

**DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE  
JOWAI AND RYMBAI DIALECTS OF  
KHASI**

**THESIS  
SUMMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE  
REQUIREMENT OF THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN LINGUISTICS**

**BY  
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**UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF  
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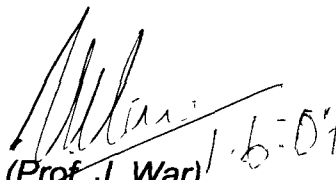
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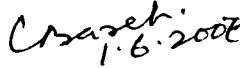
**To my parents for their love  
and support**

## DECLARATION

*I **Curiously Bareh** hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form the basis for the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other university/institute.*

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## CERTIFICATE

*This is to certify that the thesis entitled ‘**Descriptive Analysis of the Jowai and Rymbai Dialects of Khasi**’ submitted to the Department of Linguistics, North Eastern Hill University, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics, is an authentic work done by **Mr. Curiously Bareh** and has not been submitted in part or full in this or any other university for any degree or diploma.*

  
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## Abbreviations and List of Symbols

A.	Answer
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
AGR	Agreement
ASSO	Associative
BE	<i>Be-Verb</i>
CAU	Cause to (Causative verb)
DS	Deep Structure
ECP	Empty category Principle
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
F	Feminine
FUT	Future
GB	Government and Binding Theory
HON	Honorific Marker
IMM	Immediate Future
IND	Indefinite
INF	Infinitive
INFL	Infinitival
INTR	Interrogative
Intr.	Intransitive Verb
Inst.	Instrumental
LF	Logical Form
M	Masculine
MED	Medial
Mkr.	Marker
NOM	Nominative
OSV	Object Subject Verb
OVS	<i>Object Verb Subject</i>
PF	Phonetic Form
Poss.	Possessive
PL	Plural

PNG	Person number and gender
PROG	Progressive marker
PROX	Proximate
PST	Past Tense
Q.	Question
Q-Mkr	Question marker
REFL	Reflexive
REL. Pro	Relative Pronoun
REM	Remote
Sg	Singular
SOV	Subject Object Verb
SVO	Subject Verb Object
SS	Surface Structure
Tr.	Transitive Verb
VSO	Verb Subject Object
VOS	Verb Object Subject
I	First Person
II	Second Person
III	Third Person
JW	Jowai
RB	Rymbai
ŋ'	vocalic /ŋ/
+ HUM	Human
- HUM	Non-human
>	Become or change to
*	Ungrammatical
∩	Recent borrowed word
θ	theta theory

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# Chapter I

# CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 An Introduction

This thesis aims to provide the descriptive analysis of Pnar. Depending on geographical location, there are sub-dialectal variations. For example, the Pnar variety spoken in Jowai area is different from those spoken in Rymbai, Sutnga, Shangpung and other areas. In an attempt to bring out the structure of Pnar, two dialects are taken into consideration; Jowai and Rymbai. Jowai being the centre of Jaintia Hills and the Jowai dialect is understood in varying degrees by all in the Jaintia Hills and Rymbai is a dialect of Rymbai, and is the native language of the researcher.

## 1.2 The Pnars

Earlier writers give different names for both the people and the dialect of Pnar. Grierson (1928) called it *Synteng*, Spencer (1967) called it *Jaintia* and so on. But the Pnars prefer to call themselves Pnar. *Synteng* is a name given to them by other speakers, where as, *Jaintia* is a political name that cover both the Pnar speakers and the War speakers that settled within the Jaintia Hills district.

## 1.3 Location

The name **Meghalaya** is derived from Hindi word, which is literally, means '*The Abode of Clouds*'. This state was inaugurated as an autonomous state within Assam on the 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1970. It was declared a state of Indian Union on Jan. 21<sup>st</sup>, 1972. Administratively, Meghalaya consists of seven districts namely, East Garo Hills, West Garo Hills, Jaintia Hills, East Khasi Hills, West Khasi Hills, Ri Bhoi and South Garo Hills District<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See Joshi (2004) *Meghalaya – Past and Present*.

The picturesque Khasi and Jaintia Hills<sup>2</sup> lies between 24° 58' and 26° 7'N, and 90° 45' and 92° 51'E. Barch (1967) states that the Khasis and the Jaintias inhabit the eastern and central portions of Meghalaya. Until 1972, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills formed one district. Subsequently in the same year Jaintia Hills district was carved from the Jowai sub-division. In 1960, a considerable portion of north Jaintia Hills was merged with Mikir Hills district (now Karbi Anglong) so that the area of the district was reduced to 5,541 sq.miles.

The Jaintia Hills covers an area of 3285.5 sq.kms North Cachar and Karbi Anglong border the north-east and Sylhet (now in Bangladesh) on the south of this district. This roughly corresponds to the hilly position of the ancient Jaintia kingdom. The height of the peaks and ridges vary between 3250 feet to 5150 feet approximately. The headquarter town of Jowai is situated at an elevation of 5150 feet above sea level<sup>3</sup>.

A recent work by P.M.Passah and S.Sarma (2001) shows that the districts of Jaintia Hills lies between latitudes 20°58' and 26°3'N longitudes 91°59' and 92°51'E and covers an area of 3295.5 sq.kms. approximately. It is surrounded on the north, the east and south-east by Assam, on the south by Bangladesh and on the west by Khasi hills.

#### **1.4 Food Habit**

The staple food of Pnar is rice, which forms the main item of two principal meals. They consume pulses preferably mushroom and different kinds of vegetables, which include potato, brinjal, pumpkin, cucumber beans, peas, tomato, leafy vegetables, roots and tubers. They are non-vegetarians and eat beef, pork and chicken.

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<sup>2</sup> See Dutta (1982)

<sup>3</sup> See Joshi (2004). *Meghalaya – Past and Present*

They also take fowl, birds, egg and fish. *Kha tyrkhong* (dry fish) is their favourite food item. They use mustard oil and sometimes pig fat as cooking medium. The common fruit consumed by them are bananas, pineapples, oranges and jackfruits. They do not drink much milk. They prefer tea without milk. They collect plenty of honey from the nearby jungle both for their own consumption and for the purpose of selling. They are fond of betel nuts and betel leaves.

### **1.5 Population**

According to the the Census of India 2001, Jaintia has a total population of 299,108. in an area of 3819 Sq. Km. the sex ratio of Jaintia Hills District is 996 females to 1000 males, which is a bit higher than the state (Meghalaya) average of 972 females to 1000 males. The total literacy in the district is 51.9 %.

### **1.6 Genetic Classification<sup>4</sup>**

The study of language history and the relationships among languages is one of the tasks of *comparative linguistics*. The traditional procedure that linguists use in determining a true historical (genetic) relationship is called the *comparative method*. This term does not refer to a fixed procedure that is to be followed rigidly. Rather, it refers to the analytical techniques linguists employ in reconstructing the history of languages they are hypothesized to be members of the same language family.

Genetic classification is a historical classification based on the assumption that languages have diverged from a common ancestor. It uses early written remains as evidence and when this is lacking, deductions are made by using the comparative method to enable the form of the parent language to be reconstructed. The approach has been widely used since its introduction at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, and

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<sup>4</sup> See Crystal (1987)

provides the framework within which all worldwide linguistic surveys till date has been carried out.

The **Austro-Asiatic Family**<sup>5</sup> is a scattered group of languages in Asia found from eastern India to Vietnam. The family once covered a larger area until Tai language speakers migrated south from southern China. The **Viet-Muong Branch** includes **Vietnamese** and **Muong** (both languages of Vietnam). The former is written in a form of the Latin script.

Austro-Asiatic is probably the most 'archaic' family in Southeast Asia and East India, in the sense that nearly all its languages are surrounded by more recent arrivals of the Austronesian, Tai-Kadai, Sino-Tibetan, and Indo-European families, or are retreating under the advance of these languages.

According to **Schmidt (1906)**<sup>6</sup>, the *Austriac* family comprises of the Austronesian and the Austro-Asiatic as its sub-families. The Austro-Asiatic group (to which Khasi belongs), including languages scattered over 'nearer and further India'.

The Austro-Asiatic languages according to **Sebeok (1942)** are divided into three main branches. The broad division and sub-divisions which are given by him can be represented in the following diagram;

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<sup>5</sup> See Schmidt (1906), Zide (1992)

<sup>6</sup> As quoted by Grierson (1927 [1966])

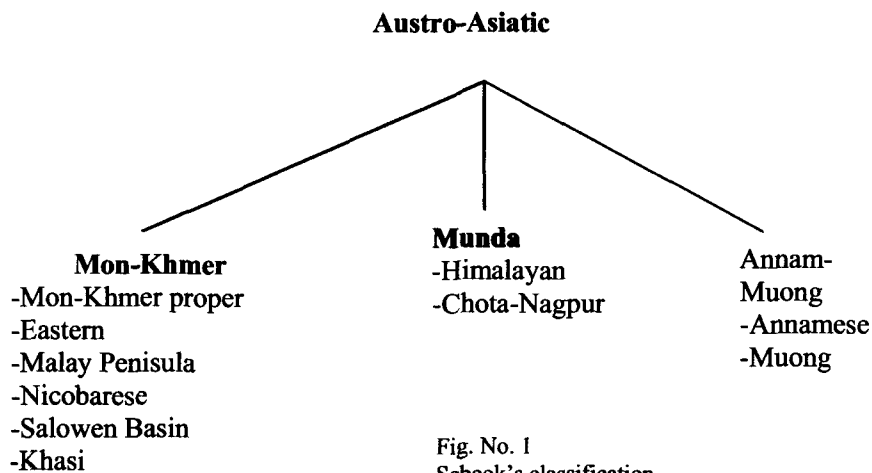
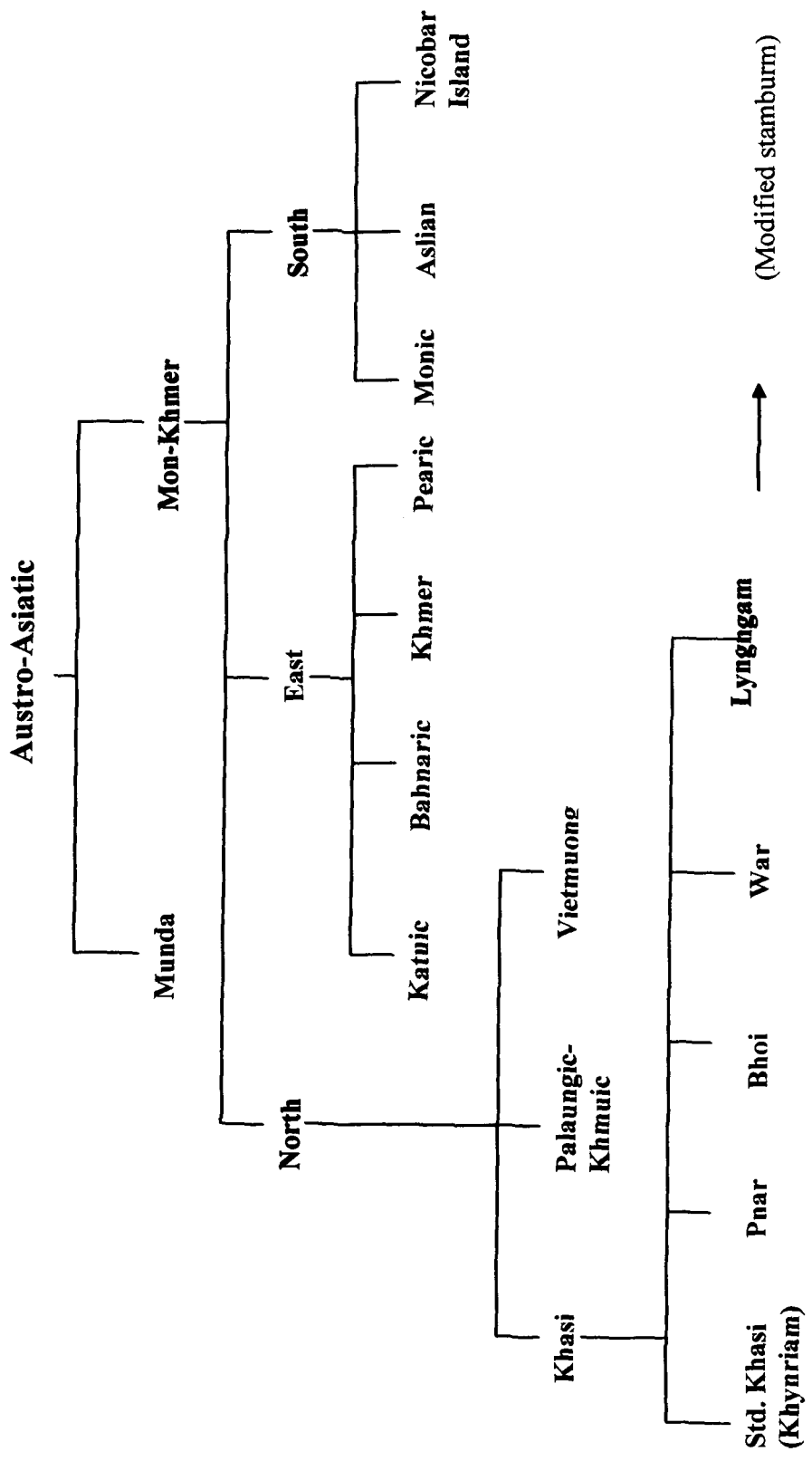


Fig. No. 1  
Sebeok's classification  
of Austro-Asiatic

In his classification, Khasi forms a separate sub-branch of the Mon-Khmer family. Sebeok (op.cit.) claims that ‘... the relationship of Mon-Khmer proper to the languages classed with it as coordinate within the larger group of Mon-Khmer, namely Eastern Languages, Khasi, Nicobarese, the languages of the Sloven Basin (chiefly Palaung), and those of the Malay Peninsula... has never been seriously challenged.

Pnar a dialect of Khasi belongs to the Austro-Asiatic family of languages, which is branched under the Mon-Khmer. Diffloth in his early edition (1974) grouped Khasi language and its dialects directly under Mon-Khmer along with Palaungic, Monic, Khmuic, Vietmuong, Katuic, Bahnaric, Pearic, Khmer, Semang, Sakai and Semelaic. And in his latter edition (1982), he regrouped Khasi language along with Palaungic-Khmuic and Vietmuong under the North branch of the Mon-Khmer.

Zide (1992) also grouped Khasi language under the north branch of Mon-Khmer. Hence the original work of Zide and Diffloth do not account for the sub-classification of Khasi. Therefore, accordingly a modification has been made to show the status of Pnar in the Austro-Asiatic family based on the stambuum of Zide (1992) and Diffloth (1982) (as shown in figure 2).



In his latest classification, rather than establishing cognates, Diffloth (2005)<sup>7</sup> compares reconstructions of various classes, and attempts to classify them based on shared innovations. He classifies Khasi-Khmuic languages as a separated branch of the family as shown below and under that branch he classed Khasi as Khasian and further divided it into three languages.

- Khasi-Khmuic languages
  - **Khasian**: 3 languages of eastern India and Bangladesh.
  - Palaungo-Khmuic languages
  - **Khmuic**: 13 languages of Laos and Thailand.
  - Palaungo-Pakanic languages

Peiros (2004)<sup>8</sup> lexicostatistic classification, based on percentages of shared vocabulary. This means that a language may appear to be more distantly related than it actually is due to language contact, so it is only a starting point for a proper genealogical classification.

## 1.7 Organisation of the Thesis

The present thesis has seven chapters and each of them is divided according to the nature of the content.

**Chapter one** is a brief write up about 'Pnar' and its genetic affiliation within the Austro-Asiatic family.

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<sup>7</sup> Source from the internet: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austro-Asiatic\\_languages](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austro-Asiatic_languages).

<sup>8</sup> He classifies Khasi as a separate branch of the Austro-Asiatic languages on the basis of lexicostatistic.

**Chapter two** introduces the theoretical framework of Phonology and Morphology under which the present work is subsumed.

**Chapter three** provides a descriptive analysis of the Pnar from the two dialects; Jowai and Rymbai. An attempt has been made are the phonemic inventory of Pnar and the possible sound structure; its combination in the word, such as consonant clusters, and syllabication.

**Chapter four** attempts to provide the morphology of Pnar, such as Pronouns, Nouns, Verbs, Cases, Tenses etc.

**Chapter five** attempts to analyze the Word Order of Pnar and its variations. Certain approaches have been made to account its variation. Syntactical and pragmatcal analyses are taken into consideration to solve the surface variations of its order. To account for the variation of word order, pro-drop theory also is taken as a framework.

**Chapter six** gives the syntactic analysis of verb phrase and noun phrase. Noun phrases are discussed from two points of view that are the simple noun phrase and the noun phrase under GB framework.

**Chapter seven** entitled *Conclusion* gives the findings and the unresolved or unsolved issues in the entire analysis, and the conclusion.

# Chapter II

## **CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW**

*Linguistics is an empirical science. This means that there must be linguistics theories, and that these theories must seek to generate scientific explanations of some coherent and reasonably natural set of facts about objects in the real world. The objects that linguistics theories are about are human languages, and the facts that are to be explained by such theories are the essential attributes of such languages and their range of possible variation and change. Differences in subject matter are the only differences between theories and explanations of linguistics.*

(Gerald Senter, 1975)

### **2.1 Introduction**

Theories to be reviewed are only few selected topics. The main areas to be reviewed here are Phonology and Morphology. For clarity of presentation, Syntax and word order will be reviewed separately along with the analysis in chapter 5 & 6.

### **2.2 Phonology**

#### ***Introduction:***

Any person who works with language, such as a linguist, a researcher, a language teacher etc., would do well to have a basic knowledge of phonetics and phonology. The teacher of language, for example, including the teacher of English as a second language, must be able to diagnose the pronunciation errors made by students, and to devise means of correcting them-this is impossible without both theoretical and practical knowledge of phonetics and phonology.

It is noted that it is impossible to investigate phonetics and phonology without consideration of theoretical issues. Phonetics and phonology are no different from

other fields of study. Indeed, it is part of the definition of a science. Many scholars consider Phonetics and Phonology as an art rather than science, preoccupied with the collection and description of data and with no focus on the theoretical issues. However, Laver (1994:3), points out that to collect and describe data without any theoretical support is “to misunderstand the fundamental relationship between data and theory.”

The theoretical significance of this point is that it puts both our everyday use of language and our scientific investigation of it into perspective and enables us to relate the two to each other. Clark and Yallop (1990), state that, “A Linguist, as a scientist, is interested in precisely these constituent processes and activities which are not the speaker’s focus of attention but which makes it possible for speakers to say what they mean. In Phonetics and Phonology we analyse what goes on in everyday speaking, resolving the integrated complexity into its different aspects, breaking down the overall activity into its component details, explaining how the descriptive simplicity of the everyday is achieved. The analysis is neither better nor worse than the activity itself; it attempts to explain and explore.”

Finally, it must be stressed that scientific knowledge and analysis are always provisional. Twentieth century phonology has regrettably often been characterised by a polemical style in which certain insights or perspectives are proclaimed to the exclusion of all others (Clark and Yallop op cit).

### **2.2.1 Definition of Phonetics and Phonology**

The study of speech sounds is subdivided between two but related disciplines – Phonetics and phonology. Both the terms come from the Greek word meaning ‘sound’ and there is a fair degree of overlap in what concerns the two subjects.

Accordingly, the boundaries between phonetics and phonology are very difficult to draw as the discipline rely on each other to a large extent, in the sense that phonological analyses has to be grounded in phonetic facts and phonetics facts have to be geared towards these capacities of the human tract which subserve language specifically (Ladefoged 1982. Catford 1977)

*Phonetics* deals with how speech sounds are actually made, transmitted and received, *Phonology* on the other hand, deals specially with the ways those sounds are transmitted into the individual languages. Phonology is, in effect, a sub-category of phonetics. Phonetics is the study of all the sounds that the human voice is capable of creating whereas phonology is the study of a subset of these sounds that constitute language and meaning. In the case of this course, Received Pronunciation (RP) is the subset that is looked at in detail; of course, most of the principles that apply to the study of phonetics also apply to the study of phonology. In many instances, they are distinguishable from one another. However, the scope of these pages deals with phonetics only in as much as they are necessary for further understanding of the phonology of Received Pronunciation.

Clark and Yallop (op cit.) defines Phonetics as the study of the different “facets of speech”, including speech organs, articulation, properties of sound waves (i.e. perception and transmission of speech sounds), while Phonology is defined as concerned with the ‘systems and patterns of sounds’ that are present in a specific language.

According to Akmajjan et al. (1995), Phonetics refers to the “the study of articulatory and acoustic properties of sound” while Phonology refers to the abstract rules and principles that govern the distribution of sounds in a language”, and also

“the general theory of human language that is concerned with the universal properties of natural language sound systems”.

Saussure (1916) defines Phonetics as ‘the study of the evolution of sounds’ and the term phonology as the ‘physiology of sounds’. Saussure’s phonetics is not a synchronic study at all, rather, it is the study of the historical evolution and change of sounds. Phonology for him is an aspect which is essentially based on the mechanism by which speakers realise the signs of their language in concrete acts of speaking.

Lass (1984) defines Phonology as “concerned with the function, behaviour and organization of sounds as linguistic item” i.e. the sounds that are found in a particular language. Phonetics is “the study of sound themselves in the physical world”; the physical world being comprised of fields like physiology, anatomy, neurology and psychology of human beings.

In other words, Phonology<sup>9</sup> is a sub-discipline within linguistics concerned with the selection and organization of sounds in a particular language. Its concern is with the function, behavior and organization of sounds as linguistic items. Speech is always planned and phonology attempts to describe the plans which a speaker makes for an utterance which he or she is about to produce and also the system of units used in the formulation of these plans. This involves the study of abstract, functional and phonological aspects of the underpinnings of speech. Phonology, therefore, aims to demonstrate the patterns of distinctive sounds found in a language and to make as general statements as possible about the nature and the distributions of sounds and the sound systems in a particular language.

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<sup>9</sup> See Robbins (1980), Goldsmith (1990) and Crystal (1987).

Lyons (1981) brings in the notion of the *Phonic Medium* which is made up of all the sounds that play a role in languages. Phonetics is thus the study of this *Phonic Medium* whereas Phonology does not deal with the Phonic Medium as such". It deals only with a specific number of sounds that is present in that particular language.

### **Branches of Phonetics**

Phonetics is basically divided into three branches: *Articulatory Phonetics*, *Acoustic Phonetics*, and *Auditory Phonetics*.

1. *Articulatory Phonetics*<sup>10</sup> derives much of its descriptive terminology from the fields of anatomy and physiology and is sometimes referred to as *physiological phonetics*. The classification of sounds used in the IPA is based on the articulatory variables. In recent years, there has been much progress in the development of instrumental techniques for observing and measuring such factors as tongue, lips, palate and vocal cord movements. Technical instruments such as the '*palatograph*' which displays tongue contact with the palate, the '*electro-aerometer*' which measures the relative flow of air from the mouth and nose and '*electromyography*' which measures muscular movements while speaking have enhanced articulatory studies in phonetics.

2. *Acoustic Phonetics*<sup>11</sup> studies the physical properties of speech sounds as transmitted between mouth and ear. Acoustic study largely depends on the instrumental techniques of investigation and some grounding in physics and mathematics is a prerequisite for advanced study of this subject. New instruments

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<sup>10</sup> See Ladefoged, (1982)

<sup>11</sup> Ladefoged, 1982, Catford 1977

with accurate measuring capabilities have brought about revolutionary changes in acoustics and opened up new areas for the scholars.

**3. Auditory Phonetics:** This branch is also referred to as '*Perceptual Phonetics*' and is concerned with the perception of speech sounds i.e. how they are heard. In other words, it studies the perceptual response to speech sounds as mediated by ear, auditory nerves and the brain.

Auditory Phonetics involves close study of the psychology of perception on the one hand, and the mechanism of the neuro-muscular circuitry on the other.

'Hearing' is a very intricate process, which involves three stages;

- (i) the physical aspects of the auditory system.
- (ii) the recognition of the essential characteristics of hearing.
- (iii) interpreting auditory sensations, their attributes and their relation to the signals.

### **2.2.2 Classification of sound segments**

In classification of speech sounds, the vowel-consonant dichotomy is intuitively the most basic division. These two labels are probably the most familiar of all the terms used in the description of speech, but they nonetheless need to be used with great care, to avoid mixing up different kinds of definition.

In phonetic definition, vowels are distinguished from consonants in terms of how they are articulated in the vocal tract, and the associated patterns of acoustic energy. In this approach, consonants are sounds made by a closure in the vocal tract, or by a narrowing which is so marked that air cannot escape without producing vowel peak of acoustic energy. Vowels are sounds that have no such stricture: air escapes by

unimpeded way through the mouth or nose. It is therefore, relatively easy to feel the articulation of consonants; whereas vowels, involving only slight movements of the tongue and lips, are difficult to locate in this way and are easier to distinguish on auditory grounds.

***Phonemic Inventory: Classification and Distribution***

The goal for universal phonetics is that it must account for only those sounds which are linguistically significant in some human language can draw its sounds from this 'Universal Inventory'. The task of the speaker is to select from the universal phonetics just those sounds required for the language he will be speaking.

In classification, the sounds, the vowels-consonants dichotomy is intuitively the most basic division. These two labels are probably the most familiar of all the terms used in the description of speech, but they nonetheless need to be used with great care, to avoid mixing up different kinds of definition.

In phonetics definition, vowels are distinguished from consonants in term of how hey are articulated in the vocal tract, or by a narrowing which is so marked that are cannot escape without producing audible friction. Vowels are sounds that have no such stricture: air escapes in a relatively unimpeded way through the mouth or nose. It is therefore, relatively easy to 'feel' the articulation of consonants: where as vowels, involving only slight movements of the tongue and lips, are difficult to locate in this way and are easier to distinguish on auditory grounds.



### 2.2.2.1 Consonants<sup>12</sup>

Consonants are sounds made by a closure of narrowing in the vocal tract so that the airflow is completely blocked or so restricted that audible friction is produced.

Consonants sounds are described and classified according to five major criteria;

- (i) The point of articulation, where the articulators make a stricture in the vocal tract.
- (ii) The manner of articulation i.e. how the stricture is made in the vocal tract
- (iii) The articulators; Passive and Active. The active articulator is the one, which move during the production of speech sounds, and the passive articulator is fixed.
- (iv) The states of the vocal cords i.e. open or close.
- (v) The source of airstream i.e. lungs.

#### (a) Place of Articulation<sup>13</sup>:

In defining consonantal places or points of articulation, two reference points are involved: the part of the vocal tract that moves (the 'active articulator') and the part with which it makes contact (the 'passive' articulator). According to Crystal (1987), there are eleven possible places used in speech. Given below are the places of articulation where there is closure or narrowing of the articulators:

- (1) **Bilabial:** Both the upper lip and the lower lip are involved in the articulation.
- (2) **Labio-dental:** In the articulation of labio-dental sound, the lower lip articulates with the upper teeth.

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<sup>12</sup> See Mc Mohon (2002), Balasubramanian (1981).

<sup>13</sup> See Crystal (1987)

- (3) **Dental:** The tongue tip and the rims articulate with the upper teeth.
- (4) **Alveolar:** The blade (and sometimes the tip) of the tongue articulates with the alveolar ridge. Sounds articulated at the rear of this ridge are sometimes classified separately as *post alveolar*.
- (5) **Retroflex:** For retroflex sounds, the tip of the tongue is curled back to articulate with the area between the rear of the alveolar ridge and the front of the hard palate.
- (6) **Palato-alveolar:** The blade (and sometimes the tip) of the tongue articulates with the alveolar ridge, with a simultaneous raising of the front of the tongue towards the hard palate.
- (7) **Palatal:** The front of the tongue is against the hard palate.
- (8) **Velar:** The back of the tongue articulates with the soft palate.
- (9) **Uvular:** The back of the tongue articulates with the uvula.
- (10) **Glottal:** The vocal folds come together to cause a closure or friction- a rather different method of articulation from any of the other consonants.
- (11) **Pharyngeal:** The front wall of the pharynx (in the region of the epiglottis) articulates with the back wall.

**(b) Manner of Articulation<sup>14</sup>:**

There are four main kinds of constriction made by the articulators in producing consonants. These are:

- (1) Total closure,** including *Plosive, Nasal* and *Affricate*.
- (2) Intermittent closure,** including *Trill* and *flap*.
- (3) Partial closure** refers to *lateral*.
- (4) Narrowing** refers to *Fricative*.

**(1) Plosive:** A complete closure is made at some point in the vocal tract; the soft palate is raised. Air pressure thus builds up behind the closure, which is then released explosively. The broader category of *stop* includes closures produced by other airstreams, as well as plosives.

**(2) Nasal:** Nasal are those consonants in the production of which there is a complete closure of the oral passage while nasal passage remains open so that the air passes freely through the nose. The velum is lowered to allow the air free passage through the nasal cavity.

**(3) Affricate:** A complete closure is made at some point in the mouth; the soft palate is raised. Air pressure builds up behind the closure, and is then released relatively slowly as compared to a plosive release.

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<sup>14</sup> See Crystal (1987)

The first element of the sound has a sharp plosive character, but this followed by an element of audible friction.

**(4) Trill:** Active articulator taps rapidly against the passive articulator—typically the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge or the tongue back against the uvula. No closure is involved in the production of these sounds. The repeated taps of the tip of the tongue against the teeth or the back of the tongue against uvula result in the intermittent passage of air between the articulators.

**(5) Flap:** A single tap is made by one articulator against another, where the active articulator; the tongue tip taps once against the alveolar ridge; the passive articulator.

**(6) Lateral:** In the production of a lateral, though the centre of the oral tract is closed owing to a contact between the active and the passive articulator at some point in the vocal tract, the air escapes from the sides of the contact. This is possible because the rims of the tongue are lowered. Since the air can pass continuously the produced is a continual one that is, there is no obstruction to the passage of air.

**(7) Fricative:** Two vocal organs come so close together that the movement of air between them causes audible friction. So fricatives have a sharper sound than others, because of the greater intensity of them high frequencies. These are known as *sibilants*.

**(8) Semi-vowel:** Another kind of manner of articulation is known as semi-vowel. Semi-vowels are vowel-like in phonetic form but function as consonants. Some phoneticians refer to this sound as a type of *approximant*.

#### **2.2.2.2. Vowels**

Vowels segments are a great deal more difficult to describe and classify than consonants segments. Nearly all consonants segmented are made with a stricture involving contact of relatively large areas of both active and passive articulators. Since the contacts involved on the production of any given consonant provides a convenient and obvious basis for consonant description, and one, which has, been made use of for a very long time.

In classifying vowels, we need not indicate airstream mechanism, since it will always be pulmonic egressive, and we can generally assume that vowels are all voiced and oral. To describe vowels adequately and accurately, we then need to consider three different parameters, all of which can be seen as modifications of the place and or manner of articulation continua for consonants: these are *height*, *frontness* and *rounding*. Additionally, vowels may be long or short (long ones are marked with a following:), and monophthongs or diphthongs.

#### **(1) The front-back dimension<sup>15</sup>:**

Front vowels are produced with the front of the tongue raised towards the hard palate. At this juncture examples are taken from English. Pnar examples will be given in chapter 3.

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<sup>15</sup> See Mc Mahon (2002)

**/i/** as in the word ‘kit’

**/ɛ/** as in the word ‘dress’

**/a/** as in the word ‘trap

**/i:/** as in the word ‘fleece’

**/ei/** as in the word ‘face’

are all front vowels of Standard Southern British English or RP English (Received Pronunciation).

Conversely, *back vowels* have the back of the tongue raised, towards the soft palate or velum. For example, RP English *back vowels* are

**/ɒ/** as in the word ‘lot’

**/ʊ/** as in the word ‘foot’

**/ɑ:/** as in the word ‘palm’

**/ɔ:/** as in the word ‘thought’

**/oʊ/** as in the word ‘goat’

**/u:/** as in the word ‘goose’

There is also a class of vowels between front and back: these are known as central vowels, and involve a raising of the body of the tongue towards the area where the hard and soft palate meet. Central vowels of RP English are exemplified below.

The most common of these in English, [ə], is known as *schwa*, and only appears in unstressed syllables.

**/ə/** as in the word ‘about’

**/ɜ:/** as in the word ‘nurse’

**/ʌ/** as in the word ‘strut’

**(2) The high-low dimension:**

High vowels have the tongue raised most towards the roof of the mouth; if the raising was significantly greater, then friction would be produced, making a fricative consonant, not a vowel. The high vowels of RP English are exemplified below;

/i/ as in the word 'kit'

/i:/ as in the word 'fleece'

/ʊ/ as in the word 'foot'

/u:/ as in the word 'goose'

Low vowels on the other hand, are those where the tongue is not raising at all, but rather lowered from its resting position. When we produce a low vowel, we are able to feel our mouth opening and our jaw dropping, even if it is not easy to figure out quite what our tongue is doing. Low vowels of RP English are given below;

/a/ as in the word 'trap'

/ɑ:/ as in the word 'palm'

Again, there is a further class intermediate between high and low, namely the mid vowels. These can if necessary be further sub-classified as high-mid (the vowels as in the word *face* and *goat*) or low-mid (as in *dress*, *thought*, *strut*) depending on whether they are nearer the high end of the scale, or nearer the low end. The example of these vowels of RP English are shown below:

/ei/ as in the word 'face'

/oʊ/ as in the word 'goat'

/ɛ/ as in the word 'dress'

/ɒ/ as in the word 'lot'

/ɔ:/ as in the word 'thought'

/ə/ as in the word 'about'

/ɜ:/ as in the word 'nurse'

/ʌ/ as in the word 'strut'

### **(3) Lips position**

In the high back [u:] vowel, there is tongue raising in the region of the soft palate; but in addition, the lips are rounded. Vowels in any of the previous categories may be either rounded, where the lips are protruded forwards, or unrounded, where the lips may be either in a neutral position, or sometimes slightly spread (as for a high front vowel, like [i:] *fleece*). However, it is overwhelmingly more common cross-linguistically for back vowels to be rounded than for front ones, and for high vowels to be rounded than low ones. This is borne in English, as in the example below;

/ɒ/ as in the word 'lot'

/ʊ/ as in the word 'foot'

/ɔ:/ as in the word 'thought'

/oʊ/ as in the word 'goat'

/u:/ as in the word 'goose'

### **(4) Length**

Using these three dimensions of frontness, height and rounding, we can now define the vowel in *fleece* as high, front and unrounded. However, our elementary descriptions would class the *kit* vowel as high, front and rounded; these labels make them indistinguishable from the clearly different vowel of *fleece*. RP English speakers very readily perceived the *fleece* and *kit* vowels as different; and there are plenty of minimal pairs to support a phoneme distinction, as in *peat-pit*, *lip-leap* and so on. This distinction is usually made in terms of vowel length.

### ***Monophthongs and Diphthongs:***

Most of the vowels discussed earlier considered as *monophthongs*, in which the quality of the vowel stays fairly consistent from the beginning of its production to the end. However, there are also other types of vowels called *diphthongs*. Diphthongs, on the hand, change in quality during their production, and are typically transcribed

with one one starting point, and a quite different end point; as might be expected from this description, diphthongs are typically long vowels.

### **2.2.2.3 Phoneme**

According to *Traditional Phonological theories*, phoneme is the minimal unit, which cannot be split into further smaller and simpler units in the sound system of a language. Phonological analysis relies on the principle of certain sounds which cause changes in the meaning of a word or phrase, whereas other sounds do not. An early approach to the subject used a simple methodology to demonstrate this. It would take a word, replace one sound by another, and see whether a different meaning results.

**Napoli (1996)** states that single sounds that are distinctively different from other sounds in whatever language we are considering are called *Phonemes*.

A definition of the *phoneme* can be approached, by involving the phonological ideas of contrastive function, system, structure, context, parallel distribution, complementary distribution and overlapping distribution. Laver (1994) states that, the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of interaction described immediately above furnish the basis for definition, which is presented here in two parts. The first part of the definition focuses on the issue of contrastiveness between one phoneme and another, and the second part on the issue of the contextually distributed nature of the members of a phoneme conceived as a set of sounds.

Laver gives the first part of the definition of a **phoneme** is as follows:

***Two speech sounds are said to be manifestations of a different phonemes in a given accent of a language when they act as the basic of a contrastive opposition that distinguishes a pair of words of identical phonological structure, differing in the systemic choice made at a single place in that structure.***

(Laver:1994)

In order to satisfy these conditions, the two speech sounds must thus show parallel distributions over the context in question, in that both the sounds must have the potential of occupying a single place in the structure concerned.

The first part of the definition is an idealistic, in that it makes appeal to the notion of minimal pairs of words of an identical structure. Whereas in any accent of a given language such minimal pairs may be only sparsely available, through the accidental circumstances of the lexical evolution of the language.

### *Allophones*

In working out the inventory of phonemes in a language, using this approach, we soon come across sounds that do not change the meaning when we make a substitution. These phonetic variants of a phoneme are known as *allophones*.

In Laver's second definition of a phoneme is refers to an allophones. It is as follows:

*Speech sounds regularly occurring in a number of different structures and contexts may be classified as members of a given phoneme if their occurrences are in complementary distribution, and if they display sufficient phonetic similarity to make it plausible to class them together as members of a common set.*

The members of a given phoneme or allophones can be transcribed by using phonetic symbols enclosed in square brackets. It is important to note that the concept of an allophone is itself an abstract concept, and is not to be equated directly with that of a phone, which is a single differentiable phonetic event. The phonetic manifestation

of a given allophone may vary slightly, on a random basis. On each occasion that a phonetic difference is perceptible, a different phone is involved.

***Grouping sound into phonemes:***

In the phonemic approach to the phonology, linguists faced with an array of sounds usually use three criteria in deciding whether these sounds belong to the same phoneme. These are:

- (1) Complementary distribution
- (2) Free variation
- (3) Phonetic similarity

According to the earlier work done in Pnar, **Spencer (1967)** did not mention the phonemes in Pnar, but instead he suggested that the following might be used as a basis for the standardization of writing in the Jaintia dialect:

**Consonants:** B K D H J L M N Ñ Ng P R S T Tsh W

**Vowels:** A E I O Ō U Y ə ’

He further explains that the symbol;

**A** as in Northern English *back, pan*. Jaintia *wan* ‘come’

**E** as in Northern English *pen, get*. Jaintia *phet* ‘run’. Occasionally E has the value of the vowel in Scottish *day* or French *the*. For instance Jaintia *tə e* ‘curry’

**I** as in French *si*. Jaintia *sngi* ‘sun’. before another vowel than E, I usually takes on the value of Y. Jaintia *umphaniang* ‘oil’.

**Ō** as in Scottish *hot*, French *porte*. Jaintia *khon* ‘son’.

**O** as in Scottish *coat*, French *beau*. Jaintia *yo* ‘see’.

**U** as in French *tout*, German *gut*. Jaintia *krum* ‘do’.

<b>ə</b> as in	Neutral vowel. As <i>a</i> in English <i>about</i> . Jaintia <i>pərthai</i> ‘world’. In Standard Khasi <b>ə</b> is represented by Y.
<b>Y</b> as in	English <i>yet, you</i> . Jaintia <i>yong nga</i> ‘mine’
<b>W</b> as in	English <i>will, wet</i> . Jaintia <i>wait</i> ‘sword’
<b>G</b> as in	English <i>get</i> . This letter appears only in foreign words and is usually rendered by K in Khasi.
<b>H</b> as in	The aspirate. Always sounded except in combination with S.
<b>Sh</b> as in	English <i>shut</i> . Jaintia <i>shish</i> ‘fie’. A rare sound in Jaintia.
<b>Tsh</b> as in	English <i>chin</i> . Jaintia <i>tshim</i> ‘take’
<b>J</b> as in	English <i>judge</i> . Jaintia <i>ja</i> ‘rice’. N. B. At the end of a word J is unvoiced, as in <i>meij</i> ‘table’.
<b>Ñ</b> as in	A sound peculiar to Khasi and its dialects, and difficult for the foreigner to pronounce to the satisfaction of the indigenes. It may be described as a palatalized dento alveolar NG with the back of the tongue pressing the roof of the mouth. Something like the N in English <i>orange</i> and in Pnar <i>nia</i> ‘aunty’
<b>NG</b> as in	English <i>sing</i> . Jaintia <i>ngap</i> ‘honey’
<b>R</b> as in	Rolled, as in Scottish English. Jaintia <i>lǝngai</i> ‘earth’
<b>’</b> as in	(The apostrophe). The glottal stop, a swallowed sound or check in the voice. Jaintia <i>be’</i> ‘to chase’. This sound represents a lost consonant, usually K. compare Jaintia <i>tsho’</i> ‘beat’ with Mikir <i>tshok</i> , Jaintia <i>kpo’</i> ‘belly’ with Mikir <i>pok</i>

Spencer in his analyses of the phonemes of Pnar, did not elaborate some of the sounds like B K D L N P R S T. in analysing the vowels he did not mention the *mid high front unrounded* vowel /e/. He also mistakenly classified the glottal stop as a replacement of /k/ in Mikir. The consonant /k/ is very much present in Pnar and it can occur in all the three positions. /k/ and /ʔ/ are in contrast distribution in Pnar in the final position. This can be illustrated by the following examples;

/_ʔ/	/_k/
/dɔʔ/ ‘meat’	/dɔk/ ‘stingy’
/taʔ/ ‘to cut’	/tak/ ‘just one tap’
/praʔ/ ‘winnowing basket’	/prak/ ‘crushing by stamping’

Also in describing the vowel of Pnar, the vowel /a/ transcribed as the English vowel /æ/ as pronounce in the English words *back* and *pan* is not the same /a/ as in Pnar.

Another work in sound systems of Pnar by **Grignard (1992)** is purely academic. He discusses the alphabet of Pnar rather than the sound systems. He mentioned that Pnar possesses all the letters of Khasi alphabets and two more: these are **ñ** and the other **c+h** as in the examples below;

**chaphrang** ‘onward’ and **sñiaw** ‘hear’

Neither of these works are appropriate in discussing the sound systems (phonemes) of Pnar linguistically. Pnar has *thirty three phonemes* of these *twenty four* are consonants, *eight* are vowels and there is only one diphthong. Discussion of phonemes of Pnar will be discussed in chapter three.

### 2.2.3 Syllable<sup>16</sup>.

Syllabification is a technique or device of looking into languages which differ in different syllabic structures, that is, what combinations of segmental phonemes do they allow, in terms of how many and which consonants can begin a syllable, whether vowels can begin syllables, and whether both open and closed syllables are possible. A syllable may be defined as a maximal pulse of initiator for activity bounded by a momentary retardation of the initiator, either self-imposed, or more usually, imposed by a consonant type of articulatory stricture. However, a syllable can be seen both at phonetic and a phonological point of view.

In phonetics some have attempted to identify syllables on the basis of amount of articulatory effort needed to produce them. According to Stetson<sup>17</sup>, each syllable corresponds to an increase in air pressure, air from the lung being released as a series of chest pulses.

Phonological views of the syllable focuses on the way sounds combine in a language to produce typical sequences. Two classes of sounds are established: sounds that can occur in their own, or are at the centre of the sequence of sound (v): and those that cannot occur on their own (C).

Kenstowicz (1994) states that as far as its internal structure is concerned, the syllable has traditionally been seen as containing an obligatory *nucleus* preceded by an optional consonantal *onset* and followed by an optional consonantal *coda*. The nucleus plus coda forms a tighter bond than the onset plus nucleus. Consequently, traditional grammar recognizes an additional sub-constituent called the rhyme (or

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<sup>16</sup> See Crystal (1987)

<sup>17</sup> As quoted from Crystal (1987)

rime) that includes the nucleus and the coda. The constituents of the traditional syllable are depicted in;

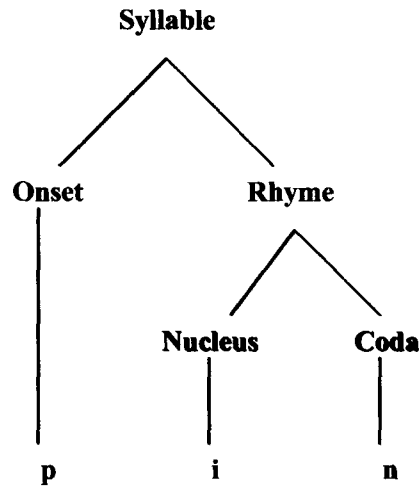


Fig No 3 Syllable Tree diagram

### 2.2.3.1 Phonological Structure and Phonological Syllable

Monosyllabic words of English like *heed* /hit/, *hid* /hit/, etc. are all words of identical phonological structure. All are words made up by a sequence of an initial consonant, followed by a vowel, followed by a consonant. But words can differ from each other not only in the matter of which stem is chosen from a relevant system for occupancy of a given place in the structure of the word, but also in terms of the sequence of consonants and vowels that gives the word its structural shape. The three words in English *tuck*, *truck*, and *struck* (/tʌk/, /trʌk/ and /strʌk/) are all structurally different.

Formulae of this sort are usually used to comment on the phonological structure of individual *syllable*. The examples above (/tʌk/, /trʌk/ and /strʌk/) happen to be *monosyllabic* words. When a syllable ends in a vowel, with no final consonant, it is said to be an *open syllable*. E.g. English word *bee* /bi:/. Another way

of putting this is to say that the syllable ends in zero consonants, as indicated by a symbol 'Ø' (zero). The syllable-structure formula for an open syllable would then be CVØ. Conversely, when the syllable is terminated by consonant(s), it is said to be a *closed syllable*.

