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Word Order in Standard Khasi and its Varieties: A Comparative study of Change and Variation

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ABSTRACT: This study compares the basic word order and the variation in word order of Standard Khasi and its varieties, which include the Pnar variety, War-Khasi, and War-Jaiñtia. Standard Khasi belongs to the Mon-Khmer branch, a subfamily of the Austro-Asiatic language family spoken in the state of Meghalaya in north-eastern India. On the other hand, the Pnar variety is spoken in the Jaiñtia Hills District in Meghalaya, whereas War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia are spoken in the south-east corner of the East Khasi Hills District and the Jaiñtia Hills District of Meghalaya, respectively. The chief aim of this study is to look for the boundaries within which the word order in a language may vary at the surface level and whether the SVO word order of the standard language may be extended to both of the two varieties or if they vary in the word order. The typological study of word order variation also examines a number of other aspects of the phenomenon, including the likelihood or permissibility of semantic or morphosyntactic change; the question of whether a structure was created independently or was derived from another; the circumstances in which word order variation is allowed, such as case marking on nominals or subject agreement marking on verbs; and the different types of sentences, which frequently seem to have a different word order in a language.

KEYWORDS: Word order, Variation, Austro-Asiatic, Standard Khasi, Varieties

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I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to identify the ranges within which language varieties can vary and fluctuate in comparison with their standard language's surface-level word order in order to answer the following questions: How do the subjects and objects in the varieties associated with the word order variation compare to those typically used in the standard language? What linguistic aspects of form and surface are often seen among the varieties that differentiate them from the standard language? The basic word order and word order properties of Standard Khasi, the Pnar variety, and the War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia varieties are discussed in this study, which also examines the word order variations between them. It also deals with the comparative word order in the different syntactic categories. Additionally, the word order in subordinate clauses and interrogative constructions is compared.

II. AREAS OF STUDY

In this study, the varieties of Standard Khasi (henceforth SK), the Pnar Variety, the War-Khasi, and the War-Jaiñtia varieties are investigated for comparison. War-Khasi is represented by the Umñiuh variety, whereas War-Jaiñtia is represented by the Lamin variety. Pnar variety (henceforth PV) is spoken in Jowai town and headquarters are in West Jaiñtia Hills District in Meghalaya, Umñiuh variety (henceforth UV) is spoken in the Umñiuh-Tmar village, which is in Pynursla Tehsil of the East Khasi Hills district in Meghalaya, India. Whereas the Lamin variety (henceforth LV) is spoken in the Lamin village in Amlarem Block in the Jaiñtia Hills District in Meghalaya, India.



Fig. 1: Map of Meghalaya showing War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia¹

III. THE BASIC WORD-ORDER AND WORD-ORDER PROPERTIES

The Pnar variety and both varieties of War-Khasi, and War-Jaiñtia, have SVO basic word order, i.e., the order of a simple declarative sentence is subject verb object, where the subject is the "doer of the action" of the verb and the object is the item that gets affected by "the action of the verb." The varieties of Khasi regarding basic word order appear to be attributable to their mother language, i.e., the Standard Khasi language. In the Pnar variety and both the War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia, the nominals are gender marked for PNG, and the agreement marker /u/ 'Third Person Singular' of the verb *eat* occurs after the object *rice* as seen below. Also, in LV, there is the occurrence of an additional /e/ a 'Subject Agreement Marker' that immediately follows the subject *Ban*, as exemplified in the following sentences.

S V O 1. (a). u ban u bam Ja 3SM Ban 3SM eat rice 'Ban eats food'	(SK)
S V O (b). u ban bam Ja u 3SM Ban eat rice 3SM 'Ban eats food'	(PV)
S V O (c) u ban bam Ja u 3SM Ban eat rice 3SM 'Ban eats food'	(UV)
S V O (d) u ban e biu jie u	(LV)

¹ Map from Reddy, B. M. et al., 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. 2007.

3SM Ban SAM eat rice 3SM 'Ban eats food'

3.1 Variation in Word Order

In the Pnar Variety and both varieties of War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia, the basic SVO word order is the preferred word order for formal and official usage and constructions; however, for informal and colloquial speech, the varieties exhibit alternate word order as the agreement markers in these varieties are detached from the verb, which is evident in their occurrences in post-verbal positions and post-verb phrase positions as separate elements (Lyngdoh and War, 2017). The primary reason for these alternate word order can be explained as a motivation that can encode pragmatic information such as focus or topicalisation and organize sentences accordingly to emphasize the focus on what is being said about the topic.

