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## A grammar of Pnar

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2015

Ring, H. (2015). A grammar of Pnar. Doctoral thesis, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.
https://hdl.handle.net/10356/62519
https://doi.org/10.32657/10356/62519


A GRAMMAR OF PNAR

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A thesis submitted to the Nanyang Technological University in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

## Acknowledgments

This thesis has not been an easy task, and many people have helped me along the way. Alec Coupe and František Kratochvil, my supervisors, were of inestimable assistance. Alec guided me throughout the whole process: from applying to the program, to helping me learn about grammatical structure and recommending readings to me, to providing me with contacts in Meghalaya for initial language work. Both he and František read numerous attempts at grammatical organization and half-baked ideas; their insight brought clarity to various language puzzles that I have been struggling (and in some cases continue to struggle) with. Thank you for asking me the hard questions. My analysis also grew in leaps and bounds thanks to Paul Sidwell, who was kind enough to sit down with me at NEILS for some much-needed phonological restructuring in 2011. His incisive comments and queries, and his strong interest in the Austroasiatic languages of India have challenged and encouraged me throughout my candidature. The two months I spent at the Australian National University, and the conversations I had with Paul and Mark Donohue in particular forced me to sort out morpho-phonological processes and case marking structures. Thanks to Nick Evans, Gwen Hyslop, Amos Teo, Ginny Dawson, Keren Baker and Peter Appleby who provided listening ears and insights at one point or another. Ginny, Keren, and Peter also were great sources of camaraderie while on fieldwork for five months in northeast India.

In Meghalaya, I must first thank Durga Gurung-Roy, Nanu, and Mark (and Maisha!) for hosting me the first time and on subsequent visits, for checking up on me while in Jowai and giving me space to work and relax. Thanks especially to Mary Tariang, the first Pnar speaker I met, and to her cousin John who brought me to Raliang/Mookyndeng and put me up with Ms. Alma Satein. It was there that I made my first recordings of Pnar stories and word lists. Mary also introduced me to Mann Passah and thereby his cousin Ram Passah; Ram has become a great friend. On my many visits to Jowai, Ram taught me about Pnar traditional culture and language, and was a musical collaborator. Some of my other good friends in Jowai have been the Phawa family, who hosted me in Rietsasim, Jowai for two of my longer trips: thanks to Ruhi and his mother Wan, his siblings Nihi, Leiki, Sanki, for welcoming me, preparing food for me, and speaking to me in

Pnar. Through Ruhi and Nihi I met a host of other friends too numerous to list here, but a few deserve special mention: H. Hamkhein Mohrmen taught me about aspects of Pnar and War culture, as did D. R. Michael Buam. Michael also brought me to his village in Assam and trekked with me and Nihi up a mountain at night in the rain to meet Pnar speakers in a remote village. Heithmu-i Phawa was another musical collaborator who taught me about Pnar culture along the way. H. Carehome Pakyntein sat with me to tell traditional Pnar stories and explain the meanings of Pnar elaborate expressions. Heibormi Sungoh brought me to his village Shangpung for traditional ceremonies and talked with me at length about traditional music and culture, as well as providing me with some books to further my study. Philemon Lyngdoh lent me some of his books and always welcomed me when I visited. Rebecca Laloo put up with me visiting her to ask questions and get help with translations. Chelmelyne Dhar and Olivia Siangchai helped with much of my transcription - Olivia was the first one to sit with me for hours on end in Swish Cafe, Shillong, watching The Pear Story and listening on headphones to help me painstakingly transcribe my initial data. Chel worked on transcriptions and emailed them to me even while I was in Singapore, a task for which I am eternally grateful.

Also of great assistance were the linguists in the Linguistics Department at North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong. Umarani Pappuswamy in particular became a dear friend after our first initial fortuitous meeting when I was wandering the halls at NEHU. Her tireless efforts on behalf of her students and her encouragement of scholarly pursuit are an inspiration. She introduced me to Henry Lamin, who brought me to his village Nongbah and gave me an intial introduction to Pnar culture. Curiously Bareh, Sarahlyn Lyngdoh, Barika Khyriem, and Bijoy Dhanwar have also been extremely helpful and encouraging in their conversation.

Finally, thanks to members of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Nanyang Technological University: my close friends Lin and Jianjun, who I matriculated with, thanks for all your support and encouragement. My friend David in Sociology who shared the distinction of being one of two Americans in the graduate office; Jon in Psychology with whom I had some good escapades; Francesco Cavallaro for welcoming me to Singapore and buying me that first meal of chicken rice at Canteen B ; Bee Ng for introducing me to the world of bilingual and multilingual studies; Francis Bond for patiently explaining bits and pieces of computational linguistics; James German for asking me insightful questions about phonology to get me thinking; Stefanie Stadler for always having a smile and taking the time to chat about non-linguistic things; K. K. Luke for linguistic ruminations; and Randy LaPolla for taking the time to consider naive questions and offer insight into whatever was on my mind at the time.

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## Abbreviations

| 1 | first person | F | feminine |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | second person | GEN | genitive |
| 3 | third person | HON | honorific |
| ABL | ablative | HUM | human |
| ACC | accusative | IMM1 | immediacy level one |
| ACT | action (NMZ) | IMM2 | immediacy level two |
| ADH | adhortative | IMM3 | immediacy level three |
| AG | agentive | INDF | indefinite |
| ALL | allative | INSTR | instrumental |
| A | most agent-like | INTS1 | intensity level one |
|  | argument of a transitive verb | INTS2 | intensity level two |
| BEN | benefactive | INTS3 | intensity level three |
| CAUS | causative | INTS | intensifier |
| CL | classifier | IRR | irrealis |
| COMT | comitative | LOC | locative |
| DAT | dative | MEDL | medial |
| DIST | distal | MPROX | mesio-proximal |
| DUR | durative | M | masculine |
| EMPH | emphatic | NEG | negative |


| NF | non-finite (NMZ) | PROX | proximal |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NH | non-human | PRP | purposive (NMZ) |
| NMZ | nominalizer | Q | question particle |
| NOM | nominative | REAL | realis |
| NPURP | non-purposive | REF | referential |
| NP | noun phrase | REL | relativizer |
| NVIS | non-visible | REP | repetitive |
| N | neuter | RES | resultative (NMZ) |
| OBL | oblique | SG | singular |
| O | least agent-like | superlative |  |
|  | argument of a | SVC | serial verb construction |
|  | transitive verb | S | single argument of an |
| PASS | passive |  | intransitive verb |
| PERF | perfective | TAG | tag |
| PLUR | pluractional | TOP | topic |
| PL | plural | VC | verb complex |
| PROG | progressive | week |  |
| PROH | prohibitive |  |  |


#### Abstract

This thesis provides an initial descriptive analysis of a largely undescribed Austroasiatic language of Meghalaya, northeast India. Pnar has often been overlooked because of its lexical similarity to Khasi, with which it shares a common identity and society. Features such as verb-initial constituent order, processes of nominalization and derivation, prepositional marking, a rich gender system, a large set of deictic markers, and its use of plural marking within classifier phrases prove that Pnar is richly deserving of study. The following pages attempt to thoroughly examine the phonological, morphological, and grammatical structure of this language for the benefit of the speakers and the larger linguistic community. Appendices include a selection of texts, a list of elaborate expressions, and a 1,600 word lexicon.


## Chapter 1

## Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to fill a much needed descriptive void regarding Khasian languages within the Austroasiatic phylum. This group of languages has been acknowledged since at least Grierson (1904), but an adequate description of any of the varieties besides Khasi has been lacking. Pnar offers insight into such linguistic concerns as verb-initial structures, semantic case, whether adjectives can be considered a separate word class, the existence of plural marking within classifier phrases, and the importance of gender. My hope is that this effort will prove a source of data for other linguists and provide insight for those interested in the structure of Pnar and Austroasiatic languages in general.

This introductory chapter aims to give a brief overview of the Pnar language and to place it within the wider linguistic, societal, and cultural context of northeast India. In $\S 1.3$ the language family, geography, and names are discussed; $\S 1.4$ deals briefly with culture and society; $\S 1.5$ describes the linguistic situation (with reference to endangerment); §1.6 discusses previous linguistic work on Pnar; $\S 1.7$ gives a typological overview with crossreferences to sections where particular elements are discussed in greater detail; $\S 1.8$ describes the data sources on which this grammatical description is based.

The following chapters describe the Pnar language: Chapter 2 discusses phonology and orthography, Chapter 3 describes word formation, and Chapter 4 gives a lexical and syntactic overview of the Pnar language. This is followed by chapters on word classes: first an examination of closed classes (Chapter 5), then the open classes of verbs (Chapter 6), nouns (Chapter 7), modifiers (Chapter 8), and expressives and elaborate expressions (Chapter 9). Chapter 10 covers clause structure and sentence types, and concludes
the introductory half of the thesis.
The chapters in the second half of the thesis describe the major clausal constituents: the verbal complex (Chapter 11) and noun phrase structure (Chapter 13). Semantic verb classes are examined more closely in Chapter 12, and coordination and subordination in Chapter 14. Copula clauses are treated in Chapter 15, and complex verbal constructions in Chapter 16.

Attached appendices include a list of elaborate expressions in the context in which they occur in my texts (Appendix A), a list of elaborate expressions ( $k i=k n t e n ~ k n n o ?$ ) that occur in traditional religious rituals (Appendix B), a table of Pnar typological features (Appendix C), five texts (Appendix D), and a dictionary (Appendix E).

Examples throughout this description are from both annotated texts and elicitation. Elicited sentences have no identifier, while the examples taken from the author's corpus of transcribed and translated texts are marked in the gloss with square brackets surrounding an abbreviation and line number referring to the particular text (i.e. [MPSRJ_047] refers to line \#47 in the text titled 'Male Pear Story Retelling, Jowai' - §D.1). Loans from English, Hindi, and Assamese retain their received orthographic spelling, though I transcribe the phonemic Pnar pronunciation of the speaker.

### 1.1 Pnar

Pnar ([pnar] ISO 639-3 code: pbv) is an Austroasiatic language also known as Jaintia or Synteng, though Pnar is the term preferred by speakers. The origin of the name Pnar is unknown. The Pnar people have often been called 'Synteng' or 'Jaintia' (Grierson, 1904; Gurdon, 1914; Ehrenfels, 1953; Gait, 1963 [1906]; Spencer, 1967; Bareh, 1977; Pakem, 1984). As Parkin (1991: 59) summarizes:
"Ehrenfels [1953] states that 'Synteng is a slightly opprobrious designation, used by the Plateau-Khasi', and Pnar, meaning 'dwellers of the upper hills', is preferred by the group itself. According to Bareh [1977], Synteng means 'children of the Teng' or 'ancient mother', 'Jaintia' probably being the Indic-speakers' pronunciation of it. According to Pakem [1984], Synteng is derived from Suteng or Sutunga, the ruling dynasty of the Jaintias, or possibly from Sohmynting, a village on the old pre-British road
into the Khasi Hills." ${ }^{1}$
Currently, the people themselves use 'Jaintia' to refer to the land, and prefer 'Pnar' as a name for themselves and their language, though sometimes the two terms are used interchangeably. The term 'Pnar' has several possible sources. ${ }^{2}$ Ehrenfels, in giving the explanation cited above, suggests that this was a name based apparently on the Sanskrit panar or pahar, ${ }^{3}$ referring to thick branches or twigs, and that the plains-dwellers used this term to refer to the larger, stockier build of the hill-dwellers. ${ }^{4}$

Evidence of iron production on the Meghalayan plateau suggest an alternate source for the name in the local word nar 'iron'. Prokop and Suliga (2013) date iron slag from three sites to between 350 BC - 1900 AD and suggest indigenous development of iron production technology, though transfer from early Indo-European languages is not ruled out. There is no evidence of non-Austroasiatic-speaking peoples inhabiting the plateau, however, and there are a large number of villages with the form nar in their name. Further, there is a causative prefix form $p \eta_{1}$ - (possibly $<{ }^{*} p$-) that, combined with the root nar may have identified the people who supplied lowlanders with iron, a trade noted by early British explorers and administrators in the 19th century (Yule, 1842, 1844; Hooker, 1854; Allen, 1858; Hunter, 1879; Gurdon, 1914) and which continues today, though not to the same degree.

Pnar is spoken as a first language by around 400,000 people (§1.3.4) in northeast India (see Figure 1.1), primarily in the West and East Jaintia Hills Districts of Meghalaya State ${ }^{5}$ with some speakers found in Assam state to the north and east (particularly in the hills of the Barak Valley surrounding Silchar) and in the neighboring country of Bangladesh to the south. A few

[^0]recent books and articles have been written about the culture, society and history of the Pnar people: Passah and Sarma (2002) focus on a broad overview of cultural practices, Lamare (2005) examines culture and history, and Barooah (2007) focuses on land and environmental practices. Little research exists on their language. The reason for this may be that Pnar is often grouped with Khasi, a more dominant language of commerce which has a written standard.

Pnar and Khasi share a significant portion of their culture and certain lexical items, but Pnar exhibits key differences in pronunciation, lexicon, and structure (particularly word order) that merit individual description. According to native speakers of both languages, the differences mean that Pnar and Khasi are not mutually intelligible, though the similarities allow speakers of one language to learn the other in a period of 3-6 months if they are made aware of the differences. Determining actual intelligibility levels (whether mutual or uni-directional) is problematic due to the fact that Khasi is used along with English as a medium of educational instruction in the Jaintia Hills, meaning that educated Pnar speakers are largely bilingual in Khasi. The two languages also share many cultural similarities which have contributed to a unity of society and practice, particularly in the domains of government and traditional religion.

### 1.2 Austroasiatic languages

Austroasiatic languages are a group of languages widely dispersed throughout Southeast Asia and in India. Regarding the state of Austroasiatic (AA) language studies, Sidwell (2010: 117) remarks that "there is no scholarly consensus on: [either] the relations between AA branches, [or] the age or diversity of AA." While this may have changed to some degree due to increasing data on Austroasiatic languages over the past few years, Sidwell's statement largely holds true for the current state of affairs. The geographic distribution of these languages can be seen in Figure 1.1, with Pnar identified as 'Synteng' in ' the Khasi cluster near the Brahmaputra river (top left). The Khasian languages are geographically distant from other Austroasiatic languages, a fact which seems to reflect migration patterns. Sidwell and Blench (2011: 338-339) suggest that a migration took place (ca. 3800 years ago) from the Mekong River basin near where the major AA languages are spoken today, and that gradually the speakers of various AA languages were
isolated by speakers of other languages.


Figure 1.1: Mon-Khmer Languages (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1997)

### 1.3 The Northern Mon-Khmer languages

Pnar falls under the Khasian branch of Northern Mon-Khmer languages, according to the most recent comparative historical reconstruction (Sidwell, 2011; Figure 1.2). ${ }^{6}$

[^1]

Figure 1.2: Sidwell's (2011) grouping of Khasi-Palaung

There is some debate regarding how exactly Khasian should be grouped with other Mon-Khmer branches. Diffloth (2005) groups Khasian as in Figure 1.3, as the highest branch of the Northern Mon-Khmer (here, "KhasiKhmuic") family within the broader Austroasiatic tree.


Figure 1.3: Diffloth's (2005) grouping of Northern Mon-Khmer

Sidwell's (2011) grouping, based on comparative historical reconstruction and on lexical comparison, suggests a closer relationship between Khasian and Palaungic groups and excludes Pakanic and Khmuic from a Northern Mon-Khmer group within Austroasiatic. This recent analysis describes shared innovations between Khasian and Palaungic (such as /snam/ 'blood', /'ar/ 'two', / ${ }^{\text {ºum }}$ / 'water') that lend credence to the suggestion that these two groups diverged from Austroasiatic separately from Pakanic and Khmuic.

### 1.3.1 Internal grouping of Khasian languages

In terms of the Khasian languages' internal grouping, a lexical comparison based on 200 core lexical items (Nagaraja, Sidwell, and Greenhill, 2013) gives evidence for the internal relationships of the Khasian group in relation to Palaung, the group's closest relative. Figure 1.4 shows this relationship using traditional grotto-chronology methods, and Figure 1.5 applies a neighbor net
analysis to the data. This analysis suggests that Pnar and Khasi are the most similar varieties in the group, followed next by Lyngngam and then by War, which has retained a larger number of cognates with Palaung. While these methods are somewhat limited, the dearth of adequate data on these languages makes these results quite striking.


Figure 1.4: Bayesian Phylogenetic analysis of Khasian (Nagaraja et al., 2013)


Figure 1.5: Neighbor Net of Khasian (Nagaraja et al., 2013)

### 1.3.2 The term Khasian

The term "Khasian" refers in the literature to a group of Mon-Khmer languages that have long been considered related dialects, with Khasi as the dominant variety for historical reasons. Standard Khasi (SK) is a standardized variety based on the language of Sohra (Cherrapunji), which itself seems
to be divergent from neighboring varieties in terms of word order and lexical items. Khasi people and the language they speak are also referred to as Khynriam by speakers of Pnar and War, referring in part to the erstwhile kingdom that governed the Khasi speaking geographical area and came under the control of the Jaintia kingdom historically. SK is a lingua franca learned in school with greater or lesser success depending on the quality of instruction and aptitude of the students.

SK represents the language group that the British East India Trading Company had initial contact with, and among whom mission stations were first established in Cherrapunji. The use of this variety for trade and education spread among the Pnar and Khasi varieties, Lyngngam, and War. These varieties collectively were known as the "Khasi" language (Grierson, 1904; Gurdon, 1914; Rabel, 1961; Bareh, 1977; Koshy, 2009; Henderson, 1976a,b), the grouping being mainly based on lexical data and encouraged by cultural similarity and perceived political benefit. Other languages spoken in the state and included in the broader Khasi politico-socio-cultural milieu but which are recognized as different are Garo and Bhoi. Varieties that have been reported only recently as separate but related are Mnar (Koshy and Wahlang, 2010), ${ }^{7}$ Maram, Langrin, Remem, Molang, and Nongtrai (Keren Baker, forthcoming). It is not clear how different these varieties are in relation to each other, and much more work needs to be done to properly subgroup them within the Khasian (or Meghalayan) family.

There is a current discussion among linguists working with these varieties regarding proper terminology to reflect the group relationships. Daladier (2010) posits Pnar as the clearest link to Mon, and suggests that all other varieties split from it. Her view is that the group should be called "Pnaric" to reflect this relationship. Sidwell (2012) maintains that "Khasian" should be used to avoid confusion within the literature which has used this term for more than the last century, or that a neutral term should be used such as "Meghalayan", which reflects the geographical area in which speakers of these languages reside. Problematic with the latter suggestion is that speakers of languages in the Tibeto-Burman family (Bodo-Garo, for example) also reside in the Indian state of Meghalaya. ${ }^{8}$ It may be that a more neutral term may

[^2]be arrived at in the near future. In the meantime, for the sake of avoiding confusion with the literature, I here use the term "Khasian" to describe these languages, despite the possible connotations such a term may have.

### 1.3.3 Geographic distribution of Khasian languages

The Khasian languages are found mainly in the Khasi Hills and West and East Jaintia Hills districts of the Indian state of Meghalaya, between 25 1' and 26 5' North Latitude, and between 9047 ' and 92 52' East Longitude, though some speakers are found in Assam state to the north and east of Meghalaya as well as in the neighboring country of Bangladesh to the south.

The languages can be found on a west-to-east plane within the state: Lyngngam is spoken in the west, Khasi in the central part of the state, War mainly to the southeast of Khasi along the Bangladesh border, and Pnar on the east bordering Assam. Figure 1.6 below (Daladier, 2011) demonstrates the different language areas within and around Meghalaya state, with Pnar spoken to the east in the highlighted area bordering Bangladesh on the south and the Cachar Hills on the east. This map is not ideal but is the most current map available that attempts to address the language situation. For example, Maram, the lingua-franca of most of the area north-west of Khasi, is marked as Pnar on this map. The name may be related to the 'Maharam' dialect area located in the southwest. It is not clear at this point exactly what the relationship between Maram and Pnar is.

### 1.3.4 Population

The 2001 Census of India counted 243,000 speakers of Pnar in Jaintia Hills. The 2011 Census of India (which has not yet released language-specific figures) lists the total population of Jaintia Hills as 395,124 . This number would include a large number of native War speakers, some Khasis, and potentially Assamese or Bengalis who have settled. Daladier (2011) estimates the current number of Pnar speakers at around 700,000 , though this seems largely a guess. Speakers of Pnar who live outside the Jaintia Hills would have to equal or exceed the number of speakers within the West and East Jaintia Hills districts for her numbers to be accurate. While this is a possibility (see some initial data in the paragraph below) a more accurate but
to languages in a geographical area that belong to different branches of Tibeto-Burman, a term criticized by Burling (1999) and which remains unused by speakers of these languages.


Figure 1.6: Khasian languages in Meghalaya (Daladier, 2011)
also potentially high estimate would be around 400,000 speakers of Pnar, which is the number I gave at the beginning of this chapter.

There are quite a number of smaller 'Pnar' villages outside of the Jaintia Hills, such as in the mountains surrounding Assam's Barak Valley. The majority of these are 'mixed' villages composed of War, Pnar, and some Khasi speakers. Children of these villages often grow up speaking Pnar and War as well as Assamese, and if they pursue further studies will also learn English, Hindi, and/or Khasi. The main language spoken by the village tends to depend on which language group has a majority of households. These villages were established (some of them more than 100 years ago) to cultivate betel nut and betel leaf, a major cash crop, and were originally settled mostly by War speakers, the major cultivators of betel in Jaintia Hills, and also by Pnar speakers originally from the Sutnga and Bataw areas. Pnar speakers seem to be the more recent immigrants, though this is not true of all cases.

The secretary of the Barak Valley Khasi-Jaintia Welfare Organization (BVKJWO), ${ }^{9}$ based in Silchar, told me that they represent the interests of

[^3]about 98,000 War-Pnar-Khasi people in 300 villages in forest areas across Cachar, Karimganj and Hailakandi districts to the Assamese state government. ${ }^{10}$ An article by the Meghalaya Times (Dec 12, 2012) states: "Cachar, Karimganj and Hailakandi... [along with] the Dima Hasao, Karbi Anglong, Nagaon districts and other districts of Assam may constitute an overall estimated population of around 2.5 lakhs [in Assam]." Other speakers live and work outside of Meghalaya, particularly in and around the urban centers of Mumbai, Calcutta, and Delhi, and in other countries around the world, though these numbers are not significant outside of Meghalaya and Assam.

My estimate of 400,000 speakers is based on a guess that the number of speakers of Pnar in the Jaintia Hills would have risen from 243,000 speakers in 2001 to around 300,000 speakers in 2011. If the Meghalaya Times estimate of 250,000 Khasi-Jaintia people in Assam is somewhat accurate, and only 100,000 of them belong to Pnar households, this would yield about 400,000 speakers of Pnar in the Jaintia Hills and Assam. Unfortunately this is only a guess, as the census of India has not released specifics about the languages spoken by its citizens. This number also would not include speakers in the Khasi Hills, other parts of India, or Bangladesh.

### 1.3.5 Migration and origin

In recent genetic studies, the Pnar (along with other Khasian/Meghalayan peoples) have been linked more closely to east Asian groups than to those in the Indian subcontinent (Langstieh et al., 2004; Reddy et al., 2007), providing evidence for an westward migration from southeast Asia to the current location, a migration which is supported by parts of these groups' own oral history (Gurdon, 1914). Scholars such as van Driem (2007) caution against placing too much weight on such genetic studies until more is known about the time-depth of possible migratory patterns.

Pnar oral history relates essentially two sets of origin stories, discussed briefly below in §1.4.1 - one which relates the creation of earth and another which relates the settlement of the Jaintia Hills. One of the origin stories identifies seven tribes by name, of which Pnar is one, the others being War, Khynriam, Bhoi/Mikir, Mynri, Yinthong, and Lyngngam. These names may be original family names or clans that in some cases have been absorbed by other groups, but at least in the case of Pnar, War, Khynriam

[^4]and Lyngngam, the names seem to overlap with linguistic groups and/or geographical areas. Pnar speakers also seem to have controlled a large part of the Meghalayan plateau and the area around Sylhet during the reign of the Jaintia kings. Mentions of the Jaintia kingdom exist in the Buranji chronicles of the Ahom kingdom (established by a Tai prince in the Brahmaputra river valley in 1228 AD) describing mutual aid in repulsing a Mughal invasion in the 1600s, but this acknowledges the Pnar as existing without giving much insight into their origin.

According to Ahom records and Pnar oral tradition, the Jaintia kingdom existed from before the 1500 s AD and included not only the current Jaintia Hills district but also parts of the Khasi Hills, the Cachar Hills and the northern plains of Bangladesh, with its capital at Jaintiapur in the plains area. This was the kingdom which the British East India Trading Company annexed in 1835, after creating an administrative centre for the area a few years earlier, in the Khasi town of Cherrapunji/Sohra (Gait, 1963 [1906]). The British deposed the Jaintia king (though not stripping him of all his wealth) while maintaining the traditional representative system of locally elected officials to govern the Pnar people in a form of indirect rule. Subsequent developments saw the British move their administrative centre of this region from Cherrapunji near Bangladesh to Shillong, further north, at which time the Shillong/Sohra variety of Khasi became the dominant non-English language of communication and commerce for the hills of Meghalaya.

### 1.4 Culture and Society

The culture and society of the Pnar people very closely resembles that of the Khasi people, and the traditional and historical features of the larger Khasi culture is described in great detail by Gurdon (1914). In the modern era (particularly post-independence and the founding of Meghalaya state), development has increased steadily and the inhabitants of Meghalaya have become more politically and economically intertwined with the rest of India. The enactment of the Sixth Schedule of the Indian constitution shortly after India's independence has meant that Khasian tribal people are not taxed, and that non-Khasis cannot own land within the state. As a result, there is little incentive for outsiders to invest in the state and so development has increased more slowly than in other places. This single fact may be the major reason why the languages and cultures of Meghalaya (and to
some degree the whole northeast) have been well-maintained. Although western styles of dress and technology have been widely adopted, traditional dress is very much in evidence and even preferred by many Pnar for daily and not just special occasions, and in the villages many of the cultural practices noted by Gurdon are still encountered. There is much that I could write about what I have learned among the Pnar people, and much more anthropological research could be carried out. This section provides only the barest information intended to contextualize the subsequent linguistic discussion within a broader cultural frame.

### 1.4.1 Cosmology

The Pnar people have many myths and legends regarding their land and environment. In many respects they share this cosmology with the Khasi people, most notably in their story of origin. This story relates how humans are descended from sixteen families who came from heaven daily to cultivate the earth via a rope/tree connected to a local mountain in Meghalaya. ${ }^{11}$ When the rope/tree was cut by a certain individual (accounts differ as to who was responsible), seven of the families were stranded on earth. These seven families are the ancestors of all humanity. Pnar traditional religion makes use of this and other narratives to explain the human condition. Following the origin narrative, it is said that because of the cutting of the rope/tree bridge humanity lost all contact with the creator God (u Blaj or u Tre ki $R o t)$ and were forced to muddle along on their own. When events conspired to make the sun $(k a=s \eta i)$ remove herself from the world, only the rooster was willing to make the journey to ask her to return. After some adventures, the sun agreed to return but required that only the rooster would act as a go-between. The rooster therefore serves as a sacrifice, allowing humans to make propitiation and to communicate with God through divination. This sacrificial system is central to Pnar traditional religion (Lyngdoh, 1937).

[^5]
### 1.4.2 Religion

Pnar traditional religion is called niamtre, which can be translated "original tradition" (/niam/ 'tradition', /tre/ 'original'). They believe in a single supreme being $u$ tre kirrt, ${ }^{12}$ who created the world. U Tre Kirrt was assisted in this task by the heavenly mother ka Bej wa Bo? Bej wa $T^{h}$ o responsible for physical appearance and human abilities, and the earthly mother ka Bej Ram ${ }^{\text {a }}$ aw Bej Ramtfit responsible for the physical world. U Tre Kirst's messengers (such as $u$ Prt $t^{h}$ at 'lightning') can have physical manifestation in the world or (like $u K^{h} a t$ 'messenger of $u$ Tre Kirst' who figures prominently in the creation narrative) are simply supernatural beings with unknown form.

As in other traditional religions around the world, the landscape is also full of other gods and goddesses who inhabit specific locations (rivers, rocks, mountains, etc.) and who may be propitiated or invoked through rites and ceremonies. A majority of Pnar have also converted to Christianity in the last century, ${ }^{13}$ the largest groups being Catholic and Presbyterian. The Pnar people successfully fought the British for a number of years before annexation and were the last group in present-day Meghalaya to be subdued. Subsequently, during the time of the British, many Pnar traditional dances and other practices were outlawed because of their warlike appearance/resemblance. As a result of this and of the increased conversion to Christianity, many traditions were lost and others were nearly lost. Some of the traditional festivals and practices seem therefore to be revivals of remembered traditions and practices, ${ }^{14}$ and to have been adapted and appropriated by the current generation, in which association with the traditional religion is growing along with the birth rate. It is possible that the cultural practices are influenced by Hinduism, but the core of Pnar traditional religion seems to be non-Hindu in its reference to a creator God and a general lack of propitiatory practices.

Religion is a major feature of life among the Pnar. One of the first questions a stranger will be asked is what balay 'church, association' or sen 'gathering' they are from. Among Christians this means 'denomination', and among niamtre this can refer to geographical region (Jowai, Shillong, etc..).

[^6]Followers of both niamtre and Christianity are not easily distinguished by dress or language, though niamtre men are more likely to wear earrings and have long hair. Pnar women generally wear traditional wraps of colorful cloth that serve as warmth during the cold evenings or, more recently, the Indian sari or western clothing.

### 1.4.3 Livelihood and land

Agriculture is the main traditional means of livelihood for the Pnar, with rice as the staple food. Indigenous rice terms are numerous (consider: smbe 'seed', bet 'rice seed', $p^{h} n i a \eta$ 'rice seedling', $k b a$ 'rice paddy', $k^{h} o$ 'husked rice', $b a$ 'cooked rice') as are rice-related tools and practices, and the Pnar tend to settle along river valleys where the water can be easily diverted to flood paddy fields (hali). Their origin stories include reference to looking for locations where rice grows easily, and the Pnar claim to have cultivated rice since before the Jaintia kings, though there is reference to changing cultivation strategies in one of my collected texts. Hooker (1854: 315-316) observed irrigated paddy fields around Jowai when he traveled there in 1850, but not the method of cultivation, while Gurdon (1914: 43) reports both wet rice cultivation (in irrigated fields) and dry rice cultivation (on hillsides).

Paddy field cultivation along rivers and among the hills is combined with the raising of chickens, pigs, goats and cows, fishing and agricultural and horticultural endeavors in smaller gardens ( $i=k p \varepsilon r$ ). Along the mountain slopes toward Bangladesh and Assam, where the climate is warmer, Pnar and War speakers cultivate $u=k w a j$ (areca/betel nut) and $u=p a t^{h} i$ (paan/betel leaf), a major cash crop. Hunting is no longer an effective way to supplement the diet, though occasionally deer, wild cats, dogs, birds and small animals find their way into the pot.

The climate of Jaintia Hills is generally cool and humid, with a regular warm rainy season and cold dry season, when it rarely snows or hails. Trade and commerce is becoming increasingly important with the discovery of coal and other raw materials and the development of infrastructure to meet subsequent transportation needs.

Jowai is rapidly developing as an urban center, reflecting its historical and continuing accessibility as a crossroads between Bangladesh, Assam, and the Khasi Hills. The economy is gradually becoming more servicebased, with computer and office supply stores springing up around the two main markets, and a few private doctor and dentist practices establishing
themselves. Jowai is also at the center of a burgeoning artistic community of Pnar filmmakers, musicians, and photographers who serve the needs of documenting weddings and covering news events in the local language. A cable television channel called Ri-Luk has begun broadcasting local and national news in Pnar, and filmmakers told me that Pnar-language films are popular and sold throughout the northeast Indian region. The films provide another source of potential language data for linguists.

### 1.4.4 Society

The society of the Pnar people is based around a matrilineal family system, where the youngest daughter effectively inherits the wealth of the family and is expected to keep it in care for assisting other family members. The wealth of the clan thus passes from youngest daughter to youngest daughter. However, administration of the property and assets cannot be carried out without the agreement of her eldest brother.

Pnar speakers trace their ancestry from their mother's line, taking the name of her kur 'clan' and being associated with that kur for life. An individual will not change their name except in extreme circumstances. In marriage, there are strict taboos against marrying anyone from your kur or from any of the clans related to your kur by blood. For some people, this means it is increasingly difficult to find marriageable partners, as anyone who traces descent from your great ancestress is taboo for marriage, and this can be determined simply by asking their name. The husband traditionally has little authority in his wife's home and will often remain a resident of his mother's house where he contributes to the household, only visiting his wife at night. Among Christians this has changed, with men often moving to their wife's residence or building a new home. ${ }^{15}$

Since the purpose of a marriage among the Pnar is to produce children, cohabitation is common, with marriage being finalized only once a child is born. The above is apparently the case regardless of religion (Barooah, 2007). My consultants stated that divorce is relatively rare, and that when people sleep together they are often recognized as being married, particularly in villages. However, the practice of finalizing divorce by giving a symbolic coin of any amount from either party, as noted by Yule (1844), is

[^7]still practiced.
While inheritance and ancestry is matrilineal, men have significant roles to play as decision makers. The eldest brother is the head of the clan and as such guides the family. Though every family is slightly different, most Pnar women will seek approval of their brothers before making a decision. At the same time, men tend to serve as the spiritual and political leaders traditionally, being elected to office in villages, performing the rituals and sacrifices appropriate to the circumstances in niamtre, and being the elders and pastors of Christian congregations. The traditional system of democratically elected officials and land tenure exists alongside local, state and national institutions of India, with protective provisions being written into the Indian constitution under the Sixth Schedule (Barooah, 2007).

### 1.5 Linguistic situation

Daladier (2010) counts fourteen dialect areas within Jaintia Hills District (Nartiang, Nonjngi, Nongbah, Mynso, Shilliang Myntang, Shangpung, Raliang, Jowai, Rymbai, Sutnga, Nongkhlieh, Lakadong, Narpuh, and Saipung). The prestige dialect is generally considered to be Jowai, though some speakers will claim the town of Tuber located in Sutnga as the prestige. Pnar speakers are generally proud of their own regional variety, and the main dialect difference is between Jowai and Tuber/Sutnga, from which most Jaintia towns were settled. Pnar is bordered by Khasi on the west, Assamese on the north, Tibeto-Burman (Kuki-Chin) languages on the east, and War on the south. The War-Jaintia are often grouped with Pnar, as speakers of War share cultural similarities, but the language is divergent and mutual intelligibility is low. As mentioned briefly above, Khasi is written using a Roman orthography and taught in schools in Meghalaya, including in the Jaintia Hills.

A written system for Pnar, based on the Khasi alphabet, is also in some use within the Jaintia Hills, but very little has been written in Pnar and thus there is a lack of standardization. Further, there is some confusion regarding how to represent the phonemic Pnar sounds that Khasi lacks using the Khasi alphabet. Efforts are ongoing by Pnar speakers to add characters to the existing Khasi alphabet that would allow each variety to write their speech more easily. The writing system I use in this thesis is based in part on existing books written by Pnar speakers in the 1930s-50s (i.e. Pariat,

1995 [1937]), and is described in greater detail in §2.4.

### 1.5.1 Endangerment

In 2011, Khasi was listed in UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger ${ }^{16}$ as vulnerable, suggesting that it may be in some danger, but this listing has since been removed. Due to its consistent use as a language of instruction in schools, the classification was somewhat problematic, though in urban centers like Shillong many of my Khasi friends report using more English with their children and friends than their parents do, suggesting potential shift in urban areas in some domains. Pnar and other regional varieties that lack the hegemonic status accorded to Khasi are more likely to be in danger, particularly since they are not standardized or used as educational languages of instruction, but there is no evidence for endangerment of Pnar currently, and in fact the popular use of the language for films and songs as noted above suggests the opposite.

At the moment, these languages are in constant use by those who speak them, and children continue to learn Pnar and other regional varieties at home, despite Khasi being acknowledged as the dominant variety. This combined with the unity of cultural forms, practices, and stories among Khasian language speakers (while showing acknowledged variation) may mean that these languages remain strong enough to last another generation. What becomes problematic, then, is the increasing use of English and Hindi by certain sectors of Khasian society (J. War, personal communication) which poses a danger to the languages' continued maintenance, as well as the lack of knowledge concerning variation. One potential buttress against such danger for Pnar and other Khasian languages is comprehensive documentation and description, combined with a grassroots effort for education and development of each variety.

### 1.5.2 Language contact and borrowing

As noted above, Pnar is located geographically in a hilly area which is surrounded by groups speaking languages from other language families, namely Indo-Aryan (Indo-European) and Tibeto-Burman. These languages are a likely source of borrowing, though other languages seem to play a larger role at present. The other way in which these languages may have influenced each

[^8]other is in the transfer of conceptual systems. This area has been described as a contact zone since at least Emeneau $(1956,1964)$, who suggested that particular features of organization in Munda languages were due to influence from neighboring Indo-Aryan languages and vice-versa. This is not a new idea, as noted by Donegan and Stampe (1983). More recent work on the areal systems of classifiers and gender (i.e. Ring, 2015a) may shed light on whether classifiers were acquired by Indo-Aryan languages of the area, while gender was acquired by the Khasian languages, due to language contact.

Other varieties/languages that prove a major source of lexical borrowing for Pnar are Khasi, modern Hindi, and English. Khasi is an important source of borrowing due to the use of Khasi as a medium of instruction in schools. Further, Khasi is the language used in religious written materials (the Christian Bible, Catholic prayers, Seng Khasi traditional religious books) and in ceremonies. However, due to the shared lexicon of Pnar and Khasi, it is often difficult to determine whether a word is borrowed from Khasi into Pnar or vice versa. One consultant noted that many of the popular Khasi writers of novels have been from Pnar or War-speaking towns, suggesting that the borrowing goes both ways.

Hindi (or Sanskrit) words enter the lexicon largely due to contact with traders from greater India, though it is also taught in schools. English is also a medium of instruction in some schools, and many words related to technology or government/administration have been adopted from English sources (approximately $10 \%$ of words in my corpus, occurring with $2 \%$ frequency). Migrant workers from Nepal are another, albeit minor, source of borrowed words.

### 1.6 Prior Documentation

There is little literature available on the Pnar language, though in comparison to many languages there is already a library. The first linguistic description of any sort is a small volume by Grignard (1992 [1922] $)^{17}$ based

[^9]on the Mawkyndeng/Raliang dialect of Pnar and published by the Catholic Church. This fifty-nine page document includes a list of sounds, some words common to both Pnar and Khasi, a short list of articles, nominal declension, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, and interjections. It concludes with a brief appendix of conversations and vocabulary.

Most mentions of Pnar in the literature until recently have described it as a dialect or variety of Khasi, following Grierson (1904) and Bareh (1977). The Khasi language itself, apart from numerous publications in the language (Snaitang, 2011), has had a moderate amount of linguistic research which occasionally mentions Pnar as a dialect, noting differences between the varieties. These works include Ehrenfels (1953); Rabel (1961); Rabel-Heymann (1976, 1977, 1989); Henderson (1976a,b, 1991, 1992); Schmidt (1904). One of the first scholarly acknowledgments that Pnar may be a language in its own right comes from Gruessner in his brief article "Khasi: a minority language of northeast India; From an unwritten to a written language", presented at the 18th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies in 2004.

Several scholarly works by Indian linguists exist. The most comprehensive descriptive work to date on Pnar proper is a PhD thesis of 268 pages by C. Bareh (2007), who is himself a Pnar speaker of the Rymbai variety. This thesis, titled "Descriptive analysis of the Jowai and Rymbai dialects of Khasi" and submitted to the linguistics department at NorthEastern Hill University (NEHU) in Shillong, has recently been published (2014, 138 p.) through Kaveri Books in India, ${ }^{18}$ though I have yet to read this revised copy. ${ }^{19}$ Choudhary's (2004) master's thesis from Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) is titled "Word order in Pnar", and gives an analysis of Pnar word order in relation to Greenberg's word-order universals. An MA dissertation by Sutradhar (2005) submitted to JNU titled "Relativization and Participialization in Pnar: A Mon-Khmer Language of the Austroasiatic Family" could not be accessed, however Sutradhar's ten page excerpt titled "Nominal modification in Pnar: a relativization strategy" (2006) was obtained it describes relativization processes and suggests that Pnar does not have a separate class of adjectives. Koshy's (2009) article on "Indefinite pronouns in Pnar" (JNU) is sixteen pages long and provides an analysis of Pnar indefinite

[^10]pronouns within the framework of Haspelmath's (1997) work on indefinites, with numerous glossed examples.

More recent sources of information on Pnar are Daladier's (2010) paper "A preliminary classification of the Mon-Khmer languages of India and Bangladesh", presented at the 20th South East Asian Linguistics Society (SEALS 20), and her (2011) paper "A multi-purpose project for the preservation of War oral literature", presented at the 4th North East India Linguistic Society (NEILS 4) conference. While the latter paper of thirty pages focuses primarily on War, which is another Mon-Khmer variety spoken in the area, it provides some comparisons between War, Pnar, and Khasi, particularly regarding phonetic differences. Finally, Temsen's (2011) "Variation in the Distribution and Position of Functional Categories in Varieties of Khasi" presented at the 29th South Asian Languages Analysis Roundtable, briefly looks at differences in word order among Khasian languages.

### 1.7 Typological profile

This section gives a brief typological overview of Pnar. A short summary of lexical and syntactic features can be found in Chapter 4. A profile of Pnar in terms of the 150 or so features in the World Atlas of Language Structures ${ }^{20}$ is available in Appendix C.

### 1.7.1 Phonology

Attempts toward a typology of phonological systems are limited by the pool of data available, but have resulted in some important theories about what is possible and likely in languages of the world (Crothers, 1978; Lass, 1980, 1984; Ladefoged and Maddieson, 1996; Maddieson, 2011a,c,b). The most current information is found in the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) online, a database on over 564 languages, with the chapters on phonological typology edited by Ian Maddieson (2013).

Jowai-Pnar has 23 consonant phonemes and 7 vowel phonemes (Chapter 2), placing it in the "average" category in terms of consonants (19-25 consonants), in the "large" category in terms of distinctive vowel quality (7-14 distinctions), and in the "average" category in terms of consonant/vowel ratio. What sets Pnar apart from other similar languages typologically is the

[^11]complexity in onset consonant clusters that do not follow typical sonority constraints.

Within average sized consonant systems it is typical to have three to four place distinctions, a voicing contrast, and three or more manner contrasts. Pnar has four place distinctions for nasals. If the sounds which are currently affricates have undergone lenition, then historically there were four place distinctions for the plosive category as well. The majority of plosive sounds in Pnar (and the affricates) exhibit a voicing contrast, while voiceless members of this class (excluding affricates) also show an aspiration contrast, which may be an areal feature since neighboring languages such as Bangla have an expanded aspiration system. Pnar exhibits four place distinctions in the nasal continuant category, but only two fricatives (both voiceless), a single trill and lateral in the alveolar place of articulation, and two approximants with two places of articulation (labial-velar and palatal). There was little information to be found regarding the typological status of such sounds.

The contrast Jowai-Pnar exhibits between 23 consonant phonemes and 7 vowel phonemes means that Pnar patterns with a majority of the languages in the WALS database. However, the complexity in onset consonant clusters that do not follow typical sonority constraints is a somewhat unique feature. Further investigation into morphology and continued observation of phonetic realization may give more insight into the phonemic structure of Pnar.

### 1.7.2 Morphology

Pnar is a largely isolating language with a low degree of fusion and agglutination (Sapir, 1921; Comrie, 1989), similar to other Khasian languages. It exhibits a small number of portmanteau morphemes (pronouns, §5.1) and six affixes (§3.2). There is no agreement on verbs, and core syntactic cases are marked by word order. Semantic roles and non-core clausal relations are marked on nouns in Pnar, and pronouns seem to show some effect of core syntactic (nominative, accusative) case. Gender agreement is marked via proclitics on nominal elements.

### 1.7.3 Syntax

Constituent order is the main means of marking grammatical relations of core arguments (S, A, O; see Chapter 10), ${ }^{21}$ with oblique arguments marked by prepositional case markers (§5.6). A and S are treated similarly, providing evidence for a grammatical relation of 'subject' in Pnar.

The assumption in the literature has been that Pnar constituent order follows the same pattern as Standard Khasi (SK) (Choudhary, 2004; Bareh, 2007), which is described as AVO/SV (Rabel, 1961; Nagaraja, 1985) in which the predicate follows the A-argument and the O-argument follows the predicate. My analysis of Pnar suggests a VAO/VS basic constituent order ( $\S 10.1$ ), which patterns closer to Bhoi (Nagaraja, 1997) ${ }^{22}$ and is typologically more unusual, particularly for a geographical area heavily populated by speakers of Tibeto-Burman (verb final) languages.

Pnar grammatical structure is consistent with a head-initial typological profile (Bybee, 1985): words denoting property concepts or which modify predicates follow their head, but all other modifying morphemes precede the head. Perhaps the most telling evidence for V-initial basic clause structure is the existence of a separate modifier class based partially on word order (Chapter 8). ${ }^{23}$ Other orders that exist are a result of pragmatic focus ( $\S 10.2$ ).

[^12]
### 1.8 Data sources

Since May 2011 until the present, I have spent months at a time in the Jaintia Hills, learning Pnar and making recordings with a Sony Camcorder and ZoomH4N1 (via a lapel mic). These recordings have been transcribed and translated with the assistance of local consultants. In total, I spent 11 months in and around Jowai (May-July 2011, February-July 2012, June-July 2013, February 2014) and recorded 11 hrs 5 minutes of video and audio (HD video, 44.1 khz 16 bit WAV audio). Of those recordings, 8 hrs 6 minutes have been transcribed, translated, time-aligned, and formatted for use in Toolbox, my database of choice, resulting in 37 total texts from nearly 30 speakers, or about 75,000 words. These texts were supplemented by elicitation where necessary, to fill out paradigms and clarify key issues.

Informed consent was requested orally before recording began, as per institutional ethics guidelines, and a recording of consent was made for each speaker or group of speakers. All participants agreed to the use of the recordings for linguistic research purposes, and I provided a digital copy of the video and audio recordings to each participant or group of participants for their review. Several people asked to be cited as the source of their recordings, and I make mention of their names where appropriate. Those who did not ask to be cited are given generic descriptions as necessary for labeling the texts and in concern for privacy.

The majority of the 8 hours 6 minutes of transcribed and translated texts are from Jowai ( 6 hrs 9 minutes), while the remaining 1 hour 57 minutes are taken from outlying dialect areas (Raliang/Mookyndeng, Mookroh, Shangpung, Sohmynting, Barak Valley). Of the Jowai texts, 3 hours 50 minutes are recordings of H. C. Pakyntein (marked as PP01-15 in the table below), a traditional healer and priest of the Soo Kpoh clan which founded Jowai. The other Jowai texts are from Christian and non-Christian residents of Jowai: those whose families have lived there for generations as well as those whose families moved from outlying villages in the past generation or two. The age of recorded speakers ranges from 16 years to 70 years, with the majority of speakers being 30 years or older. The recordings are mostly by men, though women were also recorded ( $4 \mathrm{~F}, 24 \mathrm{M}$ ). The genres represented in the texts are traditional folktale, hortative, expository, interview, personal history, areal history, conversation, and procedural. Texts range from a few minutes in length to almost one hour and are summarized in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Pnar data sources

| Length | Text | Sent. | Date | Location | Subject |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 7:50 | AIJ | 171 | 04-06-2011 | Jowai | Archery |
| 6:00 | FPSM | 39 | 26-05-2011 | Mowkyndeng | The Pear Story |
| 5:59 | MPSM | 31 | 26-05-2011 | Mowkyndeng | The Pear Story |
| 15:56 | FPAHM | 69 | 26-05-2011 | Mowkyndeng | Personal and local history |
| 1:41 | DR | 9 | 27-05-2011 | Mowkyndeng | Daloi-ship |
| 5:55 | KNI | 48 | 04-06-2011 | Jowai | Kiang Nangbah history |
| 6:06 | MPSRJ | 60 | 07-06-2011 | Jowai | The Pear Story |
| 38:28 | HPAHR | 232 | 27-05-2011 | Mowkyndeng | Personal and local history |
| 0:24 | SSMR | 3 | 27-05-2011 | Mowkyndeng | Meaning of three standing stones in Raliang |
| 59:38 | TACJ | 550 | 14-03-2012 | Jowai | Tour of Thaiwan Arts and Culture, explanation of Pnar artifacts |
| 8:54 | BPVM | 21 | 20-05-2012 | Jowai | Story of childhood |
| 7:30 | LHJ | 48 | 24-03-2012 | Jowai | History of Lathadlabot Presbyterian School and Church |
| 6:04 | LIJ | 32 | 24-03-2012 | Jowai | Introductions of school committee |
| 4:08 | LS1J | 24 | 24-03-2012 | Jowai | Near death experience |


| Length | Text | Sent. | Date | Location | Subject |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6:38 | LS2J | 40 | 24-03-2012 | Jowai | Story of recovering a ferry |
| 2:04 | LS3J | 17 | 24-03-2012 | Jowai | Near death experience |
| 28:13 | BMPJ | 92 | 21-05-2012 | Jowai | Biodiversity summit |
| 15:36 | BPDJ | 53 | 21-05-2012 | Jowai | Biodiversity summit |
| 18:09 | PP01CSE | 90 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Traditional story of creation |
| 7:02 | PP02SKF | 31 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Traditional story of the Soo Kpoh clans |
| 11:16 | PP03SKY | 41 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Traditional story of the Yawchibidi clan |
| 15:23 | PP04SKO | 57 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Traditional story of the origin of the Soo Kpoh clans |
| 18:52 | PP05KO | 51 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Traditional story of the origin of the Jaintia kings |
| 5:05 | PP06PK | 16 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Traditional story of the Pnar kingdom |
| 8:39 | PP07SNM | 20 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Traditional story of Sajar Nangli |
| 6:55 | PP08LC | 22 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Explanation of changes in words |


| Length | Text | Sent. | Date | Location | Subject |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6:25 | PP09MW | 30 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Explanation of the traditional market week |
| 6:35 | PP10PO | 16 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Explanation of the origin of the Pakyntein clan |
| 4:38 | PP11NC | 19 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Description of a naming ceremony |
| 6:24 | PP12BL | 28 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Explanation of the use of betel nut and paan leaf |
| 41:26 | PP13RS | 198 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Traditional story of the rooster and his role in the sun's return to earth |
| 22:53 | PP14MF | 108 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Explanation of the traditional marriage ceremony |
| 36:34 | PP15PI | 171 | 19-05-2012 | Jowai | Personal history |
| 10:09 | SI1 | 57 | 27-05-2012 | Sohmynting | Personal history |
| 13:44 | SI2 | 91 | 27-05-2012 | Sohmynting | Interview regarding local history |
| 13:54 | SI3 | 81 | 27-05-2012 | Sohmynting | Interview regarding local agriculture |
| 5:08 | SME | 40 | 23-04-2012 | Shangpung | Reason why Pnar are matrilineal |
| 3:39 | KP | 33 | 15-07-2013 | Jowai | Traditional story of Kwai, Pathi, Duma Sla |

Three retellings of The Pear Story (Chafe, 1980) were recorded, as well as three wordlists (4 hours total) - the wordlist recordings are not included in the totals noted here. Further, I worked with James Gruber (New Zealand Institute of Language, Brain and Behaviour, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand) to develop and carry out a psycholinguistic perception experiment to test syllable structure and perception of onset clusters in Pnar during June-July 2013. The recordings made in preparation for and during the experiment are also not included in the totals.

My local consultants were many and varied, ranging from small children to much older adults. My main consultants were men and women in their mid- to late- twenties who were available during the day to answer questions about texts and assist me with transcription and translation. These main consultants have been identified in the 'Acknowledgments' section, though there were many others; unfortunately I do not remember all the names of those who assisted me in one way or another. I have made many friends in and around Jowai, and was welcomed by the majority of Pnar people that I met. I would often ask friends questions about language, and I appreciate their bearing with me when I made mistakes or asked odd questions. Suffice it to say that I have done my best to do justice to the language, and any mistakes in my understanding and analysis are entirely my own.

## Chapter 2

## Phonology

The current chapter examines the phonemic sounds and phonological patterns that are used as the building blocks for Pnar words. Pnar has twentythree consonant phonemes and seven vowel phonemes, with restrictions based on where sounds occur in the syllable. The syllable has long been noted as an important functional element of many languages, within which phonotactic constraints are found (i.e. Whorf, 1940). The importance of the syllable in understanding the phonemes of Austroasiatic languages has been noted by various authors - for Bahnaric, Sidwell (2000: 5) states:

The phonemes of these languages cannot be discussed without first understanding the form of the phonological word. The word shape in these languages is restricted to a particular structural pattern, and within this pattern each structural position can only be filled from a unique inventory of sounds. These inventories only partially overlap with each other, so that simply presenting a list of the total possible phonemes does not do justice to the phonological system.

A similar case can be made for Pnar. In particular, the glottal stop, a significant phoneme, has variable realization in the onset of a syllable but clear realization in the coda. Further, dental-laminal stops are only clearly realized syllable-finally, and interact with vowels to form apparent diphthongs.

These facts suggest a departure in organizational structure of this chapter from similar chapters in other grammatical descriptions. Accordingly, syllable structure is briefly described first in $\S 2.1$. Phonemes are given in §2.2: consonants in $\S 2.2 .1$, vowels in $\S 2.2 .2$, and diphthongs in $\S 2.2 .3$. Phonotactics and the challenges Pnar raises to current phonological theory are discussed
in $\S 2.3$ and other syllable types are described in $\S 2.3 .3$. Finally, $\S 2.4$ gives an explanation of the orthography that is in some use by Pnar speakers and is used for the initial line of text in glossed examples throughout the rest of this work. For a more detailed analysis of acoustic properties of various sounds, readers are referred to Ring (2012d).

### 2.1 Syllable structure

The syllable structure of Pnar has significant bearing on the discussion of phonemes: sounds in Pnar can be considered allophones of the same phoneme when they occur in complementary distribution within the syllable. The framework used here follows earlier approaches (from Pike and Pike, 1947, among others, and neatly summarized in Blevins, 1995). In Pnar, onset and coda are optional, with the only obligatory requirement being a single [+syllabic] element in the nucleus; this is typically a vowel but can also be a sonorant. Pnar exhibits complex onset clusters that do not conform to the Sonority Sequencing Principle proposed by Clements (1990; 2009), ${ }^{1}$ which will be dealt with further in $\S 2.3 .2$.

## Linear Syllable Structure



Figure 2.1: Syllable structure
Minimally, syllables in Pnar can consist of a single nucleic vowel/diphthong or syllabic consonant: V or $\mathrm{C}[+$ syllabic]. If the nucleus of the syllable is V

[^13]an optional coda is permitted, but if it is C[ + syllabic] a coda consonant is not permitted, accounting not only for words like [e] 'give' but also the grammatical word [n] 'past referent'. Maximally, Pnar syllables can include a complex onset of two consonants, a diphthong nucleus, and a coda consonant: CCVC or CC[ia]C. Examples of possible syllables are given in Table 2.1, modified from Ring (2012d).

Pnar is similar to Standard Khasi (Rabel, 1961) in having very few restrictions regarding onset consonant clusters - clusters attested in my data are discussed in $\S 2.3 .1$ below. There is a restriction on coda consonants, in that final consonants tend to be unreleased: aspirated stops and fricatives are therefore generally not found in coda position and final consonant voicing (post-closure) is inconsistent, though it is present particularly in some borrowed words such as $d u d$ 'milk'.

## Syllable Template Phonemic English Gloss

| V | /i/ | "1Pl (we), 3SG.N" |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{C}_{\sigma}$ | /n/ | "REF" |
| $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{~V}$ | /le/ | "three" |
| $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{\sigma}$ | /pn/ | "CAUS" |
| $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{~V}$ | $/ \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}^{\text {a }}$ | "heavy" [diphthong] |
| V $\mathrm{C}_{3}$ | /ar/ | "two" |
| V $\mathrm{C}_{3}$ | /em/ | "have" |
| $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{~V}_{3}$ | /he?/ | "big/wide" |
| $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{VC} \mathrm{C}_{3}$ | /laj/ | "go" |
| $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{VC} \mathrm{C}_{3}$ | /dap/ | "be full" |
| $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \mathrm{~V}$ | /kba/ | "rice" (paddy) |
| $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \mathrm{~V} \mathrm{C}_{3}$ | /rk ${ }^{\text {haj }}$ / | "laugh" |
| $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \mathrm{~V} \mathrm{C}_{3}$ | /psej/ | "snake" |
| $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \mathrm{VC}_{3}$ | /k $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}$ an/ | "insect" [diphthong] |

Table 2.1: Possible Syllables in Pnar

A second kind of syllable, described as 'minor syllables' (i.e. Henderson, 1952, for Khmer) and related to the phenomenon of 'sesquisyllables' (Matisoff, 1973b) occurs in disyllabic forms. This will be discussed below in §2.3.3.

### 2.2 Phonemes

Pnar has twenty three consonants, seven vowels, and one diphthong. These phonemes can be seen in Table 2.2. Consonants have five places of articulation, and vowels have four possible heights.

| Consonants: | Bilabial |  | Alveolar |  | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Stops | p | b |  | d |  | k | $?$ |
| aspirated | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ |  | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }}$ |  |  | $\mathrm{k}^{\text {h }}$ |  |
| laminal-dental |  |  | t | d |  |  |  |
| Affricates |  |  |  |  | t9 3 |  |  |
| Nasals |  | m |  | n | л | ๆ |  |
| Fricatives |  |  | s |  |  |  | h |
| Liquids |  |  |  | 1, r |  |  |  |
| Approximants |  | w |  |  | j |  |  |
| Vowels: | front |  | ntral | back |  |  |  |
| close | i |  |  | u |  |  |  |
| close-mid | e |  |  | o |  |  |  |
| open-mid | $\varepsilon$ |  |  | $\bigcirc$ |  |  |  |
| open | ia |  | $\mathrm{a}^{*}$ |  | *[e] |  |  |

Table 2.2: Pnar phonemes

### 2.2.1 Consonants

The twenty-three Pnar consonants have five places of oral articulation and one laryngeal, and six manners of articulation. A voiced/voiceless contrast only holds for anterior and coronal stops, and aspiration is only evident on voiceless plosives. Notable here is that there is no voiced velar /g/, due to phonological restructuring, a feature shared by the majority of Khasian languages (Sidwell, 2011; Sidwell and Rau, 2014). There is a laminal/apical contrast in coronal stops that can be identified most clearly in syllable-final position as a result of diphthongization (which is obscured to some degree by orthography). ${ }^{2}$ Final stops tend to be unreleased: / $\mathrm{f} /$ and $/ \mathrm{b} /$ are realized,

[^14]respectively, as $[c]$ and $[\mp]$ in the syllable coda, and voicing on consonants is inconsistent syllable-finally.

### 2.2.1.1 Onset and coda contrasts

Most Pnar consonants contrast in both initial and final syllable position. Table 2.3 gives voice onset time (VOT) for stops and affricates in syllableinitial position from a select group of tokens.

|  | Speaker 1 |  | Speaker 2 |  |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | Neg. | Pos. | Neg. | Pos. |
| p |  | 7 |  | 9 |
| b | -129 | 8 | -88 | 3 |
| $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ |  | 66 |  | 45 |
| t |  | 5 |  | 12 |
| d | -103 | 9 | -69 | 7 |
| $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}$ |  | 69 |  | 48 |
| k |  | 13 |  | 26 |
| $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ |  | 81 |  | 66 |
| d | -137 | 44 | -69 | 53 |
| f |  | 82 |  | 54 |

Table 2.3: VOT in initial stops and affricates (ms)

The minimal pairs below (Table 2.4) illustrate phonemic contrasts for stops and affricates in syllable-initial position.

| $[\mathrm{pa}]$ | 'father' | $[\mathrm{ta}]$ | 'CLSF.WK' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\left[\mathrm{p}^{\text {ha }}\right]$ | '2SG.F.ACC' | $\left[\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{a}\right]$ | 'boulder' |
| $[\mathrm{ba}]^{3}$ | 'be great' | $[\mathrm{da}]$ | 'REAL, INST' |
| $[\mathrm{ka}]$ | '3sG.F.ACC' | $[$ tfa] | 'ALL, tea' |
| $\left[\mathrm{k}^{\text {ha }}\right]$ | 'give birth, wound' | $[$ daa] | 'cooked rice' |

Table 2.4: Minimal pairs: stops and affricates

Affricates have variable realization in my data, though they tend to have longer release or positive VOT than stops. These sounds are illustrated in the spectrograms in Figure 2.2.

[^15]

Figure 2.2: Spectrograms of affricates
The following near-minimal set (minimal for $/ \mathrm{m} /, / \mathrm{n} /$, and $/ \mathrm{n} /$, and near-minimal for $/ \mathrm{y} /$ ) illustrates the place-of-articulation contrasts for nasals (Table 2.5).

| [miaw] | 'cat' |
| :--- | :--- |
| [niaw] | 'count' |
| [niam] | 'wipe' |
| $[$ nía?] | 'be tired' |

Table 2.5: Minimal set: nasals

The following minimal set illustrates the contrast between liquids (trill and lateral), fricatives, and approximants (Table 2.6).

| $[\mathrm{rai}]$ | 'carry' | $[\mathrm{ha}$ | 'LOC' | $[\mathrm{wa}]$ | 'COMT, NMZ' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[\mathrm{la}]$ | 'if' | [sa] | 'only' | $[\mathrm{ja}]$ | 'BEN' |

Table 2.6: Minimal set: liquids, fricatives, approximants

It is worth noting here that $/ \mathrm{h} /$ also occurs as the second member of an onset cluster following voiced consonants, as in /bha/ 'good', a clear loan from Bangla /bha:la/, which has voiced aspirates. However, words such as these are nearly always realized in Pnar with voicing between the initial consonant and the $/ \mathrm{h} /$ (as in [ $\mathrm{b}^{\circ} \mathrm{ha}$ ) and when the word is abbreviated in fast speech the first consonant can be dropped completely (as in bay 'ha /ban (b)ha/ "very tasty"), indicating that voiced aspirates are not phonemic in Pnar.

Coda contrasts are illustrated by the following set of forms (Table 2.7). There are several observations to be made regarding this table, and the items are numbered to aid comparison. First, there is a general tendency for checked closure in codas, so the fricative $/ \mathrm{h} /$ does not occur in the coda, and the affricates $/ \mathrm{g} /$ and $/ \mathrm{d} /$ are neutralized to $/ \mathrm{J} /$ as in form 11 . This sound only follows the vowel /e/ in my data set. Final /b/ and /d/ (2 and 8) are generally realized after long vowels and with variable voicing; there are multiple minimal pairs with these sounds and their voiceless counterparts in coda position in my data. There are also many minimal sets in my data showing the laminal-dental coda contrast in coronals (7-10), which are discussed further below in $\S 2.2 .1 .2$. Nasals also show a clear contrast in the coda (14-17), though it should be pointed out that $/ \mathrm{n} /$ follows all vowels apart from $/ \mathrm{o} /$ and $/ \mathrm{o} / .^{4}$ Finally, the phonemes $/ \mathrm{l} /$ and $/ \mathrm{s} /$ only occur in the coda of borrowed words in my data.


Table 2.7: Consonant coda contrasts

### 2.2.1.2 Laminal-dental stops

The majority of phonemic consonants show contrast with each other when they occur as the single constituent of the syllable onset. However, the glottal stop [?] and the laminal-dental stops are most clearly constrastive in the syllable coda. Laminal-dental sounds in the coda cause formant lowering of the preceding vowel, which is realized as a diphthong-like glide. Minimal pairs of $/ \mathrm{t} /$ and $/ \mathrm{d} /$ with $/ \mathrm{t} /$ and $/ \mathrm{d} /$ are given in Table 2.8, and spectrograms of these sounds are shown in Figure 2.3. Here it can also be seen that vowel length is an indication of final voicing, i.e. voiced finals are preceded by a vowel approximately 1.5 times the length of vowels preceding the voiceless final in the minimal set below. Voicing is, however, inconsistent on coda consonants, being a speaker-dependent phenomenon (see Footnote 5 and discussion below).

[^16]\[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { [dat] 'hit' [bo:d] 'follow' }
\end{aligned}
$$
\]

Table 2.8: Minimal pairs for finals $/ \mathrm{t} /$ and $/ \mathrm{t} /, / \mathrm{d} /$ and $/ \mathrm{d} /$


Figure 2.3: Spectrograms of $/ \mathrm{t} /$ and $/ \mathrm{t} /$


Figure 2.4: Spectrograms of /d/ and /d/
As noted in Footnote 2 above, initial contrasts of these sounds are much more difficult to determine, and perhaps palatographic study would reveal a clear contrast.

### 2.2.1.3 Glottal stop

In monosyllables consisting of a single vowel or beginning with a vocalic element, a glottal stop can often be discerned in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position, where it is in-
visible to most Pnar speakers and only contrasts with $\varnothing$ in a few disyllabic words (such as $m a .{ }^{\text { }} a j$ 'perhaps, uncertain') where it separates two vowels of the same height/quality, and arguably occurs at the juncture of two grammatical words ( $m a$ 'uncle, Q.PART' $+a j$ 'potential'). Since the glottal stop does not contrast with zero onset in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position, it is viewed as a prosodic feature, predictable from the natural result of the glottis opening in preparation for sound production, or as marking a syllable boundary between two vowels.

It can be observed in the spectrograms in Figure 2.5 below that / $\mathrm{T} /$ has varied realization in the onset of a Pnar syllable, though consistent realization in the coda. Here a very slight glottal stop is evident as an initial element in the production of $/ \mathrm{a}$ / (on the left), but a different word by the same speaker, /iP/ (on the right), shows no initial glottal. A second recording of /ii/ by the same speaker does have a glottal element initially, suggesting that it is an acceptable part of production but simply not salient in the onset for native speakers. Adding to evidence that it is simply a prosodic/production feature, the glottal stop has variable realizations in word-medial positions in words such as /pn-emkam/ 'use', /ka=im-lay/ 'life together', and even in phrases such as /wa n $\varepsilon \mathrm{m}$ эn/ '(thing) that was said'.

\[

\]

Table 2.9: Glottal contrasts


Figure 2.5: Spectrograms of initial and final / $\mathrm{P} /$

Morphophonology provides further evidence regarding the existence of the glottal stop. In prefixation or procliticization the glottal stop has inconsistent realization before syllables consisting of a single vocalic element. Grammatical words without codas often combine prosodically with following words that lack phonemic consonant onsets, forming diphthongs. This is the case in example ( 1 a ), where the word [' $\mathrm{i}=\mathrm{por}$ ] 'time' causes height assimilation of the previous vowel when combined with the morpheme [ha] 'at, LOC'.
(1) (a) ha $+{ }^{\mathbf{T}} \mathrm{i}=$ por $\rightarrow$ hei $=$ por

LOC $+\mathrm{N}=$ time
'at' + 'the time'
(b) ha + ki=pər $\rightarrow$ ha ki=prr

LOC + PL=time
'at' + 'the times'
In example (1b), it can be seen that vowel height assimilation does not occur across word or clitic boundaries when words without codas are followed by syllables with phonemic consonant onsets, such that the vowel of [ki] does not influence the realization of [ha] in $h a k i=p o r$ 'at/in those times'. This suggests that either the glottal stop is not a fully phonemic consonant or that it simply has unique and limited distribution within the syllable, perhaps as a prosodic gesture when word-initial. The glottal stop does occur phonemically as the second constituent of an onset cluster and as the coda of a syllable. It appears to be in complementary distribution with [h], which occurs as the single consonant of an onset or in onset clusters following voiced stops. Further discussion of allophonic variation and phonotactics are given below in §2.3.

### 2.2.2 Vowels

|  | front | central | back |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| close | i | $[\mathrm{I}]$ | $[\mathrm{i}]$ | u |  |
| close-mid | e |  | $[\partial]$ | o |  |
| open-mid | $\varepsilon$ | $[\Lambda]$ | 0 |  |  |
| open |  | $\mathrm{a}^{*}$ |  | $*[\mathrm{e}]$ |  |

Table 2.10: Pnar vowels

There are seven phonemic vowels in Pnar (reproduced here in Table 2.10), with a clear distinction in stressed syllables (monosyllables or final syllables) between close and open positions, as well as front and back. Mid vowels show much more limited distribution, rarely occurring syllable-finally or syllable-initially, whereas close and open vowels often occur both syllableinitially and syllable-finally. Phonetic central vowels that occur between mid and close positions $[\mathrm{i}],[\exists]$, $[\mathrm{I}]$, and $[\Lambda]$, seem to be realizations of other vowels or of transitional vocoids. These vowels are not considered to be phonemic. A minimal set of words illustrating contrasts are given in Table 2.11.

| 1. $[\mathrm{ni}]$ | $/ \mathrm{ni} /$ | 'PROX' | 5. [no] | $/ \mathrm{no} /$ | 'okay, confirmation' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2. [ne] | $/ \mathrm{ne} /$ | 'or' | 6. [nu] | $/ \mathrm{nu} /$ | 'which' |
| 3. [nc] | $/ \mathrm{n} \varepsilon /$ | 'D.TAG' | 7. $[\mathrm{mo}]$ | $/ \mathrm{mo} /$ | 'stone' |
| 4. [na] | $/ \mathrm{na} /$ | 'ABL' |  |  |  |

Table 2.11: Vowel near-minimal set

Length is found inconsistently on Pnar vowels and seems to be conditioned by environment to a degree. Native speakers describe some vowels as 'long' and some as 'short', but in most cases this terminology seemed to confuse the phonetic distinction of height with one of length (high vowels were always considered by speakers to be 'longer' than low vowels). Length was initially observed to be contrastive on [o], but repeated tests of possible minimal pairs with speakers in Jowai demonstrated that length is only a significant factor for this vowel in differentiating it from [u] and [o]. It seems that phonetic length contrasts for this vowel were simply due to emphasis on the part of the speaker, though contrasts in vowel length do seem to indicate final consonant voicing for native speakers, as mentioned briefly above in $\S 2.2 .1 .2 .{ }^{5}$ Orthographic conventions confuse the issue, as the only means of differentiating between $/ \mathrm{o} /$ and $/ \mathrm{o} /$ using the Khasi alphabet is to spell the former with the digraph oo and the latter with the single character $o$. As discussed briefly above, length on vowels seems to allow Pnar speakers to distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops in closed syllables. Vowels in open syllables are always long.

Plotting vowel formants for transcribed vowels from 700 words (Ring, 2012d) resulted in the following plot (Figure 2.6). It can be seen that each

[^17]vowel maintains its own space to a large degree, though there is some overlap in formant realization. When the formants of these overlapping vowels were measured (for $/ \mathrm{u} /$ and $/ \mathrm{o} /$, for example, and /e/ and /i/) F3 was found to correlate to pitch height, though using a Bark transformation did not vary the plot significantly. This may simply point to an increase of perceptual salience found between sets of high vowels as opposed to between high and low vowels (Di Benedetto, 1989; Hoemeke and Diehl, 1994). That is, the change in an F1 value between $200-500 \mathrm{~Hz}$ is more significant to a listener than a corresponding change in F1 between $500-1000 \mathrm{~Hz}$. The phonetic vowels [i], $[ə]$, and $[\Lambda]$ were seen to overlap almost completely. The status of these sounds, along with $[\mathrm{I}]$, are discussed below.


Figure 2.6: Pnar vowel plot

## Status of [i], [ə], [r], and [ $\Lambda$ ]

The sounds [i] and [ə] can be heard as preceding syllabic consonants in the minor syllables described above, where they are signified by the orthographic convention "y". They can also be heard to some degree in onset consonant clusters (see Table 2.21 in §2.3.1) or immediately following release of a voiced consonant, though when they occur in these positions their presence is not recognized by Pnar speakers. In the spectrogram, voicing and formants associated with vowels are only evident in these onset clusters when voicing
is a feature of one of the constituents. Table 2.12 illustrates this principle at work.

| $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ | , | $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ | Ex | Gl |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -voice] | NO | [-voice] | tpaj] | ashe |
| [-voice] | YES | [+voice] | [ ${ }^{\text {a }} \mathrm{d} \supset \mathrm{y}$ ] | ail |
| oice] | YES | [-voice] | [ $b{ }^{\text {ha }}$ ] |  |
| voice] | YES | [+voice] | [ ${ }^{\text {² }}$ laj] |  |

Table 2.12: Onset Cluster Voicing

This principle of consonant clusters seems related more closely to production processes than to phonemic inventory. The sounds [i] and $[ə]$ are likely realizations of voicing within the cluster, and the orthographic convention " y " which occurs before nasal/trill/lateral sounds in minor syllables is more likely to be a syllabification marker than representation of a separate vowel phoneme. An experiment conducted by Ring and Gruber (2014, forthcoming) confirmed that this vowel has more variable formants and is extremely shorter than phonemic vowels in unstressed or stressed syllables. A game was also developed to test the intuitions of Pnar speakers regarding this intrusive vowel. We discovered that this vowel has no syllabic value, but is part of well-formed production of consonant clusters - when it was missing from clusters with one voiced member (expected), Pnar speakers did not react, but when the vowel was present in clusters without a voiced member (unexpected), Pnar speakers gave varying responses.

Vowel allophones The sounds [ I$]$ and $[\Lambda]$ are realizations of phonemic /i/ and $/ \mathrm{a} /$, respectively. The sound $[\mathrm{I}]$ only occurs in closed syllables when the coda is an anterior consonant. The sound [ $\Lambda$ ] only occurs in unstressed syllables. Allophonic rules for these sounds are given below in Table 2.13.

```
\(/ \mathrm{i} / \rightarrow[\mathrm{I}] /\) _ [anterior]
    [i] / elsewhere
    /i/ realized as [I] before anterior consonants
\(/ \mathrm{a} / \rightarrow[\Lambda] / \mathrm{C}_{-} \mathrm{C}\) [unstressed]
        [a] / elsewhere
            /a/ realized as [ \(\Lambda\) ] in unstressed syllables (as in fast speech)
```

Table 2.13: Allophonic Vowel Realizations

The first rule in Table 2.13 is illustrated by the transcriptions in Table
2.14, where /i/ takes a different form depending on the coda consonant.


Table 2.14: Phonetic transcriptions of /i/
Burling (2004) reports a similar pattern for Mandi (Garo), a neighboring Tibeto-Burman language, where /i/ is realised as $[\mathrm{I}]$ in closed syllables. Burling reports /e/ to be realised as $[\varepsilon]$ in closed syllables, which also occurs among Pnar speakers in certain contexts, raising the question of whether $[\varepsilon]$ can be considered an allophone of /e/. Other vowels show slight variation, with occasional vowel harmony across syllables causing mispronunciation of a word, for which a speaker may then be teased.

Vowels can also change height or location based on their environment. Phonemic $/ \mathrm{e} /$ and $/ \varepsilon /, / \mathrm{u} /$ and $/ \mathrm{o} /$, are particular pairs of sounds that can often be mistaken for each other. In each case, however, there are clear minimal pairs (such as $e$ ? 'leave' and $\varepsilon$ ? 'difficult', $k^{h} u$ 'hang' and $k^{h} o$ 'rice') to show that each vowel has its own unique target. The presence of clear minimal pairs for $/ \mathrm{e} /$ and $/ \varepsilon /$ in Pnar suggests that the confusion between the two vowels may be due to the lack of a character to represent $/ \varepsilon /$ in the current orthography. Pnar scholars are trying to address this by introducing the character ' $æ$ ' to represent the $/ \varepsilon /$ sound. A similar issue regarding /u/ and $/ 0 /$ seems to have been resolved by using orthographic ' $u$ ' and 'oo'. It may be that sounds such as $[\varepsilon]$ and $[o]$ have a low enough functional load for Pnar speakers that any variation in pronunciation or spelling can be differentiated through context.

The last rule in Table 2.13 is illustrated by the transcriptions in Table 2.15 , of words which Pnar speakers recognize as having the same vowel in both syllables. This was the case when the speakers slowed their speech. In fast speech, however, the vowel was heard as a mid vowel rather than an open vowel. These transcriptions were corroborated by formant data.

It seems that the distinction for phonemes $/ \mathrm{i} /$ and $/ \mathrm{a} /$ with their allophones $[\mathrm{I}]$ and $[\Lambda]$ is a tense/lax distinction. With regard to $/ \mathrm{a} /$, it is clear that stress plays a role in the different vowel qualities, where final syllables tend to be stressed, and thus their vowels are realized as [a]. This also occurs in diphthongization, where $/ \mathrm{a} /$ is realized as $[\Lambda]$ (or potentially $[\partial],[\varepsilon]$ ) when

```
[sa.la?] / [sa.la?] 'potato'
[j^.lii] / [ja.li`] 'smooth'
    [sa?] 'choke, be stale'
```

Table 2.15: Transcriptions of /a/
it occurs as the less-syllabic constituent of a diphthong. Further evidence for a tense/lax distinction in Pnar vowels is that [u] covers such a large range in the formant plot above, suggesting that a more accurate transcription for some vowels represented by $[\mathrm{u}]$ is $[v]$. It may be that there is articulatory undershoot for unstressed syllables with normal vowels as the speaker psychologically prepares to hit the vowel target on the stressed syllable, which would mean that each of the primary vowels in Pnar would have an unstressed or lax counterpart. With /i/, however, articulatory movement in anticipation of the following anterior sound seems to be a greater constraint on vowel realization than can be completely accounted for by a tense/lax distinction.

### 2.2.3 Diphthongs

There is a single diphthong in Pnar. Phonetically, vowel glides are heard in the transitions from/to adjacent palatal and laminal consonants, and orthographically these are indicated with a letter $i$, e.g. /den/ [dejn] 'tree' is written deiñ, /sno?/ [sn1 ${ }^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{o}$ ] 'hair' is written sñiooh, /dat/ [da $\left.{ }^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{t}\right]$ 'bite' is written dait and so forth. Phonemically, however only one diphthong exists in closed syllables, namely /ia/ (variously realised as [ia, is, i $\varepsilon]$ ), and even this seems ambiguous in forms such as $/ k^{\mathrm{h}}$ nian/ ([ $k^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{j}^{\mathrm{j}}$ ay] or $\left[\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}\right.$ nian $]$ ) 'insect'. ${ }^{6}$

The orthographic conventions in open and closed syllables and their corresponding phonetic/phonemic realizations are summarized in Table 2.16, with (1) being the only actual phonemic diphthong. Realization is influenced by presence of a coda, and here it can be seen that orthographic conventions

[^18]treat each vocalic constituent as a separate vowel, which could be based on formant patterns. The only somewhat problematic words for this analysis are those which can be viewed as ending in /i/ in open syllables (5, 6, 8 in the table below). Words like bej, daj, and roj are traditionally viewed as open syllables. An analysis which posits approximants, however, is more in keeping with historical vowel restructuring processes and reconstructions of Proto Khasian and Proto Austroasiatic (Sidwell, 2011).

|  |  | Open Syllable |  | Closed Syllable |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Orth. | Phonemic | Phonetic Gloss | Phonetic Gloss |  |  |


| 1. ia | /ia/ | [bia] | 'marry' | [sPînr] | 'chicken' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. ie | /ia/ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |  | [bnięt] | 'tusk' |
| 3. io | / $\mathrm{j}_{0} /$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |  |  | 'rough' |
| 4. ioo | / $\mathrm{j}_{\mathrm{O}} /$ | n/a |  | [sji ${ }^{\text {jop] }}$ | 'hair' |
| 5. ei | $/ \mathrm{e}^{\mathrm{j}}$ | [bej] | 'mother' | [dej n ] | 'tree, wood' |
| 6. ai | $/ \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{j}} /$ | [daj] | 'sell' | [da ${ }^{\text {j }}$ ] | 'bite' |
| 7. ui | $/ \mathrm{u}^{\mathrm{j}} /$ | n/a |  | [ksu ${ }^{\text {d }}$ ] | 'evil' |
| 8. oi | $/ \mathrm{o}^{\mathrm{j}} /$ | [roj] | 'crawl' | [ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{j}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{d}$ ] | 'pure, clean' |

Table 2.16: Pnar Diphthongs
In relation to nearby languages, Grignard (1992 [1922]), states that certain vowels and opening diphthongs in Khasi correspond to closing diphthongs in Pnar, ${ }^{7}$ and reports the same number of diphthongs for Pnar as written by speakers, revealing that the orthographic convention is one of longstanding historical usage, and not clearly based on linguistic analysis (see, for example, discussion of Khasi orthography in Henderson, 1991). Daladier (2011) does not report diphthongs for War, spoken south of Pnar, though she does report nasalization of vowels and palatalization, as well as possible phonemic length distinctions.

### 2.2.4 Consonant allophones and borrowings

Some phonemic consonants are realized differently depending on their context, and borrowed sounds are more common in younger people's speech. Alveolar fricative [ $\int$ ] exists in speech, as does alveolar approximant [ $[x]$, though these don't occur consistently enough to warrant careful description here.

[^19]The former is recognized by Pnar speakers as being a Khasi sound that is used in place of $/ \mathrm{f} /$. Since Khasi is a neighboring related language and is used as the language of instruction in primary school, Pnar speakers grow up recognizing and sometimes producing the fricative. The alveolar approximant occasionally occurs as a realization of $/ \mathrm{r} /$, though very infrequently. This may be a factor of fast speech or articulatory undershoot. Other sounds that occur in borrowed words are $[\mathrm{f}],[\mathrm{v}],[\mathrm{z}]$, and $[\mathrm{g}]$, though for older speakers $[\mathrm{f}]$ is often realized as $/ \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} / \mathrm{l}[\mathrm{v}]$ as $/ \mathrm{b} /,[\mathrm{z}]$ as $/ \mathrm{s} /$ or $/ \mathrm{ts} /$, and $[\mathrm{g}]$ as $/ \mathrm{k} /$ or $/ \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} /$.

The phonemes / $\mathrm{t} /$ and $/ \mathrm{d} /$ have been reported elsewhere as voiceless and voiced palatal stops /c/ and /于/ (Bareh, 1977; Daladier, 2011; Choudhary, 2004; Grierson, 1904; Koshy, 2009) but in Jowai-Pnar their realisation as stops only occurs in the coda of a syllable, ${ }^{8}$ though this can be difficult to perceive, based as it is on final tongue position. Acoustic analysis reveals that in onset positions they are affricates, as shown in Table 2.3 above regarding VOT. Spectrograms of the minimal pair /tit/ "mushroom", and / t it/ "hot" (phonetically [ trt$]$ and $[\mathrm{f} \mathrm{ft}]$ ) are included here for reference (Figure 2.7). Were $/ \mathrm{f} /$ truly the palatal stop $/ \mathrm{c} /$ we would expect it to have similar VOT duration to other voiceless stops in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position. Spectrograms of these words using the same time frame show a difference in duration between $[\mathrm{t}]$ and $[\mathrm{t}]$, where over the same time span of 328 ms , $[\mathrm{t}]$ has a duration of 18 ms , and $[\mathrm{t}]$ has a duration of 100 ms , more than five times longer than $[\mathrm{t}]$. The voiced affricate $/ \mathrm{d} /$ patterns similarly with $/ \mathrm{d} /$ to $/ \mathrm{f} /$ and $/ \mathrm{t} /$.

[^20]

Figure 2.7: Sound Diagrams of /tit/"beans" and / fit/ "hit"

The phonemes $/ \mathrm{c} /$ and $/ \mathrm{J} /$ are commonly described as being part of phoneme inventories by Austroasiatic linguists, though it is not always clear from descriptions of other Austroasiatic languages whether there is an affricated manner of articulation for these sounds. It is possible that in JowaiPnar (at least among my consultants) the sound has undergone lenition to an affricate, with length in $\mathrm{C}_{3}$ position potentially governed by a tendency for coda consonants to be unreleased. A rule governing realization of the affricates is given in Table 2.17 below.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { C[affricate] } \rightarrow & \text { C[unreleased]/ / }-\# \\
& / \mathscr{\dagger} / \text { and } / d / \text { realized as }[\text { c] or [ }[J \text { word-finally }
\end{aligned}
$$

Table 2.17: Consonant Allophonic Realizations

## Consonant assimilation and gemination

In multi-syllable words, coda consonants in non-final syllables often assimilate the place of articulation of an initial consonant in the immediately following syllable. This is most common in nasals/liquids that occur as rhyme (syllabic) elements of initial syllables, so that e.g., the grammatical morpheme /pn-/ 'CAUS' is variably realized as allomorphs [pl-, pr-, pp-] depending on whether the following syllable begins with a liquid, alveolar, and velar, respectively. ${ }^{9}$

[^21]| Morph | Gloss | Morph | Gloss | Word | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /pn-/ | 'CAUS' | /lan/ | 'be together' | [pllay], [pl:ay] | 'gather' |
| /pn-/ | 'CAUS' | /tap/ | 'suffer, allow' | [prtfa?] | 'oppose' |
| /pn-/ | 'CAUS' | /k $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{j}^{\text {/ }}$ | 'get up' | [pyk $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{j}$ ] | 'pick up' |
| /kam/ | 'want, like, work' | /mon/ | 'will' | [kam:on] | 'how' |
| /kat/ | 'as, like' | /te/ | 'NVIS' | [kat: $ع$ ] | 'like that' |

Table 2.18: Consonant assimilation and gemination

These elements often form geminate consonants, which in Pnar are realized as lengthened consonants with variable stress patterns. The variable stress patterns are due to the occurrence of both consonants at the edges of the syllables (coda of one syllable, onset of the following); stress change is realized as increasing intensity from the center of the consonant toward the following syllable peak. This is also the case for a select group of words such as /kam:on/ 'how', in which the coda of the grammatical word / kam/ 'want, like, work' forms a geminate with the onset of /mon/ 'will'. Examples of these processes are given in Table 2.18.

### 2.3 Phonotactics and phonation

The phonotactic realizations of Pnar consonant phonemes in syllables are summarized in Table 2.19. Attested realizations in my data are marked by a ' + ' and unattested realizations are left blank. Variable attestations are marked by '/'. Consonant combinations in complex onsets are described below in Table 2.21, following a discussion of feature rules in Pnar.

### 2.3.1 Feature Rules

Pnar sounds can be described in terms of feature rules, as in Figure 2.8 (see Chomsky and Halle, 1968, also Carr, 1993), though this kind of description is of limited utility for Pnar, as will be seen below. The purpose of using distinctive features to describe consonants and vowels is to create rules with greater explanatory power regarding what exactly is happening in a native speaker's production of sounds. The binary features are marked as ' + ' if positive or left blank if negative.

|  | onset | onset | nuc. | coda |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | C 1 | C 2 | V | C 3 |
| p | + | + |  | + |
| $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ | + |  |  |  |
| b | + | + |  | + |
| t | + | + |  | + |
| d | + | + |  | + |
| t | $/$ |  |  | + |
| d | $/$ |  |  | + |
| $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}$ | + | + |  |  |
| f | + | + |  |  |
| d | + | + |  |  |
| f |  |  |  | + |
| l | + | + |  | + |
| r | + | + |  | + |
| m | + | + |  | + |
| n | + | + |  | + |
| n | + | + |  | + |
| y | + | + |  | + |
| w | + | + |  | + |
| j | + | + |  | + |

Table 2.19: Pnar consonant phonotactics

|  | p | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ | b | t | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }}$ | d | k | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ | ? | tf | 0 | m | n | n | ๆ | r | 1 | s | h | w | j |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| cons | + | + | + | $+$ | + | + | $+$ | + | + | $+$ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| syllabic voice cont |  |  | + |  |  | + |  |  |  |  | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| del rel |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| lateral <br> nasal |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + | + | + | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| anterior |  |  | + | + | + | + |  |  |  | + | + | $+$ | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| coronal |  |  |  | $+$ | + | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  | + | + | + |  |  | + |
| dorsal |  |  |  |  |  |  | + | $+$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| labial | + | $+$ | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  |
| strident |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + | + |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  |  |  |
| sonorant |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $+$ | + | + | + | $+$ | + |  |  | + | $+$ |
| approx |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | + |  |  | + | + |
| spread |  | + |  |  | + |  |  | + |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Figure 2.8: Pnar Consonant Features

Using features, the Pnar syllable can also be illustrated by Table 2.20, though this has its difficulties. For elucidation of the difficulties, in the
table the actual possible constituents for each slot or node $\left(\mathrm{C}_{1}, \mathrm{C}_{2}, \mathrm{~V}, \mathrm{C}_{3}\right)$ are given in the first set of brackets, and an attempt to combine them in terms of features is given in the second set of brackets.

```
Maximal Template: \(\left(\mathrm{C}_{1}\right)\left(\mathrm{C}_{2}\right) \mathrm{V}\left(\mathrm{C}_{3}\right)\)
where \(\mathrm{C}_{1}=/ \mathrm{p}, \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}, \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}, \mathrm{d}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}, \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}, \mathrm{P}, \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{l}, \mathrm{s}, \mathrm{h}, \mathrm{w}, \mathrm{j} /\)
    [-syllabic, +cons]
    \(\mathrm{C}_{2} \quad=\quad / \mathrm{p}, \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}, \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}, \mathrm{P}, \mathrm{c}, \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{g}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{l}, \mathrm{s}, \mathrm{w} /\)
    [-syllabic, +cons]
    \(\mathrm{V} \quad=\quad / \mathrm{i}, \mathrm{e}, \varepsilon, \mathrm{u}, \mathrm{o}, \mathrm{\jmath}, \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{ia} /\)
    [ + syllabic]
    \(\mathrm{C}_{3}=[\mathrm{p}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{d}, \mathrm{P}, \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{l}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{w}, \mathrm{j}]\)
    [+cons, -spread, \(\pm\) syllabic]
```


## Table 2.20: Maximal Syllable Structure with Features

The table demonstrates that distinctive feature rules for consonants in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ position are not particularly explanatory. In $\mathrm{C}_{3}$ position, using the features [+cons, -spread] seems to be the only way to unite the collection of consonants that can occur (including the feature [ $\pm$ syllabic] allows for this model to incorporate the minor syllables identified above).

While it is difficult to find unifying features for each place node, there is some evidence from phonotactic analysis that not all consonants can follow each other in onset clusters. Table 2.21 shows the attested consonant clusters in the onset of a Pnar syllable. Those sequences which are the most highly marked in terms of sonority are in bold typeface and are illustrated in the following section with spectrograms.

Consonant clusters in onsets of related languages may bring light to this issue. Specifically, Rabel (1961) describes Khasi as having consonant clusters in syllable onsets whose order does not seem to be constrained by sonority, suggesting that this is a characteristic of Khasian languages. Henderson (1976a) notes that in Khasi there is a restriction on homorganic clusters such that members of a cluster cannot be from the same place of articulation. This does not seem to be the case in Pnar, as the word $t d \varepsilon m$ 'smoke' illustrates, though the two consonants of the $t d$ - cluster may in fact have a laminal/alveolar contrast that I have not identified. Interestingly, in my data only the bilabial nasal occurs as the first member of a cluster.


Table 2.21: Attested Pnar onset clusters

[^22]
### 2.3.2 Sonority Sequencing

A large number of words in my data show complex syllable onsets that are marked in terms of the Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP; Clements, 1990), which claims a cross-linguistic tendency for the preference of onsets that maximally rise in sonority as they approach the nucleus of the syllable. A typical sonority sequence in the order of least sonorous to most sonorous is: "plosive $>$ affricate $>$ fricative $>$ liquid $>$ nasal $>$ glide $>$ vowel". Voiced versions of each manner of articulation are generally viewed as more sonorant than the voiceless counterparts. The English word "stop" does not follow this principle, and many words in both Pnar and Khasi also do not conform to the SSP (see Rabel, 1961; Henderson, 1976a for further detail on Khasi initial clusters).

The first example in Table 2.22 illustrates the maximal syllable in Pnar. This example is allowed by the SSP since nasals are considered more sonorous than plosives. The final two examples in the table are problematic for the SSP, however, since $[\mathrm{r}]$ as a voiced trill is more sonorous than $\left[\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}\right]$, a voiceless plosive, or [d], a voiced plosive.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { /k } \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h} i a n} / & \text { 'insect' } \\
/ \mathrm{rk}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{aj} / & \text { 'laugh' } \\
\text { /rday/ } & \text { 'neck' }
\end{array}
$$

Table 2.22: Sample Pnar onset clusters

When viewed in the spectograph (Figure 2.9) there is slight evidence of a vowel between $[\mathrm{r}]$ and the following constituent, as noted above in Table 2.12, where a short central vowel can occur as a transitional element between consonants in a cluster, provided $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ or $\mathrm{C}_{2}$ is voiced. Due to the length of /r/ and the necessity to voice this sound before the airflow is interrupted, it is difficult to know whether the visible formants are associated with a separate vowel or with the voiced trill $[\mathrm{r}]$.

The highly marked sequences from Table 2.21 above can be seen in the words / f bbot/ 'scratch', / tfdit/ 'pinch', / dkh t t/ 'member', and /lier/ 'wind' in Figures 2.10-2.11.


Figure 2.9: Sound Diagrams of / $\mathrm{rk}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{aj} /$ and /rday/


Figure 2.10: / tgbot/ 'scratch' and / tydit/ 'pinch'


Figure 2.11: / dk ${ }^{\text {h }}$ गt/ 'member' and /lier/ 'wind'

In the examples where voiced /b/ or /d/ occurs as the second constituent of the onset, negative VOT is clearly visible. This is not the case with the $/ \mathrm{d} /$ that occurs as the onset of $/ \mathrm{dk}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{t}$ / in the spectrogram above. This is likely a factor of recording or lower volume on the part of the speaker. In the recordings of /lier/ the glottal stop was evident as a brief tightening or 'hitching' of the vocal folds and accompaniment of creak on the following vowel.

### 2.3.3 Minor Syllables

There is a second kind of syllable in Pnar, where a nasal/trill/lateral occurs in a nucleic position, carrying the main weight of the first syllable in a disyllabic word. This kind of syllable is similar to the "minor syllable" type reported for Khmer (Henderson, 1952) in which vowels are not realized clearly as syllable nuclei. Several words of this type are given below in examples (2-5).
(2) kynde
(3) pynhap
(4) $\begin{aligned} & \text { kylli } \\ & \text { kl..li } \\ & \\ & \text { ask } \\ & \\ & \text { 'ask' }\end{aligned}$
(5) $\begin{aligned} & \text { pyrthai } \\ & \text { pr. } t^{h} \text { aj } \\ & \text { earth } \\ & \text { 'earth }\end{aligned}$

There are two competing explanations for the phenomenon of syllabification of nasal/trill/lateral sounds (called sonants in Rabel, 1961), the first being that a historical vowel is influencing the realization of the coda, combining with the coda consonant to form a nucleic unit in preparation for the
following syllable, which is stressed. The alternate analysis is that the syllabic consonant is a separate constituent which serves as a vocalic element in certain contexts. The first analysis patterns more closely with minor-syllable analyses of Khmeric languages, whereas the second is closer to analyses such as for Bruu (Thongkum, 1979) which recognizes syllabic nasals.

Minor-major syllable pairs are the default realization of disyllabic words in Pnar. The first syllable of a disyllabic word tends to be shorter and less intense than the final syllable. Both length and intensity are identifiers of stress in Pnar, and these factors influence the phonetic realization of vowels. Vowels in stressed (final) syllables are longer and have clearer formant patterns than those in unstresssed (non-final) syllables where consonants are more likely to influence the realization of sounds.

While vowels can occur as the sole constituent of the syllable, Pnar syllables prefer consonant onsets. In disyllabic or multisyllabic words, therefore, CVCV is most often syllabified as $\mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{~V}_{1} \cdot \mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{~V}_{1}$, and in monosyllables consisting of a single vowel or beginning with a vocalic element a glottal stop can often (but not always) be discerned in $\mathrm{C}_{1}$ position, where it is invisible to most Pnar speakers, as mentioned previously in §2.2.1.3.

## Sesquisyllables

In studies of Austroasiatic languages, the term 'minor syllable' is generally used for an unstressed syllable containing limited vowel and consonantal distinctions in comparison to major or 'default' syllables in a language. The notion of minor and major syllables is closely connected to the phenomenon of 'sequisyllables', or words formed of iambic feet of minor-major syllable pairings. The term 'sesquisyllable' has been widely used to describe words of this shape in the languages of Southeast Asia since at least the 1970s (i.e. Matisoff, 1973b, 1989; Thomas, 1980; Thongkum, 1979). The Latin prefix "sesqui-" means one-and-a-half, thus a sesquisyllabic word is regarded as containing one half syllable and one full syllable. In practice, the term is applied in cases where a significant subset of a language's lexicon is in some way "intermediate between monosyllabic and disyllabic" (Thomas, 1992: 206).

For some researchers the term seems to cover both words with complex onset clusters and words with an unstressed 'pre-syllable' or 'minor syllable', as described for Khmer by Henderson (1952), though this is somewhat problematic. Southeast Asian languages cited as having syllables of this type in the literature are Khmer (since Henderson, 1952; Huffman, 1972),

Burmese (Green, 2005), Moken (Pittayaporn, 2005), and Bruu (Thongkum, 1979) as well as a large number of Tibeto-Burman language of Nagaland and of the western SE Asia region. Bradley (1980) proposed it to be the result of substrate influence from Mon. The term has even been used to describe some sequences of sounds in English (Lavoie and Cohn, 1999) and seems to apply to languages outside of southeast Asia. However, as a pervasive trait of the lexicon, it is generally cited as an areal feature specific to the SE Asia context.

Sesquisyllables provide evidence for re-syllabification in Asian languages (see, for example Matisoff, 1973b; Ferlus, 1990; Diffloth and Zide, 1992; Brunelle and Pittayaporn, 2012 among others, and discussion in Michaud, 2012). The general principle is that over time, a previously disyllabic word is stressed more on the final syllable, so that the penultimate syllable increasingly becomes attached to the final syllable and the word becomes a monosyllable with a complex onset. In Pnar, for example, final syllables are generally stressed, with non-final syllables tending to have less weight. Pnar words like /rday/ 'neck', with dialect variants such as [rən.dan], seem to reflect this process of re-syllabification.

Being able to posit a medial diachronic stage of syllabification between disyllable and monosyllable (or vice versa) may be the reason that the term 'sesquisyllable' has gained wider acceptance. Such a clear indication of historical processes provides strong motivation for maintaining the use of the term and trying to define its properties. However, the term itself can be treated as a catch-all for features that vary greatly from one language to another, and as such threatens to become rather meaningless (see Butler, 2014, for an in-depth discussion and analysis of the term). It may in fact be more informative at this point for linguists describing languages in Southeast Asia to discuss whether a language has minor-major (or major-minor) syllable pairs and/or complex clusters than to describe it as 'sesquisyllabic'.

### 2.3.4 Phonation and prosody

Register (phonation) as described for other languages in southeast Asia (Henderson, 1985) does not seem to be significant for Pnar. Pnar has no lexical tone, with intonation being used as a prosodic feature across utterances to encode pragmatic rather than lexical information. Questions tend to end with a rising intonation; commands and statements generally end with falling intonation or with a slight rise. Intonation is the main way that
speakers distinguish these sentence types.

### 2.3.5 Stress and the phonological word

Stress is the main means of distinguishing word boundaries in Pnar. The final syllable of a word carries heavier stress than preceding syllables, creating minor-major syllable pairings. This provides strong evidence for deciding whether or not clitics and other grammatical morphemes are constituents of a word or function on their own as individual words (see Chapter 3 for a definition of 'word' in Pnar). An example is the morpheme /wa/, which serves as a nominalizer, a relativizer, and is homophonous with the conjunction that coordinates noun phrases. When serving a nominalization or relativizing function, the morpheme is unstressed relative to the final syllable of the verb root it precedes. When serving as a coordinator, the morpheme carries the same stress as the final syllable of the words that preceded and follow it. Similarly, the third-person singular gender marker $/ \mathrm{ka} /$ serves as a pronoun when given heavy stress, and as a noun class marker or nominalizer when it is lightly stressed relative to the final syllable of the following word.

### 2.4 Orthography

The orthography used here is a regularised version of the working orthography used by Pnar people themselves, ${ }^{11}$ which is largely phonemic. This orthography is based on the Khasi roman alphabet introduced by early Welsh missionaries, ${ }^{12}$ but incorporates four extra characters to represent sounds in Pnar: 'ch' for IPA $[t]$ ] or $[\mathrm{c}]$, ' $æ$ ' for $[\varepsilon]$, ' $\tilde{n}$ ' for $[\mathrm{n}]$, and 'oo' for $[\mathrm{o}]$. As in the Khasi alphabet, two letters ' h ' and ' y ' represent several sounds that are non-contrastive in particular distributions. Based as it is on an analysis of phonetic and phonemic realisations in Pnar, an attempt has been made to retain simplicity so that readers can make a straightforward transition to Khasi from Pnar and vice-versa. The orthography is listed below in table 2.23, with the IPA phoneme each character represents, and an example given for each word. Explanations of spelling conventions for these letters are given in the following paragraphs.

[^23]| Pnar Letter | IPA | Pnar Word | English Gloss | Pnar Letter | IPA | Pnar Word | English Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A a | a | ar | 'two' | M m | m | masi | 'cow' |
| B b | b | blang | 'goat' | N n | n | nar | 'iron' |
| K k | k | ksaw | 'dog' | $\tilde{\mathrm{N}} \mathrm{n}$ | n | ñiam | 'wipe' |
| Ch ch | tf, c | chang | 'basket' | O o | , | soh | 'fruit' |
| D d | d | deiñ | 'tree' | Oo oo | o | moo | 'stone' |
| E e | e | e | 'give' | P p | p | pung | 'lake' |
| Ææ | $\varepsilon$ | æh | 'leave' | R r | r | rapasa | 'duck' |
| Ng ng | , | sngi | 'sun' | S s | S | salah | 'potato' |
| H h | h | hati | 'elephant' | T t | t | toh | 'beans' |
|  | ? | toh | 'right, correct' | U u | u | um | 'water' |
|  | h | khla | 'tiger' | W w | w | wait | 'sword' |
| I i | i | tit | 'mushroom' | Y y | , | yung | 'house' |
| J j | \%, 于 | ja | 'rice' |  | C | rynteih | 'bow' |
| L 1 | 1 | ladaw | 'banana' |  |  | syiar | 'chicken' |

Table 2.23: Pnar Alphabet

In the alphabet above, each sound is represented as it occurs within the syllable. So within the syllable, /h/ represents IPA [h] when it precedes a vowel, [?] when it immediately follows a vowel, and aspiration $\left.{ }^{[h}\right]$ when it immediately follows a voiceless consonant. The /y/ represents IPA [j] when it immediately precedes a vowel, marks syllabification of the second consonant when it occurs between two consonants, and [?] when it occurs following a consonant and preceding a vowel. The rules are summarized in table 2.24 . The /i/ symbol represents the palatal approximant $/ \mathrm{j} /$ when it occurs after a vowel or marks $/ \mathrm{t} / \mathrm{and} / \mathrm{d} /$ as laminal $[\mathrm{t}]$ and $[\mathrm{d}]$, respectively.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{Hh} \rightarrow[\mathrm{~h}] / \mathrm{L}^{\mathrm{V}} \quad \mathrm{~h} \text { represents glottal fricative }[\mathrm{h}] \text { when immediately preceding a vowel } \\
& \text { example: hati [hati] 'elephant' } \\
& \rightarrow[?] / V_{-} \quad h \text { represents glottal stop [?] when immediately following a vowel } \\
& \text { example: toh [t } \supset \text { ?] 'beans' } \\
& \rightarrow\left[^{\mathrm{h}}\right] / \mathrm{C} \quad h \text { represents aspiration }\left[^{\mathrm{h}}\right] \text { when immediately following a consonant } \\
& \text { (excluding /c/, since /ch/ represents [ } \mathrm{t}] \text { or }[\mathrm{c}] \text { ) } \\
& \text { example: khla [k } \left.\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{la}\right] \text { 'tiger' } \\
& \mathrm{Y} y \rightarrow[\mathrm{j}] / \_\mathrm{V} \quad y \text { represents palatal approximant }[\mathrm{j}] \text { when immediately preceding a vowel } \\
& \text { example: yung [jug] 'house' } \\
& \rightarrow \mathrm{C} / \mathrm{C} \quad \mathrm{C} \quad y \text { represents a syllabic consonant when occuring between two consonants } \\
& \text { example: rynteih [rnte } \left.{ }^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{i}\right] \text { 'bow' } \\
& \rightarrow \quad[?] / \mathrm{C}_{-} \mathrm{V} \quad y \text { represents glottal stop [?] when after a consonant and before a vowel } \\
& \text { example: syiar [sPisr] 'chicken' }
\end{aligned}
$$

Table 2.24: Pnar Spelling Rules

## Writing conventions

The orthography given above is used throughout this text as the vernacular first line of text in examples. IPA characters are used within the text of the description for reference and in examples as the second line. I hope in this
way to clarify sounds and reveal some of the morphology (such as clitics and affixes) that is often obscured by orthography.

It happens that the orthography tends to reflect the elision and contraction that occurs in speech, which in a way is good, as it reflects pronunciation more accurately. It does not, however, lend itself to clear explanation of grammatical processes. For example, a unit of speech sound represented as wym in the orthography can be recognized as a contraction of the two morphemes $w a / \mathrm{wa} /$ and $y m / \mathrm{m} /$ - therefore I write [wa m] in the second line, using IPA to ease the explanation of the example. Another example is wow, a contracted version of $/ \mathrm{wa} /$ and $/ \mathrm{u} /$. Some Pnar readers may also notice that occasionally spellings will differ from the received Khasi spelling/pronunciation - this is because I choose to write Pnar words according to their pronounciation in the Jaintia Hills.

Affixes throughout this thesis are marked with a '-', as opposed to clitics which are marked with $a$ ' $=$ '. The only exception to this marking scheme is that I treat the morpheme $w a$ as a separate word in all cases, though it sometimes cliticizes to either the preceding or following constituent.

I have also tried to use formatting to clarify the interlinear glossing. Readers will note that the vernacular first line of examples is slightly smaller in size than the succeeding phonemic IPA. The IPA in the second line is also italicized, and corresponds to italic forms used in the text (from Chapter 3 onwards) for Pnar words. Glossing follows Leipzig abbreviations for grammatical markers as much as possible, and these are available to the reader in the front matter. Translations are surrounded by single quotes.

### 2.5 Summary

This chapter has shown that Pnar exhibits clear contrast between twenty consonants in the onset of the syllable, and an additional three consonants are found to be phonemic when the coda and other syllable positions are considered. Seven vowel phonemes exist in Pnar, and one diphthong. These phonemes form the basis of sounds in Pnar words, the formation of which will be considered in the next chapter.

## Chapter 3

## Word formation

This chapter deals with the formation of words in Pnar. The primary component of Pnar words are the phonemes discussed in the previous chapter. The secondary components are prosody and stress. These components are interconnected - for example, some of the criteria for deciding wordhood have been used above to identify the low functional load that the glottal stop serves in the onset of a syllable (§2.2.1.3).

The word in Pnar can be identified based on phonological and grammatical criteria as per Dixon and Aikhenvald (2003: 34-35): "phonological criteria define phonological word, which is a unit in the phonological hierarchy, while grammatical criteria define grammatical word, which is a unit in the grammatical heirarchy". Accordingly, criteria for the phonological word in Pnar are given below in §3.1.1 and criteria for the grammatical word in §3.1.2. The sections that follow then deal with processes in Pnar whereby phonological and grammatical words are formed via clitics and affixes (§3.2), compounding (§3.3) and reduplication (§3.4).

### 3.1 Word

A word in Pnar may consist, minimally, of one syllable. This syllable may consist of a single morpheme or unit of meaning that is a phonological word as well as a grammatical word, as in the verb $e$ 'give', and the case-marking prepositional case marker $h a$ 'LOC', or the morpheme $\eta a$, which combines meanings from the grammatical categories of person, number, and topicality/argument status to mean '1SG.ACC'. Alternatively, a phonological word can be composed of multiple grammatical words, such as heipor 'at the time', which is composed of two grammatical words, the locative marker $h a$ and
the noun $i=p o r$ 'time'. Further, multiple phonological words can combine to form a grammatical word, as in compounds (§3.3) such as $i=b a m i=d i$ ? 'eating and drinking', and in reduplication (§3.4) such as $\downarrow \varepsilon m \mathrm{\zeta} \varepsilon \mathrm{~m}$ 'slowly'. The majority of roots in Pnar are monosyllabic, though disyllabic forms do exist (kl.li 'ask', $k^{h}$ a.dar 'rule'). Most disyllabic and trisyllabic forms can be identified as a series of transparent monosyllabic morphemes or lexemes joined together in compounds. Those whose syllables are more opaque may give insight either into language contact (and borrowing) or historical processes of Pnar word formation.

### 3.1.1 Phonological criteria

A phonological word in Pnar can be either a single syllable or composed of more than one syllable, with each syllable conforming to the template given above in Chapter 2. The following segmental and prosodic features help to identify a phonological word.

Segmental features - a phonological word does not allow a pause between its syllables without self-repair, but pauses are allowed before and after the word. (i.e. heini 'here' but not hei ni $\rightarrow$ hei... heini)

Prosodic features - a phonological word always retains primary stress on its final syllable, indicating a word boundary. Syllables with secondary stress that precede the 'heavy' syllable are part of a word, while those that follow are not (6).
(6) rkhai u malngiang
'rkhaj , u=, mal'ทià but not 'rkhaj , $u=$ 'mal, $\quad$ ian
laugh $\mathrm{M}=$ =malngiang laugh $\mathrm{M}=$ malngiang
'Malngiang laughs'

Phonological features - vowel sequences across syllable boundaries within a phonological word that is also a grammatical word often are realized as apparent diphthongs. (i.e. ha 'loc' $+i=n i$ 'this' $\rightarrow$ heini 'here')

Potential pause - if a speaker pauses within a phonological (or grammatical) word, they will self-repair by repeating the complete word.

### 3.1.2 Grammatical criteria

Dixon and Aikhenvald (2003: 19) suggest three universal criteria for identifying grammatical words, namely cohesiveness, fixed order, and "a conventionalised coherence and meaning." Other criteria to be considered are isolatability, immutability, and potential pause. These criteria are given for Pnar below.

Cohesiveness - a grammatical word consists of a root or stem that may have prefixes or proclitics and/or enclitics added to it.

Fixed order - a grammatical word's elements must occur together in a fixed order. (i.e. the causative prefix must always precede the verb root which it modifies: $p n$ - 'caus' $+j a p$ 'die' $\rightarrow$ pn-jap 'kill', but not $j a p-p n$ )

Coherence and meaning - a grammatical word has a conventionalized coherence and meaning.

Isolatability - a grammatical word can be used or discussed on its own, as an element of meaning and in response to questions.

Immutability - a grammatical word cannot be further subdivided without loss of meaning.

### 3.1.3 Relation between phonological and grammatical word

There are several ways in which the boundaries of a phonological and a grammatical word overlap. The only criteria which the phonological word and grammatical word share is that of potential pause: pauses are allowed within neither a grammatical word, nor a phonological word. Pnar speakers are more likely to recognize the concept of 'word' as designating a phonological word, and the criteria they generally use to identify the phonological word is final-syllable stress.

Most phonological words are single grammatical words ( $d a$ 'realis' + laj 'go' forms two separate phonological words prosodically), while other phonological words are formed from two grammatical words, as in $u=b r u$ 'male person, man', in which the first element $u$ (which encodes masculine
gender, third person, and singular number) is unstressed relative to bru 'person'. ${ }^{1}$

A phonological word can also be formed from three grammatical words, as in the form heitaj 'there', which is composed of two phonological words ha $+i=\operatorname{taj}$ 'LOC $+\mathrm{N}=$ DIST' and three grammatical words. Here a sequence of two vowels that occurs across grammatical word boundaries in Pnar forms a diphthong-like pair in which the first vowel in the pair assimilates in height to the second. This is also the case with the form neibha? 'because', composed of $n a+i=b h a$ ? 'ABL $+\mathrm{N}=$ share' (consider also woubru or wowbru [woubru], which is the realization of $w a+u=b r u$ 'with the man').

Many prosodic words can also be broken down into grammatical elements, which combine to form a single grammatical word, as in: $p n$ - 'CAUS' + hap 'fall' $\rightarrow$ pn-hap 'cause-fall' i.e. 'drop', where two grammatical elements are combined. Also attested are words where three grammatical words combine: $p \eta n_{-}$'CAUS' $+\varepsilon m$ 'have' $+k a m$ 'want' $\rightarrow p \eta$ - $\varepsilon m$-kam 'cause-havewant' i.e. 'use'. The primary identifier of wordhood here is prosody: stress on the final syllable of the constituent shows that the elements form a single word. When Pnar speakers write, spaces tend to identify places where there is both a grammatical and a phonological word boundary, with the gender clitic being the only exception (see Footnote 1).

In all my examples I use stress assignment as the basis for assigning word boundaries. If words are separated by a space in the phonemic line, it can be assumed that the final syllable of that word retains heavy stress. The maximum number of grammatical words in my data which can combine to form a single prosodic (and grammatical word) are constructions such as the nominalized verb forms in (7) and (8).

> u nongpynæmkam
> $u=$ nว $\eta$-pn-عm-kam
> M=AG.NMZ-CAUS-HAVE-want
> 'user'

[^24]ka jingyapynkræh
$k a=d i \eta-j a-p n-k r \varepsilon ?$
$\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{AB}$.NMZ-BEN-CAUS-work
'mutual assistance'
These words consist of five syllables where each syllable represents a separate morpheme from which the meaning of the whole word is formed. However, such constructions are not typical within my data.

### 3.2 Affixes and clitics

This section gives a brief overview of various types of 'affixed' morphemes in Pnar, and points to places where these morphemes are dealt with in more detail. Affixation is a problematic concept in Pnar, as I have often wondered if there are any true affixes in the language. I differentiate between affixes and clitics mainly based on how closely tied the morpheme is to the stem to which it attaches. The main criteria here is stress and whether any pause can occur between the elements. In many cases pauses are realized variably between elements that I have classed as affixes and their respective hosts, a central feature of clitics. This fact emphasizes the close relationship between affixation and cliticization.

Aikhenvald (2003b: 43) notes that "clitics occupy an intermediate position between a full-fledged phonological word and an affix... A clitic generally cannot form a phonological word on its own." Clitics in Pnar are always single syllable grammatical words that tend not to occur on their own phonologically, but occasionally may do so. That is, they tend to be prosodically part of a larger phonological, as determined by stress. Pnar proclitics are unstressed relative to the following syllable, and enclitics receive major stress in relation to the preceding syllable, signalling the end of a word. Pnar has non-derivational proclitics (§3.2.1). These include:

- Noun class (gender) clitics: $k a=$ 'feminine', $u=$ 'masculine', $i=$ 'neuter', and $k i=$ 'plural'. (§3.2.1.1, 5.2)
- prepositional case markers: ha 'locative', tfa 'allative', na 'ablative', $j a$ 'benefactive, dative', $d a$ 'instrumental', which have variable stress depending on what they precede. (§3.2.1.2, 5.6)
- Light, auxiliary, or linking particles: tfi 'indefinite', kam 'like, as', kat 'as, since', ke 'non-purposive marker', hi 'emphatic marker', wa
'COMT, REL, NMZ'. (§3.2.1.3, 5.7, 5.10)
Pnar prefixes are termed such based on the fact that they combine more tightly with other words to derive full phonological and grammatical words (§3.2.2). That is, they almost never occur on their own. These morphemes are also all verbal prefixes - there are no prefixes on nouns. Pnar prefixes include:
- Verbal derivational morphemes: pn- 'causative', ja- 'pluractional', li'durative'. (§6.3)
- Verbal nominalizers: Jin- 'general nominalizer', nэๆ- 'agentive nominalizer', $j u$ - 'instrumental nominalizer (non-productive)'. (§7.4)

Each of the morphemes described as prefixes here could also be considered clitics of the following syllable, which is clear from the fact that pauses are acceptable (though not preferred) between the prefix and the following constituent, and stress is somewhat variable (post-verbal morphemes take prosodic stress or not, relative to the preceding morpheme, depending on the speaker's desire for emphasis). Evidence that gender clitics also are not affixes is the fact that vocatives can occur between the gender clitic and a proper name (§7.2.3). Derivational morphemes are often preceded by gender clitics (as in the case of productive nominalizers). The morpheme wa, although technically a phrasal clitic, has such variable realization in different contexts that rather than discussing it here I describe it separately in $\S 5.10$, in Chapter 8 , and in $\S 14.2 .2$. It should also be noted that there is quite a bit of apparent morphology in Pnar words that is fossilized and no longer productive. Henderson (1976b) describes similar patterns in Khasi and attempts to motivate some of the realizations that are now fused in Khasi words (many of which occur in Pnar as well). This is a matter for future investigation.

### 3.2.1 Non-derivational proclitics

### 3.2.1.1 Noun class markers

Non-derivational proclitics in Pnar attach to nominals for several different purposes. The most common proclitics are the noun class markers $u=$ 'masculine', $k a=$ 'feminine', $i=$ 'neutral/diminutive', and $k i=$ 'plural', which occur with all nouns in default situations and occur with other referential
form gloss function locus of marking

| $u=$ | 'M' | Gender, Number | N |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $k a=$ | 'F', | Gender, Number | N |
| $i=$ | 'N' | Gender, Number | N |
| $k i=$ | 'PL' | Number | N |
| $j \partial \eta$ | 'GEN' | Possession | N |
| $h a$ | 'LOC' | Loc. relations | NP |
| $n a$ | 'ALL' | Loc. relations | NP |
| $t a$ | 'ABL' | Loc. relations | NP |
| $j a$ | 'BEN' | Clause relations | NP |
| $d a$ | 'INST' | Clause relations | NP |
| wa | 'COMT, REL' | Clause relations | $\mathrm{N}, \mathrm{NP}, \mathrm{VC}$ |

Table 3.1: Non-derivational proclitics in Pnar
elements to identify related constituents within a noun phrase. Examples of their gendered function are given in examples ( $9 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{d}$ ) and these morphemes are described in greater detail in Chapter 7 .
(a) u blang
$u=b l a \eta$
M=goat
'male goat'
(b) ka blang



(c) i blang
$i=b l a \eta$
$\mathrm{N}=$ goat
'small/neutral goat'
(d) ki blang
$k i=b l a \eta$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ goat
'goats'

Similar forms appear in Standard Khasi. Dryer (1989), following Rabel (1961), calls these forms articles and identifies $k i$ as a 'plural word'. ${ }^{2}$ His criteria seems largely dependent on the orthographic convention of writing the gender clitic as a separate word, with a space intervening between $k i$ (for example) and the noun it classifies. However in Khasi, as in Pnar, a case can be made for identifying the class markers as clitics based on stress, as discussed above. This draws attention to the way that traditional orthographic conventions can often obscure the linguistic realities of a language, and to

[^25]the need for thorough linguistic analyses of language varieties by multiple linguists.

The important thing to note here for Pnar is that each clitic is less stressed than the following syllable. To understand this we can examine what happens when a gender clitic (all of which end in a vowel) attaches to a syllable that begins with a vowel. Although a glottal stop has variable realization in the onset of a syllable, as mentioned above, it is much more likely to occur between a gender clitic and the following constituent if that constituent begins with a vowel. To illustrate this, consider spectrograms of the following two words $k a=a \rho$ 'rule', taken from a continuous stream of speech and occuring in subsequent sentences. The first example comes from near the end of a sentence, whereas the second comes from near the beginning of the next sentence.


Figure 3.1: Two versions of $\left[\mathrm{ka}=\mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{n}\right]$ 'rule'
Although the images are not extremely clear, intensity (the curving black line) in the first spectrogram can be seen to peak and then drop significantly. The trough (the dot sequence '...') corresponds to a period of glottalization and a clear glottal stop that introduces the next vowel (and intensity peak). In the following example, there is neither a clear glottal stop, nor glottalization, but there is a minor drop in intensity before the final syllable of the word. We can also see that the final syllable is longer than the initial (clitic) syllable. It seems then, that the glottal stop can serve an important role in distinguishing between vowel sequences across syllable boundaries, but that other cues such as intensity and syllable length also play a role.

Another interesting thing to note is that vowels in gender clitics do not undergo raising across syllable boundaries as vowels in prepositional case
markers do. For example, in (10 a), repeated from (1a) above, the vowel /a/ in the locative marker $h a$ raises as a result of concatenation with the high front vowel /i/ in the word $i=p o r$ 'time'. But in (10 b) the concatenation of the feminine gender clitic $k a$ and the bare noun india 'India' results in no such raising of the vowel $/ \mathrm{a} /$.

> (a) ha $+{ }^{{ }^{2}} \mathrm{i}=\mathrm{por} \rightarrow$ hei $=\mathrm{p} \supset \mathrm{r}$ LOC $+\mathrm{N}=$ time 'at' + 'the/that time'
(b) $\mathrm{ka}=+$ india $\rightarrow$ ka=india $\mathrm{F}=+$ India $\quad k a=$ India 'Fem clitic' + 'India'

Gender clitics can also procliticize to deictic morphemes to form demonstratives, serving to cross-reference the nominal (11-14). There are five deictics in Pnar: $n i$ 'proximal', te 'mesio-proximal', tu 'medial', taj 'distal', and $t \varepsilon$ 'non-visible' (which also refers to abstract concepts). Deictics and demonstratives are dealt with in more detail in §5.3.
(11) uni u bru
$u=n i \quad u=b r u$
M=PROX M=person
'this man (just here)' [MPSRJ_030]
(12) kani ka chnong
$k a=n i \quad k a=t n n \supset \eta$
$\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PrOX} \quad \mathrm{F}=$ village
'this village (just here)' [HPAHR_062]
(13) utæ u bru
$u=t \varepsilon \quad u=b r u$
M=NVIS M=person
'that man (unknown, non-visible to you)' [PP15PI_095]
(14) katæ ka por
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=p o r$
F=NVIS F=time
'that time (unknown, non-visible to you)' [PP01CSE_016]

### 3.2.1.2 Prepositional case markers

Directionality and orientation are explicitly coded in Pnar through prepositional case markers. When the following constituent has the high front vowel
$i$ as its first element, the markers combine with it to form a single prosodic word. This therefore includes all action-nominalized verbs, a subset of which have temporal or subordination ( $\$ 14.2 .1 .2$ ) functions. These markers can encode either spatial or temporal relationships, and often identify oblique case relations between an NP and its predicate (§5.6).

Markers of place/location combine the locative morpheme ha 'at' with nominals (examples 15, 16, and see discussion of relational nouns in §5.6.3), while prepositional case markers of time combine $h a$ with verbal modifiers (17). Directional locatives identify the direction of something to or from the speaker, using the ablative $n a$ 'from' (18) or the allative $f f a$ 'to, towards' (19).

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { hakhmat }  \tag{15}\\
& h a=k^{h} \text { mat } \\
& \text { LOC=face } \\
& \text { 'in/at front' } \\
& \text { heipor }  \tag{16}\\
& h e=i=p o r \\
& \text { LOC }=\mathrm{N}=\text { time } \\
& \text { 'then (previously)' }
\end{align*}
$$

(18) nadooh
$n a=d o$ ?

ABL=before
'from before'
(19) chapoh
tf $a=p \circ$ ?
ALL=inside
'to the inside'
(17) hawa
$h a=w a$
$\mathrm{LOC}=\mathrm{NMZ}$
'when'

Examples 20 a-b and 21 a-b correspond roughly to English 'because'. The difference is that directionality is encoded in these words, where the morpheme $j e$ (allomorph of $j a$ ) serves to mark benefactive, reflexive, and/or dative properties of the following element, while ne (allomorph of $n a$ ) is ablative. There is also a difference between the nominalized verbal forms to which they cliticize: bha 'be good' and bha? 'reason, share, role' ( $i=$ serves as the nominalizer in both cases).
(a) yeibha
(b) yeibhah
$j e=i=b h a$ ?
$j e=i=b h a$
BEN $=\mathrm{N}=$ be.good
BEN $=\mathrm{N}=$ reason
'for the good of...'
'for the purpose of...'
(a) neibha
$n e=i=b h a$
$\mathrm{ABL}=\mathrm{N}=$ be.good
'because', 'in order that'
(b) neibhah
$n e=i=b h a$ ?
$\mathrm{ABL}=\mathrm{N}=$ reason
'because', 'in order that'

### 3.2.1.3 Light, auxiliary, or linking particles

This set of morphemes exhibit various degrees of cliticization. Similar to the prepositional case markers above, they often attach to neighboring words, but can also be found standing alone. Unlike those above, however, these particles do not change form based on the following element.

The word $t f i$ in (22-23) means 'one, a' and is also the indefinite marker. When marking an indefinite referent it procliticizes to the nominal and can replace the gender clitic. Here it seems to act as a marker of measure when referentiality is non-essential. While in (22-23) it is lightly cliticized to the following word prosodically, in (24) it is not.
(22) im ki hadooh chispah snæm

(23) chi kyntein i hok
tfi=knten $\quad i=h \supset k$
INDF=word ACT=be.honest
'one/an honest word' [PP01CSE_075]
(24) chi tylli u kwai
ţi tlli u=kwaj
one CL.NH betel.nut
'a piece of betel nut'

Similatives To express a similative relationship (i.e., X is similar to Y ; a comparison of equality) the morphemes kat 'as' and kam 'like, want, work' are used. When kat 'as' cliticizes to kam 'like, want, work' they form a subordinate causal relation 'according to, since' (25). To express a temporal similative the morpheme kat cliticizes to the nonvisible deictic marker $t \varepsilon$ to mean 'since' or 'like that/then' (26). The morpheme kat never occurs on its own, while kam occurs as a separate verb and $t \varepsilon$ occurs as a clause-chaining morpheme.
(25) yn katkam ka hukum tæ...
$n$ kat-kam ka=hukum ts
ref as-like $\mathrm{F}=$ command NVIS
'so according to the commandment...' [PP14MF _063]
(26) kattæ i por
kat-tを $\quad i=p \supset r$
as-NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ time
'then, at the time' [SI2_064]

Aspect Non-derivational morphemes can also procliticize to verbs to indicate aspect, but the degree to which they cliticize is unclear. In some cases, these morphemes have the same form as verbs, suggesting that they are more accurately analyzed as complex verbal expressions or compounds. The following discussion illustrates.

The verb laj 'go' seems related to a reduced form $l i$ which occurs in this context (27) and operates as a durative aspect, describing an action that occurs within a specific time period. In some cases it is preceded by laj which serves as an auxiliary to create a complex verbal expression of activity (28 - note that here the addition of $d a$ gives a subjunctive translation). Other aspectual markers that also occur immediately preverbally (dep 'perfective, finish', tfa3 'passive, allow') behave as separate words in terms of stress, lending credence to an analysis of $l i$ constructions as compounds or affixed forms. These morphemes are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6 .

| tæ liræp soh u pli |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $t \varepsilon$ | $l i$-rcp | $s o P$ | $u=p l i$ |
| NVIS | DUR-cultivate | fruit | $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{Pli}$ |

'Pli cultivated fruit (for some time)' [SI2_087]
(28) da lai liyang i
da laj li-jay $i$
REAL go DUR-wait 1PL
'we would go wait' [BPVM_003]
A few particles such as $k e$ can follow verbs (29-30), to identify random or non-purposive actions. This morpheme is discussed further in relation to the verbal complex in Chapters 6 and 11, as are other auxiliaries which occur post-verbally. Other words that occur post-verbally, such as incorporated nouns, show varying degrees of prosodic attachment to the verb.
(29)

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { klam ke } \\
& \text { klam=ke } \\
& \text { speak=NPURP } \\
& \text { 'speak (i.e. for fun)' }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 3.2.2 Derivational morphemes

Several productive and semi-productive derivational morphemes exist for Pnar. These morphemes precede the constituent that they modify and cliticize to the constituent in most cases, being unstressed relative to the modified constituent, though in my corpus there are a few examples of $p \eta_{1}$ 'CAUS' occuring as a verb on its own. Pnar derivational morphemes derive nouns from verbs and verbs from verbs. There are no morphemes that derive verbs from nouns. Some examples are given below.

| form | gloss | function | locus of marking |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |
| $n э \eta-$ | 'AG.NMZ' | Nominalizer | V |
| $j u-$ | 'INST.NMZ' | Nominalizer | V |
| sin- | 'AB.NMZ' | Nominalizer | V |
| $k a=$ | 'RES' | Nominalizer | V |
| $u=$ | 'NF' | Nominalizer | V |
| $i=$ | 'ACT' | Nominalizer | V |
| $k i=$ | 'PL.NMZ' | Nominalizer | V |
| $l i-$ | 'DUR' | Aspect | V |
| $j a-$ | 'PLUR' | Aspect | V |
| $p n-$ | 'CAUS' | Aspect | V |

Table 3.2: Clitics and prefixes in Pnar

### 3.2.2.1 Nominalizing prefixes/clitics

Agentive nouns are derived from verbs by prefixing the morpheme $n \supset \eta$ - to a verb (31). Instrumental nouns (identifying the thing used to perform an action) are derived from verbs by prefixing $j u-{ }^{3}$ (32). Abstract nouns are derived from verbs by preposing Jin- (33). Resultative nouns are derived by preposing the feminine gender clitic $k a=(34)$ to a verb. Inchoative (action) nouns are derived by preposing the neuter gender clitic $i=(35)$ to verbs. Purposive nominals or non-finite states are derived from verbs by preposing

[^26]the masculine gender clitic $u=(36)$. There are semantic restrictions regarding which nominalizers can be used with which verbs, an area that deserves further study.
(31) u nongkræh
$u=n э \boldsymbol{n}-\mathrm{kre}$ ?
M=AG.NMZ-work
'worker'
(34) ka kræh
$\boldsymbol{k a}=k r \varepsilon$ ?
RES = work
'the work (complete)'
(32) ka yuspong
$k a=\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{u}$-spoŋ
$\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{INST} . \mathrm{NMZ}$-wrap
'turban'
(35) i kræh
$i=k r \varepsilon ?$
ABS = work
'the work (ongoing)'
(33) i jingim
$i=\boldsymbol{\sigma} i \eta-i m$
$\mathrm{N}=$ AB.NMZ-live
'life'
(36) u kræh
$\boldsymbol{u}=k r \varepsilon$ ?
$\mathrm{NF}=$ work
'to work (non-finite)'

### 3.2.2.2 Verbal prefixes

Verbal prefixes are $l i$ - 'durative' (37) which derives a durative verb, $j a$ - (38) which derives a pluractional ${ }^{4}$ verb (i.e. benefactive. reflexive, reciprocal, depending on the context), and $p \eta_{1}$ - (39) which derives a causative verb or verb of assistance (also depending on context). These morphemes are highly productive, though $p n$ - often identifies Khasi words, and both precede the verb. When $p n$ - precedes a volitional verb, Pnar speakers interpret this morpheme as meaning 'do something for someone', so that $p \eta$-t'bot rday $u$ $o$ means 'he scratches his neck for him' and not *'he makes him scratch his neck'.

| (37) | likhait | (38) | yakræh | (39) | pynyap |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $l i-k^{h} a t$ |  | $j a-k r \varepsilon ?$ |  | $p n_{\text {- }}$-jap |
|  | DUR-pick |  | PLUR-work |  | CAUS-die |
|  | 'pick awhile' |  | 'work together' |  | 'kill' |

[^27]
### 3.3 Compounding

Compounding is a productive process in Pnar, a matter in most cases of simply juxtaposing two words, the second of which seems to behave as a modifier, resulting in a head-initial compound. Since most Pnar words are monosyllabic, a compound is often disyllabic, with the final syllable more stressed than the preceding syllables. For compounds of two or more words larger than a single syllable, each word will have stress on its final syllable. In these cases the speaker depends on the listener being able to identify the complete constituent as a unit.

For example, in the nominal compound $u=w \supset$ l kiay nayba? 'elder/honored Kiang Nanbah', the constituent kiay nayba? is a prosodic word, where the syllable $b a P$ is stressed relative to the previous syllables. This constituent is a separate prosodic word from $u=w \supset$, the vocative that precedes it, but together they form a compounded honorific referring to a man whose first name is 'Kiang' and family name is 'Nangbah'.

Compounding creates a new meaning often related to the original semantics of the individual words used in the compound. Noun compounds (where both elements are nouns) are functionally genitival expressions (i.e. $k a=b a l a \eta$ latt ${ }^{h}$ adlabot 'Lathadlabot church', 'church of Lathadlabot's where 'church' is the head; compare $k a=j u \eta ~ o ~[h o m e ~ 1 S G . N O M] ~ ' m y ~ h o u s e ') ~ a n d ~$ behave as nouns - the whole compound is preceded by a pronominal clitic and cannot be negated. Nominal compounds, where one element is nominal and the other element is verbal, are generally found in the order $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{V}$ - the second element often describes a property of the first and the compound acts as a nominal (i.e. $u=m o-j \partial \eta$ [ $\mathrm{M}=$ stone-be.black] 'coal', ti-diaך [hand-behind] 'left').

Verbal compounds, in which the first element is a verb and the second is nominal, can also be found (i.e. jam-bru [cry-person] 'mourn'). These forms generally behave as verbs unless nominalized or part of a larger compound. Verb compounds (i.e. klliay krffan 'support') behave as verbs - they take TAM marking, can be negated, and are often followed by arguments.
'Expressives' and 'elaborate expressions' are a particular kind of ABAB or ABAC parallelistic compound in Pnar where gender clitics or verbal markers may precede both constituents (40) but need not (41). Alternatively, a locative expression (i.e. hadrron 'above') can be used to precede each of the

[^28]two elements in the form (42).
(40) ki mrad ki mreng
$k i=m r a d \quad k i=m r \varepsilon \eta$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ animal $\mathrm{PL}=$ animal
'the animals' [BPDJ_025]
(41) ka bei ram-aw bei ramchit
$k a=b e j \quad$ ramaw $\quad$ bej ramtfit
$\mathrm{F}=$ mother
earth mother nature
'earth mother' (mother earth) [PP13RS_170]
(42) ku u hajrong tyngkong hajrong tbæt

| ku | $u$ | $h a=\emptyset \vdash \supset \eta$ | [tpkon] |  | ct] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

climb 3SG.M.NOM at=above floor at=above storage.place ${ }^{6}$
'he climbs above the storage area' [PP13RS_170]
Khasi has similar productive processes, and further examples of these structures can be found in Nagaraja (1984; 2001). These compounds are related to reduplicated forms, as both kinds of words are recognized by Pnar speakers as being part of a group of words or expressions called $k i=k n t e n ~ k n n o ?$ 'sounding words'. Reduplicative compounds are described in the section below. These forms and their occurrence in my current corpus are given more detailed treatment in Chapter 9.

### 3.4 Reduplication

Reduplication is used in Pnar for intensification or distributive meanings. These words often serve as modifiers. Full reduplication, where the main word is repeated, is the only kind of reduplication that occurs consistently in my data. This often forms adverbials (i.e. ஏ\&m đॄm [be.soft be.soft] 'softly', $k^{h}$ adgiak $k^{h} a d$ giak [be.little be.little] 'little bit') or universal demonstratives (i.e. $i=w \supset n ~ i=w \supset n ~[~ \mathrm{~N}=$ which $\mathrm{N}=$ which] 'anywhere', $u=j i \quad u=j i$ [ $\mathrm{M}=$ thing $\mathrm{M}=$ thing] 'anything'). Expressions of partial reduplication, such as those found in Aslian languages (Benjamin, 1976; Matisoff, 2003; Kruspe, 2004) where a single syllable is reduplicated, are not found in my data. Forms do

[^29]exist where the reduplicated word may include a different vowel or consonant to set it apart from the previous word，but these are considered＇expressives＇ and are described separately in Chapter 9．The examples below are of full reduplications which have intensified or distributive meanings depending on context．

## Distributive

In（43－46）the verb djar＇be different＇is reduplicated for a distributive mean－ ing as ḑar dुar＇different from another＇．In each example，the element imme－ diately following the reduplicated verb is juxtaposed with another element which may or may not be fully identified．In（43）$k a=b n t a$＇purpose＇is jux－ taposed with $i$ ，which can be translated here as＇another＇．In（44）ka＝liay ＇side＇is opposed to an unspecified＇side＇which belongs to another group of people．In（45）ki＝ruksm＇ways＇opposes another set of＇ways＇，and $k i=t^{h} a w$ ＇places＇opposes another set of＇places＇．In（46）the NP $k i=n i k i=s o ~ ' t h e s e ~$ four＇refers to a group of people and dar gar allows each individual to be opposed to the others in terms of where they settle．
（43）waroh jar jar ka bynta

| wars？ | ¢ar～がar | $k a=b n t a$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| all | be．different～DIST | $\mathrm{F}=$ purpos |

＇all（have）different fates＇［PP01CSE＿060］
（44）jar jar ka liang
osar～ずar $\quad k a=l i a \eta$
be．different～DIST F＝side
＇（they went）different ways＇［SI1＿049］
（45）ki jar jar ki rukom læh ki jar jar ki thaw

3PL be．different～DIST PL＝way do 3PL be．different～DIST
$k i=t^{h} a w$
PL＝place
＇（they have）different ways，also（in）different places＇［BMPJ＿083］
（i．e．to get rid of insects that eat the crops）
（46）
tæ yachong noh ki jar jar kini ki soo

NVIS PLUR－sit IMM1 PL＝be．different～DIST PL＝PROX PL＝four
＇so they stayed different（places）these four（sisters）＇
［PP03SKY＿038］

In (47) the verb un 'return' reduplicated seems to encode a distributive meaning where multiple people are returning multiple things.
tæ uñ uñ biang ki
te un~un biaŋ ki
NVIS return~DIST again 3PL
'so they returned (those things)' [SI1_046]
In (48) the speaker is referring to refugees, and does so by using sakma sakma, the reduplicated form of the verb meaning 'be lost' to describe them, again identifying a distributive or intensified type of meaning.

```
sakma sakma ki katni
sakma~sakma ki kat-ni
be.lost~DIST 3PL as-PROX
'(they) were (very) lost' [PP07SNM_014]
```

In (49) the adverb kllen 'throughout' is reduplicated to give a distributed meaning.
(49) lai kylleiñ kylleiñ
laj kllen~kllen
go throughout~DIST
'(they) went throughout (the area)' [SI1_049]
In (50-51) the use of laj laj as reduplicated forms of the verb laj 'go' similarly encodes an intensity to the activity.
(50) ym lai lai i
$m \quad$ laj~laj $\quad i$
NEG $\quad$ go $\sim$ DIST
'we didn't go (quickly)'
[TACJ_549]
(51) tæ lai lai ki
te laj~laj ki te
NVIS go~DIST 3PL
'so they went (quickly)' [PP03SKY_017]

## Intensity - gradation

In (52-53) the verb $k^{h}$ adfiak 'be little' is reduplicated for an intensified meaning, i.e. $k^{h} a \neq j a k k k^{h}$ adfiak 'a little bit'. This also seems to indicate a gradual increase in intensity. Notably, the second element is pronounced with a different vowel, as in 'expressive' constructions (§9.1.2).
lut khajiak khajuk
lut $\quad k^{h} a \not a i a k \sim k^{h} a d u k$
finish be.little~GRAD
'(I) finish a bit' [BMPJ_084]
(53) tæ dih cha khajiak khajiak
te di? tja $k^{h} a \boldsymbol{j}$ iak $\sim k^{h}$ adaiak
NVIS drink ALL be.little~GRAD
'so (let's) drink a little tea' [PP15PI_127]
In (54-55) the adverbial intensifier bha is reduplicated for graded intensity increase. In (54) the reduplicated construction modifies $5 \eta$ paj 'be far', and in (55) it modifies miat 'be nice'.
(54) da jngai bha bha i thaw sæ
$d a \quad$ ¢クaj bha~bha $\quad i=t^{h} a w \quad s \varepsilon$
REAL be.far INTS1~GRAD N=place C.TAG
'the place is very very far away ok' [TACJ_349]
miat bha bha
miat bha~bha
be.nice INTS1~GRAD
'(it was) very nice' [HPAHR_163]

## Intensity - increase

In (56) the adverbial do? 'completely' (from the verb meaning 'lose') is reduplicated for a universal or expansive meaning. Here it modifies the locative clausal complement $h e=i=p$ or exam 'at exam time'.
(56) dooh dooh heipor exam

| $\boldsymbol{d o} \boldsymbol{P} \sim \boldsymbol{d o} \boldsymbol{P}$ | $h e=i=p a r$ | $\varepsilon k s a m$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| completely $\sim$ INTS | LOC=N=time | exam |

'only ever at exam time (we would study)' [BPVM_020]
In (57) the verb $n \eta k \supset \eta$ 'be first' is reduplicated for intensity and precedes the clause complement which is the thing decided.
tæ i wa læh i nyngkong nyngkong
$t \varepsilon \quad i \quad$ wa $\quad l \varepsilon$ e $i \quad$ nykכ $\quad \sim n \eta k \supset \eta$
NVIS 1PL NMZ do 1PL be.first~INTS
'So the very first thing (we decided)...' [LHJ_016]
In (58) the reduplication of dan 'be near' also serves an intensity function.
tæ dang jan jan
te daך dan~すan
NVIS PROG be.near~INTS
'so since (I was/am) still very near (i.e. to a person)...'
[HPAHR_082]
In (59) the reduplication of $d r \supset \eta$ 'be long, be tall' gives extra intensity and near comprehensiveness to the quality, i.e. $\measuredangle r \supset \eta ~ đ ु r \supset \eta$ 'entirely long'. Here the speaker is telling a story about searching for a boat and the logs are lying in the river. The sense seems to be that the logs are completely clogging the river and making the search difficult.
(59) ki deiñ ki wa jrong jrong bha

| $k i=d e n$ | $k i$ | $w a$ | $\boldsymbol{\phi} r \supset \boldsymbol{\eta} \sim \boldsymbol{j} r \supset \boldsymbol{\eta}$ | $b h a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PL=tree | 3PL | NMZ | be.long $\sim$ INTS | INTS1 |

'the entirely long logs' [LS2J_014]

## Intensity - immediate, sudden

In (60) the speaker reduplicates the verb kofut 'be sick' to emphasize the suddenness of the disease.
(60) kjut kjut tæ yap noh
kofut~kobut te jap no?
hurt,sick~IMM NVIS die IMM1
'(they) got sick and died instantly' [SI1_047]
In (61) the speaker is describing a trip through the rapids of a river. He reduplicates the verb yam 'sink' to convey the intensity and suddenness of the downward motion, expanding on this sense with the verb s?un 'spin, revolve'.
(61) tæ ngam ngam i chapoh tæ syuiñ i kamtu
te yam~クam i tfa-po? te s?un i NVIS sink~IMM 1PL ALL-under, in NVIS revolve,spin 1PL
kam-tu
as,like-MEDL
'so we sunk, we spun like that' (in a boat) [LS2J_017]

## Intensity - change of state

In (62) the speaker reduplicates rap 'grow' which as an auxiliary or 'light' verb indicates a change of state. The reduplication seems to emphasize the nature of the change.

```
rap rap tæ rap phær bait
rap~rap t\varepsilon rap pi\varepsilonr bat
grow~CSTATE NVIS grow be.different IMM3
'(they are) very different' [TACJ_438] (proceeding to a different
artifact)
```

Similarly, in (63) the speaker is describing how a certain kind of potato is cooked. The verb $p^{h}$ ruj 'fluffy' has an emphatic or intensified sense here when reduplicated, and encodes a change of state, particularly when combined with the copular verb man.

```
man u phrui phrui
man u phruj~ p}\mp@subsup{}{}{h}ru
become 3SG.m be.fluffy~CSTATE
'it becomes fluffy' [SI3_077]
```


## Intensity - incomplete experience

In (64) the verb tip 'know' has an intensified meaning, where the speaker is asking the listener if he knows a particular story. Similarly, in (65) the speaker is identifying the name of a certain kind of milk as something unknown, and seems to use tip tip as a intensification of the verb 'know'.
(64) tip tip mo
tip~tip mo
know~DIST Q.TAG
'you know (it)?' [PP07SNM_004]
(65) tip tip pyrtuit i re
tip~tip prtut $i \quad r \varepsilon$
know~DIST name 1PL NEG.INTS
'we don't know the name of (it)' [BPVM_009]

### 3.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the word and the various ways that words can be formed in Pnar. While largely isolating, the language exhibits a fair number of clitics and prefixes, perhaps largely due to its dependence on final syllable stress to identify word boundaries. Compounding is an extremely productive process that provides a major source of metaphorical and descriptive language. The following chapter provides an overview of Pnar word classes and clause types.

## Chapter 4

## Lexical and syntactic overview

This chapter is intended to provide an extremely brief overview of the Pnar language which following chapters will discuss more fully. Typological data on Pnar is available in Appendix Appendix C. Words formed according to the previous chapter can be classified according to grammatical and syntactic function. In $\S 4.1$ the various word classes are briefly described, and the remaining sections identify clauses in which these words can occur and processes that involve them. Each of these sections contain examples of relevance and cross-references to other places in the thesis where particular topics are described in more detail.

### 4.1 Word classes

Word classes in Pnar can be divided into open, semi-closed, and closed classes for organizational purposes. Open classes are those to which new members can be added quite easily as concepts, situations, and objects are introduced to the speakers. Closed classes contain a set of words with more specialized functions to which members can only be added through the process of grammaticalization, over a longer span of time. Semi-closed classes have some fixed members but a large number of members derived from other classes. The classes and their members are listed below.
Open classes:
Verb, with subclasses: intransitive, transitive, copula
Noun, with subclasses: common, proper
Semi-closed classes:

Modifier: noun modifiers, noun modifiers derived from verbs, verbal modifiers

Expressive, elaborate expression: derivations from nouns or verbs via compounding

Closed classes:
Pronoun
Demonstrative
Vocative
Numeral
Time word
Quantifier
Classifier
prepositional case markers
Adverb
Verbal auxiliary: mood, aspect
Negator
Discourse connective
Phrasal conjunction
Interjection
The following section briefly describes the major open and semi-closed word classes. This is followed by an overview of syntactic structures in §4.2-4.8. Chapter 5 then describes the closed word classes.

### 4.1.1 Open and semi-closed word classes

### 4.1.1.1 Verbs

Verbs typically denote activities, processes, or states. They serve as the heads of verb complexes (and of predicates generally) and occur clauseinitially in typical sentences, followed by an NP (66). They can be negated (67). They take derivational prefixes (68) and pre-verbal aspect and mood
(69). They are followed by adverbial modifiers (70). Bare verbs are always in realis mood. ${ }^{1}$
(66) lai u
laj u
go 3SG.M.NOM
'he went/goes' [PP05KO_013]
(67) ym lai o
$m \quad$ laj $っ$
NEG go 1SG.NOM
'I don't/didn't go' [PP04SKO_013]
(68) yalai ki
ja-laj ki
PLUR-go 3PL
'they went (together)' [PP05KO_042]
(69) da dæp lai u
da dep laj u
REAL PERF go 3SG.M.NOM
'he finished going' [PP01CSE_036]
(70) lai biang i
laj bian $i$
go again 1PL
'we went again' [LS2J_024]

### 4.1.1.2 Nouns

Nouns identify referents, typically time stable concepts which act or are acted upon. They serve as heads of noun phrases and occur post-verbally in default sentences (71). Nouns take gender clitics and cannot be negated.
(71) poi ka blang
poj $\quad k a=b l a \eta$
arrive $\mathrm{F}=$ goat
'the goat arrives' [MPSM_010]
Proper nouns (names) also take gender clitics, and may be accompanied by a vocative form. Vocatives precede personal names and are marked by the

[^30]gender clitic (72). They behave as compounds which combine prosodically. Place names generally do not occur with gender clitics, the exception being when additional specificity is required (i.e. iplan 'England', but $k a=i \eta g l a n$ 'the England [that I was telling you about]').
(72) ka kong silda
$k a=k כ \eta \quad$ silda
F=HON.F Silda
'madam Mrs. Silda' [LHJ_020]

### 4.1.1.3 Modifiers

Modifiers are of three types: those that can modify NPs directly (73), those that can modify NPs via wa derivation (74), and those that can modify verbs (75). They follow the head and cannot be negated (unless relativized, in which case they are part of a relative clause). It is not completely clear what motivates the differences in realization, though there is some indication that a closer syntactic realization indicates a property more intrinsically associated with the head.
(73) ki sistar tymmæn
ki=sistar tmmen
PL=nun be.old
'the old nuns' [FPAHM_015]
(74) ki bru wa rim
$k i=b r u \quad$ wa rim
3PL=person NMZ be.old
'the old people' [TACJ_366]
(75) lai lang i
laj lan $\quad i$
go together 3PL
'we went together' [PP01CSE_063]
Modifiers which can directly modify nouns are a closed set. Likewise, those that can modify verbs are a closed set of words; these are termed adverbs and discussed in 5.7. Those that are derived from verbs using $w a$ are a large open set. The two types of modifiers are discussed at greater length in Chapter 8.

### 4.1.1.4 Expressives and elaborate expressions

Expressives and elaborate expressions exhibit extreme paralellism. This class contains grammaticalized two-syllable (76) and four-syllable (77) forms as well as those derived from verbs (78) and nouns (79). They can act as either verbs, nouns, or modifiers.
(76) kdok kdok
$k d \supset k \quad k d \supset k$
bounce bounce
'bounce' [MPSM_024]
(77) myllu mylla
mllu mlla
gather gather
'such and such' [SME_012]
(78) da chait da khiah
$d a \quad t f a t \quad d a \quad k^{h} i a$ ?
REAL be.healthy REAL be.whole
'well and healthy' [BMPJ_092]
(79) ka khnam ka rynteih
$k a=k^{h} n a m \quad k a=r n t e ?$
$\mathrm{F}=$ arrow $\mathrm{F}=$ bow
'the arrow, the bow (i.e. archery)' [AIJ_070]
These classes and members of closed classes will be described in more detail in later chapters. The next section briefly examines predicate structure.

### 4.2 Predicate structure

Pnar has two types of clause, major and minor. The minor type is the copula clause. The major type contains a predicate that usually occurs first. The predicate must contain a head, which in my data is nearly always a verb or verbal copula. Verbs can be intransitive or transitive. The verb is generally followed by arguments, with the subject occurring immediately post-verbally and the object following (80).
(80)
khut u nga
khut $u \quad \eta a$
call 3SG.m.nom 1sG.ACC
'he calls/called me' [LS1J_026]
Pronouns have nominative and accusative/topical case forms (§5.1) and refer to NPs which can be expanded as in (81). There is no overt grammatical case apart from pronouns, and no agreement on the verb. Arguments may be marked by prepositional case marking forms that identify clausal relations, though these are generally in oblique function (§5.6).
(81) khut u singh u nik
$k^{h} u t \quad u=\operatorname{si\eta } \quad u=n i k$
call $\mathrm{M}=$ Singh $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{Nik}$
'Singh called Nik' [KP_009]
Differences in argument realization (i.e. order) are conditioned by the valence of the verb and by semantic role. Passive (82) and reflexive/reciprocal markers (83) decrease valency, while causative markers (84) increase valency.
(82) chah kynnoh ki
tap knno? ki
PASS blame 3PL
'they are blamed' [MPSM_030]
(83) yaklam i
ja-klam $\quad i$
PLUR-speak 1PL
'we spoke to each other' [LHJ_029]
(84) pyndap u ka
$p n$-dap u ka
CAUS-be.full 3SG.m.NOM 3SG.F.ACC
'he filled it' [MPSRJ_008]
Semantic roles such as recipient are marked by prepositional case markers (85). Pronouns marked by these morphemes always have accusative/topical form.
e u ka ya nga
$e \quad u \quad k a \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}j a & \eta a\end{array}\right]$
give 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.ACC BEN 1SG.ACC
'he gave it to me'
A predicate in Pnar may include a variety of other optional elements. The maximal predicate structure is:

1. mood
2. negation
3. aspect, verbal auxiliary
4. nominalizer
5. head (which takes prefixes)
6. incorporated noun
7. modifier

Each of these items occur as part of the verb complex, where they show various degrees of stress assignment. Other peripheral clause constituents are described in §4.8. The next section briefly discusses noun phrase structure.

### 4.3 Noun phrase structure

Gender is the primary organizational unit of noun phrases (arguably of the whole language). Gender is a feature of the head, which licenses agreement on the other members of the noun phrase. Gender takes the form of proclitics on nouns and other elements of the noun phrase, and pronouns exhibit gender in second and third person forms. The maximal noun phrase elements are:

1. quantifier (QP)
2. demonstrative
3. noun, pronoun (head)
4. modifier
5. possessor NP
6. relative clause (RC)

Demonstratives and relative clauses are obligatorily marked with gender that is co-referential with the head. Demonstratives are marked by gender clitics and relative clauses by gender pronouns. As a result, demonstratives (86) and relative clauses (87) can serve as putative heads. ${ }^{2}$
(86) mih kani

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
m i P & {[k a=n i]_{\text {DEM }}} \\
\text { come.out } & \mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROXX} \\
\text { 'this came out' } \tag{87}
\end{array}
$$

```
ym toh ka wa bha
\(m\) to? [ka wa bha \(]_{\mathrm{RC}}\)
NEG be 3SG.F NMZ be.good
'it's not (something) that is good'
```

Modifiers cannot serve as heads, which follows directly from their lack of agreement. QPs can be marked by gender pronouns in the same way that relative clauses can, and can then serve as heads (88), but if unmarked they cannot.
(88) lai ki soo tylli
laj $\left[\begin{array}{ll}k i & \text { so } t l l i]_{\mathrm{QP}} \\ \end{array}\right.$
go 3PL four CL.NH
'the four (of them) went'
Possession can be marked in two ways. The first is where the possessor NP immediately follows the possessed noun (89). Possessor pronouns in these constructions are in the nominative form (90).
(89) ki khon ka ri
$k i=k^{h} \partial n \quad k a=r i$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ child $\mathrm{F}=$ country
'the country's children'
(90) ki khon o
$k i=k^{h} \supset n$ $\checkmark$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ child 1 SG.NOM
'my children'
The second kind of possession is where the genitive marker $j \supset \eta$ occurs between the possessed NP and the possessor NP (91). Possessor pronouns in these constructions are in the accusative form (92). It is not clear that this difference is motivated by anything beyond speaker preference.

[^31](91) ki khon yong ka ri
$k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad j \supset \eta \quad k a=r i$
PL=child GEN F=country
'the country's children'
(92) ki khon yong nga
$k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad j \supset \eta \quad \eta a$
PL=child GEN 1SG.ACC
'my children'
The NP and NP relations are discussed further in Chapter 13. The next section deals briefly with relative clauses.

### 4.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are formed using a gender pronoun and the morpheme wa. The gender pronoun is co-referential with the gender of the head, and wa precedes the relativized element. The relativized element can be a single verb (93), a whole predicate (94), a locative (95), or a nominal element (96).
(93) ka thaw ka wa jan
$k a=t^{h} a w \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}k a & w a & \left.[\sigma a n]_{\mathrm{V}}\right]_{\mathrm{RC}}\end{array}\right.$
$\mathrm{F}=$ place 3SG.F NMZ be.near
'the place that is nearby' [PP03SKY_024]
(94) ka tarik ka wa i toh pynæm burom i oo
$k a=t a r i k[k a \quad w a \quad[i$ to? pn-em bursm $i$
$\mathrm{F}=$ date $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{F}$ NMZ 1PL be CAUS-have honor 1PL
$\left.o]_{\text {PRED }}\right]_{\text {RC }}$
3SG.M.NOM
'the date that we honor him (on)' [KNI_029]
(95) ka deiñ ka wa ha khloo
$k a=\operatorname{den} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}k a & w a\end{array}\left[\begin{array}{ll}h a & \left.k^{h} l o\right]_{\mathrm{LOC}}\end{array}\right]_{\mathrm{RC}}\right.$
$\mathrm{F}=$ tree 3SG.F NMZ LOC forest
'the tree that (is) in the forest' [BMPJ_032]
(96) kani ka wa ar
$k a=n i \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}k a & w a & \left.[a r]_{\mathrm{NUM}}\right]_{\mathrm{RC}}\end{array}\right.$
$\mathrm{F}=$ PROX 3SG.F NMZ two
'this that (is) two (second)' [TACJ_205]
Relative clauses are given more detailed treatment in §14.2.2. The following section deals with other kinds of subordinate clauses.

### 4.5 Other subordinates and coordinates

Other kinds of subordinate clauses besides relative clauses are formed using discourse connectives. The linker $t \varepsilon$ can have a subordinating function as in (97).

```
man da slap, tæ kjam
man da slap [t\varepsilon kljam] sub
happen REAL rain NVIS be.cold
'when it rains, then it is cold'
```

Negative subordinators that mean 'though' or 'but also' are hnre (from Khasi) and taŋwa. These words allow clauses to appear more like complements, which are often unmarked and occur as juxtaposed elements. Example (98) is a construction using hntre. Prosodic pause also allows for juxtaposition and complementation - example (99) gives a standard complement clause.
(98) hynrei thok u læh, dang ræm u
hnre $t^{h} \partial k \quad u \quad l \varepsilon$ ? day rem u but.also cheat 3SG.M.NOM also DUR lose 3SG.M.NOM 'even though he cheated, he still lost'
yoo-luti o, bam ko
jo-luti o bam ko
hope 1SG.NOM eat 3SG.F.NOM
'I hope she eats'
The morpheme te noted above also coordinates sequences in discourse. It is used between clauses or predicates to mean something like English 'so'. Another coordinating morpheme is wa, homophonous with the nominalizer/relativizer. It serves to coordinate noun phrases and occasionally verb phrases.

The topic of coordination and subordination is treated in more detail in Chapter 14. The following section briefly outlines topic focus in Pnar.

### 4.6 Topic fronting

Topic fronting is where a referential element (usually an NP) occurs initially before a predicate, a placement which serves to highlight it. The minimal set below illustrates, with the NP in (100) occurring as topic in (101).
(100) yap $u$ woh kiang nangbah
jap $[\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{w o} \boldsymbol{?} \text { kiay naybar] }]_{s}$
die $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{HON}$
'Mr. Kiang Nangbah died' [KNI_006]
(101) $u$ woh kiang nangbah yap $u$
$\left[\begin{array}{lllll}\downarrow=w \ni ? & \text { kiaך } & \text { naŋbar }\end{array}\right]_{\text {s.ACC }}$ jap $\boldsymbol{u}_{\text {s }}$
M=HON Kiang Nangbah die 3SG.m.nom
'Mr. Kiang Nangbah, he died' [KNI_010]
Topic focus can occur with any NP or prepositionally case marked phrase and is discussed further in $\S 10.2 .1$. The following section identifies different derivational affixes and clitics.

### 4.7 Derivational affixes and clitics

Affixes and clitics that derive clause constituents can be divided into nominalizing and verbal processes. Nominalizing processes include deriving nominals from verbs via gender clitics and verb prefixes. Verbal processes derive verbs from verbs via prefixation.

Nominalized constituents serve as nouns in NPs or as arguments in the predicate. The gender clitic $k a=$ derives a result noun from a verb (102), $u=$ derives a purposive or non-finite form (103), $i=$ derives an action nominal (104), and $k i=$ derives a plural noun of activity (105).
(102) ka kræh
$\boldsymbol{k a}=k r \varepsilon$ ?
RES = work
'the (result of) work'
(103) u kræh
$\boldsymbol{u}=k r \varepsilon$ ?
$\mathrm{NF}=$ work
'to work (non-finite)'
(104) i kræh
$i=k r \varepsilon$ ?
ACT=work
'the (act of) working'
(105) ki kræh
$k i=k r \varepsilon$ ?
PL=work
'the works'

Nominalizing prefix $\begin{aligned} & \text { fin- derives an abstract noun (106), nכ } \eta \text { - derives an }\end{aligned}$ agentive noun (107), and $j u$ - derives an instrumental noun (108).

[^32](107) u nongkræh
$u=\boldsymbol{n o n}-k r \boldsymbol{n}$ ?
M=AG.NMZ-work
'worker'
(108) ka yuspong
$k a=\boldsymbol{j u}-$ spoŋ
$\mathrm{F}=$ INST.NMZ-wrap
'turban, thing that is
wrapped'

Derived verbs serve as heads of predicates and encode different types of meanings. Verbal prefix li- (109) derives a durative event/activity, ja- (110) derives a pluractional verb (depending on the context), and $p n$ - (111) derives a causative verb.
(109)
libooh
li-bo?
DUR-put
'keep for awhile'
(111)
pynyap
$p n$-jap
CAUS-die
'kill'
(110) yakræh
$j a-k r \varepsilon ?$
PLUR-work
'work together' or
'work for someone's benefit'

Verbal derivations are described further in $\S 6.3$ and nominalization is given further treatment in $\S 7.4$. A brief description of peripheral clause constituents, including prepositional case markers, follows.

### 4.8 Peripheral clause constituents

Prepositional case markers in Pnar tend to identify peripheral clause constituents in terms of their relation to the predicate. These are generally NPs or full clauses preceded by either $j a$ 'benefactive'3 (112), da 'instrumental' (113), ha 'locative' (114), tfa 'allative' (115), and na 'ablative' (116). The possessive marker $j \supset \eta$ 'genitive' is a minor type of case marker that only exists within the NP.

The main use of these words is to mark semantic roles and oblique information, though $j a$ and $d a$ can also occur with arguments/objects in accusative O syntactic function. Locative markers are unique in allowing marked nouns to occur without gender clitics.

[^33](112) kræh u ya nga $k r \varepsilon$ ? $u \quad j a \quad \eta a$ work 3SG.M.NOM BEN 1SG.ACC 'he works for me'
(113) kræh u da kti
$k r \varepsilon$ ? $u \quad d a \quad k t i$
work 3SG.M.NOM INST hand 'he works with (his) hand(s)'
(114) kræh u ha jowai
kre? u ha gwaj
work 3SG.m.nom LoC Jowai 'he works in Jowai'
(115) lai u cha yaw laj u $\quad$ fa jaw go 3SG.M.NOM ALL market 'he goes to market'
(116) wan u na skur
wan u na skur
come 3SG.M.NOM ABL school
'he comes from school'
The use of these words for semantic role and occasional grammatical role marking is described more fully in $\S 5.6$.

### 4.9 Summary

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the lexical classes and clause types in Pnar. The following chapters first examine the closed lexical classes which serve a variety of roles and functions. Open word classes will then be discussed before proceeding to an explanation of clause structure and more complex interactions.

## Chapter 5

## Closed word classes

Closed word classes in Pnar are the grammatical 'glue' that, along with word order, identifies referents and relations between elements. The following sections examine and exemplify the large number of concepts that these classes are used for. These word classes can be viewed as a set of interlocking elements whose interaction gives insight into the way Pnar speakers' minds work. Gender, for example, is a feature of pronouns (§5.1) and is necessary not only for identifying interlocutors but also for identifying other nominal referents via noun class clitics (§5.2). These clitics serve an agreement function which provides a means of tying disparate elements together in a noun phrase. They also serve a specifying function which, in conjunction with demonstratives (§5.3) creates a cline of definiteness (§5.3.4), allowing for flexibility of discourse. This ability to express a range of meanings extends itself to numerals (§5.4) and quantification via classifiers (§5.5), which are unusual in languages of the world in requiring plural marking on the noun. The possibilities available to Pnar speakers are further extended by prepositional case markers (§5.6) that serve a variety of semantic functions, and by a number of closed classes which identify various verbal properties: adverbs (§5.7), auxiliaries (§5.8), and negators (§5.9). Finally, discourse connectors (§5.10) serve to chain the predicate to other clauses and larger constituents.

### 5.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are the primary way that Pnar speakers identify participants and referents in the clause. Speakers with shared knowledge and experiences will generally use full nouns for the sole purpose of introducing new or novel information. Pronouns serve as heads of noun phrases, but have a more
restricted use in terms of which forms can combine with other elements of the noun phrase. This section gives an overview of personal pronouns and usage in Pnar.

### 5.1.1 Accusative and nominative forms

Personal pronouns in Pnar are a closed class that serve as heads of noun phrases. These are portmanteau morphemes which encode person, number, and some sort of case. There are two paradigms of pronouns: one set which precedes the verb and one set that follows the verb (Table 5.1). The postverbal forms always identify A or S arguments - therefore 'nominative'. The preverbal set identify topicalized arguments and can be used post-verbally to identify O arguments. prepositional case markers also require the preverbal form, and may refer to oblique arguments. I therefore term these forms 'accusative'.

It should be noted, however, that the tendency for preverbal forms to mark accusative case is only a tendency. These forms can refer to the S/A argument as well, particularly when in the topic slot of an intransitive verb. Post-verbally, however, the nominative-accusative structure is clear. This is a separate system from the nominal and verbal gender clitics described in §5.2, though there is some overlap in form and function.

| Case: <br> Marking: | Accusative topic/oblique, preverbal, O |  |  | Nominative core, post-verbal, S/A |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Person: | Masc | Fem | Neut. | Masc | Fem | Neut. |
| 1sg: | ja |  |  | $\bigcirc$ |  |  |
| 2sg: | me | $p^{h} a$ |  | $m i$ | $p^{h}$ כ |  |
| 3sg: | $o$ | ka | $i$ | $u$ | $k$ | $i$ |
| 1 pl : | $i$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2pl/formal: | $p^{h}$ |  |  | $p$ |  |  |
| 3 pl : | ki |  |  | k |  |  |

Table 5.1: Personal pronouns

Pnar pronouns exhibit individual biological gender in second and third person singular forms. Neuter only exists in third person and does not change form based on position. First person does not encode gender, though it does identify the nominative-accusative distinction. Plural forms identify neither gender nor case.

## $\eta a$ vs. $0^{\prime} 1 \mathrm{sg} . n o m '$

In pre-verbal topic position, $\eta a$ represents first person singular, while the default post-verbal form of first person singular is 0 . In (117) the topical referent is the speaker, cross referential with the post-verbal nominative form. In (118) the post-verbal form $m i$ identifies the addressee as a single male, and the speaker identified himself in the semantic role of beneficiary with the prepositional case markerally marked $\eta a$ accusative form.

```
(117) nga lai o cha u ma ripil
    ya laj 0 tfa u=ma ripil
    1SG.ACC go 1SG.NOM ALL M=HON.M Ripil
    'I went to Mr. Ripil' [HPAHR_088]
(118) iyi u e mi ya nga?
    i=ji u=e mi ja ma
    N=thing NF=give 2SG.M.NOM BEN 1SG.ACC
    'what will you give me?' [PP05KO_044]
```


## $m e$ vs. $m i{ }^{\prime} 2 \mathrm{sG} . \mathrm{M} . \mathrm{NOM}$ '

Masculine second person singular is represented by $m e$ in topic position and $m i$ in default position. Example (119) gives an intransitive construction with these forms.

```
(119) me lai mi
    me laj mi
    2SG.M.ACC go 2SG.m.NOM
    'you (masc) go (are going)' [HPAHR_127]
```

$p^{h} a$ vs. $p^{h}{ }^{h}{ }^{‘}$ 2SG.F.NOM'

Feminine second person singular is $p^{h} a$ in topic position and $p^{h} \supset$ in default position (120). Example (121) demonstrates referentiality in a possessive construction.
(120) pha lai pho
$p^{h} a \quad \operatorname{laj} p^{h} \boldsymbol{O}$
2SG.F.ACC go 2SG.F.NOM
'you (fem) go (are going)'
(121) ini i thaw yong pha
$i=n i \quad i=t^{h}$ aw $\quad j o \eta \quad \boldsymbol{p}^{h} \boldsymbol{a}$
$\mathrm{N}=$ PROX $\mathrm{N}=$ place GEN 3SG.F.ACC
'this place of yours' [HPAHR_144]
$o$ vs. $u$ '3SG.M.NOM'
The masculine third-person pre-verbal form is $o$, while the post-verbal form is $u(122)$. Example (123) shows that the topicalized form can be found even in a relativized construction.
(122) oo lai u
$\boldsymbol{o} \quad$ laj $\boldsymbol{u}$

3SG.M.ACC go 3SG.M.NOM
'he goes (is going)' [FPAHM_016]
(123) katæ toh ka bynta ka wa oo lai u
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad$ to? $k a=b n t a \quad[k a \quad w a \quad o \quad l a j$
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS be $\mathrm{F}=$ purpose 3SG.F NMZ 3SG.M.ACC go
$u]_{\mathrm{RC}}$
3SG.M.NOM
'that is the way that it goes' [PP12BL_022]
$k a$ vs. ko '3SG.F.NOM'
The feminine third-person pre-verbal form is $k a$ and the post-verbal form is $k o$ (124).
(124) ka lai ko
ka laj ko
3SG.F.ACC go 3SG.F.NOM
'she goes (is going)'
$i{ }^{\prime} 3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{N}, 1 \mathrm{PL}$ ', $p^{h} i{ }^{\prime}{ }^{2} \mathrm{PL}$ ', $k i{ }^{\prime} 3 \mathrm{PL}$ '
The third person singular neuter pronoun is homophonous with the plural pronoun of first person, $i(125)$. The second person plural form is $p^{h} i$ (126), and the third person pronoun is $k i$ (127). These forms do not change based on their constituent order in relation to the verb or prepositional case marking.
(125) i lai i
$i \quad \operatorname{laj} i$
1PL go 1PL
'we go (are going)'

```
(126) phi lai phi
\(\boldsymbol{p}^{h} \boldsymbol{i}\) laj \(p^{h} \boldsymbol{i}^{1}\)
2PL go 2PL
'you (plural) go (are going)'
```

(127) ki lai ki
$k i \quad l a j k i$
3PL go 3PL
'they go (are going)' [PP3SKY_008]
The post-verbal morphemes are generally required for clarifying grammatical relations, while pre-verbal morphemes are used to focus attention or topicalize the nominal referent.

Example (128) illustrates the use of pre and post-verbal pronominal forms involving switch reference. Here the speaker is relating the feelings he would get when he was young and his father told him traditional stories. He identifies himself as $\eta a$, the topic. However, the A-argument of the verb $k t a$ ? 'touch deeply' is $k \supset$ ' 3 sg.f.nom', which is co-referential with $k a=t \varepsilon k a=r u k o m$ 'that way' of the prior clause. Although in English it is necessary to render such a construction with a comma to indicate pause, in Pnar there is no pause between the topic and the following verbal construction. The primary indicator here of argument grammatical relation is the form of the pronoun.
(128) kat wa kamtæ, nga ha katæ ka rukom, nga da ktah ko ya nga

| $k a t$ | $w a$ | $k a m-t \varepsilon$ | $\eta a$ | $h a$ | $k a=t \varepsilon$ | $k a=$ rukom | $\eta a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| as | NMZ | as-NVIS | 1SG.ACC | LOC | $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS | $\mathrm{F}=$ =way | 1SG.ACC |
| $d a$ | $k t a$ ? | $k \boldsymbol{k s}$ | $j a$ | $\boldsymbol{\eta a}$ |  |  |  |
| REAL | touch.deeply | 3SG.F.NOM | BEN | 1SG.ACC |  |  |  |

'due to that, me, in that way, me, it (that way) deeply touched me' [TACJ_020]

Example (129) similarly provides insight into the use of these forms for tracking referents. Here the speaker is relating a past event, and reporting on someone else's speech to her. She starts by providing the quote frame эŋ $k \rho$ 'she said', and then launches into the direct quote itself after a brief pause. The pronoun form $p^{h} \partial$ refers to the addressee (the speaker who is reporting on the event), and $\eta a$ refers to $k y$ 'her', the one whose speech is being reported. Here the use of different pronominal forms allows the Pnar speaker to shift perspectives instantaneously.

[^34]| $d \varepsilon p-t \varepsilon \quad \supset \eta \quad k \quad$ | tf wa | $u=j a t^{h}$ э? | $p^{h}$ כ | $t \varepsilon$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| PERF-NVIS say 3SG.F.NOM | before | $\mathrm{NF}=$ marry | 2sg.f.nom | NVIS |
| wan $k^{h} a n a j a \quad \eta a$ | mo |  |  |  |
| come tell BEN 1SG.ACC | Q.tag |  |  |  |
| en she said 'before you | ry come | e tell me | PA | 009 |

Relative pronouns Relative pronouns are third person singular forms that occur preceding a relative clause or quantifier phrase. Their sole function is to index the gender of the relative clause head, and they have the same form as gender clitics discussed below (§5.2).

### 5.1.2 Restrictions on pronominal forms

Although they can serve as heads in a noun phrase, pronominal forms are more restricted than noun heads, mainly in terms of where they can occur and what they can occur with. Preverbal or accusative pronominal forms can only occur either preverbally, in the O argument slot, or marked by prepositional case markers. Post-verbal or nominative forms can only occur in the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$ argument slot or immediately following the noun in a genitive construction.

Pronominal forms are also restricted in terms of the kind of modification they can take. Pronouns generally do not occur with quantifiers or demonstratives, for example (possible exceptions being the third person accusative forms). Accusative pronominal forms can occur with relative clause modification (130), but I have yet to find a nominative form in my data that can occur with modification. In all examples where following elements resemble such modification, the elements turn out to be verbal complements. This is the case in (131). It is also worth noting the genitive construction $i=m n s e n$ $\supset$ 'my spirit' that occurs in the second example.
(130) du nga wa æm mynsein
$d u \quad \boldsymbol{\eta} a \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}w a & \varepsilon m & m n s e n\end{array}\right]_{\text {ReL } / \mathrm{MOD}}$
only 1SG.ACC NMZ have spirit
'(it's) only I who have soul/life' [PP15PI_010]
(131) sñiawthooh o wa raw i mynsein o
sniawt ${ }^{h}$ o? o $\quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}w a & \text { raw }\end{array}\left[\begin{array}{ll}i=m n s e n & o\end{array}\right]_{\text {GEN }}\right]_{\text {COMPL }}$
understand 1SG.NOM NMZ dry $\mathrm{N}=$ =spirit 1 SG.NOM
'i understand how dry my spirit is' [TACJ_078]

### 5.2 Gender clitics

The conceptualization of gender (or class) in Pnar is reflected both at the pronominal and the nominal level. At the pronominal level it is reflected in second and third person gendered forms. At the nominal level it is reflected by gender clitics which attach prosodically to noun stems and have minor stress in relation to the final syllable of the word. Gender clitics are also the means for marking co-referentiality (agreement) within the noun phrase, and have the same form as morphemes that derive nouns from verbs. This chapter describes the use of gender clitics for marking noun class, agreement, and nominal status.

