CHAPTER THREE

NOUN PHRASE : PREMODIFICATION

Description of Khasi at word level has been done by almost all writers on the language. The phrase level categories, however, have not been exhaustively studied. In this work, detailed description of constituents occurring within a Noun Phrase (NP) will be done. Co-occurrence, restrictions on co-occurrence and mobility of constituents will be focussed on. The term 'constituent' is used in the sense of ultimate constituents, and not as used in Immediate Constituent Analysis.

The proposal to study the constituents of an NP assumes that an NP constitutes not just a noun or its proform. In order to systematize the study it is proposed that the constituents within an NP which occur before the noun or its proform will be called Pre-Modifiers (Pre-mod) and their position within the NP construction Pre-Modification. The noun word or its proform which are either Personal Pronouns or Pronomina Adjectives will be marked head word (H). Those other
ultimate constituents that occur after (H) will be called Post Modifiers (Post-mod) and their position Post-Modification. The approximation therefore is that a Khasi NP contains three parts as follows

(1)

NP

\[\text{Pre-mod} \quad H \quad \text{Post-mod}\]

(63) \[u \quad khun \quad u \quad be \quad nyngkong\]

a son who first

(the first child)

According to the approximation above which treats any lexical item before (H) a pre-modifier and after (H) a post modifier, it may then be said that in Khasi the skeletal NP may consist of these items: (i) a Number and/or Gender Marker; (ii) a Noun word; and (iii) an obligatory Subject Enclitic as follows
This observation is true of NPs in which noun words are heads. This type of NP can take a number of pre-modifiers in which head words are either Personal Pronouns or Pronominal Adjectives cannot usually take any pre-modifier. They may, of course, take post modifiers as the examples below indicate.
(LII)

He who perseveres will win

(He who perseveres will win)
An NP may be formed by a gerundial phrase which in Khasi is formed by the third person *ka*, the

1. PVP: Pre Verbal Particle
relater ba and a lexical verb e.g.

Ka ba thiah (sleeping)
Ka ba thoh (writing)
Ka ba shad (dancing)
Ka ba kren (speaking)
Ka ba sbun (being kind)
Ka ba smat (being active)

In these phrases, it may be said that the head word is the whole phrase because the overall reference of the phrase is to a habit or manner. This type of NP can take only the Demonstrative Adjective kane (this) as pre-modifier in which case the reference to the habit becomes much more intensified. The habit or manner may further be intensified by an adverb following the verb. The adverbs are underlined e.g.

Ka ba thiah ñngi (sleeping late)
Ka ba thoh kyrieh' (writing hastily)
Ka ba shad jyndei (dancing too often)
Ka ba kren plak plak (speaking openly)
Ka ba sbun bieit (being foolishly kind)
Ka ba smat palat (being too active)
The above examples of NP are gerundial in nature when they occur as Subjects of Verbs in sentences e.g.

(67) Ka ba thiah sngi ka long ka ba sniew

NP VP

Sleeping late is bad

The same phrase, however, is no longer gerundial if it occurs as a Complement of the Verb in the sentence. As a complement this phrase and similar others are adjectival in meaning e.g.

(68) Ka long ka ba thiah sngi.

S V Comp.

(She is a late riser)

The phrase Ka ba thiah sngi as complement does not have the same overall meaning it has as gerund. As complement the meaning is of the independent items
ka - she, ba - who, thiah - sleep, sngi - late (she who sleeps late).

The implication which this difference implies is that Khasi cannot be adequately described unless context and occurrence of particular language items are taken into account.

We will now look into constituents which may occur as pre modifiers in an NP with a noun word as head.

Nagaraja (1987:14) listed the Demonstratives, the Cardinal numerals and Quantitative adjectives as Pre-modifiers. The Relative clauses with adjectives or with verbs, the Ordinal numerals, Locative and Genitival phrases are listed as Post-Modifiers. The list excludes the NGM. The NGMs which obligatorily occur before and after the head word are also linguistically or grammatically important; their inclusion in the list as modifiers is felt necessary.

Another group of words which are pre-modifiers within an NP are the Distributive particles. Each of these modifiers will be discussed as we go along.
3.1 Number and/or Gender Markers (NGMs)

The NGMs play a very important role in Khasi. If the article system of English a/an/the is unique in the sense that they mark the definiteness or indefiniteness of the nouns they co-occur, the NGMs in Khasi are also unique. Except in a few cases which will be spelt out later the NGM cannot be omitted from a position before a noun. Its omission always results in non-sentences or unacceptable phrases. A comparison of the sentences below will clarify the point.

(69) u briew u wan

\[ \text{SM H SE V} \]

a/the man come/came

(A man comes/came).

Cf. (69a) *briew u wan

Semantically (69a) is acceptable in the sense that such constructions will not be misunderstood for anything else, but syntactically it is considered an ill-formed phrase because the noun briew (man) occurs without its appropriate NGM.
In spoken Khasi occurrences such as (69a) above are not few. They are usually produced by non native speakers of Khasi. Expressions such as (69a) are always referred to as Ktien khar bania (language plainsman goldsmith = literally, goldsmiths' language)

NGMs are also unique in that their position before a noun word is fixed. They cannot be intervened by any of the pre modifiers listed earlier. The following specimens from the language justify the claim made about the fixed position of NGMs.

(70) *Une u khyndiat khaw ...

Pron. adj SM Qntfr H

Cf(70a) Une khyndiat u khaw ...

Pron. adj Qntfr SM H

( This some rice )

(71) *Ki kine ar ngut khynnah ...

P Pron. adj Card. num Cwsfr. H

hum.
It is obvious that (70) and (71) above are unacceptable NPs because in both, the NGMs *u* and *ki* are moved away from the noun words (*khaw* and *khynnah*) which they modify.

Though this chapter is not directly concerned with post modifying constituents, yet the fact that the NGMs are also obligatory post modifiers made their discussion here relevant.

It has already been indicated that NGMs as pre-modifiers occupy a fixed position. As post modifiers their position is not fixed. They can be intervened by a genitival clause or a relative clause thus pushing them to a position immediately before a verb. If there are no intervening relative clauses, or
genitival clauses their position comes next to the noun word, they modify e.g.,

(72) \( U \ \text{khu} \) \( (\text{long}\ I \ \text{Let}) \) \( u \ \text{don} \ \text{hangne} \)

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{SM} & \text{H} & \text{SE} & \text{V} & \text{Adv} \\
\end{array} \]

the son (of Let) he is here

(The son of Let is here)

Here the \( u \) marked SE occurring immediately before the Verb \( \text{don} \) is the NGM pushed away by the genitive clause \( \text{long} \ I \ \text{Let} \). Had not the genitive clause occurred there, \( u \) will have occurred immediately after \( \text{khu} \) (son) e.g.,

(72a) \( U \ \text{khu} \) \( u \) \( \text{don} \ \text{hangne} \)

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{SM} & \text{H} & \text{SE} & \text{V} & \text{ADV} \\
\end{array} \]

the son is here

(The son is here)
In a similar way, Relative clauses can also push NGMs which should occur after the head word to a position immediately before a verb e.g.,

(73) U briew ba tap tupia saw u don hangne

SM H, Rel. Clause SE V Adv
a man who puts on a red he is here hat

(A man who puts on a red hat is here)

(73a) U briew u don hangne

SM H SE, V Adv
a man is here

(A man is here).

