

WORD ORDER IN PNAR

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NARAYAN KUMAR CHOUDHARY

**CENTRE OF LINGUISTICS AND ENGLISH
SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES, LITERATURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067
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Abbreviations Used

1PL	FIRST PERSON PLURAL
1SG	FIRST PERSON SINGULAR
2FSG	SECOND PERSON FEMININE SINGULAR
2MSG	SECOND PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR
2PL	SECOND PERSON PLURAL
2SG (+HON)	SECOND PERSON SINGULAR HONORIFIC
3FSG	THIRD PERSON FEMININE SINGULAR
3MSG	THIRD PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR
3PL	THIRD PERSON PLURAL
ABIL	ABILITATIVE
ABL	ABLATIVE
ACC	ACCUSATIVE
ADJL	ADJECTIVALIZER
AGEN	AGENTIVE
AGRS	SUBJECT AGREEMENT
ALL	ALLATIVE
BENF	BENEFACTIVE
CAUS	CAUSATIVE
CM	COMPARITIVE MARKER
COM	COMITATIVE
COMP	COPLEMENTIZER
COND	CONDITIONAL PARTICLE
CONJ	CONJUNCTION
COORD	COORDINATOR
COP	COPULA
DAT	DATIVE
DDEM	DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE MARKER
DGM	DEGREE MARKER
DOUBT	DOUBT MODAL MARKER
DRM	DISCONTINUOUS REDUPLICATION MARKER
DVM	DEPENDENT VERB MARKER
ECL	'ELSEWHERE CLITIC'
ESG	ELSEWHERE GENDER MARKER
FSG	FEMININE SINGULAR
FSGCLT	FEMININE SINGULAR CLITIC
FUT	FUTURE
GEN	GENITIVE
HAB	HABITUAL ASPECT
HCL	HUMAN CLASSIFIER
INTENS	INTENSIFIER
INSTR	INSTRUMENTAL
LOC	LOCATIVE
MDEM	MEDIAL DEMONSTRATIVE MARKER

MSG	MASCULINE SINGULAR
MSGCLT	MASCULINE SINGULAR CLITIC
NEG	NEGATIVE
NHCL	NON-HUMAN CLASSIFIER
NOM	NOMINALIZER
PASS	PASSIVIZER
PCPL	PARTICIPIALIZER
PDEM	PROXIMAL DEMONSTRATIVE MARKER
PERF	PERFECTIVE ASPECT
PL	PLURAL
PLCLT	PLURAL CLITIC
PNEG	PROHIBITIVE NEGATION
PROB	PROBABILITATIVE
PROG	PROGRESSIVE
REC	RECIPROCAL
REFL	REFLEXIVE
RP	RELATIVE PARTICLE
SM	SUPERLATIVE MARKER

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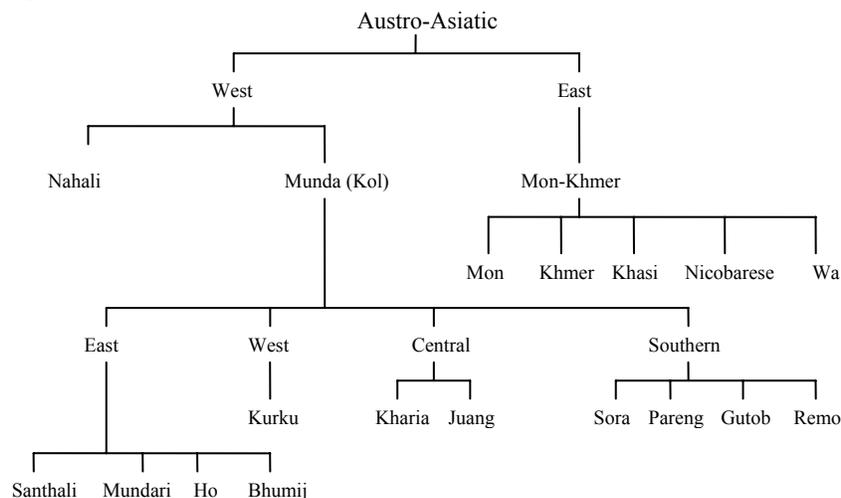
Introduction

Meghalaya, born between 1969 and 1962, gets its name literally from Sanskrit morphology. It contains two morphemes /megh/ and /alay/ which means ‘cloud’ and ‘abode’ respectively. Thus it means abode of clouds. The nomenclature comes from the Indian state’s unique climatic feature. The wettest place of the globe, Cherrapunjee or Mawsynram is here.

Meghalaya is home to mainly three indigenous ‘tribes’ namely the Khasi, the Jaintia and the Garo. Meghalaya survives uniformly as the island of matrilineal society distinct from the patriarchal societies that surround it. Yet, Meghalaya with its distinct matrilineal and social organization has found enough room to adjust itself to all the situations which have affected the state.

Pnar is the name of the speech spoken by one of the three main tribes of the state i.e. the Jaintia who live in the Jaintia Hills. Khasi is the dominant tribe here. There is common view abound here that Pnar is a dialect of Khasi.

Pnar linguistically represents the Mon-Khmer speeches spoken in South-East Asia. Mon-Khmer belongs to the Austro-Asiatic family included in the ‘Austic’ super family. Khasi alongwith Pnar has survived as a distinct island of its owing to its past connection with the number Mon-Khmer speeches which exist in the far-flung South-Eastern Asia, still spoken in Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and as far as Malaysia and which include mainly the Khmeric and Bahnaric. Pinnow (1969) gives the following stammbaum for the Austro-Asiatic family:



- Nahali is the link between Munda and Mon
- Nahali data is scanty

Pnar here should be associated with Khasi. Pnar is one of the least studied language. We are among the few who attempted a study, even during our course work.

Ethnologically, Mon-Khmer speaking people are believed to originally represent the Negrito or Dravidic substratum of physical formation which subsequently gave way to the Mongoloid complexion in a series of racial intermixture.

This dissertation provides a description of word order in Pnar. After having described the basic word order and the word order in different clause constructions in Pnar, I have turned towards the variations found in the language. My main focus has been to concentrate on Greenberg's word- order universals. In checking these universals I have provided a detailed description of the topic being discussed in each of the universals, which, hopefully, combined together gives insights into the structure of the language.

Field Procedures

Collecting linguistic data is both an art and a science. It is an art in the sense that it requires on the part of the investigator to possess some skills which bring the informant closure to him/her. Collecting data requires scientific approach to language in which the investigator might have some previous hypothesis about the general structure of a language and using this as a guide, he tries to delve into deep into the area of his investigation.

When we decided to work on Pnar, we had no idea about the structure of the language or of its society which differ to a great extent both linguistically and socially from the mainland or any other part of India. So the first thing was to get ourselves acquainted with the structure of both the language and the society. Staying in our university campus in New Delhi, we managed to get one informant who despite being busy during his own classes and several educational hurdles of a student pursuing higher studies, gave us time to get us started towards the Pnar system with the Basic Word List. Later we managed to get four informants from the native place. The Basic Sentence List was taken from them that gave us general idea about the structure of the language. We reached to the peak of our investigation procedure when we arrived at Shillong and stayed there for a week. We went to Jowai, the native place of the Pnar speakers and also interviewed people from Jowai who were staying in Shillong for some purpose or were settled in there. With the help from many people, from our 'Gurubhai' Awadhesh Mishra to his students, colleagues and ex-JNUites, we went inside the Pnar homes and hearth.

Our interviewing method was the Bilingual one, the medium being English. The Jaintias are mostly bilinguals in Khasi, the prominent language of the area. English is the language of the educated people. Most of the people we interviewed were the educated ones or the students pursuing higher studies. This situation reflects in the background of the informants we interviewed. Besides, it must be pointed out that the disadvantages of using the bilingual method, especially using English, might have cropped in the data collected. It was not always easy to find informant who could be good at English to understand the exact sense of the question and give the exact value in Pnar or explain how it could be expressed or not expressed in the language. This made us have some choice over the informant's grammatical judgment in English. The diversity or variation has reflected in the answer to the questions asked from different people.

The time constraint has always been a factor that tried to discourage me to take deeper plunge in the language. Especially, when being an outgoing student of M.A. in the fourth semester and the burden of different other courses have affected my job in this course.

Characteristic Features of Pnar

Despite being surrounded by several other families of language, the Mon-Khmer languages have maintained their distinctive features. Pnar is one such language which seem to have retained more-features of its proto-form than any other Mon-Khmer languages of India. (One of my informants (Ronald) said as against the common view found the area that Khasi is a dialect of Pnar and not the vice versa for the latter's society is more traditional and conservative in its ways and manners. The Khasi have changed with time and are more susceptible to societal change which might imply linguistic change as well.) Pnar does not have any written literature and the people here use the scanty literature available in Khasi or given a chance, switch to English. Khasi is the state sponsored language and the medium of instruction at school level. Despite the original difference from the surrounding language families of Tibeto-Burman and the Indo-Aryan, it has amplified its resources with borrowings from Bengali, Hindi, English and obviously from its sister language Khasi. Having virtually no literature, Pnar does not have any script also and if need arises, they use a modified version of the Roman script.

At the phonological level, Pnar has 12 vowels and 26 consonants. Besides it also gives ample variety of diphthongs. There is a distinction of tense and lax in the monophthongs. There is a four-way distinction of nasal consonants at bilabial, dental, velar and palatal. These consonants occur at all the positions in a word. Final consonants are unreleased. The phenomenon of lamino dental is found in Pnar as well. The aspiration of plosives is found in cases. All the obstruents are voiced except the velar plosive /k/.

Pnar shows the characteristic of agglutinating language. The words with two distinct syllables often gets merged into compounds which are endocentric or syntactic.

The nouns as well as pronouns are preceded by /u-/ or /ka-/ or /ki/ which suggest their specificity in terms of number and gender. The case markers precede the noun phrase. The /wa/ is multifunctional in the sense that it is used before in many other senses e.g. participializer, coordinator, complementizer etc. The inflections and derivations are both prefixed and inflection is preceded by derivation.

The main verb in the verbal phrase never undergoes any morphological change in its phonetic form. The tense aspect or mood markers precede the main verb. The non- finite verb forms are preceded by their specific prefixes of /wa/ or /u/. The adverbial participle found in the neighbouring Tibet-Burman languages does not occur in Pnar.

At the syntactic level, Pnar follows the SVO order. The variations that occur are marked for a semantic change e.g. for topicalization or focus etc. All the variations that occur are harmonic.

A summary of Word-Order Features in Pnar

1 Basic Word Order	SVO
2 Adposition	Preposition
3 Noun Relative/ Relative Noun	Noun Relative
4 Noun Adjective / Adjective Noun	Noun Adjective
5 Noun Genitive / Genitive Noun	Noun Genitive
6 Noun Demonstrative / Demonstrative Noun	Demonstrative Noun
7 Noun Numeral / Numeral Noun	Numeral Noun
8 Auxiliary Verb / Verb Auxiliary	Auxiliary Verb
9 Main Verb Subordinate Verb /Sub Verb Main Verb	MV SV
10 Adjective Adverb / Adverb Adjective	Adj. Adv
11 Order of Adj., Marker, Standard in Comparative	Marker Adjective Standard
12 Yes/No question particle	Initial
13 Wh-Word Question	First
14 Common Noun Proper Noun/ PN CN	CN PN
15 Prefixing / Suffixing	Prefixing
16 Order in Derivation –Inflection on Noun	Inflection-Derivation

Chapter 4

Defining Basic Word Order in Pnar

By Basic Word is meant the order of subject, verb and object in a simple declarative sentence containing a verb e.g. an action and its doer, the subject. The element that gets affected by the action is called the object. By subject is generally meant a noun (i.e. the name of a person or an animal or thing). Object is also noun.

To define the BWO in Pnar, let's take a model simple declarative sentence:-

U-10 ka -mæri da -bam-kɔ ya -u -ruti
 FSG-mary PERF -eat-AGRS ACC-MSG-bread
 Mary ate the bread.

REMARKS ACTIVE IN MONOTRANSITIVE

On the basis of this sentence, one can say that BWO is SVO. This is true of most of the sentence types. Variations may occur if the subject is a pronominal element e.g.