### 5.2.1 Gender on nouns

In Pnar all nouns are classified with gender according to the following general patterns. Nouns which refer to animate beings can be classified as $u$ 'masculine' and $k a$ 'feminine' according to biological gender, and animate beings of unknown gender, or small (young) animates can be referred to as $i$ 'neuter'. So bru 'person' can be preceded by $u=$ to mean a male human or by $k a=$ to mean a female human, and possibly by $i=$ to mean a child or person of unknown gender (i.e. $u=b r u$ 'man', $k a=b r u$ 'woman', $i=b r u$ 'small person, dwarf'). Some nouns which refer to animates have fixed class - these are generally classificatory terms, i.e. $u=t$ fnray 'male, man', $k a=k n t^{h} a j$ 'female, woman'.

Nouns which refer to inanimates are categorized as $u=, k a=$, or $i=$. It is not completely clear on what basis membership is assigned, though nouns that reference philosophical or abstract entities (or occasionally collective entities) are generally marked with $i=$ 'neuter', and some animate entities with unknown or undefined biological gender are also placed in this category. Singh (1906) describes the corresponding Khasi category marked by $i$ as 'diminutive', and while this is true for some Pnar nouns (small pieces of meat, tiny seeds) it does not hold in all cases. This gender clitic is homophonous in Pnar with the 1Pl pronoun, as discussed in $£ 5.1 .1 .^{2}$ Since the form $i$ is also homophonous with an action nominalizer that cliticizes to verbs, the term

[^35]'neuter' is more explanatory for Pnar. Subclasses of nouns include proper nouns or names (personal names, place names, family names) and common nouns, which include both count and mass nouns.

Personal names are marked as $u$ or $k a$ according to the gender of the individual, which can result in some interesting combinations. As an example, if the name $k a=u m$ 'water' is given to a male child, the child will be known as $u=u m$, counter to the original gender of the noun. Another example, which occurs in my texts, is the name $u=k \supset \eta ~ s a j o ~ ' M r . ~ K o n g ~ S a i o o ' . ~ T h e ~$ word $k \supset \eta$ is most often a vocative form for women, and is generally assumed to be feminine (see §7.2.3). In this context, however, it is the first name of a man and is therefore masculine. It is also used in some kinship terms (§7.3.3) in which the gender of the referent is variable.

The gender markers have the same form as morphemes which nominalize verbs (§7.4). The relatedness of these forms seems apparent, though it is not clear historically whether one function developed before the other. ${ }^{3}$ An interesting correlation is the marking of inanimates with gender according to semantics of result. For example, the default realization of the noun den 'tree' is with the masculine gender clitic $u=$. However, when the tree has fallen or been cut down, or if the material 'wood' is being referred to, the noun takes the feminine gender clitic $k a=$. This suggests the result of an activity or event, similar to the resultative meaning that $k a=$ has when acting as a referential or nominalization marker on verb stems.

The plural marker $k i=$ is included here as part of the class system, though its primary function is to mark number (plural, i.e. more than one) on the noun. It, like the other clitics, is obligatory for all plural nouns. Examples of some proper and common nouns are given in Table 5.2.

Gender is reported for all the Khasian languages, though this is a noun classification system not reported for the majority of Austroasiatic languages. ${ }^{4}$ For Khasi gender, Rabel-Heymann (1977) creates semantic groupings that largely seem to hold for Pnar as well. Exceptions to these semantic classes of nouns may be explained by Pnar oral traditions, particularly as many traditional stories contain anthropomorphic beings with male or female characteristics. Female $k a=s \eta i$ 'sun' and male $u=b n a j$ 'moon', $u=p r t^{h} a t$ 'lightning', for example, seem to be associated with male gender simply be-

[^36]| Gender | form | Proper | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'M sing.' | $u$ | $u=$ maly ian | 'Malngiang' |
| 'F sing.' | ka | $k a=d$ antia | 'the Jaintia (woman)' |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { ' } \mathrm{N}, \operatorname{dim} . \text { sing.' } \\ & \text { 'PL' } \end{aligned}$ | $i$ | $i=\$ w a j$ | 'a Jowai (person)' |
|  | $k i$ | $k i=k^{h} a s i$ | 'the Khasis' |
|  |  | Common | Gloss |
| 'M sing.' | $u$ | $u=w i u=b l a \eta$ | 'one M= goat' |
| 'F sing.' | ka | $k a=w i ~ k a=b l a \eta$ | 'one F=goat' |
| $' \mathrm{~N}$, dim. sing.' | $i$ | $i=w i ~ i=p o r$ | 'one $\mathrm{N}=$ time' |
| 'PL' | $k i$ | $k i=b r u$ | ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{PL}=$ person' |

Table 5.2: Pnar noun classes
cause they are male beings in the traditional stories handed down from the ancestors, rather than due to over-arching semantic criteria. ${ }^{5}$

The tradition in Khasian languages and in previous analyses of Khasi has been to term these morphemes 'articles', particularly due to their similarity in form to third person singular pronouns. However, these morphemes exhibit minor stress and lack the feature of definiteness. Furthermore, they are used to mark other linked elements within the noun phrase. Having said that, there are also conditions where they don't occur on nouns. So while they can be considered 'basic' to the meaning of the noun, I consider them to be clitics whose primary function is to identify referents.

### 5.2.2 Specificity and definiteness

I have earlier suggested that Pnar gender clitics encode specificity but not definiteness, but I have not defined either term. This section attempts to define both terms, followed by a brief discussion of how the feature of specificity is marked in Pnar. Definiteness is defined here since it overlaps with specificity to a degree, but it is discussed at greater length in §5.3.4, since it is a major feature of demonstratives.

[^37]"The notion of specificity in linguistics is notoriously non-specific" states Farkas (2002: 213). This may be in part because linguists can ignore interactional principles when describing how language works. The notion of specificity is in fact often contrasted with or described along with that of definiteness, which can be confusing. Lyons (1999: 57) notes that in some languages "a category is expressed, typically by a particle with the positional and morphophonological characteristics of an article, which is either distinct from definiteness yet cuts across it, or is broader than, and inclusive of, definiteness. The category in question corresponds in part to the concept of specificity.." and further states that (ibid.: 59) "articles marking specificity, or something close to specificity, rather than definiteness are fairly widespread", citing Samoan, Maori, Shuswap, Sango, and Dzamba.

To add to the potential for confusion, specificity is also often described in combination with referentiality, as these features overlap in many languages (c.f. discussion in Lyons, 1999: 165-178). For example, in the English sentence below (132), both 'man' and 'dog' are referential in that the hearer assumes their existence, if only in the mind of the speaker. Both are also specific, as the hearer makes the assumption that the speaker can identify (to some degree) both referents. However, both are not definite - i.e. the hearer can likely identify 'the man' but not 'a dog'. ${ }^{6}$
(132) The man hit a dog.

This highlights the interactional nature of specificity and definiteness (Givón, 1979), as being features encoded by speakers (S) in interaction with hearers (H). Specificity is a speaker-dependent notion - a referent is specific iff. a speaker (S) can identify it. Naturally, a hearer (H) makes assumptions based on what $S$ says, which brings up the second point, namely that $S$ constrains H's assumptions by what S says. A marker of specificity simply tells H explicitly that something exists (if only in the mind of $S$ ) that $S$ can identify. Conversely, non-specific markers tell H that S cannot identify the referent or that S has decided not to mark whether they can identify the referent, perhaps because identification is unimportant.

Definiteness, on the other hand, is a hearer-dependent notion. A referent is definite iff. a hearer ( H ) can identify it. By using a definite marker, S is telling H that H can identify the referent. By using an indefinite marker S is

[^38]telling H that H cannot identify the referent. S can also decide not to mark whether or not H can identify the referent.

If we turn these possibilities into features, we can look at the contrast between Speaker identifiability and Hearer identifiability. Logically, a marker would not encode that a speaker/hearer would be able to identify a referent while simultaneously being unable to identify a referent. We therefore have a conceptual space with 12 different grammatical marking possibilities for encoding specificity and definiteness in languages (Table 5.3). Languages can individually mark Speaker identifiability or non-identifiability, Hearer identifiability or non-identifiability, or some combination of both (excluding logical impossibilities).

| Sp. + ID | Sp. - ID | Hr. + ID | Hr. - ID |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Yes |  |  |  |
|  | Yes |  |  |
|  |  | Yes |  |
| Yes |  |  | Yes |
| Yes |  | Yes | Yes |
|  | Yes |  | Yes |
|  | Yes | Yes |  |

Table 5.3: Definiteness and specificity

Different languages divide this interactional space differently and make different assumptions. In English, for example, there are no markers of specificity (nouns are assumed to be specific unless marked otherwise), but all nouns must be marked for definiteness. Thus (133) refers to tigers in general (generic, i.e. [-specific, -definite]), while in (134) 'tiger' can be construed as either [-specific, -definite] (generic), [+specific, -definite] (a tiger I know of but you don't), or [-specific, + definite] (hearsay - I don't know the tiger but maybe you do). Definiteness may also be assumed, since this is what 'the' generally encodes. To explicitly tell H that they can identify the particular tiger, however, a stronger definite marker, such as a deictic demonstrative, may be used (135). You can also get a [+specific, -definite] reading by adding a qualifier, such as 'I saw' (136).
(133) A tiger eats wildebeast.
(134) The tiger eats wildebeast.
(135) That tiger eats wildebeast.
(136) A tiger I saw eats wildebeast.

### 5.2.3 Specificity in Pnar

In Pnar, all nouns are generally assumed to be specific/referential. Gender clitics explicitly encode this specificity. For example, (137) describes the goal as jaw 'market', without a gender clitic. Here the goal is seen as generic a specific market may exist in the mind of the speaker, but it is deemed unnecessary to denote whether that is the case, and is therefore construed as non-specific. When the goal is given a gender clitic in a similar context, however (138), it tells the hearer that the speaker intends to refer to a particular market, which may or may not be accessible to the speaker. The speaker mitigates this concern by naming a market in the following clause (not included in the example here).
(137) hiar ki cha yaw sæ
hiar ki tfa jaw se descend 3PL all market C.tag 'they descended to market, ok' [PP09MW_016]
(138) lai ki cha ka yaw
laj ki ty $a \quad k a=j a w$
go 3PL ALL $\mathrm{F}=$ market
'they went to a/the market' [PP04SKO_038]
This dichotomy is true for any noun, and those that can be conceptualized as a location, goal, or source will often occur without the gender clitic and then may be construed as referential but not specific or definite. Exceptions to this are nouns where the referent is inherently specific and/or definite as in the case of proper nouns/names. In (139), for example, the noun t noy 'village' occurs without the gender clitic. Here, the addition of the village name sopmntiy to form a nominal compound allows 'village' to retain a specific meaning. Similarly, in (140) the noun juy 'home' refers to the speaker's own home and is therefore specific.
(139) ya-thma ki cheini cha chnong sohmynting

PLUR-war 3PL ALL=N=PROX ALL village Sohmynting
'they fought there to Sohmynting village' [SI2_009]
nga liwan wot o cha yung

| ya | liwan | wot | o | tfa | juy |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1SG.ACC | return.home | IMMD | 1SG.NOM | ALL | home |
| 'I returned home' | $[$ LS3J_015] |  |  |  |  |

Nouns which occur as heads of NPs generally occur with a gender clitic. The only exceptions are if the NP is marked by a locative case ( $t a, n a, h a$ ) as in (139) and (140) above, or by the explicit indefinite marker $t f i$ ' $a$, an, each, set' in an indefinite construction (141, 142 below). In this case the noun can be construed as specific (or rather has indeterminate specificity that is dependent on context) but not definite due to the use of the indefinite marker.
(141) chi kyntein i hok
tfi knten $i=h o k$
INDF word $\mathrm{N}=$ be.honest
'one honest word' [PP01CSE_075]
(142) man da ong chi daloi tæ cheitai tæ mut chi pargana kamtæ sæ

| ma | da | oj tfi | daloj te | t $\int$ e $=i=t a j$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

become REAL say INDF daloi NVIS ALL=N=distal NVIS
mut $\quad$ ti pargana kam-te se
means INDF pargana as-NVIS C.TAG
'when (I) say a Daloi there it means a Pargana, like that'
[PP06PK_015]
As a side note, in many translations of examples throughout this text I use the English definite article 'the' to describe a noun with a gender clitic. This is simply the nearest translation equivalent that exists in English for the Pnar marker of specificity, and should not be taken as a claim regarding features in Pnar, as I hope this and the following sections illustrate.

### 5.2.4 Agreement within the noun phrase

As identified for a few terms in Table 5.2, gender clitics act as agreement markers within the noun phrase, identifying items that 'hang together'. Agreement occurs on demonstratives (except for $t i$ ), relative clauses, and sometimes on numerals in quantifier phrases. Demonstratives, however, are the only forms on which gender agreement occurs as a clitic, being realized as third person singular pronouns on RCs and QPs. ${ }^{7}$ This agreement is ex-

[^39]emplified in (143) and (144) for demonstratives. It should be noted that I consider the numeral wi 'one' to be a demonstrative, for reasons explained below in $\S 5.3$.
(143) æm yap ka=wi ka=kynthai tymmæn
$\varepsilon m$ jap $k a=w i \quad\left[k a=k n t^{h} a j \quad t m m \varepsilon n\right]_{\text {HEAD }}$
have die $\mathrm{F}=$ one $\mathrm{F}=$ female old
'there is one old woman (who) died' [LS3J_007]
(144) ah ko ha ka ni ka kjat o
$a ? k J \quad h a \quad \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=n i \quad[\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=k \mathrm{k} 弓 a t \quad \jmath]_{\text {HEAD }}$
cut 3SG.F.NOM LOC F=PROX F=leg 1SG.NOM
'it cut this leg of mine' [LS1J_009]
Noun phrase agreement is discussed in more detail in Chapter 13. The following section discusses demonstratives and deixis, which leads into an examination of the notion of definiteness in Pnar.

### 5.3 Demonstratives, deixis, definiteness

Pnar demonstratives occur as elements within the noun phrase that generally precede the head noun and allow speakers to identify nominals in relation whether the hearer can identify the referent, generally with the speaker as the deictic center. Demonstratives combine deictic or definite markers with gender clitics, often occurring in tandem with their heads. The purpose of the gender clitic is to agree with or reference the head noun/pronoun, similar to the function of the relative pronoun in attributive constructions. Demonstratives can also occur as the presumptive head of a NP, but only when the referent has been previously identified or is situationally accessible. Since their primary purpose is the identification of deixis for nominals, demonstratives that occur as presumptive heads are assumed to be 'pointing' to an unmentioned head. The types of demonstratives that exist in Pnar are listed in Table 5.4. The interaction of demonstratives with quantification is discussed in §5.5.

### 5.3.1 Properties applying to all demonstratives

Demonstratives are part of a deictic system in Pnar that interacts with number, specificity, and definiteness. This can most clearly be seen in the contrast between use of the indefinite marker $t f i$ ' $a$, an' (145) and the definite

| Morpheme | Gloss | Example | Gloss | Indexes head? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ti i | 'a, an' | ti por | 'a time' | no |
| wi | 'one' | $u=w i$ | 'one' | yes |
| $n i$ | 'PROX' | $u=n i$ | 'this' | yes |
| $j i$ | 'thing' | $u=j i$ | 'a/the thing' | yes |
| wวn | 'which, any' | $u=w \supset n$ | 'which' | yes |

Table 5.4: Pnar demonstratives
singular marker $k a=w i$ 'one' (146). Here the referent or concept marked by $t f i$ is unspecified for number, is non-specific (or has indeterminate specificity), and is indefinite, whereas the marker $k a=w i$ is singular, specific, and definite.
(145) chi por
ti $\quad$ por
INDF time
'a time' [PP13RS_168]
(146) kawi ka por
$\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{w i} \quad k a=p \circ r$
$\mathrm{F}=$ one $\mathrm{F}=$ time
'one time' [PP10PO_013]
I include both the indefinite marker and the singular definite marker in the set of Pnar demonstratives, since they can precede nouns in an NP. However, it should be clear that these two morphemes mark opposite ends on a scale of definiteness. Properties of demonstratives generally are that they can act as heads in NPs, can precede heads in NPs, and agree in gender and number with the head noun. The morpheme tfi cannot occur as the head of NPs, it always precedes a head, and it does not agree in gender and number with the head noun. In fact, it has more in common with gender clitics as it occurs before bare noun stems. The numeral wi, on the other hand, fits all of these criteria, in common with spatial and anaphoric demonstratives.

The relation of definiteness to notions of specificity and their interaction within the Pnar demonstrative system is discussed in §5.3.4. First, the sections below examine spatial and anaphoric demonstratives (§5.3.2) and temporal demonstratives (§5.3.3).

### 5.3.2 Spatial and anaphoric demonstratives

There are five spatial deictic markers in Pnar, four which indicate distance from the speaker ( $n i$ 'proximal', te 'mesio-proximal', tu 'medial', taj 'distal') and one that identifies non-visible or anaphoric referents ( $t \varepsilon$ 'non-visible', also used as a clause-chaining morpheme). These morphemes are illustrated by Figure 5.1, where the central dot represents the speaker. Each of these morphemes seem to be speaker based rather than addressee based. However, there is some variability in interpretation of the mesioproximal and medial distances. Some of my consultants drew a very clear distinction between these morphemes, others did not distinguish between them at all, and one stated that the difference between them was based on proximity to a nonspeaker, either the addressee or simply another human at the correct distance away from the interlocutors. The morpheme taj can also refer to something out of sight at a great distance but which is familiar to either the speaker or the hearer. This deserves further investigation.


Figure 5.1: Pnar spatial deictic relations

Demonstratives allow speakers to locate and identify referents in space through pointing. Spatial deictic demonstratives point to and locate referents in physical space. The gender clitic attached to the deictic is the primary referential element, indicating the gender of the head which is being located, while the deictic marker indicates its spatial (or anaphoric/invisible) distance from the speaker. Example (147) points to a proximal referent, (148)
is mesio-proximal, (149) is medial, (150) is distal, and (151) is non-visible.
(147) kani ka madan
$k a=n i \quad k a=m a d a n$
F=PROX $\mathrm{F}=$ ground
'this ground' [FPAHM_056]
(148) ite i thaw
$i=t e \quad i=t^{h} a w$
$\mathrm{N}=$ MPROX $\mathrm{N}=$ place
'this place (just nearby)' [BMPJ_088]
(149) daw dooh i ki kitu ki phlang ki rnæm
daw do? $i \quad k i \quad k i=t u \quad k i=p^{h} l a \eta \quad k i=r n e m$
IRR lose 1PL 3PL PL=MEDL PL=grass PL=plant
'we will lose those grass, plants' [BMPJ_049]
(150) utai $u$ bru
$u=t a j \quad u=b r u$
M=DIST M=person
'that man (far away)' [MPSM_010]
(151) katæ ka um
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=u m$
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ water
'that water (unseen, unknown to hearer)' [AIJ_107]
Additionally, these demonstratives can point to an object in view which is modified by a relative clause. In (152) the head which both the demonstrative and the RC identify/modify is not clearly stated within the clause itself.
(152) kate ka wa u mih na poh hali
$k a=t e \quad k a \quad\left[\begin{array}{llll}w a & u=m i P \quad n a & p o P\end{array}\right]_{\mathrm{RC}}$
$\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{MPROX}$ 3SG.F NMZ NF=bring.out ABL inside
'this (thing nearby) which was brought out from inside the field'
[BMPJ_018]

### 5.3.3 Temporal demonstratives

Speakers may also use demonstratives (generally in combination with locative case markers) to locate referents in time. Example (153) points to a proximal 'here' time, (154) refers to someone having said something at a mesio-proximal 'recently' or 'nearby' time, (155) refers to speech event in a
medial 'less recent' time, (156) is a distal time, and (157) is a non-visible or unknown time. These deictics tend to reference time in the past or near past (conceptualized as 'realis' by Pnar speakers), but they can also occur in a potential or purposive sense, depending on how speakers conceptualize such an event.
(153) heini i por
$\boldsymbol{h e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{n i} \quad i=p o r$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ PROX $\mathrm{N}=$ time
'at this time' [BPVM_002]
(154) heite ong i
$\boldsymbol{h e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{t} \quad \quad$ $\quad$ 刀 $\quad i$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ MPROX say 1 PL
'at that (then, close) we say' [PP08LC_002]
(155) $\mathrm{he}=\mathrm{i}=\mathrm{tu} \mathrm{u}=\mathrm{ong} \mathrm{o}$
$\boldsymbol{h e}=\boldsymbol{i = t u} \quad u=\supset \eta \quad \jmath$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ M=say 1SG.NOM
'at that (then, not close) I say' [BPDJ_038]
(156) $n e=i=t æ$ man $n e=i=t æ$ tæ ong wot $u$
$\begin{array}{llllll}\boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} & \text { man } & \boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} & t \varepsilon & \text { эך } & \text { w丁t }\end{array}$
$u$
3SG.M.NOM
'from then (it) happens from then he just says..' [PP04SKO_036]
(157) he=i=tæ $\mathrm{i}=$ por wa ong ya phi
$\boldsymbol{h}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \quad i=p \supset r \quad$ wa $\quad \supset \eta \quad j a \quad p^{h} i$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ time NMZ say BEN 2PL
'at that time that (they) said to you..' [BPDJ_026]
In narratives, retellings, and procedural discourse, in particular, another kind of expression combines deixis with aspect. In example (158) the word $d \varepsilon p-t \varepsilon$ combines perfective aspect with the non-visible deictic to indicate that one action or event has ended and another has begun, and can be translated as 'after that' or 'next'.

```
dæp-tæ ki=ni ki=kynthai
\(d \varepsilon p-t \varepsilon \quad k i=n i \quad k i=k n t^{h} a j\)
PERF-NVIS PL=NVIS PL=woman
```

'after that those women...' [FPAHM_026]

It is clear here that demonstratives in Pnar have quite a range of functions within a noun phrase, to make a referent definite as well as to locate it in relation to the speaker in both space and time. These functions are quite transparent and provide solid evidence that deixis in both time and space can be a unified concept in a speaker's mind and a language's grammar.

### 5.3.4 Definiteness

Demonstratives locate a referent in space in relation to the speech act, as opposed to determiners in some languages which identify the definiteness of a referent to the interlocutors (like English articles 'a/an/the'). In English these functions can be combined in demonstrative determiners 'this', 'that', 'these', 'those', and can combine with number as in 'this one', 'that one'. Unlike English, Pnar does not have articles that function as determiners in encoding definiteness. Rather, Pnar deictic markers are marked by clitics that agree in gender and number with the head noun, forming demonstratives which encode both deixis and specificity to give a measure of definiteness.

Chen (2004: 1129) states that "the term 'definiteness' denotes a grammatical category featuring formal distinction whose core function is to mark a nominal expression as identifiable or nonidentifiable", and defines 'identifiability' as "a pragmatic notion relating to the assumptions made by the speaker on the cognitive status of a referent in the mind of the addressee in the context of utterance" (ibid.: 1130). He goes on to say that definiteness has not fully grammaticalized as a category in Chinese, but that there are a range of grammatical markers to encode kinds of identifiability. The situation is similar in Pnar.

Above (§5.2.2) I have suggested that definiteness is a hearer-oriented category of identifiability, while specificity is speaker-oriented. Pnar gender markers encode (speaker-oriented) specificity but not (hearer-oriented) definiteness. Definiteness is instead dependent on pragmatic context (both linguistic and non-linguistic) and the use of modification strategies or deictic markers (demonstratives, genitive, prepositional case markers). It seems best here to posit a continuum of definiteness marking in Pnar, with in-
definites marked by $t i$ and definites marked by separate words, but with gender markers underspecified for definiteness. This hypothesis is expressed initially in Table 5.5.


## Table 5.5: Pnar definiteness

This section discusses the concept of definiteness and shows how definiteness, or hearer identifiability, is a property associated with a Pnar construction and not with a single word or clitic.

### 5.3.4.1 Discussion

Definiteness in the literature is often seen as dependent on either identifiability (uniqueness) or inclusiveness (see Lyons, 1999, for discussion in Chs. 1,7 ). Pnar definiteness marking can be described as a continuum, ranging from markers that encode non-specificity and non-uniqueness to those that encode specificity and uniqueness.

The role of gender clitics here will be considered on the basis of the noun daloj, which is a traditional role of governance in Pnar society over a geographical area called an claka. As a position that can only be taken by men (i.e., $[+$ human, + masculine $]$ ) this noun is more highly individuated than non-human or inanimate nouns. If we find that the gender clitic does not encode definiteness regarding a highly individuated noun (apart from demonstratives), we can assume that the same condition would apply to nouns lower on the scale of individuation.

Example (159) gives daloj with its corresponding gender clitic, $u$. This noun follows all the rules which govern nouns (Chapter 7). As is typical with other nouns, when only the noun and the gender clitic are considered, consultants differ in their translations, giving both definite and indefinite readings, which they said were the same. Many Pnar speakers in fact confuse the two English articles 'a' and 'the' in translation, suggesting that Pnar gender clitics (often equated to English articles) do not have the same definiteness distinction. To show that this is the case, however, contextual examples are given below.
(159) katæ toh ka bor yong u daloi
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad t \supset ? ~ k a=b \partial r \quad$ jə $\quad \boldsymbol{u}=$ daloj
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS be $\mathrm{F}=$ power GEN $\mathrm{M}=$ daloi
'this is the power of the/a Daloi (traditional chief)' [DR_005]
Example (160) shows that an indefinite reading can be forced by pre-posing the indefinite marker $t f i$ ' $a$, an, one'. This morpheme takes the place of the gender clitic, unlike the numeral wi 'one', which requires its own referential gender clitic (161).
(160) chi daloi
$\dagger t i=d a l o j$
INDF=daloi
'a Daloi' [PP06PK_015]
(161) u wi u daloi
$u=w i \quad u=d a l o j$
$\mathrm{m}=$ one $\mathrm{M}=$ daloi
'one Daloi'
The gender marker here is clearly encoding specificity and referentiality from the speaker's point of view, which makes sense from a discourse pragmatic perspective. Speakers and interlocutors need to be able to identify nominals that are being discussed - but this does not necessarily encode definiteness. Definiteness depends on the ability of the hearer to uniquely identify the referent denoted by the nominal. A definite reading can be forced by modifying the noun as in (162), after the referent was introduced earlier in the story. Here the speaker is clarifying which daloj is being talked about - the one who holds the position in the claka of hadعm. Further definiteness can be created by relativization as in (163), where the daloj being described is 'the first' one, clearly a definite referent.
(162) u daloi hadæm
$u=$ daloj hadem
m=daloi Hadæm
'the Hadem Daloi' [PP05KO_022]
(163) u man $\mathrm{u} u$ daloi u wa nyngkong
$u \quad$ man $u \quad u=$ daloj $[u \quad$ wa
3SG.m.NOM become 3SG.m.NOM M=daloi 3SG.M NMZ
$n \eta k \partial \eta]_{\mathrm{RC}}$
first
'he became the first Daloi' [PP04SKO_047]
or 'he became the Daloi who was first'

Example (164), however, is more problematic. In this sentence daloj is clearly referential, but is indefinite, being modified by the universal demonstrative $u=w כ n \quad u=w כ n$ 'every' (note that this demonstrative behaves similarly to 'one' in (161) above, in taking corresponding gender clitics). The nominal that daloj refers to is any member of a set of similar entities, a specific type but not a particular definite being or unique individual. A similar situation is found in (165), where daloj refers to a specific position but is indefinite, as any of a group of individuals who hold that position could serve as the referent. This conceptualization is further expanded in (166) where daloj is simply a modifier (possessor) of $k a=b \partial r$ 'power', referring to a unique position but also to a group of individuals who hold that position. Here $j \supset \eta$ gives 'power' a definite reading but not the modifier $u=d a l o j$.
(164) $u$ won $u$ won $u$ daloi wa toh na ka kur soo-kpoh
$u=w \supset n \quad u=w \supset n \quad u=d a l o j$ wa to? na ka=kur so-kpo? $\mathrm{M}=$ any $\mathrm{M}=$ any $\mathrm{M}=$ daloi NMZ be ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ =clan Soo-Kpoh 'every Daloi is from the Soo-Kpoh clan' [PP02SKF_002]
(165) tæ kam u daloi toh i synchar i ya ka khyndaw wa chyiap

| $t \varepsilon$ | kam | $u=d a l o j$ | to? | $i$ | sntfar | $i$ | ja | $k a=k^{h} n d a w$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NVIS | as | $\mathrm{M}=$ daloi |  |  |  |  | BEN | $\mathrm{F}=$ earth |
| wa | t? 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| COMT | soil |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

(166) ka bor yong $u$ daloi bad ha ka bor yong nga $u$ daloi i yei $u$ shynshar khadar
$\begin{array}{llllllll}k a=b \partial r & j \partial \eta & u=d a l o j & b a d & h a & k a=b \partial r & j \partial \eta & \eta a \\ \mathrm{~F}=\text { power } & \text { GEN } & \mathrm{M}=\text { daloi } & \text { also } & \text { LOC } & \mathrm{F}=\text { =power } & \text { GEN } & \text { 1SG.ACC }\end{array}$
$u=$ daloj $i \quad j e=i \quad u=\int n \int a r \quad k^{h} a d a r$
$\mathrm{M}=$ daloi 1PL BEN=1PL $\mathrm{NF}=$ rule govern
'the power of the/a Daloi, also my power (as) Daloi (is) for ruling (and) governing' [DR_005]

### 5.3.4.2 Summary

Here I have tried to show that Pnar gender noun class markers encode specificity but not definiteness. These two features are tied to identifiability in Pnar interaction, with specificity marking identifiability by the speaker and definiteness marking identifiability by the hearer. Definiteness is therefore dependent on pragmatic context and the use of modification strategies or deictic markers (demonstratives, genitive, prepositional case markers). It
seems best here to posit a continuum of definiteness marking in Pnar, with indefinites marked by $t f i$ and definites marked by separate words, but with gender markers underspecified for definiteness. These findings are summarized in Table 5.6.

|  | Indefinite <br> $t j i$ | Specific <br> Gclitic= | Unique <br> Deictics | Definite <br> $w i$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Occurs before noun stem | Yes | Yes | No | No |
| Agrees with head noun | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Can occur as head | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| Identifies a singular item | No | No | No | Yes |
| Specific |  |  |  |  |
| Unique | - | + | - | + |
|  | - | - | + | + |

Table 5.6: Specificity and definiteness in Pnar

### 5.4 Numerals

### 5.4.1 Cardinals

Cardinal numerals in Pnar systematically follow a base-10 system (Table 5.7). These forms only differ slightly in pronunciation from Khasi numerals.

| 1 - | wi | 21- | $\operatorname{arp}^{h}$ aw wi |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 - | $a r$ | 22 - | $\operatorname{arp}^{h}$ aw ar |
| 3 - | $l e$ | 23 - | $\operatorname{arp}^{h}$ aw le |
| 4 - | so | 24- | $\operatorname{arp}^{h}$ aw soo |
| 5 - | san | 25 - | $\operatorname{arp}^{h}$ aw san |
| 6 - | nru | 26 - | $\operatorname{arp}^{h}$ aw nru |
| 7 - | nпiaw | 27 - | $\operatorname{arp}^{h}$ aw nniaw |
| 8 - | $p^{h} r a$ | 28 - | $a r p^{h}$ aw $p^{h} r a$ |
| 9 - | $k^{h} n d e$ | 29 - | $\operatorname{arp}^{h}$ aw $k^{h} n d e$ |
| 10 - | tip ${ }^{\text {h }}$ aw | $30-$ | $l e p^{h} a w$ |
| 11 - | $k^{h}$ at wi | $40-$ | sop ${ }^{h}$ aw |
| 12 - | $k^{h} a t a r$ | $50-$ | sanp $^{h}$ aw |
| 13 - | $k^{h}$ at le | $60-$ | $n_{1}$ rup $^{h}$ aw |
| 14 - | $k^{h}$ at soo | $70-$ | ${ }_{1}$ niawp $^{h}$ aw |
| 15 - | $k^{h}$ at san | 80 - | $p^{h} r a p^{h} a w$ |
| 16 - | $k^{h}$ at nru | $90-$ | $k^{h} n d e p^{h} a w$ |
| 17 - | $k^{h}$ at njniaw | 100 - | tispa? |
| 18 - | $k^{h}$ at $p^{h} r a$ | 200 - | arspa? |
| 19 - | $k^{h}$ at $k^{h} n d e$ | 500 - | sanspa? |
| 20 - | $\operatorname{arp}^{h} a w$ | 1000 - | tihadzar |

## Table 5.7: Pnar numerals

Of note is that the indefinite marker $\$ \mathrm{fi}$ 'one, a, set' is found in the word for the first unit in the tens, hundreds, and thousands place, but that $k^{h} a t$ is used for 'ten' in compounds for 11-19. The word $k^{h} a t$ corresponds to the Munda form kad 'twenty' as noted by Zide (1976: 5-6). A possible explanation for this variation is anticipation of the twenty by Pnar speakers, similar to the anticipatory counting system used in numerals 6-9 as identified by comparing Pnar numerals with War in $\S 5.4 .3$ below. The word $\ddagger i p^{h} a w$ can be translated as 'a set of ten' from the potentially historical meaning 'half of twenty' (see §5.4.3 below), and each following multiple of 10 combines names of the numerals for 2 through 9 with $p^{h} a w$ 'tens.unit'. The word for thousand, hadgar, is borrowed from Hindi or Bangla.

### 5.4.2 Ordinals

The ordinal for 'first' is $n \eta k \supset \eta$, and ordinals above 1st are formed by relativization using the wa nominalizer/relativizer (167), i.e. ' X that is two, second'. This is similar to how ordinals are formed in Tibeto-Burman languages of Nagaland (see Coupe (2008) among others).
(167) ka wa nyngkong toh ka khloo lyngdoh, ka wa ar ka mariksoo, ka wa le toh ka khloo ka yung
$k a \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \boldsymbol{n} \eta \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{\eta} \boldsymbol{y}$ to? $k a=k^{h} l o \quad l \eta d \partial ? \quad k a \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad \boldsymbol{a r}$ 3SG.F NMZ first BE $\mathrm{F}=$ forest Lyngdoh 3SG.F NMZ two
$k a=m a r i k s o \quad k a \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad \boldsymbol{e} \quad$ to? $k a=k^{h} l o \quad k a=j u \eta$ $\mathrm{F}=$ Mariksoo 3SG.F NMZ three $\mathrm{BE} \quad \mathrm{F}=$ forest $\mathrm{F}=$ home 'the first is Lyngdoh forest, the second (is) Mariksoo, the third is KaYung forest' [BMPJ_016]

### 5.4.3 Origins of Pnar numerals

This section deals with possibilities and conjectures based on previously unavailable data. I make no claims at being a historical linguist, but some patterns of interest emerge when Pnar and other Khasian varieties (namely, War) are examined together. Sidwell (1999) provides an analysis of what is known currently about numerals in the Austroasiatic family and states that 1-5 have relatively well-attested forms and likely originate from a common Proto-Austroasiatic source, with numerals above 5 difficult to reconstruct due to borrowing.

Comparing Pnar numerals with the neighboring War variety (Table 5.8) allows us to see some interesting correlations with Pnar numerals. ${ }^{8}$ Before doing so, however, some observations of Pnar numerals should be made clear.

The first observation is that the first five numerals are monosyllables. Number 8 is the only other numeral in the first ten to be monosyllabic, but this can be explained as lenition from an earlier form retained in the War numeral below. Forms above ten are compounds. Another observation is that san, the word for 'five', is also used in my texts as a verb meaning 'be big' (i.e. wasan 'elder, headman'), and is used in this sense in kinship terminology (§7.3.3), i.e. sanpun 'big/eldest sibling'. If we consider counting on the fingers of a hand, san could refer to the 'big' finger, i.e. the thumb, or the whole hand. It is also worth noting that tfi kti, which combines tyi 'set' and kti 'hand', is a measure word meaning 'ten or so, a handful (using two hands)', rather than 'five'. The word $t i i$ is also used in words like titen 'half'.

Awareness of these facts allows us then to consider potential origins that seem to have been retained to some degree in War. Significantly, War nu-

[^40]merals 7 and 8 seem to exhibit a subtractive system, where the number seven incorporates the form for three ( $10-3=7$ ) and the eight incorporates two $(10-2=8)$. The nine does not clearly incorporate one, but otherwise seems to exhibit similar subtractive morphology (which is discussed below). Although War numeral 6 does not have the same morphology as found in 7-9, in Pnar the numeral for 6 has strikingly similar morphology.

| 1 - | [mi] | 21 - | [ $\mathrm{l} \mathrm{r}^{\text {a }} \mathrm{p}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{omi}$ mi] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 - | [ũ, ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ] | 22 - | [u r ${ }^{\text {p }}{ }^{\text {h }} \mathrm{o}$ ũ] |
| 3 - | [la, laj] | 23 - | [ $\mathrm{r} \mathrm{r}^{\text {a }} \mathrm{p}^{\text {hoola] }}$ |
| 4 - | [re, ria] | 24 - | [ $\mathrm{r} \mathrm{r}^{\text {P }} \mathrm{p}^{\text {ho re }}$ ] |
| 5 - | [ran] | 25 - | [u r ${ }^{\text {a }}{ }^{\text {ho }}$ oran] |
| 6 - | [ $\mathrm{th}^{\text {r }}{ }^{\text {w }}, \mathrm{t}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{ra}^{\mathrm{w}}$ ] | 26 - | [ $\mathrm{r} \mathrm{r}^{\ominus} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{ot}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{ro}^{\mathrm{w}}$ ] |
| 7 - | [hn.t ${ }^{\text {l }} \mathrm{la}, \mathrm{hn} . \mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ ] | 27 - |  |
| 8 - | [hm.pRũ, hm.ppã] | 28 - | [ $\mathrm{r}^{\text {® }} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ o p p ũ] |
| 9 - | [hn.tf?a, hn.tfie] | 29 - |  |
| 10 - | [Ji.p $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{o}^{\mathrm{w}}$, si. $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}$ ] | $30-$ | [la.p ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ] |
| 11 - | [ $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ r.mi] | 40 - | [re. $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ] |
| 12 - | [ $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{r}$. $\mathrm{u}^{\text {u }}$ ] | $50-$ | [ran. $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ ] |
| 13 - | [ $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ r.la] | $60-$ | [ $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{ro}^{\mathrm{w}} . \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{o}$ ] |
| 14 - | [ $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ r.re] | 70 - | [hn.t ${ }^{\text {h }} \mathrm{la} \mathrm{r} \mathrm{r}^{\text {a }} \mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ o] |
| 15 - | [ $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{r}$.ran] | 80 - | [hm.pPũ $\mathrm{r}^{9} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ] |
| 16 - | [ $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{r} . \mathrm{t}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{ro}^{\mathrm{w}}$ ] | 90 - | [hn.tfia r ${ }^{\text {P }}{ }^{\text {h }}$ o] |
| 17 - | [ $\mathrm{p}^{\text {² }}$.hn. $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{la}$ ] | 100 - | [ i i swo?] |
| 18 - | [ $\mathrm{p}^{\text {² }}$.hm.pRu$]$ | $200-$ | [3u swo?] |
| 19 - |  | $500-$ | [ran swo?] |
| 20 - | [ $\mathrm{r}^{\text {a }} \mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ o] | 1000 - | [ $\mathrm{j}_{\text {i ha.bar] }}$ |

Table 5.8: War numerals

The resemblance between the War and Pnar numerals and the sound changes and elision that could have brought about the differences suggests that Pnar may have at one time have exhibited a similar subtractive system, a system that may have become eroded over time and potentially influenced by contact with other languages in the area. Specifically, the use of the form $n$ in Pnar numerals 6, 7, and 9 corresponds to the use of [hn, hm] in War numerals 7, 8, and 9. This morpheme in Pnar is a referential device that identifies a previous point in time (glossed simply as 'REF' in my examples) and is used in grammaticalized adverbial terms (i.e. nne 'earlier today' vs. mnne 'later today', see $\S 5.6 .4$ below). If this morpheme in numerals has a similar source, it could mean that these numerals are anticipating, or subtracting from, the number 10. The word $n r u$ 'six' in Pnar could therefore be translated as 'four before 10', etc. The numeral for 9 is striking in both
its similarity and difference from numerals 6,7 , and 8 . In the War numeral 9, the form $t \subset a$ resembles the Pnar indefinite $\$ i$ 'one, $\mathrm{a}^{\prime}$, suggesting 'one subtracted from 10 '.

### 5.4.4 Math

Addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division are all possible in Pnar using original Pnar words, though it is not clear if the processes are ancient or a modern borrowing, nor if there are other traditional ways of figuring, such as the lodgepole reckoning practiced by Maoris or the yam gathering methods practiced in Papua New Guinea. Significantly, these mathematical processes do not use the same subtraction system that seems apparent in Pnar numerals, suggesting that they were instituted by non-native instructors, perhaps the western missionaries who first started schools in the area.
Addition makes use of the comitative wa (168) with its allomorph we occurring before a high front vowel.
(168) iwi we iwi man ar
$i=w i \quad w e-i=w i \quad$ man ar
$\mathrm{N}=$ one $\quad \mathrm{COMT}=\mathrm{N}=$ one happen two 'one and one is two'

Subtraction involves the verb for 'eat', bam (169).
(169) chiphaw bam noh le sah ynñiaw tfiphaw bam no? le sa? nniaw ten eat IMM1 three stay seven 'ten minus three is seven'

Multiplication uses the general word for repetition sein (170).
(170) ar sein le man ynru
ar sen le man nru two times three happen six 'two times three is six'

Division makes use of the word $p^{h} i a \rho$ 'divide, separate’ (171).
(171) ynru phiah ar man le
$n r u p^{h} i a p$ ar man le
six divide two happen three
'six divided by two is three'
The Pnar word for 'zero' is nod, which is curiously similar to English 'naught' or 'nought', and seems a likely borrowing from early Welsh missionaries, who first taught mathematics in their missionary schools.

### 5.5 Quantification and numeral classifiers

### 5.5.1 Quantification

The function of quantifiers in Pnar is to modify a noun in relation to quantity. Dryer (2007: 177) notes that quantifiers modify nouns but often have "idiosyncratic grammatical properties". These words may have less constrained word order and different morphological properties than typical modifiers. Pnar quantifiers can occur nearly anywhere in the clause or phrase, yet are always understood to refer to a nominal head. Quantifying forms include waroP 'all' (172, 173), $k n t^{h} u p$ 'all together', titen 'half' (174), $k^{h}$ atdoP 'last' (175), too 'more', so 'more', ro? 'much', and mnem 'without'. They can act as pre-nominal (172) or post-nominal modifiers (173), or in some cases can substitute for the nominal constituent itself.
(172) da ki sein klam ki waroh kitæ ki kyntein

$$
\begin{array}{lllllll}
d a & k i=\text { sen } & \text { klam } & k i & \text { waro? } & k i=t \varepsilon & k i=k n t e n \\
\text { INST } & \text { PL=time,action } & \text { speak } & \text { 3PL } & \text { all } & \text { PL=NVIS } & \text { PL=word } \\
\text { 'each time they speak all those words' [TACJ_434] } &
\end{array}
$$

(173) dæp tæ iñ ka yung waroh
$d \varepsilon p$ te in $k a=j u \eta$ waro?
PERF NVIS boil,burn $\mathrm{F}=$ home all
'then the whole house burned' [FPAHM_036]
(174) heipor chiphaw chitein da ka bus lai shillong
he-i=por $\quad$ fiphaw titen da ka=bas laj Slloy
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ time ten half INST $\mathrm{F}=$ bus go Shillong
'at the time of 10 (and) half (i.e. 10:30) by bus (I) went to Shillong' [LS3J_004]
(175) ka ta yaw wa khatdooh yong u bnai april

| $k a$ | $t a$ | $j a w$ | $w a$ | $k^{h}$ atdo | $j o \eta$ | $u=b n a j$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| april |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3SG.F.ACC | CL.WK | week | NMZ | lastly | GEN | M=month | April

(176) tæ nang chæmphang chooh ki
te naך tyem-phaך tSo? ki
NVIS PROG meet-understand,realize more 3PL
'so they continue progressing more (rapidly)' [SI3_008]
'how much' The word for 'how much' or 'how many' is used to query quantifying expressions, from interlocutors. In Jowai this word is katwən, and it generally refers to an unspecified amount of something. In (177) it occurs in a traditional story about the two siblings from the line of kings. Their parents have both died and their grandmother is struggling to care for them. In this sentence she wonders how long she will be able to continue taking care of them.
(177) katwon u psa ko ki
katwon u=psa ko ki
how.much NF=care 3SG.F.NOM 3PL
'how much (time) would she (be able to) care for them?'
[PP05KO_019]
In (178) the speaker is describing a medical case which he cured - previously he had recounted the large amount of money spent on doctors elsewhere before the family came to his clinic. In this example katwon refers to the much smaller amount of money it cost for him to cure the patient.
(178) hynrei ha nga katwon ar hajar
hñre ha ja katwon ar hadjar
but.also LOC 1SG.ACC how.much two thousand
'but at me (at my clinic) how much? two thousand' [PP15PI_0106]
In (179) the speaker is telling about a disease that struck the village when he was younger, leaving the majority blind. He asks himself about the number of people who got sick and are still able to see.
(179) katwon ngut kitu ki wa dang chana sa le ngut ki marieh
katwon jut ki=tu ki wa day tfana sa how.much CL.HUM PL=MEDL 3PL NMZ PROG see only le put $\quad k i=m a r e ?$ three CL.HUM 3PL
'how many people can still see? only three people I believe' [SI1_034]

The word for 'how much' in village dialects is katnu. In (180) one speaker asks another about the number of hours it used to take to travel to Jowai.
(180) neini cha jwai, katnu kynta lai phi

$$
\begin{array}{lllllll}
n e=i=n i & \text { fa } & \text { Şwaj } & \text { katnu } & \text { knta } & \text { laj } & p^{h} i \\
\text { ABL=N=PROX } & \text { ALL } & \text { Jowai } & \text { how.much } & \text { return } & \text { go } & \text { 2PL }
\end{array}
$$

'from here to Jowai, how many hours did you walk?' [SI3_046]
In (181) the speaker identifies an area of knowledge about which the traditional stories are silent.
(181) ym tip i la katnu hajar snæm, wa æm ki wahæh
$m$ tip $i$ la katnu haģar snem wa em NEG know 1PL ABL how.much thousand year NMZ have $k i=w a h \varepsilon ?$
PL=elder
'we don't know from how many thousands of years (ago) the elders existed' [SME_009]

In (182) a speaker asks the interviewee to tell how many children he has.
(182) ki=khon phi katnu ngut
$k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad p^{h} i \quad$ katnu put
PL=child 2PL how.much CL.HUM
'how many children do you have?' [PP15PI_164]
lit. 'your children, how many'

### 5.5.2 Classifiers

Proper nouns (along with the closed classes of pronouns and vocatives) cannot be quantified (with the exception of members belonging to a group identified by name), but all common nouns are quantifiable, though the context will determine whether they are described with mass quantifiers such as bon 'many, much' or counted using numerals. Enumerated nouns require classifiers. The three general classifiers in Pnar are: yut 'ClF.hUM' for people, tlli 'CLF.NH' for non-humans, and $t a$ 'CLF.WK' for weeks. Containers and
traditional measurements can also be used as sortal/mensural classifiers. ${ }^{9}$ Examples of classifier phrases are given in table (5.9) below.

| Semantics | Number | Classifier | Pl. Noun | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Human | $a r$ | put | $k i=b r u$ | 'two CLF.hum |
|  |  |  |  | $\mathrm{PL}=$ person' |
| Non-human | san | tlli | $k i=s \supset$ ? | 'five CLF.NH |
|  |  |  |  | $\mathrm{PL}=$ fruit' |
| Week | $l e$ | $t a$ | jaw | 'three CLF.WK week' |
| Trad. measure | ņniaw | $k n t e n$ | $k i=k w a j$ | 'seven |
|  |  |  |  | CLF.SET |
|  |  |  |  | PL=betel.nut' |

Table 5.9: Pnar classifiers
Classifiers and the concept of quantification are discussed in greater detail in 13.4, as part of the chapter on noun phrase operations.

### 5.6 Prepositional case marking

The question of case marking in Pnar offers some challenges. I have suggested that there is no case marked on nouns and no agreement on verbs in Pnar. Instead, prepositional case markers mark semantic roles of arguments. This seems to be the simplest analysis based on the variety of grammatical/syntactic roles that such arguments can have. However, in certain situations, marking of semantic roles is required. This section outlines the issues.

Case markers are described as "words that indicate the syntactic and/or semantic role... of the noun phrase to which they belong" (Schachter and Shopen, 2007: 35). This is a general term used for morphemes that attach to noun phrases, usually marking them as grammatical arguments in relation to the predicate. In Pnar, the three core grammatical roles A, S, and O are identified primarily through word order and by certain pronominal forms. Prepositional markers occur before nominal elements to identify semantic roles and clausal relations. They tend to mark nominals that are not necessary to the grammatical structure of the clause. Their relationship to case

[^41]can be seen in the semantic role which they identify, similar to the second part of Shachter and Shopen's definition above.

For example, (183) is of a transitive sentence with an oblique argument (the recipient) case-marked by $j a$. In this sentence, the context is a creation story, where the earthly mother $k a=b e j$ ram-aw is giving instructions to her servant/son $u=k^{h} a a t$. The recipient of the instructions (or of the command) is not required by the verb, as will be illustrated more clearly in $\S 10.3$, and is perhaps therefore not considered central to the action of giving.

```
(183) e ko ka hukum (ya oo)
    e k\mp@subsup{a}{\textrm{A}}{}}\quadka=hukum % ja [o\mp@subsup{]}{\mathrm{ овь }}{
    give 3SG.F.NOM F=command BEN 3SG.M.ACC
    'she gave the command (to him)' [PP01CSE_032]
```

In (184) $j a$ again marks the recipient of the action $d a k^{h} a d a \quad p n h \varepsilon$ ? 'born and brought up' as being the speaker, $\eta a^{\prime} 1 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{nOm}$ ACC'. Here the marked argument can be construed as O , the affected (causee) argument.
(184) da kha da pynhæh ya nga ha ka balang jwai
$d a \quad k^{h} a \quad d a \quad p n$-he? $\quad j a \quad[\eta a]_{\circ} \quad h a$
REAL birth REAL CAUS-be.big BEN 1SG.ACC LOC
ka=balay $\quad$ gwaj
$\mathrm{F}=$ association Jowai
'I was born and brought up in the Jowai church' [LIJ_002] or '(they) brought me up in the Jowai church'

The potential O grammatical role status of arguments marked by $j a$ is clearer in examples (185-186). In (185) the speaker is relating how the village church came to be built. He uses $t$ na 'make' in a typical transitive construction, where A is identified post-verbally by $k i$ 'they, them' and O (the thing that is made) by $k a=n i k a=j u \eta$ mane 'this church'. In (186) the speaker is describing how he discovered coal on his land and as a result was able to help improve his hometown, also using the verb $t f n a$. He identifies himself as the A argument $\rho$ ' $1 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{NOM}$ ' and $u=$ surok 'road' as O. Here, however, the O argument is marked by $j a$.
chna ki kani ka yung mane
tfna $[k i]_{\mathrm{A}} \quad[k a=n i \quad k a=j u \eta \text { mane }]_{\text {。 }}$
make 3PL F=PROX F=home worship
'they made (built) this church' [SI3_028]
(186) chna o ya u surok neibynta u paidbah
tfna $[\rho]_{\mathrm{A}} \quad j a \quad[u=s u r \supset k]_{\circ} \quad n e=i=b n t a \quad u=p a i t b a ?$ make 1SG.NOM BEN M=road $\quad$ ABL=N=purpose $\mathrm{M}=$ crowd 'I made a road for the (use of the) public' [BPDJ_019]

As seen above, $j a$ generally identifies the semantic beneficiary of an action or recipient of an item. The morpheme $d a$ marks a noun phrase as the item (generally inanimate, but not always, see (191) below) with which an action is performed. Example (187) is an intransitive clause, where the speaker is describing a series of artifacts. He decides to begin speaking first about the sword and communicates this intention to the listener, marking the sword (the item which will be described) with $d a$.
(187) to, u lai chwa i da ka wait, mo
to $u=l a j$ tf wa $\quad[i]_{\mathrm{A}} \quad d a \quad[k a=w a t]_{\text {obl }} \quad m>$
CONF NF=go before 1PL INST F=sword $Q$
'we will go first with the sword, ok?' [TACJ_400]
The prepositional case marker $d a$ can also be used to mark arguments in O-role as long as they are in the semantic role of instruments. In (188) the agent is a man who is chasing after his wife in a traditional story. She has just jumped into a river and the man grabs a bamboo pole to try and fish her out. The piece of bamboo is marked by $d a$.
chim u da u seij
tim $[u]_{\mathrm{A}} \quad d a \quad[u=s e f]_{\mathrm{o}}$
take 3SG.M.NOM INST $\quad \mathrm{M}=$ bamboo.type
'he took bamboo (a pole/stick)' $[$ PP05KO_017]

As examples (187-188) show, da serves to mark a variety of semantic roles, similar to $j a$, but a very limited number of core grammatical roles. The single grammatical role that it can be seen to mark overlap with the one which $j a$ also marks. There is an additional wrinkle: both $d a$ and $h a$ are used to mark oblique agents in passive constructions (§10.2.2), and along with $t f a$ and $n a$ can identify locatives. Since these morphemes have clearly distinguished uses for semantic role marking but not for grammatical roles, I classify them as prepositional case markers.

A comparison of the different uses of these markers in my data for grammatical vs. semantic roles is given in Table 5.10. Here we see that the main consistent usage of each of these forms is to mark oblique arguments (information that is not necessary to the clause) or arguments identified as
non-agentive (with the exception of passive constructions). Further, $j a$ is more likely to precede semantically dative, benefactive, or purposive elements, while $d a$ precedes semantically instrumental or comitative ('with') elements. ${ }^{10}$

| Prep. |  | Gram. roles |  |  | Semantic roles |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Gloss | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Nom. } \\ & \text { S/A } \end{aligned}$ | Acc. <br> O | Obl. | Dat. | Ben. | Purp. | Inst. | Com. | $\mathrm{Ag}_{\text {. }{ }_{\text {PASS }}}$ | Loc. |
| $j a$ | 'BEN' |  | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |  |  |  |  |
| $d a$ | 'INST' |  | Yes | Yes | ? |  |  | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| ha | 'LOC' |  |  | Yes |  |  |  |  |  | Yes | Yes |
| tfa | 'ALL' |  |  | Yes |  |  |  |  |  |  | Yes |
| $n a$ | 'ABL' |  |  | Yes |  |  |  |  |  |  | Yes |

Table 5.10: Pnar prepositional case markers: grammatical and semantic roles

The following examples give more illustration of prepositional case markers marking semantic roles, particularly once core arguments have been identified. Example (189) is a transitive clause where the speaker is describing an event involving a land dispute with another village. The verb le? fal 'make/do a filing' ${ }^{11}$ describes the act of bringing a case against someone or a group. The A argument is $k i$ 'they' and the O argument is $i$ 'we, us'. Here the speaker specifically identifies $k a=m o k o t d u m a$ 'court case' as an oblique instrument by which the case was brought - a case involving the state government courts and not the traditional Pnar governing body (which can also decide disputes).
(189) læh fal ki i da ka mokotduma

$$
\begin{aligned}
& l \varepsilon \text { le fal }[k i]_{\mathrm{A}} \quad[i]_{\mathrm{o}} \quad d a \quad[k a=m \partial k o t d u m a]_{\text {овь }} \\
& \text { do file 3PL 1PL INST } \mathrm{F}=\text { court.case } \\
& \text { 'they file against us with/using a court case' [HPAHR_018] }
\end{aligned}
$$

Example (190) is an intransitive clause where $k a=b u s$ 'the bus' is marked as the instrument. The context of the story is that the speaker is talking about a journey he made to Shillong, and the bus is the means of travel.

[^42](190) chong o da ka bus
†〇〇 $\quad[0]_{\mathrm{s}} \quad d a \quad[k a=b u s]_{\text {OBL }}$
sit 1SG.NOM INST $\mathrm{F}=$ bus
'I sat in/at/with/by-means-of the bus' [LS3J_006]
In example (191) the first clause could be interpreted as either transitive or intransitive, but what is important for the marking is that $u=k u l e$ 'the horse' is construed both as the thing climbed and as the vehicle of motion that enables the agent to flee ( $p^{h}$ عt 'run away') in the second (intransitive) clause.
(191) ku u da u kule, tæ phæt u
$k u \quad[u]_{\mathrm{s} / \mathrm{A}} \quad d a \quad[u=k u l e]_{\mathrm{INST}} t \varepsilon \quad p^{h} \varepsilon t$
climb 3SG.M.NOM INST M=horse NVIS run.away
u
3SG.M.NOM
'he climbed (using) the horse and fled' [PP03SKY_023]
The use of $d a$ to identify the O argument of a transitive clause is common when the O argument has been previously left out. This is the case in (192), where the argument marked by $d a$ is the thing being taught, and typically would have occurred following the A argument $k i$, which immediately follows the verb. This is also the case in (410) in $\S 10.1 .4$ below. When $d a$ serves this purpose, the argument it identifies always has an instrumental or thematic semantic role. These examples are interesting in part because they offer insight into the use of $d a$ along with $h a$ to mark agents in passive constructions ( $\S 10.2 .2$ below), where the theme or instrument is more likely to be the demoted agentive argument. ${ }^{12}$
(192) hikai ki ya i da ki wa hæh wa swar

hikaj $\begin{array}{ccccccc}{[k i]_{\mathrm{A}}} & j a & {[i]_{\circ}} & d a & {[k i} & w a & h \varepsilon ? \\ w a\end{array}$
teach 3PL BEN 1PL INST 3PL NMZ be.big NMZ
swar $]_{\text {овь }}$
be.important
'they taught to us an important (thing)' [BMPJ_030]
The function of $d a$ in identifying the comitative or instrumental semantic role of a following nominal is demonstrated in (193). Here the speaker is telling a story about an emergency with his work that required an immediate response. The prepositional case marker $d a$ cliticizes to the action nominal

[^43]$i=$ sniaw 'sense, feel, hear' (realized as the allomorph de) to form an adverbial 'with feeling' that modifies the manner of the matrix verb $p^{h} \varepsilon t$ 'run'.
(193) phæt dei sñiaw wa nga wa $u$ driver $u$ wi wa ka truck
$p^{h} \varepsilon t[\text { de- } i=\text { sniaw }]_{\text {MOD }}$ wa $\quad$ a $\quad w a \quad u=$ drajbar
run $\operatorname{INST}=$ ACT=sense COMT 1SG.ACC COMT M=driver
$u=w i \quad w a \quad k a=t r o k$
$\mathrm{M}=$ one COMT $\mathrm{F}=$ truck
'(we) ran with feeling, with me, with one driver, with the truck' [LS2J_010]

### 5.6.1 Locative prepositional case markers

The three prepositional case markers $h a$ 'locative' (195-197), t $f a$ 'allative' (198), and na 'ablative' (199) are a special locative subset of prepositional case markers, with $t f a$ marking goal and $n a$ marking source. As noted above in Table 5.10, these markers have limited use in marking semantic roles, and never identify core arguments. Also, these markers are functionally distinct from other prepositional case markers in that the nouns they mark do not need to have gender clitics attached.

The locative ha has also developed as a marker of the semantic role of agent in valency-modified constructions (§10.2.2). In (194), for example, the passive marker $t f a$ ? identifies the argument $k i$ (which is referential with the topic $k i=k^{h}$ nian ki wa $k^{h}$ ian 'the insects which are small') as the undergoer S argument. The locative marker $h a$ precedes the agentive argument ki wa rap $h \varepsilon$ ? 'those which are big'.
(194) ki khniang ki wa khian chah bam ki ha ki wa rap hæh
$k i=k^{h} n i a \eta \quad k i \quad w a \quad k^{h} i a n \quad$ taP bam ki ha $\quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}k i & w a\end{array}\right.$ PL=insect 3PL NMZ be.small PASS eat 3PL LOC 3PL NMZ
rap $h \varepsilon$ ?]
grow be.big
'the insects which are small are eaten by those that are bigger'
[BMPJ_040]
In its locative function $h a$ can serve as a marker meaning 'at' (195), 'in' (196), or 'on' (197), and is therefore simply glossed as 'LOC' to cover this range of functions.
(195) da jop thma ki ha jaintiapur
$d a \quad$ gop thma ki ha Jentiapur
REAL win fight 3PL LOC Jaintiapur
'they won battles at Jaintiapur' [PP06PK_011]
(196) hiar ko ha ka thwai kupli
hiar ko ha $k a=t^{h} w a j{ }^{13} \quad k u p l i$
descend 3SG.F.NOM LOC F=broad.river Kupli
'she descended into the broad Kupli (river)' [PP04SKO_012]
(197) ku u ha baiskil
$k u \quad u \quad \boldsymbol{h a}^{14} \quad$ bajskil
climb 3SG.M.nOM LOC bicycle
'he climbs on the bicycle' [MPSRJ_028]
The marker $\# a$ 'allative' is used to identify goals, while $n a$ 'ablative' identifies sources. In example (198) $t a$ marks the goal of motion, while in example (199) na marks the source of motion.
(198) liwan noh ko cha kupli
li-wan no? ko tja kupli
return.home IMm1 3SG.F.nOM ALL Kupli
'she just returns home to Kupli' [PP04SKO_012]
(199) pan bor i na u blai
pan bor $i$ na $u=b l a j$
ask power 1pL ABL M=God
'we ask power from God' [BMPJ_035]

### 5.6.2 NP prepositional case marker

The genitive marker $j \partial \eta$ strictly occurs within a NP as a coordinator (200) it identifies the possessee of the preceding noun phrase and does not identify a grammatical or semantic role in relation to the predicate. This morpheme has the same form as the verb meaning 'belong' or 'own' and is discussed further in relation to possession in §13.3.3. Another marker that occurs within the NP is $w a$, which serves as a comitative marker, as in (193) above. However, since this has a broader coordination function of either NPs or VPs, it is discussed further in the respective NP and VP chapters.

[^44](200)
khlæh i snam yong ki
$k^{h} l \varepsilon ? \quad i=s n a m \quad j \supset \eta \quad k i$
mix $\mathrm{N}=$ blood GEN 3PL
'their blood mixed (together)' [KP_032]

### 5.6.3 Locative nominals and relational nouns

Locative nominals are bare nouns which combine with locative prepositional case markers to form locative (relational) noun constructions that identify spatial position in relation to an object other than the speaker. Where the deixis of a demonstrative is speaker-centric, locative expressions are not necessarily dependent on the location of the speaker or interlocutors. Nearly any noun can be used as a positioning point of reference, provided it is identifiable to the listener. Common nominals include $k^{h}$ mat 'front', den 'back', tidiay 'left side', timun 'right side', あroy 'above', tbien 'below', đ̧an 'near', and $\ddagger \eta a j$ 'far'. Some of these locatives are found as existing nouns ( $u=k^{h}$ mat 'face/eye') and modifiers ( $\ddagger \mathrm{r} r \boldsymbol{\eta}$ 'long/tall', tbien 'low/short'). Examples of these nouns are given in (201-204).
(201) hakhmat
$h a=k^{h}$ mat
LOC=face
'in front'
(202) $\begin{array}{ll}\text { chapoh } \\ & \text { t } a=p \supset \text { ? } \\ & \text { ALL }=\text { inside } \\ & \text { 'to the inside' }\end{array}$
(203) chaphrang
t $a=p^{h} r a \eta$
ALL $=$ front
'to the front'
(204) naroit
$n a=r o t$
ABL $=$ out
'from outside'

These are termed 'relational nominals' by Levinson (2003: 102) since they combine with the prepositional case marker to express location. The grammaticalization of these forms can be seen as an extension of genitival relationships which can give rise to adpositional forms (Aristar, 1991). In Pnar, the prepositional case marker-nominal form directly parallels the noun-genitive order and noun-modifier order, a cross-linguistic tendency.

Locative prepositional case markers can also combine with verbal modifiers (such as the nominalizer wa) to encode temporal relations. Depending on the context, it is also necessary to identify the direction of movement in relation to the speaker's temporal state, using $n a$ 'from' or $t f a$ 'to, towards'.

| (205) | nadooh | (206) | heipor | (207) | hawa |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $n a=d o$ ? |  | $h e=i=p \supset r$ |  | $h a=w a$ |
|  | $\mathrm{ABL}=$ when |  | LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ time |  | LOC $=$ NMZ |
|  | 'from then' |  | 'at the time' |  | 'when' |

### 5.6.4 Temporal locatives

The closed class of words referring to time can be divided into words that reference specific bounded amounts of time (such as minutes, hours, days of the week or months of the year) and those that serve as connectives to locate events and situations temporally. The former behave as other nouns, and the latter behave as locative constructions.

## Bounded time words

Time in general is referenced by the noun $i=p o r$, which denotes the abstract concept of time. When discussing time, it is common to refer to specific days, parts of the day, weeks, months or years, which function as nouns. Pnar people have their own traditional calendar which exists alongside the adopted Western calendar. Depending on the speaker's background, the domain of use, and the topic of conversation, different terms may be used. The names of the weeks and months are nouns and are discussed in §7.3.2. A set of temporal locative terms are given in Table 5.11.

The time words in this section are similar to locatives in that they locate time in relation to the speaker. For Pnar people, the speaker is both the spatial and temporal deictic center. There are two words for today: nne 'today, before now', and mnne 'today, after now'. The morpheme $n$ ('past referent') occurs separately in my data, where it tends to refer to a topicalized event that has happened in the past (see example (208) below for usage). ${ }^{15}$ The morpheme $m n$ ('future referent') also occurs on its own and refers to unrealized, unknown, or reported events.

[^45]| word | gloss |
| :--- | :--- |
| $n$ | 'past event' previously discussed |
| $n$ | 'today, earlier' before present moment |
| $n_{1} n e$ | 'yesterday' |
| $n n i n$ | 'day before yesterday' |
| $d \varepsilon p n_{1} n i n$ | 'future event' unrealized/unactualized |
| $m n$ | 'today, later' after present moment |
| $m n n e$ | 'tomorrow' |
| $m n s t \varepsilon p$ | 'day after tomorrow' |
| $m n n_{1} k a=w i$ | 'day + two' |
| $m n k a=a r$ | 'day + three' |
| $m n k a=l e$ | 'day |

Table 5.11: Temporal locative words

Yesterday is nnin (lit. 'past.time-night'), tomorrow is mnstep (lit. 'fut.timemorning'), day after tomorrow is $m n k a=w i$ 'tomorrow one', following days are $m n k a=a r$ 'tomorrow two' and $m n k a=l e$ 'tomorrow three', with the corresponding numeral added for every subsequent day. Day before yesterday is dep nnin 'PERF yesterday', with a similar system employed for previous days, adding numbers progressively. It should be noted that when behaving as bounded time nominals, each of these words tends to appear in my data with the pronominal clitic $k a$.

Day is referred to as syi (also the word for sun), night is met, evening is dan met 'near night', morning is step syi 'early day'. Week is jaw (also the word for market), month is bnaj 'moon', year is snem. Next week is mnre ta jaw, last week is nnin ta jaw, next month is bnaj wa $u=w a n$ 'moon that will come', last month is bnaj wa da dsp 'moon that finished/ended'. The names of the eight days in a traditional market week and the months behave as nouns and are given a closer look in $\S 7.3 .2$.

The morphemes $n$ and $m n$ are quite productive and combine with other markers such as deictics, in which case they can be considered temporal deictics. When exhibiting something, the person telling about the objects may use mntu 'next' or mnte 'after that'. Other nominal time words are $n_{1} d o ?$ 'previously', ntu 'just now', ten ten 'sometimes', tnde or tnne 'before', $m n t f w a$ 'just before'.
(208) tæ man da neitæ yn, to, da lai yn ki, ha kawi ka sngi yn, katæ ka yaw wan, lai ki cha yaw cha langchiang.


### 5.7 Adverbs

Pnar adverbs without exception follow the verb. These are verbs that seem to have grammaticalized as post-verbal modifiers. They do not form complex verbal expressions as do other verbs and incorporated nouns, ${ }^{16}$ but instead have specific functions relevant to assertion (§5.7.1), intensity (§5.7.2), immediacy (§5.7.3), negation (§5.7.4) and manner (§5.7.5). The relation of each morpheme to the others in the verbal complex is covered in more detail in Chapter 11. The current section gives a brief overview of the grammaticalized adverbs which follow verbs in predications - in many cases these forms have clear origins in existing lexical verbs.

### 5.7.1 Assertion

I use the term 'assertion' to refer to the nature of the verbal event both in regard to the intention of its actors and how those intentions are perceived by onlookers. Pnar speakers use $h i$ in a declarative or emphatic sense, and $k e$ in a 'non-purposive' (or "just-for-fun") sense.

The post-verbal $h i$ 'emphatic' is often used to respond in the affirmative to a statement (209). It can also be used by a speaker to make assertions about the truth status of an event (210).
(209) ha-o, toh hi.
ha- ${ }^{2}$ ग to? hi
LOC-1SG.NOM be EMPH
'yes, right' [AIJ_021]

[^46](210) dang khait hi dang tap hi næ
day $k^{h} a t h i \quad$ day tap hi ne PROG pick EMPH PROG put EMPH CONF
'(he) is still picking and putting, ok' [MPSRJ_030]
The post-verbal $k e$ 'non-purposive' identifies an action as occurring for no particular reason or just for the pleasure of the participants. Often the action is perceived as having a fixed duration, after which participants will resume doing 'purposive' activity.
(211) kitu wa chad ke
$k i=t u \quad w a \quad t a d \quad k e$
PL=MEDL NMZ dance NPURP
'these dancing ones' (who just dance for fun) [HPAHR_115]

### 5.7.2 Intensity

Intensity adverbials encode three degrees of intensity that can be viewed as gradations: level one corresponds to 'very' (212), level two corresponds to 'extremely' (213) and level three corresponds to superlative 'most' (214). For the first two levels to function as comparatives, however, they must occur in comparative constructions with the clause-chaining morpheme $t \varepsilon$ serving as the coordinator (§14.2.1.1).
(212) da jngai bha i thaw
da Jŋyaj bha $i=t^{h} a w$
REAL be.far INTS1 N=place
'the place is very far' [TACJ_349]
(213) maya sang ki ya nga
maja say ki ja $\eta a$
love INTS2 3PL BEN 1SG.ACC
'they love me extremely much' [FPAHM_018]
(214) chong ko cha thaw wa jakhlia tam

サoy ko tfa thaw wa bakhlia tam
sit 3SG.F.ACC to place NMZ be.dirty ints3
'it stays in the dirtiest place...' [BMPJ_088]

### 5.7.3 Immediacy

Immediacy, similar to intensity, is encoded through a set of three adverbial morphemes. Level one's rough translation equivalent could be 'just' or 'now'
(215), level two can correspond to 'only' (216), and level three could be translated as 'just now' or 'directly' (217). It is difficult to tease apart the differences, but from my texts it seems clear that they encode separate levels of immediacy, with level three being the most immediate.
(215) chim noh da kani ka bru
tfim no? da $k a=n i \quad k a=b r u$
take IMM1 INST $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ person
'take this woman' (now)' [PP05KO_025]
(216) bam æh ki=khon
bam $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P} \quad k i=k^{h}$ गn
eat IMM2 PL=child
'the children only eat' [PP15PI_168]
(217) rah bait u pynchi kriah
ra? bat $u=p n-t f i \quad$ kria?
carry IMM3 M=whole basket
'(he) took the whole basket' [MPSRJ_026]

### 5.7.4 Negation adverbials

Adverbials de (218), re (219), are not clearly negators, though they often occur in conjunction with negation. Their primary function, however, seems to be as intensifiers. In Jowai Pnar they are most often used with preverbal negative auxiliaries, but they can be used on their own and seem to have developed fully negative meanings for some speakers, particularly in village dialects. The intensified meaning corresponds to 'not at all' or 'not any' and can express shock or other social responses. The basic function of these markers is to intensify the negation. The processes of negation in Pnar offer potential insights into the Jespersen cycle (Jespersen, 1904, 1917) and deserve further study.
(218) u pynyap bru læh ym sang de
$u=p n$-jap bru le? $m$ say de
$\mathrm{NF}=$ caus-die person also NEG taboo NEG.INTS
'to murder also is not taboo (according to them)' [BPDJ_029]
(219) yoh ja re u bam

get rice NEG NF=eat
'(I) didn't get (any) rice to eat' [FPAHM_042]

### 5.7.5 Manner

Manner adverbials identify the means in which the activity denoted by the verb is done. Pnar uses biay to identify that the verbal action is done 'again' (220), and lay to identify the activity as being done 'together' with other actors, rather than by a single actor (221). The latter adverbial is often used with a verb that is modified by the $j a$ - pluractional prefix.
(220) neitæ wan biang o cha dulong

| $n e=i=t \varepsilon$ | wan | biay | o | tfa dulon |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| from $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS | come | REP | 1SG.NOM | to dulong |
| 'then I came again to Dulong (locality)' | [PP15PI_008] |  |  |  |

(221) da ya-æm bynta lang u
da ja-غm bnta lay u
REAL BEN-have purpose COMT 3SG.M.NOM
'(it) has purpose together' [KNI_029]

### 5.8 Verbal auxiliaries

I use the term 'verbal auxiliary' to identify verbal morphemes that occur preverbally. These include aspectual markers (222-224), negation morphemes (229-232), and mood markers (226-225). These also seem to have grammaticalized from existing verbs in many, though not all, cases.

### 5.8.1 Aspectual markers

Aspectual markers describe the temporal nature of the verbal event. Morphemes that can modify verbs in this slot are $d \varepsilon p$ 'perfective' (222), $d a \eta$ 'progressive' (223), and $\$ 0$ o 'habitual' (224). The morpheme $\ddagger 03$ corresponds to the verb 'be same', revealing that these modifiers may have originally been verbal auxiliaries. Complex verbal expressions may have auxiliary verbs in this slot, such as man 'become', wan 'come', jo? 'get', but these verbs are not used with the same consistency and do not seem to have grammaticalized to aspectual functions.
(222) da dæp kynthiar o cheitæ chapoh um
$d a \quad \boldsymbol{d \varepsilon} \boldsymbol{p} \quad k n t^{h} i a r \quad 0 \quad$ tfe=i=tع $\quad t a-p o$ ? um
REAL PERF jump 1SG.NOM to $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS inside water
'I jumped in (the water)' [BPDJ_022]
(223) tæ uni $u$ bru dang khait soh $u$
te $u=n i \quad u=b r u \quad d a \eta \quad k^{h} a t$ so? $u$
so $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{M}=$ person PROG pick fruit 3SG.M.NOM
'so this man is still picking fruit' [MPSRJ_030]
(224) ym pu jooh æm ka wa soo

| $m$ | $p u$ | $\boldsymbol{j o p}$ | $\varepsilon m$ | $k a$ | $w a$ | $s o$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG | NEG.INT | HAB | have | 3SG.F | NMZ | red |

'there are no red (ones)' [TACJ_227]
The verb $\mathbb{\$} a$ ? 'allow' (225) has grammaticalized as a passivizing auxiliary (see $\S 10.2 .2$ ), and occurs in this slot where it can be modified by mood morphology.
(225) da chah bichar ki
$d a \quad$ §a $\boldsymbol{P}$ biffar ki
REAL PASS judge 3PL
'they are judged' [PP01CSE_048]

### 5.8.2 Mood and modality

Mood morphemes modify the degree or kind of reality of an event, and occur before negation in Pnar. This grammatical category is encoded by two morphemes, $d a$ 'realis' for encoding actualized predicates (226) and daw 'irrealis' (227) for encoding intended or unactualized predicates. Realis mood is the default expression of Pnar verbs, and the realis marker is generally only used for emphasis or clarification. A verb marked with irrealis mood cannot be negated, and though one marked by realis mood can be, this almost never occurs in my data.
(226) tæ da ræp da khih
$\begin{array}{lllll}t \varepsilon & d a & r \varepsilon p & d a & k^{h} i \\ \text { NVIS } & \text { REAL } & \text { farm } & \text { REAL } & \text { work }\end{array}$
'(they live(d) here) farming, working' [PP05KO_005]
(227) daw chim kti noh u
daw tim kti no? u
IRR take hand IMM1 3SG.M.NOM
'he will immediately take hold' [BPDJ_032]
Mood shares the same pre-verbal slot as the modality morpheme de? 'adhortative, deontic' (228). It is not clear whether a modal-marked verb can be negated.
(228) deih lai cha pyrthai
de? laj tfa prthaj
ADH go ALL earth
'you should go to earth...' [PP05KO_003]

### 5.9 Negators

Negation is a process that applies to all verbs, though not all modified verbs. Jowai speakers use the pre-verbal negators $m$ (229) and $m p u$ (230) in a slot immediately following mood auxiliaries. Other dialects will also use the post-verbal $d e, r \varepsilon$ (218-219) in free variation. Occasionally speakers will use both preverbal and post-verbal negators for particular emphasis (231-232), similar to the circumlocated negation in French (ne X pas).
(229) ki yong khasi, ym æm kjat ki
$k i \quad j \supset \eta \quad k^{h} a s i \quad m \quad \varepsilon m \quad k J$ Jat $k i$
3pl POSS Khasi NEG have leg 3PL
'the Khasi ones, they don't have legs' [TACJ_380]
(230) ym pu dæp thung ki wa hapoh ki lyngdoh

| $\boldsymbol{m}$ | $p u$ | $d \varepsilon p$ | $t^{h} u \eta$ | $k i$ | $w a$ | $h a-p \supset ?$ | $k i=l \eta d \supset ?$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG | NEG.INTS | PERF | plant | 3PL | NMZ | inside | PL=priest |

'they couldn't plant while the priests are inside (the grove)'
[BMPJ_030]

## Negation + intensifier

(231) ym æm de u khih phi

| $m$ | $\varepsilon m$ | $d e$ | $\left.u=k^{h} i\right\}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $p^{h} i$ |  |  |  |
| NEG | exist | NEG.SUP | M=work |
| 2SG.F.NOM |  |  |  |
| 'you don't have any work' | [AIJ__ | 014] |  |

(232) heitæ i por tæ kat ym æm re ka kari læh ka motor læh
$h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad i=p o r \quad t \varepsilon \quad k a t \quad m \quad \varepsilon m \quad r \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \quad k a=k a r i$
at $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ time NVIS as NEG have NEG.SUP $\mathrm{F}=$ car
$l \varepsilon$ ? $k a=$ motor $l \varepsilon$ ?
also $\mathrm{F}=$ vehicle also
'at that time then, as there were also no cars or motor vehicles
(going back and forth)...' [BPVM_005]

### 5.10 Discourse connectives

## Coordinator, subordinator

The main discourse connective in Pnar is the non-visible deictic morpheme $t \varepsilon$, which is versatile but is primarily used for hypotaxis. This morpheme can serves to coordinate paratactic clauses as in (233), where it is used with a complex verbal expression that includes the verb $k^{h}$ ryan 'at the same time'.
(233) yam khyrngang, tæ bam khyrngang
jam $k^{h} r$ ran te bam $k^{h} r \eta a \eta$
cry at.the.same.time NVIS eat at.the.same.time
'crying and eating at the same time' (as of a child)
In its more typical hypotactic function it links cause-and-effect subordinate constructions (234, 235).
(234) man da slap, tæ kjam
man da slap te kJam
happen REAL rain NVIS be.cold
'when it rains, then it is cold'
(235) neibhah wa takha $u$, tæ ym khih $u$
$n e=i=b h a$ P wa $t a k^{h} a \quad u \quad$ te $m \quad k^{h} i$ ?
because NMZ hurt 3SG.M.NOM NVIS NEG work
u
3SG.M.NOM
'because he was hurt, he didn't work'
Further, it can link clauses in larger discourse, such as relating the events of a story (236). Here it generally occurs clause-initially to introduce a hypotactic element.
(236) tæ, man da yoh u kam-tæ...
$\boldsymbol{t \varepsilon}$ man da jo? u kam-te
NVIS happen REAL get 3SG.M.NOM like-NVIS
'so, when he got (it) like that'

## Negative subordinators

Negative subordinators that mean 'even though' or 'but also' are hntre (borrowed from Khasi) and taywa. These words allow clauses to behave more like complements. Example (237) is a construction using hnre and example (238) gives a standard complement clause for comparison.

```
(237) hynrei thok u læh, dang ræm u
hñre \(t^{h} \supset k \quad u \quad l \varepsilon\) ? daך r\&m u
but.also cheat 3SG.M.NOM also PROG lose 3SG.M.NOM
'even though he cheated, still he lost'
yoo-luti o, bam ko
jo-luti \(\quad\) bam ko
hope 1SG.NOM eat 3SG.F.NOM
'I hope she eats'
```


## Relativizer

The morpheme $w a$ is a general nominalizer that relativizes and subordinates the following clause. The only clear difference between the use of this morpheme to derive modifiers from verbs (described in Chapter 8), and the relativizing function in example (239), is the repetition of the pronominal clitic $k a$ as a full pronoun immediately preceding the relativized verbal clause. Here, a better direct translation for (239) to highlight the relativizing function would be: 'it is a word that is very wide/encompassing'. The resumptive pronominal form that precedes the relativizer $w a$ is a crossreferencing device.
(239) man ko ka kyntein ka wa yar bha

| man | $k J$ | $k a=k n t e n$ | $k a$ | $w a$ | $j a r$ | $b h a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| become | 3SG.F.NOM | $\mathrm{F}=$ =word | 3SG.F | NMZ | be.wide | INTS1 |
| 'it is a very wide/encompassing | word' | [BMPJ_006] |  |  |  |  |

## Phrasal conjunction

The phrasal conjunction is wa 'and, with, comitative', a homophone of the relativizer. This morpheme is functionally distinct from the relativizer, as it only coordinates noun phrases, as in (240).
(240) u harib wa u sæk toh ki pyrlok
$u=$ harib $\boldsymbol{w a} \quad u=s \varepsilon k \quad$ to? $k i=p r l o k$
3SG.M.NOM=harib COMT 3SG.M.NOM=saek be 3PL=friend
'Harib and Saek are friends'

## Interjections, exclamations

Interjections are not exactly a closed class for Pnar speakers, particularly as any lexical word can be used to interject, generally with change in intonation
that signals imaginative use ( $i i, o o, h e, u u$ ). However, there are a limited number of words in my data used for confirmation at the end of clauses or sentences in conversation between interlocutors ( $n \supset \eta$ 'ok, right', $n \varepsilon$ 'you see', $s \varepsilon$ 'is it', $m \partial$ 'acknowledgement'). These words can have different shades of meaning depending on stress and intonation, and are discussed in §10.4.

### 5.11 Summary

The goal of this chapter has been to identify and describe the majority of fixed lexical items in terms of their meaning and function. These closed classes offer insight into the range of expressions that Pnar speakers have for encoding their conceptualization of the world through gender, specificity, definiteness, and temporal and spatial relationships between phrase and clause elements. The following chapter takes a closer look at the verb word class and relationships expressed by predicate heads.

## Chapter 6

## Verbs

This chapter gives an overview of the verbs word class, with references to other sections where particular features are discussed in more detail. Verbs serve as heads of the verb complex and of the predicate. Elements that modify the verbal event are part of the verb complex ( $\S 6.1$ ). Verbs take no agreement markers ( $\$ 6.2$ ) and can be prefixed to derive new verbal forms (§6.3). Semantic verb classes (§6.4) can provide a means of subcategorizing verbs in terms of their semantic content.

### 6.1 Verb complex morphology

Verbs in Pnar describe states, processes, or actions, functioning as heads of predicates in clauses, and taking either one or two arguments. Only verbs can be negated and preceded by aspect or mood (AM) auxiliaries or postverbal intensity markers and adverbials. There seems to be no 'tense' as such in Pnar, simply a binary modal opposition between what may happen or is unknown (irrealis, also used in folktales) and what has happened or is happening (realis). This is in line with the binary distinction made in referring to events through time adverbial particles $n$ (referring to events previously mentioned) and $m n$ (referring to potential events). To express certainty of something happening after the point of speaking, Pnar speakers use the nominalized non-finite or purposive form of a verb (pre-posing $u$ ), as to use the irrealis daw will indicate that the event may not occur. Here the point of reference of the speaker is what is important, as the speaker only knows for certain about things that are actualized.

The following examples illustrate irrealis (241), aspectual (242), intensification (242), and iterative or repetitive (243) adverbial marking on verbs.

These words occur as part of the verbal complex and are discussed in more detail in Chapter 11.
(241) daw poi i por...
daw $\quad p \supset j_{\mathrm{V}} \quad i=p \supset r_{\mathrm{N}}$
IRR arrive $\mathrm{N}=$ time
'the time will arrive...' [BMPJ_054]
(242) jooh tæm bha o
ofop tem ${ }_{\mathrm{V}}$ bha っ
HAB play INTS1 1SG.NOM
'I used to play (the drum) a lot' [TACJ_383]
(243) ku biang u
$k u_{\mathrm{V}} \quad b i a \eta \quad u$
climb again 3SG.M.NOM
'he climbs again' [MPSRJ_012]
Verbs are also the locus of morphology that derives other verbs (244), nouns (245), and attributives (246). Verbal derivations are discussed below in $\S 6.3 .2$. Nominalization is discussed in $\S 7.4$ as part of the discussion of nouns, and attributives are discussed in $\S 8$, the section on modifiers.
(244) pynkhai o ki
$p \eta_{1}-k^{h} a j \quad$ o $k i$
CAUS-get.up 1SG.NOM 3PL
'I made them get up' [FPAHM_038]
(245) ha ka jingim...
$h a \quad k a=\boldsymbol{\sigma} i \eta-i m$
LOC F=NMZ-live
'in life...' [PP15PI_107]
(246) ki bru wa hæh
$k i=b r u \quad \boldsymbol{w a} h \varepsilon$ ?
PL=person NMZ be.big
'grown men' [TACJ_107]
or 'people who are big'

### 6.2 No agreement

There is no agreement on verbs in Pnar (or clear case on nouns) which identifies grammatical roles of arguments. Instead, word order is the primary
means of disambiguating core functions in default sentences, and prepositional case markers are used to identify oblique (non-essential) information that the speaker deems relevant to the verbal event.

These prepositional case markers can have a variety of functions that resemble case, and can also mark O, as noted in (§5.6). However, their use tends to be semantic and pragmatic, for the purpose of clarifying semantic roles of arguments. In (247), for example, the prepositional case marker $j a$ identifies the beneficiary $k i$ 'them', while the instrumental prepositional case marker $d a$ identifies the theme $k i=s o ? ~ ' f r u i t '$ '. The grammatical role of the theme, however, is as the O-argument, which would occur immediately following the A-argument $u$ 'he' in a typical construction.
(247) e u ya ki da ki soh

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
e & {[u]_{\mathrm{A}}} & j a & {[k i]_{\mathrm{REC}}} & d a & {[k i=s \rho ?]_{\mathrm{O}}} \\
\text { give } & \text { 3SG.M.NOM } & \text { BEN } & \text { 3PL } & \text { INST } & \text { PL=fruit } \\
\text { 'he gives fruit to them' } & {[\text { MPSRJ_048] }}
\end{array}
$$

The pragmatic functions of these markers is such that they can mark various overlapping case roles, making it dificult to claim that such markers assign case to particular arguments. To add to potential confusion of non-native speakers, arguments are often elided if recoverable by context - argument realization is covered in more detail in Chapter 10.

### 6.3 Verb derivational prefixes

There are three aspectual prefixes in Pnar which attach to verbs and derive other verbs. They can be divided into one prefix that derives durative events or states (li-), and two that adjust the valence of the predicate, namely the pluractional $j a$ - and the causative $p n$-.

### 6.3.1 Durative prefix

The durative aspectual prefix $l i$ - does not change the valence of an event, and has a bit more in common with other aspectual markers or auxiliary verbs than with the other two prefixes. The form seems to resemble the existing verb laj 'go', which in some cases seems to serve a somewhat semantically bleached function in serial verb constructions (Chapter 16) and may be undergoing the process of grammaticalization. The sense encoded by $l i$ - seems to be similar to the English adverbial 'awhile', ${ }^{1}$ and is used

[^47]to identify events in Pnar that take place for a particular duration of time whose telicity, while not in question, is somewhat flexible, i.e. without a fixed endpoint. This morpheme is distinguished from progressive aspect in that the action denoted as durative is not necessarily ongoing at the time of speech. Such is the case in (248) where the act of giving is construed as durative, and in (249) where the act of taking and putting, li-boP, is conceptualized as an activity that will take some time but is not ongoing at the time of speech.
(248) katte da li e ki ka, ka tupri u
kat-te da li-e ki ka, $\quad[k a=$ tupri
as-MPROX REAL DUR-give 3PL 3SG.F.ACC $\mathrm{F}=$ hat
$u$ ]POSS
3SG.M.NOM
'now they are giving it, his hat (to him)' [MPSRJ_047]
(249) ong $u$, deih libooh noh ya ki payu yong me libooh cha pyrthai
эŋ $u, \quad d e ?$ li-bo? no? ja ki=paju jэך
say 3SG.M.NOM ADH DUR-carry IMM1 BEN PL=siblings GEN
me li-bo? tfa prthaj
2SG.M.NOM DUR-carry ALL earth
'he said: you should take your siblings, take (them) to earth'
[PP04SKO_020]

### 6.3.2 Valency changing derivations

Valency changing derivations add a core argument to the verb. Pnar valency changing morphemes include valency increasing and valency reducing constructions. De-transitivizing morphology involves separate words and is discussed at greater length in $\S 10.2 .2$. This section focuses on the two derivational prefixes $p \eta$ - 'causative' and $j a$ - 'pluractional'. The causative morpheme adds a 'causer' argument to the verb, whereas the pluractional morpheme adds a recipient argument. Examples (250-251) identify the use of the causative, while examples (252-253) identify the pluractional.

### 6.3.2.1 Causative

In (250) the speaker is describing how pine trees grow from pinecones. Here the pinecones fall to earth, and such an event is conceptualized as having no cause. The pinecones ( $k i=$ smaria ) are the S -argument of the intransitive verb hap 'fall'. In (251), however, a different speaker is describing having
found a boat and trying to lift it out of the rocks where a flood has lodged it. In this conditional construction, the elided post-verbal arguments $i$ ' 1 pl ' and $k a$ ' 3 sg fem acc' are recoverable from the previous clause. Here $i$ is the agentive 'causer' A-argument of the transitive verb pn-hap 'drop' and $k a$ is the undergoer O -argument which could fall. ${ }^{2}$
(250) da hap ki smariah cha khyndaw
da hap ki=smaria? tfa $k^{h} n d a w$
REAL fall PL=pine.cone ALL earth
'the pinecones fall to earth' [BMPJ_052]
(251) la da pynhap, tæ da piah
la da pñ-hap $\quad \varnothing \quad \varnothing \quad$ te da pia?
if REAL CAUS-fall 1PL 3SG.F.ACC NVIS REAL break
$\varnothing$
3SG.F.NOM
'if we drop it, it breaks' [LS2J_019]

### 6.3.2.2 Pluractional

Pluractional marking identifies mutiple, durational, collective or repeated actions or events carried out by (potentially) multiple actors. In this sense it is intended to cover benefactive, reciprocal, collective, and reflexive activities. This term and its history of usage is described by Newman (2012) - originally used for Hausa and other African languages, the term is increasingly used for verbal markers. Although it has the same form as the prepositional case marker, I continue to use 'BEN' as a gloss in that context, to distinguish the nominal marking functions from the verbal marker.

The clause in (252) occurs at the end of a statement where the speaker has been describing what he did when he was young. The verb rep 'cultivate, farm' refers to the physical activity involved in working the field. Here $\rho$ ' I ' is the single argument of the intransitive verb. In (253), however, the speaker is telling about what his parents grew. Here the demonstrative $k i=t \varepsilon$ 'they, those' serves as the A-argument of the pluractional verb ja-rep 'farm (for something)' and the noun $u=$ sala? 'potato' identifies the recipient of the activity.

[^48](252)
da ræp o
da rep $\quad$ -
REAL cultivate 1SG.NOM
'I farmed' [SI1_038]
(253) yaræp kitæ u salah
ja-rep $\quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad u=s a l a ?$
PLUR-cultivate PL=NVIS M=potato
'they farmed (for) potatoes' [SI3_058]

### 6.3.2.3 Contextual concerns

It should be noted that both $p \eta$ - and $j a$ - can have different meanings depending on context. As mentioned in $\S 3.2 .2 .2$, pn- can have an assistive sense. This is illustrated by (254), where the speaker has been relating how she didn't want to go to school. Here she describes how the nuns would help to teach her. The verb hikaj 'teach' is a transitive verb which takes two arguments. Adding a causative prefix gives the construction an assistive sense.
(254) dæpte pynhikai skur ki nga
dep-te pn-hikaj skur ki $\quad$ ja
PERF-MPROX CAUS-teach school 3PL 1SG.ACC
'after that they (helped) teach school (to) me' [FPAHM_050]
Example (255) illustrates the reflexive/reciprocal sense of ja-. Here the speaker is describing how she provided for her children to go to school. The intended sense is that all her children went to school together, helping each other.
(255) tæ yalai skur ki waroh
tع ja-laj skur ki wars?
NVIS PLUR-go school 3PL all
'so they all went (to) school' [FPAHM_024]

### 6.4 Verb classes

### 6.4.1 Intransitive and transitive verbs

Major verb classes are intransitive and transitive verbs, with stative verbs and copular verbs as subclasses of the intransitive verb class. Verb roots do not change form, and these classes can only be identified on the basis
of argument structure. Intransitive verbs (256) and stative verbs (257) take a single argument and transitive verbs take two arguments (258). Copulas (259) take either a single argument or two arguments that are co-referential. Semantic verbal subclasses are discussed at greater length in Chapter 12. The three Pnar copulas $t \supset$ ? 'be', $\varepsilon m$ 'have, exist', and man 'happen, become' are dealt with further in Chapter 15.
(256) lai $u$ cha chnong

go 3SG.M.NOM ALL village
'he went to (the) village' [PP05KO_013]
(257) yirngam i pyrthai
jiryam $\quad i=p r t^{h} a j$
be.green $\mathrm{N}=$ world
'the world is green' [PP01CSE_038]
(258) e u u kwai
$e \quad u \quad u=k w a j$
give 3SG.M.NOM M=areca
'he gives betel nut' [PP14MF _031]
(259) æm ka sim

عm $\quad k a=\operatorname{sim}$
exist $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{bird}$
'there is/was a bird...' [BMPJ_023]
Verbal arguments $S$ and $A$ are treated the same syntactically, while $O$ is treated differently. Pronouns have the same form in S and A function but a different form in O function. There is therefore strong evidence for a nominative-accusative alignment and for the grammatical functions of 'subject' and 'object'.

### 6.4.2 Ambitransitive or labile verbs

Letuchiy (2009: 223) states that:
the traditional definition of a labile verb, adopted in Chikobava (1942), Kibrik et al. (1977) and many other typological and descriptive works [is]: a labile verb is a verb which can be used transitively or intransitively without any formal change. In many other works, such as Haspelmath (1993a) and Ljutikova (2002),
the definition is more restrictive: "in labile alternations, the same verb is used both in the inchoative and in the causative sense" (Haspelmath 1993a: 92); thus, a labile verb must have one monovalent (inchoative) and one bivalent (causative) use."

The fact that arguments in transitive constructions can be elided makes identifying 'labile' or 'ambitransitive' verbs difficult in Pnar. One solution is to state that all transitives are in fact labile, or can be construed so. In such a framework, context would allow listeners to decide whether the semantic role of the argument is as agent or patient. This seems to be the case for (260).
(260) tæ kam kani ka program nga sñiaw o æmkam bha ko ya i
te kam $k a=n i \quad k a=$ program $\quad \eta a \quad$ sniaw $\supset$
NVIS like $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ program 1SG.ACC sense 1SG.NOM
emkam bha ks ja i
need INTS1 3SG.F.NOM BEN 1PL
'so as for this program I feel it is necessary for us' [BMPJ_085]
In (260) the topic is $k a=n i k a=$ program 'this program'. The phrase $\varepsilon m k a m$ bha ko ja $i$ 'it is necessary for us' serves as O-argument/complement for the verb sniaw 'feel'. This phrase contains the verb $\varepsilon m k a m$ 'need', which is typically a transitive verb with two arguments (see §12.2.7.4 above). Here, however, the verb is followed by $k 0$, which identifies the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$-argument of the verb it immediately follows. This slot typically corresponds to an agentive argument, but here $k o$ is understood to reference the topic $k a=n i k a=$ program, which is understood to be the undergoer argument. The flexibility with which Pnar transitive verbs allow re-conceptualization of O-arguments as S-arguments of intransitive constructions without overt passive morphology makes classification of verbs into labile sets quite difficult. These kinds of verbs may be more accurately characterized as 'middle' voice constructions (see i.e. Benjamin 1976 for 'deponent' verbs and Benjamin 2011 for 'middle' constructions in Temiar). A more comprehensive study would be required to identify such verbs and classify them properly.

### 6.5 Summary

This chapter has provided a summary of the various criteria that govern verbs. Elements in the verbal complex have be shown to help identify the verb head in predicates and clauses. Constituents of the verb complex are
described in more detail in Chapter 11. The following chapter discusses nouns.

## Chapter 7

## Nouns

Nouns are primarily lexical items that tend to denote real-world elements that serve as arguments in predication. They are generally the locus of operations for counting, description, possession, and identifiability. Members of this class proto-typically describe semantically time-stable concepts (Givón, 1984) that exist in physical space. They can be divided into common (§7.2.1) and proper ( $\S 7.2 .2$ ) subclasses, and proper nouns can be further divided into personal names and place names. Nouns can be derived from verbs via a variety of productive nominalization strategies (§7.4). As arguments they occur postverbally, as do pronouns, (261), except when serving as topics. When not functioning as arguments they are marked by prepositional case markers (262).
(261) wan ki bru
$w a n_{\mathrm{V}} \quad k i=b r u_{\mathrm{N}}$
come PL=person
'the people came' [PP15PI_149]
(262) ong u Singh ya ka lok
$\supset \eta_{\mathrm{V}} \quad u=s i \eta_{\mathrm{N}} \quad j a_{\text {PREP }} \quad k a=l \supset k_{\mathrm{N}}$
say $\mathrm{M}=$ Singh BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ friend
'Singh said to the friend...' [KP010]
To identify the various forms that nouns take under different conditions, compare the noun juy 'house, home' in the following examples. In example (263) the noun is marked by $j a$, and by the gender clitic $k a=$.
(263) pynchit ko ya ka yung
$p n t f i t_{\mathrm{V}} \quad k o_{\mathrm{PN}} \quad j a_{\text {PREP }} \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{j u} \boldsymbol{\eta}_{\mathrm{N}}$
CAUS-be.hot 3SG.F.NOM BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ house
'it warms the house' [PP14MF_059]

### 7.1 Properties of all nouns

The clearest defining characteristic of Pnar nouns is that they must be preceded by gender clitics except in three situations: 1) when they are preceded by a locative prepositional case marker (i.e. $h a, n a, \sharp f a$ ) as opposed to a locative prepositional case marker $\left.(264),{ }^{1} 2\right)$ when they are incorporated into the verb (265), 3) when they are part of a nominal compound (266). These gender clitics have the same form as normal third-person pronouns $u, k a, i$, and $k i$, but when cliticized to the bare noun they are unstressed relative to the noun. The gender clitics also serve to mark class membership for all nouns and some degree of definiteness. ${ }^{2}$
(264) wan u cha yung

| $w a n_{\mathrm{V}}$ | $u_{\text {PN }}$ | $t f a_{\text {LOC }}$ | $j u \eta_{\mathrm{N}}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| come | 3SG.M.NOM | ALL | $\mathrm{F}=$ house |

'he comes to the house' [PP14MF _020]
(265) chna yung ki
tfna $\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{V}} \quad j u \eta_{\mathrm{N}} \quad k i_{\mathrm{PN}}$
make $\mathrm{F}=$ house 3PL
'they made a house' [FPAHM_025]
lit. 'they home-make'
(266) khut ki jan yung jan sæm
$k^{h} u t_{\mathrm{V}} \quad k i=j a n$ jū jan sem $\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{N}}$
call $\quad$ PL=near house near neighborhood
'the family and neighbors call' [PP14MF _023]
The nominal feature of gender has been treated in §5.2.1. The sections below discuss subclasses of nouns ( $\S 7.2$ ) and groupings of nouns which can be made on a semantic basis (§7.3).

### 7.2 Noun subclasses

Nouns can be subclassified as common and proper nouns based on unique properties. These subclasses are described below.

[^49]
### 7.2.1 Common nouns

Common nouns include words for physical objects, spans of time, ideas, and anything that can be conceptualized as countable and having fixed referential properties. Nouns which can be counted occur in quantifier phrases where a classifier morpheme is required (267-268). Classifiers and quantification are described in more detail in §13.4.
(267) chim u ar tylli ki soh

'he takes two pieces of fruit'
(268) ar ta yaw hadein ka thoh

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
{\left[\begin{array}{lll}
a r & \boldsymbol{t a} & j a w
\end{array}\right.} & h a-d e n & k a=t^{h} \supset ? \\
\text { two } & \text { CL.WK } & \text { week } & \text { LOC-back } & \text { RES=write }
\end{array}
$$

'after two weeks the agreement (will be signed)' [HPAHR_157]

### 7.2.2 Proper nouns

Proper nouns include names of people or things and names of places. Human or anthropomorphic names are often compound forms (274) or parallelistic forms (269) that take gender clitics. They may also occur with vocatives (§7.2.3), in which case the gender clitic attaches to the vocative, which precedes the name.
(269) ka bei ram-aw bei ramchit

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
k a=b e j & \text { ramaw } & \text { bej } & \text { ramtfit } \\
\mathrm{F}=\text { mother } & \text { earth } & \text { mother } & \text { nature }
\end{array}
$$

'mother earth (lit. earth mother)' [PP13RS 170]

Place names rarely occur with gender clitics, and often follow prepositional case markers (270), seeming to function as relational nouns (§5.6.3). When they are marked by gender, the intended sense seems to be added specificity (271) or a collective/partitive meaning (272).
(270) rah ki ha jwai
ra? ki ha gwaj
carry 3PL LOC Jowai
'they carried (it) to Jowai' [PP03SKY_029]
(271) lai ki cha ka yaw sutnga
laj ki fo ka=jaw sutpa
go 3PL ALL F=market Sutnga
'they went to the Sutnga market' [PP04SKO_038]
(272) mut thied kini wa chong chnong cheini na ki jwai waroh
mut thed ki=ni wa tfon tfoŋ tfe-i=ni na
means buy PL=prox NMZ sit village ALL-N=prox ABL
$k i=\boldsymbol{j} w a j$ wars?
PL=Jowai all
'that means the citizens of this village bought (the field) from the Jowai people?' [SI3_020]

### 7.2.3 Vocatives

Terms of respect such as feminine $k \supset \eta$ 'madam' (273), bej 'mother', and masculine woP 'ancestor' (274), baP 'honorable' (275), or ma 'sir, uncle' (276), when they occur, precede proper nouns, immediately following the nominal gender marker. They indicate higher social or elder status in relation to the speaker. Once the bearer of the title has been identified, these vocatives can also be used with the appropriate gender marker and serve to denote referents in discourse.
(273) ka kong silda
$k a=k o \eta \quad$ sild $a$
F=HON.F Silda
'madam Mrs. Silda' [LHJ_020]
(274) u woh kiang nangbah
$u=w \supset$ ? kiay nayba?
M=HON.M Kiang Nangbah
‘ancestor Mr. Kiang Nangbah' [AIJ_038]
(275) u bah kharkrang
$u=b a ? \quad k^{h}$ arkraŋ
M=HON.M Kharkrang
'honorable Mr. Kharkrang' [LHJ_028]
(276) u ma bijoy
$u=m a \quad$ bidoj
$\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{HON} . \mathrm{M}$ Bijoy
‘sir Mr. Bijoy' [LS2J_038]

### 7.3 Semantic noun groupings

Pnar has a large and detailed vocabulary for tropical and deciduous flora and fauna. Particularly plentiful are terms for varieties of trees (grouped under the category den 'tree') and plants (under $p^{h} l a \eta$ 'grass' or $s s P$ 'fruit'). Expressives often combine two terms of general applicability to refer to the larger class, as in the phrase $u=s \varepsilon r \quad u=s k a j$ [ $\mathrm{M}=$ sambar.deer $\mathrm{M}=$ barking.deer] '(all) deer'.

Rice is the staple crop of the Pnar, and they have detailed terms for rice in its various stages of growth and production, as well as specific terms for implements and baskets used for the various stages of cultivation and preparation. The general term for rice is $k^{h} O$ 'uncooked.rice', but other terms are $k b a$ 'field.rice', $b a$ a 'cooked.rice', bet 'rice.seed', and $p^{h} n i a \eta$ 'rice.seedling'. The words smbe 'seed', t $\uparrow$ Ten 'bone' and $t r u$ ' 'small.bone' are also used in conjuction with rice terms.

Emotion terms in Pnar mainly involve physical sensation, with the verb of feeling and hearing being synonymous: sniaw. Many sensations particularly involve kpo? 'stomach, womb', or the liver, nod, which is the seat of courage and daring. The verb of feeling/hearing is often used in conjunction with a stative verb to indicate an emotional state: sniaw suk 'feel at peace, feel good', sniaw si? 'feel bad', sniaw bay 'feel tasty, like', sniaw da hun 'feel happy, satisfied, enjoyable', etc...

### 7.3.1 Measure nouns

Local measure terms are often preceded by $t i$, the indefinite marker, which can denote sets of items. These measure terms are used in the market to identify local units that are commonly sold and traded. A list of terms and their corresponding glosses are given in Table 7.1. Imperial and metric terms are borrowed from English.

Monetary terms Money terms in Pnar are generally borrowed from Hindi. The common word for money is paisa, though specific terms such as naja, suka, piaP, taka and rupi or rupia can also be used. The rupi is the unit of exchange, with naja, suka, pia? and taka being used many years ago and now nearly without value in current exchange rates. These terms are generally only used by older people or to make a point about the difference in value between old money and current money.

| ti hali | 'eight pieces of fruit' |
| :---: | :---: |
| ti bia? | 'packet of $\sim 50$ pat ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ( paan) leaves' |
| tfi son | 'four bia?' |
| tfi kani | 'four hundred kwaj (areca) nuts' |
| tfi ser | 'a weight, slightly less than one kilo' |
| ti mon | '100 kilograms' |
| u mon | '40 ser' |
| Hi kati | 'basket weighing $\sim 2.5 \mathrm{ser}$ ' |
| tfi trop | 'basket weighing $\sim 2.5 \mathrm{ser}$ ' |
| tfi kti | 'two hands, i.e. 10' (kti means hand) |

Table 7.1: Local measure terms

Time As noted in $\S 5.6 .4$ above, time is referenced by the noun $i=p \supset r$, though it is common to refer to specific days, parts of the day, weeks, months or years. Pnar people have their own traditional calendar terms as well as adopted Western calendar terms, discussed in $\S 7.3 .2$ below. Table 5.11 above is a summary of temporal locative terms.

### 7.3.2 Traditional cycles

The Pnar traditional week is an eight-day cycle (Table 7.2), with each day corresponding to a market. Over the past centuries, some markets have shifted geographic location for economic reasons while keeping the same names. The market days are kept alongside the adopted seven day Western week, meaning that the two calendars align once every fifty-six days.

Western calendar months also have local names, though it is not clear whether the traditional calendar made use of a twelve month system. The names of the months are found in Table 7.3, and potential sources/meanings are discussed in the following paragraph.

These month names are partially deconstructable: naj is a shortened form of bnaj 'moon', which is particularly helpful if we consider seasonal agricultural patterns. April can be translated into English as 'planting month' ( $t^{h} u \eta$ here is the word for the act of pushing rice seedlings into the paddy field with fingers /hand), and most of the following months use a numeral system to identify subsequent months (i.e. moons, lunar cycles). November breaks

| Market day | Market location | Western weekdays | English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| musiay | Jowai | mibar (syi u blaj) | Sunday |
| mutiaj | Shangpung/Dawki | dep mibar | Monday |
| pykad | Khleriat | sทi wa ar | Tuesday |
| $t^{h}$ mblen | Khanduli | spi wa lay | Wednesday |
| had | Shillong/Yawdooh | dep wa lay | Thursday |
| $k^{h}$ llaw | Sutnga/Dawki | syi thop den | Friday |
| prsin | Ummulong | spi sat dan | Saturday |
| mulon | Nartiang |  |  |

Table 7.2: Pnar/Jaintia Traditional Market days
the trend, including the words $k^{h} \supset n$ 'child' and $サ \supset \eta$-lad 'sit-way', while December has the word kmaj 'be great'. These two months could refer to the weeks of advent leading to the celebration of Christmas, in which case it would provide evidence that the calendar was adopted or heavily influenced by missionaries in the mid-1800's. Alternatively, tfoplad could refer to the lack of work available out of doors and the tendency to visit during this cold period in the hills, so that November would be the 'small waiting/visiting' month and December would be the 'big waiting/visiting' month. January, dujtara, may refer to the traditional Pnar four-stringed musical instrument this is typically a month when family gatherings and social activities occur. February contains $t^{h} \partial P$ 'write' and $k^{h} m i$ 'look', conjoined by la 'if/or' (perhaps when accounts are done?), and March is wisu, which may be composed of $w i$ 'one' and $s u$ which has two meanings in my texts: 'only' and 'repay', possibly referring to repayment of debts before the coming planting season. These month names seem to suggest a countdown toward April, preparing for the month of planting.

### 7.3.3 Kinship terms

Kinship terms in Pnar (Table 7.4) are also highly developed, as their unique matrilineal system requires that they only marry someone unrelated to them through their mother, as far back as their original matriarch. Each matrilineal clan, or kur, has special rituals and an oral tradition regarding which other kur are taboo ( $s a \eta$ ) for marriage relations. When meeting another Pnar for the first time, some of the first questions asked regard each other's

| Pnar | English |
| :---: | :---: |
| dujtara | January |
| $t^{h} \bigcirc$ ? la $k^{h} m i$ | February |
| wisu | March |
| naj tup | April |
| naj san | May |
| naj ņru | June |
| naj nniaw | July |
| naj sop ${ }^{h} r a$ | August |
| naj $k^{h} n d e$ | September |
| naj サfip ${ }^{\text {a }}$ aw | October |
| $k^{h}$ on tfoŋlad | November |
| $k^{h}$ maj t¢oplad | December |

Table 7.3: Pnar Month names
kur and whether the person is single or married. Within the family there are special terms for each child, with the youngest daughter being particularly significant, as it is her responsibility to maintain the family home. In the extended family there are special terms for mother's relatives and for father's relatives.

### 7.4 Nominalization

The class of nouns in Pnar can easily be expanded through productive derivational processes that turn verbs into nouns, a process termed 'nominalization'. According to the most recent volume on nominalization in Asian languages, nominalization is "the process by which we derive nominal expressions" (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona, 2011: 3), a definition used originally by Comrie and Thompson (1985). The following examples from English illustrate nominalization processes:

- destroy -> destruction (action nominal, morphological derivation)
- treat -> treatment (action nominal, morphological derivation)
- teach -> teacher (agentive nominal, morphological derivation)
- he works [v.] -> the work [n.] (event/action nominal, lexical or syntactic derivation)

|  | relation | word | relation | word | relation | word |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | mother | $b e j^{3}$ | M's eldest brother | ma san | M's eldest sister | bej san |
|  | father | pa | M's next1-born brother | ma rut | M's next1-born sister | bej dia? |
|  | M's mother | bej pun | M's next2-born brother | ma dia? | M's next2-born sister | bej lod |
|  | M's father | pa pun | M's next3-born brother | ma $k^{h}$ ro | M's next3-born sister | bej $k^{h}$ ian |
|  | F's mother | $m \varepsilon n k^{h} a$ | M's next4-born brother | ma rad | M's next4-born sister | bej rad |
|  | F's father | wo? $k^{h} a$ | M's elder brother | ma he? | M's elder sister | bej $h \varepsilon$ ? |
|  | spouse | lok, kurim | M's younger brother | $m a k^{h}$ ian | M's y.er sister | bej $k^{h}$ ian |
|  | grandchild | ksu | g. grandchild | ksu miaw | g. g. grandchild | ksu $k^{h} n e^{4}$ |
|  | child | $k^{h}$ on | M's brother's child | $k^{h}$ on | F's sister's child | $k \supset \eta k^{h} a$ |
|  | elder sibling | paju | M's sister's child (older) | paju (ar bej) | F's brother's child (older) | paju ar pa |
|  | y.er sibling | dia? | M's sister's child (y.er) | dia? | F's brother's child (y.er) | dia? |
|  | y.est daughter (inherits) | (ka) do? | F's elder brother | pa san | F's older sister | nia san |
|  | oldest uncle (perf. rites) | (u) kni | F's y.er brother | pa rut | F's y.er sister | nia rut |
|  | first-born sibling | san pun | M's sister's first-born | san pun | F's brother's first-born | san pun |
|  | next1-born boy | kэy rut | M's sister's second-born | koy rut | F's brother's second-born | $k \supset \eta$ dia? |
| $\mathscr{6}$ | next2-born boy | $k \supset \eta$ dia? | M's sister's second-born | $k \supset \eta$ dia? | F's brother's third-born | $k \supset \eta$ rut |
|  | next3-born boy | kan $k^{h}$ ro | elder brother's child | $k^{h}$ วn | y.er brother's child | $k^{h}$ on |
|  | next4-born boy | dia? pun | y.er sister's f. child | $k^{h}$ วn rut | elder sister's female child | $k^{h}$ วn rut |
|  | next5-born boy | san $k^{h}$ ian | y.er sister's m. child | prsa | elder sister's male child | prsa |
|  | next1-born girl | kay maj | elder brother's wife | (ka) ko $\eta$ | elder sister's husband | (u) kJ ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
|  | next2-born girl | kэๆ rut | y.er brother's wife | (ka) bo | y.er sister's husband | (u) bo |
|  | next3-born girl | $k \supset \eta ~ d \varepsilon ? ~(d i a P)$ | M's brother's wife | nia | M's older sister's husband | pa $h \varepsilon$ ? |
|  | next5-born girl | dia? maj | F's sister's husband | niaw | M's y.er sister's husband | pa $k^{h} i a n$, pa dia? |
|  | next6-born girl | dia? pun, dia? $k^{h}$ ian | M's mother's sister | bej pun, bej he? | F's mother's sister | $m \varepsilon n$ |
|  | sixth-born | rut $k^{h}$ ian | M's mother's brother | wə? | F's mother's brother | wว? |
|  | sibling (endearment) | pun, wว? | F's elder brother's wife | bej san | F's y.er brother's wife | bej rut |

## Table 7.4: Pnar kinship terms

[^50] 'dog', 'cat', and 'rat', respectively. There are no clear terms for the fourth generation of grandchild.

### 7.4.1 Pnar Nominalizers

Table 7.5 identifies the various kinds of nominalization morphemes and their functions. These are then discussed and exemplified below.

| Form | Gloss | Function | Scope |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |
| gin- | 'AB.NMZ' | abstract | word |
| $n s \eta-$ | 'AG.NMZ' | agentive | word |
| $j u-$ | 'INST.NMZ' | instrumental | word |
| $k a=$ | 'RES=' | resultative | word or phrase |
| $i=$ | 'ACT=' | action | word or phrase |
| $u=$ | 'PURP=' | purposive | word or phrase |
| $k i=$ | 'PL=' | plural | word or phrase |
| $w a$ | 'NMZ' | property nominalizer | word or phrase |
| $w a$ | 'REL' | relative clause marker | phrase or clause |

Table 7.5: Pnar nominalization morphology
In Pnar there are both derivational nominalizers and a clausal nominalizer. The derivational nominalizers include prefixes and clitics. The proclitic wa derives property concepts, which are similar to modifiers, as they modify nouns, and are discussed further in $\S 8$. The clausal nominalizer wa (discussed further in §14.2.2) has the same form as the morpheme that derives property concepts and similarly precedes the modified clause. The difference is that the clausal modifier forms a relative clause and allows for negation, whereas the morpheme that derives property concepts does not. Negation is involved in an important distinction: derivational processes cannot be negated, while clausal processes can be negated. The following examples illustrate derivational prefixes and clitics.

### 7.4.1.1 Verb root prefixes

The verb root prefix $d i \eta$ - is a general nominalizer that prefixes to the verb root. Evidence that this is a prefix is the fact that it is always preceded by a gender clitic, which only attach to nouns. ${ }^{5}$ Example (277) is of a verbless clause where din-derives the event nominal 'regarding, relating to' by prefixing to the verb jato? 'relations'. ${ }^{6}$ This is used to set up the following verbal clause where the speaker discusses the things he wants to

[^51]say about the referent of $u=w$ o? lakria?. In example (278) dsin-is a patient nominalizer, prefixing to 'rule, ruling' in order to allow the verb to function in a referential manner so it can accept the benefactive/dative prepositional case marker $j a$ (which identifies the beneficiary of the matrix verb tfim kti 'take in hand').
(277) tæ i jingyatoh uni $u$ woh lakriah, ...
tع $\quad i=\boldsymbol{\sigma}$ in-jato? $\quad u=n i \quad u=w \supset ?$
NVIS N=NMZ-relations M=PROX M=elder
'so regarding this elder Lakriah, ...' [PP01CSE_070]
(278) daw chim kti noh u ya ka jingsynchar sa chisein ha ka kti ka yong oo
daw tfim kti no? u ja ka=木in-sntfar sa
IRR take hand IMM1 3SG.M.NOM BEN F=NMZ-rule only
サ $j=$ sen $\quad h a \quad k a=k t i \quad k a \quad j \partial \eta \quad o$
one-time LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ hand 3SG.F.ACC GEN 3SG.M.ACC
'he will immediately take hold of the ruling once again in his hand'
[BPDJ_032]
The prefix $n \supset \eta$ - derives agentive nominals in Pnar. This is an extremely productive prefix, similar to the -er suffix in English (play -> player, etc.). Example (279) derives an agentive meaning from the verb pllaj 'organize' ( $>$ p $n$ - 'CAUS' + laj 'go'). As a prefix, this form must also be preceded by a gender clitic, similar to din-
(279) ka aiñ wa da chna ki nongpyllai
$k a=a n$ wa da tfna ki=nэy-pllaj
$\mathrm{F}=$ rule NMZ REAL make PL=AG.NMZ-organize
'the rule that was made by the organizers' [AIJ_042]
The prefix $j u$ - derives instrumental nominals, i.e. 'thing used for V-ing'. This morpheme is no longer very productive in Jowai-Pnar, being replaced by the more general nominalizer din-. However, it can still be found in some older Pnar words, such as the word $j u$-spon 'turban', which is still the required head covering for priests in the traditional religion, or $j u$-slen 'loincloth', again a traditional item of clothing. Speakers also reported that it could also be used for tools and implements, though most often by villagers coming to Jowai for market, or if a speaker couldn't remember the word for a particular thing. In example (280) the morpheme $j u$ - modifies the verb spon 'wrap', again being preceded by a gender clitic.
(280) ka yuspong toh $u$ æm ko
$k a=j u-s p \supset y$ to? $u=\varepsilon m \quad k \supset$
$\mathrm{F}=$ NMZ-wrap right $\mathrm{NF}=$ have 3SG.F.NOM
'the turban is necessary' [TACJ_133]
lit. 'the turban, is right to have it'

### 7.4.1.2 Pre-verbal clitics

Pre-verbal derivational clitics consist of the four gender clitics (ungendered plural clitic $k i=$ can also derive nominals) and the nominalizer $w a$. The former three clitics have the same form as those required for nouns and serve nominalizing functions when they (optionally) attach to the verb root. With the exception of $u=$, these clitics cannot combine with aspect or mood morphemes.

The gender clitic $u$ derives a non-finite state when cliticized to a verb root. Example (281) shows how the verbs 'farm' and 'work' become stative when procliticized by $u$. In example (282) u cliticizes to pn-jap 'kill', following the declarative matrix verb hoj hi 'be.ok EMPH' whose A-argument is the pronoun $i$ ' 1 pl '. Here, $u=p n$-jap serves a nominal referential function as a non-finite state or purposive nominalization.
(281) biang i pynthor u ræp u khih

```
biaŋ \(\quad i=p n t^{h}\) or \(\quad u=\boldsymbol{r} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{p} \quad u=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{?}\)
    enough \(\mathrm{N}=\) farmland \(\mathrm{NF}=\) farm \(\mathrm{NF}=\) work
    'enough farmland to farm, to work' [PP04SKO_044]
```

(282) hoi hi u pynyap i ki
hoj hi $\quad u=\boldsymbol{p n}$-jap $\quad i \quad k i$
fitting EMPH NF=CAUS-die 1PL 3PL
'it is ok for us to kill them (animals)..' [BMPJ_036] or 'our killing them (animals) is ok..'

The gender clitic $k a$ derives a resultative nominal when cliticized to a verb root. For comparison we have the following two examples. In example (283) the verb $k^{h} i$ ' 'work' is used in a question, with the S -argument $p^{h} i$ ' 2 PL ' topicalized in pre-verbal position as well as given in the standard immediate post-verbal position. In example (284), from the same conversation, the verb $k^{h} i P$ is being used in referential function, and is describing an abstract notion that has actualized, i.e. the result of work.
(283) tæ phi khih phi, nong?
tع $\quad p^{h} i \quad k^{h} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{P} \quad p^{h} i \quad n \ni \eta$
NVIS 2PL work 2PL CONF
'so you, you work, right?' [AIJ_012]
(284) heijooh i por man ko ka khih
$h e=i=\$ o$ ? $\quad i=p o r \quad$ man $k 刀 \quad k a=k^{h} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{P}$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ same $\mathrm{N}=$ time be 3SG.F.ACC RES=work
'at the same time it is work' [AIJ_072]
The neutral gender clitic $i$ derives an abstract action nominal when preposed to a verb. In example (285), from the same conversation as above, the clitic attaches to $k^{h} i$ ' 'work'. Unlike in example (284), which refers to a resulting state, here the speaker is referring to a situation or event which is ongoing. Example (286) is similar - the clitic $i$ attaches here to the verb bam 'eat' in an idiomatic expression. As compared to the function of $u$, this 'eating of betel nut' is not a non-finite state, but is rather an ongoing referential state - an abstract action with no clear grounding in actualization.
(285) ini hæh i khih yong i

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
i=n i & h \varepsilon ? & i=k^{h} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{P} & j \partial \eta & i \\
\mathrm{~N}=\mathrm{PROX} & \text { only } & \text { ACT=work } & \text { GEN } & \text { 1PL } \\
\text { 'this is our only } & \text { work' } & {[A I J} & 013]
\end{array}
$$

(286) myntu da dæp u yap tæ ong, i bam kwai ha dwar u=blai
mṇtu da dep u=jap tع $\quad \eta \quad i=b a m$ kwaj ha
now REAL PERF NF=die NVIS say $\mathrm{N}=$ eat betel.nut LOC
dwar $u=$ blaj
door god
'after death it is said: 'people eat kwai in heaven' (lit. eat betelnut at door of God)' [PP12BL_008]

While the clitic $u$ derives non-finite states, it should also be clear that this morpheme can encode intentionality or certainty. When speakers refer to what in English is understood as future time (after now, tomorrow, etc..) they use the irrealis marker daw. However, daw (287 a) indicates uncertainty, which follows from its status as a marker of events or processes that are not actualized. When speakers want to indicate certainty regarding the actualization of an event, they use the non-finite/purposive marker $u$ instead (287b). ${ }^{7}$

[^52](287) (a) daw khræh i mynstæp
daw kre? $i \quad m n s t \varepsilon p$
IRR prepare 1PL tomorrow
'we will prepare tomorrow' (intention, uncertain)
(b) u khræh i mynstæp
$\boldsymbol{u}=k r \varepsilon$ ? $\quad i \quad m n s t \varepsilon p$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ prepare 1PL tomorrow
'we will prepare tomorrow' (certainly)

### 7.4.2 Nominalization, relativization

The link between nominalization, relativization, and genitivization was first identified and described in Tibeto-Burman languages by Matisoff (1972), who was followed by other TB researchers (Noonan, 1997; Bickel, 1999; Hopple, 2003; Watters, 2008, to name a few). Nominalization in Austroasiatic languages have been less widely studied, though some discussion of nominalization exists for Semelai (Kruspe, 2004), Jahai (Burenhult, 2005) and Temiar (Benjamin, 1976), and in papers by Morev (2006); Parkin (1991); Costello and Khamluan (1998); Bradley (1980). ${ }^{8}$

A typology of nominalization has been proposed by Gerner (2012), based on a review of the volume by Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona, which includes a large number of languages in which the process of nominalization is represented. Gerner's typology is based on: 1) morphology, 2) syntax, 3) semantics, 4) pragmatics, and 5) diachrony. Morphological processes can be further subdivided into unmarked or zero-marking, and morphological marking on the verbal or nominal complex. Gerner (804-805) states: "Markers in the verbal domain are dedicated nominalizers. Markers in the nominal domain are nominalizers whose main function is to mark syntactic cases, possession, specificity and so forth". Syntactic processes are where nominalization "constrains the verb phrase" or "the nominalized expression assumes a syntactic function in the main clause" (816). In terms of semantics, nominalization encodes participants of the verbal expression, its nonphysical properties, or the situation it denotes (824). Pragmatic uses of nominalization can be contrastive focus, tense and aspect, modality, evidentiality, and attitudes of speakers (829). Diachronically, nominalization forms

[^53]derive from forms with other functions and can make way for new functions or meanings (833).

The domain of use is relevant to Pnar morphology: verbal nominalizers are prefixes, whereas verbal nominalizing clitics have the same form as noun class markers which mark specificity on nouns. In terms of syntax, the use of the clausal marker wa in Pnar constrains the predicate and allows it to assume a syntactic function in the main clause. It is also worth noting that formal realization of nominalization processes are similar to those found in neighboring Tibeto-Burman languages. Genetti (2011) describes two basic nominalization processes and their formal properties. This table is reproduced here as part of Table 7.6, which includes similar processes in Pnar.

|  | TB nominalization, V-final |
| :---: | :---: |
| Derivational | [V-nmz] ${ }_{\text {NOUN }}$ |
|  | $[V-n m z]_{\text {Adj }}$ |
| Clausal | $\left[(N P) \ldots \text {... }{ }^{\text {-nmz }}\right]_{\text {NP }}$ |
|  | Pnar nominalization, V-initial |
| Derivational: | noun [Nmz-V] |
|  | ads [nmz V] |
| Clausal: | np[nmz V... (NP)] |

Table 7.6: Nominalization in Tibeto-Burman languages and Pnar

As can be seen here, nominalization in both TB languages and Pnar are remarkably similar functionally and formally, with the word order (verb final in TB languages, verb-initial in Pnar) resulting in almost mirror-image formal realization. Nominalization in Pnar clearly reflects the use of prefixes and proclitics to mark the head, as in class/gender marking on nouns, which follows from word order correlations originally observed by Greenberg (1963) and more recently by Dryer (1992). The clausal nominalizer wa also serves to derive modifiers from verbs. The process of forming modifiers from verbs is examined below in Chapter 8.

### 7.5 Summary

This chapter has focused on describing nouns. We have seen that nouns reference physical entities or abstract notions. The primary criteria of 'nounhood' in Pnar is classification via a gender clitic. These gender clitics also have nominalizing or referential functions when they attach to verbs. The following chapter examines different kinds of modifiers that occur in Pnar.

## Chapter 8

## Modifiers

The discussion of nominalization processes in Pnar leads directly into a discussion of the semi-closed class of modifiers. In Pnar this class includes a small closed set of words that directly modify nouns and often have the same form as stative verbs. Another closed set that can be included as modifiers are those stative verbs that modify verbs directly. These are termed 'adverbs' and have been discussed above in §5.7; further treatment regards their role as part of the verb complex ( $\S 11.3$ ).

The majority of the members of the modifier class are derived from verbs and form a set of words that are not fully verbs but not fully nouns either. Modifiers cannot be negated (as verbs can), yet they also cannot serve as referents or heads of noun phrases (as nouns can). Word order is also significant: modifiers never precede the noun. The current section defines the term 'modifier' in Pnar, particularly in relation to the literature on adjectives.

### 8.1 Properties of modifiers

Dixon (2004: 12) claims that "an adjective class can be recognized for every language" and that "adjective classes can be categorized in terms of their grammatical properties" (14). After an extensive review of languages, he states (44):

I suggest that the label 'adjective class' be used for a word class that:

- is grammatically distinct from noun class and verb class;
- includes words from some or all of the prototypical adjective semantic types - DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE, and


## COLOUR;

- and (a) functions either as intransitive predicate or as copula complement and/or (b) modifies a noun in an NP."

This definition is substantially broad and by making use of both semantic and grammatical criteria, Dixon attempts here to account for all variants of property concepts across the languages of the world. However, within the same volume papers by ( $\mathrm{X}, \mathrm{X}$ ) show that adjectives in some languages are simply a subclass of noun, while in others (LaPolla, Kruspe, etc.) they are a subclass of verb.

In Pnar, grammatical criteria in combination with word order show that there is a set of words that can be called a separate class which resemble Dixon's definition of adjectives. Modifiers are a class of words that modify nouns in the NP or verbs in the VC. Those that modify nouns include a small set of stative verbs and the larger open category of words derived via the relativizer wa. Modifiers of verbs are termed adverbs. All three kinds of modifiers have the same forms as verbs. The types of modifiers are summarized in Table 8.1 and compared to relative clauses.

|  | Type 1 | Type 2 | Adverb | Relative clause |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| modifies: | noun | noun | verb | NP |
| same form as: | V | V | V | V or VC or Pred. |
| deriv. morph.: | none | $w a$ | none | Pn $+w a$ |
| can be negated: | no | no | no | yes |
| V takes morph.: | no | no | no | yes |
| example: | $t^{h} m m e$ | $w a h \varepsilon$ h | tam | ka wa drrj |
| gloss: | 'old' | 'big' | 'superlative' | 'that/which is long' |

Table 8.1: Types of Pnar modifiers

### 8.2 Type 1 modifiers

As an example of the first type of modifier, Pnar speakers use $t^{h} m m e$ for 'new' and tmmen for 'old', which become descriptors when they immediately follow the noun (288-289).
i juk thymme
$i=\hbar u k \quad t^{h} m m e$
$\mathrm{N}=$ generation be.new
'the new generation' [TACJ_366]
(289) ki sistar tymmæn
ki=sistar tmmen
PL=nun be.old
'the old nuns' [FPAHM_015]
I gloss these modifiers as verbs simply because they have the same form as verbs. Syntax is the main means of distinguishing the modifier function from the predicate function. For example, it would be perfectly acceptable to reverse the order, as in (290-291), to form verbal clauses.
(290) thymme i juk
$\boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{m}_{\boldsymbol{m}} \boldsymbol{m e} \quad i=\sigma$ duk
be.new $\mathrm{N}=$ generation
'the generation (is) new'
(291) tymmæn ki sistar
tmmen ki=sistar
be.old PL=nun
'the nuns (are) old'
However, the word order is extremely significant: when they follow a noun they cannot be negated, providing strong evidence that these words are modifiers and not verbs. So while it is perfectly fine to negate the verbal clauses as in (292-293), negating the modifier that follows the noun results in an ungrammatical construction (294-295) even as it does in English.
(292) ym thymme i juk
$m \quad \boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{m e} \quad i=\hbar u k$
NEG be.new $\mathrm{N}=$ generation
'the generation (is) not new'
(293) ym tymmæn ki sistar
ym tmmen ki=sistar
NEG be.old PL=nun
'the nuns (are) not old'
(294)
$*_{i}$ juk ym thymme
$i=\sigma u k \quad m \quad \boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{m}$
$\mathrm{N}=$ generation NEG be.new
'*the not new generation'
(295) *ki sistar ym tymmæn
ki=sistar $m$ tmmen
$\mathrm{PL}=$ nun NEG be.old
'*the not old nuns'
If a pronoun occurs post-verbally in the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$ argument slot, this conditions a change in clause structure: the preposed noun is then considered to be in topic position, and the words $t^{h} m m e$ and $t m m e n$ are considered stative verbs and can be negated (296-297). Topic focus is discussed further in §10.2.
(296) i juk ym thymme i
$[i=\sigma u k]_{\mathrm{TOP}} \quad m \quad t^{h} m m e \quad[i]_{\mathrm{s}}$
$\mathrm{N}=$ generation NEG be.new 3SG.N
'the generation (is) not new'
(297) ki sistar ym tymmæn ki
$[k i=s i s t a r]_{\text {тор }} \quad m \quad$ tmmen $\quad[k i]_{\mathrm{s}}$
PL=nun $\quad$ NEG be.old 3 PL
'the nuns (are) not old'
Type 1 and type 2 modifiers also differ from verbs in not being able to take any other verbal morphology, such as aspect, mood, and adverbial auxiliaries. If speakers are trying to convey the intensity of an attribute that modifies a noun, e.g. 'very', they cannot use the post-verbal adverbial intensifier bha (298). Instead, intensity must be conveyed through reduplication of the modifier (299).
(298) *ki sistar tymmæn bha
ki=sistar tmmen bha
$\mathrm{PL}=$ nun be.old INTS1
'the nuns (are) very old'
(299) ki sistar tymmæn tymmæn
ki=sistar tmmen~tmmen
PL=nun be.old~INTS
'the very old nuns'
In order for a speaker to use adverbial modifiers for intensity etc., a verbal construction is required, as in (300-301). To express superlative notions like 'smallest' or 'biggest', a verbal compound (i.e. $k^{h}$ ian do?) is nominalized with a gender clitic that refers to the referential element.
(300) tymmæn bha ki sistar
tmemen bha ki=sistar
be.old INTS1 PL=nun
'the nuns (are) very old'
(301) ki sistar tymmæn bha ki
ki=sistar tmmen bha ki
PL=nun be.old INTS1 3PL
'the nuns (are) very old'
The class of stative verbs that can directly modify nouns include $t^{h} m m e$ 'young, new' (302-303), tmmen 'old' (304), $k^{h}$ ian 'small' (305-307), and $h \varepsilon$ ? 'big' (323).

In (302) $t^{h} m m e$ directly modifies $i=\sigma u k$ 'generation' to describe the new, younger generation. In (303) the same word for 'new' is used to describe a road, surכk.
(302) hei juk thymme katni
he-i=ळuk $\quad t^{h} m m e \quad k a t-n i$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ generation be.new as-PROX
'in the new generation now' [TACJ_366]
(303) na surok thymme
na surok $t^{h} m m e$
ABL road be.new
'from the new road' [BMPJ_018]
In (304) the word tmmen directly modifies $k a=k n t^{h} a j$ 'woman' to describe the woman as being old or elderly.
(304) æm yap kawi ka kynthai tymmæn
$\varepsilon m$ jap $k a=w i \quad k a=k n t^{h} a j$ tmmen
have die $\mathrm{F}=$ one $\mathrm{F}=$ female be.old
'one old woman died' [LS3J_007]
In (305) the word $k^{h}$ ian 'be small' directly modifies $u=$ masi 'cow' to denote the small size of a cow. In (306) the same word identifies $k i=t f a \eta$ 'baskets' as being small, while in (307) it identifies a smaller version of a river with the same name as a larger body of water.
(305) u masi khian
$u=$ masi $k^{h}$ ian
M=cow be.small
'a small cow' [MPSM_011]
(306) ki chang khian
$k i=t f a \eta \quad k^{h} i a n$
PL=basket be.small
'the small baskets' [TACJ_476]
(307) tæ mih ko na kupli khian ya ki khynde tylli ki chnat wah
$t \varepsilon \quad m i P \quad k \supset \quad n a \quad$ kupli $k^{h}$ ian $\quad j a \quad k i$
NVIS come.out 3SG.F.NOM ABL Kupli be.small BEN 3PL
$k^{h} n d e$ tlli $\quad k i=$ tfnat wa?
nine CL.NH PL=tributary lake
'so out from small Kupli (i.e. Li) comes nine tributaries'
[PP05KO_004]

| Word | Gloss | Word | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| knırad | 'almighty' | so | 'red' |
| hagon | 'rich' | strm | 'yellow' |
| do? | 'poor' | $\jmath \supset \geqslant$ | 'black' |
| diak | 'little' | $l e ?$ | 'white' |
| $k^{h} i a$ | 'heavy' | luk | 'white' |
| stin | 'light' | hiam | 'red' |
| $t^{h} a$ ? | 'frozen' | jirnam | 'green' |
| trta? | 'boiled' | tnnat | 'nice' |
| tit | 'hot' | sip | 'bad' |
| $t^{h} m m m$ | 'new' | $\operatorname{trk}^{h}$ aw | 'dry' |
| tmmen | 'old' | sntfar | 'rule' |

Table 8.2: Type 1 modifiers in Pnar

Table 8.2 lists some of the type 1 modifiers found in my corpus. Some of these words (308-313) only occur in lexicalized expressions and are somewhat suspect. It should also be noted that each of these words can be used as stative verbs and that the type 1 modification is a separate usage. The glosses given in the table are intended to emphasize the attributive nature of the word when used as a type 1 modifier.
(308) ka sngi yambru
$k a=s \eta i \quad j a m-b r u$
$\mathrm{F}=$ day cry-person
'day of mourning'
(309) u pseiñ tymmoh
$u=$ psen $\quad$ tmmo?
$\mathrm{m}=$ snake overlay
'kind of snake'
(310) ka niam tre
$k a=$ niam tre $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition original 'original tradition'
(311) i thaw thang
$i=t^{h} a w \quad t^{h} a \eta$
$\mathrm{N}=$ place burn
'burning, cremation place'
(312) u khlieh tam
$u=k^{h} l e$ ? tam
M=head INTS3
'most head'
(313) ka syiem synchar
$k a=s$ Rem sntfar
$\mathrm{F}=$ ruler rule
'ruling queen'

### 8.3 Type 2 modifiers

Type 2 modifiers involve the use of wa between the noun and the verb that modifies it (314). This is the default expression of modifiers in Pnar, and in Jowai at least there is a human/non-human distinction in the use of verb roots as adjectival modifiers. My consultants stated that when describing human referents with most verbs, it sounded strange not to use wa between the human noun and the attributive verb, so while (315-316) are acceptable, (317) sounds odd.
(314) u ksaw wa hæh
$u=k s a w$ wa $h \varepsilon$ ? $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{dog}$ NMZ be.big 'the big dog'
(315) u ksaw hæh
$u=k s a w \quad h \varepsilon$ ?
$\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{dog}$ be.big
'the big dog'
(316) u bru wa hæh
$u=b r u \quad w a \quad h \varepsilon$ ?
$\mathrm{M}=$ person NMZ be.big
'the big man'
(317) *u bru hæh
$u=b r u \quad h \varepsilon$ ?
$\mathrm{M}=$ person be.big
'the big man'

This kind of construction (relativization without a relative pronoun) does not allow negation, so that it is ungrammatical to say both (318) and (319). This is true whether the referent is human or non-human.
(318) *u bru ym wa hæh
$u=b r u \quad m \quad \boldsymbol{w a} h \varepsilon$ ?
$\mathrm{M}=$ person NGE NMZ be.big
'the not big man'
*u bru wa ym hæh
$u=b r u \quad w a \quad m \quad h \varepsilon$ ?
$\mathrm{M}=$ person NMZ NEG be.big
'the not big man'
Any verb can become a nominal modifier when preceded by the morpheme $w a$, forming a large open set of derived forms. This includes both intransitive (320) and transitive (321) verbs, though this has not been tested with all verbs. At this point, to list all the possible verbs that can serve as modifiers would essentially be to list all the verbs in the lexicon.

[^54](321) ka kynthai wa e
$k a=k n t^{h} a j$ wa $e$ $\mathrm{F}=$ woman NMZ give 'giver, giving woman'

### 8.4 Differences between type 1 and 2

The differences in usage of the two different kinds of modifiers seem to reflect a semantic difference in Pnar. Besides the human/non-human distinction noted above, the verbs which directly modify nouns (type 1) seem to encode a property directly associated with the head, while verbs separated from nouns by $w a$ identify properties that are indirectly associated with the head. For example, in (322) the speaker is contrasting the size of a big person $u=b r u$ wa $h \varepsilon$ ? with two small children $k i=k^{h} n n a h k^{h}$ ian. The only difference between the two realizations of the modifiers 'be big' and 'be small' here is that $h \varepsilon$ ? 'be big' is preceded by wa while $k^{h}$ ian 'be small' is not. Here the semantic difference seems to be that the size of the man is not part of the meaning of man in this case, whereas the size of the children is part of their meaning.
(322) uwi u bru wa hæh wa ki khynnah khian ar ngut

```
\(u=w i \quad u=b r u \quad w a \quad \boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon P} \quad w a \quad k i=k^{h} n n a P \quad \boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{i a n}\)
\(\mathrm{M}=\) one \(\mathrm{M}=\) person NMZ be.big COMT \(\mathrm{PL}=\) child be.small
ar \(\quad\) yut
two CL.HUM
'one big man and two small children' [FPSM_025]
```

Type 1 modifiers are similar in this sense to noun compounds or possessive constructions. I also noted above that $h \varepsilon ?$ is a stative verb that is restricted in terms of which nouns it can directly combine with, which may be related
to the semantic difference observed above. In (323) for example, $h \varepsilon$ ? 'be big' marks an inherent quality on a noun. Here the speaker is describing the use of $k i=t f a \eta h \varepsilon ?$ 'big baskets'.
(323) ha wa chæt æm kam kini ki chang hæh, næ?
$h a \quad w a \quad$ tfet $\varepsilon m \quad k a m \quad k i=n i \quad k i=t f a \eta \quad h \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{?}$
LOC NMZ cook have need PL=PROX PL=basket be.big
$n \varepsilon$
CONF
'in order to heat (dry the paddy), they use these big baskets, right?' [TACJ_457]

These words that can directly modify nouns are somewhat functionally separate from the general property concepts of type 2 in that they do not have to be modified by the nominalizer $w a$, and instead can create a nominal compound with the head. Although they are a separate class of modifier in this sense, verbs of the same form may be nominalized by wa (as in 322 above, and 324 below), suggesting that their semantically-closer modifier function has not been fully grammaticalized.
(324) ki bru wa hæh
$k i=b r u \quad w a \quad \boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{?}$
PL=person NMZ be.big
'the big people' [TACJ_150]
All types of modifiers can behave as verbs, taking mood marking, adverbial modification, and arguments. For example, in (325) the topic $u=k^{h} m a$ ? precedes a complex verbal construction which is followed by the S-argument pronoun $u$ '3SG.m.NOM' and in (326) the verb he? 'be.big' is also marked by realis mood and followed by arguments.
(325) tæ u khmah da hæh da tymmæn u
$t \varepsilon \quad u=k^{h} m a P \quad d a \quad h \varepsilon ? \quad d a \quad$ tmmen $u$
NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ Khmah REAL be.big REAL be.old 3SG.M.NOM
'so Khmah was growing older' [PP05KO_024]
(326) da hæh $\mathrm{ka}=\mathrm{ni}$ ka $=$ khon
$d a \quad h \varepsilon ? \quad k a=n i \quad k a=k^{h} \partial n$
REAL be.big $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ child
'this girl was big' [PP02SKF _012]

### 8.5 Other modifier forms and compounds

As stative verbs, modifiers can also be nominalized by a gender clitic (327) or serve as the head in a nominal compound (328).
(327) yachæm wa ki tymmæn
$\begin{array}{lll}j a=t f \varepsilon m & w a & k i=t m m e n \\ \text { PLUR-meet } & \text { COMT } & \text { PL=be.old }\end{array}$
'(I) meet with the older ones' [PP15PI_054]
(328) uwi yarap u oo, tæ u khian dooh neitæ
$u=w i \quad$ ja-rap $u \quad o \quad t \varepsilon$
$\mathrm{M}=$ one help 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.ACC NVIS
$u=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{i a n}$-do? $\quad n e=i=t \varepsilon$
$\mathrm{M}=$ be.small-extremely $\mathrm{ABL}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NVIS}$
'one helps him, the smallest of them' [MPSJ_039]
Many of the stative verbs typically used as attributives can modify full verbs (329), in which case I view them as complex verbal constructions or compounds. Adverbs that seem to have grammaticalized from verbs are a small closed class, and have been dealt with in §5.7.
u sñiaw tymmæn
$u=$ sniaw tmmen
$\mathrm{NF}=$ sense be.old
'to feel old' [HPAHR_222]
As noted in $\S 8.3$, attributives are derived by preposing the morpheme $w a$ to a verb, which cliticizes to the following constituent, as in example (330). This is also the case for color terms (331), which are treated as verbs. There are five main colors in Pnar: so 'red', stem 'yellow', jiryam 'green', jəך 'black', and $l e$ ? 'white', which can occur as type 1 modifiers. Some other color words are borrowed from English, such as blu 'blue', but another common way is to use a compound form: rכŋ 'color' followed by the noun which is the color that the speaker wishes to invoke. So roy bajpon is 'the color of eggplant/brinjal', or purple.
(330) ki bru wa rim
ki=bru wa rim
3PL=person NMZ be.old
'the old people' [TACJ_366]
(331) mut i pyrthai man i wa yirngam
mut $i=p r t^{h} a j$ man $i \quad$ wa jiryam
mean $\mathrm{N}=$ world happen 3SG.N NMZ be.green
'it means the world will become green' [PP1CSE_037]
Many stative verbs are also re-conceptualized as constituents of nominal compounds. Consider the compound $u=t m m e n$ wasan 'elder (in a church)' [Khasi: u=tmmen basan], which refers to a particular office in a particular association. This compound is formed from tmmen 'be.old' and the nominalized verb san 'be big' (wa-san 'elder'). In examples (332) and (333), however, these nominal compounds are viewed as such a tight unit that they can be incorporated into the verb, losing the nominalizing gender clitic and being directly followed by the A -argument.
(332) tæ man tymmæn basan o he-i=ni ha balang Jowai
te man tmmen basan $0 \quad h e=i=n i \quad h a$
NVIS become be.old elder 1SG.NOM LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ PROX LOC
balay Jwaj
church Jowai
'so I became an elder here in Jowai church' [LIJ_024]
lit. 'I elder-became...'
(333) tæ jied tymmæn wasan ki nga
te ged tmmen wasan ki $\eta a$
NVIS pick be.old elder 3PL 1SG.ACC
'so they picked me as an elder' [LIJ_006]
lit. 'they elder-picked...'
Some stative verbs that modify nouns directly without nominalization (type 1 modifiers) can also modify verbs directly as adverbs in complex verbal constructions. These constructions are dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 11, but a few examples here help to illustrate the process. In (334) the verb $k^{h} a$ 'be born' is modified by $t^{h} m m e$ 'be.new' to form the expression 'born again' or 'born anew', which refers to a traditional belief about a mythological character.
(334) uni wa yn u wa kha thymme
$u=n i \quad w a \quad n \quad u \quad w a \quad k^{h} a \quad \boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{e}$
M=PROX NMZ REF 3SG.M NMZ be.born be.new
'so this born again..' [PP01CSE_066]
In (335) $t^{h}$ mme modifies man 'become' to express whether something has 'become new'. Here the construction more closely resembles a serial verb or light verb construction, which are dealt with further in Chapter 16.
(335) ym toh de ki wa man thymme katni, sæ
$m$ to? de ki wa man $t^{h} m$ me kat-ni se NEG be INTS 3PL NMZ become be.new as-Prox CONF 'they are not new now, right?' [TACJ_120]

In (336) the verb $k^{h}$ ian 'be small' modifes the verb rap 'grow' to identify that the item being discussed as having grown small in relation to the speaker in reality the size of the object has not changed, rather the person speaking has outgrown it.
(336) katæ rap khian ha nga
$\begin{array}{lllll}k a=t \varepsilon & \text { rap } & k^{h} \text { ian } & h a & \eta a \\ \mathrm{~F}=\text { NVIS } & \text { grow } & \text { be.small } & \text { LOC } & \text { 1SG.ACC } \\ \text { 'this is a bit small for me' }\end{array}$
In (337) the verb $h \varepsilon$ ? 'be big' modifies rap 'grow' and describes the nature of growth in the opposite direction, with the object of growth being the S-argument $u=b r u$ 'man', identified initially as the topic o '3SG.m.ACC'.
(337) oo da rap hæh u bru

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
o & d a & \text { rap } & \boldsymbol{h \varepsilon} \mathbf{P} & u=b r u \\
\text { 3SG.M.ACC } & \text { REAL } & \text { grow } & \text { be.big } & \text { M=person } \\
\text { 'the man is quite grown up' } & {[\text { MPSRJ_004] }}
\end{array}
$$

### 8.6 Potential source of $w a$

Another use for the morpheme $w a$ as a noun phrase coordinator (§14.1.2) suggests a possible source for the attributive function. The same form is used to conjoin phrases, similarly to English 'and' or 'with'. This use can be functionally identified by the fact that it occurs between the two nouns it is coordinating (338) rather than being pre-posed to a verb.
(338) æm ar ngut chi lok ki, u nik wa u singh.
em ar put tfi lok ki u=nik wa $u=\sin$
have two CL.HUM set friend $3 \mathrm{PL} \mathrm{M}=\mathrm{Nik}$ COMT $\mathrm{M}=$ Singh 'there were (lived) two friends (a friend set), Nik and Singh' [KP_002]

The construction can be easily conceived of as following the logical operation "X with Y" or "X [with properties of] Y", such as in (339), where $u=n i k$ is conceptualized as being someone "with properties of" a malik1 'boss', a 'getter' ( $j \supset P$ ) and a 'have-er' ( $\varepsilon m$ ), in opposition to $u=s i \eta$.

[^55](339) heitæ toh $u$ Nik toh $u$ wa malik $u$ wa yoh $u$ wa æm, tæ u Singh toh u wa dooh, ym toh $u$ wa yoh

$h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad$ to? $u=n i k$ to? $\left[u \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}u a & m a l i k\end{array}\right] \quad[u\right.$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS be $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{Nik}$ be 3SG.M NMZ be.boss 3SG.M
$\left[\begin{array}{ll}w a & j \supset P\end{array}\right]\left[\begin{array}{lll}u & {\left[\begin{array}{ll}w a & \varepsilon m\end{array}\right]} & \boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \quad u=\sin \quad \text { to? }[u \quad \text { [wa }\end{array}\right.$ NMZ get 3SG.M NMZ have NVIS M=Singh be 3SG.M NMZ
do? $]$ ] $\quad m \quad$ to? [u [ $u$ [ $\quad j \supset$ ? $]$ ]
be.poor NEG be 3SG.M NMZ get
'then it is that Nik is a boss and has many things, while Singh is poor and doesn't have much' [KP _004]

### 8.7 Summary

In this chapter we have seen that a range of modification options are open to Pnar speakers. These can be classed as Type 1 modifiers (a kind of stative verb) and Type 2 modifiers (verbs marked by wa). Adverbs and relative clause constructions can also modify other words. The first two types are grouped together as they follow the head and cannot be negated, thus forming the semi-open class of Pnar modifiers. Adverbs have similar realization to these modifiers, but modify verbs. These have been described above in $\S 5.7$ and are dealt with further as part of the verb complex (§11.3). Relative clauses can occur in various positions in relation to the head and are dealt with further in $\S 14.2 .2$. Another kind of modification which involves a unique construction type are 'expressives' and 'elaborate expressions', which are dealt with in the following chapter.

## Chapter 9

## Expressives and elaborate expressions

Expressives and elaborate expressions are an open class of descriptive words that serve to enliven Pnar discourse. The term 'expressive' (as well as 'descriptive' - see Banker, 1964) has been used in the literature to cover two different kinds of expressions: 1) those in which a pair of phonaesthetic forms combine to create a single expression, and 2) those in which two conceptually related forms (which may or may not be phonaesthetically related) combine to form a single expression. Sidwell (2013) provides an overview of how the term is used in studies of Austroasiatic languages. This current section attempts to define the two terms by giving a short account of the conceptual space that surrounds them.

## Expressives

Diffloth (1976; 1979) coined the term 'expressives' to refer to iconic utterances that can function as adverbs to describe both the predicate and its arguments, or as expressions of concepts or events, which are found throughout Southeast Asian languages. Diffloth's term specifically identified phonaesthetic form pairs which use onomatopoeia and sensory information to express intensity and colour, and Rabel notes similar form pairs in Khasi where a talented speaker can create new expressions extemporaneously.

## Elaborate expressions

Elaborate expressions are sets of words related conceptually to 'expressives' and are also found throughout languages in Southeast Asia (Haas, 1964;

Matisoff, 1973a; Solnit, 1995). Matisoff (1973a: 81-82) states for Lahu:
"Elaborate expressions are a particularly interesting type of construction which are typical of Southeast Asian languages in general, and which are intermediate in structure between ordinary compounds and reduplications... An elaborate expression (Elab) is a compound containing four (usually monosyllabic) elements, of which either the first and third or the second and fourth are identical (A-B-A-C or A-B-C-B). They characteristically convey a rather formal or elegant impression. Skillful speakers sprinkle Elab's liberally thorough their conversation, using four syllables where two would have conveyed the same information..."

These expressions in Pnar are patterns of syllables or groupings of words that follow ABAB or ABAC patterns. In this they closely resemble Khasi utterances described by Rabel's (1961) grammar as "imitatives", where two words are compounded for descriptive effect. Further discussion of the Khasi expressions is by Henderson (1976a; b) and Rabel-Heymann (1976). Peterson's (2010: 84) statement for Khumi (a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Bangladesh) also holds for Pnar:
"Invariably [elaborated expressions] are judged to be an optional device at any given point in a text, but they are regarded as indicative of the linguistic sophistication of the speaker using them - acknowledged good speakers of Khumi adorn their speech with elaborate expressions, much as speakers of Lahu do, according to Matisoff's account"

In this such Pnar expressions have much in common with Chinese foursyllable forms that reference a particular event or serve as metaphors and are an important part of the cultural or historical knowledge system. The link between Chinese expressions and such expressions in other Asian languages is noted by Walrod and Pelkey (2010: 12-13):
> "The term "elaborate expression" was first coined by Thai language scholar Mary Haas (1964). The term is an attempt to describe the distinctive nature of terse, polyfunctional poetic utterances commonly found in the highly isolative languages of East and Southeast Asia. These expressions are usually uttered in four-syllable sets: four monosyllabic morphemes functioning
together with parallel symmetry in terms of morpheme semantics, syntactic relations and/or syllable phonology. Some examples from areal languages will provide a feel for their simplicity and complexity: A Lahu epithet for paddy rice that has been left bundled in the fields too long after harvesting is fâ? or 'rodent-rice-bird-rice' (Matisoff 1991:83-84), "rice left for the birds and rats." A Thai expression for sincerity is náam-săy-caycing or 'water-clear-heart-true' (Goddard 2005:214), "a heart as true as water is clear." A Tai Lue saying used of someone who has had a good upbringing is pho-săy-me-són or 'father-command-mother-teach' (Prasithrathsint 2008), "instructed well by parents." A Kayah Li phrase used in reference to a complicated country is thā-sú-kè-sá (Solnit 1997: 272), in which two compounds actually interrupt each other, embodying the disjointed nature of their referent in the process. Solnit glosses this phrase 'water+com+land+plicated' in an attempt to capture the jumbled reanalysis of the Kayah Li compounds thākè 'country' and súsá 'complicated'..."

In South Asian (primarily Indian and Indo-Aryan) linguistics these constructions are generally called 'echo word' constructions and considered to be a kind of reduplication or compounding (Abbi, 1990, 1992). For example, Subbārāo (2012: 26) writes that: "Echo words result from a partial reduplication of words where an initial consonant or syllable is replaced in the reduplicated word." The use of this term, for example, is common in Nagaraja's (1985) grammar of Khasi, whereas Rabel (1961) uses 'imitatives'.

These expressions are not 'expressive' in the same iconic manner as the phonaesthemes identified by Diffloth (1976; 1979), Abbi (1990), Watters (2008), and Sidwell (2013) among others. It is worth noting that parallelism, however, (particularly as a feature of Asian languages generally) is considered to be an over-arching feature of these expressions. For example, Peterson (2010: 84, footnote 6) states that "Solnit [1995, for Kayah Li] appears to be on the right track in terms of trying to describe elaborate expressions as simply a particular manifestation of a more general preference given languages may have for parallelism."

Perhaps more interestingly, the identification of expressives along with elaborate expressions provides potential for a typology of these constructions as a scale of properties, with phonaesthetic words and word pairs (and 'echo
words') found on one end, and complex 4-member elaborate expressions (and proverbs) on the other. Peterson suggests the beginnings of such a typology in his diagram on page 235 of his 2013 article regarding Khumi elaborate expressions, but such a typology is far from being fully developed. Since such a typology is currently beyond the scope of this chapter, I return to the task at hand, which is simply to attempt to describe Pnar elaborate expressions.

## Pnar terminology

Type 1 expressions as per above, are hereafter termed 'expressives'. This is a term that I use to refer specifically to a pair of phonaesthetic or soundsymbolic forms which combine to create a single element. These seem to be rather spontaneous or extemporaneous language for Pnar speakers, and some of my informants consider them a kind of word-play used in word-games among close acquaintances and family members, or with children. The use of this language tends to indicate an in-group membership, and these forms are not always immediately accessible to all members of the Pnar community, though they can be easily learned. Some of these forms, however, are lexicalized and used in everyday conversation across social boundaries.

Type 2 expressions, hereafter 'elaborate expressions' following Mattisoff (1973a: 81-82), I use here to refer to two conceptually related forms which are not necessarily phonaesthetically related, yet which also form a single syntactic element. These are generally realized as compounds in Pnar and often serve a similar function as idioms or metaphors, referring to existing knowledge within the minds of the speakers. Such forms are considered more 'serious' and used by knowledgable speakers to convey deep concepts that are more accessible to all members of the Pnar community.

Pnar speakers identify these constructions as knten knno? or kten knno? 'sounding, pronouncing, thrown words', and the fact that they have a separate term for these expressions suggest that they hold an important place in the lexicon. In this they have much in common with similar expressions in Vietnamese and other SEA languages (Brunelle and Xuyên, 2013: 93), which are also considered a sign of a skillful or knowledgeable speaker in the respective languages where they are found. Expressives are not wellrepresented in my corpus (Diffloth [1994?] \& p.c. notes some difficulties involved in gathering such forms), and I include here the few examples I have in my texts (§9.1). The more pervasive lexical expression found in my
texts are the elaborate expressions (§9.2).
The formation of these kinds of expressions in Pnar has been dealt with in passing in $\S 3.4$. Speakers themselves consider the second type ('elaborate expression') to be a separate category of metaphorical words, and thus virtually any combination of Verb + Verb or Noun + Noun can be used to create a new elaborate expression. Traditional terms are fixed in ceremonial language (see Appendix B for a list of expressives used in rituals and their meanings), but new terms can be coined easily by native speakers. A few examples found in my texts are given in Table 9.1 below.

| Expressive | Gloss | Elaborate expression | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nok nok | 'limp' | $i=p r t^{h} a j i=m n d \varepsilon r$ | 'earth, world', 'all creation' |
| $k^{h} r \mathrm{rat}_{\square}^{t} k^{h} r{ }_{\square}^{\text {t }}$ | 'perfectly ripe' | $k i=m r a d k i=m r \varepsilon \eta ~$ | 'herbivores, omnivores', 'all animals' |
| $t \varepsilon r$ ter | 'etcetera' | $u=s \varepsilon r ~ u=s k a j$ | 'sambar deer, <br> barking deer', 'deer' |
| lat-lod | 'be free' | $k a=k^{h} n a m$ ka=rnte? | arrow, bow', 'archery' |
| mllu mila | 'such and such' | $d a$ ¢ $a \underset{\Gamma}{\text { d }}$ da $k^{h} i a ?$ | 'be healthy, be whole', 'well-being' |
| awri awra | 'argue' | da pia? da pra | 'break, scatter', <br> 'break to pieces' |

Table 9.1: Some Pnar expressives and elaborate expressions

Here we can see that there are two clear subtypes of both expressives and elaborate expressions. Pnar expressives (§9.1) can be broken down into whether they are exact reduplications (§9.1.1) or whether the second element has a different vowel (§9.1.2). The first kind of expressive is by definition only composed of two syllables, whereas the second may be composed of a pair of syllables or of four syllables. When more than a single syllable changes, the forms move into the realm of elaborate expressions.

The two main subtypes of elaborate expressions are those which are primarily nominal ( $\S 9.2 .1$ ) and those which are primarily verbal ( $\S 9.2 .2$ ). Nominal elaborate expressions often have gender clitics attached to each member, and can be further subdivided according to whether they are simply
reduplications ( AB AB ) or reiterations ( $\mathrm{AB} \mathrm{AC} \mathrm{)}$, occurs with the same gender clitic or with a different gender clitic. Verbal elaborate expressions take verbal elements as the first element of each pair rather than gender clitics, and can be subdivided in terms of what they combine with as well as whether they are reduplicated or reiterated. A few examples of each type are given here.

### 9.1 Expressives in Pnar

Expressives in Pnar resemble reduplicated constructions, which have been discussed in §3.4. The major differences between Pnar expressives and reduplications, however, are: 1) expressives have a strongly sound symbolic component, 2) expressives cannot always be reduced to a single meaning per element, 3) expressives serve a purely descriptive adverbial/attributive role, whereas other reduplications (and elaborate expressions) can be verbal or nominal. The third criteria is not completely without counter-examples, suggesting that the link between expressives and elaborate expressions is more of a sliding scale than an absolute categorical grouping. Pnar expressives can be broken down into whether they are exact reduplications (§9.1.1) or whether the second element has a different vowel (§9.1.2). The first kind of expressive is by definition only composed of two syllables, whereas the second may be composed of a pair of syllables or of four syllables. When more than a single syllable changes, the forms move into the realm of elaborate expressions.

### 9.1.1 Exact reduplications (two monosyllables)

Exact reduplications are generally monosyllabic. The examples given here are those sound symbolic pairs for which no clear grammatical feature can be ascribed to the reduplication. In (340), for example, the speaker is describing a set of garments in his collection of Jaintia artifacts and clothing. Here the expression $k d \varepsilon p k d \varepsilon p$ indicates a pair of floppy items.
(340) u rdang kamtu kdæp-kdæp næ
$u=r d a \eta$ kam-tu $k d \varepsilon p-k d \varepsilon p \quad n \varepsilon$
$\mathrm{M}=$ neck as,like-medl flap-flap D.TAG
'(on) the neck are flaps like this, ok' (handling the collar)
[TACJ_195]

In (341) the expressive $k d \supset k-k d \supset k$ is a phonaesthetic pair that mimics the sound of a bouncing ball hitting the wooden toy in The Pear Story. The morpheme $k d o k$ is also used as the verb 'bounce' and has a dialect variant in $k n d \rho k$ - it can be noted that this second form is disyllabic and has a syllabic nasal in the first syllable.
(341) tæ kdok-kdok næ
te kdok-kdok ne
NVIS bouncing D.TAG
'so it bounces, ok' [MPSM_024]
In (342) the speaker is contrasting the new government-issued potatoes with the ones they used to grow. He reduplicates the verb $k^{h} r o t=$ 'be ripe' to emphasize the completely satisfying ripe flavor found in the old potatoes.
(342) ym æm u sñiaw bang bha u bam katæ kylla khroit khroit kitu yn ki salah wa rim bam ki læh sñiaw tynnat
$m \quad \varepsilon m \quad u=s n i a w ~ b a \eta \quad b h a \quad u=b a m \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad$ klla NEG have NF=sense be.tasty inTS1 NF=eat $F=$ NVIS change $k^{h}$ rot-k ${ }^{h}$ rot $\quad k i=t u \quad n_{\square} \quad k i=s a l a ? \quad$ wa rim bam be.ripe-be.ripe $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ ref $\mathrm{PL}=$ potato NMZ be.old eat ki le? sniaw tnnat 3PL also sense nice
'(those) don't taste properly ripe, while the old ones are very tasty and good to eat' [SI3_078]

In (343) the speaker is describing a particular person $u=p l i$ who was born disabled. The reduplicated form nok-nok 'limp' refers to the manner of walking involving up-down motion. This is related to the disyllabic form so?nok found in (344) below.
(343) kat wa tkoh u pli nong tæ lai u nok nok næ
kat wa tko? $u=p l i \quad n \supset \eta ~ t \varepsilon \quad l a j$
as NMZ be.disabled(leg) $\mathrm{M}=$ innocent CONF NVIS go
u nok-nok ne
3SG.M.NOM limp D.TAG
'since Pli was disabled, so he went limping' [SI2_089]
(344) dæp tæ tkoh u pli ym hoi de, sohnok-sohnok
$d \varepsilon p$ te tko? $u=p l i \quad m \quad$ hoj
PERF NVIS be.disabled(leg) M=innocent NEG be.well
de so?nok-soPnok
NEG.INTS limping
'after that, Pli was lame, not right, limping' [SI2_086]

In（345－346）the verb suki＇be quiet＇is reduplicated to form suki－suki＇slowly＇．
（345）hynre suki－suki la da man u snæm u poh hali hñre suki－suki la da man $u=s n \varepsilon m ~ u=p o ?$ but．also slowly if REAL become $M=$ year $M=$ under，in hali paddy．field
＇but slowly each year in the field．．．＇［BMPJ＿082］（the field slowly loses fertility）
（346）katni i ktein yong i toh suki－suki u dooh i
kat－ni $i=k t e n \quad j \supset \eta \quad i \quad$ to？suki－suki $u=d o$ ？$i$ as－PROX N＝word GEN 1PL be slowly $\mathrm{NF}=$ lose 1PL ＇now our language is slowly being lost＇［PP08LC＿015］

In examples（347－348）the construction ter－ter＇so on，etcetera＇is composed of identical syllables which have no meaning on their own．
（347）ki ni ter－ter kamni
$k i=n i \quad \boldsymbol{t \varepsilon r}$－ter kam－ni
PL＝PROX so．on as，like－PROX
＇these and so on like these＇［TACJ＿215］
（348）na nongjrong ter－ter hadooh wa poi ha guahati
na nэŋすran ter－ter ha－do？wa poj ha
ABL Nongjrong so．on LOC－when NMZ arrive LOC
guwahati
Guwahati
＇from Nongjrong and so on until reaching Guwahati＇［BPDJ＿033］
In（349）the expression $t^{h} a p t^{h} a p$＇putting＇resembles the sound of placing something on a table or on the ground，and has an active meaning．
（349）dæp thap－thap u næ
$d \varepsilon p \quad t^{h} a p-t^{h} a p \quad u \quad n \varepsilon$
PERF puting 3SG．M．NOM D．TAG
＇after putting（it），ok．．＇［MPSRJ＿016］
In（350）the expression $t^{h} i_{\mathcal{F}-} t^{h} i_{F}$＇exact＇seems to have an intensified meaning through the use of reduplication and seems to reference the sound of a finger tapping a point on an object．
（350）tæ thoh ki nga thij thij thoh ki
$t \varepsilon \quad t^{h} \supset ? \quad k i \quad \eta a \quad \boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{i}_{\boldsymbol{于}}-t^{h} \boldsymbol{i 于}_{\boldsymbol{于}} \quad t^{h} \supset ? \quad k i$
NVIS write 3PL 1SG．ACC exact write 3PL
＇so they wrote me the exact address＇［PP15PI＿122］

### 9.1.2 Non-exact reduplications

Reduplications in which a vowel in the second element changes are the second kind of expressive in Pnar. In (351), for example, the lexical item lat-lod (or let-lod) means 'be free'. Consultants said that both lat and lod can mean 'escape', but only lat is used consistently in my corpus with this meaning. The second element here is identical to the first except for the change in vowel from [a] to $[\mathrm{o}]$ and possible length on the vowel in the second.
(351) da yoh lait-loid ka ri Pnar yong i
da jo? lat-lod $k a=r i \quad$ pnar $j \supset \eta ~ i$
REAL get be.free $\mathrm{F}=$ country Pnar GEN 1PL
'(so that) our Pnar land (would) get free' [KNI_012]
The example above is unfortunately the only example in my corpus of a two syllable non-exact reduplication. Other expressives are either elaborate expressions with attached gender markers, or those in which a vowel in the second element changes are formed from pairs of disyllables (i.e., four syllables). The latter type are exemplified below.

In (352-354) the expressive form is mllu mlla [mllu mlla] (or malu mala [molu məla]) 'such and such', used to refer to random things, sometimes translated 'sort of' or 'going along'. Some consultants translated the meaning of each element as 'gather', but it is never used as a verb and neither element occurs alone. The only different between the first and second element is the vowel change from [u] to [a] of the second syllable.
(352) man ym pu sñiawthooh dang ka aiñ blai æh kdoh myllu mylla
man $\quad m \quad p u \quad s n i a w t ~^{h} o ? \quad d a \eta \quad k a=a n \quad b l a j \quad \varepsilon ? \quad k d \supset ?$ become NEG Not understand Prog $\mathrm{F}=$ rule God IMM2 tie mllu mlla
gather gather
'happens that we don't understand, only the rules of God who holds us a little bit' [SME_012]
(353) to tæ heitæ i por man kani da æm hi ki myllu mylla

(354) tip o myllu mylla $u$ thoh $u$ thar
tip $\quad$ mllu mlla $u=t^{h} \supset ? \quad u=t^{h} a r$ know 1SG.NOM gather gather NF=write NF=write 'I know to write a few things' [TACJ_069]

In (355) the expression awri awra 'fight, argue, conflict, dispute' is nominalized by the plural marker $k i=$ and is conceptualized as the member of a set begun by $k i=k^{h}$ adjia 'fight, argument'. The only difference between the two elements is the vowel change in the second syllable from [i] to [a].
(355) yei ki khajia ki awri awra yong ki khon ka riot yong i hapoh ka elaka
$j e=i \quad k i=k^{h} a \not J i a \quad k i=\boldsymbol{a w r i}$ awra $\quad j \partial \eta \quad k i=k^{h} \partial n$ BEN=1PL PL=fight PL=argue argue GEN PL=child $k a=$ riot joŋ $i \quad h a-p o ? \quad k a=\varepsilon l a k a$ $\mathrm{F}=$ citizen GEN 1PL LOC-under,in $\mathrm{F}=$ village,township 'regarding the fights, the disputes of the citizens of the village' [DR_007]

The following examples contain elements in which the second syllables differ in more than just a vowel. In (356), for example, the form pllay pllum 'gather' is used as a transitive verb to identify the collection of animate (human) entities. As each of these elements occurs separately as an individual verb, it seems either order is satisfactory, allowing for the form pllum pllay in the same sentence. The second syllables lay and lum differ in both height of the vowel and final nasal.
(356) pyllang pyllum i ki khon, tæ da pyllum pyllang i ki khon tæ da wan dorbar da wan sorbar
pllay pllum $i \quad k i=k^{h} \supset n$ te $\quad$ da pllum pllay $i$
gather collect 1PL PL=child NVIS REAL collect gather 1PL $k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad t \varepsilon \quad d a$ wan dorbar $d a$ wan sorbar $\mathrm{PL}=$ child NVIS REAL come meeting REAL come gathering '(let) us gather the children, we gather the children, then come to the meeting' [PP13RS_119]

In (357) the form knraw knre? 'used things' refers to dishes that have been used for eating and drinking, but may not have been cleaned.
(357) libooh kitu kynraw kynræh ya u rah kitu cha yung

| $l i-b o ?$ | $k i=t u$ | knraw | $k n r e ?$ | $j a$ | $u=r a ?$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DUR-put,keep | $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ | things | things | BEN | $\mathrm{NF}=$ carry |
| $k i=t u \quad \dagger \quad a$ | jug |  |  |  |  |
| PL=MEDL AL | home |  |  |  |  |
| 'they put those [SI1 046] | things (the | re) for | im) to |  | em home |

In (358) the expression jmbar jmt ${ }^{h}$ ay 'overflow' refers to a state of being where something contained is expanding and spills out the top of its container, in this case the overflow of joy by the creator god $u=t r e-k i-r \supset t$.
(358) man da yoh iymbar iymthiang da ngait nood u tre-ki-rot
man da jo? jmbar jmithiay da nat nod become REAL get overflow overspill INST believe dare $u=t r e-k i-r \partial t$
$\mathrm{M}=$ Creator.God
'when Tre-ki-Rot was overflowing with happiness...' [PP13RS_057]
In (359) the phrase prna? prain 'libations' refers the necessary liquid offerings performed during a traditional wedding ceremony. The liquid is typically kept in certain kinds of bottles and gourds.
(359) i yi pyrnah pyrjin ki klong ki skoo

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
i=j i & \text { prnai } & \text { profin } & k i=k l \supset \eta & k i=s k o \\
\text { N=thing } & \text { libation } & \text { offering(liquid) } & \mathrm{PL}=\text { bottle } & \mathrm{PL}=\text { gourd } \\
\text { 'things (for) libations, bottles' }\left[\mathrm{PP} 14 \mathrm{MF} \_022\right]
\end{array}
$$

In (360) the speaker is describing how he writes songs. He uses the expression $p r k^{h}$ at prden 'think about' as a complex verb to describe the contemplation required for imbuing songs with life and power.
(360) kitæ toh hawa chna o lut sakhiat i bor pyrkhat pyrdein ya ki
ki=tع to? hawa tfna $\quad$ lut sakhiat $i=b o r$
PL=NVIS be when make 1SG.NOM finish be.true $\mathrm{N}=$ =power
prikhat prden ja ki
think think.about BEN 3PL
'these, when I finish making them, truly the power of my thoughts are for them' [TACJ_024]

In (361) the speaker is relating the importance of the betel nut and betel leaf for council meetings. The phrase jasait jatar 'reason and debate' is used here as a description of the event and arguments involved in debates, for which betel is necessary.
(361) ya u yee o yasaid yatar katæ toh ka hukum

| $j a \quad u=j e$ | $\bigcirc$ | jasait jatar | $k a=t \varepsilon \quad t o ?$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| BEN M=able | 1SG.NOM | reason debate | $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS ${ }^{\text {be }}$ |
| ka=hukum |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{F}=$ command |  |  |  |
| 'so that I can | bate that | command' [PP | 2BL_018] |

The remaining word pairs in my data have more in common with elaborated expressions than with expressives. These will be addressed in the following section.

