WORD ORDER IN PNAR

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I am thankful to Anish (the Pester) and Raja (the Bohemian) for the typed Basic Sentence List.
## Abbreviations Used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>FIRST PERSON PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>FIRST PERSON SINGULAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2FSG</td>
<td>SECOND PERSON FEMININE SINGULAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2MSG</td>
<td>SECOND PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>SECOND PERSON PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG (+HON)</td>
<td>SECOND PERSON SINGULAR HONORIFIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>THIRD PERSON FEMININE SINGULAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>THIRD PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>THIRD PERSON PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ABILITATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ABLATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACCUSATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJL</td>
<td>ADJECTIVALIZER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEN</td>
<td>AGENTIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGRS</td>
<td>SUBJECT AGREEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>ALLATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENF</td>
<td>BENEFECTIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>CAUSATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>COMPARITIVE MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>COMITATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>COPLEMENTIZER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>CONDITIONAL PARTICLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>CONJUNCTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COORD</td>
<td>COORDINATOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>COPULA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDEM</td>
<td>DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DGM</td>
<td>DEGREE MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOUBT</td>
<td>DOUBT MODAL MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRM</td>
<td>DISCONTINUOUS REDUPLICATION MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DVM</td>
<td>DEPENDENT VERB MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECL</td>
<td>‘ELSEWHERE CLITIC’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESG</td>
<td>ELSEWHERE GENDER MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSG</td>
<td>FEMININE SINGULAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSGCLT</td>
<td>FEMININE SINGULAR CLITIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>FUTURE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>GENITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>HABITUAL ASPECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCL</td>
<td>HUMAN CLASSIFIER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTENS</td>
<td>INTENSIFIER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>LOCATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDEM</td>
<td>MEDIAL DEMONSTRATIVE MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSG</td>
<td>MASCULINE SINGULAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSGCLT</td>
<td>MASCULINE SINGULAR CLITIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>NEGATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHCL</td>
<td>NON-HUMAN CLASSIFIER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>NOMINALIZER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>PASSIVIZER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCPL</td>
<td>PARTICIPIALIZER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDEM</td>
<td>PROXIMAL DEMONSTRATIVE MARKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>PERFECTIVE ASPECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLCLT</td>
<td>PLURAL CLITIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNEG</td>
<td>PROHIBITIVE NEGATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROB</td>
<td>PROBABILITATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>PROGRESSIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>RECIPROCAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>REFLEXIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td>RELATIVE PARTICLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>SUPERLATIVE MARKER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix CDM  Miscellaneous Class Data  54
Appendix BSL  The Basic Sentence List  59
I  Simple Sentences  59
II  Negatives  60
III  Imperatives  61
IV  Conditional and Co-ordination  61
V  Inclusive / Exclusive  62
VI  Interrogatives  63
VII  Relativization, Participialization, Adjectives  64
VIII  Causatives, Passives, Incapabilitatives  66
IX  Cases, Co-indexing, Agreement  68
X  Comparative / Contrastive  72
XI  Echo- Formation  73
XII  Classifiers  74
XIII  Reduplication  75
XIV  Compound Verbs  77
XV  Conjunct Verbs  78
XVI  Infinitives / Complements  79
9  The Map of the Area Surveyed  81
10  Consonant and Vowel Chart  82
11  List of Informants  83
12  Bibliography  87

Chapter 1
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 ‘Austric’ 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.
Chapter 3

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-jon
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  to?  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 -ruṭi  la –bam  da -ka -mæri
The bread was eaten by Mary.

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
/u-/ &= 3MSG \\
/ka-/ &= 3FSG \\
/ki-/ &= 3PL
\end{align*}
\]

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 /tuHli/ e.g.
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-le
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.’

Genitive Noun

The genitive precedes the governing noun.

MQ13

MQ 13. A/B ka -kɔt yoŋ ka
FSG -book GEN 3FSG
Her book

Remarks The Order of Genetive -Pronoun

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

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

MQ 12-B ka-kɔt ka -ʃila
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 -bha

FSG-shirt ADJL-red-INTENS

**Noun Relative**

The relative pronoun follows its antecedent e.g.

MQ-5. A u-ajoy to? u-bru u-wa-bam ya-u-so-apol

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-ksiau ki– wei yọŋ ehaŋ mankŋapoŋ mnnin
le- he?

FSG- PL- PL- PL- and black bark- always- yesterday

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 -thiaʔ? -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-apɔl-u
   MSG- ajoy   Eat    fruit- apple- AGRS
   Ajoy ate an apple.
REM ARKS  BASIC WORD ORDER
```

```
   MSG- ajoy   PERF –  tree -AGRS INSTR –FSG -axe
cut
Ajoy cut the trees with an axe.
REM ARKS  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    ɲa  ha -ŋap
hit –MSGCLT SG LOC -face
He hit me at my face.
REM ARKS  NO PRONIINAL 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
/dəŋ/ =PROGRESSIVE
/dau/ =FUT

The aspect markers precede the main verb.
Ajoy is eating an apple.

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

19. C  
\[ \text{lai} \quad \text{-u} \quad \text{slem} \quad \text{-b\text{b}a} \]
\[ \text{go} \quad \text{–AGRS} \quad \text{slowly} \quad \text{–INTENS} \]
He is walking very slowly.

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

**The Prepositional Phrase**
Pnar being a prepositional language, it takes its case markings before the NP.
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-yë i-prtuit pʰi
what ECL-name SG
What is your name?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE

BSL-VI-2

 haiwan saʔ pʰi/me/pʰo
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 toʔ hi u -ajoy
2MSG COP --ʔ- MSGCLT -ajoy
Are you Ajoy.

REMARKS YES-NO QUESTION

or the verb or copula can be put sentence initially.

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

REMARKS YES-NO QUESTION

BSL-VI-8

BSL-VI-8  dadep bam pʰi
COMPL eat SG
Have you eaten?

REMARKS INTERROGATIVE
If the question contains some modality, the modal verb occur sentence initially.

\[9 \quad \text{ye o u-wan minstep} \]
\[\text{shall SG AGRS-come tomorrow} \]
Shall I come tomorrow?

**Remarks** **Interrogative**

In modal constructions the main verb takes the infinitive marker /u-/ which is just he opposite in contrast with English.

**5.2 Negatives**

The negative marker precedes the main verb. Negating the finite verb takes the copular negation. That is, the copula is negated while the main verb may be left without he negation marker e.g.

**BSL-II-1.**  
\[\eta \ a \ m-em \ u-lai \ skur \ c \]
\[1SG \ NEG-HAVE \ DVM-go \ school \ 1SGCL \]
‘I don’t go to school’

Remarks

But the main verb can also directly take the negative marker.

**BSL-II-2.**  
\[i \ a \ m-lai \ caipur \ i \ minstep \]
\[1PL \ NEG-go \ jaipur \ 1PLCL \ tomorrow \]
‘We will not go to Jaipur tomorrow’

Remarks

**5.3 Relativization**

The /wa-/ particle functions as the relativizer and comes after the noun. The word order gets changed in the subordinate clause to VO. The subject is here either dropped as in MQ-5-C below or the subject agreement marker functions as the relative pronoun as in MQ-5-A. It is a remarkable point that the marker precedes the relativizer /wa-/ in the latter case.

**MQ-5. C**  
\[u \ ajoy \ to? \ u \ bru \ u \ wa \ bam \ apøl \]
\[MSG \ ajoy \ BE \ MSG \ man \ MSGCLT \ RP \ eat \ apple \]
Ajoy is the person who ate the apple.

**Remarks** **Relativization Check**

**MQ-5. A**  
\[u -ajoy \ to? \ u -bru \ u -wa- \ ya \ u -so -apøl \]
\[bam \]
\[MSG - \ BE \ MSG - \ AGRS - RP \ acc - MSG - \]
Ajoy man -eat fruit -apple
Ajoy is the person who ate the apple.

**REMARKS** RELATIVIZATION CHECK

5.4 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 pʰi yaŋ-a ki- bamtʰiyaŋ dau yam-ɔ
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 waroʔ 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-kʰinnaʔ da bam weidi-ki da ka-um wa daiṭʰaʔ
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-taʔ/ ‘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 he 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 psîa? eʰapɔ?
   Com in
   ‘Come in.’

BSL-III-2

2 ham psîa? eʰapɔ?
   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-kʰanna wa kʰairi da yap-u
   MSG-child RP fever PERF die-AGRS
   The fevered boy died

BSL-VII-9

9 kʰut u-tu u-kʰanna wa di cʰa
   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 /pʰi/ or /tʰi/.

BSL-VIII-5

5 ka-sʰîla da pʰaʔ? pʰin-kʰai kɔ ka-sʰîla 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-pʰayu pʰin-tʰiʔaʔ kɔ ya u-pʰayu wa kʰiʔan
   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.

\[
\begin{align*}
9 & \quad \text{u -ruṭi} \quad \text{la -bam} \quad \text{da -ka -mərī} \\
\text{MSG-breat} & \quad \text{PASSIVIZER -eat} \quad \text{AGEN –FSG-mary}
\end{align*}
\]

The bread was eaten by Mary.