3.1.1 Word Order in Post-Verbal Subject Constructions:

Following Lyngdoh (2013), PV, UV, and LV, like SK, are "consistent null subject language with overt agreement on the verb." PV and UV of War-Khasi exhibit post-verbal subject constructions for the same sentence, as shown in 2 (b) and (c). In UV, sentences with intransitive verbs are seen to exhibit post-verbal subject constructions, with the pronominal subject agreement marker /ŋa/ occurring at the final position after the object rice and the verb eat at the initial position as seen in the sentence. Whereas, for the same sentence, LV of War-Jaiñtia takes the neutral subject-agreement word order as SK in 2(a), with the subject /nie/ 'First Person Singular' in LV placed at the initial position and the object rice following the verb eat, and the post-verbal agreement marker /ŋe/ in LV occurring at the final position as seen in sentence 2(d).

2. (a) ŋa bam ɹa 1SG eat rice 'I am eating food'	(SK)
(b). bam Ja o eat rice 1SG 'I am eating food'	(PV)
(c). bam ja na eat rice 1SG 'I am eating food'	(UV)
(d). nie biu jie ŋe 1SG eat rice 1SG 'I am eating food'	(LV)

3.2 Word Order in Verb-Subject Constructions:

In PV, UV, and LV, verb-subject constructions predominate, meaning that the verb typically precedes the subject in a sentence, indicating striking changes in the form of organization of sentences with respect to SK for the same sentence. There are changes in the scope of possible syntactic relations between the noun and its governing element, where the verb /e/ 'give' in PV, /ai/ 'give' in UV, and /a:/ 'give' in LV is placed at the initial position of the sentence followed by the subject pronominals /ŋa/ in UV and /ŋe/ in LV, as seen in 3 (b) through 3 (d), in contrast to SK in 3 (a), exhibiting subject-verb word order.

3.	(a). ŋa	ai	u	let	ha	u	paralok		(SK)
	1SG	give	3SM	pencil	DAT	3SM	friend		
	'I g	ive t	he per	icil to n	ny frie	end'			
	(b). e	o	u	let	ha	u	lok		(PV)
	give	1SG	3SM	pencil	DAT	3SM	friend		
	'I giv	ve th	e penc	il to my	y frien	ıd'			
	(c). ai	ŋa	u	let	ha	u	paralok		(UV)
	give	1SG	3SM ₁	pencil I	OAT 3	SM	friend		
	'I	give	the p	encil to	my fr	riend'			
	(d). a:	ŋe	u	let	he	u	periulok	ŋe	(LV)

give 1SG 3SM pencil DAT 3SM friend 1SG 'I give the pencil to my friend'

IV. COMPARATIVE WORD ORDER IN SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES

This section discusses the word order in the different Syntactic categories which include: (i) The Order of the Verb Phrase with Noun Subjects, (ii) The Order of the Verb Phrase with Pronominal Subjects, (iii) The order of Tense markers (iv) Word Order in Interrogative sentences and (v) Clauses combination in complex sentences.

4.1 The Order of the Verb Phrase with Proper Noun Subjects

In PV, UV, and LV, the order of the verb phrase in sentences having proper noun subjects is that the noun subjects are placed before the verb phrase, taking an SVO pattern following SK in 4 (a). However, in both UV and LV, the order of the verb phrase differs from that of SK. As opposed to SK in 4 (a), in PV and UV, the transitive verb /maya/ 'love' in PV and /eid/ 'love' in UV immediately follow the noun subject ka mary with the agreement marker /ka/ 'Third Singular Feminine' occurring after the verb to show agreement with the subject in person number and gender, and the accusative case marker /ya/ in PV and /ha/ in UV is placed before the direct object u lam to mark the direct object of the transitive verb, as seen in 4 (b) and (c) below. Whereas, in LV, the transitive verb /meyue/ 'love' follows the noun subject ke mary but with a Subject Agreement marker e preceding it, the agreement marker /ke/ 'Third Singular Feminine' is placed after the verb to show agreement with the subject in person, number, and gender, and the accusative marker /he/ is placed before the direct object u lam to mark the object of the transitive verb, as seen in sentence 4 (d) below.

