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SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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School of Humanities and Social Sciences

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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 argument of a transitive verb	INTS1	intensity level one
		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 argument of a transitive verb	SUP	superlative
PASS	passive	SVC	serial verb construction
PERF	perfective	S	single argument of an intransitive verb
PLUR	pluractional	TAG	tag
PL	plural	TOP	topic
PROG	progressive	VC	verb complex
PROH	prohibitive	WK	week

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 §1.3 the language family, geography, and names are discussed; §1.4 deals briefly with culture and society; §1.5 describes the linguistic situation (with reference to endangerment); §1.6 discusses previous linguistic work on Pnar; §1.7 gives a typological overview with cross-references to sections where particular elements are discussed in greater detail; §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 (*ki=knten kɲnɔʔ*) 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 *pn-* (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 State⁵ 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

¹Jaintia 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.

²Gait’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.

³According 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*.

⁴Yule (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.

⁵The Jaintia Hills District was split into two districts, West and East, in 2012.

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

⁶The drawings in this section are my own reproductions from the respective authors – line depth does not reflect time depth in my reproductions.

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, “Khasi-Khmuic”) 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’, /*ʔar*/ ‘two’, /*ʔum*/ ‘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 *Khyntiam* 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 Nongtraï (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

⁷There 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.

⁸Discussion 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

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 90 47’ 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

⁹Sebastine Pakynteñ, February 2014.

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

¹⁰See also The Times of India (Feb 6, 2012, 02.31AM IST; Aug 11, 2013, 12.18AM IST). [reference in bibliography]

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 1500s 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 Rɔt*) and were forced to muddle along on their own. When events conspired to make the sun (*ka=ɣi*) 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).

¹¹The 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.

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 kirɔt*,¹² who created the world. *U Tre Kirɔt* was assisted in this task by the heavenly mother *ka Bej wa Boʔ Bej wa Tho* responsible for physical appearance and human abilities, and the earthly mother *ka Bej Ramʔaw Bej Ramʔfit* responsible for the physical world. *U Tre Kirɔt*’s messengers (such as *u Prʔat* ‘lightning’) can have physical manifestation in the world or (like *u Kʰat* ‘messenger of *u Tre Kirɔt*’ 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 *balan* ‘church, association’ or *sej* ‘gathering’ they are from. Among Christians this means ‘denomination’, and among *niamtre* this can refer to geographical region (Jowai, Shillong, etc.).

¹²This 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.

¹³In 2001 Christians accounted for 70% of Meghalaya, according to the Census of India.

¹⁴One 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.

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^hnian* ‘rice seedling’, *kba* ‘rice paddy’, *k^ho* ‘husked rice’, *ɕa* ‘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=kper*). Along the mountain slopes toward Bangladesh and Assam, where the climate is warmer, Pnar and War speakers cultivate *u=kwaɟ* (areca/betel nut) and *u=pat^hi* (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 service-based, 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

¹⁵This 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.

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, Nonjingi, 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 Danger¹⁶ 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

¹⁶<http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/>

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

¹⁷Though 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.kɲ.dɛŋ].

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

¹⁸See: <http://www.kaveribooks.com/index.php?p=sr&Uc=9789383252220> [accessed January, 2015]

¹⁹My 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.

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 Structures²⁰ 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

²⁰<http://wals.info>

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 (§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 (§10.2).

²¹I 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.

²²Nagaraja (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.

²³It 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-bakhráo usím* “that Hornbill (is) a large bird” (1844: 620). This corresponds to the Pnar definite relative/adjectival construction: *u=tɛ u=kokaráŋ u wa k^hro u=sim* [M=that M=hornbill 3SG.M.NOM REL be.large M=bird] “that hornbill, which is a large/important bird”. In Pnar, *k^hro u=sim* is an intransitive verb phrase meaning ‘the bird is large/important’, and when relativized by *wa* it serves as a modifier for the preceding definite noun phrase *u=tɛ u=kokaráŋ*. 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.

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, 44.1khz 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 F, 24 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 twenty-three 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 §2.1. Phonemes are given in §2.2: consonants in §2.2.1, vowels in §2.2.2, and diphthongs in §2.2.3. Phonotactics and the challenges Pnar raises to current phonological theory are discussed

in §2.3 and other syllable types are described in §2.3.3. Finally, §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 §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 C[+syllabic]. If the nucleus of the syllable is V

¹Although 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.

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 [ŋ] ‘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 §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 *dud* ‘milk’.

Syllable Template	Phonemic	English Gloss
V	/i/	“1PL (we), 3SG.N”
C _σ	/ŋ/	“REF”
C ₁ V	/le/	“three”
C ₁ C _σ	/pŋ/	“CAUS”
C ₁ V	/k ^h i̯a/	“heavy” [diphthong]
V C ₃	/ar/	“two”
V C ₃	/ɛm/	“have”
C ₁ V C ₃	/hɛʔ/	“big/wide”
C ₁ V C ₃	/laʝ/	“go”
C ₁ V C ₃	/dap/	“be full”
C ₁ C ₂ V	/kba/	“rice” (paddy)
C ₁ C ₂ V C ₃	/rk ^h aʝ/	“laugh”
C ₁ C ₂ V C ₃	/pseŋ/	“snake”
C ₁ C ₂ V C ₃	/k ^h ɲi̯aŋ/	“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	t	d		k	ʔ
aspirated	p ^h		t ^h			k ^h	
laminal-dental			t̪	d̪			
Affricates					tʃ ɕ		
Nasals		m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
Fricatives			s				h
Liquids				l, r			
Approximants		w			j		
Vowels:	front	central	back				
close	i		u				
close-mid	e		o				
open-mid	ɛ		ɔ				
open	ia̠	a*			*[ɐ]		

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: /tʃ/ and /ɕ/ are realized,

²Speakers 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.

respectively, as [c] and [ɟ] 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 syllable-initial position from a select group of tokens.

	Speaker 1		Speaker 2	
	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.
p		7		9
b	-129	8	-88	3
p ^h		66		45
t		5		12
d	-103	9	-69	7
t ^h		69		48
k		13		26
k ^h		81		66
ɕ	-137	44	-69	53
tʃ		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.

[pa]	‘father’	[ta]	‘CLSF.WK’
[p ^h a]	‘2SG.F.ACC’	[t ^h a]	‘boulder’
[baʔ] ³	‘be great’	[da]	‘REAL, INST’
[ka]	‘3SG.F.ACC’	[tʃa]	‘ALL, tea’
[k ^h a]	‘give birth, wound’	[ɕa]	‘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.

³There 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 /baʔ/ here as the nearest contrast to be found in my data.

Figure 2.2: Spectrograms of affricates

The following near-minimal set (minimal for /m/, /n/, and /ɲ/, and near-minimal for /ŋ/) illustrates the place-of-articulation contrasts for nasals (Table 2.5).

[m̃iaw]	‘cat’
[ñiaw]	‘count’
[ɲ̃iam]	‘wipe’
[ŋ̃iaʔ]	‘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).

[raʔ]	‘carry’	[ha]	‘LOC’	[wa]	‘COMT, NMZ’
[la]	‘if’	[sa]	‘only’	[ja]	‘BEN’

Table 2.6: Minimal set: liquids, fricatives, approximants

It is worth noting here that /h/ also occurs as the second member of an onset cluster following voiced consonants, as in /bha/ ‘good’, a clear loan from Bangla /b^ha:la/, which has voiced aspirates. However, words such as these are nearly always realized in Pnar with voicing between the initial consonant and the /h/ (as in [b^hha]) and when the word is abbreviated in fast speech the first consonant can be dropped completely (as in *baŋ* ‘ha’ /baŋ (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 /h/ does not occur in the coda, and the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are neutralized to /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 §2.2.1.2. Nasals also show a clear contrast in the coda (14-17), though it should be pointed out that /ɲ/ follows all vowels apart from /o/ and /ɔ/.⁴ Finally, the phonemes /l/ and /s/ only occur in the coda of borrowed words in my data.

1.	[ap]	‘listen’	7.	[pat]	‘fall’	12.	[dak]	‘sign’
2.	[hab]	‘must’	8.	[pad]	‘plank’	13.	[aʔ]	‘cut’
3.	[ar]	‘two’	9.	[paʲt̪]	‘look’	14.	[dam]	‘stop’
4.	[herbal]	‘herbal’	10.	[paʲd̪]	‘crowd’	15.	[dan]	‘fold’
5.	[klas]	‘class’	11.	[seʲj]	‘bamboo’	16.	[kʰɛɲ]	‘break’
6.	[daw]	‘reason’				17.	[aɲ]	‘monolith’

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 [ʔ] and the laminal-dental stops are most clearly contrastive 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 /t/ and /d/ with /t̪/ and /d̪/ 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).

⁴Which suggests that it may raise the previous vowel, thus causing /a/ > /ɛ/ and /o/ > /u/.

[dat]	‘hit’	[bo:d]	‘follow’
[daʲt̪]	‘bite’	[boʲd̪]	‘itch’

Table 2.8: Minimal pairs for finals /t/ and /t̪/, /d/ and /d̪/

Figure 2.3: Spectrograms of /t/ and /t̪/

Figure 2.4: Spectrograms of /d/ and /d̪/

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 C₁ position, where it is in-

visible to most Pnar speakers and only contrasts with $\emptyset$ in a few disyllabic words (such as *ma.ʔaj* ‘perhaps, uncertain’) where it separates two vowels of the same height/quality, and arguably occurs at the juncture of two grammatical words (*ma* ‘uncle, Q.PART’ + *aj* ‘potential’). Since the glottal stop does not contrast with zero onset in 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 $/ʔ/$ 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 $/aʔ/$ (on the left), but a different word by the same speaker, $/iʔ/$ (on the right), shows no initial glottal. A second recording of $/iʔ/$ 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 $/pɿ-ɛmkam/$ ‘use’, $/ka=im-laj/$ ‘life together’, and even in phrases such as $/wa ɿ ɛm ɔŋ/$ ‘(thing) that was said’.

	$/ʔ/$	
$[ʔaʔ]$	$/aʔ/$	‘cut, slice’
$[iʔ]$	$/iʔ/$	‘be ripe’

Table 2.9: Glottal contrasts

Figure 2.5: Spectrograms of initial and final $/ʔ/$

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 [ʔi=pər] ‘time’ causes height assimilation of the previous vowel when combined with the morpheme [ha] ‘at, LOC’.

- (1) (a) ha + ʔi=pər → heĩ=pər
 LOC + N=time
 ‘at’ + ‘the time’
- (b) ha + ki=pər → ha ki=pər
 LOC + PL=time
 ‘at’ + ‘the times’

In example (1 b), 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 *ha ki=pər* ‘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	[ɪ]	[i]	u
close-mid	e		[ə]	o
open-mid	ɛ		[ʌ]	ɔ
open		a*		*[ɐ]

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 syllable-initially and syllable-finally. Phonetic central vowels that occur between mid and close positions [ɪ], [ə], [ɪ], and [ʌ], 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. [ni]	/ni/	‘PROX’	5. [no]	/no/	‘okay, confirmation’
2. [ne]	/ne/	‘or’	6. [nu]	/nu/	‘which’
3. [nɛ]	/nɛ/	‘D.TAG’	7. [mo]	/mo/	‘stone’
4. [na]	/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 [ɔ]. 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 §2.2.1.2.⁵ Orthographic conventions confuse the issue, as the only means of differentiating between /o/ and /ɔ/ 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

⁵It 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.

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 /u/ and /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 Hz is more significant to a listener than a corresponding change in F1 between 500-1000 Hz. The phonetic vowels [i], [ə], and [ʌ] were seen to overlap almost completely. The status of these sounds, along with [ɪ], are discussed below.

Figure 2.6: Pnar vowel plot

Status of [i], [ə], [ɪ], and [ʌ]

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.

C ₁	“y”	C ₂	Example	Gloss
[-voice]	NO	[-voice]	[tpaɪ]	‘ashes’
[-voice]	YES	[+voice]	[tʰdɔŋ]	‘tail’
[+voice]	YES	[-voice]	[bʰha]	‘good’
[+voice]	YES	[+voice]	[bʰlaɪ]	‘god’

Table 2.12: Onset Cluster Voicing

This principle of consonant clusters seems related more closely to production processes than to phonemic inventory. The sounds [ɪ] 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 [ɪ] and [ʌ] are realizations of phonemic /i/ and /a/, respectively. The sound [ɪ] only occurs in closed syllables when the coda is an anterior consonant. The sound [ʌ] only occurs in unstressed syllables. Allophonic rules for these sounds are given below in Table 2.13.

/i/	→	[ɪ] / _ C [anterior]
		[ɪ] / elsewhere
		<i>/i/ realized as [ɪ] before anterior consonants</i>
/a/	→	[ʌ] / C _ C [unstressed]
		[a] / elsewhere
		<i>/a/ realized as [ʌ] in unstressed syllables (as in fast speech)</i>

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.

/i/		/i/ → [ɪ]	
[tiʔ]	‘dig’	[tʃim]	‘take’
[tʃi]	‘one, INDEF’	[tʃit]	‘hot’
		[tip]	‘know’

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 [ɪ] in closed syllables. Burling reports /e/ to be realised as [ɛ] in closed syllables, which also occurs among Pnar speakers in certain contexts, raising the question of whether [ɛ] 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 /e/ and /ɛ/, /u/ and /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 *eʔ* ‘leave’ and *ɛʔ* ‘difficult’, *k^hu* ‘hang’ and *k^ho* ‘rice’) to show that each vowel has its own unique target. The presence of clear minimal pairs for /e/ and /ɛ/ in Pnar suggests that the confusion between the two vowels may be due to the lack of a character to represent /ɛ/ in the current orthography. Pnar scholars are trying to address this by introducing the character ‘æ’ to represent the /ɛ/ sound. A similar issue regarding /u/ and /o/ seems to have been resolved by using orthographic ‘u’ and ‘oo’. It may be that sounds such as [ɛ] 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 /i/ and /a/ with their allophones [ɪ] and [ʌ] is a tense/lax distinction. With regard to /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 /a/ is realized as [ʌ] (or potentially [ə], [ɛ]) when

[sʌ.laʔ] / [sa.laʔ]	‘potato’
[jʌ.liʔ] / [ja.liʔ]	‘smooth’
[saʔ]	‘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 [u] is [ʊ]. 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. /deɲ/ [deʲɲ] ‘tree’ is written *deiñ*, /spɔʔ/ [spʲoʔ] ‘hair’ is written *sñiooh*, /daʔ/ [daʲt̚] ‘bite’ is written *dait* and so forth. Phonemically, however only one diphthong exists in closed syllables, namely /ia/ (variously realised as [ia, iʌ, iɛ]), and even this seems ambiguous in forms such as /kʰɲiaŋ/ ([kʰɲʲiaŋ] or [kʰɲiʌŋ]) ‘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

⁶Other 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 diphthongs 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.

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).

	Orth.	Phonemic	Open Syllable		Closed Syllable	
			Phonetic	Gloss	Phonetic	Gloss
1.	ia	/îa/	[bía]	‘marry’	[sʔîaɾ]	‘chicken’
2.	ie	/îa/	n/a		[bnîɛt]	‘tusk’
3.	io	/îo/	n/a		[pʔîom]	‘rough’
4.	ioo	/îo/	n/a		[spʔîoʔ]	‘hair’
5.	ei	/êi/	[bej]	‘mother’	[dêjɲ]	‘tree, wood’
6.	ai	/âi/	[daj]	‘sell’	[dâi̯t]	‘bite’
7.	ui	/ûi/	n/a		[ksûi̯d]	‘evil’
8.	oi	/ôi/	[rɔ̂j]	‘crawl’	[kʰôi̯d]	‘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 [ʃ] exists in speech, as does alveolar approximant [ɹ], though these don’t occur consistently enough to warrant careful description here.

⁷Grignard’s ‘opening’ diphthongs correspond to orthographic falling diphthongs, and his ‘closing’ diphthongs to orthographic rising diphthongs. I believe this is simply a terminological issue.

The former is recognized by Pnar speakers as being a Khasi sound that is used in place of /tʃ/. 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 /r/, though very infrequently. This may be a factor of fast speech or articulatory undershoot. Other sounds that occur in borrowed words are [f], [v], [z], and [g], though for older speakers [f] is often realized as /p^h/, [v] as /b/, [z] as /s/ or /ts/, and [g] as /k/ or /k^h/.

The phonemes /tʃ/ and /ɕ/ have been reported elsewhere as voiceless and voiced palatal stops /c/ and /j/ (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 /tʃit/ “hot” (phonetically [tit] and [tʃit]) are included here for reference (Figure 2.7). Were /tʃ/ truly the palatal stop /c/ we would expect it to have similar VOT duration to other voiceless stops in C₁ position. Spectrograms of these words using the same time frame show a difference in duration between [t] and [tʃ], where over the same time span of 328 ms, [t] has a duration of 18 ms, and [tʃ] has a duration of 100 ms, more than five times longer than [t]. The voiced affricate /ɕ/ patterns similarly with /d/ to /tʃ/ and /t/.

⁸Henderson (1976: 525) describes the final /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.

Figure 2.7: Sound Diagrams of /tit/ “beans” and /tʃit/ “hit”

The phonemes /c/ and /ɟ/ 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 Jowai-Pnar (at least among my consultants) the sound has undergone lenition to an affricate, with length in C₃ 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.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{C[affricate]} &\rightarrow \text{C[unreleased]} / _ \# \\ &\quad / \text{tʃ/ and /ɟʃ/ realized as [c] or [ɟ] word-finally} \end{aligned}$$

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 /pɲ-/ ‘CAUS’ is variably realized as allomorphs [pɭ-, pɾ-, pɲ-] depending on whether the following syllable begins with a liquid, alveolar, and velar, respectively.⁹

⁹Not all words beginning with /pɾ-/ , however, are so easily identified as deconstructible into the causative morpheme and accompanying root. Evidence for this is that /pɾ-/ often precedes velar onsets (as in /pɾk^hat/ ‘think’) as well as alveolars (as in /pɾt^haj/ ‘earth, world’). This may reflect the presence of two separate prefixes /pɾ-/ and /pɲ-/ , 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.

Morph	Gloss	Morph	Gloss	Word	Gloss
/pɲ-/	‘CAUS’	/laŋ/	‘be together’	[pɭlaŋ], [pɭ:aŋ]	‘gather’
/pɲ-/	‘CAUS’	/tʃaʔ/	‘suffer, allow’	[pɾtʃaʔ]	‘oppose’
/pɲ-/	‘CAUS’	/k ^h aj/	‘get up’	[pɲk ^h aj]	‘pick up’
/kam/	‘want, like, work’	/mɔn/	‘will’	[kam:ɔn]	‘how’
/kat/	‘as, like’	/tɛ/	‘NVIS’	[kat:ɛ]	‘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:ɔn/ ‘how’, in which the coda of the grammatical word /kam/ ‘want, like, work’ forms a geminate with the onset of /mɔn/ ‘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
	C1	C2	V	C3
p	+	+		+
p ^h	+			
b	+	+		+
t	+	+		+
d	+	+		+
t̚	/			+
d̚	/			+
t ^h	+	+		
tʃ	+	+		
dʒ	+	+		
ʃ				+
l	+	+		+
r	+	+		+
m	+	+		+
n	+	+		+
ɲ	+	+		+
w	+	+		+
j	+	+		+

Table 2.19: Pnar consonant phonotactics

	p	p ^h	b	t	t ^h	d	k	k ^h	ʔ	tʃ	dʒ	m	n	ɲ	r	l	s	h	w	j
cons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
syllabic																				
voice			+			+					+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
cont																	+	+		
del rel										+	+									
lateral																				
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 (C_1 , C_2 , V , C_3) 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:	(C_1) (C_2) V (C_3)
where C_1	= / p, p ^h , b, t, t ^h , d, t̪, d̪, k, k ^h , ʔ, tʃ, ɕ, m, n, ɲ, r, l, s, h, w, j / [-syllabic, +cons]
C_2	= / p, b, t, d, k, k ^h , ʔ, c, ʃ, m, n, ɲ, r, l, s, w / [-syllabic, +cons]
V	= / i, e, ε, u, o, ɔ, a, ia / [+syllabic]
C_3	= [p, t, d, t̪, d̪, ʔ, ʃ, m, n, ɲ, l, r, w, j] [+cons, -spread, ±syllabic]

Table 2.20: Maximal Syllable Structure with Features

The table demonstrates that distinctive feature rules for consonants in C_1 and C_2 position are not particularly explanatory. In 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 [±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 *tdem* ‘smoke’ illustrates, though the two consonants of the *td-* 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.

	Stops/Plosives							Fricatives/Affricates				Liquids			Nasals		
	p	b	t	t ^h	d	k	k ^h	ʔ	s	h	ʈʂ	ɕ	l	r	m	n	ɲ
p			pt-		pd-			pʔ-	ps-		pʈʂ-		pl-	pr-		pn-	
p ^h													p ^h l-	p ^h r-		p ^h n-	
b										bh- ¹⁰			bl-	br-		bn-	
t	tp-	tb-			td-	tk-	tk ^h -						tl-	tr-	tm-	tn-	tɲ-
t ^h													t ^h l-	t ^h r-	t ^h m-	t ^h n-	t ^h ɲ-
d							dk^h-			dh-				dr-			dɲ-
k	kp-	kb-	kt-	kt ^h -	kd-			kʔ-	ks-		kʈʂ-	kɕ-	kl-	kr-	km-	kn-	kɲ-
k ^h													k ^h l-	k ^h r-	k ^h m-	k ^h n-	k ^h ɲ-
s	sp-	sb-	st-		sd-	sk-	sk ^h -	sʔ-					sl-	sr-	sm-	sn-	sɲ-
ʈʂ		ʈʂb-			ʈʂd-	ʈʂk-		ʈʂʔ-					ʈʂl-	ʈʂr-	ʈʂn-		ʈʂɲ-
ɕ										ɕh-			ɕl-	ɕr-			ɕɲ-
l								lʔ-							lm-		lɲ-
r		rb-			rd-	rk-	rk ^h -								rm-	rn-	rɲ-
m														mr-		mn-	

Table 2.21: Attested Pnar onset clusters

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 /bh/, /dh/, and /ɕh/ clusters, as opposed to aspirates which exhibit affrication during release.

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 [r] as a voiced trill is more sonorous than [k^h], a voiceless plosive, or [d], a voiced plosive.

/k ^h niaŋ/	‘insect’
/rk ^h aj/	‘laugh’
/rdaŋ/	‘neck’

Table 2.22: Sample Pnar onset clusters

When viewed in the spectrograph (Figure 2.9) there is slight evidence of a vowel between [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 C₁ or C₂ 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 [r].

The highly marked sequences from Table 2.21 above can be seen in the words /tʃbət/ ‘scratch’, /tʃdit/ ‘pinch’, /dk^hət/ ‘member’, and /lʔər/ ‘wind’ in Figures 2.10-2.11.

Figure 2.9: Sound Diagrams of /rk^haj/ and /rd aɲ/

Figure 2.10: /tʃ b o t/ ‘scratch’ and /tʃ d i t/ ‘pinch’

Figure 2.11: /dk^hət/ ‘member’ and /lʔər/ ‘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 /d/ that occurs as the onset of /dk^hət/ in the spectrogram above. This is likely a factor of recording or lower volume on the part of the speaker. In the recordings of /lʔər/ 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
<i>kŋ.de</i>
nine
‘nine’ | (3) pynhap
<i>pŋ-hap</i>
CAUS-fall
‘drop’ | (4) kylli
<i>kɭ.li</i>
ask
‘ask’ | (5) pyrthai
<i>pɾ.tʰaj</i>
earth
‘earth’ |
|---|--|---|---|

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 unstressed (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 $C_1V_1.C_1V_1$, 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 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 ‘sesquisyllables’, 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 /rdaŋ/ ‘neck’, with dialect variants such as [rən.daŋ], 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 /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 [tʃ] or [c], ‘æ’ for [ɛ], ‘ñ’ for [ɲ], and ‘oo’ for [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.

¹¹At least in some fashion since the 1930s, as per publication of the book *Rwai Pnar* (Pnar Songs).

¹²See Henderson (1991) for a detailed discussion of the phonetics of the Standard Khasi orthography.

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’	Ñ ñ	ɲ	ñiam	‘wipe’
Ch ch	tʃ, c	chang	‘basket’	O o	ɔ	soh	‘fruit’
D d	d	dein	‘tree’	Oo oo	o	moo	‘stone’
E e	e	e	‘give’	P p	p	pung	‘lake’
Æ æ	ɛ	æh	‘leave’	R r	r	rapasa	‘duck’
Ng ng	ŋ	sngi	‘sun’	S s	s	salah	‘potato’
H h	h	hati	‘elephant’	T t	t	toh	‘beans’
	ʔ	toh	‘right, correct’	U u	u	um	‘water’
	h	khla	‘tiger’	W w	w	wait	‘sword’
I i	i	tit	‘mushroom’	Y y	j	yung	‘house’
J j	ɕ, ʃ	ja	‘rice’		ɕ	rynteih	‘bow’
L l	l	ladaw	‘banana’		ʔ	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, [ʔ] when it immediately follows a vowel, and aspiration [h] 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 [ʔ] 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 /j/ when it occurs after a vowel or marks /t/ and /d/ as laminal [t̪] and [d̪], respectively.

H h	→	[h] / _ V	<i>h</i> represents glottal fricative [h] when immediately preceding a vowel example: <i>hati</i> [hati] ‘elephant’
	→	[ʔ] / V _	<i>h</i> represents glottal stop [ʔ] when immediately following a vowel example: <i>toh</i> [tʰʔ] ‘beans’
	→	[h] / C _	<i>h</i> represents aspiration [h] when immediately following a consonant (excluding /c/, since /ch/ represents [tʃ] or [c]) example: <i>khla</i> [kʰla] ‘tiger’
Y y	→	[j] / _ V	<i>y</i> represents palatal approximant [j] when immediately preceding a vowel example: <i>yung</i> [juŋ] ‘house’
	→	ɕ / C _ C	<i>y</i> represents a syllabic consonant when occurring between two consonants example: <i>rynteih</i> [rɲteʔ] ‘bow’
	→	[ʔ] / C _ V	<i>y</i> represents glottal stop [ʔ] when after a consonant and before a vowel example: <i>syiar</i> [sʔiar] ‘chicken’

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 *wa* /wa/ and *ym* /ɲ/ – therefore I write [wa ɲ] in the second line, using IPA to ease the explanation of the example. Another example is *wow*, a contracted version of /wa/ and /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 pronunciation 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 *wa* 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 hierarchy”. 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 *ha* ‘LOC’, or the morpheme *ŋa*, 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 *heipɔr* ‘at the time’, which is composed of two grammatical words, the locative marker *ha* and

the noun *i=pər* ‘time’. Further, multiple phonological words can combine to form a grammatical word, as in compounds (§3.3) such as *i=bam i=diʔ* ‘eating and drinking’, and in reduplication (§3.4) such as *ɕɛm ɕɛm* ‘slowly’. The majority of roots in Pnar are monosyllabic, though disyllabic forms do exist (*kl.li* ‘ask’, *k^ha.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* → *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*
 'rk^haj ,u=,mal'ŋiaŋ but not *'rk^haj ,u='mal,ŋiaŋ*
 laugh M=malngiang laugh 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=ni* ‘this’ → *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: *pŋ-* ‘caus’ + *jap* ‘die’ → *pŋ-jap* ‘kill’, but not *jap-pŋ*)

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 (*da* ‘realis’ + *laɟ* ‘go’ forms two separate phonological words prosodically), while other phonological words are formed from two grammatical words, as in *u=bru* ‘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=taj* ‘LOC + 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 *neibhaʔ* ‘because’, composed of *na* + *i=bhaʔ* ‘ABL + N=share’ (consider also *woubbru* or *wowbru* [wɔubru], which is the realization of *wa* + *u=bru* ‘with the man’).

Many prosodic words can also be broken down into grammatical elements, which combine to form a single grammatical word, as in: *pŋ-* ‘CAUS’ + *hap* ‘fall’ → *pŋ-hap* ‘cause-fall’ i.e. ‘drop’, where two grammatical elements are combined. Also attested are words where three grammatical words combine: *pŋ-* ‘CAUS’ + *ɛm* ‘have’ + *kam* ‘want’ → *pŋ-ɛm-kam* ‘cause-have-want’ 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).

- (7) *u nongpynæmkam*
 u=nɔŋ-pŋ-ɛm-kam
 M=AG.NMZ-CAUS-HAVE-want
 ‘user’

¹In writing, Pnar speakers consider the two elements *u* and *bru* 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.

- (8) ka jingyapynkræh
ka=ɕiŋ-ja-pŋ-krɛʔ
 F=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: *ka* = ‘feminine’, *u* = ‘masculine’, *i* = ‘neuter’, and *ki* = ‘plural’. (§3.2.1.1, 5.2)
- prepositional case markers: *ha* ‘locative’, *ʈa* ‘allative’, *na* ‘ablative’, *ja* ‘benefactive, dative’, *da* ‘instrumental’, which have variable stress depending on what they precede. (§3.2.1.2, 5.6)
- Light, auxiliary, or linking particles: *ʈi* ‘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: *pŋ-* ‘causative’, *ja-* ‘pluractional’, *li-* ‘durative’. (§6.3)
- Verbal nominalizers: *ɕiŋ-* ‘general nominalizer’, *nɔŋ-* ‘agentive nominalizer’, *ju-* ‘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 §5.10, in Chapter 8, and in §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’, *ka=* ‘feminine’, *i=* ‘neutral/diminutive’, and *ki=* ‘plural’, which occur with all nouns in default situations and occur with other referential

form	gloss	function	locus of marking
<i>u=</i>	‘M’	Gender, Number	N
<i>ka=</i>	‘F’	Gender, Number	N
<i>i=</i>	‘N’	Gender, Number	N
<i>ki=</i>	‘PL’	Number	N
<i>jɔŋ</i>	‘GEN’	Possession	N
<i>ha</i>	‘LOC’	Loc. relations	NP
<i>na</i>	‘ALL’	Loc. relations	NP
<i>ʈa</i>	‘ABL’	Loc. relations	NP
<i>ja</i>	‘BEN’	Clause relations	NP
<i>da</i>	‘INST’	Clause relations	NP
<i>wa</i>	‘COMT, REL’	Clause relations	N, NP, 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 a- d) and these morphemes are described in greater detail in Chapter 7.

<p>(9) (a) <i>u blang</i>
<i>u=blaŋ</i>
M=goat
‘male goat’</p>	<p>(c) <i>i blang</i>
<i>i=blaŋ</i>
N=goat
‘small/neutral goat’</p>
<p>(b) <i>ka blang</i>
<i>ka=blaŋ</i>
F=goat
‘female goat’</p>	<p>(d) <i>ki blang</i>
<i>ki=blaŋ</i>
PL=goat
‘goats’</p>

Similar forms appear in Standard Khasi. Dryer (1989), following Rabel (1961), calls these forms articles and identifies *ki* 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 *ki* (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

²The 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.

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 *ka=a^jn* ‘rule’, taken from a continuous stream of speech and occurring 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 [ka=a^jn] ‘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 (1 a) above, the vowel /a/ in the locative marker *ha* raises as a result of concatenation with the high front vowel /i/ in the word *i=pər* ‘time’. But in (10 b) the concatenation of the feminine gender clitic *ka* and the bare noun *india* ‘India’ results in no such raising of the vowel /a/.

- (10) (a) *ha* + *ʔi=pər* → *hēi=pər*
 LOC + N=*time*
 ‘at’ + ‘the/that time’
- (b) *ka=* + *india* → *ka=india*
 F= + *India* *ka=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: *ni* ‘proximal’, *te* ‘mesio-proximal’, *tu* ‘medial’, *taj* ‘distal’, and *tɛ* ‘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=ni *u=bru*
 M=PROX M=person
 ‘this man (just here)’ [MPSRJ_030]
- (12) *kani ka chnong*
ka=ni *ka=ʃnɔŋ*
 F=PROX F=village
 ‘this village (just here)’ [HPAHR_062]
- (13) *utæ u bru*
u=tɛ *u=bru*
 M=NVIS M=person
 ‘that man (unknown, non-visible to you)’ [PP15PI_095]
- (14) *katæ ka por*
ka=tɛ *ka=pər*
 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 *ha* with verbal modifiers (17). Directional locatives identify the direction of something to or from the speaker, using the ablative *na* ‘from’ (18) or the allative *ʔa* ‘to, towards’ (19).

<p>(15) <i>hakhmat</i>
<i>ha=k^hmat</i>
LOC=face
‘in/at front’</p>	<p>(18) <i>nadooh</i>
<i>na=doʔ</i>
ABL=before
‘from before’</p>
<p>(16) <i>heipor</i>
<i>he=i=pɔr</i>
LOC=N=time
‘then (previously)’</p>	<p>(19) <i>chapoh</i>
<i>ʔa=pɔʔ</i>
ALL=inside
‘to the inside’</p>
<p>(17) <i>hawa</i>
<i>ha=wa</i>
LOC=NMZ
‘when’</p>	

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 *je* (allomorph of *ja*) serves to mark benefactive, reflexive, and/or dative properties of the following element, while *ne* (allomorph of *na*) is ablative. There is also a difference between the nominalized verbal forms to which they cliticize: *bha* ‘be good’ and *bhaʔ* ‘reason, share, role’ (*i*= serves as the nominalizer in both cases).

<p>(20) (a) <i>yeibha</i>
 <i>je=i=bha</i>
 BEN=N=be.good
 ‘for the good of...’</p> | <p>(b) <i>yeibhah</i>
 <i>je=i=bhaʔ</i>
 BEN=N=reason
 ‘for the purpose of...’</p> |
|--|--|

(21)	(a) <i>neibha</i>
<i>ne=i=bha</i>
ABL=N=be.good
‘because’, ‘in order that’ | (b) <i>neibhah</i>
<i>ne=i=bha?</i>
ABL=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 *ʔi* 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*
im ki ha-doʔ ʔi=spaʔ snæm
 live 3PL LOC-when INDF=hundred year
 ‘they live up to one/a hundred years (of age)’ [BMPJ_024]
- (23) *chi kyntein i hok*
ʔi=kɲten i=hɔk
 INDF=word ACT=be.honest
 ‘one/an honest word’ [PP01CSE_075]
- (24) *chi tylli u kwai*
ʔi tlli u=kwaʔ
 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 *tɛ* to mean ‘since’ or ‘like that/then’ (26). The morpheme *kat* never occurs on its own, while *kam* occurs as a separate verb and *tɛ* occurs as a clause-chaining morpheme.

- (25) yn katkam ka hukum tæ...
 n **kat-kam** ka=hukum tæ
 ref as-like F=command NVIS
 ‘so according to the commandment...’ [PP14MF_063]
- (26) kattæ i por
kat-tæ i=pɔr
 as-NVIS 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 *laɟ* ‘go’ seems related to a reduced form *li* 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 *laɟ* which serves as an auxiliary to create a complex verbal expression of activity (28 – note that here the addition of *da* gives a subjunctive translation). Other aspectual markers that also occur immediately preverbally (*dɛp* ‘perfective, finish’, *ʃaʔ* ‘passive, allow’) behave as separate words in terms of stress, lending credence to an analysis of *li* constructions as compounds or affixed forms. These morphemes are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

- (27) tæ liræp soh u pli
 tæ **li-rɛp** sɔʔ u=pli
 NVIS DUR-cultivate fruit M=Pli
 ‘Pli cultivated fruit (for some time)’ [SI2_087]
- (28) da lai liyang i
 da **laɟ li-jaŋ** i
 REAL go DUR-wait 1PL
 ‘we would go wait’ [BPVM_003]

A few particles such as *ke* 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) *klam ke*
klam=ke
 speak=NPURP
 ‘speak (i.e. for fun)’
- (30) *lai ke*
laj=ke
 go=NPURP
 ‘wander’

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 *pŋ* ‘CAUS’ occurring 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
<i>nɔŋ-</i>	‘AG.NMZ’	Nominalizer	V
<i>ju-</i>	‘INST.NMZ’	Nominalizer	V
<i>ɕiŋ-</i>	‘AB.NMZ’	Nominalizer	V
<i>ka=</i>	‘RES’	Nominalizer	V
<i>u=</i>	‘NF’	Nominalizer	V
<i>i=</i>	‘ACT’	Nominalizer	V
<i>ki=</i>	‘PL.NMZ’	Nominalizer	V
<i>li-</i>	‘DUR’	Aspect	V
<i>ja-</i>	‘PLUR’	Aspect	V
<i>pŋ-</i>	‘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 *nɔŋ-* to a verb (31). Instrumental nouns (identifying the thing used to perform an action) are derived from verbs by prefixing *ju-*³ (32). Abstract nouns are derived from verbs by preposing *ɕiŋ-* (33). Resultative nouns are derived by preposing the feminine gender clitic *ka=* (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

³ This morpheme is losing its efficacy, being replaced in modern usage by *ɕiŋ-*, which is highly productive in Khasi.

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.

<p>(31) u nongkræh
<i>u=ɲɔŋ-krɛʔ</i>
M=AG.NMZ-work
‘worker’</p>	<p>(34) ka kræh
<i>ka=krɛʔ</i>
RES=work
‘the work (complete)’</p>
<p>(32) ka yuspong
<i>ka=ju-spɔŋ</i>
F=INST.NMZ-wrap
‘turban’</p>	<p>(35) i kræh
<i>i=krɛʔ</i>
ABS=work
‘the work (ongoing)’</p>
<p>(33) i jingim
<i>i=ɕiŋ-im</i>
N=AB.NMZ-live
‘life’</p>	<p>(36) u kræh
<i>u=krɛʔ</i>
NF=work
‘to work (non-finite)’</p>

3.2.2.2 Verbal prefixes

Verbal prefixes are *li-* ‘durative’ (37) which derives a durative verb, *ja-* (38) which derives a pluractional⁴ verb (i.e. benefactive, reflexive, reciprocal, depending on the context), and *pɲ-* (39) which derives a causative verb or verb of assistance (also depending on context). These morphemes are highly productive, though *pɲ-* often identifies Khasi words, and both precede the verb. When *pɲ-* precedes a volitional verb, Pnar speakers interpret this morpheme as meaning ‘do something for someone’, so that *pɲ-tʃbot rdaŋ u o* means ‘he scratches his neck for him’ and not *‘he makes him scratch his neck’.

<p>(37) likhait
 <i>li-kʰat</i>
 DUR-pick
 ‘pick awhile’</p> | <p>(38) yakræh
 <i>ja-krɛʔ</i>
 PLUR-work
 ‘work together’
 ‘work for s.o.’</p> | <p>(39) pynyap
 <i>pɲ-jap</i>
 CAUS-die
 ‘kill’</p> |
|--|---|---|

⁴I use the term ‘pluractional’ to identify multiple, 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.

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=wɔʔ kiaŋ naŋbaʔ* ‘elder/honored Kiang Nanbah’, the constituent *kiaŋ naŋbaʔ* is a prosodic word, where the syllable *baʔ* is stressed relative to the previous syllables. This constituent is a separate prosodic word from *u=wɔʔ*, 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. *ka=balan lat^hadlabot* ‘Lathadlabot church’, ‘church of Lathadlabot’⁵ where ‘church’ is the head; compare *ka=jun ɔ* [home 1SG.NOM] ‘my house’) and 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 N + V – the second element often describes a property of the first and the compound acts as a nominal (i.e. *u=mo-jɔŋ* [M=stone-be.black] ‘coal’, *ti-diaŋ* [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. *kliaŋ kɾɿʔan* ‘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. *haʔɾɔŋ* ‘above’) can be used to precede each of the

⁵Lathadlabot is a locality in the town of Jowai.

two elements in the form (42).

- (40) ki mrad ki mreng
ki=mrad ki=mreŋ
 PL=animal PL=animal
 ‘the animals’ [BPDJ_025]

- (41) ka bei ram-aw bei ramchit
ka=bej ramaw bej ramtʃit
 F=mother earth mother nature
 ‘earth mother’ (mother earth) [PP13RS_170]

- (42) ku u hajrong tyngkong hajrong tbæt
ku u ha=ɕrɔŋ [tɣkɔŋ] ha=ɕrɔŋ [tbæt]
 climb 3SG.M.NOM at=above floor at=above storage.place⁶
 ‘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 *ki=kɲten kɲnɔʔ* ‘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. *ɕɛm ɕɛm* [be.soft be.soft] ‘softly’, *kʰaɕɕiak kʰaɕɕiak* [be.little be.little] ‘little bit’) or universal demonstratives (i.e. *i=wɔn i=wɔn* [N=which N=which] ‘anywhere’, *u=ji u=ji* [M=thing 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

⁶The 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 tbæt*, 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.

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 *ɕar* ‘be different’ is reduplicated for a distributive meaning as *ɕar ɕar* ‘different from another’. In each example, the element immediately following the reduplicated verb is juxtaposed with another element which may or may not be fully identified. In (43) *ka=bɲta* ‘purpose’ is juxtaposed with *i*, which can be translated here as ‘another’. In (44) *ka=lian* ‘side’ is opposed to an unspecified ‘side’ which belongs to another group of people. In (45) *ki=rukom* ‘ways’ opposes another set of ‘ways’, and *ki=t^haw* ‘places’ opposes another set of ‘places’. In (46) the NP *ki=ni ki=so* ‘these four’ refers to a group of people and *ɕar ɕar* allows each individual to be opposed to the others in terms of where they settle.

- (43) waroh jar jar ka bynta
warɔʔ ɕar~ɕar ka=bɲta
 all be.different~DIST F=purpose
 ‘all (have) different fates’ [PP01CSE_060]
- (44) jar jar ka liang
ɕar~ɕar ka=lian
 be.different~DIST F=side
 ‘(they went) different ways’ [SI1_049]
- (45) ki jar jar ki rukom læh ki jar jar ki thaw
ki ɕar~ɕar ki=rukom læʔ ki ɕar~ɕar
 3PL be.different~DIST PL=way do 3PL be.different~DIST
ki=t^haw
 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
tɛ ja-tʃɔŋ nɔʔ ki=ɕar~ɕar ki=ni ki=so
 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 *uŋ* ‘return’ reduplicated seems to encode a distributive meaning where multiple people are returning multiple things.

- (47) tæ uĩ uĩ biang ki
 tɛ **uŋ~uŋ** biang 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.

- (48) 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 *kllep* ‘throughout’ is reduplicated to give a distributed meaning.

- (49) lai kylliĩ kylliĩ
 laj **kllep~kllep**
 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
 ŋ **laj~laj** i
 NEG go~DIST 1PL
 ‘we didn’t go (quickly)’ [TACJ_549]

- (51) tæ lai lai ki
 tɛ **laj~laj** ki tɛ
 NVIS go~DIST 3PL
 ‘so they went (quickly)’ [PP03SKY_017]

Intensity – gradation

In (52-53) the verb *k^haɕiak* ‘be little’ is reduplicated for an intensified meaning, i.e. *k^haɕiak k^haɕiak* ‘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).

- (52) lut khajiak khajuk
lut kʰaɕʰiak~kʰaɕʰuk
 finish be.little~GRAD
 ‘(I) finish a bit’ [BMPJ_084]
- (53) tæ dih cha khajiak khajiak
tɛ diʔ tʃa kʰaɕʰiak~kʰaɕʰiak
 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 *ɕʰɛaʃ* ‘be far’, and in (55) it modifies *miat* ‘be nice’.

- (54) da jŋgai bha bha i thaw sæ
da ɕʰɛaʃ bha~bha i=tʰaw sɛ
 REAL be.far INTS1~GRAD N=place C.TAG
 ‘the place is very very far away ok’ [TACJ_349]
- (55) miat bha bha
miat bha~bha
 be.nice INTS1~GRAD
 ‘(it was) very nice’ [HPAHR_163]

Intensity – increase

In (56) the adverbial *doʔ* ‘completely’ (from the verb meaning ‘lose’) is reduplicated for a universal or expansive meaning. Here it modifies the locative clausal complement *he=i=pɔr exam* ‘at exam time’.

- (56) dooh dooh heipor exam
doʔ~doʔ he=i=pɔr ɛksam
 completely~INTS LOC=N=time exam
 ‘only ever at exam time (we would study)’ [BPVM_020]

In (57) the verb *nɛkɔŋ* ‘be first’ is reduplicated for intensity and precedes the clause complement which is the thing decided.

- (57) tæ i wa læh i nyngkong nyngkong
tɛ i wa lɛʔ i nɛkɔŋ~nɛkɔŋ
 NVIS 1PL NMZ do 1PL be.first~INTS
 ‘So the very first thing (we decided)...’ [LHJ_016]

In (58) the reduplication of *ɕʰan* ‘be near’ also serves an intensity function.

- (58) tæ dang jan jan
 tɛ daŋ **ɕan~ɕan**
 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 *ɕrɔŋ* ‘be long, be tall’ gives extra intensity and near comprehensiveness to the quality, i.e. *ɕrɔŋ ɕrɔŋ* ‘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 deĩn ki wa jrong jrong bha
 ki=deŋ ki wa **ɕrɔŋ~ɕrɔŋ** bha
 PL=tree 3PL NMZ be.long~INTS INTS1
 ‘the entirely long logs’ [LS2J_014]

Intensity – immediate, sudden

In (60) the speaker reduplicates the verb *kɕut* ‘be sick’ to emphasize the suddenness of the disease.

- (60) kjut kjut tæ yap noh
kɕut~kɕut tɛ jap nɔʔ
 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 *ŋam* ‘sink’ to convey the intensity and suddenness of the downward motion, expanding on this sense with the verb *sʔuŋ* ‘spin, revolve’.

- (61) tæ ngam ngam i chapoh tæ syuiñ i kamtu
 tɛ **ŋam~ŋam** i tʃa-pɔʔ tɛ sʔuŋ 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.

- (62) rap rap tæ rap phær bait
rap~rap tɛ rap p^hɛr baɪ̯
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^hruj* ‘fluffy’ has an emphatic or intensified sense here when reduplicated, and encodes a change of state, particularly when combined with the copular verb *man*.

- (63) man u phrui phrui
man u **p^hruj~p^hruj**
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 mɔ
know~DIST Q.TAG
‘you know (it)?’ [PP07SNM_004]
- (65) tip tip pyrtuit i re
tip~tip pɪ̯tut̩ i rɛ
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 §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 clause-initially 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
la $\jmath$ u
 go 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘he went/goes’ [PP05KO_013]
- (67) ym lai o
 η **la $\jmath$** o
 NEG go 1SG.NOM
 ‘I don’t/didn’t go’ [PP04SKO_013]
- (68) yalai ki
ja-la $\jmath$ *ki*
 PLUR-go 3PL
 ‘they went (together)’ [PP05KO_042]
- (69) da dæp lai u
da *dæp* **la $\jmath$** u
 REAL PERF go 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘he finished going’ [PP01CSE_036]
- (70) lai biang i
la $\jmath$ *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
pɔ $\jmath$ **ka=bla η**
 arrive 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

¹Which 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.

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. *inlan* ‘England’, but *ka=inlan* ‘the England [that I was telling you about]’).

- (72) ka kong silda
ka=kɔŋ 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 tɪmmæn
 PL=nun be.old
 ‘the old nuns’ [FPAHM_015]
- (74) ki bru wa rim
ki=bru wa rim
 3PL=person NMZ be.old
 ‘the old people’ [TACJ_366]
- (75) lai lang i
laɟ lan 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 *wa* 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 parallelism. 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
 kdɔk *kdɔk*
 bounce bounce
 ‘bounce’ [MPSM_024]

- (77) myllu mylla
 m̥llu *m̥lla*
 gather gather
 ‘such and such’ [SME_012]

- (78) da chait da khiah
 da *tʃat̚* *da* *kʰiaʔ*
 REAL be.healthy REAL be.whole
 ‘well and healthy’ [BMPJ_092]

- (79) ka khnam ka rynteih
 ka=kʰnam *ka=r̥nteʔ*
 F=arrow 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 ŋa
 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^hut u=sin u=nik
 call M=Singh M=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
***ʔaʔ** kɛnɔʔ ki*
 PASS blame 3PL
 ‘they are blamed’ [MPSM_030]

- (83) yaklam i
***ja-**klam i*
 PLUR-speak 1PL
 ‘we spoke to each other’ [LHJ_029]

- (84) pyndap u ka
***pŋ-**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.

- (85) e u ka ya nga
 e *u* *ka* [*ja* *ŋa*]
 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
miʔ *[ka=ni]*_{DEM}
 come.out F=PROX
 ‘this came out’
- (87) ym toh ka wa bha
ɲ *tɔʔ* *[ka* *wa* *bha]*_{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
laʃ *[ki* *so* *tlli]*_{QP}
 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
ki=kʰɔn *ka=ri*
 PL=child F=country
 ‘the country’s children’
- (90) ki khon o
ki=kʰɔn *ɔ*
 PL=child 1SG.NOM
 ‘my children’

The second kind of possession is where the genitive marker *jɔŋ* 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.

²This 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.

- (91) ki khon yong ka ri
ki=k^hɔn jɔŋ ka=ri
 PL=child GEN F=country
 ‘the country’s children’

- (92) ki khon yong nga
ki=k^hɔn jɔŋ ŋa
 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
ka=t^haw [ka wa [ɕan]_V]_{RC}
 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
ka=tarik [ka wa [i toʔ pɲ-ɛm buɾɔm i
 F=date 3SG.F NMZ 1PL be CAUS-have honor 1PL
o]_{PRED}]_{RC}
 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘the date that we honor him (on)’ [KNI_029]

- (95) ka deiñ ka wa ha khloo
ka=deɲ [ka wa [ha k^hlo]_{LOC}]_{RC}
 F=tree 3SG.F NMZ LOC forest
 ‘the tree that (is) in the forest’ [BMPJ_032]

- (96) kani ka wa ar
ka=ni [ka wa [ar]_{NUM}]_{RC}
 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 *tɛ* can have a subordinating function as in (97).

- (97) man da slap, tæ kjam
 man *da* *slap* [*tɛ* *kɕam*]_{SUB}
 happen REAL rain NVIS be.cold
 ‘when it rains, then it is cold’

Negative subordinators that mean ‘though’ or ‘but also’ are *hɲre* (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 *hɲre*. Prosodic pause also allows for juxtaposition and complementation – example (99) gives a standard complement clause.

- (98) hɲrei thok u læh, dang ræm u
 hɲre *tʰɔk* *u* *lɛʔ* *daŋ* *rɛm* *u*
 but.also cheat 3SG.M.NOM also DUR lose 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘even though he cheated, he still lost’

- (99) yoo-luti o, bam ko
 jo-luti *ɔ* *bam* *kɔ*
 hope 1SG.NOM eat 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘I hope she eats’

The morpheme *tɛ* 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 [*u=wɔʔ kiaŋ naŋbaʔ*]_s
 die M=HON
 ‘Mr. Kiang Nangbah died’ [KNI_006]
- (101) u woh kiang nangbah yap u
 ↓ ↓
 [*u=wɔʔ kiaŋ naŋbaʔ*]_{s.ACC} *jap* *u*_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 §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 *ka=* derives a result noun from a verb (102), *u=* derives a purposive or non-finite form (103), *i=* derives an action nominal (104), and *ki=* derives a plural noun of activity (105).

<p>(102) <i>ka</i> kræh
<i>ka=krɛʔ</i>
RES=work
‘the (result of) work’</p>	<p>(104) <i>i</i> kræh
<i>i=krɛʔ</i>
ACT=work
‘the (act of) working’</p>
<p>(103) <i>u</i> kræh
<i>u=krɛʔ</i>
NF=work
‘to work (non-finite)’</p>	<p>(105) <i>ki</i> kræh
<i>ki=krɛʔ</i>
PL=work
‘the works’</p>

Nominalizing prefix *ɕiŋ-* derives an abstract noun (106), *nɔŋ-* derives an agentive noun (107), and *ju-* derives an instrumental noun (108).

<p>(106) <i>i</i> jingæh
 <i>i=ɕiŋ-ɛʔ</i>
N=AB.NMZ-be.difficult</p>	‘difficulty’

(107) u nongkræh
u=ɲɔŋ-krɛʔ
 M=AG.NMZ-work
 ‘worker’

(108) ka yuspong
ka=jɯ-spɔŋ
 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 *pŋ-* (111) derives a causative verb.

(109) libooh
li-boʔ
 DUR-put
 ‘keep for awhile’

(111) pynyap
pŋ-jap
 CAUS-die
 ‘kill’

(110) yakræh
ja-krɛʔ
 PLUR-work
 ‘work together’ or
 ‘work for someone’s benefit’

Verbal derivations are described further in §6.3 and nominalization is given further treatment in §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 *ja* ‘benefactive’³ (112), *da* ‘instrumental’ (113), *ha* ‘locative’ (114), *tʃa* ‘allative’ (115), and *na* ‘ablative’ (116). The possessive marker *jɔŋ* ‘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 *ja* and *da* can also occur with arguments/objects in accusative O syntactic function. Locative markers are unique in allowing marked nouns to occur without gender clitics.

³This morpheme has the same form as the verbal prefix, but has a lower degree of attachment to the following element.

- (112) kræh u ya nga
krɛʔ u ja ɲa
 work 3SG.M.NOM BEN 1SG.ACC
 ‘he works for me’
- (113) kræh u da kti
krɛʔ u da kti
 work 3SG.M.NOM INST hand
 ‘he works with (his) hand(s)’
- (114) kræh u ha jowai
krɛʔ u ha ɕwaj
 work 3SG.M.NOM LOC Jowai
 ‘he works in Jowai’
- (115) lai u cha yaw
laʃ u ʈa 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 §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 post-verbal 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:	Accusative			Nominative		
Marking:	topic/oblique, preverbal, O			core, post-verbal, S/A		
Person:	Masc	Fem	Neut.	Masc	Fem	Neut.
1sg:	<i>ŋa</i>			<i>ɔ</i>		
2sg:	<i>me</i>	<i>p^ha</i>		<i>mi</i>	<i>p^hɔ</i>	
3sg:	<i>o</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>kɔ</i>	<i>i</i>
1pl:	<i>i</i>			<i>i</i>		
2pl/formal:	<i>p^hi</i>			<i>p^hi</i>		
3pl:	<i>ki</i>			<i>ki</i>		

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.

***ŋa* vs. ɔ ‘1sg.nom’**

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

- (117) *nga lai o cha u ma ripil*
ŋa *laɟ* ɔ *tʃa* *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* *ŋa*
N=thing NF=give 2SG.M.NOM BEN 1SG.ACC
‘what will you give me?’ [PP05KO_044]

***me* vs. *mi* ‘2SG.M.NOM’**

Masculine second person singular is represented by *me* in topic position and *mi* in default position. Example (119) gives an intransitive construction with these forms.

- (119) *me lai mi*
me *laɟ* *mi*
2SG.M.ACC go 2SG.M.NOM
‘you (masc) go (are going)’ [HPAHR_127]

***p^ha* vs. *p^hɔ* ‘2SG.F.NOM’**

Feminine second person singular is *p^ha* in topic position and *p^hɔ* in default position (120). Example (121) demonstrates referentiality in a possessive construction.

- (120) *pha lai pho*
p^ha *laɟ* *p^hɔ*
2SG.F.ACC go 2SG.F.NOM
‘you (fem) go (are going)’
- (121) *ini i thaw yong pha*
i=ni *i=t^haw* *jɔŋ* *p^ha*
N=PROX 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
 o *laj u*
 3SG.M.ACC go 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘he goes (is going)’ [FPAHM_016]

- (123) katæ toh ka bynta ka wa oo lai u
 ka=tɛ *tɔʔ* *ka=bɲta* [*ka* *wa* *o* *laj*
 F=NVIS be F=purpose 3SG.F NMZ 3SG.M.ACC go
 u]_{RC}
 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘that is the way that it goes’ [PP12BL_022]

***ka* vs. *kɔ* ‘3SG.F.NOM’**

The feminine third-person pre-verbal form is *ka* and the post-verbal form is *kɔ* (124).

- (124) ka lai ko
 ka *laj kɔ*
 3SG.F.ACC go 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘she goes (is going)’

***i* ‘3SG.N, 1PL’, *p^hi* ‘2PL’, *ki* ‘3PL’**

The third person singular neuter pronoun is homophonous with the plural pronoun of first person, *i* (125). The second person plural form is *p^hi* (126), and the third person pronoun is *ki* (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 *laj i*
 1PL go 1PL
 ‘we go (are going)’

- (126) phi lai phi
p^hi *laɟ* *p^hi*¹
 2PL go 2PL
 ‘you (plural) go (are going)’
- (127) ki lai ki
ki *laɟ* *ki*
 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 *ŋa*, the topic. However, the A-argument of the verb *ktəʔ* ‘touch deeply’ is *kɔ* ‘3sg.f.nom’, which is co-referential with *ka=tɛ ka=rुकom* ‘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
kat wa kam-tɛ ŋa ha ka=tɛ ka=rुकom ŋa
 as NMZ as-NVIS 1SG.ACC LOC F=NVIS F=way 1SG.ACC
da ktəʔ kɔ ja ŋa
 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 *ɔŋ kɔ* ‘she said’, and then launches into the direct quote itself after a brief pause. The pronoun form *p^hɔ* refers to the addressee (the speaker who is reporting on the event), and *ŋa* refers to *kɔ* ‘her’, the one whose speech is being reported. Here the use of different pronominal forms allows the Pnar speaker to shift perspectives instantaneously.

¹Some Jowai speakers are shifting to *p^hi* ‘2pl’ when addressing a single person (particularly older), as a polite form.

- (129) dəptæ ong ko, chwa u yathoh pho, tæ wan khana ya nga, mo
dɛp-tɛ ɔŋ kɔ tʃwa u=ja^hɔʔ p^hɔ tɛ
 PERF-NVIS say 3SG.F.NOM before NF=marry 2sg.f.nom NVIS
wan k^hana ja ŋa mɔ
 come tell BEN 1SG.ACC Q.TAG
 ‘then she said ‘before you marry, come tell me, ok?’ [FPAHM_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 S/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=mpsen* ɔ ‘my spirit’ that occurs in the second example.

- (130) du nga wa æm mynsein
du ŋa [wa ɛm mp^hsen]_{REL/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
sɲiaw^hoʔ ɔ [wa raw [i=mpsen ɔ]_{GEN}]_{COMPL}
 understand 1SG.NOM NMZ dry N=s^hpirit 1SG.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 *ka* ‘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 *ka=* to mean a female human, and possibly by *i=* to mean a child or person of unknown gender (i.e. *u=bru* ‘man’, *ka=bru* ‘woman’, *i=bru* ‘small person, dwarf’). Some nouns which refer to animates have fixed class – these are generally classificatory terms, i.e. *u=ʈɲraŋ* ‘male, man’, *ka=kɲtʰaj* ‘female, woman’.

Nouns which refer to inanimates are categorized as *u=*, *ka=*, 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

²This 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=kʰɲnaʔ* ‘the child’ in texts, though *ka=* and *u=* forms of the same word also occur.

‘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 *ka* according to the gender of the individual, which can result in some interesting combinations. As an example, if the name *ka=um* ‘water’ is given to a male child, the child will be known as *u=um*, counter to the original gender of the noun. Another example, which occurs in my texts, is the name *u=kɔŋ sajo* ‘Mr. Kong Saioo’. The word *kɔŋ* 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 *dep* ‘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 *ka=*. This suggests the result of an activity or event, similar to the resultative meaning that *ka=* has when acting as a referential or nominalization marker on verb stems.

The plural marker *ki=* 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 *ka=sɲi* ‘sun’ and male *u=bnaj* ‘moon’, *u=prɪtʰ* ‘lightning’, for example, seem to be associated with male gender simply be-

³Aikhenvald (2011) suggests that verbal markers are more likely to grammaticalize before nominal class markers.

⁴Munda languages, the geographically closest relatives of the Khasian family, have animate and inanimate gender (Biligiri, 1965; Bhat, 2004).

Gender	form	Proper	Gloss
‘M sing.’	<i>u</i>	<i>u=malŋiaŋ</i>	‘Malngiang’
‘F sing.’	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka=ɕantia</i>	‘the Jaintia (woman)’
‘N, dim. sing.’	<i>i</i>	<i>i=ɕwaj</i>	‘a Jowai (person)’
‘PL’	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki=k^hasi</i>	‘the Khasis’

		Common	Gloss
‘M sing.’	<i>u</i>	<i>u=wi u=blaŋ</i>	‘one M=goat’
‘F sing.’	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka=wi ka=blaŋ</i>	‘one F=goat’
‘N, dim. sing.’	<i>i</i>	<i>i=wi i=pɔr</i>	‘one N=time’
‘PL’	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki=bru</i>	‘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.

⁵See Dixon (1972: 306-12) for a similar suggestion for Dyirbal, 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)]

“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

⁶I use the term ‘identify’ in this section in the sense of “weak familiarity” (Roberts, 2003).

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
Specific	Yes			
Non-specific		Yes		
Definite			Yes	
Indefinite				Yes
Specific Indefinite	Yes			Yes
Specific Definite	Yes		Yes	
Non-specific Indefinite		Yes		Yes
Non-specific Definite		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 sə*
hiar ki tʃa jaw sə
 descend 3PL ALL market C.TAG
 ‘they descended to market, ok’ [PP09MW_016]

(138) *lai ki cha ka yaw*
laʃ ki tʃa ka=jaw
 go 3PL ALL 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 *tʃnɔŋ* ‘village’ occurs without the gender clitic. Here, the addition of the village name *sɔʔmɿntɿŋ* to form a nominal compound allows ‘village’ to retain a specific meaning. Similarly, in (140) the noun *juŋ* ‘home’ refers to the speaker’s own home and is therefore specific.

(139) *ya-thma ki cheini cha chnong sohmynting*
ja-tʰma ki tʃe=i=ni tʃa tʃnɔŋ sɔʔmɿntɿŋ
 PLUR-war 3PL ALL=N=PROX ALL village Sohmynting
 ‘they fought there to Sohmynting village’ [SI2_009]

- (140) nga liwan wot o cha yung
 ŋa *liwan* *wot* *o* *tʃa* *juŋ*
 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 (*tʃa*, *na*, *ha*) as in (139) and (140) above, or by the explicit indefinite marker *tʃi* ‘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
 tʃi *kɿnten* *i=hok*
 INDF word N=be.honest
 ‘one honest word’ [PP01CSE_075]
- (142) man da ong chi daloi tæ cheitai tæ mut chi pargana kamtæ sæ
 man *da* *ɔŋ* *tʃi* *daloj* *tæ* *tʃe=i=taj* *tæ*
 become REAL say INDF daloi NVIS ALL=N=distal NVIS
 mut *tʃi* *pargana* *kam-tæ* *sæ*
 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 *tʃi*), 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-

⁷This is somewhat debatable, as in RCs it could be argued that the gender marker cliticizes to *wa*, and in QPs it could be argued that the gender marker cliticizes to the numeral. However, such realizations are largely speaker-dependent.

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 §5.3.

- (143) æm yap ka=wi ka=kynthai tymmæn
εm jap ka=wi [ka=kɲtʰaj tɲmɛn]_{HEAD}
 have die F=one F=female old
 ‘there is one old woman (who) died’ [LS3J_007]
- (144) ah ko ha ka ni ka kjat o
aʔ kɔ ha ka=ni [ka=kɔʔat ɔ]_{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 *ʔi* ‘a, an’ (145) and the definite

Morpheme	Gloss	Example	Gloss	Indexes head?
<i>tfi</i>	‘a, an’	<i>tfi pɔr</i>	‘a time’	no
<i>wi</i>	‘one’	<i>u=wi</i>	‘one’	yes
<i>ni</i>	‘PROX’	<i>u=ni</i>	‘this’	yes
<i>ji</i>	‘thing’	<i>u=ji</i>	‘a/the thing’	yes
<i>wɔn</i>	‘which, any’	<i>u=wɔn</i>	‘which’	yes

Table 5.4: Pnar demonstratives

singular marker *ka=wi* ‘one’ (146). Here the referent or concept marked by *tfi* is unspecified for number, is non-specific (or has indeterminate specificity), and is indefinite, whereas the marker *ka=wi* is singular, specific, and definite.

- (145) *chi pɔr*
tfi *pɔr*
 INDF time
 ‘a time’ [PP13RS_168]

- (146) *kawi ka pɔr*
ka=wi *ka=pɔr*
 F=one 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 (*ni* ‘proximal’, *te* ‘mesio-proximal’, *tu* ‘medial’, *taj* ‘distal’) and one that identifies non-visible or anaphoric referents (*tε* ‘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 non-speaker, 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
ka=ni ka=madan
 F=PROX F=ground
 ‘this ground’ [FPAHM_056]
- (148) ite i thaw
i=te i=t^haw
 N=MPROX N=place
 ‘this place (just nearby)’ [BMPJ_088]
- (149) daw dooh i ki kitu ki phlang ki rnæm
daw doʔ i ki ki=tu ki=p^hlaŋ ki=rnæm
 IRR lose 1PL 3PL PL=MEDL PL=grass PL=plant
 ‘we will lose those grass, plants’ [BMPJ_049]
- (150) utai u bru
u=taʃ u=bru
 M=DIST M=person
 ‘that man (far away)’ [MPSM_010]
- (151) katae ka um
ka=tɛ ka=um
 F=NVIS 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
*ka=te **ka** [wa u=miʔ na poʔ]_{RC}*
 F=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
he=i=ni *i=por*
 LOC=N=PROX N=time
 ‘at this time’ [BPVM_002]
- (154) heite ong i
he=i=te *ɔŋ i*
 LOC=N=MPROX say 1PL
 ‘at that (then, close) we say’ [PP08LC_002]
- (155) he=i=tu u=ong o
he=i=tu *u=ɔŋ o*
 LOC=N=MEDL M=say 1SG.NOM
 ‘at that (then, not close) I say’ [BPDJ_038]
- (156) ne=i=tæ man ne=i=tæ tæ ong wot u
ne=i=tæ *man* **ne=i=tæ** *tæ ɔŋ wot*
 ABL=N=NVIS become ABL=N=NVIS NVIS say IMM2
u
 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘from then (it) happens from then he just says..’ [PP04SKO_036]
- (157) he=i=tæ i=por wa ong ya phi
he=i=tæ *i=por wa ɔŋ ja p^hi*
 LOC=N=NVIS 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 *dɛp-tɛ* 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’.

- (158) dæp-tæ ki=ni ki=kynthai
dæp-tæ ki=ni ki=kɲtʰaj
 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 *tfi* and definites marked by separate words, but with gender markers underspecified for definiteness. This hypothesis is expressed initially in Table 5.5.

Indef.	→	(under-specified)	→	Definite
<i>tfi</i>		<i>u=, ka=, i=, ki=</i>		<i>u=tɛ, u=wi, etc...</i> (dem.)
				<i>jɔŋ</i> (poss.)
				<i>ja, da, tfa, etc...</i> (prep.)

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 *ɛlaka*. 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*
ka=tɛ tɔʔ ka=bɔr jɔŋ u=daloj
 F=NVIS be F=power GEN 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 *tʃi* ‘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*
tʃi=daloj
 INDF=daloi
 ‘a Daloi’ [PP06PK_015]

- (161) *u wi u daloi*
u=wi u=daloj
 M=one 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 *ɛlaka* of *hadæm*. 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 hadæm
 M=daloi Hadæm
 ‘the Hadem Daloi’ [PP05KO_022]

- (163) *u man u u daloi u wa nyngkong*
u man u u=daloj [u wa
 3SG.M.NOM become 3SG.M.NOM M=daloi 3SG.M NMZ
*nyŋkɔŋ]*_{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=wɔn u=wɔn* ‘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 *ka=bɔr* ‘power’, referring to a unique position but also to a group of individuals who hold that position. Here *jɔŋ* gives ‘power’ a definite reading but not the modifier *u=daloj*.

- (164) u won u won u daloi wa toh na ka kur soo-kpoh
u=wɔn u=wɔn u=daloj wa tɔʔ na ka=kur so-kpɔʔ
 M=any M=any M=daloi NMZ be ABL 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
tɛ kam u=daloj tɔʔ i sɲtʃar i ja ka=kʰɲdaw
 NVIS as M=daloi be 1PL rule 1PL BEN F=earth
wa tʃɲiap
 COMT soil
 ‘so as the/a Daloi we rule/control the earth and soil’ [DR_003]

- (166) ka bor yong u daloi bad ha ka bor yong nga u daloi i yei u shynshar
 khadar
ka=bɔr jɔŋ u=daloj bad ha ka=bɔr jɔŋ ŋa
 F=power GEN M=daloi also LOC F=power GEN 1SG.ACC
u=daloj i je=i u=fɲʃar kʰadar
 M=daloi 1PL BEN=1PL 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 *tʃi* and definites marked by separate words, but with gender markers underspecified for definiteness. These findings are summarized in Table 5.6.

	Indefinite <i>tʃi</i>	Specific Gclitic=	Unique Deictics	Definite <i>wi</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 -	<i>wi</i>	21 -	<i>arp^haw wi</i>
2 -	<i>ar</i>	22 -	<i>arp^haw ar</i>
3 -	<i>le</i>	23 -	<i>arp^haw le</i>
4 -	<i>so</i>	24 -	<i>arp^haw soo</i>
5 -	<i>san</i>	25 -	<i>arp^haw san</i>
6 -	<i>ɳru</i>	26 -	<i>arp^haw ɳru</i>
7 -	<i>ɳpiaw</i>	27 -	<i>arp^haw ɳpiaw</i>
8 -	<i>p^hra</i>	28 -	<i>arp^haw p^hra</i>
9 -	<i>k^hɳde</i>	29 -	<i>arp^haw k^hɳde</i>
10 -	<i>ʈip^haw</i>	30 -	<i>lep^haw</i>
11 -	<i>k^hat wi</i>	40 -	<i>sop^haw</i>
12 -	<i>k^hat ar</i>	50 -	<i>sanp^haw</i>
13 -	<i>k^hat le</i>	60 -	<i>ɳrup^haw</i>
14 -	<i>k^hat soo</i>	70 -	<i>ɳpiawp^haw</i>
15 -	<i>k^hat san</i>	80 -	<i>p^hrap^haw</i>
16 -	<i>k^hat ɳru</i>	90 -	<i>k^hɳdep^haw</i>
17 -	<i>k^hat ɳpiaw</i>	100 -	<i>ʈispaʔ</i>
18 -	<i>k^hat p^hra</i>	200 -	<i>arspaʔ</i>
19 -	<i>k^hat k^hɳde</i>	500 -	<i>sanspaʔ</i>
20 -	<i>arp^haw</i>	1000 -	<i>ʈihadʒar</i>

Table 5.7: Pnar numerals

Of note is that the indefinite marker *ʈi* ‘one, a, set’ is found in the word for the first unit in the tens, hundreds, and thousands place, but that *k^hat* is used for ‘ten’ in compounds for 11-19. The word *k^hat* 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 §5.4.3 below. The word *ʈip^haw* 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^haw* ‘tens.unit’. The word for thousand, *hadʒar*, is borrowed from Hindi or Bangla.

5.4.2 Ordinals

The ordinal for ‘first’ is *ɳɳkɳɳ*, 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
ka wa nɣkɔŋ tɔʔ ka=kʰlo lɣdɔʔ ka wa ar
 3SG.F NMZ first BE F=forest Lyngdoh 3SG.F NMZ two
ka=marikso ka wa le tɔʔ ka=kʰlo ka=juŋ
 F=Mariksoo 3SG.F NMZ three BE F=forest 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 *tfi* ‘set’ and *kti* ‘hand’, is a measure word meaning ‘ten or so, a handful (using two hands)’, rather than ‘five’. The word *tfi* is also used in words like *tfiten* ‘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-

⁸This 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.

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 -	[u r ^ə p ^h o mi]
2 -	[ũ, ã]	22 -	[u r ^ə p ^h o ũ]
3 -	[la, laj]	23 -	[u r ^ə p ^h o la]
4 -	[rɛ, ria]	24 -	[u r ^ə p ^h o rɛ]
5 -	[ran]	25 -	[u r ^ə p ^h o ran]
6 -	[t ^h ro ^w , t ^h ra ^w]	26 -	[u r ^ə p ^h o t ^h ro ^w]
7 -	[hn̩.t ^h la, hn̩.t ^h lɛ]	27 -	[u r ^ə p ^h o t ^h la]
8 -	[hm̩.pʔũ, hm̩.pʔã]	28 -	[u r ^ə p ^h o pʔũ]
9 -	[hn̩.tʃʔa, hn̩.tʃʔɛ]	29 -	[u r ^ə p ^h o tʃʔa]
10 -	[ʃi.p ^h o ^w , si.p ^h a]	30 -	[la.p ^h o]
11 -	[p ^h r̩.mi]	40 -	[rɛ.p ^h o]
12 -	[p ^h r̩.ũ]	50 -	[ran.p ^h o]
13 -	[p ^h r̩.la]	60 -	[t ^h ro ^w .p ^h o]
14 -	[p ^h r̩.rɛ]	70 -	[hn̩.t ^h la r ^ə p ^h o]
15 -	[p ^h r̩.ran]	80 -	[hm̩.pʔũ r ^ə p ^h o]
16 -	[p ^h r̩.t ^h ro ^w]	90 -	[hn̩.tʃʔa r ^ə p ^h o]
17 -	[p ^ə .hn̩.t ^h la]	100 -	[ʃi swɔʔ]
18 -	[p ^ə .hm̩.pʔũ]	200 -	[ʔu swɔʔ]
19 -	[p ^ə .hn̩.tʃʔa]	500 -	[ran swɔʔ]
20 -	[u r ^ə p ^h o]	1000 -	[ʃi ha.ɕʒar]

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 *ŋ* in Pnar numerals 6, 7, and 9 corresponds to the use of [hn̩, hm̩] 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. *ŋne* ‘earlier today’ vs. *mŋne* ‘later today’, see §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 *ŋru* ‘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 *tʃʔa* resembles the Pnar indefinite *tʃi* ‘one, a’, 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=wi we-i=wi man ar
 N=one COMT=N=one happen two
 ‘one and one is two’

Subtraction involves the verb for ‘eat’, *bam* (169).

- (169) *chiphaw bam noh le sah ynñiaw*
tʃip^haw bam nɔʔ le saʔ ŋɲiaw
 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 ɲru
 two times three happen six
 ‘two times three is six’

Division makes use of the word *p^hiaʔ* ‘divide, separate’ (171).

- (171) ynru phiah ar man le
 ɲru p^hiaʔ ar man le
 six divide two happen three
 ‘six divided by two is three’

The Pnar word for ‘zero’ is *nɔd*, 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 *warɔʔ* ‘all’ (172, 173), *kɲt^hup* ‘all together’, *ʃiten* ‘half’ (174), *k^hatdoʔ* ‘last’ (175), *ʃoʔ* ‘more’, *so* ‘more’, *rɔʔ* ‘much’, and *mɲɛm* ‘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
 da ki=sen klam ki **warɔʔ** ki=tɛ ki=kɲten
 INST PL=time,action speak 3PL all PL=NVIS PL=word
 ‘each time they speak all those words’ [TACJ_434]

- (173) dæp tæ iñ ka yung waroh
 dɛp tɛ iɲ ka=jun **warɔʔ**
 PERF NVIS boil,burn F=home all
 ‘then the whole house burned’ [FPAHM_036]

- (174) heipor chiphaw chitein da ka bus lai shillong
 he-i=pɔr ʃip^haw **ʃiten** da ka=bas laj ʃlɔŋ
 LOC=N=time ten half INST 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 khatdooḥ yong u bnai april
ka ta jaw wa k^hatdoʔ jɔŋ u=bnaj april
 3SG.F.ACC CL.WK week NMZ lastly GEN M=month April
 ‘the month of April’s last week’ [SI3_065]

- (176) tæ nang chæmphang chooh ki
tɛ naŋ tʃɛm-p^haŋ tʃoʔ 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 *katwɔn*, 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) katwɔn u psa ko ki
katwɔn u=psa kɔ 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 *katwɔn* refers to the much smaller amount of money it cost for him to cure the patient.

- (178) hynrei ha nga katwɔn ar hajar
hɿre ha ŋa katwɔn ar haʒar
 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) *katwɔn* *ɲut* *ki=tu* *ki* *wa* *daŋ* *tʃana* *sa*
 how.much CL.HUM PL=MEDL 3PL NMZ PROG see only
le *ɲut* *ki=mare?*
 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*
ne=i=ni *tʃa* *tɕwaj* *katnu* *kɲta* *laɟ* *pʰi*
 ABL=N=PROX ALL Jowai how.much return go 2PL
 ‘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* *haxar* *snem* *wa* *em*
ɲ *tip* *i* *la* *katnu* *haxar* *snem* *wa* *em*
 NEG know 1PL ABL how.much thousand year NMZ have
ki=wahɛ?
 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*
ki=kʰɔn *pʰi* *katnu* *ɲut*
 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: *ɲut* ‘CLF.HUM’ for people, *tʃli* ‘CLF.NH’ for non-humans, and *ta* ‘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	<i>ar</i>	<i>ɲut</i>	<i>ki=bru</i>	‘two CLF.HUM PL=person’
Non-human	<i>san</i>	<i>tlli</i>	<i>ki=sɔʔ</i>	‘five CLF.NH PL=fruit’
Week	<i>le</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>jaw</i>	‘three CLF.WK week’
Trad. measure	<i>ɲniaw</i>	<i>kɲten</i>	<i>ki=kwaʃ</i>	‘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

⁹A case in point is *kɲten* ‘mouthful’, which refers to betel nut with its accompanying leaf and limestone, considered a unit in its own right.

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 *ja*. In this sentence, the context is a creation story, where the earthly mother *ka=bej ram-aw* is giving instructions to her servant/son *u=k^haat*. The recipient of the instructions (or of the command) is not required by the verb, as will be illustrated more clearly in §10.3, and is perhaps therefore not considered central to the action of giving.

- (183) *e ko ka hukum (ya oo)*
e ka=hukum_O ja [o]_{OBL}
 give 3SG.F.NOM F=command BEN 3SG.M.ACC
 ‘she gave the command (to him)’ [PP01CSE_032]

In (184) *ja* again marks the recipient of the action *da k^ha da p^hhε?* ‘born and brought up’ as being the speaker, *ηa* ‘1SG.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*
da k^ha da p^hh-ε? ja [ηa]_O ha
 REAL birth REAL CAUS-be.big BEN 1SG.ACC LOC
ka=balan ɕwaj
 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 *ja* is clearer in examples (185-186). In (185) the speaker is relating how the village church came to be built. He uses *tfna* ‘make’ in a typical transitive construction, where A is identified post-verbally by *ki* ‘they, them’ and O (the thing that is made) by *ka=ni ka=juη 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 *tfna*. He identifies himself as the A argument *ɔ* ‘1SG.NOM’ and *u=surɔk* ‘road’ as O. Here, however, the O argument is marked by *ja*.

- (185) *chna ki kani ka yung mane*
tfna [ki]_A [ka=ni ka=juη mane]_O
 make 3PL F=PROX F=home worship
 ‘they made (built) this church’ [SI3_028]

- (186) *chna o ya u surok neibynta u paidbah*
tʃna [ɔ]_A ja [u=surɔk]_O ne=i=bɪnta u=paitba?
 make 1SG.NOM BEN M=road ABL=N=purpose M=crowd
 ‘I made a road for the (use of the) public’ [BPDJ_019]

As seen above, *ja* generally identifies the semantic beneficiary of an action or recipient of an item. The morpheme *da* 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 *da*.

- (187) *to, u lai chwa i da ka wait, mo*
tɔ u=laj tʃwa [i]_A da [ka=waɪ]_{OBL} mɔ
 CONF NF=go before 1PL INST F=sword Q
 ‘we will go first with the sword, ok?’ [TACJ_400]

The prepositional case marker *da* 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 *da*.

- (188) *chim u da u seij*
tʃim [u]_A da [u=sej]_O
 take 3SG.M.NOM INST 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 *ja*, 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 *ja* also marks. There is an additional wrinkle: both *da* and *ha* are used to mark oblique agents in passive constructions (§10.2.2), and along with *tʃa* and *na* 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, *ja* is more likely to precede semantically dative, benefactive, or purposive elements, while *da* precedes semantically instrumental or comitative (‘with’) elements.¹⁰

Prep.	Gloss	Gram. roles			Semantic roles						
		Nom.	Acc.	Obl.	Dat.	Ben.	Purp.	Inst.	Com.	Ag·PASS	Loc.
		S/A	O								
<i>ja</i>	‘BEN’		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes				
<i>da</i>	‘INST’		Yes	Yes	?			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>ha</i>	‘LOC’			Yes						Yes	Yes
<i>fə</i>	‘ALL’			Yes							Yes
<i>na</i>	‘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 *ləʔ fal* ‘make/do a filing’¹¹ describes the act of bringing a case against someone or a group. The A argument is *ki* ‘they’ and the O argument is *i* ‘we, us’. Here the speaker specifically identifies *ka=məkɔtduma* ‘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) *ləh fal ki i da ka mokotduma*
*ləʔ fal [ki]_A [i]_O **da** [ka=məkɔtduma]_{OBL}*
do file 3PL 1PL INST F=court.case
‘they file against us with/using a court case’ [HPAHR_018]

Example (190) is an intransitive clause where *ka=bus* ‘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.

¹⁰LaPolla (1995) notes that it is common in Tibeto-Burman languages for agentive and instrumental functions to involve the same marker.

¹¹This is a complex verbal construction involving the loan form *fə* ‘file’ preceded by a potentially light verb *ləʔ* ‘do’. Complex predicates and serial verb constructions are discussed in Chapter 16.

- (190) chong o da ka bus
tʃɔŋ [*ɔ*]_S **da** [*ka=bus*]_{OBL}
 sit 1SG.NOM INST 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=kule* ‘the horse’ is construed both as the thing climbed and as the vehicle of motion that enables the agent to flee (*p^het* ‘run away’) in the second (intransitive) clause.

- (191) ku u da u kule, tæ phæt u
ku [*u*]_{S/A} **da** [*u=kule*]_{INST} *tæ* *p^het*
 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 *da* 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 *da* is the thing being taught, and typically would have occurred following the A argument *ki*, which immediately follows the verb. This is also the case in (410) in §10.1.4 below. When *da* 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 *da* along with *ha* to mark agents in passive constructions (§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 [*ki*]_A **ja** [*i*]_O **da** [*ki* *wa* *hæ?* *wa*
 teach 3PL BEN 1PL INST 3PL NMZ be.big NMZ
swar]_{OBL}
 be.important
 ‘they taught to us an important (thing)’ [BMPJ_030]

The function of *da* 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 *da* cliticizes to the action nominal

¹²It 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.

i=spiaw ‘sense, feel, hear’ (realized as the allomorph *de*) to form an adverbial ‘with feeling’ that modifies the manner of the matrix verb *p^het* ‘run’.

- (193) *phæt dei sñiaw wa nga wa u driver u wi wa ka truck*
p^het [de-i=spiaw]_{MOD} wa ŋa wa u=drajbar
 run INST=ACT=sense COMT 1SG.ACC COMT M=driver
u=wi wa ka=trɔk
 M=one COMT 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 *ha* ‘locative’ (195-197), *tʃa* ‘allative’ (198), and *na* ‘ablative’ (199) are a special locative subset of prepositional case markers, with *tʃa* marking goal and *na* 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 *tʃa?* identifies the argument *ki* (which is referential with the topic *ki=k^hnian* *ki wa k^hian* ‘the insects which are small’) as the undergoer S argument. The locative marker *ha* precedes the agentive argument *ki wa rap hɛ?* ‘those which are big’.

- (194) *ki khniang ki wa khian chah bam ki ha ki wa rap hæh*
ki=k^hnian ki wa k^hian tʃa? bam ki ha [ki wa
 PL=insect 3PL NMZ be.small PASS eat 3PL LOC 3PL NMZ
rap hɛ?]
 grow be.big
 ‘the insects which are small are eaten by those that are bigger’
 [BMPJ_040]

In its locative function *ha* 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*
da ɕɔp t^hma ki ha ɕentiapur
 REAL win fight 3PL LOC Jaintiapur
 ‘they won battles at Jaintiapur’ [PP06PK_011]
- (196) *hiar ko ha ka thwai kupli*
hiar kɔ ha ka=t^hwaj¹³ kupli
 descend 3SG.F.NOM LOC F=broad.river Kupli
 ‘she descended into the broad Kupli (river)’ [PP04SKO_012]
- (197) *ku u ha baiskil*
ku u ha¹⁴ bajskil
 climb 3SG.M.NOM LOC bicycle
 ‘he climbs on the bicycle’ [MPSRJ_028]

The marker *tʃa* ‘allative’ is used to identify goals, while *na* ‘ablative’ identifies sources. In example (198) *tʃa* marks the goal of motion, while in example (199) *na* marks the source of motion.

- (198) *liwan noh ko cha kupli*
li-wan nɔʔ kɔ tʃa 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 bɔr i na u=blaj
 ask power 1PL ABL M=God
 ‘we ask power from God’ [BMPJ_035]

5.6.2 NP prepositional case marker

The genitive marker *jɔŋ* 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 *wa*, 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.

¹³The word *ka=t^hwaj* refers to a wide expanse of river almost like a lake but with a clear current.

¹⁴Here *ha* could be replaced by *da*. This overlap in semantic role marking is also reflected in the use of both prepositional case markers to identify agents in passive constructions.

- (200) khlæh i snam yong ki
k^hlɛʔ i=snam jɔŋ ki
 mix 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^hmat* ‘front’, *den* ‘back’, *tidiaŋ* ‘left side’, *timun* ‘right side’, *ɕrɔŋ* ‘above’, *tbiɛn* ‘below’, *ɕan* ‘near’, and *ɕŋaŋ* ‘far’. Some of these locatives are found as existing nouns (*u=k^hmat* ‘face/eye’) and modifiers (*ɕrɔŋ* ‘long/tall’, *tbiɛn* ‘low/short’). Examples of these nouns are given in (201-204).

<p>(201) hakhmat
<i>ha=k^hmat</i>
LOC=face
‘in front’</p>	<p>(203) chaprang
<i>tʃa=p^hraŋ</i>
ALL=front
‘to the front’</p>
<p>(202) chapoh
<i>tʃa=pɔʔ</i>
ALL=inside
‘to the inside’</p>	<p>(204) naroit
<i>na=roɿ</i>
ABL=out
‘from outside’</p>

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 genitive 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 *na* ‘from’ or *tʃa* ‘to, towards’.

(205)	nadooh	(206)	heipor	(207)	hawa
	<i>na=doʔ</i>		<i>he=i=pɔr</i>		<i>ha=wa</i>
	ABL=when		LOC=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=pɔr*, 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: *ɲne* ‘today, before now’, and *mɲne* ‘today, after now’. The morpheme *ɲ* (‘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 *mɲ* (‘future referent’) also occurs on its own and refers to unrealized, unknown, or reported events.

¹⁵Rabel (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 *ɲ* (Rabel-Heymann, 1989).

word	gloss
<i>ŋ</i>	‘past event’ previously discussed
<i>ŋne</i>	‘today, earlier’ before present moment
<i>ŋnin</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>dɛp ŋnin</i>	‘day before yesterday’
<i>mŋ</i>	‘future event’ unrealized/unactualized
<i>mŋne</i>	‘today, later’ after present moment
<i>mŋstɛp</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>mŋ ka=wi</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
<i>mŋ ka=ar</i>	‘day + two’
<i>mŋ ka=le</i>	‘day + three’

Table 5.11: Temporal locative words

Yesterday is *ŋnin* (lit. ‘past.time-night’), tomorrow is *mŋstɛp* (lit. ‘fut.time-morning’), day after tomorrow is *mŋ ka=wi* ‘tomorrow one’, following days are *mŋ ka=ar* ‘tomorrow two’ and *mŋ ka=le* ‘tomorrow three’, with the corresponding numeral added for every subsequent day. Day before yesterday is *dɛp ŋnin* ‘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 *ka*.

Day is referred to as *sŋi* (also the word for sun), night is *mɛt*, evening is *ɕan mɛt* ‘near night’, morning is *stɛp sŋi* ‘early day’. Week is *jaw* (also the word for market), month is *bnaj* ‘moon’, year is *snɛm*. Next week is *mŋpre ta jaw*, last week is *ŋnin ta jaw*, next month is *bnaj wa u=wan* ‘moon that will come’, last month is *bnaj wa da dɛp* ‘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 §7.3.2.

The morphemes *ŋ* and *mŋ* 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 *mŋtu* ‘next’ or *mŋtɛ* ‘after that’. Other nominal time words are *ŋdo?* ‘previously’, *ŋtu* ‘just now’, *ten ten* ‘sometimes’, *tŋde* or *tŋne* ‘before’, *mŋtfwa* ‘just before’.

