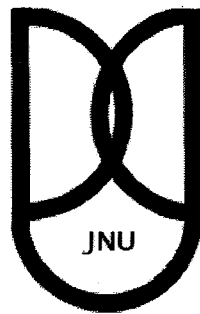


# **Pronominal Clitics in Pnar and Khasi**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial  
fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**ANISH KOSHY**

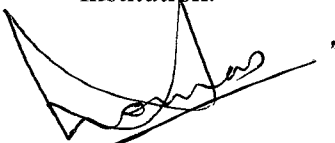


**Centre for Linguistics  
School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067, India  
2007**

13<sup>th</sup> July, 2007

## **DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE**

This dissertation titled "**Pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi**" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.



**(Anish Koshy)**

**M.Phil. student**

**Centre for Linguistics**

**School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies**

**Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi – 110067.**



Centre for Linguistics  
School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies  
**जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय**  
**Jawaharlal Nehru University**  
New Delhi-110067 India

Date: 13.07.2007

**CERTIFICATE**

Certified that the dissertation titled "**Pronominal Clitics in Pnar and Khasi**" submitted by **Anish Koshy** to the Centre for Linguistics, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

(**PROF. ANVITA ABBI**)

**SUPERVISOR**

**Professor Anvita Abbi**  
**Centre for Linguistics**  
**School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies**  
**Jawaharlal Nehru University**  
**New Delhi - 110 067**

(**PROF. P.K.S. PANDEY**)

**CHAIRPERSON**

**Prof. P.K.S. Pandey**  
**Chairperson**  
**Centre for Linguistics**  
**School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies**  
**Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi-110067**

*Excerpt*

*"Man is equally incapable of seeing the nothingness from which he emerges and the infinity in which he is engulfed."*

*Blaise Pascal*

*Dedicated to God's glory,  
for the ways in which He has led me through  
this journey  
and  
brought me to this point in life.*

## **Acknowledgement:**

The end of a prolonged task is as difficult to execute as its beginning. This dissertation which started almost a year back is now coming to a close. The doubts with which I started the task have now gone, leaving behind in its course sweet memories of friends and teachers who have helped me in the course of this work. This is my acknowledgement of the privilege I have had of being guided, helped, and encouraged by many people in the writing of this dissertation. Though it appears now as a single person's work, the efforts of many behind the scenes made sure that the task undertaken a year ago was brought to fruition.

Foremost as ever I am thankful to God almighty for continued blessings. When my own light went dim, my motivation sagged and my energy sapped, I am thankful that God's ever-present assurance was always there for me. Praise be to God for keeping my flame burning.

I am thankful to Prof Anvita Abbi, my supervisor for her availability at all times, even when I needed guidelines over the phone from Meghalaya. I have really enjoyed working with her and have profited a lot from her advice and corrections. This dissertation would not have taken the shape it has taken but for the many hours she devoted to the meticulous reading of this work, correcting and suggesting improvements. She initiated me into field-work based linguistic investigation and I hope to continue it for life.

Prof Pramod Pandey, my Chairperson, has been very resourceful and very considerate towards all my requirements in this period of research work. He has always been a constant friend and teacher. I remember with gratitude the things I have learnt from him on the methodology of research apart from the training in phonetics and phonology I have got from him. Though I could not contact Dr Ayesha Kidwai during the writing of this dissertation, I remember her with gratitude for having given me an excellent training in syntax and morphology during my MA.

My field trip to Meghalaya which constituted a major part of this research would not have been possible but for the help and support I received from many people. Kong

Becky was the first to help. She drew up a list of people I must meet in Shillong, and that was only the beginning of her benevolence towards me. The love and enthusiasm she has shown towards me all through my research period has been a great motivating factor. Her brother Albert's help in Shillong, along with the nice time we had together, has become an indelible part of my memories of the time.

Kong Bianca supplemented Kong Becky in doing everything for me as far as my Jowai visit and Pnar doubts were concerned. She arranged for me to stay in Jowai in her place, and her mother Kong Lut and sister Diza are also gratefully remembered. Kong Lut was kind enough to introduce me to Mr. SQ Sumer and Mrs PP Paslein, who helped me a lot with my doubts on Pnar and spent many of their valuable hours listening to my queries and answering my specific problems. Kong Lut's help in getting me an accommodation in the Jowai Circuit House during my second visit to Jowai is also acknowledged. Thank you Pyni for the tasty Jaintia food I enjoyed as I stayed at Kong Lut's place.

Chandan Bhaiya came to Shillong as a God-sent blessing to me. He introduced me to James and Sanjay, who provided me with help anytime I wanted. Chaudaryji can not be thanked enough. Not only did I enjoy free hospitality at his office, but also the weekly parties at his residence are something I miss even now. That he took care of all my material needs in Shillong would not be an over-statement. They know best that there is more that I must thank them for.

Dr. Awadhesh Mishra is gratefully acknowledged for taking care of my initial lodging at the CIEFL guest house in Shillong. Once I was in Shillong, Kong Phyrnai took control of all my language consultant needs in Sohra, and introduced me to four lovely young enthusiastic students of her, who helped me go from house to house and collect linguistic samples in Khasi. These four people, Dawningstar, Sanbor, Meridaker and Balamera spent whole days running around with me and I am grateful for their time and enthusiasm. The party at Kong Phyrnai's place was a lip-smacking one, and the taste still lingers. Kamal and Kong Yalanda can not be thanked enough for their tremendous hospitality and help. They took many pains in introducing me to

Becky was the first to help. She drew up a list of people I must meet in Shillong, and that was only the beginning of her benevolence towards me. The love and enthusiasm she has shown towards me all through my research period has been a great motivating factor. Her brother Albert's help in Shillong, along with the nice time we had together, has become an indelible part of my memories of the time.

Kong Bianca supplemented Kong Becky in doing everything for me as far as my Jowai visit and Pnar doubts were concerned. She arranged for me to stay in Jowai in her place, and her mother Kong Lut and sister Diza are also gratefully remembered. Kong Lut was kind enough to introduce me to Mr. SQ Sumer and Mrs PP Paslein, who helped me a lot with my doubts on Pnar and spent many of their valuable hours listening to my queries and answering my specific problems. Kong Lut's help in getting me an accommodation in the Jowai Circuit House during my second visit to Jowai is also acknowledged. Thank you Pyni for the tasty Jaintia food I enjoyed as I stayed at Kong Lut's place.

Chandan Bhैया came to Shillong as a God-sent blessing to me. He introduced me to James and Sanjay, who provided me with help anytime I wanted. Chaudaryji can not be thanked enough. Not only did I enjoy free hospitality at his office, but also the weekly parties at his residence are something I miss even now. That he took care of all my material needs in Shillong would not be an over-statement. They know best that there is more that I must thank them for.

Dr. Awadhesh Mishra is gratefully acknowledged for taking care of my initial lodging at the CIEFL guest house in Shillong. Once I was in Shillong, Kong Phyrnai took control of all my language consultant needs in Sohra, and introduced me to four lovely young enthusiastic students of her, who helped me go from house to house and collect linguistic samples in Khasi. These four people, Dawningstar, Sanbor, Meridaker and Balamera spent whole days running around with me and I am grateful for their time and enthusiasm. The party at Kong Phyrnai's place was a lip-smacking one, and the taste still lingers. Kamal and Kong Yalanda can not be thanked enough for their tremendous hospitality and help. They took many pains in introducing me to

### **Acknowledgement:**

The end of a prolonged task is as difficult to execute as its beginning. This dissertation which started almost a year back is now coming to a close. The doubts with which I started the task have now gone, leaving behind in its course sweet memories of friends and teachers who have helped me in the course of this work. This is my acknowledgement of the privilege I have had of being guided, helped, and encouraged by many people in the writing of this dissertation. Though it appears now as a single person's work, the efforts of many behind the scenes made sure that the task undertaken a year ago was brought to fruition.

Foremost as ever I am thankful to God almighty for continued blessings. When my own light went dim, my motivation sagged and my energy sapped, I am thankful that God's ever-present assurance was always there for me. Praise be to God for keeping my flame burning.

I am thankful to Prof Anvita Abbi, my supervisor for her availability at all times, even when I needed guidelines over the phone from Meghalaya. I have really enjoyed working with her and have profited a lot from her advice and corrections. This dissertation would not have taken the shape it has taken but for the many hours she devoted to the meticulous reading of this work, correcting and suggesting improvements. She initiated me into field-work based linguistic investigation and I hope to continue it for life.

Prof Pramod Pandey, my Chairperson, has been very resourceful and very considerate towards all my requirements in this period of research work. He has always been a constant friend and teacher. I remember with gratitude the things I have learnt from him on the methodology of research apart from the training in phonetics and phonology I have got from him. Though I could not contact Dr Ayesha Kidwai during the writing of this dissertation, I remember her with gratitude for having given me an excellent training in syntax and morphology during my MA.

My field trip to Meghalaya which constituted a major part of this research would not have been possible but for the help and support I received from many people. Kong



different people, and were always willing to accept me in their home notwithstanding my nuisance value!

And when I had thought I had exhausted all my options in Jowai, and was quite disheartened at not being able to meet many elderly people who by nature were very reserved, I was blessed by my meeting with Kong Wanchua in Shillong, who introduced me to Mr. OR Shallam in Jowai. Kamtre became my resourceful friend, as I traveled through the market 'Iaw-Musiang' collecting linguistic samples in Pnar. Mr. Shallam also introduced me to Mr Carehome Pakyntein, who helped me meet many religious elders of the piamtre fellowship. Nivolynn, my Sutlej friend Robert's friend, was very resourceful in getting me a few language consultants in Jowai.

I have very special memories with friends in Shillong whose company made the field trip experience a very homely affair. Zach, Bimal, Binu, Wansuk, Mary and Jean, all of us together or in groups were always there in the midst of all fun and frolic, work and party. From Bimals' birthday party, to our expedition to the Elephant falls, all these events remain etched in my memory. I can not thank them enough for having accepted me so readily as one among them. My stay with Zach was a very pleasant experience and buddy I hope you would also give me some opportunity of hospitality in the future.

I would also like to thank all my informants who participated in this research enterprise without any sign of complaint or exhaustion. Many thanks are also due to Rawatjee and Reena, for their help from time to time in the official business related to the field work and dissertation. Finally I thank my family for their support and encouragement throughout the period of my study in JNU. Raja's time to time help from Ohio with materials beginning with a book he lost on transit is gratefully acknowledged. My Sutlej friends' good humour and ability to look at everything in the campus from a lighter side were part of the necessary distractions during the course of the work. Though I do not mention anyone anymore by name, this dissertation acknowledges the listening ears, unwavering support and good advice of many people, from its inception through its end.

<u>Contents</u>	<u>Page</u>
<b>Declaration</b>	
<b>Certificate</b>	
<b>Dedication</b>	
<b>Acknowledgement</b>	iv
<b>Contents</b>	vii
<b>List of abbreviations used</b>	ix
<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>1-23</b>
1.1. Overview of the dissertation	3
1.2. Methodology	5
1.3. Earlier work on Pnar and Khasi	6
1.4. Perspectives on the pronominal element (called “clitics” in this study) in the traditional descriptions of Khasi	7
1.5. Perspectives on clitics and other related phenomena	8
1.5.1. Clitics	10
1.5.1.1. A brief survey of clitics in Munda languages	23
<b>2. Pronominals in Pnar and the syntactic configuration of pronominal clitics</b>	<b>24-90</b>
2.1. Personal pronouns	24-33
2.1.1. Personal pronouns in the nominative case and verbal enclitics	24
2.1.2. Personal pronouns in the accusative, dative and sociative case	27
2.1.3. Proclitics and enclitics	28
2.1.4. The third person proclitic [i]	30
2.2. Possessive pronouns	33
2.3. Reflexive pronouns	35
2.4. Reciprocal pronouns	37
2.5. Deictic/demonstrative pronouns and temporal-spatial deixis	39
2.6. Indefinite pronouns	43
2.7. Relative pronouns and relative clauses	55
2.8. Interrogative pronouns	58-72
2.8.1. Wh-questions	58
2.8.2. Polar questions	70
2.9. Pronominal clitics and tense and aspect markers.	72
2.10. Pronominal clitics and the syntax of modal verbs	73
2.11. Pronominal clitics and nominal modifiers	75
2.12. Pronominal clitics and verbal modifiers	77
2.13. Pronominal clitics in causative structures	77
2.14. Pronominal clitics in passive structures	79
2.15. Pronominal clitics in negative sentences	79
2.16. Pronominal clitics and the syntax of copular verbs	81
2.17. Pronominal clitics and nominal incorporation	83
2.18. Pronominal clitics in reduplicated structures	87
2.19. Pronominal clitics in VSO structures	89
2.20. Pronominal clitics and objects	89
2.21. Conclusion	90

<b>3. Pronominals in Khasi and the syntactic configuration of pronominal clitics</b>	<b>91-151</b>
3.1. Personal pronouns	91-101
3.1.1. Personal pronouns in the nominative case	91
3.1.2. The status of the pronominal element preceding the verb phrase	94
3.1.3. Personal pronouns in the accusative, dative and sociative case	100
3.1.4. Proclitics	101
3.2. Possessive pronouns	103
3.3. Reflexive pronouns	103
3.4. Reciprocal pronouns	104
3.5. Deictic/demonstrative pronouns and temporal-spatial deixis	106
3.6. Indefinite pronouns	111
3.7. Relative pronouns and relative clauses	122
3.8. Interrogative pronouns	124-32
3.8.1. Wh-questions	124
3.8.2. Polar questions	132
3.9. Pronominal clitics and tense and aspect markers.	132
3.10. Pronominal clitics and the syntax of modal verbs	133
3.11. Pronominal clitics and nominal modifiers	134
3.12. Pronominal clitics and verbal modifiers	138
3.13. Pronominal clitics in causative structures	139
3.14. Pronominal clitics in passive structures	140
3.15. Pronominal clitics in negative sentences	141
3.16. Pronominal clitics and the syntax of copular verbs	144
3.17. Pronominal clitics and nominal incorporation	145
3.18. Pronominal clitics in reduplicated structures	148
3.19. Pronominal clitics in VSO structures	150
3.20. Conclusion	151
<b>4. A typological comparison of pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi</b>	<b>152-67</b>
<b>5. Conclusion</b>	<b>168-77</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>178-85</b>
<b>Appendix A: A Pnar narration</b>	<b>186</b>
<b>Appendix B: A Khasi narration</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>Appendix C: Maps of Meghalaya; East Khasi Hills District, Meghalaya; Jaintia Hills District, Meghalaya</b>	<b>188-89</b>
<b>Appendix D: Pnar informants</b>	<b>190-92</b>
<b>Appendix E: Khasi informants</b>	<b>193-95</b>



**List of abbreviations used:**

<b>1PLCL</b>	FIRST PERSON PLURAL CLITIC	<b>COMPL</b>	COMPLETIVE ASPECT MARKER
<b>1SG</b>	FIRST PERSON SINGULAR PRONOMINAL	<b>COND</b>	CONDITIONAL MARKER
<b>1SGCL</b>	FIRST PERSON SINGULAR CLITIC	<b>CONJ</b>	CONJUNCTION
<b>2FSG</b>	SECOND PERSON FEMININE SINGULAR PRONOMINAL	<b>DAT</b>	DATIVE CASE MARKER
<b>2FSGCL</b>	SECOND PERSON FEMININE SINGULAR CLITIC	<b>DISTDEM</b>	DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE MORPHEME
<b>2MSG</b>	SECOND PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR PRONOMINAL	<b>DISTR</b>	DISTRIBUTIVE MORPHEME
<b>2MSGCL</b>	SECOND PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR CLITIC	<b>EMPH</b>	EMPHATIC MARKER
<b>2PL</b>	SECOND PERSON PLURAL PRONOMINAL	<b>EPT</b>	EMPTY PARTICLE
<b>2PLCL</b>	SECOND PERSON PLURAL CLITIC	<b>EPTDR</b>	EMPTY PARTICLE IN DISCONTINUOUS REDUPLICATION
<b>3ESGCL</b>	THIRD PERSON EPICENE SINGULAR CLITIC	<b>FUT</b>	FUTURE TENSE
<b>3FSG</b>	THIRD PERSON FEMININE SINGULAR PRONOMINAL	<b>GEN</b>	GENITIVE CASE MARKER
<b>3FSGCL</b>	THIRD PERSON FEMININE SINGULAR CLITIC	<b>HAB</b>	HABITUAL ASPECT MARKER
<b>3MSG</b>	THIRD PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR PRONOMINAL	<b>HORT</b>	HORTATIVE MOOD MARKER
<b>3MSGCL</b>	THIRD PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR CLITIC	<b>INF</b>	NON-FINITE VERB MARKER
<b>3PL</b>	THIRD PERSON PLURAL PRONOMINAL	<b>INSTR</b>	INSTRUMENTAL CASE MARKER
<b>3PLCL</b>	THIRD PERSON PLURAL CLITIC	<b>INTENS</b>	INTENSIFIER
<b>ABL</b>	ABLATIVE CASE MARKER	<b>LOC</b>	LOCATIVE CASE MARKER
<b>ABSNOUN</b>	ABSTRACT NOUN MARKER	<b>MOD:ABIL</b>	ABILITY MARKING MODAL
<b>ACC</b>	ACCUSTATIVE CASE MARKER	<b>MOD:OBLIG</b>	OBLIGATION MARKING MODAL
<b>AGENT</b>	AGENTIVE MARKER	<b>MOD:PERM</b>	PERMISSION MARKING MODAL
<b>ALL</b>	ALLATIVE CASE MARKER	<b>NEG</b>	NEGATIVE PARTICLE
<b>CAUS</b>	CAUSATIVE MARKER	<b>NOM</b>	NOMINALIZER
<b>CL:HUM</b>	HUMAN CLASSIFIER	<b>PASS</b>	PASSIVE MORPHEME
<b>COMP</b>	COMPLEMENT CLAUSE MARKER	<b>PERF</b>	PERFECT ASPECT MARKER
		<b>PROG</b>	PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKER
		<b>PROH:NEG</b>	PROHIBITORY NEGATION
		<b>PROXDEM</b>	PROXIMAL DEMONSTRATIVE
		<b>PT</b>	PARTICLE (used in interrogatives and indefinites)
		<b>RECIPRO</b>	RECIPROCATIVE MARKER
		<b>RP</b>	RELATIVIZING PARTICLE
		<b>SOC</b>	SOCIATIVE CASE MARKER



## **Chapter-01**

### ***Introduction***

The Mon-Khmer languages constitute a major sub-group of the Austro-Asiatic<sup>1</sup> family of languages. These languages are mostly represented in Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar, India, Bangladesh and China. Most of the Mon-Khmer languages are spoken outside the Indian sub-continent. In India these languages are spoken in Meghalaya and in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Diffloth and Zide (1992) consider the Austro-Asiatic language as probably the most ancient of languages in Southeast Asia and East India. Meghalaya represents the Khasian sub-branch of the Northern Mon-Khmer languages, namely Khasi and Pnar (War is mostly spoken in Bangladesh, though there are some speakers in Meghalaya also). Diffloth and Zide make a very crucial comment regarding the “so-called Khasi dialects, such as Synteng (Pnar), Lynggam, and Amwi (also called War)” that they “are clearly distinct but related languages” (1). The Nicobar languages, namely, Car Nicobarese, Chaura, Teressa, Southern Nicobarese, Central Nicobarese and Shom Peng are spoken by the tribal groups inhabiting the Nicobar Islands (Diffloth and Zide 1992; Gordon 2005).

According to the last Census report published by the Government of India on the languages of India in 1991, Khasi is spoken by 700047, Pnar/Synteng by 169388 and War by 26735 people, which is around 0.11% of the total Indian population. The total number of Nicobarese speakers (all the tribes) in India is 26261, which is not even 0.01% of the Indian population. Both Nicobarese and Khasi have been given the status of ‘Non-scheduled languages’. The Census report 2001 on ‘Language’ has not been published yet.

Langstieh et al (2004)'s study shows that the tribal populations in Meghalaya are relatively homogenous with no other population barring the “War-Khasi and Pnar” showing “any semblance of genetic identity” (569). They find “a relatively low co-

---

<sup>1</sup> The existence of an Austro-Asiatic family of languages, or the relationship between Munda languages and Mon-Khmer languages has been contested by various scholars. The debate is far from being settled. See de Hevesy (1930) for reservations against W.Schmidt's postulations favouring an Austric family of languages.

efficient of gene differentiation” and believe “the short history of separation of the Meghalaya tribes” to be the reason for their homogeneity. The term ‘Khasi’ was traditionally understood to cover all the seven/eight Mon-Khmer tribes inhabiting Meghalaya. However the term is now increasingly used to refer to a particular sub-tribe called Khyriam, whose variety of Khasi has been adopted as the standard form and used in education, literature and media. The term Khasi used in this work, unless otherwise specified, refers to this sub-tribe Khyriam and its variety of the language. What we find in standard literature on the Khasi language is the description and analysis of this particular variety of the language spoken mainly in Cherrapunjee<sup>2</sup> (called ‘Sohra’ locally) and called [ka-tien-sohra] ‘the language of Sohra’. Pnar is the spoken language of the second largest sub-group among the Khasi/ Mon-Khmer tribes after Khyriam. Pnar is spoken in the Jaintia Hills District of Meghalaya. The major tribal populations in Meghalaya and their respective size are listed in Table 1 (adapted from Langstieh et al (2004)):

<i>Population</i>	<i>Approximate size</i>	<i>Traditional Occupation</i>	<i>Distribution in Meghalaya</i>
Khyriam	550548	Settled agriculturists	East Khasi Hills District
Pnar	259667	Settled agriculturists	Jaintia Hills District
Maram	200000	Settled agriculturists	West Khasi Hills District
Bhoi	179630	Shifting cultivators	Ri-Bhoi District
War Jaintia	36025	Horticulturists	Jaintia Hills District
War Khasi	33000	Horticulturists	East Khasi Hills District
Nongtrai	6000	Shifting cultivators	West Khasi Hills District

Table 1: Major Mon-Khmer tribal populations of Meghalaya

Apart from the varieties listed above, other linguistic varieties of Khasi have also been reported like Langrin Khasi discussed in Nagaraja (1996). The variety of Khasi described in this work is the standard form spoken in Cherrapunjee and Shillong. The

<sup>2</sup> On 5<sup>th</sup> July, 2007, the Government of Meghalaya unanimously adopted the resolution to replace the name Cherrapunjee and officially adopt the original name of the place ‘Sohra’, by which it has always been referred to by the local people (Source: “Soon Cherrapunjee to be called Sohra”, 06.07.2007, *The Times of India*, New Delhi edition, page 9).



variety of Pnar described in this study is the one spoken in Jowai, the district headquarters of the Jaintia Hills district.

Pnar is spoken in the Jaintia Hills District (see Appendix C for the maps of Meghalaya and Jaintia Hills District), situated in the eastern most part of Meghalaya with Jowai as its headquarter. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people. "Among the Jaintias" as Sumer and Laloo (2005: 66) puts it "inheritance of ancestral property - wealth, land and houses go to the daughters, but ka wasdiah or the youngest daughter gets the lion's share. This is so because the Jaintias like the Khasis follow the matrilineal system of society, that is, all of them take their title from the mother's side." Among the most important festivals of the Jaintias is the Behdeinkhlam festival, a harvest festival held over four days every year in July after the sowing season. This festival is celebrated only by those who follow the indigenous religious tradition called *piamtre*. According to Challam et al (2003), it is a festival well preserved by tradition bringing the people closer to mother-earth and to U Treikirot, the almighty God. People celebrate nature's bounty by dancing on mud and soil.

It is rather difficult to get sources that talk of the Khyntiam-Khasis distinctly from the other Mon-Khmer tribes of Meghalaya (see for example Gurdon (1914)). The term Khasi is often used not only to refer to the Khyntiams in particular, but also in general to refer to all the Mon-Khmer tribes in Meghalaya. The main occupation of the Khasis is also agriculture. Standard Khasi is spoken in the East Khasi Hills District, especially in Sohra (Cherrapunjee) and Shillong (see Appendix C for the map of the East Khasi Hills District). Their traditional dress, religion, and festivals are different from that of the Pnars, especially the dress worn by women. The Khasis also follow a matrilineal, matrilocal tradition like the Pnars. Descent is traced through the mother. Important Khasi festivals of dance include Ka Shad Suk Mynsiem and Ka Pom-Blang Nongkrem. These celebrate harvest and sowing.

### **1.1. Overview of the dissertation**

The subject matter of this study is the analysis of the morphological and syntactic aspects of pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi. A detailed analysis of the pronominal

system of the two languages has been undertaken to provide the necessary background to the analysis of the pronominal clitics. Pronominal clitics in these languages are studied in their morphological role of word-formation, and with respect to their role in various syntactic processes like pro-drop, incorporation, case-assignment and agreement. Apart from these the interaction of clitics with various grammatical processes like causativization, passivization etc has also been looked into. The presumed interaction of negation and tense with the 'pronominals' in Khasi has also been investigated yielding interesting conclusions. Both the languages which have a dominant basic word-order of SVO also have an alternative word-order, namely, VSO. The VSO structures display interesting phenomenon with respect to the clitics and this has also been studied. The typological nature of clitics in Pnar and Khasi has also been investigated based on the extensive typological parameters for the study of clitics (cf: Aikhenvald, 2002; Sadock, 1991; Zwicky, 1977, 1985, 1987; Zwicky and Pullum, 1983; Klavans 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1995; Anderson 1992, 1993, 1996, 2000; Halpern 1995, 2001 and Everett 1996).

This dissertation gives a comprehensive overview of the pronominal system in both Pnar and Khasi. Apart from the personal pronouns, this overview includes traditionally recognized pronominal subcategories like possessive, interrogative, demonstrative, indefinite and relative pronouns. Apart from the interaction of the pronominal clitics with the pronouns in these languages, various syntactic constructions are also discussed with respect to their interaction with the pronominal clitics. In Chapter 1, I have given a brief introduction of the two tribes of Meghalaya that speak the two languages which form the subject matter of this work, along with some of the existing work on the two languages. I also provide a brief overview of the literature representing various positions of scholars on clitics in general and pronominal clitics in particular. These scholarly views are then taken up again in Chapter 5 for a detailed analysis of the pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 form the core of description and analysis. In Chapter 2, I take up Pnar, describe its pronominal system, discuss the proclitics and enclitics in the language and study their interaction with various grammatical processes like causativization, passivization, nominal incorporation etc., and with various grammatical structures like VSO structures, relative clauses, questions etc. Chapter 3 does a similar analysis and description for Khasi as Chapter 2 does for Pnar. In Chapter 4, I present a tabulated

comparative and contrastive overview of the pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi. Chapter 5 analyses the pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi in the light of the various theoretical positions stated in Chapter 1 and reaches conclusions and opens up newer areas that requires further research.

## **1.2. Methodology**

The primary material for this study came from my field-work among the speakers of Khasi and Pnar in Meghalaya from October, 2006 to December, 2006. Linguistic samples were collected by translation of model sentences, designed specifically to extract structures showing various syntactic and morphological features of pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi. The basic sentences for collecting field data from Abbi (2001: 248-252) was used as a model in this task. In addition to the translations, audio and video recordings were made of narrations. The sampling of speakers was done keeping in mind the following parameters – age, sex, education, native place (interpreted here as the place of upbringing), and finally the number of languages that the speakers were multilingual in. The total number of speakers consulted in the course of the field work is ‘69’ for Pnar and ‘51’ for Khasi. The details of the informants are given in Appendices D and E. When consulting monolingual speakers (who were also generally uneducated), help was taken from other native speakers of Pnar and Khasi. Translations were not sought from them to avoid the interference in translation from the translators. Only narrations were recorded from them. Another parameter that was kept in mind but not sought explicitly as information was that of religion. The Pnars follow mainly two religious traditions – Christianity and the indigenous religion called *niamtre*. The Khasis also follow two religious traditions - that of Christianity and the indigenous form called *Sen-Khasi*. The translation and audio/video samples include speakers from both religious traditions. The data for Khasi was collected from Cherrapunjee (called 'Sohra' locally) and Shillong. As noted earlier, Standard Khasi is called 'ka-tien-sohra' (the language of Sohra). The data for Pnar was collected from Jowai, both from Panaliar, where the *niamtres* generally live and from other parts of the town. For structures involving incorporation and a VSO word order, sentences were constructed by the researcher and grammaticality judgments were sought from the native

speakers. All narrations collected have not been translated or transcribed due to paucity of time but will be used in future research. However sentences from some of the narrations are part of the examples in the text.

Secondary material in terms of descriptive grammars is available only for Khasi, namely Rabel (1961) and Nagaraja (1985). Their position on and analysis of the pronominal clitics in Khasi has been dealt with in this chapter. Though the literature survey presented in this chapter includes perspectives from various linguistic theories like Generative grammar, LFG, HPSG, Autolexical syntax, Optimality theory etc., this study neither proposes to defend nor critique any particular grammatical theory or position. This study is based on Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT)<sup>3</sup>.

### **1.3. Earlier work on Pnar and Khasi**

Though Khasi has been researched and studied to some extent, Pnar has largely remained ignored, subsumed as a dialect/variety of Khasi. There is no published material available on the Pnar language. Bareh (1977: 37-54) in his chapter on 'Khasi Linguistics' discusses the various dialects of Khasi spoken in Meghalaya. He uses Khasi as a cover term, and what we know as standard Khasi (which will be investigated in this study) is called the 'Cherra' variety. He calls Pnar as 'Jowai' (the name of the district headquarters of Jaintia Hills district). The alternative names used for Pnar other than 'Jowai' include 'Jaintia' and 'Synteng'. Bareh's focus is largely on the cognates in the 11 dialects he recognizes (in fact he finds Grierson (1904)'s recognition of only five varieties inadequate). Tham (1994) speaks of only those varieties listed by Grierson (1904), namely the standard variety called 'ka tien sohra' (the dialect of Sohra or Cherrapunjee), Pnar/Synteng, War and Lyngngam. Missionaries contributed the new Khasi alphabet in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which is the Roman alphabet. Linguistic works like Grierson (1904), Singh (1904; 1920), Rabel (1961), Nagaraja (1984, 1985, 1993, 1996, 1997), Abbi (1978/1987, 1992), Abbi and Victor (1997) deserve special mention among the existing research works on Khasi.

---

<sup>3</sup> The emphasis in BLT is on work that has a sound empirical basis, along with a firm theoretical orientation in terms of a general typological theory.

#### **1.4. Perspectives on the pronominal element (called “clitics” in this study) in the traditional descriptions of Khasi**

Rabel (1961) and Nagaraja (1985) discuss that Khasi nominals, modifiers (including adjectives, relative clauses), demonstratives, interrogative pronouns, the numeral ‘one’ and the indefinite pronouns begin with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal element. According to them the same pronominal element begins the VP too.

Rabel terms the pronominal element preceding nominals, verbs and the numeral ‘one’ as a “gender article” (48), which she uses as a tentative term (67); she at another place calls the same pronominal element preceding the verbs as “a personal pronoun” (58). While she talks of how negation as an affix “fuses with the preceding pronoun” (61), she offers no explanation for the same, as to how a verbal element can fuse with a nominal element. She argues that demonstratives and interrogatives are compounds, made up of a personal pronoun compounded with a demonstrative and interrogative base, as the case may be. She defines “word” as a “morpheme with a lexical meaning... (with) inability for further analysis” (100). Going by this definition she concludes that “affixation plays a decidedly minor role in Khasi” (102). Even if she does not use the term, Khasi according to her description comes out to be a classical example of an isolating language. She considers SVO to be the Basic Word Order of Khasi, with the OSV structure also permitted (126). She also discusses the permissible omissions of “the pronoun belonging to the verb construction” (128-29).

Nagaraja (1985) also contends that “in Khasi very little of morphology is found” (3). He calls the pronominal element preceding the nominals, relative clauses and demonstratives as “pronominal markers” (7, 21), and significantly considers the 3<sup>rd</sup> person personal pronouns as being “the same morphemes” as those called “pronominal markers” (11). He looks upon demonstratives, interrogative pronouns and the indefinite pronouns as composite forms, containing demonstrative and interrogative bound elements and “pronominal markers” (11). As for the pronominal element in the verb phrase, Nagaraja says that “a verb phrase obligatorily consists of a pronoun... (which) occurs in the initial position of the verb phrase” (29). He also discusses how the future tense marker [-n] and the negative marker [-+m] appear “as

part of the preceding word” (30, 35). In other sections he discusses how these preceding words are the relativizing particle [ba] or the pronoun of the verb.

### **1.5. Perspectives on clitics and other related phenomena**

This is a brief survey of literature on various aspects of pronouns and pronominal clitics covered by this study. This provides an overview of various theoretical positions taken on clitics. As the discussion shows, there is no one definition or common understanding of what constitutes or does not constitute a clitic. If one were to not get over-whelmed by these varying theoretical positions, one would find that clitics have been observed to be occupying intermediary stages in many languages between full pronouns and grammatical affixes in the function of being agreement markers. Aikhenvald (2002:56-57) makes a very significant statement that “personal pronouns frequently go through a stage of cliticization before they become cross-referencing or agreement markers... clitics represent an intermediary stage of a development path, from ‘full’ words to ‘full’ affixes.” Dixon (1997) echoes the same idea about the development of bound pronouns in his discussion of the various modes of linguistic changes. He says:

At one stage of a language’s development, subject and object are shown by free pronouns outside the verb. Then these develop into obligatory clitic pronouns that every verb must include (either for both core constituents, subject and object, or just for one) (55).

Fuß (2004) takes up the common assumption that “pronouns are the primary historical source of subject-verb agreement morphology” and examines how “new verbal agreement markers can evolve via a reanalysis of subject clitics” (167). For Fuß “the historical development of (bound) agreement markers necessarily proceeds via a stage where clitics are reanalyzed as inflectional affixes” (168). Haiman (1991) talks of “the degeneration of personal pronouns into agreement marking affixes on finite verbs” (135). On clitics, he adds that “bound clitics are not- at least not diachronically-generated *ex nihilo*. At some previous stage in the languages it is almost certain that they were ‘full’ pronouns with agreement status” (138), a point that Givón (1976) also makes. As a point of reference he discusses the Italian obligatory subject marker [o], and adds that the marker’s sensitivity to whether a sentence is an assertion or question is characteristic of it being a clitic. He also discusses “the degeneration of pronoun

subjects to clitics (and ultimately, to completely bound verbal agreement markers)” (148). Pronouns have been understood to develop into agreement markers in various languages of the world via a stage of pronominal cliticization, and the use of pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi for subject agreement, makes this discussion important for our purposes. While I am forced to keep out language-specific discussions on clitics in this chapter due to constraints of space, I include a section on the clitics in Munda languages in recognition of their close genetic proximity to Pnar and Khasi. The discussion on pro-drop assumes significance in the light of the fact that both Pnar and Khasi drop their pronominals only in the subject position in a very rigorous manner and pro-drop has been cross-linguistically associated with strong agreement, a function performed by clitics in these two languages. Rizzi (1982, 1986) among others proposes that languages allow pro-drop to the extent that their verbal agreement paradigm expresses the agreement features necessary for the recovery of the dropped arguments. Jelinek (1984) co-relates pro-drop with pronominal incorporation into the agreement system which helps the agreement morphology to satisfy a predicate’s argument slots. But Neeleman and Szendrői (2005)<sup>4</sup> argue that this usually accepted position is problematic in languages like Japanese and Chinese which show no agreement but allow pro-drop. The authors claim that “a language will allow radical pro-drop if its personal pronouns are agglutinative for case, number or some other nominal feature...in languages that do not have an agglutinative pronominal paradigm, omission of pronouns is possible but only in the presence of rich verbal agreement”(299-300). Bennis (2006) also highlights the case of pro-drop in Chinese with no inflectional system, and argues that “the availability of pro is not language specific but rather construction specific” (102) and discusses the pro-drop in imperatives. Pro-drop raises a very interesting question regarding case-assignment to agreement markers/clitics and their syntactic eligibility to receive theta-roles.

The following literature survey on clitics though not exhaustive, includes the works of some of the most prominent scholars in this field including Arnold Zwicky, Judith Klavans, Stephen Anderson, Aaron Halpern, Alexandra Aikhenvald and Michael Cysouw among others.

---

<sup>4</sup> A version of this paper was presented at the V GLOW conference at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, October 2-4, 2005.

### 1.5.1. Clitics

Clitics are one of the most debated notions in current linguistic formulations, with differences in understanding ranging from definitional properties, to the very notion of ‘clitics’ themselves. There are also differences considering clitics and their position in sentences as falling within the domain of phonology, morphology or syntax or all. While many useful insights can be drawn from formulations based on particular theoretical frameworks like the Optimality theory, Generative syntax, HPSG etc, many of these formulations also fall prey to the limitations imposed by the over-riding principles of these theoretical frameworks. The literature survey presented here will help us delimit the criteria of our understanding of ‘clitics’ in these two languages. Considering the fact that identification of clitic elements relies on analysis of all levels of linguistic description, namely phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, and on the identification of other form classes, such as affixes and words, Sadock (1995) is justified in saying that “a clitic is an element whose distribution linguists cannot comfortably consign to a single grammatical component” (260).

According to Aikhenvald (2002) “clitics occupy an intermediate position between a full-fledged phonological word and an affix...a clitic attaches to a HOST, a morpheme with which it forms one phonological word” (43). She characterises clitics in terms of the following parameters:

- a. The direction in which they attach to a host - ‘proclitics’ before the host and ‘enclitics’ after it – or the position they occupy within a clitic-only phonological word;
- b. Their selectivity: whether they may attach to anything, or must attach to a particular kind of host (also discussed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983); Sadock (1991));
- c. The type of host they attach to; for example, the first word in a clause, the last word in an NP, any noun;
- d. Whether they form an independent phonological word or not (covering their relationship with stress) (also discussed in Sadock (1991));
- e. Segmental and phonotactic properties of clitics (compared with other morpheme types);



- f. Phonological cohesion (that is, processes occurring on a clitic-host boundary or between clitics) (also discussed in Sadock (1991));
- g. The relationship of clitics to pauses;
- h. Combinations of clitics; and the status of words including clitics, and of clitic-only words;
- i. Relative ordering in clitic strings (also discussed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983); Sadock (1991));
- j. Position with respect to what can be defined as affixes (also discussed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983); Sadock (1991));
- k. The correlation of clitics with grammatical words (also discussed in Sadock (1991));
- l. Their syntactic scope (also discussed in Sadock (1991));
- m. Possibilities of lexicalisation, and semantic and morphological idiosyncrasies (also discussed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983); Sadock (1991));
- n. Clitic-specific syntactic rules (also discussed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983); Sadock (1991)); and
- o. Correlation of clitics with word classes (also discussed in Sadock (1991)).

Zwicky (1977) introduces the distinction between ‘simple clitics’ and ‘special clitics’. Simple clitics are understood to be the deaccented, phonologically reduced forms of independently occurring words in the language. He uses the term ‘host’ to refer to the word to which a clitic attaches, and ‘group’ to refer to the entire (clitic)-host-(clitic) sequence. He considers the inability to be stressed as an important criterion for a clitic.

Zwicky and Pullum (1983) sets six parameters to define clitics which set them apart from affixes. These include lack of host-selectivity; ability to attach to material already containing clitics; absence of arbitrary host-clitic gaps, absence of morphophonological and semantic idiosyncrasies in host-clitic combinations, and absence of syntactic rules treating the host-clitic combination as a unit. One must note that the absence of irregularities is not evidence for clitic status; irregularities are just assumed to be more common in stem-affix combination than in host-clitic combinations. They hold that syntax can not look into a word’s phonology. Another important position taken by them is that “...word-clitic combinability is largely

governed by SYNTACTIC considerations. The conditions governing the combinability of stems with affixes are of quite a different sort: they are MORPHOLOGICAL and/or LEXICAL in character, being concerned with the substructure of a finite set of words" (503).

Zwicky (1985:304) claims that "in addition to clitics indicating particular arguments of a verb, modality, sentence type, negation etc., some serve to indicate speakers' state of mind with respect to the content or form of what is said, their estimate of the speaker/addressee relationship, or their estimate of the role of the current utterance within a larger discourse."

Zwicky (1987) makes a distinction between clitics and phrasal affixes, which have been considered clitics by other scholars. He makes this distinction based on interaction between the host and the clitic/phrasal affix. A clitic is only prosodically associated with its host, whereas a phrasal affix shows morphological interaction with its host. He rules out the English possessive [-s] as a clitic on this count. Zwicky (1994) states that clitics resemble both words with respect to their distributional properties and affixes due to their phonological behavior.

Important postulations in (Klavans (1979):

- a. In some languages, clitics must be analyzed as underlying words, which allows them to accept affixes.
- b. On her position that some clitics are words she states that "some clitics are members of major word classes, such as Noun, Verb, unlike affixes which do not have any categorical status. The clitics which do have class membership can be morphologically complex, that is, they can in general be inflected in the same way that other non-clitic words in the same language can be inflected" (71). She cites cases of endoclitics under this category.
- c. A universal clitics-as-underlying-affixes position is untenable.
- d. Discusses three types of clitics: proclitics, enclitics and endoclitics. The third category, referring to clitics that occur within the word was introduced by Zwicky (1977).

- e. Takes cliticization or clisis “to be the process which creates phonological words rather than grammatical words” (68).
- f. Clitics share some of the formal properties of words (like, they are syntactically free, can have varying placement, can move from lower clauses to higher clauses etc) as well as that of affixes (like, many clitics attach to a lexical item usually specified for class membership; see Halpern (1995) for his views on such clitics).
- g. A clitic can impose various restrictions on its host, but can not affect the lexical category of the host, a feature similar to inflectional affixes.
- h. She talks of 2P (second-position) clitics, as being enclitic on the first word in languages like Pashto, Ngiyambaa.
- i. Differentiating clitics from affixes, she states that “affixes attach to roots and stems to create words, whereas clitics attach to already formed words...clitics are extra-inflectional, in the sense that they attach to the rightmost or leftmost side of the word” (70).

Klavans (1980) claims that clitic placement is determined by factors that are partly syntactic and partly prosodic. Klavans (1982) analyses clitics in terms of three parameters: scope, anchor and orientation. Klavans (1982:5) surveys cases in which clitics receive accent through the operation of general accentual rules, or for emphasis or contrast. Klavans (1983) proposes that derivational clitics should precede inflectional clitics. Differentiating clitics from affixes she says that “for clitics, a host word can be a member of any word class, but must be dominated by a specified phrasal class, Xphrase. But for affixes, the converse holds, the stem must be a member of a specified word class, but can be dominated by any phrasal class” (106).

Important postulations in Klavans (1985) include:

- a. Klavans proposes three parameters governing the placement of clitics:
  - a) Parameter 1 (Dominance): whether a clitic attaches to the INITIAL or FINAL constituent (i.e. syntactic host) dominated by a specified phrase (i.e. domain of cliticization).
  - b) Parameter 2 (Precedence): whether a clitic occurs BEFORE or AFTER the host chosen by Parameter 1.

- c) Parameter 3 (Phonological liaison): whether a clitic attaches phonologically to a host (i.e. phonological host) on its left (PROCLITIC) or its right (ENCLITIC).
- b. Discusses cases where second position for 2P clitics can be after the first word or after the first phrase.
- c. She asserts that cliticization is actually “phrasal affixation” (100) (a term she attributes to Nida) but that Romance clitics are an exception since they attach to a head, namely the verb. She concludes that clitics represent verbal features and that they are becoming affixes since they have insertion requirements which resemble those of other verbal affixes. These clitics are like affixes with selectional properties. Clitics thus subcategorize for phrasal hosts. She excludes cliticization at the level of  $X^0$ . A clitic is similar to an affix in that it attaches to a host, but the host is determined syntactically, in terms of a certain phrasal domain.
- d. Clitic placement is determined by factors that are partly syntactic and partly prosodic.
- e. Phonological and structural attachment of clitics can be divergent, which explains the distinction between parameter 2 and parameter 3 listed above.

Klavans (1995) also claims that in 2P clitics, the second position can be after the first word or after the first phrase. She also cites one example, the Australian language Ngancara, in which clitics have distinct syntactic and phonological hosts. Klavans' works stress on what Halpern (2001: 117) calls “the independence of syntactic affiliation” of clitics from their “phonological/morphological attachment”.

For Anderson (1992), clitics and affixes have similar behaviour and the only difference between them is that clitics are phrasal affixes, that is, they are adjoined to syntactic phrases and are phonological reflexes of morphological rules that do not apply to word stems, while affixes are adjoined to words. He looks at clitics as bundles of morphosyntactic features which are added to the heads. Within the framework of A-morphous morphology, he introduces the category of DEPENDENT features whose value is assigned to the phrase and transmitted to all its daughters. According to him phrasal affixes which are not inflected lexical items but rather agreement markers which are attached to phrases to express inflection and whose

position is determined by rules of phrase-level morphology qualify to be a 'special' clitic in the sense of Zwicky (1977). He claims that morphosyntactic representations have no internal structure at all (92). In this approach, morphemes interpret the morphosyntactic features provided by the syntax, rather than contributing them, thus positing that morphology converts syntax into phonological strings. He considers inflectional morphology to be the morphology of syntax as it involves grammatical categories that play an important role in the syntax of a language. He looks at the terminal nodes of syntactic structure as bundles of morphosyntactic features that are not phonologically instantiated. Anderson (1992) defines a simple clitic as "an element of some basic word class, which appears in a position relative to the rest of the structure in which the normal rules of the syntax would (or at least could) put it" (200). They are members of particular word classes, and differ from lexical items only with respect to their accent-less nature (200). According to Spencer (1991) these forms can be affected by speech rate, level of formality etc (376). Anderson (1992) defines special clitics as those whose position within some phrasal unit is determined by principles other than those of the non-clitic syntax (201-202). (Spencer 1991: 376) adds that special clitics are not derived from full form equivalents by phrase phonological reduction processes, and therefore not dependent on factors such as speaking rate.