Since the NGMs are obligatory within an NP construction, it may be concluded that the claim made earlier that NP construction in Khasi contains these three elements viz., NGM + N + SE holds good.

It may be reminded that the NGMs occurring as post modifiers have been proposed to be marked Subject Enclitic (SE) for lack of a better term, because their occurrence in post modification though compulsory arises out of the gender and number of the head word which is also the subject of the sentence. By marking the post-modifying NGM, SE, it will facilitate differentiating the NGMs occurring before a head word from those occurring after it.
To accommodate relative clauses and genitival and locative phrases within an NP and also to show that SE is obligatorily shifted to a position before a verb, the structure of NP may be represented as follows:

(V)

NP
---
Pre-Mod H
---
NGM H Rel.Cl. Gen.Cl. Loc.Phry. SE

(74) I Mei ba jeit jong nga ha jing I ...

Mother

(My beloved mother at home ...)

Figure V represents SE as a discontinuous constituent. The discontinuous constituent may be represented alternatively as follows:

(VI)

NP
---
Pre Mod H
---
Post Mod
---
Rel.Cl. SE
The discontinuous constituent is shown cutting across other post modifying constituents to indicate the underlying syntactic relationship of the discontinuous constituent with the head word. Though this representation shows the deep structure relationship it does not further develop the tree, and it is also a departure from the usual tree diagram. Perhaps the representation at (V) is more acceptable.

The occurrence of SE at the extreme right hand side end of the phrase, and the occurrence of an NGM at the pre-head position may be said to have a demarcative value demarcating NPs from VPs within a construction. In this sense, both the NGM and SE serve as important structural markers of an NP. And in demarcating the NP from VP, the natural outcome is a discontinuous constituent.

Nagaraja, however, did not look at this from the structural point of view. According to him, that which in this work is marked SE, is pronoun of the Verb. In the specimen sentence used by Nagaraja (u briew u wan - 'the man he came') the u after briew (man) is marked pronoun. But this marking entails a grammatical restriction in that a noun cannot straightaway be followed by a pronoun. If it could, then a pronoun does not stand for a noun any longer. In his discussion on clauses, he treated u in u leit (he goes) as part of a VP. But u leit yields two different analyses. The first is that
\[ u \text{ leit} \text{ may form part of a discourse,} \]
in which case it is a complete statement; and as complete statement it can be said that it is a construction of NV structure where \( u \) is III\( P \)MS and therefore proform of \( N \) and leit is \( V \) as follows

\[
(VII) \quad \begin{array}{c}
S \\
\downarrow \\
N \\
V \\
\text{u} \quad \text{leit}
\end{array}
\]

The second analysis may be that \( u \text{ leit} \) is part of a larger constituent \( u \text{ briew u leit} \) (a man goes) in which case \( u \) will be marked SE for reasons discussed already.

So far the NGMs have been discussed as obligatory structural markers. We will now turn to situations where they are optional. There are four
such situations viz.,

(a) vocative sentences,
(b) interrogative sentences,
(c) when a locative preposition precedes a noun word,
(d) when a noun word immediately follows a verb.

In vocative sentences an NGM is almost always optional. It is not omitted only when it is used in poetic expressions e.g.

(75) Ko u Lum to hap halor jang nga
   NP          VP

Voc.__________

0      mountain  fall on me

(76) Ko ka brieq    ha khmih ia la u khun
   NP          VP

Voc. SF   H

0    woman    look at your son
In ordinary speech sentences (75-77) will be without u before lum; ka before briew and ki before khun as follows:

(75a) Ko lum to hap halor jong nga
(76a) Ko briew ha khmih ia la u khun
(77a) Ko khun jong nga.

The use of NGM or its omission in vocative sentences does not cause a change in meanings. Its use in poetic expression is more for rhythm than anything else.

In interrogative sentences, an NGM is omitted.
But its omission is possible only when the question is addressed directly to the person concerned i.e., when the addressee is the second person. But if the question is about a third person, then the NGM is obligatory, e.g.,

(78) Phi lah dep thoh ?

IIPS/P VP
You finished write ?

(Have you finished writing ?)

(79) U John u lah dep thoh ?

SM H SE VP
John finished write ?

(Has John finished writing ?)

With locative prepositions the NGM is obligatory if the noun word it precedes is an animate
When the locative preposition is used with inanimate nouns, the NGM is almost always omitted. It is true that there are constructions where a preposition co-occurs with an NGM followed by an inanimate noun, e.g.,

(81) ha u mawsiang ngan tei

Loc. SM H IPS+fut V
Prep. on a rock I+will build

(On the rock I'll build)

The co-occurrence of the NGM u with an inanimate noun mawsiang (rock) points to the singularity
of the rock as foundation as opposed to other foundations. But in the absence of this contrast the NGM is always omitted. The optionality of the NGM in this situation is based on the fact that (81) above may be reduced to (81a) in a situation as follows:

Speaker A : Hăngno phin tei ?

Question II V
PS/ P+fut

Where you will build

(Where will you build?)

Speaker B : (81a) Ha mawsiang

Loc.Prep H

at/on rock

( On a rock )
This optionality led Rabel (1961:51) to characterise nouns as words which may or may not be preceded by prepositions like na (from) shā (to) ha (at/on/to). The examples used by Nagaraja (1987:14-19) indicative of locative phrases consistently followed the structure Prep + NGM + H. The following are some of his examples. Here, ordinary spelling is used. The locative or prepositional phrases are underlined.

(i) Kitai khyndiat ki iing ha ka kyndong
(Those few houses at the corner)

(ii) Ar ngut ki kynthei ba jrong ha ka iing
(Two tall women in the house)

(iii) Ki iing jong u ha ka kyndong
(His houses at the corner)

(iv) U briew ba ar ha ka surok
(Second man in the street)

The structure was perhaps based on the principle that the preposition (ha) is a locative marker which should precede a location, and a location being a noun should necessarily be preceded by an NGM. The principle
of course, is correct but it does not apply everywhere. Since, as pointed out earlier, the locative preposition does not co-occur with an NGM before inanimate nouns, the examples used by Nagaraja sound quite odd. The oddity, it may be pointed out is not due to any grammatical reason but rather to locutional reason. The combination: (loc. marker + NGM + H = ha ka kyndong: in the corner) does not have the rhythm and idiomaticness which ha kyndong (loc. marker + H) has as in the following:

(82) Kitai khyndiat tylli ki iing ha kyndong
(Those few houses in the corner)
(83) Ki kynthei ha iing
(The women at home)
(84) Ka iing jong u ha kyndong
(His house, in the corner)
(85) u briew ha surok
(A man in the street)

Another context in which an NGM is optional is when a noun word occurs immediately after a verb
as in

(86) Ngan shi m khaw

IPS+fut. V N

I will take rice

( I'll take rice )

The translation of (86) requires a little explanation. Khaw is uncooked rice, so when shim khaw is translated as take rice, it does not mean eat rice. It literally means to take the rice, say from a shop or a container.

It appears that in constructions such as (86) where noun words without their appropriate NGMs occur immediately after verbs, the focus is more on the activity rather than on the noun as a separate entity. The activity shim khaw (rice taking) is viewed as one whole. Shim khaw is different from shim u khaw (with NGM before khaw) in that the latter more specifically refers to khaw in particular. The specificity here as in (86) seems to have been marked by the NGM. This leads
us to conclude with Roberts (1891) and Sten (1987) that the NGMs do mark definiteness.