- (208) *tæ man da neitæ yn, to, da lai yn ki, ha kaw i ka sngi yn, kataæ ka yaw wan, lai ki cha yaw cha langchiang.*
tæ man da ne=i=tæ ɲ tɔ da laj ɲ ki
 NVIS become REAL from-NVIS REF ok PRES go REF 3PL
ha ka=wi u=sɣi ɲ ka=tæ
 at 3SG.F.ACC-one 3SG.F.NOM=day REF 3SG.F.NOM-NVIS
ka=jaw wan laj ki tʃa jaw tʃa laŋtʃiaŋ
 3SG.F.NOM=market come go 3PL to market to Langchiang
 ‘so after doing that, ok, they go back, on the next day, the following market (day), they go to market at Langchiang.’ [PP4SKO_042]

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 *hi* in a declarative or emphatic sense, and *ke* in a ‘non-purposive’ (or “just-for-fun”) sense.

The post-verbal *hi* ‘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-ʔɔ tɔʔ hi
 LOC-1SG.NOM be EMPH
 ‘yes, right’ [AIJ_021]

¹⁶I 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.

- (210) dang khait hi dang tap hi næ
daŋ kʰaɪ̯t̪ hi daŋ tap hi næ
 PROG pick EMPH PROG put EMPH CONF
 ‘(he) is still picking and putting, ok’ [MPSRJ_030]

The post-verbal *ke* ‘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
ki=tu wa tʃad ke
 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 *te* serving as the coordinator (§14.2.1.1).

- (212) da jŋgai bha i thaw
da tʃŋaɪ̯ bha i=tʰaw
 REAL be.far INTS1 N=place
 ‘the place is very far’ [TACJ_349]
- (213) maya sang ki ya nga
maja saŋ ki ja ŋa
 love INTS2 3PL BEN 1SG.ACC
 ‘they love me extremely much’ [FPAHM_018]
- (214) chong ko cha thaw wa jakhlia tam
tʃɔŋ ko tʃa tʰaw wa tʃakʰlia 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
tʃim nɔʔ da ka=ni ka=bru
 take IMM1 INST F=PROX F=person
 ‘take this woman’ (now)’ [PP05KO_025]

- (216) bam æh ki=khon
bam ɛʔ ki=kʰɔn
 eat IMM2 PL=child
 ‘the children only eat’ [PP15PI_168]

- (217) rah bait u pynchi kria
raʔ bat u=pɲ-tʃi kriaʔ
 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=pɲ-jap bru lɛʔ ɲ saŋ de
 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
jɔʔ ɕa 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 *bian* to identify that the verbal action is done ‘again’ (220), and *lan* 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 *ja*- pluractional prefix.

- (220) neitæ wan biang o cha dulong
 ne=i=tɛ *wan* ***bian*** ɔ *tʃa* *dulɔŋ*
 from=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-ɛm* *bɲta* ***lan*** *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 pre-verbally. 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 *dɛp* ‘perfective’ (222), *dan* ‘progressive’ (223), and *ɕoʔ* ‘habitual’ (224). The morpheme *ɕoʔ* 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’, *joʔ* ‘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
 da ***dɛp*** *kɲtʰiar* ɔ *tʃe=i=tɛ* *tʃa-pɔʔ* *um*
 REAL PERF jump 1SG.NOM to=N=NVIS inside water
 ‘I jumped in (the water)’ [BPDJ_022]

- (223) tæ uni u bru dang khait soh u
tɛ u=ni u=bru daŋ kʰat̪ sɔʔ u
 so M=PROX M=person PROG pick fruit 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘so this man is still picking fruit’ [MPSRJ_030]

- (224) ym pu jooħ æm ka wa soo
ɲ pu ʔoʔ ɛm ka wa so
 NEG NEG.INT HAB have 3SG.F NMZ red
 ‘there are no red (ones)’ [TACJ_227]

The verb *ʔaʔ* ‘allow’ (225) has grammaticalized as a passivizing auxiliary (see §10.2.2), and occurs in this slot where it can be modified by mood morphology.

- (225) da **chah** bichar ki
da ʔaʔ biʔar 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, *da* ‘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
tɛ da rɛp da kʰiʔ
 NVIS REAL farm REAL work
 ‘(they live(d) here) farming, working’ [PP05KO_005]

- (227) daw chim kti noħ u
daw ʔim kti nɔʔ 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 *deʔ* ‘adhortative, deontic’ (228). It is not clear whether a modal-marked verb can be negated.

- (228) **deih** lai cha pyrthai
deʔ laj tʃa pɾtʰaʃ
 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 *ɲ* (229) and *ɲ pu* (230) in a slot immediately following mood auxiliaries. Other dialects will also use the post-verbal *de*, *rɛ* (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
ki jɔŋ kʰasi ɲ ɛm kɔʒat ki
 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
ɲ pu dɛp tʰuŋ ki wa ha-pɔʔ ki=lɣdɔʔ
 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
ɲ ɛm de u=kʰiʔ pʰi
 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
he-i=tɛ i=pɔr tɛ kat ɲ ɛm rɛ ka=kari
 at=N=NVIS N=time NVIS as NEG have NEG.SUP F=car
lɛʔ ka=moʔr lɛʔ
 also 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 *tɛ*, which is versatile but is primarily used for hypotaxis. This morpheme can serve to coordinate paratactic clauses as in (233), where it is used with a complex verbal expression that includes the verb *kʰɿŋaŋ* ‘at the same time’.

- (233) *yam khyrŋang, tɛ bam khyrŋang*
jam kʰɿŋaŋ tɛ bam kʰɿŋaŋ
 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, tɛ kjam*
man da slap tɛ kɕam
 happen REAL rain NVIS be.cold
 ‘when it rains, then it is cold’
- (235) *neibhah wa takha u, tɛ ym khih u*
ne=i=bhaʔ wa takʰa u tɛ ɲ kʰiʔ
 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) *tɛ, man da yoh u kam-tɛ...*
tɛ man da ʝoʔ u kam-tɛ
 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 *hɲre* (borrowed from Khasi) and *taŋwa*. These words allow clauses to behave more like complements. Example (237) is a construction using *hɲre* and example (238) gives a standard complement clause for comparison.

- (237) hynrei thok u læh, dang ræm u
hɲre tʰɔk u lɛʔ daŋ rɛm u
 but.also cheat 3SG.M.NOM also PROG lose 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘even though he cheated, still he lost’
- (238) yoo-luti o, bam ko
jo-luti ɔ bam kɔ
 hope 1SG.NOM eat 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘I hope she eats’

Relativizer

The morpheme *wa* 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 *ka* 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 *wa* is a cross-referencing device.

- (239) man ko ka kyntein ka wa yar bha
man kɔ ka=kɲten ka wa jar bha
 become 3SG.F.NOM 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 wa u=sɛk tɔʔ ki=prɔk
 3SG.M.NOM=harib COMT 3SG.M.NOM=sæk 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 (*ii*, *oo*, *he*, *uu*). 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 (*nɔŋ* ‘ok, right’, *nɛ* ‘you see’, *sɛ* ‘is it’, *mɔ* ‘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 (§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 post-verbal 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 *mn* (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 pɔj_V i=pɔr_N
 IRR arrive N=time
 ‘the time will arrive...’ [BMPJ_054]
- (242) jooh tæm bha o
ʔoʔ tɛm_V **bha** ɔ
 HAB play INTS1 1SG.NOM
 ‘I used to play (the drum) a lot’ [TACJ_383]
- (243) ku biang u
 ku_V **biang** 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 §6.3.2. Nominalization is discussed in §7.4 as part of the discussion of nouns, and attributives are discussed in §8, the section on modifiers.

- (244) pynkhai o ki
pŋ-k^haj ɔ ki
 CAUS-get.up 1SG.NOM 3PL
 ‘I made them get up’ [FPAHM_038]
- (245) ha ka jingim...
 ha ka=**ʔiŋ**-im
 LOC F=NMZ-live
 ‘in life...’ [PP15PI_107]
- (246) ki bru wa hæh
 ki=bru **wa** hɛʔ
 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 *ja* identifies the beneficiary *ki* ‘them’, while the instrumental prepositional case marker *da* identifies the theme *ki=sɔʔ* ‘fruit’. 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
 e [u]_A ***ja*** [*ki*]_{REC} ***da*** [*ki=sɔʔ*]_O
 give 3SG.M.NOM BEN 3PL INST PL=fruit
 ‘he gives fruit to them’ [MPSRJ_048]

The pragmatic functions of these markers is such that they can mark various overlapping case roles, making it difficult 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 *ja-* and the causative *pɲ-*.

6.3.1 Durative prefix

The durative aspectual prefix *li-* 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 *li-* seems to be similar to the English adverbial ‘awhile’,¹ and is used

¹Particularly as found in Central Pennsylvania dialects of American English.

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-bo?*, 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, [ka=tupri
 as-MPROX REAL DUR-give 3PL 3SG.F.ACC 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*
ɔŋ u, de? li-bo? nɔ? ja ki=paju jɔŋ
 say 3SG.M.NOM ADH DUR-carry IMM1 BEN PL=siblings GEN
me li-bo? tʃa pɾtʰaj
 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 §10.2.2. This section focuses on the two derivational prefixes *pŋ-* ‘causative’ and *ja-* ‘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 (*ki=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* ‘1pl’ and *ka* ‘3sg fem acc’ are recoverable from the previous clause. Here *i* is the agentive ‘causer’ A-argument of the transitive verb *pŋ-hap* ‘drop’ and *ka* is the undergoer O-argument which could fall.²

- (250) *da hap ki smariah cha khyndaw*
da hap ki=smaria? tʃa kʰɲdaw
 REAL fall PL=pine.cone ALL earth
 ‘the pinecones fall to earth’ [BMPJ_052]

- (251) *la da pynhap, tæ da piah*
la da pŋ-hap Ø Ø tæ da pia?
 if REAL CAUS-fall 1PL 3SG.F.ACC NVIS REAL break
 Ø
 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘if we drop it, it breaks’ [LS2J_019]

6.3.2.2 Pluractional

Pluractional marking identifies multiple, 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 *rɛp* ‘cultivate, farm’ refers to the physical activity involved in working the field. Here *ɔ* ‘I’ is the single argument of the intransitive verb. In (253), however, the speaker is telling about what his parents grew. Here the demonstrative *ki=tɛ* ‘they, those’ serves as the A-argument of the pluractional verb *ja-rɛp* ‘farm (for something)’ and the noun *u=sala?* ‘potato’ identifies the recipient of the activity.

²It is noted here that the realis marker *da* 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.

- (252) da ræp o
da ræp ɔ
 REAL cultivate 1SG.NOM
 ‘I farmed’ [SI1_038]
- (253) yaræp kitæ u salah
ja-ræp ki=tɛ u=salaʔ
 PLUR-cultivate PL=NVIS M=potato
 ‘they farmed (for) potatoes’ [SI3_058]

6.3.2.3 Contextual concerns

It should be noted that both *pŋ-* and *ja-* can have different meanings depending on context. As mentioned in §3.2.2.2, *pŋ-* 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
dɛp-te pŋ-hikaj skur ki ŋa
 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
tɛ ja-laj skur ki warɔʔ
 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 *tɔʔ* ‘be’, *ɛm* ‘have, exist’, and *man* ‘happen, become’ are dealt with further in Chapter 15.

- (256) lai u cha chnong
 laʃ u ʃa ʃnɔŋ
 go 3SG.M.NOM ALL village
 ‘he went to (the) village’ [PP05KO_013]

- (257) yirngam i pyrthai
 ʃirŋam i=pr̥tʰaʃ
 be.green N=world
 ‘the world is green’ [PP01CSE_038]

- (258) e u u kwai
 e u u=kwaʃ
 give 3SG.M.NOM M=areca
 ‘he gives betel nut’ [PP14MF_031]

- (259) æm ka sim
 ɛm ka=sim
 exist F=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 mono-valent (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*
tɛ kam ka=ni ka=program ŋa spiaw ɔ
 NVIS like F=PROX F=program 1SG.ACC sense 1SG.NOM
ɛmkam bha kɔ 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 *ka=ni ka=program* ‘this program’. The phrase *ɛmkam bha kɔ ja i* ‘it is necessary for us’ serves as O-argument/complement for the verb *spiaw* ‘feel’. This phrase contains the verb *ɛmkam* ‘need’, which is typically a transitive verb with two arguments (see §12.2.7.4 above). Here, however, the verb is followed by *kɔ*, which identifies the S/A-argument of the verb it immediately follows. This slot typically corresponds to an agentive argument, but here *kɔ* is understood to reference the topic *ka=ni ka=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 been 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 (§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
 wan_V ki=bru_N
 come PL=person
 ‘the people came’ [PP15PI_149]

- (262) ong u Singh ya ka lok
 ɔŋ_V u=sɪŋ_N ja_{PREP} ka=lɔk_N
 say M=Singh BEN F=friend
 ‘Singh said to the friend...’ [KP010]

To identify the various forms that nouns take under different conditions, compare the noun *juŋ* ‘house, home’ in the following examples. In example (263) the noun is marked by *ja*, and by the gender clitic *ka=*.

- (263) pynchit ko ya ka yung
 pɪtʃɪt_V kɔ_{PN} ja_{PREP} ka=juŋ_N
 CAUS-be.hot 3SG.F.NOM BEN 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. *ha*, *na*, *ʈa*) as opposed to a locative prepositional case marker (264),¹ 2) 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*, *ka*, *i*, and *ki*, 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**
wan_V u_{PN} ʈa_{LOC} juŋ_N
 come 3SG.M.NOM ALL F=house
 ‘he comes to the house’ [PP14MF_020]

- (265) chna **yung** ki
ʈna_V juŋ_N ki_{PN}
 make F=house 3PL
 ‘they made a house’ [FPAHM_025]
lit. ‘they home-make’

- (266) khut ki jan **yung** jan səm
k^hut_V ki=jan juŋ jan səm_N
 call 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 (§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.

¹When 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.

²Definiteness in Pnar is a property of a definite construction and of context, not a property of the gender clitic. See §5.3.4

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
tʃim u [ar tʃli ki=sɔʔ]
 take 3SG.M.NOM two CL.NH PL=fruit
 ‘he takes two pieces of fruit’

- (268) ar ta yaw hadein ka thoh
[ar ta jaw] ha-den ka=tʰɔʔ
 two CL.WK week LOC-back RES=write
 ‘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
ka=bej ramaw bej ramtʃit
 F=mother earth mother nature
 ‘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
raʔ ki ha ɕwaj
 carry 3PL LOC Jowai
 ‘they carried (it) to Jowai’ [PP03SKY_029]

- (271) lai ki cha ka yaw sutnga
laj ki tʃa ka=jaw sutŋa
 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 tʃɔŋ tʃnɔŋ tʃe-i=ni na
 means buy PL=prox NMZ sit village ALL-N=prox ABL
ki=ɕwaj warɔʔ
 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 *kɔŋ* ‘madam’ (273), *bej* ‘mother’, and masculine *wɔʔ* ‘ancestor’ (274), *baʔ* ‘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
ka=kɔŋ silda
 F=HON.F Silda
 ‘madam Mrs. Silda’ [LHJ_020]
- (274) u woh kiang nangbah
u=wɔʔ kiaŋ naŋbaʔ
 M=HON.M Kiang Nangbah
 ‘ancestor Mr. Kiang Nangbah’ [AIJ_038]
- (275) u bah kharkrang
u=baʔ kʰarkraŋ
 M=HON.M Kharkrang
 ‘honorable Mr. Kharkrang’ [LHJ_028]
- (276) u ma bijoy
u=ma biɕoj
 M=HON.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 *dep* ‘tree’) and plants (under *p^hlaŋ* ‘grass’ or *sɔʔ* ‘fruit’). Expressives often combine two terms of general applicability to refer to the larger class, as in the phrase *u=sɛr u=skaj* [M=sambar.deer 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^ho* ‘uncooked.rice’, but other terms are *kba* ‘field.rice’, *ɕa* ‘cooked.rice’, *bɛt* ‘rice.seed’, and *p^hniaŋ* ‘rice.seedling’. The words *sɱbe* ‘seed’, *tʃɛp* ‘bone’ and *tʃruʔ* ‘small.bone’ are also used in conjunction with rice terms.

Emotion terms in Pnar mainly involve physical sensation, with the verb of feeling and hearing being synonymous: *sɱiaw*. Many sensations particularly involve *kɔʔ* ‘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: *sɱiaw suk* ‘feel at peace, feel good’, *sɱiaw siʔ* ‘feel bad’, *sɱiaw baŋ* ‘feel tasty, like’, *sɱiaw da hun* ‘feel happy, satisfied, enjoyable’, etc...

7.3.1 Measure nouns

Local measure terms are often preceded by *tʃi*, 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*, *piaʔ*, *taka* and *rupi* or *rupia* can also be used. The *rupi* is the unit of exchange, with *naja*, *suka*, *piaʔ* 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.

Local term	Explanation
<i>tʃi hali</i>	‘eight pieces of fruit’
<i>tʃi biaʔ</i>	‘packet of ~50 <i>pat^{hi}</i> (<i>paan</i>) leaves’
<i>tʃi sɔŋ</i>	‘four <i>biaʔ</i> ’
<i>tʃi kani</i>	‘four hundred <i>kwaj</i> (<i>areca</i>) nuts’
<i>tʃi sɛr</i>	‘a weight, slightly less than one kilo’
<i>tʃi mɔn</i>	‘100 kilograms’
<i>u mɔn</i>	‘40 <i>sɛr</i> ’
<i>tʃi kati</i>	‘basket weighing ~2.5 <i>sɛr</i> ’
<i>tʃi trɔp</i>	‘basket weighing ~2.5 <i>sɛr</i> ’
<i>tʃi kti</i>	‘two hands, i.e. 10’ (<i>kti</i> means hand)

Table 7.1: Local measure terms

Time As noted in §5.6.4 above, time is referenced by the noun *i=pɔr*, 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 §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^huŋ* 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
<i>musiaŋ</i>	Jowai	<i>mibar (sŋi u blaŋ)</i>	Sunday
<i>mutfaŋ</i>	Shangpung/Dawki	<i>deŋ mibar</i>	Monday
<i>pŋkad</i>	Khleriat	<i>sŋi wa ar</i>	Tuesday
<i>t^hmbleŋ</i>	Khanduli	<i>sŋi wa laŋ</i>	Wednesday
<i>had</i>	Shillong/Yawdooh	<i>deŋ wa laŋ</i>	Thursday
<i>k^hllaw</i>	Sutnga/Dawki	<i>sŋi t^hɔʔ deŋ</i>	Friday
<i>pŋsiŋ</i>	Ummulong	<i>sŋi saŋ ɕan</i>	Saturday
<i>mulŋ</i>	Nartiang		

Table 7.2: Pnar/Jaintia Traditional Market days

the trend, including the words *k^hɔn* ‘child’ and *tʃɔŋ-lad* ‘sit-way’, while December has the word *kmaŋ* ‘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, *tʃɔŋlad* 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^hɔʔ* ‘write’ and *k^hmi* ‘look’, conjoined by *la* ‘if/or’ (perhaps when accounts are done?), and March is *wisu*, which may be composed of *wi* ‘one’ and *su* 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 (*saŋ*) for marriage relations. When meeting another Pnar for the first time, some of the first questions asked regard each other’s

Pnar	English
<i>dujtara</i>	January
<i>tʰɔʔ la kʰmi</i>	February
<i>wisu</i>	March
<i>naj tuŋ</i>	April
<i>naj san</i>	May
<i>naj ɲru</i>	June
<i>naj ɲɲiaw</i>	July
<i>naj sɔpʰra</i>	August
<i>naj kʰnde</i>	September
<i>naj tʃipʰaw</i>	October
<i>kʰɔn tʃɔŋlad</i>	November
<i>kʰmaj tʃɔŋlad</i>	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	<i>bej</i> ³	M's eldest brother	<i>ma san</i>	M's eldest sister	<i>bej san</i>
father	<i>pa</i>	M's next1-born brother	<i>ma ruṭ</i>	M's next1-born sister	<i>bej dia?</i>
M's mother	<i>bej pun</i>	M's next2-born brother	<i>ma dia?</i>	M's next2-born sister	<i>bej lod</i>
M's father	<i>pa pun</i>	M's next3-born brother	<i>ma k^hro</i>	M's next3-born sister	<i>bej k^hian</i>
F's mother	<i>mɛn k^ha</i>	M's next4-born brother	<i>ma rad</i>	M's next4-born sister	<i>bej rad</i>
F's father	<i>wɔ? k^ha</i>	M's elder brother	<i>ma hɛ?</i>	M's elder sister	<i>bej hɛ?</i>
spouse	<i>lok, kurim</i>	M's younger brother	<i>ma k^hian</i>	M's y.er sister	<i>bej k^hian</i>
grandchild	<i>ksu</i>	g. grandchild	<i>ksu miaw</i>	g. g. grandchild	<i>ksu k^hne</i> ⁴
child	<i>k^hɔn</i>	M's brother's child	<i>k^hɔn</i>	F's sister's child	<i>kɔŋ k^ha</i>
elder sibling	<i>paju</i>	M's sister's child (older)	<i>paju (ar bej)</i>	F's brother's child (older)	<i>paju ar pa</i>
y.er sibling	<i>dia?</i>	M's sister's child (y.er)	<i>dia?</i>	F's brother's child (y.er)	<i>dia?</i>
y.est daughter (inherits)	<i>(ka) do?</i>	F's elder brother	<i>pa san</i>	F's older sister	<i>ɲia san</i>
oldest uncle (perf. rites)	<i>(u) kɲi</i>	F's y.er brother	<i>pa ruṭ</i>	F's y.er sister	<i>ɲia ruṭ</i>
first-born sibling	<i>san pun</i>	M's sister's first-born	<i>san pun</i>	F's brother's first-born	<i>san pun</i>
next1-born boy	<i>kɔŋ ruṭ</i>	M's sister's second-born	<i>kɔŋ ruṭ</i>	F's brother's second-born	<i>kɔŋ dia?</i>
next2-born boy	<i>kɔŋ dia?</i>	M's sister's second-born	<i>kɔŋ dia?</i>	F's brother's third-born	<i>kɔŋ ruṭ</i>
next3-born boy	<i>kɔŋ k^hro</i>	elder brother's child	<i>k^hɔn</i>	y.er brother's child	<i>k^hɔn</i>
next4-born boy	<i>dia? pun</i>	y.er sister's f. child	<i>k^hɔn ruṭ</i>	elder sister's female child	<i>k^hɔn ruṭ</i>
next5-born boy	<i>san k^hian</i>	y.er sister's m. child	<i>pɾsa</i>	elder sister's male child	<i>pɾsa</i>
next1-born girl	<i>kɔŋ maj</i>	elder brother's wife	<i>(ka) kɔŋ</i>	elder sister's husband	<i>(u) kɔŋ</i>
next2-born girl	<i>kɔŋ ruṭ</i>	y.er brother's wife	<i>(ka) bo</i>	y.er sister's husband	<i>(u) bo</i>
next3-born girl	<i>kɔŋ dɛ? (dia?)</i>	M's brother's wife	<i>ɲia</i>	M's older sister's husband	<i>pa hɛ?</i>
next5-born girl	<i>dia? maj</i>	F's sister's husband	<i>ɲiaw</i>	M's y.er sister's husband	<i>pa k^hian, pa dia?</i>
next6-born girl	<i>dia? pun, dia? k^hian</i>	M's mother's sister	<i>bej pun, bej hɛ?</i>	F's mother's sister	<i>mɛn</i>
sixth-born	<i>ruṭ k^hian</i>	M's mother's brother	<i>wɔ?</i>	F's mother's brother	<i>wɔ?</i>
sibling (endearment)	<i>pun, wɔ?</i>	F's elder brother's wife	<i>bej san</i>	F's y.er brother's wife	<i>bej ruṭ</i>

Table 7.4: Pnar kinship terms

³The 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.

⁴It was a matter of humor for consultants that the Pnar terms for grandchild, great-grandchild, and great-great grandchild resembled the forms for ‘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
<i>ɕiŋ-</i>	‘AB.NMZ’	abstract	word
<i>nɔŋ-</i>	‘AG.NMZ’	agentive	word
<i>ju-</i>	‘INST.NMZ’	instrumental	word
<i>ka=</i>	‘RES=’	resultative	word or phrase
<i>i=</i>	‘ACT=’	action	word or phrase
<i>u=</i>	‘PURP=’	purposive	word or phrase
<i>ki=</i>	‘PL=’	plural	word or phrase
<i>wa</i>	‘NMZ’	property nominalizer	word or phrase
<i>wa</i>	‘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 §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 *ɕiŋ-* 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 *ɕiŋ-* derives the event nominal ‘regarding, relating to’ by prefixing to the verb *jatɔʔ* ‘relations’.⁶ This is used to set up the following verbal clause where the speaker discusses the things he wants to

⁵Out of all my texts (859 tokens of *ɕiŋ-*) this morpheme occurs without a preceding gender clitic only once, which may simply be an error in production.

⁶The verb *jatɔʔ* seems to have lexicalized from *ja-* ‘BEN’ and *tɔʔ* ‘be, exist’.

say about the referent of *u=wɔʔ lakriaʔ*. In example (278) *ɕiŋ-* 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 *ja* (which identifies the beneficiary of the matrix verb *ʔim kti* ‘take in hand’).

- (277) *tæ i jingyatoh uni u woh lakriah, ...*
tɛ i=ɕiŋ-jatɔʔ u=ni u=wɔʔ
 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 ʔim kti nɔʔ u ja ka=ɕiŋ-sɲʔar sa
 IRR take hand IMM1 3SG.M.NOM BEN F=NMZ-rule only
ʔi=sen ha ka=kti ka jɔŋ o
 one-time LOC 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 *nɔŋ-* 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 *pɭlaɟ* ‘organize’ (> *pŋ-* ‘CAUS’ + *laɟ* ‘go’). As a prefix, this form must also be preceded by a gender clitic, similar to *ɕiŋ-*.

- (279) *ka aiñ wa da chna ki nongpyllai*
ka=aŋ wa da ʔna ki=nɔŋ-pɭlaɟ
 F=rule NMZ REAL make PL=AG.NMZ-organize
 ‘the rule that was made by the organizers’ [AIJ_042]

The prefix *ju-* 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 *ɕiŋ-*. However, it can still be found in some older Pnar words, such as the word *ju-spɔŋ* ‘turban’, which is still the required head covering for priests in the traditional religion, or *ju-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 *ju-* modifies the verb *spɔŋ* ‘wrap’, again being preceded by a gender clitic.

- (280) ka yuspong toh u æm ko
 ka=**ju-spɔŋ** tɔʔ u=ɛm kɔ
 F=NMZ-wrap right 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 *ki*= can also derive nominals) and the nominalizer *wa*. 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 *pŋ-jap* ‘kill’, following the declarative matrix verb *hoj hi* ‘be.ok EMPH’ whose A-argument is the pronoun *i* ‘1pl’. Here, *u=pŋ-jap* serves a nominal referential function as a non-finite state or purposive nominalization.

- (281) biang i pynthor u ræp u khih
 biang i=pŋtʰɔr u=**rɛp** u=**kʰiʔ**
 enough N=farmland NF=farm NF=work
 ‘enough farmland to farm, to work’ [PP04SKO_044]

- (282) hoi hi u pynyap i ki
 hoj hi u=**pŋ-jap** i ki
 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 *ka* derives a resultative nominal when cliticized to a verb root. For comparison we have the following two examples. In example (283) the verb *kʰiʔ* ‘work’ is used in a question, with the S-argument *pʰi* ‘2PL’ 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 *kʰiʔ* 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?
tɛ p^hi k^hiʔ p^hi nɔŋ
 NVIS 2PL work 2PL CONF
 ‘so you, you work, right?’ [AIJ_012]
- (284) hei jooh i por man ko ka khih
he=i=ɕoʔ i=pɔr man kɔ ka=k^hiʔ
 LOC=N=same 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^hiʔ* ‘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
i=ni hæʔ i=k^hiʔ jɔŋ i
 N=PROX only ACT=work GEN 1PL
 ‘this is our only work’ [AIJ_013]
- (286) myntu da dæp u yap tæ ong, i bam kwai ha dwar u=blai
mɲtu da dɛp u=jap tɛ ɔŋ i=bam kwaj ha
 now REAL PERF NF=die NVIS say N=eat betel.nut LOC
dwar u=blaɲ
 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 (287 b).⁷

⁷This 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

- (287) (a) daw khræh i mynstæp
***daw** krɛʔ i mɲstɛp*
 IRR prepare 1PL tomorrow
 ‘we will prepare tomorrow’ (intention, uncertain)
- (b) u khræh i mynstæp
***u**=krɛʔ i mɲstɛp*
 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

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.

⁸Some of the data in this section was previously published in Ring and Gruber (2014a).

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] _{NOUN}
	[V-NMZ] _{ADJ}
Clausal	[(NP)... V-NMZ] _{NP}
Pnar nominalization, V-initial	
Derivational:	NOUN[NMZ-V]
	ADJ[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 (§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 (X, 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	<i>wa</i>	none	Pn + <i>wa</i>
can be negated:	no	no	no	yes
V takes morph.:	no	no	no	yes
example:	<i>t^hɲme</i>	<i>wa hɛ?</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>ka wa ɕrɔŋ</i>
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^hɲme* for ‘new’ and *tɲmɛn* for ‘old’, which become descriptors when they immediately follow the noun (288-289).

(288) i juk thymme
i=ɟuk tʰɪmme
 N=generation be.new
 ‘the new generation’ [TACJ_366]

(289) ki sistar tymmæn
ki=sistar tɪmmæn
 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
tʰɪmme i=ɟuk
 be.new N=generation
 ‘the generation (is) new’

(291) tymmæn ki sistar
tɪmmæn 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
ɪ tʰɪmme i=ɟuk
 NEG be.new N=generation
 ‘the generation (is) not new’

(293) ym tymmæn ki sistar
ɪ tɪmmæn ki=sistar
 NEG be.old PL=nun
 ‘the nuns (are) not old’

- (294) *i juk ym thymme
i=ɕuk ɲ tʰɲme
 N=generation NEG be.new
 ‘*the not new generation’

- (295) *ki sistar ym tymmæn
ki=sistar ɲ tɲmæn
 PL=nun NEG be.old
 ‘*the not old nuns’

If a pronoun occurs post-verbally in the S/A argument slot, this conditions a change in clause structure: the preposed noun is then considered to be in topic position, and the words *tʰɲme* and *tɲmæn* 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=ɕuk]_{TOP} ɲ tʰɲme [i]_s
 N=generation NEG be.new 3SG.N
 ‘the generation (is) not new’

- (297) ki sistar ym tymmæn ki
[ki=sistar]_{TOP} ɲ tɲmæn [ki]_s
 PL=nun NEG be.old 3PL
 ‘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 tɲmæn bha
 PL=nun be.old INTS1
 ‘the nuns (are) very old’

- (299) ki sistar tymmæn tymmæn
ki=sistar tɲmæn~tɲmæn
 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. *kʰian doʔ*) is nominalized with a gender clitic that refers to the referential element.

- (300) *tymmæn bha ki sistar*
tɿmmɛn bha ki=sistar
 be.old INTS1 PL=nun
 ‘the nuns (are) very old’

- (301) *ki sistar tymmæn bha ki*
ki=sistar tɿmmɛn 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^hɿmme* ‘young, new’ (302-303), *tɿmmɛn* ‘old’ (304), *k^hian* ‘small’ (305-307), and *hɛ?* ‘big’ (323).

In (302) *t^hɿmme* directly modifies *i=ɕuk* ‘generation’ to describe the new, younger generation. In (303) the same word for ‘new’ is used to describe a road, *surɔk*.

- (302) *hei juk tɿmme katni*
he-i=ɕuk t^hɿmme kat-ni
 LOC=N=generation be.new as-PROX
 ‘in the new generation now’ [TACJ_366]

- (303) *na surok tɿmme*
na suɾɔk t^hɿmme
 ABL road be.new
 ‘from the new road’ [BMPJ_018]

In (304) the word *tɿmmɛn* directly modifies *ka=kɿt^haj* ‘woman’ to describe the woman as being old or elderly.

- (304) *æm yap kaw ka kynthai tymmæn*
ɛm jap ka=wi ka=kɿt^haj tɿmmɛn
 have die F=one F=female be.old
 ‘one old woman died’ [LS3J_007]

In (305) the word *k^hian* ‘be small’ directly modifies *u=masi* ‘cow’ to denote the small size of a cow. In (306) the same word identifies *ki=ɸaŋ* ‘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^hian
 M=cow be.small
 ‘a small cow’ [MPSM_011]

- (306) ki chang khian
ki=ʃaŋ k^hian
 PL=basket be.small
 ‘the small baskets’ [TACJ_476]
- (307) tæ mih ko na kupli khian ya ki khynde tylli ki chnat wah
tɛ miʔ kɔ na kupli k^hian ja ki
 NVIS come.out 3SG.F.NOM ABL Kupli be.small BEN 3PL
k^hnde tlli ki=ʃnat waʔ
 nine CL.NH PL=tributary lake
 ‘so out from small Kupli (i.e. Li) comes nine tributaries’
 [PP05KO_004]

Word	Gloss	Word	Gloss
<i>kɲrad</i>	‘almighty’	<i>so</i>	‘red’
<i>haɕɔn</i>	‘rich’	<i>stɛm</i>	‘yellow’
<i>doʔ</i>	‘poor’	<i>ʝɔŋ</i>	‘black’
<i>ɕiak</i>	‘little’	<i>leʔ</i>	‘white’
<i>k^hia</i>	‘heavy’	<i>luk</i>	‘white’
<i>stiŋ</i>	‘light’	<i>hiam</i>	‘red’
<i>t^haʔ</i>	‘frozen’	<i>ʝirŋam</i>	‘green’
<i>tɾtaʔ</i>	‘boiled’	<i>tɲnat</i>	‘nice’
<i>ʃit</i>	‘hot’	<i>siʔ</i>	‘bad’
<i>t^hɲme</i>	‘new’	<i>tɾk^haw</i>	‘dry’
<i>tɲmɛn</i>	‘old’	<i>sɲʃar</i>	‘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
ka=sɲi ʝam-bru
 F=day cry-person
 ‘day of mourning’
- (309) u pseĩn tymmoh
u=psep tɲmɔʔ
 M=snake overlay
 ‘kind of snake’

<p>(310) ka niam tre
<i>ka=niam tre</i>
F=tradition original
‘original tradition’</p>	<p>(312) u khlieh tam
<i>u=k^hleʔ tam</i>
M=head INTS3
‘most head’</p>
<p>(311) i thaw thang
<i>i=t^haw t^haŋ</i>
N=place burn
‘burning, cremation place’</p>	<p>(313) ka syiem synchar
<i>ka=sɿem sɿtʃar</i>
F=ruler rule
‘ruling queen’</p>

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.

<p>(314) u ksaw wa hæh
<i>u=ksaw wa hæʔ</i>
M=dog NMZ be.big
‘the big dog’</p>	<p>(316) u bru wa hæh
<i>u=bru wa hæʔ</i>
M=person NMZ be.big
‘the big man’</p>
<p>(315) u ksaw hæh
<i>u=ksaw hæʔ</i>
M=dog be.big
‘the big dog’</p>	<p>(317) *u bru hæh
<i>u=bru hæʔ</i>
M=person be.big
‘the big man’</p>

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=bru ɲ wa hæʔ
M=person NGE NMZ be.big
‘the not big man’

- (319) *u bru wa ym hæh
u=bru wa ɲ hɛʔ
 M=person NMZ NEG be.big
 ‘the not big man’

Any verb can become a nominal modifier when preceded by the morpheme *wa*, 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.

<p>(320) u bru wa phæt
 <i>u=bru wa p^hɛt</i>
 M=person NMZ run
 ‘runner, running man’</p> | <p>(321) ka kynthai wa e
 <i>ka=kɲt^haj wa e</i>
 F=woman NMZ give
 ‘giver, giving woman’</p> |
|--|---|

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 *wa* identify properties that are indirectly associated with the head. For example, in (322) the speaker is contrasting the size of a big person *u=bru wa hɛʔ* with two small children *ki=k^hɲnah k^hian*. The only difference between the two realizations of the modifiers ‘be big’ and ‘be small’ here is that *hɛʔ* ‘be big’ is preceded by *wa* while *k^hian* ‘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=wi u=bru wa hɛʔ wa ki=k^hɲnaʔ k^hian
 M=one M=person NMZ be.big COMT PL=child be.small
ar ɲut
 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 *hɛʔ* 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, *hɛʔ* ‘be big’ marks an inherent quality on a noun. Here the speaker is describing the use of *ki=ʔfaŋ hɛʔ* ‘big baskets’.

- (323) *ha wa ʧæt æm kam kini ki ʧaŋ hæh, næ?*
ha wa ʧæt æm kam ki=ni ki=ʔfaŋ hɛʔ
 LOC NMZ cook have need PL=PROX PL=basket be.big
nɛ
 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 *wa*, 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*
ki=bru wa hɛʔ
 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^hmaʔ* precedes a complex verbal construction which is followed by the S-argument pronoun *u* ‘3SG.M.NOM’ and in (326) the verb *hɛʔ* ‘be.big’ is also marked by realis mood and followed by arguments.

- (325) *tæ u khmah da hæh da tymmæn u*
tɛ u=k^hmaʔ da hɛʔ da tɪmmæn u
 NVIS M=Khmah REAL be.big REAL be.old 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘so Khmah was growing older’ [PP05KO_024]

- (326) *da hæh ka=ni ka=khon*
da hɛʔ ka=ni ka=k^hɔn
 REAL be.big F=PROX 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 tymmäen
ja=ʃɛm wa ki=tɪnmæn
 PLUR-meet COMT PL=be.old
 ‘(I) meet with the older ones’ [PP15PI_054]
- (328) uwi yarap u oo, tæ u khian dooh neitæ
u=wi ja-rap u o tɛ
 M=one help 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.ACC NVIS
u=k^hian-do? *ne=i=tɛ*
 M=be.small-extremely ABL=N=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.

- (329) u sñiaw tymmæn
u=spiaw tmmen
 NF=sense be.old
 ‘to feel old’ [HPAHR 222]

As noted in §8.3, attributives are derived by preposing the morpheme *wa* 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’, *jirɣam* ‘green’, *jɔŋ* ‘black’, and *leʔ* ‘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: *rɔŋ* ‘color’ followed by the noun which is the color that the speaker wishes to invoke. So *rɔŋ bajɣɔn* 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=prthaj man i wa jirngam
 mean 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=tymmen wasan* ‘elder (in a church)’ [Khasi: *u=tymmen basan*], which refers to a particular office in a particular association. This compound is formed from *tymmen* ‘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*
tæ man tymmæn basan o he=i=ni ha
 NVIS become be.old elder 1SG.NOM LOC=N=PROX LOC
balanɔ ɕwaj
 church Jowai
 ‘so I became an elder here in Jowai church’ [LIJ_024]
lit. ‘I elder-became...’

- (333) *tæ jied tymmæn wasan ki nga*
tæ ɕed tymmæn wasan ki nga
 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^ha* ‘be born’ is modified by *t^hymme* ‘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=ni wa n u wa k^ha t^hymme
 M=PROX NMZ REF 3SG.M NMZ be.born be.new
 ‘so this born again..’ [PP01CSE_066]

In (335) *t^hymme* 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
 ɲ tɔʔ de ki wa man **tʰɲme** kat-ni sɛ
 NEG be INTS 3PL NMZ become be.new as-PROX CONF
 ‘they are not new now, right?’ [TACJ_120]

In (336) the verb *kʰian* ‘be small’ modifies 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) katae rap khian ha nga
 ka=tɛ rap **kʰian** ha ŋa
 F=NVIS grow be.small LOC 1SG.ACC
 ‘this is a bit small for me’ [TACJ_143]

In (337) the verb *hɛʔ* ‘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=bru* ‘man’, identified initially as the topic *o* ‘3SG.M.ACC’.

- (337) oo da rap hæh u bru
 o da rap **hɛʔ** u=bru
 3SG.M.ACC REAL grow be.big M=person
 ‘the man is quite grown up’ [MPSRJ_004]

8.6 Potential source of *wa*

Another use for the morpheme *wa* 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.
 ɛm ar ŋut tʃi lɔk ki u=nik **wa** u=sɪŋ
 have two CL.HUM set friend 3PL M=Nik COMT 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=nik* is conceptualized as being someone “with properties of” a *malik*¹ ‘boss’, a ‘getter’ (*joʔ*) and a ‘have-er’ (*ɛm*), in opposition to *u=sɪŋ*.

¹Likely an Indo-Aryan loan.

- (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
he-i=tɛ *tɔʔ* *u=nik* *tɔʔ* [*u* [*wa* *malik*]] [*u*
LOC=N=NVIS be M=Nik be 3SG.M NMZ be.boss 3SG.M
[*wa* *jɔʔ*]] [*u* [*wa* *ɛm*]] *tɛ* *u=sin* *tɔʔ* [*u* [*wa*
NMZ get 3SG.M NMZ have NVIS M=Singh be 3SG.M NMZ
doʔ]] *ɲ* *tɔʔ* [*u* [*wa* *jɔʔ*]]
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 §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 §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 four-syllable 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 *fâʔ-ᵑ-ŋâʔ-ᵑ* or ‘rodent-rice-bird-rice’ (Matisoff 1991:83–84), “rice left for the birds and rats.” A Thai expression for sincerity is *náam-sǎy-cay-cing* 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-sǎŋ-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 sound-symbolic 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 knowledgeable speakers to convey deep concepts that are more accessible to all members of the Pnar community.

Pnar speakers identify these constructions as *kɲten kɲnɔʔ* or *kten kɲnɔʔ* ‘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 well-represented 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 §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
<i>nɔk nɔk</i>	‘limp’	<i>i=pr^ht^haj i=mɲdɛr</i>	‘earth, world’, ‘all creation’
<i>k^hrot_ɲ k^hrot_ɲ</i>	‘perfectly ripe’	<i>ki=mrɔd ki=mrɛŋ</i>	‘herbivores, omnivores’, ‘all animals’
<i>tɛr tɛr</i>	‘etcetera’	<i>u=sɛr u=skaɟ</i>	‘sambar deer, barking deer’, ‘deer’
<i>lat_ɲ-lod_ɲ</i>	‘be free’	<i>ka=k^hnam ka=rɲteʔ</i>	‘arrow, bow’, ‘archery’
<i>mɭlu mɭlla</i>	‘such and such’	<i>da tʃat_ɲ da k^hiaʔ</i>	‘be healthy, be whole’, ‘well-being’
<i>awri awra</i>	‘argue’	<i>da piaʔ da pra</i>	‘break, scatter’, ‘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 (§9.2.1) and those which are primarily verbal (§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 (AB AC), and whether each member 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/attributional 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 *kdɛp kdɛp* indicates a pair of floppy items.

- (340) u rdang kamtu kdæp-kdæp næ
 u=rdan kam-tu **kdɛp-kdɛp** nɛ
 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 *kdək-kdək* is a phonaesthetic pair that mimics the sound of a bouncing ball hitting the wooden toy in The Pear Story. The morpheme *kdək* is also used as the verb ‘bounce’ and has a dialect variant in *kndək* – it can be noted that this second form is disyllabic and has a syllabic nasal in the first syllable.

- (341) tæ kdok-kdok næ
*tɛ **kdək-kdək** nɛ*
 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^hrot* ‘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
 wə rim bam ki læh sñiaw tynnat
ŋ ɛm u=sɲiaw baŋ bha u=bam ka=tɛ klla
 NEG have NF=sense be.tasty INTS1 NF=eat F=NVIS change
***k^hrot-k^hrot** ki=tu ŋ ki=salaʔ wa rim bam*
 be.ripe-be.ripe PL=MEDL ref PL=potato NMZ be.old eat
ki lɛʔ sɲiaw tɲnat
 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=pli* who was born disabled. The reduplicated form *nək-nək* ‘limp’ refers to the manner of walking involving up-down motion. This is related to the disyllabic form *səʔnək* found in (344) below.

- (343) kat wa tkoh u pli nong tæ lai u nok nok næ
kat wa tkɔʔ u=pli nɔŋ tɛ laj
 as NMZ be.disabled(leg) M=innocent CONF NVIS go
*u **nək-nək** nɛ*
 3SG.M.NOM limp D.TAG
 ‘since Pli was disabled, so he went limping’ [SI2_089]

- (344) dəp tæ tkoh u pli ym hoi de, sohnok-sohnok
dɛp tɛ tkɔʔ u=pli ŋ hɔj
 PERF NVIS be.disabled(leg) M=innocent NEG be.well
*de **səʔnək-səʔnək***
 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) *hɲre suki-suki la da man u snɛm u pɔɪ hali*
hɲre suki-suki la da man u=snɛm u=pɔɪ
 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=kten jɔŋ i toɪ suki-suki u=doɪ i
 as-PROX N=word GEN 1PL be slowly 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*
ki=ni ter-ter kam-ni
 PL=PROX so.on as,like-PROX
 ‘these and so on like these’ [TACJ_215]
- (348) *na nongjrɔŋ ter-ter hadooh wa poi ha guahati*
na nɔŋɔŋrɔŋ ter-ter ha-doɪ wa pɔj ha
 ABL Nongjrɔŋ so.on LOC-when NMZ arrive LOC
guwahati
 Guwahati
 ‘from Nongjrɔŋ and so on until reaching Guwahati’ [BPDJ_033]

In (349) the expression *tʰap tʰap* ‘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*
dɛp tʰap-tʰap u næ
 PERF puting 3SG.M.NOM D.TAG
 ‘after putting (it), ok..’ [MPSRJ_016]

In (350) the expression *tʰij-tʰij* ‘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*
tɛ tʰɔɪ ki ŋa tʰij-tʰij tʰɔɪ ki
 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-loḏ* (or *let-loḏ*) means ‘be free’. Consultants said that both *lat* and *loḏ* 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 [o] and possible length on the vowel in the second.

- (351) da yoh lait-loid ka ri Pnar yong i
 da jɔʔ **lat-loḏ** ka=ri pnar jɔŋ i
 REAL get be.free 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* [məlu 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 difference 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 ɲ pu spiawtʰoʔ daŋ ka=aŋ blaɟ ɛʔ kdɔʔ
 become NEG Not understand PROG 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
 tɔ tɛ he=i=tɛ i=pɔr man ka=ni da ɛm
 ok NVIS LOC=N=NVIS N=time become F=PROX REAL have
 hi ki **mllu mlla**
 EMPH 3PL gather gather
 ‘ok, at that time they are having this small thing’ (referring to a party/gathering/event) [TACJ_036]

- (354) tip o myllu mylla u thoh u thar
 tip ɔ mɿllu mɿlla u=tʰɔʔ u=tʰar
 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 *ki=* and is conceptualized as the member of a set begun by *ki=kʰaʒia* ‘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
 je=i ki=kʰaʒia ki=awri awra jɔŋ ki=kʰɔn
 BEN=1PL PL=fight PL=argue argue GEN PL=child
 ka=riot jɔŋ i ha-pɔʔ ka=ɛlaka
 F=citizen GEN 1PL LOC-under,in 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 *pɿlan pɿlum* ‘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 *pɿlum pɿlan* in the same sentence. The second syllables *lan* 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
 pɿlan pɿlum i ki=kʰɔn tɛ da pɿlum pɿlan i
 gather collect 1PL PL=child NVIS REAL collect gather 1PL
 ki=kʰɔn tɛ da wan dɔrbar da wan sɔrbar
 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 *kɿraw kɿrɛʔ* ‘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
 li-boʔ ki=tu kɿraw kɿrɛʔ ja u=raʔ
 DUR-put,keep PL=MEDL things things BEN NF=carry
 ki=tu fɛa juŋ
 PL=MEDL ALL home
 ‘they put those things (there) for (him) to carry them home’
 [SI1_046]

In (358) the expression *jɪ̃mbar jɪ̃m^hiaŋ* ‘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=tre-ki-rot*.

- (358) man da yoh iymbar iymthiang da ngait nood u tre-ki-rot
man da ɔʔ jɪ̃mbar jɪ̃m^hiaŋ da ɲat̚ nod
 become REAL get overflow overspill INST believe dare
u=tre-ki-rot
 M=Creator.God
 ‘when Tre-ki-Rot was overflowing with happiness...’ [PP13RS_057]

In (359) the phrase *pr̥naʔ pr̥ɕɪ̃n* ‘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
i=ji pr̥naʔ pr̥ɕɪ̃n ki=klɔŋ ki=sko
 N=thing libation offering(liquid) PL=bottle PL=gourd
 ‘things (for) libations, bottles’ [PP14MF_022]

In (360) the speaker is describing how he writes songs. He uses the expression *pr̥k^hat pr̥den* ‘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=tɛ ɔʔ hawa tʃna ɔ lut sak^hiat i=bɔr
 PL=NVIS be when make 1SG.NOM finish be.true N=power
pr̥k^hat pr̥den 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 *jasai̯t̚ 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 katae toh ka hukum
ja u=je ɔ jasai̯t̚ jatar ka=tɛ ɔʔ
 BEN M=able 1SG.NOM reason debate F=NVIS be
ka=hukum
 F=command
 ‘so that I can debate that command’ [PP12BL_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 (§9.2.1) and verbal (§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 *ka=*. The majority have noun roots, but resultative derivations from verbs are also represented.

Noun-noun feminine expression In (362), *ka=dak ka=ʈʰin* means something like 'the signs', and generally refers to the vestiges of a bygone era, often enshrined in traditions. The expression *ka=k^hnam ka=rɲteʔ* 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=wɔʔ kɪaŋ naŋbaʔ pɲ-jo u i
 M=HON.M.elder Kiang Nangbah CAUS-see 3SG.M.NOM 1PL
 [*ka=dak ka=ʈʰin*] [*ka=k^hnam ka=rɲteʔ*]
 F=sign F=signal F=arrow F=bow
 'Mr. Kiang Nangbah showed us the sign/way of the arrow, the bow'
 [AIJ_070]

In (363) *ka=dɔʔ ka=p^had* means 'physical body'. Here *dɔʔ* is the general term for 'meat', and *p^had* refers to 'flesh'.

- (363) ka doh ka phad yong i
ka=dɔʔ **ka=p^had** jɔŋ i
 F=body,meat F=flesh GEN 1PL
 ‘our bodies’ [BPDJ_041]

In (364) *ka=mɛt ka=p^had* is another way to say ‘physical body’. The word *mɛt* is often used as a synonym for ‘body’, particularly if without activity, i.e. *mɛt jap* ‘dead body’.

- (364) ka mæɛt ka phad ka yong i
ka=mɛt **ka=p^had** ka jɔŋ i
 F=body F=flesh 3SG.F.ACC GEN 1PL
 ‘our bodies’ [BPDJ_043]

In (365) *ka=niam ka=rुकom* is an elaborate expression for ‘traditional way’ while *ka=dustur ka=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^hleʔ* jɔŋ **ka=niam** **ka=rुकom** jɔŋ **ka=dustur**
 also M=head GEN F=tradition F=way GEN F=tradition
ka=riti *ha-pɔʔ* *ka=ɛlaka* *ka* jɔŋ
 F=culture LOC-under,in 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 *ka=* generally have a resultative sense. This also applies to verbs used in elaborate expression constructions. In (366) *ka=roj ka=par* 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
kammɔn *u=kɲtu* i ja **ka=roj** **ka=par** jɔŋ
 how NF=advise 1PL BEN RES=crawl RES=crawl GEN
i=ɕat-bru
 N=type-person
 ‘this is how we develop for the prosperity of our people’ [AIJ_038]

In (367) *ka=imlan ka=saʔlan* refers to a community and how they live together. Both *imlan* and *saʔlan* are considered compounds, forming a 6-syllable elaborate expression.

- (367) kammon ha ka imlang ka sahlang
kammən ha ka=im-laŋ ka=saʔ-laŋ
 how LOC RES=live-together RES=stay-together
 ‘how in living, staying together’ [KNI_046]

In (368) *ka=bia ka=k^hap* 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 da æm i=ni i=bŋta i wa ka=bia
 if REAL have N=PROX N=purpose 1PL NMZ RES=marry
ka=k^hap læʔ hab e i da u=pat^hi
 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 In (369) *u=kba u=k^ho* 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
warɔʔ u=kba u=k^ho warɔʔ ka=ʔaʔ wa
 all M=rice[paddy] M=rice[husked] all F=type NMZ
ij
 boil,burn
 ‘all the rice, everything got burned’ [FPAHM_039]

In (370) *u=mo-siaŋ u=mo-t^ha* 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=kllæp u=mo-siaŋ u=mo-t^ha
 BEN NF=cover M=stone-slab M=stone-boulder
 ‘for covering the rocks’ [PP01CSE_025]

In (371) *u=saraŋ u=sak^hin* 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
man da p^hæt u=tɛ u=saraŋ u=saxin tɛ
 become REAL run M=NVIS M=fracture M=fault.line NVIS
mi? ki=liar mi? ki=dui
 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=ʃat u=k^hia?* 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
ne=i=tɛ jɔ? u=ʃat u=k^hia?
 ABL=N=NVIS get NF=be.healthy NF=be.whole
 ‘from that to get healthy, whole’ [BMPJ_022]

In (373) *u=t^huŋ u=tap* 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
ŋ hɔj u=t^huŋ u=tap i
 NEG be.well NF=plant,appoint NF=put,garden 1PL
 ‘it’s not good for us to plant, garden’ [BMPJ_030]

In (374) *u=t^hia? u=ʃɔŋ* 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
ŋ je de taŋ u=t^hia? u=ʃɔŋ
 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 In (375) *i=k^hndaw i=ʃɔiap* 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 ka= dorbar wa u yoh i khyndaw
 i chyiap ya u kyllæp u moosiang u mootha
he=i=tɛ i=pɔr u=wɔʔ lakriaʔ pɾkʰat
 LOC=N=NVIS N=time M=HON.M.elder Lakriah think
u ha ka=dɔrbar wa u=jɔʔ i=kʰɿdaw
 3SG.M.NOM LOC F=meeting NMZ NF=get N=earth
i=tʃɿap ja u=kllɛp u=mo-siaŋ u=mo-tʰa
 N=soil BEN NF=cover M=stone-slab 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=dɔʔ i=pran* refers to humans of flesh and bone.

- (376) ki bru ki wa æm i doh i pran i wa æm ki chyeiñ ki chruh
ki=bru ki wa ɛm i=dɔʔ i=pran i wa ɛm
 PL=person 3PL NMZ have N=flesh N=flesh 1PL NMZ have
ki=tʃɿɛp ki=tʃruʔ tɛ deʔ
 PL=bone PL=boneseed
 ‘the people who have bodies and flesh, who have bones’
 [PP01CSE_030]

In (377) *i=bhaʔ i=bŋta* refers to a portion, in this case of responsibility.

- (377) ki wan ki heipor wa u e i bhah i bynta ya ka niam
ki wan ki he=i=pɔr wa u=e i=bhaʔ
 3PL come 3PL LOC=N=time COMT NF=give N=share
i=bŋta ja ka=niam
 N=purpose BEN F=tradition
 ‘they came at the time and were given a share in the tradition’
 [PP02SKF_031]

Verb-verb action nominal In (378) *i=tʃɔŋ i=saʔ* ‘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
ka=bej ramaw ka wa i im i=tʃɔŋ i=saʔ
 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=bam i=kʰiʔ* refers to eating and preparing for food.

- (379) ym æm iyi iyi i bam i khiih
 ɲ ɛm i=jɪ i=jɪ i=**bam** i=**k^hiʔ**
 not have N=thing N=thing ACT=eat ACT=work
 ‘there is nothing to eat, to prepare’ [KP_006]

In (380) *i=krɛʔ i=k^hiʔ* refers to work or a job.

- (380) i kræh i khiih katni man toh kam u nong-e dawai Pnar dawai herbal
 i=**krɛʔ** i=**k^hiʔ** kat-ni man toʔ kam
 ACT=work ACT=work as-PROX become be like,want
 u=nɔŋ-e dawai pnar dawai 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 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
 pɲ-jo u ki=tɛ **ki=lad** **ki=luti** na wa
 CAUS-see 3SG.M.NOM PL=NVIS PL=way PL=way ABL NMZ
 sdaŋ ki=sŋi
 begin PL=day
 ‘he showed these ways from the beginning’ [AIJ_032]

In (382) *ki=dak 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
 tɛ tɛ mɲtu ɔŋ baʔ kam ɔŋ p^hi ɲtu
 NVIS NVIS today,now say IMM3 like,want say 2PL just.now
ki=dak **ki=ʈfin** mɔ
 PL=sign PL=signal
 ‘so lets say, like you said just now, the signs’ [AIJ_070]

In (383) *ki=tawiar ki=takan* identifies the surrounding area of a referent. Specifically, the speaker is referring to the land and watershed around Jowai town.

- (383) mih i kitæ ki tawiar ki takan
 miʔ i ki=tɛ **ki=tawiar** **ki=takan**
 bring.out 1PL PL=NVIS PL=surroundings PL=surroundings
 ‘then came the surroundings’ [BMPJ_012]

Verb-verb plural nominal In (384) *ki=hε?* *ki=hap* 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
ŋa da wan ja-tʃɛm ɔ wa ki=hε?
 1s.acc REAL come PLUR-meet 1SG.NOM COMT PL=be.big
ki=hap
 PL=be.big
 ‘I have met with respectable people (lawyers)’ [HPAHR_027]

In (385) *ki=kam* *ki=ɕam* refers to the activities of work.

- (385) ki wa u tia bait chaprang khamtam ha ki kam ki jam
ki wa u=tia bat tʃa-pʰraŋ kʰamtam ha
 3PL NMZ NF=advance IMM3 ALL-front especially LOC
ki=kam ki=ɕam
 PL=work PL=go.work
 ‘they who advance forward, especially in work’ [KNI_046]

In (386) *ki=nia* *ki=jutaŋ* refers to public reasoning that supports an argument.

- (386) tæ u khon lymboit khon lymbiang ha wa kut kinia ki yutang yong oo
tɛ u=kʰɔn lɪmboit kʰɔn lɪmbiaŋ ha wa kut
 NVIS M=child Lymboit child Lymbiang LOC NMZ end
ki=nia ki=jutaŋ jɔŋ o
 PL=reason 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: *ja-* 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
ŋa pʰi 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 (388) *ja-roj* *ja-par* refers to the collective activity of prospering.

- (388) *tæ dæp neitæ tæ yaroï yapar ki*
tɛ dɛp ne=i=tɛ tɛ ja-roj ja-par ki
 NVIS PERF ABL=N=NVIS NVIS PLUR-prosper PLUR-crawl 3PL
 ‘so then they prospered and expanded’ [PP02SKF_022]

In (389) *ja-sap ja-k^hep* identifies a kind of collective assistance.

- (389) *ka nongkylliang wa yasap yakheñ*
ka=nɔŋ-klliaŋ wa ja-sap ja-k^hep
 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) *pŋ-tfna pŋ-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 katae*
pŋ-tfna pŋ-kit u ka ka=tɛ
 CAUS-make CAUS-carry(sling) 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.ACC F=NVIS
 ‘he’s arranging/loading it’ [FPSM_006]

In (391) *u=pŋ-nɛʔ pŋ-saʔ* refers to the act of preserving, of causing something to remain.

- (391) *chaphang kammon u pynnæh pynsah i ya ka mariang*
tʃap^haŋ kammɔn u=pŋ-nɛʔ pŋ-saʔ i ja
 about how M=CAUS-preserve CAUS-stay 1PL BEN
ka=mariang
 F=mother.earth
 ‘regarding how we will preserve the earth’ [BMPJ_086]

In (392) *pŋ-tfna pŋ-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 katae*
pŋ-tfna pŋ-kit u ka ka=tɛ
 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-dap li-p^haria* 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^hat e kɔ ka=hukum deʔ li-dap
 BEN M=Khaat give 3SG.F.NOM F=command ADH DUR-cut
li-p^haria ka=mo-siaŋ ka=mo-t^ha
 DUR-crush F=stone-slab F=stone-boulder
 ‘to Khaat she gave the command ‘(you) should crush the rocks and
 boulders’ [PP01CSE_032]

In (394) *li-thoʔ 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^hoʔ li-wad ka=sʔem wa ʔit sʔem wa
 DUR-find,search DUR-look.for F=ruler NMZ hot ruler NMZ
ʔe u=wan klla ʔa-pɔʔ pɾt^haj pɔʔ
 be.light NF=come change ALL-under,in world under,in
mndær
 world.outside.Jaintia
 ‘(they said) go find the sun and bring her back to earth’
 [PP13RS_069]

Realis: *da* In (395) *da ʔat da k^hiaʔ* refers to health and wellness, while *da hɛʔ da k^hlan* 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 [da ʔat da k^hiaʔ] i man [da
 become REAL be.healthy REAL be.whole 1PL become REAL
hɛʔ da k^hlan] i ʔi=bon je u=lɛʔ ja
 be.big REAL use,strong 1PL one-be.much able NF=do BEN
u=rɛp warɔʔ i
 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 piaʔ da pra* refers to breaking and falling apart.

- (396) *ka club wa da piah da pra heitæ*
ka=klɔb wa da piaʔ da pra he=i=tɛ
 F=club NMZ REAL break REAL scatter LOC=N=NVIS
 ‘the club was falling apart’ [HPAHR_102]

Irrealis: *daw* In (397) *daw rusa daw pʔut* refers to the process of decomposition that happens to a body after a person dies. Here the speaker *ka=sɿi* ‘the sun’ is predicting the fate of those who insulted her.

- (397) phi ki wa daw yap, daw rusa daw pyut
pʰi ki wa daw jap daw rusa daw pʔut
 2PL 3PL NMZ IRR die IRR decompose IRR rot
 ‘you, those 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 (398) *wa boʔ wa tʰo* serves as a modifier meaning ‘creator’, identifying properties of the preceding noun *ka=bej* ‘mother’. This is one of the heavenly beings in the Pnar pantheon.

- (398) ka bei wa booh wa thoo
ka=bej wa boʔ wa tʰo
 F=mother NMZ put,keep NMZ create
 ‘the mother who puts, who creates’ [BMPJ_009]

In (399) *wa hɛʔ wa san* refers to elders.

- (399) ki wa hæh wa san yong i mynchwa i
ki wa hɛʔ wa san jɔŋ i mɲtʃwa 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 *ki=kɲten kɲnoʔ* ‘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 constructions¹ (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 §10.3. The final section of this chapter (§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 S, 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 a-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,

¹Haspelmath (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.

²The 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.

while in (400 b) the S argument is fully identified with a noun phrase or noun compound.

- (400) (a) yap u
 jap **u**_s
 die 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘he died’ [KNI_006]
- (b) yap u woh kiang nangbah
 jap [*u=wɔʔ* ***kiaŋ*** ***naŋbaʔ***]_s
 die M=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
 jap ***kɔ***_s *jap* [*ka=bej* ***u=lɔʔ*** ***rɲdi***]_s
 die 3SG.F.NOM die F=mother M=Loh Ryndi
 ‘she died, Loh Ryndi’s mother died’ [PP05KO_005]

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=bru* ‘the man’ (in bold) immediately follows the verb and is then followed by the O argument *ka=wat* ‘the sword’.

³This is typically also the “most agent-like argument” Payne (1997: 133), but not always.

- (402) chim u bru ka wait
tʃim *u=bru_A* *ka=wat_O*
 take 3SG.M.NOM=person F=sword
 ‘the man took the sword’

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
tʃim *u=bru_A* *ka_O* *ka=wat_O*
 take 3SG.M.NOM=person 3SG.F.ACC F=sword
 ‘the man took the sword’

Transitive verbs can be subclassified on the basis of semantics. These subclassifications are treated in §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, *tɔʔ* ‘be’, *ɛm* ‘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 *tɔʔ* ‘be’ occurs clause initially and serves to equate the two following NPs *ka=k^hɲdaw* ‘earth’ and the relative clause *ka wa tʃare* ‘that herds/cares’. The following clause explicates this, with a purposive nominalization *u=k^ha 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 *kɔ* references the dual arguments of the previous copula clause.

- (404) *toʔ* [*ka=k^hndaw*] [*ka wa tʃare*] *u=k^ha sut*
 be F=earth 3SG.F NMZ herd 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 *toʔ* occurs between the copula topic *ŋa* ‘1SG.ACC’ and its complement for an identificational purpose.

- (405) *ŋa toʔ ka=blossom plen*
 1SG.ACC be F=Blossom Plain
 ‘I am Blossom Plain’ [BPVM_002]

In (406) the copula *ɛm* occurs clause initially, and precedes each of the subsequent nominal elements, forming an existential predicate.

- (406) *ɛm kawɪ ɛm samæn ɛm wa khait soh*
ɛm [*ka=wi*] *ɛm* [*samæn*] *ɛm* [*wa k^hat sɔʔ*]
 have 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) *ha ki=sŋi* ‘in those days’ to form a locative predicate.

- (407) *man ha ki=sŋi 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-tæ
 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 *da* (410).

- (408) e u ya ki
 e *u_A* ()_O [*ja* *ki*]_{OBL}
 give 3SG.M.NOM Ø BEN 3PL
 ‘he gave (something) to them’

- (409) e u ki soh ya ki
 e *u_A* *ki=sɔʔ*_O [*ja* *ki*]_{OBL}
 give 3SG.M.NOM PL=fruit BEN 3PL
 ‘he gave fruit to them’

- (410) e u ya ki da ki soh
 e *u_A* ()_O [*ja* *ki* [*da* *ki=sɔʔ*]]_{OBL}
 give 3SG.M.NOM Ø 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 *ja* or *da*), 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 (§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 S/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 §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=wɔʔ kian nanbaʔ* 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=wɔʔ kian nanbaʔ* died. Of note is that a pronoun indicating the S/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_s**
 die 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘he died’ [KNI_006]
- (412) u woh kiang nangbah yap u

 [u=wɔʔ kiang nangbaʔ]_{S.ACC} *jap* **u_s**
 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
fim **u=bru**_A *ka=wat*_o
 take 3SG.M.NOM=person F=sword
 ‘the man took the sword’

⁴If arguments are recoverable by context (animacy being an important factor for agents), they are often left out. However, Pnar speakers will generally insert a post-verbal 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.

- (414) u bru chim u ka wait
 $\downarrow$ $\downarrow$
*u=bru*_{A.ACC} *tʃim* *u*_A *ka=wat*_O
 M=person take 3SG.M.NOM F=sword
 ‘the man, he took the sword’

- (415) ka wait chim u bru
*ka=wat*_{O.ACC} *tʃim* *u=bru*_A
 F=sword take 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 *ha-ɕrɔŋ* ‘above’.

- (416) hajrong ka bei ram-aw phæt phar i
 $[ha-ɕrɔŋ \quad ka=bej \quad ramaw]_{OBL.ACC}$ *pʰɛt* *pʰar* *i*_S
 LOC-be.tall 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 S-argument and the A-argument is peripheral-ized through the use of a prepositional case marker. This process uses a special passive marker *tʃaʔ* 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 *ʔa?* is preposed to the verb in (418), the undergoer *ka=khla* in O function is moved to the post-verbal S position, and the previous A-argument is marked as oblique with the locative *ha*, a common source of agentive marking in passive constructions (Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 199).

- (417) *u bru pnyap u ka khla*
*u=bru*_{A.ACC} *pnyap* *u*_A *ka=k^hla*_O
 3SG.M.NOM=person CAUS-die 3SG.M.NOM F=tiger
 ‘the man killed the tigress’
- (418) *chah pnyap ka khla ha u bru*
ʔa? *pnyap* *ka=k^hla*_S [*ha u=bru*]_{OBL}
 PASS CAUS-die F=tiger LOC 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘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 *ka=sɔrkɛp*, 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=tɾe-ki-rɔt* ‘creator God’, and *ki=mɲsen* ‘souls’ is the argument occupying the S slot of the de-transitivized verb *bitʔar* ‘judge’.

- (419) *heini i thaw toh daw wan chah bichar ki mynsein*
he=i=ni *i=t^haw* *tɔ?* *daw* *wan* *ʔa?* *bitʔar*
 LOC=N=PROX N=place be irrealis come PASS judge
ki=mɲsen
 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* post-verbally refers again to the ‘souls’ of the previous example.

⁵Heine 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 [bei³⁵] ‘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.

- (420) man da yap da wan chah bichar ki
man da jap da wan tʃaʔ bitʃar 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^hasi* ‘hang’, indicating the particular activity involved in his death.

- (421) u woh kiang nangbah yap u chah phasi u
u=wɔʔ kian nanbaʔ jap u tʃaʔ p^hasi
 M=HON.M.elder Kiang Nangbah die 3SG.M.NOM PASS hang
u
 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 *ɲa*, 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
da k^ha da pɲ-hɛʔ ja ɲa ha
 REAL birth REAL CAUS-be.big BEN 1SG.ACC LOC
ka=balan ɕwaj
 F=association Jowai
 ‘I was born and brought up in the Jowai church’ [LIJ_002]

Another example is (423), in which the verb *ɛmkam* ‘need’, generally realized as a transitive verb with two arguments, has the form *kɔ* ‘3sg.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 *ka=ni 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 *ja* which identifies the semantic role of recipient or beneficiary. The combination of the nominative form *kɔ* and the use of *ja* to mark the following form indicates that *kɔ* is in fact the conceptual S argument of the verb *ɛmkam* ‘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
ka=ni ka=program ηa spiaw ɔ emkam
 F=PROX F=program 1SG.ACC sense 1SG.NOM need
bha kɔ ja 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 zero-marked accusative argument can serve as the S of the passive construction. This is dealt with further in §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. Examples (424-425) involve the verb *dap* ‘cut’ and the noun *ki=dep* ‘trees’.⁶ In (424) the action is conceptualized as carried out by the A argument *i* ‘we’ on the O argument *ki=dep*, 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, *dep k^hnɔŋ*, a particular kind of tree used in the traditional Behdienkhlam festival, and combines with the verb to form the noun-incorporated form *dap dep k^hnɔŋ* ‘Khngong-tree-cut’.

- (424) tæ daiñ i ki deiñ ha ka deiñ
tɛ dap i ki=dep ha ka=dep
 NVIS cut 1PL PL=tree LOC F=tree
 ‘we cut the trees at the wood (as opposed to the bark)’
 [PP11NC_006]

- (425) jooh daiñ deiñ khngong i
ʈɕoʔ [dap dep k^hnɔŋ] i
 HAB cut tree tree.type 1PL
 ‘we used to cut Khngong trees’ [BMPJ_032]

Examples (426-427) involve the verb *fna* ‘make’ and the noun *ki=jun* ‘homes’.⁷ In (426) the speaker is relating the story of how four sisters settled in Jowai and started the town. Here *ki=jun* ‘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

⁶In Pnar, individual standing trees are generally described as masculine, *u=dep*, while the wood or a fallen log have the feminine form *ka=dep*. 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.

children. Here *juŋ* has been incorporated into the verb, losing its gender clitic and forming the verb *tʃna juŋ* ‘home-make’.

- (426) *chna ki ki yung*
tʃna ki ki=juŋ
 make 3PL PL=home
 ‘they made homes’ [PP03SKY_038]
- (427) *ki bru chnong chna yung ki ya kitæ*
ki=bru tʃnɔŋ [tʃna juŋ] ki ja ki=tɛ
 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*
he=i-pɔr wa sdan ja ka=balan he=i=ni
 LOC=N=time NMZ begin BEN F=church LOC=N=PROX
 ‘then (they) began the church here’ [LHJ_08]
- (429) *na liang yong kynthai*
na lian jɔŋ kɛtʰaj
 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 (*ka=kʰɛndaw wa tʃɪap*) is marked by *ja*.

- (430) *u khlawait yong ka ri Pnar yong i*
u=kʰlawat jɔŋ ka=ri pnar jɔŋ i
 M=warrior GEN 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*
tɛ kam u=daloj tɔʔ i=sɲtʃar i ja ka=kʰɲdaw
 so work M=Daloi be N=oversee 1PL BEN F=earth
wa tʃʰiap
 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) demonstrate 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 superseded 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 ha bajskil
 climb 3SG.M.NOM LOC bicycle
 ‘he climbed on the bicycle’ [MPSRJ_028]
- (433) *æm thaw pynchong ha baiskil ha khmat...*
ɛm tʰaw pɲ-tʃɔŋ ha bajskil ha kʰmat
 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 raʔ ki tʃa kti
 COMT carry 3PL ALL hand
 ‘and they carried (something) in (their) hand’ [TACJ_415]
- (435) *pynhier u ka, kani ka baiskil*
pɲ-hiar u ka ka=ni ka=bajskil
 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 §4.3, genitives can also be formed by juxtaposition of two nominal elements – this is discussed further in §13.3.3.

- (436) u kria^h soh
u=kria? **so?**
 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 (437 a) illustrates that *ka=jin^hken* ‘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 *bian* ‘again’, and only after both verbal constituents is the S-argument *u* identified.

- (437) (a) hiar u ka yingkein
hiar *u* ***ka=jin^hken***
 come.down 3SG.M.NOM F=ladder
 ‘he came down the ladder’ [MPSM_04]
- (b) ku u da ka yingkein
ku *u* *da* ***ka=jin^hken***
 climb 3SG.M.NOM INST F=ladder
 ‘he climbs (it) with the ladder’ [MPSRJ_05]
- (c) da ku yingkein bian u
da *ku* ***jin^hken*** *bian* ?*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 ka=ni ka=madan*⁷
ka=t^haw siet t^hɔŋ p^hi i=ji prtu^h kɔ ka=ni
 F=place shoot target 2PL what call 3SG.F.ACC F=PROX
ka=madan
 F=ground
 ‘the place you target-shoot, what is the name of this ground?’
 [AIJ_101]
- (439) *heitu thung saru ki*
he=i=tu t^huŋ saru ki
 LOC=N=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-tɛ ɕoʔ kɲmo kat wa daŋ k^hian i=tɛ
 like-NVIS also remember as NMZ PROG be.small N=NVIS
laʔ ɕwaʔ ka=bej laʔ jaw ka=bej
 go Jowai F=mother go market 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*
ɲne ka=sɲi da poʔ luti poʔ sɲken u=daŋ
 now F=day REAL arrive path arrive location NF=cut
i=dep
 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 S/A argument.

In (442) the speaker is describing what will happen if people pray for God to intervene. The verbal predicate consists of *tʃim* ‘take’ and the incorporated noun stem *kʰi* ‘hand’ (which can be identified with the locative-marked noun that occurs later in the sentence), forming the noun-incorporated verb *tʃim kʰi* ‘take hold’. This whole predicate is modified preverbally by the irrealis mood *daw* and post-verbally by the adverb of immediacy *nɔʔ* ‘just, only,

⁷This is likely a loan from Indo-Aryan /maidaan/ ‘flat, open field’.

immediately’. The post-verbal *u* ‘3SG.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 [ʔim kti] nɔʔ u ja
 M=God IRR take hand IMM1 3SG.M.NOM BEN
ka=ɕiŋ-sɲʔar sa ʔi=sen ha ka=kti ka jɔŋ
 F=NMZ-rule only one-time LOC 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 *jɔʔ daloj* ‘get Daloi (position)’ and *nɔʔ* again follows the verb and intervenes between the verb and the S/A argument, *kɔ* ‘3sg.f.nom’, which refers to the clan who got the duties.

- (443) *ka labang nongplut yoh noh ko yei yoh daloi noh ko*
ka=laban nɔŋplut jɔʔ nɔʔ kɔ je=i [jɔʔ
 F=labang nongplut get IMM1 3SG.F.NOM PLUR-3sg.N get
daloj] nɔʔ kɔ
 daloi IMM1 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘the Labang Nongplut (clan) got, it just got the Daloi
 (responsibilities)’ [PP05KO_051]

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
<i>dap</i>	‘cut’	<i>dep</i>	‘tree’	O	<i>dap dep</i>	‘tree-cut’
<i>kreʔ</i>	‘work’	<i>fʔitəm</i>	‘fever’	?	<i>kreʔ fʔitəm</i>	‘work feverishly’
<i>fʔim</i>	‘take’	<i>kʔi</i>	‘hand’	Obl/Loc	<i>fʔim kʔi</i>	‘take hold’
<i>laʔ</i>	‘go’	<i>jaʊ</i>	‘market’	Obl/Loc	<i>laʔ jaʊ</i>	‘market-go’
<i>fʔrut</i>	‘bite, chew’	<i>sɔʔ</i>	‘fruit’	O	<i>fʔrut sɔʔ</i>	‘fruit-chew’
<i>e</i>	‘give’	<i>ʔa</i>	‘rice’	O	<i>e ʔa</i>	‘rice-give’
<i>tiʔ</i>	‘dig’	<i>puŋ</i>	‘pond’	O	<i>tiʔ puŋ</i>	‘pond-dig’
<i>reʔ</i>	‘cultivate’	<i>kba</i>	‘rice’	O/Dat	<i>reʔ kba</i>	‘rice-farm’
<i>sap</i>	‘wear’	<i>tupri</i>	‘hat’	O	<i>sap tupri</i>	‘hat-wear’
<i>diʔ</i>	‘drink’	<i>dawaj</i>	‘medicine’	O	<i>diʔ dawaj</i>	‘medicine-drink’
<i>kʰa</i>	‘give birth’	<i>kʰɔn</i>	‘child’	O	<i>kʰa kʰɔn</i>	‘child-bear’
<i>jɔʔ</i>	‘get’	<i>pajsa</i>	‘money’	O/Inst	<i>jɔʔ pajsa</i>	‘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 *da*. 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=dep* ‘the tree’. These two examples serves as the basis for the following discussion.

- (444) ku u da ka yingkein
ku *u_A* [Ø]_O [da **ka=jɪŋken**]_{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
ku *u_A* *u=dep_O* [da **ka=jɪŋken**]_{OBL}
climb 3SG.M.NOM M=tree INST F=ladder
‘he climbs the tree with/by the/a ladder’

Instrumental In (446) the O-argument, *u=dep* ‘tree’ is incorporated into the verb. The noun loses its gender clitic and forms a prosodic word with *ku*, with *dep* being stressed relative to *ku*. This is a valency-reduced predicate, and removing the instrumental marking from *ka=jɪŋken* results in 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*
ku dep u_s [da ka=jin^hken]_{OBL}
 climb tree 3SG.M.NOM INST 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 jin^hken* is treated as a single constituent, with the syllables *ku* and *jin^h* 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 *ha* (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*
***ku jin^hken** u_{A/S} [Ø]_O*
 climb ladder 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘he ladder-climbs (the/a tree)’

- (448) **ku yingkein u u deiñ*
***ku jin^hken** u_A u=dep_O*
 climb ladder 3SG.M.NOM M=tree
 ‘he ladder-climbs the/a tree’

- (449) *ku jingkein u ha deiñ*
***ku jin^hken** u_s ha u=dep_{OBL}*
 climb ladder 3SG.M.NOM LOC 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.

⁸Gender clitics encode specificity as well as word class, a topic dealt with briefly above in §5.2 and further in §5.3.4

⁹Aikhenvald (2007: 19) notes that incorporation of locatives and instruments occurs in many languages, and cites the example of Chipewyan, an Athabaskan language.

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 *ka=bej* ‘mother’ is the S-argument and the location/direction of going is marked by *tʃa* ‘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 ka=bej tʃa tʃwaj
 go F=mother ALL Jowai
 ‘mother went to Jowai’

- (451) *lai jwai ka bei*
laj tʃwaj ka=bej
 go Jowai 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 nation. Here the second clause, *boʔ u ha kʰleʔ jɔŋ u=lom ʃlɔŋ* ‘he put (it) on (the) head of Loom Shyllong’, contains an elided O-argument *ka=kti* ‘hand’. A clearer version is given in (453) with the elided O-argument reinstated and the extra parts of the NP (*jɔŋ u=lom ʃlɔŋ*) 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=wɔʔ lakriaʔ ja ka=kti tæ boʔ u
 take M=HON Lakriah BEN F=hand NVIS put 3SG.M.NOM
 (Ø) *ha kʰleʔ jɔŋ u=lom ʃlɔŋ*
 Ø 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*
boʔ u ka=kti ha kʰleʔ
 put 3SG.M.NOM 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 locative-marked argument *k^hle?* ‘head’ is incorporated instead, it is understood to be the semantic undergoer, and allowing the O-argument *ka=kti* to remain unmarked results in an ungrammatical sentence (455). To allow *ka=kti* 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^hle?*
 put hand 3SG.M.NOM LOC head
 ‘he put (a) hand on (his) head’
- (455) *booh khlieh u ka kti
bo? ***k^hle?*** *u* *ka=kti*
 put head 3SG.M.NOM LOC
 ‘he put hand on head’
- (456) booh khlieh u ha ka kti
bo? ***k^hle?*** *u* *ha* *ka=kti*
 put head 3SG.M.NOM LOC 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:				
		(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 *ja*. 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 command is being given by the earthly mother *ka=bej ram[?]aw* to her servant *u=k^had*. 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.

- (457) *e ko ka=hukum (ja oo)*
e k_A ka=hukum_O [ja o]_{OBL}
 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.

- (458) **e ko oo ka=hukum*
e k_A o_{REC} ka=hukum_O
 give 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.ACC F=command
 ‘she gave him the command’

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.

- (459) *e u ya ki*
e *u_A* *Ø_O* [*ya ki*]_{OBL}
 give 3SG.M.NOM *Ø* BEN 3PL
 ‘he gave (something) to them’

As described above, the O-argument can be identified as an afterthought using the instrumental case marker *da* (460). This clause is semantically equivalent to (461).

- (460) *e u ya ki da ki=soh*
e *u_A* *Ø_O* [*ja ki [da ki=sɔʔ]*]_{OBL}
 give 3SG.M.NOM *Ø* BEN 3PL INST PL=fruit
 ‘he gave (something) to them, the fruit’ [MPSRJ_048]

- (461) *e u ki soh ya ki*
e *u_A* *ki=sɔʔ_O* [*ja ki*]_{OBL}
 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 *ʔaʔ* 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 *ha* (and changes pronominal form as a result) following the rules described above in §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
**ʃaʔ e ki_s ()_o ha o_{OBL}*
 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
ʃaʔ e ki=sɔʔ_s ha o_{OBL} ya ki_{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 occurring, 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 *hi* ‘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 *hi* to emphasize the verb and his stance on the issue.

- (464) ka dakha hoi hi u bam i ka
ka=dak^ha hɔj hi u=bam i ka
 F=fish be.fitting EMPH NF=eat 1PL 3SG.F.ACC
 ‘the fish, it’s ok for us to eat it’ [BMPJ_088]

In (465) the speaker is describing a habitual action with the incorporated verb form *tʃɛt ɕa* ‘rice-cook’. Here he uses *hi* 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=kʃu larnaj ɕoʔ tʃɛt ɕa hi ki
 LOC 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 emphasizing the nominal element.

- (466) na-chwa na-lap tæ u=bru hi boon wa pyn-biang da ki dakha, ki syiñ
na-tʃwa na-lap tæ u=bru hi bon wa
 ABL-before ABL-before NVIS M=person EMPH be.much NMZ
pɲ-bian da ki=dak^ha ki=sʔiɲ
 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 *hi*, 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 ɔ] ‘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 [ɱ] (not to be confused with the negative *ɲ* which marks verbs). To express ‘no’, speakers can respond by negating the matrix verb of the question, negating the copular verb *tɔʔ* ‘be’ (*ɲ tɔʔ*), or by negating a double-articulated breathy syllabic bilabial nasal vocalization ending with a glottal stop, i.e. [ɱ hɱʔ].

(467) ynru sein ha ka chi ta yaw?
 η ru sen ha ka tʃi 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
 tɛ mɲstɛp boʔ pʰi ɕar ka=sɲi
 NVIS tomorrow put 2PL be.different 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 *mɔ* ‘question marker’, *nɔŋ* ‘confirmation’, *sɛ* ‘confirmation’, *nɛ* ‘confirmation/disjunction’. The morpheme *mɔ* 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 *nɔŋ* also occurs sentence finally (470) and is strictly a polar interrogative marker.

- (469) hei jooh i por man i ka i khih i khan mo
he=i=ɕʰoʔ i=pər man i ka i=kʰiʔ
 LOC=N=same N=time happen 3SG.N 3SG.F.ACC N=work
i=kʰan mɔ
 N=work Q.TAG
 ‘at the same time it is work?’ [AIJ_032]
- (470) dai tim æh nong
daj tim ɛʔ nɔŋ
 sell lottery IMM1 CONF
 ‘you only sell lottery, right?’ [AIJ_016]

The use of *sɛ* and *nɛ* 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 *sɛ* as the conjunct marker and *nɛ* as the disjunct marker. In (471) *sɛ* marks a clause that the speaker is repeating from a phrase that he overhears one of the interlocutors mutter under his breath. In (472) *nɛ* marks a clause that is a new direction in the conversation. Further evidence of *nɛ* 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 sɛ
kam-tɛ daŋ ɛm arpʰaw ar tʃa-pɔʔ sɛ
 like-NVIS PROG have twenty two ALL-inside C.TAG
 ‘sometimes there are less than twenty-two, ok?’ [AIJ_083]
- (472) bood i ka nuksa ka yong oo næ
bod i ka=nuksa ka jɔŋ o næ
 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. *tɔʔ hi* (be + EMPH) 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=tʰuŋ raŋbaʔ tʃnɔŋ ki da u=ni jɔŋ pʁtuʔ
 NF=place headman village 3PL INST M=PROX GEN Pyrtuh
hi tɔʔ 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 *nɛ* 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 nɛ ym æm nɛ ki, mut, ki bru yong i, ki wa mut ki wa læh niam*
ɛm nɛ ɲ ɛm nɛ ki mut ki=bru jɔŋ
 have D.TAG NEG have D.TAG 3PL mean PL=person GEN
i ki wa mut ki wa lɛʔ 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 nɛ ym æm nɛ*
ɛm hi i=ɕiŋ-lɛʔ niam jɔŋ ki tʃi=sen
 have EMPH N=NMZ-do ritual GEN 3PL INDF=time
tʃi=snɛm nɛ ɲ ɛm nɛ
 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 *ɲ ɛm nɛ* ‘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 *mɔ*, as in (476).

- (476) *ha ka chisnæm, chisein chisnæm jooh lai phi nɛ ym æm nɛ, mɔ*
ha ka=tʃi=snɛm tʃi=sen tʃi=snɛm ɕoʔ laj p^{hi}
 LOC F=INDF=year INDF=time INDF=year same go 2PL
nɛ ɲ ɛm nɛ
 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) *toʔ hi u bru u wa lai skur, mo*
toʔ hi u=bru u wa 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 *ji* 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=* ‘M’, *ka=* ‘F’, *i=* ‘N’, and *ki=* ‘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=ji*, *ka=ji*, *i=ji*, *ki=ji*, are acceptable, though *i=ji* 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=ji* is used by an interviewer to identify the referent *u=kʰɔn lɲbot kʰɔn lɲbian*. 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 lyomboit khon lymbiang
u=ji o tæ u=kʰɔn lɔ̃boɪ̯ kʰɔn lɔ̃biɑŋ
 M=thing 3SG.M.ACC NVIS 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=ji* to refer to the name in question.

- (479) uyi pyrtuit uni
u=ji pɪrtuɪ̯ u=ni
 M=thing name M=PROX
 ‘what is his name?’ [HPAHR_001]

In (480) a storyteller is asking the interviewers what they want to hear about, using *ka=ji* to refer to *ka=bɪ̃ta*.

- (480) tæ kayi ka ka bynta wa kwah phi u yoh
tæ ka=ji ka ka=bɪ̃ta wa kwaʔ pʰi u=jɔʔ
 NVIS F=thing 3SG.F.ACC F=purpose NMZ want 2PL NF=get
 ‘so what is the purpose that you want to get?’ [PP01CSE_006]

In (481) the same speaker uses *ka=ji* in a rhetorical question, to identify *ka=hukum*.

- (481) kayi ka, ka hukum. chi kyntein i hok.
ka=ji ka ka=hukum tʃi=kɪ̃ten i=hɔk
 F=thing 3SG.F.ACC F=command INDF=word 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=ji* 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=ji* to express a rhetorical query, which he answers immediately.

- (482) ym tip iyi itai kyndok
ɲ tip i=ji i=taj kɪ̃dɔk
 NEG know N=thing N=DIST bounce
 ‘I don’t know that bouncing thing’ [MPSRJ_043]

- (483) *itu iyi? toh i bam*
i=tu i=ji to? i=bam
 N=MPROX N=thing be 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 *ki=ji* is used to refer to the two siblings.

- (484) *tæ waro? ɲ tip ki kiyi, heiwon æm tæ ki syiem*
tæ waro? ɲ tip ki ki=ji he=i=wɔn εm
 NVIS all NEG know 3PL PL=thing LOC=N=any have
tæ ki=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 *ki=ji* to identify the item in question, *ki=knten*.

- (485) *kiyi de ki kyntein ki wa pynæmkam ha yung ha sæm ki wa boon hi katni*
ym tip de ki
ki=ji de ki=knten ki wa pɲ-εm-kam ha
 PL=thing any PL=word 3PL NMZ CAUS-have-want LOC
jun ha sɛm ki wa bon hi kat-ni
 home LOC neighborhood 3PL NMZ be.much EMPH as-PROX
ɲ 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 *ka=ji* with benefactive *ja* to express ‘for what’. In (487) the speaker marks *ka=ji* with instrumental *da* to express ‘with what’.