As Anderson (1993) notes, simple clitics have a "specific deficiency of prosodic structure" (74) whereas special clitics are those with properties not shared by their non-clitic counterparts. Wackernagel's second-position clitics would qualify as special clitics then. Anderson sees 'special clitics' "as material introduced into Phonological Form by rules of phrasal affixation entirely parallel to the introduction of affixes within words by Word Formation rules" (75). Special clitics are then an "overt manifestation of a class of 'Word Formation Rules' that operate on phrases" (81). Anderson (1993) notes that for Wackernagel, "the category of clitics was not to be defined in terms of syntactic functions but rather phonologically" (70) as a "weak, prosodically dependent form" (71). He characterizes clitics on the basis of three parameters:

- a. Its SCOPE: the clitic is located in the scope of some syntactic constituents which constitutes its domain

- b. Its ANCHOR: the clitic is located by reference to the {FIRST VS. LAST VS. HEAD} element of the constituent in which it appears
- c. Its ORIENTATION: the clitic {PRECEDES VS. FOLLOWS} its anchor.

For Anderson these same parameters can be used to define affixes, and hence he finds clitics and affixes to “belong to a single unified class of rules” (77). Anderson (1992, 1993) consider the theory of clitics to be integrally related to issues of phrasal assignment of inflectional properties like tense, case etc, that is, the application of morphological spellout rules to a phrase. He demonstrates that clitic positioning can be described in terms of the interaction of a small set of conflicting alignment constraints, an approach inspired by the tenets of optimality theory.

Anderson (1996) talks of the sensitivity of 2P clitics to the overt phonological material in the first place. Anderson (2000) contends that the notion of ‘second position’ is linguistically real and that a number of phenomena, including clitic placement, are fundamentally related to it.

Cysouw (2003) talks of two position that pronominal clitics prefer in sentences, namely the Wackernagel’s 2<sup>nd</sup> position, that is, after the first word, first syntactic constituent or phonological unit; or the Verb adjacent position (preverbal, post verbal, or enclitic to the preverbal constituent). Cysouw’s main argument is that “pronominal clitics...are highly topical (given, old, expected) information” and it searches for a host that is often “highly focal (new, unexpected) information” (2). Uriageraka (1995) contends that clitics usually receive an interpretation as definite/specific.

Ouhalla (2005) maintains in agreement with Klavans (1980, 1985) that both syntactic and prosodic factors determine clitic placement. The syntactic factors include notions of movement as a result of “attraction to or by functional categories”, which according to Minimalism is possible only for “feature matching and deletion within local domains” (609), thus requiring that featural motivation for movement must be defined. Since clitics are not prosodic constituents, they have to be associated with “a neighbouring overt category that is capable of serving as a prosodic host...” Ouhalla’s understanding of clitics is that they are arguments base-generated inside the VP, and involves a head-to-head movement to a functional head.

Bošković (2002) holds that a structural representation of clitics that holds cross-linguistically is that “clitics are syntactically defined as nonbranching elements (i.e., ambiguous  $X^0$ /XPs) as suggested in Chomsky (1995)”. These are elements which can be phrases and heads at the same time, and Bošković suggests that clitics can be placed in [Spec,AgrP] instead of [Agr] head (a position where generative syntacticians generally place pronominal clitics), as here the clitics would not branch, as the position does not head a branching position.

According to Bošković (2001) (as reviewed in King 2004), an approach which includes both syntactic and phonological factors, taking into account prosodic factors is necessary to understand clitic placement. Summarizing Bošković’s main arguments King (2004: 844) states:

B’s (Bošković’s) approach is one whereby the clitic and host placement is accomplished entirely syntactically, but the second-position effect is the result of the phonology. To accomplish this, B’s basic analysis is one of copy-and-delete. The idea is that when lexical items (e.g. clitics, verbs) move in the syntax, they leave a copy of themselves instead of a trace. This syntactic structure with multiple copies of many lexical items is then passed on to the phonology (phonological form, PF in B’s analysis). It is the job of the phonology to determine which copy to pronounce. That is, in B’s view phonology is a filter on the output of the syntax but cannot itself move lexical items.

Everett (1996)’s position as reviewed in Nevis (2001: 163) is a position that argues that “grammatical theory can do away with the category of clitic altogether”. According to Nevis, Everett argues that the lexicon contains no pronouns, clitics, or agreement affixes per se; instead, phi-features store the appropriate information. The differences among the three lie in the insertion of bundles of these phi features into distinct syntactic positions, and syntax alone is responsible for their diverse morphosyntactic and morphological behaviors.” Phi-features are inflectional categories like gender, number, person, case etc. Nevis continues that “E (Everett) presents four basic distributions of pronouns, pronominal clitics, and agreement affixes (69): Languages may have only pronouns, pronouns with verbal agreement, clitics and agreement but no verb-governed pronouns (for some or all persons), or pronouns with verb-governed simple clitics and verbal agreement, but no language has simple clitics and agreement for the same theta-roles” (164).

Pollock (1998: 302) talks of cliticization in a minimalist paradigm as involving movement, and clitics as “the surface reflex of a checking relation” bound by principles of “economy”, namely the principle of “shortest move” which requires that “a phrase must check its features in its closest target”. Pollock also talks of the requirement that “clitics” must “c-command its trace” (305).

Rivero (1986: 774) lists the following three characteristics of clitic constructions in modern Romance:

- a. Clitics are ‘bound words’ or affix-like items in non-Argument position.
- b. Clitics ‘absorb’ some features of the V connected with Government/Case/ $\theta$ -role.
- c. Clitics are linked to an empty category in Argument position.

Important observations/postulations regarding clitics in Halpern (1995) include:

- a. On second position clitics (2P clitics): The placement of 2P clitics is sensitive to the phonologically overt material in the first position (a position also taken in Halpern and Zwicky (1996)). They are phonologically sub-categorized to attach to something on their left. That the 2P clitics are enclitics, may explain the general ban on their occurrence in the first position. The second position where 2P clitics appear is characterized largely in syntactic terms. 2P clitics are the content of syntactic heads that are adjoined to the left edge of the clause. The second position for 2P clitics can be after the first phrase or the first word, where it may even break a phrasal constituent.
- b. Prosodic Inversion: Halpern (1995: 63) defines prosodic inversion as follows:
  - if there is a  $\omega$ , Y, comprised of material which is syntactically immediately to the left (right) of X, then adjoin X to the right (left) of Y,
  - else attach X to the right (left) edge of the  $\omega$  composed of syntactic material immediately to its right (left)
- c. Unless syntax incidentally provides a host for a clitic, PF can perform movement operations to satisfy a clitic dependency.



- d. The placement of 2P clitics is determined largely by the syntax and then fine-tuned by the operation of ‘prosodic inversion’, a phenomenon understood to assume that these clitics are “initial within their domain, perhaps adjoined to an entire phrasal constituent”. The clitic’s requirement for a preceding host triggers “metathesis of the clitic and the syntactically following phonological word” (Halpern, 2001: 112). Prosodic Inversion has been understood as a last resort PF operation, to prevent the clitic from being left without a host with the clitic cluster making a minimal move rightward, to the right edge of the first prosodic word to its right
- e. He discusses ‘lexical clitic’ (elements generally called ‘phrasal affixes’), as elements which have “the distribution of a clitic but the morphology and/or phonology of an affix”.
- f. He treats Macedonian, French, Romanian, European Portuguese and Italian clitics as affixes similar to inflectional affixes, as they not only always appear on the verb but also come closer to the verb than inflectional affixes in many occasions (a process traditionally called ‘mesoclysis’).
- g. He postulates complex rules for the placement of clitics and argues that more than one clitic can appear in a syntactic slot (also discussed in Halpern and Zwicky (1996)).

Halpern (2001: 101) discusses the phonological/prosodic understanding of what a “clitic” is in terms of its lack of an independent accent “inherently or because of some reduction process”, leading to its incorporation “into the accentual structure of an adjacent word or phrase...” Halpern also discusses Kayne (1975)’s formulations which point out several similarities between verbal clitics and inflectional affixes like verb-adjacency, morphological/phonological attachment to a verb and the presence of language-specific co-occurrence conditions. He also discusses “the movement approach to clitic placement” which basically holds that verbal clitics “are generated in a deep-structure argument position just like a nonclitic pronoun and are subsequently adjoined to the position occupied by the verb” (107). Halpern also talks of the presence of “portmanteau clitics, and clitics whose interpretation depends on the presence or absence of other clitics” (105). He also points out how clitics are “often assumed to be types of inflectional affixes themselves, perhaps simply

agreement markers” (105). He makes the following observations/postulations about clitics:

- a. Clitics are not like canonical agreement affixes, which he defines in terms of a local relationship between a head and its argument, obligatory application regardless of the nature of the argument, irregularity involving selection of particular allomorphs, suppletive forms etc.
- b. A typical special clitic is that which is “either in complimentary distribution with an overt nonclitic argument or may co-occur with a nonclitic only under restricted circumstances” (105).
- c. In many languages clitics show forth the phenomena of clitic climbing (attachment of clitics to verbs which are not the source of their theta role), greater mobility with respect to the verb stem etc (106).
- d. “Clitics are generally external to any (other) inflectional affixes...they seldom if ever select for particular stem forms; nor are they sensitive to the morphology of the host, and they are not involved in suppletion” (106).
- e. Many languages report the presence of “clitic doubling”, which refers to the co-occurrence of “clitics and nonclitics serving the same function” (107), which as Halpern points out, poses a major problem for “the movement approach to clitic placement”. Halpern points out that most approaches to clitic doubling is based on the assumption “that some clitics do have some argument-like property which prevents the expression of a separate nonclitic argument (and perhaps simultaneously satisfies the subcategorization or theta role requirements of the verb so that no other argument is necessary)” (107).
- f. The “peripheral position of clitics” as “the most convincing argument against treating them as inflectional affixes” (108-109).
- g. Many languages have what are commonly called the “second-position clitics” where the clitics are required to appear in the second position in the relevant domain.
- h. While verbal clitics only satisfy the function of pronominals, the second position clitics may serve a variety of functions.
- i. All special clitics occupy a head position, with the difference being the choice of the head (110).

- j. There is significant variation from clitic to clitic which resists reduction to a single invariant characterization, though parametric approaches are highly promising for certain subset of clitics (119).

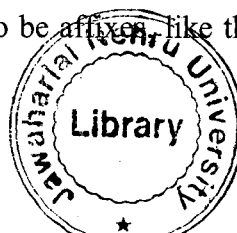
Sadock (1991) understands the 'second position' of 2P clitics to be characterized partly or fully in syntactic terms. He talks of the selectional properties of clitics based on the theory of Autolexical syntax. He not only assumes that syntax, morphology and semantics are fully autonomous non-hierarchically organized domains, but that discrepancies between them are also to be expected.

Gerlach and Grizenhout (2000) summarize different perspectives on clitics in the works of different scholars like Zwicky (1977) (simple vs. special clitics), Halpern (1995), Zwicky and Pullum (1985), Anderson (1992) and Klavans (1985) among others. I have discussed the positions of these scholars on clitics in this literature survey. They place the weak forms of not only pronouns but also determiners, auxiliaries, negation and question particles among clitics. A clitic is defined as "a word which can not stand on its own", is "prosodically deficient" as it fails "to meet prosodic minimality conditions" (1). They discuss the range in which clitic placement has been accounted for variously in an entirely syntactic approach (Kayne (1975); Sportiche (1996)), in an entirely prosodic approach (Halpern (1995)), an optimality theoretic approach (Anderson (1996)) among others. They argue that "clitics do not form one prosodic word together with their host and do not form a prosodic word of their own..." (6).

Cocchi (2000) holds the view that "clitics and affixes are indeed arguments of the verb" (86) rather than "agreement markers" (85) as "clitics/affixes are recognized as the sole elements which can receive the thematic role of the verb in absence of a full DP-object" (86) in a Minimalist framework which dispenses off the notion of *pro*. Cocchi argues for a base-generated view of Romance clitics, as opposed to Kayne (1975) who proposes a movement analysis of the same.

Crysmann (2000:122) dismisses the clitic status of French and Italian clitics along with that of European Portuguese, based on features proposed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983). They show features which qualify them to be affixes like their being highly

TH-14069



selective of morphological hosts, arbitrary gaps in clitic combinations, being subject to morphophonological and semantic idiosyncrasies, opacity to the application of syntactic rules. Miller (1992)'s criteria that pronominal object clitics must have a wider scope over a conjunction of hosts is also not met by these languages.

Legendre (2000) argues that pronominal clitics that appear on the verb in Romanian are not clitics proper but phrasal affixes (after Klavans, 1985) as they fulfill the role of agreement markers in clitic-doubling constructions and do not have wide scope over coordination (Miller (1992)'s defining criterion for clitics) as the clitic pronoun appears in front of each conjunct. That these clitics come only with the verb apart from showing agreement like inflectional affixes are used as additional evidence against their clitic status.

Ortmann and Popescu (2000) apply Zwicky and Pullum (1983) to come to the conclusion that Romanian definite articles are not clitics. The traditional movement analysis of hosts to support the articles also stands insufficient for lack of necessary motivation for movement in Minimalist terms, especially the absence of GREED for the hosts. They fail the coordination condition of Miller (1992), but do show lack of host-selectivity.

While morphological debates on clitics focus on their word-like or affix-like status and properties, syntactic debates generally revolve around the movement approach and the base-generated approach to clitics. Kayne (1975)'s "movement approach" to explain clitics runs into problems in languages that allow clitic-doubling. Sportiche (1996) proposes that clitics are base-generated as heads of "clitic-voice" projections, which are adjoined to the highest verbal element of the clause.

Booij (1996) argues for a different prosodic representation for enclitics and proclitics, as proclitics are linked with the prosodic word immediately following it while enclitics are attached to the prosodic word preceding it.

Pancheva (2001) based on Klavans (1995) and Bošković (2001) states that "pronominal clitics are assumed to be lexically specified as having (i) syntactic features, e.g., case; (ii) morphological features, such as prefix or suffix (in the sense

of directionality of attachment during merger), and (iii) phonological features of relevance during the building of prosodic domains” (4).

Mascaró and Rigau (2002:9) feel that “the special character of clitics is usually related to syntax or semantics.” They also talk of the oft-repeated features of clitics like allomorphic changes and lack of stress (which is considered by many as a defining feature of clitics). They hold that the “choice of the allomorph is... governed by phonological properties of its host”, whereas the “enclitic or proclitics character is determined usually by the kind of clitic and by the host on which it cliticizes...” (12).

#### **1.5.1.1. A brief survey of clitics in Munda languages**

Discussing Munda languages<sup>5</sup>, Cysouw (2003) notes that “subject marking” is “either enclitic on the verb or enclitic on the preverbal constituent...if the verb is the only constituent, it will always get the clitics” (9). Zide (1997) talks of subject marking in Gutob as being enclitic to the verb, except when there are some wh-questions or adverbs, to which they attach. Peterson (2002) talks of subject marking in Kharia as being enclitic to the verb, except in sentential negation, where the negation attracts the person-marking clitic. Ramaswami (1992) considers the enclitics in Bhumij to be free to attach to the verb or preverbal constituent. In Bhumij, preverbal negation and imperative attract the clitic. Neukom (2001) considers the unmarked position of person marking clitic in Santhali to be on the preverbal constituent.

This brief overview of the various theoretical positions and debates on pronominal clitics amply shows us that the study of pronominal clitics has assumed a great deal of importance in current linguistic theories and discourses. It is hoped that this study would add to our knowledge of pronominal clitics in world languages and pave the way for better generalizations and theories.

---

<sup>5</sup> This discussion of clitics in Munda languages has its relevance in the current study as Munda languages constitute a major sister sub-branch of Mon-Khmer languages within the Austro-Asiatic family, and are the only other group of Austro-Asiatic languages in the sub-continent apart from the Mon-Khmer languages.

## Chapter – 02

### *Pronominals in Pnar and the syntactic configuration of pronominal clitics*

A prototypical assertive sentence in Pnar has the following structure:

[PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] [VERB-ENCLITIC] [ACC/DAT-PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] as in (1):

- (1) u-k<sup>h</sup>innaʔ      aʔ-u      ya-u-sapeŋ  
3MSGCL-child    cut-3MSGCL    ACC-3MSGCL-mango  
**Gloss:** The boy cut the mango.

This structure may be expanded by modifying the subject and other nominals, like (2):

- (2) u-k<sup>h</sup>innaʔ    u-wa-ŋrəŋ    aʔ-u      ya-u-sapeŋ      u-wa-da-iʔ  
3MSGCL-      3MSGCL-RP-    cut-      ACC-3MSGCL-      3MSGCL-RP-  
child          tall              3MSGCL      mango              PERF-ripe  
**Gloss:** The tall boy cut the ripe mango.

In this chapter I would discuss the structure of different kind of pronominals found in Pnar. The discussion on the structure of pronouns is primarily aimed at an investigation into the role of clitics in the formation of complex structures in Pnar. The discussion of specific syntactic structures is aimed at solely looking into the syntactic configuration of pronominal clitics and a lot of details that may otherwise be important but not related to pronominal clitics may have not been discussed due to the limited scope of this chapter and the over-all structure of this dissertation.

#### **2.1. Personal pronouns**

##### **2.1.1. Personal pronouns in the Nominative case and verbal enclitics**

In the **NOMINATIVE CASE** the personal pronouns in Pnar are as follows:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[ŋa]	[i]	[me]	[p <sup>h</sup> a]	[p <sup>h</sup> i]	[o]	[ka]	[i]	[ki]



(5) lai lipait-baiskəp-i ɪnnin  
 go see-movie-1PLCL yesterday  
**Gloss:** ‘Yesterday we had gone to see the movie’

(6) pi-lai-nəʔ-i  
 HORT-go-away-1PLCL  
**Gloss:** ‘Let us go now’

In the second person, Pnar maintains a three way distinction of masculine and feminine in singular and of a gender-neutral plural. These are exemplified through (7), (8) and (9) below:

(7) me hap su-ɟajər-mi ya-ka-bai-tiket-mi.  
 2MSG MOD:OBLIG pay-DISTR-2MSGCL ACC-3FSGCL-cost-ticket-2MSGCL  
**Gloss:** You have to pay for your own ticket.

(8) p<sup>h</sup>a wɪm-ɟəʔ-k<sup>h</sup>ana-p<sup>h</sup>ə ya-ŋa ya-ka-pɪrtuit yəŋ-ka-p<sup>h</sup>lim.  
 2FSG RP+NEG-HAB- tell- DAT- ACC-3FSGCL - GEN-3FSGCL-  
 2FSGCL 1SG name movie.  
**Gloss:** You never told me the name of the movie.

(9) ɪm poi-pɪrk<sup>h</sup>at-ə beɪt-saŋ-p<sup>h</sup>i  
 NEG reach-think(believe)-1SG ignorant/foolish-INTENS-2PLCL  
**Gloss:** I can not believe you (both) guys can be so ignorant.

The second person plural is also used as the second person honorific pronominal as is exemplified in (10):

(10) da-dəp-e- ya- p<sup>h</sup>i le? tə? u-e-p<sup>h</sup>i ya-ka i-yi-re-i-  
 k<sup>h</sup>əwai-kə p<sup>h</sup>i.  
 PERF- DAT- 2PL also MOD:OBLIG INF- DAT- something  
 COMPL-give- 2PL give- 3FSG  
 party- 2PLCL  
**Gloss:** She had given you a party. You must also give her something.

In the third person there is a four way distinction of masculine, feminine and epicene<sup>7</sup> in singular and that of a gender-neutral plural. The feminine pronominal has been exemplified in (10) above. The masculine and the plural pronominals are exemplified in the examples (11) and (12) below:

<sup>7</sup> The term “epicene” which is used to refer to entities belonging to both the sexes, is not the apt term for these forms. See 2.1.4



- (11) o ye-u u-wan wa-i.  
 3MSG MOD:ABIL-3MSGCL INF-come SOC-1PLCL

**Gloss:** He can come with us.

- (12) lai-filɔŋ-ki  
 go-Shillong-3PLCL

**Gloss:** They are going to Shillong.

### 2.1.2. Personal pronouns in the Accusative, Dative and Sociative Case

In the ACCUSATIVE CASE, the pronouns are prefixed with the accusative case marker [ya-], giving rise to the following forms:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[ya-ŋa]	[ya-i]	[ya-me]	[ya-p <sup>h</sup> a]	[ya-p <sup>h</sup> i]	[ya-o]	[ya-ka]	[ya-i]	[ya-ki]

When pronominals appear in the object position, the accusative case marker [ya-] is generally used with the pronominals. However the accusative marker is not compulsorily used at all times and hence pronominals in the object position may come with [ya-] as ‘her’ in (13) or just as a bare pronominal as ‘them’ in (4):

- (13) o: le? maya-b<sup>h</sup>a-u ya-ka.  
 3msg also love-intens-3msg acc-3fsg

**Gloss:** He also loved her very much.

In the accusative case, nominals which follow [ya] have the structure [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] as in (1), (3), (8) above.

In the DATIVE CASE, the pronouns are prefixed with the dative case marker which has two allomorphs, [ya-] and [c<sup>h</sup>a-], giving rise to the following forms:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[ya- ŋa] (or)	[ya- i] (or)	[ya- me] (or)	[ya- p <sup>h</sup> a] (or)	[ya- p <sup>h</sup> i] (or)	[ya- o] (or)	[ya- ka] (or)	[ya- i] (or)	[ya- ki] (or)
[c <sup>h</sup> a- ŋa]	[c <sup>h</sup> a- i]	[c <sup>h</sup> a- me]	[c <sup>h</sup> a- p <sup>h</sup> a]	[c <sup>h</sup> a- p <sup>h</sup> i]	[c <sup>h</sup> a- u]	[c <sup>h</sup> a- ka]	[c <sup>h</sup> a- i]	[c <sup>h</sup> a- ki]

(8) and (10) show us instances of the use of [ya-] which is the default DATIVE CASE marker. The other allomorph is only used in the context of ditransitive verbs where the inanimate object is either marked with the accusative case marker [ya-] or dropped as in (14):

- (14) ile? e-kɔ c<sup>h</sup>a-o.  
 why give-3fsg dat-3msg  
**Gloss:** Why does she give that to him?

The nominals that take dative case have a [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] structure after these dative case markers.

In the SOCIATIVE CASE, all the pronominals come prefixed with the SOCIATIVE CASE marker [wa-] as in (11), giving rise to the following forms:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[wa- ŋa]	[wa- i]	[wa- me]	[wa- p <sup>h</sup> a]	[wa- p <sup>h</sup> i]	[wa- o]	[wa- ka]	[wa- i]	[wa- ki]

### 2.1.3. Proclitics and Enclitics

Of all the pronominals in Pnar, only the third person pronominals are used as PROCLITICS on nominals and various other grammatical classes discussed below. The different PROCLITICS in Pnar are as follows:

3MSGCL	3FSGCL	3ESGCL	3PLCL
[u]	[ka]	[i]	[ki]

While the phonological shape of the proclitics in Pnar are similar to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominals, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine proclitic [u] does not have the same phonological shape as the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine pronoun which is [o] as in (11) and (13). Though these two sounds are found to alternate in many languages, Pnar speakers are very particular about the difference in pronunciation between the proclitic and the pronoun.

The corresponding ENCLITIC forms of the proclitics listed above are as follows;

3MSGCL	3FSGCL	3ESGCL	3PLCL
[u]	[kə]	[i]	[ki]

All nominals in Pnar are marked with the PROCLITIC form and when in the subject position have a corresponding ENCLITIC agreement marker on the verb. Proclitics appear on nominals, nominal modifiers (adjectives and relative clauses), demonstratives, reciprocal pronouns, some interrogative pronouns, all derived indefinite pronouns, universal quantifiers and the numeral ‘one’ exemplified through examples (1), (2), (15), (16), (17), (18), (19) and (20) respectively:

- (15) pait i-tai i-dur  
look 3ESGCL-DISTDEM 3ESGCL-picture

**Gloss:** Look at that picture.

- (16) ki-so-ŋut ki- ya spaut<sup>həʔ</sup> u-wi-ya-u-wi.  
k<sup>h</sup>ɪnna?  
3PLCL-four- 3PLCL- ACC like 3MSGCL-one-ACC-  
CL:HUM child 3MSGCL-one

**Gloss:** The four children are fond of one another.

- (17) ka-yi ka-p<sup>h</sup>lim pait-p<sup>h</sup>i ka-tai ka-təyau  
which 3FSGCL-movie see-2PLCL 3FSGCL-DISTDEM 3FSGCL-week

**Gloss:** Which movie did you see last week?

- (18) em ki-wan-ki- ki-wa-ye u-e ya-i ka-bər.  
wan  
be/have anyone 3PLCL-RP- INF- ACC- 3FSGCL-  
MOD:ABIL give 1PL permission

**Gloss:** Is there anybody here who can give us the permission?

- (19) u-wi-pa-u- em-kam u-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ ya-ka-mobail yəŋ-  
wi ki.  
everybody have- INF- ACC-3FSGCL- GEN-  
need(MOD:OBLIG) close mobile 3PL

**Gloss:** Everybody must switch off their mobiles.

- (20) u-wi u-k<sup>h</sup>ɪnna? u-wa-ɟrəŋ ya-leʔ-bəl-b<sup>h</sup>a-u  
3MSGCL- 3MSGCL- 3MSGCL-RP- RECIPRO-play-ball-good-  
one child tall 3MSGCL

**Gloss:** One tall boy plays football very well.

For all the word classes listed above, the form of the proclitic is decided by the head nominal. While in all the cases above it is possible to know the gender number of the nominal and hence specific 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics are used, if the gender/number specification of the head nominal is not known, then the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic [i-] is used as a default proclitic as in (75), (77) and many other examples in the text. All these grammatical classes have been discussed in detail later in this chapter. Unlike Bhoi Khasi, which according to Nagaraja (1993:2) “uses the same classifiers but with non-identical class membership”, Pnar does not differ from standard Khasi in the classification of nominals except in the class of nominals marked with [i-] which is discussed in the next section. All the nominals marked with [i-] in Pnar are marked with [ka-] in Khasi, except those which show intimacy, diminutiveness, respect etc.

#### **2.1.4. The third person proclitic [i]**

The entities marked with this clitic in Pnar do not belong to either of the morphologically masculine or feminine classes and hence the inappropriateness of the label ‘epicene’ for them. Interestingly most of these nominals belong to the morphological feminine class in Khasi. Some of them have the option of taking [i] or the feminine marker. The [i-] class nominals in Khasi are epicene entities, as it is not morphological characteristics that define the [i-] class nominals in Khasi. In Khasi as noted by Nagaraja (1985: 9), this “marker” is used to mark “respect as well as close intimacy. It is also used to refer very small things.” The use of the same term in Pnar though inappropriate, has been used for glossing convenience. The third person epicene pronominal exemplifies a wide ranging set of nominals which include various semantic features like abstractness, bodily waste, many body-parts, body-part ornaments, temporal nouns and diverse semantic fields including nominals like ‘forest’, ‘medicine’, etc. Very often the small vs. big (related to the feature of ‘size’ as found in Khasi), mine vs. others’ (related to the feature of ‘intimacy’ as found in Khasi) and near vs. far distinctions are made using proclitics, with the proclitic [i-] being used for small, personal and near things/entities. While a good number of body parts listed below like head, mouth, nose, eye, ear, lip etc take this proclitic; there are

some others like leg, hand, thigh, stomach, hair, teeth, tongue, heart etc which take the feminine proclitic. Thus while the use of this proclitic in Khasi is more of a pragmatic feature, in Pnar it is a morphological feature. Apart from satisfying morphological functions of the kind mentioned above, the proclitic [i] is used extensively in Pnar as a frozen clitic in forms like [heiwan] ‘where’, [heini] ‘here’ etc and as a third person generic proclitic, when the number/gender specifications of a particular entity is not known (as in indefinites and interrogatives). The diverse fields marked with this proclitic make Pnar very distinct from Khasi. This diversity also makes it difficult to define the exact nature of the proclitic, and needs further investigation. The term used for this proclitic ‘epicene’ in this dissertation is only a stop-gap measure. The following is a list of nominals that take the proclitic [i] in Pnar:

Pnar	Gloss	Remarks
i-d <sup>h</sup> a?ri?	verandah	the difference is that of small vs. big.
i-sɲi	day	temporal; but also with [ka-]
i-sɲi	day	temporal; (also with [ka-])
i-met	night	temporal; (also with [ka-])
i-snem	year/age	temporal (?); (also with [ka-])
i-sɲiau	night	Temporal
i-snam	blood	Body waste
i-aitk <sup>h</sup> mat	eye-waste	Body waste
i-k <sup>h</sup> ak	phlegm	Body waste
i-yimbar	saliva	Body waste
i-ait	shit	Body waste
i-sma	smell	Body waste
i-sk <sup>h</sup> mut	snort	Body waste
i-c <sup>h</sup> it	sweat	Body waste
i-umk <sup>h</sup> mat	tear	Body waste
i-juŋ	urine	Body waste
i-dɔ?	flesh/meat	Body part; with [ka-] it means the ‘body’.
i-k <sup>h</sup> ten	mouth, word, language	Body part; Abstract Noun (?)
i-tɪrsim	nail	Body part; (also with [ka-])
i-c <sup>h</sup> ikɔr	ear	Body part
i-sɲiuk <sup>h</sup> mat	eyebrow	Body part
i-k <sup>h</sup> mat	eye	Body part
i-pəryəm	finger	Body part

i-k <sup>h</sup> le?	head	Body part
i-snik <sup>h</sup> teip	lip	Body part
i-k <sup>h</sup> mut	nose	Body part
i-k <sup>h</sup> sa?c <sup>h</sup> ukər	earring	Body Decorators
i-lakadom	earring	Body Decorators
i-k <sup>h</sup> sa?k <sup>h</sup> mat	nose-pin	Body Decorators
i-yi-re-i-yi	anything	as a default generic clitic
i-yi-i-yi	anything	as a default generic clitic
i-wi-ya-i-wi	each other	as a default generic clitic
i-jaıt	everything	as a default generic clitic
ha-i-ni	here	as a default generic clitic
i-te	that	as a default generic clitic
c <sup>h</sup> a-i-tai	there	as a default generic clitic
ha-i-tai	there	as a default generic clitic
i-ni	this	as a default generic clitic
i-yi	who	as a default generic clitic
i-yoŋ	whose	as a default generic clitic
i-jiŋmut	idea, meaning	Abstract Noun; (also with [ka-])
i-rəŋ	colour	Abstract Noun (?); (also with [ka-])
i-dak	symbol	Abstract Noun (?); (also with [ka-])
i-pər	time	Abstract Noun (?); (also with [ka-])
i-yac <sup>h</sup> ə?	fight	Abstract Noun (?)
i-sur	music/song	Abstract Noun (?)
i-bınta	portion/part	Abstract Noun (?)
i-ruwai	song	Abstract Noun (?)
i-b <sup>h</sup> a?	turn/share	Abstract Noun (?)
i-jiŋc <sup>h</sup> lur	courage	Abstract Noun
i-ma	danger	Abstract Noun
i-bam	eatable	Abstract Noun
i-kmeŋ	happiness	Abstract Noun
i-maya	love	Abstract Noun
i-ja?burəm	scandal	Abstract Noun
i-jiŋt <sup>h</sup> ə?	writing	Abstract Noun
i-k <sup>h</sup> ənbə	child	(also with [u-] and [ka-]); the distinction is that of small [i] and grown-up.
i-sim	bird	(also with [ka-]); the difference is that of small vs. big.
i-yuŋmane	church	(also with [ka-]); the difference is that of small vs. big.
i-k <sup>h</sup> ne	mouse	(also with [ka-]); the difference is that of small

		vs. big.
i-skur	school	(also with [ka-]); the difference is that of small vs. big.
i-c <sup>h</sup> ɪnɔŋ	village	(also with [ka-]); the difference is that of mine vs. others.
i-yuŋ	home/house	(also with [ka-]): with [i] it's one's own house, with [ka] it's someone else's.
i-step	morning	(also with [ka-]): [i] is used in the present; [ka] in the past/future
i-p <sup>h</sup> aŋ	issue	(also with [ka-])
i-rukɔm	manner	(also with [ka-])
i-parom	story	(also with [ka-])
i-t <sup>h</sup> ma	war	(also with [ka-])
i-kam	work	(also with [ka-])
i-mak <sup>h</sup> ɔn	butter	
i-t <sup>h</sup> aner	feather	
i-k <sup>h</sup> lɔ	forest	
i-yaleʔki	game	
i-t <sup>h</sup> lu	hole	
i-kamram	homework	
i-duwai	medicine	
i-pɪrtuit	name	
i-jiŋdro	painting	
i-dur	picture	
i-t <sup>h</sup> au	place	
i-lɪyəŋ	side	

## 2.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns in Pnar make use of a GENITIVE CASE marker [yɔŋ-] which is followed by the PRONOMINAL, that is,

a. [yɔŋ-PRONOMINAL] as in (21):

(21) o      tɔʔ    u-pa            yɔŋ-ŋa.  
           3MSG   be    3MSGCL-father   GEN-1SG

**Gloss:** He is my father.

There is an interesting interaction in the case of genitive pronouns between the PRONOMINAL and its ENCLITIC form. The genitive pronouns in Pnar can either take the

form specified above or a form, where the ENCLITIC replaces the entire constituent [yɔŋ-PRONOMINAL] and appears as an ENCLITIC to the possessed nominal as has been exemplified in (22):

- (22) ka-meri          pɪn-yap-kɔ-ka          ka-bei-kɔ  
           3FSGCL-Mary CAUS-die-3FSGCL-3FSGCL 3FSGCL-mother-(GEN)-3FSGCL  
**Gloss:** Mary killed her mother.

In (22), the enclitic [-kɔ] that appears on the nominal [ka-bei] conveys the same meaning as the form [yɔŋ-ka] with the genitive marker would have conveyed. Thus the dropping of the genitive marker does not leave the pronominal behind in the structure and hence this absence of the genitive marker can not be considered as an instance of mere optionality of the genitive marker. That the enclitic replaces the entire [GEN-PROCLITIC] complex needs a better explanation than suggestions of mere optionality.

The different possessive pronouns in Pnar are as follows:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[yɔŋ-ŋa]	[yɔŋ-i]	[yɔŋ-me]	[yɔŋ-p <sup>h</sup> a]	[yɔŋ-p <sup>h</sup> i]	[yɔŋ-o]	[yɔŋ-ka]	[yɔŋ-i]	[yɔŋ-ki]

Apart from these all the enclitic forms of the pronominals listed below can act as the genitive pronouns. In this case the enclitics are cliticized to the possessed nominal.

1SGCL	1PLCL	2MSGCL	2FSGCL	2PLCL	3MSGCL	3FSGCL	3ESGCL	3PLCL
[ɔ]	[i]	[mi]	[p <sup>h</sup> ɔ]	[p <sup>h</sup> i]	[u]	[kɔ]	[i]	[ki]

In the case of GENITIVE CASE of nominals, the genitive case marker [yɔŋ] is followed by the possessor nominal with its proclitic as in (23):

- (23) ka-meri          tɔʔ    ka-heʔ          yɔŋ-u-ɰɔn.  
           3FSGCL-Mary be 3FSGCL-boss GEN-3MSGCL-John  
**Gloss:** Mary is John's boss.



When the genitive case marker is dropped, the [PROCLITIC-POSSESSOR NOMINAL] follows the [PROCLITIC-POSSESSED NOMINAL] complex as in (24):

- (24) u-yi o u-lək u-ɟɔn wa-b<sup>h</sup>a.  
 who 3MSGCL 3MSGCL-friend (GEN)-3MSGCL-John RP-good  
**Gloss:** Who is John's best friend?

### 2.3. Reflexive pronouns

Pnar has a very rich system of reflexive pronouns. There are different strategies of forming the reflexive. In all the forms listed below, the slot for the pronominal can be occupied by any personal pronoun according to the context. Thus all these forms are available for all the personal pronouns in all the three persons. In all the cases, the bare pronominal is an essential part/constituent of the reflexive. Along with the personal pronouns, the causative morph [pin] also forms an integral part of the structure of a reflexive. All reflexives consist of a pronominal that agrees in gender/number/person with the subject of the clause to which it belongs – thus the pronominal of the reflexive in the main clause agrees with the subject of the main clause in (25-29), and in (30) with the subject of the subordinate clause which is dropped but marked on the verb with the enclitic. Another form that is generally used in most reflexives is the form [hi] meaning ‘self’. Though it adds to the reflexive meaning, it is in no way obligatory as shown in (26). A minor distinction can be made between structures of reflexive involving the causative [pin] and/or the agentive [da]. The former is used with verbs that affect the doer like ‘hurt’ in the sense of ‘causing X to self’, while the latter is used to convey the sense of ‘do X by self’. Thus while all the forms listed below can be formed using all the personal pronouns, all forms are not equally available for all verbs.

The Pnar reflexive provides very complicated and multiple structures, compared to the simple, single structure to form reflexives in Khasi. The reflexive can be just one word (internally complex) as in (25) and (28) or can be formed by spreading across two words as in (26-27) and (29-30). In the formulations given below in square brackets, each square bracket represents one word, which may or may not be

internally complex with one or many morphemes. The reflexives can have any one of the following structures:

a. [da-PRONOMINAL-hi]

In this structure, the agentive [da] and the particle [hi] come together to give the meaning ‘by self’ as in (25):

(25)	ka-meri	da-pɪndɛp-kɔ	ya-i-kamram	<b>da-ka-hi</b>
	3FSGCL-	PERF-CAUS-finish-	ACC-3ESGCL -	AGENT-3FSG-
	Mary	3FSGCL	homework	self

**Gloss:** Mary finished the homework herself.

b. [pɪn-da-PRONOMINAL] [ya-PRONOMINAL]

The above structure of the reflexive is spread over two words as in (26) and involves using the pronominal twice. Significantly the form [hi] ‘self’ is not used in this case which shows that its presence is not obligatory in reflexives though it’s preferred.

(26)	u-ɔn	da-pɪn-minsu-u	<b>pɪn-da-o</b>	<b>ya-o</b>
	3MSGCL-	PERF-CAUS-hurt-	CAUS-AGENT-	ACC/DAT-
	John	3MSGCL	3MSG	3MSG

**Gloss:** John hurt himself.

c. [pɪn-da-PRONOMINAL-hi] [ya-PRONOMINAL] as in (27)

This structure is a variation of the structure listed in (b), with the addition of [hi] being the only difference.

(27)	u-ɔn	da-pɪn-minsu-u	<b>pɪn-da-o-hi</b>	<b>ya-o</b>
	3MSGCL-	PERF-CAUS-hurt-	CAUS-AGENT-3MSG-	ACC/DAT-
	John	3MSGCL	self	3MSG

**Gloss:** John hurt himself.

d. [pɪn-ya-PRONOMINAL-hi] as in (28)

(28) u-ɟɔn                    da-pin-minsu-u                    pin-ya-o-hi  
       3MSGCL-                PERF-CAUS-hurt-                CAUS-ACC/DAT-3MSG-  
       John                    3MSGCL                                self  
**Gloss:** John hurt himself.

e. [pin-ya-PRONOMINAL-da-hi] as in (29)

In this structure the [hi] ‘self’ used with the agentive has a syntactic role compared to its presence in other forms. Here it is used in the same syntactic environment as a personal pronoun, and thus fulfils a pronominal role in this structure.

(29) u-ɟɔn                    da-pin-minsu-u                    pin-ya-o                    da-hi  
       3MSGCL-John    PERF-CAUS-hurt-3MSGCL    CAUS-ACC/DAT-3MSG    AGENT-self  
**Gloss:** John hurt himself.

Apart from these structures, another structure as formulated in (f) has also been observed, which is a slight variant of the form listed in (a). This form spreads the reflexive to two separate words as in (30), where the particle [hi] ‘self’ goes within the main verb closed by the subject enclitic, to be followed by a pronoun agreeing with the subject pronoun attached to the agentive [da]. The structure of the reflexive can be formulated as below:

f. [VERB-hi-ENCLITIC] [da-PRONOMINAL]

(30) ɲa    spia-o                    wa    leʔ-hi-u                    da-o  
       1SG    suggest-1SGCL    COMP    do-self-3MSGCL    AGENT-3MSG  
**Gloss:** I suggested that he do it himself.

#### 2.4. Reciprocal pronouns

Pnar has only one reciprocal pronoun to cover the meanings of both ‘each other’ (used with two individuals) and ‘one another’ (used with more than two individuals). The reciprocal inherently marks the different actors in its form using the corresponding PROCLITIC form for each individual (when the actors are only two individuals), and in the case of more than two individuals, making use of a single PROCLITIC form, that is, either the masculine or the feminine form. Apart from these proclitics, the other

constituent of the reciprocal is the generic numeral ‘one’. With the structure getting reduplicated, the distributive sense of including ‘each one in the group’ conveyed by the reciprocal forms is captured by the repetition of the numeral ‘one’. The type of reduplication employed is discontinuous reduplication. Thus we have the form:

a. [PROCLITIC-wi-ya-PROCLITIC-wi] as in (16), (31) and (32):

(31) *maya-b<sup>h</sup>a-ki i-wi-ya-i-wi.*  
 love-INTENS-3PLCL 3ESGCL-one-ACC-3ESGCL-one  
**Gloss:** They love each other.

(32) *u-ʃɔn wa ka-meri spiausuk- ka-wi-ya-u-wi.*  
*ki*  
 3MSGCL- CONJ 3FSGCL- like-3PL 3FSGCL-one-ACC-  
 John Mary 3MSGCL-one  
**Gloss:** John and Mary like each other.

In the above paradigm the two PROCLITIC forms are different when the two actors are of different genders as in (32). They are the same when the actors are of the same gender as in (16). The use of a specific masculine or feminine PROCLITIC is allowed only when the gender of the participants is known. When the gender is not known, then Pnar makes use of [i-] as in (31), which is used as a default, gender-neutral clitic in Pnar in many constructions. In the above paradigm, the element [ya] is a case marker in Pnar, marking the Accusative/Dative case. It is replaceable in this formula by the ABLATIVE case marker [na], when the desired meaning is intuitively ‘from each other’, as:

b. [PROCLITIC-wi-na-PROCLITIC-wi] as in (33)

(33) *ki-k<sup>h</sup>ɪnnaʔ bo:d-kɔt-ki u-wi-na-u-wi.*  
 3PLCL-child borrow-book-3PLCL 3MSGCL-one-ABL-3MSGCL-one  
**Gloss:** The children borrowed each other’s notes.

The above sentence is very interesting as the ABLATIVE marker [na] is used along with a verb, to capture the inherent meaning of the verb conveying the sense of ‘X borrows Y *from* Z’.

## 2.5. Deictic/Demonstrative pronouns and temporal-spatial deixis

The demonstrative pronoun in Pnar enters the configurational properties of the nominal it modifies and incorporates the modified nominal's gender/number feature in its form. The form of the demonstrative in Pnar is [PROCLITIC-DEMONSTRATIVE] and always occurs before the modified nominal as:

- a. [PROCLITIC-DEMONSTRATIVE] [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] as in (34-37).

In the PROXIMAL DEIXIS, Pnar has only one form [-ni], which appears with the PROCLITIC as:

- b. [PROCLITIC-ni] as in (34):

(34) ham            pɪn-yap    ya-**ki-ni**-ki-sim.  
           PROH:NEG CAUS-die ACC-3PLCL-PROXDEM-3PLCL-bird

**Gloss:** Do not kill these birds.

Pnar maintains a three-way distinction in the DISTAL DEIXIS, having one of the following three forms (c), (d) or (e):

- c. [PROCLITIC-tai] as in (35):

(35) i-yuŋ            yɔŋ-        em-i            c<sup>h</sup>a-        u-tai            u-lom.  
                                   ŋa  
           3ESGCL-        GEN-        have-        behind    3MSGCL-        3MSGCL-  
           home        1SG        3ESGCL                            DISTDEM        hill

**Gloss:** My house is behind that mountain.

This form is used when talking of objects that are within reach and/or is visible and/or is present. The copular verb [em] used in (35) is the only copular verb in Pnar which is never dropped. Interestingly it is also the only copular verb that appears with the enclitic subject agreement marker.

- d. [PROCLITIC-te/tɛ] as in (36):

(36) i-wan i-tɛ i-dur i-wa- wa-ɔŋ- ɪnnin.  
 bananam p<sup>h</sup>ɔ  
 3ESGCL- 3ESGCL- 3ESGCL- 3ESGCL-RP- RP-speak- yesterday  
 Q DISTDEM painting famous 2FSGCL

**Gloss:** Where is that famous painting you were talking about yesterday?

This form is used when talking of objects that are remote and may or may not be visible. (36) offers us a very vivid instance of the use of proclitics in Pnar. We find that the proclitics on the interrogative pronoun, the distal demonstrative, the modifier and the nominal are all the same. Their shape is determined by the proclitic on the nominal. The copular verb of the sentence has been dropped.

e. [PROCLITIC-tu] as in (37):

(37) ki-tu ki-pər-ksiar  
 3PLCL-DISTDEM 3PLCL-time-gold

**Gloss:** Those golden days.

The use of this form covers a wide range of semantic/deictic nuances, and is interestingly covered by two different forms in Khasi. The object talked about with this form is out of reach and invisible and/or absent or near the hearer but far from the speaker.

