

**The personal pronouns and their related clitics in six Khasi  
dialects : a grammatical and sociolinguistic study**

**by  
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## ABSTRACT

The thesis, as the title suggests, is divided into two parts: a grammar section and a sociolinguistic section. The grammar section comprises chapters II, III and IV and the sociolinguistic section chapters V, VI and VII. Chapter I provides general information on the language and its people, the system of notation used to present the linguistic data, the issues that are raised in the thesis, the methodology employed and the criteria upon which the questionnaire and the fieldwork are based. Chapter VIII, the general conclusion, summarizes the findings of the grammar and sociolinguistic sections.

The main issues that are raised in the grammar section are two. The first concerns the syntactic status of a set of clitics which all share the same property of encoding the categories of person, number and gender. In prenominal position acting as 'articles', they convey the gender and number of the noun, and as 'agreement markers' show the agreement of modifiers with the head in the noun phrase. In combination with the verb they either act as agreement markers showing grammatical agreement between the lexical subject NP and the verb or as pronominals, that is to say they are referential pronouns that fulfil argument functions. The other issue that is raised in this section is the functions and distribution of the independent pronouns by comparison with those of the pronominal clitics. Chapter II deals with these issues in the standard dialect, chapter III examines them in the five regional dialects and chapter IV deals with their comparison across the dialects. The two main differences that will be seen between the dialect groups concern: (a) the gender system as encoded in the prenominal clitics, the peripheral and the transitional dialects having a basic three-gender system whereas the central dialects have a basic two-gender system (innovations on the part of the central dialects in developing a polite or honorific gender for pragmatic purposes and the influence of these dialects on the other groups are also considered); (b) in the central dialects the clitics have a wide range of functions in that they fulfil all argument functions whereas the

independent pronouns fulfil purely discourse functions. In the peripheral dialects on the other hand, the clitics have a very restricted range of functions that of a subject in continued discourse and of possessor in a construction without preposition. This chapter also studies the forms of the pronouns, the clitics being shown to be clearly cognate across the dialects and the independent pronouns to have developed from the clitics independently in the individual dialects.

The sociolinguistic section deals with the informants' reported use of the second person pronouns and third person constructions in addressing, and of the different articles with appropriate nominals in referring to, kin and non-kin members of the community. Chapter V presents some theoretical considerations regarding the Address variable and the Reference variable as part of the pronominal strategies adopted in various languages. The variants of the Address and the Reference variables that are reportedly used by speakers in the Khasi dialects selected for analysis are also dealt with here. Chapter VI presents an analysis of the informants' responses to a questionnaire regarding their use of the variants of the Address and the Reference variables. Chapter VII compares the informants' reported use of Address and of Reference across the dialects. This chapter also looks at the diachronic development of the second person 'polite' pronoun which has led to changes in the pronominal paradigm in the central dialects. It also examines the development of the honorific article as part of the variants of Reference. Here too the claim is that the central dialects are responsible for the innovations that have taken place in the way the second person pronouns and the honorific article are used.

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QuestionnaireData relating to the dialects

## List of Abbreviations

ADV = adverb  
AGR = agreement marker  
AKIN = akin word or imitative  
CL = classifier  
CONT = continuous marker  
CT = clitic  
Dem = demonstrative  
F = feminine  
FUT = future marker  
HAB = habitual marker  
IP = independent pronoun  
LFG = Lexical Functional Grammar  
M = masculine  
N = neuter  
NP = noun phrase  
OBJ = object marker  
P = polite  
PART = particle  
PAST = past marker  
PERF = perfect marker  
Pl = plural  
REC = reciprocal marker  
Sg = singular  
SUB = subordinator  
SUBJ = subject  
V = verb  
vl = *voiceless*  
vd = *voiced*

FIGURE 1: MAP OF INDIA

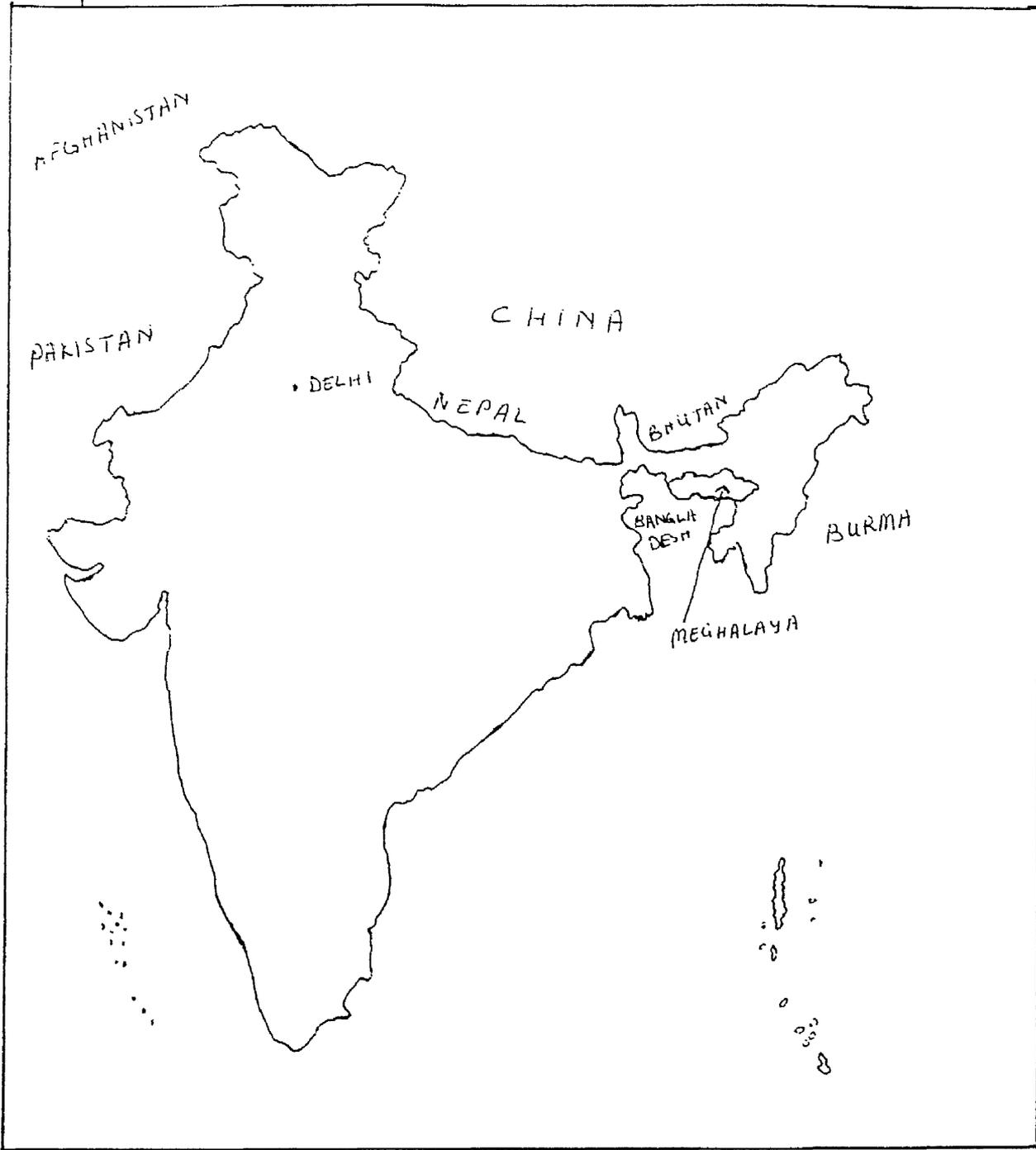
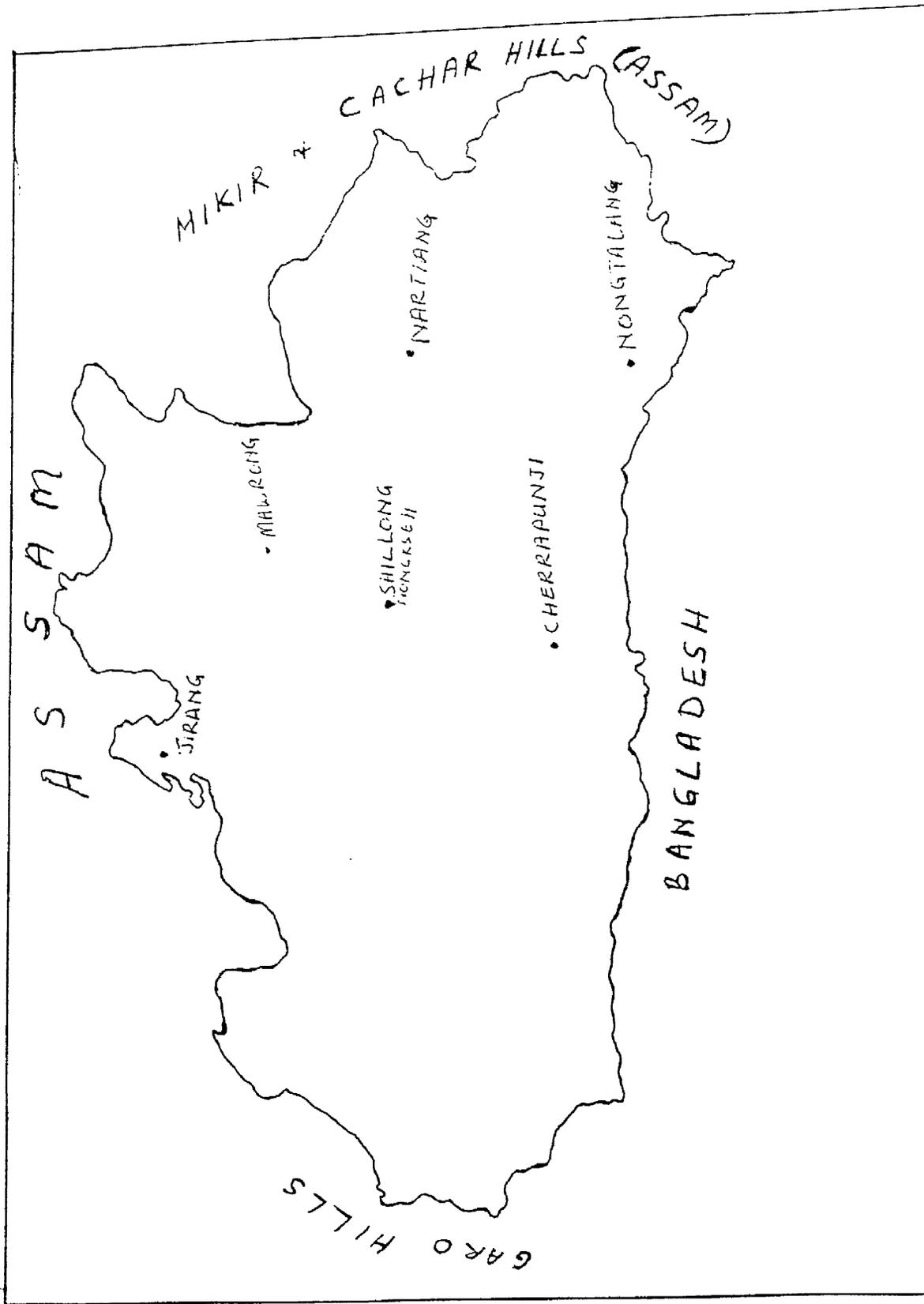


FIGURE 2: MAP OF EAST KHASI HILL, WEST KHASI HILL AND JAINTHIA HILL DISTRICTS



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 The people and the land

Khasi is spoken in the three districts of Meghalaya, a north-eastern state of India. These districts are: East Khasi Hills, West Khasi Hills and Jaintia Hills. The state of Meghalaya is bordered by Assam in the north and east and has international borders with Bangladesh in the south.

The people. According to Bareh (1985) the etymology of the word 'Khasi' is that it is derived from *kha* meaning 'born' and *si*, the name 'Si' of an ancient primeval mother so that the literal translation would be 'born of the mother'. He ties this interpretation to the Khasi saying *long jaid ka Kynthei* 'from the woman sprang the clan'. This, of course, refers to the matrilineal and matrilocal structure of Khasi society. Khasi is a general name given to the various sub-tribes, the major of which are the Khyntiam of the central plateau of Khasi Hills, the Pnars of Jaintia Hills, the War of the southern slopes of Khasi Hills, the Amwi of the southern part of Jaintia Hills, the Bhoi of the northern valleys of Khasi Hills and the Lyngngam of the north-western part of West Khasi Hills.

According to the 1981 census, the total population of the state of Meghalaya is 1,335,819, of which the Khasi speakers make up something over 600,000.

Geography. The three Districts are located approximately between 25 and 26 degree North and between 91 and 93 degree East, their total area being 5,541 square miles. The

elevation of the Shillong peak, the highest point, is 6,450 feet above sea level. The Districts are well-defined, forming three distinct plateaux, with ridges, hillocks, streams and rivers that flow towards the plains of Assam or to the Surma Valley. The areas are rich in fauna and flora with pine, oak, bamboo, magnolia and numerous timber trees including sal dotting the landscape. In the higher elevation, rhododendrons, and rare and beautiful orchids are in abundance. Though deforestation has eroded much of the beauty and almost depleted the wildlife in the Districts, the sacred groves and the state reserved forests are still mostly protected. Some of these forests are reported to contain a variety of wild life including elephant, tiger, leopard, python, bear, wild pig, deer and birds of many kinds. The areas are rich in minerals such as coal, sillimanite, limestone and sandstone.

The climate of the Districts is generally bracing and cool in the hilly areas but warmer on the southern and northern slopes. The most remarkable phenomenon of these areas is the enormous amount of rainfall that they receive. Cherrapunjee in the south and Mawsynram in the west of the Districts record the heaviest rainfall in the world.

History. The details on the ancient history of the Khasis are still shrouded in mystery. There is no documented record of how and when the people came to settle in the hills. The study of the history of the Khasi people can be broadly divided into three major periods - the pre-British period, the period of British rule and the post-Independence period.

The view of historians such as Bareh (1985) and Nataranjan (1977) is that the Khasis were one of the earliest

groups of races migrating to Assam around about the 5th century A.D. Details, however, are available only from about 1500 A.D. The records available since then have shown that the Districts, prior to the British period, comprised many principalities where the *Syiem* (chief) ruled together with his ministers. Families formed a clan, clans formed villages and villages formed a State. A Khasi State was a very limited monarchy, the chief's powers being very much circumscribed. The society was an egalitarian one where it was not customary for any member of the chief's family, not even the heir-apparent, to avoid the ordinary occupations of a Khasi. The law of inheritance, which has survived till the present time, rules that inheritance passes from the mother to the youngest daughter. The law of succession of the *Syiemship*, however, passes from the chief to his nephew, the eldest son of his eldest uterine sister.

The advent of the British Empire had a major impact on the history of the Khasis. The British initially made Cherrapunji the administrative headquarters of the Districts. The missionaries also started their missionary activities from that same place. The first Christian missionaries who came to these hills were from the Serampore Baptist Mission and they stayed in Cherrapunji from 1813 to 1833. They published the first Khasi book, the New Testament in Bengali script, but failed to arouse interest among the Khasis. In 1841 the Welsh Mission under the Reverend Thomas Jones opened its first mission in Cherrapunji. Jones simultaneously started a mission school and made the first attempt to write the Khasi language in Roman script. The variety of Khasi spoken in Cherrapunji at that time

was adopted as the written variety. The script has since then been accepted and is used by Khasis, so that today Jones is known as "the father of Khasi literature". The Cherrapunji variety thus became the standard dialect. At present, Christianity is the main religion of the Khasis. According to the 1981 census, Christians comprise 48.6% of the population in East Khasi Hill District, 74.5% in West Khasi Hill District and 55.9% in the Jaintia Hill District.

When independent India started the first administration, the Districts were grouped as a single unit, namely, United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and this was under the state of Assam. As was the case with many other indigenous groups in the country, the sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution had given some basic protection for the Khasis, but the people were not happy with the administrative control of the State Government. From 1953, there was a concerted effort by leaders of all the hill areas for a Hill State separate from Assam, and when the Assam Government passed a bill in 1960 to make Assamese the official language of the State the demand for a separate Hill State became the single issue in all elections. The Khasi people gave a very strong mandate to their leaders in support of this demand. Finally, in 1969, Parliament passed a bill for the creation of an autonomous state within Assam. Shillong was to serve as the capital of both Assam and the new autonomous State. The proposed name of the state was Meghalaya, meaning 'the abode of the clouds', and would comprise of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Garo Hills Districts. The new State was inaugurated in April 1970. Meghalaya became a fully fledged State of India on 21 January 1972 and the Assam

government had to shift its capital from Shillong to Dispur. The Districts of Meghalaya at present are East Khasi Hill District, West Khasi Hill District, Jaintia Hill District, East Garo Hill District, and West Garo Hill District.

The majority of the Khasis still derive their living from the land. The main produce is rice, potatoes, fruits and vegetables of various kinds. Food produced locally is not adequate for the needs of the population so that food has to be imported from neighbouring Assam and other parts of India. Meghalaya is one of the most industrially backward states in the country. However, after the formation of the State, investment on the part of the government has resulted in small-scale and cottage industries for local produce. Tourism is still in its infancy, but there is great potential for the development of this industry. Power, in the form of hydro-electricity and coal, is one of the few resources in which Meghalaya is more than self-sufficient. Much of it is exported to neighbouring Assam.

Transport and communications. The mountainous terrain of the Districts of Khasi and Jaintia Hills does not permit the development of a well-knit railway system so that the sole means of communication is road transport. Road construction between Gauhati, the commercial centre of Assam, and Shillong was undertaken very early by the British and in 1906, the first passenger bus plied between Shillong and Gauhati. However, the progress in road construction was accelerated only during the last two decades after the Government of Meghalaya was formed, and now many areas are connected by road to the State capital Shillong. The improved transport facilities mean

that contact is possible for Khasis not only with the outside world but also among themselves. There are road connections very near to the villages where the dialects taken for analysis in this study are spoken. Mawrong, the most difficult of access, is situated on a hill and there is a rough track running from the foot of the hill to the tarred road which leads to the Shillong-Gauhati national highway. These kinds of rough track are usable in winter but would be very difficult for vehicles to negotiate during the monsoon period.

Since the British period primary education was taken seriously by the church leaders of all denominations but it was only after the formation of the state that primary schools were properly funded in almost all the villages, high schools in the bigger villages and more recently even colleges in the divisional headquarters in the east, west, north, and south of the Districts. All India Radio has been broadcasting news and cultural programmes in Standard Khasi, and also in the Jowai (Pnar) dialect, for decades before Meghalaya was formed. Since radio broadcasts are listened to by people who can afford radios in all the villages, contact with the standard dialect has been present for quite a long time among Khasi speakers. The major newspapers are mostly concentrated in Shillong but their distribution is also quite widespread in the bigger towns. Since the Bible and the hymnbooks are all written in Standard Khasi and since church services are also conducted in this dialect, it is likely that the standard dialect is quite familiar to most Khasi speakers.

## 1.2 The language

In recent years there has been a spate of interest in the study of the Khasi language. For some historians, such as Shadap-Sen (1969), Bareh (1985) language has an important bearing on providing an answer to the question of the origin of the people. The Khasi language which belongs to the Austroasiatic family, stands like an island in a sea of Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan languages. Grierson (1908 [1966]) divides the Mon-Khmer sub-family of the Austro-Asiatic family into five groups: (1) languages in the lower and middle Mekong; (2) Mon or Talaing in Pegu, Annamese (Vietnamese) and other minor dialects, Stieng and Bahnar in Vietnam; (3) Khmer and other allied dialects in Cambodia; (4) Palaung to the north-east of Mandalay and also Wa, which prevails in Chindwin and Mekong sides including Lemet, Khmu and Riang; (5) Khasi and its dialects, namely, Pnar (Syntengs) of the Jaintia Hills, the War dialect of the south, Lyngngam of the far north-western frontiers of the country and Khasi proper, which is represented by the Cherra form of speech. Subsequent classifications of the Austroasiatic languages have been undertaken by Thomas and Headley (1970), Svantesson (1983), Diffloth (1982) and Ruhlen (1987). The following classification is taken from Svantesson (1983:5):

- (1) Munda group of languages
- (2) Mon-Khmer group of languages.

The Mon-Khmer group consists of the following:

- (1) Nicobarese (Nicobar Islands, India; 20,000 speakers)
- (2) Khasi (Meghalaya, India; 500,000 speakers)
- (3) Palaungic languages (China-Burma border area and in

- north Laos and Thailand; 1 million speakers)
- (4) Kamuic languages (northern Laos, Thailand and Vietnam; 500,000 speakers)
  - (5) Monic Languages (Burma; 500,000 speakers)
  - (6) Pearic languages (Cambodia; 4,000 speakers)
  - (7) Khmer (Cambodia; 8 million speakers)
  - (8) Viet-Muong (north Vietnam; 40 million speakers)
  - (9) Katuic languages (central Vietnam and Laos; 300,000 speakers)
  - (10) Bahnaric languages (south Vietnam and Laos; 600,000 speakers)
  - (11) Aslian languages (on the Malayan peninsula; 35,000 speakers).

The numbers of speakers given above are those of Svantesson, although he himself states that the figures are not meant to be exact but merely to give an indication of the relative sizes of the populations.

Linguists are in accord concerning the place of Khasi in the Mon-Khmer group of languages. Henderson, in particular, points to the fact that, despite the obviously long separation of Khasi from the other Mon-Khmer languages, it still retains vestiges of Mon-Khmer morphology.

Khasi, like most Mon-Khmer languages, has SVO word order but some of the Khasi dialects have a verb-subject order when a pronominal clitic is the subject of the sentence. The demonstrative precedes the noun, while the adjective and the relative clause follow it. The noun is nearly always preceded by the article. Standard Khasi has a basic two-gender system while most other regional dialects have a three-gender system. There

is agreement between the subject NP and the verb, indicated by means of a clitic.

Though Khasi does not permit consonant clusters word-finally, it is astonishingly rich in word-initial clusters (Henderson 1976). Some of these clusters have, however, only a very low functional load.

### 1.3 Phonology and notation

The following chart of the consonants that are used in this study is based on Rabel (1961) and Henderson (1967).

	Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
<b>STOPS</b>					
vl. unasp.	p	t	c	k	ʔ
vl. asp.	ph	th		kh	
vd. unasp.	b	d	j		
vd. asp.	bh		jh		
<b>SPIRANTS</b>					
vl.		s	š		h
<b>SONANTS</b>					
lateral		r, l			
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
<b>SEMI-VOWELS</b>					
	w		y		

In Standard Khasi the voiceless palatal [c] only occurs word-finally. The glottal stop occurs in all positions and is

obligatory word-initially before a vowel except when the immediately preceding word ends in a glottal stop.

The orthography of Standard Khasi differs from the above chart only in the following respects: (a) the voiceless palatal is not written [c] in final position but is spelled *t*, *d* or *j*; (b) the glottal stop is not written word-initially and is spelled *h* word-finally; (c) [š] and [ŋ] are spelled *sh* and *ng* respectively.

A further important feature that Khasi shares with other south-east Asian languages is pointed<sup>out</sup> by Henderson, namely, that stops do not have a voiced:voiceless contrast word-finally. What we get in that position is an unexploded voiceless stop, often accompanied by simultaneous glottal closure. Henderson (1967) is of the opinion that the presence in Khasi orthography of the voiced and voiceless consonants word-finally is due to the influence of Welsh, the language of the pioneers of the Khasi script. In Welsh the voiced:voiceless contrast of stops usually coincides with vowel length, the voiced stop following a long vowel and the voiceless stop a short vowel. This is precisely the situation in Khasi:

dab [da:p']	'to castrate'	dap [dap']	'full'
mad [ma:t']	'to taste'	mat [mat']	'so what?'

Henderson uses the symbol ['] after a final stop to indicate that it is not released. My own speech conforms to this. Though I agree with her analysis, I have not, however, used the diacritic ['] but have kept to the standard orthography where final stops are concerned.

There is another feature of Khasi that is the subject of some controversy. Abbi (1987) is of the view that the final sound in words like leit 'to go', pait 'to break' is not a palatal as Henderson claims but a lamino-dental. Abbi argues that since in the production of this sound, the blade of the tongue touches the lower teeth, a fundamental question in phonetics is raised, namely, "should we include lower teeth as part of the passive articulation?". I have, however, adopted Henderson's analysis in this study and chosen to regard this sound as a voiceless palatal.

The symbols that I use for the vowels and diphthongs in the present study are based on Henderson (1967) and are as follows:

i e ε a ɔ o u

Of these, three have long counterparts:

ē ā ṽ

There is also a central high vowel *i*.

The diphthongs are as follows:

iu eu εu āu εi āi ɔi ṽi ia

Professor Henderson very kindly gave me a copy of her 1967 article on which she had made some revisions concerning the vowels on the data that she had obtained from a more recent informant, (1967:585-6). These are: the mid-high back vowel [o] for [u] in items such as [rɔʔ] 'cage'; the vowel [e] for the diphthong [ie] in items such as [kten] 'word'; the vowel [ɔ] for the diphthong [uɔ] in items such as [lom] 'hill'. My own speech also conforms to this revised analysis.

For writing the regional dialects I have used the same symbols as for the standard dialect, the only differences being

the following: the voiceless palatal [c] occurs in the standard dialect only word-finally but is not positionally restricted in the other dialects; these latter also have its aspirated counterpart [č], which is not found to be present in the standard dialect; regarding the vowels, I find that some of the regional dialects have a schwa [ə].

#### 1.4 Objectives

This study aims to present a grammatical and sociolinguistic analysis of the personal pronouns and their related clitics in six Khasi dialects.

The dialects selected for this purpose are divided into three groups: (i) the peripheral dialects, comprising Nongtalang spoken in the south-eastern part of Jaintia Hill District, and Jirang in the north of East Khasi Hill District; (ii) the transitional dialects, comprising Nartiang, spoken in the mid-eastern part of Jaintia Hill District, and Mawrong in the mid-northern part of East Khasi Hill District; (iii) the central dialects, comprising Nongkseh spoken in Shillong, and the standard dialect spoken in Shillong and Cherrapunji.

In sociolinguistic studies the attempt is made to gauge change by examining linguistic variations within the speech community. This variation may be based on social or on geographical factors. Labov's findings on social varieties have provided an insight into how the process of language change can be actually observed through social variation. In this study, it is not social but geographical variation that is examined in order to establish how certain changes have taken place in Khasi. Since the transitional dialects of Mawrong and of

Nartiang are located nearer to the capital Shillong, and the peripheral dialects of Nongtalang and of Jirang are at a greater distance, it is hoped that a comparison of these dialects <sup>will</sup> throw light on certain changes which have taken place in the history of Khasi. It is argued that if the two peripheral dialects, which are located at opposite ends of the Districts, are found to share certain features quite different from those found in the standard dialect, we can assume that these shared features are likely to be more archaic than those of the central dialects.

There are two main sections to this study, a grammar section and a sociolinguistic section. The main objective of the grammar section is to describe the functions and distribution of the personal pronouns and their related clitics in the dialects chosen for analysis. The term 'related clitics' refers to certain 'weak' pronominals that are sometimes referential pronouns with argument functions and sometimes have purely grammatical functions. These may be articles that mark the number and gender of the noun, or markers of agreement between the noun and its modifiers within the noun phrase, or between the lexical subject NP and the verb. Although these clitics are unquestionably cognate across the dialects, their functions and their distribution differ in the different dialect groups.

In addition to the clitics, there is also a set of independent pronouns which appear to have developed from the clitics but independently in the different dialects. It will be seen that the way the independent pronouns have developed in the dialects partly accounts for the difference in their functions and distribution among the dialect groups. The

dialects in fact present two polar systems with intermediate variants across the spectrum. The independent pronouns and the pronominal clitics between them cover the full range of functions, from discourse roles, via argument roles, to non-referential grammatical marking, and the dialects may be seen to form a cline dependent on how independent pronouns and clitics divide the field between them. In the central dialects the pronominal clitic fulfils all argument functions and the independent pronoun only fulfils discourse functions, that is to say it marks contrast and emphasis. In the peripheral dialects on the other hand, the clitic is restricted to subject function in continued discourse while the independent pronoun covers the entire range of argument as well as discourse functions. The position of the pronominals also differs among the dialect groups. In the central dialects the subject clitic occurs in the same position as the lexical subject NP, that is, before the verb complex. In the peripheral dialects on the other hand, the subject clitic follows the verb complex.

The sociolinguistic section focuses on the way the pronouns are reportedly used in the dialects. There are two main issues in this section, namely, the 'polite' uses of the second person pronouns in addressing an addressee, and of the articles in referring to a third party. In particular, the development of the second person 'polite' or honorific pronoun and of the honorific article is examined. A comparison of the relative frequency of the use of the 'polite' second person pronoun across the dialects enables us to attribute this innovation to the central dialects and to follow its spread across the transitional dialects and the peripheral dialects. The

development of the honorific article also is the result of innovation by the standard dialect, and its spread is seen, although marginally, in the transitional dialects.

### 1.5 Fieldwork and methodology

The data that has been used in this study was collected during my fieldwork in India between January and March 1989. It was elicited mainly through a questionnaire, which was primarily designed to obtain sociolinguistic information and by getting informants to translate the text of a story into their dialect (Text 1 in the Appendix). I was able to locate speakers of the different dialects in the capital, Shillong, where they had come for higher education after they had finished their studies in local schools. Some of them were working in government offices in Shillong, and all were conversant with the standard dialect. This was felt to be important since the questionnaire to which they had to respond was written in the standard dialect.

The data that I used for the grammatical analysis was provided by the main informants for each dialect, with the exception of the standard dialect which is based on my own speech. For two of the dialects, Nongtalang and Jirang, I have since been able to obtain additional data in the form of isolated sentences and another story (Text 2 in the Appendix). On Mawrong, my main informant provided me with a taped text of a third story (Text 3 in the Appendix), which he wrote himself along with its written translation into the standard dialect.

The questionnaire is the sole basis for the sociolinguistic analysis. Through it, the informants were asked to give their

personal details: name, age, educational qualifications, occupations, marital status, dialect spoken at home and in the case of married informants, that of the spouse. They were asked to indicate in the appropriate columns, which of the second person pronouns they would choose when addressing a particular addressee, and which article in conjunction with which nominal they would choose to refer to a particular referent. These addressees and referents included consanguineal kin relations, affinal kin relations, and non-kin members who are older, younger, socially respected or socially subordinate to the informants. They were also asked whether or not they would use other devices for addressing, such as the third person construction and if they did so, to whom they would use this form of address. My main informants in each dialect also helped me find other informants for their respective dialects to fill in the questionnaires.

The analyses presented in this study are structural without adhering to any one particular framework. However, I have based the analysis of the gender system loosely on Corbett (1991), and that of the agreement system on Bresnan and Mchombo (1987); in particular, I have adopted their locality principle and their structural tests for establishing discourse roles. The sociolinguistic analysis is based on Brown and Gilman (1972), Brown and Levinson (1987) especially for the Address variable, and on Brown and Levinson (1987) and Murphy (1988) for the Reference variable. In particular, I have based much of the analysis of the interaction of structure and usage and the way pragmatics feeds back into the grammar on Brown and Levinson (1987).

GRAMMAR SECTION

## CHAPTER II

### Clitics and independent pronouns in Standard Khasi: form and syntactic distribution

#### 2.0 Introduction

Personal pronouns in Khasi have always been analysed in terms of person, gender and number. A more recent study on the Amwi dialects by Weidert (1975) has noted the presence of what he terms 'free' and 'bound' forms of the personal pronouns. Each of the personal pronouns in the Khasi dialects, including Standard Khasi, has in fact a 'free' form which I prefer to call 'independent pronoun' and a 'bound' form which I call 'clitic'. Clitics have been examined in detail by Zwicky and Pullum (1983), Zwicky (1985), Klavans (1985), and Spencer (1991). All of these agree that clitics are to be distinguished from affixes and from words. Linguists have adduced various phonological and semantic criteria to differentiate clitics from affixes on the one hand and from words on the other. Broadly speaking, clitics are like affixes in that they lack inherent stress whereas semantically they are more word-like than affix-like. Also a clitic behaves more like a word than an affix in that it can occur in a range of syntactic environments. My employment of the term 'clitic' here refers to an element which has the following characteristics: firstly, it cannot occur in isolation, for example as the answer to a question; secondly, it cannot bear stress; and thirdly, it must be phonologically attached to a host.

As stated above, it will be seen that personal pronouns in Standard Khasi have 'strong' (independent pronoun) and 'clitic'

variants. Here the clitic is not a reduced variant of the independent pronoun, it is rather the latter that is a 'strengthened' form of the clitic for, as will be seen from the <sup>following</sup> table. In addition, the independent pronouns are formed from the clitics by prefixing an emphatic element *ma-*.

Before discussing them, an inventory of these clitics and independent pronouns in the standard dialect of Khasi, together with their traditional allocations to the categories of person and number, is here presented. In the table below the pronominal clitics include articles and agreement markers within the noun phrase, the pronominal clitics include both referential pronouns and non-referential agreement markers. (The subject pronominal clitic and the grammatical agreement marker marking agreement between the subject lexical NP and the verb are discussed under the heading Preverbal clitics).

Table 2.1 Clitics and independent pronouns in Standard Khasi

	prenominal clitic	pronominal clitic	IP
I Sg	-	ŋa	maŋa
I Pl	-	ŋi	maŋi
I Pl Distant	-	ŋi+ya	maŋi ŋi+ya
II Sg M	-	me	mame
II Sg F	-	pha	mapha
II Sg P	-	phi	maphi
II Pl M	-	me+ya	mame me+ya
II Pl F	-	pha+ya	mapha pha+ya
II Pl P	-	phi+ya	maphi phi+ya
III Sg M	ʔu	ʔu	maʔu
III Sg F	ka	ka	maka
III Sg P	ʔi	ʔi	maʔi
III Pl M	-	ʔu+ya	maʔu ʔu+ya
III Pl F	-	ka+ya	maka ka+ya
III Pl	ki	ki	maki
III Pl Distant	-	ki+ya	maki ki+ya

Abbreviations: IP=independent pronoun, Sg=singular, Pl=plural, M=male, F=female, P=polite. The + indicates that the *ya* which pluralizes the pronoun does not at all times occur immediately next to it since an auxiliary may come between them.

This chapter focuses on the functions and distribution of the clitic and the independent personal pronoun in Standard Khasi. In particular, the two issues that will be considered are the distributional differences between clitic and independent pronoun and the syntactic status of the clitic in different syntactic environments. It will furthermore be seen that the third person clitics have a very wide distributional range and I shall argue that this range comprises both referential and grammatical functions. It will be necessary, therefore, to determine when these clitics have argument function and when they are mere grammatical markers. In doing this, we shall distinguish between prenominal and preverbal clitics and will divide the latter on the basis of whether or not they co-occur with a coreferential NP.

The members of the first group, the prenominal clitics, function as gender/number markers of nouns and are used in two ways. A prenominal clitic is termed an 'article' when it immediately precedes and conveys the gender/number of the noun, and it is termed an 'agreement marker' when it indicates agreement between the head and the modifier in the noun phrase. It should be stated here that the term 'article' is not being used in exactly the same way as it is used in Indo-European languages like English. In Khasi, the article does not differentiate between definiteness and indefiniteness, and no element can occur between it and the noun. Its main purpose is merely to indicate the gender and number of the noun. Since Khasi has both natural and grammatical gender, gender assignment rules will be proposed to show what determines the gender of a noun in the lexicon. Standard Khasi has a basic two-gender system comprising masculine and feminine. This differentiation is conveyed by

means of two of the articles. There is, however, a third gender which operates as a derivational mechanism for pragmatic purposes, replacing either the masculine or the feminine to indicate diminutiveness or polite reference. A fourth article marks the plural of both masculine and feminine nouns.

The second group, the preverbal clitics, precede the verb complex. It will be argued that the clitic here has one or other of two distinct functions depending on the syntactic environment: it may be either a referential pronoun (pronominal clitic) or it may be an agreement marker. Our analysis is based on that of Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) for Chichewa, presented within the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG).<sup>1</sup> The principles set up by Bresnan and Mchombo for their analysis of a similar clitic in Chichewa will be examined and applied to Khasi. In particular, the locality principle will be shown to be crucial in determining the relationship between the clitic and the coreferential NP, thereby showing whether it is the clitic or the NP that has the subject argument function in the sentence. In principle, either the lexical NP or the clitic may have subject function. Our claim here is that if the lexical NP is 'local' it is the subject and the clitic has the merely grammatical function of an agreement marker. If, however, the coreferential lexical NP is 'non-local' and is a floating topic NP with a discourse function, it is the clitic that has the subject function. In that case the lexical NP has an anaphoric relation with the subject pronominal clitic.

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<sup>1</sup> A possible alternative analysis is contained in Nichols (1986), which proposes a typological differentiation between head-marking and dependent-marking languages.

It will be shown that an independent pronoun also can co-occur with the corresponding clitic. In this case, however, the independent pronoun does not behave like a lexical NP. It will be argued that independent pronouns in Standard Khasi cannot have argument function at all and are always topics fulfilling such discourse functions as emphasis and contrast. The independent pronoun therefore has an anaphoric relationship with the subject clitic. It also has a more flexible placement than the clitic, being able to occur before the subject clitic and the verb complex or after this latter, whereas the subject clitic can only occur before the verb complex. Besides subject function, all other argument functions in Standard Khasi are also fulfilled by the pronominal clitic.

Finally, the traditional analysis of the personal pronouns in terms of person, number and gender will be re-examined to see whether it truly reflects their referential meanings. With regard to the second person in particular, it will be argued that the so-called 'singular' and 'plural' pronouns basically encode not number but rather the pragmatic notions of 'familiarity' and 'politeness' respectively. This situation is in turn responsible for the emergence of a new pluralization strategy.

Our analysis will begin with the function and distribution of pronominal clitics in the noun phrase.

### **2.1 The pronominal clitic in Standard Khasi**

The pronominal clitic, as stated above, has two distinct roles within the NP: it functions either as an article or an agreement marker. As an 'article' it is a regular concomitant of the noun and immediately precedes it. It will be argued that its function here is

to convey the number and gender of the noun, and that it is therefore essentially a grammatical marker rather than a demonstrative or deictic. Since the study of the gender system constitutes a major issue in this study, we think it is necessary to examine the way in which gender, as manifest in the article, is assigned to nouns. In later chapters, correlation between article and gender will be examined in the non-standard dialects of Khasi.

### **2.1.1 The gender system: some theoretical considerations**

Traditionally the study of gender has focused on the distinction between natural gender and grammatical gender. Natural gender is defined as referring to the sex of real world entities and grammatical gender as having nothing to do with sex but playing an important role in signalling grammatical relationships between words in a sentence. Using these definitions, it can be said that Khasi has both natural gender and grammatical gender because the article indicates the sex of animate nouns as being either male or female, and also conveys the gender of nouns where sex is not a criterion as, for example in the case of plants and inanimate objects. Where grammatical gender is concerned, it has often been contended that gender assignment in language is arbitrary. Bloomfield expresses this belief when he states:

"the gender categories of most Indo-European languages do not agree with anything in the practical world ... there seems to be no practical criterion by which the gender of a noun in German, French or Latin could be determined".

(Bloomfield 1933:271,280)

This belief is shared by other linguists such as Maratsos (1979), who also states that gender classification is arbitrary. There are linguists, on the other hand, who are of the view that gender assignment rules are not completely arbitrary. Zubin and Koepcke (1981) argue that gender in German is determined by semantic assignment rules as well as by formal rules, these latter comprising morphological assignment rules and phonological assignment rules. They are thus of the view that:

"... if children are to form generalizations about gender assignment there must be extensive correlations in the nominal lexicon on which they could generalize ... to have completely arbitrary gender assignment for the tens and thousands of nouns in the average educated speaker's lexicon would present an insurmountable task to the language learner".

(Zubin & Koepcke 1981:439)

They do observe, however, that gender assignment rules in German can be arbitrary to some extent. Corbett (1991) also gives a comprehensive account of how most languages have a system by which gender is assigned to nouns. He gives arguments and presents evidence from various languages with different gender systems in order to substantiate his claim that gender assignment is not completely arbitrary. His contentions are as follows:

(1) native speakers make few or no mistakes in assigning gender to nouns; if the gender of every noun were to be remembered individually, there would be more errors;

(2) borrowed words acquire a gender, which shows that there is a mechanism for assigning gender and not just remembering it;

(3) when presented with invented words, speakers give them a gender with a high degree of consistency. It therefore follows that native speakers have the ability to 'work out' the gender of a noun and models of this ability are called 'assignment systems'.

Corbett further argues that gender assignment may depend on two basic types of information about the noun: its meaning (semantics) and its form. This latter may be of two types: word structure (morphology) and sound structure (phonology). He also notes that, in a sense, all gender systems are semantic in that there is always a semantic core to the assignment system. Semantic gender systems may be classified according to the range of distinctions involved, e.g. animate versus inanimate, human versus non-human, male versus female, etc. Formal rules for gender assignment may be: (a) phonological, and (b) morphological. He points out the difficulty of making a clear-cut distinction between the two. He does, however, broadly define phonological rules as referring to just a single form of a noun, e.g. nouns ending in a vowel in the singular are feminine. Morphological rules, on the other hand, require more information; they need to refer to more than one form. He provides examples from Russian, German and French for formal rules in assigning gender to nouns. Finally, Corbett also points to the fact that there

are 'leaks' in the gender assignment systems whereby items which would be predicted by the gender assignment rules to be of one particular gender are actually of another. These exceptions, however, usually involve only a small number of nouns in each gender.

I shall here attempt to examine the criteria according to which gender is assigned to a noun in Khasi and to determine whether there is a system by which that gender is determined by certain assignment rules, as suggested in Corbett (1991) and other recent analyses on gender system, or whether one must agree with Bloomfield's view that grammatical gender assignment is arbitrary.

It would be too simplistic to claim that the intricacies of the gender system of Khasi could be totally encapsulated within just two terms, natural and grammatical gender, without analyzing all the implications involved. It is hoped, however, that this study, based on Corbett's theory of gender assignment rules, will throw more light on the issue of the arbitrariness or otherwise of gender assignment rules in Khasi.

### **2.1.2 Previous work on the gender system in Khasi**

The first detailed study of the gender system of Khasi is that conducted by H. Roberts (1891:9-11, 131-140), in which he states that every noun is assigned an article and that the main function of the article is to convey the gender and/or the number of the noun. A more detailed account is that by Rabel-Heymann (1977), who examines the article mainly in terms of its function as a gender marker. She asks whether gender assignment in Khasi is truly 'grammatical', as in the case of Latin or German, whether the

phonological shape of the noun determines its gender, or whether morphology has any bearing on the problem. She proposes a four-fold classification based on semantic gender, natural gender, classificatory gender and grammatical gender.

I will discuss Khasi gender under two headings: semantic assignment rules and formal rules, that is to say morphological assignment rules. Any exceptions which fail to conform to the analysis given by the two main types of assignment rule shown above will be noted in the discussion.

### **2.1.3 Semantic rules for gender assignment**

My discussion of gender determined by semantic assignment rules will be divided into the following categories:

(a) Natural gender, where sex is the semantic criterion for assignment;

(b) Generic gender, where gender is assigned to the species, particularly in the case of non-human animates, and not to individual beings. Here other features such as size, shape, etc., are examined as factors that determine the gender of a noun. There is a potential conflict between natural gender and generic gender in those nouns which are sex-identifiable and when such is the case, natural gender is usually the overriding factor;

(c) Grammatical gender of inanimates, where size, shape, function, etc. are the semantic criteria for gender assignment.

(a) Natural gender. Sex is the most important factor by which semantic assignment rules determine the gender of nouns for animate beings. Nouns are differentiated as being male or female by the use of the masculine and the feminine articles

respectively. Natural gender can thus be used to refer to individual humans and animals. The following are examples of sex-based semantic assignment rules: *?u kpa* 'father', *ka kme* 'mother', *?u breu* 'man', *ka breu* 'woman', *?u kseu* 'dog', *ka kseu* 'bitch'.

(b) Generic gender. For animals, gender may also be assigned to the species and in such cases it is not the sex of the individual animal which determines gender assignment. Some species are assigned masculine gender while others are assigned feminine gender; for example, the generic gender of 'dog' is masculine:

1. *?u kseu ?u loŋ ?u mrāt sāu kjat*  
M dog M be M animal four foot  
'The dog is a four-footed animal'.

Rabel-Heymann claims that size is a major criterion in assigning generic gender, so that large animals are usually assigned masculine gender and small animals are assigned feminine gender. Some examples of masculine gender for large animals are: *?u hati* 'elephant', *?u kulāi* 'horse', *?u khla* 'tiger', *?u siŋ* 'lion', of feminine gender for small animals are: *ka khnāi* 'mouse', *ka tirpot* 'newt'.

She nonetheless points to exceptions where big animals are feminine, such as *ka dŋiem* 'bear', or small animals are masculine, such as *?u dŋoŋ* 'small bear'.

Species of birds, fish and insects show an even greater irregularity in gender assignment. The gender assigned to the class in general is feminine: *ka sim* 'bird', *ka do?kha* 'fish', *ka*

*khñiaŋ* 'insect' (the last is distinct from *?u khñiaŋ* 'caterpillar' or 'skin disease') whereas neither size nor shape determines the gender of the individual species of birds, fish or insects. For example: *?u kbεic* 'hawk', *?u kleu* 'peacock', but *ka tiŋāp* 'crow', *ka dkhɔ?* 'owl'.

With fish, shape seems to be one of the major criteria, the long thin-shaped ones being usually masculine and the more flat and round-shaped ones usually feminine.

The gender that is assigned to the insect species is so arbitrary that it does not appear to be determined by any semantic criterion at all. Rabel-Heymann reports on the arbitrary nature of the gender of insects as one where the "classification is baffling, for their gender distinctions defy rationalization. Their ability to crawl or to fly or to make noises, or even their shape cannot be used to assign them either to one or the other gender; the same may be said for their ability to annoy people". For example: *?u pirjɔŋ* 'mosquito', *?u thilla?* 'flea', *ka ñiaŋkalau* 'cockroach', *ka dkhap* 'tick'.

When the generic and the natural gender of the animal etc. is the same, the gender marking article fulfils its function without conflict. Thus when referring to a male member of the species that takes the masculine generic gender, there is no conflict in the choice of the article. The following are some examples where generic and natural gender are the same:

2. *?u kseu ?u dɔn ha phillāu*  
 M dog M be at compound  
 'The dog is in the compound.'

3. ka masi ka bām phlaŋ harot wa?  
 F cow F eat grass beside river  
 'The cow is eating grass beside the river'.

In the case of all those animate beings which can be individually identified by their sex there may be a conflict between generic and natural gender when referring to a particular individual. In such a case, natural gender based on sex is the overriding factor. In addition to the article which states the sex of the animal there are also adjuncts indicating maleness or femaleness. In the following examples, column (a) shows the generic gender, while column (b) shows the conflicting natural gender:

<u>Generic gender</u>	<u>Conflicting natural gender</u>
(a) ʔu kseu M dog 'Dog'	(b) ka kseu kinthei F dog female 'Bitch'
(a) ka masi F cow 'Cow'	(b) ʔu masi dāp M cow castrated 'Bullock'

Roca, in his study of grammatical gender in Spanish, states that:

"the overwhelming majority of nouns referring to animals are, however, invariant in form, each noun moreover triggering uniform agreement. I exemplify in (4) with pairs of biological similar animals (the agreement class is identified by the article, which is omitted from the gloss for brevity):

(4) el cachalote	'sperm whale'	la ballena	'whale'
el delfin	'dolphin'	la foca	'seal'
el conejo	'rabbit'	la liebre	'hare'
el camello	'camel'	la llama	'llama'
el sapo	'toad'	la rana	'frog'
el faisán	'pheasant'	la perdiz	'partridge'

For this large class (traditionally referred to as 'epicene gender') sex specification requires the addition of adjuncts as *macho* 'male' or *hembra* 'female' (*el cachalote macho*, *el cachalote hembra*). This shows that the trigger of grammatical gender cannot be a sex feature, as follows. If the agreement induced by the form in the left-hand column were triggered by a feature 'male' (and correspondingly for 'female' in the right-hand column), the adjunct *macho* (correspondingly *hembra*) would be redundant, contrary to fact, sex being indeterminate in its absence. Similarly, the conjunction of the abstract feature 'male' in masculine forms and the overt adjunct *hembra* ought to result in incongruity (likewise for 'female' and *macho* in feminines). But, as noted, any of the nouns in (4) freely combines with *macho* or *hembra* to give the desired semantic reading".

(Roca 1989:5-6)

In Khasi, where animate nouns are concerned, natural gender expressed through the article is the "trigger" rather than the adjuncts *šinraŋ* 'male' or *kinthei* 'female'. Sex specification by means of adjuncts indicating 'male' and 'female' is never obligatory, which shows that it is the article which conveys the gender of the noun. It is rather the natural gender of the noun as conveyed by the article which determines the choice of the adjunct. Unlike Spanish, where one can have *el camello macho* and *el camello hembra* 'male camel' and 'female camel' respectively, Khasi must have *?u ?ut* (*šinraŋ*) and *ka ?ut* (*kinthei*) 'male camel' and 'female camel'. The male adjunct *šinraŋ* occurs only with the masculine article *?u* and the female adjunct *kinthei* only with the feminine article *ka*. To substitute one for the other would result in a combination which would be ungrammatical. The

important point is that the gender of the species is overridden by the sex of the particular individual and this is indicated by the article.

(c) Grammatical gender. The nouns which fall into this category are plants and inanimates and Rabel-Heymann examines these by semantic class. She, nonetheless, opines that there appears to be a residue of arbitrary gender assignment even in these classes :

(1) Diseases affecting the skin are masculine although there are a few exceptions in which they are feminine.

(2) Body parts that are external organs are feminine while internal organs are masculine. For example: *?u do?not* 'liver', *?u klojnsnām* 'heart', but *ka khlie?* 'head', *ka kjat* 'foot'. There are a small number of exceptions where internal organs are feminine and external organs are masculine such as: *?u šño?* 'hair', *?u so?pet* 'navel', *ka jabieŋ* 'brain', *ka plakhon* 'womb'.

In the case of *?u so?pet* 'navel', Rabel-Heymann argues that the masculine gender may be attributed because it is a compound starting with *so?* 'fruit' which is masculine. Similarly, one can argue that *ka plakhon* 'womb' is a compound whose first part *pla* 'bag' is feminine. But such arguments cannot account for all the exceptions.

(3) Plants are usually masculine. The main categories of plant life are all masculine, for example: *?u dieŋ* 'tree', *?u siec* 'bamboo', *?u jhur* 'vegetable', *?u sinteu* 'flower'. Herbaceous plants are mostly masculine, all vegetables without exception and almost all flowers are masculine. There are, however, some exceptions such as *ka pašõr kaic* 'flower of the plaintain' which is feminine. It is also possible to use the name of a flower

figuratively, as for example in *ka teu laliŋgi* 'Lalyngngi flower', for a woman who takes too much time to dress up and is therefore always late.

(4) Prepared foods are mostly feminine, with few exceptions.

(5) Money and financial matters are feminine.

(6) Musical instruments are feminine.

(7) Countries are feminine.

(8) Time and divisions of time are normally feminine, as *ka sŋi* 'day', *ka ayɔm* 'season', and *ka pōr* 'time', but months are masculine as also is *?u bnāi* 'moon'. Although *ka snem* 'year' is feminine, a specific year is masculine: *?u snem khindāi pheu* 'the year ninety (=1990)'.

(9) Household items, tools and implements are grouped by Rabel-Heymann first into (a) spherical containers, which are usually masculine although there are exceptions; arbitrary assignment of gender is also present where similar items have different genders such as, *ka kria?* 'cane basket', *?u šaŋ* 'cane basket'; (b) tools and implements, which Rabel-Heymann divides into those which are used for insertion, boring and pounding and are usually masculine and those which are not used for these operations which are feminine. In the former class a lone exception stands out, an instrument used for insertion and boring operation is feminine: *ka phār* 'ploughshare'. Weapons and certain items of sports equipment conform to this general rule.

(10) Long thin objects are usually masculine.

(11) Items of clothing and attire are feminine. Exceptions are long thin narrow articles which are masculine such as: *?u panpɔ?* 'belt', *?u tai* 'neck tie'.

(12) Loan words: modern weapons, which are loan words, are assigned gender by natural association of class and kind. On the basis of the masculine gender of an item such as 'bullet', weapons with similar shapes are also masculine, such as *?u bɔm* 'bomb', *?u missail* 'missile', *?u roket* 'rocket'. On the same principle, some items are feminine because they are similar to the feminine word 'gun'. For example, *ka taŋ* 'tank', *ka pistol* 'pistol'. Sea fish, whose names are usually loan words in Khasi, are attributed masculine gender such as - *?u dɔ?kha wiel* 'whale', *?u dɔ?kha šāk* 'shark', literally, 'whale fish' and 'shark fish' respectively, even though the generic gender of 'fish' is feminine. Size does not seem to be an important factor in the assignment of generic gender to sea creatures, because these are usually masculine such as *?u simprɔŋ* 'shrimp'.

There are also classes of nouns which are neither predominantly masculine nor predominantly feminine. These are:

(1) Trees, for which there seems to be no general rule of gender assignment because both masculine and feminine occur about equally. For example, *?u kdaic* 'variety of bamboo', *?u dieŋ tlāi* 'palm', *ka jri* 'banyan', *ka bra?* 'upas tree'.

(2) Some items of furniture and other things made of wood and bamboo are masculine while others are feminine. For example: *?u deŋdo?* 'walking stick', *?u šillia?* 'bamboo mat', *ka šuki* 'chair', *ka rintie?* 'bow'.

(3) Geographical terms are sometimes masculine such as *?u lom* 'hill, mountain', *?u š?iap* 'sand', while others are feminine such as *ka wa?* 'river', *ka pubɔn* 'cave', *ka liŋkha* 'field' and many others.

(4) Natural phenomena may be masculine while others may be feminine, many semantically similar items being of different gender. For example: *?u tha?* 'ice', *ka yōr* 'snow', *?u bnāi* 'moon', *ka sŋi* 'sun'.

While Rabel-Heymann's analysis of gender assignment in terms of semantic class does account for a large number of nouns in Khasi there are, as often pointed out by the author herself, exceptions in almost all semantic classes. Nonetheless, grammatical gender does not appear to be as randomly attributed as is generally thought.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, Rabel-Heymann also notes the existence of the same form but with slightly different meanings depending upon whether of masculine or feminine gender. Some examples are:

<i>ka khlie?</i>	'head (organ)'	<i>?u khlie?</i>	'head, leader'
<i>ka šnoŋ</i>	'village'	<i>?u šnoŋ</i>	'villagers'
<i>ka dpei</i>	'hearth'	<i>?u dpei</i>	'ashes'
<i>ka tnom</i>	'roof'	<i>?u tnom</i>	'descendants'
<i>?u ŋap</i>	'bee'	<i>ka ŋap</i>	'honey'
<i>?u do?not</i>	'heart (organ)'	<i>ka do?not</i>	'heart, mind'.

#### 2.1.4 Formal rules for gender assignment

There does not seem to be any evidence of phonologically-determined rules for the assignment of gender in Standard Khasi. Morphological assignment rules do, however, determine the gender of derived nouns and compounds. First let us examine this

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<sup>2</sup> I do not agree with the gender given by Rabel-Heymann for a few items, but as these are very marginal and do not constitute any problem for a general discussion of gender in Khasi, I will not discuss them.

type of assignment rule in the case of derived nouns. Rabel-  
Heymann states that:

"Morphology decides gender in only two cases: noun compounds beginning with *jiŋ-* are F and noun compounds beginning with *nɔŋ-* are M. Both these morphemes combine with verbs and yield mostly abstract and actor nouns respectively. For example,

<i>ʔim</i>	'to live'	<i>ka jiŋʔim</i>	'life'
<i>khura</i>	'to search'	<i>ka jiŋkhura</i>	'search'
<i>khayi</i>	'to trade'	<i>ʔu nɔŋkhayi</i>	'trader'
<i>khmiʔ</i>	'to look for'	<i>ʔu nɔŋkhmiʔ</i>	'spy' "

(Rabel-Heymann 1977:248)

However, even here there are exceptions to the general principle stated above, there being cases of nouns preceded by *jiŋ* - which while feminine are not abstract, for example: *ka jiŋthiaʔ* 'bed', *ka jiŋtɛp* 'grave', *ka jiŋkēr* 'fence', *ka jiŋkhaŋ* 'door', *ka jiŋtap* 'lid'. Whether, historically, these were used as abstract nouns meaning respectively 'sleep', 'burial', 'cordoning', 'closing', 'covering' and only later became applied to concrete objects is yet to be examined and is beyond the scope of the present study. Some of the above items have older names still found in some regional dialects like *ka palɔŋ* 'bed' and others such as *ka šaukāt* 'door', are found only in the older versions of the Bible (1919 and 1961 editions).

There are also a few non-abstract nominalized forms prefixed by *jiŋ* - which are masculine, for example, *ʔu jiŋthuŋ* 'plant', *ʔu jiŋbām* 'snack', *ʔu jiŋšɔʔ* 'ground spices'. There is no evidence that the prefix *jiŋ* - is derived from any independent word.

As already discussed in relation to generic gender, there may be a conflict between rule-determined gender and natural gender, in which case natural gender is the overriding factor as in such examples as *ka nɔŋkhem* 'masseur', *ka nɔŋhikai* 'teacher', *ka nɔŋtrɛi* 'worker'.

On the whole, nonetheless, the rule stands: nominalized forms with the prefix *jɪŋ* - are usually abstract nouns and feminine, while nominalized forms with the prefix *nɔŋ* - are human and masculine.

Assignment of gender to compounds can be stated by a rule which was stipulated by Rabel-Heymann, namely that the first constituent (head noun) of an Noun1Noun2 compound determines the gender of the compound as a whole. Compounds may be either of genitive or conjunctive construction. For example, a compound in a genitive construction such as, *?u kheu* 'pot' + *ka khindɛu* 'earth' becomes *?u kheu khindɛu* 'earthen pot', and *ka sɛm* 'shed' + *?u sniaŋ* 'pig' becomes *ka sɛm sniaŋ* 'pig sty'. The same rule also holds good in the case of conjunctive constructions, for example: *ka ja* 'rice' + *?u jhur* 'vegetable' becomes *ka ja ka jhur* 'food, meal'.

When there is a violation of the above rule, the feminine gender appears to predominate as in, for example: *?u lom* 'hill' + *ka wa?* 'river' giving *ka lom ka wa?* 'scenery', *?u māu* 'stone' + *ka dieŋ* 'wood' giving *ka māu ka dieŋ* 'objects of nature', *?u sniaŋ* 'pig' + *ka s?iar* 'hen' giving *ka sniaŋ ka s?iar* 'farm animals'. The gender assigned in the case of imitatives is usually that of the first constituent.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Traditionally, imitatives also known as akin words are formed by the combination of two adjoined constituents. They may be alliterative

There is one more point that needs to be clarified with regard to Rabel-Heymann's categorization of gender; it concerns her examples of "conflicts of gender", which are:

ka kha ?u jāi	'a rotten smelling fish'
ka miŋkɔi ?u jɔm	'hell'
?u blei nɔŋthāu ka yaubei	'God'

The first of these is a compound, consisting of the word *kha* 'fish' and of the name of a specific kind of fish *?ujāi* or *hujāi*; this simply means 'Hujai fish'. The second is an example of a genitive phrase consisting of *ka miŋkɔi* 'hell' and *?u jɔm* 'Jom, an evil spirit', the whole sequence meaning 'Jom's hell', a common syntactic possessive construction without the possessive marker *jɔŋ*. The third example is a very unnatural compound, because the word *?u blei nɔŋthāu* 'God, the creator' is a concept quite different from *ka yaubei* 'common ancestress'. Moreover, the co-occurrence of both masculine and feminine genders within a compound is not possible in Standard Khasi.

Having described and analyzed the gender system of Khasi, the question of gender assignment may be looked at in perspective. At the outset, the question was asked whether gender assignment was completely arbitrary. It can now be stated that, by and large, semantic criteria form the basis of gender

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particularly where the meaning of the second constituent is not known, e.g., *ka sabɔn ka salin* 'soap', *?u ksoic ?u khrei* 'ghost'. Rabel-Heymann likens these to English examples such as 'kith and kin' where the meaning of 'kith' is not generally known. Others are composed of two constituents which are semantically associated, such as *ka thia? ka dem* 'sleep and lying down', *?u so? u pāi* 'fruit and sugarcane' etc. Imitatives are very prevalent in Khasi.

assignment. Although morphology has a part to play in the case of a number of derived nouns and compounds nevertheless, as Corbett has pointed out for other languages, there are exceptions which do not conform to the general rules.

### 2.1.5 The third gender: a derivational mechanism

So far the discussion of the article in Standard Khasi has been focused only on the basic gender-marking articles both of which indicate singular number. In addition to these, there is one further article which indicates singular number. This is the article *ʔi*. Greenberg makes two references to this article:

"KHASI, an AUSTROASIATIC language of Assam, has a three gender system: masculine, feminine and neuter with a prefixed non-generic article ...."

"In KHASI, alongside of a masculine and feminine, there is a neuter that does not distinguish number. Its meaning is diminutive ... KHASI has *ʔi* as the neuter marker ...".

(Greenberg 1978:60,79)

Other scholars have expressed different views with regard to this article. Rabel describes it as:

"A fourth article /ʔii/ is used for very small creatures and things, and with people as an expression of extreme love and respect. The article /ʔii/ and the corresponding personal pronoun /ʔii/ distinguishes neither number nor gender

/ka khnaay/	the mouse	/ʔii khnaay/	little mouse
/ʔuu luom/	hill	/ʔii luom/	little hill[s]
/kii dkhiw/	the ants	/ʔii dkhiw/	small ants".

(Rabel 1961:95)

Rabel's claim that *?i* does not distinguish gender in the same way as do *?u* and *ka* is correct, but that it does not distinguish number is not, at least not in Standard Khasi. Here *?i*, as an article indicating diminutiveness or respect, does indicate singular number, so that Rabel-Heymann's examples given above are not applicable in Standard Khasi where *?i lom* can never mean plural 'hills' but only one individual hill. In the same way *?i dkheu* can never mean 'ants' but only 'the/an ant'. It is probable that Greenberg has based his observation that this article does not indicate number on Rabel-Heymann's assertion given above.<sup>4</sup> However, Rabel-Heymann makes an important observation, namely that many kinship terms are preferably used with the respectful and endearing article *?i* and that its use is obligatory when referring to certain kinsfolk such as one's father, mother, etc.

Roberts (1891) treats the article *?i* as a singular. He is of the opinion that diminutives of nouns of either masculine or feminine gender, or names of contemptible objects take *?i* and that, although this article is sufficient in the singular to mark smallness or endearment, some additional word or particle must be added in the plural, as for example:

*?i māu* 'a pebble'; *ki māuria* 'pebbles'.

Solomon (1895) states that *?i* is a singular and is used to indicate a thing is small or trifling, but that it is also used as a sign of respect or love.

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<sup>4</sup> The third article *?i* not marking number suggests a gender system like that of the regional dialects discussed in the next chapter. The high vowel *i* for mid vowel *e* in the noun *dkheu* 'ant' also seems to indicate a southern regional variety and not the Standard variety spoken in the central area of Shillong and Cherrapunjee.

Roberts (1891), Solomon (1895) and certain dictionaries, including U Nissor Singh's (1904) Khasi English Dictionary, state that *?i* indicates common gender.

My contention here is that the article *?i* functions differently from the two gender-indicating articles. As has been seen in the analysis in the previous sections, in the lexicon every noun is assigned either masculine or feminine gender, whether it is human, non-human, animate or inanimate. The article *?i*, on the other hand, functions as a derivational mechanism. This mechanism is productive, that is to say most nouns can be used with *?i*. The only nouns which I feel are inappropriate with this article are abstract ones indicating strong feelings, such as grief etc., since these nouns cannot be expressed in the diminutive which they would have to be if they were used with *?i*. This article can replace the masculine and the feminine article of most nouns to produce: (a) diminutives, usually terms for children, the young of animals and small inanimate objects, the sentiment expressed being one of endearment or sometimes of contempt, such as, *?i khilluŋ* 'baby' from *?u/ka khilluŋ* 'male/female baby', *?i khon miau* 'kitten' from *?u/ka khon miau* 'male/female kitten' (*khon* 'young of'), *?i khon minreu* 'small doll' from *?u khon minreu* 'doll' and diminutives of abstract nouns (except for those expressing strong feelings) such as *?i p̄r* 'a little time' from *ka p̄r* 'time'; (b) honorific terms, employed for polite reference and indirect address to kin superiors and also to non-kin social superiors in age, rank etc. with whom the speaker shares a close relationship. This latter function of *?i* will be one of the focal points of the sociolinguistic analysis of personal reference in the sociolinguistic chapters. Examples are: *?i pa* '(my) father', *?i mei*

'(my) mother', *ʔi babu* '(my) teacher'. At the level of the lexicon, each one of the nouns given as examples in (a) and in (b) above is assigned either masculine or feminine gender. The replacement of their inherent gender marker by the third article serves pragmatic purposes. Syntactically however, *ʔi* behaves like *ʔu* and *ka*, that is, it has its own agreement system. In terms of grammatical agreement, therefore, Standard Khasi has the three genders - masculine (M), feminine (F), and polite/diminutive (P), but in terms of the lexicon it has a basic two-gender system consisting of masculine (M) and feminine (F).

This third article of Standard Khasi appears to be a cognate of the third article of the regional dialects but in these latter it indicates a genuine third gender in the lexicon, the neuter gender. This will be discussed in chapter III.

Finally, the remaining article is *ki*, which indicates plural number irrespective of gender. The adjuncts indicating 'male' and 'female' are therefore essential when using this article if it is wished to identify the sex of human or animal referents in the plural, such as *ki khon šinraŋ* 'sons' (literally, 'male children'), *ki khon kinthei* 'daughters' (literally 'female children').

### 2.1.6 Historical perspective

Greenberg (1978) outlines a process whereby a definite article which agrees with its noun passes through a stage in which it combines the functions of definite and indefinite article and finally becomes a 'mere' gender marker on the noun. He traces these three stages in the development of the article, but he also points out that since a language may be either at the initial stage or at an advanced stage, the whole development is to be viewed

as a single continuous process marked by certain decisive turning points. These stages are:

Stage zero: Demonstrative; that is purely deictic.

Stage I: Definite article; a discourse deictic becomes a definite article when it has become compulsory and has spread to the point that it means "identified" in general, thus typically including things identified from context, or from general knowledge as with 'the sun' in non-scientific discourse which is identified because it is the only member of its class. Such an article, as in the case of German der, may be an unstressed variant of the demonstrative, which continues in its former use in stressed form.

Stage II: Non-generic article; Greenberg admits that this is not an adequate designation because the article at this stage includes, along with possibly other uses, both definite determination and non-definite specific uses.

Stage III: Former article has become a mere marker which no longer has any synchronic connection with definiteness or specificity. An example of this is the article in Eastern Aramaic, which functions as a general noun marker.

Greenberg allocates Khasi to stage II and it is this stage that is now examined. In stage II languages, he states, the presence of the article has become the norm for the noun. Grammars of such languages habitually list not the uses of the 'articulated' form but rather situations in which it is not used. To differentiate a stage II from a stage III language, Greenberg is of the view that a stage II language must at least show 'articulation' (that is, the presence of the article) and 'non-articulation' (that is, the absence of an article) expressing minimal contrasts even in cases of a generic

sentence like 'I don't like meat' as against an articulated form in 'I don't like the meat'. In stage II languages the choice of articles is always grammaticalized, being determined by the syntactic construction, and is thus redundant. He states that a language may completely lose the contrast between articulated and non-articulated forms, the article being purely dependent on the construction, e.g., negated objects are always articulated or always non-articulated etc. If the articulated form spreads to other contexts and predominates, we have a stage III noun marker. If not, the articulated form disappears.

He outlines the common core of functions which generally occur in stage II languages. Non-articulation appears at the two opposite ends, for specific and definite determination. The most consistent example of this, he claims, is non-articulation before proper names. He states that no exception was found to the rule that in languages with stage II articles, the article is not found with proper names. The other usual instance where non-articulation is found is when it is determined by something else in the particular construction involved (e.g., a demonstrative modifier).

At the other end, non-articulation is found with generic uses. Greenberg specifies this particularly with reference to negated objects, as in the French example that he gives - *je n'ai pas d'eau* 'I don't have water'. Instances where non-articulation is generally found fall into four main types: negation, predication, adverbial and locative uses, and generic verb objects and dependent genitives in compounds.

There are, however, some discrepancies between Greenberg's general principles applying to a stage II language and

the situation in Khasi. On non-articulation, he claims that very specific and very definite determination do not take articulation. The strongest evidence he offers in support of this is the rule of non-articulation of proper names. This, however, does not hold good for Khasi, where all proper names obligatorily take articles.

Otherwise Standard Khasi would appear to fulfil most of Greenberg's criteria for a stage II development of the article because the articulated form can be contrasted with the non-articulated form in the case of generic objects and adverbials, such as in the following sentences:

4. ?u khinna? u di? um  
 M child M drink water  
 'The boy is drinking water.'

5. ?u khinna? u di? (ya) ka ?um  
 M child M drink OBJ F water  
 'The boy is drinking the water.'

6. ?u kupar ?u don ha yeŋ  
 M Kupar M be at house  
 'Kupar is at home.'

7. ?u kupar ?u don ha ka yeŋ  
 M Kupar M be at F house  
 'Kupar is in the house.'

Non-articulation also occurs as a result of object-incorporation as in the following:

sumar-khilluŋ  
 care baby  
 'to babysit'

peic-yeŋ  
 look house  
 'to caretake'

bām-ja  
 eat rice  
 'to dine'

In Khasi, non-articulation cannot take place with the subject noun, which is inherently definite.

8. \*khinna? u di? um  
 child M drink water

Khasi, therefore, is a stage II language because the articulated and the non-articulated forms contrast in certain constructions. The language also shows a strong indication of developing a stage III article, namely one which is obligatorily present.

It has already been stated that all nouns in subject role are articulated, whether or not definiteness is involved. This includes proper names and therefore does not accord with Greenberg's observation regarding stage II languages. However, Khasi cannot yet be classed as a stage III language because the article still has

some synchronic connection with definiteness or specificity. The examples given earlier constitute firm evidence that the article is not just a gender marker but in fact has a synchronic function in marking contrasts in certain constructions. It still contrasts definiteness and non-definiteness in certain constructions as seen in the above analysis where non-articulation, in the case of generic object and adverbials, indicates non-definiteness. This is not however the case with a subject NP, where articulation is obligatory.