- (486) *tæ mut kayi kwah phi, ya kayi kwah phi u chim*
tæ mut ka=ji kwa? p^{hi} ja ka=ji kwa? p^{hi}
 NVIS mean F=thing want 2PL BEN F=thing want 2PL
u=ʈim
 NF=take
 ‘So what you want, what story do you want to take?’
 [PP13RS_0010]

- (487) ku u da kayi, da ka yingkein
ku u da ka=jɪ da ka=jɪŋken
 climb 3SG.M.NOM INST F=thing INST 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 *wɔn* combines with gender clitics, whereas in surrounding villages the morpheme *nu* 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=wɔn i=wɔn*. 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
tɛ ki=tɛ ki=bru ɲ pɔj de u=wɔn
 NVIS PL=NVIS PL=person NEG arrive NEG.INTS M=which
u=wɔn lɛʔ u=sɪŋ lɛʔ ɲ pɔj de ka=lak
 M=which also M=Singh also NEG arrive NEG.INTS F=Lak
lɛʔ ɲ pɔj 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
tɛ ja ka=tɛ ka=lɛʔ-niam tʃad masteʔ ka=tɛ
 NVIS BEN F=NVIS F=do-ritual dance festival F=NVIS
ka=wɔn ka=wɔn kam ki=wi ki=tʃnɔŋ ki=bru tɛ
 F=which F=which as PL=one PL=village PL=person NVIS
ɛm kɔ rɛ
 have 3SG.F.NOM NEG.INTS
 ‘there’s no such ceremony and dancing festivals, those which other people’s villages had’ [SI2_053]

- (490) ym hoi u thung saru, thung iwon iwon ym hoi u læh i
 ɲ hɔj u=t^huŋ saru t^huŋ i=wɔn i=wɔn ɲ
 NEG be.fitting NF corn plang N=which N=which NEG
 hoi u=lɛʔ i
 be.fitting NF=do 1PL
 ‘we are not allowed to plant corn or anything’ [BMPJ_030]
- (491) kiwon kiwon ki yaw ki wa æm bait ki mooknor
 ki=wɔn ki=wɔn ki=jaw ki wa ɛm bat
 PL=which PL=which PL=market 3PL NMZ have IMM2
 ki=mo-knɔr
 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
 ɕoʔ ɛm i=nu i=nu i=pɔr_{HEAD} [he-i=ɕiŋ-im
 used.to have N=which N=which N=time LOC=N=NMZ-live
 jɔŋ p^ha]_{OBL} [wa k^he p^hɔ u=jap]_{RC}
 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 da k^hut p^hi da [ka=nu ka=nu ka=kɲɕa
 if REAL call 2PL INST F=which F=which F=kind
 ja-lɛʔ ke]_{NP} dap kɔ
 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 ki=nu ki=nu k^hɲnaʔ skur wa laj tʃa-k^hmat
 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 *kammɔn* 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
***kammən** u=im o do? samæn he-i=ni*
 how NF=live 1SG.NOM extremely alone LOC=N=PROX
ha prthaj ɕnɕar
 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
kammən** u=lɛ? ja u=t^ho? i ka **kammən
 how NF=do BEN NF=find 1PL 3SG.F.ACC how
u=pn-hiar i ka
 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
*ɔŋ u de jo kam wa duna **kammən***
 say 3SG.M.NOM EXC see as NMZ be.less how
i=tɛ
 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
pn-bet pn-sud i ki u=t^ho u=lad
 CAUS-care.for CAUS-help 1PL 3PL NF=create NF=way
***kamnu** u=pn-tʃɔŋ suk tʃɔŋ san*
 how 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) occurred 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
kammɔn ɔŋ u i=tɛ
 how say 3SG.M.NOM N=NVIS
 ‘what did he say?’ [TACJ_003]

- (500) kamnu ong u
kamnu ɔŋ u
 how say 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘what did he say?’ [FPAHM_027]

‘**where**’ Directionals combine the morpheme *wɔn* and a neuter gender marker with the locative, allative, and ablative prepositional case markers. Again, the village dialect form uses *nu* – unfortunately my corpus has very few examples of this morpheme. The prosodic word *je=i=wɔn* ‘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
ka=mut ka=tre ka wa ja-klam i
 F=mean F=origin 3SG.F NMZ PLUR-speak 3SG.N
je=i=wɔn je=i=wɔn
 BEN=N=which BEN=N=which
 ‘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
u=ʃakri u je=i=wɔn je=i=wɔn i=bnta
 NF=serve 3SG.M.NOM BEN=N=which BEN=N=which N=part
wa kam u
 NMZ work 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘he who serves any part of life’ [PP01CSE_058]

The word *che=i=wɔn* ‘to where’ queries or identifies a direction or goal that is unknown (503-504).

- (503) ong ki cheiwon u lai phi
 ɔŋ ki **ʃe=i=wɔn** u=laʃ p^{hi}
 say 3PL ALL=N=which NF=go 2PL
 ‘they said ‘where are you going?’ [PP03SKY_017]

- (504) cheiwon u lai o
ʃe=i=wɔn u=laj ɔ
 ALL=N=which NF=go 1SG.NOM
 ‘where am I going?’ [PP15PI_156]

The word *ne=i=wɔn* ‘from where’ identifies a source that is unknown, and is often used to ask about someone’s origin (505).

- (505) neiwon wan phi
ne=i=wɔn wan p^hi
 ABL=N=which come 2PL
 ‘from where do you come?’

The word *he=i=wɔn* ‘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
ka=ni ka=ʃnɔŋ sɔʔmɲtiŋ he-i=wɔn dur
 F=PROX F=village sohmynting LOC=N=which purpose,form
wan kɔ
 come 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘this village Sohmynting, where/when did it start?’ [SI2_002]

- (507) heiwon i thaw yap u
he=i=wɔn i=t^haw jap u
 LOC=N=which 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 *ŋ* ‘realis.ref’ and *mŋ* ‘irrealis.ref’ combine with the morpheme *nu*, 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 *ŋne* ‘today, actualized’ and *mŋne* ‘today, unactualized’ (discussed in §5.6.4 above). A few textual examples are given here.

The word *ŋnu* 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.

- (508) nadooh ynnu sdang ki
na-doʔ ɲnu sdaŋ 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-doʔ ɲnu sep p^{hi}i
 COMT-3SG.N ABL-before realis.ref organize 2PL
 ‘and since when did you organize?’ [TACJ_028]

The word *mɲnu* 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
oŋ u mɲnu raʔ i ja ka=tɛ ka=kten
 say 3SG.M.NOM irrealis.ref carry 1PL BEN F=NVIS F=word
tʃa ka=balan
 ALL F=church
 ‘He said ‘when (will) we carry by word/faith to the church?’
 [LHJ_031]

- (511) na mynnu u khasi u wan
na mɲnu u=k^hasi u=wan
 ABL irrealis.ref M=Khasi 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 *lɛʔ* ‘do’ nominalized by the neuter gender marker *i=*. The word *ilɛʔ* can also be used on its own to mean ‘what’ as in ‘what’s going on?’. In (512) *ilɛʔ* 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
ilɛʔ siɛt p^{hi}i ka ka=ni ka=tim
 why shoot 2PL 3SG.F.ACC F=PROX F=lottery
 ‘why do you shoot this lottery?’ [AIJ_022]

- (513) neibhah wa ilæh
 ne=i=bhaʔ wa ilæʔ
 ABL=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
 e haʔ tʊ tʊ bataj him
 give yes ok ok explain take
 ‘give, yes, ok, ok, explain, take’ [TACJ_321]

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.

- (515) *pait cheitu*
pat_ṽ tʃe=i=tu
 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^{hi}* 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_ṽ u=klam* [be.direct 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 *ɔŋ bet_ṽ* has no visible arguments.

- (516) *ong beit phi neiwon*
ɔŋ bat_ṽ p^{hi} ne=i=wɔn
 say IMM3 2PL ABL=N=which
 ‘just say where you are from’ [AIJ_004]
- (517) *ong dei yong Pnar beit u klam*
ɔŋ de-i jɔŋ pnar bat_ṽ u=klam
 say INST=N GEN Pnar be.direct NF=speak
 ‘say only in Pnar, speak’ [AIJ_005]
- (518) *phi klam wa nga ong beit*
p^{hi} klam wa ŋa ɔŋ bat_ṽ
 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.

- (519) **deih** lai () cha pyrthai
de? laj () tʃa pɾtʰaj
 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
 ɔŋ ki=sistar ja ŋa **de?** laj skur **de?** 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
 tæ la ŋ pʰi **de?** 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 addressee 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=kʰat* 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=kʰat e kɔ ka=hukum **de?** li-dap
 BEN M=Khaat give 3SG.F.NOM F=command ADH DUR-cut
 li-pʰaria ka=mo-siaŋ ka=mo-tʰa
 DUR-crush F=stone.slab 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
ki=ni toʔ ki=puri blaj deʔ li-boʔ ki tʃa pɾtʰaj
 PL=PROX be PL=puri god ADH DUR-put 3PL ALL earth
ja u=tʃakri ki ja u=ɲɲiaw wasa
 BEN NF=serve 3PL BEN 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 *tʃaʔ* ‘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
tʃaʔ u=laj ɔ tʃa ɕwaj
 allow NF=go 1SG.NOM ALL Jowai
 ‘(you) let me go to Jowai’

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 ɕoʔ burɔm ja ka=ɕiŋ-hikaʃ u=pʰareŋ
 PROH HAB honor BEN F=NMZ-teach 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.

- (526) o snæñ u wa lada e bam u malngiang, ham bam
o snɛɲ u wa la da e bam
 3SG.M.ACC advise 3SG.M NMZ if REAL give eat
u=malɲiaŋ 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*
tɛ ɔŋ kɔ wɔʔ ham tba i=kʰleʔ jɔŋ
 NVIS say 3SG.F.NOM HON.M PROH touch N=head GEN
ŋa
 1SG.NOM
 ‘so she said ‘sir, don’t touch my head” [PP05KO_030]

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 *wa* (528-529), or preceded by *ɔŋ* ‘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*
ɔŋ i ka wa kʰlɔt mɔ wa tʰlaʔ
 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*
ɔŋ ki wa da dɛp ɔŋ 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 contribute 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 §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.

	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	
(attr/rel)	(mood)	(neg)	(asp, V _{AUX})	(NF)	V	(inc.n)	(mod)	(NP)
<i>wa</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>dɛp</i>	<i>u</i>	X	X	<i>ke, hi</i>	X
	<i>daw</i>	<i>ŋ pu</i>	<i>daŋ</i>		<i>ja-, pŋ-, li-</i>		<i>de, re</i>	
	<i>dɛʔ</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>ʔaʔ</i>				<i>bha, saŋ, tam</i>	
	<i>hab</i>		<i>ʔoʔ</i>				<i>nɔʔ, ɛʔ, bat</i>	
							<i>biŋ</i>	

Table 11.1: Pnar verb complex

The diagram below corresponds to the table above:

VC = (Mood) (Neg) (Aspect/V_{AUX}) (NFIN) V (N_{INC}) (Adv) (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 *ɔŋ kɔ* ‘she said’, where *kɔ* is the third person pronoun ‘she’.

The subsequent clause illustrates negation (verbal slot -3) where *laj* ‘go’ is negated by the preverbal marker *ɲ*.

- (530) ong ko, nga ym lai o
 ɔŋ kɔ ŋa ɲ laj ɔ
 say 3SG.F.NOM 1SG.ACC NEG go 1SG.NOM
 ‘she said ‘I won’t go’ [PP04SKO_013]

In example (531) an adverbial marker of immediacy, *bat*, occurs (in slot +2) after the complex verbal expression *rɛp k^{hi}iʔ*, which can be considered either a serial verb construction or a verb *rɛp* ‘cultivate’ followed by an incorporated noun (slot +1) *k^{hi}iʔ* ‘work’.

- (531) rɛp khih bait ki
 rɛp k^{hi}iʔ bat ki
 cultivate work IMM3 3PL
 ‘they just work/harvest’ [BMPJ_024]

In (532) the aspect slot (-2) is filled by the habitual aspect marker *ɕoʔ*, which modifies the verb *mane* ‘worship’.

- (532) jooh mane ki ya oo
 ɕoʔ 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 *da* (slot -4) in conjunction with negation (slot -3) to modify the verb *jo* ‘see’.

- (533) la da ym yoo u iwi læh
 la da ɲ jo u i=wi læʔ
 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 *bian* ‘again’ (slot +2).

- (534) daw wan kylla biang u cheini wan u cha pyrthai
 daw wan klla bian u tʃe=i=ni wan
 IRR come change again 3SG.M.NOM ALL=N=PROX come
 u tʃa pɾt^haj
 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 *tfim kti*, which includes the root verb *tfim* ‘take’ and an incorporated noun *kti* ‘hand’ (slot +1). This verbal expression is followed by an adverbial modifier of immediacy, *noʔ* (slot +2).

- (535) u Blai daw chim kti noh u ya ka jingsynchar
u=blaj daw tfim kti noʔ u ja
 M=God IRR take hand IMM1 3SG.M.NOM BEN
ka=ʒiŋ-sɲtfar
 F=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 non-finite 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.

$S = (NP_{TOP}) VC (NP_{A/S}) (NP_O) (NP_{OBL})$

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 *pŋ-* ‘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 §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 *pər* ‘time’ and *bər* ‘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 pər u=blaj e bər u=blaj kam wa du
give time M=god give power M=god like NMZ only
kʰaʒiak i=pər
be.little 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 *ke*, as in examples (538-540).

- (538) ym æm hi de ki
 ɲ ɛm hi de ki
 NEG have EMPH NEG.INTS 3PL
 ‘there aren’t any (of) them’ [TACJ_159]
- (539) ym e hi de o mo
 ɲ e hi de ɔ mo
 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 ka u=k^hana parɔm
 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
 daŋ k^hat **hi** daŋ tap **hi** næ
 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.

¹Possibly borrowed from IE: Hindi has a particle /hii/ that variously expresses ‘just, still, merely’.

- (542) *hei* *i* *dur* *ha* *ka* *wa* *yn* *ka* *nongrim* *man* *siet* *tim* *phi* *sæ*
he=i=ji *i=dur* *ha* *ka* *wa* *ɲ* *ka=nɔŋrim*
 LOC=N=thing N=reason LOC 3SG.F NMZ REF F=firstly
man *siet* *tim* *p^hi* *sɛ*
 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 *toʔ* *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* *juŋ* *daŋ* *ɛm* *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* *teiŋ* *læh* *joo* *h* *re* *u* *teiŋ*
u=teɲ *leʔ* *ɕoʔ* *ɛm* *hi* *re* *u=teɲ*
 NF=fear also DUR have EMPH NEG NF=fear
 ‘to fear, also (we) used to not fear (anything)’ [BPVM_017]

- (546) *oo* *æm* *hi* *de* *u*, *lai* *waroh*
o *ɛm* *hi* *de* *u* *laj* *waroʔ*
 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
ki=tu wa ʔad ke
 PL=MEDL NMZ dance NPURP
 ‘these dancing ones (dancing for fun)’ [HPAHR_0115]
- (548) kawɪ wan ka jait yakyndæh ke ong i yakhynjoh lain
ka=wi wan ka=ʔat ja-kɲɛʔ ke ɔŋ i
 F=one come F=type PLUR-play NPURP say 1PL
ja-kʰɲɛʔ lap
 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 ɔŋ ki ka=kamra ʔɔŋ ke, ka=pɾtut jɔŋ
 as-PROX say 3PL F=room sit NPURP F=call GEN
ka tɔʔ tre tʰlɔŋ
 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
ŋa ha tæ ka=pɔr klam ke ka=ʔiŋ-sakʰiɛt
 1SG.ACC LOC NVIS F=time speak NPURP F=NMZ-be.true
ɔŋ 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
ɛm ki=bru wa wan [li-pat ke] ɛm
 have PL=person NMZ come DUR-look NPURP have
ki=bru wa wan he=i=tu
 PL=person NMZ come LOC=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: *laʔ ke ɔ hadoʔ i=bam i=met* ‘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*
*tɛ ha wa doʔ **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*
*tɛ jo **ʔi** 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*
*tɛ da saʔ i du 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 jaʔ baiskil kam o **hi** tɛ ɔŋ*
 3SG.F.ACC drive bicycle like 3SG.M.ACC EMPH NVIS say
bat ha ka=ʔoʔ ka=surɔk
 IMM3 LOC F=same 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 *ke* 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
 ηa $\eta \eta$ ∂ , **bha** *hi* $u=p\eta-\varepsilon m-kam$
 1SG.ACC say 1SG.NOM be.good EMPH NF=caus-have-need
 $i=sbo?$ *sorkar*
 N=fertilizer government
 ‘I say it is good to use the government fertilizer’ [BMPJ_077]

- (557) da jngai bha i thaw
 da $\zeta \eta a j$ **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
 $læ?$ *sap* *tupri* *kawboj* **bha** *u* $sæ$ *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*
tɛ u=klam miat miat bha bha tɛ ja-tʰoʔ
 NVIS M=speak be.nice be.nice INTS1 INTS1 NVIS PLUR-find
wa ka=tɛ ka=agrimɛn
 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 ɕŋaj bha bha i=tʰaw sɛ
 REAL be.far INTS1 INTS1 N=place C.TAG
 ‘the place is extremely far away, ok?’ [TACJ_349]

Level two intensity: The modifier *saŋ* marks level 2 intensity, and corresponds to some degree of English ‘extremely’. A Pnar verb with the same form is *saŋ* ‘taboo’.

(561) *maya sang ki ya nga*
maja saŋ ki ja ŋa
 love INTS2 3PL BEN 1SG.ACC
 ‘they love me extremely much’ [FPAHM_018]

(562) *u pynyap bru læh ym sang de katni*
u=pŋ-jap bru læʔ ŋ saŋ de kat-ni
 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 §5.7.2, the intensity marker is also used for superlative constructions.

(563) *chong ko cha thaw wa jakhlia tam*
tʃɔŋ kɔ tʃa tʰaw wa ɕakʰlia tam
 sit 3SG.F.ACC ALL place NMZ dirty INTS3
 ‘it stays in the dirtiest place...’ [BMPJ_088]

- (564) man da yoh o ya ka æ ka paisa ym æm u tam ym hoi u sah ko ha kata
man da jɔʔ ɔ ja ka=tɛ paɟsa ɲ
 happen REAL get 1SG.NOM BEN F=NVIS F=money NEG
ɛm u=tam ɲ hoj u=saʔ kɔ ha
 have NF=keep NEG be.fitting NF=stay 3SG.F.NOM LOC
kata
 pocket
 ‘after i got the money i can’t keep it in (my own) pocket’
 [BPDJ_018]

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 *nɔʔ* 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 *nɔʔ* 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=kɲtein kɲnɔʔ* 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
tʃim nɔʔ da ka=ni ka=bru
 take IMM1 INST F=PROX F=person
 ‘take this woman’ (immediately) [PP05KO_025]

- (566) æm ki wa noh charood læh æm hi
ɛm ki wa nɔʔ tʃa-rod lɛʔ ɛm hi
 have 3PL NMZ throw ALL-out also have EMPH
 ‘there are those who throw outside (miss) also’ [AIJ_087]

Level two immediacy The morpheme *ɛʔ* marks level 2 immediacy (567). This is also the form of the verb root meaning ‘be difficult’ (568).

- (567) bam æh ki khon
bam **ɛʔ** *ki=kʰɔn*
 eat IMM2 PL=child
 ‘the children only eat’ [PP15PI_0168]
- (568) u bru da æh u lait u
u=bru *da* **ɛʔ** *u=lat* *u*
 M=person REAL be.difficult 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 kria
raʔ **bet** *u=pɲ-tʃi* *kriaʔ*
 carry IMM3 M=whole basket
 ‘(he) took the whole basket’ [MPSRJ_026]
- (570) u phadar turko bait ya tre, kat ynru^hphaw snæm
u=pʰadar *turko* **bat** *ja* *tre* *kat* *ɲrupʰaw* *snæm*
 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 *ɲ* or *ɲ pu* 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=pɲ-jap bru lɛʔ ɲ saŋ de
 NF=CAUS-die person also NEG taboo NEG.INTS
 ‘to murder also is not even taboo’ [BPDJ_029]

- (572) u pseĩn læh nood de u
u=psep lɛʔ nod de u
 M=snake also dare NEG.INTS 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘snake(s) also don’t dare’ [BPDJ_26]

A morpheme *re* or *rɛ* is possibly related to *de* 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 *jɔʔ ɕa* ‘get rice’ in a complex predicate where it is followed by a verb marked as non-finite, *u=bam* ‘to eat’.

- (573) yoh ja re u bam
jɔʔ ɕa rɛ u=bam
 get rice NEG NF=eat
 ‘(I) didn’t get (any) rice to eat’ [FPAHM_042]

In village dialects, however, *re* is primarily a negator. Evidence for this is that it can be used in conjunction with *de*, as in (574) where the two morphemes both modify the first verb in a complex verbal construction *jɔʔ u=laj* ‘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 leitæ² tæ yoh de re u lai
dɛp le-i-tɛ tɛ jɔʔ de rɛ u=laj
 PERF ABL=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* occurring 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.

²The word *leitæ* is a dialect variant of *neitɛ*, 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 *dɛp*, ought to be translated as ‘after that’.

- (575) ym æm re u li file, æm re u lai læh mokot дума
 ɲ ɛm re u=li-file ɛm re u=laj lɛʔ məkət
 NEG have NEG NF=DUR-file have NEG NF=go do file
 дума
 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 *bian* 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
 ne=i=tɛ wan **bian** ɔ tʃa dulong
 from=N=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 da **bian** i=pɔr tɛ tɛ e wɾta ki
 happen REAL be.enough N=time NVIS NVIS give news 3PL
 ‘when the time arrives (lit. is enough), then they give the news’
 [PP03SKY_022]

Comitative Post-verbal *lan* 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 *ka=balan* ‘association’ (likely from *wa/ba* ‘nominalizer’ and *lan* ‘be together’) and *lanba* ‘through’, as well as words like *lanɔɔ* ‘encircle’ or those relating to circular shapes of things.

- (578) da ya æm bynta lang u heitæ wa klam ya ka paid
 da ja-ɛm bɲta **lan** u he=i=tɛ
 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
kʰlɛʔ laŋ ki wa u=tʰiɛt he=i=ni
 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 *hi* before combining with *u=pɲjap* ‘to kill’.

- (580) hoi hi u=pɲnyap i ki
hoj hi u=pɲ-jap i ki
 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
da dɛp u=jap tɛ ɔŋ i bam kwaj ha dwar
 REAL PERF NF=die NVIS say 1PL eat kwai LOC dwelling
u=blaj
 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 pɲnyap i ki
hoj hi ɲ u=pɲ-jap i ki
 fitting EMPH NEG NF=CAUS-die 1PL 3PL
 ‘it is not ok for us not to kill them’

- (583) ym hoi hi u pynyap i ki
 ɲ hoj hi u=pɲ-yap i ki
 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 *dɛp* ‘perfective’ and mood such as *da* ‘realis’.

- (584) dɛp u kha neitæ tæ chiphaw ngut ki khon o
 dɛp u=k^ha ne=i=tɛ tɛ tʃip^haw ŋut ki=k^hɔn
 PERF NF=birth ABL=N=NVIS NVIS ten CL.HUM PL=child
 ɔ
 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, V_{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 *bian* ‘again’ is therefore not aspectual, as it identifies not the ‘internal temporal constituency’ 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 *dɛp* 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
daŋ kʰat hi daŋ tap hi næ
 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
ɔŋ i wa kɲten i wa ŋa lɛʔ brabɔr ɕoʔ
 say 3SG.N NMZ word 3SG.N NMZ 1SG.ACC do value HAB
klam bha ɔ ɕoʔ ɔŋ bha ɔ
 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
daŋ ku bian u
 PROG climb REP 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘still climbing again’ [MPSM_06]

Morphemes that fall into the category of aspect are *dɛp* ‘perfective’ (590), *daŋ* ‘progressive’ (594), and *ɕoʔ* ‘habitual’ (601). While the first two have no corresponding verbal forms, the morpheme *ɕoʔ* 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 *ɕoʔ* in its aspectual function, and (589) illustrating its use as a main verb.³

- (588) kini jooh pynæmkam ki ha wa booh khoo
ki=ni ɕoʔ pɲɛmkam ki ha wa boʔ kʰo
 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
tɛ laj bian i da ka=dho na ka ɕoʔ
 NVIS go again 1PL INST F=low ABL 3SG.F.ACC be.same
ka=luti
 F=way
 ‘we went again by the low (path) from the same way’ [LS2J_024]

The morpheme *dɛp* 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

³The verb ‘be same’ is not identified by Heine and Kuteva (2002) as a possible source for habitual aspect.

common clause-chaining morpheme *tɛ* ‘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 dəp kɲtʰiar ɔ tʃe=i=tɛ tʃa-pɔʔ*
 REAL PERF jump 1SG.NOM to=N=NVIS inside
 ‘I jumped in (the water)’ [BPDJ_022]
- (591) *uni u Malngiang, hadein wa dəp yasooɬbuit u*
u=ni u=malɲiaŋ, ha-den wa dəp ja-soʔ-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 dəp ne=i=tɛ, ɛm i=wɔn sa ka-wi*
 happen REAL PERF ABL=N=NVIS have N=thing only F=one
ka=tɛ ka=ɕat̚ kɲdɛʔ ke lɛʔ
 F=NVIS F=type play NPURP also
 ‘when after that, there was another type of game also’ [BPVM_012]
- (593) *ku u da ka yi, da ka yingki dəp tæ khait soh u, dəp tæ pyllang u*
ku u da ka=ji, da ka=jiŋki dəp tæ
 climb 3SG.M.NOM INST F=thing INST F=ladder PERF NVIS
kʰat̚ sɔʔ u, dəp tæ pʰlaŋ 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 *daŋ* 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.

⁴*tɛ* is also the non-visible deictic marker.

- (594) tæ uni u bru dang khait soh u
*tɛ u=ni u=bru **daŋ** kʰat sɔʔ u*
 so M=PROX M=person PROG pick fruit 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘so this man is still picking fruit’ [MPSRJ_030]

- (595) tæ yoo o dang doom bha
*tɛ jo ɔ **daŋ** 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 dəp yathoh ko, dang yoh khon ko
*ka wa ar **daŋ** **dɛp** ja-tʰɔʔ kɔ daŋ*
 3SG.F NMZ two PROG PERF PLUR-relation 3SG.F.NOM PROG
ɔʔ kʰɔn kɔ
 get child 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘the second (one) just got married, she just got (gave birth to) a child’ [LIJ_09]

The morpheme *ɕoʔ* marks the verb as being habitual (597-599), and can be glossed as ‘usually’.

- (597) kani ka bus toh ka wa jooh pyndik
*ka=ni ka=bus tɔʔ ka wa **ɕoʔ** pɲ-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
*ɲ **ɕoʔ** ɛm u=kʰlɛʔ*
 NEG HAB have NF=mix
 ‘it’s not habitually/usually mixed’ [TACJ_225]

- (599) nga ka doh læh ym jooh bam o ka yi ka yi
*ŋa ka=dɔʔ lɛʔ ɲ **ɕoʔ** bam ɔ ka=ji*
 1SG.ACC F=meat also NEG HAB eat 1SG.NOM F=thing
ka=ji
 F=thing
 ‘I, meat also I don’t (usually, habitually) eat any’ [BPDJ_040]

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 ki=taj ki=sko lɛʔ ɕoʔ boʔ um hi ki
 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
ɲ pu ɕoʔ ɛm ka wa so
 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
ka=tɲde ɲ ɕoʔ ɛm kʰɔʔ baʔ bru ki
 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 *joʔ* ‘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 ki=pɔr laj purɛ ɔ
 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 ka=lianɲ ka=juɲ joɲ u=tʃɲranɲ laj li-ɔɲ ki tʃa
 ABL F=side F=home GEN M=male go DUR-say 3PL ALL
juɲ ka=kɲtʰaj
 home 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 ne=i=tɛ tɛ man doʔ ɕiŋ-kɾmɛn
 LOC-back ABL=N=NVIS NVIS happen lose NMZ-hope
ɔ he=i=tɛ
 1SG.NOM LOC=N=NVIS
 ‘after that, (it) happens (that) I lose hope then’ [PP15PI_0120]

- (606) *man æm ki bru wa wan pait dei bichni*
man *ɛm* *ki=bru* *wa* *wan* *paɬ* *de=i=biʔni*
 happen have PL=person NMZ come look INST=N=be.curious
 ‘happens there are people who come look with curiosity’
 [LS2J_031]
- (607) *wan thooh i u=pathi na kræm lamæh kræm latang*
wan *tʰoʔ* *i* *u=pathi* *na* *kræm* *lamɛʔ* *kræm*
 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*
tɛ *wan* *pɔj* *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 *je* ‘be able’. In (610) *wan* is followed by negated verb *joʔ* ‘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 *ɲ* *je* *ki* *jaiʔfaʔ* *u=diʔ* *kat-kam*
 become NEG able 3PL be.patient NF=drink as-like
ka=kɔs *wa* *da* *pʰaʔ* *i*
 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=hadɛm *wan* *ɲ* *joʔ* *daloj* *de* *kɔ*
 F=Hadem come NEG get daloi NEG.INTS 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘Hadem didn’t get Daloi (rank/position)’ [PP05KO_051]

The morpheme *ʔfaʔ* ‘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 tʃaʔ biʃar 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
ki=kʰniaŋ ki wa kʰian tʃaʔ bam ki ha ki wa
 PL=insect 3PL NMZ be.small allow eat 3PL LOC 3PL NMZ
rap hæʔ, ki wa rap hæʔ tʃaʔ bam ki ha
 grow be.big 3PL NMZ grow be.big allow eat 3PL LOC
ki wa rap hæʔ ʃoʔ
 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) – *ɲ*, *ɲ pu*

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 *ɲ* (613) and *m pu* (614), while other dialects use the post-verbal *de*, *re* (as shown earlier in this chapter by examples 571-573).

- (613) æm kjat ki kamni. ki yong Khasi, ym æm kjat ki
ɛm kʂat ki kam-ni ki jɔŋ kʰasi, ɲ ɛm kʂat
 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
ɲ pu dɛp tʰuŋ ki wa ha-pɔʔ ki=lɣdɔʔ
 NEG NEG.INTS PERF plant 3PL NMZ LOC-inside PL=priest
 ‘they couldn’t plant while the priests are inside (the grove)’
 [BMPJ_030]

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 S/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
ɔŋ kɔ wɔʔ ham tba i=k^hleʔ jɔŋ
 say 3SG.F.NOM HON.M.elder PROH touch N=head GEN
ŋa
 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
ɲ ɛm de u=k^hiʔ p^hi
 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
he=i=tɛ i=pɔr tɛ kat ɲ ɛm re ka=kari
 at=N=NVIS N=time NVIS as NEG have NEG.INTS F=car
leʔ ka=motor leʔ
 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 *ɲ pu* (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 kriaŋ wa dap uwi man ym pu dap soh re
u=wi kri:ʔ wa dap u=wi man ɲ pu dap
 M=one basket NMZ fill M=one happen NEG NEG.INTS fill
sɔʔ 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, *da* ‘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 *da* ‘realis’ encodes whether an event has been actualized. Actualization is the default state of Pnar verbs, and therefore often unmarked. However the *da* 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*
*tɛ **da** rɛp **da** k^hiʔ*
 NVIS REAL farm REAL work
 ‘(they live(d) here) farming, working’ [PP05KO_05]
- (620) *heini da yoo mi da ki khmat*
*he=i=ni **da** jo mi da ki=k^hmat*
 LOC=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*
*tɛ, **da** jo p^hi, ki=tu warɔʔ ki ki=taj*
 NVIS REAL see 2PL PL=MEDL all 3PL PL=DIST
de=i=k^hnam he=i=taj
 INST=N=arrow LOC=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 non-actualization (622).

- (622) *ka=dorbar ym hun de ko, man da ym hun de ko*
ka=dɔrbar ɲ hun de kɔ, man
 F=council NEG be.content NEG.INT 3SG.F.NOM happen
***da** ɲ hun de kɔ*
 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 *da* to occur with aspectual markers, confirming the actualization of an ongoing event with *daŋ* ‘PROG’ (623). It should be noted here that the use of the conditional *la* 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
la da daŋ pŋ-ɛʔ daŋ pŋ-kʰɔr tɛ
 if REAL PROG CAUS-be.difficult PROG CAUS-be.problem NVIS
him ka=waʔ ka=tari ʝŋ pʰi, tɛ pŋ-doʔ rdaŋ tɛ
 take F=sword F=knife GEN 2PL NVIS CAUS-lose neck NVIS
pŋ-doʔ tŋpɔŋ
 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 *dɛp* (624-625), or even a habitual event with *ʝoʔ* (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*
tɔ he=i=pɔr wa da dɛp ɔŋ u tŋne
 ok LOC=N=time NMZ REAL PERF say 3SG.M.NOM before
u=pastɔr atiar
 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*
tɛ ha-dein da dɛp tiʔ fandɛʃɔn da boʔ i
 NVIS LOC-back REAL PERF dig foundation REAL keep 1PL
ja ka=ni ka=mo nɔŋ-rim
 BEN F=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 ʝoʔ bam i he=i ki=ni ki=bru ʝŋ
 like REAL HAB eat 1PL LOC-N PL=PROX PL=person GEN
ka=raliang, da he=i=ni i=pɔr læh tɔʔ u=paʔ
 F=Raliang INST LOC=N=PROX N=time also be NF=look
ka=raliang pʰi
 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]

- (627) *kat wa da jooh tip u ya u khmah*
kat wa da ɕoʔ tip u ja u=kʰmaʔ
 as NMZ REAL HAB know 3SG.M.NOM BEN M=Khmah
 ‘since he knew Khmah well (habitually)...’ [PP05KO_038]

The realis marker *da* 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
ɲ wa sdaŋ dɛp man da u=tipmit, tɛ
 REF NMZ begin PERF happen REAL NF=introduce NVIS
u=ʈɲraŋ hab e kwaj u ja ki=taʃ
 M=male OBLG give betel.nut 3SG.M.NOM BEN PL=DIST
ki wa pɲ-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 ʈim kti noʔ u ja ka=ɕiŋ-sɲʈʈar sa
 IRR take hand IMM1 3SG.M.NOM BEN F=NMZ-rule once
ʈi=sen ha ka=kti ka jɔŋ o
 one-each LOC 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
tʃwa u=daj i ɲ ɛm u=daj u=kʰlɛm
 before NF=cut 1PL NEG have NF=cut NF=be.without
tʰmat i, daw ɲoʔ daw dɛm 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
la da ɲ kʰɻɲiat jɔŋ bru i daw doʔ i ki
 if REAL NEG realize GEN person 1PL IRR lose 1PL 3PL
 ‘if our people don’t realize, we will lose them (resources)’
 [BMPJ_049]

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 *duk* ‘strive’ combines with the nominalized non-finite form of the second verb *u=bam* ‘to eat’ and *u=diʔ* ‘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 diʔ u wa im wa æm mynsein
daw duk u=bam daw duk u=diʔ u wa im wa
 IRR strive NF=eat IRR strive NF=drink NF NMZ live NMZ
ɛm mɲsen
 have breath
 ‘he will strive to eat, strive to drink, in order to live and breathe’
 [PP01CSE_054]

In (633) the speaker is quoting the sun, *ka=sɲi*, 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 *pʔut* ‘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
pʰŋ-rŋkat pʰɔ i=dɔr i=mur wa i ki
CAUS-be.equal 2SG.F.NOM N=value N=price NMZ 1PL 3PL
wa im ja-nɔm saʔ ja-nɔm wa pʰi ki daw
NMZ live PLUR-ever stay PLUR-ever COMT 2PL 3PL IRR
jap daw pʔut
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 ɕa* ‘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
ne=i=lian jɔŋ tʃŋraŋ lɛʔ daw li-e ɕa ki tʃa
ABL=N=side GEN male also IRR DUR-give rice 3PL ALL
juŋ kɲtʰaj
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 *da* can occur with the non-finite form in my texts, as in (628) above, while *daw* does not.

- (635) u kræh i mynstæp
u=krɛʔ i mɲstɛp
NF=prepare 1PL tomorrow
‘we will prepare tomorrow’ (certainly)
- (636) daw kræh i mynstæp
daw krɛʔ i mɲstɛp
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	<i>irrealis</i>	<i>irrealis</i>
Russian	<i>irrealis</i>	<i>realis</i>
Chamorro	<i>realis</i>	<i>realis</i>
Attic Greek	<i>realis</i>	<i>irrealis</i>

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 *da*. 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 pɲ-hap Ø Ø tæ da piaʔ
 if REAL CAUS-fall 1PL 3SG.F.ACC NVIS REAL break
 Ø
 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 ɲ em ka=punɟab i warɔʔ da jap i
 if REAL NEG have F=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 ɲ sumar i ka daw doʔ 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 *deʔ* 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
 ɔŋ kɔ **deʔ** laj tʃa pɾtʰaj ja u=li-kʰa sɿem
 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
deʔ li-tʃɔŋ ha u=taj u=lom
 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 *deʔ* 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 *tʃaʔ*.

- (642) hab chah pynphaet kini ki lok ki yong i kitu ki wa ræm
hab tʃaʔ pɿ-pʰet ki=ni ki=lɔk ki jɔŋ i
 OBLG PASS CAUS-run PL=PROX PL=friend 3PL GEN 1PL
 ki=tu ki wa ræm
 PL=MEDL 3PL NMZ lose
 ‘those friends of ours who lost must be made to run’ [BPVM_012]
- (643) hab lai syrtap pa syrtap hadooh wa u poi ha ki soo kpoh mo
hab laj sɾtap pa sɾtap ha-doʔ wa u=poj ha
 OBLG go layer by layer LOC-lose NMZ NF=arrive LOC
 ki=so kpɔʔ mɔ
 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 S/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=mokʰaj*, the local protector-god of Jowai. Here he directs the four women who are considered to be the founders of Jowai (*ki=so kpɔʔ*) 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 teĩŋ nga wa æm nga wa pait nga wa yoo*
tɛ ham tɛp ŋa wa ɛm ŋa wa paɬ
 NVIS PROH fear 1SG.ACC NMZ have 1SG.ACC NMZ look
ŋa wa jo
 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 (*tɔʔ* ‘be’, *ɛm* ‘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, §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 *tɔʔ* ‘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*
ka=ɛnvajrɔnmɛn tɔʔ ka=bej ramaw, ka=mariang ki=kʰasi
 F=environment be F=mother earth F=nature PL=Khasi
ɔŋ ki
 say 3PL
 ‘the environment is Mother Earth, ‘mariang’, the Khasis say’
 [BMPJ_06]

- (646) *ka bei ram-aw toh ka wa hæh tam*
ka=bej ramaw tɔʔ ka wa hæʔ tam
 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 pseĩn? ya u duna ki khne*
tɛ ha wa kam-tɛ ŋ tɔʔ u=e lad i ja
 NVIS LOC NMZ like-NVIS NEG be NF=give way 1PL BEN
u=im u=pseŋ? ja u=duna ki=k^hne
 NF=live M=sake BEN NF=decrease 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*
he=i=ji i=dur ha ka wa yn ka=nɔŋrim
 LOC=N=thing N=reason LOC 3SG.F NMZ REF F=firstly
man siet tim p^hi sæ
 happen shoot lottery 2PL CONF
 ‘for what reason, how did you happen to shoot lottery, ok?’
 [AIJ_021]

- (649) *ha-o, toh hi*
ha-ɔ, tɔʔ hi
 LOC-1SG.NOM be EMPH
 ‘yes, correct’ [AIJ_021]

- (650) *i keĩn i ka kam ka madan blai ym toh mo*
i keŋ i ka kam ka=madan blaj ŋ
 1PL count 1PL 3SG.F.ACC like F=ground god NEG
tɔʔ mɔ
 be
 ‘we respect the ground as holy, right?’ [AIJ_116]

The morpheme *ɛm* ‘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
ŋa da æm ki=kʰɔn da æm kurim, tɛ
 1SG.ACC REAL have PL=child REAL have spouse NVIS
man ha wa kʰiʔ tɛ mut ja u=jɔʔ u=pajsa
 happen LOC NMZ work NVIS mean BEN NF=get M=money
ja ki=kʰɔn ha rɔʔ
 BEN PL=child LOC be.all
 ‘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
tɛ æm ki wa siɛt ha tʰɔŋ, æm ki wa
 NVIS have 3PL NMZ shoot LOC target have 3PL NMZ
nɔʔ tʃa-rod lɛʔ æm hi
 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
ŋ æm ki wa e ja-rap ja ŋa
 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
la ŋ æm i=kɕut ŋ æm i=jap
 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=kɕut* and *i=jap* (from the verbs *kɕut* ‘be sick’ and *jap* ‘die’, respectively). In this sentence, the A arguments (possessors in the ‘have’ interpretation of *æm*) 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 *æm* is interpreted as ‘exist’.

- (655) *la ym æm ki i kjut, ym æm ki i yap*
la ɲ ɛm ki i=kɕʉt, ɲ ɛm ki i=jap
 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 *ka=kɲten* 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=kten envajrɔnmɛn man kɔ ka=kɲten
 N=word environment happen 3SG.F.NOM F=word
ka wa 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 da poj ka=tɛ ka=lep tɛ jo i
 happen REAL arrive F=NVIS F=boat NVIS see 1PL
ka wa ɛm kɔ ha-ɕʀɔŋ u=mo
 3SG.F.ACC NMZ have 3SG.F.NOM LOC-above 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
tɛ ɲat̪ skɛm wa u=ni u=mo tɔʔ u=man
 NVIS hope hold.up NMZ M=PROX M=stone be NF=happen
u=mo wa u=nɛʔ nɔŋ-rim warɔʔ tʃi=rɛta
 M=stone NMZ NF=preserve AG.NMZ-be.old all one-age
ha ki=sɲi wa 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' (666-667), 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 ka=bej
 die F=mother
 'the mother died' [PP02SKF_07]

- (660) yap ka bei u loh ryndi
jap ka=bej u=lɔʔ rɳdi
 die F=mother M=Loh Ryndi
 ‘Loh Ryndi’s mother died’ [PP05KO_05]
- (661) tæ oo da yap u ha u tyllle phasi
 tɛ o da **jap** u **ha** u=tlle p^hasi
 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
 hɳre **laj** ka=pɔr **laj** ka=pɔr
 but.also go F=time go F=time
 ‘but time went, time went (by)’ [PP12BL_012]
- (663) hab lai bait o chakhmat, lai o samæn
 hab **laj** baɬ ɔ tʃa-k^hmat, **laj** ɔ samæn
 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 tʃa tʃa-pɔʔ pnar, **laj** ki tʃa 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 kɔ da ka=pitɔr
 go 3SG.F.NOM INST 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
 ha ka=tɛ ka=pɔr **wan** ka=tʃit^hi **na** dɛlhi wa æm
 LOC F=NVIS F=time come F=letter ABL Delhi NMZ have
 ka=ni ka=nɔn-laxibl fun
 F=PROX 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=taj u=k^hɳnaɬ da **wan** da ka=bajskil
 M=DIST M=small.one REAL come INST F=bicycle
 ‘that child comes on a bicycle’ [MPSM_014]

(668) hadooh wa poj ka bia ka khap
ha-doooh wa poj ka=bia ka=k^hap
 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 ka=blan ha-dʒan ki=sɔʔ
 REAL arrive F=goat LOC-be.near 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
tæ man da poj (Ø) ha dorbar sorbar
 NVIS happen REAL arrive (Ø)_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 (Ø) ha-doʔ wa poj tʃa guwahati na
 follow road (Ø)_s LOC-lose NMZ arrive ALL Guwahati ABL
rɪmbaj
 Rymbai
 ‘(they) follow the road until reaching Guwahati from Rymbai’
 [BPDJ_033]

(672) man da lai cha calcutta, tæ poi cheitæ tæ æm kataæ ka payu yong i wa
 sah Calcutta
man da laj (Ø) tʃa kɔlkata, tæ poj (Ø)
 happen REAL go (Ø)_s ALL Calcutta NVIS arrive (Ø)_s
tʃe=i=tæ tæ æm ka=tæ ka=paju jɔŋ i wa
 ALL=N=NVIS NVIS have F=NVIS F=sibling GEN 1PL NMZ
saʔ kɔlkata
 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 (negative causation)	No clear agency
‘fall’	<i>pat</i>	<i>hap</i>
‘run’	<i>jut</i>	<i>p^hεt</i>
‘die’		<i>jap</i>
‘live’		<i>im</i>
‘honor’	<i>ηoɿ</i>	
‘pray’	<i>duwaj</i>	

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, unforeseen, or unactivated motion. Example (673) is from The Pear Story, and the argument which falls is *ka=tupri* ‘hat’, referenced by post-verbal *kɔ*. The speaker construes the falling of the hat as accidental or unforeseen.

- (673) *toh ka tupri u næ ha kate ka kynthai hap wot ko*
tɔʔ ka=tupri u næ ha ka=te ka=kɯt^haj
 be F=hat 3SG.M.NOM D.TAG LOC F=MPROX F=female
hap *wɔt kɔ*
 fall IMM3 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘so the hat, ok, at (the location of) that girl it just fell’
 [MPSRJ_045]

In (674), also from The Pear Story, the item that falls is *u=wi u=sɔʔ* ‘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 *sɔŋ* ‘pack’, which is followed by the A-argument *u* ‘he’ and the O-argument *ki* ‘them’.

- (674) *tæ hap uwi u soh dei song u ki heini*
tɛ hap u=wi u=sɔŋ? de=i=sɔŋ u ki
 NVIS fall M=one M=fruit INST=N=pack 3SG.M.NOM 3PL
he=i=ni
 LOC=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? tʃa kʰɪndaw tɛ mi?
 become REAL fall PL=pine.cone ALL earth NVIS bring.out
ki=te ki=ksɛ?
 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 *ka=be?deɲkʰlam* 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
kam mɪntu snɛm tɛ ɔŋ ki ka=be?deɲkʰlam hap
 like today,now year NVIS say 3PL F=Behdeiñkhlam fall
kɔ ha ka=dʒo? ka=sɲi wa ka jɔŋ
 3SG.F.NOM LOC F=be.same F=day COMT 3SG.F.ACC GEN
tubær
 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 ɔ ha-ɕrɔŋ ka=dak^ha wa hɛʔ
 fall 1SG.NOM LOC-above 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=pa na-ɕrɔŋ haʔ skur
 fall 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 *soʔ* and the whole verbal construction is negated with the post-verbal marker *re*. In a continuation of the verbal event, the speaker then mentions another argument, *u=fʃaŋ* ‘basket’, which could easily replace *soʔ* 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 anticipates or sees a causal relation behind. The possible cause of the second conceptualization of ‘falling’ could be the boy’s bad driving, the overbalancing 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
 ɛm *hap* soʔ rɛ u=fʃaŋ u=wi lɛʔ ŋ tip
 have fall fruit any F=basket F=one also NEG know
 kammon wot ŋ ɛm *pat*
 how IMMD NEG have fall
 ‘none of the fruit falls, the basket, also (I) don’t know how it
 doesn’t fall’ [MPSM_019]

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
 tɛ **pat** u dɛp tɛ kɕut ka=kɕat tarɔ?
 NVIS fall 3SG.M.NOM PERF NVIS hurt F=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 tʃna juŋ i=met **pat** i=stɛp la tʃna
 if make home N=night fall N=morning if make
 i=stɛp **pat** i=met
 N=morning fall 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 *ki* and the place to which they fled is marked by allative *tʃa/tʃe*.

- (682) wa ya yut ki cheite cha pangit
 wa ja-**jut** ki tʃe=i=te tʃa paŋit
 COMT PLUR-run.away 3PL ALL=N=MPROX ALL Pangit
 ‘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 *jut* is encoded as *u*.

- (683) æm uwi won u nongtooh u wa tooh heitæ i chnong kattæ yut u
 ɛm u=wi wɔn u=nɔŋ-toʔ u wa toʔ
 have M=one which M=AG.NMZ-steal 3SG.M NMZ steal
 he=i=tɛ i=tʃnɔŋ kat-tɛ **jut** u
 LOC=N=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=kʰɔn lɪmbot kʰɔn lɪmbian* 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 *ka=sɿi* ‘sun’ as its single argument.

- (684) kammon yut ka sngi, katu læh rap jrong hi sæ, ka parom
kammɔn jut ka=sɿi ka=tu lɛʔ rap ɕrɔŋ hi
 how run.away F=sun F=MEDL also grow be.long EMPH
sɛ ka=parɔm
 C.TAG F=tell.story
 ‘how the sun fled, that is also quite long, the story’ [PP13RS_006]

The second verb for ‘run’ in Pnar is *pʰɛt*. There is not a clear distinction in meaning and usage between this verb and *jut*, though *pʰɛt* 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
pʰɛt kɔ ne=i=tɛ man da pʰɛt
 run 3SG.F.NOM ABL=N=NVIS become REAL run
kɔ ne=i=tɛ li-nɔʔ kɔ ha waj
 3SG.F.NOM ABL=N=NVIS DUR-throw 3SG.F.NOM LOC river
kʰɾwi
 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^het u ne=i=tɛ
 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
man da p^het u=tɛ u=saraŋ u=saʒin tɛ
 become REAL run M=NVIS M=fracture M=fault.line NVIS
mi? ki=liar mi? ki=duɿ
 bring.out PL=stream bring.out PL=valley
 ‘when the fracture, the fault runs, then streams and valleys come out’ [PP01CSE_034]

12.1.1.3 ‘Live’

The Pnar word *im* ‘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 *im* by the pronoun *kɔ* ‘she’.

- (688) ka pyrsa yong nga da hæh ko da im ko
ka=pr̥sa ʒɔŋ ŋa da hɛ? kɔ da im
 F=neice GEN 1SG.ACC REAL be.big 3SG.F.NOM REAL live
kɔ
 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘my niece has grown and is living’ [PP02SKF_013]

Example (689) illustrates how *im* (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 *ki* ‘they’, and refers to the villagers.

- (689) im bait ki hei ræp heini
im bait ki he=i=ræp he=i=ni
 live IMM3 3PL LOC=N=cultivate LOC=N=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 *im* occurs as part of a conditional clause. The S-argument is *kɔ* ‘her’, referring to the child.

- (690) la da im ko, tæ booh ka cheitu
la da im kɔ tæ boʔ ka tʃe=i=tu
 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 *im* is the final verb in his longer clause and relates his description of mother earth in a previous clause to life. Here he identifies *ka=bej 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
ka=tɛ tɔʔ ka=bej-ramaw ka wa i ha-doʔ
 F=NVIS be 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 *ɕiŋ-*.

- (692) i im i ka jingim ka wa yarap kylliang kyrchan kylliang
i im i ka=ɕiŋ-im ka wa jarap kllian kɾʃan
 1PL live 1PL F=NMZ-live 3SG.F NMZ help repay assist
kllian
 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 *ka=kʰɲdaw* ‘earth’ and the S-argument of the second clause is *ka=bru* ‘person, people’.

- (693) *la da im ka khyndaw, ka bru læh da im*
la da im ka=k^hndaw ka=bru lɛʔ da im
 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 *jap* is *ka=bej* ‘mother’, i.e. the mother of the girl who was fostered.

- (694) *yap ka bei*
jap ka=bej
 die 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 *ka=bej u=lɔʔ rɲdi* ‘Loh Ryndi’s mother’ serves as the S-argument of *jap*.

- (695) *yap ka bei u loh ryndi*
jap ka=bej u=lɔʔ rɲdi
 die F=mother M=Loh Ryndi
 ‘Loh Ryndi’s mother died’ [PP05KO_005]

In (696), repeated from (661) above, the speaker is relating the death of *u=kiaŋ naŋbaʔ*, a Pnar hero who was killed by the British. The S-argument is *u* and the locative-marked NP *u tɕle p^hasi* identifies the means and manner of his death.

- (696) *tæ oo da yap u ha u tɕle phasi*
tɛ o da jap u ha u=tɕle p^hasi
 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*
tæ ja-duwai i ɕiso næ mɛri ɕosep
 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 *ɔ* ‘I’, and *u=blaj* ‘God’ is marked as a recipient through the use of *ja*, the benefactive marker.

- (698) *hɲre doʔ u duwai ɔ ja u=blaj wa*
hɲre doʔ u=duwai ɔ ja u=blaj wa
 but.also completely M=pray 1SG.NOM BEN M=God NMZ
ja u=kʰut nɔʔ u ŋa da bian
 BEN NF=call IMM1 3SG.M.NOM 1SG.ACC REAL be.enough
 ‘then I prayed to God that he (would) just call me (and) be done’
 [LS1J_018]

The verb used most often for ‘pray’ by Pnar speakers associated with the traditional religion is *ŋoʔ*, which can I gloss as ‘bless’. This verb can also mean ‘bow’, particularly in conjunction with *dɛm* ‘bow’ in an expressive construction. This is also the verb used traditionally for ‘thanks’ as in the expression *ʈi-haɕar ŋoʔ* ‘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.

¹It 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.

- (699) *heitæ i por ngooh u, ngooh u ya ka syiem kupli*
he=i=tɛ i=pɔr ɲoʔ u ɲoʔ u
 LOC=N=NVIS N=time bless 3SG.M.NOM bless 3SG.M.NOM
ja ka=sʔem 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=blaj* ‘God (i.e., the creator)’ as well as to *ka=bej wa boʔ wa tʰo* ‘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 ɲoʔ i ja u=blaj ɲoʔ i ja ka=bej wa
 1PL bless 1PL BEN M=God bless 1PL BEN F=mother NMZ
boʔ 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 *ɲoʔ* 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 (*Daloi*) 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=malɲianɲ* by three warriors from the Yawchibidi clan in Jowai, after Malngiang betrayed and killed 1,100 warriors from the constituency of the *kʰat-ar daloi* kingdom.

- (701) *heitæ tæ waroh ngooh ki kini ki khatwi daloi ngooh ki ya u jwai*
he=i=tɛ tɛ warɔʔ ɲoʔ ki ki=ni ki=kʰatwi
 LOC=N=NVIS NVIS all bless 3PL PL=PROX PL=eleven
daloi ɲoʔ ki ja u=ɕwaj
 Daloi bless 3PL BEN M=Jowai
 ‘then all the eleven Daloi bowed/prayed, they bowed/prayed to Jowai’ [PP03SKY_029]

A further suggestion that *ɲoʔ* 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 *ɲoʔ* to describe obedience by these four women.

- (702) *da ngooh ki ya ki hukum u tre-ki-rot wa u wan cha pyrthai*
da ɲoʔ ki ja ki=hukum u=tre-ki-rot wa
 REAL bless 3PL BEN PL=command M=Creator.God NMZ
u=wan tʃa pr̥tʰaj
 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’ (703-704), 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 *pn̥-* (§6.3.2).

- (703) *tæ katte da li-e ki ka, ka tupri u*
tɛ kat-tɛ 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?*
o e ɲ u da u=sɔʔ ja ki
 3SG.M.ACC give REF 3SG.M.NOM INST M=fruit BEN 3PL
e ɲ u ja ki da ki=sɔʔ ar tʃli
 give REF 3SG.M.NOM BEN 3PL INST PL=fruit two CL.NH
ki=sɔʔ næ
 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 tʃi pat̪ u=mo
 hit 2SG.M.NOM one look M=stone
 ‘you hit the stone once’ [PP01CSE_091]

- (706) dat ka lyær ki
dat ka=lʔɛr ki
 hit 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 *pŋ-* which is attached to the word *jap* ‘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 *ki*, the third person plural pronoun.

- (707) hoi hi i u pynyap i ki hawa ong i u bam næ
hɔj hi i u=pŋ-jap i ki hawa ɔŋ i
 be.well EMPH 1PL NF=CAUS-die 1PL 3PL when say 1PL
u=bam næ
 NF=eat D.TAG
 ‘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 *kɔ*, and the undergoer (as the recipient of the action) is the third person singular feminine accusative form *ka*, marked by the benefactive *ja*.

- (708) *tæ heitæ ka læh da katæ ka jooh ka tari pynyap ko ya ka*
tɛ he=i=tɛ ka lɛʔ da ka=tɛ ka=ɕoʔ
 NVIS LOC=N=NVIS 3SG.F.ACC also INST F=NVIS F=be.same
ka=tari pɲ-jap kɔ ja ka
 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 *psep* ‘snake’ immediately follows the verb, and is followed by the S/A argument *ki*, the third person plural pronoun.

- (709) *ki nongræp ki wa tipsap bha ki ym jooh pynyap pseĩn ki, ilæh*
ki=nɔŋ-rɛp ki wa tip-sap bha ki ɲ
 PL=ag.nmz-cultivate 3PL NMZ know-talent be.good 3PL not
ɕoʔ pɲ-jap psep ki ilɛʔ
 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 *ki* ‘they’ becomes drunk (a self-motivated activity). The second clause identifies *ki=k^hlawat_ɿ u=Malŋian* ‘Malngiang’s warriors’ as the A-argument, and explicitly marks *ki=ni* ‘these ones’ as the O-argument using the ‘benefactive’ form *ja*. From context it is clear that *ki=ni* refers to the main agent of the first clause.

- (710) *heitæ man da ya muaid ki, pynyap ki khlawait u malngiang ya kini*
he=i=tɛ man da ja-muad_ɿ ki pɲ-jap
 LOC=N=NVIS become REAL PLUR-be.drunk 3PL CAUS-die
ki=k^hlawat_ɿ u=malŋian ja ki=ni
 PL=warrior 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 *ʈɔʔ*, 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 *ka=lʔer* ‘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=stæp wa sympat u=kʷllaŋ wa **dat** ka=lʔer*
 fall N=morning NMZ twist M=cyclone NMZ hit 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 *kɔ* ‘3SG.F.NOM’. Here the O-argument is left out.

- (712) *tæ dat ko hakhmat klah ko*
*tæ **dat** kɔ ha-kʰmat klaʔ kɔ*
 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=jale*, who in this story is chasing *ka=li kupli* to try and prevent her from returning to the river and her fish form. The O-argument is *ʔi ʔer* ‘a fishing rod’.

- (713) *dat u chi chær dei khlieh cha tdong*
***dat** u ʔi=ʔer de=i=kʰleʔ ʔa tɔŋ*
 hit 3SG.M.NOM INDF=fishing.rod INST=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 *ʔi dap* ‘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*
*he=i=tæ tæ **dat** u ʔi=dap dap u=tkut*
 LOC=N=NVIS NVIS hit 3SG.M.NOM indf=cut cut 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 *ʔɔʔ*, and this is more clearly transitive. In (715), for example, the speaker is highlighting the A-argument *ki* and describing the use of a particular large wooden log used

as a musical instrument to call elephants. He marks *ki=ni* ‘these’ with *da*, identifying the wooden mallets used to hit the large instrument. In the subsequent sentence (716) he makes this more explicit, identifying the agent *ki* (the people), the undergoer *ka* (the musical instrument), and the tools *ki=ni* (the mallets).

- (715) *kat wa æm u hati tæ choh ki da kini*
kat wa æm u=hati tæ ʔɔʔ ki da ki=ni
 as NMZ have 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*
ki=ni tɔʔ ʔɔʔ ki ka da ki=ni
 PL=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 A- and O-arguments following the verb. The pronoun *i* ‘we’ is the A-argument and *ki* ‘they, them’ is the O-argument.

- (717) *hawa bam i ki, hoi hi i u pynyap i ki*
hawa bam i ki hɔj hi i u=pɲ-jap 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=kwaɟ* ‘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 tɔʔ u=kwaɟ wa bam i
 like NMZ eat 1PL be M=betel.nut NMZ eat 1PL
 ‘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 *kɔ*, the third person singular feminine pronoun.

The undergoer O-argument is *i=ni i=rdan warɔʔ* ‘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 kɔ i=ni i=rdan warɔʔ
 REAL eat 3SG.F.NOM N=PROX 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 *sbɔʔ* ‘fertilizer’ is not mentioned in this sentence, but the agentive argument *ka=hali* is first topicalized as new information and then referenced post-verbally by *kɔ* 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*
ka=hali daw duna bam kɔ tæ ɲ man
 F=paddy.field IRR lack eat 3SG.F.NOM NVIS NEG become
bam de kɔ
 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=bam kwaj bam pat^{hi}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 *ki* ‘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*
dæp tæ hɔj u=bam kwaj bam pat^{hi}i ki
 PERF NVIS be.well NF=eat betel.nut eat betel.leaf 3PL
ki=tu ki=pɔr
 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 ($u=pseŋ$), which has been previously given as the theme, with the post-verbal pronoun u . The rats, $ki=k^hne$, 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 ki , referring to the rats.

- (722) *chispah tylli ki khne u bam u ki*
tʃi=spaʔ tʃli ki=k^hne u=bam u ki
 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 tæ duna ka=um
 become REAL eat 3SG.M.NOM 3PL NVIS lack F=water
tʃa k^hne te duna i=pŋ-siʔ
 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 ($u=blaŋ$) 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 O-argument slot as o , the accusative third person singular masculine pronoun form.

- (724) *jan u bam u oo næ*
tʃan u=bam u o næ
 be.near 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^hi ‘you’, identified post-verbally, and the undergoer/patient O-argument is $ki=ni ki=wat$ ‘these swords’.

- (725) yoo phi kini ki wait kam kini mo
jo p^{hi} ki=ni ki wat kam ki=ni mo
 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^{hi}* ‘you’, and the O-argument is the event being perceived, namely *laj ka=por laj ki=snem* ‘time passed, years passed’, the passage of time.

- (726) tæ najrong neitæ yn yoo phi, lai ka por lai ki snæm
tæ na-ɕrɔŋ ne=i=tæ ŋ jo p^{hi} laj ka=por laj
 NVIS ABL-be.long ABL=N=NVIS REF see 2PL go F=time go
ki=snem
 PL=year
 ‘so from there, you see, time went, the years went’ [PP05KO_001]

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=tre-ki-rɔt* 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 ki jo u=tre-ki-rɔt wa je=i=wɔn i=wɔn
 see 3PL see M=Creator.God NMZ BEN=N=which N=which
i=ɕiŋ-bakla
 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 *ki=p^hlaŋ ki wa jap* ‘the dead grass’.

- (728) dang yoo i ki phlang ki wa yap
daŋ jo i ki=p^hlaŋ ki 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 *ki* ‘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=dep da pɲ-hɛʔ ja o na ki=taj
 M=tree REAL CAUS-be.big BEN 3SG.M.ACC ABL PL=distal
ki=tʰiɛd ki=tre jɔŋ o ɲ jo i ki
 PL=root PL=original GEN 3SG.M.ACC NEG see 1PL 3PL
 ‘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 by four sisters sent by God, *ki=so kpɔʔ* ‘the four wombs’. At this point in 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, *ki* ‘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
ɲ ɕoʔ sniaw ki je=i=kɲten ɲ ɕoʔ sniaw ki
 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 *ka=sɲi* ‘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=bnaj* ‘moon’. The agentive A-argument is identified post-verbally as *kɔ* ‘she’, and the O-argument is the NP *i=klam bep klam kʰɔʔ* ‘bad/insulting speech’.

- (731) *sñiaw ko i klam beĩn klam khoh*
***sñiaw** kɔ i=klam bep klam kʰɔʔ*
 sense 3SG.F.NOM ACT=speak despise,suffer speak peel
 ‘she heard the bad/insulting speech’ [PP13RS_062]

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, *ɔ* ‘I’, and the O-argument is what the previous speaker said, identified by the verbal complement construction *ɔŋ u* ‘he said’ and *ɔŋ wa* ‘(he) said that..’.

- (732) *sñiaw o ong u yei læh ong wa kwah ki u im chiboon snæm læh ym im de ki*
***sñiaw** ɔ ɔŋ u je=i læʔ ɔŋ wa*
 sense 1SG.NOM say 3SG.M.NOM BEN=1PL also say NMZ
kwaʔ ki u=im tʃi=bon snæm læʔ ŋ im
 desire 3PL 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 *sñiaw baŋ* ‘feel good’, the morpheme *baŋ* ‘be tasty’ serves as an adverb to modify the matrix verb *sñiaw*. 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*
***sñiaw** baŋ ki=tæ i=man da ranbaʔ*
 sense be.tasty PL=NVIS ACT=become REAL headman
tʃnɔŋ
 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 A-argument is himself, referenced by *ɔ*, the first-person post-verbal pronoun, and the O-argument/complement is identified by the nominalized expression *wa u=jɔʔ ɔ u=rwaʃ* ‘I got to sing’.

- (734) *tæ nga ha wa sñiaw o wa u yoh o u rwai*
tɛ ɲa ha wa sɲiaw ɔ wa u=jɔ?
 NVIS 1SG.ACC LOC NMZ sense 1SG.NOM NMZ NF=get
ɔ u=rwaɟ
 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 *sɲiaw* and the complement O-argument follows the copula *tɔ?* ‘be’.

- (735) *tæ nadooh katae u sngi tæ sñiaw o toh u e kti ya ka kam ha u blai*
tɛ na-do? ka=tɛ u=sɲi tɛ sɲiaw ɔ tɔ?
 NVIS ABL-when F=NVIS M=day NVIS sense 1SG.NOM be
u=e kti ja ka=kam ha u=blaj
 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 *sɲiaw suk* ‘feel good’ is *i* ‘we’. The morpheme *suk* ‘be.peaceful’ serves a similar adverbial function as *baɲ* ‘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=laj li-daj ja ka=deɲ ʔa kʰlo* ‘to go cut wood in the forest’.

- (736) *jooh læh sñiaw suk i læh u lai lidaiñ ya ka deiñ cha khloo*
ɕo? lɛ? sɲiaw suk i lɛ? u=laj li-daj ja
 HAB also sense be.peaceful 1PL also NF=go DUR-cut BEN
ka=deɲ ʔa kʰlo
 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 *ɔ* is the agentive A-argument.

- (737) *tæ heitu i por nga ap o, suki o*
he=i=tu i=pɔr ŋa ap ɔ suki
 LOC=N=MEDL N=time 1SG.ACC listen 1SG.NOM be.quiet
ɔ
 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^hɔ*, 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 *sɲiaw* ‘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*
tɛ josar naŋ stɛp i=tɛ i=pɔr ap
 NVIS seems PROG morning,early N=NVIS N=time listen
p^hɔ tɛ jo ɔ daŋ 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^hɔn lɲbot* *k^hɔn lɲbian*, 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
tɛ ap sɿem ap kmaj u=kʰɔn lɿbot kʰɔn
 NVIS listen king listen be.great M=child Lymboit child
lɿbianɿ ɿ je u=wan dɔrbar sɔrbar
 Lymbiang NEG able 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 *paɬ* ‘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=ni u=sɔ?* ‘this fruit’.

- (740) *pait u oo uni u soh*
paɬ u o u=ni u=sɔ?
 look 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.ACC M=PROX M=fruit
 ‘he looks (at) this fruit’ [FPSM_016]

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=kʰɔn lɿbot kʰɔn lɿbianɿ*’s cooperation. As part of the imperative construction, the A-argument ‘you’ is elided, and the patientive arguments *ka=tari jɔŋ i ka=wat jɔŋ i* ‘our weapons’ and *u=tlle jɔŋ i u=thri jɔŋ i* ‘our ropes’ are identified as the thematic focus.

- (741) *pait ka tari yong i ka wait yong i pait u tulle yong i u thri yong i tæ liwan*
dorbar sorbar wan dei wa joit
paɬ ka=tari jɔŋ i ka=wat jɔŋ i paɬ u=tlle
 look F=knife GEN 1PL F=sword GEN 1PL look M=rope
jɔŋ i u=thri jɔŋ i tɛ li-wan dɔrbar
 GEN 1PL M=bamboo.rope GEN 1PL NVIS DUR-come meeting
sɔrbar wan de-i wa ɕɔt
 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 *raliaŋ ka=ʃnɔŋ ka=tʰaw* ‘Raliang village’.

- (742) tæ pait i Raliang ka chnong ka thaw
tɛ pat i raliəŋ ka=ʃnɔŋ ka=tʰaw
 NVIS look 1PL Raliang F=village 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=Khmah* 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 *ka=ni kʰɪnaʔ* ‘this girl’.

- (743) ɔŋ u bei pait ka kani khynnah
ɔŋ u bej pat ka ka=ni kʰɪnaʔ
 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 *jaŋ*, 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 *ki=tiar* ‘things’ as the O-argument which is subsequently modified by the relative/comitative clause *wa wan jaw kɔ na ɕwaj* ‘that/and she would market-come from Jowai’.

- (744) *da lai liyang i, da liyang i ki tiar wa wan yaw ko na jwai*
da laj li-jaŋ i da li-jaŋ i ki=tiar
 REAL go DUR-wait 1PL REAL DUR-wait 1PL PL=things
wa wan jaw kɔ na ɕwaj
 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 *kba* ‘rice’ into the verb, which is then followed by the S/A-argument *ki* ‘they’. It is not completely clear whether *kba* 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 *jaŋ kba* is considered a regularised or generic activity, perhaps ‘waiting to harvest rice’. The instruments used for the activity are then subsequently given as *ki=ni* ‘these’ and marked by the instrumental marker *da*.

- (745) *ha wa ræp ha wa rian ki jooh yang kba ki da kini*
ha wa ræp ha wa rian ki ɕoʔ jaŋ
 LOC NMZ cultivate LOC NMZ plant.type 3PL HAB wait
kba ki da ki=ni
 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 katae ka thaw ka wa jan yoo hi phi hadooh*
katni næh u moo, u moo kule
jaŋ u ha he=i=tu ha lad ha ka=tɛ
 wait 3SG.M.NOM LOC LOC=N=MEDL LOC way LOC F=NVIS
ka=t^haw ka wa ɕan jo hi p^hi ha-doʔ
 F=place 3SG.F NMZ be.near see EMPH 2PL LOC-when
kat-ni nɛʔ u=mo u=mo kule
 as-PROX preserve M=stone M=stone horse
 ‘he waited in that way, in that place where nearby you can see, until
 now, the rock, the horse rock’ [PP03SKY_024]

Example (747) similarly has an A-argument *i* ‘we’ and a locative complement identified by *he=i=tɛ* ‘there’.

- (747) da yang i heitæ da kit i u khoh ya u kit ki tiar cha yung
 da **jaŋ** i he=i=tɛ da kit i
 REAL wait 1PL LOC=N=NVIS REAL carry(sling) 1PL
 u=k^hɔʔ ja u=kit ki=tiar tʃa juŋ
 M=cone.basket BEN NF=carry(sling) 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=kpa u=k^hriam* ‘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=kpa* and *u=k^hriam*.

- (748) tip mi u kña sæ tang wa ym tip mi u khriam
tip mi u=kpa sɛ taŋ wa
 know 2SG.M.NOM NF=perform.ritual C.TAG but,even NMZ
 ʔ **tip** mi u=k^hriam
 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 *ɔ* ‘first person singular’, and the O-argument complement is *mllu mlla u=tɔʔ u=t^har* ‘something to write’.

- (749) *tæ kat wa kam-tæ man kat u tip tip o myllu mylla u thoh u thar*
tæ kat wa kam-tæ man kat u=tip tip
 NVIS as NMZ like-NVIS become as NF=know know
ɔ mllu mlla u=tʰɔʔ u=tʰar
 1SG.NOM gather gather NF=write 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 *ki* ‘they (the warriors)’ and the O-argument complement is *je=i=tæ* ‘about that’.

- (750) *ki wa boon yn ki ym tip ki yeitæ ki halor wa da ong u jwai*
ki wa bon ɲ ki ɲ tip ki je=i=tæ
 3PL NMZ be.much ref 3PL not know 3PL BEN=N=NVIS
ki=ha-lɔr wa da ɔŋ u=ɕwaj
 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 *ŋa*. The O-argument is *i=ji i=tæ* ‘that thing’.

- (751) *tæ nga læh re tip bha i yi itæ*
tæ ŋa læʔ rɛ tip bha i=ji i=tæ
 NVIS 1SG.ACC also any know INTS1 N=thing 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=Khmah* 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 *ɔ* both identify the elder in question as the speaker. The O-argument complement is *i=ji i=ɕiŋtʰmu u=kʰmaʔ* ‘the motive of Khmah’.

- (752) *nga da tip o i yi i jingthmu u khmah*
ŋa da tip ɔ i=ji i=ɕiŋ-tʰmu
 1SG.ACC REAL know 1SG.NOM N=thing N=NMZ-plan
u=kʰmaʔ
 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=tɛ* ‘that (one)’. The O-argument is himself, but rather than using the post-verbal form, he explicitly marks *ŋa* as the recipient or beneficiary of knowledge.

- (753) læh dəp tip bha utæ ya nga
lɛʔ dəp tip bha u=tɛ ja ŋa
 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 *ki* ‘they’, and the O-argument in one case is the nominalized verb *u=klam* ‘speak’, and in the other is *u=ɔŋ* ‘say’.

- (754) ym tip de ki u klam ym tip de ki u ong
ŋ tip de ki u=klam ŋ tip de
 NEG know NEG.INTS 3PL NF=speak NEG know NEG.INTS
ki u=ɔŋ
 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 *ki* ‘they’ and the O-argument is elided (the copula *man* joins the two clauses). In the second clause the A-argument is also *ki* ‘they’, and the O-argument is *ka* ‘it, feminine’, which is clarified by the following NP *ka=ni ka=parɔm* ‘this story’. In the third clause the topical NP *ka=ɕoʔ ka=parɔm* ‘the same story’ is referenced post-verbally in the O-argument slot by *ka* ‘it, feminine’.

- (755) tæ tip ki, man tip hi ki ka kani ka parom, ka jooh ka parom tip ki ka
tɛ tip ki man tip hi ki ka
 NVIS know 3PL become know EMPH 3PL 3SG.F.ACC
ka=ni ka=parɔm ka=ɕoʔ ka=parɔm 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 *ki ki=ni* ‘they, these’ is the O-argument.

- (756) tæ kini tip hi mi ki kini
tɛ ki=ni tip hi mi ki ki=ni
 NVIS PL=PROX know EMPH 2SG.M.NOM 3PL PL=PROX
 ‘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 *mi* ‘you, masculine’ and the O-argument is *ka*, which refers to knowledge about something, in this case *u=tfan* ‘the basket’, which is identified immediately.

- (757) to kattu chooh da tip hi mi ka u chang
tɔ kat-tu tʃoʔ da tip hi mi ka
 ok as-MEDL more REAL know EMPH 2SG.M.NOM 3SG.F
u=tfan
 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 *ka=tɛ ka=laj skur* ‘that school-going’, then makes a comment in which *i* ‘we’ serves as the A-argument of *tip* ‘know’, and the O-argument *ka* ‘it, feminine’ refers to the topical activity of ‘school-going’.

- (758) ya katæ ka lai skur ym pu tip i ka
ka=tɛ ka=laj skur ɲ pu tip i ka
 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 *ki* ‘they’ serves as the A-argument of *tip* ‘know’. In the first clause the O-argument is *ka* ‘it, feminine’, identified as *ka=kalendar* ‘the (western) calendar’, and in the second the O-argument is the complement *ja ki=tɛ ki=sɲi* ‘about those (western week-)days’.

- (759) nadooh mynchwa ym pu tip ki ka ka calendar ym pu tip ki ya kitæ ki sngi
na-doʔ mɲtʃwa ɲ pu tip ki ka
 ABL-when before NEG not know 3PL 3SG.F.ACC
ka=kalɛndar ɲ pu tip ki ja ki=tɛ ki=sɲi
 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 *spiauw* ‘sense, hear/feel’ and *tʰoʔ* ‘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 *ka* ‘it, feminine’ refers to the previously identified *ka=kɲten* ‘word’.

- (760) i pateĩn yong i ym sñiawthooh ki ka hawa klam
i=pateɲ jɔŋ i ɲ spiawtʰoʔ ki ka
 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 *ki*, and the O-argument by *ka* ‘it, feminine’.

- (761) ym tip ki ya ka niam ka rukom tæ pynbakla ki ka sæ, ym sñiawthooh ki
ka sæ
ɲ tip ki ja ka=niam ka=rukɔm tɛ
 NEG know 3PL BEN F=tradition F=way NVIS
pɲ-bakla ki ka sɛ ɲ spiawtʰoʔ ki
 CAUS-mistake 3PL 3SG.F.ACC C.TAG NEG understand 3PL
ka sɛ
 3SG.F.ACC C.TAG
 ‘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 well-understood. The A-argument is identified as *ki* ‘they’, and the O-argument *ka* refers to the particular term in question.

- (762) *tæ mut ha kini ki pateĩ katni ki wa boon ym sñiawthooh ki ka*
tε mut ha ki=ni ki=patep kat-ni ki
 NVIS means LOC PL=PROX PL=generation as-PROX 3PL
wa bon ʔ spiawtʰoʔ ki ka
 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-sniawthoʔ* identifies a kind of knowledge in which the A-argument *ki=bru* ‘people’ engage in together. The O-argument is *i=ji i=ɕiŋ-mut kʰnde* ‘the meaning (of) nine’.

- (763) *teintein ym ya sñiawthooh ki bru i yi i jingmut khynde*
tenten ʔ ja-spiawtʰoʔ ki=bru i=ji
 sometimes NEG PLUR-understand PL=person N=thing
i=ɕiŋ-mut kʰnde
 N=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 *kpmo* 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 *ɔ* and the O-argument as *ka=kɔpsar ka=tε ka=sim* ‘that other bird’.

- (764) *dang khynnah khiah, ym kynmoo o ka kopsar katæ ka sim*
daŋ kʰŋnaʔ kʰiaʔ ʔ kpmo ɔ ka=kɔpsar
 PROG little.one be.whole NEG remember 1SG.NOM F=other
ka=tε ka=sim
 F=NVIS F=bird
 ‘(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 *ka* ‘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*
*la da rap hæʔ tæ boj **kɲmo** ɔ*
 if REAL grow be.big NVIS should remember 1SG.NOM
ka læʔ
 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=tu* ‘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*
***kɲmo** ɔ u=tu u wa ɔŋ ki u=lonet*
 remember 1SG.NOM M=MEDL 3SG.M NMZ say 3PL 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 *ŋa*, 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=tu u=snɛm* ‘that year’.

- (767) *nga kynmoo utu u snæm sa wa joor bha wa yap niangthoh*
*ŋa **kɲmo** u=tu u=snɛm sa wa ɕɔr*
 1SG.ACC remember M=MEDL M=year only NMZ extremely
bha wa jap niangtʰɔʔ
 INTS1 NMZ die spotted.infection
 ‘(I) remember that year so many people died (of the) spotted infection (smallpox)’ [SI1_041]

12.2.6.4 ‘Forget’

Although forgetfulness can be encoded by negating the word for ‘remember’, Pnar also has a verb *mllip* 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 *ki=taɟ* ‘those’ refers to people in the current generation, and the O-argument is identified as *i=pɾtut̚ ɟɔŋ tre* ‘the original/traditional name(s)’.

- (768) *bhah katni ka pateiŋ tæ da boon wa pyrtuit yong phareng bait tæ da mylliŋ kitai i pyrtuit yong tre*
bhaʔ kat-ni ka=pateɲ tɛ da bon wa pɾtut̚
 cause as-PROX F=generation NVIS REAL be.much NMZ name
ɟɔŋ p^hareŋ bat̚ tɛ da mɿliɲ ki=taɟ i=pɾtut̚
 GEN foreigner IMM3 NVIS REAL forget PL=distal N=name
ɟɔŋ 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 *ki* ‘they’ which follows the verb *mɿliɲ* ‘forget’ refers to the Pnar people (who serve as the A-argument), and the second *ki* 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 mylliŋ lut ki ki sæ*
tɛ kat-ni kat wa da ɛm kari i tɛ
 NVIS as-PROX as NMZ REAL have car 1PL NVIS
ɟiŋ-mut warɔʔ da mɿliɲ lut ki ki sɛ
 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 *ɔ*, and the O-argument is *o*, the accusative third person masculine referent whose name has been forgotten.

- (770) *uyi utu da mylliŋ o oo*
u=ɟi u=tu da mɿliɲ ɔ o
 M=thing M=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 *ka* ‘it, feminine’.

- (771) *man da poi ha yung mylliñ chi mylliñ u ka u chæt*
man da pəj ha juŋ mɭliŋ tʃi mɭliŋ
 become REAL arrive LOC home forget set forget
u ka u=tʃɛt
 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=məlŋiaŋ*, 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 A-argument *u* ‘he’ refers to *u=məlŋiaŋ* while the demonstrative *ki=tɛ* ‘those, them’ refers to the warriors.

- (772) *da maya u kitæ hynre kini ki soo ngut ki khlawait ya u su ya ka tput*
da maja u ki=tɛ hɲre ki=ni
 REAL love 3SG.M.NOM PL=NVIS but.also PL=PROX
ki=so ŋut ki=kʰlawat ja u=su ja
 PL=four CL.HUM PL=warrior BEN 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=kɔŋ 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 *wa u=kɔŋ sajo* serving as the O-argument/complement.

- (773) *tæ man i maya bha wa u kong saio*
tæ man i maja bha wa u=kɔŋ sajo
 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=ʈɲraŋ* ‘male’, and the O-argument *ka* ‘her’, which is fully identified as *ka=kɲtʰaj* ‘female’.

- (774) *man da u chynrang yoosuk u ka ka kynthai tæ kylli nyngkong chwa u yei*
kur i jait
man da u=ʈɲraŋ jo-suk u ka
 become REAL M=male see-be.peaceful 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.ACC
ka=kɲtʰaj tæ klli nɲkɔŋ ʈwa u je=i=kur
 F=female NVIS ask be.first before 3SG.M.NOM BEN=N=clan
i=ʈat
 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 *kwaʔ*. This verb often occurs with a nominalized verb as its O-argument, as in (775), where the A-argument is *ki* ‘they, them’ and the complement is the verbal clause *u=liwan ʈa ʈnɔŋ* ‘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
 ᵿ **kwa?** de ki u=liwan ᵿᵿ ᵿᵿᵿ ᵿᵿ
 NEG desire NEG.INTS 3PL NF=return.home ALL village ALL
 ᵿᵿᵿᵿ ᵿᵿᵿ ki ᵿᵿ 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=jɔ?* ‘to get’ and the case-marked NP that follows.

- (776) kwah ki u yoh ya ka ni ka project report
kwa? ki u=jɔ? ja ka=ni ka=prɔŋɛk rɪpɔt
 desire 3PL NF=get BEN F=PROX 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^{hi}* ‘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 *ka=ji* ‘what, thing’. In the second clause, *ka=ji* is marked by *ja* in the topic slot, putting it in oblique function. The nominalized verb *u=ᵿim* ‘to take’ is thus conceptualized as the O-argument.

- (777) tæ mut kayi kwah phi, ya kayi kwah phi u chim
 tɛ mut ka=ji **kwa?** p^{hi} ja ka=ji **kwa?** p^{hi}
 NVIS means F=thing desire 2PL BEN F=thing desire 2PL
 u=ᵿim
 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=tre-ki-rɔt*, the creator God, to the seven families who have settled on earth and their descendants. The post-verbal A-argument *u* ‘he’ references *u=tre-ki-rɔt*, and *u=jɔ?* ‘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
 tɛ **kwaʔ** nɔʔ u u=jɔʔ da u=sʔem da
 NVIS desire IMM1 3SG.M.NOM NF=get INST M=ruler INST
 u=kmaʔ ja u=sɲtʃar ja u=ɲɲiaw wasa
 NF=be.great BEN NF=rule BEN 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 O-argument complement, the speaker incorporates the expression *bam dɔʔ* ‘meat-eat’ into the verb *kwaʔ* ‘want’. This forms a complex verbal expression *kwaʔ bam dɔʔ* ‘want (to) meat-eat’ where *i* ‘we’ serves as the S/A-argument.

- (779) mut dur u syiar kwah bam doh i u pynyap i oo læh hoi hi
 mut dur u=sʔiar **kwaʔ** bam dɔʔ i
 means purpose M=chicken desire eat body,meat 1PL
 u=pɲ-jap i o lɛʔ hɔj hi
 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 (*kɔ* ‘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 de=i=burɔm* ‘to arrive (at marriage) with honor’.

- (780) tæ man da maya tæ kwah i wa ka yung ka sɛm wa kwah ko u poi dei
 burom
 tɛ man da maja tɛ **kwaʔ** i wa ka=jɯŋ
 NVIS become REAL love NVIS desire 1PL NMZ F=home
 ka=sɛm wa **kwaʔ** kɔ u=pɔj
 F=neighborhood NMZ desire 3SG.F.NOM NF=arrive
 de=i=burɔm
 INST=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 *ɛmkam* which is formed from *ɛm* ‘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=kʔfu* ‘pot’, while the A-argument is identified post-verbally as *i* ‘we’.

- (781) læh æmkam i u kchu, kchu larnai
lɛʔ ɛmkam i u=kʔfu kʔfu larnaj
 also need 1PL 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 post-verbally as *i* ‘we’, and *i=tpaj dip* ‘ashes’, *u=k^ho* ‘rice’, and *ka=wat* ‘sword’ are identified as the O-arguments of the first, second, and third verb respectively.

- (782) æmkam i i tpaɪ diñ æmkam i u khoo æmkam i ka wait
ɛmkam i i=tpaj dip ɛmkam i u=k^ho
 need 1PL N=ash fire need 1PL M=rice[husked]
ɛmkam i ka=wat
 need 1PL 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 *ki* ‘they, them’ references the animals.

- (783) ym hoi u læh dusmon eh i ki hawa ym æmkam i ki
ŋ hɔj u=lɛʔ dusmɔn ɛʔ i ki hawa ŋ
 NEG be.well NF=do for.fun IMM2 1PL 3PL when NEG
ɛmkam i ki
 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 *ɛmkam* ‘need’ combines with the nominalized verb *u=sɲdɔŋ* ‘to take care’ to form a complex predicate where *i* ‘we’ serves as the A-argument and *ki* ‘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 ki=tε ki=wɔn ki=wɔn lɛʔ ɛmkam
 like PL=NVIS PL=which PL=which also need
u=sɲdɔŋ i ki
 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 *kɔ* ‘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
tε kam ka=ni ka=program ŋa spiaaw ɔ
 NVIS like F=PROX F=program 1SG.ACC sense 1SG.NOM
ɛmkam bha kɔ 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 S/A-argument is *i=sbɔʔ* ‘fertilizer’.

- (786) ha ki jingræp yong i tæ boon man symbe wa ræp tang khajiak i jingyoh
 wa duna i sboh
ha ki=ɕiŋ-ræp jɔŋ i tɛ bon man smbe
 LOC PL=NMZ-cultivate GEN 1PL NVIS be.much become seed
wa ræp tan kʰaɕiak i=ɕiŋ-jɔʔ wa duna
 NMZ cultivate but,even be.little N=NMZ-get NMZ lack
i=sbɔʔ
 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 sbɔʔ i* ‘we give fertilizer’ identifies *i* ‘we’ as the A-argument, and *sbɔʔ* ‘fertilizer’ is the incorporated O-argument. In the following clause with *duna* ‘lack’, *i=sɔʔ* ‘fruit’ serves as the A-argument, and the elided O-argument is understood to reference *sbɔʔ*, the O-argument of the previous clause.

- (787) deitu wa e sboh i i soh chiboon la ym e sboh i duna i soh
de=i=tu wa e sbɔʔ i i=sɔʔ tʃi=bon
 INST=N=MEDL NMZ give fertilizer 1PL N=fruit set-be.much
la m̩ e sbɔʔ i duna i=sɔʔ
 if NEG give fertilizer 1PL lack N=fruit
 ‘by (us) giving fertilizers the fruit is much, if we don’t give fertilizer
 the fruit is lacking’ [BMPJ_080]

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 *kɔ* ‘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
ka=hali daw duna bam kɔ tɛ m̩ man
 F=paddy.field IRR lack eat 3SG.F.NOM NVIS NEG become
bam de kɔ
 eat NEG.INTS 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘the field lacks food/eating (fertility), it doesn’t eat/produce-food
 (year by year)’ [BMPJ_082]

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 *ki*. 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 da i ɲi sumar i tɛ daw pɔj i=pɔr
 if REAL 1PL NEG take.care 1PL NVIS IRR arrive N=time
wa ki=um ki=wa? duna ki
 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, ɔ, and the O-argument/complement is the nominalized verb *u=bam* ‘to eat’.

- (790) *nga tæ wa lat o u hæh toh wa duna o u bam*
ŋa tɛ wa lat ɔ u=hɛ? tɔ? wa
 1SG.ACC NVIS NMZ slow 1SG.NOM NF=be.big be NMZ
duna ɔ u=bam
 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 *do?* (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, *ka=ɛrvis*) are elided, being recoverable by context.

- (791) *tæ la da ngam katæ ka leiñ mut nga ka service yong nga da dooh*
tɛ la da ŋam ka=tɛ ka=lep mut ŋa
 NVIS if REAL sink F=NVIS F=boat means 1SG.ACC
ka=ɛrvis jɔŋ ŋa da do?
 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^hia?* ‘sleep’ is incorporated into the verb.