The deictic/demonstrative pronouns in Pnar can appear on its own in both the subject and object position without any nominal following it as in (38) and (39):

(38) ka-ni tɔʔ ka-elisabet<sup>h</sup>  
 3fsgcl-proxdem be 3fsgcl-Elizabeth

**Gloss:** This is Elizabeth.

(39) o: da-k<sup>h</sup>rɛʔ-u u-biaʔ wa ka-ni  
 3msg perf-be ready-3msg INF-marry soc 3fsgcl-proxdem

**Gloss:** He is ready to marry this.

Deictic spatial adverbs ‘here’ and ‘there’ also are compositional and include the deictic markers from the demonstratives. The PROCLITIC [i-] is used as a default clitic

in all the deictic adverbs. The [c<sup>h</sup>a] forms are used when the action denoted by the verb involves movement to a point of reference. The [na] form is used when the action denoted by the verb involves movement from a point of reference. When the action referred to takes place at a point of reference then the [ha] form is used, both with proximal and distal forms. The different forms of the proximal adverb ‘here’ are as follows:

f. [hɛini] (= ha-i-ni)

g. [c<sup>h</sup>ɛini] (= c<sup>h</sup>a-i-ni)

h. [nɛini] (= na-i-ni)

The examples (40-41) exemplify two of these forms:

(40)	ɪm-yo-p <sup>hi</sup> .	ale?	hɛini.	i-tai	ha-ka-dɔŋ.
	NEG-see-	come	here	3ESGCL-	LOC-3FSGCL-
	2PLCL			DISTDEM	corner

**Gloss:** Can't you see them? Come here. There, at the end of this corridor.

(41)	wan-u	c <sup>h</sup> ɛini	man-ka-sŋi
	come-3MSGCL	here	every-3FSGCL-day

**Gloss:** He comes here daily.

In the above forms, the particles [ha]; [c<sup>h</sup>a] and [na] are oblique case markers and stand for LOCATIVE, ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE respectively. The particle [-ni] is the PROXIMAL DEMONSTRATIVE pronoun without any PROCLITIC.

The distal adverbial ‘there’ makes use of all the DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE pronouns without their proclitics, and the DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE elements add to the different shades of meaning of the adverb along with the three case markers [ha]; [c<sup>h</sup>a] and [na] standing for LOCATIVE, ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE cases respectively. Thus the different forms of the DISTAL ADVERB are as follows:

i. [hɛitai] (= ha-i-tai)

j. [c<sup>h</sup>ɛitai] (= c<sup>h</sup>a-i-tai)

k. [nɛitai] (= na-i-tai)

- l. [hɛite] (= ha-i-te)
- m. [c<sup>h</sup>ɛite] (= c<sup>h</sup>a-i-te)
- n. [nɛite] (= na-i-te)
- o. [hɛitu] (= ha-i-tu)
- p. [c<sup>h</sup>ɛitu] (= c<sup>h</sup>a-i-tu)
- q. [nɛitu] (= na-i-tu)

The examples (42-44) exemplify one each of the distal demonstratives used in spatial adverbs:

- (42) kamman u-poi-i c<sup>h</sup>ɛite.  
 how INF-go/reach-1PLCL ALL-3ESGCL-DISTDEM  
**Gloss:** How will we reach there?

- (43) k<sup>h</sup>ut u-k<sup>h</sup>inna? u-wa-daŋ heitai.  
 call 3MSGCL-child 3MSGCL-RP-still LOC-3ESGCL-DISTDEM  
**Gloss:** Call the boy who is standing there.

- (44) wan-ra? ka-tu ka-kət neitu  
 come- 3FSGCL-DISTDEM 3FSGCL-book ABL-3ESGCL-DISTDEM  
 carry  
**Gloss:** Bring the book from there. (there from where the hearer is)

The DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES [tai]; [tu] and [te] in these words retain the meanings they represent as DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES.

Deictic temporal adverbs ‘now’ and ‘then’ do not have a regular compositional form. The proximal temporal adverb ‘now’ is represented as [kattu] or [katte] or [katni], of which [katni] is the form used most predominantly, while the distal temporal adverb appears as [te] or [nɛite] as exemplified in (45-46):

- (45) ka-bei dau-c<sup>h</sup>et-kə katni  
 3FSGCL-mother FUT-cook-3FSGCL now  
**Gloss:** Mother will cook now

- (46) u-ʃən spɛr-kət-u dəp-nɛite t<sup>h</sup>aŋ-sikaret-u  
 3MSGCL-John read-book-3MSGCL COMPL-then light-cigarette-3MSGCL



**Gloss:** John read a book and lit a cigarette.

The deictic categories represented by prepositions are either monosyllabic CV structures, or when complex, are compositional containing the LOCATIVE or ALLATIVE or ABLATIVE marker with a nominal/adjective. No clitics are used within these forms. Their use is observable in various examples given in the text, and hence has not been exemplified here for economy of space. These forms are listed below:

<i>at</i>	:	[ha]		
<i>to</i>	:	[c <sup>h</sup> a]		
<i>from</i>	:	[na]		
<i>on</i>	:	[ha]	;	[ha-jrɔŋ]
<i>in</i>	:	[ha]	;	[ha-pɔʔ] ; [c <sup>h</sup> a-pɔʔ]
<i>into</i>	:	[ha-pɔʔ]	;	[c <sup>h</sup> a-pɔʔ] ; [na-pɔʔ]
<i>inside</i>	:	[ha-pɔʔ]	;	[c <sup>h</sup> a-pɔʔ] ; [na-pɔʔ]
<i>above</i>	:	[ha-jrɔŋ]	;	[c <sup>h</sup> a-jrɔŋ] ; [na-jrɔŋ]
<i>below</i>	:	[ha-tre]	;	[c <sup>h</sup> a-tre] ; [na-tre]
<i>front</i>	:	[ha-k <sup>h</sup> mat]	;	[ha-p <sup>h</sup> raŋ] ; [c <sup>h</sup> a-k <sup>h</sup> mat] ; [c <sup>h</sup> a-p <sup>h</sup> raŋ]
<i>behind</i>	:	[c <sup>h</sup> a-den]	;	[ha-den] ; [na-den]
<i>up</i>	:	[ha-jrɔŋ]	;	[c <sup>h</sup> a-jrɔŋ] ; [na-jrɔŋ]
<i>down</i>	:	[ha-pɔʔ]	;	[c <sup>h</sup> a-pɔʔ] ; [na-pɔʔ]
<i>far</i>	:	[ha-jŋai]	;	[c <sup>h</sup> a-jŋai] ; [na-jŋai]
<i>near</i>	:	[ha-jan]	;	[c <sup>h</sup> a-jan] ; [na-jan]
<i>before</i>	:	[mɪnc <sup>h</sup> wa]	;	[c <sup>h</sup> wa]
<i>after</i>	:	[ha-den]	;	[na-den] ; [c <sup>h</sup> a-den]

## 2.6. Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns have been studied on a cross-linguistic basis in Haspelmath (1997) and provides interesting insights into our study of these two languages. While Pnar has not been dealt with in Haspelmath (1997), Khasi finds a brief mention as a

language that derives indefinite pronouns by reduplication. It is hoped that this study would enhance our knowledge of the indefinite pronouns in these two languages.

Indefinite pronouns have been understood to be those pronouns that express indefinite reference. The analysis of indefinite pronouns in the current research is largely based on Haspelmath (1997) which provides a detailed typological exposition of the formal and functional (syntactic and semantic) properties of indefinite pronouns. Haspelmath observes that very often indefinite pronouns appear in series referring to various ontological categories like *person, thing, place, time, manner*<sup>8</sup> etc. Different series in English include the *any*-series, *some*-series etc. He lists various functions that indefinite pronouns generally satisfy in different languages like marking specificity/non-specificity, negation, expressing free choice etc. Haspelmath notes that in many languages across the world indefinite pronouns are very often based on interrogative pronouns derived by a process of grammaticalization involving semantic broadening, where by the indefinite covers larger ontological categories than the interrogative. As far as indefinite pronouns not based on interrogative pronouns are concerned, according to him, they are generally based on generic nouns like *person, thing* etc. Another way of forming indefinite pronouns in many languages is by the use of the numeral 'one'. He considers those derived from interrogatives to be the most commonly attested type cross-linguistically. Other issues that are taken up by Haspelmath include the issue of co-occurrence of negative indefinite pronouns with sentential verbal negation, which he argues is the more cross-linguistically attested structure. Various issues pertaining to the formal structure of indefinites raised by Haspelmath have also been looked into in this study. Based on data in Huffman (1967), Haspelmath concludes that in the Khmer language, the indefinite pronouns are not derived from interrogative pronouns but are identical to them, a point of great significance for our analysis of the Mon-Khmer languages. Another point of typological importance is whether the languages make a distinction between human/non-human in their indefinites as well as interrogatives. It would be also interesting to see if the negative indefinite pronoun has a negative element in it and if other indefinite pronouns can be used to mean negative indefinites. Negative polarity items whose use is not restricted to the expression of non-existence but also is used in

---

<sup>8</sup> Haspelmath's list of the ontological categories is based on Jackendoff (1983).

conditional, interrogative and comparison clauses is another area that needs to be probed. It would be interesting to know if the languages maintain different indefinite series depending upon whether the indefinite NP is specific or non-specific.

Haspelmath talks of four different strategies for expressing indefiniteness without indefinite pronouns in many languages which include the use of generic nouns, the use of existential sentences, the use of non-specific free relative clauses (using whichever, whatever, wherever etc) and the use of universal quantifiers 'every' and 'all' instead of indefinites. Though the universal quantifiers quantify over a set and look at it either as a whole or distributively and generally express no indefiniteness, Haspelmath notes that “there are close connections between distributive universal quantifiers like *every* and indefinite pronouns that express irrelevance of choice like *any*” (12) and hence they have also been looked into in addition to the prototypical cases. Thus while many issues and dimensions relating to the indefinites have been talked about in the literature, my analysis tries to work on these issues within the limitations of the current research purpose.

This analysis of indefinite pronouns in Pnar is based on the extensive typological parameters discussed in Haspelmath (1997). Various issues raised by Haspelmath have been taken up for consideration in this analysis. Thus the presence of an indefinite ‘series’ with respect to various ontological categories; the derivation of indefinites, if present; different strategies of marking indefinites like existential sentences, free relative clause constructions; different sources for indefinites like interrogatives, generic nouns, the numeral ‘one’; the issues of specificity/ non-specificity, human/ non-human entities vis-à-vis the indefinites etc have been looked into. Significantly, pronominal clitics the subject of this study are a very important constituent of all indefinite pronouns in Pnar.

One does not find the indefinite pronouns appearing in any ‘series’ representing various ontological categories like ‘person’, ‘thing’ etc. The bases [wan] and [yi] used in indefinites are part of interrogative pronouns as well. As an interrogative particle [yi] is used to form ‘who/whom’ as in (77, 84), ‘what’ as in (88) and ‘which’

as in (95), where as [wan] is used to form ‘what’ as in (87), ‘which’ as in (97), ‘how’ as in (102), and ‘where’ as in (104).

As part of an indefinite pronoun [yi] is used to form ‘any’ as in (47), ‘anything’ as in (48), ‘everything’ as in (49), ‘something’ as in (50) and ‘nobody’ as in (51).

- (47) pɪn-map-    ɪm-ye-p<sup>hi</sup>    u-raʔ    i-yi-i-yi    i-wa-u-    c<sup>h</sup>apəʔ.  
           ɔ.  
           CAUS-            NEG-            DVM-    3ESGCL-Q-    3ESGCL-RP-    inside  
           forgive-        MOD:ABIL-        carry    3ESGCL-Q    DVM-eat  
           1SGCL            2PLCL

**Gloss:** I am sorry. You can not carry any eatables inside.

- (48) c<sup>h</sup>wa    u-            c<sup>h</sup>a-            edward,    k<sup>w</sup>a-hi-    u-            i-yi-re-i-yi (or)  
                   psiaʔ-    kamra    mi            k<sup>h</sup>ana            yei-wan-yei-  
                   i    wan.  
           before    DVM-    all-            Edward    want-    DVM-    3ESGCL-Q-EPTDR-  
                   enter-    room    EMPH-    tell            3ESGCL-Q    (OR)  
                   1PLCL    ACC/DAT+3ESGCL-  
     Q-  
     ACC/DAT+3ESGCL-  
     Q

**Gloss:** Before we enter the gallery, Edward do you want to tell us anything?

- (49) edward,    me    təʔ    u-ɔŋ-    ya-ki-    c<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>aŋ    ki-    c<sup>h</sup>apəʔ.  
     mi            yi-ki-    dur  
     yi  
           Edward    2MSG    be            DVM-    ACC-    about    3PLCL-    inside  
     (MOD: say-    3PLCL-  
     OBLIG) 2MSGCL    Q-  
     3PLCL-  
     Q

**Gloss:** Edward, you must tell us everything about every picture inside.

- (50) da-dɛp-e-    ya-    p<sup>hi</sup>    leʔ    təʔ    u-e-p<sup>hi</sup>    ya-    i-yi-re-i-  
           k<sup>h</sup>əwai-kə    p<sup>hi</sup>.    ka            yi.  
           PERF-            DAT-    2PL    also    MOD:OBLIG    DVM-    DAT-    3ESGCL-Q-  
           COMPL-        2PL    give-    3FSG    EPTDR-  
           give-party-    2PLCL    3ESGCL-Q  
           3FSGCL

**Gloss:** She had given you a party. You must also give her something.

- (51) im-em-bru-u-yi-u-yi    ha-yuŋ

NEG-BE-PERSON-3MSGCL-Q-3MSGCL-Q LOC-home

**Gloss:** Nobody is at home

[wan] is used to form ‘anybody’ as in (52), ‘anything’ as in (48), ‘nobody’ as in (53) and ‘something’ as in (54).

(52) em **ki-wan-ki-** ki-wa-ye u-e ya-i ka-bər.  
**wan**  
 be/have 3PLCL-Q- 3PLCL-RP- DVM- ACC- 3FSGCL-  
 3PLCL-Q MOD:ABIL give IPL permission

**Gloss:** Is there anybody here who can give us the permission?

(53) tɔʔ wɪm- ki- ki- ya- u-lai- c<sup>h</sup>ɛite i-t<sup>h</sup>au ya-  
 em wan- wa- ŋa ɔ ɪnne-  
 ki- c<sup>h</sup>aʔ ka-sɲi.  
**wan-**  
**ki-bru**  
 be RP+NEG- 3PLCL- 3PLCL- ACC- DVM- there 3ESGCL- ACC-  
 be/have Q- RP- 1SG go- place today-  
 3PLCL- allow 1SGCL 3FSGCL-  
 Q- day  
 3PLCL-  
 PERSON

**Gloss:** Nobody is allowed to go there today.

(54) em i-wan- c<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>an ki-ni ki- ki- wɪm-ye- u-  
 re-i- dur wa de-i mɪllɪŋ.  
**wan**  
 have 3ESGCL- about 3PLCL- 3PLCL- 3PLCL- RP+NEG- INF-  
 Q- PROXDEM picture RP MOD:ABIL- forget  
 EPTDR- also-  
 3ESGCL- 1PLCL  
 Q

**Gloss:** There is something about these pictures that we will never forget.

Though the same elements act as base to form both the interrogative pronouns and the indefinites, one can not be said to be derived from the other. The particles [wan] and [yi] which are common to both indefinites and interrogatives have different formal characteristics. Although for glossing purposes these two particles have been called Q (QUESTION) particles in this work, there is no language internal evidence to suggest any kind of a derivational process. The bases shared between the indefinites and the

interrogatives can not be called interrogative bases either, as they by themselves do not make up any interrogative pronouns. It is the presence of proclitics with these bases that makes an interrogative pronoun. The very same proclitics with these bases and a process of complete, continuous or discontinuous reduplication give rise to the indefinites. So it would only be proper to say that both the forms share the same bases as there is no evidence to suggest that one is derived from the other or that one is based on the other although cross-linguistic generalizations as presented in Haspelmath (1997) would argue that the indefinites are based on the interrogatives.

As far as the particle [yi] is concerned, in interrogatives it always comes with a pronominal clitic. The proclitic coming with this particle is mostly the default 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic [i-] with 'who', 'whom' and 'what' (other 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics are also used when the gender/number specification of the nominal being sought as an answer is known) and any of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics with 'which' as in (77), (78), (95) etc. The only exception to this comes when the proclitic is replaced by any of the case markers like the agentive/instrumental [da] or the accusative [ya]. The particle [yi-] as an indefinite always comes with a proclitic, which is generally the default 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic [i-] as in (47), (48) and (50) among others.

As far as the particle [wan] is concerned, in interrogatives it very rarely comes just with proclitics. It is usually part of a complex which consists of the locative, ablative or allative case markers [ha], [na] or [c<sup>h</sup>a] followed by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person default clitic [i-], followed by [wan] as in (97-98). When it comes just with the proclitics, it takes any of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics as in (99). As far as its form in indefinites is concerned, it comes either with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person default clitic [i-] as in (54) or the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural proclitic [ki-] as in (52).

A noteworthy difference however in the two uses of the same particles is that in indefinites the [PROCLITIC-yi/wan] is always used in a reduplicated form as in (52) or (54) while they can be used just by themselves as interrogatives as in (77), except when the interrogative is reduplicated as in (80). While indefinites allow empty

particles to come between the reduplicated complexes as in (54), it is not allowed in interrogatives.

As far as the question of co-occurrence of negative indefinite pronoun and normal sentential negation is concerned, it is not attested. In fact the question is redundant in the case of Pnar, as the language does not have any dedicated negative indefinite pronouns. Existential constructions which have been attested in other languages of the world also to be used as indefinites are also used to mark both negative as in (55) and specific/non-specific indefinites as in (56) in Pnar, especially to mark the ontological category ‘PERSON’.

(55) **im-em**      wa    yɔʔsuk    ya-o  
 NEG-have    RP    like            ACC-3MSG

**Gloss:** No one likes him (here lit. There is no one who likes him)

(56) **em**      u-wi            u-wa-wan            na-ka-liəŋ            yɔŋ-i.  
 be/have    3MSGCL-one    3MSGCL-RP-come    ABL-3FSGCL-direction    GEN-1PL

**Gloss:** Someone is coming in our direction.

In the case of negative indefinites, the sentence begins with the negative morph [im] which like in ordinary sentential negation comes here too taking the support of the auxiliary [em]. The negative complex [im-em] can be used by itself followed by the indefinite NP as in (57), or may be followed by a complex containing the generic numeral ‘one’ (also attested in many languages as being part of the indefinite system) as in (58) or the generic noun for ‘person’ [bru] as in (51) or the nominalizer [nɔŋ]. The expressions with the generic noun for person, also contains the reduplicated forms of either of the two particles [wan] and [yi] with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular or plural proclitic as in (51). The reduplicated complex is contiguous in these cases. The negative indefinite representing the ontological category of ‘thing’ is also made up of the complex [im-em] followed by intensifiers like [de] ‘too/also’ and [c<sup>h</sup>ibo:n] ‘much’ as in (59). The indefinite in (59) is a singular instance of a discontinuous indefinite pronoun in Pnar.

(57) **im-em**      khinnaʔ    wa-ɾɔŋ    wa-yaleʔ-bəl-b<sup>h</sup>a  
 NEG-be/have    child      RP-tall    RP-play-ball-good







empty particle. Thus an indefinite without an empty particle inside it as in (61) would have the same structure as reduplicated questions as in (80), and in this situation Pnar would represent a case exactly similar to Khmer.

There is a definite human/non-human distinction in the indefinites. Though one can not make a general statement about all the indefinites as is possible for English, in this case each type of indefinite has its own way of making this distinction. When showing ‘free choice’ or as an Negative Polarity Item (represented by the ‘any’ series in English), the indefinites use the non-specific relative clause structure to represent ‘human beings’ as in (62) and prefer the reduplicated structure with [yi] or [wan] for non-human things as in (61). The reduplicated structure used in (52) is a very minor strategy for human beings.

(62) spiaub<sup>ha</sup> ham-klam kat-ki-wa- hapɔʔ- yɔŋhɛʔ.  
 please PROH:NEG- speak EMPH-3PLCL- RP-be inside-room loudly

**Gloss:** Please do not talk loudly to anyone in the room. (lit. “Please do not talk to whoever is in the room”.)

The indefinite ‘any’ which is not tied to any ontological category can have both the reduplicated structure as in (47) as well as the non-specific relative clause structure as in (63).

(63) e ŋa kat-ki-wa-em ki-kɔt ya-u-pure.  
 give 1SG EMPH-3PLCL-RP-be 3PLCL-book ACC-DVM-read

**Gloss:** Give me any book to read.

The negative indefinite marks human elements by incorporating the generic noun for ‘person’ [bru] as part of the indefinite as in (51). Alternatively it incorporates the nominalizer/agentivalizer [nɔŋ]. The non-human entity is represented by negating intensifiers like [de] ‘too/also’ and/or [c<sup>h</sup>ibo:n] ‘much/many’ as in (59). The indefinite ‘no’, which is not tied to any ontological categories, uses simple negation for both the entities followed by the indefinite NP as in (57).

As far as the indefinites used to mark non-specificity/specificity are concerned (represented by the ‘some’ series in English), the human entity is represented by an existential sentence as in (56). As far as non-human entities are concerned, the two particles/bases [yi] or [wan] are employed in a process of discontinuous reduplication as in (50, 54).

The indefinite ‘some’ which is not tied to any ontological category is usually represented by lexically available non-compositional indefinite forms as in (60, 64, 65). Alternatively, the existential sentence can also be employed if the indefinite NP following ‘some’ is human as in (66).

- (64) **khajiet** na-ki-kət yəŋ-ŋa em-ki ha-ʃrəŋ-mieʃ.  
 some ABL-3PLCL-book GEN-1SG have-3PLCL LOC-top-table  
**Gloss:** Some of my books are on the table.

- (65) **kattu-** ki-kari wa- ki-yəŋ-u-ʃən təʔ ki-wa-miət.  
**katni** blu  
 some 3PLCL- RP- 3PLCL-GEN-3MSGCL- be 3PLCL-RP-  
 car blue John good  
**Gloss:** John’s some blue cars are good.

- (66) **em** ki-k<sup>h</sup>innaʔ ki-wa-ʃrəŋ yaleʔ-bəl-b<sup>h</sup>a-ki  
 be/have 3plcl-child 3plcl-rp-tall play-ball-good-3pl  
**Gloss:** Some tall boys play football very well.

There are no separate indefinite pronouns series depending upon the specificity/non-specificity of the Indefinite NP. As attested cross-linguistically and discussed in Haspelmath (1997), Pnar also has many strategies of forming indefinites other than deriving them using the same bases as interrogatives.

**Alternate strategies of forming indefinites:**

Whenever the existential sentence is used to mark negative indefinites, the other indefinites can be used optionally as a part of the negative indefinite construction as in (51). The only indefinites that make use of generic ontological category nouns are the negative indefinites. They make use of the Pnar word for person [bru] as part of the

indefinite as in (51). The reduplicated structure involving [yi] or [wan] along with 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics, can either precede or follow the generic ontological category noun for person [bru]. This entire complex involving the generic noun and the reduplicated structures is preceded by the negative particle with its auxiliary support in an existential sentence used to mark indefiniteness.

Non-specific relative clause construction is one of the major strategies to mark free-choice indefiniteness in Pnar as in (62-63). Of all the indefinites in Pnar the numeral ‘one’ is only used with universal quantifiers like ‘every’, ‘everybody’ if one can consider them to be indefinite pronouns. The forms of ‘every’ representing the ontological category of ‘PERSON’ makes use of the numeral ‘one’ as in (67) while that representing the ontological category of ‘THING’ makes use of a reduplicated [yi-] as in (49).

(67)	<b>u-wi-pa-u-wi</b>	em-kam	u-	ya-ka-	yɔŋ-
			k <sup>h</sup> aŋ	mobail	ki.
	3MSGCL-ONE-	have-	DVM-	ACC-3FSGCL-	GEN-
	EPTDR-3MSGCL-ONE	need(MOD:OBLIG)	close	mobile	3PL
<b>Gloss:</b>	Everybody must switch off their mobiles.				

The common features between the indefinites based on interrogatives, and the indefinites based on the numeral ‘one’ are generally three. In both the types, the presence of proclitics is compulsory along with the bases shared with interrogatives and the numeral ‘one’, giving rise to the forms [PROCLITIC-wi] or [PROCLITIC-wan/yi]. The [PROCLITIC-wi] or [PROCLITIC-wan/yi] complex is always used in its reduplicated form to signify indefiniteness. The reduplicated forms of [PROCLITIC-wi] or [PROCLITIC-wan/yi] complex can either be contiguous or separated by an empty particle which is [re] for the bases shared with interrogatives, and [pa] with the numeral ‘one’.

Existential sentences are a major strategy of marking indefiniteness in Pnar as in (51, 55-56). These are the only type of constructions used to mark negative indefiniteness by negating the verb of the existential sentence as in (51, 55). The existential sentence is also the only way of marking indefiniteness showing specificity/non-specificity

with the ontological category of ‘person’ as in (56). The indefinite ‘some’ which can have any ontological category following it, can have existential sentences or can make use of lexically available forms. Only free-choice or NPI (Negative Polarity Items) indefinites do not make use of existential sentences to mark indefiniteness.

There is very little congruence between universal quantifiers and indefinite pronouns in Pnar. The form [PROCLITIC-yi- PROCLITIC-yi] can be used for both ‘anything’ as in (61) and ‘everything’ as in (49). While the indefinites are formed using the two bases [yi-] and [wan], the universal quantifiers make use of the numeral ‘one’ as in (67) or the lexically available form [warɔʔ] ‘all’ as in (68). Another form which is used for ‘every’ with temporal nouns is [man] as in (69).

(68) warɔʔ ki-kɔt yɔŋ-ŋa em-ki ha-jrɔŋ-mieɟ.  
 all 3PLCL-book GEN-1SG have-3PLCL LOC-top/tall-table

**Gloss:** All my books are on the table.

(69) u-jɔn dɔʔ-u ya-ka-bei yɔŋ-o man-ka-step  
 3MSGCL- kiss- ACC-3FSGCL- GEN- every-3FSGCL-  
 John 3MSGCL mother 3MSG morning

**Gloss:** John kisses his mother every morning

## 2.7. Relative pronouns and Relative clauses

The relative pronouns are formed by using a relativizing particle (RP) with a PROCLITIC, where the PROCLITIC agrees with the gender/number specification of the nominal being modified by the relative clause. The RP’s shape is [wa], and it appears in the configuration [PROCLITIC-wa]. The relative pronoun is not a separate lexical word or a free morpheme. It is formed by the coming together of the relativizing particle along with a proclitic. This [PROCLITIC-wa] structure, in relative clauses with lexical verbs<sup>9</sup>, always comes prefixed on the verb as in (70), and only in relative clauses with copular verbs, which get dropped as in (71 and 72), do we find this complex occurring by itself. The same structure is used for all the different kinds of

<sup>9</sup> In this work, the term "lexical verb" is used to represent a member of the open class of verbs which form the primary verb vocabulary of a language. The lexical verbs are content words and hence are distinguished from auxiliary and modal verbs which are function words. The term in this sense is borrowed from Crystal (1985) and Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985).

relative pronouns like ‘*who*’, ‘*whose*’, ‘*which*’, ‘*that*’ and ‘*whom*’ as exemplified for ‘*who*’ in (70) and (72) and ‘*whose*’ in (71):

(70)	u-ʃɔn	u-wa-aʔ	ya-u-sapeŋ	da-ka-tari	yɔʔ-u	ha-i-niŋkɔŋ
	3MSGCL- John	3MSGCL- RP-cut	ACC- 3MSGCL- mango	INSTR- 3MSGCL- knife	get- 3MSGCL	LOC- 3MSGCL- first

**Gloss:** John who cut the mango with a knife won the first prize.

(71)	u-ram	ka-bei	u-wa-	ka-no:s	bam-u	u-sapeŋ	u-wa-da-iʔ.
	3MSGCL- Ram	3MSGCL- mother	3MSGCL- RP	3MSGCL- nurse	eat- 3MSGCL	3MSGCL- mango	3MSGCL- RP-PERF- ripe

**Gloss:** Ram whose mother is a nurse is eating a ripe mango.

(72)	ka-bei	ʃɔŋ-u-ram	ka-wa	ka-no:s	bam-kɔ	u-sapeŋ	u-wa-da-iʔ
	3MSGCL- mother	GEN- 3MSGCL- Ram	3MSGCL- RP	3MSGCL- nurse	eat- 3MSGCL	3MSGCL- mango	3MSGCL- RP-PERF- ripe

**Gloss:** Ram’s mother who is a nurse is eating a ripe mango.

Unlike relative clauses in languages like English and Hindi, where the relative pronoun is always adjacent to the nominal it modifies, in Pnar as structures like (71) and (72) attest, it is not necessary for the relative pronoun to be adjacent to the nominal it modifies. One can attribute this flexibility to the presence of the proclitic on the relative pronoun which clearly identifies the nominal which the clause modifies, even if there are other nominals that separate the modified nominal from the relative clause.

Indefinite relative pronouns like ‘*whoever*’, ‘*whatever*’ and ‘*whichever*’ usually come with [kat], a particle similar to the emphatic [b<sup>h</sup>i:] in Hindi. The syntactic configuration of indefinite relative clauses is very different from that of definite relative clauses discussed above. Significant differences between the two include the fact that while subject-identity between the main clause and the relative clause is compulsory for definite relative clauses, it is not the case with indefinite relative clauses. This difference regarding subject-identity results in a very different structure

for the indefinite relative clauses. The various indefinite relative pronouns/clauses are exemplified in (73-76):

- (73) **kat-ka-pɔisa wa-e-u-ɟɔn ya-ka-meri da-wiəɾ-kɔ hapɔʔ-trein**  
 EMPH-3MSGCL- RP-GIVE- ACC/DAT- PERF-lose- LOC-train  
 money 3MSGCL-John 3MSGCL-Mary 3MSGCL  
**Gloss:** Whatever money John gave to Mary, she lost it in the train.
- (74) **kat-u-wa-t<sup>h</sup>iəd-ɔ u-k<sup>h</sup>ulɔm ɪm-em u-kɾɛʔ.**  
 EMPH-3MSGCL-RP-buy-1SGCL 3MSGCL-pen NEG-have INF-work  
**Gloss:** Whichever pen I buy, it does not work.
- (75) **u-wa-wan-k<sup>h</sup>addɔʔ u-te wa u-k<sup>h</sup>əwai ya-warɔʔ.**  
 3MSGCL-RP-come-last 3MSGCL-DISTDEM RP INF-party ACC-everyone  
**Gloss:** Whoever comes last will have to give the rest a party.
- (76) **kat-ha-u-wa-c<sup>h</sup>ənya-u-ɟɔn leʔ-t<sup>h</sup>ɔk-pait-ki o.**  
 EMPH-?-3MSGCL-RP-trust-3MSGCL-John do-wrong/false-look-3PLCL 3MSG.  
**Gloss:** Whomever John trusts, they betray him.

While the RP in definite relative clauses modifying the nominal is always immediately preceded by the PROCLITIC of the modified nominal, one finds that in structures like (73) the RP has no proclitic. Instead the position that is prototypically occupied by proclitics in all the other structures listed in this section is occupied by a nominal with its proclitic. This is the nominal which is modified by the indefinite relative clause. This situation of finding a nominal with its proclitic replacing a pronominal clitic which agrees with or stands for it, is also attested for the VSO structures in Pnar discussed later in this chapter. One may also have to look upon the constituent [**kat-ka-pɔisa wa-e-u-ɟɔn**] in (73) as one word morphologically to compare it with the other indefinite relative clause structures. The constituent [PROCLITIC-wa-VERB] of a prototypical relative clause structure as in (70, 74-76) supports the above possibility of [**kat-ka-pɔisa wa-e-u-ɟɔn**] in (73) being a morphologically complex word.

A very significant point here is that the RP [wa] which comes attached with a proclitic and forms a single word with the verb of the relative clause to form the

constituent [PROCLITIC-wa-VERB] as in (70), does not allow the verb to have an enclitic onto itself. Indefinite relative pronouns however differ in this very important aspect. The verb which comes along with the indefinite relative pronoun generally comes with a subject enclitic as in (73-74, 76). What we find in structures (73 and 76) is a VSO pattern, where the subject enclitic has been replaced by the subject nominal along with its proclitic. The only plausible explanation for this is that under the subject-identity condition, that prevails in relative clauses like (70-72), where the subject of the relative clause is same as that of the sentence, the verb does not come with the enclitic, as the main verb comes with the enclitic of the subject. This also explains why in (75) the verb has no enclitic, as the subject of the indefinite relative clause is same as that of the main clause. Copular verb constructions must be kept outside of the purview of this discussion. These constructions also show no enclitic in the relative clauses, but it is not because of a subject-identity condition but because the copular verb itself is dropped.

## **2.8. Interrogative pronouns**

The two types of interrogative sentences, namely wh-questions, and polar questions involve different syntactic configuration of the pronominal clitics, and hence has been discussed separately.

Interrogative pronouns which are used to form wh-questions have a compositional form in Pnar and are made of question particles [yi] or [wan] along with proclitics. The preferred syntactic position of these interrogative pronouns is sentence-initial position, which is achieved as a result of wh-movement. Word-order is relatively free in Pnar, and the wh-questions are permitted to be in-situ also. The different interrogative pronouns are discussed below.

### **2.8.1. Wh-questions**

#### **WHO:**



The interrogative pronoun ‘*who*’ which seeks an explanation regarding the subject (AGENT of an action) is formed with the following structure:

a. [PROCLITIC-yi] [wa] as in (77)

(77) i-yi        wa-pin-yap    ya-u-jən  
3MSGCL-Q    RP-CAUS-die    ACC-3MSGCL-John

**Gloss:** Who killed John?

The question particle [yi] appears with most interrogative pronouns. The PROCLITIC used in this pronoun is the default [i-] in cases where the gender of the nominal questioned can not be inferred. If the gender can be inferred, then [u-] or [ka-] is used as may be appropriate as in (78).

(78) u-yi        o        u-tai        u-bru        u-wa-yalaŋ-ki  
3MSGCL-    3MSGCL    3MSGCL-    3MSGCL-    3MSGCL-RP-surround-  
Q    DISTDEM                person                3PLCL

**Gloss:** Who is that man surrounded by so many people?

In most cases the [PROCLITIC-yi] structure of ‘*who*’ is immediately followed by the RP [wa] making the question sound like “Who is the one who...” as exemplified in (77) above. The verb that follows the RP, as part of the relative clause does not carry the enclitic agreement marker as it is generally the subject of the main clause itself whose gender/number details are not known, that is sought as an answer. The usual proclitic that comes with the RP is also not used, as there is no nominal that it refers back to. The verb may take a fully specified object, which is of the structure [ACC/DOUBLED PROCLITIC-PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] as in (77), or may choose to incorporate the nominal dropping the case marker and the proclitic as in (79):

(79) i-yi                wa-ye                u-jubab-jɨŋk<sup>h</sup>əli        wa-e?  
3MSGCL-Q        RP-MOD:ABIL        INF-answer-question        RP-difficult

**Gloss:** Who answered the tough questions? (lit. Who was able to answer the tough questions?)

When the wh-word is reduplicated in a distributive sense, the structure of the pronoun is as follows where the PROCLITIC can be either the 3<sup>rd</sup> person default PROCLITIC [i-] or the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural clitic [ki-]:

b. [PROCLITIC-yi- PROCLITIC-yi-de] [wa] as in (80):

(80) **i-yi-i-yi-de**                      wa-wan-parti  
       3MSGCL-Q-3MSGCL-Q-also    RP-come-party  
**Gloss:** Who all came for the party?

Since the verb comes attached to the RP in these structures also, the enclitic agreement marker on the verb is absent.

Questions involving copular verbs do not use [wa] in the structure. Moreover the copular verb is generally dropped in these questions, and the structure of the interrogative pronoun is [PROCLITIC-yi] as in (78) and (81):

(81) **u-yi**            o            u-lək            u-ʒən            wa-b<sup>h</sup>a.  
       3MSGCL-Q    3MSGCL    3MSGCL-friend    (GEN)-3MSGCL-John    RP-good  
**Gloss:** Who is John's best friend?

The only time we have the [PROCLITIC-yi] structure for 'who' along with the RP [wa] with copular verbs is when the copular verb is not dropped as in (82):

(82) **i-yi**            wa-em    ʒiŋmut.  
       3MSGCL-Q    RP-have    idea  
**Gloss:** Who has an idea?

The absence of [wa] is naturally explainable to the fact that the RP always comes prefixed to a host, which is generally the verb in relative clauses, and the verb or adjective in the derivation of modifiers. Since the copular verb [təʔ] generally gets dropped, the [wa] has no host and hence is also dropped, while the copular verb [em] is never dropped in Pnar and hence can be seen to appear with [wa]. Interestingly, of the two copular verbs [em] in copular constructions carries enclitics,

while [tɔʔ] does not. However with interrogative pronouns both the copular verbs do not carry any enclitics, just as the lexical verbs.

Tense distinctions are hardly maintained morphologically in Pnar, unless speaking in conjugational paradigms. The perfect aspect [da] may precede the verb before it attaches to the RP in these questions. Other inflectional morphemes of the verb like the causative morpheme as in (77) may also precede the verb before it attaches to the RP as its host. When the sentence involves modals, then the RP comes attached with the modal as in (79) and has no agreement pronominal enclitics. If the question is negative, the negative morph [ɨm] which is a bound affix in Pnar fuses with the RP to give [wɨm] and then attaches with the verb as in (83):

(83) u-yi            wɨm-kwa?      u-bam-b<sup>h</sup>a  
          3MSGCL-Q    RP+NEG- want    INF-eat-good  
**Gloss:** Who does not like to eat well?

Structures like (83) above lend support to the argument stated earlier that the RP is not a separate word or free morpheme in Pnar. The fact that negation which is a feature of the verb or the verb phrase, appears fused with the RP in the above structure, is strong evidence that the RP is part of the same phrase to which the negation belongs, that is the verb phrase. An interesting feature of the wh-questions involving modals and negative particles is the non-requirement for the main verb to be rendered non-finite with the particle [u-], which is otherwise the syntactic paradigm in Pnar with modals and negation. However in all the cases discussed above, we find that the verb or VP carries no enclitic marker. This is because it is the subject that is questioned in these questions and it is the subject's agreement enclitic that appears with the verb.

#### **WHOM:**

The interrogative pronoun '*whom*' which seeks an explanation regarding the object (PATIENT of an action) is realized in Pnar as follows:

c. [ya-PROCLITIC-yi] as in (84):

- (84) **ya-i-yi**                      **ya-c<sup>h</sup>em-mi**                      **ha-yuŋmane**    **mintu**  
 ACC/DAT-3ESGCL-Q    RECIPRO-meet-2MSGCL    LOC-church    today  
**Gloss:** Whom did you meet in the church today?

The morph [ya] is the ACC/DAT marker in Pnar and [yi] is the question particle. The PROCLITIC used is the default [i-]. In the sense of a prepositional object like ‘about whom’ the question formed is:

d. [c<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>aŋ-PROCLITIC-yi] as in (85):

- (85) **c<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>aŋ-i-yi**    **ka-meri**                      **ya-klam-kɔ.**  
 about-3ESGCL-Q    3FSGCL-Mary    RECIPRO-talk-2FSGCL  
**Gloss:** Whom are you talking about?

The preposition [c<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>aŋ] ‘about’ replaces the ACC/DAT marker and the PROCLITIC used is the default 3<sup>rd</sup> person PROCLITIC [i-].

When the pronoun is reduplicated in a distributive sense, the structure of the pronoun is as follows and the PROCLITIC used is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural PROCLITIC [ki-]:

e. [PROCLITIC-yi-PROCLITIC-yi-de] as in (86):

- (86) **ki-yi-ki-yi-de**                      **ya-c<sup>h</sup>em-p<sup>h</sup>i**                      **ha-yuŋmane**    **inne**  
 3PLCL-Q-3PLCL-Q-also    RECIPRO-meet-2PLCL    LOC-church    today  
**Gloss:** Whom all did you meet in the church today?

The interrogative pronoun corresponding to ‘whom’ has the same shape as ‘who’ in Pnar but appears in a different syntactic configuration compared to ‘who’. The interrogative pronoun ‘whom’ is never followed by the RP [wa-]. When the subject is a nominal, it follows the wh-word, and the VP follows the Nominal subject as in (85). When the subject is a pronominal as in (84, 86), it is dropped and the VP follows the wh-word. The verb in (84-86) is finite and the VP carries the enclitic agreement

marker which is triggered by the pronominal or the nominal subject as the case may be.

**WHAT:**

The interrogative pronoun '*what*' which seeks an explanation regarding the THEME is realized by different forms in Pnar, some of them making use of pronominal clitics and the others not. The form of the interrogative pronoun which does not make use of the PROCLITIC is used with verbs like 'say', 'think' etc which take an entire clause as their complement. The forms without the proclitics include:

f. [kamwan] or [kamman] as in (87):

(87) **kamman**    ɔŋ-u-ʃɔn  
          what        say-3MSGCL-John

**Gloss:** What did John say?

The structure in (87) is a very interesting one. The verb is followed by a nominal specified by a proclitic. The nominal is the subject of the sentence. It occurs exactly where the enclitic agreement marker of the subject should have come. This is an instance of the VSO structure in Pnar. VSO structures are very common in Pnar. The VSO structure is not a mere scrambling of word order, but has syntactic implications. The prototypical SVO structure which involves an enclitic subject agreement marker on the verb has the subject coming with its proclitic before the verb. However in VSO structures, the enclitic which stands for the subject, gives place to the subject itself, and the subject nominal with its proclitic moves to the post-verbal position, making the enclitic redundant. The enclitic as a result is dropped. The fact that VSO structures do not have an enclitic on the verb and the SVO structures have it when the subject moves from its post-verbal position to the sentence-initial position, argues for the VSO structure as the basic structure from which the SVO structure is derived, by a process of movement, which leaves behind an overt pronounced trace.

The form of the interrogative pronoun which makes use of proclitics generally uses the default 3<sup>rd</sup> person PROCLITIC [i-]. The PROCLITIC takes the gender-marked forms

only when the context makes the gender clear. The interrogative pronoun is followed by the nominal subject followed by the VP, which is finite and carries the enclitic subject agreement marker. Pronominal subjects are dropped and the interrogative pronoun is followed by the finite VP as in (88), marked with the enclitic subject agreement marker. The form of the interrogative pronoun with proclitics is as follows:

g. [PROCLITIC-yi]

(88) **i-yi**        yo-p<sup>hi</sup>.  
           3ESGCL-Q    see-2PLCL

**Gloss:** What did you see?

The same form is used with copular verbs also, where the copular verbs are generally dropped as exemplified in (89):

(89) **ka-yi**        ka-jiŋkut    yɔŋ-ka.  
           3FSGCL-Q    3FSGCL-end    GEN-3FSG

**Gloss:** What is its (their love-story's) end?

Unlike the interrogative pronoun 'who', the interrogative pronoun 'what' very rarely comes along with the RP [wa]. The very limited contexts where [wa] has been used is when the question seeks an explanation of the entire action itself, like with verbs 'do', 'happen' etc as in (90). This form of the interrogative pronoun is used in structures when the entire clause is sought as an answer. This explains also why the verb carries no enclitic and comes appended to the RP [wa].

(90) **i-yi**        wa-jia?        ha-ka-p<sup>h</sup>lim.  
           3ESGCL-Q    RP-happen    LOC-3FSGCL-movie

**Gloss:** What happens in the movie?

Another form of the interrogative pronoun which seeks explanation of the verb like 'do' is as follows where the PROCLITIC used is the generic 3<sup>rd</sup> person default clitic [i-]:

h. [PROCLITIC-yu] as in (91):

- (91) **iyu** le? kattu.  
 what do next  
**Gloss:** What do we do next?

In the above structure, the constituent [iyu] could be just one word, as the particle [yu] does not appear in any other interrogative forms.

Another interesting feature regarding the interrogative pronoun ‘what’ is that when the interrogative pronoun seeks explanation regarding the name of an entity, the interrogative pronoun is altogether dropped, with the nominal standing for ‘name’ [pirtuit] beginning the sentence. Thus we have the structure:

- i. [i-pirtuit] as in (92):

- (92) **i-pirtuit-p<sup>hi</sup>**  
 3ESGCL-name-(GEN)-2PLCL  
**Gloss:** What is your name?

When the interrogative pronoun is reduplicated in a distributive sense as in (93), the form is as follows and the PROCLITIC used is the default 3<sup>rd</sup> person PROCLITIC [i-]:

- j. [PROCLITIC-yi-PROCLITIC-yi]

- (93) **i-yi-i-yi** da-bam-u  
 3ESGCL-Q-3ESGCL-Q PERF-eat-3MSGCL  
**Gloss:** ‘What all did he eat?’