### **2.2.3.2 Importance of Syllables in Phonological Theory**

There are *three reasons that consider the importance of syllables in phonological theory*:

(1) *First* when we look at the word stock of languages we find that they conform to certain organisational principles. For instance, in English there are no words which begin with the sequence /kn/. Khasi's monosyllabic word *kner* /kneɾ/ 'protect' is unpronounceable in English. An English speaker trying to pronounce it would most likely introduce a schwa and pronounce the word as /k<sup>ə</sup>neɾ/. Such sequences are possible in other languages, of course, but it is part of what an English speaker knows about English that /kn/ is not a possible way to begin an English syllable.

(2) The general term for the type of constraint which governs the possible sequences of sounds is *phonotactic constraint*. Some constraints apply to the level of morphemes, while others apply to the level of whole words. However, a great many constraints in a given language will tend to apply at the level of syllable structure. This is true of the /kn/ constraint, for instance. This is one of the major reasons why syllable structure is of such importance in phonology. Appeal to syllable structure will help us to understand why words and morphemes are constrained to take the forms they take.

(3) Syllable structure also plays an important role in the organization of phonological processes of a language. This often occurs through the operation of syllabically based phonotactic constraints. Many of the processes are motivated by the need to respect constraints. For example, epenthesis is generally found precisely where the morphology of the language combines morphemes in such a way as to result in a violation of the phonotactics, creating, say, an illicit consonant cluster, or when the underlying form of a morpheme violates the phonotactic constraints and has to be 'repaired' before it can be pronounced. For example consider the data for Koryak;

Underlying representation

(a) //t-pŋlo-n//

(b) //mt-pŋlo-n//

(c) //na-pŋlo-n//

These give rise to the words as;

(a) təpŋlon 'I asked him'

(b) mətŋlon 'we asked him'

(c) nəpəŋlo-n 'they asked him'

## 2.3 Morphology

### *Introduction*

Only some part of morphology topic will be review accordingly. Notions such as Case and Tense, Aspect, and Modal are not morphologically marked in Pnar since it does not belong to an inflectional languages. Hence, these topics will be thoroughly reviewed.

### *Glimpse of morphology in Khasi*<sup>18</sup>

It is found that Khasi language and its dialects have no morphological inflection. Therefore, in this chapter I present both the traditional and typological way of describing the grammatical categories of Pnar. In order to avoid confusion in this chapter regarding the traditional way of describe the categories of noun and verb, for example case, tense etc. I would like to present the general remarks of Pnar based from the work of War (2005) submitted to CIIL entitled Khasi language (LIS project).

In comparative linguistics, Khasi and its dialects would be considered as an Analytic language, having the structural criteria:

- (1) All the words (Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, etc) are *invariable*.
- (2) There is no *Inflection Morphology*, i.e, Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives etc are not inflected.
- (3) Words do not *reflect grammatical relationships* morphologically.
- (4) Syntactic and grammatical relationships are primarily shown by word order, which is usually inflexible (e.g. SVO, VOS)
- (5) Words are mostly monomorphemic, a property of most isolating languages.
- (6) There are very few class maintaining and class changing derivational prefixes.
- (7) Particles and clitics have important grammatical functions.

It follows that any part of speech/ grammatical category defined in terms of inflections, e.g., Nouns defined as “items which display certain types of inflections (e.g. Case or Number)” are problematic. Morpheme to denote Number, Gender, Case, Tense, Aspects, etc, are absent in Khasi. Therefore, all definations for Khasi have to be in terms other than inflection e.g. Nouns (e.g., they follow Prepositions), and those which perform a specific syntactic function (e.g., as Subject or object of a sentence.).

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<sup>18</sup> See War, J. (2005), entitled LIS submitted to CIIL

Similarly, a verb cannot be defined as items which display morphological inflections of Tense, Aspect, Voice, Mood, Person and Number.

A verb in Khasi has to be defined in terms of its function, as an element which is used as the predicate of a sentence co-occurring with a subject. The predicate can consist of a single verb (ki rwai ia ka jingrwai 'they sing a song') or in combination with other verbs (ki lah ban rwai ia ka jingrwai, 'They can sing a song').

Because of the absence of inflectional Morphology in Khasi, particles, especially proclitics, have important grammatical functions. Particles, defined as invariable terms with grammatical functions, form closed sets of linguistic elements different in structure and functions. They resemble words, but cannot stand on their own, being structurally dependent on a neighboring word, hence they are clitics.

### **2.3.1 Morphological Typology**

This is based on a comparison of the formal similarities which exist between languages. It is an attempt to group languages into structural types, on the basis of phonology, grammar, or vocabulary, rather than in terms of any real or assumed historical relationship (Crystal 1987). Morphological typology usually recognizes three canonical types of language; Isolating (or analytic), agglutinating, and fusional, to which is sometime added a fourth: polysynthetic (or incorporating). Crystal supports Comrie's view to group polysynthetic as a fourth category or as an optional typological classification by stating that 'some linguists, however, do not regard this as a separated typological category'.

Comrie states that one of the reasons for the omission of polysynthetic from many lists of morphological types is that its inclusion destroys the homogeneity of the over-all morphological typology. Again, Comrie contradicts his point that 'to exclude

polysynthetic from morphological typology for this reason is not necessary justified, in particular because polysynthetic languages do, in a very real sense, provide the counter point to isolating languages in terms of the number of morphemes per word: in isolating languages each word consists of just one morpheme, whereas in a polysynthetic language, or rather in an ideal polysynthetic language, each sentence consists of just one word, this word in turn consisting of as many morphemes as are necessary to express the intended meaning’.

Based on these definitions given by Comrie and Crystal, Pnar fits into isolating type of morphological typology, in that it agrees with Crystal definition, ‘An isolating language is one where each word consists of just one morpheme. In isolating languages, all the words are invariable; there are no endings. Grammatical relationships are shown through the use of word order’. Comrie’s idea of isolating languages is, ‘An isolating language is one which has no morphology, i.e. at least ideally, a language where there is one-to-one correspondence between words and morphemes’. Let us compare the example of Vietnamese, Chinese, and Pnar.

- (1) *Khi tôi đến nhà bạn tôi chúng tôi bắt đầu làm bài*  
when I come house friend I PLURAL I begin do lesson  
‘When I came to my friend’s house, we begin to do lessons.’

(Vietnamese (Comrie 1981))

- (2) *Wǒ mǎi júzi chī*  
I buy orange eat  
‘I bought some oranges to eat.’

(Chinese Crystal 1987)

(3) *ʔət sɔʔtara yɔʔa bam*

buy orange to ISg eat

‘I buy/ bought orange(s) to eat.’

### 2.3.2 Case

The traditional term of case is fundamentally a name for the entire class of relational categories to noun inflection. As the formal reflection of all of the roles played by nouns in larger structures, this is a large and somewhat homogeneous set. We can generally divided case categories into grammatical or *direct* case (marking syntactic functions such as ‘subject’ and ‘object’ determined primarily by structural position) and oblique cases (marking a range of functions, including but not limited to spatial or local ones, with more independent semantic content and less dependent on structural role) (Anderson 1985). Case has been defined by different linguists in a number of ways.

Blake (1991) defines case as “a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads”. The verb is taken to be the head of the clause, since it largely determines what dependents may be present.

Hockett (1958), also states that cases are inflected forms for nouns which fit them for participation in key constructions relative to verbs. He further states that many case systems include also specific categories of other kinds.

The Latin word *casus* (and the Greek word which translated) means ‘falling’ or ‘deviation’. The terms ‘inflection’ and ‘declension’ are explained by the same metaphor (Lyon 1968). Lyon further explains that it was the Stoics who gave to the word ‘case’ the more particular sense that it has since borne in grammatical

terminology. Case was the most important of the inflectional categories to the noun, as tense was the most important of inflexional categories to the verb.

In traditional grammar, the term *case* refers to inflectional marking. Case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition or another noun at the phrase level. Case in traditional grammar, therefore, is viewed primarily in morphological perspective.

Lyon states, although the category of case is traditionally restricted to inflexional variation, it is clear that both the ‘grammatical’<sup>19</sup> and the ‘local’<sup>20</sup> functions are logically independent of the way in which they are realized in particular languages. Furthermore, these ‘grammatical’ and ‘local’ functions may be realized in the same language partly by case-inflexions and partly by other means- most commonly by prepositions or postpositions<sup>21</sup>, or by word-order. This means that the category of case can not be discussed solely from the morphological point of view. This point made by Lyon will serve as a background to configure the case system or the case marking in Pnar.

### ***2.3.2.1 Traditional Approach***

According to the tradition model of describing case system can be traced back to the Greek. Ancient Greek, like older Indo-European languages was fusional inflecting languages in which case marking could not be separated from the number marking, where there was also some fusion of the stem and inflection. Cases were described in terms of what are called case forms, where a case form is an inflected

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<sup>19</sup> is an opposition between the more ‘abstract’.

<sup>20</sup> is an opposition between the more ‘concrete’.

<sup>21</sup> English is one of the best examples of a language that possesses partly case-inflexion and partly by means of prepositions.

form of a noun. The term *case* is from Latin **Casus** which is the translation of the Greek **Ptoxis** 'fall'. The term originally referred to verbs as well as nouns and the idea seems to have been falling away from an assumed standard form, a notion also reflected in the term **declension** used with references to inflection classes.

The Greek description of case was based on the word rather than on stem and suffixes. In traditional approach, cases are identified through the forms taken by nouns and only then explained by reference to the functions of the nouns within larger construction.

Two major problems arise for description of case systems of the type represented by Latin and Ancient Greek; one is the problem of distinguishing the case; the other is the problem of describing their meaning and function. To distinguish the case is a problem, since different classes of stems exhibit a different range of distribution, that is, the paradigm are not isomorphic. The traditional solution is to identify cases across stem classes on the basis of the functions they have in common. Describing the meaning and function of the cases traditionally involved a principal meaning, which is reflected in the level as well as listing a range of separate meanings or functions.

#### ***2.3.2.2 Distributional Approach***

As it has been noted that cases are traditionally recognized on the basis of a distinction of case form for any one group of a noun. In Latin, as in many Indo-European languages, the nominative and accusative have distinct case forms for masculine and feminine nouns, but there is centralization, or syncretism of distinction applied to all nouns, since it allows to make generalization about the forms used for various syntactic contexts. However, there is one point which overlooked tradition of

description and that is pattern of syncretism. In language like Latin, they may seem random at first, but two syncretism of nominative and accusative in all neuters and all plurals and the syncretism of dative and ablative in all plurals plus the singular of the second declension and the i-stem in the third declension.

The origin of the generalized meaning goes back to the classical period, but it becomes prominent in the thirteenth century both in the work of the Byzantine grammarian Maximus Planudes (1260-1310) but in the work of the scholastic grammarian (Hjelmslev 1935: Serbat 1981) were generalized characterisations were exploited in presenting inventories as systems. Simon of Dacia (Denmark), characterised the Latin genitive and ablative as expressing origin as opposed to the dative and accusative which express what is called destination. A crosscutting distinction is made between relations and relations of substance to action i.e., adverbial relations (Serbat 1981). These binary distinctions can be represented in terms of distinctive features.

	NOM	ACC	GEN	DAT	ABL
Origin	-	-	+	-	+
Destination	-	+	-	+	-
Substance-to-substance	-	-	+	+	-
Substance-to-action	-	+	-	-	-

Table No.1: Latin Case System (Simon of Dacia)

### 2.3.2.3 Modern Approach

Since the early sixties, linguistics has been dominated by the theories of Chomsky. **The Case Grammar** of Fillmore (1968), the **Relational Grammar** of

Permuter and Postal (1974), and the **Lexical Functional Grammar** of Bresnan (2001) are the influences seen outside the Chomskyan framework. These theories have been provoked by Chomsky's theoretical approach and have advanced over the last few decades. In these theories, a view has emerged which maintains that all the mechanisms observed by the traditionalists may be used to signal case; that, case existing independently of the means of expression, and that it is universal.

Fillmore is responsible for pointing out the notion that there is a universal set of atomic semantic roles. According to him, a sentence consists of prepositions, a tenseless set of verbs case relationship and a modality constituent consisting of such items as negation, tense, mood, and aspect. The case categories proposed by Fillmore are agentive, instrumental, dative, factitive, instrument, object, source, goal, place, and time. He called these as '*Syntactic-semantic relations*' cases and his conception of grammar and congeners came to be referred to as Case grammar. These Fillmorean types of cases are usually referred to as deep cases and the traditional cases as surface cases.

#### **2.3.2.4 Case Theory**

Case theory related to the traditional syntactic idea of case, which saw the relationship between elements in a sentence, as being shown by their morphology as well as by word order.

There have been a number of developments and modifications in the approach of case theory. Case theory deals with the assignment of abstract case and the morphological realization. But case theory in Government and Binding goes far beyond with the case forms visible in the surface sentence but with **abstract** case.

Heageman (1991) made a distinction of case theory between the morphological case and abstract case. According to Heagement, **morphological case** is the overt case form which is marked in the morphology of words. Three types of overt case, i.e. *nominative*, *objective* and *genitive* are marked in the case of *he*, *him* and *his* in the morphology of the personal pronouns in English. However, in the case of lexical pronouns in English, only the genitive case is marked overtly in the morphology of the word as in '*Tom's book*'.

**Abstract case** is an important element in the syntax, even when it does not appear in the surface. Abstract case is a universal property where the realization of the abstract case by means of morphological case varies cross-linguistically. Chomsky points out that in some languages, case is morphologically realized, in others it is not so, but it is assumed that it is assignee in a uniform way whether morphologically or not. There are many languages of the world such as Latin, Sanskrit, German and where there are both lexical and pronominal NP's. Although Modern English has lost this distinction, this assumption is borne out by a number of grammatical facts.

Case Theory is the module that assigns abstract case to NPs, and by doing so provides a principled explanation for several aspects of movement. Consider the following example in figure 4 below.

(1) She like him

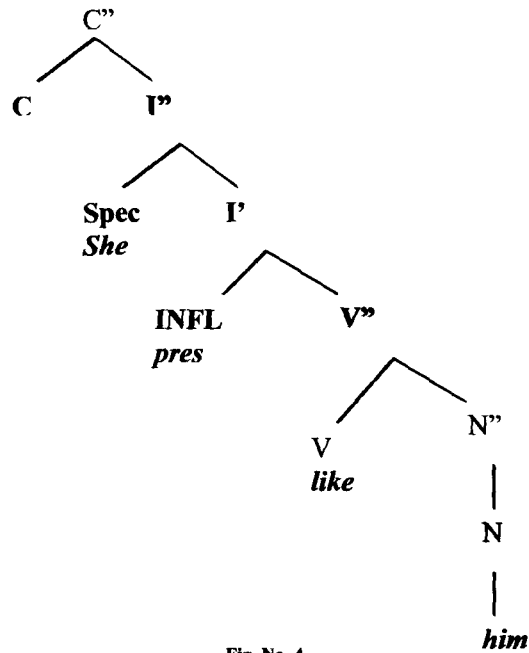


Fig. No. 4

The first NP *She* is in the Grammatical Function (GF) of subject; it assigned nominative case *She*. The second NP *him* is in the GF of the object and is assigned accusative case *him*.

### 2.3.2.5 Structural Case

Structural Case is assigned to the NPs according to their position in a structural configuration. nominative and accusative cases are assigned in the S-Structure; they are Structural Cases since they are assigned according to GF configuration of the sentence. The assignment of nominative case to the subject NP depends on the tense as a feature of INFL; sentences without tense do not have subjects in the nominative case.

(2) For him to resign is silly

(3) His resignation is silly.

In the sentences above, neither *him* nor *his* are in the nominative case although they are subjects of their respective embedded sentences. The assignment of the accusative case to the object NP depends on the verb within the VP. Tense and verb are the assignors of the structural case as illustrated in the tree diagram below:

(4) Sue likes coffee.

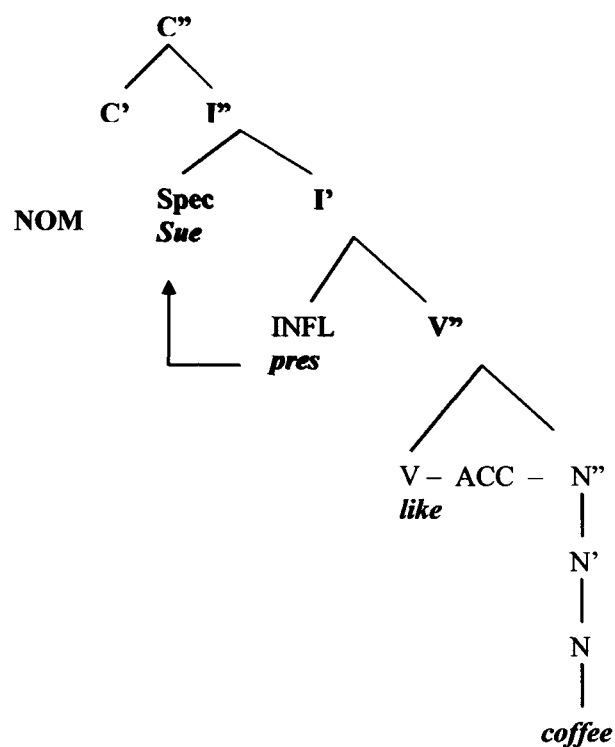


Fig. No. 5

Case is also assigned within Prepositional Phrase (PP). In English it is termed as oblique case when it is necessary to distinguish it from the accusative. The preposition is the case assignor for the NP within the prepositional phrase, the object of the PP as shown in the following tree diagram.

(5) to the station

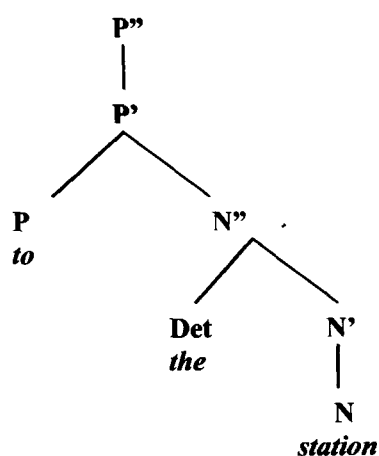


Fig. No. 6

Silverstein (1981) develops a 'function morphosyntax' of case marking, concentrating on the grammatical case. The main feature of Silverstein's approach is that he treats case marking not as a means for the expression of some other, more abstract grammatical phenomenon, e.g. grammatical relations or semantic (thematic) relations, but rather as the expression of a complex set of interacting factors. Accordingly, in order to understand what it is that case marking marks, a variety of phenomena must be investigated. Silverstein summarises his approach as follows. 'In such an approach, the morphosyntactic phenomenon of (surface) case marking is treated as a DEPENDENT VARIABLE, the various attested configurations of which are the results of the interaction of a number of INDEPENDENT VARIABLES of referential-and-predicational meaningfulness of ongoing linguistic discourse'<sup>22</sup>(qtd. in Foley and Van Valin 3: 75-6).

<sup>22</sup> See Silverstein, Case Marking and the Nature of Language (Austroasiatic Journal of Linguistic 1981) 1 227-46, in Foley and Van Valin 3 75-9

Grignard (1992) in his work entitled **The Pnar Grammar Book** mentioned that there are seven case markers in Pnar in the singular form and eight in the plural which he termed as 'declension'. Very less work has been done in Pnar and Grignard's work also is not satisfactory. He has only listed the case markers in Pnar which are; (i) Nominative, (ii) Accusative, (iii) Instrument (iv) Dative, (v) Ablative (vi) Genitive (vii) Locative and (viii) Vocative. He mentioned Ablative only in the plural.

In Khasi some work has been done on case. Perhaps Pryse's work **Introduction to the Khasi Language** (1855) is the earliest work on Khasi language. He did not discuss the case properly in that he mentioned that there are only nominatives, possessive, and objective cases.

Roberts (1891), in his book **Grammar of the Khasi Language** states that according to the strict grammatical import of the word, the Khasi language may be said to be without 'case'. This is, if we accept the definition of case only in morphological terms or inflection of the noun. However, Roberts' classification/discussion on the case in Khasi is based on other consideration. In the case of Khasi, Roberts believes that prepositions carry the function of 'case' as in English. For example, the ablative case, instrumental case, etc. are expressed by means of prepositions like '*from*', '*with*', '*by*' etc. He mentioned that there are eight cases in Khasi which are expressed by mean of the prepositions as in English. They are: Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Ablative, Genitive, Locative and Vocative case.

Nagaraj (1997) termed the case in Khasi as *Prepositional Phrases Marking Case*. According to him, there are eight prepositional phrases which are recognized

for Khasi and they mark case. They are, Nominative case, Accusative case, Instrumental case, Locative case, Ablative case, Dative case, Sociative case, Possessive case and Allative case.

Sten (1987) in his work **Ka Grammar** written in Khasi, listed that there are only six *ka jingiadei* 'Case' which are prepositions. They are; Nominative, Dative, Instrumental, Ablative, Locative and Genitive. Unlike the other authors, Sten did not elaborate why he came up with six cases only.

Like Roberts, Nissor Singh (1988 Sixth Edition) also listed eight kind of cases in Khasi. Nissor Singh's major focus was to show the eight different kinds of case in Khasi but fail to illustrate the cases in sentences. Case in Khasi and its dialects cannot be discussed morphologically since Khasi is not an inflectional language. Its case system is determined by the prepositions and also by the structure of sentences as in the case of dative case which is marked in the indirect object.

#### **2.3.2.6 Dative Case**

Dative is used to express the indirect object with verbs like 'to give'. The dative case is known as *ptōsis doctikē* in Greek meaning the 'giving case' (Blake 1994). Blake states that even in both Greek and Latin the dative marked the non-complements of certain intransitive verbs. These complements were taken to be indirect objects like the dative complements of the three-place verbs. Blake also states that even in both Greek and Latin the dative also marked the non complements of certain intransitive verbs. These complements were taken to be indirect objects like the dative complements of the three- place verbs. Blake also stated that there are languages have the same no. of cases with each case in the language matching the

extension of a corresponding case in other languages. The dative in Greek, for instance covers a greater range than the dative in Latin.

Blake proposed a strategy for identifying a dative gives good cross-language comparability. The dative under this interpretation emerges as the main non-core case used to mark complements. Its range of functions will typically include those listed as (a) (b) and (c) and quite frequently functions (d) to (h).

(a). Indirect object of two-place verbs low on the transitivity. Scale (eg. verbs such as, 'help', 'seek', 'like').

(b). Indirect object of a few three-place verb such as 'give' and 'show'.

(c) The role of purpose (she went for fish) and beneficiary ,she went for (on behalf of) her mother . In few languages there is a separate purposive case (eg. I rule). Basque has a purposive case and benefactive case.

(d). Possessor (frequently expressed by the genitive).

(e). Destination (sometimes expressed by a separate allative case as in many Australian languages).

(f). The indirect object of a detransitivised construction as in the antipassive of various languages.

(g). The direct object in certain aspects or tenses.

(h). The indirect subject of certain verbs or of all verbs in certain aspects. This usage is somewhat different from the rest.

Many scholars have different views on case, determined by their interest either to look on the case from the morphological point of view or from the syntactic point.

### 2.3.3 Tense

Comrie (1985) defines 'tense' as; *tense is grammaticalised expression of location in time*. This definition of course means, that there are two respects in which one's view of tense as grammaticalisation in times more than purely definitional.

First, Comrie means, it is conceivable that, using the above definition of tense, one might examine grammatical categories across languages and find that there are none which match the definition. It is therefore an empirical claim of Comrie that tense does not exist, i.e. that there are languages which express location in time by means of grammatical categories.

Secondly, there are very heavy constraints that language impose on the range of expressions of location in time that can be grammaticalised. In fact, all clear instances of tense cross-linguistically can be represented in terms of the notions of deictic nature.

#### **Notion of Past, Present, and Future<sup>23</sup>**

Present tense means coincidence of the time of the situation and the present moment; Past tense means location of the situation prior to the present moment; Future tense means location of the situation after the present moment.

A more characteristic use of the present tense is in referring to situations which occupy a much longer period of time than the present moment, but which nonetheless include the present moment within them. In particular the present tense is used to speak of states and processes which hold at the present moment, but which

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<sup>23</sup> See Comrie (1985)

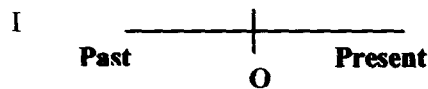
began before the present moment and may well continue beyond the present moment, as in *The Eiffel tower stands in Paris* and *The author is working on chapter two*.

The meaning of the past tense is thus located in time prior to the present moment, and any further deduction about temporal location that are made on the basis of individual sentences in the past tense are result of factors other than simplify the choice of tense.

Note that the past tense simply locates the situation in question prior to the present moment, and say nothing about whether the past situation occupies just a single point to the present moment, or an extended time period to the present moment.(*at 7 o'clock yesterday John promised to give me ten pounds*).

It should also be noted that use of the past tense only locates the situation in the past, without saying anything about whether that situation continues to the present or into the future, although there is often a conversational implicature that it does not continue to or beyond the present.

In terms of the analysis of tense presented so far, it might seem straight forward to define future tense or locating a situation at a time subsequent to the present moment (i.e. to the right of the present moment')



One would then be able to elaborate on this in precisely the same way as was done for the past tense, in particular demonstrating that any deduction that the situation in question does not hold at the present moment is at best an implicature, rather than part of the meaning of the future tense. Thus, *John will be eating his lunch*

*when you call on him in five minutes time* does not exclude the possibility that he may already have started his lunch). However in the light of the great controversy that has surrounded the concept of future tense, both in general linguistic theory and in the analysis of individual language ( including English ), it is necessary to examine a number of phenomena before returning to this characterization. In fact, it is concluded that this characterization of the meaning of the future tense is correct, but the controversy surrounds not so much the definition of the future tense as whether such a category is justified in linguistic theory in the first place, as a tense.

The past is considered more definite than the future. Following on from this, one may argue that while the difference between past and present is indeed one of tense, that between future on the one hand and past and present on the other should be treated as a difference of mood rather than one of tense.

Finally, one might observe that expressions of future time reference frequently derive diachronically from modal expressions. e.g. of desiderativity, such as English *will*. However this diachronic relation says nothing of the synchronic status of such forms. Further, historical development may even separate them formally. e.g. **Chuckchi prefix re-/ra-** together with the suffix **-ŋ** indicates either desiderative mood or future tense, but several desiderative and future forms are now distinct, for instance, in that the aspectual suffix **-rkə (n(i) )** – follow modal **-ŋ** but precedes temporal **-ŋ**. e.g. **re-nike-rkəni-ŋ-ət**, ‘they will do like-wise’, **re-nike-ŋə-rk-ət** ‘they want to do likewise’.

No work has been done in Pnar, with regards to the grammar, except Rev. Fr. Grignard, in his work entitle ‘**The Pnar Grammar Book**’. Since the book is intended for school children, his work on tense is neither scholarly nor exhaustive. Actually, he

did not mention any chapter on tense. Tense is taken up with verbs pointing out that there are three tenses within the verb phrase with out elaboration or examples.

#### **2.3.4 Aspect**

*The grammatical category as aspect is to be distinguished from tense in that tense is most obviously an expression of the time relative to the time of utterance, whereas aspect express the various phases associated with an action or state (or whatever else is expressed by the verb) it is clear that the distinction between progressive forms and simple forms in English is a distinction of aspect*

*( David Killby 1984)*

Comrie (1976.) states that aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time point but rather with the internal temporal constituency to the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense)

#### ***Perfective and Imperfective***

Comrie distinguishes perfective versus imperfective as follows;

***Perfective*** looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, whereas the ***imperfective*** look at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation, since it can both look backwards towards the start of the situation and look forward to the situation and indeed is equally appropriate if the situation is one that lasts through all time, without any beginning and without any end. 'John read that book yesterday, while he was reading it, the postman come' John's reading is presented as complete event, has a perfect meaning till the postman's arrival took place.

Perfectively indicates the view of situation as a single whole without distinction of the various separate faces that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation.

It is sometimes claimed that perfective forms indicate situations of short duration, while imperfective forms indicate situations of long duration.

**Imperfective:** While many languages do have a single category to express imperfective, there are other languages where imperfective is sub divided into a number of distinct categories and yet others where there is some category that corresponds to only part of the meaning of the imperfectivity.

***Classification of Aspectual Opposition.***

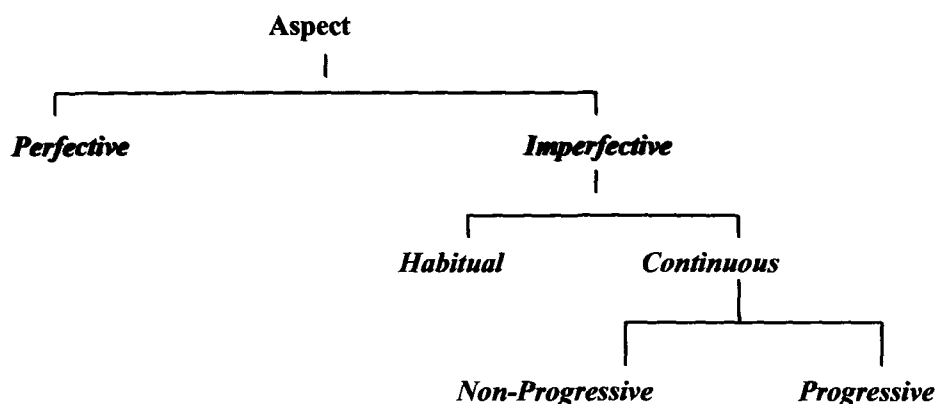


Fig No. 7 Aspectual

I use to sit (Habitual)

John is singing (Progressive)

In English progressive and non-progressive are not in general interchangeable, nor can any one of these in general be replaced by the other; in Spanish and Italian, on the other hand, it is normally possible to replace the progressive by other forms, without implying non-progressive meaning.

### **2.3.5 Modal**

There are few languages where a modal which is dependent on a verb in some fashion is also defined as a clitic/ particle. On the other hand, it is also not clear that some clitic / particle elements should not be considered auxiliaries. In Luiseno and Walbiri, modals occur in certain sentential position; the same position is defined to include clitic pronouns and tense markings. In Sahaptin, modals occur in certain essential position; the same position is defined to include clitic pronouns (Steele 1975)

### **2.4 Review of existing descriptions of Pnar**

So far not so much work has been done in Pnar, especially in regards to language. Some of the works done are;

(a) **Grierson (1928)** work perhaps is the first work done in Pnar. In his **Linguistic Survey of India**, he mentions the Pnar as the Khasi: Synteng Dialect in which he briefly discuss the noun, adjectives, pronouns and verbs of Pnar. His work may not give a clear pictures of Pnar structure but it deserves to be appreciated.

(b) An article **Note on the Jaintia Dialect** by L. E. Spencer perhaps is the first one written in Pnar. This article was published in the **Journal of the Asiatic Society** in the 1967. Spencer, in this article, briefs some of the grammatical elements of Pnar. He starts with the introductory note of Pnar which is followed by phonemic system, word order, articles, common particles and affixes, demonstrative affixes, verbal prefixes and particles, numerals, personal pronouns and some conversations with English translation and also a comparative vocabulary between Pnar and the standard Khasi. The article altogether contains around sixty three pages.

(c) A very recent work on Pnar by Rev. Fr. Griegnard, S.T. entitled **The Pnar Grammar** published in 1992. As stated earlier, this book is not based on modern linguistics theories. The book contains the Pnar alphabet, words common to Pnar and Khasi, article and declension of nouns, the adjectives, the pronouns, the verbs, the adverbs, the conjunctions, the prepositions, interjections, exercise, conversations and vocabularies. This book also contains around 59 pages. Both these books do not provide enough information about the structure of Pnar, yet they can be useful for references.

# Chapter III

## CHAPTER III PHONOLOGY

### 3.1 Phonemic inventory

The phonemic inventory of Pnar: its Classification and Distribution of Sounds will be represented by the two dialects i.e Jowai and Rymbai. Pnar altogether has *thirty three phonemes* of these *twenty four* are consonants, *eight* are vowels and there is only *one* diphthong

### 3.2 Consonant

As it is mentioned earlier, the sound pattern of Pnar will be represented by the two varieties Jowai and Rymbai. Both these varieties have *twenty four* consonant phonemes which are divided into *fourteen stops*, *two fricatives*, *four nasals*, *one lateral*, *one flap*, and *two glides*, on the basis of the manner of articulation as given below. Each of these series can be further classified as bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal, on the basis of the place of their articulation. In all these consonants phonemes only stops (plosives) have aspirated sounds.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p      b p <sup>h</sup> b <sup>h</sup>	t      d t <sup>h</sup> d <sup>h</sup>	(c)    c <sup>h</sup> j      j <sup>h</sup>	k k <sup>h</sup>	ʔ
Fricative		s			h
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral		l			
Flap		r			
Glide	w		y		

Fig. No. 8 Consonant chart of Pnar

### 3.2.1 Description, classification and distribution of consonant

In both Jowai and Rymbai, the consonants are described and classified on the basis of three criteria- the manner of articulation, the place of articulation and the vibration of the vocal cords, to differentiate the voiced and the voiceless sounds. Words presented in the phonemic inventory are used in both Jowai and Rymbai with the same sound and the same meaning. If a word exists only in one variety then (JW) for Jowai or (RB) for Rymbai will be indicated.

#### Stops

Stop (plosive) sounds are produced when a complete closure in the vocal tract is suddenly released; the air pressure which had built up behind the closure rushes out with an explosive sound. The term ‘stop’ refers to manner of articulation. There are fourteen stops in Pnar.

*/p/* is a *voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop*. During the articulation of this sound, the closure is made at both the lips and the air is suddenly released to produce the sound. */p/* is regarded as voiceless because there is no vibration in the vocal cords. */p/* can occur initially, medially and finally in Pnar.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
<i>/pat/</i> ‘to fall down’	<i>/kpɔʔ/</i> ‘stomach’	<i>/trɛp/</i> ‘hut’
<i>/pam/</i> ‘to cut’	<i>/tpu/</i> ‘bread’	<i>/sap/</i> ‘to wear’
<i>/pra/</i> ‘to collapse’ (JW) <sup>1</sup>	<i>/tput/</i> ‘revenge’	<i>/dap/</i> ‘full’
<i>/prat/</i> ‘to scratch’	<i>/kper/</i> ‘garden’	<i>/kap/</i> ‘to walk’

*/p<sup>h</sup>/* as compared to */p/* differs only in regards to aspiration. */p<sup>h</sup>/* is an aspirated sound because there is an audible breath of air during the release of the closure; whereas

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<sup>1</sup> (JW) indicated those sounds occur only Jowai, whereas, (RB) indicate those found only in Rymbai

during the articulation of /p/ there is no such audible breath of air. Thus, /p<sup>h</sup>/ is the *voiceless bilabial aspirated stop*; it occurs only initially and medially in the language.

**Initially**

/p<sup>h</sup>a/ ‘2<sup>nd</sup> person feminine singular’

/p<sup>h</sup>εt/ ‘to run’

/p<sup>h</sup>ria/ ‘hail’

/p<sup>h</sup>ra/ ‘eight’

**Medially**

/tɪmp<sup>h</sup>a/ ‘shoulder’

/c<sup>h</sup>ip<sup>h</sup>aw/ ‘ten’

/sap<sup>h</sup>ε/ ‘a kind of fruit’ (RB)

/sap<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ/ ‘a kind of fruit’

/b/ is a voiced counterpart of /p/. During the articulation of this sound the vocal cords vibrate to produce a voiced sound and there is no audible friction of air passing through the lips and thus /b/ is a *voiced bilabial stop*; it occurs only in the initial and in the medial position of the word. In Pnar voiced sounds do not occur in the final position, as will be seen in discussion on /b<sup>h</sup>/, /d/, /d<sup>h</sup>/, /j/ and /j<sup>h</sup>/.

**Initially**

/bam/ ‘to eat’

/bɔr/ ‘power’

/bru/ ‘man’

/blaŋ/ ‘goat’

**Medially**

/kbiat/ ‘to lick’

/kba/ ‘rice with husk’

/c<sup>h</sup>ba/ ‘to light’

/tbian/ ‘short’

/b<sup>h</sup>/ /b<sup>h</sup>/ differs only in regard of aspiration from /b/, and thus, /b<sup>h</sup>/ is a *voiced bilabial aspirated stop*. It occurs only in the initial position.

**Initially**

/b<sup>h</sup>a/ ‘good’

/b<sup>h</sup>aʔ/ ‘to divide’

/b<sup>h</sup>iaw/ ‘greedy’

/b<sup>h</sup>ar/ ‘classifier for sixty four oranges’

*/t/* is an *unaspirated voiceless alveolar stop*. During the articulation of this sound the tip of the tongue touches the alveolar ridge of the mouth. There is no aspiration involved and the vocal cords do not vibrate. */t/* can occur initially, medially and finally.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
<i>/tan/</i> ‘to pull’	<i>/stan/</i> ‘thin’	<i>/dat/</i> ‘to beat’
<i>/tra/</i> ‘to touch’	<i>/kti/</i> ‘hand’	<i>/sit/</i> ‘to peel with knife’
<i>/tam/</i> ‘to exceed’	<i>/ktuŋ/</i> ‘dried fish’	<i>/t<sup>h</sup>at/</i> ‘to hang (Tr.)’
<i>/tmaŋ/</i> ‘beard’	<i>/c<sup>h</sup>ɪŋktat/</i> ‘prawn’	<i>/sat/</i> ‘ceiling’

*/t<sup>h</sup>/* is an *aspirated voiceless alveolar stop*. */t<sup>h</sup>/* is articulated in the same way as */t/* but in the case of */t<sup>h</sup>/* aspiration is involved. It can occur only in the initial position and medial position.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>
<i>/t<sup>h</sup>aŋ/</i> ‘to burn’	<i>/kt<sup>h</sup>aŋ/</i> ‘bitter’
<i>/t<sup>h</sup>oʔ/</i> ‘to search’	<i>/kt<sup>h</sup>a/</i> ‘to prechew’
<i>/t<sup>h</sup>lɔŋ/</i> ‘mortar’	<i>/pt<sup>h</sup>oʔ/</i> ‘brown’
<i>/t<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ/</i> ‘to write’	<i>/pt<sup>h</sup>oʔ/</i> ‘pumpkin’

*/d/* is the voiced counterpart of */t/*. It is articulated in the same manner as */t/* and */t<sup>h</sup>/*, but it differs from the two sounds, in that the vocal cords vibrate during its articulation and there is no aspiration involved. Thus, */d/* is a *voiced alveolar (unaspirated) stop* and occurs initially and medially.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>
<i>/dat/</i> ‘to beat’	<i>/sdaŋ/</i> ‘to begin’

/dʊŋ/ 'to grind'

/kɖɑŋ/ 'full'

/dʊnɑ/ 'less'

/kɖɔʔ/ 'to tie'

/dɑc/ 'to bite'

/kɖiɑp/ 'to flirt' (JW)

/d<sup>h</sup>/ is an *aspirated voiced alveolar stop*. /d<sup>h</sup>/ differs from /d/ only in regards of aspiration and occurs only in the initial position.

### Initially

/d<sup>h</sup>ɑrɑ/ 'kind of cloth wore by women'

/d<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ/ 'owl'

/d<sup>h</sup>ɑri/ 'veranda'

/d<sup>h</sup>ʊp/ 'blanket'

When analysed phonetically, we find that there is no [d<sup>h</sup>] sound occurs because of the intervention of a little amount of [ʔ]; [d] and [h] are two different sounds. For instance, all the words above can be represented phonetically as;

[d<sup>h</sup>ɑrɑ] 'kind of cloth wore by women'

[d<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ] 'owl'

[d<sup>h</sup>ɑri] 'veranda'

[d<sup>h</sup>ʊp] 'blanket'

/c<sup>h</sup>/<sup>2</sup> is a *voiceless palatal aspirated stop*. /c<sup>h</sup>/ is articulated with the blade of the tongue making a firm contact with the alveolar ridge, at the same time the tip of the tongue lowered to come in contact with the lower teeth with audible friction. The sound is released with an explosion without the vibration of the vocal cords and the

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<sup>2</sup> The choice of using the symbol of voiceless palatal stop as /c/, voiceless palatal aspirated stop as /c<sup>h</sup>/, voiced palatal stop and voiced palatal aspirated stop as /j<sup>h</sup>/ rather than using the IPA symbol is due to the lack of symbol.

result is a voiceless sound. /c<sup>h</sup>/ can occur only in the initial and medial position in Pnar.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>
/c <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ/ 'to sit'	/tirc <sup>h</sup> iaʔ/ 'glitter'
/c <sup>h</sup> liaʔ/ 'mat'	/tirc <sup>h</sup> ut/ 'to brush'
/c <sup>h</sup> nɔŋ/ 'village'	/pirc <sup>h</sup> in/ 'pimple'
/c <sup>h</sup> ram/ 'wall'	/kc <sup>h</sup> u/ 'pot'

/j/ is the *voiced palatal (unaspirated) stop*. This sound differs from the /c<sup>h</sup>/ sound in respect of aspiration and voicing. During the articulation of /j/ there is no audible friction and we can feel that the vocal cords vibrate to produce a voiced sound. It occurs initially and medially. In the final position, the unaspirated palatal stop is automatically devoiced, as there are no voiced stops in final position; this sound will be represented by the symbol /-c/ in final position (see annexure 2).

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
/jur/ 'extremely'	/kjut/ 'sick'	/dac/ 'to bite'
/jleɾ/ 'to lie'	/kjat/ 'foot'	/lac/ 'to escape'
/jraʔ/ 'thirsty'	/kjam/ 'cool'	/sac/ 'to wash'
/jɾɔŋ/ 'tall'	/kajar/ 'nail'	/pac/ 'to look'

/j<sup>h</sup>/ differs from /j/ only with regards to aspiration. It occurs only in the initial position.

<b>Initially</b>
/j <sup>h</sup> ur/ 'vegetable'
/j <sup>h</sup> eʔ/ 'wet'

/j<sup>h</sup>ia/ 'hot (taste of chilli)'

/j<sup>h</sup>at/ 'ship'

/k/ is a *voiceless velar plosive*. During the articulation of this sound the back of the tongue makes contact with the back portion of hard palate and there is no vibration of the vocal cords during its articulation. /k/ occurs in the initial, medial and final position.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
/ka/ 'she'	/c <sup>h</sup> kaw/ 'spouse'	/suk/ 'happy'
/kɛm/ 'to catch'	/c <sup>h</sup> kɛn/ 'type of bamboo'	/k <sup>h</sup> ak/ 'to hawk'
/kriaʔ/ 'type of basket'	/c <sup>h</sup> kur/ 'ear'	/ɔk/ 'friend'
/ku/ 'to climb'	/skum/ 'nest'	/sapɔk/ 'tomato'

/k<sup>h</sup>/ is an *aspirated voiceless plosive*. /k<sup>h</sup>/ is articulated in the same way as /k/ articulated, but it differs from /k/ in that during its articulation aspiration is involved. It occurs initially and medially in Pnar.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>
/k <sup>h</sup> a/ 'to give birth'	/tk <sup>h</sup> u/ ant'
/k <sup>h</sup> ɔn/ 'child'	/tak <sup>h</sup> oʔ/ 'accident'
/k <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ/ 'to beg'	/tk <sup>h</sup> an/ 'strained'
/k <sup>h</sup> lo/ 'forest'	/tak <sup>h</sup> a/ 'injured'

/ʔ/ is a *glottal stop*. This sound is articulated in the larynx with closure or narrowing of the vocal cords and the sound is released with an explosion. /ʔ/ occurs medially and finally and phonetically, it can occur in the initial position.