U-8.a e -kɔ ka -kɔt ya -u -jon
 give-AGRS FSG-book ACC-MSG-john
 She gave the book to John

REMARKS PRONOMINAL SUBJECT IN DITRANSITIVE VERB

The pronominal subject-dropping phenomenon here is optional as the following sentence with the pronominal subject will not be ungrammatical-

ka -e -kɔ ka-kɔt ya u-john
FSG-give-AGRS FSG-book ACC-MSG-john
She gave the book to john.

The word order is the same in the copular constructions also-

U-1.a ka-kari (yoŋ) u -jon toʔ ka -wa -miat
 give-AGRS FSG-book ACC-MSG-john COP FSGCLT-ADJL-good
 John's car is good.

REMARKS GENITIVE COPULA CONSTRUCTION

Variations in simple declarative sentences are marked for topic and focus. Thus,

U-6 ka -kɔt la -e ya -u -jon da -ka -mæri
 FSG-book PASSIVIZER-give ACC-MSG-john by-FSG-mary
 Book was given to John by Mary.

REMARKS PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION

U-9 u -ruʔi la -bam da -ka -mæri

MSG-breat PASSIVIZER -eat AGEN –FSG-mary
The bread was eaten by Mary.

REMARKS MONOTRANSITIVE PASSIVIZED

For more on variations see section on variation

4.1

Word-Order in Some Syntactic Categories

Noun Phrase

A noun-phrase is an element having at least a noun which can be modified by some other elements e.g. adjective, determiner, pronominal adjective etc. Pnar is modifier –modified language. Thus, the modifiers in a noun phrase precede the noun. Noun in Pnar has the agreement marker of number, gender and person attached to it. All these three agreements are denoted by same morphemes. These morphemes are three in number.

/u-/ =3MSG
/ka-/ =3FSG
/ki-/ =3PL

Thus, a noun phrase will always have this marker preceding it as
CDM

u-sapeŋ
MSG-mango
A mango

Order of Different types of modifier in the NP demonstrative Noun

CDM

ka-tu ka –kɔt
FSG-DDEM FSG-book
That book

Here it is remarkable to say that the demonstratives and some other pronouns as well (e.g. the ‘WH’- Question words etc.) are also marked with the gender specifiers of /u-/, /ka-/ in the singular while there is no gender distinction in the plural.

Numeral-Noun

Cardinal numerals coming before a noun gets a numeral classifier /tɪli/ e.g.

MQ-8 ki-lɛ -tɪlli ki -kɔt
 PL-three-NHCL PL-book
 Three books

The Ordinal

The order of ordinal in NP is different from the cardinal order. The ordinal is found morphologically by adding the adjectivalizer /wa-/ before the number e.g.

MQ –16 ka-kamra wa-lɛ
 FSG-room ADJL-three
 The third room

Noun Attributive Adjective

The attributive adjective also follows the noun with the adjectivalizer /wa-/.

CDM-1 ka-snam wa so
 FSG-blood ADJL red
 Red blood
REMARKS ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE

BSL-XII-3 u-bnai wa laŋdɔŋ
 3MSG-moon ADJL round
 ‘Round moon.’
 Remarks

Genitive Noun

The genitive precedes the governing noun.

MQ13

MQ 13. A/B ka -kɔt yɔŋ ka
 FSG -book GEN 3FSG
 Her book
REMARKS THE ORDER OF GENETIVE -PRONOUN

The genitive marker /yɔŋ/ is optional if its governor is a noun.

U-1 ka-kari (yɔŋ) u-jon
 FSG-car (GEN) MSG-john
 John’s car.

MQ 12-B ka-kɔt ka -fɪla

FSG-book FSG-Shila
 Shila's book

In the NPs above the 'book' and the 'car' are the governing head nouns and the governor of the genitive /yoŋ/ is the noun coming after it.

Noun Adjective Intensifier

The intensifier follows the Adjective in the NP.

MQ-18-A ka-sula wa -so -b^ha
 FSG-shirt ADJL-red-INTENS

Noun Relative

The relative pronoun follows its antecedent e.g.

MQ-5. A u -ajoy ʈoʔ u -bru u -wa - ya - u -so -apəl
 bam
 MSG - BE MSG - AGRS - RP ACC - MSG -
 Ajoy man -eat fruit -apple
 Ajoy is the person who ate the apple.

REMARKS RELATIVIZATION CHECK

The Order of Maximal Number of Modifiers within the NP

Noun can have maximally two modifiers preceding it, these two being the demonstratives and the numerals (cardinal). All other modifiers in the NP follow the head noun. If the following modifiers are physical attributes, adjectives and relative, they occur in the same order.

P-1 ki-tu ki - ki- ki - wei yəŋ c^haŋ man^hpəŋ ɪnnin
 lɛ- ksau wa - joʔ ki-ŋa da yao ki
 ʈitli hɛʔ
 FSG- PL- PL- PL- and black bark- always- yesterday
 PDEM three- dog ADJL- always AGRS- PERF-die-
 NHCL big SGCLT AGRS
 Those three big black dogs that are always barking at me died yesterday.

REMARKS ORDER OF DEM, NUMERAL, NOUN, ATTRIBUTIVES, PARTICIPLE

Here we find that when two modifiers follow, they are coordinated with /wei/. With this, we can also say that the maximal number of modifying elements in a simple NP can be said to consisting of two preceding modifiers and one following modifier.

The Verb Phrase

The verb in sentence agrees with subject in number, person and gender. This seems to be an obligatory element in the VP e.g.

u -pitar daŋ -thia? -u
MSG-peter PROG-sleep-AGRS
Peter is sleeping.
(Courtesy: Anish)

In sentences with a transitive verb, the object may get incorporated in the VP and the subject agreement comes after the object.

MQ-1. B u-ajoy Ba sɔ-apəl-u
m
MSG-ajoy Eat fruit- apple- AGRS
Ajoy ate an apple.
REMARKS BASIC WORD ORDER

MQ-4. C u-ajoy da-ijŋ deŋ -u da -ka sɔdai
MSG -ajoy PERF – tree -AGRS INSTR –FSG -axe
cut
Ajoy cut the trees with an axe.
REMARKS ADPOSITIONAL CHECK

The agreement markers in the VP provide a device with which the pronominal subject can be dropped. The pronominal subject is understood with the agreement markers.

MQ-14. A kura -u ŋa ha -ŋap
hit –MSGCLT SG LOC -face
He hit me at my face.
REMARKS NO PRONINAL POSSESSIVE MORPHEME

When the subject is conjoined nouns, the verb takes the plural agreement marker of /ki-/.

Aspect

Par has four morphemes showing aspects. These are:

/da/ =PAST
/deŋ/ =PERF
/daŋ/ =PROGRESSIVE
/dau/ =FUT

The aspect markers precede the main verb.

MQ-2. A u-ajoy daŋ-bam sɔ- apəl-u
 MSG- ajoy PROG- eat fruit- apple- AGRS
 Ajoy is eating an apple.
REMARKS BASIC WORD ORDER

Adverbs

Adverbs follow the verb they modify. If intensifiers occur they also follow it.

19. C lai -u slem -b^ha
 go –AGRS slowly –INTENS
 He is walking very slowly.
REMARKS THE ORDER OF VERB ADVERB- INTENSIFIER

The copula /toʔ/

The copula /toʔ/ in Pnar does not take any agreement marker nor does it occur with any main verb (as in English ‘is eating’).

BSL-VI-12 u-kɔmbo toʔ u-wa ɛmsalɔn
 MSG-child COP OCLT-ADJL innocent
 The child is innocent
REMARKS ADJECTIVE

BSL-VI-11 u-kɔnbo wa ɛmsalɔn
 MSG-child ADJL innocent
 The innocent child
REMARKS ADJECTIVE

The Prepositional Phrase

Pnar being a prepositional language, it takes its case markings before the NP.

MQ-3. A	u-ajoy	daŋ -wan -u	na -filoŋ						
	MSG- ajoy	PROG –come -AGRS	ABL –Shillong						
	Ajoy returned from Shillong.								
REMARKS	ADPOSITIONAL CHECK								

Chapter 5

Order of Elements in Different Clauses

5.1 Interrogation

5.1.1 Question

The 'wh'-word occur sentence initially in both the copular and finite verb question constructions:

BSL-VI-1 i-ye i-prtuit p^{hi}
what ECL-name SG
What is your name?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

BSL-VI-2

2 haiwan sa? p^{hi}/me/p^{ho}
where stay SG
Where do you stay?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

5.1.2 Yes-No-Question

Two types of constructions are found. Question without showing any modality can be expressed with a rising intonation e.g.

MQ-23. B me to? hi u -ajoy
2MSG COP --?- MSGCLT -ajoy
Are you Ajoy.

REMARKS YES-NO QUESTION

or the verb or copula can be put sentence initially.

MQ-23. A/C to? hi -me u -ajoy
COP 2MSG MSGCLT -Ajoy
Are you Ajoy.

REMARKS YES-NO QUESTION

BSL-VI-8

BSL-VI-8 dadep bam p^{hi}
COMPL eat SG
Have you eaten?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

Ajoy man -eat fruit -apple
 Ajoy is the person who ate the apple.

REMARKS RELATIVIZATION CHECK

5.4 Conditional

The order of clauses in conditional constructions is that in which the causal clause precedes the effect clause. The conditional morpheme occurs clause initially.

BSL-IV-1 lada im e p^{hi} yaŋ-a ki- bam^hiyəŋ dau yam-ə
 if NEG give SG give-AGRS PL-sweet FUT cry-AGRS
 If you do not give me the sweets, I will cry

REMARKS CONDITIONAL AND COORDINATION

5.5 Coordination

The /wa/ particle again functions as the coordinator between two nouns e.g.

BSL-IV-6 u-ram wa ka-sita waro? ar-ŋut dalai lipait
 MSG-ram CONJ FSG-sita all two-HCL both cinema
 Ram and Sita both went to watch the movie

REMARKS CONDITIONAL AND COORDINATION

The coordination between two verbs is shown with the particle /wei/

BSL-IV-7 ki-k^hinna? da bam weidi-ki da ka-um wa dait^ha?
 PL-child PERF eat drank-AGRS PERF FSG-water RP cold
 Children ate and drank cold water

REMARKS CONDITIONAL AND COORDINATION

The /wa/ particle being multifunctional, here in conditional also it shows a peculiarity. Usually, two coordinators should not occur simultaneously for this may arise in some ungrammaticality in many of the languages (e.g. in Hindi or in English ‘lekin’ and ‘aur’ or ‘but’ and ‘and’ cannot occur at the same time side by side to each other). But in Pnar, the /wa/ coordinator can occur after some other coordinator like /u-taŋ/ ‘but’ as in

BSL-IV-9 u-suhail dau yarəp-u taŋwa ka-reshma te ham yoluti
 MSG-suhail FUT help-AGRS but FSG-reshma then NEG expect
 Suhail will help, but not Reshma

REMARKS CONDITIONAL AND COORDINATION

NOTE: This might not well be a good example. There is a possibility of some more research whether the /wa/ particle can be taken as an actual coordinator or something else. Given the multifunctionality of /wa/, the case becomes even more complex the solution of which might give more, clearer clues to the structure of the language.

5.6 Imperative

Nothing is peculiar about the imperative construction. The main verb, i.e. its finite form, comes initially because the subject is understood, no explicit referential pronoun or its agreement marker (e.g. clitic) is to be seen.

BSL-III-1

1 psiaʔ c^hapəʔ
Com in
e
'Come in.'

BSL-III-2

2 ham psiaʔ c^hapəʔ
PRO.NEG come in
'Don't come in.'

5.7 Participialization

The participialization is also done with the same /wa/ particle occurring before the verb.

BSL-VII-7

7 u-k^hanna wa k^hairi da yap-u
MSG-child RP fever PERF die-AGRS
The fevered boy died

BSL-VII-9

9 k^hut u-tu u-k^hanna wa di c^ha
call MSG-DDEM MSG-child ADJL drink tea
Call the tea-drinker boy

5.8. Causative

The causative verbs are formed morphologically with the causative morpheme /pɪn/ or /tɪn/

BSL-VIII-5

5 ka-sila da p^haʔ pɪn-k^hai kə ka-sita ha u-ram
3FSG- PERF CAUS CAUS- 3FSGCL 3FSG- INSTR 3MSG-
sheela wake sita ram
'Shila asked Ram to make Sita rise'

BSL-VIII-9

9 ka-payu pɪn-t^hiaʔ kə ya u-payu wa k^hɪan
3FSG-sibling CAUS-sleep 3FSGCL ACC 3MSG-sibling ADJL little
'The sister is making the little brother sleep'

5.9 Passives

In passive constructions the logical object takes place of the logical subject.