When the interrogative pronoun is used to seek explanation regarding an agentive role using the agentive [da] ‘by’, the interrogative pronoun is shortened and the question particle [yi] is dropped, using only the PROCLITIC form. The PROCLITIC used is the default 3<sup>rd</sup> person PROCLITIC [i-]. In these passive structures, the passive morpheme one of whose forms is homophonous with the perfect aspect maker [da] appears prefixed to the verb. In passive structures, involving the passive morph [da] Pnar allows on enclitic agreement marker on the verb. Hence in these questions, no enclitic appears on the verb. The form of the interrogative pronoun is:

k. [da-PROCLITIC] as in (94):

(94)	<b>da-i</b>	da-	ya-ka-	na-i-t <sup>h</sup> lu	innin	tɔʔ	ka-
		kem	k <sup>h</sup> ne				miyau
	AGENT-	PASS-	ACC-	ABL-	yesterday	be	3FSGCL-
	3ESGCL	catch	3FSGCL-rat	3ESGCL-			cat
				hole			

**Gloss:** By what the rat was caught in the hole yesterday was the cat.

**WHICH:**

The interrogative pronoun ‘*which*’ that seeks an explanation regarding particular member/members of a pre-defined set, also resembles the other interrogative pronouns in its shape. The major point of difference however is regarding the shape of the PROCLITIC used. With ‘*which*’ the PROCLITIC can never be the default 3<sup>rd</sup> person PROCLITIC [i-]. The PROCLITIC is determined by its agreement with the gender/number of the member/members being sought from a pre-determined set whose gender/number is already known. Also the main verb which comes as a host to the RP [wa] is marked with the enclitic agreement marker as the subject is known. The use of the RP [wa] after the interrogative pronoun is very interesting. Thus we have the form of the interrogative pronoun as [PROCLITIC-yi] as in (95) and the syntactic configuration of its appearance as:

l. [PROCLITIC-yi] [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] [wa] as in (95):

(95)	<b>ka-yi</b>	ka-kɔt	wa-ye-mi	c <sup>h</sup> a-o.
	3FSGCL-Q	3FSGCL-book	RP-lend-2MSGCL	DAT-3MSG

**Gloss:** Which book have you lent him?

In a distributive sense when the interrogative pronoun is reduplicated as in (96) the structure of the interrogative pronoun is as follows where the PROCLITIC used in all the three instances is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person PROCLITIC [ki-].

m. [PROCLITIC-yi-PROCLITIC-yi] [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] [wa]



(96) **ki-yi-ki-yi**      **ki-p<sup>h</sup>lim**      **wa-da-pait-p<sup>h</sup>i**  
 3PLCL-Q-3PLCL-Q   3PLCL-movie   RP-PERF-see-2PLCL

**Gloss:** Which all movies have you seen?

Interestingly while both the formulations for ‘which’ (l) and (m) look very similar to the formulations for ‘who’ (a) and (b), the verb hosting the RP [wa] shows very salient differences and similarities. The similarity is that the RPs in relative clauses are generally marked with a proclitic of the subject nominal, while in both the cases here, they are not marked with any proclitic, which leads us to conclude that when the RP is used in interrogative structures, it is not marked with any proclitic, even if the subject is known as is the case with the interrogative pronoun ‘which’. The salient difference between the two uses of RP between ‘who’ and ‘which’ is the presence and absence of the enclitic on the verb which acts as the host for the RP. The verb in interrogative sentences involving the interrogative pronoun ‘which’ carries the enclitic within the RP marked clause, while the RP marked clause with ‘who’ does not carry the enclitic. This is explainable. The enclitic appears after the verb as the subject agreement marker. Since ‘who’ questions this very subject, no enclitic can be used with the verb. Since the subject is known with ‘which’ the enclitic is not only permitted but obligatory. What one finds then in Pnar is that when the subject is not known, unlike many languages Pnar does not resort to any default agreement marker on the verb. It just does not use any in such cases.

Apart from the use of the question particle [yi] as exemplified in (95-96) to form the wh-word ‘which’, the other question particle [wan] as exemplified in (97-98) is also used to form ‘which’. The distinction in meaning between the use of the two particles is unclear, but parallels the use of [kəun] and [kis] in Hindi, but the exact nuances of usage is beyond the scope of the current research.

n. [heiwan] [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] (here heiwan = ha-i-wan )

(97) **heiwan**      **i-t<sup>h</sup>au**      **ha-juwai**      **em-ko.**  
 LOC-3ESGCL-Q   3ESGCL-place   LOC-Jowai   have-3FSGCL

**Gloss:** Which part of Jowai is the church in?

The interrogative pronoun in (97) begins with the LOCATIVE case marker [ha], and is followed by the default 3<sup>rd</sup> person PROCLITIC [i-]. Other variants of this form of the interrogative pronoun involves replacing the LOCATIVE case marker [ha] with ABLATIVE case marker [na] as in (98), to signify ‘from which’, with the structure below:

o. [neiwan] [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] (here neiwan = na-i-wan )

(98) **neiwan**            i-bɪnta                    ka-kɔtbaʔ            dau-pure-ɔ.  
 ABL-3ESGCL-        3ESGCL-portion            3FSGCL-            fut-read-  
 Q                        /part                    Bible                1SGCL

**Gloss:** Which portion of the Bible should I read from?

In (98) the use of [na] signifies a reading of a ‘point of beginning’ or a locational sense more than a prototypical ablative sense. In both (97) and (98) one finds the verb to be finite and appearing with the subject enclitic. The RP [wa] is also not used with these forms of the interrogative pronoun ‘which’.

The interrogative pronoun may also be used without the LOCATIVE or ABLATIVE case markers as:

p. [PROCLITIC-wan] [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] as in (99):

(99) **u-wan**            u-payu-p<sup>hi</sup>  
 3MSGCL-Q    3MSGCL-sibling-(GEN)-2SGCL

**Gloss:** Which one is your brother?

(97) and (98) can also be analyzed as locational questions, where the question words can be interpreted as asking ‘where’ instead of ‘which’. Since the same forms of the wh-word are used for ‘where’ as in (104), it would not be wrong to take such a position. This position rules out the use of the particle [wan] to form the interrogative pronoun ‘which’ except for its use in (99) The PROCLITIC used in both instances in (p) above is the same, and is determined by the gender/number of the nominal. The sentence (99) is also an instance of the [GENITIVE-PROCLITIC] complex being replaced by the enclitic which appears as an enclitic to the possessed nominal. The particle

[wan] used in the above structures appears with many other wh-words in Pnar, and along with [yi] also form an integral part of the indefinite pronouns in the language. The forms [heiwan], [neiwan] and [c<sup>h</sup>eiwan] are lexicalized in the language and speakers are no more conscious of their compositionality. Another evidence for its lexicalization is that the proclitic used in these forms has frozen to be the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic [i].

**WHOSE:**

The interrogative pronoun ‘*whose*’ that seeks an explanation regarding the possessor of a nominal or the NP, has the following structure in Pnar:

q. [PROCLITIC-yɔŋ] [PROCLITIC-POSSESSED NOMINAL] as in (100):

(100) **ka-yɔŋ**      ka-tai-ka-kari.  
           3FSGCL-GEN    3FSGCL-DISTDEM-3FSGCL-car

**Gloss:** Whose car is that?

The PROCLITIC in both the instances in (q) above agree with each other and can be any of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics. The shape of the PROCLITIC is determined by the gender/number of the possessed nominal. Since the copular verb is dropped, we find no enclitic agreement paradigm in the structure above.

The other wh-words which are not considered to be pronouns do not have a compositional form and do not involve the use of any proclitics or enclitics. They have lexically available forms and are listed below:

- r. **Why:** [ileʔ]
- s. **How:** [kamnu]; [katwan]; [kamwan]; [heiwan-i-rukɔm]
- t. **When:** [nuʔ]; [mɪnnu]; [mɪnnu-mɪnnu]; [katnu-NOMINAL]; [katwan-NOMINAL]
- u. **Where:** [heiwan-VP]; [c<sup>h</sup>eiwan-VP]; [heiwan-heiwan-VP]; [c<sup>h</sup>eiwan-c<sup>h</sup>eiwan-VP]; [heiwan]; [c<sup>h</sup>eiwan]

In all these interrogative sentences, the *wh*-word is sentence-initial and is followed by the nominal if the subject is nominal and by the VP if the subject is a pronominal. In sentences involving pronominal subjects, the PROCLITIC part of the pronominal is dropped. The ENCLITIC subject agreement marker appears after the verb in case of both nominal and pronominal subjects. (101) and (104) have lexical verbs and carry the enclitic marker. (102) involves a copular verb which is dropped and hence has no enclitic marker in the absence of a host. (103) is interesting because it involves a lexical verb but has no enclitic subject agreement marker. The structure is a typical SVO structure in Pnar, where the subject has moved to the post-verbal position. The enclitic subject agreement marker, which stands for the subject, having been made redundant by the placement of the subject itself post-verbally, is hence dropped.

- (101) *i-le?* *nəite* *ya-klam-i* *c<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>aŋ* *yəŋ-ki*  
 why after recipro-speak-1PLCL about GEN-3PL  
**Gloss:** Why are we talking about them then?

- (102) *kamwan* *p<sup>h</sup>i/me/p<sup>h</sup>ə*  
 how 2PL/2MSG/2FSG  
**Gloss:** How are you?

- (103) *minnu* *wan-u-dak/wan-u-nəŋ-ra?* *c<sup>h</sup>i<sup>t</sup>hi*  
 when come-3MSGCL-postman/come-3MSGCL-NOM-carry-post  
**Gloss:** When does the postman come?

- (104) *heiwan* *sa?* *p<sup>h</sup>i/me/p<sup>h</sup>ə*  
 LOC-3ESGCL-Q stay-2PLCL/2MSGCL/2FSGCL  
**Gloss:** Where do you stay?

### 2.8.2. Polar questions

The VSO structure is primarily employed for polar questions as in (105):

- (105) *dau-t<sup>h</sup>eəd-sapeŋ-ka-meri*  
 FUT-buy-mango-3FSGCL-mary  
**Gloss:** Will Mary buy mangoes?

In structures like (105) above, the verb may be optionally followed by a question particle [hi], followed by the subject. With pronominal subjects, the subject is

dropped, and the verb comes with the enclitic. The object may or not be incorporated. The structure in (105) may look like another word-order in Pnar, namely, a VOS word-order, since the object nominal appears right after the verb, and is followed by the subject nominal. However (105) must be looked upon as being derived by two processes independent of each other, resulting in the apparent VOS structure. The object nominal gets incorporated into the verb/verb phrase first. This is a very normal process in Pnar. The subject nominal moves from its pre-verbal position along with its proclitic and replaces the verbal enclitic, giving rise to the VOS structure. This movement of the subject nominal with its clitic can also be described in terms of the subject and its proclitic being found in the place where it is base-generated. This however assumes that the enclitic on the verb is a result of the movement of the subject nominal from this place to the pre-verbal position. This VOS structure must be considered not another possible word-order in Pnar, but as a variant of the VSO structure. The polar questions involving copular verbs and modal verbs have a slightly different structure and distribution of clitics.

In structures involving modal verbs as (106), the modal is moved to the sentence-initial position and may optionally appear attached with a question particle [hi]. As far as the distribution of subject enclitics is concerned, the general rules regarding their distribution with modals, which will be discussed later, is followed. Some modals take the enclitic while others make the main verb take the enclitic. If the sentence has a pronominal subject, it is dropped. This is followed by the main verb which is rendered non-finite in the presence of a modal by the INF [u-]. The main verb is followed by the fully specified nominal objects. Nominal subjects force a VSO structure.

- (106) ye-me                      u-e              u-k<sup>h</sup>ulom      ya-ŋa.  
           MOD:ABIL-2MSGCL    INF-give    3MSGCL-pen    DAT-1SG  
**Gloss:** Can you give me a pen?

If the nominal is incorporated, it appears before the enclitic closes the VP as in (107). The incorporated nominal [duma] is a morphologically masculine nominal, and is stripped of its proclitic as it gets incorporated. The structure in (107) parallels (105) and the verb-nominal can not be considered a conjunct verb.

(107) hoi-hi            u-diʔ-duma-ɔ            heini  
           MOD:PERM-Q   INF-drink-cigarette-1SGCL   here  
**Gloss:** Can I smoke here?

In structures involving copular verbs like (108), the copular verbs move to the sentence-initial position, followed by the subject, followed by the verbal complement. In Pnar the complement of the copular verb [em] is generally incorporated and the sentence ends with the enclitic agreement marker. Pronominal subjects are moved to post verbal position giving rise to the typical Pnar VSO structure.

(108) ʔɔʔ-hi    o            u-laŋdɔʔ  
           be-Q    3MSG   3MSGCL-priest  
**Gloss:** Is he a priest?

## 2.9. Pronominal clitics and Tense and Aspect markers

While tense and aspect markers begin the VP in simple sentences in Pnar, the VP is closed by an enclitic subject agreement marker. For its tense system, Pnar follows a REALIS-IRREALIS system, where the REALIS is unmarked and the IRREALIS is marked with the morph [dau] as in (45). Temporal distinctions in the REALIS, if necessary are made with temporal adverbs like ‘yesterday’ [ɪnnɪn] or [ɪnnɪn-ka-sɲi] and ‘today’ [ɪnne], [ɪnne-ka-sɲi] or [mɪntu] as in (5).

In its aspect system, Pnar makes distinction between the ‘HABITUAL’ [ʃoʔ], ‘PERFECT’ [da], ‘COMPLETIVE’ [da-dɛp], ‘PROGRESSIVE’ [daŋ] and ‘ITERATIVE’ [bait] aspects. These morphologically marked tense and aspectual distinctions precede the verb and begin the VP as can be seen for the progressive aspect in (16).

In the presence of causative and/or passive morphemes, these markers are placed at the beginning of the VP, followed by the other morphemes and then the verb. Incorporated objects, if any, come after the Verb and then the enclitic closes the VP.

However in relative clauses as in (2), the RP [wa] which takes the verb as the host, takes the entire VP as its host, and hence precedes the tense/aspect markers if present.

## 2.10. Pronominal clitics and the syntax of Modal verbs

Pnar has a rich system of modal verbs. Some forms are used only as modals while others like the copular verbs [tɔʔ] and [em] are also used as modal verbs. The different modals in Pnar along with the semantic sense denoted by them are listed below:

<u>FORM</u>		<u>MOOD</u>
[jan]	:	PROBABILITY; INFERENCE; DEONTIC (OBLIGATION)
[ye]	:	ABILITY; CONTINGENT POSSIBILITY; LOGICAL NECESSITY
[hoi]	:	PERMISSION; INTENTION
[em-kam]	:	DEONTIC (OBLIGATION)
[jan-ye]	:	FACTUAL POSSIBILITY
[hap]	:	DEONTIC (OBLIGATION)
[duk]	:	DEONTIC (OBLIGATION)
[leʔ]	:	HORTATIVE
[pi]	:	HORTATIVE
[tɔʔn]	:	HORTATIVE
[tɔʔ]	:	OBLIGATION; PREDICTION; INTENTION; EXPECTATION
[em]	:	PROBABILITY

Modals present a very varied kind of syntactic behaviour. Pnar, being a mood-prominent language, one need to look necessarily into the interaction between modals and pronominal clitics. As far as tense/aspect markers and modal elements are concerned (111) represents a prototypical instance of their interaction. The modals which take the enclitic onto themselves, have not been observed to take tense/aspect markers onto themselves, where as main verbs in modal constructions which take the enclitic, also can take tense/aspect markers.

The general syntactic tendency of modals in Pnar is to take the subject agreement enclitic onto themselves and to mark the main verb with the INF [u-]. The other variants in the syntactic paradigms of modals include, the modal getting attached to the main verb itself, and the VP ending with the subject enclitic. Thus we find that the enclitic is allowed on the main verb only with those modals which take the main verb as their host. In these cases the main verb is not marked with the INF also. The specific contexts are discussed below.

The OBLIGATION marking deontic modal [hap] attaches to the main verb and thus does not mark it with the INF. The main verb is followed by the enclitic marker. The HORTATIVE mood markers also do not mark the main verb with the INF. Instead they appear as a prefix to the main verb and the main verb bears the subject agreement enclitic. With this modal, the pronominal subject is dropped, and with transitive verbs, the object comes in its fully specified form, that is, [(ACC/DAT)-PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] as in (109):

(109) pi-yalaŋ-i                      u-pitar                      wa-i.  
           HORT- together-1PLCL    3MSGCL-Peter    soc-1PL

**Gloss:** Let us also take Peter with us.

The modal [ye] takes the enclitic subject agreement marker onto itself and renders the main verb dependent with the INF. The main verb does not bear the subject enclitic marker with this modal as in (11). In relative clause constructions, the modal [ye] appears with the RP and has no enclitic attached to it. In negative structures, the negative particle [ɬm] which always needs a host, takes the modal as its host. The negated modal in the relative clause is marked with the subject enclitic marker. The main verb is marked dependent with the INF, and carries no enclitic. Emphatic markers like [de] can come in between the modal and the enclitic.

The modal [hoi] does not take the enclitic agreement marker and is generally found attached to the emphatic marker [hi]. The main verb is marked by the INF and is followed by the enclitic agreement marker. The modal [em-kam] too marks the main



verb with the INF, and the main verb appears with the enclitic. The modal [tɔʔ] which is also a copular verb in the language, does not take any enclitic marker but marks the main verb with the INF. With [tɔʔ] as modal, the enclitic appears on the main verb, which is also marked dependent by the INF as in (110). It is interesting to note here that, [tɔʔ] as a copular verb also does not take any subject enclitic marker either.

- (110) tɔʔ            u-leʔ-p<sup>hi</sup>/mi/p<sup>hɔ</sup>                    da-p<sup>hi</sup>/me/p<sup>h</sup>a-hi.  
                   be(MOD) INF-do-2PLCL/2MSGCL/2FSGCL AGENT-2PL/2MSG/2FSG-self  
**Gloss:** You must do it yourself.

The modal [jan] as a PROBABILITY marker, is very different from the other modals. It does not mark the main verb with the INF. It does not take the enclitic also onto itself. The main verb carries the enclitic subject agreement marker as in (111):

- (111) u-ɟɔn            leʔ    jan            da-yap-u            heite.  
                   3MSGCL-John    do    MOD:PROB    PERF-die-3MSGCL    there  
**Gloss:** John may also have died.

However, when [jan] is used in a DEONTIC sense, it marks the main verb with the INF. The main verb carries the enclitic subject agreement marker in this condition also.

Thus one finds the marking of enclitic on modals as being very modal-specific, and there can not be a single rule to define the distribution. However one can group modals that have similar syntactic behaviour.

### 2.11. Pronominal clitics and Nominal modifiers

The category of modifiers of nominals encompasses the category of adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers and relative clauses. Pnar copies the proclitic of the modified nominal onto all its modifiers.

The general rule regarding the use of proclitics with adjectives and relative clauses is that, adjectives which are clearly derived from verbs using the RP, generally come with the proclitic of the nominal that the adjective/relative clauses modify as in (112).

The underived adjectives like the one in (113) generally do not take the proclitic. However, the adjectives in their predicative function as in (115) always come with the proclitic. It is only in the attributive role that we find that some adjectives come with the proclitic and others do not, while some other adjectives treat the proclitics as optional. Relative clauses which may contain the verb with its arguments as in (114) are generally marked with the proclitic. Colour terms like the one in (115), as a rule do not take proclitics and can even drop the RP [wa] and come attached with the nominal itself. The same is the case with adjectives like ‘small’, ‘old’ etc. Colour terms only come with the proclitic in a predicative structure and never in an attributive structure.

(112) u-bnai            u-wa-laŋdɔŋ-b<sup>h</sup>a.  
 3MSGCL-moon    3MSGCL-RP-round-INTENS  
**Gloss:** Beautiful round moon.

(113) u-k<sup>h</sup>ɔnbo        wa-ɛmsalɔn  
 3MSGCL-child    RP-innocent  
**Gloss:** The innocent child

(114) u-tɪmmen    u-wa-deŋ-yit-k<sup>h</sup>mat-yɔŋ            wan-u            c<sup>h</sup>a-fillɔŋ.  
 3MSGCL-        3MSGCL-RP-wear-glass-eye-            come-            ALL-  
 old                dark/black                                    3MSGCL            Shillong  
**Gloss:** An old man who was wearing dark glasses came to Shillong.

(115) ka-kari        wa-rɔŋ-blu        yɔŋ-o            tɔʔ    ka-wa-miət.  
 3FSGCL-car    RP-colour-blue    GEN-3MSGCL    be    3FSGCL-RP-good  
**Gloss:** His blue car is good.

The relative clauses as modifiers of nominals have already been discussed in 2.7. The adjectives and the relative clauses follow the NP they modify. The numeral ‘one’ [wi] is preceded by the proclitic of the modified nominal. However, unlike adjectives, the [PROCLITIC-NUMERAL] precedes the modified nominal as in (18). Numerals greater than one, do not come with any proclitics. Instead they carry a classifier signifying human/non-human distinction and precede the modified nominal.

Demonstratives precede the modified nominal and are marked by the same proclitic as the nominal they modify as in (34-37). The indefinites in Pnar are largely

compositional and are made up by a process of reduplication. The reduplicated components are separated generally by an empty particle acting as a connector. Each reduplicated component is made up of a [PROCLITIC-PARTICLE] combination as in (47-54). There are some lexically available indefinites like [k<sup>h</sup>ɪndiat] ‘some’ which are not marked by any proclitics. The indefinites generally precede the modified nominal. The indefinites in their reduplicated form copy the proclitic of the modified nominal onto themselves. The nominals modified by lexically available indefinites come with their proclitics; however the proclitic is not copied onto these indefinites.

As far as the order of occurrence is concerned, demonstratives, numerals and indefinites precede the noun they modify while adjectives follow the modified nominals.

## 2.12. Pronominal clitics and Verbal modifiers

Adverbs, the verbal modifiers may form part of the VP by occurring within it, or outside it. Many Pnar adverbs like ‘only’, ‘furiously’, ‘certainly’ etc occur within the VP, and come after the verb before the enclitic closes the VP like in (116). Temporal adverbs like ‘yesterday’, ‘suddenly’, ‘slowly’ etc however occur outside the VP as in (5).

(116)	lada	killi-u	ya-ŋa	dau-k <sup>h</sup> ana-sak <sup>h</sup> iyat-ɔ	ya-warɔ?-ka- parəm
	COND	ask- 3MSGCL	ACC- 1SG	FUT-certainly-tell- 1SGCL	ACC-all-3FSGCL- story

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

## 2.13. Pronominal clitics in Causative structures

Causation is morphologically marked in Pnar and is a bound morpheme. It has two allomorphs [pɪn] and [p<sup>h</sup>aʔ]. Some speakers claim to have another allomorph for the causative morpheme [tɪn]. The host for the causative morph is the verb undergoing causation. The [CAUSATIVE-VERB] complex is followed by the enclitic subject agreement marker as in (21).

In case of incorporated objects, the bare nominal comes after the main verb before the enclitic closes the VP. Tense markers like the future [dau] and aspect markers like the perfect aspect marker [da], completive aspect marker [da-dep] precede the [CAUSATIVE] morph in the VP as in (24).

Causation of transitive verbs results in the verb having two post-verbal arguments. The usual strategy in Pnar is to incorporate one of the object nominals into the VP which strips the nominal of its proclitic marker. If both the nominals can not be incorporated, then the inanimate nominal is introduced by the usual ACC/DAT marker [ya] followed by the [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] complex and the animate nominal is introduced by DATIVE marker [ha] followed by the [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] complex. The verb remains finite in both the cases and carries the enclitic subject agreement marker.

In case of a passivized causative as in (117), the CAUSATIVE morph comes closer to the verb. Since causation is the first process before passivization takes place, the placement of the morphs substantiates the “Mirror Principle” proposed by Baker (1985) according to which syntactic order mirrors morphological order of derivation.

(117) c<sup>h</sup>aʔ-pɿn-c<sup>h</sup>itəm-i  
 PASS-CAUS-suffer-1PLCL

**Gloss:** We got punishment.

In structures involving tense/aspect markers, and incorporated nominals, passive and causative morphemes, the Pnar structure would have the following structure:

[TENSE/ASPECT-PASSIVE-CAUSATIVE-V-INCORPORATED NOMINAL-ENCLITIC] as in (118):

(118) da-p<sup>h</sup>aʔ-t<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ-c<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>i-ɔ  
 PERF-CAUS-write-letter-1SGCL

**Gloss:** I got a letter written.

Interestingly the above structure which is one sentence in Pnar with a dropped pronominal subject is also just one morphological word in the language.

#### **2.14. Pronominal clitics in Passive structures**

Pnar has two allomorphs for the passive morpheme [c<sup>h</sup>aʔ] and [da]. The second allomorph is homophonous to the perfect aspect marker in Pnar and could very well be the same as has been reported for some languages in Payne (1997) according to which “morphological passives...often employ the same or similar morphology as does perfect aspect”. Both the allomorphs are prefixed to the verb undergoing passivization. However the two allomorphs are very different in their syntactic properties, especially with pronominal clitics.

The [c<sup>h</sup>aʔ] marked verb can take tense/aspect markers as prefixes. The verb also carries the enclitic subject agreement marker where the enclitic agrees with the new subject that is promoted from the object position as in (117).

The [da] marked verb can not take any aspect/tense markers. It also does not allow the main verb to take any enclitic agreement marker as in (94).

In the future tense, verbs which take the [da] allomorph of the passive use the future tense marker [dau] instead of [da]. In this case [dau] also does not allow the verb to take any enclitic agreement marker. The interaction between the tense and aspect markers in the case of passive with this allomorph, adds to the argument that probably this allomorph of the passive is the aspect/tense marker itself.

It should be pointed out here that both [da] and [dau] are aspect and tense markers respectively and allow the verb to come along with an enclitic agreement marker but do not allow the verb to do so in their morphological roles as allomorphs of the passive morpheme.

#### **2.15. Pronominal clitics in Negative sentences**

The negative particle in Pnar [ɪm] is a bound morpheme, and comes attached to the copular verb [em] ‘have’ or [tɔʔ] ‘be’ or the main verb or the modal verb as the case may be and in relative clauses with the RP [wa] as [wɪm] in a fused manner

The [ɪm-em] complex is followed by the main verb which carries the agreement enclitic. The negation also renders the main verb non-finite with the INF [u-] as in (73). In case of incorporated objects the complex VP, which contains the bare nominal without any proclitics, is closed by the enclitic and has the following shape:

[ɪm-em] [u-V-INCORPORATED NOMINAL-ENCLITIC] as in (119):

(119) ɲɑ ɪm-em-k<sup>h</sup>ɔlom-ɔ  
 1SG NEG-HAVE-pen-1SGCL

**Gloss:** I don’t have a pen.

In the case of negation of copular verbs which otherwise act as hosts to the negative particle, the negation attaches to the copular verb (the main verb in these structures) itself. Since [tɔʔ] ‘be’ does not carry the enclitic marker even in affirmative sentences, it is not marked with the enclitic subject agreement marker as in (120):

(120) ka-tiket ɪm-tɔʔ ka-wa-lut wareʔ.  
 3fsgcl-ticket neg-be 3fsgcl-rp-expensive intens

**Gloss:** The ticket is not very expensive.

With [em] the object complement is generally incorporated and the complex VP is closed by the enclitic, as in (119).

In the case of negation of structures involving modals, the negation attaches to the modal verb itself. Since modals also mark the main verb with the INF [u-], the main verb that follows the [ɪm-modal] complex is made dependent. The enclitic agreement marker in Pnar is modal specific that is while it appears as an enclitic on modals marking ABILITY, PERMISSION etc it appears as an enclitic to the main verb (which is always marked with the INF with modals) in case of modals marking OBLIGATION. The same pattern of enclitics is observed even when the modals are negated.

Negation of relative clauses, has the negative particle [ɪm] getting fused to the RP [wa] giving rise to the form [wɪm]. With some lexical verbs in the relative clause, [wɪm] attaches to [em] 'have' for support and is followed by the main verb marked with the INF but carrying the enclitic agreement marker. If [wɪm] attaches to the main verb itself, then the main verb comes with the agreement enclitic and the verb is not marked with the INF as in (8).

Negation of relative clauses with copular verbs shows the same pattern as negation of clauses with copular verbs, that is, [tɔʔ] comes without any enclitic whereas [em] comes with the enclitic agreement marker. Negation of relative clauses with modals also follows the same pattern as negation of clauses with modals. The prohibitory negation [ham] attaches to the main verb itself and allows no enclitic agreement marker on it as in (34).

## **2.16. Pronominal clitics and the syntax of Copular verbs**

Pnar has two predominantly used copular verbs [tɔʔ] 'be' and [em] 'have'. Apart from these two, [man] 'be/become' is also used as a copular verb.

In 'existential constructions'<sup>10</sup>, the verb [em] is used sentence initially, followed by the complement of the verb. The nominal complement that follows the copular verb has the structure [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL]. If the nominal is modified, then the modifier follows the general pattern of modification as discussed elsewhere in this chapter. However the copular verb in this construction does not take any enclitic. 'Locative constructions' like (35) take [em] as the copular verb. The verb is followed compulsorily by the subject agreement enclitic. Pronominal subjects are dropped.

'Descriptive constructions' like (115) use [tɔʔ] as the verb. The verb does not take any enclitic. However the descriptive modifier compulsorily takes the proclitic.

---

<sup>10</sup> The typology of various types of copular constructions discussed in this section has been taken from Lockwood (2002)

Adjectives in Pnar, which come in their predicative role as descriptions, use the RP [wa] to derive the adjectives. The RP in this case is necessarily preceded by the proclitic which agrees with the proclitic of the subject nominal. In ‘classificatory constructions’ like (20) the verb [tɔʔ] is used. The copular verb does not take any enclitic onto itself like the ‘descriptive constructions’. The nominal preceding and following the verb comes with its proclitic, appearing as [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL]. The ‘equative constructions’ also use the same copular verb [tɔʔ] and follow the same pattern as ‘classificatory constructions’ and ‘descriptive constructions’. [man] is used as the future tense copular verb of [tɔʔ] along with the tense marker [dau] and as the past tense copular verb with the aspect marker [da]. The rules governing the interaction of [man] with clitics are same as that of [tɔʔ].

‘Possessive constructions’ use [tɔʔ] as the copular verb. These constructions interestingly have clitics after the verb. However it would be wrong to consider these clitics as enclitics to the verb, for their shape is that of proclitics and not of enclitics. These clitics need to be analysed as proclitics on the genitive [yɔŋ-PROCLITIC] complex. Thus the predicative possessive in Pnar needs to be analyzed as having the following structure:

[PROCLITIC<sub>1</sub>-yɔŋ-PROCLITIC<sub>2</sub>-NOMINAL] as in (122):

(121) ka-ni      ka-kɔt      tɔʔ   ka-yɔŋ-ŋa  
           3FSG-this   3FSG-book   BE   3FSGCL-GEN-1SGCL

**Gloss:** This book is mine.

In the above structure PROCLITIC<sub>1</sub> is not the same as PROCLITIC<sub>2</sub>. While PROCLITIC<sub>2</sub> is the proclitic of the possessor, PROCLITIC<sub>1</sub> agrees with the possessed. This structure is different from the structure generally taken by possessive constructions as discussed in 2.2.

Copula-less constructions are very common in Pnar. However, it is the copular verb [tɔʔ] which is generally dropped. It may be recollected here that this verb never takes any enclitic and thus its dropping does not affect the sentence syntactically. The



copular verb [em] as in (35) is never dropped. This can also be explained by the fact that except in 'existential constructions', this verb always takes the enclitic and thus its dropping would affect the sentence syntactically.

### **2.17. Pronominal clitics and Nominal incorporation**

One of the most interesting syntactic phenomena found in Pnar is that of nominal incorporation. Incorporation has been discussed in the literature in Baker (1988) as a Grammatical Function (GF) changing process. It has been defined as a "process whereby one semantically independent word is moved by syntactic rules to a new position and comes to be found inside another word" (Katamba, 1993). Incorporation, is a Grammatical Function (GF)-changing phenomenon in that it reduces the number of arguments of a verb by one, that is, the process of incorporation as is widely understood (where it is the same as nominal incorporation) makes a ditransitive verb transitive and a transitive verb intransitive.

One of the major debates on noun incorporation (NI) focuses on whether it is a syntactic or a lexical phenomenon. Well-known proponents of the syntactic view include Sadock (1980, 1991) and Baker (1988, 1996) among others, while its opponents including Mithun (1984) and Rosen (1989) among others argue that NI derives from word formation rules applying in the lexicon, that is, NI is regarded as a construction preceding syntax.

As noted before the syntactic approach to NI is due primarily to the work of Sadock (1980, 1985) and Baker (1988, 1995), both of whom have argued that incorporation shows the interdependency rather than separation between syntax and morphology. According to Sadock the same string of morphemes can be parsed in different ways by the morphological component and the syntactic component. Therefore, morphology can group a noun (stem) with the verb at the same time as syntax groups it with V in VP. Baker (1988) too prefers syntactic explanation over morphological explanation. For him the productivity and the referential transparency of NI suggest that it is a syntactic process rather than a lexical one (80). In the syntactic approach, NI is the result of a head noun moving to the verb (or preposition) that selects or

governs it. A major theoretical question that Sadock (1980) tries to answer is the interface between syntax and morphology raised by incorporation.

Sadock (1980) broadly interprets the lexical integrity principle. The principle stipulates that the derivation of words does not take place in the syntax. According to Sadock (1980) it rules out a variety of syntactic operations on parts of words. He argues that incorporated nouns in Greenlandic Eskimo could take part in syntactic operations, including both outbound and inbound anaphora (1980:311–13), and concludes that syntax and morphology are not independent of one another. He also notes, as noted first by Sapir (1911) that in many incorporating languages, incorporation of an NP leads to non-specific or non-referential meaning of the NP. Sadock relates the productivity of the process to defend it as a syntactic operation. Sadock shows that once an incorporated noun has been introduced into the discourse, subsequent sentences may refer to it through agreement on verbs. Sadock's (1980, 1986) defense of the syntactic nature of NI depends on evidence that the incorporated noun interacts with the external syntax of the sentence in ways that require the noun to be represented at some level as independent of the incorporating verb. These include external modification or possession of the incorporated noun and the ability of the incorporated noun to serve as a discourse referent.

Sadock (1980) and Baker (1988) argue that the incorporated noun must originate as the head of an underlying phrasal structure which they argue based on a semantic characteristic of incorporated nouns that very often external modifiers agree in number with incorporated nouns. Sadock (1991) points out that lexicalized cases of incorporated nominals have “all the expected properties of syntactically inert derivational morphology” and concludes that exactly because lexicalized cases exist we must recognize “the syntactic reality of the productive cases” (100).

An important issue concerning incorporated nominals is the question of the discourse transparency of the nominal in an incorporated construction, and this figures prominently in Sadock (1980), as a central argument for the syntactic nature of the process of incorporation. A nominal is considered to be discourse transparent if it can serve as the antecedent of a pronoun in subsequent discourse. Mithun (1984) however, shows that there is cross linguistic variation with respect to whether an incorporated

nominal is discourse transparent or not. Other issues in incorporation like scopal properties of incorporated nominals are discussed in detail in Sadock (1980). In early discussions of incorporation (Sadock 1980, Mithun, 1984), the discourse transparency/opacity of Incorporated Nominals was brought up in connection with the issue of whether incorporation is a syntactic or a morphological process. Morphological processes are involved in word formation and, following Postal's lexical islandhood hypothesis, parts of words were assumed to be invisible as far as anaphora was concerned.

According to Sadock (1985:399) certain verbs, so called 'post-bases', are simply subcategorized to attach to a noun and NI is obligatory with these forms. Similarly, polysynthetic languages are frequently observed to have defective determiners. According to Baker (1996: 284-291) if the noun is not governed by a DP, then it would have to adjoin to the verb. If a  $D^{\circ}$  is present, the noun will not be able to adjoin to the verb, skipping the  $D^{\circ}$  and violating the Head Movement Constraint of Travis 1984. Thus, as a marked option, NI can be seen as a Last Resort movement (cf. Chomsky 1993) to save an otherwise ill-formed structure.

An important observation in Sadock (1980), (2002) is that there exists a subclass within the incorporating verbs, only which allows possessive inflection on the noun root, unlike the majority of incorporating verbs. As Sadock (2002) notes the general property which appears in common to this subclass of verbs is that the verb is locational/directional. Sadock (1985, 1991) argue that noun incorporating verbs in Kalaallisut are both morphological and syntactic at the same time. Within his Autolexical Theory of syntax, this dichotomy is possible, since Autolexical Theory allows both morphology and syntax to have independent representations, so long as a principled mapping obtains between the two representations, i.e. the mapping does not result in a conflict of representation.

Gerdtz (2001) looks at incorporation as "the compounding of a word" like verb or preposition with "another element", which is typically a noun, pronoun or adverb, whereby the compound "serves the combined syntactic function of both elements" (84). The author notes that pronominal incorporation is difficult to distinguish from agreement markers and pronominal clitics. The author further notes with examples

from Nahuatl and Onondaga, that incorporated nominal is a "stem, not a word", and that it "does not take a determiner or case marker" (85). They are also "devoid of discourse focus" (85). She also answers a very crucial question with regard to incorporation, that is, "when does a language use a free-standing noun and when does it use an incorporated noun?" She claims that [noun+verb] compounds are used "to express habitual or generic activities or states. The noun is frequently generic and nonspecific in reference" (85). As for the restrictions on which kind of nominals can be incorporated, the author through cross-linguistic studies claims that only those nominals which can be stripped down to a stem or simple root get incorporated., Those nominals which are derived as a result of compounding or nominalization are generally not incorporated. Also there is a general restriction on proper names being incorporated. There is also a hierarchy in terms of animacy with respect to incorporation. "Inanimate nouns incorporate more readily than animate nouns, and ...nonhuman animate nouns incorporate more readily than human nouns" (85).

Kroeger (1911) argues that pronominal incorporation is different from nominal incorporation in that nominal incorporation is a kind of compounding of a noun and a verb, whereas pronominal incorporation is a "grammatical or inflectional process" (584). While for Baker (1988) incorporation involves a transformational movement of a syntactic element into a head, for Bresnan (1998) "pronoun incorporation involves the incorporation of the function of a pronoun within an inflected word, not the incorporation of the phrase structure of a pronoun into a word" (206). Bresnan also points out that "verbal agreement morphology also carries a subset of the kind of features carried by pronouns (animacy, specificity, person, number and gender)" (208). She further adds that "verbal agreement systems evolve historically from the morphological incorporation of pronouns into verbs or other heads" (209). She points to the often found similarity between "bound pronominal inflections and syntactically independent pronouns in the same language" as a proof of this historical evolution. Interestingly she also adds that "in many languages the agreement system is in a transitional state between grammatical agreement and pronominal inflections, the same form having both uses" (209). On clitics, she adds that "through diachronic processes of syntactic change such (verbal) clitics may become morphologically bound affixes" (210), a point argued by Givón (1976) also.

Pnar allows only nominal incorporation from the object position. Pronominal incorporation is not allowed. Of the following pair of sentences (122) shows an object nominal in its elaborated form with the structure [ACC/DAT/PROCLITIC-PROCLITIC-NOMINAL]. The sentence (123) shows the same object nominal in its incorporated form. When an object nominal is incorporated, it is no more a theta-marked argument of the verb; hence the ACC/DAT marker is dropped. The nominal that goes inside the VP, is stripped of its proclitic marker too. One knows that the object nominal has moved into the VP, as the enclitic subject agreement marker, which closes the VP, comes after the incorporated nominal and closes the VP.

(122) **ka-sita**      **daŋ-bam-kɔ-o**                      **u-sapeŋ**              **wa-iʔ-b<sup>h</sup>a**  
           3FSGCL-sita    PROG-eat-3FSGCL-3MSGCL    3MSGCL-mango    ADJL-ripe-well  
**Gloss:** ‘Sita is eating a ripe mango’

(123) **ka-sita**      **daŋ-bam-sapeŋ-kɔ**                      **u-wa-iʔ-b<sup>h</sup>a**  
           3FSGCL-sita    PROG-eat- mango -3FSGCL    3MSGCL-ADJL-ripe-well  
**Gloss:** ‘Sita is eating a ripe mango’

Since a detailed exposition of incorporation is beyond the scope of this dissertation, only those aspects that pertain to the interaction with proclitics have been touched upon in this section. Not all Nominal objects can be incorporated in Pnar; only those marking ‘theme’ as in (123) and ‘goal’ theta roles as in (12) can be incorporated. Not all modified nominals can be incorporated. Only those nominals which are modified by adjectives can be incorporated, leaving the modifier stranded outside the VP. This modifier, which needs not be marked by the modified nominal’s proclitic compulsorily as in (122), has to be marked compulsorily with the modified nominal’s proclitic (in this case [u]) when the nominal gets incorporated as in (123). Quantifiers, numerals, demonstratives and relative clauses which are also nominal modifiers can not be left stranded, and hence nominal incorporation out of these structures is not permitted. Various other instances of incorporation in this chapter include (5), (10), (12), (20), (46), (60), (66), (105), (107), (119) and (125). A structure involving an incorporated nominal can never be used to give a specific reading. The incorporated structure is generally avoided with singular object nominals as well.

## 2.18. Pronominal clitics in Reduplicated structures

Reduplicated verbs carry out the function of adverbs and mark various aspects like iterativity, simultaneity and continuity. These are what Abbi (1992, 2001) calls ‘reduplicated verbal adverbs’; the reduplicated verb is separated by an empty particle like [ma] or [c<sup>h</sup>i]. When non-finite verbs are reduplicated, one finds that the verb is made dependent and marked with the INF. The main verb carries the enclitic subject agreement marker as in (124):

(124) ŋa da-ŋia-ɔ u-lai-c<sup>h</sup>i-lai ʃilloŋ.  
 1sg PERF-tire-1SGCL INF-go-DRM-go Shillong

**Gloss:** I am tired of going to Shillong again and again.

In the case of finite verb reduplication (whether in the main clause or the subordinate clause), the reduplicated verb ends with the subject enclitic as in (125) and the reduplicated verb can be preceded by tense/aspect markers. Finite verb reduplication is used to mark aspects like iterativity, frequentive and continuous aspects

(125) ka pure-ma-pure-kət-kɔ  
 3FSG read-DRM-read-book-3FSGCL

**Gloss:** She kept on reading books.

Transitive finite verbs that are reduplicated can incorporate their object nominals within themselves as in (125) and the enclitic closes the VP. However since non-finite verbs do not have enclitics closing the VP, it may not be explicit that the nominal has been incorporated. However since the nominal appears without any proclitic, it may be assumed that it also has been incorporated as in (126):

(126) ka ɔŋ-kɔ u-dai-ma-dai-k<sup>w</sup>ai  
 3fsg say-3FSGCL INF-sell-DRM-sell-betelnut

**Gloss:** She spoke while selling betel nuts.

Reduplicated adjectives generally involve lexical adjectives, introduced by the RP, but carry no proclitics. Thus the [RP-ADJECTIVE] complex is reduplicated and closed by an intensifier, as reduplicated adjectives are generally used to show intensity.

When interrogative pronouns containing proclitics are reduplicated, the proclitics are also reduplicated as in (80), (86), (93) and (96).

### 2.19. Pronominal clitics in VSO structures

One finds that the same structures in Pnar can exist as both SVO and VSO. Pnar has a very clear VSO structure which is not dependent on agreement markers. There are crucial differences related to clitics between the two word-orders. The subject agreement enclitic that one finds after the verb in SVO structures is replaced by the [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] subject in VSO structures. This is a very common strategy employed in interrogative sentences as in (87) and (103), and (127):

(127) dat-u-pitar ka da-u-mo.  
hit-3msgcl-Peter 3fsg instr-3msgcl-stone

**Gloss:** Peter hit her with a stone.

One can find the VSO structures not only with nominals but also with pronominals. In the case of pronominals too, Pnar has a slightly different phonological shape for the proclitic and the enclitic forms. In VSO structure one finds the enclitic form being replaced by the proclitic form as in (128):

(128) dat-ka o da-u-mo.  
hit-3fsg 3msg instr-3msgcl-stone

**Gloss:** She hit him with a stone.

### 2.20. Pronominal clitics and objects

A very interesting phenomena found in Pnar is the doubling of the clitics of the object nominal. In Pnar the object can be marked using the ACC/DAT marker [ya] or by doubling the proclitic of the nominal. With [u-] as proclitic on the object nominal, the doubled clitic is [o] as in (122), which though homophonous to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine pronominal form, can be considered to be a phonetic variant of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine proclitic, as with [ka-] as proclitic on the object nominal, the doubled clitic is [ka-] as in (21), the 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine pronominal form as well as

the 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine proclitic. Prosodically, these doubled clitics are pronounced along with the VP, after the enclitic on the VP. One finds a pause after the VP with the doubled clitic is pronounced, before the object nominal is pronounced. However these forms as in (21) and (122) are not attested for simple sentences. They are always used in constructions which come as an answer to questions like ‘from whom’, ‘who’, ‘why’ etc.

## **2.21. Conclusion**

In this chapter, an attempt was made to describe the pronominal system of Pnar and analyze it with respect to the pronominal clitics in the language. This analysis covered not only the phonological and morphological correspondence between the personal pronouns and the pronominal clitics, but also described the crucial role that pronominal clitics play in the derivation of various pronominal subtypes like relative, demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns. The syntactic analysis involving various construction types like negative, interrogative sentences and syntactic processes like nominal incorporation, passivization, reduplication etc was limited to the investigation of the role that pronominal clitics play in these constructions and hence may be limited in its description of the syntactic sub-type or process. An elaborate study of these could form the subject-matter of future research.