REMARKS MONOTRANSITIVE PASSIVIZED

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

\[
\begin{align*}
8 & \quad \text{ki-deŋ} \quad \text{dadɛŋ} \quad \text{c^hú?} \quad \text{ʌʔ} \quad \text{ki} \\
\text{3PL-tree} & \quad \text{COMPL} \quad \text{PASS} \quad \text{cut} \quad \text{3PLCL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{11} \\
\text{toʔ  u -rụ̀l} \\
\text{Ba -ka -mærì  ha -bam-kɔ} \\
\end{array}
\]

**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 Lockewood (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 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-kớ' roŋ so em kơ hajroŋ meî́ŋ
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.

\text{MQ-12-A}

12. A \text{ki -kot yoŋ ka -fila em -ki hajroŋ meit}
\text{PL –book GEN FSG -shila HAVE -PLCLT LOC table}

Shila’s books are on the table.

\text{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.

\text{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.

\text{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-

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

\text{REMARKS YES-NO QUESTION}

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

\text{REMARKS YES-NO QUESTION (MODULAR)}

\text{MQ-25. A mũnu u -em tes}
\text{when MSGCLT -COP test}
\text{When is the test?}

\text{REMARKS WH-INTERROGATIVE (COPULAR)}

\text{26. A u -yi u -kimrat}
\text{MSG -who MSGCLT -master}
\text{Who is the master?}

\text{REMARKS WH-INTERROGATIVE}
besides, in A-9, 11 and all the examples of interrogative sentences in BSLE-VI proves the point that the question particles in Pnar, be it copular or ‘wh’-word, are specified in position by reference to the sentence as a whole i.e. sentence initially.

**Univ. 10:** Question particles or affixes, specified in position by reference to a particular word in the sentence, almost always follow that word. Such particles do not occur in languages with dominant order VSO.

The question particles in Pnar are not specified in position to a particular word in the sentence. (This should better have been skipped from the dissertation.

**Univ. 11:** Inversion of statement order so that verb precedes subject occurs only in languages where the question word or phrase is normally initial. This same inversion occurs in yes/no-questions only if it also occurs in the interrogative.

In Univ. 9, it has already been established that the question word in Pnar occurs initially, predicting the inversion of statement order in which verb precedes the subject. This can be shown in the passive and several other topic and focus constructions. For example U-9 and BSL-VIII-1O

```
U-9  u -rüti   la -bam   da -ka -mæri  
MSG-bread   PASSIVIZER -eat   AGEN –FSG-mary  
The bread was eaten by Mary.

REMARKS  MONOTRANSITIVE PASSIVIZED
```