U-9

9 u -ruṭi la -bam da -ka -mæri
 MSG-breat PASSIVIZER -eat AGEN -FSG-mary
 The bread was eaten by Mary.

REMARKS MONOTRANSITIVE PASSIVIZED

The object taking the place of subject in passives may retain its accusative case marking.

BSL-VIII-8

8 ki-deṅ dadəp c^haʔ aʔ ki
 3PL-tree COMPL PASS cut 3PLCL
 ‘Trees were cut’

5.10 TOPICALIZATION AND FOCUS

See discussion on word –order variation

5.11 Comparative / Contrastive

See the discussion of Greenberg’s Universal 22.

Chapter 6

Word-Order Variation

There is no language in which variation in the BWO does not occur. The variations in Pnar BWO occur in interrogatives, relativization and obviously the variations occurring due to the phenomenon of the topicalization and focusing on a particular element/constituent in the sentence. Variation in interrogative and relativizational construction has already been shown in the previous chapter. Here a brief introduction of the variation due to topicalization and focus is given.

6.1 Topicalization and Focus

To emphasize on a particular constituent of a sentence, the copular form /toʔ/ is used which comes sentence initially in both the active and the passive constructions.

U-11

11 toʔ u -ruʔI Ba -ka -mæri ha -bam-kə
 COP MSG-bread AGEN-FSG-mary LOC-eat-AGRS
 It was the bread (nothing else) that was eaten by mary.

REMARKS OBJECT IN MONOTRANSITIVE TOPICALIZED

Any constituent, be it the subject NP or an object NP, can be topicalized in both the active and passive constructions in the same way i.e. initializing the copula /toʔ/. This has been exemplified in the data the model sentences taken from Lockwood (abbreviated to L in the appendix).

Focus is shown with the ‘wh’-word coming sentence initially and the focused constituent coming sentence finally. These variations in the BWO are harmonic and to some extent similar to the constructions found in English. The data collected on topic and focus are revealing. However, in these variations, intonation must play a role or some sort of suprasegmental distinction must be there to compensate to compensate for the variation.

Chapter 7

Discussing Word-Order in Pnar with Respect to Greenberg's Universals

Greenberg's 1963 article is the first milestone from where linguistic research in typology of various languages starts. The goal of any linguistic research is to arrive at what has been called by the typologists as the language universals. The language universals are the features said to be common to all human languages of the world. The typologists believe that all the languages have some particular linguistic categories and that they are arranged in some defined ways. It is this arrangement of constituents that are relevant to word order.

Greenberg proposed some language universals 'with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements'. His universal gave a boost to the typological research in various languages. In this section of my dissertation, I am concentrating on both the statistical and non-statistical universals proposed by Greenberg. While checking the implications of the universals with respect to the structure of Pnar, I have also gone deep through some topics.

Greenberg's proposed universals are 45 in number. Not all of them are meant for the SVO language. I will concentrate on those universals that are applicable to SVO and prepositional languages for Pnar is of the SVO and prepositional type.

Univ. 1: *In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object.*

It has already been established from the previous chapters that Pnar is an AVO language and the subject precedes the object unless the sentence is not of the passive construction or topicalised or focused etc.

Univ. 2: *In languages with prepositions, the genitive almost always follows the governing noun, while in languages with postpositions it almost always precedes.*

That Pnar is prepositional language is proved by
MQ-7-A

7. A ka-kot¹ roŋ so em kə hajroŋ meit¹
 FSG- color red HAVE AGRS LOC table
 book

The red book is on the table.

REMARKS **THE ORDER OF NOUN-ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE**

Here in the NP ‘on the table’, the noun takes the locative case as the preposition. To check the genitive occurrence.

MQ-12-A

12. A ki -kot yonj ka -jila em -ki hajronj meit
 PL –book GEN FSG -shila HAVE -PLCLT LOC table
 Shila’s books are on the table.

REMARKS **THE ORDER OF GENETIVE -NOUN**

Here the genitive occurs after the governing noun ‘book’ of the NP ‘Shila’s book’, validating the implication of the universal.

Univ. 8: *When a Yes-No Question is differentiated from the corresponding assertion by an intonational pattern, the distinctive intonational feature of each of these patterns is reckoned from the end of the sentence rather than the beginning.*

It has been already noted that Yes-No-Questions can be expressed without any movement of copula and using the rising intonation which is what is said by the universal.

Univ. 9: *With well more than chance frequency, when question particles or affixes are specified in position by reference to the sentence as a whole, if initial, such elements are found in prepositional languages and, if final, in postpositional.*

Given that Pnar is a postpositional language, to check the validity of this universal, look at the following question sentences-

MQ-23. D to? mi u -ajoy
 COP 2MSGCLT MSGCLT -ajoy
 Are you Ajoy.

REMARKS **YES-NO QUESTION**

MQ-24. B ye hi -mi u -e kulom ya -nja
 ABIL -?---2SGM MSGCLT -give -pen ACC –SG
 Can you give me a pen?

REMARKS **YES-NO QUESTION (MODULAR)**

MQ-25. A mɛnnu u -em tes
 when MSGCLT -COP test
 When is the test?

REMARKS **WH-INTERROGATIVE (COPULAR)**

26. A u -yi u -kɛnrat
 MSG -who MSGCLT -master
 Who is the master?

REMARKS **WH-INTERROGATIVE**

As the nominal object in Pnar does not always precede the verb, the prediction should be right here, which is the case as is shown in the following examples-

BSL-XVI-2 u-ye wən kwaʔ u-bam b^ha
 who NEG want DVM-eat GOOD
 ‘Who does not like to eat well?’

Remarks

Univ. 16: *In languages with dominant word order VSO, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb.*

Pnar does not have any inflected auxiliary verb form preceding the main verb. At most in negative constructions, the copula /em/ ‘HAVE’ can occur before the main verb. In such cases, the negative marker is added with the copula /em/ and not the main verb.

Univ. 19: *When the general rule is that the descriptive adjective follows, there may be minority of adjectives which usually precedes but when the general rule is that the descriptive precede, there are no exceptions.*

In Pnar, the descriptive adjective in and NP always follows the governing noun e.g.

CDM-1 ka-snam wa so
 FSG-blood ADJL red
 Red blood
REMARKS ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE

CDM-8 u -tɛ u -bru wa -lɛʔ
 MSG-DDEM MSG-man ADJL-white
 He is white man.
REMARKS COPULAR CONSTRUCTION

But some of the adjectives also precede, e.g.

CDM-2 zroŋ tɪlɛ^h
 long rope
 Long rope
REMARKS ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE

The case of adjective preceding the noun is very few and depend on individuals. Some of them might bring it to the position after the noun as well. This means that the general order is that in which descriptive adjective follows the noun and not precedes.

There are other adjectives which precede the governing noun e.g. the demonstrative adjective, numerals, indefinites etc.

CDM-6 waroʔ ki -c^hinraŋ wa - lreʔ
 all PL-man ADJL-white
 All the white man.

REMARKS INDEFINITE IN NP

CDM-7 so -ŋut ki -c^hinraŋ wa -lreʔ
 four -HCL PL-man ADJL-white
 All the four white man

REMARKS INDEFINITE NUMERAL NOUN ADJECTIVE

P-1 ki-tu ki -lɛ-tɪŋli ki-ksau ki -wa -hɛʔ wei yɔŋ joʔ
 FSG-PDEM PL-three- PL-dog PL-ADJL-big and black always
 NHCL
 Those three big black dogs that are always barking at me died yesterday.

REMARKS ORDER OF DEM, NUMERAL, NOUN, ATTRIBUTIVES, PARTICIPLE

With these examples, the universal law of Greenberg stands correct in prediction.

Univ. 20: When any or all of the items –demonstratives, numeral and descriptive adjective- precede the noun they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite.

With previous example of P-1, this prediction is nullified.

Univ. 21: *If some or all adverbs follow the adjective they modify, then the language is one in which the qualifying adjective follows the noun and the verb precedes its nominal object as the dominant order.*

Take for example the adverbial adjective and verb phrases-

MQ-18. A/C ka -ni toʔ ka -sula wa -so -b^ha
 MSG -PDEM BE FSG -shirt ADJL -red- INTENS
 This is a very red shirt.

REMARKS NOUN-ADJECTIVE-INTENSIFIER

MQ-19. C lai -u slem -b^ha
 go -AGRS slowly -INTENS
 He is walking very slowly.

REMARKS THE ORDER OF VERB ADVERB- INTENSIFIER

Here we see that the condition in universal 21 is met as the adverbs follow the adjective (or verb or another adverb) they modify or intensify. The prediction made also sounds right as has already been established in previous universals and elsewhere.

Univ. 22: *If in comparisons of superiority the only order or one of the alternative orders is standard-marker-adjective, then the language is postpositional. With overwhelmingly more than chance frequency, if the only order is adjective-marker-standard the language is prepositional.*

The order of adjective, marker and standard in comparative constructions can be established with this example-

MQ-20. A/D u -ajoy rap -jronj -u ya -ka -fila
 MSG -ajoy DGM –tall -AGRS ACC –FSG -shila
 Ajoy is taller than Shila.

REMARKS COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTION

BSL-X-1 ka-um ha waʔ rap k^hoid-kə ban ya ka-um ha puŋ
 FSG- LOC river CM clean- than ACC FSG- LOC lake
 water AGRS water
 River water is cleaner than lake water

REMARKS COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTION

A Doubt: A Case of double comparative marker?

There are other versions of MQ-20 as well taken from different speakers-

MQ-20. B u -ajoy rap -jronj -u ban -ya -ka -fila
 MSG -ajoy DGM –tall -AGRS CM -ACC –FSG -shila
 Ajoy is taller than Shila.

REMARKS COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTION

MQ-20. C u -ajoy jronj -u ban -ya -ka -fila
 MSG -ajoy tall -AGRS CM -ACC –FSG -shila
 Ajoy is taller than Shila.

REMARKS COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTION

From, these, it is evident that none of Greenberg’s proposed two orders of Adjective, marker and standard is followed here. Commenting on Greenberg’s universal 22, Anderson (1981) proposed three other alternatives by which comparison can be done- (i) Case construction (ii) Prepositions and (iii) Particle Construction. He proposed two other orders-1) adjective –standard-case, and 2) standard-case-adjective. While the latter order is followed in SOV languages like Hindi, none of the two orders is followed in Pnar.

Looking back at the three variations in MQ-20, what might be called a case of double comparative marker in which the first marker /rap/ occurs before the adjective and the second after the adjective and before the standard (NP with the accusative case marker). We also notice that each of the two markers are optional but we can have both in the same construction and in any case, at least one of them has to be there.

Univ. 23: If in apposition, the proper noun usually precedes the common noun, hence the language is one in which the governing noun precedes the dependent genitive. With well much better than chance frequency, if the common noun usually precedes the proper noun, the dependent genitive precedes its governing noun.

In the subject NP of the sentence MQ-12-A

MQ-12. A ki -kot yon ka -jila em -ki hajron meit
 PL -book GEN FSG -shila HAVE -PLCLT LOC table
 Shila's books are on the table.

REMARKS THE ORDER OF GENITIVE -NOUN

the common noun precedes the proper noun and the genitive /yon/ precedes its governing noun Shila. This validates the predicted universal.

Univ. 24: If the relative expression precedes the noun either as only construction or as an alternative construction, either the language is postpositional or the adjective precedes the noun or both.

As has been seen in MQ-5, the relative expression in Pnar follows the noun.

Univ. 25: *If the pronominal object follows the verb, so does the nominal object.*

In MQ-14, we have pronominal objects coming after the verb. The prediction is correct with MQ-15 where a noun 'mango' is the object.