### **2.1.7 Prenominal clitics as agreement markers within the noun phrase**

As stated at the outset of this chapter, prenominal clitics are used extensively in the noun phrase. In addition to their occurrence as articles with nouns as just described, they occur automatically before any modifier of a noun within a noun phrase. That is to say, the gender/number of the noun is copied in the shape of a prenominal clitic onto the other elements of the noun phrase. The elements which can modify the head noun in the noun phrase are demonstratives, indefinite markers, attributive adjectives and genitives. In sections 2.1.3 and 2.1.4, the discussion of the gender-indicating articles is focused on the functions of two of these, stating that they convey the noun's basic gender in the lexicon and that they may be replaced by the third article as a derivational mechanism for pragmatic purposes. Syntactically, however, in the agreement system this third article *?i* functions in the same way as the other articles *?u* and *ka*. This same observation also applies in the case of the fourth, plural article *ki*. Whenever the gender/number of the noun is conveyed by any of

the above articles, modifiers in the noun phrase will show agreement with the head by means of the appropriate prenominal clitic.

Prenominal clitics with a demonstrative base. Demonstrative bases indicate the physical context of the referent relative to the speaker, the hearer or the referent (this latter being either animate or inanimate). The demonstrative base is preceded by the prenominal clitic so as to form a demonstrative pronoun, which agrees with the noun. The following sentence shows a demonstrative functioning as a modifier in the noun phrase. (It also contains the preverbal clitic marking agreement between the verb and subject. On this, see later sections).

9. ka-ne ka khinna? ka bām sɔ?  
 F-this F child F eat fruit  
 'This girl is eating fruit'.

Prenominal clitics with an indefinite marker. The prenominal clitic is obligatory with the indefinite marker *-wɛi* which has the same form as the numeral 'one'. However, this modifier is not a numeral here since it functions as an indefinite article. This modifier precedes the noun:

10. ?u-wɛi ?u nɔŋto? u la laic na patɔk  
 M-one M thief M PAST escape from jail  
 'A thief escaped from jail'.

Prenominal clitics and the attributive adjective. The so-called adjective in Khasi is formed from a stative verb by

prefixing the subordinator *ba*. It appears to be a sort of reduced relative clause. The attributive adjective as a modifier of the head differs from the demonstrative and the indefinite marker in that: (a) the clitic preceding it is optional whereas it is obligatory with the other two; (b) the unmarked position of the adjectival modifier is post-nominal after the head, whereas that of the other two is pre-nominal: <sup>5</sup>

11. ?u breu (?u) bajrɔŋ ?u dei ?u nɔŋto?  
 M person M tall M be M thief  
 'The tall man is a thief.'

Prenominal clitics with genitive. The genitive is indicated by the optional possessive marker *jɔŋ*, as in:

12. ka yeŋ (ka) (jɔŋ) ?u jɔn  
 F house F of M John  
 'John's house.' (Literally: 'The house of John').

The presence of the clitic before this possessive marker usually marks the context as being formal, as in public speeches, sermons, etc.

Whenever there are several modifiers, these occur in a fixed order:

<sup>5</sup> When neither the clitic nor the subordinator *ba* are present, the noun phrase becomes a new lexical item (Roberts 1891:25) as in:

?u breu (?u) bastāt 'intelligent man'  
 ?u reustāt 'scientist, astrologer'

ka yeŋ (ka) bahe? 'big house'  
 ka yeŋhe? 'sitting room, lounge'



13. ka-ne ka-wei ka kət (ka) basāu ka dən haŋne  
 F-this F-one F book F red F be here  
 'Here is a red book'.  
 (Literally: 'This one red book is here').
14. ?u-wei ?u siŋ (?u) barunar ?u dən ha ka-ne ka khlāu  
 M-one M lion M wicked M be at F-this F forest  
 'A wicked lion is in this forest'.
15. ?i meirāt (?i) jəŋ ŋa ?i kinmāu  
 P grandmother P of I P remember  
 ya ?u jumāi-ba? (?u) bajur  
 OBJ M earthquake-great M heavy  
 'My grandmother remembered the great earthquake.'<sup>6</sup>
16. ki khinna? (ki) bastət ki la jəp  
 Pl child Pl fast Pl PAST win  
 'The fast children won (the race).'

In sentence 13, the subject noun is feminine and this is reflected in all the agreeing modifiers, namely the demonstrative, the indefinite marker, and the adjective. In sentence 14 the subject noun is masculine and the modifiers show agreement with the head by means of pronominal clitics. This is also the case in

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<sup>6</sup> P is the grammatical gloss for the pronominal clitic/article ?i whether it expresses polite or diminutive reference.

sentences 15 and 16, where the P article and the plural article respectively are reflected in all the agreeing modifiers.

## 2.2 The preverbal clitic in Standard Khasi

In the preceding section, the discussion focused on the prenominal clitics. However, in addition to their function of marking agreement within the noun phrase, these clitics are also obligatory between a lexical subject NP and the verb complex. As with the prenominal clitic, the preverbal clitics will be glossed M, F, P, and Pl, masculine singular, feminine singular, polite/diminutive singular, and plural respectively for the categorial information they carry. In the following we will examine the syntactic functions of this preverbal clitic.

17. ?u dɛŋ ?u bām ya ka šreu  
 M Deng M eat OBJ F yam  
 'Deng ate yam'.

The absence of the preverbal clitic before the verb will render a sentence ungrammatical, as in:

- 18.\* ?u dɛŋ bām ya ka šreu  
 M Deng eat OBJ F yam  
 'Deng ate yam'.

The absence of the lexical NP *?u dɛŋ*, on the other hand, gives a different, although grammatical and acceptable, interpretation as in:

19. ʔu bām ya ka šreu  
 M eat OBJ F yam  
 'He ate yam'.

The problem that I am concerned with in the present section is the function and syntactic status of the preverbal clitic as it occurs in sentences like 17 above. Is the preverbal clitic here a full referential pronoun or is it a non-referential grammatical marker marking agreement between the lexical NP and its verb?

This problem is not unique to Khasi. Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) point to the widespread use of similar clitics in languages belonging to different families such as American Indian languages, aboriginal Australian languages and many Bantu languages.

### 2.2.1 Previous work on the preverbal clitic

Most scholars working on Khasi have noted the presence of the preverbal clitic, but only some of them have offered an analysis. With regards to this clitic, Roberts (1891), states that:

"The article is therefore generally used before the nominative, and again repeated before the verb

(1) *U khun u lah ba'n ih-sih ia la u kypa,*

THE son (he) may hate his own father

(2) *ka sniang ka la thar ia ka jain*

THE sow (it) has torn the cloth

(3) *ka miaw ka pah*

THE cat (it) mewls.

*Note* - The article thus repeated has often the force of a personal pronoun used demonstratively; hence the effect of the repetition is to render the article definite in this construction."

(Roberts 1891:132)

Roberts thus interprets the preverbal clitic in terms of its contribution to the function of the article but also as having a

pronominal interpretation. Other authors of Khasi grammars have since then generally followed Roberts in interpreting the preverbal clitic more or less as a personal pronoun. The only linguist who has at least noted the potential distinction between the grammatical and referential functions of the clitic is Rabel-Heymann (1977) who remarks that:

"Every Khasi noun is preceded by a gender indicator commonly known as an "article", a term borrowed for reasons of convenience from the grammar of Indo-European. This gender indicator is repeated before the verb, and is then known as a pronominal verbal prefix. A morpheme identical with the nominal article and the verbal pronominal prefix functions in free form as a personal pronoun. It might therefore be said that the Khasi pronoun occurs as a free morpheme by itself and as a bound form before nouns and verbs."

(Rabel-Heymann 1977:247)

It does appear from the statement quoted above that Rabel-Heymann associates the so-called 'free' form with referential function and the so-called 'bound' form with non-referential function of the preverbal clitic.

### **2.2.2 Pronoun and agreement: some theoretical considerations**

Linguists working on various languages have interested themselves in the phenomenon of clitics similar to the preverbal clitics of Standard Khasi. The formal similarity of these to personal pronouns, particularly in Bantu and aboriginal Australian languages, has often been commented on. Givón (1976) postulates

a historical development from personal pronoun into agreement marker via topic-shifting. He is of the opinion that a syntactically marked topic construction in which the subject pronoun is anaphoric to the topic NP, gradually gets reanalyzed into a neutral subject-predicate construction. The following diagram illustrates Givón's claim regarding the historical process by which a pronoun becomes an agreement marker. (TS stands for 'topic shift', TOP stands for 'topic', SUBJ stands for 'subject' and AG stands for 'agreement marker').

<u>TS ("MARKED")</u>		<u>NEUTRAL (REANALYZED)</u>
<u>The man</u> , <u>he</u> came	=====>	<u>The man</u> <u>he</u> -came
TOP      PRO		SUBJ      AG
		(Givón 1976:155)

Givón is also of the opinion that agreement and pronominalization are "fundamentally one and the same phenomenon and that neither diachronically nor, most often, synchronically, could one draw a demarcating line on any principled grounds" (Givón 1976:151).

Bresnan and Mchombo (1987), henceforth B&M, support Givón's basic historical proposal that the pronoun has been reanalyzed into an agreement marker where "pronouns used for reference to topics became cliticized and then morphologically bound to the verb". They, however, dispute the claim that agreement and pronominalization are "fundamentally" one and the same phenomenon synchronically. They argue on the contrary that, although both grammatical agreement and pronominalization can be found in one and the same language at the same point in

time, they can be distinguished by "interrelated effects" in discourse, syntax and phonology. In their analysis of Chichewa, a Bantu language, B&M point out that the same form may be used for both anaphoric and grammatical agreement with a lexical NP so that the clitic, which they term subject marker (SM), is functionally ambiguous in all simple sentences.

The historical investigation regarding precisely how the preverbal clitic in Khasi has come to occupy its present position, that is between a lexical NP and a verb, is beyond the scope of the present study. What is the concern of the present analysis is the synchronic function of the preverbal clitic in a simple Khasi sentence. Following B&M in their work on Chichewa, I propose that agreement and pronominalization can be clearly distinguished in Khasi. Unlike B&M, however, I will argue that there is no ambiguity in the function of the preverbal clitic in simple sentences in Khasi.

Before discussing the function of the preverbal clitic in Standard Khasi, I would like to review briefly B&M's observations regarding the Chichewa object clitic. This clitic is termed the object marker (OM). B&M make a clear distinction between the function and the syntactic status of the SM and the OM. The SM may be either a referential pronoun or a non-referential agreement marker. The OM, on the other hand, is always a referential pronoun and the syntactic object of the verb while the coreferential lexical NP is a topic to which it is anaphorically bound:

Chichewa example:

20. Njuchi      zi-na-wa-lum-a                      alenje  
       bees        SM-PAST-OM-bite-INDIC            hunters  
       'The bees bit them, the hunters'.

(B&M 1987:746)

The subject clitic (SM) in the above sentence functions as a non-referential agreement marker because had it functioned as a referential subject pronoun, then the sentence would read as a topic-subject syntactic construction: 'The bees, they bit them, the hunters'. The object clitic (OM), on the other hand, does function as a referential pronoun and is the object of the verb and the construction above with the lexical NP is actually a type of right dislocation. The effect of the OM on word order possibilities is taken as evidence that it is the argument, namely that of object of the verb in the sentence. Without the OM, the object must follow immediately after the verb, any other word order gives ungrammaticality, as shown below:

- (a) SVO      Njuchi zi-na-lum-a alenje.
- (b) VOS      Zi-na-lum-a alenje njuchi.
- (c) OVS      \*Alenje zi-na-lum-a njuchi.
- (d) VSO      \*Zi-na-lum-a njuchi alenje.
- (d) SOV      \*Njuchi alenje zi-na-lum-a.
- (e) OSV      \*Alenje njuchi zi-na-lum-a.

However, when the OM is present, any of the word orders above is grammatical:

- (a) SVO    Njuchi zi-na-wa-lum-a alenje.  
 (b) VOS    Zi-na-wa-lum-a alenje njuchi.  
 (c) OVS    Alenje zi-na-wa-lum-a njuchi.  
 (d) VSO    Zi-na-wa-lum-a njuchi alenje.  
 (e) OSV    Alenje njuchi zi-na-wa-lum-a.

It will be shown that in Khasi, as in Chichewa, the object clitic always functions as a referential pronoun and encodes the object of the verb. However, Khasi does not allow the occurrence of a lexical NP, functioning as a topic immediately after the object clitic but it does allow a topic-object relationship when the two are not adjacent to each other, that is to say only in the case of left dislocation of the lexical NP:

21.\*    *ŋa burɔm ya ?u ?u s?em*  
          I    respect OBJ M    M    chief  
          'I respect him, the chief'.

22.    *?u s?em ŋa burɔm ya ?u*  
          M    chief    I    respect    OBJ    M  
          'The chief, I respect him'.

In Khasi, the object clitic after the verb as in sentence 22, is referential and is the object and the lexical NP *?u s?em* 'the chief' is the topic and has an anaphoric relationship with the referential object clitic *?u*. The two cannot occur adjacently in an object topic string. The implications of this anaphoric behaviour are very

important when attempting to establish the syntactic function of the preverbal clitic.

I will now return to the problem in hand, namely that of the syntactic status of the preverbal clitic. When does it function as a full referential pronominal subject and when is it a non-referential agreement marker? In order to determine which is the case I shall examine some of the principles set out by B&M in their theory of argument function and discourse function. Their application to Khasi is discussed in later sections.

Grammatical and anaphoric agreement. B&M stress the importance of the principle of locality in their theory, claiming that this principle can distinguish between grammatical agreement and anaphoric agreement relations.

Although the present study is not written within an LFG framework, it is necessary to give a summary of those aspects of the theory relevant to the present discussion.

In Bresnan's LFG model, argument functions (subject, object, etc.) are directly governed by the predicator whereas non-argument functions, such as topic, focus, adjunct, are not. Rather, these latter are considered to be 'external' to the clause as they show a relation of coreferentiality to an element of the clause (namely the pronominal subject or object clitic) by means of anaphoric binding. In LFG an external NP is thus an NP situated outside the clause and thus not governed by the verb and without an argument function. For example:

- |     |                   |           |              |                     |
|-----|-------------------|-----------|--------------|---------------------|
| 23. | <u>That man</u> , | <u>he</u> | <u>knows</u> | <u>my brother</u> . |
|     | External NP       | Subject   | V            | Object              |

The external NP 'that man' in the above sentence shows an anaphoric relation with the subject 'he' and cannot be governed by the predicator. In an anaphoric relation both elements, that is the external NP and the pronominal argument, must show anaphoric agreement in person, number, gender, class, etc. as the structure of the particular language demands.

The last but most important point that has to be noted here is the principle of locality. B&M (1987:752) define locality as "the proximity of the agreeing elements within the clause structure; a local agreement relation is one which holds between elements of the same simple clause, while a non-local agreement relation is one which holds between elements of different clauses". Therefore, in LFG, a grammatical relation is one between elements of a single clause. An anaphoric relation, on the other hand, is one between an external NP and a coreferential pronoun with an argument function subject, object, etc.

### **2.2.3 Pronoun and agreement in Standard Khasi**

Where Khasi is concerned, the locality principle is particularly important in determining the relationship between the lexical subject NP and the preverbal clitic. It will be argued here that, in a simple clause construction, the lexical NP which occurs immediately before the verb, and thus also before the preverbal clitic, is local and therefore has an argument function in the clause, namely that of subject. In this case the preverbal clitic is a non-referential agreement marker marking agreement between the lexical subject NP and the verb. However, if the lexical NP is separated from the verb, and thereby also from the

preverbal clitic, then it is non-local and therefore a topic with an anaphoric relation with the subject clitic.

There are two important points to be noted in this application of the locality principle to Khasi. Firstly, locality means that elements within a clause governed by the predicator occur in adjacent order. That is to say in order to function as the subject of the verb, the lexical NP in Khasi immediately precedes the clitic and the verb. Secondly, <sup>namely</sup> a prosodic factor, a pause together with the particle *te* after the lexical NP and before the clitic and the verb, renders that NP non-local to the predicator. Let us examine the following examples:

24. ?u tan ?u bām ya ?u so?  
 M Tan M eat OBJ M fruit  
 'Tan is eating the fruit.'

The lexical NP *?u tan* is local to the predicator because it occurs immediately before the clitic and the verb with no intervening pause or particle. Thus, it is the subject and the clitic is a grammatical agreement marker. However, if there is a pause after the lexical NP and the particle *te*, then that NP is an external NP and therefore a topic and the clitic is the subject. The lexical NP and the clitic in this case form an anaphoric relationship. For example:

25. ?u tan te, ?u la? leic ša šillōŋ  
 M Tan PART M PERF go to Shillong  
 'Tan, he has gone to Shillong.'

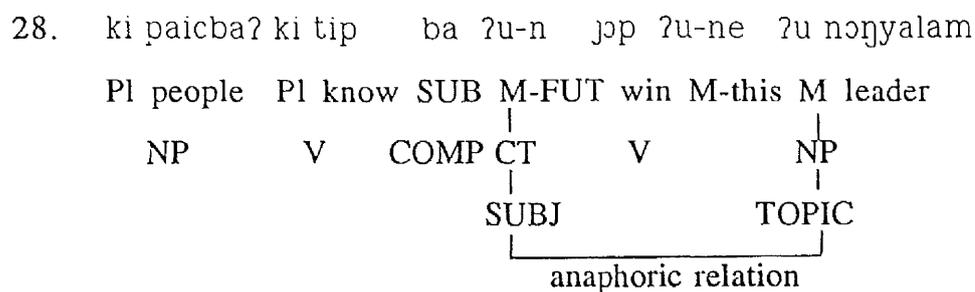
Furthermore, the lexical NP is unambiguously a topic if it occurs away from the clitic and the verb, in which case the clitic is the subject and the NP is the topic and the two have an anaphoric relation. This shows the same pattern of anaphoric behaviour as that of the object clitic in the topic-object relationship in Khasi, shown in sentence 22 above. Compare the following complex sentences. 26 is an unmarked construction and shows grammatical agreement whereas 27 and 28 show anaphoric agreement between the lexical NP and the preverbal clitic (CT):

26. ki paicba? ki tip ba ?u-ne ?u noŋyalam ?u-n jɔp  
 Pl people Pl know SUB M-this M leader M-FUT win  
 NP V COMP NP CT V  
 | | | | |  
 SUBJ AGR  
 └──────────┘  
 grammatical agreement

'The people believe that this leader will win'.

27. ?u-ne ?u noŋyalam ki paicba? ki tip ba ?u-n jɔp  
 M-this M leader Pl people Pl know SUB M-FUT win  
 | | | | |  
 NP NP V COMP CT V  
 | | | | |  
 TOPIC SUBJ  
 └──────────┘  
 anaphoric relation

'This leader, the people believe that he will win'.



'The people believe that he will win, this leader'.

According to the claim I have made above, in the simple complement clause of sentence 26, the lexical NP *?u-ne ?u nɔŋyalam* is the subject and the preverbal clitic *?u* is the non-referential agreement marker because the lexical NP is local to, and therefore governed by, the verb.

In sentences 27 and 28, on the other hand, the lexical NP *?u-ne ?u nɔŋyalam* is the floating external NP which is non-local to the verb. It has an anaphoric relation with the pronominal subject, the preverbal clitic *?u-n*.

Thus in Khasi, the locality principle clearly distinguishes grammatical agreement from anaphoric agreement.

Independent pronouns and clitics. B&M (1987:765) quote Kameyama's statement that "all languages have two kinds of pronominals that can be used anaphorically: those used for reference recoverable in discourse and those used for 'contrast, emphasis or focus'. The former have less phonetic content than the latter". For example: English has unstressed vs. stressed independent pronouns, Latin has bound verbal subject inflection vs. independent pronoun, and Japanese has zero pronominals vs. independent pronouns.

Khasi has two kinds of pronoun: the pronominal clitics discussed so far and the independent pronouns. The latter are developed from the clitics by the prefixation of the particle *ma-* and they occur either before the preverbal clitic or after the verb complex. Below are some examples showing the positions and discourse functions of the independent pronouns. The independent pronoun is glossed E-M:

29. ?u    ban ?u    šim ya    ?u    som        hinrei  
       M    Ban M    take OBJ M    spear       but

ma-?u        ?u    kwa?        ya    ka    waiclam  
 E-M           M    want        OBJ F    sword

'Ban took the spear but he (not Ban) wanted the sword.'

30. ?u    jrɔŋ tam ma-?u        haŋne  
       M    tall most E-M        here

'He is the tallest here.'

The following order is quite acceptable:

31. ma-?u        ?u    jrɔŋ tam haŋne  
       E-M           M    tall most here

'He is the tallest here.'

32. (?u) dei    ma-?u        ?u    ba    thet kali  
       M    be    E-M           M    SUB buy        car

'It is him that bought a car.'

Sentence 29 above shows that the independent pronoun of the second clause is contrastive and non-anaphoric to the subject of the preceding clause. There is an alternative construction to this sentence in which, as in English, the stressed form of the clitic *?u* can be used instead of *ma-?u*. The stressed *?u* is underlined in:

33. *?u*    ban    *?u*    šim    ya    *?u*    som        hinrei  
       M    Ban    M    take   OBJ   M    spear       but

*?u*    *?u*    kwa?        ya    ka    waiclam  
       E-M   M    want        OBJ   F    sword

'Ban took the spear but he (not Ban) wanted the sword.'

Sentences 29 to 33, with the exception of sentence 31, show the preverbal clitic before the verb and after the independent pronoun. The question that arises then is, what is the status of the preverbal clitic in these sentences: is it a pronoun or is it an agreement marker? If the preverbal clitic is an agreement marker, then the independent pronoun has an argument function as subject of the verb. However, if the preverbal clitic has a full referential function as a pronoun, then the independent pronoun is a floating topic NP and has an anaphoric relationship with the pronominal subject (the preverbal clitic) in a topic-subject anaphoric relationship.

For Chichewa, B&M (1977:769) employ a structural test to determine the ability of the independent pronoun to function as an object argument of the verb. In this test they show that an independent pronoun cannot be a pronominal object of the verb

because it cannot establish a topic-object anaphoric relationship with a floating topic lexical NP in the way that the clitic (OM) can do. The following are the examples that they give to show the disparity of function that the OM and the independent pronoun perform when establishing an anaphoric relationship with a topic NP:

Chichewa examples:

34. *Mkango uwu fisi a-na-u-dy-a*  
 lion(3) this hyena SM-PAST-OM(3)-eat-IND  
 'This lion, the hyena ate it.'

35. \*?*Mkango uwu fisi a-na-dy-a iwo*  
 lion(3) this hyena SM-PAST-eat-IND it(3)  
 'This lion, the hyena ate it.'

(B&M 1987:769)

In sentence 34, the floating lexical NP *Mkango uwu* is the topic that binds the pronominal object clitic OM *u* in a topic-object anaphoric relationship. In sentence 35, the lexical NP cannot have a topic-object anaphoric relationship with the independent pronoun *iwo*.

In Khasi the problem is with the subject argument function in a sentence, namely, whether the independent pronoun can fill the argument function of subject or not. The independent pronoun does not occur in the object slot, neither on its own nor with the object pronominal clitic:

36. \* $\eta$ a y $\text{ɔ}^?$ i ya ma- $\text{?u}$   
 I saw OBJ E-M  
 'I saw him.'

If the discourse function of contrast of the object pronoun is required, we can have a sentence as:

37.  $\eta$ a y $\text{ɔ}^?$ i ya  $\text{?u}$ ,  $\text{?om}$  ya ka  
 I see OBJ M NEG OBJ F  
 'I saw him, not her.'

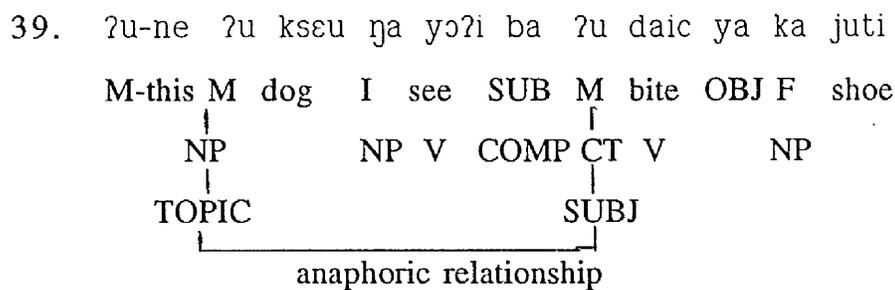
For the discourse function of emphasis of the object pronoun, we can have a cleft sentence as:

38. ( $\text{?u}$ )  $\text{dei}$  ma $\text{?u}$   $\text{?u}$  ba  $\eta$ a y $\text{ɔ}^?$ i  
 M be E-M M SUB I see  
 'It is he that I saw.'

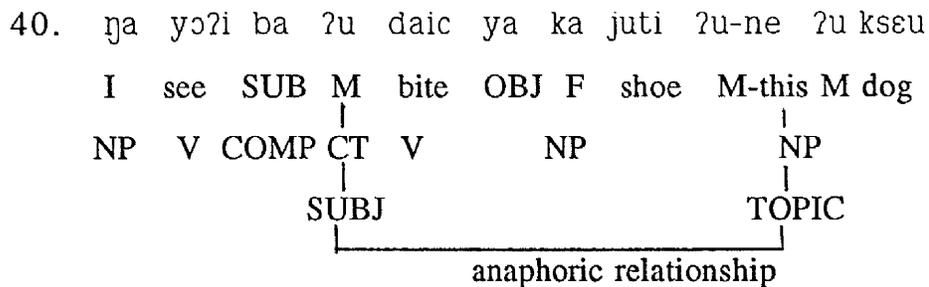
The independent pronoun co-occurs with the clitic, both normally occurring before the verb complex as seen in the examples above.

A structural test parallel to that devised by B&M for Chichewa is applied below to determine whether the independent pronoun fulfils the argument function, namely as the subject of the verb, in which case the preverbal clitic would be the agreement marker. If the independent pronoun can fulfil the subject argument function, then it should be able to establish a topic-object anaphoric relationship with a floating lexical NP.

In the preceding section on anaphoric and grammatical agreement, the subject-topic anaphoric relationship between the lexical NP and the preverbal clitic was seen to be determined by the principle of locality where the non-local lexical NP (the topic) has an anaphoric relationship with the pronominal subject (the preverbal clitic). Sentences 39 and 40 exemplify this topic-subject relationship between the lexical NP and the preverbal clitic:



'This dog, I saw it bite the shoe.'



'I saw it bite the shoe, this dog.'

Now we apply the same structural test on sentences with independent pronouns to see whether an independent pronoun can function as a pronominal subject in a topic-subject anaphoric relationship with the floating lexical NP. Below are sentences in which the preverbal clitic is assumed to be the grammatical agreement marker and the independent pronoun (IP) the pronominal subject:

41. \*ʔu-ne ʔu kseu ŋa yɔʔi ba ma-ʔu ʔu daic ya ka juti  
 M-this M dog I see SUB E-M M bite OBJ F shoe  
 NP NP V COMP IP CT V NP  
 TOPIC SUBJ  
 'This dog, I saw it bite the shoe.'

42. \*ŋa yɔʔi ba ma-ʔu ʔu daic ya ka juti ʔu-ne ʔu kseu  
 I see SUB E-M M bite OBJ F shoe M-this M dog  
 NP V COMP IP CT V NP NP  
 SUBJ TOPIC  
 'I saw it bite the shoe, this dog.'

The preverbal clitic in sentences 39 and 40 has the ability to establish a topic-subject anaphoric relationship in Khasi. The structural test carried out in sentences 41 and 42, on the other hand, shows that the independent pronoun cannot establish a topic-subject anaphoric relationship with a floating lexical NP. This indicates that the independent pronoun cannot function as the subject in the sentence.

Therefore we argue here that whenever the independent pronoun and the clitic co-occur together, the former is a topic and the latter is the subject of the verb in Standard Khasi. The relationship between them is an anaphoric one, the preverbal clitic is a pronominal subject and the independent pronoun an external NP fulfilling a purely discourse function of contrast and emphasis.

The sequence of clitic and independent pronoun can be:

IP CT V

CT V IP

The claim here is that whatever the sequence, the independent pronoun is a topic and the clitic the subject pronoun. The independent pronoun in the second sequence occurs in right dislocation. In the first sequence where the independent pronoun precedes the preverbal clitic, there is a pause between them which marks the difference of this construction from the simple (SUBJ V) single clause construction where the lexical NP is the subject and the preverbal clitic the non-referential agreement marker.

Thus all the examples given above show that the principle of locality as defined above is never violated in determining the function of the preverbal clitic, whether it functions as a grammatical agreement marker or as a referential pronoun.

To sum up, my claim here is that in Khasi pronominalization and agreement can be distinguished, and anaphoric and grammatical agreement can be formally differentiated in the syntactic structure.

### **2.3 The personal pronouns in Standard Khasi**

The general discussion of personal pronouns usually involves an analysis in terms of person, number and gender. Table 2.1 above showed that this is to a large extent the case with Standard Khasi. The traditional analysis of pronouns, as exemplified by Roberts is:

"The personal pronouns - 1st pers., *nga* , 'I;' pl. *ngi* , 'we;' - 2nd pers., *me* (masc.), *pha* (fem.), 'thou;' pl. *phi* , 'you;' - 3rd pers., *u* (masc.), 'he' or 'it', *ka* (fem.), 'she' or 'it'; pl. *ki* , 'they;' *i* (dim. masc. or fem.), 'he', 'she' or 'it'.

(Roberts 1891:38)

Roberts does mention briefly that *ma-phi*, like the English 'you' is used in addressing a single individual. A more recent grammar of Khasi by Nagaraja (1985), on the other hand, does not show the presence of the second person singular pronouns *pha* and *me* . Nagaraja observes that these have become almost obsolete but that they are still used as forms for expressing contempt, so it is taboo to use them. Regarding the third person polite singular *ʔi* , he states that as an article it is not used frequently and that when it is used it marks respect as well as close intimacy and is also used to refer to very small things. My own observations as a native speaker of the language, as well as those of my informants, make a distinction between singular and plural in the second person. Nagaraja's statement that *me* and *pha* are used in a "different" sense is true because their use is determined by pragmatic considerations. But it is incorrect to apply terms such as 'obsolete' and 'taboo' to these pronouns. As we shall see later in the sociolinguistic section, speakers still use them as marked pronouns of address. My analysis of the categorial information of the personal pronouns of Standard Khasi as it exists today is as follows. The language has three persons: first, second and third.

The first person singular and plural pronouns in Khasi do not differentiate masculine and feminine gender.

The second person pronoun is also divided into singular and plural. The singular is subdivided into honorific and non-honorific

pronouns. The non-honorific singular and plural pronouns differentiate masculine and feminine gender. The honorific singular *phi* is an unmarked pronoun in the second person singular and does not encode gender. In the sociolinguistic sections, we will examine how this unmarked second person singular pronoun was developed from the second person plural pronoun. Synchronically, *phi* functions both as a second person singular pronoun and, marginally, as a second person plural pronoun. The extra-linguistic context, such as the presence of one or more addressees, can determine the function of *phi*, whether it is singular or plural. More frequently, however, the linguistic context does determine the singular or plural function of the second person *phi*, since:

(a) The occurrence of a plural noun co-referential with the pronoun indicates the plural meaning of the pronoun *phi* such as the following two sentences:

43. phi loŋ taŋ ki khinna?  
 you be only Pl child  
 'You are only children.'

44. phi ki noŋšoŋšnoŋ joŋ ka ri india ...  
 you Pl citizen of F country India  
 'You, the people of India .... '

(b) More importantly for our discussion here, the employment of the reciprocal marker *ya* after the pronoun and before the verb pluralizes some personal pronouns. The reciprocal marker *ya*, which is termed a 'reciprocative' prefix by Rabel

(1961), marks the verb as non-singular in that it either shows reciprocity or pluralization. It must be said here that the primary function of this marker is to indicate reciprocity, as in the following sentence:

45. balei phi ya šo? bat ?u ?  
 why you REC beat with M  
 'Why did you fight with him?'

The reciprocal marker indicates that the object does not have patient role here and that both NPs, *phi* and *?u*, are actively involved in the act of fighting. We can contrast sentence 45, with 46 which has no reciprocal marker and in which the preposition (object marker) indicates that the NP *?u* is the object of the verb.

46. balei phi šo? ya ?u ?  
 why you beat OBJ M  
 'Why did you beat him?'

The reciprocal marker functions as a pluralization marker when the second NP in a sentence is the patient (as indicated by the object marker):

47. balei phi ya šo? ya ?u  
 why you REC beat OBJ M  
 'Why did you(Pl) beat him?'

The presence of the object marker indicates that the second NP *?u* is the patient. In this case the reciprocal marker *ya* before

the verb does not indicate reciprocity. Its function here is to pluralize the subject pronoun. The secondary role of the reciprocal marker, thus, is to signal plurality. This marker occurs with verbs that do not have reciprocal meanings. Its presence with the unmarked second person singular *phi* indicates two or more addressees without differentiating gender; with the second person singular masculine *mε* indicates two or more addressees who are all males; with the second person singular feminine *pha* two or more addressees who are all females.<sup>7</sup> The following are examples of the pluralization of the non-honorific singular pronouns in the second person:

48. *mε*            *ya*    *wan*            *šæi* ?  
       youM        REC    come            where  
       'Where have you(Pl,M) been?'

49. *pha*           *ya*    *wan*            *šæi* ?  
       youF        REC    come            where  
       'Where have you(Pl,F) been?'

We can now return to the second person unmarked singular *phi*, which like the non-honorific singular pronouns above, is also pluralized by the reciprocal marker *ya*. This pronoun as stated above does not indicate gender so that the addressees may be either males or females or may consist of both male(s) and female(s):

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<sup>7</sup> A discussion on the pragmatic strategies of the pluralized pronoun in the second person pronoun is given in chapter VII.

50. phi lɛ? ayu ?  
 you do what  
 'What are you(Sg) doing?'

51. phi ya lɛ? ayu ?  
 you REC do what  
 'What are you(Pl) doing?'

It is the occurrence of *ya* that distinguishes the singular from the plural, as in 50 and 51 respectively.

Gender distinction in the second person singular pronouns, masculine *mɛ*, feminine *pha*, and in the non-honorific plurals, masculine *mɛ +ya*, feminine *pha +ya* is determined by the sex of the addressee(s). The second person singular masculine pronoun *me* is used as a reverential pronoun for addressing God in prayers which slightly differs from that which is used to address male humans *mɛ* although in the standard orthography both are written in the same way. The reverential pronoun is also used by poets to address legendary figures, personified legendary beasts, and certain objects of nature.

Positionally, the reciprocal marker, whether it functions as a reciprocative marker or as a pluralization marker is closer to the head than are auxiliaries in a verb complex.<sup>8</sup> Auxiliaries such as the tense marker, aspect marker, etc. occur immediately after the clitic but before the reciprocal marker. Consider:

<sup>8</sup> There are verbs where *ya* cannot be segmented off e.g., *yarɔ?* 'to praise', *yatho?* 'to tell' etc. because there is no verb such as *rɔ?* or *tho?*.

52. mɛ laʔ ya dɛp khɾɛʔ kətʔ  
 youM PERF REC finish prepare book  
 'Have you(Pl,M) done your lessons?'

The function of the reciprocal marker can also be determined by its place in the verb complex when it co-occurs with a causative marker.

53. balei pha ya-pin-dɔm ya ʔuʔ  
 why youF REC-CAUS-anger OBJ M  
 'Why did you(Pl,F) make him angry?'

54. balei pha pin-ya-dɔm ya ʔu  
 why youF CAUS-REC-anger OBJ M  
 'Why did you(Sg,F) cause him to be angry (with someone)?'

When the reciprocal marker occurs before the causative marker it has a pluralization function, and when it is preceded by the causative marker it has a reciprocative function.

The third person in Khasi has singular and plural pronouns. As shown in 2.1.3 above, Khasi has both natural and grammatical gender as well as the P gender in the third person. As in the second person, the third person has honorific and non-honorific pronouns in the plural. The presence of the reciprocal marker with the third person singular masculine, becomes plural *ʔu +ya* and refers to two or more referents who are all males; and with the third person feminine, becomes plural *ka +ya* and refers to

two or more referents who are all females. The following are examples of the non-honorific plural pronouns in the third person:

55. ʔu wan šæi ?  
 M come where  
 'Where has he been?'
56. ʔu ya wan šæi ?  
 M REC come where  
 'Where have they(M) been?'
57. ka wan šæi ?  
 F come where  
 'Where has she been?'
58. ka ya wan šæi ?  
 F REC come where  
 'Where have they(F) been?'

The occurrence of *ya* with the third person plural pronoun *ki*, as with the first person plural pronoun *ŋi*, does not indicate plurality since both these pronouns are already unambiguously plural. Nevertheless, the reciprocal marker *ya* still has a pragmatic function with these two pronouns, namely to indicate a formal, distant, polite relationship among the participants involved.

The other personal pronouns that cannot be pluralized are the first person singular and the third person singular P *ʔi* as seen in 59 and 60:

59.\* ṅa ya šɔʔ ya ʔu  
 I REC beat OBJ M

60.\* ʔi ya šɔʔ ya ʔu  
 P REC beat OBJ M

Unmarked pronoun. The third person feminine pronoun *ka* is the unmarked form because it acts as an 'empty' or 'prop' subject in a way similar to English 'it'. It can therefore be used to pronominalize ..., a noun phrase or a clause:

61. ka māi ka-m laʔ wan ša skul,  
 F Mai F-NEG PERF come to school

ka paŋ bayɔŋkhle?  
 F ill cold

'Mai cannot come to school today, she's got a cold.'

62. ka breu ka balamwir ka lɔŋ ka bapaŋ,  
 F person F mad F be F ill

minta ka don ha hospital  
 now F be in hospital

'The mad woman is ill, now she is in hospital.'

63. ka loŋ ka basŋeusi? ban tip ba ka  
 F be F sad SUB know SUB F

ka māi ka paŋ  
 F Mai F ill

'It is sad to know that Mai is ill.'

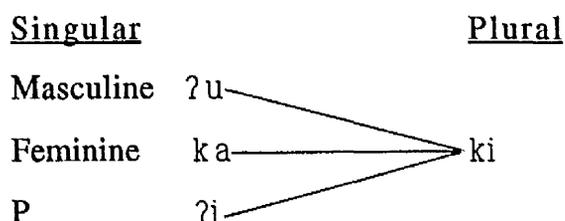
In the case where two NPs of different gender occur as conjoined subject of a sentence, neither gender can override the other. In this case, the non-referential clitic that marks grammatical agreement is the plural:

64. ʔu bōr bat ka māi ki la? leic ša šillōŋ  
 M Bor and F Mai Pl PERF go to Shillong

'Bor and Mai have gone to Shillong'.

#### 2.4 Summary

We have seen that the pronominal clitics function as gender/number markers of the nouns in the noun phrase. The pronominal clitic that conveys the number/gender of the noun is termed an article. Standard Khasi has a basic two-gender system, masculine and feminine, but there is also a third gender that functions as a derivational mechanism for pragmatic purposes. There is syncretism of gender in the plural in Standard Khasi.

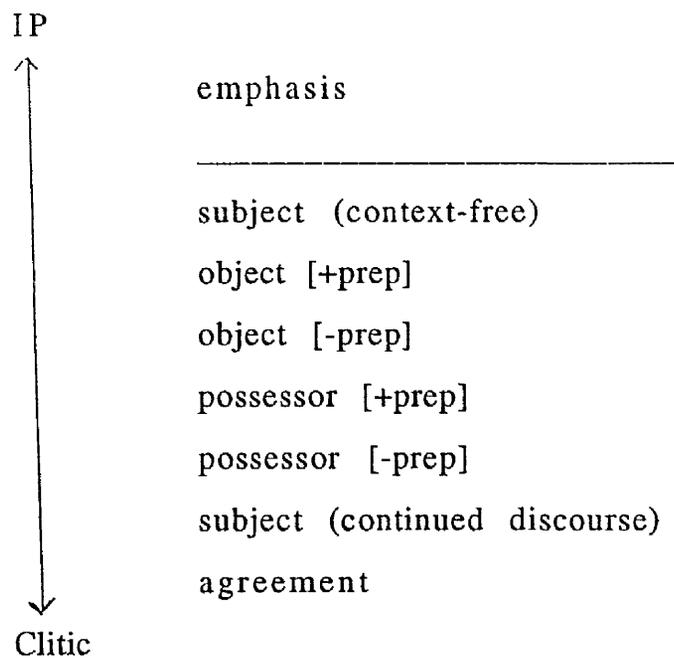


The preverbal clitic as the referential subject pronoun and as the agreement marker occurs in the same place, namely, before the verb. If it occurs between the subject lexical NP and the verb in a simple sentence, it is non-referential and functions as an agreement marker. However, if the lexical NP is separated from the verb, and thereby also from the preverbal clitic, then that NP is non-local and therefore is the topic which has an anaphoric relation with the preverbal clitic. In this case, the preverbal clitic has the subject argument function.

The traditional analysis of the personal pronouns in terms of person, number and gender does not reflect the present-day functions of these pronouns. This is particularly so in the case with the second person pronouns where the 'singular' pronouns not only mark singular number but more importantly function as marked 'familiar' pronouns of address while the 'plural' pronoun acts as an unmarked second person singular pronoun. Most of the personal pronouns are pluralized by the employment of the reciprocal marker. In the second person pronoun, in particular, the grammar shows that there are non-honorific plural pronouns and the honorific plural pronoun.

Clitics, as we have seen, fulfil all argument functions in this dialect whereas independent pronouns fulfil purely discourse functions for contrast and emphasis. Syntactically, it functions as an external topic NP and shows its co-referentiality to the subject clitic. The independent pronoun can only be co-referential to the subject and not to the object of the verb.

The range of functions of the clitics and the independent pronouns in this dialect can be summed up as follows:



The line demarcates the functions fulfilled by the independent pronoun and the clitic. The independent pronoun fulfils only the discourse function of emphasis and contrast while all other functions are fulfilled by the clitic. The analyses on the other dialects, however, will show the functions fulfilled by the independent pronoun and the clitic are quite different from those on Standard Khasi.

## CHAPTER III

### Clitics and independent pronouns in the regional dialects: form and syntactic distribution

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the personal pronouns and their related clitics in five Khasi regional dialects: Nongtalang, Jirang, Nartiang, Mawrong and Nongkseh. The focus here will also be on the same issues as in the analysis of the standard dialect in chapter II, namely the pronominal clitics in correlation with the category of gender, the clitics that occur in the verb complex as either referential pronouns or agreement markers, and the role of the independent pronouns. It will be seen that the functions and distribution of the clitics and the independent pronouns in most of the dialects is quite different from those in Standard Khasi.

#### 3.1 NONGTALANG DIALECT

Although no linguistic work has been done on Nongtalang, a very closely related dialect group called Amwi has been analyzed by Weidert (1975). I will not discuss the referential and non-referential functions of the clitics in this dialect in any great detail when they are the same as in the standard dialect but will focus my analysis on differences either in their function or in their distribution.

Firstly, the role of the pronominal clitics in the noun phrase is the same as that in the standard dialect: they occur before the noun as 'articles' and as agreement markers before modifiers. Nongtalang, however, differs from the standard dialect in that it

has a three-gender system, consisting of masculine, feminine and neuter.

Secondly, in Nongtalang the clitic that occurs in the verb complex follows and does not precede it as in the standard dialect. It is therefore called a postverbal clitic. The arguments for saying that the postverbal clitic can function as an agreement marker in this dialect are not repeated here because all that has been said with regard to the standard dialect is also applicable here. Unlike in the standard dialect, where the preverbal clitic as a grammatical agreement marker is obligatory, in Nongtalang the postverbal clitic as an agreement marker is not always present.

Thirdly, in their referential function as pronominals, the postverbal clitics in Nongtalang also come after the verb complex in the same way as the agreement markers.

Fourthly, Nongtalang also differs from the standard dialect in that the pronominal clitic has an argument function only in the subject, object slots being filled by the independent pronoun.

In general, all Khasi dialects have SVO word order. This order is strictly adhered to in the standard dialect whether the subject is a lexical NP or a pronominal clitic. In Nongtalang while the lexical subject NP precedes the verb, the subject clitic follows the verb complex.

The following table shows the clitics and the independent pronouns in Nongtalang. As in the table for the standard dialect, pronominal clitics include articles and agreement markers within the noun phrase, pronominal clitics include referential pronouns and non-referential agreement markers.

Table 3.1(1) Clitics and IPs in Nongtalang

	Prenominal clitic	Pronominal clitic	IP
I Sg	-	ŋə	ñiə
I Pl	-	ʔi	ʔiʔi
IISgM	-	ʔm	ʔiam
IISgF	-	hə	ʔiahə
II Pl	-	hi	ʔihi
IIISgM	ʔu	ʔu	ʔiau
IIISgF	kə	kə	ʔiakə
III N	ʔi	n.d	n.d
III N(Pl)	ʔi	yə	ʔiyə
III Pl	ki	yə	ʔiyə/ʔiaki

The grammatical labels assigned to above forms are the same as in the table for the standard dialect with the exception that: the neuter *ʔi* is labelled 'N', the variants of the third person plural pronoun *ki* and *yə* are both labelled 'Pl', their respective counterparts 'E-Pl', and 'n.d.' signals absence of data.

The table shows that in the third person plural the article is not homophonous with the postverbal clitic, the independent pronoun having counterparts of both forms.

### 3.1.1 Prenominal clitics

I will first present some examples of the masculine and the feminine article encoding both natural and grammatical gender.

#### Masculine ?u indicating natural gender

65. ?u babu daŋ a? u ti skur  
 M teacher still be M in school  
 'The teacher is still in school.'

66. ?u-tə ?u ksia acu wen ?u ε cu ba  
 M-that M dog NEG agree M PART SUB eat  
 'That dog refused to eat (the food).'

#### Masculine ?u indicating grammatical gender

67. ?u-nə ?u pdeŋ bəro? umi əto? u coŋ yə  
 M-this M hill all M-one be M of Pl  
 'This whole hill is theirs.'

68. .... cu pinkhrə? kət la?jan kut ?u snəm  
 FUT teach book almost finish M year  
 '.....(and I) will teach (you) at the end of the year.'

#### Feminine kə indicating natural gender

69. kə mai tɛ taŋ cu krəm kam kə həkin  
 F mother PART only SUB work work F PART  
 'Mother is always working.'

70. kə-nə tɔ? kə hun ŋə  
 F-this be F child I  
 'This is my daughter.'

Feminine kə indicating grammatical gender

71. əpɪncɪp ʔu hə ʔiahə də kə šuloi  
 kill M OBJ self by F gun  
 'He killed himself with a gun.'
72. ti kə-mi kə ñuŋai əlia thu? ɔt ʔu  
 at F-one F day go cut wood M  
 'One day he went to cut firewood.'

Neuter gender is assigned to abstract nouns, mass nouns, inanimate singular nouns and animate plural nouns. I have chosen this term even though the distinction of animacy/inanimacy is not clear-cut in the plural. However, nouns that are animate and singular are never assigned neuter gender.

Neuter ʔi with abstract nouns

73. acu pʔɛm ʔi hə ʔi bha? yə  
 NEG live we OBJ N share PI  
 'Our life is not their lot.'
74. əsa? diau ə cu sa? hə ʔi-tə ʔi khubōr  
 feel sad PART SUB hear OBJ N-that N news  
 'It is sad to hear that news.'

There are, however, instances where the feminine *kə* occurs with abstract nouns.

75. əphaʔ šiar yə di ñiə ti kə ciŋyalaŋ  
 send speak Pl by I at F meeting  
 'They asked me to speak at the meeting.'

76. hə kə-tə kə sap acu diam yəte hacu khəna ʔu  
 OBJ F-that F gift not good PART SUB tell M  
 'He should not tell (anyone) about that gift'.

The claim that there is a neuter gender in Nongtalang is based on the following facts. Firstly, in the limited data that I have, the overwhelming number of abstract non-count nouns take the neuter article only very few items being also able to take the feminine article. Secondly, all the abstract nouns that occur with the feminine article have either the same form or one very similar to that of the standard dialect. In sentences 75 and 76, the nouns that are preceded by the feminine *kə* are almost homophonous with their counterparts in the standard dialect. The use of the feminine article here may thus be the result of the direct influence of the standard dialect on the informant when translating into the Nongtalang dialect.

<u>Nongtalang</u>	<u>Standard Khasi</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kə ciŋyalaŋ	ka jɪŋyalaŋ	'meeting'
kə sap	ka sāp	'talent, gift'
kə ciŋhikai	ka jɪŋhikai	'teaching'

Thirdly, and I think very significantly, there are instances where the informant used the feminine article in the written translation but switched on to the neuter article *?i* when speaking. The examples in question are:

<u>Written</u>	<u>Taped</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kə kirdan	?i kirdan	'status'
kə ciŋyašiar	?i ciŋyašiar	'conversation'
kə sni	?i sni	'house, family'

The taped translation is probably more spontaneous and therefore more a natural response than the written translation. All the above observations, therefore, support the view that in Nongtalang, *?i* is a gender-encoding article for a separate class of nouns which do not belong to either the masculine or the feminine gender, namely neuter gender.

The complexity of the problem is, however, compounded by the occurrence of the article *?i* not only with the class of abstract nouns defined above but with others as well.

Neuter *?i* with concrete non-count nouns

77. əa? i cu ba lut ?i-nə ?i ci  
 able we SUB eat all N-this N rice  
 'Can we eat all the food?'

78. ñiə cu pinba ŋə hə ?iam du di ?i šmen suda  
 E-I FUT feed I OBJ youM only by N fire only  
 'I will feed you with nothing but fire.'

Neuter ?i with singular, concrete and inanimate nouns

79. ?iahə naŋ pinšiliŋ ?i kwiar  
 E-you continue clean N garden  
 'You continue to clear the garden.'
80. əruɪ ?u kikšikik bə əksət ?u hə ?i čintur ?u  
 laugh M ADV and cover M OBJ N mouth M  
 'He laughed softly and covered his mouth.'

The neuter ?i with inanimate plural nouns

81. ?u-lə ?u rmen əa? lut ?u ?i kinrāu  
 M-this M non-Khasi have all M N object  
 'This non-Khasi (trader) has all the materials.'

Neuter ?i with animate plural nouns

82. kaiŋia? cu ai kam laŋ  
 how FUT give work together  
  
 hə ar bai ?i himbo tirmai  
 OBJ two CL N child male  
 'How do (you) give work to two boys together ?'
83. əa? u ā khlon ?i məsəu ?i ləmuŋ  
 have M two CL N cow N fat  
 'He has two fat cows.'

From the above, it seems to be the case that the neuter gender is assigned to animate nouns in the plural when <sup>they are</sup> seen as collective <sup>and/or</sup> they are preceded by a classifier and numeral.

To sum up, nouns belonging to the neuter gender are:

- (a) abstract nouns
- (b) non-count mass nouns
- (c) singular inanimate nouns
- (d) plural animate nouns
- (e) plural inanimate nouns

This assignment rule for the neuter gender is thus based on the semantic criteria of animacy and number. Nouns which are animate and singular are not included in this gender, being either masculine or feminine.

Nouns referring to individuals in the plural are preceded by the plural article *ki*, as the following examples show:

Plural article *ki* :

84. tirhen læ əsa? u hə əya?šiar ki hun məsəu  
 then PAST hear M OBJ conversation Pl child cow  
 'Then he heard the conversation of calves.'

85. ?ihi tɔ? ki himbo a?səlɔn  
 E-youPl be Pl child good  
 'You are good children.'

Absence of the article. Like the standard dialect, Nongtalang shows the absence of the article in the following constructions:

(a) Adverbials

86. ?u wai daŋ krom ?u tipɔ? kwiar  
 M Wai still work M in garden  
 'Wai is still working in the garden.'

(b) Object-incorporation

87. hɛu lia them kwui  
 rise go take betelnut  
 'Go and get some betelnut.'

Prenominal clitics with modifiers in the noun phrase. These show the agreement of the head with any other element within the NP. These elements are the modifiers in an NP such as demonstratives, numerals and attributive adjectives. They appear to operate in the same way as in the standard dialect, and I will therefore cite only a few examples to show their various forms and not go into a detailed analysis.

(i) Demonstratives: The following example shows that the demonstrative modifier precedes the head noun.

88. kə-nə kə cəprɛu tɔ? kə diam kthim  
 F-this F person be F good heart  
 'This woman is very kind.'

(ii) Indefinite marker: This modifier also precedes the head noun in the noun phrase.

89. əhap lia rhen yə di kə-mi kə kirmia  
 must go way Pl by F-one F forest  
 'They had to pass through a forest.'

(iii) Attributive adjective: The adjective as a modifier follows the head noun. Adjectives and verbs in Nongtalang have

the same forms. The two can be distinguished by the fact that the verb is followed by a (postverbal) clitic and the adjective is preceded by the (prenominal) clitic. The following is an example of the attributive adjective as a modifier:

90. ?u siŋ ?u əkɔm a? u tiɔ? kirmia  
 M lion M wicked be M inside forest  
 'A wicked lion was in the forest.'

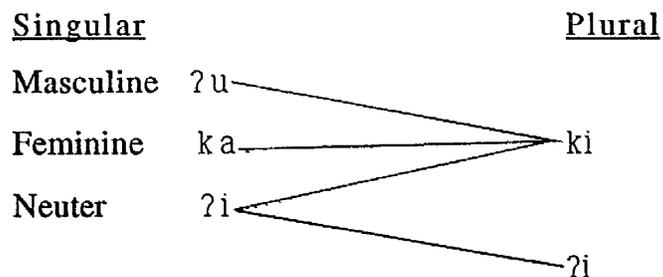
Gender assignment in Nongtalang can be summed up as follows:

Masculine: (a) male singular animate, (b) residue singular

Feminine: (a) female singular animate, (b) residue singular

Neuter: (a) abstract, (b) mass nouns, (c) inanimate, (d) plural animate.

There is partial syncretism of gender in this dialect:



### 3.1.2 Postverbal clitics

In Nongtalang the postverbal clitic occurs after the verb complex. I have claimed that the preverbal clitic in the standard dialect is a non-referential agreement marker and not a full referential pronoun when it occurs adjacently to a lexical NP in a single clause construction. The same arguments apply here. The

same principle, therefore, applies in Nongtalang as in the standard dialect and locality determines whether a clitic is a non-referential agreement marker or a pronominal syntactic subject.

91. də            lia    phət kə    ʃo    sni  
      PAST        go    run F     to    house  
      'She went back to the house.'

92. əsaʔsʔər ʔu    du    cu    lia khwai    hi  
      like        M    only SUB go fishing PART  
      'He only liked to go fishing.'

In sentences 91 and 92 the subject is pronominal and follows the verb complex. The postverbal clitic as agreement marker also comes after the verb complex. As in the standard dialect, my claim here is that the lexical NP is the subject of the clause and that the postverbal clitic is a non-referential agreement marker:

93. kə    hinhāi    də    maʔ    dɔm kə    hə    ʔiau  
      F    female    PAST look angry F    OBJ    E-M  
      'The woman looked angrily at him.'

94. ʔu    manik    əsiar    pɪntŋen    ʔu    hə    ʔu    lək    ʔu  
      M    Manik    speak comfort    M    OBJ    M    friend M  
      'Manik tried to comfort his friend.'

The articles that encode plural number, *ʔi* and *ki*, do not have homophonous agreement markers in Nongtalang.<sup>9</sup> In all these cases, the agreement marker is *yə*. This is exemplified in the following sentences:

95. ʔi    hun hi           əkwaʔ    stat yə  
       N    child youPl    want       wise Pl  
       'Your children want to be educated.'

96. ki    miau əba khnai    yə    tipɔʔ    kirmia  
       Pl    cat   eat   rat       Pl   inside   forest  
       'The cats eat rats in the forest.'

The postverbal clitic in Nongtalang does not appear to be overtly present as regularly as the preverbal clitic does in the standard dialect. In most instances when it is absent, it seems to be a case where it would be followed by the homophonous article:

97. kə-lə kə cəprɛu kə əwan šɔna tɔʔ [ø] kə əkirciat cəprɛu  
       F-that F person F come here be       F massage person  
       'That woman that came here was a masseuse.'

98. ʔu pa       ʔu tɔʔ [ø] u noŋšikai ʔu əstat diam  
       M father M be       M teacher M wise good  
       'His father is a very good teacher.'

---

<sup>9</sup> I do not have any example in my data of the agreement marker occurring with non-count abstract nouns, all these in my data occurring only in the object slot. Nor do I have any example of the pronominalization of abstract nouns with N article *ʔi*.

However, there are instances when the postverbal clitic is not overtly present even when there is no homophonous article :

99. ʔu daptɔr də ai dawai [ø] hə ʔiʔi  
 M doctor PAST give medicine OBJ E-we  
 'The doctor gave us medicine.'

### 3.1.3 Pronominal clitics and independent pronouns

Like the standard dialect, Nongtalang has both pronominal clitics and independent pronouns. However, their functions and distribution differ in some respects in the two dialects. The first person singular pronoun will be taken here to illustrate how the pronominal clitics and the independent pronouns function in this dialect. Examples for the other persons are given later.

The first person singular pronoun in Nongtalang comprises the clitic *ŋə* and the independent pronoun *n̄iə*. Unlike the pronominal clitic in the standard dialect, *ŋə* cannot function as an object and only occurs either as a subject positioned after the verb complex or in the possessive construction after the possessed noun. The following example illustrates the occurrence of *ŋə* as a subject pronoun:

100. əthikna ŋə haʔcu di kam ʔi ka əbiaŋ  
 sure I SUB get work we F enough  
 'I am sure we will get a proper job.'

In the possessive construction, the clitic *ŋə* occurs after the possessed noun and usually without the possessive marker:

101. kə wai ŋə daŋ a? kə bə ʔiahə  
 F dao I still be F with E-youF  
 'My *dao* is still with you.'

The independent pronoun *ñiə* on the other hand, may occur either as subject or object of a verb. The rule seems to be that, like a lexical subject NP, *ñiə* as a subject always occurs before a verb. In this case, more often than not, it co-occurs with its corresponding pronominal clitic after the verb. The independent pronoun occurs on its own discourse-initially, that is when new information is given as in the following sentence where the speaker introduces himself.

102. ñiə tɔ? u oren mirchiaŋ  
 E-I be M Oren Mirchiang  
 'I am Oren Myrchiang.'

The independent pronoun may occur on its own, although it more often co-occurs with its corresponding clitic, when it fulfils the discourse functions of contrast and emphasis. This is exemplified by such sentences as:

103. o ñiə bə? əhia? əhai  
 O E-I also well PART  
 'Oh! I am also fine.'

(in answer to the question 'how are you?')

104. *ñiə cu lia ŋə šə cui*  
 E-I will go I to market  
 'I (myself) will go to market.'

105. *ñiə pəŋ bəro? əksə? ŋə ti tai ŋə*  
 E-I however all hold I in hand I  
 '... while I held them all in my hands.'

In Standard Khasi the independent pronoun can never have argument function and cannot therefore be either subject or object. In Nongtalang, on the other hand, it is the clitic which can never occur as object of the verb. In all the data that I have for Nongtalang it is the independent pronoun which fills the object slot. The occurrence of the first person independent pronoun *ñiə* as object of the verb is shown in the following examples:

106. *də dəp pɪntə? kə hə ñiə cu āi ba hə ʔiaki*  
 PERF finish inform F OBJ E-I SUB give food OBJ E-Pl  
 'She has asked me to feed them.'

107. *ʔiyə čə? bəñ yə hə ñiə*  
 E-Pl beat cruelly Pl OBJ E-I  
 'They beat me cruelly.'

The following examples show how the subject clitic, the clitic in the possessive, the independent pronoun co-occurring with the clitic in the subject, and the independent pronoun in the object occur in the other persons in Nongtalang:

First person plural clitic ?i and IP ?i?i

108. əburəm ?i hə ?i rta bə hə ?i kirdan yə  
 respect we OBJ N age and OBJ N status Pl  
 'We respect their age and their status.'

109. cu wan rkai hi ti sni ?i ?  
 FUT come visit youPl in house we  
 'Will you come to visit our house ?'

110. ?i?i də rāi ?i hacu šiŋ raŋba?čnəŋ šo?  
 E-we PERF decide we SUB elect headman more  
 'We have decided to elect more headmen.'

111. cu ai nəŋ hə hə ?i?i ?  
 FUT give work youF OBJ E-we  
 'Will you give us a job?'

Second person singular masculine clitic ?m and IP ?iam

112. cu lia krəm nə? m daptər ?  
 FUT go work now youM doctor  
 'Are you going to work now, doctor ?'

113. kə metər ?m kə-nə ?  
 F car youM F-this  
 'Is this your car?'

114. ?iam pindep nə? i kam ?m  
 E-youM finish now N work youM  
 'You must finish your work now.'

115. əyarɔʔ yə hə ʔiam  
 praise Pl OBJ E-youM  
 'They praised you.'

Second person singular feminine clitic hə and IP ʔiahə

116. daŋ kinmo hə hə ñiə ?  
 still remember youF OBJ E-I  
 'Do you still remember me?'
117. ʔi hun hə tɛ də aʔselon činnam  
 N child youF PART PERF good truly  
 'Your children are really good.'
118. ʔiahə naŋ pinšiliŋ ʔi kwiar  
 E-youF continue clean N garden  
 'You continue to clear the garden.'
119. tiñiaʔ əhit ʔu ksia hə ʔiahə ?  
 where bite M dog OBJ E-youF  
 'Where did the dog bite you?'

Second person plural clitic hi and IP ʔihi

120. ʔiai əya-krəm hi katnə ?  
 what REC-work youPl now  
 'What are you doing now ?'

121. həu krəm hə ʔi kam hi  
 rise work youF N work youPl  
 'Go and do your work.'

122. ʔihi katnə acu di pər hi tɛ  
 E-youPl now not get time youPl PART  
 taŋ cu yatɔʔ pərəlɔk hə  
 only SUB meet friend PART  
 'Now you don't have time even to meet friends.'

123. əba kinmo yə hə ʔihi bəɾɔʔ  
 HAB remember Pl OBJ E-youPl all  
 'They always remember you all.'

Third person singular masculine clitic ʔu and IP ʔiau

124. aihəni ədɔm ʔu hə ʔiahə ?  
 why angry M OBJ E-youF  
 'Why is he angry with you?'

125. də wan ʔi ti sni ʔu  
 PAST come we in house M  
 'We came from his house'.

126. ʔiau wan kaʔ də kirmo ʔu hə ʔi ciŋca ....  
 E-M however still PAST remember M OBJ N event  
 'He, however, still remembered the event ..... '

127. aihəni əpəsa? m hə ?iaʉ ?  
 why kick youM OBJ E-M  
 'Why did you kick him?'

Third person singular feminine clitic kə and IP ?iakə

128. də pha? pisa kə hə ?iahə  
 PERF send money F OBJ E-youF  
 'She has sent you money.'

129. ?iahə tɔ? kə mai kə ?  
 E-youF be F mother F  
 'Are you her mother?'

130. ?iakə wan əniaŋ pilləŋ-twui kə  
 E-F meanwhile continue tidy-house F  
 'She, meanwhile, continued to tidy up the house.'

131. əkwa? ŋə cu ya?tɔ? bə ?iakə  
 want I SUB meet with E-F  
 'I want to meet her.'

In Nongtalang, where the third person plural is concerned, there is a differentiation in the pattern of pronoun and agreement. Firstly, the article may be either *?i* or *ki* yet the former never occurs as a third person plural pronoun and I have only one instance of the latter used as a subject clitic. The third person plural postverbal clitic is usually *yə* and its corresponding independent pronoun is *?iyə*. As with the agreement marker, when a plural NP with the N article *?i* is pronominalized then *yə*

is the pronoun. The following sentence shows the pronominalization of the plural noun:

132. daŋ ʔi rta ʔm əyaʔšiar ʔi məsɛu,  
 at N age youM REC-speak N cow

əyarɔʔ yə hə ʔiam bə əbɛn yə hə ɲiə  
 praise Pl OBJ E-youM and mock Pl OBJ E-I

'Only in your age do cows speak: they praised you  
 and mocked me.'

The examples below show the occurrence of the clitic *yə*  
 and the independent pronoun *ʔiyə* :

133. əba kinmo yə hə ʔiʔi man ʔi pɔr  
 HAB remember Pl OBJ E-we every N time  
 'They always remember us.'

134. ʔu-nə ʔu pɔdɛŋ bəɔʔ u-mi tɔʔ u cɔŋ yə  
 M-this M hill all M-one be M of Pl  
 'This whole hill is theirs.'

135. ʔiyə ʧɔʔ bɛn yə hə ɲiə  
 E-Pl beat cruel Pl OBJ E-I  
 'They beat me cruelly.'

136. ʔu ophisar də ai kam ʔu hə ʔiyə ti ophis  
 M official PAST give work M OBJ E-Pl in office  
 'The official gave them work in the office.'

The other third person plural independent pronoun is *?iaki* and my data shows it occurs only as the object pronoun:

137. də dəp pinto? kə hə ñiə cu ai ba hə ?iaki  
 PERF finish inform F OBJ E-I SUB give food OBJ E-Pl  
 'She has asked me to feed them'.

Weidert (1975:87) states that, in dialects closely related to Nongtalang, the use of *ki* as the third person plural is most frequent among older speakers while younger speakers prefer *yə*. Since my informants are all under 50 years of age and educated, this may account for the frequent choice of *yə* for the third person plural pronoun.

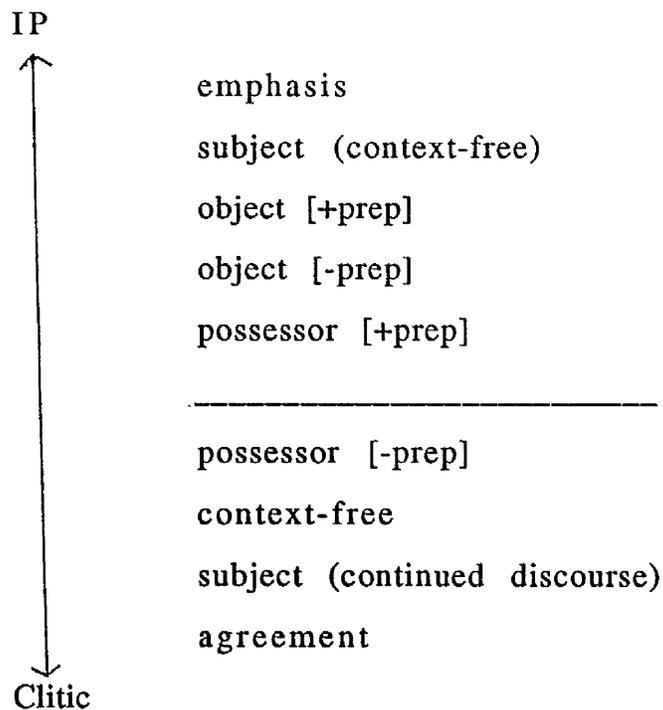
The above discussion of the clitics and independent pronouns in Nongtalang has shown that there are two main areas of difference between this dialect and the standard dialect: (a) the gender system, and (b) the function and distribution of the pronominal clitics and independent pronouns.

(a) The analysis of the data shows that Nongtalang has a three-gender system: masculine, feminine and neuter. Standard Khasi, on the other hand, has only two genders in the lexicon: masculine and feminine. In the next chapter we will present a hypothesis regarding innovations that have led to these differences in the gender system in Khasi.

(b) The other major structural difference is also very important because it opens up a number of issues concerning the distribution of the clitic and the independent pronoun respectively with regard to certain syntactic functions. In

Nongtalang, both in its referential and non-referential functions, the postverbal clitic has always been found to occur in one particular place in the sentence, namely after the verb complex. The clitic occurs as the subject in continued discourse and as the possessor without the possessive marking preposition, namely, the possessive marker (although I have found two examples where the clitic does occur with the preposition). The independent pronoun, on the other hand, occurs as the subject in context-free sentences, fulfils discourse functions of emphasis and contrast and also obligatorily fulfils object argument function.

The range of functions of clitics and independent pronouns in Nongtalang arranged as a cline from most to least independent is:



In the table above, the line shows the demarcation of the syntactic functions fulfilled by the independent pronoun and the clitic respectively in Nongtalang.

### 3.2 JIRANG DIALECT

This dialect is spoken in the north of the East Khasi Hills District at the border with Assam. It is called Nga Kthong Mnar 'Mnar language' by the speakers. Even though it is spoken in the northern-most part of the districts it bears striking resemblances to the Amwi group of dialects, including that of Nongtalang, in the southernmost part. The similarities do not lie only in the inventory of lexical items but also in the structure of the gender system and of the pronominal system. There are, nevertheless, certain differences in the way that Jirang employs its clitics from that of Nongtalang.

Like Nongtalang, Jirang has a three-gender system consisting of masculine, feminine and neuter. The pronominal clitics acting as articles convey the gender of the noun and always precede it in the noun phrase; acting as agreement markers they occur with modifiers to signal agreement with the head noun.

The postverbal clitic marks agreement between the lexical subject NP and the verb in a simple sentence. As in Nongtalang, it always occurs after the verb complex.

The pronominal clitics in this dialect present the most complicated system of all the Khasi dialects taken for analysis here. This is because in each person, except for the second person, there are in addition to the independent pronoun two variants of the pronominal clitic instead of the single clitic and the independent pronoun of Standard Khasi and Nongtalang dialect. I consider the stronger variant of the two variants to be a clitic for the simple reason that it cannot occur in isolation, for example in answer to a question. The variants grouped under pronominal

clitic-1 in Table 3.2(1) below are the most restricted with regard to their syntactic function. The only positions they can occur are: (a) as the non-referential agreement marker (b) as the subject in continued discourse after the verb complex (c) as the possessor if there is no possessive marker after the possessed noun. These characteristics raise the issue of the syntactic status of this variant, that is whether it is a non-referential personal affix and not a referential pronominal at all. The second variant, clitic-2, on the other hand appears to function in the same way as the clitic of the standard dialect which can occur as subject, object or in the possessive. There is, however, a difference regarding its position. Unlike the standard dialect, as a subject it always occurs after the verb complex.

The independent pronoun has the prefix *ha-* and occurs as the subject in context-free sentences. It usually co-occurs with clitic-1 to fulfil discourse functions of contrast and emphasis. It can occur as a subject or object pronominal but does not occur in the possessive. Both the clitic-2 and the independent pronoun can therefore occur as the subject or object of the verb, so that on the face of it there appears to be an overlap of functions between the two. A closer look, however, shows that clitic-2 occurs in continued discourse, that is, it indicates an anaphoric reference recoverable in discourse. All the pronominal clitics have independent pronoun counterparts except that for the neuter, I do not have any data on the occurrence of an independent pronoun.

Before discussing and exemplifying the above observations, I give the chart of clitics and independent pronouns in Jirang. In the table below, pronominal clitic includes article and agreement marker within the noun phrase; clitic-1 includes referential

pronoun (postverbal subject pronominal clitic and possessor without preposition in a possessive construction) and non-referential agreement marker; clitic-2 are referential pronouns.