BSL-VIII-10  

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

‘Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a bomb’
```

Remarks

In the discussion of Univ. 9 and the interrogative constructions done in the back pages, it has been shown that in such constructions the subject follows the verb.

**Univ. 14:** In conditional statements, the conditional clause precedes the conclusion as the normal order in all languages.

As discussed in Chapter 5 (section 4), the order of clause is as said by the universal.

Univ. 15: In expression of volition and purpose, a subordinate verbal form always follows the main verb as the normal order except in those languages in which the nominal object always precedes the verb.
As the nominal objet 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 wǝn kwɔ? u-bam bɔu
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 Atributive 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 tIle^h
long rope
Long rope

Remarks Atributive Adjective

The case of adjective preceding he 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  waro?  ki -čʰinraŋ  wa - lie?
        all  PL-man  ADJL-white
        All the white man.

REMARKS  INDEFINITE IN NP

CDM-7  so -ŋut  ki -čʰinraŋ  wa -lie?
        four -HCL  PL-man  ADJL-white
        All the four white man

REMARKS  INDEFINITE NUMERAL NOUN ADJECTIVE

P-1  ki-tu  ki -le-띶li  ki-ksau  ki -wa -he?  wei  yonŋ  jo?
        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, he 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 -bʰa
        MSG-PDEM  BE  FSG -shirt  ADJL –red-  INTENS
        This is a very red shirt.

REMARKS  NOUN-ADJECTIVE-INTENSIFIER

MQ-19. C  lai -u  slem -bʰa
        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  
\[ u \text{-} \text{ajoy} \quad \text{rap} \text{-} \text{jroŋ} \text{-} u \quad \text{ya} \text{-} \text{ka} \text{-} \text{ʃila} \]
\[ \text{MSG} \text{-} \text{ajoy} \quad \text{DGM} \text{–} \text{tall} \text{-} \text{AGRS} \quad \text{ACC} \text{–} \text{FSG} \text{-} \text{ʃila} \]
Ajoy is taller than Shila.

**REMARKS**  **COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTION**

BSL-X-1  
\[ \text{ka-um} \quad \text{ha} \quad \text{wa?} \quad \text{rap} \quad \text{kʰoid-kɔ} \quad \text{ban} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{ka-um} \quad \text{ha} \quad \text{puŋ} \]
\[ \text{FSG-} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{river} \quad \text{CM} \quad \text{clean-} \quad \text{than} \quad \text{ACC} \quad \text{FSG-} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{lake} \]
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  
\[ u \text{-} \text{ajoy} \quad \text{rap} \text{-} \text{jroŋ} \text{-} u \quad \text{ban} \text{-} \text{ya} \text{-} \text{ka} \text{-} \text{ʃila} \]
\[ \text{MSG} \text{-} \text{ajoy} \quad \text{DGM} \text{–} \text{tall} \text{-} \text{AGRS} \quad \text{CM} \text{-} \text{ACC} \text{–} \text{FSG} \text{-} \text{ʃila} \]
Ajoy is taller than Shila.

**REMARKS**  **COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTION**

MQ-20. C  
\[ u \text{-} \text{ajoy} \quad \text{jroŋ} \text{-} u \quad \text{ban} \text{-} \text{ya} \text{-} \text{ka} \text{-} \text{ʃila} \]
\[ \text{MSG} \text{-} \text{ajoy} \quad \text{tall} \text{-} \text{AGRS} \quad \text{CM} \text{-} \text{ACC} \text{–} \text{FSG} \text{-} \text{ʃila} \]
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 yoŋ ka-jila em-ki hajroŋ 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 /yoŋ/ 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 tun -yap
CAUS-die
kill
3 noŋ -tn -yap
AGEN-CAUS-die
killer
4 noŋ -chaʔ -tn-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-kʰæmlaʔ
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>u-bru</td>
<td>ki-bru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>ka-bru</td>
<td>ki-bru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Number System In Pnar

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>NOMINATIVE FORM</th>
<th>AGREEMENT MARKER OR CLITIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>ŋa</td>
<td>/ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>pʰa</td>
<td>pʰi/pʰɔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>pʰi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>M/F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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- sẖai
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-apɔl-u
   msg–ajoy  COMPL–eat  fruit–apple –agrs
   Ajoy ate an apple.

REMARKS BASIC WORD ORDER

1. B  u-ajoy  bam  sɔ-apɔl-u
   msg–ajoy  eat  fruit–apple–agrs
   Ajoy ate an apple.

REMARKS BASIC WORD ORDER

2. A  u-ajoy  daŋ-bam  sɔ- apɔl-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 -ʃiloŋ
   msg–ajoy  PROG–come–agrs  abl–Shillong
   Ajoy returned from Shillong.

REMARKS adpositional check

   msg–ajoy  PERF–come–agrs  abl–Shillong
   Ajoy returned from Shillong

REMARKS ADPOSITIONAL CHECK

4. B  u-ajoy  aʔ–deŋ–u  dau sɔlai
   msg–ajoy  cut–tree–agrs  instr–axe
   Ajoy cut the trees with an axe.

REMARKS ADPOSITIONAL CHECK

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

REMARKS ADPOSITIONAL CHECK

4. D ajoy a?-u ya-u-deįñ da-u- sðai
ajoy cut-AGRS ACC-MSG-tree by-MSG-axe
Ajoy cut the trees with an axe.

REMARKS ADPOSITIONAL CHECK

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 tɔ? U bru wa bam sɔ apɔl
MSG - BE MSG man RP eat fruit apple
ajoy
Ajoy is the person who ate the apple.

REMARKS RELATIZATION CHECK

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

REMARKS RELATIZATION CHECK

5. D ajoy tɔ? u Bru u wa bam sɔ apɔl
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 kjuʈ’ kɔ
Ajoy say MSGCLT RP sick AGRS
Ajoy said that she was sick.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

6. B ajoy ɔŋ u wa im cʰαιʈ’ kɔ
Ajoy say MSGCLT RP NEG healhy AGRS
Ajoy said that she was sick.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION
6. C  
ajoy ɕŋ  U wa kjuŋ' kɕ
MSG ajoy say MSGCLT RP sick AGRS
Ajoy said that she was sick.
**REMARKS**  
**COPLEMENTARY CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION**

6. D  
ajoy ɕŋ  u wa kjuŋ' kɕ
ajoy say MSGCLT RP sick AGRS
Ajoy said that she was sick.
**REMARKS**  
**COPLEMENTARY CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION**

7. A  
ka-kɔ́t roŋ so Em kɔ hajroŋ meiŋ'
FSG- color red HAVE AGRS LOC table
book
The red book is on the table.
**REMARKS**  
**THE ORDER OF NOUN-ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE**

8. A  
ki-lɛ -tʃiĩ ki -kɔt em -ki hajroŋ -meiŋ'
pl-three NHCL PL book have PLCLT on table
Three books are on the table.
**REMARKS**  
**THE ORDER OF NUMERAL (CARDINAL) ADJECTIVE –NOUN**

8. C  
lɛ -tʃiĩ Ki -kɔt ha meiŋ'
three NHCL PL book on table
Three books are on the table.
**REMARKS**  
**THE ORDER OF NUMERAL (CARDINAL) ADJECTIVE –NOUN**

9. A  
lɛ -tʃiĩ ki -kɔt roŋ -so em -ki hajroŋ -meiŋ'
three CLAS PL Boo color -red have PLCLT on -table
k
Three red books are on the table.
**REMARKS**  
**NUMERAL (CARDINAL) –NOUN-ATTRIBUTIVE**

9. B  
lɛ -tʃiĩ ki -kɔt wa -so em -ki hajroŋ -meiŋ'
three CLAS PL Boo ADJL -red have PLCLT LOC -table
k
Three red books are on the table.
**REMARKS**  
**NUMERAL (CARDINAL) –NOUN-ATTRIBUTIVE**

9. C  
lɛ -tʃiĩ ki -kɔt wa -so ha -meiŋ'
three CLAS PL Boo ADJL -red LOC -table
k
Three red books are on the table.
Some books are on the table.

Some books are on the table.

Some books are on the table.

Some red books are on the table.

Some red books are on the table.

Some red books are on the table.

Shila’s books are on the table.

Shila’s book is on the table.

Shila’s books are on the table.
Her book is on the table.

**Remarks**

**The Order of Genitive - Pronoun**

14. A  
{kura -u}  \( \eta \)  \( \eta \)  \( \text{hap} \)
hit -MSGCLT  SG  LOC -face  
He hit me at my face.

**Remarks**

No Pronounal Possessive Morpheme

14. B  
{kura -u}  \( \eta \)  \( \eta \)  \( \text{k}^{3}\text{mat -u} \)
hit -MSGCLT  SG  LOC -face -AGRS  
He hit me at my face.

**Remarks**

No Pronounal Possessive Morpheme

14. D  
{kura -u}  \( \eta \)  \( \eta \)  \( \text{k}^{3}\text{mat -u} \)