Univ. 27: *If a language is exclusively suffixing, it is postpositional. If it is exclusively prefixing it is prepositional.*

Pnar is a prefixing language. This can be proved with the following illustration-

1 yap
 die

2 tɪn -yap

	CAUS-die
	kill
3	noŋ -tɪn -yap
	AGEN-CAUS-die
	killer
4	noŋ -chaʔ -tɪn-yap
	AGEN-PASS-CAUS-die
	the killed

Univ. 28: *If both the derivation and inflection follow the root or they both precede the root, the derivation is always between the root and the inflection.*

Univ. 29: *If a language has inflection, it always has derivation.*

Inflection follows the root e.g.

ki-k^hɪnnaʔ
 PL-child
 children

The derivation also precedes the root:

ki-noŋ-hikai
 PL-AGEN-teach
 teachers

Both of the universals are violated thus.

Univ. 30: *If the verb has categories of person, number or if it has categories of gender, it always has the tense- mode categories.*

The verb in Pnar does not have the agreement of number, person and gender. This is denoted by the subject clitic, e.g. in CDM- 10 and MQ- 19. This means that the verb agrees with subject in number, person and gender. The prediction about the existence of tense – mode category in the verb stands right with BSL-I-1 etc.

Univ. 31: *If either the subject or object or object noun agrees with the verb in gender, then the adjective always agrees with the noun in gender.*

It is established that the verb agrees with the subject in number, person and gender. The adjective also agrees with noun in gender as in A-5 and many other such examples. But this agreement is sometimes optional, may be in the informal speech.

Univ. 32: *Whenever the verb agrees with a nominal subject or nominal object in gender, it also agrees in number.*

As was seen in Univ. 30 discussion, the subject agrees with the verb in gender, number and person which all are incorporated in the same morpheme.

Univ. 33: *When number agreement between the noun and the verb is suspended and the rule is based on order, the case is always one in which the verb is in the singular.*

This universal is not good to be tested on Pnar as here all the three agreements are incorporated in just one morpheme. If one agreement is suspended, all others are suspended automatically. When the suspension of agreement between the noun (i.e. the subject) and verb occurs, it is noticed that the agreement comes after the object i.e. the object is also incorporated within the subject agreement as in MQ-13-A and B. There is no agreement for number in Pnar. That is why the prediction made here does not apply to it. In MQ-10-B the verb takes the third person plural marker /ki-/ which agrees with the plural subject (noun).

Univ. 34: *No language has a trial number unless it has a dual. No language has a dual unless it has a plural.*

Univ. 35: There is no language in which the plural does not have some non-zero allomorphs, whereas there are languages in which the singular is expressed only by zero. The dual and the trial are almost never expressed by only zero.

Pnar has a plural marker /ki-/. There is no distinction of dual and trial numbers. Thus Pnar does not go against universal 34.

In Pnar, the singular is expressed by /u-/ and /ka-/. Plural does not have a non-zero allomorph e.g.

	Singular	Plural
man	u-bru	ki-bru
woman	ka-bru	ki-bru

The Number System In Pnar

The clitic for each of the nominative pronouns are given after the nominative form.

PERSON	NUMBER	GENDER	NOMINATIVE FORM	AGREEMENT MARKER OR CLITIC
1	Singular	M/F	ŋa	ɔ /ŋa
1	Plural	M/F	i	i
2	Singular	M	me	mi
2	Singular	F	p ^h a	p ^h i/p ^h ɔ

2	Plural	M/F	p ^h i	p ^h i
3	Singular	M/F	u	u
3	Singular	F	ka	ka
3	Plural	M/F	ki	ki

The Pronominal Paradigm In Pnar

Univ. 36: If a language has the category of gender, it always has the category of number.

In Pnar the gender and the number categories are expressed through the same morpheme.

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	u-	ki-
Feminine	ka-	ki-

Univ. 37: A language never has more gender categories in non-singular numbers than in the singular.

Pnar has dual gender categories in singular namely masculine and feminine. Gender distinction in plural is merged that is there is no gender distinction in plural. (see the chart above).

Univ. 39: Where morphemes of both number and case are present and both follow or both precede the noun base, the expression of number almost always comes between the noun base and the expression of case.

The prediction made in this universal stands right with MQ-4-D.

MQ-4. D ajoy aʔ-u ya-u-dejn da-u- sđai
 ajoy cut-AGRS ACC-MSG-tree by-MSG-axe
 Ajoy cut the trees with an axe.

REMARKS ADPOSITIONAL CHECK

Univ. 40: When the adjective follows the noun, the adjective expresses all the inflectional categories of the noun. In such cases, the noun may lack overt expression of one or all of these categories.

With the previous example of P-1 for ‘those three big black dogs’, we find that the adjective occurring after the noun though take the inflection plural marker of the noun, the noun does not drop its own inflection. Thus the implication does not hold true here.

Univ. 42: *All languages have pronominal categories involving at least three person and two numbers.*

Univ. 43: *If a language has gender categories in noun, it has gender categories in pronoun.*

With the chart of the pronominal paradigm given above, it is clear that universal 42 stands right in its exact sense.

Pnar has two gender distinction in pronouns and the same number of gender distinction in nouns. But there is a morpheme /i-/, that might be a viable candidate for the neutral gender. For this a further research is needed as no conclusion as yet has been arrived at.

Univ. 44: *If a language has gender distinctions in the first person, it always has gender distinctions in the second or third person or in both.*

Univ. 45: *If there are any gender distinctions in the plural of the pronouns, there are some gender distinctions in the singular also.*

In the same chart of pronominal paradigm above, we find that there is no gender distinction in the first person and in the plural. The gender distinctions are found only in the third and second person singular pronouns.

Appendix MQ

The Main Questionnaire

Informant A: Eklis

Informant B: Rebeca Slang

Informant C: Rida Hun

Informant D: M. Sullai

1. A u –ajoy da -dep – sɔ -apəl -u
 bam
MSG -ajoy COMPL –eat fruit –apple -AGRS
Ajoy ate an apple.

REMARKS **BASIC WORD ORDER**

1. B u-ajoy bam sɔ-apəl-u
MSG- ajoy eat Fruit- apple-
 AGRS
Ajoy ate an apple.

REMARKS **BASIC WORD ORDER**

2. A u-ajoy daŋ-bam sɔ- apəl-u
MSG- ajoy PROG- eat fruit- apple- AGRS
Ajoy is eating an apple.

REMARKS **BASIC WORD ORDER**

3. A u-ajoy daŋ -wan –u na -filoŋ
MSG- ajoy PROG –come -AGRS ABL –Shillong
Ajoy returned from Shillong.

REMARKS

adpositional check

3. B u-ajoy da-wan –u na-filoŋ
MSG- ajoy PERF –come -AGRS ABL –Shillong
Ajoy returned from Shillong

REMARKS **ADPOSITIONAL CHECK**

4. B u-ajoy aʔ -deŋ -u dau sɔai
MSG –ajoy cut -tree -AGRS INSTR –axe
Ajoy cut the trees with an axe.

REMARKS **ADPOSITIONAL CHECK**

4. C u-ajoy da-ijŋ deŋ -u da -ka sɔ̌dai

MSG -ajoy PERF -cut tree -AGRS INSTR -FSG -axe
Ajoy cut the trees with an axe.

REMARKS ADPOSITIONAL CHECK

4. D ajoy aʔ-u ya-u-deijŋ da-u- sɔ̌dai
ajoy cut-AGRS ACC-MSG-tree by-MSG-axe
Ajoy cut the trees with an axe.

REMARKS ADPOSITIONAL CHECK

5. A u -ajoy tɔʔ u -bru u -wa – ya – u -sɔ̌ -apəl
bam
MSG – BE MSG – AGRS - RP acc – MSG –
Ajoy man -eat fruit -apple
Ajoy is the person who ate the apple.

REMARKS RELATIVIZATION CHECK

5. B u ajoy tɔʔ U bru wa bam sɔ̌ apəl
MSG - BE MSG man RP eat fruit apple
ajoy
Ajoy is the person who ate the apple.

REMARKS RELATIZATION CHECK

5. C u ajoy tɔʔ U bru u wa bam apəl
MSG ajoy BE MSG man MSGCLT RP eat apple
Ajoy is the person who ate the apple.

REMARKS RELATIZATION CHECK

5. D ajoy tɔʔ u Bru u wa bam sɔ̌ apəl
ajoy BE MSG Huma MSGCLT RP eat fruit apple
n
Ajoy is the person who ate the apple.

REMARKS RELATIZATION CHECK

6. A ajoy ɔŋ u wa kjuʔ^ŋ kɔ̌
Ajoy say MSGCLT RP sick AGRS
Ajoy said that she was sick.

REMARKS COPLEMENTARY CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

6. B ajoy ɔŋ u wa im c^haiʔ^ŋ kɔ̌
Ajoy say MSGCLT RP NEG healthy AGRS
Ajoy said that she was sick.

REMARKS COPLEMENTARY CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

Her book is on the table.

REMARKS THE ORDER OF GENETIVE -PRONOUN

14. A kura -u ηα ha -ηap
hit –MSGCLT SG LOC -face
He hit me at my face.

REMARKS NO PRONIAL POSSESSIVE MORPHEME

14. B kura -u ηα ha -k^hmat -u
hit –MSGCLT SG LOC –face -AGRS
He hit me at my face.

REMARKS NO PRONIAL POSSESSIVE MORPHEME

14. D kura -u ya ηα ha -k^hmat -u
hit –MSGCLT ACC SG LOC –face -AGRS
He hit me at my face.

REMARKS NO PRONIAL POSSESSIVE MORPHEME

15. A/B ka -ʃila aʔ tɪrsim -kɔ
FSG -shila cut nail -AGRS
Shila cut her nail.

REMARKS NO PRONIAL POSSESSIVE MORPHEME

15. C/D ka -ʃila aʔ -kɔ yei -tɪrsim -kɔ
FSG -shila cut -AGRS ACC -nail -AGRS
Shila cut her nail.

REMARKS NO PRONIAL POSSESSIVE MORPHEME

16. A i -kamra i -wa-lɛ yoŋ i -yuŋ lait -ki
ESG -room ESG –ADJL -three GEN ESG -house vacant -AGRS
The third room of the house is vacant.

REMARKS NOUN-ORDINAL- GENETIVE ORDER

16. B ka -kamra wa-lɛ yoŋ i -yuŋ suda -kɔ
FSG -room ADJL –three GEN ESG –house vacant -AGRS
The third room of the house is vacant.

REMARKS NOUN- ORDINAL – GENETIVE ORDER

16. C i -kamra wa -lɛ da -lait -ki
ESG -room adjl –three PERF –vacant -AGRS
The third room of the house is vacant.

REMARKS NOUN- ORDINAL ORDER

16. D ka -kamra ka -wa -lɛ ha -yuŋ da -lait -kɔ
FSG -room FSGCLT –ADJL – LOC - PERF –vacant -

- Can you give me a pen.
REMARKS YES-NO QUESTION (MODULAR)
25. A mɪnnu u -em tes
when MSGCLT – test
 COP
When is the test?
REMARKS WH-INTERROGATIVE (COPULAR)
25. B mɪnnu u -to? tes
when MSGCLT – test
 COP
When is the test?
REMARKS WH-INTERROGATIVE (COPULAR)
- 25.C mɪnnu to? ka -tes
when COP FSG –test
When is the test?
REMARKS WH-INTERROGATIVE
26. A u -yi u -kɪnrat
MSG -who MSGCLT –
 master
Who is the master?
REMARKS WH-INTERROGATIVE
26. B u -yi -ɔ wa -to? u -tre
MSG -who -AGRS RP -COP MSGCLT -master
Who is the master?
REMARKS WH-INTERROGATIVE (RELATIVIZED)
26. C u -yi to? u -tre
MSG -who COP MSGCLT -master
Who is the master?
REMARKS WH-INTERROGATIVE (COPULAR)
26. D u -yi u -tre
MSG -who MSGCLT –
 master
Who is the master?
REMARKS WH-INTERROGATIVE (COPULA DROPPED)

Appendix A

Sentences for Word-Order Check

English Sentences Courtesy Abbi, 2001

Informant I: Eklis

Informant II: Passah

1 (I) ka k^hana - ya - wa ka-tei ka- t_o ka -wa -
 k .ˈa parom ? sak^hiat_o
 FSG tell - ACC – COMP FSG - FSG – COP FSG –ADJL -
 AGRS sg DDEM story true

She told me that the story was true.

