

A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF MEITEIRON

by

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DISSERTATION

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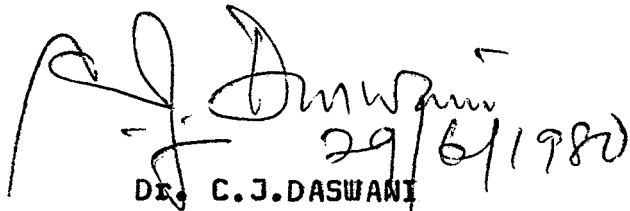
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This dissertation entitled
A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF MEITEIRON
submitted to this University, for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy by Purna Chandra Thoudam, has not been
previously submitted for a Degree of this or any other
University. This is an original work. Hence, it is
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PREFACE

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0.

INTRODUCTION

0.1. Genetic affiliation : Meiteiron is the local name of Manipuri Language. It is a compound, that is, the combination of Meitei and lon. Meitei is the name of the people while lon means 'language'. In other words, Meiteiron means 'the language of the Meitei people'.

Meiteiron is an important member of the ramified group of Kuki-Chin⁺ branch of the vast Tibeto-Burman Family, which comprises hundreds of languages spoken all over south, south-central, and southeast Asia. The Tibeto-Burman family is only a part of a larger linguistic stock, Sino-Tibetan, which includes Karen and Chinese. The Sino-Tibetan has the largest number of languages.

The Kuki-Chin subgroup of languages spoken in the north eastern region of India, has not shown much difference from the Naga languages. Meiteiron has shown relationships with both the Naga and Kuki languages. In early times there were seven principalities which have become one under the Mangangs(Meiteis), so the Meitei language has all the different forms embedded in it. This has made Meiteiron different from most of the Tibeto-Burman languages in its archaic forms.

+ This name although used by many is not authentic. More investigation is to be done before we posit a suitable name.

0.2. The Meitei people : The Meiteis live in Manipur, although they are found living in Burma, Thailand, Bangladesh, Assam, and Tripura in compact groups. The number of Meitei people living in the five places is quite large. The number of speakers in Manipur is about eight lakhs (hundred thousand). The Meiteis are well built, short, and they are known for their bravery.

 The major crop of Manipur is rice. Apart from rice, chilli-peppers, maize, etc. are also cultivated but they are of minor importance. Due to the influx of Bengali, Muslim, and Nepali refugees, various other crops have also been cultivated. The Meiteis are not nomadic tribes, since there are no records of Meiteis being nomads. However, it is still believed that Meiteis were nomads before they came to Manipur.

 Meiteis are still animistic in their religious beliefs, believing in a variety of good, neutral and evil spirits. However, the younger generation seems to discard their beliefs, although they still believe in God and they are attending various religious ceremonies. From the religious points of view, the Meiteis can be divided into three groups. They are - the Vaisnab Hindus, the Meitei Marup (Sanamahi cult), and the Meitei Christians. There is

also another section of people who claim that they do not believe in religion, although they participate in religious ceremonies either at home or outside.

The Meiteis were not originally Vaisnab Hindus. They were converted to Vaisnabism sometime around 1775. Even after their conversion, the Meiteis continue to worship their ancestral Gods and Goddesses along with the Hindu Gods.

The Meitei Marup or Sanamahi cult are revivalists. They are trying their best to revive the old religion, script, and other ceremonies of the Meiteis.

The Christians are mainly outcastes, (Lois - Sekmai, Andro, Phayeng, etc.) and their number is negligible. As regards the other section of people who claims that they do not believe in religion - they are mainly educated young people.