hit -MSGCLT  ACC  SG  LOC -face -AGRS  
He hit me at my face.

**Remarks**

No Pronounal Possessive Morpheme

15. A/B  
{\text{k}^{3}\text{ila}}  \( \text{a?} \)  \( \text{tirsim -k}^{3} \)
FSG -shila cut  nail -AGRS  
Shila cut her nail.

**Remarks**

No Pronounal Possessive Morpheme

15. C/D  
{\text{k}^{3}\text{ila}}  \( \text{a?} \)  \( \text{-k}^{3} \)  \( \text{yei -tirsim -k}^{3} \)
FSG -shila cut -AGRS  ACC -nail -AGRS  
Shila cut her nail.

**Remarks**

No Pronounal Possessive Morpheme

16. A  
{i -kamra}  \( \text{i -wa-l}^{\varepsilon} \)  \( \text{yon i -yun} \)  \( \text{lait -ki} \)
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  
{\text{k}^{3}\text{amra}}  \( \text{wa-l}^{\varepsilon} \)  \( \text{yon i -yun} \)  \( \text{suda -k}^{3} \)
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}  \( \text{wa -l}^{\varepsilon} \)  \( \text{da -lait -ki} \)
ESG -room  adjl –three  PERF –vacant  -AGRS  
The third room of the house is vacant.

**Remarks**

Noun-Ordinal Order

16. D  
{\text{k}^{3}\text{amra}}  \( \text{ka -wa -l}^{\varepsilon} \)  \( \text{ha -yun} \)  \( \text{da -lait -k}^{3} \)
FSG -room  FSGCLT –ADJL – LOC - PERF –vacant -
The third room of the house is vacant.

**REMARKS**

**NOUN-ORDINAL-GENETIVE ORDER**

17. A

\[
\text{man dade} \text{-loit}\quad \text{ya} \quad \text{-ka- kot} \quad \text{lai} \quad \text{-u} \quad \text{c}^b\text{a} \quad \text{-yuŋbic}^b\text{ar}
\]

**AGRS**

after

\[
\text{PERF –take-} \quad \text{ACC –FSG – go -} \quad \text{to -court}
\]

**AGRS**

Having taken his coat he left for the court.

**REMARKS**

**THE ORDER OF MAIN VERB SUBORDINATE VERB**

17. B

\[
\text{man dade} \quad \text{-c}^h\text{im} \quad \text{-ya} \quad \text{-ka-} \quad \text{lai} \quad \text{-u} \quad \text{c}^h\text{a} \quad \text{-yuŋbic}^h\text{ar}
\]

**AGRS**

after

\[
\text{PERF –take-} \quad \text{ACC –FSG – coat} \quad \text{go -} \quad \text{to -court}
\]

**AGRS**

Having taken his coat he left for the court.

**REMARKS**

**THE ORDER OF MAIN VERB SUBORDINATE VERB**

17. C

\[
\text{dade} \quad \text{-c}^h\text{im} \quad \text{-ya} \quad \text{-ka-} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{-lai} \quad \text{-u} \quad \text{c}^h\text{a} \quad \text{-yuŋbic}^h\text{ar}
\]

**u**

**PERF –take -**

\[
\text{ACC –FSG – PERF –go -} \quad \text{to -court}
\]

**MSG**

\[
\text{coat} \quad \text{AGRS}
\]

Having taken his coat he left for the court.

**REMARKS**

**THE ORDER OF MAIN VERB SUBORDINATE VERB**

18. A/C

\[
\text{ka} \quad \text{-ni to?} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{-sula} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{-so -b}^h\text{a}
\]

**MSG**

\[
\text{-PDEM BE FSG -shirt ADJL –red- INTENS}
\]

This is a very red shirt.

**REMARKS**

**NOUN-ADJECTIVE-INTENSIFIER**

18. B/D

\[
\text{ka} \quad \text{-ni to?} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{-sulapo?} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{-so -b}^h\text{a}
\]

**MSG**

\[
\text{-PDEM BE FSG -shirt ADJL –red- INTENS}
\]

This is a very red shirt.

**REMARKS**

**NOUN-ADJECTIVE-INTENSIFIER**

19. A

\[
\text{u} \quad \text{- lai} \quad \text{-u} \quad \text{w}^e\text{r} \quad \text{-w}^e\text{r}
\]

**3MSG**

\[
\text{go -AGRS Slowly –} \quad \text{slowly}
\]

He is walking very slowly.

**REMARKS**

**THE ORDER OF VERB ADVERB (REDUPLICATED)**

19. B

\[
\text{u} \quad \text{d}^a\text{n} \quad \text{-lai} \quad \text{-u} \quad \text{w}^e\text{r} \quad \text{-w}^e\text{r}
\]

**3MSG**

\[
\text{PROG -go –} \quad \text{slowly –slowly}
\]

**AGRS**

He is walking very slowly.

**REMARKS**

**THE ORDER OF VERB ADVERB (REDUPLICATED)**
19. C lai -u slem -b\textsuperscript{ha} go –AGRS slowly –INTENS He is walking very slowly.
REMARKS THE ORDER OF VERB ADVERB–INTENSIFIER

19. D lai -u suki -b\textsuperscript{ha} go –AGRS slowly –INTENS He is walking very slowly.
REMARKS THE ORDER OF VERB ADVERB–INTENSIFIER

REMARKS COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTION

REMARKS COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTION

REMARKS COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTION

REMARKS SUPERLATIVE CONSTRUCTION

21. C ka -f\textipa{ila} to? ka -wa -jroŋ tam ha -kelas FSG -shila BE FSGCLT –ADJL –tall -CM LOC -class Shila is the tallest girl in the class.
REMARKS SUPERLATIVE CONSTRUCTION

REMARKS SUPERLATIVE CONSTRUCTION
He has got the least money.

**REMARKS**  SUPERLATIVE CONSTRUCTION (WITH REDUPLICATION)

He has got the least money (He has got less money than others).

**REMARKS**  SUPERLATIVE CONSTRUCTION (IN COMPARATIVE FORM)

**REMARKS**  YES-NO QUESTION

**REMARKS**  YES-NO QUESTION

**REMARKS**  YES-NO QUESTION

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

**REMARKS**  YES-NO QUESTION (MODULAR)
Can you give me a pen.

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

25. A  mÀnnu  u -em  tes  
when  MSGCLT –  test  
COP  
When is the test?

**REMARKS**  **WH-INTERROGATIVE (COPULAR)**

25. B  mÀnnu  u -to?  tes  
when  MSGCLT –  test  
COP  
When is the test?

**REMARKS**  **WH-INTERROGATIVE (COPULAR)**

25.C  mÀnnu  to?  ka -tes  
when  COP  FSG –test  
When is the test?

**REMARKS**  **WH-INTERROGATIVE**

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

**REMARKS**  **WH-INTERROGATIVE**

26. B  u -yi  -ç  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^{h}ana -  ya -  wa  ka-tei  ka-parom  t_{o}  ka-wa - k  \cdot  a  ?  sak^{h}iat__

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)  Ëm  -kë  ya -\cdot a  wa  i-parom  t_{o}  ka-wa -

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)  ëm  in-Êtìn -c  wa  dau -wan-ne  im-wan-u  c^{h}a -  yọnja

SG  NEG -  COMP  FUT -come -  NEG -come  to -  my
know -  uncertain  MSGCLT  house

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

REMARKS  COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

2 (II)  ëm  -tikna -  wa  dau -wan-mc  im -wan-u  c^{h}a -  yọnja

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 -yọcùn -  o -u -bru  u -wa  maya  ya -ka -

rani  kọ  
FSG -  FSG -hate -  OCLT -MSG  MSGCLT -  love  ACC -FSG -  
rani  AGRS  -man  RP  
Rani hated the man who loved Mona.

REMARKS  RELATIVIZATION CONSTRUCTION
Rani hated the man who loved Mona.

It is easy for Ram to read fat books.

She is not a beautiful girl.

There are no trees in this jungle.
REMARKS  LOCATIVE – DEMONSTATIVE – NOUN ORDER

7 (I) χo? ka -ni -tø? ka -wum-to? kɔm wa mu’d’ mi
NEG FSG-PDEM -COP FSG –NEG-COP as COMP –think –MSG
No, this is not so as you think

REMARKS  NEGATING SENTENCE AS WHOLE

7 (II) ch'o i -ni -m -tø? kɔm yi -yi hei -tai
no esg -PDEM neg -COP as no –no there
No, this is not so as you think

REMARKS  NEGATING SENTENCE AS WHOLE

8 (I) ω-ho? nɔ m -nait -ɔ wa m -em -u wi- hei-te
DENIAL 1SG NEG-agree-AGRS COMP NEG-COP - Loc - PDEM
No, I don’t agree that no one is there.

REMARKS  NEGATING SENTENCE AS WHOLE

8 (II) m -nait -ɔ wa m -em yi -yi hei -tai
NEG-agree-AGRS COMP NEG-COP NEG-COP-3AGRS LOC-PDEM
No, I don’t agree that no one is there.

REMARKS  NEGATING SENTENCE AS WHOLE

9(I) i -le? m -wan mi
esg -why neg –come MSG
Why did you not come?

REMARKS  WH – QUESTION NEGATIVIZED

9 (II) m -wan mi i -le?
eg -come MSG esg –why
Why did you not come?

REMARKS  WH – QUESTION NEGATIVIZED

10 (I)/(II) me m -tø? u -wa -beid
MSG NEG -COP MSGCLT –ADJL -fool
You are not a fool.

REMARKS  COPULA NEGATION

11 (I) yau -yi m - m i ka-te ka - wei ch'a - u -yi e - mi
yau to – CAUS - AGRS FSG- FSG - CONJ to – FSG - give - whom see PDEM film whom AGRS
Who did you show the film and to whom did you give the money.

REMARKS  WH – CLAUSE CONJUGATION

11 (II) hei -yi piṇ -yo - ka- wei hei - e -mi ka -ka-
mī ka -won poisa
filim
to – CAUS –see OCLT - and to – give - OCLT –FSG-
whom -AGRS FSG – whom AGRS money
film

Who did you show the film and to whom did you give the money.

REMARKS  WH – CLAUSE CONJUGATION

12 (I) ṇa piṇ -yo filim ya -ka -paralok -ç
SG CAUS -see film ACC –FSG –friend -AGRS
I showed my friend a film.

REMARKS  DIRECT OBJECT WITHOUT CASE MARKING

12 (II) da -piṇ -yo -ç ka -ka filim ha -u -paralok -yoṇa