REMARKS INDIRECT SPEECH (COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE)

1 (II) ɔŋ -kə ya -.ˈa wa i- parom t_o ka -wa -
 ? sak^hiat_o
 tell -AGRS ACC –sg COMP ESG -story COP FSG –ADJL -true

She told me that the story was true.

REMARKS INDIRECT SPEECH (COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE)

2 (I) ŋam in -t̚in -ɔ wa dau -wan-nɛ im -wan -u c^ha - yoŋa
 yuŋ
 SG NEG – COMP FUT –come - NEG –come to - my
 know – encertain MSGCLT house
 AGRS

I do not know whether he will come to my house.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

2 (II) ɪm -tikna - wa dau -wan -mɔ ɪm -wan -u c^ha - yoŋa
 ɔ yuŋ
 NEG –sure - COMP FUT –come- neg –come – to - my
 AGRS uncertain MSGCLT house

I do not know whether he will come to my house.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

3 (I) ka - ka -yɔɪŋ - o -u -bru u -wa maya ya -ka –
 rani kə love mona
 FSG – FSG –hate - OCLT –MSG MSGCLT – love ACC –FSG -
 rani AGRS -man RP mona

Rani hated the man who loved Mona.

REMARKS RELATIVIZATION CONSTRUCTION

3 (II) rani yəʔəroi- kə ya-u-bru wa maya ya -ka-mona
 Rani hated - ACC –MSG – comp -love acc –FSG -
 AGRS man mona

Rani hated the man who loved Mona.

REMARKS RELATIVIZATION CONSTRUCTION

4 (I) man - ka -wa - ya -u - wəu -u - ya -ki - ki -
 kə suk ram pure kət wa rben
 BE - FSGCLT – ACC – to – ACC –PL PL –ADJL -
 AGRS RP -easy MSG - MSGCLT - -book thick
 ram read

It is easy for Ram to read fat books.

REMARKS INFINITIVE CONSTRUCTION

4 (II) u -ram rap -suk -u u -pure ya -ki -kət ki -wa -
 rben
 MSG – quite –easy – MSGCLT - ACC –PL - PL –ADJL -
 ram AGRS read book thick

It is easy for Ram to read fat books.

REMARKS INFINITIVE CONSTRUCTION

5 (I) ka -im -tə oʔ ka -kint^hai ka -wa -miat^ʔ k^hiʔlot^ʔ
 FSG NEG - FSG – FSG –ADJL –beauty young
 COP woman woman

She is not a beautiful girl.

REMARKS COPULA NEGATION

5 (II) im -tə oʔ ka -k^hinna ka -wa -miat^ʔ
 NEG -COP FSG- girl FSG – ADJL -beauty

She is not a beautiful girl.

REMARKS COPULA NEGATION

6 (I) ɪm -em deɪn^ʔ ha ka -ni ka -k^hlo
 NEG -COP tree LOC –FSG-PDEM –FSGCLT -jungle

There are no trees in this jungle.

REMARKS LOCATIVE – DEMONSTATIVE – NOUN ORDER

6 (II) ɪm -em deɪn^ʔ hei-ni i -k^hlo
 NEG -COP tree LOC PDEM ESG-jungle

There are no trees in this jungle.

15 (I)

waroʔ ki - im -em maya da ki -payu yoŋ -ki
 c^hinraŋ
 all PL -boy NEG- love AGEN PL -elder GEN -
 COP sister AGRS

Every boy is not loved by his sister.

REMARKS COPULAR CLAUSE PASSIVIZED NEGATED

15 (II)

waroʔ ki -dia - im -em u -maya ya -ki da -ki -payu -
 c^hinraŋ kint^hai
 all PL -younger NEG - MSG - ACC - AGEN -PL-elder
 boy COP love PL sister

Every boy is not loved by his sister.

REMARKS COPULAR CLAUSE PASSIVIZED NEGATED

16(I)

ŋa yosuk-ə ki-jait^ʔ film wum-em ya -c^hə
 SG like -AGRS PL -kind film NEG-COP ACC -violence

I like the film that has no violence.

REMARKS FINITE -COPULAR CLAUSE CONJUGATED

16 (II)

ŋa yosuk-ə ki-flim ka -wa im -em -jiŋ ya -um -snam
 SG like - PL - FSG- NEG -COP - acc -liquid-
 AGRS film COMP NOM blood

I like the film that has no violence.

REMARKS FINITE -COPULAR CLAUSE CONJUGATED

17 (I)

ka -kət dau c^him-biaŋ -ə ka
 FSG -book FUT -take -back -AGRS OCLT

Book, I will take back.

REMARKS ORDER OF OSV (OBJECT CLITIC DOES NOT MOVE ITS POSITION)

17 (II)

ka -kət c^him-noʔ -ə -ka
 FSG -book take -back -AGRS -FSGCLT

Book, I will take back.

REMARKS ORDER OF OSV (OBJECT CLITIC DOES NOT MOVE ITS POSITION)

18 (I)

ka -um ka -wa -koit^ʔ im-ju -k^hte-kə
 FSG -liquid FSG -ADJL -running NEG -ever-dirty-AGRS

Running water is never dirty.

REMARKS WA -PARTICLE AS PARTICIPILIZER

18 (II)

ka -um ka -wa -toid^ʔ im-joʔ - t̚ɲid^ʔ kə
 FSG -liquid FSG -ADJL -running NEG -ever-dirty-AGRS

Running water is never dirty.

REMARKS WA –PARTICLE AS PARTICIPILIZER

19 (I) u -bru u -wa -sapoŋ psiaʔ -u dei-bər c^hpəʔ yuŋ

MSG - MSG –RP – enter - by – inside
man turban AGRS force house

A man who was wearing a turban barged into my house last night

REMARKS RELATIVIZED CLAUSE SENTENCE MEDIAL

19 (II) u -bru u -wa -sapoŋ psuʔ⁷ -u hapoʔ yuŋ yoŋ-i innin

MSG - MSG –RP – enter - inside GEN –PL -
man turban AGRS house yesterday

A man who was wearing a turban barged into my house last night

REMARKS RELATIVIZED CLAUSE SENTENCE MEDIAL

20 (I) ŋa t^harai da -beid⁷ -u

SG think PERF –mad -AGRS
I think he is mad.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CONSTRUCTION WITHOUT WA

20 (II) ŋait -ə jan wa da beid -u
think -AGRS EMPH - COMP PERF mad –AGRS
I think he is mad.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CONSTRUCTION WITH WA

21 (I) oŋ -u ɪm -em ekjam -mentu
say -MSGCLT NEG -COP exam –today
He said that exams were not held today.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE NEGATED

21 (II) oŋ -u wa ɪm -em -u pɪn -man ekjam -mentu
say - NEG –COP – CAUS - exam –today
MSGCLT MSGCLT hold

He said that exams were not held today.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE NEGATED

22 (I) kuaʔ -ə u -kut⁷ ka-ikjam miŋtu
want -agrs MSGCLT -over FSG-exam today
I wanted the exams to be over today.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE WITHOUT WA

22 (II) kuaʔ -ə wa ka -iksam u -kut -kə miŋtu
want -agrs PCPL FSG-exam DVM-end-AGRS today

I wanted the exams to be over today.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE WITHOUT WA

23 (I) u -ravi yo-u ya-u-manoj kat wa-daŋ -kros - ya-ka-
u surok
MSG- see- acc –MSG- while COMP-PROG – acc-FSG-
ravi AGRS manoj cross-AGRS road
Ravi saw Manoj coming while he was crossing the road.

REMARKS AMBIGUITY IN ANTECEDENT IN TRIPLE CLAUS SENTENCE

23 (II) u - yo u -wa - ya-u- heipor wa-daŋ - c^ha-
ravi wan manoj kab -u c^hilyaŋ-
surok
MSG- see- MSGCLT- acc – while COMP- to-across-
ravi AGRS PCPL-come MSG- PROG – road
manoj walk-
AGRS
Ravi saw Manoj coming while he was crossing the road.

REMARKS AMBIGUITY IN ANTECEDENT IN TRIPLE CLAUS SENTENCE

24 (I) u sŋau p^hiŋla - iŋle i -ya -c^hoŋ -ki
u
SGM wonder - why ESG-ACC –fight-
AGRS PLCLT
He wondered why they were fighting.

REMARKS WH WORD AS COMPLEMENTIZER

24 (II) p^hiŋla -u iŋle ya -c^hoŋ -ki
wonder - why ACC –fight-
AGRS AGRS
He wondered why they were fighting.

REMARKS WH WORD AS COMPLEMENTIZER

25 (I) ŋam t^haŋrai -o u -ya -ŋap¹-u ya –ka -senb^halaŋ
SG think - OCLT –ACC –help – ACC –FSG -
AGRS MSGCLT organization
I don't think that he will help the organization.

REMARKS MAIN CLAUSE NEGATED

25 (II)	im	ɲait -ɔ	wa	dau -ya -ɾap ¹ -u	ya -ka-ni- senb ^h alaŋ
	NEG	think- AGRS	COMP	FUT -acc-help- MSGCLT	ACC -FSG - PDEM - organization

I don't think that he will help the organization.

REMARKS MAIN CLAUSE NEGATED

.Appendix P

Sentences for Topicalization Test

English Sentences Courtesy: Payne, Thomas E. 1997

Informant: Ronald

- 1 ki-tu ki - ki- ki - wei yɔŋ c^haŋ man^hpɔŋ ɪnnin
 lɛ- ksau wa - joʔ ki-ŋa da yao ki
 t̪ɪli hɛʔ
FSG- PL- PL- PL- and black bark- always- yesterday
PDEM three- dog ADJL- always AGRS- PERF-die-
 NHCL big SGCLT AGRS
Those three big black dogs that are always barking at me died yesterday.

REMARKS ORDER OF DEM, NUMERAL, NOUN, ATTRIBUTIVES, PARTICIPLE

- 2 u-dimaggio da -c^huʔ⁷ -u ya -ka -bəl
MSG-dimaggio perf-hit-agrs acc-FSG-ball
Dimaggio hit the ball.

REMARKS SIMPLE SENTENCE (NOMINAL SUBJECT-OBJECT, FINITE VERB)

- 3 u-bart da -lai -u c^ha- t^hausum
MSG-bart PERF-go-AGRS to-bathroom
Bart went to the bathroom.

REMARKS SIMPLE SENTENCE (OBJECT CASE MARKED)

- 4 ka - da -t̪ip⁷ -kɔ wa da-doʔ-kɔ ki i-kam-kɔ
noŋkreʔ

FSG-clerk PERF-know - COMP PERF-lose- OCLT-**ESG**-
 AGRS AGRS work-AGRS

The clerk knew that she had lost her job.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CONSTRUCTION

- 5 da -ɔŋ -ki ya -ka-myau u -yaŋ
perf-tell-AGRS ACC-FSG-cat MSGCLT-wait
They told the cat to wait.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CONSTRUCTION WITHOUT WA

6 u -noŋhikai –u wa -si -dur
 MSG-coach-AGRS ADJL –bad-face
 The coach was ugly.

REMARKS PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVE

7 u -bru imhoi –u ya -leŋke dat¹lawakoꝛ
 MSG-man wretched-AGRS ACC-play datlawakor
 The man was a wretched Datlawakor player.

REMARKS PREDICATIVE MODIFIED NP

myau leʔ-kɔ ka- kem ya-
 k^hine ka
ESG- COMP FSG- PERF- ACC- yesterday COP COMP MSG-
 catch cat do- FSG- catch
 AGRS rat ACC-FSG

What the cat did to the rat in the hole yesterday was to catch it.

REMARKS VERB FOCUSED

8 tɔʔ -u ka - ka-wa -kem ya -ka - na -t^hlu innin
 myau k^hine
 cop- FSG-cat FSG-COMP- ACC-FSG- LOC- yesterday
 MSGCLT catch rat hole

It was the cat that caught the rat in the hole yesterday.

REMARKS SUBJECT TOPICALIZED

9 tɔʔ ka- wa ka- da-kem-kɔ na -t^hlu innin
 k^hine myau
 COP FSG-rat COMP FSG-cat PERF-catch- LOC- yesterday
 AGRS hole

It was the rat that the cat caught in the hole yesterday.

REMARKS OBJECT TOPICALIZED

10 tɔʔ na -t^hlu ka-myau da-kem-kɔ ya -ka - innin
 k^hine
 COP LOC- FSG-cat PERF-catch- ACC-FSG-rat yesterday
 hole AGRS

It was in the hole that he cat the rat yesterday.