An interpretation of (85) as given by Mondon Bareh is that the noun word \( kh\)aw serves as a complement of the verb \( sh\)im. The sentence he used to exemplify this is

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(87) } & \text{U leit lyngkha} \\
\text{IIIPSM} & \text{V N} \\
\text{He go} & \text{field} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(He goes about his field work)

To explain this he wrote,

This does not mean exactly that he goes to the field which may be put in a more or less direct way of statement, e.g., \( u \text{ leit sha (to) ka lyngkha} \). It means that his going has its connection with the field either as his destination or as part of his work; the weight of meaning seems to be rather inclined to the later alternative (Bareh, M 1929:19).

Mondon Bareh's preference of the later meaning supports the contention above that the noun word
occurring immediately after a verb ceases to function like a noun. Semantically, it fuses with the verb to refer to one activity which again includes both the verb and the noun.

Syntactically, *shim khaw* (rice-taking) behaves like a verb. If the grammatical test of substitution is used it will be found that *shim khaw* can be substituted for by other verbs such as *thiah* (sleep), *sum* (bathe), *shong* (stay) etc. e.g.,

(88)   *shim khaw* (rice-taking)

(88a)   thiah (sleep)

(88b)   *Ngen*   *shong* (stay)

(88c)   I'll   *sum* (bathe)

(88d)   leit (go)

(88e)   bam (eat)

Based on this substitution test, it could be said that,

(89)   *Nga bam sohipieng*

I eat mango

(I am mango-eating)
is different from

(90) Nga bam u sohpieng

I eat a mango

(I am eating a mango)

because of the omission of ဗ in (89) and its use in (90).

That shim khaw in (88) is replaceable by other verbs as in (88a-88e) is indicative of a close relationship between the verbal behaviour of shim khaw with the claim made earlier that the noun khaw(rice) fuses with the activity shim (take). This change of behaviour of nouns without NGMs and the twist in meaning that the absence of NGM gives shows that NGMs occupy an important place in the language. It must be reminded that much of the importance of NGMs is also seen in and through those cases where their use is obligatory.

3.2 Pronominal Adjectives

The next important pre-modifiers are the Pronominal Adjectives which are also known as Demonstratives. These are u/ka/i/ki + ne/to/ta/tei/thie. When
functioning as pre-modifier in an NP their occurrence
is always before an NGM as in the following. They are
underlined in these sentences in Khasi as well as in
English.

(91) Une u John (this John)
(92) Kane ka khynnah (that girl)
(93) ito i khnai (that mouse, diminutive)
(94) Kata ka briew (that woman, referred)
(95) Kitei ki lum (those hills, up)
(96) Kitai ki madan (those valleys, at
    the same level with
    speaker, a little far)
(97) Kithie ki khynnah (those children, down)

Pron. NGM H
Adj.

From the earlier discussion about the fixed
position of NGM, it becomes clear that the Pronominal
Adjective cannot be transmuted any closer to the head
word. If there are no lexical items inserted between
an NGM and a pronominal adjective, then the place of a
pronominal adjective remains fixed immediately before
an NGM. But while the pronominal adjective cannot be transposed, it can be preposed further away from the head word. Quantifiers like khyndiat (some) or ngut (two people) and Adverbials like hanye (here), pleng (0, I see now), seh (really?) may come before the pronominal adjective thus: Quantifier + Adverbial + Pron. Adj + NGM + H e.g.

(98) Khyndiat seh kine ki soh?
Quantifier Adv Pron. Adj P H
Some really these fruits
(Are these fruits few?)

(99) ar ngut pleng kita ki briew
Quantifier Class. Adv Pron. Adj P H
human
two human I see now those people
(I see now, those people are two)

But the pronominal adjective may be preposed away from the NGM and head word by intervening Quantifiers.
and Adverbials thus:

(100)  Kine  ar  tylli  hangne  ki  knai
   Pron. Adj Qntfr CIsfr Adv  P   H,
   non
   these two non human here  rats
   (These two rats here).

At this point, we may well ask what significance is brought about by the preposition of either the pronominal adjective or the quantifier along with their relevant classifier. The significance of this mobility of constituents in the phrase is this: that a constituent that comes first from left to right in a sentence gets the focus. A comparison of the following sentences will prove the point right.

(101)  Khyndiat  kire  ki  biskit
   Qntfr  Pron. Adj P   H,
   some  these  biscuits
   (Some of these biscuits here)
Cf (101a) Kine khynjiat ki biskit
(these, some biscuits)

(102) Kito ar ngut ki khynnah
Pron. Adj Qntfr Clsfr. P H
hum.
these two human children
(Those two children)

Cf (102a) ar ngut kito ki khynnah
(two those children)

(103) Hangne kita ki khynnah ...
Adv Pron. Adj P H
here those children (referred)
(Here, those referred children ..)

Cf (103a) Kita hangne ki khynnah
(You can hear, the children are here)
From the translation of (103a) it is clear that kita does not anymore refer to children as those children referred to. In the sense of those referred to, kita is incompatible with hangne (here). The incompatibility is semantic: those who are referred to cannot simultaneously be here. So the difference between (103) and (103a) is this: in the former the focus is hangne (here) i.e., the place where those children were; in the latter the focus is on the noise those children are making which gives one a clue to their being here.

The change of focus and meaning caused by mobility of constituents is seen also when the pronominal adjective interchanges place with an adverb e.g.,

(104) Pleng kine ki khyannah

Adv Pron. Adj P H

So I see these children

(So I see now these children...)

Cf (104a) Kine pleng ki khyannah...

(So these are the children...
The shift in position here conveys a change in meaning. In (104) the adverbial pleng conveys a sense of surprise, *I see* whereas in (104a) it conveys a sense of discovery: *at last we know* ...

**seh** (expressing disbelief) is another adverbial that can be interposed between the pronominal adjective and the NGM. This is the only position seh can occupy as an adverbial within an NP e.g.,

(105) Kine seh ki sati
Pron. Adj Adv P H
these with rings disbelief
(These rings really?)

The adverbials are used here for purpose of indicating that they can occur within an NP and that their occurrence shift the position of pronominal adjectives as pre-modifiers. They are not however considered part of the NP.

### 3.3 Distributive Particle

In Pryse's work the term Pronominal
Adjectives is used to refer to the Demonstratives, the Distributive particles and the Indefinite Adjective Pronouns (Pryse 1855:19-20). According to Pryse, the distributive pronominal adjectives are *u wei u wei* or *wei briew wei briew* (masc) each, every, *ka wei ka wei* (fem) each, every. In this work, the term Pronominal Adjectives is adopted to refer only to the forms *u/ka/i/ki + ne/to/tai/tei/thie* which are used either as demonstrative adjectives (pre-mod) or demonstrative pronouns (*H*). The term Distributive Particles is reserved to include Pryse's 'distributive pronominal adjectives' as well as Roberts' distributive pronouns (Roberts H. 1891:44-45).

There are four ways of expressing distributive sense in Khasi, viz:

(i) By reduplicating the singular NGMs *u/ki + wei* thus: *u wei u wei* (each, masc.)