### 9.2 Elaborate expressions in Pnar

As noted above in this chapter's introduction, elaborate expressions can be seen as belonging to a cline of forms that begins with phonaesthetic words and word pairs and ends with complex 4-member elaborate expressions and proverbs. The following subsections briefly identify and give examples of nominal ( $\S 9.2 .1$ ) and verbal ( $\S 9.2 .2$ ) forms, with subdivisions according to associated morphology. Here I focus solely on AB AC constructions, as AB AB expressions are not well-represented in my data. A larger number of elaborate expressions in my data are found in Appendix A.

### 9.2.1 Nominal forms

### 9.2.1.1 Feminine

Feminine nominal elaborate expressions are those in which both elements are marked with the feminine proclitic $k a=$. The majority have noun roots, but resultative derivations from verbs are also represented.

Noun-noun feminine expression In (362), $k a=d a k k a=t f i n$ means something like 'the signs', and generally refers to the vestiges of a bygone era, often enshrined in traditions. The expression $k a=k^{h} n a m$ $k a=r n t e ?$ refers to 'bow and arrow', considered a unit, and signifies archery for battle or hunting.
(362) u woh kiang nangbah pynyoo u i ka dak ka chin, ka khnam ka rynteih
$u=w$ o? kiaŋ naŋba? $\quad$ pn-jo $\quad u \quad i$

M=HON.M.elder Kiang Nangbah CAUS-see 3SG.M.NOM 1PL
[ $k a=d a k \quad k a=t$ fin $] \quad\left[k a=k^{h} n a m \quad k a=r n t e ?\right]$
$\mathrm{F}=$ sign $\quad \mathrm{F}=$ signal $\mathrm{F}=$ arrow $\quad \mathrm{F}=$ bow
'Mr. Kiang Nangbah showed us the sign/way of the arrow, the bow' [AIJ_070]

In (363) $k a=d \supset$ ? $k a=p^{h} a d$ means 'physical body'. Here do? is the general term for 'meat', and $p^{h}$ ad refers to 'flesh'.
(363) ka doh ka phad yong i

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
k a=d \boldsymbol{a} & k a=\boldsymbol{p}^{h} a d & j \supset \eta & i \\
\text { F=body,meat } & \mathrm{F}=\text { flesh } & \text { GEN } & \text { 1PL } \\
\text { 'our bodies'[BPDJ_041] } &
\end{array}
$$

In (364) $k a=m \varepsilon t ~ k a=p^{h} a d$ is another way to say 'physical body'. The word $m \varepsilon t$ is often used as a synonym for 'body', particularly if without activity, i.e. met jap 'dead body'.
(364) ka mæt ka phad ka yong i

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon t} & \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{p}^{h} \boldsymbol{a d} & k a & j \partial \eta & i \\
\text { F=body } & \mathrm{F}=\text { flesh } & \text { 3SG.F.ACC } & \text { GEN } & \text { 1PL } \\
\text { 'our bodies' [BPDJ_043] } & &
\end{array}
$$

In (365) $k a=n i a m$ $k a=r u k 3 m$ is an elaborate expression for 'traditional way' while $k a=$ dustur $k a=$ riti means 'traditional culture'. These expressions are 5 and 6 syllables, respectively.
(365) bad u khleih yong ka niam ka rukom yong ka dustur ka riti hapoh ka elaka ka yong i
bad $u=k^{h} l e ? ~ j \supset \eta \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=$ niam $\quad \boldsymbol{k a}=$ ruksm $j \supset \eta \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{d u s t u r}$
also $\mathrm{M}=$ head GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition $\mathrm{F}=$ way GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ =tradition
$\boldsymbol{k a}=$ riti $\quad$ ha-po? $k a=$ claka $\quad k a \quad j \supset \eta$
$\mathrm{F}=$ culture LOC-under,in $\mathrm{F}=$ village,township 3SG.F.ACC GEN
i
1PL
'also (we are) the head of our traditional religion in our village/elaka' [DR_002]

Verb-verb resultatives Verbal elements that are nominalized by $k a=$ generally have a resultative sense. This also applies to verbs used in elaborate expression constructions. In (366) $k a=r o j k a=p a r$ is an elaborate expression where the two verbs roj 'crawl, expand' and par 'crawl' combine to mean 'develop, prosper'.
(366) kammon u kyntu i ya ka roi ka par yong i jaitbru
kammon $u=k n t u \quad i \quad j a \quad k a=r o j \quad k a=p a r \quad j \supset \eta$
how NF=advise 1PL BEN RES=crawl RES=crawl GEN
$i=d a t-b r u$
$\mathrm{N}=$ type-person
'this is how we develop for the prosperity of our people' [AIJ_038]
In (367) $k a=$ imlay $k a=s a P l a \eta$ refers to a community and how they live together. Both imlay and saPlay are considered compounds, forming a 6syllable elaborate expression.
(367) kammon ha ka imlang ka sahlang
kammon ha ka=im-lay $\quad k a=s a \boldsymbol{P}-l a \eta$
how LOC RES=live-together RES=stay-together
'how in living, staying together' [KNI_046]
In (368) $k a=b i a k a=k^{h} a p$ refers to the process of marriage, specifically the wedding.
(368) la da æm ini i bynta i wa ka bia ka khap læh hab e i da u pathi la $\quad d a \quad \varepsilon m \quad i=n i \quad i=b n t a \quad i \quad w a \quad k a=b i a$ if REAL have $\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{N}=$ purpose 1PL NMZ RES=marry $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{a p} \quad l \varepsilon ? \quad h a b \quad e \quad i \quad d a \quad u=$ pat $^{h} i$ RES=marry also have,must give 1PL INST M=betel.leaf 'now if there is any wedding also the betel leaf must be served' [PP12BL_007]

### 9.2.1.2 Masculine

Masculine nominal elaborate expressions are those in which both elements are marked with the masculine proclitic $u=$. Again, the majority have noun roots, but purposive nominal derivations are also represented.

Noun-noun masculine expression $\operatorname{In}(369) u=k b a u=k^{h} o$ refers to the rice seed and the rice paddy, combining to refer to all kinds of rice.
(369) waroh u kba u khoo waroh ka jait wa iñ

in
boil,burn
'all the rice, everything got burned' [FPAHM_039]
In (370) $u=m o-$ sian $u=m o-t^{h} a$ refers to large stone and boulders. It is not clear whether or not this has a more active meaning than (1189) above.
(370) ya u kyllæp u moosiang u mootha
ja u=kllep u=mo-siay u=mo-t $\boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{a}$
BEN NF=cover M=stone-slab M=stone-boulder
'for covering the rocks' [PP01CSE_025]
In (371) $u=\operatorname{sara\eta } u=$ sadjin refers to a fracture or fault line which here is conceptualized as expanding to allow rivers and streams to burst forth out of the earth.
(371) man da phæt utæ $u$ sarang $u$ sajin tæ mih ki liar mih ki duid $\operatorname{man} d a \quad p^{h} \varepsilon t \quad u=t \varepsilon \quad u=s a r a \eta \quad u=s a d i n \quad t \varepsilon$ become REAL run $\mathrm{M}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ fracture $\mathrm{M}=$ fault.line NVIS $m i ? \quad k i=l i a r \quad m i ? \quad k i=d u t$ bring.out PL=stream bring.out PL=valley 'when the fault runs, rivers and streams come out' [PP01CSE_034]

Verb-verb purposive nominal In (372) $u=\dagger$ fat $u=k^{h} i a$ ? refers to the state of health and wholeness, and occurs as the second element of a verbal construction, encoding a purposive or non-finite meaning.
(372) neitæ yoh u chait $u$ khiah
 'from that to get healthy, whole' [BMPJ_022]

In (373) $u=t^{h} u \eta u=t a p$ refers to planting and gardening. Here the speaker is identifying a practice regarding a specific day of a ceremony.
(373) ym hoi u thung u tap i
$\begin{array}{lllll}m & h \supset j & \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{u} \boldsymbol{\eta} & \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t a p} & i \\ \text { NEG } & \text { be.well } & \text { NF=plant,appoint } & \mathrm{NF}=\text { put,garden } & \text { 1PL }\end{array}$
'it's not good for us to plant, garden' [BMPJ_030]
In (374) $u=t^{h} i a 3 \quad u=\emptyset \supset \eta$ is an expression used as a metaphor for living and dwelling in a single place, i.e. making a home.
(374) ym yee de tang $u$ thiah $u$ chong
$m$ je de taך $\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{i a} \boldsymbol{P} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{\dagger} \boldsymbol{\jmath} \boldsymbol{\eta}$
NEG able negints but,even NF=sleep NF=sit
'(they) are not even able to stay, to sleep' [HPAHR _011]

### 9.2.1.3 Neuter

Neuter nominal elaborate expressions are those in which both elements are marked with the neuter proclitic $i=$. Action nominal derivations from verbs are represented in this set.

Noun-noun neuter expression $\operatorname{In}(375) i=k^{h} n d a w ~ i=t$ YPiap represents the earth and soil, the first element of which can refer specifically to dirt, and the second to sand.
(375) heitæ i por $u$ woh Lakriah pyrkhat $u$ ha $k a=$ dorbar wa $u$ yoh i khyndaw i chyiap ya u kyllæp $u$ moosiang $u$ mootha
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad i=p o r \quad u=w o ? \quad$ lakria? prkhat LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ time $\mathrm{M}=$ HON.M.elder Lakriah think $u \quad h a \quad k a=d \supset r b a r \quad w a \quad u=j \partial ? \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{d a w}$ 3SG.M.NOM LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ meeting NMZ NF=get $\mathrm{N}=$ earth $\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{\text { YPiap}}$ ja $\quad u=k_{l} l \varepsilon p \quad u=m o-\operatorname{sia\eta } \quad u=m o-t^{h} a$ $\mathrm{N}=$ soil $\quad \mathrm{BEN} \quad \mathrm{NF}=$ cover $\mathrm{M}=$ stone-slab $\mathrm{M}=$ stone-boulder 'at that time Woh Lakriah though in the council (about how) to get earth and soil to cover the stones' [PP01CSE_025]

In (376) $i=d o ? i=p r a n$ refers to humans of flesh and bone.
(376) ki bru ki wa æm i doh i pran i wa æm ki chyeiñ ki chruh $k i=b r u \quad k i \quad w a \quad \varepsilon m \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{d o} \boldsymbol{P} \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{p r a n} \quad i \quad$ wa $\quad \mathrm{cm}$ $\mathrm{PL}=$ person 3PL NMZ have $\mathrm{N}=$ flesh $\mathrm{N}=$ flesh 1PL NMZ have $k i=t ?$ Pen $\quad k i=t r u ? \quad t \varepsilon d e ?$ PL=bone $\quad \mathrm{PL}=$ boneseed
'the people who have bodies and flesh, who have bones' [PP01CSE_030]

In (377) $i=b h a ? i=b n t a$ refers to a portion, in this case of responsibility.
(377) ki wan ki heipor wa u e i bhah i bynta ya ka niam
$k i \quad$ wan $k i \quad h e=i=p o r \quad w a \quad u=e \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{h a} \boldsymbol{P}$ 3PL come 3 PL LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ time $\mathrm{COMT} \mathrm{NF}=$ give $\mathrm{N}=$ share
$\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{a} \quad$ ja $\quad k a=n i a m$
$\mathrm{N}=$ purpose BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition
'they came at the time and were given a share in the tradition' [PP02SKF_031]

Verb-verb action nominal In (378) $i=\emptyset f \partial \eta i=s a ?$ 'sit, stay' is a nominal referring to the action of living in (or on) the earth.
(378) ka bei ram-aw ka wa i im i chong i sah i
$k a=b e j \quad$ ramaw $k a \quad w a \quad i \quad i m \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{y} \boldsymbol{O} \boldsymbol{\eta} \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{s a} \boldsymbol{P}$
$\mathrm{F}=$ mother earth 3SG.F NMZ 1PL live ACT=sit ACT=stay $i$

1PL
'mother earth who we live (with/on/in)' [BMPJ_035]

In (379) $i=b a m i=k^{h} i$ ? refers to eating and preparing for food.
ym æm iyi iyi i bam i khih
$m \quad \varepsilon m \quad i=j i \quad i=j i \quad i=b a m \quad i=k^{h} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{P}$
not have $\mathrm{N}=$ thing $\mathrm{N}=$ =thing $\mathrm{ACT}=$ eat $\mathrm{ACT}=$ work
'there is nothing to eat, to prepare' [KP_006]
In (380) $i=k r \varepsilon$ ? $i=k^{h} i$ ? refers to work or a job.
(380) i kræh i khih katni man toh kam u nong-e dawai Pnar dawai herbal
$\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{k r} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P} \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{P}$ kat-ni man to? kam
ACT=work ACT=work as-PROX become be like,want $u=n э \eta-e \quad d a w a j \quad$ pnar dawaj herbal M=ag.nmz-give medicine Pnar medicine herbal '(my) work now is as a medical practitioner, of Pnar herbal medicine' [PP01CSE_005]

### 9.2.1.4 Plural

Noun-noun plural expression $\operatorname{In}$ (381) ki=lad ki=luti refers to 'the ways' that a revered ancestor showed the Pnar people how to shoot bows and arrows.
(381) pynyoo u kitæ ki lad ki luti na wa sdang ki sngi

| $p n-j o$ | $u$ | $k i=t \varepsilon$ | $\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{l a d}$ | $\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{l u t i}$ | $n a$ | $w a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| CAUS-see | 3SG.M.NOM | PL=NVIS | PL=way | PL=way | ABL | NMZ |

sday $k i=s \eta i$
begin $\mathrm{PL}=$ day
'he showed these ways from the beginning' [AIJ_032]
In (382) $k i=d a k$ ki=chin means something like 'the signs', and generally refers to the vestiges of a bygone era, often enshrined in traditions.
(382) tæ tæ myntu ong bait kam ong phi yntu ki dak ki chin mo

| $t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon$ | mntu | गワ | bat | kam | э刀 | $p^{h} i$ | $n t u$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NVIS NVIS | today,now | say | IMm3 | like,want | say | 2PL | just.now |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{PL}=$ sign | $\mathrm{PL}=$ | ignal |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'so lets say, like you said just now, the signs' [AIJ_070] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

 Specifically, the speaker is referring to the land and watershed around Jowai town.
(383) mih i kitæ ki tawiar ki takan
$m i P \quad i \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=t a w i a r \quad k i=t a k a n$
bring.out 1PL PL=NVIS PL=surroundings PL=surroundings
'then came the surroundings' [BMPJ_012]

Verb-verb plural nominal $\operatorname{In}(384) k i=h \varepsilon ? ~ k i=h a n$ is a pair of nominalized verbs that identify people associated with the properties of 'big'-ness and respectability, in this case lawyers.
(384) nga da wan yachæm o wa ki hæh ki hain
ja da wan ja-tfem o wa $\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P}$
1s.acc REAL come PLUR-meet 1SG.NOM COMT PL=be.big
$k i=h a n$
PL=be.big
'I have met with respectable people (lawyers)' [HPAHR_027]
In (385) $k i=k a m$ $k i=d$ am refers to the activities of work.
(385) ki wa u tia bait chaphrang khamtam ha ki kam ki jam

| $k i$ | $w a$ | $u=t i a$ | $b a t$ | $t a-p^{h} r a \eta$ | $k^{h} a m t a m$ | $h a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3PL | NMZ | NF=advance | IMM3 | ALL-front | especially | LOC |

$k i=k a m \quad k i=\boldsymbol{\sigma} a m$
PL=work PL=go.work
'they who advance forward, especially in work' [KNI_046]
In (386) $k i=n i a k i=j u t a \eta$ refers to public reasoning that supports an argument.
(386) tæ u khon lymboit khon lymbiang ha wa kut kinia ki yutang yong oo
te $\quad u=k^{h}$ วn lmboit $k^{h}$ on lmbiaŋ ha wa kut
NVIS $M=$ child Lymboit child Lymbiang LOC NMZ end
$k i=n i a \quad k i=j u t a \eta \quad j \supset \eta \quad o$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ reason $\mathrm{PL}=$ argue GEN 3SG.m.ACC
'so Khon Lymboit Khon Lymbiang, at the end of his arguments...'
[PP13RS_196]

### 9.2.2 Verbal forms

Pluractional: $j a$ - In (387) ja-laj ja-wan refers to the pluractional (collective or benefactive) act of doing one's business back and forth throughout life.
(387) nga, phi, yalai yawan i
ya $\quad p^{h} i \quad j a-l a j \quad j a-w a n \quad i$
1SG.ACC 2PL PLUR-go PLUR-come 1PL
'I, you, we go back and forth' (on the earth) [BMPJ_006]
In (388) ja-roj ja-par refers to the collective activity of prospering.
(388) tæ dæp neitæ tæ yaroi yapar ki
$t \varepsilon \quad d \varepsilon p \quad n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad$ te ja-roj ja-par $\quad$ ki NVIS PERF ABL=N=NVIS NVIS PLUR-prosper PLUR-crawl 3PL 'so then they prospered and expanded' [PP02SKF_022]

In (389) ja-sap $j a-k^{h} e n$ identifies a kind of collective assistance.
(389) ka nongkylliang wa yasap yakheñ $k a=n כ \eta-k l l i a \eta \quad w a \quad j a-s a p \quad j a-k^{h} e \boldsymbol{n}$ F=ag.nmz-repay NMZ PLUR-talent PLUR-ritual.action 'the repayers who assisted' [PP14MF _024]

Causative: pyn- Causative affixation identifies a clear agent in a verbal event. In (390) pn-tfna pn-kit refers to the act of arranging, loading, or packing goods, particularly fruit in this example, in preparation for transport.
(390) pynchna pynkit u ka katæ
$\begin{array}{lllll}\boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{\eta}-\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{a} & \boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{n}-\boldsymbol{k i t} & u & k a & k a=t \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \\ \text { CAUS-make } & \text { CAUS-carry(sling) } & \text { 3SG.M.NOM } & \text { 3SG.F.ACC } & \mathrm{F}=\text { NVIS }\end{array}$ 'he's arranging/loading it' [FPSM_006]

In (391) $u=p n-n \varepsilon ? p n$-sa? refers to the act of preserving, of causing something to remain.
(391) chaphang kammon u pynnæh pynsah i ya ka mariang

サ fap ${ }^{h} a \eta$ kammon $u=\boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{n}-\boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P} \quad \boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{n}-\boldsymbol{s a \boldsymbol { P }} \quad i \quad j a$
about how M=CAUS-preserve CAUS-stay 1PL BEN
$k a=$ mariaך
$\mathrm{F}=$ mother.earth
'regarding how we will preserve the earth' [BMPJ_086]
In (392) pn-tfna pn-kit refers to the act of arranging, loading, or packing goods, particularly fruit in this example, in preparation for transport.
(392) pynchna pynkit u ka katæ

| $\boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{n} \mathbf{- t g} \boldsymbol{n a}$ | $\boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{n}$ - $\boldsymbol{k i t}$ | $u$ | $k a$ | $k a=t \varepsilon$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| CAUS-make | CAUS-carry(sling) | 3SG.M.NOM | 3SG.F.ACC | F=NVIS |
| 'he's arranging/loading it' [FPSM_006] |  |  |  |  |

Durative: li- In (393) li-dan li-pharia refers to the act of cutting and crushing carried out over a particular duration.
(393) ya u khaat e ko ka hukum deih lidaiñ lipharia ka moosiang ka mootha ja $u=k^{h} a t \quad e \quad k 〕 \quad k a=h u k u m \quad d e ? \quad$ li-dan BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ Khaat give 3SG.F.NOM $\mathrm{F}=$ command ADH DUR-cut li- $\boldsymbol{p}^{h}$ aria $\quad k a=m o-s i a \eta \quad k a=m o-t^{h} a$
DUR-crush $\mathrm{F}=$ stone-slab $\mathrm{F}=$ stone-boulder
'to Khaat she gave the command '(you) should crush the rocks and boulders' [PP01CSE_032]

In (394) li-tho? li-wad refers to the durative activity of searching for something.
(394) lithooh liwad ka syiem wa chit syiem wa che $u$ wan kylla chapoh pyrthai poh myndær
li-t ${ }^{h} \boldsymbol{o} \quad$ li-wad $\quad k a=s ? e m$ wa tit s?em wa DUR-find,search DUR-look.for $F=$ ruler NMZ hot ruler NMZ tye u=wan klla tja-po? prthaj po?
be.light $\mathrm{NF}=$ come change ALL-under,in world under,in $m n d \varepsilon r$
world.outside.Jaintia
'(they said) go find the sun and bring her back to earth' [PP13RS_069]

Realis: da In (395) da tfat da $k^{h} i a$ ? refers to health and wellness, while $d a h \varepsilon ? d a k^{h} l a n$ identifies growth and strength.
(395) man da chait da khiah i man da hæh da khlan i chiboon yee u læh ya u ræp waroh i
man $\begin{array}{llll}d a & \text { tat } & \left.d a \quad k^{h} i a \boldsymbol{P}\right] \quad i \quad \operatorname{man} \quad[d a\end{array}$ become REAL be.healthy REAL be.whole 1PL become REAL $\left.h \boldsymbol{c} \boldsymbol{?} \quad d a \quad \boldsymbol{k}^{h} \operatorname{lan}\right] \quad i \quad$ t $i=b o n \quad j e \quad u=l \varepsilon ? \quad j a$ be.big REAL use,strong 1PL one-be.much able $\mathrm{NF}=$ do BEN $u=r \varepsilon p \quad$ waros $i$ $\mathrm{NF}=$ cultivate all 1PL
'when we are well and healthy, when we are big and strong, (we) can do, cultivate anything' [BMPJ_092]

In (396) da pia? da pra refers to breaking and falling apart.
(396) ka club wa da piah da pra heitæ
$k a=k l o b$ wa da pia? da pra $h e=i=t \varepsilon$ $\mathrm{F}=$ club NMZ REAL break REAL scatter LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS 'the club was falling apart' [HPAHR_102]

Irrealis: daw In (397) daw rusa daw p?ut refers to the process of decomposition that happens to a body after a person dies. Here the speaker $k a=s \eta i$ 'the sun' is predicting the fate of those who insulted her.
(397) phi ki wa daw yap, daw rusa daw pyut
$p^{h}{ }^{i} k i \quad$ wa daw jap daw rusa daw pPut 2PL 3PL NMZ IRR die IRR decompose IRR rot 'you, those who will die, will decompose and rot' [PP13RS_062]

Property: $\boldsymbol{w a}$ Verbs that serve as modifiers or identify properties of nominals are marked by wa. They generally occur as elaborate expressions following a noun or a relative pronoun. In (398) wa bo? wa $t^{h} o$ serves as a modifier meaning 'creator', identifying properties of the preceding noun $k a=b e j$ 'mother'. This is one of the heavenly beings in the Pnar pantheon.
(398) ka bei wa booh wa thoo
$k a=b e j \quad w a \quad b o \boldsymbol{P} \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad \boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{o}$
$\mathrm{F}=$ mother NMZ put,keep NMZ create
'the mother who puts, who creates' [BMPJ_009]
In (399) wa he? wa san refers to elders.
(399) ki wa hæh wa san yong i mynchwa i
$k i \boldsymbol{w a} \boldsymbol{h e ?} \boldsymbol{w a}$ san joj $i \quad m n t f w a i$ 3PL NMZ be.big NMZ be.large GEN 1PL before 1PL 'our elders (from) before us' [BMPJ_020] (our forefathers)

### 9.3 Summary

This chapter has attempted to define and outline the expressive language found in Pnar. This group of words are a unique kind of expression recognized as a separate class by Pnar speakers and named $k i=k n t e n ~ k n n o ?$ 'sounding/thrown words'. There are particular fixed lexical expressions as well as opportunity for the creation of new expressions. The use of parallelism and phonoaesthetic elements are found to be features shared with both South Asian "echo words" and Southeast Asian "expressives" and "elaborate expressions", suggesting a typology with expressives on one end and elaborate expressions and proverbs on the other. The next chapter describes the ways in which Pnar speakers encode grammatical relations, as well as the various clause types used for particular speech acts.

## Chapter 10

## Clause structure

This chapter deals with simple (basic) clause structure in Pnar and identifies the ways in which grammatical relations are encoded. The focus in this chapter is on independent clauses; dependent and subordinate clauses are dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 14. Main clauses are not easily distinguished from dependent clauses; there is a tendency for matrix verbs to take mood marking while dependent clause verbs do not, however this is simply a tendency. Independent non-verbal clauses do not exist in Pnar, though non-verbal predicates can be formed via copular constructions (Chapter 15). Pnar verbal clauses contain predicates that identify actions or situations in which one or more participants are involved.

The default word order of core clausal elements in Pnar is verb initial, specifically VS for intransitive clauses and VAO for transitive clauses. This is the organizing principle of all Pnar clauses (though topic focus (§10.2.1) does result in a slightly different word order). Other evidence for VS / VAO as the default word order is the existence of a separate modifier class based in part on word order constraints (Chapter 8), and prepositional case marking (§5.6).

The chapter begins with a discussion of simple verbal clause subcategories: intransitive (§10.1.1), transitive (§10.1.2), and copular clauses (§10.1.3). The use of prepositional case markers to identify semantic roles and the degree to which this overlaps with grammatical roles has been discussed in §5.6. The common elision of arguments is then treated briefly in §10.1.4.

The next section deals with the ways that simple clauses can change for pragmatic purposes, including topic focus (§10.2.1), passivization (§10.2.2), and noun incorporation (§10.2.3). Since prepositional case markers identify arguments as oblique constituents (with a few exceptions based on semantic
roles), there are no clear syntactically ditransitive clauses, only transitive or intransitive clauses with obliques. Evidence against syntactic ditransitive constructions ${ }^{1}$ (briefly, the lack of dative shift constructions and the fact that obliques are unable to serve as S -arguments in passive constructions) is presented in $\S 10.3$. The final section of this chapter ( $\S 10.4$ ) deals with sentential mood types, ${ }^{2}$ i.e. the ways in which clauses/sentences can be identified as declarative, interrogative, and imperative for use in speech acts.

### 10.1 Simple clauses

Verbal clauses in Pnar can have a minimum of one core argument, S, and a maximum of two, A and O. I distinguish between 'core' and 'non-core arguments' since all other arguments besides $\mathrm{S}, \mathrm{A}$, and O are treated as obliques via prepositional case marking, exemplified below. In verbal clauses there are two primary orders of constituents. The unmarked order is where the verb precedes its core arguments. The marked order, in which one or both arguments precede the verb, is used for topic focus (§10.2.1). Arguments generally take the form of pronouns, with use of nouns or complex NPs used primarily to introduce new information or clarify the referent. These processes are illustrated in the following subsections, starting with intransitive clauses.

### 10.1.1 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses contain a verb followed by a single core argument, S . Examples ( $400 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{b}$ ) are of two intransitive sentences from the same interview, about the same individual who died. In both cases the S argument (in bold) follows the verb: in (400 a) the S argument is identified with a pronoun,

[^56]while in (400 b) the S argument is fully identified with a noun phrase or noun compound.
(400) (a) yap u
jap $\boldsymbol{u}_{\mathrm{s}}$
die 3SG.m.nOM
'he died' [KNI_006]
(b) yap u woh kiang nangbah
jap $[u=w \boldsymbol{w} \text { ? kiay nayba? }]_{s}$
die $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{HON}$ Kiang Nangbah
'Mr. Kiang Nangbah died' [KNI_009]
Example (401) is of two intransitive clauses: an initial verbal clause identifies the situation (someone dying) using a pronoun. There is then a brief pause (indicated by a comma) and the speaker clarifies who died with a second verbal clause, as an afterthought.
(401) yap ko, yap ka bei u loh ryndi
\[

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
j a p & \boldsymbol{k} \mathbf{s}_{\mathrm{s}} & j a p & {[k a=\boldsymbol{b e j} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{l o P}} & \boldsymbol{r} n d i]_{\mathrm{s}} \\
\text { die } & \text { 3SG.F.NOM } & \text { die } & \mathrm{F}=\text { mother } & \mathrm{M}=\text { Loh } \\
\text { Ryndi }
\end{array}
$$
\]

Intransitive verbs can be subclassified on the basis of semantics, particularly in terms of motion, position, and activity. These subtypes are given more detailed treatment in §12.1.

### 10.1.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses contain two core arguments identified by word order as having different grammatical functions. The A argument is the argument in a transitive construction that is "most relevant to the success of the activity" (Dixon, 1994: 8), ${ }^{3}$ while the O argument is the secondary argument that is presumed to be less relevant to the activity's success. The unmarked order is where A immediately follows the verb and is followed in turn by O. Example (402) illustrates a transitive sentence. The A argument $u=b r u$ 'the man' (in bold) immediately follows the verb and is then followed by the O argument $k a=w a t$ 'the sword'.

[^57](402) chim u bru ka wait
\[

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { tim } \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{b r u} & k a=w a \boldsymbol{u}_{\mathrm{A}} \\
\text { take } & \text { 3SG.M.NOM= person } \\
\text { 'the man took the sword' } &
\end{array}
$$
\]

Transitive clauses can also have resumptive pronouns, the occurrence of which is variable in my texts and seems largely based on speaker preference and how clear the speaker desires to be. The use of the pronoun in O function is generally default in context, and the following fully-identified noun tends to be a clarification of what the O -argument represents. This is particularly true if the O-argument is inanimate, suggesting a preference for pronouns to represent animate (and thus more prototypically agentive) nominals.
(403) chim u bru ka, ka wait

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { tim } & \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{b r u} & k a_{\mathrm{A}} \\
\text { take } & \text { 3SG.M.NOM= person } & \text { 3SG.F.ACC } \\
\text { 'the man took the sword' } & & \mathrm{F}=\text { =sword } \\
\text { ' } &
\end{array}
$$

Transitive verbs can be subclassified on the basis of semantics. These subclassifications are treated in $\S 12.2$.

### 10.1.3 Copular clauses

Copular clauses in Pnar consist of a copula verb and two arguments that are co-referential. There are three copula verbs in Pnar, toP 'be', $\varepsilon m$ 'exist', and man 'happen, become', which are dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 15 and will only be dealt with briefly here. Suffice it to say that the copula verb either occurs between equated elements or comes first in the clause.

In (404) the verb to? 'be' occurs clause initially and serves to equate the two following NPs $k a=k^{h} n d a w$ 'earth' and the relative clause $k a$ wa tyare 'that herds/cares'. The following clause explicates this, with a purposive nominalization $u=k^{h} a$ sut 'will birth profit' (here the element sut is a noun that has been incorporated into the verb stem and the non-finite nominalization functions as purposive). The post-verbal pronoun $k \supset$ references the dual arguments of the previous copula clause.
(404) toh ka khyndaw ka wa chare, u kha sut ko
to? $\left[k a=k^{h} n d a w\right]\left[\begin{array}{lll}k a & w a & \text { tfare }] \quad u=k^{h} a \text { sut }\end{array}\right.$
be $\mathrm{F}=$ earth 3 SG.F NMZ herd $\mathrm{M}=$ birth profit
ko
3SG.F.NOM
'the earth is what herds/cares (for us), it will bring forth profit' [SI3_042]

In (405) the copula to? occurs between the copula topic $\eta a$ ' 1 SG.ACC' and its complement for an identificational purpose.
(405) nga toh ka blossom plain
ya to? ka=blosom plen
1SG.ACC be $\mathrm{F}=$ Blossom Plain
'I am Blossom Plain' [BPVM_002]
In (406) the copula $\varepsilon m$ occurs clause initially, and precedes each of the subsequent nominal elements, forming an existential predicate.
(406) æm kawi æm samæn æm wa khait soh
$\boldsymbol{\varepsilon m}\left[\begin{array}{lll}k a=w i] & \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} & {[s a m \varepsilon n]} \\ \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m}\end{array} \begin{array}{lll}w a & k^{h} a t & s っ ?\end{array}\right]$
have $\mathrm{F}=$ one have alone have NMZ pick fruit
'there is one alone who picks fruit' [FPSM_001]
In (407) the copula man precedes the locative expression (copula complement) $h a k i=s \eta i$ 'in those days' to form a locative predicate.
(407) man ha ki sngi, i ha wa likit tiar i kamtæ
man ha ki=sŋi $i$ ha wa li-kit tiar $i$
become LOC PL=day 1PL LOC NMZ DUR-carry thing 1PL
kam-te
like-NVIS
'in those days we would carry things like that' [BPVM_007]
Copular clauses in Pnar are considered to be a subtype of intransitive clause, since the two arguments are co-referential and at least one argument always occurs post-verbally. The three forms listed here have the same form as intransitive verbs with similar semantic content, suggesting that they have developed copular functions from their original use as intransitive verbs. In some cases, the arguments can switch places, a situation which is dealt with further in Chapter 15.

### 10.1.4 Elision of arguments

In Pnar, not mentioning arguments is a common feature of conversation and storytelling. Prepositional case markers identify semantic roles of arguments, allowing speakers to focus attention on particular elements, and hearers to make sense of the described situation. This is the case in (408) below and (192) above, where the O argument has been left out of the initial clause, focusing attention on the giver and recipient rather than on what was given. The O-argument can then be explicitly identified as an afterthought [theme?] using the instrumental prepositional case marker $d a$ (410).
(408) e u ya ki
$\boldsymbol{e} \quad \boldsymbol{u}_{\mathrm{A}} \quad$ ()。 $\left.\quad \begin{array}{ll}j a & k i\end{array}\right]_{\text {oвц }}$
give 3SG.M.NOM $\varnothing$ BEN 3PL
'he gave (something) to them'
(409) e u ki soh ya ki
$\boldsymbol{e} \quad \boldsymbol{u}_{\mathrm{A}} \quad k i=s \supset ?_{\mathrm{O}} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}j a & k i]_{\text {OвL }}\end{array}\right.$
give 3SG.M.NOM PL=fruit BEN 3PL
'he gave fruit to them'
(410) e u ya ki da ki soh
$e \quad \boldsymbol{u}_{\mathrm{A}} \quad()_{\mathrm{o}} \quad\left[\begin{array}{llll}j a & k i & {[d a} & k i=s \rho ?]\end{array}\right]_{\text {овь }}$
give 3SG.m.NOM $\varnothing$ BEN 3PL INST PL=fruit
'he gave (something) to them, the fruit' [MPSRJ_048]
Any argument in Pnar can be elided, but not in a random manner. Elision seems to be conditioned by pragmatic factors, particularly whether the speaker considers the argument to be recoverable from context. Since only one core argument exists in intransitive clauses and two arguments exist in transitive clauses (with the possibility of O being marked with either $j a$ or $d a$ ), recovering essential arguments is not a problem for Pnar speakers. Elision is particularly apparent in imperative constructions (§10.4.3) and in narratives where the topic remains the same throughout the story.

### 10.2 Pragmatic variation

Pragmatic variation in clause structure is based on discourse changes that restructure clause elements. In Pnar, pragmatic variation includes the syntactic process of topic focus ( $\S 10.2 .1$ ), the morphosyntactic operation of passivization (§10.2.2), and the process of noun incorporation (§10.2.3).

### 10.2.1 Topic fronting

Marked word order is where the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$ or O argument is fronted to a 'topic' position, based on pragmatic information that the speaker wishes to convey. To illustrate this, examples from $\S 10.1$ are repeated below. Example (412) shows the S-topic-fronted-construction of (411 [400 a]). In (411) the speaker has earlier identified $u=w$ ? kiaj najba? as the topic of conversation and has described him as a hero of the Pnar people who fought the British. Here he is beginning to talk about the way that $u=w o$ ? kiay napba? died. Of note is that a pronoun indicating the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$ argument (in bold) remains in the immediate post-verbal position, substituting for the noun phrase. ${ }^{4}$ Also significant is the fact that there is sometimes a slight pause between the fronted constituent and the verb, whereas there is generally none between the verb and the post-verbal argument, almost like a topic-comment construction (Li and Thompson, 1976).
(411) yap u
jap $u_{\text {s }}$
die 3SG.m.NOM
'he died' [KNI_006]
(412) u woh kiang nangbah yap u
$\left[\begin{array}{lllll}\stackrel{u}{u}=w ว ? & \text { kiaך } & \text { naŋbar }]_{\text {S.ACc }} & \text { jap } & \boldsymbol{u}_{\mathrm{s}}\end{array}\right.$
m=HON Kiang Nangbah die 3SG.m.nom
'Mr. Kiang Nangbah, he died' [KNI_010]
Not only the S argument can be fronted, though in many constructions this is the case. Example (414) gives the A-topic-fronting-construction of (413 [402]) while (415) gives its O-topic-fronting-construction.
(413) chim u bru ka wait
tfim $\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{b r} \boldsymbol{u}_{\mathrm{A}} \quad \quad k a=$ wat $_{\mathrm{o}}$
take 3SG.M.NOM=person $\mathrm{F}=$ =sword
'the man took the sword'

[^58](414) $u$ bru chim $u$ ka wait

| $\downarrow=b r u_{\text {A.ACC }}$ | $f i m$ | $\boldsymbol{u}_{\mathrm{A}}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad k a=$ wato $_{\mathrm{O}}$

(415) ka wait chim u bru
$k a=$ wat $_{\text {O.ACC }}$ tfim $\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{b r u}_{\mathrm{A}}$ $\mathrm{F}=$ sword take $\mathrm{M}=$ person 'the sword, the man took (it)'

Non-core arguments, such as locative phrases (spatial, temporal), recipients, and instrumentals, can also be fronted, but as they are obligatorily marked by prepositional case markers they are easy to identify as obliques. Example (416) illustrates a fronted oblique locative phrase, marked by the prepositional case marker $h a-d g r \supset \eta$ 'above'.
(416) hajrong ka bei ram-aw phæt phar i
[ha-dsron $k a=b e j \quad r a m a w]_{\text {овL. Acc }} p^{h} \varepsilon t p^{h} a r i_{\mathrm{s}}$ LOC-be.tall $\mathrm{F}=$ mother earth run walk 1PL 'on top of earth-mother we run/walk' [BMPJ_007]

### 10.2.2 Passivization

Dixon (1994: 146) identifies strict criteria for 'passive' constructions. He describes the passive operation as meeting the following criteria:
"(a) applies to an underlyingly transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive;
(b) the underlying O NP becomes S of the passive;
(c) the underlying A NP goes into a peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, prepositional case marker, etc.; this NP can be omitted, although there is always the option of including it;
(d) there is some explicit formal marking of a passive construction"

Alternatively, passives can be viewed as a way of profiling information. Passives in Pnar are syntactically intransitive clauses which correspond to transitive clauses where the transitive O-argument is conceptualized as an Sargument and the A -argument is peripheral-ized through the use of a prepositional case marker. This process uses a special passive marker tfa? which
has the same form as the verb meaning 'allow, ${ }^{5}$ and identifies the syntactic A-argument of a transitive clause as peripheral, marking it as oblique.

To illustrate, consider example (417), which is a standard transitive phrase with a topicalized A-argument. When $t a$ ? is preposed to the verb in (418), the undergoer $k a=k h l a$ in O function is moved to the post-verbal S position, and the previous A -argument is marked as oblique with the locative $h a$, a common source of agentive marking in passive constructions (Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 199).
(417) u bru pynyap u ka khla

| $u=b r u_{\text {A.ACC }}$ | $p n-j a p$ | $u_{\mathrm{A}}$ | $k a=k^{h} l a_{\circ}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3SG.M.NOM=person | CAUS-die | 3SG.M.NOM | $\mathrm{F}=$ tiger |


'the tigress was killed by the man'
A few examples from my texts of passive constructions are given below. In (419) the speaker is discussing the meaning of the word $k a=s o r k \varepsilon p$, which can be roughly translated as 'heaven', but corresponds better to the creator God's meeting or throne room. The agent in this example is $u=t r e-k i-r s t$ 'creator God', and $k i=m n s e n ~ ' s o u l s ' ~ i s ~ t h e ~ a r g u m e n t ~ o c c u p y i n g ~ t h e ~ S ~ s l o t ~ o f ~$ the de-transitivized verb biffar 'judge'.
(419) heini i thaw toh daw wan chah bichar ki mynsein
$h e=i=n i$
LOC=N=PROX
$k=t^{h}$ aw $=$ place be
$k i=m n s e n$
PL=spirit,soul,heart
'this is the place where the souls will be judged'
[PP01CSE_047]

Example (420) occurs in the sentence immediately following, and ki postverbally refers again to the 'souls' of the previous example.

[^59](420) man da yap da wan chah bichar ki
man da jap da wan tSaP biffar ki become Real die REAL come PaSS judge 3pl 'when (they) die (they) come, they are judged' [PP01CSE_048]

In (421) the S argument is identified initially as the topic of the first verb jap 'die', and then identified by post-verbal $u$ 'he, him' as the S argument of the de-transitive verb $p^{h}$ asi 'hang', indicating the particular activity involved in his death.
(421) u woh kiang nangbah yap u chah phasi u

| $u=w ว ?$ | kian | nayba? | jap | u | ta? | $p^{h} a s i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| M=HON.M.elder | Kiang | Nangbah die | 3SG.M.NOM | PASS | hang |  |
| $u$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3SG.M.NOM |  |  |  |  |  |  |

3SG.M.NOM
'Mr. Kiang Nangbah died, he was hanged' [KNI_022]
Argument omission can also demote constituents and highlight to the listener what the speaker deems to be more salient, but this is not a strict 'passive' as such, since, following the definition given above, there is no additional 'passivizing' morphology. An example is (184), reproduced below as (422). Here the O argument is marked as the recipient $\eta a$, but no agent or A argument is identified, resulting in the passive English translation by my consultants.
(422) da kha da pynhæh ya nga ha ka balang jwai
$d a \quad k^{h} a \quad d a \quad p n$-he? ja $\quad$ ? $a \quad h a$
REAL birth REAL CAUS-be.big BEN 1SG.ACC LOC
ka=balay Gwaj
$\mathrm{F}=$ association Jowai
'I was born and brought up in the Jowai church' [LIJ_002]
Another example is (423), in which the verb $\varepsilon m k a m$ 'need', generally realized as a transitive verb with two arguments, has the form $k 0$ ' 3 sg.f.nom' as its immediately post-verbal argument. As noted in §5.1.1, this form is only used for nominative A or S arguments. However, this form is referential with the topicalized NP $k a=n i$ ka=program 'this program' of the previous clause, and would ordinarily be conceptualized as the O argument of 'need'. Further, the argument $i$ 'we' in the second clause is marked by $j a$ which identifies the semantic role of recipient or beneficiary. The combination of the nominative form $k o$ and the use of $j a$ to mark the following form indicates that $k 0$ is in fact the conceptual S argument of the verb $\varepsilon m k a m$ 'need', creating a kind of passive and requiring the translation of this verb as 'be necessary' in English.
(423) kani ka program, nga sñiaw o, æmkam bha ko ya i

| $k a=n i$ | $k a=$ program | $\eta a$ | sniaw | 0 | cmkam |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX}$ | $\mathrm{F}=$ program | 1SG.ACC | sense | 1SG.NOM | need |
| $\boldsymbol{b h a}$ | $k 0 \quad j a$ | $i$ |  |  |  |
| INTS1 | 3SG.F.NOM | BEN | 1PL |  |  |
| 'this program, I feel, is very necessary for us' [BMPJ_085] |  |  |  |  |  |

It should be noted here that for verbs with multiple arguments, only the zeromarked accusative argument can serve as the $S$ of the passive construction. This is dealt with further in $\S 10.3 .2$.

### 10.2.3 Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation can be defined as "morphological structures in which a nominal constituent is added to a verbal root, and the resulting construction is both a verb and a single word." (Aikhenvald, 2007: 11) Aikhenvald identifies noun incorporation as a kind of word formation and gives a typology of noun incorporation based on what gets incorporated, the degree of fusion between the elements, and the function of the incorporated item. Possible forms of incorporated nouns include free nominal forms, bare noun roots, suppletive or reduced stems, and incorporation of full NPs. Incorporated constructions can consist of separate phonological words or fused elements treated as a single phonological word. Functional types of incorporation include lexical compounding, case manipulation, information flow regulation, modifier incorporation, and classificatory incorporation.

Incorporated nouns can also have different grammatical roles. Aikhenvald (ibid.: 19) states that "incorporated nouns typically are in $S$ (intransitive subject) or O (direct object)" role. Gerdts (2001: 84) notes that cross-linguistically, incorporated nouns are often notional objects, and more rarely oblique arguments, of their clause. Further, noun incorporation generally results in an intransitive or valency-reduced clause, and can act as a sort of applicative which changes the case relations of the verbal arguments.

In Pnar, noun roots or noun compounds are incorporated into the verb as ungendered nominal forms. Noun incorporation seems to demote the incorporated noun in terms of grammatical role, or in terms of specificity (i.e. to denote a generic activity or process). This allows other arguments to serve as core grammatical roles. In this process, the incorporated argument loses its pronominal gender clitic and occurs immediately following the verb. The new verbal expression can be treated as a single phonological word, with
main stress on the final syllable, or each item may be treated separately as individual phonological words. O arguments and prepositionally case marked NPs in benefactive, instrumental, or locative semantic role can be incorporated. When incorporation involves a transitive construction, the valency of the predicate is generally reduced as well, whereas with an intransitive construction the valency of the construction is not reduced further.

### 10.2.3.1 Minimal pairs

The major difference between noun compounding and noun incorporation is that in the former the head is a noun, while in the latter the head is a verb. Two pairs of sentences serve to introduce noun incorporation in Pnar.
 In (424) the action is conceptualized as carried out by the A argument $i$ 'we' on the O argument $k i=d e n$, a group of trees. In (425) the noun is incorporated into the verb and occurs immediately post-verbally without a gender clitic. The form of the nominal in this case is in fact a compound, den $k^{h} n \ni \eta$, a particular kind of tree used in the traditional Behdienkhlam festival, and combines with the verb to form the noun-incorporated form dan den $k^{h} n \partial \eta$ 'Khnong-tree-cut'.
(424) tæ daiñ i ki deiñ ha ka deiñ
$t \varepsilon \quad d a n \quad i \quad k i=\operatorname{den}$ ha $k a=d e n$
NVIS cut 1PL PL=tree LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ tree
'we cut the trees at the wood (as opposed to the bark)'
[PP11NC_006]
(425) jooh daiñ deiñ khnong i
go? [dan den $k^{h} n$ noy] $i$
HAB cut tree tree.type 1PL
'we used to cut Khnong trees' [BMPJ_032]
Examples (426-427) involve the verb tfna 'make' and the noun $k i=j u \eta$ 'homes'. In (426) the speaker is relating the story of how four sisters settled in Jowai and started the town. Here $k i=j u \eta$ 'homes' refers to the (four) homes they built on top of the hill. In (427) a different speaker is relating how after the local orphanage burned down, the villagers made another home for the

[^60]children. Here juy has been incorporated into the verb, losing its gender clitic and forming the verb tina juŋ 'home-make'.
(426) chna ki ki yung
tfna ki ki=juך
make 3PL PL=home
'they made homes' [PP03SKY_038]
(427) ki bru chnong chna yung ki ya kitæ

ki=bru $\quad$ fns $\quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}f n a & j u \eta\end{array}\right]$ ki ja $k i=t \varepsilon$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ person village make home 3PL BEN PL=NVIS
'the village people made a home for them (the orphans)'
[FPAHM_040]

### 10.2.3.2 Review of marking and compounding

Since incorporated arguments can be oblique or core arguments, a review of noun marking strategies and compounding is in order: examples (428) and (429) illustrate prepositional case marking, with the former an example of benefactive/dative marking, and the latter of genitive marking. In both cases the marker precedes the marked referent. Compounding is discussed further below.
(428) heipor wa sdang ya ka balang heini
$h e=i-p o r \quad$ wa sday ja ka=balay $h e=i=n i$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ =time NMZ begin BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ church LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ PROX
'then (they) began the church here' [LHJ_08]
(429) na liang yong kynthai
na liaŋ joy knthaj
from side GEN female
'from the women's side' [TACJ_230]
In example (429) the nominal element being marked occurs without a gender clitic - this seems to identify the noun as non-specific, particularly when compared with example (430), which is of a more common genitive construction. Example (431) gives an alternate dative/benefactive construction, where a more complex coordinated NP ( $k a=k^{h} n d a w$ wa tYiap $)$ is marked by $j a$.
(430) u khlawait yong ka ri Pnar yong i
$u=k^{h} l a w a t \quad j \supset \boldsymbol{\eta} \quad k a=r i \quad$ pnar $\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{\eta} \boldsymbol{\eta} \quad i$
$\mathrm{M}=$ warrior GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ country Pnar GEN 1PL
'the/a warrior of our Pnar country' [KNI_041]
(431) tæ kam u daloi toh i shynshar i ya ka khyndaw wa chyiap
te kam $u=$ daloj to? $i=s n t f a r \quad i \quad j a \quad k a=k^{h} n d a w$
so work $\mathrm{M}=$ Daloi be $\mathrm{N}=$ oversee 1 PL BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ earth
wa tPiap
COMT soil
'so the Daloi's job is, we are the overseers/caretakers of the earth and soil' [DR_03]

Examples (432), (433), and (434) demostrate locative prepositional case marking, while (435) contains a definite demonstrative construction. In the definite construction the noun retains its gender marker, while in the locative constructions the gender marker is left off. From these examples we can see that nominals conceptualized as locations in Pnar are not seen as requiring gender marking - perhaps the function of specificity and reference encoded by gender markers is superceded by locative/positional marking. While some locations can be marked as specific, for our purposes here it is enough to notice that the additional specificity provided by gender clitics is not required by Pnar speakers for such constructions.
(432) ku u ha baiskil
ku $u \quad h a \quad$ bajskil
climb 3SG.M.NOM LOC bicycle
'he climbed on the bicycle' [MPSRJ_028]
(433) æm thaw pynchong ha baiskil ha khmat...

عm $t^{h} a w \quad p n-t f \supset \eta \quad h a \quad$ bajskil ha $k^{h} m a t$ have place CAUS-sit LOC bicycle LOC front 'there is a place at the front of the bicycle...' [MPSRJ_029]
(434) wa rah ki cha kti
wa ra? ki tfa kti
COMT carry 3PL ALL hand
'and they carried (something) in (their) hand' [TACJ_415]
(435) pynhier u ka, kani ka baiskil
pn-hiar u $k a \quad k a=n i \quad k a=b a j s k i l$
CAUS-descend 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.ACC F=PROX F=bicycle
'he put down that/this bicycle' [MPSRJ_024]
Example (436) illustrates noun compounding. Here we can see that the second constituent acts as a modifier, occurring without a gender clitic, and behaves similarly to a genitive construction (429). As we have seen briefly in $\S 4.3$, genitives can also be formed by juxtaposition of two nominal elements - this is discussed further in $\S 13.3 .3$.
u kriah soh
$u=k r i a$ ? so?
$\mathrm{M}=$ basket fruit
'fruit basket' [FPSM_039]
As mentioned briefly at the beginning of (§10.2.3.1), incorporation of the noun into the verb complex ( 437 c ) looks quite similar to noun compounding, with the only clear difference being the word class of the head. The following examples are from two retellings of The Pear Story, in an event that involves a person, a ladder, and a tree. Example (437a) illustrates that $k a=j i \eta k e n$ 'ladder' is a noun, here in the O-argument constituent position. In example ( 437 b ) the same noun is conceptualized as an oblique instrumental argument that enables the action of climbing. In example ( 437 c ) the 'ladder' occurs directly following the verb root and doesn't take a gender clitic. It is also followed directly by an adverbial biaŋ 'again', and only after both verbal constituents is the S -argument $u$ identified.
(a) hiar u ka yingkein
hiar $u \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{j i \eta k e n}$
come.down 3SG.M.NOM F=ladder
'he came down the ladder' [MPSM_04]
(b) ku u da ka yingkein
ku u da $\boldsymbol{k a}=j$ jipken
climb 3SG.M.NOM INST $\mathrm{F}=$ =ladder
'he climbs (it) with the ladder' [MPSRJ_05]
(c) da ku yingkein biang $u$
da ku jipken biaŋ $P u$
REAL climb ladder again 3sG.M.NOM
'he ladder-climbs again' [MPSM_09]
In these examples we see that a referent conceptualized by different speakers as an O-argument and an oblique instrumental can both be incorporated into the verb. This suggests that the status of the NP being incorporated is not as important to Pnar speakers as that the activity identified by the verbal form be semantically accessible to the interlocutors. Noun incorporation is most common with transitive verbs $(438,439)$ but can also occur with intransitives such as laj 'go' (440) and poj 'arrive' (441).
(438) ka thaw siet thong phi yi pyrtuit ko $\mathrm{ka}=\mathrm{ni} \mathrm{ka}=\operatorname{madan}^{7}$
$k a=t^{h} a w$ siet $t^{h}$ כך $p^{h} i \quad i=j i \quad$ prtut $k \supset \quad k a=n i$ $\mathrm{F}=$ place shoot target 2PL what call 3SG.F.ACC $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX}$ $k a=m a d a n$
$\mathrm{F}=$ ground
'the place you target-shoot, what is the name of this ground?'
[AIJ_101]
(439) heitu thung saru ki
$h e=i=t u \quad \boldsymbol{t}^{h} u \boldsymbol{\eta}$ saru ki
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ plant corn 3PL
'there they plant corn' [BMPJ_031]
(440) kamtæ jooh kynmoo kat wa dang khian i tæ lai jwai ka bei lai yaw ka bei kam-te so? knmo kat wa day kian $i=t \varepsilon$ like-NVIS also remember as NMZ PROG be.small $\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS laj $\boldsymbol{g} w a j$ ka=bej laj jaw $k a=b e j$
go Jowai $\mathrm{F}=$ mother go market $\mathrm{F}=$ mother
'i remember while we were small, our mother used to go to Jowai, to market' [BPVM_03]
(441) ynne ka sngi da poi luti poi syngkein u daiñ i deiñ
nne $k a=s \eta i$ da poj luti poj syken $u=d a n$
now $\mathrm{F}=$ day REAL arrive path arrive location $\mathrm{NF}=$ cut
$i=d e n$
$\mathrm{N}=$ tree
'nowadays the current way to cut trees...' [BMPJ_034]
The majority of examples of noun incorporation in my data is of the pattern: V N Pn, where V is the verb root, N is the incorporated noun ( O or oblique argument), and Pn represents the A or S argument of the verb. However, this provides no evidence that N is actually conceptualized as part of the verb. To address this, examples (442-443) illustrate that noun incorporation does, in fact, result in a complete verbal predicate, as occasionally an adverb of intensity will occur between the incorporated noun and the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$ argument.

In (442) the speaker is describing what will happen if people pray for God to intervene. The verbal predicate consists of tim 'take' and the incorporated noun stem kti 'hand' (which can be identified with the locative-marked noun that occurs later in the sentence), forming the noun-incorporated verb tim kti 'take hold'. This whole predicate is modified preverbally by the irrealis mood daw and post-verbally by the adverb of immediacy no? 'just, only,

[^61]immediately'. The post-verbal $u$ ' 3 SG.M.nom' form is the A argument, referential with the topicalized noun $u=$ blaj 'God' that occurs at the beginning of the clause.
(442) u blai daw chim kti noh u ya ka jingsynchar sa chisein ha ka kti ka yong oo
$u=$ blaj daw [tfim kti] no? u ja
$\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{God}$ IRR take hand IMM1 3SG.M.NOM BEN
$k a=$ gin-sntfar sa tifi=sen $\quad h a \quad k a=k t i \quad k a \quad j \supset \eta$
$\mathrm{F}=$ NMZ-rule only one-time LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ hand 3SG.F.ACC GEN o
3SG.m.ACC
'God will take hold of the ruling one more time in his hand' [BPDJ_032]

In (443) the speaker is describing how different clans were given different responsibilities. Here the noun daloj refers to a traditional office which involves priestly and administrative duties. The noun-incorporated verb is $j \supset$ daloj 'get Daloi (position)' and no? again follows the verb and intervenes between the verb and the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$ argument, $k y$ ' 3 sg.f.nom', which refers to the clan who got the duties.
(443) ka labang nongplut yoh noh ko yei yoh daloi noh ko

| ka=labay nopplut | jo? no? | $k \bigcirc$ | $j e=i$ | [jo? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{F}=$ labang nongplut | get imm1 | 3SG.F.NOM | PLUR-3sg.N | get |
| daloj] nop ko |  |  |  |  |
| daloi IMM1 3SG.F.NOM |  |  |  |  |
| 'the Labang Nongpl (responsibilities)' $[\mathrm{P}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{t}(\text { clan }) \text { got } \\ & 05 \mathrm{KO} \_051 \end{aligned}$ | it just got | Daloi |  |

There are many different expressions of noun incorporation in Pnar, as this is a productive feature of the language for transitive verbs. Table 10.1 lists some of the noun incorporated predicates found in my data and the grammatical role of each incorporated noun.

### 10.2.3.3 Semantic roles of incorporated arguments

The following examples illustrate the ways in which various NPs with different semantic roles can be incorporated. In Table 10.1 the majority of examples are in O or Oblique grammatical role. Although the grammatical role of the argument tends to remain either O or Oblique, other semantic roles can be incorporated. Example (444) shows a two-place predicate with

| Verb | Gloss | Noun | Gloss | NGR | Incorporation | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| dan | 'cut' | den | 'tree' | O | dan den | 'tree-cut' |
| kre? | 'work' | titom | 'fever' | ? | kre? titom | 'work feverishly' |
| tim | 'take' | kti | 'hand' | Obl/Loc | tfim kti | 'take hold' |
| laj | 'go' | jaw | 'market' | Obl/Loc | laj jaw | 'market-go' |
| trut | 'bite, chew' | so? | 'fruit' | O | trut so? | 'fruit-chew' |
| $e$ | 'give' | ¢ ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | 'rice' | O | e $\mathrm{c}_{\text {a }}$ | 'rice-give' |
| $t i ?$ | 'dig' | pup | 'pond' | O | ti? pun | 'pond-dig' |
| rep | 'cultivate' | $k b a$ | 'rice' | O/Dat | rep kba | 'rice-farm' |
| sap | 'wear' | tupri | 'hat' | O | sap tupri | 'hat-wear' |
| $d i ?$ | 'drink' | dawaj | 'medicine' | O | di? dawaj | 'medicine-drink' |
| $k^{h} a$ | 'give birth' | $k^{h}$ On | 'child' | O | $k^{h} a k^{h}$ כn | 'child-bear' |
| jo? | 'get' | pajsa | 'money' | O/Inst | jo? pajsa | 'money-get' |

Table 10.1: Some noun incorporated predicates in Pnar
the O-argument elided and an oblique argument marked with the instrumental prepositional case marker $d a$. This textual example corresponds to (445), an elicitation. In elicitation this served to be a versatile example, as the consultant could think of ways in which either the O-argument or the instrumental argument could be incorporated into the verb. In (444) the O argument is elided, whereas in (445) the O argument is fully identified as $u=d e n$ 'the tree'. These two examples serves as the basis for the following discussion.
(444) ku u da ka yingkein
$k u \quad u_{\mathrm{A}} \quad[Ø]_{\circ} \quad[d a \quad k a=j i \eta k e n]_{\text {OBL }}$
climb 3SG.M.NOM INST F=ladder
'he climbs (the tree) with/by the/a ladder' [MPSRJ_005]
(445) ku u u deiñ da ka yingkein
$k u \quad u_{\mathrm{A}} \quad u=d e n_{\mathrm{O}} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}d a \quad k a=j i \eta k e n\end{array}\right]_{\text {овь }}$
climb 3SG.M.NOM M=tree INST $\mathrm{F}=$ ladder
'he climbs the tree with/by the/a ladder'

Instrumental In (446) the O-argument, $u=d e n$ 'tree' is incorporated into the verb. The noun loses its gender clitic and forms a prosodic word with $k u$, with den being stressed relative to $k u$. This is a valency-reduced predicate, and removing the instrumental marking from $k a=j i \eta k e n ~ r e s u l t s ~ i n ~$ an ungrammatical sentence. The fact that the valence is reduced matches with the reduced form of the incorporated noun, which marks a lack of
specificity. ${ }^{8}$ The resulting verbal construction identifies an activity that is re-conceptualized as a state of being - a regularized or generic activity.
(446) ku deiñ u da ka=yingkein
$k u \quad d e n \quad u_{\mathrm{s}} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}d a & k a=j i \eta k e n\end{array}\right]_{\text {oвд }}$
climb tree 3SG.M.NOM INST $\mathrm{F}=$ ladder
'he tree-climbs with/by the/a ladder'
Example (447) gives the same predicate with the instrumental argument incorporated into the verb. Prosodically, ku jipken is treated as a single constituent, with the syllables $k u$ and $j i \eta$ being unstressed relative to the final syllable ken. Here the O-argument is elided, and consultants found its inclusion as in (448) to be odd, preferring instead that it be case-marked as in (449) with the locative $h a$ (the same marker that identifies agents in passive constructions) or other prepositional case markers (see below). This further confirms that noun incorporation results in a valency-reduced predicate.
(447) ku yingkein u
$k u \quad$ jiŋken $u_{\mathrm{A} / \mathrm{s}} \quad[Ø]_{\circ}$
climb ladder 3SG.m.NOM
'he ladder-climbs (the/a tree)'
(448) *ku yingkein u u deiñ
$k u \quad j i \eta k e n u_{\mathrm{A}} \quad u=d e n_{\mathrm{O}}$
climb ladder 3SG.M.NOM M=tree
'he ladder-climbs the/a tree'
(449) ku jingkein $u$ ha deiñ
$k u \quad$ jigken $u_{\mathrm{s}} \quad h a \quad u=d e \eta_{\text {OвL }}$
climb ladder 3SG.M.NOM LOC $\mathrm{M}=$ tree
'he ladder-climbs (at) the/a tree'

Locatives Locative-marked oblique NPs can also be incorporated into the verb, ${ }^{9}$ though in Pnar this is more likely to happen with intransitive verbs than with transitive verbs and therefore does not result in valence reduction. Also, the difference between locative obliques and instrumental obliques is that nouns following locative markers do not need gender clitics - this is a feature having to do with specificity and has been dealt with in §5.3.4.

[^62]As a result, locative-marked NPs often do not reduce in form when they incorporate with the verb. In (450) the verb laj 'go' is intransitive, where $k a=b e j$ 'mother' is the S -argument and the location/direction of going is marked by $t f a$ 'allative'. This is an elicited version of the noun-incorporated example (451), where the locative-marked NP is incorporated into the verb to form a generic activity 'Jowai-going'.
(450) lai ka bei cha jwai
laj $k a=b e j \quad$ ta $a \quad$ Јwaj
go $\mathrm{F}=$ mother ALL Jowai
'mother went to Jowai'
(451) lai jwai ka bei
laj obwaj ka=bej
go Jowai $\mathrm{F}=$ mother
'mother went to Jowai' [BPVM_003]
Locative-marked obliques in transitive clauses cannot be incorporated into verbs without changing the meaning of the sentence. For example, consider (452), which is part of a story about the founders of the larger Hynniew Trep
 (the) head of Loom Shyllong', contains an elided O-argument $k a=k t i$ 'hand'. A clearer version is given in (453) with the elided O-argument reinstated and the extra parts of the NP ( $\left.j \supset \eta u=l o m ~ \int l l o \eta\right)$ removed. This is then the basis for the following illustrations.
(452) him $u$ woh lakriah ya ka kti, tæ booh $u$ ha khlieh yong $u$ loom shyllong
him $u=w \supset$ ? lakria? ja ka=kti te bo? u
take $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{HON}$ Lakriah BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ hand NVIS put 3SG.M.NOM
(Ø) ha khle? jэŋ u=lom flloŋ
$\varnothing$ LOC head GEN M=Loom Shyllong
'Woh Lakriah put his hand on Loom Shyllong's head'
[PP13RS_027]
(453) booh u ka=kti ha khlieh
bo? u ka=kti ha $\quad k^{h} l e$ ?
put 3SG.M.NOM $\mathrm{F}=$ hand LOC head
'he put a hand on (his) head'
In (453) we have a clearly locative-marked oblique in a transitive clause. In (454), incorporating the O-argument reduces the valency without changing the general meaning - there is the likelihood of interpreting kti 'hand' as
generic, but otherwise the meaning is unchanged. However, if the locativemarked argument $k^{h} l e ?$ 'head' is incorporated instead, it is understood to be the semantic undergoer, and allowing the O -argument $k a=k t i$ to remain unmarked results in an ungrammatical sentence (455). To allow $k a=k t i$ to remain part of the sentence, it must be case-marked, as in (456) with a locative.
(454) booh kti u ha khlieh
bo? kti u ha $k^{h} l e$ ?
put hand 3SG.m.nom LOC head 'he put (a) hand on (his) head'
(455) *booh khlieh u ka kti
bo? $k^{h} \boldsymbol{l e} \boldsymbol{P} \quad u \quad k a=k t i$
put head 3sG.m.nOM LOC
'he put hand on head'
(456) booh khlieh u ha ka kti

| $b o ?$ | $k^{h} l e \boldsymbol{P}$ | $u$ | $h a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| put | $k a=k t i$ |  |  |
| head | 3SG.M.NOM | LOC | $\mathrm{F}=$ hand |

'he put head on (his) hand'
This identifies an important interaction between locative marking and transitivity in Pnar: a locative-marked argument of an intransitive construction is considered 'incorporatable' into the verb, but not the locative-marked argument of a transitive construction. We could go further to make the following chart (Table 10.2) regarding the interaction of transitivity with what arguments can be incorporated.

| Construction | Incorporation is valency-reducing: | incorporated arguments: <br> (core) (oblique) |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | S/A | O | INST | LOC | BEN |
| transitive | yes | no | yes | yes | no | no |
| intransitive | no | no | N/A | yes | yes | no |

Table 10.2: Incorporation and transitivity in Pnar

### 10.3 Ditransitive constructions?

The two criteria that provide the strongest argument against a syntactic basis for a class of 'ditransitive' verb in Pnar are the lack of dative shift
constructions in the language and the unavailability of oblique arguments to function as S -arguments in corresponding passive constructions. As the basis of these illustrations, I used existing phrases from my data and re-arranged the elements to elicit intuitional grammatical judgements from my consultants. The matrix verb in each of these examples is $e$ 'give', which is considered to be a prototypical 'ditransitive' verb cross-linguistically (Haspelmath, 2013).

### 10.3.1 No dative shift

The prepositional case marker that often marks the recipient in Pnar is the form $j a$. However, this serves to mark semantic benefactives, and is not necessarily a dative marker, as noted in §5.6. To illustrate the lack of dative shift constructions in Pnar, consider (183), repeated below as (457). Here a
 $u=k^{h} a d$. The prepositionally case-marked NP that occurs clause-finally in parentheses is in fact a topicalized element in this sentence, so there is clearly a recipient. The current format is simply used for the purpose of elucidation.

```
e ko ka=hukum (ya oo)
    e k\mp@subsup{\boldsymbol{I}}{\textrm{A}}{}\quadka=hukum
give 3SG.F.NOM F=command (BEN 3SG.M.ACC)
'she gave the command (to him)' [PP01CSE_032]
```

Notably, this construction is unavailable for dative shift, so (458) is ungrammatical; the recipient in this case must be case-marked if not elided and understood from context. This is typical of all prepositionally case-marked NPs in transitive clauses - the prepositional case markers by themselves cannot be elided to form a syntactically ditransitive clause.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { *e ko oo ka=hukum } &  \tag{458}\\
e \quad \boldsymbol{k s}_{\mathrm{A}} & o_{\text {REC }} & k a=\text { hukum }_{\circ} \\
\text { give } & \text { 3SG.F.NOM } & \text { 3SG.M.ACC } \\
\text { 'she gave him the command' } &
\end{array}
$$

The single instance where case marking can be elided without ungrammaticality is in a transitive clause with an instrumentally marked NP. To illustrate, example (408) [repeated below as (459)], is an elicited version of (410) [repeated here as (460)], where the O argument has been left out of the initial clause. This serves to focus attention on the giver and recipient rather than on what was given.
e u ya ki
$e \quad u_{\mathrm{A}} \quad \emptyset_{\mathrm{O}} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}y a & k i]_{\text {obL }}\end{array}\right.$
give 3SG.M.NOM $\varnothing$ BEN 3PL
'he gave (something) to them'
As described above, the O-argument can be identified as an afterthought using the instrumental case marker $d a$ (460). This clause is semantically equivalent to (461).
(460) e u ya ki da ki=soh
$e \quad u_{\mathrm{A}} \quad \emptyset_{\mathrm{O}} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}j a & k i\end{array} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}d a & k i=s \supset ?\end{array}\right]\right]_{\text {овь }}$
give 3SG.M.NOM $\varnothing$ BEN 3PL INST PL=fruit
'he gave (something) to them, the fruit' [MPSRJ_048]
(461) e u ki soh ya ki
$e \quad u_{\mathrm{A}} \quad k i=s \supset ?_{\mathrm{O}} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}j a & k i]_{\text {OвL }}\end{array}\right.$
give 3SG.M.NOM PL=fruit BEN 3PL
'he gave the fruit to them'
Here we see that an instrumentally marked argument is understood to correspond to an unmarked O-argument in a semantic 'ditransitive'. However, a second O-argument or what would correspond to the 'indirect object' in English, is disallowed unless clearly case-marked by a locative or benefactive/dative.

### 10.3.2 Non-passivization of oblique arguments

Interestingly, the oblique-marked argument (the recipient in (459-461) above) is also not available to be the S -argument of a passive construction. To illustrate this, consider two elicited examples based on (460). In (462) the passive marker $t a$ a is pre-posed to the verb $e$ 'give', and the recipient of (460) is moved to the immediately post-verbal slot, the S-argument position, while the agent is marked by $h a$ (and changes pronominal form as a result) following the rules described above in $\S 10.2 .2$. This example is ungrammatical, according to my consultants, simply due to the movement of the recipient argument to the undergoer position.
(462) chah e ki ha oo
${ }^{*}$ flap $\quad e \quad k i_{\mathrm{s}} \quad$ ()。ha $\quad \boldsymbol{o}_{\text {овь }}$
allow give 3PL Ø LOC 3SG.M.ACC
'they were given (something) by him'
In contrast, when the instrumentally marked argument corresponding to the elided O-argument of (460) is placed in the S -argument position, the resulting construction (463) is acceptable.
(463) chah e ki soh ha oo ya ki
t $a, \quad e \quad k i=s \supset P_{\mathrm{S}} \quad h a \quad \boldsymbol{o}_{\text {OBL }} \quad$ ya $\quad k i_{\text {OBL }}$ allow give PL=fruit LOC 3SG.M.ACC BEN 3PL
'the fruit was given by him to them'
The unavailability of the recipient to act as the $S$ argument of a passive construction is the second piece of evidence which shows that Pnar does not have ditransitive constructions syntactically.

### 10.4 Sentential mood categories and speech acts

This section deals briefly with the ways in which clauses are used in Pnar as speech acts for particular interactional purposes. These clause types can be either intransitive, transitive, or copular constructions, can be full sentences or parts of sentences, and correspond to what König and Siemund (2007) call 'sentence types'. The three traditional sentence types they identify are also found to be useful categories for identifying Pnar clauses, namely: declaratives (§10.4.1), interrogatives (§10.4.2), and imperatives (§10.4.3). These clause types as well as a fourth kind of clause, quotatives (§10.4.4), can be identified based on either prosodic, intonational, morphological, or syntactic grounds, or on a combination of these criteria.

### 10.4.1 Declaratives

Declarative sentences in Pnar are used for statements and other kinds of descriptive speech acts. They are the most commonly occuring, and are most likely to have variable prosody and intonation (though they tend to exhibit falling prosodic intonation), and to be unmarked morphologically and syntactically. Speakers may use an emphatic or declarative morpheme $h i$ 'EMPH' (identified in §5.7.1 above) to make a strong statement or indicate confirmation (as in the answer to a question). Example (464) is from a text
where the speaker is stating that even fish who live in dirty water are safe to eat. Here he uses $h i$ to emphasize the verb and his stance on the issue.
(464) ka dakha hoi hi u bam i ka

| $k a=d a k^{h} a$ | $h \partial j$ | $h i$ | $u=b a m$ | $i$ | $k a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| F=fish | be.fitting | EMPH | NF=eat | 1PL | 3SG.F.ACC |
| 'the fish, it's ok for us to eat it' | $[B M P J$ | $088]$ |  |  |  |

In (465) the speaker is describing a habitual action with the incorporated verb form $t \varepsilon \varepsilon t \$ a$ 'rice-cook'. Here he uses $h i$ to emphasize the activity and the use of the pot for this purpose.
(465) ha u kchu larnai jooh chæt ja hi ki
ha $u=k t f u$ larnaj go? tfet ga hi ki
LOC $\mathrm{M}=$ pot Larnai HAB cook rice EMPH 3PL
'in the Larnai pot they used to cook rice' [TACJ_249]
It is also possible for this marker to follow nouns as in (466), in which case the speaker seems to be be emphasizing the nominal element.
(466) na-chwa na-lap tæ $u=b r u$ hi boon wa pyn-biang da ki dakha, ki syiñ $n a-t f w a \quad n a-l a p \quad t \varepsilon \quad u=b r u \quad h i \quad b o n \quad w a$ ABL-before ABL-before NVIS M=person EMPH be.much NMZ pn-biaŋ $\quad d a \quad k i=d a k^{h} a \quad k i=s ? i j$ CAUS-be.enough INST PL=fish PL=ginger 'previously a man would often use fish and ginger' [PP14MF _080]

The removal of this morpheme from either of the previous two examples does not change the translation of each sentence, according to my consultants, but there is a difference in the expression. The existence of the morpheme directs a kind of emphatic intensity toward the element that precedes $h i$, whether the element is verbal or nominal.

### 10.4.2 Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences are generally used for requesting information and have specific intonational and morpho-syntactic behaviour. Interrogative clause types can be further differentiated into polar interrogatives (§10.4.2.1), i.e. 'yes-no questions', and constituent interrogatives (§10.4.2.2), i.e. 'content questions'. Interrogatives provide clear means for speakers to ask questions of one another - the following discussion draws from König and Siemund (2007).

### 10.4.2.1 Yes-no questions

Polar interrogatives are intended to elicit a binary "yes/no" response from interlocutors. There are several ways of eliciting such a response in Pnar, including intonation, the use of particles and tags, and disjunctive-negative structures, each of which is illustrated below.

Intonation If a clause is otherwise unmarked, rising intonation at the end of the clause indicates a yes-no question. This is the case in (467) and (468) which both occur in the context of an interview where the speaker is asking for confirmation of his statement. The positive answer to such a question can be ha-o [ha o] 'yes' (which is the answer that follows 467), repetition of the sentence to indicate confirmation (the answer that follows 468), repetition of the element of the question that seems most salient to the interlocutor, or assertion via a syllabic bilabial nasal [ m$]$ (not to be confused with the negative $m$ which marks verbs). To express 'no', speakers can respond by negating the matrix verb of the question, negating the copular verb to? 'be' ( $m$ to ), or by negating a double-articulated breathy syllabic bilabial nasal vocalization ending with a glottal stop, i.e. [ m hm ?].
(467) ynru sein ha ka chi ta yaw?

| $n r u$ | sen | $h a$ | $k a$ | ti $i$ | ta | jaw |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| six | time | LOC | 3SG.F | set | CL.WK | week |
| 'six times in one | week?' | [AIJ_046] |  |  |  |  |

(468) tæ mynstæp booh phi jar ka sngi
tع mnstep bo? p bar ${ }^{h}$ bar $k a=s \eta i$
NVIS tomorrow put 2PL be.different $\mathrm{F}=$ day
'and tomorrow you put (it on) a different day?' [AIJ_051]

Particles and tags Several particles and tags can be used by a speaker to indicate a yes-no question, and these tags are often but not always accompanied by rising intonation. The morphemes include $m \supset$ 'question marker', $n \supset \eta$ 'confirmation', $s \varepsilon$ 'confirmation', $n \varepsilon$ 'confirmation/disjunction'. The morpheme $m o$ is an explicit interrogative marker, and occurs sentence-finally it can be used for both yes-no questions and content questions, though in (469) it indicates a yes-no question. The morpheme $n \supset \eta$ also occurs sentence finally (470) and is strictly a polar interrogative marker.
(469) heijooh i por man i ka i khih i khan mo
$h e=i=0$ os $\quad i=p o r \quad \operatorname{man} \quad i \quad k a \quad i=k^{h} i$ ?
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ same $\mathrm{N}=$ time happen 3SG.N 3SG.F.ACC $\mathrm{N}=$ work
$i=k^{h} a n \quad \boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{\rho}$
N=work Q.TAG
'at the same time it is work?' [AIJ_032]
(470) dai tim æh nong
daj tim $\varepsilon$ ? non
sell lottery imm1 CONF
'you only sell lottery, right?' [AIJ_016]
The use of $s \varepsilon$ and $n \varepsilon$ are generally intended to elicit body language responses from interlocutors, though they do not require a response, similar to rhetorical questions in English. The distinction between the two morphemes seems to be one of conjunct vs. disjunct, with $s \varepsilon$ as the conjunct marker and $n \varepsilon$ as the disjunct marker. In (471) $s \varepsilon$ marks a clause that the speaker is repeating from a phrase that he overhears one of the interlocutors mutter under his breath. In (472) $n \varepsilon$ marks a clause that is a new direction in the conversation. Further evidence of $n \varepsilon$ as a disjunct marker is its use in disjunctive-negatives and in disjunction of coordinate clauses (§14.1.3).
(471) kamtæ dang æm arphaw ar chapoh sæ
$\begin{array}{lllllll}k a m-t \varepsilon & d a \eta & \varepsilon m & a r p^{h} a w & \text { ar } & t f a-p o ? & \boldsymbol{s} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \\ \text { like-NVIS } & \text { PROG } & \text { have } & \text { twenty } & \text { two } & \text { ALL-inside } & \text { C.tAG }\end{array}$
'sometimes there are less than twenty-two, ok?' [AIJ_083]
(472) bood i ka nuksa ka yong oo næ
bod $i \quad k a=n u k s a \quad k a \quad j \partial \eta \quad o \quad n \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$
follow 1PL F=example 3SG.F.ACC GEN 3SG.m.ACC D.TAG 'we follow his example' [AIJ_027]

Any verbal expression can also be used clause-finally with the emphatic marker and rising intonation to request confirmation about the status of the event, i.e. to? hi (be + ЕMPH) to mean 'isn't that so?' or 'right?' (473), similar to the tag question in English.
(473) u thung rangbah chnong ki da uni yong pyrtuh hi, toh hi
$u=t^{h} u \eta \quad$ raŋba? $t n \supset \eta \quad k i \quad d a \quad u=n i \quad j \supset \eta \quad p r t u ?$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ place headman village 3 PL INST $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{PROX}$ GEN Pyrtuh
hi to? hi
EMPH be EMPH
'they choose the headman from this Pyrtuh (clan), isn't that so?' [SI2_025]

Disjunctive-negatives Disjunctive-negatives are a kind of interrogative that give the participant(s) two options to choose from. In yes-no questions this means constraining the response to a choice between 'yes' and 'no'. In Pnar the choice is generally between confirming the assertion of the speaker or negating it. The confirmation/disjunction marker $n \varepsilon$ immediately follows the verb or clause that identifies the proposition that can be negated (or not). The two verbs can occur together, followed by the proposition, as in example (474), or the positive verb/clause (unmarked) can precede the proposition, which is then followed by the negative-marked verb/clause (475).
(474) æm næ ym æm næ ki, mut, ki bru yong i, ki wa mut ki wa læh niam
$\varepsilon m \quad n \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \quad m \quad \varepsilon m \quad n \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \quad k i \quad m u t \quad k i=b r u \quad j \ni \eta$
have D.tag neg have D.tag 3PL mean PL=person GEN
$i \quad k i \quad w a$ mut $k i$ wa le? niam
1PL 3PL NMZ mean 3PL NMZ do ritual
'there are, there are not, those, (I) mean, our people, who do rituals..?' [AIJ_165]
(475) æm hi i jinglæh niam yong ki chisein chisnæm næ ym æm næ
$\varepsilon m \quad$ hi $\quad i=\sigma i \eta-l \varepsilon ?$ niam jəy ki ti=sen
have EMPH $\mathrm{N}=$ =NMZ-do ritual GEN 3PL INDF=time
†fi=snem $\boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \quad m \quad \varepsilon m \quad \boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$
INDF=year D.TAG NEG have D.TAG
'are there those who do rituals once a year or not?' (it is their responsibility) [AIJ_165]

The use of $m \varepsilon m n \varepsilon$ 'not have D.TAG' as a disjunctive negative is more commonly attested in my data than other forms, and can occur with the explicit interrogative marker $m \rho$, as in (476).
(476) ha ka chisnæm, chisein chisnæm jooh lai phi næ ym æm næ, mo


LOC $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{INDF}=$ year $\mathrm{INDF}=$ =time $\mathrm{INDF}=$ year same go 2 PL
$\boldsymbol{n \varepsilon} \quad \boldsymbol{m} \quad \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad \boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$
D.CONF NEG have D.CONF
'once a year also, you go or not?' [KNI_034]

### 10.4.2.2 Content questions

Constituent interrogatives or content questions are intended to elicit more varied responses and are indicated by the use of interrogative words identifying the content which the speaker desires information about. Words used to elicit more open-ended content include those that correspond to English
'who', 'what', 'where', 'when', 'why', 'how', etc. Some of these content question words are formed in combination with gender or case-markers, resulting in multiple forms with the same function. The same forms can be used in declarative sentences. Each of the corresponding English terms will be used to group the various iterations of content words.

A content question word can be used on its own, often along with rising intonation. It should be noted that these words rarely occur alone in my corpus, and usage in queries is also not as common in my data as their use in declarative statements. However, my elicitation, conversation with speakers, and observation has assured me that they do, in fact, occur in such contexts.
'who', 'what' There are two kinds of 'who' in Pnar, one of which is an interrogative pronoun while the other is a relative clause. The relative clause function involves a personal pronoun combined with the relativizer wa (i.e. u wa laj skur 'he who went to school'). Since the function of a relativizer is to subordinate one clause to the other, with the subordinate clause often serving as a modifier, it is only treated briefly here. Suffice it to say that when it is used in interrogatives (477) it tends to function in a polar sense as above.
(477) toh hi u bru u wa lai skur, mo
to? hi $u=b r u \quad u \quad \boldsymbol{w a}$ laj skur mo
be EMPH M=person 3SG.M NMZ go school Q.tag
'he is the man who went to school, right?'
To form the interrogative pronoun, the morpheme $j i$ is used, which I gloss as 'thing'. I use this gloss since the word can also be used to refer to a previously identified constituent, and since it covers the usage translated in English as both 'who' and 'what'. This morpheme combines with gender clitics $u={ }^{\prime} \mathrm{M}$ ', $k a={ }^{\prime} \mathrm{F}$ ', $i={ }^{\prime} \mathrm{N}$ ', and $k i=$ ' PL ', to cross-reference the gender of the potential target referent being asked about. When used in a question where the object is unknown, any of the forms $u=j i, k a=j i, i=j i, k i=j i$, are acceptable, though $i=j i$ is most common. Here context is extremely important: if the gender of the item/individual is known, the appropriate gender marker will be used. The word corresponds to 'who' if identifying a human and to 'what' if identifying a non-human.

In example (478) $u=j i$ is used by an interviewer to identify the referent $u=k^{h}$ On lmbot $k^{h}$ on lmbiay. This is an important character in a traditional story, but the speaker is unfamiliar with the reference and asks the storyteller to explain further.
(478) uyi oo tæ u khon lymboit khon lymbiang
$\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{j i} \quad o \quad t \varepsilon \quad u=k^{h}$ כn lmbot $k^{h}$ on lmbiay $\mathrm{M}=$ thing 3 3SG.M.ACC NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ child Lymboit child Lymbiang 'who is this Khon Lymboit Khon Lymbiang?' [PP12BL_016]

In (479) a story teller is preparing to thank the listeners and has forgotten the foreign interviewer's name, so he asks his friend to remind him and uses $u=j i$ to refer to the name in question.
(479) uyi pyrtuit uni
$u=j i \quad$ prtut $\quad u=n i$
$\mathrm{M}=$ thing name $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{PROX}$
'what is his name?' [HPAHR_001]
In (480) a storyteller is asking the interviewers what they want to hear about, using $k a=j i$ to refer to $k a=b n t a$.
(480) tæ kayi ka ka bynta wa kwah phi u yoh
$t \varepsilon \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{j i} \quad k a \quad k a=b n t a \quad w a \quad k w a P \quad p^{h} i \quad u=j \jmath$ ? NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ thing 3SG.F.ACC $\mathrm{F}=$ purpose NMZ want $2 \mathrm{PL} \mathrm{NF}=$ get
'so what is the purpose that you want to get?' [PP01CSE_006]
In (481) the same speaker uses $k a=j i$ in a rhetorical question, to identify $k a=h u k u m$.
(481) kayi ka, ka hukum. chi kyntein i hok.
$\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{j i} \quad k a \quad k a=h u k u m \quad t j i=k n t e n \quad i=h \supset k$
$\mathrm{F}=$ thing 3SG.F.ACC $\mathrm{F}=$ command $\mathrm{INDF}=$ word $\mathrm{N}=$ honest
'what is it, the commandment? One honest word' [PP01CSE_075]
In (482) the speaker is narrating The Pear Story, and is at a loss to explain the toy with the bouncing ball to his friends who can't see it, using $i=j i$ to identify the unknown item. Similarly, in (483) a different speaker is talking to a group about fertilizer, and explaining its use as food for plants. He uses $i=j i$ to express a rhetorical query, which he answers immediately.
(482) ym tip iyi itai kyndok
$\begin{array}{lllll}m & t i p & i=j i & i=t a j & k n d \supset k \\ \text { NEG } & \text { know } & \mathrm{N}=\text { thing } & \mathrm{N}=\text { DIST } & \text { bounce }\end{array}$
'I don't know that bouncing thing' [MPSRJ_043]
itu iyi? toh i bam
$i=t u \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{i} \quad$ to? $\quad i=b a m$
$\mathrm{N}=$ MPROX $\mathrm{N}=$ thing be $\mathrm{N}=$ eat
'what is this? It is food' [BMPJ_080]

In (484) the story is about the restoration of kingship, as the brother and sister who should have inherited have been presumed lost for many years. The form $k i=j i$ is used to refer to the two siblings.
(484) tæ waroh ym tip ki kiyi, heiwon æm tæ ki syiem
tع waroP m tip ki $\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{i} \quad h e=i=w o n \quad \varepsilon m$
NVIS all NEG know 3PL PL=thing LOC=N=any have
te $\quad k i=s$ ?em
NVIS PL=ruler
'so all of them don't know what, where the kings are'
[PP05KO_023]

In (485) a speaker is asking an older speaker about old Pnar words, and uses $k i=j i$ to identify the item in question, $k i=k n t e n$.
(485) kiyi de ki kyntein ki wa pynæmkam ha yung ha sæm ki wa boon hi katni ym tip de ki
$\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{i} \quad d e \quad k i=k n t e n \quad k i \quad w a \quad p n-\varepsilon m-k a m \quad h a$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ thing any $\mathrm{PL}=$ word 3 PL NMZ CAUS-have-want LOC
juy ha sem ki wa bon hi kat-ni
home LOC neighborhood 3PL NMZ be.much EMPH as-PROX
$m$ tip de ki
NEG know any 3PL
'What are the words that we used in our everyday conversations at home which are not used anymore now?' [PP08LC _001]

These words can also be combined with benefactive and instrumental prepositional case markers, in which case they are marked as a noun phrase would be, by the case-marker preceding the word. The speaker in example (486) marks $k a=j i$ with benefactive $j a$ to express 'for what'. In (487) the speaker marks $k a=j i$ with instrumental $d a$ to express 'with what'.
(486) tæ mut kayi kwah phi, ya kayi kwah phi u chim
$t \varepsilon \quad$ mut $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{j i} \quad k w a ? \quad p^{h} i \quad j a \quad \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{j i} \quad k w a ? \quad p^{h} i$
NVIS mean $\mathrm{F}=$ thing want 2 PL BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ thing want 2 PL
$u=t$ im
$\mathrm{NF}=$ take
'So what you want, what story do you want to take?'
[PP13RS_0010]
(487) ku u da kayi, da ka yingkein
$k u \quad u \quad d a \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{j i} \quad d a \quad k a=j i \eta k e n$
climb 3SG.M.NOM INST $\mathrm{F}=$ thing INST $\mathrm{F}=$ ladder
'he climbs with what, with the ladder' [MPSRJ_005]
'which' The word 'which' involves a choice between options. There are two forms of this word, depending on the dialect. In Jowai, the morpheme won combines with gender clitics, whereas in surrounding villages the morpheme $n u$ is used. These morphemes are also used in directional interrogatives that correspond to 'where', 'how', and 'how much'. Accordingly, I gloss the morphemes as 'which' temporarily, while searching for a better term that encompasses the whole meaning. The default use of this word in its 'which' meaning is in a reduplicated construction, and can also mean 'anything', i.e. $i=w \supset n i=w \supset n$. Jowai dialect forms are given below: examples (488) and (489) give evidence for its usage as 'which', while in (490) the construction seems to indicate 'anything' and in (491) it seems to mean 'each'.
(488) tæ kitæ ki bru ym poi de uwon uwon læh, u Singh læh ym poi de, ka Lak læh ym poi de
$t \varepsilon \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=b r u \quad m \quad p \supset j \quad d e \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\jmath} \boldsymbol{n}$ NVIS PL=NVIS PL=person NEG arrive NEG.INTS M=which $\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\partial} \boldsymbol{n} \quad l \varepsilon$ ? $\quad u=\operatorname{si\eta } \quad l \varepsilon$ ? $\quad m \quad p \supset j \quad d e \quad k a=l a k$ $\mathrm{M}=$ which also $\mathrm{M}=$ Singh also NEG arrive NEG.INTS $\mathrm{F}=$ Lak $l \varepsilon ? \quad \underset{~ m}{ } \quad$ poj de
also NEG arrive NEG.INTS
'So, those people, none of them which came (out) also, Singh also didn't come, Lak also didn't come' [KP_022]
(489) tæ ya katæ ka læh niam chad pastieh katæ kawon kawon kam kiwi ki chnong ki bru tæ æm ko re

| $t \varepsilon$ | $j a$ | $k a=t \varepsilon$ | $k a=l \varepsilon$ ?-niam | $t f a d$ | maste $P$ | $k a=t \varepsilon$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | BEN | $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS | $\mathrm{F}=$ do-ritual | dance | festival | $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS |

(490) ym hoi $u$ thung saru, thung iwon iwon ym hoi $u$ læh i

| $m$ | haj | $u=t^{h} u \eta$ | saru | $t^{h} u \eta$ | $i=w \supset n$ | $i=w \supset n$ | $m$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NEG | be.fitting | NF | corn | plang | $\mathrm{N}=$ which | $\mathrm{N}=$ which | NEG |
| hoi $\quad u=l \varepsilon$ ? |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| be.fitting $\mathrm{NF}=$ do 1PL |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'we | not allow | ed to p | t c | or a | thing' | PJ _030] |  |

(491) kiwon kiwon ki yaw ki wa æm bait ki mooknor
$\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { O }} \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { O }} \quad k i=j a w \quad k i \quad$ wa $\varepsilon m$ bat PL=which PL=which PL=market 3PL NMZ have IMM2 $k i=m o-k n \partial r$
PL=stone-stool
'(in) each market place there were moo (stone) knor (stool)' (kind of monolith) [PP09MW_012]

The following examples illustrate 'which' being used in the surrounding village dialects, in the sense of 'anything': (492) is a query by one speaker to another intended to elicit a near-death experience, (493) identifies a situation where the kind of game is unimportant, and (494) is a case-marked section of a sentence, suggesting that many children are indicated, but not all will succeed.
(492) jooh æm inu inu i por hei jingim yong pha wa khe pho u yap
go? $\quad \varepsilon m \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{u} \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{u} \quad i=p \partial r_{\text {HEAD }} \quad[h e-i=\sigma$ g $i \eta-i m$
used.to have $\mathrm{N}=$ which $\mathrm{N}=$ which $\mathrm{N}=$ time $\quad \mathrm{LOC}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NMZ}$-live
$\left.j \supset \eta \quad p^{h} a\right]_{\text {OBL }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{llll}w a & k^{h} e & p^{h} \supset & u=j a p]_{\mathrm{RC}}\end{array}\right.$
GEN 2SG.F.ACC NMZ almost 2SG.F.NOM NF=die
'Is there any time in your life that you almost died?' [FPAHM_028]
(493) la da khut phi da kanu kanu ka kynja yalæh ke dap ko
la $\quad d a \quad k^{h} u t \quad p^{h} i \quad d a \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{n u} \boldsymbol{u} & \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{n u} & k a=k n c \\ a\end{array}\right.$
if REAL call 2PL INST $\mathrm{F}=$ which $\mathrm{F}=$ which $\mathrm{F}=$ kind
$j a-l \varepsilon ? \quad k e e_{\mathrm{NP}} \quad d a p \quad k J$
PLUR-do NPURP be.filled 3SG.F.NOM
'if you invite for any kind of game it will fill up' [BPDJ_046]
(494) ya kinu kinu ki khynnah skur wa lai chakhmat
ja $\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{n u} \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\mathbf{n u} \quad k^{h} n n_{n a ?}$ skur wa laj tfa-k mat BEN PL=which PL=which PL=child school NMZ go ALL-front 'for any of these schoolchildren for going ahead (improving)' [HPAHR_010]
'how' The word for 'how' is kammon in Jowai, and occurs most commonly in queries in my data. In (495) the speaker is a character in a story who
has just found her husband dead. In (496) the speaker is telling a story of a personal experience and identifying the question he asked himself in a particular situation. In (497) the speaker is relating The Pear Story and is expressing how the farmer picking fruit feels when he finds one of his baskets is gone.
(495) kammon u im o, dooh samæn heini ha pyrthai jynjar
kammon $u=i m$ do? samen he-i=ni
how $\quad$ NF $=$ live 1 SG.NOM extremely alone $\quad$ LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ PROX
ha prthaj gñbar
LOC world difficult
'how can I live completely alone here in this wretched world?'
[KP_019]
(496) kammon u læh ya u thooh i ka, kammon u pynhiar i ka

| kammon | $u=l \varepsilon$ ? | $j a$ | $u=t^{h} o$ ? | $i$ | $k a$ | kammon |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| how | $\mathrm{NF}=\mathrm{do}$ | BEN | $\mathrm{NF}=$ find | 1PL | 3SG.F.ACC | how |
| $u=p$ n-hiar | $i$ | $k a$ |  |  |  |  |
| NF=CAUS-descend | 1PL | 3SG.F.ACC |  |  |  |  |

'how to do for finding, how to bring it down?' [LS2J_019]
(497) ong u De! yoo kam wa duna kammon i tæ

| on $u$ | $d e$ | jo kam | wa duna kammon |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| say | 3SG.M.NOM | EXC | see |  |  |  |
| $i=t \varepsilon$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{~N}=$ NVIS |  |  |  |  |  |  |

'He says "Oh!", see, like there's less, how is that?' [MPSRJ_053]
The word for 'how' in village dialects is kamnu. In (498) the speaker is a Daloi (a traditional office of governance) and is describing the responsibility he feels in that office, and the responsibility of all Daloi to care for their constituents.
(498) pynbeit pynsud i ki u thoo $u$ lad kamnu $u$ pynchong suk chong sain $p n$-bet $\quad p n$-sud $i \quad k i \quad u=t^{h} o \quad u=l a d$ CAUS-care.for CAUS-help 1PL 3PL NF=create NF=way
kamnu $u=p n-\nmid \supset \eta$ suk $\dagger \supset \eta ~ s a n$
how $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-sit peace sit agree
'we are responsible for people so as to make them a better/perfect way of living, how to work for peace, peacefully' [DR_007]

These two words for 'how' can also be used in the sense of 'what'. Example (499) occured in an interview when I asked a question in English. The speaker (who didn't understand English) then asked my friend who was
assisting me what I said. When interviewing in a village something similar happened, and the speaker's query was (500).
(499) kammon ong u itæ
kammon эŋ $u \quad i=t \varepsilon$
how say 3SG.M.NOM N=NVIS
'what did he say?' [TACJ_003]
(500) kamnu ong u
kamnu эŋ $u$
how say 3sG.m.NOM
'what did he say?' [FPAHM_027]
'where' Directionals combine the morpheme won and a neuter gender marker with the locative, allative, and ablative prepositional case markers. Again, the village dialect form uses $n u$ - unfortunately my corpus has very few examples of this morpheme. The prosodic word $j e=i=w \supset n$ 'for where' or 'for which' identifies a location used for a particular purpose, as in (501), or a purposive noun phrase, as in (502).
(501) ka mut ka tre ka wa yaklam i yeiwon yeiwon

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
k a=m u t & k a=t r e & k a & w a & j a-k l a m & i \\
\mathrm{~F}=\text { mean } & \mathrm{F}=\text { origin } & \text { 3SG.F } & \text { NMZ } & \text { PLUR-speak } & \text { 3SG.N } \\
\boldsymbol{j e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { O }} \boldsymbol{n} & \boldsymbol{j e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { O }} \boldsymbol{n} & & \\
\text { BEN=N=which } & \text { BEN=N=which }
\end{array}
$$

'the original meaning is the place where the roots (i.e. important, deep matters) of any talk are being held' [PP08LC_003]
(502) u chakri u yeiwon yeiwon i bynta wa kam u

$\mathrm{NF}=$ serve 3SG.M.NOM BEN=N=which BEN=N=which $\mathrm{N}=$ =part
wa kam u
NMZ work 3SG.M.NOM
'he who serves any part of life' [PP01CSE_058]
The word $c h e=i=w כ n$ 'to where' queries or identifies a direction or goal that is unknown (503-504).
(503) ong ki cheiwon u lai phi
$\supset \eta \quad k i \quad$ tfe $e=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\jmath} \quad u=l a j \quad p^{h} i$
say 3 PL ALL=N=which $\mathrm{NF}=$ go 2 PL
'they said 'where are you going?'' [PP03SKY_017]
(504) cheiwon u lai o
$\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { o }} \boldsymbol{n} \quad u=l a j \quad \supset$
ALL=N=which NF=go 1SG.NOM
'where am I going?' [PP15PI_156]
The word $n e=i=w \supset n$ 'from where' identifies a source that is unknown, and is often used to ask about someone's origin (505).
neiwon wan phi
$\boldsymbol{n e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { o n }} \quad$ wan $p^{h} i$
$\mathrm{ABL}=\mathrm{N}=$ which come 2PL
'from where do you come?'
The word $h e=i=w כ n$ 'at where' identifies a location that is unknown, whether in time (506) or in space (507).
(506) kani ka chnong sohmynting heiwon dur wan ko
$k a=n i \quad k a=t f n \supset \eta$ sopmntiy $\boldsymbol{h e} \boldsymbol{- i}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\partial} \boldsymbol{n}$ dur
$\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ village sohmynting $\mathrm{LOC}=\mathrm{N}=$ which purpose,form
wan ko
come 3SG.F.NOM
'this village Sohmynting, where/when did it start?' [SI2_002]
(507) heiwon i thaw yap u
$\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { O }} \quad \quad i=t^{h} a w \quad j a p \quad u$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ which $\mathrm{N}=$ place die 3SG.M.NOM
'where did he die?' [KNI_020]
'when' There are two words for 'when' that are used in slightly different contexts as part of interrogative constructions. These words involve a dual distinction between things that happened before the time of speaking (realis) and things that may happen after the time of speaking (irrealis). In interrogatives the morphemes $n$ 'realis.ref' and $m n$ 'irrealis.ref' combine with the morpheme $n u$, which we see above as representing 'which' in village dialects. The words are generally used in queries and seem related to the two words for today nne 'today, actualized' and mnne 'today, unactualized' (discussed in §5.6.4 above). A few textual examples are given here.

The word $n n u$ refers to actualized events: in (508) one speaker asks another about the practice of the eight day market week and how it began; in (509) the speaker is asking about the formation of a cultural society.
nadooh ynnu sdang ki
na-do? nnu sday ki
ABL-when realis.ref begin 3PL
'since when did they start (using it)?' [PP09MW _004]
(509) wei nadooh ynnu seiñ phi
we-i na-do? nnu sen $p^{h} i$
COMT-3SG.N ABL-before realis.ref organize 2PL
'and since when did you organize?' [TACJ_028]
The word mnnu refers to unactualized events: in (510) the speaker is reporting what someone else said, in a situation where the event of reporting to the church has not taken place; in (511) the speaker is asking about the source of the Khasi people - here the event is construed as unactualized.
(510) ong u mynnu rah i ya katæ ka ktein cha ka balang

эך $u \quad$ mпn $\quad$ ra? $i \quad j a \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=k t e n$
say 3SG.M.NOM irrealis.ref carry 1PL BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ =NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ word
tfa $k a=b a l a \eta$
ALL $\mathrm{F}=$ church
'He said 'when (will) we carry by word/faith to the church?"
[LHJ_031]
(511) na mynnu $u$ khasi $u$ wan
na mnnu $u=k^{h}$ asi $u=$ wan
ABL irrealis.ref $\mathrm{M}=$ Khasi $\mathrm{NF}=$ come
'from when (where?) did the Khasi come?' [PP07SNM_017]
Another word for 'when' is a clausal subordinator involving the verb man 'happen, become'. Since it does not occur in interrogative sentences, it is dealt with in §14.2.1.3.
'why', 'what' The word for 'why' is formed from the verb $l \varepsilon$ ? 'do' nominalized by the neuter gender marker $i=$. The word $i l \varepsilon$ ? can also be used on its own to mean 'what' as in 'what's going on?'. In (512) ile? precedes the clause that identifies the query, whereas in (513) it occurs at the end of the clause.
(512) ilæh siet phi ka kani ka tim
ile? sict $\quad p^{h} i \quad k a \quad k a=n i \quad k a=t i m$
why shoot 2PL 3SG.F.ACC F=PROX F=lottery 'why do you shoot this lottery?' [AIJ_022]
neibhah wa ilæh
$n e=i=b h a ? \quad$ wa $i l \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{?}$
$\mathrm{ABL}=\mathrm{N}=$ cause NMZ why
'because of why?' [BPDJ_009]

### 10.4.3 Imperatives

Imperative sentences are used to express directive speech acts. Pnar distinguishes between positive imperatives (10.4.3.1) and negative imperatives or prohibitives (10.4.3.2) as well as more indirectly marked imperatives such as hortatives and optatives (both subtypes of positive imperatives). These different imperative types can be indicated by prosodic intensity and by the omission of arguments as well as morphological marking on the verb. The main type of imperative in Pnar is directed toward a second-person addressee, what Aikhenvald (2010) calls 'canonical' imperatives. These imperatives involve argument omission and prosodic intensity. All other imperative types involve complex predicates.

### 10.4.3.1 Positive imperatives

In Pnar positive imperative constructions, the most common expression is of a bare verb used by one speaker to another. In (514-518) the verb expresses the intended action, and the argument is elided, being understood to be the addressee. These constructions can also exhibit prosodic intensity, featuring an increase in volume and pitch as well as stress which lands on the verb being expressed.

Example (514) shows a series of imperatives, 'give', 'explain', and 'take'. Here the speaker is operating a camera and is addressing another speaker who has just suggested that he can explain about a particular artifact in his collection. The speaker is busy moving into position, and when he is ready he expresses this by telling the other speaker to begin through a series of imperatives, recognizable in particular from the lack of arguments.
(514) e ha-o to, to, battai, him

$$
\begin{aligned}
& e \text { has to to bataj him } \\
& \text { give yes ok ok explain take } \\
& \text { 'give, yes, ok, ok, explain, take' [TACJ_321] }
\end{aligned}
$$

In (515), from the same interview, the speaker has finished explaining one artifact and is directing the attention of the listeners toward another. Here
the arguments are also elided, with the second-person addressee recoverable from context.
pait cheitu
pat t $\mathrm{f} e=i=t u$
look ALL=N=MEDL
'look there' [TACJ_341]
Examples (516-518) are a series of imperatives given by one speaker to another at the beginning of a separate interview. In (516) the second-person addressee $p^{h} i$ is included in the post-verbal position (following the adverbial immediacy marker). In (517) the second-person addressee is elided completely, and even though other nominal arguments are included, one is understood to be the instrument (marked by de) and the other is a gerund (non-finite) verb form that acts as the second constituent of the serial verb construction bet $u=k l a m$ [be.direct $\mathrm{NF}=$ speak] 'speak directly', in which the addressee is also elided. In (518) the addressee is included as a topicalized element of the first verb but elided post-verbally, and the second verbal clause эๆ bet has no visible arguments.
(516) ong beit phi neiwon

эๆ bat $p^{h} i \quad n e=i=w \supset n$
say IMM3 2PL ABL=N=which
'just say where you are from' [AIJ_004]
(517) ong dei yong Pnar beit u klam

эך de-i jon pnar bat u=klam
say $\operatorname{INST}=\mathrm{N}$ GEN Pnar be.direct $\mathrm{NF}=$ speak
'say only in Pnar, speak' [AIJ_005]
(518) phi klam wa nga ong beit
$p^{h} i$ klam wa $\quad$ ba $\quad \eta$ bat
2PL speak COMT 1SG.ACC say IMM3
'you speak directly/just with me' [AIJ_006]

Hortative The deontic de? may also be preposed to the verb and used to lessen the intensity of a command (519-521), similar to English 'please'. In (519) the speaker is the creator God sending his servants to earth to give birth to the Jaintia kings.
deih lai () cha pyrthai
de $\boldsymbol{P} \operatorname{laj}()$ tfa $p r t^{h} a j$
ADH go Ø ALL earth
'go to earth' [PP05KO_003]
In (520) the speaker is reporting what the nuns who cared for her at an orphanage used to tell her when she was younger.
(520) ong ki sister ya nga deih lai skur deih lai skur
эŋ ki=sistar ja $\quad$ a $\quad$ de $\boldsymbol{P}$ laj skur de $\boldsymbol{P}$ laj skur say PL=sister BEN 1SG.ACC ADH go school ADH go school 'the sisters (nuns) said to me 'go to school, go to school" [FPAHM_049]

In (521) the story is of the revenge of four warriors on an evil king. Here they have been pretending to be sick and have cut themselves to bloody their stool. Here they tell others to go look at where they went to the toilet, to confirm for themselves whether or not they are sick.
(521) tæ la ym ngait phi deih lipait
te la mat $\quad p^{h} i \quad d e \boldsymbol{?}$ li-pat
NVIS if NEG believe 2PL ADH DUR-look
'if you don't believe, go look' [PP03SKY_019]
This morpheme also allows other referents besides a second-person adressee to be instantiated as the S or A argument (522-523), and can also act as a deontic modality marker. The obligatory deontic hab 'must, have to' is not used in commands in my data. In (522) the heavenly mother is commanding her servant $u=k^{h} a t$ to break the stones and boulders into land more fit for human habitation - this is given as reported speech.
(522) ya u khaat e ko ka hukum deih lidaiñ lipharia ka moosiang ka mootha ja $u=k^{h} a t \quad e \quad k \supset \quad k a=h u k u m \quad d e \boldsymbol{P}$ li-dan BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ Khaat give 3SG.F.NOM $\mathrm{F}=$ command ADH DUR-cut li-pharia $\quad k a=m o-s i a \eta \quad k a=m o-t^{h} a$
DUR-crush $\mathrm{F}=$ stone.slab $\mathrm{F}=$ stone.boulder
'to Khaat she gave the command to go break up the stones and boulders' [PP01CSE_032]

In (523) the creator God is telling his council that the water spirits should be sent to earth to help and serve the seven clans who are now residing on earth, in a direct quote construction.
(523) kini toh ki puri blai, deih libooh ki cha pyrthai ya $u$ chakri ki ya $u$ ynñiaw wasa
$k i=n i \quad$ to $? ~ k i=p u r i ~ b l a j ~ d e ? ~ l i-b o ? ~ k i ~ t f a ~ p r t h a j ~$ $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ be $\mathrm{PL}=$ puri god ADH DUR-put 3PL ALL earth ja u=tfakri ki ja u=nniaw wasa BEN $\mathrm{NF}=$ serve 3PL BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ seven elders
'these are the mermaids/gods, they should be sent to earth in order to serve the seven elders (clans)' [PP04SKO_027]

Optative or jussive When making a request of someone for permission, the verb $t f a$ ' 'allow' is used, as in (524), along with the non-finite form of the verb that expresses the requested action. This verb has the same form as the passive marker.
(524) chah u lai o cha jwai


### 10.4.3.2 Prohibitives

In negative imperatives or prohibitives the marker ham 'prohibitive' precedes the verb (525-527). In (525) the speaker is repeating his father's advice to stick to what he knows, which is farming.
(525) ham jooh burom ya ka jinghikai u phareng
ham go? bursm ja ka=din-hikaj $u=p^{h}$ aren
PROH HAB honor BEN $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{NMZ}$-teach $\mathrm{M}=$ foreign
'don't value any foreign lessons' [SI3_043]
In (526) the story is of how Malngiang killed 1,100 warriors by poisoning their food. Here one of the heroes is advising his warriors not to eat.
o snæñ u wa lada e bam u malngiang, ham bam

| $o$ | sncn | $u$ | $w a$ | $l a$ | $d a$ | $e$ | $b a m$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3SG.M.ACC | advise | 3SG.M | NMZ | if | REAL | give | eat |
| $u=$ malniay | ham | bam |  |  |  |  |  |
| M=Malngiang | PROH | eat |  |  |  |  |  |

'he advised them 'if Malngiang gives food, don't eat" [PP03SKY_008]

In (527) the long-lost queen has her crown hidden in her hair, and on account of that she doesn't allow anyone to touch her head.
(527) tæ ong ko woh ham tba i khlieh yong nga


### 10.4.4 Speech report constructions

Examples (525-527) also show speech report constructions. In Pnar, the information being quoted is often simply said after a brief pause, as are other complements. The reported speech can potentially be marked as a relative clause by $w a$ (528-529), or preceded by $\supset \eta$ 'say' and the NP that identifies the quoted source. However, this is not always the case, as is clear from the examples above. A speaker may also change pitch, intensity, or voice quality to indicate that the words were originally spoken by someone else.
(528) ong i ka wa khlot mo wa thlah

э刀 $i \quad k a \quad$ wa $k^{h} l \supset t \quad m \supset ~ w a ~ t^{h} l a ?$
say 1PL 3SG.F NMZ be.deaf $Q$ NMZ be.blind
'we said that (it is) deaf and blind' [BMPJ_067]
(529) ong ki wa da dæp ong i

эŋ $k i \quad \boldsymbol{w a} d a \quad d \varepsilon p \quad э \eta \quad i$
say 3PL NMZ REAL PERF say 1PL
'they said 'we already spoke" [PP03SKY_011]

### 10.5 Summary

This chapter has examined the various clause types found in Pnar. All clauses can be divided into transitive and intransitive clauses, where the verb typically occurs in initial position. Topical or focused elements can alternatively occur initially. There are also means of demoting arguments through the passivization process and noun incorporation. I have also shown that a large variety of clauses exist for speakers to use in specific speech acts. The following chapter deals with elements within the verbal complex.

## Chapter 11

## Verbal complex constituents

Pnar verbs (and the constituents of the verbal complex) generally occur at the beginning of clauses, as discussed in Chapter 10. Since there is little evidence for a verb phrase composed of a verb and an accompanying object, I use the theoretically neutral term 'verb complex' to describe the verb and the constituents that modify it. Nominal arguments (when not elided) immediately follow the verb complex. When a noun phrase is topicalized or given topic-prominence, it occurs initially. Verbs can be nominalized, and then can serve as noun-phrase constituents.

In Pnar there are no formal differences between verb roots. That is, the valency status of a predicate is not lexically encoded. However, verbs can be classified syntactically in terms of transitivity, or the number of arguments they can have/take. Intransitive verbs (§12.1) require a single argument, while transitive verbs (§12.2) require two arguments. These are the core arguments $S$ (the single argument of an intransitive verb), A (the argument of a transitive verb most likely to constribute to the success of the predicate (Dixon, 1994), often 'agentive') and O (the secondary argument of a transitive verb, often 'patientive' or 'non-agentive').

In a complex construction involving more than two arguments, remaining arguments are incorporated into the verbal complex or marked as oblique, making it difficult to posit a syntactic basis for ditransitive verbs in Pnar (as opposed to the clearly syntactic 'double-object' construction in languages like English). Arguments against ditransitive constructions have been given above in $\S 10.3$. Oblique marking of non-core arguments is a common feature of neighboring Tibeto-Burman languages, as is the eliding of arguments when they are recoverable from context, which is also a feature found in Pnar. Salience and likelihood of a previously identified nominal or NP to
fill a particular argument slot seem to be the primary pragmatic means that allow speakers to assign correct roles to elided arguments.

The following sections will describe verbal elements in greater detail. We begin with an overview of the Pnar verbal complex and the morphemes that cliticize to (or are arranged in relation to) the verb root (§11.1). Then each position in the verb complex is described in greater detail, starting with the head (§11.2), then post-verbal slots (§11.3), and pre-verbal slots (§11.4). The last section briefly discusses the relationship of copulas to the verbal complex (11.5)

The following chapter then discusses (with particular reference to constituent order and grammatical relations) the intransitive verb class (§12.1), transitive verbs (§12.2), and ambitransitives (§6.4.2).

### 11.1 Verb complex overview

Possible morphemes that fill particular slots surrounding the verb are given with their corresponding slots in Table 11.1. Evidence that these modifiers constitute part of a complex is that NP arguments can follow or precede this complex (535) and the whole structure can be relativized by the morpheme wa so that the complex serves as a modifier of a preceding NP (??). While prosodically the individual morphemes are treated as words, syntactically they behave as a single unit.


Table 11.1: Pnar verb complex
The diagram below corresponds to the table above:
$\mathbf{V C}=(\operatorname{Mood})(\mathrm{Neg})\left(\right.$ Aspect $\left./ \mathrm{V}_{\text {AUx }}\right)(\mathrm{NFIN}) \mathrm{V}\left(\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{INC}}\right)(\mathrm{Adv})(\mathrm{Neg})$
The following examples briefly illustrate various combinations of constructions attested in my data. These and other slots are further discussed in the sections below. Example (530) illustrates the use of the bare verb in the first clause $\supset \eta k \supset$ 'she said', where $k o$ is the third person pronoun 'she'.

The subsequent clause illustrates negation (verbal slot -3) where laj 'go' is negated by the preverbal marker $m$.
(530) ong ko, nga ym lai o

| s | $k ァ$ | $\eta a$ | $m$ | laj |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| say | 3SG.F.NOM | 1SG.ACC | NEG | go |
| 1SG.NOM |  |  |  |  |

In example (531) an adverbial marker of immediacy, bat, occurs (in slot +2 ) after the complex verbal expression rep $k^{h} i P$, which can be considered either a serial verb construction or a verb rep 'cultivate' followed by an incorporated noun (slot +1 ) $k^{h} i$ ' 'work'.
(531) ræp khih bait ki
rep $k^{h} i$ bat $k i$
cultivate work IMM3 3PL
'they just work/harvest' [BMPJ_024]
In (532) the aspect slot (-2) is filled by the habitual aspect marker 00 o?, which modifies the verb mane 'worship'.
(532) jooh mane ki ya oo
go? mane ki ja o
HAB worship 3PL BEN 3SG.M.ACC
'they worshipped him' [AIJ_109]
Example (533) illustrates the use of a realis mood marker $d a$ (slot -4) in conjunction with negation (slot -3) to modify the verb jo 'see'.
(533) la da ym yoo u iwi læh
$l a \quad d a \quad m \quad$ jo $\quad u \quad i=w i \quad l \varepsilon$ ?
if REAL NEG see 3SG.M.NOM N=one also
'if you don't see one also' [HPAHR_196]
In (534) the irrealis mood marker daw (slot -4) modifies the complex verbal construction wan klla 'come change', which is followed by the adverbial biay 'again' (slot +2 ).
(534) daw wan kylla biang $u$ cheini wan $u$ cha pyrthai
daw wan killa biaך u tje=i=ni wan
IRR come change again 3SG.M.NOM ALL=N=PROX come
$u \quad$ ta $\quad$ prt ${ }^{h} a j$
3SG.M.NOM ALL world
'he will come changed again there, come to earth' [PP01CSE_064]

In example (535) the irrealis marker daw (slot -4) modifies the verbal expression $\dagger f i m k t i$, which includes the root verb $\dagger f i m$ 'take' and an incorporated noun $k t i$ 'hand' (slot +1 ). This verbal expression is followed by an adverbial modifier of immediacy, no? (slot +2 ).
(535) u Blai daw chim kti noh u ya ka jingsynchar
$u=$ blaj daw tfim kti no? u ja
$\mathrm{M}=$ God IRR take hand IMm1 3SG.m.NOM BEN
$k a=d$ in-sntfar
$\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{NMZ}$-rule
'God will take hold of the ruling' [BPFJ_032]
The verb is understood to be the head of a verbal complex, and is required for most grammatical sentences. The only required constituent of a VC is its head, a common feature of imperative constructions. Verbs can be immediately followed by incorporated nouns, adverbs, and (particularly in non-Jowai dialects) a negation morpheme. They can be preceded by a nonfinite marker, verbal auxiliaries or aspectual markers, negation, and mood morphemes. The diagram of the sentence (S) below illustrates how NP arguments can occur to either side of the verbal complex and identify 'who does what to whom', with S/A arguments immediately following the verb complex, followed by an O argument and by case-marked obliques. Any of these NP constituents can be fronted to topic position, otherwise the verb complex occurs first in the sentence.

$$
\mathbf{S}=\left(\mathrm{NP}_{\text {Tор }}\right) \mathrm{VC}\left(\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{A} / \mathrm{s}}\right)\left(\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{o}}\right)\left(\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{obL}}\right)
$$

### 11.2 Head

The verb root is the head of the verbal complex. It is the locus of derivational processes that include nominalization strategies as well as aspectual marking. Full noun derivation (resultative, agentive, action nominalization; §7.4) cannot occur with elements identified as part of the verb complex. Nominalization resulting in property concepts also cannot occur with any of the morphemes that occur in Table 11.1, though wa, the same form that derives property concepts, also relativizes full clauses. Valency-modifying derivational processes can occur along with other morphemes in the verb complex, as they derive fully productive verb roots. These derivational morphemes are li- 'durative', ja- 'pluractional', and $p \eta$ - 'causative', and have been dealt with previously in §3.2.2.2.

### 11.3 Verb complex: post-verbal slots

Modifiers that occur after the verb root but before clausal arguments are incorporated nouns (§11.3.1) and post-verbal modifiers (§11.3.2). The second post-verbal slot also includes modifiers of assertion, intensity, immediacy, negation, and general adverbials.

### 11.3.1 VC position +1 (incorporated nouns)

Incorporated nouns are bare nouns or noun compounds which occur immediately following the verb and are somehow seen as being closely related to the predicate. Noun incorporation has been described above in $\S 10.2 .3$. The following examples serve to illustrate the process. In the intransitive example (536) the noun skur 'school' is incorporated into the verbal complex of laj 'go'. In (537) the nominals por 'time' and bor 'power' are incorporated into the verbal complex of the transitive verb $e$ 'give', occurring between it and the A argument $u=$ blaj 'God'.
(536) lai skur ki
laj skur ki
go school 3PL
'they went to school' [FPAHM_023]
(537) e por u Blai e bor u Blai kam wa du khajiak i por
e por u=blaj e bor u=blaj kam wa du
give time $\mathrm{M}=$ god give power $\mathrm{M}=$ god like NMZ only
$k^{h}$ abjiak $i=p o r$
be.little $\mathrm{N}=$ time
'God gives time, God gives power, as only a little..' [BPDJ_032]

### 11.3.2 VC position +2 (adverbials)

Verbal modifiers that can occur in the second position of the verbal complex following the verb root can generally be classified as 'adverbials'. These morphemes function as markers of emphasis, assertion, intensity, immediacy, negation, and event type. Such modifiers are all optional and can generally not occur with each other in the same slot. The exception to this rule is the potential use of post-verbal negation with either the emphatic marker hi or the agency marker $k e$, as in examples (538-540).
(538) ym æm hi de ki
$m \quad \varepsilon m \quad h i \quad d e \quad k i$
NEG have EMPH NEG.INTS 3PL
'there aren't any (of) them' [TACJ_159]
(539) ym e hi de o mo

| $m$ | $e$ | $h i$ | $d e$ | $\jmath$ | $m s$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG | give | EMPH | NEG.INTS | 1SG.NOM | QTAG |

'I won't give any more, ok?' [TACJ_338]
(540) litip hi de ka u khana parom kammon wan de
li-tip hi de $k a \quad u=k^{h}$ ana parsm
DUR-know EMPH NEG.INTS 3SG.F.ACC NF=tell story
kammon wan de
how come NEG.INTS
'(I) don't know how to tell a story' [FPAHM_024]
The following paragraphs in this section give examples that identify the usage of morphemes which occur in the +2 post-verbal slot.

### 11.3.2.1 Emphatic

The modifier hi functions as an emphatic morpheme and also carries the meaning of 'still, just'. ${ }^{1}$ However, the morpheme is used by Pnar speakers to draw attention to the current status of a proposition or activity (585) and is different from other adverbials with a similarly translated meaning in that sense.
(541) dang khait hi dang tap hi næ
day $k^{h} a t h i \quad d a \eta$ tap hi ne PROG pick EMPH PROG put EMPH CONF
'(he) is still picking and putting, ok' [MPSRJ_030]
It can also be used to assert the truth of a statement in conversation: examples (542) and (543) are two turns in a conversation. The first speaker is giving directions in (542), telling the second speaker what question he should answer. The second speaker responds in (543), agreeing and indicating that he understands what Speaker 1 wants him to talk about.

[^63](542) heiyi i dur ha ka wa yn ka nongrim man siet tim phi sæ
$h e=i=j i \quad i=d u r \quad h a \quad k a \quad w a \quad n \quad k a=n \supset \eta r i m$ LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ thing $\mathrm{N}=$ reason LOC 3SG.F NMZ REF $\mathrm{F}=$ firstly
man sist tim $p^{h} i \quad s \varepsilon$
happen shoot lottery 2PL CONF
'...for what reason you first happened to shoot the lottery, ok?'
[AIJ_020]
(543) ha-o, toh hi.
ha-o to? hi.
LOC-1SG.NOM be EMPH
'yes, right' [AIJ_021]
The morpheme can also be used as an emphatic marker within a question (544). Examples (545) and (546) further demonstrate this morpheme's ability to function along with post-verbal negation.
(544) ha loom soo yung dang æm hi ki wa man tre?
ha lom so juך daך $\varepsilon m$ hi ki wa man
LOC hill four home PROG have EMPH 3PL NMZ become tre
original
'at Soo Yung hill are there still (now) the original inhabitants?'
[PP03SKY_033]
(545) u teiñ læh jooh æm hi re u teiñ
$u=t e n \quad l \varepsilon$ ? go? $\quad$ cm hi re $u=t e n$
$N F=$ fear also DUR have EMPH NEG $N F=$ fear
'to fear, also (we) used to not fear (anything)' [BPVM_017]
(546) oo æm hi de u , lai waroh
o $\quad$ हm hi de u laj waro?
3SG.M.ACC have EMPH NEG 3SG.M.NOM go all
'he doesn't have any, (they) all go' [FPAHM_022]

### 11.3.2.2 Non-purposive

The modifier ke marks an activity as non-purposive, and generally occurs with situations that don't have a fixed endpoint or clear objective. Examples include dancing (547), playing (548), visiting (549), speaking (550), and looking (551).
(547) kitu wa chad ke
$k i=t u \quad w a \quad$ tfad $\boldsymbol{k e}$
PL=MEDL NMZ dance NPURP
'these dancing ones (dancing for fun)' [HPAHR_0115]
(548) kawi wan ka jait yakyndæh ke ong i yakhynjoh lain
$k a=w i$ wan $k a=\mathrm{d} a t \underset{\square}{\text { at }} j a-k n d \varepsilon$ ? $k e \quad ~ э \eta ~ i$
$\mathrm{F}=$ one come $\mathrm{F}=$ type PLUR-play NPURP say 1PL
ja-kh $n$ go? lan
PLUR-try.to.catch line
'one type of play we called Khynjoh Lain' [BPVM_015]
(549) katni ong ki ka kamra chong ke, ka pyrtuit yong ka toh tre thlong
kat-ni $\quad \eta$ ki ka=kamra Џэŋ ke, ka=prtut jəך
as-PROX say 3PL $\mathrm{F}=$ room sit NPURP $\mathrm{F}=$ call GEN
$k a \quad$ to? tre $t^{h} l o \eta$
3SG.F.ACC be original root
'now they call it the sitting room, the original name is Tre Thlong' [PP08LC_05]
(550) nga ha tæ ka por klam ke ka jingsakhiet ong bait
ya ha toe ka=por klam ke ka= $k i \eta-s a k^{h} i \varepsilon t$
1SG.ACC LOC NVIS $F=$ time speak NPURP $F=$ NMZ-be.true
oŋ bat
say imm3
'I at that time was just speaking the truth (for the sake of doing so)' [HPAHR_046]
(551) æm ki bru wa wan li pait ke æm ki bru wa wan heitu
$\varepsilon m$ ki=bru wa wan [li-pat ke] $\varepsilon m$
have PL=person NMZ come DUR-look NPURP have
$k i=b r u \quad$ wa wan $h e=i=t u$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ person NMZ come LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ MEDL
'there were people who came just to look/watch, the people came there' [LS2J_031]

According to my consultants, this is not an atelic reading, but rather a non-purposive reading, as without the marker none of the events given in the examples are particularly telic or not. Telicity seems to be a property encoded by some verbs and by pragmatic context. It is also possible to have a non-purposive activity that has a specific endpoint, such as meandering or wandering about until dinner time: laj ke o hado? $i=b a m i=m e t{ }_{\Gamma}^{\text {'I }}$ I wander until dinner time'.

### 11.3.2.3 Suffixation?

Some of the occurrences of these postverbal markers in my texts suggest that they are actually suffixes. However, there are two problems with such an analysis. The first is that incorporated nominals can occur between the verb root and the modifiers of assertion, as in (552) and (553). The second issue is that these morphemes can also be used to modify whole clauses, as in (554) and (555).
(552) tæ ha wa dooh kari hi
tع ha wa do? kari hi
NVIS LOC NMZ lose car EMPH
'so, when the car was left..' [BPVM_06] (i.e. only the car remained)
(553) tæ yoo chi ke ki ha kani
te jo tfi ke ki ha ka=ni
NVIS see one NPURP 3PL LOC F=PROX
'so they see one there (without meaning to)' [HPAHR_165]
(554) tæ da sah i du para payu hi
te da sa? $i \quad d u$ para paju hi
NVIS REAL stay 1PL only among sibling EMPH
'so we stayed only among siblings' [FPAHM_023]
(555) ka yah baiskil kam oo hi, tæ ong beit ha ka jooh ka surok
ka ja? baiskil kam o hi te oŋ

3SG.F.ACC drive bicycle like 3SG.M.ACC EMPH NVIS say
bat ha ka=do? ka=sursk
IMM3 LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ same $\mathrm{F}=$ road
'She rides a bicycle just like him and let's say on the same road' [MPSRJ_033]

It seems best to consider each of these morphemes to be types of discourse focus particles that can occur in multiple locations in the clause. Unfortunately constructions involving $k e$ are under-represented in my data. It may be that future investigation of this morpheme will identify it as a different class of morpheme altogether.

### 11.3.2.4 Intensity

Modifiers that do not change the propositional status of an event, but rather its intensity, are also found in this slot. These modifiers cannot co-occur either with each other or with negation. Verb roots with the same form
but different meanings seem to be likely sources for these grammaticalized modifiers. None of these modifiers occur with negation in my texts, though their verb root forms do.

Intensity and immediacy markers cannot co-occur but show an interesting tripartite distinction. Lacking clear traditional linguistic terminology for a distinction of this sort, I have simply assigned numbers to the three levels, with level 1 being the least intense/immediate and level 3 being the most.

Level one intensity: The post-verbal modifier bha is a marker of level 1 intensity. This corresponds in some sense to the English 'very', 'well', or 'much', and may come from the Pnar verb root bha 'be good'. Example (556) illustrates the use of this form as the verb 'be good'. Examples (557-558) illustrates the adverbial intensification function.
(556) nga ong o, bha hi u pynæmkam i sboh sorkar

(557) da jngai bha i thaw
da 訶aj bha $i=t^{h} a w$
REAL be.far INTS1 N=place
'the place is very far' [TACJ_349]
(558) læh sap tupri kawboi bha u sæ, riem kawboi bha u
$l \varepsilon ?$ sap tupri kawboj bha u se riam
also wear hat cowboy ints1 3sG.m.NOM CONF dress
kawboj bha u
cowboy be.good 3SG.M.NOM
'also he wears a very cowboy(ish) hat, ok, he is very cowboy-dressed' [MPSRJ_019]

In my texts the construction bha bha occurs twice (559-560). However, in these situations it occurs as part of a complex verbal construction, and seems to serve as a reduplicated adverbial intensification expression, rather than the verb 'be good' followed by an intensifier.
(559) tæ u klam miat miat bha bha tæ yathooh wa ka tæ ka agreement te $u=k l a m$ miat miat bha bha te ja-tho? NVIS $M=$ speak be.nice be.nice INTS1 INTS1 NVIS PLUR-find
wa $k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=$ agrimen
NMZ $F=$ NVIS $F=$ agreement
'so the speaking went very well, regarding the agreement'
[HPAHR_163]
(560) da jngai bha bha i thaw sæ
da Gクaj bha bha $i=t^{h} a w \quad s \varepsilon$
REAL be.far ints1 ints1 N=place C.TAG
'the place is extremely far away, ok?' [TACJ_349]

Level two intensity: The modifier say marks level 2 intensity, and corresponds to some degree of English 'extremely'. A Pnar verb with the same form is say 'taboo'.
(561) maya sang ki ya nga
maja say ki ja $\eta a$
love INTS2 3PL BEN 1SG.ACC
'they love me extremely much' [FPAHM_018]
(562) u pynyap bru læh ym sang de katni
$u=p n-j a p \quad b r u \quad l \varepsilon$ ? $m$ saj de kat-ni
$\mathrm{NF}=$ caus-die person also NEG taboo NEG.INTS as-PROX
'to murder also is not taboo now(adays)' [BPDJ_029]

Level three intensity: The modifier tam marks level 3 intensity (563), corresponding to English 'most' and the Pnar form tam 'keep' (564). As noted above in $\S 5.7 .2$, the intensity marker is also used for superlative constructions.
(563) chong ko cha thaw wa jakhlia tam

sit 3SG.F.ACC ALL place NMZ dirty INTS3
'it stays in the dirtiest place...' [BMPJ_088]
man da yoh o ya ka æ ka paisa ym æm u tam ym hoi u sah ko ha kata


### 11.3.2.5 Immediacy

Immediacy, in contrast to intensity, refers not to the nature of the activity denoted by the verb, but to the activity's relationship to external forces, namely time. There are some indications that these morphemes are encoding the affectedness of participants, an area that requires further study.

Level one immediacy post-verbal no? is the marker of level 1 immediacy (565). There is no direct English gloss for this morpheme, though 'immediately' comes close, yet this gloss could also be used for the other levels. Other glosses such as 'only' or 'just' could also apply to levels 2 and 3. Unfortunately, the translations in English seem to be rather interchangeable and do not convey the clear tripartite distinction. The morpheme no? represents the lowest level of immediacy for Pnar speakers, and the same form is used for a transitive verb root meaning 'throw' (566). A common word that contains this morpheme is ki=kntein knno? which refers to a type of expressive ritual language, and seems to identify the expressions clearly as immediate metaphors and colorful, iconic language.
(565) chim noh da kani ka bru
tfim no? da $k a=n i \quad k a=b r u$
take IMM1 INST $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ person
'take this woman' (immediately)' [PP05KO_025]
(566) æm ki wa noh charood læh æm hi
$\varepsilon m \quad k i \quad w a \quad n o \boldsymbol{P}$ tfa-rod ls? $\varepsilon m \quad h i$
have 3PL NMZ throw ALL-out also have EMPH
'there are those who throw outside (miss) also' [AIJ _087]

Level two immediacy The morpheme $\varepsilon$ ? marks level 2 immediacy (567). This is also the form of the verb root meaning 'be difficult' (568).
(567) bam æh ki khon
bam $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P} \quad k i=k^{h} o n$
eat IMM2 PL=child
'the children only eat' [PP15PI_0168]
(568) u bru da æh u lait u
$u=b r u \quad d a \quad \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P} \quad u=l a t \quad u$
$\mathrm{M}=$ person REAL be.difficult $\mathrm{NF}=$ =free 3SG.M.NOM
'it is difficult for the man to free (himself)' [TACJ_497]

Level three immediacy The modifier bet or bat marks level 3 immediacy (569), and is also the form of the verb root meaning 'be direct' or 'to direct' (570).
(569) rah beit u pynchi kriah
ra? bet $\quad u=p \eta-t f i \quad k r i a ?$
carry IMM3 M=whole basket
'(he) took the whole basket' [MPSRJ_026]
(570) u phadar turko bait ya tre, kat ynruphaw snæm
$u=p^{h} a d a r$ turko bat ja tre kat nrup ${ }^{h} a w$ snem
$\mathrm{M}=$ father Turko direct BEN work like,as sixty year
'Father Turko directed (us) to work, since year sixty (1960)'
[FPAHM_064]

### 11.3.2.6 Negation

Negation in Jowai-Pnar is most commonly represented by pre-posing the morpheme $m$ or $m p u$ to the verb root. However, other dialects in the surrounding villages tend to use post-verbal morphemes as negators, a process also represented in Jowai texts, though less frequently. In extremely emphatic situations both pre- and post-verbal morphemes are used concurrently, as in French. The variability of usage offers insight into a process termed 'the Jespersen Cycle' (by Dahl, 1979, after Jespersen, 1917). This is dealt with further below in the section on pre-verbal negation (§11.4.3)

Post-verbal negator de is a negative intensifier in Jowai (571). It can often be translated as 'any', 'even', or 'not at all', and very rarely occurs without the pre-verbal negator. When it does, however, it retains the negative sense, as in (572).
(571) u pynyap bru læh ym sang de
$u=p n-j a p \quad b r u \quad l \varepsilon ? \quad m \quad$ say $d e$
NF $=$ CAUS-die person also NEG taboo NEG.INTS
'to murder also is not even taboo' [BPDJ_029]
(572) u pseiñ læh nood de u
$u=p s e n \quad l \varepsilon ?$ nod $d e \quad u$
$\mathrm{M}=$ snake also dare NEG.INTS 3SG.M.NOM
'snake(s) also don't dare' [BPDJ_26]
A morpheme $r e$ or $r \varepsilon$ is possibly related to $d e$ in (571) and has nearly the same scope in dialects surrounding Jowai, in the sense that it can often be translated as 'any', 'even', or 'not at all' (573). Here re modifies the first verbal construction jo? d 3 a 'get rice' in a complex predicate where it is followed by a verb marked as non-finite, $u=b a m$ 'to eat'.
(573) yoh ja re u bam

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { jว? da re } u=b a m \\
& \text { get rice } \mathrm{NEG} \mathrm{NF}=\text { eat } \\
& \text { '(I) didn't get (any) rice to eat' [FPAHM_042] }
\end{aligned}
$$

In village dialects, however, re is primarily a negator. Evidence for this is that it can be used in conjunction with $d e$, as in (574) where the two morphemes both modify the first verb in a complex verbal construction $j \supset ? ~ u=l a j$ 'get to go'. Here de is an emphatic or intensification marker that occurs in the post-verbal adverbial modification slot and adds to the negative sense conveyed by re.
(574) dæp leitæ ${ }^{2}$ tæ yoh de re u lai
$d \varepsilon p l e-i-t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad j \partial ? ~ d e \quad$ re $u=l a j$
PERF $A B L=N=$ NVIS NVIS get NEG.INTS NEG NF=go
'after that I didn't get to go (anywhere)' [FPAHM_015]
The morphemes re/de can also occur with the preverbal negator, as in (575). These morphemes do not have a clear corresponding verb root form, though there are a few instances of re occuring in my texts where it seems to mean 'lose' - it is not clear if this is a verbal item or simply an extension of its negator status. Heine and Kuteva (2002: 188) note 'lack' or 'lose' as a source of negation in some languages.

[^64]ym æm re u li file, æm re u lai læh mokot duma
$m \quad \varepsilon m \quad r e \quad u=l i$-file $\varepsilon m$ re $u=l a j \quad l \varepsilon$ ? mokıt NEG have NEG NF=DUR-file have NEG $N F=$ go do file duma
case
'there isn't (anyone) going to file, there isn't (anyone) to go do case-filing' [HPAHR_019]

### 11.3.2.7 Event type adverbials

Adverbials that modify events but not their propositional status are also found in the second post-verbal slot. These cannot occur with modifiers of intensity or negation, though their verb root forms can, which makes parsing sometimes difficult.

Repetitive The morpheme biay can be glossed as 'again' or 'repetitive' when it follows a verb in this slot (576). Its corresponding verb root form means 'be enough' (577).
(576) neitæ wan biang o cha dulong

| $n e=i=t \varepsilon$ | wan | biay | o | ta dulon |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| from $=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ | come | REP | 1SG.NOM | to dulong |
| 'then I came again to Dulong (locality)' | [PP15PI_008] |  |  |  |

(577) man da biang i por tæ, tæ e wyrta ki
man $d a \quad b i a \eta \quad i=p o r ~ t \varepsilon ~ t \varepsilon ~ e ~ w r t a ~ k i ~$ happen REAL be.enough $\mathrm{N}=$ time NVIS NVIS give news 3PL 'when the time arrives (lit. is enough), then they give the news' [PP03SKY_022]

Comitative Post-verbal lay can be glossed as 'comitative' and indicates that the verb represents a communal situation or event (578). Its corresponding verb root form means 'be together'. This form is also used in words such as $k a=b a l a \eta ~ ' a s s o c i a t i o n ' ~(l i k e l y ~ f r o m ~ w a / b a ~ ' n o m i n a l i z e r ' ~ a n d ~$ lay 'be together') and layba 'through', as well as words like laydon 'encircle' or those relating to circular shapes of things.
(578) da ya æm bynta lang u heitæ wa klam ya ka paid

| $d a$ | $j a-\varepsilon m$ | $b n t a$ | $l a \eta$ | $u$ | $h e=i=t \varepsilon$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| REAL | BEN-have | purpose | COMT | 3SG.M.NOM | LOC=N=NVIS |

wa klam ja ka=pait
NMZ speak BEN $F=$ crowd
'he has purpose together with the crowd (he) speaks to' [KNI_029]
(579) khlæh lang ki wa u thiet heini
$k^{h} l \varepsilon$ ? lay $\quad$ la $\quad$ wa $u=t^{h} i \varepsilon t \quad h e=i=n i$
mix be.together 3PL NMZ M=husk LOC=N=PROX
'they mix (it) together with the -thiet- (husk) here' [TACJ_462]

### 11.4 Verb complex: pre-verbal slots

Verbal morphemes occurring in pre-posed slots are the non-finite or purposive marker $u=$ (§11.4.1), aspectual markers and verbal auxiliaries (§11.4.2), negation morphemes (§11.4.3), and mood markers (§11.4.4).

### 11.4.1 VC slot -1 (non-finite)

The $u=$ nominalized form of a Pnar verb corresponds to the English 'to V', and this marker is the only nominalizer that can occur within the verbal complex. In (580) this form acts as the second element of a complex verbal construction, where the matrix verb hoj 'be fitting' is modified by the emphatic marker $h i$ before combining with $u=p n j a p$ 'to kill'.
(580) hoi hi u=pynyap i ki
hoj hi $\boldsymbol{u}=p$ n-jap $i \quad k i$
fitting EMPH NF=CAUS-die 1PL 3PL
'it is ok for us to kill them' [BMPJ_036]
I call the $u=$ construction a nominalization because non-finite forms cannot be negated, though they can occur with aspect and mood morphemes (581).
(581) da dæp u yap tæ ong i, bam kwai ha dwar u blai
$d a \quad d \varepsilon p \quad \boldsymbol{u}=j a p$ te $\quad$ эך $i \quad$ bam kwaj ha dwar REAL PERF NF=die NVIS say 1PL eat kwai LOC dwelling
$u=b l a j$
$\mathrm{M}=$ god
'after dying so we say, (people) 'eat kwai (betel nut) in God's house" [PP12BL_08]

Thus (582) is ungrammatical, and must be rendered as (583) where the matrix verb hoj is negated.
(582) *hoi hi ym u pynyap i ki
hoj hi $\quad m \quad \boldsymbol{u}=p n$-jap $\quad i \quad k i$ fitting EMPH NEG NF=CAUS-die 1PL 3PL 'it is not ok for us not to kill them'
ym hoi hi u pynyap i ki
$m \quad h o j \quad h i \quad \boldsymbol{u}=p n-y a p \quad i \quad k i$ NEG fitting EMPH NF=CAUS-die 1PL 3PL
'it is not ok for us to kill them'
The use of $u=$ as a nominalizer is in contrast to other nominalizers, which cause the verb to be treated as a full noun that cannot be modified by aspect and mood morphemes. Example (584) shows that this is not the case for $u=$, which often combines with other aspects such as $d \varepsilon p$ 'perfective' and mood such as $d a$ 'realis'.
(584) dæp u kha neitæ tæ chiphaw ngut ki khon o
$d \varepsilon p \quad u=k^{h} a \quad n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ tip $p^{h} a w$ put $k i=k^{h} \partial n$
PERF $\mathrm{NF}=$ birth $\mathrm{ABL}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ NVIS ten CL.HUM PL=child $\supset$
1SG.NOM
'when birthing was finished I had 10 children' [FPAHM_011]
The form of this marker corresponds to the form of the third-person singular masculine pronoun as well as the masculine gender marker on nouns and agreeing constituents of the NP. Nominalizers have been discussed in (§7.4) and the modification of serial verbs is discussed below in Chapter 16.

### 11.4.2 VC slot -2 (aspect, $\mathrm{V}_{\text {aux }}$ )

The second pre-verbal slot within the verb complex is where both aspectual modifiers and verbal auxiliaries occur. According to Comrie (1976: 3), "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." Based on this definition, a post-verbal adverbial such as biay 'again' is therefore not aspectual, as it identifies not the 'internal temporal consituency' of a verb but rather the repetition of a complete action/event/situation. Aspectual markers in Pnar describe the temporal status of the verbal event in relation to itself, that is, its boundedness. Aspectual morphemes occur in the second preverbal slot, where they can occur along with the non-finite/purposive marker as identified in (581) above (though dep occurs here most consistently in my data). They also can co-occur with post-verbal assertive markers (as in [541] above, reproduced below as (585)), intensity morphemes (586), and adverbials (587), though not all combinations are attested in my data.
(585) dang khait hi dang tap hi næ
day $k^{h} a t h i \quad d a \eta$ tap hi ne
PROG pick EMPH PROG put EMPH CONF
'(he) is still picking and putting, ok' [MPSRJ_030]
(586) ong i wa kyntein i wa nga læh brabor jooh klam bha o, jooh ong bha o $\supset \eta \quad i \quad w a \quad k n t e n ~ i \quad w a \quad \eta a \quad l \varepsilon ?$ brabor $\begin{gathered}\boldsymbol{\delta} o \boldsymbol{P}\end{gathered}$ say 3SG.n NMZ word 3SG.N NMZ 1SG.ACC do value HAB klam bha o go? эŋ bha o
speak ints1 1SG.NOM HAB say ints1 1SG.NOM
'there is a valuable saying of mine I usually speak a lot, usually say alot' [PP01CSE_076]
(587) dang ku biang u
day ku biay $u$
PROG climb REP 3SG.M.NOM
'still climbing again' [MPSM_06]
Morphemes that fall into the category of aspect are $d \varepsilon p$ 'perfective' (590), $d a \eta$ 'progressive' (594), and doo? 'habitual' (601). While the first two have no corresponding verbal forms, the morpheme 50 ? corresponds to the verb 'be same', revealing that these modifiers may have originally been verbal auxiliaries. The contrast between these functions can be seen in the following examples, with (588) giving do? in its aspectual function, and (589) illustrating its use as a main verb. ${ }^{3}$
(588) kini jooh pynæmkam ki ha wa booh khoo
$k i=n i \quad \boldsymbol{\sigma} \boldsymbol{P} \boldsymbol{?}$ pnemkam ki ha wa bo? $k^{h} o$
PL=PROX HAB use 3PL LOC NMZ keep rice
'these (we) used to use for keeping rice' [TACJ_459]
(589) tæ lai biang i da ka dhoo na ka jooh ka luti
tع laj biay $i \quad d a \quad k a=d h o ~ n a \quad k a \quad \boldsymbol{\sigma} o \boldsymbol{P}$
NVIS go again 1PL INST $\mathrm{F}=$ low ABL 3SG.F.ACC be.same
$k a=$ luti
$\mathrm{F}=$ way
'we went again by the low (path) from the same way' [LS2J_024]
The morpheme $d \varepsilon p$ marks the event referred to by the verb as completed (590). A common translation for this word is 'after' or 'already'. It marks an event as having happened, can refer to previous events (591), can be found as a clause-chaining device (592), and often occurs along with the most

[^65]common clause-chaining morpheme $t \varepsilon$ 'so, then' (593). ${ }^{4}$ When used without a following verb its meaning is generally understood as 'finished' or 'completed', but is always understood to refer to the state of an event, whether previously identified or not. This is in opposition to verbs of completion such as dap 'fill' and lut 'finish, end'.
(590) da dæp kynthiar o cheitæ chapoh
$d a \quad \boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{p} \quad k n t^{t}$ iar $\quad$ t $e=i=t \varepsilon \quad$ f $a-p \circ ?$
REAL PERF jump 1SG.NOM to $=\mathrm{N}=$ =NVIS inside
'I jumped in (the water)' [BPDJ_022]
(591) uni $u$ Malngiang, hadein wa dæp yasoohbuit $u$
$u=n i \quad u=m a l \eta i a \eta, \quad h a-d e n \quad w a \quad \boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{j}$ ja-sop-but
M=PROX M=Malngiang LOC-back NMZ PERF conspire u
3SG.M.NOM
'this Malngiang, previously he had conspired..' [PP03SKY _05]
(592) man da dæp itæ, æm i won sa kawi katæ ka jait kyndæh ke læh
man $d a \quad \boldsymbol{d \varepsilon} \boldsymbol{p} \quad \boldsymbol{n e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}, \quad \varepsilon m \quad i=w \supset n \quad$ sa $k a-w i$
happen REAL PERF ABL=N=NVIS have $\mathrm{N}=$ thing only $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{one}$
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=\mathrm{d} a t \mathrm{knd} \mathrm{\varepsilon}$ ? ke $\quad l \varepsilon$ ?
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ type play NPURP also
'when after that, there was another type of game also' [BPVM_012]
(593) $\mathrm{ku} u$ da ka yi, da ka yingki dæp tæ khait soh u , dæp tæ pyllang u
$k u \quad u \quad d a \quad k a=j i, \quad d a \quad k a=j i \eta k i \quad d \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{p} \quad \boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$ climb 3SG.M.NOM INST $\mathrm{F}=$ =thing INST $\mathrm{F}=$ ladder PERF NVIS $k^{h} a t$ sop $u, \quad \boldsymbol{d e p} \boldsymbol{t \varepsilon}$ pllay u pick fruit 3SG.m.NOM PERF NVIS gather 3SG.M.NOM 'he climbs with it, with the ladder, then he picks fruit, then gathers (it)' [MPSRJ_05]

The morpheme $d a \eta$ generally marks the following verb as representing an action still in progress, as in (594) where a speaker is relating the events of the Pear Story (Chafe, 1980) while they are occurring, or in (595) where another speaker is relating the events of the Pear Story and commenting on the time of day at which the film starts. The most common English translation equivalent used by my consultants was 'still', to mark an event as ongoing at the time of speech.

[^66](594) tæ uni $u$ bru dang khait soh $u$
te $u=n i \quad u=b r u \quad d a \eta \quad k^{h} a t$ so? $u$
so $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{M}=$ person PROG pick fruit 3SG.M.NOM
'so this man is still picking fruit' [MPSRJ_030]
(595) tæ yoo o dang doom bha
te jo $\quad$ day dom bha
so see 1SG.NOM PROG be.early INTS
'so I see, (it's) still very early' [MPSM_01]
It can also have the meaning of 'recently occurred' when pre-posed to the perfective, as in the complex construction of (596). Here a speaker is introducing himself and talking about his children. He refers in this example to his second child, a daughter, and talks about recent events that have occurred in her life.
(596) ka wa ar dang dæp yathoh ko, dang yoh khon ko
$k a \quad w a \quad$ ar $d a \eta \quad d \varepsilon p \quad j a-t^{h} \partial ? \quad$ ko $d a \eta$ 3SG.F NMZ two PROG PERF PLUR-relation 3SG.F.NOM PROG $j o ? k^{h} \partial n$ ko
get child 3SG.F.NOM
'the second (one) just got married, she just got (gave birth to) a child' [LIJ_09]

The morpheme do? marks the verb as being habitual (597-599), and can be glossed as 'usually'.
(597) kani ka bus toh ka wa jooh pyndik
$k a=n i \quad k a=b u s$ to? $k a \quad w a \quad \boldsymbol{\sigma} o \boldsymbol{P} \quad p n$-dik
F=PROX F=bus be 3SG.F NMZ HAB CAUS-be.problem
'this bus is (one) that always (habitually) caused problems (broke down)' [BPVM_06]
(598) ym jooh æm u khlæh
$m \quad \boldsymbol{g} o \boldsymbol{P} \quad \varepsilon m \quad u=k^{h} l \varepsilon$ ?
NEG HAB have $N F=$ mix
'it's not habitually/usually mixed' [TACJ_225]
(599) nga ka doh læh ym jooh bam o ka yi ka yi

| pa | $k a=d \supset$ ? | $l \varepsilon$ ? | $m$ | do? | bam | 0 | $k a=j i$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1SG.ACC | $\mathrm{F}=$ meat | also | NEG | HAB | eat | 1SG.NOM | $\mathrm{F}=$ thing |
| $k a=j i$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{F}=$ thing |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'I, meat | I don |  |  |  |  |  |  |

It can also be used as a time adverbial and translated as 'used to' (600-602).
(600) ha kitai ki skoo læh jooh booh um hi ki
ha $k i=t a j \quad k i=s k o \quad l \varepsilon ? \quad \boldsymbol{g} o \boldsymbol{P} \quad b o$ ? $\quad$ um hi $k i$ LOC PL=DIST PL=skoo also HAB keep water EMPH 3PL 'in those Skoo (type of pot) also they used to keep water' [TACJ_446]
(601) ym pu jooh æm ka wa soo

| $m$ | $p u$ | $\boldsymbol{g} o \mathbf{P}$ | $\varepsilon m$ | $k a$ | $w a$ | $s o$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG | NEG.INT | HAB | have | 3SG.F | NMZ | red |

'there are no red (ones)' [TACJ_227]
(602) ka tynde ym jooh æm khoh bah bru ki
$k a=t n d e \quad m \quad \boldsymbol{\sigma} o \boldsymbol{P} \quad \varepsilon m \quad k^{h} \partial ? \quad b a ? \quad b r u \quad k i$ $\mathrm{F}=$ old.time NEG HAB have basket carry person 3PL 'since back then (olden days) they didn't usually have person-carrying baskets' (i.e. it wasn't their habit) [TACJ_486]

Complex verbal expressions may have verbs in the initial position which seem to be undergoing grammaticalization, such as laj 'go' (603-604), man 'become' (606-605), wan 'come' (606, 607, 608), and joP 'get'. However, these verbs are not used with the same consistency as aspectual markers and do not seem to have fully grammaticalized to aspectual functions, though often they seem to be associated with aspectual notions such as motion and inception.
(603) man da lai ki por lai puræ o
man da laj $k i=p o r$ laj pure $\quad$
happen REAL go PL=time go study 1SG.NOM
'when time passes I went studying' [PP15PI_015]
(604) na ka liang ka yung yong u chynrang lai li ong ki cha yung ka kynthai
na $k a=l i a \eta ~ k a=j u \eta ~ j o \eta ~ u=$ †fnraך laj li-oŋ ki tfa
ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ side $\mathrm{F}=$ home GEN $\mathrm{M}=$ male go DUR-say 3PL ALL
jun $\quad k a=k n t^{h} a j$
home $\mathrm{F}=$ female
'from the side, the home of the man they go tell to the home of the woman' [PP14MF _010]
(605) hadein neitæ tæ man dooh jingkyrmæn o heitæ
ha-den $n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ man do? ofin-krmen
LOC-back ABL $=$ N=NVIS NVIS happen lose nMZ-hope
$\rho \quad h e=i=t \varepsilon$
1SG.NOM LOC $=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NVIS}$
'after that, (it) happens (that) I lose hope then' [PP15PI_0120]
(606) man æm ki bru wa wan pait dei bichni
man $\varepsilon m \quad k i=b r u \quad w a \quad$ wan pat $d e=i=b i f f i$ happen have $\mathrm{PL}=$ person NMZ come look $\mathrm{INST}=\mathrm{N}=$ be.curious 'happens there are people who come look with curiousity' [LS2J_031]
(607) wan thooh i $u=$ pathi na kræm lamæh kræm latang
wan $t^{h} o$ ? $i \quad u=p a t^{h} i \quad n a \quad k r e m$ lame? krem
come search 1PL M=betel.leaf ABL cave Lameh cave latan
Latang
'we (or unspecified individual) brought the betel leaf from the Lameh Latang cave' [PP12BL_014]
(608) tæ wan poi ki ha yaw manar
te wan paj ki ha jaw manar
NVIS come arrive 3PL LOC market Manar
'so they came, arriving at Manar market' [PP04SKO_038]
Evidence for an 'auxiliary' function for these verbs is that they often occur outside the scope of negation, and yet serve as modifiers for the negated verb. In example (609) man is followed by a negated verb $j e$ 'be able'. In (610) wan is followed by negated verb $j \supset$ ? 'get'. These and other 'light' verbs are dealt with in Chapter 16 on complex verbal constructions.
(609) man ym yee ki yaichah u dih katkam ka kos wa da phah i
man $m$ je ki jaitfa? u=di? kat-kam
become NEG able 3PL be.patient NF=drink as-like
$k a=k$ ss wa da $p^{h} a$ ? $i$
$\mathrm{F}=$ course NMZ REAL send 1PL
'so they have no patience to drink (take medicine) according to the course that we (doctors) sent' [PP15PI_099]
(610) ka hadem wan ym yoh daloi de ko
ka=hadem wan $m$ jo? daloj de ko
$\mathrm{F}=$ Hadem come NEG get daloi NEG.INTS 3SG.F.NOM
'Hadem didn't get Daloi (rank/position)' [PP05KO_051]
The morpheme tfay 'allow' (611-612), unlike verbs discussed briefly above, has grammaticalized as a passivizing auxiliary (see §10.2.2), and occurs in this slot where it can be modified by mood morphology. This morpheme is generally used as an adversative passive marker, though occasionally it can be a positive passive.
(611) da chah bichar ki
da $\boldsymbol{f} a \boldsymbol{P}$ biffar ki
REAL PASS judge 3PL
'they are judged' [PP01CSE_048]
(612) ki khniang ki wa khian chah bam ki ha ki wa rap hæh, ki wa rap hæh chah bam ki ha ki wa rap hæh chooh
$k i=k^{h} n i a \eta ~ k i \quad w a \quad k^{h} i a n \quad$ §aP bam ki ha ki wa PL=insect 3PL NMZ be.small allow eat 3PL LOC 3PL NMZ rap he?, ki wa rap he? tfaP bam ki ha grow be.big 3pl NMZ grow be.big allow eat 3PL LOC ki wa rap he? to?
3pl nMZ grow be.big more
'the small insects are eaten by the bigger ones, the bigger insects are eaten by even bigger ones' [BMPJ_040]

### 11.4.3 VC slot -3 (negation) - $\underset{\sim}{2}, \underset{p}{ } p u$

Negation is a process that applies to all verbs, and is a feature that can occur along with aspect. Jowai speakers use the pre-verbal negators $m$ (613) and $m p u$ (614), while other dialects use the post-verbal $d e$, re (as shown earlier in this chapter by examples $571-573$ ).
(613) æm kjat ki kamni. ki yong Khasi, ym æm kjat ki
 have leg 3pl as-Prox 3pl gen Khasi neg have leg ki
3PL
'they have legs like this. the Khasi ones, they don't have legs' [TACJ_380] (speaking about certain kinds of pots)
(614) ym pu dæp thung ki wa hapoh ki lyngdoh

$$
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\begin{array}{l}
m \\
\text { NEG }
\end{array} & p u & d \varepsilon p & t^{h} u \eta & k i & w a & h a-p o ? & k i=l \eta d \supset ? \\
\text { NEG.INTS } & \text { PERF } & \text { plant } & \text { 3PL } & \text { NMZ } & \text { LOC-inside } & \text { PL=priest } \\
\text { 'they couldn't plant while the priests are inside (the grove)' } \\
\text { [BMPJ_030] }
\end{array}
$$

### 11.4.3.1 Prohibition

The prohibitive/negative marker ham also occurs in this slot. In (615) the speaker is the true queen whose crown is hidden in her hair. Here she tells the person she is traveling with not to touch her head. Prohibition is similar to imperatives in Pnar (as discussed in §10.4.3.2), in occurring with a bare
verb and the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$-argument elided. This is a kind of negation that does not interact with other processes and is perhaps better treated as a mood or unique sentence type.
(615) ong ko woh ham tba i khlieh yong nga

эŋ ko wo? ham tba $i=k^{h} l e ? \quad j \supset \eta$
say 3SG.F.NOM HON.M.elder PROH touch $\mathrm{N}=$ head GEN
$\quad$ a
1SG.ACC
'she said 'sir, don't touch my head" [PP05KO_030]

### 11.4.3.2 VC slot -3 (NEG) with VC slot +2 (INTs)

Occasionally speakers will use both preverbal and post-verbal negators for particular emphasis (616-617).
(616) ym æm de u khih phi

$$
m \quad \varepsilon m \quad d e \quad u=k^{h} i ? \quad p^{h} i
$$

NEG exist NEG.INTS M=work 2PL
'you don't have any work' [AIJ_014]
(617) heitæ i por tæ kat ym æm re ka kari læh ka motor læh
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad i=p o r \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ kat $\underset{\sim}{m} \quad \varepsilon m \quad r e \quad k a=k a r i$ at $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ time NVIS as aEG have NEG.INTS $\mathrm{F}=$ car $l \varepsilon$ ? $k a=$ motor $l \varepsilon$ ?
also vehicle also
'at that time then, as there were also no cars or motor vehicles (going back and forth)...' [BPVM_05]

There is one example in my texts of $m p u$ (preverbal negation with a preverbal emphatic marker) being used with post-verbal negation markers (618) in this example a speaker is referring to one of the baskets in the Pear Film, which is completely empty, in contrast to one which is full.
(618) uwi kriah wa dap uwi man ym pu dap soh re
$u=w i \quad k r i: ? ~ w a ~ d a p ~ u=w i ~ m a n ~ m \quad p u \quad d a p$ $\mathrm{M}=$ one basket NMZ fill $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{one}$ happen NEG NEG.INTS fill so? re
fruit NEG.INTS
'one basket is full, one is not full at all' [FPSM_036]

### 11.4.4 VC slot -4 (mood, modality)

Mood morphemes modify the degree or kind of reality of an event. This grammatical category is encoded by two morphemes, $d a$ 'realis' (619-638)
and daw 'irrealis' (629-632). The former can occur with negation in Pnar, but the latter cannot. Mood shares the same pre-verbal slot as the modality morpheme de? 'deontic' (640-641).

### 11.4.4.1 Actualization - 'realis' mood

The morpheme $d a$ 'realis' encodes whether an event has been actualized. Actualization is the default state of Pnar verbs, and therefore often unmarked. However the $d a$ morpheme is a way to make actualization of the verbal event explicit. This is often used for events that have passed (619) or are of current relevance (620-621).
(619) tæ da ræp da khih

(620) heini da yoo mi da ki khmat
$h e=i=n i \quad d a \quad j o \quad m i \quad d a \quad k i=k^{h} m a t$

LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ PROX REAL see 2SG.M.NOM INST PL=eye
'here you see with your own eyes' [TACJ_520]
(621) tæ, da yoo phi, kitu waroh ki kitai dei khnam heitai
$t \varepsilon$, $\quad d a \quad j o \quad p^{h} i, \quad k i=t u \quad$ waro? $k i \quad k i=t a j$
NVIS REAL see 2PL PL=MEDL all 3PL PL=DIST
$d e=i=k^{h} n a m \quad h e=i=t a j$
INST $=\mathrm{N}=$ arrow $\quad$ LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ DIST
'so, you see, these, those are all arrows there' [TACJ_499]
This morpheme can also occur with negation, to suggest a state of nonactualization (622).
(622) $\mathrm{ka}=$ dorbar ym hun de ko, man da ym hun de ko
$k a=$ dorbar $m$ hun de ko, man
F=council NEG be.content NEG.INT 3SG.F.NOM happen
$d a \quad m$ hun de ko
REAL NEG be.content NEG.INT 3SG.F.NOM
'the town council wasn't happy, happens they weren't convinced anymore' [PP05KO_049]

It is common also for $d a$ to occur with aspectual markers, confirming the actualization of an ongoing event with day 'PROG' (623). It should be noted here that the use of the conditional $l a$ identifies the possible actualization of the following statements in (623). By using both markers the speaker is
saying "if X is actualized, then Y happens". Conditionals are discussed in §14.1.3, and the theoretical possibility of realis occurring in counterfactual and conditional clauses is discussed in §11.4.4.3.
(623) la da dang pynæh dang pynkhor tæ him ka wait ka tari yong phi, tæ pyndooh rdang tæ pyndooh tympong
$l a d a d a \eta \quad p n-\varepsilon ? \quad d a \eta \quad p n-k^{h} \partial r \quad t \varepsilon$ if REAL PROG CAUS-be.difficult PROG CAUS-be.problem NVIS him $k a=w a t \quad k a=t a r i ~ j \supset \eta \quad p^{h} i$, te $\quad p n$-do? rdaך te take $\mathrm{F}=$ sword $\mathrm{F}=$ knife GEN 2PL NVIS CAUS-lose neck NVIS рп-do? tтрэŋ
CAUS-lose waist
'If (it is that) he still resists, then take your knife and cut his neck and waist' [PP13RS_115]

The morpheme can also occur with a completed event identified by $d \varepsilon p$ (624625 ), or even a habitual event with 50 ? (626-627). The key point seems to be whether the speaker wants to identify the event explicitly as actualized.
(624) to heipor wa da dæp ong $u$ tynne $u$ pastor atiar
to $h e=i=p \supset r \quad w a \quad \boldsymbol{d a} \boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{p} \quad$ эŋ $u \quad$ tnne
ok LOC=N=time NMZ REAL PERF say 3SG.M.NOM before
$u=$ pastor atiar
$\mathrm{M}=$ pastor Atiar
'ok, so at the time pastor Atiar just said previously' [BPDJ_011]
(625) tæ hadein da dæp tih foundation da booh i ya kani ka moo nong-rim
$t \varepsilon \quad h a$-dein $d \boldsymbol{a} \quad \boldsymbol{d \varepsilon p}$ ti? fandefon da bo? $i$
NVIS LOC-back REAL PERF dig foundation REAL keep 1pL
ja $\quad k a=n i \quad k a=m o \quad n \supset \eta$-rim
BEN $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX}$ F=stone AG.NMZ-be.old
'so after digging the foundation we laid the cornerstone' [LHJ_034]
(626) kam da jooh bam i hei kini ki bru yong ka Raliang, da heini i por læh toh u pait ka Raliang phi
kam da do? bam $i \quad h e=i \quad k i=n i \quad k i=b r u \quad j \ni \eta$
like REAL HAB eat 1PL LOC-N PL=PROX PL=person GEN
$k a=$ raliay, da he=i=ni $\quad i=p o r \quad l$ lch to? $u=p a t$
$\mathrm{F}=$ Raliang INST LOC $=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{N}=$ time also be $\mathrm{NF}=$ look
$k a=$ ralia $\eta \quad p^{h} i$
$\mathrm{F}=$ Raliang 2PL
'since we (habitually) eat there (i.e., this is our home), the people of Raliang, now is the time for (you) to look (care for) your Raliang' [HPAHR_053]
kat wa da jooh tip u ya u khmah
kat wa da $\boldsymbol{\sigma} o \boldsymbol{P}$ tip $u \quad j a \quad u=k^{h} m a$ ?
as NMZ REAL HAB know 3SG.m.nom BEN M=Khmah
'since he knew Khmah well (habitually)...' [PP05KO_038]
The realis marker $d a$ can also occur with the non-finite form of a verb to indicate certainty that an event will occur or be actualized (628). As discussed further below, the non-finite marker on verbs encodes a purposive or 'certainty' meaning as well as a non-finite meaning.
(628) yn wa sdang dæp man da u tipmit, tæ u chynrang hab e kwai $u$ ya kitai ki wa pyntipmit
$n \quad w a \quad$ sday dep man da u=tipmit, te REF NMZ begin PERF happen REAL NF=introduce NVIS $u=$ tfnray hab e kwaj u ja ki=taj $\mathrm{M}=$ male OBLG give betel.nut 3SG.M.NOM BEN PL=DIST ki wa pn-tipmit
3PL NVIS CAUS-introduce
'that beginning (part) finished, introducing will happen (for certain), then the man must give kwai to those who (he) introduced' [PP14MF_046]

### 11.4.4.2 Non-actualization - 'irrealis' mood

The morpheme daw 'irrealis' identifies an event as non-actualized. This is generally used in Pnar for potential events that have not yet occurred, as in example (629), where the speaker is talking about the future coming of God to restore order to the world.
(629) daw chim kti noh u ya ka jingsynchar sa chisein ha ka kti ka yong oo daw tfim kti no? u ja ka=din-sntfar sa IRR take hand IMm1 3SG.M.NOM BEN F=NMZ-rule once tfi=sen ha ka=kti ka jəך o one-each LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ hand 3SG.F.ACC GEN 3SG.M.ACC
'he will immediately take hold of the ruling once again in his hand' [BPDJ_032]

In (630), the speaker is discussing a theoretical religious ceremony. Since it is theoretical and not reporting an actual event, it is conceptualized as unactualized.
(630) chwa u daiñ i ym æm u daiñ u khlæm thmat i, daw ngooh daw dæm i

サfwa $\quad u=d a n \quad i \quad m \quad \varepsilon m \quad u=d a n \quad u=k^{h} l \varepsilon m$
before $\mathrm{NF}=$ cut 1PL NEG have $\mathrm{NF}=$ cut $\mathrm{NF}=$ be.without
$t^{h}$ mat $\quad i, \quad$ daw $\eta o ?$ daw dem $i$
do.ceremony 1PL IRR pray IRR bow 1PL
'before we will cut, we cannot cut without prayer, we would pray and bow' [BMPJ_033]

In (631) the speaker is talking about the need to conserve the environment. As the Y element of the conditional expression (the potential event that would result from the actualization of the first part, X ), the loss of resources is conceptualized as a possibility. This highlights the future-like orientation that can be ascribed to daw - since all events which occur in the future are unactualized, it is logical to encode this fact with a dedicated marker. As noted below however, the morpheme also encodes uncertainty, with $u=$ used for certainty of an event to be completed or actualized in the future. The irrealis and non-finite morphemes cannot mark the same verb.
(631) la da ym khyrngiat yong bru i, daw dooh i ki

$$
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
l a & d a & m & k^{h} r \eta i a t & j \supset \eta & b r u & i & d a w & d o \text { P } & i \\
\text { if } & \text { REAL } & \text { NEG } & \text { realize } & \text { GEN } & \text { person } & \text { 1PL } & \text { IRR } & \text { lose } & \text { 1PL } \\
\text { if } & \text { 3PL } \\
\text { 'if our people don't realize, we will lose them (resources)' } \\
\text { [BMPJ_049] }
\end{array}
$$

In stories daw is used to identify events occurring later in the narrative which are not actualized. In (632) the speaker is quoting what the creator God says about humanity. Here the irrealis marker occurs with a complex verbal construction in which the second element of the matrix verb $d u k$ 'strive' combines with the nominalized non-finite form of the second verb $u=b a m$ 'to eat' and $u=d i P$ 'to drink'. God is essentially prophesying or predicting occurrences that come later in the story and are unactualized.
(632) daw duk $u$ bam daw duk $u$ dih $u$ wa im wa æm mynsein


In (633) the speaker is quoting the sun, $k a=s \eta i$, who in this part of the story is berating the animals who have upset her, and justifying her reasons for removing her presence (and thus her light) from earth. The sun uses daw
to modify jap 'die' and piut 'rot', identifying an unactualized situation that has yet to happen.
(633) pynryngkat pho i dor i mur wa i ki wa im yanom sah yanom wa phi ki daw yap daw pyut
$p n$-røkat $\quad p^{h} \jmath \quad i=d \supset r \quad i=m u r \quad w a \quad i \quad k i$ CAUS-be.equal 2SG.F.NOM N=value $\mathrm{N}=$ price NMZ 1PL 3PL wa im ja-nวm sa? ja-nom wa $p^{h}{ }^{i}$ ki daw nMz live PLUR-ever stay PLUR-ever COMT 2PL 3PL IRR jap daw p?ut die IRR rot
'you make equal the value of us/we, those who remain forever, with you, those that will die, will rot' [PP13RS_062]

The irrealis marker in (634) modifies the complex verbal construction li-e dja 'go give rice'. The speaker here is describing traditional marriage practices and the order of events which occur during betrothal and the ceremony. This particular event is construed as unactualized, and as occurring after the events mentioned in the previous sentence.
(634) neiliang yong chynrang læh daw li e ja ki cha yung kynthai

| $n e$ | $j \supset \eta$ | ray | $l \varepsilon ?$ | daw |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ABL= $=$ =side | GEN | male | also | IRR |  |  | rice |  |  |  |

jū $k n t^{h} a j$
home female
'from the man's side also they will give food to the woman's family' [PP14MF_025]

Elicitation reveals that while daw identifies intention or possibility, it is not a marker of certainty or a simple future marker that locates an event in time 'after now'. In examples (635-636) this morpheme is contrasted with the non-finite form, which identifies non-actualized events as having a higher certainty of occurrence. Another indication that daw and da both mark mood is that $d a$ can occur with the non-finite form in my texts, as in (628) above, while daw does not.
(635) u kræh i mynstæp
$u=k r \varepsilon$ ? $\quad i \quad m n s t \varepsilon p$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ prepare 1PL tomorrow
'we will prepare tomorrow' (certainly)
(636) daw kræh i mynstæp
daw kre? $i$ mnstep
IRR prepare 1PL tomorrow
'we will/may prepare tomorrow' (intention, uncertain)

### 11.4.4.3 Realis in counterfactuals and conditionals

Mithun (1995: 384) states that "counterfactual and conditional constructions, are widely categorized as Irrealis cross-linguistically. They are in fact often cited as the best evidence for the appropriateness of the label 'Irealis' for a marker." Mithun (1999: 179) goes further to make the cross-linguistic claim that "some constructions, such as conditionals and counterfactuals, are classified as irrealis in all systems." This leads Bar-el and Denzer-King (2008) to state that "while languages differ according to which logically unreal contexts are marked with irrealis morphology, we would expect from Mithun's claim that any language in which a realis/irrealis distinction is useful would mark conditionals and counterfactuals in the same way."