0.3 Dialects and cultural subdivisions : The Meiteis are under seven clans, each clan having various surnames. The clans are : (a) Mangang or Ningthouja, (b) Angom, (c) Luwang, (d) Khuman, (e) Moirang, (f) Khaba-Nganba, and (g) Chenglei or Sarang-Leisangthem. The various surnames coming under each of the clans are :

- (a) - Mangang - Sapam, Lourembam, Thoudam, Waikhom,
Khwairakpam, Yengkhom, Khoirom, etc.
- (b) Angom - Angom, Longjam, Larellakpam,
Wahengbam, Akoijam, Ningombam, etc.
- (c) Luwang - Khumukcham, Longkhumukcham, Asangbam,
Mayengbam, Abujam, etc.
- (d) Khuman - Laisram, Yurenjam, Pangambam,
Tokpam, Sanjenbam, Chingtham, etc.
- (e) Moirang - Moirangthem, Thangjam, Chongtham,
Kabrambam, Wayenbam, etc.
- (f) Khaba- - Khuraijam, Khumujam, Longjengbam,
Nganba Khaidem, Tekcham, Thongam, etc.
- (g) Chenglei - Leishangthem, Chengleibam, Tongbram,
Soraisam, Loitam, etc.

These clans although they are now united under the Meiteis, originally the Mangangs, were different kingdoms, and they were engaged in frequent wars among themselves. Although, these divisions have very little to do from the linguistic points of view, have certain amount of psychological and cultural validity. Till to-day, intermarriage within the

same clan, even though they have different surnames, is not permissible. Apart from this, except the Mangangs or Ningthoujas, intermarriage among the clans are restricted, that is, the Mangang or Ningthouja can intermarry with all the six clans, while a Khuman or Luwang or Angom or Moirang can not marry with all the clans. The clan here does not mean dialects. The language described in this analysis is spoken in Imphal, which is regarded as the standard dialect of the language. There are various local differences in this language spoken at different places. The spoken forms from Kakching, Thanga, Phayeng, Nongmaikhong, Ngaikhong, etc. which are different from the standard form were not mentioned at all in earlier works, while the dialects of this language, like - Andro, Sekmai, Chairel, etc. are regarded as languages. Again, the varieties used by the people of Assam, Bangladesh, Burma, etc. are considered dialects of this language.

Culturally, Meiteis have close relationship and similarities with the various Tibeto-Burman speaking tribal people in the region. This cultural attachment, which has been established through contacts and intermarriages, etc. is age old. In other words, the Meiteis have a mixed culture because of the merger of the different groups and by the influence of the neighbouring tribal cultures. With the conversion to Hinduism, the Aryan culture also diffused in the Meitei culture.

0.4 The present analysis : The present analysis is first of its kind for Meiteiron. No significant work has been done on this language. The earlier works on this language are not adequate, because they lack systematic approach. The present data may as well be employed for some other analytical method and the interpretations in the present analysis may also be interpreted in a different way. This is one of the possible ways of putting things from amongst the numerous ways.

This analysis is based on the structural model. Every effort has been made to maintain the uniformity in the analysis. This also has put a limit on the completeness of the analysis, as no analysis can ever be complete.

In the Chapter on Phonology, not much has been done on the various phonetic features. Only the phonemic norms are indicated, because it has been considered that the phonetic differences are not enough to posit separate entities. With regard to Suprasegmentals, the tones are not fully and phonetically analyzed because of limitations, such as, testing with the various instruments.

An attempt has been made to deal with various problems in the chapter on Morphophonemics. Morphophonemic variation in the language necessitates careful handling of the data. Most of the problems coming up at various levels

of analysis have been dealt with in this chapter. The complex phonological, morphological and syntactic problems are also discussed and rules have been framed for various exceptions to generalized statements, wherever necessary.

In the chapter on Morphology the various types of morphemes are identified. As most bound roots can not show the class of forms to which they belong, the prefixes and suffixes play an important role in word formation. So, sets of prefixes and suffixes are to be identified and they are to be labelled as noun affixes, verb affixes, etc.. The interrogatives and negatives are formed at the morphological level. The interrogatives are formed with nouns while the negatives are formed with verbs by the help of affixes. There are instances of inalienable possessions in the case of kin terms and body parts. Numerals are also incorporated in this chapter. The respect forms of address are also dealt with in this chapter.