   *ka wei ka wei* (each, fem)

   *i wei i wei* (each, without reference to sex).
(ii) By affixing the affix - pa
in between the above reduplicatives
thus:

\[ u \text{ wei } pa \text{ u wei} \text{ (each one, masc.)} \]
\[ ka \text{ wei } pa \text{ ka wei} \text{ (each one, fem.)} \]
\[ i \text{ wei } pa \text{ i wei} \text{ (each one, without reference to sex).} \]

(iii) By using the distributive lexis
\[ \text{man} \text{ (each).} \]

(iv) By suffixing la to man thus manla
\[ \text{(each).} \]

These distributive particles are in complementary distribution with the pronominal adjective. Their occurrence is usually before the NNM e.g.,

(106) \[ u \text{ wei } u \text{ wei } u \text{ khynnah} \]
\[ \text{Dist. Part. } \text{SM } \text{H} \]
\[ \text{each } \text{ boy} \]
\[ \text{(Each boy)} \]
The position of these distributive particles is fixed before the NGM + H. Unlike the pronominal adjectives they cannot be permuted to any other position within premodification. This implies that no other pre-modifier can come in between them and the NGM. This however is not the whole truth because there are utterances in the language in which a changed position of the distributive particles is noticed. Examples of those utterances are as follows:

(110)  man ka san ngut ki briew ...
   Dist.Part SF Card.Num.Clsfr.hum P H
  each [a five human] [people]
 (each unit of five people ...)
In (110) and (111) above, it is seen that man and manla are separated from the NGM+H by three other morphemes. The intervening morphemes include an NGM and a cardinal numerical followed by its respective human or non human classifier. Ordinarily an NGM does not follow a numeral quantifier but here it is used specially to indicate that the number of people or of cats are a unit. As a unit, the numerical functions as a noun which therefore needs to be marked by an NGM ka san ngut (unit of five people) and ka saw tylli (unit of four cats). As units ka san ngut and ka saw ngut could have functioned as heads in the event the head words are deleted. The deletion of head words usually takes place if within contexts they are taken as understood. In fact, head words such as ki briew (people), in (110) above may be considered redundant since the classifier ngut already indicates that the unit is of human nouns.
Some people feel that is is not normal to say *man ka san ngut ki briew* (every unit of five people) because in speech *ki briew* (people) is usually dropped. *Man ka san ngut* (every unit of five) is a well-understood phrase. This fact makes people like Nisor Singh and others mark *ngut* a noun. It may be pointed out however, that *ngut* cannot be treated as a noun at par with other noun words like *briew* (people) because it cannot occur in situations the noun *briew* occurs. e.g.:

(112)  
\[ U \ \text{briew} \ \text{u leit} \]  
\[ \text{SM} \ \text{H} \ \text{SE} \ \text{V} \]  
\[ \text{a man} \ \text{go} \]  
(a man goes)

Cf(112a) *u ngut u leit*

Noun words in Khasi are generally speaking preceded by prepositions. But *ngut* cannot be thus
preceded e.g.,

$$ (113) \text{ ha khrum} \quad \text{at basement} \quad (at \text{ the basement}) $$

Cf(115a) *ha ngut

The facts about ngut stated above necessarily calls for a reclassification of ngut which is that of a nominal classifier used strictly for human nouns. In this work ngut has been consistently marked a classifier for human nouns (clsfr. hum).

Ki miaw (cats) in (111) cannot of course be treated redundant since tylli does not refer to cats but other non-human nouns. That ka san ngut and ka saw tylli could be treated as functioning heads justify the claim made earlier that the distributive particle can only occur before an NGM+H, but if san ngut or saw tylli are treated as quantifiers of head words ki briew and ki miaw, the distributive
particles *man*, *manla* can occur before them simply because *san ngut* and *saw tylly* are marked by the NGM *ka*. This points to an inevitable conclusion that the distributive particles may occur only before an NGM.

Since the language has four distinct ways of expressing the distributive sense it is important that differences between them be also studied. First, the reduplicated forms of *u/ki/i+wei* will be taken up.

The reduplicatives *uwei* *uwei*, *kawei* *kawei* and *iwei* *iwei* are different from *uwei pa uwei*, *kawei pa kawei* and *iwei pa iwei*, in that the former are minus emphasis (- emphasis) whereas the latter are plus emphasis (+ emphasis). The insertion of the affix -pa- in *uwei pa uwei* etc., points to each member referred to with emphasis that there should not be any one missing. In this sense, *uwei pa uwei*, etc., is the equivalent of the English *each and every one* e.g.

(114)  

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Dist.Part.} & \text{Emph.} & \text{Dist.Part.} \\
\text{Each} & \text{emphasis} & \text{each} \\
\text{boy} & \text{boy} & \text{boy}
\end{array}
\]

(Each and every boy).
Cf(114a) uwei uwei u khynnah
Dist. Part Dist. Part SM H,
each each boy
(Each boy).

(115) Kawei pa kawei ka briew
Dist. Part. Emph. Dist. Part SF H,
each emphasis each woman
(Each and every woman)

Cf(115a) Kawei kawei ka briew
Dist. Part. Dist. Part SF H,
each each woman
(Each: woman ...)

(116) iwei pa iwei i shniuh
Dist. Part Emph Dist. Part S H,
each emphasis each hair
(Each and every strand of hair)

Cf(116a) iwei iwei i shniuh
Dist. Part Dist. Part S H,
each each hair
(Each strand of hair)
Man is different in form from the above. It is the only distributive morpheme which is not a derivative. Semantically it is (emphasis) like uwei uwei. Rabel (1967:131) classified man as an indefinite numerical along with bun (much, many) and baroh (all). But though it is indefinite, and therefore semantically similar to bun and baroh, syntactically it is different from them both. Unlike bun and baroh which can be used both as pre-modifiers and post modifiers, man can be used only as a pre-modifier. bun and baroh are classified as quantifiers in this work. The following examples exemplify the difference pointed out.

(117) man u brief

Dist.Part. SM \_H, each man

(Each man)

Cf(117a) *u brief man

SM \_H, Dist.Part

man each
Also compare (117) with

(118) bun ki briew ki ba wan
Qntfr P H SE Rel. V
many people who come/came

(Many people who came ...)

(188a) Ki briew bun ki ba wan
P H Qntfr SE rel V
people many who come/came

(Most people came)

(119) baroh ki briew
Qntfr P H
all people

(119a) Ki briew baroh
P H Qntfr.
people all

(All people)

Sentences (118 and 118a) shows that bun (many)
may be used both before and after the head word briew
(people). Sentences (119 and 119a) in like manner
indicate the use of *baroh* (all) as pre-modifier and as post modifier.

Rabel (ibid) also remarked that the indefinite numeral *man*, *bun* and *barch* are mutually exclusive with the definite numerals like *wei* (one), *ar* (two) and their respective human or non-human classifiers. From the semantic point of view the quantifiers *bun* (many) and *baroh* (all) which suggest a number which is more than one cannot co-occur with *wei* (one). But while *baroh* may co-occur with numerals *ar* (two), *lai* (three) ..., *bun* cannot do so. This is because *baroh* allows counting the number of referents while *bun* disallows it. *man* (each) of course may not co-occur with the definite numerals unless the definite numeral + classifier is preceded by an NGM as in (110-111) above.

The following examples show the incompatibility of *bun* and compatibility of *baroh* with definite numeral + classifier.

(120) * bun fr ngut ki bribew

Qntfr Card. Clclf. F H
num. hum.

Many two human people
(121) *bun lai tylǐi ki sviar
Qntfr Card. Clsfr. P H
num. non,hum.

Many three non human chickens

(122) baroh phra ngut ki briel
Qntfr Card.num. Clsfr. P H
hum.