REMARKS PP TOPICALIZED

11 tɔʔ innin wa ka- da-kem-kɔ ya -ka - na -t^hlu
 myau k^hine
 COP yesterday COMP FSG-cat PERF-catch- ACC-FSG- LOC-
 AGRS rat hole

It was yesterday that the cat caught the rat in the hole.

REMARKS

time adverbial topicalized

12 ya -ka-k^hine da-kem da-ka-myau na-i-t^hlu innin
 ACC-FSG-rat PERF- by-FSG-cat LOC-**ESG-** yesterday
 catch hole

The rat was caught by the cat in the hole yesterday.

REMARKS GENERAL ORDER IN PASSIVE

da k^hine kə myau
 when -- FSG-rat PERF—ACC- by-FSG- LOC- yesterday
 ?-- catch-AGRS cat ESG-hole

When the rat was caught by the cat in the hole was yesterday.

REMARKS **THE ADVERBIAL FOCUSED IN PASSIVE**

20 i-yi wa da- ya-ka- da- ɪnnin toʔ wau- ya-ka
 leʔ k^hine ka - kem
 myau
 ESG- COMP PERF- ACC- by- yesterday COP COMP- acc-
 what do FSG- FSG- catch FSGCLT
 rat cat

What was done to the rat by the cat in the hole yesterday was to be caught.

REMARKS **THE VERB FOCUSED IN PASSIVE**

21 toʔ ka- ka-wa da-c^haʔ- da-ka - na-i-t^hlu ɪnnin
 k^hine kem myau
 COP FSG-rat FSGCLT- PERF- by-FSG- LOC- yesterday
 COMP ACC- cat ESG-
 catch hole

It was the rat that was caught by the cat in the hole yesterday.

REMARKS **THE LOGICAL OBJECT TOPICALIZED IN PASSIVE**

22 toʔ da-ka - da-kem ya-ka- na-i-t^hlu ɪnnin
 myau k^hine
 COP by-FSG-cat PERF- ACC-FSG- LOC-ESG- yesterday
 catch rat hole

It was by the cat that the rat was caught in the hole yesterday.

REMARKS

The subject topicalized in passive

23 toʔ na-i-t^hlu wa ya-ka- da-kem da-ka - ɪnnin
 k^hine myau
 COP LOC-ESG- COMP ACC-FSG- PERF- by-FSG-cat yesterday
 hole rat catch

It was in the barn that the rat was caught by the cat yesterday.

REMARKS **THE PP TOPICALIZED IN PASSIVE**

24 toʔ ɪnnin wa ya-ka- da-kem da-ka - na-i-t^hlu
 k^hine myau
 COP yesterday COMP ACC-FSG- PERF- by-FSG-cat LOC-ESG-
 rat catch hole

It was yesterday that the rat was caught by the cat in the hole.

REMARKS **TIME ADVERBIAL TOPICALIZED IN PASSIVE**

Appendix CDM

Miscellaneous Class Data

- 1 ka-snam wa so
 FSG-blood ADJL Re
 d
 Red blood
REMARKS **ATRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE**
- 2 zroŋ tɪle^h
 long rope
 Long rope
REMARKS **ATRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE**
- 3 so-nut ki-k^hɔnbo
 four- HCL PL-baby
 Four babies
Remark **NUMERAL CLASSIFIER**
- 4 so-nut ki-kint^hai
 four- HCL PL-girl
 four girls
remarks **HUMAN CLASSIFIER**
- 5 le-tɪli ki-mo wa -sudon
 three- NHCL PL-stone ADJL-round
 Three round stones
REMARKS **NUMERAL CLASSIFIER**
- 6 waroʔ ki -c^hinraŋ wa -lieʔ
 all PL-man ADJL-white
 All the white man.
remarks **INDEFINITE IN NP**
- 7 so -ŋut ki -c^hinraŋ wa -lieʔ
 four -HCL PL-man ADJL-white
 All the four white man
remarks **INDEFINITE NUMERAL NOUN ADJECTIVE**
- 8 u -te u -bru wa -lieʔ
 MSG-DDEM MSG-man ADJL-white
 He is white man.

remarks COPULAR CONSTRUCTION

9 yu wəu wan
 who will come
 Who will come?

remarks PRONOMINAL AS SUBJECT AND TENSE CHECK

10 ŋa bam -ə ha -nirula ɪnnin
 SG eat-AGRS LOC-nirula yesterday
 I ate at Nirula's yesterday

remarks SG AS THE SUBJECT

11 me bam nirula ɪnnin
 SGM eat nirula yesterday
 You ate at Nirula's yesterday

remarks *sgm as subject*

12 ŋa u -bam -ə ha -nirula minstep
 SG MSGCLT-eat-AGRS LOC -nirula tomorrow
 I will eat at Nirula's tomorrow.

remarks FUTURE TENSE

13 u -bam -u ha -nirula kədni minstep
 MSGCLT-eat-AGRS LOC -nirula today tomorrow
 He will eat at Nirula's today.

remarks FUTURE TENSE

14 ŋa u -bam -ə ha -nirula kədni
 SG MSGCLT-eat-AGRS LOC -nirula today
 I will eat at Nirula's tomorrow.

remarks FUTURE TENSE

15 me u -bam -mi ha -nirula minstep
 MSG MSGCLT-eat -AGRS LOC -nirula tomorrow
 You will eat at Nirula's tomorrow.

remarks FUTURE TENSE

16 i -waro? u -bam -i ha -nirula minstep
 PL -all MSGCLT-eat -AGRS LOC -nirula tomorrow
 We will eat Nirula's yesterday.

remarks

17 ar-tiɽli ki-dək^ha wa yəŋ

- two- NHCL PL-fish RP black
Two black fish.
REMARKS NUMERAL CLASSIFIER
- 18 c^hispa (ki)-snem
hundred PL-year
Hundred years.
REMARKS ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE
- 19 ki-snem wa b^ha
PL-years RP good
Good years
REMARKS ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES
- 20 zrong tɪfli wa -yoŋ
rope long ADJL -black
Long black rope
remarks **DOUBLE ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE**
- 21 u toʔ u -zrong
MSG COP MSG-man
He is tall.
remarks **PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVE**
- 22 ɔ-toʔ u-doktor
MSGCLT-COP MSG-doctor
He is a doctor
remarks **NOMINAL PREDICATE**
- 23 u -jon toʔ u -pa yona
MSG-john COP MSG-father my
John is my father.
remarks **GENETIVE NOMINAL PREDICATE**
- 24 u -pa yoŋa
MSG-father my
He is my father.
remarks **GENETIVE PREDICATE IN COPULAR CONSTRUCTION**
- 25 i-k^hɔmba (em)-ki ha kper
ESG-baby be-AGRS LOC garden
The baby is in the garden.
remarks **LOCATIVE COPULA**

- 26 o em-u ha kper
 MSG be-AGRS LOC garden
 He is in the garden
REMARKS LOCATIVE COPULA
- 27 i -k^honbə ha -k^hper
 ESG- baby loc-garden
 The baby is in the garden.
remarks LOCATIVE PREDICATE IN COPULAR CONSTRUCTION
- 28 ŋa em-k^hɔŋ-ə
 isg COP-pen-AGRS
 I have a pen.
REMARKS POSSESSIONAL COPULA
- 29 ŋa im em-k^hɔŋ-ə
 isg NEG COP-pen-AGRS
 I do not have a pen
REMARKS POSSESSIONAL COPULA NEGATED
- 30 ka-ni tə? ka-kari yɔŋ-a
 FSG-PDEM COP MSG-car GEN-SG
 This is my car
REMARKS POSSESSIONAL COPULA
- 31 ka -ni ka- kari yoŋa
 FSG-PDEM FSG-car GEN-SG
 This car is mine
remarks POSSESSIONAL COPULA
- 32 ka-kari im tə? yɔŋ-a
 MSG-car NEG COP GEN-SG
 This car is not mine.
remarks POSSESSIONAL COPULA NEGATED
- 33 u-ni (tə?) u-john
 MSG-PDEM COP MSG-john
 This is John.
REMARKS REFERENTIAL COPULA
- 34 u-ni u-mo (tə?) u-wa lanɔŋ
 MSG-DDEM MSG-stone COP MSGCLT-RP round
 This stone is round.

REMARKS PREDICATIVE COPULA

35 u toʔ u -noŋhikai
MSG COP MSG-teacher
He is a teacher.

remarks **NOMINAL PREDICATE**

36 u-tai (toʔ) u-k^hannaʔ wa b^ha
MSG-DDEM COP MSG-child RP good
That child is good

REMARKS PREDICATIVE COPULA

37 ka-shillong toʔ ka-wa yusuk b^ha
FSG-shillong COP FSGCLT-RP beautiful INT
Shillong is very beautiful

REMARKS PREDICATIVE COPULA

38 ha shillong em koleje
LOC shillong COP college
Shillong has a college

REMARKS POSSESSIONAL COPULA

39 o dau man u-wa mahajan
SG FUT DVM MSGCLT-RP richman
He will be a rich man.

REMARKS FUTURE TENSE COPULA

40 u-p r kindia (toʔ) da dap man-u u-mp yəŋ-i
MSG-p. r.- kindia COP PERF finish AGRS MSG-mp GEN-PL
Kindia was our MP.

REMARKS NON FUTURE TENSE COPULA

41 ŋa em kariŋ -ŋa
SG COP wife-AGRS
I have a wife.

remarks **COPULAR POSSESSION**

Appendix U

Some other sentences to check universal 1

Informant: Eklis, Ronald. Chian

1.a ka -kari (yoŋ) u -jon toʔ ka -wa -miat
FSG-car GEN MSG-john COP FSGCLT-ADJL-good
John's car is good.

REMARKS

genitive copula construction

1.b ka -kari u -jon miat⁷ -ko
FSG-car MSG-john good-AGRS
John's car is good.

REMARKS

copula dropped

1.c ka -kari ka -yoŋ u -jon toʔ ka -wa -miat
FSG-car FSGCLT-GEN MSG-john COP FSGCLT-ADJL-good
John's car is good.

REMARKS **GENETIVE AGREEMENT**

2 i-yi i-wa -miat⁷ toʔ ka -kari u-jon
ESG-what ESG-ADJL-good COP FSG-car MSG-john
What was good was John's car.

REMARKS **NOMINAL SUBJECT FOCUSED**

3 u -jon e -o ka ka -kət ya -ka -mæri
MSG-john give-AGRS OCLT- FSG-book ACC-FSG-mary
John gave a book to Mary.

REMARKS **STRUCTURE IN DOUBLE TRANSITIVE VERB**

4 t⁷oʔ ka -kət ba -u -jon u -e ya -ka -mæri
COP FSG -book AGEN -MSG-john MSGCLT-give ACC-FSG-mary
It was the book that John gave to Mary.

REMARKS **NO ORDER DISTINCTION OF DIRECT, INDIRECT OBJECTS**

5 ya -ka -mæri jon e-u ka -kət
ACC-FSG-mary john give-AGRS FSG -book
It was to Mary that John gave the book.