**Medially**

/pʔiat/ 'onion'

/kʔiat/ 'alcohol'

/sʔat/ 'costly'

/kʔɔʔ/ 'cough'

**Finally**

/tʰɔʔ/ 'write'

/dʰɔʔ/ 'owl'

/raʔ/ 'to carry'

/baʔ/ 'to carry on the back'

Phonetically representation of the glottal stop in the initial position of the words;

**Initially**

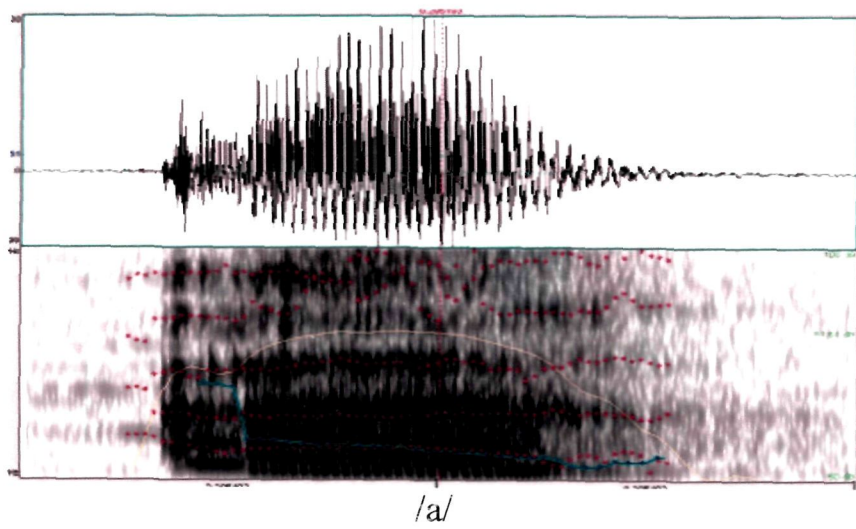
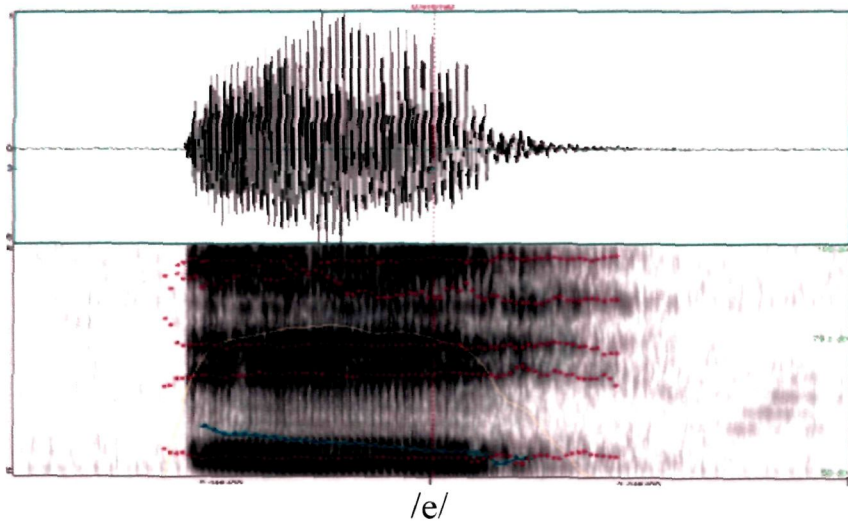
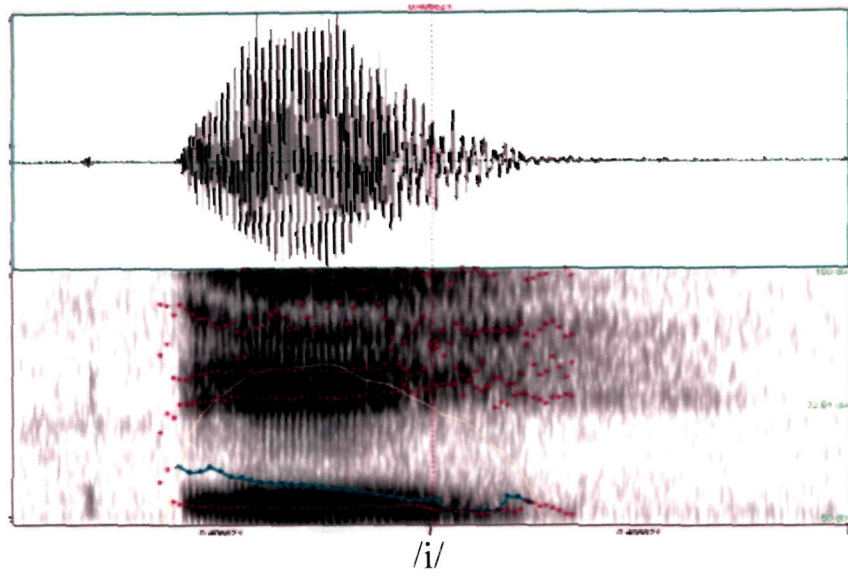
[ʔar] 'two'

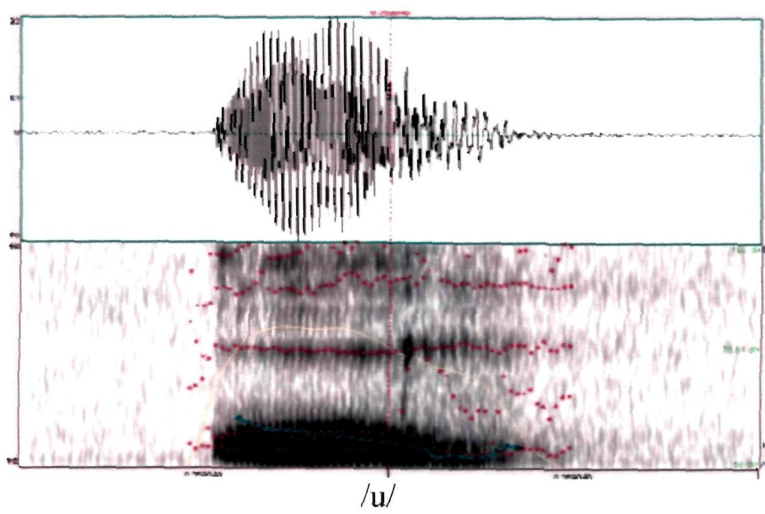
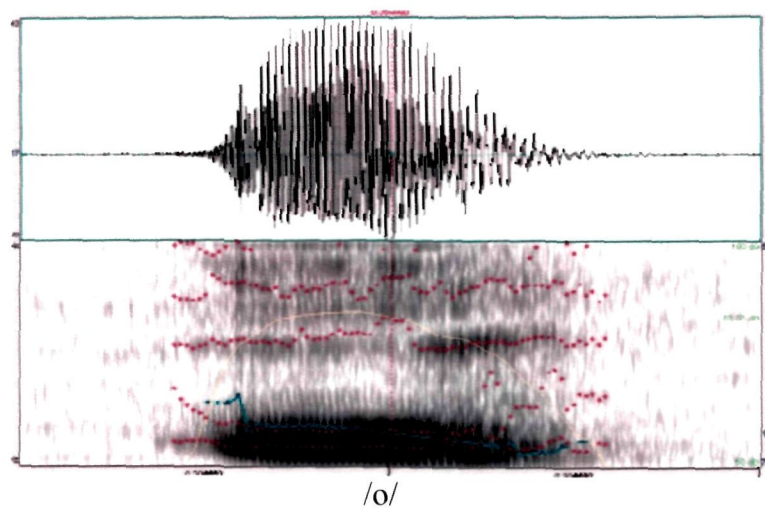
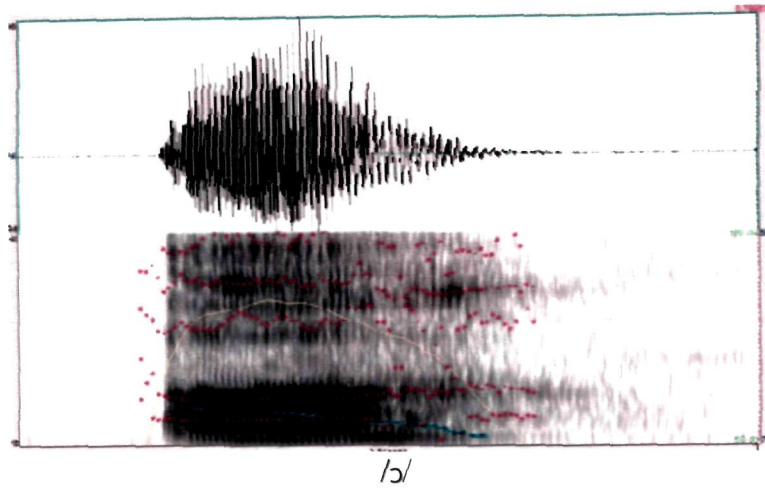
[ʔaʔ] 'to cut'

[ʔɛm] 'to have'

[ʔɔr] fall down'

Rabel (1961) is perhaps the first one to point out the occurrences of glottal stop preceding the vowels in Khasi. In her analysis of Khasi, she pointed out that, phonetically, no vowel can occur initially. To find out whether this is also the case for Pnar, which shares many characteristics with the standard variety, acoustic analysis has been done to find out the exact nature of words which supposedly have glottal initial sound. Considering the wave forms and the spectrograms of the vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /ɔ/, /o/ and /u/ below;





There are abrupt starts for the vowels that indicate the characteristic of stop. The phonation for glottal is usually accompanied by low pitch and creakiness that is shown in the spectrograms by an interrupted bands of energy. Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996, point out that, often, glottal stops are realized as creaky phonation on neighboring sounds rather than with complete glottal closure. If we examine the wave forms and the spectrograms above, we will notice slight creaky phonation on the vowels, and varying degrees of weak glottal closure. This is indicated by the superscripted [ʔ] in the examples above (p. 62).

The high pull up of the pitch is one of the characteristics of the stop sound. This can be seen, for example, in the spectrogram of vowel /a/. The diagram above shows that the band of energy of vowel /o/ does not show much of the presence of glottal stop, but still the pull up of the pitch and the creakiness of the sound implies the characteristic of the glottal stop is present.

### **Fricatives**

Fricative sounds are produced by releasing the air with an audible friction. In Pnar, there are two fricative sounds /h/ and /s/.

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative. In Pnar, /s/ is articulated by bringing the blade of the tongue near the alveolar ridge in such a way that a narrow gap is formed and the air from the lungs escapes through this channel with friction. /s/ occurs initially and medially in Pnar.

#### **Initially**

/sum/ 'to bathe'

/san/ 'five'

#### **Medially**

/ksem/ 'to fart'

/ksaw/ 'dog'

/so/ 'four'

/ksɔŋ/ 'anus'

/sɲiaw/ 'hear/ feel'

/ksaŋ/ 'gall bladder'

/h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative. During the articulation of this sound the glottis is constricted and the air from the lungs is released with an audible friction. /h/ can occur initially and medially in the language.

**Initially**

**Medially**

/ha/ 'preposition'

/ahɔʔ/ 'negative expression'

/hɔʔ/ 'take!'

/pɪrhut/ 'windy'

/hiar/ 'to step down'

/pɪnhap/ 'cause to fall'

/hap/ 'to fall down'

/pɪrhaw/ 'spring'

**Nasals**

There are four nasal sounds in the Pnar phonological system. Nasal sounds are produced with the soft palate lowered allowing the air to pass simultaneously through the nasal cavity and the oral cavity.

/m/ is a *voiced bilabial nasal*. During the articulation of /m/, the lower lip and the upper lip make a firm contact with each other. The soft palate is lowered releasing the air through the nasal cavity and the vocal cords vibrate producing a voiced sound. /m/ occurs in the initial, medial and final position in the language.

**Initially**

**Medially**

**Finally**

/mɔŋ/ 'will'

/k<sup>h</sup>mut/ 'nose'

/dɛm/ 'to lay'

/miat/ 'good looking'

/k<sup>h</sup>mat/ 'eye'

/k<sup>h</sup>lam/ 'plague'

/ma/ 'maternal uncle'

/tɪmmɛn/ 'old people'

/klam/ 'speak'

/man/ 'to grow'

/t<sup>h</sup>mu/ 'to think'

/tɛm/ 'to play  
instrument'

*/n/* is a *voiced alveolar nasal*. During the articulation of this sound the tip of the tongue makes a firm contact with the alveolar ridge. The soft palate is lowered opening the nasal passage for the air in the lungs to pass through. The vocal cords vibrate and a voiced alveolar sound is produced. */n/* can occur in the initial, medial and final positions.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
<i>/na/</i> ‘from’	<i>/sneʔ/</i> ‘skin’	<i>/san/</i> ‘five’
<i>/nɔŋkɔŋ/</i> ‘first’	<i>/tɪrɲem/</i> ‘hammer’	<i>/tan/</i> ‘to pull’
<i>/nala/</i> ‘drain’	<i>/kneʔ/</i> ‘to snatch’	<i>/k<sup>h</sup>lan/</i> ‘strong’
<i>/neŋ/</i> ‘up/ higher’	<i>/knup/</i> ‘traditional umbrella’	<i>/t<sup>h</sup>lun/</i> ‘dumb’

*/ɲ/* is a *voiced palatal nasal*. */ɲ/* is articulated with the blade of the tongue making a firm contact with the alveolar ridge, at the same time the front of the tongue is lowered down and the air passes from the nasal passage. The sound is released with an explosion with the vibration of the vocal cords and this result in a voiced sound. */ɲ/* occurs in the initial, medial and final positions in Pnar.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
<i>/ɲa/</i> ‘aunt’	<i>/kɲa/</i> ‘sacrifice’	<i>/aɲ/</i> ‘law’
<i>/ɲam/</i> ‘to wipe’	<i>/sɲoʔ/</i> ‘hair’	<i>/daɲ/</i> ‘to cut’
<i>/ɲar/</i> ‘rare’	<i>/k<sup>h</sup>ɲum/</i> ‘to grumble’	<i>/saɲ/</i> ‘to cook with oil’
<i>/ɲaŋksɛʔ/</i> ‘caterpillar’	<i>/k<sup>h</sup>ɲɔŋ/</i> ‘to press’	

*/ŋ/* is articulated in which the back of the tongue make a firm contact with the back portion of the hard palate and the velum is lowered down to open the nasal cavity. The vocal cords vibrate and the air escapes through the nasal cavity producing a

voiced sound. Thus /ŋ/ can be described as a *voiced velar nasal*. /ŋ/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
/ŋa/ 'I'	/t <sup>h</sup> ŋa/ 'forehead'	/sdaŋ/ 'to begin'
/ŋap/ 'cheek'	/t <sup>h</sup> ŋan/ 'hungry'	/tlaŋ/ 'winter'
/ŋam/ 'to dive'	/l <sup>h</sup> ŋɔʔ/ 'dark'	/k <sup>h</sup> aŋ/ 'close'
/ŋoʔ/ 'to worship'	/dŋɛm/ 'a bear'	/waŋ/ 'yam'

/l/ is a *voiced alveolar lateral*. In the articulation of /l/, the middle part of the blade of the tongue makes a contact with the alveolar ridge allowing the air to escape on the sides and the vocal cords vibrate. /l/ can occur only in the initial and the medial position (except in recent borrowed words where /l/ can occur in the final position).

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
/le/ 'three'	/t <sup>h</sup> laʔ/ 'blind'	<sup>3</sup> ŋ/bɔl/ <sup>3</sup> 'ball'
/lɛʔ/ 'do / work'	/slap/ 'rain'	<sup>3</sup> ŋ/rol/ 'rule'
/leʔ/ 'white'	/k <sup>h</sup> lo/ 'forest'	
/lɛ/ 'go'(RB)	/klɔŋ/ 'bottle'	

/r/ is a *voiced alveolar flap*. In the articulation of /r/, the tip of the tongue is brought in contact with the alveolar ridge by a single rapid contact between these two organs of articulation and the air is released through the oral cavity without any friction. The vocal cords vibrate producing a voiced sound. /r/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

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<sup>3</sup> <sup>3</sup> (subset) mark indicates the recent borrowed word.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
/rɛʔ/ ‘to hide’	/c <sup>h</sup> ru/ ‘taro’	/kur/ ‘clan’
/riʔ/ ‘malaria’	/c <sup>h</sup> ram/ ‘wall’	/latk <sup>h</sup> ur/ ‘dove’
/rot/ ‘side’	/k <sup>h</sup> rɛʔ/ ‘ready’	/c <sup>h</sup> kur/ ‘ear’
/rɔʔ/ ‘to praise’	/krɛʔ/ ‘to work’	/p <sup>h</sup> ɛr/ ‘different’

/w/ is the bilabial voiced approximant. During the articulation of this sound the upper lip and the lower lip approach with each other, but the degree of narrowing involved does not produce audible friction. The vocal cords vibrate to produce a voiced sound; it occurs initially, medially and finally.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
/wan/ ‘to come’	/k <sup>h</sup> wɛ/ ‘fishing’	/yaw/ ‘market’
/wa/ ‘adjective marker’	/dwar/ ‘door’	/jaw/ ‘sour’
/wɛʔ/ ‘worm’	/swɛ/ ‘lazy’	/ksaw/ ‘dog’
/wɛr/ ‘to remove weeds’	/t <sup>h</sup> wɛ/ ‘deep part of river’	/raw/ ‘dried’

/y/ is the *voiced palatal approximant*. During the articulation of this sound back of the tongue approaches the back portion of the hard palate with each other, but the degree of narrowing involved does not produce audible friction. The vocal cords vibrate to produce a voiced sound; it occurs initially, medially and finally.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
/yam/ ‘to cry’	/pɪnyam/ ‘cause to cry’	/ɔy/ ‘dirty’
/yan/ ‘to wait’	/pɪnyap/ ‘cause to kill’	/kɪnt <sup>h</sup> ay/ ‘woman’(JW)
/yaw/ ‘market’		/sɔy/ ‘lasting’
/yɔŋ/ ‘Genitive marker’		/say/ ‘to pull out’ (JW)

There is a serious debate for the occurrence of semi-vowels /w/ and /y/<sup>4</sup> in the final position. Some scholars treat the last two sounds as diphthongs /au/, /ɔi/, /ai/, /ei/, while others consider them as a vowel followed by a semi-vowels /w/ and /y/ in words like;

/yaw/	vs.	/yau/	'market'
/daw/	vs.	/dau/	'will'
/praw/	vs.	/prau/	'dried bamboo' etc.
/ɾɔy/	vs.	/ɾɔi/	'dirty'
/say/	vs.	/sai/	'to pull out'
/sɔy/	vs.	/sɔi/	'lasting'

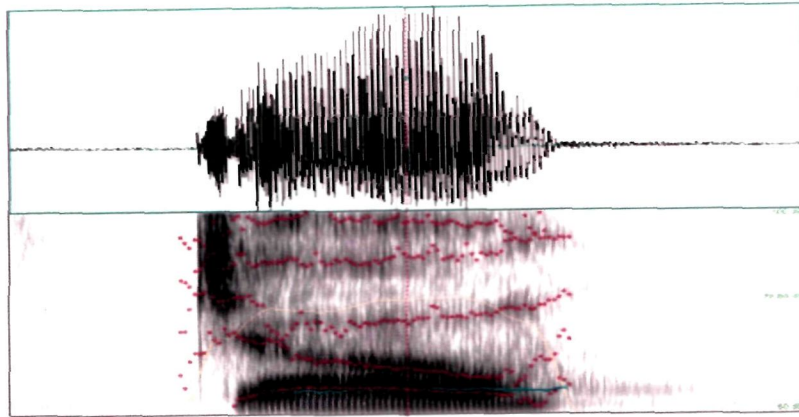
The debate is also about whether semi-vowels /w/ and /y/ occur in the final position. If not, then there is a high chance of diphthongs to occur such as /au/, /ai/, /ɔi/ etc. In the CLSP Workshop (2000) it was found out that the semi-vowels;

/y/ is like an extreme /i/  
/w/ is like an extreme /u/

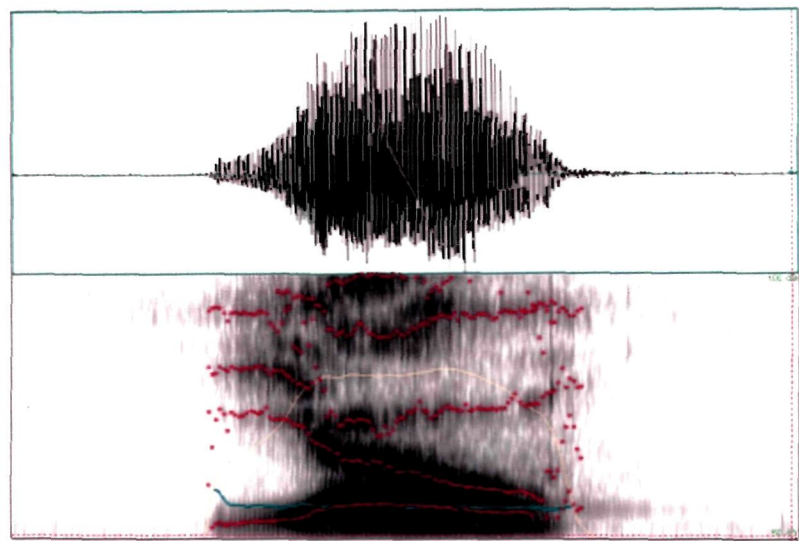
There is always confusion for these two series of sounds, that is, the semivowels /w/ and /y/ and the high vowel /u/ and /i/ in the final position. An acoustic analysis may draw some clear features or some clear distinction between these two series, in that the sounds in the examples above are /w/ and /y/ rather than the expected diphthongs /au/, /ai/ or /ɔi/. These can be summed up by the following acoustic analysis of /w/ and /y/ in the final position;

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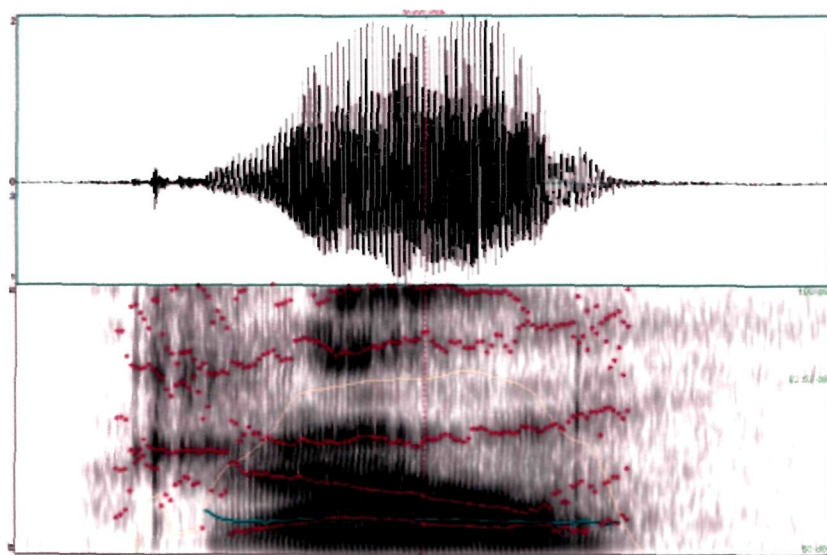
<sup>4</sup> The idea of looking at the semivowels /w/ and /y/ was first brought by Diffloth through my interaction with him (2004).



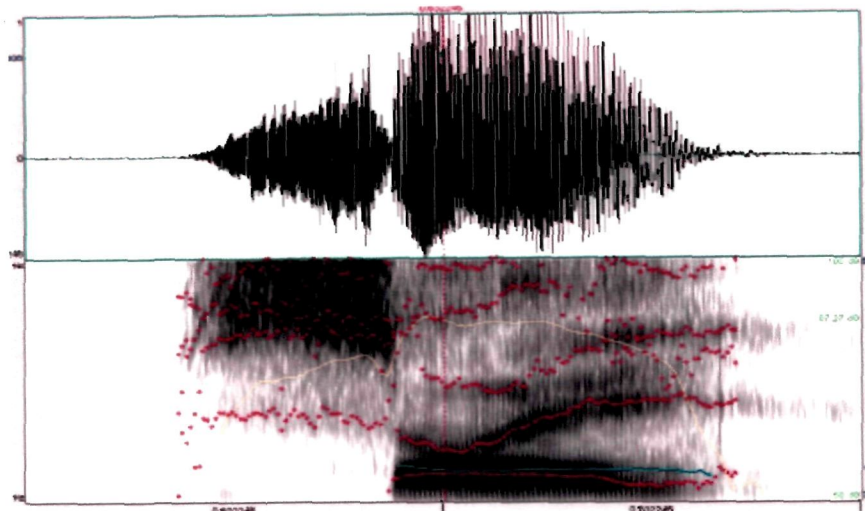
/jaw/



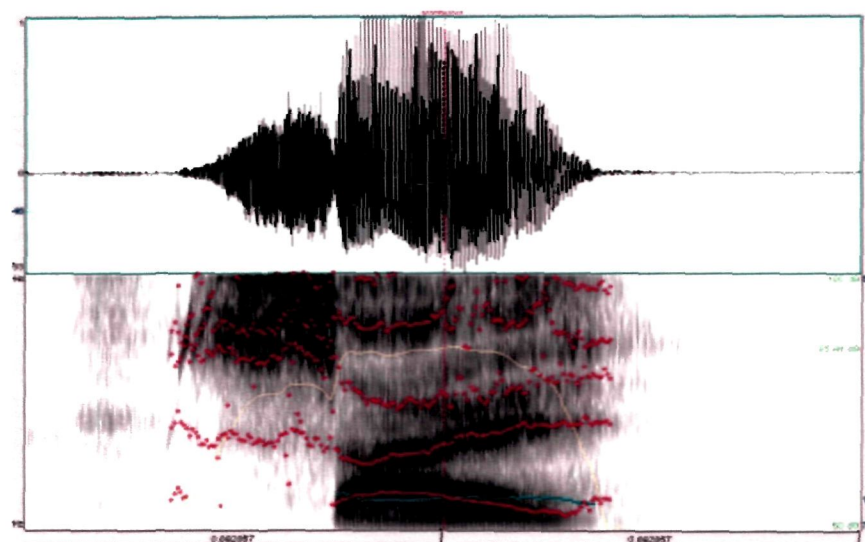
/yaw/



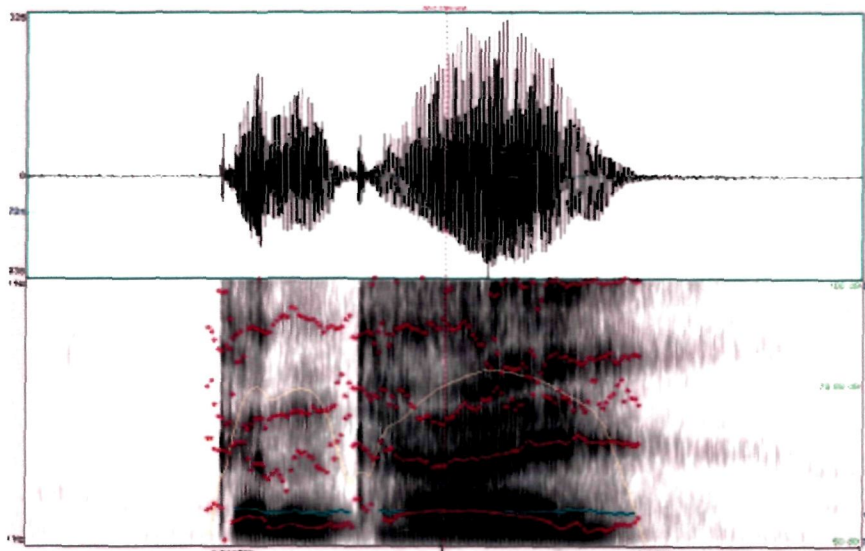
/raw/



/sɔɪ/



/say/



/kɪntʰay/

(1) /w/ and /y/ have a very light energy level except in F1. If these final sounds are treated as /u/ and /i/ rather than /w/ and /y/ and compared it with the /u/ and /i/ in isolation as shown below, it is found out that these sounds are not strong as /u/ and /i/ in isolation.

(a) Formants of /u/ and /i/ as isolation sounds.

	/u/		/i/
F1	370Hz	F1	296Hz
F2	1147Hz	F2	2493Hz
F3	2728Hz	F3	3001Hz

One reason for these could be because the first vowel in a VV is a peak and the second vowel fall between /w/ and /u/ or /y/ and /i/. The choice of using /w/ and /y/ rather than /u/ and /i/ is because the formants of the sounds are weaker. For instance, compare the formant of /u/ in isolation with the /w/ in the three positions also the /i/ in isolation and the /y/ in the initial and final positions. s

(b) The formants of /w/ in the initial position as in these words;

	/wɛr/	/weʔ/	/wa/	/wan/
F1	371Hz	389Hz	395Hz	450Hz
F2	1002Hz	1117Hz	878Hz	910Hz
F3	2386Hz	2514Hz	2515Hz	2615Hz

(c) The formants of /w/ in the medial position as in these words;

	/k <sup>h</sup> wɛ/	/dwar/	/swe/	/t <sup>h</sup> wɛ/
F1	362Hz	358Hz	350Hz	364Hz
F2	1011Hz	981Hz	1106Hz	1078Hz
F3	2344Hz	2509Hz	2476Hz	2356Hz

(d) The formants of /w/ in the final position as in these words;

	/yaw/	/jaw/	/ksaw/	/raw/
F1	487Hz	479Hz	492Hz	478Hz
F2	981Hz	1008Hz	1056Hz	906Hz
F3	2518Hz	2490Hz	2295Hz	2284Hz

(e) The formants of /y/ in the initial position of these words;

	/yaw/	/yam/	/pinyam/	/yan/	/yɔŋ/
F1	329Hz	319Hz	348Hz	316Hz	307Hz
F2	2261Hz	2120Hz	2310Hz	2279Hz	2321Hz
F3	3006Hz	3180Hz	3034Hz	3364Hz	3252Hz

(f) The formants of /y/ in the final position of the word

	/kint <sup>h</sup> ay/	/sɔy/	/say/	/bɔy/
F1	413Hz	410Hz	433Hz	346Hz
F2	1882Hz	1898Hz	1939Hz	2013Hz
F3	2811Hz	2839Hz	2809Hz	2802Hz

In the above analysis, it shows that the F1 of /w/ in the final position of the above words in (d) are all above 400Hz as compared to the F1 of /u/ in isolation in (a) which is only 370Hz where as the F2 and F3 of /u/ is greater than that of /w/ in the final position. This certainly implies that the final sound in the above words is certainly not /u/, and, there are less high as compared to that of /u/ in isolation. Also these can be seen that the F1 of /w/ in the initial position is higher than that of /u/ in isolation. But the F1 of /w/ in the medial position of word is lower as compared to that F1 of /u/ in isolation due to the influence of the other sounds from both ends. Where as the F2 and F3 of /w/ in the initial and medial positions are same as in the final

position (that is the F2 and F3 of /u/ is greater than that of /w/ in the initial and medial positions) as compare to /u/. In analysing the formants of /y/, it is found out that the F1 of /y/ as of /w/ is higher than that of /i/ in isolation in both the initial and final positions. F2 of /y/ is lower than that of /i/, but F3 is higher in initial position and lower in the final position. /y/ is characterized by very low F1, very high F2 as compared to /w/ is characterized by a very low F1, F2, typically a rapid spectral falloff above F2.

Another evidence to strengthen the claim is that the Mon-khmer languages have the tendency to have /w/ and /y/ at the coda position. According to Diffloth (1992)<sup>5</sup> point out that the word /play/ ‘liquor’ in Plang and /phay/ ‘liquor’ in Phang both show the occurrence of /y/ in the final position.

Acoustic analysis is used only for the above sounds/words since there are controversies and disagreements, as stated above. Also the use of acoustic provides evidence to support descriptive analysis of the above sounds/words.

In the discussion of consonants, there is also a serious discuss about the existence of the *voiced aspirated* sounds like /b<sup>h</sup>/, /d<sup>h</sup>/, and /j<sup>h</sup>/ and in principles. Some phoneticians regarded these sounds as a combination of two sound; [b+h], [d+h] and [j+h] because of the intervention of a little amount of [ʰ]. This could be true in Pnar because the frequency of their occurrences is very few. For examples, /b<sup>h</sup>/ occurs only three times; /b<sup>h</sup>a/ ‘good’/b<sup>h</sup>iaw/ ‘greedy’ and /b<sup>h</sup>ar/ ‘classifier for sixty four oranges’. /d<sup>h</sup>/ four times; as in the words, /d<sup>h</sup>ara/ ‘kind of cloth wore by women’, /d<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ/ ‘owl’, /d<sup>h</sup>ari/ ‘veranda’ and /d<sup>h</sup>up/ ‘blanket’. /j<sup>h</sup>/ four times as in the words, /j<sup>h</sup>ur/ ‘vegetable’,

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<sup>5</sup> Diffloth (1992) ‘On the Bulang (Blang, Phang) languages’ Monkhmer Studies 18-19: 34-43

*/j<sup>h</sup>eʔ/* ‘wet’, */j<sup>h</sup>ia/* ‘hot (taste of chilli)’ and */j<sup>h</sup>at/* ‘ship’ in which some of the words look like borrowed words. These words can be represented phonetically as;

[b <sup>h</sup> ha]	‘good’
[b <sup>h</sup> hiaw]	‘greedy’
[b <sup>h</sup> har]	‘classifier for sixty four oranges’
[d <sup>h</sup> hara]	‘kind of cloth wore by women’
[d <sup>h</sup> hɔʔ]	‘owl’
[d <sup>h</sup> hari]	‘veranda’
[d <sup>h</sup> hup]	‘blanket’
[j <sup>h</sup> hur]	‘vegetable’
[j <sup>h</sup> heʔ]	‘wet’
[j <sup>h</sup> hia]	‘hot (taste of chilli)’
[j <sup>h</sup> hat]	‘ship’

In Pnar there are two series of sounds; those sounds which can occur in final position and those which cannot. The series of sounds that can occur in the final position are listed below:

*/-p/, /-t/, /-c/, /-k/, /-ʔ/, /-r/, /-y/, /-w/, /-m/, /-n/, /-ŋ/ and /-ŋ/*

All the voiceless stops in Pnar are produced without release in the final position. For example;

[t <sup>h</sup> atʔ]	‘to hang (Tr.)’
[k <sup>h</sup> lapʔ]	‘gastric’
[kapʔ]	‘to walk’
[trepʔ]	‘hut’

[miat˦]	‘good looking’
[kʰmat˦]	‘eye’
[kbiat˦]	‘to lick’
[lac˦]	‘to escape’
[dac˦]	‘to bite’
[sac˦]	‘to wash’
[pac˦]	‘to look’
[sapɔk˦]	‘tomato’
[kʰak˦]	‘to hawk’
[ɔk˦]	‘friend’

### 3.2.2 Consonant Contrast

The voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop /p/ and its voiced congener /b/.

/p/	/b/
/pam/ ‘to cut’	/bam/ ‘to eat’
/pe/ ‘sugarcane’	/be/ ‘mother’ (RB)
/pɔr/ ‘time’	/bɔr/ ‘power’
/pan/ ‘to ask’	/ban/ ‘to lay on top’

The voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop /p/ and its aspirated congener /pʰ/.

/p/	/pʰ/.
/pa/ ‘father’	/pʰa/ ‘II <sup>nd</sup> P.F’
/put/ ‘to blow’	/pʰut/ ‘to plug’
/pi/ ‘move!’	/pʰi/ ‘II <sup>nd</sup> PL/ II honorific marker’

The voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop /t/ and its voiced congener /d/.

/t/	/d/
/tɔŋ/ 'to fetch'	/dɔŋ/ 'locality'
/teŋ/ 'to be afraid'	/deŋ/ 'tree'
/taŋ/ 'if'	/daŋ/ 'PROG. marker'
/tɛm/ 'to play an instrument'	/dɛm/ 'to lie down'

The voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop /t/ and its aspirated congener /t<sup>h</sup>/.

/t/	/t <sup>h</sup> /
/taʔ/ 'snail'	/t <sup>h</sup> aʔ/ 'snow'
/tuŋ/ 'smell'	/t <sup>h</sup> uŋ/ 'to plant'
/tam/ 'exceed'	/t <sup>h</sup> am/ 'crab'
/toʔ/ 'to steal'	/t <sup>h</sup> oʔ/ 'to seek'

The voiced palatal unaspirated stop and its aspirated congener /j<sup>h</sup>/.

/j/	/j <sup>h</sup> /
/jur/ 'extremely'	/j <sup>h</sup> ur/ 'vegetable'
/jia/ 'happen'	/j <sup>h</sup> ia/ 'hot (taste of chilli)'
/jat/ 'torn'	/j <sup>h</sup> at/ 'ship'

The voiceless unaspirated velar stop /k/ and its aspirated congener /k<sup>h</sup>/.

/k/	/k <sup>h</sup> /
/kaŋ/ 'to bounce'	/k <sup>h</sup> aŋ/ 'to close'
/ku/ 'to climb'	/k <sup>h</sup> u/ 'intestine'
/kɛ/ 'floating'(RB)	/k <sup>h</sup> ɛ/ 'to wake up (Intr.)'(RB)
/ka/ 'II <sup>nd</sup> P.F.'	/k <sup>h</sup> a/ 'paternal cousin'

The *bilabial nasal* /m/ and the *alveolar nasal* /n/.

/m/	/n/
/man/ 'grow'	/nan/ 'lake'
/sam/ 'to distribute'	/san/ 'five'
/tam/ 'exceed'	/tan/ 'to pull'
/snam/ 'blood'	/smam/ 'full (Adv.)'

The *alveolar nasal* /n/ and the *palatal nasal* /ɲ/.

/n/	/ɲ/
/na/ 'from'	/ɲa/ 'paternal aunt'
/nam/ 'fame'	/ɲam/ 'to wipe'
/ɲan/ 'tree species'	/ɲaɲ/ 'dark (Adv.)'

The *bilabial nasal* /m/ and the *velar nasal* /ŋ/.

/m/	/ŋ/
/ma/ 'maternal uncle'	/ɲa/ 'I'
/kam/ 'work'	/kaŋ/ 'bounce'
/sam/ 'to distribute'	/saŋ/ 'taboo'
/miat/ 'good looking'	/ɲiat/ 'to push'

The *alveolar nasal* /n/ and the *velar nasal* /ŋ/.

/n/	/ŋ/
/nam/ 'fame'	/ɲam/ 'to dive'
/san/ 'five'	/saŋ/ 'taboo'
/tun/ 'to put inside'	/tuŋ/ 'smell bad'
/c <sup>h</sup> כּn/ 'to press with finger'	/c <sup>h</sup> כּŋ/ 'to sit'

### 3.3 Vowel

Vowels segments are made with open approximation of the articulators, involve little contact and sometimes none at all. They are thus, literally, less tangible than consonants, and early investigators, not having the sense of touch to reinforce kinesthetic sensations found great difficulty in producing any coherent system for the description by vowels.

The distinctive quality of sound of any vowel segment in Pnar results from the general shape given to the mouth and throat during its production. The mouth and throat together form a tube-shape cavity which starts at the larynx and ends at the lips and the configuration of this tube (vocal tract) is shaped by the action of the articulators: it depends partly on the position which the tongue takes up in the mouth and throat, and partly on how the lips shape the exit from the cavity.

Pnar has *nine* vowels, of which *eight* are monophthongs and one is a diphthong.

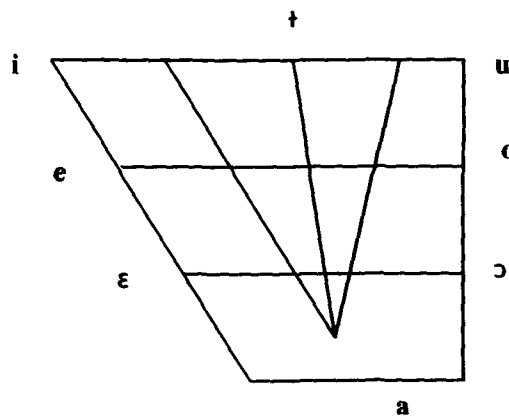


Fig. No. 9  
Vowels Chart Chart of Pnar

### 3.3.1 Monophthong

*/i/* is the *high front unrounded vowel*; the term *high* and *front* describe the position of the tongue in the mouth. */i/* is articulated slightly behind the cardinal *high close front* vowel between the close and the half-close position. The lips are spread when */i/* is produced. */i/* can occur initially, medially and finally.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
<i>/im/</i> ‘to live’	<i>/tim/</i> ‘to curse’	<i>/kti/</i> ‘hand’
<i>/i/</i> ‘honorific marker’	<i>/stin/</i> ‘light (weight)’	<i>/k<sup>h</sup>i/</i> ‘to shave’
<i>/in/</i> ‘being burn’	<i>/tit/</i> ‘mushroom’	<i>/kli/</i> ‘to fold’
<i>/iʔ/</i> ‘cooked’	<i>/kit/</i> ‘to carry’	<i>/ksi/</i> ‘lice’

*/e/* is the *mid high front unrounded vowel*. In Pnar, the front vowel */e/* is articulated between the half open and the half close position slightly centralized. The lips are spread when */e/* is produced. */e/* can occur initially, medially and finally in the language.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
<i>/eʔ/</i> ‘to leave, to abandon’	<i>/deʔ/</i> ‘send (someone) off’ <i>/kteʔ/</i> ‘mud’	<i>/le/</i> ‘three’ <i>/be/</i> ‘mother’(RB)
<i>/e/</i> ‘to give’	<i>/deŋ/</i> ‘tree’	<i>/tne/</i> ‘correct’
<i>/eŋ/</i> ‘to trap’	<i>/seŋ/</i> ‘to start’	<i>/pe/</i> ‘sugarcane’

*/ɛ/* is the *mid low front unrounded vowel*. The body of the tongue is relatively forward, as in the production of */e/* but it is slightly lower. In Pnar, the front vowel */ɛ/*

is articulated between the half close and the open position. /ɛ/ can occur in the initial, medial and final position in the language.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
/ɛn/ 'to stop crying'	/c <sup>h</sup> ɛm/ 'find'	/ɛ/ 'to go' (RB)
/ɛʔ/ 'hard'	/sɪnk <sup>h</sup> ɛn/ 'pillow'	/c <sup>h</sup> rɛ/ 'to be angry' (RB)
/ɛm/ 'having'	/lɛn/ 'to deny'	/prɛ/ 'to vomit' (RB)
/ɛ/ 'expression of disagree'	/sɛm/ 'to wear a sarong'	/t <sup>h</sup> arɛ/ 'messy hair'

/a/ is the *low central unrounded vowel*. The central vowel /a/ is articulated between the half open and the open position but slightly more closely to the half open position. /a/ can occur in initial, medial and final positions.

<b>Initial</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
/ar/ 'two'	/star/ 'head-strap'	/p <sup>h</sup> ra/ 'eight'
/aʔ/ 'to cut'	/wan/ 'to come'	/k <sup>h</sup> la/ 'tiger'
/aŋ/ 'to open a mouth' /jnaʔ/ 'sticky'		/sma/ 'smell bad'
/antat/ 'to predict'	/t <sup>h</sup> at/ 'to hang (Tr.)'	/kba/ 'unhusked rice'

/ɔ/ is the *mid-low, back rounded vowel*. There is a slight lip rounding in the articulation of this vowel. The mid-low vowel /ɔ/ is articulated between the half close and the open position and the tongue is slightly pulled backwards. The vowel /ɔ/ can occur in the initial, medial and final positions.

<b>Initial</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
/ɔŋ/ 'to say'	/tɔŋ/ 'to fetch'	/mɔ/ 'tag question marker'
/ɔ/ ISg Post-verbal <sup>6</sup> (JW)	/c <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ/ 'to sit'	/ɔ/ 'okay!'
/ɔ/ 'yes' (RB)	/dɔŋ/ 'to return'	
	/mɔn/ 'will'	
	/k <sup>h</sup> ɔn/ 'child'	

<sup>6</sup> In Pnar two set of Pronouns occur. See Pronouns

*/o/* is the *mid, back rounded vowel*. The back vowel */o/* is articulated between the half close and the half open positions, slightly centralized. The lips are rounded when */o/* is articulated; it occurs initially, medially and finally.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
<i>/o/</i> ‘IIIMSg Post-verbal	<i>/lom/</i> ‘hill’	<i>/pt<sup>h</sup>o/</i> ‘pumpkin’
<i>/ot/</i> ‘to murmur’	<i>/c<sup>h</sup>ɪnrom/</i> ‘not grind finely’	<i>/k<sup>h</sup>lo/</i> ‘forest’
<i>/or/</i> ‘falling down’	<i>/dom/</i> ‘dark’	<i>/mo/</i> ‘stone’
	<i>/k<sup>h</sup>om/</i> ‘to tie’	<i>/so/</i> ‘four’

*/u/* is the *high, back rounded vowel*. The back vowel */u/* is articulated slightly below the cardinal high close back vowel. Lips are rounded when the back vowel */u/* is produced. The symbol */u/* represents the vowel sound as in the words below and it can occur medially and finally.

<b>Initially</b>	<b>Medially</b>	<b>Finally</b>
<i>/u/</i> ‘he’	<i>/put/</i> ‘to blow’	<i>/t<sup>h</sup>lu/</i> ‘hole’
<i>/um/</i> ‘water’	<i>/sum/</i> ‘to bathe’	<i>/ɪnru/</i> ‘six’
<i>/ut/</i> ‘camel’	<i>/t<sup>h</sup>uŋ/</i> ‘to plant’	<i>/c<sup>h</sup>ru/</i> ‘taro’
	<i>/duŋ/</i> ‘to grind’	<i>/pac<sup>h</sup>u/</i> ‘to mix hot and cool water’

*/ɪ/* is the *high, central and unrounded vowel*. The central vowel */ɪ/*<sup>7</sup> occurs initially and medially.

<sup>7</sup> It’s occurrence in the initial position is given just for sake of convenience. Otherwise it should be phonetically transcribed as;

<b>[ɪnte]</b>	‘to winnow’
<b>[ɪnɾaw]</b>	‘seven’
<b>[ɪnɾaw]</b>	‘thing’ (RB)

**Initially**

/ɪnɾaw/ 'thing' (RB)

/ɪnɾu/ 'six'

/ɪnɾaw/ 'seven'

/ɪnte/ 'to winnow'

**Medially**

/pɪɾhaw/ 'windy season'

/pɪɾluŋ/ 'eyeball'

/lɪŋk<sup>h</sup>a/ 'paddy field'

/lɪŋkɔɾ/ 'a plough'

The vowel /ɪ/, in fact occurs at the level of phonetic in the initial position because phonemically its occurrence is predictable; that is, it precedes the nasals and liquids which are vocalic consonants. In some cases, words can be described with (for my own convenience) or without /ɪ/, for example:

/ɲdraw/<sup>8</sup> 'thing' (RB)

/pɾhaw/ 'windy season'

/ɲdru/ 'six'

/pɾluŋ/ 'eyeball'

/ɲɾaw/ 'seven'

/lɪŋk<sup>h</sup>a/<sup>9</sup> 'paddy field'

/ɲte/ 'to winnow'

/lɪŋkɔɾ/ 'a plough'

/tɾp<sup>h</sup>a/ 'shoulder'

/tɪliat/ 'to grind'

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 [ɪnɾu] 'six'

<sup>8</sup> The diacritic mark below the nasals and liquid sounds indicate a syllabic consonant

<sup>9</sup> /ɲ/ is the syllabic nasal velar

Regarding with vowel /<sup>ɸ</sup>/, the researchers may raise question, why it not included or treated as a phoneme. I have not listed [<sup>ɸ</sup>] in the list of vowel sounds because its occurrence is only at the level of phonetics with a little amount and moreover its occurrence is predictable.

### 3.3.1.1 Vowel Contrast

The *high front unrounded vowel /i/* and the *high back rounded vowel /u/*.