**Table 3.1(2) Clitics and independent pronouns in Jirang**

	Prenominal clitic	Clitic-1	Clitic-2	IP
I Sg	-	ŋa	ʔo	haʔo
I Pl	-	ʔi	ʔwi	haʔwi
II Sg M	-	-	ma	hama
II Sg F	-	-	pa	hapa
II Pl	-	-	pi	hapi
III Sg M	ʔu	ʔu	ʔwei	haʔwei
III Sg F	ka	ka	kai	hakai
III N	ŋa	ŋa	-	-
III Pl	ki	ki	kei	hakei

The grammatical labels that are assigned to the clitics are the same as in the standard dialect and in Nongtalang. However, since the postverbal clitic in this dialect has two variants, clitic-1 will be labelled as the clitics in the standard dialect and in Nongtalang, namely M, F, etc., and clitic-2 will be labelled with the numeral '-2' namely M2, F2 etc. The independent pronoun will be

labelled 'E-', namely E-M, E-F etc. This same pattern is used for all the persons.

### 3.2.1 Prenominal clitics

Jirang has a three-gender system, with the masculine and feminine encoding both natural and grammatical gender. The following are examples:

#### Masculine ?u indicating natural gender

138. ?u dɔktɔr yarap ?u ha ?u cɔn  
 M doctor help M OBJ M John  
 'The doctor helped John.'

139. ?u pa ?u ?u nɔŋhikai skur stat bhi  
 M father M M teacher school wise good  
 'His father was a very good teacher.'

#### Masculine ?u indicating grammatical gender

140. ?u theithuŋ ?u kɔŋsan tām ki ŋat ?u kum ?u sci  
 M plant M principal most Pl be M like M rice  
 'Their principal crop is rice (and others)... '

141. ?u-no ?u siyõŋ bat ?imi ŋat ?u co ki  
 M-this M hill all one be M of Pl  
 'This whole hill is theirs.'

Feminine ka indicating natural gender

142. ka anthei li? kha? birŋu? ka bat  
 F female PAST look angry F and

ʔu huntarmeɪ wan baŋ ci danda  
 M male however still see funny  
 'The woman looked angry while the man found it  
 funny.'

143. ka mu co kai ɲat ka ka nɔs  
 F mother of F2 be F F nurse  
 'Her mother is a nurse.'

Feminine singular ka encoding grammatical gender

144. ka waic co ʔo am a? ka ʔima? co pa  
 F dao of I still be F PREP of youF  
 'My *dao* is still with you.'

145. ha yip nɔ? u me ha ka tei co ka ʔimi ka anthei  
 let die then M youM at F hand of F one F female  
 'Let him die then at the hand of a single woman.'

In Jirang, as in Nongtalang, abstract non-count nouns are overwhelmingly in the neuter gender. Also like in Nongtalang, these same nouns occur at times with the feminine article. Unlike Nongtalang, however, Jirang has a different derivational prefix from the standard dialect for deriving nouns from verbs. This prefix is *thai-* and nominals derived by means of this prefix are preceded by the N article *ŋa*. There are, however, many instances

of nominals with the derivational prefix *ciŋ* - as shown below. These appears to be loans from the standard dialect which has *jiŋ* -. Nouns with this prefix usually take the F article *ka* .

Prefix *ciŋ* -

ka *ciŋyalaŋ* 'meeting'

ka *ciŋʔieic* 'love'

ka *ciŋyarap* 'help'

Prefix *thai* -

ŋa *thaistat* 'wisdom'

ŋa *thaibnā* 'rumour'

ŋa *thaiankrən* 'conversation'

However, the N article *ŋa* is also found with nouns that have the nominal prefix *ciŋ* -, such as *ŋa ciŋʃiʃa* 'truth', but there is no evidence that the reverse is true, namely that the F article *ka* occurs with nominals that are prefixed by *thai* -. It would, therefore appear to be the case that the occurrence of the F article with abstract nouns prefixed with *ciŋ* - shows the influence of the standard dialect. Moreover, there are only relatively few instances in my data of abstract nouns prefixed with *ciŋ* - and preceded by the F article *ka*. The overwhelming number of abstract nouns occur with the N article *ŋa* . Unlike Nongtalang, the neuter gender in Jirang is restricted to animates since it has not been found to occur with inanimate nouns either in the singular or in the plural. The following are examples of the neuter gender.

The neuter *ŋa* with non-count abstract nouns

146. *hapi kirni ha la ŋa kam*

youPl work OBJ own N work

'You must all do your work.'

147. mnou lep ma ŋa len ha ŋa ciŋšiša ?  
 how able youM SUB deny OBJ N truth  
 'How can you deny the truth?'

The neuter class contains other abstract nouns such as - *ŋa por* 'time', *ŋa kthoŋ* 'word, language', *ŋa thaibna* 'rumour', *ŋa thaiankren* 'conversation', *ŋa thaistat* 'wisdom', *ŋa ciŋšiša* 'truth'.

It also includes nouns that are concrete but which are not animate: (a) mass nouns such as *ŋa lwār* 'forest', *ŋa ci* 'cooked rice', *ŋa smen* 'fire', and (b) inanimate nouns that are concrete and clearly countable *ŋa pɔʔ* 'stomach', *ŋa māi* 'face', *ŋa ophis* 'office'. My data shows variation between the neuter and the feminine article where concrete nouns are concerned. For example, the same speaker (the main informant) used the F article with other concrete nouns such as *ka kwēr* 'garden', *ka kōr* 'machine', *ka caraŋ* 'hookah pipe', *ka metōr* 'car'.

There is no evidence in my data of animate nouns belonging to the neuter gender, all such nouns whether human or non-human being assigned either masculine gender or feminine gender in the singular. This marks the main difference in the neuter gender between Jirang and Nongtalang.

The basic gender assignment rule for the neuter is thus based on the semantic criterion of animacy, nouns which are animate not belonging to this gender. Variation of gender between the neuter and the feminine is found with abstract nouns of the *thai - /ciŋ* - derivational class, and with certain concrete inanimate nouns.

Finally, the remaining article is *ki* which indicates plural number irrespective of gender:

The plural article *ki*

148. ki hun co pa re tipsŋi sacāic ki tai  
 Pl child of youF PART good much Pl PART  
 'Your children are really good.'

149. daŋtu a? sa kitnaic ki ophis sorkār  
 then be also few Pl office government  
 '... then there are also some government offices.'

Prenominal clitics with modifiers in the noun phrase. Jirang has the same pattern as the standard dialect and Nongtalang in that, in the noun phrase, modifiers show agreement with the head by means of prenominal clitics. These modifiers include the indefinite marker, the demonstrative, and the attributive adjective. The examples shown below are of masculine gender, but the same pattern of agreement applies in the case of the other genders:

(i) Indefinite marker

150. ?a? ?u ?imi ?u karo li? di ?u ka sap ka philla  
 be M one M person PAST get M F talent F wonderful  
 'There was a man who received a wonderful gift.'

(ii) Demonstrative

151. ?u-tu ?u nəŋbei li? hai ?u ckɔit titu  
 M-that M man PAST rise M up there  
 'That man rose up from there (the bed).'

(iii) Attributive adjective<sup>10</sup>

152. ?u manik man ?u ?u nandi? ?u a?khləu  
 M Manik be M M child M intelligent  
 'Manik is an intelligent boy.'

Absence of article. The article is absent in the following constructions:

(a) Adverbials

153. ha?o li? hai ŋa ?i yo  
 E-I go self I to market  
 'I myself will go to the market.'

(b) Object-incorporation

154. ka sɔrkār li? āi prais ka ?wei  
 F government PAST give prize F M2  
 'The government gave him a prize.'

On the whole, the gender system in Jirang can be summed up as follows:

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<sup>10</sup> According to the main informant JR1, the only overt difference between the verb and the adjective is that the clitic occurs after the verb but before the adjective. She gave the following example:  
 ?u karo ?u kincaŋ 'The tall man' or 'the man is tall' (where the verb 'be' is not overtly present)  
 ?u karo kincaŋ ?u 'The man is growing'.

Masculine: (a) male singular animate, (b) residue singular

Feminine: (a) female singular animate, (b) residue singular

Neuter: (a) abstract nouns, (b) mass nouns, (c) inanimate concrete singular nouns.

All concrete plural nouns, whether animate or inanimate, are preceded by the syncretised plural article:

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
Masculine	ʔu	ki
Feminine	ka	
Neuter	ŋa	

### 3.2.2 Postverbal clitics

Since the arguments presented in the analysis of the standard dialect are also applicable to this dialect, it is not felt necessary to repeat them here. It need only be remarked that, as in Nongtalang, the postverbal clitic in Jirang follows the verb complex. The following are examples of the postverbal clitic marking agreement between the lexical subject NP and the verb:

155. ka mu co kai ŋat ka ka nɔs  
 F mother of F2 be F F nurse  
 'Her mother is a nurse.'

156. ɲa čnəŋ mnār aʔ ɲa ankhit ba ka asām  
 N village Mnar be N near with F Assam  
 'Mnar village is near Assam.' <sup>11</sup>

As opposed to Nongtalang, very few instances have been noted of the absence of the agreement marker in Jirang. When this does occur, it is usually when there has been an inversion of the word order, so that the verb precedes the subject lexical NP as in a narration. For example:

157. "....." liʔ əŋ ʔu ksəu  
 PAST say M dog  
 ' "....." said the dog.'

### 3.2.3 Pronominal clitics and independent pronouns

As shown in Table 3.2(1), the personal pronouns in Jirang have three persons, each person having two numbers, singular and plural. The first person pronouns do not encode gender. The second person singular pronouns do encode gender, which is based entirely on the sex of the addressee. The third person pronoun, as discussed above, has a more complex gender system than that of the standard dialect.

As regards the pronominal clitics, there are two variants in the first and third persons but the second person has only one variant. We have already pointed out that clitic-1 is interesting because it points to the possibility of a historical development

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<sup>11</sup> Variation between the feminine and the neuter is exemplified in this sentence, where the name of the village Mnar is preceded by the neuter article whereas 'Assam' is preceded by the feminine article.

from free pronoun to clitic to affix, and it may be the case where clitic-1 is on the way to becoming a simple affix. This has happened in many languages, for example Italian, where the subject in continued discourse need not necessarily be overtly present as long as some information on the subject is provided by means of an affix in the verb. The discourse context would have already provided the necessary information.

In the second person there is only one pronominal clitic and this has a function similar to that of clitic-2 of the first and third persons because it can occur as the subject (after the verb), as the object and also in the possessive. The following are examples of the pronominal variants and of the independent pronouns in this dialect. Although all the examples given below show its presence, the possessive marker *co* is optional.

First person singular clitic-1    *ŋa*

158. sa    yarap    ŋa    ma    ŋa    pɪnkhɾɛ?    kōt  
       FUT help        I        youM    SUB    prepare    book  
       'I will help you with your lessons.'

First person clitic-2    *ʔo*

159. ba    aʔ    lhɔʔsuri    ra    ʔo    hapa  
       NEG be    laugh        NEG I2 E-youF  
       'I did not laugh at you.'

160. kɔŋ,    āi    kinyan    dousem    pa    ʔo    ?  
       sister give lend        dress        youF I2  
       'Sister, will you lend me your dress?'

161. ?u hun co ?o ba li? ra ?wei ŋa li?  
 M child of I2 NEG able NEG M2 SUB go

ba hama ?i laban

with E-you to Shillong

'My son cannot go with you to Shillong.'

First person singular IP *ha?o*

162. ha?o li? nɔ? ŋa ?i laban ŋa tho? thaikirni  
 E-I go ADV I to Shillong SUB search job

'I will go now to Shillong to look for a job.'

163. cures? sa lho?suri beñ ma ha?o ?  
 why PART laugh mock youM E-I

'Why do you mock me?'

First person plural clitic-1 *?i*

164. p̄indonkam ?i da ki masei haŋa lor lhi  
 use we by Pl cow SUB plough field

'We use cows to plough the field.'

First person plural clitic-2 *?wi* <sup>12</sup>

165. āi birla pi ?wi ?  
 give labour youPl we2

'Will you give us a job?'

<sup>12</sup> I do not have any data on *?wi* functioning as a subject.

166. ɲa sni co ʔwi aʔ ɲa ʔi khlou u siyõŋ  
 N house of we2 be N at head M hill  
 'Our house is on the top of the hill.'

First person plural IP *haʔwi*

167. haʔwi liʔ lep kincou ʔi ʔu sci  
 E-we PERF finish carry we M paddy  
 'We have finished carrying the paddy (from the field).'

168. ʔu dɔktor liʔ āi dawai ʔu haʔwi  
 M doctor Past give medicine M E-we  
 'The doctor gave us some medicine.'

Second person singular masculine clitic *ma*

169. mnou lep kset ma kei, koŋ ʔ  
 how able shut youM Pl2 brother  
 'How can you shut them (in), Brother?'
170. pinbiem ɲa ma da ɲa smen thirlei nadoʔ hani  
 feed I youM by N fire empty from now  
 'I will feed you with nothing but fire from now on.'
171. praʔci bhi ɲa ha ʔu pu co ma  
 know good I OBJ M father of youM  
 nadoʔ daŋ ninaic ʔi  
 since when small we  
 'I have known your father well since (the time) we  
 were small.'

Second person singular masculine IP hama

172. hama li? cu? ci ma ha ?u bsen yon?  
 E-youM PERF ever see youM OBJ M snake black  
 'Have you ever seen a black snake?'

173. thap ?i sa hama hen  
 wait we just E-youM only  
 'We are waiting only for you.'

Second person singular feminine clitic pa

174. di nou lwan pa kham hni ?  
 from where come youF much now  
 'Where have you been, so late?'

175. cure? sa dom ?u pa ?  
 why PART angry M youF  
 'Why was he angry with you?'

176. ka dousem co pa li? thāt ka  
 F dress of youF PERF tear F  
 'Your dress is torn.'

Second person singular feminine IP hapa

177. hapa nat pa ka mu co kai ?  
 E-youF be youF F mother of F2  
 'Are you her mother?'

178. ba a? lho?suri ra ?o hapa  
 NEG be laugh NEG I2 E-youF  
 'I am not laughing at you.'

Second person plural pronominal clitic pi

179. pra? pi cure? ba ai kam ki ?wei?  
 know youPl why NEG give work Pl M2  
 'Do you know why they did not give him work?'

180. cu? kinmāu lut ki pi batkleŋ  
 HAB remember fully Pl youPl all  
 'They always remember you all.'

181. ki-na ŋat ki ki hun co pi?  
 Pl-these be Pl Pl child of youPl  
 'Are these your children?'

Second person plural IP hapi

182. hapi ko li? lep kincou lut pi ?u sci  
 E-youPl PART PERF finish carry fully youPl M rice

?u khāu ra ?

M paddy PART

'Have you finished carrying all the rice?'

183. ki bapli li? thap ki sate? hapi ir bei mhen  
 Pl poor PAST wait Pl only E-youPl two CL PART  
 'The poor things waited only for you two.'

Third person singular masculine clitic-1 ?u

184. li? lep āi ?u ka kot ha?o  
 PERF finish give M F book E-I  
 'He has given me the book.'

Third person singular masculine clitic-2 ?wei

185. ba šlaiñ pinlep ra ?wei kai  
 NEG dare disobey NEG M2 F2  
 'He did not dare disobey her.'
186. ka sorkār li? āi prais ka ?wei  
 F government PAST give prize F M2  
 'The government gave him a prize.'
187. ŋa-na ŋat ŋa lhi co ?wei  
 N-this be N field of M2  
 'This is his field.'

Third person singular masculine IP ha?wei

188. ha?wei a? u ir bei ki masei ki sŋāic  
 E-M have M two CL Pl cow Pl fat  
 'He has two fat cows.'
189. ha?o li? skur ŋa ba ha?wei  
 E-I go school I with E-M  
 'I was at school with him.'

Third person singular feminine clitic-1 *ka*

190. li? antɔ? ka ?wei ?i trei siyõŋ  
 go meet F M2 at bottom hill  
 'She went to meet him at the foot of the hill.'

Third person singular feminine clitic-2 *kai*

191. ba lep ca? tim ra kai ha ŋa det  
 NEG able bear more NEG F2 OBJ N heat  
 'She could not bear the heat anymore.'

192. ka balaŋ li? āi ciŋyarap ka kai  
 F church PAST give help F F2  
 'The church gave her some help.'

193. hapa ŋat pa ka mu co kai ?  
 E-youF be youF F mother of F2  
 'Are you her mother?'

Third person singular feminine IP *hakai*

194. hakai wa li? la? skou ka ?i trei-nou  
 E-F also PAST come sit F at foot

thaithia? co ?wei

bed of M2

'She also came to sit at the foot of his bed'.

195. ba ŋat bhep kthõŋ ra ba hakai  
 NEG be many word NEG with E-F  
 'It is not good to argue with her.'

Third person neuter pronominal clitic *ŋa*

196. cŋi ŋa kumba shispa? phra pheu kilomitar  
 far N about hundred eight ten kilometre

di laban .....

from Shillong

'It (Jirang) is about 180 kilometres from Shillong... '

Third person plural clitic-1 *ki*

197. ham dat pāp ki ?o  
 just beat cruel P1 I2

'They just beat me cruelly.'

Third person plural clitic-2 *kei*

198. bat si siŋ si lma? ba a? ankren  
 and one day one night NEG be speak

tim ra kei arara

more PART P12 each.other

'They did not speak to each other for the whole day  
 and night.'

199. kinmāu ?i kei

remember we P12

'We remember them.'

200. ʔu-no ʔu siyoŋ bat ʔimi ɲat ʔu co kɛi  
 M-this M hill whole one be M of P12  
 'This whole hill is theirs.'

Third person plural IP *hakɛi*

201. hama pʔi hakɛi pʔi ɲat ki  
 E-youM or E-Pl or be Pl

ki menpinkulmar čnoŋ ?

Pl troublemaker village

'Is it you or they who are trouble-makers in the  
 village?'

202. kai liʔ āi noʔ ki pisa hakɛi  
 rise go give ADV Pl money E-Pl  
 'Go and give them the money.'

The above examples illustrate the various functions of the pronominal clitics and independent pronouns in general. At the outset of this section I stated that there is the appearance of an overlap of functions between the clitic-2 and the independent pronoun. However, the analysis has shown that clitic-2 with subject argument function occurs after the verb complex and in a continued discourse. The independent pronoun usually occurs as the subject in context-free sentences, when fulfilling discourse functions of contrast and emphasis. More often it co-occurs with the clitic-1, which comes after the verb complex. Both the independent pronoun and the clitic-2 can have object argument

function, but clitic-2 can do so without a preposition whereas the independent pronoun always needs a preposition.

203. ɲa-na ɲat ɲa lhi co ʔwei

N-this be N field of M2

'This is his field.'

204. haʔo liʔ skur ɲa ba haʔwei

E-I go school I with E-M

'I went to school with him.'

There are, however, some very interesting constructions where the three pronominal variants of the third person singular masculine and the third person plural appear adjacently in a string to mark focus, as in the following cleft sentences:

205. haʔwei ʔwei ʔu pinstat hama naduʔ daɲ ninaic

E-M M2 M educate E-youM since when small

'It is he who supported your education since you were small.'

206. hakei kei ki pinčri ʔwei dimaʔ phatok

E-Pl Pl2 Pl free M2 from jail

'It is they who freed him from jail.'

These constructions have serious implications as regards the syntactic status of the clitic ʔu when this co-occurs with the other pronominal variants. In the preceding chapter on the standard dialect I have argued that the clitic when it co-occurs with an

independent pronoun is actually the pronominal subject and in this case the independent pronoun is a topic, the two having an anaphoric relationship. However, the fact that the clitic-2 is also present does suggest that, if the independent pronoun is a topic fulfilling a discourse function, then it has an anaphoric relationship with clitic-2, which then is the pronominal subject of the verb in the clause. This again raises the issue of whether clitic-1 is a non-referential agreement marker with zero 'be'.

I have also found in my data some sentences that do not conform to the pattern of pronominal (and agreement) behaviour outlined above. This relates to the occurrence of the clitic-2 after the verb complex and with a lexical NP before the verb. It could be that the lexical NP is a floating topic NP and has an anaphoric relation with the pronominal clitic. If this is the case, the clitic has an argument function, namely that of subject of the verb.

207. ?u-tu    ?u ksou ba rɛ? biem cinna ra ?wei  
 M-that M dog NEG agree eat at-all NEG M2  
 'That dog absolutely refused to eat (the food)',  
 or 'That dog, it absolutely refused to eat (the food)'.

However, the above explanation cannot account for the occurrence of clitic-2 after the second NP in sentence 208 below. The verb 'to be' is not overtly present in this sentence as would normally be the case in Khasi:

208. ?u-tɔi    ?u nandi?    ?u hun s?em    ?wei ra  
 M-that M child M child king M2 PART  
 'That child is a prince.'

Since these kinds of irregular construction are very few, they may simply be cases of error on the part of the informant.

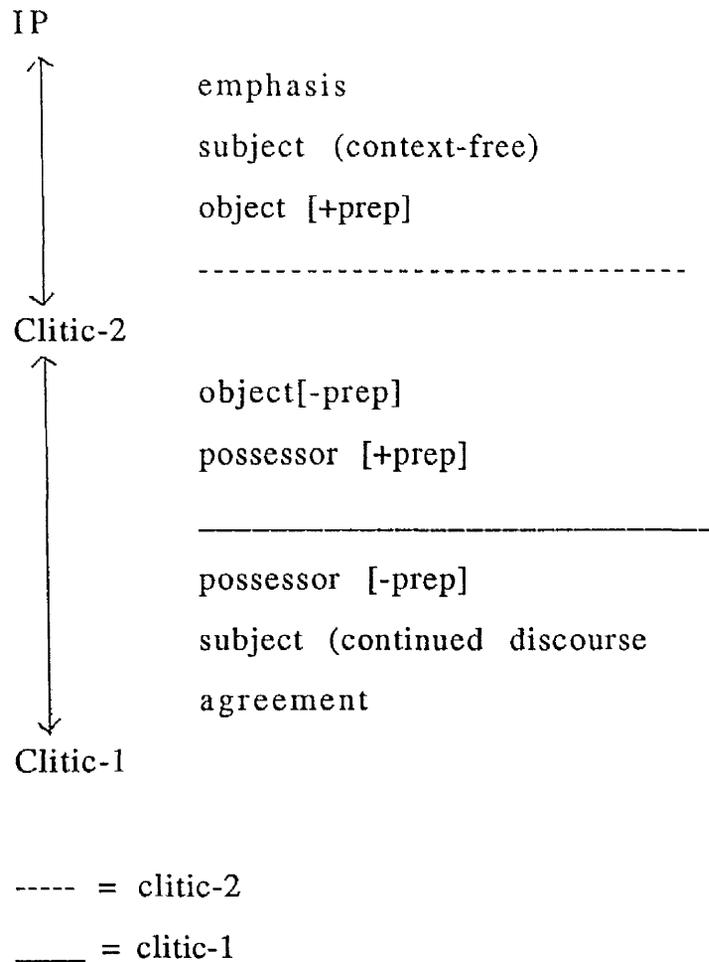
Other examples of apparent inconsistency relate to the absence of the agreement marker when the order of the subject lexical NP and the verb is inverted.

209. li?    ɔŋ    ?u    sʔier-rɨŋko?    ha    ?u    ksou  
       PAST say    M    cockerel            to    M    dog  
       '..... said the cockerel to the dog.'

210. li?    cəm    cai    ka    ka-tu    ka    mənrei    khaiñ    ka    rusəm  
       PAST soft fully F    F-that F    woman like    F    silk  
       'The woman became absolutely soft like silk.'

A striking feature of this dialect, as compared to Nongtalang and the standard dialect, is thus the presence of two pronominal clitics in the first and third persons.

The range of functions of the clitics and the independent pronoun in this dialect is shown below:



### 3.3 NARTIANG DIALECT

This dialect is spoken on the north-eastern side of the districts to the east of Jowai, the Headquarters of Jaintia Hill District. It is one of the two transitional dialects selected for analysis here. These dialects are of particular interest, because they form a link between the central and the peripheral dialects.

The pronominal clitics will again be discussed in terms of articles and agreement markers within the noun phrase. The gender system in this dialect resembles those of Nongtalang and of Jirang because Nartiang has a three-gender system: masculine, feminine and neuter. Variation of gender, between feminine and neuter, is also found in this dialect.

As in the two regional dialects mentioned above, the postverbal clitic comes after the verb complex, either marking grammatical agreement between the subject lexical NP and the verb or functioning as the subject of the verb.

The pronominal clitic in Nartiang is restricted to only one argument function, that of subject. It comes after the verb complex. The independent pronoun occurs as the subject of a context-free sentence and also, with or without a matching pronominal clitic, to fulfil the discourse functions of emphasis and contrast. It is obligatory as the possessor with the possessive marker and in object function, with or without the preposition. The clitic and the independent pronoun share the same form in the plural but they are clearly differentiated by their syntactic functions. The pronominal clitic of Nartiang has a much more restricted range of functions than that of either the standard dialect or of Nongtalang, being more like the pronominal clitic-1 of Jirang, which cannot even occur with the possessive marker.

In the table below for Nartiang, the pronominal clitic includes article and agreement marker within the noun phrase; pronominal clitic includes referential pronoun and non-referential agreement marker; and <sup>the third column shows</sup> independent pronouns.

**Table 3.3(1) Clitics and independent pronouns in Nartiang**

	Prenominal clitic	Pronominal clitic	IP
I Sg	-	ʔo	ŋa
I Pl	-	ʔi	ʔi
II Sg M	-	mi	me
II Sg F	-	pho	pha
II Pl	-	phi	phi
III Sg M	ʔu	ʔu	ʔo
III Sg F	ka	ko	ka
III N	ʔi	n.d	n.d
III Pl	ki	ki	ki

The grammatical labels and abbreviations are as those used for the other dialects described above.

Table 3.3(1) shows that there are some differences between this dialect and the dialects already examined. Firstly, the clitics and the independent pronouns have the same form in the plural. Secondly, whereas the clitic in all the other dialects normally has the same form whether it functions as article, agreement marker or pronominal clitic and the independent pronoun is different, in this dialect in the third person feminine the independent pronoun

and the article have the same form and both are distinct from the agreement marker and the pronominal clitic.

### 3.3.1 Prenominal clitics

In the noun phrase the prenominal clitic functions as the article and co-occurs with modifiers to signal agreement with the head. The following are examples of the article indicating the different genders in this dialect :

#### Masculine article ʔu indicating natural gender

211. ʔu pa saʔ u ha čnoŋ  
 M father stay M at village  
 'Father stays in the village.'

#### Masculine article ʔu indicating grammatical gender

212. ʔinu wa bām ya ʔu soʔ ?  
 who SUB eat OBJ M fruit  
 'Who ate the fruit?'

#### Feminine article ka indicating natural gender

213. ɛm ka-wi ka bru harot surək  
 be F-one F person beside road  
 'There is a woman beside the road.'

#### Feminine article ka indicating grammatical gender

214. ka yuŋ yɔŋ ʔi  
 F house of we  
 'Our house.'

Neuter article ʔi : The neuter article in this dialect occurs with abstract nouns, mass nouns, concrete inanimate singular nouns and with diminutives.

Abstract nouns

215. čirup wa ʔi jɨŋkirkhu ʔi yɔŋ ŋa me lāi  
 together with N blessing N of I youM go  
 'Together with my blessing, you go.'

Mass nouns

216. cu yə mə bām lut yə-i ni ʔi ca ?  
 NEG able QPART eat all OBJ-N this N rice  
 'Aren't you able to eat up all the rice?'

Concrete inanimate singular nouns

217. ʔu-te ʔu wahε? paic ʔu yə-i durkhmat  
 M-that M gentleman look M OBJ-N face  
  
 wajemnod yɔŋ ʔu khinna?  
 gentle of M child  
 'That gentleman looked at the gentle face of the boy.'

Diminutive nouns

218. ŋa yo yə-i khnie khian ha yuŋ  
 I see OBJ-N rat small at house  
 'I saw a small rat in the house.'

Plural article *ki*

219. čisin ha ʔi-wi ʔi pər em ki bru ki wa ʔim  
 once at N-one N time be Pl person Pl SUB live  
 ha kawɪ ka čnɔŋ khian na nɔŋkindɔŋ  
 at F-one F village small from rural-area  
 'Once upon a time there lived some people in a small  
 village.'

The neuter gender is assigned to abstract nouns, mass nouns and singular inanimate nouns. Like Nongtalang and Jirang, Nartiang shows variation of gender between the feminine and the neuter. Abstract nouns such as 'character', 'wish', 'joy', 'portion', 'work', etc. are sometimes preceded by the neuter article and at other times by the feminine article, this latter usually occurring when they have subject role.<sup>13</sup> As in all the other dialects examined so far, the basic gender assignment rules for the masculine and feminine are determined by semantic criteria: sex for natural gender and size, shape, etc. for grammatical gender. The semantic criterion for neuter gender assignment is generally inanimacy. Nartiang, however, differs from Nongtalang and Jirang in that diminutives are included in the neuter gender. Examples are *ʔi khniə khian* 'a small rat' and *ʔi khɔn miau* 'a kitten'.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> I do not have any data showing the neuter article with a noun in a subject NP.

<sup>14</sup> I have very little information on diminutive nouns. Whether they are assigned neuter gender in the lexicon or whether assignment of a neuter is a derivational mechanism can not be categorically established here. I only offer the tentative suggestion that diminutives are assigned neuter gender in this dialect, but this needs further testing.

One of the two informants in this dialect stated that he uses the article *?i* as a polite article to refer to his son-in-law and his daughter-in-law. This will be discussed further in chapter IV, and the significance of this pragmatic strategy will be examined in detail in the sociolinguistic chapters.

The prenominal clitic with modifiers in the noun phrase. The indefinite marker and the demonstrative come before the noun, the attributive adjective after it, as modifiers in a noun phrase. The following are examples of the prenominal clitic with modifiers:

(i) Indefinite marker

220. ha ka-wi ka sni ?u manik ɔŋ ?u y-u pa ?u  
 at F-one F day M Manik say M OBJ-M father M  
 'One day Manik said to his father.'

(ii) Demonstrative

221. ?u-te ?u paralɔk yɔŋ ?o cubap ?u  
 M-that M friend of E-M reply M  
 'His friend replied .....

(iii) Attributive adjective<sup>15</sup>

222. ?u manik killa man ?u ?u nɔŋkre? ?u wastat  
 M Manik change become M M worker M skillful  
 'Manik became a skilled worker.'

Absence of the article. The article is absent in the following constructions:

(a) Adverbials

223. ?u manik lāi ?u ča laban  
 M Manik go M to Shillong  
 'Manik went to Shillong.'

(b) Object-incorporation

224. ?u ministar da kular ?u e surɔk yə ?i  
 M minister PERF promise SUB give road OBJ E-we  
 'The minister has promised to give us a road.'

Gender assignment in Nartiang can be summarized as follows:

Masculine: (a) male singular animate, (b) residue singular

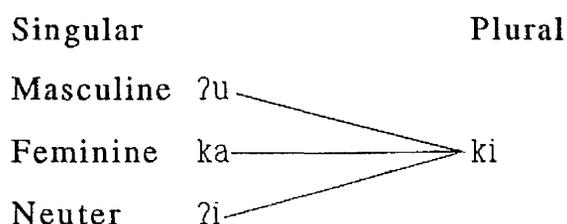
Feminine: (a) female singular animate, (b) residue singular

Neuter: (a) abstract nouns,<sup>6</sup> (b) mass nouns, (c) concrete inanimate singular, (d) diminutive nouns.

<sup>15</sup> The adjective, as stated above, has an overt adjective marker *w a* and is preceded by a prenominal clitic. However, both the marker and the clitic are optional in the attributive adjective:

ka čnɔŋ khian  
 F village small  
 'a small village'.

The assignment rules for the masculine and the feminine gender are the same in this dialect as in the dialects discussed above. For the majority of neuter nouns, gender assignment is determined by the semantic criteria of inanimacy and diminutiveness. The very marginal use of *?i* as the P article is, as in the standard dialect, a derivational mechanism for the pragmatic purpose of polite reference. There is syncretism of gender in the plural article:



### 3.3.2 Postverbal clitics

As with the other dialects examined so far, the postverbal clitic agrees with the lexical subject NP in a single clause construction.

225. ?u manik phet ?u ša yuŋ ?u paralok  
 M Manik run M to house M friend  
 'Manik ran to his friend's house.'

226. ka bei ?u rap kten ko ya ?o  
 F mother M catch word F OBJ E-M  
 'His mother interrupted him.'

In this dialect, however, the postverbal clitic is not always homophonous with the article, as can be seen in sentence 226. The

feminine postverbal clitic and the third person pronominal clitic is *ko* , whereas the article and the independent pronoun have the same form *ka* . The grammatical agreement marker is not overtly present in all instances. As in the other regional dialects, one of the factors responsible for this appears to be the presence of a homophonous form in the slot immediately following that of the postverbal clitic. The expected agreement marker *ʔu* after the verb complex is absent in sentence 227 since it has the same form as the non-finite complementiser, and in sentence 228 since it would be immediately followed by the homophonous article of the object noun.

227. ʔu ministar da kular [ø] ʔu e surək yə ʔi  
 M minister PERF promise SUB give road OBJ E-we  
 'The minister has promised to give us a road.'

228. ʔu-tai tɔʔ [ø] u babu yɔŋ ʔi  
 M-that be M teacher of E-we  
 'That is our teacher.'

The non-appearance of the agreement marker after the verb is much more frequent in this dialect than in either Nongtalang or Jirang.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> There are many instances where the agreement marker is not overtly present, as can be seen in the examples given below with personal pronouns.

### 3.3.3 Pronominal clitics and independent pronouns

Table 3.3(1) above shows that for these there are three persons and two numbers. In the singular the second person form encodes natural gender and the third person has three genders (in the lexicon): masculine, feminine and neuter. The plural does not encode gender in any of the three persons. Each personal pronoun has two variants: the pronominal clitic and the independent pronoun. The pronominal clitic in this dialect is restricted to the syntactic functions of subject after the verb complex in continued discourse, and of the possessor without possessive marker. The independent pronoun, on the other hand, occurs in context-free sentences as well as fulfilling the discourse functions of emphasis and contrast. The independent pronoun also fulfils the syntactic function of object with or without the preposition, and of possessor with the possessive marker *yɔŋ*. As stated above, the pronominal clitic and the corresponding independent pronoun have the same forms in the plural.

The following sentences exemplify the functions of the pronominal clitic and of the independent pronoun as personal pronouns in Nartiang:

#### First person singular clitic ʔɔ

229. pa, kwa? ɔ ʔu ku čaneñ ha ka jɪŋʔim

father want I SUB climb upward at F life

'Father, I want to succeed in my life.'

First person singular IP *ŋa*

230. ŋa ʔu lāi nɔʔ ɔ ʃa laban  
 E-I FUT go now I to Shillong  
 'I will go to Shillong now.'

231. ŋa yo yə-i khnie khian ha yuŋ  
 E-I see OBJ-N rat small at house  
 'I saw a small rat in the house.'

232. da ʃaʔ mi yə ŋa, kwaʔ ɔ ʔu lāi ʃa laban  
 if allow youM OBJ E-I want I SUB go to Shillong  
 'If you allow me, I want to go to Shillong'.

233. ʃirup wə-i jɪŋkirkhu ʔi yɔŋ ŋa, me lāi  
 together with-N blessing N of E-I E-youM go  
 'Together with my blessing, you go'.

First person plural clitic *ʔi*

234. hoi re ʔu khaŋlāt ʔi yə-i jɪŋkwaʔ ki khon  
 right NEG SUB prohibit we OBJ-N wish Pl child  
 'It's not right for us to stand in the way of the  
 children's wishes.'

First person plural IP *ʔi*

235. ʔi kwaʔ ʔi ʔu ɛm ʔu ʃirup wa ʔi ha ʃnɔŋ  
 E-we want we FUT be M together with E-we at village  
 'We want him to be with us in the village.'

236. ?i cu tɔ? ki khinna? ɛm-akɔr ?  
 E-we NEG be Pl child have-manner  
 'Aren't we good children?'

237. ?u ministar da kular ?u e surɔk yə ?i  
 M minister PERF promise SUB give road OBJ E-we  
 'The minister has promised to give us a road.'

238. ?u-tai tɔ? ?u babu yɔŋ ?i  
 M-that be M teacher of E-we  
 'That is our teacher.'

Second person singular masculine clitic *mi*

239. di? ča mi, pastɔr ?  
 drink tea youM Pastor  
 'Pastor, will you have some tea?'

Second person singular masculine IP *me*

240. me te ?u a?-bha?  
 E-youM PART M have-luck  
 'You really are a lucky one.'

241. ?u yɔ? i yə ka kam ka wabiaŋ  
 FUT get we OBJ F work F enough  
  
 ka wɔ-m pinsarɔm yə me  
 F SUB-NEG shame OBJ E-youM  
 'We will get good jobs that will not shame you.'

242. ŋa ʔu lāi yə-pān yə-i bhaʔ i yɔŋ me  
 I FUT go REC-ask OBJ-N share N of E-youM  
 'I will go and ask on your behalf.'

Second person singular feminine clitic *phɔ*<sup>17</sup>

243. ka beikha, da poi phɔ ʃɛini ?  
 F grandmother PERF arrive youF here  
 'Grandmother, have you arrived here?'

Second person singular feminine IP *pha*

244. pha lāi kreʔ phɔ mo ?  
 E-youF go work youF QPART  
 'Are you going to work?'

245. diʔ ne lāi ʃim kwāi da pha  
 rise PART go take betelnut by E-youF  
 'Go and get the betelnut.'

Second person plural clitic *phi*

246. nei-wɔn wan phi ?  
 from-where come youPl  
 'Where have you(Pl) been?'

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<sup>17</sup> I have very limited data on the second person and third person feminine pronouns in this dialect. The few examples that I have, indicate that there are no deviations from the general pattern of the clitics and independent pronouns in the other persons except for that mentioned above where the feminine article has the same form as the independent pronoun rather than having the same as the pronominal clitic.

Second person plural IP phi

247. phi waro? ar gut kre? lan haini  
 E-youPl both two CL work together here  
 'Both of you are to work here together.'

248. ?u pa yon phi em ?u ha yon?  
 M father of E-youPl be M at house  
 'Is your father at home?'

Third person singular masculine clitic ?u

249. neitə čem ?u wa ?u-wi ?u wahε?  
 then meet M with M-one M gentleman  
 'Then he met with one gentleman.'

Third person singular masculine IP ?o

250. ?o wase wajron tam  
 E-M PART tall most  
 'He is the tallest.'
251. te kirpat ?u ya ?o .....  
 then request M OBJ M  
 'Then he requested him ... '
252. ?u pa yon ?o pirkhat ?u čibit  
 M father of M think M awhile  
 'His father thought for a while.'

Third person singular feminine clitic *kɔ*

253. klam kɔ kam ʔu piaʔ u nut  
 speak F like SUB break M heart  
 'She spoke as if her heart would break.'

Third person singular feminine IP *ka*

254. kirʔuiñ ʔu ča ka škāu ka yɔŋ ʔo, ɔŋ ʔu yə ka  
 turn M to F wife F of E-M say M OBJ E-F  
 'He turned to his wife and said to her.'

Third person plural clitic *ki*

255. heitə čɔŋ suk - čɔŋ saiñ ki či yuŋ - či sem  
 there sit happy-AKIN<sup>18</sup> Pl one house-AKIN  
 'There they lived happily, as a family.'

Third person plural IP *ki*

256. ki tɔʔ u ya-lɛʔ ki wɔ-u čem ki  
 E-Pl must SUB REC-fight Pl SUB-FUT find Pl  
  
 yə-i yɔŋ ʔi thāu  
 OBJ-N own N place  
 'They must struggle to find their own place.'

---

<sup>18</sup> AKIN stands for akin words discussed in chapter II in the Standard dialect which are found to occur extensively in all Khasi dialects. They are similar to English expressions such as 'kith and kin'. The second expression may or may not have a meaning.

čɔŋ suk čɔŋ saiñ - The first expression has a meaning 'to live happily' but not the second one.  
 či yuŋ či sem - literally 'one house one shed'.

257. e      wɔ-u      knēr      ki      yə  
       give SUB-FUT    spread    Pl    OBJ

ki    thawaner    ki    yɔŋ    ki  
 Pl   wing            Pl    of    E-Pl  
 'Let them spread their wings.'

Like Nongtalang and Jirang, Nartiang has a regular distribution of the pronominal clitics and their independent pronoun counterparts. While the standard dialect has a very limited scope of function for the independent pronoun in that it fulfils purely discourse functions, in Nartiang as in Nongtalang and in Jirang, it is the pronominal clitic which is severely restricted in its syntactic function and can occur only as the subject after the verb complex and as a possessor without possessive marker, as in the following:

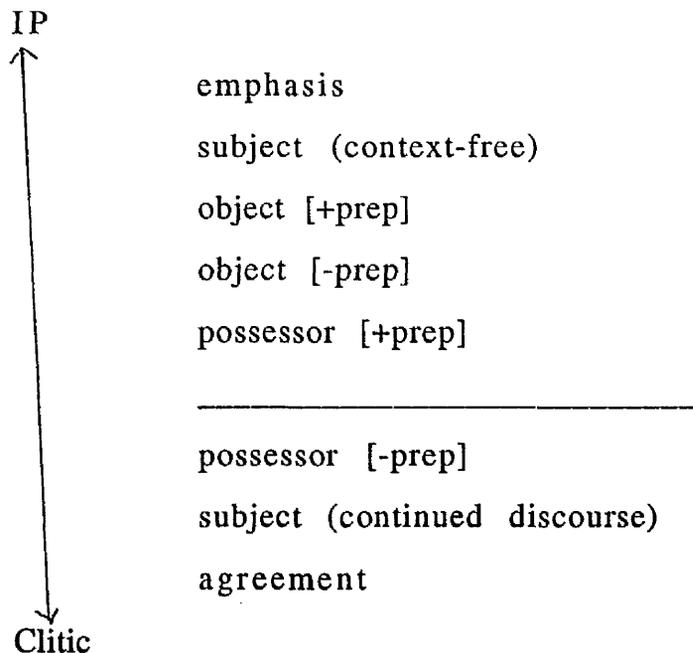
258. ka    bæi      ʔu    rap    kten    kɔ    yə    ʔo  
       F    mother M    add    word F    OBJ E-M  
       'His mother interrupted him.'

The other syntactic functions, such as object, etc., are fulfilled by the independent pronoun. This is quite in keeping with the pattern observed in the other regional dialects where the clitic, (in Jirang the pronominal clitic-1, the weakest variant of all), occurs in the possessive without possessive marker. We have seen that the pronominal clitic in Nartiang has the same form as the independent pronoun in the plural in all three persons but that the syntactic distribution makes it clear whether it is functioning

as a pronominal clitic or an independent pronoun. The agreement marker in this dialect is even more often absent than in Nongtalang.

The problem of the second person singular feminine clitic remains to be resolved. There does not seem to be any explanation of why the article has the same form as the independent pronoun and not that of the pronominal clitic. Lack of data prevents me from stating whether this is a case of error on the part of the informant or a regular feature in the dialect.

The range of functions of the clitic and of the independent pronoun in the Nartiang dialect is as follows:



### 3.4 MAWRONG DIALECT

This dialect is referred to by its speakers as Ktien Bhoi 'Bhoi language', although this term is used to cover all the varieties spoken in the fertile valley at the foot of the hills. Like the other three non-standard dialects, Mawrong has a three-gender system. The masculine and feminine include both natural and grammatical genders. Abstract, mass and diminutive nouns are assigned neuter gender in this dialect. As in Nartiang, I have been unable to establish definitely whether the diminutive nouns are assigned neuter gender in the lexicon, or whether they are derived. The few diminutive nouns elicited in the questionnaire are, however, always preceded by the neuter article. As in the other three regional dialects described above, there is variation between the neuter and feminine articles. Furthermore, two out of five informants in this dialect stated that they use the P article as an honorific article, as in the standard dialect. The pronominal clitics that occur with modifiers, such as demonstrative, indefinite marker and attributive adjective mark agreement with the head noun in the noun phrase. The article is not found in adverbials and object-incorporation. The neuter article has a very similar form to that of Jirang. Geographically the two dialects are situated to the north of East Khasi Hill District, although Mawrong is nearer to the central areas whereas Jirang is in the north of the District.

The postverbal clitic in Mawrong occurs after the verb complex to mark agreement between a lexical subject NP and a verb in a single clause construction. The agreement marker is not overtly present in all sentences, particularly when it would be immediately followed by a homophonous form. The data on Mawrong shows that the position of the pronominal subject clitic

is the same as that of the agreement marker, that is after the verb complex. Mawrong, however, differs from the other regional dialects in that the pronominal clitic has the same syntactic functions as that of the standard dialect: it functions as subject and object of the verb and as possessor in the possessive construction. The limited data that I have on the independent pronoun shows that it occurs in an anaphoric relation with the subject clitic, as in the standard dialect. The independent pronoun in Mawrong usually comes after the verb complex. Unfortunately I have no example of the pronominal clitic co-occurring with the independent pronoun in the same sentence.

Due to the limited data I have on the independent pronoun, Table 3.4(1) shows only the pronominal clitics which include articles and agreement markers within the noun phrase; and pronominal clitics which include referential pronouns and non-referential agreement markers. The independent pronouns will be given the grammatical labels 'E-' whenever they appear in the discussion.

Table 3.4(1) Clitics in Mawrong.

	Prenominal clitic	Pronominal clitic
I Sg	-	ŋa
I Pl	-	ʔi
II Sg M	-	mɛ
II Sg F	-	pha
II Pl	-	phi
III Sg M	ʔu	ʔu
III Sg F	ka	ka
III N	ŋ	n.d
III Pl	ki	ki

The grammatical labels that are given to the clitics are the same as those in the other dialects.

### 3.4.1 Prenominal clitics

The masculine and feminine articles, as in all the other dialects discussed above, encode both natural and grammatical gender.

Masculine article ?u indicating natural gender

259. ?u pa      ča?    cnɔŋ    sa?    u  
 M    father    to    village stay    M  
 'Father stays in the village'.

Masculine article ?u indicating grammatical gender

260. bays ba    bām    ya    ?u    sɔ? ?  
 who SUB eat    OBJ M    fruit  
 'Who ate the fruit ?'

Feminine article ka indicating natural gender

261. e    ka-wɛi ka    bru      harot    surək  
 be    F-one    F    person    beside    road  
 'There is a woman beside the road.'

Feminine article ka indicating grammatical gender

262. ha ka-wɛi ka    sŋi    ?u    manik    ɔŋ    ?u    ha    ?u    pa      ?u  
 at    F-one    F    day    M    Manik say    M    OBJ    M    father    M  
 'One day Manik said to his father .....

Neuter article ŋ : The neuter article occurs with abstract nouns, mass nouns, and diminutive nouns.

Abstract nouns

263. e ha-ŋ wei ŋ pər ki bru ki ba čəŋ  
 be at-N one N time Pl person Pl SUB live

ha-ŋ wei ŋ paham rit ha čəŋ-kindəŋ  
 at-N one N hamlet small at village-rural

'Once upon a time there lived some people in a small  
 rural village.'

Mass Nouns

264. la? i mə ba bām lut ŋ ca ?  
 able we QPART SUB eat all N rice

'Can we eat up all the rice ?'

Diminutive nouns

265. ci ŋa ŋ khon khnai rit ha khrum-yiñ  
 see I N child rat small at under-house

'I saw a small rat under the house.'

Plural article ki

266. ?u kpa ka kmei ār ŋut ki khon činraŋ ba?  
 M father F mother two CL Pl child male and

lāi ŋut ki khon kinthei yə? čəŋ suk ki  
 three CL Pl child female REC sit happy Pl

'The father, mother, two sons and three daughters  
 lived happily.'

267. ki-tei ar ɲut ki para bahe? pha  
 Pl-those two CL Pl brother big youF  
 'There are your two elder brothers.'

The gender assignment rules for masculine and feminine, as in all the other dialects, are determined by sex in the case of natural gender and by other semantic criteria such as shape, size, etc., for grammatical gender. The neuter gender in this dialect appears to be similar to that of Nartiang in that it is assigned to abstract, mass, and diminutive nouns. The basic semantic criterion for the assignment of neuter gender in Mawrong is inanimacy and diminutiveness. There is variation between neuter and feminine as in all the other regional dialects. The feminine article usually occurs with abstract nouns like 'day' etc., and when the noun is the subject.

Absence of the article. As in all the other dialects, the article is absent in Mawrong in the following types of constructions:

(a) Adverbials

268. lei sar kam no? ɲa ča? čilloŋ  
 go look work now I to Shillong  
 'I will go to look for work in Shillong.'

(b) Object-incorporation

269. ?u ministar la? kular ?u ba āi surək ha ?i  
 M minister PERF promise M SUB give road OBJ we  
 'The minister has promised to grant us a road.'

Prenominal clitics with modifiers within the noun phrase.

The prenominal clitic marks agreement within the noun phrase, that is, between the head noun and its modifiers, namely - the demonstrative, the indefinite marker and the attributive adjective.

(i) Demonstrative

270. ka-ni ka bei te du? ŋba trei kam  
 F-this F mother PART only SUB work work  
 'Mother is always working.'  
 [literally: 'This mother is always working'].

(ii) Indefinite marker

271. ha ka-wɛi ka sŋi ?u manik ɔŋ ?u ha ?u kpa ?u  
 at F-one F day M Manik say M OBJ M father M  
 'One day Manik said to his father .....'

(iii) Attributive adjective

272. ?u siŋ ?u badakaic e ?u ha khlāu  
 M lion M wicked be M at forest  
 'A wicked lion is in the forest.'

Before the attributive adjective, both the prenominal clitic and the adjective marker *ba-* are optional, as can be seen in 273 and 274 respectively :

273. ki-tei ār ŋut ki para bahe? pha  
 Pl-those two CL Pl sibling big youF  
 'There are two of your big brothers.'

274. ci ɲa ɲ khon khnāi rit ha khrum yiñ  
 see I N child rat small at under house  
 'I saw a small rat under the house.'

Gender assignment in Mawrong is therefore very similar to that in Nartiang:

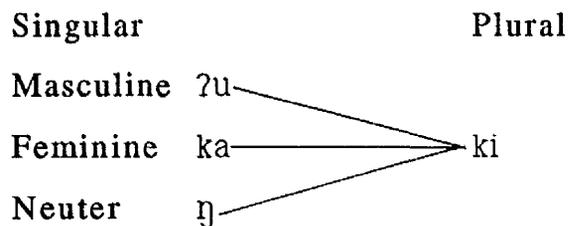
Masculine: (a) male singular animate, (b) residue singular

Feminine: (a) female singular animate, (b) residue singular

Neuter: (a) abstract nouns, (b) mass nouns, (c) concrete inanimate singular nouns, (d) diminutive nouns.

The inclusion of diminutive nouns under the neuter gender, as in Nartiang, is only a tentative suggestion since I have very few examples of its occurrence in my data. It should also be noted that two out of five informants in Mawrong said that they use the P article for polite reference.

There is syncretism of gender in the plural article in this dialect:



### 3.4.2 Postverbal clitics

Mawrong has the same pattern as Nongtalang, Jirang and Nartiang in that the postverbal clitic marking agreement between the lexical subject NP and the verb always comes after the verb complex.

The following are examples of the agreement marker in simple sentences :

275. ?u manik ɔŋ ?u ha ?u pa ?u .....

M Manik say M OBJ M father M

'Manik said to his father.....'

276. ka liñ te dei ka ka khon baieic bathoiñ

F Lieng PART be F F child beloved AKIN

ka bei ?u pa ka

F mother M father F

'Lieng is a child beloved of her parents'.

The agreement marker in this dialect, as in the other dialects where it occurs after the verb, is not rigidly present in all instances. It may be absent, particularly if it would have been immediately followed by an element which has a homophonous form.

### 3.4.3 Pronominal clitics and independent pronouns

The subject clitic, like the agreement marker, comes after the verb. Object pronouns may be preceded by prepositions, but these are not obligatory. The preposition indicating possession occurs most frequently with the first person, less so with the second person and very rarely with the third person. Most of the examples that I have of the independent pronoun show it occurring on its own as subject after the verb. I do not have any example of the independent pronoun co-occurring with the

pronominal clitic as it does in the other dialects, including the standard dialect.

The following sentences are examples of the occurrence of the pronominal clitics and independent pronouns in Mawrong in all the three persons:

First person singular clitic *ŋa*

277. ci ŋa ŋ khon khnāi rit ha khrum yiñ  
 see I N child rat small at under house  
 'I saw a small baby rat under the house.'

278. babu, sŋeubha māp nɔ? phi ŋa  
 teacher please forgive now you I  
 'Sir, please forgive me now.'

279. ba? tɔ sɛ sŋeubha āi kam ha ŋa ?  
 brother PART PART<sup>19</sup> please give work OBJ I  
 'Brother, can you please give me a job ?'

280. manik, ?u khon co ŋa yɔ? re ?u  
 Manik M child of I able NEG M

ba lei ba? me ča? šillōŋ  
 SUB go with youM to Shillong  
 'Manik, my son cannot go with you to Shillong.'

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<sup>19</sup> This is a polite particle, used especially when making a request of one's superiors.

First person singular IP *baŋa*

281. lei pinpan baŋa yɔʔ phaʔ ki kumnu-kumnu  
 go ask E-I perhaps send Pl somehow  
 'I will go and ask (them), perhaps they will allow (you)  
 to go'.

First person plural pronominal clitic *?i*

282. laʔ i ma ba bām lut ŋ ca ?  
 able we QPART SUB eat all N rice  
 'Can we eat up all the rice?'

283. ?u ministar laʔ kular ?u ba āi surɔk ha ?i  
 M minister PERF promise M SUB give road OBJ we  
 'The minister has promised to grant us a road.'

284. ŋ yiñ co ?i  
 N house of we  
 'Our house.'

Second person singular masculine clitic *mε*

285. manda lei mε čaʔ šilloŋ te ci cɔt mε  
 if go youM to Shillong then FUT spoil youM  
 'If you go to Shillong, you will be spoiled.'

286. alɛ, hikai ŋa mɛ kumnu ba ci trɛi  
 come teach I youM how SUB FUT work

ha ophis co ŋa  
 at office of I

'Come, I will teach you how to work in my office.'

287. hap pintip ŋa ka bɛi ba? u pa mɛ  
 must inform I F mother and M father youM  
 'I have to inform your parents.'

Second person singular masculine IP *bamɛ*

288. lɛi no? bamɛ  
 go ADV E-youM

'Why don't you go (instead of someone else)?'

There is one example where the second person pronominal subject does occur before the verb. This construction is different in that it is a nominal one, without the verb 'to be' being overtly present:

289. mɛ tɛ hɔi ?u badɔnbɔk  
 youM PART friend M lucky  
 'You are really lucky, friend.'

Second person singular feminine clitic *pha*

290. ŋ-ye lɛ? pha ?  
 N-what do youF

'What are you doing ?'

291. ki-tɛi      ār    ŋut    ki    para    baɦɛ?    pha  
 Pl-there   two   CL    Pl    sibling big          youF  
 'There are your two elder brothers.'

Second person singular feminine IP *bapha*

292. lei      nɔ?    bapha  
 go      now    E-youF  
 'Why don't you go (instead of someone else)?'

Second person plural clitic *phi*

293. ča?nɔ    ya-wan    phi ?  
 where    REC-come    youPl  
 'Where have you(Pl) been?'

294. ala?    phi      ma      ŋ      kam    phi ?  
 finish youPl    QPART    N      work    youPl  
 'Have you(Pl) done your work?'

Third person singular masculine clitic *?u*

295. car      duna    ?u    khindit    ha    ŋ    dur    ba,  
 even    less    M    little    in    N    look also  
  
 e      ŋ    met    ŋ    phāt    ?u    ŋ    baafɛ?-aŋksa?  
 have    N    body    AKIN    M    N    hard muscular  
 'Even though he is not handsome, he has a very  
 muscular physique.'

296. ?u manik ɔŋ ?u ha ?u kpa ?u .....  
 M Manik say M OBJ M father M  
 'Manik said to his father .....

Third person singular masculine IP *ba?u*

297. crɔŋ du? ba?u  
 tall most E-M  
 'He is the tallest.'

Third person singular feminine clitic *ka*

298. cu? kɾɛn ka, pɛic ka, lɛ? kamni lɛ? kamtu ka,  
 just speak M look M do like-this like-that F

cu? lɛ? calani pinslɛm pɔr k̄ai ka ha ?um  
 just do slowly delay time unnecessary F at water  
 'She spoke, she looked, she did like this and that, she  
 just delayed unnecessarily while fetching water.'

299. .... tɛ ɔŋ ?u ha ka .....  
 then say M OBJ F  
 'Then he said to her .....

300. ka liñ tɛ dɛi ka ka khɔn baieic bathɔiñ  
 F Lieng PART be F F child beloved AKIN

ka bei ?u pa ka  
 F mother M father F

'Lieng was a child beloved of her parents.'

Third person plural clitic ki

301. hata khinna? khinloŋ ki, hata he? san ki  
 there child infant Pl there grow AKIN Pl

hata trei kta? ki  
 there work AKIN Pl

'There they were children, there they grew up, and  
 there they worked.'

302. ?u khon bahe? ki ?u ba pirtuic ?u manik ....

M child big Pl M SUB call M Manik

'Their eldest son, who was named Manik ....'

In the following, the possessive marker has the extra function of plural reference. It is optionally preceded by the plural marker. This construction is also found in the standard dialect. However, there is apparently a difference in its interpretation in the two dialects, namely in the standard dialect, it is a pragmatic strategy whereas in Mawrong the semantic reading is more literal. The third person construction is not a straightforward possessive construction for informants state that it can be used for indirect address in order to show deference and respect. But, as in the standard dialect, it can be given a literal third person reading.

303. ki co ?u babu te naŋ e ki ha skul

Pl of M teacher PART still be Pl at school

'The teacher and the others are still in school.'

304. ki co ka ar tɛ laʔ lɛi yu ki  
 Pl of F Ar PART PERF go market Pl  
 'Ar and the others have gone to the market.'

Before the possessive marker the plural marker is optional but the plural agreement marker is always present.

305. co ka bɛi tɛ e ki ha yiñ  
 of F mother PART be Pl at house  
 'Mother and the others are at home.'

Here the possessive marker is obligatory, the sentence without it being ungrammatical because the verb has the plural agreement and therefore cannot agree with a singular subject.

This dialect, together with that of Nartiang, forms a very interesting link between the peripheral dialects and the central dialects. Even though the basic gender system of these two dialects is like that of Nongtalang and Jirang, the presence of diminutive animate nouns in the neuter gender in Mawrong and Nartiang shows the link with the third gender in the standard dialect since, in this latter the third gender is used as a derivational mechanism to express diminutiveness in nouns. The forms of the neuter article differ greatly between the eastern dialects (Nongtalang and Nartiang) and the northern dialects (Jirang and Mawrong). In Nongtalang and in Nartiang it is *?i* whereas in Jirang it is *ŋa* and in Mawrong *ŋ*.

It is particularly interesting that two of the Mawrong informants in Mawrong especially the teenaged one, stated that they use the P article of the standard dialect as an honorific. Thus,

for some speakers, the Mawrong dialect may be said to actually have five articles: M, F, N, P, Pl. The P article, as in the standard dialect, functions as a derivational mechanism for pragmatic purposes.

As regards the function and distribution of agreement markers and pronominal clitics, Mawrong has a similar structure to the other regional dialects, the agreement marker and the subject pronominal clitic coming after the verb complex. It differs from them, however, in that the pronominal clitic fulfils the syntactic functions of subject, object, and occurs in the possessive.

The main problem, and one that has yet to be resolved, concerns the function and distribution of the independent pronoun. In Mawrong, in which it has a form distinct from the pronominal clitic, it has the same position when it functions as a subject as the pronominal clitic, namely after the verb.<sup>20</sup>

In the beginning of the section I mentioned briefly that the independent pronoun in the Mawrong dialect may be taken as having the same function as it has in the standard dialect. This claim can be substantiated by the fact that the object slot in this dialect is filled by the pronominal clitic and not by the independent pronoun. The dialect appears to employ the independent pronoun, as does the standard dialect, to fulfil purely

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<sup>20</sup> There are some instances in the data provided by the younger informants where the independent pronoun is clause initial. The verb 'be' as is usually the case in Khasi, is optional in (1) below:

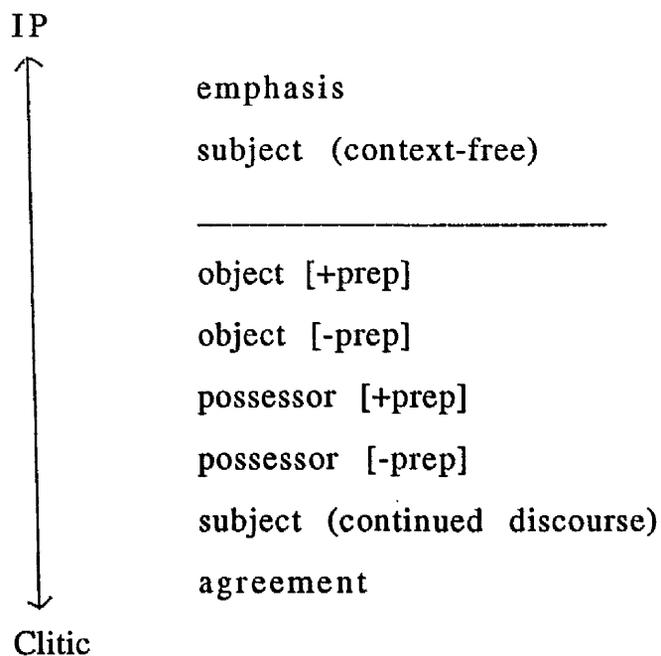
(1) bame    tɛ    ʔu    ba    e    bɔk  
 E-youM    PART    M    SUB    have    luck  
 'You are really lucky'.

(2) bame    trei    dep    la-ŋ    kam  
 E-youM    work    finish    own-N    work  
 'You finish your own work'.

Both the examples do not show any co-occurrence of the independent pronoun with a pronominal clitic.

discourse functions. If this is the case, then this dialect also provides a link between the peripheral and the central dialects in the pronominal system. In the standard dialect the independent pronoun is flexible as to its position, being able to occur either before or after the verb. When it occurs with a pronominal clitic, however, it must come after the verb because the pronominal clitic obligatorily precedes the verb. In the first and second person, the pronominal subject clitic may be dropped, but in the third person it is obligatory with an independent pronoun. In Mawrong, the data shows that the the third person independent pronoun follows the verb, but without the third person pronominal clitic being present.

As in the other dialects, I will here attempt to sum up the range of functions of the clitic and the independent pronoun in Mawrong:



### 3.5 NONGKSEH DIALECT

This dialect is spoken in Nongkseh, in the southern part of Shillong. At first glance Nongkseh appears to differ only marginally from the standard dialect but a more detailed analysis shows that there are differences between them in the pronominal system. Starting with the pronominal clitics, Nongkseh has the same gender system as the standard dialect, namely a basic two-gender system of masculine and feminine, both comprising natural and grammatical gender. As in the standard dialect, there is a third gender which is a derivational mechanism for pragmatic purposes. The pronominal clitics that occur with the head noun will again be termed 'article' to distinguish them from those that occur with modifiers marking agreement with the head in the noun phrase. Beside the masculine, feminine and the P article, there is also the plural article which encodes plural number but does not convey gender.

As in the standard dialect, the preverbal clitic when it functions as an agreement marker is obligatory. Its form, function and distribution are the same as in the standard dialect.

The pronominal clitic as a subject occurs before the verb complex. There are some features in this dialect involving the first person plural, the second person singular masculine, the second person P, and the second person plural pronouns which are not present in the standard dialect. In particular, these pronouns have two distinct forms. The weaker of these variants is restricted to the subject argument function, while the stronger variant resembles the function of the independent pronoun of Nongtalang and Jirang. The second variant is obligatory in the object position and in the possessive with or without the possessive marker. Like

the independent pronoun, it also fulfils a discourse function in that it occurs 'in the subject position' with or without the pronominal clitic. It does not fuse with any other element in the verb complex, such as the negative marker, the future marker, etc., in the way that the other personal pronouns do and therefore when present has to co-occur with the first variant, which does fuse with these markers. Another very significant difference between this dialect and the standard dialect is the occurrence of a demonstrative in place of the expected third person pronominal clitic in the object position. As in the standard dialect, the pronominal clitic may function as the subject or object of the verb in a sentence. However, in most instances in my data, it is the third person demonstrative and not the pronominal clitic which occurs as the object pronoun. It may thus be said that, on the whole, although the pronominal clitic may fill all argument positions in the sentence, in the third person it is the demonstrative which usually occurs as the object pronoun. The independent pronoun prefixed by *ma* -, as in the standard dialect, fulfils mainly discourse functions although in the case of pronouns with two variants it is the second variant and in the case of the third person the demonstratives which usually fulfil these functions. The pronominal strategy of the Nongkseh dialect is thus quite different from that of the other regional dialects discussed above, but it also differs in some respects from that of the standard dialect. It could be that we see here remnants of an older pronominal system of this dialect, prior to its being influenced by the standard dialect.

As in the standard dialect, the pluralization of a personal pronoun is not achieved by merely selecting its plural form but by

placing the reciprocal marker before the main verb. Pluralization of the object pronoun is also marked by a plural-marking particle. The category of number is thus marked not only in the form of the pronoun, as was the case in Nongtalang and Jirang, but also by employing pluralization markers. The following table gives the pronominal clitic which includes article and agreement marker within the noun phrase; pronominal clitic which includes referential pronoun and non-referential agreement marker; and the independent pronoun in Nongkseh. I have no data at all on the third person P independent pronoun, since the questionnaire was focused on the occurrence of the P article rather than on the P pronoun.

Table 3.5(1) Clitics and independent pronouns in Nongkseh

	Prenominal Clitic	Pronominal Clitic	IP
I Sg	-	ŋa	ŋa
I Pl	-	yi	mayi
II Sg M	-	mɛ/mia	mia
II Sg F	-	pha	pha
II P	-	phi/pei	maphei
II Pl M	-	mia+ya	n.d.
II Pl F	-	pha+ya	n.d.
II Pl P	-	pei/phi+ya	n.d.
III Sg M	ʔu	ʔu	maʔu/ʔutou
III Sg F	ka	ka	maka/katou
III P	ʔi	ʔi	n.d.
III Pl	ki	ki	kitou

In the above table, the sign '+' between the pronoun and *ya* does not necessarily indicate a sequential ordering of the two elements; 'n.d.' shows that I have no data on this pronoun. The grammatical labels assigned to the clitics and the independent

pronouns above are the same as those I have used for the standard dialect.<sup>21</sup>

When the demonstrative occurs in place of the clitic in the text below, the grammatical label used is that of its deictic feature, for example, *ʔu-tɔu* 'M-that'.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.5.1 Prenominal clitics

The prenominal clitic as article occurs before the head noun in an NP and also signals agreement between the modifier and the head. The four articles that operate in this dialect are the same as those in the standard dialect.

#### Masculine article ʔu indicating natural gender

306. ʔu dɔktor ʔu laʔ āi dawai ya yi  
 M doctor M PERF give medicine OBJ we  
 'The doctor has promised to give us some medicine.'

#### Masculine article ʔu indicating grammatical gender

307. manɔ ba bām ya ʔu sɔʔ?  
 who SUB eat OBJ M fruit  
 'Who ate the fruit?'

<sup>21</sup> Potentially, the third person masculine and feminine could have the same pluralization strategy as the second person, which is what occurs in the standard dialect. I do not, however, have any data on this.

<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately the data that I have does not contain any examples of the third person P independent pronoun because the questionnaire was focused on usage in all cases involving only the function of the P article.

Feminine article ka indicating natural gender

308. ka-nɛi ka dɛi ka khɔn cɔŋ ŋa  
 F-that F be F child of I  
 'This is my daughter.'

Feminine gender ka indicating grammatical gender

309. ʔu pinyap ya malacɔŋ da ka sulɔi  
 M kill OBJ self by F gun  
 'He killed himself with a gun.'

P article ʔi : As in the standard dialect, this article is used to replace either the masculine or the feminine for polite and diminutive reference.

Polite reference

310. ʔi pa ʔi saʔ ša šnɔŋ  
 P father P stay to village  
 'My father stays in the village.'
311. ʔi kmɛi cɔŋ pha ʔi laʔ khlaiñ bha ?  
 P mother of youF P PERF strong very  
 'Is your mother alright now ?'

Diminutive reference

312. ŋa yoʔei ya ʔi khnāi rit ha khrum yeŋ  
 I see OBJ P rat small at under house  
 'I saw a small rat under the house.'

Plural article *ki*

313. ki-tai      ki dēi   ki nɔŋtiam   ki bacur   bha  
 Pl-there   Pl be   Pl musician   Pl skilled very  
 'Those are very skilled musicians.'

314. ʔu   dɔn   ār   tilɬei   ki   masei   ki   basŋāic  
 M   be   two CL   Pl cow   Pl fat  
 'He has two fat cows.'

As in the standard dialect, morphology does play a small role in assigning gender to nouns, those with the derivational prefix *ciŋ* - usually taking feminine gender and those with the derivational prefix *nɔŋ* - masculine gender. As in the other dialects, gender assignment in Nongkseh is, on the whole, semantically determined. Since both semantic and formal assignment rules were found to be the same in this dialect as in the standard dialect, the issue need not be discussed further.

Prenominal clitics with modifiers. The modifiers also behave in the same way as in the standard dialect, the indefinite marker, the demonstrative and the attributive adjective coming after the head.

(i) Indefinite marker

315. ka   dɔn   ka-wēi   ka   breu   harot   surɔk  
 F   be   F-one   F   person   beside   road  
 'There is a woman beside the road.'

(ii) Demonstrative

316. ?u-təu    ?u dkhar    ?u dən lut    ki    tir  
 M-that    M non-Khasi M have all    Pl material  
 'That non-Khasi trader has all the materials.'

(iii) Attributive adjective

317. ?u siŋ    ?u badukhi    ?u dən ha    khlāu  
 M lion M ferocious M be at forest  
 'There is a ferocious lion in the forest.'

As in all the other dialects, the clitic and/or the adjective marker are optional. The following sentence shows that both can be absent:

318. ka la    pirkhat ha la    marwēi ba ka-n    thet  
 F PAST think    to own alone    SUB F-FUT buy  
  
 nɔ? da    ka sɔptɛi    thimmāi  
 then by    F dress    new  
 'She thought to herself that she would buy a new  
 dress.'

Absence of the article. As in all the other dialects, the article is absent in the following constructions.

(a) Adverbials

319. haba mɛ dɔnkam ya ki tɛ lɛi yakindo?

if youM need OBJ Pl then go meet

sindɔn ša yeŋ

at.once to house

'If you need them, then go and meet

them at (their) home.'

(b) Object-incorporation

320. ʔu dɔnkam simbāi tirsɔ na yi

M need seed mustard from we

'He needs mustard seed from us.'