All eight human people

(All eight people)

(123) baroh phra tylǐi ki liiŋ
Qntfr Card. Clsfr. P H
num. non,hum.

All eight non human houses

(All eight houses)

From 114a, 115a and 116a, it is clear that reduplication of uwei/kawei/iwei does not necessarily result in emphasis. But perhaps reduplication is, generally speaking, a recourse taken whenever emphasis is desired. This is particularly seen in instructions such as suki suki (slowly slowly), biang biang (carefully carefully), mian mian (softly softly). This
feature seems to have been applied to man in man man when a distributive emphasis is desired. The reduplicated form man man conveys the same emphasis which uwei pa iwei in (114) does, e.g.,

(124) man man u khynnah
    Dist.Part Dist. SM  H,
    Past.
    each each boy

(Each and every boy)

With man the emphasis is achieved not only by reduplicating it but also by suffixing la thus manla (each) as in

(125) manla u khynnah
    Dist.Part.emph. SM  H,
    each+emphasis boy

(Each and every boy)

la in the context of man occurs only in the order shown above. It should be noted that Khasi being
a homophonous language has many words which have the same sound but which are entirely different one from the other either semantically or syntactically. \textit{la} is one such homophonous word. There are many \textit{la} in Khasi. Only four \textit{la} will be indicated here. One \textit{la} occurs as a pre verbal particle marking pastness as in

$$\text{(126) } u \text{ la } \text{ia } \text{wan } \text{lang } \text{bad } \text{u John}$$

\text{IIIIFSM Past rec. V Adv Conj SM H.}

he past rec come toge- with John

prom- ther

(He came together with John)

\textit{la} which here is termed a pre-verbal particle marking past time is referred to by Sten (1957:8-9) as a linking verb occurring before the main verb. The class attributed to \textit{la} as linking verb is based on the fact that this pre-verbal particle \textit{la} is not restricted to past time reference. Sten rightly pointed out that it is used to refer to immediate future. This is particularly true when a response to a call is made as in the following context:

$$\text{(127) Father: John ale hangne (John come here)}$$
(127a) Son: To Pa, nga la wan (O.K. Dad,
I am coming)

Here, the son has not come, but he used
la anyway.

Another la marks possession as in

(128) sha la shnong
Prep Gen H
to own village
(To one's own village)

(129) Nga shong ha la iing
IPS V Prep Gen H
I stay/live in own house
(I live in my own house)

Another la marks a condition. This one is
the equivalent of lada (if). It occurs in conditional
statements as in

(130) iathuh ia nga la phi leit ne phim leit
V Prep IPS cond 1 II V Conj. IIPS/ V
PS/P P+Neg.
tell to I whether you go or you not go
(Tell me whether you go or you don't go)
Cf(130a) iathuh la uza lada phi leit ne phim leit
V Prep IPS condl IIFS/P V Conj IIFS/V P+Neg
tell to I whether you go or you+not go
(Tell me whether you go or you don't go)

Yet still another la shows insistence or determination to go against prohibition as in the following context

(131) Teacher : Nat min shabar:
Neg V Adv
don't go outside
(Don't go outside)

(132) Student : Ngan min¹ la ka min²
IPS+fut V insist SF H,
I will leave insist going tense
(I'll go whatever you may say)

Notice that min¹ (go/leave) is a verb whereas min² is a noun, min (leave/go) is a verb referring to
a process of going/leaving and mih\textsuperscript{1} is verbal in this sense. But mih\textsuperscript{2} is nominal for two reasons: first, it is marked by an NGM and secondly, it refers to the activity of leaving - the leaving which is a result of the defiance against the order not to leave.

The \textit{la} that occurs immediately after \textit{man} in \textit{manla u khynnah} (each boy) is different from all the \textit{la} mentioned above. This being the case, the question that naturally follows is what its functions is in this context. To say that it is another distributive marker implies that \textit{man} and \textit{la} are equivalents. But they are not, \textit{la} cannot function as an independent distributive marker e.g.,

\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{la} u \textit{khynnah} } \\
\text{? SM XI}
\end{align*}

It is obvious now that \textit{la} is neither a distributive marker nor an equivalent of \textit{man}. Since it does not have a minimal meaning of its own, it is proposed that \textit{la} occurring after \textit{man} be treated as a bound morpheme of \textit{man} and therefore \textit{manla} should be
written together, even though manla has been conventionally written separately thus: man.la. In this work, manla appears as one word. The use of la in manla adds to the rhythm of the expression, and it may be said that its use is more for the sake of euphony than anything else.

According to Pryse wei briew wei briew (one man one man) is also distributive. But wei briew wei briew refers to one person being alone rather than in the distributive sense. It is true, it may occur in similar syntactic environments like the distributive particles in pre-modification, but since its reference is other than distributive and also since its mobility to post verb position is another point of difference from distributive particles, it is proposed that it should not be treated as a distributive marker rather it should be treated as an adverbial. That it is an adverbial is clearly seen in and through its mobility to post verb position e.g.,

(133) wei briew wei briew u khyinnah u trei

Adv SM H SE V

alone alone boy work

(All alone the boy works)
Cf (133a) u khymah u trei wei briew wei briew

(The boy works alone)

Roberts (ibid) wrote that the idea of distribution is also expressed by prefixing *mar* to *uwei*

thus

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mar uwei, or mar uwei uwei} \\
\text{mar kawei, or mar kawei kawei} \\
\text{mar iwei, or mar iwei jwei}
\end{align*}
\]

Roberts though that *mar* probably comes from the Hindustani *har ek* (हर एक). It may be pointed out that the Hindustani *har ek* has been adopted into the language in the expression *har rukom* (many ways), *ki har pa ki har* (various types). It is unlikely that *har ek* becomes *mar* in *mar uwei/mar uwei uwei*. *Mar* is native; it means *equal*. When used with the distributive particles it indicates equality in distribution. It is not itself a distributive
marker, it cannot be used without uwei/uwei uwei; kawei/kawei kawei, iwei/iwei iwei. When combined with these, its reference is to objects of possession or objects to be possessed the number of which is equal. e.g.,

(134) Ngi don mar uwei uwei u khulom
IPP V Equity Dist.Part SM H,
We have equal each pen
(We have one pen each)

(135) Shim mar kawei ka pla
V Equity Dist.Part SF H,
take equal one bag
(Take one bag each)

mar may combine only with uwei/uwei uwei,
kawei/kawei kawei,
iwei/iwei iwei,
It is incompatible with other distributive particles e.g.,

*mar uwei pa uwei/kawei pa kawei/iwei pa iwei
*mar man
*mar manla

mar is reduplicable thus: mar mar kawei
(literally equally one:one each). It is used not only with the distributive particles but also with other lexical items like biang (same amount) in mar biang or mar mar biang or mar biang mar biang (equal in amount); katjuh (same amount) in mar katjuh (equal in amount); kumjuh (same manner of treatment) in mar kumjuh (equal in the manner of treatment).

marbiang, mar katjuh and mar kumjuh function as adverbs as in

(136) Naan sam ha phi mar biang mar biang

I will distribute equally to you

(I'll distribute equally to you)
From the above, it is seen that mar: is a lexical item that serves as a modifier of adverbs as well as of distributive particles as in (134-138). Strictly speaking, it cannot therefore be taken as NP pre-modifier, but its occurrence within an NP as a modifier of distributive particles need to be taken note of.