/i/	/u/
/sim/ ‘bird’	/sum/ ‘to bath’
/diŋ/ ‘fire’	/duŋ/ ‘to grind’
/ʔim/ ‘to live’	/ʔum/ ‘water’
/k <sup>h</sup> i/ ‘to shave’	/k <sup>h</sup> u/ ‘intestine’

The *high front unrounded vowel /i/* and the *mid high front unrounded vowel /e/*.

/i/	/e/
/i/ ‘we’	/e/ ‘to give’
/iʔ/ ‘cooked’	/eʔ/ ‘to leave (something) behind’
/diʔ/ ‘to drink’	/deʔ/ ‘asking someone to leave’
/k <sup>h</sup> iʔ/ ‘to work’	/k <sup>h</sup> eʔ/ ‘bowl’

The *mid high front unrounded vowel /e/* and the *mid, back rounded vowel /o/*.

/e/	/o/
/deʔ/ ‘asking someone to leave’	/doʔ/ ‘poor’
/me/ ‘II P.M. Sg.	/mo/ ‘stone’
/e/ ‘to give’	/o/ ‘III. M. Sg. agreement marker’

The *mid high front unrounded* vowel /e/ and the *mid low front unrounded* vowel /ɛ/.

/e/	/ɛ/
/le/ 'three'	/lɛ/ 'to go (RB)'
/k <sup>h</sup> leʔ/ 'head'	/k <sup>h</sup> lɛʔ/ 'to mix up'
/eʔ/ 'to leave'	/ɛʔ/ 'hard'

The *mid low front unrounded* vowel /ɛ/ and the *low central unrounded* vowel /a/.

/ɛ/	/a/
/k <sup>h</sup> lɛ/ 'to omit'	/k <sup>h</sup> la/ 'tiger'
/kbɛ/ 'to shout'	/kba/ 'unhusked rice'
/sɛm/ 'to wear a sarong'	/sam/ 'to distribute'
/k <sup>h</sup> lɛm/ 'without'	/k <sup>h</sup> lam/ 'plague'

The *low central unrounded* vowel /a/ and the *mid-low, back rounded* vowel /ɔ/.

/a/	/ɔ/
/aŋ/ 'to open the mouth'	/ɔŋ/ 'to say'
/daŋ/ 'PROG marker'	/dɔŋ/ 'to return'
/c <sup>h</sup> aŋ/ 'basket'	/c <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ/ 'to sit'
/taŋ/ 'only'	/tɔŋ/ 'to fetch'

The *low central unrounded* vowel /a/ and the *mid, back rounded* vowel /o/.

/a/	/o/
/ar/ 'two'	/or/ 'to fall down'
/lam/ 'give!'	/lom/ 'hill'
/k <sup>h</sup> la/ 'tiger'	/k <sup>h</sup> lo/ 'forest'
/ma/ 'maternal uncle'	/mo/ 'stone'

The *mid-low, back rounded vowel* /ɔ/ and the *mid, back rounded vowel* /o/.

/ɔ/

/tɔʔ/ 'beans'

/t<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ/ 'to write'

/dɔʔ/ 'to kiss'

/kɪnrɔʔ/ 'wall' (JW)

/o/

/toʔ/ 'to steal'

/t<sup>h</sup>oʔ/ 'to search'

/doʔ/ 'poor'

/kɪnoʔ/ 'to shake' (JW)

### 3.3.2 Diphthong

Diphthongs are vowel segments whose quality is not constant. It changes continually while the vowel is being uttered. A diphthong may be described and classified in terms of its beginning and ending points, using the categories of monophthong discussed above.

In a diphthong, one of the vowel segments is more prominent than the other. According to the prominence received; diphthongs are classified as 'falling' (also called 'decrecendo') or as 'rising' (also called 'crescendo'). A 'falling' diphthong has the first vowel more prominent whereas the second vowel is more prominent in the rising diphthong.

In analyzing Pnar, only one diphthong /ia/ occurs in this language, and it occurs only in the medial and final positions.

/ia/ In Pnar, during the articulation of this diphthong /ia/, the tongue starts from the high front position of the short unrounded vowel /i/ and glides towards the low central vowel /a/. /ia/ can be described as a glide from the high front vowel below the close position to a central unrounded vowel at the position slightly above open between front and back position. /ia/ is a rising diphthong because /a/ is more prominence than /i/. The diphthong /ia/ occurs only in the medial and the final positions.

***Medial***

/p<sup>h</sup>nian/ ‘oil’

/p<sup>h</sup>ɲiar/ ‘to feel scared’

/t<sup>h</sup>iaʔ/ ‘to sleep’

/biaʔ/ ‘to paste’

***Final***

/p<sup>h</sup>ria/ ‘hail’

/k<sup>h</sup>ia/ ‘heavy’

/sak<sup>h</sup>ia/ ‘cucumber’

/tia/ ‘to come closer’

### **3.4 Initial Consonant Combination**

This chapter can be presented into two parts; *initial consonants cluster* which will be phonetically represented and *system of initial consonant combination* which will be phonemically represented.

#### **3.4.1 Consonant Cluster**

Consonant clusters are one of the most striking features of Pnar; there is an astonishing richness in its word-initial clustering possibilities. This great variety of initial clustering patterns is a typological feature of other Mon-Khmer languages also. Phonetically, there are sixty nine initial consonant clusters occurring in Pnar. The possible initial cluster in Pnar can be summed up as follow;

(1) *Aspirated Stop + Stop*

*Aspirated Stop + Nasal*

*Aspirated Stop + Liquid*

(2) *Stop + Liquid*

*Stop + Fricative (/s/)*

(3) *Fricative (/s/) + Stop*

*Fricative (/s/) + Nasal*

*Fricative (/s/) + Liquid*

(4) *Nasal + Liquid*

(5) *Liquid + Stop*

*Liquid + Aspirated Stop*

*Liquid + Nasal*

**3.4.1.1 Initial consonant clusters (Phonetically represented).**

*Aspirated Stop + Stop*

[c <sup>h</sup> p-]	[c <sup>h</sup> piŋ]	‘handle of tool’
[c <sup>h</sup> b-]	[c <sup>h</sup> ba]	‘to light’
[c <sup>h</sup> d-]	[c <sup>h</sup> doŋʔ]	‘to walk hand in hand’
[c <sup>h</sup> k-]	[c <sup>h</sup> kaw]	‘spouse’
[c <sup>h</sup> k-]	[c <sup>h</sup> kur]	‘ear’
[c <sup>h</sup> ʔ-]	[c <sup>h</sup> ʔʔ]	‘uvula’

*Aspirated Stop + Nasal*

[p <sup>h</sup> n-]	[p <sup>h</sup> nianŋ]	‘oil’
[p <sup>h</sup> ŋ-]	[p <sup>h</sup> ŋiar]	‘scare’
[t <sup>h</sup> m-]	[t <sup>h</sup> ma]	‘war’
[t <sup>h</sup> n-]	[t <sup>h</sup> nɔm]	‘to murmur’
[t <sup>h</sup> ŋ-]	[t <sup>h</sup> ŋan]	‘hungry’
[c <sup>h</sup> n-]	[c <sup>h</sup> nɔŋ]	‘village’
[c <sup>h</sup> n-]	[c <sup>h</sup> na]	‘to make’
[c <sup>h</sup> ŋ-]	[c <sup>h</sup> ŋiatʔ]	‘to tie a scarf’
[k <sup>h</sup> m-]	[k <sup>h</sup> mɛtʔ]	‘to look up’

[k <sup>h</sup> n-]	[k <sup>h</sup> ne]	‘rat’
[k <sup>h</sup> ŋ-]	[k <sup>h</sup> ŋiŋ]	‘to be disgusted’

*Aspirated Stop + Liquid*

[p <sup>h</sup> l-]	[p <sup>h</sup> laŋ]	‘grass’
[p <sup>h</sup> r-]	[p <sup>h</sup> ra]	‘eight’
[t <sup>h</sup> l-]	[t <sup>h</sup> lɔŋ]	‘mortar’
[t <sup>h</sup> r-]	[t <sup>h</sup> ri]	‘bamboo strip’
[t <sup>h</sup> w-]	[t <sup>h</sup> wɛ]	‘the deep part of river’
[c <sup>h</sup> l]	[c <sup>h</sup> liaʔ]	‘mat’
[c <sup>h</sup> r-]	[c <sup>h</sup> rɔʔ]	‘house-pole’
[c <sup>h</sup> l-]	[c <sup>h</sup> lɛ]	‘overflow’
[c <sup>h</sup> r-]	[c <sup>h</sup> rɔʔ]	‘to scratch’
[c <sup>h</sup> w-]	[c <sup>h</sup> wawiaŋ]	‘flute’
[k <sup>h</sup> l-]	[k <sup>h</sup> lo]	‘forest’
[k <sup>h</sup> r-]	[k <sup>h</sup> rɔŋ]	‘to beg’
[k <sup>h</sup> w-]	[k <sup>h</sup> we]	‘to fish’

*Stop + Liquid*

[bl-]	[blaŋ]	‘goat’
[br-]	[bru]	‘man’
[pl-]	[plakʔ]	‘all’
[pr-]	[prɛ]	‘to vomit’
[dw-]	[dwar]	‘verandah’

[tl-]	[tlan]	‘winter’
[tr-]	[traʔ]	‘greedy’
[jl-]	[jlo]	‘to howl’
[jw-]	[jwat]	‘resistant, tough’
[kl-]	[klaʔ]	‘to take out’
[kr-]	[krɔʔ]	‘joint’
[kw-]	[kway]	‘areca nut’

*Stop + Fricative (/s/)*

[ps-]	[psian]	‘black colour’
[ks-]	[ksaw]	‘dog’

*Fricative (/s/) + Stop*

[sp-]	[spaʔ]	‘wealth’
[sb-]	[sbɔʔ]	‘manure’
[st-]	[stan]	‘thin’
[sd-]	[sdaŋ]	‘to begin’
[sʔ-]	[sʔaŋ]	‘to dry at/over fire’
[sk-]	[skam]	‘husk’

*Fricative (/s/) + Nasal*

[sm-]	[smɛ]	‘to swear’
[sn-]	[snam]	‘blood’
[sŋ-]	[sŋoʔ]	‘hair’
[sŋ-]	[sŋat]	‘dried up’

*Fricative (/s/) + Liquid*

[sl-]	[sla]	‘leaf’
[sr-]	[srim]	‘resemble’
[sw-]	[swe]	‘lazy’

*Nasal + Liquid*

[ml-]	[mlɛn]	‘be used to’
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*Liquid + Stop*

[rp-]	[rpian]	‘bee’
[rb-]	[rbɛn]	‘thick’
[rt-]	[rta]	‘age’

*Liquid + Aspirated Stop*

[rk <sup>h</sup> -]	[rk <sup>h</sup> ɛ]	‘to laugh’
[rc <sup>h</sup> -]	[rc <sup>h</sup> aw]	‘to arrange betel leaf or any kind of leaf’

*Liquid + Nasal*

[rm-]	[rmɛ]	‘creeper’
[m-]	[mɔt̃]	‘to place one on top of another’
[ŋ-]	[ŋaw]	‘charcoal’
[rw-]	[rwian]	‘ring made of bamboo used as a stand for pots’

### 3.4.2 System of Initial Consonant Combination.

However, in phonemic analysis, there is a very rich system of initial consonant combination. The possible two places combinations of consonants in the initial position are summed up as follow;

#### Two place combination of Initial consonants

(1) *Aspirated Stop + Stop*

*Aspirated Stop + Nasal*

*Aspirated Stop + Liquid*

(2) *Stop + Liquid*

*Stop + Aspirated Stop*

*Stop + Fricative (/s/)*

*Stop + Stop*

*Stop + Nasal*

(3) *Fricative (/s/) + Stop*

*Fricative (/s/) + Nasal*

*Fricative (/s/) + Liquid*

(4) *Nasal + Stop*

*Nasal + Aspirated*

*Nasal + Liquid*

*Nasal + Nasal*

(5) *Liquid + Stop*

*Liquid + Liquid*

*Liquid + Nasal*

### 3.4.2.1 Initial consonant clusters (Phonemically represented).

#### *Aspirated Stop + Stop*

/c <sup>h</sup> b-/	/c <sup>h</sup> ba/	‘to light’
/c <sup>h</sup> p-/	/c <sup>h</sup> piŋ/	‘handle of tool’
/c <sup>h</sup> d-/	/c <sup>h</sup> doʔ/	‘to walk hand in hand’
/c <sup>h</sup> k-/	/c <sup>h</sup> kaw/	‘spouse’
/c <sup>h</sup> k-/	/c <sup>h</sup> kur/	‘ear’
/c <sup>h</sup> ʔ-/	/c <sup>h</sup> ʔʔ/	‘uvula’

#### *Aspirated Stop + Nasal*

/p <sup>h</sup> n-/	/p <sup>h</sup> nian/	‘oil’
/p <sup>h</sup> ŋ-/	/p <sup>h</sup> ŋiar/	‘scare’
/t <sup>h</sup> m-/	/t <sup>h</sup> ma/	‘war’
/t <sup>h</sup> n-/	/t <sup>h</sup> nɔm/	‘to murmur’
/t <sup>h</sup> ŋ-/	/t <sup>h</sup> ŋan/	‘hungry’
/c <sup>h</sup> n-/	/c <sup>h</sup> nɔŋ/	‘village’
/c <sup>h</sup> n-/	/c <sup>h</sup> na/	‘to make’
/c <sup>h</sup> ŋ-/	/c <sup>h</sup> ŋiat/	‘to tie a scarf’
/k <sup>h</sup> m-/	/k <sup>h</sup> met/	‘to look up’
/k <sup>h</sup> ŋ-/	/k <sup>h</sup> ŋiŋ/	‘to be disgusted’
/k <sup>h</sup> n-/	/k <sup>h</sup> ne/	‘rat’

#### *Aspirated Stop + Liquid*

/p <sup>h</sup> l-/	/p <sup>h</sup> lan/	‘grass’
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/p <sup>h</sup> r-/	/p <sup>h</sup> ra/	‘eight’
/t <sup>h</sup> l-/	/t <sup>h</sup> lɔŋ/	‘mortar’
/t <sup>h</sup> r-/	/t <sup>h</sup> ri/	‘bamboo strip’
/t <sup>h</sup> w-/	/t <sup>h</sup> wɛ/	‘the deep part of a river’
/c <sup>h</sup> l-/	/c <sup>h</sup> liaʔ/	‘mat’
/c <sup>h</sup> r-/	/c <sup>h</sup> ɾɔt/	‘house-pole’
/c <sup>h</sup> l-/	/c <sup>h</sup> lɛ/	‘overflow’
/c <sup>h</sup> r-/	/c <sup>h</sup> ɾɔt/	‘to scratch’
/c <sup>h</sup> w-/	/c <sup>h</sup> wawian/	‘flute’
/k <sup>h</sup> l-/	/k <sup>h</sup> lo/	‘forest’
/k <sup>h</sup> r-/	/k <sup>h</sup> ɾɔŋ/	‘to beg’
/k <sup>h</sup> w-/	/k <sup>h</sup> we/	‘to fish’

*Stop + Stop*

/pt-/	/ptɛŋ/	‘to continue’
/pd-/	/pdan/	‘be cracked’
/pʔ-/	/pʔut/	‘rotten’
/tb-/	/tbian/	‘short’
/td-/	/tdɔŋ/	‘tail’
/tk-/	/tkɔʔ/	‘lame’
/tʔ-/	/latʔap/	‘crow’
/kp-/	/kpɛɾ/	‘garden’
/kb-/	/kba/	‘unhusked rice’
/kt-/	/ktuŋ/	‘dry fish’

/kd-/	/kdiap/	‘to flirt’
/kj-/	/kjut/	‘to be sick’
/kʔ-/	/kʔʔ/	‘to cough’
/tp-/	/tpɛ/	‘fire place’

*Stop + Aspirated*

/pt <sup>h</sup> -/	/pt <sup>h</sup> oʔ/	‘brown’
/tk <sup>h</sup> -/	/tk <sup>h</sup> an/	‘tired’
/kc <sup>h</sup> -/	/kc <sup>h</sup> u/	‘pot’
/kt <sup>h</sup> -/	/kt <sup>h</sup> aŋ/	‘bitter’
/rc <sup>h</sup> -/	/rc <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘to arrange betel leaf or any kind of leaf’
/rk <sup>h</sup> -/	/rk <sup>h</sup> ɛ/	‘to laugh’

*Stop + Fricative (/s/)*

/ps-/	/psaw/	‘to burry under ashes’
/ps-/	/psiaŋ/	‘black colour’

*Stop + Nasal*

/bn-/	/bneŋ/	‘heaven’
/pn-/	/pnat/	‘split’
/tm-/	/tmaŋ/	‘beard’
/tn-/	/tnat/	‘branch’
/tŋ-/	/tŋit/	‘dirt’
/dŋ-/	/dŋem/	‘bear’
/jn-/	/jnaŋ/	‘to feel pain’

/jŋ-/	/jŋem/	‘bruised’
/km-/	/kmɛn/	‘happy’
/kn-/	/knɔʔ/	‘small wooden stool’
/kŋ-/	/kŋa/	‘to sacrifice’

*Stop + Liquid*

/pl-/	/plak/	‘all’
/bl-/	/blaŋ/	‘goat’
/br-/	/bru/	‘man’
/tl-/	/tlaŋ/	‘winter’
/pr-/	/pre/	‘to vomit’
/tr-/	/traʔ/	‘greedy’
/dw-/	/dwar/	‘verandah’
/jl-/	/jlo/	‘to howl’
/jw-/	/jwat/	‘resistant, tough’
/jr-/	/jri/	‘banyan tree’
/ks-/	/ksaw/	‘dog’
/kl-/	/klaʔ/	‘to take out’
/kr-/	/krɔʔ/	‘joint’
/kw-/	/kway/	‘areca nut’

*Fricative (/s/) + Stop*

/sb-/	/sbɔʔ/	‘manure’
/sp-/	/spaʔ/	‘wealth’
/st-/	/staŋ/	‘thin’

/sd-/	/sdaŋ/	‘to begin’
/sk-/	/skam/	‘husk’
/sʔ-/	/sʔaŋ/	‘to dry at/over fire’

*Fricative (/s/) + Nasal*

/sm-/	/smɛ/	‘to swear’
/sn-/	/snam/	‘blood’
/sɲ-/	/sɲoʔ/	‘hair’
/sŋ-/	/sŋat/	‘dried up’

*Fricative (/s/) + Liquid*

/sl-/	/sla/	‘leaf’
/sr-/	/srim/	‘resemble’
/sw-/	/swe/	‘lazy’

*Nasal + Liquid*

/ml-/	/mlɛn/	‘be used to’
/nr-/	/nru/	‘six’

*Nasal + Nasal*

/ɲɲ-/	/ɲɲaw/	‘seven’
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*Nasal + Stop*

/mb-/	/mbu/	‘breast’
/nt-/	/nte/	‘to winnow’

*Nasal + Aspirated*

/nt <sup>h</sup> -/	/nt <sup>h</sup> ɛ/	‘female’ (RB)
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*Liquid + Stop*

/rɲ-/	/rɲiaŋ/	‘bee’
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/rβ-/                      /rβɛn/                      ‘thick’

/rt-/                      /rta/                      ‘age’

*Liquid + Liquid*

/lw-/                      /lwe/                      ‘wasp’

/rw-/                      /rwiŋ/                      ‘ring made of bamboo used as a  
stand for pot’

*Liquid + Nasal*

/rm-/                      /rme/                      ‘creeper’

/rn-/                      /rnɔt/                      ‘to place one on top of another’

/rŋ-/                      /rŋaw/                      ‘charcoal’

**3.4.2.2 Three-place initial consonants combination**

/prt-/                      /prtuc/                      ‘name’

/prt<sup>h</sup>-/                      /prt<sup>h</sup>at/                      ‘stick-insect’

/prh-/                      /prhaw/                      ‘windy season’

/pri-/                      /priuŋ/                      ‘eyeball’

/prk<sup>h</sup>-/                      /prk<sup>h</sup>at/                      ‘to think’

/prc<sup>h</sup>-/                      /prc<sup>h</sup>aŋ/                      ‘to give a try’

/trk<sup>h</sup>-/                      /trk<sup>h</sup>aŋ/                      ‘fern’

/trc<sup>h</sup>-/                      /trc<sup>h</sup>ut/                      ‘to brush’

/tll-/                      /tlliat/                      ‘to grind by rolling’

/trm-/                      /trma/                      ‘to dream’

/trn-/                      /trna/                      ‘early-riser’

/tnd-/                      /tndaŋ/                      ‘to grind’

/tɒr-/	/tɒraʔ/	‘to dash’
/nt <sup>h</sup> r-/	/nt <sup>h</sup> rɛ/	‘to struggle to escape’
/lnt-/	/lntɛr/	‘breadth’
/ŋk-/	/ŋkɔr/	‘a plough’
/ŋk <sup>h</sup> -/	/ŋk <sup>h</sup> a/	‘paddy field’
/ŋt <sup>h</sup> -/	/ŋt <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ/	‘clod of earth’
/mnt <sup>h</sup> -/	/mnt <sup>h</sup> i/	‘to day-dream’
/ŋkd-/	/ŋkdan/	‘to lay down by the back’
/mnt <sup>h</sup> n-/	/mnt <sup>h</sup> na/	‘gaur’

### 3.5 Syllable and syllable structure

A syllable may be defined as a maximum pulse of initiator activity bounded by momentary retardation of the initiator, either self – imposed, or more usually, imposed by a consonant type of articulatory stricture. However, syllable can be seen both from the phonetics and the phonological points of view (Crystal 1987).

In a phonetics, some have attempted to identify syllables on the basis of amount of articulatory effort needed to produce them. According to Stetson (1892-1950), each syllable corresponds to an increase in air pressure, air from the lung being released as a series of chest pulses (qtd. in Crystal 164).

In term of acoustic, syllable are defined as, each syllable contain one and only one peak of acoustic energy or intensity (loudness).

Phonological views of the syllable focus on the sound combination in a language to produce typical sequences. Two classes of sounds are as established:

sounds that can occur on their own, or are at the centre of the syllable (V), and those that cannot occur on their own (C).

### 3.5.1 Syllable in Pnar

In Pnar, the syllable pattern constitutes in an onset, a peak and a coda. The nucleus of the syllable is the peak which consists of a vowel; unlike the peak and the coda, the nucleus is an obligatory one. Pnar has only two syllables in basic words. Polysyllabic words seem to be compound words, (even though they do not carry meaning in it). The syllables of Pnar can be divided into major syllables and minor syllable. A major syllable has the pattern CV(C) but the minor syllable or non-final syllable, is always open. The minor syllable always ends in a vowel, a nasal, or a liquid, these are; [l], [r], [m], [ŋ] and [ŋ] when analysed phonetically.

<i>Minor Syllable</i>		<i>Major Syllable</i>	
{la}	-	{tʔap}	'a crow'
{ʔa}	-	{kɔr}	'manner'
{pa}	-	{lɔŋ}	'bedstead'
{c <sup>h</sup> u}	-	{tia}	'funny'
{tɱ}	-	{p <sup>h</sup> a}	'shoulder'
{ŋ}	-	{ru}	'six'
{tʂ}	-	{nɛm}	'hammer'
{c <sup>h</sup> ŋ}	-	{kiar}	'the side of a house'



### 3.5.2 Types of syllable

At the phonemic level, we can divide syllables into three types according to their place of occurrence: *initial*, *medial* and *final syllables*. The initial, medial and final syllables can further be sub grouped into two types.

(i) *Open syllable.*

(ii) *Close syllable*

#### 3.5.2.1 Initial syllable

Initial syllables in Pnar words are of five types. Out of five, two are open syllables and three are close syllables. They are:

CV-

CCV-

VC-

CVC-

CCVC-

*Open syllable;*

CV-	/la-tʔap/	'a crow'
	/la-daw/	'banana'
	/pa-lɔŋ/	'bedstead'
	/pa-k <sup>h</sup> ɔt/	'to throw'
CCV -	/c <sup>h</sup> la- ni/	'winnowing basket'
	/c <sup>h</sup> wa-wian/	'flute'
	/c <sup>h</sup> la-dian/	'traditional umbrella'

*Close types;*

VC -	/ɪn-ru/	‘six’
	/ɪn-ɲaw/	‘seven’
	/ɪn-ta/	‘to lament’
CVC -	/tɪm-p <sup>h</sup> a/	‘shoulder’
	/or- lɛ	‘land slide’
	/tɪr-nɛm/	‘hammer’
	/tɪrk <sup>h</sup> an/	‘fern’
CCVC-	/slɔŋ- saŋ/	‘a kind of fruit’
	/t <sup>h</sup> lɔŋ-blɛ/	‘hollowed rock in the river’

### 3.5.2.2 Medial syllable

There are only two types of medial syllables. One is open syllable (-CV-) and one is close syllable (-CVC-).

*Open syllable;*

-CV-	/ra-pa-ti/	‘dove’
	/mat-ya-su/	‘knee’
	/sɔʔ-ma-nir/	‘litchi’
	/ɲam-ta-ra/	‘orange’

<i>Close syllable;</i>	-CVC-	/c <sup>h</sup> eʔ- rɪŋ -ku/	‘lizard’
		/ra-mɪn-dɔʔ/	‘an edible leaf’

### 3.5.2.3 Final syllable

There are four final syllable types identified. In that, two are open syllables and two are close syllables. They are, -CV-, -CVV-, -CVC- and -CCVC-.

<i>Open;</i>	- CV	/c <sup>h</sup> eɾ- riŋ -ku/	‘lizard’		
		/t <sup>h</sup> a-na/	‘direction’		
		/t <sup>h</sup> m-p <sup>h</sup> a/	‘shoulder’		
		/pa-t <sup>h</sup> i/	‘betel leaf’		
	-CVV	/t <sup>h</sup> ɪr-nia/	‘needle’		
		/c <sup>h</sup> u-tia/	‘funny’		
		/k <sup>h</sup> u-tia/	‘small change’		
		/wiɾ-tia/	‘greedy’		
		<i>Close;</i>	- CVC	/ra- mɪn- kɛn/	‘jew’s harp’
				/t <sup>h</sup> a-nɛɾ/	‘wing’
/ru-kɔm/	‘tradition’				
/ɪn-nin/	‘yesterday’				
-CCVC	/la- tɾap/		‘crow’		
	/liŋ-kɔɾ/		‘to lay on the back’		
	/sa-kt <sup>h</sup> aŋ/		‘bitter fruit’		
	/sa-p <sup>h</sup> laŋ/		‘ <i>flemingia vestita</i> (a tuber)’		
		/sa-c <sup>h</sup> ram/	‘jackfruit’		

Types of syllables can also be identified on the basis of the total number of syllables in a word.

### 3.5.3 Monosyllabic word

V	/e/	‘to give’
	/i/	‘we’
	/u/	‘he’
VC	/at/	‘swollen’
	/ar/	‘two’
	/aŋ/	‘to open’
	/oŋ/	‘say’
CV	/ya/	‘Accusative marker’
	/ka/	‘she’
	/ki/	‘they’
	/k <sup>h</sup> i/	‘to shave’
CVV	/k <sup>h</sup> ia/	‘heavy’
	/tia/	‘to march closer’
	/nia/	‘argument’
	/j <sup>h</sup> ia/	‘hot as in the taste of chilli’
	/sia/	‘resolutely’
CCV	/p <sup>h</sup> ra/	‘eight’
	/k <sup>h</sup> la/	‘tiger’
	/p <sup>h</sup> la/	‘to confess’
	/c <sup>h</sup> ru/	‘taro’
CCVV	/p <sup>h</sup> ria/	‘hail’
	/t <sup>h</sup> lia/	‘to bother’

CVC	/san/	‘five’
	/t <sup>h</sup> am/	‘crab’
	/yam/	‘to weep’
CVVC	/t <sup>h</sup> iaʔ/	‘be asleep’
	/p <sup>h</sup> iaʔ/	‘to split’
	/piaʔ/	‘be broken’
	/riaʔ/	‘to remove the unusable part’
CCVC	/k <sup>h</sup> leʔ/	‘head’
	/k <sup>h</sup> lɛʔ/	‘to mix up’
	/c <sup>h</sup> nɔŋ/	‘village’
	/p <sup>h</sup> laŋ/	‘grass’
CCVVC	/c <sup>h</sup> liaʔ/	‘mat’
	/k <sup>h</sup> liaʔ/	‘to break’
	/t <sup>h</sup> lian/	‘neat-looking’
	/plian/	‘plate, rice bowl’

### 3.5.4 Disyllabic word

CV\$CV	/ru-pɛ/	‘chest’ (RB)
	/pa-yu/	‘sibling’
	/pa-k <sup>h</sup> a/	‘paternal uncle’
	/la-na/	‘to lull (a baby) (JW)’

CV\$CVV	/k <sup>h</sup> u-tia/	‘small change’
	/c <sup>h</sup> u-tia/	‘funny’
	/sa-k <sup>h</sup> ia/	‘cucumber’
	/p <sup>h</sup> a-ria/	‘to cut into pieces’
CV\$CCV	/pa-k <sup>h</sup> le/	‘to snap into two pieces’
CV\$CVVC	/mo-siaŋ/	‘rock’
	/yu-diaŋ/	‘napkin’
	/c <sup>h</sup> a-lian/	‘bent’
	/pa-k <sup>h</sup> iaʔ/	‘to bump (Tr.)’
CV\$CVC	/ʔa-kɔr/	‘manner’
	/pa-ruc/	‘paternal uncle’
	/pa-rɔm/	‘story’
	/pa-k <sup>h</sup> ɔt/	‘to throw’
CV\$CCVC	/la-tʔap/	‘a crow’
	/sa-kt <sup>h</sup> aŋ/	‘a bitter fruit’
	/sa-p <sup>h</sup> lan/	‘ <i>flemingia vestita</i> (a tuber)’
	/sa-c <sup>h</sup> ram/	‘jackfruit’
CVC\$CV	/sin-rɛ/	‘pestle’ (RB)
	/sin-tu/	‘flower’

	/tɪm-p <sup>h</sup> a/	‘shoulder’
	/pɪr-sa/	‘nephew/ niece’
CVC\$CVV	/wɪr-tia/	‘greedy’
	/k <sup>h</sup> ɪn-tia/	‘congested’
	/bɔʔ-nia/	‘to argue’
	/rɪn-dia/	‘a lady’s traditional dress’
CVC\$CVC	/tɪm-pɔŋ/	‘waist’
	/pɪr-k <sup>h</sup> at/	‘to think’
	/pɪr-k <sup>h</sup> ɪŋ/	‘to tighten’
	/tɪr-k <sup>h</sup> aŋ/	‘fern’
CVC\$CVVC	/mɪr-siaŋ/	‘fox’
	/pɪl-lian/	‘heavy rainfall’
	/c <sup>h</sup> ɪr-kiaʔ/	‘sparrow’ (JW)
	/pɪr-c <sup>h</sup> iaʔ/	‘noisy’
	/c <sup>h</sup> ɪŋ-kiaŋ/	‘the side of the house’
CVC\$CCVC	/lɪŋ-kdan/	‘to lay on the back’
	/c <sup>h</sup> ɪŋ-kram/	‘a kind of broom’
	/c <sup>h</sup> ɪŋ-ktat/	‘prawn’
	/sɪn-t <sup>h</sup> ɔc/	‘looking weak and lazy’
	/tɪm-pdɔʔ/	‘to fold’

CCV\$CVC	/slu-dɔŋ/	‘a kind of plant’
	/p <sup>h</sup> la-lɛn/	‘lady’s shawl’
	/sla-rɔʔ/	‘a kind of fruit’
	/smu-rit/	‘chilli’
CCV\$CVVC	/c <sup>h</sup> la-dian/	‘a traditional umbrella’
	/sla-c <sup>h</sup> iat/	‘a tree species’
CCV\$CV	/c <sup>h</sup> la-ni/	‘winnowing basket’
	/tla-ni/	‘a frying pan’
CCVC\$CCV	/t <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ-blɛ/	‘hollowed rock in the river’
CCVC\$ CVC	/slɔŋ- saŋ/	‘kind of fruit’

### 3.5.5 Polysyllabic word

CV\$CV\$CVC	/la-wa-kɔr/	‘a wooden ball play during Behdeinkhlam festival’
	/c <sup>h</sup> a-ra-dɔŋ/	‘cricket’
	/c <sup>h</sup> a-ra-tɔʔ/	‘praying mantis’
CV\$CVC\$CVC	/ra-mɪn-dɔʔ/	‘greenish edible leaf’
	/ra-mɪn-kɛn/	‘jew’s harp’
CVVC\$CVC\$CVC	/ŋian-tiŋ-k <sup>h</sup> ap/	‘tick’

CV\$CV\$CV\$CVV      /c<sup>h</sup>a-ra-pa-kia/ ‘sparrow’(RB)

CV\$CCVC\$CV\$CVV      /ra-kdɔŋ-su-ŋia/ ‘short-tail cricket’

### 3.6 Phonological processes

Two types of phonological processes occur in Pnar; assimilation and insertion.

#### 3.6.1 Assimilation

/pɪnlac/	>	[pɪllac] ‘cause to free’
/pɪnlɑŋ/	>	[pɪllɑŋ] ‘cause to arrange’
/sɪnc <sup>h</sup> ar/	>	[c <sup>h</sup> ɪnc <sup>h</sup> ar] ‘to reign’
/tɪnpiaʔ/	>	[tɪmpiaʔ] ‘cause to break’
/tɪnliat/	>	[tɪlliat] ‘cause to grind’
/k <sup>h</sup> ɪn-tia/	>	[k <sup>h</sup> ɪn-nia] ‘congested’

Assimilation in Pnar take place only with the vocalic consonants, that is, the nasals and the liquids sounds.

#### 3.6.2 Insertion

/ɪnru/	>	[ɪndru] ‘six’
/ɪnraw	>	[ɪndraw] ‘thing’
/k <sup>h</sup> ɪnrɔŋ/	>	[k <sup>h</sup> ɪndrɔŋ] ‘to lift’
/ɪnriaʔ/	>	[ɪndriaʔ] ‘to move’
/tɪnraʔ/	>	[tɪndraʔ] ‘hit’
/k <sup>h</sup> ɪnro/	>	[k <sup>h</sup> ɪndro] ‘youth’
/ɪnroʔ/	>	[ɪndroʔ] ‘to shake’

The insertion of /d/ in between the two alveolar is a common phenomena in Pnar. In environment like this, the occurring of /d/ is predictable because both of the alveolar are voiced alveolar and more over the cluster /dr-/ is permissible in Pnar. In Jowai variety, in all the words above started with the vowels, actually has /k/ in the initial position with the exception of /ɪnru/. Phonetically transcript, even /has little amount but cannot completely stop the insertion pattern of /d/ in these words.

<b>Rymbai</b>		<b>Jowai</b>
/ɪnru/	>	*/kɪnru/
/ɪnraw/	>	/kɪnraw/
/ɪnriaʔ/	>	/kɪnriaʔ/
/ɪnroʔ/	>	/kɪnroʔ/

# Chapter IV

## CHAPTER IV MORPHOLOGY

### 4.1 Noun

Syntactically, a noun functions as a subject, object or complement of a verb. Morphologically, it takes grammatical categories of number, gender and case and can also be preceded by prepositions in most languages. However, nouns in Pnar, as all Khasi varieties, are not inflected for person, number, gender or case. Nouns in Pnar are divided into three classes, the basic noun, compound noun and the derived noun.

#### 4.1.1. Basic Noun

Basic noun could be either mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic.

/u k <sup>h</sup> innah/	‘boy’	
/u bru/	‘man’	
/u ksaw/	‘dog’	
/u c <sup>h</sup> ɪap/	‘sand’	
/u k <sup>h</sup> la/	‘tiger’	
/u k <sup>h</sup> lor/	‘star’	
/u mura/	‘type of stool made of bamboo’	
/u sak <sup>h</sup> ia/	‘cucumber’	
/u c <sup>h</sup> lani/	‘winnowing basket’	
/u pɪrt <sup>h</sup> at/	‘stick insect’	
/ka latʔap/	‘crow’	(JW)
/ka sɲi/	‘sun’	(JW)
/ka waʔ/	‘river’	(JW)
/ka muna/	‘bag’	(JW)

/ka k <sup>h</sup> ne/	‘rat’	(JW)
/ka miaw/	‘cat’	(JW)
/ka latʔap/	‘crow’	(JW)
/a sŋi/	‘sun’	(RB)
/a waʔ/	‘river’	(RB)
/a muna/	‘bag’	(RB)
/a k <sup>h</sup> ne/	‘rat’	(RB)
/ka latʔap/	‘crow’	(RB)
/a miaw/	‘cat’	(RB)

#### 4.1.2. Derived Noun

Derived nouns in Pnar can be classed into three classes, nominalisers, participles and abstract noun.

##### 4.1.2.1 Nominaliser

Derived nouns in Pnar are forms by the two nominalizer markers **yu-** and **ncŋ-** to denote instrument/ tool and agent, respectively:

<b>yu</b>	+ /raʔ/ ‘to carry’	> /yu raʔ/ ‘handle’
<b>yu</b>	+ /siaŋ/ ‘to spread’	> /yu siaŋ/ ‘bed sheet’
<b>yu</b>	+ /tun/ ‘to dip’	> /yu tun/ ‘grinded ingredient used in cooking’
<b>yu</b>	+ /sɔŋ/ ‘to pack’	> /yu sɔŋ/ ‘packet’
<b>yu</b>	+ /baʔ/ ‘to carry at the back’	> /yu baʔ/ ‘small cloth used to carry baby’
<b>yu</b>	+ /ŋam/ ‘to wipe’	> /yu ŋam/ ‘cloth used for wiping or towel’
<b>yu</b>	+ /kdɔʔ/ ‘to tie’	> /yu kdɔʔ/ ‘bamboo strip or rope’
<b>ncŋ</b>	+ /irwai/ ‘singer’	> /ncŋirwai/ ‘singer’
<b>ncŋ</b>	+ /toʔ/ ‘to steal’	> /ncŋtoʔ/ ‘thief’

מֵי	+ /k <sup>h</sup> ayi/ ‘trade’	> /מֵי k <sup>h</sup> ayi/ ‘merchant’
מֵי	+ /t <sup>h</sup> ch/ ‘to write’	> /מֵי t <sup>h</sup> ch/ ‘writer’
מֵי	+ /dai/ ‘to sell’	> /מֵי day/ ‘seller’ (JW)
מֵי	+ /dɛ/ ‘to sell’	> /מֵי dɛ/ ‘seller’ (RB)

#### 4.1.2.2 Participle Noun

Particle nouns are formed by the adjective marker *wa-* prefixed to verbs. They function both as adjectives and as nouns.

וּ	+ /toʔ/ ‘to steal’	> /וּ toʔ/ ‘one who steals’
וּ	+ /day/ ‘to sell’	> /וּ day/ ‘one who sells’ (JW)
וּ	+ /dɛ/ ‘to sell’	> /וּ dɛ/ ‘one who sells’ (RB)
וּ	+ /kdʔ/ ‘to tie’	> /וּ kdʔ/ ‘one who ties’

#### 4.1.2.3 Abstract Noun

Abstract nouns are formed by adding the *i* prefix to the stems, which are either verbs or adjectives.

י	+ /pɪrk <sup>h</sup> at/ ‘to think’	>	/i pɪrk <sup>h</sup> at/	‘thought’
י	+ /kjut/ ‘to be pain’	>	/i kjut/	‘sickness’
י	+ /sniaw/ ‘to feel’	>	/i sniaw/	‘feeling’
י	+ /rukum/ ‘traditional’	>	/i rukum/	‘tradition’
י	+ /t <sup>h</sup> mu/ ‘to aim’	>	/i t <sup>h</sup> mu/	‘aim’
י	+ /yo/ ‘to see’	>	/i yo/	‘opinion’
י	+ /miat/ ‘beautiful’	>	/i miat/	‘beauty’

### 4.1.3. Compound Noun

Compound nouns are formed by prefixing a free morpheme to another free morpheme in Pnar. The compound noun, thus, functions as a single noun. One stem is being functions as an attribute and the other stem functions as the head of the compound. Compound noun in Pnar could be a conjunctive construction or possessive construction.

#### 4.1.3.1 Compound Nouns: Noun and Noun

<i>Noun</i>	+ <i>Noun</i>	
/muja/ 'sock'	+ /kjat/ 'leg'	> /muja kjat/ 'sock'
/muja/ 'sock'	+ /kti/ 'hand'	> /muja kti/ 'glove'
/muna/ 'bag'	+ /k <sup>h</sup> ɔn/ 'child'	> /muna k <sup>h</sup> ɔn/ 'womb'
/sɽiar/ 'chicken'	+ /k <sup>h</sup> lo/ 'forest'	> /siarkhlo/ 'wild fowl'
/tɽsim/ 'finger'	+ /kti/ 'hand'	> /tɽsimkti/ 'finger'
/tɽsim/ 'finger'	+ /kjat/ 'leg'	> /tɽsimkjat/ 'toe'
/t <sup>h</sup> aleʔ/ 'butter fly'	+ /ŋaŋloŋ/ 'catterpillar'	> /t <sup>h</sup> aleʔŋaŋloŋ/ 'moth'
/ja/ 'rice'	+ /k <sup>h</sup> leʔ/ 'head'	> /ja k <sup>h</sup> leʔ/ 'brain'
/ja/ 'rice'	+ /ɔʔ/ 'meat'	> /jadɔʔ/ 'rice made of meat's soup'
/t <sup>h</sup> lu/ 'hole'	+ /mo yɔŋ/ 'coal'	> /t <sup>h</sup> lu mo yɔŋ/ 'coal mine'

#### 4.1.3.2 Noun and Adjective

<i>Noun</i>	+ <i>Adjective</i>	
/mo/ 'stone'	+ /yɔŋ/ 'black'	> /mo yɔŋ / 'coal'
/psaŋ/ 'snake'	+ /ɽŋam/ 'green'	> /psaŋ ɽŋam/ 'one type of snake (green in colour)'

/psaŋ/ 'snake' + /k<sup>h</sup>ɔt/ 'deaf' > /psaŋk<sup>h</sup>ɔt/ 'one type of snake (which is deaf)'

/kɔt/ 'paper' + /sada/ 'clean/ white' > /kɔtsada/ 'white paper'

/tuŋ/ 'bad smell' + /tɔʔ/ 'bean' > /tuŋtɔʔ/ 'fermented soya'

/kwai/ 'areca nut' + /im/ 'alive' > /kwai im/ 'tender areca nut'

/um/ 'water' + /iŋ/ 'hot' > /um iŋ/ 'hot water'

#### 4.1.3.3 Noun and Verb

*Noun* + *Verb*

/um/ 'water' + /diʔ/ 'to drink' > /umdiʔ/ 'drinking water'

/um/ 'water' + /sac/ 'to wash' > /umsac/ 'washing water'

/um/ 'water' + /bam/ 'to eat' > /umbam/ 'water used for cooking'

/um/ 'waer' + /c<sup>h</sup>ɛt/ 'to boil' > /umc<sup>h</sup>ɛt/ 'boiled water'

/p<sup>h</sup>niaŋ/ 'oil' + /bam/ 'to eat' > /p<sup>h</sup>niaŋbam/ 'mustard oil'

/kɔt/ 'machine' + /lor/ 'to plough' > /kɔrlor/ 'machine used to plough'

/mo/ 'stone' + /c<sup>h</sup>ut/ 'to sharpen' > /moc<sup>h</sup>ut/ 'stone used to sharp machete'

## 4.2 Pronoun

The pronoun of Pnar can be classified into six main classes viz, *Personal Pronoun*, *Demonstrative Pronoun*, *Interrogative Pronoun*, *Relative Pronoun*, *Reflexive Pronoun* and *Possessive Pronoun*.

### 4.2.1 Personal Pronoun

In Pnar there are three personal pronouns for second person singular, three in third person singular and one first person singular. There is one each for the first, second and third persons to denote plural forms.

	<b><i>Singular</i></b>	<b><i>Plural</i></b>
I <sup>st</sup> Person	/ŋa/ 'I'	/i/ 'we'
II <sup>nd</sup> Person	/me/ 'for masculine'	/p <sup>h</sup> i/ 'you'
	/p <sup>h</sup> a/ 'for feminine'	
	/p <sup>h</sup> i/ 'honorific'	
III <sup>rd</sup> Person	/u/ 'masculine'	/ki/ 'they'
	/ka/ ~ /a/ 'feminine'	
	/i/ 'honorific marker'	

Table No. 2: Personal pronouns

There is another set of pronouns which can be described as Post-pronouns (Spencer 1967), that is, they occur after the verbs. These are:

Pre-pronouns Personal Pronoun	Post-pronouns	
	Jowai	Rymbai
/ŋa/ 'I'	/ɔ/	/a/
/me/ 'I <sup>nd</sup> M. Sg.'	/me/	/me/
/p <sup>h</sup> a/ 'I <sup>nd</sup> F. Sg.'	/p <sup>h</sup> o/	/p <sup>h</sup> o/
/p <sup>h</sup> i/ 'II <sup>nd</sup> . Sg. (Hon)	/p <sup>h</sup> i/	/p <sup>h</sup> i/
/u/ 'III <sup>rd</sup> . M. Sg.'	/u/	/u/
/ka/ 'III <sup>rd</sup> . F. Sg.'	/ko/	/o/
/i/ 'III <sup>rd</sup> . Sg. (Hon)'	/ki/	/i/

Table No. 3: Pre-pronouns and Post-pronouns

When we analyse the personal pronouns of Pnar in sentences, two types of personal pronouns occur. It can be assumed that because of variation of Pnar word order system (see Word order in chapter V), the personal pronouns also vary accordingly. For example in sentence like,

- (1)    **ŋa    saʔ    ɔ            heyte (JW)**  
          ISg. live ISg (AGR) there  
          ‘I live there’

It can also be grammatical and acceptable without /ŋa/, the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular, which is optional, as in the following:-

- (2)    **saʔ    ɔ            heyte**  
          live ISg (AGR) there  
          ‘I live there’

Similarly, sentences 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 14 indicate that the first subject pronoun can be dropped or deleted (or is optional) but the post pronouns are obligatory.