Gender assignment in Nongkseh can be summed up as follows :

Masculine gender

(a) male animate singular nouns

(b) residue

Feminine gender

(a) female animate singular nouns

(b) residue

The P gender replaces either the masculine or the feminine for the pragmatic purpose of polite or diminutive reference.

The plural article does not indicate gender. There is syncretism of gender in the plural in Nongkseh, as in the standard dialect:

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
Masculine	ʔu	ki
Feminine	ka	
P	ʔi	

### 3.5.2 Preverbal clitics

Like the standard dialect, in Nongkseh the agreement marker occurs obligatorily before the verb complex, and marks agreement between the lexical subject NP and the predicate.

321. ʔu-tai ʔu khinna? u dēi ʔu khons?em  
 M-that M child M be M prince  
 'That boy is a prince.'

322. ka šnoŋ ka la? bia? šisindon ya ki  
 F village F PERF banish at.once OBJ Pl  
 'The village banished them at once.'

323. ʔi kmēi coŋ pha ʔi la? khlaiñ bha ?  
 P mother of youF P PERF strong very  
 'Is your mother alright now?'

324. ki-ta ki noŋhirthma ki ya-dēi ki-eñ ?  
 Pl-those Pl invader Pl REC-be Pl-who  
 'Who are those invaders?'

### 3.5.3 Pronominal clitics and independent pronouns

As stated at the outset of this section, although this dialect has a very similar pronominal system to that of the standard dialect, some of its features show similarities to those of the other regional dialects. These features will be discussed wherever relevant in the following analysis of the pronouns:

#### First person singular clitic *ŋa*

325. *ŋa kwa? bin yakindo? ya ka-tɔu*  
 I want SUB meet OBJ F-that  
 'I want to meet her.'

326. *ki šu dat beñ ya ŋa*  
 PL just beat cruelly OBJ I  
 'They beat me cruelly.'

327. *phi yoʔei ya ki cuti ŋa ?*  
 youP see OBJ PL shoe I  
 'Have you seen my shoes?'

328. *ka-nei ka dēi ka khon cɔŋ ŋa*  
 F-this F be F child of I  
 'This is my daughter.'

#### First person singular IP *ŋa*

The prefix *ma-*, which appears very frequently in the independent pronoun in the standard dialect, is less frequent in this dialect.

329. ŋa-n      lēi    nɔʔ    hei    ŋa    ša    yɛu  
 I-FUT    go      now    self    E-I    to    market  
 'I will go myself to the market.'

First person plural clitic *yi*

330. yi      ya-pin-dɔnkam      da    ki    masei  
 we    REC-CAUS-use      by    Pl    cow

bin    lor      liŋkha

SUB    plough    field

'We use cows to plough fields.'

331. phi-n      āi      billa    ya    yi ?  
 youP-FUT    give    labour    OBJ    we  
 'Will you give us work?'

332. phi-n      wan    kāi    ša    yeŋ    cɔŋ    yi ?  
 youP-FUT    come    visit    to    house    of    we  
 'Will you come to visit our house?'

First person plural IP *mayi*

333. yarap    hei    mayi    bin    šna    yeŋ    skur  
 help    self    E-we    SUB    build    house    school  
 'It is we that helped build the school.'

A significant feature of the pronoun *yi* is that it does not fuse with the future or the negative markers, although this is usually the case with the other pronominal clitics. Thus in

sentence 334 below, the future marker *ʔn* is not fused with the pronominal clitic *yi*.

334. kmēi, wat āi ba yi ʔn ya-khaŋ lintei  
 mother don't let SUB we FUT REC-forbid way

ya ka ciŋkwa? ki khon

OBJ F wish Pl child

'Mother, do not let us stand in the way of  
 the children's wishes.'

Second person singular masculine clitic *mε/mia*

The second person singular masculine pronoun has two variants, *mε* and *mia*, which may co-occur in subject position. It appears to be the case that these variants behave very much as do the pronominal clitic and the independent pronoun respectively in the regional dialects. Firstly, the variant *mε* is restricted to subject argument function whereas *mia* can occur in object position and in the possessive with or without the possessive marker. Secondly, the latter variant also co-occurs with the pronominal clitic, which is obligatory when the negative or the future marker occurs before the verb. Sentences 335 and 336 below illustrate the use of the first variant, *mε*, as subject:

335. hats mε la? cu yɔʔei ya ʔu seif̃ yon  
 Q youM PERF HAB see OBJ M snake black  
 'Have you ever seen the black snake?'

336. kumno me la? bin lian ya ka ciŋšiša ?  
 how youM able SUB deny OBJ F truth  
 'How can you deny the truth?'

The second variant, *mia*, is freer in its distribution. It can co-occur with the first variant in subject position, can occur in object function and also in the possessive construction.<sup>23</sup>

337. mia me-m tip ka-eñ  
 youM2 youM-NEG know F-what  
 ka ba la ca ya ŋa  
 F SUB PAST happen OBJ I  
 'You do not know what happened to me.'

338. manik, ?u khon coŋ ŋa  
 Manik M child of I  
 ?u-m la? bin lēi bit mia  
 M-NEG able SUB go with youM2  
 'Manik, my son cannot go with you.'

339. ŋa kwa? tip dɔn aye ha ka pla mia  
 I want know have what at F bag youM2  
 'I want to know what is in your bag.'

---

<sup>23</sup> I hesitate to use the term IP and the grammatical label 'E-youM' for the second variant because the presence of the prefix *ma-* with the pronominal to form an IP cannot be ruled out even though I do not have any data of this occurring. At this point I will give the second variant the grammatical label 'youM2' to distinguish it from the first variant which I label 'youM'.

The pronominal *mε/mia* as the subject is a plural masculine pronoun when the reciprocal marker occurs before the verb; and as the object/possessor it is a plural masculine when the plural particle *yasia* (labelled 'pIPART') occurs after the pronoun.

340. *mia khēi ya-lēi tɔŋ ʔum*  
 youM2 rise REC-go fetch water  
 'You (Pl,M) go and fetch water.'

341. *ʔu-tɔu ʔu ksou mia yasia ?*  
 M-that M dog youM2 pIPART  
 'Is that your(Pl,M) dog?'

Second person singular feminine clitic *pha*

342. *pha-n lēi tre ne ʔiām ?*  
 youF-FUT go work or not  
 'Are you going to work or not?'

343. *baleʔaye ʔu dɔm ya pha ?*  
 why M angry OBJ youF  
 'Why is he angry with you?'

344. *ka sɔptɛi pha ka laʔ kāt*  
 F dress youF F PERF tear  
 'Your dress is torn.'

As in the standard dialect, the presence of the reciprocal marker before the verb makes the pronoun plural, sometimes with the presence of the plural particle *yasia* after the pronoun.

345. ša-no            pha ya-wan,    pha yasia ?  
          from-where    youF REC-come    youF plPART  
          'Where have you(Pl) been?'

Second person P clitic *phi/ pheï*

The second person P pronoun, like the second person masculine, has two variants which behave very much like the clitic and the independent pronoun respectively. The second variant appears to be freer in its distribution and the first variant more restricted. The first has the subject argument function only:

346. phi-n            āi    billa    ya    yi ?  
          youP-FUT    give    labour    OBJ    we  
          'Will you give us work?'
347. phi    dēi    ?i    kmēi    coŋ    ka-tou ?  
          youP    be    P    mother    of    F-that  
          'Are you her mother?'

The second variant is obligatory in the object and in the possessive construction:

348. ŋa    ?ieic    ya    pheï  
          I    love    OBJ    youP2  
          'I love you.'

349. ki khon pheɪ tɛ ki batipsɲei  
 P1 child youP2 PART P1 good  
 'Your children are good.'

The second variant 'youP2' also appears to behave like the independent pronoun in fulfilling discourse functions, but without the prefix *ma* - .

350. pheɪ tɛ taŋ ka pinsɲɛubha ya malacoŋ  
 youP2 PART only F please OBJ self  
 'You are always pleasing yourself.'

The second variant, however, usually co-occurs with the pronominal clitic as in the standard dialect. The first variant always comes before the verb complex while the second variant may stand either before the clitic or after the verb complex.

351. pheɪ phi don khon katno ŋut ?  
 youP2 youP have child how-many CL  
 '(What about) you, how many children do you have?'

#### Second person P IP *maphɛi*

As stated before, the second variant does seem to function in the same way as the independent pronoun of the other regional dialects. However, as in the standard dialect, the independent pronoun with the prefix *ma*- is also found but much less often than the second variant. This could be due to the influence of the standard dialect.

352. lēi no? maphei  
 go ADV E-youP  
 '(It's better that) you (should) go.'

In the subject position, the pronoun functions as a plural when the reciprocal marker comes before the verb.

353. phi ya-tre aye minta ?  
 youP REC-work what now  
 'What are you(Pl) doing now?'

354. phi ya-don sniŋ katno tillei ?  
 youP REC-have pig how-many CL  
 'How many pigs do you(Pl) have?'

The second person pronoun variants, when followed by the plural particle *yasia*, also function as plurals in the object:

355. manɔ bin yalam bāmkhana  
 who SUB lead picnic  
 ya pheɪ yasia ki khinna? ?  
 OBJ youP2 pIPART Pl child  
 'Who will take you(Pl) children for a picnic?'
356. ki-nei ki dēi ki noŋhikai pheɪ yasia ki khinna?  
 Pl-these Pl be Pl teacher youP pIPART Pl child  
 'These are your(Pl) teachers, children.'

The plural particle *yasia* need not appear after the object pronoun when there is a qualifying NP which is clearly plural:

357. ?u raŋbaʔšnoŋ ?u khotsŋeubha  
 M headman M invite

ya pheɪ ki noŋšoŋšnoŋ .....  
 OBJ youP2 Pl resident

'The headman invites you(Pl) the residents ...'

Third person singular masculine clitic ?u

The third person is different from the pronouns in the other persons because of the occurrence of demonstratives in place of the expected pronominal clitics in the object. This is interesting in itself, because it suggests that, even in this dialect which so closely resembles the standard dialect, a pronominal with more phonetic substance than a clitic is required in the object. This is reminiscent of the pronominal pattern of the other regional dialects.

There are instances, however, where the clitic is found in the object as in the standard dialect but these are relatively few by comparison with the occurrence of the demonstrative. Firstly, the pronominal clitic as the subject:

358. ?u pinyap ya malacoŋ da ka suloi  
 M kill OBJ self by F gun

'He killed himself with a gun.'

The pronominal clitic may also occur in the object and in the possessive construction:

359. ka kmēi ka la kiam kten ya ?u  
 F mother F PAST catch word OBJ M  
 'The mother interrupted him.'

360. ki cingthraŋ coŋ ?u baro?  
 Pl ambition of M all

ki la wan ca loŋ šiša  
 Pl PAST come happen be true  
 'All his ambitions were realized.'

However, there are more instances in my data of demonstratives filling the object and the possessive slots:

361. ŋa wan na yeŋ ?u-tou  
 I come from house M-that  
 'I came from his house.'

362. phi tip bale?aye ki-m āi kam ya ?u-tou ?  
 youP know why PL-NEG give work OBJ M-that  
 'Do you know why they did not employ him?'

363. ka kali ?u-tou ka diŋ don ha surək  
 F car M-that F still be at road  
 'His car is still in the road.'

The demonstrative also fulfils discourse functions, such as those usually performed by the independent pronoun, as in:

364. ?u croŋ tam ?u-nei  
 M tall most M-this  
 'He is the tallest.'

Third person singular masculine IP ma?u

365. ?u pinstāt hei ma?u ya mia  
 M educate self E-M OBJ youM2

nado? ba me daŋ rit  
 since SUB youM still small

'He himself educated you since you were small.'

366. dēi taŋ ma?u ?u ba la? bin yarap ya pha  
 be only E-M M that able SUB help OBJ you  
 'It is only he that can help you.'

Third person singular feminine clitic ka

The third person singular feminine parallels the third person singular masculine. Here too we find the demonstrative instead of the pronominal clitic in object function. The pronominal clitic as the subject, the object and in the possessive construction:

367. ka da krian kum bin paic ka dɔ?not  
 F PART speak like SUB break F heart  
 'She spoke as if her heart was about to break.'

368. ka balaŋ ka la āi ciŋyarap ya ka  
 F church F PAST give help OBJ F  
 'The church gave her some help.'

369. ŋa la? pinsou lut ya ka ram coŋ ka  
 I PERF pay full OBJ F debt of F  
 'I have fully paid her debt.'

Most instances in my data, however, show the demonstrative rather than the pronominal clitic as the object and in the possessive construction:

370. ŋa kwa? bin yakindo? ya ka-tou  
 I want SUB meet OBJ F-that  
 'I want to meet her.'

371. ŋa pha? no? da ka-tou ša yeu  
 I send then by F-that to market  
 'I will send her to the market.'

372. ka kmēi coŋ ka-tou ka dēi ka nos  
 F mother of F-that F be F nurse  
 'Her mother is a nurse.'

373. ka-nei ka dēi ka kam ka-tou  
 F-this F be F work F-that  
 'This is her work.'

Third person singular feminine IP *maka*

The independent pronoun with prefix *ma* - usually co-occurs with the pronominal clitic:

374. ka babhabreu tam tɛ dēi maka kin ha klas  
 F beautiful most PART be E-F PART in class  
 'It is she who is the most beautiful in the class.'

375. ka mat tip hei maka  
 F should know self E-F

ya kieñ-kieñ barɔ? khoic  
 OBJ Pl.whatever all completely  
 'She herself should know everything.'

376. katba ka kmēi ka daŋ so? caiñ  
 while F mother F still stitch cloth

maka pat ka naŋ lum ka yeŋ ka siam  
 E-F meanwhile F continue tidy F house AKIN  
 'While her mother stitched clothes, she tidied the house.'

The pronominal clitic is not only a personal pronoun but also functions as an expletive pronoun standing for a clause. This is because in the third person it is the singular feminine which is the unmarked pronoun:

377. ka lɔŋ kaɛŋkaɛŋ ka ba sɲɛu dɔn burɔŋ  
 F be F.whatever F SUB feel have honour

bin yakindo? ya ʔu  
 SUB meet OBJ M

'It is honourable to meet him.'

378. ka lɔŋ ka basɲɛusi? bin yɔʔsɲɛu ya ka-nei ka khubōr  
 F be F sad SUB hear OBJ F-this F news

'It is sad to hear this news.'

Third person plural pronominal clitic *ki*

In this person, the pronominal clitic occurs as the subject, as the other pronominal clitics do in the other persons. However, in the object slot it is usually the demonstrative followed by the plural particle *yasia* that is most frequently found.

The pronominal clitic occurs as the subject, object and in the possessive construction:

379. ki la? wan thot kali na mia  
 PI PERF come search car from youM2

'They came to look for a car from you.'

380. haba me dɔnkamya ki te lei yakindo? ša yeŋ  
 if youM need OBJ PI PART go meet to house

'If you need them, then go and meet them at home.'

381. ka ciŋim cəŋ yi ka-m dēi ka bɪnta cəŋ ki  
 F life of we F-NEG be F share of Pl  
 'Our life is not their lot.'

There is only one example in my data of the third person plural pronominal clitic occurring in the *possessive constructions* <sup>constructions</sup> namely that of sentence 381. In all other instances the demonstrative occurs as the object or in a possessive construction. The plural particle *yasia* also occurs extensively after the pronoun:

382. ʔu ophisar ʔu la āi kam  
 M officer M PAST give work

ya ki-tou yasia ha ophis  
 OBJ Pl-those plPART at office

'The official gave them a job in the office.'

383. khēi lēi āi nɔʔ ka pisa ša ki-tou yasia  
 rise go give now F money to Pl-those plPART  
 'Go and give them the money.'

384. ki-təi ki dēi ki khɔn ki-tou yasia  
 Pl-those Pl be Pl child Pl-those plPART  
 'Those are their children.'

385. ?u-nei ?u lom barɔ? u-wēi  
 M-this M hill all M-one

?u dēi ?u cɔŋ ki-tɔu yasia  
 M be M of Pl-those plPART  
 'This whole hill is theirs.'

In this person the demonstrative does occur as an independent pronoun fulfilling a discourse function and in this case it co-occurs with the pronominal clitic. This, however, is not overtly present in all instances. There is no example in my data of the third person plural independent pronoun *maki*.

386. ki le? hei ki-tɔu yasia bin pin-kulmār šnɔŋ  
 Pl do self Pl-those plPART SUB CAU-trouble village  
 'They themselves did it to cause trouble in the village.'

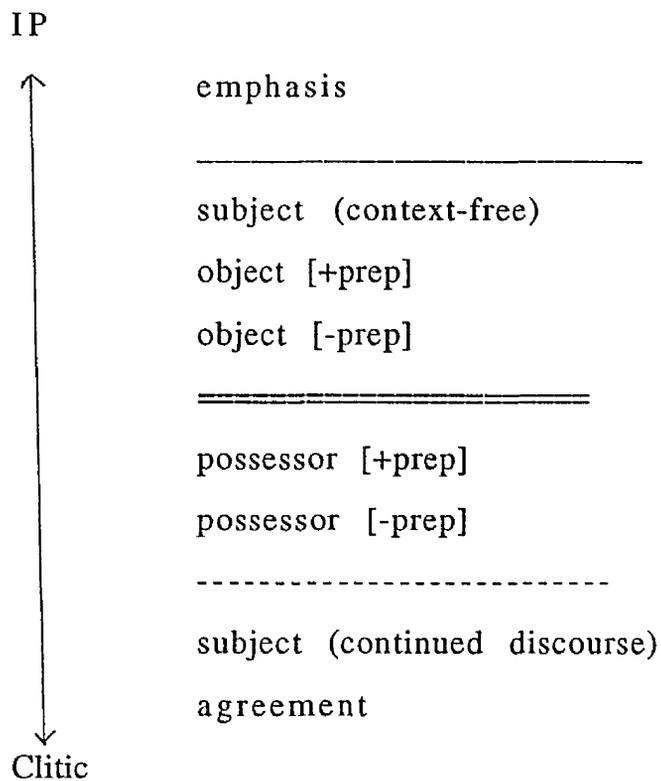
387. dēi ki-tɔu yasia kin ki ba pillaic  
 be Pl-those plPART PART Pl SUB free

ya ?u na patɔk  
 OBJ M from jail  
 'It is they that freed him from jail.'

Where the third person singular P pronoun is concerned, I have very little information in my data. Though there are quite a number of occurrences of the P article, there are no examples of the P pronominal clitic or the corresponding independent pronoun.

All the above observations on the Nongkseh dialect show that, even though it appears to be very similar to the standard dialect, there are some very significant differences which point to the fact that, at some point in time, its pronominal system could have been even more similar to those of the other dialects than is the case today. The most important point in this respect is that the pronominal clitic clearly cannot function as the object in the third person in the way it does in the standard dialect. The occurrence of the demonstrative in object function strengthens the argument that the occurrence of the pronominal clitic as the object is probably due to the influence of the standard dialect. The clitic, it can be argued, has the function of being subject of the verb but more often is unable to function as object. Furthermore, some of the pronominals have two variants; the weaker of these is restricted to subject argument function and the stronger one behaves more like the independent pronoun of the other regional dialects, fulfilling discourse functions, and is also obligatory in the object argument function and in the possessive construction. This suggests the possibility that the independent pronoun prefixed by *ma-* is perhaps a later development.

The range of syntactic functions fulfilled by clitics and independent pronouns, in Nongkseh is shown below:



----- = use of clitic-1 when there are two variants, as in the second person singular masculine pronoun

==== = predominant use of demonstrative instead of personal pronoun in the third person.

## CHAPTER IV

### Cross-dialect comparison

#### 4.0 Introduction

Analyses of the gender, agreement and personal pronoun systems in the individual dialects have formed the focus of the preceding chapters. The present chapter will deal with the cross-dialect comparison of these three systems. In doing this we will use the following grouping of the dialects. Firstly, the two dialects located on the opposing fringes of the districts are grouped together as the peripheral dialects. This group consists of Nongtalang in the southern part of Jaintia Hill District and of Jirang in the northern part of East Khasi Hill District. Secondly, the two dialects situated mid-way between the peripheral dialects and the central area of the districts are grouped together as the transitional dialects. These are Nartiang, situated in the eastern area of Jaintia Hill District and Mawrong in the mid-northern area of East Khasi Hill District. Finally, the remaining two dialects, spoken in the central areas of the region, namely the standard dialect in Shillong and in Cherrapunji, and the Nongkseh dialect in Shillong are grouped together as the central dialects. The gender system, the agreement system and the pronominal system will be discussed in turn.

(a) The gender system. In all the dialects the masculine and feminine articles encode both natural and grammatical gender. The differences between the dialect groups lie in their basic gender system. The peripheral and the transitional dialects have a three-gender system, comprising masculine, feminine and neuter.

The central dialects may, in one sense, be said to have a two-gender system, since all nouns are assigned either masculine gender or feminine gender. Despite the fact that the central dialects have a basic two-gender system, we have seen that they also have a third gender, termed the P gender, which operates as a derivational mechanism for pragmatic purposes. This contrasts with the masculine and feminine genders in that it has its own concord system operating both within the noun phrase and between the lexical subject NP and the verb. Two main issues will concern us in our comparison of the gender system across the dialects. Firstly we examine the innovations that have led to this differentiation into two- and three-gender systems, our argument being that the central dialects have innovated in losing the neuter gender. Secondly, we will examine the way in which the P gender has developed in the central dialects. The fact that the form of the P article in the latter is clearly cognate with the form of the neuter article of the eastern dialects gives credence to the view that the P article developed out of a former neuter article in the central dialects.

(b) The agreement system. All the dialects appear to operate on the same principle, namely the locality principle, to determine when the pre-/post-verbal clitic functions as the agreement marker. The main difference between the dialects concerns the place of the pre-/post-verbal clitic in the verb complex. In the peripheral and the transitional dialects, the verbal clitic comes after the verb complex, whereas in the central dialects it always precedes the verb complex. Another difference is that, while this clitic is obligatory in the central dialects, it does not occur with absolute regularity in the peripheral and the transitional dialects.

(c) Syntactic scope of clitics and independent pronouns. The most marked differences in the personal pronouns between the groups of dialects lie in the function and the distribution of the pronominal clitics by comparison with those of the independent pronouns. The independent pronouns have argument functions in the peripheral and the transitional dialects, whereas they fulfil only discourse functions in the central dialects. It is hoped that certain finer points which differentiate dialects of the same group will enable us to make some tentative suggestions about how innovations have spread through the area.

#### **4.1 Forms of clitics and independent pronouns**

The fact that the clitics are formally similar right across the dialects suggests that they are cognate, whereas the independent pronouns appear to have developed from the clitics independently in the dialects.

The total range of forms, comprising both the clitics and the independent pronouns across the dialects, is presented in the following table:

Table 4.1. Personal pronouns across the dialects.

	NT	JR	NRT	MR	NK	STD
ISgCL	ŋə	ŋa/?o	?o	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa
ISgIP	ŋiə	ha?ō	ŋa	baŋa	maŋa	maŋa
IPI CL	?i	?i/?wi	?i	?i	yi	ŋi
IPI IP	?i?i	ha?wi	?i	ba?i	mayi	maŋi
IISgM CL	?m	ma	mi	mə	mə	mə
IISgM IP	?iam	hama	mə	bame	mia	mame
IIPI CL	hi	pi	phi	phi	phi	phi
IIPI IP	?ihi	hapi	phi	baphi	phei	maphi
					maphei	
IIISgM CL	?u	?u/?wei	?u	?u	?u	?u
IIISgM IP	?iau	ha?wei	?ō	ba?u	ma?u	ma?u
					?utou	
IIISgF CL	kə	ka/kai	kə	ka	ka	ka
IIISgF IP	?iakə	hakai	ka	baka	maka	maka
					katou	
IIPI Cl	yə	ki/kei	ki	ki	ki	ki
IIPI IP	?iyə	hakei	ki	baki	kitou	maki
	?iki					

From the above table we will extract only the forms of the clitics:

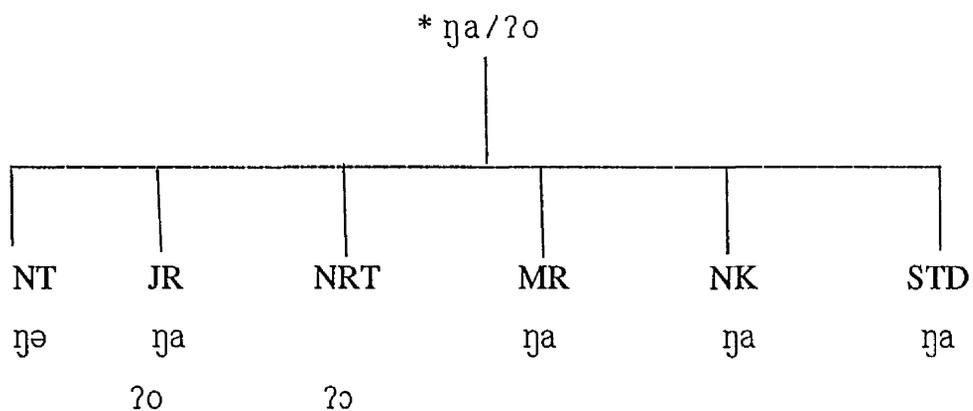
	NT	JR	NRT	MR	NK	STD
I Sg	ŋə	ŋa/?o	?o	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa
IPI	?i	?i/?wi	?i	?i	yi	ŋi
IISgM	?m	ma	mi	mɛ	mɛ/mia	mɛ
IISgF	hə	pa	pho	pha	pha	pha
IIPi	hi	pi	phi	phi	phi/phei	phi
IIISgM	?u	?u/?wei	?u	?u	?u	?u
IIISgF	kə	ka/kai	ka	ka	ka	ka
IIIN	?i	ŋa	?i	ŋ		
IIP			?i	?i	?i	?i
IIPI	ki/yə	ki/kei	ki	ki	ki	ki

Although systematic sound correspondences have not so far been established, the diagrams (a) to (g) leave little doubt that the basic (non-prefixed) forms of the clitics across the dialects are cognate. This is supported by comparative evidence involving the entire Austroasiatic family (Pinnow 1965). [Key: NAH. = Nahali group, MU. = Munda group, NIC. = Nicobarese group, KHS. = Khasi group, PW. = Palaung-Wa group, MK. = MonKhmer group, ML. = Malacca group, x = is present, - = is absent]:

	NAH.	MU.	NIC.	KHS.	PW.	MK.	ML
1sg * <i>iŋ</i>	x	x	-	x	-	x	x
2sg * <i>me</i>	-	x	x	x	x	x	x
2pl * <i>pe</i>	-	x	(x)	x	x	x	x
3pl * <i>ki/ku</i>	x	x	-	x	x	x	x

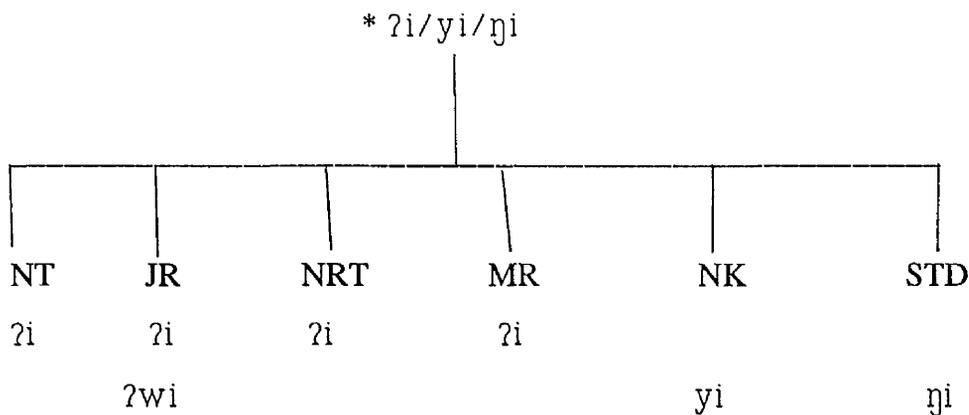
We now examine the forms of the clitics across the Khasi dialects. In the first row are the putative cognates; in the second row are the 'strong forms' of these and other variants.

(a) First person singular:



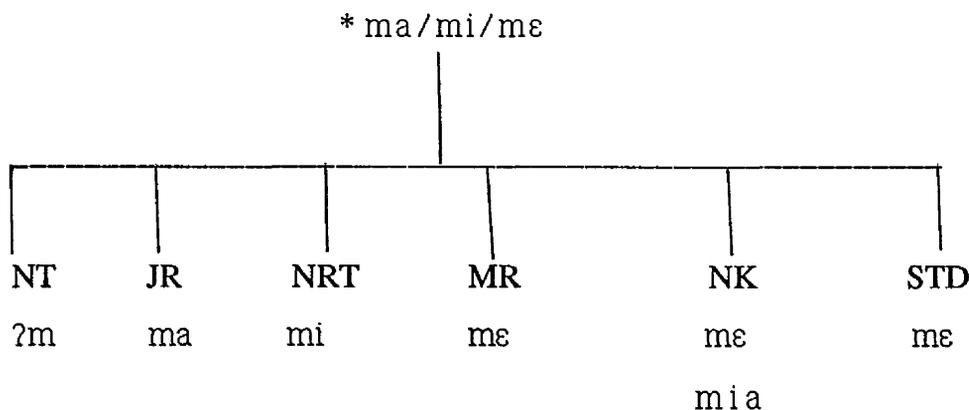
The clitic *ŋa* is shared by most of the dialects, Nongtalang having a weaker vowel, schwa instead of *a*. Pinnow reconstructs the AA proto-form as \**iŋ*. He also suggests that Khasi has lost the initial *i* and has suffixed the vowel *a*. The other proto-form, *?o*, occurs as a variant in Jirang and as the only form of the clitic in Nartiang. In Nartiang *ŋa* is the independent pronoun.

(b) First person plural:



Four of the dialects have *?i*. It is possible that in Jirang the stronger form *?wi* with more phonetic content, may be an older form. Nongkseh and the standard dialect have different consonants. Pinnow reconstructs exclusive and inclusive proto-forms for the first person plural, but it is the exclusive form *\*ye(h)* which is of particular interest here since it could well be the source of the Khasi pronoun.

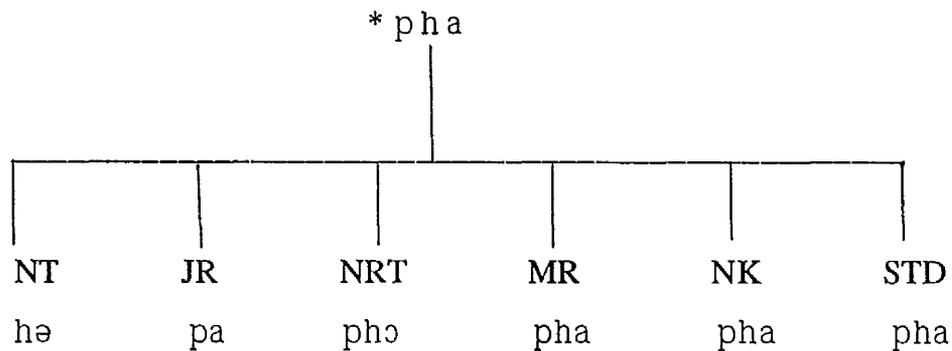
(c) Second person singular masculine:



The dialects do not all share the same vowel after the nasal. Three have *mε*, Nongtalang does not have a vowel (note that the glottal stop is not present when the clitic is preceded by an element ending in a glottal stop, e.g., *a? m* 'you have' or when the clitic is fused with the preceding word, e.g., *di? ča-m ?* 'will

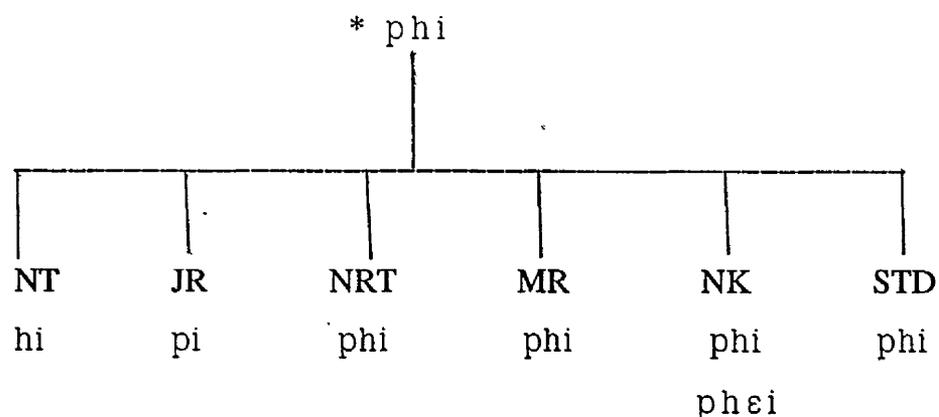
you drink tea?'). The presence of the stronger form *mia* in Nongkseh suggests the possibility that it may be an older form. Pinnow reconstructs \**me* and this fits very well with the Khasi forms.

(d) Second person singular feminine:



Nongtalang, true to its nature, has weakened both the vowel (a schwa) and the initial consonant (a fricative, while all the other dialects have a plosive). Jirang also differs in that the plosive is not aspirated. Nartiang has a mid-low vowel.

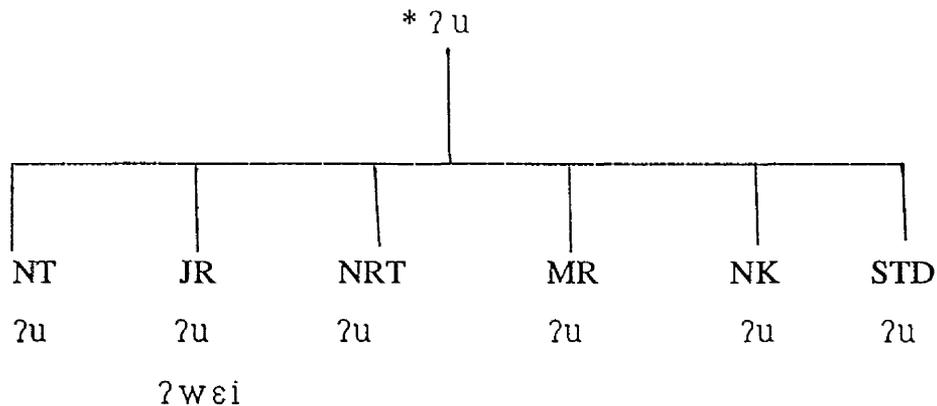
(d) Second person plural:



Nongtalang again has a fricative while the rest have a plosive and again the plosive is not aspirated in Jirang. Pinnow's reconstructed proto-form \**pe* appears to be a suitable source of the Khasi forms. The stronger form *phɛi* in Nongkseh could be an

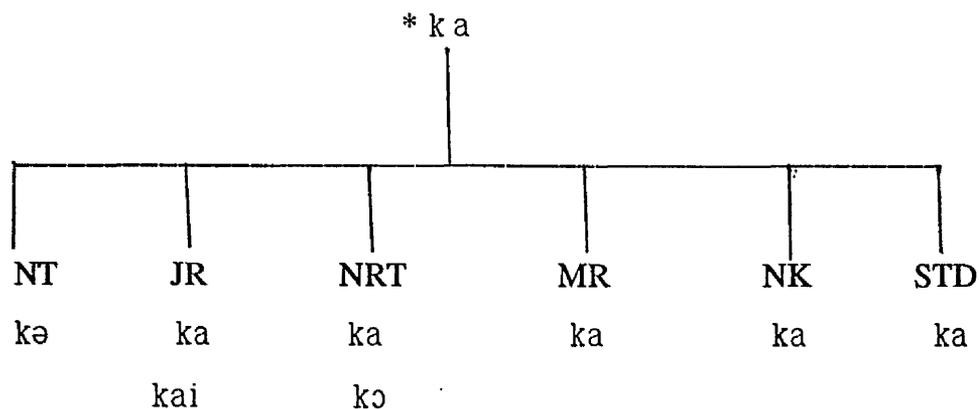
older form, but the possibility of the pronoun being 'strengthened' by the suffix-*ei* appears to be more likely.

(e) Third person singular masculine:



The clitics appear to be cognate across the dialects. However, as in most of the personal pronouns displayed above, one of the dialects, in this case Jirang, has a stronger variant *ʔwɛi* which could be an older form. A more plausible phonological explanation of *ʔwɛi* is that it is composed of two elements *ʔu + ei*. Pinnow's reconstruction of the proto-form as *\*u* could well be the source of the pronoun in the Khasi dialects.

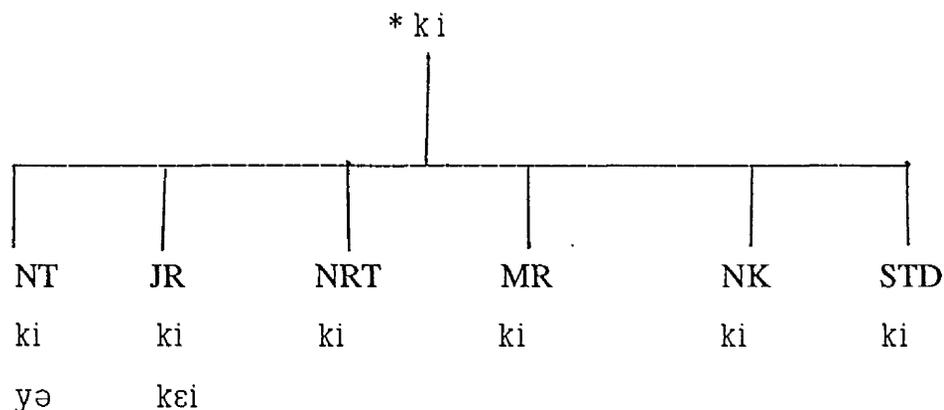
(f) Third person singular feminine:



These clitics too appears to be cognate across the dialects. Nartiang has a reduced form *kɔ* as one of its variants. Nongtalang

shows its characteristic weak vowel schwa in place of the vowel *a*. Jirang has a stronger variant *kai* which could be an older form or it could be the result of the affixation of *-ei*, (*ka + ei -> kai*).

(g) Third person plural:



As in the other third persons, the clitics appear to be cognate across the dialects. Jirang has a stronger variant, which could be an older form, or it could be the result of the affixation of *-ei*. Speakers in Nongtalang use *yə* in most instances. Pinnow's reconstructed proto-form *\*ki* appears as a suitable source for the clitic in the Khasi dialects.

In the discussion of the above displays, I have drawn particular attention to the presence of the stronger forms of each clitic. There are two possible analyses of these 'strong' forms. One is that they are the earlier forms of the pronouns before they became cliticized, the other is that they resulted from the suffixation of some particles. Pinnow's reconstructed proto-forms clearly suggest the second analysis.

A proto-form for the neuter gender cannot be reconstructed, since the dialects situated in the east have the form *?i* while those situated in the northern parts of the districts have a totally different form *ŋa /ŋ*.



The P article of the central dialects is clearly cognate with the neuter article of the eastern dialects. I will attempt below to explain how this P article may have developed from the neuter article to innovate a new gender system in the central dialects.

Pinnow's observation that animacy versus inanimacy is more common in Austroasiatic languages than gender system is an interesting point to note here for it suggests that grammatical gender is not a proto-Khasi feature. Furthermore, his reconstructed forms of personal pronouns involve only number divisions, either into singular/plural or singular/dual/plural. In particular, Pinnow's reconstructed forms for the second person and third person singular pronouns are clearly cognate with the second person singular masculine and third person singular masculine pronouns in Khasi while the plurals in both these persons are cognate to those in Khasi. We can therefore make the assumption that the feminine pronouns in both the second and third persons in Khasi are innovations.

#### 4.2 The gender system

In all the dialects, the gender and number of a noun is conveyed by the article. The following table shows the articles in the dialects. The peripheral dialects are presented on the left-hand side of the table (NT for Nongtalang, JR for Jirang), the

transitional dialects are in the centre (NRT for Nartiang, MR for Mawrong) and the central dialects are on the right-hand (NK for Nongkseh, STD for the standard dialect).

**Table 4.2**     **Articles in the dialects**

	Peripheral dialects		Transitional dialects		Central dialects	
	NT	JR	NRT	MR	NK	STD
Masc.	ʔu	ʔu	ʔu	ʔu	ʔu	ʔu
Fem.	kə	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka
Neut.	ʔi	ŋa	ʔi	ŋ		
P			ʔi	ʔi	ʔi	ʔi
Pl	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki

As discussed in the preceding section, in the case of the masculine singular, the feminine singular and the plural the forms of the third person clitic are putative cognates across all the dialects. Also as I have stated above, the neuter article appears to have two distinct proto-forms, *ʔi* in the eastern dialects and *ŋa* in the northern dialects. I have also suggested that the P article *ʔi*, the form of which is identical to that of the neuter article of the eastern dialects, may have developed from a neuter article.

We have seen that the peripheral dialects, Nongtalang and Jirang, have a clear three-gender system. There are, nevertheless, differences in the neuter gender between these dialects both in the form and in the membership of the class. The neuter gender in

Nongtalang, marked by the neuter article *ʔi*, consists of abstract nouns, mass nouns, concrete inanimate nouns in the singular and in the plural, and of animate nouns in the plural when these are preceded by a numeral. Understandably, this leads to variation between the neuter article and the plural article in the plural of countable nouns. In Jirang animate nouns cannot be assigned neuter gender (expressed by the neuter article *ŋa*). The neuter gender in Jirang is, therefore, assigned to abstract nouns, mass nouns and concrete inanimate nouns in the singular. Both dialects show variation between the neuter and the feminine where abstract nouns are concerned.

The two central dialects, Nongkseh and the standard dialect, have identical basic two-gender systems, all nouns being assigned either masculine or feminine gender. As stated above, the third (P) gender, replaces the masculine or the feminine for polite or diminutive reference and contrasts syntactically with the masculine and the feminine in that it demands its own concord between the elements of the noun phrase and also between the lexical subject NP and the verb in a single clause construction.

The transitional dialects, Nartiang and Mawrong (in the centre of Table 4.2), show an overlap of their gender systems with those of the other two dialect groups. The basic system in these dialects is a three-gender one like that of the peripheral dialects. Their neuter gender consists of abstract nouns, mass nouns, and concrete inanimate nouns in the singular. However, the speakers who provided my data (which unfortunately consists of only a few items) used the neuter article with nouns that are clearly diminutives. Since animate nouns in both these dialects are assigned either masculine or feminine gender, the assignment of

neuter gender to diminutives of animate nouns, appears to be a derivational mechanism. Furthermore, while it is true that these two dialects have a basic three-gender system, some informants state that they use marginally (extensively in the case of the teenaged informant in Mawrong) the P article as a derivational mechanism in place of the masculine or feminine for polite reference. In the syntax some of the speakers of these two dialects thus have the use of five articles: M, F, N, P, and Pl. While the P article of the central dialects is cognate with the neuter article in Nartiang, in Mawrong these have completely different forms. Here the neuter article *ŋ* occurs with nouns that are diminutive alongside others that are inherently neuter whereas the P article *?i*, for speakers who use it, appears to occur strictly as an honorific article and not with diminutives.

The dialects, thus, have the following gender systems:

A. Peripheral dialects: M, F, N (no evidence of derived nouns).

B. Central dialects: M, F (basic); P (derived)

C. Transitional dialects: M, F, N (basic); P (derived).

In addition to the above, all the dialects have a plural article which does not encode gender.

We have shown that the rules for gender assignment are semantically determined in all the dialects. Formal rules, that is morphological assignment rules, determine the gender of only a small number of nouns. Our observations on gender assignment have been based on the standard dialect and it has to be stated

that the semantic criteria may differ in the peripheral dialects and in the transitional dialects.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that there are two gender systems operating in the different groups of dialects inevitably raises the question as to which of these is the older and how the innovation would have taken place. We recall that the three-gender system is more predominantly present among the dialects analysed than the two-gender system and the peripheral dialects do not have diminutive animate nouns in the neuter. In the transitional dialects two important points are noted: (a) the form of the P article *?i* is identical with that of the neuter article of the eastern dialects; (b) diminutives, particularly of animate nouns, are present within the neuter gender and the P article, (albeit marginally), is employed as a derivational mechanism for pragmatic purposes.<sup>25</sup> Thus although the basic gender system in these transitional dialects is a three-gender one like that of the peripheral dialects, the fact that diminutive animate nouns are included in the neuter gender could be the route by which animate nouns came to be in this gender thereby giving rise to our hypothesis that the two-gender system of the central dialects is an innovation. Since the form of the neuter article in the eastern dialects is cognate with the P article in the central dialects, we must assume that there is a link here

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<sup>24</sup> Most of the items in my data show that the dialects follow similar principles in assigning masculine and feminine gender. However, some differences in nouns with grammatical gender are found between the dialects. For example, the word for 'plate' is feminine (*ka pliaŋ*) in the standard dialect whereas it is masculine (*?u nar*) in Jirang. These differences, nevertheless, appear to be very marginal, since most of the nouns in the masculine and in the feminine are the same across the dialects. Incidentally *?u nar* 'iron' in the standard dialect is assigned the masculine gender.

<sup>25</sup> A detailed analysis on the employment of this article for the pragmatic purpose of polite reference is given in the Sociolinguistic section.

because in the central dialects the P article *ʔi* also occurs with diminutive nouns. Corbett suggests that a change in the gender system could be the result of a 'Trojan horse' effect, and cites examples from a comparison of the gender systems of related Bantu languages. He states that:

"In some Bantu languages, gender 1/2 is typically for nouns denoting humans. Swahili, however, is just completing a change which makes gender 1/2 the gender for all animates. Some other languages are at various stages in this development. .... Lunda, a Bantu language of Angola, assigns all animates to gender 1/2, while the closely related language Luvale, has only a few non-human animates in this gender. .... They include *muumbe* 'jackal'. Greenberg suggests that jackal is treated in this way because a personified jackal appears in folk tales. Once there are exceptions to the requirement that nouns must denote humans to be in gender 1/2, the rule is weakened over time to include all animates (as has happened in Lunda). The development depends on nouns like 'jackal', which we shall term 'Trojan horses', since they get into the closed gender for special reasons, but then open the door for many more nouns of the same type (animate in this case) which are not special cases."

(Corbett 1991:98)

Corbett does, however, point out that this is not the case in all languages. For example, the inclusion of the noun *Mädchen* 'girl' in the neuter has not resulted in a flood of other animate nouns into this gender in German. It has to be noted though that in German, the basic gender assignment rule for the diminutive is a formal rule, being morphologically determined by the suffixing of *-chen* to nouns. Nonetheless, Corbett's case studies of many languages have shown that in languages where gender is semantically determined, this semantic principle could be a route by which a change in gender may take place. Therefore it could be

hypothesized that in Khasi, once diminutives were allowed into the neuter gender in the transitional dialects, diminutive animate nouns may have followed them. Since diminutives can be associated with endearment, it may be that this is the route by which intimate polite reference has also come to be identified with this gender. Once pragmatic considerations determine the choice of the neuter article to replace either the masculine or the feminine, there is a possibility that this article could act as a derivational mechanism for the sole purpose of diminutive and polite reference. It is the case that the P article conveys diminutive reference beside honorific reference in the central dialects. Thus, we can hypothesize that the P article in the central dialects has evolved from the neuter article.

I have taken the view that the innovation lies with the central dialects, only these having a basic two-gender system as distinct from the basic three-gender system of the peripheral and transitional dialects. Since the peripheral dialects are at opposing ends of the entire area, any isogloss that they share must represent a retention rather than a shared innovation. Therefore, the three-gender system that they share is more likely to reflect the old gender system of Khasi.

If it is the case that the central dialects have 'lost' the neuter as a basic gender, what nouns would have been originally neuter? Assuming that the nouns which were neuter in the central dialects would be the ones which are found today to be neuter in the peripheral dialects, the majority of these would be abstract nouns. At present, however, all abstract nouns in the central dialects are in the feminine gender. This is partly determined by the morphological rule that all nouns prefixed by *jiŋ* - are assigned

feminine gender. The other nouns that would have transferred from the neuter gender would be the mass nouns which, as seen in chapter II, are either masculine (such as 'sand', 'hair', 'uncooked rice', etc.) or feminine (such as 'forest', 'water', 'cooked rice', etc.) according to their shape, function, use, etc. We have also shown in chapter II that the assignment of either masculine or feminine gender to inanimate nouns in the singular are usually determined by semantic factors such as shape, size etc. These principles would, then, account for the redistribution of the old neuter nouns in the central dialects.

Greenberg states that minor genders, such as diminutives, probably arise through a mechanism involving an element meaning 'small'. He claims that Khasi provides one example of a language:

"in which it appears that a neuter has just developed or is in the process of developing in a system with masculine or feminine. ... In KHASI, alongside of a masculine and a feminine, there is a neuter which does not distinguish number. Its meaning is diminutive. ... KHASI has ʔi as the neuter gender...".

(Greenberg 1978:69)

Two points need to be made here. Although Greenberg is right about the form of the third gender *ʔi* in the standard dialect and he is also right in saying that diminutiveness is expressed by the article of this third gender, I would not like to speak of a neuter gender where the standard dialect is concerned because this third gender is of a derivational nature and replaces the masculine or the feminine for the purpose of diminutive or polite reference. The inherent gender of these nouns, whether

diminutive or polite, is either masculine or feminine. It is also not correct to say that the meaning of *?i* is entirely diminutive since it is in fact more often used for polite reference, as shown in chapter II and in the sociolinguistic section. Furthermore, in contrast with the situation in the regional dialects, in the standard dialect the article *?i* does distinguish number being singular only.

Greenberg's views regarding the neuter gender in Khasi are, on the other hand, correct where the peripheral and transitional dialects are concerned because (a) there is a neuter gender in these dialects, (b) the form of the neuter article in the eastern dialects is *?i*, (c) the neuter is inclusive of diminutives in the transitional dialects, (d) the neuter does not distinguish number (not even with countable nouns in the case of Nongtalang). However, the re-interpretation of an element meaning 'small' does not appear to be responsible for the appearance of a neuter gender in the peripheral dialects. It is only in the transitional dialects that diminutives are assigned neuter gender. The majority of nouns that are included in the neuter gender in these four non-standard dialects are abstract nouns and mass nouns, which do not distinguish number.

Greenberg's claim that a 'neuter' gender appears to be in the process of developing in Standard Khasi is contrary to the hypothesis I have offered here. Our data on the gender systems of the Khasi dialects taken for analysis here shows that there is a neuter gender in the four regional dialects while Standard Khasi has a basic two-gender system with no basic neuter gender, the three-gender system appearing to be a shared inheritance of the dialects. My claim is that the standard dialect has innovated in the gender system, the P article being developed from a previous

neuter and now operating as a derivational mechanism for polite and diminutive reference within what is basically a two-gender system.

This P gender as a derivational mechanism for polite reference would seem to be spreading to both the transitional dialects.

### 4.3 The agreement system

The focus of attention here is on the functions and distribution of the preverbal clitic, particularly in relation to its syntactic function. Is it a full pronominal or is it an agreement marker? In a single clause the verbal clitic is obligatory with the verb complex and the lexical NP functions as the subject of the verb. In chapter II, I dealt with the problem of establishing the syntactic status of the preverbal clitic. The same arguments regarding the function and syntactic status of the preverbal clitic in the central dialects were shown to be applicable to the postverbal clitic in the peripheral and transitional dialects. I shall first consider the historical situation, especially how the clitic acquired its non-referential status, and then examine the distribution of the preverbal / postverbal clitic across the dialects of Khasi.

We have seen in chapter II that, depending on the structure of the sentence as a whole, the clitic is either a referential pronoun or an agreement marker. Reference was in that context made to Givón (1976), who argues that the normal diachronic process through which a pronoun becomes an agreement marker is via topic-shifting, and his schematic representation of this process of reanalysis was reproduced. The fact that in Khasi the

agreement marker occurs in exactly the same position as the pronominal clitic makes Givón's hypothesis regarding the process of reanalysis of the pronoun so as to become an agreement marker an attractive one, and Givón's position is in fact in line with a long tradition in linguistics.

Thus the Agglutination Theory of the earlier grammarians shows that they were well aware of the pronominal categories inherent in the personal affixes of the verb, their claim being that these personal affixes are the reduced remnants of personal pronouns which have, over the course of time, weakened and become attached to the verb. Bynon (1990; forthcoming) points out that this theory, while offering a plausible explanation on the syntactic source of these morphological elements, failed to document and make explicit the intervening historical processes involved. Following Lehmann (1985), she states that the grammaticalization of pronouns generally involves weakening processes operating simultaneously along three basic parameters, namely:

(a) phonetic reduction from fully fledged phonological word via clitic to affix;

(b) syntactic 'tightening' of a topic construction to the status of a single clause, with the pronominal element losing its anaphoric status and becoming a mere marker of a syntactic relation;

(c) semantic bleaching from referential to grammatical meaning and eventual absorption into the lexical properties of the host.

This historical development can be presented as follows:

Word ---> Clitic ---> Affix.

But, as Lehmann points out, developments along these parameters are not necessarily synchronised, so that affixation does not always imply loss of referential meaning and referentiality need not necessarily be equated with clitic status and non-referentiality with affix status. Givón has shown that it is the discourse pragmatics that determines the weakening of the pronoun. In Khasi, we have seen evidence both from the standard dialect and from the other dialects for the progressive grammaticalization of the ancestor of the clitic. However, neither in its referential function as an argument of the verb nor in its non-referential function as an agreement marker, has the clitic become an affix. The clitic in Khasi still retains some mobility in that other elements can occur between it and the verb. Thus in the central dialects auxiliaries, the reciprocal marker, the causative marker, in the other regional dialects adverbs and certain discourse particles can occupy this position.

An important issue in this respect is the position of the clitic relative to the verb in the six dialects. Khasi has SVO word order, and the central dialects adhere rigorously to this order whether the subject is a lexical NP or a pronominal. This is not, however, the case where the four other dialects are concerned. In these the lexical NP as subject comes before the verb complex, but the subject clitic comes after the verb complex. When the postverbal clitic is an agreement marker it is, in these regional dialects, more flexible in its occurrence, that is to say it need not be overtly present in all instances. In the central dialects, on the other hand, the preverbal clitic is obligatory. Furthermore, in the regional dialects the postverbal clitic tends to come immediately after the main verb, whereas in the central dialects it is

frequently separated from this by auxiliaries. It would, therefore, appear to be the case that, in the peripheral dialects <sup>and Nartiang</sup> the postverbal clitic is moving towards affixation, the functional scope of the clitic being more restricted and very few elements being able to occur between it and the verb.

#### 4.4 Syntactic scope of clitics and independent pronouns

We now turn to the differences <sup>in the</sup> functions <sup>and</sup> the distribution of the clitic and the independent pronoun respectively between the central dialects on the one hand and the remaining dialects on the other. In the preceding chapters, we have seen that the dialects have both independent pronouns and pronominal clitics. The independent pronouns generally fulfil discourse functions in encoding new information for contrast, emphasis or focus. The pronominal clitics usually encode known referents recoverable from the discourse or the context of situation. Givón argues that when a pronoun represents given information it is prosodically and communicatively non-salient. This is why such pronouns tend to occupy syntactic positions different from those occupied by full NPs. This characterisation of the clitic, whether it be a pronoun or agreement marker, is applicable to the four non-central regional dialects since in these the subject clitic does not occupy the place normally occupied by the subject lexical NP. The unmarked word order in all dialects of Khasi is SVO and the lexical subject NP always comes before the verb. However, as we have seen in chapter III, in the peripheral and transitional dialects when the clitic is the subject it comes after the verb, and when it is the possessor it comes after the possessee if there is no preposition. In addition, in the peripheral dialects the clitic (clitic-1 in Jirang)

cannot function as the object whether a preposition is present or not and the independent pronoun has to fulfil object functions. In the central dialects, on the other hand, the clitic fulfils all argument functions and the independent pronoun fulfils purely discourse functions.

The following diagrams show the syntactic scope of the clitic and of the independent pronoun across the dialects. The maximal functional scope of the clitic is seen in the central dialects, where it fulfils all argument functions, and its minimal scope is seen in the peripheral dialects where it can only occur as the subject in continued discourse and as the possessor in the absence of a preposition. The maximal functional range of the independent pronoun, on the other hand, is seen in the peripheral dialects, where it fulfils argument functions as well as discourse functions, and the minimal range is seen in the central dialects where it fulfils purely discourse functions.

		Central dialects		Transitional dialects		Peripheral dialects	
		STD	NK	MR	NRT	NT	JR
↑ Independent pronoun emphasis subject (context-free) object + prep - prep possessor + prep - prep subject (in context) ↓ Clitic	emphasis						
	subject (context-free)						
	object						
	+ prep						
	- prep						-----
	possessor						
	+ prep						
	- prep						
	subject (in context)						

----- = clitic-2 in Jirang

\_\_\_\_\_ = demarcating line between the clitic and the IP

The functional scope of the clitics and the independent pronouns is shown in the following table:

Table 4.3 Personal pronouns in the dialects

	NT	JR	NRT	MR	NK	STD
Subj. (continued discourse)	V+CT	V+CT1 V+CT2	V+CT	V+CT	CT+V	CT+V
Poss.						
-prep	CT	CT1	CT	CT	CT CT2	CT
+prep	IP	CT2	IP	CT	CT DEM	CT
Obj.						
-prep	IP	CT2	IP	CT	CT CT2 Dem	V+CT
+prep	IP	IP	IP	CL	CT CT2	CT
subj. (context-free)	IP	IP	IP	IP	CT CT2	CT
Emphasis (discourse functions)	IP+V	IP+V	IP+V	IP+V	IP+CT+V CT2+CT+V (CT)+V+IP (CT)+V+IP	IP+CT+V

We start the cross-dialectal comparison with the minimal functional scope of the clitic, as is found in the peripheral dialects. We will look first at the peripheral dialect of Nongtalang. In this dialect the clitic only occurs as the (postverbal) subject in

continued discourse and as the possessor immediately after the possessed noun:

388. də dəp šia lut ŋə ʔi ram kə  
 PERF finish pay fully I N debt F  
 'I have fully paid her debt.'

389. ʔu pa ŋə  
 M father I  
 'My father.'

The independent pronoun fulfils all the other functions. Firstly, it occurs as the discourse-initial subject introducing new information, as in the following example (uttered by one of the informants at the start of the taped interview):

390. ŋiə tɔʔ u oren mirčiaŋ  
 E-I be M Oren Myrchiang  
 'I am Oren Myrchiang.'

Secondly, it covers the discourse functions of emphasis and contrast where it may, although not necessarily, co-occur with a matching clitic:

391. ʔiau əkəɾɔŋ tam tɪnɛ  
 E-M tall most here  
 'He is the tallest here.'

392. ñiə cu lia ŋə šə cui  
 E-I will go I to market  
 'I will go myself to the market.'

Thirdly, the independent pronoun is obligatory in object function whether a preposition is present or not:

393. šu dat pap yə hə ñiə  
 just beat cruelly PL OBJ E-I  
 'They just beat me cruelly.'

394. ʔemeya ŋə ʔiahə  
 love I E-youF  
 'I love you.'

The Jirang dialect has two variants of the pronominal clitic. The weakest one, termed clitic-1, can occur only as the subject in continued discourse, as in sentence 395, and as the possessor without the possessive marker, as in sentence 396:

395. liʔ lep āi ʔu ka kot ha ʔo  
 PAST finish give M F book to I2  
 'He has given the book to me.'

396. ʔu pui ʔu  
 M father M  
 'His father.'

This dialect employs the 'stronger' clitic-2 when a possessive marker is present, as in sentence 397:

397. ka    sni    co    ?wi  
       F    house of    we2  
       'Our house.'

Clitic-2 seems to have an overlap of functions with both clitic-1 and the independent pronoun since, in its normal position after the verb complex, it may occur as the subject in continued discourse and as the object when there is no preceding preposition.

As in Nongtalang, the independent pronoun in Jirang encodes the subject in context-free sentences:

398. ha?wei a?    u ir    bei ki masei ki sŋāc  
       E-M    have M two CL    PL cow    PL fat  
       'He has two fat cows.'

The independent pronoun, and not clitic-2, fulfils object function when there is a preposition present:

399. ha?o li? skur    ŋa bat    ha?wei  
       E-I go school I with E-M  
       'I went to school with him.'

The independent pronoun also fulfils the discourse functions of emphasis and contrast:

400. haʔwei kincəŋ tam tɪnɛ  
 E-M tall most here  
 'He is the tallest here.'

To turn now to the maximal functional scope of the clitic, this is found in the standard dialect where it occurs as subject, object, and after preposition:

401. ŋa kwaʔ ban lɛic .ʃa ʃɪlɔŋ  
 I want SUB go to Shillong  
 'I want to go to Shillong.'

402. ʔu kɕɛu ʔu bot ya ŋa  
 M dog M follow OBJ I  
 'The dog followed me.'

403. ka-ne ka dɛi ka kɔt jɔŋ ŋa  
 F-this F be F book of I  
 'This is my book.'

The independent pronoun of the standard dialect is restricted to the discourse functions of emphasis and contrast. It is also more flexible in its placement since it can occur either before or after the verb whereas the pronominal clitic always comes before the verb complex:

404. maŋa ŋa pinpaic ya ka pliaŋ  
 E-I I break OBJ F plate  
 'I broke the plate.'

405. *ŋa pinpaic maŋa ya ka pliaŋ*  
 I break E-I OBJ F plate  
 'It is I that broke the plate.'

Note that there is a subtle difference of meaning between sentences 404 and 405. Sentence 404, in which the independent pronoun *maŋa* precedes the subject clitic *ŋa*, would be interpreted as 'It is I that broke the plate (so what will you do about it)?', where the speaker is challenging the addressee. In sentence 405 the independent pronoun also has a contrastive function, but there is no challenging overtone and the sentence will be interpreted simply as 'It is I that broke the plate (and not anyone else)'. When the independent pronoun occurs after the verb, the clitic may (but need not be) overtly present, as in the following sentence in answer to the question 'Who ate the fruit?':

406. (*ŋa*) *bām maŋa*  
 I eat E-I  
 'I did.'

The omission of the clitic makes sentence 406 sound very abrupt, perhaps even rude, but it is not ungrammatical. The presence of the clitic produces a much more acceptable sentence. In the following examples, sentence 407 is unproblematic, but sentence 408 is ungrammatical because the clitic is absent and the independent pronoun is placed before the verb:

407. maɣa    ɲa    bām    ya    ʔu    sɔʔ  
 E-I        I    eat    OBJ M    fruit  
 'I ate the fruit.'

408.\*maɣa    bām    ya    ʔu    sɔʔ  
 E-I        eat    OBJ M    fruit

The fact that the independent pronoun cannot stand before the verb without the clitic also being present shows that it is not an argument. Furthermore, it cannot occur as the object, even in an anaphoric relation with the object clitic. These differences in the functions and distribution of the clitic and of the independent pronoun respectively highlight the most important difference in the distributional properties of the pronominals in the two groups of dialects.

The pronominals of the two central dialects generally behave alike. In Nongkseh, however, some of the pronominals have two different variants in addition to the independent pronoun. These variants behave respectively like the pronominal clitic and the independent pronoun of the peripheral dialects. The variant which has more phonetic content behaves like an independent pronoun in that it co-occurs with the clitic to fulfil the discourse functions of contrast and emphasis. Matching the case of the independent pronoun in the peripheral dialects, this strong variant is the one that also functions as the syntactic object. The second person singular masculine, for example, has two variants, *mɛ* and *mia*. The first of these is restricted to subject argument function. The second of these variants occurs as the subject discourse-initially and is obligatory in the object slot with

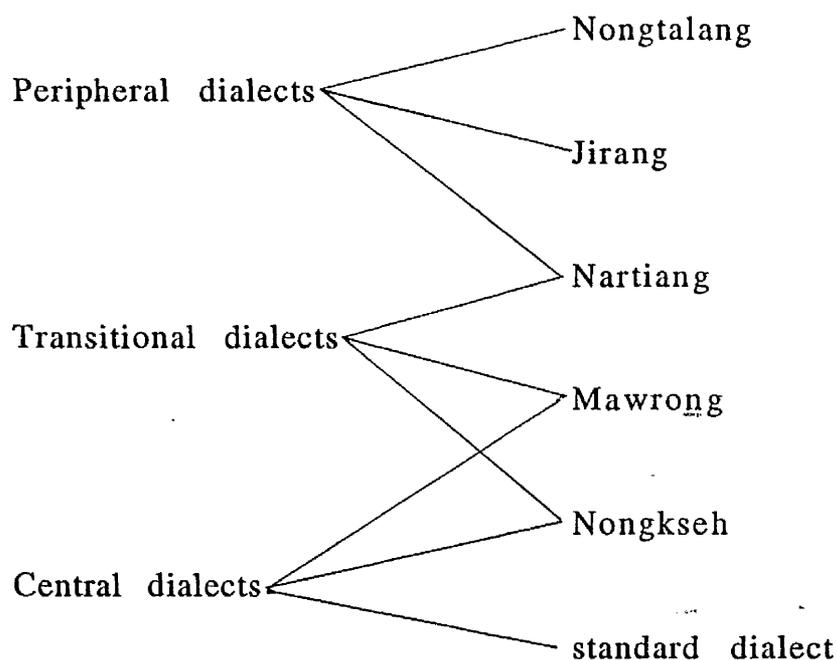
or without preposition and in the possessive construction with or without possessive marker. It is the demonstrative pronoun rather than the clitic, on the other hand, which occurs as the object in the third person in Nongkseh. In some instances, this third person demonstrative also functions like an independent pronoun in that it fulfils the discourse function of emphasis. These features, all of which differentiate Nongkseh from the standard dialect within the central dialect group, bear striking similarities to features found in the peripheral dialects, the 'stronger' variant in the second person behaving like the independent pronoun of the peripheral dialects in that it occurs as the subject in context-free sentences and in that it is obligatory as the possessor and as the object and the 'weaker' variant being restricted to subject function in continued discourse.

The two transitional dialects present a different picture. The eastern dialect, Nartiang, goes with the peripheral dialects in that the pronominal clitic (positioned after the verb complex) is usually restricted to subject function in continued discourse and to encoding the possessor when there is no possessive marker, whereas the independent pronoun encodes the subject discourse-initially and also the object. It also fulfils the discourse functions of emphasis and contrast.

The mid-northern transitional dialect of Mawrong, on the other hand, shows an overlap in both pronominal systems. In this dialect the subject clitic, as is the case in the peripheral dialects, always comes after the verb complex in continued discourse whereas the clitic encodes other argument functions, such as object. The limited data which I have for this dialect concerning

the independent pronoun suggests that this behaves like that of the standard dialect and fulfils discourse functions only.

To sum up, the behaviour of the personal pronoun across the Khasi dialects shows no clear-cut demarcation between the dialect groups. This overlapping of behaviour can be presented as follows:



The fact that in the peripheral dialects the clitic generally comes immediately after the verb when it is the subject and after the noun when it is the possessor, certainly points to the possibility that it may be moving towards affixation. The fact that in the standard dialect the clitic occupies the same position as its lexical NP counterpart, whether as subject, possessor or object suggests that the dialect has rigidly systematicized the syntactic positions of its pronouns.

#### 4.5 The historical development of the Khasi independent pronouns

As remarked above, it is clearly the clitics and not the independent pronouns that are cognate in the Khasi dialects. Dixon (1980) states that, in the Australian aboriginal languages which have 'free' and 'bound' variants of the pronoun, it is the latter which are derived, being reduced forms of the former. In Khasi this does not seem to be the case, because the independent pronouns differ more among themselves across the dialects than do the clitics. The situation in Khasi is clearly the other way round: it is the independent pronouns which have been derived from the clitics by means of various prefixes. We suggest that the independent pronoun of the peripheral dialects was originally an object pronoun. Our reasons for thinking this are as follows. Firstly, in most of the regional dialects the independent pronoun is obligatory in the object role. Secondly, all Khasi dialects tend to employ prepositions as case markers to indicate the function of an NP. For example, in Standard Khasi the preposition *ya* usually indicates direct object, *ha* at times indicates indirect object, *da* indicates instrumental object, etc. In Nongtalang the independent pronoun is prefixed by *?ia-*, a form which closely resembles the first of the above prepositions. In Jirang the independent pronoun is prefixed by *ha-*, homophonous with the preposition used for marking the object. An example of the preposition with a lexical NP is:

409. ?u manik pintŋen ?u ha ?u lək ra  
 M Manik comfort M OBJ M friend PART  
 'Manik comforted his friend.'

The following is an example from the same dialect of the occurrence of the independent pronoun *hama* (composed of *ha* plus *ma* ) in the object function:

410. ki-tai      ki khinna? kha?    dɔm    ki    hama  
 Pl-those    Pl child      look    angry   Pl   E-youM  
 'Those children looked angrily at you.'

In 411, however, this pronoun functions as the subject, either with a pronominal clitic after the verb as in 411 or on its own as in 412:

411. hama      ɲat    yarap    ma    ha    rara  
 E-youM    must   help    youM OBJ   self  
 'You must help yourself.'

412. hama      rete?    ʔu    aʔbɔk    bhi    mhen  
 E-youM    PART    M    lucky    very    really  
 'You are really a very lucky one.'

This suggests that the independent pronouns may have started as object pronouns but have later acquired a freer distribution, since they can now function also as the syntactic subject and as the object with such prepositions as *ba* 'with', or without preposition.

This development is not peculiar to Khasi. It has also taken place in certain Indo-European languages, where it is documented in written records. Harris (1978:99-103) outlines the development

of the French independent pronoun from the Latin object pronoun. Let us take the first person singular pronoun by way of example:

Classical Latin

Nom.	ego
Acc.	me
Gen.	mei
Dat.	mihi
Abl.	me

In Vulgar Latin, this paradigm changed considerably. Distinctive forms for the genitive, dative and ablative were normally lost, being replaced by prepositional phrases. The Classical dative *mihi* yielded *mi*, which came to serve not as dative but as a general oblique form rivalling *me* :

Vulgar Latin

Nom.	ego
Obl.	me/mi

In Vulgar Latin, *ego* was not yet normally necessary in a non-emphatic context. Then the two oblique forms developed what Harris terms the 'conjunctive' and 'disjunctive' forms, roughly corresponding respectively to 'bound' and 'free' (or independent) forms. The opposition between the two forms did not survive, so that *mi* was generally, although not invariably, lost in Gallo-Romance. The surviving form *me* developed into *mə* when unstressed and *mei* when stressed, this latter being found in Modern French as *moi* . The stressed form, which was originally



the subject usually encodes information already known from the previous discourse.

This development of the independent pronoun does not, however, seem to be demonstrable for the standard dialect and for Nongkseh. Firstly, the prefix *ma* - in the standard dialect is not formally related to any preposition in this or in any other dialect of Khasi examined here. Secondly, the independent pronoun in the standard dialect never occurs in the object function. As shown in the previous chapters, the independent pronoun in the standard dialect fulfils only discourse functions and has an anaphoric relationship with the subject clitic, whether this latter is overtly present or not. The same is the case in Mawrong, where the prefix *ba* - cannot be derived from any existing preposition and where the independent pronoun does not occur in object function.