Of the Indefinite Pronouns listed by Shangpliang (1987:59) as Distributive Pronouns, only uno uno/kano kano/ino ino (whoever/whichever) may be treated as distributive particles functioning as NP
Distributive pronouns are either Indefinite pronouns or indefinite adverbs of place.

So far the Distributive Particles have independently been discussed as NP premodifiers. It has been mentioned earlier that the Distributive Particles are in complementary distribution with the Pronominal Adjectives. The Pronominal Adjectives among themselves are mutually exclusive. The Distributive Particles on the other hand allow co-occurrences of (i) man with uwei pa uwei/kawei pa kawei/iwei pa iwei; (ii) manla with uwei pa uwei/kawei pa kawei/iwei pa iwei. The following are
examples :

(140) man uwei pa uwei u rangbah
Dist.Part Dist.Part.Emph SM H
each each emph each grown up man

(Each and every grown up man)

(141) manla uwei pa uwei u rangbah
SM H
each each emph each grown up man

(Each and every grown up man)

Co-occurrence of Distributive Particles within the NP as in (140-141) may be termed a redundant feature in the language because the co-occurrence of man/manla with uwei pa uwei/kawei pa kawei/iwei pa iwei does not make the latter any more emphatic that it already is. The co-occurrence is fixed in the order shown above in (140 141). The position of either of them cannot be reversed. A reversal makes the expression unacceptable.
3.4 Quantifiers

The next important constituents constituting the pre-modifiers within an NP structure are the quantifiers which are of two sets. The first set are cardinal numerals shi/wei (one), ar (two) etc. shi (one) is used with units of measurement, and all units of ten are measures. The second set are quantitative adjectives: buh/shibun (much, many), khyndint (some, few) and baroh (all), katne (this much) katto (that much), katto katne (some).

Rabel classified the cardinal numerals, terms of measurement, and quantitative adjectives under one class which is called Nominals. That they are closely related to head words within NPs as pre-modifiers is perhaps the reason why they are grouped together within this comprehensive term. By themselves they are subgrouped separately as cardinal numerals, measures and indefinite numerals. The sub-group indefinite numeral includes three of the above quantitative adjectives viz.,
hun, hōtōh, khyndiat, as well as the distributive particle man (each) and the restrictive particle juh (same). The use of man has already been discussed earlier. juh is not included here since it is not numerical. It will be dealt with separately.

The terms of measurement like tda (the length between the thumb and middle finger outstretched) and kilo (kilograms) which have been included by Rabel within the nominals deserve some attention. The inclusion along side cardinal numerals suggests that measures and cardinal numerals are equivalents. But the former cannot be placed on the same footing with the latter because firstly, they cannot substitute one for the other nor are they in complementary distribution. Secondly, terms of measurement always follow cardinal numbers. In fact, terms of measurement cannot occur without cardinal numbers preceding them. From this point of view therefore, terms of measurement may be treated as classifiers just as ngut (human classifier) and tylli (non-human classifier) are. Just as it is with ngut and tylli most people think that terms of measurement are all nouns. In fact, they way they are used in a discourse gives out a notion that they
are nouns. They are always used in situations such as the following:

Speaker A: Phin leit shano
You will go where
(Where are you going?)

Speaker B: Ngan leit thied shini
I will go buy sugar
(I will go and buy sugar)

Speaker A: Katno kilo phin thied?
How many kilograms you will buy
(How many kilograms will you buy?)

Speaker B: Shi phew kilo
One ten kilograms
(Ten kilograms)

In the above context kilo (kilograms) stands for the measurement of sugar to be bought. It could not have referred to sugar unless sugar was mentioned earlier. If
one goes to a shop and asks \textit{ali shi phew kilo} (give ten kilogram) the natural response will be \textit{shi phew kilo uei}? (ten kilograms of what?). To this question the only possible answer is to specify the thing which the buyer wants to buy. A look at terms of measurement from this angle reveals that they indeed are classifiers of nouns and therefore may be termed \textit{nominal classifiers}.

Other classifiers are \textit{piam} (armful, both arms), \textit{kham} (handful), \textit{rati} (smallest seed used to measure gold and silver), \textit{ktien} (mouthful), \textit{kyntion} (mouthful, morsel), \textit{jur} (pair) etc.

The classifiers are all compulsory except for a minor variation which is this: that \textit{ngut} and \textit{tylli} are optional when the number is over a hundred (\textit{shi spah}) or a thousand (\textit{shi hajar}) e.g.,

\begin{verbatim}
(142) Nga don shi spah ngut ki nonstre\textbf{i}
IPS V Card.num Clsfr.hum. P H
I have one hundred human \textbf{workers}
\end{verbatim}

(I have one hundred workers).
Cf (142a) Nga don shispaŋ ki nongtrei.

(143) Nga don shi hajar tylli ki masi.

IPS V Card. num. Clsfr. P H.
non-hum.

I have one non human cows thousand.

(I have one thousand cows)

Cf (143a) Nga don shi hajar ki masi.

3.4.1 Cardinal Numerals

The Cardinal numerals which obligatorily precede the classifiers may exchange position with the pronominal adjectives.

(144) Kine ar ngut ki brieew.

num. hum.

these two human people

(These two people).
In (144-146) the pronominal adjectives precede the cardinal numerals and their respective classifiers. In the specimens below it will be shown that cardinal numerals with their classifiers precede the pronominal adjectives.
3.4.2 Quantitative Adjectives

Like the cardinal numerals, the Quantitative Adjectives may be interposed with the pronominal adjectives. The question of their occurring in between the NGM and the head word does not arise anymore since no other constituents...
may occur between them. For example,

(151)  Une  khyndiat  u  khaw
       Pron.Adj  Qntfr  SM  H.

       this  some  rice

(Here's some rice)

Cf(151a)  Khyndiat  une  u  khaw
           Qntfr  Pron.Adj  SM  H.

           some  this  SM  rice

           (some rice)

The mobility of khyndiat brings a shift in focus. When une (151) precedes khyndiat, the focus is on une (this) while in (151a) the focus is the other way round. It is a technique used in Khasi that whenever focus is desired on a particular modifier, that modifier is usually preposed to initial phrase position.

Nagaraja (1987:14) noted that cardinal numerals and quantitative adjectives are mutually exclusive. The observation is only partially true. Khyndiat (some) of course cannot co-occur with ar(two)
or lai (three) but barch (all) may do so. (See 122-125). But if khyndiat cannot be followed by a cardinal numeral, it is sometimes followed by classifiers e.g.,

(152) Ki don khyndiat rgut ki khynnah
SE V Qntfr Clsfr.hum P H.
they are some human children
(There are some children)

(153) Nga don khyndiat jur ki juti
IPS V Qntfr Clsfr P H.
I have some pair shoes
(I have a few pairs of shoes)

Faithful to his observation above, Nagaraja consistently used khyndiat without the cardinal numerals, and also without classifiers. Two of his specimen sentences are reproduced below. Ordinary spelling is used here.