- (792) *heitæ tæ pyrkhat o dooh thiah na kamtu*
he=i=tε tε pɾkʰat ɔ do? tʰia? na
 LOC=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 *pʰi* ‘you’ indicates the interviewee, and the O-argument *ɕiŋ-kɾmɛn* ‘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
ha ka=ɕiŋ-im jɔŋ pʰi na-do? daŋ kʰian pʰi
 LOC F=NMZ-live GEN 2PL ABL-when PROG be.small 2PL
ha-do? kat-ni εm hi i=bɿnta wa i=pɔr
 LOC-when as-PROX have EMPH N=purpose COMT N=time
i wa pʰi da mat pʰi je=i=ɕiŋ-ε?
 1PL NMZ 2PL REAL example 2PL BEN=N=NMZ-be.difficult
wa tʃɛm pʰi wa mut da do? ɕiŋ-kɾmɛn pʰi
 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 *nɿkɔŋ* ‘be.first’.

- (794) *ka Jaintia musics first instrument ka wa nyngkong dooh ka ni ka wa*
nyngkong dooh kani
ka=ɕɛntia musiks firs instrumɛn ka wa nɿkɔŋ
 F=Jaintia musics first instrument 3sgF NMZ be.first
do? ka=ni ka wa nɿkɔŋ do? ka=ni
 completely F=PROX 3sgF NMZ be.first completely F=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
he=i=tɛ tɔʔ u=nik tɔʔ u wa malik u wa
LOC=N=NVIS be M=Nik be 3SG.M NMZ boss 3SG.M NMZ
jɔʔ u wa ɛm tɛ u=sin tɔʔ u wa doʔ
get 3SG.M NMZ have NVIS M=Singh be 3SG.M NMZ lose
u wa ɲ ɛm u wa jɔʔ
3SG.M NMZ not have 3SG.M NMZ get
‘then it happened that Nik is a boss who gets, who has, while Singh
is poor (he loses) he doesn’t have (or) get’ [KP_005]

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 *ka=tɛ* ‘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
ɔŋ ɔ tɔ la da im ɔ ka=tɛ naŋ
say 1SG.NOM ok if REAL live 1SG.NOM F=NVIS PROG
bha
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 *bha* 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*
tɛ sumar wan ki dɛp tɛ bha wan dɛp
 NVIS take.care come 3PL PERF NVIS be.good come PERF
tɛ tʃat
 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 *ka* ‘it, feminine’. This pronoun is referencing the demonstrative *ka=tu* ‘that’, allowing *bha* ‘be good’ to serve as a modifier with an elided post-verbal referent which is supplied by the relative clause head *ka*.

- (798) *tæ katu, hei sñiawthooh yong nga, ym toh ka wa bha*
tɛ ka=tu he=i=spiawtʰoʔ jɔŋ ŋa ŋ tɔʔ
 NVIS F=MEDL LOC=N=understand GEN 1SG.ACC NEG be
ka wa bha
 3SG.F NMZ be.good
 ‘so that, according to my understanding, is not good’ [BMPJ_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=bru* ‘man’ serves as the noun head followed by *wa* which nominalizes/relativizes the following verb *bha* 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*
sdaŋ u=pat tɛ ɔŋ tʃan u=bru wa bha
 begin M=look NVIS say hope 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^{hi}* and the O-argument/complement is the nominalized verbal expression headed by *u=kɲmo* ‘to remember’.

- (800) yee phi u kynmoo i dei wa æm kari
je p^hi u=kɲmo i de-i wa ɛm 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
hɲre je ɔ u=sumar je=i=dɔ?
 but.also be.able 1SG.NOM NF=take.care BEN=N=flesh
je=i=p^had
 BEN=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 *je* here is an elided NP referential with *ki* ‘they, them’, the S-argument of the initial complex verbal expression *ɛm wan ki* ‘there are those’. The O-argument of *je* is the nominalized expression *u=laj 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
ɛm wan ki wa ɲ je u=laj skur kut ki
 have come 3PL NMZ NEG be.able NF=go school end 3PL
he=i=di? he=i=bam kut ki he=i
 LOC-ACT=drink LOC-ACT=eat end 3PL LOC-1PL
ja-k^hle he=i ja-tanlan
 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 *je* is *ki=tɛ ki=kɲt^haj* ‘those women’ and the O-argument is *u=jut* ‘to run’.

- (803) ym yee de kitæ ki kynthai u yut, ym yee ki toh wa pynkhon ki
ɲ je de ki=tɛ ki=kɲt^haj u=jut ɲ
 NEG able NEG.INTS PL=NVIS PL=female NF=run.away NEG
je ki tɔ? wa pɲ-k^hɔn ki
 be.able 3PL be NMZ CAUS-child 3PL
 ‘those women were unable to run, they were unable since they were
 pregnant’ [PP07SNM_004]

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 non-agency. 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:

NP = (QP) (Dem) Head (Mod) (NP) (RC)¹

¹The abbreviation ‘MOD’ here covers a broad range of modifiers, including possessors,

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 (804b) 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, *ki=k^hlawat* ‘the warriors’.

- (804) (a) kini ki khatwi spah ngut ki khlawait yong ka khatar daloi, yap ki
 $[ki=ni_{\text{DEM}} \quad [ki=k^h atwi \quad spa? \quad \eta ut]_{\text{QP}} \quad [ki=k^h lawat]_{\text{HEAD}}]$
 PL=PROX PL=eleven hundred CL.HUM PL=warrior
 $[j\omega\eta \quad ka=k^h atar \quad daloj]_{\text{POSS}}]$ *jap_V* *ki_N*
 GEN 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
 $ki=ni_{\text{DEM}} \quad [so \quad \eta ut]_{\text{QP}} \quad ki=k^h lawat]_{\text{HEAD}} \quad [j\omega\eta \quad u=daloj]_{\text{POSS}}$
 PL=PROX four CL.HUM PL=warrior GEN M=Daloi
jap_V *ki_S*
 die 3PL
 ‘those four warriors of the Daloi, they died’

The following elicited examples illustrate variations of (804b) 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
*ki=ni*_{DEM} [*ki=so* *ɲut*]_{QP} ***ki=k^hlawat***_{HEAD} [*jɔŋ*
 PL=PROX PL=four CL.HUM PL=warrior GEN
u=daloj]_{POSS} [*ki wa jap*]_{RC}
 M=Daloi 3PL NMZ die
 ‘those four warriors of the Daloi, they who died’
- (b) kini ki soo ngut ki khlawait ki wa yap yong u daloi
*ki=ni*_{DEM} [*ki=so* *ɲut*]_{QP} ***ki=k^hlawat*** [*ki wa jap*]_{RC}
 PL=PROX PL=four CL.HUM PL=warrior 3PL NMZ die
 [*jɔŋ u=daloj*]_{POSS}
 GEN M=Daloi
 ‘those four warriors, who died, of the Daloi’
- (c) kini soo ngut ki khlawait wa yap yong u daloi
*ki=ni*_{DEM} [*soo ɲut*]_{QP} ***ki=k^hlawat*** [*wa jap*]_{MOD} [*jɔŋ*
 PL=PROX four CL.HUM PL=warrior NMZ die GEN
u=daloj]_{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
*ki=ni*_{DEM} [*so ɲut*]_{QP} ***ki=k^hlawat*** [*jɔŋ* [*u=daloj* [*wa*
 PL=PROX four CL.HUM PL=warrior GEN M=Daloi NMZ
jap]_{MOD}]_{NP}]_{POSS}
 die
 *‘those four warriors, who died, of the Daloi’
 ‘those four warriors, of the Daloi who died’

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
kam *ɔŋ* *p^{hi}*
 as say 2PL
 ‘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
ʃar *ki=nɔŋ-siɛt*
 be.different PL=AG.NMZ-shoot
 ‘the shooter is different’ [AIJ_094]

- (810) ka riatsasim da declare ki ka toh ka ksathori
 ↓ ↓
ka=riatsasim *da* *dikler* *ki* *ka* *tɔʔ* *ka=ksat^hɔri*
 F=Riatsasim REAL declare 3PL 3SG.F be 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 *ka=ʈnɔŋ jɔŋ i* ‘our village’ (in square brackets) has a head *ka=ʈnɔŋ* 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-i=ni cha **ka=chnong yong i**
wan jalap ki ʈe=i=ni ʈa ka=ʈnɔŋ jɔŋ i
 come preach 3PL ALL=N=PROX ALL 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 (*ʈa, na, ha*) as in (??) and (??) above, or by the explicit indefinite marker *ʈi* ‘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
ʈi knten i=hok
 INDF word N=be.honest
 ‘one honest word’ [PP01CSE_075]
- (813) man da ong chi daloi tæ cheitai tæ mut chi pargana kamtæ sæ
man da ɔŋ ʈi daloj tɛ ʈe=i=taj tɛ
 become REAL say INDF daloi NVIS ALL=N=distal NVIS
mut ʈi pargana kam-tɛ sɛ
 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 *ka=* to mean a female human.²

²Though some nouns which refer to animates have fixed class, i.e. *u=ʈnɔŋ* ‘male, man’, *ka=kɛtʰaj* ‘female, woman’.

Animate beings of unknown gender or diminutive size are marked with *i=* or alternatively by *u=* or *ka=* 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 *ki=* marking all nouns regardless of class and *p^{hi}* 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 *ka=ni* refers to the form *ka=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*
ka=ni em Ø da ka=sep ka=ni
 F=PROX have Ø INST F=committee F=PROX
 ‘this has a committee’ [AIJ_128]

³The verb *em* 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.

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 *ka=sabɕɛk* ‘subject’ is followed immediately by a nominalizer/relativizer, whereas in (816), from the same phrase, the NP head *ka=prthaj* ‘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*
ka=ni ka=sabɕɛk wa ja-klam i kat-ni
 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*
ka=prthaj [ka wa suk]_{RC} [ka wa sap]_{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 §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
ka=ni ka=madan
 F=PROX F=ground
 ‘this ground’ [FPAHM_056]

(818) heini i por
he=i=ni i=por
 LOC=N=PROX N=time
 ‘at this time’ [BPVM_002]

(819) kawī ka por
ka=wi ka=por
 F=one F=time
 ‘one time’ [PP10PO_013]

Demonstratives take gender marking and often occur with other elements in the NP, including quantifiers (820), classifier expressions (821), and modifiers (822).

(820) da ki sein klam ki waroh kitæ ki kyntein
 da ki=sen klam ki **warɔʔ** **ki=te** ki=kpten
 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
ki=ni toʔ ki **san** **ɲut** ki=kʰɔn jɔŋ ka
 PL=PROX be 3PL five CL.HUM PL=child GEN 3SG.F
 ‘these were her five children’ [PP02SKF_030]

(822) æm yap kawī ka kynthai tymmæn
 ɛm jap **ka=wi** ka=kɲtʰaj **tɲmæn**
 have die F=one 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 *wa* 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 *jɔŋ*.

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 §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 *kɲtʰaj* ‘woman, female’ is so closely connected to the head *juŋ* ‘home’ that it is probably better analyzed as a nominal compound (as opposed to (824) where *ka=kɲtʰaj* 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
lɛʔ daw li-e ɕa ki tʃa juŋ kɲtʰaj
 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
laʃ li-ɔŋ ki tʃa juŋ ka=kɲtʰaj
 go DUR-say 3PL ALL home F=woman
 ‘they go tell (it) to the woman’s home (i.e. her family)’
 [PP14MF_010]

- (825) tæ iŋ katai ka yung ki sistar
tɛ iŋ ka-taj ka=juŋ ki=sistar
 NVIS burn as-DIST F=home 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 *jɔŋ* 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*
ka=k^hɔn u=bru u wa laj skur
 F=child M=person 3SG.M NMZ go school
 ‘the man who goes to school’s daughter’
- (827) **ka khon (ka) wa lai-skur u bru*
ka=k^hɔn (ka) wa laj-skur u=bru
 F=child 3SG.F NMZ go-school M=person
 *‘the man’s school-going daughter’
- (828) *ka khon (ka) wa lai-skur yong u bru*
ka=k^hɔn (ka) wa laj-skur jɔŋ u=bru
 F=child 3SG.F NMZ go-school GEN M=person
 ‘the man’s school-going daughter’

Use of the morpheme *jɔŋ*, 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 *jɔŋ*, however, has only this single function. Further examples are found below: in examples (829-831) *jɔŋ* always identifies the preceding NP as the possessee and the following as the possessor.

- (829) *katae toh ka motto yong nga*
ka=tɛ toʔ ka=mɔto jɔŋ ŋa
 F=NVIS be F=motto GEN 1SG.ACC
 ‘this is a motto of mine’ [PP15PI_157]
- (830) *toh ka=bor yong nga u=rekomen*
toʔ ka=bor jɔŋ ŋa u=rekomɛn
 be F=power GEN 1SG.ACC 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 u=k^hleʔ jɔŋ ka=niam ka=rukɔm jɔŋ ka=dustur
 also M=head GEN F=tradition F=way GEN F=tradition
ka=riti ha-pɔʔ ka=elaka ka jɔŋ i
 F=culture LOC-in 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 *jɔŋ* identifies *i=pɔr tʃamud* ‘the proper time’ as the possessee NP and *u=tre-ki-rɔt* ‘creator God’ as the possessor. These two NPs are combined into a single NP that serves as the S-argument of *iʔ* ‘remain’, with *wa u=pŋ-k^hlad nɔʔ* ‘just divide’ modifying the head *i=pɔr tʃamud*.

- (832) da ih i por chamuid yong u tre kirot wa u pynkhlad noh
da iʔ [i=pɔr tʃamud] jɔŋ [u=tre-ki-rɔt] wa
 REAL remain N=time proper GEN M=Tre-Ki-rot NMZ
u=pŋ-k^hlad nɔʔ
 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 *sŋi* ‘day’. We can compare this nominalized construction with its function as a verb in (834).

- (833) ha kani ka sngi ka wa bia
ha ka=ni ka=sŋi ka wa bia
 LOC F=PROX F=day 3SG.F NMZ marry
 ‘on the day of marriage’ [PP14MF_023]

⁴Most 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.

- (834) tæ bia o
 tɛ **bia** ɔ
 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 *ka=sɣi*. This is similar to (835) (as well as both (334) and (335) in §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 ɛm i ka=bɲta **ka** wa k^hian i
 1PL have 1PL F=purpose 3SG.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 *wa*. 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 *wa* is pre-posed, *mane* is acting as a property modifier for *ki*, the worshippers.

- (836) mane ki ka na ki paid
mane ki ka na ki=pad
 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 *kə*. As it is the O-argument, it takes the form *ka*. As noted above, this is typical of possessor constructions in Pnar, though often the possessor is case-marked by *jɔŋ*. Speakers said that the difference between example (838 a) and (838 b) is that in the latter *jɔŋ* clearly marks *ka* as the possessor.

- (838) (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*
ki wa mane jɔŋ ka
 3PL NMZ worship GEN 3SG.F.ACC
 ‘the worshipers of her’
 or ‘the worshippers belonging to her’

In examples (838 a-b) above, a possible analysis is that the pronoun *ki* is actually cliticizing to *wa* (which is potentially cliticized to *mane*), deriving a full noun of property: *ki=wa=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

⁵In the case of (839) the nominal head is outside this utterance and is understood from context.

- (839) ym toh ka wa bha
ɲ toʔ ka wa bha
 NEG be 3SG.F NMZ good
 ‘it isn’t good’ [BMPJ_037]
- (840) kitæ ki wa lai skur
ki=tɛ ki wa 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
tɛ kam-tɛ ki=lɔk wa 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 [da ɛm ka=kur so kpɔʔ, ..]
 LOC-back NMZ REAL exist 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 (843 a) 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 (*pɲ-man ye-i=tu* ‘for that (thing) caused to happen’) and one relativizes the lack of knowledge (*ɲ tip ki u=kep* ‘they don’t know how to count’). Here *toʔ* acts as an equative auxiliary (copula), indicating that both *wa*-clauses are subordinated to *ki*, which acts as the S/A argument of both clauses and refers to ‘them’ (the ones who made the mistake).

- (843) (a) ym toh, wa bakla ki
ɲ toʔ wa [bakla ki]
 NEG be NMZ make.mistake 3PL
 ‘(it’s) not, that’s their mistake’ [PP09MW_027]
 or ‘they make.mistake’

- (b) man ki wa pynman yeitu tæ toh wa ym tip ki u keĩn
man ki wa [pɲ-man je=i=tu] tɛ tɔʔ
 happen 3PL NMZ CAUS-happen BEN=N=MEDL NVIS be
wa [ɲ tip ki u=keɲ]
 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 *tʃa* ‘allative, goal’, *ha* ‘locative, location’ and *na* ‘ablative, source’. The following examples illustrate their verbal clause modification and sentential operational use.

In example (844) *tʃa* marks *kerala* as the goal, while in (845) it marks ‘the elders’ as the goal.

- (844) yah o cha kerala
jaʔ ɔ tʃa kerala
 drive 1SG.NOM ALL Kerala
 ‘I drove to Kerala’ [PP15PI_045]
- (845) tæ ka lai noh ko cha ki wa hæh yong ka
tɛ ka laj noʔ kɔ tʃa ki wa hɛʔ jɔŋ
 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) *ha* marks *ka=sɲi* as the location (in time) when the activity of planting will occur, while in (847) it marks *ka=luti* 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=sɲi wa bod wan ki=jun warɔʔ u=tʰuŋ
 LOC F=day NMZ follow come PL=home all 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 jɔŋ ki hi
 REAL PLUR-go 3PL LOC F=way GEN 3PL EMPH
 ‘they go together on their way’ [FPSM_027]

In (848) *na* marks *ka=bɔr kupli* as the source of the clans, while in (849) it marks the source of *u=kɔŋ wasan*.

- (848) kitæ toh ki kur ki jait ki wa mih na ka=bɔr kupli
ki=tɛ toʔ ki=kur ki=ʈat ki wa miʔ na
 PL=NVIS be PL=clan PL=type 3PL NMZ bring.out ABL
ka=bɔr kupli
 F=Bor Kupli
 ‘those are the clans that came from Bor Kupli’ [PP04SKO_018]
- (849) heitæ u kong wasan na nartiang..
he=i=tɛ u=kɔŋ wasan na nartian
 LOC=N=NVIS 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 *tʃa* ‘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
ki=ni ki=tʃuki tʃa ka=platform
 PL=PROX PL=chair ALL F=platform
 ‘these chairs on the platform’ [BPDJ_004]

In (851) the same speaker has identified *mo-jɔŋ* ‘coal’ as the head of an NP and wants to constrain the reference to a particular location, *tʰaw rɪmbaj* ‘the Rymbai area’. He uses *tʃa* to identify the following NP as the goal associated with the coal.

- (851) u mooyong cheitai cha thaw rymbai
u=mo-jɔŋ tʃe=i=taj tʃa tʰaw rɪmbaj
 M=coal ALL=N=distal ALL place Rymbai
 ‘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
ka=dep tʃa kʰlo
 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=wi* ‘one’.

⁶Trees are usually identified as *u=dep* but here the use of *ka=* signifies a cut tree. This lines up with the resultative function of nominalizing gender clitic *ka=* discussed above (§7.4.1.2).

- (853) san ngut ki chynrang uwi cha changpung uwi cha myrsiang
san ngut ki=ʃɲraŋ u=wi ʃa ʃaŋpʊŋ u=wi ʃa
 five CL.HUM PL=male M=one ALL Shangpung M=one ALL
mɹsiaŋ
 Myrsiang
 ‘five boys, one in Shangpung, one in Myrsiang’ [FPAHM_025]

In (854) a speaker is giving the history of a particular church. Here the noun *ki=liaŋ* ‘side’ is conceptualized as a goal that modifies *ka=t^haw* ‘place’.

- (854) ka thaw cha kini ki liang
ka=t^haw ʃa ki=ni ki=liaŋ
 F=place ALL PL=PROX PL=side
 ‘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 *ki=ʃiŋ-im* ‘life’ is ascribed the location of *pɹt^haj* ‘earth’ by the speaker.

- (855) kammon u e lad i ya ki jingim heini ha pyrthai
kammɔn u=e lad i ja ki=ʃiŋ-im he=i=ni
 how NF=give way 1PL BEN PL=NMZ-live LOC=N=PROX
ha pɹt^haj
 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 (*ki=sɲi*) during which the event occurred, placing them within the particular year 1971 (*u=sɲem ɲɲiawp^haw wi*). This year is identified as a location of ‘the days’ by the locative case marker *ha*.

- (856) kini ki sngi ha u snæm ɲɲiawphaw wi
ki=ni ki=sɲi ha u=sɲem ɲɲiawp^haw wi
 PL=PROX PL=day LOC M=year seventy one
 ‘these days in the year (19)71’ [BPDJ_019]

In (857) the locative *ha* is combined with the positional *pɔʔ* ‘inside’ to form a locative preposition. This preposition then identifies the following nominal constituent *ka=elaka* ‘township’ (a traditional geo-political organizational unit) as modifying the preceding NP head *u=nɔŋ-sɲɲar* ‘ruler’. Such a construction circumscribes the power of the ruler by the area delineated by the *elaka*.

- (857) *u daloi toh u nongsynchar hapoh ka elaka*
u=daloj toʔ u=nɔŋ-sɲtʃar ha-pɔʔ ka=ɛlaka
 M=daloi be M=AG.NMZ-rule LOC-inside F=township
 ‘the Daloi is the ruler in the village’ [DR_001]

In (858) the first person singular pronoun *ŋa* ‘me’ is conceptualized as a location. In this phrase a speaker is talking about something that he wrote. The construction *ha ŋa* identifies a person closely involved with the preceding NP head *ka=pepɛr* ‘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 *ŋa* is not construed here as the owner, but merely as a connected location.

- (858) *læh kawɪ æm kani ka paper ha nga ka wa thoh*
lɛʔ ka=wi ɛm ka=ni ka=pepɛr ha ŋa ka
 also F=one have F=PROX F=paper LOC 1SG.NOM 3SG.F
wa tʰɔʔ
 NMZ write
 ‘also there is one paper by me that was written’ [PP15PI_078]

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 *ka=kansar ka=men* as being modified or located at a particular moment, marking that moment with *ha*.

(859)

- ka cancer ka main ha kat-ni*
ka=kansar ka=men ha kat-ni
 F=cancer F=main LOC as-PROX
 ‘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=ɕjunjɔr enɕinir ha-pɔʔ kɔmpani
 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 *ki=ni ki=kɔmpani* ‘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 ki=ni ki=kɔmpani ha-pɔʔ koimbatɔr
 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 *na* ‘ablative’ to modify NP heads. In (862) the noun head *ka=ɕinɐ-ɕɐaj* ‘distance’ is modified by a single locative expression consisting of two directional/locative prepositional case markers: *na ka=taj ka=tʰɔŋ ha u=nɔŋ-siɛt* ‘from the target to the shooter’. An interesting note is that *ha* ‘locative’ is used in this construction instead of *tʃa* ‘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
ka=ɕinɐ-ɕɐaj na ka=taj ka=tʰɔŋ ha
 F=AB.NMZ-be.far ABL F=distal F=target LOC
u=nɔŋ-siɛt
 M=AG.NMZ-shoot
 ‘the distance from the target to the shooter’ [AIJ_040]

In (863) the head *ka=wi* is a copula complement to the copula subject *ka=UNO*. Here, *ka=wi* is modified by the phrase with *na* ‘ablative’, which marks the following NP, *ki=sep* ‘organizations’, as the source of *ka=UNO*, 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
ka=UNO tɔʔ ka=wi na ki=sep ka wa ha
 F=UNO be F=one ABL PL=committee 3SG.F NMZ LOC
kʰleʔ tam ha ka=prʰtʰaj
 be.head INTS3 LOC 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=klam* ‘speech’. The ablative *na* marks the following noun as the source of the speech.

- (864) *i klam na u pastor*
*i=klam **na** u=pastor*
 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=wi* ‘one’. The ablative *na* marks the following phrase, *ki=wa-hɛʔ jɔŋ ka=kur so kpɔʔ*, 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 *ɔ* ‘first person singular’.

- (865) *man ɔ uwi na ki wahæh yong ka kur soo kpoh*
*man ɔ [u=wi **na** ki=wa-hɛʔ jɔŋ ka=kur*
 become 1SG.NOM M=one ABL PL=NMZ-be.big GEN F=clan
so kpɔʔ]
 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 noun-phrase modifiers and as clausal markers. The remaining two Pnar markers *ja* ‘benefactive’ and *da* ‘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:

QP = Q N

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
u=wi u=nɔŋ-p^hllaŋ
 M=one M=AG.NMZ-organize
 ‘one/a organizer’ [AIJ_142]

Traditional measurements such as *tʃi=kɲten* ‘mouthful’ (867), however, are 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 §7.3.1 as a subclass of nouns which function as measure terms.

- (867) chi kyntein u pathi
tʃi=kɲten u=pat^hi
 INDF=mouthful M=betel.leaf
 ‘a mouthful/set of betel leaf’ [PP12BL_013]

Apart from common indefinites like *tʃi* ‘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, *bɲta* ‘purpose’.

- (868) ksoh o ar bynta
 ksoʔ ɔ **ar** bɲta
 hold 1SG.NOM two purpose
 ‘I hold two parts (positions, duties)’ [PP02SKF_015]

The second type of quantifier phrase structure is where:

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 *ta* it seems to be more of a quantifier than a classifier), as identified in §5.5 and expanded on below (§13.4.4).

- (869) san ngut ki khon ki yong nga
san ngut ki=k^hɔn ki jɔŋ ŋa
 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 (§8, §8.3 and §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*
da tan u=taɟ u=bru
 REAL pull M=dist M=person
 ‘that man pulls (it)’ [MPSM_010]
- (871) *ym teiñ de ka bru*
ɲ tep de ka=bru
 NEG fear N.INTS F=person
 ‘a/the woman was not afraid’ [BPDJ_030]
- (872) *waroh i bru na æmkam i ka bam*
warɔʔ i=bru na æmkam i ka=bam
 all N=person ABL need 1PL RES=eat
 ‘all people need food’ [HPAHR_054]

- (873) ong ki bru æm chohnoh næ
 ɔŋ **ki**=bru æm tʃɔʔnɔʔ nɛ
 say PL=person have bandit D.TAG
 ‘people said there are bandits, ok’ [BPVM_017]
- (874) bam u cha yong oo
 bam **u** tʃa jɔŋ o
 eat 3SG.M.NOM ALL GEN 3SG.M.ACC
 ‘he ate at his (place)’ [KP_009]
- (875) bam ko ini i rdang
 bam **kɔ** i=ni i=rdan
 eat 3SG.F.NOM N=PROX 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 ki hoj hi i u=pɲ-jap
 LOC NMZ eat 1PL 3PL be.fitting EMPH 1PL NF=CAUS-die
 i ki
 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=bam wa bam **ki** ki wa jɔʔ ki
 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
<i>doʔ</i>	‘every’
<i>ʈʰibit</i>	‘some’
<i>warɔʔ</i>	‘all’
<i>ʈʰiten</i>	‘half’
<i>kʰlɛm</i>	‘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=snæm ar hajar tæ
 LOC M=two thousand LOC M=year two thousand NVIS
pŋ-lɛʔ ki ka=tɛ
 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 sɔʔmŋtiŋ li=boʔ i ha ɕwaj ar kɾwit
 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*
arpʰaw san haɕar samæn dɛp tɛ ne=i=tɛ
 twenty five thousand alone PERF NVIS ABL=N=NVIS
tɛ sdan ki=bru u=jɔʔ ki=ni ki=tin
 NVIS begin PL=person M=get PL=PROX PL=tin
 ‘only twenty five thousand (rupees), then people began to get these tin (roofs)’ [FPAHM_067]
- (881) *to ong sa wi, ar yndoo*
tɔ ɔŋ sa wi ar ŋdoʔ
 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 *ŋut* for humans (882), *tʃli* for non-humans (883), and *ta* 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
ki=ni tɔʔ ki san ɲut ki=kʰɔn jɔŋ ka
 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
ɛm ɲɲiaw tɬli ki=kʰlo kɲtaŋ ha ɕwaj
 have seven CL.NH PL=forest special/holy LOC Jowai
he-i=ni
 LOC=N=PROX
 ‘there are seven sacred groves here in Jowai’ [BMPJ_015]
- (884) ar ta yaw hadein ka thoh ya tæ ka
ar ta jaw ha-den ka tʰɔʔ ja tɛ ka
 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 *kɲten* ‘mouthful, quid’ in (885) as opposed to the same morpheme which must be counted with a classifier in (886).

(885) *chi kyntein u kwai*
tʃi kɲten u=kwaɟ
 INDF mouthful M=betel.nut
 ‘a set of betel nut and leaf’

(886) *ar tylli ki kyntein ki kwai*
ar tʃli ki=kɲten ki=kwaɟ
 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 list⁷ 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.

⁷i.e. South Dravidian languages, Nivkh (Paleosiberian isolate), Algonquian languages, and various South American languages (Tucano, North Arawak).

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:

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 [*ar* *tlli*] *ki=kwaɟ*
 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 *u* *ki=kwaɟ* [*ar* *tlli*]
 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 *kwaɟ*. 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 *kwaɟ* [*ar* *tlli*]
 give betel.nut two CL.NH
 ‘kwai-give two (to me/him/her)’ (imperative)

- (890) e kwai u ar tylli
e kwaj u [ar tlli]
 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
[ar tlli] ki=kwaj e u ja ηa
 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
ki=kwaj [ar tlli] e u ja ηa
 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
[ar tlli] e u ki=kwaj ja ηa
 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 tlli] e 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 ja ŋa [ar tlli]
 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 cross-referencer (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 S/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 [ar tlli]
 3PL two CL.NH
 ‘the two pieces of kwai’
- (897) **ki ar tylli kwai*
ki [ar tlli] kwaj
 3PL two CL.NH betel.nut
 ‘the two kwai’
- (898) ??*ki=kwai e u ar tylli*
ki=kwaŋ e u [ar tlli]
 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 *tɛ*

The primary clausal coordinator in Pnar is the morpheme *tɛ*, 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 statement 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 tɛ ong u...
 [laɲ u ha ka=beɲ ram-aw] **tɛ** [ɔŋ
 go 3SG.M.NOM LOC F=mother earth NVIS say
 u...]
 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘he went to Mother Earth, then he said...’ [PP01CSE_036]

- (900) kat-te dang ha pyrɔi wa khait soh u tɛ
 [kat-te daŋ ha pɾɔi wa kʰat sɔʔ u]
 as-MPROX DUR LOC middle NMZ pick fruit 3SG.M.NOM
tɛ...
 NVIS
 ‘now he is still in the middle of picking fruit, so...’ [MPSRJ_018]

Unlike adverbials of time such as *mɲstɛp* ‘tomorrow’ (901) or *hadoʔ* ‘until, until when’ (902), which can occur in nearly any position, the non-visible clausal coordinator *tɛ* 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 mɲstɛp cha majar
 u=jaʔ nɔʔ ɔ ka **mɲstɛp** tʃa
 NF=drive,lead IMM1 1SG.NOM 3SG.F.ACC tomorrow ALL
 maɟar
 bazaar
 ‘I will bring her to market tomorrow’ [PP05KO_039]

- (902) *tæ mut phi puræ hadooh*
tɛ mut p^hi purɛ ha-doʔ
 NVIS means 2PL learn LOC-when
 ‘that means you study until when?’ [PP15PI_041]

In this *tɛ* has more in common with communication framing morphemes such as *tɔ* ‘ok’ (903), *tɔʔ* ‘be, be right’ (904), *nɛ* ‘isn’t it’ (905), *sɛ* ‘confirmation’ (906), and *nɔŋ* ‘confirmation’ (907), though only *tɔ* occurs as often in the same pre-clausal position.

- (903) *to, da biang*
tɔ [da biang]
 ok REAL enough,again
 ‘ok, it’s enough’ [PP01CSE_044]

- (904) *na yaw song da ka sla, toh hi*
[na jaw sɔŋ da ka=sla] tɔʔ hi
 ABL market pack INST F=leaf be EMPH
 ‘from market (they) pack with a leaf, it’s true’ [BMPJ_091]

- (905) *ilæh ong ki u ngooh, næ?*
[ilɛʔ ŋ ki u=ŋoʔ] nɛ
 why say 3PL NF=bless D.TAG
 ‘why do they call it blessing, hmm?’ [TACJ_419]

- (906) *nang roi ko, sæ*
[naŋ roj kɔ] sɛ
 still crawl 3SG.F.NOM C.TAG
 ‘it still spread’ [SI1_051]

- (907) *dai tim æh, nong?*
[daj tim ɛʔ] nɔŋ
 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 non-coordinated 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 *wa* 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 *wa* 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
 εm ar ŋut tʃi lɔk ki [u=nik] **wa** [u=sɪŋ]
 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
 wa [ka=lona ka=bej ki=kʰɔn] **wa** [u=jojo
 COMT F=Lona F=mother PL=child COMT M=Iooioo
 u=kʰɔn nŋkɔŋ ɔ]
 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=ɕiŋkreʔ ʔitɔm u=ma biɕoj* is understood to mean ‘Ma Bijoy’s work’. The addition of the conjunction *wa* and the following NPs *ŋa* ‘first person singular topic pronoun’ and *u=ma pʰidɛl* ‘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
je=i=ɕiŋ-kreʔ ʔitɔm [u=ma biɕoj] wa [ŋa]
 BEN=N=NMZ-work hard M=HON.M Bijoy COMT 1SG.ACC
wa [u=ma p^hidel]
 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 ʔi-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
ka=ʔnɔŋ ɕwaj tɔʔ ka wa sen ki ka=tip p^hi
 F=town Jowai be 3SG.F NMZ agree 3PL RES=know 2PL
da ki=so ʔi=paju [ka=wɛt] [ka=ten] [ka=dɔʔ] wa
 INST PL=four set=sibling F=Wet F=Tein F=Doh COMT
[ka=bɔn]
 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 *wa* 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
ki=tawiar ki=takan tɔʔ [ka=wi ka=myntdu]
 PL=surrounding PL=surrounding be F=one F=Myntdu
[ka=wi tɔʔ syntu ksiar] [ka=sangman] wa [ka=rŋɕi],
 F=one be Syntu Ksiar F=Sangman COMT F=Rynji
ki=tæ toh ki wa da wa kær ja ka=ʔnɔŋ
 PL=NVIS be 3PL NMZ REAL NMZ encircle BEN F=town
ɕwaj
 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 *mi?* ‘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
em wan sa ki=tɛ ki=so lad so luti ki wa
 have come also PL=NVIS PL=four path four way 3PL NMZ
mi? [moralɔŋ] [mosniang] [mutɔŋ] **wa** [u=mok^haj]
 come.out Mooralong Moosniang Mutong COMT M=Mookhai
 ‘there are also those four divisions that came out (of it): Mooralong,
 Moosniang, Mutong and Mookhai’ [BMPJ_013]

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 S-argument of the of the matrix verb *p^het* ‘run’ is understood to be *i* ‘we’ or *ɔ* ‘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^het de=i=spñiaw wa [nga] wa [u=drɔjbar u=wi]
 run INST=N=sense COMT 1SG.ACC COMT M=driver M=one
wa [ka=trɔk]
 COMT 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 *ja-tʃɔŋ-k^ha* ‘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

kɔ and *u=jale*, or the primary undergoer/agent could be interpreted as *kɔ*, with *u=jale* being added information.

- (915) *tæ man da yachongkha ko wa u yale tæ yoh ki i khon*
tæ man da ja-tʃɔŋ-kʰa [kɔ] wa [u=jale]
 NVIS happen REAL PLUR-sit-birth 3SG.F.NOM COMT M=Yale
tæ jɔʔ ki i=kʰɔn
 NVIS get 3PL 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 *da*, but in this example the comitative *wa* 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=bru*). The alternate translation, that the sword did the cutting, is infelicitous for two reasons: 1) because of the clarification of the later clause *u=tkut dap u=bru* ‘the man cut (with) the sword’, where the animate entity occupies the key post-verbal 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 tʃi dap, dap u=tkut, wa [u=tkut]
 hit 3SG.M.NOM one cut cut M=sword COMT M=sword
dap u=bru]
 cut 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 *wa* is more clearly identified in (917), with the addition of *tʃirup tʃilarɿ* ‘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 *pɾtʰat* ‘Pyrthat, lightning’, the god-like being who was instrumental in founding Jowai.

- (917) *tæ chirup chilang wa u pyrthat man khatsoo wa hæh*
tɛ [ʈʰirup ʈʰilarŋ] wa [u=pr̥tʰat] man kʰatso
 NVIS together together COMT M=lightning happen fourteen
wa hæʔ
 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=kɔŋ wasan* ‘Kong Wasan’, as the person that she (*kɔ*) was with.

- (918) *tæ da æm ko wa u kong wasan*
tɛ da ɛm [kɔ] wa [u=kɔŋ wasan]
 NVIS REAL have 3SG.F.NOM COMT M=Kong Wasan
 ‘so she was with Kong Wasan’ [PP05KO_041]

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 *pʰi* ‘you’ is overtly mentioned in the preverbal topic slot) gives the construction an imperative sense.

- (919) *phi klam wa nga ong beit*
phi klam wa [ŋa] ŋŋ beit
 2PL speak COMT 1SG.ACC say IMM3
 ‘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 [ɔ] 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 *wa* as a conjunctive/comitative coordinator. In (921) the coordinated NPs are two different birds, one of which is named *ka=sim* and the other of which has a name that the speaker has forgotten.

- (921) ka sim song wa ka sim... ym kynmoo de
 [ka=sim sɔŋ] **wa** [ka=sim ɲ kɲmo de]
 F=bird Song COMT 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 u, u subor pung
wa [ka=wi wɔn ka=bus tɔʔ ka jɔŋ u
 COMT F=one any F=bus be 3SG.F.ACC GEN 3SG.M.NOM
 u=subɔr puŋ]
 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=jakɔrsiŋ* with *u=daloj hadɛm* ‘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=jakɔrsiŋ] ɛm [u] katni tʃa hadɛm tʃirup
 M=name have 3SG.M.NOM as-PROX ALL name together
wa [u=daloj hadɛm]
 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
 [u=e kɔ ja ka=ɕiŋ-tip ja ka=kten u=blaj]
 NF=give 3SG.F.NOM BEN F=NMZ-know BEN F=word M=God
wa [u=e hikaj ja ki kamɔn u=im]
 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=mok^haj* 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^hi? ki=k^hndaw smur i=k^hndaw* ‘the earth shook and quaked’ with *da tfad u=mok^haj* ‘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
 tɛ [k^hi? ki=k^hndaw smur i=k^hndaw] **wa** [da tfad
 NVIS shake PL=earth shake N=earth COMT REAL dance
u=mok^haj]
 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=ra? u=wat* ‘to carry the sword’ and *u=rah 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.

- (926) u rah u wait wa u rah steih, u pynsuk ya u paidbah
 [u=ra? u=wat] **wa** [u=ra? ste?]
 NF=carry M=sword COMT NF=carry shield
u=pn-suk ja u=paitba?
 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 *wa* as a clausal subordinator (discussed below in §14.2.2) and as a nominalizer (§7.4, 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 re-interpreted from a comitative sense. Here *u=pr^tat* is describing himself as the protecting uncle of the four women who have descended to earth to

¹It 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.

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 *ŋa*.

- (927) *tæ ham teĩŋ nga wa æm nga wa pait nga wa yoo*
tɛ ham tɛŋ [ŋa wa ɛm] [ŋa wa pat]
 NVIS PROH fear 1SG.ACC NMZ have 1SG.ACC NMZ look
[ŋa wa jo]
 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 *la* 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 donhi ki=bru ki wa im ɔŋ ki [ki=sofal
 1PL only PL=person 3PL NMZ live say 3PL PL=social
animal] ne [sofal bijin] mɔ
 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 ki=pɔr dang kʰian i ka=ɕiŋ-tʃit je
 LOC PL=time PROG be.small 1PL F=NMZ-heat able
kɔ u=man [arphaw ar] ne [arphaw le]
 3SG.F.NOM NF=become twenty two or twenty three
kat-ni de=i=pɔr sŋi
 as-PROX INST=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 kwaʔ u=im du [sanphaw] ne
 many 3PL NMZ REAL want NF=live only fifty or
[ɲrup^haw] snɛm sɲiaw hi p^{hi}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 *jɔʔ ksut* ‘get demon’ and *jɔʔ taro* ‘get spirit’, which together serve as property modifiers for the third person plural pronoun *ki*. 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.
ka=tu ka=bɔr ka wa du wa psiaʔ ɔ
 F=MEDL F=power 3SG.F NMZ only NMZ enter 1SG.NOM
ha dwar ha pɬɛm tɔʔ ki wa [jɔʔ ksut] ne
 LOC dwelling LOC courtyard be 3PL NMZ get demon or
[jɔʔ 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 ɛm hi ɕɲɪŋlɛʔ
 LOC NMZ worship 3PL happen have EMPH NMZ-do
niam jɔŋ ki [ɬi sen ɬi snɛm] ne [ɲ ɛm] ne
 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 *ne* in an alternative question.

- (933) katwɔn sein jooh lai pynkhooid i lane jooh æm ne ym æm kitæ
kat-wɔn sen [ɕoʔ laj pŋ-kʰoɔ̃ i] la-ne [ɕoʔ ɛm]
 as-which time HAB go CAUS-be.clean 1PL if-or HAB have
ne [ŋ ɛm ki=tɛ]
 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
tɛ tʰap ki o ha tʃaŋ tɛ u=taj
 NVIS put 3PL 3SG.M.ACC LOC basket NVIS M=DIST
u=wi kam wa da lɛʔ ke u da
 M=one like NMZ REAL do NPURP 3SG.M.NOM INST
ka=taj ka wa ɔŋ ki [ka=tɛnis] ne mar ɛʔ
 F=DIST 3SG.F NMZ say 3PL F=tennis or belonging IMM2
[ka=taj ka=piŋ-pɔŋ] ne mar ɛʔ
 F=DIST 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 kha² wa man
tɛ u=wan [ka wa hɛʔ] ne [ka
 NVIS NF=come 3SG.F NMZ be.big or 3SG.F.ACC
we-i=diaʔ] wa ki wa kʰa³ wa man
 COMT=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, *hŋre*, was identified by consultants as being borrowed from Khasi with the meaning ‘but also’ or ‘although’, and can express contrastive

³ The word *kha*, besides being the verb ‘be born’, is a kinship term that refers to the father’s side of the family.

or concessive coordination. Consultants claimed that the other morpheme *taŋ* 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 *taŋ* ‘but’

The morpheme *taŋ* ‘but’ often occurs at the beginning of a clause, as in (936-938), coordinating the following clause with a previous assertion. In (936) *taŋ* coordinates a purposive relative clause *wa u=ʈe klla u=ʈit klla i=prthaj i=mnder* ‘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
taŋ [*wa u=ʈe klla u=ʈit klla i=prthaj*
but NMZ NF=light change NF=heat change N=world
i=mnder] *ŋa u=kit ŋa u=baʔ da*
N=surrounding 1SG.ACC NF=carry 1SG.ACC NF=carry INST
u=radanʔ jəŋ ŋa u=ʈit klla i=prthaj
M=neck GEN 1SG.ACC NF=heat change N=world
i=mnder
N=surrounding
‘but so that the earth will be light and warm, I will carry on my
neck and waist, (so that) the world will change (back to) warm’
[PP13RS_184]

In (937) *taŋ* coordinates a VP, *ŋa kat wa tip ɔ* ‘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 jooħ æm ka wa
soo
taŋ [*ŋa kat wa tip ɔ*] *i=ʕiŋ-im ɔ*
but 1SG.ACC as NMZ know 1SG.NOM N=NMZ-live 1SG.NOM
na-doʔ wa tip ɔ ŋ pu ʕoʔ æm
ABL-lose NMZ know 1SG.NOM NEG NEG.INTS HAB have
ka wa so
3SG.F NMZ be.red
‘but for all i know, in my life, from the time i know, there are no red
ones’ [TACJ_227]

In (938) the morpheme *taŋ* coordinates a concessive clause *wa kat tɔʔ wa ɛʔ wa re* ‘since it is too difficult to carve’ that is marked as such by being followed by *tɛ*, 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
taŋ [wa kat toʔ wa εʔ wa rε] tε ɲ
 but NMZ as be NMZ be.difficult NMZ carve NVIS NEG
 εm u da bon palat wa rε ki
 have 3SG.M.NOM REAL many extraordinary NMZ carve 3PL
 ha-doʔ katwɔn sε
 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 *taŋ* 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
 [u=ni lεʔ u ɕoʔ hi u=tu lεʔ
 M=PROX also 3SG.M.NOM be.same EMPH M=PROX also
 u ɕoʔ hi] **taŋ** [u=ni kʰian
 3SG.M.NOM be.same EMPH but M=PROX be.small
 u u=tu hεʔ u] **taŋ** ka=parɔm
 3SG.M.NOM M=MEDL be.big 3SG.M.NOM but F=story
 ka ɕoʔ
 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 *taŋ*, showing that the admonition to be careful (*u=sacɕiar*) relates to the use of insecticides (*dawaj kʰnian*).

- (940) hoi hi u pynæmkam dawai khniang tang u sajiar i
 [hoj hi u=pɲɛmkam dawaj kʰnian] **taŋ**
 fitting EMPH NF=use medicine insect but
 [u=sacɕiar i]
 NF=be.careful 1PL
 ‘it’s ok to use insecticides, but we (should) be careful’ [BMPJ_077]

In (941) *taŋ* 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
 [ka=kɔmputar rum læʔ da sdang i] **tanɿ** [ŋ
 F=computer room also REAL begin 1PL but NEG
 pu je u=sdang ja ka=kɔmputar klas]
 NEG.INTS able NF=begin BEN F=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 $u=k^h\varepsilon p$ $u=k^h a j$ ‘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 khiñ tang ym tip u khai
 [tip hi u=k^h\varepsilon p] **tanɿ** [ŋ tip u=k^h a j]
 know EMPH NF=count but NEG know 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 *tanɿ* coordinates the following clause, identifying an unexpected situation based on the speaker’s knowledge of the story.

- (943) na jan u, u u kria soh tang wa pait hæh u ki
 [na ɕan u u u=kriaʔ soʔ] **tanɿ** [wa
 ABL near 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM M=basket fruit but NMZ
 pat hæʔ u ki]
 look only 3SG.M.NOM 3PL
 ‘he is near the fruit basket, but he only looks (at) them’
 [FPSM_039]

In (944) *tanɿ* 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 *hæʔ* ‘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...*
tɛ [de=i=ɕiŋ-im jɔŋ ki=ni ki=kʰlo kɲtaŋ] taŋ
 NVIS INST=N=NMZ-live GEN PL=PROX PL=forest holy but
[ha ɕwaŋ i=ni læʔ]
 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*
[ɲ ɕoʔ bam ɔ læʔ nɔʔ] taŋ [ka=dakʰa tɾkʰaw]
 NEG HAB eat 1SG.NOM do IMM1 but 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 *hɲre*, 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, hɲre wot ki bru læh
tɛ u=doʔ ɕatɲ ɲ taŋ [ki=mrad ki=mriaŋ] ym
 NVIS NF=lose type NEG but PL=animal PL=animal NEG
taŋ [ki=kʰniaŋ ki=psiat] ɲ taŋ [ki=ʒi ki=ʒi
 but PL=insect PL=insect NEG but PL=thing PL=thing
waroh] hɲre wot [ki=bru] læʔ
 all but.also just 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 *hɲre* ‘but also’

The morpheme *hɲre* 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 adversative-conjunctive coordinator, identifying added information that may be unexpected but which is helpful for understanding previous claims. Similarly to *taŋ*, 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...
hɲre [hawa wan tʃa pɾtʰaj]
 but.also LOC NMZ come ALL
 ‘but also when we came to the earth...’ [PP01CSE_060]

In (948) *hɲre* precedes a locative NP expression.

- (948) hynre ha ka jingim yong u bru
hɲre [ha ka=ɕiŋ-im jɔŋ u=bru]
 but.also LOC F=NMZ-live GEN 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
hɲre [ka=ni] da bon pʰaw pateɲ ka=ni
 but.also F=PROX REAL many ten generation F=PROX
 da ɛm tʃwa hi kɔ
 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
hɲre [la da ŋ ɛm ka=punɕab wa rɛp] tɛ
 but.also if REAL NEG have F=Punjab NMZ cultivate NVIS
 i tʃa pnar warɔʔ 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 *hɲre* 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=æm hi i kjut, la ym æm i kjut ym æm i jingyap
 [i n tɔʔ ɛʔ ki lɛʔ jap ki] **hɲre** [tɔʔ
 1PL REF be IMM2 3PL also die 3PL but.also be
 u=ɛm hi i=kɔʔut] la n ɛm i=kɔʔut
 NF=have EMPH ACT=hurt,sick if not have ACT=hurt,sick
 n ɛm i=kɔʔiŋ-jap
 NEG have 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=wɔʔ lakriaʔ*) with the counter-assertion of the creator god (*u=tre-ki-rɔt*).

- (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..
 tɛ ɔŋ u=wɔʔ lakriaʔ [ŋa u=ji o
 NVIS say M=HON.M Lakriah 1SG.ACC M=thing 3SG.M.ACC
 wa u=je o u=pŋ-ŋat kat ja
 NMZ NF=able 3SG.M.ACC NF=CAUS-believe as BEN
 ki=pait ki=p^hlaŋ u=wan jaʔ tʃa pɾt^haj]
 PL=congregation PL=grass NF=come drive ALL world
hɲre [u=tre-ki-rɔt ɔŋ u]
 but.also 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 *hɲre* 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 [n tɔʔ du i=burɔm ja o] **hɲre**
 become NEG be only N=honor BEN 3SG.M.ACC but.also
 man [i im-ɔʔa i nɔŋ he=i=ni]
 happen 1PL live-food 1PL CONF LOC=N=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 hierarchies 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 *tɛ* ‘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 *la* is often immediately followed by *da*, 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 *la* marking the first proposition and *tɛ* 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 kataɛ ka aiñ tæ mut ka pyrthai katni i ym yoh de tang u chong*
la [*da* *ɲ* *ɛm* *kam* *ka=tɛ* *ka=aŋ*] *tɛ* [*mut*
 if REAL NEG have like F=NVIS F=rule NVIS means
ka=pr̥tʰaj *kat-ni* *i* *ɲ* *joʔ* *de* *taŋ* *u=tʃɔŋ*]
 F=world as-PROX 1PL NEG get NEG.INTS but 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*
la [*da* *pɲ-up* *tʃa-boʔ* *man* *da* *dɛp* *li-e*]
 if REAL CAUS-turn ALL-put happen REAL PERF DUR-give
tɛ [*man* *saŋ*]
 NVIS become taboo
 ‘if (they) return (it) after being given, then (it) is considered a taboo (extremely bad)’ [PP14MF_069]

In (956-957) the morpheme *tɛ* does not occur. Instead of *tɛ*, 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 *ɲ sumar i ka* ‘not take care of it’ is the conditional subject, and *daw doʔ i ki* ‘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 ɲ sumar i ka*] [*daw doʔ i ki*]
 if REAL NEG take.care 1PL 3SG.F.ACC IRR lose 1PL 3PL
ki=tu ki=p^hlaŋ ki=rnɛm ki wa soɔŋ sokun
 PL=MEDL PL=grass PL=shrub 3PL NMZ surround around
ʒəŋ i
 GEN 1PL
 ‘if we don’t take care of it (the earth) we will lose those grasses, plants all around us’ [BMPJ_049]

In (957) the phrase *daw bijet i* ‘we will be fools’ is conditional complement, and the negated *ɲ beʔ i je=i=pɔr* ‘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*
la [*da ɲ beʔ i je=i=pɔr*] [*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 afterthought (958). Here the first proposition is stated initially, but the addition of *la* to the sentence after a brief pause identifies the proposition as being contingent on what follows *la*. The phrase *ha wa im leʔ ɛm kam kɔ* ‘in life also it is necessary’ is therefore identified as the conditional complement, and *he=i=spiaw-siʔ spiaw-bha leʔ* ‘in sadness or happiness also’ is the conditional subject.

- (958) *ha wa im læh æm kam ko, la hei sñiawsih sñiawbha læh*
 [*ha wa im leʔ ɛm kam kɔ*] **la**
 LOC NMZ live also have need 3SG.F.NOM if
 [*he=i=spiaw-siʔ spiaw-bha*] *leʔ*
 LOC=N=feel-bad feel-good also
 ‘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, *ja* ‘benefactive’ and *na* ‘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 *je=i=bha?*, *je=i=bha*, *ne=i=bha?*, and *ne=i=bha*.

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 *ja* and *na* also, with *ja* more often having the meaning ‘for’ or ‘in order that’ and *na* 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 *ja*, the first of which marks the clause *ka=ni ka ja-siet*, the second of which marks *u=jɔ?* *i u=pɲ-mi?* *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 *ka*, 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 *lɲba*, which identifies the following constituent as a conduit. The final clause marker is *na*, which marks *ka=bɲta u=wɔ?* *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
ha-do? *pɲ-jo* *i* ***ja*** [*ka=ni* *ka=ja-siet*] *lɲba*
 LOC-lose CAUS-see 1PL BEN F=PROX F=PLUR-shoot⁵ through
ja [*u=jɔ?* *i* *u=pɲ-mi?* *i* *ka*,
 BEN NF=get 1PL NF=CAUS-bring.out 3SG.N 3SG.F.ACC

⁴LaPolla (1995) notes that the use of the ablative for a causal clause marker is pretty common cross-linguistically.

i *ka=pajsa*] **na** [*ka=b̥nta* *u=wɔʔ* *kiaŋ* *naŋbaʔ*]
 3SG.N F=money ABL F=purpose M=HON.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 *ja* in conjunction with nominalized verbs *bhaʔ* ‘reason, share’ and *b̥nta* ‘purpose’. In this example, the expression marked by *ja=*/*je=* can be translated as ‘work for the cause, work for the purpose’. The form *je=i=bhaʔ* is often used to coordinate clauses in which the second clause has a goal orientation.

- (960) *tæ* *ŋa* *u=kam* *ɔ* ***je=i=bhaʔ*** *u=kam*
 NVIS 1SG.ACC NF=work 1SG.NOM BEN=N=reason NF=work
ɔ ***je=i=b̥nta***
 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 *je=i=bhaʔ* 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=paiṯ* ‘they from the community worship her’ and *ki=paiṯ ki=k̥ɔn jɔŋ ka=ri* ‘the people the children of the country’ serves as a goal-oriented causal subordinate clause.

- (961) *mut* *mane* *ki* *ka* *na* *ki=paiṯ*
 mean worship 3PL 3SG.F.ACC ABL PL=congregation
je=i=bhaʔ *ki=paiṯ* *ki=k̥ɔn* *jɔŋ* *ka=ri*
 BEN=N=reason PL=congregation PL=child GEN F=country
 ‘So they worship her, the people, because they belong to the
 country’ [AIJ_161]

In (962) *je=i=bhaʔ* identifies the preceding activity as the matrix clause and *kba* ‘rice grain’ as the goal-oriented cause for the existence of the basket.

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.

- (962) to, uni won toh u khoh u wa oo yeibhah kba
tɔ u=ni wɔn tɔʔ u kʰɔʔ u
 CONF M=PROX thing be 3SG.M.NOM divide 3SG.M.NOM
wa o je=i=bhaʔ [kba]
 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) *je=i=bhaʔ* identifies *ja-lɛʔ letlod* ‘freedom fighting’ as the matrix verb and *ka=ri pnar jɔŋ 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=wɔʔ kian nanbaʔ mut u u=kʰɔn
 M=HON.M Kiang Nangbah means 3SG.M.NOM M=child
ka=ri pnar jɔŋ i u wa ja-lɛʔ letlod
 F=country Pnar GEN 3PL 3SG.M NMZ PLUR-do freedom
je=i=bhaʔ ka=ri pnar jɔŋ i
 BEN=N=reason 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=bhaʔ* 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 *ne=i=bhaʔ* to mark his rhetorical question.

- (964) neibhah wa ilæh? toh i wa booh u blai waroh
ne=i=bhaʔ wa ilɛʔ tɔʔ i wa boʔ u=blaj warɔʔ
 ABL=N=reason NMZ why be 3SG.N NMZ put M=god all
 ‘because why? (because) all are made by God’ [BPDJ_009]

In (965) the speaker has previously stated that snakes are useful. Here he gives the reason why, using *ne=i=bhaʔ* to mark the following clause as the source of his reasoning.

- (965) neibhah uwi u pseĩn yee u u pynyap da ki phaw tylli ki khne ha ka chi
 snæm
ne=i=bhaʔ *u=wi* *u=psep* *je* *u*
 ABL=N=reason M=one M=snake able 3SG.M.NOM
u=pŋ-jap *da* *ki=p^haw* *tlli* *ki=k^hne* *ha*
 NF=CAUS-die INST PL=ten CL.NH PL=rat LOC
ka=ʔfi=snæm
 F=one-year
 ‘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 *da*, 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 *te* 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 da p^haʔ kɔ* ‘when it signals’) and the second clause identifies the event that exists in relation to it (i.e. (966) below: *u=spiawt^hoʔ wa kat-tu da tɔʔ u=hiar rɛp* ‘(they) will know that now is harvest season’).

- (966) man da pah ko tæ u sñiawthooh wa kattu da toh u hiar ræp
man da paʔ kɔ tɛ u=sɲiawtʰoʔ wa
 become REAL give.sign 3SG.F.NOM NVIS NF=understand NMZ
 kat-tu da tɔʔ u=hiar rɛp
 as-medl REAL be 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 *wa* is a nominalizer which has a relativizing function in this context, and forms an attributive or relativized verb in (967). The pronoun that precedes *wa* 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
ka=kɲtʰaj_{NPHEAD} [wa laj]_{RC}
 F=woman NMZ go
 ‘the woman who went’
- (968) ka kynthai ka wa lai ko
ka=kɲtʰaj_{NPHEAD} **ka**_{RCHEAD} [wa laj kɔ]_{RC}
 F=woman 3SG.F NMZ go 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘the woman who [she] went’
- (969) ka kynthai ka wa lai
ka=kɲtʰaj_{NPHEAD} **ka**_{RCHEAD} [wa laj]_{RC}
 F=woman 3SG.F NMZ go
 ‘the woman who Ø went’

Relativizations without a Pn and which immediately follow the noun are generally considered modifiers or attributives (Chapter 8), and may serve

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
ka_{RC_{HEAD}} [wa laj]_{RC} [da wan]_{VC} ko_s
 3SG.F NMZ go REAL come 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘she who went came/comes (back)’

(971) ka wa lai ka kynthai
ka_{RC_{HEAD}} [wa laj]_{RC} **ka**=kɿt^haj_{NP_{HEAD}}
 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 §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 S/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 *wa*, 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 *wa*, 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
εm i ka=famili ka [wa suk]
 have 1PL F=family 3SG.F NMZ be.peaceful
 ‘we have a happy family’ [LS2J_037]
- (973) u salah sohryngkham u wa ym pyut
u=sala? sɔʔrŋkʰam u [wa ŋ pʔut]
 M=potato sohryngkham 3SG.M NMZ NEG rot
 ‘the Sohryngkham potato that doesn’t rot’ [SI3_071]
- (974) i chit i wa palat
i=ʈʰit i [wa palat]
 ACT=be.hot 3SG.N NMZ increase
 ‘the heat that increases’ [BMPJ_054]

- (975) ki bru ki wa wan
ki=bru ki [wa wan]
 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 *ka=UNO* (an abbreviation) in topic position, while the dependent RC follows the copula complement and is referential both with the copula subject and the complement *ka=wi*.

- (976) ka UNO toh kawi na ki seiñ ka wa ha khleih tam ha ka pyrthai
ka=jueno to? ka=wi na ki=sen ka [wa ha
 F=UNO be F=one ABL PL=association 3SG.F NMZ LOC
*khleih tam ha ka=pyrthai]*_{RC}
 head INTS3 LOC 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, *ka=k^hlo lɣdɔʔ* ‘Lyngdoh forest’.

- (977) ka wa nyngkong toh ka khloo lyngdoh
ka [wa nyngkong] to? ka=k^hlo lɣdɔʔ
 3SG.F NMZ be.first be 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
ka [wa ym æm hi de] wa tip hi
 3SG.F NMZ NEG have EMPH NEG.INTS NMZ know EMPH
ki
 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 correlative 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 si?* 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*
ne=i=bha? *ilæ?* *wa* *t^haw t^haw wa hab ja-tʃɛm*
 ABL=N=reason why NMZ place place NMZ must PLUR-meet
wa ki=ni ki=bru ki wa [si?]
 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*
ki=padba? *jɔŋ ki wa [do?] wa [duk] jɔŋ ka=tʃnɔŋ*
 PL=crowd GEN 3PL NMZ lose NMZ be.hard GEN F=village
ralian
 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 lan*), 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 wyrta tʃa ki wa [bon] wa [lan]
 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 dan em tʃe=i=tu* ‘still existing there’, and their location is a property of the whole group rather than an identifier for a subset of that group.

⁶These 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).

- (982) *ki yong gatphoh læh ki wa dang æm cheitu*
ki jɔŋ gatpʰɔʔ lɛʔ ki wa [*dəŋ ɛm tʃe=i=tu*]
 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 *wa*. 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 kɔ* ‘she goes/went’), but here the elided argument is understood to be the nominal referenced by the relative pronoun *ka*.

- (983) *ka kynthai ka wa lai*
*ka=kntʰaj*_{NPHEAD} *ka*_{RCHEAD} [*wa laj*]_{RC}
 F=woman 3SG.F NMZ go
 ‘the woman who Ø went’

This is also the case in (984), where the relative pronoun corresponds to the elided head of the relative clause *wa sumar ŋa* ‘who cared for me’. The use of the accusative pronominal form *ŋa* 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.

- (984) *katæ ka bru ka wa sumar nga*
ka=tɛ [*ka=bru*]_{NPHEAD} *ka* [*wa sumar ŋa*]
 F=NVIS F=person 3SG.F NMZ take.care 1SG.ACC
 ‘the woman who took care of me’ [FPAHM_017]

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 *ka* heads the relative clause *wa e u=blaj* ‘that God gives’. Here the relative pronoun is referential with the nominal *ka=spaʔ* ‘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 doʔ i ki ka=spaʔ ka [wa e u=blaj_A
 IRR lose 1PL 3PL F=hundred 3SG.F NMZ give M=God
 ()_O]_{RC}
 Ø
 ‘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 *ka=bej 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*
ka=bej ramaw ka [wa i=im i=ʃɔŋ i=saʔ
 F=mother earth 3SG.F NMZ ACT=live ACT=sit ACT=stay
*i]*_{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 *ŋa*, neither of which are referential with the shared argument, which is the head of the preceding NP, *ka=sŋi* ‘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 katae ka sngi ka wa u khut u nga*
ha-doʔ ka=tɛ ka=sŋi ka [wa u=k^hut u_A
 LOC-when F=nvis F=day 3SG.F NMZ NF=call 3SG.M.NOM
*ŋa_O]*_{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
i=jun i [wa jap ki=te ki=le ŋut]_{RC}
 N=home 1pl NMZ die PL=mprox PL=three CL.HUM
 ‘the home that (where) those three (people) died’ [KP_027]

- (989) i thaw i wa chong khloo ki
i=t^haw i [wa tʃɔŋ k^hlo ki]_{RC}
 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 *wa* serves to mark larger clause constituents as noun modifiers, as in (990). Here the verbal clause *ŋ u=pŋɛmkam plastik* ‘(it’s) not good to use plastic’ serves as a modifier for *ka=aŋ* ‘rule’.

- (990) ka sorkar da pynmih ko ki aiñ, wa ym hoi u pynæmkam plastic
ka=sorkar da pŋ-mi? kɔ ki=aŋ [wa
 F=govern REAL CAUS-bring.out 3SG.F.NOM PL=rule NMZ
ŋ hɔj u=pŋɛmkam plastik]
 NEG be.fitting NF=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^haw* ‘place’, and *wa* precedes the locative phrase *ʈʰe=i=tu he=i=tu ha k^hlo* ‘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 *daŋ* which itself is seen to modify the verb *k^hian* ‘be small’.

- (991) ka district council e ko yei thaw wa cheitu heitu ha khloo kat wa dang
kattu dang khian ko
ka=distrik kawnsil e kɔ je=i=t^haw wa
F=district council give 3SG.F.NOM BEN=N=place NMZ
[ʈʰe=i=tu he=i=tu ha k^hlo] kat *wa* [daŋ
ALL=N=MEDL LOC=N=MEDL LOC forest as NMZ PROG
kat-tu daŋ k^hian kɔ
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 *ka* refers to the NP head *ka=parɔm* ‘story’, and *wa* precedes the locative phrase *ʈʰa tibet he=i=pɔr na ʈʰwa* ‘in Tibet in times past’.

- (992) khajiak khana ya phi æm katae ka parom ka wa cha tibet heipor na chwa
mo
k^haʈʰiak k^hana ja p^hi ɛm ka=tɛ ka=parɔm ka wa
be.little tell BEN 2PL have F=NVIS F=story 3SG.F NMZ
[ʈʰa tibet he=i=pɔr na ʈʰwa mɔ]
ALL Tibet LOC=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 *ka*, which refers to *ka=ɕiŋlɛʔ 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*
tɛ ka=tʰwad lɿŋdɔʔ tɔʔ ka=ɕiŋ-lɛʔ niam ka
 NVIS F=Thwad Lyngdoh be F=NMZ-do tradition 3SG.F
wa [*ha kʰlo lɿŋdɔʔ*]
 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=ni u wa na ɕɛrman* ‘one who (is/was) from Germany’.

- (994) *ong u pait sakhiat ya ute u bong khang khut i oo, uni u wa na german*
ong u ute u best medicine
ɔŋ u pat sakʰiat ja u=te u=bɔŋ-ktʰaŋ
 say 3SG.M.NOM look truly BEN M=MPROX M=bong
kʰut i o u=ni u wa [*na ɕɛrman*]
 khang call 1PL 3SG.M.ACC M=PROX 3SG.M NMZ ABL
ɔŋ u u=te u=bɛs mɛdisin
 German say 3SG.M.NOM M=MPROX M=best
 ‘he said he looks truly for this ‘bong khang’ we call it, this one
 from Germany, he says it is the best medicine’ [BMPJ_047]

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 *tɔʔ* ‘be’, *ɛm* ‘have, exist’, and *man* ‘happen, become’, are listed in Table 15.1 along with the functions for which they are used in Pnar.

	<i>tɔʔ</i>	<i>ɛm</i>	<i>man</i>
identity/equation/naming	yes		
existence		yes	
happening/becoming			yes
attribution	yes	yes	yes
location	yes	yes	yes

Table 15.1: Copulas in Pnar and respective uses

It should be clear that each copula has own separate usage, namely *tɔʔ* for Identity/Equation/Naming, *ɛm* 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 *ʒɔŋ* ‘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 ‘X = 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 ‘= X, 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 *tɔʔ* 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 *tɔʔ*

The Pnar verb *tɔʔ* 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
 ŋa *tɔʔ* *ka=blossom* *plen*
 1SG.ACC be F=Blossom Plain
 ‘I am Blossom Plain’ [BPVM_002]

- (996) ha-o, toh hi
 ha-o *tɔʔ* *hi*
 LOC-1SG.NOM be EMPH
 ‘yes, correct’ [AIJ_021]

- (997) man da mih ka=tæ ka=skai, siet u=synriang tæ toh wa chi khnam
 man *da* *miʔ* *ka=tæ* *ka=skaj* *siet* *u=synriang*
 become REAL bring.out F=NVIS F=deer shoot M=Synriang
 tæ *tɔʔ* *wa* *ʔi* *kʰnam*
 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 *tɔʔ* 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 *ŋa* is the topicalized/case-marked form of the ‘1sg.nom’ pronoun. If the sentence is given as (999), it is acceptable, since the ‘1sg.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 *pɾtut* ‘be named, be called’ with a post-verbal pronominal form (1000) rather than an equative copula, suggesting that copulas like *tɔʔ* 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=blɔsɔm plen tɔʔ ŋa
 F=Blossom Plain be 1SG.ACC
 ‘I am Blossom Plain’

- (999) ka blossom plain toh o
ka=blɔsɔm plen tɔʔ ɔ
 F=Blossom Plain be 1SG.NOM
 ‘I am Blossom Plain’

- (1000) ka blossom plain pyrtuit o
ka=blɔsɔm plen pɾtut ɔ
 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 *ka=blɔsɔm 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 *ka=blɔsɔm plen* in the first sentence and *i=pɾtut* in the second.

- (1001) ka blossom plain toh i pyrtuit yong nga
ka=blɔsɔm plen tɔʔ i=pɾtut jɔŋ ŋa
 F=Blossom Plain be N=name GEN 1SG.ACC
 ‘Blossom Plain is my name’

- (1002) *i pyrduit yong nga toh ka blossom plain*
i=prtuṭ jɔŋ ŋa tɔʔ ka=blossom plen
 N=name GEN 1SG.ACC be 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 *ka=plidar* ‘lawyer’ can be construed as specific but not unique, the corresponding reversal (1004) requires that *ka=plidar* be construed as specific and unique, therefore definite.

- (1003) *ka mary toh ka plidar*
ka=meri tɔʔ ka=plidar
 F=Mary be F=lawyer
 ‘Mary is a lawyer’

- (1004) *ka plidar toh ka mary*
ka=plidar tɔʔ ka=meri
 F=lawyer be 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 *tɔʔ* occurs initially, followed by the copula topic/subject.

- (1005) *toh u ya man i u kneih position*
tɔʔ u ja man i u=kneʔ posiʃɔn
 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*
tɔʔ bon bha jɔʔ 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*
tɔʔ ka=tupri u næ ha ka=te ka=kɲtʰaj
 be F=hat 3SG.M.NOM D.TAG LOC F=MPROX F=female
hap wɔt kɔ
 fall IMMD 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘(it) is his hat, ok, at the girl it just fell’ [MPSRJ_045]

- (1008) *toḥ ka khyndaw ka wa chare u kha sut ko*
toḥ ka=k^hṇdaw ka wa tḥare u=k^ha sut ko
 be F=earth 3SG.F NMZ herd NF=birth profit 3SG.F.NOM
 ‘(it) is the earth it that herds to give profit’ [SI3_042]

15.2.2 Equational functions of *toḥ*

Using *toḥ* 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, *ka=titpu* is a kind of bird. The copula *toḥ* serves to link the name with its complement, turning the whole construction into a predicate nominal expression. In (1010) the copula topic *ka=bos* ‘bus’ is equated with a genitive construction. In (1011) the head *u=daloj* is equated to the function of the office as *i=sṇtḥar* ‘overseer’.

- (1009) *ka titpu toḥ ka sim ka wa ha wa ræp man ko kawī na ka wa teid waje*
[ka=titpu] toḥ [ka=sim] ka wa ha wa ræp
 F=titpu be F=bird 3SG.F NMZ LOC NMZ harvest
man ko ka=wi na ka wa teit_ṇ waḥe
 happen 3SG.F.NOM 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) *kawī won ka bus toḥ ka yong u, u subor pung*
[ka=wi wɔn ka=bos] toḥ [ka jɔŋ u]
 F=one which F=bus be 3SG.F.ACC GEN 3SG.M.NOM
u=subor pun
 M=Subor Pung
 ‘one bus belonged to Mr. Subor Pung’ [BPVM_006]

- (1011) *u daloi toḥ i synchar ya ka khyndaw wa chyap*
[u=daloj] toḥ [i=sṇtḥar] ja ka=k^hṇdaw wa tḥiap
 M=daloi be N=oversee BEN 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=nik* ‘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*
he=i=tε tɔʔ [u=nik] tɔʔ [u wa malik] u
 LOC=N=NVIS be M=Nik be 3SG.M NMZ boss 3SG.M
wa jɔʔ u wa εm
 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 *ka=tput* ‘revenge’, a nominalized form of the verb ‘get revenge’. Unlike in nominalizations involving *u=* (the non-finite marker), those involving *ka=* and *i=* derive full nominals.

- (1013) *kani toh ka tput yong ki khatar*
[ka=ni] tɔʔ [ka=tput] jɔŋ ki=k^hatar
 F=PROX be RES=revenge GEN PL=twelve
 ‘this is the revenge of the Twelve (kingdoms)’ [PP03SKY_025]

In (1014) the context is of a local deity *u=pɾt^hat* ‘lightning’ interacting with three sisters who have come looking for somewhere to settle. Here he addresses them directly, with *p^hi* ‘2pl’ serving as the copula topic and the copula complement being *ki=diaʔmaj ki jɔŋ ŋa* ‘sisters of mine’. This is an example of a genitive nominal predicate.

- (1014) *phi toh ki diahmai ki yong nga*
[p^hi] tɔʔ [ki=diaʔmaj] ki jɔŋ ŋa
 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 *ka=tε* ‘that’. The head of the copula complement is *ka=wejpun* ‘grandmother’¹ and the copula *tɔʔ* serves to equate the two nominals to form a genitive nominal predicate.

- (1015) *kataæ toh ka weipun yong oo*
[ka=tε] tɔʔ [ka=wejpun] jɔŋ o
 F=NVIS be 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^hmaʔ* has already been identified in a previous sentence, but one in which he was not the protagonist. In this sentence he is brought

¹A dialect variant of *beipun* ‘grandmother’.

to the attention of the listener by the marker η , which refers to events or individuals that have been mentioned previously.² The copula $tɔʔ$ serves to link the named referent with a nominalized activity attributed to him: *u wa ɕoʔ li-khaji sumurit* ‘he who regularly sold pepper’, an attributive nominal predicate. The second clause *k^hmaʔ tɔʔ u na naŋbaʔ* ‘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*
tæ [u=k^hmaʔ η] tɔʔ [u wa ɕoʔ li-k^haji
 NVIS M=Khmah REF be 3SG.M NMZ HAB DUR-buy.and.sell
sumurit] [k^hmaʔ] tɔʔ [u na naŋbaʔ]
 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 εm in Pnar.

15.3.1 Existence functions of εm

Nominal predication using εm is often simply its intransitive use, where the nominal S-argument is identified post-verbally. In (1017) the presentational use of εm is given, where the S-argument is *ka=sim* ‘bird’, which can be modified by subsequent relativized verbs such as *wa hɛʔ bha* ‘very big’.

²I suspect that this marker may function at times as a switch reference marker, but more careful analysis is necessary to confirm this suspicion.

- (1017) æm ka sim ka wa hæh bha ka wa kmai ka wa jrong
εm [ka=sim] [ka wa hεʔ bha ka wa kmai
 have F=bird 3SG.F NMZ be.big INTS1 3SG.F NMZ be.fat
 ka wa ɕʁɔŋ]
 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 *ka* as the head of the relative clause which follows the NP head allows the following elicited example (1018). Here the copular function of *εm* 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] **εm** [ka wa hεʔ bha ka wa kmai
 F=bird have 3SG.F NMZ be.big INTS1 3SG.F NMZ be.fat
 ka wa ɕʁɔŋ]
 3SG.F NMZ be.tall
 ‘a bird existed which was very big and fat and tall’

In (1019) the S-argument or copula topic of the negated existential verb is simply the pronoun *ki* ‘3pl’ with a subsequent relativized clause *wa bam ɕa* ‘who eat rice/food’ and embedded locative modifiers *ha ka=plian ɕsiar* ‘on a golden plate’ and *ha ka=pitor* ‘on a brass plate’.

- (1019) ym æm ki wa bam ja ha ka pliang ɕsiar, ha ka pitor bait la da æm wa
 bam
 ɲ **εm** [ki wa bam ɕa] ha ka=plian ɕsiar ha
 NEG have 3PL NMZ eat rice LOC F=plate gold LOC
 ka=pitor bat la da εm wa bam
 F=pitor IMM3 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=tε u=p^hlan sajnɔs* ‘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
 [ʈfa k^hleʔtrfi muk^hla] **εm** [u=tε u=p^hlaŋ sajnəs]
 ALL khliehtyrshi mukhla have M=NVIS M=grass sinus
 ‘in Khliehtyrshi, in Mukhla, there is that sinus grass’ [BMPJ_048]

(1021) utæ u phlang sinus æm cha khliehtyrshi mukhla
 [u=tε u=p^hlaŋ sajnəs] **εm** [ʈfa k^hleʔtrfi muk^hla]
 M=NVIS M=grass sinus have ALL khliehtyrshi mukhla
 ‘that sinus grass exists in Khliehtyrshi, in Mukhla’

(1022) æm u=tæ u=phlang sinus cha khliehtyrshi mukhla
εm [u=tε u=p^hlaŋ sajnəs] [ʈfa k^hleʔtrfi muk^hla]
 have M=NVIS 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=ni u=wi u=mastar* ‘this one master’.

(1023) æm uni uwi u master
εm [u=ni u=wi u=mastar]
 have M=PROX M=one M=master
 ‘there is this one master’ [PP15PI_027]

In (1024) the S-argument or copula topic of *εm* is *ka=syiem* ‘queen’.

(1024) waroʔ ki daloi da tip ki wa da æm ka syiem
 waroʔ ki=daloj da tip ki wa da **εm** [ka=sʔem]
 all PL=daloi REAL know 3PL NMZ REAL have F=ruler
 ‘all the Dalois knew that there is a queen’ [PP05KO_040]

In each of these sentences, the verb *εm* 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 §15.5.3 and §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*
tæ man [i] [kam-ni] næ
 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 §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 *da*, 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*
man [da pɔj] tæ tʰoʔ i ka=tæ ka=lep
 become REAL arrive NVIS find,search 1PL F=NVIS F=boat
 ‘when we arrived, then we found that boat’ [LS2J_018]

- (1027) *man da u chynrang yoosuk u ka...*
man da u=ʈɲranɲ 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_n* *jɔŋ ki*
 become DUR-look GEN 3PL
 ‘when (we) went looking (at) their place...’ [HPAHR_142]

The following copular realizations are similar in form to *ɛm* and *tɔʔ* 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 *ki=tiar tɛm jɔŋ i* ‘the plucked things of mine’ and the copula complement *ki=k^hatle, k^hatar ɕat_n* ‘thirteen, twelve types’. Here, however, the intended meaning seems to be ‘happen to be’, as identified in the alternate translation.

- (1029) *warɔʔ ki=tiar tɛm jɔŋ i* ***man*** [*ki=k^hatle*
 all PL=things pluck GEN 1PL become PL=thirteen
k^hatar ɕat_n
 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* ‘3SG.N’ and then the copula complement *i=k^hiʔ jɔŋ p^hi* ‘your work’ in O-argument position. Again, the ‘happens to be’ translation is somewhat more accurate.

- (1030) *man i i khiih yong phi*
man *i i=k^hiʔ jɔŋ p^hi*
 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 *ka=infan steɕ* ‘the infant stage’ identifies the inception of the process.

- (1031) heipor dang man ka infant stej
he=i=por daŋ man [ka=infan steɕ]
 LOC=N=time PROG become 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=wɔn u wa k^hoit u wa ɕɣiar* ‘one who is clean and pure’.

- (1032) tɛ u man u won u wa khooid u wa jngiar
tɛ u=man [u=wɔn u wa k^hoit u
 NVIS NF=become M=which 3SG.M NMZ clean,pure 3SG.M
wa ɕɣiar]
 NMZ totally.clear
 ‘so (he) will become one who is clean and pure’ [PP14MF_061]

In (1033) the nominal element *sɿem* ‘ruler’ (which takes all four gender clitics depending on context) has no gender clitic, being incorporated into the verb *man*. The verbal construction *man sɿem* 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 *sɿem* is understood to be the result of the process initiated by *man* ‘become’ and the third person plural pronoun *ki* is the copula topic.

- (1033) da mih ki neini da chong man syiem noh ki cheini cha Nongkhlaw
da miɿ ki ne=i=ni da tɕɔŋ man
 REAL come.out 3PL ABL=N=PROX REAL sit become
[sɿem] nɔɿ [ki] tɕe=i=ni tɕa nɔŋk^hlaw
 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 *ka=bər 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*
tɛ man [bru] [kɔ]
 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=dhulia* ‘one being Dhulia (a traditional office)’ where *u=wi* ‘one’ is the copula topic and *u=dhulia* is the copula complement.

- (1035) *heitæ man khatsoo wa uwi man u dhulia, tæ man khatsoo man khatsoo wasan*
he=i=tɛ man k^hatso wa u=wi man
 LOC=N=NVIS become fourteen COMT M=one become
u=dhulia tɛ jɔʔ k^hatso man k^hatso wasan
 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 *ki=lɔk jɔŋ ki* ‘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*
tʃɛm p^{hi} na-doʔ [ki=sim lɛʔ] man [ki=lɔk jɔŋ i]
 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, *təʔ*

Attributive predication using *təʔ* 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 *ki=kam jəŋ ŋa kam u=daloj* ‘my work as Daloi’ and this is equated with the copula complement *bon bha ha-pəʔ ka=ɛlaka raliang* ‘very much in Raliang elaka’ (an *ɛlaka* 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 *ki=kam* ‘work’.

- (1037) *tə ki kam yong nga kam u daloi toh boon bha hapoh ka elaka Raliang*
tɛ [ki=kam jəŋ ŋa ka u=daloj] təʔ [bon bha
NVIS PL=work GEN 1SG.NOM as M=daloι be much INTS1
ha-pəʔ ka=ɛlaka raliang]
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 *ki=ni* ‘these’. The relativized *ki wa sʔad bha* ‘very expensive’ can be identified as part of the copula complement due to the pronominal form *ki* ‘3pl’ that cross-references the copula topic.

- (1038) kini toh boon ki wa syad bha
 [ki=ni] **təʔ** [bon ki wa sʔad bha]
 PL=PROX be much PL NMZ expensive INTS1
 ‘these are all very expensive’ [TACJ_062]

15.5.2 Existential attributive predication, *ɛm*

Attributive predication using *ɛm* 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=ɕa* ‘cooked rice’ is followed by the realis-marked verb *ɛm* ‘have, exist’, and then by the copula complement *wa fʔet* ‘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
 [i=ɕa] da **ɛm** [wa fʔet]
 N=rice REAL have NMZ cook
 ‘the rice is [has property of being] cooked’ [PP05KO_008]

Example (1040) is similar, where the copula topic *ka=tɛ nɛkɔŋ* ‘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
 tɛ [ka=tɛ nɛkɔŋ] ɲ **ɛm** [wa tip]
 NVIS F=NVIS first NEG have NMZ know
 ‘so that first is not known’ [PP15PI_019]

In (1041) the attributive elaborate expression *wa fʔɔŋ wa saʔ* ‘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 *ka=wi* ‘one’ is understood as being equated to *samɛn* ‘be alone’ and to *wa kʰat sɔʔ* ‘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
 ɲ **ɛm** [bru] ɲ **ɛm** [wa tʃɔŋ wa saɪ] ha
 NEG have person NEG have NMZ sit NMZ stay LOC
 ka=ni ka=tʃnɔŋ
 F=PROX F=village
 ‘there is no person, there is no (one) sitting, staying, in this village’
 [PP04SKO_037]
- (1042) æm kawɪ æm samæn æm wa khait soh
ɛm [ka=wi] **ɛm** [samæn] **ɛm** [wa kʰat sɔʔ]
 have 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 *ɛm* and *tɔʔ*, I include such examples here. It is worth noting that only the verbs *ɛm*, *tɔʔ*, 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 ɔŋ ki ka=pitor* ‘they call it *pitor*’.

- (1043) tæ man wa ong ki ka pitor
 tæ **man** [wa ɔŋ ki ka=pitor]
 NVIS become NMZ say 3PL F=pitor
 ‘so (it) is what they call the pitor (marriage sign)’ [PP14MF_072]

In (1044) the copula topic is *i=klam ɲne he=i=ni* ‘today’s speech here’. The copula *man* intervenes between the copula topic and the complement *wa u ja mɲtoɲ lan i* ‘which/that is for our benefit’.

- (1044) i klam ynne heini man wa u ya myntoi lang i
 [i=klam ɲne he=i=ni] **man** [wa u
 ACT=speak today LOC=N=PROX become NMZ 3SG.M.NOM
 ja mɲtoɲ lan 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 *m̥ntɔj* that describes the referent as ‘beneficial’.

- (1045) *tæ mut chæm o man wa myntoi yn sæ*
tɛ mut [tʃɛm ɔ] man [wa m̥ntɔj n]
 NVIS means meet 1SG.NOM become NMZ benefit REF
sɛ
 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-k̥lla ɛm u* ‘he exists a second time’. The function here seems to be that of a linker between the preceding adverbial element *ar-k̥lla* ‘second-change’ 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*
he=i=ni [im wan u ar-k̥lla] man
 LOC=N=PROX live come 3SG.M.NOM two-change happen
[ar-k̥lla ɛm u]
 two-change have 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘here he lives a second time, he exists a second time’
 [PP01CSE_065]

In (1047) the copula *man* also seems to function as a linker, to connect the preceding clause *ki=so kpɔʔ sdan ki u=wan* ‘the Soo Kpoh (clan) began/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 kpɔʔ sdan ki u=wan] man [kam wa
 PL=four womb begin 3PL NF=come happen as NMZ
ka=sdan ki ka ka=niam]
 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=prejiŋ mantis u=tu* ‘that praying mantis’ with the following verbal clause.

- (1048) u praying mantis u tu man chiboon ha ki khniang bam u
 [u=*prejɪŋ* mantis u=*tu*] **man** [*tʃi=bon* ha
 M=praying mantis M=MEDL become INDF-much LOC
ki=kʰniaŋ bam u]
 PL=insect eat 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘the praying mantis, many insects he eats’ [BMPJ_068]

In (1049) the topic is *ka=parɔm* ‘story’. The verb *man* occurs between the topic and the verb *ɕrɔŋ* ‘be long’. There are three possibilities regarding this construction. The first is that *ɕrɔŋ* is acting as a modifier and modifying *ka=parɔm* as a copula complement. However, the post-verbal *kɔ* pronominal form which references *ka=parɔm* calls this into question. This would suggest that *ɕrɔŋ* 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 u=khon lymboit
 tɛ læʔ [ka=parɔm] **man** [ɕrɔŋ kɔ] wa
 NVIS also F=story become be.long 3SG.F.NOM NMZ
kammɔn u=kʰɔn lɪmboɪt
 how 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 *krpaŋ* ‘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 *krpaŋ* 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
 tɛ **man** [krpaŋ bha kɔ] kam ka=ni
 NVIS happen be.special INTS1 3SG.F.NOM as F=PROX
ka=sabɕɛk ka wa ja-klam i ɲne
 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, *tɔʔ*

Locative predication using *tɔʔ* 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 *tɔʔ* precedes the locative marker *ha*, a construction that can be translated ‘at’ or ‘in’. In this example the referent or copula topic has already been previously identified as *ka=dhɔʔ* ‘owl’ and the same head noun follows the verb of existence *ɛm* ‘have, exist’ in the following clause. The copula *tɔʔ* 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 tɔʔ [ha hali hator] tʃi=sen da ɛm
 if be LOC paddy.field rice.field set-time REAL have
ka=dhɔʔ ka da bam bat̪ kɔ 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 *ka=wi* ‘one’ with the reference marker *yn* which references a previously discussed nominal (‘lectures’) of which the head *ka=wi* 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*
tɛ [ka=wi n] tɔʔ [ha fri ramatʃandra juniversiti]
 NVIS 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 kraɛʔ ɔ ha fɔres tɔʔ [ha u=p^hrap^haw k^hnde*
 NMZ work 1SG.NOM LOC forest be LOC M=eighty nine
ha-doʔ ar haɬar]
 LOC-when two thousand
 ‘I worked in the forest (department) in 1989 until 2000’
 [PP15PI_071]

In (1054) the copular verb *tɔʔ* combines with *na* ‘from, ablative’ to mean ‘be from’, identifying the source of the copula topic *u=k^hlawat* ‘warrior’. In this sentence *wa tɔʔ wa miʔ* is an attributive construction meaning ‘be born’, and serves to modify the preceding NP *u=ni u=k^hlawat ka=ri* ‘the country’s warrior’.

- (1054) *uni u khlawait ka ri læh wa toh, wa mih toh na ka kpoh yong ka weipun*
 doh
u=ni u=k^hlawat ka=ri læʔ wa tɔʔ wa
 M=PROX M=warrior F=country also NMZ be NMZ
miʔ tɔʔ [na ka=kpɔʔ jɔŋ ka=wejpun dɔʔ]
 bring.out be ABL F=womb GEN 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 *tɔʔ 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 doʔ jɔŋ ŋa tɔʔ ka=klɔb ka wa
 N=original lose GEN 1SG.ACC be F=club 3SG.F NMZ
nykɔŋ doʔ tɔʔ [na panaliar]
 firstly most be ABL Pannaliar
 ‘My original place (from the beginning) is from the club (locality)
 Pannaliar’ [TACJ_010]

In (1056) the copula *tɔʔ* 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 tɔʔ [na ka=kur sansyŋkɔŋ]
 M=Pator be ABL F=clan Sansyngkong
 ‘Pator is from the Sansyngkong clan’ [PP02SKF_020]

In (1057) the copula precedes the allative marker *tfa*, 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^haji* ‘buy and sell’.