## Chapter - 03

### *Pronominals in Khasi and the syntactic configuration of pronominal clitics*

The prototypical structure of an assertive sentence in Khasi is as follows:

[PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] [PROCLITIC-(ASPECT)-VERB] [ACC/DAT-PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] as in (129):

- (129)    u-jɔn                    u-daŋ-bam                    ya-u-səʔ-piɛŋ  
          3MSGCL-John    3MSGCL-PROG-eat    ACC/DAT-3MSGCL-fruit-mango  
**Gloss:** John is eating a mango

This structure can be further expanded by modifying the nominals as in (130):

- (130)    ka-meri                    ka-daŋ-bam                    ya-u-səʔ-piɛŋ                    u-ba-la-iʔ  
          3FSGCL-                    3FSGCL-PROG-                    ACC/DAT-3MSGCL-fruit-                    3MSGCL-RP-PERF-  
          Mary                    eat                    mango                    ripe  
**Gloss:** Mary is eating a ripe mango

This chapter undertakes the study of Khasi pronominals. This study includes pronominals which are lexically available as free forms as well as those pronominals which are derived by different processes like reduplication. The study and analysis of pronominals in the language are undertaken extensively, to look into their correlation with the pronominal clitics in the language. Apart from the role of these pronominal clitics in the derivation of some pronominal forms, the clitics are also studied vis-à-vis their interaction with various types of syntactic structures like causation, negation, etc. However details of these syntactic structures are limited to their interaction with pronominal clitics.

### **3.1. Personal pronouns**

#### **3.1.1. Personal pronouns in the Nominative case**

In the NOMINATIVE CASE, the personal pronouns in Khasi are as follows:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[ŋa]	[ŋi]	[me]	[p <sup>h</sup> a]	[p <sup>h</sup> i]	[u]	[ka]	[i]	[ki]

Unlike Pnar, Khasi does not have a combination of PROCLITIC and ENCLITIC form as part of each pronominal. The Khasi proclitics have the same shape as the personal pronouns. All the personal pronouns listed above thus appear as proclitics on the verb phrase with pronominal subjects (which are always dropped). Since nominal subjects only take 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics, the corresponding 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics appear on verb with nominal subjects. The proclitics used with various grammatical classes other than the verb are discussed in 3.1.3. Pronominal subjects are always dropped, and hence the PROCLITIC comes at the beginning of the VP to which it cliticizes as can be seen in (131):

- (131) ki-ya-kren                      ʃap<sup>h</sup>aŋ    ʃoŋ-u  
           3PLCL-RECIPRO-speak    about    GEN-3MSGCL  
**Gloss:** They are talking about him.

In the first person we find no inclusive/exclusive distinction in the plural as is exemplified in (132-33):

- (132) mɪnhɪnnin    ŋi-ya-lait-peit-baiskop  
           yesterday    1PLCL- RECIPRO-go-watch-cinema  
**Gloss:** ‘Yesterday we had gone to see the movie’

- (133) ya        ŋin-ya-lait-nɔ?                      mɪnta  
           HORT    1PLCL+FUT- RECIPRO-go-away    now  
**Gloss:** ‘Let us go now’

In the second person, Khasi apparently maintains a three way distinction of masculine and feminine in singular and of a gender-neutral plural. The 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronominals in Khasi present a very interesting case. The only form that has been attested in all my data is the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural form [p<sup>h</sup>i] which is used as either 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural [with or without marking honorificity] as in (134) or as the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular honorific form as in (135):

- (134) leit    ma-p<sup>h</sup>i    bad    sa-wan.

go EMPH-2pl CONJ FUT-come

**Gloss:** You guys go and come.

- (135) p<sup>h</sup>i-la-ai ya-ki ha-u  
2PLCL-PERF-give ACC/DAT-3PLCL DAT-3MSGCL

**Gloss:** You have given them to him

However other forms belonging to the 2<sup>nd</sup> person are attested in the literature. In his Khasi-English dictionary, U Nissor Singh lists forms like [me] and [p<sup>h</sup>a]. The explanation for [p<sup>h</sup>a] according to Singh (1904:131) is that it is a feminine personal pronoun. The explanation for [me] goes like this:

thou (applicable to male only); this word is not used in polite society, but is used in addressing God.

In the third person there is a four way distinction of masculine, feminine and epicene in singular and that of a gender-neutral plural. The epicene singular is used with either genders to mark honorificity, diminutiveness and intimacy. This PROCLITIC is restricted to a small set of nominals and is governed more by pragmatics than by syntactic/morphological factors. The plural form has been exemplified in (131). The masculine and feminine forms are exemplified in (136) and (137):

- (136) u-la? ban-leit bad-ŋi  
3MSGCL-MOD:ABIL INF-go SOC-1PLCL

**Gloss:** He can come with us.

- (137) ka-ai-jɪŋk<sup>h</sup>əwai ya-ŋa  
3FSGCL-give-party ACC/DAT-1SG

**Gloss:** She gave me a party.

Similar to the function of the ENCLITIC on the verb closing the VP in Pnar, the PROCLITIC on the VP in Khasi marks the beginning of the VP. All the pronouns are used as proclitics in Khasi with verbs as has been exemplified in (131-137), while the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominals are used as proclitics on nominals and modifiers as exemplified in (136) and (138):

- (138) i-mei in-sa-ʃet-jɪŋ-ʃet minta  
3ESGCL-mother 3ESGCL+FUT-FUT-cook-ABSNOUN-cook today

**Gloss:** Mother will cook now

The gloss that I have used for the pronominal particles in the beginning of the verb phrase in (131-133, 135-138), as a pronominal clitic, does not conform to the traditional descriptions of these particles as “personal pronouns” or “pronouns”. I have discussed at length in section 3.1.2, the reasons for not considering these pronominal particles as “personal pronouns” or “pronouns”. I have also discussed why I consider them to be clitics and not merely inflectional affixes showing Gender, Number, Person (GNP) agreement. (134) presents to us, the only occasion when the pronominal subjects are not dropped in Khasi. The pronominal subjects are not dropped when it is preceded by the emphatic particle [ma]. This distinction is also marked through the gloss. All other pronominal elements which come in the beginning of the verb phrase have been called clitics, while this use of the pronominal has been marked as that of a personal pronoun. Another significant aspect about (134) is that when the overt pronominal subject has been used along with an emphatic marker, both the finite verbs in the sentence do not have any pronominal element beginning the verb phrases. This aspect of the verb morphology needs to be taken up for further study.

### **3.1.2. The status of the pronominal element preceding the verb phrase**

Traditional descriptions of Khasi like Rabel (1961) and Nagaraja (1985) necessarily mention a very significant aspect of the verb morphology of Khasi, namely the presence of a pronominal element in the verb phrase. Both scholars discuss this element in slightly different ways. For Rabel it is a gender article. She defines a verb as “a word preceded by a gender article” (48). She states that “except for impersonal verb constructions, verbs are always preceded by a personal pronoun which agrees in number and gender with the grammatical subject” (58). She also notes that the “gender article which precedes almost all nouns is identical with the forms of the third person personal pronoun...” (66). Thus, Rabel makes a distinction between the pronominal element that comes with nominals and those that come with verbs. She calls the one with nominals as a “gender article” while those in verbal constructions as a “personal pronoun”. Talking of the future tense morph and the negative morph, she holds the position that these affixes “fuse with the preceding pronoun...” (61).

Nagaraja (1985) calls these pronominal elements occurring with the nominals as “pronominal markers” and asserts that “the third person forms u, ka, ki and i are the same morphemes as those called pronominal markers” (11). With respect to the verb phrase, he says that “a verb phrase obligatorily consists of a pronoun. Pronouns occur in the initial position of the verb phrase” (29). While talking of the future morph [-n] and the negative morph [-im], Nagaraja makes a very significant point that they always “occur as part of the preceding word” (30, 35). The so-called “preceding word(s)” include most importantly the pronominal element of the verb phrase. Nagaraja’s statement accords the pronominal elements the status of a “word”. Though he refers to the verbal pronominal element as a “pronoun”, he also makes a significant point that “pronouns are not overtly used as subject NP” (86) which is in direct contrast to what Rabel says in her discussion of pronouns in Khasi that “personal pronouns occur in all places where nouns occur (subject and object positions) and they precede almost every verbal construction, regardless of the presence or absence of a subject expressed by a nominal” (66).

The above discussion throws up very significant questions regarding the status of the pronominal element of the verb phrase. Is it a “personal pronoun” as Rabel calls it? Is it different from the so-called “gender article” which comes with nominals? Is the verbal pronominal element which comes at the initial position of a verb phrase a “pronoun” in Nagaraja’s terms? Is it different from the so-called “pronominal marker” that comes with nominals? Are these pronouns in the verb phrase “words” as Nagaraja calls them? Is Nagaraja’s position that the pronoun in the VP is not the subject NP correct or Rabel’s position that the personal pronoun occurs in all places where nouns occur, including the subject and object positions? What is the evidence to decide?

Let us consider the following set of sentences (139) and (140). (139) has a “gender article” or “pronominal marker” [u-] with the nominal [jɔn] and a “personal pronoun” or “pronoun” [u-] in the verb phrase. (140) is a similar sentence to (139) where the nominal subject has been replaced and has the so-called “personal pronoun” or “pronoun” [u-] in the verb phrase.

(139)	u-ɔŋ	u-ɔŋ	ba	ka-meri	ka- sŋəutɪnnad	ya-u
	3MSGCL- John	3MSGCL- say	COMP	3FSGCL- Mary	3FSGCL-like	ACC/DAT- 3MSG

**Gloss:** John said that Mary likes him

(140)	u-ɔŋ	ba	ka-meri	ka-sŋəutɪnnad	ya-u
	3MSGCL-say	COMP	3FSGCL-Mary	3FSGCL-like	ACC/DAT-3MSG

**Gloss:** He said that Mary likes him

(140) is a classic instance of pro-drop because if one were to consider the [u-] in (140) to be a “personal pronoun” or “pronoun” and not some kind of an agreement marker on the verb/verb phrase, one would have to argue that while Khasi has a system of verbal agreement with the subject using pronominal elements with nominal subjects, it has no verbal agreement system with pronominal subjects. This would be a very difficult position to sustain. One never talks of subject-verb agreement in terms of whether the subject is a nominal or a pronominal. The subject-verb agreement is never affected by that. What affect the subject-verb agreement are the GNP (Gender/Number/Person) specifications of the subject. No language has a different subject-verb agreement based on whether the subject is a nominal or a pronominal. Therefore, what (140) represents is a clear case of the pronominal subject, which has the same phonological shape as the pronominal element of the verb phrase, being dropped. The pronominal element that one finds in the verb phrase is a pronominal agreement marker. Thus the question if Nagaraja’s position that the pronoun in the VP is not the subject NP is correct or Rabel’s position that the personal pronoun occurs in all places where nouns occur, including the subject and object positions is correct is answered in favour of Nagaraja’s position. (140) can be looked upon as a derivative of (139). If it is a derivative then [u-] is a reference tracker, i.e. referring to the truncated nominal ‘John’.

Next we need to address the issue of the status of this pronominal element – is it a “word” or an affix? The terms in which this element has been described in both Rabel and Nagaraja, would suggest that the pronominal element in the verb phrase is a “word”. I argue here that the pronominal element can not be considered a “word” and I offer two language-internal arguments and another by comparison with Pnar in support of my argument. My language internal arguments come from the negative

morph and the future morph, which are discussed by both Rabel and Nagaraja. In the future tense, the future marker [-n] comes fused with the “personal pronoun” or “pronoun”. The same happens with negatives as can be seen in (141-143):

(141)    u-ʃɔn                    un-pa:s                    ya-ka-eksam  
           3MSGCL-John    3MSGCL+FUT-pass    ACC-3FSGCL-exam

**Gloss:** John will pass the exam

(142)    un-pa:s                    ya-ka-eksam  
           3MSGCL+FUT-pass    ACC-3FSGCL-exam

**Gloss:** He will pass the exam

(143)    p<sup>h</sup>ɪm-laʔ                    ban-pait                    ya-ka                    mɪnta-ka-sɲi.  
           2PLCL+NEG-MOD:ABIL    INF-see                    ACC-3FSGCL    today

**Gloss:** You can not see that today

If one were to assume that the forms [un] and [p<sup>h</sup>ɪm] are independent pronouns or personal pronouns which have these grammatical morphs fused in them, one will have to explain how negation and tense, the inflectional categories associated with the verb are affixed to pronominals whereas if one were to assume that these pronominal forms are verbal affixes, and as such part of the verb phrase, one finds no incongruence in explanation as the negation and the tense morphemes are still within the domain of the verb, though not directly attached to it. This position seriously questions the status of these pronominal elements as “words” or “personal pronouns” or “pronouns”. As part of the verb phrase which take grammatical morphemes associated with verbs onto-themselves, they not only lose their free word status, rather suggest that the whole complex beginning with these pronominal elements till the verb is a single word morphologically because even though independent words can make up a verb phrase, none of these independent words other than the verb can act as hosts to tense and negation unless all the morphemes in the verb phrase constitute a single word morphologically.

Apart from these language-internal arguments, in favour of considering the pronominal elements in the verb phrase as grammatical affixes, one can also draw an analogy of similar particles in Pnar, a language which is very closely related to Khasi genetically and has many similar features. Though Pnar does not share this fusion of

tense and negation with the pronominal element of the verb phrase with Khasi, it does share the presence of a pronominal element in the verb phrase with Khasi. Significantly, this pronominal element in the verb phrase in Pnar is very different from the Khasi pronominal element. While the pronominal element in Khasi comes at the beginning of a verb phrase, thus marking the beginning of the verb phrase (and according to the argument in the preceding paragraph the beginning of the complex word that constitutes the verb phrase), the Pnar pronominal element comes at the end of a verb phrase, thus marking the end of the verb phrase itself (and in similar terms to Khasi, the end of the complex word that constitutes the verb phrase). In addition to this difference between the pronominal elements in terms of their position in the verb phrase, another significant difference between the two is that the pronominal element of the verb phrase in Pnar has a completely different phonological shape compared to the corresponding personal pronoun and thus is very clearly distinguishable from it. By structural analogy, both these pronominal elements in Khasi and Pnar must be considered syntactically the same element. Pnar personal pronouns are always dropped in the subject position and are recovered from these pronominal elements in the verb phrase, where they appear as an enclitic on the verb phrase. A similar argument can thus be extended for Khasi also. Thus comparison with Pnar, suggests that the Khasi pronominal element in the verb phrase is not a “personal pronoun”, but a verbal agreement marker.

Pnar maintains a complete list of pronominal elements in the verb phrase with a completely different phonological shape from the independent personal pronouns, thus marking them out from the latter. There has been a practice in traditional descriptions of Khasi to consider the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal forms in the verb phrase differently from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronominals. This type of segregation is based on the fact that only the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal forms come along with nominals. However, the arguments presented here do not allow us to view the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronominals in the verb phrase differently from the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominals. The analogy with Pnar also would argue against such a differentiation between the pronominals. Not only do the 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms take tense, negation etc but also the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms. All the pronominal elements in the verb phrase are the same in terms of their syntactic functions even when they do not take these inflectional



markers of the verb, a position further strengthened when we look at Pnar, which has verbal enclitics in all the persons.

A very significant issue as far as the current research is concerned is the status of these so-called “gender articles” or “pronominal markers” of the nominals and the “personal pronouns” or “pronouns” of the verb phrase. I contend that these pronominal markers on nominals and verbs, as well as adjectives, demonstratives, interrogatives, indefinites etc are the same, and due to these varied grammatical categories of the hosts, these pronominal markers must be considered as “clitics”. In this way they operate as reference trackers.

Calling them gender articles captures the fact that they mark all nominals in the language and classify them into one of the morphological classes of gender. However it misses out on the fact that these so called gender articles have exactly the same phonological shape as the personal pronouns in these languages. Since they are exactly the same shape as the personal pronouns, one may argue that they are personal pronouns. But how does one explain then that this personal pronoun can come inside the VP, and also come with nominal modifiers, demonstratives, indefinites and interrogatives, the last three being pronouns by themselves. One can not argue either that they are personal pronouns which are bound morphemes. Personal pronouns as bound morphemes generally come only inside the VP and not on so many other word classes. Moreover, in Khasi, verbal inflectional categories like negation and future tense morphemes occur fused with these pronominal elements. This is impossible to explain if one is to assume that these pronominal elements are personal pronouns of the language. One has to assume that these pronominal elements are not the independent personal pronouns of the language but some kind of pronominal element within the VP. This is also attested by comparing Khasi with Pnar, which has an enclitic on the VP, which has a different phonological shape from the personal pronouns and the proclitics in the language (which have the same shape as the personal pronouns). Similarity in most structures and close genetic relatedness between the two argues for a similar treatment of the pronominal element in the VP in Khasi as the pronominal element in the Pnar VP. If one is to argue that they are not personal pronouns but are GNP markers in the VP, one then assumes that these pronominal elements are inflectional affixes. One then has to explain how an

inflectional affix can be so free to choose its host. Inflectional affixes are very strict about the stems to which they attach. Here if one assumes the pronominal elements to be GNP markers, one is confronted with the inflectional affix's co-occurrence with nominal elements like demonstratives, indefinites and interrogatives, the VP, as well as the adjectives, and relative clauses. They are clearly clitics on three important parameters:

1. Clitics are less selective about their hosts; where as inflectional affixes are very strict about the stem to which they attach.
2. Affixes of a language are never full-fledged words of that language, unless those words have undergone a process of grammaticalization, leading to semantic bleaching. In Pnar and Khasi, these pronominal elements are also full-fledged pronouns in the language, and lose none of their semantic import in these usages. Clitics are generally understood to be full words of a language which attach to other full words either incompletely or in their full form itself without any semantic bleaching.
3. Inflectional affixes can not be separated from their stems while clitics can be separated from their host-words by other elements that are inserted in between.

### 3.1.3. Personal pronouns in the Accusative, Dative and Sociative Case

In the ACCUSATIVE CASE the pronominals as in (139) and (143) are prefixed with the accusative case marker [ya-], giving rise to the following forms:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[ya- ŋa]	[ya- ŋi]	[ya- me]	[ya- p <sup>h</sup> a]	[ya- p <sup>h</sup> i]	[ya- u]	[ya- ka]	[ya- i]	[ya- ki]

Unlike Pnar, Khasi generally does not allow the pronominals to also come without the case marker. In the accusative case, the nominals that follow the case marker have the structure [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] as in (129) and (141).

In the DATIVE CASE, the pronominals are prefixed with the dative case morpheme which has two allomorphs, namely [ya-] and [ha-], giving rise to the following forms:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[ya- ŋa] (or) [ha-ŋa]	[ya- ŋi] (or) [ha-ŋi]	[ya- me] (or) [ha-me]	[ya- p <sup>h</sup> a] (or) [ha-p <sup>h</sup> a]	[ya- p <sup>h</sup> i] (or) [ha-p <sup>h</sup> i]	[ya- u] (or) [ha-u]	[ya- ka] (or) [ha-ka]	[ya- i] (or) [ha-i]	[ya- ki] (or) [ha-ki]

(137) is an instance of the use of [ya-] as the DATIVE CASE marker. (144) is an instance of the use of the other allomorph. Generally the [ha] form is used with ditransitive verbs when the [ya] form is already used up to mark accusative case as in the following instance.

(144) p<sup>h</sup>i-la-ai            ya-ki            ha-u  
           2PLCL-PERF-give ACC-3PLCL DAT-3MSGCL

**Gloss:** You have given them to him

In the SOCIATIVE CASE, all the pronominals come prefixed with the SOCIATIVE CASE marker [bad-] as in (136), giving rise to the following forms:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[bad - ŋa]	[bad- ŋi]	[bad- me]	[bad- p <sup>h</sup> a]	[bad- p <sup>h</sup> i]	[bad- u]	[bad- ka]	[bad- i]	[bad- ki]

### 3.1.4. Proclitics

Of all the pronominals in Khasi, only the third person pronominals are used as PROCLITICS on nominals and various other grammatical classes discussed below except in the verb phrase, which has already been discussed in 3.1.1 and 3.1.2. In the verb phrase, as has been discussed already, all the pronominals appear as proclitics. This is in keeping with the fact that in Pnar, verbal enclitics appear with all the three persons, while only the third person forms are used as proclitics. Since Khasi has no enclitics, in the verb phrase, all the pronominal forms of all the three persons, come as proclitics and have the same phonological shape as the personal pronouns and have been listed in 3.1.1. Many grammatical classes make use of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics which are listed below.

3MSGCL	3FSGCL	3ESGCL	3PLCL
[u]	[ka]	[i]	[ki]

The different grammatical classes making use of 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics include nominals as in (129-30), adjectives as in (130), relative clauses as in (190), some interrogatives as in (199, 205), demonstratives as in (153-159), derived indefinites as in (166,169,171,178), the numeral ‘one’ as in (145), and universal quantifiers as in (186).

- (145) ka-wei      ka-k<sup>h</sup>inna?  
           3FSGCL-one 3FSGCL-girl

**Gloss:** One girl.

All these grammatical classes with respect to clitics have been discussed in detail in this chapter. For all the word classes listed above, the form of the proclitic is decided by the head nominal. Khasi unlike Pnar does not have a 3<sup>rd</sup> person default proclitic that can be used when the gender/number specifications are not known. Khasi makes use of other particles like the particle [ma-] used in ‘who’ when the gender/number specifications are not known. Pnar would use [i-] in these cases.

The agreement pattern in Khasi as reflected in sentences like (129), (146), (150) and (175), among others, is what has been termed as ‘alliterative agreement’ or ‘alliterative concord’ in the literature (for details see Dobrin, 1995; Corbett, 2006). According to (Corbett 2006:15-17) an agreement construction is called alliterative agreement if the agreement marker on the target is identical to a formative on the controller and if different targets all show the same formative. In Khasi, the targets would be all the words/phrases that host the proclitics; the formative is the proclitic which appears as an agreement marker on all the eligible words/phrases and the controller is the subject nominal. In its restricted sense, when it was only used for prefixal agreement markers, the term ‘alliterative agreement’ would not be applicable to Pnar because of the verbal enclitic that marks agreement with the subject. However in terms of the essence of the notion, it would be applicable to both Khasi and Pnar.

### 3.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns in Khasi make use of a Genitive case marker [ɟɔŋ-] which is followed by the PERSONAL PRONOUNS, that is,

a. [ɟɔŋ-PRONOMINAL] as in (146):

(146) i-ne                      i-dei              i-pa                      ɟɔŋ-ŋa.  
           3ESGCL-PROXDEM 3ESGCL-be 3ESGCL-father GEN-1SG

**Gloss:** He is my father.

The different possessive pronouns in Khasi are as follows:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[ɟɔŋ- ŋa]	[ɟɔŋ- ŋi]	[ɟɔŋ- me]	[ɟɔŋ- p <sup>h</sup> a]	[ɟɔŋ- p <sup>h</sup> i]	[ɟɔŋ- u]	[ɟɔŋ- ka]	[ɟɔŋ- i]	[ɟɔŋ- ki]

According to Rabel (1961: 128) and Nagaraja (1985: 22) the GENITIVE case marker [ɟɔŋ] is optional, and its dropping has not been discussed to cause any grammatical or semantic changes.

### 3.3. Reflexive pronouns

Unlike Pnar reflexives, that have the personal pronouns as an essential component of the reflexives, Khasi reflexives are generally formed without the pronominal element. Also, the availability of multitude of forms to form the reflexives in Pnar is not attested in Khasi. The form [lade] meaning ‘self’ is preceded either by the AGENTIVE marker [da] or the ACC/DAT marker [ya] to form the reflexives, giving rise to the following two forms, irrespective of gender/number distinctions:

a. [da-lade] as in (147):

(147) ŋa-ŋait              ba      u-la-leʔ-hi              da-lade  
           1SGCL-suggest COMP 3MSGCL-PERF-do-self AGENT-self

**Gloss:** I suggested that he do it himself.

b. [ya-lade] as in (148):

(148)    ηi-dei                      ban-pɪn-sɲəu-suk                      **ya-lade**  
          1SGCL-MOD:OBLIG    INF-CAUS-feel-good                      ACC/DAT-self

**Gloss:** We must make ourselves comfortable.

A few instances of the reflexive pronoun involving the 3<sup>rd</sup> person PRONOMINAL [u-] have been attested in Khasi with the following shape:

c. [da-PRONOMINAL-hi] as in (149):

d. [ya-PRONOMINAL-hi] as in (149):

(149)    ηa-ηait            ba            u-la-leʔ-hi            ma-u            **da-u-hi/ya-u-hi**  
          1SGCL-            COMP    3MSGCL-PERF-            EMPH-            AGENT-3MSG-  
          suggest                      do- own            3MSGCL            own/ACC-3MSG-own

**Gloss:** I suggest that he do it himself.

One may recollect that this form though rare in Khasi is one of the most productive ways of forming reflexives in Pnar.

### 3.4. Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal pronouns in Khasi generally appear in two forms, maintaining the distinction between ‘each other’ (used with two individuals) and ‘one another’ (used with more than two individuals). The form used for ‘one another’ as exemplified in (150) is:

a. [para-ma-ki]

(150)    ki-sau-ηut                      ki-k<sup>h</sup>innaʔ    ki-sɲəutɪnnad    **para-ma-ki**  
          3PLCL-four-cl:hum    3PLCL-child    3PLCL-like            one another

**Gloss:** The four children are fond of one another.

[para] is a prefix which is used when talking of people who are related/ connected to each other in terms of having common interests. The form [ma] is an emphatic marker used with personal pronouns. The pronominal [ki] used as part of the reciprocal pronoun signifies the presence of more than one individual. However, the use of the proclitic with the numeral ‘four’ is an aberration, and does not follow the general rules. The expression [para-ma-ki] carries the import that the verb is experienced among those who belong to a group by sharing common interests, a kind of an exclusive group of people.

Another form for ‘one another’, which has found preference among the Bible translators, is [paralok-hi] or [paralok], as in (151). The word [paralok] literally means a ‘friend’ or a ‘spouse’. The particle [hi] means ‘self’.

(151)	lada	ni-ya-ieit-paralok-hi	u-blei	u-ya-isa?	ha-ni
	COND	1PLCL-RECIPRO-love- friend-self	3MSGCL- God	3MSGCL-RECIPRO- stay	LOC- 1PL

**Gloss:** If we love one another, God dwells in us

(Source: Ka Baibl: Ka Testament Bathymmai, 1 U Ioannis 4:12; page 333)

This form does not involve the use of any pronominal and is used with different verbs like ‘kill’, ‘love’, ‘greet’, ‘consider’, ‘exhort’, ‘comfort’ etc.

The form used for ‘each other’ is very similar to the form used in Pnar. It involves a process of discontinuous reduplication, the use of proclitics and the numeral [wei] ‘one’ as in Pnar. The structure of the pronoun is:

b. [PROCLITIC-wei-ya-PROCLITIC-wei] as in (152 and 152a):

(152)	u-ʒɔn	bad	u-pitar	ki-yarap	u-wei-ya-u-wei.
	3MSGCL- John	CONJ	3MSGCL- help	3PLCL- help	3MSGCL-ONE-ACC-3MSGCL- ONE

**Gloss:** John and Peter helped each other.

A slight variant of this form is shown in (152a)

(152a) u-ɪɔn            bad   ka-meri            ki-yarap    i-wei-ya-ɪ-wei  
           3V-SGCL-        CONJ 3FSGCL-        3PLCL-        3ESGCL-ONE-ACC-  
           John                    Mary            help            3ESGCL-ONE

**Gloss:** John and Mary like each other.

The forms for ‘each other’ in (152 and 152a) are indeed interesting. A very interesting aspect of the discontinuous reduplication is that the empty particle that comes generally with these forms as in universal quantifiers etc as in (186) is not replaced by an empty particle, but by the accusative marker itself, as the reciprocal comes in the object position. A very significant aspect of the two structures is also the difference in the use of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics. In Pnar, structures like (152) which have two actors of the same gender, as in (31), mark the reciprocal in the same pattern as in Khasi using the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic agreeing with the gender/number specification of the actors. However (152a) is different in Pnar. In Pnar when two actors having different genders are represented as in (32) one finds that the two proclitic slots in the reciprocal is occupied each by a different proclitic that agrees with the gender/number specification of one of the actors. Interestingly Khasi resorts to the use of the proclitic [i] in these cases, which is a very wide-spread usage in Pnar, but is very rare in Khasi. In Khasi [i] is only used in contexts like this as a generic/default 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic, a function which [i] is observed to perform very often in Pnar. The use of the generic numeral ‘one’ picks up each one of the actors individually.

### 3.5. Deictic/Demonstrative pronouns and temporal-spatial deixis

The demonstrative pronoun in Khasi enters the configurational properties of the nominal it modifies and incorporates the modified nominal’s gender/number features in its form. Thus the PROCLITIC can be any one of the four 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms. The form of the demonstrative in Khasi is [PROCLITIC-DEMONSTRATIVE] and always occurs before the modified nominal as:

a. [PROCLITIC-DEMONSTRATIVE] [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] as in (153)

(153) ka-ne                    ka-kət                    jəŋ-a  
           3FSGCL-PROXDEM    3FSGCL-book    GEN-1SG

**Gloss:** This book is mine.



In the PROXIMAL DEIXIS, Khasi has only one form [-ne] exemplified in (153), which appears with the PROCLITIC as:

b. [PROCLITIC-ne]

Khasi maintains a six-way distinction in the DISTAL DEIXIS, having one of the following six forms:

c. [PROCLITIC-tai] as in (154):

(154) pait ya-ka-tai ka-dur.  
 look ACC-3FSGCL-DISTDEM 3FSGCL-picture

**Gloss:** Look at that picture.

This form is used when the object being talked about is visible and/or within reach and/or present.

d. [PROCLITIC-tei] as in (155):

This form is used when the object being talked about is above the speaker in spatial orientation.

(155) peit ya-ka-tei ka-briyəu ka-ba-yɛŋ haŋteɪ.  
 look ACC-3FSGCL-DISTDEM 3FSGCL-person 3FSGCL-RP-stand there

**Gloss:** Look at the lady who is standing there.

e. [PROCLITIC-t<sup>h</sup>ie] as in (156):

(156) ka-iyɛŋ ɔŋ-a ka-don ha-dien u-t<sup>h</sup>ie u-lom.  
 3FSGCL-house GEN-1SG 3FSGCL-have behind 3MSGCL-distedem 3MSGCL-hill

**Gloss:** My house is behind that mountain.

This form is used when the object being talked about is below the speaker in spatial orientation.

f. [PROCLITIC-ta] as in (157):

(157)    jia        a-yu    ha-ka-ta                    ka-p<sup>h</sup>lim  
          happen what   LOC-3FSGCL-DISTDEM   3FSGCL-movie

**Gloss:** What happens in the movie?

This form is used when the object being talked about is remote and may or may not be visible.

g. [PROCLITIC-to] as in (158):

(158)    bam   ki-to                    ki-səʔ-pieŋ  
          eat    3PLCL-DISTDEM   3PLCL-fruit-mango

**Gloss:** Eat those mangoes.

This form is used when the object being talked about is nearer to the hearer than to the speaker.

h. [PROCLITIC-tu] as in (159):

(159)    hajno   ka-        ka-tu    ka-        ka-ba-    ba    p<sup>h</sup>i-ya-    mɪnhɪnnin-  
                  don                            jɪŋdʁo    paunam            t<sup>h</sup>oʔ        ka-sɲi.  
          where 3FSGCL- 3FSGCL- 3FSGCL- 3FSGCL-    RP    2PLCL-    yesterday-  
                  be        DISTDEM   painting   RP-            RECIPRO- 3FSGCL-day  
  famous            tell

**Gloss:** Where is that famous painting, you were talking about yesterday?

This form is used to talk of objects that are out of reach and/or invisible and/or absent.

Deictic spatial adverbs ‘here’ and ‘there’ are also compositional and include the deictic markers from the demonstratives, having the same shape but without the proclitics. Pnar has three sets of these spatial adverbs beginning with the LOCATIVE [ha], the ABLATIVE [na] or the ALLATIVE [ʃa], which is followed by the default 3<sup>rd</sup>

person clitic [ɕ-], and then followed by the three different DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES. Khasi also has three sets with the proximal demonstrative, and has two sets with the distal demonstratives.

The three forms formed using the LOCATIVE [ha], the ABLATIVE [na] and the ALLATIVE [ʃa] along with the PROXIMAL DEMONSTRATIVE without its PROCLITIC are as follows:

- i. [ha-ŋ-ne]
- j. [na-ŋ-ne]
- k. [ʃa-ne]

(160-161) exemplify two forms of ‘here’:

(160)	don	manu-	ha-ŋ-	u-ba-la?	ban-ai-ɟiŋbiet	yɔŋ-
		manu	ne			ŋi.
	be	anybody	here	3MSGCL-RP- MOD:ABIL	INF-give- permission	GEN- 1pl
<b>Gloss:</b>	Is there anybody here who can give us the permission?					

(161)	p <sup>hi</sup> -la?	ban-ɟu-peit	ya-ka	na-ŋ-ne.
	2PLCL-mod:perm	INF-only-see	ACC-3FSGCL	ABL-PT-PROXDEM
<b>Gloss:</b>	You can only see it from here.			

The distal form has two sets formed using the LOCATIVE [ha] and the ALLATIVE [ʃa], along with the six DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES without their PROCLITIC and are as follows:

- l. [ha-ŋ-tai] and [ʃa-tai]
- m. [ha-ŋ-tei] and [ʃa-tei]
- n. [ha-ŋ-to] and [ʃa-to]
- o. [ha-ŋ-tu] and [ʃa-tu]
- p. [ha-ŋ-ta] and [ʃa-ta]
- q. [ha-ŋ-t<sup>hie</sup>] and [ʃa-t<sup>hie</sup>]

(162-163) exemplify two forms of ‘there’ using the same distal demonstrative:

(162) **ha-ŋ-tai**            ha    ba-kut    ɣɔŋ-ka-ne                            ka-ŋiŋkub.  
 LOC-PT-DISTDEM    LOC    RP-end    GEN-3MSGCL-PROXDEM    3MSGCL-room

**Gloss:** There, at the end of this corridor.

(163) **peit ʃa-tai.**            ya-ki-barɔʔ    la-airɔŋ-sau.  
 look    ALL-DISTDEM    ACC-3PLCL-all    PERF-paint-red

**Gloss:** Look there. They are all painted in red.

It is interesting to note that in the proximal and in the distal sets, the forms starting with [ha] and [na] have a particle [ŋ] where Pnar has the default clitic [i-], while the forms with [ʃa] do not have any such particle.

Deictic temporal adverbs ‘now’ and ‘then’ do not make use of the deictic pronouns, the way deictic spatial adverbs do. The word for the proximal temporal adverb ‘now’ is [mɪnta] as in (164) and [katta] and the form of the distal temporal adverb ‘then’ is [te] as in (165):

(164) **kumta,**    ŋin            ya-leit            bam-ɣa-sŋi    nɔʔ    **mɪnta.**  
 so            1pl+FUT    RECIPRO-go    eat-rice-day    away    now

**Gloss:** So are we going out now for lunch?

(165) **lada**    u-laʔ-ban-wan                            **te**    ai    un-wan  
 COND    3MSGCL-MOD:ABIL-INF-come            then    (?)    3MSG+FUT-come

**Gloss:** If he can come, then he should come.

The deictic categories represented by the prepositions are either monosyllabic CV structures or when complex are compositional containing the LOCATIVE, ABLATIVE or ALLATIVE markers with a nominal/adjective. Since these forms have been appearing in various examples above, I am not providing any examples of these here. Thus the different forms are:

**at**            : [ha]  
**to**            : [ʃa]

<i>from</i>	:	[na]		
<i>on</i>	:	[ha]	; [ha-lor]	[na-lor]
<i>in</i>	:	[ha]		
<i>into</i>	:	[ha-pɔʔ]	; [ʃa-pɔʔ]	; [na-pɔʔ]
<i>inside</i>	:	[ha-pɔʔ]	; [ʃa-pɔʔ]	; [na-pɔʔ]
<i>above</i>	:	[ha-lor]	; [ʃa-lor]	; [na-lor]
<i>below</i>	:	[ha-dien]	; [ʃa-dien]	; [na-dien]
<i>front</i>	:	[ha-k <sup>h</sup> mat]	; [ʃa-k <sup>h</sup> mat]	; [na-k <sup>h</sup> mat]
<i>behind</i>	:	[c <sup>h</sup> a-trai]	; [ha-trai]	; [na-trai]
<i>up</i>	:	[ha-tei]	; [ʃa-tei]	; [na-tei]
<i>down</i>	:	[ha-t <sup>h</sup> ie]	; [ʃa-t <sup>h</sup> ie]	; [na-t <sup>h</sup> ie]
<i>far</i>	:	[ha-ɲgai]	; [ʃa-ɲgai]	; [na-ɲgai]
<i>near</i>	:	[ha-ɲan]	; [ʃa-ɲan]	; [na-ɲan]
<i>before</i>	:	[mɪnʃ <sup>w</sup> a]	; [ʃ <sup>w</sup> a]	
<i>after</i>	:	[ha-den]	; [na-den]	; [ɪnda]

### 3.6. Indefinite pronouns

This analysis of indefinite pronouns in Khasi is based on the extensive typological parameters discussed in Haspelmath (1997). Various issues raised by Haspelmath (see section 2.6 for details) have been taken up for consideration in this analysis. Thus the presence of an indefinite ‘series’ with respect to various ontological categories; the derivation of indefinites, if present; different strategies of marking indefinites like existential sentences, free relative clause constructions; different sources for indefinites like interrogatives, generic nouns, the numeral ‘one’; the issues of specificity/ non-specificity, human/ non-human entities vis-à-vis the indefinites etc have been looked into. Significantly, pronominal clitics the subject of this study are a very important constituent of all indefinite pronouns in Khasi.

The first thing that one must note about Khasi indefinites is that there are no indefinite pronouns appearing in any ‘series’ representing various ontological categories like ‘person’, ‘thing’ etc.

The bases [no~nu] and [ei] used in indefinites are part of interrogative pronouns as well. The base [no] has an alternatively pronounced form [nu], but the form [no] is used here for typographical ease. As an interrogative particle, [no] is used to form

‘who’ as in (195), ‘whom’ as in (200), ‘which’ as in (209), ‘whose’ as in (211), ‘how’ as in (213), ‘when’ as in (214) and ‘where’ as in (207) and [ei] is used to form ‘who’ as in (199), ‘what’ as in (205), as well as ‘which’ and ‘where’.

As part of an indefinite pronoun [no] is used to form ‘any’ as in (166), ‘anyone’ as in (167), ‘anybody’ as in (168), ‘anything’ as in (169), ‘no one/ nobody’ as in (170), ‘some’ as in (171), and ‘someone’ as in (172).

(166)	p <sup>h</sup> im-laʔ	ban-raʔ	<b>ka-no-ka-no</b>	ka-jɨŋbam	ʃa-pəʔ.
	2PLCL+NEG- MOD:PERM	INF-carry	3FSGCL-Q- 3FSGCL-Q	3FSGCL- eatable	inside
<b>Gloss:</b>	You can not carry any eatables inside.				

(167)	sŋəu- b <sup>h</sup> a	ban-nim-kren-eʔ	<b>ya-no-ya-no</b>	hapəʔ-ka- kamra.
	feel- good	RP+FUT-NEG-speak- INTENS	ACC/DAT-Q- ACC/DAT-Q	inside-3FSGCL- room
<b>Gloss:</b>	Please do not talk to anyone loudly inside the room.			

(168)	don	<b>ma-no- ma-no</b>	ha-ŋ- ne	u-ba-laʔ	ban-ai-jɨŋbiet	yəŋ- ŋi.
	be	PT-Q-PT-Q	LOC- EPT	3MSGCL-RP- MOD:ABIL	INF-give- permission	GEN- 1pl
<b>Gloss:</b>	Is there anybody here who can give us the permission?					

(169)	lada	don	<b>ka-no-ka-no</b>	ŋan-sa-yat <sup>h</sup> oʔ	ya-p <sup>hi</sup>	hapəʔ.
	COND	be	3FSGCL-Q- 3FSGCL-Q	1SGCL+FUT-FUT- tell	ACC/DAT- 2PL	inside
<b>Gloss:</b>	If there is anything I will tell that inside.					

(170)	im-ʃaʔ	<b>ya-no-ya-no</b>	ban-leit	ʃa- tai	mɨnta-ka- sŋi.
	NEG- permit	ACC/DAT-Q- ACC/DAT-Q	INF-go	there	today
<b>Gloss:</b>	Nobody is allowed to go there today.				

(171)	ŋa-k <sup>wa</sup>	ban- don	<b>ka-no-ka-no</b>	ka-lad	ban-leʔ	ya-ka.
	1SGCL- want	INF-be	3FSGCL-Q- 3FSGCL-Q	3FSGCL- way	INF-do	ACC- 3FSGCL.

**Gloss:** I wish there was some way of doing it.

- (172) **ma-no-re-ma-** ki-la-**fim-nəʔ** ya-ka-dur mɪnne-  
**no** mɪnmɪət  
 PT-Q-EPTDR-PT- 3PLCL-PERF-take- 3FSGCL-3FSGCL- last week  
 Q away painting

**Gloss:** Someone stole the paintings last week

As part of an indefinite pronoun [ei] is used to form ‘anything’ as in (173), ‘nothing’ as in (174) and ‘something’ as in (175).

- (173) u-**ɟən** um-**fɪm-la-bam** **ei-ei**  
 3MSGCL-John 3MSGCL+NEG-NEG-PERF-eat Q-Q

**Gloss:** John has not eaten anything.

- (174) **ŋa-ŋait** **ɪm-don** **ei-ei** **ʃu** **ban-yat<sup>h</sup>oʔ** mɪnta.  
 1SGCL-think NEG-be Q-Q only INF-tell now.

**Gloss:** I guess there is nothing more to tell now.

- (175) ka-waʔ ka-ləŋ ka-ba- taŋ/b<sup>h</sup>a. ka-sərkar ka-dei  
 jaboʔ  
 3FSGCL- 3FSGCL- 3FSGCL- INTENS 3FSGCL- 3FSGCL-  
 river be RP-pollute government MOD:OBLIG  
 ban-leʔ **ei-ei** **ʃap<sup>h</sup>aŋ** **ɟəŋ-ka/ka-ne**  
 INF-do Q-Q about GEN-3FSGCL/3FSGCL-PROXDEM

**Gloss:** The river is much polluted. The government must do something about it.

As in Pnar, in Khasi too, though the same elements act as base to form the interrogative pronouns and the indefinites, one can not be said to be derived from the other. The particles [no] and [ei] which are common to both indefinites and interrogatives have different formal characteristics. Although for glossing purposes these two particles have been called Q (QUESTION) particles in this work, there is no language internal evidence to suggest any kind of a derivational process. The bases shared between the indefinites and the interrogatives can not be called interrogative bases either, as they by themselves do not make up any interrogative pronouns. Indefinites (except the negative indefinites) are formed by a process of complete, partial or discontinuous reduplication.

Khasi, unlike Pnar, does not necessarily have these bases coming with 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics to form questions. As far as the particle [no] is concerned, in interrogatives, it comes with the particle [ma-] for ‘who’ as in (195), with [kat-] or [kum-] for ‘how’ as in (213), with [la-] or [min-] for ‘when’ as in (214), with 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics for ‘which’ as in (209), with case markers like ablative, allative or locative [na], [fa] or [ha] for ‘where’ as in (215), with the genitive [ɬɔŋ-] for ‘whose’ as in (211) and with the accusative [ya] for ‘whom’ as in (200).

As far as the particle [ei] is concerned, in interrogatives it is used in very limited contexts compared to the other particle [no]. For ‘who’ it comes with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic as in (199) and for ‘what’ it generally comes with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics as in (205) but can also come with the agentive [da-] as in (206).

These Q bases along with the other particles they come with can also be reduplicated to give a distributive sense in interrogatives as in (196, 201, 208). The interrogative structures by a process of complete, continuous or discontinuous reduplication give rise to the indefinites. As an indefinite the particle [no] is used with the particle [ma-] in the subject position as in (172) and the accusative marker [ya-] in the object position as in (167). It is always used as a reduplicated complex with these particles. The reduplication is contiguous in most cases, except for ‘someone’ when the empty particle [re] comes in between as in (172). As an indefinite [ei] is used as a reduplicated form, generally without any proclitics or any other particles as in (173), but can also come with proclitics, in which case the reduplicated [proclitic-ei] complex is separated by the empty particle [re] as in (178).

Cross-linguistic generalizations as presented in Haspelmath (1997) would argue that the indefinites must be based on the interrogatives, especially due to the presence of forms like [ma-no-ma-no], where the particle [ma-] in this kind of a function<sup>1</sup> is found only in interrogatives and indefinites. While the presence of particles/proclitics with the two bases in both Khasi and Pnar, do not solve the problem of what is

---

<sup>1</sup> This particle [ma] is different from the emphatic particle [ma].



derived from what, this case in Khasi can be taken to suggest that as cross-linguistically attested, the indefinites are derived from or based on interrogatives.

A significant point of difference in the use of the complex [particle-ei/no] in interrogatives and indefinites is that while they have to be used in a reduplicated form in indefinites, they are used just by themselves or in a reduplicated structure as interrogatives. While indefinites allow empty particles to come between the reduplicated complexes, it is not allowed in interrogatives. The reduplicated forms in indefinites can be contiguous or separated by an empty particle [re-]. However the general preference is for contiguous reduplicated forms rather than the discontinuous forms.

The negative indefinites in Khasi also have a very similar pattern as the negative indefinites in Pnar. The question of negative indefinite pronouns' co-occurrence with sentential negation is redundant in Khasi with the absence of dedicated negative indefinite pronouns. Existential constructions are used for this purpose, as in Pnar, with the negative complex [im-don] as in (176), consisting of the negative morph and an auxiliary verb forming part of every negative indefinite.

(176) **im-don** ba-don ha-iyɛŋ  
 NEG-exist RP-exist LOC-home

**Gloss:** Nobody is at home

Alternatively the negative morph attaches directly to the verb itself and is followed by a reduplicated structure involving [particle-no] complex as in (170).

To express negative indefiniteness, [im-don] can be used by itself (in an existential sentence) as in (176), or can be followed or preceded by a reduplicated indefinite containing the bases [no] or [ei] as in (177).