In the chapter on Syntax, the constituent structure of the sentence and various types of sentences are analyzed. The Noun and Verb phrases, types of constructions, are also discussed. Coordination or conjunctions have also been discussed in this chapter.

A list of vocabulary and bibliography are appended as appendix.

Abbreviations and Symbols

A	Aspect of verb.
As	Aspirated
c	Coordinator
Det	Determiner
H	Head
M	Modality
Mod	Modifiers
N	Noun
NP	Noun Phrase
NPs	Noun Phrases
Ns	Noun Substitute
O	Object (syntax)
R	Root
S	Sentence
s	Subject (syntax)
STC	Sino-Tibetan- a Conspectus
UCPL	University of California Publications in Linguistics
Una	Unaspirated
V	Verb/vowel
v	Copula
VP	Verb Phrase
VPs	Verb Phrases.
X	Semivowels
//	Phonemic
[]	Phonetic

{ }	Morphemes (if it enclosed phonemic symbols)
>	becomes/changes to
#	Phrase boundary juncture
##	Sentence boundary juncture
+	Internal juncture
/`/	Falling tone
/·/	Pause (non-distinctive)
/ . /	Syllable boundary
*	Unacceptable/Extinct/Non-meaningful/Non-grammatical.
---	Subject (sentence) deleted/dropped.

CHAPTER I

1

PHONOLOGY

1.0 General statement : The phonemes of Meiteiron can be divided into two sub-systems. The phonemes of the first sub-system are inherited phonemes and those in the second sub-system are borrowed phonemes from Assamese, Bengali, or other Aryan languages and English. There are twenty-five segmental phonemes and five suprasegmental phonemes in the first sub-system, while there are eight segmental phonemes in the second sub-system. The twenty-five segmental phonemes in the first sub-system are divided into seventeen consonants, two semivowels and six vowels. The suprasegmental phonemes of this sub-system are divided into two tone phonemes and three juncture phonemes. Vowel length is not a distinctive feature in Meiteiron. The eight segmental phonemes in the second sub-system are all consonants. The following chart illustrates the above classification.