4. (a). ka mary ka i:d ya u lam	(SK)
3SF Mary 3SF love ACC 3SM Lam	
'Mary Loves Lam'	
(b). ka mary maya ko ya u lam	(PV)
3SF Mary love 3SF ACC 3SM Lam	

(c). ka mary eid ka ha u lam
3SF Mary love 3SF ACC 3SM Lam
'Mary Loves Lam'

(UV)

(d). ke mary e meyue ke he u lam
3SF Mary SAM love 3SF ACC 3SM Lam
'Mary Loves Lam'
(LV)

4.2 The Order of the Verb Phrase with Pronominal Subjects

'Mary Loves Lam'

In PV, UV, and LV, sentences with pronominal subjects are seen to vary significantly from SK. As opposed to SK, where the pronominal subject /u/ 'Third Singular Masculine' is placed at the beginning of the sentence preceding the verb $/t^hia$?/ 'sleep', the differences in pattern in PV, UV, and LV, show that the pronominal subject is placed after the verb and exhibits the order of verb-subject construction pattern. The intransitive verb, $/t^hia$?/ 'sleep' in PV and UV, occurs before the pronominal subject, /u/ 'Third Singular Masculine', as seen in sentence 5 (b) and (c). whereas in LV, the Subject Agreement Marker '/e/' is placed before the intransitive verb $/t^hia$?/ 'sleep' with the subject /u/ 'Third Singular Masculine' being optional (placed in parentheses) as shown in sentence 5 (d).

5. (a). u thia? 3SM sleep	(SK)
'He sleeps'	
(b). thia? u sleep 3SM 'He sleeps'	(PV)
(c). thia? u sleep 3SM 'He sleeps'	(UV)

(d). e thie? (u) (LV) SAM sleep 3SM 'He sleeps'

4.3 The Order of Tense and Aspect markers

Following SK, in PV, ŪV, and LV, the order of the tense markers precedes the main verb in the verb phrase. In SK, the agreement marker /ka/ 'Third Singular Feminine' immediately follows the subject "ka lin," followed by the past tense marker /la/. In contrast, in PV, UV, and LV, the past tense marker /da/ in PV, /la/ in UV and /eyo/ in LV is placed after the subject noun ka Lin in PV and UV, and ke Lin in LV, preceding the verbs /lai/ 'go', /le/ 'go' and /lia/ 'go', and the agreement marker /ko/, /ka/ and /ke/ 'Third Singular Feminine' occurs after the object /skur/ in PV, UV and LV, taking an SVO word order in sentences 6 (b) through 6 (d). Additionally, it should be noted that whereas PV employs the variation /da/ and LV /eyo/ for the past tense marker, UV shares the same marker with SK, /la/.

6. (a). ka lin ka <i>la</i> let skul 3SM Lin 3SF PST go school	(SK)
'Lin went to school'	
(b). ka lin <i>da</i> lai skur ko 3SM Lin PST go school 3SF 'Lin went to school'	(PV)
(c). ka lin <i>la</i> le skur ka 3SM Lin PST go school 3SF 'Lin went to school'	(UV)
(d). ke lin <i>eyo</i> lia skur ke 3SM Lin PST go school 3SF 'Lin went to school'	(LV)

The tense sentences in (6) above enable subject-dropping as it is a common occurrence in SK (Lyngdoh, 2013), which is also true for PV, UV and LV. In these instances, the pronominals take the place of the subject. In contrast to SK for the same sentence in 7(a), where the pronominal subject (/ka/) occurs at the beginning of the sentence followed by the past tense marker (/la/) preceding the verb, in PV, UV and LV, despite the similarity in meaning between the two sentences, the degree of subject-dropping varies greatly. The pronominal subject appears in the last position after the sentence's object, exhibiting post-verbal subject construction word order, as illustrated in the sentences with the past tense markers at the beginning preceding the verb 7 (b) through (d). Hence, post-verbal subject construction word order is the norm in PV, UV and LV, with similar grammatical structures as compared to SK for the same sentence.

7. (a). ka <i>la</i> let skul 3SF PST go school 'She went to school'	(SK)
(b). da lai skur ko PST go school 3SF 'She went to school'	(PV)
(c). la <i>le</i> skur ka PST go school 3SF 'She went to school'	(UV)
(d). eyo <i>lia</i> skur ke PST go school 3SF 'She went to school'	(LV)

4.4 Word Order in Interrogative sentences

Interrogative structures in many languages are recognized to have certain word order requirements (Steele, 1978). UV and LV following SK have two types of interrogative structures: Polar questions and Constituent (*wh*) questions and their word order requirements are discussed below.