The preceding analysis has shown that there are major differences between the central and the peripheral dialects, especially in the gender system and in the functions and distribution of the clitics and independent pronouns. What implications does this have for the question of the historical relationship of the Khasi dialects? Scholars have traditionally argued that the ancestor of Standard Khasi lies in the Amwi group, of which Nongtalang is a member. Bareh expresses this opinion:

"the Amwi dialect of Khasi group is more Mon-Khmer than Khasi [Standard Khasi] in construction. This dialect prevails in the southern Jaintia Hills, and we suggest that it constitutes a proper link between Khasi and Mon-Khmer. Is it not possible to assign a parentage of Khasi to Amwi itself?".

(Bareh 1985:17)

Even if this is so, it does not, however, automatically follow that the pronominal system of the peripheral dialects reflects the older situation in all respects.

Geographically, the two peripheral dialects are situated the farthest apart and at opposite ends of the area under consideration. These dialects share, however, the same basic system both with respect to gender and the personal pronouns. This fact provides strong evidence for the claim that their three-gender system represents the older situation. The argument presented here is that the basic two-gender system of the standard dialect is an innovation, the previously neuter article *?i* having developed into a derivational mechanism replacing either the masculine or the feminine gender for pragmatic purposes. The opposite course of events is ruled out, because speakers of the four regional dialects would, in innovating, be unlikely to independently assign the same lexical items to the neuter gender.

The gender system of the four regional dialects of Khasi certainly appears to be more complex than that of the central dialects. Trudgill (1991), suggests that more isolated dialects have a better chance of sustaining a more complex structure, whereas dialects whose speakers have a much wider social network are

less likely to sustain such a structure. So, where Khasi is concerned, the more complex three-gender system of the peripheral dialects is likely to represent the older situation.

Where the pronominal system is concerned, we shall examine three possibilities: (i) the peripheral dialects represent the older version of the pronominal system; (ii) the standard dialect represents the older version; (iii) neither group represents the older version.

Regarding the pronominal functions and distribution of clitics and independent pronouns, it has already been pointed out that the peripheral dialects differ radically from the standard dialect. The first possibility is that the standard dialect has innovated. The arguments for this are (a) the evidence of dialect geography, where the two peripheral dialects, situated at opposite ends of the districts, share the same system, and (b) the fact that, in the central dialect of Nongkseh whenever a personal pronoun has two variants, these behave in the same way as do the clitic and the independent pronoun respectively in the peripheral dialects. In Nongkseh the weaker variant, although as in the standard dialect it is preverbal, is restricted entirely to subject argument function. The stronger variant, on the other hand, encodes the discourse-initial subject and is obligatory in the object and in the possessive. It would thus have retained the older situation.

The second possibility is that the standard dialect has retained the older state of affairs, since the subject clitic has the same preverbal position as a lexical subject whereas, in the peripheral and the transitional dialects, the subject clitic always comes after the verb complex.

The third possibility is that each individual dialect has developed independently, the clitics of each representing the shared inheritance but cliticization having developed to different degrees and at different rates. If the dialects have developed in parallel fashion but independently of each other, it is the peripheral ones which would have carried the cliticization process furthest.

The separately developed independent pronouns would appear to have taken over the various functions of the pre-clitic pronouns to various degrees, more so in the peripheral dialects and less so in the central dialects, in correlation with the weakening of the pre-clitic pronouns.

The clitic in the peripheral dialect has in fact weakened to such an extent that it can no longer fulfil object function nor can it occur as the subject in context-free clauses. The restricted function of the clitic, as well as its position as the subject clitic after the verb, suggests that in these dialects it is actually moving towards affixation. The standard dialect, on the other hand, appears to have developed a more rigid system where the position and function of pronominal clitics are concerned. It has fixed SVO order, whether the subject is a lexical NP or a clitic. The standard dialect is, therefore, likely to have generalized the pre-verbal context-free position of the clitic.

What is more certain is that it is the standard dialect that has innovated in the gender system and in particular developed the use of the P gender as a derivational mechanism. The usual claim in dialectology is that it is the more prestigious dialect which is likely to influence the non-prestigious dialects. The fact that the P article is used, albeit marginally, among speakers of the

two transitional dialects shows that the influence of the standard dialect is indeed spreading, and it is this dialect which has been associated with prestige over the last two centuries. This is the variety that has been chosen as the medium of instruction in schools and for all literary work; it also constitutes a subject studied at post-graduate level, including a doctoral degree, in the North Eastern Hill University. It is this variety also that is used to conduct administrative and judicial affairs at district level. These factors are sufficient reason why the standard dialect should, at the present time, be influencing the regional dialects.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC SECTION

## CHAPTER V

**Address and Reference: theoretical considerations.**

### **5.0 Introduction**

The chapters in the grammar section have focused on the differences between the dialects with regard to the functions and distribution of the personal pronouns and their related clitics. The main concern of this sociolinguistic section is the use of the second person pronouns for address and of the articles in combination with terms referring to a third party for reference across the dialects as reported by informants.

In their replies to my questionnaire, the informants do not report a uniform use of the second person pronouns nor that this is the only means employed in address. Thus most speakers state that indirect address is used as an alternative to the second person pronoun. For example, some informants of one particular dialect use only the second person singular pronoun when addressing a single person while others claim that they use nominals, such as kin terms, professional titles, etc. in the 'third person construction' as a means of indirect address. These differences in the informants' replies show that a simple grammatical analysis of the pronouns in terms of their component categories of gender, number and person must be supplemented by a sociolinguistic analysis of the speakers' use of these in addressing. In the same way, speakers of different dialects state that various strategies can be used to refer to a third party by employing different articles and terms of reference. It is this variation within and across dialects that is our concern here, that

is to say we will seek to examine on what basis these alternatives to the second person pronouns and the different ways of referring to a third party are chosen by the informants. The analysis of this variation in the different dialects will provide the basis for a cross-dialectal comparison of the use of the second person pronouns and of the articles in chapter VII.

As stated above, the second person pronoun is not the only means of addressing someone, nor is one particular article together with a nominal the only means of referring to a third party. The speaker obviously requires more subtle terms both for addressing and referring, since the second person pronoun does not cover all the variants from which a speaker may choose for address and the article represents only one particular choice for reference. It is felt necessary in our analysis to use cover terms or 'variables', that is, constructs that subsume a set of mutually exclusive alternative expressions having the same cognitive function in addressing a person, or of referring to a third party as do the second person pronoun and the third person pronoun respectively. Crystal (1985:324) states that the concept of 'variable' in sociolinguistics was first introduced by the American linguist William Labov "to refer to the UNITS in a language which are most subject to social or stylistic variation, and thus most susceptible to change in the long term". Hudson (1980:139) defines linguistic variables as "elements which are known in advance to have different realisations" and states that "for each variable, there is a list of its VARIANTS - the alternate forms known to be used". Thus Labov uses the term 'variable' for a linguistic unit whose realization is subject to variation, this being governed by non-linguistic factors such as the social class of the

speaker and the formality of the style. My use here of the term 'variable' differs from that of Labov in that the variables under investigation here are not units of linguistic structure. Rather, a variable as understood here subsumes a range of linguistic expressions, all employed either for addressing a person or for referring to a third party. Two variables will, thus, be set up here. These are the Address variable and the Reference variable and the linguistic expressions that are the realizations of each of these are listed as its variants. The variants of the Address variable and those of the Reference variable are linguistic units which are cognitively equivalent. These variables resemble Labovian variables in the sense that the particular variant that a speaker selects is determined by such non-linguistic factors as age, sex, and social rank, not so much those of the speaker alone but rather of the speaker in relation to those of the addressee relative to those of the speaker in the case of Address; and of the referent relative to those of the speaker and of the addressee in the case of Reference.

The objective in chapter VI will be to describe Address and Reference in each of the six dialects of Khasi individually, examining the use of each variant in correlation with the non-linguistic factors mentioned above.

The basic variants of the Address variable in Khasi are the second person singular and the second person plural pronouns and those of the Reference variable are the singular, the P and the plural articles used in conjunction with kin terms, professional titles and first names. Since sociolinguists, notably Labov, have shown that variation with regard to a linguistic variable is a possible indicator of linguistic change, it is hoped that the

variation patterns studied here will give an indication of the pattern of linguistic change across the dialects.

Although there is a vast literature on address, much less work has been done on reference. One of the aims of the present study is to examine whether the variants of the Reference variable are determined by the same social factors and in the same way as those of the Address variable.

### 5.1 The Address variable

The following is the total cross-dialectal inventory of the variants of the Address variable:

- (1) second person singular pronoun
- (2) second person plural pronoun
- (3) singular article plus kin term
- (4) singular article plus professional title
- (5) singular article plus first name
- (6) P article plus kin term
- (7) P article plus professional title
- (8) P article plus first name
- (9) plural article plus professional title
- (10) singular demonstrative
- (11) P demonstrative
- (12) plural demonstrative
- (13) omission of the second person pronoun
- (14) reversal of gender, (the use of the 'wrong' gender).

Of the above, the two second person pronouns are the basic variants. Speakers of the peripheral dialects use fewer of the variants while speakers of the central dialects report the use of a wider range.

### 5.1.1 The second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable

In all the dialects of Khasi the basic variants of Address are the second person singular pronoun and the second person plural pronoun. As mentioned above, the issues raised here are the strategies that a speaker chooses in addressing a particular addressee, and the social conditions under which such strategies are employed. It is a well documented observation that one of the most common means of achieving polite address is variation of number, that is the use of the second person plural pronoun to address a single addressee. Brown and Gilman (1960 [1972]) examine variation of number in the second person pronoun in many languages, but with particular reference to the situation in the European languages, especially French, German and Italian. Their work also includes a discussion of the historical development of the use of the second person plural pronoun as the honorific pronoun in Latin and its descendants. They observe that:

"In the Latin of antiquity there was only *tu* in the singular. The plural *vos* as a form of address to one person was first directed to the emperor ..... in the fourth century. .... The reverential *vos* could have been directly inspired by the power of the emperor.

Eventually the Latin plural was extended from the emperor to other power figures".

(Brown and Gilman 1972:254)

Nonetheless, according to Brown and Gilman, the convention of using the second person plural pronoun to address power

figures became unequivocally established only during the period between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries, when these new patterns became set and crystallized into the "non-reciprocal power semantics" in French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese. Subsequently, the choice between *tu* or *vos* became more widespread in society. Brown and Gilman designate the 'singular' pronoun by the generic term T and the 'plural' pronoun by the generic term V, defining V as the power pronoun that encodes deference to the addressee. The non-reciprocal use of T and V shows an asymmetrical relationship between the participants in a social dyad. They further claim that there are many bases for power, namely physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the army or within the family, and that since the non-reciprocal use of the power pronoun prescribes usage between a superior and an inferior, this reflects a social structure in which there are specified unique ranks for every individual.<sup>26</sup> Brown and Gilman also claim that this situation of an asymmetrical relationship and of the non-reciprocal use of pronouns pervaded the whole social system. They state that, in Medieval European society the non-reciprocal use of the pronouns became part of the social norm which set off the class of people giving T and receiving V from those giving V and receiving T, and that the system has developed into one in which T does not necessarily encode inferiority on the part of the addressee but rather indicates intimacy, closeness and/or friendship between the speaker and the addressee. They call this "the T of solidarity".

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<sup>26</sup> Brown and Gilman (1972:255) provide examples from the ecclesiastical hierarchy such as the Pope and his subordinates, the nobility and the common people in Medieval Europe, etc.

In tracing the historical development of French *tu* and *vous* from their Latin predecessors, Malley (1974:20-21) divides the development into a series of stages. I: Classical and Spoken Latin, in which *tu* and *vos* encoded second person singular and second person plural respectively; II: third to fifth centuries, the era of multiple rulers when only the emperor was addressed by the plural *vos* ; IIIA: sixth to ninth centuries, when *vos* was used to address other power figures besides the emperor; IVA: tenth to fourteenth centuries, when French *vous* was used to address (1) those who were honoured and respected, and (2) equals among higher classes for reasons of mutual respect and admiration, while *tu* was used (1) to address equals of close relationship among the higher classes, and (2) exclusively between all members of the lower classes. Malley also states that in stages IIIB and IVB, sixth to fourteenth centuries, a mixture of *tu* and *vous* was prevalent in all classes, the choice of either pronoun being based on the occasion, the social class of the participants involved, the emotional attitudes and/or feeling of superiority of the speaker over the person he was addressing. She also claims that "the sign of advanced democratic opinion in 1793, after the French Revolution, "was the *tutoiement* ", although this "did not succeed in suppressing the *vouvoiement* ". With regard to contemporary French, she is of the opinion that "where two pronouns of direct address are available, the form which one person chooses to address another reveals the social relationship between them".

Other European languages have adopted different strategies to develop an honorific pronoun of address. Italian has largely replaced the second person plural *voi* with the third person singular *lei*, this latter deriving historically from a construction

involving such terms as *la Vostra Signoria*, as in 'Does Her Ladyship want ...?'. In Spanish the address *vuestra merced*, 'your Grace', became the reverential pronoun *usted*.

In German the second person singular pronoun *du* was the pronoun of address even to the king in Old High German (Augst 1977, cited by Kempf 1985), but from the end of the sixteenth century the system was expanded by inclusion of the second person plural pronoun *ihr* as a pronoun of address. The third person *er*, which initially only occurred when it followed address terms like *mein herr* 'Sir', was also used as a pronoun of address. The third person plural *Sie*, initially followed by address terms like *Euer Gnaden* 'Your(plural) Grace' (equivalent to Spanish *vuestra merced*), was specifically used for ruling princes. In the eighteenth century, there were thus four pronouns of address: *du*, *Ihr*, *er* or *sie* (feminine) and *Sie* (plural). In the nineteenth century *Sie* was generalized as the polite pronoun of address. Kempf claims that more recently the tendency has been to use *du* in more and more situations.<sup>27</sup>

Even though differences of historical derivation exist between these European languages, the current usage in all of them is very similar in that in each language there are two variants of the pronoun of address, one corresponding to Brown and Gilman's T and the other to their V. Nevertheless, the polite pronoun may later become neutralized into a general pronoun of address with little or no pragmatic implications. This process is very clearly illustrated by Standard English where the second person plural was used as the honorific pronoun of address in the

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<sup>27</sup> See Augst (1977) for details.

thirteenth century, but in the seventeenth century the use of the second person singular pronoun 'thou' and of the second person plural pronoun 'you', as the non-honorific and honorific pronoun respectively to address a single person became the subject of social controversy. The Society of Friends (Quakers) objected to this differentiation between human beings and insisted on keeping 'thou' as the only second person pronoun when addressing a single person as a means of encoding equality.<sup>28</sup> Jespersen (1952:223) says that the "democratic levelling" that the Quakers wanted was achieved a century and a half later in society at large, although in a roundabout manner, when the pronoun 'you' was gradually extended to the lower classes and thus lost more and more of its previous character of deference. Before the neutralization of 'you' as the general pronoun of address, the use of the T or V in English was, according to Brown and Gilman, more often shifted to express mood and tone than were the pronouns of the continental languages. It is when the norm is broken that a pragmatic effect of contempt and anger can be expressed, as in Sir Edward Coke's attack on Raleigh "... for I thou thee, thou traitor".<sup>29</sup> It was not the norm for the Attorney General (Sir Edward Coke) to use the pronoun 'thou' to Raleigh, and the fact that he violated the norm gave the form of address the pragmatic effect that was intended. Another example provided by Brown and Gilman (1972:279) is the use of 'you' by Tamburlaine to his captive, King Bajazeth, the Turkish emperor in Marlowe's play, where

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<sup>28</sup> According to Brown and Gilman (1972:267) prior to the Norman Conquest 'ye' was the second person plural pronoun and 'thou' the second person singular pronoun; they date the first uses of 'ye' as a reverential pronoun to the thirteenth century.

<sup>29</sup> This is quoted from D. Jardine (1832-5) as cited in Brown and Gilman (1972:278).

Tamburlaine's "intention is to mock the captive king with respectful address, implying a power that the king has lost". In present day usage, however, there is no difference in the form of the pronoun to show whether one is addressing one or more addressees. In modern Standard English the previously plural second person pronoun 'you' is the only pronoun of address no matter who or how many addressees there are.

Brown and Levinson (1987) point to the fact that the act of showing deference can be achieved either by the speaker humbling himself or by his raising the addressee or by both. Khasi does not adopt the first deference strategy, and it is therefore the latter, involving the use of honorific pronouns of address, that is the focus of the present analysis. Their discussion on the second person pronouns T/V in terms of positive or negative politeness strategy is of particular relevance to Khasi. They see positive politeness as being "approach-based", in which the speaker 'annoints' the face of the addressee and indicates to the addressee that the latter is being treated as "a member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked ... with ... expectations of reciprocity". They define negative politeness on the other hand, as being "avoidance-based" because the speaker tries to minimise his interference with the addressee's freedom of action and hence this strategy "is characterized by self-effacement, formality and restraint".

For Brown and Gilman only the 'power' pronoun V is a means of expressing politeness in the sense of respect and deference while the 'solidarity' pronoun T is used to express familiarity and intimacy. Brown and Levinson, on the other hand, view politeness strategies from a different perspective. They

argue that both T and V can express politeness, T being usually used to express positive politeness and V negative politeness. These two strategies are tied in to the notion of 'face', which they define as "something that is emotionally invested, that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction". Their view is that participants in a speech situation will always attempt not to threaten each other's face. In other words, the speaker will take steps in choosing a form of address to ensure that he does not violate or threaten the addressee's face.

Obviously, if he is to minimise the risk of threatening the other's face, a speaker must be able to establish his relationship with the addressee in order to choose the pronoun of address. According to Brown and Levinson, this relationship is usually determined by the following sociological factors:

(i) the social distance (D) between the speaker and the addressee in a symmetric relation;

(ii) the relative power (P) of the speaker and of the addressee in an asymmetric relation;

(iii) the absolute ranking (R) of impositions according to the context and also of the particular culture of the participants.

D is a symmetric social dimension reflecting the distance or closeness in the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. This is usually based on an assessment of the frequency of interaction. Distance is usually associated with negative politeness, while closeness or intimacy is associated with positive politeness.

P is an asymmetric social dimension of relative power which shows the rank and status of the addressee in relation to that of the speaker.

R is a culturally and situationally defined ranking of impositions whereby one act is considered a weightier imposition than another.

The authors do point out, however, that these interpretations of the sociological variables are not without problems, because:

(1) the P factor is assumed to be attached not so much to individuals but to roles or role sets but high P values tend to carry over from one role into another.

(2) the D factor can also be gauged only relatively; thus, for instance, two American strangers in a US city are assigned high D values, but if they meet while travelling in a foreign land the even stranger natives displace them towards each other on the dimension of social distance.

(3) the R factor also depends a great deal on the culture of the participants. Thus in some cultures it is considered to be more of an imposition when requiring services than when requiring goods. Even within a single culture, context plays a crucial part in the ranking of impositions. In Western cultures, for example, asking for change outside a telephone booth is considered less of an imposition than begging in the the street, although both acts involve requesting money.

They argue, nevertheless, that these sociological factors are the bases upon which social relationships can be established and which therefore determine the speaker's choice of either T or V when addressing a particular addressee.

### 5.1.2 The diachronic perspective

On the question of what motivates languages to adopt the plural pronoun as an honorific singular pronoun, Brown and Levinson (1987:23) are of the opinion that there must be strategically motivated sources for these number switches for the purpose of showing deference. The fact that the plural is associated with politeness, respect and deference in many languages around the globe, they claim, cannot be accidental. Brown and Gilman (1972:254) express the view that "the usage need not have been mediated by a prosaic association with actual plurality, for plurality is a very old and ubiquitous metaphor for power". Brown and Levinson, on the other hand, see the relevance of the concept of plurality rather in relation to deference, respect and politeness, and support this by showing that in Tamil there are at present three pronouns of address: the second person singular pronoun, the archaic second person plural pronoun (which has become the respectful singular pronoun of address although it is rarely used today), and a new second person plural pronoun. At an earlier stage of Tamil, the archaic plural pronoun was at the same time the polite pronoun and the plural pronoun in the second person. In Modern Tamil, the newly emerged plural pronoun is also a new polite pronoun when used to address a single addressee. Brown and Levinson claim that what this illustrates is that it is not for lack of an honorific form that the plural becomes used as a singular polite pronoun, it is the plurality itself that is the 'honorific feature'. Furthermore, the pressure to use a plural pronoun as an honorific singular does not stop at the second person. Brown and Levinson show that, even in

the third person, the plural pronoun is used as an honorific singular.

The fact that many languages with different social systems adopt variation of number, particularly in the second person, as a means of expressing deference/politeness thus gives credence to the above expressed view that it is plurality that attributes the honorific quality to a second person plural pronoun when used to address a single person.<sup>30</sup> However, it must also be remembered that different languages do not quite work out in the same way. Our discussion on the development of the polite pronoun in the second person has certainly shown that it is the plural pronoun that has widely been chosen as the polite pronoun. The European languages seen above show that contrasting pronouns of address, T and V, may be replaced by a single pronoun of address, as in English. Those with contrasting functions of T and V may still have V as a plural as well as a polite pronoun, as in French.

It is one of the objectives of this study to examine the way in which the pronoun of address has developed, or is in the process of developing, in Khasi, that is whether it is moving toward a one-pronoun address system, as exemplified by English or whether it is going to retain the contrastive function of the second person 'singular' and the second person 'plural' pronouns to address a single person. The reports by the informants on their use of the pronouns of address in each dialect should clarify this point. It would seem that Standard Khasi has developed in a way very similar to that of Tamil, where the 'new' second person

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<sup>30</sup> Head (1978:156-158) lists a wide range of languages representing genetic and geographical differences that adopt variation of number in the second person as a means of encoding respect and politeness.

plural pronoun has come to be used as a polite pronoun. The diachronic source and development of polite pronouns will be examined in detail later, when a comparison will be made of the use of the second person pronouns in the different dialects.

The present investigation is not, however, restricted to the second person pronoun because, as stated at the outset of this section, other variants such as 'third person' constructions, omission of pronoun and reversal of gender also constitute part of the variation. These less common strategies will not be discussed in detail. The two pronouns of the second person are, nonetheless, the two main variants of the Address variable.

### **5.1.3 Other variants of the Address variable**

Brown and Levinson (1987:200) remark that "not only number but also person can be switched, and within these person switches plurality still conveys respect". Strictly speaking, there is no person switch in Khasi because nowhere is the third person pronoun is used by itself as a pronoun of address. However, as mentioned above, the use of what are termed 'third person constructions' involving certain nominals as forms of indirect address does constitute a variant, albeit a marginal one, of the Address variable in Khasi.

Brown and Ford (1964) are of the opinion that, in certain varieties of present day English, the use of first name (FN) on the one hand and of title plus last name (TLN) on the other correspond, to a certain extent, to the use of T and V. Broadly speaking, a non-reciprocal use of FN and TLN will usually indicate an asymmetrical relationship between the speaker and the addressee in the same way as does a non-reciprocal use of T and

V. A reciprocal use of FN on the other hand usually indicates intimacy/solidarity in the same way as does . a reciprocal use of T, whereas a reciprocal use of TLN indicates distance just as a reciprocal use of V between participants does in a social dyad. However, this observation on the equation of FN with T and of TLN with V is not without problems. In German, for instance, an addressee who in English would be addressed by FN is not automatically addressed by T. There are other factors that have to be taken into consideration in German before the use of T to an addressee is felt appropriate. FN is usually the norm between colleagues in English, but that does not necessarily indicate the intimacy of relationship that is so important in choosing T as a pronoun of address in German.<sup>31</sup> This is also the case in Standard Khasi, where an addressee addressed by FN cannot automatically also be addressed by T.

There is also a difference in the way in which the term 'address' is used by Brown and Ford (1964) and by Ervin-Tripp (1972) from the way in which it is used in the present study. In these two works, the second person pronoun occurs with nominals, such as professional title plus last name (TLN), etc., whereas in Khasi nominals such as FN, etc., in a third person construction in fact replace the second person pronoun. Zwicky (1974:787) distinguishes 'referential' NPs from 'vocative' NPs which he states do not serve as an argument of a verb as in:

416. Jacque, your grammar leaks'.

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<sup>31</sup> This is a point raised by Professor Th. Bynon regarding the problem of equating FN with T and TLN with V in German. She is of the opinion that the use of T in German usually requires a formal invitation from the addressee in order for the speaker to do so.

The use by Brown and Ford, and Ervin-Tripp of TLN, FN as a 'vocative' is thus quite different from the way in which these nominals are used here as a variant of the Address variable in Standard Khasi. Here the term 'vocative' refers to that nominal (kin term, title, first name) which co-occurs with the second person pronoun while the variant of the Address variable which we term a 'third person construction' replaces the second person pronoun. The use of a professional title as a variant of the Address variable is illustrated in the following sentence:

417. ?i dɔktɔr ?im lɛic tɾei ?  
 P doctor P+NEG go work  
 'Aren't you going to work, Doctor?'.  
 (Literally: 'Isn't Doctor going to work?')

Pragmatically, although "Doctor" in the above sentence is the addressee and the utterance is addressed to him, the address is indirect without there being a second person pronoun. A kin term is more commonly used in the the third person as a variant of the Address variable:

418. ?i kɔŋ ?in di? ša ?  
 P sister P+FUT drink tea  
 'Would you like some tea, Sister?'.  
 (Literally: 'Would Sister have tea?')

This is quite different from Zwicky's 'vocatives', in which a professional title or a kin term co-occur with the second person pronoun, as in:

419. doktor, phim leic trei ?  
 Doctor you+NEG go work  
 'Doctor, aren't you going to work?'

420. koŋ, phin di? ša ?  
 sister you+FUT drink tea  
 'Sister, will you have some tea ?'

Both types, 417 & 418 and 419 & 420 are possible in Standard Khasi as variants of the Address variable.

The total cross-dialectal inventory of these marginal variants of the Address variable is as follows:

Article + kin term:

- (a) Sg + kin term (singular article plus kin term)
- (b) P + kin term (P article plus kin term)

Article + professional title (henceforth PT):

- (a) Sg + PT (singular article plus professional title)
- (b) Pl + PT (plural article plus professional title)
- (c) P + PT (P article plus professional title)

Article + first name (henceforth FN):

- (a) Sg + FN (singular article plus first name)
- (b) P + FN (P article plus first name)

Besides these nominals, the speaker may also choose to use a demonstrative as a form of indirect address. The only

demonstrative that may be chosen for this purpose is the one indicating proximity. Its three variants correspond to those of the articles.

Demonstrative:

- (a) SDem (Singular demonstrative)
- (b) PDem (P demonstrative)
- (c) Pl Demonstrative (Plural demonstrative)

The variants reviewed so far are predictable, that is to say they are to be expected in the appropriate situations. There are, however, variants of the Address variable which are not used under normal circumstances. These are reversal of gender and omission of the second person pronoun. These variants constitute a direct violation of the norm and represent a strategy used to achieve an immediate pragmatic effect. Jain (1973:40-7) speaks of 'pronominal harmony' and 'pronominal switching' to differentiate between a speaker's consistent, acceptable, and usually predictable, choice of a pronoun of address and his choice of a 'wrong' pronoun for a specific purpose. He is of the opinion that a speaker 'switches' pronouns "to verbalize a momentary emotion - anger, love, sarcasm etc.", and that "by nature all switchings are temporary". In Khasi, gender reversal is found to be a case of pronominal switching because the choice of the 'wrong' gender has pragmatic implications. Male informants state that they may choose the second person singular feminine pronoun to address a male and by doing this achieve the desired effect of belittling and insulting him. Omission of the pronoun of address is another

switching strategy that reflects the speaker's mood of the moment, usually one of anger or annoyance at the addressee.

## 5.2 The Reference variable

There is less literature on personal reference than on address, and the works that are considered here are those of Brown and Levinson (1987) and of Murphy (1988). As mentioned above, Brown and Levinson show that the pressures underlying the use of plural pronouns as honorifics do not stop at second person, and they provide Tamil examples in which the third person plural is used to refer to a single third person out of respect. Thus, just as 'you' (plural) expresses respect towards the addressee, in Tamil 'they, their' express respect towards the referent, as the following example shows:

Tamil example:

421. *motal mantiri avanka mantirikal ooTa pooraanka.*

'The prime minister *they* go accompanied by  
ministers'

(Brown and Levinson 1987:200)

In Khasi the Reference variable does not involve the use of a third person pronoun, but is rather the selection of the appropriate article and of an appropriate nominal to refer to a third party. Speakers, nevertheless, have a choice of one or more variants of Reference as a means of expressing polite reference. The major problem of analyzing the use of the variants of Reference in Khasi stems from the fact that, unlike Address where the participants involved in the speech situation are always

physically present, the third party referred to in Reference may or may not be present in the speech situation. This problem is compounded by the fact that the speaker must take into consideration not only the relationship between him or herself and the referent, but also his or her relationship with the addressee, as well as the relationship between the addressee and the referent. If the referent is not present in the speech situation, then the relationship between the speaker and the addressee may be more important than the relationship between the speaker and the referent. The social setting of the speech situation may also be of significance in the choice of a variant of Reference, such as that of a public speech, an informal social meeting, etc. Most of the work on reference has been concentrated on the use of 'call-names' in address, as in Brown and Ford or has only formed part of the discussion of address forms as in Ervin-Tripp.

The discussion of Reference has usually been restricted to "definite reference". Clark and Marshall examine an aspect of definite reference where knowledge about what or who is referred to is not only shared but mutual if the speaker and hearer are to communicate without any mismatch as to the 'content' referred to. A speaker always chooses a term of reference deliberately and with care and "for felicitous reference the speaker and listener must establish certain kinds of mutual knowledge" (1981:26). However, the issue here does not only concern definite reference in communication, but also the pragmatic implications of the choice of a particular means of referring to a third party. Murphy (1988) makes a distinction between personal reference and object reference in that the former always involves social relations. These are: (a) personal

connection (e.g., Aunt Jane versus the district nurse), (b) attitude (e.g., Mrs Smith versus the idiot). Murphy also says that it is in fact relatively difficult to find a term of reference that is neutral, because whichever variant is chosen will inevitably indicate something of the relationship between the speaker and the referent.

In personal reference, as in all types of definite reference, the speaker and the addressee must share a certain amount of knowledge in order to be able to identify the person referred to. The speaker will assume the knowledge he shares with the addressee in choosing a variant to refer to the third party. Murphy's work seems to be the most comprehensive one on 'personal reference'. He comments that a theory of personal reference must borrow from the work on address such social variables as intimacy and status and borrows from work on reference not only the ability to pick up the referent but also take account of "the importance of the interactive relation of the speaker, addressee and the third person simultaneously". Work on reference thus operates with a three-pronged relationship, where "it is not enough for the speaker (S) to know about the addressee (A) and the referent (R) separately but rather what S had to know was what A knew about R and what A believed S knew about R and so forth" (1988:320).

He proposes two competing hypotheses regarding how terms of reference are chosen. The first of these claims that its social determinants are essentially those that determine address. This hypothesis is based on Zwicky's observations:

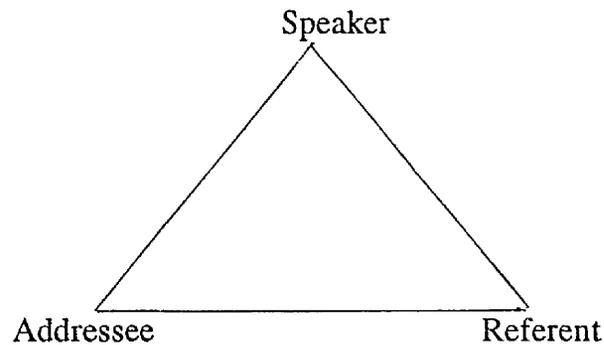
" ... in general, the conditions on the use of an NP as a vocative [i.e., an address] to someone are the same as the conditions on its use to refer to someone; if it is appropriate to speak to someone as Grandma Myshkin ... then it is appropriate to speak of the same person as Grandma Myshkin ... other things being equal".

(Zwicky 1974:788-9)

Zwicky himself, however, points out numerous counter-examples to this "null hypothesis" and states that he does not intend it to be taken as a total account on personal reference. Nevertheless, for the sake of argument, this hypothesis will be taken here as a basis for the study of the deciding factors in the choice of a variant in third person reference. That is, just as in address it is the speaker-addressee relationship, it would have to be the speaker-referent relationship that determines the speaker's choice of a variant. Murphy (1988:321) observes that this hypothesis requires no further mechanism to explain personal reference other than those already being invoked to explain address (namely, the intimacy and the relative status of speaker and referent). This hypothesis, as Murphy points out, has its drawbacks, which will be discussed in detail later. The point is that both the addressee-referent relationship and the speaker-addressee relationship may be just as important as the speaker-referent relationship in determining the choice of a variant of Reference.

The second hypothesis that Murphy considers is based on the Face-Threatening Acts Theory developed by Brown and Levinson and mentioned above, namely that it is to everyone's advantage to preserve face. This theory is very relevant in

personal reference, where the speaker has to consider and not to threaten either the addressee's or the referent's face. The speaker-addressee-referent relationship may thus be represented as follows:



The speaker not only considers his own relationship with the referent, but he also takes steps to ensure that he does not violate the addressee's beliefs regarding the speaker-referent relationship so that the term of reference that he chooses reflects his relationship with the referent but does not offend the addressee's conception of what the speaker's relation with the referent should be. Murphy's own experiments (1988:331) at Brown University showed that students who are on first name terms with a Professor Jim Smith claimed that they would switch over to TLN (title plus last name, Professor Smith) in speaking about the referent if the addressee is a "stodgy" conservative professor. This is done so as not to threaten the addressee's face, which they believe they would if they used FN to refer to the referent.

The first hypothesis based on Zwicky's statement suggests that personal reference is largely determined by the speaker-referent relationship. The second hypothesis based on Face-

Threatening Acts Theory argues that the speaker will seek to respect the addressee's relationship with the referent and will not choose a term that will offend the addressee.

In the analysis of Reference in Khasi, the problem that has to be resolved is not only the one of knowing what term (FN, TLN/TN, kin term, etc.) should be used to refer to a particular referent but also which article together with which nominal should be chosen as a variant of the Reference variable. The analysis will also include the informants' reported switching from one variant to another depending on the addressee's relationship with the referent.

### **5.2.1 The variants of the Reference variable**

The following is a total inventory across the dialect spectrum of the variants of Reference:

- (1) plural article plus kin term
- (2) P article plus kin term
- (3) singular article plus kin term
- (4) plural article plus Professional title
- (5) P article plus Professional title
- (6) singular article plus Professional title
- (7) P article plus first name
- (8) singular article plus first name

The speaker's choice of article and nominal as a polite variant of Reference will be important in the comparison of this across the dialects.

It will be recalled that the article systems are not congruent across the dialects, the peripheral dialects having only two articles that can be used for personal reference (the singular article, M and F, and the plural article), the transitional dialects showing a marginal use of the P article besides the two that can be used for personal reference and the central dialects making use of the singular articles, M and F, the P article and the plural article. Among speakers in both the peripheral and the transitional dialects, the plural article encodes politeness and deference when used to refer to or address a single person, whereas speakers of the central dialects state that it is the P article which is used to express politeness in referring to a third party. Therefore the use of nominals such as superior status kin terms, titles etc., must be matched with an appropriate article if they are to achieve a pragmatic effect of polite reference. The polite variants of Reference are also the polite variants of Address in the dialects. For example, in the standard dialect, P+KT (P article plus kin term) is a polite variant of Reference which a speaker chooses to refer to a respected third person, as in:

422. ʔi ba?      i   dɔn   ha   yeŋ  
           P   brother   P   be   at   home  
           ' Is Brother at home ?'.

The underlined nominal in the above is a variant of Reference that a speaker chooses and the addressee is someone other than the referent. The following sentence has the same construction as the above but here the kin term applies to the person addressed to:

423. ʔi ba? in di? no? da ka ša ?  
 P brother P+FUT drink now by F tea  
 'Brother, would you like some tea?'  
 or' Would Brother like some tea?'

The underlined nominal in sentence 422 is a polite variant of Reference, while the underlined nominal in sentence 423 could either be a polite variant of Address or of Reference.

The focus of this sociolinguistic section is the analysis of the informants' reported use of the variants of the two variables, Address and Reference, in correlation with the social variables described above. In discussing the informants' reports, the variants reportedly used 'in harmony' will be discussed before those reportedly used mainly for 'switching'. My purpose will be firstly, to describe the variants and all their implications as reported by informants within each dialect. Each informant's report on the use of the variants will be assessed. To whom does one use a particular variant? Would his choice be influenced by any of the social factors listed above, and if so by which? Secondly, the differences that are highlighted between the dialects with regard to pronominal usage will also be analyzed in order to allow us to examine the changes and the direction of change that are taking place across the dialects. My objective, therefore, is to examine the address and reference strategies across the dialects just as it was in the previous section to examine the structural differences of the personal pronouns and their related clitics.

## Chapter VI

**A sociolinguistic analysis of Address and Reference in the dialects.**

### **6.0 Introduction**

The discussion on the theoretical considerations concerning Address and Reference has shown that there are many variants which a speaker may choose to employ. The purpose in this chapter is to analyse the informants' reports in each dialect on the way they choose to employ these variants. As stated in the preceding chapter, the main variants of Address are the two second person pronouns - the second person singular pronoun and the second person plural pronoun. Besides these two main variants, the speakers' use of the other variants of Address will be analysed. Informants' reports on their use of the variants of Reference will also be analysed.

### **6.1 NONGTALANG DIALECT**

There are six informants for this dialect - four female and two male.

NT1, female, aged 48, in government service, educated.

NT2, female, aged 35, in government service, educated.

NT3, female, aged 32, in government service, educated.

NT4, male, aged 14, schoolboy.

NT5, female, aged 23, college student.

NT6, male, aged 25, college student.

### 6.1.1 Variants of the Address variable

Table 6.1(1) shows the informants' use of the second person pronouns as variants of Address in addressing a single person, kin or non-kin.

**Table 6.1(1) Second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable**

Consanguineal kin addressees:

	NT1	NT2	NT3	NT4	NT5	NT6
1. Grandfather	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
2. Grandmother	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
3. Father	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
4. Mother	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
5. Older brother	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
6. Older sister	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
7. Younger brother	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
8. Younger sister	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
9. Spouse	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
10. Adult son	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
11. Adult daughter	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
12. Young son	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
13. Young son	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
14. Adult nephew	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
15. Adult niece	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
16. Young nephew	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
17. Young niece	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg

Affinal kin addressees:

(Keys: O=older, Y=younger ).

18.Father in law	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
19.Mother in law	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
20.O brother in law	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
21.O sister in law	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
22.Y brother in law	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
23.Y sister in law	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
24.Son in law	SGg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
25.Daughter in law	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg

Non-kin addressees:

(Keys: M=male, F=female, O=old, Y=young, C=close, D=distant, govt. minister=government minister at the state level, D.C=district commissioner).

26.Neighbour(O,M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
27.Neighbour(O,F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
28.Neighbour(Y, M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
29.Neighbour(Y,F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
30.Close friend(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
31.Close friend(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
childhood friend						
32.When young(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
33.When young(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
34.When adult(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
35.When adult(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
36.Schoolteacher(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
37.Schoolteacher(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
38.Colleague(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg

39. Colleague(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
40. Work subordinate(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
41. Work subordinate(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
42. Worker(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
43. Worker(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
44. Child(12-16M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
45. Child(12-16F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
46. Child(below12M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
47. Child(below12F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
48. Stranger(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl
49. Stranger(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl
50. Doctor(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
51. Doctor(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
52. Headman	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
53. Pastor/priest	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
54. Representative(O,D)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
55. Representative(O,C)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
56. Representative(Y,D)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
57. Representative(Y,C)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
58. Official	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
59. chief	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
60. govt. minister(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
61. govt. minister(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
62. D.C.(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
63. D.C (F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
64. Employer(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
65. Employer(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl

The informants' reported use of the second person pronouns appears in general to reflect the categorial information described in the grammar section, that is, the second person singular masculine to a single male addressee, the second person singular feminine to a single female addressee, and the second person plural to two or more addressees. The clearest pattern that emerges from the informants' reports is that speakers use the second person singular pronoun to address all kin members whether consanguineal or affinal, whether young or old. Table 6.1(1) shows that two of the informants state that they use the second person plural pronoun to a non-kin addressee who is a respected member of the society, such as the doctor, headman, chief, government minister, district commissioner, employer (including superior at work) or local representative. One of them claims that he uses the second person plural pronoun to address his former teachers and also to strangers. Age and sex do not seem to be factors influencing the choice of either of the pronouns. The most important sociological factor determining variation of number here is social rank, since only non-kin respected members of the community are addressed by the second person plural pronoun.

Nevertheless, there appear to be exceptions to some informants' reported use of the second person pronouns as variants of Address. NT2 states that she uses only the second person singular to a single addressee and the second person plural to two or more addressees as seen in Table 6.1(1) above. But in response to question number 2-1 of the questionnaire, she states that she uses the second person plural pronoun to a single addressee in asking how many children he has. However, the

informant does not specify whether the question is directed at the addressee and his wife (that is, how many children does the couple have) or if the question is directed at the addressee alone. NT5, on the other hand, claims that she uses the second person plural to address her social superiors such as the priest, the doctor, government ministers, district commissioner, whether these addressees are male or female as seen in Table 6.1(1) above. She, however, contradicts herself in the first two items above because in a latter section of the questionnaire, question number 6(i,a) she uses the second person singular pronoun *?m* and not the plural *hi* to address a doctor and a priest in the following sentences:

352. dɔktɔr, cu lia krom ?m kin ?

Doctor will go work youM PART

'Doctor, are you going to work ?'.

353. pha?dār , cu de? ča-m ?

Father will drink tea-youM

'Father, will you have some tea ?'.

The actual sentence construction perhaps constitutes a more natural response than filling in a pronoun of address in a column asked for in a questionnaire so that the sentences better reflect what this informant would be perhaps more likely to use in an everyday conversation.

NT6 claims that he uses the second person plural in a much more extensive and consistent way to a non-kin addressee who is (a) his superior in the community (e.g., pastor, doctor, headman, representative in the state assembly etc.) (b) a person with whom

he does not share a close relationship, (e.g., strangers, male or female).

Other variants of the Address variable: All informants show a distinct preference for the second person singular pronoun to other variants of Address. However, they do claim to use alternative variants to the second person pronoun, such as those shown in Table 6.1(2) below.

**Table 6.1(2) Other variants of the Address variable**

(Keys: Pl+PT = plural article plus professional title, Sg+PT = singular article plus professional title, Sg+KT = singular article plus kin term, SDem = Singular demonstrative, Sg+FN = singular article plus first name, omis = omission of pronoun, reverse = reversal of gender, 1 = informant states the use of the variant, - = informant does not state the use of the variant)

	Pl+PT	Sg+PT	Sg+KT	SDem	Sg+FN	omis	reverse
NT1	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
NT2	1	-	1	1	1	1	-
NT3	-	-	-	1	1	1	-
NT4	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
NT5	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
NT6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<hr/>							
Total	2	1	4	5	6	6	1
<hr/>							

Only two informants state that they use the plural article plus professional title as a form of address. NT2 claims that she would use the plural article *ki* with the term *šʔεm* to address the chief in a village assembly, but in ordinary conversation she would address him by the second person singular masculine pronoun *?iam*. NT6 states that he would use the plural article and the appropriate term *ki šʔεm* as a respectful form of address to the chief in a formal setting; NT6 is the only informant who states that he would use the singular article plus professional title to the chief as a neutral form of indirect address.

Four of the informants, NT1, NT2, NT4 and NT6, state that they use the singular article plus kin term to address superiors though they are all of the opinion that it has no pragmatic significance such as being more polite or respectful than that expressed by the second person singular pronoun.

All informants with the exception of NT5 claim that they use the singular demonstrative to address contemporaries with a close relationship, such as friends, and to younger addressees. One informant, NT2, does not specify to whom she would and would not use this form of address. All informants claim the use of the singular article plus first name to address contemporaries, such as friends, and to subordinates such as younger siblings, or juniors at work.

Omission of the second person pronoun as a variant of address is also reportedly used by most informants. NT2, NT5 and NT6 state that they would use this variant to express displeasure, annoyance or anger at the addressee. NT3 is of the opinion that this pronominal strategy achieves the desired effect of expressing anger only when used to superiors such as parents, equals such as



9.Spouse	s+kt	-	-	-	s+kt	s+kt
10. Adult son	s+fn	-	-	-	-	-
11. Adult daughter	s+fn	-	-	-	-	-
12.Young son	s+fn	-	-	-	s+fn	s+fn
13.Young daughter	s+fn	-	-	-	s+fn	s+fn
14. Adult nephew	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
15. Adult niece	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
16.Young nephew	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
17.Young niece	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn

Affinal kin referents:

(Keys : O=older, Y=younger)

18. Father in law	s+kt	-	-	-	s+kt	s+kt
19.Mother in law	s+kt	-	-	-	s+kt	s+kt
20.O brother in law	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
21.O sister in law	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
22.Y brother in law	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
23.Y sister in law	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
24.Son in law	s+kt	-	-	-	-	-
25.Daughter in law	s+kt	-	-	-	-	-

Non-kin referents:

(Keys M=male, F=female, O=old, Y=young, C=close, D=distant,  
govt. minister= government minister at the state level,  
D.C.=district commissioner).

26.Neighbour(O,M)	s+fn	s+kt	s+fn	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
27.Neighbour(O,F)	s+fn	s+kt	s+fn	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
28.Neighbour(Y,M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
29.Neighbour(Y,F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn

30.Close friend(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
31.Close friend(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
childhood friend						
32.When young(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
33.When young (F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
34.When adult (M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-	s+fn	s+fn
35.When adult(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
36.Schoolteacher(M)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
37.Schoolteacher(F)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
38.Stranger(M)	s+N	s+N	s+N	s+N	s+N	s+N
39.Stranger(F)	s+N	s+N	s+N	s+N	s+N	s+N
40.Doctor(M)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
41.Doctor(F)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
42.Headman	s+pt	s+kt	s+pt	s+pt	s+kt	s+kt
43.Pastor/priest	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
44.Representative(O,D)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
45.Representative(O,C)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
46.Representative(Y,D)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
47.Representative(Y,C)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
48.Official	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
49.Chief	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
50.Govt. minister(M)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
51.Govt. minister(F)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
52.D.C(M)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
53.D.C(F)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
54.Employer(M)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	-	-	-
55.Employer(F)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	-	-	-
56.Colleague(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-	s+fn	s+fn
57.Colleague(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-	s+fn	s+fn

58.Work subordinate(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-	-	-
59.Work subordinate(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-	-	-
60.Worker(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
61.Worker(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
62.Child(12-16M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
63.Child(12-16F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
64.Child(below12M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
65.Child(below12F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn

The informants' reports as seen in Table 6.1(3) above show that there is no variation of number in the article as part of the variants of Reference. Informants appear, on the whole, to use singular article plus kin term to refer to superior kin referents and to older close non-kin referents, the singular article plus professional title for referents of social standing such as doctors, pastor/priest, government officials, etc., the singular article plus first name for referents who are equals with a close relationship and also for subordinates. None of them state that they use the plural article as a variant of Reference with any of the terms shown above for a single referent, whatever their age or rank in society.

However, the reports in Table 6.1(3) are based on the information in special columns asking about Reference. Elsewhere in the questionnaire some informants state that they use variants contrary to the information that they give in these special columns. This happens in two instances, where NT2 and NT6 claim that they would use the plural article and the title *ki s?em* to refer to the chief in a formal gathering.

### 6.1.3 Summary

The informants' reports show that, on the whole, the pronominal distinctions of number, person and gender are usually observed in usage in this dialect. Variation of number in the second person does occur among some speakers as seen in Table 6.1(1) above. The relative frequency of the two second person pronouns as reportedly used by the informants in the questionnaire is presented in the following Table:

**Table 6.1(4). Relative frequency of the second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable**

	2Sg	2Pl	Total
Number	356	34 =	390
Percentage(approx)	91.2%	8.8% =	100%

This shows quite clearly that variation of number in the second person pronoun in Nongtalang is marginal. Variation of number in the second person pronoun as reportedly used by some informants in this dialect occurs only in an asymmetrical and distant relationship. Brown and Gilman(1972:264-5) differentiate between 'ascribed' and 'acquired' relationships that speakers have with their addressees. They claim that French speakers are more likely to use T in an 'acquired' relationship, that is, to non-kin addressees whereas German speakers usually choose T in an 'ascribed' relationship, that is, within the family. In Nongtalang, it appears that the use of (the second person plural) V is always in an 'acquired' relationship, namely, non-kin addressees of high

social rank and not in an 'ascribed' relationship because all informants state that they address their kin superiors, such as parents, grandparents, etc., by (the second person singular) T.

Indirect address does not seem to come naturally to the informants, since they all state their preference for the second person pronoun as the basic variant of Address. Out of the cross-dialect total of 12 variants of Address (other than the second person pronouns), informants in this dialect report the use of 7 of them.

<u>Variants</u>	<u>Number of informants</u>
Singular article plus kin term	4
Singular article plus professional title	1
Plural article plus professional title	2
Singular article plus first name	6
Singular demonstrative	5
Omission of pronoun	6
Reversal of gender	1

As stated above, the informants claim that the variants do not indicate polite or respectful address. The exception is the variant of plural article plus professional title used by two informants as a respectful form of address to the chief. Since this involves the plural article, it can be surmised that it is the plural feature of the article that conveys the pragmatic significance of respect.

Regarding Reference, out of the cross-dialect total inventory of 8 variants of Reference, informants in this dialect report the use of 3 of them.

<u>Variants</u>	<u>Number of informants</u>
Singular article plus kin term	5
Singular article plus professional title	5
Singular article plus first name	5

The uniform way in which the variants of Reference are reportedly used in this dialect irrespective of the informants' age and sex relative to those of the referents point to the fact that the use of these variants is structure-based and not pragmatically-determined.

## 6.2 JIRANG DIALECT

There are five informants in this dialects and the following are some of their details :

JR1, female, aged 34 , in government service, educated.

JR-2, female, aged 28, a lecturer in a science polytechnic, educated.

JR-3, male, aged23, worker in Christian organization, basic education.

JR-4, male aged 48, a primary school teacher, read up to Class VI .

JR-5, male aged 25, college student studying in Shillong.

### 6.2.1 Variants of the Address variable

The second person pronouns which are the basic variants of Address are analysed first, then the other variants of Address.

Second person pronouns as variants of Address. Table 6.2(1) shows the informants' reported use of the second person singular pronoun and the second person plural pronoun as variants of Address.

**Table 6.2(1) Second person pronouns as variant of the Address variable**

Consanguineal addressees:

	JR1	JR2	JR3	JR4	JR5
1. Grandfather	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
2. Grandmother	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
3. Father	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
4. Mother	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
5. Older brother	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
6. Older sister	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
7. Younger brother	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
8. Younger sister	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
9. Spouse	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
10. Adult son	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
11. Adult daughter	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
12. Young son	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
13. Young daughter	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
14. Adult nephew	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
15. Adult niece	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
16. Young nephew	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
17. Young niece	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg

Affinal kin addressees:

18.Father in law	Sg	Pl	Pl	Pl	Sg
19.Mother in law	Sg	Pl	Pl	Pl	Sg
20.Older brother in law	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl	Sg
21.Older sister in law	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl	Sg
22.Younger brother in law	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
23.Younger sister in law	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
24.Son in law	Sg	Pl	Pl	Sg	Sg
25.Daughter in law	Sg	Pl	Pl	Sg	Sg

Non-kin addressees:

(Key: M = male, F = female, O=old, Y=young, D=distant,

C=close, govt. = government, D.C. = district commissioner).

26.Neighbour(O,M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
27.Neighbour(O,F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
28.Neighbour(Y,M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
29.Neighbour(Y,F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
30.Close friend(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
31.Close friend(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
childhood friend					
32.When young(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
33.When young(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
34.When adults(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
35.When adults(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
36.Schoolteacher(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
37.Schoolteacher(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
38.Stranger(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
39.Stranger(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
40.Doctor(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg

41.Doctor(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
42.Headman	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
43.Pastor/priest	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
44.Representative(O,D)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
45.Representative(O,C)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
46.Representative(Y, D)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
47.Representative(Y,C)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
48.Official	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
49.Chief	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
50.Govt. minister(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
51.Govt.minister(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
52.D.C(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
53.D.C(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
54.Employer(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
55.Employer(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
56.Colleague(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
57.Colleague(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
58.Work subordinate(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
59.Work subordinate(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
60.Worker(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
61.Worker(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
62.Child(12-16M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
63.Child(12-16F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
64.Child(below12M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
65.Child(below12F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg

The informants' reports in this dialect show that the second person singular pronoun is the normal pronoun of address. It is also clear that the second person plural pronoun

is used to address only affinal relations. As pointed out in chapter I, though Khasi society is egalitarian yet affinal kin relations are always greatly respected among the Khasis. This respect is accorded not only to the father and mother-in-law but also to sons and daughters-in-law. This is reflected in the way the affinal kin relations are addressed by most Khasi speakers. This will be seen to be the case among speakers of the transitional dialects too. I will not make any further comment on this for the same reasons are responsible for the choice of a second person plural pronoun to address, and the plural article plus kin term to refer to, affinal kin relations in these other dialects as well.

The informants do not use the second person plural to address a consanguineal kin addressee nor a non-kin addressee. Some of the informants, JR1 and JR5, claim that they use the second person singular to all addressees, whether kin or non-kin, irrespective of their status, age, rank or sex. Contrary to the information given in the special column asked for, however, JR1, JR2 and JR5 switch to the second person plural pronoun when addressing a superior kin addressee in answer to question 6(iv,a) of the questionnaire.

Other variants of the Address variable. Table 6.2(2) shows the informants' reported use of the variants of Address other than the second person pronoun.

(Keys: pl+pt=plural article plus professional title, s+kt=singular article plus kin term, SDem=singular demonstrative, Omis=omission of the second person pronoun,

1=informant reports the use of the variant, - = informant does not report the use of the variant).

**Table 6.2(2) Other variants of the Address variable**

	pl+pt	s+kt	SDem	Omis
JR1	1	-	1	1
JR2	-	-	1	1
JR3	-	-	1	-
JR4	-	1	1	1
JR5	-	-	1	1
Total number	1	1	5	4

Two of the variants of indirect address that are claimed to be indicative of polite address are used by only one informant each. JR1 states that she would use the second person plural and the plural article plus the professional term *ki s?em* to address the chief in a formal assembly. She is of the opinion that this form of Address would include those who exercise authority with the chief, such as the village elders etc. JR4 claims that he uses the singular article plus kin term to superior kin addressees for the purpose of expressing added politeness towards the addressee.

All informants state that they use the singular demonstrative and claim that there is no restriction on their use of this variant to any addressee. JR2, however, states that

she would not use this variant to her superiors at work - whether male or female.

Four informants state that they use omission of the second person pronoun in direct address as a means of expressing displeasure or anger to relatives whether older or younger and that it does not have any such connotations when used to a close friend. Only JR2 says that she would use this variant in a very limited way, either to contemporaries such as close friends or to her subordinates such as her younger siblings and her children.

### 6.2.2 Variants of the Reference variable

Table 6.2(3) shows the informants' reported use of the variants of Reference.

(Keys : s+kt = singular article plus kin term, s+fn = singular article plus first name, pl+kt = plural article plus kin term, s+pt = singular article plus professional title, s+N = singular plus noun 'the man').

**Table 6.2(3) Variants of the Reference variable**

Consanguineal kin referents:

	JR1	JR2	JR3	JR4	JR5
1. Grandfather	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
2. Grandmother	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
3. Father	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
4. Mother	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
5. Older brother	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
6. Older sister	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
7. Younger brother	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt

8.Younger sister	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
9.Spouse	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	-
10.Adult son	-	-	s+fn	s+fn	-
11.Adult daughter	-	-	s+fn	s+fn	-
12.Young son	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-
13.Young daughter	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-
14.Adult nephew	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
15.Adult niece	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn.
16.Young nephew	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
17.Young niece	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn

Affinal kin referents:

18.Father-in-law	s+kt	pl+kt	pl+kt	s+kt	-
19.Mother-in-law	s+kt	pl+kt	pl+kt	s+kt	-
20.Older brother-in-law	s+kt	pl+kt/	pl+kt	s+kt	s+kt
		s+kt			
21.Older sister-in-law	s+kt	pl+kt/	pl+kt	s+kt	s+kt
		s+kt			
22.Younger brother-in-law	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
23.Younger sister-in-law	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
24.Son-in-law	-	-	pl+kt	s+kt	-
25.Daughter-in-law	-	-	pl+kt	s+kt	-

Non-kin referents:

(Keys : O=old, Y=young, M=male, F=female, D=distant, C=close, govt. minister = state government minister, D.C. = district commissioner).

26. Neighbour (O,M)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
27. Neighbour (O,F)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt

28. Neighbour (Y,M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
29. Neighbour (Y,F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
30. Close friend (M)	s+kt/ s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
31. Close friend (F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
childhood friend					
32. When young(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
33. When young(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
34. When adult(M)	s+kt	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
35. When adult(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
36. Schoolteacher(M)	s+kt	s+pt	s+pt	s+kt	s+pt
37. Schoolteacher(F)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
38. Stranger(M)	s+kt	s+N	s+N	s+kt	s+kt
39. Stranger(F)	s+kt	s+N	s+N	s+kt	s+kt
40. Doctor(M)	s+kt	s+pt	s+pt	s+kt	s+pt
41. Doctor(F)	s+kt	s+pt	s+pt	s+kt	s+pt
42. Headman	s+kt	s+kt	s+pt	s+kt	s+pt
43. Pastor/priest	s+kt	s+pt	s+pt	s+kt	s+pt
44. Representative(O,D)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt/ s+fn	s+kt
45. Representative(O,C)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
46. Representative(Y,D)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
47. Representative(Y,C)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
48. Official	s+kt	s+pt/ s+kt	s+pt	s+kt	s+kt
49. Chief	s+kt	s+pt	s+pt	s+kt	s+kt
50. Govt. minister(M)	s+kt	s+pt	s+pt	s+kt	s+kt
51. Govt. minister(F)	s+kt	s+pt	s+pt	s+kt	s+kt
52. D.C.(M)	s+kt	s+pt	s+pt	s+kt	s+kt

53.D.C.(F)	s+kt	s+pt	s+pt	s+kt	s+kt
54.Employer(M)	s+kt	s+pt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
55.Employer(F)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
56.Colleague(M)	s+fn	s+kt/ s+fn	s+fn	s+kt	s+fn
57.Colleague(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+kt	s+fn
58.Work subordinate(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+kt	s+fn
59.Work subordinate(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+kt	s+fn
60.Worker(M)	s+fn	s+fn	-	-	-
61.Worker(F)	s+fn	s+fn	-	-	-
62.Child(12-16,M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
63.Child(12-16,F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
64.Child(below12,M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
65.Child(below12,F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn

Table 6.2(3) shows that according to the informants' reports, the plural article is used very marginally in comparison to their reported use of the second person plural pronoun. Three informants report that they use the plural article plus kin term to refer to affinal kin referents. This is precisely because of the same reason that was given above concerning the second person plural pronoun. Affinal kin referents are accorded great respect among the Khasis.

The other variants of Reference are discussed below. All informants state that they use the singular article plus kin term to refer to all kin superiors and also to non-kin superiors (in age or in age and rank). JR1 and JR4 claim that they use this variant for all social superiors, which include the headman, chief, officials, doctors, pastors, government ministers, district

commissioners, etc. This is a little unusual, since in this dialect and in other dialects as we shall see later, the above referents are commonly referred to by their professional titles. The three other informants, however, state that they use the singular article plus a professional title for non-kin referents of high social standing.

The informants state that they use the singular article plus first name to refer to non-kin equals, as well as to kin and non-kin subordinates. JR1 and JR4, however, claim that they use the singular article plus kin term to refer to friends or colleagues of the opposite sex.

### 6.2.3 Summary

Table 6.2(4) shows that the informants' reported use of the second person plural pronoun as a variant of Address is very marginal.

**Table 6.2(4) Relative frequency of the second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable**

	2Sg	2Pl	Total
Number	311	14 =	325
Percentage (approx)	95.7%	4.3% =	100%

It is also important to note at this point that the second person plural is reportedly used to an addressee in an 'achieved' relationship (affinal relation) but not to one in an

'acquired' relationship (consanguineal relation). However, the use of the second person plural pronoun in direct address is not widespread in other 'achieved' relationships, for example informants reportedly use the second person singular to address respected members of the community such as the chief, the headman, the doctor, the pastor, etc. All the informants consistently state their preference for the second person singular pronoun as a variant of Address over other variants of Address.

Indirect address is reported to be only marginally used by the informants. Only one informant (JR-4) states that he uses a variant that indicates polite address - the singular article plus kin term. Out of the cross-dialect total inventory of 12 variants of Address (other than the second person pronouns), informants in this dialect report the use of 4 of them.

<u>Variant</u>	<u>Number of informants</u>
Singular article plus kin term	1
Plural article plus professional title	1
Singular demonstrative	5
Omission of pronoun	4

There is for most informants a clear pattern regarding variation of number in the second person for Address and variation of number in the articles for Reference. That is, the person who is addressed by means of the second person plural is usually referred to by means of the plural article plus a kin term. All the informants select the singular article in almost all

instances. The use of the plural article is restricted mainly to affinal kin referents. Out of the cross-dialect total inventory of 8 variants of Reference, informants in this dialect report the use of 4 of them.

<u>Variants :</u>	<u>Number of informants</u>
Singular article plus kin term	5
Plural article plus kin term	3
Singular article plus professional title	3
Singular article plus first name	5

The informants who claim to use the plural article plus kin term as a variant of Reference are of the opinion that this is a polite means of referring. This in itself is significant because it indicates that it is the plurality feature of the article that conveys the pragmatic meaning, which is politeness, in this variant of Reference.

### **6.3 NARTIANG DIALECT**

There are two informants in this dialect and the following are some of their details :

NRT -1, male aged 41, educated, an elected representative in the District Council.

NRT-2, male aged 58, uneducated, headman and farmer.

#### **6.3.1 Variants of the Address variable**

As with the previous dialects, the two second person pronouns - second person singular and second person plural - are the basic variants in this dialect. The other variants are

reported not to be as commonly used as the second person pronouns.

Second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable - The following Table shows the informants' reports on their use of the second person pronouns as variants of Address:

**Table6.3(1) Second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable**

Consanguineal kin addressees:

	NRT1	NRT2
1.Grandfather	Sg	Sg
2.Grandmother	Sg	Sg
3.Father	Sg	Sg
4.Mother	Sg	Sg
5.Older brother	Sg	Sg
6.Older sister	Sg	Sg
7.Younger brother	Sg	Sg
8.Younger sister	Sg	Sg
9.Spouse	Sg	Sg
10.Adult son	Sg	Sg
11. Adult daughter	Sg	Sg
12.Young son	Sg	Sg
13.Young daughter	Sg	Sg
14.Adult nephew	Sg	Sg
15.Adult niece	Sg	Sg
16.Young nephew	Sg	Sg
17.Young niece	Sg	Sg

Affinal kin addressees :

18.Father in law	Pl	Pl
19.Mother in law	Pl	Pl
20.Older brother in law	Pl	Pl
21.Older sister in law	Pl	Sg
22.Younger brother in law	Sg	Sg
23.Younger sister in law	Sg	Sg
24.Son in law	Pl	Pl
25.Daughter in law	Pl	Pl

Non-kin addressees :

26.Neighbour (Old, Male)	Sg	Sg
27.Neighbour (Old, Female)	Sg	Sg
28.Neighbour (Young, Male)	Sg	Sg
29.Neighbour (Young, Female)	Sg	Sg
30.Friend (Male)	Sg	Sg
31.Friend (Female)	Sg	Sg
childhood friend		
32.When young (Male)	Sg	Sg
33.When young (Female)	Sg	Sg
34.When adult (Male)	Sg	Sg
35.When adult (Female)	Sg	Sg
36.Teacher (Male)	Sg	Sg
37.Teacher (Female)	Sg	Sg
38.Stranger (Male)	Pl	Sg
39.Stranger (Female)	Sg	Sg
40.Doctor (Male)	Sg	Sg
41.Doctor (Female)	Sg	Sg
42.Headman	Sg	Sg

43.Pastor/priest	Sg	Sg
44.Representative(Old,Distant)	Sg	Sg
45.Representative(Old,Close)	Sg	Sg
46.Representative(Young,Distant)	Sg	Sg
47.Representative(Young,Close)	Sg	Sg
48.Official	Sg	Sg
49.Chief	Sg	Sg
50.Government minister(Male)	Sg	Sg
51.Government minister(Female)	Sg	Sg
52.District Commissioner(Male)	Sg	Sg
53.District Commissioner(Female)	Sg	Sg
54.Employer(Male)	Sg	Sg
55.Employer(Female)	Sg	Sg
56.Colleague(Male)	Sg	Sg
57.Colleague(Female)	Sg	Sg
58.Work subordinate(Male)	Sg	Sg
59.Work subordinate(Female)	Sg	Sg
60.Worker(Male)	Sg	Sg
61.Worker(Female)	Sg	Sg
62.Child(12-16,Male)	Sg	Sg
63.Child(12-16,Female)	Sg	Sg
64.Child(below12,Male)	Sg	Sg
65.Child(below12,Female)	Sg	Sg

Both informants state that they use the second person singular to address consanguineal kin relations and non-kin addressees, and the second person plural to address affinal kin relations. NRT1 says that he would also use the second person plural pronoun to address a stranger.

Other variants of the Address variable: Table 6.3(2) shows the informants' reported use of the variants other than the second person pronouns.

**Table 6.3(2) Other variants of the Address variable**

(Key: s+pt = singular article plus profesional title, s+kt = singular article plus kin term, SDem = singular demonstrative, s+fn = singular article plus first name, reverse = reversal of gender, omis = omission of the second person pronoun, 1 = informant reports the use of the variant, - = informant does not report the use of the variant).

	s+pt	s+kt	SDem	s+fn	omis	reverse
NRT1	1	-	1	1	1	1
NRT2	-	1	1	1	1	1
Total	1	1	2	2	2	2

Both informants state their preference for the second person pronoun as a variant of Address.

NRT1 states that he would use the singular article plus professional title as a variant to indicate respect. NRT2 claims that he would use the singular article plus kin term to address kin and non-kin adults, but he does not state whether this variant indicates respect or not.

Both informants report the use of the singular demonstrative as a means of indirect address. NRT1 claims that he uses this variant to address contemporaries, such as siblings and also to subordinates. NRT2, on the other hand, states that this variant of Address is not at all restricted to any particular addressee and that he uses it to address his superiors, such as his parents, and also to his subordinates such as his younger siblings, his children, etc. The informants also state that they use the singular article plus first name to address equals and subordinates. Both informants claim that they would omit the second person pronoun in direct address for the express purpose of showing annoyance and displeasure but only to subordinates.

The informants claim that they would use the second person singular feminine pronoun to address a male addressee to express extreme anger and annoyance. NRT2 states that he would also use this variant to address a younger male addressee, such as his younger brother, as a means of expressing affection.

### **6.3.2 Variants of the Reference variable**

Table 6.3(3) below shows the informants' reports on their use of the variants of Reference :

(Keys : s+kt = singular article plus kin term, pl+kt = plural article plus kin term, P+kt = P article plus kin term, s+pt = singular article plus professional title, s+fn = singular article plus first name).

Table 6.3(3) Variants of the Reference variable

Consanguineal kin referents :

	NRT1	NRT2
1. Grandfather	s+kt	s+kt
2. Grandmother	s+kt	s+kt
3. Father	s+kt	s+kt
4. Mother	s+kt	s+kt
5. Older brother	s+kt	s+kt
6. Older sister	s+kt	s+kt
7. Younger brother	s+kt	s+kt
8. Younger sister	s+kt	s+kt
9. Spouse	s+kt	s+kt
10. Adult son	s+kt	s+kt
11. Adult daughter	s+kt	s+kt
12. Young son	s+kt	s+kt
13. Young daughter	s+kt	s+kt
14. Adult nephew	s+kt	s+kt
15. Adult niece	s+kt	s+kt
16. Young nephew	s+kt	s+kt
17. Young niece	s+kt	s+kt

Affinal kin referents:

18. Father in law	pl+kt	pl+kt
19. Mother in law	pl+kt	pl+kt
20. Older brother in law	pl+kt	pl+kt
21. Older sister in law	pl+kt	pl+kt
22. Younger brother in law	s+kt	s+kt
23. Younger sister in law	s+kt	s+kt
24. Son in law	pl+kt	P+kt

25. Daughter in law	pl+kt	P+kt
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Non-kin referents:

26. Neighbour (Old, Male)	s+kt	s+kt
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27. Neighbour (Old, Female)	s+kt	s+kt
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28. Neighbour (Young, Male)	s+fn	s+fn
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29. Neighbour (Young, Female)	s+fn	s+fn
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30. Friend (Male)	s+fn	s+fn
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31. Friend (Female)	s+fn	s+fn
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childhood friend

32. When young (Male)	s+fn	s+fn
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33. When young (Female)	s+fn	s+fn
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34. When adult (Male)	s+fn	s+fn
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35. When adult (Female)	s+fn	s+fn
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36. Teacher (Male)	s+pt	s+pt
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37. Teacher (Female)	s+pt	s+pt
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38. Stranger (Male)	s+kt	s+kt
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39. Stranger (Female)	s+kt	s+kt
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40. Doctor (Male)	s+pt	s+pt
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41. Doctor (Female)	s+pt	s+pt
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42. Headman	s+pt	s+pt
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43. Pastor/priest	s+pt	s+pt
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44. Representative (Old, Distant)	s+kt	s+kt
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45. Representative (Old, Close)	s+kt	s+kt
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46. Representative (Young, Distant)	s+kt	s+kt
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47. Representative (Young, Close)	s+kt	s+kt
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48. Official	s+pt	s+pt
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49. Chief	s+pt	s+pt
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50. Government minister (Male)	s+pt	s+pt
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51. Government minister (Female)	s+pt	s+pt
52. District Commissioner (Male)	s+pt	s+pt
53. District Commissioner (Female)	s+pt	s+pt
54. Employer (Male)	s+kt	s+kt
55. Employer (Female)	s+kt	s+kt
56. Colleague (Male)	s+kt	s+kt
57. Colleague (Female)	s+kt	s+kt
58. Work subordinate (Male)	s+fn	s+fn
59. Work subordinate (Female)	s+fn	s+fn
60. Worker (Male)	s+fn	s+fn
61. Worker (Female)	s+fn	s+fn
62. Child (12-16, Male)	s+fn	s+fn
63. Child (12-16, Female)	s+fn	s+fn
64. Child (below 12, Male)	s+fn	s+fn
65. Child (below 12, Female)	s+fn	s+fn

Both informants state that they use the singular article plus kin term for consanguineal kin referents and for most adult non-kin referents; the plural article plus kin term to refer to affinal kin referents. They also claim that they use the singular article plus professional title for referents of social standing such as the chief, the government official, the doctor, the priest, etc. The singular article plus first name is reportedly used to refer to close equals and to subordinates.

