

War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia

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Navigating the Syntactic Complexity of Khasi Language Varieties

By

Rymphang K. Rynjah and Saralin A. Lyngdoh

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Dedicated
To my grandmother

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	x
Preface	xii
List of Abbreviations	xiii
Chapter I	1
Introduction	
1.1 About Meghalaya	2
1.2 The Dialects of Khasi Language	3
1.3 Areas of Study	4
1.4 Genetic classification	7
1.5 Methodology	10
1.6 Objectives of the Study	11
Chapter II	13
The Morphosyntax of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia	
2.1 The Pronominal System of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia	13
2.2 Number and Gender Concordance in War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia	21
2.3 Concordance in Determiners	22
2.4 Case Morphology in War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia	22
2.5 Tense-Aspect-Modality (TAM)	31
2.6 Negation	44
2.7 Classifiers and Quantifiers	46
2.8 Demonstratives	48
2.9 Reflexives and Reciprocals	52
2.10 Syntactic Processes and Operations	55
Chapter III	67
Phrases and Clauses	
3.1 The Structure of Noun Phrase (NP)	67
3.1.1 NPs as Subject	69
3.1.2 NPs as Direct Object	69
3.1.3 NPs as Object of Preposition (Prepositional Complement)..	70

3.1.4 NPs as Indirect Object.....	71
3.1.5 NPs as Subject Complement	72
3.1.6 NPs as Object Complement.....	72
3.1.7 Adjectival Phrases as NP modifiers	73
3.1.8 Prepositional Phrase as NP modifiers.....	74
3.1.9 Verb Phrase as NP modifiers.....	74
3.1.10 Relative Clause as NP modifiers	76
3.1.12 Appositive	77
3.1.13 Adverbial.....	77
3.2 Structure of Verb Phrases (VP) in War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia	78
3.2.1 Types of Verbs	79
3.2.2 Occurrence of Copulas in Verb Phrases	81
3.2.3 Adjectives as verbs.....	83
3.3 Types of Clauses.....	84
3.3.1 Relative Clause.....	85
3.3.2 Complement Clause	87
3.3.3 Non-Finite Clauses.....	88
Chapter IV	91
Comparative Word Ordering in War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia	
4.1 Investigating Word Order Variation in War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia	91
4.2 The Basic Word-Order and Word-Order Properties in War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia Varieties	92
4.3 Variation in Word Ordering.....	93
4.3.1 Word Ordering in Post-Verbal Subject Constructions	93
4.3.2 Word Ordering in Verb-Subject Constructions	94
4.4 Comparative Word Ordering in Syntactic Categories.....	95
4.4.1 The Order Head Noun and Numerals	95
4.4.2 The Order of Head Noun and Noun Attributive Adjective ..	97
4.4.3 The Order Head Noun and the Genitive	97
4.4.4 The Order of the Noun Adjective Intensifier.....	99
4.4.5 The Order of the Verb Phrase.....	100
4.4.6 The Order of Tense and Aspect.....	102
4.4.7 The Order of the Adjective Phrase	104
4.4.8 The Order of the Prepositional Phrase.....	105
4.4.9 Word Ordering in Interrogative sentences.....	106
4.4.10 Word ordering in Clauses Combination in Complex Sentences	109

Chapter V	113
Findings and Conclusion	
References	124
Appendix	138

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PREFACE

This book *“War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia: Navigating the Syntactic Complexity of Khasi Language Varieties”* examines the intricate syntactic structures of two closely related yet distinct Khasic languages, War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia. It aims to illuminate the syntactic divergences and convergences between these languages, shedding light on the underlying linguistic principles that govern their grammatical frameworks.

Previous research has explored various aspects of the Khasic language family, but a comprehensive analysis of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia syntax is still lacking. This book fills this gap by providing a meticulous examination of their syntactic structures, offering valuable insights into the shared and distinct features that shape these languages.

By exploring the unique features of these varieties, this research contributes substantially to the field of linguistics, enriching our understanding of language diversity and variation within the Khasic family.