PERF –CAUS –see - OCLT –FSG-
LOC –MSG –friend -
AGRS film my
I showed my friend a film.

REMARKS  DIRECT OBJECT WITHOUT CASE MARKING

13 (I) ṇa dau lai -ç cḥa - da -piṇ -dep ya i -ni i -kam
SG FUT –go - to - PERF –CAUS – ACC –ESG - ESG -
yuṇ
AGRS house finish PDEM
work
I will go home but after finishing the job.

REMARKS  CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTION

13 (II) ṇa dau -liwan -ç cḥa -yuṇ taṇ wa man dadep kam
SG FUT –go back -AGRS to -house but COMP -after COMPL work
I will go home but after finishing the job.

REMARKS  CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTION

14 (I) Ḭm -pʰer lada kʰi’an i -yuṇ le? taṇ i -wa miet
NEG -doubt if small ESG -house --- but ADJL beauty
No doubt it was a small house but it was beautiful.

REMARKS  NEGATION IN CONTRASTING CONJUGATED CLAUSES

14 (II) ye -u -ṇa wa to? i -wa kʰi’an taṇ wa i -wa -miet
not to RP COP ESG - small but COMP ESG –ADJL -
say ADJL beauty
No doubt it was a small house but it was beautiful.

REMARKS  NEGATION IN CONTRASTING CONJUGATED CLAUSES
15 (I) waro? ki - im -em maya da ki -payu yoŋ -ki
chînraŋ
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) waro? ki -dia - im -em u -maya ya -ki da -ki -payu -
chînraŋ kintbâi
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) ña yosuk-ɔ ki-jait’ filim wum-em ya -c b ɔ
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) ña yosuk-ɔ 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 -kọt dau chîm-biaŋ - ɔ 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 -kọt chîm-no? - ɔ -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’ im-ju -k b ẹ -k ɔ
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’ im-jo? - ŋid’ k ɔ
FSG - liquid FSG – ADJL - running NEG – ever-dirty - AGRS
Running water is never dirty.
A man who was wearing a turban barged into my house last night.

I think he is mad.

He said that exams were not held today.

I wanted the exams to be over 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-
       ravi AGRS manoj cross-AGRS

MSG- see- acc-MSG- while COMP-PROG – acc-FSG-

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 - cʰa-
        ravi wan manoj kab -u cʰa-
        ravi AGRS PCPL-come MSG-

MSG- see- MSGCLT- ACC – while COMP-

sa- AGRS

Ravi saw Manoj coming while he was crossing the road.

**REMARKS** AMBIGUITY IN ANTECEDENT IN TRIPLE CLAUS SENTENCE

24 (I) u sʰau pʰiʔla - iłle i -ya -cʰɔ? -ki
       u SGM wonder - why ESG-ACC –fight-

He wondered why they were fighting.

**REMARKS** WH WORD AS COMPLEMENTIZER

24 (II) pʰiʔla -u iłle ya -cʰɔ? -ki

wonder - why ACC –fight-

He wondered why they were fighting.

**REMARKS** WH WORD AS COMPLEMENTIZER

25 (I) ɳam tʰarai -ō u -ya -ɾap'-u ya –ka -senbʰalanj
       SG think - OCLT –ACC –help – ACC –FSG -

AGRS MSGCLT

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

**REMARKS** MAIN CLAUSE NEGATED
I don’t think that he will help the organization.
Appendix P

Sentences for Topicalization Test

English Sentences Courtesy: Payne, Thomas E. 1997

Informant: Ronald

1 ki-tu ki- ki-wei yɔŋ cʰaŋ mankʰpɔŋ ɪnnin
le- ksau wa- joʔ ki-ŋa da ʃao ki

Those three big black dogs that are always barking at me died yesterday.

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

2 u-dimagio da -cʰut’-u ya -ka -bɔl

Dimaggio hit the ball.

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

3 u-bart da -lai –u cʰa- tʰausum

Bart went to the bathroom.

REMARKS SIMPLE SENTENCE (OBJECT CASE MARKED)

4 ka - da -tɨp’-kɔ wa da-doʔ- kɔ ki i-kam-kɔ

The clerk knew that she had lost her job.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CONSTRUCTION

5 da -ɔŋ -ki ya -ka-myau u -yaŋ

They told the cat to wait.

REMARKS COMPLEMENTARY CONSTRUCTION WITHOUT WA
The coach was ugly.

The man was a wretched Datlawakor player.
Appendix L

Topic and Focus Check

English Sentences, courtesy: Lockwood, David. 2003
Informant: Eklis

1  ka-myau da –kem-kə ya-ka -kʰine na -tʰlu innin
   FSG-cat PERF-catch-AGRS ACC-FSG-rat LOC-hole yesterday
   The cat caught the rat in the hole yesterday.
   REMARKS GENERAL ORDER IN THE ACTIVE SENTENCE

2  na -tʰlu ka-myau da –kem-kə ya-ka -kʰine innin
   LOC-hole FSG-cat PERF-catch-AGRS ACC-FSG-rat yesterday
   In the hole the cat caught rat yesterday.
   REMARKS THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE INITIALIZED

3  innin ka-myau da –kem-kə ya-ka -kʰine na -tʰlu
   yesterday FSG-cat PERF-catch-AGRS ACC-FSG-rat LOC-hole
   Yesterday the cat caught the rat in the hole.
   REMARKS TIME ADVERBIAL INITIALIZED

4  i -yi wa kem ya-ka - na -tʰlu innin to? ka-
   ESG- PCPL catch ACC-FSG- LOC- hole yesterday COP FSG-cat
   What caught the rat in the hole yesterday was the cat.
   REMARKS SUBJECT FOCUSSED

5  yei -yi wa ka - kem- na - innin to? ka-
   TOPICALIZER- COMP FSG- catch LOC- yesterday COP FSG-
   What the cat caught in the hole yesterday was the rat.
   REMARKS OBJECT FOCUSSED

6  man -da-ka- kem-kə ya-ka- na-i-tʰlu to? innin
   when-PERF- catch- ACC-FSG- LOC-ESG- COP yesterday
   FSG-cat AGRS rat hole
   When the cat caught the rat in the hole was yesterday.
   REMARKS TIME ADVERBIAL FOCUSSED

7  i-yi wa ka- da- ya- innin to? wa u-
What the cat did to the rat in the hole yesterday was to catch it.

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

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

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

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

In the hole the rat was caught by the cat yesterday.

Yesterday the rat was caught by the cat in the hole.

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

By what the rat was caught in the hole yesterday was the cat.

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

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

REMARKS  THE ADVERBIAL FOCUSED IN PASSIVE

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

REMARKS  THE VERB FOCUSED IN PASSIVE

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

REMARKS  THE LOGICAL OBJECT TOPICALIZED IN PASSIVE

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

REMARKS  The subject topicalized in passive

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

REMARKS  THE PP TOPICALIZED IN PASSIVE

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   ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE

2  zroŋ              t'heh
   long             rope
   Long rope

REMARKS   ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE

3  so-nut            ki-k'ınbo
   four-  HCL   PL-baby
   Four babies

Remark   NUMERAL CLASSIFIER

4  so-nut            ki-k'ìnhaí
   four-  HCL   PL-girl
   four girls

remarks  HUMAN CLASSIFIER

5  le-tílli          ki-mo    wa  -sudoŋ
   three- NHCL  PL-stone  ADJL-round
   Three round stones

REMARKS   NUMERAL CLASSIFIER

6  waro?             ki  -c'híraŋ    wa  -ile?
   all   PL-man        ADJL-white
   All the white man.

remarks  INDEFINITE IN NP

7  so  -ŋut            ki  -c'híraŋ    wa  -ile?
   four  -HCL   PL-man    ADJL-white
   All the four white man

remarks  INDEFINITE NUMERAL NOUN ADJECTIVE

8  u  -tè            u  -bru    wa  -ile?
   MSG-DDEM MSG-man    ADJL-white
   He is white man.
**COPULAR CONSTRUCTION**

9  
yu wəu wan  
who will come  
Who will come?

**PRONOMINAL AS SUBJECT AND TENSE CHECK**

10  
ŋə bam -ɔ ha -nirula ñnin  
SG eat-AGRS LOC-nirula yesterday  
I ate at Nirula’s yesterday

**SG AS THE SUBJECT**

11  
me bam nirula ñnin  
SGM eat nirula yesterday  
You ate at Nirula’s yesterday

**sgm as subject**

12  
ŋə u -bam -ɔ ha -nirula minstep  
SG MSGCLT-eat-AGRS LOC –nirula tomorrow  
I will eat at Nirula’s tomorrow.

**FUTURE TENSE**

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

**FUTURE TENSE**

14  
ŋə u -bam -ɔ ha -nirula kədni  
SG MSGCLT-eat-AGRS LOC –nirula today  
I will eat at Nirula’s tomorrow.

**FUTURE TENSE**

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

**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.

**FUTURE TENSE**

17  
ar-tilli ki-dəkʰa wa yəŋ
Two black fish.

**Remarks**

**Numerical Classifier**

18  cʰispa  (ki)-snem
classifier hundred  PL-year
classifier Hundred years.