(177) ŋa-ŋait **im-don** ei-ei ʃu ban-yat<sup>h</sup>o? mɪnta.  
 1SGCL-think NEG-be Q-Q only INF-tell now

**Gloss:** I guess there is nothing more to tell now.

While the [no] complex can be preceded by any of the particles allowed in Khasi, as discussed earlier, the particle [ei] is reduplicated without any other bases/particles attached to it as in (177).

Thus sentential negation in an existential sentence or sentential negation along with the other indefinites involving the bases [no] or [ei] with any of the particles allowed with them, as discussed earlier, are used to mark negative indefinites. With no dedicated forms, the answer to the question if negative indefinite pronouns have a negative element in it is also in the negative.

The indefinites in Khasi just like Pnar indefinites have no stems indicating their ontological category. In fact the indefinites have the same structure for all the different ontological categories. While the reduplicated complexes show a preference to be contiguous while representing the ontological category of ‘PERSON’ as in (167-68), the reduplicated structures representing the ontological category of ‘THINGS’ show a preference for non-contiguous forms as in (178). However, these ontological categories also have contiguous and non-contiguous forms as well as in (172) and (169).

(178)	don	ka-ei- re-ka- ei	ka-ba	ya- dei	bad	ki-ni	ki- dur	ka-ba	ɲin-ɪm- klet-fu?
	be	3FSGCL- Q- EPTDR- 3FSGCL- Q	3FSGCL- RP	(?)- be	with	3PLCL- PROXDEM	3PLCL- picture	3FSGCL- RP	1PLCL+FUT- NEG-forget- get away

**Gloss:** There is something about these pictures that we will never forget.

The Khasi indefinites differ from their Pnar counterparts significantly, in the elements they allow with the bases which they share with the interrogatives. So Khasi has different particles attached to these bases showing accusative as in (167) and nominative as in (172), apart from the pronominal clitics as in (169).

Khasi indefinites do not occur in any series representing any ontological categories. But they do share one of the bases [no] and [ei] with the interrogatives. Though one

can assign them the status of being indefiniteness markers in both indefinites and interrogatives, they are not ‘indefiniteness markers’ in the sense in which Haspelmath uses the term. For Haspelmath, the indefiniteness markers shared in a series are words like *any/some/no* which is not the case about these bases.

The indefinite pronouns are contiguous in that words belonging to other grammatical classes can not be inserted in between the structure. The only exception to this with negative indefinites, which as in (179) allow the indefinite to be non-contiguous. In this case the negated verb is separated from the reduplicated indefinite structure.

- (179) **ma-nu-ma-nu**    **na-p<sup>h</sup>i**    **ɪm-don.**  
           PT-Q-PT-Q            ABL-2PL    NEG-be

**Gloss:** None of you need to (go).

The internal structure of the indefinites made up of reduplicated complexes consisting of either of the two bases (shared with interrogatives) along with proclitics or other particles can be contiguous or discontinuous. The preference for contiguous/ non-contiguous structures can be related to the ontological categories of person and thing, and has already been discussed.

Most of the indefinites are realized by reduplication. The process of reduplication applied is not on a single element or particle but on a complex, consisting of one of the two bases discussed in the beginning with any of the particles discussed above. The type of reduplication found to constitute indefinites is that of both continuous reduplication and discontinuous reduplication. However not all indefinite pronouns in the language have to be derived. Some are lexically available as in (179-80). Those that are derived undergo a process of reduplication. The reduplicated forms can be contiguous or separated by an empty particle [re-].

- (180) **sŋəub<sup>h</sup>a**    **yat<sup>h</sup>oʔ**    **ya-ŋa**    **k<sup>h</sup>ɪndiat**  
           please    tell            ACC-1SG    something

**Gloss:** Please tell me something.

- (181) **u-ɔŋ**                    **u-yɔʔi**            **katto-katni**    **ki-riu-kɪnt<sup>h</sup>ai**

3MSGCL-John 3MSGCL-see some 3PLCL-people-female

**Gloss:** John saw some women.

Khmer presents a very interesting case where the indefinites and the interrogatives are identical in structure. Though Khasi indefinites contain the interrogatives in full, they are not identical. The point of distinction is that when the interrogative form is completely reduplicated, one gets the indefinite pronouns. As indefinites, the reduplicated interrogative pronoun may be separated by an empty particle. Thus an indefinite without an empty particle inside it as in (179) would have the same structure as reduplicated questions as in (196), and in this situation Khasi would represent a case exactly similar to Khmer.

There is a definite human/non-human distinction in the indefinites. Though one can not make a general statement about all the indefinites as is possible for English, in this case each type of indefinite has its own way of making this distinction.

When showing ‘free choice’ or as an NPI (represented by the ‘any’ series in English), the indefinite is formed using the base [no~nu], preceded by [ma-] if it appears in the subject position as in (168), and by [ya-] if it appears in the object position as in (167). The complex [ma/ya-no/nu] is used in its reduplicated form, without any empty particles in between. A non-human entity is represented by reduplicating the other base [ei-] without any empty particles in between or any proclitic or other particles preceding the base as in (173). Alternatively the base [no~nu] can be used for non-human entities, but in this case it is preceded by a 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic as in (169). The indefinite ‘any’ which is not tied to any ontological category generally does not make use of the [ei-] base and uses the reduplicated form of the other base [no~nu]. Significantly, [no~nu] is preceded by a 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic agreeing with the indefinite NP that follows it carrying the same proclitic as in (166).

The negative indefinite makes use of an existential sentence with a negated verb in the sentence-initial position to mark human entities as in (176). Alternatively, the negative particle with its auxiliary/main verb support is followed or preceded by a reduplicated structure involving the base [no~nu] along with the particles [ma-] or

[ya-] as in (170). To mark non-human entities, the negative particle with its auxiliary/main verb support comes along with the particle [ei-] in its reduplicated form without any proclitic or other particles preceding it or any empty particle coming in between as in (177). The indefinite ‘no’ which is not tied to any ontological category, uses simple negation for both the ontological entities followed by the indefinite NP as in (182). The indefinite ‘no’ also makes use of a negated existential construction as in (183), but differs from (176) in having the indefinite nominal immediately following the negated verb complex.

- |       |                |  |  |                                       |
|-------|----------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| (182) | ŋa-<br>itinnad | ya-ki-p <sup>h</sup> lim<br>1sgcl-like acc/dat-3plcl-<br>movie | ki-bɪm-ju-don<br>3plcl-rp+neg-hab-<br>have | jiŋ-hurihura.<br>absnoun-<br>violence |
|-------|----------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|

**Gloss:** I like the film that has no violence..

- |       |                  |  |  |                                 |
|-------|------------------|--|--|---------------------------------|
| (183) | ɪm-don<br>NEG-be | u-k <sup>h</sup> inna?<br>3MSGCL-child | u-naŋ-b <sup>h</sup> a<br>3MSGCL-know-INTENS | ban-kɪŋjat-bəl<br>INF-play-ball |
|-------|------------------|--|--|---------------------------------|

**Gloss:** No boy plays football very well.

As far as the indefinites used to mark non-specificity/specificity are concerned (represented by the ‘some’ series in English), the human entities are marked using either an existential sentence as in (184), or by using a reduplicated form of [ma-no] separated by an empty particle as in (172).

- |       |           |   |                                     |   |
|-------|-----------|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| (184) | don<br>be | ba-la-ai-səʔ-pieŋ<br>RP-PERF-give-<br>mango | ya-u-ʝən<br>ACC/DAT-3MSGCL-<br>John | ha-ka-jiŋk <sup>h</sup> wai<br>LOC-3MSGCL-<br>party |
|-------|-----------|---|-------------------------------------|---|

**Gloss:** Someone gave a mango to John in the party.

The reduplicated [ma-no] can also be used as part of an existential sentence alternatively as in (179). To mark non-human entities, the particle [ei-] is reduplicated, and may be used without any proclitic or other particles preceding it or any empty particle coming in between as in (175). However [ei-] can also be used with 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics attached to it, and the reduplicated structure separated by an empty particle as in (178). A non-human marking indefinite can also be formed using

the numeral ‘one’, reduplicating it along with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural clitic, with no empty particles in between as in (185).

(185)	ha-ka- jɪŋyapɔik <sup>h</sup> a	ɔŋ-u	u-la-yɔʔ- sɪəub <sup>h</sup> a	da- katto- katnɪ	ki- ʃuki	bad	ki-wei- ki-wei- pat-ki- tiyər
	LOC-3FSGCL- marriage	GEN- 3MSGCL	3MSGCL- PERF-get- gift	with- some	3PLCL- chair	CONJ	3PLCL- one- 3PLCL- one-again- 3PLCL- other

**Gloss:** ‘In his marriage, he was gifted with some chair and something else also.’

The indefinite ‘some’ which is not tied to any ontological category is usually represented by lexically available forms as in (181) or by reduplicating the particle [no~nu] along with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic, without any empty particles in between as in (171).

There are no separate indefinite pronouns series depending upon the specificity/non-specificity of the Indefinite NP. The marking of specificity in Khasi is also of the same kind as in Pnar. One can not argue that the proclitics on the nominals serve to mark only specificity, though the difference between an incorporated object nominal and an unincorporated object nominal as pointed out for Pnar also, is that of a specific versus a generic one. The distal demonstrative is sometimes employed to mark specific nominals but is in no way compulsory. In fact, a specific pronominal subject (pronominal subjects are always dropped) is expressed just by a distal demonstrative with the appropriate proclitic on it. The demonstrative forms are not attested with the indefinite pronouns.

As attested cross-linguistically and discussed in Haspelmath (1997), Khasi also has many strategies of forming indefinites other than basing them on the same base as the interrogatives.

**Alternate strategies of forming indefinites:**

Existential sentences are a major strategy of marking indefiniteness in Khasi. These are the only type of constructions used to mark negative indefiniteness by negating the verb of the existential sentence as in (176). The existential sentence is also one of major strategies of marking indefiniteness showing specificity/non-specificity with the ontological category of ‘person’ as in (184). Only free-choice or NPI indefinites do not make use of existential sentences to mark indefiniteness. Whenever the existential sentence is used to mark negative indefinites, other indefinites can be used optionally as a part of the negative indefinite construction as in (170). No indefinites in Khasi make use of indefinites derived from generic ontological category nouns. This is a crucial point of difference between Pnar and Khasi. Unlike Pnar, non-specific relative clause construction is also not used in Khasi to mark indefiniteness. In this regard also Khasi differs significantly from Pnar. Among all the indefinites, the numeral ‘one’ is only used to mark the specific/non-specific forms of indefinites as in (185). The negative indefinite also makes use of the numeral ‘one’. If one is to consider universal quantifiers like ‘every’ to be also indefinite pronouns, then one would find that all the forms of ‘every’ representing different ontological categories make use of the numeral ‘one’ and so does the universal pronoun ‘each’ as in (186) and (187).

- |       |                             |                  |                |                  |           |
|-------|-----------------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------|
| (186) | i-wei-pa-i-wei              | i-dei            | ban-pɪn-lip    | ya-ki-mo:bail    | ɟoŋ-ki.   |
|       | 3ESGCL-ONE-EPTDR-3ESGCL-ONE | 3ESGCL-MOD:OBLIG | INF-CAUS-close | ACC-3PLCL-mobile | GEN-3PLCL |
- Gloss:** Everybody must switch off their mobiles.

- |       |                     |          |                                 |                 |          |
|-------|---------------------|----------|---------------------------------|-----------------|----------|
| (187) | ŋi-k <sup>w</sup> a | ban-yoʔi | ya-ka-wei-pa-ka-wei             | ka-jiŋ-dro      | ha-ŋ-ne. |
|       | 1PLCL-want          | INF-see  | ACC-3FSGCL-ONE-EPTDR-3FSGCL-ONE | 3FSGCL-painting | here     |
- Gloss:** We want to see each one of the paintings here.

The common features between the indefinites based on interrogatives , and the indefinites based on the numeral ‘one’ are generally three:

1. In both the types of indefinites, the bases shared with interrogatives and the numeral ‘one’ do not occur on their own. The numeral is always preceded by a

3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic, while the bases [no~nu] and [ei] are always preceded by another particle that has been discussed earlier.

2. The bases [no] and [ei] and/or the numeral ‘one’ is always used in its reduplicated form, along with the particles/proclitics that attach to it.
3. The reduplicated forms may be contiguous or separated by an empty particle, which is [re] for the bases shared with interrogatives, and [pa] with the numeral ‘one’.

There is some congruence between universal quantifiers and indefinite pronouns in Khasi. The form [PROCLITIC-no-PROCLITIC-no] can be used for the indefinites ‘any’ as in (166), ‘some’ as in (171) and the universal ‘every’ as in (188).

(188)	<b>u-nu-u-nu</b>	<b>u-k<sup>h</sup>inna?</b>	<b>um-ju-yəʔ-ɟiŋ-ieit</b>	<b>na-ka-para.</b>
	3MSGCL-Q-	3MSGCL-	3MSGCL+NEG-HAB-get-	ABL-3FSGCL-
	3MSGCL-Q	child	ABSNOUN-love	sibling

**Gloss:** Every boy does not get love from his sister.

The form [PROCLITIC-wei-pa-PROCLITIC-wei] involving the use of the generic numeral ‘one’ [wei] is used for all ontological categories as a universal quantifier. The form [PROCLITIC-wei-pa-PROCLITIC-wei] is also used to mark specific/non-specific indefinites as in (185). While the universal quantifiers make extensive use of the [PROCLITIC-wei-pa-PROCLITIC-wei] structure the indefinites make use of the two bases [no~nu] and [ei] extensively.

Underspecified indefinite pronouns are available only to mark specificity/non-specificity as in (181), and not for negative indefinites or free-choice indefinites. These are derived forms. Universal quantifiers/pronouns also have underspecified forms as in (189):

(189)	<b>barəʔ</b>	<b>ki-ruti</b>	<b>ki-dei</b>	<b>ɟəŋ-p<sup>h</sup>i</b>
	all	3PLCL-bread	3PLCL-be	GEN-2PLCL

**Gloss:** All the bread is yours.

### 3.7. Relative pronouns and Relative clauses



The relative pronouns in Khasi are formed using the RP [ba]. The RP is preceded by a PROCLITIC in all cases where the clause following the RP has the same subject as the main clause wherein the PROCLITIC agrees in gender/number with the nominal the relative clause modifies as in (130, 155, and 190 among others). When the clause following the RP has its own subject, which is different from the subject of the main clause, the RP is not preceded by any proclitic, rather the RP is followed by the subject nominal of the embedded clause and the verb is preceded by the proclitic of this nominal as in (159, 208, 209 and 210). A detailed discussion on the structure of relative clauses is presented in section 3.11, where all the different nominal modifiers are discussed in detail. The various forms of relative pronouns available in English like ‘who’, ‘whom’, ‘whose’, ‘which’ etc is reduced to a single form:

a. [PROCLITIC-ba] as in (190):

(190)	u-jak	bad	ka-jil	ka-ba-daj- armet/punk <sup>h</sup> on	ki-daj-ya-bam-so?- pien.
	3MSGCL- Jack	CONJ	3FSGCL- Jill	3FSGCL-RP-PROG- pregnant	3PLCL-PROG- RECIPRO-eat-fruit- mango

**Gloss:** Jack and Jill who is pregnant are eating a mango.

Indefinite relative pronouns ‘whoever’, ‘whatever’, ‘whichever’ and ‘whomever’ are formed in different ways.

‘*Whoever*’ is formed by reduplicating the PROCLITIC along with a particle [no]. The PROCLITIC can be any of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics. The structure of the pronoun is thus as follows:

b. [PROCLITIC-no-PROCLITIC-no] as in (191):

(191)	u-no-u- no	u-ba-wan- hadien	do?	u-hap	ban-ai	ya- baro?	parti party
	whoever	3MSGCL-RP- come-behind	lose	3MSGCL- MOD:OBLIG	INF-give	ACC-all	party

**Gloss:** Whoever comes last will have to give the rest a party.

‘*Whomever*’ is also formed by reduplication. In order to form this relative pronoun the structure of ‘who’ is preceded by the LOCATIVE marker [ha] as in:

c. [ha-PROCLITIC-no-PROCLITIC-no] as in (192):

(192)	<b>ha-ki-no-ki-</b>	ki-ba	u-ɟɔn	u-ʃaniaʔ	ki-ʃukɔr	ya-u
	<b>no</b>					
	LOC-	3PLCL-	3MSGCL-	3MSGCL-	3PLCL-	ACC-
	whoever	RP	John	trust	betray	3MSGCL
	<b>Gloss:</b> Whomever John trusts, they betray him.					

The forms for ‘whichever’ and ‘whatever’, which are used with non-human nominals have the following shape:

d. [kat-PROCLITIC-ba] as in (193-194):

(193)	<b>kat</b>	u-k <sup>h</sup> ulɔm	<b>u-ba</b>	ɲa-t <sup>h</sup> iəd	ɪm-trei-kam
		3MSGCL-pen	whichever	1SGCL-buy	NEG-work-work
	<b>Gloss:</b> Whichever pen I buy, it does not work.				

(194)	<b>kat</b>	<b>ka-ba</b>	ka-pisa	ka-don	p <sup>h</sup> i-laʔ	ban-ʃim-killiəŋ
	whatever	3FSGCL- money	3FSGCL- have	2PLCL- MOD <sup>ABIL</sup>	INF-take- loan	
	<b>Gloss:</b> Whatever money I have, you can borrow.					

The nominal that is modified by these pronouns can either occupy the slot after [kat] or follow the RP [ba].

### 3.8. Interrogative pronouns

#### 3.8.1. Wh-questions

Interrogative pronouns in Khasi, namely ‘who’, ‘whom’, ‘which’, ‘what’ and ‘whose’ are compositional in nature and have PROCLITIC elements in their structure. The particle [no~nu] is used to form ‘who’ as in (195), ‘whom’ as in (200), ‘which’ as in

(209), ‘whose’ as in (211), ‘how’ as in (213), ‘when’ as in (214) and ‘where’ as in (207) and the particle [ei] is used to form ‘who’ as in (199), ‘what’ as in (205), as well as ‘which’ and ‘where’. The position of wh-words in Pnar and Khasi is not rigid. They can come in sentence-initial position or can appear in-situ.

**WHO:**

The interrogative pronoun ‘*who*’ which seeks an explanation regarding the subject (AGENT of an action) is available in two forms in Khasi, one which has no pronominal clitic and the other which is formed using pronominal clitics.

The form of the interrogative pronoun ‘who’ used with lexical verbs is [ma-no], which is followed by the RP [ba] as exemplified in (195):

- (195) **ma-no** ba-pɪn-yap ya-u-ɟɔn  
 PT-Q RP-CAUS-die ACC/DAT-3MSGCL-John  
**Gloss:** Who killed John? (lit: Who is the one who killed John?)

In case of reduplication of the interrogative pronoun in a distributive sense, [ma-no] is reduplicated and is followed by [ba] as in (196):

- (196) **ma-no-ma-no** ba-wan ʃa-ka-ɟiŋeleʔ-tamsa  
 PT-Q-PT-Q RP-come ALL-3FSGCL-fun-show  
**Gloss:** ‘Who all came to the party?’

In these questions, when the verb is negated or is in the irrealis tense, the negative particle or the future tense is marked on the verb preverbally, morphologically attached to the RP [ba], giving rise to forms like [bɪm] ‘RP+NEG’ as in (197) and [ban] ‘RP+FUT’ as in (198).

- (197) **ma-no** bɪm-sɲəutɪnnad ban-bam-b<sup>h</sup>a  
 PT-Q RP+NEG-like INF-eat-well  
**Gloss:** ‘Who does not like to eat well?’

- (198) **ma-** ban-sdaŋ ya-ka-kam minta da-ka-ɟiŋ-duwai.

**no**

PT-Q      RP+ FUT-      ACC-3FSGCL-      today      INSTR-3FSGCL-ABS NOUN-  
start      work      pray

**Gloss:** Who will start the service today with a prayer?

In fact, although (198) makes use of the future particle [-n], it is not a prototypical future tense sentence, but rather depicts the proposition of probability. In this way they are rightly attached to preverbal position in an SVO language. The form of the interrogative pronoun ‘who’ exemplified in (195-198) is [ma-no], which consists of the Q-particle [no] along with the particle [ma]. The other form of the interrogative pronoun ‘who’ which is used with copular verbs is composed of the question particle [ei] and a PROCLITIC as in (199). The copular verb is in general dropped. The shape of the interrogative pronoun is as follows:

a. [PROCLITIC-ei]

(199)    **u-ei**      u-ne  
          3MSGCL-Q    3MSGCL-PROXDEM

**Gloss:** Who is he?

The PROCLITIC in the above structure can be any of the four 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics available in Khasi. This form of the interrogative pronoun ‘who’ is not followed by the RP [ba], which can be explained by the fact that in all these structures involving the copular verb, the copular verb is dropped, leaving the RP without a host to attach to.

#### **WHOM:**

The interrogative pronoun ‘*whom*’ which seeks an explanation regarding the object (PATIENT of an action) does not involve any proclitics as exemplified in (200). It is realized in Khasi as follows:

b. [ya-no]

- (200) ya-no p<sup>h</sup>i-la-ya-kɪndu? ha-iyɛŋ-mane mɪnta-ka-sɲi  
 ACC/DAT-Q 2PLCL-PERF- -meet LOC-home-worship today  
**Gloss:** Whom did you meet in the church today?

In the above structure one finds that the particle [ma] of the interrogative pronoun ‘who’ is replaced by the ACC/DAT marker [ya]. When the pronoun is reduplicated in a distributive sense, the shape of the pronoun is:

c. [ya-no-ya-no] as in (201):

- (201) ya-no-ya-no ba p<sup>h</sup>i-ya- ha-iyɛŋ-mane mɪnta-ka-  
 kɪndu? sɲi  
 ACC/DAT-Q- RP 2PLCL- -meet LOC-home- today  
 ACC/DAT-Q worship  
**Gloss:** Whom all did you meet in the church today?

The use of the RP [ba] after the interrogative pronoun is inconclusive due to lack of more data. Another form used for ‘whom’, when it comes as an object of a preposition is [ɲɔŋ-nu] where [ɲɔŋ] is the GENITIVE case marker. This form is preceded by a preposition, as in the following structure, where [ʃap<sup>h</sup>ʌŋ] ‘about’ is the preposition:

d. [ʃap<sup>h</sup>ʌŋ-ɲɔŋ-nu] as in (202):

- (202) ʃap<sup>h</sup>ʌŋ ɲɔŋ-nu p<sup>h</sup>i-ya-kɾɛŋ.  
 about GEN-Q 2PLCL- -speak  
**Gloss:** Whom are you talking about? (lit: Of whom are you talking?)

### WHAT:

The interrogative pronoun ‘*what*’ which seeks an explanation regarding the THEME is realized by two different forms in Khasi. One of them makes use of pronominal clitic and the other does not.

The distribution of these two forms is similar to that of the two forms of ‘who’. The non-compositional form is used with lexical verbs. The structure of this form exemplified in (203) is as follows:

e. [ayu]

- (203)    **jia**        **ayu**    ha-ka-ta                    ka-p<sup>h</sup>lim  
           happen    what    LOC-3FSGCL-DISTDEM    3FSGCL-movie  
**Gloss:**    What happens in the movie?

When reduplicated for a distributive sense, the interrogative pronoun undergoes a complete reduplication to give [a-yu-a-yu] as in (204):

- (204)    u-bam            **ayu-ayu**  
           3MSGCL-eat    what-what  
**Gloss:**    ‘What all did he eat?’

The form that has a PROCLITIC in it and used with copular verbs is as follows:

f. [PROCLITIC-ei] as in (205):

- (205)    **ka-ei**        ka-kirtɛŋ        ɟəŋ-u.  
           3FSGCL-Q    3FSGCL-name    GEN-3MSGCL  
**Gloss:**    What is his name?

In the above form, the PROCLITIC can be any of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitics. The form of this questions is similar to that of the interrogative pronoun ‘who’ when used with copular verbs. An important distinction between ‘who’ and ‘what’ in Khasi is that while for ‘who’ the interrogative pronoun moves to the sentence-initial position, for ‘what’ the question can also be formed by keeping the interrogative pronoun in-situ. Another difference between the ‘who’ and the ‘what’ forms is that while the ‘who’ forms come along with the RP [ba], the ‘what’ forms do not come with them.

Barring a few sentences, the prototypical position of the two forms of the interrogative pronoun ‘what’ is almost fixed. While [ayu] as in (203) generally does

not appear sentence-initially, the [PROCLITIC-ei] form as in (205) appears only sentence-initially. In a passive construction as in (206), the PROCLITIC of the [PROCLITIC-ei] form is replaced by the AGENTIVE marker [da] to give the following form:

g. [da-ei]

- (206)    **da-ei**    ya-ka-    la-kem    m̄nh̄nn̄n̄n̄    nap̄ka-    da-ka-  
                      k<sup>h</sup>ənai    t<sup>h</sup>lieu         miyau.  
AGENT-    ACC-            PASS-    yesterday    inside-       AGENT-  
Q        3FSGCL-rat    catch                                  3FSGCL-hole    3FSGCL-cat  
**Gloss:**    By what the rat was caught in the hole yesterday was the cat.

### WHICH:

The interrogative pronoun '*which*' which picks up an entity from a pre-defined set has a predominant form corresponding to the following structure:

h. [PROCLITIC-no/nu] as in (207):

- (207)    **ka-no**        pitar.  
                  3FSGCL-Q    Peter  
**Gloss:**    Which ones Peter?

Since the gender/number details of the set is a given with '*which*', the PROCLITIC can take any of the four 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal clitics, governed by the gender/number of the nominal set.

On being reduplicated for a distributive sense, the PROCLITIC chosen is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural [ki-], giving the following form:

i. [PROCLITIC-no/nu-PROCLITIC-no/nu] as in (208):

- (208)    **ki-no-ki-no**        ki-p<sup>h</sup>lim        ba        p<sup>h</sup>i-la-yōʔi  
                  3PLCL-Q-3PLCL-Q    3PLCL-movie    RP        2PLCL-PERF-see

**Gloss:** Which all movies have you seen?

The [PROCLITIC-no/nu] complex can be preceded by any of the case markers (oblique or grammatical) according to the context, giving rise to the following forms:

j. [ya-PROCLITIC-no/nu]

k. [na-PROCLITIC-no/nu]

l. [ha-PROCLITIC-no/nu]

m. [da-PROCLITIC-no/nu]

In the above forms [ya] is the ACC/DAT case marker, [na] is the ABLATIVE case marker, [ha] is the LOCATIVE case marker and [da] is the AGENTIVE marker. (209-210) exemplify the (n) and the (o) forms.

(209) **ya-ka-nu**      **ba**      **p<sup>hi</sup>-kren.**  
ACC-3FSGCL-Q    RP      2PLCL-talk

**Gloss:** Which one are you talking about?

(210) **na-ka-nu**      **ka-binta**                      **ɟɔŋ-ka-baibl**      **ba**      **ŋan-pule.**  
ABL-3FSGCL-    3FSGCL-                      GEN-3FSGCL-      RP      1SG+FUT-  
Q                      part/portion                      Bible                      read

**Gloss:** Which portion of the Bible should I read?

The particle [ba] appears in all these constructions. However since the subject of the subordinate clause headed by the RP is different from the subject of the main clause this [ba] is not preceded by any proclitic and is not followed immediately by the verb, but by the PROCLITIC of the subordinate clause verb.

### **WHOSE:**

The interrogative pronoun '*whose*' exemplified in (211) that seeks an explanation regarding the possessor of a nominal or the NP, comes at the position where the possessor generally comes in Khasi sentences, that is after the possessed nominal. The



interrogative pronoun uses no PROCLITIC but uses [ɟɔŋ], the GENITIVE case marker and has the following shape:

n. [ɟɔŋ-nu]

(211) ka-ɟiŋdro            ɟɔŋ-nu    ka-ni.  
           3FSGCL-painting    GEN-Q    3FSGCL-PROXDEM

**Gloss:** Whose painting is this?

A very important distinction between Pnar and Khasi is observable here in the placement of the interrogative pronoun for ‘whose’. The [PROCLITIC-ɟɔŋ] complex in Pnar as exemplified in (100) precedes the possessed nominal while the [ɟɔŋ-nu] complex as in (211) follows the possessed nominal. Interestingly however both in Pnar and Khasi the GENITIVE can only follow the possessed nominal.

The other wh-words which are not considered to be pronouns do not have a compositional form and do not involve the use of any proclitics. They have lexically available as well as derived forms and are listed below:

- o. *Why*: [balei]
- p. *How*: [kumno]; [ha-ka-no-ka-rukɔm]
- q. *When*: [lano]; [mɪnno]
- r. *Where*: [ʃano]; [haŋno]; [na-ei]

The examples from (212-215) exemplify one form each of the above wh-words:

(212) rut<sup>h</sup>,    balei    p<sup>h</sup>im-ya-t<sup>h</sup>o?                    ya-u.  
           Ruth    why    2PLCL+NEG-RECIPRO-tell    DAT-3MSG

**Gloss:** Ruth, why don’t you tell him?

(213)    kumno    ɲin-poi                    haŋta.  
           how        1PLCL+FUT-reach    there

**Gloss:** How will we reach there?

(214)    lano    p<sup>h</sup>in-wan                    p<sup>h</sup>ai-biaŋ.  
           when    2PLCL+FUT-come    turn-back

**Gloss:** When will you come back?

(215) **həŋno**    **ŋa-dei**                      **ban-buʔ**                      **ya-ki-klat.**  
          where    1SGCL-MOD:OBLIG    INF-put/keep                      ACC-3PLCL-glass

**Gloss:** Where shall I put the glasses?

### 3.8.2. Polar questions

The formation of polar questions is a very distinguishing syntactic feature between Pnar and Khasi. The complexity of forming polar questions in Pnar using the VSO structure for lexical, auxiliary and modal verbs which make sit look like a case of subject-verb inversion (discussed in 2.8.2), is totally absent in Khasi.

Khasi employs a question word [hatɔʔ] in the sentence-initial position for all type of polar questions as in (216). The question word is followed by the assertive sentence without any interaction with proclitics.

(216) **ʃɔn,**    **hatɔʔ**    **ŋin-leit**                      **da-ka-kali**                      **ʃɔŋ-u**  
          John    Q            1PLCL+FUT-go    INSTR-3MSGCL-car    GEN-3MSGCL

**Gloss:** Are we going by your car John?

Polar questions involving modals have the same structure as the assertive modal sentence, with intonation playing its role.

### 3.9. Pronominal clitics and Tense and Aspect markers

Khasi maintains a realis-irrealis distinction in its tense system. While it has specific irrealis markers, the realis is generally unmarked. Tense distinctions within the realis is marked using the perfect aspect marker [la] as in (135) and by using temporal adverbs as in (132). In the use of the perfect aspect for past tense, the speakers of Khasi are more consistent than the Pnar speakers, giving [la] almost the status of the past tense morph.

In the realis, the verb is preceded by a proclitic that agrees in number/gender with the subject nominal which also appears with the same proclitic. Pronominal subjects are dropped. When aspectual markers are used, the proclitic precedes them as in (129).

In the future, Khasi has two particles [-n] and [sa] as in (138). The particle [-n] fuses with the proclitic on the verb and marks the beginning of the VP. These forms like [p<sup>h</sup>in] are followed by the other future particle [sa]. However the particle [sa] is not used always in all future constructions as in (141). The verb follows this [PROCLITIC+n-sa] complex. In all the tenses, the object can appear as fully specified [ya-PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] or when inanimate as [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] or get incorporated into the VP and come after the verb.

The interaction of tense with the copular verbs is the same as with lexical verbs, unlike Pnar where one sees a lot of variation. Thus the copular verb may be preceded by the perfect aspect marker, and these may be preceded by a proclitic as in (217) or the copular verb can be preceded by the future tense particles. Since copular verbs do not assign case, the complement nominal comes with its proclitic but is not marked with the ACC/DAT marker.

- (217)    u-la-ləŋ                    u-nəŋ-hikai  
           3MSGCL-PERF-BE    3MSGCL-NOM-teach

**Gloss:** He was a teacher.

Khasi marks various aspects morphologically like the PERFECT aspect with [la] as in (135), COMPLETIVE aspect with [la-dəp], HABITUAL aspect with [ju] as in (171) and PROGRESSIVE aspect with [daŋ] as in (129). These are prefixed to the main verb. The proclitic appears prefixed to these aspectual morphemes. Pronominal subjects are dropped. Tense and aspect markers are generally mutually exclusive.

### 3.10. Pronominal clitics and the syntax of Modal verbs

Khasi makes use of three particles as modals [laʔ] as in (194), [dei] as in (169) and [hap] as in (191). Their syntactic properties are similar to one another unlike Pnar



the relative clause modifies as in (130, 155, 190, among others). When the clause following the RP has its own subject, which is different from the subject of the main clause, the RP is not preceded by any proclitic, rather the RP is followed by the subject nominal of the embedded clause and the verb is preceded by the proclitic of this nominal (see 159, 208, 209 and 210). The RP is homophonous with the COMPLEMENTIZER (see 139, 149 and 235 among others) in Khasi. However the COMP [ba] never comes along with a proclitic while the RP appears with or without proclitics under the conditions discussed above.

Most adjectives being derived in Khasi from verbs, the RP is prefixed to the verb and the [RP-VERB] complex is preceded by a proclitic agreeing in gender/number with the modified nominal. This [PROCLITIC-RP-VERB] complex that acts as the adjective follows the modified nominal as in (130, 159). However, while this is the predominant way of modification using adjectives, one does encounter adjectives that have the shape [RP-VERB] as in (219) or just the [ADJECTIVE] as in (220) without any proclitics. Colour terms usually drop both the RP and the proclitic; so do some adjectives which are inherently underived in the language like size terms ‘small’, ‘large’ etc.

- (219) u-don          u-briyəu          ba-p<sup>h</sup>illa    ha-k<sup>h</sup>per  
          3MSGCL-be   3MSGCL-person   RP-strange   LOC-garden

**Gloss:** There is a strange man in the garden.

- (220) barɔʔ   ki-məu      pɪllun   ki-la-ʃaʔ-toʔ.  
          every   3plcl-stone   round   3plcl-pst-pass-steal

**Gloss:** Every round stone was stolen.

While one does encounter the adjective in these three forms, namely, with both the RP and the proclitic; with the RP but without the proclitic; and without both the RP and the proclitic, such a variation is possible only when the adjective is used in an attributive function. In its predicative function, adjectives have only one form in which they appear. All adjectives, irrespective of whether they are colour terms, size and shape terms, derived or underived appear in the form [PROCLITIC-RP-VERB/ADJECTIVE] in the predicative function as in (221). Copular verbs however may be dropped from these predicative structures.



- (223) ka-dei ka-ni ka-ju ka-kali ka-ba u- u-ləŋ  
 stiəriŋ  
 3FSGCL- 3FSGCL- 3FSGCL- 3FSGCL- 3FSGCL- 3MSGCL- 3MSGCL-  
 be PROXDEM same car RP steering be  
 kum ka-handle jəŋ-ka-baik  
 like 3FSGCL-handle GEN-3FSGCL-bike  
**Gloss:** This is the same car whose steering looked like the handle of a motorbike.

In relative clauses beginning with ‘which/that’ when the subject of the relative clause is same as the modified nominal, then the relative pronoun has a proclitic on itself that agrees with the modified nominal and the relative pronoun is followed by the verb (which can be an aspectually marked one or a causativized one), which forms one morphological word with the relative pronoun as in (224):

- (224) ka-tupiya ka-ba-la-wa? ha-u-prek ka-la-hap  
 3FSGCL-cap 3FSGCL-RP-PERF-hang LOC-3MSGCL-nail 3FSGCL-PERF-fall  
**Gloss:** The cap which was hung on the nail, fell

In relative clauses beginning with ‘which/that’ when the relative clause has a subject which is different from the modified nominal, then the RP has no proclitic on itself, and is followed by the subject nominal of the relative clause followed by the verb of the relative clause which has a proclitic on itself that agrees with the subject nominal of the relative clause as in (225). In case of relative clauses with pronominal subjects, the subject is dropped, and the RP is followed by a verb marked with a proclitic. The verb within the relative clause may have no proclitic, if the structure followed is VSO as discussed later. This structure is similar to the structure with ‘whom’, but the difference is very prominent, that is the RP is not marked with any proclitic.

- (225) ai ya-ka-sita ka-kot ba u-ram u-ai ya-p<sup>hi</sup>.  
 give DAT-3FSGCL- 3FSGCL- RP 3MSGCL- 3MSGCL- DAT-  
 Sita book Ram give 2PL  
**Gloss:** Give Sita a book which Ram gave you.

In case of relative clauses containing copular verbs as in (226), the copular verb is not dropped and acts as the base to which the RP is prefixed. The [RP-COPULAR VERB] complex is preceded by a proclitic which agrees with the modified nominal.

- (226) ka-sita      ka-ba-lɔŋ      ka-no:s      ki-daŋ-bam-sɔʔ-pieŋ.  
 3FSGCL-Sita   3FSGCL-RP-be   3FSGCL-nurse   3PLCL-PROG-eat-fruit-mango  
**Gloss:** Sita who is a nurse is eating a mango.

Relative clauses and adjectives are the only nominal modifiers that follow the modified nominal.

Other modifiers like the numeral ‘one’ [wei] carry a proclitic agreeing in gender/number with the modified nominal. The numeral precedes the modified nominal as in (145). Numerals which are higher than ‘one’, come with the non-human or human classifier [tɪlli] or [ŋut] respectively and have no proclitics on them.

Quantifiers also precede the nominals they modify. Universal quantifiers have lexically available forms as in (189). They also have derived forms, which are derived by a process of reduplication. The forms that are reduplicated generally have proclitics in them which are also reduplicated as in (186-188). These proclitics agree with the modified nominals. Derived indefinites generally have proclitics in them as in (171, 178, 185). Many indefinites in Khasi use particles other than proclitics along with the bases they share with the interrogatives.

Demonstratives precede the nominal they modify as in (153-54) and are marked with proclitics that agree with the modified nominal.

### 3.12. Pronominal clitics and Verbal modifiers

Unlike Pnar, it is very difficult to say if a particular adverb comes within the VP or not in Khasi. Most adverbs are post-verbal and hence do not interact with the proclitics which begin the VP. However, one can distinguish adverbs that are free morphemes and others which are bound ones. Bound adverbs include ‘only/just’ [ʃu] as in (161) and ‘well/very’ [b<sup>h</sup>a] as in (197, 218). While the former is generally pre-verbal, the latter is post-verbal, but both occur within the complex structure of the verb, because of their bound nature. The pre-verbal adverb comes after the proclitic has begun the VP as in (227), but in structures involving modals, as in (161) is preceded by the INF. ‘Only’ is also lexically represented using [taŋ] but this form of



the adverb does not occur within the complex structure of the verb. By complex structure we mean, one word, which has many bound morphemes.

- (227) u-ɟɔn            u-ʃu-jaʔ-kɪnsan  
           3MSGCL-John 3MSGCL-just-disappear-suddenly

**Gloss:** John just suddenly disappeared

Temporal adverbs like ‘yesterday’, ‘today’ etc as in (143) appear post-verbally and can be separated from the verb by nominals and hence must be considered to be not part of the complex verb. However other manner adverbs like ‘suddenly’, ‘slowly’ etc occur right next to the verb post-verbally and can be part of the complex verb as in (227).

### 3.13. Pronominal clitics in Causative structures

Causation is a morphological process in Khasi. The morph [pɪn] is used as the causative morpheme. The causative is prefixed to the verb to derive the causativized verb. The VP begins with a proclitic as in (228). The proclitic agrees with the gender/number specifications of the nominal that is introduced as an additional argument as a result of this valence-increasing operation.

- (228) u-ɟɔn            u-pɪn-yap            ya-u-pitar  
           3MSGCL-John 3MSGCL-CAUS-die ACC-3MSGCL-Peter

**Gloss:** John killed Peter

With the causativization of transitive verbs, the nominal that was the subject of the underived verb becomes the syntactic object and is marked with the ACC/DAT marker and is followed by the nominal with its proclitic. Inanimate object nominals are generally specified only with their proclitic and do not take the ACC/DAT marker. Another strategy that Khasi shares with Pnar in these structures is the incorporation of the inanimate object into the VP, whereby it is stripped of its proclitic as in (229). The pronominal subjects are dropped.

- (229) u-kpa            u-pɪn-bam-sɔʔ            ya-u-k<sup>h</sup>innaʔ  
           3MSGCL-father 3MSGCL-CAUS-eat-fruit ACC/DAT-3MSGCL-child

**Gloss:** The father fed the boy fruits.

Causativization of ditransitive verbs is achieved analytically using the verb [p<sup>h</sup>aʔ] meaning ‘send’, ‘order’ etc. The proclitic agreeing with the newly introduced argument in the subject position is prefixed to this verb. The proclitic marked verb is followed by the subject of the non-causativized ditransitive verb introduced with the ACC/DAT marker. This is followed by the ditransitive verb, which is rendered non-finite using the INF [ban]. The other two arguments follow the [ban] marked verb - the inanimate object can be either incorporated into this verb or appear without the ACC/DAT marker, while the animate object appears with the ACC/DAT marker. The restriction on the use of the ACC/DAT marker [ya] twice is restricted to the internal arguments of the same verb.

(230)	u-pitar	u-p <sup>h</sup> aʔ	ya-u-ʒɔn	ban-ai	ka-kɔt	ya-ka-meri
	3MSGCL-	3MSGCL-	ACC/DAT-	INF-give	3FSGCL-	ACC/DAT-
	Peter	order	3MSGCL-		book	3FSGCL-
			John			Mary

**Gloss:** Peter made John give a book to Mary.

In the future tense, not only is the proclitic fused with the future tense particle [-n], another particle [sa] also precedes the verb. So in causative constructions, the [pɪn-V] is preceded by the proclitic fused with [-n], followed by [sa]. The structure of a causative sentence is not always formed by the strategy that Nagaraja (1993:5) talks about, namely, by putting a causative prefix on the verb 'to be' and putting an infinitive marker before the main verb, though an infinitival construction is attested in (230).

### 3.14. Pronominal clitics in Passive structures

The passive morpheme in Khasi has two allomorphs, [la] which is homophonous to the perfect aspect marker, and [ʃaʔ]. The passive morph [la] differs on a very significant point with the perfect aspect marker, that is, while the aspect marker is preceded compulsorily by a proclitic, the passive form does not allow the VP to have any proclitics as in (206) which is not a general restriction on passive structures as the other allomorph [ʃaʔ] comes with proclitics as in (220). Interestingly as (220) shows

this allomorph can even be preceded by the perfect aspect marker [la]. The obliquely marked object is introduced by the agentive marker [da].

With [la] as the passive morph, the object which is promoted to the subject position moves along with its ACC/DAT marker as in (206). The two homophonous forms, the passive allomorph and the aspect marker never appear together in any construction, which makes it a possibility that both the homophonous forms are one and the same. Past tense which is marked morphologically in Khasi with the perfect aspect marker can not be marked morphologically in passive constructions. A very interesting phenomenon that has been observed is with the passivization of verbs in the future tense. This applies for causativized verbs also. The future tense is marked on the proclitic with the particle [-n] and also by an additional particle [sa], giving rise to forms like [un-sa-V]. The proclitic is retained even in the passive voice. The passive morphology which forces its verbs to drop the proclitics in the present and the past, behaves differently in the future. In the future, the VP remains the same for the active and passive structures as in (231) and (232). The object is promoted to the subject position along with the ACC/DAT marker and is followed by the proclitic marked VP, but the proclitic does not agree with the promoted subject, but with the subject of the active structure. The subject which becomes the object is marked with the agentive [da] or [ha].

- (231)    u-pitar            un-sa-peit            ya-ka-kot  
           3MSGCL-Peter    3MSGCL+FUT-FUT-see    ACC/DAT-3FSGCL-book  
**Gloss:** Peter will see the book.

- (232)    ya-ka-kot            un-sa-peit            da-u-pitar  
           ACC/DAT-3FSGCL-    3MSGCL+FUT-FUT-    AGENT-3MSGCL-  
           book                    see                    Peter  
**Gloss:** The book will be seen by Peter.

When a causativized verb is passivized, the causative morpheme appears closer to the verb than the passive morpheme. This is predictable, as the morph standing for the operation that occurred first appears closer to the verb, as Baker's Mirror Principle (Baker, 1985) attests. The passive morph [la] which is homophonous with the perfect

aspect marker is prefixed to the [CAUS-VERB] complex. Passive constructions in Khasi involving this particular allomorph of the passive, do not take proclitics on the VP, and hence the passive of the causativized structure has no proclitic.

### 3.15. Pronominal clitics in Negative sentences

Negation in Khasi is a complex process of interaction of various syntactic and morphological processes. The negative particle [ɪm] sometimes attaches directly to the verbs and at other times triggers various morpho-syntactic processes dependent on verbal inflectional features like tense, aspect, mood, passivization etc. Negation within relative clauses also interacts in interesting ways with the RP. The interaction of the negative particle with the proclitics in Khasi presents a very interesting phenomenon.

In the present tense, the negative particle fuses with the proclitics on the verb as in (212), giving rise to the following forms with the various proclitics:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[ŋam]	[ŋim]	[mem]	[p <sup>h</sup> am]	[p <sup>h</sup> im]	[um]	[kam]	[im]	[kim]

The proclitic fused with the negative particle precedes the verb. Unlike Pnar, Khasi makes no distinction between the negation of lexical verbs and that of copular verbs. The negation in Khasi also does not require an ‘auxiliary support’ as does the negation in Pnar. The negative particle in Khasi attaches to the proclitic which does not happen in Pnar. The only instances of the negation not getting fused with the proclitics are when the proclitics themselves are not used or are not available as in the future. Another significant difference between Khasi and Pnar is that the negation does not mark the main verb with the INF in Khasi, while it does so in Pnar. The tense/aspect-wise distinction of negation in Khasi is not found in Pnar.