In essence, the study investigates the intricate framework of syntactic features within War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia, emphasising the comparative aspect to discern both their shared and distinctive traits. This book enriches our understanding of the syntactic diversity within the Khasic language family.

In conclusion, this book stands as a scholarly contribution, providing a comprehensive and comparative syntactic analysis of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia. For readers embarking on this exploration, the study promises a holistic journey into the syntactic complexities embedded in these languages, offering a meticulous analysis grounded in linguistic theory and methodology. Through this examination, readers will gain valuable insights into the structural characteristics that distinguish these languages, thereby appreciating the inherent syntactic richness that characterises the Khasic linguistic landscape.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1 – FIRST PERSON
2 – SECOND PERSON
3 – THIRD PERSON
1SG – FIRST PERSON SINGULAR
1PL – FIRST PERSON PLURAL
2SG – SECOND PERSON SINGULAR
2PL – SECOND PERSON PLURAL
3SG – THIRD PERSON SINGULAR
3SM – THIRD PERSON SINGULAR MALE
3SF – THIRD PERSON SINGULAR FEMALE
3PL – THIRD PERSON PLURAL
ACC – ACCUSATIVE CASE
ABL – ABLATIVE CASE
ADJ – ADJECTIVE MARKER
ADJP – ADJECTIVAL PHRASE
AGR – AGREEMENT
AGRP – AGREEMENT PHRASE
ALL – ALLATIVE CASE
ASP – ASPECT
ASPP – ASPECTUAL PHRASE
CAUS – CAUSATIVE MARKER
CEM – COLLABORATIVE EFFORT MARKER
CLSF – CLASSIFIER
COM – COMITATIVE
COMP – COMPLEMENTIZER
COP – COPULA
DAT – DATIVE CASE
DEM – DEMONSTRATIVE
DET – DETERMINER
DIM – DIMINUTIVE
DS – DEEP STRUCTURE
FUT – FUTURE
GEN – GENITIVE CASE
HON – HONORIFIC
IMPRF – IMPERFECTIVE MARKER

INF – INFINITIVE MARKER
IP – INFINITIVAL PHRASE
INFL – INFINITIVAL
INST – INSTRUMENTAL CASE
INT – INTENSIFIER
LOC – LOCATIVE CASE
MED – MEDIAL
NEG – NEGATIVE MARKER
NEGP – NEGATIVE PHRASE
NEU – NEUTER GENDER
NOM – NOMINATIVE
NOMZ – NOMINALIZER
P – PERSON
PREP – PREPOSITION
PRF – PERFECTIVE MARKER
PL – PLURAL
PROG – PROGRESSIVE
PROX - PROXIMATE
PST – PAST TENSE
Q – QUESTION
QUAN – QUANTIFIER
REL – RELATIVIZER
REM – REMOTE
REM. FUT– REMOTE FUTURE
SAM – SUBJECT AGREEMENT MARKER
SG – SINGULAR
T– TENSE
TP – TENSE PHRASE
V– VERB
VOC – VOCATIVE
VP – VERB PHRASE
VR – VERBAL REFLEXIVE
VREC – VERBAL RECIPROCAL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study undertakes a comprehensive examination of the syntax of the War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia varieties of Khasi language, engaging in a comparative study of corresponding sentences. The study meticulously compares and contrasts the grammatical operations observed in these varieties, shedding light on their distinctions. The study also explores the implications of these distinctions for the overall understanding of the Khasi language.

Furthermore, the book undertakes a comparative study of phrases and clauses, considering them from a structural perspective. Phrases, specifically Noun Phrases (NPs) and Verb Phrases (VPs), are analysed with a focus on their heads, which can be nouns in NPs and verbs in VPs. The exploration extends to various attributes associated with these phrases, and a detailed comparison between the constructions of NPs and VPs in War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia is provided. The attributes and functions within these constructions are also highlighted.