Spencer (op. cit.) described the above as Pre-Pronouns and Post-Pronouns. Following Spencer, we can use the terms Pre-pronouns and Post-pronouns. In such case, all the singular personal pronouns vary from sentence initial to sentence medial or final position with the exception of /me/ ‘II<sup>nd</sup>. M. Sg.’, /p<sup>hi</sup>/ ‘II<sup>nd</sup>. Sg. (Hon). and /u/ ‘III<sup>rd</sup>. M. Sg.’. This is also true with other varieties of Pnar. The table below shows the variation of personal pronouns which occur in sentence initial and in medial or final positions. Table 3 above shows the differences; in the Jowai and Rymbai varieties.

The variation of the personal pronouns mentioned above can be exemplified by the following sentences;

***In Jowai***

- (3) ka daw lay yaw ko  
IIIF.Sg FUT go market IIIF.Sg (AGR)<sup>1</sup>  
'She will go to market'
- (4) daw lay yaw ko  
FUT go market III<sup>rd</sup>F.Sg (AGR)  
'She will go to market'
- (5) p<sup>h</sup>a daw lay yaw p<sup>h</sup>o  
II<sup>nd</sup>F.Sg FUT go market II<sup>nd</sup>F.Sg (AGR)  
'You will go to market'
- (6) daw lay yaw p<sup>h</sup>o  
FUT go market II<sup>nd</sup>F.Sg (AGR)  
'You will go to market'
- (7) ŋa sa? ɔ heyte  
ISg. live ISg (AGR) there  
'I live there'
- (8) sa? ɔ heyte  
live ISg (AGR) there  
'I live there'

***In Rymbai***

- (9) ka daw lɛ yaw o  
III<sup>rd</sup>F.Sg FUT go market III<sup>rd</sup>F.Sg (AGR)  
'She will go to market'

---

<sup>1</sup> Agreement marker will be discussed in chapter \_\_\_ section

- (10) daw le yaw o  
 FUT go market III<sup>rd</sup>F.Sg (AGR)  
 ‘She will go to market’
- (11) p<sup>h</sup>a daw le yaw p<sup>h</sup>o  
 II<sup>nd</sup>F.Sg FUT go market II<sup>nd</sup>F.Sg (AGR)  
 ‘You will go to market’
- (12) daw le yaw p<sup>h</sup>o  
 FUT go market II<sup>nd</sup>F.Sg (AGR)  
 ‘You will go to market’
- (13) ŋa saʔ a hitay  
 ISg. live ISg (AGR) there  
 ‘I live there’
- (14) saʔ a hitai  
 live ISg (AGR) there  
 ‘I live there’

The exact function of the Post-pronouns in the above sentences is debatable. From the point of view of syntax (GB framework), they can be treated as agreement markers taking their antecedents from the Pre-pronouns or sentence initial pronouns. However, from the point of view of morphology, the post-pronouns are enclitics which lean or dependent on the preceding verb.

#### 4.2.2 Possessive pronoun

A possessive pronoun indicates that the pronoun is acting as the marker of possession and defines who owns a particular object or person. The possessive pronoun in Pnar is morphologically indicated by the genitive marker /**yɔŋ**/ preceding the personal pronouns and  $\emptyset$  (zero) marker.

I <sup>st</sup> Sg. Poss.	/ <b>yɔŋ</b> ŋa/ ‘my’
I <sup>st</sup> PL. Poss.	/ <b>yɔŋ</b> i/ ‘our’
II <sup>nd</sup> . M. Sg. Poss	/ <b>yɔŋ</b> me/ ‘your (M. Sg)’
II <sup>nd</sup> . F. Sg. Poss	/ <b>yɔŋ</b> p <sup>h</sup> a/ ‘your (F. Sg)’
II <sup>nd</sup> Sg. (Hon) Poss	/ <b>yɔŋ</b> p <sup>h</sup> i/ ‘your (Sg.)’
II <sup>nd</sup> PL. Poss	/ <b>yɔŋ</b> p <sup>h</sup> i/ ‘your’
III <sup>rd</sup> M. Sg. Poss	/ <b>yɔŋ</b> u/ ‘his’
III <sup>rd</sup> F. Sg. Poss	/ <b>yɔŋ</b> ka/ ‘her’
III <sup>rd</sup> Sg. (Hon) Poss	/ <b>yɔŋ</b> i/ ‘his/ her (Hon)’
III <sup>rd</sup> PL Poss	/ <b>yɔŋ</b> ki/ ‘their’

Table No. 4: Possessive Pronouns

However, the choice of using the possessive marker and the  $\emptyset$  marker is determined by the personal pronoun itself. If we choose to use the pre-pronoun, we have to use the possessive marker **yɔŋ** and if we choose the post-pronoun, **yɔŋ** is ruled out. This can be illustrated by the following examples;

- (15) u pa yɔŋ ŋa  
 IIIMSg.father POSS ISg  
 ‘My father’

(16) u pa ø a  
IIIMSg father POSS ISg  
'My father'

\* (17) u pa yɔŋ a  
IIIMSg father POSS ISg  
'My father'

\*(18) u pa ø ŋa  
IIIMSg father POSS ISg  
'My father'

(19) u pa yɔŋ p<sup>h</sup>a  
IIIMSg father POSS IIFSg  
'Your (II<sup>nd</sup>. F. Sg.) father'

(20) u pa ø p<sup>h</sup>o  
IIIMSg father POSS IIFSg  
'Your (II<sup>nd</sup>. F. Sg.) father'

\* (21) u pa ø p<sup>h</sup>a  
IIIMSg father POSS IIFSg  
'Your (II<sup>nd</sup>. F. Sg.) father'

\*(22) u pa yɔŋ p<sup>h</sup>o  
IIIMSg father POSS IIFSg  
'Your (II<sup>nd</sup>. F. Sg.) father'

but in such cases, where the pre-pronouns does not vary from the post-pronouns, both the possessive marker /yɔŋ/ and the Ø marker can be used.

(23) u pa Ø p<sup>hi</sup>

IIIMSg father POSS IISg/Pl

‘Your father’

(24) u pa yɔŋ p<sup>hi</sup>

IIIMSg father POSS IISg/Pl

‘Your father’

(25) u pa Ø me

IIIMSg father POSS IIMSg

‘Your (IInd M. Sg.) father’

(26) u pa yɔŋ me

IIIMSg father POSS IIMSg

‘Your (IInd M. Sg.) father’

#### 4.2.3 Demonstrative Pronoun

Barbara Kryk (1990), in her article *Deixis- a pragmatic universal?*, states that most of the Indo-European languages show a three-way contrast with demonstratives in relation to deictic centre. They are:

- (i) Proximate,
- (ii) Medial and
- (iii) Remote.

The three-way contrast with demonstratives is applicable to demonstrative pronouns. Following Kryk (op. cit), the three-way contrast of demonstrative pronouns can also be proposed for Pnar.

1. Proximate Demonstrative Pronouns
2. Medial Demonstrative Pronouns
3. Remote Demonstrative Pronouns

#### 4.2.3.1 Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun

The Proximate Demonstrative Pronouns in Pnar is marked by the marker /-ni/ follows the PNG (person number and gender) markers /u/, /a/, /ki/, and /i/. The types of proximate demonstrative pronoun are listed below;

<i>Proximate</i>	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	<i>Jowai</i>	<i>Rymbai</i>	<i>Jowai</i>	<i>Rymbai</i>
Masculine	/u-ni/	/u-ni/		
Feminine	/ka-ni/	/a-ni/	/ki-ni/	/i-ni/
Unmarked Gender	/i-ni/	/i-ni/		

Table No.5: Proximate Demonstrative Pronouns

The proximate demonstrative pronoun indicating something which is close to the speaker, or probably something which is in the hand of the speaker, or something which the speaker can touch.

- /u-ni u bru/ 'this man (PROX)'
- /u-ni u kulɔm 'this pen (PROX)'
- /ka-ni ka tari/ 'this knife (PROX)' (JW)
- /ka-ni ka bru/ 'this women (PROX)' (JW)

- /a-ni a kac/ ‘this scissors (PROX)’ (RB)
- /a-ni a t<sup>h</sup>at/ ‘this cloth (PROX)’ (RB)
- /i-ni i yuŋ/ ‘this house (PROX)’
- /i-ni i pirtuc/ ‘this name (PROX)’
- /ki-ni ki bru/ ‘these people (PROX)’ (JW)
- /ki-ni ki ksaw/ ‘these dogs (PROX)’ (JW)
- /i-ni i bru/ ‘these people (PROX)’ (RB)
- /i-ni i ksaw/ ‘these dogs (PROX)’ (RB)

#### 4.2.3.2 Medial Demonstrative Pronoun

Medial demonstrative pronoun is indicated by the marker /-tu/. The medial demonstrative pronoun indicates something which is not particularly close to the speaker; rather it is closer to the hearer or something a distant which the speaker can not touch. The marker /-tu/ also follows the third person pronouns.

<i>Medial</i>	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	<i>Jowai</i>	<i>Rymbai</i>	<i>Jowai</i>	<i>Rymbai</i>
Masculine	/u-tu/	/u-tu/		
Feminine	/ka-tu/	/a-tu/	/ki-tu/	/i-tu/
Unmarked Gender	/i-tu/	/i-tu/		

Table No. 6: Medial Demonstrative Pronouns

- /u-tu u bru/ ‘this man (MED)’
- /u-tu u kulɔm ‘this pen (MED)’
- /ka-tu ka tari/ ‘this knife (MED)’ (JW)
- /ka-tu ka bru/ ‘this women (MED)’ (JW)
- /a-tu a kac/ ‘this scissors (MED)’ (RB)

- /a-tu a t<sup>h</sup>at/ ‘this cloth (MED)’ (RB)  
 /i-tu i yuŋ/ ‘this house (MED)’  
 /i-tu i piɾtuc/ ‘this name (MED)’  
 /ki-tu ki bru/ ‘these people (MED)’ (JW)  
 /ki-tu ki ksaw/ ‘these dogs (MED)’ (JW)  
 /i-tu i bru/ ‘these people (MED)’ (RB)  
 /i-tu i ksaw/ ‘these dogs (MED)’ (RB)

It is to be noted that the marker /-tu/ also means that the particular objects or people not present during the conversation of the speaker and the hearer. For example;

- (27)            u-tu            u bru    wa yo i    ïnnin  
 IIIMSG DEM IIIMSG man PST see we yesterday  
 ‘That man we saw yesterday’

#### 4.2.3.3 Remote Demonstrative Pronoun

The remote demonstrative pronoun in Pnar is marked by the marker /-tay/ attached along with the gender marker. Remote demonstrative pronouns also exhibit the same pattern of PNG markers like the other two.

Remote	Singular		Plural	
	Jowai	Rymbai	Jowai	Rymbai
Masculine	/u-tay/ ~ /u-te/	/u-tay/		
Feminine	/ka-tay/ ~ /ka-te/	/a-tay/	/ki-tay/	/i-tay/
Unmarked Gender	/i-tay/ ~ /i-te/	/i-tay/		

Table No. 7: Remote Demonstrative Pronouns

Remote demonstrative pronoun is indicates something distant or very distant.

/u-tay u bru/	‘that man’
/u- tay u kulɔm	‘that pen’
/ka- tay ka tari/	‘that knife’ (JW)
/ka- tay ka bru/	‘that women’ (JW)
/a- tay a kac/	‘that scissors’ (RB)
/a- tay a t <sup>h</sup> at/	‘that cloth’ (RB)
/i- tay i yuŋ/	‘that house’
/i- tay i k <sup>h</sup> lo/	‘that forest’
/ki-ni ki bru/	‘those people’ (JW)
/ki- tay ki ksaw/	‘those dogs’ (JW)
/i- tay i bru/	‘those people’ (RB)
/i- tay i ksaw/	‘those dogs’ (RB)

In Jowai variety, the choice of using remote demonstrative pronoun /-tay/ and /-te/ is a free variation, both are acceptable. The differences are only phonetic, not semantic.

#### 4.2.4 Interrogative Pronoun

Interrogative pronouns in Pnar vary from one variety to another. Only Jowai and Rymbai variety will be taken for illustration. In Pnar, interrogative pronoun is formed by a question markers which follow the pronouns, like /-won/ in Jowai variety and /-ye/ and /-nu/ in Rymbai variety. List of interrogative pronouns are shown below;

*Type I.*

<i>Rymbai</i>	<i>Jowai</i>	
/u-nu/	/u-wɔn/	‘which’ (M. Sg.)
/a-nu/	/ka-wɔn/	‘which’ (F. Sg.)
/i-nu/	/ki-wɔn/	‘which’ (PL)

The interrogative marker /-nu/ in Rymbai and /wɔn/ in Jowai has a special function, in which the speaker assumes that the hearer can show him what he is asking or the person or object referred to.

(28) u -wɔn u k<sup>h</sup>ɔn p<sup>h</sup>o (JW)

M INTR M child IIFSg.

‘Which is your (IIFSg.) son?’

(29) ka- wɔn ka k<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup>nah yo-suk me (JW)

F INTR F child see happy IIMSg

‘Which girl do you (IIMSg.) like?’

(30) u-nu u k<sup>h</sup>ɔn p<sup>h</sup>o (RB)

M ITR M child IIFSg.

‘Which is your (IIFSg.) son?’

(31) a- nu a k<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup>nah yo-suk me (RB)

F INTR F child see happy IIMSg

‘Which girl do you (IIMSg.) like?’

(32) ki - wɔn kite ki kɔt ɔ (JW)

PL INTR DEM PL book ISg.

‘Which one are my books?’

(33) i - nu ite i kɔt a (RB)

PL INTR DEM PL book ISg.

‘Which one are my books?’

*Type II.*

<b>Jowai</b>	<b>Rymbai</b>	
/u-ye/	/u-ye/	‘what / who’ (M. Sg.)
/ka-ye/	/a-ye/	‘what / who’ (F. Sg.)
/ki-ye/	/i-ye/	‘what / who’ (PL)

Both Jowai and Rymbai share this same interrogative marker /-ye/. On the other hand, the interrogative marker /-ye/ indicating that the speaker and the hearer intuitively assume that the person or object referred to are out of sight.

(34) u - ye u wahε? c<sup>h</sup>nɔŋ p<sup>h</sup>i hini

M INTR M elder village IIPL here

‘Who is your headman here?’

(35) ka-ye ka c<sup>h</sup>nɔŋ wa - εm c<sup>h</sup>a den uni u lom (JW)

F INTR F village REL BE PREP behind DEM M hill

‘What village is there behind this hill?’

(36) a-ye a c<sup>h</sup>nɔŋ wa - εm c<sup>h</sup>a dɛn uni u lom (RB)

F INTR F village REL BE PREP behind DEM M hill

‘What village is there behind this hill?’

(37) ki - ye wa- daŋ εm c<sup>h</sup>itay (JW)

PL INTR REL still BE there

‘Who are still there?’

(38) i - ye wa- daŋ ɛm c<sup>h</sup>itay (RB)

PL INTR REL still BE there

‘Who are still there?’

*Type III.*

*Rymbai*

*Jowai*

/d-u-nu/

/da u wɔn/

‘which (DAT)’ (M. Sg.)

/d-a-nu/

/da ka wɔn/

‘which (DAT)’ (F. Sg.)

/d-i-nu/

/da ki wɔn/

‘which (DAT)’ (PL)

Type III interrogative pronouns in Pnar, indicating the indirect object or the recipient that the speaker is asking for. It also indicates that the speaker expects the hearer to give the answer. The interrogative pronouns /-nu/ and /wɔn/ serve as a dative case marker because of the presence of /da/ ‘by’.

(39) da ka-wɔn ka tari u pɪn-ɛm-kam p<sup>h</sup>i (JW)

by F INTR F knife INF CAU BE work IPL

‘By which knife are you using’

(40) da -nu a tari u pɪn-ɛm-kam p<sup>h</sup>i (RB)

by INTR F knife INF CAU BE work IPL

‘By which knife are you using’

(41) da u - wɔn u tɪrɛm kwa? ko u tɪnsa? (JW)

by M INTR M hammer want IIFSg. INF hit

‘By which hammer does she want to hit’

(42) d-u - nu u tɪmɛm kwa? o u tɪnsa? (JW)

by M INTR M hammer want IIFSg. INF hit

'By which hammer does she want to hit'

*Type IV.*

*Rymbai*

*Jowai*

/yu ye/ /yu wɔn/ 'who (ACC)' (M. Sg.)

/ya ye/ /ya ka wɔn/ 'who (ACC)' (F. Sg.)

/yi ye/ /yei wɔn/ 'who (ACC)' (PL)

Type IV interrogative pronouns indicate that the person or object referred to is the patient or the beneficiary.

(43) yu - wɔn ra? bam me ki-ni (JW)

ACC INTR carry eat IIMSg PL DEM

'To whom you are carrying these eatables.'

(44) yu - ye ra? bam me ki-ni (RB)

ACC INTR carry eat IIMSg PL DEM

'To whom you are carrying these foods?'

(45) ye-i wɔn kwa? ki u p<sup>h</sup>a? (JW)

ACC PL INTR want PL INF send

'To whom do they want to send?'

(46) y-i ye kwa? ki u p<sup>h</sup>a? (RB)

ACC PL INTR want PL INF send

'To whom do they want to send?'

Type V.

<i>Rymbai</i>	<i>Jowai</i>	
/u yɔŋ/	/u yɔŋ /	‘whose’ (M. Sg.)
/a yɔŋ /	/ka yɔŋ /	‘whose’ (F. Sg.)
/i yɔŋ /	/ki yɔŋ /	‘whose’ (PL)

The pronoun when it occurs with the possessive marker, forms type V interrogative pronouns. Type V interrogative pronouns indicate possessive question, indicating to whom the person or object referred to, belongs.

(47) ka yɔŋ k<sup>h</sup>ɔn ka ka-tay (JW)

F POSS child IIIFSg F DEM

‘Whose daughter is that?’

(48) a yɔŋ k<sup>h</sup>ɔn a a-tay (RB)

F POSS child IIIFSg F DEM

‘Whose daughter is that?’

(49) ki yɔŋ that ki ki-ni

PL POSS cloth PL PL DEM

‘Whose clothes are these?’

(50) i yɔŋ kɔt i-ni

PL POSS book PL DEM

‘Whose books are these?’

#### 4.2.5 Relative Pronoun

Relative pronoun in Pnar is formed by the combination of adjective marker **wa** and the personal pronouns. For example, **u** ‘he’ and **wa** ‘ADJ marker’ form the relative pronoun **uwa** ‘who (masculine)’

The basic relative pronouns in Pnar are:

Relative Pronouns	Singular		Plural	
	Jowai	Rymbai	Jowai	Rymbai
Masculine	<b>u-wa</b>	<b>u-wa</b>		
Feminine	<b>ka-wa</b>	<b>a-wa</b>	<b>ki-wa</b>	<b>i-wa</b>
Unmarked Gender	<b>i-wa</b>	<b>i-wa</b>		

Table No. 8: Relative Pronouns

These relative pronouns also undergo the usual contraction when precede by the case marker. For example, with the accusative case marker **ya**.

ya uwa > yowwa ‘whom (M)’

ya awa > yawa ‘whom (F)’

(51) kitu ki k<sup>h</sup>inna? **kiwa** miat ɔ? ki k<sup>h</sup>ɔn ɔɔ ɔ

DEM PL children REL beauty BE PL child POSS IIIM Sg.

‘Those children who are beautiful are his children’

(52) katu ka tari **kawa** t<sup>h</sup>la ɔ? ka ɔɔ ka

DEM F knife REL blunt BE F POSS IIIFSg.

‘The knife which is blunt is hers’

(53) utu u k<sup>h</sup>inna? **ɔuwa** sap sula waso ɔ? u dia? ɔɔ ɔɔ ɔɔ

DEM M child REL wear cloth red BE M brother POSS ISG

‘The boy who is wearing red cloth is my younger brother’

The sentences above show the presence of the relative pronouns is formed by **wa**, the adjective marker, preceded by the personal pronouns **u**, **ka**, **a**, **ki** and **i**. The words would not be regarded as a relative pronoun unless the personal pronouns exist along with **wa**. By itself, **wa** will be an adjective marker as in sentence (23) below.

- (54)    **kitu ki k<sup>h</sup>inna?**            **wa - miat**    **ɬʔ ki k<sup>h</sup>ɔn yɔŋ o**  
 DEM PL children ADJ. MKR beauty BE PL child POSS IIM Sg.  
 ‘Those beautiful children are his children’

#### 4.2.6 Reflexive Pronoun

Reflexive pronoun is used in grammatical description to refer to a construction where the subject and the object relate to the same entity. In Pnar, reflexive pronouns are formed by adding the suffix **hi** ‘self’ to the personal pronouns.

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person	<b>ŋa-hi</b> ‘myself’	<b>i-hi</b> ‘ourselves’
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person masculine	<b>me-hi</b> ‘your (M) self’	<b>p<sup>h</sup>i-hi</b> ‘yourselves’
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person feminine	<b>p<sup>h</sup>a-hi</b> ‘your (F) self’	<b>p<sup>h</sup>i-hi</b> ‘yourselves’
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person honorific	<b>p<sup>h</sup>i-hi</b> ‘your (Sg.) self’	<b>p<sup>h</sup>i-hi</b> ‘yourselves’
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person masculine	<b>u-hi</b> ‘himself’	<b>ki-hi</b> ‘themselves’
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person feminine	<b>ka-hi</b> ‘herself’	<b>ki-hi</b> ‘themselves’

- (55)    **u yo u ya u-hi ha ka yit**  
 IIMSG see AGR ACC IIMSG self PREP F mirror  
 ‘He sees himself in the mirror’

(56) ka yo ko ya ka-hi ha ka yit  
 IIIFSg see AGR ACC IIIMSG self PREP F mirror  
 ‘She sees herself in the mirror’

(57) da p̄n-mɔŋ ki da ki ya ki - hi  
 PST CAU hurt IIIPL by IIIPL ACC IIIPL self  
 ‘They hurt themselves’

### 4.3 Gender

Gender etymologically derived from Latin *genus*, via old French *gendre* and originally meant ‘kind’ or ‘sort’. According to Hockett’s definition (1958:231), genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behaviour of the associated word. A language may have two or more genders, but the classification frequently corresponds to a real world distinction of sex (logical gender), at least in part, but often too it does not.

On the basis of gender every noun in Pnar takes a grammatical gender marker, irrespective of animacy or inanimacy. There are two gender systems in Pnar; that is, masculine and feminine.

A masculine gender in Jowai and Rymbai dialects is represented by the masculine marker ‘*u*’, preceding the head nouns, where as feminine gender marker is represented by *ka* in Jowai dialect and ‘*ka*’ / ‘*a*’ in Rymbai dialect. For examples;

#### Jowai:

Feminine		Masculine	
/ka bey/	‘mother’	/u pa/	‘father’
/ka sŋi/	‘sun’	/u bnay/	‘moon’

/ka kɔt/	‘book’	/u kulɔm/	‘pen’
/ka palɔŋ/	‘bed’	/u tʰɔŋ/	‘mortar’
/ka kʰɔn/	‘daughter’	/u kʰɔn/	‘son’
/ka diaʔ/	‘younger sister’	/u diaʔ/	‘younger brother’

**Rymbai:**

Feminine		Masculine	
/a be/	‘mother’	/u pa/	‘father’
/a sŋi/	‘sun’	/u bnay/	‘moon’
/a kɔt/	‘book’	/u kulɔm/	‘pen’
/ palɔŋ/	bed’	/ tʰɔŋ/	mortar’
/a kʰɔn/	‘daughter’	/u kʰɔn/	‘son’
/a payu kʰian/	‘younger sister’	/u payu kʰian/	‘younger brother’
/a bɔy/	‘younger sister’	/u bɔy/	‘younger brother’
/a wac/	‘doa’	/u cʰaŋ/	‘basket’

Some nouns do not take these markers, *u*, *a*, or *ka*. Instead, it’s used along with *i* in Rymbai and *ki* in Jowai. Some scholars treated this marker as neuter gender marker; hence, so far, it is not, because these two markers are used simultaneously as an honorific marker (*i*) as well as plural marker (*ki*). Nouns that come along with these particular markers are, all the body parts (with the exception of /u tʰilɛc/ ‘tongue’ and /u sŋiuʔ/ ‘hair’, /kpɔʔ/ ‘stomach’, /radan/ ‘neck’ etc.). Other words that take the *i* marker are; /ja/ ‘rice’, /jʰur/ ‘vegetable’, /yur/ ‘house’, etc. in this case, for instance, /ja/ ‘cooked rice’ and /jʰur/ ‘vegetable’ (which is literary meant for both the raw vegetable and the cooked one) take the *i* marker only in the cooked one. For example, ‘uncooked rice’ (/kʰo/) take the masculine gender marker, also the same

applied to /j<sup>h</sup>ur/. Uncooked vegetable is referred as /u j<sup>h</sup>ur/ and the cooked vegetable as /i j<sup>h</sup>ur/. Also in Pnar, the father-in-law or mother-in-law are usually referred to as /i bei/ (Jowai) ~ /i be nia/ (Rymbai) ‘mother-in-law’ and /i pa/ ~ /i pa nia/ ‘father-in-law’, this is a case of honorific. Whereas, in case of /yur/ ‘house’, it usually takes the ‘i’ marker and is referred to as /i yur/. Both the Khasi and the Pnar, historically, show respect for their house. But at the underlying level, /yur/ ‘house’ belongs to feminine gender. This can be proved by coding, when one angrily complains about the house, he will utter as /ka yur/ ~ /a yur/ and the same is applied to /ja/ and /j<sup>h</sup>ur/. From this point of view, we can assume that the marker ‘i’ functions as the plural form as well as honorific marker.

#### 4.4 Case

Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their head. Case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level, or of a noun to a preposition or another noun at the phrase level. Comrie (1978) broadly classifies the languages of the world into two types; *Nominative- Accusative* and *Ergative- Absolutive*.

The case relations in Pnar are expressed by prepositions. A case marker precedes the noun or noun phrase as the first element. According to Comrie’s classification of case, Pnar belongs to the Nominative-Accusative type of language, because in the discussion of Nominative-Accusative, Agent and Patient (and indirectly, subjects and objects) are distinguished in terms of;

- (i) word order
- (ii) morphology of the noun or pronoun
- (iii) agreement with the verb

In Pnar, there are *eight* types of cases, they are;

1. Nominative Case
2. Accusative Case
3. Possessive
4. Instrumental Case
5. Locative Case
6. Dative Case
7. Ablative Case
8. Sociative Case

Some prepositions which may be said to function also as case markers makes it possible to talk about case in Pnar. All the cases in Pnar are marked with such case markers, with the exception of Nominative case. The following table represents the different case markers used in Pnar.

<i>Cases</i>	<i>Case Markers</i>
Nominative Case	/ø/
Accusative Case	/ya/ or /ø/
Possessive Case	/yɔŋ /
Instrumental Case	/da/
Locative Case	/ha/
Dative Case	/c <sup>h</sup> a/
Ablative Case	/na/
Sociative Case	/wa/

Table No. 9 Case Markers

#### 4.4.1 Nominative Case

The relationship between the verbs with its subject NPs is indicated by the Nominative case. When a noun or a pronoun is used as the subject of a verb, it is said to be in the Nominative case. The Nominative case marker in Pnar without any case marker is the subject, or as the doer of an action of an intransitive verb or of a verb substantive. Thus, the nominative case is represented by Ø marker.

- (58)     $\eta$ a    Ø    daw    lay    o    m<sup>†</sup>nstp  
          I    NOM    FUT    go    AGR    tomorrow  
          ‘I will go tomorrow’

- (59)    u    Ø    daŋ    purɛ    kɔt    u  
          he    NOM    PROG    read    book    AGR  
          ‘He is reading a book’

- (60)    u    Ø    bru    da    wan    u  
          he    NOM    man    PST    come    AGR  
          ‘The man came’

- (61)    Ø    daŋ    bam    ja    u  
          NOM    PROG    eat    rice    AGR  
          ‘He is eating rice’

#### 4.4.2 Accusative Case

The basic accusative case marker in Pnar is marked by **ya**. In colloquial speech, the accusative marker is reduced in form to **yu** when it follows the noun with gender marker /u/ and other gender marker as follows;

ya + a > ya

ya + u > yu

As mentioned earlier all nouns in Pnar are preceded by PNG (person, number and gender) marker. The accusative marker precedes the PNG marker and the head noun. From the illustration above we have two types of contracted forms of accusative markers; **yu** and **ya**, as can be seen by the following examples where the accusative marker precedes the nouns.

But it has to be noted that this merger of accusative marker and the PNG marker does not effect with the pronouns /a/ 'III F. Sg. (RB)' and /u/ 'III M. Sg', even if they exhibit the same forms. For example:

***Accusative marker before pronouns***

ya ŋa	'me'
ya u	'him'
ya ki	'them'
ya ka	'her' (ACC)

***Accusative marker before nouns***

ya ksaw (RB)	'dog (F)' (ACC)
ya ka ksaw (JW)	'dog (F)' (ACC)
yu ksaw	'dog (M)' (ACC)
yu c <sup>h</sup> re?	'monkey (M)'
ya sniaŋ (RB)	'pig (F)' (ACC)
ya ka sniaŋ (JW)	'pig (F)' (ACC)

The accusative case marker **ya** in Pnar is optionally dropped. The presence of accusative marker **ya** and its absence is determined by the kind of verbs. Some verbs use the accusative marker **ya** obligatorily, whereas others optionally, that is, it could be used with or without it. For instance, the verb **e** ‘to give’, **maya** ‘to love’, **k<sup>h</sup>ana** ‘to tell’, **p<sup>h</sup>aʔ** ‘to send’ etc. needs an obligatory accusative marker.

(62) u john maya u **ya** nga

M john love AGR ACC I Sg.

‘John loves me’

(63) e sɔʔ u john **ya** ka

give fruit M john ACC III F Sg.

‘John gives her a fruit’

(64) ham k<sup>h</sup>ana ya u

don’t tell ACC IIIM Sg.

‘Don’t tell him’

(65) da dɛp k<sup>h</sup>ana paɾɔm u ma ya ʔi

PST finish tell story M uncle ACC IPL.

‘Uncle told us a story’

\*(66) u john maya u Ø nga

M john love AGR ACC I Sg.

‘John loves me’

\*(67) e sɔʔ u john Ø ka

give fruit M john ACC III F Sg.

‘John gives her a fruit’

\*(68) ham k<sup>h</sup>ana Ø u  
 don't tell ACC IIM Sg.  
 'Don't tell him'

\*(69) da dɛp k<sup>h</sup>ana parɔm u ma Ø ʔi  
 PST finish tell story M uncle ACC IPL.  
 'Uncle told us a story'

The examples above are of the verbs that require accusative marker without which the sentences will be ungrammatical. Below are of those verbs which can optionally drop the accusative marker; both sets of sentences are grammatical.

(70) dat u john y-u ksaw yɔŋ ʔa  
 beat M john ACC.M dog POSS ISg.  
 'John beats my dog'

(70. a) dat u john Ø u ksaw yɔŋ ʔa  
 beat M john ACC M dog POSS ISg.  
 'John beats my dog'

(71) u wa-khut ya ʔa  
 IIM Sg. SPEC call ACC ISg.  
 'He (who) calls me'

(71. a) u wa-khut Ø ʔa  
 IIM Sg. SPEC call ACC ISg.  
 'He (who) calls me'

#### 4.4.3 Possessive Case

The possessive (genitive) case indicates the relationship of possession between nouns or/ and pronouns in a sentence. The genitive case indicates that the item referred to by the noun is the possessor of something. **ןכ** is the only possessive case marker in Pnar.

##### *With Pronouns*

u ksaw ןכ ןא	‘my dog’
I yu ןכ i	‘our house’
u pa ןכ p <sup>h</sup> a	‘your (IIF Sg.) father’
a be ןכ me	‘your (II M Sg.) mother’
u k <sup>h</sup> ןכ p <sup>h</sup> i	‘your son’
u kul ןכ u	‘his pen’
ka ka ןכ ka	‘her book’
I c <sup>h</sup> ןכ ki	‘their village’

##### *With Nouns*

u k <sup>h</sup> ןכ u John	‘John’s son’
u k <sup>h</sup> ןכ u John	‘the son of John’
u nat ןכ u de ן	‘the branch of a tree’
i c <sup>h</sup> ןכ i bru	‘the village of the people’
i k <sup>h</sup> le? ןכ u snia ן	‘the head of the pig’
i riam ןכ u ma	‘the dress of uncle’
i pirtuc ןכ u lom	‘the name of mountain’

i ktɛn ʔɔŋ u k <sup>h</sup> la	‘the mouth of the tiger
i juti ʔɔŋ ka bey	‘the shoe of mother’ (JW)
i yuti ʔɔŋ a be	‘the shoe of mother’ (RB)

The occurrence of possessive marker ʔɔŋ along with other nouns is optional.

For example,

u k <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ (ʔɔŋ) u John	‘the son of John’
u nat (ʔɔŋ) u deŋ	‘the branch of a tree’
i c <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ (ʔɔŋ) i bru	‘the village of the people’
i k <sup>h</sup> leʔ (ʔɔŋ) u snian	‘the head of the pig’
i riam (ʔɔŋ) u ma	‘the dress of uncle’
i pɔrtuc (ʔɔŋ) u lom	‘the name of mountain’
i ktɛn (ʔɔŋ) u k <sup>h</sup> la	‘the mouth of the tiger
i juti (ʔɔŋ) ka bey	‘the shoe of mother’ (JW)
i yuti (ʔɔŋ) a be	‘the shoe of mother’ (RB)

As discussed in section 4.2.2, the dropping of possessive marker occurs with the personal pronouns is the determined by the kind of personal pronouns we prefer to use. For example;

u pa ʔɔŋ ŋa	‘my father’
u pa a	‘my father’
* u pa ʔɔŋ a	‘my father’
*u pa ŋa	‘my father’
u pa ʔɔŋ p <sup>h</sup> a	‘your (II <sup>nd</sup> . F. Sg. Poss) father’
u pa p <sup>h</sup> o	‘your (II <sup>nd</sup> . F. Sg. Poss) father’

\*u pa p<sup>h</sup>a ‘your (II<sup>nd</sup>. F. Sg. Poss) father’

\*u pa yɔŋ p<sup>h</sup>o ‘your (II<sup>nd</sup>. F. Sg. Poss) father’

The examples above point out that if the pre-pronouns (ŋa, p<sup>h</sup>a, me, u, ka, etc.) are used, the possessive marker is obligatory, whereas if the post-pronouns (ɔ, a, ,p<sup>h</sup>o, m, u, ko, o) are used, possessive marker is not required.

#### 4.4.4 Instrumental Case

Instrumental is marked by the marker **da** which precedes the nouns or the pronouns, but when it precedes the gender markers it changes its form as in accusative case. The processes for contraction will be shown separately for the Jowai and Rymbai varieties.

##### *Jowai*

da + u (Masculine) > dow

da + ka (Feminine) > da ka

da + i (honorific) > dey

##### *Rymbai*

da + u (Masculine) > du

da + a (Feminine) > da

da + i (honorific) > di

(72) t<sup>h</sup>ɔ? ɔ do-w kulɔm

(JW)

write I Sg Inst IIIMSg pen

‘I write with a pen’

(73) t<sup>h</sup>ɔ? a d-u kulɔm

(RB)

write I Sg Inst IIIMSg pen

‘I write with a pen’

(74) **daŋ deŋ u da ka wac** (JW)

cut tree he Inst F machete

'He cuts the tree with a machete'

(75) **daŋ deŋ u d-a wac** (RB)

cut tree IIIMSg. Inst IIIFSg machete

'He cuts the tree with a machete'

(76) **da yo ko de-y k<sup>h</sup>mat yɔŋ ka** (JW)

PST see III F Sg. Inst. HON eye POSS III F Sg.

'She saw with her own eyes'

(77) **da yo ɔ d-i k<sup>h</sup>mat yɔŋ ka** (RB)

PST see III F Sg. Inst. HON eye POSS III F Sg.

'She saw with her own eyes'

(78) **da pɔy u ɪnne istep da ka kari** (JW)

PST reach III M Sg. today morning Inst. F vehicle

'He reached this morning by a vehicle'

(79) **da pɔy u ɪnne step d-a kari** (JW)

PST reach III M Sg. today morning Inst IIIFSg vehicle

'He reached this morning by a vehicle'

#### 4.4.5 Locative Case

Locative case is marked by the preposition **ha** which precedes the noun or the noun phrase. Locative case markers have two functions (i) to denote various time and space oriented relation pertaining to location and direction of the object in question

and (ii) marker of indirect object when it occur with certain verbs like /e/ ‘to give’, /p<sup>h</sup>aʔ/ ‘to send’ /boʔ/ ‘to keep’ etc.. This case marker also behaves as the other two previous case markers. That is, it change its forms when precedes the masculine gender marker and the honorific marker.

ha + u > hu

ha + i > hi

(80) lɛ ha yuŋ

come LOC house

‘Come inside the house’

(81) da boʔ ɔ ka kɔt ha mec

PST keep ISg. F book LOC table

‘I kept the book on the table’

(82) da eʔ ɔ ka c<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>i ha yuŋ

PST leave ISg. F letter LOC house

‘I left the letter at home’

These markers can take certain lexical morphemes like –pɔʔ, –jɔŋ etc. to indicate the specific location.

(83) ka bey ɛm ko hapɔʔ yuŋ

F mother BE AGR LOC house

‘Mother is inside the house’

(84) da boʔ ɔ ka kɔt hajrɔŋ mec

PST keep ISg. F book LOC table

'I kept the book on the table'

#### 4.4.6. Dative Case

The dative case indicates the relationship between the verb and its indirect object. It occurs only with ditransitive verbs which take two object NPs- direct and indirect object.

(85) da e ka bey u c<sup>h</sup>abi ha ŋa

PSTgive IIIFSg mother IIIMSg key DAT ISg.

'Mother gave the key to me'

(86) e um ya u

give water DAT IIIMSg.

'Give him water'

(87) daw t<sup>h</sup>et waje u ma ya ŋa

FUT buy watch IIIMSg uncle DAT ISg.

'My uncle will buy a watch for me'

In sentences 85, 86, and 87 **ha ŋa**, **ya u** and **ya ŋa** are the indirect object NPs of their respect verbs **e** 'give' and **t<sup>h</sup>et** 'buy'. In Pnar, dative case is assigned structurally by the verb to its indirect NPs and the prepositions **ha** and **ya** marked the dative case in the indirect objects.

Dative case also is marked by the preposition **c<sup>h</sup>a-**. It precedes the noun or the noun phrase at both the phrase level and the sentence level. It indicates that the action

denoted by the verb is directed towards the indirect object or thing denoted by the verb. It emphasizes the ‘motion’ part rather than the exact location. In colloquial speech, dative case marker *cha-* also reduced into several forms; it is reduced to **c<sup>h</sup>u** when it precedes the masculine noun and **c<sup>h</sup>i** when it precedes the noun used with honorific.

<b>c<sup>h</sup>a yuŋ</b>	‘to the house’
<b>c<sup>h</sup>a lac</b>	‘(to the) outside’
<b>c<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>lo</b>	‘to the forest’
<b>c<sup>h</sup>u pa</b>	‘to the father’
<b>c<sup>h</sup>u bnay</b>	‘to the moon’
<b>chu deŋ</b>	‘to the tree’
<b>c<sup>h</sup>itay lian</b>	‘to that side’
<b>c<sup>h</sup>ini lian</b>	‘to this side’

(88) da lay ka bey c<sup>h</sup>a shillong  
 PST go F mother DAT shillong  
 ‘Mother went to Shillong’

(89) mɪnnu u lay u c<sup>h</sup>a c<sup>h</sup>ɲɔŋ  
 when INF go he DAT village  
 ‘When he will go to the village’

(90) daw pɪrc<sup>h</sup>aŋ u u lay c<sup>h</sup>u bnay  
 FUT try INF he go DAT+M moon  
 ‘He will try to go to the moon’

(91) ηα ιm-jo? εm u πoy ο c<sup>h</sup>i-tu i – thaw (JW)

ISg. NEG use BE INF reach AGR DAT DEM HON place

‘I have never been to that place’

(92) ηα aru-jo? εm u πoy a c<sup>h</sup>i-tu i – thaw (RB)

ISg. NEG use BE INF reach AGR DAT DEM HON place

‘I have never been to that place’

Several bound forms can occur along with the dative markers like *-lian* and others will be discussed together along with ablative, dative and locative case markers.

*-lian* is used to indicate the direction

(93) da lay u chalian tidian

PST go IIIIM Sg. toward left

‘He went towards the left side’

(94) daw p<sup>h</sup>a? i ki-ni ki bam c<sup>h</sup>alian mi?snj

FUT send PL PL DEM PL food toward east

‘We will send these foods towards the east’

#### 4.4.7 Ablative Case

The preposition *na* ‘from’ is the ablative case marker in Pnar. Ablative case occurs in the same position like the locative and dative case, that is, it precedes the noun or the noun phrase. Ablative case indicates that the source as denoted by the noun or the noun phrase whose relation to the action is that of a fixed point, that is the source from which the moment or action takes place.

na skur 'from the school'  
na yaw 'from the market'  
na k<sup>h</sup>lo 'from the forest'  
na ka 'from her'  
na u 'from him'  
na k<sup>h</sup>ɪndaw 'from the floor'

(95) ɪm yɔʔ ɔ kiwɔn kiwɔn na ka (JW)

NEG get ISg anything ABL III F Sg.

'I am not getting anything from her'

(96) aru yɔʔ a iye iye na ka (RB)

NEG get ISg anything ABL III F Sg.

'I am not getting anything from her'

(97) da hiar u na kali

PST get IIIMSg ABL vehicle

'He got down from the vehicle'

(98) da wan u na k<sup>h</sup>lo

pst come IIIMSg ABL foresee

'He came from the forest'

(99) yɔʔ dut i na masi

get milk IPL ABL cow

'We get milk from the cow'

All these three prepositional case markers (that is, locative /ha/, dative /c<sup>h</sup>a/ and ablative case marker /na/) can also occur with bound elements or free elements to indicate different types of locations.

(i) /-pɔʔ/ is used to indicate ‘interior’ location

/hapɔʔ yuŋ/	‘inside the house’
/c <sup>h</sup> apɔʔ yuŋ/	‘to inside the house’
/napɔʔ yuŋ/	‘from inside the house’

(ii) /-jɔʔ/ is used to indicate ‘exterior or top’ location

/hajɔʔ yuŋ/	‘on the top of the house’
/chajɔʔ yuŋ/	‘to the top of the house’
/najɔʔ yuŋ/	‘from the top of the house’

(iii) /-lait/ is used to indicate ‘exterior’ location

/halait/	‘outside’
/c <sup>h</sup> alait/	‘(to) outside’
/nalait/	‘from outside’

(iv) /-k<sup>h</sup>mat/ is used to indicate ‘front’ location

/ha k <sup>h</sup> mat skur/	‘in front of the school’
/c <sup>h</sup> a k <sup>h</sup> mat skur/	‘to the of the school’
/na k <sup>h</sup> mat skur/	‘from the front of the school’

(v) /-den/ is used to indicate ‘posterior’ location

/haden yuŋ/	‘at the back of the house’
/c <sup>h</sup> aden yuŋ/	‘to the back of the house’
/naden yuŋ/	‘from the back of the house’

(vi) /-jan/ indicates 'proximate' distance.

/hajan yaw/	'near the market'
/chajan yaw/	'to the vicinity of the market'
/najan yaw/	'from the vicinity of the market'

(vii) /-doʔ/ indicates 'extension' (dynamic relation).

/hadoʔ wakut/	'till the end'
/chadoʔ wakut/	'to the end'
/nadoʔ wakut/	'from the end'

#### 4.4.8 Sociative

The sociative case which expresses either casual or inherent association of a thing or person with some other thing or person is expressed with the help of the preposition **wa**, 'with', which precedes the noun or the noun phrase. Sociative case marker **wa** also changes its form into **wow** (Jowai) and **wu** (Rymbai) when precedes the III person singular masculine gender marker /u/ and changed into **wi** when precedes the honorific marker /i/ in a colloquial speech.

(100) da lay u wa ka bey yɔŋ u (JW)

PST go IIM Sg SOC F mother POS IIM Sg

'He went with his mother'

(101) da lɛ u wa bey yɔŋ u (RB)

PST go IIM Sg SOC mother POS IIM Sg

'He went with his mother'

(102) daw lay ko wow pa yɔŋ ka (JW)  
 FUT go III F Sg SOC+M father POSS III F Sg  
 ‘She will go with her father’

(103) daw lɛ o wu pa yɔŋ ka (RB)  
 FUT go III F Sg SOC+M father POSS III F Sg  
 ‘She will go with her father’

## 4.5 Adjectives

Adjectives serve to modify the nouns. Adjectives in Pnar are indicated by the adjective marker *wa-*. It occupies a position immediately before the head in a noun phrase. On the basis of their distribution in a noun phrase, adjectives can be divided into three classes; simple, derived and reduplicated adjectives.