However, Mithun's claim does not seem to hold for all languages. For example, the Austronesian language Sye is reported to have verbal inflection that mark both "realis conditional" and "irrealis conditional" (Crowley, 2002: 705). As Nomoto and Lee (2012: 228) note: "According to Chung and Timberlake (1985), all combinations of the realis and the irrealis are attested in what they call the counterfactual conditional (i.e. past and present conditions) and the potential conditional (i.e. future conditions)" (Table 11.2).

| Language | Counterfactual | Potential |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |
| Tekelma | irrealis | irrealis |
| Russian | irrealis | realis |
| Chamorro | realis | realis |
| Attic Greek | realis | irrealis |

Table 11.2: The typology of R/I marking in conditionals (Nomoto et al., 2012)

In Pnar, the conditional marker la 'if' can occur on its own. However, it can also occur with the realis marker $d a$. In typological terms this aligns Pnar with Chamorro, where potential events can be marked as realis, i.e. (637) [reproduced from (251) above].
(637) la da pynhap, tæ da piah
la da pn-hap $\quad \varnothing \quad \varnothing \quad t \varepsilon \quad d a \quad$ pia?
if REAL CAUS-fall 1PL 3SG.F.ACC NVIS REAL break $\varnothing$
3SG.F.NOM
'if we drop it, it breaks' [LS2J_019]

Realis also seems to be the default possibility of counterfactual conditionals, such as in (638) and (639).
(638) la da ym æm ka punjab i waroh da yap i la da $\quad m \quad \varepsilon m \quad k a=$ punçab $i \quad$ wars? da jap $i$ if REAL NEG have $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{Punjab}$ 1PL all REAL die 1PL 'if the Punjab (people) weren't there, we all (would have) died' [BPDJ_035]
(639) la da ym sumar i ka daw dooh i ki
la da m sumar $\quad i \quad k a \quad d a w ~ d o ? ~ i$
if REAL NEG take.care 1PL 3SG.F.ACC irrealis lose 1PL ki
3PL
'if we don't care for it (the environment), we will lose them (plants)' [BMPJ_049]

It seems, then, that Pnar follows the assumption by Bar-el and Denzer-King (2008) noted above, namely that conditionals and counterfactuals should be marked the same way, but (counter to Mithun's assertion) the salient mood for these constructions in Pnar is the 'realis' mood.

As a side note, however, is not completely clear that what Chung and Timberlake call "potential" and Mithun; Mithun calls "conditional" are in fact the same thing. If this were the case, then how do we handle the fact that Pnar 'conditional' constructions never occur with the irrealis mood marker daw and yet occur with all other 'potential' events in Pnar? If Chung and Timberlake's "potential" refers to something other than Mithun's "conditional", then we have a potential split in Pnar, where conditionals and counterfactuals are marked the same way, but where daw marks other potential events, a situation which may align the language more with Attic Greek. This is an area that deserves further investigation.

### 11.4.4.4 Modality

Hortative modality The morpheme $d e ?$ is a modality marker used in commands. This identifies an event as a directive or adhortative deontic, something that one of the interlocutors ought to do or is expected to do by the speaker (640-641). I gloss it here as 'adhortative'.
(640) ong ko deih lai cha pyrthai ya u li kha syiem

эך $k \supset \quad d e \mathbf{P}$ laj tfa prthaj ja $u=l i-k^{h} a \quad$ s?em say 3SG.F.ACC ADH go ALL earth BEN NF=DUR-birth ruler 'she said: you should go to earth to give birth to a king' [PP05KO_03]
(641) deih li chong ha utai u loom
de? li-tfon ha $u=t a j \quad u=l o m$
ADH DUR-stay LOC M=DIST M=hill
'(he said to them, you) should stay at that hill' [PP04SKO_036]

Obligatory modality The morpheme hab is another modality marker, but generally used in statements. This identifies an event as deontic, but with greater intensity - I gloss it here as 'obligatory'. While de? can be understood as a suggestion, hab is construed as an obligation (642-643). As (642) reveals, hab can also co-occur with the passive auxiliary marker $t f a$.
(642) hab chah pynphæt kini ki lok ki yong i kitu ki wa ræm

| hab | tap | $p n-p^{h} \varepsilon t$ | $k i=n i$ | $k i=l>k$ | ki | $j 3 \eta$ | $i$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| OBLG PASS |  | CAUS-run | $\mathrm{PL}=$ Prox | $\mathrm{PL}=$ friend | 3 PL | GEN | 1PL |
| $k i=t u$ |  | wa | cm |  |  |  |  |
| PL=MEDL |  | PL NMZ | lose |  |  |  |  |

(643) hab lai syrtap pa syrtap hadooh wa u poi ha ki soo kpoh mo
hab laj srtap pa srtap ha-do? wa $u=p o j \quad h a$
OBLG go layer by layer LOC-lose NMZ NF=arrive LOC
ki=so kpo? mo
PL=four womb Q
'(we) must go layer by layer before arriving at the Soo Kpoh (story), ok?' [PP04SKO_003]

Prohibitive modality As noted in §11.4.3 above, the prohibitive marker ham is used in a specific kind of construction that resembles imperatives (§10.4.3.2). The marker occurs with a bare verb and the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$-argument elided. This construction/morpheme does not interact with other processes and can be considered a kind of modality, as it modifies the propositional nature of the event. In (644), for example, the speaker is $u=m o k^{h} a j$, the local protector-god of Jowai. Here he directs the four women who are considered to be the founders of Jowai ( $k i=s o k p s$ ? ) not to be afraid because his presence will protect them. The morpheme ham causes the event to be construed as a command with a prohibitive/negative meaning.
(644) tæ ham teiñ nga wa æm nga wa pait nga wa yoo

| $t \varepsilon \quad h a m$ | $t e n$ | $\eta a$ | $w a$ | $\varepsilon m$ | $\eta a$ | $w a$ | $p a t$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | PROH fear | 1SG.ACC | NMZ | have | 1SG.ACC | NMZ | look |
| $\eta a$ | $w a$ | $j o$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1SG.ACC | NMZ | see |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'so don't be afraid, I (am) looking after you' | [PP04SKO_035] |  |  |  |  |  |  |

As can be seen in this section, Pnar verbal modification strategies involve morphemes that can be identified as occurring in different syntactic slots in relation to the verb. Most of these morphemes are treated as words in their own right, but are dependent on the verb root for realization. Mood, negation, and aspect markers precede the verb root, while intensity markers and adverbials follow the root.

### 11.5 Copulas, auxiliaries

Three copulas corresponding to different senses of English 'be' and having to do with existence ( $t \supset$ ? 'be', $\varepsilon m$ 'have', man 'happen, become') can also precede the verb as auxiliaries to form a complex predicate of property, but generally such complex predicates act as verbs and take arguments. These are similar to the verbal auxiliaries identified as part of the verbal complex above (slot $-2, \S 11.4 .2$ ), but rather than modifying the verb root these morphemes serve to link constituents. When linking NPs in copular function their constituent order can be either NP V NP or V NP NP. A brief overview of their usage and meaning is given here, with more in-depth discussion in Chapter 15.

The morpheme to? 'be' is a general verb of existence, and its primary function is as an equative copula. In (645) it identifies one NP as being the same as another, while in (646) it identifies properties of the first NP.
(645) ka environment toh ka bei ram-aw, ka mariang ki Khasi ong ki $k a=$ envajronmen to? $k a=b e j$ ramaw, $k a=$ mariay $k i=k^{h} a s i$ $\mathrm{F}=$ environment be $\mathrm{F}=$ mother earth $\mathrm{F}=$ nature $\mathrm{PL}=$ Khasi эך $k i$ say 3PL
'the environment is Mother Earth, 'mariang', the Khasis say' [BMPJ_06]
(646) ka bei ram-aw toh ka wa hæh tam
$k a=b e j$ ramaw to? $k a$ wa $h \varepsilon$ ? tam
$\mathrm{F}=$ mother earth be 3SG.F NMZ be.big INTS3
'Mother earth is the biggest' [BMPJ_08]
It can also mean 'okay', 'right', 'correct', or 'true', as in (647), where the speaker is identifying a proposition and making a claim about it being true.
(647) tæ ha wa kamtæ ym toh u e lad i ya $u$ im $u$ pseiñ? ya $u$ duna ki khne $t \varepsilon \quad h a \quad w a \quad k a m-t \varepsilon \quad m \quad$ toP $u=e \quad$ lad $i \quad j a$ NVIS LOC NMZ like-NVIS NEG be NF=give way 1PL BEN $u=i m \quad u=p s e n ? ~ j a \quad u=d u n a \quad k i=k^{h} n e$ $\mathrm{NF}=$ live $\mathrm{M}=$ snake $\mathrm{BEN} \mathrm{NF}=$ decrease $\mathrm{PL}=$ rat 'so in that case shouldn't we give way for the snakes to live? for the sake of reducing rats' [BMPJ_066]

Examples (648-649) are of an exchange between two people in an interview. In (648) the interviewer is framing the context that he wants the interviewee to talk about, and asking for confirmation. In (649) the interviewee responds that he understands and is ready to begin. Later in the interview, the interviewer makes a statement and then asks for confirmation from the interviewee about the correctness of his statement (650).
(648) heiyi i dur ha ka wa yn ka nongrim man siet tim phi sæ
$h e=i=j i \quad i=d u r \quad h a \quad k a \quad w a \quad y n \quad k a=n \supset \eta r i m$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ thing $\mathrm{N}=$ reason LOC 3SG.F NMZ REF $\mathrm{F}=$ firstly
man sist tim $p^{h} i \quad s \varepsilon$
happen shoot lottery 2PL CONF
'for what reason, how did you happen to shoot lottery, ok?'
[AIJ_021]
(649) ha-o, toh hi
ha-o, to? hi
LOC-1SG.NOM be EMPH
'yes, correct' [AIJ_021]
(650) i keiñ i ka kam ka madan blai ym toh mo
$i$ ken $i$ ka kam ka=madan blaj $m$ 1PL count 1PL 3SG.F.ACC like $\mathrm{F}=$ ground god NEG to? mo
be
'we respect the ground as holy, right?' [AIJ_116]
The morpheme $\varepsilon m$ 'have' in its copular usage indicates existence. It is used to assert the existence of a particular NP as being 'at', or in close relationship
with, another NP. In example (651) this indicates ownership, while (652-654) are existential constructions.
(651) Nga da æm ki khon da æm kurim, tæ man ha wa khih tæ mut ya u yoh u paisa ya ki khon ha roh

'I have a wife and children, and when I earn something it's for them' [PP15PI_0160]
(652) tæ æm ki wa siet ha thong, æm ki wa noh cha-rood læh æm hi
$t \varepsilon \quad \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad k i \quad w a \quad$ sict $h a \quad t^{h} \supset \eta, \quad \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad k i \quad w a$ NVIS have 3PL NMZ shoot LOC target have 3PL NMZ no? tfa-rod le? $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad h i$ throw ALL-out also have EMPH
'there are those who shoot on target, there are those who miss also' [AIJ_087]
(653) ym æm ki wa e yarap ya nga

| $m$ | $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{m}$ | $k i$ | $w a$ | $e$ | $j a-r a p$ | $j a$ | $\eta a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG | have | 3PL | NMZ | give | PLUR-grow | BEN | 1SG.ACC |

'there is no-one who gave me help' [PP15PI_0125]
(654) la ym æm i kjut ym æm i yap
$l a \quad m \quad \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad i=k \sigma u t \quad m \quad \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad i=j a p$
if NEG have ACT=be.sick NEG have ACT=die
'if there is no sickness, there is no death' [PP01CSE_061]
Example (654) shows how the two constructions ('having' and 'being') are related, with the nominals $i=k \not \sigma u t$ and $i=j a p$ (from the verbs $k \delta j u t$ 'be sick' and jap 'die', respectively). In this sentence, the A arguments (possessors in the 'have' interpretation of $\varepsilon m$ ) could easily be inserted, resulting in (655). Eliding these arguments allows a re-interpretation of the O-arguments as S-arguments (or copula subjects/topics), which we find to be the case in (654), where $\varepsilon m$ is interpreted as 'exist'.
(655) la ym æm ki i kjut, ym æm ki i yap

if NEG have 3PL ACT=be.sick NEG have 3PL ACT=die 'if they don't have sickness, they don't have death'

The morpheme man 'happen' also indicates existence, generally focusing on the existence of an event or change of state. In (656) the function is more similar to the existentials described above, serving a copular function, yet the speaker's intention seems to be that $k a=k n t e n$ is something that has become the way it is through outside agency over time. This sense of the verb allows man to float outside of clauses and behave similarly to English 'when' (657). The more active sense of man as 'become' can be seen in (658).
(656) i ktein environment man ko ka kyntein ka wa yar bha
$i=k t e n \quad$ envajronmen man ko $k a=k n t e n$
$\mathrm{N}=$ word environment happen 3SG.F.NOM $\mathrm{F}=$ word
$k a \quad w a$ jar bha
3SG.F.ACC NMZ be.wide ints1
'the word 'environment' is a word that is very wide/encompassing' [BMPJ_06]
(657) man da poi katæ ka leiñ tæ yoo i ka wa æm ko hajrong u moo
man $d a$ poj $k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=l e n ~ t \varepsilon$ jo $i$
happen REAL arrive $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ boat NVIS see 1 PL
$k a \quad w a \quad \varepsilon m$ ko $\quad h a-d r ə \eta \quad u=m o$
3SG.F.ACC NMZ have 3SG.F.NOM LOC-above $\mathrm{M}=$ =stone
'when we reached the boat we saw it was on top of a rock'
[LS2J_018]
(658) tæ ngait skæm wa uni u moo toh $u$ man $u$ moo wa u næh nongrim waroh chi reta ha ki sngi wa daw wan
te pat skem wa $u=n i \quad u=m o \quad$ to? $u=\boldsymbol{m a n}$ NVIS hope hold.up NMZ $M=$ PROX $M=$ stone be $N F=$ happen $u=m o \quad$ wa $u=n \varepsilon ? \quad$ noŋ-rim waro? ti $i=r \varepsilon t a$ $\mathrm{M}=$ stone NMZ NF=preserve AG.NMZ-be.old all one-age ha $k i=s \eta i \quad w a$ daw wan LOC PL=day NMZ IRR come 'so we hope that this stone will become a stone that provides a memento in the days to come' [LS2J_039]

### 11.6 Summary

This chapter has examined the Pnar verbal complex in terms of what morphemes surround the verb to modify events. It can be seen that the primary distinction within the verbal event is in terms of realis and irrealis mood, or actualized and unactualized events. A broad range of other operators allow speakers to specify the occurrence of the event in terms of emphasis, intensity, immediacy, and various aspectual markers that modify an event's internal constituency. The following chapter focuses on semantic verbal classification.

## Chapter 12

## Semantic verb classes

The following chapter started as an exploration of potential semantic classes according to Tsunoda (1985). Having found no clear syntactic or combinatorial distinctions between verbs besides transitive and intransitive, I attempted to find semantic patterns. What follows is in part a fuller exemplification of intransitive (§12.1) and transitive (§12.2) classes (and a brief discussion of lability in §6.4.2) with various semantic subtypes based on Tsunoda's categories. This is a work in progress and deserves more careful analysis than I have been able to give the matter, as of yet. However, as a source of data and an exploration it was deemed worth including in the current work.

### 12.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are those which can occur with one unmarked argument at most, or potentially two or more that are co-referential. Examples of Pnar intransitive verbs are: jap 'die’(659-661), laj 'go' (662-665), wan 'come' (666667), and poj 'arrive' (668-669). They refer to an activity, process, or state performed or experienced by a single discrete entity or group of entities. For intransitives, any oblique argument must be marked, either as a locative ( $661,663,664,666,669$ ), instrumental $(665,667)$, or benefactive, otherwise the argument will be construed as a constituent of the noun phrase, such as the possessor in (660).
(659) yap ka bei
jap $k a=b e j$
die $\mathrm{F}=$ mother
'the mother died' [PP02SKF _ 07]
(660) yap ka bei u loh ryndi
jap $k a=b e j \quad u=l o ? \quad$ rndi
die $\mathrm{F}=$ mother $\mathrm{M}=$ Loh Ryndi
'Loh Ryndi's mother died' [PP05KO_05]
(661) tæ oo da yap $u$ ha $u$ tylle phasi
te o da jap u ha u=tlle phasi
NVIS 3SG.M.ACC REAL die 3SG.M.NOM LOC M=rope hang
'so he died by hanging rope' [KNI_06]
(662) hynre lai ka por laj ka por
hñre laj $k a=p o r ~ l a j ~ k a=p o r ~$
but.also go $\mathrm{F}=$ time go $\mathrm{F}=$ time
'but time went, time went (by)' [PP12BL_012]
(663) hab lai bait o chakhmat, lai o samæn
hab laj bat o ta-khat, laj o samen
OBLG go IMM3 1SG.NOM ALL-front go 1SG.NOM alone
'I must just go ahead, I go/went alone' [PP15PI_076]
(664) lai ki cha chapoh Pnar, lai ki cha War
laj ki tfa tfa-po? pnar, laj ki tfa war
go 3Pl all all-inside Pnar go 3pl all War
'they went to Pnar, they went to War (areas)' [PP04SKO_017]
(665) lai ko da ka pitor
laj ko da ka=pitor
go 3SG.F.NOM INST $\mathrm{F}=$ marriage.sign
'she goes with the marriage sign' [PP14MF _067]
(666) ha katæ ka por wan ka chithi na Delhi wa æm kani ka non-laxible fund
$h a \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=p \supset r$ wan $k a=\dagger f i t^{h} i \quad n a \quad d \varepsilon l h i \quad w a \quad \varepsilon m$
LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ time come $\mathrm{F}=$ letter ABL Delhi NMZ have
$k a=n i \quad k a=n o n-l a x i b l$ fun
$\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ non-laxible fund
'at that time a letter came from Delhi that there is this non-laxible (non-lapse-able?) fund' [LHJ_025]
(667) utai u khynnah da wan da ka baisikil
$u=t a j \quad u=k^{h} n n a P \quad d a \quad$ wan da $\quad$ ka=bajskil
M=DIST M=small.one REAL come INST $\mathrm{F}=$ bicycle
'that child comes on a bicycle' [MPSM_014]
(668) hadooh wa poj ka bia ka khap
ha-dooh wa poj ka=bia $k a=k^{h} a p$
LOC-lose NMZ arrive RES=marry RES=marry
'until the marriage (day) arrives' [PP14MF _043]
(669) da poi ka blang hajan ki soh
da poj $k a=b l a \eta ~ h a-d j a n ~ k i=s o ?$
REAL arrive $\mathrm{F}=$ goat LOC-be.near $\mathrm{PL}=$ fruit
'the goat arrives near the fruit' [MPSM_010]
Intransitive S -arguments can be elided, as in (670-672), when they are recoverable from context.
(670) Tæ man da poi ha dorbar sorbar
te man da poj (Ø) ha dorbar sorbar
NVIS happen REAL arrive $(\varnothing)_{s}$ LOC meeting gathering
'so when (he) reached the gathered meeting...' [PP13RS_0120]
(671) bood luti hadooh wa poi cha guahati na rymbai
bod luti ( $\varnothing$ ) ha-do? wa poj tfa guwahati na
follow road $(\varnothing)_{s}$ LOC-lose NMZ arrive ALL Guwahati ABL rmbaj
Rymbai
'(they) follow the road until reaching Guwahati from Rymbai' [BPDJ_033]
(672) man da lai cha calcutta, tæ poi cheitæ tæ æm katæ ka payu yong i wa sah Calcutta
man da laj (Ø) tja kolkata, te poj (Ø)
happen REAL go $(\varnothing)_{\mathrm{s}}$ ALL Calcutta NVIS arrive ( ()$_{\mathrm{s}}$
$\dagger f e=i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon m \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=p a j u \quad j \supset \eta \quad i \quad w a$
ALL $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS NVIS have $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ sibling GEN 1PL NMZ
sa? kolkata
stay Calcutta
'when (I) went to Calcutta, so (I) arrive there, there is a cousin of ours who stays in Calcutta (lit. Calcutta-stays)' [PP15PI_0121]

### 12.1.1 Semantic subtypes of intransitive verbs

Although there is currently little syntactic basis for positing various subclasses of intransitive verbs, some classification can be made based on semantic grounds. The major semantic division that can be made seems to be based on intentionality (or agency) and unintentionality (or non-agency).

Other potential classes involve the affectedness of arguments and availability for use as type 1 modifiers. The subclasses of agency are summarized in Table 12.1 below.

| Gloss | Agency identifiable <br> (negative causation) | No clear agency |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'fall' | pat | hap |
| 'run' | jut | $p^{h} \varepsilon t$ |
| 'die', |  | jap |
| 'live', | im |  |
| 'honor' | go? |  |
| 'pray' | duwaj |  |

Table 12.1: Intransitive verb semantic subclasses

The following subsections look first at two verb sets in which each verb in the set is glossed with the same English verb (§12.1.1.1-12.1.1.2). The primary distinction between verbs in each set regards whether the single argument is construed as engaging in an activity due to some outside influence, or not. The next subsections examine two verbs in which there is no clear outside agency (§12.1.1.3-12.1.1.4), and two verbs in which there is clear outside agency (§12.1.1.5).

### 12.1.1.1 'Fall'

There are two verbs for 'fall' which can be used somewhat interchangeably. The first, hap, is generally used for accidental, unforseen, or unactivated motion. Example (673) is from The Pear Story, and the argument which falls is $k a=t u p r i ~ ' h a t ', ~ r e f e r e n c e d ~ b y ~ p o s t-v e r b a l ~ k o . ~ T h e ~ s p e a k e r ~ c o n s t r u e s ~$ the falling of the hat as accidental or unforseen.
(673) toh ka tupri u næ ha kate ka kynthai hap wot ko

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { to? } k a=t u p r i ~ u \varepsilon \quad h a \quad k a=t e \quad k a=k n t^{h} a j \\
& \text { be } \mathrm{F}=\text { hat } \text { 3SG.M.NOM D.TAG LOC } \mathrm{F}=\mathrm{MPROX} \mathrm{~F}=\text { female } \\
& \text { hap wot ko } \\
& \text { fall IMM3 3SG.F.NOM } \\
& \text { 'so the hat, ok, at (the location of) that girl it just fell' } \\
& \text { [MPSRJ_045] }
\end{aligned}
$$

In (674), also from The Pear Story, the item that falls is $u=w i u=s o ?$ 'one fruit'. Here the fruit accidentally fell while the actor was packing other fruits into the basket. The intransitive use of hap can easily be compared with
the transitive use of action nominalized $s \supset \eta$ 'pack', which is followed by the A-argument $u$ 'he' and the O -argument $k i$ 'them'.
(674) tæ hap uwi $u$ soh dei song $u$ ki heini
te hap $u=w i \quad u=s \supset ? \quad d e=i=s \supset \eta \quad u \quad k i$
NVIS fall $\mathrm{M}=$ one $\mathrm{M}=$ fruit $\mathrm{INST}=\mathrm{N}=$ pack 3SG.M.NOM 3PL
$h e=i=n i$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ PROX
'so a fruit falls (while) he is packing them here' [FPSM_003]
In (675) the speaker is addressing a gathering and talking about the natural order of things. The S-argument of hap here is ki=smaria? 'pinecones', which fall at unpredictable times.
(675) man da hap ki smariah cha khyndaw tæ mih kite ki ksæh
man da hap ki=smaria? tfa $k^{h} n d a w ~ t \varepsilon \quad m i ?$
become REAL fall PL=pine.cone ALL earth NVIS bring.out
$k i=t e \quad k i=k s \varepsilon$ ?
PL=MPROX PL=pine.tree
'when pinecones fall to earth, then pine trees grow' [BMPJ_052]
In (676) the speaker is talking about the date of a particular festival. Although these dates can be predicted with regularity, the cause of the event cannot be attributed to a single source or sequence, allowing hap to be used. Here $k a=b e$ ?denk $k^{h} l a m$ is the argument which 'falls' on a particular day that conflicts with the day on which the town Tuber has the same festival.
(676) kam myntu snæm tæ ong ki ka behdeiñkhlam hap ko ha ka jooh ka sngi wa ka yong tubær
 like today,now year NVIS say 3PL $\mathrm{F}=$ Behdeiñkhlam fall $k \supset \quad h a \quad k a=\hbar o ? \quad k a=s \eta i ~ w a \quad k a \quad j \supset \eta$ 3SG.F.NOM LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ be.same $\mathrm{F}=$ day COMT 3SG.F.ACC GEN tuber
Tuber
'so this year they say that Behdeiñkhlam (festival) falls on the same day with that of Tuber' [PP09MW_024]

The previous examples might lead one to believe that the use of hap is constrained by the animacy of the S -argument. However, the following examples with human arguments suggests that hap simply encodes lack of agency on the part of its single argument. In (677) the speaker is talking about his youth and the variety of wildlife that was prevalent. Here he describes himself as falling in a stream, using hap to suggest that the occurrence was accidental.
（677）hap o hajrong ka dakha wa hæh
hap $\quad h a-d r \supset \eta \quad k a=d a k^{h} a \quad w a \quad h \varepsilon$ ？
fall 1SG．NOM LOC－above $\mathrm{F}=$ fish．type NMZ be．big
＇I fell on top of a big fish＇［BPDJ＿022］
In（678）a speaker is recounting her personal history．Here her husband（her childrens＇father）falls from the roof of a building he was working on．The accidental／unpredicted nature of the event is identified by hap．
（678）hap u pa najrong high skur
hap $u=p a \quad n a-d$ rom haj skur
fall $\mathrm{M}=$ father ABL－above high school
＇father fell from the highschool（roof）＇［FPAHM＿021］
In（679），again of The Pear Story，the speaker is commenting on how well the boy is keeping the basket of fruit on his bicycle．The verb hap is followed by the incorporated S－argument $s ⿰ ㇒ ⿻ 土 一$ and the whole verbal construction is negated with the post－verbal marker $r e$ ．In a continuation of the verbal event，the speaker then mentions another argument，$u=t$ fay＇basket＇，which could easily replace so？to create a new verbal construction．

Here，hap used in an accidental sense can be directly compared with the second verb that means＇fall＇，pat．In contrast with hap，the verb pat identifies an event which is likely or possible to occur，which the speaker an－ ticipates or sees a causal relation behind．The possible cause of the second conceptualization of＇falling＇could be the boy＇s bad driving，the overbalanc－ ing of the bicycle，or any number of other sources．
（679）æm hap soh re，u chang u wi læh ym tip kammon wot ym æm pat


In（680），a different retelling，the boy has fallen after hitting a rock．Here the rock can be construed as the source or cause of the fall，since the speaker saw the rock before the boy ran into it，and in fact made reference to it in a previous sentence．
(680) tæ pat u dæp tæ kjut ka kjat taroh u te pat u dep te kobut ka=kogat tarə? NVIS fall 3SG.m.NOM PERF NVIS hurt $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{leg}$ lower.leg $u$
3SG.M.NOM
'so he fell, then his lower leg is hurt' [MPSRJ_037]
In another context, in (681) the speaker is relating how the world came into being. At that time it was very windy and the world was bare, and as a result the first humans had trouble building a house. Here the speaker uses pat to identify the house as falling due to a particular cause, the blowing wind, which he proceeds to describe in the following sentence.
(681) la chna yung i meit pat i stæp la chna i stæp pat i meit
la サna juŋ $i=m e t \quad$ pat $i=s t \varepsilon p \quad$ la tna
if make home $\mathrm{N}=$ night fall $\mathrm{N}=$ morning if make
$i=s t \varepsilon p \quad$ pat $i=m e t$
$\mathrm{N}=$ morning fall $\mathrm{N}=$ night
'if (they) build a house at night (it) falls in the morning, if (they)
build in the morning, (it) falls at night' [PP01CSE_028]

### 12.1.1.2 'Run'

There are also two different verbs in Pnar that mean 'run'. The word jut is best translated as 'flee' or 'run away' from something. In (682) the speaker is describing a migration to Sohmynting by a group that was running away from fighting in the place they had lived. The single argument of this verb is $k i$ and the place to which they fled is marked by allative $\mathrm{t} a / \mathrm{t} e$.
(682) wa ya yut ki cheite cha pangit
$\begin{array}{llllll}w a & j a-j u t & k i & t f e=i=t e & t f a & \text { payit } \\ \text { COMT } & \text { PLUR-run.away } & \text { 3PL } & \text { ALL=N=MPROX } & \text { ALL } & \text { Pangit }\end{array}$
'and they ran/fled together to Pangit' [SI1_049]
In (683) the story being told involves a thief who is trying to escape his captors. This single argument of $j u t$ is encoded as $u$.
(683) æm uwi won $u$ nongtooh $u$ wa tooh heitæ i chnong kattæ yut $u$

عm $u=w i$ wכn $u=n \supset \eta$-to? $u$ wa to?
have $\mathrm{M}=$ one which $\mathrm{M}=$ AG.NMZ-steal $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{M}$ NMZ steal
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad i=t f n \partial \eta \quad$ kat-tr jut $u$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ PL=village as-NVIS run 3SG.M.NOM
'there is one thief who was stealing in that village, so he runs/ran away' [KP_026]

In (684) the speaker is preparing to tell the story of the sun leaving earth and how $u=k^{h}$ on lmbot $k^{h}$ on lmbiaŋ was sent to heaven to ask her to return. In the story the sun ran away from earth, being insulted by the creatures at an event held by the rulers of earth. Here jut has $k a=s \eta i$ 'sun' as its single argument.
(684) kammon yut ka sngi, katu læh rap jrong hi sæ, ka parom

| $k a m m o n$ | jut | $k a=s \eta i$ | $k a=t u$ | $l \varepsilon ?$ | rap | $b r \supset \eta$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| how | run.away | $\mathrm{F}=$ sun | $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ | also | grow | be.long |
| EMPH |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The second verb for 'run' in Pnar is $p^{h} \varepsilon t$. There is not a clear distinction in meaning and usage between this verb and jut, though $p^{h}$ हt does not have the indication of negative causation associated with jut. The ambiguity is identified in the following examples. Example (685) occurs within a story of the origin of the Jaintia kings. The mother of this line is a goddess Li-Kupli who transformed from a fish and has told her husband that his mother should not put a broom in her doorway. Ignoring her son's request, the mother leaves the broom there anyway, and when Li-Kupli sees it, she turns around and runs to the river. It would seem that she is in fact fleeing the situation, but it may be that this is self-motivated action rather than one caused by negative events.
(685) phæt ko neitæ, man da phæt ko neitæ li noh ko ha wai khyrwi

$$
\begin{array}{llllllll}
p^{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} t & k J & n e=i=t \varepsilon & \text { man } & d a & p^{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} t \\
\text { run } & \text { 3SG.F.NOM } & \text { ABL=N=NVIS } & \text { become } & \text { REAL } & \text { run } & \\
k \rho & & n e=i=t \varepsilon & l i-n \supset ? & k & & h a & w a j \\
k_{0} & & & & & & &
\end{array}
$$

Khyrwi
'she ran from there, when she ran from there she threw (herself) in the Khyrwi river' [PP05KO_017]

We can compare example (685) above with (686) below, which occurs in the same sentence as part of the next clause. Here Li-Kupli's husband runs after her to try and catch her and keep her from returning to her fish form.
(686) oo phæt u neitæ
o $p^{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} t \quad u \quad n e=i=t \varepsilon$
3SG.M.ACC run 3SG.M.NOM ABL=N=NVIS
'he ran from there (after her)' [PP05KO_017]
This word for 'run' can also be used for natural occurrences in which external agency may not be perceived. In (687) the speaker is telling the story of the creation of the world. The world was once simply a jumble of rocks, and in this sentence the rocks are splitting apart to allow water to flow. The fracture or fault line in the rock is described here as 'running' along the surface of the rock.
(687) man da phæt utæ u sarang u sajin tæ mih ki liar mih ki duid

$$
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text { man } & d a & p^{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} t & u=t \varepsilon & u=\text { saral } & u=s a d j i n & t \varepsilon \\
\text { become } & \text { REAL } & \text { run } & \mathrm{M}=\text { NVIS } & \mathrm{M}=\text { fracture } & \mathrm{M}=\text { fault.line } & \text { NVIS } \\
\text { mi? } & k i=\text { liar } & \text { mi? } & k i=d u t & & \\
\text { bring.out } & \text { PL=stream } & \text { bring.out } & \mathrm{PL}=\text { valley } \\
\text { 'when the fracture, the fault runs, then streams and valleys come } \\
\text { out' [PP01CSE_034] }
\end{array}
$$

### 12.1.1.3 'Live'

The Pnar word $i m$ 'live' is similarly encoded in Pnar as a state which is not controllable by the S -argument. In example (688) the speaker is in the process of giving part of his inheritance to his foster daughter. In front of the council of elders he is describing her current state. The girl is referenced as the S -argument of $i m$ by the pronoun $k o$ 'she'.
(688) ka pyrsa yong nga da hæh ko da im ko
$k a=p r s a ~ j \supset \eta \quad \eta a \quad d a \quad h \varepsilon ?$ ko $d a \quad i m$
$\mathrm{F}=$ neice GEN 1SG.ACC REAL be.big 3SG.F.NOM REAL live
$k 0$
3SG.F.NOM
'my niece has grown and is living' [PP02SKF _013]
Example (689) illustrates how $i m$ (as with all other intransitive verbs) can be modified by adverbial markers such as bat 'immediacy, level 3'. In this interview from Sohmynting, the speaker is describing the livelihood of the village. The S-argument in this example is $k i$ 'they', and refers to the villagers.
(689) im bait ki hei ræp heini
im bat ki he=i=rep $\quad h e=i=n i$
live IMM3 3PL LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ cultivate $\mathrm{LOC}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{PROX}$
'they live just on agriculture here' [SI3_032]
In (690) the speaker is an older lady who is describing her birth and what her mother said before attempting to give birth (her mother died shortly after giving birth). Here her mother is giving instructions regarding the child and $i m$ occurs as part of a conditional clause. The S -argument is $k 0$ 'her', referring to the child.
(690) la da im ko, tæ booh ka cheitu
$l a \quad$ la $\quad$ la $\quad t \varepsilon \quad b o ? ~ k a \quad t e=i=t u$
if REAL live 3SG.F.NOM NVIS put 3SG.F.ACC ALL=N=MEDL
'if she lives, then (you) put her there (Mookyndeng)' [FPAHM_006]
In (691) the speaker is beginning an exposition of the importance of taking care of nature. The verb $i m$ is the final verb in his longer clause and relates his description of mother earth in a previous clause to life. Here he identifies $k a=b e j$ ram-aw 'earth mother' as a supernatural being who is important to the continuing life state of the speaker and his audience.
(691) katæ toh ka bei ram-aw ka wa i hadooh katni im i
$k a=t \varepsilon$ to? $k a=b e j$-ramaw $k a$ wa $i \quad h a-d o$ ?
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS be $\mathrm{F}=$ mother-earth F NMZ 1PL LOC-when
kat-ni im $i$
as-PROX live 1PL
'that is the mother that we, until now, we live (in relation to)'
[BMPJ_007]
Later in the same speech, the speaker is describing the way that people ought to live in relation to each other. In (692) the verb for 'life' is nominalized with the aid of the abstract nominalizer din-.
(692) i im i ka jingim ka wa yarap kylliang kyrchan kylliang
$i \quad i m \quad i \quad k a=d i \eta-i m \quad k a \quad$ wa jarap klliay krtfan
1PL live 1PL F=NMZ-live 3SG.F NMZ help repay assist
klliay
repay
'we live a life that helps, assists others' [BMPJ_043]
In (693) a different speaker continues the same theme as the previous speaker. Here he uses im in a conditional construction where the S-argument of the first clause is $k a=k^{h} n d a w$ 'earth' and the S-argument of the second clause is $k a=b r u$ 'person, people'.
(693) la da im ka khyndaw, ka bru læh da im
la da im $k a=k^{h} n$ ndaw $k a=b r u \quad l \varepsilon$ ? $\quad d a \quad i m$
if REAL live $F=$ earth $F=$ person also REAL live
'if the earth lives, people also live' [BPDJ_008]

### 12.1.1.4 'Die'

The word jap 'die, be dead' is encoded as an intransitive state in Pnar with no agency. In (694), repeated from (659) above, the speaker is relating how certain clans came to share the traditional responsibilities of leadership. One clan received a share because the ancestral mother was fostered in the same household as the village head. Here, the single argument of $j a p$ is $k a=b e j$ 'mother', i.e. the mother of the girl who was fostered.
(694) yap ka bei
jap $k a=b e j$
die $\mathrm{F}=$ mother
'the mother died' [PP02SKF_007]
In (695), repeated from (660) above, the speaker is describing the death of another ancestor's mother. Here the NP $k a=b e j u=l o ? ~ r n d i ~ ' L o h ~ R y n d i ' s ~$ mother' serves as the S-argument of jap.
(695) yap ka bei u loh ryndi
jap $k a=b e j \quad u=l o ? \quad$ rndi
die $\mathrm{F}=$ mother $\mathrm{M}=$ Loh Ryndi
'Loh Ryndi's mother died' [PP05KO_005]
In (696), repeated from (661) above, the speaker is relating the death of $u=k i a \eta$ naybaP, a Pnar hero who was killed by the British. The S-argument is $u$ and the locative-marked NP $u$ tlle $p^{h}$ asi identifies the means and manner of his death.
(696) tæ oo da yap $u$ ha $u$ tylle phasi

| $t \varepsilon$ | $o$ | $d a$ | $j a p$ | $u$ | $h a$ | $u=t l l e$ | $p^{h}$ asi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | 3SG.M.ACC | REAL | die | 3SG.M.NOM | LOC | M=rope | hang |
| 'so he died by rope-hanging' | $[$ KNI_006] |  |  |  |  |  |  |

### 12.1.1.5 'Pray'

There are two verbs for 'pray' in Pnar. Unlike the agentive meaning distinction found in other intransitive verb pairs, the meaning of these two verbs seem to be associated largely with different domains of use. One of the
verbs, duwaj, may simply be borrowed from Khasi, as it is generally used by Christians to describe requests and petitions directed toward God. ${ }^{1}$ In (697), for example, the speaker is Catholic and has previously related how the house she was staying in with other children burned to the ground. In this sentence she describes what they did when, having escaped the flames, they stood watching the house burn. The S -argument is $i$, the first-person plural pronoun.
(697) tæ ya duwai i jiso næ mary josep
te ja-duwai $i$ j̧iso ne meri gosep
NVIS PLUR-pray 1pl Jesus D.tag Mary Joseph
'so we prayed together 'Jesus, Mary, Joseph' (saying rosary)'
[FPAHM_039]
In (698) the speaker is a Presbyterian who is describing a near-death experience that he had when a gun he was carrying discharged unexpectedly, shooting him through the leg. The pain was so severe that he prayed for his life to be over. The S-argument here is $\rho^{~ ' ~} \mathrm{I}$ ', and $u=$ blaj 'God' is marked as a recipient through the use of $j a$, the benefactive marker.
(698) hynre dooh u duwai o ya u blai wa ya $u$ khut noh u nga da biang


The verb used most often for 'pray' by Pnar speakers associated with the traditional religion is $\eta o$ ?, which can I gloss as 'bless'. This verb can also mean 'bow', particularly in conjunction with dem 'bow' in an expressive construction. This is also the verb used traditionally for 'thanks' as in the expression tii-hadzar no? 'a thousand thanks/blessings'. In (699) the speaker is relating the story of Yakorsing, who has escaped death at the hand of the Hadæm Daloi. Here he has been trying to cross a river and he prays to the river goddess Kupli, petitioning her for assistance.

[^67](699) heitæ i por ngooh u, ngooh u ya ka syiem kupli
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad i=p \partial r \quad$ yo? $u \quad$ yo? $u$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ time bless 3SG.M.NOM bless 3SG.M.NOM
ja $k a=s$ Pem kupli
BEN F=ruler Kupli
'at that time he bowed down, he blessed/prayed to queen Kupli' [PP05KO_044]

In (700) the speaker is relating the traditional practice of the Pnar people. Traditionally, Pnar people revere and pray to $u=b l a j$ 'God (i.e., the creator)' as well as to $k a=b e j$ wa bo? wa $t^{h} o$ 'the heavenly mother', who is responsible for forming each individual's appearance and character.
(700) i ngooh i ya u blai, ngooh i ya ka bei wa booh wa thoo
$i$ クo? $i$ ja $u=b l a j \quad \boldsymbol{y o P} i \quad j a \quad k a=b e j \quad w a$ 1PL bless 1PL BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ God bless 1PL BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ mother NMZ bo? wa tho
put NMZ create
'we pray to God, we pray to the heavenly mother' [BMPJ_009]
The reverence or prayer expressed in the preceding two examples does not encompass the full meaning of this Pnar word. In (701) it is clear that yo? can also be used to honor, reverence, or express homage to humans as well as to God or god-like beings. Here a group of rulers (Daloj) are described as giving homage to the Daloi of Jowai, and referenced as ki 'they' in the S -argument slot following the verb. This event is in response to the successful revenge against $u=$ malnian by three warriors from the Yawchibidi clan in Jowai, after Malngiang betrayed and killed 1,100 warriors from the constituency of the $k^{h}$ at-ar daloj kingdom.
(701) heitæ tæ waroh ngooh ki kini ki khatwi daloi ngooh ki ya u jwai
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ waroP $\quad$ yoP $\quad k i \quad k i=n i \quad k i=k^{h} a t w i$ LOC $=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ NVIS all bless 3PL PL=PROX PL=eleven daloj $\boldsymbol{\eta o} \boldsymbol{P}$ ki ja $u=d$ bwaj
Daloi bless 3PL BEN M=Jowai
'then all the eleven Daloi bowed/prayed, they bowed/prayed to Jowai' [PP03SKY_029]

A further suggestion that $\eta o ?$ in its root form may have simply meant homage or honor (likely accompanied by bowing) is the following example. In (702) the speaker is describing how the four sisters became the ancestresses of Jowai clans. He uses $\eta o$ ? to describe obedience by these four women.
(702) da ngooh ki ya ki hukum $u$ tre-ki-rot wa $u$ wan cha pyrthai
$d a \quad \boldsymbol{\eta o} \boldsymbol{P}$ ki ja ki=hukum u=tre-ki-rot wa
REAL bless 3PL BEN PL=command $\mathrm{M}=$ Creator.God NMZ
$u=w a n \quad$ tfa $\quad p r t^{h} a j$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ come ALL world
'they obeyed Tre-Ki-Rot's command to come to earth' [PP04SKO_029]

### 12.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs in Pnar can occur with up to two unmarked arguments that are not co-referential, though as with intransitives the arguments can be left out if recoverable from context, and sometimes core arguments are semantically marked. Examples of Pnar transitive verbs are: e 'give' (703704), and dat 'hit' (705-706). They refer to activities or processes with two core arguments, and non-core arguments are generally marked as oblique locatives, instrumentals, or benefactives. The A argument occurs closest to the verb root - this differentiates it from other post-posed argument NPs if there are two overt NPs. Transitives are easily formed from intransitives with the causative derivational prefix $p \eta_{1}$ (§6.3.2).
(703) tæ katte da li-e ki ka, ka tupri u
te kat-te da li-e ki ka ka=tupri
NVIS like-MPROX REAL DUR-give 3PL 3SG.F.ACC F=hat
$u$
3SG.M.NOM
'so now they are giving it, his hat (to him)' [MPSRJ_047]
(704) oo e yn u da u soh ya ki, e yn u ya ki da ki soh, ar tylli ki soh, næ? $\begin{array}{lllllll}\boldsymbol{e} & n & u & d a & u=s \supset ? & j a & k i\end{array}$ 3SG.M.ACC give REF 3SG.M.NOM INST M=fruit BEN 3PL e $\quad n \quad u \quad j a \quad k i \quad d a \quad k i=s o ? ~ a r ~ t l l i$ give REF 3SG.M.NOM BEN 3PL INST PL=fruit two CL.NH $k i=s \supset$ ? $n \varepsilon$
PL=fruit CONF
'he gives them fruit in exchange, he gives them fruits, two fruits, ok?' [MPSRJ_048]
(705) dat mi chi pait u moo
dat mi tfi pat $u=m o$
hit 2SG.m.NOM one look $\mathrm{M}=$ =stone
'you hit the stone once' [PP01CSE_091]
(706) dat ka lyær ki
dat $k a=l i \varepsilon r \quad k i$
hit $\mathrm{F}=$ wind 3PL
'the wind hits/blows them' [PP01CSE_022]
Pnar transitive verbs can also be divided into subtypes based on their semantics. Tsunoda (1985) suggests an organization based on the degree to which a patient is affected by the event encoded by the verb. Although his categories are used here, I also make reference to agency for particular verbs or verb pairs for which such a tendency seems salient. As no overarching patterns have been discovered, only one or two verbs are described for each subtype, until more work can be done to classify verbs in Pnar. Some of the transitive verbs and their semantic features are described and exemplified in the sections below.

### 12.2.1 Resultative

### 12.2.1.1 'Kill'

The verb 'kill' is considered to be one of the most strongly transitive verbs cross-linguistically, partially due to the highly resultative nature of affect, often by a clear agent (i.e. Tsunoda, 1985). This verb is formed in Pnar by the causative derivational prefix $p n$ - which is attached to the word $j a p$ 'die'. In (707), for example, the speaker is discussing the need to conserve resources. Here he states that it's ok to kill animals if you are going to eat them. The A-argument is $i$, the first person plural pronoun, and the O -argument is $k i$, the third person plural pronoun.
(707) hoi hi i u pynyap i ki hawa ong i u bam næ

$$
\begin{array}{lllllllll}
\text { hoj } & h i & i & u=p n-j a p & i & k i & \text { hawa } & \text { oŋ } & i \\
\text { be.well } & \text { EMPH } & \text { 1PL } & \text { NF=CAUS-die } & \text { 1PL } & \text { 3PL } & \text { when } & \text { say } & \text { 1PL } \\
u=\text { bam } & n \varepsilon & & & & & & & \\
\text { NF=eat } & \text { D.TAG } & &
\end{array}
$$

'it's ok that we kill them when we say (we) will eat (them), ok' [BMPJ_036]

Example (708) illustrates marking of the O-argument in situations where it could be ambiguous. The woman in this sentence has just discovered her husband dead and decides to kill herself. Here the A-argument is also the undergoer O -argument, as the sentence describes suicide. The A-argument is identified post-verbally as the third person singular feminine nominative
pronoun $k 0$, and the undergoer (as the recipient of the action) is the third person singular feminine accusative form $k a$, marked by the benefactive $j a$.
(708) tæ heitæ ka læh da katæ ka jooh ka tari pynyap ko ya ka
$t \varepsilon \quad h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad k a \quad l \varepsilon ? \quad d a \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=d o ?$ NVIS LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS 3 SG.F.ACC also $\operatorname{INST} \mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ be.same ka=tari $p n$-jap ko ja $k a$
$\mathrm{F}=$ knife CAUS-die 3SG.F.NOM BEN 3SG.F.ACC
'so she also, with that same knife, killed herself' [KP_020]
Example (709) illustrates a marked tendency that all transitive verbs have for incorporating the O-argument into the verb. Here the incorporated argument psen 'snake' immediately follows the verb, and is followed by the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$ argument $k i$, the third person plural pronoun.
(709) ki nongræp ki wa tipsap bha ki ym jooh pynyap pseiñ ki, ilæh
$k i=n\lrcorner \eta-r \varepsilon p \quad k i \quad w a \quad$ tip-sap bha ki m PL=ag.nmz-cultivate 3PL NMZ know-talent be.good 3PL not马o? pn-jap psen ki ile? HAB CAUS-die snake 3PL why 'expert farmers never kill snakes, why?' [BMPJ_063]

As noted for example (708) above, O-arguments can be marked by case that explicitly identifies their semantic role in the activity denoted by the verb. Example (710) is of two conjoined clauses, the first of which introduces a scenario where the agentive argument $k i$ 'they' becomes drunk (a selfmotivated activity). The second clause identifies $k i=k^{h}$ lawat $u=$ Malnian 'Malngiang's warriors' as the A-argument, and explicitly marks $k i=n i$ 'these ones' as the O-argument using the 'benefactive' form $j a$. From context it is clear that $k i=n i$ refers to the main agent of the first clause.
(710) heitæ man da ya muaid ki, pynyap ki khlawait u malngiang ya kini $h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad$ man $d a \quad j a$-muad $\quad$ ki $\quad$ pn-jap LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS become REAL PLUR-be.drunk 3PL CAUS-die $k i=k^{h}$ lawat $\quad u=$ malniay $\quad j a \quad k i=n i$
PL=warrior $\mathrm{M}=$ Malngiang BEN PL=PROX
'then when they had become drunk, Malngiang's warriors killed them' [PP03SKY_009]

### 12.2.2 Non-resultative

### 12.2.2.1 'Hit, strike'

The Pnar verbs for 'hit' or 'strike' are highly agentive. Two verbs that fit this semantic meaning are dat, translated as 'hit' and $\nmid 0 ?$, translated as
'strike'. The first can be used to refer to a general event of impact, and can be viewed as semi-transitive since the O -argument is nearly always elided. In (711) the speaker is relating how the first humans had difficulty building a house. The argument $k a=l Q \varepsilon r$ 'wind' is conceptualized here as the agent that impacts the house and causes it to fall.
(711) pat i stæp wa sympat u kyllang wa dat ka lyær
pat $i=s t \varepsilon p \quad$ wa smpat $u=k l l a \eta$ wa dat $k a=l ? \varepsilon r$ fall $\mathrm{N}=$ morning NMZ twist $\mathrm{M}=$ cyclone NMZ hit $\mathrm{F}=$ wind '(it) fell in the morning due to the cyclone twisting, the wind beating' [PP01CSE_022]

In (712) the agent, identified in a previous clause as a praying mantis, is encoded immediately post-verbally by $k 0$ ' 3 SG.F.nom'. Here the O-argument is left out.
(712) tæ dat ko hakhmat klah ko
te dat ko ha-khat kla? ko
NVIS hit 3SG.F.NOM LOC-front take 3SG.F.NOM
'then it strikes in front' [BMPJ_068]
In (713) the A-argument is the pronoun $u$, which references $u=j a l e$, who in this story is chasing $k a=l i$ kupli to try and prevent her from returning to the river and her fish form. The O-argument is $t f i t f \varepsilon r$ 'a fishing rod'.
(713) dat u chi chær dei khlieh cha tdong

| dat $u$ | $t f i=t f \varepsilon r$ | $d e=i=k^{h} l e ?$ | $t f a$ | $t d \supset \eta$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hit 3 3SG.M.NOM | INDF=fishing.rod | INST $=\mathrm{N}=$ head | ALL | tail |
| 'he plunged the fishing rod upside down (in the stream)' |  |  |  |  |
| [PP05KO_018] |  |  |  |  |

In (714) the A-argument is also the pronoun $u$, which in this case references a warrior who is taking revenge on the evil king Malngiang. The O-argument is $t i$ dan 'a cut', which refers to his action in cutting and killing the king with his sword.
(714) heitæ tæ dat u chi daiñ, daiñ u tkut
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ dat $u \quad t i=d a n$ dan $u=t k u t$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS NVIS hit 3 SG.M.NOM indf=cut cut $\mathrm{M}=$ sword
'then he struck (the king), the sword cut' [PP03SKY _026]
or 'then he struck a cut, the sword cut'
The second verb in Pnar meaning 'hit' or 'strike' is $\dagger 0 ?$, and this is more clearly transitive. In (715), for example, the speaker is highlighting the Aargument $k i$ and describing the use of a particular large wooden log used
as a musical instrument to call elephants. He marks $k i=n i$ 'these' with $d a$, identifying the wooden mallets used to hit the large instrument. In the subsequent sentence (716) he makes this more explicit, identifying the agent $k i$ (the people), the undergoer $k a$ (the musical instrument), and the tools $k i=n i$ (the mallets).
(715) kat wa æm u hati tæ choh ki da kini kat wa $\quad$ m $\quad u=h a t i \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ ழっP $k i \quad d a \quad k i=n i$ as NMZ have $\mathrm{M}=$ elephant NVIS hit 3PL INST PL=PROX 'since there were elephants (then) they hit (it) with these' (talking about a musical instrument) [TACJ_393]
(716) kini toh choh ki ka da kini
$k i=n i \quad t o ? ~ サ o ? ~ k i ~ k a ~ d a ~ k i=n i$
$\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ be hit 3pL 3sgF INST PL=PROX
'these, they hit it with these' [TACJ_393]

### 12.2.2.2 'Eat'

The verb bam 'eat' is clearly transitive in Pnar. Example (717), from the same sentence as example (707), illustrates this, with both pronominal Aand O-arguments following the verb. The pronoun $i$ 'we' is the A-argument and $k i$ 'they, them' is the O-argument.
(717) hawa bam i ki, hoi hi i u pynyap i ki
hawa bam $i \quad$ ki hoj hi $i \quad u=p n-j a p \quad i$ when eat 1PL 3PL be.well EMPH 1PL NF=CAUS-die 1PL ki 3PL
'when we eat them (animals), it's ok (that) we kill them' [BMPJ_036]

In (718) the agentive argument is similarly $i$ 'we', and the undergoer argument $u=k w a j$ 'betel nut' is elided in the first clause but serves as the topic of the second, as new information.
(718) kam wa bam i toh u kwai wa bam i
kam wa bam $i$ to? $u=k w a j$ wa bam $i$ like NMZ eat 1 PL be $\mathrm{M}=$ betel.nut NMZ eat 1 PL 'as we eat, it is the kwai that we eat' [KP_033]

In (719) the speaker is relating information about one of the cases he treated as a traditional doctor. Here the cancer is conceptualized as the agent, and identified post-verbally as $k 0$, the third person singular feminine pronoun.

The undergoer O-argument is $i=n i i=r d a \eta$ waro? 'this whole (part of) the neck', a reference that is combined with a gesture on the part of the speaker.
(719) da bam ko ini i rdang waroh
da bam ko $\quad i=n i \quad i=r d a \eta$ waro?
REAL eat 3SG.F.NOM $\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{N}=$ neck all
'it ate (affected) this (part of the) neck completely' (speaking of a cancer) [PP15PI_095]

In (720) the speaker is talking about the use of fertilizer. As a theme of the larger context the word sbo? 'fertilizer' is not mentioned in this sentence, but the agentive argument $k a=h a l i$ is first topicalized as new information and then referenced post-verbally by $k o$ in both clauses. In the first clause bam 'eat' is part of the verbal construction duna bam 'lack food', and seems to serve as a nominal object of eating rather than the verb 'eat'. In the second, however, bam seems to function as the matrix verb and is preceded by the auxiliary or helping verb man 'become, happen, be'. This kind of complex verbal construction is considered at greater length in Chapter 16.
(720) ka hali daw duna bam ko tæ ym man bam de ko

| $k a=h a l i$ | $d a w$ | duna | bam | $k$ | $t \varepsilon$ | $m$ | man |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{F}=$ paddy.field | IRR | lack | eat | 3SG.F.NOM | NVIS | NEG | become | bam de ko

eat NEG.INTS 3SG.F.NOM
'the field will become fallow if it doesn't eat (absorb fertilizer)'
[BMPJ_082]
In (721) the verb bam is part of the expressive construction $u=b a m$ kwaj bam pat ${ }^{h} i$ which refers to the act of eating betel nut and paan leaf. Here the speaker is describing the use of a particular kind of tall mortar and pestle which is specifically used for grinding the nut and leaf together so that old people who have lost their teeth can eat it. The A-argument is identified post-verbally as $k i$ 'them' and the O-arguments have been incorporated into the verbal construction to identify a regularized or generic activity.
(721) dæp tæ hoi u bam kwai bam pathi ki kitu ki por
$d \varepsilon p \quad t \varepsilon \quad h \supset j \quad u=b a m$ kwaj bam path ${ }^{h} i \quad k i$
PERF NVIS be.well $\mathrm{NF}=$ eat betel.nut eat betel.leaf 3PL
$k i=t u \quad k i=p o r$
PL=MEDL PL=time
'after that it's ok (for) them to eat kwai, pathi then' [TACJ_318]

Examples (722) and (723) are subsequent sentences in a speech about the benefits of snakes in the paddy field. In (722) the speaker identifies the snake ( $u=p s e n$ ), which has been previously given as the theme, with the post-verbal pronoun $u$. The rats, $k i=k^{h} n e$, have been identified here as the topic and are referenced post-verbally in the O-argument undergoer slot. In (723) the speaker continues this thought, identifying first the agentive argument $u$, referring to the snake, and then the undergoer $k i$, referring to the rats.
(722) chispah tylli ki khne u bam u ki
ti=spa? tlli $k i=k^{h} n e \quad u=\boldsymbol{b a m} u \quad k i$
one-hundred CL.NH PL=rat NF=eat 3SG.M.NOM 3PL
'it (the snake) will eat one hundred rats' [BMPJ_064]
(723) man da bam u ki, tæ duna ka um cha khne te duna i pynsih
man da bam u ki te duna $k a=u m$ become REAL eat 3SG.M.NOM 3PL NVIS lack $\mathrm{F}=$ =water tfa $k^{h}$ ne te duna $i=p n$-si? ALL rat MPROX lack ACT=CAUS-be.bad
'when it eats them, then water loss (due) to rats, negative impact is reduced' [BMPJ_064]

In (724), a sentence from a retelling of The Pear Story, the speaker is describing the action of a goat ( $u=b l a \eta$ ) which is passing by the basket of fruit. He states that the goat, identified post-verbally as the agent $u$, was close to eating the fruit, which is identified in the undergoer $\mathrm{O}-\operatorname{argument}$ slot as $o$, the accusative third person singular masculine pronoun form.
(724) jan u bam u oo næ

なan u=bam u $\quad$ ¢
be.near $\mathrm{NF}=$ eat 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.ACC D.tAG
'he almost ate it (the fruit), ok' [MPSM_007]
or 'it (the goat, was) close to eating it (the fruit), ok'

### 12.2.3 Perception 1

### 12.2.3.1 'See'

The transitive verb jo 'see' identifies a kind of perception in which the patient or undergoer argument is more attained. In (725) the speaker is pointing out an item in a display of cultural artifacts. The agentive A-argument is $p^{h} i$ 'you', identified post-verbally, and the undergoer/patient O-argument is $k i=n i k i=w a t$ 'these swords'.
(725) yoo phi kini ki wait kam kini mo
jo $p^{h}{ }^{i} \quad k i=n i \quad k i \quad$ wat $k a m ~ k i=n i \quad m o$
see 2PL PL=PROX 3PL sword like PL=PROX QTAG
'You see these swords, like these, ok' [TACJ_400]
In (726) the speaker is telling a story of the origin of the Jaintia rulers. He uses the verb jo 'see' to identify perception that involves understanding rather than actual physical sight. The A-argument is again $p^{h} i$ 'you', and the O-argument is the event being perceived, namely laj ka=por laj $k i=s n \varepsilon m$ 'time passed, years passed', the passage of time.
(726) tæ najrong neitæ yn yoo phi, lai ka por lai ki snæm

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { tع } n a-\not ̧ r \supset \eta \quad n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad n \quad \text { jo } p^{h} i \quad \text { laj } k a=p o r ~ l a j \\
& \text { NVIS ABL-be.long } A B L=N=N V I S ~ R E F ~ s e e ~ 2 P L ~ g o ~ F=t i m e ~ g o ~ \\
& k i=s n \varepsilon m \\
& \text { PL=year } \\
& \text { 'so from there, you see, time went, the years went' [PP05KO_001] }
\end{aligned}
$$

Example (727) is a subsequent clause in the same sentence/thought as (726), and here the speaker identifies the gods as the agents of perception, specifying the creator God $u=t r e-k i-r o t$ as the agent who perceives and ultimately decides to do something about it. The things he perceives are identified as a complement marked by wa.
(727) yoo ki yoo u tre-ki-rot wa yei won i won i jingbakla
jo $k i$ jo $u=t r e-k i-r \supset t$ wa $j e=i=w \supset n \quad i=w \supset n$
see 3pl see $\mathrm{M}=$ Creator. God NMZ BEN $=\mathrm{N}=$ which $\mathrm{N}=$ which
$i=$ bin-bakla
$\mathrm{N}=$ NMZ-mistake
'they (the gods) saw, Tre Ki Rot saw that there were
problems/mistakes' [PP05KO_001]
In (728) the perception is more direct and involves physical sight. The agentive A -argument is $i$ 'we' and the O -argument is the NP $k i=p^{h} l a y ~ k i ~ w a$ jap 'the dead grass'.
(728) dang yoo i ki phlang ki wa yap
daך jo $i \quad k i=p^{h} l a \eta \quad k i \quad$ wa jap
PROG see 1PL PL=grass 3PL NMZ die
'we still see the grass that is dead' [BMPJ_053]
In (729) the speaker is using direct perception as a metaphor for the depth of knowledge that exists in language. He has been describing some of the ways that the meaning of words has been lost. The direct perception of sight
involves the agentive A -argument $i$ 'we' and the O -argument $k i$ 'them', which refers to the roots of a tree, ostensibly a metaphor for the roots of language which have been lost to some degree in the mists of time.
(729) u deiñ da pynhæh ya oo na kitai ki thied ki tre yong oo ym yoo i ki

| $u=d e n$ | $d a$ | $p n-h \varepsilon ?$ | $j a$ | $o$ |  | $n a$ | $k i=t a j$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{M}=$ tree | REAL | CAUS-be.big | BEN | 3SG.M.ACC | ABL | PL=distal |  |
| $k i=t^{h}$ icd | $k i=t r e$ | $j \supset \eta$ | $o$ |  | $m$ | $j o$ | $i$ |$\quad k i$ 'the tree grows bigger due to the original (deep) roots, but we don't see them (the roots)' [PP08LC_021]

### 12.2.3.2 'Sense': 'hear, feel'

There is a single transitive verb in Pnar, sniaw, which identifies both hearing and feeling, and determining which sense is intended requires contextual knowledge. I use the English term 'sense' to gloss this word, and identify the intended contextual meaning in the free translation.
'Hear' In (730) the speaker is telling the story of the founding of Jowai
 the story the four women are visiting different markets to recruit potential settlers for the town of Jowai. None of the other people at the markets have ever seen or heard of them before. The post-verbal A-argument, $k i$ 'they', refers to the people at the market in both cases, and the O-argument is elided, referring to the four sisters and the proclamation they make in each market regarding the available farmland in Jowai.
(730) ym jooh sñiaw ki yei kyntein ym jooh sñiaw ki

| $m$ | go? | sniaw | $k i$ | $j e=i=k n t e n$ | $m$ | go? | sniaw | $k i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NEG | HAB | sense | 3PL | BEN=N=word | NEG | HAB | sense | 3PL |

'they never heard a word (anything), they never heard (about them/it)' [PP04SKO_041]

In (731) the story is of how $k a=s \eta i$ 'sun' deserted the earth and had to be asked to return. At this point in the story she is hearing all the animals at the party talking badly about her because she danced with her brother $u=b n a j$ 'moon'. The agentive A-argument is identified post-verbally as $k J$ 'she', and the O-argument is the NP $i=k l a m$ ben klam $k^{h} \supset$ ? 'bad/insulting speech'.
(731) sñiaw ko i klam beiñ klam khoh

| sniaw | $k J$ | $i=k l a m$ | ben | klam | $k^{h}$ ?? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sense | 3SG.F.NOM | ACT=speak | despise,suffer | speak | peel |
| 'she heard the bad/insulting speech' | $\left[P P 13 R S \_062\right]$ |  |  |  |  |

In (732) the speaker is talking about how people want to live long lives, and is citing a previous speaker who said something similar. The agentive A-argument is the speaker himself, $y^{\text {' } I \text { ', and the } \mathrm{O} \text {-argument is what the }}$ previous speaker said, identified by the verbal complement construction $\supset \eta$ $u$ 'he said' and $\supset \eta$ wa '(he) said that..'.
(732) sñiaw o ong u yei læh ong wa kwah ki $u$ im chiboon snæm læh ym im de ki
sniaw $0 \quad$ эך $u \quad j e=i \quad l \varepsilon\} \quad$ эך $w a$
sense 1SG.NOM say 3SG.M.NOM BEN=1PL also say NMZ
kwa? ki $u=i m \quad$ ffi=bon snem le? $\quad m \quad i m$
desire $3 \mathrm{PL} \mathrm{NF}=$ live set-be.much year also not live
de ki
NEG.INTS 3PL
'I hear him say to us also, saying that they want to live many years also, (but) they don't' [BPDJ_011]
'Feel' In (733) the speaker is relating some of the history involving his office of headman. Here he relates his feelings regarding being elected. In the complex verbal construction sniaw bay 'feel good', the morpheme bay 'be tasty' serves as an adverb to modify the matrix verb sniaw. The speaker does not mention the agentive O-argument (himself) and instead focuses on the feeling related to becoming the village headman.
(733) sñiaw bang ki tæ i man da rangbah chnong
sniaw bay $k i=t \varepsilon \quad i=m a n \quad d a \quad$ rapba?
sense be.tasty PL=NVIS ACT=become REAL headman
! foŋ
village
'it feels good, becoming village headman' [HPAHR_196]
In (734) the speaker is describing some of his personal history, particularly his role as a traveling musician in his younger years. The agentive Aargument is himself, referenced by $\rho$, the first-person post-verbal pronoun, and the O-argument/complement is identified by the nominalized expression wa $u=j \supset$ ? $\supset u=r w a j$ 'I got to sing'.
(734) tæ nga ha wa sñiaw o wa u yoh o u rwai

| $t \varepsilon$ | $\eta a$ | $h a$ | wa | sniaw | $\bigcirc$ | wa | $u=j \supset$ ? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NVIS | 1SG.ACC | LOC | NMZ | sense | 1SG.NOM | NMZ | NF=get |
| $\bigcirc \quad u=r w a j$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1SG.NOM NF=sing |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'so I, when I feel (this way) I got to sing' [TACJ_021] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

In (735) the speaker is relating a near-death experience that he had, and how he felt as a result. Here he identifies himself as the agentive A-argument of sniaw and the complement O-argument follows the copula to? 'be'.
(735) tæ nadooh katæ u sngi tæ sñiaw o toh u e kti ya ka kam ha u blai
te $n a-d o ? \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad u=s \eta i \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ sniaw $っ \quad$ to?
NVIS ABL-when $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ day NVIS sense 1SG.NOM be
$u=e \quad k t i \quad j a \quad k a=k a m \quad h a \quad u=b l a j$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ give hand BEN RES=work LOC M=God
'from that day onward, i felt like i should submit everything to God's hand' [LS1J_024]

In (736) the experiencer S-argument of the complex construction sniaw suk 'feel good' is $i$ 'we'. The morpheme suk 'be.peaceful' serves a similar adverbial function as bay 'be tasty' in (733) above. Here the speaker is describing one of the typical things she would do with her friends when she was younger. The O-argument complement is the nominalized verbal clause $u=l a j l i$-dan ja $k a=$ den $\dagger$ fa $k^{h} l o$ 'to go cut wood in the forest'.
(736) jooh læh sñiaw suk i læh u lai lidain ya ka deiñ cha khloo

あo? le? sniaw suk $i \quad l \varepsilon ? ~ u=l a j ~ l i-d a n ~ j a ~$ HAB also sense be.peaceful 1PL also $\mathrm{NF}=$ go DUR-cut BEN $k a=\operatorname{den} \quad$ tja $\quad k^{h} l o$ $\mathrm{F}=$ tree ALL forest
'we also used to feel good (enjoy) going (and) cutting wood in the forest' [BPVM_016]

### 12.2.4 Perception 2

### 12.2.4.1 'Listen'

Although there is a single verb form for 'hear/feel' (§12.2.3.2), there is also a separate verb for 'listen'. This seems to align nicely with Tsunoda's classification of 'listen' as a kind of perception in which the patient is "less attained". In (737), for example, the speaker is relating what he would do when his father told him traditional stories. His father's telling of stories is
the verbal event that serves as the elided O-argument/complement, and the post-verbal first person pronoun $\partial$ is the agentive A -argument.
tæ heitu i por nga ap o, suki o
$h e=i=t u \quad i=p \partial r \quad \eta a \quad$ ap o $\quad$ suki
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ MEDL $\mathrm{N}=$ =time $1 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{ACC}$ listen $1 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{NOM}$ be.quiet $\rho$
1SG.NOM
'at that time I listened, I was quiet' [TACJ_014]
In (738), however, it is not clear how attained the O-argument is. Here the speaker is doing a live retelling of The Pear Story to another speaker, and the rooster has just crowed. Both participants can hear the sound, but only the one speaking can see the movie. The A-argument in this situation is $p^{h}$, a pronoun which refers to a second person female interlocutor, and the elided O -argument is the crowing of the rooster that has just sounded. The use of ap 'listen' here instead of sniaw 'hear' seems to indicate a degree of uncertainty by the speaker about the attainment of the sound by the addressee. However, this is not completely clear and deserves more careful study.
(738) tæ yoosar nang stæp itæ i por ap pho tæ yoo o dang doom bha
te josar naך step $i=t \varepsilon \quad i=p \supset r \quad a p$ NVIS seems PROG morning,early $\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ time listen $p^{h} \supset \quad t \varepsilon \quad j o \quad \jmath \quad d a \eta$ dom bha 2SG.F.NOM NVIS see 1SG.NOM PROG early,dark INTS1 'so it seems to be very early, the time, you listened/heard, so I see it's still very early' [MPSM_001]

Similarly, in (739) the distinction of attainment is not clear. In this part of the story of the sun deserting earth, the kings of the world are hearing from their servants, who have just returned from calling the rooster $u=k^{h}$ on lmbot $k^{h}$ on lmbiay, that he is unable to come. The way this story is told, it could either indicate that the event is unfolding within the 'event time' expressed in the story, or that the kings have already heard it. Again, this deserves further investigation.
(739) tæ ap syiem ap kmai $u$ khon lymboit khon lymbiang ym yee $u$ wan dorbar sorbar
tع ap sPem ap kmaj $u=k^{h} \partial n$ lmbot $k^{h} \partial n$ NVIS listen king listen be.great $\mathrm{M}=$ child Lymboit child lmbiay $m$ je $u=w a n$ dorbar sorbar Lymbiang NEG able $\mathrm{NF}=$ come meeting gathering 'so the kings listened/heard (regarding how) Khon Lymboit Khon Lymbiang wasn't able to come to the meeting' [PP13RS_113]

### 12.2.4.2 'Look'

Similarly to the 'hear/feel' and 'listen' pair of verbs, the verb jo 'see' seems to have a less-attained counterpart in pat 'look'. In (740), for example, the speaker is relating (in real time) the actions of the little boy. Here the boy has just arrived near the fruit and is looking at it but has not interacted with it. The agentive A -argument (the boy) is identified post-verbally by $u$, whereas the patientive O-argument is identified by the topical pronominal form $o$, which is then fully identified by the NP $u=n i u=s o$ ? 'this fruit'.
(740) pait u oo uni u soh
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { pat } & u & o & u=n i \\ \text { look } & \text { 3SG.M.NOM } & \text { 3SG.M.ACC } & \text { M=PROX } \\ \text { 'he looks (at) this fruit' } & \text { [FPSM_fruit } \\ \text { 'he }\end{array}$
The sentence in (741) is a later part of the story being told in (739) after the kings heard that the rooster was not able to come, they sent their servants back to coerce his presence at the meeting. Here the servants are showing the knives and ropes that they brought to force the $u=k^{h} \partial n$ lmbot $k^{h}$ on lmbian's cooperation. As part of the imperative construction, the A-
 $j \supset \eta i$ 'our weapons' and $u=t l l e$ jəŋ $i u=t^{h} r i j \partial \eta i$ 'our ropes' are identified as the thematic focus.
(741) pait ka tari yong i ka wait yong i pait utylle yong iuthri yong it tiwan dorbar sorbar wan dei wa joit
pat $k a=t a r i ~ j \supset \eta ~ i \quad k a=w a t \quad j \supset \eta \quad i \quad$ pat $u=t l l e$ look $\mathrm{F}=$ knife GEN 1PL $\mathrm{F}=$ sword GEN 1PL look $\mathrm{M}=$ rope $j \supset \eta i \quad u=t^{h} r i \quad j \partial \eta i$ te li-wan dorbar GEN 1PL M=bamboo.rope GEN 1PL NVIS DUR-come meeting sorbar wan de-i wa got gathering come INST=3SG.N NMZ be.passive
'look at our knives and ropes, please come to the meeting without any resistance' [PP13RS_116]

The verb pat can also be used in the sense of 'oversee' or 'watch over'. In (742) the speaker is describing his role and the role of others in caring for Raliang village, as part of his duty as headman. The A-argument is $i$ 'we' and the O-argument/complement is raliay $k a=t f n \supset \eta ~ k a=t^{h} a w$ 'Raliang village'.
(742) tæ pait i Raliang ka chnong ka thaw
te pat $i \quad$ raliay $k a=t f n \supset \eta \quad k a=t^{h} a w$
NVIS look 1PL Raliang $\mathrm{F}=$ village $\mathrm{F}=$ place
'so we looked (after) Raliang village' [HPAHR_060]
In (743) the story is of the discovery of the kings' children. In this part of the story $u=K h m a h$ has discovered that the girl who has been helping him sell his pepper is in fact one of the heirs to the throne. Here he instructs his mother to look after her. Since he is directly addressing his mother, the A-argument is elided, and the patientive O-argument is the NP $k a=n i$ $k^{h} n n a$ ? 'this girl'.
(743) ong u bei pait ka kani khynnah

эך $u \quad b e j \quad$ pat $k a \quad k a=n i \quad k^{h} n \not n a$ ?
say 3SG.M.NOM mother look 3SG.F.ACC F=PROX little.one
'he said 'mother, look (after/to) this girl" [PP05KO_035]

### 12.2.5 Pursuit

Tsunoda includes three verbs in his class of 'pursuit' verbs - search, wait, and await. As Pnar's 'search' verb has the same form as the verb meaning 'find', above, and since there is no alternate Pnar verb meaning 'await', only the verb meaning 'wait' is discussed here.

### 12.2.5.1 'Wait'

The verb meaning 'wait' in Pnar is $j a \eta$, which can take two arguments or a single undergoer argument and a complement. In (744) the speaker is relating how she and her siblings would wait for their mother to return from market when they were younger. The first clause in this sentence has $i$ 'we' as the single post-verbal undergoer S/A argument, with other arguments elided. The second clause identifies $i$ as the A-argument, but then includes $k i=$ tiar 'things' as the O-argument which is subsequently modified by the relative/comitative clause wa wan jaw ko na ofwaj 'that/and she would market-come from Jowai'.
(744) da lai liyang i, da liyang i ki tiar wa wan yaw ko na jwai
$d a \quad$ laj li-jay $i \quad d a \quad l i-j a \eta \quad i \quad k i=t i a r$
REAL go DUR-wait 1PL REAL DUR-wait 1PL PL=things
wa wan jaw ko na obwaj
COMT come market 3SG.F.NOM ABL Jowai
'we went and waited, we waited for the things and her
market-coming from Jowai' [BPVM_003]
or 'we waited for the things she would bring from Jowai market'
In (745) the speaker is identifying certain tools in his collection of traditional Pnar artifacts. He incorporates $k b a$ 'rice' into the verb, which is then followed by the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$-argument $k i$ 'they'. It is not completely clear whether $k b a$ is conceptualized as the location where farmers would wait, or as an O-argument somehow involved in the action, but it is clear that the whole verbal event $j a \eta k b a$ is considered a regularised or generic activity, perhaps 'waiting to harvest rice'. The instruments used for the activity are then subsequently given as $k i=n i$ 'these' and marked by the instrumental marker $d a$.
(745) ha wa ræp ha wa riang ki jooh yang kba ki da kini
$h a \quad w a \quad r \varepsilon p$ ha wa riaך ki go? jaך
LOC NMZ cultivate LOC NMZ plant.type 3PL HAB wait
$k b a \quad k i \quad d a \quad k i=n i$
rice[paddy] 3PL INST PL=PROX
'when they cultivated (rice) they used to wait in the rice field with these' [TACJ_392]

In (746) the verb is followed by the A-argument $u$ 'he' and then by a locative complement marked by ha.
(746) yang $u$ ha heitu ha lad ha katæ ka thaw ka wa jan yoo hi phi hadooh katni næh u moo, u moo kule

| $j a y$ | $u$ | $h a$ | $h e=i=t u$ | $h a$ | $l a d$ | $h a$ | $k a=t \varepsilon$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wait | 3SG.M.NOM | LOC | LOC $=$ N=MEDL | LOC | way | LOC | $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS |

Example (747) similarly has an A-argument $i$ 'we' and a locative complement identified by $h e=i=t \varepsilon$ 'there'.
(747) da yang i heitæ da kit i u khoh ya $u$ kit ki tiar cha yung
$d a \quad j a \eta \quad i \quad h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad d a \quad$ kit $\quad i$ REAL wait 1PL LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS REAL carry(sling) 1PL $u=k^{h} \partial ? \quad j a \quad u=k i t \quad$ ki=tiar t $a \quad j u \eta$ $\mathrm{M}=$ cone.basket BEN NF=carry(sling) $\mathrm{PL}=$ things ALL home 'we waited there with our carrying basket for carrying things home' [BPVM_007]

### 12.2.6 Knowledge

Verbs of knowledge are also identified as a subtype by Tsunoda. These include verbs such as 'know', 'understand', 'remember', and 'forget'.

### 12.2.6.1 'Know'

The transitive verb tip means 'know' in Pnar. This identifies an inherent quality ascribed to an individual or set of individuals. In (748) the speaker is talking about different words that occur in expressive constructions in Pnar, and the lack of general knowledge found among Pnar speakers regarding the meaning of both words - they may know the expression, but not the meaning of both words in the expression. In the expressive $u=k n a u=k^{h}$ riam 'perform a ritual', the first word is well known to Pnar speakers, but the second is not. The A-arguments here are mi 'you, masculine', and the O-arguments are the nominalized verbs $u=k n a$ and $u=k^{h}$ riam.
(748) tip mi u kña sæ tang wa ym tip mi u khriam
$\begin{array}{llllll}t i p & m i & u=k n a & s \varepsilon & t a \eta & w a \\ \text { know } & \text { 2SG.M.NOM } & \text { NF=perform.ritual } & \text { C.TAG } & \text { but,even } & \text { NMZ }\end{array}$
$m \quad$ tip $\quad m i \quad u=k^{h}$ riam
NEG know 2SG.M.NOM NF=chant
'you know how to 'kña' but you don't know how to 'khriam"
[PP08LC_017]
In (749) the verb tip occurs as reduplicated, adding emphasis to the expression. The A-argument is 0 'first person singular', and the O-argument complement is mllu mlla $u=t \supset$ ? $u=t^{h}$ ar 'something to write'.
(749) tæ kat wa kamtæ man kat $u$ tip tip o myllu mylla $u$ thoh $u$ thar
te kat wa kam-te man kat u=tip tip
NVIS as NMZ like-NVIS become as NF=know know
o mllu mlla $u=t^{h} \partial$ ? $u=t^{h}$ ar
1SG.NOM gather gather $\mathrm{NF}=$ write $\mathrm{NF}=$ tear
'because of that, it is just enough for me to know how to write a bit' [TACJ_069]

In (750) the speaker is telling a story about a group of warriors who gained renown. In this part of the story the Daloi of Jowai has just instructed his warriors to not eat food that the treacherous ruler Malngiang had prepared. Unfortunately not everyone heard him. The A-argument is $k i$ 'they (the warriors)' and the O -argument complement is $j e=i=t \varepsilon$ 'about that'.
(750) ki wa boon yn ki ym tip ki yeitæ ki halor wa da ong u jwai

| $k i$ | $w a$ | $b o n$ | $n$ | $k i$ | $m$ | $t i p$ | $k i$ | $j e=i=t \varepsilon$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3PL | NMZ | be.much | ref | 3PL | not know | 3PL | BEN=N=NVIS |  |
| $k i=h a-l o r$ | $w a$ | $d a$ | $\supset \eta$ | $u=$ Jjwaj |  |  |  |  |
| PL=LOC-top | NMZ | REAL | say | M=Jowai |  |  |  |  |

'many of them didn't know about what Jowai said' [PP03SKY_008]
In (751) the post-verbal referent for the A-argument, which is understood to be the speaker, is elided, having been identified preverbally in the topic slot by $\eta a$. The O -argument is $i=j i \quad i=t \varepsilon$ 'that thing'.
(751) tæ nga læh re tip bha i yi itæ
te $\quad \eta a \quad l \varepsilon ? \quad r \varepsilon \quad$ tip bha $\quad i=j i \quad i=t \varepsilon$
NVIS 1SG.ACC also any know ints1 $\mathrm{N}=$ thing $\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS
'so I also don't know much about that' [SI2_020]
In (752) the story is a continuation of how the line of Jaintia kings was restored. Here $u=K h m a h$ is requesting permission to speak before the council regarding his discovery, and one of the elders speaks up for him, to allow him to make his case. The preverbal topical first-person singular form nga and the post-verbal form $\rho$ both identify the elder in question as the speaker. The O-argument complement is $i=j i \quad i=\sigma i \eta t^{h} m u \quad u=k^{h} m a \rho$ 'the motive of Khmah'.
(752) nga da tip o i yi i jingthmu u khmah

| $\eta a$ | $d a$ | tip | $\jmath$ | $i=j i$ | $i=d i \eta-t^{h} m u$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1SG.ACC | REAL | know | 1SG.NOM | N=thing | N=NMZ-plan |
| $u=h^{h} m a$ ? |  |  |  |  |  |
| M=Khmah |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'I know the motive of Khmah' [PP05KO_038] |  |  |  |  |  |

In (753) the speaker identifies an individual he had previously mentioned as the A-argument, $u=t \varepsilon$ 'that (one)'. The O-argument is himself, but rather than using the post-verbal form, he explicitly marks $\eta a$ as the recipient or beneficiary of knowledge.
(753) læh dæp tip bha utæ ya nga
$l \varepsilon$ ? dep tip bha u=tع ja $\quad \eta a$
also PERF know ints1 M=NVIS BEN 1SG.ACC
'also he (that one) knows me very well' [HPAHR_090]
In (754) the participants in the story do not know what to say after the rulers request a volunteer to approach the gods to have the sun return to earth. The A-argument of both 'know' verbs is $k i$ 'they', and the O-argument in one case is the nominalized verb $u=k l a m$ 'speak', and in the other is $u=\jmath \eta$ 'say'.
(754) ym tip de ki u klam ym tip de ki u ong
$\begin{array}{llllllll}m & t i p & d e & k i & u=k l a m & m & t i p & d e \\ \text { NEG } & \text { know } & \text { NEG.INTS } & \text { 3PL } & \text { NF=speak } & \text { NEG } & \text { know } & \text { NEG.INTS }\end{array}$
ki $u=0 \eta$
3PL NF=say
'they don't know (what/how) to speak, they don't know
(what/how) to say' [PP13RS_064]
In (755) the speaker is relating how he met a native American (Adam Yellowbird) at a conference on traditional healing practices, and how he learned that the native Americans have a similar story about how the sun deserted earth and had to be requested to return. In the first clause the A -argument is $k i$ 'they' and the O-argument is elided (the copula man joins the two clauses). In the second clause the A-argument is also $k i$ 'they', and the $\mathrm{O}-$ argument is $k a$ 'it, feminine', which is clarified by the following NP $k a=n i$ $k a=p a r \partial m$ 'this story'. In the third clause the topical NP $k a=d o$ ? $k a=$ parom 'the same story' is referenced post-verbally in the O-argument slot by $k a$ 'it, feminine'.
(755) tæ tip ki, man tip hi ki ka kani ka parom, ka jooh ka parom tip ki ka
te tip ki man tip hi ki ka
NVIS know 3pL become know EMPH 3PL 3SG.F.ACC
$k a=n i \quad k a=$ parsm $\quad k a=\hbar o ? \quad k a=$ parsm tip
F=PROX RES=tell.story RES=be.same RES=tell.story know
ki ka
3PL 3SG.F.ACC
'so they know, they know this story, they know the same story'
[PP13RS_003]

In (756) the speaker is pointing to a set of cultural artifacts and inquires of his interviewer regarding them. The post-verbal second person masculine pronoun mi serves as the A-argument, and $k i k i=n i$ 'they, these' is the O-argument.
(756) tæ kini tip hi mi ki kini
$\begin{array}{lllllll}t \varepsilon & k i=n i & t i p & h i & m i & k i & k i=n i \\ \text { NVIS } & \text { PL=PROX } & \text { know } & \text { EMPH } & \text { 2SG.M.NOM } & \text { 3PL } & \text { PL=PROX }\end{array}$
'so these, do you know these?' [TACJ_423]
In (757) the speaker has been displaying a series of different kinds of baskets and explaining their uses. Here he states that the interviewer's knowledge is now comprehensive. The A-argument is $m i$ 'you, masculine' and the $\mathrm{O}-$ argument is $k a$, which refers to knowledge about something, in this case $u=$ t $a \mathrm{a}$ 'the basket', which is identified immediately.
(757) to kattu chooh da tip hi mi ka u chang
to kat-tu too da tip hi mi ka
ok as-MEDL more REAL know EMPH 2SG.M.NOM 3SG.F
$u=$ =faŋ
M=basket
'ok, now you know everything about this basket' [TACJ_479]
In (758) the speaker is relating some of his childhood experiences. He topicalizes the phrase $k a=t \varepsilon k a=l a j$ skur 'that school-going', then makes a comment in which $i$ 'we' serves as the A-argument of tip 'know', and the O-argument $k a$ 'it, feminine' refers to the topical activity of 'school-going'.
(758) ya katæ ka lai skur ym pu tip i ka
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=l a j \quad$ skur $\quad m \quad p u \quad$ tip $\quad i \quad k a$
F=NVIS RES=go school NEG not know 1PL 3SG.F.ACC
'regarding going to school we didn't know anything (about it)' [SI3_062]

In (759) the speaker is explaining about the traditional 8-day week in Pnar society. In each clause $k i$ 'they' serves as the A-argument of tip 'know'. In the first clause the O-argument is $k a$ 'it, feminine', identified as $k a=k a l \varepsilon n d a r$ 'the (western) calendar', and in the second the O-argument is the complement $j a k i=t \varepsilon k i=s \eta i ~ ' a b o u t ~ t h o s e ~(w e s t e r n ~ w e e k-) d a y s ' . ~$
nadooh mynchwa ym pu tip ki ka ka calendar ym pu tip ki ya kitæ ki sngi na-do? mntfwa $m \quad p u$ tip $k i \quad k a$ ABL-when before NEG not know 3PL 3SG.F.ACC $k a=k a l \varepsilon n d a r \quad m \quad p u \quad t i p \quad k i \quad j a \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=s \eta i$ F=calendar NEG not know 3PL BEN PL=NVIS PL=day 'since the olden days the people don't know about the (western) calendar, they don't know about the days' [PP09MW_006]

### 12.2.6.2 'Understand'

The Pnar verb meaning 'understand' is a compound formed from sniaw 'sense, hear/feel' and $t^{h}$ o? 'search, find'. This is a strongly transitive verb which generally occurs with two arguments in my data. In (760), for example, the speaker has been discussing the meaning of a particular word and its lack of understanding by the current generation. The A-argument ki 'they' refers to the speakers in the younger generation, while the O-argument $k a$ 'it, feminine' refers to the previously identified $k a=k n t e n ~ ' w o r d ' . ~$
(760) i pateiñ yong i ym sñiawthooh ki ka hawa klam
$i=$ paten $\quad j \ni \eta \quad i \quad m \quad s_{n} \boldsymbol{a i a w t}^{h} \boldsymbol{o} \boldsymbol{P} \quad k i \quad k a$
$\mathrm{N}=$ generation GEN 1PL NEG understand 3PL 3SG.F.ACC
hawa klam
when speak
'our (current) generation doesn't understand it (a particular word) when (we) speak' [PP07SNM_019]

In (761) the speaker is responding to a question by the interviewer regarding the mix-up of festival dates by a neighboring town. Here he states that the reason they made the mistake is their lack of understanding about the culture. The A-argument is identified by the post-verbal third person plural pronoun $k i$, and the O -argument by $k a$ 'it, feminine'.
(761) ym tip ki ya ka niam ka rukom tæ pynbakla ki ka sæ, ym sñiawthooh ki ka sæ

| $m$ tip |  | $j a$ | ka=niam |  | ka=rukom | $t \varepsilon$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NEG know | 3PL | BEN | $\mathrm{F}=$ tradit | tion $\mathrm{F}=$ | $\mathrm{F}=$ way | NVIS |  |
| $p n$-bakla | ki | $k$ |  | $s \varepsilon$ | $m$ | sniawt ${ }^{h}$ o? | $k i$ |
| CAUS-mistak | e 3P | L 3s | SG.F.ACC | C.TAG | G NEG | understand | 3 PL |
| ka | se |  |  |  |  |  |  |

'they don't know the culture so they made a mistake, they don't understand it (the culture)' [PP09MW_028]

In (762) the speaker is speaking about a different term that is not wellunderstood. The A-argument is identified as ki 'they', and the O-argument $k a$ refers to the particular term in question.
(762) tæ mut ha kini ki pateiñ katni ki wa boon ym sñiawthooh ki ka
te mut ha ki=ni ki=paten kat-ni ki
NVIS means LOC PL=PROX PL=generation as-PROX 3PL
wa bon $\quad m \quad$ sniawt $^{h} \boldsymbol{o}$ ? $k i \quad k a$
NMZ be.much NEG understand 3PL 3SG.F.ACC
'in the present generation there are many who don't understand it (Lariang Phariang)' [PP08LC_014]

In (763) the storyteller has been relating how the world came into being. Here he explains that the number khynde 'nine' has special significance. The verb ja-sniawt ${ }^{h}$ o? identifies a kind of knowledge in which the A -argument $k i=b r u$ 'people' engage in together. The O-argument is $i=j i \quad i=\sigma$ jin-mut $k^{h} n d e$ 'the meaning (of) nine'.
(763) teintein ym ya sñiawthooh ki bru i yi i jingmut khynde
tenten $\quad m \quad j a$-sniawt ${ }^{h} \boldsymbol{o} \boldsymbol{P} \quad k i=b r u \quad i=j i$
sometimes NEG PLUR-understand PL=person $\mathrm{N}=$ thing
$i=$ gin-mut $\quad k^{h} n d e$
$\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NMZ}$-means nine
'sometimes people don't understand the meaning (of) nine'
[PP01CSE_050]
or 'sometimes people don't understand what (the number) nine means'

### 12.2.6.3 'Remember'

The word knmo means 'remember' in Pnar. Traditionally, large stones (mo 'stone') were placed to help speakers remember or commemorate significant events, which suggests an origin for the word. In example (764) the speaker is relating a story about two birds that he recalls from his youth. However, he does not remember the name of one of the birds. He identifies himself as the A -argument $\rho$ and the O -argument as $k a=k \rho p s a r k a=t \varepsilon k a=s i m$ 'that other bird'.
(764) dang khynnah khiah, ym kynmoo o ka kopsar katæ ka sim

$$
\begin{array}{lllllll}
d a \eta & k^{h} n n a \mathrm{n} & k^{h} i a \mathrm{iap} & m & k n m o & \jmath & k a=k o p s a r \\
\text { PROG } & \text { little.one } & \text { be.whole } & \text { NEG } & \text { remember } & \text { 1SG.NOM } & \mathrm{F}=\text { other } \\
k a=t \varepsilon & k a=\text { sim } & & & & \\
\mathrm{F}=\text { NVIS } & \mathrm{F}=\text { bird } & & & &
\end{array}
$$

'(I) was still a little child (so) I don't remember (the name of) that other bird' [BMPJ_023]

In (765), part of the same thought, he explains why he has forgotten. Again he identifies himself as the A-argument, and $k a$ 'it, feminine' refers to the bird whose name he thinks he would remember if he had been older when he heard the story.
(765) la da rap hæh tæ boi kynmoo o ka læh

| $l a$ | $d a$ | $r a p$ | $h \varepsilon$ | $t \varepsilon$ | $b o j$ | $k n m o$ | $o$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| if | REAL | grow | be.big | NVIS | should | remember | 1SG.NOM |
| $k a$ | $l \varepsilon$ ? |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3SG.F.ACC | also |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'if I was older I would remember it' | [BMPJ_023] |  |  |  |  |  |  |

In (766) the speaker is relating some of the occurrences in his village. A particular man had a bus in which he drove people to Jowai. Here the speaker identifies himself as the A-argument post-verbally, and $u=t u$ 'that (one)' represents the man, who is more fully identified by the following relative clause.
(766) kynmoo o utu $u$ wa ong ki $u$ lonet lato

| knmo | 0 | $u=t u$ | $u$ | wa | on | $k i$ | $u=$ lonct |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| remember | 1SG.NOM | M=MEDL | 3SG.M | NMZ | say | 3PL | $\mathrm{M}=$ Lonet |
| lato |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Lato |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

'I remember that (guy) who they called Lonet Lato' [SI1_025]
In (767), from the same text, the speaker is relating how many people in the village died from smallpox. Having identified himself as the A-argument with the topical first person pronoun $\eta a$, he elides the post-verbal pronominal form (or it blends into the verb due to fast speech) and simply identifies the O-argument as $u=t u u=s n \varepsilon m$ 'that year'.
(767) nga kynmoo utu u snæm sa wa joor bha wa yap niangthoh


### 12.2.6.4 'Forget'

Although forgetfulness can be encoded by negating the word for 'remember', Pnar also has a verb mllin which means 'forget'. In example (768)
the speaker is relating how many traditional names have been forgotten and many parents give their children foreign names. The post-verbal demonstrative A-argument $k i=t a j$ 'those' refers to people in the current generation,
 name(s)'.
(768) bhah katni ka pateiñ tæ da boon wa pyrtuit yong phareng bait tæ da mylliñ kitai i pyrtuit yong tre
bha? kat-ni ka=paten te da bon wa prtut cause as-PROX $\mathrm{F}=$ generation NVIS REAL be.much NMZ name $j \partial \eta p^{h}$ aren bat te da mllin ki=taj $i=p r t u t$ GEN foreigner IMM3 NVIS REAL forget PL=distal $\mathrm{N}=$ =name joŋ tre
GEN original
'because (in) the current generation many names are just English, they forget the traditional names' [PP07SNM_011]

In (769) the speaker has been describing the use of a kind of basket built to carry people who need medical attention to the nearest clinic or hospital. Here the first $k i$ 'they' which follows the verb mllin 'forget' refers to the Pnar people (who serve as the A-argument), and the second $k i$ refers to the baskets that he has been discussing (which function as the O-argument).
(769) tæ katni kat wa da æm kari i tæ jingmut waroh da mylliñ lut ki ki sæ
te kat-ni kat wa da $\quad$ em kari $i \quad t \varepsilon$ NVIS as-PROX as NMZ REAL have car 1PL NVIS gin-mut waro? da mllin lut $k i \quad k i \quad s \varepsilon$ NMZ-means all REAL forget finish 3PL 3PL C.TAG 'so now, since we have cars, so it means they all forget everything about them ok?' [TACJ_491]

In (770) the speaker is relating past village events but has forgotten someone's name. Here he asks other speakers sitting nearby what the person's name is. The A-argument is the first-person speaker $\supset$, and the O -argument is $o$, the accusative third person masculine referent whose name has been forgotten.
(770) uyi utu da mylliñ o oo
$u=j i \quad u=t u \quad d a \quad$ mllin $0 \quad o$
$\mathrm{M}=$ thing $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ REAL forget 1SG.NOM 3SG.M.ACC
'what is that person's name, i forgot' [SI1_057]
In (771) the speaker is relating how Yale caught a fish which turned out to be a river goddess/nymph. Here he has just caught the fish and arrived home,
then forgets to cook his catch. The A-argument is encoded by $u$ 'he' and the fish he has caught is identified as the O-argument by $k a$ 'it, feminine'.
(771) man da poi ha yung mylliñ chi mylliñ u ka u chæt
man da poj ha juך mllin tfi mllin
become REAL arrive LOC home forget set forget
$u \quad k a \quad u=t \varepsilon t$
3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.ACC NF=cook
'when he arrived home he forgot it, forgot to cook it' [PP05KO_007]

### 12.2.7 Feeling

Tsunoda's categories include the subtype of feeling, such as 'love', 'like', 'want', 'need', 'fear', and 'anger'.

### 12.2.7.1 'Love'

The word for 'love' or fondness or closeness in Pnar is maja. This word is used to express feeling between people of the same gender as well as people of the opposite gender and entails a degree of knowledge and trust. The depth of feeling is dependent on context to some extent. In (772), for example, the king $u=$ malyian, who betrayed 1,100 warriors, has taken four warriors from Jowai into his household. They have worked hard to gain his trust in order to enact their revenge, and finally the king is looking favorably on them. This favor/fondness is expressed by the verb maja and the post-verbal Aargument $u$ 'he' refers to $u=$ malyian while the demonstrative $k i=t \varepsilon$ 'those, them' refers to the warriors.
(772) da maya $u$ kitæ hynre kini ki soo ngut ki khlawait ya $u$ su ya ka tput
$d a \quad$ maja $u \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad h n ุ r e \quad k i=n i$

REAL love 3SG.M.NOM PL=NVIS but.also $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PrOX}$
$k i=s o \quad$ put $\quad k i=k^{h} l a w a t \quad j a \quad u=s u \quad j a$
PL=four CL.HUM PL=warrior BEN $\mathrm{NF}=$ repay BEN
ka=tput
RES $=$ revenge
'he (Malngiang) loved them, but these four warriors (wait) for (an opportunity to get) revenge' [PP03SKY_015]

In (773) the speaker is relating events that allowed him and the village leaders to organize an event. The individual $u=k \supset \eta$ sajo was instrumental to the organization, and here he relates how they were able to get his involvement due to a previous relationship. The A-argument is identified in the topic
slot as $i$ 'we' and elided post-verbally, with $w a u=k \supset \eta$ sajo serving as the O-argument/complement.
(773) tæ man i maya bha wa u kong saio
te man $i \quad$ maja bha wa $u=k \supset \eta ~ s a j o$ NVIS become 1PL love ints1 Comt M=Kong Saio
'so we were very close with Mr. Kong Saio' [HPAHR_082]

### 12.2.7.2 'Like'

The verb maja can also be used to mean 'like', depending on context, but a kind of attraction that has no basis in existing relationship (and trust) is identified through other means. For example, perceiving something and being attracted to it because of how it looks is identified, as in (774), by the compound josuk 'attractive', which is formed from jo 'see' and suk 'be peaceful'. In this example the speaker is relating how men and women interact before marriage (he goes on to talk about the traditional Pnar marriage practices). The participants are the A-argument $u$ 'he', which references the preverbal topic $u=\dagger$ fnray 'male', and the O-argument $k a$ 'her', which is fully identified as $k a=k n t^{h} a j$ 'female'.
(774) man da $u$ chynrang yoosuk $u$ ka ka kynthai tæ kylli nyngkong chwa $u$ yei kur i jait
man da u=tfinray jo-suk u ka
become REAL M=male see-be.peaceful 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.ACC
$k a=k n t^{h} a j$ te klli n nkon tfwa u je=i=kur $\mathrm{F}=$ female NVIS ask be.first before 3SG.M.NOM BEN=N=clan
$i=d a t$
$\mathrm{N}=$ type
'when the guy likes the girl the first thing he'll do is to ask about her surname' [PP14MF _007]

### 12.2.7.3 Desire: 'want'

The verb of desire in Pnar that translates to English 'want' is kwa?. This verb often occurs with a nominalized verb as its O-argument, as in (775), where the A-argument is $k i$ 'they, them' and the complement is the verbal clause $u=$ liwan tf tfnop 'to return home to (the) village' and its subsequent clarification.
(775) ym kwah de ki $u$ liwan cha chnong cha chnong yong ki cha Tuber

| kwa? de ki u=liwan |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | NEG desire NEG.InTS 3PL NF=return.home ALL village ALL tjnวŋ joŋ ki tfa tuber

village gen 3pl all Tuber
'they didn't want to go back to the village, to their village Tuber' [PP02SKF_018]

In (776) the speaker relates the process the Lathadlabot school went through in order to get funding from the government to build the school. Before they could receive the money, several conditions had to be met, and the people disbursing the funds wanted to receive a project report. Here the A-argument ki refers to the disbursement committee, and the O-argument is the nominalized verb $u=j 0$ ? 'to get' and the case-marked NP that follows.
(776) kwah ki u yoh ya ka ni ka project report
kwa? ki $u=j \supset ? \quad j a \quad k a=n i \quad k a=p r o j \varepsilon k$ ripot desire 3PL NF=get BEN $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ project report 'they wanted to get the project report' [LHJ_027]

In (777) the speaker wants to know what story to tell to the interviewer. The A-arguments $p^{h} i$ 'you' of both verbs reference the interviewer, and the O-argument of the first verb is elided post-verbally, having been identified pre-verbally by the noun $k a=j i$ 'what, thing'. In the second clause, $k a=j i$ is marked by $j a$ in the topic slot, putting it in oblique function. The nominalized verb $u=t$ fim 'to take' is thus conceptualized as the O-argument.
(777) tæ mut kayi kwah phi, ya kayi kwah phi u chim
$t \varepsilon$ mut $k a=j i \quad k w a \boldsymbol{P} p^{h} i \quad j a \quad k a=j i \quad k w a \boldsymbol{P} p^{h} i$
NVIS means $\mathrm{F}=$ thing desire 2PL BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ thing desire 2PL
$u=t$ im
$\mathrm{NF}=$ take
'so what (story) do you want, what do you want to take?'
[PP13RS_010]
In (778) the speaker is relating the intentions of $u=t r e-k i-r \partial t$, the creator God, to the seven families who have settled on earth and their descendants. The post-verbal A-argument $u$ 'he' references $u=t r e-k i-r o t$, and $u=j \partial ?$ 'to get' serves as the O-argument.
(778) tæ kwah noh u u yoh da $u$ syiem da $u$ kmai ya $u$ synchar ya $u$ ynñiaw wasa
te kwa? no? $u \quad u=j \partial ? ~ d a \quad u=s$ ?em da NVIS desire IMM1 3SG.M.NOM NF=get INST M=ruler INST $u=k m a j \quad j a \quad u=s n t f a r ~ j a \quad u=n j i a w ~ w a s a$ $N F=$ be.great $B E N \quad N F=$ rule $B E N \quad M=$ seven hut 'so he just wanted to get a ruler for ruling the the Ynñiaw Wasa' [PP13RS_018]

In (779), rather than using a nominalized verbal construction as the Oargument complement, the speaker incorporates the expression bam do? 'meat-eat' into the verb kwa? 'want'. This forms a complex verbal expression kwa? bam do? 'want (to) meat-eat' where $i$ 'we' serves as the S/A-argument.
mut dur u syiar kwah bam doh i u pynyap i oo læh hoi hi
mut dur $u=s$ Piar kwa? bam do? i
means purpose $\mathrm{M}=$ chicken desire eat body,meat 1PL
$u=p n-j a p \quad i \quad o \quad l \varepsilon ? \quad h \partial j \quad h i$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-die 1PL 3SG.M.ACC also be.well EMPH
'meaning, i.e. the chicken, (if) we want (to) eat meat we kill it, that's also fine' [BMPJ_037]

In (780), in his discussion of marriage practices, the speaker identifies first the Pnar people ( $i$ 'we') as the A-argument of the first clause, and then the neighborhood ( $k>$ 'it, feminine') as the A-argument of the second clause. The O-argument complement for both clauses seems to be the nominalized verbal construction $u$ poj $d e=i=$ burom 'to arrive (at marriage) with honor'.
(780) tæ man da maya tæ kwah i wa ka yung ka sæm wa kwah ko u poi dei burom
$t \varepsilon \quad m a n \quad d a \quad$ maja te kwaP $i \quad$ wa $k a=j u \eta$
NVIS become REAL love NVIS desire 1PL NMZ $F=$ home
$k a=s \varepsilon m \quad w a \quad \boldsymbol{k w a} \boldsymbol{P}$ ko $\quad u=p \supset j$
$\mathrm{F}=$ neighborhood NMZ desire 3SG.F.NOM NF=arrive
$d e=i=$ burэт
$\mathrm{INST}=\mathrm{ACT}=$ honor
'so when (they) love, then we want, the neighborhood wants (it) to happen honorably' [PP14MF _011]

### 12.2.7.4 Desire: 'need'

The Pnar verb translated as 'need' is the compound $\varepsilon m k a m$ which is formed from $\varepsilon m$ 'have' and kam 'like, as, want'. This transitive verb often has an
agentive argument in A -argument position and a patientive argument in O argument position. In (781) the speaker is describing what is necessary for the naming ceremony performed when a child is a newborn. A particular kind of pot is needed, identified as the O-argument $u=k f f u$ 'pot', while the A-argument is identified post-verbally as $i$ 'we'.
(781) læh æmkam i u kchu, kchu larnai
$l \varepsilon$ ? emkam $i \quad u=k t f u \quad k t f u$ larnaj
also need $1 \mathrm{PL} \mathrm{M}=$ pot pot larnai
'we also need the Larnai pot' [PP11NC_005]
In (782), a continuation of (781) above, the speaker identifies several items needed for the ceremony. In each case, the A-argument is identified postverbally as $i$ 'we', and $i=t p a j$ din 'ashes', $u=k^{h} o$ 'rice', and $k a=w a t$ 'sword' are identified as the O -arguments of the first, second, and third verb respectively.
(782) æmkam i i tpai diñ æmkam i u khoo æmkam i ka wait

Emkam $i \quad i=$ tpaj din emkam $i \quad u=k^{h} o$
need 1PL $\mathrm{N}=$ ash fire need $1 \mathrm{PL} \mathrm{M}=$ rice[husked]
عmkam $i \quad k a=w a t$
need 1PL $\mathrm{F}=$ =sword
'we need ashes, we need rice, we need the dao/cutlass'
[PP11NC_005]
In (783) the speaker is talking about conserving the environment and not killing animals unnecessarily. The A-argument is $i$ 'we' and the O -argument $k i$ 'they, them' references the animals.
(783) ym hoi u læh dusmon eh i ki hawa ym æmkam i ki
$m$ hoj $u=l \varepsilon$ ? dusmon $\varepsilon$ ? $i$ ki hawa $m$
NEG be.well $\mathrm{NF}=$ do for.fun IMM2 1PL 3PL when NEG
emkam $i \quad k i$
need 1PL 3PL
'it's not right for us to do (to) them just for fun when we don't need them' [BMPJ_036]

In (784) the speaker has related a number of things necessary to preserving and caring for the environment. The verb $\varepsilon m k a m$ 'need' combines with the nominalized verb $u=s n d \supset \eta$ 'to take care' to form a complex predicate where $i$ 'we' serves as the A-argument and $k i$ 'they, them' identifies the things previously mentioned as the O-argument.
(784) kam kitæ ki won ki won læh æmkam u syndong i ki

| kam | $k i=t \varepsilon$ | $k i=w \supset n$ | $k i=w \supset n$ | $l \varepsilon$ ? | $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon m k a m}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| like | $\mathrm{PL}=$ NVIS | $\mathrm{PL}=$ which | $\mathrm{PL}=$ which | also | need |
| $u=s n d \supset \eta$ | $i$ | $k i$ |  |  |  |
| NF=take.care | 1PL | 3PL |  |  |  |

'like these things also we need to be careful of them' [BMPJ_027]
In (785) a slight shift can be noted where the argument $k 0$ 'it, feminine' is conceptualized as the A -argument but is in the semantic role of patient. The agentive argument $i$ 'we' is here identified as the recipient in oblique function.
(785) tæ kam kani ka program nga sñiaw o æmkam bha ko ya i
te kam ka=ni ka=program $\quad$ рa sniaw $\rho$
NVIS like $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ program 1SG.ACC sense 1SG.NOM
emkam bha ko ja i
need ints1 3SG.F.NOM BEN 1PL
'so as for this program I feel it is necessary for us' [BMPJ_085]

### 12.2.8 Relationship

Tsunoda (1985) includes a set of verbs in his classification schema that deal with relationship. These verbs include 'possess', 'have', 'lack', 'lacking', 'resemble', 'similar', 'correspond', and 'consist'. Of this set of verbs, only 'lack' and 'similar' are represented to any degree in my corpus, and a corresponding translation equivalent for 'similar' only occurs once (though a related sense meaning 'same' can be found and will be discussed here). The verb meaning 'lose' is highly represented in the corpus, and is discussed briefly below 'lack' as a related word.

### 12.2.8.1 'Lack'

The verb meaning 'lack' is duna in Pnar. In (786), for example, the speaker is talking about the use of fertilizers in village farming. The lack of fertilizer explains (to him) why the seeds they get from their crops (for replanting) are few. The $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$-argument is $i=s b o ?$ 'fertilizer'.
(786) ha ki jingræp yong i tæ boon man symbe wa ræp tang khajiak i jingyoh wa duna i sboh
ha $k i=\sigma i \eta-r \varepsilon p \quad j \supset \eta \quad i \quad t \varepsilon$ bon man smbe

LOC PL=NMZ-cultivate GEN 1PL NVIS be.much become seed
wa rep taך $k^{h} a d j i a k i=d j i \eta-j o ? ~ w a ~ d u n a ~$
NMZ cultivate but,even be.little $\mathrm{N}=$ NMZ-get NMZ lack
$i=s b o$ ?
$\mathrm{N}=$ fertilizer
'the seeds (we) get from our cultivation are few because the fertilizer is lacking' [SI3_007]

In (787) a different speaker is describing the positive benefits of using fertilizers. The preceding clause $e$ sbo? $i$ 'we give fertilizer' identifies $i$ 'we' as the A-argument, and sbo? 'fertilizer' is the incorporated O-argument. In the following clause with duna 'lack', $i=s \rho$ ? 'fruit' serves as the A-argument, and the elided O-argument is understood to reference sboP, the O-argument of the previous clause.
(787) deitu wa e sboh i i soh chiboon la ym e sboh i duna i soh

$$
\begin{aligned}
& d e=i=t u \quad w a \quad e \quad s b o ? \quad i \quad i=s o ? \quad t i=b o n \\
& \operatorname{INST}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{MEDL} \mathrm{NMZ} \text { give fertilizer 1PL } \mathrm{N}=\text { fruit set-be.much } \\
& \text { la } m \quad e \quad s b o \text { ? } \quad i \quad \text { duna } i=s o \text { ? } \\
& \text { if NEG give fertilizer 1PL lack } \mathrm{N}=\text { fruit } \\
& \text { 'by (us) giving fertilizers the fruit is much, if we don't give fertilizer } \\
& \text { the fruit is lacking' [BMPJ_080] }
\end{aligned}
$$

Example (788) is from a few phrases later in the same text. Here the speaker is explaining the need for fertilizer to 'feed' the field. The A-argument of duna is $k \supset$ 'she' and bam seems to serve here as a nominal O-argument incorporated into the verb.
(788) ka hali daw duna bam ko tæ ym man bam de ko


In (789), from earlier in the same text, the speaker is emphasizing the need to be careful with natural resources. He uses duna to identify the potential lack or scarcity of water specifically, which he references with the post-verbal O-argument pronoun $k i$. The A-argument is recoverable as such since $i$ 'we' has been previously identified as the agentive argument of the sentence.
(789) la da i ym sumar i tæ daw poi i por wa ki um ki wah duna ki la $\begin{array}{lllllllll} & d a & i & m & \text { sumar } \quad i & \text { te } & d a w & p \supset j & i=p o r\end{array}$ if REAL 1PL NEG take.care 1PL NVIS IRR arrive $\mathrm{N}=$ =time wa $k i=u m \quad k i=w a ? \quad$ duna $k i$
NMZ PL=water PL=river lack 3PL
'if we don't take care then the time will come of water scarcity' [BMPJ_054]

In (790) the speaker is making a comment about how it is he has lived so long. The A-argument of duna is himself, $s$, and the O -argument/complement is the nominalized verb $u=b a m$ 'to eat'.
(790) nga tæ wa lat ou hæh toh wa duna o u bam

| $\eta a$ | $t \varepsilon$ | $w a$ | lat | 0 | $u=h \varepsilon ?$ | $t \supset ?$ | $w a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1SG.ACC | NVIS | NMZ | slow | 1SG.NOM | NF=be.big | be | NMZ |
| duna | 0 |  | $u=b a m$ |  |  |  |  |
| lack | 1SG.NOM | NF $=$ eat |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'as for me I grow slowly because I eat less' | [BPDJ_015] |  |  |  |  |  |  |

### 12.2.8.2 'Lose'

The Pnar verb meaning 'lose' is $d o$ ? (also the form for the adverbial 'last'). This seems to encode a perfective sense in relation to duna 'lack' discussed above. While duna allows for something remaining, do? allows for almost nothing remaining. In (791), for example, the speaker is relating how a ferry that he was in charge of went missing after a big flood. Here he describes the importance of this event, and how he had to find the boat or completely lose his job. Both the post-verbal A -argument (understood to be the speaker) and the post-verbal O -argument (understood to be the job, $k a=s \varepsilon r v i s$ ) are elided, being recoverable by context.
(791) tæ la da ngam katæ ka lein mut nga ka service yong nga da dooh
$t \varepsilon \quad l a d a \quad \eta a m$ ka=tع $k a=l e n ~ m u t \quad \eta a$ NVIS if REAL sink $F=$ NVIS $F=$ boat means 1SG.ACC $k a=s \varepsilon r v i s ~ j \partial \eta \quad \eta a \quad d a \quad d o \boldsymbol{P}$ $\mathrm{F}=$ service GEN 1SG.ACC REAL lose
'if by any means, that ferry sank, i (would have) lost my job' [LS2J_011]

In (792) the speaker describes being so preoccupied with thinking (of ways to help people) that he loses sleep. Here the A-argument (understood to be the speaker) is elided, and the O-argument $t^{h} i a$ ? 'sleep' is incorporated into the verb.
(792) heitæ tæ pyrkhat o dooh thiah na kamtu
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad p r k^{h} a t \quad 0 \quad \boldsymbol{d o P} \quad t^{h} i a$ ? $n a$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS NVIS think 1SG.NOM lose sleep ABL
kam-tu
like,want-medl
'then I was thinking and lost sleep about it' [HPAHR_012]
Example (793) is a question asked by an interviewer regarding the interviewee's life. The first two instances of the morpheme do? occur with locative morphemes and encode the temporal function 'when'. The final instance indicates loss. The A-argument $p^{h} i$ 'you' indicates the interviewee, and the O-argument dij-krmen 'hope' is incorporated into the verb.
(793) ha ka jingim yong phi nadooh dang khian phi hadooh katni æm hi i
bynta wa i por i wa phi da mat phi yei jingæh wa chæm phi wa mut da dooh jingkyrmæn phi
$h a \quad k a=\sigma i \eta-i m \quad j \supset \eta \quad p^{h} i \quad n a-d o \boldsymbol{P} \quad d a \eta \quad k^{h} i a n \quad p^{h} i$
LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ NMZ-live GEN 2PL ABL-when PROG be.small 2PL
ha-do? kat-ni $\varepsilon m \quad h i \quad i=b n t a \quad w a \quad i=p o r$
LOC-when as-PROX have EMPH $\mathrm{N}=$ purpose COMT $\mathrm{N}=$ =time $i \quad w a \quad p^{h} i \quad d a \quad m a t \quad p^{h} i \quad j e=i=d i \eta-\varepsilon ?$
1PL NMZ 2PL REAL example 2PL $\mathrm{BEN}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NMZ}$-be.difficult
wa tyem $p^{h} i$ wa mut da do? din-krmen $p^{h} i$
NMZ meet 2PL NMZ means REAL lose NMZ-hope 2PL
'in your life have you experienced something or some situation that you lost all your hope for?' [PP15PI_107]

This sense of 'complete loss' or 'loss with little remaining' is clear in the use of this morpheme as an adverbial modifier with the sense of 'completely'. In (794) the speaker is pointing to a particular instrument, which he describes first in English and then emphasizes its precedence over all other instruments by using do? to modify the intransitive verb $n \eta k \ni \eta$ 'be.first'.
(794) ka Jaintia musics first instrument ka wa nyngkong dooh ka ni ka wa nyngkong dooh kani
$k a=$ §entia musiks firs instrumen ka wa nךkכך
$\mathrm{F}=$ Jaintia musics first instrument 3 sgF NMZ be.first
$\boldsymbol{d o \boldsymbol { P }} \quad k a=n i \quad k a \quad w a \quad n \eta k \supset \eta \quad d o$ ? $\quad k a=n i$
completely $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} 3 \mathrm{sgF}$ NMZ be.first completely $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX}$
'Jaintia music's first instrument, this is the first (one)' [TACJ_334]
This sense is also reflected in the use of do? to mean 'poor', which is a common use in my texts. In (795) the speaker is relating a story about two friends, Nik and Singh. Nik is rich while Singh is poor.
(795) heitæ toh $u$ nik toh $u$ wa malik $u$ wa yoh $u$ wa æm tæ $u$ singh toh $u$ wa dooh u wa ym æm u wa yoh


### 12.2.9 Ability

Tsunoda's (1985) categories include a subtype of ability. This class of verbs has members that can be glossed as 'capable', 'proficient', and 'good'. Pnar clearly has a verb 'be good' and one that can be glossed as 'be able'.

### 12.2.9.1 'Be good'

The Pnar verb that can be glossed as 'good' or 'be good' is bha, which also shares the same form as the adverbial intensifier 'very' (intensity level 1) that can immediately follow verbs. Some examples of its use as a verb and adjectival modifier are given below. Its usage in Pnar seems to indicate a stative or intransitive classification rather than transitive, as will be seen below. In (796) the speaker is giving his perspective on the likelihood of living a long life. The elided post-verbal $S / A$-argument is referential with $k a=t \varepsilon$ 'that', which itself is referential with the previous phrase la da im o 'if I live', for which it serves as a resultative NP referent.
(796) ong o to, la da im o, katæ nang bha

| on | $\jmath$ | to | $l a$ | $d a$ | $i m$ | $\jmath$ | $k a=t \varepsilon$ | $n a \eta$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| say | 1SG.NOM | ok | if | REAL | live | 1 1SG.NOM | $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS | PROG |
| $\boldsymbol{b h a} \boldsymbol{a}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

be.good
'I say, 'ok, if I live that (long), it's good" [BPDJ_042]

In (797) the speaker is relating how she almost died in childbirth, but that after a doctor prescribed medicine, her family and friends came to care for her. The verb $b h a$ is here part of a complex verbal construction where the secondary verb wan serves a post-verbal auxiliary function.
(797) tæ sumar wan ki dæp tæ bha wan dæp tæ chait
$t \varepsilon$ sumar wan $k i \quad d \varepsilon p$ te bha wan dep NVIS take.care come 3Pl PERF NVIS be.good come PERF te tfat
NVIS be.healthy
'so they took care (of me), then I got better, healthy' [FPAHM_030]
In (798) the verb bha is nominalized using the nominalizer/relativizer wa which is preceded by $k a$ 'it, feminine'. This pronoun is referencing the demonstrative $k a=t u$ 'that', allowing bha 'be good' to serve as a modifier with an elided post-verbal referent which is supplied by the relative clause head $k a$.
(798) tæ katu, hei sñiawthooh yong nga, ym toh ka wa bha

| $t \varepsilon$ | $k a=t u$ | $h e=i=$ sniawt $^{\text {h }}$ o ? | $j \supset \eta$ | 7a | $m$ | $t o ?$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NVIS | $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ | LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ understand | GEN | 1SG.ACC | NEG | be |
| ka wa bha |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3SG.F NMZ be.good |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'so th | at, accord | ng to my understandi | g , is | t good' | MP | 037 |

In (799) the speaker is relating how one experience changed his opinion of someone. Here bha is also nominalized and serves to modify a noun. In this case $u=b r u$ 'man' serves as the noun head followed by wa which nominalizes/relativizes the following verb $b h a$ and allows the post-verbal referent to be elided, as cross-referential with the head.
(799) sdang u pait tæ ong jan $u$ bru wa bha

| sday | $u=p a t$ | $t \varepsilon$ | o | gan | $u=b r u$ | $w a$ | $b h a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| begin | $\mathrm{M}=$ look | NVIS | say hope | $\mathrm{M}=$ person | NMZ | be.good |  |
| 'I began to look/perceive maybe he's a good man' [HPAHR_155] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

### 12.2.9.2 'Be able'

The Pnar verb je 'be able' is much more clearly transitive. In (800), for example, the speaker being interviewed is asking an older speaker about the first cars that were owned by members of the village. Here the A-argument is $p^{h} i$ and the O -argument/complement is the nominalized verbal expression headed by $u=k n m o$ 'to remember'.
(800) yee phi u kynmoo i dei wa æm kari
je $p^{h} i \quad u=k n m o \quad i \quad d e-i \quad$ wa $\varepsilon$ em kari
be.able 2PL NF=remember 3sg.N inst-3sg.N NMZ have car 'are you able to remember who had cars?' [SI1_024]

In (801) the speaker is an elderly man who is proud of how well he has maintained his body. Here the A -argument is the speaker and the O -argument is the nominalized verbal expression headed by $u=$ sumar 'to take care (of)'.
(801) hynre yee o u sumar yei doh yei phad
hnre je o u=sumar $\quad j e=i=d o$ ?
but.also be.able 1SG.NOM $\mathrm{NF}=$ take.care $\mathrm{BEN}=\mathrm{N}=$ flesh
$j e=i=p^{h} a d$
BEN $=\mathrm{N}=$ flesh
'but also I am able to take care of (my) body' [BPDJ_041]
In (802) the speaker is describing how many children had very little to occupy them until the church began providing activities for them. The A-argument of $j e$ here is an elided NP referential with $k i$ 'they, them', the S-argument of the initial complex verbal expression $\varepsilon m$ wan $k i$ 'there are those'. The O-argument of $j e$ is the nominalized expression $u=l a j$ skur 'to go (to) school'.
(802) æm wan ki wa ym yee u lai skur, kut ki hei dih hei bam kut ki hei ya khle hei ya tanglang
عm wan ki wa m je u=laj skur kut ki have come 3PL NMZ NEG be.able NF=go school end 3PL $h e=i=d i ? \quad h e=i=b a m \quad$ kut $k i \quad h e=i$
LOC-ACT=drink LOC-ACT=eat end 3PL LOC-1PL
$j a-k^{h} l e \quad h e=i \quad j a-t a \eta l a \eta$
PLUR-gamble LOC-1PL PLUR-mixed.up.together
'there are those who were not able to go to school, they end up drinking, eating, gambling, getting mixed up' [LHJ_014]

In (803) the speaker is relating a story about seven women who hid from danger because they were unable to run. Here the A -argument of $j e$ is $k i=t \varepsilon$ $k i=k n t^{h} a j$ 'those women' and the O-argument is $u=j u t$ 'to run'.
(803) ym yee de kitæ ki kynthai $u$ yut, ym yee ki toh wa pynkhon ki

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \begin{array}{lllllll}
m & j e & d e & k i=t \varepsilon & k i=k n t^{h} a j & u=j u t & m \\
\text { NEG } & \text { able } & \text { NEG.INTS } & \text { PL=NVIS } & \text { PL=female } & \text { NF=run.away } & \text { NEG }
\end{array} \\
& \text { je ki to? wa pn-k }{ }^{h} \partial n \quad k i \\
& \text { be.able 3PL be NMZ CAUS-child 3PL } \\
& \text { 'those women were unable to run, they were unable since they were } \\
& \text { pregnant' [PP07SNM_004] }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 12.3 Summary

The current chapter has been an exploration of intransitive and transitive verbal classes in Pnar in terms of Tsunoda's (1985) categorization. We can observe a potential semantic split between verbs based on agency or nonagency. Ambitransitive or labile verbs and their possible relationship with middle voice require a more comprehensive study. The following chapter moves from looking at predication to focusing on referentiality, observing noun phrases and noun phrase operations.

## Chapter 13

## Noun phrase and noun phrase operations

The noun phrase is a set of constituents and words that modify and otherwise describe the noun which serves as its head. Routledge's Dictionary of Language and Linguistics describes a noun phrase as a phrase that "normally contains a noun... or a pronoun... as its head and which can be modified" (Bussmann, 1998: 816). Noun phrases establish reference and can serve as arguments within a verb phrase or clause. NPs can often occur alone as extra-sentential elements in conversation, or as sources, goals, or locations in locative and prepositionally case marked phrases.

Pnar noun phrases are also the frame within which nominal referents are organized: speakers classify nominals at four embedded levels that give insight into how they conceptualize time-stable concepts, and two levels of this classification system occur within the noun phrase. The four levels of classification are: gender (which applies at the level of the noun and marks constituents of the noun phrase), number (which applies at the level both of the noun and the noun phrase), deixis (which applies at the level of the noun phrase), and movement (which applies at the level of the clause). The following sections describe the noun phrase and various operations associated with nominal elements.

### 13.1 Noun phrase overview

The Pnar noun phrase can be described as:
$\mathbf{N P}=(\mathrm{QP})($ Dem $)$ Head (Mod) (NP) (RC) ${ }^{1}$

[^68]The Pnar NP is largely head-initial, with attributive modifiers following the head. Within the noun phrase, however, determiners and quantifiers generally precede the head, though these can also serve as clausal elements. Noun phrases that follow the head are possessors, and full relative clauses also follow the head. The existence of an optional NP within an NP allows for recursion.

It should be noted here that although the order given above is the most widely attested in my data, the order of the elements that precede and follow the head are somewhat variable relative to each other, though they generally do not occur in a different position relative to the head. Prosodic pauses may or may not signal additional information, though they generally accompany elements that occur in the wrong place relative to the head (i.e. pause and repair would accompany a modifier that precedes the head, but not a quantifier that precedes a determiner).

The full schematic of the Pnar noun phrase is illustrated in the textual example (804a) below and the elicited examples that follow. Example ( 804 b ) is an elicited example based on (804a) which fits the page better and is a bit more clear. In both of these examples the noun phrase has been topicalized, with the matrix verb jap 'die' followed by a pronoun in S-function which is co-referential with the head of the topic NP, $k i=k^{h} l a w a t$ 'the warriors'.
(804) (a) kini ki khatwi spah ngut ki khlawait yong ka khatar daloi, yap ki $\left[k i=n i_{\text {DEM }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}k i=k^{h} \text { atwi } & \text { spa? } & \eta u t]_{\mathrm{QP}}\end{array} \quad\left[\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{l a w a t}_{\text {IUEAD }}\right.\right.\right.$ PL=PROX PL=eleven hundred CL.HUM PL=warrior $\left.\left[j \supset \eta \quad k a=k^{h} a t a r \quad d a l o j\right]_{\text {Poss }}\right]$ $]$ jap $p_{\mathrm{V}} \quad k i_{\mathrm{N}}$ GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ twelve Daloi die 3PL
'those eleven hundred warriors of the twelve Daloi(ships), they died' [PP03SKY_009]
(b) kini soo ngut ki khlawait yong $u$ daloi, yap ki
$k i=n i_{\text {DEM }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}s o & \eta u t\end{array}\right]_{\text {QP }} \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{l a w a t} t_{\text {HEAD }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}j \supset \eta & u=d a l o j\end{array}\right]_{\text {POSS }}$ PL=PROX four CL.HUM PL=warrior GEN M=Daloi $j a p_{\mathrm{V}} \quad k i_{\mathrm{S}}$
die 3pl 'those four warriors of the Daloi, they died'

The following elicited examples illustrate variations of ( 804 b ) that are acceptable to Pnar speakers, and although the translations are a bit odd in
and is discussed below.

English, they serve to illustrate the differences in meaning of the Pnar sentences. In (805 a), a relative/attributive clause follows the possessive phrase. The relative/attributive clause can also immediately follow the head noun ( 805 b ), and dropping the pronoun ki forms a modifier of property that is more closely linked to the head ( 805 c ).
(805) (a) kini ki soo ngut ki khlawait yong $u$ daloi ki wa yap

$$
\begin{aligned}
& k i=n i_{\text {DEM }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}
k i=s o & \eta u t]_{\mathrm{QP}}
\end{array} \quad k i=k^{h} l a w a t_{\text {HEAD }} \quad[j \supset \eta\right. \\
& \text { PL=PROX PL=four CL.HUM PL=warrior GEN } \\
& \left.u=d a l o j]_{\text {Poss }} \quad \begin{array}{ccc}
k i & w a & j a p
\end{array}\right]_{\text {RC }} \\
& \mathrm{M}=\text { Daloi } \quad \text { 3pL NMZ die } \\
& \text { 'those four warriors of the Daloi, they who died' }
\end{aligned}
$$

(b) kini ki soo ngut ki khlawait ki wa yap yong $u$ daloi
$k i=n i_{\mathrm{DEM}} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}k i=s o & y u t\end{array}\right]_{\mathrm{QP}} \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h}$ lawat $\left.\begin{array}{lll}\text { ki } & w a & j a p\end{array}\right]_{\mathrm{RC}}$
PL=PROX PL=four CL.HUM PL=warrior 3PL NMZ die
$\left[_{j \supset \eta} \quad u=\text { daloj] }\right]_{\text {Poss }}$
GEN M=Daloi
'those four warriors, who died, of the Daloi'
(c) kini soo ngut ki khlawait wa yap yong $u$ daloi
$k i=n i_{\text {DEM }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}s o o & \eta u t\end{array}\right]_{\mathrm{QP}} \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=k^{h}$ lawat $\left[\begin{array}{ll}w a & j a p\end{array}\right]_{\text {MOD }} \quad[j \ni \eta$
PL=PROX four CL.HUM PL=warrior NMZ die GEN
$u=d a l o j]_{\text {Poss }}$
M=Daloi
'those four warriors, who died, of the Daloi'
This variation is dependent on the use of a pronoun, which can act as the head of a relative/attributive clause and references the noun head, allowing it to 'float' on either side of the genitive. Moving the attributive property modifier in ( 805 c ) to follow the possessor NP results in a different translation (806).
(806) kini soo ngut ki khlawait yong $u$ daloi wa yap

$$
\begin{aligned}
& k i=n i_{\text {DEM }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}
\text { so } & \eta u t]_{\mathrm{QP}} & k i=k^{h} \text { lawat }
\end{array}[j \supset \eta \quad[u=\text { daloj } \quad[w a\right. \\
& \text { PL=PROX four CL.HUM PL=warrior GEN M=Daloi NMZ } \\
& \left.\left.j a p]_{\text {MOD }}\right]_{\text {NP }}\right]_{\text {POSS }} \\
& \text { die } \\
& \text { *'those four warriors, who died, of the Daloi' } \\
& \text { 'those four warriors, of the Daloi who died' }
\end{aligned}
$$

The following sections of this chapter will present a more detailed analysis of noun phrase heads and gender marking (§13.2), head modification (§13.3), and quantifiers and classifier phrases (§13.4).

### 13.2 NP heads and gender marking

### 13.2.1 Pronoun head

The head of a Pnar noun phrase can be either a pronoun or a noun. A pronoun head is primarily referential, as it refers to a first- or second-person interlocutor (807) or a third-person entity relevant to the discourse (808). It can also identify referents previously identified as NPs, or referents recoverable by interlocutors through context or shared knowledge. A pronoun head is often a subsequent reference to an entity initially identified by a noun.
(807) kam ong phi
$k a m \supset \eta p^{h} i$
as say 2 PL
'as you say' [AIJ_165]
(808) mane ki ka
mane ki ka
worship 3PL 3SG.F.ACC
'they worship her' [AIJ_161]

### 13.2.2 Noun head

When a noun occurs as the head, it is specified for gender and singular/plural by a gender clitic (809). This clitic has the same form as a third-person pronominal form, which allows subsequent pronouns to make reference to the same entity without concern for misinterpretation (810).
(809) jar ki nongsiet

Gar $\quad k i=n\lrcorner \eta$-siet
be.different PL=AG.NMZ-shoot
'the shooter is different' [AIJ_094]
(810) ka riatsasim da declare ki ka toh ka ksathori

| $\boldsymbol{k a}=$ riatsasim | $d a$ | dikler | $k i$ | $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}$ | to? | $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{k s s a t}^{h}$ ori |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{F}=$ Riatsasim | REAL | declare | 3PL | 3SG.F | be | $\mathrm{F}=$ preserve |
| 'Riatsasim (that) they declared as a park/preserve' | [BMPJ_018] |  |  |  |  |  |

### 13.2.3 Gender clitics

The gender clitic denotes specificity but not definiteness. For example, in (811) the NP $k a=\dagger$ Ønoŋ joŋ $i$ 'our village' (in square brackets) has a head $k a=\emptyset f n \supset \eta$ which retains its gender clitic and denotes specificity. The function of the gender clitic in relation to the notions of specificity and definiteness have been discussed at greater length in §5.3.4.
(811) wan yalap ki che- $\mathrm{i}=\mathrm{ni}$ cha $\mathbf{k a}=\mathbf{c h n o n g}$ yong i
wan jalap $k i \quad$ t $e=i=n i \quad$ tja $k a=t f n\lrcorner \eta \quad j \supset \eta \quad i$
come preach 3PL ALL=N=PROX ALL $\mathrm{F}=$ =village GEN 1PL
'they came and preached here in our village' [SI1_051]
Nouns can generally not occur as heads of NPs without a gender clitic. The only exceptions are if the NP is marked by a locative case ( $\mathrm{f} a, n a, h a$ ) as in (??) and (??) above, or by the explicit indefinite marker $t f i$ 'a, an, each, set' in an indefinite construction ( 812,813 below). In the latter case the noun is understood to be non-specific.
(812) chi kyntein i hok
tfi knten $i=h o k$
INDF word $\mathrm{N}=$ be.honest
'one honest word' [PP01CSE_075]
(813) man da ong chi daloi tæ cheitai tæ mut chi pargana kamtæ sæ
man $d a \quad$ oŋ $t f i \quad$ daloj $t \varepsilon \quad t \mathrm{e}=\mathrm{i}=\mathrm{taj} \quad t \varepsilon$
become REAL say INDF daloi NVIS ALL=N=distal NVIS
mut tfi pargana kam-te se
means INDF pargana as-NVIS C.TAG
'when (I) say a Daloi there it means a Pargana, like that'
[PP06PK_015]
Nominal gender clitics have been discussed previously in Chapter 7; to review briefly here: nouns are marked by portmanteau morphemes that encode noun class and number (singular and plural), and procliticize to the head noun. There are three noun classes in singular and one in plural. In singular, clitics classify nouns into masculine, feminine, or neuter gender, a classification primarily conditioned by animacy. All animate beings are marked according to the biological sex that they are known to have, with a single lexical noun for the being in question. So bru 'person' can be preceded by $u=$ to mean a male human or by $k a=$ to mean a female human. ${ }^{2}$

[^69]Animate beings of unknown gender or diminutive size are marked with $i=$ or alternatively by $u=$ or $k a=$ depending on the perception of the speaker. Inanimates are also classified according to gender, though there is not a clear semantic link to biology in these cases, apart from certain nouns which are anthropomorphized in traditional stories.

The markers also have nominalizing functions on verbs (§7.4) and correspond to third-person singular pronominal forms. Pronouns therefore encode gender as well, and are used referentially, often being co-referential with the full noun that their corresponding clitic forms attach to. This gender distinction also applies to second person pronouns, though not to first person. In plural the gender distinction is not maintained grammatically for both clitic and pronominal systems, with $k i=$ marking all nouns regardless of class and $p^{h} i$ serving as the second person plural form. The gender clitics are also used to mark agreement on constituents that 'hang together' as a unit within the noun phrase (or used to identify properties associated with the same referent), as will be seen in more detail below.

### 13.2.4 Elision of heads

Heads can be left out in the NP; if a demonstrative or other agreeing element occurs alone (and thus serves as the putative head), it is understood to be co-referential with a previously mentioned head or one that is available to the interlocutors based on context and shared knowledge. The referent can be identified by the gender clitic or resumptive pronoun which is part of the determiner/demonstrative or occurs with the modifier and corresponds to the gender of the referent. So in (814) the demonstrative $k a=n i$ refers to the form $k a=$ madan 'ground, field' which the interviewer has recently asked about. Here, one of the speakers being interviewed is answering that there is a committee that oversees the field where the event is taking place. An alternate translation is: 'this (field) exists [with/by means of/according to] a committee'. ${ }^{3}$
(814) kani æm da ka seiñ kani

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
k a=n i & \varepsilon m & \emptyset & d a & k a=s e n & k a=n i \\
\mathrm{~F}=\text { PROX } & \text { have } & \emptyset & \text { INST } & \mathrm{F}=\text { committee } & \mathrm{F}=\text { PROX } \\
\text { 'this has a committee' [AIJ_128] } &
\end{array}
$$

[^70]
### 13.3 Head modification

Head modification covers the ways that constituents of the Pnar noun phrase serve to identify properties of the head. Demonstratives (§13.3.1) constrain the head in terms of spatial, temporal, and definiteness features, and occur before the head. Modifiers are constructions that immediately follow the head. These modifiers include: 1) a small number of modifiers that can directly modify nouns (as discussed above in §8.2), 2) a large number of modifiers which are property concepts derived from verbs (as discussed in §8.3), 3) genitives which can take the form of compounds or case-marked conjuncts (§13.3.3), 4) relative clauses which resemble modifiers (§13.3.4), and 5) locative/prepositional case constructions (§13.3.5). Quantifying expressions and the classifier phrase are treated separately (§13.4), as these elements are less restricted in their syntactic occurrence.

Modifiers directly follow the head noun (type 1 modifiers), as do nominalized property concepts (type 2 modifiers). In (815) the NP head $k a=s a b d \varepsilon k$ 'subject' is followed immediately by a nominalizer/relativizer, whereas in (816), from the same phrase, the NP head $k a=p r t^{h} a j$ 'world' is followed by two relativized verbs with corresponding gender pronouns that mark them as relative clause constituents of the head.
(815) kani ka subject wa yaklam i katni
$k a=n i \quad k a=s a b b c k$ wa ja-klam $i \quad k a t-n i$
F=PROX F=subject NMZ PLUR-speak 1PL as-PROX
'this subject that we speak (together) about now' [BMPJ_003]
(816) ka pyrthai ka wa suk ka wa sain
$k a=p r t^{h} a j \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}k a & \boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{a} & s u k\end{array}\right]_{\mathrm{RC}} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}k a & \boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{a} & s a j\end{array}\right]_{\mathrm{RC}}$
F=world 3SG.F NMZ peace 3SG.F NMZ agree
'the/a world that is peaceful' [BMPJ_003]

### 13.3.1 Demonstratives in the NP

Pnar demonstratives have been mentioned above in $\S 5.3$, and generally occur preceding the head in an NP. The function of demonstratives within the NP is to constrain reference of the head to a frame of space (817), time (818), or in terms of definiteness (819).
(817) kani ka madan
$\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{n i} \quad k a=m a d a n$
F=PROX F=ground
'this ground' [FPAHM_056]
(818) heini i por
$\boldsymbol{h e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{n i} \quad i=p \partial r$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ PROX $\mathrm{N}=$ time
'at this time' [BPVM_002]
(819) kawi ka por
$\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{w i} \quad k a=p \supset r$
$\mathrm{F}=$ one $\quad \mathrm{F}=$ time
'one time' [PP10PO_013]
Demonstratives take gender marking and often occur with other elements in the NP, including quantifiers (820), classifer expressions (821), and modifiers (822).
(820) da ki sein klam ki waroh kitæ ki kyntein
$d a \quad k i=s e n \quad k l a m \quad k i \quad$ waro? $k i=t \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \quad k i=k n t e n$
INST PL=time,action speak 3PL all PL=NVIS PL=word
'each time they speak all those words' [TACJ_434]
(821) kini toh ki san ngut ki khon yong ka

| $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{n i}$ | $t_{\supset}$ ? | $k i$ | san | $\boldsymbol{y} \boldsymbol{u t}$ | $k i=k^{h} \supset n$ | $j \supset \eta$ | $k a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{PL}=$ PROX | be | 3PL | five | CL.HUM | PL=child | GEN | 3SG.F |

'these were her five children' [PP02SKF _030]
(822) æm yap kawi ka kynthai tymmæn

عm jap ka=wi ka=knthaj tmmen
have die $\mathrm{F}=$ one $\mathrm{F}=$ female be.old
'one old woman died' [LS3J_007]

### 13.3.2 Modifiers

Modifiers as a separate word class have been discussed in Chapter 8. To review briefly, modifiers of nouns are of two types: a small set of stative verbs and a large open set of nominalized verbs. The large open class admits any verb, using the nominalizer wa to derive property concepts. The small class of stative verbs can modify nouns without nominalization. If two or more modifiers or stative verbs modify a noun they will generally all be marked by $w a$ and may occur in any order. Within the noun phrase modifiers directly
follow noun heads. They cannot be modified themselves, and can be followed by the genitive marker $j \supset \eta$.

### 13.3.3 Possessives

Genitival or possessive relationships between NPs are signalled in two ways. The first is where the NPs are in possessee-possessor relationship, i.e. the possessee immediately precedes the possessor NP, as in (823-825). This is similar to the compounding modification strategy described above in $\S 8.2$, where a close relationship between the head and the property concept that follows can be ascribed. In fact, in example (823) the noun $k n t^{h}$ aj 'woman, female' is so closely connected to the head juy 'home' that it is probably better analyzed as a nominal compound (as opposed to (824) where $k a=k n t^{h} a j$ retains its gender clitic). Unlike adjectivals, however, in a genitive construction the second constituent is a nominal element rather than a property concept. This suggests an underlying lexical categorization process at work in the minds of Pnar speakers: modifiers which fit more into the class of verb are conceived of as property modifiers (and can be relativized), while modifiers which fit the class of noun or nominal are conceived of as possessors.
(823) læh daw li-e ja ki cha yung kynthai
$l \varepsilon$ ? daw li-e Ģa ki tfa juך knt ${ }^{h}$ aj
also IRR DUR-give rice 3PL ALL home woman
'also they will give rice to the woman's home' [PP14MF _0025]
(824) lai li-ong ki cha yung ka kynthai
laj li-כך $\quad k i \quad$ tfa jun $\quad k a=k n t^{h} a j$
go DUR-say 3PL ALL home $\mathrm{F}=$ woman
'they go tell (it) to the woman's home (i.e. her family)'
[PP14MF_010]
(825) tæ iñ katai ka yung ki sistar
$t \varepsilon \quad$ in $\quad k a-t a j \quad k a=j u \eta \quad k i=s i s t a r$
NVIS burn as-DIST $\mathrm{F}=$ home $\mathrm{PL}=$ sister
'so then the nuns' home burned' [FPAHM_035]
In genitive constructions formed by juxtaposition only the second constituent can be modified by modifiers or de-verbal elements. If the speaker wishes to identify properties of the possessee (i.e. 'the man's daughter that goes to school') the case-marking genitive must be used to link the two NPs. It
is therefore natural to say (826) in Pnar, but if the first constituent of the genitive construction is modified, this is not grammatical (827). In order to modify the first constituent of the genitive construction, the genitive marker $j \supset \eta$ must be inserted between the two NPs, as in (828) - this ensures that the possessor is not interpreted as the S-argument of laj-skur due to the intervening elements.
(826) ka khon u bru (u) wa lai skur
$k a=k^{h}$ गn $u=b r u \quad u \quad$ wa laj skur
$\mathrm{F}=$ child $\mathrm{M}=$ person $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{M}$ NMZ go school
'the man who goes to school's daughter'
(827) *ka khon (ka) wa lai-skur u bru
$k a=k^{h}$ วn ( $k a$ ) wa laj-skur $u=b r u$
$\mathrm{F}=$ child 3SG.F NMZ go-school $\mathrm{M}=$ person
*'the man's school-going daughter'
(828) ka khon (ka) wa lai-skur yong u bru
$k a=k^{h} \partial n$ ( $k a$ ) wa laj-skur jəך $u=b r u$
F=child 3SG.F NMZ go-school GEN M=person
'the man's school-going daughter'
Use of the morpheme $j \supset \eta$, which follows the possessee and precedes the possessor, is a process that resembles prepositional case marking of oblique arguments. However, this is marking of a constituent in a noun phrase, rather than in a verb phrase. Since the scope is different, and since this marker immediately follows the nominal being possessed, it seems best to describe it as a nominal modification strategy. Besides their semantic role marking usage in the clause, other prepositional case markers can also be used as modifiers within the NP. The prepositional case marker $j \supset \eta$, however, has only this single function. Further examples are found below: in examples (829-831) $j \not \partial \eta$ always identifies the preceding NP as the possessee and the following as the possessor.
(829) katæ toh ka motto yong nga
$k a=t \varepsilon$ to? ka=moto jコŋ $\eta a$
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS be $\mathrm{F}=$ motto GEN 1SG.ACC
'this is a motto of mine' [PP15PI_157]
(830) toh ka=bor yong nga $u=$ rekomen
to? ka=bor jэŋ $\quad$ a $\quad u=r \varepsilon k o m e n ~$
be $\mathrm{F}=$ =power GEN 1SG.ACC $\mathrm{NF}=$ recommend
'it is my power to recommend' [DR_003]
(831) bad u khleih yong ka niam ka rukom yong ka dustur ka riti hapoh ka elaka ka yong i
bad $\quad u=k^{h} l e ? \quad$ jэŋ $\quad k a=n i a m \quad k a=r u k \supset m \quad j \supset \eta \quad k a=d u s t u r$
also $\mathrm{M}=$ head $G E N \quad \mathrm{~F}=$ tradition $\mathrm{F}=$ way $\quad$ GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition
$k a=$ riti $\quad h a-p o ? ~ k a=$ elaka $k a \quad$ jon $i$
$\mathrm{F}=$ culture LOC-in $\mathrm{F}=$ elaka 3SG.F.NOM GEN 1PL
'also the head of the traditional religion of the culture in our elaka (village/township)' [DR_002]

Example (832) is a bit more complex. Here $j \supset \eta$ identifies $i=p o r$ ffamud 'the proper time' as the possessee NP and $u=t r e-k i-r o t ~ ' c r e a t o r ~ G o d ' ~ a s ~ t h e ~$ possessor. These two NPs are combined into a single NP that serves as the S-argument of $i$ ? 'remain', with wa $u=p n_{1}-k^{h} l a d ~ n o ? ~ ' j u s t ~ d i v i d e ' ~ m o d i f i y i n g ~$ the head $i=p o r$ tgamud.
(832) da ih i por chamuid yong $u$ tre kirot wa $u$ pynkhlad noh

$$
d a \quad i ? \quad[i=p o r \quad \text { thamud }] \quad \text { jov } \quad[u=\text { tre-ki-rot }] \quad \text { wa }
$$

REAL remain $\mathrm{N}=$ time proper GEN $\mathrm{M}=$ Tre-Ki-rot NMZ
$u=p n_{1}-k^{h} l a d \quad n o ?$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-divide IMM1
'the time is right for God to divide' [PP01CSE_014] or 'the proper time of God to divide has arrived'

### 13.3.4 Relative clauses

As noted above, property concepts are derived from verbs using the morpheme wa (§7.4). This whole relativized/nominalized construction directly follows the constituent it modifies, as in (833), where bia 'marry'4 behaves as a verb that serves as a descriptor for syi 'day'. We can compare this nominalized construction with its function as a verb in (834).
(833) ha kani ka sngi ka wa bia

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
h a & k a=n i & k a=s \eta i & k a & w a & b i a \\
\text { LOC } & \mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} & \mathrm{~F}=\text { day } & 3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{F} & \mathrm{NMZ} & \text { marry } \\
\text { 'on the day of marriage'' } & {\left[\mathrm{PP} 14 \mathrm{MF} \_023\right]}
\end{array}
$$

[^71](834) tæ bia o
te bia $\quad$
NVIS marry 1SG.NOM
'so I married (him)' [FPAHM_019]
Noun class markers or resumptive pronouns may be used to mark these relativized property concepts, ensuring that the head can be identified, and allowing for movement of the relative clause. This highlights a configurational difference between relative clauses and adjectival/attributive clauses: relative clauses can occur outside of other modifiers (such as genitive constructions), whereas modifier/attributive constructions occur closer to the head. As an example of the use of resumptive pronouns, in (833) above, a referential pronoun interposes between the fully-identified noun and the wa morpheme, clarifying that wa bia is modifying $k a=s \eta i$. This is similar to (835) (as well as both (334) and (335) in $\S 8.5$ above). The use of a pronoun allows the following constituents to take verbal morphology, including negation, as discussed in Chapter 8.
(835) i æm i ka bynta ka wa khian i
$i \quad \varepsilon m \quad i \quad k a=b n t a \quad k a \quad w a \quad k^{h} i a n \quad i$
1PL have 1PL $\mathrm{F}=$ purpose $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{F}$ NMZ be.small 1PL
'we have a purpose which is small/minor' [BMPJ_028]
As we have seen previously, modifiers do not require additional reference and can occur in constructions that omit the gender clitic. Non-stative verbs acting as property concepts, however, must always be preceded by $w a$. They may also be preceded by a gender pronoun corresponding to the head noun which the de-verbal concept modifies, in which case they are construed as relative clauses with a verb that can be further modified by verbal morphology. Relative clause constructions and their relation with coordination and subordination are dealt with in more detail in Chapter 14.

The contrast between verbal function and modification function can be seen below in (836-837). In (836) (a longer version of [808] above) the verb mane 'worship' is serving as a transitive verb, while in (837) when $w a$ is pre-posed, mane is acting as a property modifier for $k i$, the worshippers.
(836) mane ki ka na ki paid

| mane | $k i$ | $k a$ | $n a$ | $k i=p a d$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| worship | 3PL | 3SG.F.ACC | ABL | PL=people |
| 'they worship | her, the people..' | [AIJ_161] |  |  |

## (837) ki wa mane

ki wa mane
3PL NMZ worship
'worshippers (those who worship)' [AIJ_159]
Example (838 a) is similar to (837) - that this is not a genitive expression is clear from the pronominal form: were the 3SG.F referent the A-argument or possessor of the verb mane, it would take the form $k 0$. As it is the Oargument, it takes the form $k a$. As noted above, this is typical of possessor constructions in Pnar, though often the possessor is case-marked by $j \partial \eta$. Speakers said that the diference between example (838 a) and (838b) is that in the latter $j \supset \eta$ clearly marks $k a$ as the possessor.

```
(a) ki wa mane ka
    ki wa mane ka
    3PL NMZ worship 3SG.F.ACC
    'they who worship her' [AIJ_159]
(b) ki wa mane yong ka
    \(k i\) wa mane joŋ \(k a\)
    3PL NMZ worship GEN 3SG.F.ACC
    'the worshipers of her'
or 'the worshippers belonging to her'
```

In examples ( $838 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{b}$ ) above, a possible analysis is that the pronoun $k i$ is actually cliticizing to wa (which is potentially cliticized to mane), deriving a full noun of property: $k i=w a=$ mane. Perhaps a better translation of example (837) above is 'those who worship'. As will be shown below, wa is serving a relativization function more similar to the function of English 'that' or 'who', only applied specifically to verbs in this case, as there are only a limited number of modifiers.

There is no clear distinction between the two wa morphemes, one of which forms modifiers or property concepts from verbs, and the other of which forms relative clauses. Conceptually, the two functions are strongly linked as they both describe attributes of a head. The difference lies in the conceptual difference between the head and its modifier. As noted above and shown below in examples (839-840), the morpheme wa can be preceded by a pronoun which acts as the head of the relative clause and is co-referential with the gender clitic attached to the full nominal head ${ }^{5}$

[^72](839) ym toh ka wa bha
$m$ to? ka $\boldsymbol{w a}$ bha
NEG be 3SG.F NMZ good
'it isn't good' [BMPJ_037]
(840) kitæ ki wa lai skur
$k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i \quad \boldsymbol{w a}$ laj skur PL=NVIS 3PL NMZ go school 'the school-goers' [BPVM_007]

Alternatively, wa can simply modify the noun directly (841). Or, as in (842), wa can relativize a full clause.
(841) tæ kamtæ ki lok wa maya
te kam-tع $k i=l \supset k \quad \boldsymbol{w a}$ maja
NVIS like-NVIS PL=friend NMZ love
'so in that case dear/beloved friends...' [BPDJ_044]
(842) hadein wa da æm ka kur soo kpoh, ..
ha-dein wa [lla $\quad$ da $k a=k u r$ so kpo?, ..]
LOC-back NMZ REAL exist $\mathrm{F}=$ clan four womb 'after the Soo Kpoh clan came into being, ..' [PP05KO_001]

Examples (843 a-b) illustrate the relativization function of wa further. Both sentences are taken from a conversation regarding why another village celebrates a certain traditional festival on a different day. After a question about whether the other village has the correct date, the traditional priest here is asserting that the other village has made a mistake (843a) and follows that statement with an explanation (843 b). In example (843 a) wa serves to relativize the verbal construction bakla ki, which can also be translated here as a genitive. In example ( 843 b ) both wa morphemes relativize clauses: one relativizes the happening ( $p n$-man ye- $i=t u$ 'for that (thing) caused to happen') and one relativizes the lack of knowledge ( $m$ tip ki $u=k e n ~ ' t h e y ~$ don't know how to count'). Here to? acts as an equative auxiliary (copula), indicating that both $w a$-clauses are subordinated to $k i$, which acts as the S/A argument of both clauses and refers to 'them' (the ones who made the mistake).

[^73](b) man ki wa pynman yeitu tæ toh wa ym tip ki u keiñ

man $k i \quad w a \quad[p n-m a n \quad j e=i=t u] \quad t \varepsilon \quad t \leq ?$ happen 3PL NMZ CAUS-happen $\operatorname{BEN}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ NVIS be $\boldsymbol{w a}\left[\begin{array}{llll}m & \text { tip } & k i \quad u=k e n\end{array}\right]$ NMZ NEG know 3PL NF=count 'the reason they (do) for that (mistake) is that they don't know how to count' [PP09MW_028]
or 'the reason for that (mistake) is their not-knowing (how) to count'

The preceding discussion has shown that some adjectival constructions and all relative clause constructions are similarly identified by the modifier wa, which functions as a nominalizer/relativizer. This highlights the conceptual similarity between the two kinds of construction. The distinction between the two functions, however, is that adjectivals cannot be negated, while relative clause constructions can.

### 13.3.5 Locatives and prepositional phrases

Locative prepositional case markers and prepositional phrases can also serve as modifiers of the head noun in a noun phrase. While prepositional case markers in general are clausal and sentential operators that mark oblique information (§5.6), the subset of locative prepositional case markers can also identify relationships between nouns. Within the noun phrase this means categorizing the following nominal semantically in terms of directionality (goal, location, source). Directional prepositional case markers can also combine with positional nouns to form locative prepositions that identify the case-marked noun phrase as the locus of position, with the preceding noun phrase being identified in relation to it. Essentially, the marking creates an attributive phrase that can be viewed as modifying either the preceding verb phrase or the preceding noun phrase. Context is the major determining factor of which constituent is being modified.

### 13.3.5.1 Clausal prepositional case marking

Directional/locative prepositional case markers in Pnar are $t f a$ 'allative, goal', ha 'locative, location' and na 'ablative, source'. The following examples illustrate their verbal clause modification and sentential operational use.

In example (844) tf $a$ marks kerala as the goal, while in (845) it marks 'the elders' as the goal.
(844) yah o cha kerala
ja? っ tfa kerala
drive 1sg.nom all Kerala
'I drove to Kerala' [PP15PI_045]
(845) tæ ka lai noh ko cha ki wa hæh yong ka
 NVIS 3SG.F.ACC go IMM1 3SG.F ALL 3pl NMZ be.big GEN ka
3SG.F.ACC
'so she went to her elders' [PP02SKF_011]
In example (846) $h a$ marks $k a=s \eta i$ as the location (in time) when the activity of planting will occur, while in (847) it marks $k a=l u t i$ as the location where the event of 'go'-ing will occur.
(846) ha ka sngi wa bood wan ki yung waroh $u$ thung wan ki
ha ka=sŋi wa bod wan ki=juŋ waro? $u=t^{h} u \eta$
LOC F=day NMZ follow come PL=home all $\mathrm{NF}=$ = plant
wan ki
come 3PL
'on the following day all homes will plant' [BMPJ_031]
(847) da yalai ki ha ka luti yong ki hi
da ja-laj ki ha ka=luti joŋ ki hi
REAL PLUR-go 3PL LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ way GEN 3PL EMPH
'they go together on their way' [FPSM_027]
In (848) na marks ka=bor kupli as the source of the clans, while in (849) it marks the source of $u=k \supset \eta$ wasan.
(848) kitæ toh ki kur ki jait ki wa mih na ka=bor kupli
$k i=t \varepsilon \quad t o ? ~ k i=k u r \quad k i=d a t \quad k i \quad w a \quad m i P \quad n a$
$\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ be $\mathrm{PL}=$ clan $\mathrm{PL}=$ type 3PL NMZ bring. out ABL
ka=bor kupli
$\mathrm{F}=$ Bor Kupli
'those are the clans that came from Bor Kupli' [PP04SKO_018]
(849) heitæ $u$ kong wasan na nartiang..
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad u=k כ \eta \quad$ wasan $n a \quad$ nartiaך
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ Kong Wasan ABL Nartiang
'then Kong Wasan from Nartiang...' [PP05KO_038]

### 13.3.5.2 Head-modifying prepositional case marking

Within the NP, the noun modification usage of the same prepositional case marking forms is clear from the following examples. Here, while not marking the head, the case marker identifies the relationship of following constituents to the head.

Locative modification: goal Examples (850-854) are of $\mathbb{f} a$ 'allative' being used to mark a head modifier. In (850) the speaker has a large audience and several other speakers at the event are seated behind him. Gesturing, he points to the chairs and, with himself as the locus, indicates the platform on which he is standing as the goal in relation to the chairs.
(850) kini ki chuki cha ka platform
$k i=n i \quad k i=$ tfuki $\quad$ ta $a \quad k a=$ platfom
PL=PROX PL=chair ALL F=platform
'these chairs on the platform' [BPDJ_004]
In (851) the same speaker has identified mo-joy 'coal' as the head of an NP and wants to constrain the reference to a particular location, $t^{h}$ aw rmbaj 'the Rymbai area'. He uses $t f a$ to identify the following NP as the goal associated with the coal.
(851) u mooyong cheitai cha thaw rymbai
$\begin{array}{lllll}u=m o-j o \eta & t \int e=i=t a j & \text { §a } & t^{h} a w & \text { rmbaj } \\ \mathrm{M}=\mathrm{coal} & \text { ALL=N=distal } & \text { ALL } & \text { place } & \text { Rymbai }\end{array}$
'the coal there in the Rymbai area' [BPDJ_017]
In (852) the speaker is remembering how they used to gather firewood and here is referring to a log that is located in a forest. ${ }^{6}$ The forest is conceptualized here as a goal which modifies the head.
(852) ka deiñ cha khloo
$k a=\operatorname{den}$ tfa $k^{h} l o$
$\mathrm{F}=$ tree ALL forest
'the tree/log in the forest' [BPVM_016]
Example (853) is from an older lady's personal history. She tells how many boys she has and then begins telling the location of each, conceptualizing each location as a goal that modifies the head $u=w i$ 'one'.

[^74](853) san ngut ki chynrang uwi cha changpung uwi cha myrsiang

| put | ki=t¢nray | $u=w i$ | ta | taypuy | $u=w i$ | ta |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| five CL.HUM | $\mathrm{PL}=$ male | $\mathrm{M}=$ one | ALL | Shangpung | $\mathrm{M}=$ one | ALL |
| mrsiay |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Myrsiang |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ys, | Shang | , |  |  | HM 025 |  |

In (854) a speaker is giving the history of a particular church. Here the noun $k i=l i a \eta$ 'side' is conceptualized as a goal that modifies $k a=t^{h}$ aw 'place'.
(854) ka thaw cha kini ki liang

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
k a=t^{h} a w & \text { tfa } & k i=n i & k i=l i a \eta \\
\mathrm{~F}=\text { place } & \text { ALL } & \text { PL=PROX } & \text { PL=side }
\end{array}
$$

'the place on these sides (of town)' [LHJ_009]

Locative modification: location Examples (855-861) illustrate modification using ha 'locative'. In (855) the NP head $k i=$ g $5 i \eta$ - $i m$ 'life' is ascribed the location of $p r t^{h} a j$ 'earth' by the speaker.
(855) kammon u e lad i ya ki jingim heini ha pyrthai
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { kammon } & u=e & \text { lad } & i & j a & k i=d i \eta-i m & h e=i=n i \\ \text { how } & \mathrm{NF}=\text { give } & \text { way } & \text { 1PL } & \text { BEN } & \mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{NMZ} \text {-live } & \text { LOC=N=PROX }\end{array}$ ha prt ${ }^{h} a j$
LOC world
'how to give the way of life here on earth' [BMPJ_086]
In (856) the speaker is locating an event in time. Specifically, he is locating the days $(k i=s \eta i)$ during which the event occured, placing them within the particular year $1971\left(u=s n \varepsilon m\right.$ nniawp $\left.{ }^{h} a w w i\right)$. This year is identified as a location of 'the days' by the locative case marker $h a$.
(856) kini ki sngi ha u snæm ynñiawphaw wi
$k i=n i \quad k i=s \eta i \quad h a \quad u=s n \varepsilon m \quad n л i a w p^{h} a w$ wi
PL=PROX PL=day LOC M=year seventy one
'these days in the year (19)71' [BPDJ_019]
In (857) the locative $h a$ is combined with the positional $p o$ ? 'inside' to form a locative preposition. This preposition then identifies the following nominal constituent $k a=$ elaka 'township' (a traditional geo-political organizational unit) as modifying the preceding NP head $u=n \supset \eta-s n t f a r$ 'ruler'. Such a construction circumscribes the power of the ruler by the area delineated by the claka.
(857) u daloi toh u nongsynchar hapoh ka elaka
$u=$ daloj to? $u=n כ \eta-s n t f a r \quad h a-p \supset ? \quad k a=$ claka $\mathrm{M}=$ daloi be $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{AG}$.NMZ-rule LOC-inside $\mathrm{F}=$ =township
'the Daloi is the ruler in the village' [DR_001]
In (858) the first person singular pronoun $\eta a$ ' $m e$ ' is conceptualized as a location. In this phrase a speaker is talking about something that he wrote. The construction ha ya identifies a person closely involved with the preceding NP head $k a=p e p \varepsilon r$ 'paper' (referring to an article or piece of writing published as part of a collection of other writings on a similar topic). This construction resembles that of a genitive construction, with the difference being that the pronominal referent $\eta a$ is not construed here as the owner, but merely as a connected location.
(858) læh kawi æm kani ka paper ha nga ka wa thoh

$$
\begin{array}{lllllll}
l \varepsilon P & k a=w i & \varepsilon m & k a=n i & k a=p e p \varepsilon r & h a & \eta a
\end{array}
$$

In (859), from the same text as (858), the speaker is discussing various diseases and comments on the diseases he treats most often. He states their relationship to 'now', conceptualizing the NP $k a=k a n s a r ~ k a=m e n ~ a s ~ b e i n g ~$ modified or located at a particular moment, marking that moment with $h a$.

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { ka cancer ka main ha kat-ni } \\
k a=k a n s a r & k a=m e n & h a & k a t-n i \\
\mathrm{~F}=\text { cancer } & \mathrm{F}=\mathrm{main} & \text { LOC } & \text { as-PROX }
\end{array}
$$

'the main cancer now (at the moment)' [PP15PI_088]

In (860) the speaker is speaking of himself in a story. Here he conceptualizes the position he occupied at the time of the story as existing or belonging locationally ha-poh 'within' a company.
(860) u junior engineer hapoh company
$u=$ đुunjor endzinir ha-po? kompani
$\mathrm{M}=$ junior engineer LOC-inside company
'a junior engineer in a company' [LS2J_001]
The speaker in (861) is describing some of his past experiences. The NP $k i=n i k i=k$ mpani 'these companies' is described as being located within the limits of the city of Coimbatore in another part of India, and the prepositional phrase is conceptualized as being part of a larger NP.
(861) wa kini ki company hapoh coimbatore
wa $k i=n i \quad k i=k$ mpani ha-po? koimbatsr
COMT PL=PROX PL=company LOC-inside Coimbatore
'with these companies in Coimbatore' [PP15PI_140]

Locative modification: source Examples (862-865) illustrate the use of $n a$ 'ablative' to modify NP heads. In (862) the noun head $k a=d, j \eta-\sigma \eta a j$ 'distance' is modified by a single locative expression consisting of two directional/locative prepositional case markers: na $k a=t a j k a=t^{h} \supset \eta ~ h a u=n \supset \eta-s i \varepsilon t$ 'from the target to the shooter'. An interesting note is that ha 'locative' is used in this construction instead of $t f a$ 'allative', suggesting that the shooter is the locus of conceptualization for the speaker in this instance.
(862) ka jingjngai na katai ka thong ha u nongsiet

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
k a=\text { = } i \eta-c t \eta a j & n a & k a=t a j & k a=t^{h} \partial \eta & h a \\
\text { F=AB.NMZ-be.far } & \text { ABL } & \mathrm{F}=\text { distal } & \mathrm{F}=\text { target } & \text { LOC } \\
u=n \supset \eta-\text { sict } & & & & \\
\text { M=AG.NMZ-shoot } & & & &
\end{array}
$$

'the distance from the target to the shooter' [AIJ_040]
In (863) the head $k a=w i$ is a copula complement to the copula subject $k a=U N O$. Here, $k a=w i$ is modified by the phrase with $n a$ 'ablative', which marks the following NP, $k i=s e n$ 'organizations', as the source of $k a=U N O$, or in this case as one of the members of a particular group of organizations.
(863) ka UNO toh kawi na ki seiñ ka wa ha khlieh tam ha ka pyrthai
$k a=U N O$ to? $k a=w i \quad n a \quad k i=s e n \quad k a \quad w a \quad h a$ $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{UNO}$ be $\mathrm{F}=$ one ABL $\mathrm{PL}=$ committee $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{F}$ NMZ LOC $k^{h} l e ? \quad t a m \quad h a \quad k a=p r t^{h} a j$ be.head INTS3 LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ world
'the U.N.O. (United Nations Organization) is one of the leading organizations in the world' [BMPJ_004]

In (864) the head is a nominalized verb $i=k l a m$ 'speech'. The ablative $n a$ marks the following noun as the source of the speech.
i klam na u pastor
$i=k l a m \quad \boldsymbol{n a} \quad u=$ pastor $\mathrm{N}=$ speak ABL M=pastor
'the speech/words of/from the pastor' [BMPJ_086]
In (865) the head of the NP enclosed in brackets is $u=w i$ 'one'. The ablative na marks the following phrase, $k i=w a-h \varepsilon ? ~ j \supset \eta ~ k a=k u r ~ s o ~ k p \supset ?$, as the source of the head. This whole NP is functioning as the O-argument of man 'become, happen' in relation to the A-argument (subject) pronoun 9 'first person singular'.
(865) man o uwi na ki wahæh yong ka kur soo kpoh
man $\quad$ [ $\begin{array}{lll}u=w i & n a & k i=w a-h \varepsilon ? ~ j \supset \eta \quad k a=k u r ~\end{array}$
become 1SG.NOM M=one ABL PL=NMZ-be.big GEN F=clan
so $k p o$ ?
four womb
'I am one of the elders from the Soo Kpoh clan' [PP01CSE_008]
Notably, only locative prepositional case markers can serve as both nounphrase modifiers and as clausal markers. The remaining two Pnar markers $j a$ 'benefactive' and $d a$ 'instrumental' are only used to mark clausal relations in my data, with functional equivalents of these modifications being carried out by relative clauses.

### 13.4 Quantifier phrase

The 'quantifier phrase' includes both general quantification of nouns and enumeration of nouns. These two classification types cannot occur together, resulting in two general structures of quantifier phrase. The first structure is where:
$\mathrm{QP}=\mathrm{QN}$
Quantifiers such as wi 'one' (866) are not included in the QP, and instead are included in the list of demonstratives, since they reflect the explicit marking of definiteness and are marked with the gender clitic of the corresponding noun (§5.3).
(866) u wi u nongpyllai
$\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{i} \quad u=n \supset \eta-$-pllaj
$\mathrm{M}=$ one $\quad \mathrm{M}=\mathrm{AG}$.NMZ-organize
'one/a organizer' [AIJ_142]
Traditional measurements such as $t i=k n t e n ~ ' m o u t h f u l ' ~(867), ~ h o w e v e r, ~ a r e ~$ clear instantiations of the first type of QP. These generally precede the head of the NP, and the first constituent of the QP often cliticizes to the noun which it modifies. Common quantifiers have been given in $\S 7.3 .1$ as a subclass of nouns which function as measure terms.
(867) chi kyntein u pathi
ti $i=k n t e n \quad u=$ pat $^{h} i$
INDF=mouthful M=betel.leaf
'a mouthful/set of betel leaf' [PP12BL_013]
Apart from common indefinites like $t f i$ ' $a / a$ an, set', numerals above one can also fill the Q slot, as in (868). In this example, the numeral does not appear to cliticize to the second constituent of the QP, bnta 'purpose'.
(868) ksoh o ar bynta
$k s o$ ? o ar bnta
hold 1SG.NOM two purpose
'I hold two parts (positions, duties)' [PP02SKF_015]
The second type of quantifier phrase structure is where:

## $\mathrm{QP}=$ Num Class

This kind of structure is most commonly exhibited by classifier phrases (869), where nouns enumerated above one are preceded by both a numeral and a word that identifies whether the noun in question is human or non-human (or a week, though since 'week' is the only thing thus classified by $t a$ it seems to be more of a quantifier than a classifier), as identified in $\S 5.5$ and expanded on below (§13.4.4).
(869) san ngut ki khon ki yong nga
san put $k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad k i \quad j \supset \eta \quad \eta a$
five human PL=child 3PL GEN 1SG.NOM
'five children of mine' [AIJ_011]
The system of noun classification in Pnar at the word level, using gender and number to directly mark nouns, has been dealt with above (Ch. 7 and §13.2.3). Further, modification strategies and the use of pronominal forms to
mark agreement of relativized attributive clauses derived from verbs has also been discussed ( $\S 8, \S 8.3$ and $\S 13.3 .4$ ). This begs the question of whether QPs are internally or externally headed. If internally headed, this would mean the quantifier has scope over the noun which it modifies. Since, however, the quantifier/classifier is structurally under-specified in regards to the NP it modifies (i.e. it can 'float' as discussed below), the head of a QP is taken to be the head of the modified NP, and thus the QP is externally headed.

This current section expands on how nouns are classified in terms of number through the use of quantification strategies, a process involving modifiers that usually precede the head noun (though variation will be discussed) and fall within the scope of the noun phrase. Quantification expands the possibilities of the Pnar noun classification system either through noun classifier (mass) terms (also called 'quantifiers') or numeral classifiers. The two types of quantification strategy are grouped here under the heading 'quantifier phrase'.

### 13.4.1 General quantification

According to Corbett (2006: 724) "The basic distinction of number... is singular and plural". Pnar exhibits this distinction in its noun classification system (i.e. gender, examples $870-872$ are singular, 873 is plural) and in pronouns (examples 874-877).
(870) da tan utai u bru
$d a \quad$ tan $u=t a j \quad \boldsymbol{u}=b r u$
REAL pull $\mathrm{M}=$ dist $\mathrm{M}=$ person
'that man pulls (it)' [MPSM_010]
(871) ym teiñ de ka bru
$m$ ten de $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=b r u$
NEG fear N.INTS $F=$ person
'a/the woman was not afraid' [BPDJ_030]
(872) waroh i bru na æmkam i ka bam
wars? $\boldsymbol{i}=b r u \quad n a \quad$ emkam $i \quad k a=b a m$
all $\mathrm{N}=$ person ABL need 1PL RES=eat
'all people need food' [HPAHR_054]
(873) ong ki bru æm chohnoh næ

эך $\boldsymbol{k i}=b r u \quad \varepsilon m$ †o?nっ? $n \varepsilon$ say $\mathrm{PL}=$ person have bandit D.TAG
'people said there are bandits, ok' [BPVM_017]
(874) bam u cha yong oo
bam $\boldsymbol{u} \quad$ tfa jəŋ o
eat 3SG.m.nom all gen 3SG.m.ACC
'he ate at his (place)' [KP_009]
(875) bam ko ini i rdang
bam k刀 $\quad i=n i \quad i=r d a \eta$
eat 3SG.F.NOM $\mathrm{N}=$ PROX $\mathrm{N}=$ neck
'it ate this (part of the) neck' [PP15PI_095]
(876) ha wa bam i ki hoi hi i u pynyap i ki
ha wa bam $i \quad k i$ hoj hi i u=pn-jap
LOC NMZ eat 1PL 3PL be.fitting EMPH 1PL NF=CAUS-die
$i \quad k i$
1PL 3PL
'when we eat them, it's ok for us to kill them' [BMPJ_036]
(877) i bam wa bam ki ki wa yoh ki
$i=b a m \quad$ wa bam ki ki wa jo? ki
$\mathrm{ACT}=$ eat NMZ eat 3PL 3PL NMZ get 3PL
'the food that they ate, they got' [BMPJ_025]
Beyond this basic distinction are ways in which a quantity of referents is expressed. Quantification can be described as "the specification of for how many objects in a certain set a predicate is valid" (Bussmann, 1998: 971). Quantification is connected to such topics as definiteness, domain of use and reference, and predicate calculus. Words such as those listed in Table 13.1 allow Pnar speakers to quantify elements in referential expressions. These terms seem to act as adverbials, with varied syntactic realization within clauses. Numerals additionally allow speakers to be highly specific about quantity.