Here, NRT2 differs greatly from NRT1, in that he claims that he uses the P article *?i* plus kin term to refer to his son in law and his daughter in law.

### 6.3.3 Summary

Table 6.3(4) below shows the informants' reports on their use of the second person pronouns as variants of Address.

**Table 6.3(4) Relative frequency of the second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable**

	2Sg	2Pl	Total
Number	118	12	130
Percentage (approx)	92.3%	9.7% =	100%

The figures show very clearly that the second person plural is only marginally used by the informants in this dialect.

In their use of other variants of Address besides the two second person pronouns, the informants differ in their reports as to <sup>to</sup> whom they can and cannot use the singular demonstrative in indirect address. NRT-1, who is educated, states that demonstratives as first names are non-reciprocal in an asymmetrical relationship while NRT-2, who is not educated and older, states that he does not restrict the use of the demonstratives to any particular addressees. Out of the cross-dialect total of 12 variants of Address (other than the second person pronouns), the informants in this dialect report the use of 6 of them.

<u>Variants</u>	<u>Number of informants</u>
Singular article plus kin term	1
Singular article plus professional title	1
Singular demonstrative	2
Singular article plus first name	2
Omission of the pronoun	2
Reversal of gender	2

Regarding Reference, the plural article plus kin term is reportedly used only for affinal kin referents, as in Jirang above. NRT-2's report on the use of the P article *ʔi* plus kin term to refer to his son-in-law and daughter-in-law is of particular importance because <sup>we</sup> see here the presence of the P article, although very marginally, for polite reference in this dialect. Out of the cross-dialect total of 8 variants of Reference, informants in this dialect report the use of 5 of them and these are:

<u>Variants</u>	<u>Number of informants</u>
Singular article plus kin term	2
Plural article plus kin term	2
P article plus kin term	1
Singular article plus professional title	2
Singular article plus first name	2

The informants report an almost uniform way of choosing the variants of Reference and the main difference between them is the use of the P article plus kin term by NRT2.

## 6.4 MAWRONG DIALECT

There are five informants for this dialect and the following are some of their details :

MR-1, male aged 76, educated, retired government official.

MR-2, male aged 60, six years of formal education, schoolteacher.

MR-3, female aged 35, educated, in government service.

MR-4, female aged 33, educated, in government service.

MR-5, female aged 19, read up to class X, no occupation.

### 6.4.1 Variants of the Address variable

The following is the analysis of the informants' reports on their use of the variants of Address, firstly, of the second person pronouns as the main variants of Address and secondly, of the other variants of Address:

Second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable. The following Table shows the informants' reports on their use of the second person pronouns as variants of Address:

**Table 6.4(1) Second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable**

Consanguineal kin addressees

	MR1	MR2	MR3	MR4	MR5
1. Grandfather	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl	Pl
2. Grandmother	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl	Pl
3. Father	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl	Pl
4. Mother	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl	Pl
5. Older brother	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl	Pl

6.Older sister	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl	Pl
7.Younger brother	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
8.Younger sister	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
9.Spouse	Sg/ Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	-
10.Adult son	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
11.Adult daughter	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
12.Young son	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
13.Young daughter	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
14.Adult nephew	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
15.Adult niece	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
16.Young nephew	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
17.Young niece	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg

Affinal kin addressees:

18.Father in law	Pl	Pl	Pl	Pl	-
19.Mother in law	Pl	Pl	Pl	Pl	-
20.Older brother in law	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl	Pl
21.Older sister in law	Sg	Pl	Pl	Pl	-
22.Younger brother in law	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
23.Younger sister in law	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
24.Son in law	Pl	Pl	Pl	Pl	-
25.Daughter in law	Pl	Pl	Pl	Pl	-

Non-kin addressees:

(O=old, Y=young, M=male, F=female, D=distant, C=close,  
govt. minister=government minister, D.C.=district  
commissioner).

26.Neighbour(O,M)	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl	Pl
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27.Neighbour(O,F)	Sg	Sg	P1	P1	P1
28.Neighbour(Y,M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
29.Neighbour(Y,F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
30.Close friend(M)	Sg	Sg	P1	Sg	Sg
31.Close friend(F)	Sg	Sg	P1/ Sg	Sg	Sg
childhood friend					
32.When young(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
33.When young(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
34.When adult(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
35.When adult(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
36.Schoolteacher(M)	Sg	Sg/ P1	P1	P1	P1
37.Schoolteacher(F)	P1	Sg	P1	P1	P1
38.Stranger(M)	Sg/ P1	Sg	Sg/ P1	P1	P1
39.Stranger(F)	P1	Sg	Sg/ P1	P1	P1
40.Doctor(M)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
41.Doctor(F)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
42.Headman	Sg	Sg	P1	P1	P1
43.Pastor	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
44.Representative(O,D)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
45.Representative(O,C)	Sg	P1	P1	P1	P1
46.Representative(Y,D)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
47.Representative(Y,C)	Sg	P1	P1	P1	P1
48.Official	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
49.Chief	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
50.Govt.minister(M)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1

51.Govt.minister(F)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
52.D.C. (M)	P1	P1	P1	P1	-
53.D.C. (F)	P1	P1	P1	P1	-
54.Employer(M)	Sg/ P1	P1	P1	P1	-
55.Employer(F)	Sg/ P1	P1	P1	P1	-
56.Colleague(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
57.Colleague(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
58.Work subordinate(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
59.Work subordinate(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	-
60.Worker(M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
61.Worker(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
62.Child(12-16,M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
63.Child(12-16,M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
64.Child(below12,M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
65.Child(below12,F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg

MR1 remarked at the very beginning of the questionnaire that his dialect is different from the standard dialect in that there is no variation of number in the second person in Mawrong. He, nonetheless, stated that the second person plural pronoun "is also being used nowadays". In Table 6.4(1) above, the two older informants MR1 and MR2 state that they use the second person singular to all consanguineal kin addressees and the second person plural to affinal kin relations and also to non-kin addressees who are educated persons of high standing in the community such as the doctor, the pastor, etc., and also to strangers. MR1, who is educated, uses the second person

singular to address the uneducated village headman. The exception is the chief, whom he claims to address by means of the second person plural, whether the addressee is educated or not. The three female informants, MR3, MR4 and MR5, report a higher use of the second person plural pronoun. They say that they use the second person plural to address all consanguineal kin superiors, all affinal kin relations and also non-kin adults who are respected members of the community. They claim that they use the second person singular to address subordinates in the kin hierarchy. MR3, in particular, remarks that "whatever their age, sons, daughters, nephew, nieces are always addressed by means of [the second person singular] *mε* and *pha*." Where non-kin equals are concerned, she states that a friend of the same sex is addressed by the second person singular while that of the opposite sex by the second person plural pronoun. MR4 differs slightly from MR3, because she states that she uses the second person plural to all respected adult members of the community such as the chief, doctor, pastor, etc., but the second person singular to address her equals and her subordinates whether they are male or female. Intimacy and not sex appears to be an important factor with this informant, because she says that she addresses her close friends, both male and female, by the second person singular pronoun. She further says that she would address an elected representative by the second person singular if he were younger than her in age and if she knew him well but the second person plural pronoun if she did not know him well even if he were younger than her. MR5 does not differ much from the last two informants in her reported use of the main

variants of Address. She claims that she uses the second person plural to address all her kin superiors and all non-kin superiors (in age and rank) and the second person singular pronoun to address all her equals and subordinates, both kin and non-kin alike.

Other variants of the Address variable. Table 6.4(2) shows the informants' reported use of other variants of Address.

(Keys: PLDem=plural demonstrative, SDem=singular demonstrative, s+fn=singular article with first name, omis=omission of the second person pronoun, reverse=reversal of gender, 1=informants reports the use of the variant, - = informant does not report the use of the variant).

**Table 6.4(2) Other variants of the Address variable**

	PLDem	SDem	s+fn	omis	varia
MR1	1	1	1	1	1
MR2	-	1	-	-	1
MR3	-	1	1	1	-
MR4	-	1	-	1	-
MR5	-	1	1	1	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>

All informants state their preference for the second person pronouns as variants of Address over indirect address.

MR1 states that he uses the plural demonstrative to address superior kin affinal addressees.

All informants claim that they use the singular demonstrative as a variant of indirect address. All the informants, with the exception of MR5, state that their use of this variant is not restricted to any particular addressee. MR5 claims that she uses this variant only to address subordinates. All informants, with the exception of MR2, report that they use the singular article plus the first name to address equals and subordinates.

MR1, MR3 and MR4 claim that the omission of the second person pronoun in direct address is a neutral way of addressing and does not have any pragmatic overtones of anger or displeasure and that they can use it to any addressee. MR5 is also of the opinion that this variant does not indicate anger or displeasure but that she uses it only to her equals, such as friends, or to her subordinates, such as those younger than her in age.

Both male informants claim that they use the second person singular feminine to address an adult male, MR1 only in very exceptional circumstances as when his anger is "out of control" and MR2 to address male subordinates such as his younger brothers, as a sign of affection.

#### **6.4.2 Variants of the Reference variable**

Table 6.4(3) below shows the informants' reports on their use of the variants of Reference.

(Keys: s+kt=singular article plus kin term, pl+kt=plural article plus kin term, P+kt=P article plus kin term, s+fn=singular

article plus first name, s+pt=singular article plus professional title, P+pt=P article plus professional title, - = informant does not report the use of the variant).

**Table 6.4(3) Variants of the Reference variable**

Consanguineal kin referents:

	MR1	MR2	MR3	MR4	MR5
1.Grandfather	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	P+kt
2.Grandmother	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	P+kt
3.Father	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	P+kt
4.Mother	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	P+kt
5.Older brother	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	P+kt
6.Older sister	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	P+kt
7.Younger brother	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
8.Younger sister	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
9.spouse	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	-
10.Adult son	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-
11.Adult daughter	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-
12.Young son	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-
14.Adult nephew	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-
15.Adult niece	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-
16.Young nephew	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
17.Young niece	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn

Affinal kin referents:

18.Father-in-law	pl+kt	pl+kt	pl+kt	pl+kt	-
19.Mother-in-law	pl+kt	pl+kt	pl+kt	pl+kt	-
20.Older brother-in-law	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	-
21.Older sister-in-law	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	-

22.Young brother-in-law	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	-
23.Young sister-in-law	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	-
24.Son-in-law	pl+kt	pl+kt	P+kt	pl+kt	-
25.Daughter-in-law	pl+kt	pl+kt	P+kt	pl+kt	-

Non-kin referents:

(Keys : O=old, Y=young, M=male, F=female, D=distant, C=close, govt. minister=state government minister, D.C.=district commissioner).

26.Neighbour(O,M)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	P+kt
27.Neighbour(O,F)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	P+kt
28.Neighbour(Y,M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
29.Neighbour(Y,F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
30.Friend(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
31.Friend(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
childhood friend					
32.When young(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
33.When young(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
34.When adult(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
35.When adult(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
36.Teacher(M)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	P+pt
37.Teacher(F)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	P+kt
38.Stranger(M)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
39.Stranger(F)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
40.Doctor(M)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
41.Doctor(F)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
42.Headman	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
43.Pastor	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
44.Representative(O,D)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt

45.Representative(O,C)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
46.Representative(Y,D)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
47.Representative(Y,C)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt
48.Official	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
49.Chief	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	P+pt
50.Govt.minister(M)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	P+pt
51.Govt.minister(F)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	P+pt
52.D.C.(M)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	-
53.D.C.(F)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	-
54.Employer(M)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	-
55.Employer(F)	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	-
56.Colleague(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-
57.Colleague(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-
58.Work subordinate(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-
59.Work subordinate(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	-
60.Worker(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
61.Worker(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
62.Child(12-16,M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
63.Child(12-16,F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
64.Child(below12,M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
65.Child(below12,F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn

In this dialect we see that some of the informants state that they use the P article plus kin term or professional title to refer to certain referents, while others claim that they use the plural article plus kin term to refer to affinal kin relations.

All informants except MR5 say that they use the singular article plus kin term to refer to all consanguineal kin referents and non-kin older referents with a close relationship, such as

their elderly neighbours and employers. The plural article plus kin term, on the other hand, is reportedly used by most informants to refer to affinal kin referents. Two of the informants, MR2 and MR5, claim that they use the P article plus kin term as a variant of Reference, MR2 only for his son and daughter in law (his superior affinal kin referents being referred to by the plural article plus kin term), while MR5 claims that she uses this variant quite extensively for kin superiors and older non-kin superiors whom she knows well.

All the informants state that they use the singular article plus professional title to refer to most respected referents in the community, such as doctors, pastor/priest, headman, etc. MR5, however, states that she uses the P article plus professional title to refer to the schoolteacher, the government ministers and the chief.

All informants state that they use the singular article plus first name to refer to equals and to subordinates.

MR2 says that he would 'shift' from the singular article to the P article for female referents if the referent is physically present or if the addressee is a close associate of the referent. MR5's report shows that she uses the P article for a superior referent in an asymmetrical relationship. It appears that her use of the P article to refer to all her superiors and the singular article to refer to all her subordinates in the kin hierarchy is parallel to her use of the second person plural pronoun and the second person singular pronoun respectively. With non-kin referents, she claims that she uses the P article for referents who are her superiors in age and social rank, such as the headman, the doctor, pastor, etc. The social criteria upon which

the informant appears to base her choice between the singular article and the P article as a variant of Reference on rank, age and intimacy in a way almost identical to that by which she selects either of the second person pronoun as a variant of Address. However, it is interesting to note here that this informant reports using the P article to refer to the chief.<sup>37</sup> This informant differs from all the others for this dialect in the variants she chooses in Address and in Reference. The plural article does not make appear at all in her data as a polite variant, which it does in the four older informants' reports.

#### 6.4.3 Summary

There is a distinct difference in the way the two second person pronouns are reported to be used by the older informants as opposed to the younger ones. We can sum up the informants' reports on their use of the two pronouns in the following way :

- MR1 and MR2 ( males, aged 76 and 60 respectively) use :
- the second person singular to:
- (a) consanguineal kin addressees
  - (b) most non-kin addressees

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<sup>37</sup> This is very unusual, because the singular article is traditionally more in keeping with the stature and the office of the chief as will be seen from the informants' reports in the central dialects. This could be a case of hypercorrection by the informant.

the second person plural to:

- (a) affinal kin addressees
- (b) addressees of high social standing.

MR3, MR4 and MR5 (females, aged 35, 33 and 19 respectively) use:

the second person singular to:

- (a) equals, kin and non-kin
- (b) subordinate kin and non-kin

The second person plural to:

- (a) kin superiors, consanguineal and affinal
- (b) non-kin addressees superior in age, or in both age and rank.

The younger informants report the use of the second person singular in a symmetrical relationship or if they are superior to the addressee, whereas they report the use of the second person plural in an asymmetrical relationship where the addressee is superior to them either in rank or in both age and rank. Variation of number in the second person is therefore, on the whole, determined by social factors such as seniority in the kin hierarchy, age, social rank, sex, distance and intimacy in the social dyads. Table 6.4(4) below shows the relative frequency of the two second person pronouns as variants of Address in the informants' reports.

**Table 6.4(4). Relative frequency of the second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable**

	2Sg	2Pl	Total
Number	174	138	= 312
Percentage	52.2%	44.8%	= 100%

Table 6.4(4) shows that the two second person pronouns are reported to be used almost evenly by the informants. It shows that the use of the second person plural is considerably higher in this dialect than in the other dialects examined so far.

Indirect address is seen to be mainly restricted to the singular demonstrative and the singular article plus first name. Out of the cross-dialect total of 12 variants of Address (other than the two second person pronouns) informants in this dialect report the use of 5 of them.

<u>Variants</u>	<u>Number of informants</u>
Singular demonstrative	5
Plural demonstrative	1
Singular article plus first name	3
Omission of pronoun	4
Reversal of gender	2

Regarding Reference, the important point that has to be made here is that informants in this dialect are divided into those who choose the plural article and those who choose the P

article as the honorific form. Out of the cross-dialect total number of 8 variants of Reference, informants in this dialect report the use of 6 of them.

<u>Variants</u>	<u>Number of informants</u>
Singular article plus kin term	5
Plural article plus kin term	4
P article plus kin term	2
Singular article plus professional title	5
P article plus professional title	1
Singular article plus first name	5

The two informants who claim to use the P article do so in different ways. MR2 (60 year old male) states that he uses the P article to refer to his son in law and to his daughter in law and also to female referents in high office when they are present or when the addressee is their close associate. MR5 (19 year old female) claims that she uses the P article plus kin term to refer to superior kinfolk, non-kin superiors that she knows well and she also claims that she uses the P article plus the professional title to refer to respected members of the community. Thus the P article co-exists with the plural article, although more marginally, as a polite variant of the article for speakers in this dialect.

## 6.5 NONGKSEH DIALECT

There are five informants in this dialect and the following are some of their details:

NK1, female aged 36, graduate, a schoolteacher.

NK2, female aged 52, uneducated, a farmer.

NK3, female aged 18, a high school student.

NK4, male aged 43, basic education, a peon (porter).

NK5, male aged 21, science student reading in college.

### 6.5.1 Variants of the Address variable

As with all the other dialects examined so far, the basic variants of Address, the second person pronouns are analysed first.

Second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable. Table 6.5(1) shows the informants' reported use of the two second person pronouns, the second person singular pronoun and the second person plural pronoun, as variants of the Address variable.

**Table 6.5(1) Second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable**

Consanguineal kin addressees:

	NK1	NK2	NK3	NK4	NK5
1. Grandfather	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
2. Grandmother	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
3. Father	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
4. Mother	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
5. Older brother	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
6. Older sister	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1

7.Younger brother	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
8.Younger sister	Sg	Sg	P1	P1	P1
9.Spouse	P1	P1	-	Sg	-
10.Adult son	-	Sg	-	-	-
11.Adult daughter	Sg	Sg	-	Sg	-
12.Young son	Sg	Sg	-	-	-
13.Young daughter	Sg	Sg	-	Sg	-
14.Adult nephew	Sg	P1	-	Sg	-
15.Adult niece	Sg	Sg	-	Sg	-
16.Young nephew	Sg	Sg	-	Sg	Sg
17.Young niece	Sg	Sg	-	Sg	P1

Affinal kin addressees.

18.Father in law	P1	P1	-	P1	-
19.Mother in law	P1	P1	-	P1	-
20.Older brother in law	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
21.Older sister in law	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
22.Younger brother in law	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
23. Younger sister in law	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
24.Son in law	P1	-	-	-	-
25.Daughter in law	-	-	-	-	-

Non-kin addressees.

(Keys: M=male, F=female, O=old, Y=young, D=distant, C=close, govt. minister=government minister, D.C.=district commissioner).

26.Chief	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
27.Official	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1

28.Govt.minister(M)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
29.Govt.minister(F)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
30.Pastor/priest	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
31.D.C(M)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
32.D.C(F)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
33.Headman	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
34.Doctor(M)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
35.Doctor(F)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
36.Employer(M)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
37.Employer(F)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
38.Representative(O,D)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
39.Representative(O,C)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
40.Schoolteacher(M)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
41.Schoolteacher(F)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
42.Neighbour(O,M)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
43.Neighbour(O,F)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
44.Representative(Y,D)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
45.Representative(Y,C)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
46.Close friend(M)	P1	P1	P1	Sg	Sg
47.Close friend(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	P1	P1
childhood friend					
48.When young(M)	Sg	-	P1	Sg	Sg
49.When young(F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	P1	P1
50.when adult(M)	P1	-	P1	Sg	P1
51.When adult(F)	P1	Sg	P1	P1	P1
52.Colleague(M)	P1	-	-	Sg	-
53.Colleague(F)	P1	-	-	P1	-
54.Stranger(M)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
55.Stranger(F)	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1

56.Neighbour(Y,M)	Pl	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
57.Neighbour(Y,F)	Pl	Sg	Sg	Pl	Pl
58.Work subordinate(M)	Pl	-	-	Sg	Sg
59.Work subordinate(F)	Sg	-	-	Pl	Pl
60.Worker(M)	Sg/ Pl	Sg	PL	Sg	Sg
61.Worker(F)	Sg	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
62.Child(14-16,M)	Sg	Sg	Pl	Sg	Sg
63.Child(14-16,F)	Sg	Sg	Pg	Sg	Pg
64.Child(below12,M)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
65.Child(below12,F)	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Pg

The informants' reports show that the age and sex of the addressee relative to those of the speaker are the most important factors in choosing the second person pronoun as a variant of Address. The second person singular is reported to be usually restricted to equals of the same sex as the speaker, or addressees who are very young. All informants state that they use the second person plural to address kin superiors, consanguineal and affinal, and to most adult non-kin addressees. The second person singular is reportedly used to address kin subordinates of the same sex. Female NK2 chooses the second person plural to address an adult nephew, and male informant NK5 also chooses this variant to address his young niece. Sex is an important sociological factor in the informants' choice of the second person pronoun in addressing non-kin equals as well as subordinates. Informants state that they use the second person plural to address equals of the opposite sex, such as friends, but that more often they use the second person

singular to address friends of the same sex. The two younger informants, female NK3 and male NK5, make more extensive use of the second person plural since they choose this variant to address non-kin subordinates of the opposite sex.

Other variants of the Address variable. Table 6.5(2) shows the informants' reported use of the variants of Address other than the second person pronouns.

(Keys: p+kt=P article plus kin term, PDem=P demonstrative, P+fn=P article plus first name, s+fn=singular article plus first name, omis=omission of the pronoun in direct address, reverse=reversal of gender, 1=informant reports the use of the variant, - = informant does not report the use of the variant).

**Table 6.5(2) Other variants of the Address variable**

	p+kt	PDem	SDem	P+fn	s+fn	omis	reverse
NK1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
NK2	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
NK3	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
NK4	1	1	1	-	1	1	1
NK5	1	1	1	-	-	1	-
Total	5	5	5	3	4	5	1

Indirect address is reported by the informants to be less frequently used. The variants of indirect address appear to be

used in a uniform way. The nominals - kin term, professional title, first name - are chosen with either the P article or the singular article to indicate the relationship that the speaker has with the addressee.

All informants state the use of the P article plus kin term as a means of indirect address to kin superiors. The P demonstrative is reported to be used in a slightly different way by the informants. NK1 states that she would use this variant to address superiors with a close relationship. NK2 claims that she uses this variant to address superiors, whether kin or non-kin and also to friends of the opposite sex, and NK3 includes even those she does not know well. NK4 chooses this variant to address those whom he would address by the second person plural pronoun, such as kin and non-kin superiors, and adult members of the opposite sex. Female informants, NK1, NK2 and NK3, state that they use the P article plus first name to address equals and close associates of the same sex .

All informants claim that they use the singular article plus first name to address subordinates, kin and non-kin alike. NK2 is of the opinion that the reciprocal use of this variant between equals indicates a close relationship. Informants also state that they would choose the singular demonstrative to address equals such as spouse, friends, colleagues and neighbours of the same sex, and also subordinates such as younger siblings, children and servant.

All informants state they would omit the second person pronoun in direct address as a variant of Address. All but NK2 state that they would not use this variant to address their superiors, but only their equals and subordinates for the

purpose of registering anger or displeasure. NK2 claims that she would use this variant to any addressee without any restrictions, but that if used to a superior it indicates anger or displeasure whereas to subordinates it has no pragmatic significance at all.

NK4 claims that he would use the second person singular feminine to address a male adult in order to express extreme anger.

### 6.5.2 Variants of the Reference variable

Table 6.5(3) shows the informants' reported use of the variants of Reference.

(Keys : P+kt=P article plus kin term, s+kt=singular article plus kin term, s+pt=singular article plus professional title, P+pt=P article plus professional title, s+fn=singular article plus first name, P+fn=P article plus first name, N=noun 'the man').

**Table 6.5(3) Variants of the Reference variable**  
**Consanguineal kin referents.**

	NK1	NK2	NK3	NK4	NK5
1.Grandfather	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
2.Grandmother	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
3.Father	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
4.Mother	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
5.Older brother	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
6.Older sister	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
7.Younger brother	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	s+kt	P+kt
8.Younger sister	s+kt	s+kt	s+kt	P+kt	P+kt
9.Spouse	s+kt	P+kt	-	s+kt	-

10. Adult son	-	s+fn	-	-	-
11. Adult daughter	s+fn	s+fn	-	s+fn	-
12. Young son	s+fn	s+fn	-	-	-
13. Young daughter	s+fn	s+fn	-	s+fn	-
14. Adult nephew	s+fn	s+fn	-	s+fn	-
15. Adult niece	s+fn	s+fn	-	s+fn	-
16. Young nephew	s+fn	s+fn	-	s+fn	s+fn
17. Young niece	s+fn	s+fn	-	s+fn	P+fn

Affinal kin referents.

(Keys: O=older, Y=younger).

18. Father in law	P+kt	P+kt	-	P+kt	-
19. Mother in law	P+kt	P+kt	-	P+kt	-
20. O Brother in law	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
21. O Sister in law	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
22. Y Brother in law	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
23. Y Sister in law	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
24. Son in law	P+kt	-	-	-	-
25. Daughter in law	-	-	-	-	-

Non-kin referents.

(Keys: M=male, F=female, O=old, Y=young, D=distant, C=close, govt. minister=state government minister, D.C.=district commissioner).

26. Chief	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
27. Official	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
28. Govt. minister(M)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
29. Govt. minister(F)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
30. Pastor/priest	s+pt	P+pt	s+pt	s+pt	P+pt

31.D.C(M)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
32.D.C(F)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
33.Headman	s+pt	P+kt	s+pt	s+pt	P+kt
34.Doctor(M)	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
35.Doctor(F)	s+pt	P+pt	s+pt	s+pt	s+pt
36.Employer(M)	P+kt	-	-	P+kt	-
37.Employer(F)	P+kt	-	-	P+kt	-
38.Representative(O,D)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
39.Representative(O,C)	P+kt	s+fn	P+kt	s+fn	P+kt
40.Schoolteacher(M)	P+pt	P+pt	P+pt	s+pt	P+pt
41.Schoolteacher(F)	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	s+kt	P+kt
42.Neighbour(O,M)	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
43.Neighbour(O,F)	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt	P+kt
44.Representative(Y,D)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
45.Representative(Y,C)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
46.Close friend(M)	P+fn	P+fn	P+fn	s+fn	s+fn
47.Close friend(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	P+fn	P+fn
childhood friend					
48.When young(M)	s+fn	-	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
49.When young(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	P+fn
50.When adult(M)	P+fn	-	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
51.When adult(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	P+fn
52.Colleague(M)	P+fn	-	-	s+fn	-
53.Colleague(F)	s+fn	-	-	s+fn	-
54.Stranger(M)	s+N	s+N	s+N	s+N	s+N
55.Stranger(F)	s+N	s+N	s+N	s+N	s+N
56.Neighbour(Y,M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
57.neighbour(Y,F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
58.Work subordinate(M)	s+fn	-	-	s+fn	-

59.Work subordinate(F)	s+fn	-	-	s+fn	-
60.Worker(M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
61.Worker(F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
62.Child(14-16,M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
63.Child(14-16,F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
64.Child(below12,M)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn
65.Child(below12,F)	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn	s+fn

Kin term. All informants state that they would use the P article plus kin term for all kin superiors. Most of them use this variant to refer to older non-kin referents with whom they share a close relationship, such as elderly neighbours, employers, older representative and for the female schoolteacher. Only NK4 states that he uses the singular article plus kin term for the last two referents above. The younger informants, NK2 and NK5, say that they also use this variant to refer to the headman. Four of the informants choose the singular article plus subordinate kin term to refer to their younger siblings of the same sex. Only NK5 selects the P article plus kin term to refer to all her siblings.

Professional title. Four informants state that they use the P article plus professional title for referents who are respected members of the community whom they know well. All of them choose the singular article plus professional title to refer to respected members of the community whom they do not know well. The sex of the referent may also be important in selecting either of these two variants. NK2 selects the P article plus professional title to refer to a female doctor, but the singular article plus professional title for a male doctor.

First name. All informants claim that they use the P article plus first name to refer to equals of the opposite sex, such as friends and colleagues and, with the exception of NK5, the singular article plus first name to refer to kin subordinates such as their own children, nephews and nieces. This is also the variant that all informants select to refer to non-kin equals, such as friends of the same sex, for young local representatives whether they know the referent well or not, and also for subordinates such as younger neighbours and all young children in general.

The age and sex of the referent relative to those of the speaker seem to be the two most important factors here, after that the relationship between them. All the informants state that they use the P article to refer to older referents whom they know well. They also claim that they would 'shift' from the singular article to the P article to refer to most adult referents if the referent is present or if the addressee is a close associate of the referent.

Table 6.5(4) Switching of articles

Gloss	Usual variant	addressee close to referent	referent's presence	addressee a stranger
doctor(M)	Sg	P	P	Sg
doctor(F)	Sg	P	P	Sg
headman	Sg	P	P	Sg
pastor	Sg	P	P	Sg
rep(D)	Sg	P	P	Sg
official	Sg	P	P	Sg
chief	Sg	P	P	Sg
neigh (D,M)	Sg	P	P	Sg
neigh(D,F)	Sg	P	P	Sg

The shift is reportedly always from the singular article to the P article. The significance of this report is also that it pinpoints the difference between Reference and Address because here it is the three way relationship that counts. The speaker is unlikely to change the variant of Address chosen to address a particular addressee (with the exception of pronoun switching to express the mood of the moment) because the choice is determined by the speaker-addressee relationship. With Reference, however, as pointed out before, the choice is not so simple. Table 6.5(4) above exemplifies the more complex relationship of speaker-addressee-referent that determines the choice of a variant of Reference. Reference is also unique in

that, unlike Address where the participants - the speaker and the addressee - are present, the referent may or may not be present in the speech situation. The referent's presence or absence in the speech situation may well determine the speaker's choice of a variant.

### 6.5.3 Summary

The informants' reports show that the unmarked pronoun of address is the second person plural pronoun. All kin superiors, siblings of the opposite sex, and almost all non-kin adults are reportedly addressed by means of the second person plural pronoun. The second person singular pronoun is more restricted in its use, which is mostly for kin subordinates, non-kin subordinates such as those younger in age or for addressees in lower social rank such as employees. Older informants report a more frequent use of the second person singular particularly for members of the same sex, while younger informants have a more restricted use of this variant particularly for members of the opposite sex. The young female informant NK3 chooses the second person singular pronoun to address very young male addressees such as her young nephew, but the young male informant NK5 prefers to use the second person plural pronoun to female addressees, even his young niece. The same pattern is found among older informants - female informants show a higher use of the second person singular to address male addressees, while the older male informant NK4 rarely chooses the second person singular to address female addressees.

Table 6.5(5) below shows the percentage of the informants' reported use of the two second person pronouns as variants of Address.

**Table 6.5(5) Relative frequency of the second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable**

	2Sg	2Pl		Total
Number	70	212	=	282
Percentage	24.8%	75.2%	=	100%

The most important point that has to be noted here is that the second person plural pronoun is clearly the unmarked pronoun of address in this dialect. The significance of this and its impact on the grammar will be discussed in the next chapter. We will only note here that the use of the term 'plural' to designate this unmarked pronoun of address has been retained even though, as seen in the analysis above, it is not really consistent with its function in actual usage. The same is the case with second person singular pronoun. As in the standard dialect, informants of this dialect pluralize the forms of both second person pronouns by the use of the reciprocal marker *ya..* The linguistic context under which these pronouns are used has been discussed in chapter II on the standard dialect.

Indirect address is reported to be rarely used by the informants. Nevertheless, out of the cross-dialect total

inventory of 12 variants, informants in this dialect report the use of 7 of them.

<u>Variant</u>	<u>Number of informant</u>
P+KT	5
SDem	5
PDem	5
S+FN	4
P+FN	3
Omission of pronoun	5
Reversal of gender	1

All informants reportedly use the P demonstrative to address superiors with a close relationship and equals, particularly of the opposite sex. The singular demonstrative is reported to be used only to address subordinates. The P article plus first name is usually reported to be used only to equals with a close relationship, while the singular article plus first name is generally reported to be used to subordinates. Omission of the second person pronoun in direct address is reported to be used by all informants. Four of the five informants report that they would use this form of address only to equals and subordinates to express anger and displeasure. Only NK2 reports using this form of address to her superiors to express anger or displeasure. She is of the opinion that when used to equals and subordinates, this form of address is a neutral one and does not have any pragmatic significance. Only one of the two male informants report using reversal of gender as a variant of address. The older male

informant, NK4, reports that he would use the second person singular feminine pronoun to address a male addressee in order to indicate contempt and anger.

Regarding Reference, out of the cross-dialect total inventory of 8 variants, informants in this dialect report the use of 6 of them.

<u>Variant</u>	<u>Number of informants</u>
S+KT	4
P+KT	5
S+PT	5
P+PT	4
S+FN	4
P+FN	5

The informants state that they use the P article plus kin term to refer to all kin superiors and siblings of the opposite sex; the singular article with kin term or first name for all kin subordinates. With non-kin referents, the singular article is much more in use than the P article. Social rank and age do not really constitute the basis for choosing the P article for a non-kin referent but rather the referent's superiority in rank and age and his/her close relationship with the speaker. Though all the informants show an extensive use of the singular article (with professional title, kin term or first name) to refer to non-kin referents, they claim that they would shift from the singular article to the P article to refer to an adult referent if the latter were present in the speech situation or if the addressee were a close associate of the referent. The plural

article which is reported by informants of peripheral dialects and transitional dialects as a 'polite' variant is not reported to be used at all in this dialect to refer to a single referent.

## 6.6 STANDARD DIALECT

The informants of this dialect comprise speakers from two towns, Cherrapunjee and Shillong. It is generally regarded that speakers of the standard dialect from the two areas use the language in the same way. It will be part of this study to find out whether there is any significant difference in the choice of the variants of the Address variable and of the Reference variable between the speakers of the two areas. There are eleven informants from Shillong, four male and seven female, and nine from Cherrapunjee, four male and five female. Their age groups range from elderly, through middle-aged to teenaged schoolchildren. The informants' general details are briefly outlined below:

### Shillong speakers:

- S1, male aged 33, a schoolteacher, passed HSLC.
- S2, male aged 24, a taxi driver, read up to Class VII.
- S3, male aged 22, a carpenter, read up to Class VIII.
- S4, male aged 15, a schoolboy.
- S5, female aged 58, a trader, basic reading and writing skills.
- S6, female aged 29, a college lecturer, M.A. in sociology.
- S7, female aged 50, a housewife, uneducated.
- S8, female aged 30, a primary schoolteacher, passed HSLC.

S9, female aged 40, a nursery schoolteacher, read up to Class X.

S10, female aged 40, government official, M.A. in sociology.

S11, female aged 11, a schoolgirl.

Cherrapunjee speakers:

S12, male aged 38, businessman, B.A. in Economics.

S13, male aged 56, self-employed, uneducated.

S14, male aged 65, headman, uneducated.

S15, male aged 13, a schoolboy.

S16, female aged 38, self-employed, passed HSLC.

S17, female aged 47, labourer, uneducated.

S18, female aged 15, schoolgirl.

S19, female aged 65, retired government official, educated.

S20, female aged 70, a housewife, uneducated.

### **6.6.1 Variants of the Address variable**

The basic variants of Address in this dialect are the two second person pronouns and, as in all the other dialects, these are the ones that are analysed first.

Second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable. As in Nongkseh, the second person plural pronoun in the standard dialect is the unmarked pronoun of Address.

Table 6.6(1) Second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable in Standard dialect.

Consanguineal kin addressees. (Key: GF=grandfather, GM=grandmother, F=father, M=mother, O=older,

B=brother, S=sister, Y=younger, sp=spouse, Ad=adult, So=son, Da=daughter, Yo=young, Ne=nephew,

Ni=niece)

	S 1	S 2	S 3	S 4	S 5	S 6	S 7	S 8	S 9	S 10	S 11	S 12	S 13	S 14	S 15	S 16	S 17	S 18	S 19	S 20
1.GF	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
2.GM	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
3.F	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
4.M	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
5.OB	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
6.OS	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1
7.YB	P1/ Sg	P1	Sg	Sg	P1	P1/ Sg	P1	Sg	P1	P1	P1	-	P1	P1/ Sg	P1	P1	P1	-	P1	P1
8.YS	P1	-	P1	P1	P1	P1/ Sg	P1	SG	P1	P1	P1	-	P1	P1	P1	P1	P1	-	P1/ Sg	Sg
9.SP	P1/ Sg	P1	P1	-	P1	-	P1	SG	P1	P1	-	P1	P1	P1/ Sg	-	P1	P1	-	P1	P1
10.Ad So	-	-	-	-	Sg	-	P1/ Sg	-	-	P1/ Sg	-	-	Sg	Sg	-	-	Sg	-	Sg	P1/ Sg
11.Ad Da	-	-	-	-	P1/ Sg	-	P1	-	Sg	P1/ Sg	-	-	Sg	Sg	-	-	Sg	-	Sg	P1/ Sg
12.Yo So	-	-	-	-	Sg	-	P1	Sg	-	Sg	-	-	Sg	Sg	-	Sg	Sg	-	Sg	Sg



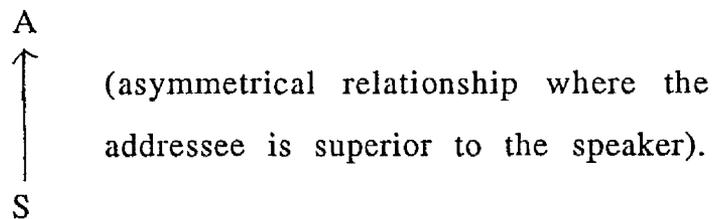






Table 6.6(1) shows that most informants claim the use of the second person plural pronoun to address all superior consanguineal kin relations, most affinal kin relations and most adult non-kin addressees. The second person singular is generally reported to be used to address kin subordinates, usually of the same sex, and non-kin equals and subordinates also usually of the same sex. To put it more explicitly, the use of the two second person pronouns as variants of Address in the standard dialect is as follows:

(a) the second person plural pronoun is used in asymmetrical relationships between the speaker (S) and the addressee (A)



(b) the second person plural pronoun is used when addressing all adult non-kin addressees, particularly those with a distant relationship.

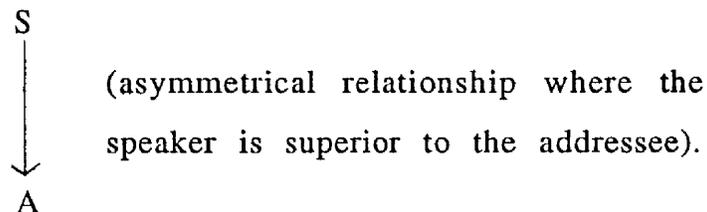
$\text{S} \longleftrightarrow \text{A}$  (symmetrical relationship between equals, particularly addressees of the opposite sex).

(c) the second person singular pronoun is used to address close non-kin equals of the same sex, namely, very close friends.

$\text{S} \longleftrightarrow \text{A}$  (symmetrical relationship where the speaker has a close relationship with the addressee, such as

between close friends of the same sex, and among some speakers between husband and wife).

(d) the second person singular pronoun is used to address subordinates in age and rank, both kin and non-kin addressees.



However, marginal differences do exist. The four schoolchildren have a more restricted use of the second person singular pronoun than the older informants. The two schoolgirls S11 and S18 almost uniformly choose the second person plural pronoun for all addressees, young or old, male or female. The only exception is in the case of S11, who claims that she uses both pronouns to address a young niece. There is no report of the use of the second person singular feminine at all by the two schoolboys, S4 and S15, since all female addressees are reportedly addressed by means of the second person plural irrespective of the addressee's age or relationship with the speaker. However, both these informants claim that they use the singular pronoun to address younger brothers, friends and most contemporaries of the same sex. The other informants' reports that do not conform to the generalizations made above are : S1 states that he normally uses the second person singular to address his wife, but that he switches to the second person plural to address her in front of strangers. S2 does not use the second person singular to any non-kin addressee of the

opposite sex. S3 claims that he uses the second person singular to a stranger of the same sex, a young neighbour and a worker under him, even if of the opposite sex. Female informants S5 and S7 choose the second person singular to address the adult son but the second person plural to the adult daughter.

The other variants of the Address variable. Table 6.6(2) shows that informants report the use of the following variants of Address other than the second person pronouns.

Table 6.6(2). Other variants of the Address variable.

Key: 1=informant reports using, x=informant does not report using, PL=plural article, P=P article, S=singular article, PT=professional title, KT=kin term, FN=first name, PDEM=P demonstrative, SDEM=singular demonstrative, omis=omission of the second person pronoun, variation=variation of gender).

	PL+PT	P+PT	P+KT	P+FN	S+FN	PDEM	SDEM	OMIS	VARIATION
S1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
S2	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
S3	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
S4	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x
S5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x
S6	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x
S7	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x
S8	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x
S9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x	x
S10	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x
S11	x	1	x	x	x	1	1	1	1
S12	x	1	x	x	x	1	1	1	1
S13	x	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
S14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x
S15	x	x	x	1	1	1	1	1	x
S16	1	x	1	1	1	1	1	x	x
S17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x
S18	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x
S19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x
S20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x
Total	8	17	17	18	18	20	20	18	6

The eight older informants who use the plural article plus professional title as a variant of Address state that they would use it to address the chief formally in a public assembly.

The P article is used with professional title, kin term and first name as variants of indirect address. Seventeen informants claim that they use the P article plus professional title as a respectful form of address to addressees with a high social standing but whom they know well, such as their doctors, their pastor/priest, etc. S1 states that he finds this form of address quite pretentious. It is interesting to note his comment that he "dislikes" the use of this variant of Address and that he would not use it "however much he respects" the addressee. His comment shows that he interprets this variant as one indicating respect. Seventeen informants state that they use the P article plus kin term as a polite form of address to all kin superiors and non-kin social superiors whom they respect. The most common kin terms used as forms of address to non-kin addressees are *baʔ* 'older brother' and *koŋ* 'older sister' (though other kin terms are also used). S7 claims that this variant is more appropriate to address her husband than the second person plural pronoun. Most informants, however, state that their first choice of a variant of Address to most addressees, including their spouses, would be the second person pronoun. Eighteen informants state that they use the P article plus first name to address equals such as friends and colleagues, particularly those of the opposite sex.

Informants claim that they use the P demonstrative to addressees with a close relationship, such as their kin superiors and also to equals of the opposite sex, and the singular

demonstrative to close equals, such as friends of the same sex and also to subordinates.

The singular article is reportedly used only with first name in indirect address. Eighteen informants state that they would choose this variant to address subordinates, particularly young addressees.

Eighteen informants claim that omission of the second person pronoun in direct address can be used to address equals such as close friends, or to subordinates such as younger addressees, to express anger or displeasure. One informant, S10, states that this variant is a neutral form of address when used to subordinates and indicates anger only when used to address equals. All the informants say that they would not use this variant to their superiors.

Six out of eight male informants claim that they would use the second person singular feminine to a male addressee in moments of extreme anger. Two of them, S1 and S13, claim that they would also use this variant to close friends to indicate camaraderie and to a younger brother to express affection.

### **6.6.2 Variants of the Reference variable**

Table 6.6(3) shows the informants' reported use of the variants of Reference.





32.dcf s+pt s+pt s+ki s+ki p+pt p+ki s+pt s+pt s+pt s+ki s+pt s+ki p+ki/ p+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt  
 s+pt  
 33.nd s+pt p+pt/ p+ki s+ki p+ki s+ki s+ki s+ki s+ki s+ki p+pt s+ki s+pt s+pt s+ki p+pt/ s+pt p+ki s+pt  
 s+pt  
 34.docM p+pt/ p+pt s+pt s+pt p+pt p+pt/ p+pt/ s+pt s+pt p+pt/ p+pt/ s+pt  
 s+pt s+pt  
 35.docf p+pt/ p+pt p+pt s+pt p+pt p+pt/ p+pt/ s+pt s+pt p+pt/ p+pt/ p+pt p+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt s+pt  
 s+pt  
 36.emM p+ki p+ki - - p+ki s+ki - p+ki p+ki p+ki - p+ki p+ki - - p+ki p+ki - p+ki  
 37.emf p+ki p+ki - - p+ki p+ki - p+ki p+ki p+ki - p+ki p+ki - - p+ki p+ki - p+ki  
 38.reOD s+ki p+ki p+ki s+ki p+ki s+ki  
 39.reOC p+ki  
 40.scM p+pt p+pt p+pt p+pt p+pt p+pt/ p+pt p+pt p+pt p+pt p+pt/ p+pt/ p+pt p+pt p+pt p+pt p+pt p+pt p+pt p+pt  
 s+pt  
 41.scf p+ki  
 42.neOM p+ki  
 43.neOF p+ki  
 44.reYD s+fn s+fn s+ki s+ki p+ki s+fn s+ki s+ki s+fn s+fn s+ki s+ki s+fn s+fn s+ki s+ki s+fn s+fn p+ki s+fn  
 45.reYC s+fn p+ki/ p+ki p+ki p+fn p+fn/ s+fn p+ki p+fn s+fn s+ki p+ki s+pt s+fn p+ki p+fn p+fn - p+fn p+fn  
 s+ki s+fn  
 46.frM s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn p+ki p+fn p+ki p+ki p+fn p+fn s+ki s+ki s+ki s+fn p+fn p+fn p+ki p+fn p+fn  
 47.frF p+fn s+fn s+fn p+fn s+fn p+fn/ p+fn s+fn s+fn s+ki p+fn p+ki p+ki p+ki s+fn p+fn p+fn p+ki p+fn p+fn  
 s+fn  
 48.chM s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn p+fn s+fn  
 49.chF s+fn s+fn s+fn p+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn p+fn p+ki p+ki s+fn s+fn p+fn s+fn - s+fn -

50. AdM s+fn s+fn p+fn s+fn p+fn s+fn p+fn p+fn p+fn p+fn - s+kt s+fn s+fn - p+fn p+fn - p+fn  
 51. AdF p+kt p+fn p+fn p+fn p+fn p+fn p+fn p+fn s+fn - p+fn p+kt p+fn - p+fn p+fn - p+fn  
 52. coM p+fn s+fn p+fn s+fn p+kt p+fn/ - p+kt p+kt p+kt - p+kt s+kt - - p+fn p+fn - p+kt  
     s+fn  
 53. coF p+kt p+fn p+fn s+fn p+kt p+fn/ - p+kt p+kt p+kt - p+kt p+kt - - p+fn s+fn - p+kt -  
     s+fn  
 54. suM s+kt s+N s+kt s+kt p+kt s+kt s+N s+kt s+kt s+kt s+N s+kt s+kt s+kt s+kt s+kt s+kt s+kt s+kt  
 55. suF s+kt s+N s+kt s+kt p+kt p+kt/ s+N s+kt s+kt s+kt s+N p+kt s+kt s+kt s+kt s+kt s+kt s+kt  
     s+kt  
 56. neYM s+FN s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn p+fn/ s+fn s+fn p+kt s+fn s+kt s+fn s+kt s+fn s+fn p+fn p+fn/ p+fn s+fn s+fn  
     s+fn  
 57. meYF s+fn p+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn p+fn/ s+fn s+fn s+kt s+kt s+fn p+fn s+kt s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn p+kt s+fn -  
     s+fn  
 58. juM s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn - s+fn - s+fn s+fn s+kt - p+kt p+fn/ - - p+fn - - p+fn -  
     s+fn  
 59. juF p+kt p+fn s+fn s+fn - p+fn/ - s+fn p+fn p+fn - p+kt p+fn - - p+fn - - p+fn p+fn  
     s+fn  
 60. woM p+fn/ s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn - p+kt s+fn s+fn s+kt p+fn/ p+fn/ s+fn s+kt s+fn - p+kt s+fn s+fn  
     s+fn  
 61. woF p+kt p+kt s+fn s+fn s+fn p+fn s+fn p+kt p+kt s+fn p+kt p+kt p+fn/ s+fn p+kt s+fn - p+kt s+fn s+fn  
     s+fn  
 62. chOM s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn - s+fn - s+fn s+fn s+fn - s+fn - - - - - s+fn s+fn  
 63. chOF s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn - s+fn - s+fn s+fn p+fn - s+fn - - - - - s+fn s+fn  
 64. chYM s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn - s+fn - s+fn s+fn s+fn - s+fn - - - - - s+fn s+fn  
 65. chOF s+fn s+fn s+fn s+fn - s+fn - s+fn s+fn s+fn - s+fn - - - - - s+fn s+fn

We see from the table that there is variation between the P article and the singular article in referring to kin members and also to respected members of society. First of all, we see that the P article plus kin term is reportedly used to refer to kin superiors and the singular article plus kin term/first name to kin subordinates, particularly those of the same sex. The P article plus kin term is also extended to non-kin superiors to whom the speaker has a close relationship.

There is also variation between the P article and the singular article plus professional title to refer to respected members of society whom the speaker knows well or does not know well respectively. The use of the singular article plus professional title is not indicative of non-respectful reference but simply that the speaker does not have a close relationship with the referent. In fact the title for the chief, the pastor, the doctor, etc. is already indicative of the referent's high status. We will come back to this in the summary, where we will see that the traditional and religious respectful terms of Reference always involve the singular article.

Variation between the P article and the singular article with first name as a variant of Reference is usually based on sex. Speakers are generally of the opinion that equals of the opposite sex, such as friends and colleagues, are referred by means of the P article plus first name, whereas those of the same sex by means of the singular article plus first name. The singular article plus first name is also more commonly used for younger referents, especially children.

All informants state that they would shift from the singular article to the P article for an adult referent if the

referent were present or if the addressee were a close associate of the referent as the following Table shows:

**Table 6.4(4). Shift from the singular article to the P article.**

	Usual variant	Referent's presence	Addressee close to referent	Addressee a stranger
doctor(M)	Sg	P	P	Sg
doctor(F)	Sg	P	P	Sg
headman	Sg	P	P	Sg
pastor	Sg	P	P	Sg
D.C (M)	Sg	P	P	Sg
D.C (F)	Sg	P	P	Sg
chief	Sg	P	P	Sg

The usual pattern seen in Table 6.6(3) is that the P article is chosen with a kin term, and the singular article with a professional title to refer to non-kin social superiors, superiority being determined by age or rank. This is exemplified by many of the informants' reports of article shifting, in the case of the chief from singular article plus professional title *?u s?em* to P article plus kin term *?i pa?em* (meaning literally, 'father chief') when the referent is present or if the addressee is a close associate of the chief. The examples concerning other referents do show, however, that

professional titles are used with the P article when the referent is present or when the addressee is a close associate of the referent as in the case of doctors, pastors, etc. seen in Table 6.6(4) above.

### 6.6.3 Summary

In the previous sections we have analysed the speakers' use of the variants of the Address and the Reference variables in the standard dialect. Here we will examine first, as we have done for all the other dialects, the relative frequency of the two second person pronouns as main variants of Address. This is done primarily to ascertain just how much more frequently the second person plural pronoun occurs by comparison with the second person singular pronoun. As in Nongkseh, we will see that the second person plural pronoun is not indicative of plural number as such, but is in fact, the unmarked pronoun of address to a single addressee. Table 6.6(5) below shows the relative frequency of the two second person pronouns as reportedly used by the informants:

**Table 6.6(5). Relative frequency of the second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable**

	2Sg	2Pl	Total
Number	173	889	= 1062
Percentage	16.3%	83.7%	= 100%

The informants' reports show that, of all the dialects taken for analysis here, speakers of this dialect have the highest score for the use of the second person plural pronoun as a variant of Address.

A more detailed analysis of the informants' reported use of the second person pronoun (2Pl), the second person singular pronoun (2Sg), and the number of items that they did not provide information (No R), is shown in Table 6.6(6) below, male informants and female informants being shown separately. Their ages are given in parentheses with the older informants on the left side of the column and the younger informants on the right side. Even though all the informants show a high usage of the second person plural pronoun, the important point must be made here that the younger informants (on the right hand side of the columns) have a higher score of No R (no response) than the older informants, both among males and females.

**Table 6.6(6) Informants' reported use of the second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable**

Male informants.

	S14	S13	S12	S1	S2	S3	S4	S15
	(65)	(56)	(38)	(33)	(24)	(22)	(15)	(13)
2PL	48	50	49	53	45	43	46	35
2SG	11	9	8	9	11	13	6	5
No R	8	6	9	8	9	10	13	25

Female informants.

S20 S19 S5 S7 S17S10 S16 S9 S8 S6 S18 S11  
 (70)(65)(58)(50)(47)(40)(38)(35)(30)(29)(15) (14)

---

2PL	48	57	47	53	46	54	53	49	41	41	40	39
2SG	8	11	11	5	7	14	5	11	20	10	0	1
NoR	11	0	8	9	13	1	8	6	4	21	25	26

---

Tables 6.6(6) above shows that there are many gaps in the informants' reports where for some items no information as to which second person pronoun is used as a variant of Address is given. These are labelled No R. It will be especially noted that the younger informants have a higher proportion of No Rs than the older informants. Most of these are items regarding addressees to whom the informants do not yet have access, such as father-in-law, offspring, son-in-law etc. Other No Rs include older informants who do not provide information on these and other items.

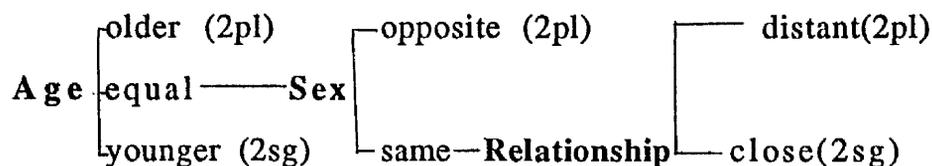
The second person plural pronoun is the unmarked pronoun of Address and, more importantly, is particularly so with younger informants. This could be interpreted as: (a) evidence of a change in progress such that the second person plural pronoun is emerging more and more as the only acceptable pronoun of address, in view of the fact that younger speakers use less and less of the second person singular pronoun. This view is supported by the older informants' reports of the use of the second person singular to address

friends of both sexes during childhood while young teenaged informants select only the second person plural to address their friends, particularly those of the opposite sex; (b) an indication of the fact that, because of their age and rank in society, young speakers are denied the social role which would permit them more frequent use of the second person singular pronoun since there will be fewer younger addressees and addressees subordinate to them in rank. The figures in Table 6.6(6) show that young informants have a very high number of items with no responses (S4, S11, S15 and S18 have 13, 26, 25 and 26 No Rs respectively) by comparison with that for the older informants. These items usually refer to the speaker's subordinates, such as offspring, social subordinates, employees, juniors at work, etc. It is possible that the informants' age, and thereby their rank, does not allow them a higher use of the second person singular pronoun which may account for their low score in the use of the second person singular pronoun.

The whole analysis thus enables us to make a number of generalizations concerning the social factors that determine the speakers' use of the two second person pronouns as variants of Address. Firstly, all informants choose the second person plural to address all those who are superior to them in age and rank, whether kin or non-kin. Usually age rather than social rank is the factor that determines the use of the second person plural. Secondly, all informants select the second person singular only to address kin subordinates, such as younger siblings of the same sex, and non-kin equals and subordinates also of the same sex. After age then, the most important factor that determines the informants' choice of a second person pronoun

is sex. Male speakers usually report the use of the second person singular only to address other male contemporaries with equal status and female speakers correspondingly only to address female contemporaries with equal status. Thirdly, the use of the second person singular pronoun for addressing a contemporary of the same sex is restricted only to addressees with a close relationship, such as friends. Moreover, some older female informants state that they use the second person singular pronoun to address a younger brother in law's wife or their own daughters in law in order to indicate closeness and intimacy. So the third important social factor that is seen to influence the informants' choice of the second person singular is closeness and intimacy. This third social factor is reflected in the use of the second person singular as a means of expressing positive politeness. Informants (with only one exception) claim that they would choose the second person plural pronoun to address a non-kin adult addressee with a distant relationship such as a stranger. Table 6.6(7) shows a flow-chart that indicates the interrelatedness of the social factors with the speakers' choice of the two second person pronouns:

**Table 6.6(7) Social factors that determine speakers' choice of the two second person pronouns as variants of Address**



Apart from the informants' age, there is no other attribute on the part of the speaker that appears to influence the choice of a second person pronoun as a variant of Address. Neither sex, education nor the profession of the speaker makes any contribution toward influencing the informant's choice of a second person pronoun as a variant of Address. To exemplify this, let us take education. S6, a college lecturer with a Master's degree in Sociology, chooses the second person singular to address her younger siblings, friends and younger neighbours whether they are male or female, whereas S12, a businessman with a BA degree in Economics, states that he would not use the second person singular at all to a female addressee regardless of her age or social rank. So two professionals with educational degrees in their respective fields report an almost opposite view on the use of the second person singular pronoun.

The informants' reports on their use of the other variants of Address also presents an interesting contrast to those of other dialects. In the preceding chapter, we have shown that the cross-dialectal total number of these variants is 12. Informants for the standard dialect report the use of 8 of these, the widest range of variants reportedly used among the entire range of dialects.

<u>Variant</u>	<u>No. of informants</u>
P article plus kin term	17
P article plus professional title	17
Singular article plus first name	18
P article plus first name	18
Singular demonstrative	20
P demonstrative	20
Omission of pronoun	18
Reversal of gender	6

Some of these variants are stated to be indicative of respectful address. These are the P article plus kin term, or the P article plus professional title. That is why kin terms and titles are never found to occur with the singular article, as that would be contrary to respect in address. Others are considered to be polite forms of address which also indicate a close relationship, such as the P demonstrative and the P article plus first name. The singular article, which usually indicates that the addressee is a subordinate, is therefore used only with forms that are not indicative of respect for Address.

Regarding Reference, the article on its own is not really indicative of respect or subordination. The singular article in particular, cannot be stated to be indicative of the speaker's superiority over the referent. Before we discuss this, however, let us examine the social factors that can be generally considered to determine the choice of a variant of Reference. Age, social rank and distance/closeness appear to be the most important factors in the speaker's choice of a variant. Firstly, all older adult referents are either referred to by the P article

plus kin term, the singular article plus kin term or the singular article plus professional title, depending on whether they have a close or distant relationship respectively with the speaker. The P article plus professional title is reported to be used for referents whom the speaker respects and also knows well. Some informants also make a distinction based on sex where female referents such as doctors are referred to by means of the P article plus professional title while their male counterparts by the singular article plus professional title. This, unlike the case of Address, does not only happen across the sexes. Both male and female informants alike are more inclined to use the P article plus professional title for a female referent than for a male. Secondly, referents who are the speaker's equals in social status are either referred to by the P article plus first name or the singular article plus first name usually depending on (a) closeness/distance of the relationship between the speaker and the referent - close equals are more often reported to be referred to by the P article plus first name while equals in rank with a distant relationship are referred to by the singular article plus first name, (b) the sex of the referent - that is, the use of the P article plus first name if the referent is a member of the opposite sex and the singular article plus first name for a member of the same sex. Thirdly, young referents, particularly those below 16 years of age, are generally referred to by the singular article plus first name whether the speaker knows them well or not and irrespective of whether the referent is male or female. Finally, all informants report that they would shift from the singular article to the P article to refer to an adult referent if the

referent were present or if the addressee were a close associate of the referent.

The cross-dialectal total number of variants of Reference is 8, and informants of the standard dialect claim that they use 6 of them.

<u>Variant</u>	<u>No. of informants</u>
Singular article plus kin term	20
P article plus kin term	20
Singular article plus professional title	20
P article plus professional title	20
Singular article plus first name	20
P article plus first name	19

The almost uniform way in which the above variants are reportedly used indicates that, unlike what we see in the case of Address, there is no difference in the choice of variants of Reference among older and younger speakers. All informants choose the P article plus kin term to refer to kin superiors and the singular article plus kin term to refer to kin subordinates, usually of the same sex. This pattern is reported by both older and younger speakers. The same appears to be the case with non-kin referents, where older referents whom the speaker knows well are referred to by the P article plus kin term. The singular article plus professional title is used for referents of high standing in the community but the P article plus professional title is reportedly used for referents of high office if the speaker knows them well. The main difference between the informants is in the case of young female speakers who

prefer to use the P article plus first name to refer to friends of both sexes rather than the singular article plus first name which most informants select especially for friends of the same sex.

It must, however, be pointed out here that the use of the singular article, particularly in the masculine, does not necessarily indicate an asymmetrical relationship with the informant being the superior, nor does it always indicate distance. All informants report that in the case of the Chief it would not sound right to refer to him by means of the P article in combination with his official professional title. It would not be in keeping with his stature and office. Also all great heroes in the past are referred to in the singular masculine. In the Christian Church, and also in the Khasi religion, God is always referred to by means of the singular article in all the dialects.

Finally, the question was raised at the beginning of this discussion on the standard dialect as to whether there is any difference at all in the choice of the basic variants of Address between speakers from Shillong and those from Cherrapunjee. There does not in fact appear to be much difference between the two groups of speakers in most cases. The pattern is almost identical for the use of the second person pronouns as variants of Address. However, when a single item where variation is more pronounced among speakers is analysed, the picture is quite different. For example, informants of the two areas differ quite considerably in their reported use of the second person pronoun as a variant of Address to address a younger sibling of the same sex. Table 6.6(8) below shows that Cherrapunjee speakers have a higher use of the second person singular

while Shillong speakers have a higher use of the second person plural, when addressing a younger sibling of the same sex.

**Table 6.6(8) Difference between Shillong speakers and Cherrapunjee speakers.**

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	2Sg	2Pl	Total
Shillong	4 (25%)	7 (75%)	11
Cherrapunjee	6(75%)	3 (25%)	9

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On the whole, however, informants from both areas report a very similar pattern in their use of the variants, both of the Address and of the Reference variables.

## CHAPTER VII

### Cross-dialect comparison

#### 7.0 Introduction

It is the purpose of this chapter to compare the variants of the Address variable and of the Reference variable across the six dialects. It is expected in particular, that this comparison will lead to an understanding of the historical development of the second person polite pronoun and also the evolvement of the P article as an honorific form in reference. In the previous chapter we saw that in the peripheral dialects the use of the two second person pronouns is generally structure-determined, that is, the second person singular is used to a single addressee and the second person plural to two or more addressees. Informants' reports in the transitional dialects, particularly in Mawrong, show that the second person plural is used as a polite pronoun to a single addressee as well as a second person plural pronoun. Informants' reports for the central dialects show that the second person plural is the unmarked pronoun of address to a single addressee.

Regarding the articles, informants of the peripheral and transitional dialects state that they use the plural article as an honorific form. However, one informant in Nartiang and two in Mawrong claim the use of the P article as an honorific form. Informants of the central dialects use the P article extensively as an honorific form.

The geographical locations of these dialects are of importance since they will reflect the way innovations spread across the dialects.<sup>33</sup>

## 7.1 The Address variable

I shall start this discussion with the reported use of the second person pronouns and continue with the reported use of the other variants of Address.

### 7.1.1 The second person pronouns as variants of the Address variable

The following table gives quantitative information on the relative frequency of the second person singular and the second person plural pronouns across the dialects.

**Table 7.1 Relative frequency of the two second person pronouns as variants of Address**

	NT	JR	NRT	IMR	NK	STD
2 Sg	356	311	118	174	70	173
2 Pl	34	14	12	138	212	889
Total	390	325	130	312	282	1062
2 Pl%	8.8%	4.3%	9.7%	44.8%	75.2%	83.7%

<sup>33</sup> See map and information on the land and people in chapter I.

Table 7.1 shows very clearly that the overall use of the second person plural pronoun to address a single addressee is very marginal in the peripheral dialects of Nongtalang and Jirang and also in the transitional dialect of Nartiang. The transitional dialect of Mawrong, on the other hand, shows a very substantial use of the second person plural pronoun to address a single addressee, almost 50%. In the two central dialects Nongkseh and the standard dialect, on the other hand, the second person plural pronoun is the unmarked pronoun of address while the second person singular pronoun is employed in a more limited way. None of the informants for the central dialects identify the second person plural *phi* as encoding plural number; it is the presence of the reciprocal marker *ya* before the verb that marks the pronoun either as singular or plural in these dialects. In fact, informants in both the central dialects claim that the use of the second person singular to equals usually indicates the attitude of the speaker towards the addressee, usually expressing annoyance or anger.

There are no documented records on the diachronic process which has resulted in the change in the paradigm of the second person pronoun in the central dialects. The fact that the peripheral dialects, Jirang in the north and Nongtalang in the south, show a very marginal use of the second person plural pronoun as a polite pronoun to address a single addressee suggests very strongly that the innovation in the use of the second person plural form as a polite singular pronoun lies with the central dialects. In the documented language history of many languages, an innovation in a particular dialect may be seen to spread to geographically adjacent dialects. The wave theory,

developed by Schmidt (1872) on Indo-European languages postulates the spread of linguistic innovations from a centre over the surrounding territory, much as a stone thrown into water produces progressively wider and fainter ripples around its point of impact. It propounds that related but distinct dialects which are geographically adjacent and whose territories have become united under the influence of some political force with a single administrative and cultural centre, will tend to converge over a period of time. This kind of dialect levelling is claimed to be observable wherever a standard language gains increasing influence over local and regional dialects.<sup>34</sup>

Prior to the British colonisation of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, there were many Khasi principalities under the rule of various chiefs and their ministers. There was no superordinate body to oversee the administration and therefore these principalities were free and independent of each other's rule. Though from time to time there were raids and forays into each other's territory . . . there was no record of any one principality ruling over the entire area at any single time. The dialects, therefore, could be presumed to have developed quite independently. With the advent of the British Empire, things began to change. First, the headquarters for the administration of the area was set up at Cherrapunjee, and this was followed by an attempt to write the language in Bengali script. This attempt was subsequently abandoned and the Roman script was then used and is still used at the present time. Under British rule all the principalities, although still independent from

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<sup>34</sup> Bynon, T. (1977:192-194) gives a detailed account of this kind of dialect levelling.

each other, came under one superordinate administrative body.<sup>35</sup> Later, the headquarters was transferred to Shillong, but the Cherrapunjee dialect continued to retain its hold as the dialect in which officials conducted administrative and judicial affairs in the districts. With road construction, the districts were opened up to trade and commerce, and social intercourse between the speakers of all the dialects became unavoidable. The Cherrapunjee dialect became the *lingua franca* among speakers of the different dialects. More importantly, this dialect was chosen as the variety into which the Bible was translated and church services conducted, as well as the medium of instruction in schools. Thus, even when Shillong became the political, administrative and cultural centre the Cherrapunjee dialect was retained as the standard dialect of Khasi.

We have seen from Table 7.1 above that the standard dialect has the highest incidence of use of the second person plural pronoun to address a single addressee. This can be interpreted as an innovation in variation of number in the second person pronoun by the political and cultural 'core' area (the standard dialect), which has then spread to the transitional dialects and to a lesser degree to the peripheral dialects.

### **7.1.2 Structure and usage: the development of the honorific pronoun of address in Khasi**

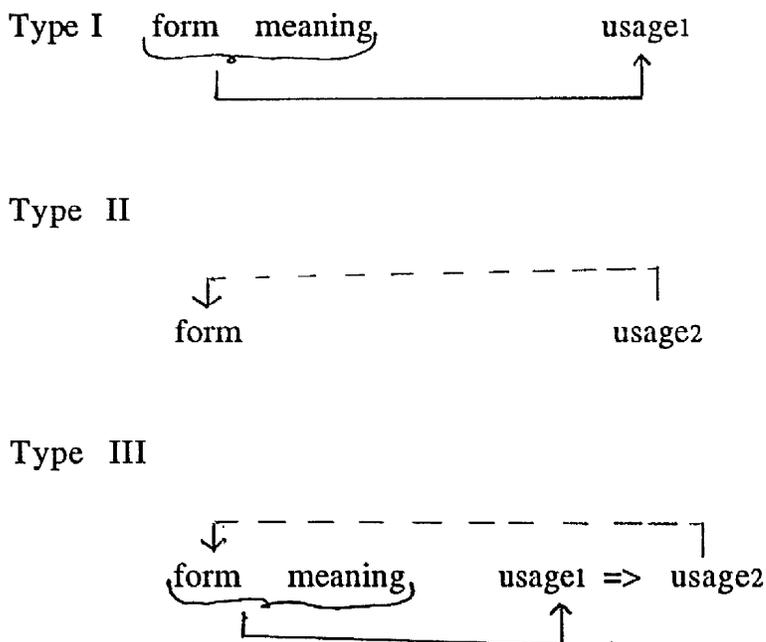
The claim that the use of the second person plural as a second person polite singular is an innovation leaves unanswered

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<sup>35</sup> Bareh, H. (1985) gives the most detailed account of the history of the pre-British Khasi states and principalities. Gurdon (1914) also describes the Khasi administrative systems as found by the British when they first came to the hills. This has been discussed in more detail in chapter I.

the question as to the route by which this phenomenon enters the grammar of a language. As a matter of principle, linguistic analysts assume that usage is shaped or determined by structure (form and meaning). Brown and Levinson, however, (1987:258-261) suggest a mechanism by means of which extended usage feeds back into structure. They do this by defining the successive stages in the shape of three 'types':

**Table 7.2.**



-> = determines

<--- = partially determines

=> = related by implicature

Type I represents 'structure-determined usage', where the pragmatic effect is achieved by virtue of the literal meaning of the linguistic form.

Type II represents 'usage-determined structure'.

Type III represents the transitional stage, where extended usage changes meaning and conversational implicature plays the crucial role.

They provide the following example from the Tamil second person pronouns:

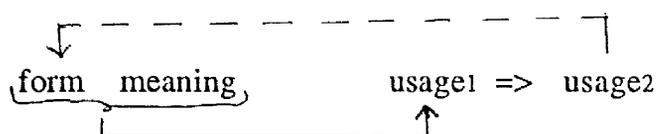
Second person singular	Second person (archaic plural) singular honorific	Second person (new) plural
<i>nii</i>	<i>niir</i>	<i>niinkaL</i>

They hypothesize that Old Tamil had only two second person pronouns, the singular *nii* and the plural *niir*. The use of the second person plural was later extended "beyond that predicted by literal meaning alone" when it was used as a polite singular. There was then synchronically a situation like III. They claim that in Intermediate Tamil, a new plural emerged and the literal meaning of the old plural "atrophied", leaving a pattern like II where a once-plural pronoun is subsequently used only to express deference to a single addressee. This archaic plural pronoun is claimed to be rarely used at present, even as an honorific singular pronoun of address. In Modern Tamil the new plural pronoun *niinkaL* has come under the same pressures as the old one in Old Tamil, and is now being used honorifically to address a single addressee so that a situation like type III is re-emerging.

In Table 7.2 above Brown and Levinson's hypothesis as presented is applied to the dialect situation in Khasi. If we assume



## III.



The transitional dialects, particularly that of Mawrong, reflect Type III of the process of reanalysis where variation of number is clearly the case, so that:

second person singular = normal method to a single addressee,

second person plural = (a) polite address to a single addressee, and (b) plural reference, that is address to two or more addressees.