In the future tense since the future tense marker [-n] itself gets fused with the proclitics, giving rise to forms like [ŋan] [kin] etc, the negative particle which needs a host appears in the form [nɪm] as in (233) and follows the [PROCLITIC+FUTURE]



negation is preceded by a proclitic that agrees with the modified nominal. It should be noted that the interaction of proclitics with the RP is not affected by the presence of a fused negation on it, and the presence or absence of proclitics is as per the pattern that has been discussed earlier.

(236)	ŋa-	ya-ki-p <sup>h</sup> lim	ki-bɪm-ju-don	ɟiŋ-hurihura.
	itɪnnad			
	1SGCL-like	ACC-3PLCL-	3PLCL-RP+NEG-HAB-	ABS NOUN-
		movie	have	violence

**Gloss:** I like the film that has no violence.

Interrogative structures that have negation also have their own unique interaction with the negative particles. In structures that have the RP [ba] as part of the interrogative pronoun like ‘who’, that is [mano ba-V], when the verb is negated, interestingly unlike Pnar, it is not attached to the verb, but to the RP, giving rise to [bɪm], which is then followed by the verb to close the VP. Neither the main verb, nor the RP is marked with any proclitics as in (197). While this is the case with interrogative pronouns, in polar questions that begin with the question word [hatɔ], the rest of the sentence, just as in affirmative polar questions, remains the same, that is the rules of negation that interact with tense, aspect, mood retain their properties.

Prohibitory negation which is marked using [wat] actually appears as a complex. [wat] is followed by the negative particle [nɪm] which appears in the future and is then followed by the verb. There are no proclitics used in these structures.

### 3.16. Pronominal clitics and the syntax of Copular verbs

Khasi has three copular verbs: [lɔŋ] ‘be’, [dei] ‘be/belong’ and [don] ‘have/be’. ‘Existential constructions’ make use of [don]. The copular verb is preceded by a proclitic that agrees in number/gender with the complement of the copular verb. The copular verb marked with the proclitic begins the sentence as in (219).

‘Classificatory constructions’ make use of [dei]. The copular verb is preceded by a proclitic which agrees in number/gender with the subject nominal that precedes the proclitic marked verb as in (237).

(237) u-ɟɔn            u-dei            u-nɔŋ-hikai  
           3MSGCL-John 3MSGCL-be 3MSGCL-NOM-teach

**Gloss:** John is a teacher.

‘Equative constructions’ have a similar pattern as classificatory constructions and make use of the same copular verb as in (146). ‘Locative constructions’ make use of [don]. The copular verb has a proclitic which agrees in number/gender with the subject preceding the verb as in (156). ‘Possessive constructions’ make use of [dei]. This copular verb is generally dropped in these constructions as in (153). However when the copular verb is used, the sentence has a similar structure as the classificatory and equative constructions and has a proclitic also as in (166). ‘Descriptive constructions’ make use of [lɔŋ]. This copular verb is preceded by a proclitic that agrees in number/gender with the subject nominal preceding the verb as in (180).

Copular verbs used in questions are not always dropped. The form [lɔŋ] which is used with ‘who’, ‘what’ etc is generally dropped as in (199), while the other two forms as in (159) are never dropped in interrogative sentences and are marked with a proclitic in those structures.

### 3.17. Pronominal clitics and Nominal incorporation

Structures like [t<sup>h</sup>iəd-sɔʔpiɛŋ] ‘buy mangoes’, [t<sup>h</sup>iəd-kɔt] ‘buy books’ (Nagaraja, 1985: 64); [bam-dɔʔk<sup>h</sup>a] ‘eat fishes’; [yɔʔi-ksau] ‘see dogs’ in Khasi have not received the attention they deserve. In a Khasi prototypical VP, consisting of a verb and its object complement, the verb has a pronominal clitic agreeing with the subject nominal/pronominal, and the object nominal is optionally marked with the accusative/dative marker [ya], but obligatorily specified by a proclitic as in (129).

The structures listed above are interesting because they involve the juxtaposition of a verb with its object complement, but the object nominal does not carry its proclitic which is generally obligatory. The absent ACC/DAT marker can be optionally dropped in Khasi otherwise also. Rabel (1961: 128-29) draws a long list of permissible omissions in Khasi but does not list these constructions; neither do these constructions find any place in her list of what may constitute a complete verbal construction (133), though the narrations recorded in the text do have structures like [ai-dawai] ‘give medicine’ (186); [siaʔ-p<sup>h</sup>an] ‘peel potato’ (208). Nagaraja (1985: 64) lists these structures where compounding in Khasi is discussed, and they are listed as ‘verb-noun’ compounds. In the detailed exposition on what a verb phrase may consist of in Rabel (1961: 29-38), these structures find no mention; nor are these structures discussed as part of the discussion on what clauses are built up of (87-98).

Are these structures compounds? Are these structures formed as a result of a morphological operation? My position is that they are not compounds and hence more significantly that these structures are not the products of some morphological operation. These are formed by a syntactic operation, namely Nominal Incorporation. The evidence for this argument comes from similar structures in Pnar. Pnar significantly differs from Khasi in that while Khasi VPs begin with a proclitic, Pnar VPs end with an enclitic. The significance of this distinction between the two languages is that a lot of verbal operations are rendered transparent. In Khasi since the proclitic lies at the beginning of the VP, the verb is separated from its object complement only by markers on the object nominal itself (namely the ACC/DAT marker and the nominal’s proclitic) and one can not decipher clearly if the verb-noun structure is one where the verb and the noun are just placed next to each other, or if the noun has somehow moved inside the VP. The enclitic on the VP in Pnar solves this problem for us. In a prototypical Pnar structure as in (1), the VP ends with an enclitic to be followed by the object nominal marked with an optional ACC/DAT marker [ya] but an obligatory proclitic. So when the verb-noun structures are formed in Pnar, the nominal is placed next to the verb to be followed by the enclitic that closes the VP as in (123). The object nominal has clearly then become part of the VP. Object nominal incorporation into the VP, has to be looked upon then as a syntactic



operation.

The phenomenon of Nominal Incorporation (see section 2.17 for a discussion on the theoretical positions regarding nominal incorporation) into the VP has not been given due consideration in the literature on Khasi. One of the probable reasons for this is that unlike Pnar, where the enclitic on the VP clearly shows the incorporated nominal to be inside the VP, the presence of proclitics on the VP in Khasi, makes it difficult to say if the nominal appearing right next to the verb has been incorporated or not. However one can reach a position by comparing the two languages. Both languages have a similar structure with incorporated nominals, that is, the object nominal is stripped of its ACC/DAT marker as well as its proclitic and comes next to the verb as in (5, 10, 12, 20, 46, 60, 66, 105, 107, 119, 123, 125) in Pnar and as in (132, 137, 160, 168, 184, 188, 190, 226, 229, 233-34) in Khasi. The difference of enclitic and proclitic is the only one between the two languages as far as nominal incorporation is concerned. Examples (238-239) show the object nominal ‘movie’ in its fully specified form, with the ACC/DAT marker, followed by a proclitic on the nominal, while (240) shows the object nominal in its incorporated form.

(238)	ɲi-la-peit	ya-ka-p <sup>h</sup> lim	ha-iyɛŋ-baiskɔp
	1PLCL-PERF- watch	ACC/DAT-3FSGCL- movie	LOC-house- movie

**Gloss:** We watched the movie at the theatre.

(239)	ɲi-la-peit	ya-ki-p <sup>h</sup> lim	ha-iyɛŋ-baiskɔp
	1PLCL-PERF- watch	ACC/DAT-3PLCL- movie	LOC-house- movie

**Gloss:** We watched the movies at the theatre.

(240)	ɲi-la-peit-p <sup>h</sup> lim	ha-iyɛŋ-baiskɔp
	1PLCL-PERF-watch- movie	LOC-house- movie

**Gloss:** We watched movies at the theatre.

Examples (129) and (190, 226, 233-34) show the same nominal in its fully specified form and in its incorporated form inside the verb phrase respectively. Here it neither is specified by any case marker, nor does it carry its proclitic into the verb.

As far as all the restrictions on incorporation are concerned, it is out of the scope of this dissertation. However a point may be noted in passing that the incorporated structures do not always have the same meaning as their non-incorporated counterparts. While (239) and (240) are closely related structures with plural object nominals, the structure (239) can be used to give a reading of many entities but a specific set of entities, where as (240) can never be used to a give a specific reading, and that is the reason why (238) can never be represented by an incorporated structure.

Interestingly incorporation of subject and object elements has been discussed as a significant feature of Munda languages (Zide. 1997; Abbi, 2001). Typologically, these structures in two Mon-Khmer languages probably also suggest incorporation as a remnant of proto-Austro-Asiatic feature.

### **3.18. Pronominal clitics in Reduplicated structures**

Nagaraja (1984) notes the importance of reduplication in Khasi and considers it to be a very productive morphological process. He identifies the presence of three structural types of reduplication in Khasi -- simple or pure reduplication; reduplication with prefixation and reduplication with internal change. He notes that among the word classes, the nominals and adjectives are rarely reduplicated. Reduplication is hence limited to adverbs, verbs, intensifiers, indefinites and interrogatives. These grammatical forms are briefly discussed below in terms of their interaction with pronominal clitics.

Reduplicated verbs carry out the function of marking various aspects like iterativity, simultaneity and continuity (for details see Abbi 1992, 2001). The reduplicated verb is separated by an empty particle [-fi-], which is referred to here as the EMPTY PARTICLE IN DISCONTINUOUS REDUPLICATION or EPTDR. In case of non-finite verb reduplication the reduplicated verbs separated by the EPTDR is preceded by the INF [ban]. The complex is not preceded by any proclitic as in (241):

(241) ka-la-t<sup>h</sup>ait            ban-leit-fi-leit            ʃa-ʃillɔŋ

3FSGCL-PERF-tire INF-go- EPTDR -go ALL-Shillong

**Gloss:** She is tired of going again and again to Shillong

Manner adverbs created by non-finite verb reduplication do not have any proclitics or INF before the verb complex, and follow the proclitic marked main verb as in (242):

(242) ka-meri ka-ɔŋ rk<sup>h</sup>ie-fi-rk<sup>h</sup>ie  
 3FSGCL-Mary 3FSGCL-say laugh- EPTDR -laugh

**Gloss:** Mary said this laughingly

Main verb reduplication has the reduplicated verb complex being preceded by a proclitic which agrees in gender/number with the subject nominal. This same pattern is observed with finite verbs in dependent clauses. In these cases, the finite verb in the dependent clause and the finite verb in the main clause can have the same proclitic. Finite verb reduplication which is used to mark continuity and iterativity is preceded by a particle [yai] marking continuity of action. This particle is preceded by the proclitic which begins the VP as in (243):

(243) ka-yai-pule-fi-pule  
 3FSGCL-continuous-read- EPTDR -read

**Gloss:** She kept on reading books.

When interrogative pronouns are reduplicated, it follows a pattern of complete reduplication. The ones containing proclitics as (208) when reduplicated also reduplicate the proclitics (see section 3.8 for details).

Reduplicated adjectives generally involve lexical adjectives, introduced by the RP [ba] and carry the proclitic which agrees with the number/gender of the modified nominal. The [RP-ADJECTIVE] complex is reduplicated and the reduplicated complex is preceded by the proclitic which is used only once as in (244), unlike the quantifiers and interrogative pronouns which also reduplicate the proclitics. The reduplication of adjectives as noted also by Nagaraja (1984) marks intensity.

(244) wan-ra? ki-sɔʔ-pieŋ ki-ba-t<sup>h</sup>iaŋ-ba-t<sup>h</sup>iaŋ  
 come-carry 3PLCL-fruit-mango 3PLCL-RP-sweet-RP-sweet

**Gloss:** Bring sweet sweet mangoes.

The reduplication of proclitics in indefinites and universal quantifiers formed by reduplication has already been dealt in detail in section 3.6. Reduplication of indefinites and interrogatives has also been discussed by Rabel (1961).

### 3.19. Pronominal clitics in VSO structures

The VSO structure in Khasi is not similar to the VSO in Pnar, where the enclitic subject agreement marker is replaced by the subject itself.

With pronominals, the VSO structure becomes an emphatic sentence, with the emphatic particle prefixed to the pronominal as in (245):

- (245) leit ma-p<sup>hi</sup> bad sa-wan.  
           go EMPH-2PL conj FUT-come

**Gloss:** You guys go and come.

With nominal subjects in the VSO structure, the verb does not have any proclitics attached to it when the VSO structure is used as an answer to some question. Instead the bare verb is followed by the subject nominal in its [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] shape as in (246):

- (246) yɔʔi-u-ɟɔn           ya-ka-kɔt  
           see-3MSGCL-John ACC/DAT-3FSGCI -book

**Gloss:** John saw the book.

However as normal assertive sentences, the VSO represents no syntactic changes – except for the [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] subject that comes after the verb, which is preceded by a proclitic which agrees in number/gender with the post-verbal occurring nominal. In the VSO structure, the verb can be preceded by aspectual markers and/or causative morphemes. VSO structure is possible in the main clause or the dependent clause. The sentences (248-49) show the VSO structure in the main clause and dependent clause. (247) is the prototypical SVO structure of the same sentence in Khasi.

(247)	lada	u-pitar	u-ɬɔʔ	ya-u-ɟɔn,	un-sa-yam
	COND	3MSGCL-	3MSGCL-	ACC/DAT-3MSGCL-	3MSGCL+FUT-FUT-
		Peter	hit	John	cry

**Gloss:** If Peter hits John, he will cry.

(248)	lada	u-ɬɔʔ	u-pitar	ya-u-ɟɔn,	un-sa-yam
	COND	3MSGCL-	3MSGCL-	ACC/DAT-3MSGCL-	3MSGCL+FUT-FUT-
		hit	Peter	John	cry

**Gloss:** If Peter hits John, he will cry.

(249)	un-sa-yam	u-ɟɔn	lada	u-pitar	u-ɬɔʔ	ya-u
	3MSGCL+FUT-	3MSGCL-	COND	3MSGCL-	3MSGCL-	ACC/DAT-
	FUT-cry	John		Peter	hit	3MSG

**Gloss:** If Peter hits John, he will cry.

### 3.20. Conclusion

This chapter focused on describing the pronominal system of Khasi and analyzing it with respect to the pronominal clitics in the language. Not only did the analysis cover the phonological and morphological correspondence between the personal pronouns and the pronominal clitics, but also described the crucial role that pronominal clitics play in the derivation of various pronominal subtypes like relative, demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns. The syntactic analysis involving various construction types like negative, interrogative sentences and syntactic processes like nominal incorporation, passivization, reduplication etc was limited to the investigation of the role that pronominal clitics play in these constructions and hence may be limited in its description of the syntactic sub-type or process. The following chapter brings together various observations on Pnar and Khasi with respect to the pronominal clitics made in this and the preceding chapter for a comparative and contrastive analysis.

## Chapter - 04

### *Comparative and Contrastive analysis of pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi*

After providing a detailed exposition on pronominal clitics in their morphological and syntactic functions in Pnar and Khasi in the previous chapters, this chapter aims at bringing forth a typological comparison between the two languages with respect to their pronominal systems and pronominal clitics. An attempt has been made to bring together all those features which are similar in Pnar and Khasi with respect to the pronominals and pronominal clitics, as well as highlight the features in which these two languages differ from each other in the use of the pronominals/pronominal clitics. The comparison and contrast is presented in a tabular form for ease of reference.

<i>Personal pronouns</i>			
S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
1.	Pro-drop of subject pronominals	Yes	Yes
2.	Inclusive/exclusive distinction in 1 <sup>st</sup> person plural	No	No
3.	Gender distinction in 2 <sup>nd</sup> person pronominals	Yes	Yes. Khasi makes use of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> person plural form extensively and the use of the gender marked forms are considered impolite and rude in most contexts.
4.	2 <sup>nd</sup> person plural as honorific singular	Yes	Yes

5.	Gender distinguished 2 <sup>nd</sup> person plurals	No	No
6.	3 way distinction in the singular 3 <sup>rd</sup> person pronominals	Yes. Apart from the masculine and feminine pronominals in the third person, Pnar has a large set of nominals marked by the proclitic [i] and replaced by a pronominal of the same phonological shape in appropriate contexts.	Yes. The Khasi 3 <sup>rd</sup> person pronominal [i] is an epicene pronominal, used to mark nominals belonging to either masculine or feminine classes.
7.	3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural pronominal is gender- neutral	Yes	Yes
8.	Pronominals can come without the ACC/DAT marker [ya] in the object position	Yes. This happens mostly with inanimate objects and hence only in the context of 3 <sup>rd</sup> person.	Not generally.
9.	Interaction of pronominal clitics with personal pronouns in 'possessive case'	Yes. In the possessive case, the [possessive-pronominal] complex can be replaced by the enclitic.	No.
10.	Optionality of the possessive case marker	Yes	Yes

<i>Subject agreement</i>			
S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
11.	Subject agreement marker on the verb	Yes	Yes
12.	Subject agreement marked with an enclitic on the verb	Yes	No

13.	Subject agreement marked with a proclitic on the verb	No	Yes
-----	---	----	-----

<i>Proclitic/enclitic</i>			
S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
14.	Enclitic on the verb with pronominal subjects	Yes	No. Khasi does not have verbal enclitics. Instead the function of the verbal enclitic in Pnar is accomplished by a verbal proclitic in Khasi.
15.	The 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitic [i] is defined morphologically	Yes. Pnar has specific classes of nominals falling under this category.	No. It is defined more on pragmatic basis like intimacy, respect etc.
16.	The 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitic [i] on nominals marks intimacy, respect and diminutiveness.	Yes. In Pnar it marks these features, but these are not the defining features of this pronominal clitic.	Yes. In Khasi it marks only these features.
17.	All the personal pronouns are used as proclitics	No. Only the 3 <sup>rd</sup> person forms are used as proclitics. The enclitics of pronominals in the verb phrase have a different phonological shape from the personal pronouns.	Yes. All the personal pronouns are used as proclitics only in the verb phrase. Otherwise only the 3 <sup>rd</sup> person forms are used.



18.	The position of the pronominal clitic in the verb phrase	As an enclitic, it comes at the end of the verb phrase and thus marks the end of the VP.	As a proclitic, it comes at the beginning of the verb phrase and thus marks the beginning of the VP.
19.	Derived indefinites are marked with 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitics	Yes.	Yes. As in interrogatives, forms of indefinites marked with proclitics are quite less compared to Pnar.
20.	Universal quantifiers are marked with 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitics	Yes. The lexically available forms do not take any proclitics.	Yes. The lexically available forms do not take any proclitics.
21.	Numeral 'one' is marked with a 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitic	Yes	Yes
22.	Personal pronouns as an essential component of the reflexives	Yes	No. However a few forms with 3 <sup>rd</sup> person pronominals are attested.
23.	Proclitic of a modified nominal is copied unto all the modifiers, like adjectives, relative clauses, demonstratives, quantifiers, indefinites, and the numeral 'one'	Yes	Yes

*Nominals and pronominal clitics*

S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
-------	---------	------	-------

24.	All nominals are marked with a proclitic	Yes	Yes
25.	The nominals which are marked with the pronominal clitic [u] are masculine and those marked with the pronominal clitic [ka] are feminine	Yes.	Yes.
26.	Optionality of proclitics on nominals with case markers	Proclitics are not optional with accusative, dative and possessive case markers. With the locative, allative and ablative markers certain non-human nominals can be used with or without proclitics.	The situation is same as that of Pnar.

<i>Reciprocal pronouns</i>			
S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
27.	Reciprocal pronouns are marked with 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitics	Yes	Yes. Khasi makes use of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitic [i] like Pnar here, in a function very rare in Khasi.
28.	Different forms for the reciprocals 'one another' and 'each other'	No	Yes
29.	Use of generic numeral 'one' in reciprocals	Yes	Yes
30.	Discontinuous reduplication to form reciprocals	Yes	Yes
31.	Specific proclitics used	Yes	No

with actors of different genders in reciprocals	Pnar makes use of [i] only when the gender is not specified.	Khasi makes use of [i] with actors of different genders.
---	--	--

<i>Nominal modifiers and pronominal clitics</i>			
S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
32.	All adjectives are marked with 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitics	No.	No.
33.	Only derived adjectives are marked with 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitics	Yes	Yes
34.	All adjectives, irrespective of whether they are colour terms, size and shape terms, derived or underived always appear in their predicative function with the proclitic	Yes	Yes
35.	Colour terms do not take proclitics	Yes	Yes
36.	Numerals greater than one, do not come with any proclitics	Yes	Yes

<i>Demonstrative pronouns/deictic markers</i>			
S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
37.	Demonstratives are marked with 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitics	Yes	Yes
38.	Proclitics form an important constituent of demonstrative pronouns	Yes	Yes
39.	Number of distinctions made in the proximal deixis using demonstrative pronouns	One	One
40.	Number of distinctions made in the distal deixis using demonstrative pronouns	Four	Six
41.	The demonstrative pronouns can appear on their own in both the subject and object position with out any nominal following it.	Yes	Yes
42.	Compositional deictic spatial adverbs 'here' and 'there' include the deictic markers from the demonstratives	Yes	Yes
43.	Use of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitic [i] in the deictic spatial adverbs	Yes	No.

*Relative pronouns*

S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
44.	Relative pronouns in relative clauses are marked with 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitics	Yes. However, when the relative clause has a subject different from the subject of the main clause, the relative pronoun does not carry any proclitic.	Yes. The case is same as in Pnar with identical subjects in the main and sub-ordinate clauses and different subjects in the main and sub-ordinate clauses.
45.	The relative pronouns are formed by using a relativizing particle (RP) with a PROCLITIC	Yes	Yes
46.	The relative pronoun is not a separate lexical word or a free morpheme	Yes	Yes
47.	It is not necessary for the relative pronoun to be adjacent to the nominal it modifies.	Yes	Yes
48.	The verb which comes along with the definite relative pronoun generally does not come with a subject enclitic.	Yes	Not relevant. Khasi verbs have proclitics, and since the proclitic appears before the relativizing particle in the same VP, one finds no proclitic preceding the verb as such.
49.	The verb which comes along with the	Yes	Not relevant.

indefinite relative pronoun generally comes with a subject enclitic.		
--	--	--

<i>Indefinite pronouns</i>			
S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
50.	Do the Indefinite pronouns have a stem indicating an ontological category?	No	No
51.	Indefinite pronouns are present in series representing various ontological categories	No	No
52.	Indefinite pronouns and interrogative pronouns share the same bases	Yes. The bases [wan] and [yi].	Yes. The bases [no~nu] and [ei].
53.	Similarity of indefinite and interrogative pronouns	They share the same bases. They make use of proclitics with the bases to form a complex that acts as the interrogative pronoun and after reduplication as indefinite pronoun.	They too share the same bases. They make use of proclitics, other particles, case markers etc to form a complex that acts as an interrogative and on reduplication as an indefinite pronoun.
54.	Do the use of indefinite pronouns affect the nominal proclitics	No	No

55.	Do the Indefinite pronouns have a formal element of indefiniteness shared by all in a series?	No	No
56.	Reduplication as an essential process of forming indefinites	Yes	Yes
57.	Are Indefinite pronouns identical to the interrogatives like in Khmer?	No. The only structure where they look similar is when interrogative pronouns are reduplicated for a distributive sense.	No. The only structure where they look similar is when interrogative pronouns are reduplicated for a distributive sense.
58.	Is there a human/non-human distinction in the Indefinite pronouns and the interrogatives	Yes	Yes
59.	Are there separate indefinite pronouns series depending upon specificity/non-specificity of the Indefinite NP?	No	No
60.	Are there indefinite pronouns derived from generic ontological category nouns?	Yes	No
61.	Are non-specific	Yes	No

	relative clauses used to mark indefiniteness?		
62.	Is the numeral 'one' used as an indefinite pronoun?	Yes	Yes
63.	Are existential sentences used to mark indefiniteness?	Yes	Yes
64.	Are there underived indefinite pronouns?	Yes	Yes
65.	The nominals modified by lexically available indefinites come with their proclitics; however the proclitic is not copied onto these indefinites.	Yes	Yes

<i>Interrogative pronouns/ Polar questions</i>			
S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
66.	Interrogatives are marked with 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitics	Yes. Many interrogatives prefer the 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitic [i] as a default clitic.	Yes. The forms of interrogatives marked with proclitics are quite less compared to Pnar.
67.	The proclitic [i] forms a very important constituent of many interrogative pronouns	Yes	No
68.	All 3 <sup>rd</sup> person proclitics	Yes.	Yes.

	appear with interrogative pronouns	There are some interrogative pronouns which do not use any proclitics. Apart from them, in all others proclitics are an important constituent.	However the use of proclitics is very limited in Khasi compared to Pnar. Khasi makes use of the particle [ma] in place of the Pnar [i], when the gender/number specifications of the nominal are not known.
69.	Interrogative pronouns can be reduplicated	Yes. In this case both the proclitic as well as the interrogative particle are reduplicated.	Yes. The situation is same as that of Pnar.
70.	Do interrogative pronouns undergo continuous or discontinuous reduplication?	Continuous reduplication.	Continuous reduplication.
71.	Polar questions (Yes-No) with lexical verbs are formed using VSO structures. Polar questions with modals and auxiliary verbs are formed by subject-verb inversion.	Yes	No. A question word [hatɔ] is used to form Polar questions. The question word is followed by the assertive sentence without any interaction with proclitics.

<i>Tense, Aspect, Mood and pronominal clitics</i>			
S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
72.	Future tense marker appears fused with the	No	Yes



	verbal pronominal clitic		
73.	Pronominal clitics precede tense/aspect markers in the verb phrase	Yes	Yes
74.	Modals which act as hosts to the subject agreement pronominal clitics mark the main verb with the NONFINITE marker.	Yes	Yes
75.	With modals that get attached to the main verb itself, the VP ends with the subject enclitic	Yes	No. Such a syntactic alternative does not exist in Khasi.

<i>Syntactic processes and pronominal clitics</i>			
S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
76.	<i>Causation</i> is morphologically marked, and the causativized verb acts as the host to the pronominal clitic	Yes	Yes
77.	<i>Causativization</i> of transitive verbs.	Yes. It generally leads to one of the objects being incorporated into the verb phrase and thus getting stripped of its proclitic.	Yes. The same happens in Khasi as in Pnar with one of the objects.
78.	Two <i>passive</i> allomorphs have different syntactic properties vis-à-vis the pronominal clitics.	Yes. While the allomorph [c <sup>h</sup> aʔ] allows pronominal clitics, the other allomorph [da] which is homophonous to the perfect aspect maker, does not allow proclitics.	Yes. While the allomorph [ʃaʔ] allows pronominal clitics, the other allomorph [la] which is homophonous to the perfect aspect

			maker, does not allow proclitics.
79.	<i>Negation</i> and pronominal clitics	Negation takes a 'be-support': marks the main verb with the nonfinite marker, but the main verb comes with the subject agreement enclitic.	Negation comes fused with the pronominal clitic in the verb phrase; it neither requires auxiliary support nor marks the main verb with the nonfinite marker unlike Pnar.
80.	<i>Object nominal incorporation</i> and pronominal clitics on the incorporated nominal and in the verb phrase.	When the object nominal is incorporated into the verb phrase, only the bare nominal is incorporated, and thus the nominal is stripped of its proclitic. The verb phrase has the object nominal right next to the verb and the verb phrase is closed by the enclitic.	The same happens in Khasi as in Pnar. The verbal proclitic begins the verb phrase, which has the object nominal right next to the verb, with nothing separating them.

<i>Reduplication and pronominal clitics</i>			
S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
81.	Verbal reduplication and pronominal clitics	Dependent verbs do not take pronominal clitics; their reduplication hence has no significance. Main verbs take enclitics; their reduplicated forms also take enclitics.	Dependent verbs do not take pronominal clitics; their reduplication hence has no significance. Main verbs take proclitics; their reduplicated forms also take proclitics.
82.	Proclitics in	The proclitics are also	The proclitics are also

	indefinites, interrogatives and reciprocals and reduplication	reduplicated. reduplication can be continuous or discontinuous.	The reduplicated. reduplication can be continuous or discontinuous. Khasi makes limited use of proclitics for reciprocals.
83.	Reduplicated adjectives and proclitics	Not all adjectives can be reduplicated. Reduplicated adjectives generally involve lexical adjectives, introduced by the RP, but carry no proclitics	The [RP-ADJECTIVE] complex is reduplicated and the reduplicated complex is preceded by the proclitic which is used only once

*Miscellaneous syntactic constructions and pronominal clitics*

S.No.	Feature	Pnar	Khasi
84.	VSO word order and pronominal clitics in the verb phrase	The subject nominal with its proclitic replaces the verbal pronominal clitic which agrees with it. With pronominal subjects the verbal enclitic is replaced by the pronominal itself as it appears in the subject position.	With pronominals the VSO structure becomes an emphatic sentence, with the emphatic particle prefixed to the pronominal. With nominal subjects the verb does not have any proclitics attached to it when the VSO structure is used as an answer to some question. Instead the bare verb is followed by the subject nominal in its [PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] shape.
85.	Pronominal clitics and objects	In Pnar the object can be marked using the ACC/DAT marker [ya] or by doubling the proclitic	This is not found in Khasi.

		of the object: nominal. Prosodically, these doubled clitics are pronounced along with the VP, after the enclitic on the VP.	
86.	Copular verbs and pronominal clitics	Copular verbs are generally dropped, and hence carry no pronominal clitics. However, the copular verb [em] is never dropped and takes the enclitic (except in existential constructions).	The dropping of copular verbs in Khasi is not as common as in Pnar. When not dropped they always come with a proclitic.
87.	Some adverbs come within the verb phrase before the pronominal clitic begins/ends the VP.	Yes	The structures do not provide enough conclusive evidence for this. Most adverbs are post-verbal and hence do not interact with the proclitics which begin the VP.

This comparative and contrastive analysis of the two closely related languages thus presents to us an insight into the significant role played by pronominal clitics in these two languages. The pronominal clitics apart from being part of almost every pronominal form, have a very important role to play in the syntax of these languages. Though my study does not provide an in-depth analysis of all syntactic features in these languages, it aims to cover those syntactic aspects where the pronominal clitics play a very crucial role. The coverage of the syntactic features may not be found exhaustive, however it covers the areas relevant to the current research. I have tried my best to analyze the data elicited in the field and I hope the present work opens a

new vista in the area of pronominal clitics in the future. On a sociolinguistic note, this comparative and contrastive analysis of Pnar and Khasi raises important questions regarding the unquestioned assumptions of one being a standard language and other a dialect, in the context of the Mon-Khmer languages of Meghalaya. While both languages share many morphological and syntactic features, the differences between them are very significant and can not be brushed aside as exceptions. The extensive use of [i] as a pronominal clitic and the use of verbal enclitics mark a sharp contrast between the two languages. Difflloth and Zide (1992: 1)'s observation that the "so-called Khasi dialects, such as Synteng (Pnar), Lyngngam, and Amwi (also called War) are clearly distinct but related languages" is amply justified in the light of the discussions in this research.

## Chapter – 05

### *Conclusion*

In the light of the various theoretical inputs discussed in the first chapter and the detailed descriptions of pronouns and pronominal clitics in both their morphological and syntactic functions in the preceding chapters, one can draw many interesting conclusions about the pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi. The pronominal clitics also provide us with fresh insights into some of the structures that deserve special attention like incorporation of object nominals.

To begin with, this study of pronominal clitics (inclusive of verbal clitics) challenge the notion that both Rabel (1965) and Nagaraja (1985) seem to hold of Khasi as a language with very little morphology or affixation. The ‘isolating language’ status needs to be revised for Khasi and both Pnar and Khasi must be accredited as polysynthetic languages in the light of the complexity of their structures, especially the verb phrase which with an incorporated object nominal and a subject proclitic/enclitic can stand by itself as a complete sentence. This study tries to argue that the pronominal element in the verb phrase can not be looked upon as an independent pronoun, rather must be analysed as part of the verb phrase, especially in the light of various verbal inflectional morphemes that fuse with the verbal pronominal in Khasi. Once this is granted, one can find the verb phrase to be very complex with many verbal inflectional morphemes coming in between the pronominal clitic and the verb root in Khasi.

Both Pnar and Khasi have an alternative word order, different from their basic word order SVO. This alternate word order is VSO. The VSO structures are also interesting, especially in Pnar to prove the complexity of the verb phrase. When the verbal enclitic is replaced by the subject nominal with which it agrees, the enclitic is replaced by the subject nominal coming along with its proclitic. The verb phrase that ends with this enclitic has various inflectional morphemes preceding the verb, which in the light of the Khasi structures must be analysed as belonging as bound morphemes to a single word.

Based on broad frameworks proposed by various scholars, the pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi can be characterized as follows:

As per Aikhenvald (2002)'s parameters:

1. As far as the proclitic vs. enclitic distinction is concerned Khasi has only proclitics. Pnar has both proclitics and enclitics. The enclitics in Pnar have limited distribution compared to the proclitics. The enclitic appears only with verbs (where proclitics are not allowed) and with possessed nominals in genitive constructions. Khasi has only proclitics with verbs and does not show any interaction with possessed nominals, of the kind found in Pnar. The distribution of the proclitics has been discussed in detail in the chapters.
2. The pronominal clitics are not selective about their hosts. They attach to nominals, nominal modifiers, interrogatives, indefinites, verbs and the numeral 'one' simultaneously if present in a sentence. So the freedom of clitics to take any host in the case of Pnar and Khasi is different from the way this phenomenon has been recorded for various languages in the literature. In Pnar and Khasi the pronominal clitics do not take just one host, rather they appear on more than one host simultaneously, establishing gender-number-person agreement between all of them.
3. The host of the pronominal clitic in Pnar and Khasi can not be said to be a word as described by Aikhenvald. The choices she sets in terms of the first word in a clause, the last word in an NP, any noun etc is not a sufficient condition. The clitics are phrasal as has been argued by various scholars. They attach to complex words which also function as phrases. The verb phrase to which they attach may consist of, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3, tense/aspect markers, negation, passive, causative morphemes etc. The nominal modifier is a derived phrase consisting of a relativizing particle and a verb or an adjective and hence is a phrasal host to the clitic. The other instances of hosts to the pronominal clitic in the indefinites and interrogatives and the numeral 'one' are themselves bound elements. The only word that can act as a host to the clitics is the nominal.
4. They do not form any independent phonological word and can not be stressed. They have the same phonological shape as the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominals, except

for the enclitics in Pnar which have a different phonological shape compared to the personal pronouns.

5. As far as the segmental properties of the pronominal clitics are concerned, their phonological shape is same as the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns. Some of them just have a [V] structure while others have a [CV] structure. Phonotactically clitics (especially the enclitics) undergo voice assimilation. The enclitics with a [CV] shape all of which begin with a voiceless stop, are voiced after words (verbs or incorporated nominals) ending with voiced consonants especially after nasals. There are no phontactic constraints between the clitics and their host phrases.
6. As far as the relationship of clitics and pauses are concerned, enclitics are never separated from their hosts by a pause. This includes even the clitic of the object nominal which follows the subject enclitic on the verb in Pnar in many cases. Both the clitics are pronounced as part of the verb phrase. The proclitics are also not separated from their hosts by any pause.
7. Clitics in Pnar and Khasi never combine to form a word of their own, i.e., one never finds a clitic-only word in Pnar and Khasi. Only nominals as heads can host clitics. All other hosts are phrasal in nature. Clitics do not affect the grammatical category of their hosts. They act like connecting elements between different phrases and words by establishing gender-number-person concord between them.
8. Khasi has no instance of clitic strings. The only instance of clitic strings in Pnar is the string formed by object clitics following subject enclitics. The ordering of clitics in these strings follow a strict order of the subject enclitic being followed by the object clitic (which due to its phonological association with the verb phrase must be also called an enclitic).
9. The pronominal clitics have a strict position with respect to affixes. The clitics whether proclitics or enclitics attach to their hosts only after all other affixation has been completed and then close the derivational and inflectional process of the word/phrase. While affixes select their hosts, for example, relativizing particles come only with verbs and so do tense-aspect markers and negation, causation etc., the clitics on the other hand do not choose any particular host. They appear on all forms that in some way modify or are connected to the head nominal. While subject nominals mark their



proclitic/enclitic on the verb phrase, object nominals do not generally, except for the object enclitics in Pnar.

10. Pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi have no direct co-relation with grammatical words. Grammatical words like case markers, aspect markers are assumed to be bound affixes in this work. Their status as bound affixes is based on the argument that since the pronominal clitics, especially the verbal clitics in Khasi interact with inflectional morphemes like tense and negation of the verb, the clitics must be assumed to be not just part of a phrase headed by the verb, but as part of the complex word headed by the verb. Since verbal proclitics begin the verb/verb phrase, these grammatical words which come in between them must be assumed to be bound affixes. As for case/directional markers are concerned, the evidence for their bound affix status comes more readily from Pnar than from Khasi. These markers can be followed by a nominal which may or may not contain a proclitic and gives us no clue about the independent status of these markers. However in fossilized forms like [hɛini] 'here', [hɛitu] 'there' etc, we find that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person proclitic comes preceding the deictic markers and are fused with the locative/ablative/allative markers. Hence the occurrence of [ha] and others with nominal phrases must also be considered as a complex word and not merely a PP, where the P is an independent grammatical word.
11. As far as syntactic scope of these clitics is concerned, their scope is phrasal. They generally do not take words as hosts (except for nominals and some other underived forms). Their scope is limited to each such complex word/phrase and hence they are copied before each such eligible word/phrase.
12. These clitics do not show any morphological or semantic idiosyncrasies. While the choice of a particular clitic is always governed by the head nominal, one never finds any idiosyncratic exceptions in their use. These pronominal clitics which establish concord among the various elements on which they appear, do not appear to undergo any semantic or phonological bleaching. The presence of grammaticalized words like [p<sup>h</sup>aʔ] used as a causative in Pnar which as a verb means 'send', shows semantic bleaching which is not attested for the pronominal clitics when compared with their pronominal counterparts.

13. While clitic-specific syntactic rules have not been investigated in detail, syntactic constructions which affect clitic distributions have been observed, especially with negation in Pnar and with passives in both Pnar and Khasi. Modal verbs in Pnar also show modal-specific behaviour vis-à-vis the verbal enclitics. In VSO structures Pnar shows the verbal enclitic to be a mere copy of the subject nominal and probably a position where the subject is base generated. As the subject moves to the post-verbal position it occupies with its proclitic the same place that the enclitic occupies. In Khasi, though a VSO pattern is possible, speakers are divided over the presence and absence of the verbal proclitics in VSO structures. However since the subject nominal with its proclitic does not replace the verbal clitic in its position like in Pnar, a movement analysis for Khasi is difficult to explain, while it provides a neat explanation for Pnar.
14. Since the scope of this study was limited to pronominal clitics, other clitics, if present were not investigated.

As far as Zwicky (1977)'s distinction between 'simple' and 'special' clitics is concerned, the pronominal clitics by virtue of being deaccented forms of independent pronouns qualify as 'simple' clitics. In terms of Zwicky and Pullum (1983)'s features one can say that these pronominal markers are clitics and not affixes based on the following observations: they take words/phrases belonging to various grammatical classes as their host; they have the ability to attach to material already containing clitics as the object clitics in Pnar; show no arbitrary restrictions or morphophonological/semantic idiosyncrasies. As far as syntactic rules treating the host-clitic combination as a single unit are concerned, it is only the nominal with its proclitic which is treated as a unit for syntactic movement in passivization, in VSO structures etc. Even the nominals are used without clitics in the vocative case. Answers to questions does not treat the clitic as part of the host, when the host-clitic group is sought as an answer. The pronominal clitics do not attach to their hosts taking into consideration their morphological and/or lexical characteristics, a property that defines affixes.

As far as Zwicky (1985)'s claim of a pragmatic purpose for the use of clitics is concerned, one can say that while there is a particular pronominal clitic in Khasi

defined by pragmatic features like [+respect]; [+intimacy] etc, the use or absence of the other clitics is a syntactic phenomenon in Pnar and Khasi. The pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi would not qualify to be called 'phrasal affixes' either in Zwicky (1987)'s understanding of the term. The multiple hosts with which they appear can not be assumed to be having any morphological interaction with the clitics. The only instance where the clitic bears a direct correlation with its host is when it appears on the head nominal that governs the form of the pronominal clitic that comes with all the other hosts.

Klavans (1979)'s postulation of clitics as underlying words is not available in Pnar and Khasi. The pronominal clitics do not take any affixes onto themselves. Khasi verbal proclitics however allow negation and future tense morphemes to fuse with them. Clitics in Pnar and Khasi however resemble a major word-class, that is, the pronouns, but this is because they are based on them. Both Pnar and Khasi have no endoclitics. Cliticization in Pnar and Khasi can not be considered a completely phonological process with no reference to morphology or syntax. Since the clitics establish concord between different words/phrases associated with the head nominal, it is definitely a part of syntax. Phonologically it is dependent on these words/phrases and it is also integral in the formation of a well-formed word/phrase and is hence not a mere phonological adage. This is against the view held in Klavans (1979: 65) that cliticization creates phonological words than grammatical words. Clitics in Pnar and Khasi do not attach to a lexical item depending on its class membership. The only restriction that clitics in Pnar and Khasi establish on their hosts is that they close the derivation. Their presence however, as Klavans predicts, does not affect the lexical category of the hosts.

There are no 2P (second-place) clitics in Pnar and Khasi (first discussed in Wackernagel 1892). Pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi are found with the following characteristics as per those laid down by Klavans (1979; 1980; 1983; 1985; 1995) – they do not always attach to already formed words (as in the case of interrogatives, indefinites and demonstratives), however with nominals, verbs, adjectives and numerals they attach to already formed words; clitic placement is not arbitrary and is generally determined by syntactic factors – they always come at the beginning of a word/phrase while verbal enclitics in Pnar come at the very end of the

verb phrase; the clitics attach to their hosts without taking into consideration their grammatical classes; these clitics do not subcategorize for any particular phrasal hosts, however their presence in the eligible forms is syntactically obligatory, bringing them very close to affixes; the form of the clitic is determined by agreement; the independence of syntactic affiliation of the clitics from their phonological hosts (after Halpern (2001)) is attested very clearly for the object clitics in Pnar. The object clitic which replaces an accusative marker comes attached to the verb phrase (following the subject enclitic) while the accusative marker forms a separate phrase with the object nominal and its proclitic. Since the object clitic is in complementary distribution with the accusative marker, one can say that the object clitic also belongs to the object nominal phrase morphologically but comes phonologically attached to the verb phrase.

As for Anderson (1992)'s generalizations that clitics are phrasal affixes (after Klavans (1979; 1985)) is concerned, with respect to clitics in Pnar and Khasi one can agree with his generalizations that phrasal affixes are not inflected lexical items but rather agreement markers. These pronominal clitics are indeed attached to phrases to express inflection. However one can not call these as 'special clitics' in Zwicky (1977)'s terms as they have independent counterpart words in the languages. Anderson's generalization that clitics interpret morphosyntactic features provided by the syntax is also true. The shape and features of the clitic is governed by syntactic agreement with the head nominal. They do not contribute a meaning (except when they appear on head nominals) but rather are phonological representations of syntactic features. Their features are more important than their shapes. They have the same shape as the independent pronouns in these languages, though there are languages which have reduced forms of their pronominals as clitics. Anderson's understanding of Wackernagel's position on clitics as being defined in phonological terms and not syntactic terms is not acceptable for the pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi. As for Anderson's three parameters of scope, anchor and orientation are concerned, one can conclude that the pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi have scope over the entire word/phrase in which they appear. The anchor of the clitics is generally a complex word, which would be a phrase in many other languages. Except for the verbal enclitics in Pnar, all pronominal clitics in both the languages precede their anchors in terms of their orientation. One can even agree with Anderson (1992; 1993)'s views

that clitics behave at times like affixes and can be clearly considered as phrasal affixes, but this debate is beyond the scope of this work.

Cysouw (2002)'s claim that clitics represent old information while their hosts bear new information is not borne out in this analysis of the pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi.

The Minimalist/Generative syntax approaches trying to account for pronominal clitics seem to be split between those suggesting involvement of *movement* and others advocating a *base-generated* approach. The former school of thought is represented by scholars like Kayne (1975); Klavans (1980; 1985); Pollock (1998); Halpern (1995; 2001); Bošković (2001; 2002); Ouhalla (2005) among others. The base-generated approach is advocated by scholars like Sportiche (1996); Cocchi (2000) among others. Both approaches provide useful insights into the understanding of clitics. Thorough analyses based on these approaches have not been undertaken in this study and remains an interesting area for further research. This preliminary study seems to suggest a blending of both approaches for Pnar and Khasi, as a rigid base-generation approach will fail to explain the presence of the pronominal clitics in so many words/phrases and a rigid movement approach will fail to explain the presence of clitic doubling in both these languages.

Halpern (2001)'s argument that peripheral position of clitics vis-a-vis the inflectional and derivational affixes is true for the pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi. Clitic doubling is the norm in Pnar and Khasi. The verbal clitic always comes along with the nominal receiving the theta-role. Only with pronominal subjects, clitic doubling is avoided (but even here it is not impossible). Miller (1992)'s criteria related to pronominal object clitics that they must have a wider scope over a conjunction of hosts is not met by the pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi.