(i) Kitai khyndiat ki iing baheh jong u ha ka kyndong
(Those his few big, houses at the corner)

(ii) Kitai khyndiat ki iing ba heh jong u
(Those his big houses)
It may be noted that khyndiat is used without classifier when the head word refers to (i) uncountable nouns, (ii) countable nouns that are small in size e.g.,

(154) Khyndiat ka makhon
    some      butter

(155) Khyndiat li kwaj
    some      betelnut

Things as big as a house cannot occur with khyndiat unless khyndiat is followed by the classifier tylli. The specimen sentences quoted from Nagaraja seem odd enough (i) because of grammatical reason which is the absence of tylli after khyndiat and (ii) because of the use of NGM ka after the locative preposition ha. This second reason why the sentence is considered ill-formed has been discussed in connection with the use of NGM in the earlier part of this chapter (See Number and/or Gender Markers, specimen sentence 80 ff).

shi bun and bun are two other possible pre-modifiers of an NP. Both these constituents mean
much or many which, therefore, implies that they can be used with both countable and uncountable nouns. Since these constituents are so similar and mean the same, the question that naturally arises is whether bun is not a bound morpheme of shi and vice versa.

Sten (1987:50) listed shi (one) as a determiner in the context shi + countable noun as shi khlieh (lit. one head, per head), shi snem (one year). Sten was of the opinion that shi should be separated from the noun word following it. The suggestion was made on the ground that shi khlieh could be followed in counting by ar khlieh (two heads), lai khlieh (three heads) etc. Sten hesitated to separate shibun : shi bun perhaps because it cannot be followed on by *ar bun, *lai bun etc.

shi bun is one inclusive term used to refer to both countable and uncountable nouns. The referent may be countable but if the speaker does not want to count and therefore specify the number, the referent may simply be referred to as shi bun. Whenever shi is used whether with bun (much, many) or spah (hundred), or hajar (thousand) or piam (armful), the indication is that of a large number
or size being viewed as one. In this sense, shi retains its original meaning one and in so doing it modifies whichever quantity words coming after it. Considering the fact that shi has its own minimal meaningfulness, there is ground enough to treat it as a separate and free morpheme. Conventionally shi bun, shi phew, shi spah, shi hajar, shi liang, are written together. Of these, only shi bun could not be followed by *arbun in counting. The others could be followed by ar phew (two tens), ar spah (two hundreds), ar hajar (two thousands), ar liang (two halves). Following Sten's suggestion above, except shi bun all other countable nouns with shi should be written separately thus: shi spah, shi liang etc. And following the argument above that shi is a free morpheme, perhaps it is not fanciful to suggest that shi need not be written together with any measurement or unit term. This will then apply also to shi bun. In this work shi is separated from quantity words.

The consideration has been from the point of view of shi. It is good if bun (much, many) is also considered. bun is an NP premodifier whether it occurs
with or without *shi* e.g.,

(156) Shi bun  ki syiar
Qntfr   \( P \quad H \)
many    chickens

(157) bun    ki syiar
Qntfr   \( P \quad H \)
many    chickens

*bun* can also function as a verb whereas the occurrence of *shi, bun* as a verb is open to questions in ordinary speech. In poetic use (159) below is acceptable.

(158) Nga  bun  ki  kot
| IPS  V  \( P \quad H \)
  | I have + many books

(159) Nga  shi bun  ki  kot
IPS  Qntfr  \( P \quad H \)
  | I many books
On the basis of bun functioning as a verb, perhaps bun is itself a separate word altogether, but which may occur in the immediate environment of shi and thereby functioning as an NP pre-modifier. If this argument is accepted, then bun must indeed not be written together with shi but separately thus: shi bun as has already been proposed earlier.

Let us now look at the different places of occurrence of shi bun. Shi bun may be used before or after a pronominal adjective, but it cannot thus interchange place with distributive particles. It cannot co-occur with cardinal numerals but it is compatible with classifiers e.g.,

(160) Une shi bun u khaw
     Pron.Adj (ntfr. SM H,)

(Much rice, this)

Cf (160a) Shi bun une u khaw

(Much this rice)
(161) *man shi bun u khaw
Dist. Part Qntfr SM H
  each     much    rice

(162) *Shi bun uwei uwei u khaw

(163) *Shi bun ar ki briew
Qntfr Card. P H
  num.
many two    people

(164) Shi bun nga ut ki briew
Qntfr Clsfr. hum P H
many    human    people

  (Many people)

shi bun may precede both singular as well as plural nouns. For plural nouns (see 156 above). The following shows its occurrence with singular noun.

(165) Shi bun u kwai
Qntfr SM H
many    betelnut

  (Many betelnuts)
The occurrence of *bun* with singular nouns is used actually to refer to many people/animals or things but with a note of contempt or disgust on the part of the speaker. This particular occurrence of *bun* is used not as a quantifier of *kane ka sniang* (this pig) but as a quantifier of time which may or may not be spelt out e.g.,

(168) *bun sien kane ka sniang*

Qntfr   Pron. Adj  SF   H
many   time   this   pig

(Many times this pig)

The next Quantitative Adjective is *baroh* (all). *baroh* like *khyndiat* and *bun* or *shi bun* may interchange
its position with the pronominal adjective with a change in focus e.g.,

(169) baroh kine ki khun

Qntfr Pron.Adj P_H,
all these children (sons/daughters)
(All these sons/daughters)

Cf(169) kine baroh ki khun

Pron.Adj Qntfr P_H,
these all children (sons/daughters)
(These children all)

baroh, because of semantic reasons, is obviously incompatible with other quantitative adjectives or distributive particles but is compatible with cardinal numerals and classifiers contrary to Nagaraja's observation mentioned earlier. e.g., (See 122-123).

Besides khyndiat, bun, shi bun and baroh, there are three other quantifiers which are compounds of kat an adverb meaning as much as and the demonstrative suffixes
-ne and -to thus: katne (as much as this),
katto (as much as that) and a combination of
both katne and katto thus: katty katne (some).

Katne and katto may interchange their position
with pronominal adjectives with slight changes in meaning.
Before the pronominal adjective they suggest this much
and that much respectively. But after the pronominal
adjective i.e., when katne or katto are immediately
preceded by a pronominal adjective katne means so much as
this and katto: so much as that. Katne and katto co-occur
with pronominal adjectives u/ka/i/ki+ne and u/ka/i/ki+to
respectively. Katne may not co-occur with u/ka/i/ki+to
nor can katto co-occur with u/ke/i/ki+ne.

(170) Katne  we  u  khaw
Qtfr  Pron. Adj  SM  H,
this much  this  rice
(This much rice)

(171) Katto  uto  u  shyiap
Qtfr  Pron. Adj  SM  H,
that much  that  sand
(That much sand)
(172) Une katne u mawria
Pron.Adj Qntfr SM H
this this much gravel
(So much as this gravel)

(173) Uto katto u shyiap
Pron.Adj Qntfr SM H
that that much sand
(So much as that sand)

The following show the unacceptability of
the co-occurrences of katne with w/ke/i/ki+to

Katne uto u khaw
(This much that rice)

Both katne and katt may be followed by a
classifier and they may also be preceded by an adverbial, e.g.

(174)  
\[
\text{katne katne ngut ki briew}
\]
\[
\text{Adv Qntfr Clsfr.hum P \_\_ H,}
\]
only this much human people

(Only this many people)

(175)  
\[
\text{katto tylli ki ben}
\]
\[
\text{Adv Qntfr Clsfr. P \_\_ H, non-hum.}
\]
only that many non human benches

(Only that many benches)

When katne and katto are reduplicated thus: katne katne and katto katto; the use is more often in questions than in simple statements. In such use the NGM and head words are often dropped. The optionality of the NGM and head word of course depends on whether there has been prior mention of the head words concerned e.g.,

(176)  
\[
katne katne phi don ?
\]
\[
\text{Qntfr Qntfr IIPS/P V}
\]
this much you have

(Do you have as much as this?)
(177) katto katto u syntrew phi phuh?
Qntfr Qntfr SM H IIPS/P V
that much flower you bloom
(Do you have as many flowers as that blooming?)