REMARKS **NO ORDER DISTINCTION OF DIRECT, INDIRECT OBJECTS**

- 6 ka -kət la -e ya -u -jon da -ka -mæri
 FSG-book PASSIVIZER-give ACC-MSG-john by-FSG-mary
 Book was given to John by Mary.
REMARKS PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION
- 7 ka -mæri e -kə ka -kət ya -u -jon
 FSG -mary give-AGRS FSG-book ACC-MSG-john
 Mary gave the book to John.
REMARKS ACTIVE IN DOUBLE TRANSITIVE
- 8.a e -kə ka -kət ya -u -jon
 give-AGRS FSG-book ACC-MSG-john
 She gave the book to John
REMARKS PRONOMINAL SUBJECT IN DITRANSITIVE VERB
- 8.b ka -e -kə ka -kət ya -u -jon
 fsg -give-AGRS FSG-book ACC-MSG-john
 She gave the book to John.
REMARKS PRONOMINAL SUBJECT IN DITRANSITIVE VERB
- 9 u -ruʈi la -bam da -ka -mæri
 MSG-breat PASSIVIZER -eat AGEN -FSG-mary
 The bread was eaten by Mary.
REMARKS MONOTRANSITIVE PASSIVIZED
- 10 ka -mæri da -bam-kə ya -u -ruti
 FSG-mary PERF -eat-AGRS ACC-MSG-bread
 Mary ate the bread.
REMARKS ACTIVE IN MONOTRANSITIVE
- 11 ʈə? u -ruʈl ba -ka -mæri ha -bam-kə
 COP MSG-bread AGEN-FSG-mary LOC-eat-AGRS
 It was the bread (nothing else) that was eaten by mary.
REMARKS OBJECT IN MONOTRANSITIVE TOPICALIZED

Appendix BSL

The Basic Sentence List

English Sentences, Courtesy: Abbi,

INFORMANTS: KYRPATLANG, VIRGINIA, CURIOUSLY, JOYCELINE

I SIMPLE SENTENCES

- 1 u-ram daŋ bam-u o-u-sapeŋ
 MSG-ram PROG eat-AGRS OCLT-MSG-mango
 Ram is eating a mango
REMARKS *simple sentence*
- 2 ka-sita daŋ bam-kɔ ya-ɔ-sapeŋ wa da iʔ-b^ha
 FSG-sita PROG eat-AGRS ACC-MSG-mango RP PERF ripe-INTENS
 Sita is eating a ripe mango
REMARKS SIMPLE SENTENCE
- 3 u-ram aʔ-u o-u-sapeŋ
 MSG-ram cut-AGRS OCLT-MSG-mango
 Ram cut the mango
REMARKS SIMPLE SENTENCE
- 4 ki-k^hinnaʔ aʔ-ki ɔ-u-sapeŋ da katari
 PL-child cut-AGRS OCLT-MSG-mango INSTR knife
 The child cut the mango with the knife
REMARKS SIMPLE SENTENCE
- 5 u- aʔ-u ki-ki- katwa daŋ aʔ-u ɔ-u-sapeŋ
 riswan paryamk^hti
 MSG- cut- OCLT-PL- while PROG cut- OCLT-MSG-
 riswan AGRS finger AGRS mango
 Rizwan cut his fingers while cutting the mango
REMARKS SIMPLE SENTENCE
- 6 ka-ruth da bam-sapeŋ-kɔ ha-pɔʔ bas
 FSG-ruth PERF eat-mango-AGRS LOC-in bus
 Ruth ate the mango in the bus
REMARKS SIMPLE SENTENCE

7 ka-salma da bam-sapeŋ-kə heipor step
 FSG-ruth PERF eat-mango-AGRS TEMPADV morning
 Ruth ate the mango in the morning

REMARKS SIMPLE SENTENCE

8 u-k^hinna? da bam lat-u waro? ki-bam t^hiyaŋ
 MSG-child PERF eat finish-AGRS all PL-food sweet
 The child ate up all the sweets

REMARKS SIMPLE SENTENCE

II NEGATIVES

1. ŋa ɪm-em u-lai skur ə
 1SG NEG-HAVE DVM-go school 1SGCL
 'I don't go to school'

Remarks

2. i ɪm-lai caipur i mɪnstɛp
 1PL NEG-go jaipur 1PLCL tomorrow
 'We will not go to Jaipur tomorrow'

Remarks

3. ŋa ɪm-em u-lai skur ə ɪnnin
 1SG NEG-HAVE DVM-go school 1SGCL yesterday
 'I did not go to school yesterday'

Remarks

4. u-k^hinna? ɪm-em u-dat u-payu u
 3MSG-child NEG-HAVE DVM-hit 3MSG-brother GEN-3MSG
 'The child did not hit his sister'

Remarks

5 kat ɪm-em u-kre?kət ki tɛ? da-sa?-klas ki
 because NEG- DVM- 3PL so PERF-stay back- 3PLCL
 HAVE study class
 'Because they did not study they failed in the exams'

Remarks

6 ka-bei a-le? ɪm-em u-wan kə ka-dra? ə-le?
 3FSG- NEG- DVM- 3FSGCL 3FSG-
 mother HAVE come sister
 'Neither my mother came nor my sister'

Remarks

1&2 lai lpaɪt baɪskəp i ɪnnɪn
go see movie 1PL yesterday
'Yesterday we had gone to see the movie'

Remarks

3&4 pɪ-lai nɔʔ i
Lets go now 1PL
'Let us go now'

Remarks

5&6 c^haʔ pɪn-c^hɪtəm i katwən wa sɪaʊsɪʔ
ALREADY GOT CAUS-punishment 1PL how ADJL sad
'We got punishment, how bad'

Remarks

VI INTERROGATIVES

1 i-ye i-prtuit p^hi
what ECL-name SG
What is your name?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

haiwan saʔ p^hi/me/p^ho
where stay SG
Where do you stay?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

3 kamwam p^hi/me/p^ho
how SG
How are you?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

4 kadwan tarek u-lai c^hnɔŋ p^hi
which date AGRS-go village SG
When are you going home?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

5 yu kyuj lai p^hi c^ha delhi
what work go SG all delhi
Why are you going to Delhi?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

6 u-ŋe-u/ka

MSG-who-MSG/FSG

Who is he/she?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

7 kadwan yɔʔ p^{hi}
how much get SG
How much did you get?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

8 dadep bam p^{hi}
COMPL eat SG
Have you eaten?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

9 ye o u-wan minstep
shall SG AGRS-come tomorrow
Shall I come tomorrow?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

10 da yɔʔ p^{hi} ki-kɔt inne
PERF see SG PL-paper today
Did you see the papers today?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

11 dau c^het p^{hi} mintu ha yuŋ
FUT cook SG today LOC home
Will you be cooking today at home?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

12 kamwan pirk^hat p^{hi} wa pirk^hat-u
what think SG RP think-AGRS
What do you think he was thinking?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

13 kamwan pirk^hat p^{hi} wa da pirk^hat-u
what think SG RP PERF think-AGRS
What do you think he had been thinking?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

14 u-wan u-payu p^{hi}
MSG-which MSG-sibling SG
Which one is your brother?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

VII RELATIVIZATION, PARTICIPIALIZATION, ADJECTIVES

1 u-tu u-k^hanna? wa-k^hairi (da) yap-u innin
 MSG-DDEM MSG-child ADJL-fever PERF die-AGRS yesterday
 The boy who had fever died yesterday

REMARKS RELATIVIZATION

2 k^hut u-tu u-k^hanna wa tin-pia? yet
 call MSG-pdem MSG-child RP caus-break glass
 Call the boy who broke the glass.

REMARKS RELATIVIZATION

3 k^hut u-tu u-k^hanna wa tinpia? yet menitu
 call MSG-pdem MSG-child RP caus-break glass day-by-day
 Call the boy who broke the glass day before yesterday

REMARKS RELATIVIZATION

4 nau ka-tu ka-tnat wa da k^hajñ
 throw MSG-DDEM FSG-branch RP PERF break
 Throw away the broken branch

REMARKS PARTICIPIALIZATION

5 u-chure wa-da-cha?a?-tdɔŋ to? u-wa-yotro?
 MSG-monkey PCPL-PERF-cut-tail COP MSG-ADJL-nuisance
 The tailcut monkey was a nuisance.

REMARKS PARTICIPIALIZATION

6 ka-tupri wa wa? ha kaɟar da hap-kɔ
 FSG-cap RP hang LOC nail PERF fall-AGRS
 The cap which was hung on the nail, fell

REMARKS RELATIVIZATION

7 u-k^hanna wa k^hairi da yap-u
 MSG-child RP fever PERF die-AGRS
 The fevered boy died

REMARKS PARTICIPIALIZATION

8 k^hut u-tu u-k^hanna wa-tin-piya yet
 call MSG-DDEM MSG-child ADJL-cause-break glass
 Call the glass-breaker boy

REMARKS PARTICIPIALIZATION

3FSG- PERF CAUS clean 3FSGCL 3PLCL - AGENT 3FSG-
 child verandah NOM-
 work

‘The girl is getting the verandah cleaned by the maid’

Remarks

5 ka-sila da p^ha? pɪn-k^hai kə ka-sita ha u-ram
 3FSG- PERF CAUS CAUS- 3FSGCL 3FSG- INSTR 3MSG-
 sheela wake sita ram

‘Shila asked Ram to make Sita rise’

Remarks

6 u-nəŋ-hikai da p^ha? krɛʔ-kət u o u-k^hinna?
 3MSG-NOM- PERF CAUS work- 3MSGCL 3MSGCL 3MSG-
 teach book child

‘The teacher made the child study’

Remarks

7 u-saheb-k^hlo wa p^ha? ya u-nəŋ-dəŋ-deŋ wa u-dəŋ deŋ
 3MSG-officer- RP CAUS ACC 3MSG-NOM-cut- RP DVM- tree
 forest tree cut

‘The forest officer is making the wood cutter cut the trees’

Remarks

8 ki-deŋ dadɛp c^ha? a? ki
 3PL-tree COMPL PASS cut 3PLCL

‘Trees were cut’

Remarks

9 ka-payu pɪn-t^hia? kə ya u-payu wa k^hian
 3FSG-sibling CAUS-sleep 3FSGCL ACC 3MSG-sibling ADJL little

‘The sister is making the little brother sleep’

Remarks

10 ya u-rajivgandhi da pɪn yap da u-bomb
 ACC 3MSG-Rajeev Gandhi PERF CAUS die AGENT 3MSG-bomb

‘Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a bomb’

Remarks

11 lada p^ha? pore kəmpiuto u ya u da tɔ? u- kam u katni
 if CAUS study computer 3MSGCL ACC 3MSG PERF PROB DVM- work 3MSGCL now
 get

‘If he had made him study computers, he would have got the job by now’

Remarks

- 1 u-k^hinna? yale?ke-u
 MSG-child play-AGRS
 The boy is playing
REMARKS **SUBJECT VERB AGREEMENT**
- 2 u-k^hinna? yale?ke-u wa ka-bəl
 MSG-child play-AGRS INSTR FSG-ball
 The boy is playing with a ball
REMARKS **CASE MARKING**
- 3 u-k^hinna? bam ladaw-u
 MSG-child eat banana-AGRS
 The boy ate a banana
REMARKS **OBJECT INCORPORATION IN THE VERBAL PHRASE**
- 4 u-k^hinna? da yale?ke-b^ha-u
 MSG-child PERF play-well-AGRS
 The boy played well
REMARKS **VERBAL INTENSIFIER INCORPORATED**
- 5 ka-k^hinna? dadep bam-ja-kə
 FSG-child COMPL eat-meals-AGRS
 The girl had eaten the meals
REMARKS **SIMPLE SENTENCE**
- 6 ka-bei dau set-kə katni
 FSG-mother FUT cook-AGRS now
 Mother will cook now
REMARKS **SIMPLE SENTENCE**
- 7 (ŋa) sɲausi?-ə
 SG sad-AGRS
 I am sad
REMARKS **SIMPLE NON OBJECTIVAL SENTENCE**
- 8.a u-ram t^hŋan-u
 MSG-ram hungry-AGRS
 Ram is hungry
REMARKS **SIMPLE NON OBJECTIVAL SENTENCE, EXPERIENTIAL**
- 8.b u-ram j^hrau-u
 MSG-ram thirsty-AGRS
 Ram is thirsty

REMARKS SIMPLE NON OBJECTIVAL SENTENCE, EXPERIENTIAL

8.c u-ram kujut-u
MSG-ram pain-AGRS
Ram is in pain

REMARKS SIMPLE NON OBJECTIVAL SENTENCE, EXPERIENTIAL

9 c^him ya ka-tu ka-kət teʔ bə ya ka ha-jrəŋ meit
pick ACC FSG- FSG- CONJ keep ACC FSG LOC- table
DDEM book on
Pick up the book and keep it on the table

REMARKS ACCUSATIVE, LOCATIVE CASE MARKING

10 e bam ya u-kulle
give food dat MSG-horse
Give the horses the feed

REMARKS ACCUSATIVE CASE MARKING

11 snyob^ha sait ya ki-t^hat
please wash ACC PL-cloth
Wash the clothes please

REMARKS ACCUSATIVE CASE MARKING

12 u-ram da t^həʔ-c^hiti-u c^ha ka-bei u innin
MSG- PERF write-letter- DAT FSG- MSG yesterday
ram AGRS mother
Ram wrote a letter to his mother yesterday

