in the Nepali dialect of far western Nepal. This term means 'money lender'. Rang is the ethnonym, which they use to refer to themselves in their own mother tongue. Rang people call their language *Rang boli* or *Rang lwo* which means Rang language in English. Therefore, Sauka and Bhotia boli, names referred to them, are perhaps heteroglotonyme.

They speak slightly different form village to village but they are intelligible to each other.

Byansi belongs to the Almora branch of the west Himalayish section of the Bodic division in the Tibeto –Burman language group under Sino–Tibetan Family.

There are altogether 31 consonant sounds found as phonemes in Byansi language. The voiceless quality is maintained in almost all series of nasals, glides and

liquids. The contrastive between alveolar and post-alveolar sound series is another quality in Byansi, which is perhaps aerial feature, diffused in this language.

There is no grammatical gender in Byansi. Byansi personal pronoun has three person i.e. first person, second person and third person and it has two grammatical numbers. Dual number in this language is not a grammatical number.

In terms of verb class, it has been classified into copula and transitivity. There are two types of copula verbs. When they talk about location, existence, attribution and possession of something they prefer to use copula verb /in/. However they use copula /le/ to mean equivalence of something. In terms of transitivity it has a dummy subject, transitive and intransitive verbs. Some intransitive verbs contain suffix /-si/. However, some transitive verbs contain suffix /-ta/ in non-past form of the verb.

Byansi is a pronominalized language. The person and number agreement occurs according to subject.

Byansi includes past and non-past tense. The non-past form of the verb is constructed by adding suffixes /-k /, /-g /, and /-ta/ on the verb root. The past tense has two types of markers. The first one is prefix /p -/ and /k -/. The suffix /k -/ is more frequently used whereas the /p -/ prefix is used only with verb roots -de 'give', -wan come out` and -ra 'come'. However the past marker /k -/ mostly occurs with perfective aspect. It does not inflect according to number and person agreement. This type of marking may occur because of two forms of verbs i.e. Verb 1 and Verb 2. It needs further study on it in detail with deep insight.

In another marker of past tense, the verb roots are suffixed by /-so/ and /-tso/ markers. The suffix /-tso/ occurs as a past marker with third person plural subject only. In the second type of past tense marker, the verb inflects according to number and person.

It has different ways of causative formations. The verbs with intransitive marker /-si/ can be causativized by deleting this marker. The suffix /-si/ is itself an anti-causative marker sometimes. However, some intransitive verbs maintain the intransitive marker /-

si/ when they are causativized. In such type of causativization process the verbs take causative suffix /-phum/. Similarly some transitive verbs are causativzed by adding causative suffix /-phum/. Some of Byansi verbs are causativized by voicing alternation process i.e. phonological causativization process. In this process, voiced initial sounds of the verbs are replaced by voiceless sounds. e.g. /g mm≤/ 'to fight' -/'k mm≤/ 'to make others fighting'

The finding shows that there are probability, imperative, deontic, predictive, mirative, and capability moods in this language. The probability mood is marked by -je marker. The deontic mood is marked by |P| rkh n'. As for imperative mood, we can divide it into two types functionally. They are direct and indirect imperatives. The optative mood occurs as suffix at the end of the verb. The optative mood takes the suffix |I|.

In the negative construction the verbs take prefix /mu-/ and /tha-/. Similarly prohibition marker takes the same prefix.

Byansi exhibits both agglutinative and fusion language type. It has words which can contain several morphemes. The words can be divided into their component parts (root and affix). It also has words which cannot be divided into their component parts. For example in perfective aspect marker prefix /k -/ and /p -/, we cannot separate person and number affixes.

Like other languages of the area, Byansi is an AOV, SV language. Similarly it exhibits NumN, GN, AN order at phrase level.

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Appendix-1

1. Swadesh List

ΩΙ \$÷λ÷	jurangsiri 'man'
g n 'you'	mi 'person'
in 'we'	nja 'fish'
i 'this'	cipce 'bird'
ti 'that'	nikhi 'dog'
una 'who'	n re 'louse'
khη 'what'	Sin 'tree'
muni 'not'	pidze 'seed'
l iri 'all'	pat 'leaf'
m thη 'much'	dz ri 'root'
tigη 'one'	kwo 'bark'
nisη 'two'	bje 'skin'
pu:dη 'big'	sja 'flesh'
bungthn 'long'	Si 'blood'
midη 'small'	re 'bone'
khutisja 'woman'	chi 'lard/fat'

tum 'egg' hici-m≤ 'to die' ru 'horn' s -m≤ 'to kill' puchni 'tail' ti cjaksi-m≤ 'to swim' pusjak'head' phang-m≤ 'to fly' rl ce 'ear' jensi-m≤ 'walk/ go' mji 'eye' ra-m≤ 'come' nihm 'nose' ja-m≤ 'to lay' a: 'mouth' φjongsi-m≤ 'to sit' swo 'teeth' l ksin 'nail' dzable 'tongue' jebκ-m≤ 'to stand' like 'leg' da-m≤ 'to give' pjo 'knee' lo-m≤ 'to say' la: 'hand' ni 'sun' d n'stomach' hla 'moon' b h 'neck' k rma 'star' manu 'breast' ti 'water' φiso'heart" wng 'stone' chince 'liver' hr≤ksa 'sand' tung-m≤ 'to drink' k sa 'cloud' dza-m≤ 'to eat' khu: 'smoke' kha-m≤ 'to bite' meh 'fire' dob-m≤ 'to look' pκa 'ash' rup si-m≤ 'to hear' doh-m≤ 'burn' hla-m≤ 'to know'

ja-m≤ 'to sleep'

a:m 'way'

jehdang 'mountain'

 $map : d\eta 'red'$

tin:d\(\eta\) 'blue'

tinci 'green'

 $hle{:}d\eta \ 'yellow'$

 $si:d\eta$ 'white'

 $wom{:}d\eta'\,black'$

 $munc\kappa\eta'\ night'$

cκ m 'hair'

n m'rain'

miκ n'name'

 $lu\rho : \!\! d\eta \ 'cold'$

lith_{\eta} 'cold'

tik:kŋ 'full'

 $nu{:}d\eta \ 'new'$

 $bu:d\eta 'good'$

d llo 'round'

 $c\kappa | r:t\eta 'dry'$

Appendix-2

The researcher, language consultant, and language teachers (from the left):



Appendix-3

Map of Dharchula District