### 4.5.1 Simple adjective

Simple adjectives are further classified into numeral adjectives, qualitative adjectives, quantitative adjectives, adjectives of colours, demonstrative adjectives.

#### 4.5.1.1 Adjective of colour

Only five basic colour terms exist in Pnar. The rest of other colour terms are compound or derived from the objects they look like.

/wa leʔ/	‘white’
/wa so/	‘red’
/wa yɔŋ/	‘black’
/wa stəm/	‘yellow’
/wa ɪrŋam/	‘green’ (RB)
/wa yɪrŋam/	‘green’ (JW)

The other colour terms do not require the adjective marker wa-, instead it compounds **רֹחַ** 'colour' (borrowed from Hindi /raŋ/) and the colour of the objects or elements.

/רֹחַ/ 'colour' + /תַּפֵּי/ 'ashes'	>	/רֹחַתַּפֵּי/	'grey'
/רֹחַ/ 'colour' + /בְּנֵי/ 'sky'	>	/רֹחַבְּנֵי/	'blue'
/רֹחַ/ 'colour' + /דֹּמָה/ 'tobacco'	>	/רֹחַדֹּמָה/	'brown'
/רֹחַ/ 'colour' + /כֶּסֶף/ 'green'	>	/רֹחַכֶּסֶף/	'deep green'
/רֹחַ/ 'colour' + /פֵּרוֹת/ 'fruit'	>	/רֹחַפֵּרוֹת/	'peach colour'
/רֹחַ/ 'colour' + /יָהֵם/ 'pale'	>	/רֹחַ יָהֵם/	'brownish'
/רֹחַ/ 'colour' + /דִּיף/ 'fire'	>	/רֹחַדִּיף/	'colour of fire'
/רֹחַ/ 'colour' + /כֹּחֲמֵץ/ 'turmeric'	>	/רֹחַכֹּחֲמֵץ/	'choking orange'
/רֹחַ/ 'colour' + /חֲמוֹץ/ 'juice'	>	/רֹחַחֲמוֹץ/	'orange colour'

#### 4.5.1.2 Qualitative adjective

/wa b <sup>h</sup> a/	'good'
/wa siʔ/	'bad'
/wa miat/	'beautiful'
/wa k <sup>h</sup> lan/	'strong'
/wa tlɔʔ/	'weak'
/wa p <sup>h</sup> εʔ/	'peculiar'
/wa rim/	'old'
/wa t <sup>h</sup> imme/	'new'
/wa hεʔ/	'big'

/wa k <sup>h</sup> ian/	‘small’
/wa p̄rdi/	‘medium’
/wa doʔ/	‘poor’

#### 4.5.1.3 Quantitative adjective

/c <sup>h</sup> i bon/ ~ /wa bon/	‘much’
/(wa) k <sup>h</sup> adiak/	‘few’ (RB)
/(wa) k <sup>h</sup> ajiak/	‘few’ (JW)
/c <sup>h</sup> i kattu katni/	‘some’ (JW)
/c <sup>h</sup> i ʔattu ʔatni/	‘some (RB)

The quantitative adjectives include the cardinal numeral like:

wi	‘one’
ar	‘two’
le	‘three’
so	‘four’ etc.

#### 4.5.1.4 Demonstrative adjective

Four adjectives belong to this class; -ni (proximate), -te (medial), -tay (remote) and -nu (interrogative). It is important to note that these demonstrative adjectives are preceded by the person, number and gender markers. For example;

##### *Proximate demonstrative adjectives*

/u ni/	‘this (M.Sg.)’
/ka ni/	‘this (F.Sg.)’ (JW)
/a ni/	‘this’ (F.Sg.)’ (RB)
/ki ni/	‘these (PL.)’ (JW)
/i ni/	‘these (PL.)’ (RB)

### ***Medial demonstrative adjectives***

/u te/	‘this (M.Sg.)’
/ka te/	‘this (F.Sg.)’ (JW)
/a te/	‘this’ (F.Sg.)’ (RB)
/ki te/	‘these (PL.)’ (JW)
/i te/	‘these (PL.)’ (RB)

### ***Remote demonstrative adjectives***

/u tay/	‘that (M.Sg.)’
/ka tay/	‘that (F.Sg.)’ (JW)
/a tay/	‘that (F.Sg.)’ (RB)
/ki tay/	‘those (PL.)’
/i tay/	‘those (PL.)’ (RB)

### ***Interrogative demonstrative adjectives***

/u nu/	‘which (M.Sg.)’
/ka nu/	‘which (F.Sg.)’ (JW)
/a nu/	‘which (F.Sg.)’ (RB)
/ki nu/	‘which (PL.)’
/i nu/	‘which (PL.)’ (RB)

## **4.5.2 Derived Adjective**

In Pnar the possibility to derive adjectives is from verb, cardinal numeral and noun by adding the derivation prefix or adjective marker **wa-** to the stem.

### ***4.5.2.1 Adjective derived from verb***

The adjectives are derived from verbs by prefixing **wa-** to the verb stems.

/wa/ + /c <sup>h</sup> ḥḥ/	‘sit’	>	/wa c <sup>h</sup> ḥḥ/	‘one who sits’
/wa/ + /diʔ/	‘drink’	>	/wa diʔ/	‘one who drinks’
/wa/ + /toʔ/	‘steal’	>	/wa toʔ/	‘one who steals’
/wa/ + /pusnu/	‘dream’	>	/wa pusnu/	‘one who dreams’ (RB)
/wa/ + /yimp <sup>h</sup> o/	‘dream’	>	/wa yimp <sup>h</sup> o/	‘one who dreams’ (JW)

#### 4.5.2.2 Adjective derived from cardinal numeral

The adjectives in the form of ordinal numerals are derived by prefixing **wa-** to the cardinal numerals. All adjectives derived from the cardinal numerals are possible with the exception of cardinal numeral ‘one’.

/wa/ + /ar/	‘two’	>	/wa ar/	‘second’
/wa/ + /le/	‘three’	>	/wa le/	‘third’
/wa/ + /so/	‘four’	>	/wa so/	‘fourth’
/wa/ + /c <sup>h</sup> ispaʔ/	‘one hundred’	>	/wa chispa/	‘hundredth’
/wa/ + /wi/	‘one’	>	* /wa wi/	‘first’
/wa/ + /nḥḥkḥḥ/	‘one’	>	/wa nḥḥkḥḥ/	‘first’

#### 4.5.2.3 Adjective derived from noun

/wa/ + /tḥmmen/	‘old man’	>	/wa tḥmmen/	‘old’
/wa/ + /k <sup>h</sup> ḥnro/	‘young man’	>	/wa k <sup>h</sup> ḥnro/	‘young’
/wa/ + /k <sup>h</sup> ḥinnaʔ/	‘child’	>	/wa k <sup>h</sup> ḥinnaʔ/	‘childish’
/wa/ + /bec/	‘idiot’	>	/wa bec/	‘idiotic’

### 4.5.3 Reduplicated adjective

Reduplicated adjectives usually increase the intensity in the expressed meaning. When an adjective is reduplicated it indicates emphasis, for example, when the adjective /wa hɛʔ/ ‘big’ is reduplicated /wa hɛʔ wa hɛʔ/ it means only the big ones and not the small ones.

/wa hɛʔ wa hɛʔ/	‘big’
/wa k <sup>h</sup> ian wak <sup>h</sup> ian/	‘small’
/wa rben wa rben/	‘thick’
/wa k <sup>h</sup> lan wa k <sup>h</sup> lan/	‘strong’
/wa doʔ wa doʔ/	‘poor’
/wa leʔ wa leʔ/	‘white’

## 4.6 Verb

Verbs in Pnar are those which are capable of taking tense markers. In Pnar the verb does not show any agreement in terms of number and gender with the subject, as English does. Verbs can be simple, derived or compound. The lexical verbs could be either mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic, like **bam** ‘to eat’ and **pɪrk<sup>h</sup>at** ‘to think’.

The verb forms can be classified as Simple verbs and Derived verbs.

### 4.6.1 Simple verb

Some of the Simple verbs or the verbs in its simple forms are listed below;

/yam/	‘weep’
/raʔ/	‘carry’
/k <sup>h</sup> lɛʔ/	‘mix’
/bam/	‘eat’

/diʔ/	‘drink’
/t <sup>h</sup> et/	‘buy’ (JW)
/t <sup>h</sup> ɛt/	‘buy’ (RB)
/pɪrk <sup>h</sup> at/	‘think’
/kɪrc <sup>h</sup> ut/	‘brush’ (JW)
/tɪrc <sup>h</sup> ut/	‘brush’ (RB)

The verbs in its simple forms can be further classified into two classes; Transitive verbs and Intransitive verbs.

#### 4.6.1.1. Transitive verb

Transitive verb can be further divided into two classes; Transitive<sub>1</sub> and Transitive<sub>2</sub>

- (i) Transitive<sub>1</sub> are those verbs which are capable of taking one object and one complement. Example;

/bam/	‘eat’
/diʔ/	‘drink’
/raʔ/	‘carry’
/t <sup>h</sup> ar/	‘burn’

(104) bam ja u

eat rice III<sub>MSg</sub>

‘He eats rice’

(105) daŋ diʔ c<sup>h</sup>a ko

PROG drink tea III<sub>FSG</sub>

‘She is drinking tea’

(106) da ra? ki ki tiar  
PST carry IIIPL PL thing  
'They carried things'

(107) da t<sup>h</sup>arj u ki kt  
PST burn IIIMSG PL book  
'He burned the books'

(ii) Transitive<sub>2</sub> or ditransitive are those verbs which are capable of taking two objects (direct object and indirect object) and two complements. Examples;

/e/ 'give'

/bo?/ 'keep'

/him/ 'take' (RB)

/c<sup>h</sup>im/ 'take (JW)

(108) e kt u ya na  
give book IIIMSG ACC ISG  
'He gives me a book'

(109) da bo? ɔ ki kt hajrɔj mec (JW)  
PST keep ISG PL book PREP table  
'I kept the books on the table'

(110) da bo? a i kt hajrɔj mec (RB)  
PST keep ISG PL book PREP table  
'I kept the books on the table'

(111) da c<sup>h</sup>im ɔ ki kt na u (JW)  
PST take ISG PL book PREP IIIMSG  
'I took the books from him'

(112) da him a i kət na u (RB)

PST take ISg PL book PREP IIIMSG

'I took the books from him'

#### 4.6.1.2 Intransitive Verb

/yam/ 'weep'

/t<sup>h</sup>iaʔ/ 'sleep'

/c<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ/ 'sit'

/ɪrk<sup>h</sup>ay/ 'laugh' (JW)

/ɪrk<sup>h</sup>ɛ/ 'laugh' (RB)

(113) yam ko (JW)

weep IIIFSG

'She weeps'

(114) yam o (RB)

weep IIIFSG

'She weeps'

(115) daŋ t<sup>h</sup>iaʔ u

PROG sleep IIIMSG

'He is sleeping'

(116) daŋ ya-c<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ ki

PROG ASSO sit IIIPL

'They are sitting (together)'

- (117)    **daŋ**    ya-rkhay ki  
           PROG ASSO laugh IIIPL  
           ‘They are laughing’

#### 4.6.2 Derived stem

Derived stems are formed by adding different stem-forming prefixes to the roots (simple verbs). Prefixes /pɪn-/ ‘causative marker’ and /ya-/ ‘reciprocal and associative forms of verbs’ are the only possible prefixes to attach with the root verbs.

<i>Simple Verb</i>	<i>Causative Verbs</i>	<i>Reciprocal Verb</i>
/bam/ ‘to eat’	/pɪnbam/ ‘to feed’	/yabam/ ‘to eat’
/diʔ/ ‘to drink’	/pɪndiʔ/ ‘cause to drink’	/yadiʔ/ ‘to drink’
/tʰiaʔ/ ‘to sleep’	/pɪntʰiaʔ/ ‘cause to sleep’	/yatʰiaʔ/ ‘to sleep’
/cʰɔŋ/ ‘to sit’	/pɪncʰɔŋ/ ‘cause to sit’	/yacʰɔŋ/ ‘to sit’

##### 4.6.2.1 Causative Verb

There are two types of causative verb in Pnar that is /tɪn-/ and /pɪn-/. The occurring of these two forms of causative verb can not be account as a phonological reason, even though words like; have their own.

*Some of the list of causative verbs;*

/pɪnsaʔ/	‘cause to leave / cause to live’
/tɪnpiaʔ/	‘cause to break’
/pɪnʔim/	‘cause to live’
/tɪnyap/	‘cause to die’
/pɪnkjut/	‘cause to be sick’

/pinnan/	‘heal’
/pinstat/	‘cause to educate/’
/pinc <sup>h</sup> ʔ/	‘cause to sit’
/pinyeŋ/	‘cause to stand’
/pinbam/	‘cause to eat/ feed’
/tindun/	‘cause to grind’
/tindan/	‘cause to grind by hitting’
/tinliat/	‘cause to grind by rolling’
/pinkit/	‘cause to carry’
/pinpiam/	‘cause to sit on the lap’

#### 4.6.2.2 Reciprocal form of verb

The verb in the form of reciprocals is formed by the prefix *ya-* attached to the verbs. Through the nature of verb itself, we can justify the existence of reciprocal and associative forms of verbs. For example, when the prefix *ya-* is added to the verb *c<sup>h</sup>ʔ* ‘to beat’ it becomes *yac<sup>h</sup>ʔ* ‘to fight’ and it is a reciprocal, because the meaning is ‘they fight each other’.

/dʔ/	‘to kiss’	/yadʔ/	‘to kiss (each other)’
/dac/	‘to bite’	/yadac/	‘to bite (each other)’
/pac/	‘to look’	/yapac/	‘to look (each other)’
/c <sup>h</sup> ʔ/	‘to beat’	/yac <sup>h</sup> ʔ/	‘to fight (each other)’

#### 4.6.2.3 Associative form of verb

The prefix *ya-* also denotes the associative<sup>2</sup> forms of verbs. It indicates that the action is done or to be done together.

##### *Simple Verbs*

/bam/ 'eat'

/diʔ/ 'drink'

/t<sup>h</sup>iaʔ/ 'sleep'

/c<sup>h</sup>ʔŋ/ 'sit'

/t<sup>h</sup>ar/ 'burn'

/c<sup>h</sup>ʔŋ/ 'sit'

##### *Associative form of Verbs*

/yabam/ 'to eat (with other)'

/yadiʔ/ 'to drink (with other)'

/yat<sup>h</sup>iaʔ/ 'to sleep (with other)'

/ya c<sup>h</sup>ʔŋ/ 'to sit (with other)'

/ya t<sup>h</sup>ar/ 'to burn (with other)'

/yac<sup>h</sup>ʔŋ/ 'to sit (with other)'

Many scholars might treat this kind of verbs as reciprocals because of the same prefix. However, that is not true because reciprocals take the meaning 'each other' and it cannot be applied to with the verb /bam/ 'eat' because it is not possible for any one 'to eat each other' or 'to drink each other' and it is always requires two or more agents. The examples of verbs in the form of associative above can be presented in the sentences as follow;

(118) daŋ      ya-bam ki

PROG ASSO-eat IIIPL

'They are eating (together)'

\*(119) daŋ      ya-bam u

PROG ASSO-eat IIMSG

'He is eating (together)'

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<sup>2</sup> For want of a better 'term' and based on the sociative case discussed earlier, it is proposed that the term 'Associative' can be used for a certain class of verbs which denote association or inclusiveness

### 4.6.3 Imperative Verb

Imperative verb refers to verb forms or sentence/ clause types typically used in the expression of command. In Pnar, the verb does not change its form even if used as imperative form. It may be noted that the strength of ‘imperativeness depends more on the intonation, and low intonation function as ‘request’.

/deʔ/	‘go’
/lɛ/	‘come!’
/bam/	‘eat!’
/pac/	‘look!’
/k <sup>ə</sup> sɔʔ/	‘hold!’
/t <sup>h</sup> iaʔ/	‘sleep!’
/klam/	‘speak!’
/k <sup>h</sup> ut/	‘call’
/k <sup>ə</sup> jap/	‘chew!’
/p <sup>h</sup> ɛt/	‘go away!’
/e/	‘give!’

Negative imperative forms are obtained by using the negative imperative form **ham**. The personal pronoun may be present or absent. It usually occurs before the verbs.

/hambam/	‘don’t eat!’
/hampac/	‘don’t look!’
/hamk <sup>ə</sup> sɔʔ/	‘don’t hold!’
/hamt <sup>h</sup> iaʔ/	‘don’t sleep!’
/hamklam/	‘don’t speak!’
/hamk <sup>h</sup> ut/	‘don’t call’

#### 4.6.4 Formation of infinitive verb

Infinitive verbs are formed by adding the /u/ infinitival marker which precedes the verbs. Note that the infinitival /u/ in Jowai and Rymbai is not the same 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular /u/ discussed in section 4.3.

/u bam/	‘to (INF) eat’
/u diʔ/	‘to (INF) drink’
/u t <sup>h</sup> ba/	‘to (INF) touch’
/u t <sup>h</sup> ar/	‘to (INF) burn’
/u c <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ/	‘to (INF) sit’
/u dɔʔ/	‘to (INF) kiss’
/u dac/	‘to (INF) bite’
/u kinjat/	‘to (INF) kick’
/u pac/	‘to (INF) look’

The infinitive form of verbs in Pnar can also be applied to the associative and reciprocal forms of verbs by adding **ya** the associative or reciprocal marker in between of **u** and the verbs.

/u ya bam/	‘to (INF) eat (with other)’
/u ya diʔ/	‘to (INF) drink (with other)’
/u ya pac/	‘to (INF) look (each other)’
/u ya c <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ/	‘to (INF) sit (with other)’
/u ya t <sup>h</sup> iaʔ/	‘to (INF) sleep (with other)’
/u ya c <sup>h</sup> ɔʔ/	‘to (INF) fight (each other)’

#### 4.6.5 Negative formations

In the previous section, negative imperative marker **ham** was mentioned. There are several other negative forms. They are; **aru** in Rymbai and **ɬm** in Jowai. **aru** and **ɬm** are mark simple negation while **ham** indicates negative imperative.

Jowai		Rymbai	
/ɬm pac	‘not look’	/aru pac/	‘not look’
/ɬm bam/	‘not eating’	/aru bam/	‘not eat’
/ɬm di?/	‘not drink’	/aru di?/	‘not drink’

Both these two negative forms realize their forms according to the sentence. For instance, if they occur in the sentence initial position they maintain their forms, whereas if they follow the pronoun they tend to change their forms, that is, they usually drop the initial vowel. For example;

(120a) ɲa ɬm bam ɔ (JW)

ISg NEG eat ISg

‘I’m not eating’

(120b) ɬm bam ɔ

NEG eat ISg

‘I’m not eating’

(121a) ɲa aru bam a (RB)

I NEG eat I

‘I’m not eating’

(121b) aru bam a

NEG eat I

‘I’m not eating’

In the examples above we can see the two forms of each of the negative operators in sentences (a) and sentences (b).

## 4.7 Tense

The verbs in Pnar do not undergo inflection for person and number and the tense also is not a morphological inflection as in the case of some languages like many Indian languages but it is indicated by separate time markers. Three *time markers* are noticed in Pnar; *past, present* and *future*. The tense markers in Pnar are:

- (i). *Present tense* is not marked and is representing by  $\emptyset$  (zero) marker.
- (ii). *Past tense* is marked by the marker **da**, which is a proclitic.
- (iii). *Future tense* is marked by the marker **daw**, which is a proclitic

### 4.7.1 Present

As mentioned earlier, present is not marked at the word level. The verbs in its simple form indicate present time. For example;

bam 'eat'  
di? 'drink'  
c<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ 'sit''  
t<sup>h</sup>ia? 'sleep'

(122) bam ja u  
eat rice IIIMSg.  
'He eats rice'

(123) t<sup>h</sup>ia? ko  
sleep IIIFSg.  
'She sleeps'

### 4.7.2 Past

Past time is indicated by **da** marker which precedes the verb.

Verb		Past tense form of verbs	
bam	'eat'	<b>da</b> bam	'ate'
di?	'drink'	<b>da</b> di?	'drank'

lay	'go'	<b>da</b> lay	'went'
dep	'finish'	<b>da</b> dep	'finished'
wan	'come'	<b>da</b> wan	'came'
yap	'die'	<b>da</b> yap	'died'

(124) **da** thia? u

PST sleep IIIMSg

'He slept'

(125) **da** lay kre? u

PST go work IIIMSg

'He went for work'

Past time marker is optional and it is often dropped if the verb or the action is accompanied by the adverb of time.

(126) (**da**) bam ja    ɔ    ʔnnin    ha    yuŋ yɔŋ u

(PST) eat rice ISg. yesterday PREP house POSS IIIMSg

'I ate rice yesterday in his place'

The regular past marker **da** never occur in negative sentences but a negative sentence has a different past marker. The negative past tense marker is marked by the particle **ɛm** 'past negative' marker.

(127a) **ɛm** lay kre? u

NEG go work IIIMSg.

'He (is) not going to work'

(127b) **im em lay kre? u**

NEG PST-NEG go work IIIMSg.

'He (did) not go to work'

(128a) **im bam ja ɔ ha yuŋ yɔŋ u**

NEG eat rice ISg PREP house POSS IIIMSg

'I'm not eating in his place'

(128b) **im em bam ja ɔ ha yuŋ yɔŋ u**

NEG PST-NEG eat rice ISg PREP house POSS IIIMSg.

'I didn't eat in his place'

The sentences (a) and (b) of 127 and 128 show the differences of present and past time due to the insertion of the past negation **em** in the sentences (b) in both sentences.

The pattern of marking past time in the negative sentence is the same in Rymbai, except that Rymbai uses **aru** as a negative marker but employs the same past –negative **em** as a past marker.

(129a) **aru le kre? u**

NEG go work IIIMSg.

'He is not going to work'

(129b) **aru em le kre? u**

NEG PST-NEG go work IIIMSg.

'He did not go to work'

From the examples above, both **ɛm** (Jowai) and **aru** (Rymbai) appear to be external markers to indicate that the sentence is in the negative form.

#### 4.7.3 Future

In Pnar, the concept of the future is that the action or the given event or state would be done or performed or will take place following the time of uttering the sentence. The future is marked by a free morpheme **daw** which precedes the verbs or the verb stems.

##### *Example*

daw lay	‘will go’
daw pac	‘will see’
daw c <sup>h</sup> oŋ	‘will sit’
daw t <sup>h</sup> oʔ	‘will search’
daw t <sup>h</sup> ɔʔ	‘will write’
daw yap	‘will die’
daw thiaʔ	‘will sleep’

(130) **daw lay c<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ ɔ ha kani ka 15<sup>th</sup> u june** (JW)

FUT go village ISg PREP DEM IIIFSg 15 IIIMSg june

‘I will go home on this 15<sup>th</sup> of June’

(131) **daw wan u ma mɪnstɛp** (JW)

FUT come IIIMSg uncle tomorrow

‘Uncle (maternal) will come tomorrow’

(132) lada lay I daw wan ki (JW)

if go IPL FUT come IIIPL

'If we go they will come'

(133) daw le c<sup>h</sup>noŋ a ha-ni a 15<sup>th</sup> u june (RB)

FUT go village ISg PREP DEM IIIFSg 15 IIIMSg june

'I will go home on this 15<sup>th</sup> of June'

(134) daw pɔy u ma mɪnstɛp (RB)

FUT reach IIIMSg uncle tomorrow

'Uncle (maternal) will come tomorrow'

(135) lada le I daw pɔy ki (RB)

if go IPL FUT reach IIIPL

'If we go they will come'

As mentioned earlier, the future time always precede the verb. For example;

(136) ŋa daw lay c<sup>h</sup>noŋ ɔ ha kani ka 15<sup>th</sup> u june (JW)

ISg FUT go village ISg PREP DEM IIIFSg 15 IIIMSg june

'I will go home on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June'

(137) u ma daw wan u mɪnstɛp (JW)

IIISGM uncle FUT come IIIMSg tomorrow

'Uncle (maternal) will come tomorrow'

(138) daw wan ki lada lay I (JW)

FUT come IIIPL if go IPL

'If we go they will come'

(139) **daw** **le** **c<sup>h</sup>nɔŋ** a ha-ni a 15<sup>th</sup> u june (RB)

FUT go village ISg PREP DEM IIIFSg 15 IIIMSg june

'I will go home on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June'

(140) **daw** **pɔy** u ma mɪnstɛp (RB)

FUT reach IIIMSg uncle tomorrow

'Uncle (maternal) will come tomorrow'

(141) **lada** **le** I **daw** **pɔy** ki (RB)

if go IPL FUT reach IIIPL

'If we go they will come'

Future marker also never occurs in the negative sentences. As it is discussed in the past tense negative sentences, the marker **ɛm** serves as a past negative marker, but in non-past tense negative sentences **ɛm** is not used. It is indicated that the negative sentences with **ɛm** is in past tense form. **ɛm** is never used in the non-past forms (present and future tense).

(142) **ɛm** **lay** **c<sup>h</sup>nɔŋ** ɔ ha kani ka 15<sup>th</sup> u june (JW)

NEG go village ISg PREP DEM F 15 M june

'I will not go home on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June'

(143) **aru** **le** **c<sup>h</sup>nɔŋ** a ha-ni a 15<sup>th</sup> u june (RB)

NEG go village ISg PREP DEM F 15 M june

'I will not go home on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June'

#### 4.7.3.1 Immediate future

In Pnar the immediate future is marked by the particles **wan** in Jowai and **hin** in Rymbai. The idea implies that the action to be done or completed as soon as possible. The particles **wan** and **hin** occur post-verbally along with the regular future particle **daw** in indicative sentences. Otherwise, in other type of sentences **daw** is optional. This can be illustrated by the following examples below.

(144) **daw lay c<sup>h</sup>ncŋ wan ɔ ha ki-ni ki sŋi** (JW)

FUT go village IMM ISg PREP PL DEM PL day

‘I will go to village (very soon ) in these (coming) days’

(145) **daw pac wan ɔ kamwɔn u lɛ?** (JW)

FUT look IMM ISg how INF do

‘I will see how I will do’

(146) **daw lɛ c<sup>h</sup>ncŋ hin ŋa hi-ni i sŋi** (RB)

FUT go village IMM ISg PREP DEM PL day

‘I will go to village (very soon ) in these (coming) days’

(147) **daw pac hin ŋa amnu u lɛ?** (RB)

FUT look IMM ISg how INF do

‘I will see how I will do’

#### 4.8 Aspect

Aspect is a temporal category denoting the state of action with reference to its perfection, non-perfection, inception, simultaneity or perpetualness, etc. In Pnar there is no category of aspect. Progressive is indicated by the lexical morpheme **dan**,

meaning ‘still’, semantically it conveys the idea of an action in progress. Past perfective is indicated by the lexical morpheme **dep** ‘finish’, conveying the idea that an action has been completed.

#### 4.8.1 Progressive

It is referred to as an action in progress. In Pnar, progressive aspect occurs only in the present tense marked by the particle **daŋ**<sup>3</sup> ‘still’.

<i>Verbs</i>	<i>Present Continuous</i>
<b>bam</b> ‘eat’	<b>daŋ bam</b> ‘is eating’
<b>di?</b> ‘drink’	<b>daŋ di?</b> ‘is drinking’
<b>t<sup>h</sup>ia?</b> ‘sleep’	<b>daŋ t<sup>h</sup>ia?</b> ‘is sleeping’
<b>t<sup>h</sup>ɔ?</b> ‘write’	<b>daŋ t<sup>h</sup>ɔ?</b> ‘is writing’
<b>pac</b> ‘look’	<b>daŋ pac</b> ‘is looking’

(148) **daŋ bam ja u**  
 still eat rice IIIMSg AGR  
 ‘He is eating rice’

(149) **daŋ pac phlim u**  
 still look film IIIMSg AGR  
 ‘He is watching movie’

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<sup>3</sup> **daŋ** is a lexical morpheme meaning ‘still’ but it connotes the idea of an action in progress. Strictly speaking, it is not a progressive marker, that is, not an affix attached to the form of the verb. For the purpose of this analysis, it is treated as a progressive marker.

- (150) ham pɪnwit uni u kʰinnaʔ daŋ tʰɔʔ bʰa u  
 don't disturb DEM M child still write good IIIMSG AGR  
 'Do not disturb this boy he is still writing'

#### 4.8.2 Perfective

Past perfect, on the other hand refers to a completed action in the past and it is marked by adding the lexical morpheme **dɛp** which literally means 'finish'. **dɛp** occurs in between the past tense marker **da** and the verb stem.

da dɛp bam ja  
 PST finish eat rice  
 'had eaten rice'

da dɛp tʰɔʔ  
 PST finish write  
 'Had written'

- (151) u da dɛp bam ja u  
 IIIMSG PST finish eat rice AGR  
 'He had eaten rice'

- (152) u da dɛp tʰɔʔ sʰitʰi u  
 IIIMSG PST finish write letter AGR  
 'He had written letter'

- (153) u da dɛp pyn-kʰoc kamra u  
 IIIMSG PST finish CAU clean room AGR  
 'He had cleaned the room'



(156) me tʔ u lay me katte (JW)

IIMsg should INF go AGR now

‘You should go now’

(157) me tʔ u le me atte (RB)

IIMsg should INF go AGR now

‘You should go now’

(158) p<sup>h</sup>i ye p<sup>h</sup>i u lay katte (JW)

II can/ may AGR INF go now

‘You can/ may go now’

(159) p<sup>h</sup>i ye p<sup>h</sup>i u le atte

II can/may AGR INF go now

‘You can/ may go now’

**(1) Ability**

**tip** ‘know’ and **ye** ‘can’ are both used for can in the sense of being able to do something. The choice of using **tip** and **ye** depends on the speaker’s choice, which means the same in both Jowai and Rymbai variety.

(160) tip/ ye me u sac t<sup>h</sup>at

know / can IIMsg INF wash cloth

‘Can you (MSg) wash cloth?’

(161) ŋa im tip/ ye ɔ u ya? kali (JW)

ISg NEG know/ can AGR INF drive vehicle

‘I can’t/ don’t know to drive a vehicle’

(162) *ɲa aru tip/ye a u ya? kari* (RB)

ISg NEG know/can AGR INF drive vehicle

'I can't/ don't know to drive a vehicle'

(163) *ki ye ki u bic<sup>h</sup>ar*

IIIPL can AGR INF judge

'They can judge'

(164) *im ye ɔ u le? kini* (JW)

NEG can ISg INF do this

'I can not do this'

(165) *aru ye a u le? ini* (RB)

NEG can AGR INF do this

'I can not do this'

## (2) *Necessity*

**ɛmkam** as a main verb is equivalent with English 'need'.

(166) *ɲa ɛmkam kulɔm ɔ* (JW)

ISg need pen AGR

'I need (a) pen'

(167) *ɲa ɛmkam kulɔm a* (RB)

ISg need pen AGR

'I need (a) pen'

(168) **na daw emkam ɔ me** (JW)

ISg FUT need AGR IIMSg

‘I will need you’

(169) **na daw emkam a me** (RB)

ISg FUT need AGR IIMSg

‘I will need you’

As an auxiliary also, **emkam** has the meaning equivalent to ‘need’

(170) **i emkam u le i mintu**

IPL need INF go AGR now

‘We need to go now’

(171) **p<sup>h</sup>i emkam u p<sup>h</sup>at b<sup>h</sup>a phi**

II need INF think very AGR

‘You need to think carefully’

### (3) *Obligation*

Obligation is marked by **ɔʔ** which is equivalent to English ‘should’.

(172) **ka ɔʔ u lay kɔ c<sup>h</sup>i-sindɔn**  
IIFSg should INF go AGR right away

‘She should go at once’.

(173) **me ɔʔ u p<sup>h</sup>at b<sup>h</sup>a me**

IIMSg should INF think very AGR

‘You should think carefully’



(178) me ye me u mi? (k)atte

IIMSg can AGR INF leave now

'You can leave now'

(b) *Possibility* (epistemic: referring to an eventuality which may occur)

(179) u ye u u wan hei pɔr janmet (JW)

IIMSg may AGR INF come in time evening

'He may come in the evening'

(180) u ye u u wan hi pɔr janmet (RB)

IIMSg may AGR INF come in time evening

'He may come in the evening'

(181) ye u man daw hap slap

may INF BE FUT fall rain

'It may be raining'

#### 4.10 Adverb

Adverb modifies the verbs as well the adjectives. Adverb can be classified into two classes; simple adverbs and reduplicated adverbs;

/suki/ 'slowly'

/lusmat/ 'fast'

##### 4.10.1 Simple Adverb

Simple adverbs can be further classified into three types; adverb of time, adverbs of manner and adverb of place

#### 4.10.1.1 Adverb of time

The Adverbs belong to this class provide information regarding the time at which the action indicated by the verb take places. Examples,

/atte/	‘now’ (RB)
/katte/	‘now’ (JW)
/inne/	‘today’
/mɪnstɛp/	‘tomorrow’
/mɪndawi/	‘day after tomorrow’ (RB)
/mɪnkawi/	‘day after tomorrow’ (JW)
/innin/	‘yesterday’
/mɪnnitu/	‘day before yesterday’
/stɛp/	‘morning’
/jan met/	‘evening’ (RB)
/jan met/	‘evening’ (JW)

#### 4.10.1.2 Adverb of Place

The adverbs belong to this class provide information regarding the place in which the action indicated by the verb takes place. Adverbs of place is indicated by the prepositions *ha* and *c<sup>h</sup>a*.

/ha pɔʔ/	‘inside’
/c <sup>h</sup> a pɔʔ/	‘down’
/ha jɾɔŋ/	‘on/ on top/ above’
/c <sup>h</sup> a jɾɔŋ/	‘up’
/ha den/	‘back’ (JW)

/c<sup>h</sup>a den/ 'behind' (JW)

/ha dɛn/ 'back' (RB)

/c<sup>h</sup>a dɛn/ 'behind' (RB)

/ha/ c<sup>h</sup>a rot/ 'beside'

#### **4.10.1.3 Adverb of manner**

The adverbs belonging to this class provide information regarding the manner in which the action indicated by the verb takes place.

/suki/ 'slowly'

/lusmat/ 'quickly'

/sɪndɛt/ 'suddenly'

#### **4.10.2 Reduplicated adverb**

Reduplicated adverbs are always complete reduplication. When adverbs are reduplicated, they indicate that the adverb modifies the adverb itself and it conveys the idea of intensity or emphasis. The reduplicated adverb is equivalent with the English word 'very'.

/suki suki/ 'very slowly'

/lusmat lusmat/ 'very fast'

/k<sup>h</sup>adiak k<sup>h</sup>adiak/ 'very little'

Adverbs in Pnar also occur in the form of expressives which indicate how the action is done or the manner of action indicated by the verb, which may be deleted.

/kjui kjui/ '(to walk) very slowly and heavily'

/ŋain ŋain/ '(getting) dark very dark'

/khrum khrum/ '(to walk) with heavy stamping'

/lur lur/ '(to come) closer through zig zag'

- (182) ham kjui kjui chini  
 NEG EXPR here  
 ‘Do not walk (heavily) here’

Place of occurrence; at the phrase level, adverbs usually follow the verbs, as in the examples below;

Verbs		Adverbs		
/lɛ/	+	/suki/	/lɛ suki/	‘go slowly’
/bam/	+	/b <sup>h</sup> a/	/bam b <sup>h</sup> a/	‘eat well’
/lɛ/	+	/lusmat/	/lɛ lusmat/	‘go fast’
/ɪnt <sup>h</sup> niʔ/	+	/pum/	/ɪnt <sup>h</sup> niʔ pum/	‘to jump (downward)’
/p <sup>h</sup> ar/	+	/t <sup>h</sup> ir/	/p <sup>h</sup> ar t <sup>h</sup> ir/	‘to jump (across)’
/ɪnt <sup>h</sup> niʔ/	+	/c <sup>h</sup> ram/	/ɪnt <sup>h</sup> niʔ c <sup>h</sup> ram/	‘to fall (downward)’
/wɛ/	+	/war/	/wɛ war/	‘to open wide’

Whereas at the sentence level, adverbs do not always follow the verbs but they occur in any position of the sentence.

- (183) suki saŋ u u lɛ  
 slow very IIM Sg. INF go  
 ‘He walks very slowly’

- (184) deʔ lay suki suki  
 send off go slowly slowly  
 ‘Go very slowly’

- (185) ham sləm u wan  
don't late INF come  
'Do not come late'

#### 4.11 Numeral

Rymbai and Jowai varieties of Pnar do not show any differences at least in the numeral system. Numeral system of Pnar are described under two groups. They are,

1. *Cardinal Numerals*
2. *Ordinal Numerals*

##### 4.11.1 Cardinal Numeral

As in other languages, Pnar also use cardinal numerals is to count objects, animates or inanimate. The basic cardinal numerals of Pnar from one to twenty are as follow;

/wi/	'one'
/ar/	'two'
/le/	'three'
/so/	'four'
/san/	'five'
/ɪnru/	'six'
/ɪnɲaw/	'seven'
/p <sup>h</sup> ra/	'eight'
/k <sup>h</sup> ɪnde/	'nine'
/c <sup>h</sup> ip <sup>h</sup> aw/	'ten'

In Pnar numerals exhibit the pattern of 10+1. The number 11-19 are formed by compounding in which the first number would be the numeral expressing 'ten' and the second number would be any one of the cardinal numerals ie, 1-9. The numeral for 10 is **p<sup>h</sup>aw** but in the case of eleven to nineteen **k<sup>h</sup>at** is used. Compound numerals from 11-19 are as follows.

<b>k<sup>h</sup>at + 1</b>	>	/k <sup>h</sup> at-wi/	'eleven'
<b>k<sup>h</sup>at + 2</b>	>	/k <sup>h</sup> at-ar/	'twelve'
<b>k<sup>h</sup>at + 3</b>	>	/k <sup>h</sup> at-le/	'thirteen'
<b>k<sup>h</sup>at + 4</b>	>	/k <sup>h</sup> at-so/	'fourteen'
<b>k<sup>h</sup>at + 5</b>	>	/k <sup>h</sup> at-san/	'fifteen'
<b>k<sup>h</sup>at + 6</b>	>	/k <sup>h</sup> at-inru/	'sixteen'
<b>k<sup>h</sup>at + 7</b>	>	/k <sup>h</sup> at-inpaw/	'seventeen'
<b>k<sup>h</sup>at + 8</b>	>	/k <sup>h</sup> at- p <sup>h</sup> ra/	'eighteen'
<b>k<sup>h</sup>at + 9</b>	>	/k <sup>h</sup> at-k <sup>h</sup> inde/	'nineteen'

The pattern of cardinal numerals from twenty one to ninety nine is formed in the pattern of the number of **p<sup>h</sup>aw** 'ten' and the cardinal numerals;

<b>2 + p<sup>h</sup>aw + 1</b>	>	/ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw-wi/	'twenty one'
<b>2 + p<sup>h</sup>aw + 2</b>	>	/ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw-ar/	'twenty two'
<b>2 + p<sup>h</sup>aw + 3</b>	>	/ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw-le/	'twenty three'
<b>2 + p<sup>h</sup>aw + 4</b>	>	/ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw-so/	'twenty four'
<b>2 + p<sup>h</sup>aw + 5</b>	>	/ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw-san/	'twenty five'
<b>2 + p<sup>h</sup>aw + 8</b>	>	/ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw-p <sup>h</sup> ra/	'twenty eight'
<b>2 + p<sup>h</sup>aw + 9</b>	>	/ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw- k <sup>h</sup> inde /	'twenty eight'
<b>3 + p<sup>h</sup>aw + 1</b>	>	/le-p <sup>h</sup> aw-wi/	'thirty one'

3 + p <sup>h</sup> aw + 2	>	/le-p <sup>h</sup> aw-ar/	‘thirty two
3 + p <sup>h</sup> aw + 3	>	/le-p <sup>h</sup> aw-le/	‘thirty three’
3 + p <sup>h</sup> aw + 8	>	/le-p <sup>h</sup> aw- p <sup>h</sup> ra /	‘thirty eight’
3 + p <sup>h</sup> aw + 9	>	/le-p <sup>h</sup> aw- k <sup>h</sup> inde/	‘thirty nine’
9 + p <sup>h</sup> aw + 1	>	/k <sup>h</sup> inde-p <sup>h</sup> aw-wi/	‘ninety one’
9 + p <sup>h</sup> aw + 2	>	/k <sup>h</sup> inde-p <sup>h</sup> aw-ar/	‘ninety two’
9 + p <sup>h</sup> aw + 3	>	/k <sup>h</sup> inde-p <sup>h</sup> aw-le/	‘ninety three’
9 + p <sup>h</sup> aw + 4	>	/k <sup>h</sup> inde-p <sup>h</sup> aw-so/	‘ninety four’
9 + p <sup>h</sup> aw + 8	>	/k <sup>h</sup> inde-p <sup>h</sup> aw- p <sup>h</sup> ra/	‘ninety eight’
9 + p <sup>h</sup> aw + 9	>	/k <sup>h</sup> inde-p <sup>h</sup> aw-k <sup>h</sup> inde/	‘ninety one’

The cardinal numerals from twenty to ninety simply exhibit the pattern of number of cardinal numerals plus ten. The cardinal numerals precede the p<sup>h</sup>aw ‘ten’.

2 + p <sup>h</sup> aw	>	/ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘twenty’
3 + p <sup>h</sup> aw	>	/le-p <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘thirty’
4 + p <sup>h</sup> aw	>	/so-p <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘forty’
5 + p <sup>h</sup> aw	>	/san-p <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘fifty’
6 + p <sup>h</sup> aw	>	/inru-p <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘sixty’
7 + p <sup>h</sup> aw	>	/inɲaw-p <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘seventy’
8 + p <sup>h</sup> aw	>	/p <sup>h</sup> ra -p <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘eighty’
9 + p <sup>h</sup> aw	>	/k <sup>h</sup> inde-p <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘ninety’

The numerals of the order one hundred, two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, five hundred, six hundred, seven hundred, eight hundred and nine hundred are formed by compounding the cardinal numerals to the word spaʔ ‘hundred’.

The pattern is 1 + 100, 2 + 100, 3 + 100, 4 + 100, 5 + 100, 6 + 100, 7 + 100, 8 + 100 and 9 + 100.

1 + spaʔ	>	/c <sup>h</sup> i-spaʔ/	‘one hundred’
2 + spaʔ	>	/ar -spaʔ/	‘two hundreds’
3 + spaʔ	>	/le-spaʔ/	‘three hundreds’
4 + spaʔ	>	/so-spaʔ/	‘four hundreds’
5 + spaʔ	>	/san-spaʔ/	‘five hundreds’
6 + spaʔ	>	/ɪnru-spaʔ/	‘six hundreds’
7 + spaʔ	>	/ɪnɲaw-spaʔ/	‘seven hundreds’
8 + spaʔ	>	/p <sup>h</sup> ra-spaʔ/	‘eight hundreds’
9 + spaʔ	>	/k <sup>h</sup> inde-spaʔ/	‘nine hundreds’

The numerals of the order one thousand, two thousand, three thousand, four thousand, five thousand, six thousand, seven thousand, eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, eleven thousand up to ninety nine thousand are formed on the same model as for the hundred that is, preceding **hajar**<sup>5</sup> ‘thousand’. The pattern is, 1+ 1000, 2 + 1000 and so on.

1 + hajar	>	/c <sup>h</sup> i-hajar/	‘one thousand’
2 + hajar	>	/ar-hajar/	‘two thousands’
3 + hajar	>	/le-hajar/	‘three thousands’
4 + hajar	>	/so-hajar/	‘four thousands’
10 + hajar	>	/c <sup>h</sup> i-p <sup>h</sup> aw-hajar/	‘ten thousands’
11 + hajar	>	/k <sup>h</sup> at-wi-hajar/	‘eleven thousands’

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<sup>5</sup> ‘hajar’ probably a borrowed word.