In addition to the study of phrases, the book provides a comparison of different clauses in both varieties of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia. The textual analysis seeks to compare and contrast the structures and functions of clauses in these linguistic varieties.

The book also explores the basic word order and the variations in word ordering observed in the different varieties of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia. This comparative analysis aims to uncover the differences and patterns in how words are ordered within sentences.

Overall, the book offers a detailed and systematic investigation into the syntax of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia, providing valuable insights into their grammatical structures and linguistic variations.

In this chapter, we will first discuss a brief introduction to Meghalaya, offering a concise examination of the dialects within the Khasi language. Additionally, it provides an overview of the specific areas under study and their placement within the Mon-Khmer sub-branch of languages within the broader genetic classification of Austro-Asiatic languages. The chapter describes the methodological framework employed for the study and

outlines the objectives that guide the research.

1.1 About Meghalaya

Meghalaya, known as the “Abode of Clouds”, is a state in North-Eastern India. It gained autonomy on the 2nd of April 1970 and attained full statehood on the 21st of January 1972. The state shares its northern border with Assam and its southern border with Bangladesh. Meghalaya, a hilly expanse in the eastern part of the country, spans approximately 300 km in length (East-West) and 100 km in width, covering a total area of about 22,429 sq. km. The state is situated at latitudes 20°1' N to 26°5' N and longitudes 85°49' E to 92°52' E.

Inhabited by three major tribes—Khasis, Jaintia, and Garo—Meghalaya is also home to other communities, including Bengalis, Nepalese, Biharis, and other hill tribals from neighbouring states. The Khasis primarily reside in the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills District, tracing their roots to South Asia and believed to be of Austro-Asiatic descent.



Fig. 1-1: Map of the Meghalaya showing the different districts¹

As per the 2011 Census, Meghalaya has a total population of 29.67 lakhs, marking an increase from the 2001 figure of 23.19 lakhs. The male population is 1,491,832, and the female population is 1,475,057. In 2011, Meghalaya’s population constituted 0.25 percent of India’s total. The state is divided into seven districts, each with its headquarters listed below:

1. East Khasi Hills, Shillong
2. Ri-Bhoi District, Nongpoh

¹ Map from www.mapsofIndia.com

3. West Khasi Hills, Nongstoin
4. East Garo Hills, Williamnagar
5. South Garo Hills, Bhagmara
6. West Garo Hills, Tura
7. Jaiñtia Hills, Jowai

1.2 The Dialects of Khasi Language

Khasi, a language embedded in the Austro-Asiatic family, finds its linguistic roots in the Central and Eastern regions of Meghalaya. Prior to the pivotal year of 1813, Khasi existed without a written script. The introduction of literacy in Bengali prompted the translation of the Bible into Khasi, utilising the Bengali script. However, it wasn't until the arrival of the Welsh missionary in 1842 that the Roman script gained prominence, concurrently with translation endeavours undertaken in the Standard dialect, particularly the Sohra variety.

The linguistic landscape of Khasi is marked by substantial dialectal diversity, as elucidated by Grierson (1902), who delineated four primary dialects: Standard Khasi, Pnar (or Synteng), Lyngngam, and the War dialects. Additionally, Acharya (1971) corroborates Grierson's classification and introduces further sub-dialects such as Bhoi, prevalent in the northern expanses of Meghalaya.

Daladier's insights, as referenced in Sidwell (2009), expound upon the Mon-Khmer group, identifying three principal branches, including the Khasi language. Notably, the War region retains conservative unwritten dialects within the overarching framework of standardised Khasi. The War dialects, subdivided into Nongtalang, Amvi, Tremblang, and Shella, constitute a distinctive facet of the linguistic mosaic.

Grierson's observations (1904) distinguish the War dialects from the Standard Khasi dialect, emphasising their unique linguistic features. Gurdon's comprehensive portrayal in "The Khasis" (1907) further enriches our understanding by providing detailed insights into the geographical, cultural, and social facets of the War people. Inhabitants of the precipitous slopes and deep valleys in the southern reaches of the Khasi Hills District, the Wars boast a distinct culture characterised by the cultivation of areca nuts, plantains, and renowned Khasi oranges.