- (1057) *u jooh likhayi sumurit toh cha hadæm*
u ɕoʔ li-kʰaji sumurit tɔʔ [ʈʂa hadæm]
 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 *tɔʔ* also precedes the allative, which forms another prepositional expression with *pɔʔ* ‘inside’. The conjunction of the two morphemes indicates the meaning ‘under’ or ‘below’, and the whole expression identifies *ka=latʰadlabɔʔ* as the point of reference for the location of *ka=tɛ* ‘that’, which is the copula topic.

- (1058) *katæ tæ toh chapoh ka ladthadlabot*
[ka=tɛ] tɛ tɔʔ [ʈʂa-pɔʔ ka=latʰadlabɔʔ]
 F=NVIS NVIS be ALL-inside 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=wɔn i=wɔn pŋ-biaŋ i* ‘anything we do’, referring to the traditional rituals surrounding a marriage ceremony. The copula complement is the marker *da* ‘with’, which identifies the following plural noun *ki=pitor* ‘plates’ as instruments used in the rituals.

- (1059) *iwon iwon pynbiang i toh da ki pitor*
[i=wɔn i=wɔn pŋ-biaŋ i] tɔʔ [da ki=pitor]
 N=which 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 *tɔʔ* illustrate auxiliary or ‘helping’ functions of this copula. In (1060) *tɔʔ* serves a helping function, joining the copula topic *ki=ni ki=arpʰawso pargana* ‘these 24 parganas’ with the verbal existential predicate expression *ɛm ki ʈʂa tʰaŋ dkʰar* ‘they exist in the plains’.

- (1060) *kini ki arphawsoo pargana toh æm ki cha thain dkhar*
[ki=ni ki=arpʰaw-so pargana] tɔʔ [ɛm ki ʈʂa
 PL=PROX PL=twenty-four pargana be have 3PL ALL
tʰan dkʰar]
 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-doʔ kat-ni* ‘until now’, and *toh* serves to link it with the verbal predicate *da laj ka=pɔr* ‘the time has gone’.

- (1061) hadooh katni toh da lai ka por da ki hajar hajar snæm lai i por
 [ha-doʔ kat-ni] **tɔʔ** [da laj ka=pɔr] da ki=haɕar
 until as-PROX be REAL go F=time INST PL=thousand
 haɕar snæm laj i=pɔr
 thousand year go N=time
 ‘until now time has gone, thousands of years have passed’
 [PP07SNM_014]

Sentence (1062) gives an example of *tɔʔ* being negated. Here the purpose of negation is to clarify the meaning of *tre tʰlɔŋ*, which occurs in the first clause *i tʃɔŋ ha tre tʰlɔŋ* ‘we sit in the Tre Thlong’. The negated verb *tɔʔ* is in fact serving to negate the following verbal expression *sa mut tre tʰlɔŋ i=tʰaw boʔ tʰlɔŋ* ‘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 *tɔʔ*.

- (1062) i chong ha tre thlong, ym toh sa mut tre thlong i thaw booh thlong
 [i tʃɔŋ ha tre tʰlɔŋ] ɲ **tɔʔ** [sa mut tre
 1PL sit LOC tre thlong NEG be only mean original
 tʰlɔŋ i=tʰaw boʔ tʰlɔŋ]
 mortar 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) *tɔʔ* also serves a helping function, preceding the verbal predicate *tip hi ki u=tʰmat* ‘they know (how) to pray’, which serves as a copula complement to *warɔʔ ki=bru* ‘all the people’.

- (1063) waroh ki=bru toh tip hi ki u=thmat sæ tang ym tip ki u=trong
 [warɔʔ ki=bru] **tɔʔ** [tip hi ki u=tʰmat] sæ
 all PL=person be know EMPH 3PL NF=pray CONF
 taŋ ɲ tip ki u=trɔŋ
 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 *ki=ni wɔn* as the copula topic and *ki=pliaŋ* as the copula complement, while the second also has *ki=ni wɔn* as the copula topic but an instrumental expression *da ka=dep* ‘with wood’ as the copula complement.

- (1064) kini won toh ki pliang deiñ, kani won toh da ka deiñ
 [ki=ni wɔn] tɔʔ [ki=pliaŋ deŋ] [ka=ni wɔn] tɔʔ
 PL=PROX thing be PL=plate wood F=PROX thing be
 [da ka=deŋ]
 INST F=wood
 ‘these things are plates, these things are (made) of wood’
 (instrumental?) [TACJ_243]

15.6.2 Existential locative predication, *ɛm*

Locative predication using *ɛm* allows a locative property to be described as belonging to the copula topic. In (1065) the copula topic *i ha ka=sepraŋ i* [1PL LOC F=seiñraiŋ 1PL] ‘we in the Seiñraiŋ’ is equated with the locative copula complement *ha ka=ɕiŋ-sɲdɔŋ i* ‘in our caretaking’.

- (1065) katae toh wa i ha ka seiñraiŋ i æm ha ka jingsyndong i ya ka bei ram-aw
 ka wa i im i chong i sah i
 ka=tɛ tɔʔ wa [i ha ka=sepraŋ i] **ɛm** [ha
 F=NVIS be NMZ 1PL LOC F=seiñraiŋ 1PL have LOC
 ka=ɕiŋ-sɲdɔŋ i] ja ka=bej ramaw ka wa
 F=AB.NMZ-take.care 1PL BEN F=mother earth 3SG.F NMZ
 i=im i=tɕɔŋ i=sat i
 ACT=live ACT=sit ACT=stay 1PL
 ‘that is how we in our Seiñraiŋ are, in our caretaking of our
 motherland that we live in’ [BMPJ_035]
 or ‘that is how we in our Seiñraiŋ are in the business of taking care of
 our motherland, which we live in’

In (1066) the locative copula complement is *ha ɕrɔŋ deŋ* ‘up (a) tree’, embedded in a relativized existential clause.

- (1066) utai u bru wa æm ha jrong deiñ
 u=taj u=bru wa **ɛm** [ha ɕrɔŋ deŋ]
 M=DIST M=person NMZ have LOC be.long tree
 ‘that man who is up in the tree’ [FPSM_016]

In (1067) the locative complement *tɕa-pɔʔ hali* ‘inside field’ is likewise embedded in a relativized clause.

- (1067) u pseñ wa æm chapoh hali rap phær u
 u=pseŋ wa **ɛm** tɕa-pɔʔ hali rap p^hɛr
 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]

In (1068) the locative complement *ha ka=wi ka=sen* ‘at one time’ identifies the temporal space that the copula topic (*ka=sim sɔŋ* [bird Song] ‘a bird (named) Song’) belongs to.

- (1068) æm ha kawɪ ka sein ka sim song
ɛm [ha ka=wi ka=sen] [ka=sim sɔŋ]
 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, at 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 *ki=t^haw sɲtʃar* ‘the governed places’ and the copula complement *i=tɛ ɔŋ i=k^hatar daloj* ‘what we call Khatar Daloi’, which is conceptualized as the location of the copula topic via *ha*, the locative marker. The most common locative predication occurs with the locative marker *ha*, however my corpus does include examples with ablative *na*. Use of *man* with allative *tʃa* is not attested in my corpus, which may simply be an area of insufficient coverage.

- (1069) pargana tɛ mut ki thaw synchar man ha itɛ ong i khatar daloi mo
 pargana tɛ mut [ki=t^haw sɲtʃar] **man** [ha i=tɛ
 pargana NVIS mean PL=place govern happen LOC N=NVIS
 ɔŋ i=k^hatar daloj] mɔ
 say 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 *ka=jaw niam* ‘traditional market’. He precedes

this with *man*, which serves as an existential copula and allows the locative phrase *ha ka=jaw niam* to function as a predicate. He then lists eight markets, the first of which is *jaw ɕwaj* ‘Jowai market’, and completes the sentence with a summary involving the typical copula of being, *tɔʔ*.

- (1070) *tæ man ha ka=yaw niam mo yaw jwai... tæ toh ki=yaw niam*
*tɛ **man** [ha ka=jaw niam] mɔ jaw ɕwaj*
 NVIS become LOC F=market tradition Q market Jowai
tɛ tɔʔ 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 *ha*. The first construction identifies the broad temporal setting, and the second focuses the listener’s attention within that time frame on a particular war *ka=ni ka=thma* ‘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*
*[ha ka=pɔr ka=tʰma] **man** [ha ka=ni ka=tʰma] tɛ*
 LOC F=time F=war become LOC F=PROX F=war NVIS
 ‘at the time of the war, during the war...’ [PP03SKY_003]

In (1072) the locative predicate is *ha ki=sɲi* ‘in those days’, preceded by the verb *man*.

- (1072) *man ha ki sɲi, i ha wa likit tiar i kamtæ*
***man** [ha ki=sɲi] i ha wa li-kit tiar i*
 happen LOC PL=day 1PL LOC NMZ DUR-carry thing 1PL
kam-tɛ
 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=daloj* as being *na ka=kur so kpɔʔ* ‘from the Soo Kpoh clan’. In this example *man* is preceded by two verbal constructions *je u ja-lɛʔ 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 je u ja-lɛʔ u man [na
 M=Daloi able 3SG.M.NOM PLUR-do 3SG.M.NOM become ABL
ka=kur so kpɔʔ]
 F=clan four womb
 ‘the Daloi can be from the Soo Kpoh clan’ [PP02SKF_016]

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 pateĩn yong ka lasubon ksiar*
man [na ka=ni ka=pateɲ jɔŋ ka=lasubɔn ksiar]
 become ABL F=PROX F=generation GEN F=Lasubon Ksiar
 ‘(they) are from this generation of Lasubon Ksiar’ [PP06PK_008]

In (1075) the context is within a description of ceremonies surrounding traditional marriage. Here *man* is preceded by the copula topic *ka=tɛ*, 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 *ki=kwaɲ* occurs immediately after introductions, and conceptualizes *wa sdan* ‘beginning’ as the source at which the gesture of hospitality must occur, clarifying the order of events with the following clause *dɛp man da u=tipmit* ‘after introducing’.

- (1075) *katæ man na wa sdang dæp man da u tipmit*
[ka=tɛ] man [na wa sdan] dɛp man da
 F=NVIS become ABL NMZ begin PERF become REAL
u=tipmit
 NF=recognize
 ‘that is from first after introducing’ [PP14MF_046]

In the following example (1076) the locative preposition *halɔr* ‘on top’ precedes *ki=ni wɔn* ‘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 halɔr kini won mut kam ong ksoh phi ya u khnam ka rynteih*
tɛ man [ha-lɔr ki=ni wɔn] mut kam ɔŋ ksɔʔ
 NVIS become LOC-top PL=PROX thing mean as say hold
pʰi ja u=kʰnam ka=rɲteʔ
 2PL BEN M=arrow 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*
man wan u=ni u=muk^him man wan u=tʃadap
 become come M=PROX M=mukhim become come M=chadap
 ‘(then) the Mukhim (clan) came, then the Chadap came..’
 [PP04SKO_046]

In (1078) *man* precedes *em* ‘have, exist’. This complex predicate is followed by the emphatic marker *hi*. 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*
tæ man em hi ki ki=ni ki=jaw
 NVIS become have EMPH 3PL PL=PROX PL=market
ka=t^hmblej toʔ ka=jaw tʃjentiapur
 F=thymbleiñ be 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=wɔʔ kiaŋ naŋbaʔ*, a Pnar hero, occurs. The S-argument *ka=tarik* ‘date’ is identified post-verbally by the pronominal form *kɔ*, with the instrumental case marker *da* identifying the exact date on which the celebration happens.

- (1079) *ka tarik boon sein man ko da ka lephaw tarik beit*
ka=tarik bon sen man kɔ da ka=lep^haw
 F=date many time become 3SG.F.NOM INST 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=ma jɔŋ i tɛ **man** him ɔ na*
 NMZ M=HON.M GEN 1PL NVIS become take 1SG.NOM
u=ma sɛ
 ABL M=HON.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 *ki ɔŋ ki* ‘they say’.

- (1081) *kam ki=ni ki=Thai, ha Thailand ki ong ki, man ki ong ki ‘pai lai’*
kam ki=ni ki=tʰaj ha tʰajlan ki ɔŋ ki
 as PL=PROX PL=Thai LOC Thailand 3PL say 3PL
***man** ki ɔŋ ki paj laj*
 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 *ka=ʃad ka=rwaj* ‘singing and dancing’ in a traditional story.

- (1082) *man ka chad ka rwai ka wa u man khynde yaw khynde sngi*
***man** ka=ʃad ka=rwaj ka wa u=**man** kʰɲde*
 become RES=dance RES=sing 3SG.F NMZ NF=become nine
jaw kʰɲde sɲi
 week nine day
 ‘there was singing and dancing for nine days and nine nights’
 [PP13RS_050]

In (1083) *man* combines with the word *saŋ* ‘taboo’ as part of a complex verb. Here *man* serves as an existential copula of sorts to join *saŋ* with *mut* ‘means’, forming the conceptual frame ‘means it is very bad’.

- (1083) *la tyngkhæñ ya katae tæ mut man sang*
*la tɣkʰɛɲ ja ka=tɛ tɛ 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 *tɔʔ* is used for identity, naming, and equation, *ɛm* 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 S, 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 §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 §10.2.3. In (1084) for example, the noun *sɔʔ* ‘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 soh u ya oo 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 *emkam* ‘need’ is followed immediately by the purposive nominalized verb *sndɔŋ* ‘take care (of)’ to form the complex predicate ‘need to take care (of)’. The A-argument *i* ‘we’ and the O-argument *ki* ‘they, them’ immediately follow this complex predicate.

- (1085) *kam kitæ ki won ki won læh æmkam u syndong i ki*
kam ki=tɛ ki=wɔn ki=wɔn læʔ emkam
 like,want PL=NVIS PL=which PL=which also need
u=sndɔŋ i ki
 NF=take.care 1PL 3PL
 ‘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=sʔem* ‘the king’, with the O-argument/complement being *de=i=snam bat he=i=tɛ* ‘regarding the blood there’.

- (1086) *tæ man da yah ki oo u syiem lipait u yoo deisnam bait heitæ*
tæ man da jaʔ ki o u=sʔem
 NVIS become REAL drive,lead 3PL 3SG.M.ACC M=ruler
li-pat u=jo de=i=snam bat he=i=tɛ
 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 §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 *ɛmkam* ‘need’ occurs. This verb is composed of *ɛm* ‘have’ and *kam* ‘want, like’.

- (1087) ləh ɛmkam i u kchu
 ləʔ **ɛmkam** i u=kʈfu
 also need 1PL M=pot
 ‘we also need the pot’ [PP11NC_005]

In (1088) the verb *pɲɛmkam* ‘use’ is formed from the causative derivational prefix *pɲ-* and *ɛmkam* ‘need’.

- (1088) kini ki pliang stəm jooh boon sein pɲɛmkam i ki u bam ja
 ki=ni ki=pliaŋ stɛm ɕoʔ bon sen **pɲɛmkam**
 PL=PROX PL=plate yellow HAB be.much time use
 i ki u=bam ɕa
 1PL 3PL NF=eat rice
 ‘these yellow/bronze plates, we usually use them to eat rice’
 [TACJ_242]

In (1089) *wanraʔ* ‘bring’ is a compound formed from the two verbs *wan* ‘come’ and *raʔ* ‘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
wanraʔ u o tʃa pɿtʰaj
 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 aʔ* ‘break cut’, and the S/A argument is referenced as *kɔ* ‘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 occurred 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 ka=palong tdut ah ko ha kani
 ka kjat o
he=i=pɔr dan ja-tʃɔŋ ha ka=palɔŋ kʰian
 LOC=N=time PROG PLUR-sit LOC F=bed be.small
ka=palɔŋ tdut aʔ kɔ ha ka=ni ka=kʰat ɔ
 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, cutting my leg’ [LS1J_009]

The following examples contain constructions that fit the profile of non-compound SVCs. These are grouped according to the verb that occurs as the initial element of the SVC: *jo* ‘see’, *ɔŋ* ‘say’, *spiaw* ‘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 beŋ* means ‘despise’, but particularly to despise in a way that involves perception of some kind.

- (1091) *tæ oo yoo beĩn bait u ya kini ki pnar*
tæ o jo beŋ baɬ u ja
 NVIS 3SG.M.ACC see despise,suffer IMM3 3SG.M.NOM BEN
ki=ni ki=pnar
 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 beŋ* is translated here as ‘look down’, which involves perception from a height.

- (1092) *kitæ ki bru ha madan byrwai ym æm toh wa yoo beĩn i ki wa toh ki bru*
wan ræp hæh ki
ki=tæ ki=bru ha madan brɔwaj ŋ ɛm tɔʔ
 PL=NVIS PL=person LOC ground Byrwai NEG have be
wa jo beŋ i ki wa tɔʔ ki bru wan
 NMZ see despise,suffer 1PL 3PL NMZ be 3PL person come
rɛp hɛʔ 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 ɛm* ‘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 ŋ jo ɛm 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 baŋ* ‘be fascinated’ or ‘be entranced’ is composed of *jo* ‘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
tɛ ka jɔŋ ka=sɿem tfit sɿem tfe i=bnaj
 NVIS 3SG.F GEN F=ruler be.hot ruler be.light N=month
kllun da jo ban i=tɛ i=tʃad i=rwaj
 Kyllung REAL see be.tasty N=NVIS ACT=dance 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 ka=wi ka=kʰɿnaʔ kɿtʰaj kʰɿnaʔ skur jo
 come only F=one F=little.one female little.one school see
dur de=i=sap junifɔm
 purpose INST=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*
jo kam sɔʔ klɔŋ u=ni tip tɔʔ rɛ ɱ
 see like,want fruit bottle M=PROX know be NEG.INTS NEG
tɔʔ rɛ
 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*
miʔ i=tdɛm kari na ki=trak jo kam wa
 bring.out N=smoke car ABL PL=truck see like,want NMZ
ɱ ɛm de wa paʔ 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 katae ka por i wa la da nga yoo kwah o ya kiwi ki hima u syiem*
jooH yalæh thma i thmawait
tæ ha ka=tæ ka=por i wa la da ŋa jo
 NVIS LOC F=NVIS F=time 1PL NMZ if REAL 1SG.ACC see
kwa? o ja ki=wi ki=hima u=s?em
 want,desire 1SG.NOM BEN PL=one PL=kingdom M=ruler
ɕo? ja-læ? t^hma i=t^hma-waɕ
 HAB PLUR-do war 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 *ɔŋ* ‘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 *ɔŋ kwa?* to mean ‘decide’, from *ɔŋ* ‘say’ and *kwa?* ‘want’.

- (1099) *wa yn ym æm ong kwah ki da hab phah lakadur u komikæL*
wa ŋ ŋ æm ɔŋ kwa? ki da hab
 NMZ REF NEG have say want,desire 3PL REAL have,must
p^ha? lakadur u=kɔmikæL
 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 *sɲiaw* ‘feel’

In (1100) the speaker is describing how an invited guest did not come to the event they had prepared. Here the verbs *sɲiaw* ‘feel, hear, sense’, *ræm* ‘lose’ and *ke?* ‘cry, call’ combine to form the meaning of ‘feel disgraced’.

- (1100) *tæ sɲiaw ræm kei i ka chnong ka thaw ngut*
tæ sɲiaw ræm ke? i ka=ʃnɔŋ ka=t^haw ŋut
 NVIS sense lose cry,call 1PL F=village F=place CL.HUM
 ‘so we felt disgraced, the people of the village’ [HPAHR_083]

In (1101) the speaker is telling the story of two friends, one who is rich (*u=nik*) and one who is poor (*u=sɲŋ*). In this sentence *u=sɲŋ* has already eaten at *u=nik*’s place and feels responsible/guilty, which leads him to ask

u=nik to come to eat at his home. The verbs *sɲiaw* and *rɛm* combine to form a single construction meaning ‘feel guilty’.

- (1101) *tə heitə sɲiaw rɛm u da khut u oo u nik ya u wan bam u cha yong oo*
tɛ he=i=tɛ sɲiaw rɛm u da kʰut
 NVIS LOC=N=NVIS sense lose 3SG.M.NOM REAL call
u o u=nik ja u=wan bam
 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.ACC M=Nik BEN NF=come eat
u tʃa ʒɔŋ 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 *sɲiaw* ‘feel, hear, sense’, *rap* ‘grow’, and *hoj* ‘be well’ combine to mean ‘improve’.

- (1102) *tə yoh itə chi lakh sanphaw pynmut i ki ka club tə sɲiaw rap hoi*
tɛ ʒɔʔ i=tɛ tʃi lak sanpʰaw pɲ-mut i ki
 NVIS get N=NVIS set lakh fifty CAUS-means 1PL 3PL
ka=klɔb tɛ sɲiaw rap hoj
 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 *sɲiaw* ‘feel, sense, hear’, *rit* ‘be small’, and *krɛʔ* ‘work, prepare’ combine to mean ‘work humbly’.

- (1103) *hynre dei mynsein wa sɲiaw rit kræh i ya kani ka kam*
hɲre de=i=mɲsen wa sɲiaw rit
 but.also INST=N=spirit,soul,heart NMZ sense be.small(Khasi)
krɛʔ i ja ka=ni ka=kam
 work 1PL BEN F=PROX 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 *sɲiaw* ‘feel, sense, hear’ and *suk* ‘be at peace’ combine to mean ‘enjoy’.

- (1104) joo*h* læ*h* sñiaw suk i læ*h* u lai lidaiñ ya ka deiñ cha khloo
 ɕoʔ lɛʔ **sniaw suk** i lɛʔ u=laj li-dap
 used.to also sense be.peaceful 1PL also NF=go DUR-cut
 ja ka=dep tʃa kʰlo
 BEN 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 *kmɛn* ‘be happy’ combine to mean ‘feel happy’.

- (1105) tɛ sñiaw kmɛn chooh chooh wa thoh ka poi poi ka paisa
 tɛ **sniaw kmɛn** tʃoʔ tʃoʔ wa tʰɔʔ ka=pɔj
 NVIS sense be.happy more more NMZ write RES=arrive
 pɔj ka=pajsa
 arrive 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 *hɛʔ* ‘be big’ to mean ‘grow up’ or ‘grow big’.

- (1106) man da rap hæ*h* tæ boi kynmoo o ka læ*h*
 man da **rap hɛʔ** tɛ boj kɲmo ɔ
 become REAL grow be.big NVIS should remember 1SG.NOM
 ka lɛʔ
 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 *ɕan* ‘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
 ka=ni ka=bɲta wa ar wa siet pʰi man
 F=PROX F=purpose NMZ two NMZ shoot 2PL become
 ka=tɛ ɕɲaj kɔ mɔ **rap ɕan** kɔ
 F=NVIS be.far 3SG.F.NOM Q.TAG grow be.near 3SG.F.NOM
 ja ka wa nɲkɔŋ
 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 *ᄃᆞᆯᆞᆫ* ‘be long’ combine to form ‘quite long’.

- (1108) *katu læh rap jrong hi sæ ka parom*
ka=tu læʔ rap ᄃᆞᆯᆞᆫ hi sɛ ka=parɔm
 F=MEDL also grow be.long EMPH C.TAG F=story
 ‘that is also a very long story’ [PP13RS_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 *ᄃᆞᆯᆞᆫ* ‘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 khajjak*
ka wa da jɔʔ ɔ u=waj ja ka=musiaw
 3SG.F NMZ REAL get 1SG.NOM NF=open BEN F=Musiaw
tɛ spiaw rap ᄃᆞᆯᆞᆫ i=reta ɔ kʰaʃjak
 NVIS sense grow be.long N=age 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 *kʰian* ‘be small’ combine to mean ‘grow small’.

- (1110) *rap khian ka nga sanæ kani*
rap kʰian ka ŋa sa-nɛ ka=ni
 grow be.small 3sgF 1SG.ACC only-D.TAG 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 *kmæn* ‘be happy’ to mean ‘grow happy’. This immediately follows the verb *kʰaʃjak* ‘be little’ and is translated by my consultants as ‘be relieved’.

- (1111) *tæ sñiaw heitæ i por khajjak rap kmæn o*
tɛ spiaw he=i=tɛ i=pɔr kʰaʃjak rap kmæn
 NVIS sense LOC=N=NVIS N=time be.little grow happy
 ɔ
 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^her* ‘be different’ to mean ‘become/grow different’ (regarding his way of thinking).

- (1112) tæ ka jingmut jingpyrkhat yong nga rap phær ko ya ki
tæ ka=ɕiŋ-mut ɕiŋ-pr^hat jɔŋ ŋa rap
 NVIS F=NMZ-means NMZ-think GEN 1SG.ACC grow
p^her kɔ ja ki
 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^her* is also used to mean ‘grow/become different’.

- (1113) hynre u pseĩn wa æm chapoh hali rap phær u
hynre u=pseŋ wa ɛm tʃa-pɔʔ hali rap
 but.also M=sake NMZ have ALL-inside paddy.field grow
p^her 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’, *siʔ* ‘be bad’, and *salɔn* ‘character’ to form the single meaning ‘mischievous’.

- (1114) man i nang khynnah i toh rap sih salon i
man i naŋ k^hnaʔ i tɔʔ rap siʔ salɔn
 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^hem* ‘forgive’ in an expressive construction.

- (1115) *pan map pan khæm u yeitæ wa ym yee u joh*
pan map pan kʰɛm u je=i=tɛ wa ɲ
ask mercy ask forgive 3SG.M.NOM BEN=N=NVIS NMZ NEG
je u=ɕɔʔ
able 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*
tɛ pan map u=tɛ u=hadɛm
NVIS ask mercy M=NVIS 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
tɛ laj pan jarap ɲ he=i=tu pɔr
NVIS go ask help REF 1SG.NOM LOC=N=MEDL time
daŋ man u=ni u=ma kwin passaʔ hɛʔ
PROG become M=PROX M=HON.M Kwin Passah be.big
u ha ka=transpɔr tʃa ʃlɔŋ
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’, *ɔŋ* ‘say’, *spɪaw* ‘feel’, *e* ‘give’, *rap* ‘grow’, *pan* ‘request’, *kʌli* ‘ask’, *tʃɔŋ* ‘sit’, *rɛp* ‘cultivate’. Common affixes include the durative verbal prefix *li-* (§16.3.1), the pluractional verbal prefix *ja-* (§16.3.2), and the causative prefix *pɲ-* (§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	<i>li-</i>	<i>sumar</i>	<i>wan</i>	‘take care of (someone) awhile’
‘sit + think’	tʃɔŋ + pɾkʰat	<i>ja-</i>	tʃɔŋ	pɾkʰat	‘sit together thinking’
‘bring out + wash’	miʔ + sat	<i>pɾ-</i>	miʔ	sət	‘cause to begin washing’

Table 16.1: Some SVCs in which the first constituent is the head

16.3.1 First verb takes durative *li-*

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’, *joʔ* ‘get’, *jarap* ‘help’, and *man* ‘happen, become’.

li-V: wan

Verbs marked by *li-* tend to encode durative activities. In (1118) the complex verb is *pɾ-ɯɲ wan* ‘return (something) back’. The morpheme *li-* 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
dɛp tɛ li-pɾ-ɯɲ wan u
 PERF NVIS DUR-CAUS-return.back come 3SG.M.NOM
ka ka=tupri raʔ u wa ka=tupri
 3SG.F.ACC F=hat carry 3SG.M.NOM COMT 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 ɔ ja ki=sistar tɪmmæn
 DUR-take.care come 1SG.NOM BEN PL=sister(nun) be.old
ar snæm
 two year
 ‘I took care of the old (elderly) sisters for two years’ [FPAHM_015]

li-V: jɔʔ

In (1120) the verb is *him jɔʔ*, which is composed of *him* ‘take’ and *jɔʔ* ‘get’. The morpheme *tʰɔʔ* ‘write’ is actually serving as a nominal element (i.e. *ka=tʰɔʔ* ‘agreement (or result thereof), written document’) incorporated into the verb *him jɔʔ*. 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 *jɔʔ* seems to indicate an assistive or abilitative sense.

- (1120) lihim yoh thoh yntu tæ i thaw mo
li-him jɔʔ tʰɔʔ ɲtu tɛ i=tʰaw mɔ
 DUR-take get write just.now NVIS 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 *kʰiʔ jɔʔ* ‘work get’, identifying an activity where working involves ‘getting’, or being paid for services rendered. The use of *li-* identifies a durative event and *jɔʔ* implies some kind of assistive or abilitative function.

- (1121) neibhah i won da wan u ka paisa kat cha wa likhih yoh hi
ne=i=bhaʔ i=wɔn da wan u ka=pajsa
 ABL=N=cause N=which REAL come 3SG.M.NOM F=money
kat tʃa wa li-kʰiʔ jɔʔ 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 *li-* on the first verb in the SVC identifies the action as taking place during a particular span of time .

- (1122) *tə da lipan yarap, mo, ya ka recommendation*
tə da li-pan jarap mo ja ka=rɛkomɛndɛʃən
 NVIS REAL DUR-ask help Q BEN 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*
na ki li-pan jarap ɲ ɛm ki wa e jarap
 ABL 3PL DUR-ask help NEG have 3PL NMZ give help
ja ɲa
 BEN 1SG.ACC
 ‘in asking for help, there is no-one who helped me’ [PP15PI_125]

li-V: man

In (1124) the verb *tʰaŋ man* ‘burn frequently’ identifies an occurrence as happening frequently during the time the speaker is remembering. The *li-* 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-tʰaŋ man ka=sŋi baɪ
 means REAL DUR-burn become F=day direct
 ‘there was a cremation every day’ (due to disease) [SI1_037]

16.3.2 First verb takes pluractional *ja-*

Verbs marked by *ja-* 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 *ja-* ‘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’, *kɲdɛʔ* ‘play’, *lɛtɫoɔ* ‘be free’, *pɾkʰat* ‘think’, *bakla* ‘make mistake’, *kʰa* ‘give birth’, *laŋ* ‘be together’, *ɛm* ‘have’, *tʰaŋ* ‘burn’, and *parɔm* ‘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.

ja-V wan

In (1125) the verb *parɔm wan* ‘tell story’ identifies an activity that happens during another event (in this case, while going somewhere). The *ja-* 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=ja-parəm wan tʃa luti tʃa sɲkep tʃa
 NF=PLUR-tell.story come ALL way ALL location ALL
ki=lɔk ki=ʃɔr wa ɲne ka=sɲi
 PL=friend PL=associate NMZ today 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 *tʰɔʔ wan* ‘write’. Here the *ja-* 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*
tɛ ja-tʰɔʔ wan ki ka=tɛ ka=dusturbit tʰɔʔ ki
 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 *tʃɛm wan* ‘meet come’, in which *wan* seems to identify an activity with a clear endpoint. The morpheme *ja-* 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=haritʃandan*.

- (1127) *tæ yachæm wan o wa uwi uni u ali napoh calcutta*
tɛ ja-tʃɛm wan ɔ wa u=wi u=ni
 NVIS PLUR-meet come 1SG.NOM COMT M=one M=PROX
u=ali na-pɔʔ 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*
tɛ ha-den ne=i=tɛ ɲ ja-tʃɛm wan ɔ
 NVIS LOC-back ABL=N=NVIS REF PLUR-meet come 1SG.NOM
wa u=haritʃandan
 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 *sdaŋ 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 *ja-* identifies the activity as being performed by the community of farmers.

- (1129) dəp wan u rəp ya u kba yn katæ tæ katæ yasdang wan u yathung ya u
rasun
dəp wan u=rəp ja u=kba ŋ ka=tɛ
PERF come NF=cultivate BEN M=rice.paddy ref F=NVIS
tɛ ka=tɛ **ja-sdaŋ** wan u=ja-tʰuŋ ja
NVIS F=NVIS PLUR-begin come NF=PLUR-plant,appoint BEN
u=rasun
M=garlic
‘after cultivating rice, then next (we) plant garlic’ [SI3_052]

ja-V nod

In (1130) the verb is *tʃoʔ nod* ‘hit + dare’, which identifies a kind of challenge issued by one group to the other. The *ja-* shows the communal/reciprocal nature of the event.

- (1130) jooh æm re u teiŋ i ya ki khynnah chynrang læh, nood bait i ki u yachoh
nood bait i ki u yadat
tʃoʔ ɛm rɛ u=tɛp i ja ki=kʰŋnaʔ tʃŋraŋ
HAB have any NF=be.afraid 1PL BEN PL=little.one male
ləʔ nod baɬ i ki u=ja-tʃoʔ nod baɬ
also dare IMM3 1PL 3PL NF=PLUR-hit,punch dare IMM3
i ki u=ja-dat
1PL 3PL NF=PLUR-hit,strike
‘we weren’t afraid of the little boys either, we even dared to fight with them’ [BPVM_008]

ja-V kŋdɛʔ

In (1131) the verb is *ləʔ kŋdɛʔ* ‘play’, where *ja-* 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
tʃoʔ **ja-ləʔ** **kŋdɛʔ** wan i ka=tɛ ɔŋ i ka=jahaj
HAB PLUR-do play come 1PL F=NVIS say 1PL F=yahai
nɛ
D.TAG
‘we used to play a game called Yahai’ [BPVM_014]

ja-V leɬlod

In (1132) the verb is *ləʔ leɬlod* ‘pursue freedom’ or ‘fight (for) freedom’ and the *ja-* 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=wɔʔ kiaŋ naŋbaʔ mut u u=kʰɔn
 M=HON.M.elder Kiang Nangbah means 3SG.M.NOM M=child
ka=ri pnar jɔŋ i u wa ja-lɛʔ leʔloit
 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
da ja-lɛʔ leʔloit u ja ka=ri pnar
 REAL PLUR-do be.free 3SG.M.NOM BEN F=country Pnar
jɔŋ i
 GEN 1PL
 ‘he fought for freedom for our Pnar country’ [KNI_028]

ja-V prkʰat

In (1134) the verb is *ʈɔŋ prkʰat* ‘sit think, discuss’ and the *ja-* 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-ʈɔŋ prkʰat bha i wa kammon
 REAL PLUR-sit think INTS1 1PL NMZ how
u=pɲdoʔ ja ki=ni ki=ʈat siʔ ha ʈnɔŋ
 NF=CAUS-lose BEN PL=PROX 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 prkʰat* ‘speak and think, discuss’ identifies an activity marked by *ja-* 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 ʈɔŋ prkʰat ka=dorbar
 thing means front.veranda 3SG.F NMZ sit think F=council
ri i=wɔn i=wɔn wa ja-klam prkʰat
 country N=which 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 *sɲiaw^hoʔ bakla* ‘understand mistake’, which identifies an internal activity. The *ja-* is used in a reflexive sense to indicate the manner in which *ki=bru* ‘people’ should perform the activity.

- (1136) æm ki bynta ki wa man ym yasñiawthooh bakla ki bru na ka chylla mih
 ka thangkhiw
ɛm ki=bynta ki wa man ɲ ja-sɲiaw^hoʔ
 have PL=purpose 3PL NMZ become NEG PLUR-understand
bakla *ki=bru na ka=tʃʃlla miʔ ka=tʰaŋkʰiɛw*
 mistake PL=person ABL F=Chylla bring.out F=Thangkhiew
 ‘the reason that shouldn’t be misunderstood, the people from
 Chylla (clan) came out of Thangkhiew (clan)’ [PP02SKF_028]

ja-V kʰa

In (1137) the verb is *tʃɔŋ kʰa* ‘get married, have children’ and *ja-* identifies this as a reflexive activity.

- (1137) tæ man da lai ki por tæ yachong kha u wa ka
tɛ man da laj ki=pɔr tɛ ja-tʃɔŋ kʰa
 NVIS become REAL go PL=time NVIS PLUR-sit birth
u wa ka
 3SG.M.NOM COMT 3SG.F.ACC
 ‘so when time passed, then he married her’ [PP05KO_012]

ja-V lan

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 *tʃɔŋ lan* ‘sit, stay together’ and *ja-* marks this as a communal/reflexive activity.

- (1138) tæ chah ki re i ong ki ‘chesh, man re yachong lang, tæ phi chong cheitai’
tɛ tʃaʔ ki rɛ i ɔŋ ki tʃɛʃ man
 NVIS suffer,allow 3PL NEG.INTS 1PL say 3PL gee become
rɛ ja-tʃɔŋ lan tɛ pʰi tʃɔŋ tʃɛ=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 *laɲ lan* ‘go together’, which is also marked by *ja-* as a reflexive/communal activity.

- (1139) *ki khlawait da yalai ki yalai lang ki cha hadæm*
ki=k^hlawat₁ da ja-laj ki ja-laj laŋ ki
 PL=warrior REAL PLUR-go 3PL PLUR-go be.together 3PL
tʃa hadæm
 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 laŋ* ‘work together’. The *ja-* marks this as a reflexive/communal activity.

- (1140) *tæ yakam lang ko ka ryngkat*
tæ ja-kam laŋ kɔ 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 *tʃbɛ? laŋ* ‘lift together’, identifying an activity which the participants perform to themselves, marked as reflexive by *ja-*.

- (1141) *tæ ya u yachbæh lang waroh*
tæ ja u=ja-tʃbɛ? laŋ warɔ?
 NVIS BEN NF=PLUR-lift be.together all
 ‘then (they) all lift (the fire) together’ [PP14MF_030]

ja-V æm

In (1142) the speaker is describing an event that took place at a conference. Here the verb is *tʃæm æm* ‘meet have’ which seems to identify a complex event involving both ‘meeting’ and ‘having’, perhaps as a past event that has current relevance. The *ja-* marks the event as being mutual or reciprocal between the speaker and the other participant, *u=adam jelobet* ‘Adam Yellowbird’.

- (1142) *nga jooh yachæm æm utu u pyrlok o u adam yellowbird*
ŋa tʃo? ja-tʃæm æm u=tu u=prɔk ɔ
 1SG.ACC HAB PLUR-meet have M=MEDL M=friend 1SG.NOM
u=adam jelobet
 M=Adam Yellowbird
 ‘I met and have this friend of mine, Adam Yellowbird’
 [PP13RS_003]

ja-V t^haŋ

In (1143) the speaker is describing how visits between the groom and his fiancée is only allowed under particular circumstances, otherwise it will be considered adultery. Here the verb is *man t^haŋ* ‘become burned’ and *ja-* identifies the activity as a reflexive or communal event reflective of the couple (the man and his fiancée).

- (1143) *la da wan u yaman thang ka wa ong ki ka klim synjat*
la da wan u ja-man t^haŋ ka wa
if REAL come 3SG.M.NOM PLUR-become burn 3SG.F NMZ
ɔŋ ki ka=klim sɲɕat
say 3PL F=adultery ring
‘if he comes to meet (her), they will say it is adultery’
[PP14MF_021]

ja-V parɔm

In (1144) the verb *k^hana parɔm* ‘tell story’ is used by the speaker in instructing another participant to begin speaking. The use of *ja-* gives the verb a pluractional (benefactive or communal) sense, i.e. ‘tell us’.

- (1144) *yakhana parom ini*
ja-k^hana parɔm i=ni
PLUR-tell tell.story N=PROX
‘tell the story, this (one)’ [SI2_069]

ja-V ja-V mlla

In (1145) the speaker is describing how his parents met. Here *wan* ‘come’ and *k^hi?* ‘work’ are both used as the head in a sort of ‘expressive’ construction preceding *mlla* ‘gather’. The SVC is therefore *wan k^hi? mlla* ‘come-work gather’ and the *ja-* on the dual head verbs *wan* and *k^hi?* identifies a communal or reciprocal/reflexive activity performed by the S/A-argument *ki* ‘they, them’.

- (1145) *hei yawan yakhih mylla surok ki kamtu yachæm ki ka cha mynso*
he=i=ja-wan ja-k^hi? mlla surɔk ki kam-tu
LOC=N=PLUR-come PLUR-work gather road 3PL as-medl
ja-tʃɛm ki ka tʃa mɲso
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 *pŋ-*

pŋ-tɕɔŋ V

Serial verb constructions where the first element is marked with *pŋ-* 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 *tɕɔŋ suk tɕɔŋ 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 *pŋ-*, 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=pŋ-bat pŋ-sud i ki u=t^ho lad kammon
 NF=CAUS-direct CAUS-care 1PL 3PL NF=create way how
u=pŋ-tɕɔŋ suk tɕɔŋ saŋ
 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]

pŋ-V wan

In (1147) the speaker is relating an occurrence in The Pear Story. Here the SVC is *uŋ wan* ‘return come’, which seems to identify an activity with a clear endpoint. The morpheme *pŋ-* adds an argument *ka=tupri* ‘hat’ as the returned item of the event, and the marker *li-* clarifies that the event is ongoing at the time of speech.

- (1147) *dæp tæ lipynuiŋ wan u ka ka tupri, rah u wa ka tupri*
dæp tæ li-pŋ-uŋ wan u
 PERF NVIS DUR-CAUS-return.back come 3SG.M.NOM
ka ka=tupri ra? u wa ka=tupri
 3SG.F.ACC F=hat carry 3SG.M.NOM COMT 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 *pŋ-* 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*
tæ o da pŋ-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 *le? wan* ‘do come’ encodes a telic activity and *pŋ-* adds a clear agent to the meaning of the verbal event.

- (1149) *yoh mi u pynlæh wan cha ka ri jong phi*
jɔ? mi u=pŋ-le? wan tʃa ka=ri ɕɔŋ¹
 get 2SG.M.NOM NF=CAUS-do come ALL F=country GEN
p^{hi}
 2PL
 ‘you get (it) to bring (it) to your country’ [TACJ_523]

pŋ-mi? V

In (1150) the speaker is relating how the government assisted the village. Here *mi? jo* ‘bring out (to) see’ has the sense of ‘display’ and *pŋ-* identifies the causative nature of the event.

- (1150) *tæ pynmih yoo kani ka scheme NRGa ka wa pynmyntoi bha i*
tæ pŋ-mi? jo ka=ni ka=schim ɛnarɕie ka
 NVIS CAUS-bring.out see F=PROX F=scheme NRGa 3SG.F
wa pŋ-mŋtɔj 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 *mi? wan* ‘bring out’ identifies a telic event that occurs as part of a process or succession of events. The causative morpheme *pŋ-* increases the valence of the verbal event and identifies *ki* ‘they, them’ as the agent and the following argument *ki=plian ki=nar* ‘plates’ as the O-argument.

¹This is the Khasi pronunciation of the genitive marker.

- (1151) *tæ heini man da dæp ya katæ ka ngooh ka dæm tæ pynmih wan ki sa ki*
pliāng ki nar
tæ he=i=ni man da dæp ja ka=tæ
 NVIS LOC=N=PROX become REAL PERF BEN F=NVIS
ka=ŋoʔ ka=dæm tæ pŋ-miʔ
 RES= blessing,thanks RES=bend.down NVIS CAUS-bring.out
wan ki sa ki=pliāŋ ki=nar
 come 3PL only PL=plate 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 *miʔ sat* ‘bring wash’ identifies a durative activity/event. The morpheme *pŋ-* enables the argument *u=ŋŋraŋ* ‘male’ to be identified as the A-argument and *kʒat* ‘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
tæ man da pŋ-miʔ sat kʒat u=ŋŋraŋ læʔ
 NVIS become REAL CAUS-bring.out wash leg M=male also
tæ hab raʔ hi da ka=dabɔr stæm
 NVIS have,must carry EMPH INST F=basin yellow
ne=i=tæ
 ABL=N=NVIS
 ‘so when the man does footwashing, also (he) must use the yellow
 (bronze) basin’ [PP14MF_040]

pŋ-V poj

In (1153) the speaker is relating his feelings during an event. Here *luŋ 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 *sak^hiat* ‘truly’ is an adverb that comments on the nature of the verbal event. The causative prefix *pŋ-* 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
he=i=tɛ tɛ man pŋ-luŋ sak^hiat
 LOC=N=NVIS NVIS become CAUS-deeply.touched be.true
pɔŋ he=i=tɛ ŋ laj bɾwaj
 arrive LOC=N=NVIS REF go Byrwai
 ‘then I was truly, deeply touched arriving there, going to Byrwai’
 [HPAHR_045]

pŋ-tɕɔŋ V

In (1154) the speaker is relating how enjoyable an event was. Here the verb *tɕɔŋ tɕit* ‘stay hot’ is used to mean ‘exciting’ and the causative morpheme *pŋ-* identifies an agent who makes it so.

- (1154) katæ ka fete u pynchong chit bha
ka=tɛ ka=fet u=pŋ-tɕɔŋ tɕit bha
 F=NVIS F=fête NF=CAUS-sit be.hot INTS1
 ‘that fête (village party/event) will be very exciting’ [HPAHR_076]

pŋ-tɕaʔ V

In (1155) *tɕaʔ e* ‘against’ combines the verb *tɕaʔ* ‘suffer, allow’ and *e* ‘give’. The combination seems to encode a malefactive meaning, and *pŋ-* increases the valency of the construction.

- (1155) u pynchah e kam dai kiat toh san yung donhi
u=pŋ-tɕaʔ e kam daj kiat tɔʔ san juŋ
 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]

pŋ-jɔʔ V

In (1156) the speaker is describing the value of archery. Here *jɔʔ k^hiʔ* ‘get work’ and *jɔʔ k^han* ‘get work’ extend the usage of the expressive construction *i=k^hiʔ i=k^han* ‘work’ through the use of the verb root *jɔʔ* ‘get’ which is then modified by the causative morpheme *pŋ-*.

- (1156) wa kammon u pynyoh khih pynyoh khan ya kini ki khon yong ka ri Pnar
yong i
wa kammon u=**pŋ-jɔʔ** **kʰiʔ** **pŋ-jɔʔ** **kʰan** ja
NMZ how NF=CAUS-get work CAUS-get work BEN
ki=ni ki=kʰɔn jɔŋ ka=ri pnar jɔŋ 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]

pŋ-jap 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 *pŋ-* to identify that the death is caused by an agent.

- (1157) heipor ki syiem kmai tæ pynyap klumar
he=i=pɔr ki=sʔem kmai tæ **pŋ-jap** **klumar**
LOC=N=time PL=ruler be.great NVIS CAUS-die be.cruel
‘at the time of the great kings (there were) cruel killings’
[PP07SNM_001]

pŋ-kʰrɛʔ V

In (1158) the speaker describes some of the preparations that traditional wedding ceremonies require. Here the verb *kʰrɛʔ tajar* ‘prepare’ has its first element modified by *pŋ-*, which identifies the A-argument *ki* ‘they’ as the agent of the activity.

- (1158) u pynkhræh taiar ki nadooh i khynnah iyi pyrnah pyrjin ki klong ki skoo
u=**pŋ-kʰrɛʔ** **tajar** ki na-doʔ
NF=CAUS-prepare,ready be.prepared 3PL ABL-when
i=kʰŋnaʔ i=ji pŋnaʔ pŋɟɟin ki=kɔŋ
N=little.one N=thing libation offering(liquid) PL=bottle
ki=sko
PL=gourd
‘they will prepare for the young (couple) the libation offering, the bottles’ [PP14MF_022]

pŋ-jo 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 *pŋ-*, requesting them to show the artifacts and explain while doing so.

- (1159) to, battai, pynyoo biang, pynyoo battai biang ya itu i jooŋ
tɔ bataj pŋ-jo biang pŋ-jo bataj biang ja
 ok explain CAUS-see again CAUS-see explain again BEN
i=tu i=ɕo?
 N=MEDL 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 *pŋ-* ‘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’	laŋ + jaŋ	<i>laŋ</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>jaŋ</i>	‘wait awhile’
‘get + assist’	joʔ + kɾɿʔan	<i>joʔ</i>	<i>ja-</i>	<i>kɾɿʔan</i>	‘require for supporting’
‘see + believe’	jo + ŋat	<i>jo</i>	<i>pŋ-</i>	<i>ŋat</i>	‘seem 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 *li-* marked SVCs based on the initial constituent: *laŋ* ‘go’, *wan* ‘come’, *ɕan* ‘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 p̄llaŋ* ‘go gather’ and *laj k^haṭ* ‘go pick’ encode activities that require movement (and potentially a change of state). When the second constituent is marked by *li-* 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
lɛʔ laj li-p̄llaŋ lɔk i ja u=ja-laj k^haṭ
 also go DUR-gather friend 1PL BEN NF=PLUR-go pick
ḡhur i laj li-k^haṭ i ja u=tɛ u=ḡjaralod
 vegetable 1PL go DUR-pick 1PL BEN M=NVIS M=veg(kind)
nɛ u=jarap nɛ wa u=m̄rdɔʔ nɛ
 D.TAG M=veg.kind D.TAG NMZ M=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 jaŋ* ‘go wait’ has the sense of a dynamic activity to which *li-* adds a durative sense.

- (1161) *da lai liyang i, da liyang i ki tiar*
da laj li-jaŋ i da li-jaŋ i ki=tiar
 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 dap* ‘go cut’ refers to the dynamic activity whereby a tree is cut into smaller pieces. The addition of *li-* makes this a durative activity.

- (1162) *u lai lidaiñ i ya katæ ka deiñ na khloo*
u=laj li-dap i ja ka=tɛ ka=deŋ na k^hlo
 NF=go DUR-cut 1PL BEN F=NVIS F=tree ABL forest
 ‘we would go cutting wood in the forest’ [BPVM_016]

In (1163) *laj tɔŋ* ‘go fish’ is also dynamic, involving removing fish from the stream, and *li-* adds a durative sense.

- (1163) læh u lai litong dathli lai litong tham i
lɛʔ u=laɟ li-tɔŋ datʰli laɟ li-tɔŋ tʰam i
 also 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 *laɟ tʰlɛp* ‘go bury’ implies a dynamic activity where the ground is dug up. The addition of *li-* 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
dɛp kɔ u=jap tɛ dɛp ki ka
 PERF 3SG.F.NOM NF=die NVIS PERF 3PL 3SG.F.ACC
ka=beɟ ɔ u=laɟ li-tʰlɛp tʃa ɕiŋ-tɛp
 F=mother 1SG.NOM NF=go DUR-bury ALL NMZ-bury
 ‘after she died, then they buried my mother in the cemetery’
 [FPAHM_005]

In (1165) *laɟ pŋ-doʔ* ‘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 *li-* 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
ɛm baɿ̃ ɛm hi tʃi=sɛn tʃi=sɛn ɛm baɿ̃ wa
 have IMM3 have EMPH one-time one-time have IMM3 NMZ
laɟ li-pŋ-doʔ kʰɔn ɔ
 go DUR-CAUS-lose child 1SG.NOM
 ‘there was once that I was caused to lose a child’ [FPAHM_029]

In (1166) the SVC *laɟ daj* ‘go buy’ involves the dynamic activity of a transaction, and *li-* identifies the activity as durative.

- (1166) tæ phah kitæ ki nongkynrih lai lidai khoos ya i
tɛ pʰaʔ ki=tɛ ki=nɔŋ-kŋriʔ laɟ li-daj
 NVIS send PL=NVIS PL=AG.NMZ-harvest go DUR-sell
kʰo ja i
 rice[husked] BEN 1PL
 ‘so (they) sent those harvesters to go buy rice for us’ [FPAHM_043]

In (1167) the construction *laɟ 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*
tɛ laj wa u=wɔʔ lakriaʔ wa u=ɲɲiaw
 NVIS go COMT M=HON.M.elder Lakriah COMT M=seven
wasas laj li-pan ki i=kʰɲ.daw i=tʃʔiap
 hut go DUR-ask 3PL N=earth 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 tʃare* ‘go herd/chase’ and *laj kʰaji* ‘go trade’ are a modification of the expressive construction *i=tʃare i=kʰaji* ‘do commerce’, referring to business transactions and market trading. The use of *laj* gives the activity a strongly dynamic sense, and *li-* implies a durative aspect.

- (1168) *tæ ym yee de u u lai lichare lai likhayi smurit*
tɛ ɲ je de u u=laj li-tʃare laj
 NVIS NEG able NEG.INTS 3SG.M.NOM NF=go DUR-herd go
li-kʰaji 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 boʔ* ‘go put’ also describes a dynamic activity and *li-* gives the activity a durative sense.

- (1169) *kini man da lai i man da rah na yung lai libooh, poi heitæ tæ booh i*
ki=ni man da laj i man da raʔ na
 PL=PROX become REAL go 1PL become REAL carry ABL
juŋ laj li-boʔ pɔj he=i=tɛ tɛ boʔ
 home go DUR-put,keep arrive LOC=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 ɔŋ* ‘go speak’ is a dynamic activity and *li-* gives this construction a durative sense.

- (1170) *tæ na ka liang ka yung yong u chynrang lai li-ong ki cha yung ka kynthai*
tɛ na ka=lian ka=juŋ jɔŋ u=tʃɲran laj li-ɔŋ ki
 NVIS ABL F=side F=home GEN M=male go DUR-say 3PL
tʃa juŋ ka=kɲtʰaj
 ALL home 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 *jep* ‘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*
ne=i=tɛ jep laj li-lor ɔ
 ABL=N=NVIS stand go DUR-plow 1SG.NOM
 ‘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 *li-* 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
ɛm ki=bru wa wan li-pat ke ɛm
 have PL=person NMZ come DUR-look Non-purp have
ki=bru wa wan he=i=tu ja u=jo 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=ʈfo i=boʔ* ‘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 *li-* identifies the dynamic activity as durative.

- (1173) *hadoo wa u poi u sngi ka wa u libooh ki oo wan lichoo libooh tæ oo ym*
yee u u wan
ha-doʔ wa u=pɔj u=sɣi ka wa
 LOC-when NMZ NF=arrive M=day 3SG.F NMZ
u=li-boʔ ki o wan li-ʈfo
 NF=DUR-put,keep 3PL 3SG.M.ACC come DUR-remain
li-boʔ tɛ o ɲ je u
 DUR-put,keep NVIS 3SG.M.ACC NEG able 3SG.M.NOM

u=wan

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]

***ɕan* ‘be near’ (inceptive)**

In (1174) the SVC is formed with three verbs *pat* ‘look’, *ɕan* ‘be near’, and *daj* ‘sell’. The sense of the three verbs together, combined with *li-* on the final verb, seems to be one of inception, possibly encoded by *ɕan* ‘be near’. The verb *pat* ‘look’ seems to identify a possibility based on the speaker’s perception, while *li-* encodes a durative aspect that modifies *daj* ‘sell’.

(1174) *jan u khon yong oo jan utai pait jan lidai cha yaw næ mo*

ɕan u=kʰɔn jɔŋ o ɕan u=taj pat
be.near M=child GEN 3SG.M.ACC be.near M=distal look

ɕan li-daj tʃa jaw nɛ mɔ
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 tʰo?* ‘able to search, find’ and *je wad* ‘able to look for’ expand the sense of the expressive construction *i=tʰo?* *i=wad* ‘search and find’. The verb *je* ‘be able’ implies an abilitative aspect, which is given a particular duration through the use of *li-*.

(1175) *tɛ la æm wa yee lithooh yee liwad tɛ u kam o i bhah i bynta*

tɛ la æm wa je li-tʰo? je li-wad
NVIS if have NMZ able DUR-find,search able DUR-look.for

tɛ u=kam ɔ i=bʰa? i=bɲta
NVIS NF=work 1SG.NOM N=share N=purpose

‘so if there is (anyone) to be found, then I will do my part’
[PP13RS_084]

16.4.2 Second verb takes pluractional *ja-*

The marker *ja-* marks a verb as reciprocal/communal/reflexive. SVCs in my data in which the second element is affixed by *ja-* can also be grouped on the basis of the verb that occurs initially: *laj* ‘go’, *wan* ‘come’, *sɲiaw* ‘sense’, and *jɔ?* ‘get’.

laj ‘go’ (dynamic)

In (1176) *laj tʃɛm* ‘go meet’ identifies a dynamic event where the speaker is involved in motion towards a goal. Here the use of *ja-* identifies a reciprocal activity involving both participants.

- (1176) tæ ini wa dæp læh dang lai o chitai cha madras lai yachæm wa oo
tɛ i=ni wa dɛp lɛʔ daŋ laj ɔ tʃi=taʃ
NVIS N=PROX NMZ PERF do PROG go 1SG.NOM one-distal
tʃa madras **laj ja-tʃɛm** wa o
ALL Madras go PLUR-meet COMT 3SG.M.ACC
‘so recently I went to Madras to meet him’ [PP15PI_030]

wan ‘come’ (dynamic)

In (1177) the SVC *wan tʃɛm* ‘come meet’ describes a dynamic event with the speaker (the main participant) as the locus of activity. The use of *ja-* on the matrix verb identifies the activity as reciprocal between the two participants.

- (1177) tæ wan yachæm wa unu u P. Sutnga
tɛ **wan ja-tʃɛm** wa u=nu u=pi sutŋa
NVIS come PLUR-meet COMT M=which M=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 *da tʃɔŋ da saʔ* ‘sit, stay’ to mean ‘enjoy staying’. The use of *ja-* identifies the event as a communal/reciprocal/reflexive state.

- (1178) sɲiaw suk yachong yasah, tang wa chah ko re
sniaw suk ja-tʃɔŋ ja-saʔ taŋ wa
sense be.peaceful PLUR-sit PLUR-stay but,even NMZ
tʃaʔ kɔ rɛ
suffer,allow 3SG.F.NOM NEG.INTS
‘(we) enjoyed staying (there) but it (the village) didn’t allow us’
[SI2_075]

ʃɔʔ ‘get’

In (1179) the verbal construction *ʃɔʔ kɪtʃan* ‘get assist’ seems to imply a kind of necessity or usefulness. Here the initial element *ʃɔʔ* ‘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*
ki=nɔŋ-ræp ki wa ja-tʃan je=i=tɛ
 PL=AG.NMZ-cultivate 3PL NMZ PLUR-important BEN=N=NVIS
ja u=kʰo jɔʔ ja-kɾʃan ja u=kʰo
 BEN M=rice[husked] get PLUR-assist,support BEN M=rice
 ‘the farmers, they are important for the rice, for supporting rice
 (cultivation)’ [SI3_006]

16.4.3 Second verb takes causative *pŋ-*

The use of the causative marker *pŋ-* 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: *laʃ* ‘go’, *jo* ‘see’, *je* ‘be able’, and *e* ‘give’.

laʃ ‘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 *laʃ* identifies the act of cleaning (*pŋ-kʰoɪt* ‘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 katwɔn sein jooh lai pyn-khooid i*
mut katwɔn sen ʒoʔ laʃ pŋ-kʰoɪt i
 means how.much time HAB go CAUS-clean,pure 1PL
 ‘so how many times (do) we go clean (it)?’ [KNI_033]

jo ‘see’ (perception, seeming)

In (1181) the complex verbal construction *jo pŋ-man* seems to mean ‘decide’. Here *jo* is used in a perceptive or ‘internal change’ sense to modify the following verb *pŋman* ‘cause to become’.

- (1181) *dæp neitæ yoo pynman noh i oo itu yn chna ya ka fete UDP party*
dɛp ne=i=tɛ jo pɲ-man nɔʔ i o
 PERF ABL=N=NVIS see CAUS-become IMM1 1PL 3SG.M.ACC
i=tu ɲ fɲa ja ka=fet judipi parti
 N=MEDL REF make BEN F=fête 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 *ɲat* ‘believe’, to mean that the location ‘seemed convincingly positive’.

- (1182) *ha kawi ka liang yoo pynngait hi*
ha ka=wi ka=liang jo pɲ-ɲat hi
 LOC F=one F=side see CAUS-believe EMPH
 ‘on one hand it seemed worthwhile’ [SI2_077]

je ‘be able’ (abilitative)

In (1183) the use of *je* ‘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 *jep* ‘stand’, and the case-marked argument *ɲa* ‘I, me’ identifies the speaker as both the agent and the patient of the activity.

- (1183) *nga yee pynyen biang ya nga na ka u candidate*
ɲa je pɲ-jep biang ja ɲa na
 1SG.ACC able CAUS-stand again BEN 1SG.ACC ABL
ka 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 assistive function. Here the assistance regards preparation (*pɲ-bat*) of a particular card that is part of a government plan to encourage employment.

- (1184) læh e pynbait ya tæ ki job card
lɛʔ e pɲ-bat̪ ja tɛ ki=ʔɔb kad
 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 *elaka* 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=dep* ‘upright tree’, *ka=dep* ‘log, wood’, *i=dep* ‘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 speaker-centric 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 *da* ‘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 mirrored 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 achieved 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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Journal articles

- Ring, Hiram. 2012. A phonetic description and phonemic analysis of Jowai-Pnar. *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 Jowai-Pnar. 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.

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- 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.
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- 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.

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- Ring, Hiram. 2011. *An initial phonology of Jowai-Pnar*. Division of Linguistics and Multilingual Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, November 4.

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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 *ka=*. The majority have noun roots (56), but resultative verbal derivations are also represented (12).

Noun-noun pairs

In (1185) *ka=k^hlo ka=k^ham* contains an initial 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 *ka=dak^ha ka=dat^hli* 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 *ka=k^hne ka=sim* 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
la da im [ka=k^hlo ka=kɔ̌am] [ka=dak^ha ka=dat^hli]
 if REAL live F=forest F=name F=fish.type F=fish.kind
ka=k^hne ka=sim wa ki wa bon ɔ̌at wa im
 F=rat F=bird NMZ 3PL NMZ be.much type NMZ live
ki=bru lɛʔ da im
 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) *ka=ʈnɔŋ ka=t^haw* means ‘village area’ and can also refer to the people or inhabitants of the village.

- (1186) *tæ pait i raliang ka chnong ka thaw*
tæ pat i raliang ka=ʈnɔŋ ka=t^haw
 NVIS look 1PL Raliang F=village F=place
 ‘we looked (after) Raliang, the village’ [HPAHR_060]

In (1187) *ka=kɔt ka=sla* 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 ka=ni ka=kɔt ka=sla da dæp ja-t^hɔʔ
 see F=PROX F=book F=leaf REAL PERF PLUR-write
ka ja ŋa
 3SG.F.ACC BEN 1SG.ACC
 ‘(you) see this document, she already signed it over to me’
 [HPAHR_139]

In (1188) *ka=juŋ ka=sɛm* means ‘neighborhood, home area’ and can refer to the community among which someone grew up.

- (1188) *ki wa dap pura yong ka yung ka sɛm yong ka chnong ka thaw*
ki wa dap pura jɔŋ ka=juŋ ka=sɛm jɔŋ
 3PL NMZ fill pure GEN F=home F=neighborhood GEN
ka=ʈnɔŋ ka=t^haw
 F=village F=place
 ‘they who are fully whether at home or in town’ [LHJ_017]

In (1189) *ka=mo-siaŋ ka=mo-t^ha* 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*
ka wa toʔ wa daŋ ɛm du ka=mo-siaŋ
 3SG.F NMZ be NMZ PROG have only F=stone-slab
ka=mo-tʰa
 F=stone-boulder
 ‘then there were only rocks, stones’ [PP01CSE_014]

In (1190) *ka=tan̄nup ka=tan̄ɕri* (alt. *ka=tan̄nup tan̄ɕri*) 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 ka=tan̄-nup ka=tan̄-ɕri hiar ki
 ABL F=tip-rubber.root F=tip-banyan.tree descend 3PL
tʃa-pɔʔ pɾtʰaʃ
 ALL-under,in world
 ‘from the rubber tree’s roots they descended to earth’
 [PP01CSE_020]

In (1191) *ka=larep ka=panboʔ* refers to the central pole that was the mainstay for all Pnar traditional houses.

- (1191) *wa ym skæm ka lareĩn ka panboh*
wa m skɛm ka=larep ka=panboʔ
 NMZ not hold.upright F=main.pole F=centre.post
 ‘since (the ground) couldn’t hold the main pole upright’
 [PP01CSE_028]

In (1192) *ka=tʰma ka=wat̄* essentially means ‘war’, with *ka=wat̄* ‘sword’ serving as a metaphorical extension, i.e. ‘the implement of war’.

- (1192) *hei por wa man ka thma ka wait*
he=i=pɔr wa man ka=tʰma ka=wat̄
 LOC=N=time NMZ become F=war F=sword
 ‘at the time of the war’ [PP03SKY_001]

In (1193) *ka=pliaŋ ka=nar* 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*
tɛ jɔʔ wan ki sa ka=pliaŋ ka=nar jɔŋ ki=ni
 NVIS get come 3PL only F=plate F=iron GEN PL=PROX
ki=kur jawʔʔibidi
 PL=clan Yawchibidi
 ‘so then they only got the recognition of the Yawchibidi clan’
 [PP03SKY_030]

In (1194) *ka=tykɔŋ ka=tbɛt* 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*
ki=so juŋ jɔʔ ki i=bhaʔ i=bɲta ja
 PL=four home get 3PL N=share N=purpose BEN
ka=tykɔŋ ka=tbɛt jɔŋ ka=niam
 F=wood.floor F=storage.room GEN F=tradition
 ‘all those four households had to do the rituals of the tyngkong tbæt’ [PP03SKY_040]

In (1195) *ka=um ka=waʔ* refers to all sources of water.

- (1195) *tæ i wa biang ka um ka wah*
tɛ i wa biaŋ ka=um ka=waʔ
 NVIS 1PL NMZ be.enough F=water F=river
 ‘there was enough water’ [PP04SKO_040]

In (1196) *ka=jusɔŋ ka=p^hali* 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*
tɛ da tʃim ja ka=jusɔŋ ka=p^hali
 NVIS REAL take BEN F=turban F=turban
 ‘so (he) took the turban’ [PP05KO_051]

In (1197) *ka=dʒri ka=kʔa* refers again to the banyan tree family, while *ka=lamɛt ka=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
kammən jɔʔ bhaʔ u=tʃeʔ jɔʔ bhaʔ u
 how get share M=thorn get share 3SG.M.NOM
u=snip u=tʃeʔ u=sad u=snip
 M=plant.type M=thorn M=thorn.type M=plant.type
u=rianʔ ka=ɕʁi ka=kʔa ka=mo-siaŋ
 M=plant.type F=banyan.tree F=tree.type F=stone-slab
ka=mo-tʰa ka=lamɛt ka=ladaw
 F=stone-boulder F=banana.type 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) *ka=knia ka=duwan* refers to a particular kind of sacrifice performed at an altar.

- (1198) ya katu ka knia ka duwan ki læh
ja ka=tu ka=knia ka=duwan ki læʔ
 BEN F=MEDL F=sacrifice,rite F=altar 3PL also
 ‘for this sacrifice they also (have)’ [PP13RS_005]

In (1199) *ka=kur ka=ɕat* is a term used to refer to clan families.

- (1199) na ka kur ka jait shillong
na ka=kur ka=ɕat ʃlɔŋ
 ABL F=clan F=type Shillong
 ‘from the Shillong clan’ [PP13RS_026]

In (1200) *ka=sɛr ka=skaj* is a phrase that denotes the different kinds of deer.

- (1200) uwon uwon wa i e u pynkhai ya ka sər ka skai ym hoi u siet u
u=wɔn u=wɔn wa i=e u=pŋ-kʰaj ja
 M=which M=which NMZ N=give NF=CAUS-get.up BEN
ka=sɛr ka=skaj ŋ hɔj u=siet
 F=sambar.deer F=barking.deer NEG be.well NF=shoot
u
 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘whoever raises the deer shouldn’t shoot it’ [PP13RS_036]

In (1201) *ka=kʔɔʔ ka=hiaw* 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*
ka wan ka=kʔɔʔ ka=hiaw
 3SG.F.ACC come F=cough F=asthma
 ‘(then) came the coughing disease’ [PP13RS_106]

In (1202) *ka=waʔ ka=tari* refers to weapons and knives traditionally carried by Pnar people.

- (1202) *tæ him ka wait ka tari yong phi*
tæ him ka=waʔ ka=tari jɔŋ pʰi
 NVIS take F=sword F=knife GEN 2PL
 ‘so take your sword, your knife’ [PP13RS_115]

In (1203) *ka=sla ka=tlor* identifies the leaves of a particular plant who features in this story, and *ka=nat ka=chiang* is an elaborate expression that refers to the branches.

- (1203) *kdaar ya ka sla ka tloor ka nat ka Chiang*
kdar ja ka=sla ka=tlor ka=nat ka=ʈʰiaŋ
 open.wide BEN F=leaf F=leaf.type F=branch F=branch
 ‘the leaves, the branches, opened wide’ [PP13RS_144]

In (1204) *ka=pʀtʰaj ka=mɲdɛr* refers to the known and the unknown areas of the world.

- (1204) *ya u che kylla ka pyrthai ka myndær*
ja u=ʈʰe klla ka=pʀtʰaj ka=mɲdɛr
 BEN NF=be.light change F=world F=world.outside.Jaintia
 ‘so the earth (would) receive light’ [PP13RS_167]

In (1205) *ka=kten ka=tʰlleʃ* is an elaborate expression that refers to ‘communication’.

- (1205) *dooʔ makna ka ktein ka thylleij nga ym yee de o u wan kylla*
doʔ makna ka=kten ka=tʰlleʃ ŋa ŋ je
 lose have.large F=word F=tongue 1SG.ACC NEG able
de ɔ u=wan klla
 NEG.INTS 1SG.NOM NF=come change
 ‘the communication is destroyed, I cannot change (that)’
 [PP13RS_178]

In (1206) *ka=skit ka=skat* refers to things that are solid and true.

- (1206) *katæ ka wa ong ki da skæm ka skit ka skat*
ka=tɛ ka wa ɔŋ ki da skɛm ka=skit
 F=NVIS 3SG.F NMZ say 3PL REAL hold.upright F=real,true
ka=skat
 F=real,true
 ‘then they say the relationship is a real/true one’ [PP14MF_019]

In (1207) *ka=kʰloo ka=dep* refers to the surrounding forested land.

- (1207) *kani ka chnong sohmynting yong i læh nang dooh ka khloo ka deiñ*
ka=ni ka=ʃnɔŋ sɔʔmɲtiŋ jɔŋ i læʔ naŋ doʔ
 F=PROX F=village Sohmynting GEN 1PL also still lose
ka=kʰlo ka=dep
 F=forest F=tree
 ‘this our village (of) Sohmynting also had much forest (land)’
 [SI1_006]

In (1208) *ka=ri ka=muluk* is an expression that identifies the traditional country and community.

- (1208) *ka culture yong ka ri ka muluk*
ka=kɔltʃɔr jɔŋ ka=ri ka=muluk
 F=culture GEN F=country F=community
 ‘culture of the country, community’ [TACJ_021]

Verb-verb resultatives

Verbal elements that are nominalized by *ka=* have a resultative sense. This also applies to verbs used in elaborate constructions.

In (1209) *ka=roj ka=par* 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*
kammɔn u=kɲtu i ja ka=roj
 how NF=recommend,advise 1PL BEN RES=crawl
ka=par *jɔŋ i=ʃat-bru*
 RES=crawl GEN N=type-person
 ‘this is how we develop in order to prosper our people’ [AIJ_038]

In (1210) *ka=chad ka=rwaj* refers to singing and dancing.

- (1210) *ka chad ka rwai neitæ pteñ i ka*
ka=ɸad ka=rwaj *ne=i=tɛ pteɲ i ka*
 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) *ka=kap ka=kɲt^hiar* 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*
tɛ u=wɔɭ lakriaɭ ɔŋ u wa ɲ
 NVIS M=HON.M.elder Lakriah say 3SG.M NMZ NEG
biang de ka=kap ka=kɲt^hiar
 be.enough NEG.INTS RES=step RES=jump
 ‘so elder Lakriah said it’s not enough, the pace (of things)’
 [PP13RS_018]

In (1212) *ka=nia ka=k^hɔt* refers to arguments, where reason and knowledge are used to win others over to your side.

- (1212) *ym æm ka nia ka khot*
ɲ ɛm ka=nia ka=k^hɔt
 NEG have RES=reason RES=knowledge
 ‘(I) don’t have an argument’ [PP13RS_080]

In (1213) *ka=nia ka=jutaŋ* is another way of describing argument or reasoning.

- (1213) *ka nia ka yutang ong u wa phah ki syiem kmai*
ka=nia ka=jutaŋ *ɔŋ u wa p^haɭ ki=sɿem*
 RES=reason RES=argue say 3SG.M NMZ send PL=ruler
kmaɟ
 be.great
 ‘the reason he said was that the great kings sent (him)’
 [PP13RS_141]

In (1214) *ka=mu-aɖ ka=tanlaŋ* refers to drunkenness.

- (1214) *tæ yoh ka mu-aid ka tanglang oo*
tɛ jɔɭ ka=mu-aɖ ka=tanlaŋ o
 NVIS get RES=be.drunk RES=mixed.up.together 3SG.M.ACC
 ‘so he got drunk’ [PP13RS_097]

In (1215) *ka=jutaŋ ka=jubat* specifically refers to an oath, in this case the marriage vows.

- (1215) *dæp neitæ man da dæp ka yutang ka yubat*
dɛp ne=i=tɛ man da dɛp ka=jutaŋ
 PERF ABL=N=NVIS become REAL PERF RES=argue
ka=jubat
 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=kba u=k^ho* refers to the raw paddy rice and the dried and husked rice. This is used as a metaphor for all food.

- (1216) *warɔʔ u=kba u=k^ho warɔʔ ka=ɕat wa*
all M=rice[paddy] M=rice[husked] all F=type NMZ
ɪn
boil,burn
 ‘all the rice, everything got burned’ [FPAHM_039]

In (1217) *u=sɱbe u=p^hnian* refers to seeds, and particularly to the rice seed and seedlings. It is used here in conjunction with *u=kba u=k^ho* ‘rice types, food’.

- (1217) *tɛ t^huŋ u=tɛ jɔʔ u ja [u=sɱbe*
NVIS plant M=NVIS get 3SG.M.NOM BEN M=seed
u=p^hnian] [u=kba u=k^ho]
M=rice[seedling] M=rice[paddy] M=rice[husked]
 ‘so he planted, he got the rice seed, the rice’ [PP01CSE_039]

In (1218) *u=mrɔd u=mrɪan* 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-dooch u
bru, u mrad u mriang, ki sim ki doh
kat wa ka=bej wa boʔ ɲ ka wa boʔ
as NMZ F=mother NMZ put,keep ref 3SG.F NMZ put,keep
kɔ je=i=rɲnɛɲ i=rɲjɔt na-doʔ
3SG.F.NOM BEN=N=physical.self ACT physical.self
u=bru u=mrad u=mriaŋ ki=sim ki=dɔʔ
ABL-when M=person M=animal M=animal PL=bird
‘whereas the mother, she gave life to human beings, to animals, to
the birds’ [PP01CSE_087]

In (1219) *u=sɲkʰen u=pyrda* refers to the household goods, as a metaphor for homes and homemaking.

- (1219) u syngkhein u pyrda ha yung ha sɛm
u=sɲkʰen u=prda ha juŋ ha sɛm
M=pillow M=curtain LOC home LOC neighborhood
‘the household cloths, the home and neighborhood’ [PP08LC_009]

In (1220) *u=kʰniaŋ u=tkʰu* 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=lat na u=tɛ u=kʰniaŋ u=tkʰu
BEN NF=free,escape ABL M=NVIS M=insect 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=tʃeʔ u=sad* refers to a certain bush of thorns, while *u=snip u=riaŋ* 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
bhaʔ u=tʃeʔ jɔʔ bhaʔ u u=snip [u=tʃeʔ
share M=thorn get share 3SG.M.NOM M=plant.type M=thorn
u=sad] [u=snip u=riaŋ]
M=thorn.type M=plant.type M=plant.type
‘(a story of how) the thorn got its 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=kʰrɔʔ u=radan* represents frogs and toads, *u=mut u=kɲda* ‘buffalo, rhino’ represents large domestic herbivores (particularly those whose skin is used for leather), *u=kʰla u=suri* ‘tiger, wolf’ represents dangerous carnivores, *u=hati u=kule* ‘elephant, horse’ represents animals used for domestic transportation, and *u=sɛr u=skaj* 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
tɛ kammon jɔʔ bhaʔ n̩ ki ki=ni ki [u=kʰrɔʔ
 NVIS how get share ref 3PL PL=PROX 3PL M=frog
u=radan] [*u=mut u=knda*] *kammon jɔʔ bhaʔ*
 M=frog.type M=buffalo M=rhino how get share
[u=kʰla u=suri] jɔʔ bhaʔ [u=hati u=kule]
 M=tiger M=wolf get share M=elephant M=horse
[u=sɛr u=skaj]
 M=sambar.deer 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=tlle u=tʰri* represents different kind of rope.

(1223) *pait uni u tyllle u thri*
pat̩ u=ni u=tlle u=tʰri
 look M=PROX M=rope M=bamboo.rope
 ‘(you) look (at) this rope’ [PP13RS_117]

In (1224) *u=rdan u=tm̩pɔŋ* 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*
ka=wat̩ jɔŋ i u=p̩n-doʔ kɔ o
 F=sword GEN 1PL NF=CAUS-lose 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.ACC
u=rdan u=tm̩pɔŋ
 M=neck M=waist
 ‘our sword will cut your neck and waist’ [PP13RS_118] (if KL
 doesn’t cooperate)

In (1225) *u=mo k̩nrɛm u=mo k̩nrɔʔ* are particular kinds of stones believed to provide protection and serve as boundary markers.

(1225) *u moo kynrem u moo kynroh*
u=mo k̩nrɛm u=mo k̩nrɔʔ
 M=stone be.boundary M=stone fencing
 ‘the boundary stones’ [PP13RS_147]

In (1226) *u=sarat u=sadhia*r refers to all kinds of alcohol.

- (1226) *chwa duhai u sarat u sadhiar*
tʃwa duhaj u=sarat u=sadhiar
 before request M=alcohol M=beer
 ‘before I ask/have alcohol’ [PP13RS_172]

In (1227) again there are several different types of animals listed. The expression *u=psej tlep u=psej tmmɔʔ* refers to two different kinds of snakes and therefore encompasses the whole class, *u=dathli u=dakha* refers to different kinds of fish, and *tʃi tadɔŋ u=weʔ tʃi tadɔŋ u=stiar* refers to different kinds of worms found in bamboo.

- (1227) *tæ u pseĩn tyllaiĩ u pseĩn tymmoh tæ u dathli u dakha chi tadong u weih*
chi tadong u stiar tæ u brait hapoh u khriang hapoh u dhoo
tɛ [u=psej tlep u=psej tmmɔʔ] tɛ
 NVIS M=snake snake.type M=snake overlay NVIS
[u=dathli u=dakha] [tʃi tadɔŋ u=weʔ tʃi
 M=fish.kind M=fish.type set bamboo.cup M=worm set
tadɔŋ u=stiar] tɛ u=braʔ ha-pɔʔ
 bamboo.cup M=insect.type NVIS NF=scatter LOC-under,in
u=kʰriaŋ ha-pɔʔ u=dho
 M=whirlpool LOC-under,in 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=tʃat u=kʰiaʔ* refers to health and wholeness.

- (1228) *neitæ yoh u chait u khiah*
ne=i=tɛ jɔʔ u=tʃat u=kʰiaʔ
 ABL=N=NVIS get NF=be.healthy NF=be.whole
 ‘from that to be healthy, whole’ [BMPJ_022]

In (1229) *u=tʃɔŋ u=saʔ* similarly refers to inhabiting and dwelling.

- (1229) *dei wa u suk u chong u sah*
de=i=wa u=suk u=tʃɔŋ u=saʔ
 INST=N=NMZ NF=be.peaceful NF=sit NF=stay
 ‘so that (it) is comfortable to stay’ [PP01CSE_025]

In (1230) *u=skɛm u=ksɔʔ* 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*
tɛ li-pan i je i=k^hɲdaw i=ʈʰiap ʝɔʔ
 NVIS DUR-ask 1PL able N=earth N=soil get
u=skɛm u=ksoʔ u=tnom
 NF=hold.upright NF=hold M=roof
 ‘so we ask the soil, sand (would) be able to hold the roof upright’
 [PP01CSE_028]

In (1231) *u=ʈʰna u=t^ho* refers to the activity of creation. The word *t^ho* is also the word used for a metalworker or smith, as in *u=nɔŋ-t^ho* ‘blacksmith’.

- (1231) *nga toh u yee o u chna u thoo du yee i mynsein*
ŋa tɔʔ u=je ɔ u=ʈʰna u=t^ho du
 1SG.ACC be NF=able 1SG.NOM NF=make NF=create only
je i=mɲsen
 able N=spirit,soul,heart
 ‘I am (only) able to make/create soul’ [PP01CSE_029]

In (1232) *u=put u=tɛm* identifies the act of performing or playing music instruments.

- (1232) *ki wa stad u put u tæm*
ki wa stad u=put u=tɛm
 3PL NMZ be.educated,wise NF=blow,sound NF=pluck,strum
 ‘those who are able to play musical instruments’ [PP03SKY_031]

In (1233) *u=p^hɛt u=jut* refers to the activity of fleeing from danger.

- (1233) *tæ ong ki u phæt u yut noh neini i thaw*
tɛ ɔŋ ki u=p^hɛt u=jut nɔʔ ne=i=ni
 NVIS say 3PL NF=run NF=run.away IMM1 ABL=N=PROX
i=t^haw
 N=place
 ‘so they spoke (of) running, fleeing from this place’ [PP04SKO_033]

In (1234) *u=rɛp u=k^hiʔ* identifies the activity of farming.

- (1234) *biang i pynthor u ræp u khih*
biŋ i=pɲt^hɔr u=rɛp u=k^hiʔ
 be.enough N=paddy.field NF=cultivate NF=work
 ‘the paddy field is enough to farm’ [PP04SKO_044]

In (1235) *u=ʝɔʔ u=tba* refers to the activity of touching.

- (1235) *tæ ym æm uwi yn u chynrang u yoh u tba yeikhlieh yong nga*
tɛ m ɛm u=wi n u=ʃnraŋ u=jɔʔ u=tba
 NVIS NEG have M=one ref M=male NF=get NF=touch
je=i=k^hleʔ jɔŋ ŋa
 BEN=N=head GEN 1SG.ACC
 ‘so no-one is allowed to touch my head’ [PP05KO_031]

In (1236) *u=klam u=ɔŋ* refers to the activity of talking.

- (1236) *heitæ e lad ki u klam u ong u khmah*
he=i=tɛ e lad ki u=klam u=ɔŋ u=k^hmaʔ
 LOC=N=NVIS give way 3PL NF=speak NF=say M=Khmah
 ‘then they gave Khmah a chance to speak’ [PP05KO_039]

In (1237) *u=p^huleʔ u=putɛm* 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*
ne=i=tɛ u=k^ho wa u=p^huleʔ u=putɛm
 ABL=ACT=NVIS M=rice[husked] NMZ NF=powder NF=grind
ɔŋ i
 say 1PL
 ‘next the rice that we call powdered’ [PP11NC_012]

In (1238) *u=jap u=hap* 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*
ha ka=sŋi ka wa u=jap u=hap
 LOC F=day 3SG.F NMZ NF=die NF=fall
 ‘on the day of (sudden) death’ [PP11NC_017]

In (1239) *u=ŋoʔ u=dɛm* refers to prayers and *u=sʔut u=ʃor* 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
dɛp [u=ŋoʔ u=dɛm] tæ... jɪt^hiaŋ na
 PERF NF=blessing,thanks NF=bend.down NVIS overspill ABL
kten ha rdaŋ ha tɪpɔŋ [u=sʔut u=ʃor]
 word LOC neck LOC waist NF=pour NF=pour
 ‘after prayers, then... (it) overflowed from the mouth on the neck, on the waist, pouring’ [PP13RS_022]

In (1240) *u=laj u=ɕɛm u=laj u=tod* 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*
tɛ la ɲ je u=laj u=ɕɛm u=laj u=toit
 NVIS if NEG able NF=go NF=easy NF=go NF=flow,flex
pat u=ni u=tlle u=t^hri
 look M=PROX M=rope M=bamboo.rope
 ‘so if you can’t go easily, look (at) this rope’ (with which to tie you)
 [PP13RS_117]

In (1241) *u=tip u=k^hrɛ?* refers to preparation.

- (1241) *booh ynru sngi ynñiaw syniaw u e wyrta u e chula ya u tip u khræh ta*
yaw
bo? ɲru sɲi ɲɲiaw sɲjaw u=e wrta u=e
 put,keep six day seven night NF=give news NF=give
ʔula ja u=tip u=k^hrɛ? ta jaw
 account BEN NF=know 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^hrɛ? u=tajar* also refers to preparation.

- (1242) *u khræh u taiar ki nadooh ka khung ka khap*
u=k^hrɛ? u=tajar ki na-do? ka=k^huŋ
 NF=prepare,ready NF=be.prepared 3PL ABL-when RES=tie
ka=k^hap
 RES=marry
 ‘they will prepare (the things) before the wedding’ [PP14MF_022]

In (1243) *u=k^hut u=tip* 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 u=k^hut u=tip mi u=hiar u=hap
 five word NF=call NF=fetch 2sg.m.nom NF=descend NF=fall
i ʔwa u=blaj
 1PL before M=God
 ‘five words you will call, we will descend before God’ [PP13RS_192]

In (1244) *u=sat u=k^hlɛn* refers to washing and cleaning.

- (1244) *tə nga yn yarap o ya ka bei u sait u khlæñ*
tɛ ŋa ŋ jarap ɔ ja ka=bej u=sat̪
 NVIS 1SG.ACC REF help 1SG.NOM BEN F=mother NF=wash
u=kʰlɛŋ
 NF=clean
 ‘so I helped her in washing and cleaning’ [PP15PI_022]

In (1245) *u=nɛʔ u=saʔ* 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*
ʝɔʔ u=nɛʔ u=saʔ i=tɛ
 get NF=preserve NF=stay N=NVIS
 ‘those (people) got to stay’ [SME_026]

In (1246) *u=kʰian u=hɛʔ* refers to things both large and small, encompassing all the different sizes of potatoes.

- (1246) *uni u salah u khian u hæh læh thap bait ha ka jooh ka churia*
u=ni u=salaʔ u=kʰian u=hɛʔ lɛʔ tʰap bat̪
 M=PROX M=potato NF=be.small NF=be.big also put IMM3
ha ka=ɕoʔ ka=tʃuria
 LOC RES=be.same F=sack
 ‘this potato, the small and the big also (they) put in the same sack’
 [SI3_038]

In (1247) *u=boʔ 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*
la da ʝɔʔ ki u=boʔ u=tran da ki=tɛ
 if REAL get 3PL NF=put,keep NF=place INST PL=NVIS
ki=masi ki=sniaŋ
 PL=cow PL=pig,pork
 ‘if they got to keep cows and pigs..’ (they would use the dung as fertilizer) [SI3_064]

In (1248) *u=tʰɔʔ u=tʰar* represents the activity of writing.

- (1248) *tæ kat wa kamtæ man kat u tip tip o myllu mylla u thoh u thar*
tɛ kat wa kam-tɛ man kat u=tip tip
 NVIS as NMZ as,like-NVIS become as NF=know know
ɔ mllu mlla u=tʰɔʔ u=tʰar
 1SG.NOM gather gather NF=write 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=bha?* *i=ḅnta* refers to a portion, in this case of responsibility.

- (1249) *ki wan ki heipor wa u e i bhah i bynta ya ka niam*
ki wan ki he=i=p̣or wa u=e i=bha?
 3PL come 3PL LOC=N=time COMT NF=give N=share
i=ḅnta ja ka=niam
 N=purpose BEN F=tradition
 ‘they came at the time and were given a share in the tradition’
 [PP02SKF_031]

In (1250) *i=ḳiad* *i=um* refers to kinds of alcohol and other drink.

- (1250) *ḥnre heiṭæ i kyiad i um da khḷæh bi*
ḥnre he=i=ṭæ i=ḳiad i=um da ḳḥḷæ?
 but.also LOC=N=NVIS N=liquor N=water REAL mix
bi
 be.diseased
 ‘but in that liquor/drink (he) mixed poison’ [PP03SKY_007]

In (1251) *i=juṇ* *i=ṣem* identifies a neighborhood.

- (1251) *ṭæ na loom langdoh chna ki i yung i ṣæm heitu i loom langdoh*
ṭæ na lom laṇḍo? ṭf̣na ki i=juṇ i=ṣem
 NVIS ABL hill Langdoh make 3PL N=home N=neighborhood
he=i=tu i=lom laṇḍo?
 LOC=N=MEDL N=hill Langdoh
 ‘so the four sisters built their houses at Loom Langdoh, there at
 Loom Langdoh’ [PP03SKY_038]

In (1252) *i=ṭhaw* *i=bhaw* 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
ki=ni ki=k^hatso wa-hεʔ da paʔ_ɾ da jo ki
 PL=PROX PL=fourteen NMZ-be.big REAL look REAL see 3PL
je=i=ni i=t^haw i=bhaw
 BEN=N=PROX N=place N=place
 ‘these fourteen elders looked after this place’ [PP04SKO_027]

In (1253) *i=ptfem i=dwar* refers to the courtyard of a home.

(1253) i pchæm i dwar waroh da khooid tæ phylla u
i=ptfem i=dwar warɔʔ da k^hoit_ɾ tε
 N=lawn N=dwelling all REAL clean,pure NVIS
p^hlla u
 surprise,astonish 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘the lawn the dwelling, all was clean, he was surprised’
 [PP05KO_008]

In (1254) *i=nam i=prtut_ɾ* identifies the concept of ‘name’.