**Remarks**

**Attributive Adjective**

19  ki-snem wa bʰa
attribute PL-years  RP  good
attribute Good years

**Remarks**

**Attributive Adjectives**

20  zrong  tʰli  wa -yoŋ
attribute rope  long  ADJL -black
attribute Long black rope

**Remarks**

**Double Attributive Adjective**

21  u  toʔ  u -zrong
attribute MSG  COP  MSG-man
attribute He is tall.

**Remarks**

**Predicative Adjective**

22  a-tɔʔ  u-doktor
attribute MSGCLT-COP  MSG-doctor
attribute He is a doctor

**Remarks**

**Nominal Predicate**

23  u  -jon  toʔ  u -pa  yona
attribute MSG-john  COP  MSG-father  my
attribute John is my father.

**Remarks**

**Genitive Nominal Predicate**

24  u  -pa  yoŋa
attribute MSG-father  my
attribute He is my father.

**Remarks**

**Genitive Predicate in Copular Construction**

25  i-kʰɔmɓa  (em)-ki  ha  kper
attribute ESG-baby  be-AGRS  LOC  garden
attribute 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^onb^o ha -k^per
   ESG- baby loc-garden
   The baby is in the garden.
   **Remarks** LOCATIVE PREDICATE IN COPULAR CONSTRUCTION

28. i na em-k^h^oeta-\(\text{o}\)
   isg COP-pen-AGRS
   I have a pen.
   **Remarks** POSSESSITIONAL COPULA

29. i na im em-k^h^oeta-\(\text{o}\)
   isg NEG COP-pen-AGRS
   I do not have a pen
   **Remarks** POSSESSITIONAL COPULA NEGATED

30. ka-ni to\(\text{i}\) ka-kari yo\(\text{a}\)-a
   FSG-PDEM COP MSG-car GEN-SG
   This is my car
   **Remarks** POSSESSITIONAL COPULA

31. ka-ni ka-kari yo\(\text{a}\)
   FSG-PDEM FSG-car GEN-SG
   This car is mine
   **Remarks** POSSESSITIONAL COPULA

32. ka-kari im to\(\text{i}\) yo\(\text{a}\)-a
   MSG-car NEG COP GEN-SG
   This car is not mine.
   **Remarks** POSSESSITIONAL COPULA NEGATED

33. u-ni (t\(\text{o}\)\(\text{i}\)) u-john
   MSG-PDEM COP MSG-john
   This is John.
   **Remarks** REFERENTIAL COPULA

34. u-ni u-mo (t\(\text{o}\)\(\text{i}\)) u-wa lan\(\text{d}\)on\(\text{a}\)
   MSG-DDEM MSG-stone COP MSGCLT-RP round
   This stone is round.
35 u to? u-nojhikai
MSG COP MSG-teacher
He is a teacher.

36 u-tai (tɔ?) u-kʰanna? wa bʰa
MSG-DDEM COP MSG-child RP good
That child is good.

37 ka-shillong tɔ? ka-wa yusuk bʰa
FSG-shillong COP FSGCLT-RP beautiful INT
Shillong is very beautiful.

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

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

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

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

Some other sentences to check universal 1

Informant: Eklis, Ronald. Chian

1.a ka -kari (yoŋ) u -jon to? 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 miat’ -kɔ

FSG-car MSG-john good-AGRS
John’s car is good.

REMARKS

copula dropped

1.c ka -kari ka -yoŋ u -jon to? 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 -miat’ to? ka -kari u-jon

ESG-what ESG-ADJL-good COP FSG-car MSG-john
What was good was John’s car.

REMARKS

NOMINAL SUBJECT FOCUSSED

3 u -jon e -ç ka ka –kɔt 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 t”ŋ? ka -kɔt 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 -kɔt

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 -köt 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 -kø ka -köt 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 -kø ka -köt 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 -kø ka -köt 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 -ruţi la -bam da -ka -mæri
MSG-bread PASSIVIZER-eat AGEN –FSG-mary
The bread was eaten by Mary.
REMARKS MONOTRANSITIVE PASSIVIZED

10 ka -mæri da -bam-kø ya -u -ruti
FSG-mary PERF –eat-AGRS ACC-MSG-bread
Mary ate the bread.
REMARKS ACTIVE IN MONOTRANSITIVE

11 ţo? u -ruţi ba -ka -mæri ha -bam-kø
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^a
   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^innaʔ 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
   MSG- cut- OCLT-PL- while PROG cut- OCLT-MSG- finger
   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-kɔ heipor step  
   FSG-ruth PERF eat-mango-AGRS TEMPADV morning  
Ruth ate the mango in the morning  
**REMARKS**  SIMPLE SENTENCE

8  u-kʰinnaʔ da bam lat-u waroʔ ki-bam tʰiyəŋ  
   MSG-child PERF eat finish-AGRS all PL-food sweet  
The child ate up all the sweets  
**REMARKS**  SIMPLE SENTENCE

**II NEGATIVES**

1.  ṭa ím-em u-lai skur ə  
   1SG NEG-HAVE DVM-go school 1SGCL  
‘I don’t go to school’  
Remarks

2.  i ím-lai caipur i minstep  
   1PL NEG-go jaipur 1PLCL tomorrow  
‘We will not go to Jaipur tomorrow’  
Remarks

3.  ṭa ím-em u-lai skur ə ìnnin  
   1SG NEG-HAVE DVM-go school 1SGCL yesterday  
‘I did not go to school yesterday’  
Remarks

4.  u-kʰinnaʔ ím-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 ím-em u-kreʔkɔt ki teʔ da-saʔ-klas ki  
because NEG- DVM- 3PL so PERF-stay back- 3PLCL  
‘Because they did not study they failed in the exams’  
Remarks

6  ka-bei a-leʔ ım-em u-wan kɔ ka-diŋaʔ ᵈ-eʔ  
   3FSG- NEG- DVM- 3FSGCL 3FSG-sister  
‘Neither my mother came nor my sister ’  
Remarks
7 u-hati tummen im-em yap u
3MSG-elephant old NEG-HAVE die 3MSGCL
‘The old elephant did not die’

Remarks

III IMPERATIVES

1 pśiʔ? cʰapɔʔ
come in
‘Come in.’
Remarks

2 həm pśiʔ? cʰapɔʔ
PRO.NEG come in
‘Don’t come in.’
Remarks

3 sŋaobʰa cʰʊŋ
please sit
‘Please sit down.’
Remarks

4 cʰʊŋ
sit
‘Sit down.’
Remarks

5 da-kʰaŋ prcʰaʔ u-pśiʔ? cʰapɔʔ
PERF-close against DVM-enter inside
‘Admission is prohibited.’
Remarks

6 deʔ cʰɨtai
go there
‘Get lost.’
Remarks

IV CONDITIONAL AND COORDINATION

1 lada im e pʰi yaŋ-a ki- bamtʰiyan dau yam-ɔ
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
If you hit me, I will cry.

If he had come earlier, he would have seen the letter.

If he asks me, I will certainly tell the whole story.

If he can come, then he should.

Ram and Sita both went to watch the movie.

Children ate and drank cold water.

Mary is beautiful, but ill-natured.

Suhail will help, but not Reshma.

V INCLUSIVE/EXCLUSIVE
1&2 lai līpait bāisk raped i nnin
   go see movie 1pl yesterday
   ‘Yesterday we had gone to see the movie’

Remarks

3&4 pl-lai no? i
   Lets go now 1pl
   ‘Let us go now’

Remarks

5&6 cʰaʔi? pʰin-cʰtɔm i kâtwɔn wa șnaušiʔ?
   ALREADY GOT CAUS-punishment 1pl how ADJL sad
   ‘We got punishment, how bad’

Remarks

VI INTERROGATIVES

1     i-ye i-prtuit pʰi
    what ECL-name SG
    What is your name?

Remarks INTERROGATIVE

    haiwan saʔ pʰi/me/pʰo
    where stay SG
    Where do you stay?

Remarks INTERROGATIVE

3     kamwam pʰi/me/pʰo
    how SG
    How are you?

Remarks INTERROGATIVE

4     kadwan tarék u-lai cʰnɔŋ pʰi
    which date AGRS-go village SG
    When are you going home?

Remarks INTERROGATIVE

5     yu kyuŋ lai pʰi cʰa 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?

REM       REMARKS   INTERROGATIVE
7        kadwan    yɔʔ? pʰi
          how much  get SG
          How much did you get?

REM       REMARKS   INTERROGATIVE
8        dadep     bam pʰi
          COMPL     eat SG
          Have you eaten?

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

REM       REMARKS   INTERROGATIVE
10       da yɔʔ? pʰi ki-kət inne
          PERF see SG PL-paper today
          Did you see the papers today?

REM       REMARKS   INTERROGATIVE
11       dau cʰet pʰi mintu ha yuŋ
          FUT cook SG today LOC home
          Will you be cooking today at home?

REM       REMARKS   INTERROGATIVE
12       kamwan pirkʰat pʰi wa pirkʰat-u
          what think SG RP think-AGRS
          What do you think he was thinking?

REM       REMARKS   INTERROGATIVE
13       kamwan pirkʰat pʰi wa da pirkʰat-u
          what think SG RP PERF think-AGRS
          What do you think he had been thinking?

REM       REMARKS   INTERROGATIVE
14       u-wan       u-payu pʰi
          MSG-which MSG-sibling SG
          Which one is your brother?
VII RELATIVIZATION, PARTICIPILIZATION, ADJECTIVES

1. u-tu u-kʰanna? wa-kʰairi (da) yap-u innin
   MSG-DDEM MSG-child ADJL-fever PERF die-AGRS yesterday
   The boy who had fever died yesterday

REMARKS RELATIVIZATION

2. kʰut u-tu u-kʰanna wa tin-pia? yet
   call MSG-pdem MSG-child RP caus-break glass
   Call the boy who broke the glass.

REMARKS RELATIVIZATION