Gurdon's meticulous examination reveals that War villages exhibit a darker shade of green, owing to extensive groves of Khasi oranges, which not only add to the scenic beauty but also serve as a source of economic sustenance for the inhabitants. The cultural panorama includes festive dances, and Gurdon notes the unique inheritance practices within War

km away from the district headquarters, Shillong. As per the 2011 Population Census, Mawlong has a total population of 721, with 383 males and 338 females, organised into 146 families. The village has a child population (ages 0–6) of 161, constituting 22.33% of the total population. The Average Sex Ratio is 883, and the Child Sex Ratio is 830, lower than the Meghalaya average of 970. In terms of literacy, the village recorded a rate of 68.93%, with male literacy at 72.88% and female literacy at 64.53%. Mawlong village is administered by the Sirdar, elected as the head of the village per the constitution of India and the Panchayati Raj Act.

1.3.2 Umñiuh Variety (UV)

The Umñiuh variety is spoken in Umñiuh-Tmar village in the Pynursla Tehsil of East Khasi Hills district in Meghalaya, India. It is approximately 31 km away from the sub-district headquarters, Pynursla, and 80 km away from the district headquarters, Shillong. According to the Population Census 2011, Umñiuh-Tmar has a population of 593, with 294 males and 299 females. The village comprises 126 houses. The child population (ages 0–6) is 98, making up 16.53% of the total population. The Average Sex Ratio is 1017, and the Child Sex Ratio is 849. The literacy rate in 2011 was 84.04%, higher than Meghalaya's average of 74.43%. Male literacy stood at 84.65%, while female literacy was 83.46%. The village is administered by the Sirdar, elected as the head of the village per the constitution of India and the Panchayati Raj Act.

1.3.3 Lamin Variety (LV)

The Lamin variety is spoken in Lamin village in the Amlarem Block of Jaiñtia Hills District. It is located 24 km south of the district headquarters, Jowai, and 44 km from the state capital, Shillong, with 229 families residing there. As per the Population Census 2011, Lamin village has a population of 1508, with 734 males and 774 females. The child population (ages 0–6) is 188, constituting 12.47% of the total population. The Average Sex Ratio is 1054, higher than Meghalaya's state average of 989, and the Child Sex Ratio is 1066, higher than the Meghalaya average of 970. In 2011, the literacy rate of Lamin village was 90.00%, with male literacy at 91.60% and female literacy at 88.48%. The village is administered by the Sirdar, elected as the head of the village per the constitution of India and the Panchayati Raj Act. The majority of the population in Lamin village is from Scheduled Tribes (ST), constituting 99.60%, with no population

from Scheduled Castes (SC). Most of the residents are engaged in agricultural activities for their livelihood.



Figure 1-3: Map of Meghalaya showing War-Khasi and War-Jaintia³

1.3.4 Trangblang Variety (TV)

Daladier (2007) referred to Trangblang as Tremblang in her classification of the War sub-dialect groups. In this study, it is mentioned as Trangblang, as referred to by native speakers. Trangblang variety is spoken in Trangblang village in Amlarem of Jaintia Hills District. It is about 25 km south of the district headquarters, Jowai, and 46 km from the state capital, Shillong. According to the Population Census 2011, Trangblang village has 135 families, with a population of 859, comprising 402 males and 457 females. The child population (ages 0–6) is 162, making up 18.86% of the total population. The Average Sex Ratio is 1137, higher than Meghalaya's state average of 989. The Child Sex Ratio as per the 2011 census is 1189,

³ Map from Reddy, B. M. et al. 2007. Austro-Asiatic tribes of Northeast India provide hitherto missing genetic link between South and Southeast Asia. PLoS One 2, e1141, 10.1371/journal.pone.0001141.

higher than the Meghalaya average of 970. In 2011, the literacy rate of Trangblang village was 93.40%, compared to Meghalaya's average of 74.43%, with male literacy at 93.90% and female literacy at 92.95%. The village is administered by the Sirdar, elected as the head of the village per the constitution of India and the Panchayati Raj Act. The majority of the population in Trangblang village is from Scheduled Tribes (ST), constituting 99.88%, with no population from Scheduled Castes (SC). The residents are primarily engaged in agricultural activities for their livelihood.