REMARKS DATIVE CASE MARKING

13 ka-doi da c^haya-kə na ka-dud
FSG-curd PERF make-AGRS ABL FSG-milk
Curd is made from milk

REMARKS ABLATIVE CASE MARKING

14 u-ravan yac^həʔ-u wa u-ram
MSG-ravan fight-AGRS COM MSG-ram
Ravan fought with Ram

REMARKS COMITATIVE CASE MARKING

15 u-hanuman da t^həŋ- ka-ka-lanka da u-tdəŋ yəŋ u
u
MSG- perf burn oclt-FSG- INSTR MSG- GEN MSG
hanuman lanka tail

Hanuman burnt Lanka with his tail

INSTRUMENTAL CASE MARKING

Remarks

16 ki-slaʔ hap-ki na ki-dein heipər sinrai
pl-leaf fall-AGRS ABL PL-trees in autumn
The leaves fall from trees in autumn

REMARKS **ABLATIVE CASE MARKING**

17 e pisa ya ŋa katta-kalnei neibit^ha-ka-k^hon yəŋ-a
give money ACC SG some BENF-FSG-offspring GEN-SG
Give me some money for my daughter

REMARKS **BENEFACTIVE CASE MARKING**

18 im-em bru-(u-ye)(u-ye) ha yəŋ
NEG-BE nobody LOC home
Nobody is at home

REMARKS **LOCATIVE CASE MARKING**

19 ŋa t^hirdʔ-ə warə-isayit heidər c^hipau tiŋka
SG buy-AGRS all only ten rupees
I bought everything in ten rupees

REMARKS **EMPHATIC**

20 ki-sintu p^həʔ-ki ha ka-puŋ
PL-flower bloom-AGRS LOC MSG-lake
Flowers are blooming in the garden

REMARKS **LOCATIVE CASE MARKING**

21 ka-kət da em-kə ha-jrəŋ meit
FSG-book perf be-AGRS LOC-on table
The book is on the table

REMARKS **LOCATIVE CASE MARKING**

22 ki-t^had da-dep bək hajrəŋ ka-sinduk
PL-cloth COMPL keep LOC-on FSG-box
Clothes are kept on the top of the box

REMARKS **LOCATIVE CASE MARKING**

23 ki-t^had da-dep bək ha-tre ka-sinduk
PL-cloth COMPL keep LOC-bottom FSG-box
Books are kept at the bottom of the box

REMARKS **LOCATIVE CASE MARKING**

XII CLASSIFIERS

1 ar tɪlli ki-kət da-c^haʔ-təʔ ki
two non-human.CLASS 3PL-book PERF-PASS-steal 3PLCL
'Two Books were stolen'

Remarks

2 u seɪt wa ɟraŋ b^ha
3MSG bamboo ADJL long GOOD
'Longish bamboo'

Remarks

3 u-bnai wa laŋdɔŋ
3MSG-moon ADJL round
'Round moon.'

Remarks

4 ka wi ka-k^hɪnnaʔ
3FSG one 3FSG-child
'One girl'

Remarks

5 u wi u-k^hɪnnaʔ
3MSG one 3MSG-child
'One boy.'

Remarks

XIII REDUPLICATION

1 u da-lai u suki- suki
3MSG PERF-go 3MSGCL slowly- slowly
'He was walking slowly slowly.'

Remarks

2 u da wan-c^hi-wan u
3MSG PERF come-DRM- come 3MSGCL
'He came again and again.'

Remarks

3 ɰye-ɰye da-bam u
what-what PERF-eat 3MSGCL
'What all did he eat?'

Remarks

4 ɣe-ɣe de wa da-wan c^ha ka-k^hawai
 who-who RP PERF-come to 3FSG-party
 ‘Who all came to the party?’

Remarks

5 mɨnnu- mɨnnu u-lai mi c^ha ranci
 when-when DVM-go 2MSGCL to ranchi
 ‘When when will you go to Ranchi?’

Remarks

6 c^hɛɪwan- da- u-ram ki-jɪŋden ɣəŋ-ka-sita
 c^hɛɪwan c^hɛm
 where-where PERF- 3MSG- 3PL- GEN-3FSG-
 find ram ornaments sita
 ‘Where all Ram found Sita's ornaments?’

Remarks

7 da-ŋɪa u u c^həŋ-c^hi-c^həŋ
 PERF-tire 3MSG DVM sit-DRM-sit
 ‘He got tired of sitting sitting?’

Remarks

8 u da-ŋɪa u t^həʔ- t^həʔ c^hɪtɪ
 3MSG PERF-tire 3MSGCL write-write letter
 ‘I got bored writing letters.’

Remarks

9 o klam-c^hi-klam u heɪpor wa bam
 3MSG speak-DRM-speak 3MSGCL during ADJL eat
 ‘He spoke while eating.’

Remarks

10 o da-pat u katwa daŋ lai u ha luʔi-kəʃat
 3MSG PERF-fall 3MSGCL when PROG go 3MSGCL on road-leg
 ‘The child fell down while walking on the footpath.’

Remarks

11 katwa daŋ part-c^hi- part u ki-nəŋ-ʔəʔ da-p^hɛt ki wa ka-pəisa
 when PROG watch-DRM- 3MSGCL 3PL-NOM- PERF- 3PLCL with 3FSG-
 watch steal run money
 ‘While/as he was watching, the thieves ran away with the cash.’

Remarks

12 e ɣa-ŋa u-kəp^hi wa-ɪŋ-wa-ɪŋ b^ha
 give ACC-1SG 3MSG-coffee ADJL-hot-ADJL-hot GOOD

‘Give me hot hot coffee.’

Remarks

13 ki-səʔ apil wa-so-wa-so b^ha t̚əʔ ki wa rʔum
3PL-fruit apple ADJL-red-ADJL-red GOOD be 3PLCL ADJL juicy
‘Red red apples are juicy.’

Remarks

14 ra ki-sapeŋ wa-t^hiaŋ- wa-t^hiaŋ bha
bring/carry 3PL-mango ADJL-sweet-ADJL-sweet GOOD
‘Bring sweet sweet mangoes.’

Remarks

15 kamwan ye mi u- naiŋu na- kh̥te lom
k̥nt^hiar ʃrəŋ- na- ʃrəŋ
how ABIL 2MSGCL DVM- from from- hedge MOUNTAIN
jump high- from- high-
high

‘How are you going to jump over these high high hedges?’

Remarks

16 e ya-ŋa k^haʃak- warəʔ ki-ʃaɪt̚ bam wa t^hiaŋ
k^haʃak
give ACC- little-little all 3PL- food ADJL sweet
1SG different

‘Give me little little of every variety of sweets.’

Remarks

17 ham wan naden- naden yəŋ-ŋa
PRO.NEG come back-back GEN-1SG
‘Don’t come after me.’

Remarks

18 kammən-la- kammən haden daʊ ʊŋbriəŋ u c^ha ŋa
sometime-DRM-sometime back FUT return 3MSGCL to 1SG
‘Sometime or the other he will come back to me.’

Remarks

XIV COMPOUND VERBS

1 u-hati t̥mmen da-yap u
3MSG-elephant old PERF-die 3MSGCL
‘The old elephant died.’

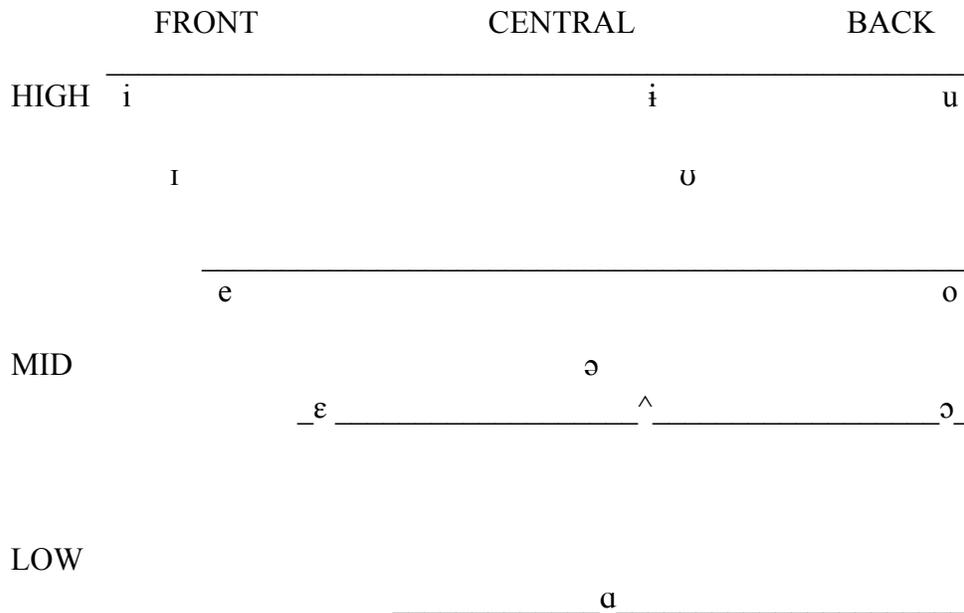
PHONEMIC INVENTORY OF PNAR

(Following IPA 93 convention)

Consonants

Place->		Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Manner		Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd
Plosive	UnAsp	p	b	t̪	d̪	t	d	C		k	ŋ	ʔ	
	Asp	p ^h	b ^h	t̪ ^h	d̪ ^h			C ^h		k ^h	ŋ ^h		
Fricative						s							
Nasal			m				n		ɲ		ŋ		
Lateral							l						
Trill							r						
Approximant			w						y				

Vowels



List of the Informants

- (I) 1. Name: Phrangsni Pirto
2. Age/Sex: 23/M
3. Native: Jowai
4. Education: M.A. (Eco) JNU
5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English, bits of Hindi
6. Parents:
Father Businessman Mother: Teacher turned Housewife
7. Occupation: Student
8. Informant's Position among Siblings: First
- (II) 1. Name: Kyrpatlang Rymbai
2. Age/Sex: 23/M
3. Native: Rymbai (Jintia Hills)
4. Education: M.A. (LIN).NEHU
5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English, bits of Hindi
6. Parents:
Father Businessman Mother: Housewife
7. Occupation: Student
8. Informant's Position among Siblings: 2nd of 3
- (III) 1. Name: Virginia Memory Pakma
2. Age/Sex: 23/f
3. Native: Jowai
4. Education: M.A.(LIN), NEHU
5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English, bits of Hindi
6. Parents:
Father Businessman Mother: Govt. Servant
7. Occupation: Student
8. Informant's Position among Siblings: First
- (IV) 1. Name: Curiously Bareh
2. Age/Sex: 27/M
3. Native: Rymbai
4. Education: Ph.D. (LIN)
5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English, bits of Hindi
6. Parents:
Father Mother:
7. Occupation: Research Scholar
8. Informant's Position among Siblings:
- (V) 1. Name: Eklis Suting
2. Age/Sex: 23/M
3. Native: Jowai
4. Education: M.A. (LIN), NEHU

5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English
6. Parents:
 Father Late Mother: Housewife
7. Occupation: Student
8. Informant's Position among Siblings: 7th of 9

(VI) 1. Name: Rebeca Slang
2. Age/Sex 24/F
3. Native: Jowai
4. Education: B.A.
5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English
6. Parents:
 Father Farmer Mother: housewife
7. Occupation: Teacher
8. Informant's Position among Siblings:

(VII) 1. Name: Rida Hun Suting
2. Age/Sex 18/F
3. Native: Jowai
4. Education: 10+2
5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English
6. Parents:
 Father Late Mother: Housewife
7. Occupation: Student
8. Informant's Position among Siblings:

(VIII) 1. Name: Driss Suting
2. Age/Sex 25/F
3. Native: Jowai
4. Education: M.A. (LIN), NEHU
5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English
6. Parents:
 Father Late Mother: Housewife
7. Occupation: Teacher
8. Informant's Position among Siblings: Eldest

(IX) 1. Name: M. Sullai
2. Age/Sex 27/F
3. Native: Jowai, settled in Shillong
4. Education: B.A.
5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English
6. Parents:
 Father Mother:
7. Occupation: Stenographer, Commerce Deptt, NEHU
8. Informant's Position among Siblings:

7. Occupation: Housewife

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