(1254) u wa chim yeinam i pyrtuit i thaw wa mih ka kupli na loom yakorsing
u wa tʃim je-i=nam i=prtut_ɾ i=t^haw wa
 3SG.M NMZ take BEN=N=name N=name N=place NMZ
miʔ ka=kupli na lom jakɔrsiŋ
 bringout F=Kupli ABL hill Yakorsing
 ‘he (Yakorsing) took the name of the place that Kupli came from,
 Loom Yakorsing’ [PP05KO_012]

In (1255) *i=pɔr i=samut_ɾ* refers to the proper time for something to happen.

(1255) tæ heitæ i por i samuid tæ da chna ka ksiñ da chna ka meĩñ
tε he=i=tε i=pɔr i=samud_ɾ tε da tʃna
 NVIS LOC=N=NVIS N=time N=proper.time NVIS REAL make
ka=ksiŋ da tʃna ka=meŋ
 F=drum.type REAL make F=drum.type
 ‘so at the proper time (they) made the drums’ [PP13RS_052]

In (1256) *i=prt^haj i=mɳdɛr* 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=tʃe klla u=tʃit klla i=prt^haj
 NMZ NF=be.light change NF=hot change N=world
i=mɳdɛr
 N=world.outside.Jaintia
 ‘that there will be light restored (to) earth’ [PP13RS_184]

In (1257) *i=kur i=ɕat* refers to clans.

(1257) *tæ kynthai læh ka kylli cha i kur i jait*
tɛ kɯ̃tʰaj lɛʔ ka kʲli tʃa i=kur i=ɕat
 NVIS female also 3SG.F.ACC ask ALL N=clan N=type
 ‘so the girl also asks (for) the surname’ [PP14MF_008]

In (1258) *i=dip i=tʰɛʔ* refers to fire.

(1258) *tæ pynpsiah ki yei diñ yei thæh*
tɛ pɯ̃-psiaʔ ki jɛ-i=dip jɛ-i=tʰɛʔ
 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=stɛp i=met* 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*
tɛ ka wa kʲit bha ɲ o u=laj pʰɛt
 NVIS 3SG.F NMZ enjoy INTS1 ref 1SG.NOM NF=go run
i=stɛp i=met
 N=morning,early N=night
 ‘so what I enjoyed doing was going for a run/walk, morning and evening’ [PP15PI_016]

In (1260) *i=met i=sɯ̃jaw* refers to midnight.

(1260) *i por i meit i syniaw lithooh ki bru*
i=pɔr i=met i=sɯ̃jaw li-tʰoʔ ki=bru
 N=time N=night N=night DUR-find,search 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*
tɛ li-boʔ ki=tɛ i=tiar i=tar
 NVIS DUR-put,keep 3PL=NVIS N=things N=stuff
 ‘so they would put the things (there)’ [SI1_046]

Verb-verb action nominals

In (1262) *i=tʃɔŋ i=saʔ* 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*
ka=bej ramaw ka wa i im i=ṭṭṭṭṭṭ i=sa?
 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=mən i=k^he* refers to the will or ability of someone to act.

(1263) *la to? i=mən i=k^he jṭṭ u=tre-ki-rot*
 if be ACT=will ACT=will,ability GEN M=Creator.God
 ‘if it is God’s will...’ [PP13RS_025]

In (1264) *i=ṭṭṭṭṭṭ i=ṭṭṭṭṭṭ* 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 i=ṭṭṭṭṭṭ i=ṭṭṭṭṭṭ hawa jṭṭ i=bṛ
 when lose ACT=tired ACT=faint when get N=power
i=mṇsen
 N=sprit,soul,heart
 ‘when (he) lost tiredness, when (he) gained strength...’
 [PP13RS_133]

In (1265) *i=k^hen i=k^haj* is used to identify the act of getting up from a prone position.

(1265) *tə hawa biang i kheñ i khai hawa yoh i bor mynsein tə phæt kylla u*
tə hawa biang i=k^hen i=k^haj hawa jṭṭ
 NVIS when again ACT=ritual.action ACT=get.up when get
i=bṛ mṇsen tə p^het kylla u
 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=sneṭ i=kro* refers to teaching or instructing.

(1266) *sorbar tə pṇap tə pṇsñiaw da yoh i sneñ i kroo u khon lymboit khon*
lymbiang
sorbar tə pṇ-ap tə pṇ-spiaw da jṭṭ
 gathering NVIS CAUS-listen NVIS CAUS-sense REAL get
i=sneṭ i=kro u=k^hən lṇboit k^hən lṇbiang
 ACT=teach ACT=instruct M=child Lymboit child Lymbiang
 ‘so (they) listened (they) heard, (they) got instruction (from) Khon Lymboit Khon Lymbiang’ [PP13RS_195]

In (1267) *i=pr̥naʔ i=pr̥ɕin* refers to libations and offerings that are part of a ritual.

- (1267) *tæ itu toh i pyrnah ong i ki i pyrnah i pyrjin*
tɛ i=tu tɔʔ i=pr̥naʔ ɔŋ i ki i=pr̥naʔ
 NVIS N=MEDL be ACT=libation say 1PL 3PL ACT=libation
i=pr̥ɕin
 ACT=offering(liquid)
 ‘so this is pyrnah, they call it pyrnah pyrjin’ [PP14MF_088]

In (1268) *i=ʃat̚ i=k^hiaʔ* refers to health and wholeness.

- (1268) *u æm ka jingyarap yong u blai yoh ki i chait i khiah*
u=ɛm ka=ɕiŋ-jarap jɔŋ u=blaj jɔʔ ki
 NF=have F=NMZ-help GEN M=God get 3PL
i=ʃat̚ i=k^hiaʔ
 ACT=be.healthy ACT=be.whole
 ‘having God’s help they (can) get healthy’ [PP15PI_155]

In (1269) *i=bam i=diʔ* refers to eating and drinking, i.e. food and drink.

- (1269) *nga wa i bam i dih waroh na dong ha dong*
ŋa wa i=bam i=diʔ warɔʔ na dɔŋ
 1SG.ACC NMZ ACT=eat ACT=drink all ABL thing,locality
ha dɔŋ
 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) *ki=lad ki=luti* 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
pŋ-jo u ki=tɛ ki=lad ki=luti na wa
 CAUS-see 3SG.M.NOM PL=NVIS PL=way PL=way ABL NMZ
sdan ki=sŋi
 begin PL=day
 ‘he showed these ways from the beginning’ [AIJ_032] (regarding archery)

In (1271) *ki=skud ki=rato* refers to plants and flowers.

- (1271) kitæ ki syntu, ki skud ki rato da pynwiar ki ya ki nadooh neitæ
ki=tɛ ki=sntu ki=skud ki=rato da
 PL=NVIS PL=flower PL=plant.type PL=plant.type REAL
pŋ-wiar ki ja ki na-doʔ ne=i=tɛ
 CAUS-lose 3PL BEN 3PL ABL-when ABL=N=NVIS
 ‘those flowers and plants were eliminated from long ago’
 [BMPJ_019]

In (1272) *ki=dep ki=praw* refers to trees and bushes.

- (1272) hei ya toh wa kammon u pynsah ya ki deiñ ki praw khamtam hapoh
 chnong jwai
he=i ja tɔʔ wa kammɔn u=pŋ-saʔ ja ki=dep
 LOC-1PL BEN be NMZ how NF=CAUS-stay BEN PL=tree
ki=praw kʰamtam ha-pɔʔ ʔnɔŋ ɕwaj
 PL=stick especially LOC-under,in village Jowai
 ‘regarding how to preserve the trees and bushes especially in Jowai town’ [BMPJ_028]

In (1273) *ki=mræd ki=mrɛŋ* identifies animals and land creatures, while *ki=sim ki=dɔʔ* identifies birds and flying things.

- (1273) wa kamni næ wa ya ki mræd ki mreng, ki sim ki doh
wa kam-ni næ wa ja [ki=mræd ki=mrɛŋ]
 NMZ as,like-PROX D.TAG NMZ BEN PL=animal PL=animal
[ki=sim ki=dɔʔ]
 PL=bird PL=body,meat
 ‘as for the animals, the birds...’ [BMPJ_036]

In (1274) *ki=p^hare ki=maɬ* identifies flying insects.

- (1274) *kitæ ki khniang ki wa hiar ki phare ki mait nong*
ki=tɛ ki=k^hniaŋ ki wa hiar ki=p^hare
 PL=NVIS PL=insect 3PL NMZ descend PL=fly
ki=maŋ nɔŋ
 PL=mosquito CONF
 ‘those insects that fly, the flies and mosquitos, ok...’ [BMPJ_039]

In (1275) *ki=p^hlaŋ ki=rnɛm* 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 ɲ sumar i ka daw doʔ i
 if REAL NEG take.care 1PL 3SG.F.ACC irrealis lose 1PL
ki ki=tu ki=p^hlaŋ ki=rnɛm ki wa soɔŋ
 3PL PL=MEDL PL=grass PL=shrub PL NMZ throughout
sokun jɔŋ 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) *ki=um ki=waʔ* 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*
tɛ la da i ɲ sumar i tɛ daw pɔj
 NVIS if REAL 1PL NEG take.care 1PL NVIS IRR arrive
i=pɔr wa ki=um ki=waʔ duna ki
 N=time NMZ PL=water PL=river lack 3PL
 ‘if we don’t care, time will come of water scarcity’ [BMPJ_054]

In (1277) *ki=bnaj ki=sɲi* 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=waɕɛ kat-tu ki=bnaj ki=sɲi ka
 LOC PL=bell,time as-medl PL=month PL=day 3SG.F.ACC
paʔ kɔ man da pɔj i=pɔr
 give.sign 3SG.F.NOM become REAL arrive N=time
 ‘at the proper time it (the bird) signals that the time is right (for
 farming)’ [BMPJ_061]

In (1278) *ki=pɔr ki=sɲi* 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^hnaŋ ha ki=pɔr ki=sŋi ki wa daw wan ja
so.that LOC PL=time PL=day 3PL NMZ irrealis come BEN
u u=je u=pŋ-miat pŋ-bha
3SG.M.NOM NF=able M=CAUS-be.pretty,nice CAUS-be.good
tʃoʔ tʃoʔ
more more
‘so that in times to come (we) will be able to improve more and
more’ [BMPJ_085]

In (1279) *ki=lɔk ki=dʒɔr* refers to friends and associates.

(1279) u yaparom wan cha luti cha syngkein cha ki lok ki jor wa ynne ka sngi
u=ja-parɔm wan tʃa luti tʃa sŋkep tʃa
NF=PLUR-tell.story come ALL way ALL location ALL
ki=lɔk ki=dʒɔr wa ŋne ka=sŋi
PL=friend PL=associate NMZ today F=day
‘(we) will spread the word to our friends and associates about
today’ [BMPJ_086]

In (1280) *ki=k^hniaŋ ki=psiat* refers to all the insects.

(1280) tæ u dooh jait ym tang ki mrad ki mriang ym tang ki khniang ki psiat
tæ u=doʔ dʒat ŋ taŋ ki=mrad ki=mriaŋ ŋ
NVIS NF=lose type not but,even PL=animal PL=animal NEG
taŋ ki=k^hniaŋ ki=psiat
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 ki=tar* refers to unspecified things.

(1281) u yarah biang i kitæ ki tiar ki tar u doctor tunnel
u=ja-raʔ biang i ki=tæ ki=tiar ki=tar
M=PLUR-carry again 1PL PL=NVIS PL=things PL=stuff
u=dɔktɔr tanɛl
M=doctor Tunnel
‘(after school) we would load Doctor Tunnel’s things’ [BPVM_010]

In (1282) *ki=pod ki=sam* refers to boundaries.

- (1282) *toḥ bon bha hapoh ka elaka raliang wa u pait i ya u ki pood ki sam*
tɔʔ bon bha ha-pɔʔ ka=ɛlaka ra.lian
 be be.much INTS1 LOC-under,in F=village,township Raliang
wa u=paʔ i ja u ki=pod
 NMZ NF=look 1PL BEN 3SG.M.NOM PL=boundary
ki=sam
 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) *ki=ʈnɔŋ ki=tʰaw* refers to the villages of the area.

- (1283) *ha ka rukom pynbha pynmiat ki chnong ki thaw*
ha ka=rukɔm pŋ-bha pŋ-miat ki=ʈnɔŋ
 LOC F=way CAUS-be.good CAUS-be.pretty,nice PL=village
ki=tʰaw
 PL=place
 ‘regarding the way of (us) making the villages a better place’
 [HPAHR_026]

In (1284) *ki=sŋi ki=pɔr* refers to the passage of time.

- (1284) *tæ nang lai ki sngi ki por kat wa*
tɛ naŋ laj ki=sŋi ki=pɔr kat wa
 NVIS PROG go PL=day PL=time as NMZ
 ‘so as time passes...’ [LHJ_009]

In (1285) *ki=sŋi ki=snɛm* also refers to the passage of time.

- (1285) *tæ da lai ki sngi ki snæm*
tɛ da laj ki=sŋi ki=snɛm
 NVIS REAL go PL=day PL=year
 ‘so days and years pass’ [LHJ_025]

In (1286) *ki=kʰŋnaʔ ki=pli* 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*
da ʈʰaʔ kŋnɔʔ ki=ni ki=kʰŋnaʔ ki=pli da
 REAL PASS blame PL=PROX PL=little.one PL=innocent REAL
ʈʰaʔ kŋnɔʔ ki
 PASS blame 3PL
 ‘the children, innocents are blamed, they are blamed’ [MPSM_030]

In (1287) *i=dɔʔ i=pran* refers to flesh, while *ki=ʈʰɛŋ ki=ʈʰruʔ* refers to bone, forming a metaphor meaning ‘flesh and bone’.

(1287) *ki bru ki wa æm i doh i pran i wa æm ki chyeĩn ki chruh*
ki=bru ki wa æm i=dɔʔ i=pran i wa æm
 PL=person 3PL NMZ have N=flesh N=flesh 1PL NMZ have
ki=ʈʂʰeɲ ki=ʈʂʰruʔ
 PL=bone PL=bone[seed]
 ‘people of flesh and bone’ [PP01CSE_030]

In (1288) *ki=liar ki=dud* 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*
sdan̩ kɔ u=pra sdan̩ kɔ u=tia
 begin 3SG.F.NOM NF=scatter begin 3SG.F.NOM NF=advance
ʈʂa ki=tɛ ki=tʰaw ki man ki=liar
 ALL PL=NVIS PL=place 3PL become PL=stream
ki=dud
 PL=broad.river
 ‘it (the water) began to scatter, began to advance to places,
 becoming streams and rivers’ [PP01CSE_035]

In (1289) *ki=mo-sian̩ ki=mo-tʰa* identifies stone slabs and large boulders.
 In this story the soil has been given by the heavenly mother to cover the rocks.

(1289) *tæ tɪmmoh ko tæ kyllæp ki moosiang ki mootha*
tɛ tɪmmɔʔ kɔ tɛ kɪlɛp ki=mo-sian̩
 NVIS overlay 3SG.F.NOM NVIS cover PL=stone-slab
ki=mo-tʰa
 PL=stone-boulder
 ‘so it lay over, and the rocks were covered’ [PP01CSE_036]

In (1290) *ki=sɪmbe ki=pʰnian̩* refers to the rice seed and seedlings used for planting.

(1290) *brait ko neitæ sa ki symbe ki phniang*
brat̩ kɔ ne=i=tɛ sa ki=sɪmbe
 scatter 3SG.F.NOM ABL=N=NVIS only PL=seed
ki=pʰnian̩
 PL=rice[seedling]
 ‘she scattered the seeds’ [PP01CSE_037]

In (1291) *ki=kʰɔn̩ ki=ksu* identifies children and grandchildren, i.e. offspring.

- (1291) *tyllup pyrthai ya u dap ya u im ki khon ki ksu ynñiaw wasa*
tʃlup prʰtʰaj ja u=dap ja u=im ki=kʰɔn
 all.over world BEN NF=fill BEN NF=live PL=child
ki=ksu ηɲiaw wasa
 PL=grandchild seven hut
 ‘the whole earth will be filled by the children of the seven huts’
 [PP01CSE_038]

In (1292) *ki=hali ki=hator* refers to paddy fields.

- (1292) *tæ neitæ tæ u ynñiaw wasa pynbiang pyntoh u ya ki hali ki hator*
tɛ ne=i=tɛ tɛ u=ηɲiaw wasa pɲ-biaŋ
 NVIS ABL=N=NVIS NVIS M=seven hut CAUS-be.enough
pɲ-tɔʔ 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) *ki=sɲi ki=reta* 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 ŋa man da kut ki=sɲi ki=reta
 like,want when 1SG.ACC become REAL end PL=day PL=age
ɔ u=liwan ɔ tʃa ki=sanŋia
 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) *ki=pait ki=pʰlaŋ* 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=jɛ ɔ u=pɲ-ŋat kat ja
 NMZ NF=able 1SG.NOM NF=CAUS-believe as BEN
ki=pait ki=pʰlaŋ u=wan jaʔ tʃa prʰtʰaj
 PL=people PL=grass M=come drive,lead ALL world
 ‘who am I to convince the people to bring (them) to earth’
 [PP01CSE_073]

In (1295) *ki=dep ki=sej* refers to trees and bamboo, while *ki=pʰlaŋ ki=rɛm* identified grass and shrubs or herbs, i.e. different growing things.

(1295) warɔʔ i=ɕat da tʰuŋ u=sɿ.be u=pʰniaŋ
 rnæm
 all N=type REAL plant,appoint M=seed M=rice[seedling]
 [ki=dep ki=seʃ] [ki=pʰlaŋ ki=rnɛm]
 PL=tree PL=bamboo.type PL=grass PL=shrub
 ‘all kinds of things are planted, all kinds of seeds, all trees and
 herbs...’ [PP01CSE_086]

In (1296) *ki=niam ki=rukɔm* refers to traditional practices.

(1296) tɛ ja ki=niam ki=rukɔm warɔʔ lɛʔ ki da
 NVIS BEN PL=tradition PL=way all also 3PL REAL
 pɿ-tʃɔŋ ki
 CAUS-sit 3PL
 ‘so regarding all the religious traditions also, they practice (them)’
 [PP03SKY_039]

In (1297) *ki=kur ki=ɕat* refers to the different clans who inhabit the Jaintia Hills.

(1297) kitæ toh ki kur ki jait ki wa mih na ka bor kupli
 ki=tɛ tɔʔ ki=kur ki=ɕat ki wa miʔ na
 PL=NVIS be PL=clan PL=type 3PL NMZ bring.out ABL
 ka=bɔr kupli
 F=power Kupli
 ‘these are the clans that came from Kupli’ [PP04SKO_018]

In (1298) *ki=kʰɔn ki=nat* refers to descendants, progeny or offspring.

(1298) man na kani ka pateiŋ yong ka lasubon kɕiar tæ da kha ko ki khon ki nat
 man na ka=ni ka=pateŋ jɔŋ ka=lasubɔn kɕiar
 become ABL F=PROX F=generation GEN F=Lasubon gold
 tɛ da kʰa kɔ ki=kʰɔn ki=nat
 NVIS REAL birth 3SG.F.NOM PL=child PL=branch
 ‘this is from Lasubon Kɕiar’s generation, so she bore (those)
 descendants’ [PP06PK_008]

In (1299) *ki=nan ki=suŋ* refers to different sizes of lakes.

(1299) tiʔ u ja ki=nan ki=suŋ
 dig 3SG.M.NOM BEN PL=lake PL=lake
 ‘he (Sajar Nangli) dug several lakes’ [PP07SNM_003]

In (1300) *ki=julum ki=jukduŋ* refers to the special cloths used to wrap an infant.

- (1300) booh kitæ ki yulum ki yukdung
bo? *ki=tɛ* ***ki=julum*** ***ki=jukduŋ***
 put,keep PL=NVIS PL=infant.wrap PL=infant.cloth
 ‘(they) keep those baby cloths (for wrapping)’ [PP11NC_003]

In (1301) *ki=ksud* *ki=k^hrej* are different kinds of evil spirits.

- (1301) u shillong da mih kitæ ki ksuid ki khrei
u=ʃllɔŋ *da* *mi?* *ki=tɛ* ***ki=ksud***
 M=Shillong REAL bring.out PL=NVIS PL=demon
ki=k^hrej
 PL=evil.spirit
 ‘Shillong (the king) was supported by the demons’ [PP13RS_043]

In (1302) *ki=dew* *ki=puri* refers to good spirits, particularly those that inhabit the water, while *ki=rŋkaw* *ki=samun* are spirits of the air.

- (1302) kat wa ki paid wan ki dew ki puri tæ ki rŋkaw ki samun ong ki khlan u
 synriang ya u næh ya u sah i pyrthai mariang
kat wa *ki=pait* *wan* [***ki=dew*** ***ki=puri***] *tɛ*
 as NMZ PL=people come PL=good.spirit PL=mermaid NVIS
 [***ki=rŋkaw*** ***ki=samun***] *ɔŋ* *ki* *k^hlan* *u=sŋriaŋ*
 PL=spirit.type PL=spirit.type say 3PL use,strong M=Synriang
ja *u=nɛ?* *ja* *u=sa?* *i=pɾt^haj* *mariaŋ*
 BEN NF=preserve BEN NF=stay 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) *ki=nat* *ki=ʃfiaŋ* refers to the branches of a plant.

- (1303) tæ kdar u ki nat ki Chiang yong oo
tɛ *kdar* *u* ***ki=nat*** ***ki=ʃfiaŋ*** *jɔŋ*
 NVIS open 3SG.M.NOM PL=branch PL=branch GEN
o
 3SG.M.ACC
 ‘so he opened his branches’ [PP13RS_139]

In (1304) *ki=klɔŋ* *ki=skoo* refers to the bottle and gourd used in libations.

- (1304) i yi pyrnah pyrjin, ki klong ki skoo
i=ji *pɾna?* *pɾɕjiŋ* ***ki=klɔŋ*** ***ki=sko***
 N=thing libation offering(liquid) PL=bottle PL=gourd
 ‘the thing(s) for libations, the bottle and gourd’ [PP14MF_022]

In (1305) *ki=nar* *ki=pliaŋ* identifies implements used for feasting, specifically kinds of plates.

- (1305) *tæ pynmih wan ki sa ki pliang ki nar*
tɛ pŋ-miʔ wan ki sa ki=pliaŋ ki=nar
 NVIS CAUS-bring.out come 3PL only PL=plate PL=iron
 ‘so they bring out the plates’ [PP14MF_039]

In (1306) *ki=blaj ki=sʔem* 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*
tɛ kʰlɛm pŋ-ap pŋ-spiaw ja ki=blaj
 NVIS be.without CAUS-listen CAUS-sense BEN PL=God
ki=sʔem tɛ man kɔ 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) *ki=kɔt ki=sla* refers to documents.

- (1307) *tæ da yoh o ki kot ki sla na ka i wa toh u lai interview ha Calcutta*
tɛ da jɔʔ ɔ ki=kɔt ki=sla na ka
 NVIS REAL get 1SG.NOM PL=book PL=leaf ABL 3SG.F.ACC
i wa tɔʔ u=laj intɛrvju ha kalkata
 1PL NMZ be NF=go interview LOC Calcutta
 ‘so I got all the documents ready to go interview in Calcutta’
 [PP15PI_113]

In (1308) *ki=kʰɔn ki=kti* 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*
ŋ pu ɛm u=kʰana pʰi ja i wa ja ki=kʰɔn
 NEG not have NF=tell 2PL BEN 1PL NMZ BEN PL=child
ki=kti jɔŋ pʰi
 PL=hand GEN 2PL
 ‘you haven’t told us about your children’ [PP15PI_129]

In (1309) *ki=bej ki=pa* refers to parents.

- (1309) *kat wa dang dooh ki bei ki pa i im bait dooh hi ræp hi khih*
kat wa daŋ doʔ ki=bej ki=pa i im baɿ
 as NMZ PROG lose PL=mother PL=father 1PL live IMM3
doʔ hi rɛp hi kʰiʔ
 completely EMPH cultivate EMPH work
 ‘since our parents were poor, we lived only on agriculture’ [SI1_006]

In (1310) *ki=kʰmat ki=kʰmut* 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=niaŋtʰɔʔ *nɛ* *sɛ* *wa* *man* ***ki=kʰmat***
 N=spotted.infection D.TAG C.TAG NMZ become PL=eye
ki=kʰmut *ki* *wa* *siʔ* *dur*
 PL=nose 3PL NMZ be.sad,bad picture
 ‘the smallpox, ok, it made the face ugly’ [SI1_033]

In (1311) *ki=masi ki=har* refers to different kinds of cattle.

- (1311) u yoh kitæ ki masi ki har
u=jɔʔ *ki=tɛ* ***ki=masi*** ***ki=har***
 NF=get PL=NVIS PL=cow PL=ox
 ‘(we) will get cattle’ [SI3_063]

In (1312) *ki=mar ki=kʰar* refers to belongings or objects.

- (1312) tæ ha u yaklam o ya ki mar ki khar
tɛ *ha* *u=ja-klam* *ɔ* *ja* ***ki=mar***
 NVIS LOC NF=PLUR-speak 1SG.NOM BEN PL=belongings
ki=kʰar
 PL=belongings
 ‘so when I speak about these things (objects)...’ [TACJ_062]

In (1313) *ki=kŋtʰaj ki=tʃŋraŋ* refers to members of both biological genders.

- (1313) ha i por wa yachad ya i sŋiaw-bha ki kynthai ki chynrang læh
ha *i=pɔr* *wa* *ja-tʃad* *ja* *i* *sŋiaw-bha*
 LOC N=time NMZ PLUR-dance BEN 1PL sense-be.good
ki=kŋtʰaj ***ki=tʃŋraŋ*** *lɛʔ*
 PL=female PL=male also
 ‘at times when both women and men are celebrating’ [TACJ_118]

In (1314) *ki=waɿ ki=steʔ* refers to sword and shield, i.e. implements of war.

- (1314) dang næh kini ki wait ki steih mo
daŋ *nɛʔ* *ki=ni* ***ki=waɿ*** ***ki=steʔ*** *mɔ*
 PROG preserve PL=PROX PL=sword PL=shield QTAG
 ‘these swords and shields are still preserved’ [TACJ_403]

In (1315) *ki=juŋ ki=sɛm* refers to the whole neighborhood.

- (1315) waroh ki yung ki sæm
warɔʔ ***ki=juŋ*** ***ki=sɛm***
 all PL=home PL=neighborhood
 ‘the whole neighborhood’ [TACJ_412]

Verb-verb plural pairs

In (1316) *ki=hε?* *ki=haj* 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
ŋa da wan ja-tʃɛm ɔ wa ki=hε?
 1s.acc REAL come PLUR-meet 1SG.NOM COMT PL=be.big
ki=haj
 PL=be.big
 ‘I have met with respectable people (lawyers)’ [HPAHR_027]

In (1317) *ki=bam* *ki=di?* 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
ki=ji de-i ki=tɛ ki=bam ki=di?
 PL=thing INST-3sg.N PL=NVIS PL=eat PL=drink
ki=pɲɛmkam he=i=tu i=pɔr i wa sʔuʔ wa
 PL=use LOC=N=MEDL N=time 1PL NMZ pour NMZ
tʃor
 pour
 ‘what are the eatables and drinkables used at the time of libations?’
 [PP14MF_079]

In (1318) *ki=k^hian* *ki=doj* refers to very small or minor things.

- (1318) ki wa kjut kam kitæ ki khian ki doi mynchwa mynchwa
ki wa kɕut kam ki=tɛ ki=k^hian
 3PL NMZ hurt,sick like,want PL=NVIS PL=be.small
ki=doj mɲtʃwa mɲtʃwa
 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 *ja-* (§A.1.5), causative *pɲ-* (§A.1.5), and durative *li-* (§A.1.5).

Affixes: *ja-*

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
 ηa *p^{hi}* ***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) *ja-ʔɔŋ ja-saʔ* 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
 ja *u=man* *kɔ* *ka=ɛnvajrɔnmɛn* *ka* *wa*
 BEN NF=become 3SG.F.NOM F=environment 3SG.F NMZ
 bian *wa* ***ja-ʔɔŋ*** ***ja-saʔ*** *i* *kam-ni*
 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-ŋoʔ ja-dɛm* refers to the ceremonial blessing, and *ja-bam ja-diʔ* identifies the collective activity of feasting together. This is in relation to ceremonies surrounding a marriage.

- (1321) dæp neitæ kataæ waroh ka yangooh yadæm yabam yadih tæ pyllum
 pyllang noh
 dɛp *ne=i=tɛ* *ka=tɛ* *warɔʔ* *ka*
 PERF ABL=N=NVIS F=NVIS all 3SG.F.ACC
 [*ja-ŋoʔ* ***ja-dɛm*]** **[*ja-bam* *ja-diʔ*]**
 PLUR-blessing,thanks PLUR-bend.down PLUR-eat PLUR-drink
 tɛ *pɿlum* *pɿlaŋ* *nɔʔ*
 NVIS collect gather IMM1
 'after all the thanking and blessing, the eating and drinking, then
 there is cleanup' [PP14MF_040]

Affixes: *pŋ-*

In (1322) *u=pŋ-bat pŋ-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=pñ-baṭ pñ-sud i ki u=t^ho lad kammon
 NF=CAUS-direct CAUS-care 1PL 3PL NF=create way how
u=pñ-ṭṭṭ suk ṭṭṭ san
 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) *pñ-bha pñ-miat* refers to the act of improving something or making it better.

- (1323) ha ka rukom pynbha pynmiat ki chnong ki thaw
ha ka=rukom pñ-bha pñ-miat ki=ṭṭṭṭṭ
 LOC F=way CAUS-be.good CAUS-be.pretty,nice PL=village
ki=t^haw
 PL=place
 ‘regarding the way of making the village a better place’
 [HPAHR_026]

In (1324) *pñ-hæh pñ-san* also refers to improvement, but specifically in terms of enlarging something.

- (1324) wa yakraeh lang ya kani ka kam ya u pynroi pynhaeh pynsan ya kani ka
 balang ladthadlaboh
wa ja-kreṭ? laṇ ja ka=ni ka=kam ja
 COMT PLUR-work together BEN F=PROX F=work BEN
u=pñ-roj pñ-hæ? pñ-san ja ka=ni
 M=CAUS-prosper CAUS-be.big CAUS-be.large BEN F=PROX
ka=balan lat^hadlabo?
 F=association Ladthadlaboh
 ‘and (we) work together for prosperity, to improve the Lathadlaboh church’ [LIJ_029]

In (1325) *pñ-hun pñ-suk* refers to being happy or content.

- (1325) hei jooh i por man ki ki khon wa pynhun pynsuk
he=i=ḡo? i=pṛ man ki ki=k^hon wa
 LOC=N=be.same N=time become 3PL PL=child NMZ
pñ-hun pñ-suk
 CAUS-happy CAUS-be.peaceful
 ‘at the same time (also), they are happy children’ [LS2J_036]

In (1326) *pñ-bian pñ-to?* refers to arranging something.

- (1326) *tæ neitæ tæ u ynñiaw wasa pynbiang pyntoh u ya ki hali ki hator*
tɛ ne=i=tɛ tɛ u=ɲɲiaw wasa pɲ-bianɲ
 NVIS ABL=N=NVIS NVIS M=seven hut CAUS-be.enough
pɲ-tɔʔ 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) *pɲ-doʔ pɲ-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*
tɛ man da wan ki he=i=pɔr wan
 NVIS become REAL come 3PL LOC=N=time come
ki=p^hareɲ pɲ-doʔ pɲ-dam ki i=tu i=t^haw
 PL=foreigner CAUS-lose CAUS-stop 3PL N=MEDL N=place
 ‘so when the foreigner (British) came (to India) they destroyed that place’ [PP03SKY_037]

In (1328) *pɲ-tʃɔɲ pɲ-t^hiaʔ* refers to staying and sleeping or remaining in an area.

- (1328) *tæ pynchong pynthiah ya ka niam ka rukom*
tɛ pɲ-tʃɔɲ pɲ-t^hiaʔ ja ka=niam ka=rukɔm
 NVIS CAUS-sit CAUS-sleep BEN F=tradition F=way
 ‘so (they) remained for the (purpose of the) traditional ways’
 [PP04SKO_052]

In (1329) *u=pɲ-hæh pɲ-yar* refers to the process of enlarging and expanding.

- (1329) *tæ da sdang u pynhæh pynyar ya kani ka hima*
tɛ da sdang u=pɲ-hæʔ pɲ-jar ja
 NVIS REAL begin M=CAUS-be.big CAUS-be.wide BEN
ka=ni ka=hima
 F=PROX F=kingdom
 ‘so they started to enlarge their kingdom’ [PP06PK_011]

In (1330) *pɲ-ap pɲ-sñiaw* refers to making people listen or pay attention.

- (1330) *tæ u woh lakriah hapoh dorbar sorbar tæ pynap pynsñiaw u*
tɛ u=wɔʔ lakriaʔ ha-pɔʔ dɔrbar sɔrbar
 NVIS M=HON.M.elder Lakriah LOC-under,in meeting gathering
tɛ pɲ-ap pɲ-sɲiaw 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) *pŋ-kup pŋ-dɛŋ* refers to the act of dressing someone, placing a turban on their head.

- (1331) *da pynkup pyndæñ ya u khon lymboit khon lymbiang*
da pŋ-kup pŋ-dɛŋ ja u=kʰɔn lɿboit kʰɔn
 REAL CAUS-cover CAUS-hang BEN M=child Lymboit child
lɿbian
 Lymbiang
 ‘(they) placed (the turban) on/for Khon Lymboit Khon Lymbiang’
 [PP13RS_189]

In (1332) *pŋ-kʰoɪt pŋ-ɕŋɪar* refers to purification, ritual footwashing.

- (1332) *man da dæp pynkhooɪd pynjɪar hapoh yung tæ ka kynthai*
man da dɛp pŋ-kʰoɪt pŋ-ɕŋɪar
 become REAL PERF CAUS-clean,pure CAUS-totally.clear
ha-pɔʔ juŋ tɛ ka=kɪtʰaʔ
 LOC-under,in home NVIS F=female
 ‘after cleaning/purifying completely in the house, then the bride...’
 [PP14MF_041]

In (1333) *pŋ-syaid pŋ-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 ɛm i=dɪŋ i=tʰɛʔ tɛ mut pŋ-sʔait
 LOC NMZ have N=fire N=ember NVIS means CAUS-warm
pŋ-tʃit kɔ ja ka=juŋ ka=sɛm
 CAUS-hot 3SG.F.NOM BEN F=home F=neighborhood
 ‘when there is fire it makes the house/home warm’ [PP14MF_059]

In (1334) *u=pŋ-ɕɔt pŋ-pra* refers to destruction and demolition.

- (1334) *ym hoi u pynjot pynpra i ya kani ka khloo ka kjam*
ŋ hɔj u=pŋ-ɕɔt pŋ-pra i ja
 NEG be.well NF=CAUS-destroy CAUS-scatter 1PL BEN
ka=ni ka=kʰlo ka=kɕam
 F=PROX F=forest F=Kjam
 ‘it’s not right (for us) to destroy and demolish this forest’ [SI2_042]

In (1335) *u=pŋ-dap pŋ-biang* refers to provision and *u=pŋ-lang pŋ-lum* refers to collection.

- (1335) u pyndap pynbiang hei nam hei pyrtuit yong ka yoh o, yee o u pynlang
 pynlum waroh hi æh ki wa æm kam yong ka ri Jaintia
u=pṇ-dap pṇ-biaŋ he=i=nam he=i=pṛtut
 NF=CAUS-fill CAUS-be.enough LOC=N=name LOC=N=name
jɔŋ ka jɔʔ ɔ je ɔ
 GEN 3sgF get 1SG.NOM be.able 1SG.NOM
u=pṇ-lan pṇ-lum warɔʔ hi εʔ ki
 M=CAUS-be.together CAUS-sweep all EMPH IMM2 3PL
wa εm kam jɔŋ ka=ri ɕentia
 NMZ have like,want GEN 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-dap li-ph^haria* 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^hat e kɔ ka=hukum deʔ li-dap
 BEN M=Khaat give 3SG.F.NOM F=command ADH DUR-cut
li-ph^haria ka=mosiaŋ ka=mot^ha
 DUR-crush F=stone-slab F=stone-boulder
 ‘to Khaat she gave the command ‘(you) should crush the rocks and
 boulders’ [PP01CSE_032]

In (1337) *li-k^hut li-tiŋ* 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 pʔut i=pṛt^haj da pʔut i=mṇdær tæ
 REAL rot N=world REAL rot N=world.outside.Jaintia NVIS
li-k^hut li-tiŋ ja u=eʔ ja u=tʃe klla
 DUR-call DUR-fetch BEN NF=leave BEN NF=be.light change
ka=pṛt^haj ka=mṇdær
 F=world 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-tʃo li-boʔ* 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-doʔ *wa* *u=pɔj* *u=sɣi* *ka* *wa*
LOC-when NMZ NF=arrive M=day 3SG.F NMZ
u=li-boʔ *ki* *o* *wan* ***li-tʃo***
NF=DUR-put,keep 3PL 3SG.M.ACC come DUR-remain
li-boʔ *tɛ* *o* *ɲ* *je* *u*
DUR-put,keep NVIS 3SG.M.ACC NEG able 3SG.M.NOM
u=wan
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-boʔ* refers to the act of taking and carrying.

- (1339) ha ka sngi musiang yn lihim libooh wan i ha Jwai
ha *ka=sɣi* *musiaŋ* *ɲ* ***li-him*** ***li-boʔ*** *wan* *i*
LOC F=day Musiang ref DUR-take DUR-put,keep come 1PL
ha *ɕwaj*
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 *wa*, the general nominalizer/relativizer (§A.1.6).

Realis – *da*

In (1340) *da tʃat da k^hiaʔ* refers being healthy and well, while *da hɛʔ da k^hlan* 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
man [***da*** ***tʃat*** ***da*** ***k^hiaʔ***] *i* *man* [***da***
become REAL be.healthy REAL be.whole 1PL become REAL
hɛʔ ***da*** ***k^hlan***] *i* *tʃi-bon* *je* *u=lɛʔ* *ja*
be.big REAL use,strong 1PL one-be.much able NF=do BEN
u=rɛp *warɔʔ* *i*
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 tʃɔŋ* refers to arriving and sitting, i.e. visiting.

- (1341) *man da wan unik ha kawi sŋi da chong u*
man da wan u=nik ha kawi sŋi da pɔj
 become REAL come M=Nik LOC F=one day REAL arrive
da tʃɔŋ u
 REAL sit 3SG.M.NOM
 ‘when Nik came on the day, he arrived and sat down’ [KP_012]

In (1342) *da tʃɔŋ da saʔ* refers to sitting and staying, remaining in an area.

- (1342) *tɛ man da wan ki hei ni tɛ ki da chong da sah ki*
tɛ man da wan ki he=i=ni tɛ ki
 NVIS become REAL come 3PL LOC=N=PROX NVIS 3PL
da tʃɔŋ da saʔ ki
 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
ha-lɔr i=tɛ tɛ da roj da par man
 LOC-top N=NVIS NVIS REAL prosper REAL crawl become
da roj da par ki=tɛ ki=tɛ ki=kʰɔn
 REAL prosper REAL crawl PL=NVIS PL=NVIS PL=child
da miʔ ki=kʰɔn miʔ ki=ksu
 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 paʔ da jo* refers to looking after something.

- (1344) *kini ki khatsoo wahæh da pait da yoo ki yeini i thaw i bhaw*
ki=ni ki=kʰatso wa- hɛʔ da paʔ da jo
 PL=PROX PL=fourteen NMZ- be.big REAL look REAL see
ki je=i=ni i=tʰaw i=bhaw
 3PL BEN=N=PROX N=place N=place
 ‘these fourteen elders looked after this place’ [PP04SKO_027]

In (1345) *da hiar da kɲtʰiar* refers to jumping down into something.

- (1345) *ka da hiar da kynthiar ko ha wai khyrwi*
ka da hiar da kɲt^hiar kɔ ha
 3SG.F.ACC REAL descend REAL jump 3SG.F.NOM LOC
waj k^hɾwi
 river Khyrwi
 ‘she jumped into the Khyrwi river’ [PP05KO_017]

In (1346) *da kɕam da daɬ* refers to being cold, while *da ŋiaʔ da ɕɾem* 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^hɛt u ne=i=tɛ man da meɬ da
 run 3SG.M.NOM ABL=N=NVIS become REAL night REAL
kɕam da daɬ dɛp ka=meɬ ka=sɲjaw pɔj u=laɟ
 be.cold REAL freeze PERF F=night F=night arrive NF=go
pɔj u=wan ha-pɔʔ sɲjaw ha-pɔʔ lɣɣɔʔ
 arrive NF=come LOC-under,in night LOC-under,in darkness
tɛ da ŋiaʔ da ɕɾem tɛ pɔj
 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*
tɛ da suk da san u=ŋɲiaw wasa ŋɲiaw
 NVIS REAL be.peaceful REAL agree M=seven hut seven
wasuŋ ha-doʔ ki=ni ki=sɲi
 NMZ-lake LOC-when PL=PROX PL=day
 ‘so the Seven Huts were at peace during those days’ [PP13RS_197]

In (1348) *da k^hɾɛʔ 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*
tɛ ne=i=liang ka=junɣ jɔɣ ka=kɲt^haj ka da
 NVIS ABL=N=side F=home GEN F=female 3SG.F.ACC REAL
k^hɾɛʔ da tajar kɔ he=i=tɛ
 prepare,ready REAL be.prepared 3SG.F.NOM LOC=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 jɔʔ ksuid ne jɔʔ taro da wiar da
 3PL NMZ get demon or get goddess.type REAL lose REAL
jut ki
 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 *ka=sɿi* ‘sun’ is predicting the fate of those who insulted her.

- (1350) phi ki wa daw yap, daw rusa daw pyut
p^{hi} ki wa daw jap daw rusa daw pʔut
 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 boʔ wa t^ho* 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
ka=bej wa boʔ wa t^ho
 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
ɿm æm de wa pat wa jo je=i=tu
 NEG have NEG.INTS NMZ look NMZ see BEN=N=MEDL
 ‘there is no-one who sees/cares about it’ [BMPJ_026]

In (1353) *wa jɔŋ 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=tdæm kari wa mi? na ki=trak
 N=smoke car NMZ bring.out ABL PL=truck
ne=i=stiman wa jɔŋ wa prin
 ABL=N=truck.type NMZ be.black NMZ be.black
 ‘the car smoke that comes from the trucks is black’ [BMPJ_027]

In (1354) *wa hɛ? wa swar* refers to importance.

- (1354) ha katæ ka sngi thwad lyngdoh da hikai ki ya i da ki wa hæh wa swar
ha ka=tɛ ka=sŋi t^hwad lɣdɔ? da hikaj ki ja
 LOC F=NVIS F=day Thwad Lyngdoh REAL teach 3PL BEN
i da ki wa hɛ? wa 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 rɛp wa k^hi?* refers to the act of farming.

- (1355) ki wa ha wa rɛp wa khiih ki chæm ki
ki wa ha wa rɛp wa k^hi? ki tʃɛm 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=mariang ka wa bha wa miat
 F=mother.earth 3sgF NMZ be.good NMZ be.pretty,nice
 ‘the earth which is good and beautiful’ [BMPJ_086]

In (1357) *wa k^hoit wa ɕɣiar* refers to clean or pure things.

- (1357) u bam dei wa khooid wa jngiar
ja u=bam de-i wa k^hoit wa ɕɣiar
 BEN NF=eat INST-1PL NMZ clean,pure NMZ totally.clear
 ‘to eat things that are clean and fresh’ [BMPJ_091]

In (1358) *wa lɣkɔt wa tbian* refers to the short size of something.

- (1358) i klam yong nga toh i wa lyngkot wa tbian
i=klam jɔŋ ŋa tɔ? i wa lɣkɔt 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^ho? wa p^heɲ* refers to a beautiful glow.

- (1359) ka sngi ka wa phooh wa pheĩn
ka=sɿi ka wa p^hoʔ wa p^hep
 F=day 3SG.F NMZ glow,cheer,joy NMZ glow
 ‘the day that is glowing (beautiful)’ [KNI_037]

In (1360) *wa ʔɔŋ wa saʔ* refers to the act of sitting or dwelling.

- (1360) ki wa chong wa sah ha kani ka chnong
ki wa ʔɔŋ wa saʔ ha ka=ni ka=ʔnɔŋ
 3PL NMZ sit NMZ stay LOC F=PROX F=village
 ‘those who stay in the village’ [LHJ_018]

In (1361) *wa hɛʔ wa jar* refers to something wide or encompassing.

- (1361) ka wa hæh wa yar
ka wa hɛʔ wa jar
 3SG.F NMZ be.big NMZ be.wide
 ‘it (earth) is big and wide’ [PP01CSE_086]

In (1362) *wa ip wa kɔp* refers to the burning of a fire.

- (1362) yoo u yeitæ wa iĩ wa kop
jɔ u je=i=tɛ wa ip wa kɔp
 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^hoiɬ* refers to cleanliness, while *wa ɕŋiar wa kɲtaŋ* refers to holiness.

- (1363) heitæ chæm u hei wi thaw i wa miat wa khooid wa jŋgiar wa kyntang
he=i=tɛ ʔɛm u he=i=wi t^haw i [wa
 LOC=N=NVIS meet 3SG.M.NOM LOC=N=one place 1PL NMZ
miat wa k^hoɬ] [wa ɕŋiar wa
 be.pretty,nice NMZ clean,pure NMZ totally.clear NMZ
kɲtaŋ]
 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 t^hiaʔ wa ʔɔŋ* 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
ka=kupli laj kɔ tʃa warɔʔ ki=daloj tʃa ki **wa**
F=Kupli go 3SG.F.NOM ALL all PL=daloi ALL 3PL NMZ
tʰiaʔ wa tʃɔŋ jɔŋ ki wa ɔŋ kɔ ɛm
sleep NMZ sit GEN 3PL COMT say 3SG.F.NOM have
ki=sʔem
PL=ruler
‘Kupli went to all the Daloi, to those who slept, and she said ‘there
are (still) kings’ [PP05KO_023] (i.e. the line of the kings has not
ended)

In (1365) *wa tʰoʔ wa wad* refers to searching.

- (1365) ong u kong wasan hakhmat ka dorbar wa thooh wa wad ya ki syiem ki
kmai
ɔŋ u=kɔŋ wa-san ha-kʰmat ka=dɔrbar **wa tʰoʔ**
say M=hon.f NMZ-five LOC-front F=meeting NMZ find,search
wa wad ja ki=sʔem ki=kmaʃ
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 mɲtʰu wa kʰad* 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
tɛ mut mɲ-tʰo mɲ-nu tɛ
NVIS means after,irrealis-create after,irrealis-which NVIS
mut i wan tʰo sɛ tɛ mut ji **wa**
means 1PL come create C.TAG NVIS means thing NMZ
mɲtʰu wa kʰad sɛ
spit NMZ polish C.TAG
‘so ‘mynthoo mynnu’ means (one) who creates us, who spits and
cleans’ [PP08LC_011]

In (1367) *wa kɲa wa kʰriam* refers to the chanting that goes along with
rituals.

- (1367) ong i wa kɲa wa khriam
ɔŋ i **wa kɲa** **wa kʰriam**
say 1PL NMZ perform.ritual NMZ chant
‘we say ‘kɲa, khriam’ (ritual chanting) [PP08LC_016]

In (1368) *wa sap wa sdeʔ* refers to something that cooks and fries.

(1368) *ka wa saiñ wa sdeih*
ka wa sañ wa sde?
 3SG.F NMZ mix,make NMZ fry
 ‘it (a dish) which mixes and fries’ [PP13RS_171]

In (1369) *wa k^hro wa tri* refers to something important or significant, here those who are considered nobility.

(1369) *hakhmat ki wa khroo wa tri*
ha-k^hmat ki wa k^hro wa tri
 LOC-front 3PL NMZ be.important NMZ be.significant
 ‘in front of the nobles’ [PP13RS_174]

In (1370) *wa k^ha wa man* refers to people on the father’s side of the family.

(1370) *ki wa kha wa man*
ki wa k^ha wa man
 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*
tæ u=ni u=ʈɿrɿŋ da dæp ka=jutaŋ kat wa
 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 sʔut wa ʈfor* refers to pouring, as in libations for ceremonies.

(1372) *i wa syuit wa choor*
i wa sʔut wa ʈfor
 1PL NMZ pour NMZ pour
 ‘the libation’ [PP14MF_079]

Appendix B

Ki Kyntein Kynnoh

ki=kɲten kɲnɔʔ ‘sounding words’

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 kpɔʔ*) 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.	<i>akɔr burɔm</i>	respect authority
2.	<i>aŋrɔŋ aŋrup</i>	devil spirit of envy, covetousness
3.	<i>baʔ wak^hlia baʔ watʃɔn</i>	person who is responsible (in a good way)
4.	<i>bakla k^hmat bakla k^hmut</i>	mistake identity
5.	<i>bam ʈwa diʔ ʈwa</i>	eat first, drink first
6.	<i>bam ʃliʔ bam iŋhain</i>	take very easily without complaining

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
7.	<i>bamlan bambi</i>	eat together, take together (here)
8.	<i>bamrɔŋ bamɕaj</i>	take/eat very happily
9.	<i>bamsuk bamk^hlan</i>	take/eat happily, with pleasure, no one to disturb
10.	<i>ban ʈʂɔʔ ban radan</i>	clear sound from tongue
11.	<i>bɛʔ rɔŋsun bɛʔ rɔŋsiɛʔ</i>	chase quickly, catch quickly
12.	<i>bɛʔ sɛr bɛʔ skaj</i>	catch deer (sambar) catch deer (barking)
13.	<i>bej ki bru bej ki blaj</i>	mother of human and mother of god
14.	<i>bej pun bej li</i>	grandmother and old grandmother
15.	<i>bej waboʔ bej wat^ho</i>	heavenly and earthly mother
16.	<i>bhɛt bhɔr</i>	pay respect/prayer/sacrifice for cure from disease from spirits
17.	<i>bnarɔŋ bnat^had</i>	the news is known all over
18.	<i>buʔ ksiaɾ buʔ rupa</i>	put gold, put silver (save up?)
19.	<i>budɕaj saraɟ</i>	pray, request, petition to god or ancestors
20.	<i>ʈʂa ʈʂnɔŋ ʈʂa t^haw</i>	in village in place
21.	<i>ʈʂa pɾt^haj ʈʂa mɯndɛr</i>	in the earth, in the world
22.	<i>ʈʂa rɯkaw ʈʂa samun</i>	the protective spirits of a raid (area)
23.	<i>ʈʂad ɟɔŋ lan ʈʂad ɟɔŋ bi</i>	dance together, dance together
24.	<i>ʈʂadien ʈʂa k^hmat</i>	back and front
25.	<i>ʈʂaʔ wasa ʈʂaʔ wasun</i>	permission to stay
26.	<i>ʈʂajt k^hiaʔ</i>	health, well
27.	<i>ʈʂakri ʈʂakɔr</i>	slavery
28.	<i>ʈʂaniaʔ lanien</i>	to entrust with something
29.	<i>ʈʂare kune</i>	to see, look, gather
30.	<i>ʈʂare masi ʈʂare har</i>	herd cow, herd 6-8 cows (chi har)
31.	<i>ʈʂe klla ʈʂit klla</i>	sunrise coming again
32.	<i>ʈʂej ʈʂraj ʈʂej ʈʂdam</i>	to hate because of not doing what you want
33.	<i>ʈʂɛm warim ʈʂɛm waɕaʔ</i>	prayer to ancestors after putting bones and sacrifice
34.	<i>ʈʂi paɟu ʈʂi para</i>	siblings and cousins
35.	<i>ʈʂi-sɔŋ ʈʂi-kloŋ</i>	a bowl, a bottle
36.	<i>ʈʂibɛt ʈʂipɔr</i>	an amount of time

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
37.	<i>ʃidaɟt ʃikɲtien</i>	a mouthful shared
38.	<i>ʃiɕo ʃitʰɔʔ</i>	a drop a spot
39.	<i>ʃiɕur ʃilan</i>	one boy one girl (couple)
40.	<i>ʃirup ʃilan</i>	together
41.	<i>ʃitɔm saɕa</i>	so have sickness
42.	<i>ʃijun ʃisɛm</i>	the home the family
43.	<i>ʃniat kʰliɛʔ ʃniat rein</i>	the headscarf worn by women (also men in War)
44.	<i>ʃɔŋkʰa ʃɔŋman</i>	marriage
45.	<i>ʃɔŋkɲtʰap ʃɔŋkɲbian</i>	those who stay without permission
46.	<i>ʃɔŋpraʔ ʃɔŋʃan</i>	the ones who live to an old age
47.	<i>ʃɔŋsuk ʃɔŋsain</i>	to be happy, content
48.	<i>ʃraj ʃdam</i>	to hate
49.	<i>ʃllap ʃllian</i>	prepare rice for the ancestors (once a year) and eat together
50.	<i>ʃŋkɪar lymmiaʔ</i>	the back side/yard of the house
51.	<i>da boʔ da kɲʃɛt</i>	the putting, the placing inside
52.	<i>da hɛʔ da kʰllod</i>	growing from childhood to adulthood
53.	<i>da hun da suk</i>	happiness and peace
54.	<i>da ŋoʔ da dɛm</i>	prayers
55.	<i>da sein da ʃan</i>	allowance, support
56.	<i>da so da hɛm</i>	the red blood
57.	<i>da suit da ʃor</i>	libations for prayer
58.	<i>da tʰied dapɛt</i>	buy and pay
59.	<i>da ud da nam</i>	agree to pay restitution (give word)
60.	<i>da uip da laj</i>	moving from one place to another
61.	<i>da jan da ap</i>	waiting and listening
62.	<i>da jatɔʔ da jaban</i>	relationships together
63.	<i>da jo da pajt</i>	see and look
64.	<i>datʃɛt datʰan</i>	to cook (over fire)
65.	<i>dakʰut daman</i>	to call and to get
66.	<i>dalan paki</i>	big building
67.	<i>dap snɛm dap bnaj</i>	the years, months that have been completed
68.	<i>dapʰɛt da kap</i>	run quickly for important things
69.	<i>daraʔ darɔŋ</i>	bring and carry

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
70.	<i>dasu dasaj</i>	to pay
71.	<i>dat t^hala dat t^halain</i>	the consequence of action (spiritual)
72.	<i>dat^hli dak^ha</i>	fish (type) and fish (type)
73.	<i>daw so daw hɛm</i>	red soil from blood spread over the eggs
74.	<i>dawk^ha dawpun</i>	child outside of marriage
75.	<i>dawtika dawtina</i>	divination from entrails of syiar
76.	<i>dej skɛm dej skat</i>	the ring (marriage sign) from boy's family to girl's
77.	<i>deitfajt deik^hiaʔ</i>	health and wellbeing
78.	<i>deiri deilum</i>	a committed, loving relationship
79.	<i>depɕa depɕhur</i>	after food, after vegetable
80.	<i>diendoʔ dienwaj</i>	last rites (preparing body after death)
81.	<i>diʔbula bambula</i>	drink heavy and eat heavy
82.	<i>din pa din tɔp pa tɔp</i>	slowly slowly you win the race (bit by bit)
83.	<i>dk^ha pɲt^hɔr dak^ha bhian</i>	fish from the valley
84.	<i>dumak mukta</i>	guerrilla fighter
85.	<i>duŋa dup^hi</i>	only you and me
86.	<i>dwar ksiaɾ dwar rupa</i>	door of gold and silver, the opening of the womb at birth
87.	<i>e wɾta e tʃula</i>	give announcement, new notice
88.	<i>ɛmkɾtien ɛmkɾta</i>	to be called by the ancestor's name
89.	<i>ha kdɔŋ ha tʃmian</i>	in corner in corner
90.	<i>ha kpɛɾ ka praʔ</i>	in gardener, in plot of land
91.	<i>ha ksɛʔ ha sain</i>	plot of land with forest
92.	<i>ha lɲk^ha ha risa</i>	on the paddy field on the ground
93.	<i>ha madan ha madiaʔ</i>	on the ground on the land
94.	<i>ha p'ʃɛm ha dwar</i>	the courtyard, the entrance
95.	<i>ha pɲt^hɔr ha bhian</i>	valley and flat area
96.	<i>ha radaŋ ha tymɔŋ</i>	on neck on waist
97.	<i>ha t^hɲdaɟ ha mɲdo</i>	the under-roof layer (rafters)
98.	<i>ha juŋ ha sɛm</i>	in home in house
99.	<i>hadɛm hasɛm</i>	Hadæm people
100.	<i>hapɔʔ juŋ hapɔʔ sɛm</i>	inside home inside house
101.	<i>harud habar</i>	here and there (myself someone else)

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
102.	<i>hatre u kdajt hatre u lane</i>	under 'kdait' and under 'lane'
103.	<i>hawa? haneip</i>	fall down, go up
104.	<i>hawaman? hawat^hmu</i>	my aim is coming true
105.	<i>hej p^hlɔŋ hej tʃnat</i>	the edges/corners
106.	<i>hej snein hej k^hro</i>	the instruction to be kept
107.	<i>hej t^haw hej bhaw</i>	at the place at the surroundings
108.	<i>heiduk heimlla</i>	the poor who have to work
109.	<i>hukum adɔŋ</i>	command and instruction (tell what not to do)
110.	<i>huria human</i>	bad habits
111.	<i>i bam i di?</i>	eat, drink
112.	<i>i beiɕ i t^hɛm</i>	we don't understand, don't know
113.	<i>i bein i kɾnɔ?</i>	telling bad things about someone (true things)
114.	<i>i bha? i bɿta</i>	the share
115.	<i>i bha? i bɿta</i>	the share (equal part)
116.	<i>i bhɛt i bhar</i>	the items used for sacrifice (plural of above)
117.	<i>i bieɕ i t^hɛm</i>	they don't know nothing
118.	<i>i bnein i k^hɾdaw</i>	the heaven and earth
119.	<i>i bɔ? i sein</i>	pick on a time
120.	<i>i bɔr i mɾsein</i>	power and spirit
121.	<i>i bɔr i mɾsein</i>	power of heart/soul
122.	<i>i tʃad i kmɛn</i>	dance happily
123.	<i>i tʃɔŋtʃit i ɲajtɲod</i>	to be very happy from the bottom of heart
124.	<i>i tʃraj i sniausi?</i>	hot temper and feeling bad
125.	<i>i tʃwar i blaj</i>	the message from God
126.	<i>i daw i kuna -</i>	the reason for trouble/sickness/difficulty (from the divination)
127.	<i>i diaw i jamrɛm</i>	to feel bad or sad about something
128.	<i>i diaw i jamrɛm</i>	to feel bad, to feel sad (about something)
129.	<i>i dɔ? i pran</i>	the body, the flesh
130.	<i>i dɔ? i rɲyein</i>	the body, from foot to head

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
131.	<i>i ɛʔ i kʰɔr</i>	to say bad things about someone
132.	<i>i hək i burɔm</i>	honor and respect
133.	<i>i ɕajt i kɲɕa</i>	the surname of relatives
134.	<i>i ɕɛt i paj</i>	broken (as of a wall, uneven)
135.	<i>i ɕhiɛʔ i ɕhum</i>	be wet
136.	<i>i kdaŋ i hun</i>	fully contented
137.	<i>i kɔʔ i kʰum</i>	tie and knot
138.	<i>i kɔŋ i tʃmian</i>	corner and corner
139.	<i>i kʰeiŋ i diaʔ</i>	calculate
140.	<i>i kʰliɛʔ i reiŋ</i>	the head the horn (end)
141.	<i>i kʰliɛʔ i reiŋ</i>	the head the horn/end
142.	<i>i kʰliɛʔ klɔŋ i kʰliɛʔ ruʔ</i>	head of the gourd used for sacrifice and libation
143.	<i>i kʰɔn i ksu</i>	child and grandchild
144.	<i>i kʰɔn i ksu</i>	child, grandchild
145.	<i>i kʰɲdaw u tʃɲiap</i>	the earth the soil/sand
146.	<i>i kʰɲɲiat i kʰɲɕin</i>	surprise and shock (unexpected event)
147.	<i>i kɕam i dajt</i>	cold and freezing
148.	<i>i kmɛn i rkʰaj</i>	to be happy to laugh/smile
149.	<i>i kpɛr i praʔ</i>	garden, plot of land
150.	<i>i ksiaŋ i rupa</i>	gold and silver
151.	<i>i ktieʔ i biar</i>	sticky things (i.e. the Aitnar pool)
152.	<i>i ktien i klam</i>	the word the speaking
153.	<i>i kur i ɕajt</i>	clan and type
154.	<i>i kɲtʃi i kɲdaŋ</i>	the boiling of the sacrifice and the prayer over the soft meats, before boiling the rice
155.	<i>i kyɔʔ i hiaw</i>	cough and asthma
156.	<i>i lajt i lɛt</i>	the speaking is wrong
157.	<i>i lap i nɔŋ</i>	profit
158.	<i>i liɛʔ i luk</i>	the back and the front (i.e. of a shell)
159.	<i>i main i kun</i>	proud, haughty
160.	<i>i miɛt i step</i>	evening and morning
161.	<i>i nam i burɔm</i>	title and honor
162.	<i>i nam i pɲtuid</i>	title and name

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
163.	<i>i od i niaw</i>	the crying of the soul without proper ceremony at death
164.	<i>i parət i pali</i>	women's period
165.	<i>i patraŋbaʔ i patraŋsan</i>	the male relative who recently died
166.	<i>i p^halɔʔ i pak^hrum</i>	to keep something in a pen at night (for animals)
167.	<i>i p^haŋ i bun</i>	harvest more
168.	<i>i p^hraŋ i dien</i>	front side and back side (i.e. of house)
169.	<i>i pər i samuid</i>	time for harvest or ploughing (farming time)
170.	<i>i purae i put^hi</i>	study and read
171.	<i>i pɲduʔ i pɲdam</i>	to destroy completely
172.	<i>i pr^hk^hat i niawliar</i>	to think about the future (plan)
173.	<i>i pr^hk^hat i prdain</i>	thinking
174.	<i>i prnaʔ i prɕin</i>	the rice put inside the beer during ceremony
175.	<i>i pr^ht^haj i mɲdər</i>	the earth, the world
176.	<i>i raw i ɕraʔ</i>	dry and thirsty
177.	<i>i ri i lum</i>	country, hill
178.	<i>i rɔŋ i rup</i>	painting
179.	<i>i sarak i sadhiar</i>	the rice beer used for ceremony (ceremonial term)
180.	<i>i skum i stajt</i>	the afterbirth (from mother)
181.	<i>i snam i ksiaŋ</i>	the blood
182.	<i>i sneiɲ i kro</i>	speak to child and they have to obey
183.	<i>i sŋi i sɲiaw</i>	day and night
184.	<i>i sɔʔ i sɲtu</i>	1) fruit and flower, 2) 5-6 months pregnancy
185.	<i>i sur i dur</i>	song and image
186.	<i>i suwa i tɕɲdɔn</i>	the rice beer used for ceremony (ceremonial term)
187.	<i>i swe i tlar</i>	lazy
188.	<i>i sja i ɕhan</i>	in a hurry to move
189.	<i>i syiɛm i kmaj</i>	ruler and lord
190.	<i>i tam i duna</i>	does not equal (when one counting differs from another)

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
191.	<i>i taŋ i lymp^hein</i>	the trunk and the tip (budding tip)
192.	<i>i teip i smieɕ</i>	fear, shudder
193.	<i>i t^haw i bhaw</i>	places
194.	<i>i t^hawrep i t^hawk^hi?</i>	farming, working place
195.	<i>i t^hieɕ i maŋ</i>	aim, feeling (plan, intention to succeed)
196.	<i>i t^hiɕ i pr^kat</i>	thinking
197.	<i>i tnat i t^fiaŋ</i>	the branches
198.	<i>i tɲit i lɔwɔr</i>	ritual cleansing (also for women)
199.	<i>i tymmen i t^fadae</i>	the old people (chadae use stick for walking)
200.	<i>i tɾnit i tɾna</i>	to be ready ahead of time
201.	<i>i wadajt i wasib</i>	gout
202.	<i>i wasain i wasdiɛ?</i>	mix meat with onions, etc.. and fry
203.	<i>i wit i t^fan</i>	1) showing pregnant, 2) to delay someone
204.	<i>i jabam jadi?</i>	eat together, drink together
205.	<i>i jap i kut</i>	finish dying
206.	<i>i yilli? i yinhian</i>	no-one to stop, clear movement
207.	<i>i yinsit i yindɔŋ</i>	carry baby tightly on back
208.	<i>i ymtɔ? i ymtne</i>	not right
209.	<i>imtfɔŋt^fan imtfɔŋpra?</i>	the over-age (people)
210.	<i>imtymmen imtfadae</i>	the old people (chadae use stick for walking)
211.	<i>itam iduna</i>	does not equal (when one counting differs from another)
212.	<i>iwat^fɛt iwat^haŋ</i>	what is cooked is burned
213.	<i>ɕa waliɛ? ɕa wat^fiaw</i>	white rice and (red?) rice (used for prayers in ceremonies)
214.	<i>ɕaŋjuŋ ɕanseɱ</i>	near home
215.	<i>ka bam ka di?</i>	food and drink
216.	<i>ka biar ka suŋ</i>	lake and pond
217.	<i>ka blu ka skep</i>	thigh and calf
218.	<i>ka bɔm ka bhuri</i>	drum and flute
219.	<i>ka buit ka budia</i>	the part of work that is very good
220.	<i>ka t^fad ka pastiɛ?</i>	dance and pastieh (kinds of dance)

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
221.	<i>ka fʌd ka rwaj</i>	dance and sing
222.	<i>ka fʌt ka kʰeɪn</i>	to throw eggs on the knor for divination
223.	<i>ka fʌwɪaŋ ka dʌlat</i>	the flute and the hand-drum
224.	<i>ka fʌt ka tʰaŋ</i>	to cook (over fire)
225.	<i>ka fʌt ka pjoʔ</i>	the heat the sweat
226.	<i>ka fʌm ka ratap</i>	the trap (hole) and (deadfall)
227.	<i>ka fʌʔien ka fʌruʔ</i>	the bones and ashes from cremation
228.	<i>ka dan ka kʰad</i>	fine, restitution
229.	<i>ka dan ka kuna</i>	tax, for consequence
230.	<i>ka daw ka kuna</i>	the reason for trouble/sickness/difficulty (from the divination)
231.	<i>ka deinbaʔ ka deinsan</i>	the trees from the forest put in front of each house and in each locality at Behdeiñkhlam festival
232.	<i>ka deintʃat ka deinkʰein</i>	the plate for divination using eggs, before the ritual happens
233.	<i>ka diaŋ ka mən</i>	placing the rice and naming before ritual
234.	<i>ka dərbar ka sərbar</i>	the assembly (for governing and meeting)
235.	<i>ka duwan ka dupat</i>	prepare everything (all implements) for ritual
236.	<i>ka dwar ka luti</i>	the door, the road
237.	<i>ka dwar ka pliaŋ</i>	the door the plate
238.	<i>ka ɛriɔŋ ka ɛŋit</i>	black winds, cyclone
239.	<i>ka hap ka or</i>	fall dead, fall down
240.	<i>ka ɕar ka pʰnep</i>	part of the intestine used in divination
241.	<i>ka ɕri ka kʔa</i>	banyan tree and cotton tree
242.	<i>ka kamaj ka kaɕiaʔ</i>	working hard but nothing to show for it
243.	<i>ka kap ka kɲtʰiar</i>	the running and jumping
244.	<i>ka kʃu ka siaŋ</i>	the women who prepare the house
245.	<i>ka kʰa ka pun</i>	the unborn child
246.	<i>ka kʰak ka mɲtʰu</i>	to hack and spit

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
247.	<i>ka k^he ka k^haj</i>	come up
248.	<i>ka k^he ka k^haj</i>	to come up
249.	<i>ka k^hiʔ ka k^han</i>	the work, the getting
250.	<i>ka k^hiʔ ka ksar</i>	to toss and turn (in sleep)
251.	<i>ka k^hriaŋ ka dho</i>	the water flowing very fast
252.	<i>ka k^hriaŋ ka t^hwaj</i>	the water which looks smooth but underneath is fast-moving
253.	<i>ka klim ka ban</i>	cuckold your spouse
254.	<i>ka knɔr ksiaɾ ka knɔr rupa</i>	the knor used for scanning the divination to find fault/reason using eggs
255.	<i>ka kpɔŋ ka pɾtoʔ</i>	religious ceremony to prepare for hunting, after hunting and catching tiger/bear we have to dance
256.	<i>ka ksin ka mein</i>	the big drum the small drum
257.	<i>ka ktieʔ ha biar</i>	sticky things
258.	<i>ka kur ka ɕajt</i>	the clan the tribe
259.	<i>ka klli ka takit</i>	the question the answer
260.	<i>ka kɲ-ad ka pɲtʃɔi</i>	gossip, tell about someone
261.	<i>ka kɲdat ka kɲtin</i>	not working from the heart
262.	<i>ka lad ka luti</i>	the way, the road
263.	<i>ka lamɛt ka ladaw</i>	plantain and banana
264.	<i>ka lareip ka pambɔʔ</i>	religious meaning (?)
265.	<i>ka lɛʔbɔr ka t^hɔmbɔr</i>	evil, immoral things
266.	<i>ka liar ka tʃka</i>	stream and where it joins main river
267.	<i>ka lien ka pat</i>	the turned up part of the egg when it lands in ceremonies
268.	<i>ka lyɛr ka tɾsi</i>	the wind
269.	<i>ka lɣkɔr ka yuwar</i>	1) responsibility to family, 2) a plow and the yoke that connects the pulling oxen
270.	<i>ka mo ka dein</i>	stone and wood
271.	<i>ka mosiaŋ ka mot^ha</i>	the rocks and boulders
272.	<i>ka mu-²ajd ka taŋlaŋ</i>	drinking and bad speaking (drunk and walking unsteadily)
273.	<i>ka muhɔr ka kɲt^hiaɾ</i>	collection/donation

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
274.	<i>ka muḁʒra ka mukan</i>	the stone container for keeping the bones of the dead
275.	<i>ka nia ka kʰɔt</i>	speaking the truth
276.	<i>ka nia ka lutaŋ</i>	speaking the right thing
277.	<i>ka nɔŋkʰliɑŋ ka sŋikʰliɑŋ</i>	helping each other from time to time
278.	<i>ka wajt ka stiɛʔ</i>	sword and shield
279.	<i>ka wanat ka watu</i>	part of religious ceremony (?)
280.	<i>ka jamrɛm ka saʔnod</i>	deep sorrow and continued
281.	<i>ka jap ka sa</i>	the dead body
282.	<i>ka jaw ka hat</i>	market
283.	<i>ka jaw ka syiɛm</i>	the market the ruler
284.	<i>ka yimbar ka yintʰiaŋ</i>	the dripping of the rice beer on the neck from libation
285.	<i>ka yupan ka yukdɔʔ</i>	belt
286.	<i>kbaɟ kʰha</i>	shout and make.notice
287.	<i>kʰa kʰɔn kʰa nad</i>	newborn and new branches
288.	<i>kʰad-ar dɔllɔi kʰar-ar knɔr</i>	the 12 rulers, 12 stools
289.	<i>kʰad-ar muna kʰad-ar tʃria</i>	one day I'll be a rich man, wealth (12 bags, 12 big.buckets)
290.	<i>kʰad-arbuit kʰad-ar bɔr</i>	all the men (12 strengths, powers)
291.	<i>kʰaj kʰlla ɛʔ kʰlla</i>	unexpected success at the last minute (snatch victory from the jaws of defeat)
292.	<i>kʰana beɟ kʰana kur</i>	speak to mother speak to clan
293.	<i>kʰaŋ kaʔ</i>	to block
294.	<i>kʰarɔi kʰapar</i>	from one mother many children (birth prosper, birth expand)
295.	<i>kʰawajt kʰatari</i>	the cut part of a tree (kha) from sword and from knife (not the wood chips but the wood)
296.	<i>kʰlɛm sarɔm kʰlɛm marain</i>	without respect, without permission
297.	<i>kʰliɛʔ klɔŋ kʰliɛʔ sko</i>	head of the gourd used for sacrifice and libation
298.	<i>kʰniaŋ ktiar</i>	insect and caterpillar
299.	<i>kʰɔn rŋkɔʔ kʰɔn rŋkam</i>	hornbill (bird, traditional story)
300.	<i>kʰɔnlɔr kʰɔntaʔ</i>	stillborn child, miscarriage

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
301.	<i>k^hŋnaʔ k^hɔntlɯŋ</i>	small girl/boy
302.	<i>ki blaʝ ki syiɛm</i>	god and ruler
303.	<i>ki bru ki blaʝ</i>	human and god
304.	<i>ki dak ki tʃin</i>	the traditions of the ancestors
305.	<i>ki dew ki puri</i>	the fairies/angels (ancestors, i.e. ki puri Blai, ki soo kpoh)
306.	<i>ki dhaj ki rani</i>	religious meaning, servants of the rivers and waters
307.	<i>ki k^hɔn ki nat</i>	children and branches
308.	<i>ki k^hɔr ki k^hriam</i>	the turban the traditional dress
309.	<i>ki k^hrɔʔ ki dadan</i>	the frog and (toad)
310.	<i>ki lum ki waʔ</i>	mountain and river
311.	<i>ki ma ki wɔʔ</i>	uncles and grand-uncles
312.	<i>ki mantʃwa ki lɔŋtʃwa</i>	the ancestors
313.	<i>kit radan tʃaʔ radan</i>	carry on neck, allow on neck (used in religious ceremonies to describe the agreement of cock/rooster)
314.	<i>kiwa k^hian kiwa stajt</i>	the small the short ones
315.	<i>klam biedʒ klam t^hɛm</i>	speak crazy, talk crazy
316.	<i>klam kɲdat klam kɲtin</i>	not speaking from the heart
317.	<i>klambeiŋ klamk^hɔʔ</i>	speak blame speak wrongly
318.	<i>kɲia k^hriam</i>	to sit just before sacrifice and give prayers
319.	<i>kɛm lamɛt kɛm latan</i>	cave where the sun hid from the earth (traditional story)
320.	<i>kɛm muri kɛm mura</i>	cave on the way to krem lamet krem latan (traditional story)
321.	<i>ksan dɔrbar ʒɔp dɔrbar</i>	another name for rooster/cock in traditional stories/ceremonies
322.	<i>ksan nia ksan tʃan</i>	the ancestor's blessing
323.	<i>kse t^had kse yɪŋki</i>	thread of clothing, thread of cloth
324.	<i>kup tʃillian sɛm tʃillian</i>	half-dressed (one side)
325.	<i>klla t^hiaʔ klla tʃɔŋ</i>	to consider and think first (sleep and sit) on a matter
326.	<i>kllɛp slap kllɛp lyɛr</i>	protected from rain and wind
327.	<i>klli takit</i>	ask and answer (talk together)

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
328.	<i>kɲdat kɲtin</i>	not working from the heart
329.	<i>kɲɕɕin u lum kɲɕɕin ka waʔ</i>	middle of the mountain, middle of the water
330.	<i>kɲpɪam tʃad kɲpɪam rwaj</i>	dance together, sing together (with contact)
331.	<i>kɲriaʔ kɲran</i>	1) prayer to get rid of sickness, 2) moving things from one room to another
332.	<i>kɲrin pɲyein</i>	braces for kite (one circular, one is central)
333.	<i>kɲrɔʔ kɲrɛm</i>	to set stones
334.	<i>kɲruʔ ktien kɲruʔ lamien</i>	clean the mouth and teeth
335.	<i>kɲsaj paɲraj</i>	study of families for marriage (origin of marriage)
336.	<i>kɲkʰu kʰɾɔʔ</i>	blessings
337.	<i>labek mukta</i>	man (religious term)
338.	<i>lajsnɛm lajbɲaj</i>	intermarriage between two clans belonging to the same ancestress
339.	<i>lakrɔʔ tisaɲ</i>	a river in Jaintia hills, also used in religious ceremonies
340.	<i>lariaɲ pʰariaɲ</i>	the water used to sprinkle in ceremonies
341.	<i>lepʰaw-waʔɛr lepʰaw-wapar</i>	30 walking animals, thirty crawling animals
342.	<i>li-hap li-or</i>	fall down
343.	<i>likbaj likɾha</i>	announce to people the news
344.	<i>linɔʔ lipakʰɔt</i>	throw and carry to jungle
345.	<i>lipanaɲ lipakʰɔt</i>	throw and carry to jungle
346.	<i>lipanmap lipankʰɛm</i>	compromise and share request
347.	<i>liraʔ lirɔɲ</i>	carry
348.	<i>lisan liʔɛʔ</i>	the mother of Synriang (the son of God)
349.	<i>litʰoʔ liwat</i>	go search for missing person
350.	<i>litim siʔ litimsaɲ</i>	speak bad language, cursing
351.	<i>liwaj lipied</i>	unlatch and open
352.	<i>luti sɲkein</i>	road and road

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
353.	<i>l̥kein ksiaɾ l̥kein rupa</i>	golden bridge silver bridge
354.	<i>malan̥fian̥ malan̥dop</i>	hornbill
355.	<i>manbru l̥nbru</i>	human being
356.	<i>manpayu manpara</i>	brother and sister
357.	<i>mo-kn̥ɔɾ mo-k̥ɕet</i>	bench stone and leg stones
358.	<i>mo-k̥n̥ɔʔ mo-k̥n̥ɾem</i>	laid stones
359.	<i>mo-nam mo-p̥ɾtuid</i>	memorial stone
360.	<i>mo-pod mo-an̥</i>	boundary stone
361.	<i>mo-pud mo-hima</i>	boundary stone of elaka/hima
362.	<i>mo-s̥er mo-tap</i>	weight stone
363.	<i>m̥n̥ɕ̥ɛɾ m̥n̥tʰaʔ</i>	dew
364.	<i>m̥n̥so m̥n̥snam</i>	accident
365.	<i>m̥n̥tʰo m̥n̥no</i>	religious meaning (?)
366.	<i>na ɕ̥ɾɔŋ ha tbian</i>	from the top to the bottom
367.	<i>na tre ha kʰliɛʔ</i>	from the bottom to the top
368.	<i>nat̥fwa nalap</i>	since the time immemorial
369.	<i>nad̥ɔŋ t̥fad̥ɔŋ</i>	from corner to corner (make something nice, the whole thing)
370.	<i>ŋi k̥llun̥ ʼnaj k̥llun̥</i>	the sun and the moon
371.	<i>ŋoʔ d̥em</i>	prayers
372.	<i>pasbe</i>	cowrie shells
373.	<i>u baj̥t̥fandi u baj̥t̥fipen</i>	to search using thrown shells, bones, for religious purpose (divining)
374.	<i>u bh̥ɔi u kʰlein</i>	the northern tribe of people (mixed)
375.	<i>u bn̥aj u kʰlur</i>	moon and stars
376.	<i>u bn̥ɔʔ u lan̥la</i>	block to keep from opening (as in the barrier between earth and heaven)
377.	<i>u bɔʔ u kʰein</i>	put and save (something), frugal, keeps track of everything
378.	<i>u bod u p̥ɾkʰat</i>	try to know, to understand the real thing
379.	<i>u t̥falani u praʔ</i>	flat woven baskets for sifting rice (small, round and large, scoop-shape)
380.	<i>u t̥f̥er u som</i>	spear and spear (different kinds)
381.	<i>u t̥fiɛʔ u rasad</i>	thorns
382.	<i>u t̥fk̥ɛʔ u k̥dan̥</i>	to complete, to be full

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
383.	<i>u ʃnɔŋ u t^haw</i>	village, place
384.	<i>u ʃrɔt u tnum</i>	the house poles, the roof
385.	<i>u ʃŋraŋ u laŋʃɔr</i>	men and men
386.	<i>u da u kɛr</i>	to guard
387.	<i>u dhulia u harna</i>	the musicians post and the custodian's post
388.	<i>u dɔŋ u luwa</i>	container for rice beer for rituals
389.	<i>u ɛʔ u k^hɔr</i>	to say bad things about someone
390.	<i>u hiar u hap</i>	come down (God coming to speak through someone)
391.	<i>u ɕan u ɕŋaj</i>	near and far
392.	<i>u ɕɔʔ u ɕam</i>	share equally
393.	<i>u kaɕa u mŋtɔi</i>	a person that God sends who knows everything
394.	<i>u kap u laj</i>	we are already going, on the way (step and go), baby steps
395.	<i>u k^habɛt u k^hat^huŋ</i>	rice, term used in traditional ceremonies
396.	<i>u k^had u pad</i>	part of ritual (?)
397.	<i>u k^haj u piar</i>	the son who knows the ceremonies in the family
398.	<i>u k^haj u yein</i>	to get up and stand
399.	<i>u k^hajŋ u snɛm u k^hajŋ u bnaŋ</i>	to count the years, count the months, to prepare for the new year
400.	<i>u k^hara u patʃa</i>	part of religious ceremony (?)
401.	<i>u k^hasi u k^hara</i>	the Khasi, khynriam
402.	<i>u k^hian u djaŋ</i>	the very small ones
403.	<i>u k^hnam ka rŋtiɛʔ</i>	arrow and bow
404.	<i>u k^hnam u ʃɛr</i>	the arrow and the spear
405.	<i>u k^hniaŋ u puit</i>	insect and grasshopper
406.	<i>u k^hɔn ka skiaʔ u k^hɔn ka pɛm</i>	religious name for eggs
407.	<i>u k^hɔn lymbɔit u k^hɔn lymbiaŋ</i>	the rooster/cock (in traditional story, religious ceremony)
408.	<i>u k^hɔn lŋkɔr u k^hɔn luwar</i>	rice term used in traditional ceremonies
409.	<i>u k^hɔn rɔŋtuŋ u k^hɔn rɔŋniaw</i>	religious term used in ceremonies (?)

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
410.	<i>u kʰɔnswɛt u raŋli</i>	very poor people (no father, no mother, no one to see after them)
411.	<i>u kʰo ranein u kʰo kʰri</i>	the provisions for life, when it finishes then you die (given by bei wabooh bei wathoo)
412.	<i>u kʰrɛʔ u kʰrum</i>	to prepare
413.	<i>u kʰud u tiŋ</i>	to call (to call)
414.	<i>u kʰŋro u kʰŋdain</i>	youth (male) and youth
415.	<i>u klɔŋ sɔʔ u klɔŋ blaŋ</i>	the gourd used for ceremonies
416.	<i>u klɔŋ u sko</i>	the gourd/bottle used for ceremonial libation (rice beer)
417.	<i>u kpi u pa</i>	grand-uncle and father
418.	<i>u kɔŋsan ki bru u kɔŋsan ki blaŋ</i>	the servant of God who safeguards the family
419.	<i>u ksiʔ u ksar</i>	river otter (small and big)
420.	<i>u ksɔʔ u tbat</i>	to hold to keep
421.	<i>u ksuid u kʰrei</i>	devil spirits and shouting devil spirits
422.	<i>u ktiar u laraʔ</i>	caterpillar and grub
423.	<i>u kunɔk u kŋdip</i>	the one who knows how to pray, sacrifice, teach, everything
424.	<i>u kŋbat u tfein</i>	the medicines
425.	<i>u kɾkʰu u kʰɾdɔʔ</i>	blessing
426.	<i>u kɾtein u kɾta</i>	ceremony for re-naming a child according to ancestor
427.	<i>u labit u latfajt</i>	flying bat
428.	<i>u lana u laʔɔn</i>	lullaby and comforting the baby so it sleeps (also used for how to express love)
429.	<i>u laŋdɔʔ u laŋpuŋ</i>	priest
430.	<i>u laŋdɔʔ u ri blaŋ</i>	priest who care for the house where sacrifices are done
431.	<i>u lid-dein u lid-sieɕ</i>	devil spirit
432.	<i>u lɔk u ɕɔr</i>	friends
433.	<i>u lɔŋsuid u lɔŋtʃɔr</i>	gourd for rice beer (ceremonial term) 'skor'
434.	<i>u lɾkʰɔt u tama</i>	two halves of rice grain

	Word (IPA)	Meaning
435.	<i>u lyɔʔ u palam</i>	above (clouds) and below (on the ground)
436.	<i>u m'rad u m'reŋ</i>	animals
437.	<i>u map u kʰɛm</i>	forgive and forget
438.	<i>u mɿlɔn u tɿdɔŋ</i>	rice grain (ceremonial usage)
439.	<i>u mɿtʰri u lɿtʰɔŋ</i>	religious meaning (?)
440.	<i>u mɿtɔr u mɿniam</i>	a kind of devil
441.	<i>u nod u klɔŋ</i>	the liver and the heart
442.	<i>u pɿlajt u pɿŋɕra</i>	make free, free from bondage
443.	<i>u jam u kiat</i>	crying
444.	<i>u jasajt u jada</i>	defender, lawyer
445.	<i>ja bian ja bit</i>	be ok, be satisfied (not rich, not poor)
446.	<i>ja klam ja ɔŋ</i>	speak together
447.	<i>jamrɛm jamduʔ</i>	feel sad, feel lost
448.	<i>japan jadon</i>	request respectfully
449.	<i>japmɿso japmɿsnam</i>	accidental death
450.	<i>japtrso japtrɿsnam</i>	suddenly dead
451.	<i>japɿsuk japɿsain</i>	come to agreement to solve a problem (between groups)
452.	<i>jatɔʔ jabian</i>	being together
453.	<i>jei tɿtɔm jei saɕa</i>	not well, continuing sickness
454.	<i>jei daw jei kuna</i>	for the reason for the divination
455.	<i>jei duk jei pap</i>	the poor the sins
456.	<i>jei ɕhia jei ɕaw</i>	spicy, sour
457.	<i>jeidɔʔ jeipran</i>	for the body, for the flesh
458.	<i>jeiʔun jeibian</i>	being happy
459.	<i>jei=ni jei=taj</i>	this one, that one
460.	<i>jɔŋlaŋ jɔŋbi</i>	group, together
461.	<i>jo kɿlian pajt kɿlian</i>	take turns watching
462.	<i>jo ŋajt jo baŋ</i>	see nice, see pretty
463.	<i>jow bnaj jow kʰlur</i>	moon and stars
464.	<i>julum jukduŋ</i>	cloth for baby (swaddling cloth)
465.	<i>junɖalan junɖaki</i>	big building
466.	<i>jurim puta</i>	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 Value	Category	Ratio of languages
1A	Consonant Inventories	+	26: Moderately large (26-33)	94/563
2A	Vowel Quality Inventories	+	7: Large vowel inventory (7-14)	184/564
3A	Consonant-Vowel Ratio	+	3.86: Average (2.75 or higher but less than 4.5)	234/564

World Atlas of Language Structures

Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar 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 Consonants	-		409/567
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 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 Value	Category	Ratio of languages
19A	Presence of Uncommon Consonants	-	None	449/567
20A	Fusion of Selected Inflectional Formatives	?	Exclusively isolating (i.e. aspect/mood but not causative, etc..)	16/165
21A	Exponence of Selected Inflectional Formatives	+	Monoexponential case	71/162
21B	Exponence of Tense-Aspect- Mood Inflection	+	monoexponential TAM	127/160
22A	Inflectional 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
24A	Locus of Marking in Possessive Noun Phrases	?	Possessor is dependent-marked; or none (32)	98/236
25A	Locus of Marking: Whole-language 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

World Atlas of Language Structures

Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar 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 Person/Number Marking	?	Subject 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
32A	Systems of Gender Assignment	+	Gender, animacy: Semantic assignment	53/257
33A	Coding of Nominal Plurality	+	proclitic: Plural clitic	81/1066
34A	Occurrence of Nominal Plurality	+	Plural in all nouns, always obligatory	133/291
35A	Plurality in Independent Personal Pronouns	+	Person-number stem	114/261

World Atlas of Language Structures

Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar Value	Category	Ratio of languages
36A	The Associative Plural	?	Associative plural absent; but <i>jɔŋ</i> ‘GEN’ often used in this sense (and can <i>ki</i> =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 Distinction in Independent Pronouns	-	No inclusive/exclusive opposition	120/200
40A	Inclusive/Exclusive Distinction in Verbal Inflection	-	No person marking at all	70/200
41A	Distance Contrasts in Demonstratives	+	5: Four-way contrast (disregards anaphoric/non- visible)	8/234
42A	Pronominal and Adnominal Demonstratives	+	Same forms	143/201

World Atlas of Language Structures

Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar Value	Category	Ratio of languages
43A	Third Person Pronouns and Demonstratives	+	Third person pronouns and demonstratives are related to all demonstratives (but agreement, not stem-based)	52/225
44A	Gender Distinctions in Independent Personal Pronouns	+	3: Gender distinctions in 3rd person plus 1st and/or 2nd person	18/378
45A	Politeness 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

World Atlas of Language Structures

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: Three-th: Ordinal numerals from ‘two’ upwards are derived from cardinal numerals, ‘first’ is suppletive	110/321
54A	Distributive 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

World Atlas of Language Structures

Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar Value	Category	Ratio of languages
57A	Position of Pronominal Possessive Affixes	-	No possessive affixes	260/902
58A	Obligatory Possessive Inflection	-	No obligatorily possessed nouns	201/244
58B	Number of Possessive Nouns	-	None reported	233/243
59A	Possessive Classification	-	No possessive classification	125/243
60A	Genitives, 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
62A	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

World Atlas of Language Structures

Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar Value	Category	Ratio of languages
65A	Perfective/Imperfective- Aspect		Grammatical marking of perfec- tive/imperfective distinction	101/222
66A	The Past Tense	-	No grammatical marking of past/non-past distinction	88/222
67A	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

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Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar Value	Category	Ratio of languages
71A	The Prohibitive	+	The prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives	182/495
72A	Imperative-Hortative 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 Possibility	?	The language can express epistemic possibility with verbal constructions	65/240
76A	Overlap between Situational and Epistemic Modal Marking	?	The language has no markers that can code both situational and epistemic modality; i.e. no overlap, but consider <i>daw</i> vs. <i>u</i>	105/207

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Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar Value	Category	Ratio of languages
77A	Semantic Distinctions of Evidentiality	+	Both direct and indirect evidentials; Demonstratives, <i>tɛ</i> , and quotatives; no grammatical evidentials reported for Khasi	71/418
78A	Coding of Evidentiality	+	Separate particle; none reported for Khasi	65/418
79A	Suppletion According to Tense and Aspect	?	No suppletion in tense or aspect	123/193
79B	Suppletion in Imperatives and 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 <i>ya-</i> (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

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Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar 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 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 Demonstrative and 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. <i>ka wa laj kɔ</i>	0/5
91A	Order of Degree Word and 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 Value	Category	Ratio of languages
93A	Position of Interrogative Phrases in Content Questions	+	Mixed, some interrogative phrases obligatorily initial, some not	23/902
94A	Order of Adverbial 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 Marking of Full Noun Phrases	+	Nominative - accusative (standard); obliques marked separately	46/190

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Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar Value	Category	Ratio of languages
99A	Alignment of Case Marking of Pronouns	+	Nominative - accusative (standard)	61/172
100A	Alignment of Verbal Person Marking	+	Neutral alignment (no verbal person marking)	84/380
101A	Expression of Pronominal Subjects	?	Pronominal subjects are expressed by pronouns in subject position that are normally if not obligatorily present	82/711
102A	Verbal Person 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 Markers on the Verb	?	A and P do not or do not both occur on the verb	187/379
105A	Ditransitive Constructions: The Verb 'Give'	?	Indirect-object construction	189/378
106A	Reciprocal Constructions	?	The reciprocal and reflexive constructions are formally identical.	44/175
107A	Passive Constructions	+	There is a passive construction	162/373
108A	Antipassive Constructions	?	No antipassive	146/194

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Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar Value	Category	Ratio of languages
108B	Productivity of the Antipassive Construction		no antipassive	146/186
109A	Applicative Constructions	?	Benefactive object only; both bases; <i>ja-rap</i> 'help', <i>ja-pŋ-kreʔ u ka tʃa</i> <i>hali</i> '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 Causative Constructions	-?		0/118
111A	Nonperiphrastic Causative Constructions	?	Morphological type but no compound type; but possibly both, i.e. Khasi <i>p^haʔ</i> ; Both morphological type and compound type, 24	254/310
112A	Negative Morphemes	+	Negative particle; Double negation, 119	502/1157
113A	Symmetric and Asymmetric Standard Negation	+	Symmetric standard negation only: Type Sym	114/297
114A	Subtypes of Asymmetric Standard Negation	-		0/297

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Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar Value	Category	Ratio of languages
115A	Negative Indefinite Pronouns and Predicate Negation	?	Negative indefinites preclude predicate negation	11/206
116A	Polar Questions	+	Question particle	585/955
117A	Predicative Possession	?	Have-Possessive	63/240
118A	Predicative 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 Predicate Nominals	?	Zero copula is impossible	211/386
121A	Comparative 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 Strategy; Non-Reduction Strategy, 14; Pronoun-Retention Strategy, 20; Gap Strategy, 55	13/112

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Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar Value	Category	Ratio of languages
124A	‘Want’ Complement 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
128A	Utterance Complement 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

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Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar 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 Morpheme and Verb	both	(6) Type 1 / Type 2; (15) Optional Double Negation, 80	22/1324
143C	Optional Double Negation	+	NegV/VNeg/NegVNeg; Optional double negation with optional triple negation, 1	2/81
143D	Optional Triple Negation	+	Neg (neg) V (neg)	?/6
143E	Preverbal Negative Morphemes	+		0/1324
143F	Postverbal Negative Morphemes	+	Preverbal negative word	681/1324

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Chapter	Chapter Name	Pnar Value	Category	Ratio of languages
143G	Minor 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
144T	The Position of Negative Morphemes in Verb-Initial Languages	?	NegVSO; VnegSO, 0; Verb-initial with optional double negation, 10	57/152
144U	Double negation in verb-initial languages	?	NegVNegSO; NegNegVSO, 1;	1/17
144V	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 Value	Category	Ratio of languages
144W	Verb-Initial with Negative that is Immediately Postverbal or between Subject and Object	+		0/151

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
kat-tæ jo ɔ kʰat̚ sɔʔ u=tæ u=bru
as-NVIS see 1SG.NOM pick fruit M=NVIS M=person
am nɛ
hear.me? D.TAG
‘Now i see a man picking fruit, okay?’