1.4 Genetic classification

In the area of linguistic study, genetic classification operates under the premise that languages evolve from a common ancestral source, forming the basis for comprehensive linguistic surveys worldwide. Diffloth (2005) contributes to this classification by comparing reconstructions of various clades and categorising them based on shared innovations. The Austro-Asiatic family, traditionally segmented into small Munda languages, Khasi-Khmuic languages, and extensive Mon-Khmer subfamilies, is illustrated in Figure 4 according to Diffloth's classification.

Sidwell (2009) enhances this understanding through a lexicostatistical examination of 36 prominent languages. He investigates internal branching and identifies an area of heightened contact between the Bahnaric and Katuic languages. Sidwell adopts a conservative stance, treating the thirteen branches of the Austro-Asiatic as equidistant. The name "Austro-Asiatic", derived from Latin words meaning "south" and "Asia", signifies the geographical spread of these languages across India, Bangladesh, and Southeast Asia, distinct from regions dominated by other language families.

Sidwell and Blench (2011) present evidence for a Khasi-Palaungic node, potentially closely related to Khmuic. They propose that Khasic may have been an early offshoot of Palaungic, spreading westward. The inclusion of Shompen as an additional branch and the exploration of a Vieto-Katuic connection underscore the dynamism of Austro-Asiatic linguistic evolution. The family's rapid alterations, as suggested by Sidwell and Blench (2011), challenge the development of a deep structure, positing that Proto-Austro-Asiatic speakers radiated quickly from the central Mekong River valley. Figure 5 illustrates Sidwell and Blench's classification of the Austro-Asiatic language family (2011), emphasising the intricate relationships within this linguistic network. Further refinement is presented in Figure 6 by K. S. Nagaraja, Paul Sidwell, and Simon J. Greenhill (2013).

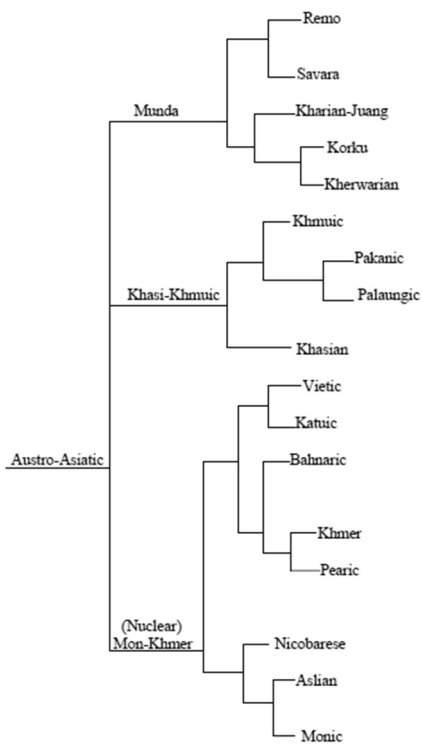


Figure 1- 4: Diffloth's classification of Austro-Asiatic language family (2005)

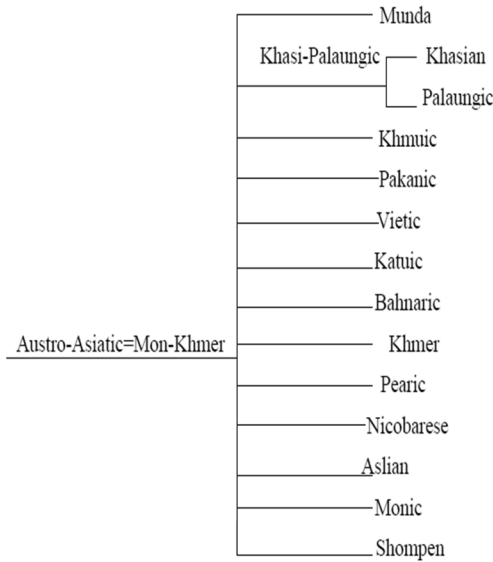


Figure 1-5: Sidwell and Blench's classification of the Austro-Asiatic language family (2011).