### 13.4.2 Numerals and classifiers

Numerals in Pnar follow a base ten system, as identified in §5.4. Numerals on their own can serve as a sort of reference, particularly in relation to dates and times (878-879). If a number (amount) of objects have been identified,

| quantifier | gloss |
| :---: | :---: |
| do? | 'every' |
| tibit | 'some' |
| warr? | 'all' |
| titen | 'half' |
| $k^{h} l \varepsilon m$ | 'without' |

Table 13.1: Some quantifiers in Pnar
the number can then serve to refer to the objects in question, in almost a pronominal sense (880-881).
(878) ha $u$ ar hajar, ha $u$ snæm ar hajar tæ pynlæh ki kate
ha u=ar hajar ha u=snem ar hajar te LOC M=two thousand LOC M=year two thousand NVIS $p n-l \varepsilon ? \quad k i \quad k a=t e$
CAUS-do 3PL F=MPROX
'in two thousand, in the year two thousand, they did this'
[HPAHR_010]
(879) na sohmynting libooh i ha jwai ar kyrwit
na so?mntin li=bo? $i \quad h a \quad$ Jwaj ar krwit ABL Sohmynting DUR-put,keep 1PL LOC Jowai two times 'from Sohmynting we carried (things) to Jowai two times' [SI3_040]
(880) arphaw san hajar samæn, dæp tæ neitæ tæ sdang ki bru u yoh kini ki tin $\operatorname{arp}^{h} a w$ san hadgar samen dep te $n e=i=t \varepsilon$ twenty five thousand alone PERF NVIS $\mathrm{ABL}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ te sday $k i=b r u \quad u=j o ? \quad k i=n i \quad k i=t i n$ NVIS begin PL=person $M=$ get $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ PL=tin 'only twenty five thousand (rupees), then people began to get these tin (roofs)' [FPAHM_067]
(881) to ong sa wi, ar yndooh
to $\supset \eta$ sa wi ar ndo?
ok say only one two previously
'ok, say about only one or two (more things)' [TACJ_238]
Describing an amount of particular objects using a number above 'one', however, generally requires an additional morpheme in Pnar, a classifier. The three classifiers used with numerals are gut for humans (882), tlli for non-humans (883), and $t a$ for weeks (884). The numeral classifier for weeks does not apply to other expressions of time (hour, day, year, etc..).
(882) ki ni toh ki san ngut ki khon yong ka
$k i=n i \quad t \supset ? ~ k i \quad$ san put $k i=k^{h} \supset n$ joj $k a$ PL=PROX be 3PL five CL.HUM PL=child GEN 3SG.F 'these were her five children' [PP02SKF _030]
(883) æm ynñiaw tylli ki khloo kyntang ha jwai heini
em nniaw tlli $k i=k^{h} l o \quad k n t a \eta \quad h a \quad \oiint w a j$
have seven CL.NH PL=forest special/holy LOC Jowai
$h e-i=n i$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ PROX
'there are seven sacred groves here in Jowai' [BMPJ_015]
(884)
ar ta yaw hadein ka thoh ya tæ ka
ar $\boldsymbol{t a}$ jaw ha-den $k a \quad t^{h} \supset ? ~ j a \quad t \varepsilon \quad k a$ two CL.WK week LOC-back 3SG.F write BEN NVIS 3SG.F 'after two weeks (we) sign it (the agreement)' [HPAHR_157]

### 13.4.3 Classifiers in linguistics

Aikhenvald's (2003a) monograph is the most comprehensive typological work on classifiers to date. She uses 'classifier' as a cover term for noun classification in general, subsuming gender, noun classifier, and numeral classifier systems under the same heading, though she discusses them separately. Since Pnar exhibits a 3 -way system of noun classification that is linked to biological sex (though not exclusively), the term 'gender' is used for this general noun class system (following the tradition in Indo-European linguistics), and has been described above (§5.2).

The term 'classifier' on its own is used here to refer specifically to numeral classifiers - morphemes that are required for enumerating quantities of objects. The term 'classifier phrase' therefore identifies a particular construction in Pnar that expresses the number of a particular object and includes a morpheme that classifies the noun according to established categories within the language other than gender, a process attested in many other Asian languages, including those classified as Austroasiatic (for an extensive review of Austroasiatic classifier systems, see Adams, 1989). This kind of construction corresponds to the 'quantifier phrase' in some typologies.

The term 'noun classifier' is used by Aikhenvald to refer to nominal compound constructions, which often describe a mass quantity. Noun classifiers seem to correspond to types of mass quantifiers or measure words in Pnar and are optionally used to group nouns. These are a much more open class,
as in the measure terms discussed above. According to Aikhenvald (2003a: 90):
> "Noun classifiers are often considered as a subtype of numeral classifiers in the languages of Southeast Asia. The basic difference between the two types is that numeral classifiers occur in numerical - and often in other quantifying - expressions. Noun classifiers occur independently of the presence of other modifiers in a noun phrase... Noun classifiers may not be obligatory in a noun phrase, unlike numeral classifiers which are generally obligatory in a numerical NP."

Noun classifiers are a class of words from which numeral classifiers are thought to develop (Aikhenvald, 2003a). In Pnar such quantifying elements refer to sets or groupings of objects. Unlike numeral classifiers in Pnar, which must occur with nouns in quantities of more than one, noun classifiers can be used with a single set, as $k n t e n ~ ' m o u t h f u l, ~ q u i d ' ~ i n ~(885) ~ a s ~ o p p o s e d ~ t o ~$ the same morpheme which must be counted with a classifier in (886).
(885) chi kyntein u kwai
tfi knten $u=k w a j$
INDF mouthful $\mathrm{M}=$ betel.nut
'a set of betel nut and leaf'
(886) ar tylli ki kyntein ki kwai
ar tlli ki=knten $k i=k w a j$
two CL.NH PL=mouthful PL=betel.nut
'two sets of betel nut and leaf'
A rather unusual feature of Pnar is that it exhibits obligatory plural marking on quantified nouns in numeral classifier phrases, a situation held by Greenberg (1972) to be unlikely. Aikhenvald (2003a: 100) further explicates the rarity of this requirement, stating that "the absence of obligatory plural marking on nouns and of plural agreement... is a typological property usually associated with the existence of numeral classifiers in a language." However, exceptions do exist, and Aikhenvald includes a list ${ }^{7}$ suggesting that they "are exceptions to this generalization, since number is obligatory in those languages." (ibid.) In Pnar, the gender system obligatorily encodes a distinction between singular and plural for all nouns, as identified above.

[^75]Pnar is also in good company areally, as classifiers are a common feature of neighboring languages:

Numeral classifiers are separate lexemes in the fusional languages of the Magadhan subgroup of Indo-Aryan (Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Bihari, Marathi, some Hindi dialects, Nepali: see Barz and Diller 1985; Emeneau 1964) and in South Dravidian languages, e.g. Malto. Assamese (Barz and Diller 1985: 169) has about ten classifiers used as independent lexemes. Classifiers zon, zoni, zona, and goraki are used with humans (see Table 4.1). They combine reference to sex, animacy, and politeness." (ibid.: 102)

Aikhenvald also suggests a possible correlation with morphological complexity. Pnar, a largely isolating language, has only two obvious numeral classifiers, even fewer than Nung in Aikhenvald's sample:

Tzeltal (Mayan: Berlin 1968), an agglutinating language, has several hundred classifiers. Nung, an isolating language from the Tai family, has only four numeral classifiers: ahn 'inanimate', ohng 'human', tu 'animate', and cah 'general' (Saul and Wilson 1980: 25 ff.)." (ibid.: 103)

However, this observed correlation in Aikhenvald's sample does not fully hold, as morphologically complex Nepali has only 2 classifiers (distinguishing, like Pnar, between human and non-human) while isolating Thai has over 80 numeral classifiers.

Within Austroasiatic, numeral classifiers are a common feature. Adams (1989) notes that of Austroasiatic languages in general, the Mon-Khmer languages have the fewest number of numeral classifiers. The Khasian languages cited in her study (Khasi, based on Rabel (1961), and War, based on Weidert (1975)) have only two numeral classifiers, which distinguish between human and non-human. Pnar is similar in having few classifiers, though it has one other morpheme that classifies counted weeks.

### 13.4.4 Constraints on classifier constructions

As identified above, classifier constructions in Pnar are a specific kind of quantification that indicates the precise number of a nominal element and behaves as a modifier to nominals. The traditional term 'classifier phrase' is used in the literature to refer to numeral classifiers that modify nouns, and CP will be used here for the QP whose form is:
$\mathrm{QP}=$ Num Class
The reason the diagram of this phrase does not contain a NP is that it is not clear whether the CP has scope over the NP or vice-versa. Classifier phrases are attached to (or co-refer with) the head noun of an NP, but are underspecified in terms of where they can occur in relation to the head. The following patterns are attested for Pnar via elicitation, though they are generally representative of collected texts. The typical classifier phrase is bracketed in example (887).
(887) e ar tylli ki kwai
$e \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}a r & t l l i\end{array}\right] \quad k i=k w a j$
give two CL.NH PL=betel.nut
'give two kwai (to me/him/her)' (Imperative)
There is generally no agreement on the CP to identify which constituent is being modified, unlike the process of relativization above or the marking of demonstratives.

Alternatively, speakers can change the order of the classifier construction in relation to the head (888).
(888) e u ki kwai ar tylli
$e \quad u \quad k i=k w a j \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}a r & t l l i\end{array}\right]$
give 3SG.M.NOM PL=betel.nut two CL.NH
'he gives/gave two kwai (to me/him/her)'
Example (888) is not preferred, however, and most speakers would add a prosodic pause between the NP and the CP.

The bare noun can also be incorporated into the verb (889), in which case the gender clitic is removed. Evidence that this is incorporation is that the CP cannot occur between the verb and the nominal kwaj. Further, the verb and incorporated noun can have a controlling argument $u$ specified in the post-verbal S/A slot, interposed between the complex verb and the CP (890).
(889) e kwai ar tylli
$e \quad k w a j \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}a r & t l l i\end{array}\right]$
give betel.nut two CL.NH
'kwai-give two (to me/him/her)' (imperative)
(890) e kwai u ar tylli
$e \quad k w a j \quad u \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}a r & t l l i\end{array}\right]$
give betel.nut 3SG.M.NOM two CL.NH
'he kwai-gives/gave two (to me/him/her)'
A typical feature of noun phrases in Pnar is their ability to topicalize by moving to sentence-initial position. This is also the case with CPs, both in the pre-nominal construction (891) and the post-nominal modification construction (892).
(891) ar tylli ki=kwai e u ya nga
$\left.\begin{array}{cc}\text { ar } & \text { tlli }\end{array}\right] \quad k i=k w a j \quad e \quad u \quad j a \quad \eta a$
two CL.NH PL=betel.nut give 3SG.M.NOM BEN 1SG.NOM
'two kwai he gives/gave me'
(892) ki=kwai ar tylli e u ya nga
$k i=k w a j \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}a r & \text { tlli }\end{array}\right] \begin{array}{lllll} & e & u & j a & \eta a\end{array}$ PL=betel.nut two CL.NH give 3SG.M.NOM BEN 1SG.NOM 'two kwai he gives/gave me'

Again, however, the second sentence is acceptable but not preferred. The CP itself can also be topicalized, both when modifying an unincorporated O-argument (893) and when modifying an incorporated argument (894).
(893) ar tylli e u ki=kwai ya nga
$\left.\begin{array}{cc}\text { ar } & \text { tlli }\end{array}\right] \quad e \quad u \quad k i=k w a j \quad j a \quad \eta a$ two CL.NH give 3SG.M.NOM PL=betel.nut BEN 1SG.NOM 'two kwai he gave to me'
(894) ar tylli e kwai u
[ar $\left.\begin{array}{cc}\text { tlli }\end{array}\right] \quad e \quad$ kwaj u
two CL.NH give betel.nut 3SG.M.NOM
'two he kwai-gives/gave (to me/him/her)'
The CP can also be mentioned as an afterthought for clarification (895). This would suggest that practically speaking, classifiers are optional in Pnar. However, as a language learner, when I enumerated nominals and failed to use a numeral classifier, speakers would often correct me.
(895) e kwai u (ya nga), ar tylli
e kwaj u $\quad$ ua $\quad \eta a \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { ar } & \text { tlli }\end{array}\right]$
give betel.nut 3SG.M.NOM BEN 1SG.ACC two CL.NH
'he kwai-gives (to me), two'
Negative examples can also be useful for investigating the scope of constructions. In Pnar, the following constructions were ungrammatical for speakers: 1) constructions in which a noun class marker attached to the CP as a crossreferencer (896), 2) constructions in which the noun class marker preceded the CP but was left off of the head noun (897), constructions where the head noun preceded the verb in topic position and was not identified post-verbally, while the CP was given post-verbally in the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$ argument slot (898). However, there are some problems with this elicitation, as it was noted from texts that classifier expressions are occasionally preceded by pronouns. This may have to do with constraint of reference in context, or may simply be a feature of conversational data.
(896) *ki ar tylli ki=kwai
ki $\quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { ar } & t l l i\end{array}\right]$
3PL two CL.NH
'the two pieces of kwai'
(897) *ki ar tylli kwai
ki $\quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { ar } & \text { tlli] }\end{array} \quad\right.$ kwaj
3PL two CL.NH betel.nut
'the two kwai'
(898) ??ki=kwai e u ar tylli
$k i=k w a j \quad e \quad u \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}a r & \text { tlli }\end{array}\right]$
PL=betel.nut give 3SG.M.NOM two CL.NH
'two kwai he gives/gave (to me/him/her)'
Example (896) is apparently disallowed because the CP is a nominal modifier. The NP can be definite but not its modifiers. Example (897) is unacceptable because the N cannot occur without a gender clitic unless it is incorporated into the verb. Example (898) is not acceptable to most speakers because the CP is understood to be in O-argument position - unlike in example (895) above, there is no pause between the A argument $u$ and the CP , so it is not viewed as a clarification. Only noun phrases can occur in the O -argument position.

It is possible that both pre- and post-modification of the nominal head by the CP in Pnar could be viewed as a type of compounding. This would
mean that the CP is treated similarly to a NP, yet unable to be modified by number or serve as an argument. The CP cannot substitute for the head as the PN can, but when part of the NP it seems to serve as a constituent of the NP, and as a modifier it is optional and can be mentioned as extra information. I did not elicit structures in which I attempted to incorporate the CP into the verb, so this will require further study.

Recent attempts to discuss the typology of numeral classifiers have mainly focused on the order of the classifier in relation to the noun and the potential for varied order within a language. Specifically, Jenks (2010) looks at numeral classifier phrases (abbreviated as Q) in Asian languages and groups them according to the order of their constituents and whether they allow variable order. Pnar falls into his QN category generally since this is the preferred order, but it does allow Q-float, unlike other QN languages in his sample. Since it also allows NQ order it could potentially be classified with Japanese and Korean, which prefer NQ order but also allow variable order of numeral classifier phrases. This property cannot be seen as a language family dependency, since Pnar as an Austroasiatic (Mon-Khmer) language is not genetically affiliated with either Japanese or Korean and is geographically distant. But if you consider that NQ order is not preferred (only about 10 of 100 examples of this in my corpus of texts record NQ order, and all highly specific contexts), it seems to not fit into his schema at all. A possible typological explanation will therefore need time to formulate.

### 13.5 Summary

The Pnar noun phrase is an extremely important unit of organization in the language that allows Pnar speakers to expansively describe the objects in their environment. Noun class markers allow speakers to constrain the interpretation of salient referents in terms of gendered singular and plural. These same clitics are used as agreement markers or to identify referential elements, such as demonstratives and the heads of relativized phrases that act as modifiers. Demonstratives and clausal prepositional case markers allow more precise identification of objects in terms of spatial and temporal relations that use the speaker and other nominals as the deictic center. Finally, quantification strategies include general quantifiers and numeral classifiers that require plural marking, a rare feature typologically. The following chapter looks more carefully at coordination and subordination of phrasal
elements.

## Chapter 14

## Coordination and subordination

Coordination is a term describing arrangement of constituents in paratactic relationships, in which a clear head is difficult to identify, while subordination describes the arrangement of constituents in a head-dependency relationship (see Haspelmath, 2007; Andrews, 2007, for discussion). Pnar uses many of the same operators for coordination and subordination, with context providing a means of disambiguating the function of morphemes and operations. Prosodic pauses and juxtaposition are one useful means of coordinating or subordinating constructions, while operational morphemes allow for explicit marking of phrases and clauses.

The following chapter deals first with coordinated structures (§14.1) and then with subordinated structures (§14.2).

### 14.1 Coordination

Coordination in Pnar can be both asyndetic (without an overt coordinator morpheme) or syndetic (with overt marking). Asyndetic coordinated constructions are formed through juxtaposition of the coordinated elements. These constructions can also be accompanied by prosodic pauses, intonation, or stress marking. Overt markers are generally pre-posed, occurring after the first element (coordinand) and before the succeeding elements in the coordinate construction. Overt coordinators can mark two or more constructions as coordinate, and coordinators can also be omitted. Pnar has morphemes of conjunction (§14.1.2), disjunction (§14.1.3), and adversative coordination (§14.1.4) which can operate at both the phrase and clause level. Coordination can be binary, or consist of multiple constituents, and coordinators can also be omitted.

## 14．1．1 Clause coordinator $t \varepsilon$

The primary clausal coordinator in Pnar is the morpheme $t \varepsilon$ ，which has the same form as the non－visible deictic marker．The main purpose of this morpheme in coordination is to identify to the hearer that the previous state－ ment is unfinished．Since in this sense it is referring to an abstract notion （the clause that has gone before）and presupposing a secondary element（the clause（s）that will follow），I retain the deictic／evidential gloss．In my data， this morpheme can occur either before（899）or after（900）the constituent it chains，though when it occurs clause finally it is most often a place holder for an expected following clause．
（899）lai u ha ka bei ram－aw tæ ong u．．．

| ［laj | $u$ | ha | $k a=b e j$ | ram－aw］ | $t \varepsilon$ | $[⿰ 习 习$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| go | 3SG．m．NOM | LOC | $\mathrm{F}=$ mother | earth | NVIS | say |
| u．．．］ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3SG．M．NOM |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | ent to Moth | Ear | th，then he | said．．．＇［P | 01CS | E |

（900）kat－te dang ha pyrdi wa khait soh u tæ
［kat－te day ha prdi wa khat so？u］
as－MPROX DUR LOC middle NMZ pick fruit 3SG．M．NOM
te．．．
NVIS
＇now he is still in the middle of picking fruit，so．．．＇［MPSRJ＿018］
Unlike adverbials of time such as mnstعp＇tomorrow＇（901）or hado？＇until， until when＇（902），which can occur in nearly any position，the non－visible clausal coordinator $t \varepsilon$ must generally occur between clauses as a framing element，appearing at the beginning of a sentence when that sentence is linked to the preceding one．
（901）u yah noh o ka mynstæp cha majar
$\begin{array}{llllll}u=j a ? & n o ? & \jmath & k a & \text { mnstep } & t a \\ \text { NF＝drive，lead } & \text { IMM1 } & \text { 1SG．NOM } & \text { 3SG．F．ACC } & \text { tomorrow } & \text { ALL }\end{array}$
maçar
bazaar
＇I will bring her to market tomorrow＇［PP05KO＿039］
(902) tæ mut phi puræ hadooh
te mut $p^{h} i$ purs ha-do?
NVIS means 2PL learn LOC-when
'that means you study until when?' [PP15PI_041]
In this $t \varepsilon$ has more in common with communication framing morphemes such as $t \supset$ 'ok' (903), to? 'be, be right' (904), ne 'isn't it' (905), s 'confirmation' (906), and $n \supset \eta$ 'confirmation' (907), though only $t \supset$ occurs as often in the same pre-clausal position.
(903) to, da biang
to $\left.\begin{array}{cc}d a & b i a \eta\end{array}\right]$
ok REAL enough,again
'ok, it's enough' [PP01CSE_044]
(904) na yaw song da ka sla, toh hi
$\left[\begin{array}{lllll}n a & j a w & \text { son } & d a & k a=s l a\end{array}\right]$ to? $h i$
ABL market pack INST $\mathrm{F}=$ leaf be EMPH
'from market (they) pack with a leaf, it's true' [BMPJ_091]
(905) ilæh ong ki u ngooh, næ?
[ile? on ki u=ךo?] $\boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$
why say 3 PL NF=bless D.taG
'why do they call it blessing, hmm?' [TACJ_419]
(906) nang roi ko, sæ
[nay roj ko] $s \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$
still crawl 3SG.F.NOM C.TAG
'it still spread' [SI1_051]
(907) dai tim æh, nong?
[daj tim $\varepsilon$ ?] non
sell lottery IMM2 CONF
'just selling lottery, right?' [AIJ_016]

### 14.1.2 Conjunction ('and')

Conjunction is the process of placing constructions in paratactic relationship to each other such that each of the constructions has the same role or function within the clause. The key test of conjunctive coordination in Pnar is whether the coordinated elements can be replaced by a single element of the same type. Thus coordinated NPs can be replaced by a single non-coordinated NP, and coordinated VCs can be replaced by a single noncoordinated VC.

This kind of construction is often called 'and'-coordination (Haspelmath, 2007: 1), reflecting the marker that English uses for processes that group functionally similar phrases together. Many languages use the same morpheme for these constructions as for comitative 'with'-coordination (ibid: 4). Pnar is such a language, using $w a$ to coordinate elements that may indicate accompaniment as well as those which are simply conjoining separate constituents within the same group. Examples of NPs (908-920) show this to be the case. In these examples the conjoined constituents are identified by square brackets. The following sections classify conjunctive coordination in terms of NPs (§14.1.2.1), VCs (§14.1.2.2) and discuss the conjunctive coordination morpheme $w a$ in relation to the process of relativization (§14.1.2.3).

### 14.1.2.1 NP coordination, conjunction

In (908) wa coordinates two noun phrases, identifying Nik and Singh as the referents corresponding to the two friends mentioned earlier.
(908) æm ar ngut chi lok ki, u nik wa u singh
em ar lut tfi lok ki [u=nik] wa $[u=\operatorname{si\eta }]$ have two CL.HUM one friend 3PL M=Nik COMT M=Singh 'there lived two friends, Nik and Singh' [KP _002]

Example (909) is of coordinating NPs as well - here the speaker is introducing a story and clarifying an element he had just mentioned ('my wife and three children'). He then begins giving their names and roles in relation to that element.
(909) ...wa ka Lona ka bei ki khon wa u Iooioo, u khon nyngkong o $\boldsymbol{w a} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}k a=l o n a & k a=b e j & \left.k i=k^{h} \partial n\right] \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad[u=j o j o \\ \hline\end{array}\right.$ COMT $\mathrm{F}=$ Lona $\mathrm{F}=$ mother $\mathrm{PL}=$ child $\mathrm{COMT} \mathrm{M}=$ Iooioo $\left.u=k^{h} \supset n \quad n \eta k \supset \eta \quad ~ \supset\right]$ $\mathrm{M}=$ child first 1SG.NOM
'...and Lona, the children's mother, and Iooioo my first son...' [LS1J_008]

Example (910) is of NPs coordinated within a subordinate genitival construction. Here, $i=\sigma$ inkre? tfitom $u=m a$ bigoj is understood to mean 'Ma Bijoy's work'. The addition of the conjunction $w a$ and the following NPs $\eta a$ 'first person singular topic pronoun' and $u=m a p^{h} i d \varepsilon l$ 'Mr. Phidell'clarifies that the work belongs to all three referents, not just the first.
(910) yei jingkræh chitom $u$ ma bijoy, wa nga wa $u$ ma phidell

BEN $=\mathrm{N}=$ NMZ-work hard $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{HON} . \mathrm{M}$ Bijoy COMT 1SG.ACC
wa $\quad\left[u=m a \quad p^{h} i d \varepsilon l\right]$
COMT M=HON.M Phidell
'for the hard work (of) Ma Bijoy, me, and Ma Phidell' [LS2J_038]
Examples (911 and 913) show how coordinators can be elided, particularly when list intonation is invoked. In (911) the list is an expansion of the earlier NP ki=so tii-paju 'four siblings', which is indicated by a prosodic pause and simple juxtaposition. Then the speaker begins the list of four NPs also juxtaposed, with the conjunctive marker only preposed to the final member of the list.
(911) ka chnong jwai toh ka wa sein ki ka tip phi da ki soo chi-payu, ka wet, ka tein, ka doh, wa ka bon
$k a=$ †fnว $\ddagger$ §waj to? ka wa sen ki ka=tip $p^{h} i$ F=town Jowai be 3SG.F NMZ agree 3PL RES=know 2PL
$d a \quad k i=s o \quad t j i=p a j u \quad[k a=w \varepsilon t][k a=t e n] \quad[k a=d っ ?] \boldsymbol{w a}$
INST $\mathrm{PL}=$ four set=sibling $\mathrm{F}=$ Wet $\mathrm{F}=$ Tein $\mathrm{F}=$ Doh COMT
[ $k a=b \supset n$ ]
$\mathrm{F}=$ Bon
'Jowai town was formed by 4 houses (clans/families), as you know:
Wet, Tein, Doh and Bon' [BMPJ_012]
In (912) we have a similar listing, but this time the first two members are indicated through the use of juxtaposed copular clauses, and only the last two NPs are simply juxtaposed with a conjunctive $w a$ to mark them.
(912) ki tawiar ki takan toh kawi ka myntdu, kawi toh syntu ksiar, ka sangman wa ka rynji, kitæ toh ki wa da wa kær ya ka chnong jwai
$k i=t a w i a r \quad k i=t a k a n \quad t o ? ~[k a=w i \quad k a=m n t d u]$
PL=surrounding PL=surrounding be $\mathrm{F}=$ one $\mathrm{F}=$ Myntdu
[ka=wi to? sntu ksiar] [ka=sayman] wa [ka=rnçi],
$\mathrm{F}=$ one be Syntu Ksiar $\mathrm{F}=$ Sangman COMT $\mathrm{F}=$ Rynji
$k i=t æ e \quad t o h ~ k i ~ w a ~ d a ~ w a ~ k æ e r ~ j a ~ k a=t!n \supset \eta ~$
PL=NVIS be 3PL NMZ REAL NMZ encircle BEN $F=$ town
swaj
Jowai
'the surroundings, one was Myntdu, one was Syntu Ksiar, Sangman, and Rynji, which are the 4 rivers surrounding Jowai town.'
[BMPJ_012]
Example (913) is a bit more interesting - here an extra long pause (identified by ';') marks the juxtaposition of a list, and the following constituents are
unmarked by gender except for the last one, which is also preceded by the conjunctive coordinator. This may be due to the fact that they are locative place names as opposed to, i.e., rivers in example (912), which are located over a broad geographic area, and to individual names in (911), which refer to bounded entities. It may also be simply because they immediately follow the verb $m i$ ' 'come.out' and could be conceptualized as incorporated locatives (see §10.2.3).
(913) æm wan sa kitæ ki soo lad soo luti ki wa mih; mooralong, moosniang, mutong wa u mookhai


Example (914) is similarly coordinating NPs, but here the line between 'and'-conjunction and the comitative function begins to blur. The speaker is describing an emergency situation in the company he worked for. The Sargument of the of the matrix verb $p^{h} \varepsilon t$ 'run' is understood to be $i$ 'we' or $\rho$ 'I' from context. The three conjoined elements (speaker, driver, and truck) are an expansion of the S-argument. Here they are all urgently moving individually, but they are also moving together - the speaker and driver are in the truck, which is the vehicle of their motion. Thus either alternative would be an accurate translation, though perhaps not fully felicitous in English.
(914) phæt dei sñiaw wa nga wa u dribar uwi, wa ka truck
$p^{h} \varepsilon t$ de $=i=$ sniaw $\boldsymbol{w a} \quad[n g a] \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad[u=$ drajbar $u=w i]$
run $\quad \mathrm{INST}=\mathrm{N}=$ sense COMT 1SG.ACC COMT $\mathrm{M}=$ driver $\mathrm{M}=$ one
$\boldsymbol{w a} \quad[k a=t r \supset k]$
COMT $\mathrm{F}=$ truck
'(we) ran with urgency, me and one driver and the truck'
[LS2J_010]
or '(we) ran urgently with me, with one driver, with the truck'
In (915) we also have a potential ambiguity between conjunction and comitative function. Here the matrix verb $j a-t f \partial \eta-k^{h} a$ 'get married (together, to each other)' is a reciprocal/reflexive. The A argument therefore can be construed simultaneously as both the agent and the undergoer. The two roles could be shared by the individual elements of the subsequent conjoined NPs
$k o$ and $u=j a l e$, or the primary undergoer/agent could be interpreted as $k o$, with $u=j a l e$ being added information.
(915) tæ man da yachongkha ko wa u yale tæ yoh ki i khon
$t \varepsilon \quad \operatorname{man} d a \quad j a-\nmid \supset \eta-k^{h} a \quad[k \supset] \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad[u=j a l e]$ NVIS happen REAL PLUR-sit-birth 3SG.F.NOM COMT M=Yale tع jo? ki $i=k^{h}$ วn
NVIS get 3PL $\mathrm{N}=$ child
'so when she and Yale married, then they got a child'
[PP04SKO_011]
or 'so when she got married with Yale, then they got a child'
Example (916) demonstrates that this comitative sense can sometimes be interpreted as an instrumental. Generally, instrumentals in Pnar are marked by $d a$, but in this example the comitative $w a$ is used. The similarity of the two concepts allows us to make the leap from identifying the sword tkut as not simply something that happened to be around at the time of the cutting, but as the tool used for cutting by an animate entity ( $u=b r u$ ). The alternate translation, that the sword did the cutting, is infelicitous for two reasons: 1) because of the clarification of the later clause $u=t k u t$ dan $u=b r u$ 'the man cut (with) the sword', where the animate entity occupies the key postverbal A -argument syntactic position, and 2) there is no passive derivation indicating that the animate entity is the undergoer.
(916) dat $u$ chi daiñ, daiñ $u$ tkut, wa $u$ tkut daiñ $u$ bru
dat u tyi dan, dan $u=t k u t, \quad w a \quad[u=t k u t$
hit 3SG.M.NOM one cut cut $\mathrm{M}=$ Sword COMT $\mathrm{M}=$ sword
dan $u=b r u$ ]
cut $\mathrm{M}=$ person
'he hit once cutting, (he) cut (with) sword, with [the sword the man
cut]' [PP03SKY_026]
*'he hit once cutting, the sword cut, and [the sword cut the man]'

Comitative usage of $w a$ is more clearly identified in (917), with the addition of tirup tilay 'altogether' - this clause follows a list that named the different roles of the Pnar elders, ending with a summation of the number of elders and $p r t^{h}$ at 'Pyrthat, lightning', the god-like being who was instrumental in founding Jowai.
(917) tæ chirup chilang wa u pyrthat man khatsoo wa hæh
te [tirup tfilay] wa [u=prthat] man $k^{h}$ atso NVIS together together COMT $\mathrm{M}=$ lightning happen fourteen
wa $h \varepsilon$ ?
nMZ be.big
'so altogether with Pyrthat there were fourteen elders'
[PP04SKO_025]
As another example, in (918) we have a verb of existence followed by the coordinating conjunction and the individual $u=k \supset \eta$ wasan 'Kong Wasan', as the person that she (ko) was with.
(918) tæ da æm ko wa u kong wasan

$$
\begin{aligned}
& t \varepsilon \quad d a \quad \varepsilon m \quad[k \supset] \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad[u=k כ \eta \quad \text { wasan }] \\
& \text { NVIS REAL have 3SG.F.NOM COMT M=Kong Wasan } \\
& \text { 'so she was with Kong Wasan' [PP05KO_041] }
\end{aligned}
$$

In conversation this kind of comitative sense allows interlocutors to be directive. In (919) the speaker is telling his interviewee to speak directly to him and not to worry about the camera. Here wa serves to direct the verbal act of speech toward the speaker, and the post-verbally elided S-argument (elided post-verbally in part because $p^{h} i$ 'you' is overtly mentioned in the preverbal topic slot) gives the construction an imperative sense.
(919) phi klam wa nga ong beit

'you speak just with me (directly)' [AIJ_006]
We can compare (919) above with (920) below, where the two pronominal NPs are both post-verbal and coordinated with the conjunction between them.
(920) man da yaklam o wa oo
man da ja-klam [o] wa [o]
happen REAL PLUR-speak 1SG.NOM COMT 3SG.M.ACC
'when I spoke with him...' [BMPJ_047]
The following are further examples of $w a$ as a conjunctive/comitative coordinator. In (921) the coordinated NPs are two different birds, one of which is named $k a=s i m$ and the other of which has a name that the speaker has forgotten.
(921) ka sim song wa ka sim... ym kynmoo de
$\left[\begin{array}{llllll}k a=s i m & s o \eta\end{array}\right] \boldsymbol{w a} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}k a=s i m & m & k n m o\end{array} d e\right]$
$\mathrm{F}=$ bird Song COMT $\mathrm{F}=$ bird NEG remember NEG.INTS
'a bird Song and a bird... (I) don't remember' [BMPJ_023]
In (922) wa coordinates the following phrase with a previous sentence. The speaker here has identified several vehicles and is continuing her description of them, adding information about one of the vehicles, which belonged to a particular individual.
(922) wa kawi won ka bus toh ka yong $\mathrm{u}, \mathrm{u}$ subor pung
wa [ka=wi won $k a=b u s$ to? $k a \quad$ jə $\quad u$
COMT $\mathrm{F}=$ one any $\mathrm{F}=$ bus be 3SG.F.ACC GEN 3SG.M.NOM
$u=$ subor $\quad$ pu $\boldsymbol{]}$ ]
$\mathrm{M}=$ name name
'and one bus belongs to him, Mr. Subor Pung' [BPVM_006]
In (923) the speaker uses wa to coordinate the S-argument $u=j a k \partial r s i \eta$ with $u=$ daloj hadem 'the Hadem Daloi', identifying the two referents as existing in an accompaniment relationship.
(923) u yakorsing æm u katni cha hadem chirup wa u daloi hadem

| [ $u=$ jaksrsi $\eta$ ] |  | [u] | katni | $t$ fa | hadem | tirup |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{M}=$ name | have | 3SG.m.NOM | as-Prox | ALL | name | together |
| $\boldsymbol{w a} \quad[u=$ daloj hadem] |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| COMT M=daloi name |  |  |  |  |  |  |

'Yakorsing is there now in Hadem with the Daloi of Hadem..'
[PP05KO_040]

### 14.1.2.2 Verbal coordination, conjunction

Verbal coordination also involves the overt comitative conjunction wa. This usage is sometimes difficult to separate from the nominalization/relativization usage of the morpheme, however some examples have been identified and are given here as examples. In (924) the same wa morpheme coordinates two verbal complexes 'to give learning...' and 'to give teaching..'.
(924) u e ko ya ka jingtip ya ka ktein u Blai wa u e hikai ya ki kammon u im
$\left[\begin{array}{llllll}u=e & k \jmath & j a & k a=\text { din-tip } \quad j a \quad k a=k t e n ~ & u=b l a j\end{array}\right]$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ give 3SG.F.NOM BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ NMZ-know BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ word $\mathrm{M}=$ God
$\boldsymbol{w a} \quad[u=e \quad$ hikaj ja ki kamon $u=i m]$
COMT NF=give teach BEN 3PL how NF=live
'to give it (the school) for learning about the word of God and to
give teaching to them (about) how to live' [LHJ_017]

In (925) the speaker is telling the story of how Jowai was settled. The being $u=m o k^{h} a j$ is a spirit of protection who inhabited the area and resides in the form of a large stone. Here wa coordinates the verbal clause $k^{h} i$ iP $k i=k^{h} n d a w$ smur $i=k^{h} n$ ndaw 'the earth shook and quaked' with da tfad $u=m o k^{h} a j$ 'Mookhai danced', an occurrence which took place to welcome the new settlers.
(925) tæ khih ki khyndaw smur i khyndaw wa da chad u mookhai
tع $\quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}k^{h} i \boldsymbol{i} & k i=k^{h} n d a w & \left.\text { smur } i=k^{h} n d a w\right] \\ \boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{a} \quad[d a \quad \text { tad }\end{array}\right.$ NVIS shake PL=earth shake $\mathrm{N}=$ earth COMT REAL dance $\left.u=m o k^{h} a j\right]$
$\mathrm{M}=$ Mookhai
'so the earth shook/quaked and Mookhai danced' [PP04SKO_033]
In (926) the speaker is expressing his willingness to serve others by promoting the traditional culture. He uses wa to coordinate the two verbal clauses $u=r a$ ? $u=$ wat 'to carry the sword' and $u=r a h$ steih 'to carry the shield' to form a metaphorical expression that references the traditions, particularly of dance, which the speaker is well known for locally in Jowai.
u rah u wait wa u rah steih, u pynsuk ya u paidbah
$\left[\begin{array}{ll}u=r a ? & u=w a t\end{array}\right] \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad[u=r a ? \quad$ ste? $]$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ carry $\mathrm{M}=$ sword COMT $\mathrm{NF}=$ carry shield
$u=p n$-suk ja $u=p a i t b a$ ?
NF=CAUS-be.peaceful BEN M=crowd,congregation
'(I) will carry the sword and (I) will carry the shield, to serve the people' [TACJ_022]

### 14.1.2.3 Coordination vs. relativization

In some sense, the usage of $w a$ as a clausal subordinator (discussed below in $\S 14.2 .2$ ) and as a nominalizer ( $\S 7.4, \mathrm{Ch} .8)$ seems clearly related to the comitative usage described here. This is especially the case if we consider that the kind of nominalization which changes verbs into property concepts functions by relating two constituents, X and Y . The relation can be conceptualized as ' X with properties of Y '. ${ }^{1}$ If this is taken as the logical operation, the subordinating and nominalizing function as in (927) below can be reinterpreted from a comitative sense. Here $u=p r t^{h} a t$ is describing himself as the protecting uncle of the four women who have descended to earth to

[^76]inhabit and populate the area now known as Jowai. His descriptors could potentially be translated as 'I with protecting, I with seeing' etc., describing each verb as a property of the pronominal NP $\eta a$.
(927) tæ ham teiñ nga wa æm nga wa pait nga wa yoo

|  | ham tej | ! a | $a$ | $m]$ | [ $\quad$ a |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NVIS | PROH fear | 1SG.ACC | NMZ | have | 1SG.ACC | NMZ | loo |
| $\left.\begin{array}{llll}\eta a & \boldsymbol{w a} & j o\end{array}\right]$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1SG.ACC NMZ see |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'so don't fear I who am here, I who protect, I who see' [PP04SKO_035] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

### 14.1.3 Disjunction (or)

Disjunction is a process of coordination that identifies two constituents as being alternate possibilities for the same semantic role or grammatical function within the larger phrase or clause. In Pnar there are two morphemes used to mark disjunction. The two morphemes ne and lane seem to be completely interchangeable, though $l a$ is also the marker used for conditional subordinating 'if' constructions. In (928-930) ne coordinates NPs in inclusive disjunction.
(928) i donhi ki bru ki wa im ong ki ki social animal ne social being mo $i \quad d o n h i ~ k i=b r u \quad k i \quad w a \quad i m \quad o \eta \quad k i \quad[k i=s o f a l$ 1PL only PL=person 3PL NMZ live say 3PL PL=social animal] ne [sofal bijin] mo animal or social being Q 'we only, the people who live, they call social animals or social beings, ok?' [BMPJ_043]
(929) ha ki por dang khian i ka jingchit yee ko u man arphaw ar ne arphaw le katni dei por sngi
ha $k i=p o r \quad$ dang $k^{h}$ ian $\quad i \quad k a=j$ ji $\eta$-tfit $j e$
LOC PL=time PROG be.small 1PL F=NMZ-heat able
ko u=man $\left[\begin{array}{lll}a r p^{h} a w & a r\end{array}\right]$ ne $\left[\begin{array}{lll}a r p^{h} a w & l e\end{array}\right]$
3SG.F.NOM NF=become twenty two or twenty three
kat-ni $\quad d e=i=p \supset r \quad$ s $\eta i$
as-PROX $\quad$ INST $=\mathrm{N}=$ time day
'at the time we were still small the temperature could become 22 or 23 (degrees), like that, during the day' [BMPJ_056]
(930) boon ki wa da kwah u im du sanphaw ne ynruphaw snæm sñiaw hi phi bon ki wa da kwa? $u=i m$ du [sanphaw] ne many 3PL NMZ REAL want $\mathrm{NF}=$ live only fifty or [nrup $\left.{ }^{h} a w\right]$ snem sniaw hi $p^{h} i$ sixty year sense EMPH 2PL
'(there are) many (people) who want to live only (at least) fifty or sixty years, (as) you heard' [BPDJ_011]

In (931) ne coordinates the VCs jo? ksut 'get demon' and jos taro 'get spirit', which together serve as property modifiers for the third person plural pronoun $k i$. Here the speaker is describing how the spirits would react when he would enter a courtyard. Due to his personal spiritual force, when he would enter a home where someone was inhabited or affected by a particular kind of spirit (either a ksut or a taro spirit), the spirit in question would disappear or run away from the speaker.
(931) katu ka bor ka wa du wa psiah o ha dwar ha pchæm toh ki wa yoh ksuid ne yoh taro, da wiar. da yut ki.
$k a=t u \quad k a=b o r \quad k a \quad w a \quad d u$ wa psia? o
F=MEDL F=power 3SG.F NMZ only NMZ enter 1SG.NOM ha dwar ha ptfem to? ki wa [jว? ksut] ne LOC dwelling LOC courtyard be 3pl NMZ get demon or [jo? taro] da wiar. da jut ki. get evil.spirit REAL leave REAL run.away 3PL 'this power (I had) so that (if) only I entered in a dwelling, in a courtyard, then those who had devils or had demons, (the spirits) leave. they run.' [PP15PI_083]

In (932) ne is used in an alternative/disjunctive question (following both constituents).
(932) ha wa mane ki man æm hi jinglæh niam yong ki chi sein chi snæm ne ym æm ne
ha wa mane ki man $\varepsilon m$ hi Jiple?
LOC NMZ worship 3PL happen have EMPH NMZ-do niam jon ki [tfi sen tfi snem] ne $\left[\begin{array}{ll}m & \varepsilon m\end{array}\right] \quad \boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{e}$ tradition GEN 3PL one time one year or NEG have or 'when they worship they do their ceremonies once a year, or not?' [AIJ_165]

In (933) lane is used similarly along with $n e$ in an alternative question.
(933) katwon sein jooh lai pynkhooid i lane jooh æm ne ym æm kitæ
 as-which time HAB go CAUS-be.clean 1PL if-or HAB have $\boldsymbol{n e} \begin{array}{ccc}{\left[\begin{array}{l}m\end{array} \quad \varepsilon m\right.} & k i=t \varepsilon]\end{array}$ or NEG have PL=NVIS
'(tell regarding) how many times we used to go clean (it), or if (we) used to or not?' [KNI_033]

Example (934) shows that the marker can be used to coordinate multiple disjunctive constituents.
(934) tæ thap ki oo ha chang tæ utai uwi kam wa da læh ke u da katai ka wa ong ki ka tennis ne mar æh katai ka ping-pong ne mar æh
$t \varepsilon \quad t^{h} a p$ ki o ha tjaך te $u=t a j$ NVIS put 3PL 3SG.M.ACC LOC basket NVIS M=DIST $u=w i \quad k a m$ wa $d a \quad l \varepsilon$ ? ke u da $\mathrm{M}=$ one like NMZ REAL do NPURP 3SG.M.NOM INST $k a=t a j k a \quad w a \quad \jmath \eta$ ki $\quad[k a=t \varepsilon n i s]$ ne mar $\varepsilon$ ? $\mathrm{F}=$ DIST 3SG.F NMZ say 3PL $\mathrm{F}=$ tennis or belonging IMM2 [ka=taj ka=piy-pop] ne mar $\varepsilon$ ? F=DIST $\mathrm{F}=$ ping-pong or belonging IMM2
'so they put it on the basket, that one (it) seems he plays with a (thing) that they call tennis or just this ping pong or something' [MPSM_023]

In (935) the coordinated constituents are embedded as the first part of a conjunctive/comitative coordinated construction.
(935) tæ u wan ka wa hæh ne ka wei diah wa ki wa kha ${ }^{2}$ wa man

| $t \varepsilon$ | $u=w a n$ | $[k a$ | $w a$ | $h \varepsilon ?]$ | $n e$ | $[k a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | NF=come | 3SG.F | NMZ | be.big | or | 3SG.F.ACC | we-i=dia?] wa ki wa $k^{h} a^{3}$ wa man COMT $=\mathrm{N}=$ sibling NMZ 3PL NMZ be.born NMZ become 'so the mother's elder or younger sister and the relatives from the father's side will come' [PP14MF_018]

### 14.1.4 Adversative coordination

Adversative coordination marks constituents as counter evidence for assertions or as denying expectation. Pnar has two morphemes for this function, one of which, hnre, was identified by consultants as being borrowed from Khasi with the meaning 'but also' or 'although', and can express contrastive

[^77]or concessive coordination. Consultants claimed that the other morpheme $t a \eta$ is more original to Pnar, corresponding to English 'but'. When combined with the relative clause marker/nominalizer wa it expresses contrastive or purposive coordination.

### 14.1.4.1 tan 'but'

The morpheme tay 'but' often occurs at the beginning of a clause, as in (936-938), coordinating the following clause with a previous assertion. In (936) taj coordinates a purposive relative clause wa $u=$ tfe klla $u=$ tfit klla $i=p r t^{h} a j i=m n d \varepsilon r$ 'that the earth will be light and warm'.
(936) tang wa $u$ che kylla $u$ chit kylla i pyrthai i mynder, nga u kit, nga u bah da $u$ radang yong nga $u$ chit kylla i pyrthai i mynder

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { tay [wa } u=\text { tfe klla } u=\text { tfit klla } \quad i=p r t^{h} a j \\
& \text { but } \mathrm{NMZ} \mathrm{NF}=\text { light change } \mathrm{NF}=\text { heat change } \mathrm{N}=\text { world } \\
& i=m n d \varepsilon r] \quad \eta a \quad u=k i t \quad \eta a \quad u=b a \text { ? } d a \\
& \mathrm{~N}=\text { surrounding 1SG.ACC } \mathrm{NF}=\text { carry 1SG.ACC } \mathrm{NF}=\text { carry INST } \\
& u=\text { rada } \quad j \supset \eta \quad \eta a \quad u=\dagger \text { it klla } \quad i=p r t^{h} a j \\
& \mathrm{M}=\text { neck } \text { GEN 1SG.ACC } \mathrm{NF}=\text { heat change } \mathrm{N}=\text { world } \\
& i=m n d \varepsilon r \\
& \mathrm{~N}=\text { surrounding } \\
& \text { 'but so that the earth will be light and warm, I will carry on my } \\
& \text { neck and waist, (so that) the world will change (back to) warm' } \\
& \text { [PP13RS_184] }
\end{aligned}
$$

In (937) tay coordinates a VP, ya kat wa tip 3 'as I know' in relation to the following phrase.
(937) tang nga kat wa tip o, i jingim o, nadooh wa tip o, ym pu jooh æm ka wa soo


In (938) the morpheme tay coordinates a concessive clause wa kat to? wa $\varepsilon$ ? wa re 'since it is too difficult to carve' that is marked as such by being followed by $t \varepsilon$, the paratactic/hypotactic marker.
(938) tang wa kat toh wa æh wa ræ tæ ym æm u da boon palat wa ræ ki hadooh katwon sæ

| $\boldsymbol{t a n}$ | $\left[\begin{array}{llllllll}w a & k a t & \text { to? } & w a & \varepsilon ? & w a & r \varepsilon\end{array}\right]$ | $t \varepsilon$ | $m$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| but | NMZ | as | be | NMZ | be.difficult | NMZ | carve | NVIS | NEG |  |
| $\varepsilon m$ | $u$ |  |  | $d a$ | $b o n$ | palat |  | $w a$ | $r \varepsilon$ | $k i$ |
| have | 3SG.M.NOM | REAL | many | extraordinary | NMZ | carve | 3PL |  |  |  |

ha-do? katwon se
LOC-lose how.much CONF
'but since it is too difficult to carve, so there are not so many of the well-carved ones' [TACJ_245]

Example (939) illustrates tay being used to coordinate clauses within a sentence and across sentences. Here the morpheme follows two juxtaposed equative coordinated clauses, identifying the juxtaposed clauses that follow as coordinated property concepts of the preceding clauses. In the subsequent sentence the morpheme then marks a second adversative assertion intended to counter a potential misreading of the situation.
(939) uni læh u jooh hi, utu læh u jooh hi, tang uni khian u, utu hæh u. tang ka parom ka jooh hi
$\left[\begin{array}{lllllll}u=n i & l \varepsilon ? & u & \text { go? hi } & u=t u \quad l \varepsilon \text { ? }\end{array}\right.$

M=PROX also 3SG.M.NOM be.same EMPH M=PROX also
$u \quad$ gor $\quad h i] \quad$ tay $\left[\begin{array}{ll}u=n i & k^{h} i a n\end{array}\right.$

3SG.M.NOM be.same EMPH but M=PROX be.small
$u \quad u=t u \quad h \varepsilon ? \quad u$ ] tay $k a=$ parsm
3SG.M.NOM M=MEDL be.big 3SG.M.NOM but $\mathrm{F}=$ story
ka bo?
3SG.F.ACC be.same
'this is also the same, that is also the same, but this is small, that is big. But the story is the same' [TACJ_430]

In (940-942) the morpheme coordinates VPs. In (940) the two clauses are statements of opinion. Either clause could stand alone, and the only indication that they are related is the use of tay, showing that the admonition to be careful ( $u=$ sadiar) relates to the use of insecticides (dawaj $k^{h} n i a \eta$ ).
(940) hoi hi u pynæmkam dawai khniang tang u sajiar i
[hoj hi u=pñmkam dawaj khiaך] tan
fitting EMPH NF=use medicine insect but
$\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { u samiar } & i]\end{array}\right.$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ be.careful 1PL
'it's ok to use insecticides, but we (should) be careful' [BMPJ_077]
In (941) tay identifies the relatedness of the two phrases regarding the computer room and the computer class. Here it is not a causal relationship that
is identified, but simply the occurrence of two different situations which are related only in the sense of being about the same room or subject, namely the existence of a computer room. It is up to the listener to infer that the computer room is where the intended computer class will be located.
(941) ka computer room læh da sdang i, tang ym pu yee u sdang ya ka computer class

'we also began a computer room, but haven't been able to start the computer class' [LHJ_042]

In (942) the speaker is describing an expressive construction $u=k^{h} \varepsilon \lambda u=k^{h} a j$ 'counting'. Here he talks about the two words involved in the expression, and how the meaning of the second word in the expression has been lost. The knowledge of the first is juxtaposed against the lack of knowledge of the second.
(942) tip hi u kheñ tang ym tip u khai
[tip hi $\left.u=k^{h} \varepsilon \Omega\right] \quad \boldsymbol{t a \eta}\left[\begin{array}{ccc}m & \text { tip } & \left.u=k^{h} a j\right]\end{array}\right.$ know EMPH NF=count but NEG know $\mathrm{NF}=$ khai
'(we) know to count but don't know to 'khai' ' [PP08LC_018]
In (943) the speaker is telling the pear story and is near the end, where the children are walking past the man with the basket of apples, eating fruit. Here tay coordinates the following clause, identifying an unexpected situation based on the speaker's knowledge of the story.
(943) na jan $\mathrm{u}, \mathrm{u} u$ kriah soh tang wa pait hæh u ki

$$
\begin{array}{lllllll}
{\left[\begin{array}{llll}
n a & \text { San } & u & u \\
\text { ABL near } & \text { 3SG.M.NOM } & \text { 3SG.M.NOM } & u=k r i a ? \\
\text { M=basket } & \text { so? } & \text { fruit } & \text { but }
\end{array}\right. \text { [wa }} \\
\text { pat } & h \varepsilon \text { ? } & u & k i \\
\text { look only } & \text { 3SG.M.NOM } & \text { 3PL } & & \\
\text { 'he is near the fruit basket, but he only looks (at) them' } \\
\text { [FPSM_039] }
\end{array}
$$

In (944) tay serves an adversative function slightly different to that identified above, and was translated by my consultant as 'even' or 'only', similar to (943) above, yet without the adverbial marker $h \varepsilon$ ? 'only'. Here it marks the coordinated locative construction as counter to expectation, but not completely contrastive, and (945) is similar.
(944) tæ dei jingim yong kini ki khloo kyntang tang ha jwai ini læh...
 NVIS $\operatorname{INST}=\mathrm{N}=$ NMZ-live GEN $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ PL=forest holy but
$\left[\begin{array}{llll}h a & \text { gwaj } & i=n i \quad l \varepsilon ?\end{array}\right]$
LOC Jowai N=PROX also
'so by the life of these holy forests even in this Jowai (town) also...' [BMPJ_022]
(945) ym jooh bam o læh noh tang ka dakha tyrkhaw
 NEG HAB eat 1SG.NOM do IMM1 but $\mathrm{F}=$ fish dry 'i never ate meat except the dry fish' [BPDJ_040]

In (946) it serves a negative coordinating function ('not only, not just'), preposing coordinated NPs, and is used in the same clause as hnre, which suggests that the two adversative coordinators have slightly different functions.
(946) tæ u dooh jait ym tang ki mrad ki mriang ym tang ki khniang ki psiat ym tang kiyi kiyi waroh, hynre wot ki bru læh
te $u=d o$ ? Gat $m$ tay [ki=mrad ki=mriay] ym NVIS NF=lose type NEG but PL=animal PL=animal NEG
$\boldsymbol{t a y}\left[\begin{array}{ll}k i=k^{h} n i a \eta & k i=p s i a t]\end{array} \quad m \quad \boldsymbol{t a \eta}[k i=j i \quad k i=j i\right.$
but $\mathrm{PL}=$ insect $\mathrm{PL}=$ insect NEG but $\mathrm{PL}=$ thing $\mathrm{PL}=$ thing waroh] hnre wot [ki=bru] lع?
all but.also just $\mathrm{PL}=$ person also
'so there will be a loss not only the animals, insects and all living thing but even to human beings also' [BPDJ_025]

### 14.1.4.2 hṇre 'but also'

The morpheme hñre was claimed by consultants to be a Khasi word, yet it seems to be useful in Pnar as a way of providing additional shades of meaning to adversative coordination. In (947-953) it is used as an adversativeconjunctive coordinator, identifying added information that may be unexpected but which is helpful for understanding previous claims. Similarly to tay, the morpheme is often used to start a sentence (947-950) but can be used within a larger construction as well (951-953).

In example (947) the morpheme precedes a locative of time, ha wa being interpreted as 'when'.
(947) hynre ha wa wan cha pyrthai...
hinre [hawa wan tya prthaj]
but.also LOC NMZ come ALL
'but also when we came to the earth...' [PP01CSE_060]
In (948) hnre precedes a locative NP expression.
(948) hynre ha ka jingim yong u bru
hnre $\quad\left[\begin{array}{llll}h a & k a=d j i \eta-i m & j \supset \eta & u=b r u\end{array}\right]$
but.also LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ =NMZ-live GEN $\mathrm{M}=$ person
'but also in man's life' [PP01CSE_061]
In (949) it precedes an existential VP.
(949) hynre kani da boon phaw pateiñ kani da æm chwa hi ko
hnre $\quad[k a=n i] \quad d a \quad$ bon $\quad p^{h} a w$ paten $\quad k a=n i$
but.also $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX}$ REAL many ten generation $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX}$
da $\quad$ m tf wa hi ko
REAL have already EMPH 3SG.F.NOM
'but also this was there for tens of generations, it was already there' [TACJ_114]

In (950) it precedes a conditional subordinated construction. Here the speaker is relating a time of famine that occurred when he was younger.
(950) hynre la da ym æm ka punjab wa ræp tæ i cha pnar waroh da yap
hnre $\quad\left[\begin{array}{lllllll}l a & d a & m & \varepsilon m & k a=p u n g a b & w a & r \varepsilon p\end{array}\right] \quad t \varepsilon$ but.also if REAL NEG have $F=$ Punjab NMZ cultivate NVIS $i$ tfa pnar waro? da jap
1Pl all Pnar all real die
'but also if there were no Punjab (people) who cultivated (rice) then we in Pnar (land) all (would have) died.' [BPDJ_035]

Using hnre between two clauses in the same sentence allows speakers to coordinate additional information that draws on their knowledge of the world and what they believe the listener can identify. In example (951) the morpheme coordinates a following assertion about reality.
(951) i yn toh æh ki læh yap ki, hynre toh $u=æ m$ hi i kjut, la ym æm i kjut ym æm i jingyap
$\left[\begin{array}{llllllll}i & n & \text { to? } & \varepsilon ? \quad \text { ki le? jap } & k i] \text { hnre }[t \supset ? ~\end{array}\right.$ 1PL REF be IMM2 3PL also die 3PL but.also be
$u=\varepsilon m \quad h i \quad i=k \not \partial u t] \quad l a \quad m \quad \varepsilon m \quad i=k \neq u t$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ have EMPH ACT=hurt,sick if not have ACT=hurt,sick
$m \quad \varepsilon m \quad i=\sigma_{j} i \eta-j a p$
NEG have $\mathrm{N}=$ NMZ-die
'having fever they died, but also there should be some sickness/pain, if there is no sickness there is no death' [PP01CSE_062]

In (952) it coordinates the assertion of the hero ( $u=w \supset$ ? lakria?) with the counter-assertion of the creator god ( $u=$ tre-ki-rot).
(952) tæ ong u woh lakriah 'nga uyi oo wa u yee, oo u pynngait kat ya ki paid ki phlang $u$ wan yah cha pyrthai', hynre $u$ tre ki rot ong u..

| $t \varepsilon$ | oŋ | $u=w o ?$ | lakria? | $[\eta a$ | $u=j i$ | $o$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | say | $\mathrm{M}=$ HON.M | Lakriah | 1SG.ACC | $\mathrm{M}=$ thing | 3SG.M.ACC |

wa $u=j e \quad u=p n-\eta a t \quad$ kat ja
NMZ NF=able 3SG.M.ACC NF=CAUS-believe as BEN
$k i=$ pait $\quad k i=p^{h} l a \eta \quad u=w a n \quad j a ? \quad$ tfa $\left.p_{1} t^{h} a j\right]$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ congregation $\mathrm{PL}=$ grass $\mathrm{NF}=$ come drive ALL world
hntre $\quad[u=$ tre-ki-rot $\quad$ эŋ $\quad u]$
but.also $\mathrm{M}=$ Tre-Ki-Rot say 3SG.M.NOM
'Woh Lakriah said 'who am i to convince the people to take them to the earth', but God said (to him)...' [PP01CSE_073]

In (953) the speaker uses hnre to enable him to add additional information, identifying it as coordinate and clarifying its important status.
(953) man ym toh du i burom ya oo, hynre man i im ja i nong heini
man $\quad\left[\begin{array}{lllll}m & \text { to? } d u \quad i=b u r כ m & j a & o\end{array}\right] \quad$ hnre
become NEG be only $\mathrm{N}=$ honor BEN 3SG.M.ACC but.also
$\operatorname{man} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}i & i m-d j a & i\end{array} n \supset \eta \quad h e=i=n i\right]$
happen 1PL live-food 1PL CONF $\mathrm{LOC}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{PROX}$
'it's not only that we honor him but also we have a livelihood here'
[AIJ_073]

### 14.2 Subordination

Subordination is a term used to describe head-dependency relationships between clauses. Haiman and Thompson (1984: 1) note that the concept of subordination is a composite notion that linguists often do not properly define, and suggest the following seven criteria to help identify properties of dependency relationships:

1. Identity between the two clauses of subject, tense, or mood
2. Reduction of one of the clauses
3. Grammatically signalled incorporation of one of the clauses
4. Intonational linking between the two clauses
5. One clause is within the scope of the other
6. Absence of tense iconicity between the two clauses
7. Identity between the two clauses of speech act perspective

The concept of dependency is important for understanding embedded heirarchies within language. Pnar exhibits head-dependency relationships at all levels, allowing speakers to embed lexical items in phrasal constructions and those phrases in larger clauses and sentences. Pnar [relative?] clauses are either headless or externally headed, though the latter is most common. The relative clause construction allows speakers to embed information up to full sentences as subordinate to a head that they modify.

Pnar subordinate constructions at the clause level include relative clauses, purposive clauses, and adverbial clauses. Within the noun phrase adjectivals/attributives, genitives, and compounds also serve as subordinate constructions. This section deals with various types of adverbial subordination (§14.2.1) and relative clause constructions (§14.2.2). Purposive clauses (a subtype of verbal clauses) have been dealt with in §7.4.

### 14.2.1 Adverbial subordinate clauses

Adverbial subordinate clauses are constituents and sentence elements that identify propositions of the matrix clause that somehow modify the nature of the verbal event. They can be identified and classified according to both their semantic properties and the adverbial word(s) they occur with. In Pnar we can identify conditional subordination (§14.2.1.1), causal subordination (§14.2.1.2), and temporal subordination (§14.2.1.3).

### 14.2.1.1 Conditional subordination (if, then)

Conditional subordination depends upon a logical operation of contingency, whereby one proposition or clause is contingent upon another, such as: 'if X then Y'. Haiman (1978: 564) notes that "Conditionals, like topics, are
givens which constitute the frame of reference with respect to which the main clause is either true (if a proposition), or felicitous (if not)." Conditional subordination is a syntactic construction where one of the clauses is marked as propositionally dependent and therefore subordinate to the other.

As in English, Pnar often uses two morphemes in conditional constructions where the initial proposition (Haiman's 'main clause' as per the quote above) occurs first: la 'if' serves to introduce the conditional clause subject, and $t \varepsilon$ 'non-visible deictic' introduces the conditional clause complement which follows. The latter morpheme serves a clause-chaining function generally and often introduces topics and new sentences (new information). The morpheme $l a$ is often immediately followed by $d a$, a morpheme that occurs elsewhere as a 'realis' mood marker and as an 'instrumental' case marker. Here it seems the mark the following constituents as likely to occur, or as potential realizations. In (954-955) we see examples of the conditional usage, with $l a$ marking the first proposition and $t \varepsilon$ marking the second.

In (954) the dependent clause deals with the existence of a law, without which humans would not be able to exist on earth in their present state.
(954) la da ym æm kam katæ ka aiñ tæ mut ka pyrthai katni i ym yoh de tang u chong
la [da man kam ka=te ka=an] te [mut
if REAL NEG have like $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ rule NVIS means
$k a=p r t^{h} a j$ kat-ni $i \quad m \quad j \partial ? ~ d e \quad t a \eta \quad u=\dagger f \supset \eta$ ]
$\mathrm{F}=$ world as-Prox 1PL NEG get NEG.INTS but $\mathrm{NF}=$ sit
'if that kind of law is not there then we are not able to stay here on the earth' [BMPJ_042]

In (955) the dependent clause describes an action that would be considered very bad form if carried through.
(955) la da pynuñ chabooh man da dæp li e tæ man sang


In (956-957) the morpheme $t \varepsilon$ does not occur. Instead of $t \varepsilon$, a prosodic pause and the morpheme daw 'irrealis' seems to signal the end of the dependent clause and the beginning of the matrix clause. Through the use of the irrealis marker, the second verb is identified in opposition to the first
(which is marked as 'realis'), and thus must be the second constituent (the complement) of the conditional operation.

In (956) the negative clause $m$ sumar $i k a$ 'not take care of it' is the conditional subject, and daw do? $i k i$ 'we will lose them' is the conditional complement.
(956) la da ym sumar i ka, daw dooh i ki kitu ki phlang ki rnæm ki wa soodong sookun yong i

| la [da | $m$ sumar | $k a]$ | [daw do? | ki] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| if REAL | NEG take.care 1PL | 3SG.F.ACC | IRR lose | 1PL 3PL |
| $k i=t u$ | $k i=p^{h} l a \eta \quad k i=r n \varepsilon m$ | ki wa | sodoy | sokun |
| $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ | $\mathrm{PL}=$ grass $\quad \mathrm{PL}=$ shrub | 3PL NMZ | surround | around |
| $j \supset \eta \quad i$ |  |  |  |  |
| GEN 1PL |  |  |  |  |
| 'if we don' plants all | t take care of it (the ea around us' [BMPJ_049] | arth) we 9] | se tho | rasses, |

In (957) the phrase daw bijet $i$ 'we will be fools' is conditional complement, and the negated $m b \varepsilon$ ? $i j e=i=p o r$ 'we don't follow the time' is the conditional subject. The copula man 'happen, become' serves to link the two clauses.
(957) la da ym bæh i yeipor man daw bieit i
$\boldsymbol{l a}\left[\begin{array}{ccccc}d a & m & b \varepsilon ? & i & j e=i=p \supset r\end{array}\right] \quad[$ man daw
if REAL NEG trap 1PL BEN=N=time happen REAL bijet]
be.foolish
'if we don't follow the time then we will be a fool' [BMPJ_059]
In an alternate order, the 'if' construction occurs after the secondary proposition as an afterthough (958). Here the first proposition is stated initially, but the addition of $l a$ to the sentence after a brief pause identifies the proposition as being contingent on what follows $l a$. The phrase ha wa im le? $\varepsilon m$ $k a m k 0$ 'in life also it is necessary' is therefore identified as the conditional complement, and he=i=sniaw-si? sniaw-bha $l \varepsilon$ ? 'in sadness or happiness also' is the conditional subject.
(958) ha wa im læh æm kam ko, la hei sñiawsih sñiawbha læh
$\left[\begin{array}{llllll}h a & w a & i m & l \varepsilon & \varepsilon m & k a m \\ k 刀\end{array}\right]$
LOC NMZ live also have need 3SG.F.NOM if
'in life also it is necessary, if in sadness or happiness also' [TACJ_133]

### 14.2.1.2 Causal subordination (for, because)

Causal subordinate markers identify propositions in dependent clauses that are conceptualized as a 'cause' for the event in the matrix clause. In Pnar, this is realized as non-essential information that identifies the cause of a preceding constituent. Speakers mark this information through the use of individual words or phrases in which the first element has the same form as morphemes which identify oblique locative arguments, $j a$ 'benefactive' and $n a$ 'ablative'. ${ }^{4}$ The benefactive and ablative morphemes can occur on their own to identify causal beneficiaries or sources, but more often they occur with nominalized bha? 'reason, share' or bha 'be good', yielding the four operators $j e=i=b h a ?, j e=i=b h a, n e=i=b h a r$, and $n e=i=b h a$.

Many consultants said the forms could be used interchangeably, but in my data I find that bha? occurs more often with translations 'for the reason of' or 'in order to', while bha occurs more often with 'for the good of'. There is a semantic divide between $j a$ and $n a$ also, with $j a$ more often having the meaning 'for' or 'in order that' and $n a$ tending to mean 'because of' or 'since'. This could be viewed as 'goal' orientation versus 'source' orientation, matching up conceptually with the similar dichotomy found in expressions of time (§5.6.4) and the clear realis/irrealis mood distinction (§11.4.4).

In (959) we see several causal coordinators with the form $j a$, the first of which marks the clause $k a=n i$ ka ja-sirt, the second of which marks $u=j \jmath$ ? i $u=p n$-miP i ka, i ka=paisa. The first marked clause is identified here as a means or instrument, similar to the comitative marker described above (§14.1.2), and can be considered an oblique NP, with the verb nominalized using $k a$, the resultative nominalizer. The second marked clause is also an oblique NP, though here the verbs are modified by $u$, the non-finite marker. This second clause marker is also preceded by l l ba, which identifies the following constituent as a conduit. The final clause marker is $n a$, which marks $k a=b n t a ~ u=w ə$ ? kiaŋ naŋba? 'Kiang Nangbah's purpose' as the source or motivation behind the previous two clauses.
(959) hadooh pynyoo i ya kani ka yasiet lyngba ya u yoh i u pynmih i ka, i ka paisa na ka bynta $u$ woh kiang nangbah
$h a-d o ? \quad p n$-jo $\quad i \quad j a \quad[k a=n i \quad k a=j a-s i z t] \quad l \eta b a$ LOC-lose CAUS-see 1PL BEN $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PLUR}$-shoot ${ }^{5}$ through ja $\left[\begin{array}{lll}u=j \partial ? & i & u=p n-m i ?\end{array} \quad i \quad k a\right.$, BEN NF=get 1PL NF=CAUS-bring.out 3SG.N 3SG.F.ACC

[^78]$i \quad k a=p a j s a] n a \quad[k a=b n t a \quad u=w \supset ?$ kiaך napba?] 3SG.N $\mathrm{F}=$ money ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ purpose $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{HON} . \mathrm{M}$ Kiang Nangbah 'in order that we make money according to the purpose of Mr. Kiang Nangbah.' [AIJ_038]
lit. 'until we show by this, through shooting, by us getting and bringing out money, from King Nangbah's purpose'

Goal-oriented causal marking In example (960) we see the use of $j a$ in conjunction with nominalized verbs bhap 'reason, share' and bnta 'purpose'. In this example, the expression marked by $j a=/ j e=$ can be translated as 'work for the cause, work for the purpose'. The form $j e=i=b h a ?$ is often used to coordinate clauses in which the second clause has a goal orientation.
(960) tæ nga u kam o yeibhah u kam o yeibynta

| $t \varepsilon$ | $\eta a$ | $u=k a m$ | $\jmath$ | $\boldsymbol{j}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{h a} \boldsymbol{a}$ | $u=k a m$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | 1SG.ACC | NF=work | 1SG.NOM | BEN=N=reason | NF=work |

) $j e=i=b n t a$
1SG.NOM BEN=N=purpose
'so I will do my part' [PP13RS_073]
lit. 'so I will work for the reason of working out my purpose'
Examples (961-963) show $j e=i=b h a$ ? being used as a causal coordinator that marks the subsequent source or reason for worship. In (961) the matrix clause is mane ki ka na ki=pait 'they from the community worship her' and $k i=p a i t ~ k i=k^{h} \partial n j \partial \eta k a=r i$ 'the people the children of the country' serves as a goal-oriented causal subordinate clause.
(961) mut mane ki ka na ki paid yeibhah ki paid ki khon yong ka ri
mut mane ki ka na ki=pait
mean worship 3PL 3SG.F.ACC ABL PL=congregation
$\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b h a \boldsymbol { P }} \quad k i=p a i t \quad k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad j \supset \eta \quad k a=r i$
$\mathrm{BEN}=\mathrm{N}=$ reason $\mathrm{PL}=$ congregation $\mathrm{PL}=$ child GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ country
'So they worship her, the people, because they belong to the country' [AIJ_161]

In (962) $j e=i=b h a$ ? identifies the preceding activity as the matrix clause and $k b a$ 'rice grain' as the goal-oriented cause for the existence of the basket.

[^79](962) to, uni won toh $u$ khoh $u$ wa oo yeibhah kba
to $u=n i$ won to? $u$ k $k^{h}$ ? $u$
CONF M=PROX thing be 3SG.M.NOM divide 3SG.M.NOM
$w a \quad \boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b} \boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{a} \boldsymbol{P} \quad[k b a]$
COMT 3SG.M.ACC BEN=N=reason rice
'ok, this one here is the basket they use for dividing the rice (grains)' [TACJ_483]

In (963) $j e=i=b h a$ ? identifies $j a-l \varepsilon ?$ letlod 'freedom fighting' as the matrix verb and $k a=$ ri pnar $j \supset \eta i$ 'our Pnar land' as the goal or reason for the activity.
(963) u woh kiang nangbah mut $u$, $u$ khon ka ri Pnar yong i u wa yalæh leitloid yeibhah ka ri Pnar yong i
$u=w o ? \quad$ kian napba? mut $u \quad u=k^{h}$ כn
$\mathrm{M}=$ HON.M Kiang Nangbah means 3SG.M.NOM $\mathrm{M}=$ child
$k a=r i \quad p n a r j o \eta \quad i \quad u \quad$ wa ja-le? letlod
$\mathrm{F}=$ country Pnar GEN 3PL 3SG.M NMZ PLUR-do freedom
$\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b} h \boldsymbol{a} \boldsymbol{P} \quad k a=r i \quad$ pnar $j \partial \eta \quad i$
$\mathrm{BEN}=\mathrm{N}=$ reason $\mathrm{F}=$ country Pnar GEN 1PL
'Kiang Nangbah is a son of our Pnar country who fought for the freedom of the Pnar' [KNI_005]

Source-oriented causal marking In examples (965-964) ne=i=bhaP is used in clauses where the following clause has a source orientation. In these examples a prior phrase or clause has identified a situation or proposition. These sentences add extra (non-essential) information that clarifies the reason for that situation or proposition to exist. In (964) the speaker has previously stated that the survival of all things is dependent on the survival of each. Here he gives the reason for that statement, using $n e=i=b h a$ ? to mark his rhetorical question.
(964) neibhah wa ilæh? toh i wa booh u blai waroh
$\boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b h a} \boldsymbol{P} \quad$ wa
ABL=N=reason
NMZ
'because why? (because) all are made by God'

In (965) the speaker has previously stated that snakes are useful. Here he gives the reason why, using $n e=i=b h a ?$ to mark the following clause as the source of his reasoning.
(965) neibhah uwi u pseiñ yee u u pynyap da ki phaw tylli ki khne ha ka chi snæm

$$
\begin{array}{llllll}
\boldsymbol{n e}=\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b h a \boldsymbol { a }} & u=w i & u=p s e n & j e & u \\
\text { ABL=N=} & \text { reason } & \mathrm{M}=\text { one } & \mathrm{M}=\text { snake } & \text { able } & \text { 3SG.M.NOM } \\
u=p n \text {-jap } & d a & k i=p^{h} a w & \text { tlli } & k i=k^{h} n e & h a \\
\text { NF=CAUS-die } & \text { INST } & \text { PL=ten } & \text { CL.NH } & \text { PL=rat } & \text { LOC } \\
k a=t j i=\text { sncm } & & & & & \\
\mathrm{F}=\text { one-year } & & & & &
\end{array}
$$

'because one snake can kill tens of rats in a year' [BMPJ_064]

### 14.2.1.3 Temporal subordination

Temporal constructions allow speakers to identify events in relation to each other in time. This involves a primary event, the 'ground' which serves as the temporal point of reference, and a secondary event (or events), the 'figure' that exist in relation to it (i.e. Talmy, 1978; 1983; 2000a; 2000b; 2003). Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007: 243) note that adverbial clauses of time are among those (including location and manner adverb clauses) where languages often "have monomorphemic non-anaphoric adverbs" to express them.

This seems to be the case for Pnar, where temporal subordination involves the verb man 'happen, become', which in these contexts is generally translated as 'when' by consultants and seems to behave as a lexical subordinator. The verb itself can serve as a copula (Chapter 15) or at the beginning of a clause signifying a temporal point of reference. Its use as a temporal subordinator is reminiscent of the conditional subordinator la 'if' described above (§14.2.1.1): when it occurs as a subordinator it is often followed by $d a$, the 'realis' or 'instrumental' marker in other functions, which itself precedes the 'ground' clause that serves as the temporal point of reference (966). This construction serves as a marker of temporal conjunction, causation, or sequence, with the clause-chaining morpheme $t \varepsilon$ often occurring between the temporal adverbial clause and subsequent clauses. In these constructions the first clause identifies the point of reference (i.e. (966) below: man $d a p^{h} a$ ? $k \rho$ 'when it signals') and the second clause identifies the event that exists in relation to it (i.e. (966) below: $u=s$ siawt $^{h}$ o? wa kat-tu da to? $u=$ hiar rep '(they) will know that now is harvest season').
(966) man da pah ko tæ u sñiawthooh wa kattu da toh u hiar ræp
man $d a \quad$ pa? ko te $u=s_{n}$ niawt ${ }^{h} o$ ? wa become REAL give.sign 3SG.F.NOM NVIS NF=understand NMZ kat-tu da to? $u=h i a r \quad$ rep as-medl REAL be $\mathrm{NF}=$ descend cultivate
'when it signals then (they) will know that now is harvest season' [BMPJ_061]

### 14.2.2 Relative clauses

As discussed in §13.3.4 the Pnar relative clause generally follows an NP which it modifies (Table 14.1).

NP (Pn) wa RC

Table 14.1: Pnar relative clause in relation to NP
A Pnar RC can be minimally a single verb and maximally a full clause. The morpheme $w a$ is a nominalizer which has a relativizing function in this context, and forms an attributive or relativized verb in (967). The pronoun that precedes $w a$ in (968) is co-referential with the head of the NP with which it agrees in gender and number, and is generally co-referential with the non-obligatory subject of the relative clause (969), though not always (see §14.2.2.3).
(967) ka kynthai wa lai
$\boldsymbol{k a}=k n t^{h} a j_{\text {NPHEAD }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{cc}w a & l a j\end{array}\right]_{\text {RC }}$
$\mathrm{F}=$ woman NMZ go
'the woman who went'
(968) ka kynthai ka wa lai ko
$\boldsymbol{k a}=k n t^{h} a j_{\text {NPHEAD }} \quad \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}_{\text {RCHEAD }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ccc}w a & \text { laj } & k j\end{array}\right]_{\text {RC }}$
F=woman 3SG.F NMZ go 3SG.F.NOM
'the woman who [she] went'
(969) ka kynthai ka wa lai
$\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=k n t^{h} a j_{\text {NPHEAD }} \quad \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}_{\text {RCHEAD }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{cc}w a & l a j\end{array}\right]_{\text {RC }}$
$\mathrm{F}=$ woman 3SG.F NMZ go
'the woman who $\emptyset$ went'
Relativizations without a Pn and which immediately follow the noun are generally considered modifiers or attributives (Chapter 8), and may serves
as clause complements. External pronoun heads allow the relative clause to occur in variable locations relative to the NP, as focal topics (970) in the matrix clause (MC), or simply preceding the NP (971), though the latter is extremely uncommon.
(970) ka wa lai da wan ko
$k a_{\text {RChead }}\left[\begin{array}{cc}w a & l a j\end{array}\right]_{\mathrm{RC}} \quad\left[\begin{array}{cc}d a & w a n\end{array}\right]_{\mathrm{VC}} k J_{\mathrm{s}}$
3SG.F NMZ go REAL come 3SG.F.NOM
'she who went came/comes (back)'
(971) ka wa lai ka kynthai
$\boldsymbol{k} a_{\text {RChead }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}w a & l a j\end{array}\right]_{\text {RC }} \quad \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=k n t^{h} a j_{\text {NPhead }}$
3SG.F NMZ go REAL
'she who went, the woman'

Terminology and outline Andrews (2007: 206) defines a relative clause (RC) as "a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC." This definition can be considered problematic as it seems to exclude non-restrictive RCs, which have the same realization in Pnar and neighboring Tibeto-Burman languages (with the major source of disambiguation being context). However, this seems to be mainly an issue with the understanding of the role of 'referent' in his definition, which itself delimits an entity or set of entities. To account for this we could propose the following definition, namely "a relative clause is a subordinate clause which identifies properties of an NP (the head) in relation to the situation described in the RC." Emphasizing the properties of a head rather than grammatical roles accounts both for restrictive relative clauses (i.e. The dogs who like bones) and non-restrictive relative clauses (i.e. The dogs, who like bones).

For our purposes, the term 'relativizer' refers to the morpheme that identifies the RC, the 'relativized' clause is the RC itself, and the head is the constituent that is 'relativized on', being the shared argument of the RC and matrix clause (MC). This allows us to distinguish between constituents that can be relativized (which can be NPs or VPs) vs. their heads that can be relativized on (which can only be NPs). Simple relative clauses within the NP have been discussed in (§13.3.4) - the current discussion focuses on larger clause-level relativizations. In $\S 14.2 .2 .1$ I examine simple relativizations and show how the relative pronoun both refers to the head and to the elided argument in the relative clause. §14.2.2.2 describes restrictive and non-restrictive uses of RCs. In §14.2.2.3 I compare default situations where
the relative pronoun refers to the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$ argument of the relative clause, and those in which it refers to another grammatical role within the relative clause. Finally, §14.2.2.4 identifies Pnar relative clauses in terms of the accessibility hierarchy.

### 14.2.2.1 Simple relative clauses

The relativizer in Pnar is the form $w a$, which has the same form as the comitative/conjunctive marker for clause coordination (§14.1.2) and as the nominalizer on verbs that forms modifiers (Chapter 8). All relative constructions are extraposed: relativized clauses immediately follow the relativizer, which follows the head being relativized on. In most relative clauses a pronoun that agrees in gender and number with the head occurs between the nominal head and its RC, becoming a sort of secondary head to the RC. The relative pronouns which serve as heads have the same form as gender clitics, with the distinction that they are not as closely attached to the following element, in this case $w a$, the relativizer (972-975). Functionally, these are very similar to type 2 modifiers (§8.3) - the major difference is that verbs in type 2 modifiers cannot be negated, whereas those in relative clauses can be (973).
(972) æm i ka family ka wa suk

عm $\quad i \quad k a=f a m i l i ~ k a ~\left[\begin{array}{ll}w a & s u k\end{array}\right]$
have 1PL F=family 3SG.F NMZ be.peaceful
'we have a happy family' [LS2J_037]
(973) u salah sohryngkham $u$ wa $y m$ pyut
$u=s a l a ? \quad$ soPrŋk ${ }^{h} a m \quad u \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}w a & m & p ? u t\end{array}\right]$
$\mathrm{M}=$ potato sohryngkham $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{M}$ NMZ NEG rot
'the Sohryngkham potato that doesn't rot' [SI3_071]
(974) i chit i wa palat
$i=t j i t \quad i \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}w a & \text { palat }\end{array}\right]$
ACT=be.hot 3SG.N NMZ increase
'the heat that increases' [BMPJ_054]
(975) ki bru ki wa wan
$k i=b r u \quad k i \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}w a & w a n\end{array}\right]$
PL=person 3PL NMZ come
'the people who came' [PP04SKO_005]
The pronoun serves to reference the external head in the MC, allowing the RC to be disassociated from its head to some degree. In (976), for example, the head being relativized on is $k a=U N O$ (an abbreviation) in topic position, while the dependent RC follows the copula complement and is referential both with the copula subject and the complement $k a=w i$.
(976) ka UNO toh kawi na ki seiñ ka wa ha khleih tam ha ka pyrthai

| $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=j u \varepsilon n o$ | to? | $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=w i$ | $n a$ | $k i=s e n$ | $\boldsymbol{k a}$ | $\left[\begin{array}{ll}w a & h a \\ \mathrm{~F}=\mathrm{UNO} & \text { be }\end{array}\right.$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{F}=$ one | ABL | $\mathrm{PL}=$ association | 3SG.F | NMZ | LOc |  | $\left.k^{h} l e ? ~ t a m ~ h a \quad k a=p r t^{h} a j\right]_{\mathrm{RC}}$ head INTS3 LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ world

'U.N.O. is one of the groups that (is) at the forefront in the world' [BMPJ_004]

The RC can also move into topic position, as in (977) where the RC serves as the topical copula subject of the clause and the pronoun references the NP head, $k a=k^{h} l o l y d \supset P$ 'Lyngdoh forest'.
(977) ka wa nyngkong toh ka khloo lyngdoh

3SG.F NMZ be.first be $\mathrm{F}=$ forest Lyngdoh
'first is Lyngdoh forest' [BMPJ_016]
The RC can also refer to another NP that has previously been mentioned in discourse and is cross-referenced by the Pn head, as in (978). Here the speaker is referring to artifacts that he has collected and has pointed out in the previous sentence.
(978) ka wa ym æm hi de wa tip hi ki

| $k a$ | $[w a$ | $m$ | $\varepsilon m$ | $h i$ | $d e$ | $w a$ | $t i p$ | $h i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3SG.F | NMZ | NEG | have | EMPH | NEG.INTS | NMZ | know | EMPH |
| $k i$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3PL |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'about that there isn't anyone who knows' | [TACJ_159] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

In my data RCs never occur directly in front of the head they modify. Thus there are no left-adjoined corelative clauses (i.e. Keenan, 1985: 163-168) within NPs, only the possibility of pragmatic fronting of the RC before the NP or before the VC.

### 14.2.2.2 Restrictive vs. non-restrictive

Pnar is a bit more like Japanese than English in that RCs in Pnar are not explicitly marked as having a restrictive or non-restrictive meaning. Interpretation of RCs as one or the other in Pnar is dependent on context, though generally the restrictive reading is preferred. In (979), for example, the RC wa $s i$ i is identified as restrictive because of the semantics of the NP - speakers understand that not all people are 'bad' in this sense, so the property is restricted to a subset of people.
(979) neibhah ilæh wa thaw thaw wa hab yachæm wa kini ki bru ki wa sih
$n e=i=b h a$ ? ile? wa $t^{h} a w \quad t^{h} a w$ wa hab ja-tfem ABL $=\mathrm{N}=$ reason why NMZ place place NMZ must PLUR-meet wa $k i=n i \quad k i=b r u \quad k i \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad[s i \boldsymbol{P}]$
COMT PL=PROX PL=person 3PL NMZ be.bad
'because sometimes we used to encounter people who are bad'
[LS1J_012]
In (980) the RC wa do? wa duk is even clearer - the crowd being described is restricted to those who belong to the poor of Raliang village. ${ }^{6}$
(980) ki paidbah yong ki wa dooh wa duk yong ka chnong raliang
$k i=p a d b a \rho \quad j \supset \eta \quad k i \quad \boldsymbol{w a}$ [do?] wa [duk] jəŋ $k a=t f n \supset \eta$
PL=crowd GEN 3PL NMZ lose NMZ be.hard GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ =village
raliay
Raliang
'the people belonging to those who are poor in Raliang village'
[HPAHR_032]
In (981), however, while it is also clear that those who were recipients of the news were all those gathered together (wa bon wa lay), this can be viewed as non-restrictive in that it refers to the whole group and not a subset of the group.
(981) e wyrta cha ki wa boon wa lang
$e$ wrta tfa ki wa [bon] wa [lay]
give news ALL 3PL NMZ be.many NMZ be.together
'(they) gave news to them, who were many together'
[PP09MW_013]
The same can be said of (982), where the whole clan is identified as wa $d a \eta \varepsilon m \& f e=i=t u$ 'still existing there', and their location is a property of the whole group rather than an identifier for a subset of that group.

[^80](982) ki yong gatphoh læh ki wa dang æm cheitu
ki jəŋ gatp ${ }^{h} \supset$ ? le? ki wa [daך $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad$ t $\left.e=i=t u\right]$
3PL GEN Gatphoh also 3PL NMZ PROG have ALL=N=MEDL
'the Gatphoh (clan), who are still there...' [PP03SKY_034]

### 14.2.2.3 Role of shared argument

The shared argument in Pnar RCs is generally understood to be the nominal cross-referenced by the relative pronoun which precedes $w a$. This is the case in (969), repeated below as (983). Here the verb laj 'go' in the relative clause would ordinarily require a post-verbal argument (i.e. lai ko 'she goes/went'), but here the elided argument is understood to be the nominal referenced by the relative pronoun $k a$.
(983) ka kynthai ka wa lai
$\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=k n t^{h} a j_{\text {NPHEAD }} \quad k a_{\text {RCHEAD }} \quad\left[\begin{array}{cc}w a & l a j\end{array}\right]_{\text {RC }}$
$\mathrm{F}=$ woman $\quad$ 3SG.F NMZ go
'the woman who $\varnothing$ went'
This is also the case in (984), where the relative pronoun corresponds to the elided head of the relative clause wa sumar $\eta a$ 'who cared for me'. The use of the accusative pronominal form $\eta a$ clarifies that the subject of the transitive verb sumar 'care for' is referential with the relative pronoun, and thereby the nominal head which the relative clause modifies.


Subjects are the typical arguments that relative pronouns reference. However, they can also reference arguments in other functions within the relative clause. In (985), for example, the relative pronoun $k a$ heads the relative clause wa e $u=b l a j$ 'that God gives'. Here the relative pronoun is referential with the nominal $k a=s p a$ ? 'wealth', which is a collective noun that serves as the object or O argument of the relative clause.
(985) daw dooh i ki, ka spah ka wa e u blai
daw do? $i \quad k i \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=s p a \boldsymbol{r} \quad \boldsymbol{k a} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}w a & e & u=b l a j_{\mathrm{A}}\end{array}\right.$ IRR lose 1PL 3PL F=hundred 3SG.F NMZ give M=God ( ) $)_{\mathrm{ofC}}$ $\varnothing$
'we will lose those (things), the wealth that God gives (us)' [BMPJ_049]

In (986) the speaker is emphasizing the importance of taking care of the earth. Here the shared argument $k a=b e j$ ram-aw 'mother earth' is not the subject of the relative clause. The subject is instead $i$ 'we', and the shared argument serves as a kind of oblique in the relative clause.
(986) ka bei ram-aw ka wa i im i chong i sah i
$\boldsymbol{k a}=$ bej ramaw ka $\quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}w a & i=i m\end{array} \quad i=\dagger \rho \eta \quad i=s a ?\right.$
$\mathrm{F}=$ mother earth 3SG.F NMZ ACT=live ACT=sit ACT=stay
$i]_{\mathrm{RC}}$
1PL
'mother earth who we dwell (on, in relation to)' [BMPJ_035]
In (987) the relative clause has two fully identified arguments, $u$ and $\eta a$, neither of which are referential with the shared argument, which is the head of the preceding NP, $k a=s \eta i$ 'day'. This can be viewed as a kind of locative oblique, though the exact status of this argument in relation to the relative clauses is uncertain.
(987) hadooh katæ ka sngi ka wa u khut u nga
ha-do? $\boldsymbol{k a}=t \varepsilon \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=s \eta i \quad k a \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}w a & u=k^{h} u t\end{array} u_{\mathrm{A}}\right.$
LOC-when $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{nvis} \mathrm{F}=$ day $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{F}$ NMZ NF=call 3SG.M.NOM
$\left.\eta a_{\mathrm{o}}\right]_{\mathrm{RC}}$
1SG.ACC
'until the day that (on which) he will call me' [LS1J_026]

### 14.2.2.4 Accessibility Heirarchy

An important theoretical property of RCs across languages is the Accessibility Heirarchy observed by Keenan and Comrie (1977). The essential observation is that for languages with relative clauses there may be restrictions on the function of the shared argument in the relative clause. The heirarchy is reproduced in Table 14.2, and the stipulation is that if a language allows relativization on one of the grammatical arguments, any arguments found to the left of that location in the table can also be relativized on. So if a
subject $<$ object $<$ ind. object $<$ oblique $<$ genitive $<$ obj. of comparison

Table 14.2: Accessibility Heirarchy (Keenan and Comrie, 1977)
language allows oblique arguments to be relativized it will also allow indirect object argument relativization, but not necessarily genitive arguments.

In the analysis of Pnar above I noted that subject arguments and object arguments can refer to elided (and non-elided) shared arguments between the relative clause and the matrix clause. Pnar treats 'indirect objects' syntactically as obliques, and both indirect objects and obliques seem to be able to serve as the head of a relative clause. The most common examples of oblique RC heads in my data are locatives, as in (988-989), though this deserves more careful study.
(988) i yung i wa yap kite ki le ngut
$\boldsymbol{i}=j u \eta \quad \boldsymbol{i} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}w a & j a p & k i=t e\end{array} \quad k i=l e \quad \quad \eta u t\right]_{\mathrm{RC}}$
$\mathrm{N}=$ home 1 pl NMZ die $\mathrm{PL}=$ mprox $\mathrm{PL}=$ three CL.HUM
'the home that (where) those three (people) died' [KP_027]
(989) i thaw i wa chong khloo ki
$\boldsymbol{i}=t^{h} a w \quad \boldsymbol{i} \quad\left[\begin{array}{llll}w a & \dagger \supset \eta & k^{h} l o & k i\end{array}\right]_{\mathrm{RC}}$
$\mathrm{N}=$ place 1SG.N NMZ sit forest 3PL
'the place (in) which they pass toilet' [PP03SKY_018]
The accessibility heirarchy does hold up for Pnar - oblique arguments can be relativized, as can all elements occurring to the left of obliques. It is also interesting to note that the relativizer $w a$ serves to mark larger clause constituents as noun modifiers, as in (990). Here the verbal clause $m$ hoj $u=p n \varepsilon m k a m$ plastic '(it's) not good to use plastic' serves as a modifier for $k a=a n ' r u l e '$.
(990) ka sorkar da pynmih ko ki aiñ, wa ym hoi u pynæmkam plastic
$k a=s o r k a r d a \quad$ pn-mi? $k o \quad k i=a n \quad[\boldsymbol{w a}$
$\mathrm{F}=$ govern REAL CAUS-bring.out 3SG.F.NOM PL=rule NMZ
$m \quad$ hoj $u=p n \varepsilon m k a m$ plastik]
NEG be.fitting $N F=$ use plastic
'the government brought rules, (they say) that it's not good to use plastic' [BMPJ_089]

### 14.2.3 Non-verbal nominalized clauses

The following examples are those in which the morpheme wa precedes an expression other than a verbal clause, and yet they were translated with RC-like constructions in English and accompanying verbal elements. This suggests three possibilities, either 1) the verbs are elided, being understood from context, 2) relative clauses can be formed from non-verbal clauses, or 3) the nominalization function of wa extends to other nominal phrases or clauses, allowing them to serve as modifiers but not necessarily RCs. It is worth noting that the majority of these kinds of constructions have locative phrases as the relativized/nominalized member.

In (991) two phrases are preceded by wa and both seem to have a dependent relative function. In the first the head of the relative clause is $i=t^{h} a w$ 'place', and wa precedes the locative phrase tf $e=i=t u h e=i=t u h a k^{h} l o$ 'there, there in the forest'. The locative phrase is what delineates or describes the head noun. In the second, wa follows the adverbial morpheme kat 'as, like' and precedes the continuous aspect marker $d a \eta$ which itself is seen to modify the verb $k^{h}$ ian 'be small'.
(991) ka district council e ko yei thaw wa cheitu heitu ha khloo kat wa dang kattu dang khian ko

as-MEDL PROG be.small 3SG.F.NOM
'the district council gave (someone) a place that (was) there in the forest, as (it was) still small' [BMPJ_020]

In (992) the Pn $k a$ refers to the NP head $k a=$ parsm 'story', and $w a$ precedes the locative phrase tfa tibet he=i=por na tfa 'in Tibet in times past'.
(992) khajiak khana ya phi æm katæ ka parom ka wa cha tibet heipor na chwa mo
$k^{h} a j$ Jiak $k^{h}$ ana $\quad j a \quad p^{h} i \quad \varepsilon m \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=$ parrm $k a \quad w a$ be.little tell BEN 2PL have F=NVIS F=story 3SG.F NMZ $\left[\begin{array}{llllll}f a & \text { tibst } h e=i=p o r ~ n a ~ t f w a ~ m o\end{array}\right]$ ALL Tibet $\mathrm{LOC}=\mathrm{N}=$ time ABL before Q
'a little telling to you, there is a story that (was) in Tibet in time(s) from before, ok...' [BMPJ_023]

In (993) the head of the RC is the Pn $k a$, which refers to $k a=\delta i \eta l \varepsilon ?$ niam 'the traditional worship'. The morpheme wa again introduces a locative phrase without evidence of a verbal element.
(993) tæ ka thwad lyngdoh toh ka jinglæh niam ka wa ha khloo lyngdoh
$t \varepsilon \quad k a=t^{h} w a d \quad l \eta d o ? \quad$ to? $k a=0$ jin-lc? niam $k a$

NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ Thwad Lyngdoh be $\mathrm{F}=$ NMZ-do tradition 3SG.F
$\boldsymbol{w a} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}h a & \left.k^{h} l o \quad l \eta d o ?\right]\end{array}\right.$
NMZ LOC forest Lyngdoh
'the Thwad Lyngdoh is the traditional worship that (is done) in Lyngdoh forest' [BMPJ_030]

In (994) the locative phrase is used as an attributive via relativization. The speaker here is telling how a man came from Germany to study the local plants. The German man is described as $u=n i u$ wa na djerman 'one who (is/was) from Germany'.
(994) ong $u$ pait sakhiat ya ute $u$ bong kthang khut i oo, uni $u$ wa na german ong u ute $u$ best medicine


### 14.3 Summary

This chapter has focused on describing coordination and subordination in Pnar. Pnar has several means of coordinating clauses and phrases within both the nominal and verbal domains. Subordination can be carried out with the use of adverbials or via nominalization. Nominalized phrases and relative clauses can have a variety of realizations and shared arguments. The following chapter returns to predicative elements, examining the three Pnar verbs that serve as copulas.

## Chapter 15

## Copular clauses and non-verbal predicates

Verbal predicates have been discussed above in Chapter 11, and the present chapter deals with non-verbal types of predication. Pnar has very few strictly verbless clauses, but it does have various types of copular predicates. Copulas are defined as elements involved in non-verbal predication "which have no independent contribution to make to the meaning of the sentence" (Hegenveld, 1992: 32). Mikkelsen (2011: 1805) describes copular clauses as "a minor sentence type in which the contentful predicate is not a verb, but some other category like AP, NP or PP." Curnow (2001) notes that the primary use for copulas is to encode identity and classification, and that languages have a variety of copula types. His list of possible copular strategies includes: verbal copula constructions (which use a separate verb, such as English 'be', to join the copula subject [topic] and copula complement), particle copula constructions (which use a word other than a verb to join the two elements), inflectional copula constructions (which treat the complement as a verb), and zero copula constructions (i.e. juxtaposition). Dixon (2002: 5-6) identifies a broader range of functions which copular constructions can encode, including: identity or equation, attribution, location, possession, wanting or benefaction, and existence. To this we can add, at least for Pnar, the features of: happening or becoming.

### 15.1 Overview of copulas in Pnar

Pnar has a variety of verbs that inherently encode states and qualities. A small subset of verbs are used as copulas to join two more "contentful" ele-
ments. The three copula verbs $t \supset$ ? 'be', $\varepsilon m$ 'have, exist', and man 'happen, become', are listed in Table 15.1 along with the functions for which they are used in Pnar.

$$
\begin{array}{rccc} 
& t o ? & \varepsilon m & \text { man } \\
\cline { 2 - 4 } \text { identity/equation/naming } & \text { yes } & & \\
\text { existence } & & \text { yes } & \\
\text { happening/becoming } & & & \text { yes } \\
\text { attribution } & \text { yes } & \text { yes } & \text { yes } \\
\text { location } & \text { yes } & \text { yes } & \text { yes }
\end{array}
$$

Table 15.1: Copulas in Pnar and respective uses

It should be clear that each copula has own separate usage, namely to? for Identity/Equation/Naming, $\varepsilon m$ for Existence, and man for Happening/Becoming. It is also worth noting that all copula verbs can be used for Attribution and Location functions. A third point is that what Dixon identifies as Possession (i.e. X is yours) is not represented by a copula function in Pnar, instead being a property of either the genitive verb joy 'belong' (which joins two NPs), or a function of juxtaposition.

Copular clauses in Pnar can be broken down into the copula topic and the copula complement, as in English. However, the realization of syntactic structure is more variable in Pnar, as illustrated in Table 15.2. The copula topic may occur first, in topic position, followed by the copular verb and then the copula complement, yielding the form ' $\mathrm{X}=\mathrm{Y}$ '. This form allows for reversal, and is truly equational. Alternatively, the copular verb may occur first, followed by the copula topic, which is then followed by the complement, yielding the form ' $=\mathrm{X}, \mathrm{Y}$ '. Here, however, the pause (represented by the comma) can be significant, depending on the verb, often identifying an afterthought. Such a construction does not allow reversal.

X Vcop Y
Vcop X Y

Table 15.2: Copular realizations in Pnar

The following sections describe the various functions in terms of the copular verbs used for each function: Identity/Equation/Naming (§15.2),

Existence (§15.3), Happening/Becoming (§15.4), Attribution (§15.5), and Location (§15.6).

### 15.2 Identity, naming, equation

The identity and equation function can be described as: This is X, i.e. 'this is a pencil'. The naming function can be described as: He is X, i.e. 'he is David'. In Pnar animates and inanimates are identified by the same pronouns and demonstratives, and all nouns, even names, are marked with gender clitics. This makes attempting to distinguish between identity and naming functions of the copula to? to be a somewhat frivolous exercise, though it is possible to identify equational functions separately to some degree.

### 15.2.1 Identity and naming functions of to?

The Pnar verb to? is the quintessential verb of being, translated as the equivalent form of English 'be'. It is used in this sense particularly for introductions (995) and can also be used for other kinds of nominal predication, attributive predication, and locative predication, as we will see below. It can also be used in the sense of English 'be right' or 'be correct' (996). The transitive form of this verb means 'hit' or 'hit precisely/exactly' (997).
(995) nga toh ka blossom plain
ya to? ka=blosom plen
1SG.ACC be $\mathrm{F}=$ Blossom Plain
'I am Blossom Plain' [BPVM_002]
(996) ha-o, toh hi
ha-o top hi
LOC-1SG.NOM be EMPH
'yes, correct' [AIJ_021]
(997) man da mih $k a=t æ$ ka=skai, siet $\mathrm{u}=$ synriang tæ toh wa chi khnam
man $d a \quad m i P \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=s k a j$ sist $u=s n r i a \eta$
become REAL bring.out $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ deer shoot $\mathrm{M}=$ Synriang
te to? wa tfi $k^{h} n a m$
NVIS hit COMT indef arrow
'upon meeting the deer, Synriang shot, hitting (her) with an arrow' [PP13RS_039]

It is not completely clear what determines whether a nominal element is a copula topic or a copula complement, besides the clause-initial placement of the copula topic. Two factors at work here are prototypical subjecthood and topic focus. Using to? allows for reversal of the two nominal elements, but when pronominal forms are used, their location conditions a change in the form. So example (998), a reversal of (995), is unacceptable. This is because $\eta a$ is the topicalized/case-marked form of the ' 1 sg .nom' pronoun. If the sentence is given as (999), it is acceptable, since the ' 1 sg.nom' pronoun is the correct form for its non-topical post-verbal syntactic position. However, a Pnar speaker is much more likely to use an active form such as prtut 'be named, be called' with a post-verbal pronominal form (1000) rather than an equative copula, suggesting that copulas like $t \supset ?$ are not as 'verbal' as other verbs, or that animacy and prototypical subjecthood are strong factors in determining how equative forms are conceptualized and realized.

```
(998) *ka blossom plain toh nga
    ka=blosom plen to? \etaa
    F=Blossom Plain be 1SG.ACC
    'I am Blossom Plain'
(999) ka blossom plain toh o
    ka=blosom plen to? o
    F=Blossom Plain be 1SG.NOM
    'I am Blossom Plain'
(1000) ka blossom plain pyrtuit o
    ka=blosom plen prtut o
    F=Blossom Plain be.named 1SG.NOM
    'I am called Blossom Plain'
```

The sentence in (1001) is also acceptable, though this is not semantically equivalent, introducing as it does a genitival construction. This construction has $k a=$ blossm plen as the topicalized element, and the two NPs equated are completely reversible, as in (1002), but this creates a shift in topic status between the topical $k a=b l o s s m$ plen in the first sentence and $i=p r t u t{ }_{\Gamma}$ in the second.
(1001) ka blossom plain toh i pyrtuit yong nga
$k a=b l o s o m$ plen to? $i=$ prtut $j \supset \eta \quad \eta a$
$\mathrm{F}=$ Blossom Plain be $\mathrm{N}=$ name GEN 1SG.ACC
'Blossom Plain is my name'
(1002) i pyrtuit yong nga toh ka blossom plain
$i=p r t u t \quad j \supset \eta \quad \eta a \quad$ to? $k a=$ blosom plen $\mathrm{N}=$ name GEN 1SG.ACC be $\mathrm{F}=$ =Blossom Plain 'Blossom Plain is my name'

The placement of copular arguments can also condition a semantic shift in definiteness. So while in example (1003) the copula complement $k a=p l i d a r$ 'lawyer' can be construed as specific but not unique, the corresponding reversal (1004) requires that $k a=p l i d a r$ be construed as specific and unique, therefore definite.
(1003) ka mary toh ka plidar
$k a=m e r i$ to? $k a=$ plidar
$\mathrm{F}=$ Mary be $\mathrm{F}=$ lawyer
'Mary is a lawyer'
(1004) ka plidar toh ka mary
$k a=p l i d a r$ to? $k a=m e r i$
$\mathrm{F}=$ lawyer be $\mathrm{F}=$ Mary
'the lawyer is Mary'

These elicited examples suggest that topicality is a strong organizing principle for Pnar copulas that determines whether a nominal element is copula topic/subject or copula complement. In the following examples (1005-1008) the copular verb to? occurs initially, followed by the copula topic/subject.
(1005) toh u ya man i u kneih position
to? $u \quad j a$ man $i \quad u=k n e ?$ posifon
be 3SG.M.NOM BEN become 1PL NF=snatch position
'(it) is for us to take position (on this matter)' [HPAHR_028]
(1006) toh boon bha yoh i
to? bon bha jo? $i$
be be.much INTS1 get 1PL
'there are many (things) we got (for the village)' [HPAHR_219]
(1007) toh ka tupri u næ, ha kate ka kynthai hap wot ko
to? $k a=$ tupri $u \quad n \varepsilon \quad h a \quad k a=t e \quad k a=k n t^{h} a j$
be $F=$ hat 3SG.M.NOM D.TAG LOC $F=$ MPROX $F=$ female
hap wot ko
fall IMMD 3SG.F.NOM
'(it) is his hat, ok, at the girl it just fell' [MPSRJ_045]
(1008) toh ka khyndaw ka wa chare $u$ kha sut ko
to? $k a=k^{h} n d a w k a \quad w a$ tfare $u=k^{h} a$ sut $k \supset$
be $\mathrm{F}=$ earth 3 SG.F NMZ herd $\mathrm{NF}=$ birth profit 3SG.F.NOM
'(it) is the earth it that herds to give profit' [SI3_042]

### 15.2.2 Equational functions of to?

Using $t \supset$ ? in equative function for two NPs is a kind of nominal predication, as opposed to its equative function for an NP and a modifier (attributive predication) or an NP and a locative (locative predication). In (1009) for example, $k a=t i t p u$ is a kind of bird. The copula to? serves to link the name with its complement, turning the whole construction into a predicate nominal expression. In (1010) the copula topic $k a=b a s$ 'bus' is equated with a genitive construction. In (1011) the head $u=d a l o j$ is equated to the function of the office as $i=s n t f$ ar 'overseer'.
(1009) ka titpu toh ka sim ka wa ha wa ræp man ko kawi na ka wa teid waje
[ka=titpu] to? [ka=sim] ka wa ha wa rep F=titpu be F=bird 3SG.F NMZ LOC NMZ harvest man ko ka=wi na ka wa teit warke happen 3SG.F.NOM $\mathrm{F}=$ one ABL 3SG.F NMZ ring bell 'the titpu is a bird that when it is harvest it is one that rings the bell' [BMPJ_061]
(1010) kawi won ka bus toh ka yong $\mathrm{u}, \mathrm{u}$ subor pung
$\left[\begin{array}{llllll} \\ k a=w i & w \supset n & k a=b \supset s] & \text { to? } & {[k a} & j \supset \eta \\ k a\end{array}\right.$
$\mathrm{F}=$ one which $\mathrm{F}=$ bus be 3SG.F.ACC GEN 3SG.M.NOM
$u=$ subar puŋ
$\mathrm{M}=$ Subor Pung
'one bus belonged to Mr. Subor Pung' [BPVM_006]
(1011) u daloi toh i synchar ya ka khyndaw wa chyiap
[u=daloj] to? [i=sntfar] ja ka=khndaw wa t?iap
$\mathrm{M}=$ daloi be $\mathrm{N}=$ oversee BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ land COMT soil
'the Daloi is the overseer of the land and soil' [DR_003]
Example (1012) is also construed as a nominal predicate. Here the copula topic $u=n i k$ ' Nik ' is equated with a relative/attributive clause. The reason this construction is not considered to be attributive predication is because of the pronoun $u$ which serves as the NP head of $u$ wa malik 'he who bosses'. This highlights the unique role that pronouns serve in relative/attributive clauses, both as heads and as cross-referential with the heads of NPs which they serve to modify.
(1012) heitæ toh $u$ nik toh $u$ wa malik $u$ wa yoh $u$ wa æm
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad \boldsymbol{t o} \boldsymbol{P}[u=n i k]$ to? $[u \quad$ wa malik] $u$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS be $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{Nik}$ be 3 SG.M NMZ boss 3SG.M
wa jo? u wa $\mathrm{\varepsilon m}$
NMZ get 3SG.M NMZ have
'then (it is that) Nik is a boss, having many things' [KP_005]
or 'then (it is that) Nik is a boss, he who gets, he who has'
In (1013) the copula complement head is $k a=t p u t$ 'revenge', a nominalized form of the verb 'get revenge'. Unlike in nominalizations involving $u=$ (the non-finite marker), those involving $k a=$ and $i=$ derive full nominals.
(1013) kani toh ka tput yong ki khatar
$\begin{array}{lllll}{[k a=n i]} & \boldsymbol{t o P} & {[k a=t p u t]} & j \supset \eta & k i=k^{h} \text { atar } \\ \text { F=PROX } & \text { be } & \text { RES=revenge } & \text { GEN } & \mathrm{PL}=\text { twelve }\end{array}$
'this is the revenge of the Twelve (kingdoms)' [PP03SKY_025]
In (1014) the context is of a local deity $u=p r t^{h}$ at 'lightning' interacting with three sisters who have come looking for somewhere to settle. Here he addresses them directly, with $p^{h} i$ ' 2 pl ' serving as the copula topic and the copula complement being ki=dia?maj ki joŋ ya 'sisters of mine'. This is an example of a genitive nominal predicate.
(1014) phi toh ki diahmai ki yong nga
[ $\left.p^{h} i\right]$ to? [ki=diaPmaj] ki jəך $\eta a$
2PL be PL=sister 3PL GEN 1SG.NOM
'you are my sisters' [PP04SKO_035]
In (1015) the speaker has just given a name ka=kuri pala in the previous sentence and refers to the name with the (copula topic) demonstrative form $k a=t \varepsilon$ 'that'. The head of the copula complement is $k a=$ wejpun 'grandmother ${ }^{1}$ and the copula to? serves to equate the two nominals to form a genitive nominal predicate.
(1015) katæ toh ka weipun yong oo
[ka=t $\varepsilon$ ] to? [ka=wejpun] jэŋ o
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS be $\mathrm{F}=$ grandmother GEN 3SG.M.ACC
'that's his grandmother' [PP05KO_014]
In example (1016) the stage is being set for a new event in the story. The protagonist $u=k^{h} m a P$ has already been identified in a previous sentence, but one in which he was not the protagonist. In this sentence he is brought

[^81]to the attention of the listener by the marker $n$, which refers to events or individuals that have been mentioned previously. ${ }^{2}$ The copula to? serves to link the named referent with a nominalized activity attributed to him: u wa go? li-khaji sumurit 'he who regularly sold pepper', an attributive nominal predicate. The second clause $k^{h} m a ?$ to? u na naŋba? 'Khmah is from Nangbah (village)' also contains an equative copula, identifying the location or source of origin ascribed to the protagonist.

(1016) tæ u khmah yn toh $u$ wa jooh li-khayi sumurit, khmah toh u na nangbah te $\quad\left[u=k^{h} m a ? \quad n\right]$ to? $\left[\begin{array}{llll}u & w a & g o ? & l i-k^{h} a j i\end{array}\right.$ NVIS M=Khmah REF be 3SG.M NMZ HAB DUR-buy.and.sell sumurit] [k ${ }^{h} m a$ ? $]$ to? [ $u$ na najba?] pepper Khmah be 3SG.m.nom abl Nangbah 'so Khmah used to sell pepper, Khmah from Nangbah (village)' [PP05KO_020]

### 15.3 Existence

The existence function of a copular verb can be described as: X exists, i.e. 'The world exists', or the English translation of the Tetragrammaton 'I am'. The presentational usage of a copula is often rendered by English 'there is' or 'there are', i.e. 'There are plates (in the cupboard)'. These functions are extremely similar to the function of an intransitive verb of existence. In fact, Dixon (2002: 17) states regarding an existential copula that "if it takes only one argument, then it should be classified as an intransitive verb, not as a copula verb." The fact that the Pnar existential copula is the same form as the transitive verb meaning 'have' adds credence to this statement, however in its copula form it also can be used to form attributive and locational predicates, as we shall see further below. The current section focuses on explaining the existence and presentational functions of the copula $\varepsilon m$ in Pnar.

### 15.3.1 Existence functions of $\varepsilon m$

Nominal predication using $\varepsilon m$ is often simply its intransitive use, where the nominal S-argument is identified post-verbally. In (1017) the presentational use of $\varepsilon m$ is given, where the S -argument is $k a=$ sim 'bird', which can be modified by subsequent relativized verbs such as wa he? bha 'very big'.

[^82](1017) æm ka sim ka wa hæh bha ka wa kmai ka wa jrong

$\boldsymbol{\varepsilon m}[k a=\operatorname{sim}]\left[\begin{array}{lll}k a & w a & h \varepsilon ? \\ b h a & k a & w a\end{array}\right.$ have $\mathrm{F}=$ bird 3SG.F NMZ be.big INTS1 3SG.F NMZ be.fat ka wa grop]
3SG.F NMZ be.tall
'there was a very big and fat and tall bird' [BMPJ_023]
As the brackets show, however, the use of the pronoun $k a$ as the head of the relative clause which follows the NP head allows the following elicited example (1018). Here the copular function of $\varepsilon m$ is more clearly exemplified, emphasizing the existence of a bird with specific properties, as reflected in the translation. It should be noted also that there is no pause between the NP head and its modifier in (1017) above, which potentially gives rise the 'Vcop X Y' construction noted in Table 15.2.
(1018) ka sim æm ka wa hæh bha ka wa kmai ka wa jrong
[ka=sim] $\mathbf{\varepsilon m} \quad\left[\begin{array}{llllll}k a & w a & h \varepsilon ? & b h a & k a & w a\end{array}\right] m a i$ F=bird have 3SG.F NMZ be.big INTS1 3SG.F NMZ be.fat $k a \quad w a \quad$ grop]
3SG.F NMZ be.tall
'a bird existed which was very big and fat and tall'
In (1019) the S -argument or copula ropic of the negated existential verb is simply the pronoun $k i$ ' 3 pl ' with a subsequent relativized clause wa bam b a 'who eat rice/food' and embedded locative modifiers ha ka=pliaך ksiar 'on a golden plate' and ha $k a=p i t o r$ 'on a brass plate'.
(1019) ym æm ki wa bam ja ha ka pliang ksiar, ha ka pitor bait la da æm wa bam
$m \quad \mathbf{\varepsilon m} \quad\left[\begin{array}{llll}k i & w a & b a m & \text { ga] }\end{array}\right]$ ha $k a=p l i a y ~ k s i a r ~ h a ~$
NEG have 3PL NMZ eat rice LOC $F=$ plate gold LOC
ka=pitor bat la da $\varepsilon m$ wa bam
$\mathrm{F}=$ pitor IMM 3 if REAL have NMZ eat
'there aren't those who eat rice on a golden plate, just on the brass plate if (they) eat' [PP14MF _075]

In (1020) the locative is fronted and the S-argument is the NP $u=t \varepsilon u=p^{h} l a \eta$ sajnəs 'that sinus grass' - this construction is easily reversible as (1021) and can then be construed as a locative predicate. The intransitive construction (1022) is also permissible, and may be used to emphasize the verbal element.
(1020) cha khliehtyrshi mukhla æm utæ u phlang sinus
$\left[\begin{array}{lll}f a & k^{h} l e ? t r f i & \left.m u k^{h} l a\right]\end{array} \quad \mathbf{\varepsilon m} \quad\left[u=t \varepsilon \quad u=p^{h} l a \eta \quad\right.\right.$ sajnos $]$
ALL khliehtyrshi mukhla have $\mathrm{M}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ grass sinus
'in Khliehtyrshi, in Mukhla, there is that sinus grass' [BMPJ_048]
(1021) utæ u phlang sinus æm cha khliehtyrshi mukhla
$\left[\begin{array}{lll}u=t \varepsilon & u=p^{h} l a \eta & \text { sajnos }\end{array}\right] \quad \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}f a & k^{h} l e ? t r f i\end{array} \quad m u k^{h} l a\right]$
$\mathrm{M}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ grass sinus have ALL khliehtyrshi mukhla
'that sinus grass exists in Khliehtyrshi, in Mukhla'
(1022) æm $\mathrm{u}=\mathrm{t} æ \mathrm{u}=\mathrm{ph}$ lang sinus cha khliehtyrshi mukhla
$\boldsymbol{\varepsilon m}\left[\begin{array}{lll}{[u=t \varepsilon} & u=p^{h} l a \eta & s a j n o s\end{array}\right]\left[\begin{array}{ll}f a & k^{h} l e ? t r f i\end{array} \operatorname{muk}^{h} l a\right]$
have $\mathrm{M}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ grass sinus aLL khliehtyrshi mukhla 'there is that sinus grass in Khliehtyrshi, in Mukhla'

Examples (1023-1024) give further examples of existential or presentational uses. In (1023) the S-argument or copula topic is $u=n i u=w i u=$ mastar 'this one master'.
(1023) æm uni uwi u master
$\boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}u=n i & u=w i \quad u=\text { mastar }]\end{array}\right.$
have $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{PROX} \quad \mathrm{M}=$ one $\mathrm{M}=$ master
'there is this one master' [PP15PI_027]
In (1024) the S -argument or copula topic of $\varepsilon m$ is $k a=$ syiem 'queen'.
(1024) waroh ki daloi da tip ki wa da æm ka syiem
waro? $k i=d a l o j ~ d a ~ t i p ~ k i ~ w a ~ d a ~ \boldsymbol{~ m ~} \quad$ [ka=s?em] all PL=daloi REAL know 3PL NMZ REAL have $\mathrm{F}=$ ruler 'all the Dalois knew that there is a queen' [PP05KO_040]

In each of these sentences, the verb $\varepsilon m$ serves as an existential copula, giving predicate status to the following nominal element.

### 15.4 Happening, becoming

The becoming function of a copula can be described as: ' X became Y ', i.e. 'He became a ghost'. In Pnar, a secondary function can be observed, that of happening, described as: ' X happened (to be) Y', i.e. 'He happened to be a doctor'. These two uses are encapsulated in the Pnar verb man 'happen, become', and suggest that this word should rather be treated as a lexical verb. However, the use of man for attributive and locative predication, and as a copula between X and Y elements suggest otherwise. In Pnar the
temporal adverbial 'when' has the same form - Heine and Kuteva (2002: 64) note the verb 'become' as a grammatical source for a copula, though not as a source for the temporal adverbial. Attributive predication and locative predication involving man are described in $\S 15.5 .3$ and $\S 15.6 .3$ respectively; this section identifies the copular and 'more verb'-al functions of man.

### 15.4.1 Happening functions of man

In its use translated as 'happen', man can take both a copula topic and a complement. In (1025), for example, $i$ 'first person plural' serves as the copula topic, and the form kam-ni 'like this' is the copula complement - a referential adverbial expression that serves as a placeholder for the verbal event which occurs in the next sentence.
(1025) tæ man i kamni næ
$t \varepsilon \quad \operatorname{man} \quad[i] \quad[k a m-n i] \quad n \varepsilon$
NVIS become 1PL as-PROX D.TAG
'so it was like this, ok' [HPAHR_199]
or 'so it happened like this, ok'
As described above in $\S 14.2 .1 .3$, this verb also occurs quite often before a realis marked verb (1026) or simply followed by the realis marker da (1027), particularly when it precedes a nominal element. Often there is no pause between man and $d a$, and many speakers in fact write the two morphemes without a space between. In these instances the English word 'when' is almost invariably used by my consultants in the translation as a temporal subordinator, suggesting that the expression is becoming lexicalized as a temporal adverb or clause-chaining element. The verb man can also be used to mean 'when' in situations where there is no realis marker (1028).
(1026) man da poi tæ thooh i katæ ka leiñ
$\operatorname{man} \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}d a & p o j\end{array}\right] \quad t \varepsilon \quad t^{h} o ? \quad i \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=l e n$ become REAL arrive NVIS find,search 1PL $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ boat 'when we arrived, then we found that boat' [LS2J_018]
(1027) man da u chynrang yoosuk u ka...
man da u=tfnray jo-suk u ka
become REAL M=male see-be.peaceful 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.ACC 'when the man likes her...' [PP14MF _007]
(1028) man lipait yong ki
man li-pat joŋ ki
become DUR-look GEN 3PL
'when (we) went looking (at) their place...' [HPAHR_142]
The following copular realizations are similar in form to $\varepsilon m$ and $t \supset ?$ above, with both copula topic and copula complement, and are more likely to be translated in English with existential or identificational meanings. In (1029), for example, man intervenes between the copula topic $k i=t i a r t \varepsilon m j \supset \eta i$ 'the plucked things of mine' and the copula complement $k i=k^{h}$ atle, $k^{h}$ atar dat 'thirteen, twelve types'. Here, however, the intended meaning seems to be 'happen to be', as identified in the alternate translation.
(1029) waroh ki tiar tæm yong i man ki khatle, khatar jait
[waro? ki=tiar tem joŋ i] man $\left[k i=k^{h}\right.$ atle
all $\mathrm{PL}=$ things pluck GEN 1PL become $\mathrm{PL}=$ thirteen
$k^{h}$ atar obat
twelve type
'all the plucked things (instruments) of mine are thirteen, twelve types' [TACJ_390]
or 'all the plucked things (instrument) of mine happen to be thirteen, twelve types'

In (1030), however, man occurs as the first element in the clause, followed by the copula topic $i$ ' $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{N}$ ' and then the copula complement $i=k^{h} i \geqslant j \partial \eta p^{h} i$ 'your work' in O-argument position. Again, the 'happens to be' translation is somewhat more accurate.

```
(1030) man i i khih yong phi
    man i i=khi? j\supset\eta p}\mp@subsup{p}{}{h}
    become 1PL ACT=work GEN 2PL
    'it is your work' [AIJ_020]
    or 'it happens to be your work'
```

The following section identifies and discusses examples in which man in a copular function enables nominal predication involving the meaning 'become'.

### 15.4.2 Become function of man

Nominal predications where man involves the 'become' meaning of the verb tend to identify processes. In the following constructions the copula complement is understood to be the result of the process which the verb signifies.

In (1031), for example, the A-argument (or copula topic) is a process that is recoverable from the previous clause (construction of a building) and the copula complement $k a=i n f a n$ stec $\zeta$ 'the infant stage' identifies the inception of the process.
(1031) heipor dang man ka infant stej
$h e=i=p o r$ day man [ka=infan sted] $]$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ time PROG become $\mathrm{F}=$ infant stage
'at that time (it) was still (in) the infant stage' [LHJ_040]
We can compare the example above with example (1032) below. Here the speaker is describing the footwashing ritual performed on the groom in a traditional wedding. The copula topic is the groom, recoverable from context, and the complement is the result of the footwashing $u=$ won $u$ wa $k^{h}$ oit u wa dyiar 'one who is clean and pure'.
(1032) tæ $u$ man $u$ won $u$ wa khooid $u$ wa jngiar
$t \varepsilon \quad u=\operatorname{man} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lllll}u=w \supset n & u & w a & k^{h} \text { oit } \quad u\end{array}\right.$
NVIS NF=become M=which 3SG.M NMZ clean,pure 3SG.M
wa sjoiar]
NMZ totally.clear
'so (he) will become one who is clean and pure' [PP14MF _061]
In (1033) the nominal element sPem 'ruler' (which takes all four gender clitics depending on context) has no gender clitic, being incorporated into the verb man. The verbal construction man siem therefore signifies 'becoming king/ruler' or 'being crowned'. The context is a story about the origin of the Jaintia rulers, whose line was lost for a time until the orphaned children of the ancestral mother had been found again. In this sentence the children have been found and are being restored to their rightful place as rulers. Here $s ? e m$ is understood to be the result of the process initiated by man 'become' and the third person plural pronoun $k i$ is the copula topic.
(1033) da mih ki neini da chong man syiem noh ki cheini cha Nongkhlaw
$d a \quad m i P$ ki $n e=i=n i \quad d a \quad$ Џoŋ man
REAL come.out 3PL ABL=N=PROX REAL sit become
[s?em] no? [ki] t $e=i=n i \quad$ f $a \quad n \supset \eta k^{h} l a w$
ruler IMM1 3PL ALL=N=PROX ALL Nongkhlaw
'they came out from where (they) stayed, becoming kings there in Nongkhlaw' [PP06PK_009]

Example (1034) similarly exhibits a noun-incorporated process signified by man. Here bru 'human' is the result signified by the verb. This particular
sentence comes from the story of $k a=b a r$ kupli, an ancestral mother who came to earth as a fish and then transformed into a woman in order to marry.
(1034) tæ man bru ko
te man [bru] [kJ]
NVIS become human 3SG.F.NOM
'so she became human...' [PP04SKO_010]
(speaking of Bor Kupli who transformed from a fish to a woman)
In example (1035) it seems clear that disparate English translations are a more unified concept for Pnar speakers. Here man occurs four times and in each case the function could be interpreted either as a copula identifying nominal predicates, or with the English translations 'happen' or 'become'. The copular function is most clear in the phrase $u=$ wi man $u=d$ hulia 'one being Dhulia (a traditional office)' where $u=w i$ 'one' is the copula topic and $u=d h u l i a$ is the copula complement.
(1035) heitæ man khatsoo wa uwi man $u$ dhulia, tæ man khatsoo man khatsoo wasan
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad$ man $k^{h}$ atso wa $u=w i \quad \operatorname{man}$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS become fourteen COMT $\mathrm{M}=$ one become
$u=$ dhulia te jo? $k^{h}$ atso man $k^{h}$ atso wasan
$\mathrm{M}=$ dhulia NVIS get fourteen become fourteen elder
'there/those were fourteen with one being Dhulia, so the fourteen were the fourteen elders' [PP04SKO_055]

In (1036) the copular function is quite clear, with man turning the copula complement $k i=l \supset k j \partial \eta k i$ 'their friends' into a nominal predicate. The context here is a discussion regarding farmers and how birds help them by eating the insects that eat their crops.
(1036) chæm phi nadooh ki sim læh man ki lok yong ki

サf $\varepsilon m p^{h} i \quad n a-d o ?\left[\begin{array}{ll}k i=s i m & l \varepsilon ?\end{array}\right] \quad \operatorname{man} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lllll}k i=l o k & j \supset \eta & i\end{array}\right]$ meet 2PL even PL=bird also happen PL=friend GEN 3PL 'you find even birds are/become their friends' [BMPJ_060]

It seems, then, that some copula clauses using man are clear, while others can be much more difficult to parse for a non-native speaker. The verb itself has a variety of meanings that can only be identified through context. However, the basic meaning of the verb in its 'become' sense seems to indicate an affected state or process with a result.

### 15.5 Attribution

Attributional functions of predicates can be identified as processes where: ' X is ADJECTIVE', i.e. 'He is hungry' (for English) or, for other languages, expressions which translate in English as 'He is a hungry one'. In Pnar this can be termed attributive predication, and involves all three copular verbs, which can be used to encode identificational/equative, existential, and processual (happening or becoming) meanings.

### 15.5.1 Identity and equative attributive predication, $t \boldsymbol{\text { P }}$

Attributive predication using to? equates one NP with a modifying element. In my texts, the NP being modified always precedes the copula, serving as the copula topic. The modifying element or copula complement always follows the copula. In (1037) for example, the copula topic is $k i=k a m$ jon ya kam $u=d a l o j$ 'my work as Daloi' and this is equated with the copula complement bon bha ha-po? ka=elaka raliay 'very much in Raliang elaka' (an claka is a traditional administrative unit corresponding roughly to a township). Here bon bha 'very much' is an attributive modifier of the copula topic NP head $k i=k a m$ 'work'.
(1037) tæ ki kam yong nga kam u daloi toh boon bha hapoh ka elaka Raliang te $[k i=k a m \quad j э \eta \quad \eta a \quad k a \quad u=d a l o j]$ to? $[b o n \quad b h a$ NVIS PL=work GEN 1SG.NOM as $\mathrm{M}=$ daloi be much INTS1
$h a-p o ? ~ k a=$ elaka raliay]
LOC-in F=elaka Raliang
'so my work as Daloi is very much in Raliang elaka' [DR_006] or 'so my work as Daloi is mostly in Raliang elaka'

In (1038) bon 'be much, all' again serves a modifying role as the copula complement to the copula topic $k i=n i$ 'these'. The relativized ki wa sPad bha 'very expensive' can be identified as part of the copula complement due to the pronominal form $k i$ ' 3 pl ' that cross-references the copula topic.
(1038) kini toh boon ki wa syad bha
[ $k i=n i]$ to? $\begin{array}{llllll}b o n & k i & w a & s P a d & b h a]\end{array}$
$\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ be much PL NMZ expensive INTS1
'these are all very expensive' [TACJ_062]

### 15.5.2 Existential attributive predication, $\varepsilon m$

Attributive predication using $\varepsilon m$ asserts the existence of a descriptive modifier (in the case of Pnar, generally a nominalized verb) which serves as the copula complement. In (1039) the copula topic $i=\sigma a$ 'cooked rice' is followed by the realis-marked verb $\varepsilon m$ 'have, exist', and then by the copula complement wa $t \in \varepsilon t$ 'that (s.o.) cook(s)'. The purpose of this construction is essentially to equate the two elements, and to reverse the order of the copula topic and complement would be acceptable.
(1039) i ja da æm wa chæt
$\left[\begin{array}{llll}{[i=\sigma a}\end{array} \quad d a \quad \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad\left[\begin{array}{cc}w a & t \varepsilon \varepsilon t\end{array}\right]\right.$
$\mathrm{N}=$ rice REAL have NMZ cook
'the rice is [has property of being] cooked' [PP05KO_008]
Example (1040) is similar, where the copula topic $k a=t \varepsilon ~ n \eta k \supset \eta$ 'that first (one, thing)' is non-equated with the attributive copula complement wa tip 'that (s.o.) know(s)'. In this case, the addition of the negative means that the order of the two constituents cannot be reversed.
(1040) tæ katæ nyngkong ym æm wa tip
$\left.t \varepsilon \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}k a=t \varepsilon & n \eta k \partial \eta\end{array}\right] \begin{array}{lll}m & \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m}\end{array} \begin{array}{cc}w a & t i p\end{array}\right]$
NVIS $F=$ NVIS first NEG have NMZ know
'so that first is not known' [PP15PI_019]
In (1041) the attributive elaborate expression wa Џ〇ワ wa sa? 'who sits who stays' is the copula complement. Here, from context, we can infer that it is intended as a complement to an elided copula topic which in default position would occur either preverbally or immediately post-verbally. A similar situation occurs in (1042), where $k a=w i$ 'one' is understood as being equated to samen 'be alone' and to wa $k^{h}$ at so? 'who picks fruit'. These two examples are therefore construed as having the second copular realization: [Vcop (X) Y]. Example (1041) additionally has an oblique NP, which is not relevant to the obligatory argument structure of the existential use, and (1042) has just one NP (modified by a RC which occurs within that NP).
(1041) ym æm bru, ym æm wa chong wa sah ha kani ka chnong $m \quad \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m}$ [bru] $m \quad \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m}$ [ $\begin{array}{lllll}w a & \text { toj } & w a & s a ?]\end{array} h a$ NEG have person NEG have NMZ sit NMZ stay LOC $k a=n i \quad k a=\emptyset f n \supset \eta$ $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PrOX} \quad \mathrm{F}=$ village
'there is no person, there is no (one) sitting, staying, in this village' [PP04SKO_037]
(1042) æm kawi æm samæn æm wa khait soh
$\boldsymbol{\varepsilon m}\left[\begin{array}{llll}k a=w i] & \boldsymbol{m} & {[s a m \varepsilon n]} & \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m}\end{array}\left[\begin{array}{lll}w a & k^{h} a t & s o ?\end{array}\right]\right.$ have $\mathrm{F}=$ one have alone have NMZ pick fruit 'there is one alone who picks fruit' [FPSM_001]

### 15.5.3 Processual attributive predication, man

Attributive predication using man is where the copula complement serves as a modifier for the copula topic. This is more aptly termed 'relative predication', as the majority of my examples occur with a relative clause serving as copula complement. However, due to the similarity of these relative constructions with attributive predication using the previous copulas $\varepsilon m$ and $t \supset$ ?, I include such examples here. It is worth noting that only the verbs $\varepsilon m, t o P$, and man are likely to be immediately followed by the nominalizer/relativizer wa.

In example (1043) the copula topic is elided, having been identified in a previous clause. Here the copula complement is a nominalized/relativized phrase wa эŋ ki ka=pitวr 'they call it pitor'.
(1043) tæ man wa ong ki ka pitor
$t \varepsilon \quad \operatorname{man} \quad\left[\begin{array}{llll}w a & \text { oj } & k i & k a=p i t \supset r\end{array}\right]$
NVIS become NMZ say 3PL $\mathrm{F}=$ =pitor
'so (it) is what they call the pitor (marriage sign)' [PP14MF _072]
In (1044) the copula topic is $i=k l a m$ nne $h e=i=n i$ 'today's speech here'. The copula man intervenes between the copula topic and the complement wa u ja mntoj lay $i$ 'which/that is for our benefit'.
(1044) i klam ynne heini man wa $u$ ya myntoi lang $i$
[i=klam nne he=i=ni] man $\begin{array}{ll}w a & u\end{array}$
ACT=speak today LOC=N=PROX become NMZ 3SG.M.NOM
ja mntoj lay i]
BEN benefit together 1PL
'today's speech here is for our benefit together' [BMPJ_085]

In (1045) the copula topic is a referent in a previous clause (as identified by the referential marker $n$ ) and the speaker is expressing his experience. The copula man precedes the relativized element mntoj that describes the referent as 'beneficial'.
(1045) tæ mut chæm o man wa myntoi yn sæ
te mut $\left[\begin{array}{ll}t \varepsilon m & o\end{array}\right] \quad \operatorname{man} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}w a & m n t o j & n\end{array}\right]$ NVIS means meet 1SG.nOM become NMZ benefit REF se
C.tag
'so I find it to be beneficial' [PP15PI_111]
The following examples are less clear. In some of these examples the copula man seems simply to be acting as a helping verb for an existing verbal or adverbial element. In (1046) the copula occurs at the beginning of the clause man ar-klla $\varepsilon m$ 'he exists a second time'. The function here seems to be that of a linker between the preceding adverbial element ar-klla 'secondchange' and the following adverb, which is exactly the same and serves to restate and emphasize the preceding clause.
(1046) heini im wan $u$ arkylla, man arkylla æm $u$

| $h e=i=n i$ | $[i m$ | wan | $u$ | ar-klla $]$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | man

In (1047) the copula man also seems to function as a linker, to connect the preceding clause $k i=s o k p o ? ~ s d a \eta ~ k i ~ u=w a n ~ ' t h e ~ S o o ~ K p o h ~(c l a n) ~ b e-~$ gan/started to come' with new information about the religion being started.
(1047) ki soo kpoh sdang ki $u$ wan man kam wa ka sdang ki ka, ka niam
[ki=so kpo? sday ki u=wan] man [kam wa
$\mathrm{PL}=$ four womb begin 3PL $\mathrm{NF}=$ come happen as NMZ
$k a=s d a \eta \quad k i \quad k a \quad k a=n i a m]$
RES=begin 3PL 3SG.F.ACC F=tradition
'Soo Kpoh started to come as they began the religion'
[PP04SKO_057]
In example (1048) man is again serving a clause-chaining function, connecting the NP $u=$ prejin mantis $u=t u$ 'that praying mantis' with the following verbal clause.
(1048) u praying mantis u tu man chiboon ha ki khniang bam u
[ $u=$ prejig mantis $u=t u$ ] man [ $f i=b o n \quad h a$
$\mathrm{M}=$ praying mantis $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ become INDF-much LOC
$k i=k^{h} n i a \eta$ bam $u$ ]
PL=insect eat 3SG.M.NOM
'the praying mantis, many insects he eats' [BMPJ_068]
In (1049) the topic is $k a=p a r a m$ 'story'. The verb man occurs between the topic and the verb dray 'be long'. There are three possibilities regarding this construction. The first is that $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{g} r \supset \eta \\ & \text { is acting as a modifier and modifying }\end{aligned}$ $k a=p a r \jmath m$ as a copula complement. However, the post-verbal $k \rho$ pronominal form which references $k a=$ parכm calls this into question. This would suggest that $\sigma r \supset \eta$ is one of three things: either 1) the matrix verb of an intransitive clause, 2) a nominal incorporated into the verb man, or 3) an adverb. If the first, man can simply be treated as an auxiliary or 'helping verb' in a complex construction. If the second or third, man can be translated as with the 'happen' sense.
(1049) tæ læh ka=parom man jrong ko wa kammon $\mathrm{u}=$ khon lymboit

NVIS also $\mathrm{F}=$ story become be.long 3SG.F.NOM NMZ
kammon $u=k^{h}$ on lmbot
how $\quad \mathrm{M}=$ Khon Lymboit
'also the story is long about how Khon Lymboit...' [PP12BL_026]
Similarly, in (1050) the copula forms a complex verbal construction with krpay 'be special'. Here, as in (1049) above, it is not completely clear what role man is in, whether as a matrix or helping verb. Although krpay can serve as a nominal or verbal modifier, I tend toward the latter perspective, since man often precedes other verbs in serial constructions (§11.5, §16.3).
(1050) tæ man kyrpang bha ko kam kani ka subject ka wa yaklam i ynne
te man [krpay bha ko] kam ka=ni
NVIS happen be.special ints1 3SG.F.NOM as $\mathrm{F}=$ PROX
$k a=s a b d \_k \quad k a \quad w a \quad j a$-klam $i \quad n n e$
$\mathrm{F}=$ subject 3SG.F NMZ REC-speak 1PL today
'so it is very special, this subject we speak about today'
[BMPJ_086]

### 15.6 Location

The location function of copulas can be described as: ' X is located at Y ', i.e. 'The book is on the table'. In Pnar this can be termed locative predica-
tion, and also involves all three copular verbs, which can be used to encode identificational/equative, existential, and processual meanings.

### 15.6.1 Identity and equative locative predication, to?

Locative predication using to? is primarily used in an equative sense to identify the location, source, or goal of the copula topic. Unlike in examples like (1016) above, these constructions do not occur with preceding pronouns. In (1051) below, the copula to? precedes the locative marker $h a$, a construction that can be translated 'at' or 'in'. In this example the referent or copula topic has already been previously identified as $k a=d h \supset$ ? 'owl' and the same head noun follows the verb of existence $\varepsilon m$ 'have, exist' in the following clause. The copula $t \supset$ ? here combines with ha hali hator 'in the paddy field' to form the locative predicate 'be in/at the paddy field'. In this sentence we therefore see a locative predicate followed by an intransitive existential predicate, followed by a transitive predicate.
(1051) la toh ha hali hator chisein da æm ka=dhoh, ka da bam bait ko ki la to? $\left[\begin{array}{lll}h a & \text { hali hator }] \quad t i=s e n ~ d a ~ & \mathrm{Em}\end{array}\right.$ if be LOC paddy.field rice.field set-time REAL have $k a=d h \supset$ ? $k a \quad d a \quad$ bam bat ko ki F=owl 3SG.F.ACC REAL eat IMM3 3SG.F.NOM 3PL 'if in the paddy/rice field once the owl is there, it just eats them (insects)' [BMPJ_067]

In (1052) the copula topic is $k a=w i$ 'one' with the reference marker $y n$ which references a previously discussed nominal ('lectures') of which the head $k a=w i$ identifies a single element. This particular lecture is equated with a location at a particular university to form a locative predicate.
(1052) tæ kawi yn toh ha shri ramachandra university
tع $\quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}k a=w i & n\end{array}\right] \quad \boldsymbol{t o} \boldsymbol{P}\left[\begin{array}{lll}h a & \text { fri ramat }\end{array}\right.$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ one REF be LOC Shri Ramachandra University 'so one (lecture) was in Shri Ramachandra University' [PP15PI_138]

In (1053) the locative predicate identifies a location in time, specifically a period of time during which the speaker worked in the forest department.
(1053) wa kræh o ha forest toh ha u phraphaw khynde hadooh ar hajar wa kre? o ha fores to? [ha $u=p^{h} r a p^{h} a w k^{h} n d e$ NMZ work 1SG.NOM LOC forest be LOC M=eighty nine ha-do? ar hadgar]
LOC-when two thousand
'I worked in the forest (department) in 1989 until 2000'
[PP15PI_071]
In (1054) the copular verb to? combines with $n a$ 'from, ablative' to mean 'be from', identifying the source of the copula topic $u=k^{h}$ lawat 'warrior'. In this sentence wa to? wa miP is an attributive construction meaning 'be born', and serves to modify the preceding NP $u=n i u=k^{h} l a w a t ~ k a=r i$ 'the country's warrior'.
(1054) uni u khlawait ka ri læh wa toh, wa mih toh na ka kpoh yong ka weipun doh
$u=n i \quad u=k^{h}$ lawat $k a=r i \quad l \varepsilon$ ? wa to? wa
M=PROX M=warrior $F=$ country also NMZ be NMZ
mi? to? $\left[\begin{array}{llll}n a & k a=k p o ? ~ j \supset \eta ~ & k a=w e j p u n ~ d o ?] ~\end{array}\right.$
bring.out be ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ womb GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ grandmother Doh
'the country's warrior was born right here from the womb of
Grandmother Doh' [KNI_013] (speaking of Kiang Nangbah)
In (1055) the locative predicate to? na panaliar 'be from Pannaliar' identifies the source or origin of the speaker.
(1055) i tre dooh yong nga toh ka club ka wa nyngkong dooh toh na pannaliar
$i=$ tre do? jə $\quad \eta a \quad$ to? $k a=k l \supset b k a \quad w a$
$\mathrm{N}=$ original lose GEN 1SG.ACC be $\mathrm{F}=$ club 3SG.F NMZ
$n \eta k \supset y$ do? to? $\left[\begin{array}{ll}n a & \text { panaliar }]\end{array}\right.$
firstly most be ABL Pannalier
'My original place (from the beginning) is from the club (locality) Pannaliar' [TACJ_010]

In (1056) the copula to? forms a locative predicate that identifies the clan from which the pator (a traditional office) is supposed to come.
(1056) u pator toh na ka kur sansyngkong
$u=$ pator to? $\left[\begin{array}{ll}n a & k a=k u r ~ s a n s \eta ̣ k o \eta\end{array}\right]$
$\mathrm{M}=$ Pator be ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ clan Sansyngkong
'Pator is from the Sansyngkong clan' [PP02SKF _ 020]
In (1057) the copula precedes the allative marker $t f a$, which serves a prepositional case marking function in relation to the location hadem, indicating the goal of the activity denoted by the verb root $k^{h} a j i$ 'buy and sell'.
(1057) u jooh likhayi sumurit toh cha hadæm
$u \quad$ go? li-khaji sumurit to? [tga hadem] 3SG.m.nOM HAB DUR-buy.and.sell pepper be all Hadem 'he used to trade pepper in Hadem (village)' [PP05KO_020]

In (1058) the copula to? also precedes the allative, which forms another prepositional expression with po? 'inside'. The conjunction of the two morphemes indicates the meaning 'under' or 'below', and the whole expression identifies $k a=l a t^{h}$ adlabo? as the point of reference for the location of $k a=t \varepsilon$ 'that', which is the copula topic.
(1058) katæ tæ toh chapoh ka ladthadlabot
[ $k a=t \varepsilon$ ] te to? [tfa-po? $k a=l a t^{h}$ adlabo?]
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS NVIS be ALL-inside $\mathrm{F}=$ Lathadlabot
'that (which) is under Lathadlabot (church)' [LIJ_003]
In (1059) the copula is followed by an instrumentally marked phrase. Here the copula topic is $i=w \supset n i=w \supset n ~ p n$-biay $i$ 'anything we do', referring to the traditional rituals surrounding a marriage ceremony. The copula complement is the marker $d a$ 'with', which identifies the following plural noun $k i=p i t \jmath r$ 'plates' as instruments used in the rituals.
(1059) iwon iwon pynbiang i toh da ki pitor
 $\mathrm{N}=$ which $\mathrm{N}=$ which CAUS-again 1PL be INST PL=pitor 'anything we do is with the pitor (marriage sign, plate)'
[PP14MF_074]
The following uses of to? illustrate auxiliary or 'helping' functions of this copula. In (1060) to? serves a helping function, joining the copula topic $k i=n i k i=a r p^{h}$ awso pargana 'these 24 parganas' with the verbal existential predicate expression $\varepsilon m k i \not f a t^{h} a n d k^{h} a r$ 'they exist in the plains'.
(1060) kini ki arphawsoo pargana toh æm ki cha thain dkhar

PL=PROX PL=twenty-four pargana be have 3PL ALL
$\left.t^{h} a n \quad d k^{h} a r\right]$
plain,flat flatlander
'these 24 parganas are located in the plains' [PP06PK_011]
In (1061) toh also serves to join two related thoughts into a single construction. The copula topic is the adverbial expression ha-do? kat-ni 'until now', and toh serves to link it with the verbal predicate da laj $k a=p o r$ 'the time has gone'.
(1061) hadooh katni toh da lai ka por da ki hajar hajar snæm lai i por [ha-do? kat-ni] to? [da laj ka=por] da ki=haçar until as-PROX be REAL go $\mathrm{F}=$ =time $\operatorname{INST}$ PL=thousand hadar snem laj $i=p o r$ thousand year go $\mathrm{N}=$ time 'until now time has gone, thousands of years have passed' [PP07SNM_014]

Sentence (1062) gives an example of $t \supset$ ? being negated. Here the purpose of negation is to clarify the meaning of tre $t^{h} l \rho \eta$, which occurs in the first clause $i$ 打 $\eta$ ha tre $t^{h} l \supset \eta$ 'we sit in the Tre Thlong'. The negated verb $t \supset$ ? is in fact serving to negate the following verbal expression sa mut tre $t^{h} l \supset \eta ~ i=t^{h} a w$ bo? $t^{h} l \supset \eta$ 'only means the mortar-keeping place'. This resembles the copula topic-complement order we have seen examples of above, but in fact occurs to join two separate clauses and is more in keeping with the intransitive verbal use of $t o$ ?.
(1062) i chong ha tre thlong, ym toh sa mut tre thlong i thaw booh thlong
[ $i \quad$ पुग ha tre $\left.t^{h} l o \eta\right] \quad m \quad$ to? $[s a$ mut tre 1PL sit LOC tre thlong NEG be only mean original
$t^{h} l \supset \eta \quad i=t^{h} a w$ bo? $t^{h} l \rho \eta 1$ mortar $\mathrm{N}=$ place keep mortar
'we sit in the Tre Thlong (lit. original mortar). 'Original Mortar' doesn't mean the place where the mortar was kept' [PP08LC_003]

In (1063) to? also serves a helping function, preceding the verbal predicate tip hi ki $u=t^{h}$ mat 'they know (how) to pray', which serves as a copula complement to waro? $k i=b r u$ 'all the people'.
(1063) waroh $\mathrm{ki}=$ bru toh tip hi ki $\mathrm{u}=$ =thmat sæ tang ym tip ki $\mathrm{u}=$ =trong
[waro? $k i=b r u$ ] to? [tip hi ki $\left.u=t^{h} m a t\right]$ se
all PL=person be know EMPH 3PL NF=pray CONF
taj $m$ tip ki $u=t r o \eta$
but NEG know 3PL NF=trong
'all the people know (how) to pray but not (how) to "trong" [PP08LC_017]

Example (1064) is of two copular constructions, the first of which has $k i=n i$ $w \supset n$ as the copula topic and $k i=p l i a \eta$ as the copula complement, while the second also has $k i=n i$ wכn as the copula topic but an instrumental expression da $k a=d e n$ 'with wood' as the copula complement.
(1064) kini won toh ki pliang deiñ, kani won toh da ka deiñ
$\left[\begin{array}{ll}k i=n i & w \supset n\end{array}\right]$ to? $\left[\begin{array}{ll}k i=p l i a y & d e n\end{array}\right] \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}k a=n i & w \supset n\end{array}\right]$ to? $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ thing be $\mathrm{PL}=$ plate wood $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX}$ thing be [da $k a=d e n]$
INST $\mathrm{F}=$ wood
'these things are plates, these things are (made) of wood' (instrumental?) [TACJ_243]

### 15.6.2 Existential locative predication, $\varepsilon \boldsymbol{m}$

Locative predication using $\varepsilon m$ allows a locative property to be described as belonging to the copula topic. In (1065) the copula topic $i$ ha $k a=s e n r a f ~ i ~$ [1PL LOC F=seiñraij 1PL] 'we in the Seiñraij' is equated with the locative copula complement ha ka=djin-sndsp $i$ 'in our caretaking'.
(1065) katæ toh wa i ha ka seiñraij i æm ha ka jingsyndong i ya ka bei ram-aw ka wa i im i chong i sah i
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad t o ? ~ w a \quad\left[\begin{array}{llll}i & h a & k a=s e n r a f & i\end{array} \quad \boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad[h a\right.$ $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS be NMZ 1PL LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ seiñraij 1PL have LOC
$k a=d j i \eta-s n d\lrcorner \eta \quad i] \quad j a \quad k a=b e j$ ramaw $k a \quad w a$ F=AB.NMZ-take.care 1PL BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ mother earth 3SG.F NMZ
$i=i m \quad i=t \rho \supset \eta \quad i=s a ? \quad i$
$\mathrm{ACT}=$ live $\mathrm{ACT}=$ sit $\mathrm{ACT}=$ stay 1 PL
'that is how we in our Seiñraij are, in our caretaking of our motherland that we live in' [BMPJ_035]
or 'that is how we in our Seiñraij are in the business of taking care of our motherland, which we live in'

In (1066) the locative copula complement is ha droy den 'up (a) tree', embedded in a relativized existential clause.
(1066) utai u bru wa æm ha jrong deiñ
$u=t a j \quad u=b r u \quad w a \quad \varepsilon m \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}h a & \text { gron den }]\end{array}\right.$ $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{DIST} \mathrm{M}=$ person NMZ have LOC be.long tree 'that man who is up in the tree' [FPSM_016]

In (1067) the locative complement tfa-pa? hali 'inside field' is likewise embedded in a relativized clause.
(1067) u pseiñ wa æm chapoh hali rap phær u
$u=p s e n \quad$ wa $\varepsilon m \quad t a-p o ? ~ h a l i ~ r a p ~ p^{h} \varepsilon r$
$\mathrm{M}=$ snake NMZ have ALL-in field grow be.different
$u$
3SG.M.NOM
'the snake that is in the field grows differently' [BMPJ_062]
 the temporal space that the copula topic ( $k a=\operatorname{sim} \operatorname{so\eta }$ [bird Song] 'a bird (named) Song') belongs to.
(1068) æm ha kawi ka sein ka sim song
$\boldsymbol{\varepsilon m} \quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}h a & k a=w i & k a=s e n\end{array}\right]\left[\begin{array}{ll}k a=s i m & s \supset \eta\end{array}\right]$ have LOC F=one F=time F=bird Song
'there was at one time a bird Song...' [BMPJ_023]
These examples, particularly (1068), seem to suggest that locative predicates do not behave as other kinds of non-verbal predicates, in that their order with respect to the copula topic is variable. It seems likely that since locative morphemes clearly mark their constituents as oblique, there may not be as much need for word order disambiguation with these kinds of predicates, as least not for native Pnar speakers. Embedding tends to constrain whether locative constituents in post-verbal slots can be fronted or can switch places with fronted elements, so that the copula topic and complement in (1020) can be reversed, as can those in (1065), and the locative phrase in (1068) can be re-arranged, but the locative predicates in (1066-1067) cannot.

### 15.6.3 Processual locative predication, man

Locative predication using man identifies locations, goals, or sources as the locus of processes involved in happening or becoming. In (1069), for example, man occurs between copula topic $k i=t^{h}$ aw sntf'ar 'the governed places' and the copula complement $i=t \varepsilon$ गŋ $i=k^{h}$ atar daloj 'what we call Khatar Daloi', which is conceptualized as the location of the copula topic via $h a$, the locative marker. The most common locative predication occurs with the locative marker $h a$, however my corpus does include examples with ablative na. Use of man with allative $t a$ is not attested in my corpus, which may simply be an area of insufficient coverage.
(1069) pargana tæ mut ki thaw synchar man ha itæ ong i khatar daloi mo
 pargana NVIS mean PL=place govern happen LOC N=NVIS э刀 $i=k^{h}$ atar daloj] mo say $\mathrm{N}=$ twelve daloi Q
'Pargana means the places governed are in what we call the Khatar Daloi (kingdom), ok?' [PP06PK_015]

In example (1070) the speaker is delineating a set of entities that fall under the category which he titles $k a=j a w n i a m$ 'traditional market'. He precedes
this with man, which serves as an existential copula and allows the locative phrase ha $k a=j a w$ niam to function as a predicate. He then lists eight markets, the first of which is jaw dwwaj 'Jowai market', and completes the sentence with a summary involving the typical copula of being, to?
(1070) tæ man ha ka=yaw niam mo yaw jwai... tæ toh ki=yaw niam
te man $\quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}h a & k a=j a w & n i a m\end{array}\right] \quad$ mo jaw dywaj NVIS become LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ market tradition Q market Jowai te to? ki=jaw niam NVIS be PL=market tradition
'so in the traditional market (group), ok (are): Jowai market... (markets listed) ...so (they) are the traditional markets' [PP09MW_015]

In (1071) there are two locative constructions marked by $h a$. The first construction identifies the broad temporal setting, and the second focuses the listener's attention within that time frame on a particular war $k a=n i k a=t h m a$ 'this war'. The verb man serves as a linker between the two constructions. It is not clear here if both constructions can be construed as predicates, though if we consider man to be a copula this would suggest that both constructions are indeed predicates, serving as copula topic and complement.
(1071) ha ka por ka thma man ha kani ka thma tæ
[ $\left.h a \quad k a=p \supset r \quad k a=t^{h} m a\right]$ man $\quad\left[\begin{array}{lll}h a & k a=n i & k a=t^{h} m a\end{array}\right] t \varepsilon$ LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ time $\mathrm{F}=$ war become LOC $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ war NVIS 'at the time of the war, during the war...' [PP03SKY_003]

In (1072) the locative predicate is $h a k i=s \eta i$ 'in those days', preceded by the verb man.
(1072) man ha ki sngi, i ha wa likit tiar i kamtæ
man $\quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}h a & k i=s \eta i]\end{array} \quad h a \quad w a \quad\right.$ li-kit tiar $i$
happen LOC PL=day 1PL LOC NMZ DUR-carry thing 1PL
kam-te
like-NVIS
'in those days we would carry things like that' [BPVM_007]
In (1073) the locative predicate identifies the source of the topicalized head noun $u=d a l o j$ as being na ka=kur so kpo? 'from the Soo Kpoh clan'. In this example man is preceded by two verbal constructions je u ja-lع? u 'he is able, he can do' where the S-argument is $u=$ daloj. The same argument is identified as the copula topic of man, allowing the following locative expression to function as a predicate.
(1073) u daloi yee u yalæh u man na ka kur soo kpoh

| $u=$ daloj | $j e$ | $u$ | $j a-l \varepsilon ?$ | $u$ | man |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| M=Daloi | able | 3SG.M.NOM | PLUR-do | 3SG.M.NOM | become | ABL

In (1074) the copula topic has been identified in a previous clause, and is elided here. The copula verb man identifies the following locative construction as the source of the copula topic, forming a locative predicate.
(1074) man na kani ka pateiñ yong ka lasubon ksiar

$$
\left.\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text { man } & {\left[\begin{array}{lll}
n a & k a=n i & k a=\text { paten }
\end{array}\right.} & j \supset \eta & k a=\text { lasubon } & k s i a r] \\
\text { become } & \text { ABL } & \mathrm{F}=\text { PROX } & \mathrm{F}=\text { generation } & \mathrm{GEN} & \mathrm{~F}=\text { Lasubon } & \text { Ksiar }
\end{array}\right] \begin{aligned}
& \text { '(they) are from this generation of Lasubon Ksiar' [PP06PK_008] }
\end{aligned}
$$

In (1075) the context is within a description of ceremonies surrounding traditional marriage. Here man is preceded by the copula topic $k a=t \varepsilon$, which references a previous NP involving a particular activity, the offering of betel nut and betel leaf as a gesture of hospitality to welcome guests. The speaker states that the offering of $k i=k w a j$ occurs immediately after introductions, and conceptualizes wa sday 'beginning' as the source at which the gesture of hospitality must occur, clarifying the order of events with the following clause dep man da $u=$ tipmit 'after introducing'.
(1075) katæ man na wa sdang dæp man da u tipmit

$$
\begin{aligned}
& {[k a=t \varepsilon] \text { man }\left[\begin{array}{ccc}
n a & w a & s d a \eta]
\end{array} d \varepsilon p \text { man } d a\right.} \\
& \mathrm{F}=\text { NVIS become ABL NMZ begin PERF become REAL } \\
& u=\text { tipmit } \\
& \mathrm{NF}=\text { recognize } \\
& \text { 'that is from first after introducing' [PP14MF _046] }
\end{aligned}
$$

In the following example (1076) the locative preposition halsr 'on top' precedes $k i=n i$ won 'this thing', marking the whole phrase as a locative expression. The use of man to preced this expression allows it to serve as a locative predicate.
(1076) tæ man halor kini won mut kam ong ksoh phi ya u khnam ka rynteih
t\& man [ha-lor ki=ni won] mut kam oŋ kso?
NVIS become LOC-top PL=PROX thing mean as say hold
$p^{h} i \quad j a \quad u=k^{h} n a m \quad k a=r n t e ?$
2PL BEN M=arrow $\mathrm{F}=$ bow
'so on top of this it means to say you hold the arrow, the bow'
[AIJ_032]

Other uses of man The following examples identify constructions with a variety of other uses in which the copula man combines with other verbs or otherwise serves in an auxiliary or 'helping' role. In (1077) man combines with the verb wan 'come' to form a complex predicate. Here it serves a helping function to chain sequential clauses together.

## (1077) man wan uni $u$ mukhim man wan $u$ chadap <br> man wan $u=n i \quad u=m u k^{h} i m$ man wan $u=t f a d a p$ <br> become come $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{Prox} \mathrm{M}=$ mukhim become come $\mathrm{M}=$ chadap '(then) the Mukhim (clan) came, then the Chadap came..' <br> [PP04SKO_046]

In (1078) man precedes $\varepsilon m$ 'have, exist'. This complex predicate is followed by the emphatic marker $h i$. The overall meaning seems to be one of emphasized existence, though an element of chance occurrence is possible, as seen in the translation.
(1078) tæ man æm hi ki kini ki yaw ka thymbleiñ toh ka yaw jaintiapur
$t \varepsilon \quad \operatorname{man} \quad \varepsilon m \quad h i \quad k i \quad k i=n i \quad k i=j a w$
NVIS become have EMPH 3PL PL=PROX PL=market
$k a=t^{h} m b l e n$ to? ka=jaw dentiapur
$\mathrm{F}=$ thymblein be $\mathrm{F}=$ market Jaintiapur
'so it happens this Thymbleiñ market is a Jaintiapur market'
[PP09MW_016]
In (1079) the verb man is again serving as both an intransitive verb and some sort of existential copula. Here the speaker is talking about the particular day on which the memorial celebration of $u=w$ ? kiay nayba?, a Pnar hero, occurs. The S -argument $k a=$ tarik 'date' is identified post-verbally by the pronominal form $k 0$, with the instrumental case marker $d a$ identifying the exact date on which the celebration happens.
(1079) ka tarik boon sein man ko da ka lephaw tarik beit
$k a=t a r i k ~ b o n ~ s e n ~ m a n ~ k o ~ d a ~ k a=l e p^{h} a w$
$\mathrm{F}=$ date many time become 3SG.F.NOM INST $\mathrm{F}=$ =thirty
tarik bat
date IMm2
'From that date we have been (celebrating) by the 30th' [KNI_010]
In (1080) the speaker is deciding which story to tell, and is looking through his uncle's papers in order to jog his memory. He uses man together with him 'take', where man serves again as an auxiliary that seems to engender a process-oriented meaning here, similar to that identified above for man with attributive and nominal constructions.
(1080) tæ u ma yong i, tæ man him o na u ma sæ
$u=m a j \supset \eta \quad i \quad$ te man him o na
NMZ M=HON.M GEN 1PL NVIS become take 1SG.NOM
$u=m a \quad s \varepsilon$
ABL $\quad \mathrm{M}=\mathrm{HON} . \mathrm{M}$
'so our uncle, I take (it) from him, ok' [PP10PO_003]
In (1081) the speaker is comparing the Pnar language to what he knows of Thai. Here he uses man to link two instantiations of the same construction $k i$ วŋ $k i$ 'they say'.
(1081) $\mathrm{kam} \mathrm{ki}=\mathrm{ni} \mathrm{ki}=$ Thai, ha Thailand ki ong ki, man ki ong ki 'pai lai'
kam $k i=n i \quad k i=t^{h} a j \quad h a \quad t^{h} a j l a n \quad k i \quad$ oŋ $k i$
as $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ PL=Thai LOC Thailand 3PL say 3PL
$\operatorname{man} \quad k i \quad э \eta \quad k i \quad p a j \quad l a j$
become 3PL say 3PL pai lai
'as those Thai in Thailand, they say, they say 'pai lai"
[PP07SNM_010]
In (1082) the verb man functions as an existential verb, identifying the existence of a particular occurrence $k a=t$ ad $k a=r w a j$ 'singing and dancing' in a traditional story.
(1082) man ka chad ka rwai ka wa u man khynde yaw khynde sngi
$\boldsymbol{m a n} \quad k a=t f a d \quad k a=r w a j k a \quad w a \quad u=\boldsymbol{m a n} \quad k^{h} n d e$
become RES=dance RES=sing 3SG.F NMZ NF=become nine jaw $k^{h} n$ nde syi
week nine day
'there was singing and dancing for nine days and nine nights'
[PP13RS_050]

In (1083) man combines with the word say 'taboo' as part of a complex verb. Here man serves as an existential copula of sorts to join say with mut 'means', forming the conceptual frame 'means it is very bad'.
(1083) la tyngkhæñ ya katæ tæ mut man sang
la tyk $k^{h} \varepsilon \eta \quad j a \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ mut man saŋ
if break BEN $F=$ NVIS NVIS mean happen taboo
'if it (the marriage) is broken it is very bad (taboo)' [PP14MF_072]

### 15.7 Summary

The current chapter has described the three Pnar copulas and their variety of functions. It is found that each copula is used for specific purposes, but that
their usage overlaps to a degree. So while to? is used for identity, naming, and equation, $\varepsilon m$ is used for existence, and man is used for happening and becoming, all three can be used for attributive and locative purposes. The chapter which follows discusses the nature of complex verbal constructions in Pnar, particularly serial verb constructions.

## Chapter 16

## Complex verbal constructions

The term 'complex verbal construction' or 'complex predicate' refers to a large set of constructions which contain more than one verbal element. These constructions range from serial verb constructions (SVCs) to light verb and auxiliary verb constructions (AVCs), to converbal forms and verbal constructions which include a nominalized (often non-finite) or nominal element (approaching noun-incorporation). The terminology involving various kinds of complex predicates can be confusing. As Anderson (2011: 796) states:

Sub-categories of complex predicates that have been offered in the literature include 'auxiliary' verb constructions, 'serial' verb constructions, 'light' verb constructions, 'co-verbs', 'inflecting verbs', 'post-verbs', 'explicator verbs', 'pre-verbs', 'compound verbs', 'deficient'/'defective' verbs, 'echo' verb formations, etc.

These constructions have been the subject of various articles and monographs (Bril, 2004; Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2006; Shibatani, 2009; Bisang, 1995, among others; see Bisang, 2009 for a review of the discussion surrounding SVCs, and see Anderson, 2006 for a detailed discussion of AVCs). The most comprehensive survey to date is by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006), where SVCs are defined by Aikhenvald on page 1 as:
a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect, and polarity value. SVCs may also share core and other arguments. Each
component of an SVC must be able to occur on its own. Within an SVC, the individual verbs may have same, or different transitivity values.

Shibatani (2009: 256) gives the following list of criteria generally associated with SVCs:
a. There is no intervening conjunction, linker, or non-finite marker between two or more verbs.
b. Each of the serialized verbs occurs in its "own right" in non-serial context.
c. Serialized verbs form a single predicate of a single clause.
d. Serialized verbs typically share arguments.

Shibatani suggests that criteria (a) and (b) cannot be taken as a defining property of SVCs, citing evidence from Japanese, Korean, and Altaic, among other languages. He further notes that "there are formal restrictions on serialized verbs such that usually only one verb in the series has the potential of displaying the full range of formal finiteness features" (2009: 262); this seems to be a primary means of determining whether a construction is an SVC or a compound. Phonological properties of wordhood such as pause and stress, and morphological properties such as whether only one of the verbs allows affixation can also be used to determine constituency, but these are not successful tests in all languages (ibid. 266-267).

In Pnar, there are a variety of complex verbal constructions formed from two apparent lexical verbs with various degrees of grammaticalization. These constructions are separate from the clearly grammatical functions of operators that occur within the verbal complex (Chapter 11) and seem to meet the criteria outlined above for serial verb constructions. The head-initial typological profile observed elsewhere in Pnar is difficult to apply to Pnar SVCs, as it is generally difficult to determine a head for these constructions. Stress assignment may be marginally helpful in determining constituency, as may affixation. If we consider affixation to be a criteria of headedness, then Pnar exhibits both head-initial and head-final serial verbs. If we consider shared argument status, serial verbs can share the $\mathrm{S}, \mathrm{A}$, or O arguments, or have entirely different arguments from the other. If we state that the first verb is always the head, those constructions where the first verb seems somewhat semantically bleached become an issue.

In $\S 16.1$ below I provide an overview of some of the constructions found in Pnar and attempt to define what SVCs are in the language. The following sections contrast SVCs with complex predicates formed from verb-noun compounds or incorporations and non-finite-like constructions (§16.1), and give examples of subtypes of what I broadly term 'serial verb constructions' (§16.2-§16.4).

### 16.1 Serial verb constructions in Pnar

SVCs in Pnar generally adhere to the set of criteria noted by Aikhenvald and Shibatani above - they are composed of two verbal elements which occur together in a way that allows both verbs to affect the semantics of the verbal event. The two verbal elements generally occur side by side as a single element, and in the following discussion I have attempted to organize the constructions in terms of headed-ness. The strongest evidence for headed-ness seems to be whether a constituent in a complex construction receives affixation or not, though another criteria regards whether one of the elements is 'semantically bleached' in relation to the other. It is not always clear whether the second criteria can apply to a verb in an SVC, which can result in differing judgements regarding headedness. In some cases the verbs form compounds without a clear head (§16.2), in other cases there is a clear head.

In the case of SVCs without a clear head, neither verb root receives affixation, whereas in SVCs with a clear head, the head verb is (or can be) affixed. When the first verb can receive affixation, there seem to be no clear restrictions on what verbs can occur as the second element (§16.3). When the second verb can receive affixation the first element tends to be a 'light' verb or auxiliary (§16.4). These seem to correspond to Anderson's (2006: 9) definition of auxiliary elements as "aid[ing] in the expression of the particular realization of the event type encoded by the lexical verb."

## SVC vs. incorporation vs. nominalization

An important part of defining SVCs in Pnar is to distinguish between verbal predicates with a nominal element versus verbal predicates which contain no nominal elements. The former is most clearly expressed by noun incorporation strategies, which have been discussed in section $\S 10.2 .3$. In (1084) for example, the noun so? 'fruit' is the O-argument, but has been incorpo-
rated into the verb $e$ 'give', encoding a generic activity involving a nominal element.
(1084) e soh u ya oo ar tylli
$e \quad \boldsymbol{s o P} u \quad j a \quad o \quad$ ar tlli
give fruit 3SG.M.NOM BEN 3SG.M.ACC two CL.NH
'he gives fruit to them, two (fruits)' [FPSM_030]
Another expression of a verbal predicate with a nominal element is the kind of complex predicate in which a second verbal element receives purposive nominal derivation in the form of the proclitic $u=$, which resembles the English non-finite construction (citation form) 'to V' $(1085,1086)$. In (1085) the matrix verb $\varepsilon m k a m$ 'need' is followed immediately by the purposive nominalized verb sñdoŋ 'take care (of)' to form the complex predicate 'need to take care (of)'. The A-argument $i$ 'we' and the O-argument $k i$ 'they, them' immediately follow this complex predicate.
(1085) kam kitæ ki won ki won læh æmkam u syndong i ki

| $k a m$ | $k i=t \varepsilon$ | $k i=w \supset n$ | $k i=w \supset n$ | $l \varepsilon ?$ | emkam |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| like,want | $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ | $\mathrm{PL}=$ which | $\mathrm{PL}=$ which | also | need |
| $\boldsymbol{u}=s n d \supset \boldsymbol{n}$ | $i$ | $k i$ |  |  |  |
| NF=take.care | 1PL | 3PL |  |  |  |
| NF |  |  |  |  |  |

'like these things also we need to care about' [BMPJ_027]
In (1086) the story is of four warriors in a quest for revenge against a particular king. At this point in the story they have become close to the king and have just faked severe sickness so that they can return home briefly. Before the king's guards allow them to leave, they bring the king to show them how severe the sickness is. Here the matrix verb pat 'look' is immediately followed by the purposive-nominalized verb jo 'see', and the elided A-argument is recoverable as the topic $u=s$ ?em 'the king', with the O-argument/complement being $d e=i=s n a m$ bat $h e=i=t \varepsilon$ 'regarding the blood there'.
(1086) tæ man da yah ki oo u syiem lipait u yoo deisnam bait heitæ
te man $d a \quad j a ? \quad k i \quad o \quad u=s$ Pem

NVIS become REAL drive,lead 3pL 3SG.m.ACC M=ruler
li-pat $\quad \boldsymbol{u}=j \boldsymbol{j o} \quad d e=i=s n a m \quad$ bat $\quad h e=i=t \varepsilon$
DUR-look NF=see INST=N=blood direct LOC=N=NVIS
'so when they brought him, the king looked to see regarding the blood there' [PP03SKY_020]

Since any verb can receive purposive nominal marking, the rest of this chapter is limited to constructions with two fully verbal elements. The following sections cover verbal compounds in which neither verb takes affixation
(§16.2), verbal constructions in which the first verb takes affixation (§16.3), and verbal constructions in which the second verb takes affixation (§16.4). The bulk of the discussion centers on 2-verb concatenations, but SVCs with more than 2 verbal elements will also be discussed.

### 16.2 Non-affixed SVCs

Serial verb constructions in which neither verb receives affixation can be considered compounds in some cases, though the criteria which applies for compounds in $\S 3.3$ above does not hold completely for all cases of SVCs. That is, some verb roots that form compounds do not combine prosodically, with each verb root retaining heavy stress. Some examples of verbal compounds are given in §16.2.1, while those constructions that do not fit the criteria for compounds are given in §16.2.2.

### 16.2.1 Compounds

Generally, compound verbs can be perceived as such due to the unstressed nature of the first element in relation to the second. In (1087), for example, the verb $\varepsilon m k a m$ 'need' occurs. This verb is composed of $\varepsilon m$ 'have' and $k a m$ 'want, like'.
(1087) læh æmkam i u kchu
$l \varepsilon$ ? $\quad$ mkam $i \quad u=k f f u$
also need $1 \mathrm{PL} \mathrm{M}=$ pot
'we also need the pot' [PP11NC_005]
In (1088) the verb pnemkam 'use' is formed from the causative derivational prefix $p n$ - and $\varepsilon m k a m$ 'need'.
(1088) kini ki pliang stæm jooh boon sein pynæmkam i ki u bam ja
$k i=n i \quad k i=p l i a \eta ~ s t \varepsilon m \quad$ go? bon sen pñemkam PL=PROX PL=plate yellow HAB be.much time use
$i \quad k i \quad u=b a m \quad$ ba
$1 \mathrm{PL} 3 \mathrm{PL} \mathrm{NF}=$ eat rice
'these yellow/bronze plates, we usually use them to eat rice'
[TACJ_242]
In (1089) wanra? 'bring' is a compound formed from the two verbs wan 'come' and raP 'carry'. This concatenation occurs in other locations in my texts with equal stress on each syllable, indicating that it has been
undergoing grammaticalization. In the majority of my texts, however, it can be glossed as 'bring', though with clear association to the idea of 'come carrying'.
(1089) wanrah u oo cha pyrthai
wanraP $u \quad o \quad$ ta $p r t^{h} a j$
bring 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.ACC ALL world
'he brought it to earth' [PP12BL_014]
lit. 'he came carrying it to earth'

### 16.2.2 Non-compound SVCs

A large number of SVCs do not occur with either member of the pair of verbs prefixed, and with heavy stress on the final syllable of each verb. In (1090), for example, the speaker is telling of a time when he and his family were staying outside of Jaintia Hills and the bed broke, cutting his leg. The event is expressed via an SVC tdut a? 'break cut', and the S/A argument is referenced as $k y$ 'it, feminine'. Here it is not clear if either verb can be identified as the semantic head, though the linear order suggests that the breaking occured before the cutting. However, the use of an SVC seems to identify a near-simultaneous event.
(1090) heipor dang ya-chong ha ka=palong khian $\mathrm{ka}=$ palong tdut ah ko ha kani ka kjat o
$h e=i=p \supset r \quad d a \eta \quad j a-t f \supset \eta \quad h a \quad k a=p a l \supset \eta k^{h} i a n$ LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ time PROG PLUR-sit LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ bed be.small $k a=p a l \supset \eta$ tdut $\boldsymbol{a} \boldsymbol{P}$ ko ha $k a=n i \quad k a=k b a t \quad \jmath$ F=bed break cut NOM LOC F=PROX F=leg 1SG.NOM 'once, while we were sitting on the small bed, suddenly the bed broke, cuting my leg' [LS1J_009]

The following examples contain constructions that fit the profile of noncompound SVCs. These are grouped according to the verb that occurs as the initial element of the SVC: jo 'see', oŋ 'say', sniaw 'feel', rap 'grow', and pan 'request'.