3. kʰut u-tu u-kʰanna wa tin-pia? 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-tmat wa da kʰain
   throw MSG-DDEM FSG-branch RP PERF break
   Throw away the broken branch

REMARKS PARTICIPILIZATION

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

REMARKS PARTICIPILIZATION

6. ka-tupri wa wa? ha kaŋar 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-kʰanna wa kʰairi da yap-u
   MSG-child RP fever PERF die-AGRS
   The fevered boy died

REMARKS PARTICIPILIZATION

8. kʰut u-tu u-kʰanna wa-tin-piya yet
   call MSG-DDEM MSG-child ADJL-cause-break glass
   Call the glass-breaker boy

REMARKS PARTICIPILIZATION
9 kʰut u-tu u-kʰanna wa di cʰa
call MSG-DDEM MSG-child ADJL drink tea
Call the tea-drinker boy

Remarks participle

10 ka-kʰuri wa wa? da hap-kə
FSG-cap ADJL hang PERF fall-AGRS
The hung cup fell down

Remarks verbal adjective

11 u-kʰonbo wa ɛmsalɔn
MSG-child ADJL innocent
The innocent child

Remarks adjective

12 u-kʰonbo tə? u-wa ɛmsalɔn
MSG-child COP OCLT-ADJL innocent
The child is innocent

Remarks adjective

VIII CAUSATIVES, PASSIVES AND INCAPABLE

1 da pm-bam ka-bei ya u-kʰonbo
PERF CAUS-eat 3FSG-mother ACC 3MSG-child
‘Mother fed the baby’

Remarks

2 ka-bei da pʰaʔ e bam kə ya u- ha ka-
kʰonbo wakreʔ?
3FSG- PERF CAUS give food 3FSGCL ACC 3MSG-agent 3FSG-
mother servant
‘Mother made the ayah feed the baby’

Remarks

3 u-pa da pʰaʔ nəʔ lut u ki ki-
köt warəʔ ha u-
3MSG- PERF CAUS throw all 3MSGCL 3PL-CL all AGENT 3MSG-
father servant
‘Father got all the papers thrown away by the servant’

Remarks

4 ka-
da pʰaʔ pmkʰoit kɔ ki i-pcem ha ka-
kʰinnaʔ?

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

Remarks

5 ka-si³ala da pʰaï? pin-kʰai kɔ ka-si³a ha u-ram
3 FSG- PERF CAUS CAUS- 3 FSGCL 3 FSG- INSTR 3 MSG- sheela wake sita ram
‘Shila asked Ram to make Sita rise’

Remarks

6 u-nɔŋ-hikai da pʰaï? kreʔ-kɔt u o u-kʰɪnmaï?
3 MSG-NOM- PERF CAUS work- 3 MSGCL 3 MSGCL 3 MSG-
teach book child
‘The teacher made the child study’

Remarks

7 u-saheb-kʰlo wa pʰaï? ya u-nɔŋ-dañ-ðen wa u-dañ ðen
3 MSG-officer- RP CAUS ACC 3 MSG-NOM-cut- RP DVM- tree
tree forest cut
‘The forest officer is making the wood cutter cut the trees’

Remarks

8 ki-deŋ dadep cʰaï? a? ki
3 PL-tree COMPL PASS cut 3 PLCL
‘Trees were cut’

Remarks

9 ka-payu pin-tʰiaï? kɔ ya u-payu wa kʰian
3 FSG-sibling CAUS-sleep 3 FSGCL ACC 3 MSG-sibling ADJL little
‘The sister is making the little brother sleep’

Remarks

10 ya u-raʃivgandhi da pin yap da u-bomb
ACC 3 MSG-Rajeev Gandhi PERF CAUS die AGENT 3 MSG-bomb
‘Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a bomb’

Remarks

11 lada pʰaï? pure kɔmpuṭo u ya u da ðo? u-kam u katnĩ yɔ?
if CAUS study computer 3 MSGCL ACC 3 MSG PERF PROB DVM- work 3 MSGCL now
‘If he had made him study computers, he would have got the job by now’

Remarks
12 o da p|h|a? pure sans ka-bei u-pa yɔŋ-a ya-ŋa
3MSG PERF CAUS read science 3FSG- mother 3MSG- father 1SG 1SG
‘Alas, my Parents had made me study science’
Remarks

13 u-klıŋ da tın-ŋa? u
3MSG-bottle PERF CAUS-break 3MSGCL
‘The bottle broke’
Remarks

14 ya u-k|h|o da- c|h|a ki- wa tre yɔŋ-ka-ri-india
bam binta
ACC 3MSG- PERF- LOC 3PL- ADJL bottom GEN-3FSG-
country-india
‘Rice is eaten in Southern India’
Remarks

15 ka-k|h|ı-nna? da-c|h|a?-slaiŋ kɔ ınmın i-met
3FSG-child PERF-PASS-rape 3FSGCL yesterday -night
‘Girl was raped last night’
Remarks

16 ŋa da-c|h|a?-dat laki-laka ɔ ha ki-bou wà-si?
1SG PERF-PASS-beat furiously 1SGCL AGENT 3PL-man ADJL-bad
‘I was beaten furiously by the goondas’
Remarks

17 ya i-ni i-bam wɔm u-bam smat da i-k|h|ı-nbo
ACC -this -food NEG DVM-eat fast AGENT -child
‘The food cannot be eaten by the child’
Remarks

18 du neib|h|a? ka- wɔm ye- o u phn- ya i-ŋŋ-
sınırum de dep ʃ|h|g?
just because 3FSG- cold NEG ABIL 3MSGCL 3MSGCL CAUS finish ACC - write
‘Because of cold writing cannot be done by me’
Remarks

IX CASES, AGREEMENT, COINDEXING
1. u-kʰinnaʔ yaleʔke-u
   MSG-child play-AGRS
   The boy is playing

   Remarks: SUBJECT VERB AGREEMENT

2. u-kʰinnaʔ yaleʔke-u wa kəbəl
   MSG-child play-AGRS INSTR FSG-ball
   The boy is playing with a ball

   Remarks: CASE MARKING

3. u-kʰinnaʔ bam ladaw-u
   MSG-child eat banana-AGRS
   The boy ate a banana

   Remarks: OBJECT INCORPORATION IN THE VERBAL PHRASE

4. u-kʰinnaʔ da yaleʔke-bʰa-u
   MSG-child PERF play-well-AGRS
   The boy played well

   Remarks: VERBAL INTENSIFIER INCORPORATED

5. ka-kʰinnaʔ 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) ṣpausiʔ-ə
   SG sad-AGRS
   I am sad

   Remarks: SIMPLE NON OBJECTIVAL SENTENCE

8.a. u-ram tʰjan-u
    MSG-ram hungry-AGRS
    Ram is hungry

   Remarks: SIMPLE NON OBJECTIVAL SENTENCE, EXPERIENTIAL

8.b. u-ram jʰrau-u
    MSG-ram thirsty-AGRS
    Ram is thirsty
8. Ram is in pain

9. Pick up the book and keep it on the table

10. Give the horses the feed

11. Wash the clothes please

12. Ram wrote a letter to his mother yesterday

13. Curd is made from milk

14. Ravan fought with Ram

15. Hanuman burned Lanka
Hanuman burnt Lanka with his tail

**Remarks**

**INSTRUMENTAL CASE MARKING**

16 ki-sla? hap-ki na ki-dein heipọr sinrai
pl-leaf fall-AGRS ABL pl-trees in autumn
The leaves fall from trees in autumn

**ABLATIVE CASE MARKING**

17 e pisa ya ọ katta-kalnei neibit h-a-ka-kọn yọ-ọ-a
give money ACC SG some BENF-FSG-offspring GEN-SG
Give me some money for my daughter

**BENEFACTIVE CASE MARKING**

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

**LOCATIVE CASE MARKING**

19 ọ ọ i’rd’-ọ warọ-isayit heidọr e’ipau tiŋka
SG buy-AGRS all only ten rupees
I bought everything in ten rupees

**EMPHATIC**

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

**LOCATIVE CASE MARKING**

21 ka-kọt da em-kọ ha-jiŋŋa meit
FSG-book perf be-AGRS LOC on table
The book is on the table

**LOCATIVE CASE MARKING**

22 ki-t’ad da-dep bọk hajrọŋ ka-sinduk
PL-cloth COMPL keep LOC-on FSG-box
Clothes are kept on the top of the box

**LOCATIVE CASE MARKING**

23 ki-t’ad da-dep bọk ha-tre ka-sinduk
PL-cloth COMPL keep LOC-bottom FSG-box
Books are kept at the bottom of the box
24  em ka-kʰpeir  cʰa-den i-yuŋ  yọŋ a
BE  FSG-garden behind  ECL-house gen  msg
There is a garden behind my house
**Remarks** locative case marking (behind)

25  em u-deŋ-sapeŋ  ha-kʰmat  i-yuŋ  yọŋ a
BE  MSG-tree-mango  LOC-front  ECL-house gen  msg
There is a mango tree in front of my house
**Remarks** locative case marking

26  ka-diaʔ  dau  lai  yau-kɔ  du  wa  ki-lok  yọŋ  ka
FSG-sister  FUT  go  shop-AGRS  only  COM  PL-friend  GEN  FSG
Sister will go shopping only with her friends
**Remarks** comitative case marking

27  ka-diaʔ  yọŋ  u-ram  dau  bia-kɔ  minstep
FSG-sister  GEN  MSG-ram  FUT  marry-AGRS  tomorrow
Ram's sisters wedding is tomorrow
**Remarks** genitive case marking (animate-animate conjugation)

28  ka-tupri  yọŋ  u-ram  tɔʔ  ka-wa  blue
FSG-cap  gen  MSG-ram  COP  FSGCLT-RP  blue
Ram's cap is blue
**Remarks** genitive case marking (animate-inanimate conjugation)

29  tʰerd  cʰini  ar-fau-sen  tiŋka
buy  sugar  twentyfive  rupees
Buy twenty-five rupees' sugar
**Remarks** genitive case marking (numeral-denominator conjugation)

30  ham  kader  ki-sla  ka-tu  ka-kɔt
prohneg  turn  PL-leaf  FSG-DDEM  FSG-book
Don't turn the book's pages
**Remarks** genitive case marking (inanimate-inanimate conjugation)

31  mincʰwa  nga  u-lai-ɔ  cʰa  yuŋ  yọŋ  ka  da-
dep  ɔ
before  SG  MSG-go-  all  house  gen  FSG  COMPL  change-shirt-AGRS
Before I went to her house I changed my clothes
**Remarks** pronominal genitive
After coming back from the movie I went to sleep.

X COMPARATIVE CONTRASTIVE

1. ka-um ha wa? rap kʰoid-kə ban ya ka-um ha puŋ
   FSG- LOC river CM clean- than ACC FSG- LOC lake
   River water is cleaner than lake water
   REMARKS comparative construction

2. ka-wa? kaŋka to? ka-wa? kʰoid tam
   FSG-river ganga COP FSG-river clean SM
   The Ganga water is the cleanest
   REMARKS SUPERLATIVE CONSTRUCTION

3. ka- ha bombay (tə?) ka-wa sŋem katwa ha delhi (tə?) ka-
   sŋənbepəŋ
   FSG- LOC bombay COP FSGCLT- wet but LOC delhi COP FSG-dry
   Bombay weather is wet but Delhi weather is dry
   REMARKS COMPARISON IN COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSES

4. ka-india tə? ka-wa bamsap katwa ka-japan wan im-em
   FSG- COP FSGCLT- corrupt but FSG- NEG-
   India is corrupt but Japan is not
   REMARKS COMPARISON IN COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSES

5. ka- yəŋ a rap leʔ-kə ban ya ka yəŋ-kə
   yuniform
   FSG- GEN SG CM white- CM ACC FSGCLT GEN-
   uniform AGRS
   My uniform is whiter than his uniform
   REMARKS COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTION

XI ECHO FORMATION
1 -snəubha di? kət̥tu kə-cʰa we̱i bəm  
please drink some 3FSG-tea and food  
‘Please have some tea etc.’

Remarks

2  o da-lai thəd u kət̥tu- 
kiti̱ar-kitar na dokan  
3MSG PERF- buy 3MSGCL some anything from shop  
‘He has gone to buy some stationary etc.’

Remarks

3  o da-yəʔ u kət̥tu- 
ki-me̱j ki- 
ē̱uki ha ka-s̥i-biə u  
3MSG PERF- get 3MSGCL some 3PL- table 3PL- chair on 3FSG-day- wedding GEN- 3MSG  
‘He got some chairs etc on his marriage.’

Remarks

4  cʰəŋ- cʰəŋ  
sit-sit  
‘Sit etc.’

Remarks

5  ᶓa im-ye o u-lai u-waŋ  
1SG NEG-ABIL 1SGCL DVM-go DVM-come  
‘I cannot walk etc.’

Remarks

6  ile? cʰrai-ma-cʰrai mi  
why angry-DRM-angry 2MSGCL  
‘Why you get angry etc?’

Remarks

7  ki- da-lai kɾeʔ- kɾeʔ- wei da ra mʊna- mʊnə-  
kʰɪnəʔ? kət sla  
3PL- PERF- work- work- and PERF carry bag- bag- 3PLCL 
child go book page  
‘Children go to study carrying bag etc.’

Remarks

8  u-cʔəʔ im-siʔ u dei wa rəwai wa-siəu  
3MSG-throat NEG-bad 3MSGCL by ADJL sing ADJL-whistle  
‘The throat does not go bad by singing etc.’

Remarks
XII CLASSIFIERS

1  ar tilli ki-kət da-cʰaʔ-əʔ ki  
   two non-human.class 3pl-book perf-pass-steal 3plcl  
   ‘Two Books were stolen’
Remarks

2  u sett wa ḷran bʰa  
   3msg bamboo adjL long good  
   ‘Longish bamboo’
Remarks

3  u-bnai wa lanḍəŋ  
   3msg-moon adjL round  
   ‘Round moon.’
Remarks

4  ka wi kə-kʰɪnnaʔ  
   3fsg one 3fsg-child  
   ‘One girl’
Remarks

5  u wi u-kʰɪnnaʔ  
   3msg one 3msg-child  
   ‘One boy.’
Remarks

XIII REDUPLICATION

1  u da-ləi u suki- suki  
   3msg perf-go 3msgcl slowly- slowly  
   ‘He was walking slowly slowly.’
Remarks

2  u da wən-cʰi-wən u  
   3msg perf come-drm- come 3msgcl  
   ‘He came again and again.’
Remarks

3  ḷye-ɬye da-bam u  
   what-what perf-eat 3msgcl  
   ‘What all did he eat?’
Remarks
4  ḗye-ḷye ḗḷe ḗwa ḗda-wān ḗcʰa ka-kʰawāi who-who RP PERF-come to 3FSG-party  ‘Who all came to the party?’

Remarks

5  ṗmnnu- ṗmnnu u-lāi mi ḗcʰa ᵅranči when-when DVM-go 2MSGCL to ranchi  ‘When when will you go to Ranchi?’

Remarks

6  ḗcʰɛwān- ḗda- ḗu-rama ni-jɛnden ṗyɔŋ-ka-sīta ḗcʰɛm where-where PERF 3MSG 3PL GEN-3FSG-find ḗram ḗorannaments sita  ‘Where all Ram found Sita's ornaments?’

Remarks

7  ḗda-ŋja u u ḗcʰoŋ-cʰi-cʰoŋ PERF-tire 3MSG DVM sit-DRM-sit  ‘He got tired of sitting sitting?’

Remarks

8  u ḗda-ŋja u ḗtʰɔ?- ḗtʰɔ? cʰti 3MSG PERF-tire 3MSGCL write-write letter  ‘I got bored writing letters.’

Remarks

9  o ḗklam-cʰi-klam u ḗhevipo ḗwa ḗbam 3MSG speak-DRM-speak 3MSGCL during ADJL eat  ‘He spoke while eating.’

Remarks

10  o ḗdə-paṭ u ḗkauta ḗdaŋ lai u ḗha ḗlući-kaʃat 3MSG PERF-fall 3MSGCL when PROG go 3MSGCL on road-leg  ‘The child fell down while walking on the footpath.’

Remarks

11  kauta ḗdaŋ part-cʰi-paṭ u ḗkį-ŋoŋ-ʃoị ḗda-pʰet ki ḗwa ḗkə-psyas when PROG watch-DRM- 3MSGCL 3PL-NOM PERF- 3PLCL with 3FSG- watch steal run 3FSG-money  ‘While/as he was watching, the thieves ran away with the cash.’

Remarks

12  e ḗyaŋja u-kəpʰi ḗwa-ŋa-ŋa bʰa give ACC-1SG 3MSG-coffee ADJL-hot-ADJL-hot GOOD
‘Give me hot hot coffee.’

Remarks

13 ki-so? aṭṭl wə-so-wə-so bʰa ṭə? ki wə rəm
3pl-fruit apple adjl-red-adjl-red good be 3plcl adjl juicy
‘Red red apples are juicy.’

Remarks

14 ra ki-sapeŋ wə-tʰiŋ- wə-tʰiŋ bha
bring/carry 3pl-mango adjl-sweet-adjl-sweet good
‘Bring sweet sweet mangoes.’

Remarks

15 kəmən wə mi ŋə nai tu nə kʰə ləm
how abil 2msgcl dvm- jump from from high- from high
‘How are you going to jump over these high high hedges?’

Remarks

16 e ɣə-ŋə kʰəjak- warə? ki-jaɪ tə bəm wə tʰiŋ
give acc- little-little all 3pl- food adjl sweet
1sg
‘Give me little little of every variety of sweets.’

Remarks

17 haʃ wə ŋə nənəŋ- nənəŋ ɣə-ŋə
pro.neg come back-back gen-1sg
‘Don’t come after me.’

Remarks

18 kəmən-la- kəmən hədən dəə əpənəŋ u eʰə ŋə
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-ətə təmən də-γəp ə
3msg-elephant old perf-die 3msgcl
‘The old elephant died.’
Remarks

2 heìpor wa roì yàì u-pù u- yàì-u da-lái u paràlok
when RP reach GEN 3MSG- father 3MSG- friend 3MSG go
‘By the time papa came home his friend had left.’

Remarks

3 e ya-ìì ka-cììtìì
give ACC-1SG 3 FSG-letter
‘Give me the letter.’

Remarks

4 mi? cìì laìì
go out to out
‘Get out!’

Remarks

5 sììolìì tììì sweter ya-ìì
please knit sweater DAT-1SG
‘Please knit a sweater for me.’

Remarks

6 sììolìì tììì sweter heììntà yìì-pìì
please knit sweater for GEN-2SG(HON)
‘Please knit a sweater for yourself.’

Remarks

7 pàììt wa ròwai ka-laksìì
see RP sing 3FSG-lakshmi
‘See Lakshmi sing!’

Remarks

8 u da-cììììì u
3MSG PERF-sit 3MSGCL
‘He sat down.’

Remarks

XV CONJUNCT VERBS/CONVERBS

1 dep bììm ja u-pà laì ke u cìììììì bìì
finish eat rice 3MSG-father go roam 3MSGCL to out
‘Having eaten his meal papa went out for a stroll.’

Remarks
2 pūrē eʔ ka-čʰňʰi
read loud 3FSG-letter
‘Read the letter aloud.’
Remarks

3 pait bʰa ka-yoŋ
see GOOD 3FSG-house
‘See the house properly.’
Remarks

4 wɔm em u-leʔ bʰa u wa da- tʰk u ya-u-
yoŋ-u dep
dep
good 3MSGCL RP COMPL cheat 3MSGCL ACC-
brother
‘He did not do well having cheated his own brother.’
Remarks

5 deʔ lai pait
go go look
‘Go and see.’
Remarks

6 u dat u ɲa ta lai u
3MSG hit 3MSGCL 1SG after go 3MSGCL
‘He hit me and ran away.’
Remarks

XVI INFINITIVES, COMPLEMENTS

1 wɔm em u-ŋwausuk ɔ u-wan pʰi heini
NEG HAVE DVM-like 1SGCL DVM-come 2SG(HON) here
‘I don’t like your coming here.’
Remarks

2 u-ye wɔn kwɑʔ u-bam bʰa
who NEG want DVM-eat GOOD
‘Who does not like to eat well?’
Remarks

3 neitbʰaʔ ka-ɲŋ-o 3FSG-NOM-
wan after PROG ABIL again 3FSG-
because mother 3MSG live
‘Because of his coming back his mother could survive.’
Remarks

4  da-ŋ u ya-ŋa wa da mi? smat u ha-

PERF- 3MSGCL ACC- RP PERF go soon 3MSGCL to-village

say 1SG out

‘He told me that he was leaving the town soon.’

Remarks

5  da-ŋ kɔ wa ka-sŋaʊsok kɔ u-cʰet

PERF-say 3FSGCL RP 3FSG-like 3FSGCL DVM-cook

‘She said that she likes to cook.’

Remarks

6  da- ka-payu yɔŋ-a ya-ŋa wa da- jɔr innin i-met

kʰana slap

PERF- 3FSG- GEN- ACC- RP PERF- heavy yesterday -
tell sibling 1SG 1SG rain night

‘My sister told me that it rained heavily last night.’

Remarks
PHONEMIC INVENTORY OF PNAR
(Following IPA 93 convention)

Consonants

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List of the Informants

(I) 1. Name: Phrangsŋi Pirțo
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:
(X)  1. Name: Bingsen Jaitang Chian
    2. Age/Sex  75/M
    3. Native: Jowai staying in Shillong
    4. Education: Illiterate
    5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi
    6. Parents:
      Father  Mother:
    7. Occupation: Tea – Stall owner
    8. Informant’s Position among Siblings:

(XI)  1. Name: Ronald vyne Sariang
    2. Age/Sex  23/M
    3. Native: Jowai
    4. Education: M.A. (LIN), NEHU
    5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English
    6. Parents:
      Father  Businessman  Mother: Teacher
    7. Occupation: Student
    8. Informant’s Position among Siblings:  First

(XII) 1. Name: H. Wanni Passah
    2. Age/Sex  22/M
    3. Native: Jowai
    4. Education: M.Sc. (Zoology), NEHU
    5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, Nagamese, English
    6. Parents:
      Father  Late  Mother: Late
    7. Occupation: Student

(XIII) 1. Name: Portia Shylla
    2. Age/Sex  23/F
    3. Native: Jowai
    4. Education: B.A.
    5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English
    6. Parents:
      Father  Mother:
    7. Occupation: Unemployed

(XIV) 1. Name: Lanusha Marboh
    2. Age/Sex  26/F
    3. Native: Shillong
    4. Education: 10+2
    5. Languages known: Pnar, Khasi, English and Hindi.
    6. Parents:
      Father  Lawyer  Mother: Govt. Servant
7. Occupation: Housewife