Within this framework, War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia find their place under the Khasian branch, as depicted in Figure 1-6. This classification serves as a foundational understanding for the subsequent exploration of the intricate syntactic structures of these languages in the upcoming chapters.

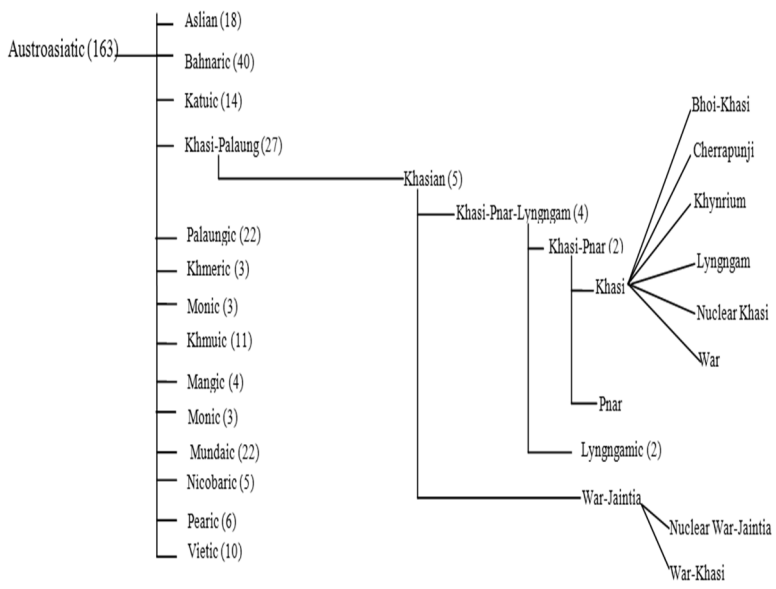


Figure 1-6: Sub-classification by K. S. Nagaraja and Paul Sidwell and Simon J. Greenhill (2013)

1.5 Methodology

The methodological framework employed in this study is designed to comprehensively explore the syntactic structures of War-Khasi and War-Jaintia. A multi-faceted approach has been adopted to ensure a thorough understanding of the linguistic complexities inherent in these languages. This section provides an overview of the methodologies employed, outlining the systematic processes utilised to gather, analyse, and compare primary and secondary linguistic data.

i) Comparative Method of Syntax

The study leverages the comparative method to systematically examine various aspects of syntax uniformly distributed across the four varieties under investigation.

ii) Elicitation of Primary Data

Primary data is gathered through meticulous elicitation from a diverse pool of native speakers representing all four varieties. Standard Khasi serves as the reference language, and the selection criteria for native speakers

encompass linguistic proficiency, demographic diversity, and cultural relevance. A carefully curated set of secondary data supplements this, enhancing the reliability of the study.

iii) Parallel Text Analysis

A comprehensive analysis is conducted on selected parallel texts in War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia, spanning various genres and discourse types. The texts are meticulously chosen to provide a holistic representation of linguistic usage, facilitating a comparative analysis that identifies syntactic divergences and areas of convergence.

iv) Contrastive Analysis

The research systematically employs a contrastive analysis approach, utilizing both quantitative and qualitative measures to compare the syntactic structures of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia. This approach highlights specific differences and similarities between the two languages, ensuring a focused examination of distinctive syntactic features contributing to their linguistic uniqueness.

This multi-faceted approach will help to understand the intricate syntactic intricacies of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia, offering a detailed understanding of their linguistic fabric.