### 16.2.2.1 jo 'see'

In (1091) the speaker is describing the villain of the narrative. Here the complex verbal expression jo ben means 'despise', but particularly to despise in a way that involves perception of some kind.
(1091) tæ oo yoo beiñ bait u ya kini ki pnar
tع o jo ben $\quad$ bat $\quad$ u $\quad$ ja

NVIS 3SG.M.ACC see despise,suffer IMM3 3SG.M.NOM BEN
$k i=n i \quad k i=p n a r$
PL=PROX PL=Pnar
'so he just really despised the Pnar people' [PP06PK_002]
In (1092) the speaker is describing how the villagers interact with people from other villages. The verbal expression jo ben is translated here as 'look down', which involves perception from a height.
(1092) kitæ ki bru ha madan byrwai ym æm toh wa yoo beiñ i ki wa toh ki bru wan ræp hæh ki
$k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=b r u \quad h a \quad$ madan brwaj $m \quad \varepsilon m \quad t o ?$
PL=NVIS PL=person LOC ground Byrwai NEG have be
wa jo ben $i$ ki wa to? ki bru wan
nMZ see despise,suffer 1PL 3PL nMZ be 3pl person come
rep he? ki
cultivate only 3PL
'these people in Byrwai area, it's not that we look down on them' [HPAHR_035]

In (1093) the speaker is showing several artifacts that were part of traditional houses but are no longer used in modern construction. Here he encodes this using jo عm 'see have/exist', which identifies a state of being (or, in this case since negated, a state of not being).
(1093) yoo mi kitai ym yoo æm de ki katni
jo mi ki=taj $\quad m \quad$ jo $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon m}$ de ki
see 2sg.m.nom PL=distal NEG see have neg.ints 3PL
kat-ni
as-PROX
'so you see, these you can't ever see now' [TACJ_501]
In (1094) the speaker is describing the sun's fascination regarding the party that she and her brother the moon had been invited to. The verb jo bay 'be fascinated' or 'be entranced' is composed of $j o$ 'see' and baŋ 'be tasty', neither of which seems to act as the head.
(1094) tæ ka yong ka syiem chit syiem che i bnai kyllung da yoo bang itæ i chad i rwai
te $k a \quad j \supset \eta \quad k a=s$ sem tit s?em tfe $i=b n a j$ NVIS 3SG.F GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ ruler be.hot ruler be.light $\mathrm{N}=$ month klluך $d a \quad j o \quad b a \eta \quad i=t \varepsilon \quad i=t$ fad $\quad i=r w a j$ Kyllung REAL see be.tasty $\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{ACT}=$ dance $\mathrm{ACT}=$ sing 'the queen sun was fascinated by all the month's singing and dancing' (month of Kyllung) [PP13RS_060]

In (1095) the speaker is describing the girl riding a bike in The Pear Story (Chafe, 1980). The verb jo dur 'suppose' is formed from jo 'see' and dur 'purpose', encoding an unknown but possible situation.
(1095) wan sa kawi ka khynnah kynthai khynnah skur yoo dur dei sap uniform wan sa $k a=w i \quad k a=k^{h} n n a ? ~ k n t^{h} a j k^{h} n n a ?$ skur jo come only $\mathrm{F}=$ one $\mathrm{F}=$ little.one female little.one school see dur $\quad d e=i=$ sap junifom
purpose $\operatorname{INST}=\mathrm{ACT}=$ wear uniform
'only one little school-girl comes, I suppose (since she is) wearing a uniform' [FPSM_021]

In (1096) the speaker is similarly describing a situation in The Pear Story, this time regarding the nature of the fruit being picked. Here he uses jo kam to mean 'seem', combining jo 'see' and kam 'like, want' to encode an uncertain but likely situation.
(1096) yoo kam soh klong uni tip toh re ym toh re
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { jo } & \text { kam } & \text { so? } & k l \supset \eta & u=n i & \text { tip } & \text { to? } & r \varepsilon & m \\ \text { see } & \text { like,want } & \text { fruit } & \text { bottle } & \text { M=PROX } & \text { know } & \text { be } & \text { NEG.INTS } & \text { NEG }\end{array}$
$t o$ ? $r \varepsilon$
be NEG.INTS
'(it) seems like a bottle fruit, this (one), I don't know (for sure)'
[MPSM_027]
In (1097) the speaker is describing the pollution caused by exhaust from cars and trucks. He also uses jo kam 'seem' to encode an apparent but uncertain situation.
(1097) mih i tdæm kari na ki truck yoo kam wa ym æm de wa pait wa yoo yeitu
mi? $\quad i=t d \varepsilon m \quad$ kari na ki=trak jo kam wa
bring.out $\mathrm{N}=$ smoke car ABL PL=truck see like, want NMZ
$m \quad \varepsilon m$ de wa pat wa jo je=i=tu
NEG have NEG.INTS NMZ look NMZ see BEN=N=MEDL
'the smoke comes out of the cars, (and) it seems no one sees/cares about that' [BMPJ_026]

In (1098) the speaker is describing a past situation where there was fighting between villages and clans, with many small tribal kingdoms. Here he uses jo kwa? to mean 'see and want', encoding this activity as a single verbal event.
(1098) tæ ha katæ ka por i wa la da nga yoo kwah o ya kiwi ki hima u syiem jooh yalæh thma i thmawait
te $\quad h a \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=p \supset r \quad i \quad w a \quad l a ~ d a \quad \eta a \quad$ jo
NVIS LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ time 1 PL NMZ if REAL 1SG.ACC see
kwa? $\quad$ ja $k i=w i \quad k i=h i m a \quad u=s ? e m$
want,desire 1SG.NOM BEN PL=one $\mathrm{PL}=$ kingdom $\mathrm{M}=$ ruler
so? ja-lع? $t^{h} m a \quad i=t^{h} m a-w a t$
HAB PLUR-do war $\mathrm{N}=$ =war-sword
'so at that time if I saw and wanted/liked the kingdoms of another king, (we) would go to war with swords' [SME_017]

### 16.2.2.2 $\supset \eta$ 'say'

In (1099) the speaker is describing how he and members of a committee were looking for a particular person to help them. Here he uses $\supset \eta ~ k w a ?$ to mean 'decide', from oŋ 'say' and kwa? 'want'.
(1099) wa yn ym æm ong kwah ki da hab phah lakadur u komikæl

|  | $n$ | $m$ | cm | э刀 | $k w a ?$ | ki | $d a$ | hab |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | NMZ REF NEG have say want,desire 3PL REAL have,must $p^{h} a$ ? lakadur $u=k o m i k \varepsilon l$

ask Lakadur M=Komikael
'since (he's not there), they decide Mr. Komikael must ask (in) Lakadur (for him)' [HPAHR_080]

### 16.2.2.3 sniaw 'feel'

In (1100) the speaker is describing how an invited guest did not come to the event they had prepared. Here the verbs sniaw 'feel, hear, sense', rem 'lose' and $k e ?$ 'cry, call' combine to form the meaning of 'feel disgraced'.
(1100) tæ sñiaw ræm keih i ka chnong ka thaw ngut

$$
\begin{array}{llllllll}
t \varepsilon & \text { sniaw } & \text { rem } & \text { ke } \boldsymbol{P} & i & k a=t f n s \eta & k a=t^{h} a w & \eta u t \\
\text { NVIS } & \text { sense } & \text { lose } & \text { cry,call } & \text { 1PL } & \mathrm{F}=\text { village } & \mathrm{F}=\text { place } & \text { CL.HUM } \\
\text { 'so we felt disgraced, the people of the village' } & {\left[H P A H R \_083\right]}
\end{array}
$$

In (1101) the speaker is telling the story of two friends, one who is rich ( $u=n i k$ ) and one who is poor ( $u=\operatorname{si\eta }$ ). In this sentence $u=\operatorname{si\eta }$ has already eaten at $u=n i k$ 's place and feels responsible/guilty, which leads him to ask
$u=n i k$ to come to eat at his home. The verbs sniaw and rem combine to form a single construction meaning 'feel guilty'.
(1101) tæ heitæ sñiaw ræm $u$ da khut $u$ oo $u$ nik ya $u$ wan bam $u$ cha yong oo
$t \varepsilon \quad h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad$ sniaw rem $u \quad d a \quad k^{h} u t$

NVIS LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS sense lose 3SG.M.NOM REAL call
$u \quad$ o $u=n i k$ ja $u=$ wan bam
3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.ACC M=Nik BEN NF=come eat
$u \quad$ t $a \quad j \supset \eta \quad o$
3SG.M.NOM ALL GEN 3SG.M.ACC
'since he felt guilty, he called Nik to come eat at his place' [KP _009]
In (1102) the speaker is describing how the local club (a village meeting place) was falling into disrepair, and what he did to find funding for the building. The three verbs sniaw 'feel, hear, sense', rap 'grow', and hoj 'be well' combine to mean 'improve'.
(1102) tæ yoh itæ chi lakh sanphaw pynmut i ki ka club tæ sñiaw rap hoi
te $\quad j \supset$ P $i=t \varepsilon \quad t i \quad$ lak sanp $^{h} a w ~ p n$-mut $\quad i \quad k i$ NVIS get $\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS set lakh fifty CAUS-means 1PL 3PL
$k a=k l o b$ te sniaw rap hoj
$\mathrm{F}=$ club NVIS sense grow be.well
'we got 1 lakh 50 (i.e. 150,000 rupees) to improve the club'
[HPAHR_108]
In (1103) the speaker is describing how people should do work. The verbs sniaw 'feel, sense, hear', rit 'be small', and kre? 'work, prepare' combine to mean 'work humbly'.
(1103) hynre dei mynsein wa sñiaw rit kræh i ya kani ka kam
hnre $d e=i=m n s e n \quad$ wa sniaw rit
but.also $\operatorname{INST}=\mathrm{N}=$ spirit,soul,heart NMZ sense be.small(Khasi)
$k r \varepsilon ? ~ i \quad j a \quad k a=n i \quad k a=k a m$
work 1PL BEN $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ work
'but with a humble heart we work it out' [LS2J_040]
In (1104) the speaker is describing some of the things she used to do with her friends when she was young. The verbs sniaw 'feel, sense, hear' and suk 'be at peace' combine to mean 'enjoy'.
(1104) jooh læh sñiaw suk i læh u lai lidaiñ ya ka deiñ cha khloo

Ђুo? $l \varepsilon$ ? sniaw suk $i \quad l \varepsilon$ ? $u=l a j \quad l i$-dan
used.to also sense be.peaceful 1PL also $\mathrm{NF}=$ go DUR-cut
ja $k a=d e n$ t $a \quad k^{h} l o$
BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ tree ALL forest
'we also used to enjoy going to cut wood in the forest' [BPVM_016]
In (1105) the speaker is describing how they were able to raise money to construct a soccer field. The verbs sniaw 'feel, sense, hear' and kmen 'be happy' combine to mean 'feel happy'.
(1105) tæ sñiaw kmæn chooh chooh wa thoh ka poi poi ka paisa te sniaw kmen too? too wa tho? ka=poj NVIS sense be.happy more more NMZ write RES=arrive poj $k a=p a j s a$ arrive $\mathrm{F}=$ money
'so we felt more and more happy since money continued to arrive' [HPAHR_097]

### 16.2.2.4 rap 'grow'

In (1106) the speaker is telling a story but has forgotten one of the elements. Here he uses rap 'grow' and $h \varepsilon$ ? 'be big' to mean 'grow up' or 'grow big'.
(1106) man da rap hæh tæ boi kynmoo o ka læh

become REAL grow be.big NVIS should remember 1SG.NOM
$k a \quad l \varepsilon$ ?
3SG.F.ACC also
'when grown up (big) I should remember it also' [BMPJ_023]
In (1107) the speaker is asking about how the archery game (a kind of lottery) occurs. The verbs rap 'grow' and dan 'be near' combine to mean 'grow near' or 'quite near'.
(1107) kani ka bynta wa ar wa siet phi man katæ jngai ko mo rap jan ko ya ka wa nyngkong
$k a=n i \quad k a=b n t a \quad w a \quad$ ar $w a$ sist $p^{h} i \quad$ man
$\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ purpose NMZ two NMZ shoot 2PL become
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad$ бŋクaj $k \supset \quad$ mo rap ojan ko
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS be.far 3SG.F.NOM Q.TAG grow be.near 3SG.F.NOM
ja ka wa nŋkวŋ
BEN 3SG.F NMZ be.first
'this second part you shoot farther, or quite near from that first one?' [AIJ_054]

In (1108) the speaker is describing how a particular story that he could tell is quite long if told in the proper way. The verbs rap 'grow' and dgron 'be long' combine to form 'quite long'.
(1108) katu læh rap jrong hi sæ ka parom

| $k a=t u$ | $l \varepsilon$ ? | rap | $\boldsymbol{d} r \supset \boldsymbol{y}$ | $h i$ | $s \varepsilon$ | $k a=$ parsm |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{F}=$ MEDL | also | grow | be.long | EMPH | C.TAG | $\mathrm{F}=$ story |
| 'that is also a very long story' | $[\mathrm{PP} 13 \mathrm{RS}$ _006] |  |  |  |  |  |

In (1109) the speaker is describing how honored he was to participate in the opening of the town market. Here the verbs rap 'grow' and $\hbar r a \eta$ 'be long' combine to mean 'grow long'.
(1109) ka wa da yoh o u wai ya ka musiang tæ sñiaw rap jrong i reta o khajiak $k a \quad w a \quad d a \quad j \supset$ ? $\quad$ raj $\quad u=w a j \quad k a=$ musiay 3SG.F NMZ REAL get 1SG.NOM NF=open BEN $F=$ Musiang
 NVIS sense grow be.long $\mathrm{N}=$ age 1 1SG.NOM be.little 'because i got to open Musiang so i feel my life has grown longer a bit' [TACJ_081]

In (1110) the speaker has identified a certain piece of clothing and is saying that he has outgrown it. Here he states that it is the item that has grown too small for him. The verbs rap 'grow' and $k^{h}$ ian 'be small' combine to mean 'grow small'.
(1110) rap khian ka nga sanæ kani

| rap | $k^{h}$ ian | $k a$ | $\eta a$ | sa-n | $k a=n i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| grow | be.small | 3 sgF | 1SG.ACC | only-D.TAG | $\mathrm{F}=$ PROX |
| 'this one has grown a little bit small for me' | [TACJ_142] |  |  |  |  |

In (1111) the speaker is describing how relieved he was to win a particular case in the court. The verb rap 'grow' combines with $k m e n$ 'be happy' to mean 'grow happy'. This immediately follows the verb $k^{h}$ affiak 'be little' and is translated by my consultants as 'be relieved'.
(1111) tæ sñiaw heitæ i por khajiak rap kmæn o

| $t \varepsilon$ | sniaw | $h e=i=t \varepsilon$ | $i=p \supset r$ | $k^{h} a d j i a k$ | rap | $k m \varepsilon n$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | sense | LOC $=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ | N=time | be.little | grow | happy |
| 0 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1SG.NOM |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'so at that time I felt a little relief' [HPAHR_059] |  |  |  |  |  |  |

In (1112) the speaker is describing how his approach to leadership as village headman differed from those who preceded him. Here the verb rap 'grow' combines with $p^{h} \varepsilon r$ 'be different' to mean 'become/grow different' (regarding his way of thinking).
(1112) tæ ka jingmut jingpyrkhat yong nga rap phær ko ya ki

NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ NMZ-means NMZ-think GEN 1SG.ACC grow
$\boldsymbol{p}^{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} r \quad$ ko $\quad j a \quad k i$
be.different 3SG.F BEN 3PL
'my mind and thoughts are different than those (headmen) before me' [HPAHR_026]

In (1113) the speaker is describing how different types of snakes live in different habitats. Here the SVC rap $p^{h} \varepsilon r$ is also used to mean 'grow/become different'.
(1113) hynre u pseiñ wa æm chapoh hali rap phær u
hnre $u=p s e n$ wa $\varepsilon m$ fa-po? hali rap
but.also $\mathrm{M}=$ snake NMZ have ALL-inside paddy.field grow $p^{h} \varepsilon r \quad u$
be.different 3SG.m.NOM
'but the snake that lives in the paddy field is different' [BMPJ_062]
In (1114) the speaker is describing part of her childhood. Here she uses the words rap 'grow', sip 'be bad', and salon 'character' to form the single meaning 'mischievous'.
(1114) man i nang khynnah i toh rap sih salon i
man $i$ nay $k^{h} n n a p \quad i$ to? rap si? salon
become 1PL still little.one 1PL be grow be.bad character i
1PL
'during our childhood we were very mischievous' [BPVM_008]

### 16.2.2.5 pan 'request'

In (1115) the speaker is describing how one of the characters in the story has failed at a task and is asking for forgiveness. The verb pan 'ask, request, beg' combines with both map 'be merciful' and $k^{h} \varepsilon m$ 'forgive' in an expressive construction.
(1115) pan map pan khæm u yeitæ wa ym yee $u$ joh
pan map pan $k^{h} \varepsilon m \quad u \quad j e=i=t \varepsilon \quad$ wa $\quad m$
ask mercy ask forgive 3SG.M.NOM BEN=N=NVIS NMZ NEG
je $\quad u=d \supset$ ?
able $\mathrm{NF}=$ reach, catch
'he (Synriang) asked mercy, asked forgiveness, for what can't be done' [PP13RS_056]

In (1116) the speaker is telling the story of how the Daloi of Hadem was discovered to be evil. Here the king is asking for forgiveness - the verbs pan 'ask, request, beg' combines with map 'be merciful' to mean 'ask forgiveness'.
(1116) tæ pan map utæ u hadem
tع pan map $u=t \varepsilon \quad u=h a d \varepsilon m$
NVIS ask mercy $M=$ NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ Hadem
'then the Hadem (Daloi) asked forgiveness' [PP05KO_049]
In (1117) the speaker is describing how he went looking for work once he had completed his schooling. The verbs laj 'go', pan 'ask, request, beg' and jarap 'help' combine to mean 'go ask (for) help'.
(1117) tæ lai pan yarap yn o heitu por dang man uni $u$ ma kwin passah hæh u ha ka transport cha shillong
te laj pan jarap n $\quad$ n $\quad$ por
NVIS go ask help REF 1SG.NOM LOC=N=MEDL time
day man $u=n i \quad u=m a \quad k w i n ~ p a s s a ? ~ h \varepsilon$ ?
PROG become $\mathrm{M}=$ Prox $\mathrm{M}=$ HON.M Kwin Passah be.big
$u$ ha ka=transpor tfa fllop
3SG.M.NOM LOC F=transport ALL Shillong
'so I went (and) asked help (regarding that) at that time it was still this Mr. Kwin Passah who was in charge of the Shillong transport (department)' [PP15PI_118]

### 16.3 First verb is affixed

Serial verb constructions in which the first verb receives affixation tend to be verbs of activity or perception such as jo 'see', klam 'speak', эŋ 'say', sniaw 'feel', e 'give', rap 'grow', pan 'request', klli 'ask', ţoŋ 'sit', rep 'cultivate'. Common affixes include the durative verbal prefix li- (§16.3.1), the pluractional verbal prefix $j a-$ (§16.3.2), and the causative prefix $p n-(\S 16.3 .3)$. Construction types in which the first verb is receives affixation are exemplified in Table 16.1.

| Gloss | Base | Prefix | V | Vaux | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'take care + come' | sumar + wan | li- | sumar | wan | 'take care of |
| (someone) |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 16.1: Some SVCs in which the first constituent is the head

### 16.3.1 First verb takes durative $l i$ -

Besides the form of the affix which occurs on the verb, SVCs in my data in which the initial element receives affixation can also be grouped together based on which secondary verb they occur with. In the examples below the verb which follows is respectively wan 'come', jo? 'get', jarap 'help', and man 'happen, become'.

## li-V: wan

Verbs marked by $l i$ - tend to encode durative activities. In (1118) the complex verb is $p n$-un wan 'return (something) back'. The morpheme $l i$ - identifies the activity as occurring within a specific (though undefined) temporal duration. The use of wan as the second element of the SVC seems to indicate telicity of the event.
(1118) dæp tæ lipynuiñ wan u ka ka tupri rah $u$ wa ka tupri
$d \varepsilon p \quad t \varepsilon \quad l i-p n-u \boldsymbol{n} \quad$ wan $u$ PERF NVIS DUR-CAUS-return.back come 3SG.M.NOM ka ka=tupri ra? u wa ka=tupri
3SG.F.ACC $\mathrm{F}=$ hat carry 3SG.M.NOM COMT $\mathrm{F}=$ hat 'after that he returned the hat, he carried the hat (back)' [FPSM_029]

In (1119) the verb is sumar wan 'take care of (someone)', and li- identifies the activity as durative. The use of wan again seems to indicate a clear telic endpoint.
(1119) lisumar wan o ya ki sister tymmæn ar snæm

| li-sumar | wan | $\jmath$ | $j a$ | $k i=s i s t a r$ | $t m m e n$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| DUR-take.care | come | 1SG.NOM | BEN | PL=sister(nun) | be.old |
| ar snem |  |  |  |  |  |
| two year |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'I took care of the old (elderly) sisters for two years' |  |  |  |  |  |

## li-V: jo?

In (1120) the verb is him $j \partial ?$, which is composed of him 'take' and $j \partial$ ? 'get'. The morpheme $t^{h} \partial$ ? 'write' is actually serving as a nominal element (i.e. $k a=t^{h} \supset$ ? 'agreement (or result thereof), written document') incorporated into the verb him jo?. The sense of this construction is of a durative activity in which the speaker has arrived at the place and is preparing to take ownership of the item as set forth in the agreement. The verb $j 0$ ? seems to indicate an assistive or abilitative sense.
(1120) lihim yoh thoh yntu tæ i thaw mo
li-him joP thop ntu te $i=t^{h} a w \quad m \supset$ DUR-take get write just.now NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ place Q
'(I said, we came) to get the agreed (money) just now at the place, ok?' [HPAHR_159]

In (1121) the SVC is $k^{h} i P j \partial ?$ 'work get', identifying an activity where working involves 'getting', or being paid for services rendered. The use of $l i$ identifies a durative event and $j 3$ implies some kind of assistive or abilitative function.
(1121) neibhah i won da wan $u$ ka paisa kat cha wa likhih yoh hi
$n e=i=b h a ? \quad i=w$ эn $\quad d a \quad$ wan $u \quad k a=p a j s a$
ABL=N=cause $\mathrm{N}=$ which REAL come 3SG.M.NOM $\mathrm{F}=$ money kat $\ddagger a$ wa li-k ${ }^{h} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{P}$ jop hi as ALL NMZ DUR-work get EMPH
'because wherever you go, you'll find money anywhere you walk' [TACJ_525]

## li-V: jarap

In (1122) and (1123) the verb is pan jarap 'ask (for) help', and the $l i$ - on the first verb in the SVC identifies the action as taking place during a particular span of time.
(1122) tæ da lipan yarap, mo, ya ka recommendation
te da li-pan jarap mə ja ka=rekomende $\int o n$
NVIS REAL DUR-ask help Q BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ recommendation
'so (I) went to ask help, ok, for a recommendation' [PP15PI_114]
(1123) na ki lipan yarap ym æm ki wa e yarap ya nga
$n a \quad k i \quad$ li-pan jarap $m \quad \varepsilon m$ ki wa $e$ jarap
ABL 3PL DUR-ask help NEG have 3PL NMZ give help
ja $\quad \eta a$
BEN 1SG.ACC
'in asking for help, there is no-one who helped me' [PP15PI_125]

## $l i-\mathrm{V}: m a n$

In (1124) the verb $t^{h} a \eta$ man 'burn frequently' identifies an occurrence as happening frequently during the time the speaker is remembering. The $l i$ seems to encode an event with undefined duration, while man seems to identify a frequentive or iterative aspect.
(1124) mut da lithang man ka sngi bait
mut da li-t ${ }^{h} a \boldsymbol{\eta}$ man $k a=s \eta i \quad b a t$
means REAL DUR-burn become $\mathrm{F}=$ day direct
'there was a cremation every day' (due to disease) [SI1_037]

### 16.3.2 First verb takes pluractional $j a$ -

Verbs marked by $j a$ - generally mark pluractional (benefactive, communal, or reflexive) activities, and are similar to the morpheme with the same form that marks clausal semantic roles. SVCs in which the first element takes $j a$ 'BEN' as a prefix can also be grouped according to the verb which they occur with. The following examples are grouped according to the respective verb that occurs as the second element: wan 'come', nod 'dare', knd $?$ 'play', letlod 'be free', prkh at 'think', bakla 'make mistake', $k^{h}$ a 'give birth', lay 'be together', $\varepsilon m$ 'have', $t^{h} a \eta$ 'burn', and parom 'tell story'. The final example is a bit unusual, as it shows how an expressive construction can occur with a following verb, mlla 'gather', to form a complex predicate.

## $j a-\mathrm{V} w a n$

In (1125) the verb parom wan 'tell story' identifies an activity that happens during another event (in this case, while going somewhere). The $j a$ - mor-
pheme identifies the activity as pluractional and the use of wan 'come' as the second element seems to encode telicity of the denoted activity.
(1125) u yaparom wan cha luti cha syngkein cha ki lok ki jor wa ynne ka sngi
$u=j a$-parom wan tfa luti tfa sjken tfa
$\mathrm{NF}=$ PLUR-tell.story come ALL way ALL location ALL
$k i=l o k \quad k i=\emptyset \jmath r \quad$ wa nne $k a=s \eta i$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ friend $\mathrm{PL}=$ associate NMZ today $\mathrm{F}=$ day
'(you will) tell the story together on the way everywhere to friends and acquaintances about this day' [BMPJ_086]

In (1126) the verb is $t^{h} \supset$ ? wan 'write'. Here the $j a$ - marks it as pluractional and wan again seems to identify the activity as having a clear endpoint.
(1126) tæ yathoh wan ki katæ ka dusturbit, thoh ki
$t \varepsilon \quad j a-t^{h} \supset \mathbf{P} \quad$ wan $k i \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=d u s t u r b i t \quad t^{h} \supset ? \quad k i$ NVIS PLUR-write come 3PL F=NVIS F=affidavit write 3PL 'so they wrote that affidavit, they wrote (it)' [HPAHR_170]

In (1127) the speaker is describing how he became involved in martial arts. Here the verb is tgem wan 'meet come', in which wan seems to identify an activity with a clear endpoint. The morpheme $j a$ - clarifies that the activity is reflexive/reciprocal between the speaker and the other participant. This is also the case with (1128), between the speaker and another participant, $u=h a r i f f a n d a n$.
(1127) tæ yachæm wan o wa uwi uni $u$ ali napoh calcutta

| $t \varepsilon$ | $j a-t \boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{m}$ | wan | o | wa | $u=w i$ | $u=n i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | PLUR-meet | come | 1SG.NOM | COMT | M=one | M=PROX |
| $u=$ ali | na-po? | kalkata |  |  |  |  |
| M=Ali | ABL-inside | Calcutta |  |  |  |  |

'so I met one Ali from Calcutta' [PP15PI_033]
(1128) tæ hadein neitæ yn yachæm wan o wa $u$ harichandan
te ha-den $n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad n \quad j a-t \int \varepsilon m \quad$ wan $\quad$
NVIS LOC-back ABL=N=NVIS REF PLUR-meet come 1SG.NOM
wa $u=h a r i f f a n d a n$
COMT M=Harichandan
'then after that I met with Harichandan' [PP15PI_036]
In (1129) the speaker is talking about the sequence involved in seasonal farming. Here the SVC is sday wan 'begin come', which implies a sequential event with particular ending points that make way for the next event (i.e. planting the next crop). The $j a$-identifies the activity as being performed by the community of farmers.
(1129) dæp wan $u$ ræp ya $u$ kba yn katæ tæ katæ yasdang wan $u$ yathung ya $u$ rasun
$d \varepsilon p$ wan $u=r \varepsilon p \quad j a \quad u=k b a \quad n \quad k a=t \varepsilon$
PERF come NF=cultivate BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ rice.paddy ref $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{NVIS}$
te $\quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad j a-s d a \eta \quad$ wan $u=j a-t^{h} u \eta \quad j a$
NVIS $F=$ NVIS PLUR-begin come $N F=$ PLUR-plant,appoint BEN $u=$ rasun
$\mathrm{M}=$ garlic
'after cultivating rice, then next (we) plant garlic' [SI3_052]

## ja-V nod

In (1130) the verb is tyo nod 'hit + dare', which identifies a kind of challenge issued by one group to the other. The $j a$ - shows the communal/reciprocal nature of the event.
(1130) jooh æm re u teiñ i ya ki khynnah chynrang læh, nood bait i ki u yachoh nood bait i ki u yadat
go? 8 m re $u=t e n \quad i \quad j a \quad k i=k^{h} n n a ?$ tfnran
HAB have any NF=be.afraid 1PL BEN PL=little.one male
$l \varepsilon ?$ nod bat $i$ ki $u=j a-t f o r ? n o d$ bat
also dare IMM3 1PL 3PL NF=PLUR-hit,punch dare IMM3
$i \quad k i \quad u=j a-d a t$
1PL 3PL NF=PLUR-hit,strike
'we weren't afraid of the little boys either, we even dared to fight with them' [BPVM_008]

## $j a-V k n d \varepsilon ?$

In (1131) the verb is $l \varepsilon$ ? $k n d \varepsilon$ ? 'play', where $j a$ - shows the communal or reciprocal nature of the event, i.e. 'play together'.
(1131) jooh yalæh kyndæh wan i katæ ong i ka yahai næ
go? ja-lع $\boldsymbol{P} \quad k n d \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P}$ wan $i \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad$ oŋ $i \quad k a=j a h a j$
HAB PLUR-do play come 1PL $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS say 1PL $\mathrm{F}=$ yahai $n \varepsilon$
D.tag
'we used to play a game called Yahai' [BPVM_014]

## ja-V lettlod

In (1132) the verb is $l \varepsilon$ ? lettlod 'pursue freedom' or 'fight (for) freedom' and the $j a$ - identifies a pluractional activity. This is also the case for (1133).
(1132) u woh kiang nangbah mut $u$ u khon ka ri Pnar yong i u wa yalæh leitloid $u=w o P \quad$ kian naŋba? mut $u \quad u=k^{h}$ כn M=HON.M.elder Kiang Nangbah means 3SG.M.NOM M=child $k a=r i \quad$ pnar $j \supset \eta \quad i \quad u \quad w a \quad j a-l \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P}$ letloit $\mathrm{F}=$ country Pnar GEN 1PL 3SG.M NMZ PLUR-do free
'elder Mr. Kiang Nangbah is a child of our Pnar land who pursued freedom' [KNI_005]
(1133) da yalæh leitloid u ya ka ri Pnar yong i
$d a \quad$ ja-leP letloit $u \quad j a \quad k a=r i \quad$ pnar
REAL PLUR-do be.free 3SG.M.NOM BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ country Pnar
$j \supset \eta \quad i$
GEN 1PL
'he fought for freedom for our Pnar country' [KNI_028]

## $j a-\mathrm{V} p r k^{h} a t$

In (1134) the verb is $Y \supset \eta$ prk $k^{h} a t$ 'sit think, discuss' and the $j a$ - is used in a communal/reflexive sense.
(1134) da yachong pyrkhat bha i wa kammon u pyndooh ya kini ki jait sih ha chnong
da ja-t〇on prikhat bha i wa kammon
REAL PLUR-sit think INTS1 1PL NMZ how
$u=p n d o ? \quad j a \quad k i=n i \quad k i=$ бat $\underset{\square}{t} \quad$ si? $\quad$ ha tinoŋ $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-lose $\mathrm{BEN} \quad \mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX} \quad \mathrm{PL}=$ type be.bad LOC village 'the church committee had a discussion of how to stop these bad habits in the locality' [LHJ_015]

In (1135) the speaker is explaining the meaning of some words. Here the verb klam prkh at 'speak and think, discuss' identifies an activity marked by $j a$ - as reflexive/reciprocal/communal.
(1135) yi mut dhari? ka wa chong pyrkhat ka dorbar ri, i won i won wa yaklam pyrkhat
ji mut dhari ka wa 乌эŋ prkhat ka=dorbar thing means front.veranda 3SG.F NMZ sit think $\mathrm{F}=$ council ri $i=w \supset n \quad i=w \supset n \quad$ wa ja-klam prk ${ }^{h} a t$ country $\mathrm{N}=$ which $\mathrm{N}=$ which NMZ PLUR-speak think 'what does 'dhari' mean? it (is where) the land's council sits together and thinks, where (they) speak together and think' [PP08LC_002]

## ja-V bakla

In (1136) the verb is sniawt ${ }^{h}$ o? bakla 'understand mistake', which identifies an internal activity. The $j a$ - is used in a reflexive sense to indicate the manner in which $k i=b r u$ 'people' should perform the activity.
(1136) æm ki bynta ki wa man ym yasñiawthooh bakla ki bru na ka chylla mih ka thangkhiew
عm ki=bnta ki wa man m ja-sniawt ${ }^{h} \boldsymbol{o}$ ? have $\mathrm{PL}=$ purpose 3PL NMZ become NEG PLUR-understand bakla $k i=b r u \quad n a \quad k a=t\left[l a \quad m i ? \quad k a=t^{h} a \eta k^{h} i \varepsilon w\right.$ mistake PL=person ABL F=Chylla bring.out $\mathrm{F}=$ Thangkhiew 'the reason that shouldn't be misunderstood, the people from Chylla (clan) came out of Thangkhiew (clan) ' [PP02SKF_028]

## $j a-\mathrm{V} k^{h} a$

In (1137) the verb is $\dagger f \supset \eta k^{h} a$ 'get married, have children' and $j a$ - identifies this as a reflexive activity.
(1137) tæ man da lai ki por tæ yachong kha $u$ wa ka
$t \varepsilon \quad m a n \quad d a \quad$ laj $k i=p \supset r \quad t \varepsilon \quad j a-\succcurlyeq \supset \supset \eta \quad k^{h} \boldsymbol{a}$
NVIS become REAL go PL=time NVIS PLUR-sit birth
$u \quad w a \quad k a$
3SG.M.NOM COMT 3SG.F.ACC
'so when time passed, then he married her' [PP05KO_012]

## $j a-\mathrm{V}$ lay

In (1138) the speaker is describing how his forbears settled in Sohmynting village. When they first arrived the original inhabitants instructed them where they could stay. Here the verb is $\forall \supset \supset \eta$ laŋ 'sit, stay together' and $j a$ marks this as a communal/reflexive activity.
(1138) tæ chah ki re i ong ki 'chesh, man re yachong lang, tæ phi chong cheitai' $t \varepsilon \quad t a p \quad k i \quad r \varepsilon \quad i \quad$ o $\quad k i \quad t f e \int m a n$ NVIS suffer,allow 3PL NEG.INTS 1PL say 3PL gee become $r \varepsilon \quad j a-t \mathrm{O} \supset \mathrm{y}$ lay te $p^{h} i \quad$ tfon tfe=i=taj NEG.INTS PLUR-sit be.together NVIS 2PL sit ALL=N=distal 'they didn't let us, they said 'no it's not good to stay nearby, you people go there" [SI2_073]

In (1139) the verb is laj lay 'go together', which is also marked by $j a$ - as a reflexive/communal activity.
(1139) ki khlawait da yalai ki yalai lang ki cha hadæm
$k i=k^{h}$ lawat $\quad d a \quad$ ja-laj $k i \quad$ ja-laj lay $\quad$ la PL=warrior REAL PLUR-go 3PL PLUR-go be.together 3PL tfa hadem
all Hadem
'the warriors went together to Hadem ' [PP05KO_042]
In (1140) the speaker is describing the way the forest is managed traditionally by the original clan and the rest of the village. Here the verb is kam lay 'work together'. The $j a$ - marks this as a reflexive/communal activity.
(1140) tæ yakam lang ko ka ryngkat
te ja-kam lay ko ka=rŋkat
NVIS PLUR-work be.together 3SG.F.NOM RES=be.equal
'so they work together equally' [SI2_039]
In (1141) the context is regarding a particular part of the traditional marriage ceremony where the husband's family and friends have carried lit torches to his wife's home. Here the verb is tybe? lay 'lift together', identifying an activity which the participants perform to themselves, marked as reflexive by $j a$-.
(1141) tæ ya u yachbæh lang waroh
te ja u=ja-tbes lan waro?
NVIS BEN NF=PLUR-lift be.together all
'then (they) all lift (the fire) together' [PP14MF _030]

## $j a-\mathrm{V} \varepsilon m$

In (1142) the speaker is describing an event that took place at a conference. Here the verb is $t \varepsilon m \varepsilon m$ 'meet have' which seems to identify a complex event involving both 'meeting' and 'having', perhaps as a past event that has current relevance. The $j a$ - marks the event as being mutual or reciprocal between the speaker and the other participant, $u=$ adam jelobst 'Adam Yellowbird'.
(1142) nga jooh yachæm æm utu u pyrlok o u adam yellowbird

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 1SG.ACC HAB PLUR-meet have } \mathrm{M}=\mathrm{MEDL} \mathrm{M}=\text { friend } 1 \text { SG.NOM } \\
& u=a d a m \text { jelobst } \\
& \mathrm{M}=\text { Adam Yellowbird } \\
& \text { 'I met and have this friend of mine, Adam Yellowbird' } \\
& \text { [PP13RS_003] }
\end{aligned}
$$

## $j a-\mathrm{V} t^{h} a \eta$

In (1143) the speaker is describing how visits between the groom and his fiancee is only allowed under particular circumstances, otherwise it will be considered adultery. Here the verb is man $t^{h} a \eta$ 'become burned' and $j a$ identifies the activity as a reflexive or communal event reflective of the couple (the man and his fiancee).
(1143) la da wan $u$ yaman thang ka wa ong ki ka klim synjat

| $l a$ | $d a$ | wan | $u$ |  | ja-man | $t^{h} a \eta$ | $k a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| if | REAL | come | 3SG.M.NOM | PLUR-become | burn | 3SG.F | NMZ |
| on | $k i$ | $k a=k l i m$ | sndsat |  |  |  |  |
| say | $3 P L$ | $\mathrm{~F}=$ adultery | ring |  |  |  |  |

'if he comes to meet (her), they will say it is adultery' [PP14MF_021]

## ja-V parom

In (1144) the verb $k^{h}$ ana parom 'tell story' is used by the speaker in instructing another participant to begin speaking. The use of $j a$ - gives the verb a pluractional (benefactive or communal) sense, i.e. 'tell us'.
(1144) yakhana parom ini
ja- $k^{h}$ ana parom $i=n i$
PLUR-tell tell.story $\mathrm{N}=$ PROX
'tell the story, this (one)' [SI2_069]

## $j a-\mathrm{V} j a-\mathrm{V} m p l a$

In (1145) the speaker is describing how his parents met. Here wan 'come' and $k^{h} i P$ 'work' are both used as the head in a sort of 'expressive' construction preceding mlla 'gather'. The SVC is therefore wan $k^{h} i$ i? mlla 'come-work gather' and the $j a$ - on the dual head verbs wan and $k^{h} i$ i identifies a communal or reciprocal/reflexive activity performed by the $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{A}$-argument $k i$ 'they, them'.
(1145) hei yawan yakhih mylla surok ki kamtu yachæm ki ka cha mynso he $=i=\boldsymbol{j a}$-wan $\quad \boldsymbol{j a}-\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{i} \quad$ mlla sursk ki kam-tu LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ PLUR-come PLUR-work gather road 3PL as-medl $j a-t f \varepsilon m$ ki ka tfa mnso PLUR-meet 3PL 3SG.F.ACC ALL Mynso
'at the time they worked as road laborers they met in Mynso' [SI3_024]

### 16.3.3 First verb takes causative $p n$ -

## $p n-t \int \supset \eta \mathrm{~V}$

Serial verb constructions where the first element is marked with $p n$ - identify an event that is 'caused' or 'made' to happen, similarly to the causative derivational function this has for individual verbs. In (1146), for example, the speaker is describing how the Daloi of each administrative area works with the people to improve their quality of life. The nominalized complex verbal construction $\bigvee \supset \supset$ suk Џכŋ saŋ 'live/remain happy and at peace' is an expressive which usually would require that both elements are modified by the same morpheme. Here, however, only the first receives the causative marker $p n$-, suggesting that the first element is the head and perhaps more conceptually salient.
(1146) u pynbait pynsud i ki u thoo lad kammon u pynchong suk chong sain $u=p n$-bat $\quad p n$-sud $i \quad k i \quad u=t^{h} o \quad$ lad kammon $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-direct CAUS-care 1PL 3PL NF=create way how
 $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-sit be.peaceful sit agree 'we work (with) them to create a way (regarding) how to live happily and at peace' [DR_007]

## $p n-\mathrm{V}$ wan

In (1147) the speaker is relating an occurrence in The Pear Story. Here the SVC is un wan 'return come', which seems to identify an activity with a clear endpoint. The morpheme $p n$ - adds an argument $k a=t u p r i ~ ' h a t ' ~ a s ~$ the returned item of the event, and the marker $l i$ - clarifies that the event is ongoing at the time of speech.
(1147) dæp tæ lipynuiñ wan $u$ ka ka tupri, rah $u$ wa ka tupri
$d \varepsilon p \quad t \varepsilon \quad l i-p \eta_{1}-u \boldsymbol{j} \quad$ wan $u$

PERF NVIS DUR-CAUS-return.back come 3SG.M.NOM
ka ka=tupri ra? u wa ka=tupri
3SG.F.ACC $\mathrm{F}=$ hat carry 3SG.M.NOM COMT $\mathrm{F}=$ hat
'after that he returned the hat, he brought the hat' [FPSM_029]
In (1148) the speaker is describing some of the responsibilities of the man who is getting married. The verb tipmit wan 'introduce' identifies an activity with several different iterations and endpoints. The morpheme $p \eta$ - adds an NP, $u$ 'he', to the core in the role of an A-argument that is construed as the agent/actuator of the event.
(1148) tæ oo da pyntipmit wan $u$
te $o \quad d a \quad$ pn-tipmit wan $u$
NVIS 3SG.M.ACC REAL CAUS-recognize come 3SG.M.NOM
'so he makes introductions (of his family members)' [PP14MF _046]
In (1149) the interviewee is thanking the interviewer for coming, and asking him to explain things about the interview to people in his own country. The verb $l \varepsilon$ ? wan 'do come' encodes a telic activity and $p n$ - adds a clear agent to the meaning of the verbal event.
(1149) yoh mi u pynlæh wan cha ka ri jong phi

| jo? | mi | $u=p n_{1}-l \varepsilon$ ? | wan | tfa | $k a=r i$ | $\square^{3} \eta^{1}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| get | 2SG.M.NOM | $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-do | come | ALL | $\mathrm{F}=$ country | GEN |
| $p^{h} i$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2PL |  |  |  |  |  |  |

'you get (it) to bring (it) to your country' [TACJ_523]

## $p n-m i \mathbf{~ V}$

In (1150) the speaker is relating how the government assisted the village. Here miP jo 'bring out (to) see' has the sense of 'display' and pn- identifies the causative nature of the event.
(1150) tæ pynmih yoo kani ka scheme NRGA ka wa pynmyntoi bha i
te $\quad$ pn-mi? jo $k a=n i \quad k a=s k i m \quad$ enarjie $k a$ NVIS CAUS-bring.out see $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ scheme NRGA 3SG.F wa pn-mntoj bha $i$ NMZ CAUS-benefit INTS1 1PL
'so (they) brought this NRGA scheme that benefited us a lot' [HPAHR_195]

In (1151) the speaker is describing an event in the marriage ceremony. The verb miP wan 'bring out' identifies a telic event that occurs as part of a process or succession of events. The causative morpheme $p \eta$ - increases the valence of the verbal event and identifies $k i$ 'they, them' as the agent and the following argument $k i=$ pliay $k i=n a r$ 'plates' as the $\mathrm{O}-a r g u m e n t$.

[^83](1151) tæ heini man da dæp ya katæ ka ngooh ka dæm tæ pynmih wan ki sa ki pliang ki nar
$t \varepsilon \quad h e=i=n i \quad m a n \quad d a \quad d \varepsilon p \quad j a \quad k a=t \varepsilon$
NVIS LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ PROX become REAL PERF BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS
$k a=\eta o$ ? $\quad k a=d \varepsilon m \quad t \varepsilon \quad p n-m i \boldsymbol{P}$
RES=blessing,thanks RES=bend.down NVIS CAUS-bring.out
wan $k i \quad s a \quad k i=p l i a \eta ~ k i=n a r ~$
come 3pL only $\mathrm{PL}=$ plate $\mathrm{PL}=$ iron
'so after the prayers, they bring out the plates' [PP14MF _039]
In (1152), the immediately following sentence, the speaker describes the next part of the ceremony. Here miP sat 'bring wash' identifies a durative activity/event. The morpheme $p n$ - enables the argument $u=t n n r a \eta ~ ' m a l e ' ~ t o ~$ be identified as the A-argument and $k$ gbat 'foot', which is incorporated into the verb, to be identified as the O-argument.
(1152) tæ man da pynmih sait kjat u chynrang læh tæ hab rah hi da ka dabor stæm neitæ
$t \varepsilon \quad \operatorname{man} \quad d a \quad$ pn-miP sat kJat $u=t f n r a \eta l \varepsilon$ ? NVIS become REAL CAUS-bring.out wash leg $\mathrm{M}=$ male also
tع hab ra? hi da ka=dabor stعm
NVIS have,must carry EMPH INST $\mathrm{F}=$ basin yellow
$n e=i=t \varepsilon$
ABL $=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NVIS}$
'so when the man does footwashing, also (he) must use the yellow (bronze) basin' [PP14MF _040]

## $p \eta_{1}-\mathrm{V} p o j$

In (1153) the speaker is relating his feelings during an event. Here luy poj 'deeply touched arriving (there)' is the complex verbal construction in which only the first element luŋ 'deeply touched' is modified by a variety of morphemes. The morpheme sakh iat 'truly' is an adverb that comments on the nature of the verbal event. The causative prefix $p n$ - identifies the influence of an external agent on the event. Finally, the auxiliary/copula man 'become' identifies the event as inceptive or as encoding a 'change of state'.
(1153) heitæ tæ man pynlung sakhiat poi heitæ yn lai byrwai
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ man $\quad$ p̦-lü $\quad s a k^{h}$ iat
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS NVIS become CAUS-deeply.touched be.true
poj he $=i=t \varepsilon \quad n \quad$ laj brwaj
arrive LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS REF go Byrwai
'then I was truly, deeply touched arriving there, going to Byrwai' [HPAHR_045]

## $p n-t f o \eta \mathrm{~V}$

In (1154) the speaker is relating how enjoyable an event was. Here the verb Џ〇o $\ddagger$ it 'stay hot' is used to mean 'exciting' and the causative morpheme $p n$ - identifies an agent who makes it so.
(1154) katæ ka fete u pynchong chit bha
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=f e t \quad u=\boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{1}-t \int \supset \boldsymbol{y} \quad$ tit $\quad b h a$
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ féte $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-sit be.hot INTS1
'that féte (village party/event) will be very exciting' [HPAHR_076]

## $p n-t \int a \mathbf{~ V}$

In (1155) t $\ddagger a P e$ 'against' combines the verb $t f a P$ 'suffer, allow' and $e$ 'give'. The combination seems to encode a malefactive meaning, and $p n$ - increases the valency of the construction.
u pynchah e kam dai kiat toh san yung donhi
$u=\boldsymbol{p n - t f a} \boldsymbol{P} \quad$ e kam daj kiat to? san juy $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-suffer,allow give like,want sell liquor be five home donhi
only
'only five families were against us regarding selling alcohol'
[HPAHR_118]

## $p n-j \geq 2 \mathrm{~V}$

In (1156) the speaker is describing the value of archery. Here $j \partial ? k^{h} i$ ' 'get work' and $j \supset ? k^{h}$ an 'get work' extend the usage of the expressive construction $i=k^{h} i P i=k^{h}$ an 'work' through the use of the verb root $j 0$ ' 'get' which is then modified by the causative morpheme $p n$-.
(1156) wa kammon u pynyoh khih pynyoh khan ya kini ki khon yong ka ri Pnar yong i
wa kammon $u=p n-j \supset \boldsymbol{P} \quad k^{h} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{P} \quad p n-j \boldsymbol{\rho} \boldsymbol{P} \quad k^{h} a n \quad j a$
NMZ how NF=CAUS-get work CAUS-get work BEN
$k i=n i \quad k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad j \supset \eta \quad k a=r i \quad$ pnar $j \supset \eta \quad i$
PL=PROX PL=child GEN F=country Pnar GEN 1PL
'(this is) how to help get work for these children of our Pnar land' [KNI_019]

## $p n-j a p \mathrm{~V}$

In (1157) the speaker is beginning to tell a story and here sets the stage. The verb jap klumar 'cruel death' is modified by $p n$ - to identify that the death is caused by an agent.
(1157) heipor ki syiem kmai tæ pynyap klumar
$h e=i=p o r \quad k i=s$ Pem $\quad$ kmai $\quad t \varepsilon \quad$ pn-jap klumar LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ time $\mathrm{PL}=$ ruler be.great NVIS CAUS-die be.cruel 'at the time of the great kings (there were) cruel killings' [PP07SNM_001]

## $p n_{1}-k^{h} r \varepsilon$ P V

In (1158) the speaker describes some of the preparations that traditional wedding ceremonies require. Here the verb $k^{h} r \varepsilon$ ? tajar 'prepare' has its first element modified by $p n$-, which identifies the A-argument $k i$ 'they' as the agent of the activity.
(1158) u pynkhræh taiar ki nadooh i khynnah iyi pyrnah pyrjin ki klong ki skoo
$u=\boldsymbol{p} n_{1}-k^{h} \boldsymbol{r e} \boldsymbol{P} \quad$ tajar $\quad$ ki $n a-d o ?$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-prepare,ready be.prepared 3PL ABL-when
$i=k^{h} n n a P \quad i=j i \quad$ prna? prsin $\quad k i=k l \supset \eta$
$\mathrm{N}=$ little.one $\mathrm{N}=$ thing libation offering(liquid) $\mathrm{PL}=$ bottle
$k i=s k o$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ gourd
'they will prepare for the young (couple) the libation offering, the bottles' [PP14MF_022]

## $p n-j o \mathrm{~V}$

In (1159) the main speaker has been explaining about some artifacts but the person videoing has been focusing on something else. In this sentence the cameraman directs the interviewee using the verb jo battaj 'see explain',
which is modified by $p n$-, requesting them to show the artifacts and explain while doing so.
(1159) to, battai, pynyoo biang, pynyoo battai biang ya itu i jooh
to bataj pn-jo biaך pn-jo bataj biaך ja ok explain CAUS-see again CAUS-see explain again BEN
$i=t u \quad i=6$ o?
$\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{MEDL} \quad \mathrm{N}=$ be.same
'Ok, explain, show again, show and explain the same thing again' [TACJ_170]

### 16.4 Second verb is affixed

Serial verb constructions in which the second verb is the more 'contentful' element (and therefore can be seen as the head) often involve an initial constituent which can be identified as a full verb, but which in some cases seems to be losing its fully lexical semantic element and becoming a semantically bleached 'light' or 'helping' verb. The second constituent takes prefixes such as li- 'durative' (§16.4.1), ja- 'pluractional' (§16.4.2), and $p n^{-}$- 'causative’ (§16.4.3). This results in a V prefix-V pattern and is summarized in Table 16.2.

| Gloss | Base | LV | Prefix | V | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'go + wait' | laj + jan | $l a j$ | $l i-$ | $j a \eta$ | 'wait awhile' |
| 'get + assist' | jo? + krtfan | $j \supset ?$ | $j a-$ | $k r f f a n$ | 'require for <br> supporting' |
| 'see + believe' | jo + yat | $j o$ | $p n-$ | jat | 'seem <br> convincing' |

Table 16.2: Some SVCs in which the second constituent is the head

### 16.4.1 Second verb takes durative li-

SVCs where the second constituent takes the li- morpheme tend to encode a durative meaning. We can further differentiate $l i$ - marked SVCs based on the initial constituent: laj 'go', wan 'come', gan 'be near', and je 'be able'.

## laj 'go' (dynamic, goal)

When it occurs as the first constituent, the verb laj 'go' seems to act as a light verb with a dynamic meaning. In (1160), for example, the SVCs laj pllay 'go gather' and laj $k^{h}$ at 'go pick' encode activities that require movement (and potentially a change of state). When the second constituent is marked by $l i$ - a sense of duration is given, so that the event takes place over a particular (though undefined) period of time.
(1160) læh lai lipyllang lok i ya $u$ yalai khait jhur i lai likhait i ya utæ u jaralood næ u yarain næ wa u myrdoh næ
$l \varepsilon$ laj li-pllay lok $i \quad j a \quad u=j a-l a j \quad k^{h} a t$
also go DUR-gather friend 1PL BEN NF=PLUR-go pick
Ghur $\quad i \quad$ laj li-khat $i \quad j a \quad u=t \varepsilon \quad u=$ garalod
vegetable 1PL go DUR-pick 1PL BEN M=NVIS M=veg(kind)
$n \varepsilon \quad u=j a r a n \quad n \varepsilon \quad w a \quad u=m r d o ? \quad n \varepsilon$
D.TAG $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{veg}$.kind $\mathrm{D} . \mathrm{TAG}$ NMZ $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{veg}$ (kind) D.TAG
'Also we used to go as a group to collect the wild vegetables called Jaralood, Yarain and Jamyrdoh' [BPVM_016]

In (1161) the verb laj jay 'go wait' has the sense of a dynamic activity to which $l i$ - adds a durative sense.
(1161) da lai liyang i, da liyang i ki tiar
da laj li-jay $i \quad d a \quad$ li-jaך $i \quad k i=t i a r ~$ REAL go DUR-wait 1PL REAL DUR-wait 1PL PL=things 'we went and waited, we waited for the things' [BPVM_003]

In (1162) laj dan 'go cut' refers to the dynamic activity whereby a tree is cut into smaller pieces. The addition of $l i$ - makes this a durative activity.
(1162) u lai lidaiñ i ya katæ ka deiñ na khloo
$u=$ laj li-dan $i \quad j a \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=d e n ~ n a \quad k^{h} l o$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ go DUR-cut 1PL BEN $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{NVIS} \mathrm{F}=$ tree ABL forest
'we would go cutting wood in the forest' [BPVM_016]
In (1163) laj t $七 刀$ 'go fish' is also dynamic, involving removing fish from the stream, and $l i$ - adds a durative sense.
(1163) læh u lai litong dathli lai litong tham i
$l \varepsilon ? \quad u=l a j$ li-ton $\quad d a t^{h} l i \quad$ laj li-tэ $\quad t^{h} a m \quad i$
also $\mathrm{NF}=$ go DUR-fish fish.kind go DUR-fish crab 1PL 'also we used to go fish (for) fish, fish (for) crabs' [BPVM_017]

In (1164) the verb laj thlep 'go bury' implies a dynamic activity where the ground is dug up. The addition of $l i$ - implies a duration during which the activity is performed.
(1164) dæp ko u yap tæ dæp ki ka ka bei o u lai lithlæp cha jingtæp
$d \varepsilon p \quad k \jmath \quad u=j a p$ te $d \varepsilon p$ ki $k a$
PERF 3SG.F.NOM NF=die NVIS PERF 3PL 3SG.F.ACC
$k a=b e j \quad 0 \quad u=\boldsymbol{l a j} \quad \boldsymbol{l i}-\boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{l} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{p} \quad$ tfa $\quad$ jin-tep
$\mathrm{F}=$ mother 1 SG.NOM $\mathrm{NF}=$ go DUR-bury ALL NMZ-bury
'after she died, then they buried my mother in the cemetary' [FPAHM_005]

In (1165) laj pn-do? 'go cause to lose' implies a change of state in the speaker (the mother who was pregnant at the time of losing the child). The addition of $l i$ - identifies the loss as taking place within a particular period of time whose length is undefined.
(1165) æm bait æm hi chisein chisein æm bait wa lai lipyndooh khon o
$\varepsilon m$ bat $\quad \mathrm{tm}$ hi tfi=sen tji=sen $\varepsilon m$ bat wa have IMM3 have EMPH one-time one-time have IMM3 nMZ
laj li-pn-do? $\quad k^{h}$ วn $\quad$
go DUR-CAUS-lose child 1SG.NOM
'there was once that I was caused to lose a child' [FPAHM_029]
In (1166) the SVC laj daj 'go buy' involves the dynamic activity of a transaction, and $l i$ - identifies the activity as durative.
(1166) tæ phah kitæ ki nongkynrih lai lidai khoo ya i

| $t \varepsilon$ | $p^{h} a P$ | $k i=t \varepsilon$ | $k i=n \supset \eta-k n r i p$ | laj | $l i-d a j$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | send | PL=NVIS | PL=AG.NMZ-harvest | go | DUR-sell |
| $k^{h} o$ | $j a \quad i$ |  |  |  |  |
| rice[husked] | BEN | 1PL |  |  |  |
| 'so (they) sent those harvesters to go buy rice for us' [FPAHM_043] |  |  |  |  |  |

In (1167) the construction laj pan 'go ask' encodes a dynamic activity. The morpheme li- again identifies a durative sense.
(1167) tæ lai wa $u$ woh Lakriah wa $u$ ynñiaw wasa lai lipan ki i khyndaw i chyiap te laj wa $u=w \supset ? \quad$ lakria? wa $u=n$ niaw NVIS go COMT $\mathrm{M}=$ HON.M.elder Lakriah COMT $\mathrm{M}=$ seven wasa laj li-pan $k i \quad i=k^{h} n$.daw $i=t$ t?iap hut go DUR-ask 3PL $\mathrm{N}=$ earth $\mathrm{N}=$ soil 'so both Woh Lakriah and Ynñiaw Wasa went (to the mother to) ask for the soil and sand' [PP01CSE_026]

In (1168) the SVCs laj tfare 'go herd/chase' and laj $k^{h} a j i$ 'go trade' are a modification of the expressive construction $i=\neq f$ are $i=k^{h}$ aji 'do commerce', referring to business transactions and market trading. The use of laj gives the activity a strongly dynamic sense, and $l i$ - implies a durative aspect.
(1168) tæ ym yee de u u lai lichare lai likhayi smurit
tع $\quad m \quad j e \quad d e \quad u \quad u=l a j \quad$ li-tfare laj NVIS NEG able NEG.INTS 3SG.M.NOM NF=go DUR-herd go li-k ${ }^{h} a j i \quad$ smurit
DUR-buy.and.sell pepper
'so he wasn't able to go about his business selling pepper (since he was getting older)' [PP05KO_024]

In (1169) laj bo? 'go put' also describes a dynamic activity and $l i$ - gives the activity a durative sense.
(1169) kini man da lai i man da rah na yung lai libooh, poi heitæ tæ booh i
$k i=n i \quad m a n d a$ laj $i$ man $d a \quad r a ? \quad n a$ PL=PROX become REAL go 1PL become REAL carry ABL juy laj li-bo? poj $h e=i=t \varepsilon$ te bo? home go DUR-put,keep arrive LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS NVIS put,keep i
1PL
'these, when we go, when (we) carry (them) from home (we) go (to) put (them), arriving there, then we put (them)' [PP11NC_006]

In (1170) the predicate laj $\partial \eta$ 'go speak' is a dynamic activity and $l i$ - gives this construction a durative sense.
(1170) tæ na ka liang ka yung yong u chynrang lai li-ong ki cha yung ka kynthai te na ka=liaך ka=jū joŋ u=tnnraך laj li-จך ki NVIS ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ side $\mathrm{F}=$ home GEN $\mathrm{M}=$ male go DUR-say 3PL tJa jū $k a=k n t^{h} a j$ ALL home $\mathrm{F}=$ female
'so from the side of the groom's family, they will go speak to the bride's family' [PP14MF _010]

In (1171) the speaker is relating how he used to rest between plowing the paddy field to prepare for rice planting. He uses three verbs jen 'stand', laj 'go', and lor 'plow' to give the sense of 'stand and plow (again)'. The verb laj 'go' seems to indicate the dynamism of the activity, and li- gives the act of plowing a durative sense.

## (1171) neitæ yeñ lai liloor o

$\begin{array}{lllll}n e=i=t \varepsilon & \text { jen } & \text { laj } & \text { li-lor } & 0 \\ \text { ABL }=\mathrm{N}=\text { NVIS } & \text { stand } & \text { go } & \text { DUR-plow } & \text { 1SG.NOM }\end{array}$
'then I would stand and continue/begin plowing again' [SI1_003]
wan 'come' (dynamic, locus/goal)
In (1172) the construction wan pat 'come look' similarly involves a dynamic activity, but one where the speaker is not involved in the activity, per se. This seems to have the speaker or main participant as the locus or goal of the activity - this is in opposition to SVCs with laj 'go' as the initial element, in which the activity is externally directed. The morpheme $l i$ - still gives a durative sense to the activity.
(1172) æm ki bru wa wan lipait ke, æm ki bru wa wan heitu ya u yoo kammon man

| $\varepsilon m$ | $k i=b r u$ | $w a$ | wan | $l i-p a t$ | $k e$ | $\varepsilon m$ |  |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| have | PL=person | NMZ | come DUR-look | Non-purp | have |  |  |
| $k i=b r u$ | $w a$ | wan | $h e=i=t u$ | $j a$ | $u=j o$ | kammon |  |
| PL=person | NMZ | come | LOC=N=MEDL | BEN | NF=see | how |  |
| man |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

become
'there are those who came for no reason, there are those who came to see how (it) happened' [LS2J_031]

In (1173) the expressive construction $i=\emptyset 0$ o $i=b o$ ? 'remain, keep' implies a kind of force enacted on the participant. The use of wan 'come' gives this construction the sense of activity directed inward toward the main participant/speaker. The use of $l i$ - identifies the dynamic activity as durative.
(1173) hadooh wa $u$ poi $u$ sngi ka wa $u$ libooh ki oo wan lichoo libooh tæ oo ym yee $\mathrm{u} u$ wan
ha-do? wa u=poj u=sŋi ka wa
LOC-when NMZ NF=arrive M=day 3SG.F NMZ
$u=l i-b o ? \quad k i \quad o \quad$ wan li-tfo
NF=DUR-put,keep 3PL 3SG.M.ACC come DUR-remain
li-bor te o $\quad$ ? $\quad$ je u
DUR-put,keep NVIS 3SG.M.ACC NEG able 3SG.M.NOM
$u=w a n$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ come
'until the day (of marriage) arrives, they will keep him (away), so he's not able to come (to his bride's house)' [PP14MF_021]

## dan 'be near' (inceptive)

In (1174) the SVC is formed with three verbs pat 'look', San 'be near', and daj 'sell'. The sense of the three verbs together, combined with $l i$ - on the final verb, seems to be one of inception, possibly encoded by dan 'be near'. The verb pat 'look' seems to identify a possibility based on the speaker's perception, while $l i$ - encodes a durative aspect that modifies $d a j$ 'sell'.
(1174) jan $u$ khon yong oo jan utai pait jan lidai cha yaw næ mo
gan $u=k^{h} \partial n \quad j ə \eta \quad o \quad$ gan $u=t a j \quad$ pat be.near M=child GEN 3SG.M.ACC be.near M=distal look あan li-daj tfa jaw ne mo
be.near DUR-sell ALL market D.taG Q.TAG
'his boy is near there, looks (like he) is going to sell (the fruit) at the market' [MPSM_018]

## je 'be able' (abilitative)

In (1175) the SVCs je $t^{h}$ o? 'able to search, find' and je wad 'able to look for' expand the sense of the expressive construction $i=t^{h}$ o? $i=w a d$ 'search and find'. The verb $j e$ 'be able' implies an abilitative aspect, which is given a particular duration through the use of $l i$-.
(1175) tæ la æm wa yee lithooh yee liwad tæ u kam o i bhah i bynta

| $t \varepsilon$ | $l a$ | $\varepsilon m$ | $w a$ | $j e$ | $l i-\boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{o p}$ | $\boldsymbol{j e}$ | $\boldsymbol{l i}$-wad |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | if | have | NMZ | able | DUR-find,search able | DUR-look.for |  |
| $t \varepsilon$ | $u=k a m$ | $o$ |  | $i=b h a ? \quad i=b n t a$ |  |  |  |

### 16.4.2 Second verb takes pluractional ja-

The marker $j a$ - marks a verb as reciprocal/communal/reflexive. SVCs in my data in which the second element is affixed by $j a$ - can also be grouped on the basis of the verb that occurs initially: laj 'go', wan 'come', sniaw 'sense', and $j o p$ 'get'.

## laj 'go' (dynamic)

In (1176) laj tfem 'go meet' identifies a dynamic event where the speaker is involved in motion towards a goal. Here the use of $j a$ - identifies a reciprocal activity involving both participants.
(1176) tæ ini wa dæp læh dang lai o chitai cha madras lai yachæm wa oo