Everett (1996)'s position is also an interesting approach towards solving the long-standing debate in linguistic theorization regarding the status of clitics. As the pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi satisfy the function of agreement and have the same shape as the personal pronouns, his position that pronouns, clitics and agreement affixes are nothing but bundles of phi-features realized differently by insertion of

features in syntactic slots by the syntax is a possible way of resolving the conflict in description regarding these elements in different languages, described variously by scholars as pronouns, clitics or agreement affixes. His approach predicts that no language has simple clitics and agreement affixes for the same theta roles and this holds true for Pnar and Khasi.

Apart from the important conclusions on pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi that this study reaches, it also makes some advances in our over-all understanding of the two languages. My work is against the grain of description adopted by the traditional descriptions adopted for Khasi till date. I challenge the assumption that Khasi and Pnar are isolating languages, with “affixation play(ing) a decidedly minor role” in Rabel's terms. My description argues that Pnar and Khasi have a very rich morphological system. With the number of morphemes per word at a very high ratio, my contention is that these two languages must be considered poly-synthetic languages. Another significant way in which my work gains ground over the traditional description is the consideration of VSO structures and the unique interaction they put up in terms of the verbal clitics in both Pnar and Khasi. The current research addresses what have been variously called a “gender article”, a “pronoun element”, “personal pronoun” as pronominal clitics in both Pnar and Khasi. Subject-less constructions are not new to South Asian languages, which can recover the dropped subjects from the agreement markers on the verb. But the kind of pro-drop attested in Pnar and Khasi is rare. They allow pro-drop in all circumstances – in the main clause, sub-ordinate clause, in negative, interrogative sentences etc – even with out having to fix the discourse-referent even once in the beginning. Thus we can have a fresh conversation or the first paragraph of a text or narration beginning with a pro-drop. This fact in these languages definitely asks for a fresh look at all the cross-linguistic generalizations that have been reached upon about the pro-drop phenomena. Recoverability of the subject from the agreement clitics in the verb phrase can not be the sole reason for this, as many languages like Hindi and Tamil in South Asia have a rich agreement system, but do not have such wide range of ‘dropability’ of the subject pronoun. Subject identity with the proclitic leading to the subject pronominal getting dropped can only be posited as a reason for Khasi, which has the same phonological shape for the personal pronouns and the proclitics on the verb; but this can not be

posited as a reason in Pnar, where not only are the subject and the subject enclitic on the verb separated by other particles, they also have different phonological shapes.

It is also interesting to see how Pnar and Khasi fare in the light of Diffloth and Zide (1992)'s general observations on Mon-Khmer languages. In accordance with their general observations on Mon-Khmer languages, both Pnar and Khasi have final unreleased stops. There is a complete lack of suffixation. Their statement that “apparent suffixes found in Nicobarese, some Aslian languages, and modern spoken Mon – seem better described as phrase-final clitics” also lends support to our analysis of the post verbal pronominal particle in Pnar as a verbal enclitic. The VSO order that they talk of in many Mon-Khmer (MK) languages is also attested in both Pnar and Khasi. However their statement that MK morphology “practically never indicates syntactic agreement” is not justified in the light of our study of Pnar and Khasi. The extensive agreement pattern, called variously as alliterative agreement or concord, in Pnar and Khasi requires a reformulation of the generalization on agreement in Mon-Khmer languages.

Thus while this research work has brought in newer insights into the understanding of Khasi and brought forth to the academic community a description of an hitherto under-studied language, a lot of work still needs to be done. Some of the areas that still require extensive studies include processes like Nominal Incorporation which this study could only take up in passing. Other areas of research would include the syntactic status of the clitics, and explanation of their generation and prefixation on many grammatical classes. The issue of whether these pronominal elements are clitics or affixes may still be refined, and analysed on a more cross-linguistic comparative basis. The comparison of grammatical features in Pnar and Khasi undertaken in this work with respect to the pronominal clitics needs to be extended to other features in the two languages. These must then be compared with other Mon-Khmer languages to gauge the extent of divergence and the retention of proto-Mon-Khmer structures in them. The debate regarding the relationship between Munda languages and the Mon-Khmer languages can also be undertaken with a better and more extensive understanding of the Mon-Khmer languages in India.

## References:

- Abbi, Anvita, and Ahum Victor. 1997. Expressive morphology and manner adverbs in Khasi, Tangkhul Naga and Kuki-Chin languages. In *Languages of tribal and indigenous people of India: The ethnic space*, ed. by Anvita Abbi, 415-431. New Delhi: MLBD.
- Abbi, Anvita. 1978/1987. Palatals or lamino-dentals in Khasi? A probe into feature theory. *IJDL* 16.1: 1-14.
- Abbi, Anvita. 1992. *Reduplication in South Asian languages: An areal, typological and historical study*. New Delhi: Allied Publishers.
- Abbi, Anvita. 2001. *A manual of linguistic fieldwork and structures of Indian languages*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2002. Typological parameters for the study of clitics, with special reference to Tariana. In *Word: A cross-linguistic typology*, ed. by R.M.W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald. Cambridge: CUP.
- Anderson, Stephen R. 1992. *A-Morphous morphology*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Anderson, Stephen R. 1993. Wackernagel's revenge: Clitics, morphology and the syntax of second position. *Language* 69: 68-98.
- Anderson, Stephen R. 1996. How to put your clitics in their place or why the best account of second-position phenomenon may be something like the optimal one. *The Linguistic Review* 13: 165-191.
- Anderson, Stephen R. 2000. Towards an optimal account of second position phenomena. In *Optimality theory: Phonology, syntax, and acquisition*, ed. by Joost Dekkers, Frank van der Leeuw, and Jeroen van de Weijer, 302-333. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baker, M. 1985. The mirror principle and morphosyntactic explanation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 16: 373-416
- Baker, Mark C. 1988. *Incorporation: A theory of grammatical function changing*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Baker, Mark C. 1996. *The polysynthesis parameter*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bareh, Hamlet. 1977. *The language and literature of Meghalaya*. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.



- Bennis, Hans. 2006. Agreement, PRO and imperatives. In *Agreement and argument structure*, ed. by P. Ackema, P. Brandt, M. Schoorlemmer, and F. Weerman, 101-127. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Booij, G. 1996. Cliticization as prosodic integration: The case of Dutch. *The Linguistic Review* 13: 219-242.
- Bošković, Željko. 2001. *On the nature of the syntax-phonology interface: Cliticization and related phenomena*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Bošković, Željko. 2002. Clitics as nonbranching elements and the linear correspondence axiom. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33.2:329-40.
- Bresnan, Joan. 1998. Pronoun incorporation and agreement. Retrieved August 14, 2006 from [http://www.folli.loria.fr/cds/1998/pdf/bresnan\\_sadler/ch8.pdf](http://www.folli.loria.fr/cds/1998/pdf/bresnan_sadler/ch8.pdf).
- Census of India. 1991. Series 1: *Language India and states*. Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India.
- Challam, O.R., et al. 2003. Behdeinkhlam festivals: Ka ri khad-ar daloi. In *Proceedings of first international conference and gathering of elders*, ed. by Yashwant Pathak, 216-218. Mumbai: Sanskriti Sangam.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1993. A minimalist program for linguistic theory. In *The view from building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, ed. by Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 1-52. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. Bare phrase structure. In *Government and binding theory and the minimalist program*, ed. by Gert Webelhuth 383-439. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cocchi, Gloria. 2000. Free clitics and bound affixes: Towards a unitary analysis. In *Clitics in phonology, morphology and syntax*, ed. by Birgit Gerlach and Janet Grizenhout, 85-119. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Corbett, Greville G. 2006. *Agreement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crysmann, Berthold. 2000. Clitics and coordination in linear structure. In *Clitics in phonology, morphology and syntax*, ed. by Birgit Gerlach and Janet Grizenhout, 121-159. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Crystal, David. 1985. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. 2nd edition. New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Cysouw, Michael. 2003. Towards a typology of pronominal cliticization. Paper presented at the *ALT V Conference*, Capliari, Italy. Retrieved July 18, 2006 from <http://www.email.eva.mpg.de/~cysouw/pdf/cysouwALTV.pdf>.

- de Hevesy, W.F. 1930. On W. Schmidt's Munda-Mon-Khmer comparisons. (Does an "Austric" family of languages exist?). *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 6.1: 187-200.
- Diffloth, Gerard and Norman Zide. 1992. Austro-Asiatic languages. In *International encyclopaedia of Linguistics*, Vol. 1, ed. by William Bright, 137-142. New York: OUP.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1997. *The rise and fall of languages*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Dobrin, Lise M. 1995. Theoretical consequences of literal alliterative concord. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 31.1: 127-142.
- Everett, Daniel L. 1996. *Why there are no clitics: An alternative perspective on pronominal allomorphy*. Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics & University of Texas at Arlington.
- Fuß, Eric. 2004. *The rise of agreement: A formal approach to the syntax and grammaticalization of verbal inflection*. PhD Dissertation. Frankfurt: University of Frankfurt.
- Gerds, Donna B. 2001. Incorporation. In *The handbook of morphology*, ed. by Andrew Spencer and Arnold M Zwicky, 84-100. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gerlach, Birgit, and Janet Grizenhout (eds.). 2000. *Clitics in phonology, morphology and syntax*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gerlach, Birgit, and Janet Grizenhout. 2000. Clitics from different perspectives. In *Clitics in phonology, morphology and syntax*, ed. by Birgit Gerlach and Janet Grizenhout, 1-29. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Givón, T. 1976. Topic, pronoun and grammatical agreement. In *Subject and topic*, ed. by Charles N. Li, 149-188. New York: Academic Press.
- Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.). 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.
- Grierson, G.A. 1904-1928. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol.2. New Delhi: Low Price Publications.
- Gurdon, P.R.T. 1914. *The Khasis*. London: Macmillan. Retrieved November 21st, 2006 from <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/12786>.
- Haiman, John. 1991. From V/2 to subject clitics: Evidence from North Italian. In *Approaches to grammaticalization*, ed. by Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine, Vol.2, 135-157. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

- Halpern, Aaron L. 1995. *On the placement and morphology of clitics*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Halpern, Aaron L. 2001. Clitics. In *The handbook of morphology*, ed. by Andrew Spencer and Arnold M. Zwicky, 101–22. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Halpern, Aaron L., and Arnold M. Zwicky (eds.). 1996. *Approaching second: Second position clitics and related phenomena*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite pronouns*. New York: OUP.
- Huffman, Franklin E. 1967. *An outline of Cambodian grammar*. PhD dissertation. Cornell University.
- Jackendoff, Ray S. 1983. *Semantics and cognition*. Cambridge: MIT press.
- Jelinek, Eloise. 1984. Empty categories, case and configurationality. *Natural Language and Linguistics Theory* 2.1: 39-76.
- Ka Baibl (The Holy Bible)*. Bangalore: The Bible Society of India.
- Kayne, R. 1975. *French syntax: The transformational cycle*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- King, Tracy Holloway. 2004. Review of *On the nature of the syntax-phonology interface: Cliticization and related phenomena*, by Željko Bošković. *Language* 80: 843-846.
- Klavans, Judith L. 1979. On clitics as words. *Chicago Linguistic Society Parasession, Volume*, 68–80.
- Klavans, Judith L. 1980. *Some problems in a theory of clitics*. PhD Dissertation: University College, London.
- Klavans, Judith L. 1982. *Some problems in a theory of clitics*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Klavans, Judith L. 1983. The Morphology of Cliticization. In *Papers from the parasession on the interplay of phonology, morphology and syntax*, ed. by John F Richardson, Mitchell Marks and Amy Chukerman, 103-121. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Klavans, Judith L. 1985. The independence of syntax and phonology in cliticization. *Language* 61: 95-120.
- Klavans, Judith L. 1995. *On clitics and cliticization*. New York: Garland.
- Kroeber, A.L. 1911. Incorporation as a linguistics process. *American Anthropologist* 13.1 (1911): 577-584.

- Langstieh, B.T., B. Mohan Reddy, K. Thangaraj, V. Kumar and Lalji Singh. 2004. Genetic Diversity and Relationships Among the Tribes of Meghalaya Compared to Other Indian and Continental Populations. *Human Biology* 76.4: 569-590.
- Legendre, Geraldine. 2000. Positioning Romanian verbal clitics at PF. In *Clitics in phonology, morphology and syntax*, ed. by Birgit Gerlach and Janet Grizenhout, 219-254. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lockwood, David. G. 2002. *Syntactic Analysis and Description: A Constructional Approach*. London: Continuum.
- Mascaró, Joan, and Gemma Rigau. 2002. Introduction: The grammar of clitics. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 1: 9-15.
- Miller, Philip. 1992. *Clitics and constituents in phrase structure grammar* [Outstanding dissertations in Linguistics]. New York: Garland.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1984. The evolution of noun incorporation. *Language* 60: 847-894.
- Nagaraja, K.S. 1984. Reduplication in Khasi. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 27.3: 189-200.
- Nagaraja, K.S. 1985. *Khasi: A descriptive analysis*. Pune: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute.
- Nagaraja, K.S. 1993. Khasi dialects: A typological consideration. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 23: 1-10.
- Nagaraja, K.S. 1996. The status of Lyngngam. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 26: 37-50.
- Nagaraja, K.S. 1997. Word order in Khasi. In *Languages of tribal and indigenous people of India: The ethnic space*, ed. by Anvita Abbi. New Delhi: MLBD.
- Neeleman, Ad and Kriszta Szendrői. 2005. Pro drop and pronouns. In *Proceedings of the 24th West Coast conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. by John Alderete, Chung-hye Han and Alexei Kochetov, 299-307. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Neukom, Lukas. 2001. *Santali*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Nevis, Joel A. 2001. Review of *Why there are no clitics: An alternative perspective on pronominal allomorphy* by Daniel L Everett. *Language* 77: 162-166.
- Ortmann, Albert, and Alexandra Popescu. 2000. Romanian definite articles are not clitics. In *Clitics in phonology, morphology and syntax*, ed. by Birgit Gerlach and Janet Grizenhout, 295-324. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Ouhalla, Jamal. 2005. Clitic-placement, grammaticalization and reanalysis in Berber. In *The handbook of comparative syntax*, ed. by Guglielmo Cinque and R Kayne, 607-638. Oxford and New York: OUP.
- Pancheva, Roumyana. 2001. Balkan possessive clitics: The problem of case and category. Paper presented at the *Conference on the Balkan Sprachbund Properties*, University of Leiden. Retrieved August 14, 2006 from [www.lot.let.uu.nl/GraduateProgram/LotSchools/Summerschool2003/Pancheva2.pdf](http://www.lot.let.uu.nl/GraduateProgram/LotSchools/Summerschool2003/Pancheva2.pdf)
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morpho-syntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Peterson, John. 2002. Morphological and semantic finiteness in Kharia: A first look. In *Sprache als Form. Eine Festschrift für Utz Maas*, ed. by Michael Bommers, Doris Tophinke, and Christina Noack, 63-73. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Pollock, Jean-Yves. 1998. On the syntax of subnominal clitics: Cliticization and ellipsis. *Syntax* 1.3: 300-330.
- Quirk, Randolph, and Sidney Greenbaum. 2000. *A university grammar of English*. Chennai: Longman publishers.
- Quirk, Randolph, S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, and J. Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.
- Rabel, Lili. 1961. *Khasi, a language of Assam*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Ramaswami, N. 1992. *Bhumij Grammar*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian languages.
- Rivero, Maria-Luisa. 1986. Parameters in the typology of clitics in Romance and old Spanish. *Language* 62.4: 774-807.
- Rizzi, Luigi, 1982. *Issues in Italian syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1986. Null objects in Italian and theory of *pro*. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17.3: 501-557.
- Rosen, Sarah T. 1989. Two types of noun incorporation: A lexical analysis. *Language* 65: 294-317.
- Sadock, Jerrold M. 1980. Noun incorporation in Greenlandic: A case of syntactic word formation. *Language* 56.300-319.

- Sadock, Jerrold M. 1985. Autolexical syntax: A proposal for the treatment of noun incorporation and similar phenomena. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 3: 379-440.
- Sadock, Jerrold M. 1986. Some notes on noun incorporation. *Language* 62: 19-31.
- Sadock, Jerrold M. 1991. *Autolexical syntax: A theory of parallel grammatical representations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sadock, Jerrold M. 1995. Multi-Hierarchy View of Clitics. In *CLS 31: Papers from the 31st Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, Volume 2: Parasession on Clitics*, ed. by Audra Dainora, Rachel Hemphill, Barabara Luka, Barabara Need and Sheri Pragman, 258-279. University of Chicago.
- Sadock, Jerrold M. 2002. 'A Survey of Denominal Verbs in Eskimo-Aleut'. Paper presented at *the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (SSILA) Meeting*, San Francisco.
- Sapir, Edward. 1911. The problem of noun incorporation in American languages. *American Anthropologist* 13.250–82.
- Singh, Nissor. 1993 [1920]. *English Khasi dictionary*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Singh, U. Nissor. 1904. *Khasi – English dictionary*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Spencer, Andrew. 1991. *Morphological theory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Sportiche, D. 1996. Clitic constructions. In *Phrase structure and the lexicon*, ed. by J. Rooryck and L. Zaring, 213-276. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Sumer, S.Q. and Laloo S.S. 2005. *The enchanting life and culture of the Jaintias of Meghalaya*. Meghalaya, India: Directorate of information and public relations.
- Tham, Rebekah Adeline. 1994. *Khasi colour terms*. MPhil Dissertation. New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University. Unpublished.
- Travis, L. 1984. *Parameters and effects of word order variation*. PhD dissertation: MIT.
- Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26: 79-123.
- Wackernagel, Jakob. 1892. Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1: 333-436.

- Zide, Norman. 1997. Gutob pronominal clitics and related phenomenon elsewhere in Gutob-Remo-Gta?. In *Languages of tribal and indigenous people of India: The ethnic space*, ed. by Anvita Abbi, 307-334. New Delhi: MLBD.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1977. *On clitics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1985. Clitics and particles. *Language* 61:283-305.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1987. Suppressing the Zs. *Journal of Linguistics* 23: 133–148.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1994. Clitics. In *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, ed. by R.E. Asher and J. M. Y. Simpson, 571-576. Volume 2. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Zwicky, Arnold M., and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 1983. Cliticization vs. inflection: English n't. *Language* 59: 502-513.

APPENDIX – A: A PNAR NARRATION (an extract) - c<sup>h</sup>ɪnɔŋ-juwai

c <sup>h</sup> ɪnɔŋ-juwai.	ka-c <sup>h</sup> ɪnɔŋ-juwai.	parom	wa-rim	u-k <sup>h</sup> ana	u-pateŋ
village-Jowai	3MSGCL-village-Jowai	story	RP-old	3MSGCL-story	3MSGCL-generation
ki-wa-heʔ-ki-timmen	k <sup>h</sup> ɪem-kɔt-k <sup>h</sup> ɪem-sla	k <sup>h</sup> ɪem-t <sup>h</sup> ɔʔ-k <sup>h</sup> ɪem-tar	parom	jabieŋ	maya.
3PLCL-RP-old 3PLCL-old	without-book- without-book	without-write- without-write	story	brain	love

**Gloss:** Village Jowai. The village Jowai. This is an old story passed down from generation to generation with love, by illiterate people from old without books or writing.

na-ka-wi	ka-pateŋ	c <sup>h</sup> a-ka-wi	ka-pateŋ	na-i-jabieŋ	cha-i-jabieŋ	na-i-k <sup>h</sup> tiyen
ABL-3MSGCL-one	3MSGCL-generation	ALL-3MSGCL-one	3MSGCL-generation	ABL-3MSGCL-brain	ALL-3MSGCL-brain	ABL-3MSGCL-word
c <sup>h</sup> a-i-k <sup>h</sup> tiyen	da-wiar	i-dpai	i-da-wa-rihi	u-rŋau	heite	ya-c <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ-ki
ALL-3MSGCL-word	PERF-lost	3MSGCL-ash	3MSGCL-PERF-RP-burn	3MSGCL-charcoal	here	RECIPRO-sit-3PLCL
ki-wa-heʔ	ki-wa-rim	enenti	c <sup>h</sup> a-ka-tai	ya-parom	ya-k <sup>h</sup> ana-ki	ya-ki-wan-ki-wan
3PLCL-RP-old	3PLCL-RP-old	(?)	ALL-3MSGCL-DISTDEM	ACC/DAT-story	RECIPRO-tell-3PLCL	ACC-3PLCL-Q-3PLCL-Q
ki-wa-yo-pateŋ	hiər-pateŋ-i	na-u-manc <sup>h</sup> wa	u-lɔŋ-c <sup>h</sup> wa	u-yɔŋ-ki	ki-yɔŋ-ki	ki-pər.
3PLCL-RP-see-generation	inherit-3MSGCL	ABL-3MSGCL-old people	3MSGCL-be-old people	3MSGCL-GEN-3PLCL	3PLCL-GEN-3PLCL	3PLCL-time

**Gloss:** From one generation to another, from memory, by word of mouth, (this story has been transmitted), as an old people sat together there telling stories, not of just anything, but of those generations, as ashes got lost and charcoal were burnt down.



APPENDIX B: KHASI NARRATION – ka-sɔʔra

ka-sɔʔra ka-dei ka-ʃnɔŋ ka-ba-ʃur-b<sup>h</sup>a u-slap, hinrei minta  
 3fsgcl- 3fsgcl- 3fsgcl- 3fsgcl-rp-heavy- 3msgcl- but now  
 Sohra be village intens rain

**Gloss:** Sohra is the village where it rains heavily,

ka- kam-ʃim-yɔʔ- t<sup>h</sup>ikəna. te ki-la-ʃɔb- da-ki-wa-ki- kum  
 snem slap nɔʔ ʃnɔŋ,  
 3fsgcl- 3fsgcl+neg-neg- regular but 3plcl-perf- agent-3plcl- like  
 year get-rain get-away other(?) 3plcl-  
 village

**Gloss:** but this year it did not get regular rain but other places got the rain like

ka-bəmbei mədra:s bad ki-wei-ki-wei. minta ka-snem ka-bneŋ  
 3fsgcl- Madras conj 3plcl-one-3plcl- now 3fsgcl- 3fsgcl-  
 Bombay one year sky

**Gloss:** Bombay, Madras and others. This year the sky

ka-la-raŋ wat-ha-ka- ka-la-wan- pin- ha-ka-pər- ki-ne  
 pər-liyur. slap bən tɬaŋ.  
 3fsgcl-perf- even-loc- 3fsgcl-perf- caus- loc-3fsgcl- 3plcl-  
 cease to rain 3fsgcl-time- come-rain (?) time-winter proxdem  
 summer

**Gloss:** ceased to rain in the summers, while it rained in the winters.

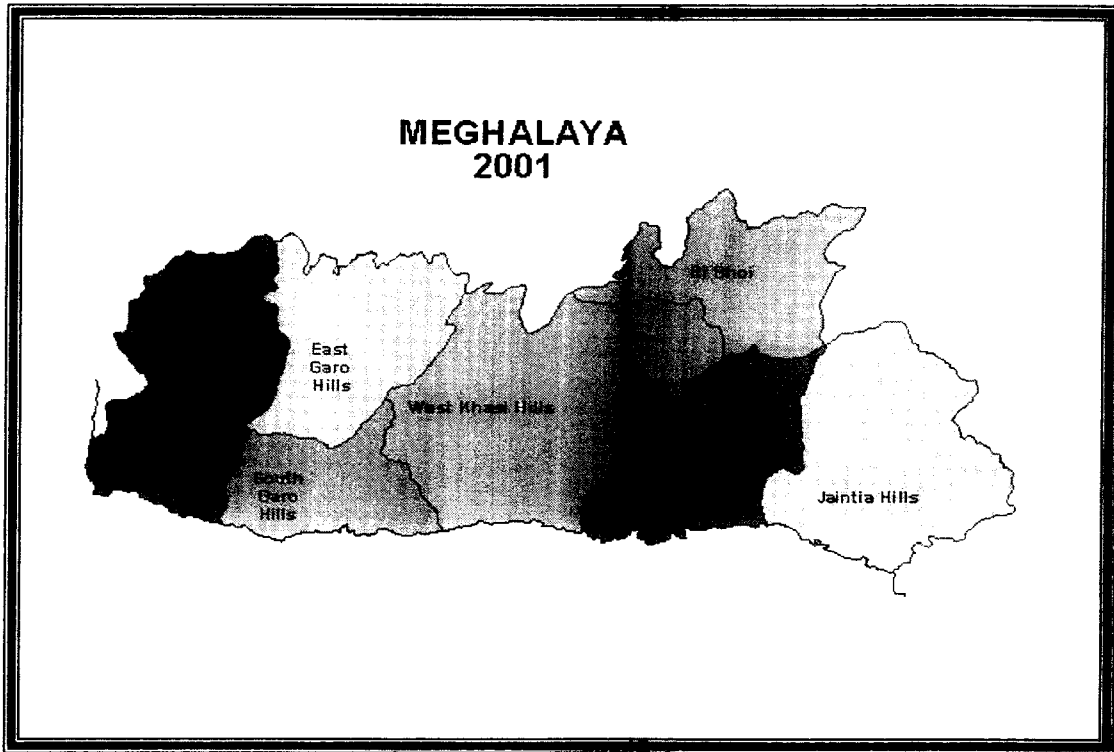
ki-ʃiŋ-ʃa ki-lɔŋ ki-ba- ʃibɔ:neʔ. imat dei na-ka-  
 p<sup>h</sup>illa ma:ryaŋ  
 3plcl- 3plcl- 3plcl-rp- intens to be abl-3fsgcl-  
 absnoun- be surprise seem/appear weather  
 event

**Gloss:** This occurrence is very surprising. It appears to be because of the weather

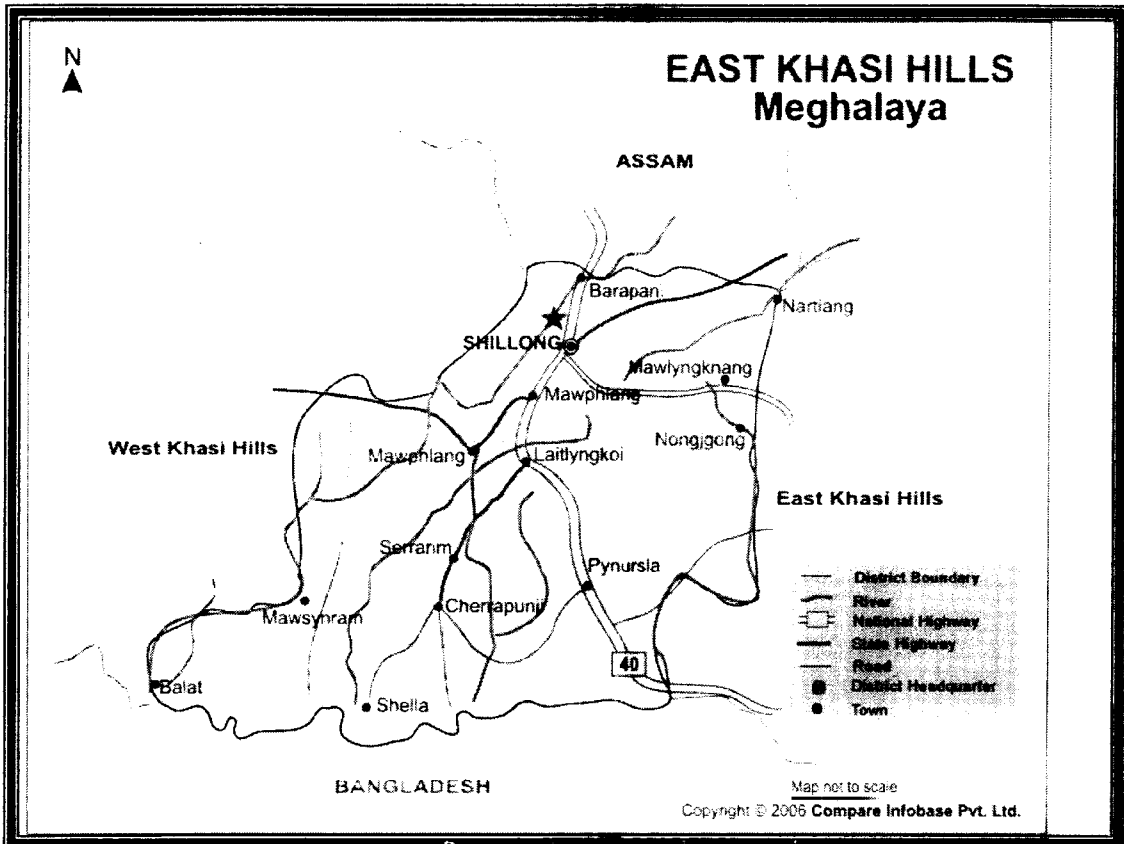
ne dei na-ki-met- ʃɔŋ-ka- ki-ba-pin- kumne ya-ka-maryaŋ.  
 bneŋ pɪrt<sup>h</sup>ai lɔŋ  
 or be 3fsgcl-3plcl- gen-3fsgcl- 3plcl-ro- like acc/dat-3fsgcl-  
 body-sky earth caus-be weather

**Gloss:** or from the sky, or of the earth to cause the rain to be like this.

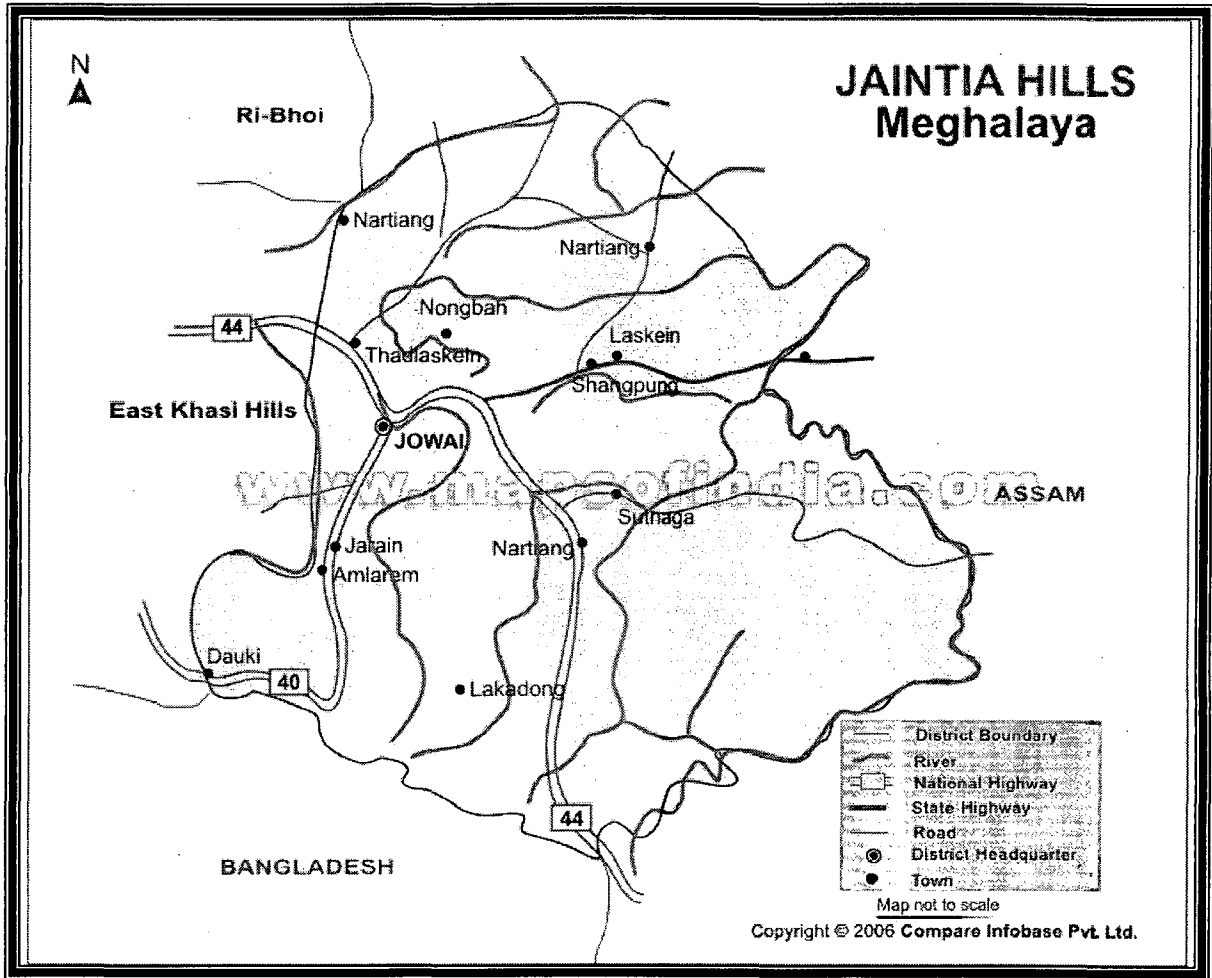
APPENDIX C: MAPS



MAP A: MEGHALAYA



MAP B: EAST KHASI HILLS DISTRICT, MEGHALAYA



**MAP C: JAINTIA HILLS DISTRICT, MEGHALAYA**

**Sources:**

MAP A - <http://www.censusindia.net/results/2001maps/meghalaya01.html>

MAP B - <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/meghalaya/districts/east-khasi-hills.html>

MAP C - <http://mapsofindia.com/maps/meghalaya/districts/jaintia.html>

**APPENDIX D: PNAI INFORMANTS**

S.No.	Name	Age	Sex	Education/ Job	Native place	Languages known
1.	ALMACK BLAH	16	M	CLASS XI	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
2.	BAPYNDAPHUN TANG	18	F	BA (1 <sup>ST</sup> )	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
3.	BHABI SHYLLA	60	F	CLASS VIII	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi
4.	BHOMSINGH CHALLAM	66	M	MBBS	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, Hindi
5.	BIANCA LALOO	35	F	MBBS	Jowai	Pnar,English, German,Hindi
6.	BRILTY SHALLAM	71	F	CLASS X	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
7.	DABIANGHI SYNNAH	17	M	CLASS XI	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
8.	DAMAN SHYLLA	34	M	PU	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
9.	DAMANBHA BAREH	26	F	TEACHER	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
10.	DAMECHANLANGKI DKHAR	17	M	CLASS XI	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
11.	DAVIRAM ACHANGA DKHAR	24	M	BA (3 <sup>RD</sup> )	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
12.	DEBORAH J RYMBAI	44	F	B.Sc	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
13.	DEISHA B RYMBAI	18	F	CLASS XII	Shillong	Pnar, Khasi, English
14.	DESILLA SUMER	86	F	NIL	Jowai	Pnar
15.	DIZACA E LALOO	26	F	BAMS	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, Hindi
16.	EMERYNCIA KHONGLAH	19	F	BA (1 <sup>ST</sup> )	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, War
17.	EMISAKA S SUSNGI	19	F	BA (1 <sup>ST</sup> )	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
18.	EVALINA NONGHULOO	26	F	TEACHER	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
19.	EVANYLLA K SHYLLA	13	F	CLASS VII	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
20.	EVODIA GATPHOH	63	F	TEACHER	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
21.	H CAREHOME PAKYNTEIN SANGOT	42	M	CLASS X	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
22.	HAMDUNA LAMARE	19	F	BA (1 <sup>ST</sup> )	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English

23.	<b>HEIRTAMI KYNJING</b>	34	M	CLASS X	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, Hindi
24.	<b>HUNBOK BAREH</b>	60	F	CLASS IV	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi
25.	<b>INADRIKI TARIANG</b>	15	M		Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
26.	<b>INILANDA MYRCHIANG</b>	19	F	BA (1 <sup>ST</sup> )	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
27.	<b>JAMES HOWNY PASSAH</b>	17	M	CLASS XI	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
28.	<b>LAKHON SHILLA</b>	65	M	BA, BT	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
29.	<b>LAMKHOHLANG KSOO</b>	40	M	PEON	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi
30.	<b>LARIHUNLONG CHULLAI</b>	30	F	LDA	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, War
31.	<b>LASTARMOON S PASSAH</b>	18	M	BA (1 <sup>ST</sup> )	Shangpung	Pnar, Khasi, English
32.	<b>LE PHAWA</b>	53	F	NIL	Jowai	Pnar
33.	<b>M PHYLLEI</b>	75	M	CLASS III	Mawtyrshih	Pnar
34.	<b>M RAPHLANG</b>	53	F	MBBS	Shillong	Pnar, Khasi, English
35.	<b>MARTINA SUTING</b>	18	F	BA (1 <sup>ST</sup> )	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
36.	<b>MILIAN CHYRMANG</b>	48	F	CLASS X	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi
37.	<b>MOHAN CHALLAM</b>	40	M	CLASS X	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
38.	<b>NIVOLYNN SUCHIANG</b>	30	F	GRADUATE	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, Assamese
39.	<b>O RILANDO SHALLAM</b>	52	M	MA	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, Hindi
40.	<b>P P PASLEIN</b>	51	F	LECTURER	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, Hindi
41.	<b>P SHYLLA PATOR</b>	58	M	CLASS III	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi
42.	<b>PHIRA P LYNGDOH</b>	30	F	TOURIST OFFICER	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
43.	<b>PHOLISEY LITING</b>	60	F	CLASS VIII	Sohkha	Pnar, Khasi, War, Hindi
44.	<b>PHRANGSNGI R SOHLANG</b>	33	M	GRADUATE	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi
45.	<b>PYNI PASLEIN</b>	19	F	CLASS VI	Lakasein	Pnar, Khasi, English
46.	<b>PYNHONGTRE DKHAR</b>	20	M	CLASS IV	Demthring	Pnar
47.	<b>PYNTENGENLANG</b>	19	M	BA (1 <sup>ST</sup> )	Shillong	Pnar, Khasi,

	<b>KHARSAHNOH</b>					English, Hindi
48.	<b>R KAMTRE SUMER</b>	19	M	DIPLOMA	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, Hindi
49.	<b>RAMMOIA KHIANGTE</b>	40	M	CLASS X	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, Mizo
50.	<b>RILANGKI TIMUNG</b>	19	F	CLASS X	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
51.	<b>RIMANDA SUCHIANG</b>	21	F	BA (2 <sup>ND</sup> )	Nongkynrih	Pnar, Khasi, English
52.	<b>RIMANSUK BIAM</b>	19	F	BA (1 <sup>ST</sup> )	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
53.	<b>ROCKY LALOO</b>	24	M	CLASS IX	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi
54.	<b>S Q SUMER</b>	72	M	JOINT EDITOR	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
55.	<b>SANGTE</b>	19	F	BA (1 <sup>ST</sup> )	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, Mizo, Hmar, Hindi
56.	<b>SANKIJUH SHYRMANG</b>	55	F	TEACHER	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
57.	<b>SANKIROI BAMON</b>	26	M	BCA	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, Hindi
58.	<b>SYIEMKI PASWET</b>	30	M	CLASS IX	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi
59.	<b>THAWMEN BAMON</b>	53	M	CLASS XII	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi
60.	<b>THONPARI SYNGKON</b>	21	F	BA	Mawsyngkat	Pnar, Khasi, English
61.	<b>TIEWLY KHONGLAH</b>	88	F	NIL	Sohkha	Pnar, Khasi, War, Hindi
62.	<b>TRIPLE SON LALOO</b>	16	M	CLASS XI	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
63.	<b>VICTORLANG POHSYNGAP</b>	16	M	CLASS XI	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
64.	<b>VIOLA PNAWA</b>	26	F	TEACHER	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
65.	<b>WAISA SUMER</b>	38	F	MA	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
66.	<b>WANCHUA SHALLAM</b>	40	F	M.COM, LLB	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English, Hindi
67.	<b>WANSUK RYMBAI</b>	26	F	BA, B.Ed	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English
68.	<b>YOIARLIS DKHAR</b>	58	F	CLASS I	Jowai/ Nartiang	Pnar, Khasi, Hindi
69.	<b>YOWEZER CHAKAM</b>	16	M	CLASS XI	Jowai	Pnar, Khasi, English

**APPENDIX E: KHASI INFORMANTS**

S.No.	Name	Age	Sex	Education/ Job	Native place	Languages known
1.	<b>ABIGAIL HYNNEWTA</b>	46	F	CLASS IX	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi
2.	<b>ALBERT THAM</b>	30	M	B.ARCH	Shillong	Khasi, Hindi, English
3.	<b>B GIRI</b>	66	F	MA, BT	Sohra	Khasi, English
4.	<b>B NONGRUM</b>	78	F	FISH MERCHANT	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi
5.	<b>BAHRIT LALOO</b>	24	M	CLASS VIII	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi, English
6.	<b>BALAMERA LYNGDOH MAWPHLANG</b>	18	F	BA	Sohra	Khasi, English
7.	<b>BANSARA HADEM</b>	18	F	CLASS X	Shillong	Khasi, English
8.	<b>BISHALDA MYLLIEMNGAP</b>	22	F	BA	Shillong	Khasi, Hindi, English
9.	<b>CENTER NONGRUM</b>	26	M	CLASS IV	Sohra	Khasi
10.	<b>CLARICIA DIENGDOH</b>	56	F	B.Sc	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi, English
11.	<b>D K SYNTENG</b>	50	M	BA	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi, English
12.	<b>DAWNINGSTAR KYNTA</b>	21	M	CLASS XII	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi, English
13.	<b>DEITILANG NONGKYNRH</b>	28	F	MPHIL (KHASI)	Sohra/ Shillong	Khasi, English, Hindi
14.	<b>E DOHLING</b>	38	F	CLASS X	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi, English
15.	<b>EERLUMKHASI LYNGDOH</b>	48	F	CLAS IX	Sohra	Khasi, English
16.	<b>EVACORDOR HADEM</b>	19	F	BA	Shillong	English, Khasi, Hindi
17.	<b>FREEMAN SINGH SYIEM</b>	50	M	SYIEM OF SOHRA	Sohra	English, Khasi
18.	<b>G LALOO</b>	17	M	CLASS X	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi, English
19.	<b>H R SYIEM</b>	73	M	BA	Sohra	English, Khasi, Hindi
20.	<b>HENRY SUTING</b>	24	M	CLASS X	Nongtyngur	Khasi
21.	<b>IBANSARA MYLLIEMNGAP</b>	19	F	BA	Shillong	English, Khasi, Hindi
22.	<b>JEAN S DKHAR</b>	27	F	PhD in HINDI (pursuing)	Shillong	Khasi, Hindi, English
23.	<b>K DIENGDOH</b>	81	F	BEETLENUT BUSINESS	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi

24.	<b>KHRAW</b>	26	M	GRADUATE	Shillong	Khasi, English
25.	<b>KRESSILIN MYLLIEMNGAP</b>	46	F	CLASS V	Shillong	Khasi
26.	<b>LEWIS LYNGDOH</b>	23	M	CLASS IV	Sohra	Khasi
27.	<b>M KHARMALKI</b>	26	M	BA	Sohra	Khasi, English
28.	<b>M LALOO</b>	26	M	CLASS IX	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi
29.	<b>M MARBANIANG</b>	69	F	CLASS X	Shillong	Khasi, English
30.	<b>MARY D MAWЛИEH</b>	22	F	GRADUATE	Shillong	Khasi, English
31.	<b>MERIDAKER NONGKYNRIH</b>	18	F	BA	Sohra	Khasi, English
32.	<b>N DIENGDOH</b>	44	F	MA	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi, English
33.	<b>N KHARSYNTENG</b>	54	F	BA	Sohra	English, Khasi, Hindi
34.	<b>O WAHLANG</b>	27	M	CLASS X	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi, English
35.	<b>P GIRI</b>	59	M	B.Sc	Shillong	Khasi, Hindi, English
36.	<b>P S PONGROPE</b>	77	M	BA, LLB	Sohra	English, Khasi, Hindi
37.	<b>P WAN</b>	41	M	CLASS VII	Sohra	Khasi, English, Garo, Pnar
38.	<b>PARISHA T RAPLANG</b>	26	F	BE	Shillong	Khasi, English
39.	<b>R A SHULLAI</b>	75	M	CLASS X	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi, English
40.	<b>R ARPITY MYLLIEMNGAP</b>	23	F	MA	Shillong	Khasi, English, Pnar
41.	<b>REBEKAH THAM</b>	37	F	MPHIL	Shillong	Khasi, Hindi, English, German
42.	<b>RIPHYLLA DIENGDOH</b>	24	F	BSc	Sohra	Khasi, English, Hindi
43.	<b>S R DIENGDOH</b>	60	M	SIRDAR	Sohra	Khasi, English, Hindi, War
44.	<b>SANBOR CHYNE</b>	20	M	CLASS XII	Sohra	Khasi, Hindi, English
45.	<b>SBOI RYNJEH</b>	65	M	CLASS III	Nongkynruh	Khasi
46.	<b>SHAMBAR DIENGDOH</b>	62	M	CLASS X	Sohra	Khasi, English
47.	<b>STEBANSHON MYLLIEMNGAP</b>	22	M	MA	Shillong	English, Khasi, Hindi
48.	<b>TAMBOR LYNGDOH</b>	37	M	GRADUATE	Shillong	Khasi, Hindi, English, Pnar



49.	<b>W KNIGHT</b>	76	M	B.Sc, BET, M.Ed	Sohra	Khasi, English
50.	<b>Y SHANGDIAR</b>	37	F	CLASS X	Sohra	Khasi, English
51.	<b>YALLANDA MYLLIEMNGAP</b>	38	F	PU	Shillong	Khasi, English



*“Our life is an apprenticeship to the truth  
that around every circle another can be  
drawn; that there is no end in nature, but  
every end is a beginning, and under every  
deep a lower deep opens.”*

*Ralph Waldo Emerson*