1.6. Objectives of the Study

The study is driven by the following key objectives:

i) Investigate Structural Variations

Explore the morpho-syntax of the varieties and analyse morphosyntactic features and elements influencing the syntax of each variety. This objective aims to uncover the structural difference within the linguistic fabric of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia.

ii) Account for Syntactic Operations

Provide an in-depth account of the syntactic operations involved in morphosyntactic processes such as nominalization, passivization, relativization, and causitivation. This objective seeks to elucidate the intricacies of these processes within the linguistic structures of the studied varieties.

iii) Clarify the distinction between Functional and Lexical Heads

Offer a comprehensive account of the distinction between functional heads and phrases and lexical heads and phrases. This objective aims to contribute to the understanding of the hierarchical organisation within the syntactic framework of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia.

iv) Compare and Contrast Word Order

Systematically compare and contrast the basic word order in all four varieties, elucidating alternative word orders and examining patterns of syntactic word ordering in phrases and sentences across the linguistic spectrum. This objective seeks to unveil the diverse syntactic strategies employed in the construction of phrases and sentences within War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia.

CHAPTER II

THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF WAR-KHASI AND WAR-JAIÑTIA

This chapter undertakes a comprehensive examination of the morphosyntax of the War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia varieties of the Khasi language, engaging in a comparative study of corresponding sentences. The study is grounded in the rich tradition of comparative syntax, a field that has significantly contributed to our understanding of language structures. Hock (1991) describes the comparative method as a powerful tool for exploring language structures, allowing for in-depth comparisons of lexicons, phonological systems, morphological systems, and syntax across different languages. Cinque and Kayne (2005) emphasise that comparative syntax not only characterises and describes the parameters forming the basis for cross-linguistic differences but also serves as a source of evidence for the principles of Universal Grammar. The Principles and Parameters Framework (Chomsky, 1981) within Generative Grammar, as discussed by Halpert (2013), underscores the importance of comparing languages to identify common points and differences, facilitating a coherent understanding of language properties.

2.1 The Pronominal System of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia

In this section, we present the comparative analysis of ‘The Pronominal System of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia’. Lyons (1968) and Steele (1978) laid the groundwork by emphasising the crucial role of agreement in languages, where verbs align with subjects or objects in person, number, and gender. Corbett’s (2006) in-depth exploration of agreement features, controllers, targets, and domains offers a theoretical scaffold for unravelling the intricate nature of agreement. Tallerman (2005) builds upon this foundation, illustrating how a head verb is marked to mirror the grammatical properties of its NP arguments. Corbett’s (2006) perspective on agreement as the correspondence between words in a sentence,

encompassing person, number, gender, and case, sets the stage for our detailed investigation into the pronominal systems of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia.

Building on these theoretical underpinnings, our analysis examines the pronominal systems of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia. Lyngdoh (2016) underscores that the agreement markers of Standard Khasi, functioning as strong pronouns, can also act as subject clitics, hosted by categories like verbs and adjectives. These markers, described as ‘pronominal markers’ by Nagaraja (1985), play vital roles as Person, Number, and Gender Agreement Markers (PNG Ag.), ensuring agreement and concord within a sentence. The pronominal markers in War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia align with the standard language, functioning as key components for indicating agreement and concord in sentences. This exploration into the pronominal system builds a bridge between theoretical insights and the specific linguistic characteristics of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia, enhancing our understanding of their grammatical structures.

2.1.1 Personal Pronouns of War-Khasi

In the subsequent sections, we undertake a detailed examination of the pronominal systems in the War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia varieties. To commence, Table 2-1 provides a comparative list of the personal pronouns in the War-Khasi varieties, Mawlong variety (MV), and Umñih variety (UV), offering a comprehensive overview of their forms and distinctions.