Brown and Levinson's account of the development of the second person plural pronoun into a polite singular seems to reflect what has taken place in Khasi. Thus the evolution of the second person plural pronoun in Standard Khasi has not stopped at the polite singular stage but has developed further to become the unmarked pronoun of address.

The claim that I am making here is that the innovation with regard to the second person polite pronoun has originated in the standard dialect. We have seen that it is this dialect which has progressed most in the development of the second person plural, which is now the unmarked pronoun of address. The statistical evidence regarding the relative frequency of use of the second person plural to a single addressee shows that this is much more marginal in the other dialects. Furthermore, the fact that dialects geographically closer to the standard dialect have a much higher percentage of the use of the second person plural to a single

addressee, and dialects furthest away from it have the lowest percentage, appears to substantiate this view.

Before we examine the pronoun systems and the pronominal paradigm in the second person of the different dialect groups, we will give a brief summary of the use of the 'new' second person plural pronoun in the central dialects already discussed in chapter II.

### 7.1.3 The 'new' second person plural pronouns in the standard dialect

Speakers of the central dialects do not associate the second person plural pronoun with plural number. In response to questions 2-4, 2-5, of the questionnaire, which focus on the manner of addressing respectively a single addressee and two or more addressees, all informants report the use of the reciprocal marker *ya* to express plurality:

To one addressee:

424. phi lɛ? ayu ?

you do what

'What are you doing?'

To two or more addressees:

425. phi ya lɛ? ayu ?

you REC do what

'What are you(PL) doing?'

On the basis of this information, it is clear that the literal meaning of the 'original form' (the second person plural pronoun)

*phi* has atrophied and on its own no longer conveys plural reference.

As already stated, Brown and Levinson are of the opinion that as in Tamil, a new second person plural pronoun may in turn come under the same pressures as the old one to be used as an honorific singular, so that a type III situation re-emerges. This seems to be the case in the standard dialect. Informants state that they use the 'new' second person honorific plural pronoun with the reciprocal marker to a single addressee, one with whom they share a distant formal relationship.<sup>37</sup>

Moreover, informants also state that they use the second person "singular" pronoun *mε/pha* with the reciprocal marker *ya* to address two and more subordinate addressees, usually to express anger and annoyance, and claim that they use the 'pluralized' second person singular pronouns (as extracted from their response to question number 2-9 in the questionnaire) in the following way:

To a single subordinate female addressee:

426. *pha wan šæi ?*  
 youF come where  
 'Where have you been?'

---

<sup>37</sup> This is based on the observation of my own use of the 'new' second person plural pronoun to a single addressee as a polite means of address to an addressee with whom I have a distant relationship and also in a formal speech situation.

To two or more subordinate female addressees:

426. *pha ya wan šaei ?*

youF REC come where

'Where have you(Pl,F) been?'

This pluralization of what is traditionally termed the second person "singular" pronoun is, as indicated above, used only to subordinates or to indicate anger and, in addition, all the addressees must belong to the same sex and cannot include both males and females together. When all the addressees are males, the second person masculine pronoun *mε* with the reciprocal marker is used and when they are all females the second person feminine pronoun *pha* with the reciprocal marker is used.

In chapter IV we made the claim that the clitics are cognate across the dialects. Here we have examined the way in which these forms in the second person are actually used in the dialects. Since there is no report of the use of the reciprocal marker to pluralize pronouns in the peripheral and transitional dialects, the pronominal paradigms of these do not differ in principle from that given in chapter IV.

**Table 7.3 Second person pronouns in the dialects**

(Keys: 2=second person, Sg=singular, M=male, F=female, Pl=plural, Un=unmarked).

Peripheral dialects

	2SgM	2SgF	2SgP	2Pl
Nongtalang	ʔm	hə	(hi)	hi
Jirang	ma	pa	(pi)	pi

Transitional dialects

	2SgM	2SgF	2SgP	2Pl
Nartiang	mi	phə	(phi)	phi
Mawrong	mɛ	pha	phi	phi

Central dialects

	2SgM	2SgF	2Un	2Pl,M	2Pl,F	2Pl
Nongkseh	mɛ	pha	phi	mɛ+ya	pha+ya	phi+ya
Standard	mɛ	pha	phi	mɛ+ya	pha+ya	phi+ya

The parentheses round the polite pronoun (P) indicate that it is only very marginally used in this dialect. In the peripheral and transitional dialects, variation of number is marginally present since the second person plural is used as a polite singular as well as an ordinary plural pronoun. This usage is more extensive in the transitional dialect of Mawrong. Nevertheless, all informants in the four dialects clearly identify the second person plural form basically as a plural pronoun. In the central dialects, however, the pronominal paradigm for the second person differs considerably from that of the peripheral and the transitional

dialects, the 'old' plural being the unmarked pronoun of address and the 'new' plural being either honorific or non-honorific. The new second person plural honorific is already beginning to be used as a polite singular.

Brown and Levinson's explanation of the development of 'new' second person plural pronouns does not include the 'new' non-honorific ones. What seems to have taken place in Khasi is that the 'new' second person pronouns in the standard dialect have developed from the old ones, the pronouns having retained their forms since the 'new' non-honorific second person plural pronouns have the same forms as the 'old' second person singular *mε/pha*, though used with the reciprocal marker *ya* to indicate plural number. These 'new' non-honorific second person plural pronouns do show traces of their origin, because they still encode gender in that they are used to address male addressees and female addressees respectively. The 'new' honorific second person plural pronoun *phi* with the reciprocal marker *ya* does not, on the other hand, distinguish the sex of the addressee, just as the 'old' second person plural pronoun does not encode gender. Since we have already discussed the use of the reciprocal marker to pluralize pronouns in chapter II, it is not felt necessary to repeat that discussion here regarding the pluralization of the second person pronouns. Neither the transitional dialects nor the peripheral ones show the presence of the 'new' honorific and the 'new' non-honorific second person plural pronouns.

#### 7.1.4 Interaction of societies and the pronominal strategies of T and V (see page 239).

Brown and Levinson (1987:246) propound a social theory which links the more likely use of the different politeness strategies to the kind of society that speakers are in. Their view that a more stern and autocratic society is more likely than a more egalitarian lower class society to adopt negative politeness strategies will now be examined against Khasi society. Their two main claims are (a) that if there is "more reciprocal negative politeness in higher strata than in lower strata, then this must signify that there are higher D values in higher strata and lower D values in lower strata", and (b) "that if it were P that was responsible, then there would be asymmetrical usage of negative politeness, one way upwards". Their first claim is that there is an association between the reciprocal use of T and positive politeness and of V and negative politeness. The reciprocal use of V is indicative of negative politeness, since it is usually associated with the social factor of distance (D) because of the speaker's wish not to impose on the addressee. Brown and Levinson's statement in (a) above is, that if the upper class in a society shows a frequent use of reciprocal V and if the lower class shows a more frequent use of reciprocal T, then we assume that speakers in the upper class of that society have a higher D value than those of the lower class. Their second claim concerns the reciprocal use of V by speakers in different kinds of social dyads. There are societies where V is used more frequently as a reciprocal pronoun of address, whereas there are others in which it is used more often in asymmetrical relationships. The following schema shows that the use of V may either be (1) or (2):

- (1) Reciprocal use of V :  $V \longleftrightarrow V$
- (2) Non-reciprocal use of V :  $V$   
 $\updownarrow$   
 T

Both uses of V are negative politeness strategies. If reciprocal use of V is frequent, as in (1), then distance (D) is of more importance among speakers. If, however, speakers select V mainly to address a superior, as in (2), then power (P) is the determining factor for the choice of V. Brown and Levinson (1987:248-9) suggest that the social variables are culture specific and may have different values in different societies. They draw examples of this from two different kinds of societies: in India the D variable has lower average values than P, whereas in the USA the P variable is normally insignificant relative to D. The non-reciprocal use of V, as in (2) above where the P variable dominates, appears to be more likely in a more stratified society than in a more egalitarian one.

To examine these claims with regard to the situation in Khasi, the questions that arise are: (a) does the fact that speakers of the central dialects show a much higher use of the reciprocal second person polite pronoun, and speakers of the peripheral dialects a very high reciprocal use of the second person singular pronoun fit Brown and Levinson's explanation? Are there in fact higher D values among speakers of the central dialects and lower D values among speakers of the peripheral dialects? Furthermore, does the fact that speakers of the transitional dialects report a higher use of the non-reciprocal second person polite pronoun to superior addressees, and the second person singular pronoun to



of V in the transitional dialect of Mawrong, however, indicates that in this dialect the sociological factor P is of more importance in the choice of V.

Informants from the central dialects have pointed out that closeness and distance between the participants influence their choice of a variant of Address. The second person singular pronoun, when used at all to an equal, is restricted only to a very close friend of the same sex. This seems to point to the fact that the strategies that are important to the speakers of the central dialects of Khasi are usually those involving negative politeness strategies. Unlike a more stratified society with caste divisions as for instance in Tamil, in Khasi there is perhaps more emphasis on the use of the polite variants to indicate distance rather than power. The use of the 'new' second person plural honorific pronoun in the standard dialect as a polite singular to an addressee in a distant relationship appears to support this view. Scholars such as Bareh and Gurdon have also shown that traditionally Khasi has an egalitarian society which does not include caste or class division among its people.

In demarcating the two sociological factors D and P as the ones that determine the use of V as a pronoun of address, we also have to keep in mind that initially power appears to be the one factor that is responsible for variation of number. The evidence from Latin that V was first used to address the emperor and then by subordinates to address other power figures clearly underlines this point. In Khasi, evidence from the dialects also seems to substantiate this hypothesis. Speakers of the peripheral dialects and of Nartiang report that V is only used to affinal kin relations and these are greatly respected in Khasi society. In particular, the

use of non-reciprocal V in the transitional dialect of Mawrong shows that power is the determining factor in the choice of this plural of address. Thus, in Khasi non-reciprocal use of V determined by the sociological factor P would appear to have preceded reciprocal use of V determined by the sociological factor D.

#### **7.1.5 The other variants of the Address variable**

Most of the informants from the dialects state that they use other variants of Address besides the two second person pronouns. The list below shows the total cross-dialect inventory of the variants:

- (1) Singular article+professional title (Sg+PT)
- (2) P article+professional title (P+PT)
- (3) Plural article+professional title (Pl+PT)
- (3) Singular article+kin term (Sg+KT)
- (5) P article+kin term (P+KT)
- (6) Singular article+first name (Sg+FN)
- (7) P article+first name (P+FN)
- (8) Singular demonstrative (SDem)
- (9) P demonstrative (PDem)
- (10) Plural demonstrative (PlDem)
- (11) Omission of pronoun
- (12) Reversal of gender

We assume that a variant which is reported to be used to a superior is a more polite variant, whereas one used to a subordinate is generally a non-honorific variant of Address. The

articles appear to play an important part in defining which of the variants can be taken as polite and which as non-honorific.

**Table 7.4 Number of informants using other variants of Address in the six dialects**

(Keys : pl=plural article, p=p article, sg=singular article, pt=professional title, kt=kin term, fn=first name, PlDem=plural demonstrative, PDem= p demonstrative, SDem=singular demonstrative, omis=omission of the second person pronoun, reverse=reversal of gender, - = no report of the use of the variant).

	NT(6)	JR(5)	NRT(2)	MR(5)	NK(5)	STD(20)
pl+pt	2	1	-	-	-	-
p+pt	-	-	-	-	-	17
sg+pt	1	-	1	-	-	-
p+kt	-	-	-	-	5	17
sg+kt	4	1	1	-	-	-
p+fn	-	-	-	-	3	18
sg+fn	6	-	2	3	4	18
PlDem	-	-	-	1	-	-
PDem	-	-	-	-	5	20
SDem	5	5	2	5	5	20
omis	6	4	2	4	5	18
reverse	1	-	2	2	1	6

There are two main points that should be made in relation to the way the variants of Address are used in the above table. Firstly, the variant involving the plural article is confined only to speakers of the peripheral dialects and the variant involving the P article to speakers of the central dialects. Secondly, even those variants which appear on the surface to be a popular choice among informants of all dialects are in fact used differently in the different dialect groups. For example, the singular demonstrative (SDem) variant is reportedly used by informants of all dialects. However, speakers of the peripheral and the transitional dialects claim that they can use this variant to most addressees but not to affinal kin relations, while speakers of the central dialects state that they use it only to address equals of the same sex, and subordinates. The variants involving the P article that are reported to express added politeness and respect are used almost exclusively by informants from the central dialects. The polite variants involving the plural article are reportedly used mostly by informants in the peripheral and transitional dialects, although very marginally; these are the plural demonstrative (PIDem), and the plural article plus professional title (PI+PT), used to address the chief.

## **7.2 The Reference variable**

The P article is not found in the peripheral dialects and is used only marginally by some informants in the transitional dialects. Informants in the central dialects, on the other hand, report a very high use of this article to refer to their superiors particularly those of higher rank in the kin hierarchy. Informants of the peripheral and transitional dialects state that they use the

plural article for affinal kin referents and the chief in a formal assembly in order to indicate respect.

### 7.2.1 The variants of the Reference variable

The total cross-dialectal inventory of the variants of the Reference variable are as follows :

- (1) Plural article + kin term (Pl+KT)
- (2) P article + kin term (P+KT)
- (3) Singular article + kin term (Sg+KT)
- (4) P article + professional title (P+PT)
- (5) Singular article + professional title (Sg+PT)
- (6) P article + first name (P+FN)
- (7) Singular article + first name (Sg+FN)

**Table 7.7 Number of informants using the variants of Reference in the dialects**

	NT(6)	JR(5)	NRT(2)	MR(5)	NK(5)	STD(20)
Sg+KT	6	5	2	5	4	20
P+KT	-	-	1	2	5	20
Pl+KT	-	2	2	4	-	-
Sg+PT	6	3	2	5	5	20
P+PT	-	-	-	1	4	20
Sg+FN	6	5	2	5	5	19
P+FN	-	-	-	-	5	18

Informants for the dialects differ in the way they use the above variants. Firstly, variants involving the P article are reportedly used mostly in the central dialects and only marginally by some informants in the transitional dialects. These variants are the P article plus kin term (P+KT), the P article plus professional title (P+PT) and the P article plus first name (P+FN). Secondly, the three most popular choices across the dialects involve the singular article: the singular article plus kin term (S+KT), the singular article plus professional title (S+PT) and the singular article plus first name (S+FN). The last variant (S+FN) is more uniformly used across dialects, since the first name can be used to refer only to equals and subordinates. The other two variants are, however, used differently in the different dialect groups. For example, the singular article plus kin term (S+KT) is reportedly used for all consanguineal kin referents by informants in the peripheral and the transitional dialects, but only for subordinate kin referents in the central dialect (and by one informant in the transitional dialect of Mawrong). In the central dialects the plural article plus the kin term as a polite or respectful form of reference is not used at all.<sup>38</sup> The informants of the central dialects also claim that they would shift from the singular article to the P article to refer to an adult referent if this latter were present or if the addressee were a close associate of the referent.

In the peripheral and transitional dialects, it is not the article that normally indicates the speaker's relationship with the

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<sup>38</sup> Table 7.7 above is extracted from informants' responses to the questionnaire, where they were asked to fill in columns specially asking them how they refer to specific referents. Elsewhere in the questionnaire, some contradictions have been found. An example of this is the case where some informants in the standard dialect claim that they use P1+PT to refer to the chief in a formal assembly but gave Sg+PT in the relevant column.

referent but the nominal that goes with it, such as kin term, professional title, etc. Higher order kin terms and professional titles appear to be the most polite terms of reference that speakers choose to indicate their respect for the referent. It is my own observation, as well as being inferable from my data, that the choice of the superior kin term to refer to a non-kin referent usually indicates a close relationship of the speaker with the referent, in addition to respect. Professional titles appear to indicate a respectful variant of Reference across the dialects. In the central dialects the article plays an important role in distinguishing the relationship that the speaker has with the referent. For a non-kin referent, the choice of the P article plus kin term (P+KT) or the P article plus professional title (P+PT) usually indicates respect and a close relationship between the speaker and the referent. The P article thus indicates respect as well as closeness. The choice of the singular article with a nominal, such as singular article plus kin term (Sg+KT) or singular article plus professional title (Sg+PT) for a non-kin referent shows, on the other hand, that the speaker does not have a close relationship with the referent. The P article, if used with a first name, also marks the distance in the relationship between the speaker and the referent.

### **7.2.2 Structure and usage: the development of the honorific article**

In view of the fact that the interrelation of structure and usage is clearly in evidence in second person pronouns, we also feel it necessary to examine the interrelation between structure and usage with regard to the article as part of the variants of

Reference. In analysing the Address variable, the most important social factor pointed out by Brown and Gilman and later taken up by Brown and Levinson, is the notion that 'plurality' is a marker of politeness and respect. The fact that languages in different societies and different areas of the globe use the second person plural pronoun as a polite pronoun of address appears to give credence to that view. This also seems to be the case in Khasi, where the second person plural pronoun has emerged as the polite pronoun of address among speakers of some dialects. However, this explanation does not appear to be applicable to the development of the polite singular article. In Standard Khasi, it is not the plural article which has developed into a polite singular form. Although most of the informants from the peripheral dialects and also from the transitional dialects use the plural article as a polite variant, informants from the central dialects state that they use the P article as a polite variant. In fact, all the informants from the peripheral dialects, and most of the informants from the transitional dialects, do not have the P article in their speech. The informants' use of the plural article as the polite form, as seen in the peripheral and transitional dialects, is consistent with the claim made by Brown and Levinson regarding the emergence of the second and third persons polite pronouns. Firstly, structure-determined usage would imply that the singular article is used to refer to a single referent and the plural article to refer to two or more referents. The emergence of the plural article as a singular polite form would therefore be a 'natural' development. Nongtalang dialect represents a consistent structure-determined usage among the dialects. Informants in this dialect use the singular article for a single referent and the plural

article for two or more referents. Informants in Jirang and the two transitional dialects, however, report the use of the plural article as an honorific singular form. This usage is not continued in the central dialects, where a different article, the P article and not the plural article, is used as a singular honorific article.

In the chapters of the grammar section we have seen that the peripheral and transitional dialects have a basic three-gender system and, where personal reference is concerned, the singular masculine article is used to refer to a male referent and the singular feminine article to a female referent. Speakers in Jirang, Nartiang and Mawrong choose the plural article as an honorific form for in-laws but there is no evidence that this usage has spread outward to non-kin relations. In reply to question 5(i) of the questionnaire, informants in all dialects report the use of the plural article to refer to the chief. This usage, although limited, seems a straightforward case of variation of number for expressing politeness as in the case of the second person pronoun. The problem that has been already singled out above is that, in the central dialects the articles from which speakers choose for personal reference are the two singular articles, masculine to refer to a male referent and feminine to a female referent respectively, and the substitution for either of them by the P article when the speaker wants to express his social relationship with the referent. This is usually an asymmetrical one in which the referent is superior to the speaker in age, or in both age and rank, and in which the two participants have a close relationship with each other. This is made more explicit by the speakers who claim that they would shift from the singular article to the P article if the

referent were present in the speech situation or if the addressee had a close relationship with the referent.

We have also presented in the grammar section a hypothesis concerning the development of the P article from the neuter article. The central dialects have a basic two-gender system but with a third gender operating as a derivational mechanism for pragmatic purposes, this third gender having the same form as the neuter article of the eastern dialects. We would like to suggest that the P article has developed from the neuter gender. We would further claim that diminutives were the 'Trojan horse' which introduced a pragmatic perspective into gender assignment since diminutives are assigned neuter gender in both the transitional dialects. We also suggest that since diminutiveness is associated with endearment, this is how the neuter gender has come to be extended to include politeness. Firstly, the P gender in the central dialects also includes diminutives. Secondly, informants claim that they use the P article with nominals such as kin terms and professional titles for superior referents with whom they have a close relationship. The P article plus a kin term is compulsory when referring to kin superiors. Thus the development of the polite variant of the article has not travelled the same route as that of the second person polite pronoun; it is not the plural article that has developed into the polite variant in the central dialects.

The problem as regards innovation is here examined in the light of what has been claimed for the second person pronoun usage across the dialects. The claim that has been made above regarding the second person pronoun is that the standard dialect is the innovator in the use of the second person plural pronoun to

address a single person. We offer the suggestion that the standard dialect is also the innovator in the use of the P article as an honorific form. It could be that at some point in time the standard dialect also employed the same politeness strategy as the non-standard dialects in that the plural article was used as an honorific article, and this in fact is still reported to be the case for some older informants of the standard dialect when referring to the chief in a formal gathering. However, this usage is very limited, and the majority of the informants do not provide any information as to whether or not they would use the plural article for a single referent, even formally for the chief. Most of them claim that they would use the P article plus the kin term to refer to (and indirectly address) the chief in a situation where they are face to face with him. This rare use of the plural article as an honorific in the standard dialect is thus limited only to the chief. Informants in the standard dialect do not use the plural article at all for any other referent. It can be hypothesized, then, that the use of the plural article for polite reference was abandoned by speakers of the standard dialect when the P article emerged and became accepted as an indicator of polite and intimate reference among speakers of the central dialects. Informants for both central dialects show a very high usage of the P article to refer to superiors, particularly to those with whom they have a close relationship. My claim, therefore, is that here, as in the case of the second person pronoun the innovation lies with the standard dialect. This claim is substantiated by the fact that there is no report of the use of the P article in the peripheral dialects and only marginally in the transitional dialects.

There is a difference, however, in the way the second person plural form is used as a polite pronoun from the way the P article is used as a polite article. This is clearly indicated by the speakers' perception of the forms as indicators of polite reference. The use of terms such as superior kin term and professional title for reference appears to be of more importance in expressing respect for rank among speakers of all dialects. Informants state that the use of the singular article with a professional title does not imply impolite reference. They are all of the view that the stature of the referent is enhanced by the use of the singular article with the professional title, and all great figures of the past are referred to by the singular article. This is further emphasized by the choice of the singular article to refer to God in worship, both among Christians and those practising the Khasi religion. This, perhaps, more than any other factor accounts for the fact that the use of the P article as a polite form is perceptually different from the second person plural pronoun.

In the central dialects the use of the reciprocal marker *ya* with third person singular pronouns, as in the case of the second person pluralizes them. The reciprocal marker cannot in any instance be used with the third person P pronoun *?i* and therefore this pronoun can never be pluralized. The occurrence of the reciprocal marker with the third person plural obviously does not mark pluralization. It indicates distance in the speaker's relationship with the referents.

### 7.3 Diachronic relationship between referent honorifics and addressee honorifics

We have seen that there is an overlap of referent honorifics and addressee honorifics in Khasi. By addressee honorifics is meant variants of Address that express politeness and respect other than the second person pronouns. Certain variants used for referent honorifics have identical forms and structures to those of Address. Brown and Levinson (1987:276-8) claim that addressee honorifics in many languages develop from referent honorifics, stating that "referent honorifics are basic and - at least as encoded in address forms - universal", and that "addressee honorifics are derived from these by (at least in part) the same sort of process that derives pattern II from I via III". They give instances from South-East Asian and far-eastern languages where lexical items which were clearly referential nouns at some point in time have become part of the pronominal paradigm in the language. It may be claimed then, following Brown and Levinson, that addressee honorifics are derived from referent honorifics in the following stages:

I. Structure-determined usage. Third person is used strictly for reference to a third party, that is the nominal is used exclusively to refer and not to address.

II. Usage-determined structure. Nominals like 'slave', 'servant', etc. come to function as 'humble' first person pronouns, and those like 'king', etc. as 'honorific' second person pronouns (in languages like Japanese).

III. This extended usage is related to structure by implicature.

The nominals in Type II such as 'slave', 'servant', etc. for the first person pronoun and 'king' etc. for the second person pronoun (as in Japanese) are clearly cases of pragmatics feeding back into the structure and becoming part of the pronominal paradigm.

In Khasi, some of the variants of Address under discussion here are identical to those of Reference. For example, speakers in the central dialects state that a variant such as P article plus kin term (P+KT) is generally used for reference and it is only in exceptional circumstances, to show politeness and respect towards an addressee that they are used as forms of indirect address. I do not claim that such nominals in Khasi as kin terms, etc., are a part of the pronominal paradigm (as in the case of Japanese) but simply that as address forms they are derived from those of reference. More importantly, the pragmatic use of these nominals as, for example indirect forms of address, points to the probable route by which these nominals entered the pronominal paradigm in a language. In Standard Khasi the use of these nominals in the third person construction is a displacement strategy for the second person. Those variants that are polite and respectful in Reference, such as the P article plus kin term, etc., are usually used as polite and respectful forms in indirect address while those that are indicative of subordination, such as the singular article plus first name in Reference, are used as non-honorific forms in indirect address to subordinates.

#### 7.4 Summary

From the comparison of the uses of the second person pronouns across the dialects it may be seen that the three dialect groups represent three different stages in the way that the

pronouns are used. Their comparison indicates the route by which the second person plural pronoun has developed into the second person polite singular and then into the unmarked pronoun of address. The statistics on the relative frequency of the use of the second person plural pronoun as a variant of Address, and also the fact that speakers of the peripheral dialects have a very marginal use of the second person plural pronoun, (although both dialects are situated at the peripheries of the north and the south of the districts respectively), point to the likelihood of the standard dialect being the innovator. The development of the once plural pronoun in the second person into a polite singular and then into an unmarked singular, and also of the once singular pronouns into non-honorific pronouns, has resulted in the emergence of 'new' plural pronouns. The analysis of the second person pronouns in Khasi has shown that, as in certain European languages such as French and German, the equivalents of T and V are used both in symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships. The choice of either T or V in a symmetrical relationship indicates the intimacy or distance respectively between the speaker and the addressee. The central dialects show a similarity to English in the way the second person plural pronoun has emerged as the unmarked pronoun of address. The way in which the 'new' second person plural pronoun has emerged after the 'old' second person plural came to be used as a polite pronoun, supports Brown and Levinson's hypothesis of the stages of development of the second person polite pronoun and the re-emergence of a new plural pronoun. Khasi speakers of the central dialects clearly differentiate address to a single addressee and address to two or more addressees by using the 'new' second person plural for the

latter. What is of interest in Khasi, however, is the way in which the 'new' second person plural pronouns have developed, for it is not only the 'new' honorific plural but also the 'new' non-honorific second person plural pronouns that have emerged in the grammar.

Where Reference is concerned, the development of the P article as a polite form does not follow the same route as the second person plural does in address. Speakers of the peripheral and transitional dialects choose the plural article as an honorific form whereas some informants of the transitional dialects and all the informants of the central dialects choose the P article as the honorific article in Reference. The reason why the plural article has not been developed as an honorific form in the central dialects is because the P article may have replaced it for polite reference.

It is argued here that both the development of the second person plural pronoun as a polite singular pronoun and of the P article as the polite article has been initiated by the standard dialect. It is also seen that the use of the P article as an honorific form is beginning to exert its influence not only among speakers of the central dialects but is also spreading to speakers of the transitional dialects.

The choice of either the T or the V as the unmarked form of address has been examined in the light of Brown and Levinson's hypothesis of positive and negative politeness strategies. The frequent use of a reciprocal V is claimed to indicate a negative politeness strategy which is determined by distance whereas the frequent use of a non-reciprocal V is indicative of a negative politeness strategy which places more emphasis on power as the determining factor. The historical claim that power precedes

distance as the determining factor for variation of number in the second person pronoun is supported by the findings of this study. The peripheral and transitional dialects in Khasi, Mawrong in particular, show that the second person plural is used mainly non-reciprocally to a superior in an asymmetrical relationship. The central dialects show a more frequent reciprocal use of the second person plural, and here distance appears to be the determining factor in the choice of V. The fact that distance rather than power has emerged as the most important factor in the choice of a reciprocal V in the central dialects indicates that the society is not as stratified as those in which power is the most important factor in the use of V as a pronoun of address.

## Chapter VIII

### CONCLUSION

The three chapters of the grammar section have highlighted the main differences between the dialects in the gender system, the agreement system and the syntactic scope of pronominals. The three chapters of the sociolinguistic section have examined the differences in the speakers' use of the 'polite' variants of Address and of Reference across the dialects, showing that these form a geographical cline. The hypothesis offered here is that the present system of polite address and reference in Khasi has resulted from the spread of an innovation outwards from the 'core' area of the standard dialect, the transitional dialects being influenced to a greater degree than are the peripheral ones. These innovations, starting from the prestigious standard dialect, would have first spread to the nearer transitional areas and then, with lesser impact, to the more distant peripheral ones.

In the grammar section we investigated the functions and the distribution of the clitics and the independent pronouns.

One of the roles of the clitics is to convey the gender of the noun. We have seen that there are two main gender systems in Khasi: (a) the three-gender system of the peripheral and transitional dialects comprises masculine, feminine and neuter and (b) the basic two-gender system of the central dialects comprising masculine and feminine, together with a P gender which is a derivational mechanism employed for the pragmatic purposes of expressing politeness, diminutiveness or contempt. We have argued that the three-gender system is the older system

in Khasi, and that the P gender of the central dialects has developed from the neuter gender. This claim is substantiated by the fact that the P article is clearly cognate with the neuter article of the eastern dialects and that the transitional dialects provide a link between the peripheral dialects and the central dialects. For, the transitional dialects have a basic three-gender system like the peripheral dialects, but their neuter gender includes abstract nouns, mass nouns, and diminutives. These latter are formed from both inanimate and animate bases and have a connotation of endearment and contempt. The diminutives derived from animate nouns would be the 'Trojan horse' by which the neuter gender came to be pragmatically determined. Since diminutiveness can also be associated with endearment, it is presumably by this route that intimate polite reference has come to be identified with this gender.

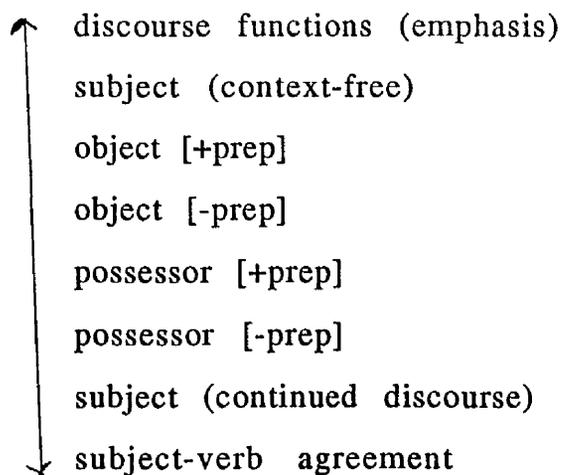
The other non-referential function of the clitic is to indicate agreement between the subject lexical NP and the verb. The locality principle propounded by Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) is accepted as the basic principle by which a clitic can be formally determined to have either a referential function or a non-referential function. The argument presented here is that in the Khasi dialects, the clitic is a non-referential agreement marker if the lexical NP occurs locally and is therefore governed by the predicator. However, if the lexical NP lies outside the government of the predicator, then it is a floating topic NP and has an anaphoric relation to the clitic and the clitic in this case has the subject argument function. In the central dialects the verbal clitic as an agreement marker is obligatory, whereas in the other regional dialects it does not occur as regularly. Another main

difference between the central dialects and the regional dialects relates to the position of the clitic in the sentence. In the central dialects the clitic is preverbal and precedes the verb complex, whereas in the other regional dialects it is postverbal and follows the verb complex.

Finally, we have looked at the way clitics and independent pronouns together cover the whole spectrum of pronominal functions, from discourse roles via argument roles to non-referential grammatical marking in the various dialects. In chapter IV we showed that the clitics are cognate across the dialects while the independent pronouns are not. This is confirmed by Pinnow's reconstruction of the Austroasiatic pronouns, which are clearly cognate with the clitics of the Khasi dialects. The clitics, therefore, represent a shared inheritance whereas the independent pronouns have developed independently from the clitics in the individual dialects. We further hypothesize that, in a previous stage of Khasi, the pre-clitic full pronouns fulfilled the whole spectrum of functions that clitics and independent pronouns fulfil today. We have no evidence from Pinnow's reconstruction that there were 'weak' and 'strong' variants of the personal pronouns in Proto-Austroasiatic. Hence our argument that the weakening of the inherited pre-clitic pronouns must have taken place individually across the dialects. This would account for the differences in the functions and positions of the clitic in the individual dialects. The weakening of the pre-clitic pronouns would therefore have reached different stages in these. In the peripheral dialects, the clitics have weakened to the extent that they can no longer fill 'strong' positions and in these have been replaced by the

independent pronouns which, etymologically, are clitics with a specific prefix. In chapter IV we offered the suggestion that this prefix comes from a preposition, which appears to be the object marker. It has also to be noted that the prefixes differ across the dialects: *?ia-* in Nongtalang, *ha-* in Jirang, *ba-* in Mawrong and *ma-* in the standard dialect. This further adds credence to the view that the independent pronouns developed independently in the dialects.

Also in chapter IV, we showed that the spectrum of pronominal functions is fulfilled by both clitics and independent pronouns, but that the dialects differ as to where they place the demarcation line which separates the functional scope of the clitic from that of the independent pronoun:



In the central dialects the clitic fulfills all the functions on this scale, with the sole exception of emphasis, which is fulfilled by the independent pronoun. In the peripheral dialects, however, the clitic fills only the three bottom slots, namely to encode subject-verb agreement, subject in continued discourse, and the possessor in a possessive construction without preposition.

The position of the subject clitic / agreement marker also differs across the dialects. This would appear to favour the probability that the weakening of the clitics took place independently in the different dialects. In the central dialects the SVO order is rigorously observed, the subject clitic always occurring before the verb complex, whereas in the peripheral and transitional dialects the position of the subject clitic is after the verb complex. In these latter dialects the 'strong' pronominal, that is the independent pronoun, is always pre-verbal in context-free sentences, while the 'weak' subject clitic always follows the verb complex. In fact the clitic by following the main verb and being restricted to this one function appears to be moving towards affixation. All other functions in these dialects are fulfilled by the 'strengthened' independent pronoun. The central dialects, on the other hand, appear to have systematized the system so that the clitics occur in the same position and fulfil the same functions as do their lexical NP counterparts.

Because of the limited number of geographical locations selected for this study, it is not possible to draw isoglosses demarcating precise areas of equal pronominal behaviour. Furthermore, even the grouping of the dialects into the three groups in this respect is somewhat arbitrary and it would be more appropriate to speak of a cline. Thus <sup>of</sup> the transitional dialects, Nartiang resembles the peripheral dialects whereas Mawrong overlaps both types. Here as in the peripheral dialects, the subject clitic comes after the verb complex and the independent pronoun is preverbal but as in the standard dialect the clitic fulfils all argument functions. The Nongkseh dialect is almost identical to the standard dialect both in the functions and distribution of

clitics and independent pronouns. However, there are some pronouns in this dialect which have two variants. These behave respectively like the clitic and the independent pronoun of the peripheral dialects. The weaker variant, in fact, is even more restricted distributionally than the clitic of the peripheral dialects, because it can only occur as the subject in continued discourse. The stronger variant can fill the preverbal subject, object, and the possessive slots either with or without prepositions. It also fulfils discourse functions.

The Address and Reference variables formed the focus of the sociolinguistic section. The main variants of Address are the two second person pronouns, second singular and second plural. We have argued that innovation on the part of the standard dialect has led to the development of the 'polite' use of the second person plural pronoun and, finally, to its becoming the unmarked second person singular pronoun. This has in turn led to the emergence of 'new' second person plural pronouns.

As a result of these changes there is quite a big gap between speakers of the central dialects and those of the peripheral dialects in the way they employ the second person plural pronoun to address a single person. Speakers of the peripheral dialects generally use the second person singular pronoun to a single addressee and variation of number is only marginal. In the transitional dialect of Nartiang, informants state that they employ the second person plural pronoun only to address affinal kin relations. In the transitional dialect of Mawrong, the informants report that the use of the second person plural pronoun to a single addressee is quite extensive and includes superior kin members, both consanguineal and affinal. Speakers of the central dialects

see the second person plural pronoun as the unmarked singular pronoun of address. We have argued, on the basis of this evidence, that the innovation lies with the central dialects and that this innovated system has spread to the transitional dialects, which are situated close-by, but much less to the peripheral dialects, which are situated further away. The fact that the two peripheral dialects show little variation of number reinforces our claim that this strategy was innovated by the central dialects.

Work on different languages around the world has shown that variation of number is a very common strategy for polite address. Brown and Levinson argue that commonly the plural, in the course of time, becomes an honorific singular and a new plural emerges. Since the honorific singular no longer conveys plurality the new plural in turn comes under pressure to become the honorific pronoun. Standard Khasi fits this pattern in that the second person plural pronoun has ceased to convey plural number, is no longer even honorific and has now become the unmarked pronoun of address in the singular. The language has at the same time developed a new second person plural pronoun by extending the use of the reciprocal marker. This new plural pronoun is now in turn being used as a polite singular pronoun of Address in a formal distant way. Standard Khasi has thus innovated not only with regard to the second person plural pronoun but also to the second person singular pronouns in that all of these are pluralized by means of the reciprocal marker. For speakers of the standard dialect, the 'old' second person pronouns are thus no longer associated with singular and plural number, the singular and the plural having become the non-honorific and the unmarked pronouns of address respectively.

Other variants of the Address variable are third person constructions. In the central dialects these constructions involve the P article with nominals such as kin terms and professional titles in particular, and are associated with respectful address. Here too the standard dialect has innovated in developing the neuter article into the honorific P article. However, this innovation has hardly spread to the other dialect groups, polite use of the neuter article being marginal in the transitional and non-existent in the peripheral dialects. The fact that the various dialects have different gender systems means that the strategy for polite reference as reflected in the article is also different. Informants of the peripheral and the transitional dialects use the plural article for honorific reference in almost the same way as they use the second person plural pronoun, that is to say for polite address. In the standard dialect, on the other hand, the use of the plural article as an honorific article is very marginal. It is worth noting that Brown and Levinson argue that in Tamil the use of the plural as a politeness strategy is not restricted to the second person, as the third person plural pronoun is also used in this language as a polite form. In Khasi, however, the use of the plural article as an honorific is mostly limited to the peripheral and transitional dialects. The P article is always used as a polite variant in the central dialects. The innovations in the gender system made by the standard dialect have thus had far-reaching consequences, affecting the way in which the honorific article has developed in this dialect. But there are situations where the second person plural pronoun and the P article are not acceptable as markers of deference for Address and Reference respectively. Thus all legendary heroes of the past are referred to by the singular

article, and God is referred to by the masculine singular article and addressed in prayer by a 'special' second person pronoun *me* , a variant of the second person singular masculine *mε* , both in the indigenous religion and among Christians.

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## APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

Personal details on informants:

- 1-1. Name
- 1-2. Sex
- 1-3. Age
- 1-4. Education
- 1-5. Occupation
- 1-6. Dialect
- 1-7. Mother's dialect
- 1-8. Father's dialect
- 1-9. Marital status
- 1-10. If married, dialect of spouse
- 1-11. Do you speak other dialects?
- 1-12. Have you stayed long in Shillong?
- 1-13. Have you ever resided in other villages?
- 1-14. Do you use your dialect or the standard dialect to:
  - a. relatives at home
  - b. colleagues at work/fellow students
  - c. neighbours
  - d. acquaintances
  - e. strangers
  - f. in church
  - g. think to yourself

2-1. How do you ask a male acquaintance:

phi don khun katno ngut?

'how many children do you have?'

2-2. How do you tell a male worker:

me trei dep noh la ka kam

'you must finish your own work'

2-3. How do you ask a younger female acquaintance:

phan leit trei ne em?

'are you going to work?'

2-4. How do you greet your neighbour as you pass through her house?

2-5. How do you greet your neighbours as you pass through their house?

2-6. How do you answer your male relative's greeting:

phi long kumno?

'how are you?'

2-7. How do you answer a female acquaintance's greeting:

phi long kumno?

'how are you?'

2-9. How do you think a mother scolds her two daughters for coming home late by asking where had they been?

2-10. How do you ask two boys to work together?

2-13. How do you ask a family/close friend(M) how is he after an illness?

3-1. Please translate the following sentences into your own dialect:

a. lada phi kwah leit, te shu ong beit kein

'If you want to go, then why don't you say so'

(To a male and to a female addressee respectively)

b. lada kwah leit, shu ong beit

(Omission of the second person pronoun)

(i) Can you use both a. and b. to address your older kin relatives, your close equals - kins and nonkins, your subordinates - kin and nonkins (ii) Can you specify why you would or would not choose any or both of the two means of address?

4. Do you use the second person feminine pronoun to address a male addressee? To whom and why would you do so?

5. (i) If you meet the chief in the public assembly, how would you address and refer to him? (ii) If you meet him at home, how would you address and refer to him?

6. Would you address the following people by any or both (a) and (b) :

(i) to the doctor (greeting on his way to work)

a. phin leit trei noh, doctor?

'Are you going to work, Doctor?'

b. i doctor in leit trei noh?

'Is the Doctor going to work?'

(ii) to the pastor (when you offer him tea in your house)

a. phin dih noh da ka sha, pastor?

'Would you like to have some tea, Pastor?'

b. i pastor in dih noh da ka sha?

'Would Pastor like to have some tea?'

(iii) to any respected person (when you offer them tea)

a. phin dih noh da ka sha, bah/kong?

'Would you like some tea, Brother/Sister?'

b. i bah/i kong in dih noh da ka sha?

'Would Brother/Sister like to have some tea?'

(iv) to an older kin member, for example, your grandmother, a greeting after she has just arrived to visit you, would you address her by any or both of the following:

a. phi lah poi, meikha?

'Have you arrived, Grandmother?'

b. wa, i meikha i lah poi?

'Oh, Has Grandmother arrived?'

Do you use both (a) and (b) above? If you do, when would you use them?

7. Do you use the following sentences to address or to refer to people as shown in 7 above: (Example of the P demonstrative)

(i). ine te tang ka trei kam

'You are always working.'

Literally- This person is always working.

(ii) Would you use 9(i) for addressing ?

(iii) Would you use *une / kane* as well as *ine* to address people?

If you do, which would you use to address kin superiors, kin subordinates, non-kin superiors such as employer, superior at work, non-kin equals such as colleagues at work, non-kin subordinates such as subordinates at work and younger neighbours, friend of the same sex, friend of the opposite sex.

8. Would you use first name to address people? If so, would you choose *i* with first name or *u / ka* with first name to the following people: older sibling(M), older sibling(F), younger sibling (M), younger sibling (F), non-kin superiors at work, close friend (M), close friend (F), spouse, colleague (M), colleague (F), servant, younger neighbour (M), younger neighbour (F), child (M), child (F).

9. Please fill in the columns below by any of the second person pronouns (*phi / pha / me* ) that you use to address to consanguineal kins, affinal kins and nonkins. (Items are as those shown in the columns in the tables in chapter VI).

10. Please fill in the columns below by any of the articles (*i / u / ka / ki* ) and nominals (kin term, professional title, first name, etc.,) that you use to refer to consanguineal kins, affinal kins and non-kins. (Items are as those shown in the columns in the tables in chapter VI).

11. Would you use different terms of reference to refer to the following people which in (a) you normally refer to them (b) if the referent is present (c) if the addressee is a close associate to the referent (d) if the addressee is a stranger.

a      b      c      d

Doctor(M)

Doctor(F)

Headman

Minister(M)

Minister(F)

District Commissioner(M)

District Commissioner(F)

Representative(Old, Distant)

Representative(Young)

Government official

Chief

Pastor/priest

STANDARD DIALECTText-1. Manik went to Shillong

1.	šisen	ha	ka-wei	ka	pōr	la			
	once	at	F-one	F	time	PAST			
dən	ki	breu	ki	ba	ʔim	bat	šəŋ		
be	Pl	people	Pl	SUB	live	and	stay		
ha	kawei	ka	šəŋ	rit	ha				
at	F-one	F	village	small	at				
nəŋkindəŋ	2.	ki	la	ya-šəŋ	suk				
rural		Pl	PAST	REC-stay	happy				
barəʔ	ši	yeŋ,	ʔu	kpa	ka				
all	one	house	M	father	F				
kme	ār	ŋut	ki	khon	šinraŋ	bat			
mother	two	CL	Pl	child	male	and			
lāi	ŋut	ki	khon	kinthei	3.	ʔu			
three	CL	Pl	child	female		M			
khon	phraŋsŋi	joŋ	ki	ʔu	ba	ki	khot		
child	first	of	Pl	M	SUB	Pl	call		
ʔu	manik	ʔu	ləŋ	ʔu	khinnaʔ	u			
M	Manik	M	be	M	child	M			
banəp	jiŋmut	bat	ʔu	ba	kwaʔ				
sharp	mind	and	M	SUB	want				
ban	keu	šaphraŋ	ha	ka	jiŋim				
SUB	climb	upward	at	F	life				
4.	ha	ka-wei	ka	sŋi	ʔu	manik			
	at	F-one	F	day	M	Manik			
ʔu	la	əŋ	ya	la	ʔu	kpa			
M	PAST	say	OBJ	own	M	father			
5.	pa,	ŋa	kwaʔ	ban	keu				
	father	I	want	SUB	climb				
šalōr	ha	ka	jiŋim	6.	lada	phi			
upward	at	F	life		if	youP			
šaʔ	ya	ŋa	bat	yarap	ya	ŋa,			
allow	OBJ	I	and	help	OBJ	I			
ŋa	kwaʔ	εʔ	ban	leic	wāt				
I	want	much	SUB	go	search				
kam	ša	šillōŋ	ban	kham	pinbit				
job	to	Shillong	SUB	more	improve				
ya	la	ka	jiŋim	7.	šuwa	ba	ʔu		
OBJ	own	F	life		before	SUB	M		
kpa	ʔu-n	jubāp	ya	ʔu	8.	ka			
father	M-FUT	reply	OBJ	M		F			

kme	ka	la		kem	kten	ya
mother	F	PAST		catch	word	OBJ
ʔu	ka	da	kren	kum	ban	paic
M	F		speak	as	SUB	break
doʔnot	8.	khon,		hun	ha	la
heart		child		satisfy	at	own
šnoŋ	kat	ba	ŋi	ya-don	ei	
village	with	SUB	we	REC-have	PART	
9.	lada	phi	leic	ša	šillōŋ,	phi-n
	if	youP	go	to	Shillong	you-FUT
jot	10.	ʔu	kpa	ʔu	la	pirkhat
spoil	M	father		M	PAST	think
šiphaŋ,	phāi	ša	la	ka	tja	bat
awhile	turn	to	own	F	wife	and
ya	ka	11.	kme,	wat	āi	ba
OBJ	F		mother	don't let	SUB	we-FUT
khaŋ	linti	ya	ka	jiŋkwaʔ	ki	khon
forbid	way	OBJ	F	wish	Pl	child
12.	ka	jiŋim	joŋ	ŋi	ka-m	dei
	F	life	of	we	F-NEG	be
ka	binta	joŋ	ki	13.	ki	hap
F	share	of	Pl		Pl	must
ya-ksāic		ban	šem	ya	la	ka
REC-struggle		SUB	find	OBJ	own	F
ka	jaka	12.	āi	ki-n	piār	la
F	place		let	Pl-FUT	spread	own
ki	thapniaŋ	14.	naŋta	ʔu	la	
Pl	wing		then	M	PAST	
phāi	ša	ʔu	khon	ʔu	da	oŋ,
turn	to	M	child	M	then	say
bat	ki	jiŋkirkhu	joŋ	ŋa	me	leic
with	Pl	blessing	of	I	youM	go
16.	mar	ya-yoʔsŋeu	ya	ki-ne		ki
	upon	REC-hear	OBJ	Pl-these		Pl
kinten	ʔu	kpa	ʔu	manik	ʔu	ʔu
word	M	father	M	Manik	M	M
la	mareʔ	ša	yeŋ	ʔu	paralok	
PAST	run	to	house	M	friend	
ʔu	baʔieic	eʔ	coŋ	ʔu	bat	ʔu
M	love	most	of	M	and	M
pirta	jam	da	ka	jiŋkmen	17.	ko
shout	loud	with	F	joy		O

lok,	mɛ-m	tip	ka-ei	ka	ba
friend	youM-NEG	know	F-what	F	SUB
la	ja	18.	ŋa-n	leic	noʔ
Past	happen	I-FUT	go	ADV	to
ban	yit	kam	ban	loŋ	ruʔ
SUB	search	job	SUB	be	also
ʔu	bareuspaʔ	19.	ʔu-ta	ʔu	paralok
M	rich	M-that	M	friend	of
ʔu	ʔu	la	jubāp	ya	ʔu
M	M	PAST	reply	OBJ	M
20.	mɛ	te	ʔu	badɔnbɔk	21.
	youM	PART	M	lucky	ki
joŋ	ʔi	mei	ʔi	pa	te
of	P	mother	P	father	PART
leilei	ruʔ	ki-n	nim	phaʔ	ya
whatever	also	PI-FUT	NEG	send	OBJ
ban	miʔ	na	la	šnoŋ	23.
SUB	leave	from	own	village	ʔu
manik	ʔu	la	pintŋen	ya	la
Manik	M	PAST	comfort	OBJ	own
ʔu	paralok	23.	ŋa-n	leic	pinpān
M	friend	I-FUT	go	ask	
maŋa	ya	mɛ	yoʔ	ki	phaʔ
E-I	OBJ	youM	maybe	PI	send
kumnokumno	24.	ʔu	manik	ʔu	la
somehow		M	Manik	M	PAST
leic	yakindoʔ	ya	ʔu	kpa	joŋ
go	meet	OBJ	M	father	of
ʔu	paralok	joŋ	ʔu	bat	ʔu
M	friend	of	M	and	M
kirpāt	rit	ya	ʔu	kumne	
request	humbly	OBJ	M	like.this	
25.	mama,	sŋeubha	seʔ	šaʔ	
	uncle	please	PART	allow	
ya	ʔu	khon	joŋ	phi	ban
OBJ	M	child	of	youP	SUB
ša	šillōŋ	26.	ŋa	thikna	ba
to	Shillong	I	sure	SUB	we-FUT
yoʔ	ka	kam	ka	babiaŋ	ha
get	F	work	F	proper	at
bat	ruʔ	ban	nim	pinleʔraiñ	ya
and	also	SUB	NEG	shame	OBJ
					youP

27.	hinrei	ʔu-ta	ʔu	breu	ʔu				
	but	M-that	M	person	M				
la	jubāp		28.	manik,	ʔu	khon			
PAST	reply			Manik	M	child			
jəŋ	ŋa	ʔu-m	la?	ban leic	bat	me			
of	I	M-NEG	able	SUB go	with youM				
ša	šillōŋ		29.	ŋi kwa?	ya	ʔu			
to	Shillong			we want	OBJ	M			
ban	dən bat	ŋi	ha	la	šnəŋ				
SUB	be with	we	at	own	village				
30.	haden	ba	ʔu	la	pinkhrə?				
	after	SUB	M	PAST	prepare				
kattokatne	sŋi	ʔu	manik	ʔu	la				
few	day	M	Manik	M	PAST				
leic	ša	šillōŋ		31.	ʔnda	ʔu	la		
go	to	Shillong			when	M	PAST		
poi	ha	šillōŋ	ʔu	manik	ʔu				
arrive	at	Shillong	M	Manik	M				
la	leic	sa?	bat	ki	bahayeŋ	jəŋ			
PAST	go	stay with	Pl	relative	of				
ʔu	bat	ʔu	la	sdaŋ	ban	yit			
M	and	M	PAST	start	SUB	search			
kam	nə?		32.	ʔu	la	yakindo?			
work	ADV			M	PAST	meet			
bat	ʔu-wei	ʔu	reuraŋba?	u	ba	riam			
with	M-one	M	gentleman	M	SUB	dress			
bha	bat	ʔu	ba	dəŋ ru?	la	ka	jəŋ		
well	and	M	SUB	have also	own	F	of		
ka	ophis		33.	ʔu	manik	ʔu	la		
F	office			M	Manik	M	PAST		
kirpāt	rit		ya	ʔu	34.	ba?			
request	humbly		OBJ	M		brother			
sŋeubha	se?		ban	āi	kam	ya	ŋa		
please	PART		SUB	give	job	OBJ	I		
35.	ʔu-ta	ʔu	raŋba?	u	la				
	M-that	M	gentleman	M	PAST				
peic	ya	ka	khmat	baluilui	jəŋ	ʔu			
look	OBJ	F	face	innocent	of	M			
khinna?	bat	ʔu	la	əŋ					
child	and	M	PAST	say					
36.	ale	ŋa-n	hikai	ya	me				
	come	I-FUT	teach	OBJ	youM				

kumno me-n trei ha ka ophis  
how youM-FUT work at F office  
jɔŋ ŋa 37. haden kattokatne pōr ʔu  
of I after some time M  
manik ʔu la killa lɔŋ ʔu  
Manik M PAST change be M  
nɔŋtrei ʔu batbit tam ha ka-ta  
worker M skilful most at F-that  
ka ophis bat ʔu la keu  
F office and M PAST climb  
ru? ha ka kam 38. shen, ki  
also at F job soon Pl  
jɪŋaŋnot jɔŋ ʔu barɔ? ki la  
ambition of M all Pl PAST  
wan urlɔŋ  
ome happen.

Text-2. The master and the cockerel

1. ʔu-wei ʔu breu ʔu la ʔɔ?  
M-one M person M PAST get  
ka sap ka baphilla ban sɲeutho? ʔa  
F gift F wonderful SUB understand OBJ  
ka jɪŋyakren ki mrāt bat ki  
F conversation Pl animal and Pl  
sim barɔ? na ʔu-wei ʔu pukirblei  
bird all from M-one M hermit  
2. ʔa ka-ta ka sap ʔu-m bit  
OBJ F-that F gift M-NEG allow  
ban yatho? pateŋ ʔa ka hanohano  
SUB tell continue OBJ F to.anyone  
ru? namar ʔu taŋ šu yatho?, kata  
also because M only just tell then  
ʔu-n yap 3. kumta ʔa ka-ne ka  
M-FUT die so OBJ F-this F  
jɪŋstāt ba ʔu la ʔɔ? u la  
wisdom SUB M PAST get M PAST  
bo?re? ʔa ka wat na la ka tɲa  
hide OBJ F even from own F spouse  
ka ba ʔu ʔieic thep minsem ε?  
F SUB M love pour heart much  
bat ka ba ʔu šeptɛŋ rit minsem  
and F SUB M fear small heart

hado?	kattakatta	4.	haba	ka	taŋ	šu
until	that.much		when	F	only	just
kren	ε?	bat	peic	ser	ki	
speak	harsh	and	look	angry	Pl	
khmat	kata	ʔu	la	so?jēr	na	
eye	then	M	PAST	tremble	from	
khle?	ha	kjat	5.	ʔu	loŋ	thik
head	to	foot	M	be	exactly	
kum	ʔu	si-sam-khmut	bat	ʔu-m	ju	
like	M	bull-pierce-nose	and	M-NEG	HAB	
not	pinla?	ya	ka	6.	ha	ka-wei
dare	disobey	OBJ	F		at	F-one
ka	sŋi	ʔu	la	leic	tho?	deŋ
F	day	M	PAST	go	cut	wood
ka	na	ka-wei	ka	khlāu		
F	from	F-one	F	forest		
7.	haŋta	ha	linti	ʔu	la	yo?ŋeu
	here	at	way	M	PAST	hear
ya	ka	jinyakren	ki	khon	je	bat
OBJ	F	conversation	Pl	child	cow	and
ʔu	la	rkhe	yaplēr	yapaŋ		
M	PAST	laugh	faint	AKIN		
marwei	marwei	7.	ka-ta	ka	tja	de
alone	alone		F-that	F	wife	PART
namarba	ka	naŋ	tharai	ba	ʔu	
because	F	CONT	think	SUB	M	
rkhe	ya	ka,	ka	la	oŋ	
laugh	OBJ	F	F	PAST	say	
8.	balei	me	da	rkhe	beiñ	
	why	youM	PART	laugh	mock	
breu	ya	ŋa	katnekatne,	ba	ŋa	
person	OBJ	I	this.much	SUB	I	
tho?mut	tho?mat	ε?	ka	khmat		
smudge	AKIN		much	F	face	
ŋa?	9.	ne	ba	ŋa	sneubreu	palat
I		or	SUB	I	ugly	much
ε?	hado?katno		keiñ	ba	me	
too	how.much		PART	SUB	youM	
da	rkhe		jindei	ε?	ya	ŋa ?
PART	laugh		ADV	much	OBJ	I
10.	lada	mε-m	yatho?	ya	ka	dāu
	if	youM-NEG	tell	OBJ	F	reason



ka	rta	me		ba	ki	kren		ki	masi
F	age	youM		SUB	Pl	speak		Pl	cow
23.	ki	yarɔ?		ya	me		bat	ki	
	Pl	praise		OBJ	youM		and	Pl	
beiñ	ya	ŋa		ba	me		da		
mock	OBJ	I		SUB	youM		PART		
rkhe	pašaic			hado?	ba		la		
laugh	ADV			till		SUB	PAST		
sawa	sa	ka		ʔat		ka		them	
resound	even	F		mound		F		hollow	
barɔ?	24.	me-m		yatho?		klōi		?	
all		youM-NEG		tell		quick			
25.	lada	ŋa		taŋ	šu	yatho?		ayu	
	if	I		only	just	tell		what	
ki-ne	ki	masi		ki	ya-kren,	ʔu		la	
Pl-these	Pl	cow		Pl	REC-speak	M		PAST	
ɔŋ,	kata	ŋa-n		yap	ha	ka-jo?		ka	
say	then	I-FUT		die	at	F-same		F	
khillipmat	26.	namarkata		ŋa-n		nim		yatho?	
moment		therefore		I-FUT		NEG		tell	
ya	phi	ba		ŋa-m		pat		kwa?	yap
OBJ	youP	SUB		I-NEG		yet		want	die
27.	kumta	ki		la		ya-māi			
	so			Pl		PAST		REC-quarrel	
khlem	kut	šo?		28.	barɔ?	ši		sŋi	
withou	end	more			all	one		day	
ši	met	ki-m			ya-kren	šo?			
one	night	Pl-NEG			REC-speak	more			
29.	ha	ka		step	ka	ba		bot	
	at	F		morning	F	SUB		follow	
pat		ʔu		la		yɔʔsŋeu		ya	
again		M		PAST		hear		OBJ	
ka	jinyakren			ar	tilli	ki		khon	blaŋ
F	conversation			two	CL	Pl		child	goat
30.	ʔu	la		rkhe		kdiakšikdiak		ba	
	M	PAST		laugh		ADV		SUB	
ʔu-m	la?	set		šo?	31.	haŋta		ka	la
M-NEG	able	shut		more		there		F	PAST
dap	khia	ka		minsem		ka-ta		ka	tŋa
fill	ADV	F		heart		F-that		F	spouse
32.	ka	thnum		ka	btuk			hado?	ban
	F	grumble		F	AKIN	till		SUB	

da	suwan	hi	jai	bat	hado?
PART	exhaust	PART	ADV	and	till
ba	ka-m	don	kten	šo?	33. ?u
SUB	F-NEG	have	word	more	M
pat,	ba	?u	la	kham	sian
however	SUB	M	PAST	more	clever
na	ka	jijja	ka	baminšuwa,	?u
from	F	event	F	previous	M
la	kan	sia	bat	?u-m	killiaŋ
PAST	shut	ADV	and	M-NEG	return
ši	kinten	ru?	34. ha	ka	sŋi ka
one	word	also	at	F	day F
balāi	pat,	ki	la	ya-leic	rŋ
third	again	PI	PAST	REC-go	carry
kba	baro?	ār	ŋut	ši	timmen
rice	all	two	CL	one	couple
35.	ki-m	šim	ya-kren		satia ha
	PI-NEG	NEG	REC-speak		at.all at
ki-ta	baro?	ār	sŋi	36. ka	kinthei
Pl-those	both	two	day	F	female
ka	peic	samsia	bat	?u	raŋba?
F	look	angry	and	M	man
?u	naŋ	i		biria	37. ki
M	CONT	seem		amuse	PI
dei	yāic	liŋba	ka-wei	ka	khlāu
must	walk	through	F-one	F	forest
ka	ba	bon	ki	šre?	ki
F	SUB	many	PI	monkey	PI
38.	haŋta	?u	la	yo?sŋeu	ya ka
	there	M	PAST	hear	OBJ F
jinyakren		ši	jur	ki	re?
conversation		one	couple	PI	monkey
timmen	39.	?u	la	rkhe	pat
old		M	PAST	laugh	again
kikšikik	bat	ka	thap	ya-set	artat
ADV	and	F	try	REC-shut	also
ka	šintur	40.	?nda	?u-m	la?
F	mouth		when	M-NEG	able
šo?,	ka	mi?	kinsan	bhuk	bat ?u
more	F	burst	suddenly	ADV	and M
bat	baro?	ar	ti	namar	?u-m
hold	all	two	hand	because	M-NEG
					have

pirthei	šo?	ya	ka	jiṅbiria	ka-ta
earth	more	OBJ	F	funniness	F-that
ka	jiṅyakren	41.	lakāuhep,	ka-tai	ka
F	conversation	PART		F-that	F
la	phet	dotšindot	ša	la	yeṅ
PAST	run	ADV	to	own	house
khlem	leic	šo?	ša	lom	bat ?u
without	go	more	to	field	with M
42.	?nda	?u	la	jem	ka-ta
	when	M	PAST	cure	F-that
ka	jiṅrkhe	?u	la	pirkhat	pat
F	laughter	M	PAST	think	again
ayu	?u-n	yo?	ha	yeṅ	ha ka-ta
what	M-FUT	get	at	house	at F-that
ka	met	?nda	?u	poi	
F	night	when	M	arrive	
43.	kumta	?u	la	šu	kut.jiṅmut
	so	M	PAST	just	decide
ban	yatho?	no?	ha	ka,	kat ba
SUB	tell	ADV	to	F	whatever SUB
loṅ	ba	man,	ya	ka	jiṅyakren
be	SUB	AKIN	OBJ	F	conversation
ki-ta	ki	mrāt	bat	yap	no? artat
Pl-those	Pl	animal	and	die	ADV also
44.	namar	?u	tip	ba	nado? minta
	because	M	know	SUB	since now
?u-n	ša?		kintha?sni	da	ki kten
M-FUT	PASS		sting	by	Pl word
joṅ	ka	bat	sṅi	bat	met khlem
of	F	and	day	and	night without
āili	šo?		ya	?u	45. ?u taṅ
peace	more	OBJ	M	M	only
šu	siṅṅeic	bhek	ka	birni	bat ?u taṅ šu
just	throw	ADV	F	sack	and M only just
laic	war	?u	star	na	ka khle? u
free	ADV	M	strap	from	F head M
la	leic	beicbeic	ša	la	ka tṅa
PAST	go	straight	to	own	F spouse
bat	?u	la	oṅ	ba	?u-n yatho?
and	M	PAST	say	SUB	M-FUT tell
no?	ha	ka	lašāi	minstep	ya ka ba
ADV	to	F	tomorrow	morning	OBJ F SUB



ʔu-m	man	trɛʔ	satia	ban	bām	
M-NEG	CONT	agree	at.all	SUB	eat	
54.	ʔu	pinnoʔ	ñoʔmat	bat	ʔu	leʔ
	M	lower	eyebrow	and	M	do
warsamiw	ki	khmat	bat	ʔu	dem	ɲun
ADV	PI	eye	and	M	bow	ADV
ha	kjat	thiaʔ	u	kinrāt	55.	katba
at	foot	bed	M	master		while
ka	tja	ka	daŋ	leic	šim	jiŋšim
F	spouse	F	still	go	take	something
napoʔ	yeŋ	bat	ba	ka	kham	
inside	house	and	SUB	F	more	
yajaʔ,	u-wei	ʔu	ʔiarrinʔkoʔ	u	ba	
late	M-one	M	cockerel	M	SUB	
la	sāu	bha	ʔu	širtəŋ	bat	ʔu
PAST	red	very	M	crown	and	M
ʔi	dom	bha	ka	khmat	ʔu	ba
look	stern	very	F	face	M	SUB
na	ka-joʔ	hi	ka	sem	ʔu	la
from	F-same	also	F	shed	M	PAST
wan	bat	ʔu	la	poʔ	jnukjnuk	ya
come	and	M	PAST	peck	ADV	OBJ
ka	ja	ʔu	kseu	56.	ʔiw	khlemraifñ, la
F	rice	M	dog	Oh	shameless	PAST
oŋ	ʔu	kseu	57.	me	la	heʔ
say	M	dog	youM	PAST	big	crop
phŋār	58.	me	la		jlāuŋoc	sat
ADV		youM	PAST		greedy	much
59.	me	šu	da	šlān	ban	tāu
	youM	just	pART	dare	SUB	take
ʔu	soʔ-khāu	60.	mɛ-m	tip		ba
M	fruit-rice		youM-NEG	know		SUB
ʔu	kinrāt	joŋ	ŋi	ʔu-n		sa
M	master	of	we	M-NEG		PART
khlāt	noʔ	na	ka-ne	ka	pirthei	
depart	ADV	from	F-this	F	earth	
sa	taŋ	khindiat	pōr	61.	rai	ho
just	only	little	time		move	PART
liʔ	šatai	yoʔ	bām	pathei		ka
friend	away	or	eat	betel.leaf		F
khleʔ	62.	ʔu	mat	ya-dep	šato	
head		M	let	REC-finish	there	





ŋə	7.	mə	ča?	m	ñiə,	əkwa?	ŋə
I		if	allow	youM	E-I	want	I
cu	lia	no	ləbən	cu	tho?	kam	ŋə
SUB	go	to	Shillong	SUB	look	job	I
ərap		miat	hə	ʔi	ciŋim	ŋə	
more		good	OBJ	N	life	I	
8.	tiphraŋ	cu	šiar	ʔu	pa		ʔu,
	before	SUB	speak	M	father		M
kə	mai	ʔu	əkəñia?	tkəŋ		kə	kai
F	mother	M	catch	word		F	like
cu	pia?	u	dəʔkhtim	kə	9.	hun,	
SUB	break	M	heart	F		child	
hun	tipə?	čnəŋ		katši	ədi	ʔi	
satisfy	in	village		with	have	we	
10.	mə	cu	lia	ʔm	no	ləbən	cu
	if	SUB	go	youM	to	Shillong	SUB
kəm	ʔm		11.	ʔu	pa	ʔu	dəp
spoil	youM			M	father	M	finish
pirkhat	ʔu	šidit,		ma?	u	də	kə
think	M	awhile		look	M	at	F
ʔu,	bə	əŋ	ʔu	hə	ʔiakə	12.	mai
M	and	say	M	OBJ	E-F		mother
hən	əkhaŋ-rhen		tə		hə	ʔi	hun
don't	forbid-way		PART		OBJ	N	child
acu	pʔəm	ʔi	hə	ʔi	bha?	yə	
NEG	live	we	OBJ	N	share	PI	
13.	ai	hə	pinbhia?	yə	hə	ʔi	thəbənər
	let	SUB	spread	PI	OBJ	N	wing
yə	14.	laʔita		əma?	u	hə	ʔu
PI		then		look	M	OBJ	M
ʔu	ə,	bə	əŋ	ʔu	15.	riŋkat	bə
M	PART	and	say	M		together	with
ʔi	ciŋkirkhu	ŋə	tə	lia	16.	taŋ	əsa?
N	blessing	I	then	go		upon	hear
hə	ʔi-nə	ʔi	tkəŋ,		ʔu	manik	əlia
OBJ	N-this	N	word		M	Manik	go
phet	ʔu	tu	sni	ʔu	pərələk	ʔu	
run	M	to	house	M	friend	M	
əməya	diam	ʔu	əphria?		cəŋhia?	di	
love	much	M	shout		loudly	with	
əkmen	ʔu	17.	ko	lək		acu	tə?
joy	M		Oh	friend		NEG	know

m	ʔi-ai	də	ca	18.	cu	lia
youM	N-what	PERF	happen		FUT	go
ŋə	no	ləbən	cu	lia	tho?	kam
I	to	Shillong	FUT	go	search	job
ŋə	di	hə	məhəcən	ŋə19.	ʔu-tə	ʔu
I	get	PART	rich.man	I	M-that	M
pərelək	ʔu	əcubab	ʔu	20.	ʔiam	
friend	M	reply	M		E-youM	
te	əa?	bha?	m	21.	kə	mai
PART	have	luck	youM		F	mother
bə	ʔu	pa	cu?	pha?	yə	te
and	M	father	NEG	send	PI	PART
cu	šlɔ?	ŋə	ti	čnɔŋ	22.	ʔu
SUB	emerge	I	from	village		M
manik	əpindiam	ʔu	hə	ʔu-tə	ʔu	
Manik	comfort	M	OBJ	M-that	M	
pərelək	23.	ñiə	cu	lia	šwia?	yɔ?
friend		E-I	FUT	go	ask	maybe
pha?	kaiñia?	kaiñia?	24.	ʔu	manik	əlia
send	somehow		M	Manik	go	
yato?	u	hə	ʔu	pa	ʔu	pərelək
meet	M	OBJ	M	father	M	friend
ʔu,	bə	əkirpāt	ʔu	kains?	25.	ñieu,
M	and	request	M	like.this		uncle
sa?s?ɔr	ča?	hə	ʔu	hun	ʔm	hə
please	allow	OBJ	M	child	youM	SUB
lia	ʔu	bə	ñiə	no	laban	26.
go	M	with	E-I	to	Shillong	PERF
thiknə	ŋə	cu	di	ʔi	kə	kam
sure	I	SUB	get	we	F	job
əbiaŋ	bə	cu?	pinmera	ʔi	te	hə
proper	and	NEG	shame	we	PART	OBJ
ʔiam	27.	hinrei	ʔu-tə	ʔu	cəpreu	
E-youM		but	M-that	M	person	
əɔŋ	ʔu	28.	manik,	ʔu	hun	ŋə
say	M		Manik	M	child	I
lia	ʔu	te	bə	ʔiam	no	laban
go	M	PART	with	youM	to	Shillong
29.	əkwa?	i	ʔiau	cu	a?	u
	want	we	E-M	SUB	be	M
ʔi	ti	čnɔŋ	30.	ditrai	ʔi-tə	lə
we	at	village		after	N-that	PERF

dep	pinkhrɛ?	u	katnəkatlə	ʃŋai,	ʔu	
finish	prepare	M	few	day	M	
manik	əlia	ʔu	no	ləbən	31.	la
Manik	go	M	to	Shillong		PAST
əpɔi	ʔu	no	ləbən	əlia	sa?	u bə
arrive	M	to	Shillong	go	stay	M with
ʔi	kur	ʔu	bə	əsdaŋ	tho?	kam
N	relative	M	and	start	look	job
nɔ?	u	32.	əlia	yato?	u	bə ʔu-mi
ADV	M	go	meet	M	with	M-one
ʔu	raŋba?	ʔu	əriam	diam	bə	ʔu əa?
M	gentleman	M	dress	well	and	M have
la	kə	cɔŋ	ka	ophis	33.	ʔu manik
own	F	of	F	office	M	Manik
əlia	kirpāt	sbiat	ʔu	34.	ba?,	
go	request	small	M		brother	
sa?ʃʔɔr	cu	āi	kam	ʔm	hə	ñiə
please	SUB	give	job	youM	OBJ	E-I
35.	ʔu-tə	ʔu	raŋba?	la?	əma?	
	M-that	M	gentleman	PERF	look	
u	hə	ʔi	mat	ʃida	ʔu,	əɔŋ ʔu
M	OBJ	N	face	honest	M	say M
36.	alɛ	cu	hikai	ŋə	ʔiam	
	come	FUT	teach	I	E-youM	
kaiñia?	cu	krɔm	ti	ophis	ŋə	
how	FUT	work	in	office	I	
6.	la?ditrai	ʔi-tə	ʃidit	pɔr	ʔu	manik
	after	N-that	little	time	M	Manik
əkəri	ʔu	ʔu	nɔŋkrɔm	ʔu	əstāt	
become	M	M	worker	M	skilful	
diam	tipɔ?	kə-tə	kə	ophis	bə	ənaŋ
most	in	F-that	F	office	and	CONT
kui	ʔu	hə	ʔi	kam	37.	bəɔ?
climb	M	OBJ	N	work		all
i	ciŋkwa?	u	ədi	ʔiyə		
N	wish	M	get	E-Pl		