(3) khait soh ku u hajrong deĩn nong
kʰat̚ sɔʔ ku u ha-ɕrɔŋ deŋ nɔŋ
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*
dɛp ne-i=tɛ tɛ u da rap hɛʔ hi
 PERF ABL-N=NVIS NVIS 3SG.M REAL grow be.big EMPH
sɛ u=bru
 C.TAG 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*
ku u da ka=ji da ka=jiŋken dɛp tɛ kʰat
 climb 3SG.M INST F=thing INST F=ladder PERF NVIS pick
sɔʔ u dɛp tɛ pʰlaŋ u ki ha ji ha
 fruit 3SG.M PERF NVIS gather 3SG.M 3PL LOC thing LOC
ki=ni ha ki=ni ha ki=ni nɛ
 PL=PROX LOC PL=PROX LOC PL=PROX D.TAG
ki=kriaʔ
 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*
pyllang u ki saj u na-pɔʔ
 gather 3SG.M 3PL take.from.inside 3SG.M ABL-under,in
kata kat i wa jɔʔ u=tɛ tap u
 pocket as 1PL NMZ get M=NVIS put,garden 3SG.M
ha-pɔʔ ji bat ha-pɔʔ 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 kriaʔ sæ pyllai pyllai*
dɛp tɛ pʰlaj pʰlaj wan u ki ha ji
 PERF NVIS organize organize come 3SG.M 3PL LOC thing
ha ɔŋ bat ha kriaʔ sɛ pʰlaj pʰlaj
 LOC say IMM3 LOC basket(general) C.TAG organize organize
wan u ki ki=tɛ ki=sɔʔ
 come 3SG.M 3PL PL=NVIS PL=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 kria_h da dæp pyndap u katte*
tɛ da latʃi ar tʃli ha-rɔʔ
 NVIS REAL almost two CL.piece LOC-be.much
ki=kriaʔ da dɛp pŋ-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
tɛ ɛm u=wi wa hap tʃa roʔ dʒed
 NVIS have M=one NMZ fall ALL outside pickup,choose
u o tɛ ñiam u o ñiam
 3SG.M 3SG.M.ACC NVIS wipe 3SG.M 3SG.M.ACC wipe
u lɛʔ pun da ka=tɛ hi ka=tatlumar wa ɛm
 3SG.M also all INST F=NVIS EMPH F=scarf NMZ have
he-i=ni ha wa kdɔʔ u ha rdaŋ
 LOC-N=PROX LOC NMZ tie 3SG.M LOC neck
i=rɔŋ so wa sap tupri sɛ u sap
 N=color,symbol be.red NMZ wear hat C.TAG 3SG.M wear
tupri u lɛʔ kawbɔj nɛ 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*
ki=bru lɛʔ ɔŋ bat ki=kawbɔj hi sɛ
 PL=person also say IMM3 PL=cowboy EMPH C.TAG
ki=ni
 PL=PROX
 ‘These people also are like cowboys, ok.’
- (11) *sa u wi u kria_h kattæ dang sah tæ*
sa u=wi u=kriaʔ kat-te daŋ saʔ tɛ
 only M=one 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=kirtʃɔn de-i=kirtʃɔn ha madan tʰap sɔʔ
 be.hard NF=kneel INST-ACT=kneel LOC ground put fruit
o jo m pɿ-hiɛr o niam bian
 3SG.M.ACC see NEG CAUS-bringdown 3SG.M.ACC wipe again
u ku bian 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 ɛm sɔ u=wi wan u=bru wan jaʔ
 as-distal have more M=one come M=person come drive,lead
u wa ka=blaŋ
 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
ka=blaŋ mɔ ka=masi mɔ daŋ wa daŋ kʰian
 F=goat QTAG F=cow QTAG PROG NMZ PROG be.small
tʃi-sen pat na aj jo kam ka=blaŋ sɛ
 one-time,action look ABL PTNL see like,want 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
tɛ laj ki ki we-i=tɔʔ tʃa-ɕrɔŋ 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 kʰat ma kʰat sɔʔ u kʰat sɔʔ u
 as-MPROX pick hon.M pick fruit 3SG.M pick fruit 3SG.M
dɛp tʰap tʰap u ne ka=sula u lɛʔ da
 PERF put put 3SG.M or F=clothing 3SG.M also REAL
tʃna kam ka=kam ka=muna he-i=ni
 make like,want RES=like,want F=bag 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 pyr_idi wa khait soh u tæ æm u khynnah wan wan u yah yi
 wa yah bicycle
kat-te dang ha pyr_idi wa k^haṭ sɔʔ u tɛ
 as-MPROX PROG LOC middle NMZ pick fruit 3SG.M NVIS
ɛm u=k^hɲnaʔ wan wan u jaʔ ji wa
 have M=little.one come come 3SG.M drive,lead thing NMZ
jaʔ 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
dɛp-tɛ u=tɛ lɛʔ sap tupri kawbɔj bha u
 PERF-NVIS M=NVIS also wear hat cowboy INTS1 3SG.M
sɛ riɛm kawbɔj bha u ɔŋ ja ɔŋ daŋ
 C.TAG dress cowboy INTS1 3SG.M say BEN say PROG
k^hian u lɛʔ tɛt
 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
kdɔʔ u kam-tɛ baṭ t^had he-i=ni ha
 tie 3SG.M as,like-NVIS IMM3 clothes LOC-N=PROX LOC
rdaŋ
 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 dang jaʔ bha u=tɛ pɔj u tʃi
 as-MPROX PROG drive,lead INTS1 M=NVIS arrive 3SG.M set
pɔj ha-ɕan tɛt
 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 kria_h
jo u ki ki=tu ki=sɔʔ nɛ ha-pɔʔ
 see 3SG.M 3PL PL=MEDL PL=fruit D.TAG LOC-under,in
kriaʔ
 basket(general)
 ‘He sees the fruit, ok, inside the basket...’

- (23) yoo u ki chi yoo tæ yoo u u tæ u bru dang khait u tæ
jo u ki tʃi jo tɛ jo u u=tɛ u=bru
 see 3SG.M 3PL set see NVIS see 3SG.M M=NVIS M=person
daŋ kʰaʔ u tɛt
 PROG pick 3SG.M end
 ‘He looked and saw that the person was still plucking...’
- (24) pynhier u ka ka ni ka bicycle u
pŋ-hiɛr 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
da dɛp tɛ toʔ soʔ u him u
 REAL PERF NVIS steal fruit 3SG.M take 3SG.M
ne-i=taj kʰmet kŋŋaŋ u o tɛ him
 ABL-N=distal look.here while 3SG.M 3SG.M.ACC NVIS take
kŋŋaŋ 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 kriaŋ bait
mut u u=him u=wi hɛʔ raʔ u ki
 means 3SG.M NF=take M=one be.big carry 3SG.M 3PL
raʔ baʔ u pŋ-tʃi kriaʔ baʔ
 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.’
- (27) sdang biang u ku hei tu ha ha bicycle
sdaŋ biaŋ 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 kriaŋ booh u oo hakhmat bicycle
 pynchong chi u pynchong næ
ku u ha bajskil raʔ u o u=tu
 climb 3SG.M LOC bicycle carry 3SG.M 3SG.M.ACC M=MEDL
u=kriaʔ boʔ u o ha-kʰmat
 M=basket(general) put,keep 3SG.M 3SG.M.ACC LOC-front
bajskil pŋ-tʃɔŋ tʃi u=pŋ-tʃɔŋ nɛ
 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
εm t^haw pŋ-tʃɔŋ ha bajskil ha-k^hmat dɛp-tɛ
 have place CAUS-sit LOC bicycle LOC-front PERF-NVIS
jaʔ wɔt u jaʔ bajskil wɔt u
 drive,lead IMM3 3SG.M drive,lead bicycle IMM3 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
tɛ u=ni u=bru daŋ k^haʔ sɔʔ daŋ k^haʔ hi
 NVIS M=PROX M=person PROG pick fruit PROG pick EMPH
daŋ tap hi nɛ
 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=taj wa yat naŋ yat hi u=k^hŋnaʔ k^hian
 M=distal NMZ run PROG run EMPH 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 daŋ jaʔ ha u=εm sa ka=wi wan
 NMZ PROG drive,lead LOC NF=have only F=one come
ka=kŋt^haj ka=waʔ jaʔ bajskil ne-i=taj liaŋ wan
 F=female F=river drive,lead bicycle ABL-N=distal side come
ka lɛʔ jaʔ kɔ sɛ
 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
ka jaʔ bajskil kam o hi tɛ
 3SG.F drive,lead bicycle like,want 3SG.M.ACC EMPH NVIS
ɔŋ baʔ ha ka=ʔoʔ ka=surɔk
 say IMM3 LOC RES=be.same F=road
 ‘She bicycle-rides just like him and let’s say on the same road...’
- (34) khmeit u ka chi khmeit næ dæp tæ
k^hmet u ka tʃi k^hmet nɛ dɛp tɛt
 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 tæ̂t nong sæ̂
ka khyloid ko tæ̂t khmeit u ka tæ̂t
da u ka tʃi k^hmet ka=te ka=knt^haj ɔŋ
INST 3SG.M 3SG.F set look.here F=MPROX F=female say
jɔʔ tɔʔ ka=knt^haj tæ̂t nɔŋ sɛ ka=k^hloit̚ kɔ tæ̂t
get be F=female end CONF C.TAG F=girl 3SG.F end
k^hmet u ka tæ̂t
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) ʏm æm u johke u pait ya u moo næ̂ æm u moo pynhakhmat yi tæ̂t
ʏm ɛm u=ɕɔʔke u=pat̚ ja u=mo nɛ ɛm
NEG have NF=realize NF=look BEN M=stone D.TAG have
u=mo pŋ-ha-k^hmat ji tæ̂t
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 tæ̂ toh chi toh hei tæ̂ tæ̂ pat u dæp tæ̂t kjut ka kjat taroh u sæ̂
dɛp-tɛ tɔʔ tʃi tɔʔ he-i=tɛ tɛ pat u dɛp
PERF-NVIS be set be LOC-N=NVIS NVIS fall 3SG.M PERF
tæ̂t kɕut ka=kɕat tarɔʔ u sɛ
end hurt,sick 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 tæ̂ wei ki soh haroh wa hap hei tæ̂ i tæ̂ hei tæ̂ hapyr̥di hei por wa
pat wan u æm le ngut ki chynrang hei tæ̂ wan
dɛp-tɛ we-i ki=sɔʔ ha-rɔʔ wa hap
PERF-NVIS COMT-1PL PL=fruit LOC-be.much NMZ fall
he-i=tɛ i=tɛ he-i=tɛ ha-pr̥di he-i=pɔr
LOC-N=NVIS N=NVIS LOC-N=NVIS LOC-middle LOC-N=time
wa pat wan u ɛm le ŋut ki=ʃŋraŋ
NMZ fall come 3SG.M have three CL.HUM PL=male
he-i=tɛ 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.’
- (39) yoo ki oo ki yoo tæ̂ u wi yarap u oo tæ̂ u khian dooh nei tæ̂
jo ki o ki jo tɛ u=wi jarap u
see 3PL 3SG.M.ACC 3PL see NVIS M=one help 3SG.M
o tɛ u=k^hian-doʔ ne-i=tɛ
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 u tæ u kria*
tɛ ki wa bon wan ki ɕed ki=tɛ
 NVIS 3PL NMZ be.much come 3PL pickup,choose PL=NVIS
ki=sɔʔ tɛ tap ki ha-pɔʔ biang u=tɛ
 PL=fruit NVIS put,garden 3PL LOC-under,in again M=NVIS
u=kriaʔ
 M=basket(general)
 ‘and the others pick up the fruits and put them inside the basket again...’
- (41) *dang tap soh ki katte hapoh kria*
daŋ tap sɔʔ ki kat-te ha-pɔʔ
 PROG put,garden fruit 3PL as-MPROX LOC-under,in
kriaʔ
 basket(general)
 ‘(they) still put the fruit in the basket now...’
- (42) *tæ u wi wan oo ksɔh u tæ ka ksɔh u kamka kynja table tennis bat kamtu*
tɛ u=wi wan o ksɔʔ u=tɛ ka ksɔʔ
 NVIS M=one come 3SG.M.ACC hold M=NVIS 3SG.F hold
u kam-ka kɲɕa tebl̩ tɛnis 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*
ki=tu ki bat kɲdɔk ke u da u=mɔ
 PL=MEDL 3PL bat bounce Non-purp 3SG.M INST M=stone
mɔ ɲ-tip i=ji i=taj kɲdɔk
 QTAG NEG-know N=thing 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
u dɛp ki o u=jarap ki laj wɔt ki
 3SG.M PERF 3PL 3SG.M.ACC NF=help 3PL go IMMD 3PL
laj wɔt ki o lɛʔ laj wɔt u u=ni
 go IMMD 3PL 3SG.M.ACC also go IMMD 3SG.M M=PROX
u=kʰɲnaʔ wa tɔʔ u=tu wa pat sa ka=tupri
 M=little.one NMZ be M=MEDL NMZ fall only F=hat
wan u=ɛm u hap kɔ ha madan he-i=pɔr
 come NF=have 3SG.M fall 3SG.F LOC ground LOC-N=time
wa kʰmet u ka ka=ni ka=kɲtʰaj tɛt
 NMZ look.here 3SG.M 3SG.F F=PROX F=female end

‘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
tɔʔ ka=tupri u næ ha ka=te ka=kɲtʰaj hap
 be F=hat 3SG.M D.TAG LOC F=MPROX F=female fall
wɔt kɔ man da hap ka=tɛ ka=tupri tʃi hap
 IMM.D 3SG.F become REAL fall F=NVIS F=hat set fall
nɛ tɛt
 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 chakmat yoo ki ka ka tæ ka tupri u jeid ki ka tæ siaw ki oo næ
ka=tɛ eʔ u ka ka=tɛ o man
 F=NVIS leave 3SG.M 3SG.F F=NVIS 3SG.M.ACC become
da dɛp u=ɕed ne-i=tɛ ki=ni
 REAL PERF NF=pickup,choose ABL-N=NVIS PL=PROX
ki=kʰɲnaʔ man da laj ki tʃa-kʰmat jo ki
 PL=little.one become REAL go 3PL ALL-front see 3PL
ka ka=tɛ ka=tupri u=ɕed ki ka=tɛ
 3SG.F F=NVIS F=hat NF=pickup,choose 3PL F=NVIS
siaw ki o nɛ
 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*
ja u=e ki ka ka=te ka=tupri u tɛ
 BEN NF=give 3PL 3SG.F F=MPROX F=hat 3SG.M NVIS
kat-te da li-e ki ka ka=tupri u ki
 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 ki=ni
 become REAL give hat come 3SG.M PL=PROX
ki=kʰɲnaʔ o u=wan tɛt o e
 PL=little.one 3SG.M.ACC NF=come end 3SG.M.ACC give

wan u da u=sɔʔ ja ki e u ja ki
 come 3SG.M INST M=fruit BEN 3PL give 3SG.M BEN 3PL
da ki=sɔʔ ar tlli ki=sɔʔ ne
 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*
ɔ ar tlli mɔ le ɔ le tlli
 1SG.NOM two CL.piece QTAG three 1SG.NOM three CL.piece
u=jɔʔ ki=mar u=wi u=sɔʔ
 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 tʃe-i=te lian i wa wan
 3PL come go 3PL ALL-N=MPROX side 1PL NMZ come
u=tu u=k^hnnaʔ 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*
tæ man da pɔj kat-tæ kat-taj pɲ-jo bian
 NVIS become REAL arrive as-NVIS as-distal CAUS-see again
ki pɔj bian tʃe-i=taj i=pɔr tʃe-i=t^haw
 3PL arrive again ALL-N=distal N=time ALL-N=place
tʃe-i=tæ tʃe-i=tu i pɲ-t^ha jɔŋ u=tæ
 ALL-N=NVIS ALL-N=MEDL 1PL CAUS-boulder GEN M=NVIS
u=bru wa k^ha_ŋ sɔʔ
 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...’

- (53) 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 i tæ
man da k^hat sɔʔ u tɛ pŋ-dap man da
 become REAL pick fruit 3SG.M NVIS CAUS-fill become REAL
ɔŋ u=pŋ-dap ɔŋ u=pɭaj ki=tɛ ki=sɔʔ jo
 say NF=CAUS-fill say NF=organize PL=NVIS PL=fruit see
u tʃi pat kam-tu nɛ ɔŋ u de jo
 3SG.M set look as,like-medl D.TAG say 3SG.M NEG.INTS see
kam wa duna kammɔn i=tɛ
 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=wi ar mm
 count M=one two mm
 ‘He counts one, two, mm...’
- (55) de æh ko chibot khleih u kamtu næ
de ɛʔ kɔ tʃibɔt k^hleʔ u kam-tu
 neg.ints be.difficult 3SG.F scratch head 3SG.M as,like-medl
nɛ
 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
he-i=tɛ pɔr wan ki=tu ki=k^hŋnaʔ ki wa
 LOC-N=NVIS time come PL=MEDL PL=little.one 3PL NMZ
joʔ sɔʔ na u=te ne-i u=k^hŋnaʔ wa
 get fruit ABL M=MPROX ABL-1PL M=little.one NMZ
jaʔ 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
kɲɔk u=tu wa kɲɔk bat tebl̩ tɛnis dan
 bounce M=MEDL NMZ bounce bat table tennis PROG
kɲɔk bat laj k^hŋaŋ
 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 tæ̃t
u=tu u=bru wan o da pat̃ u
 M=MEDL M=person come 3SG.M.ACC REAL look 3SG.M
kam-tu næ jo u ksoʔ soʔ ki tæ̃t
 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 sɛ
 REAL knowledge 3SG.M 3PL C.TAG
 ‘He was suspicious, ok...’
- (60) kamtæ hæh sæ
kam-tɛ hɛʔ sɛ
 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
ŋa ritait ɔ ha u=snɛm kʰatkʰɛnde spaʔ
 1SG.ACC retired 1SG.NOM LOC M=year nineteen hundred
sanpʰaw so
 fifty four
 ‘I retired from my service in the year 1954..’
- (3) ha u snæm khatkhynde spah sanphaw san lai shillong
ha u=snɛm kʰatkʰɛnde spaʔ sanpʰaw san laj ʃlɔŋ
 LOC M=year 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=pɔr tʃipʰaw tʃiten da ka=bɔs laj ʃlɔŋ
 LOC-N=time ten half INST F=bus go Shillong
ha-kʰmat ummulɔŋ ha-ka tʰaw wa ɔŋ ki
 LOC-front Ummulong LOC-3SG.F place NMZ say 3PL
pɛ̃n-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
he-i=tɛ tʃɛm ka=aksidɛn
 LOC-N=NVIS meet F=accident
 ‘there I met (with) an accident.’
- (6) chong o da ka bus
tʃɔŋ ɔ da ka=bɔs
 sit 1SG.NOM INST F=bus
 ‘I was sitting in the bus.’
- (7) æm yap ka wi ka kynthai tymmæn
ɛm jap ka=wi ka=kɪtʰaj tɪmmɛn
 have die F=one 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
boʔ ki ka=ʤɛnɛrɛtɔr kʲla ka=bɔs ban
 put,keep 3PL F=generator change F=bus fold,fall
ka=ʤɛnɛrɛtɔr jap kɔ ka=wi
 F=generator die 3SG.F 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
ŋa ʝɔʔ fɛn ɔ japlɛr ɔ
 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
tɛ u=wi u=tɛ u=bru u=ɛsdio ɛlɛktrik kʰɛɲ
 NVIS M=one M=NVIS M=person M=S.D.O. electric break
ka=ni ka=kti
 F=PROX 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
he-i=tɛ i=pɔr saʔ ka=ni ka=kʤat ɔ ha
 LOC-N=NVIS N=time stay F=PROX F=leg 1SG.NOM LOC
ka=ni ka=tnom ʝɔŋ ka=bɔs
 F=PROX F=roof GEN 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
de-i=bər tdeʔ ɔ ka kat-wa kiat
 INST-ACT=power pull.up,off 1SG.NOM 3SG.F as-NMZ liquor
ka=tɛ ka=bru aʔ bej da jap ɔ
 F=NVIS 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
ŋa da kʰɿŋiat 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
tdæʔ ɔ ka=ni ka kɕat dɛp ne-i=tɛ
 pull.up,off 1SG.NOM F=PROX 3SG.F leg PERF ABL-N=NVIS
tɛ miʔ ɔ tʃa laɿ tɛ jo ɔ
 NVIS bring.out 1SG.NOM ALL free,escape NVIS see 1SG.NOM
ja ka=ni ka=bru wa da jap ka=ɕɛnɛretər lɛʔ
 BEN F=PROX F=person NMZ REAL die F=generator also
ɛm
 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
dɛp ne-i=tɛ ŋa liwan wot ɔ
 PERF ABL-N=NVIS 1SG.ACC return.home IMMD 1SG.NOM
tʃa jun
 ALL home
 ‘After that, I returned back home..’
- (16) la ym kamtæ da yap o
la ɿ kam-tɛ da jap ɔ
 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-tæ donhi tbian u ka=tæ
 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
ŋa tɔʔ u=ʔwas lɪŋdɔʔ u=daloj ʔɔŋ
 1SG.ACC be M=Chawas Lyngdoh M=daloi GEN
ka=ɛlaka raliŋ ka=ʔiŋ-mut daloi tɔʔ
 F=village,township Raliang F=ab.NMZ-means daloi be
u=nɔŋ-sɪŋʔfar ha-pɔʔ ka=ɛlaka
 M=ag.nmz-rule LOC-under,in F=village,township
 ‘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=kʰleʔ ʔɔŋ ka=niam ka=rukɔm ʔɔŋ ka=dustur
 also M=head GEN F=tradition F=way GEN F=tradition
ka=riti ha-pɔʔ ka=ɛlaka ka ʔɔŋ i
 F=culture LOC-under,in 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
tæ kam u=daloj tɔʔ i=sɪŋʔfar i ja ka=kʰɪndaw
 NVIS like,want M=daloi be ACT=rule 1PL BEN F=earth
wa ʔʔiɪp je-i ki nu nu ki=ʔiŋ-ɛmkam
 NMZ soil PLUR-1PL 3PL which which PL=ab.NMZ-need
ʔɔŋ u=paitbaʔ he-i=ʔiŋ-jatɔʔ wa
 GEN M=crowd,congregation LOC-N=ab.NMZ-relations NMZ
ki=lan holdiŋ sɛrtifiket ki=rivɪʔɔn ki=pata-hali
 PL=land holding certificate PL=revision PL=place-paddy.field
tɔʔ ka=bɔr ʔɔŋ ŋa u=rekomɛn
 be F=power GEN 1SG.ACC 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
dɛp ne-i=tɛ u=p^hɔrwar tʃa distrik kawnsil
 PERF ABL-N=NVIS M=forward ALL district council
ka=distrik kawnsil je kɔ u=ifu pata ja
 F=district council able 3SG.F M=issue place BEN
ki=paitba? ki=k^hɔn ka=riɔt jɔŋ
 PL=crowd,congregation PL=child F=citizen GEN
ka=ɛlaka
 F=village,township
 ‘after that to forward to the district council 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
ka=tɛ tɔʔ ka=bɔr jɔŋ u=daloj bad ha ka=bɔr jɔŋ
 F=NVIS be F=power GEN M=daloi also LOC F=power GEN
ŋa u=daloj i je u=sɲtfar k^hadar ja u=bitfar
 1SG.ACC M=daloi 1PL able NF=rule regulate BEN NF=judge
i ja ki=mɔkɔt duma
 1PL BEN PL=file tobacco
 ‘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
ki=rebenu kes ki=sut kes kam-tɛ tɛ tɛ tɛ
 PL=revenue case PL=suit case as,like-NVIS NVIS NVIS NVIS
ki=kam jɔŋ ŋa ka u=daloj tɔʔ bon
 PL=like,want GEN 1SG.ACC 3SG.F M=daloi be be.much
bha ha-pɔʔ ka=ɛlaka raliang wa u=pat_ɛ
 INTS1 LOC-under,in F=village,township Raliang NMZ NF=look
i ja u ki=pod ki=sam
 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
je-i ki=k^haʃia ki=awri awra jɔŋ ki=k^hɔn
 PLUR-1PL PL=fight PL=argue argue GEN PL=child
ka=riɔt jɔŋ i ha-pɔʔ ka=ɛlaka wa
 F=citizen GEN 1PL LOC-under,in F=village,township NMZ

u=pŋ-bat pŋ-sut i ki u=t^ho lad kammən
 NF=CAUS-direct CAUS-care 1PL 3PL NF=create way how
u=pŋ-tʃəŋ suk tʃəŋ-san ja ki=k^hən ka=riət
 NF=CAUS-sit be.peaceful sit-agree BEN PL=child F=citizen
jəŋ i ha-pɔʔ ka=ɛlaka raliəŋ
 GEN 1PL LOC-under,in 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 i thaw
yong i hapoh ka elaka
tɛ tɔʔ ka=kamram ka u=daloj jəŋ ka=ɛlaka
 NVIS be F=duty 3SG.F M=daloi GEN F=village,township
raliəŋ bat kam-ɕoʔ u=pat ja ka=knia
 Raliang also as,like-be.same NF=look BEN F=sacrifice,rite
ka=k^hriam je-i=ɛʔ niam ɛʔ rukom ha-pɔʔ
 RES=chant PLUR-N=do tradition do way LOC-under,in
jəŋ ka=rait i=t^haw jəŋ i ha-pɔʔ
 GEN F=community N=place GEN 1PL LOC-under,in
ka=ɛlaka
 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-tɛ tɔʔ ka=kamram jəŋ ŋa ka u=daloj tɛ
 as-NVIS be F=duty GEN 1SG.ACC 3SG.F M=daloi NVIS
da biəŋ nɔŋ kat-tɛ
 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 jɔʔ kɔ je-i=ni
as-NMZ F=Yawchibidi how get 3SG.F PLUR-N=PROX
i=bhaʔ daloj ka=jawtfibidi ɲ tɔʔ he-i=pɔr wa
N=share daloi F=Yawchibidi ref be LOC-N=time NMZ
man ka=t^hma ka=wat ka=t^hma wa ka=ɕwaj wa
become F=war F=sword F=war COMT F=Jowai COMT
ka=malɣiaŋ
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
tɛ u=malɣiaŋ tɔʔ u wa pɲ-ʔitɔm bha ja
NVIS M=Malngiang be 3SG.M NMZ CAUS-fever INTS1 BEN
ki=ɕwaj ɲ tɔʔ du ja ki=ɕwaj mut ja ki=wi
PL=Jowai NEG be only BEN PL=Jowai means BEN PL=one
lɛʔ pɲ-ʔitɔm u ha ka=t^hma ka wa ha
also CAUS-fever 3SG.M LOC F=war 3SG.F NMZ LOC
jaw daj ɕa ha jaw daj ɕa tɔʔ i=t^haw wa
market sell rice LOC market sell rice be N=place NMZ
ɕoʔ i=ʔɛm ha ki tɛ kat-ni ka=jaw daj ɕa
HAB ACT=meet LOC 3PL NVIS as-PROX F=market sell rice
lɛʔ da wiar kɔ da wiar kɔ kat-ni tɛ
also REAL lose 3SG.F REAL lose 3SG.F as-PROX NVIS
ɛm kɔ ha mokɲdur
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
tɛ u=ni u=malɣiaŋ ha ka=pɔr ka=t^hma man
NVIS M=PROX M=Malngiang LOC F=time F=war become
*ha ka=ni ka=t^hma tɛ jɔʔ u pɲ-*** ki=ni*
LOC F=PROX F=war NVIS get 3SG.M CAUS-*** PL=PROX
ki=so ɲut ki=tɛ ki=k^hlawat u=tɔŋk^ha u=bik^ha
PL=four CL.HUM PL=NVIS PL=warrior M=Tonkha M=Bikha
u=jaŋ u=bula ki=ni tɔʔ ki wa u=jɔʔ
NF=wait M=Bula PL=PROX be 3PL NMZ NF=get

u=pŋ-jap ja u=sɿem malŋian
 NF=CAUS-die BEN 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

tæ ki man da jɔʔ ki u=pŋ-jap ja
 NVIS 3PL become REAL get 3PL NF=CAUS-die BEN
u=sɿem malŋian tæ raʔ ki raʔ nɔʔ ki
 M=ruler Malngiang NVIS carry 3PL carry IMM1 3PL
je-i=k^hleʔ jɔŋ o tæ man da raʔ
 PLUR-N=head GEN 3SG.M.ACC NVIS become REAL carry
ki je-i=k^hleʔ jɔŋ o tʃa nartian na
 3PL PLUR-N=head GEN 3SG.M.ACC ALL Nartiang ABL
nartian raʔ wan ki tʃa ɕwaj
 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=bhaʔ ilɛʔ wa raʔ ki tʃa nartian wa
 ABL-N=cause why NMZ carry 3PL ALL Nartiang NMZ
u=ni u=malŋian ha-den wa dɛp ja-soʔbut
 M=PROX M=Malngiang LOC-back NMZ PERF PLUR-conspire
u dɛp ja-soʔbut para ki he-i wa
 3SG.M PERF PLUR-conspire among 3PL LOC-1PL NMZ
kammɔn u=jɔʔ u=pŋ-jap ja ki=k^hatar spaʔ
 how NF=get NF=CAUS-die BEN PL=twelve hundred
ɲut ki=k^hlawat ki=k^hlawat jɔŋ ka=ri k^hatar dalɔj
 CL.HUM PL=warrior PL=warrior GEN 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

tæ pŋ-man u ja ka=tæ ka=tʃa:t ha
 NVIS CAUS-become 3SG.M BEN F=NVIS RES=dance LOC
malŋian tæ man pŋ-man u ja ka=tæ
 Malngiang NVIS become CAUS-become 3SG.M BEN F=NVIS

ka=ʈaːt o da ɛm i=but̚ jɔŋ o
 RES=dance 3SG.M.ACC REAL have N=tactic GEN 3SG.M.ACC
wa u=jɔʔ u=pŋ-jap ja ki=kʰlawat̚ man u
 NMZ NF=get NF=CAUS-die BEN PL=warrior become 3SG.M
ka=kʰawaj ha ka=ni ka=kʰawaj e u
 F=throw.party LOC F=PROX F=throw.party give 3SG.M
je-i=kʔiaːt i=um
 PLUR-N=liquor 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.’

- (7) *hɲre he-i=tɛ i=kʔiaːt i=um da kʰlɛʔ*
 but.also LOC-N=NVIS N=liquor N=water REAL mix
bi da kʰlɛʔ bi ʈwa kat-wa u=ɕwaj
 be.diseased REAL mix be.diseased before as-NMZ M=Jowai
o da tip u je-i=but̚ jɔŋ
 3SG.M.ACC REAL know 3SG.M PLUR-N=tactic GEN
u=malɲiaŋ o da snɛŋ u ja
 M=Malngiang 3SG.M.ACC REAL advise 3SG.M BEN
ki=kʰlawat̚ ʈi-spaʔ ŋut ʈi kʰlawat̚ ʈi daloj
 PL=warrior one-hundred CL.HUM INDEF warrior INDEF daloj
 ‘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
o snɛŋ u wa la da e bam
 3SG.M.ACC advise 3SG.M NMZ if REAL give eat
u=malɲiaŋ ham bam kat-wa ki wa bon ɲ
 M=Malngiang PROH eat as-NMZ 3PL NMZ be.much ref
ki ɲ tip ki je-i=tɛ ki=ha-lɔr wa da
 3PL NEG know 3PL PLUR-N=NVIS PL=LOC-top NMZ REAL
ɔŋ u=ɕwaj ja ki ki ɲ ɲat̚ ki ki laj ki
 say M=Jowai BEN 3PL 3PL NEG believe 3PL 3PL go 3PL
ʈe-i=tɛ tɛ bam tɛ diʔ ki tɛ praj ki
 ALL-N=NVIS NVIS eat NVIS drink 3PL NVIS vomit 3PL
i=tɛ i=snam ki kat-wa ki=kʰlawat̚ jɔŋ u=ɕwaj ɲ
 N=NVIS N=blood 3PL as-NMZ PL=warrior GEN M=Jowai ref
ɲ ɛm u=bam ki ki ɲ ɛm u=praj ki
 NEG have NF=eat 3PL 3PL NEG have NF=vomit 3PL

‘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.’

- (9) 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

he-i=tɛ man da ja-muait ki pɲ-jap
 LOC-N=NVIS become REAL PLUR-be.drunk 3PL CAUS-die
ki=kʰlawat u=malɲian ja ki=ni ki=kʰatwi spaʔ
 PL=warrior M=Malngiang BEN PL=PROX PL=eleven hundred
ɲut ki=kʰlawat jɔŋ ka=kʰatar daloj jap ki tɛ
 CL.HUM PL=warrior GEN F=twelve daloi die 3PL NVIS
ne-i=tɛ laj ka=parɔm wa u=kɔŋ wasan ha
 ABL-N=NVIS go RES=tell.story NMZ M=hon.f elder LOC
nartian o je-i=ni ɔŋ u wa tʃɛt
 Nartiang 3SG.M.ACC PLUR-N=PROX say 3SG.M NMZ cook
klla ki=kʰlawat ki=daloj ɕwaj
 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

hɲre ki=kʰlawat u=daloj ɕwaj ki da tip ki
 but.also PL=warrior M=daloi Jowai 3PL REAL know 3PL
je-i=but jɔŋ u=malɲian tɛ kʰut dɔrbar
 PLUR-N=tactic GEN M=Malngiang NVIS call meeting
u=kɔŋ wasan ha nartian man da kʰut u
 M=hon.f elder LOC Nartiang become REAL call 3SG.M
ja ka=dɔrbar ha nartian tɛ klam u
 BEN F=meeting LOC Nartiang NVIS speak 3SG.M
je-i=tɛ warɔʔ man wa tʃɛt klla ki=kʰlawat
 PLUR-N=NVIS all become NMZ cook change PL=warrior
u=daloj ɕwaj
 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

hɲre jep ki wa hɛʔ jep ki wa hɛʔ na
but.also stand 3PL NMZ be.big stand 3PL NMZ be.big ABL
ki=kʰlawat na ɕwaj ɔŋ ki wa da dɛp ɔŋ i
PL=warrior ABL Jowai say 3PL NMZ REAL PERF say 1PL
da dɛp klam tʃa i wa ɲ hɔj u=bam tɛ
REAL PERF speak ALL 1PL NMZ NEG be.well NF=eat NVIS
ɲ ɲat ki je kʰaj ki hɲre tɛ miʔ
NEG believe 3PL able get.up 3PL but.also NVIS bring.out
tɛ ka=kpten ka wa ɔŋ wa man u=rɛp
NVIS F=word 3SG.F NMZ say NMZ become NF=cultivate
smurit nɔʔ ja ka=madan kmai blaʃ
pepper IMM1 BEN 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

he-i=tɛ jep ki=tɛ ki=kʰlawat na-pɔʔ ɕwaj
LOC-N=NVIS stand PL=NVIS PL=warrior ABL-under,in Jowai
ɔŋ ki=kɔŋ wasan la da burɔm e i ja
say PL=hon.f elder if REAL honor give 1PL BEN
me tɔʔ u=burɔm kaj u=kɔŋsan hɲre ɲ ɛm
2SG.M.ACC be NF=honor like M=uncle but.also NEG have
u=boʔ i me jaŋ tʃi tɻsim kʰmut
NF=put,keep 1PL 2SG.M.ACC wait set claw/nail nose
tɻsim je-i=man jɔŋ 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

taŋ wa burɔm i me kam u=kɔŋ
but,even NMZ honor 1PL 2SG.M.ACC like,want M=hon.f
wasan taŋ jaŋ wa le bnaj u=raʔ i
elder but,even wait NMZ three month NF=carry 1PL
de-i=kʰleʔ jɔŋ u=sʔem malɲiaŋ ha maɕar tɛ
INST-N=head GEN M=ruler Malngiang LOC bazaar NVIS

da ja? u n ki ne-i=tɛ
 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*

tɛ kʰrɛ? ki=kʰlawat ɕɛt ki=so
 NVIS prepare,ready PL=warrior pickup,choose PL=four
ɣut ki=kʰlawat na-pɔ? ɕwaj tɛ u=tɔŋkʰa
 CL.HUM PL=warrior ABL-under,in Jowai NVIS M=Tonkha
u=bikʰa u=jaŋ u=bula laj ki laj ki tʃa malŋiaŋ
 M=Bikha NF=wait M=Bula go 3PL go 3PL ALL Malngiang
he-i=tɛ i=dur wa tʃa? bɛ? da tʃa?
 LOC-N=NVIS N=purpose NMZ PASS trap.with.net REAL PASS
bɛ? na ɕwaj
 trap.with.net ABL Jowai

‘so these four Jowai warriors were ready, they were Tonkha, Bikha, Yang and Bula, they went to Malngiang as if they were driven away from Jowai.’

- (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 hadooch wa dap le bnai chong chakri ki hei tæ*

tɛ pɔj ki he-i=taj tɛ maja u u=ni
 NVIS arrive 3PL LOC-N=distal NVIS love 3SG.M M=PROX
u=sʔem malŋiaŋ ja ki tɛ man da maja
 M=ruler Malngiang BEN 3PL NVIS become REAL love
u ki=tɛ ki he-i=tɛ i=pɔr ki da jo
 3SG.M PL=NVIS 3PL LOC-N=NVIS N=time 3PL REAL see
ki kam-tɛ da maja u ki=tɛ hɤre
 3PL as,like-NVIS REAL love 3SG.M PL=NVIS but.also
ki=ni ki=so ɣut ki=kʰlawat ja u=su ja
 PL=PROX PL=four CL.HUM PL=warrior BEN NF=repay BEN
ka=tput ka wa da jap ki=kʰatwi spa?
 RES=revenge 3SG.F NMZ REAL die PL=eleven hundred
ɣut ki=kʰlawat jaitʃa? ki he-i=tɛ ha-do?
 CL.HUM PL=warrior be.patient 3PL LOC-N=NVIS LOC-when
wa dap le bnaj tʃɔŋ tʃakri ki he-i=tɛ
 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.’

- (16) *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
tæ man da ʈɔŋ ʈʌkri ki he-i=tæ tæ da
 NVIS become REAL sit serve 3PL LOC-N=NVIS NVIS REAL
ʈɔʔ i=pɔr u li-e wɾta ki wa u=e wɾta
 be N=time 3SG.M DUR-give news 3PL NMZ NF=give news
ki ʈʌ ʈnɔŋ ɕwaj he-i=tæ i=pɔr ʈwa u=kut
 3PL ALL village Jowai LOC-N=NVIS N=time before NF=end
tæ i=pɔr ki=ni ki=kʰlawat ki ɔŋ ki wa
 NVIS N=time PL=PROX PL=warrior 3PL say 3PL NMZ
man wa soʔ 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
tæ man da ɔŋ ki wa soʔ ot ki tæ
 NVIS become REAL say 3PL NMZ suffer diarrhea 3PL NVIS
laj ki ja u wa ʈɔʔ ki u=miʔ na
 go 3PL BEN 3SG.M NMZ get 3PL NF=bring.out ABL
ka=kut na ka=kut ja u=ʈɔʔ ki u=miʔ
 RES=end ABL RES=end BEN NF=get 3PL NF=bring.out
li-e wɾta ʈʌ ɕwaj tæ laj laj ki tæ ɔŋ ki
 DUR-give news ALL Jowai NVIS go go 3PL NVIS say 3PL
ʈʈe-i=wɔn u=laj pʰi ɔŋ ki=tæ ki wa ʈaŋ wa
 ALL-N=which NF=go 2PL say PL=NVIS 3PL NMZ wait NMZ
ot ha pʰlɔŋ ha kut ja ki=ni ki=kʰlawat ɔŋ
 diarrhea LOC aside LOC end BEN PL=PROX PL=warrior say
ki wa soʔ ot i tæ la ɲ ɲat pʰi
 3PL NMZ suffer diarrhea 1PL NVIS if NEG believe 2PL
pʰi li-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 asked them ‘where are you going?’ They replied ‘we are suffering from diarrhea, and if you don’t believe us, go look.’

- (18) *tæ man da poi hei tæ tæ chong khloo ki chi tah ki da u kyllieñ 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*
tæ man da pəj he-i=tæ tæ tʃɔŋ kʰlo ki
 NVIS become REAL arrive LOC-N=NVIS NVIS sit forest 3PL
tʃi taʔ ki da u=kʌlɛp da ka=sapæt tæ aʔ
 set cut 3PL INST M=throughout INST F=navel NVIS cut
ki he-i=lɔmbɔŋ jɔŋ ki tæ ɕo i=snam
 3PL LOC-N=navel GEN 3PL NVIS come.out N=blood
ɕo i=snam he-i=tæ i=tʰaw wa tʃɔŋ kʰlo
 come.out N=blood LOC-N=NVIS 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.’

- (19) *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*
tæ man da jo ki wa slæm ki tæ slæm
 NVIS become REAL see 3PL NMZ be.late 3PL NVIS be.late
slæm ki u=wan tæ kʌli ki ilɛʔ slæm pʰi ilɛʔ
 be.late 3PL NF=come NVIS ask 3PL why be.late 2PL why
slæm pʰi u=wan de-i=jɔŋ kɲta tæ ɔŋ ki
 be.late 2PL NF=come INST-N=GEN return NVIS say 3PL
wa soʔ ot i tæ ɲ je i hap duk
 NMZ suffer diarrhea 1PL NVIS NEG able 1PL fall be.hard
i u=tʃɔŋ tæ la ɲ ɲat pʰi deʔ 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*
tæ man da jaʔ ki o u=sɿem
 NVIS become REAL drive,lead 3PL 3SG.M.ACC M=ruler
li-pat u=jo de-i=snam bat he-i=tæ tæ
 DUR-look NF=see INST-N=blood IMM3 LOC-N=NVIS NVIS
tʃa-niaʔ u wa toʔ ki=ni ki=kʰlawat soʔ
 ALL-place 3SG.M NMZ be PL=PROX PL=warrior suffer
ot ki tæ man da soʔ ot ki tæ
 diarrhea 3PL NVIS become REAL suffer diarrhea 3PL NVIS

teṇ ki=ji bi kriaʔ ki ki ne-i=tɛ
 afraid,fear PL=thing be.diseased shift 3PL 3PL ABL-N=NVIS
i=tʰaw wa wa wa bon
 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 kriaʔ ki tæ jɔʔ ki u*
 NVIS become REAL shift 3PL NVIS get 3PL 3SG.M
u=li-e wɾta ʔe-i=ni ʔa-pɔʔ
 NF=DUR-give news ALL-N=PROX ALL-under,in
ɛlaka jɔŋ ka=ɕwaj tɛ ki=kʰlawat
 village,township GEN F=Jowai NVIS PL=warrior
u=kʰrɛʔ nɔʔ ki wa da boʔ sŋi ki
 NF=prepare,ready IMM1 3PL NMZ REAL put,keep day 3PL
wa u=tʰaŋ nɔʔ ja ka=hima malɣiaŋ
 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 bian i=pɔr tɛ tɛ e wɾta ki*
 become REAL be.enough N=time NVIS NVIS give news 3PL
ɔŋ ki wa man da tʰaŋ i ja ka=kut tɛ
 say 3PL NMZ become REAL burn 1PL BEN RES=end NVIS
man da miʔ i=tdɛm miʔ i=dip
 become REAL bring.out N=smoke bring.out N=fire
he-i=tɛ tɛ tɔʔ u=hiaʔ ki ne-i=bhaʔ
 LOC-N=NVIS NVIS be NF=descend 3PL ABL-N=cause
u=sʔem malɣiaŋ o he-i=tɛ i=pɔr
 M=ruler Malngiang 3SG.M.ACC LOC-N=NVIS N=time
o ʔɔŋ kʰa u=laj tʰiaʔ ʔlur u tɔʔ ʔa
 3SG.M.ACC sit birth NF=go sleep courage 3SG.M be ALL
madur ʔa madur u=tʰiaʔ ʔlur
 Madur ALL Madur NF=sleep courage
 ‘when the time was right, they sent the message that when they

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*
tɛ man da toʔ i=pɔr tʰaŋ ki ka ka
 NVIS become REAL be N=time burn 3PL 3SG.F 3SG.F
tʰaŋ ki ka ka ka=malŋiaŋ ja ka=kut tɛ
 burn 3PL 3SG.F 3SG.F F=Malngiang BEN RES=end NVIS
da jo ki=kʰlawat tɛ bɛʔ ki tʃi-tɛ
 REAL see PL=warrior NVIS trap.with.net 3PL one-NVIS
u=ni u=sʔem malŋiaŋ man da jo u
 M=PROX M=ruler Malngiang become REAL see 3SG.M
je-i=tɛ wa iŋ wa kɔp tɛ trha tʃa
 PLUR-N=NVIS NMZ boil,burn NMZ be.fierce NVIS flame ALL
madur tʃa maskut na madur sdaŋ kɔ tʃa maskut
 Madur ALL Maskut ABL Madur begin 3SG.F ALL Maskut
da jo u da iŋ tɛ tɛ ku u
 REAL see 3SG.M REAL boil,burn NVIS NVIS climb 3SG.M
da u=kule tɛ pʰɛt u tʃi-tɛ hɲre da
 REAL M=horse NVIS run 3SG.M one-NVIS but.also REAL
tɲkʰa
 hide

‘when the time came they burned the Malngiang 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*
jaŋ u ha he-i=tu ha la:t ha ka=tɛ
 wait 3SG.M LOC LOC-N=MEDL LOC way LOC F=NVIS
ka=tʰaw ka wa ɕan jo hi pʰi ha-doʔ
 F=place 3SG.F NMZ be.near see EMPH 2PL LOC-when
kat-ni nɛʔ u=mo u=mo kule wa he-i=taj
 as-PROX preserve M=stone M=stone horse NMZ LOC-N=distal
ha mokɲdur ha ka=tʰaw ka wa ɔŋ ki
 LOC Mookyndur LOC F=place 3SG.F NMZ say 3PL
ka=lakwɛʔ
 F=Lakweh

‘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.’

- (25) *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

tɛ ha-ɕan ka=lakwɛʔ he-i=tɛ jaŋ u
 NVIS LOC-be.near F=Lakweh LOC-N=NVIS wait 3SG.M
he-i=tɛ tɛ man da pɔj u tʃi-pɔj
 LOC-N=NVIS NVIS become REAL arrive 3SG.M one-arrive
tɛ pɔj u=sʔem malɣiaŋ da u=kule klli u
 NVIS arrive M=ruler Malngiang REAL M=horse ask 3SG.M
kammən tɔŋkʰa ilɛʔ i=ji wa ɕia ɔŋ u=tɔŋkʰa
 how Tonkha why N=thing NMZ suppose say M=Tonkha
ja o sʔem ka=ni tɔʔ ka=tput jɔŋ
 BEN 3SG.M.ACC ruler F=PROX be RES=revenge GEN
ki=kʰatar jɔŋ ki=kʰatwi spaʔ ki=kʰlawat
 PL=twelve GEN PL=eleven hundred PL=warrior

‘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

tɛ he-i=tɛ tɛ dat u tʃi dap dap
 NVIS LOC-N=NVIS NVIS hit,strike 3SG.M set cut cut
u=tkut wa u=bru he-i=tɛ dap u
 M=sword NMZ M=person LOC-N=NVIS cut 3SG.M
je-i=kʰleʔ dɛp tɛ ki=ni ki wa bon ɲ
 PLUR-N=head PERF NVIS PL=PROX 3PL NMZ be.much ref
kat ki wa ɛm da jaŋ ki ki=lart warɔʔ kat
 as 3PL NMZ have REAL wait 3PL PL=way all as
ki=tʃɲraŋ ki wa wan dap bat ki kat ki=kɲtʰaʔ
 PL=male 3PL NMZ come cut IMM3 3PL as PL=female
ki wa wan pllaʔ 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.’

- (27) pynyap ki toh du ya ki chynrang hi pyllait ki ki kynthai nei tæ i daw ka
hima malngiang wiar ko man piah ko kyllieĩ soodong
pŋ-jap ki tɔʔ du ja ki=tʃŋraŋ hi pʌlat ki
CAUS-die 3PL be only BEN PL=male EMPH spare 3PL
ki=kŋtʰaj ne-i=tɛ i=daw ka=hima malŋiaŋ
PL=female ABL-N=NVIS N=reason F=kingdom Malngiang
wiar kɔ man piaʔ kɔ klleŋ soɔŋ
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.'

- (28) 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
tɛ ne-i=tɛ je-i=kʰleʔ je-i=malŋiaŋ wan
NVIS ABL-N=NVIS PLUR-N=head PLUR-N=Malngiang come
da raʔ tʃa nartiaŋ da man ka=dorbar tɛ
REAL carry ALL Nartiang REAL become F=meeting NVIS
pŋ-ap ha-kʰmat u=kɔŋsan ha maɕar man
CAUS-listen LOC-front M=uncle LOC bazaar become
ka=dorbar ha maɕar tɛ kʰana wa ka=ni tɔʔ
F=meeting LOC bazaar NVIS tell NMZ F=PROX be
kat-kam ka=hukum
as-like,want 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.'

- (29) 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
he-i=tɛ tɛ warɔʔ ŋoʔ ki ki=ni
LOC-N=NVIS NVIS all blessing,thanks 3PL PL=PROX
ki=kʰatwi daloj ŋoʔ ki ja u=ɕwaj tɛ
PL=eleven daloi blessing,thanks 3PL BEN M=Jowai NVIS
je-i=tɛ man da dɛp ne-i=tɛ raʔ ki
PLUR-N=NVIS become REAL PERF ABL-N=NVIS carry 3PL
je-i=kʰleʔ u=sʔem malŋiaŋ raʔ ki ha ɕwaj
PLUR-N=head M=ruler Malngiang carry 3PL LOC Jowai
tɛ he-i=tɛ i=tʰaw ha-doʔ kat-ni man ɔŋ
NVIS LOC-N=NVIS N=place LOC-when as-PROX become say
ki ki i=tʰaw sɛʔ kʰleʔ
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).'

- (30) ka tæ toh ka bynta dæp nei tæ tæ yoh wan ki sa ka plian ka nar yong ki
ni ki kur yawchibidi yoh ki ya ka pasteih blai yaw yoh ki ya ka plian ka
nar hei tæ yoh bhah yn ki u man kam u pator
ka=tɛ tɔʔ ka=bɲta dɛp ne-i=tɛ tɛ jɔʔ wan
F=NVIS be F=purpose PERF ABL-N=NVIS NVIS get come
ki sa ka=plian ka=nar jɔŋ ki=ni ki=kur
3PL only F=plate F=iron GEN PL=PROX PL=clan
jawʔibidi jɔʔ ki ja ka=pasteʔ blaj jaw jɔʔ ki
Yawchibidi get 3PL BEN F=Pasteih God market get 3PL
ja ka=plian ka=nar he-i=tɛ jɔʔ bhaʔ ɲ ki
BEN F=plate F=iron LOC-N=NVIS get share ref 3PL
u=man kam u=pator
NF=become like,want 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
chulai 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
tɛ ne-i=tɛ tɛ u=harna u=harna jɔʔ u
NVIS ABL-N=NVIS NVIS M=harna M=harna get 3SG.M
i=bhaʔ i=bɲta na ka=kur passaʔ jɔʔ u i=bhaʔ
N=share N=purpose ABL F=clan Passah get 3SG.M N=share
i=bɲta jɔŋ u=harna u=malɲiɔt na ka=kur ʔʃalam
N=purpose GEN M=harna M=malngiot ABL F=clan Challam
tɛ ki=kur ʔʃulai jɔʔ ki je-i=kam ʔʃutia
NVIS PL=clan Chulai get 3PL PLUR-N=like,want chutia
kat-wa ki=dhulia ja ki=dhulia wan tɛ mut
as-NMZ PL=dhulia BEN PL=dhulia come NVIS means
ne-i u=wɔn u=wɔn je u=ʒɛt na ki
ABL-1PL M=which M=which able NF=pickup,choose ABL 3PL
wa sta:t u=put u=tɛm
NMZ be.educated,wise NF=blow,sound NF=pluck,strum
‘then Harna received his share from the Passah clan, Malngiot from
the Challam clan. Then Chulai 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)

- (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
ki=tε tɔʔ ki=bŋta ki wa jɔʔ ki
PL=NVIS be PL=purpose 3PL NMZ get 3PL
je-i=kam tε ka=ji ka ka=bŋta jɔŋ
PLUR-N=like,want NVIS F=thing 3SG.F F=purpose GEN
ka=kur so-kpɔʔ εm wan ka=bŋta
F=clan four-stomach,womb have come F=purpose
tʃi-bon ki=ji ki=ji ki wa da e ki
one-be.much PL=thing PL=thing 3PL NMZ REAL give 3PL
i=bhaʔ i=bŋta ɕar ɕar i=bhaʔ
N=share N=purpose be.different be.different N=share
i=bŋta
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
tε kat-kam wa man kat-ni ha-pɔʔ
NVIS as-like,want NMZ become as-PROX LOC-under,in
he-i=taj ha lom so juŋ daŋ εm 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
tε he-i=tu tε da ŋ bon ki jɔŋ
NVIS LOC-N=MEDL NVIS REAL ref be.much 3PL GEN
gatp^hɔʔ ki jɔŋ gatp^hɔʔ lɛʔ ki wa daŋ εm
Gatphoh 3PL GEN Gatphoh also 3PL NMZ PROG have
tʃe-i=tu tε man na ka=bhaʔ jɔŋ ki=tε
ALL-N=MEDL NVIS become ABL F=share GEN PL=NVIS
sε tε ka=parɔm jɔŋ
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*
tɛ kat-kam ka=parɔm jɔŋ wa he-i=tu
 NVIS as-like,want RES=tell.story GEN NMZ LOC-N=MEDL
hi wɔt i=jun nɛ i=t^haw
 EMPH IMMD N=home D.TAG 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_ɔ mi ha-do? kat-ni i=bɲta tɔ?
 if REAL look 2SG.M.NOM LOC-when as-PROX N=purpose be
ja ka=k^hnɔŋ blaj bo? ki ki he-i=tu ha
 BEN F=tree.type God put,keep 3PL 3PL LOC-N=MEDL LOC
ptʃɛm man ha ptʃɛm he-i=tu ka=k^hnɔŋ blaj
 lawn become LOC lawn LOC-N=MEDL F=tree.type God
kat-wa ka=sɲbo:t ɲ ha tre kʄat u=lom so
 as-NMZ F=marker,symbol ref LOC original leg M=hill four
jun ki=tu ki=t^haw he-i=tu warɔ? tɔ?
 home PL=MEDL PL=place LOC-N=MEDL all be
na-do? mɲtfwa tɔ? ɔŋ ki ka ka=lom so jun
 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 kantæ 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
tɛ man da wan ki he-i=pɔr wan
 NVIS become REAL come 3PL LOC-N=time come
ki=p^harɛŋ pɲ-do? pɲ-dam ki i=tu i=t^haw
 PL=foreigner CAUS-lose CAUS-stop 3PL N=MEDL N=place
bha? jo p^hi i lɛ? wa kam-tɛ wa man
 cause see 2PL 1PL also NMZ as,like-NVIS NMZ become
ki=ni ki=so kpɔ? ɲ ɛm man da
 PL=PROX PL=four stomach,womb NEG have become REAL
he-i=pɔr wa u=sdan ki u=li-tʃɔŋ ki tɔ?
 LOC-N=time NMZ NF=begin 3PL NF=DUR-sit 3PL be
he-i=tu nɲkɔŋ ha-den mi? ki ne-i=tu
 LOC-N=MEDL be.first LOC-back bring.out 3PL ABL-N=MEDL
na lom so jun tɛ laj ki tʃa lom lanɔ? jɔŋ
 ABL hill four home NVIS go 3PL ALL hill Langdoh GEN

i

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 pakynstein hei ni ya ka Wet pynchong ki ka ha wah synji panaliar katwa ya ka Doh yn ka næh ko ha loom langdoh*
tɛ na lom laŋdɔʔ tʃna ki i=jʊŋ i=sɛm
NVIS ABL hill Langdoh make 3PL N=home N=neighborhood
he-i=tu i=lom laŋdɔʔ tɛ na lom laŋdɔʔ ŋ
LOC-N=MEDL N=hill Langdoh NVIS ABL hill Langdoh ref
tɛ ja-tʃɔŋ nɔʔ ki=ɕar ɕar ki=ni
NVIS PLUR-sit IMM1 PL=be.different be.different PL=PROX
ki=so baɬ tɛ ja ka=bɔn tɛ pŋ-tʃɔŋ ki ka
PL=four IMM3 NVIS BEN F=Bon NVIS CAUS-sit 3PL 3SG.F
tʃa kʰɔn-raiɬ wa ɔŋ kat-ni tʃi-li-aŋ raiɬ
ALL child-community NMZ say as-PROX across community
ja ka=ten da pŋ-tʃɔŋ ki ka he-i=ni ha
BEN F=Tein REAL CAUS-sit 3PL 3SG.F LOC-N=PROX LOC
ɔŋ pakntɛp he-i=ni ja ka=wɛt pŋ-tʃɔŋ ki
GEN Pakynstein LOC-N=PROX BEN F=Wet CAUS-sit 3PL
ka ha waʔ sŋɕi panaliar kat-wa ja ka=dɔʔ ŋ
3SG.F LOC river Synji Panaliar as-NMZ BEN F=Doh ref
ka nɛʔ kɔ ha lom laŋdɔʔ
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, Tæen settled in the place called Pakynstein, 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*
tɛ mut he-i=ni ɛm i ar raiɬ ka=wi
NVIS means LOC-N=PROX have 1PL two community F=one
tɔʔ ka=kmaɟ raiɬ ka=wi tɔʔ ɔŋ ki ka
be RES=be.great community F=one be say 3PL 3SG.F
ka=kʰɔn raiɬ tɛ ja ki=niam ki=rukɔm warɔʔ
F=child community NVIS BEN PL=tradition PL=way all
lɛʔ ki da pŋ-tʃɔŋ ki ki=ɕar ɕar
also 3PL REAL CAUS-sit 3PL PL=be.different be.different

i=bṇta

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

ne-i=tɛ i=daw ha ka=niam ka=rukɔm hi
ABL-N=NVIS N=reason LOC F=tradition F=way EMPH
hap læʔ i ja ka=tɛ ka=niam ɔŋ i ka=bam
fall also 1PL BEN F=NVIS F=tradition say 1PL RES=eat
tɣkɔŋ ka=bam tɣkɔŋ tɔʔ hap bam warɔʔ ka=ni
wood.floor RES=eat wood.floor be fall eat all F=PROX
ka=tʰaw bhaw warɔʔ ki=ni ki=so juŋ jɔʔ ki
F=place place all PL=PROX PL=four home get 3PL
i=bhaʔ i=bṇta ja ka=tɣkɔŋ ka=tbɛt jɔŋ
N=share N=purpose BEN F=wood.floor F=storage.area GEN
ka=niam
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

tɛ ki=tɛ tɔʔ ki=bṇta ki wa tbian ɛʔ
NVIS PL=NVIS be PL=purpose 3PL NMZ be.short IMM2
sɛ u kammɔn sdaŋ ka=kur so kpɔʔ
C.TAG 3SG.M how begin F=clan four stomach,womb
bhaʔ ka=ni ŋ tɔʔ da u=miʔ kɔ ha
cause F=PROX ref be REAL NF=bring.out 3SG.F LOC
ka=kɔt
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 sñiawthooh i je-i tñ-tu waroh?
REAL understand 1PL PLUR-1PL recently-medl all
i=ɕiŋ-bataj p^{hi} i wa ja-to? wa kammon
N=ab.NMZ-explain 2PL 1PL NMZ PLUR-be NMZ how
sdaŋ i=pɾt^haj tɛ sñiawbha bataj ɲ ja i kammon
begin N=world NVIS please explain ref BEN 1PL how
ki=ɕat bru pnar sdaŋ 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^{hi} hap laj sɾtap sɛ man la laj ha wa?
ok see 2PL fall go layer C.TAG become if go LOC river
ha nɛɲ nɔŋ-ɕnɕar u=ji hab laj sɾtap
LOC river ag.nmz-be.difficult M=thing have,must go layer
pa sɾtap ha-do? wa u=pɔj ha ki=so
by layer LOC-when NMZ NF=arrive LOC PL=four
kpɔ? mɔ la ɲ laj mi na wa
stomach,womb QTAG if NEG go 2SG.M.NOM ABL NMZ
sdaŋ ɲ jo? mi ka ka=sɾtap sɛ
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=ɕat bru pnar
see 2SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.ACC how F=type person Pnar
ka=ɕat bru pnar ka ɛm kɔ man wan
F=type person Pnar 3SG.F have 3SG.F.NOM become come
kɔ ha ki=bon tlli ki=rukɔm
3SG.F.NOM LOC PL=be.much CL.piece PL=way

‘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 ki=rukɔm i=tɛ ɛm ki=bru ki*
 be.much CL.piece PL=way N=NVIS have PL=person 3PL
wa wan direk ki wan baɬ wa na-doʔ wa
 NMZ come direct 3PL come IMM3 NMZ ABL-when NMZ
sdan wa u=ɲɲiaw wasa tʃa prʰaj ɛm wan ki wa
 begin NMZ M=seven hut ALL world have come 3PL NMZ
pʰaʔ u=tre-ki-rɔt u=kʰa u=pʰaʔ tʃa prʰaj lɲba
 send M=Creator.God NF=birth NF=send ALL world through
ka=um tɛ he-i=dur jɔŋ ki=dakʰa
 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=li-kʰa u=bru tʃa prʰaj ɛm wan ki wa*
 NF=DUR-birth M=person ALL world have come 3PL NMZ
pʰaʔ u=tre-ki-rɔt u=wan u=pɲ-hiar baɬ
 send M=Creator.God NF=come NF=CAUS-descend IMM3
ne-i=taj he-i=dur jɔŋ ki=puri blaɲ
 ABL-N=distal LOC-N=picture GEN PL=mermaid God
he-i=mɲsen ki=puri blaɲ tan man
 LOC-N=spirit,soul,heart PL=mermaid God but,even become
da wan ki tʃe-i=ni u=man ki kam
 REAL come 3PL ALL-N=PROX NF=become 3PL like,want
ki=bru
 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
- ɛm wan ki wa pʰaʔ u=tre-ki-rɔt i=mɲsen*
 have come 3PL NMZ send M=Creator.God N=spirit,soul,heart
he-i=i=dur jɔŋ u=snian tɛ ja u=man
 LOC-N=N=picture GEN M=pig,pork NVIS BEN NF=become

da pɔj ki he-i=ni k^ha u=man ki
 REAL arrive 3PL LOC-N=PROX birth NF=become 3PL
de-i=bru ɛm wan ki wan wa ki=k^hniaŋ ɛm
 INST-N=person have come 3PL come NMZ PL=insect have
wan ki wa miʔ ɛʔ na ki=den man
 come 3PL NMZ bring.out IMM2 ABL PL=back become
bon ɕat ki=rukɔm li-pŋ-hiar tʃa pɾ^haj
 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
tɛ ka=him ka=nuksa ka=wi mɔ u=tre-ki-rɔt
 NVIS RES=take F=example F=one QTAG M=Creator.God
da boʔ u boʔ u tʃi-bon boʔ
 REAL put,keep 3SG.M put,keep 3SG.M one-be.much put,keep
u ki=um boʔ u ki=waʔ boʔ u
 3SG.M PL=water put,keep 3SG.M PL=river put,keep 3SG.M
ka=mɔ boʔ u ka=deɲ boʔ u ki=bŋta
 F=stone put,keep 3SG.M F=tree put,keep 3SG.M PL=purpose
ki wa ɛmkam ɛmkam kammon u=wan tʃa pɾ^haj
 3PL NMZ need need how NF=come ALL world
tɛ him mat ja ka kammon wan ka=kupli
 NVIS take example BEN 3SG.F how come 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
jo p^hi ka=kupli tɔʔ ɛm kɔ ka ɛm kɔ le
 see 2PL F=Kupli be have 3SG.F 3SG.F have 3SG.F three
ŋut ki=k^hɔn ka wa nŋkɔŋ tɔʔ ɔŋ ki ka
 CL.HUM PL=child 3SG.F NMZ be.first be say 3PL 3SG.F
ka=bɔr kupli ka wa ar tɔʔ ka=li-kupli ka wa
 F=power Kupli 3SG.F NMZ two be F=Li-Kupli 3SG.F NMZ
le tɔʔ ka=kulɔŋ kupli
 three be 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

hɲre na ki=ni warɔʔ u=tre-ki-rɔt pʰaʔ u
but.also ABL PL=PROX all M=Creator.God send 3SG.M
nɲkɔŋ pʰaʔ u ja ka=bɔr ka=bɔr kupli wan
be.first send 3SG.M BEN F=power F=power Kupli come
kɔ tʃa pɾtʰaj he-i=dur ka=dakʰa man da
3SG.F ALL world LOC-N=picture F=fish.type become REAL
wan kɔ he-i=dur ka=dakʰa tɛ man bru
come 3SG.F LOC-N=picture F=fish.type NVIS become person
kɔ man da man bru kɔ tɛ ja tʃɔŋ
3SG.F become REAL become person 3SG.F NVIS BEN sit
kʰa kɔ wa u=ɲɲiaw wasa u=kʰɔn ki=ɲɲiaw wasa
birth 3SG.F COMT M=seven hut M=child PL=seven hut
u=jale
M=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 pyrduit ko ka ka chadap

tɛ man da ja-tʃɔŋ-kʰa kɔ wa u=jale
NVIS become REAL PLUR-sit-birth 3SG.F COMT M=Yale
tɛ jɔʔ ki=kʰɔn ka=bɔr kupli man da jɔʔ kɔ
NVIS get PL=child F=power Kupli become REAL get 3SG.F
je-i=kʰɔn jɔʔ kɔ je-i=kʰɔn tɛ pɾtut kɔ
PLUR-N=child get 3SG.F PLUR-N=child NVIS name 3SG.F
ka ka=tʃadap
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

tɛ ka da kut da toʔ i=pɔr u=liwan
NVIS 3SG.F REAL end REAL be N=time NF=return.home
nɔʔ kɔ liwan nɔʔ kɔ tʃa kupli man
IMM1 3SG.F return.home IMM1 3SG.F ALL Kupli become

da liwan kɔ tʃa kupli pɔj ha kupli
 REAL return.home 3SG.F ALL Kupli arrive LOC Kupli
hiar kɔ ha ka=tʰwaj kupli ka=bɔr tɛ u=jale
 descend 3SG.F LOC F=ocean Kupli F=power NVIS M=Yale
ŋ bɔt u ka bɔt u ka na-den
 ref follow 3SG.M 3SG.F follow 3SG.M 3SG.F ABL-back
na-den pɔj tʃi pɔj he-i=tɛ tɛ mut jo
 ABL-back arrive set arrive LOC-N=NVIS NVIS means see
u da man dak^ha da klla dak^ha kɔ
 3SG.M REAL become fish.type REAL change fish.type 3SG.F
 ‘then her time on the earth was finished, it was time for her to go
 back to Kupli her mother. When she reached Kupli (the mother
 river) she went inside the water and Yale followed her and saw that
 she changed back to a fish.’

- (13) *man da kylla dakha ko oo chynkar u ya u kɛm ka tæ man da ong u*
kɛm ya ka ym yoh u ym bein ko nei bhah wa chynkar u man da
chynkar u ka ong ko nga ym lai o napoh ki kjat yong me
man da klla dak^ha kɔ o tʃŋkar
 become REAL change fish.type 3SG.F 3SG.M.ACC straddle
u ja u=kɛm ka tɛ man da ɔŋ
 3SG.M BEN NF=catch 3SG.F NVIS become REAL say
u=kɛm ja ka ŋ jɔʔ u ŋ ben kɔ
 NF=catch BEN 3SG.F NEG get 3SG.M NEG willing 3SG.F
ne-i=bhaʔ wa tʃŋkar u man da tʃŋkar
 ABL-N=cause NMZ straddle 3SG.M become REAL straddle
u ka ɔŋ kɔ ŋa ŋ laj ɔ
 3SG.M 3SG.F say 3SG.F 1SG.ACC NEG go 1SG.NOM
na-pɔʔ ki=kɔʔat jɔŋ 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 kbaɪ u kbaɪ ya u kɛm 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
ŋa u=im ɔ ja-nɔm he-i=ni tʃirup
 1SG.ACC NF=live 1SG.NOM PLUR-ever LOC-N=PROX together
wa ka=bej ka=kupli tɛ ka=bɔr kupli ka=tɛ
 COMT F=mother F=Kupli NVIS F=power Kupli F=NVIS
ne-i=tɛ u=jale k^hut ma k^hut u=kbaɪ u=kbaɪ ja
 ABL-N=NVIS M=Yale call hon.M call NF=cry NF=cry BEN

u=kɛm ja ka ka ɲ ben ka ran kɔ
 NF=catch BEN 3SG.F 3SG.F NEG willing 3SG.F run 3SG.F
ʈa-den tɛ u=jale ɲ kat wa daŋ tɔʔ um naŋ
 ALL-back NVIS M=Yale ref as NMZ PROG be water PROG
klla mo u kat naŋ tɔʔ um naŋ klla
 change stone 3SG.M as PROG be water PROG change
mo ha-doʔ wa klla mo tɔʔ um warɔʔ i=dɔʔ
 stone LOC-when NMZ change stone be water all N=flesh
tɛ klla mo u he-i=tɛ miʔ
 NVIS change stone 3SG.M LOC-N=NVIS bring.out
wat ka=kʈaɪt jale
 don't(Khasi) 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 ka=ni ka=ʈadap wan ka=kʰɔn ka=ʈadap
 as-NMZ F=PROX F=Chadap come F=child F=Chadap
ka=kʰɔn ka=bɔr ɲ ka saʔ ka boʔ kɔ
 F=child F=power ref 3SG.F stay 3SG.F put,keep 3SG.F
ka ha kʰɔn ʈnɔŋ man da boʔ kɔ
 3SG.F LOC child village become REAL put,keep 3SG.F
ka ha kʰɔn ʈnɔŋ tɛ da ɛm wa ri
 3SG.F LOC child village NVIS REAL have NMZ country
wa-lum ka hɲre laj ka=pateɲ da heʔ
 NMZ-sweep 3SG.F but.also go F=generation REAL be.big
man da heʔ da heʔ tɛ ja-ʈɔŋ 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

tɛ man da ja-ʈɔŋ kurim kɔ tɛ jɔʔ kɔ
 NVIS become REAL PLUR-sit spouse 3SG.F NVIS get 3SG.F
ja ki=kʰɔn man da jɔʔ kɔ ki=kʰɔn tɛ jɔʔ
 BEN PL=child become REAL get 3SG.F PL=child NVIS get
kɔ ja ka=passaʔ ka=nɔŋbri ka=nɔŋ-kɲriʔ wa
 3SG.F BEN F=Passah F=Nongbri F=ag.nmz-harvest COMT

ka=kɲtʃi ki=tɛ tɔʔ ki wa hiar patep na
 F=Kynchi PL=NVIS be 3PL NMZ descend generation ABL
ka=bɔr 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 pateĩ ki na ka bor kupli na kata na ka bor kupli tæ ki ni*
 yn na khon chnong sdang ki tæ lai ki kylieĩ soodong lai ki cha chapoh
 Pnar lai ki cha War lai cha khynriam lai ki cha bhoi tæ roi tæ par
tɛ ki=ni ki hiar patep ki na ka=bɔr
 NVIS PL=PROX 3PL descend generation 3PL ABL F=power
kupli na kata na ka=bɔr kupli tɛ ki=ni ɲ
 Kupli ABL pocket ABL F=power Kupli NVIS PL=PROX ref
na kʰɔn tʃnɔŋ sdaŋ ki tɛ laj ki kllep
 ABL child village begin 3PL NVIS go 3PL throughout
sodɔŋ laj ki tʃa tʃa-pɔʔ pnar laj ki tʃa
 throughout go 3PL ALL ALL-under,in Pnar go 3PL ALL
war laj tʃa kʰɲriam laj ki tʃa bhoj tɛ roj tɛ
 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
tɛ miʔ ki=tɛ ki=tʃadap ki=passaʔ ki=nɔŋbri
 NVIS bring.out PL=NVIS PL=Chadap PL=Passah PL=Nongbri
ki=nɔŋ-kɲriʔ ki=kɲtʃi ki=tɛ tɔʔ ki=kur
 PL=ag.nmz-harvest PL=Kynchi PL=NVIS be PL=clan
ki=ʧat ki wa miʔ na ka=bɔr kupli
 PL=type 3PL NMZ bring.out ABL F=power Kupli
 ‘so the Chadap, Passah, Nongbri and Nnonkynrih clans came into
 existence, from Kupli.’

- (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
ha-lɔr i=tɛ tɛ da roj da par man
 LOC-top N=NVIS NVIS REAL crawl REAL crawl become
da roj da par ki=tɛ ki=tɛ ki=kʰɔn da
 REAL crawl REAL crawl PL=NVIS PL=NVIS PL=child REAL

miʔ ki=kʰɔn miʔ ki=ksu jɔŋ ka=tʃadap
 bring.out PL=child bring.out PL=grandchild GEN F=Chadap
tɛ man da laj ki=pɔr tɔʔ u=tre-ki-rɔt da
 NVIS become REAL go PL=time be M=Creator.God REAL
jo u wa ki=ni ki ka=bri ŋɲiaw tɾɛp
 see 3SG.M NMZ PL=PROX 3PL F=place,area seven hut
ɛm kɔ du i=ɛʔ du i=kʰɔr ɲ
 have 3SG.F only ACT=be.difficult only N=problem NEG
bian ɲ tɔʔ
 be.enough NEG be

‘besides being prosperous with children and grandchildren, some time passed by and God saw that there were so many problems faced by these people and they didn’t have a comfortable stay.’

- (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
- man da ɲ bian ɲ tɔʔ de ɲ*
 become REAL NEG be.enough NEG be NEG.INTS NEG
miat de ka=tɛ ka=sɲtʃar kʰadar ki=sʔem
 be.pretty,nice NEG.INTS F=NVIS RES=rule regulate PL=ruler
ki=kmaɲ tɛ pʰaʔ nɔʔ u tʃɛ:t nɔʔ
 PL=be.great NVIS send IMM1 3SG.M pickup,choose IMM1
u ja u=pɾtʰat ɔŋ u deʔ li-boʔ
 3SG.M BEN M=lightning say 3SG.M ADH DUR-put,keep
nɔʔ ja ki=paju jɔŋ me li-boʔ
 IMM1 BEN PL=older.sibling GEN 2SG.M.ACC DUR-put,keep
tʃa pɾtʰaɲ
 ALL world
 ‘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 syuiñ u tawiar soodong i pyrthai lithooh u hei won i thaw wa man i wa kyntang
- tɛ u=pɾtʰat he-i=tɛ i=pɔr wa ɲoʔ*
 NVIS M=lightning LOC-N=NVIS N=time NMZ blessing,thanks
u ja u=tre-ki-rɔt da ka=hukum
 3SG.M BEN M=Creator.God INST F=command
u=tre-ki-rɔt ja u=laj laj sʔup u
 M=Creator.God BEN NF=go go revolve,spin 3SG.M
tawiar sodɔŋ i=pɾtʰaɲ li-tʰoʔ u
 surroundings throughout N=world DUR-find,search 3SG.M
he-i=wɔn i=tʰaw wa man i wa kɲtaŋ
 LOC-N=which 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
tɛ u=prthat ɔ da sʔup u
 NVIS M=lightning 1SG.NOM REAL revolve,spin 3SG.M
tawiar sodɔŋ i=prthaj he-i=tɛ tʃɛm u
 surroundings throughout N=world LOC-N=NVIS meet 3SG.M
he-i=wi t^haw i wa miat wa k^hoi_ŋ
 LOC-N=one place 1PL NMZ be.pretty,nice NMZ clean,pure
wa ɕŋiar wa kɲtaŋ tɛ he-i=ni
 NMZ totallyclear NMZ special/holy NVIS LOC-N=PROX
li-boʔ ja ki=tɛ ki=paju jɔŋ
 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
tɛ man da boʔ u he-i=ni ja
 NVIS become REAL put,keep 3SG.M LOC-N=PROX BEN
ki=paju jɔŋ o boʔ u ja
 PL=older.sibling GEN 3SG.M.ACC put,keep 3SG.M BEN
u=kɔŋsan wa-k^haj ja u=kɔŋsan morolɔŋ ja
 M=uncle NMZ-get.up BEN M=uncle Mooralong BEN
u=kɔŋsan mosniang ja u=kɔŋsan motiŋ ki=tɛ tɔʔ
 M=uncle Moosniang BEN M=uncle Mooting PL=NVIS be
ɔŋ ki ki ki=ni tɛ ɔŋ ki ki ki=so
 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
ne-i=tɛ boʔ wan u sa ja ka=mɲtdu
 ABL-N=NVIS put,keep come 3SG.M only BEN F=Myntdu

ka=m̥ntdu n ka wa u=k̥ɛr wa u da
 F=Myntdu ref 3SG.F NMZ NF=be.around NMZ 3SG.M INST
ja ka=t̥fnɔŋ ka=t̥^haw dəp ne-i=t̥ɛ t̥ɛ boʔ
 BEN F=village F=place PERF ABL-N=NVIS NVIS put,keep
wan u ja ki=k̥^hɔn ɔŋ ka=m̥ntdu boʔ u
 come 3SG.M BEN PL=child GEN F=Myntdu put,keep 3SG.M
ja ka=sati m̥ntdu ka=lam̥t̥fi ka=san̥man wa
 BEN F=sati Myntdu F=Lamynchi F=Sangman NMZ
ka=s̥ntu ks̥iar ki=t̥ɛ ɔŋ ki ki ki=so t̥^hwaj so
 F=flower gold PL=NVIS say 3PL 3PL PL=four ocean four
l̥n̥ɔn
 spring

‘then he placed the Myntdu (river), so that it would surround the village. After that he put Myntdu’s children which were Sati Myntdu, Lamynchi, Sangman and Syntu Ks̥iar.’

- (25) *t̥ɛ man da dəp boʔ ja ki=t̥ɛ ki=so*
 NVIS become REAL PERF put,keep BEN PL=NVIS PL=four
t̥^hwaj so l̥n̥ɔn boʔ n u ja u=blaj lan̥dɔʔ
 ocean four spring put,keep ref 3SG.M BEN M=God Langdoh
man da boʔ u ja u=blaj lan̥dɔʔ
 become REAL put,keep 3SG.M BEN M=God Langdoh
boʔ u ja ka=s̥[?]em ḁtnar t̥ɛ boʔ u
 put,keep 3SG.M BEN F=ruler Aitnar NVIS put,keep 3SG.M
ja u=mosmaj boʔ u ja u=r̥ŋkaw t̥ɛ
 BEN M=Moosmai put,keep 3SG.M BEN M=spirit.type NVIS
t̥firup t̥fi-lan wa u=p̥r̥t̥^hat man k̥^hatso
 together one-be.together NMZ M=lightning become fourteen
wa h̥ɛʔ
 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 t̥ɛ 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 hadooch wa u phah yn u ya ki
 khon yong oo u wan ki cha pyrthai
ki=t̥ɛ toʔ ki o na-t̥ɕrɔŋ u=pat̥ u
 PL=NVIS be 3PL 3SG.M.ACC ABL-above NF=look 3SG.M
u=p̥r̥t̥^hat u=pat̥ na t̥ɕrɔŋ ki=ni n ki wa
 M=lightning NF=look ABL above PL=PROX ref 3PL NMZ

ha madan ki wa u=jaŋ u=ap je-i=ni
 LOC ground 3PL NMZ NF=wait NF=listen PLUR-N=PROX
i=t^haw ha-do? wa u=p^ha? ŋ u ja ki=k^hɔn
 N=place LOC-when NMZ NF=send ref 3SG.M BEN PL=child
jɔŋ o u=wan ki tʃa pɾt^haj
 GEN 3SG.M.ACC NF=come 3PL ALL world
 ‘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 pyrthai
 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

tɔ laj ki=snɛm ki wa da ki=ni ki=k^hatso wa
 ok go PL=year 3PL NMZ REAL PL=PROX PL=fourteen NMZ
hɛ? da pat da jo ki je-i=ni i=t^haw
 be.big REAL look REAL see 3PL PLUR-N=PROX N=place
i=bhaw tɛ man da laj ki=pɔr u=tre-ki-rɔt
 N=place NVIS become REAL go PL=time M=Creator.God
p^ha? u ɔŋ u ja u=pɾt^hat de? li-bo?
 send 3SG.M say 3SG.M BEN M=lightning ADH DUR-put,keep
sa ki=k^hɔn jɔŋ me de? li-bo? ki=k^hɔn
 only PL=child GEN 2SG.M.ACC ADH DUR-put,keep PL=child
jɔŋ me tʃa pɾt^haj ki=ni tɔ? ki=puri blaj
 GEN 2SG.M.ACC ALL world PL=PROX be PL=mermaid God
de? li-bo? ki tʃa pɾt^haj ja u=tʃakri ki ja
 ADH DUR-put,keep 3PL ALL world BEN NF=serve 3PL BEN
u=ŋɲiaw wasa
 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 u ynñiaw 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

tɛ man da pɔj ki tʃa pɾt^haj tɔ? u=tʃakri
 NVIS become REAL arrive 3PL ALL world be NF=serve
ki ja u=ŋɲiaw wasa u=im ki kam wa im
 3PL BEN M=seven hut NF=live 3PL like,want NMZ live
u=ŋɲiaw wasa u=jap ki kam wa jap u=ŋɲiaw
 M=seven hut NF=die 3PL like,want NMZ die M=seven

was *u=ʃɔŋ-kʰa* *ki* *wa* *u=ŋɲiaw* *was* *tɛ* *ʃakri* *ja*
 hut NF=sit-birth 3PL NMZ M=seven hut NVIS serve BEN
ka=niam *da* *ka=hukum* *blaj* *ja* *u=tip* *ki* *ki*
 F=tradition REAL F=command God BEN NF=know 3PL 3PL
ka=niam *tip* *bru* *ka=niam* *tip* *blaj*
 F=tradition know person 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*
ki=tɛ *tɔʔ* *ki=kɲten* *ki* *wa* *pʰaʔ* *u=tre-ki-rɔt* *ha*
 PL=NVIS be PL=word 3PL NMZ send M=Creator.God LOC
u=prʰat *tɛ* *man* *da* *u=prʰat* *da* *hun*
 M=lightning NVIS become REAL M=lightning REAL happy
u *wa* *u=li-boʔ* *ja* *ki=kʰɔn* *jɔŋ*
 3SG.M NMZ NF=DUR-put,keep BEN PL=child GEN
o *ʃi-ni* *tɛ* *ki=ni* *ki=so* *ɲut*
 3SG.M.ACC one-PROX NVIS PL=PROX PL=four CL.HUM
ki=tɛ *tɔʔ* *ka=bɔn* *ka=ten* *ka=wɛt* *ka=dɔʔ* *ki=ni* *tɔʔ*
 PL=NVIS be F=Bon F=Tein F=Wet F=Doh PL=PROX be
da *ɲoʔ* *ki* *ja* *ki=hukum* *u=tre-ki-rɔt*
 REAL blessing,thanks 3PL BEN PL=command M=Creator.God
wa *u=wan* *ʃa* *prʰaj*
 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.’