It is obvious that the quantifiers katnegkatto suggest that the amount/quantity of the noun in question is not specific, but that the amount or quantity is seen or has been seen at some time by the speaker. This particularly applies to katto as in

(178) katto u shyiap leh lut?
Qntfr SM H Perf V
that much sand finished
(That much of sand, is it all gone?)

katne and katto may combine in the order katto katne (some) to indicate unspecified amount with the suggestion that the amount in question is and cannot be seen by the hearer. The amount might or might not have been seen by the speaker. If the speaker has not seen the
amount he might be able to at least speculate about it. The expression *katto katne* is used particularly when speakers are not willing to specify the amount e.g.,

(179) *Nga don katto katne u khaw*

*IPS V Qntfr SM H*

*I have some rice*

Here the amount of rice is known to the speaker.

(180) *Ngan leit phied katto katne u khaw*

*IPS+fut V V Qntfr SM H*

*I will go buy some rice*

Here the amount of rice is not seen but the speaker is able to speculate about it.

3.5 **Restrictive Particle**

Attention is now drawn to another lexis functioning very much like Pronominal Adjectives. This lexis is *juh* (same). It is called a restrictive particle because it confines or restricts the referent or referents in the
sense of them being same.

There are two forms of *juh* in Khasi. One is a free morpheme the function of which is as a verb. As a verb its meaning is be tamed. It can take all pre-verbal particles like any other verb e.g.,

(181)  u  juh  bha  hanene
IIIPSM  V  Adv  Adv
he be tamed well here
(He is well tamed here or he likes it here)

(182)  u  la  juh  bha  mynta
IIIPSM  Past  V  Adv  Adv
he past be tamed very now
(He has become quite tamed now)

(183)  ki  pynjuh  ia  u
IIIPP  Caus+V  Prep IIIPSM
they caused to to be be tamed
(They tamed him).
Another -juh is a bound morpheme of u/ka/i/ki occurring as ujuh (IIPSM+same) = the same male
    kaju (IIPSF+same) = the same female
    ljuh (IIIPS+same) = the same person/thing with no gender specified
    kijuh(IIIPP+same) = the same persons/things with no gender specified

-juh is considered a bound morpheme because its meaningfulness is seen only when bound as above. It is these combinations of ujuh, kaju, ljuh and kijuh which are marked Restrictive Particles. These forms can occur as pre-modifiers of an NP after the Pronominal Adjectives e.g.,

(184) Une ujuh u briew
    Pron.Adj    Restr.  SM__H
    this this same man
    male
    (This same man)

(185) Kane kaju ka bek
    Pron.Adj    Restr.  SF__H
    this this same bag
    (This same bag)
It is noticed that -juh is bound to either u/ka/i or ki depending on whether the preceding Pronominal Adjective takes u/ka/i/ki. This means that the number and/or gender of the preceding pronominal adjective decides the number and/or gender markers to which -juh should be bound.

3.6 Indefinite Marker

Another pre-modifier serving as a contrast to the restrictive particle is the indefinite marker marked by the bound morpheme-wei(one) when bound to u/ka/i/ki thus: uwei/kawei/iwei/kiwei.
wei (one) is used in counting numbers e.g. wei (one), ar (two), lai (three) etc. But when used as a pre-modifier it cannot be used without being suffixed to u/ka/i/ki according to the number and/or gender of the head word. It is because of this use and in the context as pre-modifier that -wei is a bound morpheme to u/ka/i/ki.

As pre-modifier its occurrence is immediately before an NGM+H. e.g.

(188) uwei u khynnah
    Indf SM  H
    one a boy
   (One boy)

The Indefinite Markers may be preceded by the Pronominal Adjectives e.g.,

(189) Une uwei u khynnah
    Pron. Adj Indf SM  H
    this one a boy
   (This one boy)
The order of co-occurrence of the Pronominal Adjective with the Indefinite Markers is only as shown in (188) above. This place of occurrence of the Indefinite Markers is exactly the place where the Distributive Particles occur. The implication of this is that the Distributive Particle may not co-occur with the Indefinite Marker because they are in complementary distribution.

The indefinite markers are incompatible with Cardinal Numerals and Quantitative Adjectives.

Except *kiwei* (other), the Indefinite Markers *uwei*, *kawei* and *iwei* seem to refer more to the number and/or gender of the head word rather than be indefinite about it. The following sentences will exemplify this point. e.g.,

(190) uwei u *briew*  
Indf. SM $\text{H}$  
one a man  
(One man)

(191) kawei ka *briew*  
Indf SF $\text{H}$  
one a woman  
(One woman)
From the above, it is obvious that kiwei (other) carries more sense of indefiniteness than uwei, kawei and iwei. It is because of this perhaps that speakers of the language developed another strategy by which to clearly express the sense of indefiniteness. The strategy is by using an additional morpheme after uwei/kawei/iwei/kiwei. This additional morpheme is pat (other). We find this use of pat in sentences such as

(194) uwei pat u briew
    one other a man
    (One other man)

(195) kawei pat ka briew
    one other a woman
    (One other woman)
(196)  **iwei**  **pat**  **i briew**  
one other one man/woman  
(One other man/woman)

(197)  **kiwei**  **pat**  **ki briew**  
other other other people  
(Other people)

**pat** is marked an adverb in Nissor Singh's Khasi-English Dictionary. According to the dictionary its meaning is **again** but as an adverb its meaning is not just **again** but it also means **next time**. Its occurrence is always after a verb.

(198)  **un**  **sa**  **wan pat**  
IIIIPSM+fut Seq.  V  Adv  
he+will sequential come again  
(He will in course of time come again)

(199)  **Ngan**  **sa**  **dih pat**  
IPS+fut  Seq.  V  Adv  
I+will sequential drink again  
(I will drink (take the drink offered) next time)
But the pat that occurs after the Indefinite Markers as in (194-198) is a pronominal adjective serving to indicate that the head word which it modifies is indefinite and also additional. The sense of additionality is seen or felt particularly if uwej/kawei/iwei/kiwei pat occurs in a context in which things or people or events are introduced in some sort of sequence. e.g.,

(200) *Nalor ka ba la ong haneng*
Besides what has been said above

*Kawei pat ka ba dorkam*
Another important thing

*Ka long kane ...*
is this ...

*kawei pat* in this additional sense gets translated as another.

The pre-modifiers in an NP have been thoroughly discussed along with their co-occurrences, the grammatical, locutional and semantic restrictions limiting their uses.
Finally, it should be mentioned that the highest possible number of these pre-modifiers that may co-occur within an NP is determined mostly by comprehensibility. But it can be said that at least five pre-modifiers including classifiers may co-occur in an NP as follows:

(201)  **kine**  **baron**  **ar**  **ngut**  **ki**  **khynnah**  
Pron. Adj  Qntfr  Card  Clsfr  P  H  
um.  hum.  
these  all  two  human  plu-child  
ral  
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|   |   |   |   |   | (Both these two children)  

(202)  **kito**  **kiju**  **hynriew**  **tylli**  **ki**  **kot**  
um.  non-hum  
those  same  six  non-plu-book  
human  ral  
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|   |   |   |   |   | (Those same six books).

2. The numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 indicate the number of pre-modifiers.