## Text-2.

1.	ʔu-mi	ʔu	cəpreu	ʔu	ədi	kə			
	M-one	M	person	M	get	F			
	sāp	kə	əphilli	əsaʔthoʔ	u	hə			
	talent	F	amazing	understand	M	OBJ			
	əyaʔšiar	ki	laiphu	čiar	bə				
	conversation	Pl	thirty	animal	and				
	ki	ksem ti	ʔu-mi	ʔu	pukir	2.	haʔ		
	Pl	bird from	M-one	M	hermit		OBJ		
	kə-tə	kə	sāp	acu	diam yəts		hacu		
	F-that	F	talent	NEG	good	PART	SUB		
	khəna	ʔu	hə	kiaikiai	bə	hə	ʔi		
	tell	M	OBJ	anyone	and	OBJ	N		
	bhaʔ	taŋ	cu	khəna	ʔu	tə			
	reason	only	FUT	tell	M	PART			
	cu	yip	ʔu	3.	laʔita	hə	kə-nə		
	FUT	die	M		then	OBJ	F-this		
	kə	ciŋstāt	kə	ədi	ʔu	də	tairiaʔ	u	
	F	wisdom	F	get	M	PERF	hide	M	
	hən	həʔ	kə	lək	ʔu	kə	əmeya	diam	
	even	from	F	wife	M	F	love	very	
	tam	ʔu	4.	taŋ	cu	šiar	ʔu	cəŋhiaʔ	
	most	M		only	FUT	speak	M	loudly	
	bə	də	maʔ	kə	hə	ʔiau	di	ʔi	mat
	and	PERF	look	F	OBJ	E-M	by	N	eye
	ʔi	əbhiaʔ	haduʔ	də	sləʔ			bi	
	N	big	until	PERF	emerge			by	
	səʔlərun		no	khlia	šo	nia	ʔu		
	goose.pimples		from	head	to	foot	M		
5.	əman	ʔu	thik	kai	ʔu	məsəu			
	become	M	exactly	as	M	bullock			
	ʔu	dəsen	mirkoŋ,	acu	mia	kloŋ	ʔu		
	M	pierce	nose	NEG	big	dare	M		
	cu	pinlaʔ	hə	ʔiakə	6.	ti	kə-mi	kə	
	SUB	disobey	OBJ	E-F		at	F-one	F	
	ñuŋai	əlia	thəʔ	ət		ʔu	bə	ʔiakə	
	day	go	cut	wood	M	with	E-F		
	ti	kə-mi	kə	kirmia	7.	ti	rhen	laʔ	
	from	F-one	F	forest		on	way	PERF	
	əsaʔ	u	hə	əyaʔšiar	ki	hun	məsəu,		
	hear	M	OBJ	conversation	Pl	child	cow		
	ərui	ʔu	šoʔmen-šoʔmen	8.	kə-tə	kə			
	laugh	M	alone-alone		F-that	F			

lɔk	ʔu	kat	əmuʔ	kə	mə	
spouse	M	however	think	F	SUB	
ərui	ʔu	hə	ʔiakə,	əɔŋ	kə,	
laugh	M	OBJ	E-F	say	F	
aihani	ərui	bən	ʔm	hə	fiə	
why	laugh	mock	youM	OBJ	E-I	
katnəkətnə,	həʔ	əthəʔmutthəʔmat	ʔi	mat		
so.much	OBJ	stain	N	face		
ŋə, nə	haʔ	əkəm	hinhai	palat	ŋə,	
I	or	SUB	ugly	female	much	I
ərui	ʔm	hə	fiə	ʔ 9.	mə	hin
laugh	youM	OBJ	E-I	if	NEG	
khəna	ʔm	kə	dāu	aihani		
tell	youM	F	reason	why		
ərui	ʔm	katnəkətnə,	fiə	cu		
laugh	youM	this.much	E-I	FUT		
pinba	ŋə	hə	ʔiam	du	di	ʔi
feed	I	OBJ	E-youM	only	with	N
šmen suda	tiduʔ	i-nə	ʔi	pər		
fire	only	from	N-this	N	time	
10.	həʔ,	əcubap	hə	ʔu	plai	ʔu-tə
	no	reply	OBJ	M	poor	M-that
						M
lɔk	kə	11.	acu	rui	ŋə	tə
husband	F	NEG	laugh	I	PART	
hə	ʔiahə	12.	ərui	ŋə	hə	əyaʔ-šiar
OBJ	E-youF	laugh	I	OBJ	REC-speak	
ki-tə	ki	məseu	tilə	13.	acu	lia
Pl-those	Pl	cow	there	NEG	go	
budia	ŋə	tə	ʔi-tə	ʔi	ɔŋ	
believe	I	PART	N-that	N	saying	
ʔm	14.	ərui	ʔm	ha	ʔu	hinlɔŋ
youM	laugh	youM	OBJ	M	hair.bun	
khlia	ŋə	ʔ	15.	min	hin	təʔ
head	I	if	NEG	be	OBJ	N-that
ʔm	hə	ʔu	star	bə	ʔu	həʔ
youM	OBJ	M	strap	SUB	M	ti
timpɔŋ	ŋə	16.	cu	khəna	ʔm	tə
body	I	FUT	tell	youM	PART	
blarblar	17.	də	yaʔšiar	dəm	kə	
quickly	PERF	speak	angry	F		
khmɔtkhmɔt	kə	hinhai	18.	həʔə,	də	
ADV	F	female	no	PERF		

cubap	biaŋ	ʔu	19.	ərui	chinnam	
reply	again	M		laugh	truly	
ŋə	hə	əya-šiar	ki	məseu	20.	ʔi-ai
I	OBJ	REC-speak	PI	cow		N-what
əšiar	ki-tə	ki	məseu,	khəna		
speak	PI-those	PI	cow	tell		
blar-blar,	də	ɔŋ	biaŋ	kə		
quick-quick	PERF	say	again	F		
21.	daŋ	ʔi	rta	ʔm	əyaʔ-šiar	ʔi
	at	N	age	youM	REC-speak	N
məseu	22.	əyarɔʔ	yə	hə	ʔiam	bə
cow		praise	PI	OBJ	E-youM	and
əben	yə	hə	ñiə	23.	tu	ərui
mock	PI	OBJ	E-I	SUB	laugh	youM
hadoʔ	də	saʔ	yə	kərəŋkərəŋ	yə	
till	PERF	hear	PI	everything	PI	
24.	cu	khəna	ʔm	tə	blar-blar	
	FUT	tell	youM	PART	quickly	
25.	mə	taŋ	cu	khəna	ŋə	ʔi-ai
	if	only	FUT	tell	I	N-what
əyaʔ-šiar	ki-nə	ki	məseu,	laʔitə	cu	
REC-speak	PI-these	PI	cow	then	FUT	
yip	ŋə	titə	həkin	26.	həʔitə	acu
die	I	there	PART		therefore	NEG
khəna	ŋə	tə	kat	əhim	phu	
tell	I	PART	while	NEG	yet	
kwaʔ	ŋə	cu	yip	27.	laʔitə	əyakhñian
want	I	SUB	die	then	grumble	
kə	khləm	kut	28.	bəɔʔ	ši	sŋāi
F	without	end		all	one	day
ši	lmaʔ	acu	yaʔ-šiar	yə	wan	
one	night	NEG	REC-speak	PI	again	
29.	laʔ	čui	kɔrti	yə	wan,	
	after	light	morning	PART	again	
la	əlia	kirma	ʔu,	də	saʔ	biaŋ
PAST	go	forest	M	PERF	hear	again
ʔu	katdaŋ	ya-šiar	ar	bai	ʔi	hun
M	while	REC-speak	two	CL	N	child
30.	ərui	ʔu	kdiakšikdiak	kat		əhin
	laugh	M	ADV		while	NEG
əʔ	u	wan	cu	kset, kat	kə	
able	M	more	SUB	shut	while	F



ti	po?	u,	kat	əhin	a?	pirthai	ʔu
at	stomach	M	as	NEG	have	earth	M
wan	hə	əyaʔšiar		ki-tə		ki	
more	OBJ	conversation		Pl-those		Pl	
čria?	42.	otikayə,	də	lia	phet	kə	
monkey		PART	PAST	go	run	F	
šo	sni	acu	lia	kirmia	kə	tə	
to	house	NEG	go	forest	F	PART	
wan	hə	ʔiau	43.	la	ədep		
more	with	E-M		when	finish		
ərui	ʔu	də	pirkhat	ʔu	wan		
laugh	M	PERF	think	M	again		
ʔi-ai	cu	di	ʔu	šo	sni	la	
N-what	SUB	get	M	at	home	when	
əwan	ʔu	44.	laʔitə	də	rai		
arrive	M		then	PAST	decide		
ʔu	cu	khəna	ʔu	hə	ʔiakə	kat	
M	SUB	tell	M	OBJ	E-F	whatever	
əman	yə	hə	ʔi	ciŋyašiar			
become	PART	OBJ	N	conversation			
ki-tə	ki	laipu	čiar	bə			
Pl-those	Pl	thirty	animal	and			
hə	yip	ʔu	həkin	45.	titə	kat	
FUT	die	M	PART		there	whatever	
əhin	sa?	ε?	u	wan	cu	ča?	
NEG	bear	much	M	more	SUB	bear	
hə	ʔi	tkəŋ	kə	pə	sŋai	pe	lma?
OBJ	N	word	F	with	day	with	night
46.	taŋ	šu	liŋgat	ʔu	kə	bəsta	
	when	just	drop	M	F	sack	
bhək	bə	əšlat	ʔu	star	ti	khlia	ʔu
ADV	and	loose	M	strap	from	head	M
47.	əlia	bit	ʔu	šo	kə	lək	ʔu
	go	straight	M	to	F	spouse	M
bə	əoŋ	ʔu	ha?cu	khəna	nə?	u	
and	say	M	SUB	tell	ADV	M	
ʔiakə	laʔhin	ti	kərti	ʔi	əsa?	u	
E-F	tomorrow	at	morning	N	hear	M	
bəro?	i	yə-šiar	yə	bat	hə		
all	N	REC-speak	Pl	and	OBJ		
ʔi	ciŋstat	ʔi	ədi	ʔu	ti	ʔu-tə	
N	wisdom	N	get	M	from	M-that	

ʔu	pukir	48.	kat	ʔiakə	əɔŋ	kə
M	hermit		while	E-F	say	F
hə	ʔiau	cu	khəna	ʔu	ʔi-tə	ʔi-tə
OBJ	E-M	SUB	tell	M	N-there	N-there
həkin	49.	daŋ	kɔrti	də	əɔŋ	
PART		while	morning	PAST	say	
ʔu	hə	ʔiakə	haʔcu	siaŋ	thiaʔ	
M	OBJ	E-F	SUB	spread	bed	
kə	hə	ʔiau	no bar	kai	ʔu	cəprəu
F	OBJ	E-M	at outside	like	M	person
ʔu	cu	yip	tirut	50.	la	ədəp
M	FUT	die	unnatural	when	finish	
siaŋ	kə,	əpɪnbit	ʔu	hə	ʔi	pran
spread	F	straighten	M	OBJ	N	body
ə,	pə	tai	pə	nia	ʔu	kai ʔu
PART	with	hand	with	foot	M	like M
cəprəu	ʔu	əcu	yip	həkin	51.	titə
person	M	SUB	die	PART		then
həkin	ʔu	ksia	əwan	saʔdot		
PART	M	dog	come	sympathize		
ʔu	hə	ʔiau	hə	ʔi	bhaʔ	kə
M	OBJ	E-M	for	N	reason	F
ben	kə	lək	ʔu	52.	kə-tə	kə
cruel	F	spouse	M	F-that	F	
lək	ʔu	də	wan	ʃkia	kə	ti
spouse	M	PERF	come	sit	F	at
traɪ	thauthiaʔ	ʔu	bə	əɔŋ	ʔu	hə ʔiakə,
foot	bed	M	and	say	M	OBJ E-F
ko	mai	saʔsʔər	āi	ci	phraŋ	
Oh	mother	please	give	rice	first	
hə	ʔu-nə	ʔu	ksia	ŋə,	kat	də saʔ
OBJ	M-this	M	dog	I	for	PAST
diau	ʔu,	kə-tə	kə	lək	də	
sad	M	F-that	F	spouse	PAST	
əcəm	hinsui,	əlia	khat	ci	kə	ti kə
soft	heart	go	get	rice	F	at F
dɪŋkui	53.	ʔu-tə	ʔu	ksia	acu	wen
plate		M-that	M	dog	NEG	agree
ʔu	ɛ	cu	ba,	əpɪnnoʔ	u	ʔi
M	PART	SUB	eat	lower	M	N
khliamat	bə	əliaʔ	diau	ʔu,	ədəm	ʔu
eyebrow	and	act	sad	M	bend	M

kə	khliā	ti	traī	thauthiā?	u	kinrāt	ʔu
F	head	at	foot	bed	M	master	M
54.	kə	lɔk	ʔu	kat	daŋ	liā	them
	F	wife	M	while	still	go	take
kinrau	kə	tipɔ?		sni,		əlat	kə
something	F	inside		house		late	F
55.	ʔu-mi	ʔu	sʔiriŋko?	u	əsia	diam	
	M-one	M	cockerel	M	red	very	
ʔi	kirtɔŋ	ʔu	bə	ʔu	əma?	dɔm	
N	crest	M	and	M	look	angry	
ʔi	mat	ʔu,	əwan	ba	ʔu	ʔi	ci
N	face	M	come	eat	M	N	rice
ʔu-tə	ʔu	ksia	56.	ʔiw	kə	khləmməra,	
M-that	M	dog		O	F	shameless	
əɔŋ	ʔu	ksia	57.	əbhia?	saŋ	ʔu	khu
say	M	dog		big	ADV	M	crop
ʔm	bə	əraikɔt		saŋ	ʔm		
youM	and	greedy		ADV	youM		
58.	cu	mia	klɔŋ	ʔm	bə	ba	ʔm
	FUT	big	crop	youM	and	eat	youM
ʔu	sɔʔ-rhia	59.	acu	tɔ?	m		ʔu
M	fruit-rice		NEG	know	youM		M
kinrāt	ʔi	cu	yip	nɔ?	u	taŋ	ha
master	we	FUT	die	ADV	M	only	at
šidit	pɔr?	60.	phət	nɔ?	titə	yɔ?	piā?
little	time		run	ADV	there	get	break
u	khliā	ʔm	61.	ai	ha	yip	nɔ?
M	head	youM		let	SUB	die	ADV
ʔu,	sam	rʔɔt	ʔu,	də		ɔŋ	
M	when	fool	M	PAST		say	
ʔu	mia-jutaŋ	62.	əba	ʔu	ši	tkɔŋ	
M	great-counsel		eat	M	one	mouth	
ā	tkɔŋ	bə	əphriā?	u	kupšikup		
two	mouth	and	call	M	ADV		
63.	bəɔ?	ki	sʔi	hinthai	əwan		
	all	Pl	hen	female	come		
kiar	šiadɔŋ	yə	ʔiau	bə			
fence	around	Pl	E-M	and			
əya-ba	yə	hə	ʔi	ci	64.	kaile?	
REC-eat	Pl	OBJ	N	rice		why	
əɔŋ	ʔu	mia-jutaŋ	hə	ʔu	ksia,		
say	M	great-counsel	OBJ	M	dog		





thaikwa?	ki	hun	12.	ŋa	thaip?em	co
wish	Pl	child		N	life	of
?wi	ba	anŋat		re	ŋai	ba
we2	NEG	be		NEG	PART	NEG
bha?	co	kei,	ŋat	kirthat	hai	ki
share	of	P12	must	struggle	self	Pl
ha	ti	ki	ŋa	thai	co	hai
SUB	find	Pl	N	place	of	self
13.	āi	ha	pinpre?	ki	ki	nier
	let	SUB	spread	Pl	Pl	wing
14.	daŋtu		phāi ?u	?ima?	co	?u
	then		turn	M	to	of
ra,	ŋ	?u	wa?	15.	ba	ki
PART	say	M	PART		with	Pl
co	?o	sicrop,	to		kai	li?
of	I2	together	PART		rise	go
16.	marsin	ksaŋ	?u	ha	ŋa-na	ŋa
	upon	hear	M	OBJ	N-this	N
kthoŋ,	?u	manik	li?	mare?	u	?i
word	M	Manik	go	run	M	to
sni	co	?u	lok	an?ieic	ra,	kre?
house	of	M	friend	love	PART	shout
?u	wei	da	ŋa	kmen	17.	hei
M	M2	by	N	joy		hey
pra?	ma		ŋa-yu	ŋa	li?	friend
know	youM		N-what	N	PAST	
ca	18.	ha?o	li?	no?	ŋa	?i
happen		E-I	go	ADV	I	laban
ŋa	thu?	thaikirni	ha	man	ŋa	Shillong
to	look	job		SUB	become	I
?u	karo	?u	a?spa?	19.	?u-tu	
M	person	M	rich		M-that	
?u	lok	co	?wei	li?	phāi	
M	friend	of	M2	PAST	return	
kthoŋ	?u	20.	hama	re	a?	
word	M		E-youM	PART	have	
bok	bhi	ma	21.	ki	mu	ki
luck	very	youM		Pl	mother	Pl
pui	co	?o	re		batō?	mut
father	of	I2	PART		don't	think
cana	ra	ŋa	pinčri	ki	?o	ŋa
ADV	NEG	SUB	free	Pl	I2	SUB
						leave

ti	čnɔŋ	22.	ʔu	manik	pintŋen	ʔu
from	village		M	Manik	comfort	M
ha	ʔu	lək	ra	23.	li?	wēt
OBJ	M	friend	PART	PAST	search	
no?	ha?o	ti	sni	ma,	pinčri	ki
ADV	E-I	from	house	youM	free	PI
map?i	mnoumnou	ra		24.	ʔu	manik
perhaps	somehow	PART		M	Manik	
li?	li?	antɔ?	u	ha	ʔu	pa
PAST	go	meet	M	OBJ	M	father
co	ʔu	lək	ra	ba	ŋa	kirpāt
of	M	friend	PART	and	SUB	request
the?	mna	25.	māi,	ksaŋbhi	sa	
like	this		uncle	please	PART	
ma	ca?	ha	ʔu	hun	ma	ŋa
SUB	allow	OBJ	M	child	youM	li?
ba	ha?o	ʔi	laban	26.	tikna	bhi
with	E-I	to	Shillong	sure	very	I
baŋa	ti	ʔi	ŋa	thaikirni	ŋa	člep
SUB	get	we	N	job	N	proper
baŋa	ba	pinmarien	ʔi	hama	the?	
SUB	NEG	shame	we	E-youM	ADV	
27.	dan?u	ʔu-tu	ʔu	karo		
	then	M-that	M	person		
li?	ɔŋ	ʔu	28.	manik,	ʔu	hun
PAST	say	M		Manik	M	child
co	ʔo	ba	lep	ra	ʔwei	ŋa
of	A-I	NEG	able	NEG	M2	SUB
hama	ʔi	laban		29.	kwa?	i
youM	to	Shillong		want	we	
ŋa	a?	u	ba	ha?wi	ʔi	čnɔŋ
SUB	be	M	with	E-we	at	village
30.	ʔanrei	da	li?	lep	khre?	
	after	when	PAST	finish		
kaditnaic	siŋ	ʔu	manik	li?	li?	
few	day	M	Manik	PAST	go	
u	ʔi	laban	31.	da	li?	
M	to	Shillong		when	PAST	
lho?	u	ʔi	laban,	li?	li?	sa?
arrive	M	at	Shillong	PAST	go	stay
u	ba	ki	karosŋi	ra	bat	li?
M	with	PI	relative	PART	and	PAST

staŋ	thu?	thaikirni	ʔu	32.	li?	antə?	u
start	look	job	M		PAST	meet	M
ha	ʔu	ʔimi	ʔu	karo	ʔu	noŋbei	
OBJ	M	one	M	person	M	gentleman	
ʔu	riyem	bhi	ʔu	a?	ŋa	ophis	co
M	dress	well	M	have	N	office	of
hai	33.	ʔu	manik	li?	kirpāt	ʔu	
own	M	Manik	PAST	request	M		
34.	koŋ,	ksaŋbhi	lep	ma	ʔo		
	brother	please	able	youM	I2		
ŋama	ŋa	āi	thaikirni	35.	ʔu-tu	ʔu	
PART	SUB	give	job		M-that	M	
noŋbei	kha?	u	ha	ŋa	māi	ŋaba	
man	look	M	OBJ	N	face	SUB	
aʔ-yuyu		co	ʔutu	ʔu	nandi?		
have-nothing		of	M-that	M	child		
sa	oŋ	ʔu	36.	le	sa	hikai	
then	say	M		come	FUT	teach	
ŋa	ma	mnou	re?	ma	ŋa	kirni	
I	youM	how	do	youM	SUB	work	
ʔipʔei	ŋa	ophis	co	ʔo			
inside	N	office	of	I2			
37.	ʔanrei	kadit	por	ʔu	manik		
	after	little	time	M	Manik		
kirli	man	ʔu	ʔu	menkirni	ʔu		
change	become	M	M	worker	M		
bit	tam	ʔima?	ŋa-tu	ŋa	ophis		
skillful	most	at	N-that	N	office		
baŋa	li?	baŋ	ki	ʔu	ha		
SUB	PAST	CONT	climb	M	OBJ		
ŋa	kam	38.	batkleŋ	ŋa	thaiagnod	ʔu	
N	work	all	N	ambition	M		
li?	man	mace?	ki				
PAST	become	true	Pl				

## Text - 2.

1.	ʔu	ʔimi	ʔu	karo	li?	di	ʔu
	M	one	M	person	PAST	get	M
ka	sap	ka	philla	ŋa	praʔksaŋ	ʔu	
F	gift	F	wonderful	SUB	understand	M	
ha	thaiankren	ki	mrat	ba	ki		
OBJ	conversation	Pl	animal	and	Pl		

ksem kleŋ,	dima?	ʔu	ʔimi	ʔu	pukirblei		
bird	all	from	M	one	M	hermit	
2.	ha	ka-tu	ka	sap	ba	bit	ra
	OBJ	F-that	F	gift	NEG	must	NEG
ŋa	khnei	patieŋ	ʔu	kai	ha-yu		
SUB	tell	generation	M	F2	OBJ-anyone		
ha-yu		wa,	namar		taŋ	ʃu	
OBJ-anyone		PART	because		only	just	
khnei	ʔu	yip	hai	ʔu	3.	daŋtu	
tell	M	die	self	M		then	
ha	ŋa-na	ŋa	thaistat	ŋa	li?		
OBJ	N-one	N	wisdom	that	PAST		
di	ʔu	li?	tei	čaro?	u	ŋai	
get	M	PAST	hide	all	M	PART	
wat	ha	ka	mir	ka	ʔieic	thepminsiem	
even	OBJ	F	spouse	F	love	dearly	
e?	ra	wa	bat	haŋa	li?	tiŋ	
most	PART	also	and	SUB	PAST	fear	
ninaic	minsiem	ʔu	kai	hado?		mtumtu	
small	heart	M	F2	till		much	
4.	da	te?	ŋa	ankren	e?	ka	
	when	only	SUB	speak	harshly	F	
ʔwei	bat	da	li?	kha?	ka	ʔwei	da
M2	and	when	go	look	F	M2	by
mat	ser	tituiñ	li?	hai			PI
eye	angrily	then	PAST	rise			
sarun		ʔu	daŋ	di	khlou	hado?	
gooseberry		M	start	from	head	till	
i	trei	nou	5.	li?	man		
N	bottom	foot	PAST	become			
ʔu	thik	khaiñ	ʔu				
M	exactly	as	M				
massei-senkhle	ci	ŋ	markoŋ	bat	ba		
cow-castrated	pierce	nose	and	NEG			
člaiñ	pinlep	ra	ʔwei	kai	6.	ha	ka
dare	disobey	PART	M2	F2		at	F
ʔimi	ka	siŋ,	li?	li?	tho?	et	ʔu
one	F	day	PAST	go	cut	wood	M
ba	hakai	ʔima?	ŋa	ʔimi	ŋa	lwar	
with	E-F	from	N	one	N	forest	
7.	ʔitu	ʔi	lhen	li?	ksaŋ	ʔu	
	there	N	way	PAST	hear	M	

ŋa	thaiankren	ki	hunmasei	bat	li?
N	conversation	Pl	calf	and	PAST
lhɔʔsuri	yiptiaʔyiplier	ʔu	saʔmen-saʔmen		
laugh	ADV	M	alone-alone		
8.	ka-tu	ka	mir	ʔu	namar
	F-that	F	spouse	M	because
li?	naŋ	tharai	ka	baŋa	
PAST	CONT	think	F	SUB	
lhɔʔsuri	ʔu	hakai,	li?	ɔŋ	ka
laugh	M	E-F	PAST	say	F
9.	cureʔ	sa	lhɔʔsuri	beifĩ	ma
	why	PART	laugh	cruelly	youM
haʔo	kham-mnamna	10.	cirnep	ma	nep
E-I	this.much		maybe	because	ugly
εʔ	ŋa	mai	ŋa	11.	ne
much	N	face	I	or	that
caic	palat	εʔ	haduʔ	mnou	become
stain	too	much	till	how	
ŋai	sa	lhɔʔsuri	sacaic	εʔ	
PART	PART	laugh	much	ADV	
ma	haʔo ?	12.	lada	ba	khnei
youM	E-I		if	NEG	tell
ma	ha	ŋa	dau	cureʔ	sa
youM	OBJ	N	reason	why	PART
lhɔʔsuri	ma	mna-mna,	pinbiem	ŋa	ma
laugh	youM	this.much	feed	I	youM
da	ŋa	smen	thirlei	nadoʔ	hani
by	N	fire	empty	since	now
13.	eheʔ,	li?	cubab	ʔu	bapli
	no	PAST	reply	M	poor
ʔu-to	ʔu	mir	ka,	ba	aʔ
M-that	M	spouse	F	NEG	be
ra	ʔo	hapa	14.	lhɔʔsuri	ŋa
NEG	I2	E-youF	laugh	I	OBJ
thaiankren	co	ki-tai	ki	hun	masei
conversation	of	Pl-those	Pl	child	cow
ʔitai	15.	ba	ŋaic	ra	ʔo
there	NEG	believe	PART	I2	OBJ
ŋa	thaioŋ	co	ma	16.	khnei,
N	saying	of	youM	tell	ba
ŋat	ra	ŋa	lhɔʔsuri	ma	ha
be	NEG	SUB	laugh	youM	OBJ

khloʔsoʔkhlou	co	ʔo ʔ	17.	lada	ba	ɲat
hair.bun		of	I2		if	NEG be
ɲa-tu	wa,	lhoʔsuri	ma		ha	ɲa
N-that	also	laugh	youM		OBJ	N
dukhyoŋ	ʔu	star	bat	ka	khariaŋ	
seat	M	headstrap	and	F	basket	
ʔimaʔ	ɲa	thmun	co	ʔo	18.	khnei
at	N	body	of	I2		tell
ʔnda-ʔnda	19.	liʔ	ankren	kiʔbhaŋ	ka	
now-now		PAST	speak	angrily	F	
dipʔeidipʔei	ka-tu		ka	anthei	20.	sheʔ
ADV		F-that	F	female		no
re	pa,	liʔ	cubab	wan	ʔu,	
PART	youF	PAST	reply	again	M	
lhoʔsuri	ɲa	ha	ɲa	thaiankren	ki	
laugh	I	OBJ	N	conversation	Pl	
masei	21.	ɲa	ankren	masei	yu	
cow		N	speak	cow	what	
ɲa-tu,	khnei	re	khnei	ʔnda		
N-that	tell		PART	tell	now	
ha	ɲa-tu	ɲa	ankren	masei,		
OBJ	N-that	N	speak	cow		
liʔ	oŋ	wan	ka	22.	daŋ	teʔ
PAST	say	again	F		when	only
ha	ɲa	rta	co	ma	sa	ankren
at	N	age	of	youM	PART	speak
ki	masei	23.	yaɔʔ	ki	ma	
Pl	cow		praise	Pl	youM	
ɲai	bat	beiñ	ki	haʔo	24.	sa
PART	and	mock	Pl	E-I		PART
lhoʔsuri	phɲar	ma	ɲa	sawa		
laugh	ADV	youM	SUB	resound		
sa	ɲa	at	ɲa	staic	kleŋ,	
even	N	mound	N	hollow	all	
ba	khnei	ʔnda	ra	ma ʔ		
NEG	tell	now	NEG	youM		
25.	lada	taŋ	ʃu	khnei	ɲa	ɲai
	if	only	just	tell	I	PART
						ɲa-yu
						N-what
ɲai	ɲa	ankren	ki-na	ki	masei,	
PART	N	speak	Pl-these	Pl	cow	
liʔ	oŋ	ʔu	ɲatu	re,	sa	yip
PAST	say	M	then	PART	PART	die

ga	ha	ga-co?	ga	khillipmat	26.	ma	re?
I	at	N-same	N	moment		NEG	agree
khnei		ra ?o	pa,	ma a?	kwa?	yip	
tell		NEG I2	youF	NEG be	want	die	
ra ?o		27.	dagtu	li?	an?er	ki	
NEG I2			then	PAST	quarrel	PI	
dainšidaiñ,		ba a?	kut tim		ra		
unceasingly		NEG be	end more		NEG		
ha ga		thaidawa	28.	bat si	siq		
OBJ N		demand		and one	day		
si lma?		ba a?	ankren	tim			
one night		NEG be	speak	more			
ra kei		arara	29.	ha ka	duḡma?		
NEG P12		each.other		at F	day		
ka bot		wan,	li?	ksaḡ wan			
F follow		again	PAST	hear again			
?u ha		ga	thaiankren	ki ir	khlen		
ki hun		N	conversation	PI two	CL		
ki hun		blaḡ	30.	li?	lho?suri	?u	
PI child		goat	PAST	laugh	M		
kakkakkak		ba lep	kset tim	?u			
ADV		NEG able	shut more	M			
31.		tituiñ	li?	dap khia	ka		
		then	PAST	full heavy	F		
minsiem		co ka-tu	ka mir	?u			
hearty		of F-that	F spouse	M			
32.		li?	thnum	li?	caikthoḡ	ka	
		PAST	grumble	PAST	AKIN	F	
hado?		ga anñiaḡ	ka bat	hado?			
until		SUB satisfy	F and	till			
ga ba		a? kthoḡ	ka ga	er ha?wei			
SUB NEG		have word	F SUB	scold E-M			
33.		ha?wei	wan	li?	hap		
		E-M	however	PAST	more		
sian		?u dima?	ga theica	daḡ			
clever		M from	N event	still			
?i-chui,		li?	kun ?u	?ip?ei	bat ba		
recently		PAST	shut M	inside	and NEG		
a? kinniaḡ		ra	?wei te?	si kthoḡ			
have return		PART	M2 only	one word			
wa 34.		ha ka lei	siḡ ?anrei				
also		at F	three	day after			

wan	li?	li?	ket	sji	ki	bat
again	PAST	go	carry	rice	Pl	both
ir	bei	si-timmen	35.	ba	a?	ankren
two	CL	one-couple		NEG	be	speak
cana	ra	ha	ki-tu	ki	ir	siŋ
at.all	NEG	at	Pl-those	Pl	two	day
36.	ka	anthei	li?	kha?	birŋu?	ka
	F	female	PAST	look	angry	F
bat	ʔu	huntarme	wan	baŋ	ci	
and	M	male	however	CONT	seem	
danda	37.	li?	ŋat	bahap	ki	ha
amuse		PAST	must	cross	Pl	OBJ
ŋa	ʔimi	ŋa	lwar	ŋa	bhep	ki
N	one	N	forest	N	many	Pl
čəria?	ki	tŋəu	38.	daŋtu	li?	
monkey	Pl	ape		then	PAST	
ksaŋ	ʔu	ha	ŋa	thaiankren	ki	ši
hear	M	OBJ	N	conversation	Pl	one
jur	ki	čəria?	timmen			
couple	Pl	monkey	old			
39.	li?	lhəʔsuri	wan	ʔu	kikšikik	
	PAST	laugh	again	M	ADV	
bat	khaiñ	kset	tim	ʔu	ha	ŋa
and	try	shut	more	M	OBJ	N
kthəŋ	ra	40.	ʔnda	li?	ba	
mouth	PART		when	PAST	NEG	
lep	kset	tim	ʔu,	lhəʔ	kinsan	ŋa
able	shut	more	M	burst	suddenly	N
bhuk	bat	tŋi	ʔu	ha	ŋa	po?
ADV	and	hold	M	OBJ	N	stomach
khlen	ki	tei,	namar	a?	pirthei	tim
CL	Pl	hand	because	have	earth	more
ra	ŋa	ksaŋ	biria	ha	ŋa-tu	ŋa
NEG	that	feel	funny	at	N-that	N
thaiankren	ki	41.	houʔim,	ka-tai		
conversation	Pl		PART	F-that		
li?	wan	skei,	dotdot	ʔi	sŋi,	
PAST	come	run	ADV	to	house	
ba	a?	li?	lhi	tim	ra	kai
NEG	be	go	field	more	NEG	F2
haʔwei	42.	ʔnda	li?		cem	ŋa-tu
E-M		when	PAST		cure	N-that



48.	daŋ	dunma?	li?	oŋ	?u	baŋa	ŋat
	still	dawn	PAST	say	M	SUB	must
	siaŋ-thia?	ka	?wei	?ip?ei	čnoŋ		
	spread-sleep	F	M2	outside	village		
	khaiñ	?u	karo	?u	yip	tirut	
	as	M	person	M	die	unnatural	
49.	?nda	li?	lep	siaŋ	ka,		
	when	PAST	finish	spread	F		
	li?	pinbaic	?u	arara	loiñ	bat	nou
	PAST	straighten	M	self	ADV	with	foot
	bat	tei	khaiñ	?u	karo	?u	khaiñ
	with	hand	as	M	person	M	almost
	yip	50.	?u-tu	?u	ksou	co	?wei
	die	M-that	M	dog	of	M2	PAST
	la?	u	ŋa	ksaŋkho?	lem	ha?	wei
	come	M	SUB	sympathize	E-M		
51.	šaphaŋ	ŋa-tu	ŋa	thaire?	sacaic		
	about	N-that	N	action	much		
	ka	mir	?u	52.	hakai	wa	li?
	F	spouse	M	E-F	also	PAST	
	la?	skou	ka	?i	trei	nou	
	come	sit	F	at	bottom	foot	
	theithia?	co	?wei	bat	li?	oŋ	?u
	bed	of	M2	and	PAST	say	M
							F2
53.	hei	ka	mu	ki	hun,	ksaŋbhi	
	oh	F	mother	Pl	child	please	
	sa	ai	ci	ha	?u-no	?u	ksou
	PART	give	rice	OBJ	M-this	M	dog
	namar	li?	binñiau	ε?	u		
	because	PAST	grieve	much	M		
54.	ka-tu	ka	mir	?u	li?	ksaŋ	
	F-that	F	spouse	M	PAST	feel	
	cem	minsiem	ka	kumnara,	li?	li?	po?
	soft	heart	F	somehow	PAST	go	get
	ka	?ima?	u	nar	55.	?u-tou	?u
	F	on	M	plate	M-that	M	dog
	ba	re?	biem	činna	ra	?wei	
	NEG	agree	eat	at.all	PART	M2	
56.	li?	pindem	samat	?u	bat		
	PAST	lower	eyebrow	M	and		
	li?	re?	u	khaiñ	ŋaba	kratka?	
	PAST	do	M	as	SUB	sad	





ʔu	nəŋbei	liʔ	hai	ʔu	ckɔic	ti-tu,
M	person	PAST	rise	M	ADV	from-there
liʔ	bot	ʔu	ha	ŋa	thaibhaʔ	u
PAST	follow	M	OBJ	N	advice	M
sʔier-riŋkoʔ	77.	liʔ	cəm	cai	ka,	ka-tu
cockerel	PAST	soft	ADV	F	F-that	
ka	menrei	khaiñ	ka	rusəm		
F	woman	as	F	silk		
78.	nadoʔ	ŋa-tu	ŋa	pər	liʔ	
	since	N-that	N	time	PAST	
bəʔ	ka	lampar	ka	piŋgat	ʔi	sŋi
blow	F	wind	F	cool	at	house
ʔi	tui	ki-tu	si-jur			
AKIN	PI-those	one-couple				

### NARTIANG DIALECT

#### Text-1

1.	čisin	ha	ʔi-wi	ʔi	pər	əm	ki
	once	at	N-one	N	time	be	PI
bru	ki	wa	ʔim	ha	ka-wi	ka	
person	PI	SUB	live	at	F-one	F	
čnəŋ	khian	na	nəŋ-kindəŋ	2.	heite		
village	small	from	village-rural	there			
čəŋ	suk	čəŋ	saiñ	ki	či	yuŋ	
stay	happy	stay	AKIN	PI	one	house	
či	səm	ʔu	pa	ka	bei	čirup	
AKIN	M	father	F	mother	together		
wa	ar	ŋut	ki	khon	činraŋ	wa	le
with	two	CL	PI	child	male	and	three
ŋut	ki	khon	kinthāi	3.	ʔu	khon	
CL	PI	child	female	M	child		
phraŋsŋei	yəŋ	ki	ʔu	wa	pirtuic	ʔu	
first	of	E-PI	M	SUB	call	M	
manik	man	ʔu	khinnaʔ	u	wanep		
Manik	become	M	child	M	sharp		
ciŋmut	ʔwei	ʔu	wa	aŋnot	ʔu		
mind	PART	M	SUB	long	SUB		
ku	čaneñ	4.	ha	ka-wi	ka	sni	
climb	upward	at	F-one	F	day		
ʔu	manik	əŋ	ʔu	y-u	pa	ʔu	
M	Manik	say	M	OBJ-N	father	M	
yəŋ	ʔo	5.	pa,	kwaʔ	o	ʔu	
of	E-M	father	want	I	SUB		

ku	canen	ha	ka	ciŋim,	6.	da
climb	upward	OBJ	F	life		if
ča?	mi	yə	ŋa,	kwa?	ʔo	
allow	youM	OBJ	E-I	want	I	
ʔu	lāi	ča	laban	ʔu	tho?	kam
SUB	go	to	Shillong	SUB	search	job
ʔi	wa	rap	biaŋ	ha	ka	jiŋim
we	SUB	more	proper	OBJ	F	life
7.	čwa	ʔu	jubap	ʔu	pa	ʔu
	before	FUT	reply	M	father	M
yɔŋ	ʔo,	ka	bei	ʔu,	rap	kten
of	E-M	F	mother	M	catch	word
kɔ	yə	ʔo,	klam	kɔ	kam	ʔu
F	OBJ	E-M	speak	F	like	FUT
u	nut	8.	khon,	hun	ha	čnɔŋ
M	heart		child	satisfy	at	village
kat	wa	yɔ?	i,	lada	lāi	mi
with	SUB	get	we	if	go	youM
laban	ʔu	si?	i	manbru	mi	
Shillong	FUT	spoil	N	character	youM	
9.	ʔu	pa	ʔu	yɔŋ	ʔo	pirkhat
	M	father	M	of	E-M	think
čibit,		kiruiñ	ʔu	ča	ka	škāu
awhile		turn	M	to	F	spouse
yɔŋ	ʔo,	ɔŋ	ʔu	ya	ka	10.
of	E-M	say	M	OBJ	F	mother
khon,		hɔi	re	ʔu	khaŋ	lāt
child		right	NEG	FUT	forbid	way
yə-i		jiŋkwa?	ki	khon	11.	ka
OBJ-N		wish	PI	child	F	life
yɔŋ	ʔi	tɔ?	nə-i	binta	yɔŋ	ki
of	we	be	for-N	share	of	PI
12.	ki	tɔ?	u	ya-le?	ki	wɔ-u
	PI	must	SUB	REC-fight	PI	SUB-FUT
čem	ki	yə-i	yɔŋ	ʔi	thāu	
find	PI	OBJ-N	of	N	place	
13.	e	wɔ-u	kner	ki	ya	ki
	let	SUB-FUT	spread	PI	OBJ	PI
thawaner	ki	yɔŋ	ki	14.	neits	kirʔuiñ
wing	PI	of	E-PI		then	turn
ča	ʔu	khon,	te	ɔŋ	ʔu	15.
to	M	child	then	say	M	cirup
						together

wə-i	ciŋkirkhu	ʔi	yɔŋ	ŋa,	me	lāi	
with-N	blessing	N	of	E-I	E-youM	go	
16.	mar	yasnāu	ʔu	ya	ki-ni	ki	
	upon	hear	M	OBJ	Pl-these	Pl	
kten,	ʔu	manik	phet	ʔu	ča	yɔŋ	
word	M	Manik	run	M	to	house	
ʔu	paralɔk	wa	maya	palat	ʔu	yɔŋ	
M	friend	SUB	love	most	M	of	
ʔo	17.	kbāi	ʔu	də-i	ciŋkmen		
E-M	call	M	by-N	joy			
18.	o	lɔk	tip	re	mi		
	Oh	friend	know	NEG	youM		
ʔi-nu	wa	ca		19.	ŋa	ʔu	lāi
N-what	SUB	happen			E-I	M	go
ɔ	ča	laban	ʔu	lāi	thu?	kam,	yɔ?
I	to	Shillong	SUB	go	look	job	maybe
man	ʔu	bru	ʔu	mahajɔn			
become	M	person	M	rich			
20.	ʔu-tɛ	ʔu	paralɔk	yɔŋ	ʔo,	cubap	
	M-that	M	friend	of	E-M	reply	
ʔu	21.	me	tɛ	ʔu	wa	ɛm	
M	E-youM	PART		M	SUB	have	
bha?	22.	ki	bɛi	ki	pa	yɔŋ	
luck	Pl	mother	Pl	father		of	
ŋa	tɛ	da	kammankamman	lɛ?	pha?		
E-I	PART	by	whatever		also	send	
re	ki	yə	ŋa	ʔu	mi?	na	čnɔŋ
NEG	Pl	OBJ	E-I	SUB	leave	from	village
23.	heite	ʔu	manik	pintŋɛn	ʔu		
	then	M	Manik	comfort	M		
ya	ʔu	lɔk	ʔu	yɔŋ	ʔo		
OBJ	M	friend	M	of	E-M		
24.	ŋa	ʔu	lāi	lipan	yə-i	bha?	i
	E-I	FUT	go	ask	OBJ-N	share	N
yɔŋ	me		25.	bɔi	tɛ	pha?	ki
of	E-youM			maybe	PART	send	Pl
yə	me	la	kammankamman				
OBJ	E-youM	by	somehow				
26.	ʔu	manik	lāi	ʔu	yačɛm	ʔu	
	M	Manik	go	M	meet	M	
yə	ʔu	pa	ʔu	lɔk	ʔu	yɔŋ	
OBJ	M	father	M	friend	M	of	



38.	ʔu-te	ʔu	wahε?	pāic	ʔu	yə-i
	M-that	M	gentleman	look	M	OBJ-N
	durkhmat	wajemnot	yɔŋ	ʔu	khinna?	tε
	face	gentle	of	M	child	then
	ɔŋ	ʔu	39.	ale	ŋa	wa sikai
	say	M		come	E-I	SUB
	me	kamman	ʔu	krε?	ha	ophis
	E-you	M	how	FUT	work	at
	yɔŋ	ŋa	40.	haden	kattukatni	pɔr,
	of	E-I		after	some	time
	ʔu	manik	killa	man	ʔu	
	M	Manik	change	become	M	
	ʔu	noŋkrε?	ʔu	wastāt	ʔu	wabian
	M	worker	M	skilful	M	proper
	ha	ka-te	ka	kam	ophis	bat
	at	F-that	F	job	office	and
	naŋ	ku	ʔu	čo?čo?	hə-i	kam
	CONT	climb	M	more	at-N	job
	41.	kamte	ki	jigaŋnot	ki	yɔŋ ʔo
		so	Pl	ambition	Pl	of E-M
	warɔ?	man	ki	ki	wa	mankam
	all	become	Pl	Pl	SUB	realize

### MAWRONG DIALECT

#### Text-1.

1.	e	ha-ŋ	wei	ŋ	pɔr,	ki	bru
	be	at-N	one	N	time	Pl	people
	ki	ba	čoŋ	ha-ŋ	wei	ŋ	paham rit
	Pl	SUB	stay	at-N	one	N	village small
	ha	čnoŋkindɔŋ		2.	barɔ?	ši	yiñ, ʔu
	at	village.rural			all	one	house M
	kpa	ka	kmei		ar	ŋut	ki khɔn
	father	F	mother	two	CL	Pl	child
	činraŋ	ba?	lai	ŋut	ki	khɔn	kinthei,
	male	and	three		CL	Pl	child female
	yɔʔ-čoŋ	suk	ki	3.	ʔu	khɔn	bahe?
	REC-stay	happy	Pl		M	child	big
	ki	ʔu	ba	pirtic	ʔu	manik	dei ʔu
	Pl	M	SUB	call	M	Manik	be M
	bru	ʔu	banɛp	ciŋmut	ba?	u	
	person	M	sharp	mind	and	M	
	ba	aŋnod	ba	ku	ča?neñ	4.	ha
	SUB	long	SUB	climb	upward		at

ka-wei	ka	sŋi	ʔu	manik	oŋ	ʔu	ha
F-one	F	day	M	Manik	say	M	OBJ
ʔu	pa	ʔu	5.	o	ʔu	pa	
M	father	M		O	M	father	
kwa?	ŋa	ba	ku	ča?neñ	ha	ka	
want I	SUB	climb		upward	at	F	
loŋbru	6.	manda		ča?	me		
life		if		allow	youM		
te	kwa?	bare		ŋa	ba	lei	
PART	want	much		I	SUB	go	
sār	kam	ča?	čilloŋ	6.	yo?	bha	
look job	to	Shillong		maybe	good		
ŋ	loŋbru-manbru	7.		čwa	ba	kren	
N	life			before	SUB	speak	
ʔu	kpa,	patan		kten	čwa	ka	
M	father	catch		word	first	F	
kmei	ka	ba	kren	kindo?	keba		
mother	F	SUB	speak	sadly	as		
ci	paic	ʔu	not	8.	khon,	hun	
FUT	break	M	heart	child	content		
hapo?	čnoŋ	co	hi	katba	e		
inside	village	of	self	whatever	have		
katba	e	re,		manda	lei	me	
whatever	have	PART		if	go	youM	
ča	šilloŋ	te	ci	cot	me		
to	Shillong	PART	FUT	spoil	youM		
9.	čiphaŋ	ʔu	pa	pirkhat	ʔu,		
	awhile	M	father	think	M		
la?ta	pat	oŋ	ʔu	ha	ka	kurim	
then again	say	M	OBJ	F	spouse		
10.	kmei,	cei	re	ba	khaŋ	luti	
	mother	must	NEG	SUB	forbid	way	
ha-ŋ	bakwa?	ki	khon	11.	ŋ	rukom	
OBJ-N	wish	Pl	child	N	custom		
ʔim	ba?i	dei	re	ŋ	pukai	co	ki
live	E-we	be	NEG	N	share	of	Pl
12.	cei	ki	ci	ksāic	yo?-sar	sla-ŋ	
	must	Pl	SUB	struggle	REC-seek	own-N	
thāu	13.	ʔe?	yo?-phader	ki	sner	ki	
place	let	REC-spread		Pl	wing	Pl	
14.	la?ta	pat	phāi	ča?	u	khon	ʔu
	then again	turn	to	M	child	M	



25. tikna bha ŋa ba ci yo? kam  
 sure very I SUB FUT get work  
 ?i ŋ babiaŋ ba? ci pinmeraiñ re  
 we N proper and FUT shame NEG  
 ?i ha phi 26. watda katta  
 we OBJ youM even then  
 ba, ?u-ta ?u bru ɔŋ ?u  
 also M-that M person say M  
 27. manik, ?u khon co ŋa yo? re  
 Manik M child of I able NEG  
 ?u ba lei ba? me ča? čilloŋ  
 M SUB go with youM to Shillong  
 28. kwa? i ba e laŋ ?u  
 want we SUB be together M  
 ba? i ha čnoŋ co hi 29. haba  
 with we at village of self when  
 la? khre? u kattukatni sni manik  
 PERF prepare M few day Manik  
 bak lei ?u ča? šilloŋ 30. du? poi  
 ADV go M to Shillong just arrive  
 ?u ha čilloŋ, ?u manik sa? u  
 M at Shillong M Manik stay M  
 ba? ki bahayiñ patet sar kam  
 with Pl relative start search job  
 31. yo?cem ?u ?u-wei ?u kincaraŋba?  
 meet M M-one M gentleman  
 ?u ba riam bha ba? ?u ba e  
 M SUB dress well and M SUB have  
 ka ophis co hi 32. ba?, to se  
 F office of self brother then PART  
 sjeubha āi kam ha ŋa 33. ?u-ta ?u  
 please give job OBJ I M-that M  
 raŋba? ma? u ŋ dur bas?on barindiam  
 gentleman look M N face innocent AKIN  
 man ?u khinna?, ɔŋ ?u 34. ale  
 be M child say M come  
 hikai ŋa me kumno trei  
 teach I youM how work  
 ophis co ŋa 35. kattukatni por haden,  
 office of I some time after  
 ?u manik kirla loŋ ?u noŋtrei ?u  
 M Manik change be M worker M

?u banəŋ ha ka-ta ka ophis ba?  
 M skilful at F-that F office and  
 naŋ ku naŋ ku ha ŋ  
 continue climb continue climb OBJ N  
 kam 36. ki jɪŋəŋnod co ?u barɔ? loŋ  
 job Pl ambition of M all be  
 čiča ki  
 true Pl

Text-3. The romance of Manik and Lieng.

1. keba thu?taŋ ?u pa, ka khanataŋ  
 as relate M father F story  
 co ka liñ makāu ba? u manik  
 of F Lieng Makaw and M Manik  
 raitoŋ dei ka kamni 2. barɔ? ār  
 Raitong be F like.this both two  
 ŋut ki-tei ki bru dei ki čī  
 CL Pl-these Pl person be Pl one  
 čnoŋ čī thāu ha raitoŋ, ka ba  
 village one AKIN at Raitong F SUB  
 e minta ha ka raic narleñ 3. hata  
 be now at F Raid Narlein there  
 khinna? khinloŋ ki, hata he? san  
 child AKIN Pl there grow AKIN  
 ki, hata trei kta? ki 4. keba  
 Pl there work AKIN Pl as  
 loŋ lem ki khinna? parasirtap barɔ?  
 be also Pl child everywhere all  
 ki-tei ār ŋut cu? yɔ?-le?kai laŋ ki  
 Pl-those two CL HAB REC-play together Pl  
 4. ke ŋba siat nob, kintiñ mausan,  
 as N-that (LOCAL GAMES)  
 ya-le?kai sam dɔ?, yɔ?-re?, yɔ? kinno?  
 ksem aŋ dɔ?, ke mawo? kirdup kirdaŋ  
 piaŋ čap eic lien ba? ki bhin ki  
 and Pl many Pl  
 bhin ki rukom yɔ?-le?kai noŋkindoŋ  
 many Pl way REC-play village.rural  
 5. keba yɔ?-le?kai laŋ ki, kamta trei  
 as REC-play together Pl like.that work  
 laŋ ki, ki kam khinna? barɔ?  
 together Pl Pl work child all

ke	ŋ-ba	təŋ	ʔum,	lei	čāu	pru,	
like	N-SUB	fetch	water	go	fetch	bamboo	
sia?		trep	masi, po?	kper	po?	liŋkha	
make		hut	cow dig	garden	dig	field	
ba?	ŋ-ba		duŋ	kba	bara		
and	N-SUB		pound	rice	communal		
6.	taŋba		duŋ	kba	bara	ne	rep
	but	pound	rice	communal	or	plant	
bara		mut	ka	ŋba	trei	laŋ	
communal	mean		F	SUB	work	together	
parasirtap	rta	kinthei		šinraŋ		kirliangkirliang	
same	age	female		male		each.other	
7.	la?	ŋ	wei	ŋ	yiñ	ča?	ŋ
	finish	N	one	N	house	to	N
wei	pat	8.	kamta	ka	liñ	ba?	u
one	again		like.that	F	Lieng	and	M
manik	la?	yo?	cu?	yo?	cəm	ki	la?do?
Manik	PERF	REC-close		AKIN		PI	since
naŋ	khinna?	la?	ki-tei	ki		rukəm	
still	child		after	PI-these	PI	way	
ya-le?kai	laŋ		ba?	yo?	rep	bara	
REC-play	together		and	REC-farm		communal	
laŋ	9.	e	duŋ	ŋ	wei	ŋ-ba	kham
together		be	only	N	one	N-SUB	more
pher	10.	ka-ru		ka	liñ		te
different		F-this		F	Lieng		PART
dei	ka	ka	khon	ba?ieic	bathoiñ	ka	
be	F	F	child	beloved	AKIN		F
bei	ʔu	pa		ka,	ʔu	manik	
mother	M	father		F	M	Manik	
pat	ʔu	bapli	khlem		kmei	khlem	
however	M	poor	without		mother	without	
kpa,		khlem	kur	khlem	caic	bat	ʔu
father		without	clan	without	AKIN		and
ʔu	ba	čəŋ	sə?men	11.	la?ta	pat	ka-ta
M	SUB	live	alone		then	again	F-that
kata		ka	liñ		te	ka	bas?on
F-that		F	Lieng		PART	F	charming
ka	babhabru,	ʔu	manik		pat	ʔu	ba
beautiful		M	Manik		however	M	SUB
kham		tirphut	ʔu	batirphuŋ	12.	car	
more		untidy	M	homely		even	

duna	ʔu	khindit	ha	ŋ	dur	ba,	e
less	M	little	at	N	face	also	have
ŋ	met	ŋ	phāt	ʔu	ŋ	ba	añ
N	body	N	AKIN	M	N	SUB	strong
ε?	añ	ksa?	ba?	ka	pirmat		
hard	strong	muscular	and	F	personality		
ka	ba	ʔi	čınraiñ	13.	ka-ta	ka	
F	SUB	seem	manly		F-that	F	
kinca	mañ-raŋba?	ka	ba	ñeubru	ki		
kind	personality-manly	F	SUB	appreciate	Pl		
kinthei	14.	kat	naŋ	lei	ki	sŋi,	
female		as	CONT	go	Pl	day	
ki-tɛi	ki	ār	ŋut	ba	la?	naŋ	he?
Pl-those	Pl	two	CL	also	PERF	CONT	grow
naŋ	san	ki	14.	la?	sdaŋ	wan	so?
AKIN	Pl		PERF	start	come	beat	F
mınsim	yo?-rañsamla	car	dei	re	ha		
heart		REC-love		even	be	NEG	OBJ
ʔu	manik	ba,	ha	ka	liñ	tɛ	dei
M	Manik	also	OBJ	F	Lieng	then	be
15.	ka	liñ	ru?	pinci	ka	ka-ba	
	F	Lieng	also	show	F	F-SUB	
ke	ka-ta	ka	jıŋsŋeu	ka	man	ŋ	
like	F-that	F	feeling	F	every	N	
pɔr	ŋ	ba	yo?-cɛm	ki	ha	čaŋʔiar	
time	N	SUB	REC-meet	Pl	at	fountain	
16.	cu?	kren	ka,	peic	ka,	le?	ka
	HAB	speak	F	look	F	do	F
kamni	le?	ka	kamtu,	cu?	le?	calani	
like.this	do	F	like.that	HAB	do	slowly	
pınslem	pɔr	kai		ka	ha	ʔum,	
delay	time	unnecessary		F	at	water	
du?	la?	ŋ	pukai	ba	yo?-e	laŋ	
only	for	N	reason	SUB	REC-be	together	
ba?	u	manik	ha	ŋ	thau	tɔŋ	ʔum
with	M	Manik	at	N	place	fetch	water

NONGKSEH DIALECT

## Text-1

1.	šisen	ha	ka-wēi	ka	pōr	la	dōn	ki
	once	at	F-one	F	time	PAST	be	Pl
	brəu	ki	ba	šōŋ	ha	ka-wēi	ka	
	people	Pl	SUB	stay	at	F-one	F	
	šnōŋ	rit	ha	nōŋkindōŋ	2.	ki	la	
	village	small	at	remote.area	Pl	PAST		
	ya-šōŋ	suk	baro?	ši	yeŋ	ʔu		
	REC-stay	happy	all	one	house	M		
	kpa	ka	kmēi	ki	khon	šinraŋ		
	father	F	mother	Pl	child	male		
	ar	ŋut	bit	lāi	ŋut	ki	khon	kinthēi
	two	CL	and	three	CL	Pl	child	female
3.	ʔu	khon	niŋkoŋ	coŋ	ki	ʔu	ba	
	M	child	first	of	Pl	M	SUB	
	kirtiāŋ	ʔu	manik	ʔu	loŋ	ʔu	khinna?	
	call	M	Manik	M	be	M	child	
	ʔu	baniapciŋmut	bit	ʔu	ba	kwa?	bin	
	M	intelligent	and	M	SUB	want	SUB	
	keu	ša	croŋ	4.	ha	ka-wēi	ka	sŋei
	climb	to	upward	at	F-one	F	day	
	ʔu	manik	ʔu	la	oŋ	ya	la	ʔu
	M	Manik	M	PAST	say	OBJ	own	M
	kpa	5.	ŋa	kwa?	bin	keu	ša	croŋ
	father	I	want	SUB	climb	to	up	
	ha	ka	ciŋim	6.	lada	phi	ša?	ya
	at	F	life	if	youP	allow	OBJ	
	ŋa	ŋa	kwa?	ia?	bin	lēi	ša	
	I	I	want	much	SUB	go	to	
	šillōŋ	bin	thot	kam	bin	kham		
	Shillong	SUB	look	job	SUB	more		
	bit	ro?	ha	ka	ciŋim	7.	šwa	
	improve	also	at	F	life	before		
	ʔu	kpa	ʔu-n	cubāp,	ka	kmēi		
	M	father	M-FUT	reply	F	mother		
	ka	la	kiam	kten	ya	ʔu,		
	F	PAST	catch	word	OBJ	M		
	ka	da	krian	kum	bin	paic		
	F	PART	speak	as	SUB	break		
	ka	dō?not	8.	khon,	hun	ha	la	
	F	heart	child	satisfy	at	own		



22.	ʔu-ta	ʔu	paralok	cɔŋ	ʔu	ʔu
	M-that	M	friend	say	M	M
la	cubāp		23.	mia	te	ʔu
PAST	reply			youM2	PART	M
badɔnbok	mɛ,		24.	ki	cɔŋ	ʔi
lucky	youM			PI	of	P
te	da	kumnokumno		rɔʔ	ki-n	nim
PART	by	whatever		also	PI-FUT	NEG
phaʔ	ya	ŋa	bin	miʔ	na	ʃnɔŋ
send	OBJ	I	SUB	leave	from	village
cɔŋ	25.	ʔu	manik	ʔu	la	pintŋian
of	M	Manik	M	PAST		comfort
ya	ʔu	paralok	26.	ŋa-n	lēi	pinpān
OBJ	M	friend		I-FUT	go	ask
ŋa	mɛ	yɔʔ		ki	ya-phaʔ	
I	youM	maybe		PI	REC-send	
kumnokumno			27.	ʔu	manik	ʔu
somehow				M	Manik	M
lēi	yakindoʔ	ya	ʔu	kpa	cɔŋ	ʔu
go	meet	OBJ	M	father	of	M
paralok	cɔŋ	ʔu	bat	ʔu	la	kirpāt
friend	of	M	and	M	PAST	request
kum-nei	28.	mama,		sŋeubha	seʔ	
like-this		uncle		please	PART	
phaʔ	ya	ʔu	khɔn	cɔŋ	phɛi	bin
send	OBJ	M	child	of	youP	SUB
bit	ŋa	ʃa	ʃillɔŋ,		29.	ŋa
with	I	to	Shillong			I
thikna	ba	ʔn	ya-yɔʔ			ka
sure	SUB	FUT	REC-get			ka
ka	babian	bit	rɔʔ	n	nim	pinleʔraiñ
F	proper	and	also	FUT	NEG	shame
ya	phɛi	30.	tipma		ʔu-ta	
OBJ	youP2		but		M-that	
ʔu	brɛu	ʔu	la		ɔŋ	
M	person	M	PAST		say	
31.	manik,	ʔu	khɔn	cɔŋ	ŋa	ʔu-m
	Manik	M	child	of	I	M-NEG
laʔ	bin	lēi	bit	mia	32.	yi
able	SUB	go	with	youM2		we
ya-kwaʔ	ba	ʔu-n		ɔn	ha	ʃnɔŋ
REC-want	SUB	M-FUT	be	at		village

lacɔŋ bit	yi	33.	haden	ba	ʔu	la					
own with	we		after	SUB	M	PAST					
pinkhrɛʔ	kumba		kattɔukatnei	sŋei,	ʔu						
prepare	for		few		day	M					
manik	ʔu	la	lei	ša	šillɔŋ						
Manik	M	PAST	go	to	Shillong						
34.	ʔnda	ʔu	la	pōi	ha						
	when	M	PAST	arrive	at						
šillɔŋ,	ʔu	la	saʔ	bit	ki	bahayɛŋ					
Shillong	M	PAST	stay	with	Pl	relative					
cɔŋ	ʔu	bit	ʔu	la	sdaŋ	thot	kam	nɔʔ			
of	M	and	M	PAST	start	look	job	ADV			
35.	ʔu	la	yakindoʔ	ya	ʔu-wēi	ʔu					
	M	PAST	meet	OBJ	M-one	M					
reuraŋbaʔ	u	ba	rim	bha,	ʔu	ba	don				
gentleman	M	SUB	dress	well	M	SUB	have				
rɔʔ	la	ka	cɔŋ	ka	ophis3	6.	ʔu				
also own	F	of	F	office		M					
manik	ʔu	la	kirpat	rit							
Manik	M	PAST	request	humbly							
37.	baʔ,	sŋsubha	seʔ	bin	āi	kam					
	brother	please	PART	SUB	give	job					
liam	ya	ŋa	38.	ʔu-ta	ʔu	raŋbaʔ					
also	OBJ	I		M-that	M	gentleman					
u	la	peic	ya	ka	khmat	ka	ba				
M	PAST	look	OBJ	F	face	F	SUB				
ei	tipsŋei	cɔŋ	ʔu-ta	ʔu	khinnaʔ						
look	good	of	M-that	M	child						
39.	u	la	cɔŋ	40.	ale	ŋa-n					
	M	PAST	say	come	I-FUT						
hikai	ya	mia	kumnɔ	me-n							
teach	OBJ	youM2	how	youM-FUT							
tre	ha	ka	ophis	cɔŋ	ŋa,						
work	at	F	office	of	I						
41.	haden	kattɔukatnei	pōr	ʔu	manik						
	after	some	time	M	Manik						
ʔu	la	killa	loŋ	ʔu	nontre	ʔu					
M	PAST	change	be	M	worker	M					
banəŋ	bha	ha	ka-ta	ka	ophis						
skilful	very	at	F-that	F	office						
42.	ʔu	la	keu	rɔʔ	ha	ka	kam				
	M	PAST	climb	also	at	F	job				

43.	ki	cinthraŋ	coŋ	ʔu	baroʔ	ki	la
	Pl	ambition	of	M	all	Pl	PAST
	ki	la	wan	ca	loŋ	šiša	
	Pl	PAST	come	happen	be	truly	

Free translation:

Text-1. Manik went to Shillong.

Once upon a time, there were some people who lived in a remote village. They lived happily a family, the father, the mother, two sons and three daughters. Their eldest son called Manik was an intelligent child who wanted to succeed in his life. One day he said to his father, "Father, I want to succeed in my life. If you allow me and help me, I want to go and look for a job in Shillong to better my life". Before his father could reply, his mother intervened and spoke as if her heart would break, "Son, be satisfied in our own village with what we have. If you go to Shillong, you will be spoiled". The father thought for awhile, turned to his wife and said to her, "Mother, don't let us stand in the children's way. Our life is not their lot. They have to struggle to find their own place in life. Let them spread their wings". Then he turned to his son and said, "Together with my blessings, you go". Upon hearing these words, Manik ran to his best friend's house and shouted with joy, "Friend, you don't know what has happened to me. I am going to Shillong to look for a job and become a rich man". His friend said, "You are a lucky one, my parents will never allow me to leave the village". Manik comforted his friend, "I will go and ask your parents for you. Maybe they will allow you to go". Manik went to meet his friend's father and humbly requested him, "Uncle, please send your son to go with me to go to Shillong. I am sure we will get proper jobs and not shame you". But that man replied, "Manik, my son cannot go with you to Shillong. We want him to be with us in the village". After preparing for a few days, Manik went to Shillong. When he arrived in Shillong he went to stay with his relatives and started to look for a job. He met a well-dressed gentleman who had his own office. Manik humbly requested him, "Brother, would you please give me a job?". The man looked at the honest face of the boy and said, "Come, I will

teach you how to work in my office". After sometime Manik became the most skilled worker in that office and continued to succeed in his job. Soon all his ambitions were realized.

Text-2. The master and the cockerel.

One man received an amazing gift to understand the speech of all animals and birds from one hermit. He could not pass that gift to anyone at all because if he did so, he would die. So he had to hide that gift that he received even from his wife whom he loved dearly and of whom he was very scared. Whenever she spoke harshly and looked at him with angry eyes, he would tremble from head to foot. He became like a tamed bullock and never dared to disobey her. One day he and his wife went to get firewood from a forest. On the way he heard two calves talking and laughed to himself at their conversation. His wife, however, thought that he was laughing at her said to him, "Why are you laughing at me so much? is it because there are stains in my face? or is it because I am so ugly that you have to laugh at me? if you don't tell me the reason why are you laughing so much, I will feed you with fire from now onwards". "No", replied the poor man, "I was not laughing at you, I was laughing at the conversation of those calves over there". "I don't believe what you're saying, tell me, are you laughing at my hairbun? if not that, you're laughing at the way the strap and the basket are sitting on my body. You will tell me at once" said the woman angrily. "No" he replied again, "I was laughing at what those cows said". "What cows' speech are you talking about? tell me at once about that cows' speech. Only at your age do cows speak. They praised you and mocked me then, that you were laughing so loudly that the whole place resounded with your laughter. Won't you tell me at once?". "If I tell you what those cows said", he said, "I will die at that very moment. Therefore I won't tell you since I don't want to die yet". Then they quarrelled about that endlessly. After that they did not talk to each other for the whole day and night. On the following morning he heard the conversation of two kids. He laughed softly since he could not keep his laughter inside himself. Then his wife became very angry. She grumbled

and scolded him until she ran out of words to scold him. Meanwhile he, having become wiser after the event of the previous day, shut his mouth and did not utter a single word to her. On the third day, both of them had to go and fetch rice from the field. They had not spoken to each other for the last two days. The woman seemed angry while the man looked amused. They had to go through a forest which had many monkeys and apes. There he heard the conversation of a couple of old monkeys. He laughed softly and tried to cover his mouth at the same time. When he could not control anymore, he burst out laughing loudly and held his stomach with both hands. The woman went straight back home without going to the field anymore. When his laughter died down, he thought about what would happen to him that night when he reached home. He decided that he would tell her everything that the animals said, no matter what happens and then die for he knew that he would be stung by her words every night and day without anymore peace. As soon as he threw down the sack he was carrying, he went straight to his wife and said that he would tell her everything that he heard and all the wisdom that he received from the hermit on the following morning. Even then she kept insisting that he should tell her then. On the next morning he told her to make a bed for him outside for him to lie like a person who is dying an unnatural death. When she had done so, he lie down and straightened his arms and feet like a man about to die. His dog came to sympathize with him on the cruelty of his wife while she came to sit at the foot of his bed. He said to her, "Mother, please give the dog some food first for he looked so sad". His wife felt soft-hearted and went to fetch some rice in a plate. The dog refused to eat that food, lowered his eyebrow and bowed his head at his master's feet. While the wife was busy inside the house and was a bit late to come out, a cockerel with a very red crown and which looked very stern came and ate the dog's food. "You shameless creature", said the dog, "You are really greedy to eat the food. Don't you know that our master is about to depart from this world in a short while? Move away from here or your head will break". "Let him die, a fool like him", said the cockerel. He took

some food and called out. All the hens from the shed came out, stood around the cockerel and ate the food. He himself stopped eating and looked at the hens and whichever of them behaved proudly, he took by the hairbun and knocked her. "There, you see", said the cockerel to the dog, "let him die at the hand of a single woman when he does not know how to run his house. I, however, run the shed smoothly without trouble. Who is stopping him from following my example? Who will not bow?". That man rose up from the bed and followed the advice of the cockerel. His wife soon became soft as silk. From thence onwards, a cool and pleasant wind blew around the house of that couple.

Text-3. The romance of Manik and Lieng.

As narrated by my father, the story about Lieng Makaw and Manik Raitong is like this. Both these two people were from the same village at Raitong which is now in Raid Narlein. There they spent their childhood, there they grew up, they they worked. As was the case with all other children, these two always play together with each other like (names of village children's games), many kinds of village games. As they played together, they also worked together such as fetching water, fetching firewood, repair cow sheds, working in the field and community rice-pounding. Community rice-pounding or rice-growing means to work together in each other's place. When they finished with one then they start with another. So Lieng and Manik were close since they were children. There is only one thing that was different. While Lieng was a beloved child of her parents, Manik was an orphan without parents or relatives and lived alone. Moreover, Lieng was a charming and pretty girl while Manik was an untidy and homely person. But although he did not have good looks, he had a very fine muscular physique and a manly personality, the kind of manly personality that was appreciated by women. While the days passed by, these two also started to grow up. Then started a feeling of love, if not with Manik, certainly with Lieng. She always showed her feeling everytime that they met at the water fountain. She always spoke, looked, did like this like that

and delayed unnecessarily at the place where they fetched water so that she could be together with Manik.