4.4.1 The Order of the Polar Questions (Yes/No Questions)

Polar questions are of two types: (i) intonation based questions without modality, and (ii) questions with modality. Similar to SK, PV, and both UV and LV, the stress word 'delhat' is placed with a rising intonation in the final position of the sentence after the main verb, which is /let/ 'go' in SK, /lai/ 'go' in PV, /le/ 'go' in UV, and /lia/ 'go' in LV. The nominal subject, ka iba in SK, PV, and UV, and ke iba in LV, is placed at the initial position of the sentence, as seen in sentences 8 (a) through (d) below.

8. (a). ka iba ka-n lεt Σa delh□i (SK) 3SF Iba 3SF-FUT go to Delhi 'Will Iba go to Delhi?' (PV) (b). ka iba daw lai ko cha delh□i 3SF Iba FUT go 3SF to Delhi 'Will Iba go to Delhi?' (c). ka iba *en* le ka Σa delh□i (UV) 3SF Iba FUT go 3SF to Delhi 'Will Iba go to Delhi?' (d). ke iba *jiu* lia ke Σo delh□i (LV) 3SF Iba FUT go 3SF to Delhi 'Will Iba go to Delhi?'

As opposed to SK, where questions with modality are seen to have the modal verb /hap/ following the subject pronominal /ŋa/ 'First Person Singular' placed at the beginning of the sentence in 9(a), UV and LV, on the other hand, place the modal verb /hap/ in the initial position of the sentence. However, the order of the sentences in PV, and both UV and LV show striking differences from each other. In PV, the modal /hap/ in the initial position is followed by the verb /lai/ 'go', and the subject pronominal /o/ 'First Person Singular' is placed at the final position of the sentence in 9 (b). Whereas, in UV, the modal verb is followed by the subject pronominal /ŋa/ 'First Person Singular' and the verb /le/ 'go', in UV is placed at the final position of the sentence, preceded by the infinitive /baŋ/ in UV, as seen in sentence 9 (c) below. In contrast, in LV, in questions containing modality, the modal verb is also placed in sentence-initial position, followed immediately by the future tense marker /jiu/ placed before the verb, and the subject pronominal /Ne/ occurring at the end of the sentence is optional, as seen in sentence 9(d) below.

9. (a) Na hap ban let 1SG should INF go 'Should I go?' (b). *hap* lai (PV) should go 1SG 'Should I go?' (c). hap Na baN le (UV) should 1SG INF go 'Should I go?' (d). hap tiu lia Ne (LV) should FUT go 1SG 'Should I go?'

4.4.2 The Order of the Constituent (wh) questions

When used at the beginning of a sentence in SK, the constituent question, which has the interrogative stem /ei/ as shown in sentence 10(a) below, combines with the agreement prefix /ka-/ 'Third Singular Feminine' to form the wh-phrase, which has the structure "wh + subject + main verb." In contrast, constituent questions in UV follow the pattern "main verb + subject + wh" and appear at the end of the sentence. These questions contain the interrogative stem /no/ as shown in sentence 10 (c) below. They appear at the end of the sentence,

combining with an agreement prefix /*yi*-/ 'Neuter Gender' to give the wh-phrase /*yi-nɔ*/ 'What?'. While in PV and LV, the constituent question, which has the interrogative stem /-*yi*/ in PV, and /-*eia*/ in LV as shown in sentences 10 (b) and (d) below, is present at the beginning of the sentence and combines with the agreement prefix /i-/ 'Neuter Gender' to give /i-yi/ 'What?' in PV, and /i-eia/ 'What?' in LV. They also follow the structure of "wh + main verb + subject."

Additionally, the constituent questions, which begin each sentence with the interrogative phrase "Why?" (/balei/ in SK, /ile?/ in PV, /bale?/ in UV, and /ani?/ in LV), are shown in sentences 11 (a), (b), (c) and (d) below. The order in which they are presented is the only difference between PV, UV and LV and SK; PV, UV and LV follow the pattern "wh+ main verb + subject," while SK follows the pattern "wh+ subject + main verb."

4.5 Word order in Clauses Combination in Complex Sentences

4.5.1 The Order of the Relative Clause

In PV and UV, following SK, the relative clause is marked by the relativizer /wa/ in PV and /ba/ in UV with an agreement marker /ka/ 'Third Singular Feminine' preceding it and placed after the noun it modifies, and the relative clause preceding the copula /dei/ in UV and SK in sentences 12 (a) and (b), and /to?/ in PV in 12 (c) occur after the main clause, ka miaw functions as a predicate complement of the main clause, taking an SVO word order. Additionally, in LV, the unmarked relative clause also follows the main clause, ke miew in LV functioning as the predicate complement of the main clause, with the copula /to?/ following the relative clause also taking a SVO word order as seen in sentence 12 (d).