| $t \varepsilon$ | $i=n i$ | $w a$ | $d \varepsilon p$ | $l \varepsilon$ | $d a \eta$ | $l a j$ | 0 | $t f i=t a j$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | N=PROX | NMZ | PERF | do | PROG | go | 1SG.NOM | one-distal |
| ta | madras | laj | $j a-t f \varepsilon m$ | $w a$ | $o$ |  |  |  |
| ALL | Madras | go | PLUR-meet | COMT | 3SG.M.ACC |  |  |  |
| 'so recently I went to Madras to meet him' [PP15PI_030] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

```
wan 'come'(dynamic)
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In (1177) the SVC wan tfem 'come meet' describes a dynamic event with the speaker (the main participant) as the locus of activity. The use of $j a$ - on the matrix verb identifies the activity as reciprocal between the two particpants.

## (1177) tæ wan yachæm wa unu u P. Sutnga

| $t \varepsilon$ | wan | ja-tfem | wa | $u=n u$ | $u=p i$ | sutya |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | come | PLUR-meet | COMT | $\mathrm{M}=$ which | $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{P}$. | Sutnga |
| 'so I met with Mr. P. Sutnga' | $[$ HPAHR_066] |  |  |  |  |  |

## sniaw 'sense'

In (1178) the speaker is describing how he and his family migrated to the area. The verbal construction sniaw suk 'enjoy' combines with the expressive $d a ~ † f \supset \eta d a ~ s a P$ 'sit, stay' to mean 'enjoy staying'. The use of $j a$ - identifies the event as a communal/reciprocal/reflexive state.
(1178) sñiaw suk yachong yasah, tang wa chah ko re
sniaw suk ja-けכŋ ja-sa? taŋ wa
sense be.peaceful PLUR-sit PLUR-stay but,even NMZ
tfap ko re
suffer,allow 3SG.F.NOM NEG.INTS
'(we) enjoyed staying (there) but it (the village) didn't allow us' [SI2_075]

## jo? 'get'

In (1179) the verbal construction $j \partial 3$ krtfan 'get assist' seems to imply a kind of necessity or usefulness. Here the initial element jo? 'get' may identify
a kind of involvement with the activity on the part of the community of farmers, who are marked as reflexive participants by the morpheme ya-.
(1179) ki nongræp ki wa yachan yeitæ ya $u$ khoo yoh yakyrchan ya $u$ khoo

| $k i=n \supset y-r \varepsilon p$ | $k i$ | $w a$ | $j a-$ tfan | $j e=i=t \varepsilon$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PL=AG.NMZ-cultivate | 3PL | NMZ | PLUR-important | BEN=N=NVIS |
| $j a \quad u=k^{h} o$ | $j \supset P$ | $j a-k r t f a n$ | $j a$ | $u=k^{h} o$ |
| BEN M=rice[husked] | get | PLUR-assist,support | BEN | $\mathrm{M}=$ rice |
| 'the farmers, they are important for the rice, for supporting rice |  |  |  |  |
| (cultivation)' | [SI3_006] |  |  |  |

### 16.4.3 Second verb takes causative $p n_{1}$ -

The use of the causative marker $p n$ - adds a clear agentive argument to a verb. The agent can act directly upon another participant/argument, or can serve in an assistive function. In SVCs where the second element takes the causative prefix, the verbs can be grouped according to the initial verb: laj 'go', jo 'see', je 'be able', and $e$ 'give'.

## laj 'go' (dynamic)

In (1180) an interviewer is asking the interviewee about the memorial to Kiang Nangbah and how often it is cared for. The use of laj identifies the act of cleaning ( $p n-k^{h}$ oit 'make clean') as a dynamic activity in which the monument being cleaned undergoes a change of state, and in which the interlocutors are involved.
(1180) mut katwon sein jooh lai pyn-khooid i

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text { mut katwon sen Go? laj pn- } k^{h} \text { od } \quad i \\
\text { means how.much time HAB go CAUS-clean,pure } & 1 \mathrm{PL} \\
\text { 'so how many times (do) we go clean (it)?' [KNI_033] }
\end{array}
$$

## jo 'see' (perception, seeming)

In (1181) the complex verbal construction jo pn-man seems to mean 'decide'. Here $j o$ is used in a perceptive or 'internal change' sense to modify the following verb pnman 'cause to become'.
(1181) dæp neitæ yoo pynman noh i oo itu yn chna ya ka fete UDP party
$d \varepsilon p \quad n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad$ jo $p n-m a n \quad n o ? ~ i \quad o$ PERF ABL=N=NVIS see CAUS-become IMM1 1PL 3SG.M.ACC
$i=t u \quad n \quad$ fina ja ka=fet judipi parti
$\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ REF make BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ féte UDP party
'then we decided to organize the event for the UDP (political)
party' [HPAHR_075]
In (1182) the speaker is describing a specific area that looked like a good place to settle initially. The verb jo 'see' combines a sense of perception with the causative-marked verb gat 'believe', to mean that the location 'seemed convincingly positive'.
(1182) ha kawi ka liang yoo pynngait hi
ha $k a=w i$ ka=liaך jo pn-yat hi
LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ one $\mathrm{F}=$ side see CAUS-believe EMPH
'on one hand it seemed worthwhile' [SI2_077]

## $j e$ 'be able' (abilitative)

In (1183) the use of $j e$ 'be able' as the initial element of the serial verb construction seems to have an abilitative function. Here the use of the causative prefix on jen 'stand', and the case-marked argument $\eta$ a 'I, me' identifies the speaker as both the agent and the patient of the activity.
(1183) nga yee pynyeñ biang ya nga na ka u candidate

| $\eta a$ | $j e$ | $p n-j e n$ | nian | $j a$ | $\eta a$ | $n a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1SG.ACC | able | CAUS-stand | again | BEN | 1SG.ACC | ABL |
| $k a$ | $\quad u=$ kandidet |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3SG.F.ACC | M=candidate |  |  |  |  |  |

'I am able to make myself stand again as a candidate (in the coming election)' [HPAHR_185]

## $e$ 'give' (assistive)

In (1184) the use of $e$ 'give' seems to have an assitive function. Here the assistance regards preparation ( $p n$-bat ) of a particular card that is part of a government plan to encourage employment.
(1184) læh e pynbait ya tæ ki job card
$l \varepsilon\} \quad e \quad p n-b a t \quad j a \quad t \varepsilon \quad k i=g \supset b \quad k a d$
also give CAUS-direct BEN NVIS PL=job card
'also (we) prepared the job cards' [HPAHR_214]

### 16.5 Summary

The current chapter has attempted an overview of complex predicates and serial verb constructions in Pnar. We have seen that complex predicates can be divided into those in which one contains a nominal element (an incorporated noun or a purposive-nominalized verb) and those which do not. The latter are termed SVCs and can be further subdivided into those which are not affixed (both compounds and non-compounds) and those which receive affixation. Although it is difficult to determine headedness, there is some slight indication that the affixed verb is more 'contentful', occurring with either a following element or a preceding element that may or may not exhibit a degree of semantic bleaching. It seems likely that these combinatorial possibilities are examples of constructions with varying degrees of grammaticalization, but this will deserve a more careful examination. The following chapter offers a brief summary of findings in the thesis, and attempts to highlight areas which deserve further investigation.

## Chapter 17

## Conclusions and concerns

This thesis has attempted a comprehensive study of the Pnar language, and, while recognizing that any such attempt is woefully inadequate, there are several things that can be said to summarize the findings contained here and to highlight some of the particular areas that deserve more study, and on which I hope to work. The remaining few sections of this chapter will, I hope, serve as introductions for themselves.

### 17.1 Comparative research and typology

This thesis provides a large amount of data that can be compared with neighboring and related languages. Since my focus has been to provide a synchronic description, I have not examined or discussed here much of the comparative data that could have helped to explain diachronic origins of morphemes and constructions. Although I have attempted to do this in places throughout the thesis, it is a significant area for further research. Unfortunately there is a dearth of information about any of the Khasian languages besides Standard Khasi, a situation that I particularly hope to address in the coming years as I return to Meghalaya to work with the friends and acquaintances whose languages are so fascinating, and as I compare my work with other researchers who work on Austroasiatic languages.

Comparative research with neighboring but unrelated languages is another fascinating area with much potential for uncovering the migratory history and interrelated-ness of the area within and surrounding Meghalaya. I noted that nominalization in Pnar is nearly a mirror image of nominalization in Tibeto-Burman languages. Other questions regard numeral classifiers (why do Pnar and other Khasian languages have so few when other Aus-
troasiatic languages have so many?) and gender (why do Pnar and other Khasian languages have this feature when other Austroasiatic languages do not?), to name just two. The traditional explanation surmises language contact, but how much contact and under what conditions were these features likely to have been borrowed from one language to another? and why do Khasian languages exhibit such a combination when neighboring languages do not? These are some of the exciting comparative questions that I hope to begin addressing as I continue working on languages in the environs of Meghalaya and beyond.

Each of the issues described below would also benefit from a survey of Pnar dialects. I have been unable to conduct a large amount of research on dialect variation during my current research, but some of these inquiries regarding dialects have turned up some interesting information, such as the variation in negative marking. There are currently twelve dialects noted for Pnar, but these dialects largely map to existing عlaka administrative units, and it is not clear how well such areas hold up as dialect areas. This is particularly a concern since the past century has found many people migrating to Jowai or other places in the region for economic reasons.

Further, as noted below in Appendix C, there are many ways in which Pnar can be compared with languages throughout the world. There are also features described by typologists that it is not clear whether Pnar fits properly, which offers opportunities to hone and focus existing definitions or categorizations of features.

### 17.2 Phonology and prosody

### 17.2.1 Phonetics and phonology

The phonology of Pnar is mostly worked out to my satisfaction. A few issues I continue to think about are the nature of the glottal stop, diphthongs, and dental/apical/laminal stops. I have shown and discussed the instrumental, distributional, and perceptual data that suggest the glottal stop is not phonemic syllable-initially. However, we have seen that it often occurs between vowels of the same height/distance. I would like to conduct perceptual experiments to see how salient this sound is for Pnar speakers in syllable-initial position (if at all). Similarly, is there a way to isolate diphthongs or to get speaker judgements on such sounds? Also, regarding the
dental/apical/laminal stops, I would like to take palatographic samples of words with these sounds, to determine what exactly these sounds are, and to compare with experimental results from native Bangla speakers, for whom a similar contrast is reported.

### 17.2.2 Wordhood

Wordhood is another issue which I am confident that I have described, but perhaps not in enough detail. Although stress is the main criteria for distinguishing word-hood in Pnar, I would like to examine how tightly affixes are combined to their stems, as opposed to clitics. Are there varying degrees of attachment based on the number of syllables in a word, for example? Are certain combinations of morphemes or word types (nominal, verbal) more or less likely to attach prosodically than others?

### 17.3 Closed word classes

### 17.3.1 Pronominal forms

Pronominal forms have been shown to change form based on position relative to the verb and marking by prepositional case markers. I have suggested this is largely due to nominative vs. accusative case relations, but there are examples in my data that do not quite line up with such a finding. A more careful examination of positions in which each type of pronoun occurs may further illuminate this issue.

### 17.3.2 Gender

Gender in Pnar is clearly a noun classification device that is strongly linked to biological gender. Questions still remain regarding the origin of the system, however (i.e.: how far back can it be dated? what is the source of these markers in Pnar? can the grammaticalization pathway be traced?). A further question regards the combinatorial possibilities of gender markers with nouns. Is the functional variation observed for nominalization of verbs and found to be salient for some nouns (i.e. $u=d e n$ 'upright tree', $k a=d e n ~ ' l o g, ~$ wood', $i=d e n$ 'small tree') true for all nouns, or only a subset? Are borrowed words given similar variational possibilities, or can they only occur with a single gender? This deserves more work.

### 17.3.3 Deictic markers

Deictic markers similarly ought to be examined, in particular with a larger number of speakers. I recognize that languages exist in the minds of speakers, each of whom has a somewhat unique structure of language in their head, a cumulation of the schemas they have created based on input and feedback from their surroundings and other speakers. This is reflected in the fact that for some speakers the five deictic markers in Pnar represent distinct speakercentric spatial distances (and a single non-visible marker), while for others they represent both speaker-centric and addressee-centric (or non-speaker centric) distances. It may be that this variation is dependent on another feature, such as dialect or locality (sub-dialect), which may be reflective of social networks. Further research and survey would allow this question to be answered.

### 17.3.4 Prepositional case markers

Prepositional case markers have been shown to exhibit some properties of case marking (they mark nouns, they refer to clausal relations), but their general function is to identify non-essential (oblique) information. Locative markers often attach to or cliticize to nominals and seem explicitly to behave as markers of place. These markers also identify semantic roles in some contexts. How then should they be described? I believe this is more of a terminological than a functional issue, but one that deserves more study for me to be comfortable choosing a particular term. This is partly why I have used the unwieldy term 'prepositional case marker' - I hope some more work on this area will allow me to state a clearer position.

### 17.3.5 Adverbs and mood markers

Adverbs follow verbs or the verbal complex. In some cases these are clearly grammaticalized forms, while in other cases the forms seem to retain verbal semantics. This interrelates to some degree with the issues of expressives, elaborate expressions, and serial verb constructions. I have suggested some criteria to distinguish between these various forms, but there are still a few blurry edges. I'm not sure if these edges can be made more clear, but I think it is an area worth investigating.

Mood markers are another issue that deserve more research. Pnar exhibits realis mood in conditional and counterfactual constructions; this is
a kind of modality considered to be within the domain of irrealis mood in most languages. Further, irrealis mood is the default marking for all potential predications in Pnar. This overlap is hardly attested (except perhaps for a few languages such as Attic Greek and/or Chamorro) and requires further examination.

### 17.3.6 Negation

Negation can be realized in many different ways within Pnar. A single morpheme can precede the verb, two morphemes can precede the verb, a single morpheme can follow the verb, one (or two) morphemes can precede the verb and a single morpheme can follow the verb, or essentially any combination of the three morphemes can occur with the verb or not. There are even a few examples in my corpus where no overt negative morphemes are used but the translation given by consultants was a negated verbal event. It is not clear whether this may be dialect related (I note a tendency but not an absolute in the discussion above), but a more comprehensive study would be necessary to determine to what degree these markers are conditioned, and by what.

### 17.4 Open and semi-open classes

### 17.4.1 Verbs and verbal classes

There seem to be only two clear syntactic classes of verbs in Pnar: intransitive and transitive. Some Pnar verbs can be classed as labile, but this deserves further investigation. Further, there may be combinatorial possibilities dependent on other elements of the verbal complex. It would make sense, for example, that certain verbs would more readily combine with daw 'irrealis', while others would be more readily found with $d a$ 'realis', and similar things could be said for combination with aspectual markers. This deserves more study than I have been able to carry out, but several computational approaches look promising.

### 17.4.2 Nouns and noun classes

Nouns are marked as referential elements by gender clitics, but there are conditions under which nouns occur without gender clitics. Noun incorporation
is such a situation, in which the noun largely retains its referential properties. Occasionally, however, a nominalized verb seems to be incorporated. I have identified many of these concatenations as SVCs, but how accurate is this assessment? Is the referential property more central to the lexical form, or is the verbal property more central? And how can we distinguish? Or are the meanings/properties associated with the construction rather than the word itself?

Another area regards nominal classes. We have seen that some nouns are grouped together semantically, since they refer to similar groups of things. This is an area that could be developed more fully by collecting words in villages from specialists in particular traditional industries. The area of classifiers could also be expanded by trying to identify noun (as opposed to numeral) classifiers, and seeing if there is a way to distinguish them from measure terms.

### 17.4.3 Modifiers

I have shown that there are essentially two kinds of nominal modifiers in Pnar: a small class of stative verbs and a large open class of nominalized verbs. The two unifying properties of these two kinds of modifiers is that they immediately follow the nominal and cannot be negated. Is this lack of negation enough evidence to posit a class of adjective in Pnar? Similar to the issue with prepositional case markers identified above, it seems the issue is largely terminological. Perhaps the use of the term 'modifiers' is sufficient to describe this class of words in Pnar.

### 17.4.4 Expressives and elaborate expressions

Expressives and elaborate expressions are enough of a unique word type and have enough similarity to constructions in languages throughout Southeast Asia that they clearly deserve their own category (as mirrorred in the use of a separate Pnar name). This is a rich area for future investigation and comparison with other languages. There is enough variation in these forms within Pnar that we can suggest a typology of constructions along a continuum from disyllabic reduplications to disyllabic phonoaesthetic pairs (expressives), disyllabic ABAC constructions (echo word constructions, elaborate expressions), and continuing along to multisyllabic forms and proverbial expressions. The unifying factor seems to be one of parallelism in associating
one word or compound with another.

### 17.4.5 Serial verb constructions

As noted above, it has been difficult to identify headedness in serial verb constructions. It is not clear if this is due to the nature of the verbs themselves or potential historical factors that may have influenced the particular combinations found in the data. It is also not clear how clearly Pnar speakers differentiate between SVCs with affixation and not (do they perceive one as being more salient or 'contentful'?), or whether they consider certain constructions to contain 'light' or 'helping' (i.e. 'bleached') verbs. Good candidates for tests of these kind would be constructions with laj 'go' and wan 'come', which are known to grammaticalize to aspectual functions in languages of the world.

### 17.5 Final comments

In summary, my attempt with this thesis has been to describe the Pnar language. In the previous pages I believe I have acheived my goal in providing a synchronic description grounded in the history, culture, society, and environment of the Pnar people. It is my hope that this description of how people use the language to interact and conceptualize the world around them will prove a rich source of data for other researchers. As this final chapter has shown, there are many areas that I have been unable to deal with fully, and which I am still attempting to learn about and understand. Learning Pnar and attempting to understand and explain it have enriched my personal understanding of an amazing people and the language that they speak. I hope it has proved the same for the reader.

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## List of publications

## Journal articles

Ring, Hiram. 2012. A phonetic description and phonemic analysis of JowaiPnar. Mon-Khmer Studies, 40:133-175.

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## Book chapters

Ring, Hiram. 2014. Pnar. In Mathias Jenny and Paul Sidwell, editors, The Handbook of Austroasiatic Languages, volume 2. Brill, pages 1186-1226.

## Referreed conference papers

Ring, Hiram. 2010. Multilingual cognition: Simon task reaction times. Accepted for presentation at the 8th International Symposium on Bilingualism (ISB 8), Norway.

Ring, Hiram. 2012. A phonetic description and phonemic analysis of JowaiPnar. Presented at the 45th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics (ICSTLL 45), Workshop on Austro-Asiatic Languages, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, October 26-28.

Ring, Hiram. 2013. The Pnar verbal complex. Presented at the 5th International Conference on Austro-Asiatic Languages (ICAAL 5), Canberra, Australia, September 4-7.

Ring, Hiram. 2013. Relative-ly strange: nominalizers in Pnar. Presented at the 5th International Conference on Austro-Asiatic Languages (ICAAL 5), Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, September 4-7.

Ring, Hiram and James Gruber. 2014. Intrusive Vowels in Pnar: there and not there (poster). Presented at the 88th Linguistics Society of America meeting (LSA 88), Minneapolis, USA, January 2-5.

Ring, Hiram. 2014. Noun classification in Pnar. Presented at the 24th meeting of the SouthEast Asian Linguistics Society (SEALS 24), Yangon University, Myanmar, May 28-30.

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Ring, Hiram, James Gruber, and Jacqui Nokes. 2014. Testing the syllabicity of inserted vowels: A word-game experiment in Pnar (poster). Presented at the 14 th Conference on Laboratory Phonology (LabPhon 14), NINJAL, Tokyo, July 25-27.

Ring, Hiram. 2015. Northeast India as a contact zone: Evidence from gender and classifier systems. Presented at the dissemination workshop: Gender and classifiers: areal and genealogical perspectives, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, January 26-27.

## Invited seminars

Ring, Hiram. 2011. An initial phonology of Jowai-Pnar. Division of Linguistics and Multilingual Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, November 4.

Ring, Hiram. 2012. Phonetics of Pnar. North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong, India, June 4.

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Ring, Hiram. 2013. The verbal complex in Pnar. Departmental Seminar, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, April 12.

Ring, Hiram. 2013. Versatile nominalization in Pnar. Hong Kong University, Hong Kong, October 4.

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Ring, Hiram. 2014. Noun classification in Pnar. Fieldwork and Language Analysis Group, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, May 21.

## Appendix A

## Expressives and elaborate expressions

This appendix is a listing of elaborate expressions and a discussion of their corresponding contexts in my corpus.

## A. 1 Elaborate expressions in Pnar

## A.1.1 Feminine nominal elaborate expressions

There are 68 different feminine nominal elaborate expressions in my corpus. These are expressives in which both elements are marked with the feminine proclitic $k a=$. The majority have noun roots (56), but resultative verbal derivations are also represented (12).

## Noun-noun pairs

In (1185) $k a=k^{h} l o k a=k d a m$ contains an intial general word for 'forest', and the second word is the name of a particular sacred grove. Together the two words refer to all forests. In $k a=d a k^{h} a k a=d a t^{h} l i$ the first noun is the general word for 'fish' and the second is a specific kind of fish found plentifully in the Pnar area. The whole expression refers to all the water species, including various kinds of fish and crabs. The remaining set $k a=k^{h} n e ~ k a=s i m$ is not considered to be a linked elaborated pair by my informants, but rather two general terms for different animal types, 'rats' and 'birds'.
(1185) la da im ka khloo ka kjam, ka dakha ka dathli, ka khne ka sim wa ki wa boon jait wa im ki bru læh da im
$l a \quad$ im $\quad\left[k a=k^{h} l o \quad k a=k \sigma a m\right] \quad\left[k a=d a k^{h} a \quad k a=d a t^{h} l i\right]$
if REAL live $\mathrm{F}=$ forest $\mathrm{F}=$ name $\mathrm{F}=$ fish.type $\mathrm{F}=$ fish.kind
 $\mathrm{F}=$ rat $\mathrm{F}=$ bird NMZ 3PL NMZ be.much type NMZ live $k i=b r u \quad l \varepsilon ? \quad d a \quad i m$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ person also REAL live
'if the forests, the water species (fish, crab, etc..), the rat, the birds, all the living creatures live then people also (will) live' [BPDJ_008]

In (1186) $k a=t f n \supset \eta k a=t^{h} a w$ means 'village area' and can also refer to the people or inhabitants of the village.
(1186) tæ pait i raliang ka chnong ka thaw

NVIS look 1PL Raliang $\mathrm{F}=$ village $\mathrm{F}=$ place
'we looked (after) Raliang, the village' [HPAHR_060]
In (1187) $k a=k s t ~ k a=s l a$ means 'book, document' to mean both legal documents and other kinds of papers.
(1187) yoo kani ka kot ka sla da dæp yathoh ka ya nga
jo $k a=n i \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { t }} \quad \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{s l} \boldsymbol{a} \quad d a \quad d \varepsilon p \quad j a-t^{h} \supset ?$
see $\mathrm{F}=$ PROX $\mathrm{F}=$ book $\mathrm{F}=$ leaf REAL PERF PLUR-write
$k a \quad j a \quad \eta a$
3SG.F.ACC BEN 1SG.ACC
'(you) see this document, she already signed it over to me'
[HPAHR_139]
In (1188) $k a=j u \eta k a=s \varepsilon m$ means 'neighborhood, home area' and can refer to the community among which someone grew up.
(1188) ki wa dap pura yong ka yung ka sæm yong ka chnong ka thaw

3PL NMZ fill pure GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ home $\mathrm{F}=$ neighborhood GEN
$k a=t f n \supset \eta \quad k a=t^{h} a w$
$\mathrm{F}=$ village $\mathrm{F}=$ place
'they who are fully whether at home or in town' [LHJ_017]
In (1189) $k a=m o-s i a \eta ~ k a=m o-t^{h} a$ refers to large stones and boulders, which is what the earth was made of at the beginning of creation, according to Pnar cosmology.
(1189) ka wa toh wa dang æm du ka moosiang ka mootha
$k a$ wa to? wa day $\varepsilon m$ du $k a=m o-s i a \eta$
3SG.F NMZ be NMZ PROG have only $\mathrm{F}=$ stone-slab
$k a=m o-t^{h} a$
$\mathrm{F}=$ stone-boulder
'then there were only rocks, stones' [PP01CSE_014]
In (1190) $k a=t a \eta n u p ~ k a=t a \eta \delta$ ri (alt. ka=taŋnup taŋgri) refers to the banyan family of trees, which were the route by which humans ascended to heaven and descended to earth.
(1190) na ka tangnup ka tangjri hiar ki chapoh pyrthai
na $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{t a \eta}$-nup $\quad \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{t a \eta}-\boldsymbol{d} r \boldsymbol{r} \boldsymbol{h i a r} \quad$ ki
ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ tip-rubber.root $\mathrm{F}=$ tip-banyan.tree descend 3 PL
t $a-p o$ ? $\quad p r t^{h} a j$
ALL-under,in world
'from the rubber tree's roots they descended to earth' [PP01CSE_020]

In (1191) $k a=$ laren $k a=p a n b o ? ~ r e f e r s ~ t o ~ t h e ~ c e n t r a l ~ p o l e ~ t h a t ~ w a s ~ t h e ~ m a i n-~$ stay for all Pnar traditional houses.
(1191) wa ym skæm ka lareiñ ka panboh
wa $m \quad$ skem $\quad k a=l a r e n ~ k a=p a n b o ? ~$
NMZ not hold.upright $\mathrm{F}=$ main.pole $\mathrm{F}=$ centre.post
'since (the ground) couldn't hold the main pole upright'
[PP01CSE_028]
In (1192) $k a=t^{h} m a \quad k a=w a t$ essentially means 'war', with $k a=w a t$ 'sword' serving as a metaphorical extension, i.e. 'the implement of war'.
(1192) hei por wa man ka thma ka wait
$h e=i=p \circ r \quad w a \quad$ man $\quad k a=t^{h} m a \quad k a=w a t$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ time NMZ become $\mathrm{F}=$ war $\mathrm{F}=$ sword
'at the time of the war' [PP03SKY_001]
In (1193) $k a=p l i a y k a=n a r$ refers via cultural reference to the act of recognition. This kind of plate is used for ceremonial purposes and references the new role that the clan was given as a result of their bravery.
(1193) tæ yoh wan ki sa ka pliang ka nar yong kini ki kur yawchibidi
te jo? wan ki sa ka=pliay $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{n a r} \quad j \ni \eta \quad k i=n i$ NVIS get come 3PL only $\mathrm{F}=$ plate $\mathrm{F}=$ iron GEN $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ ki=kur jawtibidi
PL=clan Yawchibidi
'so then they only got the recognition of the Yawchibidi clan' [PP03SKY_030]

In (1194) $k a=t \eta \emptyset k \supset \eta ~ k a=t b \varepsilon t$ is the storage area under Pnar traditional homes, but here it specifically signifies a set of rituals that are performed to bless the floor and thus the inhabitants of the house.
(1194) ki soo yung yoh ki i bhah i bynta ya ka tyngkong ka tybæt yong ka niam
$k i=s o \quad j u \eta \quad j \partial ? ~ k i \quad i=b h a ? \quad i=b n t a \quad j a$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ four home get $3 \mathrm{PL} \mathrm{N}=$ share $\mathrm{N}=$ purpose BEN
$\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{t \eta} \boldsymbol{k} \supset \boldsymbol{\eta} \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{t b} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{t} \quad j \supset \eta \quad k a=n i a m$
$\mathrm{F}=$ wood.floor $\mathrm{F}=$ storage.room GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition
'all those four households had to do the rituals of the tyngkong tbæt' [PP03SKY_040]

In (1195) $k a=u m k a=w a$ ? refers to all sources of water.
(1195) tæ i wa biang ka um ka wah
te $i \quad$ wa biay $\boldsymbol{k a}=\mathbf{u m} \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{w a} \boldsymbol{?}$
NVIS 1PL NMZ be.enough $F=$ water $F=$ river
'there was enough water' [PP04SKO_040]
In (1196) $k a=j u s p \circ \eta ~ k a=p^{h}$ ali refers to the traditional turban of Pnar men. [traditional since the time of the Jaintia Kings who adopted Hinduism, at least]
(1196) tæ da chim ya ka yuspong ka phali

| $t \varepsilon$ | $d a$ | tfim | $j a$ | $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{j u s p a n}$ | $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{p}^{h}$ ali |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

NVIS REAL take BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ turban $\mathrm{F}=$ turban
'so (he) took the turban' [PP05KO_051]
In (1197) $k a=d$ ri $k a=k P a$ refers again to the banyan tree family, while $k a=$ lamet $k a=$ ladaw refers to bananas and plantains.
(1197) kammon yoh bhah $u$ cheih yoh bhah $u$, $u$ sniñ, $u$ cheih $u$ sad, $u$ sniñ u riang, ka jri ka kya, ka moosiang ka mootha, ka lamet ka ladaw
kammon jo? bha? $u=t f e ? ~ j \supset ? ~ b h a ? ~ u$
how get share $\mathrm{M}=$ thorn get share 3SG.m.NOM
$u=$ snin $\quad u=t f e ? \quad u=$ sad $\quad u=$ snin
$\mathrm{M}=$ plant.type $\mathrm{M}=$ thorn $\mathrm{M}=$ thorn.type $\mathrm{M}=$ plant.type
$u=$ riaך $\quad k a=\boldsymbol{d} r i \quad k a=k \boldsymbol{P a} \quad k a=m o$-siay
$\mathrm{M}=$ plant.type $\mathrm{F}=$ banyan.tree $\mathrm{F}=$ tree.type $\mathrm{F}=$ stone-slab
$k a=m o-t^{h} a \quad k a=l a m \varepsilon t \quad k a=l a d a w$
$\mathrm{F}=$ stone-boulder $\mathrm{F}=$ banana.type $\mathrm{F}=$ banana.type
'how the thorn got (a) share, the Sniñ plant, the thorns, the Sniñ plant, the banyans, the stones, the bananas' [PP12BL_024]

In (1198) $k a=k n i a ~ k a=d u w a n$ refers to a particular kind of sacrifice performed at an altar.
(1198) ya katu ka knia ka duwan ki læh
ja $k a=t u \quad k a=k n i a \quad k a=d u w a n ~ k i \quad l \varepsilon ?$
BEN $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{MEDL} \mathrm{F}=$ sacrifice,rite $\mathrm{F}=$ altar 3PL also
'for this sacrifice they also (have)' [PP13RS_005]
In (1199) $k a=k u r k a=\sigma a t$ is a term used to refer to clan families.
(1199) na ka kur ka jait shillong
na $k a=k u r$ ka=0atat Jllon
ABL F=clan $\mathrm{F}=$ type Shillong
'from the Shillong clan' [PP13RS_026]
In (1200) $k a=s \varepsilon r k a=s k a j$ is a phrase that denotes the different kinds of deer.
(1200) uwon uwon wa i e u pynkhai ya ka sær ka skai ym hoi u siet u
$u=w \supset n \quad u=w \supset n \quad$ wa $\quad i=e \quad u=p n-k^{h} a j \quad j a$
$\mathrm{M}=$ which $\mathrm{M}=$ which $\mathrm{NMZ} \mathrm{N}=$ give $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-get.up BEN
$k a=s \varepsilon r \quad k a=s k a j \quad m \quad$ hoj $\quad u=s i \varepsilon t$
$\mathrm{F}=$ sambar. deer $\mathrm{F}=$ barking. deer NEG be.well $\mathrm{NF}=$ shoot u

3SG.M.NOM
'whoever raises the deer shouldn't shoot it' [PP13RS_036]
In (1201) $k a=k$ ?ว? $k a=h i a w$ refers to a kind of seasonal cough, but particularly here to the coming of all kinds of disease to the original inhabitants of the world.
(1201) ka wan ka kyoh ka hiaw
$k a \quad$ wan $k a=k ? \rho \quad k a=h i a w$
3SG.F.ACC come $\mathrm{F}=$ cough $\mathrm{F}=$ asthma
'(then) came the coughing disease' [PP13RS_106]
In (1202) $k a=w a t$ $k a=$ tari refers to weapons and knives traditionally carried by Pnar people.
(1202) tæ him ka wait ka tari yong phi
tع him ka=wat ka=tari jэŋ $p^{h} i$
NVIS take $\mathrm{F}=$ sword $\mathrm{F}=$ knife GEN 2PL
'so take your sword, your knife' [PP13RS_115]
In (1203) $k a=s l a ~ k a=t l o r$ identifies the leaves of a particular plant who features in this story, and $k a=n a t ~ k a=c h i a n g$ is an elaborate expression that refers to the branches.
(1203) kdaar ya ka sla ka tloor ka nat ka chiang
kdar $\quad j a \quad k a=s l a \quad k a=t l o r \quad k a=n a t \quad k a=t f i a \eta$
open.wide BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ leaf $\mathrm{F}=$ leaf.type $\mathrm{F}=$ branch $\mathrm{F}=$ branch 'the leaves, the branches, opened wide' [PP13RS_144]

In (1204) $k a=p r t^{h} a j k a=m n d e r$ refers to the known and the unknown areas of the world.
(1204) ya u che kylla ka pyrthai ka myndær

BEN $\mathrm{NF}=$ be.light change $\mathrm{F}=$ world $\mathrm{F}=$ world.outside.Jaintia
'so the earth (would) receive light' [PP13RS_167]
In (1205) $k a=k$ ten $k a=t^{h}$ llef is an elaborate expression that refers to 'communication'.
(1205) dooh makna ka ktein ka thylleij nga ym yee de o u wan kylla
do? makna $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{k t e n} \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{t}^{h}{ }^{\boldsymbol{l}} \mathrm{lef}_{\boldsymbol{f}}$ $\eta a \quad m \quad j e$
lose have.large $\mathrm{F}=$ word $\mathrm{F}=$ tongue $1 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{ACC}$ NEG able
de $\quad 0 \quad u=$ wan klla
NEG.INTS 1SG.NOM NF=come change
'the communication is destroyed, I cannot change (that)'
[PP13RS_178]
In (1206) $k a=s k i t k a=s k a t$ refers to things that are solid and true.
(1206) katæ ka wa ong ki da skæm ka skit ka skat
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a \quad w a \quad \jmath \eta \quad k i \quad d a \quad$ skem $\quad k \boldsymbol{a}=$ skit
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS 3 SG.F NMZ say 3PL REAL hold.upright $\mathrm{F}=$ real,true
$k a=s k a t$
$\mathrm{F}=$ real,true
'then they say the relationship is a real/true one' [PP14MF _019]
In (1207) $k a=k^{h}$ loo $k a=d e n$ refers to the surrounding forested land.
(1207) kani ka chnong sohmynting yong i læh nang dooh ka khloo ka deiñ
$k a=n i \quad k a=\dagger f n \supset \eta \quad$ sopmntin $j \supset \eta \quad i \quad l \varepsilon ?$ nay do? $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ village Sohmynting GEN 1PL also still lose $k a=k^{h} l o \quad k a=d e n$
$\mathrm{F}=$ forest $\mathrm{F}=$ tree
'this our village (of) Sohmynting also had much forest (land)' [SI1_006]

In (1208) $k a=r i k a=m u l u k$ is an expression that identifies the traditional country and community.
(1208) ka culture yong ka ri ka muluk
$k a=k \partial l \nmid \jmath \supset r \quad j \supset \eta \quad k a=r i \quad k a=m u l u k$
$\mathrm{F}=$ culture GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ country $\mathrm{F}=$ community
'culture of the country, community' [TACJ_021]

## Verb-verb resultatives

Verbal elements that are nominalized by $k a=$ have a resultative sense. This also applies to verbs used in elaborate constructions.

In (1209) $k a=r o j k a=p a r$ is an elaborate expression where the two verbs roj 'crawl, expand' and par 'crawl' combine to mean 'develop, prosper'.
(1209) kammon u kyntu i ya ka roi ka par yong i jaitbru
kammon u=kntu i ja $\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{r o j}$
how $\quad \mathrm{NF}=$ recommend,advise 1PL BEN RES=crawl
$k a=p a r \quad j \supset \eta \quad i=$ bat-bru
RES=crawl GEN $\mathrm{N}=$ =type-person
'this is how we develop in order to prosper our people' [AIJ_038]
In (1210) $k a=c h a d ~ k a=r w a j$ refers to singing and dancing.
(1210) ka chad ka rwai neitæ pteñ i ka
$\boldsymbol{k a}=\mathbf{t} \boldsymbol{f a d} \quad \boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{r w a j} n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad$ pten $\quad i \quad k a$ RES=dance RES=sing ABL=N=NVIS continue 1PL 3SG.F.ACC
'the singing and dancing, from there we continue it (the story)' [PP13RS_009]

In (1211) $k a=k a p k a=k n t^{h} i a r$ is a construction used to refer to the pace of things, or the speed at which things are moving.
(1211) tæ u woh Lakriah ong u wa ym biang de ka kap ka kynthiar
$t \varepsilon \quad u=w \supset ? \quad$ lakria? oŋ $u$ wa $m$
NVIS M=HON.M.elder Lakriah say 3SG.M NMZ NEG
biaך de $\quad$ aa=kap $\quad k a=k n t^{h} i a r$
be.enough NEG.INTS RES=step RES=jump
'so elder Lakriah said it's not enough, the pace (of things)'
[PP13RS_018]
In (1212) $k a=n i a k a=k^{h}$ गt refers to arguments, where reason and knowledge are used to win others over to your side.
(1212) ym æm ka nia ka khot
$m \quad \varepsilon m \quad k a=n i a \quad k a=k^{h} \partial t$
NEG have RES=reason RES=knowledge
'(I) don't have an argument' [PP13RS_080]
In (1213) $k a=$ nia $k a=j u t a \eta$ is another way of describing argument or reasoning.
(1213) ka nia ka yutang ong $u$ wa phah ki syiem kmai
$\boldsymbol{k a}=\boldsymbol{n i a} \quad \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}=\boldsymbol{j u t a \eta} \quad э \eta \quad u \quad$ wa $\quad p^{h} a$ ? $\quad k i=s$ Pem
RES=reason RES=argue say 3SG.M NMZ send PL=ruler
kmaj
be.great
'the reason he said was that the great kings sent (him)'
[PP13RS_141]
In (1214) $k a=m u-a d k a=t a \eta l a \eta$ refers to drunkenness.
(1214) tæ yoh ka mu-aid ka tanglang oo
tع $\quad j \supset ? \quad k a=m u-a d \quad k a=t a \eta l a y \quad o$
NVIS get RES=be.drunk RES=mixed.up.together 3SG.M.ACC
'so he got drunk' [PP13RS_097]
In (1215) $k a=j u t a \eta k a=j u b a t$ specifically refers to an oath, in this case the marriage vows.
(1215) dæp neitæ man da dæp ka yutang ka yubat
$d \varepsilon p \quad n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad$ man $d a \quad d \varepsilon p \quad k a=j u t a \eta$
PERF ABL=N=NVIS become REAL PERF RES=argue
$k a=j u b a t$
RES=oath
'then after that, after the oath..' [PP14MF _045]

## A.1.2 Masculine nominal elaborate expressions

Masculine elaborate expressions are those which have the third person singular masculine clitic $u=$ as the first element (A) of the ABAC construction.

## Noun-noun pairs

In (1216) the expression $u=k b a u=k^{h} o$ refers to the raw paddy rice and the dried and husked rice. This is used as a metaphor for all food.
(1216) waroh u kba u khoo waroh ka jait wa iñ
waro? $\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k} b \boldsymbol{a} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{o} \quad$ waro? $k a=$ ¢at $\quad$ wa
all $\mathrm{M}=$ rice[paddy] $\mathrm{M}=$ rice[husked] all $\mathrm{F}=$ =type NMZ
in
boil,burn
'all the rice, everything got burned' [FPAHM_039]
In (1217) $u=s m b e ~ u=p^{h} n i a \eta$ refers to seeds, and particularly to the rice seed and seedlings. It is used here in conjunction with $u=k b a u=k^{h} o$ 'rice types, food'.
(1217) tæ thung utæ yoh $u$ ya $u$ symbe $u$ phniang $u$ kba $u$ khoo
$t \varepsilon \quad t^{h} u \eta \quad u=t \varepsilon \quad j \supset P \quad u \quad j a \quad\left[\boldsymbol{u}=s\right.$ simbe $^{2}$
NVIS plant M=NVIS get 3SG.M.NOM BEN M=seed
$\left.u=p^{h} n i a \eta\right] \quad\left[u=k b a \quad u=k^{h} o\right]$
$\mathrm{M}=$ rice[seedling] $\mathrm{M}=$ rice[paddy] $\mathrm{M}=$ rice[husked]
'so he planted, he got the rice seed, the rice' [PP01CSE_039]
In (1218) $u=m r a d ~ u=m r i a \eta$ identifies herbivores and omnivores, all kinds of animals.
(1218) kat wa ka bei wa booh yn ka wa booh ko yei rynieñ i ryniot na-dooh u bru, u mrad u mriang, ki sim ki doh
kat wa $k a=b e j \quad w a \quad b o ? \quad n \quad k a \quad w a \quad b o ?$
as NMZ $F=$ mother NMZ put,keep ref 3SG.F NMZ put,keep
ko $\quad j e=i=r n n e n \quad i=r n j o t ~ n a-d o$ ?
3SG.F.NOM $\quad \mathrm{BEN}=\mathrm{N}=$ physical.self ACT physical.self
$u=b r u \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{m r a d} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{m r i a \eta} \quad k i=s i m \quad k i=d o ?$
ABL-when $\mathrm{M}=$ person $\mathrm{M}=$ animal $\mathrm{M}=$ animal $\mathrm{PL}=$ bird
'whereas the mother, she gave life to human beings, to animals, to the birds' [PP01CSE_087]

In (1219) $u=s \eta k^{h}$ en $u=p y r d a$ refers to the household goods, as a metaphor for homes and homemaking.
(1219) u syngkhein u pyrda ha yung ha sæm
$\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{s y} \boldsymbol{k}^{h} e \boldsymbol{u} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{p r} \boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{a}$ ha juŋ ha scm
$\mathrm{M}=$ pillow $\mathrm{M}=$ curtain LOC home LOC neighborhood
'the household cloths, the home and neighborhood' [PP08LC_009]
In (1220) $u=k^{h} n i a \eta ~ u=t k^{h} u$ refers to all kinds of insects. Here the speaker is describing how they protect the cut in the tree after performing a ceremony.
(1220) ya u lait na utæ $u$ khniang $u$ tkhu
ja $u=l a t \quad n a \quad u=t \varepsilon \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{n i a \eta} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{u}$
BEN NF=free,escape ABL $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{NVIS} \quad \mathrm{M}=$ insect $\mathrm{M}=$ ant
'(we do this) in order to free it from the insects' [PP11NC_007]
(smearing a special mixture on the tree after cutting it)
In (1221) $u=t f e ? u=$ sad refers to a certain bush of thorns, while $u=$ snin $u=$ ria $\eta$ is a kind of oak tree whose leaves are used in traditional ceremonies.
(1221) bhah u cheih yoh bhah u u sniñ, u cheih u sad, u sniñ u riang
bha? $u=t$ te? jo? bha? $u \quad u=$ snin $\quad[\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{e} \boldsymbol{P}$
share $M=$ thorn get share 3SG.M.NOM $M=$ plant.type $M=$ thorn
$u=s a d] \quad[u=$ snin $\quad u=r i a \eta]$
$\mathrm{M}=$ thorn.type $\mathrm{M}=$ plant.type $\mathrm{M}=$ plant.type
'(a story of how) the thorn got it's share, the sniñ got its share, the thorn plant, the sniñ plant, etc...' [PP12BL_024]

In (1222) there are five elaborate expressions which refer to specific sets of animals representative of certain types. The expression $u=k^{h} r \supset$ ? $u=$ raday represents frogs and toads, $u=m u t \quad u=k n d a$ 'buffalo, rhino' represents large domestic herbivores (particularly those whose skin is used for leather), $u=k^{h} l a$ $u=$ suri 'tiger, wolf' represents dangerous carnivores, $u=$ hati $u=k u l e$ 'elephant, horse' represents animals used for domestic transportation, and $u=s \varepsilon r$ $u=s k a j$ are different kinds of deer.
(1222) tæ kammon yoh bhah yn ki kini ki u khroh u radang, u muid u kynda kammon yoh bhah $u$ khla $u$ suri yoh bhah $u$ hati $u$ kule, $u$ sær u skai te kammon jo? bha? n $k i \quad k i=n i \quad k i \quad\left[\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} r \boldsymbol{r} \boldsymbol{?}\right.$ NVIS how get share ref 3PL PL=PROX 3PL M=frog $\boldsymbol{u}=\mathrm{rada} \mathrm{\eta}] \quad[\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{m u t} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k n d a}]$ kammon jo? bha?
$\mathrm{M}=$ frog.type $\mathrm{M}=$ buffalo $\mathrm{M}=$ rhino how get share
$\left[\begin{array}{llll}\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} l \boldsymbol{a} & \boldsymbol{u}=\text { suri }] \quad \text { jo? bha? } \quad[\boldsymbol{u}=\text { hati } \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\text { kule }]\end{array}\right.$
$\mathrm{M}=$ tiger $\mathrm{M}=$ wolf get share $\mathrm{M}=$ elephant $\mathrm{M}=$ horse
$[u=s \varepsilon r \quad u=s k a j]$
$\mathrm{M}=$ sambar.deer $\mathrm{M}=$ barking.deer
'so how (they) got share/part, these frogs and toads, buffalo and rhino, how the tiger and wolf got (their) part, the elephant and horse, the sambar deer and barking deer got (their) part...'

In (1223) $u=t l l e ~ u=t^{h} r i$ represents different kind of rope.
(1223) pait uni $u$ tylle $u$ thri

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { pat } & u=n i & u=t l l e & u=t^{h} r i \\
\text { look } & \text { M=PROX } & \text { M=rope } & \text { M=bamboo.rope } \\
\text { '(you) look (at) this rope' } & \text { [PP13RS_117] }
\end{array}
$$

In (1224) $u=r d a \eta ~ u=t m p o \eta$ are representative of the upper torso. The metaphor here is of a nasty death, or disemboweling.
(1224) ka wait yong i u pyndooh ko oo u rdang u tympong

| $k a=w a t$ | $j \supset \eta$ | $i$ | $u=p n$-do? | $k 0$ | $o$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{F}=$ sword | GEN | 1PL | $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-lose | 3SG.F.NOM | 3SG.M.ACC |
| $u=r d a \eta$ | $u=t$ | троך |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{M}=$ neck | $\mathrm{M}=$ |  |  |  |  |

'our sword will cut your neck and waist' [PP13RS_118] (if KL doesn't cooperate)

In (1225) $u=m o$ knrem $u=m o k n r o P$ are particular kinds of stones believed to provide protection and serve as boundary markers.
(1225) u moo kynrem u moo kynroh
$u=m o \quad$ knrem $\quad u=m o \quad k n r o ?$
$\mathrm{M}=$ stone be.boundary $\mathrm{M}=$ stone fencing
'the boundary stones' [PP13RS_147]
In (1226) $u=$ sarat $u=$ sadhiar refers to all kinds of alcohol.
(1226) chwa duhai u sarat u sadhiar
tywa duhaj $\boldsymbol{u}=$ sarat $\quad \boldsymbol{u}=$ sadhiar
before request $\mathrm{M}=$ alcohol $\mathrm{M}=$ beer
'before I ask/have alcohol' [PP13RS_172]
In (1227) again there are several different types of animals listed. The ex-
 and therefore encompasses the whole class, $u=d a t^{h} l i u=d a k^{h} a$ refers to different kinds of fish, and tfi tadoj $u=w e ? ~ t f i$ tadə $\eta=$ stiar refers to different kinds of worms found in bamboo.
(1227) tæ u pseiñ tyllaiñ u pseiñ tymmoh tæ u dathli u dakha chi tadong $u$ weih chi tadong ustiar tæ u brait hapoh u khriang hapoh u dhoo

| $t \varepsilon$ | $[u=$ psen | tllen | $\boldsymbol{u}=$ psen | tmmo? $]$ | $t \varepsilon$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | $\mathrm{M}=$ snake | snake.type | $\mathrm{M}=$ snake | overlay | NVIS |


$\left[\begin{array}{ll}u=\text { dat }^{h} l i & u=d a k^{h} a\end{array}\right] \quad$| tyi tadدy | $u=w e ?$ | tfi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

$\mathrm{M}=$ fish.kind $\mathrm{M}=$ fish.type set bamboo.cup $\mathrm{M}=$ worm set
tadon $u=s t i a r] \quad t \varepsilon \quad u=b r a t \quad h a-p o ?$
bamboo.cup $\mathrm{M}=$ insect.type NVIS $\mathrm{NF}=$ scatter LOC-under,in
$u=k^{h}$ rià $\quad h a-p o P \quad u=d h o$
$\mathrm{M}=$ whirlpool LOC-under, in $\mathrm{M}=$ below
'so the snakes, the fishes, the insects, will scatter in the whirlpool below' [PP13RS_180]

## Verb-verb purposives

Elaborate expressions whose underlying root forms are verbs can be nominalized using $u=$ as the first item in the set. Often this gives a purposive or non-finite sense. In (1228) $u=\dagger f a t u=k^{h} i a ?$ refers to health and wholeness.
(1228) neitæ yoh $u$ chait $u$ khiah
$n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad j \partial$ ? $\quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{f} \boldsymbol{a} \quad \boldsymbol{u} \quad \boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{i a} \boldsymbol{P}$
$\mathrm{ABL}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ get $\mathrm{NF}=$ be.healthy $\mathrm{NF}=$ be.whole
'from that to be healthy, whole' [BMPJ_022]
In (1229) $u=\emptyset ็ \supset \eta u=s a ?$ similarly refers to inhabiting and dwelling.
(1229) dei wa u suk u chong u sah
$d e=i=w a \quad u=s u k \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{\text { f }} \boldsymbol{\eta} \boldsymbol{\eta} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{s a} \boldsymbol{?}$
$\operatorname{INST}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NMZ} \mathrm{NF}=$ be.peaceful $\mathrm{NF}=$ sit $\mathrm{NF}=$ stay
'so that (it) is comfortable to stay' [PP01CSE_025]
In (1230) $u=s k \varepsilon m ~ u=k s s$ i identifies an activity of continuously holding something upright, as the earth does for poles that hold up the roofs of homes.
(1230) tæ lipan i yee i khyndaw i chyiap yoh u skæm u ksoh u tnoom tع li-pan $i \quad j e \quad i=k^{h} n d a w ~ i=$ t?iap jo? NVIS DUR-ask 1PL able $\mathrm{N}=$ earth $\mathrm{N}=$ soil get $\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{s k c m} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k s o P} \quad u=$ tnom
$\mathrm{NF}=$ hold.upright $\mathrm{NF}=$ hold $\mathrm{M}=$ roof
'so we ask the soil, sand (would) be able to hold the roof upright' [PP01CSE_028]

In (1231) $u=t$ fina $u=t^{h} o$ refers to the activity of creation. The word $t^{h} o$ is also the word used for a metalworker or smith, as in $u=n \supset \eta-t^{h} o$ 'blacksmith'.
(1231) nga toh $u$ yee o $u$ chna $u$ thoo du yee i mynsein
ya to? $u=j e \quad \jmath \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{y} \boldsymbol{n} \boldsymbol{a} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{o} \quad d u$ 1SG.ACC be $\mathrm{NF}=$ able $1 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{NOM} \mathrm{NF}=$ make $\mathrm{NF}=$ create only je $\quad i=m n s e n$
able $\mathrm{N}=$ spirit,soul, heart
'I am (only) able to make/create soul' [PP01CSE_029]

In (1232) $u=$ put $u=t \varepsilon m$ identifies the act of performing or playing music instruments.
(1232) ki wa stad u put u tæm
ki wa stad u=put u=tem
3PL NMZ be.educated,wise NF=blow,sound $N F=$ pluck,strum 'those who are able to play musical instruments' [PP03SKY_031]

In (1233) $u=p^{h} \varepsilon t u=j u t$ refers to the activity of fleeing from danger.
(1233) tæ ong ki u phæt u yut noh neini i thaw
$t \varepsilon \quad$ эŋ $k i \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{p}^{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{t} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{u t} \quad n o ? \quad n e=i=n i$
NVIS say $3 \mathrm{PL} \mathrm{NF}=\mathrm{run} \mathrm{NF}=$ run.away $\mathrm{IMM1} \quad \mathrm{ABL}=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{PROX}$
$i=t^{h} a w$
$\mathrm{N}=$ place
'so they spoke (of) running, fleeing from this place' [PP04SKO_033]
In (1234) $u=r \varepsilon p u=k^{h} i ?$ identifies the activity of farming.
(1234) biang i pynthor u ræp u khih
biaŋ $\quad i=p n t^{h}$ or $\quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{r} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{p} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k}^{\boldsymbol{h}} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{P}$
be.enough $\mathrm{N}=$ paddy.field $\mathrm{NF}=$ cultivate $\mathrm{NF}=$ work
'the paddy field is enough to farm' [PP04SKO _044]
In (1235) $u=j \partial ? ~ u=t b a$ refers to the activity of touching.
(1235) tæ ym æm uwi yn u chynrang $u$ yoh $u$ tba yeikhlieh yong nga
$t \varepsilon \quad m \quad \varepsilon m \quad u=w i \quad n \quad u=$ tinraŋ $\quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{\rho} \boldsymbol{P} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t b} \boldsymbol{a}$ NVIS NEG have $M=$ one ref $M=$ male $N F=$ get $N F=$ touch $j e=i=k^{h} l e ? \quad j \supset \eta \quad \eta a$ BEN $=\mathrm{N}=$ head GEN 1SG.ACC
'so no-one is allowed to touch my head' [PP05KO_031]

In (1236) $u=k l a m u=\partial \eta$ refers to the activity of talking.
(1236) heitæ e lad ki u klam u ong u khmah
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad e \quad l a d \quad k i \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k l a m} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{\jmath} \boldsymbol{\eta} \quad u=k^{h} m a$ ? LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS give way $3 \mathrm{PL} \quad \mathrm{NF}=$ speak $\mathrm{NF}=$ say $\mathrm{M}=$ Khmah 'then they gave Khmah a chance to speak' [PP05KO_039]

In (1237) $u=p^{h}$ ule? $u=$ putem identifies the activity of grinding something to powder. The speaker is specifically identifying a method of preparing rice.
(1237) neitæ u khoo wa u phulieh u putem ong i
$n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad u=k^{h} o \quad w a \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{p}^{h} \boldsymbol{u l e} \boldsymbol{P} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{u t} \boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{m}$
$\mathrm{ABL}=\mathrm{ACT}=\mathrm{NVIS} \mathrm{M}=$ rice[husked] $\mathrm{NMZ} \mathrm{NF}=$ powder $\mathrm{NF}=$ grind
эך $i$
say 1PL
'next the rice that we call powdered' [PP11NC_012]
In (1238) $u=j a p u=h a p$ refers to a sudden death. According to tradition, when this happens the ceremony must be completed and the funeral performed immediately.
(1238) ha ka sngi ka wa u yap u hap
$h a \quad k a=s \eta i \quad k a \quad w a \quad u=j a p \quad u=h a p$
LOC F=day 3SG.F NMZ NF=die NF=fall
'on the day of (sudden) death' [PP11NC_017]

In (1239) $u=\eta o ? ~ u=d \varepsilon m$ refers to prayers and $u=s$ ? $u t ~ u=$ ffor refers to the act of performing libations. The mouth, neck, and waist here refer to different parts of the gourd used to pour the liquid.
(1239) dæp u ngooh u dæm tæ... iymthiang na ktein ha rdang ha tympong u syuit u choor
$d \varepsilon p \quad[\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{y o \boldsymbol { O }} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{d} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{m}] \quad t \varepsilon \ldots \quad j m t^{h} i a \eta \quad n a$
PERF NF=blessing, thanks NF=bend.down NVIS overspill ABL
kten $h a \quad$ rday $h a \quad$ tmpon $[\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{s} \boldsymbol{P} \boldsymbol{u t} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=$ Ufor $]$
word LOC neck LOC waist $N F=$ pour $N F=$ pour
'after prayers, then... (it) overflowed from the mouth on the neck, on the waist, pouring' [PP13RS_022]

In (1240) $u=l a j u=\delta \varepsilon m \quad u=l a j u=t o d$ is an 8 -syllable expression that identifies the manner in which an activity ought to be performed. This corresponds to the English phrase "go easily, go quietly".
(1240) tæ la ym yee u lai u jæm u lai u tuid pait uni u tylle u thri tع $\quad l a \quad m \quad j e \quad u=l a j \quad u=\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{m} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{l a j} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t o} \boldsymbol{o} \boldsymbol{i t}$ NVIS if NEG able $N F=$ go $N F=$ easy $N F=$ go $N F=$ flow, flex
pat $u=n i \quad u=$ tlle $\quad u=t^{h} r i$
look $\mathrm{M}=$ PROX $\mathrm{M}=$ rope $\mathrm{M}=$ bamboo.rope
'so if you can't go easily, look (at) this rope' (with which to tie you) [PP13RS_117]

In (1241) $u=t i p u=k^{h} r \varepsilon$ ? refers to preparation.
(1241) booh ynru sngi ynñiaw syniaw u e wyrta u e chula ya u tip u khræh ta yaw
bo? nru syi nniaw snjaw $u=e$ wrta $u=e$
put,keep six day seven night $\mathrm{NF}=$ give news $\mathrm{NF}=$ give
ţula ja $\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t i p} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{r} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P} \quad$ ta jaw
account BEN $\mathrm{NF}=$ know $\mathrm{NF}=$ prepare,ready CL.WK week
'they fixed six days and seven nights, so that he could be well prepared for the whole week' [PP13RS_124]

In (1242) $u=k^{h} r \varepsilon ? u=t a j a r$ also refers to preparation.
(1242) u khræh u taiar ki nadooh ka khung ka khap
$\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{r} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { p }} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t a j a r} \quad k i \quad n a-d o ? \quad k a=k^{h} u \eta$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ prepare,ready $\mathrm{NF}=$ be.prepared 3PL ABL-when RES=tie
$k a=k^{h} a p$
RES $=$ marry
'they will prepare (the things) before the wedding' [PP14MF _022]
In (1243) $u=k^{h} u t u=$ tin identifies the activity of calling and fetching.
(1243) san ktein u khut u tiñ mi, u hiar u hap i chwa u blai
san kten $\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{u t} \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t i n} \quad$ mi $\quad \boldsymbol{u}=$ hiar $\quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{h a p}$
five word $\mathrm{NF}=$ call $\mathrm{NF}=$ fetch 2 sg.m.nom $\mathrm{NF}=$ descend $\mathrm{NF}=$ fall $i \quad$ ywa $u=b l a j$
1PL before $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{God}$
'five words you will call, we will descend before God' [PP13RS_192]
In (1244) $u=s a t u=k^{h} l \varepsilon n$ refers to washing and cleaning.
(1244) tæ nga yn yarap o ya ka bei u sait u khlæñ
tع $\quad$ ta $\quad$ i, jarap $\quad$ ja $k a=b e j \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{s a t}$ NVIS 1SG.ACC REF help 1SG.NOM BEN $F=$ mother NF=wash $\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{l} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{n}$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ clean
'so I helped her in washing and cleaning' [PP15PI_022]

In (1245) $u=n \varepsilon ? \quad u=s a ?$ identifies a state which can be translated as 'remain'.
Here the speaker is referring to members of a group who didn't die in a war.
(1245) yoh u næh u sah itæ

$$
\left.\begin{array}{lll}
j \partial ? ~ & \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{n \varepsilon} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} & \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{s a} \boldsymbol{P} \\
\text { get } & \text { NF }=\text { preserve } & \mathrm{NF}=\text { stay } \\
\text { N=NVIS }
\end{array}\right]
$$

In (1246) $u=k^{h}$ ian $u=h \varepsilon$ ? refers to things both large and small, encompassing all the different sizes of potatos.
(1246) uni u salah u khian u hæh læh thap bait ha ka jooh ka churia
$u=n i \quad u=$ sala? $\quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{i a n} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P} \quad l \varepsilon ? \quad t^{h} a p \quad$ bat $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{PROX} \quad \mathrm{M}=$ potato $\mathrm{NF}=$ be.small $\mathrm{NF}=$ be.big also put IMM3
ha $k a=d$ jo? $\quad k a=t$ furia
LOC RES=be.same $\mathrm{F}=$ sack
'this potato, the small and the big also (they) put in the same sack' [SI3_038]

In (1247) $u=b o$ ? $u=$ tran refers to the activity of keeping or placing.
(1247) la da yoh ki u booh u tran da kitæ ki masi ki sniang
$l a \quad d a \quad j \partial ? ~ k i \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{b o P} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t r a n} \quad d a \quad k i=t \varepsilon$
if REAL get 3 PL $N F=$ put,keep $N F=$ place INST $P L=$ NVIS
$k i=m a s i \quad k i=s n i a \eta$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ cow $\quad \mathrm{PL}=$ pig, pork
'if they got to keep cows and pigs..' (they would use the dung as fertilizer) [SI3_064]

In (1248) $u=t^{h} \partial ? ~ u=t^{h}$ ar represents the activity of writing.
(1248) tæ kat wa kamtæ man kat u tip tip o myllu mylla u thoh u thar
te kat wa kam-te man kat u=tip tip
NVIS as NMZ as,like-NVIS become as NF=know know
ง mllu mlla $\boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{\partial} \boldsymbol{?} \quad \boldsymbol{u}=\boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{a r}$
1SG.NOM gather gather $\mathrm{NF}=$ write $\mathrm{NF}=$ write
'so since (it) is like that, it is just enough for me to know how to write a bit' [TACJ_069]

## A.1.3 Neuter nominal elaborate expressions

Neuter nominal elaborate expressions include those which are formed from nouns and those which are formed from action nominalizations of verbs.

## Noun-noun pairs

In (1249) $i=b h a P i=b n t a$ refers to a portion, in this case of responsibility.
(1249) ki wan ki heipor wa u e i bhah i bynta ya ka niam
$k i$ wan $k i \quad h e=i=p o r \quad w a \quad u=e \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b} h \boldsymbol{a} \boldsymbol{P}$
3PL come 3PL LOC=N=time COMT $\mathrm{NF}=$ give $\mathrm{N}=$ share
$\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{b} n \boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{a} \quad$ ja $\quad k a=n i a m$
$\mathrm{N}=$ purpose BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ =tradition
'they came at the time and were given a share in the tradition' [PP02SKF _031]

In (1250) $i=k$ Piad $i=u m$ refers to kinds of alcohol and other drink.
(1250) hynre heitæ i kyiad i um da khlæh bi
hnre $h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{k P i a d} \quad i=u m \quad d a \quad k^{h} l \varepsilon$ ?
but.also LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ liquor $\mathrm{N}=$ water REAL mix bi
be.diseased
'but in that liquor/drink (he) mixed poison' [PP03SKY_007]
In (1251) $i=j u \eta i=s \varepsilon m$ identifies a neighborhood.
(1251) tæ na loom langdoh chna ki i yung i sæm heitu i loom langdoh
te na lom laydo? tfna ki i=juy i=sعm
NVIS ABL hill Langdoh make 3pl $\mathrm{N}=$ home $\mathrm{N}=$ neighborhood
$h e=i=t u \quad i=l o m \quad$ laydo?
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ MEDL $\mathrm{N}=$ hill Langdoh
'so the four sisters built their houses at Loom Langdoh, there at Loom Langdoh' [PP03SKY_038]

In (1252) $i=t^{h}$ aw $i=b h a w$ is an expression that refers to a place. Here it is unclear whether the second word has any meaning apart from this construction.
(1252) kini ki khatsoo wahæh da pait da yoo ki yeini i thaw i bhaw
$k i=n i \quad k i=k^{h} a t s o \quad w a-h \varepsilon ? \quad d a \quad p a t \quad d a \quad j o \quad k i$
PL=PROX PL=fourteen NMZ-be.big REAL look REAL see 3PL
$j e=i=n i \quad i=t^{h} a w \quad i=b h a w$
BEN $=\mathrm{N}=$ PROX $\mathrm{N}=$ place $\mathrm{N}=$ place
'these fourteen elders looked after this place' [PP04SKO_027]
In (1253) $i=p t f \varepsilon m i=d w a r$ refers to the courtyard of a home.
(1253) i pchæm i dwar waroh da khooid tæ phylla u
$\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{p t} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{m} \quad \mathbf{i}=\boldsymbol{d w a r} \quad$ waro? da $k^{h}$ oit $\quad t \varepsilon$
$\mathrm{N}=$ lawn $\mathrm{N}=$ dwelling all REAL clean,pure NVIS
$p^{h}$ lla u
surprise,astonish 3SG.M.NOM
'the lawn the dwelling, all was clean, he was surprised'
[PP05KO_008]
In (1254) $i=n a m i=p r t u t t^{\prime}$ identifies the concept of 'name'.
(1254) u wa chim yeinam i pyrtuit i thaw wa mih ka kupli na loom yakorsing
$u \quad$ wa tfim je-i=nam $\quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{p r t u t} \quad i=t^{h} a w \quad$ wa

3SG.M NMZ take BEN=N=name $\mathrm{N}=$ name $\mathrm{N}=$ place NMZ
mi? ka=kupli na lom jakırsiy
bringout $\mathrm{F}=$ Kupli ABL hill Yakorsing
'he (Yakorsing) took the name of the place that Kupli came from, Loom Yakorsing' [PP05KO_012]

In (1255) $i=p$ prr $i=$ samut refers to the proper time for something to happen.
(1255) tæ heitæ i por i samuid tæ da chna ka ksiñ da chna ka meiñ
$t \varepsilon \quad h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad i=p o r \quad i=s a m u d \quad t \varepsilon \quad d a \quad$ tfna NVIS LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ time $\mathrm{N}=$ proper.time NVIS REAL make
$k a=k s i n \quad d a \quad$ tna $\quad k a=m e n$
$\mathrm{F}=$ drum.type REAL make $\mathrm{F}=$ drum.type
'so at the proper time (they) made the drums' [PP13RS_052]
In (1256) $i=p r t^{h}$ aj $i=m n d \varepsilon r$ refers to the whole word, including the world outside of the Jaintia Hills.
(1256) wa $u$ che kylla $u$ chit kylla i pyrthai i myndær
wa $u=$ tfe klla $\quad u=$ tfit klla $\quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{p r}_{\boldsymbol{r}} \boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{a j}$
NMZ $\mathrm{NF}=$ be.light change $\mathrm{NF}=$ hot change $\mathrm{N}=$ world
$i=m n d \varepsilon r$
$\mathrm{N}=$ world.outside.Jaintia
'that there will be light restored (to) earth' [PP13RS_184]
In (1257) $i=k u r i=\sigma$ at refers to clans.
(1257) tæ kynthai læh ka kylli cha i kur i jait
 NVIS female also 3SG.F.ACC ask ALL $\mathrm{N}=$ clan $\mathrm{N}=$ type 'so the girl also asks (for) the surname' [PP14MF _008]

In (1258) $i=\operatorname{din} i=t^{h} \varepsilon$ ? refers to fire.
(1258) tæ pynpsiah ki yei diñ yei thæh
$t \varepsilon \quad p \eta$-psia? $k i \quad j e-\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{d i n} \quad j e-\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{?}$
NVIS CAUS-enter 3PL BEN=N=fire BEN=N=ember 'then they bring the fire inside (the bride's house)' [PP14MF _034]

In (1259) $i=s t \varepsilon p i=m e t$ refers to morning and night, i.e. a daily event.
(1259) tæ ka wa kyit bha yn o u lai phæt i stæp i meit
$t \varepsilon \quad k a \quad w a \quad$ Prit bha n $\quad$ ? $\quad u=l a j \quad p^{h}$ ct NVIS 3SG.F NMZ enjoy ints1 ref 1SG.NOM NF=go run $i=s t \varepsilon p \quad i=m e t$
$\mathrm{N}=$ morning, early $\mathrm{N}=$ night
'so what I enjoyed doing was going for a run/walk, morning and evening' [PP15PI_016]

(1260) i por i meit i syniaw lithooh ki bru $i=p o r \quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{m e t} \quad \boldsymbol{i}=$ snjaw $\quad l i-t^{h} o ? \quad k i=b r u$ $\mathrm{N}=$ time $\mathrm{N}=$ night $\mathrm{N}=$ night DUR-find,search $\mathrm{PL}=$ person 'at the time of midnight people search (for me)' [PP15PI_082]

In (1261) $i=$ tiar $i=$ tar refers to any kind of thing.
(1261) tæ libooh kitæ i tiar i tar te li-bo? $\quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad i=t i a r \quad i=t a r$ NVIS DUR-put,keep 3 PL=NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ things $\mathrm{N}=$ stuff 'so they would put the things (there)' [SI1_046]

## Verb-verb action nominals

In (1262) $i=\bigvee \supset \eta i=s a P$ is a nominal referring to the action of living in (or on) the earth.
(1262) ka bei ram-aw ka wa i im i chong i sah i

$\mathrm{F}=$ mother earth 3SG.F NMZ 1PL live ACT=sit
$i$
ACT=stay
'mother earth who we live (with/on/in)' [BMPJ_035]
In (1263) $i=\operatorname{mon} i=k^{h} e$ refers to the will or ability of someone to act.
(1263) la toh i mon i khe yong u tre-ki-rot
la to? $i=m o n \quad i=k^{h} e \quad$ jon $u=t r e-k i-r \supset t$
if be ACT=will ACT=will,ability GEN $\mathrm{M}=$ Creator.God
'if it is God's will...' [PP13RS_025]
In (1264) $i=$ yia? $i=\sigma r \varepsilon m$ refers to a state of being completely spent or exhausted.
(1264) hawa wiar i ngiah i jrem hawa yoh i bor i mynsein
hawa wiar $\boldsymbol{i = y i a} \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{j} r \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{m}$ hawa jo? $i=b \partial r$
when lose $\mathrm{ACT}=$ tired $\mathrm{ACT}=$ faint when get $\mathrm{N}=$ power
$i=m n s e n$
$\mathrm{N}=$ spirit,soul,heart
'when (he) lost tiredness, when (he) gained strength...'
[PP13RS_133]
In (1265) $i=k^{h} e n i=k^{h} a j$ is used to identify the act of getting up from a prone position.
(1265) tæ hawa biang i kheñ i khai hawa yoh i bor mynsein tæ phæt kylla u te hawa biay $\boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h}$ en $\quad \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} a j \quad$ hawa jo? NVIS when again ACT=ritual.action ACT=get.up when get $i=b o r \quad$ mnsen te $p^{h}$ et klla u $\mathrm{N}=$ power spirit,soul,heart NVIS run change 3SG.M.NOM 'so when (he) recovered again, when (he) got strength, then he continued running' [PP13RS_140]

In (1266) $i=$ snen $i=k r o$ refers to teaching or instructing.
(1266) sorbar tæ pynap tæ pynsñiaw da yoh i sneñ i kroo u khon lymboit khon lymbiang
sorbar te $\quad$ pñ-ap te $\quad$ pn-sniaw da jə?
gathering NVIS CAUS-listen NVIS CAUS-sense REAL get
$\boldsymbol{i}=$ snen $\quad \boldsymbol{i}=$ kro $\quad u=k^{h}$ on lmboit $k^{h}$ गn lmbiaך
ACT=teach ACT=instruct $\mathrm{M}=$ =child Lymboit child Lymbiang 'so (they) listened (they) heard, (they) got instruction (from) Khon Lymboit Khon Lymbiang' [PP13RS_195]

In (1267) $i=p r n a P i=p r g i n$ refers to libations and offerings that are part of a ritual.
(1267) tæ itu toh i pyrnah ong i ki i pyrnah i pyrjin
$t \varepsilon \quad i=t u \quad$ to $P i=p r n a ? \quad$ oŋ $i \quad k i \quad i=p r n a \boldsymbol{P}$
NVIS $\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ be $\mathrm{ACT}=$ libation say 1PL 3PL ACT=libation
$i=p r d i n$
$\mathrm{ACT}=$ offering (liquid)
'so this is pyrnah, they call it pyrnah pyrjin' [PP14MF _088]
In (1268) $i=t$ t $a t=k^{h} i a$ ? refers to health and wholeness.
(1268) u æm ka jingyarap yong u blai yoh ki i chait i khiah
$u=\varepsilon m \quad k a=$ bin-jarap $j \supset \eta \quad u=b l a j \quad j \supset$ ? $k i$ $\mathrm{NF}=$ have $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{NMZ}$-help GEN $\mathrm{M}=$ God get 3PL $i=$ ffat $\quad i=k^{h} i a ?$
$\mathrm{ACT}=$ be.healthy $\mathrm{ACT}=$ be.whole
'having God's help they (can) get healthy' [PP15PI 155]

In (1269) $i=b a m i=d i$ refers to eating and drinking, i.e. food and drink.
(1269) nga wa i bam i dih waroh na dong ha dong

ๆа wa $\boldsymbol{i}=\mathbf{b a m} \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{d i} \boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { P }}$ waro? na doŋ 1SG.ACC NMZ ACT=eat ACT=drink all ABL thing,locality ha dəy
LOC thing,locality
'(it is) I who provide food (and) all things' (to my children) [PP15PI_168]

## A.1.4 Plural nominal elaborate expressions

Plural nominal elaborate expressions can also be determined based on whether the stem of each member is from the noun or from the verb class.

## Noun-noun plural pairs

In (1270) $k i=l a d ~ k i=l u t i$ refers to 'the ways' that a revered ancestor taught the Pnar people to shoot bows and arrows.
(1270) pynyoo u kitæ ki lad ki luti na wa sdang ki sngi

| $p n-j o$ | $u$ | $k i=t \varepsilon$ | $k i=l a d$ | $k i=l u t i$ | $n a$ | $w a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

CAUS-see 3SG.M.NOM PL=NVIS PL=way PL=way ABL NMZ
sdaŋ $k i=s \eta i$
begin PL=day
'he showed these ways from the beginning' [AIJ_032] (regarding archery)

In (1271) $k i=s k u d k i=r a t o$ refers to plants and flowers.
(1271) kitæ ki syntu, ki skud ki rato da pynwiar ki ya ki nadooh neitæ
$k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=s n t u \quad k i=s k u d \quad k i=$ rato $\quad d a$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{PL}=$ flower $\mathrm{PL}=$ plant.type $\mathrm{PL}=$ plant.type REAL
pn-wiar ki ja ki na-do? $n e=i=t \varepsilon$
CAUS-lose 3PL BEN 3PL ABL-when ABL=N=NVIS
'those flowers and plants were eliminated from long ago'
[BMPJ_019]
In (1272) $k i=d e n ~ k i=p r a w ~ r e f e r s ~ t o ~ t r e e s ~ a n d ~ b u s h e s . ~$
(1272) hei ya toh wa kammon u pynsah ya ki deiñ ki praw khamtam hapoh chnong jwai
$h e=i \quad j a \quad$ to? wa kammon $u=p n-s a ? \quad j a \quad k i=\boldsymbol{d e n}$
LOC-1PL BEN be NMZ how NF=CAUS-stay BEN PL=tree
ki=praw khamtam ha-po? tfoŋ Gwaj
$\mathrm{PL}=$ stick especially LOC-under,in village Jowai
'regarding how to preserve the trees and bushes especially in Jowai town' [BMPJ_028]

In (1273) $k i=m r a d ~ k i=m r \varepsilon \eta$ identifies animals and land creatures, while $k i=\operatorname{sim} k i=d o$ ? identifies birds and flying things.
(1273) wa kamni næ wa ya ki mrad ki mreng, ki sim ki doh
wa kam-ni ne wa ja [ki=mrad $k i=m r \varepsilon \eta]$
nMZ as,like-PROX D.TAG NMZ BEN PL=animal PL=animal [ $k i=\operatorname{sim} \quad k i=d \supset ?]$
PL=bird PL=body,meat
'as for the animals, the birds...' [BMPJ_036]
In (1274) $k i=p^{h}$ are $k i=m a t$ identifies flying insects.
(1274) kitæ ki khniang ki wa hiar ki phare ki mait nong
$k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=k^{h} n i a y \quad k i \quad$ wa $h i a r \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{p}^{h}$ are
$\mathrm{PL}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{PL}=$ insect 3 PL NMZ descend $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{fly}$
ki=mat $\quad n \supset \eta$
PL=mosquito CONF
'those insects that fly, the flies and mosquitos, ok...' [BMPJ_039]
In (1275) $k i=p^{h}$ lay $k i=r n \varepsilon m$ refers to grass and shrubs.
(1275) la da ym sumar i ka daw dooh i ki ki tu ki phlang ki rnæm ki wa soodong sookun yong i
la da m sumar $i \quad k a \quad d a w ~ d o ? ~ i$
if REAL NEG take.care 1PL 3SG.F.ACC irrealis lose 1PL
$k i \quad k i=t u \quad k i=\boldsymbol{p}^{h} \operatorname{lay} k i=r n \varepsilon m$ ki wa sodっך
3PL PL=MEDL PL=grass PL=shrub PL NMZ throughout sokun joŋ $i$
throughout GEN 1PL
'if we don't care for it (the environment), we will lose these grasses and shrubs all around us' [BMPJ_049]

In (1276) $k i=u m \quad k i=w a ?$ identifies water in streams and lakes (um can simply mean 'stream' or 'river').
(1276) tæ la da i ym sumar i tæ daw poi i por wa ki um ki wah duna ki
$t \varepsilon \quad l a \quad d a \quad i \quad m \quad$ sumar $i \quad t \varepsilon \quad d a w \quad p \supset j$
NVIS if REAL 1PL NEG take.care 1PL NVIS IRR arrive
$i=p o r$ wa $\boldsymbol{k i = u m} \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{w a} \boldsymbol{?}$ duna $k i$
$\mathrm{N}=$ time $\mathrm{NMZ} \mathrm{PL}=$ water $\mathrm{PL}=$ river lack 3PL
'if we don't care, time will come of water scarcity' [BMPJ_054]
In (1277) $k i=b n a j k i=s \eta i$ refers to months and days, i.e. the passage of time.
(1277) ha ki waje kattu ki bnai ki sngi ka pah ko man da poi i por
ha ki=wage kat-tu ki=bnaj ki=sŋi $k a$
LOC $\mathrm{PL}=$ bell,time as-medl $\mathrm{PL}=$ month $\mathrm{PL}=$ day 3SG.F.ACC
pap ko man da paj $i=p \supset r$
give.sign 3SG.F.NOM become REAL arrive $\mathrm{N}=$ =time
'at the proper time it (the bird) signals that the time is right (for farming)' [BMPJ_061]

In (1278) $k i=p o r ~ k i=s \eta i$ also refers to the passage of time.
(1278) khnang ha ki por ki sngi ki wa daw wan ya u yee u pynmiat pynbha chooh chooh
$k^{h} n a \eta$ ha $\boldsymbol{k i = p \boldsymbol { y }} \quad \boldsymbol{k i = s \eta i}$ ki wa daw wan ja so.that LOC PL=time PL=day 3PL NMZ irrealis come BEN $u \quad u=j e \quad u=p n$-miat $\quad$ nn-bha
3SG.M.NOM NF=able M=CAUS-be.pretty,nice CAUS-be.good too? too?
more more
'so that in times to come (we) will be able to improve more and more' [BMPJ_085]

In (1279) $k i=l \supset k k i=g 30 r$ refers to friends and associates.
(1279) u yaparom wan cha luti cha syngkein cha ki lok ki jor wa ynne ka sngi $u=j a$-parsm wan tfa luti tfa sjken tfa $\mathrm{NF}=$ PLUR-tell.story come ALL way ALL location ALL $\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{l} \boldsymbol{\jmath} \boldsymbol{k} \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{\sigma} \boldsymbol{\jmath} \boldsymbol{r} \quad$ wa nne $k a=s \eta i$ $\mathrm{PL}=$ friend $\mathrm{PL}=$ associate NMZ today $\mathrm{F}=$ day '(we) will spread the word to our friends and associates about today' [BMPJ_086]

In (1280) $k i=k^{h} n i a \eta k i=p s i a t$ refers to all the insects.
(1280) tæ $u$ dooh jait ym tang ki mrad ki mriang ym tang ki khniang ki psiat te $u=d o$ ? gat $m$ taך $k i=$ mrad $k i=$ mriay $m$ NVIS $\mathrm{NF}=$ lose type not but,even $\mathrm{PL}=$ animal $\mathrm{PL}=$ animal NEG
tay $\quad k i=k^{h} n i a \eta \quad k i=p s i a t$
but,even PL=insect PL=insect
'so (we) will lose all sorts, not only the land animals, not only the insects' [BPDJ_025]

In (1281) ki=tiar $k i=t a r$ refers to unspecified things.
(1281) u yarah biang i kitæ ki tiar ki tar u doctor tunnel
$u=j a-r a P \quad$ biaך $i \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=t i a r \quad k i=t a r$
$\mathrm{M}=$ PLUR-carry again 1PL PL=NVIS PL=things $\mathrm{PL}=$ stuff
$u=d o k t o r$ tanel
$\mathrm{m}=$ doctor Tunnel
'(after school) we would load Doctor Tunnel's things' [BPVM_010]
In (1282) $k i=$ pod $k i=s a m$ refers to boundaries.
(1282) toh boon bha hapoh ka elaka raliang wa u pait i ya u ki pood ki sam to? bon bha ha-po? ka=elaka ra.liay be be.much INTS1 LOC-under,in $\mathrm{F}=$ =village,township Raliang wa $u=p a t \quad i \quad j a \quad u \quad k i=p o d$ NMZ NF=look 1PL BEN 3SG.M.NOM PL=boundary
$k i=s a m$
PL=boundary
'(there is) very much in Raliang Elaka that we can see regarding jurisdiction (of the Daloi, in the sense of having oversight)'
[DR_006]
In (1283) $k i=t f n \supset \eta ~ k i=t^{h}$ aw refers to the villages of the area.
(1283) ha ka rukom pynbha pynmiat ki chnong ki thaw
ha $k a=$ ruksm pn-bha $\quad$ nn-miat $\quad k i=\mathbf{V} n \supset \boldsymbol{\eta}$
LOC F=way CAUS-be.good CAUS-be.pretty,nice PL=village
$k i=t^{h} a w$
PL=place
'regarding the way of (us) making the villages a better place'
[HPAHR_026]
In (1284) $k i=s \eta i k i=p o r$ refers to the passage of time.
(1284) tæ nang lai ki sngi ki por kat wa
te nay laj ki=syi ki=por kat wa
NVIS PROG go PL=day PL=time as NMZ
'so as time passes...' [LHJ_009]
In (1285) $k i=s \eta i k i=s n \varepsilon m$ also refers to the passage of time.
(1285) tæ da lai ki sngi ki snæm
tع $\quad d a \quad$ laj $\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{s \eta i} \quad k i=s n \boldsymbol{n} m$
NVIS REAL go PL=day PL=year
'so days and years pass' [LHJ_025]
In (1286) $k i=k^{h} n n_{n a}$ i $k i=p l i$ refers to young children, in this case the unwitting participants in a theft.
(1286) da chah kynnoh kini ki khynnah ki pli da chah kynnoh ki
$d a \quad$ tfa? $\quad k n n y ? ~ k i=n i \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} n n a \boldsymbol{P} \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{p l i} \quad d a$
REAL PASS blame PL=PROX PL=little.one PL=innocent REAL
tya? knno? ki
PASS blame 3PL
'the children, innocents are blamed, they are blamed' [MPSM_030]
In (1287) $i=d \supset$ ? $i=p r a n$ refers to flesh, while $k i=t f$ Pen $k i=t f r u$ ? refers to bone, forming a metaphor meaning 'flesh and bone'.
(1287) ki bru ki wa æm i doh i pran i wa æm ki chyeiñ ki chruh
$k i=b r u \quad k i \quad w a \quad \varepsilon m \quad i=d \supset P \quad i=p r a n \quad i \quad w a \quad \varepsilon m$ PL=person 3PL NMZ have $\mathrm{N}=$ flesh $\mathrm{N}=$ flesh 1PL NMZ have
$k i=t \mathbf{T}$ en $\quad k i=t$ fru?
PL=bone $\quad$ PL=bone[seed]
'people of flesh and bone' [PP01CSE_030]
In (1288) $k i=l i a r ~ k i=d u d$ refers to streams and broad rivers.
(1288) sdang ko u pra, sdang ko u tia cha kitæ ki thaw ki man ki liar ki duid sday ko $u=p r a \quad$ sday ko $u=t i a$ begin 3SG.F.NOM NF=scatter begin 3SG.F.NOM NF=advance tfa $k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=t^{h} a w \quad k i \quad$ man $k i=l i a r$ ALL PL=NVIS PL=place 3pl become PL=stream $k i=d u d$ $\mathrm{PL}=$ broad.river
'it (the water) began to scatter, began to advance to places, becoming streams and rivers' [PP01CSE_035]

In (1289) $k i=m o-s i a \eta ~ k i=m o-t^{h} a$ identifies stone slabs and large boulders. In this story the soil has been given by the heavenly mother to cover the rocks.
(1289) tæ tymmoh ko tæ kyllæp ki moosiang ki mootha
te tmmo? ko te kllep ki=mo-sian

NVIS overlay 3SG.F.NOM NVIS cover PL=stone-slab
$k i=m o-t^{h} \boldsymbol{a}$
PL=stone-boulder
'so it lay over, and the rocks were covered' [PP01CSE_036]
In (1290) $k i=s m b e ~ k i=p^{h} n i a \eta$ refers to the rice seed and seedlings used for planting.
(1290) brait ko neitæ sa ki symbe ki phniang
brat ko ne=i=tع sa ki=smbe
scatter 3SG.F.NOM ABL=N=NVIS only PL=seed
$k i=\boldsymbol{p}^{h} n i a \eta$
PL=rice[seedling]
'she scattered the seeds' [PP01CSE_037]
In (1291) $k i=k^{h}$ כn $k i=k s u$ identifies children and grandchildren, i.e. offspring.
(1291) tyllup pyrthai ya $u$ dap ya $u$ im ki khon ki ksu ynñiaw wasa tllup $\quad p_{r} t^{h} a j$ ja $\quad u=d a p \quad$ ja $\quad u=i m \quad k i=k^{h}$ on all.over world BEN NF=fill BEN NF=live PL=child $k i=k s u \quad$ nniaw wasa $\mathrm{PL}=$ grandchild seven hut
'the whole earth will be filled by the children of the seven huts' [PP01CSE_038]

In (1292) $k i=h a l i ~ k i=h a t o r ~ r e f e r s ~ t o ~ p a d d y ~ f i e l d s . ~$
(1292) tæ neitæ tæ $u$ ynñiaw wasa pynbiang pyntoh $u$ ya ki hali ki hator $t \varepsilon \quad n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad u=n n i a w ~ w a s a ~ p n$-biay NVIS ABL $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ seven hut CAUS-be.enough pn-tə? u ja ki=hali ki=hator CAUS-be 3SG.m.NOM BEN PL=paddy.field PL=field 'then the seven huts arranged the paddy fields' [PP01CSE_039]

In (1293) $k i=s \eta i$ $k i=r e t a$ refers to age, and specifically to the fixed number of years given to each person.
(1293) kam hawa nga man da kut ki sngi ki reta o u liwan o cha ki sangia kam hawa $\quad$ ja man da kut ki=sŋi ki=reta like,want when 1SG.ACC become REAL end PL=day PL=age〕 u=liwan $\quad$ tja ki=saŋŋia 1SG.NOM NF=return.home 1SG.NOM ALL PL=reborn 'since when my days have finished I will return to the rebirth' [PP01CSE_060]

In (1294) $k i=p a i t ~ k i=p^{h} l a \eta$ refers to a large number of people, compared here to grass that grows.
(1294) wa u yee o u pynngait kat ya ki paid ki phlang $u$ wan yah cha pyrthai
wa $u=j e \quad u \quad u=p n-\eta a t \quad$ kat $j a$
NMZ NF=able 1SG.NOM NF=CAUS-believe as BEN
$k i=$ pait $\quad k i=\boldsymbol{p}^{h} l a y \quad u=w a n \quad j a ? \quad$ tfa $\quad$ prt $t^{h} a j$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ people $\mathrm{PL}=$ grass $\mathrm{M}=$ come drive,lead ALL world 'who am I to convince the people to bring (them) to earth' [PP01CSE_073]

In (1295) $k i=d e n k i=s e f$ refers to trees and bamboo, while $k i=p^{h} l a \eta k i=r n \varepsilon m$ identified grass and shrubs or herbs, i.e. different growing things.
(1295) waroh i jait da thung, u symbe u phniang ki deiñ ki seij ki phlang ki rnæm
waros $i=$ dat $d a \quad t^{h} u \eta \quad u=s m . b e ~ u=p^{h}$ nian
all $\mathrm{N}=$ type REAL plant,appoint $\mathrm{M}=$ seed $\mathrm{M}=$ rice[seedling]
$\left[k i=d e n \quad k i=s e_{\boldsymbol{f}}\right] \quad\left[k i=p^{h} l a \eta \quad k i=r n \varepsilon m\right]$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ tree $\quad \mathrm{PL}=$ bamboo.type $\mathrm{PL}=$ grass $\quad \mathrm{PL}=$ shrub
'all kinds of things are planted, all kinds of seeds, all trees and herbs...' [PP01CSE_086]

In (1296) $k i=n i a m ~ k i=r u k J m$ refers to traditional practices.
(1296) tæ ya ki niam ki rukom waroh læh ki da pynchong ki
tع $j a \quad k i=n i a m \quad k i=$ rukom waro? lq? $k i d a$ NVIS BEN PL=tradition PL=way all also 3PL REAL $p n$ - tfon ki
CAUS-sit 3PL
'so regarding all the religious traditions also, they practice (them)' [PP03SKY_039]

In (1297) $k i=k u r k i=d, \delta$ at refers to the different clans who inhabit the Jaintia Hills.
(1297) kitæ toh ki kur ki jait ki wa mih na ka bor kupli

$\mathrm{PL}=$ NVIS be $\mathrm{PL}=$ clan $\mathrm{PL}=$ type 3 PL NMZ bring.out ABL
ka=bor kupli
F=power Kupli
'these are the clans that came from Kupli' [PP04SKO_018]
In (1298) $k i=k^{h} \partial n k i=n a t$ refers to descendants, progeny or offspring.
(1298) man na kani ka pateiñ yong ka lasubon ksiar tæ da kha ko ki khon ki nat man na $k a=n i \quad k a=p a t e n ~ j o \eta \quad k a=l a s u b o n ~ k s i a r ~$ become ABL $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ generation GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ Lasubon gold $t \varepsilon \quad d a \quad k^{h} a \quad k \supset \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{\partial n} \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{n a t}$ NVIS REAL birth 3SG.F.NOM PL=child PL=branch 'this is from Lasubon Ksiar's generation, so she bore (those) descendants' [PP06PK_008]

In (1299) $k i=n a n k i=s u \eta$ refers to different sizes of lakes.
(1299) tih u ya ki nan ki sung

| $t i \boldsymbol{i}$ | $u$ | $j a$ | $\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{n a n}$ | $\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{s u \eta}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dig | 3SG.M.NOM | BEN | PL=lake | $\mathrm{PL}=$ lake |

'he (Sajar Nangli) dug several lakes' [PP07SNM_003]
In (1300) $k i=j u l u m ~ k i=j u k d u \eta$ refers to the special cloths used to wrap an infant.
(1300) booh kitæ ki yulum ki yukdung
bo? $\quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=j u l u m \quad k i=j u k d u \eta$
put,keep PL=NVIS PL=infant.wrap PL=infant.cloth
'(they) keep those baby cloths (for wrapping)' [PP11NC_003]
In (1301) $k i=k s u d k i=k^{h} r e j$ are different kinds of evil spirits.
(1301) u shillong da mih kitæ ki ksuid ki khrei
$u=\int l l \supset \eta \quad d a \quad m i P \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=k s u d$
$\mathrm{M}=$ Shillong REAL bring.out PL=NVIS PL=demon
$k i=k^{h} r e j$
PL=evil.spirit
'Shillong (the king) was supported by the demons' [PP13RS_043]
In (1302) $k i=d e w k i=p u r i$ refers to good spirits, particularly those that inhabit the water, while $k i=r \eta k a w ~ k i=s a m u n$ are spirits of the air.
(1302) kat wa ki paid wan ki dew ki puri tæ ki ryngkaw ki samun ong ki khlan $u$ synriang ya $u$ næh ya $u$ sah i pyrthai mariang
kat wa ki=pait wan $[k i=$ dew $\quad k i=p u r i] \quad t \varepsilon$ as NMZ PL=people come PL=good.spirit PL=mermaid NVIS
[ki=rpkaw $\quad \boldsymbol{k i}=$ samun] $\quad \supset \eta \quad k i \quad k^{h} l a n \quad u=$ snria $\eta$ PL=spirit.type PL=spirit.type say 3PL use,strong M=Synriang $j a \quad u=n \varepsilon ? \quad j a \quad u=s a ? \quad i=p r t^{h} a j$ marian BEN NF=preserve BEN NF=stay $\mathrm{N}=$ world mother.earth 'so then a group, the good water spirits came, they said 'be strong Synriang, so as to preserve the earth" [PP13RS_045]

In (1303) $k i=n a t k i=t f i a \eta$ refers to the branches of a plant.
(1303) tæ kdar u ki nat ki chiang yong oo
te kdar u ki=nat ki=tfian joŋ
NVIS open 3SG.M.NOM PL=branch PL=branch GEN
o
3sG.M.ACC
'so he opened his branches' [PP13RS_139]
In (1304) $k i=k l o n g ~ k i=s k o o ~ r e f e r s ~ t o ~ t h e ~ b o t t l e ~ a n d ~ g o u r d ~ u s e d ~ i n ~ l i b a t i o n s . ~$
(1304) i yi pyrnah pyrjin, ki klong ki skoo
$i=j i \quad$ prna? profin $k i=k l o \eta \quad k i=s k o$
$\mathrm{N}=$ thing libation offering(liquid) $\mathrm{PL}=$ bottle $\mathrm{PL}=$ gourd 'the thing(s) for libations, the bottle and gourd' [PP14MF _022]

In (1305) $k i=n a r k i=p l i a \eta$ identifies implements used for feasting, specifically kinds of plates.
(1305) tæ pynmih wan ki sa ki pliang ki nar
te $\quad$ pn-mi? wan $k i \quad$ sa $\quad \boldsymbol{k i}=$ pliay $k i=n a r ~$ NVIS CAUS-bring.out come 3PL only PL=plate $\mathrm{PL}=$ iron 'so they bring out the plates' [PP14MF _039]

In (1306) $k i=b l a j k i=s$ Pem refers to God, the ultimate ruler. Since the creator God is also understood to be a being with multiple realizations, the plural form is acceptable here.
(1306) tæ khlæm pynap pynsñiaw ya ki blai ki syiem tæ man ko ka wa bakla
$t \varepsilon \quad k^{h} l \varepsilon m \quad p n$-ap $\quad$ pn-sniaw $\quad j a \quad k i=b l a j$
NVIS be.without CAUS-listen CAUS-sense BEN PL=God
$k i=s$ Pem te man ko ka wa bakla
PL=ruler NVIS become 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F NMZ mistake 'without listening for God it is a mistake' [PP14MF _090]

In (1307) $k i=k \supset t ~ k i=s l a ~ r e f e r s ~ t o ~ d o c u m e n t s . ~$
(1307) tæ da yoh o ki kot ki sla na ka i wa toh u lai interview ha Calcutta
 NVIS REAL get 1SG.NOM PL=book PL=leaf ABL 3SG.F.ACC $i$ wa to? $u=l a j$ intervju ha kalkata 1PL NMZ be $\mathrm{NF}=$ go interview LOC Calcutta
'so I got all the documents ready to go interview in Calcutta' [PP15PI_113]

In (1308) $k i=k^{h}$ on $k i=k t i$ refers to children belonging to someone, i.e. in the hand.
(1308) ym pu æm u khana phi ya i wa ya ki khon ki kti yong phi $m \quad p u \quad \varepsilon m \quad u=k^{h} a n a \quad p^{h} i \quad j a \quad i \quad$ wa $\quad j a \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h}$ כn NEG not have $\mathrm{NF}=$ tell 2PL BEN 1PL NMZ BEN PL=child $k i=k t i \quad j \supset \eta \quad p^{h} i$ PL=hand GEN 2PL 'you haven't told us about your children' [PP15PI_129]

In (1309) $k i=b e j k i=p a$ refers to parents.
(1309) kat wa dang dooh ki bei ki pa i im bait dooh hi ræp hi khih
kat wa day do? $k i=b e j \quad k i=p a \quad i \quad i m \quad b a t$ as NMZ PROG lose $\mathrm{PL}=$ mother $\mathrm{PL}=$ father 1 PL live IMM 3 do? hi rep hi $k^{h} i$ ?
completely EMPH cultivate EMPH work
'since our parents were poor, we lived only on agriculture' [SI1_006]
In (1310) $k i=k^{h}$ mat $k i=k^{h}$ mut refers to the face where the eye and nose are located.
(1310) i niangthoh næ sæ wa man ki khmat ki khmut ki wa sih dur
$i=n i a \eta t^{h} \supset$ ? $n \varepsilon \quad s \varepsilon \quad$ wa man $k i=k^{h}$ mat
$\mathrm{N}=$ spotted.infection D.TAG C.TAG NMZ become PL=eye
$k i=k^{h}$ mut ki wa si? dur
$\mathrm{PL}=$ nose $\quad 3 \mathrm{PL}$ NMZ be.sad,bad picture
'the smallpox, ok, it made the face ugly' [SI1_033]
In (1311) $k i=m a s i ~ k i=h a r$ refers to different kinds of cattle.
(1311) u yoh kitæ ki masi ki har
$u=j \jmath ? \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=m a s i \quad k i=h a r$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ get $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ PL=cow $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{ox}$
'(we) will get cattle' [SI3_063]
In (1312) $k i=m a r k i=k^{h}$ ar refers to belongings or objects.
(1312) tæ ha u yaklam o ya ki mar ki khar
te ha u=ja-klam $\quad$ ja $\quad$ ki=mar
NVIS LOC NF=PLUR-speak 1SG.NOM BEN PL=belongings $k i=k^{h} a r$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ belongings
'so when I speak about these things (objects)...' [TACJ_062]
In (1313) $k i=k n t^{h}$ aj $k i=t f n r a \eta$ refers to mebers of both biological genders.
(1313) ha i por wa yachad ya i sñiaw-bha ki kynthai ki chynrang læh ha $i=p o r$ wa ja-tfad ja $i \quad$ sniaw-bha LOC N=time NMZ PLUR-dance BEN 1PL sense-be.good $k i=k n t^{h} a j \quad k i=t!n r a \eta \quad l \varepsilon ?$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ female $\mathrm{PL}=$ male also
'at times when both women and men are celebrating' [TACJ_118]
In (1314) $k i=w a t{ }_{\square} k i=s t e ?$ refers to sword and shield, i.e. implements of war.
(1314) dang næh kini ki wait ki steih mo
$\begin{array}{llllll}d a \eta & n \varepsilon ? & k i=n i & \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{w a t} & \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{i}=\boldsymbol{s t e} \boldsymbol{e} & m \jmath \\ \text { PROG } & \text { preserve } & \text { PL=PROX } & \text { PL=sword } & \text { PL=shield } & \text { QTAG }\end{array}$
'these swords and shields are still preserved' [TACJ_403]
In (1315) $k i=j u \eta k i=s \varepsilon m$ refers to the whole neighborhood.
(1315) waroh ki yung ki sæm
wars? $k i=j u \eta \quad k i=s \varepsilon m$
all $\quad \mathrm{PL}=$ home $\mathrm{PL}=$ neighborhood
'the whole neighborhood' [TACJ_412]

## Verb-verb plural pairs

In (1316) $k i=h \varepsilon$ ? $k i=h a n$ is a pair of verbs that have been nominalized to identify people associate with the properties of 'big'-ness and respectability, in this case lawyers.
(1316) nga da wan yachæm o wa ki hæh ki hain

| $\eta a$ | $d a$ | wan | $j a-t f \varepsilon m$ | $o$ | $w a$ | $\boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1s.acc | REAL | come | PLUR-meet | 1SG.NOM | COMT | PL=be.big |
| $\boldsymbol{k i = h a n}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| PL=be.big |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'I have met with respectable people (lawyers)' [HPAHR_027] |  |  |  |  |  |  |

In (1317) $k i=b a m k i=d i$ refers to thinks eaten and drunk.
(1317) kiyi dei kitæ ki bam ki dih ki pynæmkam hei tu i por i wa syuit wa choor $k i=j i \quad d e-i \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=b a m \quad k i=d i \boldsymbol{P}$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ thing $\quad$ INST-3sg.N $\mathrm{PL}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{PL}=$ eat $\quad \mathrm{PL}=$ drink
$k i=p n \varepsilon m k a m$ he $=i=t u \quad i=p \supset r \quad i \quad$ wa s?ut wa PL=use $\quad$ LOC $=\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{MEDL} \mathrm{N}=$ time 1PL NMZ pour NMZ tfor
pour
'what are the eatables and drinkables used at the time of libations?' [PP14MF_079]

In (1318) $k i=k^{h}$ ian $k i=d o j$ refers to very small or minor things.
(1318) ki wa kjut kam kitæ ki khian ki doi mynchwa mynchwa
ki wa kgut kam $k i=t \varepsilon \quad \boldsymbol{k i}=\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{i a n}$
3PL NMZ hurt,sick like,want PL=NVIS PL=be.small
$k i=d o j \quad m n t f w a \quad m n t f w a$
PL=be.little before before
'those sicknesses like those small ones' [PP15PI_084]

## A.1.5 Verbal elaborate expressions

Verbal elaborate expressions can be divided according to what kind of morphemes each member of the pair combines with. As nominal expressives can be classified by gender markers, verbal expressives can be classified according to whether they receive affixation or mood/property marking.

Affixes on verbal expressives include pluractional $j a$ - (§A.1.5), causative $p n$ - (§A.1.5), and durative li- (§A.1.5).

## Affixes: $j a-$

Pluractional affixes generally identify an activity that is done for someone else or together with others. In (1319) ja-laj ja-wan refers to the collective or benefactive act of doing one's business back and forth throughout life.
(1319) nga, phi, yalai yawan i
$\eta a \quad p^{h} i \quad$ ja-laj ja-wan $i$
1SG.ACC 2PL PLUR-go PLUR-come 1PL
'I, you, we go back and forth' (on the earth) [BMPJ_006]
In (1320) $j a-t f o \eta j a-s a ?$ refers to the communal activity of residing in or inhabiting a place.
(1320) ya u man ko ka environment ka wa biang wa yachong yasah i kamni

| $j a$ | $u=$ man | $k \Omega$ | $k a=$ envajronmen | $k a$ | $w a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

BEN NF=become 3SG.F.NOM F=environment 3SG.F NMZ
biaŋ wa ja-tJon ja-sa? $i \quad k a m-n i$
be.enough NMZ PLUR-sit PLUR-stay 1PL as,like-PROX
'so the environment will be fit for us to stay and live' [BMPJ_041]
In (1321) ja-ŋo? ja-dzm refers to the ceremonial blessing, and ja-bam ja$d i P$ identifies the collective activity of feasting together. This is in relation to ceremonies surrounding a marriage.
(1321) dæp neitæ katæ waroh ka yangooh yadæm yabam yadih tæ pyllum pyllang noh
$d \varepsilon p \quad n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad$ waro? $k a$
PERF ABL=N=NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS all 3SG.F.ACC
[ja-yo? $\quad j a-d e m] \quad[j a-b a m \quad j a-d i \boldsymbol{P}]$
PLUR-blessing,thanks PLUR-bend.down PLUR-eat PLUR-drink
te pllum pllay no?
NVIS collect gather IMM1
'after all the thanking and blessing, the eating and drinking, then there is cleanup' [PP14MF _040]

## Affixes: $p n_{1}$ -

In (1322) $u=p n$-bat $p n$-sud identifies responsibility tied to the position of a Daloi.
(1322) u pynbait pynsud i ki u thoo lad kammon u pynchong suk chong sain $u=p n$-bat $\quad$ pn-sud $i \quad k i \quad u=t^{h} o \quad$ lad kammon $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-direct CAUS-care 1PL 3PL NF=create way how
 $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-sit be.peaceful sit agree
'we are responsible for people, to show the way (of) how to work for peace and harmony' [DR_007]

In (1323) pn-bha pn-miat refers to the act of improving something or making it better.
(1323) ha ka rukom pynbha pynmiat ki chnong ki thaw
ha $k a=r u k \supset m \quad$ pr-bha $\quad$ pn-miat $\quad k i=\emptyset f n \supset \eta ~$
LOC F=way CAUS-be.good CAUS-be.pretty,nice $\mathrm{PL}=$ village
$k i=t^{h} a w$
PL=place
'regarding the way of making the village a better place'
[HPAHR_026]
In (1324) $p n$-hœh $p n$-san also refers to improvement, but specifically in terms of enlarging something.
(1324) wa yakræh lang ya kani ka kam ya u pynroi pynhæh pynsan ya kani ka balang ladthadlaboh
wa ja-kre? laŋ ja ka=ni ka=kam ja
COMT PLUR-work together BEN $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ work BEN
$u=p n$-roj $\quad \boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{\eta}$-he? $\boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{\imath}$-san $\quad j a \quad k a=n i$
M=CAUS-prosper CAUS-be.big CAUS-be.large BEN F=PROX
$k a=b a l a \eta \quad l a t^{h} a d l a b o ?$
$\mathrm{F}=$ association Ladthadlaboh
'and (we) work together for prosperity, to improve the Lathadlaboh church' [LIJ_029]

In (1325) $p \eta$-hun $p \eta$-suk refers to being happy or content.
(1325) hei jooh i por man ki ki khon wa pynhun pynsuk
$h e=i=\measuredangle 0$ o $\quad i=p o r \quad$ man $k i \quad k i=k^{h} \partial n \quad w a$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ be.same $\mathrm{N}=$ time become 3PL PL=child NMZ
pn-hun pn-suk
CAUS-happy CAUS-be.peaceful
'at the same time (also), they are happy children' [LS2J_036]
In (1326) $p n$-biay $p n$-to? refers to arranging something.
(1326) tæ neitæ tæ u ynñiaw wasa pynbiang pyntoh $u$ ya ki hali ki hator $t \varepsilon \quad n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad u=n$ niaw wasa pn-bian NVIS $A B L=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ seven hut CAUS-be.enough pri-to? u ja ki=hali ki=hator CAUS-be 3SG.m.NOM BEN PL=paddy.field PL=field 'then the seven huts arranged the paddy fields' [PP01CSE_039]

In (1327) pn-do? pn-dam refers to destruction of a settlement in a particular place (Soo Yung hill).
(1327) tæ man da wan ki hei por wan ki phareng pyndooh pyndam ki itu i thaw te man da wan ki he=i=por wan NVIS become REAL come 3PL LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ time come $k i=p^{h} a r \varepsilon \eta \quad p n$-do? $\quad p n$-dam $\quad k i \quad i=t u \quad i=t^{h} a w$ PL=foreigner CAUS-lose CAUS-stop 3PL N=MEDL $\mathrm{N}=$ place 'so when the foreigner (British) came (to India) they destroyed that place' [PP03SKY_037]

In (1328) $p n-t f \supset \eta p n-t^{h} i a ?$ refers to staying and sleeping or remaining in an area.
(1328) tæ pynchong pynthiah ya ka niam ka rukom tع $\quad$ pn-ţon $\quad$ pn-t $t^{h} \boldsymbol{i a} \boldsymbol{P} \quad$ ja $\quad k a=n i a m \quad k a=$ rukom NVIS CAUS-sit CAUS-sleep BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition $\mathrm{F}=$ way 'so (they) remained for the (purpose of the) traditional ways' [PP04SKO_052]

In (1329) $u=p n$-hceh $p n$-yar refers to the process of enlarging and expanding.
(1329) tæ da sdang u pynhæh pynyar ya kani ka hima
$t \varepsilon \quad d a \quad$ sdaך $u=\boldsymbol{p n}$-he? $\quad$ pn-jar $\quad j a$
NVIS REAL begin M=CAUS-be.big CAUS-be.wide BEN
$k a=n i \quad k a=h i m a$
F=PROX $\mathrm{F}=$ kingdom
'so they started to enlarge their kingdom' [PP06PK_011]
In (1330) pñ-ap pņ-sñiaw refers to making people listen or pay attention.
(1330) tæ u woh lakriah hapoh dorbar sorbar tæ pynap pynsñiaw u
te $u=w \supset ?$ lakria? ha-po? dorbar sorbar
NVIS $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{HON} . \mathrm{M} . e l d e r$ Lakriah LOC-under, in meeting gathering
te pn-ap pn-sniaw u
NVIS CAUS-listen CAUS-sense 3SG.M.NOM
'so Woh Lakriah, in the council meeting, he made (them) listen...' [PP13RS_019] or 'so Woh Lakriah, in the council meeting, he announced...'

In (1331) pn-kup pn-dغл refers to the act of dressing someone, placing a turban on their head.
(1331) da pynkup pyndæñ ya u khon lymboit khon lymbiang
$d a \quad$ pn-kup pn-den ja $\quad u=k^{h} \supset n$ lmboit $k^{h} \supset n$
REAL CAUS-cover CAUS-hang BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ child Lymboit child lmbiay
Lymbiang
'(they) placed (the turban) on/for Khon Lymboit Khon Lymbiang' [PP13RS_189]

In (1332) pn-k oit pn-ogiar refers to purification, ritual footwashing.
(1332) man da dæp pynkhooid pynjngiar hapoh yung tæ ka kynthai man da dep pn-k $\boldsymbol{k}^{h}$ oit $\quad$ pn-dŋiar become REAL PERF CAUS-clean,pure CAUS-totally.clear ha-po? juך te $k a=k n t^{h} a j$ LOC-under,in home NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ female 'after cleaning/purifying completely in the house, then the bride...' [PP14MF_041]

In (1333) pn-syaid $p n$-chit refers to the act of warming something.
(1333) ha wa æm i diñ i thæh tæ mut pynsyaid pynchit ko ya ka yung ka sæm ha wa $\varepsilon m \quad i=\operatorname{din} \quad i=t^{h} \varepsilon ? \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ mut $p n$-sPait LOC NMZ have $\mathrm{N}=$ fire $\mathrm{N}=$ ember NVIS means CAUS-warm pn-ţit kJ ja $k a=j u \eta \quad k a=s \varepsilon m$ CAUS-hot 3SG.F.NOM BEN F=home $\mathrm{F}=$ neighborhood 'when there is fire it makes the house/home warm' [PP14MF _059]

In (1334) $u=p n$-dəot $p n$-pra refers to destruction and demolition.
(1334) ym hoi u pynjot pynpra i ya kani ka khloo ka kjam
$m \quad h \supset j \quad u=\boldsymbol{p} \boldsymbol{\eta}-\boldsymbol{\sigma} \boldsymbol{\sigma} \boldsymbol{t} \quad \boldsymbol{p n - p r a} \quad i \quad j a$
NEG be.well NF=CAUS-destroy CAUS-scatter 1PL BEN
$k a=n i \quad k a=k^{h} l o \quad k a=k \circ j a m$
$\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \quad \mathrm{F}=$ forest $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{Kjam}$
'it's not right (for us) to destroy and demolish this forest' [SI2_042]
In (1335) $u=p n$-dap $p n$-biang refers to provision and $u=p n$-lang $p n$-lum refers to collection.
(1335) u pyndap pynbiang hei nam hei pyrtuit yong ka yoh o, yee ou pynlang pynlum waroh hi æh ki wa æm kam yong ka ri Jaintia

| $u=p n-d a p$ | $p n-b i a \eta$ | $h e=i=n a m$ | $h e=i=p r t u t$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NF=CAUS-fill | CAUS-be.enough | LOC=N=name | LOC=N=name |



GEN 3 sgF get 1 SG.NOM be.able 1SG.nom
$u=p n$-lay $\quad$ nn-lum waro? hi $\quad$ ? $\quad k i$

M=CAUS-be.together CAUS-sweep all EMPH IMM2 3PL
wa $\quad$ m kam joŋ $k a=r i \quad$ gentia
NMZ have like, want GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ country Jaintia
'(I) will provide in her (Jaintia's) name, (so that) I can collect all that is the Jaintia country's' [TACJ_086]

## Affixes: li-

In (1336) li-dan li-pharia refers to the act of cutting and crushing carried out over a particular duration.
(1336) ya u khaat e ko ka hukum deih lidaiñ lipharia ka moosiang ka mootha ja $u=k^{h} a t \quad e \quad k o \quad k a=h u k u m \quad d e ? \quad$ li-dan BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ Khaat give 3SG.F.NOM $\mathrm{F}=$ command ADH DUR-cut li-pharia $\quad k a=m o s i a \eta \quad k a=$ mot $^{h} a$ DUR-crush $\mathrm{F}=$ stone-slab $\mathrm{F}=$ stone-boulder
'to Khaat she gave the command '(you) should crush the rocks and boulders' [PP01CSE_032]

In (1337) li-k ${ }^{h}$ ut li-tin refers to the activity of calling and fetching.
(1337) da pyut i pyrthai da pyut i myndær tæ likhut litiñ ya u eh ya u che kylla ka pyrthai ka myndær
da p?ut $i=p r t^{h} a j$ da p?ut $i=m n d \varepsilon r \quad t \varepsilon$ REAL rot $\mathrm{N}=$ world REAL rot $\mathrm{N}=$ world.outside.Jaintia NVIS li-k $k^{h} u t \quad$ li-tin $\quad j a \quad u=e ? \quad j a \quad u=t f e \quad$ klla DUR-call DUR-fetch BEN NF=leave BEN NF=be.light change $k a=p r t^{h} a j \quad k a=m n d \varepsilon r$ $\mathrm{F}=$ world $\quad \mathrm{F}=$ world.outside.Jaintia 'the earth was rotten, so the sun has to be fetched so that the earth will receive light' [PP13RS_167]

In (1338) li-tfo li-bo? refers to keeping someone from doing something.
(1338) hadooh wa $u$ poi $u$ sngi ka wa $u$ libooh ki oo wan lichoo libooh tæ oo ym yee u u wan
ha-do? wa $u=p o j \quad u=s \eta i \quad k a \quad w a$
LOC-when NMZ NF=arrive $\mathrm{M}=$ day $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{F}$ NMZ
$u=l i-b o ? \quad k i \quad o \quad$ wan li-tfo
NF=DUR-put,keep 3PL 3SG.M.ACC come DUR-remain
li-boP te o $\quad$ m je u
DUR-put,keep NVIS 3SG.M.ACC NEG able 3SG.M.NOM
$u=w a n$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ come
'until the day (of marriage) arrives, they will keep him (away), so he's not able to come (to his bride's house)' [PP14MF_021]

In (1339) li-him li-bo? refers to the act of taking and carrying.
(1339) ha ka sngi musiang yn lihim libooh wan i ha Jwai
ha $k a=s \eta i$ musiay $n$ li-him li-bo? wan $i$
LOC F=day Musiang ref DUR-take DUR-put,keep come 1PL ha d $\quad$ waj
LOC Jowai
'on Musiang (market) day we carry (it, the produce) to Jowai' [SI3_041]

## A.1.6 Mode and property

Modal markers that verbal expressive constructions occur with are da 'realis' (§A.1.6) and daw 'irrealis' (§A.1.6), and the property or attributive marker is $w a$, the general nominalizer/relativizer (§A.1.6).

## Realis - $d a$

In (1340) da tfat da $k^{h} i a$ ? refers being healthy and well, while $d a h \varepsilon ? d a$ $k^{h} l a n$ identifies growing and becoming stronger.
(1340) man da chait da khiah i man da hæh da khlan i chiboon yee u læh ya u ræp waroh i
$\operatorname{man} \quad\left[\begin{array}{llll}d a & \boldsymbol{f} a t & d a & \left.k^{h} i a \boldsymbol{P}\right] \quad i \\ \operatorname{man} \quad[d a\end{array}\right.$ become REAL be.healthy REAL be.whole 1PL become REAL $\left.\boldsymbol{h \varepsilon} \boldsymbol{P} \boldsymbol{d a} \quad \boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{l a n}\right] \quad i \quad$ ti-bon je $u=l \varepsilon ? \quad j a$ be.big REAL use,strong 1PL one-be.much able NF=do BEN $u=r \varepsilon p \quad$ waros $i$ $\mathrm{NF}=$ cultivate all 1PL
'when we are well and healthy, when we are big and strong, (we) can do, cultivate anything' [BMPJ_092]

In（1341）da poj da サ〇〇ך refers to arriving and sitting，i．e．visiting．
（1341）man da wan unik ha kawi sngi da poi da chong u man da wan $u=n i k$ ha kawi sŋi da poj become REAL come $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{Nik}$ LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ one day REAL arrive da 乌つŋ $u$
REAL sit 3SG．M．NOM
＇when Nik came on the day，he arrived and sat down＇［KP＿012］
In（1342）da †Joŋ da sa？refers to sitting and staying，remaining in an area．
（1342）tæ man da wan ki hei ni tæ ki da chong da sah ki te man da wan ki he＝i＝ni te ki NVIS become REAL come 3pl LOC＝N＝PROX NVIS 3PL $d a \quad$ ЏЈ $\eta \quad d a \quad s a ? ~ k i$
REAL sit REAL stay 3PL
＇so when they came here they stayed＇［PP02SKF＿022］
In（1343）da roj da par refers to growing prosperity．
（1343）halor itæ tæ da roi da par，man da roi da par kitæ kitæ ki khon da mih ki khon mih ki ksu
$h a-l o r \quad i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad d a \quad$ roj $d a$ par man LOC－top N＝NVIS NVIS REAL prosper REAL crawl become
$d a \quad$ roj $d a \quad$ par $k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=k^{h} \partial n$
REAL prosper REAL crawl PL＝NVIS PL＝NVIS PL＝child
$d a \quad m i$ i $k i=k^{h} \partial n \quad m i P \quad k i=k s u$
REAL bring．out PL＝child bring．out PL＝grandchild
＇on top of that they prospered，when they prospered，these children， they had children and grandchildren＇［PP04SKO＿019］

In（1344）da pat da jo refers to looking after something．
（1344）kini ki khatsoo wahæh da pait da yoo ki yeini i thaw i bhaw
$k i=n i \quad k i=k^{h}$ atso wa－he？da pat da jo PL＝PROX PL＝fourteen NMZ－be．big REAL look REAL see
ki $j e=i=n i \quad i=t^{h} a w \quad i=b h a w$
3PL BEN＝N＝PROX $\mathrm{N}=$ place $\mathrm{N}=$ place
＇these fourteen elders looked after this place＇［PP04SKO＿027］
In（1345）da hiar da knt $t^{h}$ iar refers to jumping down into something．
(1345) ka da hiar da kynthiar ko ha wai khyrwi

| $k a$ | $d a$ | $h i a r$ | $d a$ | $k n t$ | $t^{h}$ | ko |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | 3SG.F.ACC REAL descend REAL jump 3SG.F.NOM LOC waj $k^{h} r w i$

river Khyrwi
'she jumped into the Khyrwi river' [PP05KO_017]
In (1346) da kḑam da dat refers to being cold, while da $\ddagger i a ?$ da dgrem refers to being exhausted.
(1346) phæt u neitæ man da meit, da kjam da dait dæp ka meit ka syniaw poi u lai poi $u$ wan hapoh syniaw hapoh lyngngoh tæ da ngiah da jrem tæ poi $p^{h} \varepsilon t u \quad n e=i=t \varepsilon \quad$ man $d a \quad m e t \quad d a$ run 3SG.M.NOM ABL=N=NVIS become REAL night REAL kogam da dat dep $k a=m e t \quad k a=s n j a w ~ p a j \quad u=l a j$ be.cold REAL freeze PERF $F=$ night $F=$ night arrive $N F=$ go poj u=wan ha-po? snjaw ha-po? lŋŋŋว? arrive $\mathrm{NF}=$ come LOC-under,in night LOC-under,in darkness tع da $\quad$ jia? da $\quad$ grem te poj NVIS REAL tired REAL faint NVIS arrive
'he ran/continued from there, when night (came) there was cold, after night fell, to go and come in the dark of night, (he) was very tired' [PP13RS_128]

In (1347) da suk da san refers peace and harmony.
(1347) tæ da suk da sain u ynñiaw wasa ynñiaw wasung hadooh kini ki sngi te $d a$ suk $d a$ san $u=n$ niaw wasa nniaw NVIS REAL be.peaceful REAL agree $M=$ seven hut seven wasuך $\quad h a-d o ? \quad k i=n i \quad k i=s \eta i$ nMZ-lake LOC-when PL=PROX PL=day 'so the Seven Huts were at peace during those days' [PP13RS_197]

In (1348) da $k^{h} r \varepsilon$ ? da tajar refers to preparing for something, in this case a wedding.
(1348) tæ neiliang ka yung yong ka kynthai ka da khræh da taiar ko heitæ $t \varepsilon \quad n e=i=l i a \eta \quad k a=j u \eta \quad j ə \eta \quad k a=k n t^{h} a j k a \quad d a$ NVIS ABL=N=side $\mathrm{F}=$ home GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ female 3 SG.F.ACC REAL $k^{h} r \boldsymbol{r} \boldsymbol{P} \quad d a \quad$ tajar ko $\quad h e=i=t \varepsilon$ prepare,ready REAL be.prepared 3SG.F.NOM LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS 'so from side of the woman's family it (they) are well prepared' [PP14MF_017]

In (1349) da wiar da jut refers to fleeing and running away.
(1349) ki wa yoh ksuid ne yoh taro da wiar da yut ki
ki wa jว? ksuit ne jว? taro da wiar da 3pl nMz get demon or get goddess.type REAL lose Real jut $\quad k i$ run.away 3PL
'those who had a demon or spirit, the evil spirits would run away' [PP15PI_083]

## Irrealis - daw

Verbs marked by daw refer to 'irrealis' or unactualized potential events. In (1350) daw rusa daw pyut refers to the process of decomposition that happens to a body after a person dies. Here the speaker $k a=s \eta i$ 'sun' is predicting the fate of those who insulted her.
(1350) phi ki wa daw yap, daw rusa daw pyut
$p^{h} i \quad k i \quad$ wa daw jap daw rusa daw pPut 2PL 3PL NMZ IRR die IRR decompose IRR rot 'you who will die, will decompose and rot' [PP13RS_062]

## Property - wa

Verbs that serve as modifiers or identify properties of nominals are marked by wa. They generally occur as elaborate expressions following a noun or a relative pronoun. In (1351) wa bo? wa $t^{h} o$ refers to putting or creating. The referent is the heavenly mother who is responsible for giving humans talent and ability.
(1351) ka bei wa booh wa thoo
$k a=b e j \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad \boldsymbol{b o} \boldsymbol{P} \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad \boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{o}$
$\mathrm{F}=$ mother NMZ put,keep NMZ create
'the mother who puts, who creates' [BMPJ_009]
In (1352) wa pat wa jo refers to people who see or care about something.
(1352) ym æm de wa pait wa yoo yeitu

| $m$ | $\varepsilon m$ | $d e$ | $\boldsymbol{w a}$ | $\boldsymbol{p a t}$ | $\boldsymbol{w a}$ | $\boldsymbol{j o}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\boldsymbol{m}$ | $j e=i=t u$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| NEG | have | NEG.INTS | NMZ | look | NMZ | see |
| BEN $=$ N=MEDL |  |  |  |  |  |  |

In (1353) wa joy wa prin refers to the black color of truck exhaust.
(1353) i tdæm kari wa mih na ki truck neistiman wa yong wa prin
$i=t d \varepsilon m \quad$ kari wa mi? na ki=trak
$\mathrm{N}=$ smoke car NMZ bring. out ABL PL=truck ne=i=stiman wa joŋ wa prin ABL $=\mathrm{N}=$ truck.type NMZ be.black NMZ be.black 'the car smoke that comes from the trucks is black' [BMPJ_027]

In (1354) wa he? wa swar refers to importance.
(1354) ha katæ ka sngi thwad lyngdoh da hikai ki ya i da ki wa hæh wa swar ha $k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=s \eta i ~ t^{h} w a d ~ l \eta d \supset ? ~ d a ~ h i k a j ~ k i ~ j a ~$ LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ day Thwad Lyngdoh REAL teach 3PL BEN $i \quad d a \quad k i \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \boldsymbol{h} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{\boldsymbol { p }} \boldsymbol{w a}$ swar 1PL INST 3PL NMZ be.big NMZ be.important 'on that day of Thwad Lyngdoh they (the elders) taught us an important (thing)' [BMPJ_030]

In (1355) wa rep wa $k^{h} i$ i refers to the act of farming.
(1355) ki wa ha wa ræp wa khih ki chæm ki
$\begin{array}{llllllll}k i \\ w a & h a & \boldsymbol{w} & \boldsymbol{r \varepsilon} \boldsymbol{p} & \boldsymbol{w} \boldsymbol{a} & \boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{i} \boldsymbol{P} & k i & \text { tfm }\end{array} \mathrm{ki}$ 3PL NMZ LOC NMZ cultivate NMZ work 3PL meet 3PL 'those who when farming, they discover...' [BMPJ_060]

In (1356) wa bha wa miat refers to something that is good and beautiful.
(1356) ka mariang ka wa bha wa miat
ka=mariay ka wa bha wa miat $\mathrm{F}=$ mother.earth 3 sgF NMZ be.good NMZ be.pretty,nice 'the earth which is good and beautiful' [BMPJ_086]

In (1357) wa $k^{h}$ oit wa $\ddagger \eta$ yiar refers to clean or pure things.
(1357) u bam dei wa khooid wa jngiar
ja $u=b a m$ de-i wa $\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{o i t} \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \boldsymbol{\sigma} \eta \boldsymbol{a} \boldsymbol{a r}$
BEN NF=eat INST-1PL NMZ clean,pure NMZ totally.clear 'to eat things that are clean and fresh' [BMPJ_091]

In (1358) wa lykst wa tbian refers to the short size of something.
(1358) i klam yong nga toh i wa lyngkot wa tbian
$i=k l a m$ jə $\quad$ рa to? $i \quad w a$ lykot wa tbian ACT=speak GEN 1SG.ACC be 1PL NMZ short NMZ be.short 'my speech is a short one' [BPDJ_007]

In (1359) wa $p^{h}$ o? wa $p^{h}$ en refers to a beautiful glow.
（1359）ka sngi ka wa phooh wa pheiñ
$k a=s \eta i \quad k a \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad \boldsymbol{p}^{h} \boldsymbol{o} \boldsymbol{P} \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad \boldsymbol{p}^{h} \boldsymbol{e} \boldsymbol{n}$
$\mathrm{F}=$ day $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{F}$ NMZ glow，cheer，joy NMZ glow
＇the day that is glowing（beautiful）＇［KNI＿037］
In（1360）wa 乌̧丁口 wa sa？refers to the act of sitting or dwelling．
（1360）ki wa chong wa sah ha kani ka chnong

3PL NMZ sit NMZ stay LOC $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ village ＇those who stay in the village＇［LHJ＿018］

In（1361）wa he？wa jar refers to something wide or encompassing．
（1361）ka wa hæh wa yar
$k a \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \boldsymbol{h \boldsymbol { \varepsilon }} \boldsymbol{?} \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad \boldsymbol{j a r}$
3SG．F NMZ be．big NMZ be．wide
＇it（earth）is big and wide＇［PP01CSE＿086］
In（1362）wa in wa kop refers to the burning of a fire．
（1362）yoo u yeitæ wa iñ wa kop
jo $u \quad j e=i=t \varepsilon \quad \boldsymbol{w a}$ in $\boldsymbol{w a}$ kop
see 3SG．M．NOM BEN＝N＝NVIS NMZ boil，burn NMZ fierce
＇he saw the fire burning＇［PP03SKY＿023］
In（1363）wa miat wa $k^{h}$ oit refers to cleanliness，while wa of $\eta$ iar wa kntaך refers to holiness．
（1363）heitæ chæm u hei wi thaw i wa miat wa khooid wa jngiar wa kyntang
$h e=i=t \varepsilon \quad t f \varepsilon m \quad u \quad h e=i=w i \quad t^{h} a w \quad i \quad[\boldsymbol{w a}$
LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS meet 3SG．M．NOM LOC $=\mathrm{N}=$ one place 1PL NMZ
miat $\left.\quad w a \quad k^{h} o d\right] \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}w a & \text { ojviar }\end{array} \quad w a\right.$
be．pretty，nice NMZ clean，pure NMZ totally．clear NMZ
kntay］
special／holy
＇there he discovered a place that was pretty，clean，and holy＇
［PP04SKO＿022］（i．e．for keeping his siblings，the four sisters）
In（1364）wa thia？wa サop refers to sleeping and living in a place．
(1364) ka kupli lai ko cha waroh ki daloi cha ki wa thiah wa chong yong ki wa ong ko æm ki syiem
$k a=k u p l i$ laj ko tfa waro? ki=daloj tfa ki wa $\mathrm{F}=$ Kupli go 3SG.F.NOM ALL all PL=daloi ALL 3PL NMZ
 sleep NMZ sit GEN 3PL COMT say 3SG.F.NOM have $k i=s$ Pem
PL=ruler
'Kupli went to all the Daloi, to those who slept, and she said 'there are (still) kings" $\left[\mathrm{PP} 05 \mathrm{KO} \_023\right]$ (i.e. the line of the kings has not ended)

In (1365) wa tho? wa wad refers to searching.
(1365) ong u kong wasan hakhmat ka dorbar wa thooh wa wad ya ki syiem ki kmai
эך $\quad u=k \supset \eta \quad$ wa-san $\quad h a-k^{h} m a t \quad k a=d o r b a r \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad \boldsymbol{t}^{h} \boldsymbol{o P}$
say $M=$ hon.f NMZ-five LOC-front $F=$ meeting NMZ find,search $\boldsymbol{w a} \boldsymbol{w a d} \quad j a \quad k i=s ? e m \quad k i=k m a j$
NMZ look.for BEN PL=ruler PL=be.great
'Kong Wasan said in front of the council that (he) searched for the kings' [PP05KO_037]

In (1366) wa mnt $t^{h} u$ wa $k^{h} a d$ refers to spitting and polishing something.
(1366) tæ mut mynthoo mynnu tæ mut i wan thoo sæ tæ mut yi wa mynthu wa khaat sæ
$t \varepsilon$ mut $m n-t^{h} o m n-n u \quad t \varepsilon$ NVIS means after,irrealis-create after,irrealis-which NVIS mut $i$ wan $t^{h} o$ se te mut ji wa means 1PL come create C.TAG NVIS means thing NMZ $\boldsymbol{m} \boldsymbol{n} t^{h} \boldsymbol{u} \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad \boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{a d} \quad s \varepsilon$
spit NMZ polish C.TAG
'so 'mynthoo mynnu' means (one) who creates us, who spits and cleans' [PP08LC_011]

In (1367) wa kna wa $k^{h}$ riam refers to the chanting that goes along with rituals.
(1367) ong i wa kña wa khriam

эך $i \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a} \boldsymbol{a} \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \boldsymbol{k}^{h}$ riam
say 1PL NMZ perform.ritual NMZ chant
'we say 'kña, khriam" (ritual chanting) [PP08LC_016]
In (1368) wa san wa sde? refers to something that cooks and fries.
(1368) ka wa saiñ wa sdeih
$k a \quad \boldsymbol{w a}$ san $\boldsymbol{w a}$ sde?
3SG.F NMZ mix,make NMZ fry
'it (a dish) which mixes and fries' [PP13RS_171]
In (1369) wa $k^{h}$ ro wa tri refers to something important or significant, here those who are considered nobility.
(1369) hakhmat ki wa khroo wa tri
ha-khat ki wa $\boldsymbol{k}^{h} r o \quad$ wa tri
LOC-front 3PL NMZ be.important NMZ be.significant 'in front of the nobles' [PP13RS_174]

In (1370) wa $k^{h} a$ wa man refers to people on the father's side of the family.
(1370) ki wa kha wa man
ki wa $\boldsymbol{k}^{h} \boldsymbol{a} \quad \boldsymbol{w a} \quad \boldsymbol{m a n}$
3PL NMZ birth NMZ become
'those who are from the father's side' [PP14MF _018]
In (1371) wa je wa la? refers to ability.
(1371) tæ uni $u$ chynrang da dæp ka yutang kat wa yee wa lah $u$ $t \varepsilon \quad u=n i \quad u=$ † $n$ nrà $d a \quad d \varepsilon p \quad k a=j u t a \eta \quad$ kat $\boldsymbol{w a}$ NVIS M=PROX M=male REAL PERF RES=argue as NMZ je wa la? u
able NMZ can.do 3SG.M.NOM
'so this groom, after arguing as he is able...' [PP14MF _045]
In (1372) wa sput wa thor refers to pouring, as in libations for ceremonies.
(1372) i wa syuit wa choor
$i$ wa s?ut wa tor
1PL NMZ pour NMZ pour
'the libation' [PP14MF _079]

## Appendix B

## Ki Kyntein Kynnoh $k i=k n t e n ~ k n n o P ~ ' s o u n d i n g ~ w o r d s ' ~$

The list of words given here is unedited. These words are mostly taken from a book written by my friend Dr. H. C. Pakyntein. As he is a traditional healer, and a priest of the Soo Kpoh (so kpo?) in Jowai, he uses the words often in ceremonies and traditional practices. The book gave no definitions or translations of the words in Khasi or English. I therefore took it upon myself to type out the $700+$ forms and then sat with Dr. Pakyntein to ask the meanings of each of the words. We were only able to work on the 466 forms included here before events conspired to keep us from finishing. He also has a copy of the words and my translations as he explained them to me. They are included here for general reference in transcribed format, though the transcription is somewhat problematic and needs to be adjusted, a task that will have to wait. Some of the words in the original list were repeats. Some that remain are the extra gendered forms which have slight differences in meaning, based on the pattern noted above for gender on nouns and verbs.

Word (IPA)
Meaning

1. akor burom
2. aŋrэŋ aŋrup
3. ba? wakhlia ba? watfon
4. bakla $k^{h}$ mat bakla $k^{h} m u t$
5. bam tf wa di? tf wa
6. bam jlli? bam inhain
respect authority
devil spirit of envy, covetousness
person who is responsible (in a good way)
mistake identity
eat first, drink first
take very easily without complaining
7. bamlay bambi
8. bamron bamosaj
9. bamsuk bamk ${ }^{h}$ lan
10. bay tYo? bay raday
11. be? roŋsun be? roŋsie?
12. $b \varepsilon$ ? ser be? skaj
13. bej ki bru bej ki blaj
14. bej pun bej li
15. bej wabo? bej wat ${ }^{h}$ o
16. bhet bhar
17. bnaroy bnath ad
18. buP ksiar buP rupa
19. bucbaj saraj
20. tf $a$ サfnə tf $a t^{h} a w$
21. tfa prtt ${ }^{h}$ aj tfa mnder
22. tf a rykaw tfa samun
23. サfad joŋ laŋ t fad joŋ bi
24. tfadien tf $k^{h}$ mat
25. tfa? wasa tfa? wasuy
26. tfajt $k^{h} i a$ ?
27. tfakri fakor
28. tyania? layien
29. t tare kune
30. tfare masi tfare har
31. tfe klla tit klla
32. tSej tfraj tyej tfdam
33. tfem warim tfem waça?
34. ti paju ti para
35. tfi-sog ti-klon
36. tibet tfipor

Meaning
eat together, take together (here)
take/eat very happily
take/eat happily, with pleasure, no one to disturb
clear sound from tongue
chase quickly, catch quickly
catch deer (sambar) catch deer (barking)
mother of human and mother of god grandmother and old grandmother heavenly and earthly mother pay respect/prayer/sacrifice for cure from disease from spirits
the news is known all over
put gold, put silver (save up?)
pray, request, petition to god or ancestors
in village in place
in the earth, in the world
the protective spirits of a raid (area)
dance together, dance together
back and front
permission to stay
health, well
slavery
to entrust with something
to see, look, gather
herd cow, herd 6-8 cows (chi har)
sunrise coming again
to hate because of not doing what you want
prayer to ancestors after putting bones and sacrifice
siblings and cousins
a bowl, a bottle
an amount of time

| 37. | tidajt tikntien | a mouthful shared |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 38. | tido titho? | a drop a spot |
| 39. | tidur tilay | one boy one girl (couple) |
| 40. | tirup tilay | together |
| 41. | titom saga | so have sickness |
| 42. | tiju\% tisem | the home the family |
| 43. | tfiat $k^{h}$ lic? ${ }^{\text {dniat rein }}$ | the headscarf worn by women (also men in War) |
| 44. | サ๐ŋk ${ }^{h}$ a サ¢opman | marriage |
| 45. |  | those who stay without permission |
| 46. |  | the ones who live to an old age |
| 47. | topsuk topsain | to be happy, content |
| 48. | traj tydam | to hate |
| 49. | tillap tilliay | prepare rice for the ancestors (once a year) and eat together |
| 50. | tipkiar lymmia? | the back side/yard of the house |
| 51. | da bo? da kntfet | the putting, the placing inside |
| 52. | da he? da k ${ }^{h}$ llod | growing from childhood to adulthood |
| 53. | da hun da suk | happiness and peace |
| 54. | da ๆo? da dem | prayers |
| 55. | da sein da tfan | allowance, support |
| 56. | da so da hem | the red blood |
| 57. | da suit da tor | libations for prayer |
| 58. | da th ied dapst | buy and pay |
| 59. | da ud da nam | agree to pay restitution (give word) |
| 60. | da uin da laj | moving from one place to another |
| 61. | da jay da ap | waiting and listening |
| 62. | da jato? da jabiay | relationships together |
| 63. | da jo da pajt | see and look |
| 64. | datfict dat ${ }^{\text {h }}$ a | to cook (over fire) |
| 65. | dak ${ }^{h} u t$ daman | to call and to get |
| 66. | dalan paki | big building |
| 67. | dap snem dap bnaj | the years, months that have been completed |
| 68. | dap ${ }^{h}$ ct da kap | run quickly for important things |
| 69. | dara? daron | bring and carry |

70. 

| Word (IPA) | Meaning |
| :--- | :--- |
| dasu dasaj | to pay |

71. dat $t^{h}$ ala dat $t^{h}$ alain
72. $\quad d a t^{h} l i d a k^{h} a$
73. daw so daw hem
74. dawk ${ }^{h}$ a dawpun
75. dawtika dawtina
76. dej skem dej skat
77. deiffajt deikhia?
78. deiri deilum
79. depoba depghur
80. diendo? dienwaj
81. dipbula bambula
82. din pa din top pa top
83. $d k^{h}$ a pnt $t^{h}$ or dak $k^{h}$ b bhiaŋ
84. dumak mukta
85. duŋa dup ${ }^{h} i$
86. dwar ksiar dwar rupa
87. e wrta e tfula
88. $\quad$ mkrtien $\varepsilon m k r t a$
89. ha kdoy ha サmiaŋ
90. ha kper ka pra?
91. ha kse? ha sain
92. $h a \operatorname{l\eta } k^{h} a$ ha risa
93. ha madan ha madia?
94. ha p'ffem ha dwar
95. ha pnt ${ }^{h}$ or ha bhian
96. ha radaŋ ha tympoŋ
97. ha thndaj ha mndo
98. ha juŋ ha sem
99. hadem hasem
100. hapo? juŋ hapo? sєm
101. harud habar
the consequence of action (spiritual)
fish (type) and fish (type
red soil from blood spread over the eggs
child outside of marriage
divination from entrails of syiar
the ring (marriage sign) from boy's family to girl's
health and wellbeing
a committed, loving relationship
after food, after vegetable
last rites (preparing body after death)
drink heavy and eat heavy
slowly slowly you win the race (bit by bit)
fish from the valley
guerrilla fighter
only you and me
door of gold and silver, the opening of the womb at birth
give announcement, new notice
to be called by the ancestor's name
in corner in corner
in garder, in plot of land
plot of land with forest
on the paddy field on the ground
on the ground on the land
the courtyard, the entrance
valley and flat area
on neck on waist
the under-roof layer (rafters)
in home in house
Hadæm people
inside home inside house
here and there (myself someone else)

|  | Word (IPA) | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 102. | hatre u kdajt hatre u lane | under 'kdait' and under 'lane' |
| 103. | hawa? hanein | fall down, go up |
| 104. | hawamay hawat ${ }^{\text {h }}$ mu | my aim is coming true |
| 105. | hej $p^{h} l \mathrm{lo} \mathrm{\eta}$ hej tfnat | the edges/corners |
| 106. | hej snein hej k ${ }^{h}$ ro | the instruction to be kept |
| 107. | hej thaw hej bhaw | at the place at the surroundings |
| 108. | heiduk heimlla | the poor who have to work |
|  | hukum adon | command and instruction (tell what not to do) |
| 110. | huria human | bad habits |
| 111. | i bam i dir | eat, drink |
| 112. | $i$ beib $i t^{h}$ हm | we don't understand, don't know |
| 113. | $i$ bein i knnos | telling bad things about someone (true things) |
| 114. | i bhap i bnta | the share |
| 115. | $i$ bha? i bnta | the share (equal part) |
| 116. | $i$ bhet $i$ bhar | the items used for sacrifice (plural of above) |
| 117. | $i$ bieds $i t^{h}$ عm | they don't know nothing |
| 118. | $i$ bnein i $k^{h} n d a w$ | the heaven and earth |
| 119. | $i$ bo? $i$ sein | pick on a time |
| 120. | $i$ bor i mnsein | power and spirit |
| 121. | $i$ bor i mnsein | power of heart/soul |
| 122. | $i$ tfad i kmen | dance happily |
| 123. | $i$ tfontit i najtnod | to be very happy from the bottom of heart |
| 124. | $i$ traj i sniawsi? | hot temper and feeling bad |
| 125. | $i$ tfwar i blaj | the message from God |
| 126. | $i$ daw $i$ kuna - | the reason for trouble/sickness/difficulty (from the divination) |
| 127. | i diaw i jamrem | to feel bad or sad about something |
| 128. | i diaw i jamrem | to feel bad, to feel sad (about something) |
| 129. | $i$ dos $i$ pran | the body, the flesh |
| 130. | $i$ do? i rnyein | the body, from foot to head |


|  | Word (IPA) | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 131. | $i \varepsilon ? i k^{h} \partial r$ | to say bad things about someone |
| 132. | $i$ hok i bursm | honor and respect |
| 133. | $i$ gajt i knça | the surname of relatives |
| 134. | $i{ }_{\text {d }}$ get i paj | broken (as of a wall, uneven) |
| 135. | i ghic? i ghum | be wet |
| 136. | $i k d a y ~ i ~ h u n ~$ | fully contented |
| 137. | $i k d o ? ~ i k^{h} u m$ | tie and knot |
| 138. |  | corner and corner |
| 139. | $i k^{h} e$ in $i$ dia? | calculate |
| 140. |  | the head the horn (end) |
| 141. |  | the head the horn/end |
| 142. |  | head of the gourd used for sacrifice and libation |
| 143. | $i k^{h} o n i k s u$ | child and grandchild |
| 144. | $i k^{h} \partial n i k s u$ | child, grandchild |
| 145. | $i k^{h} n$ daw u tfiap | the earth the soil/sand |
| 146. | $i k^{h} r \eta i a t ~ i k^{h} r$ rcin | surprise and shock (unexpected event) |
| 147. | $i \mathrm{~kg} a \mathrm{~m}$ i dajt | cold and freezing |
| 148. |  | to be happy to laugh/smile |
| 149. | i kper i pra? | garden, plot of land |
| 150. | i ksiar i rupa | gold and silver |
| 151. | i ktic? i biar | sticky things (i.e. the Aitnar pool) |
| 152. | i ktien i klam | the word the speaking |
| 153. | $i$ kur i gajt | clan and type |
| 154. | $i k n t f i ~ i k n d a \eta ~$ | the boiling of the sacrifice and the prayer over the soft meats, before boiling the rice |
| 155. | i kyo? i hiaw | cough and asthma |
| 156. | i lajt i lct | the speaking is wrong |
| 157. | i lap i non | profit |
| 158. | i lic? l luk | the back and the front (i.e. of a shell) |
| 159. | i main i kun | proud, haughty |
| 160. | $i$ mist $i$ step | evening and morning |
| 161. | i nam i burom | title and honor |
| 162. | i nam i prtuid | title and name |


|  | Word (IPA) | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 163. | $i$ od i niaw | the crying of the soul without proper ceremony at death |
| 164. | i parst i pali | women's period |
| 165. | i patraybar i patraysan | the male relative who recently died |
| 166. | i $p^{h}$ als? i pak ${ }^{h}$ rum | to keep something in a pen at night (for animals) |
| 167. | $i p^{h} a \eta i$ bun | harvest more |
| 168. | $i p^{h}$ ray $i$ dien | front side and back side (i.e. of house) |
| 169. | i por i samuid | time for harvest or ploughing (farming time) |
| 170. | i purae i put ${ }^{\text {b }}$ i | study and read |
| 171. | i pndus i pndam | to destroy completely |
| 172. | $i p r k^{h}$ at i niawliar | to think about the future (plan) |
| 173. | i prk ${ }^{h}$ at i prdain | thinking |
| 174. | i prnas i prosin | the rice put inside the beer during ceremony |
| 175. | i prthaj i mnder | the earth, the world |
| 176. | i raw $i$ gra? | dry and thirsty |
| 177. | i ri i lum | country, hill |
| 178. | i rэŋ i rup | painting |
| 179. | i sarak i sadhiar | the rice beer used for ceremony (ceremonial term) |
| 180. | i skum i stajt | the afterbirth (from mother) |
| 181. | $i$ snam i ksiag | the blood |
| 182. | $i$ snein $i$ kro | speak to child and they have to obey |
| 183. | i sni i sniaw | day and night |
| 184. | $i$ so? i sntu | 1) fruit and flower, 2) 5-6 months pregnancy |
| 185. | $i$ sur $i$ dur | song and image |
| 186. | $i$ suwa $i$ サndon | the rice beer used for ceremony (ceremonial term) |
| 187. | $i$ swe i tlar | lazy |
| 188. | i sja $i$ ghan | in a hurry to move |
| 189. | $i$ syizm $i$ kmaj | ruler and lord |
| 190. | i tam i duna | does not equal (when one counting differs from another) |


|  | Word (IPA) | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 191. | $i$ tay $i$ lymp ${ }^{h}$ ein | the trunk and the tip (budding tip) |
| 192. | $i$ tein $i$ smies | fear, shudder |
| 193. | $i t^{h} a w i$ bhaw | places |
| 194. | $i t^{h}$ awrep $i t^{h}$ awk ${ }^{h}$ i? | farming, working place |
| 195. | $i t^{h}$ ied $i$ may | aim, feeling (plan, intention to succeed) |
| 196. | $i t^{h} i J^{\text {i }}$ pr $k^{h} a t$ | thinking |
| 197. | $i$ tnat $i$ サfiay | the branches |
| 198. | $i$ tnit i lowor | ritual cleansing (also for women) |
| 199. | i tymmen $i$ tfadae | the old people (chadae use stick for walking) |
| 200. | $i$ trnit i trna | to be ready ahead of time |
| 201. | $i$ wadajt i wasib | gout |
| 202. | $i$ wasain $i$ wasdic? | mix meat with onions, etc.. and fry |
| 203. | $i$ wit $i$ tfan | 1) showing pregnant, 2) to delay someone |
| 204. | i jabam jadi? | eat together, drink together |
| 205. | i jap $i$ kut | finish dying |
| 206. | $i$ yillip i yinhian | no-one to stop, clear movement |
| 207. | $i$ yinsit $i$ yindon | carry baby tightly on back |
| 208. | $i$ ymts? $i$ ymtne | not right |
| 209. | imtfoŋtay imtoppra? | the over-age (people) |
| 210. | imtymmen imtfadae | the old people (chadae use stick for walking) |
| 211. | itam iduna | does not equal (when one counting differs from another) |
| 212. | iwatfet iwat ${ }^{\text {h a }}$ | what is cooked is burned |
| 213. | ¢a walic? ¢ ${ }^{\text {a }}$ watfiaw | white rice and (red?) rice (used for prayers in ceremonies) |
| 214. | ¢anjuy dansem | near home |
| 215. | ka bam ka di? | food and drink |
| 216. | ka biar ka sun | lake and pond |
| 217. | ka blu ka skep | thigh and calf |
| 218. | ka bom ka bhuri | drum and flute |
| 219. | ka buit ka budia | the part of work that is very good |
| 220. | ka ţad ka pastic? | dance and pastieh (kinds of dance) |


|  | Word（IPA） | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 221. | ka サfad ka rwaj | dance and sing |
| 222. | ka サVat ka k ${ }^{h}$ ein | to throw eggs on the knor for divination |
| 223. | ka tfawiay ka dulat | the flute and the hand－drum |
| 224. | $k a \dagger$ ¢ft ka $t^{h} a \eta$ | to cook（over fire） |
| 225. | ka tit ka pjo？ | the heat the sweat |
| 226. | ka tflem ka ratap | the trap（hole）and（deadfall） |
| 227. | ka サ̧？ien ka tru？ | the bones and ashes from cremation |
| 228. | ka dan ka $k^{h} a d$ | fine，restitution |
| 229. | ka dan ka kuna | tax，for consequence |
| 230. | ka daw ka kuna | the reason for trouble／sickness／difficulty（from the divination） |
| 231. | ka deinba？ka deinsan | the trees from the forest put in front of each house and in each locality at Behdeiñkhlam festival |
| 232. | ka deintfat ka deink ${ }^{h}$ ein | the plate for divination using eggs， before the ritual happens |
| 233. | ka diay ka mon | placing the rice and naming before ritual |
| 234. | ka dorbar ka sorbar | the assembly（for governing and meeting） |
| 235. | ka duwan ka dupat | prepare everything（all implements） for ritual |
| 236. | ka dwar ka luti | the door，the road |
| 237. | ka dwar ka plian | the door the plate |
| 238. | ka erion ka erpit | black winds，cyclone |
| 239. | ka hap ka or | fall dead，fall down |
| 240. | ka ¢Jar ka ph nep | part of the intestine used in divination |
| 241. | ka ori ka k？a | banyan tree and cotton tree |
| 242. | ka kamaj ka kadzia？ | working hard but nothing to show for it |
| 243. | ka kap ka knt ${ }^{h}$ iar | the running and jumping |
| 244. | ka ktfu ka siay | the women who prepare the house |
| 245. | ka $k^{h}$ a ka pun | the unborn child |
| 246. | ka $k^{h} a k k a m n t^{h} u$ | to hack and spit |


|  | Word (IPA) | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 247. | $k a k^{h} e k a k^{h} a j$ | come up |
| 248. | ka $k^{h}$ e ka $k^{h} a j$ | to come up |
| 249. | $k a k^{h}$ i? $k a k^{h} a n$ | the work, the getting |
| 250. | ka $k^{h}$ ip ka ksar | to toss and turn (in sleep) |
| 251. | ka k ${ }^{h}$ rian ka dho | the water flowing very fast |
| 252. | ka $k^{h} r i a \eta ~ k a ~ t h w a j ~$ | the water which looks smooth but underneath is fast-moving |
| 253. | ka klim ka ban | cuckold your spouse |
| 254. | ka knor ksiar ka knor rupa | the knor used for scanning the divination to find fault/reason using eggs |
| 255. | ka kpoŋ ka prto? | religious ceremony to prepare for hunting, after hunting and catching tiger/bear we have to dance |
| 256. | ka ksin ka mein | the big drum the small drum |
| 257. | ka ktic? ha biar | sticky things |
| 258. | ka kur ka djajt | the clan the tribe |
| 259. | ka klli ka takit | the question the answer |
| 260. | ka kn-ad ka pntfoi | gossip, tell about someone |
| 261. | ka kndat ka kntin | not working from the heart |
| 262. | ka lad ka luti | the way, the road |
| 263. | ka lamet ka ladaw | plantain and banana |
| 264. | ka larein ka pambo? | religious meaning (?) |
| 265. | ka lعPbor ka thombor | evil, immoral things |
| 266. | ka liar ka tgka | stream and where it joins main river |
| 267. | ka lien ka pat | the turned up part of the egg when it lands in ceremonies |
| 268. | ka lycr ka trsi | the wind |
| 269. | ka lypor ka yuwar | 1) responsibility to family, 2 ) a plow and the yoke that connects the pulling oxen |
| 270. | ka mo ka dein | stone and wood |
| 271. | ka mosiay ka mot ${ }^{h}$ a | the rocks and boulders |
| 272. | ka mu- ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ajd ka taylay | drinking and bad speaking (drunk and walking unsteadily) |
| 273. | ka muhor ka knt ${ }^{h}$ iar | collection/donation |

274. ka mudsra ka mukan
275. ka nia ka $k^{h} \rightharpoonup t$
276. ka nia ka lutay
277. ka nэŋklliaŋ ka sทiklliaŋ
278. ka wajt ka stiz?
279. ka wanat ka watu
280. ka jamrem ka saPnod
281. ka jap ka sa
282. ka jaw ka hat
283. ka jaw ka syiem
284. ka yimbar ka yinth ian
285. ka yupan ka yukdo?
286. kbaj krha
287. $k^{h} a k^{h} \partial n k^{h}$ a nad
288. $k^{h}$ ad-ar dolloi $k^{h}$ ar-ar knor
289. $k^{h}$ ad-ar muna $k^{h} a d-a r$ tfía
290. $k^{h}$ ad-arbuit $k^{h}$ ad-ar bor
291. khaj klla e? klla
292. $k^{h}$ ana bej $k^{h}$ ana kur
293. $k^{h} a \eta k a ?$
294. $k^{h}$ arsi $k^{h}$ apar
295. $k^{h}$ awajt $k^{h}$ atari
296. $k^{h} l \varepsilon m$ sarכm $k^{h} l \varepsilon m$ marain
297. khlic? klon $k^{h} l i \varepsilon ? ~ s k o$
298. $k^{h}$ nian ktiar
299. $k^{h}$ วn rø̣k刀? $k^{h}$ วn rø̣kam
300. $k^{h}$ כnlor $k^{h}$ כnta?

Meaning
the stone container for keeping the bones of the dead
speaking the truth
speaking the right thing
helping each other from time to time sword and shield
part of religious ceremony (?)
deep sorrow and continued
the dead body
market
the market the ruler
the dripping of the rice beer on the neck from libation
belt
shout and make.notice
newborn and new branches
the 12 rulers, 12 stools
one day I'll be a rich man, wealth (12 bags, 12 big.buckets)
all the men ( 12 strengths, powers) unexpected success at the last minute (snatch victory from the jaws of defeat)
speak to mother speak to clan
to block
from one mother many children (birth prosper, birth expand)
the cut part of a tree (kha) from sword and from knife (not the wood chips but the wood)
without respect, without permission head of the gourd used for sacrifice and libation
insect and caterpillar
hornbill (bird, traditional story)
stillborn child, miscarriage

|  | Word (IPA) | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 301. | $k^{h} n$ na? $k^{h}$ כntluך | small girl/boy |
| 302. | ki blaj ki syiem | god and ruler |
| 303. | ki bru ki blaj | human and god |
| 304. | ki dak ki tfin | the traditions of the ancestors |
| 305. | ki dew ki puri | the fairies/angels (ancestors, i.e. ki puri Blai, ki soo kpoh) |
| 306. | ki dhaj ki rani | religious meaning, servants of the rivers and waters |
| 307. | ki $k^{h}$ on ki nat | children and branches |
| 308. | ki $k^{h}$ or ki $k^{h}$ riam | the turban the traditional dress |
| 309. | ki $k^{h} r$ ? $k i d a d a \eta$ | the frog and (toad) |
| 310. | ki lum ki wa? | mountain and river |
| 311. | ki ma ki wo? | uncles and grand-uncles |
| 312. | ki mantf wa ki lontfwa | the ancestors |
| 313. | kit raday tfa? raday | carry on neck, allow on neck (used in religious ceremonies to describe the agreement of cock/rooster) |
| 314. | kiwa $k^{h}$ ian kiwa stajt | the small the short ones |
| 315. | klam biers klam them | speak crazy, talk crazy |
| 316. | klam kndat klam kntin | not speaking from the heart |
| 317. | klambein klamk ${ }^{h} \bigcirc$ ? | speak blame speak wrongly |
| 318. | knia $k^{h}$ riam | to sit just before sacrifice and give prayers |
| 319. | krem lamet krem latay | cave where the sun hid from the earth (traditional story) |
| 320. | krem muri krem mura | cave on the way to krem lamet krem latang (traditional story) |
| 321. | ksan dorbar dop dorbar | another name for rooster/cock in traditional stories/ceremonies |
| 322. | ksan nia ksan tjay | the ancestor's blessing |
| 323. | kse thad kse yijki | thread of clothing, thread of cloth |
| 324. | kup tilliay scm tilliay | half-dressed (one side) |
| 325. |  | to consider and think first (sleep and sit) on a matter |
| 326. | kllep slap kllep lycr | protected from rain and wind |
| 327. | klli takit | ask and answer (talk together) |


|  | Word (IPA) | Meaning |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | kndat kntin | not working from the heart |
| 329. | kndin u lum kndzin ka waP | middle of the mountain, middle of the |
|  |  | water <br> 330. |
|  |  | dance together, sing together (with |
| contact) |  |  |


|  | Word（IPA） | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 353. | lykein ksiar lnkein rupa | golden bridge silver bridge |
| 354. | malaytiay malaydop | hornbill |
| 355. | manbru lojbru | human being |
| 356. | manpayu manpara | brother and sister |
| 357. | mo－knor mo－kçet | bench stone and leg stones |
| 358. | mo－knro？mo－knrem | laid stones |
| 359. | mo－nam mo－prtuid | memorial stone |
| 360. | mo－pod mo－aŋ | boundary stone |
| 361. | mo－pud mo－hima | boundary stone of elaka／hima |
| 362. | mo－scr mo－tap | weight stone |
| 363. | $m n ¢ E r m_{1} t^{h} a$ ？ | dew |
| 364. | mnso mnsnam | accident |
| 365. | $m n t^{h}$ o mnnno | religious meaning（？） |
| 366. | na gron ha tbian | from the top to the bottom |
| 367. | na tre ha ${ }^{h} l i c$ ？ | from the bottom to the top |
| 368. | natf wa nalap | since the time immemorial |
| 369. | nadっŋ ザadon | from corner to corner（make something nice，the whole thing） |
| 370. | ๆi klluy＇naj klluף | the sun and the moon |
| 371. | jo？dem | prayers |
| 372. | pasbe | cowrie shells |
| 373. | u bajtfandi u bajtipen | to search using thrown shells，bones， for religious purpose（divining） |
| 374. | $u$ bhai u $k^{h}$ lein | the northern tribe of people（mixed） |
| 375. | $u$ bnaj u khlur | moon and stars |
| 376. | u bno？u lapla | block to keep from opening（as in the barrier between earth and heaven） |
| 377. | $u$ bop $u k^{h}$ ein | put and save（something），frugal， keeps track of everything |
| 378. | $u$ bod u prk ${ }^{h}$ at | try to know，to understand the real thing |
| 379. | u tSalani u pra？ | flat woven baskets for sifting rice （small，round and large，scoop－shape） |
| 380. | $u$ tger u som | spear and spear（different kinds） |
| 381. | $u$ tic？u rasad | thorns |
| 382. | $u$ tjks？u kdaך | to complete，to be full |


|  | Word (IPA) | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 383. | $u$ サnวๆ $u t^{h} a w$ | village, place |
| 384. | $u$ trot u tnum | the house poles, the roof |
| 385. | u tinray u laptor | men and men |
| 386. | $u$ da u ker | to guard |
| 387. | u dhulia u harna | the musicians post and the custodian's post |
| 388. | u doŋ u luwa | container for rice beer for rituals |
| 389. | $u \varepsilon$ ¢ $u k^{h} \partial r$ | to say bad things about someone |
| 390. | u hiar u hap | come down (God coming to speak through someone) |
| 391. | u çan u çyaj | near and far |
| 392. | u dos u dam | share equally |
| 393. | u kaga u mntoi | a person that God sends who knows everything |
| 394. | u kap u laj | we are already going, on the way (step and go), baby steps |
| 395. | $u k^{h} a b \varepsilon t u k^{h} a t^{h} u \eta$ | rice, term used in traditional ceremonies |
| 396. | $u k^{h} a d u$ pad | part of ritual (?) |
| 397. | $u k^{h} a j$ u piar | the son who knows the ceremonies in the family |
| 398. | $u k^{h} a j$ u yein | to get up and stand |
| 399. | $u k^{h}$ ajn $u$ snem $u k^{h} a j n \quad u$ bnaj | to count the years, count the months, to prepare for the new year |
| 400. | $u k^{h}$ ara u patfa | part of religious ceremony (?) |
| 401. | $u k^{h}$ asi $u k^{h}$ ara | the Khasi, khynriam |
| 402. | $u k^{h}$ ian u djaj | the very small ones |
| 403. | $u k^{h} n a m$ ka rntic? | arrow and bow |
| 404. | $u k^{h} n a m$ u t¢Er | the arrow and the spear |
| 405. | $u k^{h}$ nià u puit | insect and grasshopper |
| 406. | $u k^{h}$ วn ka skia? u $k^{h}$ गn ka pdem | religious name for eggs |
| 407. | $u k^{h}$ วn lymboit $u k^{h}$ on lymbiay | the rooster/cock (in traditional story, religious ceremony) |
| 408. | $u k^{h}$ on lỵkor u $k^{h}$ эn luwar | rice term used in traditional ceremonies |
| 409. | $u k^{h}$ วn raytuy $u k^{h}$ วn rayniaw | religious term used in ceremonies (?) |


|  | Word (IPA) | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 410. | $u k^{h}$ onswet u rayli | very poor people (no father, no mother, no one to see after them) |
|  | $u k^{h}$ o ranein $u k^{h}$ o $k^{h} r i$ | the provisions for life, when it finishes then you die (given by bei wabooh bei wathoo) |
| 412. | $u k^{h} r \varepsilon$ ? $u k^{h} r u m$ | to prepare |
| 413. | $u k^{h} u d u$ tin | to call (to call) |
| 414. | $u k^{h} n$ ro u $k^{h} n$ dain | youth (male) and youth |
| 415. | u klon so? u klon blaj | the gourd used for ceremonies |
| 416. | u klon u sko | the gourd/bottle used for ceremonial libation (rice beer) |
| 417. | u kni u pa | grand-uncle and father |
| 418. | u kכךsan ki bru u kəjsan ki blaj | the servant of God who safeguards the family |
| 419. | u ksi? u ksar | river otter (small and big) |
| 420. | u kso? u tbat | to hold to keep |
| 421. | $u$ ksuid $u k^{h}$ rei | devil spirits and shouting devil spirits |
| 422. | u ktiar u lara? | caterpillar and grub |
| 423. | u kunsk u kndip | the one who knows how to pray, sacrifice, teach, everything |
| 424. | u knbat u tSein | the medicines |
| 425. | $u k r k^{h} u u^{h} r d o$ ? | blessing |
| 426. | u krtein u krta | ceremony for re-naming a child according to ancestor |
| 427. | u labit u latyajt | flying bat |
| 428. | u lana u laPon | lullaby and comforting the baby so it sleeps (also used for how to express love) |
| 429. | u laydo? u laypuy | priest |
| 430. | u laydo? u ri blaj | priest who care for the house where sacrifices are done |
| 431. | u lid-dein u lid-sieds | devil spirit |
| 432. | u lok u dor | friends |
| 433. | u laysuid u loŋtor | gourd for rice beer (ceremonial term) 'skor' |
| 434. | $u l \eta k^{h}$ ot u tama | two halves of rice grain |

435. u lyo? u palam
436. u m'rad u m'ren
437. $u$ map $u k^{h} \varepsilon m$
438. u mllon u trdjŋ
439. u mnt $t^{h}$ ri u lnt $t^{h}$ כך
440. u mntsr u mniam
441. u nod u klon
442. u pllajt u pndfra
443. u jam u kiat
444. u jasajt u jada
445. ja biaŋ ja bit
446. ja klam ja э刀
447. jamrem jamdu?
448. japan jadon
449. japmnso japmnisnam
450. japtrso japtrsnam
451. japnsuk japnsain
452. jats? jabiay
453. jei サitsm jei saba
454. jei daw jei kuna
455. jei duk jei pap
456. jei Ђhia jei daw
457. jeido? jeipran
458. jeiPun jeibiay
459. $\quad j e i=n i ~ j e i=t a j$
460. jэŋlaŋ jəŋbi
461. jo klliaŋ pajt kllian
462. jo vajt jo bay
463. jow bnaj jow $k^{h} l u r$
464. julum jukduŋ
465. juŋdalan juŋpaki
466. jurim puta

Meaning
above (clouds) and below (on the
ground)
animals
forgive and forget
rice grain (ceremonial usage)
religious meaning (?)
a kind of devil
the liver and the heart
make free, free from bondage
crying
defender, lawyer
be ok, be satisfied (not rich, not poor)
speak together
feel sad, feel lost
request respectfully
accidental death
suddenly dead
come to agreement to solve a problem
(between groups)
being together
not well, continuing sickness
for the reason for the divination
the poor the sins
spicy, sour
for the body, for the flesh
being happy
this one, that one
group, together
take turns watching
see nice, see pretty
moon and stars
cloth for baby (swaddling cloth)
big building
neighboring house that part of the
family lives in

## Appendix C

## WALS profile for Pnar

This appendix describes the Pnar language in terms of chapters and categories described by the World Atlas of Languages Structures online for a large number of languages. There are a number of problems with trying to fit a language into somewhat established categories, namely that individual differences and interesting variation is lost. For example, the wide range of negative structures available for Pnar speakers mean that the language is an outlier in terms of this feature. Also, some of the definitions for features are not completely clear. In the following table, I note the chapter number and name in which the feature is described, and identify whether the feature exists in Pnar and what category it fits into as well as what ratio of languages in the database share the feature. Where I was unsure whether Pnar exhibits the feature as described in the chapter, the 'Pnar Value' column contains a question mark. Pnar's typological profile offers many opportunities for future research.

## World Atlas of Language Structures

| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1A | Consonant | + | 26: Moderately | 94/563 |
|  | Inventories |  | large (26-33) |  |
| 2A | Vowel Quality | + | 7: Large vowel | 184/564 |
|  | Inventories |  | inventory (7-14) |  |
| 3A | Consonant-Vowel | + | 3.86: Average (2.75 or | 234/564 |
|  | Ratio |  | higher but less than |  |
|  |  |  | 4.5) |  |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4A | Voicing in Plosives and Fricatives | + | Voicing contrast in both plosives and fricatives | 158/567 |
| 5A | Voicing and Gaps in Plosive Systems | + | Missing /g/ | 34/567 |
| 6A | Uvular Consonants | - |  | 470/567 |
| 7A | Glottalized | - |  | 409/567 |
|  | Consonants |  |  |  |
| 8A | Lateral Consonants | - | /l/, no obstruent laterals | 388/567 |
| 9A | The Velar Nasal | + | Velar nasal, also initially | 147/469 |
| 10A | Vowel Nasalization | - |  | 180/244 |
| 11A | Front Rounded Vowels | - |  | 525/562 |
| 12A | Syllable Structure | + | CCVC: Moderately complex syllable structure | 274/486 |
| 13A | Tone | - | No tones | 307/527 |
| 14A | Fixed Stress <br> Locations | + | Ultimate: stress is on the ultimate (last) syllable | 51/502 |
| 15A | Weight-Sensitive Stress | - | Fixed stress (no weight-sensitivity) | 281/500 |
| 16A | Weight Factors in Weight-Sensitive Stress Systems | - | No weight, or weight factor unknown | 261/500 |
| 17A | Rhythm Types |  | Absent: no rhythmic stress | 98/323 |
| 18A | Absence of Common Consonants | - | All present | 583/567 |

## World Atlas of Language Structures

| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 19A | Presence of <br> Uncommon <br> Consonants | - | None | 449/567 |
| 20A | Fusion of Selected <br> Inflectional <br> Formatives | ? | Exclusively isolating (i.e. aspect/mood but not causative, etc..) | 16/165 |
| 21 A | Exponence of Selected <br> Inflectional <br> Formatives | + | Monoexponential case | 71/162 |
| 21B | Exponence of Tense-AspectMood Inflection | + | monoexponential TAM | 127/160 |
| 22 A | Inflectional <br> Synthesis of the Verb | ? | 2-3 categories per word; or 4-5 (i.e. Khasi)? | 24/145 |
| 23A | Locus of Marking in the Clause | + | P has no marking | 42/236 |
| 24 A | Locus of Marking in Possessive Noun Phrases | ? | Possessor is dependent-marked; or none (32) | 98/236 |
| 25A | Locus of Marking: <br> Whole-language <br> Typology | + | Dependent or Zero: Inconsistent marking or other type | 121/236 |
| 25B | Zero Marking of A and P Arguments | + | Zero-marking (word order; optional marking on possessor) | 16/235 |
| 26A | Prefixing vs. Suffixing in Inflectional Morphology | Pre | Predominantly prefixing | 58/969 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 27A | Reduplication | + | Full reduplication only - evidence for previously productive partial reduplication (278); more details needed | 35/368 |
| 28A | Case Syncretism | + | Inflectional case marking is absent or minimal (i.e. semantic, non-core case marking) | 123/198 |
| 29A | Syncretism in Verbal <br> Person/Number <br> Marking | ? | Subject <br> person/number marking is never syncretic | 81/198 |
| 30A | Number of Genders | + | Three | 26/257 |
| 31A | Sex-based and Non-sex-based Gender Systems | $+$ | Sex-based gender system | 84/257 |
| 32 A | Systems of Gender <br> Assignment | + | Gender, animacy: <br> Semantic assignment | 53/257 |
| 33A | Coding of Nominal Plurality | + | proclitic: Plural clitic | 81/1066 |
| 34 A | Occurrence of Nominal Plurality | + | Plural in all nouns, always obligatory | 133/291 |
| 35 A | Plurality in <br> Independent <br> Personal Pronouns | + | Person-number stem | 114/261 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 36A | The Associative <br> Plural | ? | Associative plural absent; but joŋ 'GEN' often used in this sense (and can $k i=\mathrm{X}$ identify those associated with X?) | 37/236 |
| 37A | Definite Articles | - | Demonstrative word used as marker of definiteness | 69/620 |
| 38A | Indefinite Articles | + | Indefinite word distinct from numeral for 'one' | 102/534 |
| 39A | Inclusive/Exclusive <br> Distinction in <br> Independent <br> Pronouns | - | No inclusive/exclusive opposition | 120/200 |
| 40A | Inclusive/Exclusive <br> Distinction in Verbal Inflection | - | No person marking at all | 70/200 |
| 41A | Distance Contrasts in Demonstratives | + | 5: Four-way contrast (disregards anaphoric/nonvisible) | 8/234 |
| 42A | Pronominal and Adnominal <br> Demonstratives | + | Same forms | 143/201 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 43A | Third Person <br> Pronouns and <br> Demonstratives | + | Third person pronouns and demonstratives are related to all demonstratives (but agreement, not stem-based) | 52/225 |
| 44A | Gender <br> Distinctions in <br> Independent <br> Personal Pronouns | + | 3: Gender distinctions in 3rd person plus 1st and/or 2nd person | 18/378 |
| 45A | Politeness <br> Distinctions in Pronouns | ? | Second person pronouns encode no politeness distinction; but possibly developing i.e. Khasi 2pl phi (Second person pronouns encode a binary politeness distinction: 49) | 136/207 |
| 46A | Indefinite Pronouns | + | Interrogative-based indefinites | 194/326 |
| 47A | Intensifiers and Reflexive Pronouns | ? | Intensifiers and reflexive pronouns are formally identical | 94/168 |
| 48A | Person Marking on Adpositions | - | Adpositions without person marking | 209/378 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 49A | Number of Cases | + | 6-7 cases?; Khasi claimed to have none - distinguishing between morphological vs. not? (100) | 37/261 |
| 50A | Asymmetrical Case-Marking | ? | Symmetrical case-marking; (No morphological case-marking, 81) | 79/261 |
| 51A | Position of Case Affixes | + | Prepositional clitics | 17/1031 |
| 52A | Comitatives and Instrumentals | + | Mixed | 33/322 |
| 53A | Ordinal Numerals | + | First, Two-th: <br> Three-th: Ordinal numerals from 'two' upwards are derived from cardinal numerals, 'first' is suppletive | 110/321 |
| 54A | Distributive <br> Numerals | ? | Marked by reduplication; only clear in 'one' to mean "each", plural clitic used with 'one' | 85/251 |
| 55A | Numeral Classifiers | + | Numeral classifiers are obligatory | 78/400 |
| 56A | Conjunctions and Universal Quantifiers | + | Formally different | 40/116 |

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| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 57A | Position of Pronominal Possessive Affixes | - | No possessive affixes | 260/902 |
| 58A | Obligatory <br> Possessive <br> Inflection | - | No obligatorily possessed nouns | 201/244 |
| 58B | Number of Possessive Nouns | - | None reported | 233/243 |
| 59A | Possessive <br> Classification | - | No possessive classification | 125/243 |
| 60A | Genitives, <br> Adjectives and Relative Clauses | + | Moderately differentiated, with adjectives and relative clauses collapsed | 33/138 |
| 61A | Adjectives without Nouns | + | Adjective may occur without noun, obligatorily marked by preceding word | 18/124 |
| 62 A | Action Nominal Constructions | + | Sentential: dependent-marking of the finite clause is retained for S , A and P | 25/168 |
| 63A | Noun Phrase Conjunction | + | WITH-languages: 'and' and 'with' are identical | 103/234 |
| 64A | Nominal and Verbal Conjunction | + | Nominal and verbal conjunction are largely identical | 161/301 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 65 A | Perfective/Imperfectiv Aspect |  | Grammatical marking of perfective/imperfective distinction | 101/222 |
| 66 A | The Past Tense | - | No grammatical marking of past/non-past distinction | 88/222 |
| 67 A | The Future Tense | - | No inflectional marking of future/non-future distinction; but developing via nominalizer | 112/222 |
| 68A | The Perfect | $?$ | No perfect; but is the perfective/completive aspect or 'finish' used as such? | 114/222 |
| 69A | Position of Tense-Aspect Affixes | - | pre-: No tense-aspect inflection | 152/1131 |
| 70A | The Morphological Imperative | - | The language has no morphologically dedicated second-person imperatives at all | 122/547 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 71A | The Prohibitive | + | The prohbitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives | 182/495 |
| 72A | Imperative- <br> Hortative <br> Systems | ? | The language has both a maximal and a minimal system | 21/375 |
| 73A | The Optative | ? | Inflectional optative absent; but morphological optative present | 271/319 |
| 74A | Situational Possibility | ? | The language cannot express situational possibility with affixes on verbs, but with verbal constructions | 158/234 |
| 75A | Epistemic <br> Possibility | ? | The language can express epistemic possibility with verbal constructions | 65/240 |
| 76A | Overlap between <br> Situational and <br> Epistemic Modal <br> Marking | ? | The language has no markers that can code both situational and epistemic modality; i.e. no overlap, but consider daw vs. $u$ | 105/207 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 77A | Semantic <br> Distinctions of Evidentiality | + | Both direct and indirect evidentials; Demonstratives, $t \varepsilon$, and quotatives; no grammatical evidentials reported for Khasi | 71/418 |
| 78A | Coding of Evidentiality | + | Separate particle; none reported for Khasi | 65/418 |
| 79A | Suppletion <br> According to Tense and Aspect | ? | No suppletion in tense or aspect | 123/193 |
| 79B | Suppletion in <br> Imperatives and <br> Hortatives | + | None (= no suppletive imperatives reported in the reference material) | 153/193 |
| 80A | Verbal Number and Suppletion | - | Singular-plural pairs, no suppletion; pluractional derived by $y a-$ (reflexive, benefactive, reciprocal) | 12/193 |
| 81A | Order of Subject, Object and Verb | + | Verb-subject-object (VSO) | 95/1377 |
| 81B | Languages with two Dominant Orders of Subject, Object, and Verb | ? | VSO or VOS; possible if noun incorporation is considered | 14/67 |
| 82A | Order of Subject and Verb | + | Subject follows verb (VS) | 194/1497 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 83A | Order of Object and Verb | + | Object follows verb (VO) | 705/1519 |
| 84A | Order of Object, Oblique, and Verb | + | Verb-object-oblique (VOX); other orders possible.. (i.e. XVO, 3, like Chinese) | 210/500 |
| 85A | Order of <br> Adposition and Noun Phrase | + | Prepositions | 511/1183 |
| 86A | Order of Genitive and Noun | + | Noun-genitive (NGen) | 468/1249 |
| 87A | Order of Adjective and Noun | $+$ | Modifying adjective follows noun (NAdj) | 878/1366 |
| 88A | Order of <br> Demonstrative and <br> Noun | $+$ | Demonstrative word precedes noun (DemN) 542 | 542/1224 |
| 89A | Order of Numeral and Noun | + | Numeral precedes noun (NumN) | 479/1153 |
| 90A | Order of Relative Clause and Noun | + | Relative clause follows noun (Nrel); externally headed | 579/824 |
| 90B | Prenominal relative clauses | $+$ |  | 0/191 |
| 90C | Postnominal relative clauses | + | Noun-Relative clause (NRel) dominant | 579/620 |
| 90G | Double-headed relative clauses | ? | i.e. ka wa laj ko | 0/5 |
| 91A | Order of Degree <br> Word and <br> Adjective | + | Degree word follows adjective (AdjDeg) | 192/481 |
| 92A | Position of Polar Question Particles | + | Question particle at end of sentence | 314/884 |

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| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 93A | Position of <br> Interrogative <br> Phrases in Content Questions | + | Mixed, some interrogative phrases obligatorily initial, some not | 23/902 |
| 94A | Order of Adverbial <br> Subordinator and Clause | + | Adverbial subordinators which are separate words and which appear at the beginning of the subordinate clause | 398/659 |
| 95A | Relationship between the Order of Object and Verb and the Order of Adposition and Noun Phrase | $+$ | Verb-object and prepositional (VO\&Prep) | 456/1142 |
| 96A | Relationship between the Order of Object and Verb and the Order of Relative Clause and Noun | + | Verb-object and noun-relative clause (VO\&NRel) | 416/879 |
| 97A | Relationship between the Order of Object and Verb and the Order of Adjective and Noun | + | Verb-object and noun-adjective (VO\&NAdj) | 456/1316 |
| 98A | Alignment of Case <br> Marking of Full <br> Noun Phrases | + | Nominative accusative (standard); obliques marked separately | 46/190 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 99A | Alignment of Case <br> Marking of <br> Pronouns | + | Nominative accusative (standard) | 61/172 |
| 100A | Alignment of Verbal Person Marking | + | Neutral alignment (no verbal person marking) | 84/380 |
| 101A | Expression of <br> Pronominal <br> Subjects | ? | Pronominal subjects are expressed by pronouns in subject position that are normally if not obligatorily present | 82/711 |
| 102A | Verbal Person <br> Marking | + | No person marking of any argument | 82/378 |
| 103A | Third Person Zero of Verbal Person Marking | ? | No person marking of the S | 96/380 |
| 104A | Order of Person <br> Markers on the Verb | ? | A and P do not or do not both occur on the verb | 187/379 |
| 105A | Ditransitive <br> Constructions: The Verb 'Give' | ? | Indirect-object construction | 189/378 |
| 106A | Reciprocal Constructions | ? | The reciprocal and reflexive constructions are formally identical. | 44/175 |
| 107A | Passive <br> Constructions | + | There is a passive construction | 162/373 |
| 108A | Antipassive Constructions | ? | No antipassive | 146/194 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 108B | Productivity of the Antipassive Construction |  | no antipassive | 146/186 |
| 109A | Applicative <br> Constructions | ? | Benefactive object only; both bases; ja-rap 'help', ja-pn-kre? u ka $\ddagger a$ hali 'he works together with her in the field'..?; No applicative construction, 100 | 16/183 |
| 109B | Other Roles of Applied Objects | $?$ | Instrument and locative | 12/183 |
| 110A | Periphrastic <br> Causative <br> Constructions | -? |  | 0/118 |
| 111A | Nonperiphrastic <br> Causative <br> Constructions | ? | Morphological type but no compound type; but possibly both, i.e. Khasi $p^{h} a$; Both morphological type and compound type, 24 | 254/310 |
| 112A | Negative <br> Morphemes | + | Negative particle; <br> Double negation, 119 | 502/1157 |
| 113A | Symmetric and <br> Asymmetric <br> Standard Negation | + | Symmetric standard negation only: Type Sym | 114/297 |
| 114A | Subtypes of <br> Asymmetric <br> Standard Negation | - |  | 0/297 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 115A | Negative Indefinite <br> Pronouns and <br> Predicate Negation | ? | Negative indefinites preclude predicate negation | 11/206 |
| 116A | Polar Questions | + | Question particle | 585/955 |
| 117A | Predicative <br> Possession | ? | Have-Possessive | 63/240 |
| 118A | Predicative <br> Adjectives | ? | Predicative adjectives have verbal encoding | 151/386 |
| 119A | Nominal and Locational Predication | ? | Shared (i.e. identical) encoding of nominal and locational predication | 117/386 |
| 120A | Zero Copula for <br> Predicate Nominals | ? | Zero copula is impossible | 211/386 |
| 121A | Comparative <br> Constructions | + | Particle Comparative | 22/167 |
| 122A | Relativization on Subjects | + | Pronoun-retention, but weird, i.e. N(head) PN(head) Rel V; or PN(head) Rel V (Relative pronoun, 12); or N(head) Rel V PN(head)/gap (Gap, 125) | 5/166 |
| 123A | Relativization on Obliques | + | Relative Pronoun <br> Strategy; <br> Non-Reduction <br> Strategy, 14; <br> Pronoun-Retention <br> Strategy, 20; Gap <br> Strategy, 55 | 13/112 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 124 A | 'Want' <br> Complement <br> Subjects | ? | The complement subject is left implicit; Both construction types exist, 14 | 144/283 |
| 125A | Purpose Clauses | + | Balanced | 38/170 |
| 126A | 'When' Clauses | + | Balanced | 84/174 |
| 127A | Reason Clauses | + | Balanced | 90/169 |
| 128 A | Utterance <br> Complement <br> Clauses | ? | Balanced | 114/143 |
| 129A | Hand and Arm | ? | Identity: a single word denotes both 'hand' and 'arm' | 228/617 |
| 130A | Finger and Hand | ? | Identity: a single word denotes both 'hand' and 'finger' and/or 'fingers' | 72/593 |
| 130B | Cultural Categories of Languages with Identity of 'Finger' and 'Hand' | ? | Farmer-foragers | 18/72 |
| 131A | Numeral Bases | 10 | Decimal; Hybrid vigesimal-decimal, 22; Extended body-part system, 4 | 125/196 |
| 132A | Number of Non-Derived Basic Colour Categories | ? | 5 categories | 56/119 |
| 133A | Number of Basic Colour Categories | ? | Between 4 and 5, 5, or between 5 and 6 categories | 26/119 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 134A | Green and Blue | - | Green and blue not both encoded in any basic color term | 2/120 |
| 135A | Red and + ellow | + | Red and yellow not both encoded in any basic color term | 3/120 |
| 136A | M-T Pronouns | ? | No M-T pronouns | 200/230 |
| 136B | M in First Person Singular | ? | No $m$ in first person singular | 177/230 |
| 137A | N-M Pronouns | + | N-M pronouns, paradigmatic | 25/230 |
| 137B | M in Second Person Singular | + | $m$ in second person singular | 78/230 |
| 138A | Tea | ? | Words derived from Sinitic cha | 109/230 |
| 143A | Order of Negative <br> Morpheme and Verb | both | (6) Type $1 /$ Type 2; <br> (15) Optional Double <br> Negation, 80 | 22/1324 |
| 143C | Optional Double Negation | + | NegV/VNeg/NegVNeg; Optional double negation with optional triple negation, 1 | 2/81 |
| 143D | Optional Triple <br> Negation | + | Neg (neg) V (neg) | ?/6 |
| 143E | Preverbal Negative <br> Morphemes | + |  | 0/1324 |
| 143F | Postverbal <br> Negative <br> Morphemes | + | Preverbal negative word | 681/1324 |


| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category | Ratio of languages |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 143G | Minor <br> morphological means of signaling negation | ? | Postverbal negative word | 288/1324 |
| 144A | Position of Negative Word With Respect to Subject, Object, and Verb | + | NegVSO; "the logically possible type VNegSO is not attested in the sample" occurs in Pnar; Optional double negation (67) | 58/1189 |
| 144B | Position of negative words relative to beginning and end of clause and with respect to adjacency to verb | $+$ | Preceding verb, separated from verb, but not at beginning of clause; Following verb, separated from verb, but not at end of clause, 1 | 18/609 |
| 144 T | The Position of Negative Morphemes in Verb-Initial Languages | ? | NegVSO; VnegSO, 0; Verb-initial with optional double negation, 10 | 57/152 |
| 144 U | Double negation in verb-initial languages | ? | $\begin{aligned} & \text { NegVNegSO; } \\ & \text { NegNegVSO, 1; } \end{aligned}$ | 1/17 |
| 144 V | Verb-Initial with Preverbal Negative | + | Separate word, optional single or double negation, with preverbal negative word possible without a second negative | 6/152 |


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| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Chapter | Chapter Name | Pnar <br> Value | Category $\quad$| Ratio of |
| :--- |
| languages |

## Appendix D

## Texts

The texts in this appendix have not been fully edited for content and grammatical translations. They have been outputted directly from Toolbox and are included here for reference purposes.

## D. 1 MPearStoryRetellingJowai [MPSRJ]

This text is a retelling of The Pear Story (Chafe, 1980) by a Jowai speaker. The speaker is relating what is happening to his friends. He can see the film as it unfolds, but his friends cannot. This provides clear context for the initial stage of learning how a language works.
(1) EMPTY
(2) kattæ yoo o khait soh u tæ u bru ap-mi næ

| $k a t-t \varepsilon$ | $j o$ | 0 | $k^{h} a t$ | $s \supset ?$ | $u=t \varepsilon$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad u=b r u$

'Now i see a man picking fruit, okay?'
(3) khait soh ku u hajrong deiñ nong
$k^{h} a t$ so? $k u \quad u \quad h a-d \jmath r \supset \eta$ den $n \supset \eta$ pick fruit climb 3SG.M LOC-above tree CONF 'He is picking fruit, climbing the tree, right?'
(4) dæp nei tæ tæ u da rap hæh hi sæ u bru
$d \varepsilon p \quad n e-i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad u \quad d a \quad$ rap $h \varepsilon$ ? hi PERF ABL-N=NVIS NVIS 3SG.M REAL grow be.big EMPH se $\quad u=b r u$
C.tAG $\mathrm{M}=$ person
'After that... the person is quite grown up, okay....'
(5) ku u da ka yi da ka yingkein dæp tæ khait soh u dæp tæ pyllang $u$ ki ha yi ha ki ni ha ki ni ha ki ni næ ki kriah $k u \quad u \quad d a \quad k a=j i \quad d a \quad k a=j i \eta k e n ~ d \varepsilon p \quad t \varepsilon \quad k^{h} a t$ climb 3SG.M INST $\mathrm{F}=$ thing INST $\mathrm{F}=$ ladder PERF NVIS pick so? u dep te pllay u ki ha ji ha fruit 3SG.m PERF NVIS gather 3SG.m 3PL LOC thing LOC
$k i=n i \quad h a \quad k i=n i \quad h a \quad k i=n i \quad n \varepsilon$
PL=PROX LOC PL=PROX LOC PL=PROX D.TAG
$k i=k r i a ?$
PL=basket(general)
'He climbs with the ladder, then after picking fruit he then gathers them in, in, in, baskets..'
(6) pyllang $u$ ki sai $u$ napoh kata kat i wa yoh $u$ tæ tap $u$ hapoh yi bait hapoh kata bait
pllay $u$ ki saj u na-po?
gather 3SG.M 3PL take.from.inside 3SG.M ABL-under,in
kata kat $i$ wa jo? $u=t \varepsilon$ tap u
pocket as 1PL NMZ get M=NVIS put,garden 3SG.M
ha-po? ji bat ha-po? kata bat LOC-under, in thing direct LOC-under,in pocket IMM3
'He gathers them, taking from inside the pocket. Whatever he gets he puts directly in the pocket..'
(7) dæp tæ pyllai pyllai wan u ki ha yi ha ong bait ha kriah sæ pyllai pyllai wan u ki ki tæ ki soh

| $d \varepsilon p$ | te | pllaj | pllaj | wan | $u$ | ki ha | j |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| PERF | NVIS | organize | organize | come | 3SG.M | 3PL LOC | thing |
| ha | o刀 b | bat ha | kria? |  | SE | pllaj | pllaj |
| LOC | say I | IMM3 LOC | basket(g | neral) | C.tag | organize | organize |
| wan | $u$ | $k i \quad k i$ | $=t \varepsilon$ | $=s o$ ? |  |  |  |
| come | 3SG. | M 3PL P | = NVIS | =fruit |  |  |  |

'After that he empties them in... to the place, directly into the basket, ok... (he is) emptying them, those fruits ("pyllaipyllai" means 'empty into').'
(8) tæ da lachi ar tylli haroh ki kriah da dæp pyndap u katte te da latfi ar tlli ha-ro? NVIS REAL almost two CL.piece LOC-be.much $k i=k r i a ? \quad d a \quad d \varepsilon p \quad p n$-dap $u$
PL=basket(general) REAL PERF CAUS-fill 3SG.M
kat-te
as,like-MPROX
'and almost two baskets are finished being filled, by now.'
(9) tæ æm $u$ wi wa hap cha roit jeid $u$ oo tæ ñiam $u$ oo ñiam $u$ læh pun da ka tæ hi ka tatlumar wa æm hei ni ha wa kdoh u ha rdang i rong soo wa sap tupri sæ u sap tupri u læh cowboy næ kamtu

| $t \varepsilon$ | $\varepsilon m$ | $u=w i$ | $w a$ | $h a p$ | ta | rot | ged |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | have | M=one | NMZ fall | ALL | outside | pickup,choose |  |

$u \quad o \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ niam u o niam

3SG.M 3SG.m.ACC NVIS wipe 3SG.M 3SG.m.ACC wipe
$u \quad l \varepsilon$ ? pun $d a \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad h i \quad k a=t a t l u m a r ~ w a ~ \varepsilon m ~$ 3SG.M also all INST F=NVIS EMPH $\mathrm{F}=$ =scarf NMZ have he-i=ni ha wa kdo? u ha rday LOC-N=PROX LOC NMZ tie 3SG.M LOC neck
$i=r \supset \eta$ so wa sap tupri se u sap $\mathrm{N}=$ color,symbol be.red NMZ wear hat C.TAG 3SG.M wear tupri u le? kawboj $n \varepsilon \quad$ kam-tu hat 3SG.m also cowboy D.TAG as,like-medl 'and there is one (fruit) that fell just outside (the basket), he picks it up, wipes it also with the same scarf that is here, tied on his neck, a red one. He is wearing a hat also, a cowboy hat, okay, like that..'
(10) ki bru læh ong bait ki cowboy hi sæ ki ni
$k i=b r u \quad l \varepsilon ? \quad$ oŋ bat $k i=k a w b o j h i \quad s \varepsilon$ PL=person also say IMM3 PL=cowboy EMPH C.TAG
$k i=n i$
PL=PROX
'These people also are like cowboys, ok.'
(11) sa $u$ wi $u$ kriah kattæ dang sah tæ

| sa | $u=w i$ | $u=k r i a ?$ | kat-te | $d a \eta$ | $s a$ ? | $t \varepsilon$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| only | $\mathrm{M}=$ one | $\mathrm{M}=$ basket(general) | as-NVIS | PROG | stay | NVIS |
| 'One more basket is still there now, ok?' |  |  |  |  |  |  |

(12) duk $u$ kirchon dei kirchon ha madan thap soh oo yoo ym pynhier oo ñiam biang $u$ ku biang $u$
duk $u=k i r t f o n ~ d e-i=k i r t f o n ~ h a ~ m a d a n ~ t h a p ~ s o ? ~$
be.hard $\mathrm{NF}=$ kneel INST-ACT=kneel LOC ground put fruit o jo m pn-hier o niam biaך 3SG.M.ACC see NEG CAUS-bringdown 3SG.M.ACC wipe again $u \quad k u$ biaj u
3SG.M climb again 3SG.m
'He has to kneel on the ground to put fruit in, you know. He brings down fruit, wipes again, climbs again....'
(13) kattai æm so $u$ wi wan $u$ bru wan yah $u$ wa ka blang
kat-taj $\varepsilon m$ so $u=w i$ wan $u=b r u$ wan ja?
as-distal have more $\mathrm{M}=$ one come $\mathrm{M}=$ person come drive,lead $u \quad w a \quad k a=b l a \eta$
3SG.M COMT F=goat
'now there is one more man coming, bringing a goat..'
(14) ka blang mo ka masi mo dang wa dang khian chisein pait na ai yoo kam ka blang sæ
$k a=b l a \eta ~ m o ~ k a=m a s i ~ m o ~ d a \eta ~ w a ~ d a \eta ~ k^{h} i a n$ $\mathrm{F}=$ goat QTAG $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{cow}$ QTAG PROG NMZ PROG be.small tij-sen pat na aj jo kam ka=blay se one-time,action look ABL PTNL see like,want $\mathrm{F}=$ goat C.TAG 'A goat or a cow, but if (the latter) it is a small.. i think maybe? it looks like a goat, ok...'
(15) tæ lai ki ki wei toh chajrong loom
te laj ki ki we-i=to? t t a-dron lom
NVIS go 3PL 3pl COMT-ACT=be ALL-above hill
'They are going to the hilltop...'
(16) katte khait ma khait soh u khait soh u dæp thap thap u ne ka sula u læh da chna kam ka kam ka muna hei ni
kat-te $k^{h} a t m a \quad k^{h} a t$ so? u $k^{h} a t$ so? u
as-MProx pick hon.M pick fruit 3SG.M pick fruit 3SG.M
$d \varepsilon p \quad t^{h} a p$ thap $u$ ne $k a=$ sula $u \quad l \varepsilon$ ? $d a$ PERF put put 3SG.M or $\mathrm{F}=$ clothing 3 SG.M also REAL tfna kam ka=kam ka=muna he-i=ni make like,want RES=like,want $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{bag} \quad$ LOC-N=PROX
'Now (he) still picking fruit, he picks fruit, he then puts it in his dress/clothing... that has already been made like a bag here (pointing).'
(17) EMPTY
(18) katte dang ha pyrdi wa khait soh u tæ æm u khynnah wan wan $u$ yah yi wa yah bicycle
kat-te $d a \eta \quad h a \quad p r d i \quad w a \quad k^{h} a t$ as-MPROX PROG LOC middle NMZ pick fruit 3SG.M NVIS عm $u=k^{h} n$ nna? wan wan $u$ ja? ji wa have $\mathrm{M}=$ little.one come come $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{M}$ drive, lead thing NMZ ja? bajskil
drive,lead bicycle
'Now he's still in the middle of picking fruit. There is a boy coming, riding a bicycle..'
(19) dæp tæ u tæ læh sap tupri cowboy bha u sæ riem cowboy bha u ong ya ong dang khian u læh tæt
dep-te $u=t \varepsilon \quad l \varepsilon ?$ sap tupri kawboj bha u PERF-NVIS $M=$ NVIS also wear hat cowboy INTS1 3SG.M
se riem kawboj bha u oŋ ja oŋ daך C.TAG dress cowboy INTS1 3SG.M say BEN say PROG
$k^{h}$ ian u le? tet
be.small 3SG.M also end
'He also wears a cowboy hat well, right, dressed like a cowboy even though he's still small..'
(20) kdoh u kamtæ bait thad hei ni ha rdang
$k d o$ ? $u$ kam-te bat thad he-i=ni ha
tie 3SG.M as,like-NVIS IMM3 clothes LOC-N=PROX LOC
$r d a \eta$
neck
'He is tied, you know, with cloth here at the neck.'
(21) katte dang yah bha u tæ poi u chi poi hajan tæt
kat-te day ja? bha u=tع poj u ti as-MPROX PROG drive,lead INTS1 M=NVIS arrive 3SG.M set poj ha-dan tet arrive LOC-be.near end
'Now he's still driving well, Oh.. he's coming closer..'
(22) yoo u ki ki tu ki soh næ hapoh kriah
jo $u \quad k i \quad k i=t u \quad k i=s o ? ~ n \varepsilon \quad h a-p o ?$
see 3SG.M 3PL PL=MEDL PL=fruit D.TAG LOC-under,in
kria?
basket(general)
'He sees the fruit, ok, inside the basket...'
(23) yoo u ki chi yoo tæ yoo $\mathrm{u} u$ tæ u bru dang khait u tæt
jo u ki $\quad$ ti $i$ jo te jo $u \quad u=t \varepsilon \quad u=b r u$ see 3SG.m 3PL set see NVIS see 3SG.M M=NVIS M=person day $k^{h} a t \quad u \quad t \varepsilon t$
PROG pick 3SG.M end
'He looked and saw that the person was still plucking...'
(24) pynhier u ka ka ni ka bicycle u
pn-hier u ka ka=ni ka=bajskil u
CAUS-bringdown 3SG.M 3SG.F F=PROX F=bicycle 3SG.M 'So he put down his bicycle...'
(25) da dæp tæ tooh soh $u$ him $u$ nei tai khmeit kyrngang $u$ oo tæ him kyrngang u
$d a \quad d \varepsilon p$ te to? so? u him u
REAL PERF NVIS steal fruit 3SG.m take 3SG.M
ne-i=taj khmet krŋaך u o te him
ABL-N=distal look.here while 3SG.M 3SG.M.ACC NVIS take
krŋay u
while 3SG.m
'then he stole fruit, he looked up while taking...'
(26) mut u u him u wi hæh rah u ki rah bait u pynchi kriah bait
mut $u \quad u=h i m \quad u=w i \quad h \varepsilon ? \quad r a ? \quad u \quad k i$
means 3SG.M NF=take $\mathrm{M}=$ one be.big carry 3SG.M 3PL
ra? bat u pn-tfi kria? bat
carry IMM3 3SG.M CAUS-set basket(general) IMM3
'He thought he would take only one (but) he just took and carried the whole basket.'
sdang biang $u$ ku hei tu ha ha bicycle
sday biaך $u$ ku he-i=tu ha ha bajskil begin again 3SG.M climb LOC-N=MEDL LOC LOC bicycle 'He again started to climb on the bicycle...'
(28) ku $u$ ha bicycle rah $u$ oo $u$ tu $u$ kriah booh $u$ oo hakhmat bicycle pynchong chi u pynchong næ

| $k u$ | $u$ | $h a$ | bajskil | $r a ?$ | $u$ | $o$ | $u=t u$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| climb | 3SG.M | LOC | bicycle | carry | 3SG.M | 3SG.M.ACC | M=MEDL |

$u=k r i a ? \quad$ bo? $\quad$ o $\quad$ ha- $k^{h}$ mat

M=basket(general) put,keep 3SG.M 3SG.m.ACC LOC-front
bajskil $p n-t \not \supset \eta$ tfi $u=p n-t j \supset \eta \quad n \varepsilon$
bicycle CAUS-sit set NF=CAUS-sit D.TAG
'He climbed on the bicycle carrying the basket, putting it in the front of the bicycle, making it sit right there, ok...'
(29) æm thaw pynchong ha bicycle hakhmat dæp tæ yah wot u yah bicycle wot u
$\varepsilon m \quad t^{h} a w \quad p n-t f o \eta \quad h a \quad$ bajskil ha-k ${ }^{h} m a t$ dep-te have place CAUS-sit LOC bicycle LOC-front PERF-NVIS ja? wot u ja? bajskil wot u drive,lead IMMD 3SG.M drive,lead bicycle IMMD 3SG.M
'There is a place on the bicycle (where) it sits in front, and he just rides, he just rides the bicycle...'
(30) tæ u ni u bru dang khait soh dang khait hi dang tap hi næ

| $t \varepsilon$ | $u=n i$ | $u=b r u$ | $d a \eta$ | $k^{h} a t$ | $s o ?$ | $d a \eta$ | $k^{h} a t$ | $h i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | M $=$ PROX | $\mathrm{M}=$ person | PROG | pick | fruit | PROG | pick | EMPH |
| $d a \eta$ | tap | $h i$ | $n \varepsilon$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| PROG | put,garden | EMPH | D.TAG |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'and still the man is picking fruit, still plucking and putting, ok...' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

(31) u tai wa yat nang yat hi u khynnah khian katte
$u=t a j \quad w a \quad$ yat naך yat $h i \quad u=k^{h} n n a ? \quad k^{h} i a n$
$\mathrm{M}=$ distal NMZ run PROG run EMPH $\mathrm{M}=$ little.one be.small
kat-te
as-MPROX
'While that one is still running, the small child..'
(32) wa dang yah ha $u$ æm sa ka wi wan ka kynthai ka wah yah bicycle nei tai liang wan ka læh yah ko sæ
wa day ja? $\quad \mathrm{la} \quad u=\varepsilon m$ sa $k a=w i$ wan
NMZ PROG drive, lead LOC $\mathrm{NF}=$ have only $\mathrm{F}=$ one come
$k a=k n t^{h} a j \quad k a=w a ? j a ? \quad$ bajskil $n e-i=t a j$ liay wan $\mathrm{F}=$ female $\mathrm{F}=$ river drive, lead bicycle $\mathrm{ABL}-\mathrm{N}=$ distal side come $k a \quad l \varepsilon$ ? jap ko $s \varepsilon$ 3SG.F also drive,lead 3SG.F C.TAG
'While he is riding on there is one more child, a girl, she also rides a bicycle, coming from the other side, also riding, right...'
(33) ka yah bicycle kam oo hi tæ ong bait ha ka jooh ka surok
$k a \quad j a ?$ bajskil kam o hi te
3SG.F drive,lead bicycle like,want 3SG.M.ACC EMPH NVIS
эŋ bat ha $k a=d$ o? $\quad k a=s u r \partial k$
say IMM3 LOC RES=be.same $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{road}$
'She bicycle-rides just like him and let's say on the same road...'
(34) khmeit u ka chi khmeit næ dæp tæt
$k^{h}$ met u $\quad$ a $\quad$ fi $k^{h} m e t \quad n \varepsilon \quad d \varepsilon p$ tet look.here 3SG.M 3SG.F set look.here D.TAG PERF end 'He looks up, sees her, ok, and then....'
(35) da u ka chi khmeit ka te ka kynthai ong yoh toh ka kynthai tæt nong sæ ka khylloid ko tæt khmeit u ka tæt
$d a \quad u \quad k a \quad$ tfi $k^{h} m e t \quad k a=t e \quad k a=k n t^{h} a j \quad \supset \eta$
INST 3SG.M 3SG.F set look.here $\mathrm{F}=$ MProx $\mathrm{F}=$ female say $j \supset$ ? to? $k a=k n t^{h} a j$ tet $n \supset \eta$ s $\quad k a=k^{h}$ lloit ko tet get be $\mathrm{F}=$ female end CONF C.TAG $\mathrm{F}=$ girl 3 SG.F end $k^{h}$ met u ka trt
look.here 3SG.M 3SG.F end
'He just looked up at her, that girl, let's say because the girl is becoming a woman, ok, he looked up at her...'
(36) ym æm u johke u pait ya u moo næ æm u moo pynhakhmat yi tæt
$m \quad \varepsilon m \quad u=\sigma \circ$ pke $u=p a t \quad j a \quad u=m o \quad n \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon m$ NEG have $\mathrm{NF}=$ realize $\mathrm{NF}=$ look BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ stone D .TAG have $u=m o \quad p n-h a-k^{h} m a t \quad j i \quad t \varepsilon t$ $\mathrm{M}=$ stone CAUS-LOC-front thing end
'He didn't realize or see the stone there, ok.. there is a stone just in front...'
(37) dæp tæ toh chi toh hei tæ tæ pat u dæp tæt kjut ka kjat taroh u sæ $d \varepsilon p-t \varepsilon \quad t \supset ? ~ \$ i \quad$ to? he-i=te te pat u d $\quad$ dep PERF-NVIS be set be LOC-N=NVIS NVIS fall 3SG.M PERF tet kogut $k a=k \circ$ at taro? $u \quad s \varepsilon$ end hurt,sick $\mathrm{F}=$ leg lower.leg 3SG.m C.tag 'and then (he) ran into it and he fell there and then he hurt his lower leg also, right.'
(38) dæp tæ wei ki soh haroh wa hap hei tæ i tæ hei tæ hapyrdi hei por wa pat wan $u æ m$ le ngut ki chynrang hei tæ wan
dep-te we-i ki=sə? ha-rə? wa hap
PERF-NVIS COMT-1PL PL=fruit LOC-be.much NMZ fall
$h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad i=t \varepsilon \quad h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad h a-p r d i \quad h e-i=p o r$
LOC-N=NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS LOC-N=NVIS LOC-middle LOC-N=time
wa pat wan $u \quad \varepsilon m$ le put ki=†ņraך
NMZ fall come 3SG.M have three CL.HUM PL=male
$h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad$ wan
LOC-N=NVIS come
'and then those fruits also fell there, there in the middle, and while he was fallen there are three people, boys, here.'
yoo ki oo ki yoo tæ $u$ wi yarap $u$ oo tæ $u$ khian dooh nei tæ
jo $k i \quad o \quad k i \quad j o \quad t \varepsilon \quad u=w i \quad$ jarap $u$
see 3PL 3SG.m.ACC 3PL see NVIS M=one help 3SG.m
o te $u=k^{h}$ ian-do? ne-i=te
3SG.M.ACC NVIS NF=be.small-completely ABL-N=NVIS
'They see him and one helps him, the smallest of them...'
(40) tæ ki wa boon wan ki jeid ki tæ ki soh tæ tap ki hapoh biang utæ u kriah te ki wa bon wan ki ged $k i=t \varepsilon$ NVIS 3PL NMZ be.much come 3PL pickup,choose PL=NVIS $k i=s o ? ~ t \varepsilon \quad t a p$ ki ha-po? biaך $u=t \varepsilon$ PL=fruit NVIS put,garden 3PL LOC-under,in again $\mathrm{M}=$ NVIS $u=k r i a$ ? $\mathrm{M}=$ basket(general) 'and the others pick up the fruits and put them inside the basket again...'
(41) dang tap soh ki katte hapoh kriah
day tap so? ki kat-te ha-po?
PROG put,garden fruit 3PL as-MPROX LOC-under,in
kria?
basket(general)
'(they) still put the fruit in the basket now...'
(42) tæ u wi wan oo ksoh u tæ ka ksoh u kamka kynja table tennis bat kamtu $t \varepsilon \quad u=w i \quad$ wan $o \quad k s o ? ~ u=t \varepsilon \quad k a \quad k s o$ ? NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ one come 3SG.M.ACC hold $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ 3SG.F hold $u$ kam-ka knça tebl tenis bat kam-tu 3SG.M as,like-3SG.F kind table tennis bat as,like-medl 'and one of them, he holds something, like a table tennis bat or (something) like that...'
(43) ki tu ki bat kyndok ke u da u moo mo ym tip i yi i tai kyndok
$k i=t u \quad k i \quad b a t$ kndok $k e \quad u \quad d a \quad u=m o$ PL=MEDL 3PL bat bounce Non-purp 3SG.M INST M=stone
mo $\quad m$-tip $\quad i=j i \quad i=t a j \quad k n d o k$
QTAG NEG-know $\mathrm{N}=$ thing $\mathrm{N}=$ distal bounce
'those bats, he bounces the bat with a stone? i don't know what it is he bounces...'
(44) u dæp ki oo u yarap ki lai wot ki lai wot ki oo læh lai wot u u ni u khynnah wa toh $u$ tu wa pat sa ka tupri wan $u$ æm $u$ hap ko ha madan hei por wa khmeit u ka ka ni ka kynthai tæt

'After they finish helping him, they just go, and he also just goes.. The injured child that fell, now his hat it fell on the ground when he looked up at that girl, ok...'
(45) toh ka tupri u næ ha ka te ka kynthai hap wot ko man da hap ka tæ ka tupri chi hap næ tæt
to? $k a=t u p r i \quad n \varepsilon \quad h a \quad k a=t e \quad k a=k n t^{h} a j h a p$
be $\mathrm{F}=$ hat 3 SG.M D.TAG LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ MPROX $\mathrm{F}=$ female fall
wot ko man da hap ka=te ka=tupri ti hap
IMMD 3SG.F become REAL fall $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ hat set fall $n \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon t$
D.tag end
'The hat hit her, ok.. fell towards the girl, because when it fell, the hat fell, ok..'
(46) ka tæ eh u ka ka tæ oo man da dæp u jeid nei tæ ki ni ki khynnah man da lai ki chakhmat yoo ki ka ka tæ ka tupri u jeid ki ka tæ siaw ki oo næ
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad e ? \quad u \quad k a \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad o \quad$ man
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS leave 3SG.m 3SG.F F=NVIS 3SG.M.ACC become
$d a \quad d \varepsilon p \quad u=$ ded $\quad n e-i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=n i$
REAL PERF NF=pickup,choose ABL-N=NVIS PL=PROX
$k i=k^{h} n n a$ man da laj ki tja-khmat jo ki
PL=little.one become REAL go 3PL ALL-front see 3PL
$k a \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=$ tupri $\quad u=$ ged $\quad k i \quad k a=t \varepsilon$
3SG.F F=NVIS $F=$ hat $\quad \mathrm{NF}=$ pickup,choose 3PL $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS
siaw $k i \quad o \quad n \varepsilon$
whistle 3PL 3sG.m.ACC D.tag
'it was left there when he fell.. When the kids finished picking him up, when they went, in front (of them) they saw the hat, picked it up, whistled to him, ok...'
(47) ya u e ki ka ka te ka tupri u tæ katte da lie ki ka ka tupri u ki
$j a \quad u=e \quad k i \quad k a \quad k a=t e \quad k a=t u p r i \quad u \quad t \varepsilon$ BEN NF=give 3PL 3SG.F F=MPROX F=hat 3SG.M NVIS kat-te $d a \quad$ li-e ki $k a \quad k a=t u p r i \quad u \quad k i$ as-mprox real DUR-give 3pl 3SG.F F=hat 3SG.m 3pl 'so that they could give him his hat. now they go to give him it, his hat, they,.'
(48) man da e tupri wan $u$ ki ni ki khynnah oo $u$ wan tæt oo e wan $u$ da $u$ soh ya ki e u ya ki da ki soh ar tylli ki soh ne
man da e tupri wan $u \quad k i=n i$
become REAL give hat come 3SG.M PL=Prox
$k i=k^{h} n n a$ ? $u=w a n$ tet o e
PL=little.one 3SG.M.ACC $\mathrm{NF}=$ come end 3SG.M.ACC give

| wan | $u$ | $d a$ | $u=s o ?$ | $j a$ | $k i$ | $e$ | $u$ | $j a$ | $k i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| come | 3SG.M | INST | M=fruit | BEN | 3PL | give | 3SG.M | BEN | 3PL |
| $d a$ | $k i=s \supset$ | $a r$ | tlli | $k i=s \supset$ ? | $n e$ |  |  |  |  |
| INST | PL=fruit | two | CL.piece | PL=fruit | or |  |  |  |  |

'when giving the hat to him, to the boy, he gives fruit to them in exchange, (he's) giving them fruit, two fruits, ok?'
(49) o ar tylli mo le o le tylli u yoh ki mar u wi u soh

| $\jmath$ | ar tlli | mo | $l e$ | $\quad$ | $l e$ | tlli |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1SG.NOM | two | CL.piece | QTAG | three | 1SG.NOM | three |
| CL.piece |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $u=j \supset$ P | $k i=$ mar | $u=w i$ | $u=s \supset$ ? |  |  |  |
| NF=get | PL=belongings | M=one | M=fruit |  |  |  |

'Oh, two or three, Oh, three. He gets them each a fruit..'
(50) ki wan lai ki chei te liang i wa wan $u$ tu u khynnah wa wan $u$ ki wan laj ki tye-i=te liay $i$ wa wan 3PL come go 3PL ALL-N=MPROX side 1PL NMZ come $u=t u \quad u=k^{h} n n a$ wa wan $u$ M=MEDL M=little.one NMZ come 3SG.M
'They go to the place where he came from, that boy came...'
(51) ki lai ki oo wa wan
ki laj ki o wa wan
3PL go 3PL 3SG.M.ACC NMZ come
'They go, he comes...'
(52) tæ man da poi kattæ kattai pynyoo biang ki poi biang chei tai i por chei thaw chei tæ chei tu i pyntha yong utæ u bru wa khait soh
te man da poj kat-tع kat-taj pn-jo biaך NVIS become REAL arrive as-NVIS as-distal CAUS-see again $k i \quad$ poj biay tye-i=taj $\quad i=p o r \quad$ te $e-i=t^{h} a w$ 3PL arrive again ALL-N=distal $\mathrm{N}=$ time ALL-N=place


ALL-N=NVIS ALL-N=MEDL 1PL CAUS-boulder GEN M=NVIS
$u=b r u \quad w a \quad k^{h} a t$ so?
$\mathrm{M}=$ person NMZ pick fruit
'and when (they) reach now at this time it (the film) shows again them coming again to that time, that place, that part (of the show) belonging to the man pickingfruit...'
man da khait soh $u$ tæ pyndap man da ong $u$ pyndap ong $u$ pyllai ki tæ ki soh yoo $u$ chi pait kamtu næ ong $u$ de yoo kam wa duna kammon itæ man $d a \quad k^{h} a t$ so? $u \quad t \varepsilon \quad p n$-dap man $d a$ become REAL pick fruit 3SG.M NVIS CAUS-fill become REAL э刀 $u=p n$-dap $\quad \jmath \quad u=p l l a j \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=s \supset$ ? jo say $N F=$ CAUS-fill say $N F=$ organize $P L=N V I S ~ P L=f r u i t ~ s e e ~$ $u \quad$ ti pat $k a m-t u \quad n \varepsilon \quad ~ э \eta ~ u \quad d e \quad j o$ 3SG.M set look as,like-medl D.TAG say 3SG.M NEG.INTS see kam wa duna kammon $i=t \varepsilon$
like,want NMZ lack how N=NVIS
'When he picks fruit and fills, when he is about to fill, about to place the fruit, he sees, he gives a look like that, ok. He says "Oh!", see, like there's less, how is that?'
(54) niaw u wi ar mm
niaw $u=w i$ ar $m m$
count $\mathrm{M}=$ one two mm
'He counts one, two, mm...'
(55) de æh ko chibot khleih u kamtu næ
de $\quad \varepsilon ? \quad k ァ \quad$ tjibot $\quad k^{h} l e ? \quad u \quad$ kam-tu
neg.ints be.difficult 3SG.F scratch head 3SG.m as,like-medl $n \varepsilon$
D.tag
'Oh!" it's hard, scratching his head like that ok...'
(56) hei tæ por wan ki tu ki khynnah ki wa yoh soh na u te nei u khynnah wa yah bicycle
$h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad$ por wan $k i=t u \quad k i=k^{h} n n a ? \quad k i \quad w a$
LOC-N=NVIS time come PL=MEDL PL=little.one 3PL NMZ
$j \partial ? ~ s o ? ~ n a ~ u=t e \quad n e-i \quad u=k^{h} n n a ? \quad w a$
get fruit ABL M=MPROX ABL-1PL $\mathrm{M}=$ little.one NMZ
ja? bajskil
drive,lead bicycle
'Just then come those kids, the ones who got fruit from that boy who rides the bicycle...'
(57) kyndok u tu wa kyndok bat table tennis dang kyndok bait lai khyrngang
kndok $u=t u \quad w a \quad k n d o k$ bat tebl tenis day bounce $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{MEDL}$ NMZ bounce bat table tennis PROG
kndok bat laj khrpaך
bounce IMM3 go at.same.time
'Bouncing the table tennis bounce-bat, still bouncing they go (while bouncing) at the same time..'
(58) u tu u bru wan oo da pait u kamtu næ yoo u ksoh soh ki tæt
$u=t u \quad u=b r u \quad$ wan $o \quad d a \quad$ pat $u$ M=MEDL $\mathrm{M}=$ person come 3SG.M.ACC REAL look 3SG.M
kam-tu ne jo u kso? so? ki tet
as,like-medl D.tag see 3sG.m hold fruit 3PL end
'That man was seeing, like that, ok.. He sees them holding fruit...'
(59) da suba u ki sæ
da suba u ki se
Real knowledge 3sg.m 3pl C.tag
'He was suspicious, ok...'
(60) kamtæ hæh sæ
kam-te he? se
as, like-NVIS only C.TAG
'Just like that..'

## D. 2 LathadlabotStory3Jowai [LS3J]

This text is a brief personal story related by one of the elders of Lathadlabot Presbyterian Church about a time that he almost died.

## (1) EMPTY

(2) nga retired o ha u snæm khatkhynde spah sanphaw soo
pa ritait o ha u=snem $k^{h} a t k^{h} n d e$ spa?

1SG.ACC retired 1SG.NOM LOC M=year nineteen hundred
sanp ${ }^{h}$ aw so
fifty four
'I retired from my service in the year 1954..'
(3) ha u snæm khatkhynde spah sanphaw san lai shillong
ha u=snem $k^{h} a t k^{h} n d e$ spa? sanp ${ }^{h}$ aw san laj fllon
LOC $M=y e a r$ nineteen hundred fifty five go Shillong
'In the year 1955, I went to Shillong.'
(4) hei por chiphaw chitein da ka bus lai shillong hakhmat ummulong haka thaw wa ong ki pynsum kule
he-i=por tfiphaw titen da ka=bos laj fllop
LOC-N=time ten half INST $\mathrm{F}=$ bus go Shillong
$h a-k^{h} m a t$ ummuls $\quad h a-k a \quad t^{h} a w \quad w a \quad \jmath \eta \quad k i$
LOC-front Ummulong LOC-3SG.F place NMZ say 3PL
pn-sum kule
caus-bathe horse
'I went to Shillong by bus at 10:30 AM. just after passing Ummulong is a place called Pynsum Kule..'
(5) hei tæ chæm ka accident
$h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad$ tgm $\quad k a=a k s i d \varepsilon n$
LOC-N=NVIS meet $\mathrm{F}=$ accident
'there I met (with) an accident.'
(6) chong o da ka bus

サっŋ $\quad d a \quad k a=b \supset s$
sit 1SG.NOM INST $\mathrm{F}=$ bus
'I was sitting in the bus.'
(7) æm yap ka wi ka kynthai tymmæn
$\varepsilon m$ jap $k a=w i \quad k a=k n t^{h} a j \quad t m m e n$
have die $\mathrm{F}=$ one $\mathrm{F}=$ female be.old
'There is one old woman who died..'
(8) booh ki ka generator kylla ka bus ban ka generator yap ko ka wi
bo? ki ka=ḑeneretsr killa ka=bos ban
put,keep 3PL $\mathrm{F}=$ generator change $\mathrm{F}=$ bus fold,fall
$k a=d$ deneretor jap ko $k a=w i$
$\mathrm{F}=$ generator die 3SG.F $\mathrm{F}=$ one
'There was a generator that was kept in that bus, the generator fell over this woman and she died..'
(9) nga yoh faint o yaplær o
ya jว? fen $\jmath \quad$ japler 0
1SG.ACC get faint 1SG.NOM faint 1SG.NOM
'I fainted, I fainted.'
(10) tæ u wi u tæ u bru u SDO electric khæñ ka ni ka kti
$t \varepsilon \quad u=w i \quad u=t \varepsilon \quad u=b r u \quad u=\varepsilon s d i o \quad$ elcktrik $k^{h} \varepsilon n$
NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ one $\mathrm{M}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ person $\mathrm{M}=$ S.D.O. electric break
$k a=n i \quad k a=k t i$
$\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \quad \mathrm{F}=$ hand
'There was also one man, the S.D.O. of (Meghalaya) Electric (company), whose hand was fractured in that incident..'
(11) hei tæ i por sah ka ni ka kjat o ha ka ni ka tnoom yong ka bus
$h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad i=p o r \quad s a ? \quad k a=n i \quad k a=k \nexists a t \quad \jmath \quad h a$
LOC-N=NVIS N=time stay $\mathrm{F}=$ PROX $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{leg}$ 1SG.NOM LOC
$k a=n i \quad k a=t n o m$ joŋ $k a=b o s$
$\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \quad \mathrm{F}=$ roof GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ bus
'My leg too got stuck on the roof of the bus.'
(12) dei bor tdæh o ka katwa kiat ka tæ ka bru ah bei da yap o $d e-i=b \supset r \quad t d \varepsilon$ ? $\quad$ ka kat-wa kiat INST-ACT=power pull.up,off 1SG.NOM 3SG.F as-NMZ liquor $k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=b r u \quad a$ ? bej da jap $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ person cut mother REAL die 1SG.NOM 'I tried to pull it out with force. after hearing that woman shouted Ah!! Mother, i am dying..'
(13) nga da khyrngiat krik
pa da kr riat krik
1SG.ACC REAL realize suddenly
'I got shocked .'
(14) tdæh o ka ni ka kjat dæp nei tæ tæ mih o cha lait tæ yoo o ya ka ni ka bru wa da yap ka generator læh æm
$t d \varepsilon$ ? $\quad k a=n i \quad k a \quad k j a t ~ d \varepsilon p \quad n e-i=t \varepsilon$
pull.up,off 1SG.NOM F=PROX 3SG.F leg PERF ABL-N=NVIS
$t \varepsilon \quad m i$ o $\quad$ t $\quad$ lat $\quad t \varepsilon$ jo $\quad$
NVIS bring.out 1SG.NOM ALL free,escape NVIS see 1SG.NOM
$j a \quad k a=n i \quad k a=b r u \quad w a \quad d a \quad j a p k a=$ generetor $l \varepsilon$ ?
BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ PROX $\mathrm{F}=$ person NMZ REAL die $\mathrm{F}=$ generator also
عm
have
'immediately I pulled out my leg and ran outside, there I saw this dead woman, the generator also was there..'
(15) dæp nei tæ nga liwan wot o cha yung
$d \varepsilon p$ ne-i=tع $\quad$ la liwan wot $\quad$
PERF ABL-N=NVIS 1SG.ACC return.home IMMD 1SG.NOM
tfa juŋ
all home
'After that, I returned back home..'
(16) la ym kamtæ da yap o
la $\quad m \quad k a m-t \varepsilon \quad d a \quad j a p ~ o$
if NEG as,like-NVIS REAL die 1SG.NOM
'If not like that I (would have) died.'
(17) kattu kattæ donhi tbian u ka tæ
kat-tu kat-tع donhi tbian u ka=tع
as-medl as-NVIS only be.short 3SG.M F=NVIS
'like this like that only, it's short.'