- (30) *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*
tɛ *man* *da* *wan* *ki* *ʃa* *prʰaj* *ʃi* *wan* *ki*
 NVIS become REAL come 3PL ALL world set come 3PL
ʃa *prʰaj* *nykɔŋ* *tɔʔ* *wan* *ki* *he-i=tɛ* *i=tʰaw* *wa*
 ALL world be.first be come 3PL LOC-N=NVIS N=place NMZ
ɔŋ *ki* *i=klɛp* *lʔɛr* *ha* *lom* *lakɲdɔŋ* *klɛp*
 say 3PL ACT=cover air,wind LOC hill Lankyndong cover
lʔɛr
 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
tæ he-i=ni tɔʔ he-i=ni t^haw tɔʔ wa
 NVIS LOC-N=PROX be LOC-N=PROX place be NMZ
ha-ɕan u=mok^haj tæ man da pɔj
 LOC-be.near M=Mookhai NVIS become REAL arrive
he-i=ni wan ki he-i=tæ lɣba u=tæ
 LOC-N=PROX come 3PL LOC-N=NVIS through M=NVIS
u=slap u=slap rmp^hu man da wan ki
 NF=rain NF=rain rain.type become REAL come 3PL
de-i=laŋ da wan u=slap rmp^hu tæ
 INST-ACT=be.together REAL come NF=rain rain.type NVIS
saʔ nɔʔ ki he-i=tæ i=t^haw ha kllep lʔɛr
 stay IMM1 3PL LOC-N=NVIS N=place LOC cover air,wind
 ‘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
ne-i=bhaʔ wa kllep ka=lʔɛr u=ʈɔŋ u=saʔ ki
 ABL-N=cause NMZ cover F=air,wind NF=sit NF=stay 3PL
tæ man da saʔ miat ki he-i=tæ
 NVIS become REAL stay be.pretty,nice 3PL LOC-N=NVIS
tæ u=ni u=mok^haj kmæn u wa da
 NVIS M=PROX M=Mookhai be.happy 3SG.M NMZ REAL
pɔj ki=ni ki=diaʔmaj ki jɔŋ o
 arrive PL=PROX PL=sister,relative 3PL GEN 3SG.M.ACC
kit ki=so ŋut ʈi paju ka=bɔn
 carry(sling) PL=four CL.HUM set older.sibling F=Bon
ka=ten ka=wet ka=dɔʔ wan ki tɔʔ ki=puri blaj
 F=Tein F=Wet F=Doh come 3PL be 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 u tæ 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 kylløoh 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
tæ man da kmæn u tæ ʈa:t u
 NVIS become REAL be.happy 3SG.M NVIS dance 3SG.M
kmæn u tæ k^hiʔ ki=k^hndaw smur i=k^hndaw
 be.happy 3SG.M NVIS shake PL=earth shake N=earth

wa da tʃa:t u=mok^haj hɲre ki=ni ki=so
 NMZ REAL dance M=Mookhai but.also PL=PROX PL=four
ɲut tep ki tep ki je-i=ni
 CL.HUM afraid,fear 3PL afraid,fear 3PL PLUR-N=PROX
man wa da klloʔ ki=lom ki waʔ tep
 become NMZ REAL tremble PL=hill 3PL river afraid,fear
ki hɲre man da tep ki k^haj ki na
 3PL but.also become REAL afraid,fear 3PL get.up 3PL ABL
wa t^hiaʔ ne-i=tɛ tɛ ɔŋ ki u=p^hɛt u=jut
 NMZ sleep ABL-N=NVIS NVIS say 3PL NF=run NF=run.away
nɔʔ ne-i=ni i=t^haw
 IMM1 ABL-N=PROX N=place
 ‘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) *hɲre hei tæ i por klam u mookhai ong u diah mai diah mai ham yut nei*
 ni i thaw nga u kongsan yong phi nga toh u masan yong phi
hɲre he-i=tɛ i=pɔr klam u=mok^haj ɔŋ u
 but.also LOC-N=NVIS N=time speak M=Mookhai say 3SG.M
diaʔ maj diaʔmaj ham jut ne-i=ni
 sister can.be sister,relative PROH run.away ABL-N=PROX
i=t^haw ŋa u=kɔŋsan jɔŋ p^hi ŋa tɔʔ
 N=place 1SG.ACC M=uncle GEN 2PL 1SG.ACC be
u=masan jɔŋ p^hi
 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
 diah mai ki yong nga i ni toh i chnong yoh phi u tip i ni toh i chnong jwai
 tæ ham teiŋ 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=tɛ ɔŋ u wan
 become REAL speak 3SG.M PLUR-N=NVIS say 3SG.M come
tʃe-i=ni tʃa-ɕan jɔŋ ŋa man da wan
 ALL-N=PROX ALL-be.near GEN 1SG.ACC become REAL come
ki ha-ɕan jɔŋ o he-i=tɛ tɛ ɔŋ
 3PL LOC-be.near GEN 3SG.M.ACC LOC-N=NVIS NVIS say
wat u sɛ ɔŋ wat u=mok^haj
 don't(Khasi) 3SG.M C.TAG say don't(Khasi) M=Mookhai
p^hi tɔʔ ki=diaʔmaj ki jɔŋ ŋa i=ni tɔʔ
 2PL be PL=sister,relative 3PL GEN 1SG.ACC N=PROX be
i=tʃnɔŋ jɔʔ-p^hi u=tip i=ni tɔʔ i=tʃnɔŋ ɕwaj
 N=village get-2PL NF=know N=PROX be N=village Jowai

tɛ ham tɛp ɲa wa ɛm ɲa wa
 NVIS PROH afraid,fear 1SG.ACC NMZ have 1SG.ACC NMZ
pat̩ ɲa wa jo la ɛm ki=wɔn ki=wɔn ki
 look 1SG.ACC NMZ see if have PL=which PL=which 3PL
wa u=mut tʃun ja pʰi ɲa wa u=pat̩
 NMZ NF=means harm BEN 2PL 1SG.ACC NMZ NF=look
 ‘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 u tai u loom i pyrtuit yong oo toh u
 loom soo yung

ne-i=tɛ man ne-i=tɛ tɛ ɔŋ wat
 ABL-N=NVIS become ABL-N=NVIS NVIS say don’t(Khasi)
u ɔŋ u=kɔŋsan mokʰaj ja pʰi ki=diaʔmaj
 3SG.M say M=uncle Mookhai BEN 2PL PL=sister,relative
jɔŋ ɲa deʔ li-tʃɔŋ ha u=taj u=lom u=taj
 GEN 1SG.ACC ADH DUR-sit LOC M=distal M=hill M=distal
u=lom wa tʃna pʰi met̩ stɛp sɲi sɲi niaw
 M=hill NMZ make 2PL night morning,early day day count
u=pat̩ ja u u=taj u=lom i=pɾtut̩ jɔŋ
 NF=look BEN 3SG.M M=distal M=hill N=name GEN
o tɔʔ u=lom so juŋ
 3SG.M.ACC be 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

tɛ man da miʔ ki na lom lakndɔŋ
 NVIS become REAL bring.out 3PL ABL hill Lankyndong
tɛ laj tʃɔŋ nɔʔ ki ha lom so juŋ tʃna ki
 NVIS go sit IMM1 3PL LOC hill four home make 3PL
so tʃli i=juŋ tɛ ja u=taj u=lom ɔŋ ki
 four CL.piece N=home NVIS BEN M=distal M=hill say 3PL
o u=lom so juŋ tɛ he-i=tɛ tɛ sdaŋ
 3SG.M.ACC M=hill four home NVIS LOC-N=NVIS NVIS begin
ki u=tʃɔŋ he-i=tɛ tɛ da hæʔ ki
 3PL NF=sit LOC-N=NVIS NVIS REAL be.big 3PL

he-i=tɛ tɛ man da ja man da laj
 LOC-N=NVIS NVIS become REAL BEN become REAL go
ka=pɔr ne-i=tɛ tɛ ɲ ɛm bru ɲ ɛm
 F=time ABL-N=NVIS NVIS NEG have person NEG have
bru ɲ ɛm wa tʃɔŋ wa saʔ ha ka=ni
 person NEG have NMZ sit NMZ stay LOC F=PROX
ka=tʃnɔŋ
 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) *hɲre 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
hɲre ki=ni ki=so ɲut laj ki tʃa ki=jaw
 but.also PL=PROX PL=four CL.HUM go 3PL ALL PL=market
laʃ ki tʃa ka=jaw sutŋa tɛ wan pɔʃ ki ha
 go 3PL ALL F=market Sutnga NVIS come arrive 3PL LOC
jaw manar man da pɔʃ ki ha jaw manar
 market Manar become REAL arrive 3PL LOC market Manar
pɲ-bna ki kʰut ki alæ wan tʃɔŋ wan saʔ
 CAUS-care,hear 3PL call 3PL come come sit come stay
he-i=tʃnɔŋ jɔŋ 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 i toh i chnong jwai tæ ha ka tæ ka por ym æm wa tip*
 ka yi ha ka chnong jwai
tɛ i=tʃnɔŋ jɔŋ i tɔʔ i=tʃnɔŋ tʃwaj tɛ ha
 NVIS N=village GEN 1PL be N=village Jowai NVIS LOC
ka=tɛ ka=pɔr ɲ ɛm wa tip ka=ji ha
 F=NVIS F=time NEG have NMZ know F=thing LOC
ka=tʃnɔŋ tʃwaj
 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
tɛ man da klam ki je-i=tɛ tɛ kʰut ki
 NVIS become REAL speak 3PL PLUR-N=NVIS NVIS call 3PL
i wa biang i=tʰaw rɛp tʰaw kʰiʔ tɛ i
 1PL NMZ be.enough N=place cultivate place work NVIS 1PL

wa bian ka=um ka=wa?
 NMZ be.enough F=water 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
tɛ ki=bru ha jaw manar he-i=tɛ
 NVIS PL=person LOC market Manar LOC-N=NVIS
p^hlla ki ki kammon ki=ni ki=bru ki
 surprise,astonish 3PL 3PL how PL=PROX PL=person 3PL
ŋ ɕo? spiaw ŋ ɕo? spiaw ki je-i=knten ŋ
 NEG HAB sense NEG HAB sense 3PL PLUR-N=word NEG
ɕo? spiaw 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
tɛ man da ne-i=tɛ ŋ tɔ da laj ŋ ki
 NVIS become REAL ABL-N=NVIS ref ok REAL go ref 3PL
ha ka=wi u=sŋi ŋ ka=tɛ ka=jaw wan laj ki
 LOC F=one M=day ref F=NVIS F=market come go 3PL
tʃa jaw tʃa laŋtʃiaŋ ha laŋtʃiaŋ lɛ?
 ALL market ALL Langchiang LOC Langchiang also
i=ɕo? i=knten kbaj ki
 ACT=be.same 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
tɛ na laŋtʃiaŋ ŋ laj ki tʃa malŋiaŋ tʃa
 NVIS ABL Langchiang ref go 3PL ALL Malngiang ALL
malŋiaŋ lɛ? i=ɕo? hi klam ki laj ki tʃa
 Malngiang also ACT=be.same EMPH speak 3PL go 3PL ALL
sutŋa ka=ɕo? 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.’

- (44) *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
tɛ ne-i=tɛ man na ki=tɛ ki=kpten ɔŋ ki
 NVIS ABL-N=NVIS become ABL PL=NVIS PL=word GEN 3PL
wan ki=bru wan paɬ ki wan paɬ ki ka=ni
 come PL=person come look 3PL come look 3PL F=PROX
ka=ʃnɔŋ ka=tʰaw man da pɔj ki he-i=ni
 F=village F=place become REAL arrive 3PL LOC-N=PROX
ha ʃnɔŋ ha tʰaw jo ki wa biang ka=um
 LOC village LOC place see 3PL NMZ be.enough F=water
biang ka=waʔ biang biang i=pɲtʰɔr
 be.enough F=river be.enough be.enough N=paddy.field
u=rɛp u=kʰiʔ
 NF=cultivate 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
ne-i=tɛ tɛ ɛm ki wa wan he-i=ni wan
 ABL-N=NVIS NVIS have 3PL NMZ come LOC-N=PROX come
ʃɔŋ bru ki ɛm ki wa ʃɔŋ tʰap ʃɔŋ biang ɛm
 sit person 3PL have 3PL NMZ sit put sit again have
ki wa nɛʔ saʔ man da nɛʔ u=saʔ
 3PL NMZ preserve stay become REAL preserve NF=stay
ʃe-i=ni ne-i=tɛ tɛ heʔ ka=ni ka=ʃnɔŋ
 ALL-N=PROX ABL-N=NVIS NVIS be.big F=PROX F=village
 ‘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
tɛ ha-ɕrɔŋ ki=tɛ ki=hukum kam wa da
 NVIS LOC-above PL=NVIS PL=command like,want NMZ REAL
ɔŋ wa wa roj wa par ka=ni tɛ
 say NMZ NMZ crawl NMZ crawl F=PROX NVIS
ja-ʃɔŋ-kʰa man wan u=ni u=mukʰim man
 PLUR-sit-birth become come M=PROX M=Mukhim become

wan u=ʈʂadap wan u=ʈʂulai wan u=dhar ki=tɛ
 come M=Chadap come M=Chulai come M=Dhar PL=NVIS
tɔʔ ki wa wan wi ne ki=ni tɛ man da
 be 3PL NMZ come one or PL=PROX NVIS become REAL
wan ki he-i=ni ha ʈʂɔŋ ha tʰaw tɛ
 come 3PL LOC-N=PROX LOC village LOC place NVIS
ja-ʈʂɔŋ-kʰa ʈʂɔŋ-kʰa ʈʂɔŋ-man nɔʔ ki wa ki=ni
 PLUR-sit-birth sit-birth sit-become IMM1 3PL NMZ PL=PROX
ki=so ŋut
 PL=four CL.HUM

‘so after they prospered, they got married, at that time then came Mukhim, Chadap, Chulai, Dhar, and they got married with these four (men).’

- (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 u ta-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
tɛ man da ʈʂɔŋ-kʰa ʈʂɔŋ-man ki wa ki=ni
 NVIS become REAL sit-birth sit-become 3PL NMZ PL=PROX
ki=so ŋut tɛ tɛ sdang ki u=jɔʔ ki=kʰɔn
 PL=four CL.HUM NVIS NVIS begin 3PL NF=get PL=child
jɔʔ ki=kʰɔn ʈʂɔŋ ʈʂwa na ka=bɔn jɔʔ kɔ u=ksan
 get PL=child male before ABL F=Bon get 3SG.F M=Ksan
ksan pɾtut kɔ o u=ksan pɾsobot na
 Ksan name 3SG.F 3SG.M.ACC M=Ksan Pyrsobot ABL
ka=ten jɔʔ kɔ u tamɔn na ka=wɛt ka na
 F=Tein get 3SG.F 3SG.M Ta-mon ABL F=Wet 3SG.F ABL
ka=wɛt ŋ tɔʔ da ɔŋ hi ʈʂwa ʈʂwa u=pa
 F=Wet ref be REAL say EMPH before before M=father
u=pɾtʰat ja u=kʰɔn ka=wɛt i=pɾtut jɔŋ o
 M=lightning BEN M=child F=Wet N=name GEN 3SG.M.ACC
tɔʔ u=dɔŋ snariang wa u=man u
 be M=thing,locality Synariang NMZ NF=become 3SG.M
u=daloj u wa nɲkɔŋ
 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
ka man da jɔʔ kɔ u=kʰɔn pɾtut kɔ
 3SG.F become REAL get 3SG.F M=child name 3SG.F
o u=dɔŋ sɳariang wa da hukum
 3SG.M.ACC M=thing,locality Synariang NMZ REAL command
ʈʈwa u=man u u=daloj wa nɳkɔŋ
 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
tæ na ka=dɔʔ ɳ jɔʔ kɔ u=hɛt na ki=ni
 NVIS ABL F=Doh ref get 3SG.F M=Het ABL PL=PROX
ki=so ŋut ki=so ŋut ki=ni tæ
 PL=four CL.HUM PL=four CL.HUM PL=PROX NVIS
ka=hukum wan ɔŋ kɔ wan ɔŋ ki=ni ki=so
 RES=command come say 3SG.F come say PL=PROX PL=four
ŋut u=man ki ki=so saŋŋɔt so maɕi
 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
ki=tæ mut ki wa u=pat ja ka=niam tæ
 PL=NVIS means 3PL NMZ NF=look BEN F=tradition NVIS
na ki=ni tɔʔ u=man ki ki=daloj ki=sanŋɔt
 ABL PL=PROX be NF=become 3PL PL=daloi PL=sangot
tæ man da laj ka=pɔr tæ he-i=pɔr i wa
 NVIS become REAL go F=time NVIS LOC-N=time 1PL NMZ
dap u=dɔŋ sɳariang kʰatsan snɛm wan i
 fill M=thing,locality Synariang fifteen year come 1PL
ʈʈwa u=pa u=pɾtʰat
 before M=father 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 ʈʰwa u=pa u=pr̥tʰat ha
 become REAL come 1PL before M=father M=lightning LOC
u=dɔŋ sɲariang he-i=tɛ tɛ sdaŋ ki
 M=thing,locality Synariang LOC-N=NVIS NVIS begin 3PL
u=pŋ-ʈʰɔŋ pŋ-tʰiaʔ ja ka=niam ka=rukɔm tɛ
 NF=CAUS-sit CAUS-sleep BEN F=tradition F=way NVIS
man ka=niam beʔdepkʰlam
 become 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
tɛ tɛ pŋ-ʈʰɔŋ pŋ-tʰiaʔ ja ka=niam ka=rukɔm
 NVIS NVIS CAUS-sit CAUS-sleep BEN F=tradition F=way
tɛ pŋ-miʔ ŋ ki=ni ŋ ki=ni ŋ dɛp
 NVIS CAUS-bring.out ref PL=PROX ref PL=PROX ref PERF
pŋ-ʈʰɔŋ pŋ-tʰiaʔ ki tɛ miʔ ki ki=tɛ
 CAUS-sit CAUS-sleep 3PL NVIS bring.out 3PL PL=NVIS
ki=ʈʰɔŋ-kʰa ŋ man da ja-kʰa kʰɔn kʰa nat
 PL=sit-birth ref become REAL PLUR-birth child birth branch
ki tɛ u=man ŋ ki ki=ni ki=kʰatso 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
kʰatso wa hæʔ tɔʔ ki=blaj kʰatso wasan ŋ tɔʔ
 fourteen NMZ be.big be PL=God fourteen elder ref be
ki=ʈʰakri ja ka=niam tɛ kammɔn ŋ jɔʔ ki ja
 PL=serve BEN F=tradition NVIS how ref get 3PL BEN
ki=tɛ ki=kʰatso wasan
 PL=NVIS PL=fourteen elder
 ‘Khatsoo Wahæh were gods, Khatsoo Wasan were servants who
 serve the religion, so how did the Khatsoo Wasan come 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*
tæ mi? nŋkɔŋ u=daloj tæ mi? u=pator
 NVIS bring.out be.first M=daloi NVIS bring.out M=pator
tæ mi? u=langdo? mi? ki=langdo? tæ
 NVIS bring.out M=Langdoh bring.out PL=Langdoh NVIS
mi? u=sanŋŋɔt pasubɔn u=sanŋŋɔt pakŋteɪ
 bring.out M=sangot Pasubon M=sangot Pakyntein
ne-i=tæ u=sanŋŋɔt paswet
 ABL-N=NVIS M=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*
tæ mi? ŋ ar ŋut ki=maɕi tæ mi? ŋ
 NVIS bring.out ref two CL.HUM PL=maji NVIS bring.out ref
u=harna mi? u=maliangŋɔt tæ mi? ki=ʈutia
 M=harna bring.out M=maliangngot NVIS bring.out PL=chutia
he-i=tæ man kʰatso wa u=wi man u=dhulia
 LOC-N=NVIS become fourteen NMZ M=one become M=dhulia
tæ jo? kʰatso man kʰatso wasan na ki=pʰra
 NVIS get fourteen become fourteen elder ABL PL=eight
kur man da pŋ-ʈɔŋ na ki=tæ ki=pʰra kur
 clan become REAL CAUS-sit ABL PL=NVIS PL=eight clan
pʰra kamaj ja u=pŋ-mi? kʰatso 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 fourteen 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 ynŋiaw 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*
tæ ki=ji ki=tæ ki=pʰra kur pʰra kamaj wasan
 NVIS PL=thing PL=NVIS PL=eight clan eight honor elder
to? so kur na u=so kpɔ? so kur na
 be four clan ABL M=four stomach,womb four clan ABL
u=ŋŋiaw wasa ja u=pŋ-man pʰra kur na
 M=seven hut BEN NF=CAUS-become eight clan ABL
ki=pʰra kur ŋ ja u=ɕert ja u=man
 PL=eight clan ref BEN NF=pickup,choose BEN NF=become

k^hatso *wasan* *ja* *u* *ja* *rɣkat* *k^hatso* *wa*
 fourteen elder BEN 3SG.M BEN be.equal fourteen NMZ
hɛ?
 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.’

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	adɔŋ	n	law
2.	ah	aʔ	v	cut
3.	æh	ɛʔ	v	be.difficult
4.	æh	ɛʔ	adv	IMM2
5.	ai	aj	aspect	PTNL
6.	aiñ	aɲ	n	rule
7.	ait	aɬ	n	dung
8.	akor	akɔr	n	character
9.	alæ	alɛ	v	come
10.	alæh	alɛʔ	conj	also
11.	almari	almari	n	cupboard
12.	æm	ɛm	v	have
13.	æmkam	ɛmkam	v	need
14.	ang	aŋ	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	artʃaʔ	num	twice
21.	arphaw	arp ^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	baʔ	v	be.great
27.	bæh	bɛʔ	v	trap.with.net
28.	bai	ba.j	n	fee
29.	bait	bat̚	adv	IMM3
30.	bait	bat̚	v	direct
31.	bakla	bakla	v	mistake
32.	bak-la-bak	bak-la-bak	adv	totally
33.	balang	balan̚	n	association
34.	bam	bam	v	eat
35.	ban	ban	v	fold,fall
36.	ban	ban	conj	than
37.	bang	ban̚	v	be.tasty
38.	bar	bar	loc	outdoor
39.	basan	basan	n	elder,deacon
40.	bæt	bɛt	n	rice[seed]
41.	battai	bata.j	v	explain
42.	bei	be.j	n	mother
43.	bejsian	bejsian	v	crazy
44.	bein	ben	v	willing
45.	beĩn	bep	v	despise,suffer
46.	beipun	bejpun	n	grandmother
47.	bha	bha	v	be.good
48.	bha	bha	adv	INTS1
49.	bhah	bhaʔ	v	cause
50.	bhah	bhaʔ	n	share
51.	bhalang	bhalan̚	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	biaʔ	v	easy
57.	biang	bian̚	v	be.enough

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
58.	biang	bian̪	adv	again
59.	biar	biar	n	bog,quicksand
60.	bichar	biʈʃar	v	judge
61.	bichni	biʈʃni	v	becurious
62.	bieit	bijet̪	v	be.crazy
63.	bih	biʔ	v	drink
64.	bikur	bikur	n	bikur
65.	biri	biri	n	tobacco
66.	biskiroṭ	biskirət	n	biskiroṭ
67.	bit	bit	n	some
68.	blai	blaj	n	God
69.	blang	blaŋ	n	goat
70.	blooh	bloʔ	n	salt
71.	blu	blu	v	be.blue
72.	bnā	bnā	v	care,hear
73.	bnai	bnaj	n	month
74.	bneĩñ	bnep̪	n	sky
75.	bniah	bniaʔ	adv	thoroughly
76.	bniet	bniet	n	tusk,tooth
77.	bnoh	bnɔʔ	v	receive;block
78.	boh	bɔʔ	v	criticize?
79.	boi	boj	mood	should
80.	boitha	bojtʰa	n	river.bed
81.	bom	bɔm	v	beat.drum
82.	bood	bod	v	follow
83.	booh	boʔ	v	put,keep
84.	boon	bon	v	be.much
85.	bor	bɔr	n	power
86.	brabor	brabɔr	v	valuable
87.	brait	braʈ̪	v	scatter
88.	bri	bri	n	place,area
89.	bru	bru	n	person
90.	bu	bu	v	suck
91.	buit	but̪	n	tactic
92.	bula	bula	adv	careless
93.	burom	burɔm	v	honor

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
94.	buto	butɔ	n	vest(trad)
95.	bynna	bɲna	n	standingstone
96.	bynta	bɲta	n	purpose
97.	cha	tʃa	loc	ALL
98.	cha-	tʃa-	loc	ALL
99.	chæ	tʃɛ	excl	neg.Excl
100.	chad	tʃad	v	dance
101.	chadiang	tʃadian	n	circular.cover
102.	chah	tʃaʔ	v	suffer,allow
103.	chah	tʃaʔ	aspect	PASS
104.	chahtim	tʃaʔtim	v	curse
105.	chait	tʃat̚	v	be.healthy
106.	chakor	tʃakɔr	v	serve
107.	chakri	tʃakri	v	serve
108.	chalait	tʃalat̚	loc	outside
109.	chalani	tʃalani	n	sifter
110.	chæm	tʃɛm	v	meet
111.	chæm	tʃɛm	v	meet
112.	chame	tʃame	v	spend
113.	chamuid	tʃamuit	adj	proper
114.	chan	tʃan	v	important
115.	chana	tʃana	v	seen
116.	chang	tʃaŋ	n	basket
117.	changpar	tʃaŋpar	n	spring.source
118.	changpæt	tʃaŋpæt	n	spring.source
119.	chaphang	tʃap ^h aŋ	adv	about
120.	chær	tʃɛr	n	fishing.rod,spear
121.	chare	tʃare	v	herd
122.	chari	tʃari	n	cowboy
123.	charmanya	tʃarmanja	n	basket.type
124.	charoh	tʃarɔʔ	n	basket.type
125.	chærok	tʃɛrɔk	v	opinion
126.	chat	tʃat	v	ritual.chant
127.	chæt	tʃɛt	v	cook
128.	chawiang	tʃawiaŋ	n	trumpet
129.	chbæh	tʃbɛʔ	v	lift

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
130.	chbooh	tʃboʔ	v	remain
131.	chdan	tʃdan	n	anger
132.	che	tʃe	v	be.light
133.	che-	tʃe-	loc	ALL
134.	cheih	tʃeʔ	n	thorn
135.	cheiñ	tʃeɲ	v	strike,spark
136.	chesh	tʃeʃ	excl	gee
137.	chi	tʃi	num	set
138.	chi-	tʃi-	num	one
139.	chiam	tʃiam	v	fit
140.	chiang	tʃiaŋ	n	branch
141.	chiap	tʃiap	n	basket
142.	chibæt	tʃibæt	loc	later
143.	chibot	tʃibot	v	scratch
144.	chijur	tʃijur	num	couple
145.	chiliang	tʃilianŋ	loc	across
146.	chim	tʃim	v	take
147.	chin	tʃin	n	signal
148.	chiphaw	tʃip ^h aw	num	ten
149.	chiphiah	tʃip ^h iaʔ	n	dance.type
150.	chirrup	tʃirup	n	together
151.	chit	tʃit	v	hot
152.	chitein	tʃiten	num	half
153.	chithi	tʃithi	n	letter
154.	chitom	tʃitɔm	n	fever
155.	chkæh	tʃkæʔ	v	be.strong
156.	chkæn	tʃkæn	n	bamboo.type
157.	chkiar	tʃkiar	n	backyard
158.	chkur	tʃkur	n	ear
159.	chlæm	tʃlæm	n	ditch
160.	chleiñ	tʃlepɲ	n	mat
161.	chloor	tʃlor	n	room.in.house
162.	chlur	tʃlur	v	courage
163.	chmok	tʃmɔk	n	flint
164.	chna	tʃna	v	make
165.	chnam	tʃnam	v	intentional

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
166.	chnat	ʈnat	n	tributary
167.	chngaiñ	ʈŋaɲ	v	feel.secure
168.	chnong	ʈnɔŋ	n	village
169.	choh	ʈɔʔ	v	hit,punch
170.	chohnoh	ʈɔʔnɔʔ	n	bandit
171.	chon	ʈɔn	v	snap,take
172.	chong	ʈɔŋ	v	sit
173.	choo	ʈo	v	remain
174.	chooh	ʈoʔ	num	more
175.	choor	ʈor	v	pour
176.	chrah	ʈraʔ	v	fallow
177.	chrai	ʈraj	n	anger
178.	chran	ʈran	v	mature
179.	chreiñ	ʈreɲ	v	be.intense
180.	chrooh	ʈroʔ	loc	next.to.side
181.	chruh	ʈruʔ	n	bone[seed]
182.	chruiñ	ʈrup	v	be.brittle
183.	chruit	ʈrut̚	v	bite,chew
184.	chuki	ʈuki	n	chair
185.	chula	ʈula	n	account
186.	chun	ʈun	n	harm
187.	chuni	ʈuni	n	lime
188.	churia	ʈuria	n	sack
189.	chuti	ʈuti	n	holiday
190.	chutia	ʈutia	n	chutia
191.	chwa	ʈwa	loc	before
192.	chwi	ʈwi	v	strum
193.	chyeiñ	ʈʔeɲ	n	bone
194.	chyiap	ʈʔiap	n	soil
195.	chylliah	ʈʎliaʔ	n	mat
196.	chyndon	ʈndɔn	n	blessing
197.	chyngkar	ʈŋkar	v	straddle
198.	chynna	ʈɲna	v	see
199.	chynrang	ʈɲraŋ	n	male
200.	chyrkhei	ʈɾk ^h ej	adj	too.much
201.	chyrtoh	ʈɾtoʔ	n	preying.mantis

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
202.	ckhæn	ʈʰkʰɛn	n	bamboo.type
203.	da	da	mood	REAL
204.	da	da	prep	\textsc{inst}
205.	dæ	dɛ	excl	hey
206.	dabor	dabɔr	n	basin
207.	dachin	datʃin	n	chemical
208.	dai	daj	v	sell
209.	daiñ	daj̃	v	cut
210.	dait	dat̚	v	bite;freeze
211.	dak	dak	n	sign
212.	dakha	dakʰa	n	fish.type
213.	daku	daku	n	fish.type
214.	dalan	dalan	n	fence
215.	daloï	daloj	n	daloï
216.	dam	dam	v	stop
217.	dæm	dɛm	v	bend.down
218.	dan	dan	n	degree
219.	dæñ	dɛj̃	v	hang
220.	dang	daj̃	aspect	CONT
221.	dap	dap	v	fill
222.	dæp	dɛp	aspect	CPLV
223.	daptli	daptli	n	fish.type
224.	dat	dat	v	hit,strike
225.	dathli	datʰli	n	fish.kind
226.	daw	daw	mood	\textsc{irr}
227.	daw	daw	n	reason
228.	dawai	dawaj	n	medicine
229.	de	de	adv	neg.ints
230.	de-	de	prep	\textsc{inst}
231.	dee	deː	excl	OH!
232.	deih	deʔ	mood	ADH
233.	dein	den	loc	back
234.	deiñ	dɛj̃	n	tree
235.	dew	dew	n	good.spirit
236.	dhari	dhari	n	front.veranda
237.	dhoh	dhɔʔ	n	owl

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
238.	dhoo	dho	n	below
239.	dhulia	dhulia	n	dhulia
240.	dhun	dhun	v	be.pleased
241.	diah	diaʔ	n	sister
242.	diahmai	diaʔmaj	n	sister,relative
243.	diat	diat	v	stand.for.election
244.	dih	diʔ	v	drink
245.	dik	dik	v	problem
246.	dim	dim	v	ferment
247.	diñ	dip	n	fire
248.	dingkot	diŋkɔt	n	matchbox
249.	dkhot	dkʰɔt	n	member
250.	doh	dɔʔ	n	flesh
251.	doh-yap	dɔʔ-jap	v	work.hard
252.	doi	dɔj	v	be.little
253.	dok	dɔk	v	bounce
254.	dong	dɔŋ	n	thing,locality
255.	donhi	dɔnhi	conj	only
256.	dood	dod	n	favor
257.	dooh	doʔ	loc	when
258.	dooh	doʔ	v	lose
259.	dooh	doʔ	adv	completely
260.	doom	dom	v	be.early,dark
261.	doong	dɔŋ	v	fold
262.	dor	dɔr	v	value,rate
263.	dorbar	dɔrbar	n	meeting
264.	du	du	adv	only
265.	duhai	duhaj	v	request/prayer
266.	duid	duɪ̯	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	duŋ	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	dusmɔn	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	eʔ	v	leave
287.	eiñ	ɛɲ	v	trap
288.	elaka	ɛlaka	n	village,township
289.	ha	ha	prep	LOC
290.	ha-	ha-	prep	LOC
291.	hab	hab	v	have,must
292.	hæh	hɛʔ	v	be.big
293.	hæh	hɛʔ	adv	only
294.	hain	han	v	be.big
295.	hajar	haɖʒar	num	thousand
296.	hajon	haɖʒɔn	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	haɔ	conf	yes
302.	hap	hap	v	fall
303.	har	har	n	ox
304.	hær	hɛr	v	fly
305.	harnamuid	harnamuit	n	harnamuid
306.	hati	hati	n	elephant
307.	hator	hatɔr	n	field
308.	hawa	hawa	q	when
309.	he-	he	prep	LOC

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
310.	heiwon	hejwɔn	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	hiɛr	v	bringdown
316.	hikai	hikaj	v	teach
317.	him	him	v	take
318.	hima	hima	n	kingdom
319.	hm	hmʔ	conf	DISJ
320.	hoi	hɔj	v	be.well
321.	hok	hɔk	v	be.honest
322.	hooh	hoʔ	n	part
323.	hukum	hukum	v	command
324.	hun	hun	v	happy
325.	hur	hur	v	excite
326.	hynre	hɲre	conj	but.also
327.	i	i	pn	1pl
328.	ih	iʔ	v	ripe,right
329.	iii	iː	excl	iii
330.	ilæh	ilɛʔ	q	why
331.	im	im	v	live
332.	iñ	ip	v	boil,burn
333.	inja	inja	v	injection
334.	ymbar	jɲbar	v	overflow
335.	ymthiang	jɲtʰiaŋ	v	overspill
336.	i=	i	clitic	N
337.	i=	i	der	ACT
338.	ja	ɕa	n	rice
339.	jah	ɕaʔ	v	be.aged
340.	jait	ɕat̚	n	type
341.	jakhlia	ɕakʰlia	v	be.dirty
342.	jam	ɕam	v	go.work
343.	jæm	ɕɛm	v	easy
344.	jamyrdoh	ɕamɾdɔʔ	n	veg(kind)
345.	jan	ɕan	v	be.near

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
346.	jan	ɕan	v	hope
347.	jang	ɕaŋ	v	give.in
348.	jar	ɕar	v	be.different
349.	jaralood	ɕaralod	n	veg(kind)
350.	jaw	ɕaw	v	sour,wild
351.	jeid	ɕed	v	pickup,choose
352.	jhan	ɕhan	v	eager
353.	jhep	ɕhɛp	n	plant
354.	jhur	ɕhur	n	vegetable
355.	jia	ɕia	v	suppose
356.	jiak	ɕiak	adj	little
357.	jing-	ɕiŋ	nmz	ab.NMZ
358.	jlan	ɕlan	v	trydelay
359.	jlɛr	ɕlɛr	v	lie
360.	jŋgai	ɕŋaj	v	be.far
361.	jŋgiar	ɕŋiar	v	totallyclear
362.	jŋgyar	jŋjar	v	neat
363.	joh	ɕoʔ	v	reach,catch
364.	johke	ɕoʔke	v	realize
365.	join	ɕon	v	join
366.	joit	ɕot̚	v	be.passive
367.	joo	ɕo	v	come.out
368.	jooɰ	ɕoʔ	aspect	HAB
369.	jooɰ	ɕoʔ	adv	used.to
370.	jooɰ	ɕoʔ	v	be.same
371.	joor	ɕor	v	extremely
372.	jop	ɕɔp	v	win
373.	jor	ɕɔr	n	associate
374.	jot	ɕot	v	destroy
375.	jrem	ɕrɛm	v	faint
376.	jri	ɕri	n	banyan.tree
377.	jrong	ɕrɔŋ	v	be.long;be.tall;above
378.	jubab	ɕubab	n	answer
379.	juk	ɕuk	n	generation,youth
380.	jynjar	ɕnɕar	v	be.difficult
381.	ka	ka	pn	3sg.F.acc

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
382.	kabo	kabɔ	v	force
383.	kah	kaʔ	v	hinder
384.	kai	kaɟ	adj	like
385.	kaih	kaiʔ	v	crow,call
386.	kajih	kaɟiʔ	n	luck
387.	kam	kam	v	like,want
388.	kam	kam	v	work
389.	kam-	kam	adv	as,like
390.	kæm	kɛm	v	catch
391.	kamai	kamaj	n	honor
392.	kammon	kammɔn	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	kɛr	v	be.around
398.	kat	kat	adv	as
399.	kat-	kat-	adv	as
400.	kæt	kɛt	v	take.side
401.	kata	kata	n	pocket
402.	katwon	katwɔn	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	ktʃaɪ	n	waterfall
408.	kchu	ktʃu	n	pitcher,pot
409.	kdæp	kɛp	v	flap
410.	kdar	kdar	v	open
411.	kdoh	kdɔʔ	v	tie
412.	kdok	kdɔk	v	bounce
413.	kdong	kdɔŋ	loc	corner
414.	kdong	kdɔŋ	v	chase
415.	kdor	kdɔr	v	crooked
416.	kdup	kdup	v	embrace
417.	ke	ke	clitic	Non-purp

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
418.	keih	keʔ	v	cry,call,bleat
419.	keĩ	keɲ	v	count
420.	keñ	keɲ	v	collect
421.	kew	kew	n	wheat
422.	kha	k ^h a	v	birth
423.	khaat	k ^h at	v	polish
424.	khadar	k ^h adar	v	regulate
425.	khai	k ^h aj	v	get.up
426.	khait	k ^h at̚	v	pick
427.	khajia	k ^h aɕia	v	fight
428.	khajiak	k ^h aɕiak	v	be.little
429.	khak	k ^h ak	n	mucus,spittle
430.	khalah	k ^h alaʔ	v	shake
431.	kham	k ^h am	n	fistfull
432.	khæm	k ^h ɛm	v	forgive
433.	khamtam	k ^h amtam	adv	especially
434.	khan	k ^h an	n	work
435.	khæñ	k ^h ɛɲ	v	break
436.	khana	k ^h ana	v	tell
437.	khang	k ^h aŋ	v	close
438.	khap	k ^h ap	v	marry
439.	khap	k ^h ap	n	small.tiny.corner
440.	khapngap	k ^h apɲap	n	frugalperson
441.	khar	k ^h ar	n	belongings
442.	khara	k ^h ara	n	basket
443.	kharat	k ^h arat	n	saw
444.	khat	k ^h at	num	ten
445.	khatar	k ^h atar	num	twelve
446.	khatdooh	k ^h atdoʔ	num	lastly
447.	khatkhynde	k ^h atk ^h ɲde	num	nineteen
448.	khatkynde	k ^h atkɲde	num	nineteen
449.	khatle	k ^h atle	num	thirteen
450.	khatphra	k ^h atp ^h ra	num	eighteen
451.	khatsan	k ^h atsan	num	fifteen
452.	khatsoo	k ^h atso	num	fourteen
453.	khatwai	k ^h atwaj	num	lastly

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
454.	khatwi	k ^h atwi	num	eleven
455.	khatynñiaw	k ^h atɲpaw	num	seventeen
456.	khatynru	k ^h atɲru	num	sixteen
457.	khawai	k ^h awaɟ	n	throw.party
458.	khayi	k ^h aji	v	buy.and.sell
459.	khe	k ^h e	v	will,ability
460.	kheih	k ^h eʔ	n	bowl.type
461.	kheñ	k ^h ɛɲ	v	ritual.action
462.	khia	k ^h ia	adj	be.heavy
463.	khiah	k ^h iaʔ	v	be.whole
464.	khian	k ^h ian	v	be.small
465.	khih	k ^h iʔ	v	work
466.	khih	k ^h iʔ	v	shake
467.	khim	k ^h im	loc	outside
468.	khim	k ^h im	v	squeeze
469.	khla	k ^h la	n	tiger
470.	khlad	k ^h lad	v	divide
471.	khlæh	k ^h lɛʔ	v	mix
472.	khlait	k ^h lat̚	n	garbage
473.	khlam	k ^h lam	n	plague
474.	khlæm	k ^h lɛm	v	be.without
475.	khlæm	k ^h lɛm	v	cough
476.	khlan	k ^h lan	v	use,strong
477.	khlæñ	k ^h lɛɲ	v	clean
478.	khlawait	k ^h lawat̚	n	warrior
479.	khle	k ^h le	v	gamble
480.	khleih	k ^h leʔ	n	head
481.	khleiñ	k ^h lɛɲ	n	fat
482.	khleñ	k ^h lɛɲ	n	eagle
483.	khlia	k ^h lia	n	junk
484.	khlieh	k ^h leʔ	n	head
485.	khloh	k ^h loʔ	v	dig.up
486.	khloo	k ^h lo	n	forest
487.	khloor	k ^h lor	n	star
488.	khlot	k ^h lot	v	deaf
489.	khmat	k ^h mat	loc	front

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
490.	khmat	k ^h mat	n	eye
491.	khmeit	k ^h met	v	look.here
492.	khmut	k ^h mut	n	nose
493.	khnam	k ^h nam	n	arrow
494.	kh nang	k ^h naŋ	adv	so.that
495.	khnap	k ^h nap	n	tongs
496.	khne	k ^h ne	n	rat
497.	khniang	k ^h niaŋ	n	insect
498.	khoh	k ^h ɔʔ	n	cone.basket
499.	khoh	k ^h ɔʔ	v	peel
500.	khon	k ^h ɔn	n	child
501.	khonboo	k ^h ɔnbo	n	newborn
502.	khonswet	k ^h ɔnswet	n	orphan
503.	khoo	k ^h o	n	rice[husked]
504.	khooiḍ	k ^h oḍ	v	clean,pure
505.	khoom	k ^h om	v	tieknot
506.	khør	k ^h ɔr	n	problem
507.	khorsa	k ^h ɔrsa	n	money
508.	khot	k ^h ɔt	v	knowledge
509.	kh ræh	k ^h rɛʔ	v	prepare,ready
510.	khrei	k ^h rej	n	evilspirit
511.	khri	k ^h ri	v	provide
512.	khriam	k ^h riam	v	chant
513.	khriang	k ^h riaŋ	n	whirlpool
514.	khroh	k ^h rɔʔ	n	frog
515.	khroit	k ^h roḥ	v	be.ripe
516.	khroo	k ^h ro	v	be.important
517.	khu	k ^h u	v	hang
518.	khublei	k ^h uble	v	thanks(Khasi)
519.	khum	k ^h um	v	bind,tie
520.	khung	k ^h uŋ	v	tie
521.	khuri	k ^h uri	n	cup
522.	khut	k ^h ut	v	call
523.	khwe	k ^h we	v	fish
524.	khylloid	k ^h lloḍ	n	girl
525.	khyl long	k ^h lloŋ	v	tiehairbun

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
526.	khyndaw	k ^h ndaw	n	earth
527.	khynde	k ^h nde	num	nine
528.	khyndephaw	k ^h ndep ^h aw	num	ninety
529.	khyunjoh	k ^h ndʒoʔ	v	trytoreach
530.	khynnah	k ^h ɲnaʔ	n	little.one
531.	khynnia	k ^h ɲnia	v	congest
532.	khynroo	k ^h ɲro	n	boy
533.	khyntħær	k ^h nt ^h ɛr	v	dust.off
534.	khyrkhoo	k ^h rk ^h o	v	bless
535.	khyrngang	k ^h ɲaŋ	adv	at.same.time
536.	khyrngiat	k ^h ɲiat	v	realize
537.	khyrwait	k ^h rwat̚	v	twist
538.	khyrwit	k ^h rwit	n	another
539.	khyryiaw	k ^h ɲjiaw	v	shout
540.	ki	ki	pn	3pl
541.	kiar	kiar	loc	rear
542.	kiat	kiat	n	liquor
543.	kirchon	kirtʃɔn	v	kneel
544.	kit	kit	v	carry(sling)
545.	ki=	ki	clitic	PL
546.	ki=	ki	der	PL
547.	kjam	kɕam	v	be.cold
548.	kjap	kɕap	v	chew
549.	kjat	kɕat	n	leg
550.	kjut	kɕut	v	hurt,sick
551.	klah	klaʔ	v	take
552.	klam	klam	v	speak
553.	klim	klim	v	adultery
554.	klong	klɔŋ	n	bottle
555.	klumar	klumar	v	cruel
556.	kmai	kmai	v	be.great
557.	kmai-chonglad	kmaɲ-tʃɔŋlad	n	December
558.	kmæn	kmɛn	v	be.happy
559.	kña	kɲa	v	performritual
560.	knap	knap	n	neighbor
561.	kneih	kneʔ	v	snatch

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
562.	kñi	kɲi	n	uncle
563.	knia	knia	n	sacrifice,rite
564.	knor	knər	n	stool
565.	knup	knup	n	basket.type
566.	ko	kə	pn	3sg.F.nom
567.	kom	kəm	v	be.low.quality
568.	kong	kəŋ	pn	hon.F
569.	kongruit	kəŋruɿ	n	secondsibling
570.	kongsan	kəŋsan	n	uncle
571.	koolar	kolar	n	promise
572.	kop	kəp	v	be.fierce
573.	kopsar	kəpsar	n	other
574.	kor	kər	v	honor
575.	kordor	kərdər	v	be.precious
576.	kot	kət	n	book
577.	kpær	kper	n	garden
578.	kpeĩñ	kpeɲ	n	necklace(trad)
579.	kpoh	kpəʔ	n	stomach,womb
580.	kpong	kpəŋ	n	base,foundation
581.	kræh	krɛʔ	v	work
582.	kræm	krɛm	n	cave
583.	krech	krɛtʃ	n	creche
584.	kriah	kriaʔ	n	basket(general)
585.	kriah	kriaʔ	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	ksɛʔ	n	pine.tree
591.	ksæt	ksɛt	v	hide
592.	ksathori	ksat ^h ori	n	park,preserve
593.	kse	kse	n	thread,rope
594.	kseing	kseŋ	n	drum(trad)
595.	ksi	ksi	n	lice
596.	ksiang	ksiaŋ	n	vessel
597.	ksiar	ksiar	n	gold

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
598.	ksiñ	ksɨ̃n	n	drum.type
599.	ksoh	ksɔʔ	v	hold
600.	ksu	ksu	n	grandchild
601.	ksuid	ksuit	n	demon
602.	ksuit	ksut̚	n	pus
603.	ktah	ktaʔ	v	hurt,touch
604.	kteih	kteʔ	n	dirt,mud
605.	ktein	kten	n	word
606.	kti	kti	n	hand
607.	ktiar	ktiar	n	worm.type
608.	ktih	ktiʔ	n	collar
609.	ktung	ktuŋ	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	kwaʔ	v	want,desire
623.	kwai	kwaj	n	betel.nut
624.	kwe	kwe	n	millet
625.	kya	kʔa	n	cotton.tree
626.	kyi	kʔi	v	call
627.	kyiad	kʔiad	n	liquor
628.	kyit	kʔit	v	enjoy
629.	kylla	kʎla	v	change
630.	kyllang	kʎlaŋ	v	cyclone
631.	kyllæp	kʎlæp	v	cover
632.	kylleĩñ	kʎleɲ	adv	throughout
633.	kylli	kʎli	v	ask; change

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
634.	kylliang	kʎliɑŋ	v	repay
635.	kyllooh	kʎloʔ	v	tremble
636.	kylluid	kʎlod	v	be.young
637.	kyllum	kʎlum	v	put.all
638.	kyllut	kʎlut	n	fool
639.	kympiām	kɲpiām	adv	togetherwith
640.	kynat	kɲat	v	badluck
641.	kynda	kɲda	n	rhino
642.	kyndæh	kɲdɛʔ	v	play
643.	kyndar	kɲdar	v	spread
644.	kyndat	kɲdat	adv	insultingly
645.	kyndit	kɲdit	v	stick
646.	kyndok	kɲdɔk	v	bounce
647.	kyndup	kɲdup	v	gather
648.	kyndur	kɲdur	n	clay
649.	kynhun	kɲhun	n	group
650.	kyñi	kɲɲi	n	chain(trad)
651.	kynja	kɲɟa	n	kind
652.	kynjoh	kɲɟɔʔ	v	take
653.	kynjoiñ	kɲɟojɲ	v	stack
654.	kynmoo	kɲmo	v	remember
655.	kynnat	kɲnat	n	thing
656.	kynnoh	kɲnoʔ	v	blame
657.	kynrad	kɲrad	adj	almighty
658.	kynrah	kɲraʔ	v	pickup
659.	kynræh	kɲrɛʔ	v	search.through
660.	kynran	kɲran	v	putaside
661.	kynrandein	kɲranden	v	look.back
662.	kynraw	kɲraw	n	liquor
663.	kynraw-kynræh	kɲraw-kɲrɛʔ	adj	useless.things
664.	kynrem	kɲrɛm	v	be.boundary
665.	kynrih	kɲriʔ	v	harvest
666.	kynroh	kɲroʔ	n	fencing
667.	kynrong	kɲrɔŋ	v	pickup
668.	kynrooh	kɲroʔ	n	fencing
669.	kynsai	kɲsaj	n	holy

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
670.	kynsæt	k̚nsæt	v	keep.hidden
671.	kynta	k̚nta	v	return
672.	kyntait	k̚ntat̚	v	refuse
673.	kyntang	k̚ntaŋ	v	special/holy
674.	kyntein	k̚nten	n	betel.set
675.	kyntein	k̚nten	n	word
676.	kynthai	k̚nt ^h aj	n	female
677.	kynther	k̚nt ^h ɛr	v	shakeout
678.	kynthiar	k̚nt ^h iar	v	jump
679.	kynthih	k̚nt ^h iʔ	v	running
680.	kynthor	k̚nt ^h ɔr	v	be.available
681.	kynthup	k̚nt ^h up	num	all.together
682.	kyntiat	k̚ntiat	v	concentrate
683.	kyntiñ	k̚ntip̚	v	jump
684.	kyntu	k̚ntu	v	recommend,advise
685.	kyoh	k̚ʔɔʔ	n	cough
686.	kyrchah	k̚rt̚ʃaʔ	n	bodycloth
687.	kyrchan	k̚rt̚ʃan	v	assist,support
688.	kyrdan	k̚rdan	v	qualify
689.	kyrdoh	k̚rdɔʔ	n	favor
690.	kyrha	k̚rha	adv	aloud
691.	kyrkhu	k̚rk ^h u	n	blessing
692.	kyrmæn	k̚rmɛn	v	hope
693.	kyrngang	k̚rŋaŋ	v	while
694.	kyrpad	k̚rpad	v	request
695.	kyrpang	k̚rpaŋ	v	be.special
696.	kyrsam	k̚rsam	n	fencing
697.	kyrsu	k̚rsu	v	bend
698.	kyrwit	k̚rwit	loc	times
699.	la	la	conj	if
700.	labit	labit	n	bat.type
701.	lachaid	lat̚ʃait	n	bat.type
702.	lad	lad	n	way
703.	ladaw	ladaw	n	banana.type
704.	lah	laʔ	v	can.do
705.	læh	lɛʔ	v	do

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
706.	læh	lɛʔ	adv	also
707.	lahon	lahɔn	v	give.comfort
708.	lai	laɟ	v	go
709.	lait	lat̚	v	free,escape
710.	lakhaw	lak ^h aw	n	bird.type
711.	lam	lam	v	lead
712.	læm	lɛm	adv	together
713.	lamet	lamɛt	n	banana.type
714.	læn	lɛn	v	deny
715.	lana	lana	v	give.comfort
716.	lane	lane	conj	or
717.	lang	laŋ	v	be.together
718.	langdong	laŋdɔŋ	v	encircle
719.	langla	laŋla	n	entrance
720.	lap	lap	loc	initial
721.	lareĩn	lareɲ	n	main.pole
722.	lariah	lariaʔ	n	bird.type
723.	lariang-phariang	lariaŋ-p ^h ariaŋ	n	special.spring.water
724.	lat	lat	v	slow
725.	lator	latoɾ	n	engagement
726.	le	le	num	three
727.	lechah	letʃaʔ	num	thrice
728.	leih	leʔ	adj	white
729.	lein	len	n	money
730.	leiĩn	lep̚	n	boat
731.	leitloid	laitloit	v	be.free
732.	lephaw	lep ^h aw	num	thirty
733.	li-	li	prefix	DUR
734.	liang	liaŋ	loc	side
735.	liar	liar	n	stream
736.	liræp	lirɛp	v	go.work.field
737.	lisu	lisu	v	go.pay.bills
738.	liwan	liwan	v	return.home
739.	lmæt	lmɛt	n	leaf.type
740.	lngen	lɲɛn	n	deepstream
741.	loid	loit	v	remove

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
742.	lok	lɔk	n	friend
743.	long	lɔŋ	n	life
744.	longchwa	lɔŋtʃwa	n	ancient.times
745.	lood	lod	n	F.2nd.born
746.	loom	lom	n	hill
747.	loor	lor	v	plow
748.	lor	lɔr	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	luŋ	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	lʔær	n	air,wind
762.	lyiur	lʔiur	adv	hardly
763.	lymbong	lɲbɔŋ	n	navel
764.	lymmeiñ	lɲmeɲ	n	tooth
765.	lyngæn	lɲŋɛn	n	river.lake
766.	lyngba	lɲba	loc	through
767.	lyngdoh	lɲdɔʔ	n	Lyngdoh
768.	lyngkha	lɲkʰa	v	catch.fish
769.	lyngkor	lɲkɔr	n	plow
770.	lyngkot	lɲkɔt	v	short
771.	lyngngait	lɲŋat	v	if.believe
772.	lyngngam	lɲŋam	v	sitalone,be.lonely
773.	lyngngiah	lɲŋiaʔ	n	back.door
774.	lyngngoh	lɲŋɔʔ	n	darkness
775.	lynngan	lɲŋan	n	spring
776.	lyntær	lɲtær	v	continue
777.	lyoh	lʔɔʔ	n	cloud

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
778.	lyrnai	lɾnaj	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	maɿ	n	mosquito
785.	maji	maɕi	n	maji
786.	makhon	ma ^h ɔn	n	goodwords
787.	makna	makna	v	have.large
788.	maliangngot	maliaŋŋɔt	n	maliangngot
789.	maloi	maloj	n	bowl.type
790.	man	man	v	become
791.	mane	mane	v	worship
792.	mang	maŋ	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	mɛt	n	body
801.	mawria	mawria	n	broken.stones
802.	maya	maja	v	love
803.	me	me	pn	2sg.M.acc
804.	meiñ	mep	n	drum.type
805.	meit	meɿ	n	night
806.	mi	mi	pn	2sg.M.nom
807.	miat	miat	v	be.pretty,nice
808.	mih	mi?	v	bring.out
809.	mihsngi	mi?sŋi	loc	east
810.	mitar	mitar	n	metre
811.	mm	mm	conf	mm
812.	mo	mɔ	q	QTAG
813.	mokot	mɔkɔt	v	file

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
814.	mon	mən	v	will
815.	moo	mo	n	stone
816.	moojra	moɟra	n	stone.type
817.	mookan	mokan	n	stone.type
818.	mooyong	mojɔŋ	n	coal
819.	mot	mət	n	memorial
820.	mrاد	mrاد	n	animal
821.	mriang	mrɪaŋ	n	animal
822.	muaid	muait	v	be.drunk
823.	muid	mud̪	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	m̥lla	v	gather
834.	mylliñ	m̥lɪɲ	v	forget
835.	myllu	m̥llu	v	gather
836.	myn	m̥ɲ	mood	after,irrealis
837.	mynæm	m̥ɲem	v	without
838.	mynchwa	m̥ɲtʃwa	loc.time	before
839.	myndær	m̥ɲder	n	world.outside.Jaintia
840.	mynjer	m̥ɲɟer	n	dew
841.	mynkawi	m̥ɲkawi	n	coming.days
842.	mynried	m̥ɲred	n	coming.days
843.	mynsein	m̥ɲsen	n	spirit,soul,heart
844.	mynsnam	m̥ɲsnam	n	severe.injury
845.	mynsoo	m̥ɲso	n	injury/accident
846.	mynstæp	m̥ɲstæp	n	tomorrow
847.	myntæ	m̥ɲtæ	loc.time	after.that
848.	myntha	m̥ɲtʰa	n	condensation
849.	mynthu	m̥ɲtʰu	v	spit

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
850.	myntoi	m̥ntɔj	n	benefit
851.	myntu	m̥ntu	adv	today,now
852.	myraiñ	m̥raɲ	n	wisdom
853.	myrdoh	m̥rdɔʔ	n	veg(kind)
854.	myrha	m̥rha	n	large
855.	myrsi	m̥rsi	n	mercy,heart
856.	na	na	prep	ABL
857.	na-	na-	prep	ABL
858.	næ	nɛ	q	D.TAG
859.	naam	na:m	v	name
860.	næh	nɛʔ	v	preserve
861.	nakra	nakra	n	nakra
862.	nan	nan	n	lake
863.	næñ	nɛɲ	n	river
864.	nang	naŋ	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	nejwɔn	q	from.where
871.	nga	ŋa	pn	1sg.acc
872.	ngaiñ	ŋaɲ	v	disappear
873.	ngait	ŋat̚	v	believe
874.	ngam	ŋam	v	sink
875.	ngap	ŋap	n	bee
876.	ngiah	ŋiaʔ	v	tired
877.	ngiat	ŋiat	v	convince,force
878.	ngih	ŋiʔ	v	waste
879.	ngoooh	ŋoʔ	v	blessing,thanks
880.	ngut	ŋut	clsf	CL.human
881.	ni	ni	deixis	prox
882.	nia	nia	v	reason
883.	niad	niad	v	rub,wipe
884.	niah	niaʔ	n	place
885.	niam	niam	n	tradition

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
886.	ñiam	ɲiam	v	wipe
887.	niangthalawa	niaŋt ^h alawa	n	spider
888.	niangthoh	niaŋt ^h ɔʔ	n	spotted.infection
889.	niaw	niaw	v	count
890.	no	nɔ	conf	ok
891.	noh	nɔʔ	v	throw
892.	noh	nɔʔ	adv	IMM1
893.	nok	nək	v	limp
894.	nom	nɔm	n	ever
895.	nong	nɔŋ	q	conf
896.	nong-	nɔŋ	nmz	ag.nmz
897.	nongkyndong	nɔŋkɯndɔŋ	n	remotevillage
898.	nongrim	nɔŋrim	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	ɲɯŋkɔŋ	v	be.first
904.	o	ɔ	pn	1sg.nom
905.	Oh	o	excl	Oh
906.	ohoh	ɔhɔʔ	neg	D.neg
907.	ong	ɔŋ	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	patʃɔr	n	plantain
914.	pad	pad	n	plank
915.	padæt	padɛt	v	throw
916.	padit	padit	n	fruit.type
917.	padoi	padɔj	n	fruit.type
918.	pah	paʔ	v	give.sign
919.	paid	pait	n	people
920.	paidbah	paitbaʔ	n	crowd,congregation
921.	paiphang	pajp ^h aŋ	v	understandfully

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
922.	paisa	pajsa	n	money
923.	pait	pat̪	v	look
924.	paki	paki	n	yard
925.	palat	palat	ints	extraordinarily
926.	palong	palɔŋ	n	bed
927.	pam	pam	v	cut
928.	pan	pan	v	ask
929.	panboh	panboʔ	n	centre.post
930.	pangrai	paŋraj	v	anoint
931.	pap	pap	v	fate,sin
932.	papun	papun	n	grandfather
933.	par	par	v	crawl
934.	pær	pɛr	v	float
935.	para	para	loc	among
936.	parkraw	parkraw	n	resource
937.	parom	parɔm	v	tell.story
938.	paska	paska	n	holyday
939.	pat	pat	v	fall
940.	pæt	pɛt	v	expand,multiply
941.	pata	pata	n	place
942.	pateiñ	pateɲ	n	generation
943.	pathan	pat ^h an	adv	especially
944.	pathi	pat ^h i	n	betel.leaf
945.	patlun	patlun	n	pants
946.	pator	patɔr	n	pator
947.	pawa	pawa	num	quarter
948.	pawnam	pawnam	v	be.famous
949.	payu	paju	n	older.sibling
950.	pchæm	pʰɛm	n	lawn
951.	pdein	pden	n	peak(ofmountain)
952.	pdooh	pɲ-doʔ	v	lose
953.	pdung	pduŋ	v	burst
954.	pee	pe	n	bee.type
955.	pei	pej	conj	by
956.	peih	peʔ	v	scoop
957.	pha	p ^h a	pn	2sg.F.acc

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
958.	phad	p ^h ad	n	flesh
959.	phah	p ^h aʔ	v	ask,send
960.	phai	p ^h aj	v	return
961.	phali	p ^h ali	n	turban
962.	phang	p ^h aŋ	v	understand,realize
963.	phar	p ^h ar	v	run
964.	phær	p ^h ɛr	v	be.different
965.	phare	p ^h are	n	fly
966.	phareng	p ^h arɛŋ	n	foreigner
967.	pharia	p ^h aria	v	crush
968.	phasi	p ^h asi	v	hanging
969.	phæt	p ^h ɛt	v	run
970.	phaw	p ^h aw	num	ten
971.	pheĩñ	p ^h ɛɲ	v	glow,cheer,joy
972.	phi	p ^h i	pn	2pl
973.	phiah	p ^h iaʔ	v	break,divide
974.	phlai	p ^h laj	v	spill.out
975.	phlang	p ^h laŋ	n	grass
976.	phlong	p ^h lɔŋ	v	aside
977.	phniang	p ^h niaŋ	n	rice[seedling];oil
978.	pho	p ^h ɔ	pn	2sg.F.nom
979.	phoh	p ^h ɔʔ	v	beauty
980.	phoi	p ^h oj	n	whole
981.	phooh	p ^h oʔ	v	glow(withlife)
982.	phor	p ^h ɔr	n	slab
983.	phra	p ^h ra	num	eight
984.	phrang	p ^h raŋ	loc	front
985.	phraphaw	p ^h rap ^h aw	num	eighty
986.	phru	p ^h ru	v	smear
987.	phrui	p ^h ruj	v	be.fluffy
988.	phulieh	p ^h uleʔ	v	powder
989.	phylla	p ^h ɭla	v	surprise,astonish
990.	piah	piaʔ	v	break
991.	piat	piat	n	onion
992.	pitiat	pitiat	v	while
993.	pitor	pitor	n	marriage.sign

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
994.	plæh	plɛʔ	v	erase
995.	plait	plet	v	plait
996.	plæt	plɛt	n	fold
997.	ple	ple	v	play
998.	pli	pli	n	innocent
999.	pliah	pliaʔ	v	be.satisfied
1000.	pliang	pliaŋ	n	plate
1001.	plidar	plidar	n	lawyer
1002.	plung	pluŋ	v	increase
1003.	Pnar	pnar	n	Pnar
1004.	poh	pɔʔ	loc	under,in
1005.	poi	pɔj	v	arrive
1006.	pong	pɔŋ	v	not.like.nowadays
1007.	pood	pod	n	boundary
1008.	pooh	poʔ	v	cut
1009.	por	pər	n	time
1010.	pra	pra	v	scatter
1011.	prah	praʔ	v	trap,basket
1012.	prai	praj	v	vomit
1013.	pran	pran	n	flesh
1014.	praw	praw	n	stick
1015.	priew	prɛw	v	compare
1016.	prin	prin	v	be.black
1017.	psa	psa	v	provide,feed
1018.	pseĩñ	psepɲ	n	snake
1019.	psiah	psiaʔ	v	enter
1020.	psiang	psiaŋ	n	tar
1021.	psiat	psiat	n	insect
1022.	pteñ	ptɛɲ	v	continue
1023.	pu	pu	neg	not
1024.	pud	pud	n	monolith
1025.	pun	pun	adv	all
1026.	pung	puŋ	n	pond
1027.	puræ	purɛ	v	learn
1028.	puri	puri	n	mermaid
1029.	purom	purɔm	n	basket.type

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1030.	put	put	v	blow,sound
1031.	putem	putɛm	v	grind
1032.	puthi	put ^h i	v	educate
1033.	pyllai	pɭa.j	v	organize
1034.	pyllait	pɭat _ᵐ	v	empty.into;spare
1035.	pyllæñ	pɭɛɲ	n	egg
1036.	pyllang	pɭaŋ	v	gather
1037.	pylli	pɭi	n	take.turn
1038.	pyllum	pɭum	v	collect
1039.	pyllut	pɭut	v	spend
1040.	pyn-	pɲ	prefix	CAUS
1041.	pynæmkam	pɲɛmkam	v	use
1042.	pynchang	pɲtʃaŋ	n	whole.basket
1043.	pynche	pɲtʃe	v	introduce
1044.	pynthor	pɲt ^h ɔr	n	paddy.field
1045.	pyntiat	pɲtiat	v	gather
1046.	pyoor	pʔor	n	sweat
1047.	Pyrbot	pɾbɔt	n	Pyrbot
1048.	pyrda	pɾda	n	curtain
1049.	pyrdein	pɾden	v	think.about
1050.	pyrdi	pɾdi	loc	middle
1051.	pyrjin	pɾɕjɲ	v	offering(liquid)
1052.	pyrkhat	pɾk ^h at	v	think
1053.	pyrki	pɾki	n	nothing
1054.	pyrla	pɾla	n	scale
1055.	pyrlök	pɾlök	n	friend
1056.	pyrnah	pɾnaʔ	v	libation
1057.	pyrsa	pɾsa	n	neice
1058.	pyrta	pɾta	v	announce
1059.	pyrthai	pɾt ^h aj	n	world
1060.	pyrthap	pɾt ^h ap	n	plank
1061.	pyrthat	pɾt ^h at	n	lightning
1062.	pyrtuit	pɾtuɿ	n	name
1063.	pyur	pʔur	adv	intoxicated
1064.	pyut	pʔut	v	rot
1065.	rabiang	rabiaŋ	v	be.satisfied

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1066.	radang	radan̄	n	frog.type
1067.	rah	raʔ	v	carry
1068.	rai	raj	v	decide
1069.	raid	rad̚	n	community
1070.	rajai	rad̚aj	n	animal.type
1071.	raliang	ralian̄	n	Raliang
1072.	ram	ram	v	loan
1073.	ræm	rɛm	v	lose
1074.	ram-aw	ramaw	n	earth
1075.	ramchit	ramtʃit	n	nature
1076.	ramynkæn	ramn̩kɛn	n	ramynkæñ
1077.	ramyntheiñ	ramntʰɛp̚	n	ramynteiñ
1078.	ran	ran	v	run
1079.	rangiaw	ran̄jaw	n	bamboo.vessel
1080.	rap	rap	v	grow
1081.	ræp	rɛp	v	cultivate
1082.	rasong	rasən̄	n	stone.type
1083.	rasun	rasun	n	garlic
1084.	rato	rato	n	plant.type
1085.	raw	raw	v	dry
1086.	rbæn	rbɛn	v	thick
1087.	rdang	rdan̄	n	neck
1088.	re	rɛ	ints	any
1089.	reih	reʔ	v	shelter
1090.	rein	ren	n	string
1091.	reñ	rɛp̚	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	rian̄	n	plant.type
1097.	riem	riɛm	v	dress
1098.	rii	ri:	excl	hey!
1099.	rim	rim	v	be.old
1100.	rin	rin	n	breath
1101.	riñ	rip̚	v	knot,tie

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1102.	riot	riot	n	citizen
1103.	risa	risa	v	exult
1104.	rit	rit	v	small(Khasi)
1105.	riti	riti	n	culture
1106.	rkang	rkaŋ	n	custom
1107.	rkhai	rk ^h aj	v	laugh
1108.	rkut	rkut	n	wicker.stool
1109.	rmai	rmaj	v	vow
1110.	rna	rna	n	staircase
1111.	rnæm	rnɛm	n	shrub
1112.	rnein	rnen	v	provide
1113.	rngaw	rŋaw	n	charcoal
1114.	roh	rɔʔ	v	be.much
1115.	roi	roj	v	crawl
1116.	roit	roɿ	loc	outside
1117.	rong	rɔŋ	n	color,symbol
1118.	rood	rod	loc	outside
1119.	rooid	roit	v	draw
1120.	rthap	rt ^h ap	v	slap
1121.	rukom	rukɔm	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	rm̥p ^h u	n	rain.type
1128.	rynchoiñ	rn̥tʃɔɲ	n	small.hill
1129.	ryngkat	rŋkat	v	be.equal
1130.	ryngkaw	rŋkaw	n	spirit.type
1131.	ryngkhat	rŋk ^h at	n	out.of.nothing
1132.	ryngkhi	rŋk ^h i	n	target
1133.	ryngki	rŋki	n	back
1134.	rynieñ	rn̥neɲ	v	physical.self
1135.	ryniot	rŋjɔt	v	physical.self
1136.	rynteih	rn̥teʔ	n	bow
1137.	sa	sa	conj	only

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1138.	sæ	sɛ	q	C.TAG
1139.	sad	sad	n	thorn.type
1140.	sadhiaṛ	sadhiaṛ	n	beer
1141.	sah	saʔ	v	stay
1142.	sæh	sɛʔ	v	display
1143.	sahtein	saʔten	v	pending
1144.	sai	saj	v	take.from.inside
1145.	sain	san	v	agree
1146.	saiñ	saj̃	v	mix,make
1147.	sait	saṭ̣	v	wash
1148.	saja	saɕ̣a	n	sickness
1149.	sajiar	saɕ̣iaṛ	v	be.careful
1150.	sajin	saɕ̣in	n	fault.line
1151.	sak	sak	n	occurrence
1152.	sakhi	sak ^{hi}	v	prove
1153.	sakhiaṭ	sak ^{hi} iat	v	be.true
1154.	sakma	sakma	v	be.lost
1155.	salah	salaʔ	n	potato
1156.	salon	salɔn	n	character
1157.	sam	sam	n	boundary
1158.	sam	sam	v	distribute
1159.	sam	sam	n	the.more
1160.	sæm	sɛm	n	neighborhood
1161.	samæn	samɛn	v	be.alone
1162.	samuid	samuḍ̣	n	proper.time
1163.	samun	samun	n	spirit.type
1164.	san	san	num	five
1165.	san	san	v	be.large
1166.	sang	saj̃	mod	INTS2
1167.	sang	saj̃	v	taboo
1168.	sangia	saj̃ɲia	n	reborn.one
1169.	sangot	saj̃ɲɔṭ	n	sangot
1170.	sanphaw	sanp ^h aw	num	fifty
1171.	sanpun	sampun	n	older.brother
1172.	sanspah	sanspaʔ	num	fivehundred
1173.	santari	santari	n	fret

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1174.	sap	sap	v	wear;talent
1175.	sapæt	sapæt	n	navel
1176.	sar	sar	v	be.apparent
1177.	sær	sær	n	sambar.deer
1178.	sarang	saraŋ	n	fracture
1179.	sarat	sarat	n	alcohol
1180.	sari	sari	n	sari
1181.	sarom	sarəm	n	intelligence
1182.	sarong	sarəŋ	v	be.proud
1183.	sarot	sarət	n	beer.type
1184.	saru	saru	n	corn
1185.	sæt	sæt	v	hide
1186.	sata	sata	n	cap
1187.	satri	satri	n	umbrella
1188.	sboh	sbɔʔ	n	fertilizer
1189.	sbooh	sboʔ	adv	thick(of.plants)
1190.	sbun	sbun	v	kind,humble
1191.	sdai	sdaɲ	n	axe
1192.	sdang	sdaŋ	v	begin
1193.	sdæp	sɤp	v	warm,safe
1194.	sdeih	sdeʔ	v	fry
1195.	sdep	sɤp	v	be.enough
1196.	sei	se	v	be.doubtful
1197.	seij	seɲ	n	bamboo.type
1198.	sein	sen	n	time,action
1199.	seiñ	seɲ	n	committee
1200.	seiñraij	seɲraɲ	n	Seiñraij
1201.	seiñthylleij	seɲtʰɿleɲ	n	rainbow
1202.	sep	sɤp	v	suffer
1203.	sepsngi	sɤpsɲi	n	west
1204.	sia	sia	n	proud
1205.	siah	siaʔ	v	pass
1206.	siahnood	siaʔnod	n	jealousy
1207.	siang	siaŋ	n	slab,spoon
1208.	siaw	siaw	v	whistle
1209.	sib	sib	v	taste

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1210.	siet	siet	v	shoot
1211.	sih	siʔ	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	skɛm	v	hold.upright
1217.	skat	skat	n	real,true
1218.	skhæm	sk ^h ɛm	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	slat̚	n	basket.type
1225.	slæm	slɛm	v	be.late
1226.	slap	slap	v	rain
1227.	sli	sli	v	watch
1228.	smai	smaɟ	v	promise
1229.	smariah	smariaʔ	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	snɛm	n	year
1235.	snæñ	snɛɲ	v	advise
1236.	sneih	sneʔ	n	skin
1237.	sneñ	snɛɲ	v	teach
1238.	sngæh	sɲɛʔ	v	stop
1239.	sngi	sɲi	n	day
1240.	sngoh	sɲoʔ	v	strike,throw
1241.	sngooh	sɲoʔ	v	smashinto
1242.	sniang	sniɑɲ	n	pig,pork
1243.	sñiaw	sɲiaw	v	sense
1244.	sñiawbha	sɲiawbha	v	please
1245.	sñiawthooh	sɲiaw ^h oʔ	v	understand

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1246.	sniñ	snɪɲ	n	plant.type
1247.	sniooh	snioʔ	n	hair
1248.	snoom	snom	v	flow
1249.	so	sɔ	num	more
1250.	soh	sɔʔ	n	fruit
1251.	sohmen	sɔʔmɛn	v	be.alone
1252.	sohnok	sɔʔnək	v	limp
1253.	song	sɔŋ	v	pack
1254.	soo	so	num	four
1255.	soo	so	v	be.red
1256.	soodong	sodɔŋ	n	throughout
1257.	sooh	soʔ	v	suffer
1258.	soohbuit	soʔbut̚	v	conspire
1259.	sookun	sokun	n	throughout
1260.	soophaw	sop ^h aw	num	forty
1261.	soor	sor	v	sew
1262.	soospah	sospaʔ	num	four.hundred
1263.	sootew	sotɛw	n	blackfruit
1264.	sooyong	sojɔŋ	n	blackfruit
1265.	sor	sər	v	be.embarrassed
1266.	sorbar	sərbar	n	gathering
1267.	sorkæp	sərkep	n	space,heavens
1268.	sorsa	sər̥sa	n	sound
1269.	spah	spaʔ	num	hundred
1270.	spiang-rah	spiaŋraʔ	n	plant.type
1271.	spong	spɔŋ	v	wrap
1272.	sriem	sriɛm	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	steʔ	n	shield
1278.	stiar	stiar	n	insect.type;bund
1279.	stiman	stiman	n	truck.type
1280.	stiñ	stɪɲ	adj	be.light
1281.	su	su	v	repay

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1282.	suba	suba	n	knowledge
1283.	sud	sud	v	care
1284.	suiñ	suɲ	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	suŋ	n	lake
1291.	sur	sur	n	song
1292.	suri	suri	n	wolf
1293.	surok	surək	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	sʔad	v	expensive
1300.	syaid	sʔait	v	warm
1301.	syær	sʔer	v	fear
1302.	syiar	sʔiar	n	chicken
1303.	syiem	sʔem	n	ruler
1304.	syiñ	sʔip	n	ginger
1305.	sylliat	sɭliat	v	massage,rub
1306.	symbe	sɱbe	n	seed
1307.	symboh	sɱboʔ	n	grain
1308.	symbood	sɱbod	n	marker,symbol
1309.	sympat	sɱpat	v	twist
1310.	synchar	sɳtʃar	v	rule
1311.	syndong	sɳdɔŋ	v	take.care
1312.	synduk	sɳduk	n	trunk
1313.	syngkein	sɳkeɲ	n	location
1314.	syngkhein	sɳk ^h en	n	pillow
1315.	syngkni	sɳkni	n	hawk
1316.	syniaw	sɳjaw	n	night
1317.	synjat	sɳɕat	n	ring

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1318.	synrum	sɲrum	n	cold,sick
1319.	syntu	sɲtu	n	flower
1320.	syrtap	sɲtap	n	layer
1321.	syrum	sɲrum	n	fever
1322.	syrwa	sɲwa	v	argue
1323.	syuiñ	sʔuɲ	v	revolve,spin
1324.	syuit	sʔutɰ	v	pour
1325.	ta	ta	clsf	CL.time
1326.	tæ	tɛ	deixis	nvis
1327.	taar	tar	v	tear
1328.	tadong	tadɔŋ	n	bamboo.cup
1329.	tah	taʔ	v	cut
1330.	tæh	tɛʔ	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	threshold
1337.	takudiah	takudiaʔ	n	takudiah
1338.	tam	tam	adv	INTS3
1339.	tam	tam	v	keep
1340.	tæm	tɛm	v	pluck,strum
1341.	tama	tama	v	be.bronze
1342.	tan	tan	v	pull
1343.	tang	taŋ	conj	but,even
1344.	tang	taŋ	adv	intsf
1345.	tang	taŋ	n	tip
1346.	tanglang	taŋlaŋ	v	mixed.up.together
1347.	tap	tap	v	put,garden
1348.	tæp	tɛp	v	bury
1349.	tar	tar	n	stuff
1350.	tari	tari	n	knife
1351.	taro	tarɔ	n	goddess.type
1352.	taroh	tarɔʔ	n	lower.leg
1353.	tær-tær	tɛr-tɛr	adv	so.on

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1354.	tasngooh	tasŋoʔ	v	accidentallysmashinto
1355.	tæt	tət	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	tdɛʔ	v	pull.up,off
1361.	tdæm	tdɛm	n	smoke
1362.	tdong	tdɔŋ	n	tail
1363.	tdot	tdət	adv	just
1364.	tdut	tdut	v	break
1365.	te	te	deixis	mprox
1366.	teid	teḍ	v	ring
1367.	teih	teʔ	v	practice
1368.	tein	ten	num	half
1369.	teĩ	teŋ	v	afraid,fear
1370.	teintein	tenten	loc	sometimes
1371.	tha	t ^h a	n	boulder
1372.	thad	t ^h ad	n	clothes
1373.	thah	t ^h aʔ	adj	frozen,ice
1374.	thæh	t ^h ɛʔ	n	ember
1375.	thai	t ^h aj	v	possible
1376.	thain	t ^h an	n	plain,flat
1377.	thaiĩ	t ^h aŋ	v	braid,weave
1378.	tham	t ^h am	n	crab
1379.	thang	t ^h aŋ	v	burn
1380.	thap	t ^h ap	v	put
1381.	thar	t ^h ar	v	write
1382.	thaw	t ^h aw	n	place
1383.	theid	t ^h edḍ	v	buy
1384.	thep	t ^h ɛp	v	sell
1385.	thiah	t ^h iaʔ	v	sleep
1386.	thiang	t ^h iaŋ	n	mouthful
1387.	thied	t ^h ied	n	root
1388.	thiet	t ^h iet	adv	exactly
1389.	thiet	t ^h iet	n	husk

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1390.	thij	t ^h ij	v	be.exact
1391.	thlah	t ^h laʔ	v	blind
1392.	thlæp	t ^h lɛp	v	bury
1393.	thli	t ^h li	n	fish.type
1394.	thlieh	t ^h liɛʔ	v	chop
1395.	thlong	t ^h lɔŋ	n	mortar
1396.	thlu	t ^h lu	n	hole
1397.	thma	t ^h ma	n	war
1398.	thmat	t ^h mat	v	prayer
1399.	thmu	t ^h mu	v	plan
1400.	thnæm	t ^h nɛm	n	debt
1401.	thniang	t ^h niaŋ	v	sweet
1402.	thoh	t ^h ɔʔ	v	write
1403.	thohrew	t ^h ɔʔrɛw	v	blister
1404.	thong	t ^h ɔŋ	n	target
1405.	thoo	t ^h o	v	create
1406.	thooh	t ^h oʔ	v	find,search
1407.	thri	t ^h ri	n	bamboo.rope
1408.	thum	t ^h um	v	flow
1409.	thung	t ^h uŋ	v	plant,appoint
1410.	thwai	t ^h waj	n	ocean
1411.	thylleij	t ^h lɛj	n	tongue
1412.	thymme	t ^h ɲme	v	be.new
1413.	tia	tia	v	advance
1414.	tiar	tiar	n	things
1415.	tiat	tiat	v	fill
1416.	tidiang	tidiaŋ	loc	left.side
1417.	tih	tiʔ	v	dig
1418.	tikna	tikna	v	trust
1419.	tim	tim	n	lottery
1420.	timun	timun	loc	right.side
1421.	tiñ	tiŋ	v	fetch
1422.	ting	tiŋ	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	tk ^h u	n	ant
1427.	tkhut	tk ^h ut	n	size
1428.	tkoh	tkɔʔ	v	be.disabled(leg)
1429.	tkut	tkut	n	sword
1430.	tlæm	tlɛm	v	dig
1431.	tlang	tlɑŋ	n	potato.type
1432.	tlæp	tlɛp	v	bury
1433.	tlong	tlɔŋ	n	enclosure
1434.	tloor	tlor	n	leaf.type
1435.	tlot	tlɔt	v	leave
1436.	tmah	tmaʔ	v	shorten
1437.	tnat	tnat	n	branch
1438.	tne	tne	n	bulls-eye
1439.	tngan	tɲan	v	be.hungry
1440.	tnoom	tnom	n	roof
1441.	tnung	tnuŋ	n	stem
1442.	to	tɔ	conf	ok
1443.	toh	tɔʔ	v	be
1444.	tohkit	tɔʔkit	v	request
1445.	tong	tɔŋ	v	fish
1446.	tooh	toʔ	v	steal
1447.	toor	tor	v	advance
1448.	tpai	tpaj	n	ash
1449.	tpæp	tpɛp	n	hearth
1450.	tpu	tpu	n	rice.cake
1451.	tput	tput	v	revenge
1452.	tran	tran	v	place
1453.	træp	trɛp	n	hut
1454.	tre	tre	v	original;work
1455.	tri	tri	v	be.significant
1456.	trom	trɔm	n	Ch.of.God
1457.	trong	trɔŋ	n	pray
1458.	tu	tu	deixis	medl
1459.	tuid	toit	v	flow,flex
1460.	tulop	tulɔp	n	salary
1461.	tun	tun	mod	ints

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1462.	tung	tɯŋ	n	plant
1463.	tupri	tupri	n	hat
1464.	tybæt	tβæt	n	storage.area
1465.	tyllaiñ	tɿlɐɲ	n	snake.type
1466.	tyllæñ	tɿlɐɲ	n	stone.type
1467.	tylle	tɿlle	n	rope
1468.	tylli	tɿli	clsf	CL.piece
1469.	tyllet	tɿlɛt	v	thresh
1470.	tyllup	tɿllup	prep	all.over
1471.	tymbood	tɯmbod	v	follow
1472.	tymbuiñ	tɯmbuɲ	v	poor
1473.	tymmæn	tɯmmɛn	v	be.old
1474.	tymmoh	tɯmmɔʔ	v	overlay
1475.	tympat	tɯmpat	v	intentionally.fall
1476.	tympdung	tɯmpduŋ	v	burst
1477.	tympiah	tɯmpiaʔ	v	break
1478.	tympong	tɯmpɔŋ	n	waist
1479.	tyn	tɯ	clitic	recently
1480.	tyndang	tɯndaŋ	v	grind
1481.	tynde	tɯnde	loc.time	before
1482.	tyngkha	tɯŋk ^h a	v	hide
1483.	tyngkhæñ	tɯŋk ^h ɐɲ	v	break
1484.	tyngkong	tɯŋkɔŋ	n	wood.floor
1485.	tynnat	tɯnnat	adj	nice
1486.	tynne	tɯnne	loc.time	before
1487.	tynre	tɯre	loc.time	back
1488.	tyrha	tɿha	n	flame
1489.	tyrkhaw	tɿk ^h aw	adj	dry
1490.	tyrset	tɿsɛt	v	push.into.corner
1491.	tyrsim	tɿsim	n	claw/nail
1492.	tyrsnam	tɿsɲam	v	emit.blood
1493.	tyrsoo	tɿso	v	emit.red
1494.	tyrtah	tɿtaʔ	v	emit.heat
1495.	u	u	pn	3sg.M.nom
1496.	uiñ	uɲ	v	return.back
1497.	um	um	n	water

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1498.	umkhmat	umk ^h mat	n	tear
1499.	uñ	uɲ	v	return
1500.	u=	u	clitic	M
1501.	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	waʔ	n	river
1507.	wai	waj	v	open
1508.	wai	waj	n	river
1509.	waiñ	wajɲ	v	'don''t.want''
1510.	wait	waɪ̯	n	sword
1511.	waje	waɟe	n	bell,time
1512.	wan	wan	v	come
1513.	wanrah	wanraʔ	n	bring
1514.	ware	ware	adv	INTSF
1515.	waroh	waroʔ	num	all
1516.	wasā	wasā	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	weʔ	n	worm
1522.	weiñ	weɲ	n	pot.type
1523.	wi	wi	num	one
1524.	wiang	wiaŋ	v	propose,convince
1525.	wiar	wiar	v	lose
1526.	wiar-nar	wiar-nar	v	be.bored
1527.	wisteih	wisteʔ	v	sheild
1528.	wit	wit	v	be.full
1529.	woh	wɔʔ	hon	hon.M.elder
1530.	won	wɔn	n	which
1531.	wot	wɔt	adv	IMMD
1532.	wyrai	wɾaj	n	mercy
1533.	wyrngam	wɾŋam	adj	green

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1534.	wyrngia	wɾŋja	v	busy.with
1535.	wyrta	wɾta	n	news
1536.	ya	ja	prep	BEN
1537.	ya-	ja	prefix	BEN
1538.	yada	jada	v	defend
1539.	yah	jaʔ	v	drive,lead
1540.	yaichah	jaitʃaʔ	v	be.patient
1541.	yaid	jait	v	keep.on(Khasi)
1542.	yakhun	jak ^h un	v	fight
1543.	yalæh	jalɛʔ	v	fight
1544.	yalap	jalap	v	preach
1545.	yam	jam	v	cry
1546.	yambru	jambru	v	mourn
1547.	yamræm	jamrɛm	v	feel.defeated
1548.	yang	jaŋ	v	wait
1549.	yania	jania	v	argue
1550.	yap	jap	v	die
1551.	yaplər	japlər	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 ^h ɔʔ	v	marry
1559.	yatoh	jatɔʔ	v	relations
1560.	yaw	jaw	n	week; market
1561.	yawchibidi	jawtʃibidi	n	Yawchibidi
1562.	ye-	je	prep	BEN
1563.	yee	je	v	able
1564.	yein	jen	n	string
1565.	yeñ	jɛɲ	v	stand
1566.	yenreĩ	jenrɛɲ	n	body.bug
1567.	yi	ji	n	thing
1568.	yillu	jilu	adv	deeply
1569.	yimphoo	jimp ^h o	n	plant.type

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1570.	yindæm	jindæm	n	rice.beer
1571.	yingkein	jin̩ken	n	ladder
1572.	yirngam	jiŋgam	v	be.green
1573.	ym	ɱ	neg	NEG
1574.	ymbu	ɱbu	n	breast
1575.	yn	ɲ	clitic	ref
1576.	yndooh	ɲdoʔ	loc.time	previously
1577.	ynne	ɲne	loc.time	today
1578.	ynñiaw	ɲɲiaw	num	seven
1579.	ynñiawphaw	ɲɲiawp ^h aw	num	seventy
1580.	ynnin	ɲnin	n	yesterday
1581.	ynnu	ɲnu	n	now
1582.	ynru	ɲru	num	six
1583.	ynruphaw	ɲrup ^h aw	num	sixty
1584.	ynsur	ɲsur	v	humble
1585.	yntu	ɲtu	loc.time	just.now
1586.	yoga	joga	n	yoga
1587.	yoh	jɔʔ	v	get
1588.	yong	jɔŋ	prep	GEN
1589.	yong	jɔŋ	v	be.black
1590.	yoo	jo	v	see
1591.	yooh	joʔ	v	exceed
1592.	yoophylla	jop ^h lla	v	astonish
1593.	yoosar	josar	v	seems
1594.	yor	jɔr	n	snow
1595.	yubat	jubat	v	oath
1596.	yuchun	jutʃun	n	comb
1597.	yukdung	jukduŋ	n	infant.cloth
1598.	yuksoh	juksoʔ	n	hilt
1599.	yulum	julum	n	infant.wrap
1600.	yung	juŋ	n	home
1601.	yunghæh	juŋhɛʔ	n	guest.room
1602.	yungslæm	juŋslɛm	n	sitting.room
1603.	yurim	jurim	n	plot.land
1604.	yusæm	jusɛm	n	cloth.wrap
1605.	yusiang	jusiaŋ	n	baby.cloth

	word	IPA	ps	gloss
1606.	yusleĩñ	jusleɲ	n	waistcloth
1607.	yuspong	juspəŋ	n	turban
1608.	yut	jut	v	run.away
1609.	yutang	jutaŋ	v	argue