(c). ka miaw RC[ka ba em ha miej] dei ka miaw Na 3SF cat 3SF REL COP LOC table COP 3SF cat 1SG 'The cat which is on the table is mine'
(d). ke miew RC[ke aw? ti miej] to? ke miew Ne 3SF cat 3SF COP LOC table COP 3SF cat 1SG 'The cat which is on the table is mine'

Additionally, if the sentence has a pronominal subject as the main clause, the order of the sentences in, PV, UV and LV is different as compared to the same sentence in SK, where the relative clause follows the subject pronominal /u/ following the copula /dei/ in 13 (a), taking a SVO pattern. Contrarily, the relative clause in PV and UV follow a VS pattern with the copula / to?/ in PV and /dei/ in UV are placed at the sentence-initial position and the relativizer preceded by the pronominal subject /u/ occurring before the adjective /tbian/ 'short', as shown in sentences 13 (a) and (b). In contrast, sentences with pronominal subjects in LV also follow a VS pattern with the copula /man/ placed before the pronominal subject '/u/' placed before the adjective /chrit/ 'short' but with a 'Subject Agreement Marker' /e/ preceding the copula /man/ in 13 (d).

13. (a). u dei u ba linkət (SK) 3SM COP 3SM REL short 'He is short' (b). to? u (PV) wa tbian COP 3SM REL short 'He is short' (c), dei u ba tbian (UV) COP 3SM REL short 'He is short' (d). e man u cHrit (LV) SAM COP 3SM short 'He is short'

4.5.2 The Order of the Complement Clause

Similar to SK, the complement clause (COMPC) follows the main verb in PV, UV and LV, choosing them. Following the main verb 'know,' /tip/ in SK and PV, /ma/ in UV, and /tɔ?/ in LV, the complement clause is identified by the complementizer /ba/ in SK and UV, /wa/ in PV, and /he/ in LV. In SK, the agreement marker /u/ "Third Singular Masculine," comes before the verb, but in PV and UV, it comes after. LV, however, uses /e/ 'Subject Agreement Marker' before the verb. As seen in sentences 14 (a) through (d) below, the nominal subject *u ban* in SK, PV, UV, and LV is placed in sentence-initial position, taking an SVO word order.

14. (a). u ban u tip _{COMPC}[ba la? wan u lam] (SK) 3SM Ban 3SM know COMP PRF come 3SM Lam 'Ban knows that Lam came' u _{COMPC}[wa (PV) (b). u ban tip da wan lam] COMP PRF come 3SM Lam 3SM Ban know 3SM 'Ban knows that Lam came' (c). u ban ma u _{COMPC}[ba la? iyia (UV) 3SM Ban know 3SM COMP PRF come 3SM Lam 'Ban knows that Lam came' (LV) (d). u ban e to? _{COMPC}[he de wan u lam] COMP PRF come 3SM Lam 3SM Ban SAM know 'Ban knows that Lam came'

Additionally, in sentences having pronominal subjects, in PV, UV and LV in 15 (a), (b), and (c) the verb is placed in sentence-initial position and the complement clause follows the pronominal subject, taking a VS

pattern, showing a striking difference from SK, which places the subject pronominal /u/ in the first position of the sentence, retaining the SVO word order as seen in 15 (a).

V. CONCLUSION

We can classify the presented analysis into an almost inexhaustible range based on the results and findings of the comparison of the various syntactic categories as well as their alternate and permitted word orders in PV, UV and LV in correspondence with SK because we have demonstrated the resources that enable us to assess these various possibilities. We can take into account the possibilities of post-verbal subject constructions and verb-subject constructions in PV, and in both UV and LV; this may cause a specific error in SK and render the structure of the corresponding sentences of SK ungrammatical, particularly when a first person or a pronominal subject is involved. The primary reason for this alternate word order in these varieties can be explained as a motivation that can encode pragmatic information such as focus or topicalisation and organize sentences accordingly to emphasize the focus on what is being said about the topic. This study has demonstrated that these post-verbal and verb-subject constructions, which are acceptable in these varieties, can be classified as a special type of construction, both in terms of their structure and their content, which sets them apart from the standard language.

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