12+ hajar	> /k <sup>h</sup> at-ar -hajar/	‘twelve thousands’
13 + hajar	> /k <sup>h</sup> at-le-hajar/	‘thirteen thousands’
20 + hajar	> /ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw-hajar/	‘twenty thousands’
21 + hajar	> /ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw-wi-hajar/	‘twenty one thousands’
30 + hajar	> /le-p <sup>h</sup> aw-hajar/	‘thirty thousands’
31 + hajar	> /le-p <sup>h</sup> aw-wi-hajar/	‘thirty one thousands’
39 + hajar	> /le-p <sup>h</sup> aw-k <sup>h</sup> nde-hajar/	‘thirty nine thousands’
40 + hajar	> /so-p <sup>h</sup> aw-hajar/	‘forty thousands’
41 + hajar	> /so-p <sup>h</sup> aw-wi-hajar/	‘forty one thousands’
49 + hajar	> /so-p <sup>h</sup> aw-k <sup>h</sup> nde-hajar/	‘forty nine thousands’
50 + hajar	> /san-p <sup>h</sup> aw-hajar/	‘fifty thousands’
51 + hajar	> /san-p <sup>h</sup> aw-wi-hajar/	‘fifty thousands’
59 + hajar	> /san-p <sup>h</sup> aw-k <sup>h</sup> nde-hajar/	‘fifty nine thousands’
90 + hajar	> /k <sup>h</sup> nde-p <sup>h</sup> aw-hajar/	‘ninety thousands’
91 + hajar	> /k <sup>h</sup> nde-p <sup>h</sup> aw-wi-hajar/	‘ninety one thousands’
99 + hajar	> /k <sup>h</sup> nde-p <sup>h</sup> aw-k <sup>h</sup> nde-hajar/	‘ninety nine thousands’

It is worth noticing that in all the above cardinal numerals, the cardinal numeral /wi/ ‘one’ realized as /c<sup>h</sup>i-/ when preceding *ten*, *hundred* or *thousand*. This can be illustrated by the following examples;

/c<sup>h</sup>i-p<sup>h</sup>aw/ ‘ten

/c<sup>h</sup>i-spaʔ/ ‘one hundred’

/c<sup>h</sup>i-hajar/ ‘one thousand’

/c<sup>h</sup>i-p<sup>h</sup>aw-hajar/ ‘ten thousands’

\*/wi-p<sup>h</sup>aw/ ‘ten

\*/wi-spaʔ/ ‘one hundred’

\*/wi-hajar/ ‘one thousand’

\*/wi-p<sup>h</sup>aw-hajar/ ‘ten thousands’

#### 4.11.2 Ordinal Numeral

Ordinal numerals are formed in Pnar by attaching the prefix *wa-* to the cardinal numerals, with the exception of cardinal numeral one. The cardinal numeral */wi/* ‘one’ realized its form in this case to */nɔŋkɔŋ/* meaning ‘the beginning’.

wa + nɔŋkɔŋ	>	/wa-nɔŋkɔŋ/	‘first’
wa + ar	>	/wa-ar/	‘second’
wa + le	>	/wa-le/	‘third’
wa + so	>	/wa-so/	‘fourth’
wa + san	>	/wa-san/	‘fifth’
wa + ɪnru	>	/wa-ɪnru/	‘sixth’
wa + ɪŋɲaw	>	/wa-ɪŋɲaw/	‘seventh’
wa + p <sup>h</sup> ra	>	/wa-p <sup>h</sup> ra/	‘eighth’
wa + k <sup>h</sup> inde	>	/wa-k <sup>h</sup> inde/	‘ninth’
wa + c <sup>h</sup> i-p <sup>h</sup> aw	>	/wa-c <sup>h</sup> i-p <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘tenth’
wa + k <sup>h</sup> at-wi	>	/wa-k <sup>h</sup> at-wi/	‘eleventh’
wa + ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw	>	/wa-ar-p <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘twentieth’
wa + san-p <sup>h</sup> aw	>	/wa-san-p <sup>h</sup> aw/	‘fiftieth’
wa + c <sup>h</sup> i-spaʔ	>	/wa-c <sup>h</sup> i-spaʔ/	‘hundredth’

Unlike the cardinal numerals, the position of the ordinal numerals in the noun phrase is that it follows the head noun.

(186) u k<sup>h</sup>ɔn wa-nɔŋkɔŋ

III M.Sg. son first

‘The first son’

(187) u sʔem wa-ar

III M.Sg. king second

‘The second king’

#### 4.11.3 Numeral classifier

Numeral classifiers are perhaps the most commonly recognised types of classifier system. They appear contiguous to numerals in numeral noun phrases and expression of quantity. Numeral classifiers as independent lexemes comprising of lexical classes of morphemes. Classifiers of this kind are generally found in isolating languages.

In both of these dialects (Rymbai and Jowai) there are two type of classifiers, that is **ɲut** for human and **tɪlli** for non human.

Examples;

/le-ɲut/ ‘three persons’

/le-tɪlli/ ‘three (-HUM)’

/ar-ɲut ki bru/ ‘two people’ (JW)

/ar-tɪlli ki ksaw/ ‘two dogs’ (JW)

/ar-ɲut i bru/ ‘two people’ (RB)

/ar-tɪlli i ksaw/ ‘two dogs’ (RB)

The position of classifier in Pnar is always in between the head nouns and the cardinal numerals, that is, it follows the cardinal numerals and precedes the head nouns. In interrogative sentences, numeral classifier can be used with or without the head nouns or the cardinal numerals. In interrogative sentences, numeral classifier always precede the question words.

(188) katwɔn ɲut (JW)

Q-Mkr CL+HUM

‘How many (persons)?’

(189) katwɔn tɪlli (JW)

Q-Mkr CL-HUM

‘How many (any thing that does not meant for human)?’

(190) katwɔn ɲut ɛm kʰɔn pʰi (JW)

Q-Mkr CL+HUM BE child II Sg.

‘How many children do you have?’

(91) Katwɔn tɪlli ki kari ɛm pʰi (JW)

Q-Mkr CL-HUM PL vehicle BE IISg.

‘How many vehicles do you have?’

(192) atnu ɲut (RB)

Q-Mkr CL+HUM

‘How many (persons)?’

(193) atnu t̥illi (RB)  
Q-Mkr CL-HUM  
'How many (any thing that does not meant for human)?'

(194) atnu ŋut ɛm kʰɔn pʰi (RB)  
Q-Mkr CL+HUM BE child II Sg.  
'How many children do you have?'

(195) atnu t̥illi i kari ɛm pʰi (RB)  
Q-Mkr CL-HUM PL vehicle BE IISg.  
'How many vehicles do you have?'

Numeral classifier in Pnar, never occur in singular cardinal numeral or singular noun. The singular cardinal numeral instead takes person, number and gender marker;

(196) u - wi u kʰɪnna  
IIIM one IIIM boy  
'One boy'

(197) \*u - wi - ŋut u kʰɪnna  
IIIM one CL IIIM boy  
'One boy'

(198) u - wi u ksaw  
IIIM one IIIM dog  
'One dog'

(199) \*u - wi - t̩lli u ksaw

IIIM one CL IIIM dog

‘One dog’

#### 4.11.4 Fraction numeral

Fractional numbers are rarely used. Only three fractional numerals are commonly used in Pnar, that are;

/c<sup>h</sup>i pawa/ ¼

/c<sup>h</sup>i teŋ/ ½

/le pawa/ ¾

The numerals with fractional are formed in the following ways. The fractional **pawa**<sup>6</sup> ‘quarter’ can be express by substituting other numerals. For example,

/ar pawa/ ‘two quarters’ or ‘one half’

/p<sup>h</sup>ra pawa/ ‘eight quarters’

/k<sup>h</sup>inde pawa/ ‘nine quarters’

The fractional /c<sup>h</sup>i teŋ/ literary meant ‘one half’. Unlike /pawa/, /c<sup>h</sup>i teŋ/ can not be expressed without the numeral /chi-/ ‘one’, no matter how many halves it may be. For example,

/ar c<sup>h</sup>i teŋ/ ‘two and a half’

/le c<sup>h</sup>i teŋ/ ‘three and a half’

/so c<sup>h</sup>i teŋ/ ‘four and a half’

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<sup>6</sup> borrowed word

If the fractional */-teŋ/* is used without the singular cardinal */c<sup>h</sup>i-/*, then the sentence imply other meaning. That is usually expressed when the way or road is to long so people used to divide it into halves’

*/ar teŋ/* ‘two halves’

*/le teŋ/* ‘three halves’

*/so teŋ/* ‘four halves’

Fractional */le pawa/* on the other hand does not convey the exact meaning but it simple mean the major portion or the better quantity than the less one.

#### 4.11.5 Distributive Numerals

Distributive numerals in Pnar are formed by reduplicating the cardinal numerals precedes the numeral classifiers and the */samɛn/* ‘singular form used for + animate’ meaning ‘alone’. Whereas, in singular form it does not follows the classifiers.

*/u-wi u-wi samɛn/* ‘one each’

*/ar ar tɪlli samɛn/* ‘two each’

*/le le tɪlli samɛn/* ‘three each’

*/so so tɪlli samɛn/* ‘four each’

*/ar ar ŋut samɛn/* ‘two (person) each’

*/le le ŋut samɛn/* ‘three (person) each’

*/so so ŋut samɛn/* ‘four (person) each’

# Chapter V

## **CHAPTER V WORD ORDER**

### **5.1 Introduction**

*One of the primary ways in which languages differ from one another is in the order of constituents, or, as it is most commonly termed, their word order. When people refer to the word order of a language, they often are referring specifically to the order of subject, object, and verb with respect to each other, but word order refers more generally to the order of any set of elements, either at the clause level, or within phrases, such as the order of elements within a noun.*

(Matthew S. Dryer 2003)

### **5.2 Word Order**

The frequency of the occurring (VOS and VSO) does not imply that SVO is not the word order of Pnar. Dryer (1985), states that, 'It should be noted, however, that frequency counts of some languages do not reveal one order as noticeably more frequent than the other. In the Auk dialect of Tlingit, for example, a text count for the order of subject and verb revealed VS outnumbering SV by 177 to 156. In a case like this, the difference in frequency is sufficiently small that it does not seem reasonable to say that VS is more frequent than SV or that VS is basic.'

Word order in different languages is not always fixed. For instance, the standard dialect (Sohra Variety) shows fixed word order in the the formal (written form) but not in the spoken form which is usually informal and spontaneous. In some cases, even in the written form, word order tends to move. English which has an established SVO word order show variations in word order patterning in certain constructions (in informal speech it is more flexibility).

There is a general estimate of 4,000 to 6,000 languages across the world of which six basic word orders are classified for these languages. e.g.

(1) **Korean (SOV).**

kiho - ka    saca - l□l cha - ass- ta.  
Keeho-NOM lion    ACC kick    PST IND.  
'Keecho kicked the /a lion'

(2) **Thai (SVO).**

k<sup>h</sup>on nii kat maa tua nan  
man this bite dog cl that  
'This man bit that dog'.

(3) **Welsh (VSO).**

lladdodd draig ddyn.  
killed    dragon man.  
'A dragon killed a man'.

(4) **Malagasy (VOS).**

manasa ny lamba ny nehivary.  
wash    the clothes the woman.  
'The woman is washing the clothes'

(5) **Panare (OVS).**

pi? kokampō unkī?  
child washes womas.  
'The woman washes the child'.

(6) **Nadēb (OSV).**

samūy            yi    qa-wùh.  
howler-monkey people eat.  
'People eat howler monkeys'.

Word order perhaps is the most intrinsic feature in the study of language. At the surface level, Pnar seems to exhibit three different types of word order. They are; (a) SVO, (b) VSO and (c) VOS

**(a) VOS**

(7) **daŋ bam ja u**  
 Prog eat rice III M.Sg.  
 V O S  
 'He is eating rice'.

(8) **da lay c<sup>h</sup>ɬɬɔŋ ko / ɔ**  
 PST go shillong III F Sg.  
 V O S  
 'She went to Shillong'.

**(b) VSO**

(9) **may ki ka**  
 scold III PL III F.Sg  
 V S O  
 'They scold her'

(10) **c<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ ɔ ki**  
 beat ISg III.PL  
 V S O  
 'I beat them'

**(c) SVO**

(11)<sup>1</sup> **u daŋ bam ja u**  
 IIIM.Sg. Prog eat rice IIIM.Sg.  
 S V O X  
 'He is eating rice'.

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<sup>1</sup> Sentence like 11 above we can see that when the pre-verbal pronoun occurs, the post-verbal pronoun seems to function merely as an **agreement**

- (12) u wa bam ja  
 IIIM.Sg. Prog eat rice.  
 S V O  
 'He is eating rice'.

To determine the actual basic word-order of Pnar, both syntactic functions of constituents and pragmatic function of constituents should be brought for discussion. On the basis of certain facts of Pnar grammar, it is possible to argue that Pnar retains the head-final (SVO) basic constituent ordering of Khasi, despite the fact that this ordering, in root clauses at least, is textually frequent in narratives. The basic word order SVO of Pnar along with its possible alternate variation orders brought a lot of confusion and discussion to the native speakers and the scholars as well. Some scholars<sup>2</sup> view it as a matter of pro-drop language, some as a free word order and some as a change of word order.

The foundation laid by Greenberg paves way to the discussion of word order. The variation in word order is not only unique to Pnar alone or the property of Pnar, but it seems that much of the languages of the world encounter these kinds of variation. This can be seen through the work of the prominent scholars in the field, like Greenberg, Payne, Mithun, Hale and so on.

**Greenberg (1966)**, states that the vast majority of languages have several variant orders but a single dominant one. Logically, there are six possible orders; SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV, and OVS. Of these six, however, only three normally occur as dominant orders. The three which do not occur at all, or at least are excessively rare, are VOS, OSV, and OVS. In support to Greenberg's statement,

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<sup>2</sup> Lyngdoh S. A (2005) through personal communication

Steele (1978) also states that ‘most languages allow variations on their basic word order’.

It is enough to justify from Greenberg’s statement on universals of word order that Pnar has the basic word order SVO, since its alternate word order VOS is ruled out of being a dominant one and also excessively rare even in the languages world wide. According to Greenberg SVO and VSO are the only word orders capable of being the dominant ones. But VSO occurs rarely in Pnar except in few situations; VOS occurs more frequently than SVO. As an alternate word-order, VOS is seen as occurring frequently not only in Pnar but in other related dialects as well.

In addition to Greenberg’s observation on word order universals, i.e., SVO, SOV and VSO as basic in most languages, the following arguments will support the necessity to adopt SVO in the basic word order of Pnar.

### 5.2.1 Wh-Fronting

Other criteria to support syntactically the claim that Pnar possesses SVO as the basic word order are from the work of Schwartz (1975). He states that SVO system allows or requires *Wh-fronting* generally. Citing from his example, Hebrew, for instance, keeps the declarative order intact except for the obligatorily initial word-order as in the interrogative sentences below;

(13)     ma ata oxel  
          What you eating  
          ‘What do you eat?’

(14)     efo hu gar  
          where he live  
          ‘Where does he live?’

- (15) lama ata soel oti  
 why you ask me  
 ‘Why do you ask me?’

*Wh-fronting* is agreeable as the property of SVO. This is true as in the case of English, Khasi, Pnar and other SVO languages. **-ei**, and **-no** are Khasi Wh-question morphemes attached to the relevant bound stems like the third person pronouns /ka-/, /u-/, and /ki-/, locative /ha-/, /haŋ-/, and relative particle /ma-/ to form question words like English Wh-question words occurring at the initial position of the sentence, Khasi also has predominantly Wh-question words at the initial positions. The following sentences can be illustrated the Wh-fronting in Khasi;

- (16) ka-ei ka kirtɛŋ jɔŋ p<sup>h</sup>i  
 what IIIFSg name POSS IISg.  
 ‘What is your name?’

- (17) ka-ei phi bam  
 what you eat  
 ‘What are you eating?’

- (18) ka-ei p<sup>h</sup>i kɪlli ya ŋa  
 what you ask ACC ISg.  
 ‘What do you ask me?’

- (19) haŋno p<sup>h</sup>i sa?  
 where you live  
 ‘Where do you live?’

(20) **fano p<sup>h</sup>i - n leit**  
where you FUT go  
'Where are you going?'

(21) **mano ba sa? haŋne**  
who REL live here  
'Who live here?'

To prove that Pnar also allows or requires Wh-fronting, the following examples from Rymbai and Jowai variety can be illustrated. It is to be noted that **-ye** and **-nu** are the the question word forming morphemes in Rymbai, and **-ye** and **-wɔn** of Jowai equivalent to the Khasi Wh-question morpheme **-ei** and **-no**.

(22) **i-ye i pɪrtuc me** (RB)  
what name IIMSg.  
'What is your name?'

(23) **i-ye yɔ? o bam** (RB)  
what get IIIFSs eat  
'What did she eat?'

(24) **hinu sa? p<sup>h</sup>i** (RB)  
where live IIPL  
'Where do you live?'

(25) **heiwɔn sa? p<sup>h</sup>i** (JW)  
where live IIPL  
'Where do you live?'

(26) ki-wɔn ki-te ki bam (JW)  
 where PL that PL eat  
 ‘Where are the eatables?’

(27) i-ye i pirtuc me (JW)  
 what name IIMSg.  
 ‘What is your name?’

### 5.2.2 The subject of intransitive verb can follow the verb

Susan Steele (1978) mentions about the possibility of variation in a number of SVO languages. In Pnar the SVO: VSO variation can be seen in the following sentences;

(28) u jɔn daŋ t<sup>h</sup>ia? u  
 IIMSg John PROG sleep IIMSg  
 ‘John is sleeping’

(29) u p<sup>h</sup>usnu u ɬnnin i met  
 IIMSg. dream IIMSg. yesterday night  
 ‘He dreamt last night’

However, the following sentences can also be formulated as VS in sentences 30 and 31 below;

(30) daŋ t<sup>h</sup>ia? u jɔn  
 PROG sleep IIMSg John  
 ‘John is sleeping’

- (31) p<sup>h</sup>usnu u ɪnnin i met  
dream IIIMSg. yesterday night  
‘He dreamt last night’

Steele also states that ‘in fact, there are a number of SVO languages where the subject of an intransitive verb can follow the verb, but the subject of transitive verb cannot. Steele’s statement partially matches the data from Pnar, it fulfills the claim for the intransitive verb (sentences 32 and 33 below), but it fails to match sentence 34, the Pnar data shows that the subject can also follow transitive verb.

- (32) daŋ t<sup>h</sup>ia? u jɔn (Intr.)  
PROG sleep IIIMSg John  
V S  
‘John is sleeping’

- (33) p<sup>h</sup>usnu u ɪnnin i met (Intr.)  
dream IIIMSg. yesterday night  
V S X  
‘He dreamt last night’

- (34) dat u ka  
beat IIIMSg. IIIFSg.  
V S O  
‘He beats her’

The sentences above show that the subject of the intransitive verb fulfill the claim of Steele, in that, the subject U **John** can follow the intransitive verb t<sup>h</sup>ia?. This satisfies the claim made by Steele. But the problem now is about the claim that the subject of the transitive verb cannot follow the verb. The solution for the sentence 34 i.e., the subject of a transitive will be discussed not from the syntactic function of the sequence, but rather by its pragmatic function which will be discussed later.

### 5.2.3 Pragmatic approaches

What has been discussed so far is only from the syntactic perspective or point of view. Many scholars tackle the problem of word-order from the pragmatic point of view when the syntactic analysis fails to explain variation. It is to be noted that Pnar word order is best suited to be examined from the pragmatic point of view rather than the syntactic point of view (order of arranging sequences).

Mithun (1992: p43) points out that 'in languages like English, order is determined primarily by the syntactic functions of constituents. In languages like Czech, their pragmatic function play a greater role: other languages similar to Czech in this respect are Cayuga, Ngandi, and Coos.

Mithun proposes three principles for the determination of word order in Cayuga, Ngandi and Coos. The three principles are;

- (i) The newsworthiness principle
- (ii) The naturalness issue and
- (iii) The markedness of pragmatic ordering.

According to the three principles to determine word order, *newsworthiness principle* and *markedness of pragmatic ordering* are best suited to justify the variation of Pnar word order.

#### 5.2.3.1 *The Newsworthiness Principle*

According to Mithun, an element maybe newsworthy because it represents significant new information, because it introduces a new topic, or because it points out a significant contrast. Her experiment with the newsworthiness principle by a test for the 'most worthy first' principle is provided by questions and answers.

Presumably in normal conversation, the most important constituent of an answer is that which corresponds to the interrogative word of the question. The data show that this word appears initially, whether it functions as an agent, patient, time, location, or anything else.

**Examples from *Cayunga S-V***

(35 Q.)       so: esne:’?  
                   who you. two will go.  
                   ‘Who are you going with?’

(35 A.)       sam ɛ yá: khne:’  
                   sam we two will go  
                   ‘I’m going with Sam’

(Mithun 1992)

On the basis of the above examples, Pnar also exhibits the same pattern of order in this regard. The following examples below are illustrated to show that Pnar also is pragmatically ordered.

(36 Q.)       wu - ye     u lɛ me  
                   with QMKR INF go IIMSg.  
                   ‘Who are you going with?’

(36 A.)       wu sam    u lɛ ɲa  
                   with sam INF go ISg.  
                   ‘I’m going with Sam’

The above example would be as the example below in the unmarked

(37)           ɲa u    lɛ ɲa wu sam  
                   ISg INF go ISg.with sam  
                   ‘I’m going with Sam’

*O-V*

(38 Q.) tɛ' ho' tɛ' a:ye:' inse: a:shnina:nɔ?

what it seem you.think you.would buy

'What do you think you'd like to buy?'

(Mithun 1992)

(38 Q.(P))<sup>3</sup>

i-ye yosar me kwa? me u t<sup>h</sup>ɛt?

what seem IIMSg. want AGR INF buy

'What do you think you'd like to buy?'

(38 A.)

O:akya'tawi'thra' ki' a:yé:'kinsa:s a:khni: nɔ

oh dress just seems I.seek I.would buy

'Well, I am looking for a dress'

(38 A. (P))

o a sula pac a kwa? a u t<sup>h</sup>ɛt

oh cloth lookISg. want ISg INF buy

'Oh! I am looking for a dress to buy'

(39 Q.)

to: ti' n' aowshé' tho hekae's?

how then so.it.lasted there they.two.were.there

'So how long were they there?'

(39 Q. (P))

atnu sji da ɛm ki c<sup>h</sup>itay

how day PST BE IIIPL there

'How long they were there?'

(39 A.)

tekhni: akyaɔtatokenthé kokantekyɔ:

two weeks they.two.were.away

'They were away for two weeks'

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<sup>3</sup> Ps inside the bracket indicates data from Pnar.

(39 A.(P))      la ar tɨnyaw ɛm ki c<sup>h</sup>itay  
 it    two weeks BE IIIPL there  
 ‘They were there for two weeks’

L-V

(40 Q.)          kaɛ ti’ hɛswe:’?  
 where then you.all.will.go.there  
 ‘Where are you going then?’

(40 Q.(P))      c<sup>h</sup>inu mɨnte u      ya-lɛ p<sup>h</sup>i  
 where then INF ASSO go IPL  
 ‘Where are you going then?’

(40 A.)          o:’ othow’eke’ heyakwe:’  
 oh at.the.cold we.will.go.there  
 ‘Oh, we’ll go up north’

(40 A.(P))      oh c<sup>h</sup>aneŋ u      ya-lɛ i  
 oh    up    INF ASSO go IPL  
 ‘Oh we will go to the north’

The above examples show that Pnar is very similar to Cayuga in word order. This is because ‘answers to alternative questions yield the same evidence. The constituent that provides the most important information, the one whose information answers the question, appears first’.

(Mithun, *op. cit*)

**Cayuga**

**S-V**

(41 Q.)      Atisnihtháé' k'en, John, Mary k'isheh?  
you.two.talked ?    John Mary or  
'Did you talk to John or Mary'

(41 A.)      Mary ki' akyakhnihtháé'  
Mary just we.two.talk  
'I talk to Mary'

Pnar also follows the same pattern as Cayuga

(42. Q)      yi-ye klam phi    ya meri mo    yu    jon    mo    yntu  
to whom talk you ACC meri QM ACC john QM just now  
'Did you talk to John or Mary just now?'

(42 A.)      ya meri klam a  
ACC mary talk ISg.  
'I talk to Mary'

The following examples below show the similarity between Cayuga and Pnar  
in O-V pattern.

(43 Q.)      ott:, kéh, k<sup>h</sup>a:fi niqué' ɔ ehsnekahá'  
tea ? coffee either you.will.drink  
'Will you drink tea or coffee?'

(43 A.)      ott: ɛk<sup>h</sup>nékeha'  
tea I.will.drink  
'I'll have tea'

(Mithun 1992)

(44 Q.)       da c<sup>h</sup>a mo du kɔp<sup>h</sup>i mo u di? me  
Inst tea QM Inst coffee QM to drink IIMSg.  
'Will you have tea or coffee?'

(44 A.)       da c<sup>h</sup>a u di? a  
Inst tea INF drink ISg.  
'I will have tea'

Mithun also experiment her principle with yes-no question. The answer to yes-no questions provide the same result in Cayuga. This principle also fits with the Pnar data.

L-V

(45 Q.)       kahowakɔ: keh ha' káɛhtahk?  
in. boat ? they went.there  
'Did they go by boat?'

(45 A.)       Thɛ'. Tekatehne' hakáɛhtahk  
no in.it.flies they.went.there  
'No, they went by airplane'

(45 Q.(P))       da leŋ le ki  
Inst boat go IIIPL  
'Did they go boat?'

(45 A.(P))       ahɔ? da arleŋ le ki  
no, Inst airplane go IIIPL  
'No, they went by airplane?'

## POSS- V

(46 Q.) i:s kɛh satshe:ne' tho:kyɛ so:wa:s

you ? your pet that dog

'Is that your dog?'

(46 A.) ɛhé', i:' ake:tshné:nɛ'.

Yes I my dog

'Yes, it is mine'.

(46. Q.(P)) u yɔŋ me u-tay u ksaw

IIIMsg POSS IIMsg. IIIMsg DEM dog

'Is that your (M) dog?'

(46 A. (P)) ɔʔ u yɔŋ-ŋa u ksaw

yes IIIMsg. POSS ISg. IIIMsg dog

'Yes, it is my dog'

### 5.2.3.2 *The Markedness of Pragmatic Ordering*

Mithun also brings out the notion of 'out of context' to determine the order of the language. According to her, language like Cayerga, Ngandi and Coos are different from those languages like Czech ' when it is out of context'. "Recall that when presented with sentences containing alternative word orders, Cayuga speakers will not even choose a preferred order out of context.... whereas , Czech speaker, on the other hand, are very conscious of 'normal' word order.

### 5.2.4 Conclusion

By opting to discuss the word order of Pnar from the pragmatic point of view does not rule out the idea of basic word order, or that Pnar does not have a basic word

order. Mithun claims that languages with purely pragmatic ordering have no basic word ordering; many scholars are against this view.

**Swartz (1987)** states that '..... Warlpiri too is a pragmatically ordered language by that is meant that there is not a basic word order in Warlpiri from which all other ordering are variations. Rather given that the primary case relations are between the verb and the pronominal affixes, and given that the major constituent noun phrases serving as subject, object, and indirect object are relatively rare in every occurrence, and the subsequent positioning, of such noun phrases represents a marked phenomenon determined by the pragmatic requirements of the surrounding discourse'

**Hale (1992)** state that ' In general, I concur with this characterization of Warlpiri word-order, though I do not agree with the implication that a so-called' "Pragmatically ordered language necessarily lacks a basic word order. Papago, I maintain, shows that the correlation implied here cannot be correct Papago has a basic word order yet it seems to qualify as a "Practically by ordered language". And, of course, there is no necessary correlation between pragmatic ordering and the lack of a basic word order'.

Swartz and Hale seem to justify their arguments that a pragmatically ordered language does not necessary lack a basic word-order.

It is also noticed that Pnar seem to be pragmatically ordered. It still shows the possibility of possessing basic-word order. Pnar exhibits SVO as the basic word-order in the unmarked pattern which can be fully justified in sentences with structure clause as given above.

### 5.3 pro-drop

Apart from analyzing the word order of Pnar from the pragmatic point of view, it may be feasible to examine Pnar as a pro-drop language. For any language to be considered as a pro-drop language should possess these parameters:

1. *Any pro-drop language allows a subject pronoun to be omitted, whereas non-pro-drop language does not allow a subject pronoun to be omitted.*

(47) (lo) parlo (Italian)  
he speak  
'He speaks'

At this point, Pnar seems to fulfill the requirement parameter of being pro-drop. Consider the example below;

(48) (u) klam u  
he speak AGR  
'He speaks'

**Heagemet (1994)** argues the above parameter in which she states that 'that the subject pronoun can be omitted is not the only property to distinguish pro-drop languages like Italian from non pro-drop languages like English.

**Heagemet (op. cit)** also presents another parameter from the case of Italian as follow;

*The overt subject can occupy a post-verbal position.*

Consider these Italian data;

(49) È arrivato Gianni  
is arrived Gianni  
'Gianni has arrived'

- (50) Ha telefonato sua moglie  
 has telephoned your wife  
 ‘Your wife has telephoned’

(Heagement 1994)

Another set of data is generated from Pnar to compare with Italian data, is given below to cross check whether Pnar is really a pro-drop language or not according to what Heagement claims.

- (51) da pɔy ka Gianni  
 PST reach IIIFSg Gianni  
 ‘Gianni has reached’

- (52) da p<sup>h</sup>ɔn ka kurim yɔŋ me  
 PST phone IIIFSg wife POSS IIMSG  
 ‘Your wife has phone’

Through these limited data, we can see that the structure of Pnar and Italian show a one-to-one correspondence in regards of being a pro-drop language. However, only these parameters are not enough to postulate that Pnar is a pro-drop language. It is worthwhile to see the views of other syntacticians also.

**Marlyse Baptista** (1994) presents a brief overview of the theory of pro-drop as follows;

‘An early form of pro-drop theory, as articulated in Chomsky (1981), stipulated that a [-anaphoric, + pronominal] null category (*pro*) is allowed in the subject position of a finite clause if the agreement features in the verb are rich enough to enable its content (the features to be recovered (c.f. Taraldsen’s generalization in Jaeggli & Safir (1989: 241)). The difference between pro-drop languages (e.g. Italian)

and non pro-drop languages (e.g. English) is assumed to allow from this basic assumption. Thus, Italian allow *pro* in subject position of finite clause because agreement features (of Infl) are rich enough. By contrast English does not, because agreement features (of Infl) are not sufficiently rich’.

**Rizzi (1986a)** proposes that in pro-drop languages *pro* is subject to two requirements;

1. *It is licensed under head government; the null element in the subject position is governed by Infl, a head.*
2. *The content of pro is recovered the rich agreement specification.*

The above parameters sets by Rizzi also seem to agree with Pnar data. The following are the comparative data from Italian, English, and Pnar;

*Agreement and pro-drop.*

	English	Italian	Pnar
1Sg.	<i>I speak</i>	<i>lo parlo</i>	<i>ŋa klam ɔ</i>
2Sg.	<i>you speak</i>	<i>tu parli</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>i klam p<sup>h</sup>i</i>
2Sg. M	----	-----	<i>me klam me</i>
2Sg. F	-----	-----	<i>p<sup>h</sup>a klam p<sup>h</sup>o</i>
3Sg. F	<i>she speaks</i>	<i>lei parla</i>	<i>ka klam ko</i>
3Sg. M	<i>he speaks</i>	.....	<i>U klam u</i>
1PL.	<i>we speak</i>	<i>noi parliamo</i>	<i>I klam I</i>
2PL.	<i>you speak</i>	<i>voi parlate</i>	<i>phi klam phi</i>
3PL.	<i>they speak</i>	<i>loro parlano</i>	<i>ki klam ki</i>

In the above examples, we can see that Italian and Pnar disagree with English in term of agreement. In English agreement in terms of subject-verb is only III person

Sg., morpheme –s suffixed to the verb. It is to be noted that Italian is an inflectional language and the inflection of the verb is very rich. That is enough to drop the subject pronoun. Whereas in the case of Pnar, the agreement is not between the subject and the verb but it is with the pronoun itself. Pnar has two sets of pronouns as shown above which we can term as pre-verbal pronouns and post-verbal pronouns. Unlike Italian, the occurrence of post-verbal pronouns is enough to omit the subject pronoun. The possibility of subject omission would consider Pnar as a pro-drop language. To support the claim that Pnar is a pro-drop language is from the work of Baptista.

**Baptista (op. cit)** states that ‘the claim that *pro* is excluded where agreement is not rich enough was challenged by Huang (1984, 1989) where it is argued that in languages like Chinese, *pro* is possible in subject position of finite clauses even though by hypothesis, agreement is absent. By “no agreement”, is meant that no agreement morpheme is generated under Infl. as Huang wrote on this particular topic in pre-Pollockian non-split IP framework. We must make it clear that to say that agreement morphology on verb absent is not equivalent to having “no agreement” in the syntax. The distribution of *pro* is however strictly determined by the availability of the closest antecedent. The basic fact is that there is no morphological subject-verb agreement in Chinese, hence no rich agreement. This led to an interesting modification of the theory whereby *pro* is excluded from the subject position of finite clause only if an antecedent or a rich agreement is present. This is still consistent with the basic assumption of the standard pro-drop account based on the principle of Recoverability. In this respect, Rizzi (1986) distinguishes between licensing of *pro* is syntactic whereas identification of *pro* is semantic; namely *pro* is recovered from previous discourse’.

It is to be noted that this is not the first claim that Khasi and its dialects is a pro-drop language. Temsen (2002) states that even the standard variety of Khasi also is a heavy pro-drop language. According to her, the pronoun is the combination of prefix *ma-* and the pronouns like *ɲa*, *u*, *ka*, *ki*, (*maɲa*, *ma-u*, *maka*, *maki*) etc. which always dropped and its agreement is the pronouns without the prefix *ma-*. Her claim of Khasi as belonging to pro-drop language can be illustrated from her example below;

	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> Person	<i>ɲa/ ma-ɲa</i>	<i>ɲi/ ma-ɲi</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person	<i>p<sup>h</sup>i/ ma-p<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>i/ ma-p<sup>h</sup>i</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person (masculine)	<i>u/ ma-u</i>	<i>ki/ ma-ki</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person (feminine)	<i>ka/ ma-ka</i>	<i>ki/ ma-ki</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person (Diminutive)	<i>i/ ma-i</i>	<i>Ki/ ma-ki</i>

Table No. 10 Pronoun

	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> Person	<i>ɲa-</i>	<i>ɲi-</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person	<i>p<sup>h</sup>i-</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>i-</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person (masculine)	<i>u-</i>	<i>ki-</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person (feminine)	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ki-</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person (Diminutive)	<i>i-</i>	<i>ki-</i>

Table 11 Pronominal Agreement Clitics

According to her, *ɲa*, *u*, *ka*, *ki*, *ɲi* etc. are pronominal agreement clitics and pronouns with the prefix *ma-* or another pronouns occurring in before the so called pronominal agreements are full-fledged pronouns as shown in her examples below;

(53) **pro<sub>i</sub> ŋa<sub>i</sub> -laʔ-wan**  
ISG PST come  
'I came'

(54) **pro<sub>i</sub> p<sup>hi</sup><sub>i</sub> -laʔ-wan**  
II PST come  
'You came'

(55) **pro<sub>i</sub> u<sub>i</sub> -laʔ-wan**  
IIIMSG PST come  
'He came'

(56) **pro<sub>i</sub> ka<sub>i</sub> -laʔ-wan**  
IIIFSG PST come  
'She came'

(57) **pro<sub>i</sub> i<sub>i</sub> - laʔ-wan**  
IIISGH/D PST come  
'She/He (Honorific) came'

(58) **taŋ ma - ŋa ŋa - n - wan**  
NOM ISG ISG FUT come  
'Only I will come'

(59) **ŋa laʔ - ai ha-p<sup>hi</sup> ya-ka-pla**  
ISG PST give LOC II ACC-F-bag  
'I have given you the bag'

(60) **ŋa /ma-ŋa ŋa laʔ - ai ha-p<sup>hi</sup> ya-ka-pla**  
ISG NOM ISG ISG PST give LOC II ACC-F-bag  
'I have given you the bag'

The claim that *ma-ŋa* is a full-fledged pronoun and *ŋa* is a pronominal agreement clitic needs to be examined carefully. *ma-ŋa* could mean 'it is me' or 'it is me who...' from the semantic perspective. Hence, according to the data from both Pnar and Standard Khasi, it shows that Pnar is more appropriately considered as pro-drop as it fulfills the parameter of being a pro-drop.

# Chapter VI

## CHAPTER VI PHRASE STRUCTURE

### 6.1 Verb Phrase<sup>1</sup>

#### 6.1.1 Introduction

**Trask (1999)** defines verb phrase as a unit of sequence structure consisting of a verb and the other elements closely linked to it.

In the **Generative grammar framework**, the verb phrase is a phrase headed by a verb. A verb phrase may be constructed from a single verb; often, however, the verb phrase will consist of various combinations of the main verb and any auxiliary verbs, plus optional specifiers, complements, and adjuncts. For example, consider the following sentences:

- (I) a. The baby **cried**.
- b. Mary **saw the man through the window**.
- c. John gave **Mary a book**.

Example (Ia) contains the verb phrase made up only of the verb *to cry*. Example (Ib) contains the main verb *see*, the noun phrase (NP) complement *the man*, and the prepositional phrase (PP) adjunct *through the window*. Additionally, example (Ic) contains the main verb *give* and two complements noun phrases, *Mary* and *a book*, both selected by the verb in this case. According to this definition, the verb phrase corresponds to what is commonly called the predicate.

#### **VPs narrowly defined**

Verb phrases are sometimes defined more narrowly in scope to allow for only those sentence elements that are strictly considered verbal elements to form verb

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<sup>1</sup> The discussion of verb phrase in Pnar will be solely only those item which have not been discuss so far in morphology chapter

phrases. According to such a definition, verb phrases consist only of main verbs, auxiliary verbs, and other infinitive or participle constructions. For example, in the following sentences only the bolded words would be considered to form the verb phrase for each sentence:

- (II) a. John **gave** Mary a book.  
 b. They **were being eaten** alive.  
 c. She **kept screaming** like a maniac.  
 d. Thou **must not kill**.

This more narrow definition is often applied in functionalist frameworks and traditional British and European reference grammars.

Celce-Murcia et. al (1983) proposes the phrase structure rule of English that allow to account for such structural possibilities as follows:

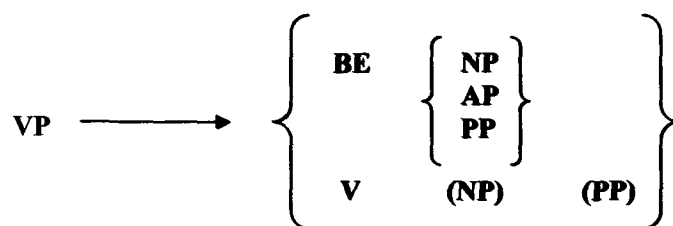


Figure 10. Verb Phrase

Haegeman (1994) proposed the structure from the GB framework point of view as the figures below;

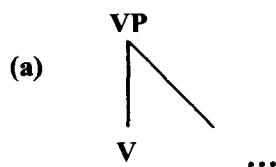


Figure 11. Verb Phrase

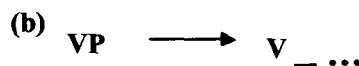


Figure 12. Verb Phrase

The GB framework will be taken into consideration for discussing some aspects of verb phrase in Pnar. Pnar verbs do not vary in form in accordance with

number, person or tense. There are no verbal inflections. Tense are indicated by separate particles.

The following analysis illustrates various aspects of verbs in Pnar from a syntactic perspective<sup>2</sup>.

### 6.1.2 Copula verb

#### The verb ʈʈ / man ‘be’

The copula verb man/ ʈʈ, like other verbs, are invariable in form, hence man/ ʈʈ may be translated as *am, are, is, were* and others as the name copula suggests, the main function of man/ ʈʈ is to join two noun phrases.

(1) ki - tay ki bru ʈʈ ki paralʈk yʈŋ ŋa (JW)

PL DEM PL man BE PL friend POSS ISg.

‘Those people are my friends’

(2) i - tay i bru ʈʈ i paralʈk yʈŋ ŋa (RB)

PL DEM PL man BE PL friend POSS ISg.

‘Those people are my friends’

(3) ŋa man a u k<sup>h</sup>iŋnaʈ skur (JW)

ISg. BE ISg IIIMSg boy school

‘I am a student’

(4) ŋa man ɔ u k<sup>h</sup>iŋnaʈ skur (RB)

ISg. BE ISg IIIMSg boy school

‘I am a student’

The position of ʈʈ occurring in the sentence is not fixed. It can precede the noun-phrase or it can also occur between the head noun and the modifier. This could

<sup>2</sup> The analysis of verb in section 4.6 deals with only the morphological patterns of verbs and their different inflectional and derivational characteristics. Hence, the analyse of the VP in this chapter will not repeat what has analysed in chapter 4.6.

be more or less like the structure of the verb 'BE' in English as shown in the examples below;

(5) ki - tay ɬ? ki dur ki wa - miat (JW)  
 PL DEM BE PL picture PL ADJ.M nice  
 'Those are nice pictures'

(6) i - tay ɬ? ki dur ki wa - miat (RB)  
 PL DEM BE PL picture PL ADJ.M nice  
 'Those are nice pictures'

(7) ki- tay ki dur ɬ? ki wa-miat (JW)  
 PL DEM PL picture BE PL ADJ.M nice  
 'Those pictures are nice'

(8) i-tay ki dur ɬ? ki wa-miat (JW)  
 PL DEM PL picture BE PL ADJ.M nice  
 'Those pictures are nice'

Hence, as in English, the verb ɬ? could convey different meaning in collusion with its place of occurrence. In sentence 5 and 6, the verb ɬ? describes the adjective **miat** just as an attributive adjective that modifies the noun phrase **dur**. Where as, in sentence 7 and 8, ɬ? separates the adjective **miat** from the head noun. And it also conveys the meaning of the adjective **miat** as a predicative adjective. This is illustrated best with the help of a tree diagram<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> According to GB theory framework.

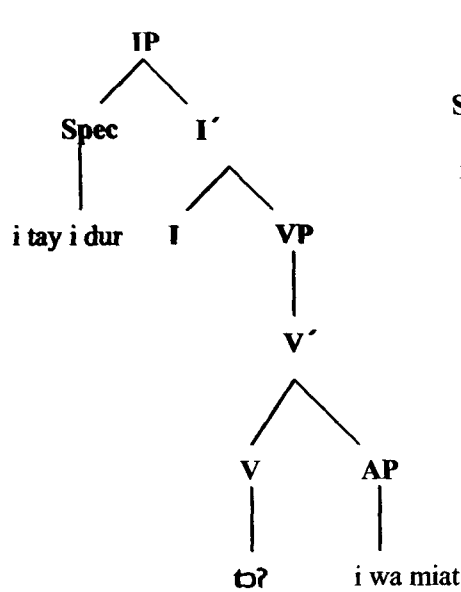


Figure 13  
Predicative Adjective

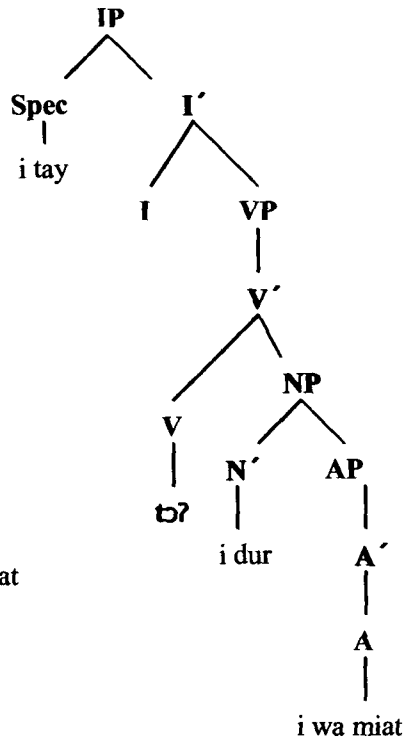


Figure 14  
Attributive Adjective

(9) u - ni tə u dia? k<sup>h</sup>ian yɔŋ ŋa (JW)

IIIMSg DEM BE IIIMSg brother small POSS ISg

‘This is my younger brother’

(10) u - ni u dia? k<sup>h</sup>ian tə u yɔŋ ŋa (JW)

IIIMSg DEM IIIMSg brother small BE POSS ISg

‘This is my younger brother’

(11) u - ni (tə) u payu k<sup>h</sup>ian yɔŋ ŋa (RB)

IIIMSg DEM (BE) IIIMSg brother small POSS ISg

‘This is my younger brother’ or ‘My younger brother’

The occurrence of the verb ㄊ? in transitive sentences and its absence in others need to be justified judiciously. The sentences without the verb ㄊ? could be a phrase, or the verb ㄊ? could be optional in the transitive sentences. Let us take into consideration the sentential examples below;

(12) u - ni (ㄊ?) u dia? k<sup>h</sup>ian yɔŋ ŋa (JW)  
 IIIMSg DEM (BE) IIIMSg brother small POSS ISg  
 ‘This is my younger brother’ or ‘This my younger brother’

(13) u - ni (ㄊ?) u payu k<sup>h</sup>ian yɔŋ ŋa (RB)  
 IIIMSg DEM (BE) IIIMSg brother small POSS ISg  
 ‘This is my younger brother’ or ‘This my younger brother’

(14) ka - tay ka kɔt (ㄊ?) ka yɔŋ ŋa  
 IIIFSg DEM IIIFSg book (BE) IIIFSg POSS ISG  
 ‘That book is mine’ or ‘This my book’

(15) ka-tay ka kɔt (ㄊ?) ka yɔŋ ŋa  
 IIIFSg DEM IIIFSg book (BE) IIIFSg POSS ISG  
 ‘That book is mine’ or ‘This my book’

### 6.1.3 Serial verb

Serial verb construction is one of the most important productive patterns in Pnar. Although almost unknown in European languages, it resembles construction, like *go see a movie, come sit with us* and similar combinations in American English. It is essentially a simple concatenation of verb.

**William-van Klinken et. al (2001)** state that the grammatical phenomenon of verb serialisation has been extensively examined in many languages of the world, and is known to be widespread in some parts of the Austronesian language family. While

serial verb constructions share many features of serial verb constructions cross-linguistically, they also show some interesting features deserving of further research.<sup>4</sup>

In a serial verb construction two verbs co-occur within a single clause, forming a single complex predicate<sup>5</sup>. According to **Matthews et.al (1994)** Cantonese the variety spoken in China also have a serial verb construction. He mentions that in the example below, Cantonese has three verbs while English has one.

- (16) **ngón tīngyaht tēi heui gin-gung**  
I tomorrow fly go see-work  
'I'm flying to an interview tomorrow' (Matthews and Yip (1994))

Serial verb constructions are expressed by a series of verbs containing two or more verbs as compared to English and other European languages that express actions by a verb and preposition.