## D. 3 DaloiofRaliang [DR]

In this text the Daloi of Raliang, Chawas Lyngdoh, relates the duties of a Daloi.
(1) nga toh $u$ chwas lyngdoh $u$ daloi jong ka elaka raliang ka jingmut daloi toh u nongsynchar hapoh ka elaka

'I am Chawas Lyngdoh, the Daloi of Raliang Elaka - the meaning (purpose) of (the office of) Daloi is to govern the Elaka'
(2) bad u khleih yong ka niam ka rukom yong ka dustur ka riti hapoh ka elaka ka yong i
bad $u=k^{h} l e ? ~ j \supset \eta \quad k a=n i a m \quad k a=r u k \supset m$ jə $\quad k a=d u s t u r$ also $\mathrm{M}=$ head GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition $\mathrm{F}=$ way GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition $k a=$ riti ha-po? $k a=$ elaka $k a \quad j \supset \eta ~ i$ $\mathrm{F}=$ culture LOC-under,in $\mathrm{F}=$ village,township 3SG.F GEN 1PL 'also (to be) the head of our traditional religion in our village/elaka.'
(3) tæ kam u daloi toh i synchar i ya ka khyndaw wa chyiap yei ki nu nu ki jingæmkam yong u paidbah hei jingyatoh wa ki land holding certificate ki revision ki pata hali toh ka bor yong nga u recommend
te kam $\quad u=$ daloj to? $i=s$ ņtfar $i \quad j a \quad k a=k^{h} n n_{\text {daw }}$ NVIS like,want $M=$ daloi be $A C T=$ rule 1PL BEN $F=$ earth wa t?iap je-i ki nu nu ki=din-عmkam NMZ soil PLUR-1PL 3PL which which PL=ab.nMZ-need $j ə \eta \quad u=p a i t b a ?$ he-i=fin-jats? wa
GEN $\mathrm{M}=$ crowd,congregation LOC-N=ab.NMZ-relations NMZ
ki=lan holdin sertifiket ki=rivifon ki=pata-hali
PL=land holding certificate PL=revision PL=place-paddy.field
to? ka=bor jəŋ $\eta a \quad u=$ rekomen
be $\mathrm{F}=$ power GEN 1SG.ACC $\mathrm{M}=$ recommend
'so since the Daloi is the overseer of the land and the soil used by the people in relating to the land holding certificate, the revision of paddy fields is my job/power to recommend.'
(4) dæp nei tæ u phorward cha district council ka district council yee ko u issue pata ya ki paidbah ki khon ka riot yong ka elaka
dep ne-i=tع $\quad u=p^{h}$ orwar tya distrik kawnsil
PERF ABL-N=NVIS M=forward ALL district council
ka=distrik kawnsil je ko u=ifu pata ja
$\mathrm{F}=$ district council able 3SG.F $\mathrm{M}=$ issue place BEN
$k i=$ paitba? $\quad k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad k a=r i \supset t \quad j \supset \eta$
$\mathrm{PL}=$ crowd, congregation $\mathrm{PL}=$ child $\mathrm{F}=$ citizen GEN
$k a=$ عlaka
$\mathrm{F}=$ village,township
'after that to forward to the district councy any place issue (land issue) of the people, the citizens (of an area, past, present, future) of the Elaka..'
(5) ka tæ toh ka bor yong $u$ daloi bad ha ka bor yong nga $u$ daloi i yee $u$ synchar khadar ya u bichar i ya ki mokot duma

'the Daloi also holds the power (ka bor)... my power as daloi is to rule and regulate by judging cases.'
(6) ki rebenu case ki suit case kamtæ tæ tæ tæ ki kam yong nga ka u daloi toh boon bha hapoh ka elaka raliang wa u pait i ya u ki pood ki sam $k i=r e b e n u \quad k e s ~ k i=s u t ~ k e s ~ k a m-t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon$ PL=revenue case PL=suit case as,like-NVIS NVIS NVIS NVIS $k i=k a m \quad j \supset \eta \quad \eta a \quad k a \quad u=d a l o j$ to? bon PL=like,want GEN 1SG.ACC 3SG.F M=daloi be be.much
bha ha-po? ka=elaka raliay wa u=pat INTS1 LOC-under,in $\mathrm{F}=$ village,township Raliang $\mathrm{NMZ} \mathrm{NF}=$ look $i \quad j a \quad u \quad k i=p o d \quad k i=s a m$ 1PL BEN 3SG.M PL=boundary PL=boundary 'revenue cases, suit cases, like that.. so my work as the Daloi is very many (things) in the Elaka of Raliang, which can be seen around.'
(7) yei ki khajia ki awri awra yong ki khon ka riot yong i hapoh ka elaka wa u pynbait pynsud i ki u thoo lad kammon u pynchong suk chong sain ya ki khon ka riot yong i hapoh ka elaka raliang

| $j e-i$ | $k i=k^{h} a d j i a$ | $k i=a w r i$ | $a w r a$ | $j \supset \eta$ | $k i=k^{h} \supset n$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PLUR-1PL | $\mathrm{PL}=$ fight | $\mathrm{PL}=$ argue | argue | GEN | $\mathrm{PL}=$ child |
| la=riدt | $j \supset \eta$ | $i$ | $h a-p \supset$ | $k a=$ claka |  |
| F=citizen | GEN | 1PL | LOC-under, in | $\mathrm{F}=$ village, township | NMZ |

$u=p n$-bat pn-sut $i$ ki $u=t^{h} o \quad$ lad kammon $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-direct CAUS-care 1PL 3PL NF=create way how
 $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-sit be.peaceful sit-agree BEN PL=child $\mathrm{F}=$ citizen jэ刀 $i \quad h a-p \not ?$ raliay GEN 1PL LOC-under, in $\mathrm{F}=$ =village,township Raliang 'regarding the fights and arguments of the people and citizens in the Elaka, responsibility for people, so as to make them a better/perfect way of living, how to work for peace, peacefully, for our children and citizens in the Elaka of Raliang..'
(8) tæ toh ka kamram ka u daloi yong ka elaka raliang bad kamjooh u pait ya ka knia ka khriam yei læh niam læh rukom hapoh yong ka raid ithaw yong i hapoh ka elaka
tع to? ka=kamram ka u=daloj joŋ ka=claka
NVIS be $\mathrm{F}=$ duty 3SG.F M=daloi GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ village,township
raliay ba:t kam-dgo? u=pat ja ka=knia
Raliang also as,like-be.same $\mathrm{NF}=$ look BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ sacrifice,rite
$k a=k^{h}$ riam je-i=lع? niam le? rukom ha-po?
RES=chant PLUR-N=do tradition do way LOC-under,in
$j \supset \eta \quad k a=r a i t \quad i=t^{h} a w \quad j \supset \eta \quad i \quad h a-p \supset$ ?
GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ community $\mathrm{N}=$ place GEN 1PL LOC-under,in
$k a=$ elaka
$\mathrm{F}=$ village,township
'So this is the duty of the Daloi of the Eleka of Raliang, also it is necessary to observe/watch/conduct the sacrifices for the sake of tradition in our communal land's place in theElaka..'
(9) kattæ toh ka kamram yong nga ka u daloi tæ da biang nong kattæ
kat-te to? ka=kamram jəך $\quad \eta a \quad k a \quad u=$ daloj te as-NVIS be $\mathrm{F}=$ duty GEN 1SG.ACC 3SG.F M=daloi NVIS da biaך noŋ kat-te REAL be.enough CONF as-NVIS
'Like that, (this) is my duty as the Daloi. So it's enough, right?"

## D. 4 PakynteinPt03SooKpohYawchibidi [PP03SKY]

The following text is a story related by H. C. Pakyntein regarding the Yawchibi clan. The Yawchibi clan gained renown when four of their warriors took revenge on a wicked king, Malngiang.
(1) katwa ka yawchibidi kammon yoh ko yei ni i bhah daloi ka yawchibidi yn toh hei por wa man ka thma ka wait ka thma wa ka jwai wa ka malngiang kat-wa ka=jawtfibidi kammon jo? ko je-i=ni as-NMZ F=Yawchibidi how get 3SG.F PLUR-N=PROX $i=b h a \rho \quad$ daloj $k a=j a w t i b i d i \quad n \quad$ to? he-i=por wa $\mathrm{N}=$ share daloi $\mathrm{F}=$ Yawchibidi ref be LOC-N=time NMZ man $k a=t^{h} m a \quad k a=w a t \quad k a=t^{h} m a \quad w a \quad k a=\mathrm{d} w a j \quad w a$ become $\mathrm{F}=$ war $\mathrm{F}=$ sword $\mathrm{F}=$ war $\mathrm{COMT} \mathrm{F}=$ Jowai COMT $k a=m a l \eta i a \eta$ $\mathrm{F}=$ Malngiang
'whereas how did Yawchibidi get the share as the Daloi, it was during the war time, between Jowai and Malngiang.'
(2) tæ u malngiang toh $u$ wa pynchitom bha ya ki jwai ym toh du ya ki jwai mut ya ki wi læh pynchitom $u$ ha ka thma ka wa ha yaw dai ja ha yaw dai ja toh i thaw wa jooh i chæm ha ki tæ katni ka yaw dai ja læh da wiar ko da wiar ko katni tæ æm ko ha mookyndur
te $u=$ malpian to? u wa pn-tfitom bha ja NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ Malngiang be 3SG.M NMZ CAUS-fever INTS1 BEN $k i=\measuredangle$ waj $m$ to? du ja ki=đwaj mut ja $k i=w i$ PL=Jowai NEG be only BEN PL=Jowai means BEN PL=one $l \varepsilon$ l $p$ n-tfitsm $u \quad h a \quad k a=t^{h} m a \quad k a \quad w a \quad h a$ also CAUS-fever 3SG.M LOC F=war 3SG.F NMZ LOC jaw daj 厅a ha jaw daj ga to? $i=t^{h} a w \quad w a$ market sell rice LOC market sell rice be $\mathrm{N}=$ place NMZ go? $i=t \dagger \varepsilon m \quad h a \quad k i \quad t \varepsilon \quad k a t-n i \quad k a=j a w \quad d a j$ ゐa HAB ACT=meet LOC 3PL NVIS as-PROX $\mathrm{F}=$ market sell rice $l \varepsilon ? \quad d a \quad$ wiar ko da wiar ko kat-ni te also REAL lose 3SG.F REAL lose 3SG.F as-Prox NVIS عm ko ha mokndur have 3SG.F LOC Mookyndur 'so Malngiang was the one who tortured Jowai people, not only Jowai, in the market place where they used to sell rice. But nowadays this market has been shifted to Mookyndur.'
(3) tæ u ni u malngiang ha ka por ka thma man ha ka ni ka thma tæ yoh u pyn* ki ni ki soo ngut ki tæ ki khlawait u tonkha u bikha u yang u bula ki ni toh ki wa $u$ yoh $u$ pynyap ya $u$ syiem malngiang

| $t \varepsilon \quad u$ | $u=$ | $u=$ malyiay | $h a$ | $k a=p o r$ | $k a=t^{h} m a$ | a man |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NVIS | $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{PROX}$ | $\mathrm{M}=$ Malngiang | LOC | $\mathrm{F}=$ time | $\mathrm{F}=$ war | become |
| $h a$ | $k a=n i$ | $k a=t^{h} m a \quad t \varepsilon$ | $j 3$ ? | $u \quad p$ | $p n-* * *$ | $k i=n i$ |
| LOC F | $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX}$ | $\mathrm{F}=$ war NVIS | get | 3SG.M | CAUS-** | $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ |
| $k i=s o$ | put | $k i=t \varepsilon \quad k$ | $k i=k^{h} l a$ | wat $u=$ | $=t \supset \eta k^{h} a$ | $u=b i k^{h} a$ |
| $\mathrm{PL}=$ fou | ur CL. | M PL=NVIS | $\mathrm{L}=\mathrm{w}$ | rior $\mathrm{M}=$ | =Tonkha | $\mathrm{M}=$ Bikha |
| $u=j a \eta$ | $u=$ | a $k i=n i$ | to? | wa | $u=j 0$ ? |  |
| $\mathrm{NF}=$ wait | ait $\mathrm{M}=\mathrm{B}$ | Bula PL=PROX | be | PL NMZ | $\mathrm{Z} \mathrm{NF}=\mathrm{get}$ |  |

$u=p n$-jap ja u=s?em malyiay
$\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-die BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ ruler Malngiang
'so this Malngiang had/hired four warriors during the war, these were Tonkha, Bikha, Yang and Bula, these were the ones who got to kill the ruler Malngiang.'
(4) tæ ki man da yoh ki u pynyap ya u syiem malngiang tæ rah ki rah noh ki yei khlieh yong oo tæ man da rah ki yei khlieh yong oo cha nartiang na nartiang rah wan ki cha jwai
te ki man da jo? ki u=pn-jap ja NVIS 3PL become REAL get 3pl NF=CAUS-die BEN $u=s$ Pem malyiay te ra? ki ra? no? ki $\mathrm{M}=$ ruler Malngiang NVIS carry 3PL carry IMM1 3PL $j e-i=k^{h} l e ? \quad j \not \supset \quad o \quad t \varepsilon$ man da ra? PLUR-N=head GEN 3SG.M.ACC NVIS become REAL carry ki je-i=kh jo $l e ? \quad$ o fa nartià na 3PL PLUR-N=head GEN 3sG.m.ACC ALL Nartiang ABL nartiay raP wan ki tfa Jwaj Nartiang carry come 3pl all Jowai 'when they killed king Malngiang, they took his head to Nartiang, from Nartiang to Jowai.'
(5) nei bhah ilæh wa rah ki cha nartiang wa u ni u malngiang hadein wa dæp yasoohbuit u dæp yasoohbuit para ki hei wa kammon u yoh u pynyap ya ki khatar spah ngut ki khlawait ki khlawait yong ka ri khatar daloi ne-i=bha? ilc? wa ra? ki tfa nartian wa ABL-N=cause why NMZ carry 3PL ALL Nartiang NMZ $u=n i \quad u=m a l \eta i a \eta \quad h a-d e n \quad w a \quad d \varepsilon p \quad j a-s o P b u t$ $\mathrm{M}=$ PROX $\mathrm{M}=$ Malngiang LOC-back NMZ PERF PLUR-conspire $u \quad d \varepsilon p$ ja-soPbut para ki he-i wa 3SG.M PERF PLUR-conspire among 3PL LOC-1PL NMZ kammon $u=j \supset ? \quad u=p n$-jap ja $k i=k^{h}$ atar spa? how $\quad \mathrm{NF}=$ get $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-die BEN PL=twelve hundred ๆut $\quad k i=k^{h}$ lawat $\quad k i=k^{h} l a w a t \quad j \supset \eta \quad k a=r i \quad k^{h}$ atar daloj CL.HUM PL=warrior PL=warrior GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ country twelve daloi 'why they took his head is because Malngiang had conspired with his men to kill the 1200 warriors of the khat-ar Daloi kingdom.'
(6) tæ pynman u ya ka tæ ka chad ha malngiang tæ man pynman u ya ka tæ ka chad oo da æm i buit yong oo wa u yoh u pynyap ya ki khlawait man u ka khawai ha ka ni ka khawai e u yei kyiad i um
te pn-man u ja $k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=t f a: t \quad h a$ NVIS CAUS-become 3SG.M BEN F=NVIS RES=dance LOC
malyiay te man pn-man u ja $k a=t \varepsilon$
Malngiang NVIS become CAUS-become 3SG.M BEN F=NVIS

| $k a=t$ fa:t | $o$ | $d a$ | $\varepsilon m$ | $i=b u t$ | $j \supset \eta$ | $o$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| RES=dance | 3SG.M.ACC | REAL | have | N=tactic | GEN | 3SG.M.ACC |

wa $u=j \partial ? \quad u=p n-j a p \quad j a \quad k i=k^{h} l a w a t \quad \operatorname{man} u$
NMZ $\mathrm{NF}=$ get $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-die BEN $\mathrm{PL}=$ warrior become 3SG.M
$k a=k^{h} a w a j \quad h a \quad k a=n i \quad k a=k^{h} a w a j \quad e \quad u$
$\mathrm{F}=$ throw.party LOC $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{F}=$ throw.party give 3SG.M
$j e-i=k$ Pia:t $\quad i=u m$
PLUR- $\mathrm{N}=$ liquor $\mathrm{N}=$ =water
'he organized the dance in Malngiang, and he had a tactic (about) how to kll these warriors - he hosted a feast, (at) which he gave liquor (clear liquor, high strength) to everyone.'
hynre hei tæ i kyiad i um da khlæh bi da khlæh bi chwa katwa u jwai oo da tip $u$ yei buit yong u malngiang oo da snæñ u ya ki khlawait chispah ngut chi khlawait chi daloi

| $h n r e$ | $h e-i=t \varepsilon$ | $i=k$ Ria:t | $i=u m$ | $d a$ | $k^{h} l \varepsilon ?$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| but.also | LOC-N=NVIS | $\mathrm{N}=$ =liquor | $\mathrm{N}=$ =water | REAL | mix |

bi da $\quad k^{h} l \varepsilon ? ~ b i \quad$ tfwa kat-wa $u=d$ waj be.diseased REAL mix be.diseased before as-NMZ $M=$ Jowai o da tip u je-i=but jכŋ 3SG.M.ACC REAL know 3SG.M PLUR-N=tactic GEN $u=$ malyiaŋ $\quad o \quad d a \quad$ snen $u \quad j a$ $\mathrm{M}=$ Malngiang 3SG.M.ACC REAL advise 3SG.M BEN $k i=k^{h} l a w a t$ ti-spa? ti ti $k^{h} l a w a t ~ t i ~ d a l o j ~$ PL=warrior one-hundred CL.HUM INDEF warrior INDEF daloi 'but he mixed poison in the liquor, however Jowai knew his cunning ways, he advised the warriors.'
(8) oo snæñ u wa la da e bam u malngiang ham bam katwa ki wa boon yn ki ym tip ki yei tæ ki halor wa da ong u jwai ya ki ki ym ngait ki ki lai ki chei tæ tæ bam tæ dih ki tæ prai ki i tæ i snam ki katwa ki khlawait yong u jwai yn ym æm u bam ki ki ym æm u prai ki

'he advised them not to eat anything, but the majority knew nothing about this they ate they drink, they vomit with blood, whereas Jowai's warriors did not take anything, they didn't vomit.'
hei tæ man da yamuaid ki pynyap ki khlawait u malngiang ya ki ni ki khatwi spah ngut ki khlawait yong ka khatar daloi yap ki tæ nei tæ lai ka parom wa $u$ kong wasan ha nartiang oo yei ni ong $u$ wa chæt kylla ki khlawait ki daloi jwai
$h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad$ man $d a \quad j a$-muait ki pn-jap
LOC-N=NVIS become REAL PLUR-be.drunk 3pl CAUS-die $k i=k^{h} l a w a t \quad u=m a l \eta i a \eta \quad j a \quad k i=n i \quad k i=k^{h} a t w i \quad$ spa? $\mathrm{PL}=$ warrior $\mathrm{M}=$ Malngiang BEN $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ PL=eleven hundred
yut $k i=k^{h}$ lawat joŋ $k a=k^{h}$ atar daloj jap $k i \quad t \varepsilon$ CL.HUM PL=warrior GEN $\mathrm{F}=$ =twelve daloi die 3PL NVIS ne-i=te laj $k a=$ parsm wa $u=k o \eta$ wasan ha ABL-N=NVIS go RES=tell.story NMZ $M=$ hon.f elder LOC nartià o je-i=ni oŋ u wa tyet Nartiang 3SG.m.ACC PLUR-N=PROX say 3SG.m nMZ cook klla $\quad k i=k^{h} l a w a t \quad k i=$ daloj $\quad \mathrm{s} w a j$ change PL=warrior PL=daloi Jowai
'when they were intoxicated they were killed, the warriors of malngiang killed the 1100 warriors of the khat-ar Daloi kingdom, then the story said that Kong Wasan in Nartiang said that this is an act of betrayal of the Jowai Daloi's warriors.'
(10) hynre ki khlawait u daloi jwai ki da tip ki yei buit yong u malngiang tæ khut dorbar $u$ kong wasan ha nartiang man da khut $u$ ya ka dorbar ha nartiang tæ klam $u$ yei tæ waroh man wa chæt kylla ki khlawait u daloi jwai
hnre $\quad k i=k^{h}$ lawat $\quad u=$ daloj $\quad$ Jwaj $k i \quad d a \quad$ tip $\quad k i$ but.also PL=warrior M=daloi Jowai 3pl Real know 3PL $j e-i=b u t \quad j \supset \eta \quad u=m a l \eta i a \eta \quad t \varepsilon \quad k^{h} u t$ dorbar PLUR-N=tactic GEN M=Malngiang NVIS call meeting
$u=k \supset \eta$ wasan ha nartiay man da $k^{h} u t u$ M=hon.f elder LOC Nartiang become REAL call 3SG.m ja ka=dorbar ha nartiay te klam u BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ meeting LOC Nartiang NVIS speak 3SG.M $j e-i=t \varepsilon \quad$ waro? man wa test klla $k i=k^{h}$ lawat PLUR-N=NVIS all become NMZ cook change PL=warrior $u=$ daloj $\quad$ Jwaj M=daloi Jowai
'but the Daloi of Jowai's warriors knew already the tactics of Malngiang, then Kong Wasan called for a meeting in Nartiang. He talked about the Daloi of Jowai's warrior's betrayal (by Malngiang).'
(11) hynre yeñ ki wa hæh yeñ ki wa hæh na ki khlawait na jwai ong ki wa da dæp ong i da dæp klam cha i wa ym hoi u bam tæ ym ngait ki yee khai ki hynre tæ mih tæ ka kyntein ka wa ong wa man u ræp smurit noh ya ka madan kmai blai
$h n r e ~ j e n ~ k i ~ w a ~ h \varepsilon ? ~ j e n ~ k i ~ w a ~ h e ? ~ n a ~$ but.also stand 3PL NMZ be.big stand 3PL NMZ be.big ABL
 PL=warrior ABL Jowai say 3pl NMZ REAL PERF say 1PL $d a \quad d \varepsilon p$ klam tfa $i$ wa $m$ hoj $u=b a m ~ t \varepsilon$ REAL PERF speak ALL 1PL NMZ NEG be.well NF=eat NVIS $m$ pat $k i \quad j e \quad k^{h} a j \quad k i \quad h n r e \quad t \varepsilon \quad m i ?$ NEG believe 3PL able get.up 3PL but.also NVIS bring.out te $k a=k n t e n ~ k a \quad w a \quad$ oŋ wa man $u=r \varepsilon p$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ word 3 SG.F NMZ say NMZ become $\mathrm{NF}=$ cultivate smurit no? ja ka=madan kmai blaj pepper IMM1 BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ ground be.great God 'but the elders of Jowai's warriors stood up and said that 'we already warned everyone not to eat, but (they) paid no attention,' and the words emerged that they will plant chilli in the place called Madiah Kmai Blai.'
(12) hei tæ yeñ ki tæ ki khlawait napoh jwai ong ki kong wasan la da burom e i ya me toh $u$ burom kai $u$ kongsan hynre ym æm u booh i me yang chi tyrsim khmut tyrsim yei man yong me
$h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad j e n \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=k^{h} l a w a t \quad n a-p o ? \quad$ Jwaj LOC-N=NVIS stand PL=NVIS PL=warrior ABL-under,in Jowai oŋ $k i=k \supset \eta \quad$ wasan la da burom $e \quad i \quad j a$ say PL=hon.f elder if REAL honor give 1PL BEN me to? $u=b u r \supset m$ kaj $u=k \supset \eta s a n ~ h n ุ r e ~ m \quad \varepsilon m$ 2SG.m.ACC be $\mathrm{NF}=$ honor like $\mathrm{M}=$ uncle but.also NEG have $u=b o$ ? $\quad i \quad$ me jaך tfi trsim $k^{h} m u t$ $\mathrm{NF}=$ put,keep 1PL 2SG.M.ACC wait set claw/nail nose trsim je-i=man jəך me claw/nail PLUR-N=become GEN 2SG.M.ACC
'then the Jowai warriors stand up and said that they respect him as Kong Wasan otherwise they wouldn't bother about him, not even to the size of a fingernail.'
(13) tang wa burom i me kam u kong wasan tang yang wa le bnai u rah i dei khlieh yong u syiem malngiang ha majar tæ da yah u yn ki nei tæ
tay wa bursm $i$ me kam $u=k \supset \eta$ but,even NMZ honor 1PL 2SG.M.ACC like,want $\mathrm{M}=$ hon.f wasan tay jay wa le bnaj $u=r a$ ? $i$ elder but,even wait NMZ three month NF=carry 1PL de-i=khle? joŋ $\quad u=s$ ?em malniay ha madzar te INST-N=head GEN M=ruler Malngiang LOC bazaar NVIS
$d a \quad j a P \quad u \quad n \quad k i \quad n e-i=t \varepsilon$
REAL drive,lead 3SG.M ref 3PL ABL-N=NVIS
"but we respect you as Kongsan, but wait for three months, we will bring Malngiang's head in the market,' then they were satisfied with that answer.'
(14) tæ khræh ki khlawait jeid ki soo ngut ki khlawait napoh jwai tæ u tonkha u bikha u yang u bula lai ki lai ki cha malngiang hei tæ i dur wa chah bæh da chah bæh na jwai

(15) tæ poi ki hei tai tæ maya u u ni u syiem malngiang ya ki tæ man da maya u ki tæ ki hei tæ i por ki da yoo ki kamtæ da maya u ki tæ hynre ki ni ki soo ngut ki khlawait ya u su ya ka tput ka wa da yap ki khatwi spah ngut ki khlawait yaichah ki hei tæ hadooh wa dap le bnai chong chakri ki hei tæ
tع poj ki he-i=taj te maja u u=ni
NVIS arrive 3PL LOC-N=distal NVIS love 3SG.M M=PROX $u=s$ Pem malyian ja ki te man da maja $\mathrm{M}=$ ruler Malngiang BEN 3PL NVIS become REAL love $u \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i \quad h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad i=p o r \quad k i \quad d a \quad j o$ 3SG.M PL=NVIS 3PL LOC-N=NVIS N=time 3PL REAL see ki kam-tع da maja u ki=tع hnre 3PL as,like-NVIS REAL love 3SG.M PL=NVIS but.also $k i=n i \quad k i=s o \quad$ put $\quad k i=k^{h} l a w a t \quad j a \quad u=s u \quad j a$ $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX} \quad \mathrm{PL}=$ four CL.HUM $\mathrm{PL}=$ warrior $\mathrm{BEN} \mathrm{NF}=$ repay BEN $k a=t p u t \quad k a \quad w a \quad d a \quad j a p k i=k^{h} a t w i \quad$ spa? RES $=$ revenge 3SG.F NMZ REAL die $\mathrm{PL}=$ eleven hundred jut $\quad k i=k^{h} l a w a t$ jaitfa? ki he-i=te ha-do? CL.HUM PL=warrior be.patient 3PL LOC-N=NVIS LOC-when wa dap le bnaj サэŋ tVakri ki he-i=tع NMZ fill three month sit serve 3PL LOC-N=NVIS
'when they reached there, Malngiang loved/liked them, so they wait
for an opportunity to revenge the death of those 1100 warriors, they waited for three months.'
tæ man da chong chakri ki hei tæ tæ da toh i por u lie wyrta ki wa u e wyrta ki cha chnong jwai hei tæ i por chwa u kut tæ i por ki ni ki khlawait ki ong ki wa man wa sooh ot ki
$t \varepsilon \quad \operatorname{man} \quad d a \quad$ toŋ tfakri ki he-i=te te da NVIS become REAL sit serve 3pl LOC-N=NVIS NVIS REAL to? $i=p o r \quad u \quad$ li-e wrta ki wa $u=e$ wrta be $\mathrm{N}=$ time $3 \mathrm{SG} . \mathrm{M}$ DUR-give news 3PL NMZ NF=give news ki tfa tnoy dwaj he-i=te $i=p o r \quad$ tfwa $u=k u t$ 3PL ALL village Jowai LOC-N=NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ time before $\mathrm{NF}=$ end tع $\quad i=p o r \quad k i=n i \quad k i=k^{h} l a w a t \quad k i \quad \jmath \eta \quad k i \quad w a$ NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ time $\mathrm{PL}=$ PROX $\mathrm{PL}=$ warrior 3 PL say 3 PL NMZ man wa so? ot ki become NMZ suffer diarrhea 3PL
'they lived as servants there for three months and it became time for them to sent the message to Jowai, so before the three months ended, they were acting like they were suffering from severe diarrhea.'
(17) tæ man da ong ki wa sooh ot ki tæ lai ki ya $u$ wa yoh ki $u$ mih na ka kut na ka kut ya $u$ yoh ki u mih lie wyrta cha jwai tæ lai lai ki tæ ong ki chei won u lai phi ong ki tæ ki wa yang wa ot ha phlong ha kut ya ki ni ki khlawait ong ki wa sooh ot i tæ la ym ngait phi phi lipait
te man da $\quad$ m $k i \quad w a \quad$ so? ot $k i \quad t \varepsilon$ NVIS become REAL say 3PL NMZ suffer diarrhea 3PL NVIS
laj ki ja u wa jo? ki $u=m i ? \quad n a$ go 3PL BEN 3SG.M NMZ get 3 PL NF=bring.out ABL $k a=k u t \quad n a \quad k a=k u t \quad j a \quad u=j \partial ? \quad k i \quad u=m i ?$ RES=end ABL RES=end BEN NF=get 3PL NF=bring.out li-e wrta tfa oswaj te laj laj ki te oŋ ki DUR-give news all Jowai NVIS go go 3pl NVIS say 3pl !fe-i=wวn $\quad u=l a j \quad p^{h} i \quad$ эך $k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i \quad w a \quad j a \eta \quad w a$ ALL-N=which $\mathrm{NF}=$ go 2 PL say PL=NVIS 3 PL NMZ wait NMZ ot $\quad h a \quad p^{h} l \supset \eta ~ h a \quad k u t ~ j a \quad k i=n i \quad k i=k^{h} l a w a t \quad$ $\quad \eta$ diarrhea LOC aside LOC end BEN PL=PROX PL=warrior say $k i \quad w a$ so? ot $i \quad$ te la m jat $p^{h} i$ 3PL NMZ suffer diarrhea 1PL NVIS if NEG believe 2PL $p^{h} i \quad l i$-pat
2PL DUR-look
'so when they said they had diarrhea, so as to be able to get out of the territory to give the message to Jowai, then the guards aked them 'where are you going?' They replied 'we are suffering from diarrhea, and if you don't believe us, go look."
tæ man da poi hei tæ tæ chong khloo ki chi tah ki da u kylleiñ da ka sapæt tæ ah ki hei lymbong yong ki tæ joo i snam joo i snam hei tæ i thaw wa chong khloo ki
te man da poj he－i＝tع te サoŋ $k^{h} l o \quad k i$ NVIS become REAL arrive LOC－N＝NVIS NVIS sit forest 3PL tfi tar ki da u＝kllen $d a \quad k a=s a p e t ~ t \varepsilon ~ a ? ~$ set cut 3PL INST $\mathrm{M}=$ throughout INST $\mathrm{F}=$ navel NVIS cut $k i \quad h e-i=l m b \supset \eta \quad j \supset \eta \quad k i \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ go $\quad i=s n a m$ 3PL LOC－N＝navel GEN 3PL NVIS come．out $\mathrm{N}=$＝blood厅o $\quad i=$ snam he－i＝tع $\quad i=t^{h} a w$ wa Џ〇ワ $k^{h} l o$ come．out $\mathrm{N}=$ blood LOC－N＝NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ place NMZ sit forest ki
3PL
＇so they had been acting like they were passing toilet，they use the sharp edge of a small stick，they cut themselves and the blood came out in that place where they passed toilet．＇
tæ man da yoo ki wa slæm ki tæ slæm slæm ki u wan tæ kylli ki ilæh slæm phi ilæh slæm phi u wan dei yong kynta tæ ong ki wa sooh ot i tæ ym yee i hap duk i u chong tæ la ym ngait phi deih lipait
te man da jo ki wa slem ki te slem NVIS become REAL see 3pl NMZ be．late 3pl NVIS be．late slem ki $u=w a n \quad t \varepsilon \quad k l l i \quad k i \quad i l \varepsilon ? ~ s l \varepsilon m \quad p^{h} i \quad i l \varepsilon ?$ be．late 3PL NF＝come NVIS ask 3PL why be．late 2PL why slem $p^{h} i \quad u=w a n \quad d e-i=j \supset \eta \quad k n t a \quad t \varepsilon \quad \jmath \eta \quad k i$ be．late 2PL NF＝come INST－N＝GEN return NVIS say 3PL wa so？ot $i$ te $m$ je $i$ hap duk nMZ suffer diarrhea 1PL NVIS NEG able 1PL fall be．hard $i \quad u=\emptyset \supset \eta$ te la m $\quad$ nat $\quad p^{h} i \quad d e ?$ li－pat 1PL NF＝sit NVIS if NEG believe 2PL ADH DUR－look ＇when they came so late（took too long）the guards were asking ＇why you took so long to come back？＇They replied＇we have the tendency to pass toilet very often－we have to do it，if you don＇t believe us go and have a look．＇
（20）tæ man da yah ki oo u syiem lipait u yoo dei snam bait hei tæ tæ chaniah $u$ wa toh ki ni ki khlawait sooh ot ki tæ man da sooh ot ki tæ teiñ ki yi bi kriah ki ki nei tæ i thaw wa wa wa boon
te man da ja？ki o u＝s？em
NVIS become REAL drive，lead 3pl 3sG．m．ACC m＝ruler
li－pat $u=j o \quad d e-i=s n a m \quad$ bat $h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon$
DUR－look NF＝see INST－N＝blood IMM3 LOC－N＝NVIS NVIS
tfa－nia？u wa to？ki＝ni ki＝khlawat so？
ALL－place 3SG．M NMZ be PL＝PROX PL＝warrior suffer ot $k i$ te man $d a$ so？ot $k i \quad t \varepsilon$ diarrhea 3PL NVIS become REAL suffer diarrhea 3PL NVIS
ten $k i=j i \quad b i \quad k r i a P \quad k i \quad k i \quad n e-i=t \varepsilon$
afraid,fear PL=thing be.diseased shift 3PL 3PL ABL-N=NVIS
$i=t^{h} a w \quad w a \quad w a$ wa bon
$\mathrm{N}=$ place NMZ NMZ NMZ be.much
'so they took the king to take a look at that spot where they passed toilet, he saw that there's blood, so now he believed them and the king feared that the disease would spread so he shifted/moved them to another place.'
(21) tæ man da kriah ki tæ yoh ki u u lie wyrta chei ni chapoh elaka yong ka jwai tæ ki khlawait u khræh noh ki wa da booh sngi ki wa u thang noh ya ka hima malngiang
te man da kria? ki te jo? ki u
NVIS become REAL shift 3PL NVIS get 3PL 3SG.m
$u=l i-e \quad$ wrta $\quad$ tfe- $i=n i \quad$ tya-po?
$\mathrm{NF}=$ DUR-give news ALL-N=PROX ALL-under,in
Elaka joŋ $k a=\$$ waj te $\quad k i=k^{h}$ lawat
village,township GEN F=Jowai NVIS PL=warrior
$u=k^{h} r$ ? $n \supset$ ? ki wa da bo? sךi ki
$\mathrm{NF}=$ prepare,ready IMM1 3PL NMZ REAL put,keep day 3PL
wa $u=t^{h} a \eta \quad n o ? \quad j a \quad k a=h i m a \quad$ malniaך
NMZ NF=burn IMM1 BEN $F=$ kingdom Malngiang
'when they were shifted to another place, they got the chance to send the message to the Jowai elaka, that these warriors (were) ready to burn the Malngiang kingdom.'
(22) man da biang i por tæ tæ e wyrta ki ong ki wa man da thang i ya ka kut tæ man da mih i tdæm mih i diñ hei tæ tæ toh u hiar ki nei bhah u syiem malngiang oo hei tæ i por oo chong kha $u$ lai thiah chlur $u$ toh cha madur cha madur $u$ thiah chlur

burned the territory, when smoke came up, then the people should come, king Malngiang at that moment was in another place called Madur. He was having an affair/event in Madur.'
(23) tæ man da toh i por thang ki ka ka thang ki ka ka ka malngiang ya ka kut tæ da yoo ki khlawait tæ bæh ki chitæ u ni u syiem malngiang man da yoo $u$ yei tæ wa iñ wa kop tæ tyrha cha madur cha maskut na madur sdang ko cha maskut da yoo u da iñ tæ tæ ku u da u kule tæ phæt u chitæ hynre da tyngkha
 madur tfa maskut na madur sdaŋ ko サfa maskut Madur all Maskut abl Madur begin 3Sg.F all Maskut $d a \quad j o \quad u \quad d a \quad$ in $\quad t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad k u \quad u$ REAL see 3SG.M REAL boil,burn NVIS NVIS climb 3SG.M $d a \quad u=k u l e \quad t \varepsilon \quad p^{h} \varepsilon t \quad u \quad t i-t \varepsilon \quad h n r e \quad d a$ REAL $\mathrm{M}=$ horse NVIS run 3SG.M one-NVIS but.also REAL $t \eta k^{h} a$ hide
'when the time came they burned the Malgngiang kingdom, then the other warriors saw that and they came along to that place. King Malngiang saw the flames, felt the heat, from Madur it started until it reached Maskut, so he started to flee/run away with his horse.'
(24) yang u ha hei tu ha lad ha ka tæ ka thaw ka wa jan yoo hi phi hadooh katni næh u moo u moo kule wa hei tai ha mookyndur ha ka thaw ka wa ong ki ka lakwæh

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jay \(u \quad h a \quad h e-i=t u \quad h a \quad\) la:t \(h a \quad k a=t \varepsilon\)
wait 3SG.M LOC LOC-N=MEDL LOC way LOC \(\mathrm{F}=\) =NVIS
\(k a=t^{h} a w\) ka wa gan jo hi \(p^{h} i \quad h a-d o\) ?
F=place 3SG.F NMZ be.near see EMPH 2PL LOC-when
kat-ni nc? u=mo u=mo kule wa he-i=taj
as-PROX preserve \(\mathrm{M}=\) stone \(\mathrm{M}=\) stone horse NMZ LOC- \(\mathrm{N}=\) distal
\(h a\) mokndur \(h a \quad k a=t^{h} a w k a \quad w a \quad \supset \eta \quad k i\)
LOC Mookyndur LOC F=place 3SG.F NMZ say 3PL
\(k a=l a k w \varepsilon\) ?
\(\mathrm{F}=\) Lakweh
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'he waited in a place, which you can see until now - the big rock called the Moo Kule in Mookyndur, in a place called Lakweh.'
tæ hajan ka lakwæh hei tæ yang $u$ hei tæ tæ man da poi $u$ chipoi tæ poi $u$ syiem malngiang da $u$ kule kylli u kammon tonkha ilæh i yi wa jia ong u tonkha ya oo syiem ka ni toh ka tput yong ki khatar yong ki khatwi spah ki khlawait
 'he waited near Lakweh, when Tonkha came the king asked him 'why, what happened Tonkha?' Tonkha replied 'king, this is the revenge of the death of the eleven hundred warriors.'
(26) tæ hei tæ tæ dat $u$ chi daiñ daiñ $u$ tkut wa $u$ bru hei tæ daiñ $u$ yei khlieh dæp tæ ki ni ki wa boon yn kat ki wa æm da yang ki ki lad waroh kat ki chynrang ki wa wan daiñ bait ki kat ki kynthai ki wa wan pyllait ki
$t \varepsilon \quad h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad d a t \quad u \quad t f i \quad d a n$ dan

NVIS LOC-N=NVIS NVIS hit,strike 3SG.M set cut cut
$u=t k u t \quad$ wa $u=b r u \quad h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad d a n u$ $\mathrm{M}=$ sword $\mathrm{NMZ} \mathrm{M}=$ person LOC-N=NVIS cut 3SG.M
$j e-i=k^{h} l e$ ? $\quad d \varepsilon p \quad t \varepsilon \quad k i=n i \quad k i \quad w a \quad b o n \quad n$ PLUR-N=head PERF NVIS PL=PROX 3PL NMZ be.much ref kat ki wa $\quad$ m da jay ki ki=la:t waro? kat as 3PL NMZ have REAL wait 3PL PL=way all as ki=t!nray ki wa wan dan bat ki kat ki=knt ${ }^{h}$ aj $\mathrm{PL}=$ male 3 PL NMZ come cut IMM3 3PL as $\mathrm{PL}=$ female ki wa wan pllat ki
3PL NMZ come spare 3PL
'then Tonkha struck the king with his sword, he took the head, the others waited in the junctions and just killed every man who came that way, but they spared the women.'
pynyap ki toh du ya ki chynrang hi pyllait ki ki kynthai nei tæ i daw ka hima malngiang wiar ko man piah ko kylleiñ soodong
pn-jap ki to? du ja ki=ţnraך hi pllat ki CAUS-die 3PL be only BEN PL=male EMPH spare 3PL $k i=k n t^{h} a j \quad n e-i=t \varepsilon \quad i=d a w \quad k a=h i m a \quad$ malniay $\mathrm{PL}=$ female $\quad \mathrm{ABL}-\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{NVIS} \quad \mathrm{N}=$ reason $\mathrm{F}=$ kingdom Malngiang wiar ko man pia? ko kllen sodən lose 3SG.F become break 3SG.F throughout throughout 'they killed the men and spared the women, this is why Malngiang's kingdom disappeared, it was broken and spread all around.'
tæ nei tæ yei khlieh yei malngiang wan da rah cha nartiang da man ka dorbar tæ pynap hakhmat u kongsan ha majar man ka dorbar ha majar tæ khana wa ka ni toh katkam ka hukum
te ne-i=tع je-i=k ${ }^{h} l e ? \quad j e-i=m a l y i a \eta \quad$ wan
NVIS ABL-N=NVIS PLUR-N=head PLUR-N=Malngiang come
$d a \quad r a ? \quad t j a$ nartiay da man $k a=d o r b a r ~ t \varepsilon$ REAL carry all Nartiang REAL become $\mathrm{F}=$ meeting NVIS pn-ap ha-khat $u=k o \eta s a n ~ h a ~ m a d a r ~ m a n ~$ CAUS-listen LOC-front M=uncle LOC bazaar become $k a=$ dorbar $h a \quad$ magar te $k^{h} a n a \quad w a \quad k a=n i \quad t っ ?$ $\mathrm{F}=$ meeting LOC bazaar NVIS tell NMZ $\mathrm{F}=$ PROX be kat-kam $\quad k a=h u k u m$
as-like,want $\mathrm{F}=$ command
'but they took the head to Nartiang, the meeting was called in the market and it (the story) was told to everyone that, that is according to the commandment/tradition.'
hei tæ tæ waroh ngooh ki ki ni ki khatwi daloi ngooh ki ya u jwai tæ yei tæ man da dæp nei tæ rah ki yei khlieh u syiem malngiang rah ki ha jwai tæ hei tæ i thaw hadooh katni man ong ki ki i thaw sæh khlieh
$h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ warb? $\quad$ go? $k i \quad k i=n i$
LOC-N=NVIS NVIS all blessing,thanks 3PL PL=PROX
$k i=k^{h} a t w i \quad$ daloj $\quad$ jo? $\quad$ ja $u=0$ waj $t \varepsilon$
PL=eleven daloi blessing,thanks 3PL BEN M=Jowai NVIS
$j e-i=t \varepsilon \quad$ man $d a \quad d \varepsilon p \quad n e-i=t \varepsilon \quad r a P$ ki
PLUR-N=NVIS become REAL PERF ABL-N=NVIS carry 3PL
$j e-i=k^{h} l e ? \quad u=s$ Pem malyiay ra? ki ha Jwaj
PLUR-N=head $\mathrm{M}=$ ruler Malngiang carry 3PL LOC Jowai
$t \varepsilon \quad h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad i=t^{h} a w \quad h a-d o ?$ kat-ni man $\quad \eta$
NVIS LOC-N=NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ place LOC-when as-PROX become say
$k i \quad k i \quad i=t^{h} a w \quad s \varepsilon ? \quad k^{h} l e$ ?
3pl 3pl N=place display head
'then the eleven Daloi bow down to Jowai, then they took
Malngiang's head to Jowai and until now that place is known as 'thaw seh khlieh' (place of the staked head).'
ka tæ toh ka bynta dæp nei tæ tæ yoh wan ki sa ka pliang ka nar yong ki ni ki kur yawchibidi yoh ki ya ka pasteih blai yaw yoh ki ya ka pliang ka nar hei tæ yoh bhah yn ki u man kam u pator

| $k a=t \varepsilon$ | $t \supset ?$ | $k a=b n t a$ | $d \varepsilon p$ | $n e-i=t \varepsilon$ | $t \varepsilon$ | $j \supset ?$ | wan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS | be | $\mathrm{F}=$ purpose | PERF | ABL-N=NVIS | NVIS | get | come |

ki sa ka=pliaŋ $k a=n a r \quad j o \eta \quad k i=n i \quad k i=k u r$
3PL only $\mathrm{F}=$ plate $\mathrm{F}=$ iron $\mathrm{GEN} \mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{PL}=$ clan
jawtibidi jo? ki ja ka=paste? blaj jaw jo? ki
Yawchibidi get 3PL BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ Pasteih God market get 3PL
ja ka=pliay ka=nar he-i=tع jo? bha? n ki BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ plate $\mathrm{F}=$ iron LOC-N=NVIS get share ref 3PL
$u=$ man $\quad$ kam $\quad u=$ pator
$\mathrm{NF}=$ become like,want $\mathrm{M}=$ pator
'after that the Yawchibidi clan got their recognition and they got the share/ability to became the Pator.'
(31) tæ nei tæ tæ $u$ harna $u$ harna yoh $u$ i bhah i bynta na ka kur passah yoh u i bhah i bynta yong u harna u malngiot na ka kur Challam tæ ki kur chullai yoh ki yei kam chutia katwa ki dhulia ya ki dhulia wan tæ mut nei u won u won yee u jeid na ki wa stad u put u tæm

| NVIS ABL-N=NVIS NVIS $M=$ harna $M=$ harna get 3SG.M <br> $i=b h a ? \quad i=b n t a \quad n a \quad k a=k u r$ passa? jวP $u \quad i=b h a$ ? <br> $\mathrm{N}=$ share $\mathrm{N}=$ purpose ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ clan Passah get 3SG.M $\mathrm{N}=$ share <br> $i=b n t a \quad j \supset \eta \quad u=h a r n a \quad u=m a l \eta i s t \quad n a \quad k a=k u r$ talam <br> $\mathrm{N}=$ purpose GEN $\mathrm{M}=$ harna $\mathrm{M}=$ malngiot $\mathrm{ABL} \mathrm{F}=$ clan Challam te ki=kur tfulai jo? ki je-i=kam tfutia <br> NVIS PL=clan Chullai get 3PL PLUR-N=like,want chutia <br> kat-wa ki=dhulia ja ki=dhulia wan te mut <br> as-NMZ PL=dhulia BEN PL=dhulia come NVIS means <br> ne-i u=won $u=w o n \quad$ je $u=$ be:t na ki <br> ABL-1PL $\mathrm{M}=$ which $\mathrm{M}=$ which able $\mathrm{NF}=$ pickup, choose ABL 3PL wa sta:t u=put u=tem <br> NMZ be.educated,wise $\mathrm{NF}=$ blow,sound $\mathrm{NF}=$ pluck,strum <br> 'then Harna received his share from the Passah clan, Malngiot from the Challam clan. Then Chullai clan got the share as Chutia, whereas the Chulia can be chosen from anyone who knew how to play musical instruments.' (note: these are various traditional offices invovled in the governance of Jowai and in performing rituals) |  |
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(32) ki tæ toh ki bynta ki wa yoh ki yei kam tæ ka yi ka ka bynta yong ka kur soo kpoh æm wan ka bynta chiboon ki yi ki yi ki wa da e ki i bhah i bynta jar jar i bhah i bynta

| $k i=t \varepsilon$ | to? | $k i=b n t a$ | $k i$ | $w a$ | $j \partial ?$ | $k i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{PL}=$ NVIS | be | $\mathrm{PL}=$ purpose | 3PL | NMZ | get | 3PL |

$j e-i=k a m \quad t \varepsilon \quad k a=j i \quad k a \quad k a=b n t a \quad j \supset \eta$
PLUR-N=like,want NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ =thing 3SG.F $\mathrm{F}=$ purpose GEN
$k a=k u r$ so-kpo? $\varepsilon m$ wan $k a=b n n t a$
$\mathrm{F}=$ clan four-stomach,womb have come $\mathrm{F}=$ purpose
tji-bon $\quad k i=j i \quad k i=j i \quad k i \quad w a \quad d a \quad e \quad k i$
one-be.much $\mathrm{PL}=$ thing $\mathrm{PL}=$ thing 3PL NMZ REAL give 3PL
$i=b h a ? \quad i=b n t a \quad$ gar gar $\quad i=b h a ?$
$\mathrm{N}=$ share $\mathrm{N}=$ purpose be.different be.different $\mathrm{N}=$ share
$i=b n t a$
$\mathrm{N}=$ purpose
'those were the things (tales), how everyone got their shares, then what about the Sookpoh clan? There are so many things (stories) regarding how they got their own share.'
(33) tæ katkam wa man katni hapoh hei tai ha loom soo yung dang æm hi ki wa man tre
te kat-kam wa man kat-ni ha-po? NVIS as-like,want NMZ become as-PROX LOC-under,in he-i=taj ha lom so juך daך $\varepsilon m$ hi ki LOC-N=distal LOC hill four home PROG have EMPH 3PL wa man tre NMZ become original 'as of now in the Soo Yung hill are there still the original inhabitants?' (Interviewer speaking)
(34) tæ hei tu tæ da yn boon ki yong gatphoh ki yong gatphoh læh ki wa dang æm chei tu tæ man na ka bhah yong ki tæ sæ tæ ka parom yong
$t \varepsilon \quad h e-i=t u \quad t \varepsilon \quad d a \quad n \quad b o n \quad k i \quad j \supset \eta$
NVIS LOC-N=MEDL NVIS REAL ref be.much 3PL GEN
gatp ${ }^{h} \supset$ ? $k i \quad j \supset \eta g a t p^{h} \supset$ ? le? $k i \quad$ wa day $\varepsilon m$
Gatphoh 3PL GEN Gatphoh also 3PL nMZ PROG have
tfe-i=tu te man na ka=bha? jon $k i=t \varepsilon$
ALL-N=MEDL NVIS become ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ share GEN PL=NVIS
se te ka=parom jon
C.TAG NVIS RES=tell.story GEN
'over there there are still the Gatphoh clan, who got a share earlier, as the story goes.'
(35) tæ katkam ka parom yong wa hei tu hi wot i yung næ i thaw te kat-kam ka=parsm joŋ wa he-i=tu NVIS as-like,want RES=tell.story GEN NMZ LOC-N=MEDL
hi wot $i=j u \eta \quad n \varepsilon \quad i=t^{h} a w$
EMPH IMMD $\mathrm{N}=$ home D.TAG $\mathrm{N}=$ place
'so according to the story are there still houses or places?'
(Interviewer speaking)
(36) la da pait mi hadooh katni i bynta toh ya ka khnong blai booh ki ki hei tu ha pchæm man ha pchæm hei tu ka khnong blai katwa ka symbood yn ha tre kjat u loom soo yung ki tu ki thaw hei tu waroh toh nadooh mynchwa toh ong ki ka ka loom soo yung
la da pat mi ha-do? kat-ni i=bnta to?
if REAL look 2SG.M.NOM LOC-when as-PROX $\mathrm{N}=$ =purpose be $j a \quad k a=k^{h} n \supset \eta \quad b l a j \quad b o ? \quad k i \quad k i \quad h e-i=t u \quad h a$ BEN F=tree.type God put,keep 3PL 3PL LOC-N=MEDL LOC $p t f \varepsilon m$ man $h a \quad p t f \varepsilon m$ he-i=tu $k a=k^{h} n \supset \eta \quad$ blaj lawn become LOC lawn LOC-N=MEDL F=tree.type God kat-wa ka=smbo:t $\quad n \quad h a \quad$ tre kojat $u=l o m$ so as-NMZ $\mathrm{F}=$ marker,symbol ref LOC original leg $\mathrm{M}=$ hill four juך $k i=t u \quad k i=t^{h} a w ~ h e-i=t u \quad$ waro? to? home PL=MEDL PL=place LOC- $\mathrm{N}=$ MEDL all be na-do? mntfwa to? oŋ ki ka $k a=l o m$ so juך ABL-when before be say 3PL 3SG.F F=hill four home 'you can see until now, the holy tree was kept in the lawn/yard and the symbol/marker was kept at the foot of the Soo Yung hill.'
(37) tæ man da wan ki hei por wan ki phareng pyndooh pyndam ki i tu i thaw bhah yoo phi i læh wa kamtæ wa man ki ni ki soo kpoh ym æm man da hei por wa $u$ sdang ki $u$ lichong ki toh hei tu nyngkong hadein mih ki nei tu na loom soo yung tæ lai ki cha loom langdoh yong i
$t \varepsilon$ man da wan ki he-i=por wan
NVIS become REAL come 3pl LOC-N=time come
$k i=p^{h} a r \varepsilon \eta \quad p n$-do? $\quad p n$-dam $k i \quad i=t u \quad i=t^{h} a w$
PL=foreigner CAUS-lose CAUS-stop 3PL $\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{MEDL} \mathrm{N}=$ place
bha? jo $p^{h} i \quad i \quad l \varepsilon ? ~ w a ~ k a m-t \varepsilon \quad$ wa man cause see 2PL 1PL also NMZ as,like-NVIS NMZ become $k i=n i \quad k i=s o \quad k p o ? \quad m \quad \varepsilon m \quad \operatorname{man} d a$ $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ PL=four stomach,womb NEG have become REAL $h e-i=p \supset r \quad w a \quad u=s d a \eta$ ki $u=l i-t f \supset \eta \quad k i \quad t \supset ?$ LOC-N=time NMZ NF=begin 3PL NF=DUR-sit 3PL be $h e-i=t u \quad n \eta k \supset \eta \quad h a-d e n \quad m i P \quad k i \quad n e-i=t u$ LOC-N=MEDL be.first LOC-back bring.out 3PL ABL-N=MEDL na lom so juŋ te laj ki tfa lom laydo? jon ABL hill four home NVIS go 3PL ALL hill Langdoh GEN

1PL
'when the foreigners (British) came to India they destroyed the place. The Soo Kpoh clan at first settled in the Soo Yung hill and later they moved to Langdoh's hill.'
(38) tæ na loom langdoh chna ki i yung i sæm hei tu i loom langdoh tæ na loom langdoh yn tæ yachong noh ki jar jar ki ni ki soo bait tæ ya ka bon tæ pynchong ki ka cha khon raid wa ong katni chiliang raid ya ka Tein da pynchong ki ka hei ni ha yong pakyntein hei ni ya ka Wet pynchong ki ka ha wah synji panaliar katwa ya ka Doh yn ka næh ko ha loom langdoh te na lom laydo? tfna ki $i=j u \eta \quad i=s \varepsilon m$ NVIS ABL hill Langdoh make 3PL $\mathrm{N}=$ home $\mathrm{N}=$ neighborhood he-i=tu $\quad i=l o m$ laydo? te na lom laydo? n LOC-N=MEDL $\mathrm{N}=$ hill Langdoh NVIS ABL hill Langdoh ref te ja-tfon no? ki=gar ojar $k i=n i$ NVIS PLUR-sit IMM1 PL=be.different be.different PL=PROX $k i=s o \quad b a t \quad t \varepsilon \quad j a \quad k a=b \partial n t \varepsilon \quad p n-t f o \eta \quad k i \quad k a$ PL=four IMM3 NVIS BEN F=Bon NVIS CAUS-sit 3PL 3SG.F tfa $k^{h}$ गn-rait $\quad w a \quad$ эך kat-ni tiliaך rait ALL child-community NMZ say as-PROX across community ja $k a=t e n \quad d a \quad p n$-tfon $k i \quad k a \quad h e-i=n i \quad h a$ BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ Tein REAL CAUS-Sit 3PL 3SG.F LOC-N=PROX LOC $j \supset \eta$ paknten he-i=ni ja ka=wet pñ-tjoŋ ki GEN Pakyntein LOC-N=PROX BEN F=Wet CAUS-sit 3PL ka ha wa? sncti panaliar kat-wa ja $k a=d o ? ~ n$ 3SG.F LOC river Synji Panaliar as-NMZ BEN F=Doh ref $k a \quad n \varepsilon ? \quad k o \quad h a \quad$ lom lajdo? 3SG.F preserve 3SG.F LOC hill Langdoh
'the four sisters build their houses at Langdoh hill (loom), from Loom Langdoh they moved to their respective place, Bon moved to Khonraid which is known as Chilliangraid at present, Tæn settled in the place called Pakynteiñ, Wet settled in 'Synji' in Panaliar, and Doh settled in Loom Langdoh.'
(39) tæ mut hei ni æm i ar raid ka wi toh ka kmai raid ka wi toh ong ki ka ka khon raid tæ ya ki niam ki rukom waroh læh ki da pynchong ki ki jar jar i bynta
te mut he-i=ni $\quad$ m $i \quad$ ar rait $k a=w i$
NVIS means LOC-N=PROX have 1PL two community $\mathrm{F}=$ one

be $\mathrm{RES}=$ be.great community $\mathrm{F}=$ one be say 3PL 3SG.F
$k a=k^{h} \partial n$ rait $t \varepsilon \quad j a \quad k i=n i a m \quad k i=r u k \partial m$ waro?
$\mathrm{F}=$ child community NVIS BEN PL=tradition PL=way all
$l \varepsilon$ l $k i \quad d a \quad p n$-tjon ki ki=するar bar
also 3PL REAL CAUS-sit 3pl PL=be.different be.different
$i=b n t a$
$\mathrm{N}=$ purpose
'so here we have two communities, one known as Kmai raid (community) and the other is Khon raid, the customs of religion were practiced respectively.'
(40) nei tæ i daw ha ka niam ka rukom hi hap læh i ya ka tæ ka niam ong i ka bam tyngkong ka bam tyngkong toh hap bam waroh ka ni ka thaw bhaw waroh ki ni ki soo yung yoh ki i bhah i bynta ya ka tyngkong ka tybæt yong ka niam

| $n e-i=t \varepsilon$ | $i=d a w$ | $h a$ | $k a=n i a m$ | $k a=r u k 刀 m$ | $h i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ABL-N=NVIS | $\mathrm{N}=$ =reason | LOC | $\mathrm{F}=$ =tradition | $\mathrm{F}=$ way | EMPH |

hap le? $i \quad j a \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=n i a m \quad$ эך $i \quad k a=b a m$ fall also 1PL BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition say 1PL RES=eat tøkəy ka=bam tøkəy to? hap bam waro? ka=ni wood.floor RES=eat wood.floor be fall eat all $\mathrm{F}=\mathrm{PROX}$ $k a=t^{h} a w$ bhaw waro? $k i=n i \quad k i=s o \quad j u \eta \quad j \supset ? ~ k i$ $\mathrm{F}=$ place place all $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ PL=four home get 3PL $i=b h a ? \quad i=b n t a \quad j a \quad k a=t \eta k \supset \eta \quad k a=t b \varepsilon t \quad j \supset \eta$ $\mathrm{N}=$ share $\mathrm{N}=$ purpose BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ =wood.floor $\mathrm{F}=$ storage.area GEN $k a=n i a m$ $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition
' therefore the rituals known as 'Bam Tyngkong' had to be done, all those four households had to do the rituals of the Bam Tyngkong.'
(41) tæ ki tæ toh ki bynta ki wa tbian æh sæ u kammon sdang ka kur soo kpoh bhah ka ni yn toh da u mih ko ha ka kot
$t \varepsilon \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad$ to? $k i=b n t a \quad k i \quad w a \quad t b i a n ~ \varepsilon ?$ NVIS PL=NVIS be PL=purpose 3PL NMZ be.short IMM2 se $u$ kammon sdaך $k a=k u r$ so kpo? C.TAG 3SG.M how begin $\mathrm{F}=$ clan four stomach,womb bha? $k a=n i \quad n \quad t o ? ~ d a \quad u=m i ? \quad$ ko $\quad h a$ cause $\mathrm{F}=$ PROX ref be REAL NF=bring.out 3SG.F LOC $k a=k \supset t$ $\mathrm{F}=$ book
'so this was the shortest part of the Soo Kpoh's story of beginning, this will be published in a book"

## D. 5 PakynteinPt04SooKpohOrigin [PP04SKO]

In the text below, H. C. Pakyntein relates the traditional story of how the Soo Kpoh settled Jowai. The Soo Kpoh were four sisters who were sent from heaven to inhabit Jowai, and from them came the major clans that still reside in Jowai.

## (1) EMPTY

(2) da sñiawthooh i yei tyn tu waroh i jingbattai phi i wa yatoh wa kammon sdang i pyrthai tæ sñiawbha battai yn ya i kammon ki jait bru Pnar sdang ki
da sniawt ${ }^{h} o$ ? $i \quad j e-i \quad t n-t u \quad$ waro?

REAL understand 1PL PLUR-1PL recently-medl all
$i=$ djip-bataj $\quad p^{h} i \quad i \quad$ wa ja-to? wa kammon $\mathrm{N}=$ ab.NMZ-explain 2PL 1PL NMZ PLUR-be NMZ how sday $i=p r t^{h} a j$ te sniawbha bataj $n \quad j a \quad i \quad$ kammon begin $\mathrm{N}=$ world NVIS please explain ref BEN 1PL how $k i=$ bat bru pnar sday ki PL=type person Pnar begin 3PL 'we understand everything about your explanation regarding how the earth started, so please explain to us about how Pnar tribe came into being?' (Interviewer speaking)
(3) to yoo phi hap lai syrtap sæ man la lai ha wah ha næñ nongjynjar u yi hab lai syrtap pa syrtap hadooh wa u poi ha ki soo kpoh mo la ym lai mi na wa sdang ym yoh mi ka ka syrtap sæ
to jo $p^{h}$ i hap laj srtap se man la laj ha wa? ok see 2PL fall go layer C.TAG become if go LOC river ha nen nsy-çnçar $\quad u=j i \quad$ hab laj srtap LOC river ag.nmz-be.difficult $\mathrm{M}=$ thing have,must go layer pa srtap ha-do? wa $u=p o j ~ h a ~ k i=s o$ by layer LOC-when NMZ NF=arrive LOC PL=four $k p o$ mo la maj laj mi na wa stomach,womb QTAG if NEG go 2SG.M.NOM ABL NMZ sdaך $m \quad j \jmath$ ? mi $k a \quad k a=s r t a p ~ s \varepsilon$ begin NEG get 2SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.ACC F=layer C.TAG 'ok so you see, I have to go step by step. If I just jumble around it will not be systematic so let me go step by step until the story about Soo Kpoh. If you are not systematic you won't get the story.'
(4) yoo mi ka kammon ka jait bru Pnar ka jait bru Pnar ka æm ko man wan ko ha ki boon tylli ki rukom

| jo mi | ka | kammon | ka=dat | bru | $a r$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| see 2SG.M.nom | 3SG.F.ACC | how | $\mathrm{F}=$ type | person | Pnar |
| $k a=d a t \quad b r u$ | pnar $k a$ | $k$ | $k$ | man | wan |
| $\mathrm{F}=$ type person | Pnar 3SG.F | have 3 | 3SG.F.NOM | become | come |
| $k \bigcirc \quad h a$ | $k i=b o n$ | tlli | $k i=r$ | m |  |
| SG.F.NOM LOC | $\mathrm{PL}=$ be.m | CL.p | e PL= |  |  |

'so you see how the Pnar tribe came into being, the Pnar tribe came in their own different ways.'
(5) boon tylli ki rukom i tæ æm ki bru ki wa wan direct ki wan bait wa nadooh wa sdang wa $u$ ynñiaw wasa cha pyrthai æm wan ki wa phah $u$ tre-ki-rot u kha u phah cha pyrthai lyngba ka um tæ hei dur yong ki dakha

| bon | tlli | $k i=r u k o m$ | $i=t \varepsilon$ | $\varepsilon m$ | $k i=b r u$ | $k i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| be.much | CL.piece | PL=way | $\mathrm{N}=$ NVIS | have | PL=person | 3PL |

wa wan dirck ki wan bat wa na-do? wa NMZ come direct 3PL come IMM3 NMZ ABL-when NMZ sday wa u=nniaw wasa tfa prthaj $\varepsilon m$ wan ki wa begin NMZ M=seven hut ALL world have come 3PL NMZ $p^{h} a$ ? $u=$ tre-ki-rऽt $\quad u=k^{h} a \quad u=p^{h} a ? \quad$ ! $a \quad$ prt $t^{h} a j$ lpba send $\mathrm{M}=$ Creator.God $\mathrm{NF}=$ birth $\mathrm{NF}=$ send ALL world through
$k a=u m \quad t \varepsilon \quad h e-i=d u r \quad j \partial \eta \quad k i=d a k^{h} a$
$\mathrm{F}=$ water NVIS LOC-N=picture GEN PL=fish.type
'so many ways, there are some people who came along with Ynñiaw Wasa from the beginning, there are some whom God sent to the earth through water, in the form of a fish.'
(6) $u$ likha $u$ bru cha pyrthai æm wan ki wa phah $u$ tre-ki-rot $u$ wan $u$ pynhiar bait nei tai hei dur yong ki puri blai hei mynsein ki puri blai tang man da wan ki chei ni u man ki kam ki bru
$u=l i-k^{h} a \quad u=b r u \quad$ ta $a \quad$ prt $t^{h} a j$ cm wan $k i \quad$ wa
$\mathrm{NF}=$ DUR-birth $\mathrm{M}=$ person ALL world have come 3PL NMZ
$p^{h} a$ ? $u=$ tre-ki-rot $\quad u=w a n \quad u=p n$-hiar bat
send $\mathrm{M}=$ Creator.God $\mathrm{NF}=$ come $\mathrm{NF}=$ CAUS-descend IMm 3
ne-i=taj $\quad h e-i=d u r \quad j \supset \eta \quad k i=p u r i \quad$ blaj
ABL-N=distal LOC-N=picture GEN PL=mermaid God
he-i=mnsen ki=puri blaj taj man
LOC-N=spirit,soul,heart PL=mermaid God but,even become
$d a \quad$ wan $k i \quad$ tfe-i=ni $\quad u=m a n \quad k i \quad k a m$
REAL come 3pl ALL-N=PROX NF=become 3pl like,want
$k i=b r u$
PL=person
'there are some whom God sent to the earth in the form of mermaid, mermaid in spirit, but they became human when they came to the earth.'
(7) æm wan ki wa phah u tre-ki-rot i mynsein hei i dur yong u sniang tæ ya u man da poi ki hei ni kha u man ki dei bru æm wan ki wan wa ki khniang æm wan ki wa mih æh na ki dein man boon jait ki rukom lipynhiar cha pyrthai
$\varepsilon m \quad$ wan $k i \quad w a \quad p^{h} a P \quad u=t r e-k i-r \partial t \quad i=m n s e n$
have come 3PL NMZ send $\mathrm{M}=$ Creator.God $\mathrm{N}=$ spirit,soul,heart
he-i=i=dur joŋ $u=$ sniaך te ja $u=$ man
LOC-N=N=picture GEN M=pig,pork NVIS BEN NF=become
$d a \quad$ poj $k i \quad h e-i=n i \quad k^{h} a \quad u=m a n \quad k i$
REAL arrive 3PL LOC-N=PROX birth NF=become 3PL
$d e-i=b r u \quad \varepsilon m$ wan $k i$ wan wa $k i=k^{h} n i a \eta ~ \varepsilon m$ INST-N=person have come 3PL come NMZ PL=insect have wan $k i$ wa mi? $\varepsilon$ ? $n a \quad k i=d e n ~ m a n ~$ come 3PL NMZ bring.out IMM2 ABL PL=back become bon Jat ki=ruksm li-pn-hiar tfa prthaj be.much type PL=way DUR-CAUS-descend ALL world 'there are some whom God send in the form of a pig, and when they came to the earth they would change to human form, there are some in the form of insects, there are some who just came from the trees, so many different ways of coming down to the earth.'
(8) tæ ka him ka nuksa ka wi mo u tre-ki-rot da booh u booh u chiboon booh $u$ ki um booh $u$ ki wah booh $u$ ka moo booh u ka deiñ booh u ki bynta ki wa æmkam æmkam kammon u wan cha pyrthai tæ him mat ya ka kammon wan ka kupli
te $k a=h i m \quad k a=n u k s a \quad k a=w i \quad m \jmath \quad u=t r e-k i-r \jmath t$
NVIS RES=take $\mathrm{F}=$ example $\mathrm{F}=$ one $\mathrm{QTAG} \mathrm{M}=$ Creator.God
da bo? u bo? u tfi-bon bo?
REAL put,keep 3SG.m put,keep 3SG.m one-be.much put,keep
$u \quad k i=u m \quad b o$ ? u $k i=w a ?$ bo? u
3SG.M PL=water put,keep 3SG.M PL=river put,keep 3SG.M
$k a=m o \quad b o ? \quad u \quad k a=d e n ~ b o ? \quad u \quad k i=b n t a$
F=stone put,keep 3SG.M F=tree put,keep 3SG.M PL=purpose
ki wa emkam emkam kammon u=wan tja prthaj
3PL NMZ need need how $\mathrm{NF}=$ come ALL world
te him mat ja ka kammon wan ka=kupli
NVIS take example BEN 3SG.F how come $\mathrm{F}=$ Kupli
'so let me take one example, ok? God had made so many rivers, oceans, rocks, trees and many important things. So let me take an example of how Kupli came to the earth.'
(9) yoo phi ka kupli toh æm ko ka æm ko le ngut ki khon ka wa nyngkong toh ong ki ka ka bor kupli ka wa ar toh ka li-kupli ka wa le toh ka kulong kupli
 see 2PL F=Kupli be have 3SG.F 3SG.F have 3SG.F three put $k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad k a \quad$ wa $n \eta k o \eta$ to? on $k i \quad k a$ CL.HUM PL=child 3SG.F NMZ be.first be say 3PL 3SG.F ka=bor kupli ka wa ar to? ka=li-kupli ka wa F=power Kupli 3SG.F NMZ two be F=Li-Kupli 3SG.F NMZ le to? ka=kuloŋ kupli
three be $\mathrm{F}=$ Kulong Kupli
'Kupli had three children, the first one was called 'Bor Kupli', the
second one was 'Li Kupli and the last one was 'Kulong Kupli.' (note: each of the Kupli are names of rivers in the Pnar area)
(10) hynre na ki ni waroh u tre-ki-rot phah u nyngkong phah u ya ka bor ka bor kupli wan ko cha pyrthai hei dur ka dakha man da wan ko hei dur ka dakha tæ man bru ko man da man bru ko tæ ya chong kha ko wa $u$ ynñiaw wasa $u$ khon ki ynñiaw wasa $u$ yale

'but of all the three God first sent Bor Kupli, she came in the form of a fish but in the earth she became human and got married to Ynñiaw Wasa's son Yale.'
(11) tæ man da yachong kha ko wa u yale tæ yoh ki khon ka bor kupli man da yoh ko yei khon yoh ko yei khon tæ pyrtuit ko ka ka chadap
te man da ja-tjon-kh ko wa $u=j a l e$ NVIS become REAL PLUR-sit-birth 3SG.F COMT M=Yale te $j \supset$ ? $k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad k a=b \partial r$ kupli man $d a \quad j \partial ? ~ k \supset$ NVIS get $\mathrm{PL}=$ child $\mathrm{F}=$ power Kupli become REAL get 3SG.F $j e-i=k^{h} \partial n \quad j \partial ? k o \quad j e-i=k^{h} \partial n \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ prtut $k J$ PLUR-N=child get 3SG.F PLUR-N=child NVIS name 3SG.F ka $\quad k a=$ tfadap
3SG.F F=Chadap
'when she got married to Yale she gave birth to a baby girl which she named Chadap.'
(12) tæ ka da kut da toh i por u liwan noh ko liwan noh ko cha kupli man da liwan ko cha kupli poi ha kupli hiar ko ha ka thwai kupli ka bor tæ u yale yn bood u ka bood $u$ ka nadein nadein poi chi poi hei tæ tæ mut yoo u da man dakha da kylla dakha ko
te $k a \quad d a \quad$ kut $d a \quad$ to? $i=p o r \quad u=l i w a n$
NVIS 3SG.F REAL end REAL be $\mathrm{N}=$ time $\mathrm{NF}=$ return.home
no? ko liwan no? ko tja kupli man
IMM1 3SG.F return.home IMM1 3SG.F ALL Kupli become

(13) man da kylla dakha ko oo chyngkar u ya u kæm ka tæ man da ong u kæm ya ka ym yoh u ym bein ko nei bhah wa chyngkar u man da chyngkar u ka ong ko nga ym lai o napoh ki kjat yong me

| man | $d a$ | $k l l a$ | $d a k^{h} a$ | $k ァ$ | $o$ | tipkar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| become | REAL | change | fish.type | 3SG.F | 3SG.M.ACC | straddle |

become REAL change fish.type 3SG.F 3SG.M.ACC straddle

| $u$ | $j a$ | $u=k \varepsilon m$ | $k a$ | $t \varepsilon$ | $m a n$ | $d a$ | $\jmath \eta$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3SG.M | BEN | NF=catch | 3SG.F | NVIS | become | REAL | say |

$u=k \varepsilon m \quad j a \quad k a \quad m \quad j \partial P \quad u \quad m \quad b e n \quad k \supset$
$\mathrm{NF}=$ catch BEN 3SG.F NEG get 3SG.M NEG willing 3SG.F
ne-i=bha? wa typkar u man da tjpkar
ABL-N=cause NMZ straddle 3SG.M become REAL straddle


3SG.M 3SG.F say 3SG.F 1SG.ACC NEG go 1SG.NOM
na-po? ki=kdat jวŋ me
ABL-under,in PL=leg GEN 2SG.M.ACC
'when she transformed, her husband spread his legs over the water/river - he wanted to catch her but she's not willing to come with him, she said to him that she won't walk/come/live under his feet.'
(14) nga u im o yanom hei ni chirrup wa ka bei ka kupli tæ ka bor kupli ka tæ nei tæ u yale khut ma khut u kbai u kbai ya u kæm ya ka ka ym bein ka ran ko chadein tæ $u$ yale yn kat wa dang toh um nang kylla moo u kat nang toh um nang kylla moo hadooh wa kylla moo toh um waroh i doh tæ kylla moo u hei tæ mih wat ka kchaid yale

$u=k \varepsilon m \quad j a \quad k a \quad k a \quad m \quad b e n \quad k a \quad r a n \quad k \supset$ $\mathrm{NF}=$ catch BEN 3SG.F 3SG.F NEG willing 3SG.F run 3SG.F tfa-den te $\quad u=j a l e \quad n \quad k a t ~ w a ~ d a \eta ~ t o ? ~ u m ~ n a \eta ~$ ALL-back NVIS M=Yale ref as NMZ PROG be water PROG klla mo u kat nay to? um nay klla change stone 3 SG.M as PROG be water PROG change mo ha-do? wa klla mo to? um waro? $i=d o ?$ stone LOC-when NMZ change stone be water all $\mathrm{N}=$ flesh $t \varepsilon$ klla mo u he-i=tع mi? NVIS change stone 3SG.M LOC-N=NVIS bring.out wat $\quad k a=k t f a i t \quad j a l e$ don't(Khasi) $\mathrm{F}=$ =waterfall Yale
"I will live forever with my mother, Kupli.' (she said) Then Yale called to her but she's not coming, instead she moved backwards, then as soon as water touched Yale, he turned into a rock, and from there originated the Yale waterfall.'
(15) katwa ka ni ka chadap wan ka khon ka chadap ka khon ka bor yn ka sah ka booh ko ka ha khon chnong man da booh ko ka ha khon chnong tæ da æm wa ri walum ka hynre lai ka pateiñ da hæh man da hæh da hæh tæ yachong kurim
kat-wa $k a=n i \quad k a=$ tfadap $\quad$ wan $\quad k a=k^{h} \supset n \quad k a=$ tfadap
as-NMZ F=PROX F=Chadap come $\mathrm{F}=$ =child $\mathrm{F}=$ Chadap
$k a=k^{h} \partial n \quad k a=b \supset r \quad n \quad k a \quad s a ? ~ k a \quad b o ? \quad k \supset$
$\mathrm{F}=$ child $\mathrm{F}=$ power ref 3SG.F stay 3SG.F put,keep 3SG.F
$k a \quad h a \quad k^{h} \partial n$ tfnə man $d a \quad$ bop kァ
3SG.F LOC child village become REAL put,keep 3SG.F
$k a \quad h a \quad k^{h} \partial n$ tfnว刀 te da $\quad \mathrm{cm}$ wa ri
3SG.F LOC child village NVIS REAL have NMZ country
wa-lum ka hnre laj ka=paten da he?
nMZ-sweep 3SG.F but.also go $\mathrm{F}=$ generation REAL be.big
man $d a \quad h \varepsilon ? d a \quad h \varepsilon ? \quad t \varepsilon \quad j a$ - tjon kurim
become REAL be.big REAL be.big NVIS PLUR-sit spouse
'whereas her daughter Chadap lived in the village. Someone
adopted her, and when she grew up she got married.'
(16) tæ man da yachong kurim ko tæ yoh ko ya ki khon man da yoh ko ki khon tæ yoh ko ya ka passah ka nongbri ka nongkynrih wa ka kynchi ki tæ toh ki wa hiar pateiñ na ka bor kupli

| $t \varepsilon$ | man | $d a$ | $j a-t f o n$ | $k u r i m$ | $k \supset$ | $t \varepsilon$ | $j \supset ?$ | $k \supset$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NVIS | become | REAL | PLUR-sit | spouse | 3SG.F | NVIS | get | 3SG.F |
| $j a$ | $k i=k^{h} \supset n$ | man | $d a$ | $j \supset P$ | $k \supset$ | $k i=k^{h} \supset n$ | $t \varepsilon$ | $j \supset P$ |
| BEN | PL $=$ child | become | REAL | get | 3SG.F | PL=child | NVIS | get |
| $k J$ | $j a$ | $k a=$ passa? | $k a=n \supset \eta b r i$ | $k a=n \supset \eta-k n r i P$ | $w a$ |  |  |  |
| 3SG.F | BEN | $\mathrm{F}=$ Passah | $\mathrm{F}=$ Nongbri | $\mathrm{F}=$ ag.nmz-harvest | COMT |  |  |  |

 $\mathrm{F}=$ Kynchi $\mathrm{PL}=$ NVIS be 3PL NMZ descend generation ABL ka=bor kupli
F=power Kupli
'when she married she had four daughters: Passah, Nongbri, Nongkynrih and Kynchi. These came from the same ancestor Kupli.'
(17) tæ ki ni ki hiar pateiñ ki na ka bor kupli na kata na ka bor kupli tæ ki ni yn na khon chnong sdang ki tæ lai ki kylleiñ soodong lai ki cha chapoh Pnar lai ki cha War lai cha khynriam lai ki cha bhoi tæ roi tæ par
$t \varepsilon \quad k i=n i \quad k i \quad h i a r \quad$ paten $k i \quad n a \quad k a=b a r$ NVIS PL=PROX 3pL descend generation 3pl ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ power kupli na kata na ka=bor kupli te ki=ni n Kupli ABL pocket ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ power Kupli NVIS PL=PROX ref $n a \quad k^{h} \supset n \quad$ †noŋ sdaך ki te laj ki kllen ABL child village begin 3PL NVIS go 3PL throughout sodon laj ki tfa tya-po? pnar laj ki tya throughout go 3pl all all-under,in Pnar go 3pl all war laj tfa $k^{h} n$ nriam laj ki tfa bhoj te roj te War go all Khynriem go 3pl all Bhoi nvis crawl NVIS par
crawl
'so these four daughters from the village, they started to roam all around. They went to Pnar, they went to War, to Khynriam, to Bhoi areas, and they prospered.'
(18) tæ mih ki tæ ki chadap ki passah ki nongbri ki nongkynrih ki kynchi ki tæ toh ki kur ki jait ki wa mih na ka bor kupli

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t\varepsilon miP ki=t\varepsilon ki=tfadap ki=passa? ki=n\supset\etabri
NVIS bring.out PL=NVIS PL=Chadap PL=Passah PL=Nongbri
ki=no\eta-knrip ki=kntfi ki=t\varepsilon to? ki=kur
PL=ag.nmz-harvest PL=Kynchi PL=NVIS be PL=clan
ki=dat ki wa mi? na ka=bor kupli
PL=type 3PL NMZ bring.out ABL F=power Kupli
'so the Chadap, Passah, Nongbri and Nnonkynrih clans came into
existence, from Kupli.'
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(19) halor i tæ tæ da roi da par man da roi da par ki tæ ki tæ ki khon da mih ki khon mih ki ksu yong ka chadap tæ man da lai ki por toh u tre-ki-rot da yoo u wa ki ni ki ka bri ynñiaw træp æm ko du i æh du i khor ym biang ym toh
$h a-l o r \quad i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad d a \quad$ roj $d a$ par man
LOC-top N=NVIS NVIS REAL crawl REAL crawl become $d a \quad$ roj $d a \quad$ par $k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad d a$ REAL crawl REAL crawl PL=NVIS PL=NVIS PL=child REAL

(20) man da ym biang ym toh de ym miat de ka tæ ka synchar khadar ki syiem ki kmai tæ phah noh $u$ jeid noh $u$ ya $u$ pyrthat ong $u$ deih libooh noh ya ki payu yong me libooh cha pyrthai

'when the administration given by the kings was not systematic, God asked Pyrthat (lightning) to take his siblings to the earth.'
(21) tæ u pyrthat hei tæ i por wa ngooh u ya u tre-ki-rot da ka hukum u tre-ki-rot ya u lai lai syuin $u$ tawiar soodong i pyrthai lithooh $u$ hei won i thaw wa man i wa kyntang
te $\quad u=p r t^{h} a t \quad h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad i=p \supset r \quad w a \quad \eta o ?$
NVIS $\mathrm{M}=$ lightning LOC-N=NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ time NMZ blessing, thanks
$u \quad j a \quad u=$ tre-ki-rכt $\quad d a \quad k a=h u k u m$
3SG.M BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ Creator.God INST $\mathrm{F}=$ command
$u=$ tre-ki-rot $\quad j a \quad u=l a j \quad$ laj spun $u$
$\mathrm{M}=$ Creator.God BEN $\mathrm{NF}=$ go go revolve,spin 3SG.M
tawiar sodon $\quad i=p r t^{h} a j \quad l i-t^{h} o ? \quad u$
surroundings throughout $\mathrm{N}=$ world DUR -find,search 3SG.M
he-i=won $i=t^{h} a w$ wa man $i \quad w a$ kntay
LOC-N=which $\mathrm{N}=$ =place NMZ become 1PL NMZ special/holy
'so Pyrthat bowed down to God's command, he went all around the world searching for a holy place.'
(22)
tæ u pyrthat o da syuiñ u tawiar soodong i pyrthai hei tæ chæm u hei wi thaw i wa miat wa khooid wa jngiar wa kyntang tæ hei ni libooh ya ki tæ ki payu yong oo
te $u=p r t^{h} a t \quad o \quad d a \quad$ spun $u$ NVIS M=lightning 1SG.NOM REAL revolve,spin 3SG.M tawiar sodən $\quad i=p r t^{h} a j$ he-i=te tfem u surroundings throughout $\mathrm{N}=$ world LOC-N=NVIS meet 3SG.M he-i=wi $t^{h} a w \quad i \quad$ wa miat wa $k^{h}$ oit LOC-N=one place 1PL NMZ be.pretty,nice NMZ clean,pure wa byiar wa kntay te he-i=ni NMZ totallyclear NMZ special/holy NVIS LOC-N=PROX li-bo? $\quad j a \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=p a j u \quad j \supset \eta$
DUR-put,keep BEN PL=NVIS PL=older.sibling GEN o

3SG.m.ACC
'he went around, all over the world and found a clean, a spacious, and a holy place for keeping his siblings.'
(23) tæ man da booh $u$ hei ni ya ki payu yong oo booh $u$ ya $u$ kongsan wakhai ya $u$ kongsan mooralong ya $u$ kongsan moosniang ya $u$ kongsan mooting ki tæ toh ong ki ki ki ni tæ ong ki ki ki soo dwar soo luti
$t \varepsilon \quad$ man $d a \quad b o ? \quad u \quad h e-i=n i \quad j a$ NVIS become REAL put,keep 3SG.M LOC-N=PROX BEN $\begin{array}{llllll}k i=p a j u & j \supset \eta & o & b o ? & u & j a\end{array}$ PL=older.sibling GEN 3SG.m.ACC put,keep 3SG.M BEN
$u=k \supset \eta s a n ~ w a-k^{h} a j$ ja $u=k o \eta s a n ~ m o r a l o \eta ~ j a$ M=uncle NMZ-get.up BEN M=uncle Mooralong BEN $u=k \supset \eta s a n$ mosniay ja $u=k \supset \eta s a n ~ m o t i \eta ~ k i=t \varepsilon \quad t \supset ?$ M=uncle Moosniang BEN M=uncle Mooting PL=NVIS be $\supset \eta \quad k i \quad k i \quad k i=n i \quad t \varepsilon \quad \supset \eta \quad k i \quad k i \quad k i=s o$ say 3PL 3PL PL=PROX NVIS say 3PL 3PL PL=four dwar so luti
dwelling four way
'When he left them there he kept along with (them) the 'kongsan wakhai', 'kongsan mooralong', 'kongsan moosniang', 'kongsan mooting', and these were known as the four doors and four ways.'
(24) nei tæ booh wan u sa ya ka myntdu ka myntdu yn ka wa $u$ kær wa $u$ da ya ka chnong ka thaw dæp nei tæ tæ booh wan $u$ ya ki khon yong ka myntdu booh $u$ ya ka sati myntdu ka lamynchi ka sangman wa ka syntu ksiar ki tæ ong ki ki ki soo thwai soo lynngan

| $n e-i=t \varepsilon$ | $b o ?$ | wan | $u$ | $s a$ | $j a$ | $k a=m n t d u$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ABL-N=NVIS | put,keep | come | 3SG.M | only | BEN | $\mathrm{F}=$ Myntdu |


| $k a=m n t d u$ | $n$ | $k a$ | $w a$ | $u=k \varepsilon r$ | $w a$ | $u$ | $d a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{~F}=\mathrm{Myntdu}$ | ref | 3SG.F | NMZ | NF=be.around | NMZ | 3SG.M | INST |

ja $k a=t f n \supset \eta ~ k a=t^{h} a w \quad d \varepsilon p \quad n e-i=t \varepsilon$ te bo? BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ village $\mathrm{F}=$ place PERF ABL-N=NVIS NVIS put,keep wan u ja $k i=k^{h} \supset n \quad j \supset \eta \quad k a=m n t d u \quad$ bo? u come 3SG.M BEN PL=child GEN F=Myntdu put,keep 3SG.M ja $k a=s a t i ~ m n t d u \quad k a=l a m n t f i \quad k a=s a \eta m a n ~ w a ~$ BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ sati Myntdu $\mathrm{F}=$ Lamynchi $\mathrm{F}=$ Sangman NMZ $k a=s n t u \quad k s i a r ~ k i=t \varepsilon \quad \supset \eta \quad k i \quad k i \quad k i=s o \quad t^{h} w a j$ so $\mathrm{F}=$ flower gold $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{NVIS}$ say 3PL 3PL PL=four ocean four lnyan
spring
'then he placed the Myntdu (river), so that it would sorround the village. After that he put Myntdu's children which were Sati Myntdu, Lamynchi, Sangman and Syntu Ksiar.'
(25) tæ man da dæp booh ya ki tæ ki soo thwai soo lynngan booh yn $u$ ya $u$ blai langdoh man da booh $u$ ya $u$ blai langdoh booh $u$ ya ka syiem aitnar tæ booh u ya u moosmai booh u ya u ryngkaw tæ chirrup chilang wa $u$ pyrthat man khatsoo wa hæh
$t \varepsilon \quad m a n d a \quad d \varepsilon p \quad b o ? \quad j a \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=s o$ NVIS become REAL PERF put,keep BEN PL=NVIS PL=four $t^{h} w a j$ so lnyan bo? $n \quad u \quad j a \quad u=b l a j ~ l a \eta d っ ? ~$ ocean four spring put,keep ref 3SG.M BEN M=God Langdoh man da bo? u ja u=blaj laydo? become REAL put,keep 3SG.M BEN M=God Langdoh
bo? u ja ka=sPem atnar te bo? u put,keep 3SG.M BEN F=ruler Aitnar NVIS put,keep 3SG.M ja $u=m o s m a j \quad b o ? \quad u \quad j a \quad u=r \eta k a w \quad t \varepsilon$ BEN M=Moosmai put,keep 3SG.M BEN M=spirit.type NVIS tirup ti-lay wa $u=p r^{h}$ at man $k^{h} a t s o$ together one-be.together NMZ M=lightning become fourteen wa $h \varepsilon$ ?
nMZ be.big
'after putting the Soo Thwai (the four deep rivers) he put one god/spirit known as 'Blai Langdoh', then he put the Aitnar queen, and he placed the Moosmai and the Ryngkaw. Along with himself there were then fourteen elders (spirits).'
(26) ki tæ toh ki oo najrong u pait u u pyrthat u pait na jrong ki ni yn ki wa ha madan ki wa $u$ yang $u$ ap yei ni i thaw hadooh wa $u$ phah yn $u$ ya ki khon yong oo u wan ki cha pyrthai
$k i=t \varepsilon \quad$ to? $k i \quad o \quad n a-d g r \supset \eta \quad u=p a t \quad u$
PL=NVIS be 3PL 3SG.M.ACC ABL-above NF=look 3SG.M
$u=p r t^{h} a t \quad u=p a t \quad n a \quad$ gron $\quad k i=n i \quad n \quad k i \quad w a$ $\mathrm{M}=$ lightning $\mathrm{NF}=$ look ABL above $\mathrm{PL}=$ PROX ref 3 PL NMZ

'those, from above he would look over them, and all these would have to wait and to secure the place until he sent his children to the earth.'
(27) to lai ki snæm ki wa da ki ni ki khatsoo wa hæh da pait da yoo ki yei ni i thaw i bhaw tæ man da lai ki por $u$ tre-ki-rot phah $u$ ong $u$ ya $u$ pyrthat deih libooh sa ki khon yong me deih libooh ki khon yong me cha pyrthai ki ni toh ki puri blai deih libooh ki cha pyrthai ya u chakri ki ya u ynñiaw wasa
to laj ki=snem ki wa da ki=ni ki=khatso wa ok go $\mathrm{PL}=$ year 3 PL NMZ REAL $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX} \mathrm{PL}=$ fourteen NMZ $h \varepsilon ? \quad d a \quad p a t \quad d a \quad j o \quad k i \quad j e-i=n i \quad i=t^{h} a w$ be.big REAL look REAL see 3PL PLUR-N=PROX N=place
$i=b h a w \quad t \varepsilon \quad$ man $\quad d a \quad$ laj $k i=p o r \quad u=t r e-k i-r \partial t$
$\mathrm{N}=$ place NVIS become REAL go $\mathrm{PL}=$ time $\mathrm{M}=$ Creator.God $p^{h} a$ ? $u \quad$ गך $u \quad j a \quad u=p r t^{h} a t \quad d e ? \quad l i-b o$ ? send 3SG.M say 3SG.M BEN M=lightning ADH DUR-put,keep sa $k i=k^{h} \partial n \quad j \partial \eta \quad$ me $\quad$ de? li-bo? $k i=k^{h} \partial n$ only PL=child GEN 2SG.M.ACC ADH DUR-put,keep PL=child $j \supset \eta$ me tfa prth ${ }^{h}$ aj $k i=n i \quad$ to? $k i=p u r i \quad$ blaj GEN 2SG.M.ACC ALL world $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ be $\mathrm{PL}=$ mermaid God de? li-bo? ki tfa prthaj ja u=takri ki ja ADH DUR-put,keep 3PL ALL world BEN NF=serve 3PL BEN $u=n \_i a w \quad$ wasa $\mathrm{M}=$ seven hut
'years passed by and these fourteen elders had to look after this place, so God told him to send his children to the earth. These were mermaids and they had to serve Ynñiaw Wasa.'
(28) tæ man da poi ki cha pyrthai toh u chakri ki ya unñiaw wasa u im ki kam wa im u ynñiaw wasa $u$ yap ki kam wa yap $u$ ynñiaw wasa u chong kha ki wa u ynñiaw wasa tæ chakri ya ka niam da ka hukum blai ya u tip ki ki ka niam tip bru ka niam tip blai
te man da poj ki tfa prthaj to? $u=t$ fakri
NVIS become REAL arrive 3PL ALL world be NF=serve
ki ja $u=n j i a w$ wasa $u=i m$ ki kam wa im 3PL BEN M=seven hut $\mathrm{NF}=$ live 3PL like,want NMZ live $u=n \_i a w$ wasa $u=j a p$ ki kam jap u=n, wiaw $M=$ seven hut $N F=$ die $3 P L$ like,want $N M Z$ die $M=$ seven
 hut $\mathrm{NF}=$ sit-birth 3PL NMZ $\mathrm{M}=$ seven hut NVIS serve BEN ka=niam $\quad d a \quad k a=h u k u m \quad b l a j ~ j a \quad u=t i p \quad k i \quad k i$ $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition REAL $\mathrm{F}=$ command God BEN $\mathrm{NF}=$ know 3PL 3PL ka=niam tip bru ka=niam tip blaj $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition know person $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition know God 'when they came to the earth they will live and die as Ynñiaw Wasa did, they had to marry Ynñiaw Wasa to serve their religion and be God fearing people.'
(29) ki tæ toh ki kyntein ki wa phah u tre-ki-rot ha u pyrthat tæ man da u pyrthat da hun $u$ wa $u$ libooh ya ki khon yong oo chini tæ ki ni ki soo ngut ki tæ toh ka bon ka Tein ka Wet ka Doh ki ni toh da ngooh ki ya ki hukum $u$ tre-ki-rot wa $u$ wan cha pyrthai
$k i=t \varepsilon \quad t o ? ~ k i=k n t e n ~ k i \quad w a \quad p^{h} a P \quad u=t r e-k i-r \partial t \quad h a$ PL=NVIS be PL=word 3PL NMZ send $\mathrm{M}=$ Creator.God LOC
$u=p r t^{h} a t \quad t \varepsilon \quad \operatorname{man} d a \quad u=p r t^{h} a t \quad d a \quad$ hun
$\mathrm{M}=$ lightning NVIS become REAL $\mathrm{M}=$ lightning REAL happy


REAL blessing,thanks 3PL BEN PL=command M=Creator.God
wa u=wan tfa prthaj
NMZ NF=come ALL world
'These were the words God said to Pyrthat. So Pyrthat felt satisfied, he brought his daughters, they were Bon, Tein, Wet, Doh. These four sisters obeyed God's commandment to come to the earth.'
tæ man da wan ki cha pyrthai chi wan ki cha pyrthai nyngkong toh wan ki hei tæ i thaw wa ong ki i kyllæp lyær ha loom lakyndong kyllæp lyær tع man da wan ki tfa prthaj tfi wan ki NVIS become REAL come 3PL aLL world set come 3PL tfa prthaj nךkon to? wan ki he-i=tع $i=t^{h} a w$ wa ALL world be.first be come 3PL LOC-N=NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ place NMZ эך ki $i=k l l e p$ l?er ha lom lakndon kllep say 3PL ACT=cover air,wind LOC hill Lankyndong cover leqr
air,wind
'in the earth they first came to the place which was called 'Kyllep Lyer' in the Lakyndong Kyllep Lyer hill.'
(31) tæ hei ni toh hei ni thaw toh wa hajan u mookhai tæ man da poi hei ni wan ki hei tæ lyngba u tæ u slap u slap rymphu man da wan ki dei lang da wan u slap rymphu tæ sah noh ki hei tæ i thaw ha kyllæp lyær
 'this place was near the Mookhai rock. They came through with the rain (driving rain), and because of the rain they stayed there.'
(32) nei bhah wa kyllæp ka lyær u chong u sah ki tæ man da sah miat ki hei tæ tæ $u$ ni $u$ mookhai kmæn $u$ wa da poi ki ni ki diahmai ki yong oo kit ki soo ngut chi payu ka bon ka Tein ka Wet ka Doh wan ki toh ki puri blai $\begin{array}{lllllll}n e-i=b h a ? & w a & k l l \varepsilon p & k a=l ? \varepsilon r & u=\dagger \supset \supset & u=s a ? & k i \\ \text { ABL-N=cause } & \text { NMZ } & \text { cover } & \mathrm{F}=\text { air,wind } & \mathrm{NF}=\text { sit } & \mathrm{NF}=\text { stay } & \text { 3PL }\end{array}$ te man da sa? miat ki he-i=tع NVIS become REAL stay be.pretty,nice 3 PL LOC-N=NVIS tع $u=n i \quad u=m o k^{h} a j \quad k m \varepsilon n \quad u \quad$ wa $d a$ NVIS M=PROX M=Mookhai be.happy 3SG.M NMZ REAL poj $k i=n i \quad k i=d i a P m a j \quad k i \quad j \supset \eta o$ arrive $\mathrm{PL}=\mathrm{PROX}$ PL=sister,relative 3PL GEN 3SG.M.ACC kit ki=so put ti paju ka=bon carry(sling) $\mathrm{PL}=$ four CL.HUM set older.sibling $\mathrm{F}=$ Bon $k a=t e n ~ k a=w \varepsilon t ~ k a=d o$ ? wan $k i$ to? $k i=p u r i \quad$ blaj $\mathrm{F}=$ Tein $\mathrm{F}=$ Wet $\mathrm{F}=$ Doh come 3PL be $\mathrm{PL}=$ mermaid God 'because this place was free from the wind and it's suitable for them to stay, but this Mookhai was so happy that his sisters came, Bon, Tein, Wet, Doh - these sisters were mermaids/angels.'
(33) tæ man da kmæn utæ chad u kmæn u tæ khih ki khyndaw smur i khyndaw wa da chad u mookhai hynre ki ni ki soo ngut teiñ ki teiñ ki yei ni man wa da kyllooh ki loom ki wah teiñ ki hynre man da teiñ ki khai ki na wa thiah nei tæ tæ ong ki $u$ phæt $u$ yut noh nei ni i thaw te man da kmen u te tfa:t u NVIS become REAL be.happy 3SG.M NVIS dance 3SG.M kmen u te $k^{h} i ? \quad k i=k^{h} n$ daw smur $i=k^{h} n$ ndaw be.happy 3SG.M NVIS shake PL=earth shake $\mathrm{N}=$ earth

'he was so happy that he danced until the earth and everything shook. Those sisters were afraid about this and they thought of going away to flee from that place.'
(34) hynre hei tæ i por klam u mookhai ong $u$ diah mai diahmai ham yut nei ni i thaw nga u kongsan yong phi nga toh $u$ masan yong phi
hnre he-i=tع $\quad i=p o r ~ k l a m ~ u=m o k^{h} a j \quad$ oŋ $u$
but.also LOC-N=NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ =time speak $\mathrm{M}=$ Mookhai say 3SG.M
dia? maj diaPmaj ham jut ne-i=ni
sister can.be sister,relative PROH run.away ABL-N=PROX
$i=t^{h} a w \quad \eta a \quad u=k \supset \eta s a n \quad j \supset \eta \quad p^{h} i \quad \eta a \quad t o ?$
$\mathrm{N}=$ place 1SG.ACC $\mathrm{M}=$ uncle GEN 2PL 1SG.ACC be
$u=\operatorname{masan} j \supset \eta p^{h} i$
M=uncle GEN 2PL
'in the meantime Mookhai talked to them and begged them not to go away, 'I am your uncle' he said.'
(35) man da klam $u$ yei tæ ong $u$ wan chei ni chajan yong nga man da wan ki hajan yong oo hei tæ tæ ong wat $u$ sæ ong wat $u$ mookhai phi toh ki diahmai ki yong nga i ni toh i chnong yoh phi utip i ni toh i chnong jwai tæ ham teiñ nga wa æm nga wa pait nga wa yoo la æm ki won ki won ki wa $u$ mut chun ya phi nga wa $u$ pait
man da klam u je-i=tг $\quad$ э刀 $u \quad$ wan become REAL speak 3SG.M PLUR-N=NVIS say 3SG.m come te-i=ni tja-ðुan jəŋ $\quad$ a $\quad$ man da wan ALL-N=PROX ALL-be.near GEN 1SG.ACC become REAL come
ki ha-dgan joŋ o he-i=tع te $\supset \eta$ 3pl LOC-be.near GEN 3SG.M.ACC LOC-N=NVIS NVIS say
wat $u \quad s \varepsilon \quad$ эŋ wat $\quad u=m_{0} k^{h} a j$ don't(Khasi) 3SG.m C.TAG say don't(Khasi) $\mathrm{M}=$ Mookhai $p^{h} i$ to? ki=dia?maj ki jכŋ $\quad$ la $\quad i=n i \quad t \supset ?$ 2PL be PL=sister,relative 3PL GEN 1SG.ACC $\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{PROX}$ be $i=\dagger$ †nว $\quad j \supset \uparrow-p^{h} i \quad u=t i p \quad i=n i \quad$ to? $i=\emptyset f n \supset \eta \quad \leftrightarrows w a j$ $\mathrm{N}=$ village get-2PL $\mathrm{NF}=$ know $\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{PROX}$ be $\mathrm{N}=$ village Jowai

| $t \varepsilon$ | ham | ten | $\eta a$ | wa $\quad$ em | pa | wa |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NVIS | PROH | afraid,fear | 1SG.ACC | NMZ have | 1SG.ACC | NMZ |
| pat | ya | wa jo | la $\varepsilon m$ | $k i=w \supset n$ | $k i=w \supset n$ | ki |
| look | 1SG.ACC | NMZ see | if have | $\mathrm{PL}=$ which | $\mathrm{PL}=$ which | 3PL |
| wa | nut | yun | ja $p^{h} \imath$ | a | wa u=pat |  |
| NMZ | $\mathrm{NF}=$ | s harm | En 2PL | 1SG.ACC | NMZ NF |  |

'when he called them near him, then he said 'you are my sisters, and this is your place /village and it is called 'Jwai'/ Jowai. So don't be afraid, i will protect you from the enemies."
(36) nei tæ man nei tæ tæ ong wat u ong u kongsan mookhai ya phi ki diahmai yong nga deih lichong ha $u$ tai $u$ loom $u$ tai $u$ loom wa chna phi meit stæp sngi sngi niaw $u$ pait ya $u$ tai $u$ loom i pyrtuit yong oo toh $u$ loom soo yung

o to? $u=$ lom so jun
3SG.M.ACC be $\mathrm{M}=$ hill four home
'and he told them 'for you my sisters please go and stay in that hill, from here I can see you in the morning, at night, and the name of that hill is Loom Soo Yung."
(37) tæ man da mih ki na loom lakyndong tæ lai chong noh ki ha loom soo yung chna ki soo tylli i yung tæ ya $u$ tai $u$ loom ong ki oo $u$ loom soo yung tæ hei tæ tæ sdang ki $u$ chong hei tæ tæ da hæh ki hei tæ tæ man da ya man da lai ka por nei tæ tæ ym æm bru ym æm bru ym æm wa chong wa sah ha ka ni ka chnong
te man da mi? ki na lom lakndon
NVIS become REAL bring.out 3PL ABL hill Lankyndong
te laj tjon no? ki ha lom so juŋ tfna ki
NVIS go sit IMM1 3PL LOC hill four home make 3pl
so tlli $i=j u \eta \quad t \varepsilon \quad j a \quad u=t a j \quad u=l o m \quad \jmath \eta \quad k i$
four CL.piece $\mathrm{N}=$ home NVIS BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ distal $\mathrm{M}=$ hill say 3pL
$o \quad u=l o m$ so juך te he-i=te te sdaך
3SG.M.ACC M=hill four home NVIS LOC-N=NVIS NVIS begin
$k i \quad u=\dagger \rho \supset \eta \quad h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad d a \quad h \varepsilon ? \quad k i$
3PL NF=sit LOC-N=NVIS NVIS REAL be.big 3PL
he-i=tع te man da ja man da laj LOC-N=NVIS NVIS become REAL BEN become REAL go $k a=p o r n e-i=t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad m \quad \varepsilon m \quad b r u \quad m \quad \varepsilon m$ $\mathrm{F}=$ time ABL-N=NVIS NVIS NEG have person NEG have bru $m \quad \varepsilon m \quad w a$ †oy wa sa? ha $k a=n i$ person NEG have NMZ sit NMZ stay LOC $F=$ PROX $k a=\emptyset n \supset \eta$ $\mathrm{F}=$ village
'they left Loom Lakyndong and went to stay in that Loom Soo yung. They begin their lives and they prospered but some time passed by and there's no citizens in that village.'
(38) hynre ki ni ki soo ngut lai ki cha ki yaw lai ki cha ka yaw sutnga tæ wan poi ki ha yaw manar man da poi ki ha yaw manar pynbna ki khut ki alæ wan chong wan sah hei chnong yong i
hnre $k i=n i \quad k i=s o \quad$ put laj $k i \quad$ tfa $k i=j a w$ but.also PL=PROX PL=four CL.HUM go 3PL ALL PL=market laj $k i \quad$ §a ka=jaw sutya te wan poj ki ha go 3pl all $\mathrm{F}=$ market Sutnga NVIS come arrive 3PL LOC jaw manar man da paj ki ha jaw manar market Manar become REAL arrive 3PL LOC market Manar pn-bna ki $k^{h} u t k i$ ale wan tjon wan sa? CAUS-care,hear 3PL call 3PL come come sit come stay he-i=†fnoŋ joŋ $i$
LOC-N=village GEN 1PL
'but these four went to the Sutnga market and they invited people to come and stay in their place.'
(39) tæ i chnong yong itoh i chnong jwai tæ ha ka tæ ka por ym æm wa tip ka yi ha ka chnong jwai
tع $i=\nmid f n \supset \eta \quad j \supset \eta \quad i \quad$ to? $i=t f n \supset \eta \quad$ Jwaj te $h a$
NVIS $\mathrm{N}=$ =village GEN 1PL be $\mathrm{N}=$ village Jowai NVIS LOC
$k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=p o r \quad m \quad \varepsilon m \quad w a \quad$ tip $k a=j i \quad h a$
$\mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ time NEG have NMZ know $\mathrm{F}=$ thing LOC
$k a=$ †n noy $\quad$ owaj
$\mathrm{F}=$ village Jowai
'so our place is called Jowai town, during that time no one knew about Jowai town.'
(40) tæ man da klam ki yei tæ tæ khut ki i wa biang i thaw ræp thaw khih tæ i wa biang ka um ka wah
te man da klam ki je-i=ts te $k^{h} u t ~ k i$
NVIS become REAL speak 3PL PLUR-N=NVIS NVIS call 3PL
$i \quad w a$ bian $i=t^{h} a w \quad r \varepsilon p \quad t^{h} a w ~ k^{h} i P \quad t \varepsilon \quad i$
1PL NMZ be.enough $\mathrm{N}=$ =place cultivate place work NVIS 1PL

| wa | bian | $k a=u m$ | $k a=w a ?$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NMZ | be.enough | $\mathrm{F}=$ water | $\mathrm{F}=$ river |

'so they know that the place was good for agriculture, there was also enough water for them to use.'
(41) tæ ki bru ha yaw manar hei tæ phylla ki ki kammon ki ni ki bru ki ym jooh sñiaw ym jooh sñiaw ki yei kyntein ym jooh sñiaw ki
te $k i=b r u \quad h a \quad j a w \quad m a n a r ~ h e-i=t \varepsilon$

NVIS PL=person LOC market Manar LOC-N=NVIS
$p^{h} l l a \quad k i \quad k i \quad k a m m o n \quad k i=n i \quad k i=b r u \quad k i$
surprise,astonish 3PL 3PL how PL=PROX PL=person 3PL
$m$ Jo? sniaw $m$ Go? sniaw ki je-i=knten $m$
NEG HAB sense NEG HAB sense 3PL PLUR-N=word NEG
go? sniaw ki
HAB sense 3PL
'so the people in the Manar market wondered who are these people, they have never heard about them or their village/town.'
(42) tæ man da nei tæ yn to da lai yn ki ha ka wi u sngi yn ka tæ ka yaw wan lai ki cha yaw cha langchiang ha langchiang læh i jooh i kyntein kbai ki
$t \varepsilon \quad \operatorname{man} d a \quad n e-i=t \varepsilon \quad n \quad$ to $d a \quad l a j \quad n \quad k i$ NVIS become REAL ABL-N=NVIS ref ok REAL go ref 3PL
$h a \quad k a=w i \quad u=s \eta i \quad n \quad k a=t \varepsilon \quad k a=j a w \quad$ wan $\quad l a j k i$ LOC $\mathrm{F}=$ one $\mathrm{M}=$ day $\mathrm{ref} \mathrm{F}=$ NVIS $\mathrm{F}=$ market come go 3PL tya jaw ta laŋtian ha lantian le? ALL market ALL Langchiang LOC Langchiang also
$i=\hbar o ? \quad i=k n t e n \quad k b a j k i$
$\mathrm{ACT}=$ be.same $\mathrm{N}=$ word cry 3PL
'After that they went back, and later they went to Langchiang market. In that market too they said the same thing..'
(43) tæ na langchiang yn lai ki cha malngiang cha malngiang læh i jooh hi klam ki lai ki cha sutnga ka jooh hi kyntein klam ki
te na laytfian n laj ki tfa malyian tfa NVIS ABL Langchiang ref go 3PL all Malngiang all malyian le? $i=$ ¢̧o? hi klam ki laj ki ta Malngiang also ACT=be.same EMPH speak 3PL go 3PL ALL sutya ka= $k o$ ? hi knten klam ki Sutnga RES=be.same EMPH word speak 3PL
'from Langchiang they went to Malngiang, in Malngiang they said the same thing. They went to Sutnga again. they said the same thing.'
tæ nei tæ man na ki tæ ki kyntein yong ki wan ki bru wan pait ki wan pait ki ka ni ka chnong ka thaw man da poi ki hei ni ha chnong ha thaw yoo ki wa biang ka um biang ka wah biang biang i pynthor u ræp u khih $t \varepsilon \quad n e-i=t \varepsilon \quad$ man $n a \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=k n t e n ~ j \supset \eta ~ k i$ NVIS ABL-N=NVIS become ABL PL=NVIS PL=word GEN 3PL wan $k i=b r u$ wan pat $k i$ wan pat $k i \quad k a=n i$ come PL=person come look 3PL come look 3PL F=PROX $k a=\dagger n \supset \eta \quad k a=t^{h} a w$ man $d a \quad p \supset j$ ki he-i=ni $\mathrm{F}=$ village $\mathrm{F}=$ place become REAL arrive 3 PL LOC-N=PROX ha ழnəŋ ha thaw jo ki wa biay ka=um LOC village LOC place see 3pl NMZ be.enough $\mathrm{F}=$ =water biaך $k a=w a$ b bian biaך $i=p n t^{h}$ or be.enough $\mathrm{F}=$ river be.enough be.enough $\mathrm{N}=$ paddy.field $u=r \varepsilon p \quad u=k^{h} i ?$ $\mathrm{NF}=$ cultivate $\mathrm{NF}=$ work
'so from the words they were saying the people came and had a look at that place, they found that in this place the water facilities, the fields for agriculture, is enough for them to work..'
(45) nei tæ tæ æm ki wa wan hei ni wan chong bru ki æm ki wa chong thap chong biang æm ki wa næh sah man da næh u sah chei ni nei tæ tæ hæh ka ni ka chnong
 'there were people who came here as maid servants, some stayed here again, some stayed here forever. So, like that, this place started to grow bigger.'
(46) tæ hajrong ki tæ ki hukum kam wa da ong wa wa roi wa par ka ni tæ yachong kha man wan $u$ ni $u$ mukhim man wan $u$ chadap wan $u$ chullai wan $u$ dhar ki tæ toh ki wa wan wi ne ki ni tæ man da wan ki hei ni ha chnong ha thaw tæ yachong kha chong kha chong man noh ki wa ki ni ki soo ngut
$t \varepsilon \quad h a-\nless r \supset \eta \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=h u k u m \quad k a m \quad$ wa $d a$ NVIS LOC-above PL=NVIS PL=command like,want NMZ REAL
गך wa wa roj wa par $k a=n i \quad t \varepsilon$
say NMZ NMZ crawl NMZ crawl $\mathrm{F}=$ PROX NVIS
$j a-t f \supset \eta-k^{h} a \quad$ man wan $u=n i \quad u=m u k^{h} i m$ man PLUR-sit-birth become come $\mathrm{M}=$ PROX $\mathrm{M}=$ Mukhim become

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wan u=tfadap wan u=tfulai wan u=dhar ki=t\varepsilon
come M=Chadap come M=Chullai come M=Dhar PL=NVIS
to? ki wa wan wi ne ki=ni t\varepsilon man da
be 3PL NMZ come one or PL=PROX NVIS become REAL
wan ki he-i=ni ha tfn\supset\eta ha thaw t\varepsilon
come 3PL LOC-N=PROX LOC village LOC place NVIS
ja-\fo\eta-kha t丁o\eta-kha toy-man no? ki wa ki=ni
PLUR-sit-birth sit-birth sit-become IMM1 3PL NMZ PL=PROX
ki=so put
PL=four CL.HUM
'so after they prospered, they got married, at that time then came Mukhim, Chadap, Chullai, Dhar, and they got married with these four (men).'
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(47) tæ man da chong kha chong man ki wa ki ni ki soo ngut tæ tæ sdang ki u yoh ki khon yoh ki khon chynrang chwa na ka bon yoh ko u ksan ksan pyrtuit ko oo $u$ ksan pyrsobot na ka Tein yoh ko uta-mon na ka Wet ka na ka Wet yn toh da ong hi chwa chwa $u$ pa $u$ pyrthat ya $u$ khon ka Wet $i$ pyrtuit yong oo toh $u$ dong synariang wa $u$ man $u$ u daloi $u$ wa nyngkong
 NVIS become REAL sit-birth sit-become 3PL NMZ PL=PROX $k i=s o \quad$ put $t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon$ sdaך $k i \quad u=j \partial ? \quad k i=k^{h}$ गn PL=four CL.HUM NVIS NVIS begin 3PL NF=get PL=child jo? $k i=k^{h} \supset n$ țnray tfwa na $k a=b o n ~ j ว ? ~ k \supset \quad u=k s a n$ get $\mathrm{PL}=$ child male before ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ Bon get 3SG.F $\mathrm{M}=$ Ksan ksan prtut $k J \quad o \quad u=k s a n$ prsobot $n a$ Ksan name 3SG.F 3SG.m.ACC M=Ksan Pyrsobot ABL
 $\mathrm{F}=$ Tein get 3Sg.F 3SG.m Ta-mon ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ Wet 3SG.F ABL ka=wet n to? da oŋ hi tf wa tf wa u=pa $\mathrm{F}=$ Wet ref be REAL say EMPH before before $\mathrm{M}=$ father $u=p r t^{h} a t \quad j a \quad u=k^{h} \supset n \quad k a=w \varepsilon t \quad i=p r t u t \quad j \supset \eta \quad o$ $\mathrm{M}=$ lightning BEN $\mathrm{M}=$ child $\mathrm{F}=$ Wet $\mathrm{N}=$ name GEN 3SG.M.ACC to? $u=d \supset \eta \quad$ snarià wa $u=$ man $u$ be $\mathrm{M}=$ thing,locality Synariang NMZ NF=become 3SG.M $u=$ daloj $\quad u \quad$ wa $n \eta k a \eta$ M=daloi 3SG.M NMZ be.first
'after marriage they had children, first, all sons. Bon delivered a son and named him 'Ksan Pyrsobot', Tein delivered 'Ta-mon', Wet delivered a son and named him as father Pyrthat directed her, 'Dong Synariang - and he will be the first priest."
(48) ka man da yoh ko $u$ khon pyrtuit ko oo $u$ dong synariang wa da hukum chwa u man u u daloi wa nyngkong

| $k a$ | man | $d a$ | $j \supset P$ | $k J$ | $u=k^{h} \partial n$ | prtut | $k J$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3SG.F | become | REAL | get | 3SG.F | $\mathrm{M}=$ child | name | 3SG.F |


| $o$ | $u=d \supset \eta$ | snariay | wa | $d a$ | hukum |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3SG.M.ACC | M=thing,locality | Synariang | NMZ | REAL | command | tfwa $u=$ man $u \quad u=$ daloj wa n $\quad$ joj $\eta$ before NF=become 3SG.M M=daloi NMZ be.first 'when she delivered, she named him as Dong Synariang, since there was the commandment before that he will become the first priest.'

(49) tæ na ka Doh yn yoh ko u het na ki ni ki soo ngut ki soo ngut ki ni tæ ka hukum wan ong ko wan ong ki ni ki soo ngut $u$ man ki ki soo sangot soo maji
tع $n a \quad k a=d o$ ? $n$ no? ko $u=h \varepsilon t \quad n a \quad k i=n i$
NVIS ABL $\mathrm{F}=$ Doh ref get 3SG.F $\mathrm{M}=$ Het ABL PL=Prox
$k i=s o \quad$ put $k i=s o \quad \eta u t \quad k i=n i \quad t \varepsilon$
PL=four CL.HUM PL=four CL.HUM PL=PROX NVIS $k a=h u k u m \quad$ wan $\quad \supset \quad k \supset$ wan $\quad \jmath \quad k i=n i \quad k i=s o$ RES=command come say 3SG.F come say PL=PROX PL=four put $u=m a n$ ki $k i=s o$ sajpot so madji CL.HUM NF=become 3PL PL=four sangot four maji
'Doh delivered Het, and all the four commanded that they should become the four elder priests.'
(50) ki tæ mut ki wa u pait ya ka niam tæ na ki ni toh u man ki ki daloi ki sangot tæ man da lai ka por tæ hei por i wa dap u dong synariang khatsan snæm wan i chwa u pa u pyrthat
$k i=t \varepsilon \quad m u t \quad k i \quad w a \quad u=p a t \quad j a \quad k a=n i a m \quad t \varepsilon$ PL=NVIS means 3PL NMZ NF=look BEN F=tradition NVIS $n a \quad k i=n i \quad t \supset P \quad u=m a n \quad k i \quad k i=$ daloj $k i=s a \eta \eta \supset t$ ABL PL=PROX be $\mathrm{NF}=$ become 3 PL PL=daloi $\mathrm{PL}=$ sangot te man da laj $k a=p o r ~ t \varepsilon ~ h e-i=p o r \quad i \quad w a$ NVIS become REAL go $\mathrm{F}=$ time NVIS LOC-N=time 1PL NMZ dap $u=d \supset \eta \quad$ snariaך $k^{h}$ atsan snem wan $i$ fill M=thing,locality Synariang fifteen year come 1PL tf wa $u=p a \quad u=p r t^{h} a t$
before $\mathrm{M}=$ father $\mathrm{M}=$ lightning
"These will have to look after the welfare of their religion. So these will be the overseers and priests.' As time passed by, Dong
Synariang was 15 years of age by now, there came the (power?) of father Pyrthat.'
(51) man da wan i chwa $u$ pa $u$ pyrthat ha $u$ dong synariang hei tæ tæ sdang ki u pynchong pynthiah ya ka niam ka rukom tæ man ka niam behdeiñkhlam
man da wan $i$ tfwa $u=p a \quad u=p r t^{h} a t \quad h a$ become REAL come 1PL before $\mathrm{M}=$ father $\mathrm{M}=$ lightning LOC $u=d \supset \eta \quad$ snarian $h e-i=t \varepsilon \quad$ te sdaך ki $\mathrm{M}=$ thing, locality Synariang LOC-N=NVIS NVIS begin 3PL $u=p n-t j \supset \eta \quad p n-t^{h} i a ? \quad j a \quad k a=n i a m \quad k a=r u k \supset m \quad t \varepsilon$ NF=CAUS-sit CAUS-sleep BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition $\mathrm{F}=$ way NVIS man $k a=$ niam $\quad b e ? d e n k^{h} l a m$
become $\mathrm{F}=$ =tradition Behdeiñkhlam
'when the (power?) of father Pyrthat came to Dong Synariang, then they started to keep the religion properly/alive, so started the 'Behdienkhlam' festival.'
(52) tæ tæ pynchong pynthiah ya ka niam ka rukom tæ pynmih yn ki ni yn ki ni yn dæp pynchong pynthiah ki tæ mih ki ki tæ ki chong kha yn man da yakha khon kha nat ki tæ u man yn ki ki ni ki khatsoo wasan
$t \varepsilon \quad t \varepsilon \quad p n-t \rho \supset \eta \quad p \eta-t^{h} i a ? \quad j a \quad k a=$ niam $\quad k a=r u k J m$ NVIS NVIS CAUS-sit CAUS-sleep BEN $F=$ tradition $F=$ way
$t \varepsilon \quad p n$-mi? $\quad n \quad k i=n i \quad n \quad k i=n i \quad n \quad d \varepsilon p$ NVIS CAUS-bring.out ref $\mathrm{PL}=$ PROX ref $\mathrm{PL}=$ PROX ref PERF $p n-t f o \eta \quad p n-t^{h} i a \rho \quad k i \quad t \varepsilon \quad m i P \quad k i \quad k i=t \varepsilon$ CAUS-sit CAUS-sleep 3PL NVIS bring.out 3PL PL=NVIS $k i=\emptyset \rho \supset-k^{h} a \quad n \quad \operatorname{man} \quad d a \quad j a-k^{h} a \quad k^{h} \partial n \quad k^{h} a \quad n a t$ PL=sit-birth ref become REAL PLUR-birth child birth branch $k i \quad t \varepsilon \quad u=m a n \quad n \quad k i \quad k i=n i \quad k i=k^{h}$ atso wasan 3PL NVIS NF=become ref 3PL PL=PROX PL=fourteen elder 'they kept the religion alive, they got married and give birth, their children became the Khatsoo Wasan.'
(53) khatsoo wa hæh toh ki blai khatsoo wasan yn toh ki chakri ya ka niam tæ kammon yn yoh ki ya ki tæ ki khatsoo wasan
$k^{h}$ atso wa $h \varepsilon$ ? to? ki=blaj $k^{h}$ atso wasan $n$ to? fourteen NMZ be.big be PL=God fourteen elder ref be ki=tVakri ja ka=niam te kammon n jo? ki ja $\mathrm{PL}=$ serve BEN $\mathrm{F}=$ tradition NVIS how ref get 3PL BEN
$k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=k^{h}$ atso wasan
PL=NVIS PL=fourteen elder
'Khatsoo Wahæh were gods, Khatsoo Wasan were servants who serve the religion, so how did the Khatsoo Wasan came into being?'
(54) tæ mih nyngkong $u$ daloi tæ mih $u$ pator tæ mih $u$ langdoh mih ki langdoh tæ mih u sangot pasubon u sangot pakyntein nei tæ u sangot paswet

'first one was the Daloi, then came the Pator, then the Langdoh, then the Sangot Pasubon, Sangot Pakyntein and Sangot Paswet.'
(55) tæ mih yn ar ngut ki maji tæ mih yn u harna mih u maliangngot tæ mih ki chutia hei tæ man khatsoo wa $u$ wi man $u$ dhulia tæ yoh khatsoo man khatsoo wasan na ki phra kur man da pynchong na ki tæ ki phra kur phra kamai ya u pynmih khatsoo wasan
te mi? n ar jut ki=madzi te miP n n NVIS bring.out ref two CL.HUM PL=maji NVIS bring.out ref $u=h a r n a \quad m i P \quad u=$ malianŋot te miP ki=tfutia $\mathrm{M}=$ harna bring.out $\mathrm{M}=$ maliangngot NVIS bring.out $\mathrm{PL}=$ chutia
he-i=tع man $k^{h}$ atso wa u=wi man $u=$ dhulia
LOC-N=NVIS become fourteen NMZ $\mathrm{M}=$ one become $\mathrm{M}=$ dhulia
tع jo? $k^{h}$ atso man $k^{h}$ atso wasan na $k i=p^{h} r a$
NVIS get fourteen become fourteen elder ABL PL=eight
kur man $d a \quad p n-t j \supset \eta \quad n a \quad k i=t \varepsilon \quad k i=p^{h} r a \quad k u r$
clan become REAL CAUS-sit ABL PL=NVIS PL=eight clan
$p^{h} r a \quad k a m a j$ ja $u=p n-m i ? \quad k^{h}$ atso wasan
eight honor BEN NF=CAUS-bring.out fourteen elder 'then came two Maji, then Harna, then Maliangngot, then the Chutia, all became 14 along with one that was called Dhulia, then it makes the forteen Wasan (elders), from the 8 clans.'
(56) tæ ki yi ki tæ ki phra kur phra kamai wasan toh soo kur na u soo kpoh soo kur na $u$ ynñiaw wasa ya $u$ pynman phra kur na ki phra kur yn ya $u$ jeid ya $u$ man khatsoo wasan ya $u$ ya ryngkat khatsoo wa hæh


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k}\mp@subsup{}{}{h}atso wasan ja u ja r\etakat khatso wa
fourteen elder BEN 3SG.M BEN be.equal fourteen NMZ
h\varepsilon?
be.big
'so who were those eight Wasan? They were, four clans from the
Sookpoh, four from Ynñiaw Wasa, to make the eight clans. From
the eight clans will be chosen to make Khatsoo Wasan to equal the
14 Wahæh.'
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## Appendix E

## Toolbox Dictionary

This dictionary is also unedited, though it is as up-to-date as my database. Some errors undoubtedly exist, but the inclusion of these words is intended to benefit the larger linguistic community.
word
IPA
ps
gloss

| 1. | adong | adəy | n | law |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | ah | a? | v | cut |
| 3. | æh | $\varepsilon$ \& | v | be.difficult |
| 4. | æh | $\varepsilon$ \& | adv | IMm2 |
| 5. | ai | aj | aspect | PTNL |
| 6. | aiñ | an | n | rule |
| 7. | ait | at | n | dung |
| 8. | akor | akər | n | character |
| 9. | alæ | alc | v | come |
| 10. | alæh | alc? | conj | also |
| 11. | almari | almari | n | cupboard |
| 12. | æm | $\varepsilon \mathrm{m}$ | v | have |
| 13. | æmkam | عmkam | v | need |
| 14. | ang | a) | n | monolith |
| 15. | antad | antad | v | guess |
| 16. | antak | antak | n | diversion |
| 17. | ap | ap | v | listen |
| 18. | ap-mi | am | intj | hear.me? |
| 19. | ar | ar | num | two |
| 20. | archah | artfa? | num | twice |
| 21. | arphaw | $\operatorname{arp}^{\text {h }}$ aw | num | twenty |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 22. | at | at | v | swell |
| 23. | awra | awra | v | argue |
| 24. | awri | awri | v | argue |
| 25. | bad | bad | conj | also |
| 26. | bah | ba? | v | be.great |
| 27. | bæh | b ¢? | v | trap.with.net |
| 28. | bai | baj | n | fee |
| 29. | bait | bat | adv | IMM3 |
| 30. | bait | bat | v | direct |
| 31. | bakla | bakla | v | mistake |
| 32. | bak-la-bak | bak-la-bak | adv | totally |
| 33. | balang | balay | n | association |
| 34. | bam | bam | v | eat |
| 35. | ban | ban | v | fold,fall |
| 36. | ban | ban | conj | than |
| 37. | bang | bay | v | be.tasty |
| 38. | bar | bar | loc | outdoor |
| 39. | basan | basan | n | elder,deacon |
| 40. | bæt | bet | n | rice[seed] |
| 41. | battai | bataj | v | explain |
| 42. | bei | bej | n | mother |
| 43. | beijsian | befsian | v | crazy |
| 44. | bein | ben | v | willing |
| 45. | beiñ | ben | v | despise,suffer |
| 46. | beipun | bejpun | n | grandmother |
| 47. | bha | bha | v | be.good |
| 48. | bha | bha | adv | INTS1 |
| 49. | bhah | bha? | v | cause |
| 50. | bhah | bha? | n | share |
| 51. | bhalang | bhalay | n | non-profit |
| 52. | bhaw | bhaw | n | place |
| 53. | bhuri | bhuri | n | bhuri |
| 54. | bi | bi | v | be.diseased |
| 55. | bia | bia | v | marry |
| 56. | biah | bia? | v | easy |
| 57. | biang | biay | v | be.enough |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 58. | biang | biay | adv | again |
| 59. | biar | biar | n | bog,quicksand |
| 60. | bichar | bitfar | v | judge |
| 61. | bichni | bitfoni | v | becurious |
| 62. | bieit | bijet | v | be.crazy |
| 63. | bih | bi? | v | drink |
| 64. | bikur | bikur | n | bikur |
| 65. | biri | biri | n | tobacco |
| 66. | biskirot | biskirrt | n | biskirot |
| 67. | bit | bit | n | some |
| 68. | blai | blaj | n | God |
| 69. | blang | blay | n | goat |
| 70. | blooh | blo? | n | salt |
| 71. | blu | blu | v | be.blue |
| 72. | bna | bna | v | care, hear |
| 73. | bnai | bnaj | n | month |
| 74. | bneiñ | bnen | n | sky |
| 75. | bniah | bnia? | adv | thoroughly |
| 76. | bniet | bnict | n | tusk,tooth |
| 77. | bnoh | bno? | v | receive;block |
| 78. | boh | bo? | v | criticize? |
| 79. | boi | boj | mood | should |
| 80. | boitha | bojt ${ }^{\text {ha }}$ | n | river.bed |
| 81. | bom | bom | v | beat.drum |
| 82. | bood | bod | v | follow |
| 83. | booh | bo? | v | put,keep |
| 84. | boon | bon | v | be.much |
| 85. | bor | bor | n | power |
| 86. | brabor | brabor | v | valuable |
| 87. | brait | brat | v | scatter |
| 88. | bri | bri | n | place,area |
| 89. | bru | bru | n | person |
| 90. | bu | bu | v | suck |
| 91. | buit | but | n | tactic |
| 92. | bula | bula | adv | careless |
| 93. | burom | burom | v | honor |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 94. | buto | buto | n | vest(trad) |
| 95. | bynna | bnna | n | standingstone |
| 96. | bynta | bnta | n | purpose |
| 97. | cha | ta | loc | ALL |
| 98. | cha- | tfa- | loc | ALL |
| 99. | chæ | t¢ $\varepsilon$ | excl | neg.Excl |
| 100. | chad | tfad | v | dance |
| 101. | chadiang | tadian | n | circular.cover |
| 102. | chah | ta? | v | suffer,allow |
| 103. | chah | ta? | aspect | PASS |
| 104. | chahtim | taitim | v | curse |
| 105. | chait | tat | v | be.healthy |
| 106. | chakor | tfakor | v | serve |
| 107. | chakri | t fakri | v | serve |
| 108. | chalait | t falat | loc | outside |
| 109. | chalani | talani | n | sifter |
| 110. | chæm | t¢ $¢ \mathrm{~m}$ | v | meet |
| 111. | chæm | tfem | v | meet |
| 112. | chame | tfame | v | spend |
| 113. | chamuid | tyamuit | adj | proper |
| 114. | chan | tfan | v | important |
| 115. | chana | tana | v | seen |
| 116. | chang | tay | n | basket |
| 117. | changpar | tyaypar | n | spring.source |
| 118. | changpæt | tagpet | n | spring.source |
| 119. | chaphang | tyap ${ }^{\text {h }}$ an | adv | about |
| 120. | chær | tfer | n | fishing.rod,spear |
| 121. | chare | tfare | v | herd |
| 122. | chari | tfari | n | cowboy |
| 123. | charmanya | tfarmanja | n | basket.type |
| 124. | charoh | tfaro? | n | basket.type |
| 125. | chærok | t¢ $¢$ rok | v | opinion |
| 126. | chat | tyat | v | ritual.chant |
| 127. | chæt | ty ¢ | v | cook |
| 128. | chawiang | tawiay | n | trumpet |
| 129. | chbæh | tybe? | v | lift |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 130. | chbooh | t'bo? | v | remain |
| 131. | chdan | tfdan | n | anger |
| 132. | che | tge | v | be.light |
| 133. | che- | te- | loc | ALL |
| 134. | cheih | te? | n | thorn |
| 135. | cheiñ | ten | v | strike,spark |
| 136. | chesh | tee 5 | excl | gee |
| 137. | chi | ti | num | set |
| 138. | chi- | tfi- | num | one |
| 139. | chiam | tfiam | v | fit |
| 140. | chiang | tfian | n | branch |
| 141. | chiap | tfiap | n | basket |
| 142. | chibæt | tfibet | loc | later |
| 143. | chibot | tgibot | v | scratch |
| 144. | chijur | tijur | num | couple |
| 145. | chiliang | tfilian | loc | across |
| 146. | chim | tfim | v | take |
| 147. | chin | tin | n | signal |
| 148. | chiphaw | tfip ${ }^{\text {a }}$ aw | num | ten |
| 149. | chiphiah | $t_{\text {fip }}{ }^{\text {iap }}$ | n | dance.type |
| 150. | chirrup | tgirup | n | together |
| 151. | chit | tfit | v | hot |
| 152. | chitein | tgiten | num | half |
| 153. | chithi | tithi | n | letter |
| 154. | chitom | titom | n | fever |
| 155. | chkæh | t ${ }^{\text {k }}$ ¢ ? | v | be.strong |
| 156. | chkæn | t9ken | n | bamboo.type |
| 157. | chkiar | tfkiar | n | backyard |
| 158. | chkur | t'kur | n | ear |
| 159. | chlæm | tflem | n | ditch |
| 160. | chleiñ | tflen | n | mat |
| 161. | chloor | tflor | n | room.in.house |
| 162. | chlur | tglur | v | courage |
| 163. | chmok | tgok | n | flint |
| 164. | chna | tina | v | make |
| 165. | chnam | tfnam | v | intentional |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 166. | chnat | tfnat | n | tributary |
| 167. | chngaiñ | tyan | v | feel.secure |
| 168. | chnong | tnoy | n | village |
| 169. | choh | サูว | v | hit,punch |
| 170. | chohnoh | topnos | n | bandit |
| 171. | chon | ¢on | v | snap,take |
| 172. | chong | ¢วท | v | sit |
| 173. | choo | to | v | remain |
| 174. | chooh | tor | num | more |
| 175. | choor | tor | v | pour |
| 176. | chrah | tra? | v | fallow |
| 177. | chrai | tfraj | n | anger |
| 178. | chran | tran | v | mature |
| 179. | chreiñ | tren | v | be.intense |
| 180. | chrooh | tro? | loc | next.to.side |
| 181. | chruh | tru? | n | bone[seed] |
| 182. | chruiñ | trun | v | be.brittle |
| 183. | chruit | trut | v | bite,chew |
| 184. | chuki | tJuki | n | chair |
| 185. | chula | tula | n | account |
| 186. | chun | tfun | n | harm |
| 187. | chuni | tfuni | n | lime |
| 188. | churia | tyuria | n | sack |
| 189. | chuti | tJuti | n | holiday |
| 190. | chutia | tfutia | n | chutia |
| 191. | chwa | tfwa | loc | before |
| 192. | chwi | tfwi | v | strum |
| 193. | chyeiñ | t?en | n | bone |
| 194. | chyiap | tiPiap | n | soil |
| 195. | chylliah | tflia? | n | mat |
| 196. | chyndon | tindon | n | blessing |
| 197. | chyngkar | typar | v | straddle |
| 198. | chynna | tnna | v | see |
| 199. | chynrang | t¢nray | n | male |
| 200. | chyrkhei | trik ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ej | adj | too.much |
| 201. | chyrtoh | tirto? | n | preying.mantis |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 202. | ckhæn | t $\mathrm{k}^{\text {h }}$ ¢n | n | bamboo.type |
| 203. | da | da | mood | REAL |
| 204. | da | da | prep | $\backslash$ textsc\{inst\} |
| 205. | dæ | d $\varepsilon$ | excl | hey |
| 206. | dabor | dabor | n | basin |
| 207. | dachin | datfin | n | chemical |
| 208. | dai | daj | v | sell |
| 209. | daiñ | dan | v | cut |
| 210. | dait | dat | v | bite;freeze |
| 211. | dak | dak | n | sign |
| 212. | dakha | dak ${ }^{\text {ha }}$ | n | fish.type |
| 213. | daku | daku | n | fish.type |
| 214. | dalan | dalan | n | fence |
| 215. | daloi | daloj | n | daloi |
| 216. | dam | dam | v | stop |
| 217. | dæm | dem | v | bend.down |
| 218. | dan | dan | n | degree |
| 219. | dæñ | den | v | hang |
| 220. | dang | day | aspect | CONT |
| 221. | dap | dap | v | fill |
| 222. | dæp | dep | aspect | CPLV |
| 223. | daptli | daptli | n | fish.type |
| 224. | dat | dat | v | hit,strike |
| 225. | dathli | dat ${ }^{\text {h }}$ li | n | fish.kind |
| 226. | daw | daw | mood | $\backslash$ textsc\{irr\} |
| 227. | daw | daw | n | reason |
| 228. | dawai | dawaj | n | medicine |
| 229. | de | de | adv | neg.ints |
| 230. | de- | de | prep | $\backslash$ textsc\{inst $\}$ |
| 231. | dee | de: | excl | OH ! |
| 232. | deih | de? | mood | ADH |
| 233. | dein | den | loc | back |
| 234. | deiñ | den | n | tree |
| 235. | dew | dew | n | good.spirit |
| 236. | dhari | dhari | n | front.veranda |
| 237. | dhoh | dho? | n | owl |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 238. | dhoo | dho | n | below |
| 239. | dhulia | dhulia | n | dhulia |
| 240. | dhun | dhun | v | be.pleased |
| 241. | diah | dia? | n | sister |
| 242. | diahmai | dia?maj | n | sister,relative |
| 243. | diat | diat | v | stand.for.election |
| 244. | dih | di? | v | drink |
| 245. | dik | dik | v | problem |
| 246. | dim | dim | v | ferment |
| 247. | diñ | din | n | fire |
| 248. | dingkot | dinkot | n | matchbox |
| 249. | dkhot | $\mathrm{dk}^{\text {h }}$, t | n | member |
| 250. | doh | do? | n | flesh |
| 251. | doh-yap | do?-jap | v | work.hard |
| 252. | doi | doj | v | be.little |
| 253. | dok | dok | v | bounce |
| 254. | dong | doy | n | thing,locality |
| 255. | donhi | donhi | conj | only |
| 256. | dood | dod | n | favor |
| 257. | dooh | do? | loc | when |
| 258. | dooh | do? | v | lose |
| 259. | dooh | do? | adv | completely |
| 260. | doom | dom | v | be.early,dark |
| 261. | doong | don | v | fold |
| 262. | dor | dor | v | value,rate |
| 263. | dorbar | dorbar | n | meeting |
| 264. | du | du | adv | only |
| 265. | duhai | duhaj | v | request/prayer |
| 266. | duid | dud | n | broad.river |
| 267. | duitara | dujtara | n | duitara |
| 268. | duk | duk | v | be.hard |
| 269. | dukan | dukan | n | shop |
| 270. | dulan | dulan | n | stonewall |
| 271. | duli | duli | n | cupboard |
| 272. | duma | duma | n | tobacco |
| 273. | duna | duna | v | lack |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 274. | dung | duy | v | pierce |
| 275. | dupat | dupat | n | altar |
| 276. | dur | dur | n | purpose |
| 277. | dur | dur | n | picture |
| 278. | durbar | durbar | n | council |
| 279. | durioo | durjo | n | sea |
| 280. | dusmon | dusmon | v | for.fun |
| 281. | dustur | dustur | n | tradition |
| 282. | duwai | duwaj | v | pray |
| 283. | duwan | duwan | n | altar |
| 284. | dwar | dwar | n | dwelling |
| 285. | e | e | v | give |
| 286. | eh | e? | v | leave |
| 287. | eiñ | en | v | trap |
| 288. | elaka | عlaka | n | village,township |
| 289. | ha | ha | prep | LOC |
| 290. | ha- | ha- | prep | LOC |
| 291. | hab | hab | v | have,must |
| 292. | hæh | $\mathrm{h} \varepsilon$ ? | v | be.big |
| 293. | hæh | $\mathrm{h} \varepsilon$ ? | adv | only |
| 294. | hain | han | v | be.big |
| 295. | hajar | hadar | num | thousand |
| 296. | hajon | hadjon | adj | rich |
| 297. | hali | hali | n | paddy.field |
| 298. | ham | ham | neg | PROH |
| 299. | han | han | clitic | even |
| 300. | hanrei | hanre | n | honor |
| 301. | ha-o | has | conf | yes |
| 302. | hap | hap | v | fall |
| 303. | har | har | n | ox |
| 304. | hær | her | v | fly |
| 305. | harnamuid | harnamuit | n | harnamuid |
| 306. | hati | hati | n | elephant |
| 307. | hator | hator | n | field |
| 308. | hawa | hawa | q | when |
| 309. | he- | he | prep | LOC |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 310. | heiwon | hejwon | q | at.where |
| 311. | hi | hi | ints | EMPH |
| 312. | hiam | hiam | v | be.red |
| 313. | hiar | hiar | v | descend |
| 314. | hiaw | hiaw | n | asthma |
| 315. | hier | hier | v | bringdown |
| 316. | hikai | hikaj | v | teach |
| 317. | him | him | v | take |
| 318. | hima | hima | n | kingdom |
| 319. | hm | hm ? | conf | DISJ |
| 320. | hoi | hoj | v | be.well |
| 321. | hok | hok | v | be.honest |
| 322. | hooh | ho? | n | part |
| 323. | hukum | hukum | v | command |
| 324. | hun | hun | v | happy |
| 325. | hur | hur | v | excite |
| 326. | hynre | hnre | conj | but.also |
| 327. | i | i | pn | 1 pl |
| 328. | ih | i? | v | ripe,right |
| 329. | iii | i: | excl | iii |
| 330. | ilæh | il $\varepsilon$ ? | q | why |
| 331. | im | im | v | live |
| 332. | in | in | v | boil, burn |
| 333. | inja | inja | v | injection |
| 334. | iymbar | jpbar | v | overflow |
| 335. | iymthiang | jmt ${ }^{\text {h }}$ iay | v | overspill |
| 336. | $\mathrm{i}=$ | i | clitic | N |
| 337. | $\mathrm{i}=$ | i | der | ACT |
| 338. | ja | 8 ba | n | rice |
| 339. | jah | ga? | v | be.aged |
| 340. | jait | gat | n | type |
| 341. | jakhlia | fak ${ }^{\text {h }}$ lia | v | be.dirty |
| 342. | jam | dam | v | go.work |
| 343. | jæm | ¢¢m | v | easy |
| 344. | jamyrdoh | gamrdo? | n | veg(kind) |
| 345. | jan | dan | v | be.near |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 346. | jan | gan | v | hope |
| 347. | jang | day | v | give.in |
| 348. | jar | far | v | be.different |
| 349. | jaralood | garalod | n | veg(kind) |
| 350. | jaw | daw | v | sour,wild |
| 351. | jeid | ged | v | pickup,choose |
| 352. | jhan | ghan | v | eager |
| 353. | jhep | ¢hep | n | plant |
| 354. | jhur | dhur | n | vegetable |
| 355. | jia | dia | v | suppose |
| 356. | jiak | djiak | adj | little |
| 357. | jing- | din | nmz | ab.NMZ |
| 358. | jlan | dlan | v | trydelay |
| 359. | jler | deler | v | lie |
| 360. | jngai | dyaj | v | be.far |
| 361. | jngiar | mpiar | v | totallyclear |
| 362. | jngyar | jnj.jar | v | neat |
| 363. | joh | ¢o? | v | reach,catch |
| 364. | johke | do?ke | v | realize |
| 365. | join | gon | v | join |
| 366. | joit | got | v | be.passive |
| 367. | joo | do | v | come.out |
| 368. | jooh | go? | aspect | HAB |
| 369. | jooh | do? | adv | used.to |
| 370. | jooh | go? | v | be.same |
| 371. | joor | gor | v | extremely |
| 372. | jop | \%op | v | win |
| 373. | jor | dor | n | associate |
| 374. | jot | dot | v | destroy |
| 375. | jrem | drem | v | faint |
| 376. | jri | dri | n | banyan.tree |
| 377. | jrong | dron | v | be.long;be.tall;above |
| 378. | jubab | gubab | n | answer |
| 379. | juk | guk | n | generation,youth |
| 380. | jynjar | mndar | v | be.difficult |
| 381. | ka | ka | pn | 3sg.F.acc |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 382. | kabo | kabs | v | force |
| 383. | kah | ka? | v | hinder |
| 384. | kai | kaj | adj | like |
| 385. | kaih | kai? | v | crow, call |
| 386. | kajih | kadzi? | n | luck |
| 387. | kam | kam | v | like, want |
| 388. | kam | kam | v | work |
| 389. | kam- | kam | adv | as,like |
| 390. | kæm | kem | v | catch |
| 391. | kamai | kamaj | n | honor |
| 392. | kammon | kammon | q | how |
| 393. | kamra | kamra | n | room |
| 394. | kamram | kamram | n | duty |
| 395. | kamtam | kamtam | adj | INTS, especially |
| 396. | kap | kap | v | step |
| 397. | kær | ker | v | be.around |
| 398. | kat | kat | adv | as |
| 399. | kat- | kat- | adv | as |
| 400. | kæt | ket | v | take.side |
| 401. | kata | kata | n | pocket |
| 402. | katwon | katwon | q | how.much |
| 403. | ka= | ka | clitic | F |
| 404. | ka= | ka | der | RES |
| 405. | kba | kba | n | rice[paddy] |
| 406. | kbai | kbaj | v | cry |
| 407. | kchaid | ktfad | n | waterfall |
| 408. | kchu | ktfu | n | pitcher,pot |
| 409. | kdæp | kdep | v | flap |
| 410. | kdar | kdar | v | open |
| 411. | kdoh | kdo? | v | tie |
| 412. | kdok | kdok | v | bounce |
| 413. | kdong | kdっy | loc | corner |
| 414. | kdong | kdっy | v | chase |
| 415. | kdor | kdər | v | crooked |
| 416. | kdup | kdup | v | embrace |
| 417. | ke | ke | clitic | Non-purp |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 418. | keih | ke? | v | cry,call,bleat |
| 419. | keiñ | ken | v | count |
| 420. | keñ | ken | v | collect |
| 421. | kew | kew | n | wheat |
| 422. | kha | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}$ | v | birth |
| 423. | khaat | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ at | v | polish |
| 424. | khadar | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ adar | v | regulate |
| 425. | khai | $k^{\text {h }}$ aj | v | get.up |
| 426. | khait | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}_{\square}$ | v | pick |
| 427. | khajia | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ adgia | v | fight |
| 428. | khajiak | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ arjiak | v | be.little |
| 429. | khak | $k^{\text {h }}$ ak | n | mucus,spittle |
| 430. | khalah | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ala? | v | shake |
| 431. | kham | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ am | n | fistfull |
| 432. | khæm | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \varepsilon \mathrm{m}$ | v | forgive |
| 433. | khamtam | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ amtam | adv | especially |
| 434. | khan | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ an | n | work |
| 435. | khæñ | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ย ${ }^{\text {n }}$ | v | break |
| 436. | khana | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ana | v | tell |
| 437. | khang | $k^{\mathrm{h}}$ ay | v | close |
| 438. | khap | $k^{\text {h }}$ ap | v | marry |
| 439. | khap | $k^{\text {h }}$ ap | n | small.tiny.corner |
| 440. | khapngap | $\mathrm{k}^{\text {h }}$ apyap | n | frugalperson |
| 441. | khar | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ar | n | belongings |
| 442. | khara | $k^{\text {h }}$ ara | n | basket |
| 443. | kharat | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ arat | n | saw |
| 444. | khat | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ at | num | ten |
| 445. | khatar | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ atar | num | twelve |
| 446. | khatdooh | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ atdo? | num | lastly |
| 447. | khatkhynde | $k^{\mathrm{h}}$ atk $^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{n}_{1} \mathrm{de}$ | num | nineteen |
| 448. | khatkynde | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ atknde | num | nineteen |
| 449. | khatle | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ atle | num | thirteen |
| 450. | khatphra | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \operatorname{atp}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{ra}$ | num | eighteen |
| 451. | khatsan | $\mathrm{k}^{\text {h }}$ atsan | num | fifteen |
| 452. | khatsoo | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ atso | num | fourteen |
| 453. | khatwai | $k^{\text {h }}$ atwaj | num | lastly |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 454. | khatwi | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ atwi | num | eleven |
| 455. | khatynñiaw | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ atnıaw | num | seventeen |
| 456. | khatynru | $k^{\text {h }}$ atnru | num | sixteen |
| 457. | khawai | $k^{\text {h }}$ awaj | n | throw.party |
| 458. | khayi | $k^{\text {h }}$ aji | v | buy.and.sell |
| 459. | khe | $\mathrm{k}^{\text {h }}$ e | v | will,ability |
| 460. | kheih | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ e? | n | bowl.type |
| 461. | kheñ | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{e} \mathrm{n}$ | v | ritual.action |
| 462. | khia | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}$ a | adj | be.heavy |
| 463. | khiah | $\mathrm{k}^{\text {h }}$ ia? | v | be.whole |
| 464. | khian | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ian | v | be.small |
| 465. | khih | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}$ ? | v | work |
| 466. | khih | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}$ | v | shake |
| 467. | khim | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ im | loc | outside |
| 468. | khim | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{im}$ | v | squeeze |
| 469. | khla | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ a | n | tiger |
| 470. | khlad | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ lad | v | divide |
| 471. | khlæh | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ ¢ | v | mix |
| 472. | khlait | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ lat | n | garbage |
| 473. | khlam | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{lam}$ | n | plague |
| 474. | khlæm | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ ¢m | v | be.without |
| 475. | khlæm | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ m | v | cough |
| 476. | khlan | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ lan | $v$ | use,strong |
| 477. | khlæñ | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ ¢n | v | clean |
| 478. | khlawait | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ lawat | n | warrior |
| 479. | khle | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{le}$ | v | gamble |
| 480. | khleih | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{le}$ ? | n | head |
| 481. | khleiñ | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ len | n | fat |
| 482. | khleñ | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ ¢ | n | eagle |
| 483. | khlia | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ lia | n | junk |
| 484. | khlieh | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{le}$ ? | n | head |
| 485. | khloh | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ ? | v | dig.up |
| 486. | khloo | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ o | n | forest |
| 487. | khloor | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ lor | n | star |
| 488. | khlot | $k^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ ¢ | v | deaf |
| 489. | khmat | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ mat | loc | front |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 490. | khmat | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ mat | n | eye |
| 491. | khmeit | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ met | v | look.here |
| 492. | khmut | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ mut | n | nose |
| 493. | khnam | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ nam | n | arrow |
| 494. | khnang | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ nay | adv | so.that |
| 495. | khnap | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ nap | n | tongs |
| 496. | khne | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ne | n | rat |
| 497. | khniang | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ niay | n | insect |
| 498. | khoh | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ว? | n | cone.basket |
| 499. | khoh | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ? ? | v | peel |
| 500. | khon | $k^{\text {h }}$ ○n | n | child |
| 501. | khonboo | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ənbo | n | newborn |
| 502. | khonswet | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ วnswet | n | orphan |
| 503. | khoo | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ O | n | rice[husked] |
| 504. | khooid | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{od}$ | v | clean,pure |
| 505. | khoom | $\mathrm{k}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{om}$ | v | tieknot |
| 506. | khor | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ər | n | problem |
| 507. | khorsa | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ərsa | n | money |
| 508. | khot | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$,t | v | knowledge |
| 509. | khræh | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{r}$ ¢ ${ }^{\text {l }}$ | v | prepare,ready |
| 510. | khrei | $k^{\text {h }}$ rej | n | evilspirit |
| 511. | khri | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{ri}$ | v | provide |
| 512. | khriam | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ riam | v | chant |
| 513. | khriang | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ rian | n | whirlpool |
| 514. | khroh | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{r}$ ? | n | frog |
| 515. | khroit | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{rot}$ | v | be.ripe |
| 516. | khroo | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ro | v | be.important |
| 517. | khu | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}$ | v | hang |
| 518. | khublei | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ uble | v | thanks(Khasi) |
| 519. | khum | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{um}$ | v | bind,tie |
| 520. | khung | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}$ | v | tie |
| 521. | khuri | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ uri | n | cup |
| 522. | khut | $k^{\text {h }}$ ut | v | call |
| 523. | khwe | $\mathrm{k}^{\text {h }}$ we | v | fish |
| 524. | khylloid | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ \|lod | n | girl |
| 525. | khyllong | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ lon | v | tiehairbun |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 526. | khyndaw | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ndaw | n | earth |
| 527. | khynde | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ nde | num | nine |
| 528. | khyndephaw | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{n}^{\text {dep }}{ }^{\text {h }}$ aw | num | ninety |
| 529. | khynjoh |  | v | trytoreach |
| 530. | khynnah | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ nna? | n | little.one |
| 531. | khynnia | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ nnia | v | congest |
| 532. | khynroo | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ nro | n | boy |
| 533. | khynthær | $k^{\text {h }} \mathrm{n}^{\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \text { ¢ }}$ | v | dust.off |
| 534. | khyrkhoo | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{rk}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{O}$ | v | bless |
| 535. | khyrngang | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{r}$ ¢ ${ }^{\text {an }}$ | adv | at.same.time |
| 536. | khyrngiat | $k^{\text {h }}$ r ${ }^{\text {riat }}$ | v | realize |
| 537. | khyrwait | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ rwat | v | twist |
| 538. | khyrwit | $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ rwit | n | another |
| 539. | khyryiaw | $\mathrm{k}^{\text {h }}$ rjiaw | v | shout |
| 540. | ki | ki | pn | 3 pl |
| 541. | kiar | kiar | loc | rear |
| 542. | kiat | kiat | n | liquor |
| 543. | kirchon | kirtfon | v | kneel |
| 544. | kit | kit | v | carry (sling) |
| 545. | ki= | ki | clitic | PL |
| 546. | ki= | ki | der | PL |
| 547. | kjam | kfam | v | be.cold |
| 548. | kjap | kdap | v | chew |
| 549. | kjat | kdat | n | leg |
| 550. | kjut | kduut | v | hurt,sick |
| 551. | klah | kla? | v | take |
| 552. | klam | klam | v | speak |
| 553. | klim | klim | v | adultery |
| 554. | klong | klon | n | bottle |
| 555. | klumar | klumar | v | cruel |
| 556. | kmai | kmai | v | be.great |
| 557. | kmai-chonglad | kmaj-tyonlad | n | December |
| 558. | kmæn | kmen | v | be.happy |
| 559. | kña | kna | v | performritual |
| 560. | knap | knap | n | neighbor |
| 561. | kneih | kne? | v | snatch |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 562. | kñi | kni | n | uncle |
| 563. | knia | knia | n | sacrifice,rite |
| 564. | knor | knor | n | stool |
| 565. | knup | knup | n | basket.type |
| 566. | ko | ko | pn | 3sg.F.nom |
| 567. | kom | kom | v | be.low.quality |
| 568. | kong | kəy | pn | hon.F |
| 569. | kongruit | konrut | n | secondsibling |
| 570. | kongsan | konsan | n | uncle |
| 571. | koolar | kolar | n | promise |
| 572. | kop | kop | v | be.fierce |
| 573. | kopsar | kjpsar | n | other |
| 574. | kor | kər | v | honor |
| 575. | kordor | kərdər | v | be.precious |
| 576. | kot | kst | n | book |
| 577. | kpær | kper | n | garden |
| 578. | kpeiñ | kpen | n | necklace(trad) |
| 579. | kpoh | kpo? | n | stomach,womb |
| 580. | kpong | kpon | n | base,foundation |
| 581. | kræh | kre? | v | work |
| 582. | kræm | krem | n | cave |
| 583. | krech | kretf | n | creche |
| 584. | kriah | kria? | n | basket(general) |
| 585. | kriah | kria? | v | shift |
| 586. | krik | krik | adv | suddenly |
| 587. | kroo | kro | v | instruct |
| 588. | krum | krum | v | do.activity |
| 589. | ksa | ksa | n | tick |
| 590. | ksæh | kse? | n | pine.tree |
| 591. | ksæt | kset | v | hide |
| 592. | ksathori | ksat ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ori | n | park, preserve |
| 593. | kse | kse | n | thread,rope |
| 594. | kseing | ksen | n | drum(trad) |
| 595. | ksi | ksi | n | lice |
| 596. | ksiang | ksiay | n | vessel |
| 597. | ksiar | ksiar | n | gold |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 598. | ksiñ | ksin | n | drum.type |
| 599. | ksoh | kso? | v | hold |
| 600. | ksu | ksu | n | grandchild |
| 601. | ksuid | ksuit | n | demon |
| 602. | ksuit | ksut | n | pus |
| 603. | ktah | kta? | v | hurt,touch |
| 604. | kteih | kte? | n | dirt,mud |
| 605. | ktein | kten | n | word |
| 606. | kti | kti | n | hand |
| 607. | ktiar | ktiar | n | worm.type |
| 608. | ktih | kti? | n | collar |
| 609. | ktung | ktun | n | dried fish |
| 610. | ku | ku | v | climb |
| 611. | kubit | kubit | n | tree.type |
| 612. | kudam | kudam | n | button |
| 613. | kuka | kuka | n | basket.type |
| 614. | kular | kular | v | promise |
| 615. | kule | kule | n | horse |
| 616. | kulmar | kulmar | v | teach |
| 617. | kum | kum | n | basin.type |
| 618. | kup | kup | v | cover |
| 619. | kur | kur | n | clan |
| 620. | kurim | kurim | n | spouse |
| 621. | kut | kut | v | end |
| 622. | kwah | kwa? | v | want, desire |
| 623. | kwai | kwaj | n | betel.nut |
| 624. | kwe | kwe | n | millet |
| 625. | kya | kPa | n | cotton.tree |
| 626. | kyi | kii | v | call |
| 627. | kyiad | kiad | n | liquor |
| 628. | kyit | kPit | v | enjoy |
| 629. | kylla | klla | v | change |
| 630. | kyllang | kllay | v | cyclone |
| 631. | kyllæp | kllep | v | cover |
| 632. | kylleiñ | kllen | adv | throughout |
| 633. | kylli | klli | v | ask; change |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 634. | kylliang | kllian | v | repay |
| 635. | kyllooh | kllo? | v | tremble |
| 636. | kylluid | kllod | v | be.young |
| 637. | kyllum | kllum | v | put.all |
| 638. | kyllut | kllut | n | fool |
| 639. | kympiam | kmpiam | adv | togetherwith |
| 640. | kynat | knat | v | badluck |
| 641. | kynda | knda | n | rhino |
| 642. | kyndæh | knde? | v | play |
| 643. | kyndar | kndar | v | spread |
| 644. | kyndat | kndat | adv | insultingly |
| 645. | kyndit | kndit | v | stick |
| 646. | kyndok | kndok | v | bounce |
| 647. | kyndup | kndup | v | gather |
| 648. | kyndur | kndur | n | clay |
| 649. | kynhun | knhun | n | group |
| 650. | kyñi | knni | n | chain(trad) |
| 651. | kynja | kņa | n | kind |
| 652. | kynjoh | knı̧o? | v | take |
| 653. | kynjoiñ | kndon | v | stack |
| 654. | kynmoo | knmo | v | remember |
| 655. | kynnat | knnat | n | thing |
| 656. | kynnoh | knno? | v | blame |
| 657. | kynrad | knrad | adj | almighty |
| 658. | kynrah | knra? | v | pickup |
| 659. | kynræh | knre? | v | search.through |
| 660. | kynran | knran | v | putaside |
| 661. | kynrandein | knranden | v | look.back |
| 662. | kynraw | knraw | n | liquor |
| 663. | kynraw-kynræh | knraw-knre? | adj | useless.things |
| 664. | kynrem | knrem | v | be.boundary |
| 665. | kynrih | knrip | v | harvest |
| 666. | kynroh | knro? | n | fencing |
| 667. | kynrong | knroy | v | pickup |
| 668. | kynrooh | knro? | n | fencing |
| 669. | kynsai | knsaj | n | holy |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 670. | kynsæt | knset | v | keep.hidden |
| 671. | kynta | knta | v | return |
| 672. | kyntait | kntat | v | refuse |
| 673. | kyntang | kntan | v | special/holy |
| 674. | kyntein | knten | n | betel.set |
| 675. | kyntein | knten | n | word |
| 676. | kynthai | knt ${ }^{\text {haj }}$ | n | female |
| 677. | kynther | $k n t^{\text {b }}$ ¢ ${ }^{\text {r }}$ | v | shakeout |
| 678. | kynthiar | $k n t^{\text {hiar }}$ | v | jump |
| 679. | kynthih | $k n^{\text {b }} \mathrm{i}$ i | v | running |
| 680. | kynthor | $k n t^{\text {h }}$ 万r | v | be.available |
| 681. | kynthup | knt ${ }^{\text {h }}$ up | num | all.together |
| 682. | kyntiat | kntiat | v | concentrate |
| 683. | kyntiñ | kntij | v | jump |
| 684. | kyntu | kntu | v | recommend,advise |
| 685. | kyoh | kPo? | n | cough |
| 686. | kyrchah | krtfa? | n | bodycloth |
| 687. | kyrchan | krtfan | v | assist,support |
| 688. | kyrdan | krdan | v | qualify |
| 689. | kyrdoh | krdo? | n | favor |
| 690. | kyrha | krha | adv | aloud |
| 691. | kyrkhu | $\mathrm{krk}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}$ | n | blessing |
| 692. | kyrmæn | krmen | v | hope |
| 693. | kyrngang | kryan | v | while |
| 694. | kyrpad | krpad | v | request |
| 695. | kyrpang | krpan | v | be.special |
| 696. | kyrsam | krsam | n | fencing |
| 697. | kyrsu | krsu | v | bend |
| 698. | kyrwit | krwit | loc | times |
| 699. | la | la | conj | if |
| 700. | labit | labit | n | bat.type |
| 701. | lachaid | latfait | n | bat.type |
| 702. | lad | lad | n | way |
| 703. | ladaw | ladaw | n | banana.type |
| 704. | lah | la? | v | can.do |
| 705. | læh | $1 \varepsilon$ ? | v | do |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 706. | læh | l 2 ? | adv | also |
| 707. | lahon | lahon | v | give.comfort |
| 708. | lai | laj | v | go |
| 709. | lait | lat | v | free, escape |
| 710. | lakhaw | lak $^{\text {h }}$ aw | n | bird.type |
| 711. | lam | lam | v | lead |
| 712. | læm | lem | adv | together |
| 713. | lamet | lamet | n | banana.type |
| 714. | læn | $1 \varepsilon n$ | v | deny |
| 715. | lana | lana | v | give.comfort |
| 716. | lane | lane | conj | or |
| 717. | lang | lay | v | be.together |
| 718. | langdong | laydon | v | encircle |
| 719. | langla | layla | n | entrance |
| 720. | lap | lap | loc | initial |
| 721. | lareiñ | laren | n | main.pole |
| 722. | lariah | laria? | n | bird.type |
| 723. | lariang-phariang | lariay- $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ariay | n | special.spring.water |
| 724. | lat | lat | v | slow |
| 725. | lator | lator | n | engagement |
| 726. | le | le | num | three |
| 727. | lechah | letfa? | num | thrice |
| 728. | leih | le? | adj | white |
| 729. | lein | len | n | money |
| 730. | leiñ | len | n | boat |
| 731. | leitloid | laitloit | v | be.free |
| 732. | lephaw | lep ${ }^{\text {haw }}$ | num | thirty |
| 733. | li- | li | prefix | DUR |
| 734. | liang | liay | loc | side |
| 735. | liar | liar | n | stream |
| 736. | liræp | lirep | v | go.work.field |
| 737. | lisu | lisu | v | go.pay.bills |
| 738. | liwan | liwan | v | return.home |
| 739. | lmæt | lmet | n | leaf.type |
| 740. | lngen | $\operatorname{lng}$ | n | deepstream |
| 741. | loid | loit | v | remove |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 742. | lok | lok | n | friend |
| 743. | long | $\operatorname{lon}$ | n | life |
| 744. | longchwa | lontfwa | n | ancient.times |
| 745. | lood | lod | n | F.2nd.born |
| 746. | loom | lom | n | hill |
| 747. | loor | lor | v | plow |
| 748. | lor | lor | loc | top |
| 749. | lud | lud | v | spend |
| 750. | luk | luk | adj | white |
| 751. | lum | lum | v | sweep |
| 752. | lumar | lumar | n | scarf |
| 753. | lun | lun | v | round |
| 754. | lun | lun | n | tadpole |
| 755. | lung | lun | v | deeply.touched |
| 756. | lut | lut | v | finish |
| 757. | luta | luta | n | cup.type |
| 758. | lute | lute | v | steal |
| 759. | luti | luti | n | way |
| 760. | lwa | lwa | n | tree.type |
| 761. | lyær | 12 cr | n | air,wind |
| 762. | lyiur | lPiur | adv | hardly |
| 763. | lymbong | lmbon | n | navel |
| 764. | lymmeiñ | lmmen | n | tooth |
| 765. | lyngæn | $\operatorname{l\eta } \eta \in \mathrm{n}$ | n | river.lake |
| 766. | lyngba | lyba | loc | through |
| 767. | lyngdoh | lydo? | n | Lyngdoh |
| 768. | lyngkha | $\underline{l} \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}$ | v | catch.fish |
| 769. | lyngkor | lyk r r | n | plow |
| 770. | lyngkot | lykot | v | short |
| 771. | lyngngait | lỵat | v | if.believe |
| 772. | lyngngam | lyyam | v | sitalone, be.lonely |
| 773. | lyngngiah | lyıia? | n | back.door |
| 774. | lyngngoh | $\operatorname{lyŋว}$ | n | darkness |
| 775. | lynngan | lnyan | n | spring |
| 776. | lyntær | $\ln$ ter | v | continue |
| 777. | lyoh | 130 ? | n | cloud |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 778. | lyrnai | lrnaj | n | pot.type |
| 779. | ma | ma | pn | hon.M |
| 780. | ma-ai | maaj | Q | uncertainty |
| 781. | madan | madan | n | ground |
| 782. | mahar | mahar | n | cow, bull |
| 783. | mai | maj | V | can.be |
| 784. | mait | mat | n | mosquito |
| 785. | maji | madji | n | maji |
| 786. | makhon | $\mathrm{mak}^{\mathrm{h}}$ on | n | goodwords |
| 787. | makna | makna | V | have.large |
| 788. | maliangngot | maliayŋot | n | maliangngot |
| 789. | maloi | maloj | n | bowl.type |
| 790. | man | man | V | become |
| 791. | mane | mane | V | worship |
| 792. | mang | may | v | say |
| 793. | map | map | V | mercy |
| 794. | mar | mar | n | belongings |
| 795. | marieh | mare? | V | believe,assume |
| 796. | masan | masan | n | uncle |
| 797. | masi | masi | n | cow |
| 798. | mastieh | maste? | n | dance.type |
| 799. | mat | mat | n | example |
| 800. | mæt | mct | n | body |
| 801. | mawria | mawria | n | broken.stones |
| 802. | maya | maja | V | love |
| 803. | me | me | pn | 2sg.M.acc |
| 804. | meiñ | men | n | drum.type |
| 805. | meit | met | n | night |
| 806. | mi | mi | pn | 2sg.M.nom |
| 807. | miat | miat | V | be.pretty,nice |
| 808. | mih | mi? | v | bring.out |
| 809. | mihsngi | miPsyi | loc | east |
| 810. | mitar | mitar | n | metre |
| 811. | mm | mm | conf | mm |
| 812. | mo | m 3 | q | QTAG |
| 813. | mokot | mokot | V | file |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 814. | mon | mon | v | will |
| 815. | moo | mo | n | stone |
| 816. | moojra | modzra | n | stone.type |
| 817. | mookan | mokan | n | stone.type |
| 818. | mooyong | mojoy | n | coal |
| 819. | mot | mot | n | memorial |
| 820. | mrad | mrad | n | animal |
| 821. | mriang | mriay | n | animal |
| 822. | muaid | muait | V | be.drunk |
| 823. | muid | mud | n | buffalo |
| 824. | muka | muka | n | muka |
| 825. | mukaw | mukaw | n | community |
| 826. | muluk | muluk | n | community |
| 827. | muna | muna | n | bag |
| 828. | mur | mur | n | price |
| 829. | mura | mura | n | thing |
| 830. | muri | muri | n | thing |
| 831. | mustur | mustur | n | sledgehammer |
| 832. | mut | mut | V | means |
| 833. | mylla | mlla | V | gather |
| 834. | mylliñ | mllij | V | forget |
| 835. | myllu | mllu | v | gather |
| 836. | myn | mn | mood | after,irrealis |
| 837. | mynæm | mn¢m | v | without |
| 838. | mynchwa | mnty wa | loc.time | before |
| 839. | myndær | mnder | n | world.outside.Jaintia |
| 840. | mynjer | mndjer | n | dew |
| 841. | mynkawi | mnkawi | n | coming.days |
| 842. | mynried | mnred | n | coming.days |
| 843. | mynsein | mnsen | n | spirit,soul,heart |
| 844. | mynsnam | mnsnam | n | severe.injury |
| 845. | mynsoo | mnso | n | injury/accident |
| 846. | mynstæp | mnstep | n | tomorrow |
| 847. | myntæ | $m \mathrm{p}$ ¢ | loc.time | after.that |
| 848. | myntha | $m n_{1}{ }^{\text {h }} \mathrm{a}$ | n | condensation |
| 849. | mynthu | $m r_{1}{ }^{\text {h }}$ u | V | spit |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 850. | myntoi | mntoj | n | benefit |
| 851. | myntu | mntu | adv | today,now |
| 852. | myrain | mrran | n | wisdom |
| 853. | myrdoh | mrdo? | n | veg(kind) |
| 854. | myrha | mrha | n | large |
| 855. | myrsi | mrsi | n | mercy, heart |
| 856. | na | na | prep | ABL |
| 857. | na- | na- | prep | ABL |
| 858. | næ | $\mathrm{n} \varepsilon$ | q | D.TAG |
| 859. | naam | na:m | v | name |
| 860. | næh | $\mathrm{n} \varepsilon$ ? | v | preserve |
| 861. | nakra | nakra | n | nakra |
| 862. | nan | nan | n | lake |
| 863. | næñ | nen | n | river |
| 864. | nang | nay | aspect | CONT |
| 865. | nar | nar | n | iron |
| 866. | nat | nat | adj | INTSF |
| 867. | nat | nat | n | branch |
| 868. | ne | ne | conj | or |
| 869. | ne- | ne | prep | ABL |
| 870. | neiwon | nejwon | q | from.where |
| 871. | nga | ya | pn | 1sg.acc |
| 872. | ngaiñ | yan | v | disappear |
| 873. | ngait | yat | v | believe |
| 874. | ngam | yam | v | sink |
| 875. | ngap | yap | n | bee |
| 876. | ngiah | nia? | v | tired |
| 877. | ngiat | giat | v | convince,force |
| 878. | ngih | ni 3 | v | waste |
| 879. | ngooh | no? | v | blessing,thanks |
| 880. | ngut | gut | clsf | CL.human |
| 881. | ni | ni | deixis | prox |
| 882. | nia | nia | v | reason |
| 883. | niad | niad | v | rub,wipe |
| 884. | niah | nia? | n | place |
| 885. | niam | niam | n | tradition |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 886. | ñiam | niam | v | wipe |
| 887. | niangthalawa | niant ${ }^{\text {halawa }}$ | n | spider |
| 888. | niangthoh | niagt ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ? ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | n | spotted.infection |
| 889. | niaw | niaw | v | count |
| 890. | no | no | conf | ok |
| 891. | noh | no? | v | throw |
| 892. | noh | no? | adv | IMM1 |
| 893. | nok | nok | v | limp |
| 894. | nom | nom | n | ever |
| 895. | nong | nวท | q | conf |
| 896. | nong- | nวท | nmz | ag.nmz |
| 897. | nongkyndong | noŋkndəy | n | remotevillage |
| 898. | nongrim | nonrim | num | first-old, firstly |
| 899. | nood | nod | v | dare |
| 900. | nu | nu | n | which |
| 901. | nuksa | nuksa | n | example |
| 902. | nup | nup | n | rubber.root |
| 903. | nyngkong | ņjkə | v | be.first |
| 904. | O | $\bigcirc$ | pn | 1sg.nom |
| 905. | Oh | o | excl | Oh |
| 906. | ohoh | эho? | neg | D.neg |
| 907. | ong | วท | v | say |
| 908. | oo | o | pn | 3sg.M.acc |
| 909. | ood | od | v | whine |
| 910. | ot | ot | n | diarrhea |
| 911. | pa | pa | conj | by |
| 912. | pa | pa | n | father |
| 913. | pachor | patfor | n | plantain |
| 914. | pad | pad | n | plank |
| 915. | padæt | padrt | v | throw |
| 916. | padit | padit | n | fruit.type |
| 917. | padoi | padoj | n | fruit.type |
| 918. | pah | pa? | v | give.sign |
| 919. | paid | pait | n | people |
| 920. | paidbah | paitba? | n | crowd, congregation |
| 921. | paiphang | pajp ${ }^{\text {han }}$ | v | understandfully |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 922. | paisa | pajsa | n | money |
| 923. | pait | pat | v | look |
| 924. | paki | paki | n | yard |
| 925. | palat | palat | ints | extraordinarily |
| 926. | palong | palon | n | bed |
| 927. | pam | pam | v | cut |
| 928. | pan | pan | v | ask |
| 929. | panboh | panbo? | n | centre.post |
| 930. | pangrai | panraj | v | anoint |
| 931. | pap | pap | v | fate,sin |
| 932. | papun | papun | n | grandfather |
| 933. | par | par | v | crawl |
| 934. | pær | per | v | float |
| 935. | para | para | loc | among |
| 936. | parkraw | parkraw | n | resource |
| 937. | parom | parom | v | tell.story |
| 938. | paska | paska | n | holyday |
| 939. | pat | pat | v | fall |
| 940. | pæt | pet | v | expand,multiply |
| 941. | pata | pata | n | place |
| 942. | pateiñ | paten | n | generation |
| 943. | pathan | pat ${ }^{\text {h }}$ an | adv | especially |
| 944. | pathi | pat ${ }^{\text {h }}{ }^{\text {i }}$ | n | betel.leaf |
| 945. | patlun | patlun | n | pants |
| 946. | pator | pator | n | pator |
| 947. | pawa | pawa | num | quarter |
| 948. | pawnam | pawnam | v | be.famous |
| 949. | payu | paju | n | older.sibling |
| 950. | pchæm | ptfem | n | lawn |
| 951. | pdein | pden | n | peak(ofmountain) |
| 952. | pdooh | pn-do? | v | lose |
| 953. | pdung | pduy | v | burst |
| 954. | pee | pe | n | bee.type |
| 955. | pei | pej | conj | by |
| 956. | peih | pe? | v | scoop |
| 957. | pha | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {ha }}$ | pn | 2sg.F.acc |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 958. | phad | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ad | n | flesh |
| 959. | phah | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ a? | v | ask,send |
| 960. | phai | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ aj | v | return |
| 961. | phali | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ali | n | turban |
| 962. | phang | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ay | v | understand, realize |
| 963. | phar | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ ar | v | run |
| 964. | phær | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ¢r | v | be.different |
| 965. | phare | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ are | n | fly |
| 966. | phareng | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ argn | n | foreigner |
| 967. | pharia | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ aria | v | crush |
| 968. | phasi | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ asi | v | hanging |
| 969. | phæt | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ct | v | run |
| 970. | phaw | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ aw | num | ten |
| 971. | pheiñ | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{e} \mathrm{n}$ | v | glow, cheer, joy |
| 972. | phi | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ i | pn | 2 pl |
| 973. | phiah | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{ia}$ ? | v | break, divide |
| 974. | phlai | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ laj | v | spill.out |
| 975. | phlang | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ lay | n | grass |
| 976. | phlong | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ ¢ $ŋ \bigcirc$ | v | aside |
| 977. | phniang | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ niay | n | rice[seedling];oil |
| 978. | pho | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ 。 | pn | 2sg.F.nom |
| 979. | phoh | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ว? | v | beauty |
| 980. | phoi | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{oj}$ | n | whole |
| 981. | phooh | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ o? | v | glow(withlife) |
| 982. | phor | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ər | n | slab |
| 983. | phra | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{ra}$ | num | eight |
| 984. | phrang | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{ran}$ | loc | front |
| 985. | phraphaw | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{rap}^{\mathrm{h}}$ aw | num | eighty |
| 986. | phru | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{ru}$ | v | smear |
| 987. | phrui | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h ruj }}$ | v | be.fluffy |
| 988. | phulieh | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h ule? }}$ | v | powder |
| 989. | phylla | $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ lla | v | surprise, astonish |
| 990. | piah | pia? | v | break |
| 991. | piat | piat | n | onion |
| 992. | pitiat | pitiat | v | while |
| 993. | pitor | pitor | n | marriage.sign |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 994. | plæh | plc ? | v | erase |
| 995. | plait | plet | v | plait |
| 996. | plæt | plct | n | fold |
| 997. | ple | ple | v | play |
| 998. | pli | pli | n | innocent |
| 999. | pliah | plia? | v | be.satisfied |
| 1000. | pliang | pliay | n | plate |
| 1001. | plidar | plidar | n | lawyer |
| 1002. | plung | plun | v | increase |
| 1003. | Pnar | pnar | n | Pnar |
| 1004. | poh | po? | loc | under,in |
| 1005. | poi | poj | v | arrive |
| 1006. | pong | poy | v | not.like.nowadays |
| 1007. | pood | pod | n | boundary |
| 1008. | pooh | po? | v | cut |
| 1009. | por | por | n | time |
| 1010. | pra | pra | v | scatter |
| 1011. | prah | pra? | v | trap, basket |
| 1012. | prai | praj | v | vomit |
| 1013. | pran | pran | n | flesh |
| 1014. | praw | praw | n | stick |
| 1015. | priew | prew | v | compare |
| 1016. | prin | prin | v | be.black |
| 1017. | psa | psa | v | provide,feed |
| 1018. | pseiñ | psen | n | snake |
| 1019. | psiah | psia? | v | enter |
| 1020. | psiang | psiay | n | tar |
| 1021. | psiat | psiat | n | insect |
| 1022. | pteñ | pten | v | continue |
| 1023. | pu | pu | neg | not |
| 1024. | pud | pud | n | monolith |
| 1025. | pun | pun | adv | all |
| 1026. | pung | pun | n | pond |
| 1027. | puræ | pure | v | learn |
| 1028. | puri | puri | n | mermaid |
| 1029. | purom | purom | n | basket.type |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1030. | put | put | v | blow,sound |
| 1031. | putem | putem | v | grind |
| 1032. | puthi | put ${ }^{\text {h }}{ }^{\text {i }}$ | v | educate |
| 1033. | pyllai | pllaj | v | organize |
| 1034. | pyllait | pllat | v | empty.into;spare |
| 1035. | pyllæñ | pllen | n | egg |
| 1036. | pyllang | pllay | v | gather |
| 1037. | pylli | plli | n | take.turn |
| 1038. | pyllum | pllum | v | collect |
| 1039. | pyllut | pllut | v | spend |
| 1040. | pyn- | pn | prefix | CAUS |
| 1041. | pynæmkam | pņmkam | v | use |
| 1042. | pynchang | pntfay | n | whole.basket |
| 1043. | pynche | pntfe | v | introduce |
| 1044. | pynthor | pnt ${ }^{\text {h }}$ or | n | paddy.field |
| 1045. | pyntiat | pntiat | v | gather |
| 1046. | pyoor | pior | n | sweat |
| 1047. | Pyrbot | prbot | n | Pyrbot |
| 1048. | pyrda | prda | n | curtain |
| 1049. | pyrdein | prden | v | think.about |
| 1050. | pyrdi | prdi | loc | middle |
| 1051. | pyrjin | probin | v | offering(liquid) |
| 1052. | pyrkhat | prk ${ }^{\text {h }}$ at | v | think |
| 1053. | pyrki | prki | n | nothing |
| 1054. | pyrla | prla | n | scale |
| 1055. | pyrlok | prlok | n | friend |
| 1056. | pyrnah | prna? | v | libation |
| 1057. | pyrsa | prsa | n | neice |
| 1058. | pyrta | prta | v | announce |
| 1059. | pyrthai | prt ${ }^{\text {h }}$ aj | n | world |
| 1060. | pyrthap | prit ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ap | n | plank |
| 1061. | pyrthat | prt ${ }^{\text {hat }}$ | n | lightning |
| 1062. | pyrtuit | prtut | n | name |
| 1063. | pyur | piur | adv | intoxicated |
| 1064. | pyut | prut | v | rot |
| 1065. | rabiang | rabiay | v | be.satisfied |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1066. | radang | raday | n | frog.type |
| 1067. | rah | ra? | v | carry |
| 1068. | rai | raj | v | decide |
| 1069. | raid | rad | n | community |
| 1070. | rajai | ragaj | n | animal.type |
| 1071. | raliang | ralian | n | Raliang |
| 1072. | ram | ram | v | loan |
| 1073. | ræm | rem | v | lose |
| 1074. | ram-aw | ramaw | n | earth |
| 1075. | ramchit | ramtfit | n | nature |
| 1076. | ramynkæn | ramnken | n | ramynkæñ |
| 1077. | ramyntheiñ | ramnt ${ }^{\text {h }}$ en | n | ramynteiñ |
| 1078. | ran | ran | v | run |
| 1079. | rangiaw | ranjaw | n | bamboo.vessel |
| 1080. | rap | rap | v | grow |
| 1081. | ræp | rep | v | cultivate |
| 1082. | rasong | rason | n | stone.type |
| 1083. | rasun | rasun | n | garlic |
| 1084. | rato | rato | n | plant.type |
| 1085. | raw | raw | v | dry |
| 1086. | rbæn | rben | v | thick |
| 1087. | rdang | rday | n | neck |
| 1088. | re | re | ints | any |
| 1089. | reih | re? | v | shelter |
| 1090. | rein | ren | n | string |
| 1091. | reñ | ren | n | horn,tusk |
| 1092. | reta | reta | n | age |
| 1093. | rew | rew | v | rough |
| 1094. | ri | ri | n | country |
| 1095. | riam | riam | n | clothing |
| 1096. | riang | riay | n | plant.type |
| 1097. | riem | ricm | v | dress |
| 1098. | rii | ri: | excl | hey! |
| 1099. | rim | rim | v | be.old |
| 1100. | rin | rin | n | breath |
| 1101. | riñ | rip | v | knot,tie |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1102. | riot | rist | n | citizen |
| 1103. | risa | risa | v | exult |
| 1104. | rit | rit | v | small(Khasi) |
| 1105. | riti | riti | n | culture |
| 1106. | rkang | rkay | n | custom |
| 1107. | rkhai | rk ${ }^{\text {h }}$ aj | v | laugh |
| 1108. | rkut | rkut | n | wicker.stool |
| 1109. | rmai | rmaj | v | vow |
| 1110. | rna | rna | n | staircase |
| 1111. | rnæm | rnem | n | shrub |
| 1112. | rnein | rnen | v | provide |
| 1113. | rngaw | ryaw | n | charcoal |
| 1114. | roh | ros | v | be.much |
| 1115. | roi | roj | v | crawl |
| 1116. | roit | rot | loc | outside |
| 1117. | rong | ron | n | color,symbol |
| 1118. | rood | rod | loc | outside |
| 1119. | rooid | roit | v | draw |
| 1120. | rthap | rt ${ }^{\text {hap }}$ | v | slap |
| 1121. | rukom | rukom | n | way |
| 1122. | rum | rum | loc | down |
| 1123. | rup | rup | n | personality |
| 1124. | rupa | rupa | v | be.silver |
| 1125. | rusa | rusa | v | decompose? |
| 1126. | rwai | rwaj | v | sing |
| 1127. | rymphu | $\mathrm{rmp}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}$ | n | rain.type |
| 1128. | rynchoiñ | rntfon | n | small.hill |
| 1129. | ryngkat | rykat | v | be.equal |
| 1130. | ryngkaw | rpkaw | n | spirit.type |
| 1131. | ryngkhat | ryp ${ }^{\text {h }}$ at | n | out.of.nothing |
| 1132. | ryngkhi | ryk ${ }^{\text {h }}$ | n | target |
| 1133. | ryngki | rp̣ki | n | back |
| 1134. | rynieñ | rnnen | v | physical.self |
| 1135. | ryniot | rnjot | v | physical.self |
| 1136. | rynteih | rnte? | n | bow |
| 1137. | sa | sa | conj | only |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1138. | sæ | S $\varepsilon$ | q | C.TAG |
| 1139. | sad | sad | n | thorn.type |
| 1140. | sadhiar | sadhiar | n | beer |
| 1141. | sah | sa? | v | stay |
| 1142. | sæh | sc? | v | display |
| 1143. | sahtein | saiten | v | pending |
| 1144. | sai | saj | v | take.from.inside |
| 1145. | sain | san | v | agree |
| 1146. | saiñ | say | v | mix,make |
| 1147. | sait | sat | v | wash |
| 1148. | saja | sada | n | sickness |
| 1149. | sajiar | sadjiar | v | be.careful |
| 1150. | sajin | sadin | n | fault.line |
| 1151. | sak | sak | n | occurrence |
| 1152. | sakhi | sak ${ }^{\text {h }}$ i | v | prove |
| 1153. | sakhiat | sak ${ }^{\text {h }}$ iat | v | be.true |
| 1154. | sakma | sakma | v | be.lost |
| 1155. | salah | sala? | n | potato |
| 1156. | salon | salon | n | character |
| 1157. | sam | sam | n | boundary |
| 1158. | sam | sam | v | distribute |
| 1159. | sam | sam | n | the.more |
| 1160. | sæm | sem | n | neighborhood |
| 1161. | samæn | samen | v | be.alone |
| 1162. | samuid | samud | n | proper.time |
| 1163. | samun | samun | n | spirit.type |
| 1164. | san | san | num | five |
| 1165. | san | san | v | be.large |
| 1166. | sang | say | mod | INTS2 |
| 1167. | sang | say | v | taboo |
| 1168. | sangia | sangia | n | reborn.one |
| 1169. | sangot | sanyst | n | sangot |
| 1170. | sanphaw | sanp ${ }^{\text {a }}$ aw | num | fifty |
| 1171. | sanpun | sampun | n | older.brother |
| 1172. | sanspah | sanspa? | num | fivehundred |
| 1173. | santari | santari | n | fret |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1174. | sap | sap | v | wear;talent |
| 1175. | sapæt | sapet | n | navel |
| 1176. | sar | sar | v | be.apparent |
| 1177. | sær | scr | n | sambar.deer |
| 1178. | sarang | saray | n | fracture |
| 1179. | sarat | sarat | n | alcohol |
| 1180. | sari | sari | n | sari |
| 1181. | sarom | sarom | n | intelligence |
| 1182. | sarong | saroy | v | be.proud |
| 1183. | sarot | sarst | n | beer.type |
| 1184. | saru | saru | n | corn |
| 1185. | sæt | sct | v | hide |
| 1186. | sata | sata | n | cap |
| 1187. | satri | satri | n | umbrella |
| 1188. | sboh | sbo? | n | fertilizer |
| 1189. | sbooh | sbo? | adv | thick(of.plants) |
| 1190. | sbun | sbun | v | kind,humble |
| 1191. | sdai | sdaj | n | axe |
| 1192. | sdang | sday | v | begin |
| 1193. | sdæp | sdep | v | warm,safe |
| 1194. | sdeih | sde? | v | fry |
| 1195. | sdep | sdep | v | be.enough |
| 1196. | sei | se | v | be.doubtful |
| 1197. | seij | Sef | n | bamboo.type |
| 1198. | sein | sen | n | time,action |
| 1199. | seiñ | sen | n | committee |
| 1200. | seiñraij | senraf | n | Seiñraij |
| 1201. | seiñthylleij | sent ${ }^{\text {h }}{ }_{\text {llef }}$ | n | rainbow |
| 1202. | sep | sep | v | suffer |
| 1203. | sepsngi | sepsni | n | west |
| 1204. | sia | sia | n | proud |
| 1205. | siah | sia? | v | pass |
| 1206. | siahnood | sia?nod | n | jealousy |
| 1207. | siang | siay | n | slab,spoon |
| 1208. | siaw | siaw | v | whistle |
| 1209. | sib | sib | v | taste |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1210. | siet | sict | v | shoot |
| 1211. | sih | sip | v | be.sad,bad |
| 1212. | sim | sim | n | bird |
| 1213. | skad | skad | loc | ceiling |
| 1214. | skai | skaj | n | barking.deer |
| 1215. | skam | skam | n | chemical |
| 1216. | skæm | skem | v | hold.upright |
| 1217. | skat | skat | n | real,true |
| 1218. | skhæm | $\mathrm{sk}^{\mathrm{h}} \varepsilon \mathrm{m}$ | v | firm |
| 1219. | skit | skit | n | real,true |
| 1220. | skoo | sko | n | gourd |
| 1221. | skud | skud | n | plant.type |
| 1222. | skum | skum | n | straw,shavings |
| 1223. | sla | sla | n | leaf |
| 1224. | slait | slat | n | basket.type |
| 1225. | slæm | slem | v | be.late |
| 1226. | slap | slap | v | rain |
| 1227. | sli | sli | v | watch |
| 1228. | smai | smaj | v | promise |
| 1229. | smariah | smaria? | n | pine.cone |
| 1230. | smat | smat | adv | early |
| 1231. | smur | smur | v | shake |
| 1232. | smurit | smurit | n | pepper |
| 1233. | snam | snam | n | blood |
| 1234. | snæm | snem | n | year |
| 1235. | snæñ | snen | v | advise |
| 1236. | sneih | sne? | n | skin |
| 1237. | sneñ | snen | v | teach |
| 1238. | sngæh | syc? | v | stop |
| 1239. | sngi | sni | n | day |
| 1240. | sngoh | syo? | v | strike,throw |
| 1241. | sngooh | syo? | v | smashinto |
| 1242. | sniang | sniay | n | pig,pork |
| 1243. | sñiaw | sjiaw | v | sense |
| 1244. | sñiawbha | sniawbha | v | please |
| 1245. | sñiawthooh | sniawt ${ }^{\text {b }}$ ? | v | understand |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1246. | sniñ | snij | n | plant.type |
| 1247. | sniooh | snio? | n | hair |
| 1248. | snoom | snom | V | flow |
| 1249. | SO | So | num | more |
| 1250. | soh | so? | n | fruit |
| 1251. | sohmen | sopmen | V | be.alone |
| 1252. | sohnok | soinok | V | limp |
| 1253. | song | son | V | pack |
| 1254. | SOO | SO | num | four |
| 1255. | SOO | So | V | be.red |
| 1256. | soodong | sodoy | n | throughout |
| 1257. | sooh | so? | V | suffer |
| 1258. | soohbuit | sopbut | V | conspire |
| 1259. | sookun | sokun | n | throughout |
| 1260. | soophaw | sop $^{\text {h }}$ aw | num | forty |
| 1261. | Soor | sor | V | sew |
| 1262. | soospah | sospa? | num | four.hundred |
| 1263. | sootew | sotew | n | blackfruit |
| 1264. | sooyong | sojoy | n | blackfruit |
| 1265. | sor | sor | V | be.embarrassed |
| 1266. | sorbar | sorbar | n | gathering |
| 1267. | sorkæp | sorkep | n | space,heavens |
| 1268. | sorsa | sorsa | n | sound |
| 1269. | spah | spa? | num | hundred |
| 1270. | spiang-rah | spiayra? | n | plant.type |
| 1271. | spong | spon | V | wrap |
| 1272. | sriem | sricm | V | similar |
| 1273. | stad | stad | V | be.educated,wise |
| 1274. | stæm | stem | adj | yellow |
| 1275. | stap | stap | n | wrath |
| 1276. | stæp | step | n | morning, early |
| 1277. | steih | ste? | n | shield |
| 1278. | stiar | stiar | n | insect.type;bund |
| 1279. | stiman | stiman | n | truck.type |
| 1280. | stiñ | stip | adj | be.light |
| 1281. | Su | Su | V | repay |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1282. | suba | suba | n | knowledge |
| 1283. | sud | sud | V | care |
| 1284. | suin | suj | n | sky |
| 1285. | suk | suk | V | be.peaceful |
| 1286. | suki | suki | V | quiet |
| 1287. | sula | sula | n | clothing |
| 1288. | sum | sum | n | bathe |
| 1289. | sumar | sumar | V | take.care |
| 1290. | sung | suy | n | lake |
| 1291. | sur | sur | n | song |
| 1292. | suri | suri | n | wolf |
| 1293. | surok | surok | n | road |
| 1294. | suroo | suro | n | broom |
| 1295. | sut | sut | V | profit |
| 1296. | suwa | suwa | n | repayment |
| 1297. | swar | swar | V | important |
| 1298. | swei | swe | v | lazy |
| 1299. | syad | s?ad | v | expensive |
| 1300. | syaid | s?ait | V | warm |
| 1301. | syær | sicr | V | fear |
| 1302. | syiar | siiar | n | chicken |
| 1303. | syiem | spem | n | ruler |
| 1304. | syin | sPip | n | ginger |
| 1305. | sylliat | spliat | v | massage,rub |
| 1306. | symbe | smbe | n | seed |
| 1307. | symboh | smbor | n | grain |
| 1308. | symbood | smbod | n | marker,symbol |
| 1309. | sympat | smpat | V | twist |
| 1310. | synchar | sntfar | V | rule |
| 1311. | syndong | sndon | V | take.care |
| 1312. | synduk | snduk | n | trunk |
| 1313. | syngkein | sykej | n | location |
| 1314. | syngkhein | syjk ${ }^{\text {h }}$ en | n | pillow |
| 1315. | syngkni | sypkni | n | hawk |
| 1316. | syniaw | snjaw | n | night |
| 1317. | synjat | sndzat | n | ring |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1318. | synrum | snrum | n | cold,sick |
| 1319. | syntu | sntu | n | flower |
| 1320. | syrtap | srtap | n | layer |
| 1321. | syrum | srum | n | fever |
| 1322. | syrwa | srwa | V | argue |
| 1323. | syuin | sPup | V | revolve,spin |
| 1324. | syuit | sPut | V | pour |
| 1325. | ta | ta | clsf | CL.time |
| 1326. | tæ | te | deixis | nvis |
| 1327. | taar | tar | v | tear |
| 1328. | tadong | tadoy | n | bamboo.cup |
| 1329. | tah | ta? | V | cut |
| 1330. | tæh | te? | V | bind,tie |
| 1331. | tai | taj | deixis | distal |
| 1332. | taiar | tajar | v | be.prepared |
| 1333. | tak | tak | V | plait |
| 1334. | takan | takan | n | surroundings |
| 1335. | taki | taki | V | answer |
| 1336. | taksaw | taksaw | n | threshhold |
| 1337. | takudiah | takudia? | n | takudiah |
| 1338. | tam | tam | adv | INTS3 |
| 1339. | tam | tam | V | keep |
| 1340. | tæm | tem | V | pluck,strum |
| 1341. | tama | tama | V | be.bronze |
| 1342. | $\tan$ | $\tan$ | V | pull |
| 1343. | tang | tay | conj | but, even |
| 1344. | tang | tay | adv | intsf |
| 1345. | tang | tay | n | tip |
| 1346. | tanglang | taylay | V | mixed.up.together |
| 1347. | tap | tap | V | put,garden |
| 1348. | tæp | tep | V | bury |
| 1349. | tar | tar | n | stuff |
| 1350. | tari | tari | n | knife |
| 1351. | taro | taro | n | goddess.type |
| 1352. | taroh | taros | n | lower.leg |
| 1353. | tær-tær | ter-ter | adv | so.on |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1354. | tasngooh | tasyo? | v | accidentallysmashinto |
| 1355. | tæt | tet | clitic | end |
| 1356. | tatlumar | tatlumar | n | scarf |
| 1357. | tawiar | tawiar | n | surroundings |
| 1358. | tba | tba | v | touch |
| 1359. | tbian | tbian | v | be.short;be.low |
| 1360. | tdæh | td ¢? | v | pull.up,off |
| 1361. | tdæm | tdem | n | smoke |
| 1362. | tdong | tdəy | n | tail |
| 1363. | tdot | tdot | adv | just |
| 1364. | tdut | tdut | v | break |
| 1365. | te | te | deixis | mprox |
| 1366. | teid | ted | v | ring |
| 1367. | teih | te? | v | practice |
| 1368. | tein | ten | num | half |
| 1369. | teiñ | ten | v | afraid,fear |
| 1370. | teintein | tenten | loc | sometimes |
| 1371. | tha | $t^{\text {ha }}$ | n | boulder |
| 1372. | thad | $t^{\text {h }}$ ad | n | clothes |
| 1373. | thah | $t^{\text {h }}$ a? | adj | frozen, ice |
| 1374. | thæh | $t^{\text {h }}$ ¢ ? | n | ember |
| 1375. | thai | $t^{\text {h }}$ aj | v | possible |
| 1376. | thain | $t^{\text {h }}$ an | n | plain,flat |
| 1377. | thaiñ | $t^{\text {h }}$ an | v | braid,weave |
| 1378. | tham | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{am}$ | n | crab |
| 1379. | thang | $t^{\text {h }}$ an | v | burn |
| 1380. | thap | $t^{\text {h }}$ ap | v | put |
| 1381. | thar | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }}$ ar | v | write |
| 1382. | thaw | $t^{\text {haw }}$ | n | place |
| 1383. | theid | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }}$ ed | v | buy |
| 1384. | thep | $t^{\text {h }}$ ¢ p | v | sell |
| 1385. | thiah | $t^{\text {h }}$ ia? | v | sleep |
| 1386. | thiang | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }}$ iay | n | mouthful |
| 1387. | thied | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }}$ ied | n | root |
| 1388. | thiet | $t^{\text {h }}$ iet | adv | exactly |
| 1389. | thiet | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ict | n | husk |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1390. | thij | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}_{\text {i }}}$ | v | be.exact |
| 1391. | thlah | $t^{\text {h }}$ la? | v | blind |
| 1392. | thlæp | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ ¢p | v | bury |
| 1393. | thli | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ i | n | fish.type |
| 1394. | thlieh | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{li}$ ¢ ? | v | chop |
| 1395. | thlong | $t^{\text {h }}$ ¢ $甲$ y | n | mortar |
| 1396. | thlu | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{l}$ | n | hole |
| 1397. | thma | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h ma }}$ | n | war |
| 1398. | thmat | $t^{\text {h mat }}$ | v | prayer |
| 1399. | thmu | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{mu}$ | v | plan |
| 1400. | thnæm | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{n}$ ¢m | n | debt |
| 1401. | thniang | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }}$ iab | v | sweet |
| 1402. | thoh | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ว? | v | write |
| 1403. | thohrew | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }}$ Prew | v | blister |
| 1404. | thong | $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}$ วท | n | target |
| 1405. | thoo | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }}$ O | v | create |
| 1406. | thooh | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {ho? }}$ | v | find,search |
| 1407. | thri | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{r}$ i | n | bamboo.rope |
| 1408. | thum | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{um}$ | v | flow |
| 1409. | thung | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }}$ ug | v | plant,appoint |
| 1410. | thwai | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h waj }}$ | n | ocean |
| 1411. | thylleij | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }}{ }_{\text {l }} \mathrm{ef}^{\text {f }}$ | n | tongue |
| 1412. | thymme | $\mathrm{t}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{mme}$ | v | be.new |
| 1413. | tia | tia | v | advance |
| 1414. | tiar | tiar | n | things |
| 1415. | tiat | tiat | v | fill |
| 1416. | tidiang | tidian | loc | left.side |
| 1417. | tih | ti? | v | dig |
| 1418. | tikna | tikna | v | trust |
| 1419. | tim | tim | n | lottery |
| 1420. | timun | timun | loc | right.side |
| 1421. | tiñ | tin | v | fetch |
| 1422. | ting | tin | v | be.afraid |
| 1423. | tip | tip | v | know |
| 1424. | tipmit | tipmit | v | recognize |
| 1425. | titpu | titpu | n | bird.type |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1426. | tkhu | $t k^{\text {h }} \mathrm{u}$ | n | ant |
| 1427. | tkhut | $\mathrm{tk}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{ut}$ | n | size |
| 1428. | tkoh | tko? | V | be.disabled(leg) |
| 1429. | tkut | tkut | n | sword |
| 1430. | tlæm | tlem | V | dig |
| 1431. | tlang | tlay | n | potato.type |
| 1432. | tlæp | tlep | V | bury |
| 1433. | tlong | tlon | n | enclosure |
| 1434. | tloor | tlor | n | leaf.type |
| 1435. | tlot | tlot | V | leave |
| 1436. | tmah | tma? | V | shorten |
| 1437. | tnat | tnat | n | branch |
| 1438. | tne | tne | n | bulls-eye |
| 1439. | tngan | tyan | v | be.hungry |
| 1440. | tnoom | tnom | n | roof |
| 1441. | tnung | tnuy | n | stem |
| 1442. | to | to | conf | ok |
| 1443. | toh | to? | V | be |
| 1444. | tohkit | to?kit | V | request |
| 1445. | tong | toy | V | fish |
| 1446. | tooh | to? | V | steal |
| 1447. | toor | tor | V | advance |
| 1448. | tpai | tpaj | n | ash |
| 1449. | tpæр | tpep | n | hearth |
| 1450. | tpu | tpu | n | rice.cake |
| 1451. | tput | tput | V | revenge |
| 1452. | tran | tran | v | place |
| 1453. | træp | $\operatorname{tr}$ p | n | hut |
| 1454. | tre | tre | V | original;work |
| 1455. | tri | tri | v | be.significant |
| 1456. | trom | trom | n | Ch.of.God |
| 1457. | trong | troy | n | pray |
| 1458. | tu | tu | deixis | medl |
| 1459. | tuid | toit | v | flow, flex |
| 1460. | tulop | tulop | n | salary |
| 1461. | tun | tun | mod | ints |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1462. | tung | tuy | n | plant |
| 1463. | tupri | tupri | n | hat |
| 1464. | tybæt | tbet | n | storage.area |
| 1465. | tyllaiñ | tllej | n | snake.type |
| 1466. | tyllæñ | tllen | n | stone.type |
| 1467. | tylle | tlle | n | rope |
| 1468. | tylli | tlli | clsf | CL.piece |
| 1469. | tylliet | tllet | v | thresh |
| 1470. | tyllup | tllup | prep | all.over |
| 1471. | tymbood | tmbod | v | follow |
| 1472. | tymbuiñ | tmbun | v | poor |
| 1473. | tymmæn | tmmen | v | be.old |
| 1474. | tymmoh | tmmo? | v | overlay |
| 1475. | tympat | tmpat | v | intentionally.fall |
| 1476. | tympdung | tmpduy | v | burst |
| 1477. | tympiah | tmpia? | v | break |
| 1478. | tympong | tmpon | n | waist |
| 1479. | tyn | tn | clitic | recently |
| 1480. | tyndang | tndan | v | grind |
| 1481. | tynde | tnde | loc.time | before |
| 1482. | tyngkha | $t \underline{1} \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}$ | v | hide |
| 1483. | tyngkhæn | $\operatorname{tgri}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ¢ n | v | break |
| 1484. | tyngkong | tı̣kə | n | wood.floor |
| 1485. | tynnat | tnnat | adj | nice |
| 1486. | tynne | tnne | loc.time | before |
| 1487. | tynre | tnre | loc.time | back |
| 1488. | tyrha | trha | n | flame |
| 1489. | tyrkhaw | trk ${ }^{\text {haw }}$ | adj | dry |
| 1490. | tyrset | trset | v | push.into.corner |
| 1491. | tyrsim | trsim | n | claw/nail |
| 1492. | tyrsnam | trsnam | v | emit.blood |
| 1493. | tyrsoo | trso | v | emit.red |
| 1494. | tyrtah | trta? | v | emit.heat |
| 1495. | u | u | pn | 3sg.M.nom |
| 1496. | uiñ | un | v | return.back |
| 1497. | um | um | n | water |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1498. | umkhmat | umk ${ }^{\text {h mat }}$ | n | tear |
| 1499. | uñ | un | v | return |
| 1500. | $\mathrm{u}=$ | u | clitic | M |
| 1501. | $\mathrm{u}=$ | u | der | NF |
| 1502. | wa | wa | mod | NMZ |
| 1503. | wa | wa | conj | COMT |
| 1504. | wa- | wa | clitic | NMZ |
| 1505. | wad | wad | V | look.for |
| 1506. | wah | wa? | n | river |
| 1507. | wai | waj | V | open |
| 1508. | wai | waj | n | river |
| 1509. | waiñ | wap | V | 'don"'"t.want"', |
| 1510. | wait | wat | n | sword |
| 1511. | waje | warke | n | bell,time |
| 1512. | wan | wan | V | come |
| 1513. | wanrah | wanra? | n | bring |
| 1514. | ware | ware | adv | INTSF |
| 1515. | waroh | waro? | num | all |
| 1516. | wasa | wasa | n | hut |
| 1517. | wasan | wasan | n | elder |
| 1518. | wasoo | waso | n | straw |
| 1519. | wat | wat | neg | 'don""t(Khasi)", |
| 1520. | we- | we | conj | COMT |
| 1521. | weih | we? | n | worm |
| 1522. | weiñ | wen | n | pot.type |
| 1523. | wi | wi | num | one |
| 1524. | wiang | wiay | V | propose, convince |
| 1525. | wiar | wiar | V | lose |
| 1526. | wiar-nar | wiar-nar | v | be.bored |
| 1527. | wisteih | wiste? | V | sheild |
| 1528. | wit | wit | v | be.full |
| 1529. | woh | wo? | hon | hon.M.elder |
| 1530. | won | won | n | which |
| 1531. | wot | wot | adv | IMMD |
| 1532. | wyrai | wraj | n | mercy |
| 1533. | wyrngam | wryam | adj | green |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1534. | wyrngia | wryia | v | busy.with |
| 1535. | wyrta | wrta | n | news |
| 1536. | ya | ja | prep | BEN |
| 1537. | ya- | ja | prefix | BEN |
| 1538. | yada | jada | v | defend |
| 1539. | yah | ja? | v | drive,lead |
| 1540. | yaichah | jaitfar | v | be.patient |
| 1541. | yaid | jait | v | keep.on(Khasi) |
| 1542. | yakhun | jak ${ }^{\text {h }}$ un | v | fight |
| 1543. | yalæh | jalc? | v | fight |
| 1544. | yalap | jalap | v | preach |
| 1545. | yam | jam | v | cry |
| 1546. | yambru | jambru | v | mourn |
| 1547. | yamræm | jamrem | v | feel.defeated |
| 1548. | yang | jan | v | wait |
| 1549. | yania | jania | v | argue |
| 1550. | yap | jap | v | die |
| 1551. | yaplær | japler | v | faint |
| 1552. | yar | jar | v | be.wide |
| 1553. | yarain | jaran | n | veg.kind |
| 1554. | yarap | jarap | v | help |
| 1555. | yasaid | jasait | v | reason |
| 1556. | yat | yat | v | run |
| 1557. | yatar | jatar | v | debate |
| 1558. | yathoh | jat ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ○? | v | marry |
| 1559. | yatoh | jato? | v | relations |
| 1560. | yaw | jaw | n | week; market |
| 1561. | yawchibidi | jawtfibidi | n | Yawchibidi |
| 1562. | ye- | je | prep | BEN |
| 1563. | yee | je | v | able |
| 1564. | yein | jen | n | string |
| 1565. | yeñ | jen | v | stand |
| 1566. | yenreiñ | jenren | n | body.bug |
| 1567. | yi | ji | n | thing |
| 1568. | yillu | jilu | adv | deeply |
| 1569. | yimphoo | $\mathrm{jimp}^{\text {h }}$ O | n | plant.type |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1570. | yindæm | jindem | n | rice.beer |
| 1571. | yingkein | jigken | n | ladder |
| 1572. | yirngam | jryam | v | be.green |
| 1573. | ym | m | neg | NEG |
| 1574. | ymbu | mbu | n | breast |
| 1575. | yn | n | clitic | ref |
| 1576. | yndooh | nıdo? | loc.time | previously |
| 1577. | ynne | nne | loc.time | today |
| 1578. | ynñiaw | njiaw | num | seven |
| 1579. | ynñiawphaw | njiawp ${ }^{\text {h }}$ aw | num | seventy |
| 1580. | ynnin | nnin | n | yesterday |
| 1581. | ynnu | nnu | n | now |
| 1582. | ynru | nru | num | six |
| 1583. | ynruphaw | nrup ${ }^{\text {a }}$ aw | num | sixty |
| 1584. | ynsur | nsur | v | humble |
| 1585. | yntu | ntu | loc.time | just.now |
| 1586. | yoga | joga | n | yoga |
| 1587. | yoh | jo? | v | get |
| 1588. | yong | јэŋ | prep | GEN |
| 1589. | yong | jən | v | be.black |
| 1590. | yoo | jo | v | see |
| 1591. | yooh | jo? | v | exceed |
| 1592. | yoophylla | jop ${ }^{\text {h }}$ lla | v | astonish |
| 1593. | yoosar | josar | v | seems |
| 1594. | yor | jor | n | snow |
| 1595. | yubat | jubat | v | oath |
| 1596. | yuchun | jutfun | n | comb |
| 1597. | yukdung | jukdun | n | infant.cloth |
| 1598. | yuksoh | jukso? | n | hilt |
| 1599. | yulum | julum | n | infant.wrap |
| 1600. | yung | juy | n | home |
| 1601. | yunghæh | jughe? | n | guest.room |
| 1602. | yungslæm | junslem | n | sitting.room |
| 1603. | yurim | jurim | n | plot.land |
| 1604. | yusæm | jusem | n | cloth.wrap |
| 1605. | yusiang | jusian | n | baby.cloth |


|  | word | IPA | ps | gloss |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1606. | yuslein | juslen | n | waistcloth |
| 1607. | yuspong | juspon | n | turban |
| 1608. | yut | jut | v | run.away |
| 1609. | yutang | jutan | v | argue |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Jaintia is the name of the erstwhile Pnar kingdom. The Pnar kings were originally from Sutnga; Lamare (2005) and other sources suggest that they took the name of their dynasty from the Jayanti queen whose marriage into the Sutnga clan forged an alliance that established the Pnar kingdom as a player in the politics of the area.
    ${ }^{2}$ Gait's (1906) conjecture is that pnar, being close to the local term pna for 'buttock' or 'behind' was a term used for the more settled, older population who stayed near Nartiang and Jowai rather than move west to Shillong and further, as the Khasis and Lyngngams did. The word pna is not used by Pnar people themselves, and it seems unlikely that speakers would adopt a foreign name based on this term.
    ${ }^{3}$ According to one of my consultants who grew up near Silchar in Assam, the word pahar is still used by Assamese and Bangla speakers to refer to thickly wooded hilly areas, and people from those areas are termed pahari.
    ${ }^{4}$ Yule (1844), Hooker (1854), and Gurdon (1914) all refer to the stocky build and thick calves of the Khasi as a matter of pride and a mark of beauty for the local people, suggesting that although in western culture it is often considered unkind to give people names based on physical characteristics, the term is not necessarily opprobrious.
    ${ }^{5}$ The Jaintia Hills District was split into two districts, West and East, in 2012.

[^1]:    ${ }^{6}$ The drawings in this section are my own reproductions from the respective authors - line depth does not reflect time depth in my reproductions.

[^2]:    ${ }^{7}$ There is mention of Mnar (or Mynnar) both in Gurdon's 1914 monograph as well as in Henderson's 1976 articles as a northern dialect of Khasi, but the recent paper by Koshy and Wahlang shows clear distinctions between Khasi and Mnar that suggest the latter to be quite separate.
    ${ }^{8}$ Discussion of larger language groupings in Northeast India and what to call such groupings is not a new problem. C.f. Mattisoff's (1999) use of "Kamarupan" to refer

[^3]:    ${ }^{9}$ Sebastine Pakynteiñ, February 2014.

[^4]:    ${ }^{10}$ See also The Times of India (Feb 6, 2012, 02.31AM IST; Aug 11, 2013, 12.18AM IST). [reference in bibliography]

[^5]:    ${ }^{11}$ The mountain 'Sohphetbneng' is given by the Khasis as the place where the rope (in some accounts the roots of a banyan tree) was tied to heaven, yet their history also includes stories of migration from the east. Pnar tradition claims a slightly different place of connection with heaven, with their origin being a combination of people who migrated to the area from the east with certain goddesses who were sent from heaven directly to particular places in the Jaintia Hills, who then married and gave birth to families.

[^6]:    ${ }^{12}$ This is the name for the creator god, also called $u=$ Blaj. When blaj is not capitalized, it refers to lesser beings/spirits. While the masculine marker is most commonly used, I was told that this being is beyond gender.
    ${ }^{13}$ In 2001 Christians accounted for $70 \%$ of Meghalaya, according to the Census of India.
    ${ }^{14}$ One of my consultants, an older gentleman, told me that the current festivals didn't exist when he was younger, and that there was a span of at least one generation when major traditional festivals were not held - this may have been an effect of colonial rule.

[^7]:    ${ }^{15}$ This system resembles those noted for the Na and Moso of China by Hua (2001) and Shih (2010) respectively. The superficial similarities merit an individual comparative study.

[^8]:    ${ }^{16} \mathrm{http}: / /$ www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/

[^9]:    ${ }^{17}$ Though published in 1992 by the Catholic Church, there is historical evidence of an A. Grignard, a Father of the Society of Jesus, who worked on a grammar and dictionary published in 1924 (of the Oraon/Kurukh language). This, along with mentions of Grignard in other historical accounts as part of the Society of Jesus Catholic mission in West Bengal and the Archdiocese of Calcutta (i.e. Josson, 1993; Raj, 2001) suggests that "The Pnar Grammar Book", as it is called, was written in the early to mid 1900s. I use 1922 as an educated guess, not knowing for certain when Grignard would have lived in Mawkyndeng [mo.kn.dey].

[^10]:    ${ }^{18}$ See: http://www.kaveribooks.com/index.php?p=sr\&Uc=9789383252220 [accessed January, 2015]
    ${ }^{19}$ My analysis differs from Bareh's original thesis in several respects, namely: phonemic analysis, predicate and noun phrase structure, gender, and classifiers, among other things. Our theoretical approaches are also somewhat different.

[^11]:    ${ }^{20} \mathrm{http}: / /$ wals.info

[^12]:    ${ }^{21}$ I here follow Dixon (1994: 8) in using A to represent the argument of a transitive verb (two-place predicate) "most relevant to the success of the activity" and S to represent the single argument of an intransitive verb (one-place predicate). O represents the argument of a two-place predicate that is not mapped to A.
    ${ }^{22}$ Nagaraja $(1993,1997)$ claims that Bhoi is a Khasian language, in keeping with Khasi political tradition, but it seems to depend on who you ask. In Jowai I met two different kinds of Bhoi people, ones that told me that Bhoi is mutually intelligible with Karbi (a neighboring Tibeto-Burman language), and ones that told me they speak a variety of Khasi. Unfortunately I was unable to gather data from the two types of speakers. Marriage patterns along the border may have brought about language contact among the several groups in that border area.
    ${ }^{23}$ It is possible that other Khasian varieties are V-initial, or that SK at one time was. Yule, for example, notes a Khasi phrase from one of his porters: u-tí u-kokaráng u-bakhrao usim "that Hornbill (is) a large bird" (1844: 620). This corresponds to the Pnar definite relative/adjectival construction: $u=t \varepsilon \quad u=$ kokaray $u$ wa $k^{h}$ ro $u=\operatorname{sim}$ [ $\mathrm{M}=$ that $\mathrm{M}=$ hornbill 3SG.M.NOM REL be.large M=bird] "that hornbill, which is a large/important bird". In Pnar, $k^{h}$ ro $u=\operatorname{sim}$ is an intransitive verb phrase meaning 'the bird is large/important', and when relativized by $w a$ it serves as a modifier for the preceding definite noun phrase $u=t \varepsilon u=k o k a r a y$. The fact that $u=$ sim can follow the relativized verb in both the Khasi and the Pnar sentence here is curious, as this is not attested in either Rabel's (1961) or in Nagaraja's (1985) grammars of Khasi. It may be that Yule's porter was simply from a different place than where Rabel's and Nagaraja's data was gathered.

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ Although the concept of sonority sequencing (i.e. a tendency of more sonorous segments within a syllable to be closer to the syllable peak) is present to some degree in earlier work (c.f. Sievers, 1881; Jespersen, 1904; Halle, 1959; Jakobson, Fant, and Halle, 1963; Selkirk, 1984; Clements, 1986), Clements (1990) was the earliest clear formalization of this principle as a cross-linguistic tendency.

[^14]:    ${ }^{2}$ Speakers I worked with did not produce contrasts of these sounds in initial position. Cho and Ladefoged (1999: 211) note that laminal-dental stops exhibit slightly longer VOT than apical-alveolar stops since a longer period of contact is required to distinguish them. This is a possible reason why initially the contrast seems to be neutralized whereas finally the contrast is revealed by interaction with preceding vowels in diphthongization. However, further research is necessary to examine the presence or absence of initial laminal-dentals.

[^15]:    ${ }^{3}$ There is a word /ba/ that occurs in my texts as a variant of /wa/, but this seems to be a dialect variant outside of Jowai closer to Khasi-speaking areas. Khasi also has a functional morpheme / ba/ that corresponds to Pnar /wa/. I therefore include /ba?/ here as the nearest contrast to be found in my data.

[^16]:    ${ }^{4}$ Which suggests that it may raise the previous vowel, thus causing $/ \mathrm{a} />/ \varepsilon /$ and $/ \mathrm{o} /$ $>/ \mathrm{u} /$.

[^17]:    ${ }^{5}$ It seems likely that long vowels are increasingly associated with final voicing on consonants, similar to the English contrast in [bit] 'beat' and [bi:d] 'bead', though, unlike most English varieties, Pnar final consonants continue to be largely unreleased.

[^18]:    ${ }^{6}$ Other potential diphthongs [au], [ua], and [ja] occur at the edges of syllables (the first at the end of a syllable and the final two at the beginning of a syllable), and are treated here as combinations of approximants and [a] since the vowel retains stress and intensity. I therefore treat these potential diphtongs as being composed of [aw], [wa], and [ja], respectively, as this is a simpler and likely more historically accurate analysis than a set of vowel sequences.

[^19]:    ${ }^{7}$ Grignard's 'opening' diphthongs correspond to orthographic falling diphthongs, and his 'closing' diphthongs to orthographic rising diphthongs. I believe this is simply a terminological issue.

[^20]:    ${ }^{8}$ Henderson (1976: 525) describes the final $/ \mathrm{j} /$ as representing "a checked voiceless palatal stop [c]" for Khasi (525). In acoustic analysis of the six words where this orthographic representation was used, the sound was heard along with glottal closure, after which glottal pulsing and the sound signal ended.

[^21]:    ${ }^{9}$ Not all words beginning with /pr-/ , however, are so easily identified as deconstructible into the causative morpheme and accompanying root. Evidence for this is that /pr-/ often precedes velar onsets (as in /prkh at/ 'think') as well as alveolars (as in / $\mathrm{prtr}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{aj}$ / 'earth, world'). This may reflect the presence of two separate prefixes /pr-/ and /pn-/, the former of which has become less productive and more opaque, or possibly be a realization in some words of an infix which served a variety of functions.

[^22]:    ${ }^{10}$ Although suspiciously similar to voiced aspirates that occur in Bangla and other neighboring Indo-Aryan languages, in Pnar there is an extremely short schwa (during which affrication is not evident) that occurs between the two consonants in $/ \mathrm{bh} /, / \mathrm{dh} /$, and $/ \mathrm{dh} /$ clusters, as opposed to aspirates which exhibit affrication during release.

[^23]:    ${ }^{11}$ At least in some fashion since the 1930s, as per publication of the book Rwai Pnar (Pnar Songs).
    ${ }^{12}$ See Henderson (1991) for a detailed discussion of the phonetics of the Standard Khasi orthography.

[^24]:    ${ }^{1}$ In writing, Pnar speakers consider the two elements $u$ and $b r u$ to be both grammatical and phonological words, writing them with a space between. However, prosodically they form a single element and Pnar speakers consider the use of bru by itself to be ungrammatical in most situations. I therefore consider the first element, which identifies gender and number, to be a clitic. This clitic shares the same form with the '3SG.m.nOm' pronoun, but has different distribution and stress. See discussion in §5.2.1.

[^25]:    ${ }^{2}$ The term 'article' used for these markers is common to Khasian linguistic literature in general. It can lead to confusion since Khasian markers do not encode definiteness as articles do in English.

[^26]:    ${ }^{3}$ This morpheme is losing its efficacy, being replaced in modern usuage by djiy-, which is highly productive in Khasi.

[^27]:    ${ }^{4}$ I use the term 'pluractional' to identify mutiple, durational, collective or repeated actions by multiple actors, following a suggestion from one of the reviewers. This term and its history of usage is described by Newman (2012), and is increasingly used for verbal markers. Although it has the same form as the prepositional case marker, I continue to use 'BEN' as a gloss in that context, to distinguish the separate functions.

[^28]:    ${ }^{5}$ Lathadlabot is a locality in the town of Jowai.

[^29]:    ${ }^{6}$ The traditional Pnar house is of wood or bamboo and built on a series of specially carved stones on which the timber is framed, so that the family sleeps about two feet above the ground. It has a hollow area underneath used for storage, and the floor is known as $i$ tyngkong i tbret, though this term is also a particular expression used to describe a ritual. Modern houses now build the platform out of cement or packed earth, all but eliminating knowledge of the traditional home except in rural areas and in the minds of elderly people.

[^30]:    ${ }^{1}$ Which corresponds to a non-future tense in English translation. Tense, however, is not a feature of Pnar, though the purposive nominalization seems to be developing that sense.

[^31]:    ${ }^{2}$ This suggests that gender clitics may simply be referential devices, and not necessarily agreement markers. This is a bit of an open question in Pnar and may simply be a terminological issue.

[^32]:    (106) i jingæh
    $i=\boldsymbol{\sigma} i \eta-\varepsilon$ ?
    $\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{AB} . \mathrm{NMZ}$-be.difficult
    'difficulty'

[^33]:    ${ }^{3}$ This morpheme has the same form as the verbal prefix, but has a lower degree of attachment to the following element.

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ Some Jowai speakers are shifting to $p^{h} i$ ' 2 pl ' when addressing a single person (particularly older), as a polite form.

[^35]:    ${ }^{2}$ This system of classification strongly resembles the semantic basis found for German (?) where adult males and females of animates are marked as masculine and feminine, respectively, and non-sex-specific and juvenile terms are assigned neuter gender. This would explain the occurrence of $i=k^{h} n n a$ ? 'the child' in texts, though $k a=$ and $u=$ forms of the same word also occur.

[^36]:    ${ }^{3}$ Aikhenvald (2011) suggests that verbal markers are more likely to grammaticalize before nominal class markers.
    ${ }^{4}$ Munda languages, the geographically closest relatives of the Khasian family, have animate and inanimate gender (Biligiri, 1965; Bhat, 2004).

[^37]:    ${ }^{5}$ See Dixon (1972: 306-12) for a similar suggestion for Dyribal, also see Harvey (1997) for discussion of gender assignment in other Australian languages. Gender assignment particularly of 'sun' and 'moon' seems dependent on mythological gender roles in many languages (i.e. Abu' Arapesh (Papuan; Nekitel 1985, 1986), Western Torres Strait (Bani 1987), and Ket (Krejnovic 1961, Dul'son 1968: 62ff.)). [citations found in Aikhenvald (2003a)]

[^38]:    ${ }^{6}$ I use the term 'identify' in this section in the sense of "weak familiarity" (Roberts, 2003).

[^39]:    ${ }^{7}$ This is somewhat debatable, as in RCs it could be argued that the gender marker cliticizes to $w a$, and in QPs it could be argued that the gender marker cliticizes to the numeral. However, such realizations are largely speaker-dependent.

[^40]:    ${ }^{8}$ This data was provided to me by D. R. Michael Buam, a native speaker of War and a scholar of both War and Pnar. Transcriptions are phonetic due to my unfamiliarity with War phonemes.

[^41]:    ${ }^{9} \mathrm{~A}$ case in point is knten 'mouthful', which refers to betel nut with its accompanying leaf and limestone, considered a unit in its own right.

[^42]:    ${ }^{10}$ LaPolla (1995) notes that it is common in Tibeto-Burman languages for agentive and instrumental functions to involve the same marker.
    ${ }^{11}$ This is a complex verbal construction involving the loan form fal 'file' preceded by a potentially light verb $l \varepsilon$ ? 'do'. Complex predicates and serial verb constructions are discussed in Chapter 16.

[^43]:    ${ }^{12}$ It also is curious that this case marker has the same form as the 'realis' marker on verbs, though a relationship between the two is simply conjecture at this point.

[^44]:    ${ }^{13}$ The word $k a=t^{h}$ waj refers to a wide expanse of river almost like a lake but with a clear current.
    ${ }^{14}$ Here $h a$ could be replaced by $d a$. This overlap in semantic role marking is also reflected in the use of both prepositional case markers to identify agents in passive constructions.

[^45]:    ${ }^{15}$ Rabel (1961, pp. 60-61) identifies a morpheme with the same form in Khasi, but calls it a 'future time' marker. The Khasi morpheme hyn seems to correspond in function and scope with Pnar's $n$ (Rabel-Heymann, 1989).

[^46]:    ${ }^{16}$ I consider noun incorporation a clausal device rather than a verb-modification device, since it demotes an argument. In reality it both modifies a verb and demotes an argument. See §11.3.1 for discussion.

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ Particularly as found in Central Pennsylvania dialects of American English.

[^48]:    ${ }^{2}$ It is noted here that the realis marker $d a$ occurs with the conditional la. Although this is generally not considered likely, it does occur in other languages, namely Chamorro (Chung and Timberlake, 1985). This is dealt with further in §11.4.4.3 below.

[^49]:    ${ }^{1}$ When nouns are preceded by a locative positional noun (a locative preposition combined with a positional noun as in ha-dein 'behind') they retain their gender clitic. They can also retain their gender clitic when preceded by a bare locative, but it is not necessary. See §5.6.3.
    ${ }^{2}$ Definiteness in Pnar is a property of a definite construction and of context, not a property of the gender clitic. See §5.3.4

[^50]:    ${ }^{3}$ The morpheme wej seems to be an allomorph of bej 'mother' in some dialects. One of my Jowai informants said that wej is a respectful form used strictly to refer to older female relatives who have died.
    ${ }^{4}$ It was a matter of humor for consultants that the Pnar terms for grandchild, great-grandchild, and great-great grandchild resembled the forms for

[^51]:    ${ }^{5}$ Out of all my texts ( 859 tokens of $\begin{gathered}\text { jig-) this morpheme occurs without a preceding }\end{gathered}$ gender clitic only once, which may simply be an error in production.
    ${ }^{6}$ The verb jato? seems to have lexicalized from $j a$ - 'BEN' and to? 'be, exist'.

[^52]:    ${ }^{7}$ This is not at all uncommon, as Coupe (2013) indicates. In this paper he argues for a tense system in Ao developing from a series of nominalizations. The purposive

[^53]:    nominalization is shown to be a source of future tense marking, regarding which he states (1127): "A purposive nominalizer is conceptually a very good candidate for encoding a future prediction, since a purposive similarly makes reference to a non-actualized event." Pnar shows a similar tendency, though it has not fully grammaticalized a tense system.
    ${ }^{8}$ Some of the data in this section was previously published in Ring and Gruber (2014a).

[^54]:    u bru wa phæt
    $u=b r u \quad w a \quad p^{h} \varepsilon t$ $\mathrm{M}=$ person NMZ run 'runner, running man'

[^55]:    ${ }^{1}$ Likely an Indo-Aryan loan.

[^56]:    ${ }^{1}$ Haspelmath (2013) claims that all languages have a ditransitive construction, though his definition is primarily semantic, using roles such as "theme" to describe the O-argument or object of transfer (of the verb 'give', for example) and "recipient" to describe the addressee or beneficiary of the action. This does not account for the fact that grammatically in some languages (such as Pnar), one of the secondary arguments of verbs like 'give' is not required by the verb and therefore fulfils a semantic and not a grammatical role.
    ${ }^{2}$ The term 'mood' has traditionally been used to identify various kinds of modality in Western linguistics. However, since Pnar does not have tense but uses two grammaticalized 'realis' and 'irrealis' distinctions to handle what a tense system would deem 'past, present' and 'future', I use the term 'mood' strictly in the grammaticalized sense, following Palmer (2001: 145). Other kinds of modality, such as relating to epistemology or what Timberlake (2007: 315) describes as a choice "between alternatives", I term as either modality or 'sentential' mood types.

[^57]:    ${ }^{3}$ This is typically also the "most agent-like argument" Payne (1997: 133), but not always.

[^58]:    ${ }^{4}$ If arguments are recoverable by context (animacy being an important factor for agents), they are often left out. However, Pnar speakers will generally insert a postverbal pronoun for clarification if you play back a segment of speech, cuing in on the missing post-verbal pronominal referent. Out of context, an elided post-verbal pronominal referent will result in misinterpretation. This provides evidence that the post-verbal position is a key syntactic slot for Pnar speakers.

[^59]:    ${ }^{5}$ Heine and Kuteva (2002) do not cite this verb as a source of grammaticalization of a passive marker. No mention of this exists in Haspelmath (1990) either, though Wong (2009) describes the Cantonese word [bei ${ }^{35}$ ] 'give' being used in the sense of 'allow' and also being used as a passive marker of the undergoer NP. The corresponding Mandarin gei 'give' is used much less frequently as a passive marker. Also consider that words corresponding to 'suffer' are found to grammaticalize as passive markers, and 'suffer' and 'allow' often have overlapping semantic content, i.e. "Suffer the little children to come unto me" from the King James Bible (Luke 18:16). This suggests a potential grammaticalization pathway for the passive marker in Pnar.

[^60]:    ${ }^{6}$ In Pnar, individual standing trees are generally described as masculine, $u=d e n$, while the wood or a fallen $\log$ have the feminine form $k a=d e n$. This mirrors to some degree the purposive/non-finite vs. resultative distinction found in nominalizing clitics . Analogy can also be drawn to a phallic vs. yonic contrast. Not all nouns exhibit this same degree of parallelism, however.

[^61]:    ${ }^{7}$ This is likely a loan from Indo-Aryan /maidaan/ 'flat, open field'.

[^62]:    ${ }^{8}$ Gender clitics encode specificity as well as word class, a topic dealt with briefly above in $\S 5.2$ and further in $\S 5.3 .4$
    ${ }^{9}$ Aikhenvald (2007: 19) notes that incorporation of locatives and instruments occurs in many languages, and cites the example of Chipewyan, an Athabascan language.

[^63]:    ${ }^{1}$ Possibly borrowed from IE: Hindi has a particle /hii/ that variously expresses 'just, still, merely'.

[^64]:    ${ }^{2}$ The word leite is a dialect variant of neite, which combines the ablative marker with a neutral-marked nonvisible deictic. This simply seems to identify the (unseen) source or point of origin, particularly in stories where a sequence of events is being recounted. It is best translated as 'then', or when combined (as here) with $d \varepsilon p$, ought to be translated as 'after that'.

[^65]:    ${ }^{3}$ The verb 'be same' is not identified by Heine and Kuteva (2002) as a possible source for habitual aspect.

[^66]:    ${ }^{4} t \varepsilon$ is also the non-visible deictic marker.

[^67]:    ${ }^{1}$ It should be noted that, until recently, all church-related activities of all denominations and sects of Christianity have been conducted in Khasi. Occasionally a pastor or priest will preach in Pnar and even possibly pray in Pnar. However, the Bible, written prayers, and songbooks are nearly all written in Khasi, which is still the dominant language in churches. This provides an important source of borrowing for Pnar Christians.

[^68]:    ${ }^{1}$ The abbreviation 'MOD' here covers a broad range of modifiers, including possessors,

[^69]:    ${ }^{2}$ Though some nouns which refer to animates have fixed class, i.e. $u=t$ nnran 'male, man', $k a=k n t^{h}$ aj 'female, woman'.

[^70]:    ${ }^{3}$ The verb $\varepsilon m$ functions as a copula as well as a stative verb meaning 'have' or 'exist'. The two meanings are not easily separated for many Pnar speakers and seem to occupy the same semantic space language-internally. This verb is described more fully (along with other copular verbs) in Chapter 15.

[^71]:    ${ }^{4}$ Most likely a loan from an Indo-Aryan language. /bia/ is 'marriage' in Nepali, a noun that requires a light verb 'do' for it to be used as a verb.

[^72]:    ${ }^{5}$ In the case of (839) the nominal head is outside this utterance and is understood from context.

[^73]:    (a) ym toh, wa bakla ki
    $m$ to? wa [bakla ki]
    NEG be NMZ make.mistake 3PL
    '(it's) not, that's their mistake' [PP09MW_027]
    or 'they make.mistake'

[^74]:    ${ }^{6}$ Trees are usually identified as $u=d e n$ but here the use of $k a=$ signifies a cut tree. This lines up with the resultative function of nominalizing gender clitic $k a=$ discussed above (§7.4.1.2).

[^75]:    ${ }^{7}$ i.e. South Dravidian languages, Nivkh (Paleosiberian isolate), Algonquian languages, and various South American languages (Tucano, North Arawak).

[^76]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is worth noting that Heine and Kuteva (2002) do not list comitative markers as a source of relative markers or nominalizers, though they are said to give rise to a host of other functions.

[^77]:    ${ }^{3}$ The word kha, besides being the verb 'be born', is a kinship term that refers to the father's side of the family.

[^78]:    ${ }^{4}$ LaPolla (1995) notes that the use of the ablative for a causal clause marker is pretty common cross-linguistically.

[^79]:    ${ }^{5}$ The context here is in an interview at the archery field. Archery provides a means of holding a lottery which is very popular in Jowai and runs daily. The proponents also promote it as a way to continue practicing traditional ways. The basic idea is that people choose two numbers throughout the day, and the resulting number is based on how many arrows hit the target in two rounds of shooting held after all guesses are in.

[^80]:    ${ }^{6}$ These common double relativizations are a compounding strategy for forming 'elaborate expressions', which are discussed at more length in Chapter 9 (specifically, see §A.1. 6 for expressions involving nominalized/relativized property concepts).

[^81]:    ${ }^{1} \mathrm{~A}$ dialect variant of beipun 'grandmother'.

[^82]:    ${ }^{2}$ I suspect that this marker may function at times as a switch reference marker, but more careful analysis is necessary to confirm this suspicion.

[^83]:    ${ }^{1}$ This is the Khasi pronunciation of the genitive marker.