	Mawlong Variety (MV)		Umñih-Tmar Variety (UV)	
Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st Person	ŋa 'I'	i 'we'	ŋa 'I'	i 'we'
2 nd Person	p ^{hi} 'you/formal' me 'you/M/informal' p ^{ha} 'you/F/informal'	p ^{hi} ro?maiñ 'you all'	p ^{hi} 'you/formal' me 'you/M/informal' p ^{ha} 'you/F/informal'	p ^{hi} baro? 'you all'
3 rd Person	u 'Masculine' ka 'Feminine' ŋi 'Honorific/Neuter'	ki 'they'	u 'Masculine' ka 'Feminine' ŋi 'Honorific/Neuter'	ki 'they'

Table 2-1: Personal Pronouns of War-Khasi

2.1.1.1 Syntactic Patterns of Personal Pronouns in War-Khasi Sentences

In the domain of War-Khasi, both in the Mawlong Variety (MV) and the Umñiuh Variety (UV), personal pronouns hold a distinctive position, marked by considerations of person, number, and gender. Notably, these pronouns consistently find their place at the concluding segment of the phrase, following the head noun. The following exemplifies this pattern through sentences 1(a) to 7(a).

War-Khasi

1. (a) dɔŋ sa ʒia ŋa (MV)
 PROG eat rice 1SG
 ‘I am eating food (rice)’
 (b) dɔŋ bam ʒa ŋa (UV)
 PROG eat rice 1SG
 ‘I am eating food (rice)’
2. (a) dɔŋ sa ʒia i (MV)
 PROG eat rice 1PL
 ‘We are eating food (rice)’
 (b) dɔŋ bam ʒa i (UV)
 PROG eat rice 1PL
 ‘We are eating food (rice)’
3. (a) dɔŋ sa ʒia pʰi (MV)
 PROG eat rice 2SG
 ‘You are eating food (rice)’
 (b) dɔŋ bam ʒa pʰi (UV)
 PROG eat rice 2SG
 ‘You are eating food (rice)’
4. (a) pʰi rɔʔ maiñ hap bɔŋ ya lai pʰi (MV)
 2PL everyone must INF CEM⁴ go 2SG
 ‘You all must go’
 (b) pʰi barɔʔ hap ya le luit pʰi (UV)
 2PL everyone must CEM go all 2PL
 ‘You all must go’

⁴ ‘Collaborative effort marker (CEM)’ is used to achieve a common objective. (See Subbaroa, 2012)

5. (a) sa jia **u** (MV)
eat rice 3SG
'He eats food (rice)'
(b) bam ja **u** (UV)
eat rice 3SG
'He eats food (rice)'
6. (a) sa jia **ka** (MV)
eat rice 3SG
'She eats food (rice)'
(b) bam ja **ka** (UV)
eat rice 3SG
'She eats food (rice)'
7. (a) dɔŋ sa jia **ki** (MV)
PROG eat rice 3PL
'They are eating food (rice)'
(b) dɔŋ ya bam ja **ki** (UV)
PROG CEM eat rice 3PL
'They are eating food (rice)'

This meticulous breakdown offers insight into the consistent pattern of personal pronoun usage in both MV and UV constructions within the War-Khasi language.

Furthermore, sentences (8) and (9) below exemplify a distinction in verbal agreements derived from personal pronouns. In sentences 8(a) and (b), "u" (3SM) operates as the agreement marker, while "ka" (her) serves as the pronoun. In contrast, in sentences 9(a) and (b), "ka" (3SF) functions as the agreement marker, and "u" (him) serves as the pronoun. It is noteworthy that the verb "sit" is expressed as 'juoŋ' in MV and 'joŋ' in UV. Additionally, the dative and accusative case markers are represented by "ya?" in MV and "ha" in UV, as shown below.

War-Khasi

8. (a) **u** lam p^ha? juoŋ **u** ya? **ka** (MV)
3SM Lam ask sit 3SM DAT her
'Lam asked her to sit'
(b) **u** lam p^ha? joŋ **u** ha **ka** (UV)
3SM Lam ask sit 3SM DAT her
'Lam asked her to sit'
9. (a) **ka** mary eid **ka** ya? **u** (MV)
3SF Mary love 3SF ACC him
'Mary loves him'