In Pnar the possible constructions of serial verbs are shown below;

- (17) **daw lay pac dat bɔl I** (JW)  
FUT go look beat ball IPL  
'We will go and watch foot ball'
- (18) **daw li pac dat bɔl I** (RB)  
FUT go look beat ball IPL  
'We will go and watch foot ball'
- (19) **ham wan k<sup>h</sup>ana c<sup>h</sup>ini** (JW)  
IMP come tell here  
'Don't tell here'

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<sup>4</sup> See Williams-van Klinken, Catharina, John Hajek and Rachel Nordlinger. 2001. Serial Verbs in Tetun-Dili: a preliminary account

<sup>5</sup> While sequences of three verbs are possible in Pnar, these can be analysed as the embedding of one serial verb construction within another.

- (20) ham li k<sup>h</sup>ana c<sup>h</sup>ini (RB)  
 IMP go tell here  
 ‘Don’t tell here’
- (21) ham li bic<sup>h</sup>ar ye-y man kiwi  
 IMP go judge ACC NOM being other  
 Don’t judge other’
- (22) deh li sdang k<sup>h</sup>at ja da me  
 go go begin serve rice by IIMSg  
 ‘You go and begin to serve rice’
- (23) ham wan pinawri c<sup>h</sup>ini  
 IMP come CAU trouble here  
 ‘Don’t trouble here’
- (24) da wan hiar lay khwe dakha I chitu  
 PST come climb (down) go fish fish IPL there  
 ‘I came fishing there’

*Serial verbs constructions in Pnar all share the following characteristics.*<sup>6</sup>

1. The two verbs fall under a single intonation contour.
2. The verbs share tense and aspect.
3. A serial verb construction has a single illocutionary force. It is not possible, for instance, for the first verb to be interpreted as part of a conditional while the second is interpreted as part of an assertion.
4. The two verbs belong to a single clause. There is therefore no syntactic marking of a clause boundary between the verbs, such as conjunctions, complementisers, and connective adverbs.

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<sup>6</sup> Many of these features are common to serial verb constructions cross-linguistically. They have been discussed in many publications, including Crowley (1987), Durne (1997), Foley and Olson (1985) and Schachter (1974).

5. Neither verb is subordinate to the other, nor modifies the other.
6. The two verbs share at least one argument. In particular, the subject of the second verb is interpreted as being identical to either the subject, object or recipient of the first verb, depending on the construction.
7. The sequence of verbs is semantically interpretable as referring to sub-parts of a single, complex event. For instance *a Maria li thet soh* (lit. 'Maria go buy fruit') indicates that there is a close connection between Maria going and her buying a fruit, in this case a purposive relation whereby the 'going' is almost certainly for the purposes of 'buying the book'.

## **6.2 Noun Phrase**

The constructions into which nouns most commonly enter, and of which they are the head words, are generally called *noun phrases (NP)* or 'nominal groups'. The structure of a noun phrase consists minimally of the noun (or noun substitute, such as pronoun) and the elements preceding and following the noun are often described under the headings of 'PRE MODIFICATION and POSTMODIFICATION respectively' (Crystal 1980).

A Noun Phrase is a type of phrase in which noun is the head of the phrase. A noun phrase may consist of a noun alone or noun with other syntactic categories. As the term Noun Phrase itself indicates, the phrase should contain at least one head noun. The occurrence of the noun in the Noun Phrase construction is obligatory. But other categories like adjective, demonstratives, etc. are optional. These categories may or may not occur in a Noun Phrase construction. e.g.,

(25) [(these) boys [are [good]

NP      VP    ADJ

In a noun phrase construction, other than the noun the other categories present in the phrase are known as modifiers or modification. In English, the noun phrase always contains either a pre-modification or a post-modification. Pre-modification is when the modifier precedes the head noun. Whereas post-modification is when the modifier follows the head-noun in the noun phrase.

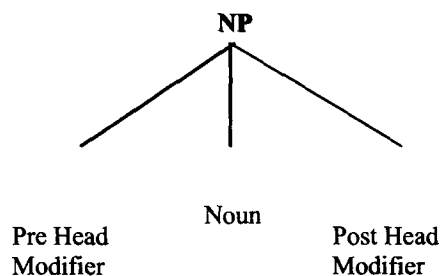


Figure 15. Noun Phrase

Pre-modification refers to all the items which occur before the head in a phrase. For example, *cars* in the following sentence, ‘All those big red foreign cars have been sold.’

In English, Determiners and Adjectives are the two main categories occurring in pre-modifying position. But there are other categories that are involved which need full description of this complex area, e.g. Quantifiers and Intensifiers.

In some grammatical descriptions Post-modification is used to refer to all the items that occur after the HEAD in a phrase.

Example:

(26) The cars in the garage are expensive

In English, three main types of post-modifying structures are recognised, they are:

**(i) Prepositional phrase**

(27) The car in the garage

HN Post Modifier

**(ii) Finite (Relative) Clauses**

(28) The car which was in the garage

HN Modifier

**(iii) Non-Finite (Infinitive or Participial) Clause**

(29) The car to buy.....

HN Modifier

(Giorgi 1991)

Daly et. al. (1981) states that there are other observations which need to be made as well; Consider the structure of the noun phrases in sentence (1) below which consists of a noun and a following adjective while the object noun phrase consists of a single noun only. In (2) just the opposite is the case .In (3) both noun phrases consist of a single noun while in (4) both noun phrases consist of a noun and an adjective. In each case, however, a noun is always present, and when an adjective is present, it precedes the noun. We could set up two noun phrases, one where a noun and an adjective is present and another where only a noun is present as follows;

**NP → Adj. + N**

**NP →N.**

(30) [The **chubby woman**] will bathe [the **child**].

ADJ N N

(31) [The **horse**] will see [the **fat woman**].

N ADJ N

(32) [The **gentleman**] will find [the **child**].

N N

(33) [The **little child**] will find [the **chubby horse**].

ADJ N ADJ N

However, to do so it implies two different kinds of NPs. Closer inspection shows that the only difference between the two NPs is the optional presence of an adjective. We then combine the two rules into one by the use of parenthesis to show optionality thus:

NP -> (Adj) + N.

### 6.2.1 Simple Noun phrase

The most common noun phrases in many languages contain a single word which is either a noun or a pronoun. In Pnar pronouns also occur alone in a noun phrase without modifier. Constructions in which pronouns occur with modifier are often possible but infrequently used. Although traditional grammar defines pronouns as words that take the place of nouns, a more accurate characterisation of most pronouns is that they take the place of *noun phrases*. The word 'simple' in the sub-heading above is meant to exclude noun-phrases that contain a clause or noun phrase discussed without reference to any syntactic framework. NPs will also be discussed in the GB framework in section 6.3. In other respects the noun-phrases that we shall deal with will include some that are quite complex with respect to either their internal

structure or the rules for using them. By *noun-phrases* we mean, of course, a phrase whose head is a noun, such as those in (1) and (2).

(1) big house

(2) yellow colour

#### **6.2.1.1 Third Personal Pronoun + Noun**

In many languages, probably a majority, it is not only possible but very common for noun phrases to consist of only a noun. In Pnar, all nouns do not occur alone, that is, all nouns take 3<sup>rd</sup> personal pronoun markers **u**, **ka**, **i** and **ki**. In Khasi, some writers treated these gender markers as an article and some; like Sten (1992) treats it as one of the components of determiner without specifically indicating to which class it belonged.

Dryer (2004) states that there are four articles in Khasi (all of which correspond in form to independent pronouns): (i) masculine singular **ʔuu**, (ii) feminine singular **ka**, (iii) plural **ki** and (iv) diminutive (singular or plural) **ʔii**. Again, these articles do not code definiteness, but vary for gender, number and size.

Dryer further states, that many languages have a definite article or an indefinite article but not both. Less common are languages in which there is an indefinite article but no definite article.

In Pnar, Grignard (1992) treated **i** 'honorific marker as a special article and ignored the masculine gender marker **u** and feminine gender marker **ka**.

In this regards, I would like to argue that the third person personal pronouns function more than article, in that, it show the PNG agreement with the head nouns in the sentences.

- (34) u bru  
 IIIMSG person 'man'
- (35) ka bru  
 IIIFSg person 'woman'
- (36) i c<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ  
 H village' 'village'
- (37) ki kari  
 IIIPL vehicle 'vehicles'

The claim that states, 3<sup>rd</sup> personal pronouns function as a PNG agreement can be illustrated from the following examples below;

- (38) u<sub>i</sub> - ni u<sub>i</sub> k<sup>h</sup>iŋna? ɔ? u<sub>i</sub> k<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ ka dia? ɔ (JW)  
 IIIMSG DEM IIIMSG boy BE IIIMSG child IIIMSG sibling ISg  
 'This boy is my younger sister's son'

- (39) u<sub>i</sub> - ni u<sub>i</sub> k<sup>h</sup>iŋna? ɔ? u<sub>i</sub> k<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ ka payu k<sup>h</sup>ian a (RB)  
 IIIMSG DEM IIIMSG boy BE IIIMSG child IIIFSg sibling younger ISg  
 'This boy is my younger sister's son'

- (40) u<sub>i</sub> - ni u<sub>i</sub> k<sup>h</sup>iŋna? ɔ? u<sub>i</sub> k<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ u<sub>j</sub> dia?<sup>8</sup> ɔ (JW)  
 IIIMSG DEM IIIMSG boy BE IIIMSG child IIIMSG sibling ISg  
 'This boy is my younger brother's son'

- (41) u<sub>i</sub> - ni u<sub>i</sub> k<sup>h</sup>iŋna? ɔ? u<sub>i</sub> k<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ u<sub>j</sub> payu k<sup>h</sup>ian a (RB)  
 IIIMSG DEM IIIMSG boy BE IIIMSG child IIIMSG sibling younger ISg  
 'This boy is my younger brother's son'

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<sup>7</sup> The subscript /i/ along with /u/ indicates that they take their antecedence from u k<sup>h</sup>iŋna?  
<sup>8</sup> Whereas the subscript /j/ with /u/ indicates that it does not belong to the same /u/ rather it takes its antecedence from /u dia?/.

(42)  $ka_1$  - ni  $ka_1$   $k^h\dot{i}nna?$  ɔ?  $ka_1$   $k^h\dot{ɔ}n$   $ka_j$  dia? ɔ (JW)  
 IIIFSg DEM IIIFSg boy BE IIIFSg child IIIFSg sibling ISg  
 ‘This girl is my younger sister’s daughter’

(43)  $ka_1$  - ni  $ka_1$   $k^h\dot{i}nna?$  ɔ?  $ka_1$   $k^h\dot{ɔ}n$   $u_j$  dia? ɔ (JW)  
 IIIFSg DEM IIIFSg boy BE IIIFSg child IIIMSg sibling ISg  
 ‘This girl is my younger brother’s daughter’

In the sentences above, show the agreement of the third person person pronoun with the element it takes its reference. For instance sentence 40 & 41 above shows that **u** along with the demonstrative **-ni**, **u** with the noun  **$k^h\dot{i}nna?$** , and **u** with the noun  **$k^h\dot{ɔ}n$**  referred to the same noun *this boy the son of...* whereas the **u** along with the noun  **$dia?$**  / **payu** belong to another entity.

Sentences that do not agree in terms of person, number and gender between the nouns and the entities from where they take their references is considered to be ungrammatical as the sentences 7 and 8 below.

\*(44)  $ka_1$  - ni  $ka_1$   $k^h\dot{i}nna?$  ɔ? \* $u_1$   $k^h\dot{ɔ}n$   $u_j$  dia? ɔ (JW)  
 IIIFSg DEM IIIFSg boy BE IIIFSg child IIIMSg sibling ISg  
 ‘This girl is my younger brother’s son’

\*(45)  $u_1$  - ni  $u_1$   $k^h\dot{i}nna?$  ɔ? \* $ka_1$   $k^h\dot{ɔ}n$  ka payu  $k^h\dot{i}an$  a (RB)  
 IIIMSg DEM IIIMSg boy BE IIIMSg child IIIFSg sibling younger ISg  
 ‘This boy is my younger sister’s daughter’

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<sup>9</sup> The subscript /j/ along with /ka/ indicates that they take their antecedence from  $ka\ k^h\dot{i}nna?$  whereas the /k/ along with the subscript /j/ indicates that it does not belong to the same /ka/ rather it takes its antecedence from /ka dia?/.

### 6.1.1.2 Demonstrative

There are two types of demonstratives in Pnar; demonstrative pronouns, which occur by themselves as noun phrases (as in examples 46 & 47) and demonstrative modifiers of nouns (as in examples 48 & 49).

(46) [ka-ni] tʔ ka kət ka wa - b<sup>h</sup>a  
IIIFSg DEM BE IIIFSg book IIIFSg ADJ good  
'This is a good book'

(47) [u - ni] tʔ u k<sup>h</sup>innaʔ u wa-b<sup>h</sup>a  
IIIMSg DEM BE IIIMSg boy IIIMSg ADJ-good  
'This is a good boy'

(48) [ka-ni ka kət] tʔ ka wa-bha  
IIIFSg DEM IIIFSg book BE IIIFSg ADJ good  
'This book is good'

(49) [u - ni u k<sup>h</sup>innaʔ] tʔ u wa-bha  
IIIMSg DEM IIIMSg boy BE IIIMSg ADJ-good  
'This boy is good'

Demonstratives have a three-way contrast in terms of distance from the speaker, such as proximate, medial and remote. Proximate examples as in (46), (47), (48) and (49) and below examples (50) and (51) are examples of medial whereas (52) and (53) are of remote.

(50) [u-tu u k<sup>h</sup>ulbm] hitu tʔ u yŋ ŋa  
IIIMSg DEM IIIMSg pen there BE IIIMSg POSS ISg.  
'This (medial) pen out there is mine'

- (51) [ka-tu ka kɔt] tɔ? ka wa-miat  
 IIIFSg DEM IIIFSg book BE IIIFSg ADJ good  
 ‘This book (medial) is good’
- (52) [u - tay u deŋ] tɔ? u deŋ teak  
 IIIMSg DEM IIIMSg tree BE IIIMSg tree teak  
 ‘That tree is teak’
- (53) ka-tay ka sim  
 IIIFSg DEM IIIFSg bird  
 ‘That bird’

### 6.2.1.3 Noun phrase with numeral

There are two sorts of numeral words that occur as modifiers of nouns: cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals.

#### (i) Cardinal numeral

Cardinal numerals are words that indicate how many referents the noun phrase denotes. In Pnar, cardinal numerals precede the noun and occur with classifier as pre-modifiers of the noun.

- (54) ar tɪli ki ksaw  
 two CL PL dog  
 ‘Two dogs’
- (55) le ŋut ki bru  
 three CL PL person  
 ‘Three persons’

All cardinal numeral occur with concrete noun usually take classifiers of +human and – human as shown in examples above. Where as abstract nouns do not take classifier as it shown below.

(56) ar jiŋ-mut

two NOM mean

‘Two meanings’

\*(57) ar t̩lli jiŋ-mut

two CL NOM mean

‘Two meanings’

(58) le sŋi

three day

‘Three days’

*(ii) Ordinal numerals*

Ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal numerals often differ in their syntax from the cardinal numerals. They are usually following the noun in a noun phrase.

(59) u k<sup>h</sup>ɔn wa-le

IIIMSg child REL three

‘The third son’

(60) u snɛm wa-so

IIIMSg year REL four

‘The fourth year’

Like Khasi, the ordinal numeral is expressed by treating the relevant cardinal numeral as a verb and placing it in a relative clause modifying the nouns.

- (61)            u - ni    ʈʔ    u    k<sup>h</sup>ɔn    wa-le  
                   IIIMsg DEM BE IIIMsg child REL three  
                   ‘This is the third son (this is he who is third)’

#### 6.2.1.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers have the general function of indicating the quantity of elements referred by the noun phrase.

- (62)            warɔʔ i k<sup>h</sup>ɪnnaʔ ʈʔ u    wan ki c<sup>h</sup>ini  
                   all PL boy    BE INF come PL here  
                   ‘All the children should come here’

The occurrences of the quantifier cannot be specific in that it can in the final position of the sentence as in the example below.

- (63)            i k<sup>h</sup>ɪnna ʈʔ u    wan ki c<sup>h</sup>ini warɔʔ  
                   PL boy BE INF come PL here all  
                   ‘All the children should come here’

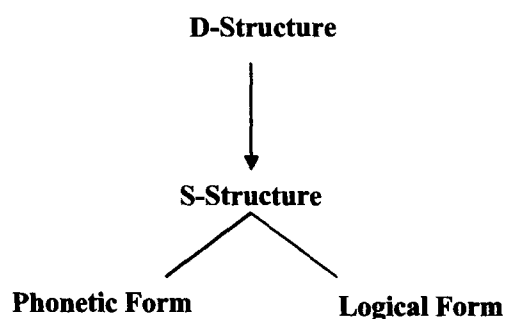
# Chapter VII

## CHAPTER VII NOUN PHRASE UNDER GOVERNMENT AND BINDING

### 7.1 Theoretical Assumptions

#### 7.1.1 Introduction

The present work assumes a version of the Government and Binding Theory (henceforth GB)<sup>1</sup> and subsequent developments as the grammatical framework for the analysis. The version of GB theory, assumed here, consists of three main syntactic components and a phonological component. (Which is represented below).



**Borsley (1991)**, also supports Chomsky's view in which he states that the most basic point about GB is that it is a multistratal framework in which the ordinary, obvious structure of a sentence (the s-structure) is derived from more abstract structure (the d-structure). It is also assumed that in GB that there is a level of LF (Logical Form) derived from s-structure by certain movement processes. The phonetic representation of a sentence or, as it is known in GB, its PF or phonetic form, is also derived from s-structure. Thus for GB, a sentence has four main structures related as shown above.

Apart from the fact that it is a multistratal framework, the most important fact about GB is that it is a modular framework. This means that it is a framework in which various distinct systems of rules and principles interact.

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<sup>1</sup> Chomsky 1981, 1982, 1986 a, b

Next, there is Case Theory, which consists of various case-marking rules and the case filter. Case theory determines the assignment of case to NPs certain positions. It further ensures that NP-movement is obligatory in passive and raising constructions, and that only a PRO subject is possible in certain infinitives. Thus it rules out examples like the following;

- \* (1) It was seen Stefan
- \* (2) It seems Stefan to be late
- \* (3) Stefan tried Maya to do it.

### 7.1.2 Syntactic Theory

Syntactic theory, as the term used, has its origins in Noam Chomsky's 1957 book *Syntactic Structures* and is widely seen as the heart of modern theoretical linguistics.

**Borsley (1991)** states that, it is probably true to say that most syntacticians are interested in syntax for its own sake and not because of any practical applications that an understanding of syntax might have. It has sometimes been suggested that syntactic theory is of no practical use. In fact, this has never been true. It has always been potentially useful in a number of areas. In particular, it has always had considerable potential in connection with language teaching (although attempts to exploit this potential have not always been very successful). Over the last ten years, however, an important development has made it much clearer than it once was that syntactic theory is useful. This is a major expansion in attempts to get computers to use ordinary language. Precise descriptions of languages are essential here because computers, unlike people, will not tolerate imprecision.

Current research on computational linguistics attempts to build programs for recognizing and producing speech. By the former we mean converting speech into writing, and by the latter we mean converting writing into speech. Getting computers to do these things is very difficult, and current achievements are quite limited. It is easy to show, however, that syntactic information is important in both cases.

We can look first at speech recognition. An obvious source of problems here is that different words with different spellings sometimes have the same pronunciation. Consider, for example, the verb *meet* and the noun *meat*. How can a computer know that it is the former in (4) and the latter in (5)?

(4) Can you meet me tomorrow?

(5) I bought some meat.

The answer is that it needs to have access to the following information:

(6) Only the basic form of a verb is possible in the context: Can you—me

(7) Only a noun is possible in the context: I bought some—

### 7.1.3 Government

**a. Government:** *A governs B iff A C-commands B and there is no category C such that C is a barrier between A and B.*

**b. C-command:** *A C-commands B iff A does not dominate B and for every maximal projection C, if C dominates A then C dominates B.*

**c. Proper Government:** *A properly governs B iff A governs B, and A and B are co-indexed<sup>2</sup>.*

**d. Barrier:** *All and only maximal projections except S (=IP) are 'barrier'*

(Chomsky, 1981, 1986b)

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<sup>2</sup> Where co-indexing means either theta co-indexing or chain co-indexing.

#### **7.1.4 Binding Theory**

This sub-theory of grammar regulates the interpretation of NPs and consists of three basic principles as illustrated below;

##### **Principle A**

An NP with [+anaphor] feature must be bound in its governing category (where the governing category for A is the minimal domain containing it, its governor, and an accessible subject/SUBJECT).

##### **Principle B**

An Np with [+pronominal] feature must be free in its governing category.

##### **Principle C**

An R-expression must be free everywhere.

#### **7.1.5 Null elements and Empty categories Principle (ECP)**

As [-Finite] INFL fails to assign case, it cannot have a lexical subject. But EPP ensures that all projections of IP have a subject. That means there must be a non-lexical, non-overt but syntactically active element that occupies the [spec, IP] position. This non-overt NP is postulated in GB theory as PRO (big PRO), which has its feature as [+anaphor, +pronominal]. The module of grammar that regulates the distribution and interpretation of PRO is known as Control theory.

##### **7.1.5.1 PRO Theorem**

*PRO must be ungoverned.*

Haegeman (1994), states that PRO is licensed when it is ungoverned. This property allows us to predict that PRO does not alternate with overt NPs.

NP-trace and wh-trace are also included under non-overt categories. The principle that constraint the occurrence of traces is known as Empty Category

Principle (ECP). All the traces which have [-pronominal] features are the member of empty category.

#### ***7.1.5.2 Empty Category Principle***

*All traces must be properly governed.*

***Where,***

- a. A properly governs B iff A theta governs B or, A theta marks B.
- b. A theta governs B iff A governs B and A theta marks B.
- c. A antecedent governs B iff A governs B and A is co-indexed with B.

(Haegeman, 1994)

The content of traces is determined by their antecedents

## **7.2 The Concept of Noun Phase in GB Framework**

Government and Binding Theory (henceforth GB theory) advanced and developed by Chomsky (1970-77), consists of sub-theories such as bounding, case, government, binding and control theory. Iwakura (1995) states that binding theory is meant to account for the distribution of three types of NPs (Anaphor, Pronominal, and R-expressions) as well as of PRO.

The discussion of NPs in Pnar will be exclusively discussed only from the Binding and Government point of view and R-expression will be exempted from discussion. Binding theory is a principle that plays an important role in the government and binding (GB) theory. The theory is concerned with relation of anaphors, pronominals, names and variables to possible antecedents. In the GB theory, the binding theory is formulated as;

## **Binding Theory**

(A) An anaphor is bound in its governing category.

(B) A pronominal is free in its governing category.

(C) R-expression is free.

**Chomsky** in his 1970 article, made the natural assumption that the structure related to the corresponding noun. There are in fact several obvious selectional similarities which can hardly be captured in any other way. Chomsky, therefore, proposed that lexical head like verb and noun belonged to an underspecified category, unifying.

## **7.3 Pronominal**

**Crystal (1985)**, defines pronominal from the GB point of view as follows; ‘In Government and Binding Theory, the term pronominal is used for a type of noun phrase (along with Anaphors and R-expressions) of particular importance as part of a theory of Binding. Pronominal includes the class of personal pronouns, and pro and PRO’.

In GB theory, the term pronominal [(+P), (-A)] is used for the type of NP of particular pronouns important as part of a theory of binding pronominal includes the class of personal pronouns like *he, she, they, etc.* the principle B of binding theory states that the ‘pronominal must be free in its governing category’.

To illustrate this principle B, let’s take into consideration these following examples cited from Pnar.

(8) u daŋ bam ja u<sup>3</sup>  
IIIMSG PROG eat rice IIIMSG  
'He is eating rice'

(9) u jɔn maya u ya ki  
IIIMSG john love IIIMSG ACC IIIPL  
'John loves them'

In the example above, the personal agreement (termed earlier as post-pronoun), in most cases is compulsory at the surface level. Unlike the subject personal pronouns, it is not always free. The discussion here is solely about the subject personal pronoun. Personal pronoun in the subject position is fulfills the principle B, in that it is always free. There are also cases, where the subject pronoun is often dropped<sup>4</sup>, but that does not imply that it is bound to some other category.

(10) daŋ bam ja u  
PROG eat rice IIIMSG  
'He is eating rice'

(11) c<sup>h</sup>ɔ? u ka  
Beat IIIMSG IIIFSg  
'He beats her'

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<sup>3</sup> As mentioned earlier in Morphology chapter that Pnar has two set of pronouns, that is pre-pronoun and post-pronoun (term given by Spencer, L. E (1967) **Note on the Jaintia Dialect** published in journal of the Asiatic Society). In such case, the post-pronoun is not always free. It takes its antecedent from the pre-pronouns. For the sake of convenience, it is treated as an agreement in this chapter.

<sup>4</sup> It is a matter of pro-drop and the problem discussed in the Word-order chapter

## 7.4 Anaphor

**Trask (1997)** defines anaphor as ‘a linguistic item which takes its interpretation from something else in the sentence or discourse’.

A term used in GB, to refer to a type of noun phrase which has no independent reference, but refers to some other sentence constituents (its antecedent). Anaphors are of two types; reflexives and reciprocals.

*Principle A states, that ‘Anaphors (e.g. reflexives and reciprocals) must be A-bound in their governing category’.*

To illustrate principle A, consider the following example from Pnar below;

(12) u jon<sub>i</sub> yo u ya u<sub>i</sub> - hi ha yit  
IIMSG John see AGR ACC IIMSG REFL PREP mirror

‘John sees himself in the mirror’

In the example above **u<sub>i</sub>-hi** bounds to its governing category **u jon<sub>i</sub>**, in that it takes its antecedence from *John*.

### 7.4.1 Reflexives

The discourse nature of reflexive pronouns in English was first noted by Cantrall (1974). Recently, the role of discourse factors involved in anaphoric binding in English has been discussed in many studies (Kuno 1987, Zribi-Hertz 1989, Reinhart and Reuland 1993, Pollard and Sag 1992, 1994).<sup>5</sup>

**Lyons (1968)** defines ‘a reflexive construction is one in which the subject and object refer to the same person (or thing)’. **Crystal (1985)** states that ‘in

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<sup>5</sup> As quoted from Iida, Masayo **Context and Binding in Japanese**

transformational grammar, reflexivisation refer to a rule which introduces the reflexive pronouns into a sentence- in one formulation by changing the syntactic feature on the object personal pronouns, [-reflexive] to [+reflexive], when it is co-referential with the subject, e.g. *he saw him* -> *he saw himself*. In Governing –Binding Theory, reflexives, together with NP-traces and PRO, are Base-generated anaphors- a class of NPs’.

In his detailed cross-linguistic study of reflexivisation, Falt mentioned the possibility that a language may have no reflexive or a “a unique but optional primary reflexive” (1977). Hollenbach (1984) disagrees with him in that she she argues that neither of these possibilities is represented by a living language of his (Falt) sample, though he believes that Middle English and perhaps Old English instantiate the second one. Copala Trique is, however, a living language that currently has an optional reflexive<sup>6</sup>.

Pnar forms reflexive by using the personal pronouns with the particle **hi**. In this respect it similar to English *-self* (and to many other languages).

(13)        u<sub>i</sub> maya u        ya-u        hi<sub>i</sub>  
               IIIMsg love AGR ACC IIIMsg REFL  
               ‘He loves himself’

(14)        Ka<sub>i</sub> yo-si? ko        ya-ka        hi<sub>i</sub>  
               IIIFsg look badAGR ACC IIIFsg REFL  
               ‘She hates herself’

(15)        ki<sub>i</sub> maya ki ya ki hi<sub>i</sub>  
               IIIPL love AGR ACC IIIPL REFL  
               ‘They love themselves’

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<sup>6</sup> See Barbara E. Hollenbach’s *Reflexives and Reciprocals in Copula Trique*

The subject above show that the combination **-hi** and the pronouns make the reflexive. In the sentence above, the status of **hi** and the pronoun and pronoun take their antecedence from the subject pronouns. Sentences like 9 to 11 below shows that, the object pronouns without the particle **hi** do not take their antecedent from the subject pronouns. Such sentences without the particle **hi** do imply different meaning.

(16) Ka maya ko ya ka

IIIFSG love AGR ACC IIIFSG

'She love her'

(17) U maya u ya u

IIIMSg love AGR ACC IIIMSg

'He loves him'

(18) Ki maya ki ya ki

IIIPL love AGR ACC IIIPL

'They love them'

The sentences above convey different meaning rather than the reflexive meaning of the sentences. Sentence 4 implies that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person FSg love the other 3<sup>rd</sup> person FSg rather than the subject 3<sup>rd</sup> person FSg.

Reflexive sentences must be agreed in term of PNG. Sentences that fail to have PNG agreement is considered to be ungrammatical. Sentences 12 to 14 are examples of ungrammatical sentences.

\*(19) u maya u ya-ka hi

IIIMSg love AGR ACC IIIFSG REFL

'He loves herself'

**\*(20)** Ka yo-si? ko ya-u hi  
IIIFSg look badAGR ACC IIIMSg REFL  
'She hates himself'

**\*(21)** ki maya ki ya-u hi  
IIIPL love AGR ACC IIIPL REFL  
'They love himself'

**Culicover (1987)** provides an assumption that 'A reflexive must have an antecedent in the same clause'. In all the examples above, Pnar confirms with this assumption in that all reflexives take their antecedent within the same clause.

#### **7.4.2 Reciprocal**

Reciprocal construction on the other hand is one in which the subject and object refer to the same person (or thing) only in the plural form. Reciprocals are often treated together with reflexives, and in some languages, for example, Spanish, a plural reflexive form carries reciprocal meaning in place of, or in addition to, reflexive meaning.

**Boring (2005)**, states that a special case of a plural anaphoric relation is reciprocity. Reciprocity can be expressed by definite NPs, adverbials or verbal affixes, or part of a lexical meaning, for example, *Each child helped the other*. In addition, many languages, among them English, have dedicated reciprocal pronouns, for short, reciprocals:

*John and Mary saw each other*

*Most calligraphers know one another.*

In Pnar, the reciprocal construction is indicated by phrase **i wi ya i wi** which is equivalent to English ‘each other’.

(22) ki maya ki iwi - ya - iwi  
IIIPL love AGR one ACC one  
‘They love each other’

(23) ki p□n-tip ki iwi - ya - iwi  
IIIPL CAU know AGR one ACC one  
‘They teach each other’

(24) ki p□rc<sup>ba</sup>? ki iwi - ya - iwi  
IIIPL against AGR one ACC one  
‘They are against each other’

It is said that reciprocals, like reflexives must be bound by a local antecedent. Reciprocals can take their antecedents only from the plural NPs. Therefore sentences like (25) and (26) below are ungrammatical.

\*(25) ka maya ɔ iwi ya iwi  
IIIFSg love AGR one ACC one  
‘She love each other’

\*(26) u maya u iwi ya iwi  
IIIMSg love AGR one ACC one  
‘He loves each other’

Apart from the nominal reciprocal, Pnar also exhibits verbal reciprocal. The verbal reciprocal is marks by the marker **ya-** prefixing the main verb. In Pnar the

particle **ya** that precedes the verb has two functions that is, it marks the reciprocal of the sentence and the other associative form of verb. The verbal reciprocal can be illustrated by the following examples below.

(27) **ki ya-c<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ ki**

IIIPL REC beat AGR

'They are fighting'

(28) **ki ya-maya b<sup>h</sup>a ki**

IIIPL REC love very AGR

'They love (each other) very much'

(29) **ya-kneʔ k<sup>h</sup>iʔ ki para ki**

REC snatch work AGR among IIPL

'They are fight over the property (among themselves)'

It is to be noted that not all the verb prefixing **ya-** conveys the reciprocal construction. Because as mentioned earlier above, the marker **ya-** has another function, that is, it marks the associative as in the sentences below;

(30) **ki daŋ ya-bam ki**

IIIPL PROG ASS eat AGR

'They are eating (together)'

(31) **ki daŋ ya-c<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ ki**

IIIPL PROG ASS sit AGR

'They are still sitting (together)'

(32) **ki daŋ ya-pac ki**

IIIPL PROG REC/ASS look AGR

'They are looking/watching (each other/ together)'

Hence, verbal like **yapac** in (32) could be treated both as reciprocal construction as well as associative construction. In that, it could mean that ‘they are watching each other’ as well ‘watching something together’. Whereas, verbal like **yabam** could be treated only as an associative construction in that they could only ‘eat together’ rather than ‘eating each other’.

# Chapter VIII

## **CHAPTER VIII CONCLUSION**

### **8.1 Introduction and Chapter Overview**

This chapter provides a summary and conclusion to the material presented in the preceding chapters of this thesis. Section 8.1 provides the summary made in this thesis and the finding (the introduction of the Pnar in chapter 1, the introduction of the theory in chapter 2, the phonology, morphology and syntax in their respective chapters) recapitulates the main arguments of each of the earlier chapters. Section 8.3 (that is the unresolved issues of this work) then discusses a range of topics for future research. These concluding remarks shall first summarize the main findings from the seven experiments reported in this dissertation. Unresolved problems encountered in this thesis will be pointed out for further research.

### **8.2 Summary of Discussion made in this Thesis (Findings)**

This thesis begins, in **Chapter 1**, with a brief introduction of Pnar and its language family affiliation. **Chapter 2** provides an overview of different theories which provide the theoretical framework for the chapter of Phonology and Morphology. The cross-linguistic differences in the descriptive analyses found may be attributed to differences in the analysis of lexemes among the different groups of morphological inflectional languages and the non-inflectional languages.

In **Chapter 3**, the discussion of phonology of Pnar brought out the differences and similarities of the sound systems and sound structures of related languages/varieties like Pnar and Khasi. The analysis of the sound systems of Pnar showed that the existence of the aspirated voiceless palatal stop /c<sup>h</sup>/ equivalent to the voiceless palatal fricative /ç/ (Nagaraja, 1990) or voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/

(Jyrwa, 1993; War, 2001) in the standard variety of Khaki, based on a comparison of similar words from Khasi and Pnar. Works done in the Standard Khasi variety (Nagaraja, 1990; Jyrwa, 1993; War, 2001) shows the occurrences of the voiced plosive sounds /b/ and /d/ in the final position, whereas, in Pnar no voiced plosive sounds occur in the final position of the words.

**Chapter 4** discusses the morphology (the word class) of Pnar. In the analyses, it was found out, that in Pnar, negating the verb by the negator **ɨm**, also negates the whole sentence, as in the following:-

- (1) **ɨm lay krɛ? u**  
 NEG go work IIIMSg.  
 'He is not going to work'

Another element that is used as a negator along in negative sentences is **ɛm**. It acts as another negative particle. However, **ɛm** occurs only in negative past tense form of sentences

- (2) **ɨm lay krɛ? u**  
 NEG go work IIIMSg.  
 'He is not going to work'
- (3) **ɨm ɛm lay krɛ? u**  
 NEG NEG(PST) go work IIIMSg.  
 'He did not go to work'

Both **ɨm** and **ɛm** are obligatory in these kinds of sentences. Therefore, negative past form of sentences possess double negative particles. The structure of negative sentences denoting past time can be summarised as ;

[ **ɨm** + **ɛm** + V + ADJ + S ]  
 NEG NEG (PST)

In the analysis of tense, Pnar possesses a particle **wan** (Jowai) and **hin** (Rymbai) that indicates immediate future apart from the regular future particle **daw**. The immediate future **hin** and its place of occurrence always follows the verb as in the examples below.

(4) **daw pac wan** ɔ kamwɔn u lɛ? (JW)  
 FUT look IMM ISg how INF do  
 'I will see (very soon) how I will do'

(5) **daw lɛ c<sup>h</sup>nɔŋ hin** ŋa hi-ni i sŋi (RB)  
 FUT go village IMM ISg PREP DEM PL day  
 'I will go to village (very soon) in these (coming) days'

The regular future particle **daw** precedes the verb as in the examples below;

(6) **daw pac** ɔ kamwɔn u lɛ? (JW)  
 FUT look ISg how INF do  
 'I will see how I will do'

(7) **daw lɛ c<sup>h</sup>nɔŋ** ŋa hi-ni i sŋi (RB)  
 FUT go village ISg PREP DEM PL day  
 'I will go to village in these (coming) days'

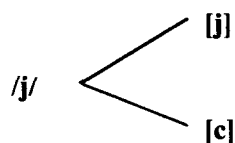
Different approaches were employed in the study of word order of Pnar in **Chapter 5**. Pragmatically and syntactically studies of word order are helpful for analyzing the word order variations of Pnar. From the previous illustration and discussion in chapter 5, conclusion can be drawn that Pnar has maintained the basic word order, in spite of showing other word orders in certain situation.

Pnar also exhibits the feature of 'pragmatically ordered language'. However, Pnar can be safely described as a SVO word ordering language that brushes aside the argument of lacking basic word order. The discussion of pro-drop theory in this work, also help in support the basic word order of Pnar.

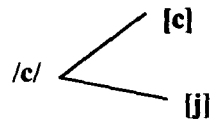
**Chapter 6** discusses the phrase structure; verb phrase and noun phrase are taken into consideration. In the study of verb phrase, auxiliaries within the phrase have been discussed and different types of verbs like serial verb are analyzed. With this background, two principal goals have been laid out for the study of noun phrase. First, noun phrase have been studied in its simple ways of occurrences and secondly, noun phrase have been analysed under Government and Binding Theory in chapter 7.

### 8.3 Unresolved issues

In the discussion of phonemic inventory in 3.2.1 a serious problem has been encountered. In that, Pnar has the *palatal (unaspirated) stop*. Through out my analyses the *voiced palatal (unaspirated) stop /j/* has been analysed as phoneme and the *voiceless palatal (unaspirated) stop [c]* as its allophone. *Voiceless palatal (unaspirated) stop [c]* occurs only in the final position whereas its voiced counter part occurs elsewhere. The choice of assigning /j/ as the allophone seems to violate the rule of phoneme reconstruction. To assign a phoneme one must chose one out of these two allophones [c] and [j] but the internal problem occurs in Pnar, neither of these allophones can be set as a phoneme. For example, if /j/ is taken as the phoneme as in the example below;



If the voiced palatal /j/ is assigned as a phoneme then there is a voiceless gap where it does not occur with other stop sounds. If we assign the voiceless counter part of /j/ as in the example below;



Then the problem arises that [j] is occurring more often than the [c] and in more than one position. It is also worth mentioning that in most cases, majority of the phonemes which belong to the onset of a syllable and coda usually is treated only as the subset of the phoneme. So the choice of assigning [c] as the phoneme is ruled out. So also the choice of assign [j] as a phoneme is not very clear and also not certain. This unresolved issue leaves much scop for further research.

A number of issues emerge from this study as interesting topics for further research. In the discussion of **gender** in Pnar, in section 4.3 there is no clear cut division for the usage of the particle /i/ in Pnar. The contentious point is that, /i/ functions differently with the noun in two similar environments. In the first instance, /i/ that occurs along with a noun phrase cannot be treated as honorific because it does not occur with nouns such as *God, mother, father* who are worthy of being honoured. And also, /i/ occurs with nouns such as urine, stool, house and others, which in no way can be considered to be honoured.

In another environment Pnar people use, /i/ as an honorific particle in a noun phrase to show respect towards mother-in-law and father-in-law.

Of course the use of plural forms as honorific expressions is wide-spread across languages. Plural forms both nominal and verbal forms are used as honorific: e.g. the French *vous*, the German *Sie*, the Turkish plural marking in the verb. The agent defocusing by means of pluralizing referential forms or action as a way of expressing deference toward the addressee or the referent of a sentential nominal argument is also exploited as in Ainu<sup>1</sup>.

Some regard this element as diminutive, but in Pnar does not always denote small little thing. Nouns such as house, sky, forest etc. take the particle /i/. Attempts has been made to consider /i/ as plural marker in that it occurs along with the body parts that contain more than two, for examples; /i k<sup>h</sup>mat/ 'eye' /hand/ /leg/ etc. but it is also co-occurs with nouns such as *nose*, *mouth*, but does not come along with noun such as *hair*, *sand* etc. The exact grammatical or semantic function of /i/ is unresolved and is left open for other researchers who are interested in this area.

#### **8.4 Conclusion**

The present work does not claim to be the complete analysis of Pnar. Hence, a detailed and proper analysis is required. Also much of research work needs to be done especially in the field of morphological areas (case and tense)<sup>2</sup> and word order. On the whole, then, much work remains to be done. It is my hope, however, that this thesis has helped to point some of the next steps, and that the results reported here will be of help to future work aimed at achieving a deeper and more cross-linguistically informed and understanding of the empirical and analytic underpinnings of Pnar structure in particular and the other varieties of Khasi in general.

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<sup>1</sup> Ainu is spoken in the northern Japanese Island of Hokkaidō.

<sup>2</sup> Pnar is not an inflectional morphological language.

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Appendix I  
Distinctive Features Chart of Pnar

Distinctive Features	i	e	ε	a	o	ɔ	u	ɨ	p	p <sup>h</sup>	b	b <sup>h</sup>	t	t <sup>h</sup>	d	dh	k	k <sup>h</sup>	ʔ	c	c <sup>h</sup>	j	j <sup>h</sup>	s	h	m	n	ɲ	l	r	w	y	
<b>Sonorant</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
<b>Vocalic</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<b>Consonantal</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
<b>High</b>	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<b>Low</b>	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<b>Back</b>	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<b>Anterior</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Coronal</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Round</b>	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Tense</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Voice</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<b>Continuant</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Nasal</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<b>Strident</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Aspiration</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

## Appendix II

### Some animals names in Pnar with their scientific names.

hati	'elephas maximus'
muc	'babalus arnee'
mint <sup>h</sup> na	'bos gaurus'
masi	'bos indicus'
sɛr	'cerrus unicolor'
skɛ tirk <sup>h</sup> an (big)	'muntiacus muntjak'
salapɔŋ (small)	'muntiacus muntjak'
hulu	'hylobates hoolock'
hulu	'hylobates lar'
c <sup>h</sup> reʔ	'macaca nemestrina' / 'macaca fascicularis' / 'macaca malutta'
c <sup>h</sup> reʔ lɪmbuc	'macaca aretiodes'
tɾo	'presbytis melalophos'
c <sup>h</sup> at <sup>h</sup> ɔʔ	'paguma larvata'
rɛ k <sup>h</sup> ian	'viverra zibetha'
rɛ hɛʔ	'viverra malaccensis'
p <sup>h</sup> illat	'martes flavigula'

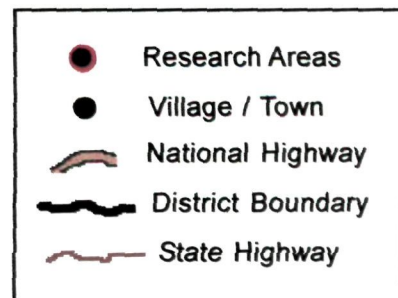
naŋju	‘arctonyx collaris’
naŋk <sup>h</sup> ɛt	‘hystrix brachyura’
t <sup>h</sup> awarai	‘atherurus macrourus’
rɛ ɪrtɔŋ	‘viverra megaspila’
sniaŋ bri	‘sus scrofa’
dŋɛm	‘selenaretos thibetanus’
suri sɪmp <sup>h</sup> ɛŋ	‘canis aureus’
suri	‘cuon alpinus’
ɪrbay ~ ɪrbɛ	‘manis javanica’
ksiʔ t <sup>h</sup> am (small)	‘lutra perspicillata’
rabit	‘lepus peguensis’
ksiʔ dak <sup>h</sup> a	‘ao nyx cinerea’
tɪrso	‘ratufa bicolor’
c <sup>h</sup> ɪrtin / saratin	‘tamiops mecclelandi’
tɪrsaŋ k <sup>h</sup> ɪndaw	‘menestes berdmorei’
tɪrsaŋ	‘callosciurus flavimachus’
tɪrso	‘callosciurus prevosti’
tɪrsaŋ	‘callosciurustinlaysoni’
silliʔ	‘petaurista petaurista’
tɪrsaŋ sniaŋ	‘tupaia glis’
k <sup>h</sup> ne dɔŋ	‘mus musculus’

k <sup>h</sup> ne	‘bandicola savilei’
ɪndat	‘talpa micrura’
k <sup>h</sup> ne jit	‘hylomus suillus’
k <sup>h</sup> ne ɪrsian	‘chiropodomys gliroides’
k <sup>h</sup> ne piaʔlan (small)	‘rhizomys sumatrensis’
k <sup>h</sup> an (big)	‘rhizomys sumatrensis’
madur	‘pteropus vampirus’
tɪndɛp (medium size)	‘pteropus vampirus’
labit	‘pipistrellus’
k <sup>h</sup> la walarɛp	‘panthera tigris’
k <sup>h</sup> la c <sup>h</sup> ikar	‘panthera pardus’
k <sup>h</sup> la kɔŋ	‘felis viverrina’
k <sup>h</sup> la sim	‘felis benghalensis’
pt <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ	‘tragulus napu’
pt <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ c <sup>h</sup> ɪnran	‘muntiacus feae’
skɛ	‘muntiacus cuguangensis’
rɪnjan	‘nemorhedus caudatus’
rɪnjan c <sup>h</sup> ɪnran	‘capricornis sumatrensis’
tɪrpit	‘varanus benghalensis’
ɪndat	‘dicerorhinus sumatrensis’

N



### Appendix III Maps



Source : National Atlas and  
Thematic Mapping  
Organization  
Kolkata - 700 064

Map not to scale  
© Curiously Bareh, 2007

## Bio-data

- 1. Name** : MR. Curiously Bareh
- 2. Father's Name** : Mr. Woming Lyngdoh
- 3. Date of Birth** : 27<sup>th</sup> May, 1977
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- 5. Nationality** : Indian
- 6. Religion** : Christianity
- 7. Category** : Schedule Tribe
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