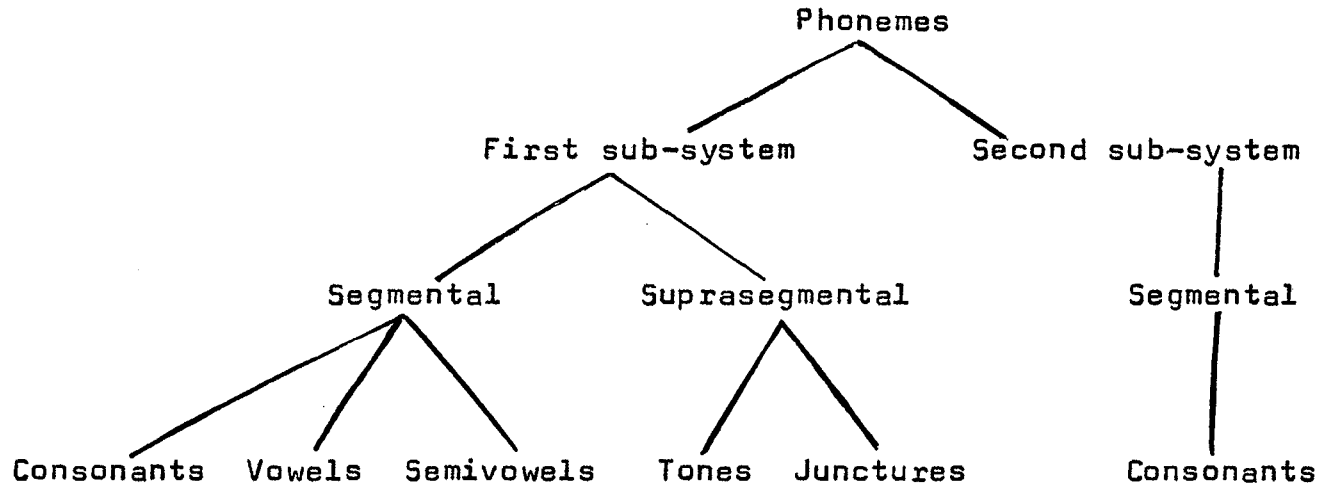


Fig. - 1. Diagramm showing classification of phonemes.

1.1.1 Consonants : The consonants in the first sub-system are of four kinds : stops, a fricative, a liquid, and semivowels. Voiceless stops are aspirated and unaspirated, while aspiration is absent in the case of voiced stops. Release is not distinctive in voiceless unaspirated stops and nasals, because release and unrelease are always in complementary distribution (no contrast is seen). Hence, they become allophones of the same phoneme. Voiced unaspirated stops are always released. Unreleased voiceless stops become glottal between vowels. The fricative is glottal and it is phonetically weakly voiced. The liquid is alveolar and it has an allophone, which is a trill. In syllable, morpheme, or word final positions the liquid freely varies with the alveolar nasal. Semivowels are bilabial and palatal. In syllable, morpheme, or word final positions the semivowels become glides.

Consonants occur in five positions : bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. Twelve stop phonemes occur in four positions : bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. Three nasal phonemes occur in three positions : bilabial, alveolar and velar. The one fricative phoneme occur in the glottal position and the one liquid phoneme occur in the alveolar position. The two semivowels occur in two positions : bilabial and palatal.

Diagrammatically, then, the consonant phonemes of the first sub-system occur in five positions as follows :

	Bilabial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
	Una.	As.	Una.	As.	Una.	As.	Una.	As.	As.
Stops	voiceless	p	ph	t	th	c	ch	k	kh
	voiced	b		d		j		g	
Nasals		m		n				ŋ	
Fricative									h
Liquid				l					
Semivowels		w				y			

Fig. - 2. Diagram showing the consonant phonemes in the first sub-system.

1.1.2 Vowels : Vowels occur at three levels : high, mid and low. There is a front-back contrast at high level and at mid level there is a three-way contrast : front, central and back. There is one central vowel at the low level. There are, then, six vowels : / i, e, ə, a, o, u /.
Vowel length is conditioned by tone, which accompanies them¹.

1 The two tones in Meiteiron have different length or duration. A vowel in Meiteiron always accompanies a tone, therefore, any length in the vowels, if audible, is not the vowel length but the length of the tone.

Length is not distinctive for the six vowels and no contrast is found between short and long vowels. The front and central vowels are unrounded. The back vowels are rounded. Diagrammatically, then, the six vowels occur as follows :

	Front	Central	Back
	Rounded:Unrounded	Rounded:Unrounded	Rounded:Unrounded
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

Fig. - 3. Diagram showing the vowel phonemes in the first sub-system.

The vowels are either fronted, that is, more apical; or lowered or retracted, according to the environment in which they occur. Since these features are not distinctive and no contrast is found, this is regarded as phonetic. This is common to all the vowel phonemes.

1.1.3 Tones : There are two tones in Meiteiron. They are : (i) fall, and (ii) level. The fall is written as / \ , above the vowel and the level is left unwritten. The falling tone, will henceforth be called tone number one; while the level tone will be called tone number two. Tone

number one is a fall from the level and it is shorter than tone number two, and it also ends abruptly. Unlike tone number one, tone number two is longer in duration and it does not end abruptly. It always remains in the same pitch and lengthen the vowel. Illustrations :

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------------------------|
| 1. | [i̇_] | 'blood' |
| 2. | [i°_] | 'thatch' |
| 3. | [un-] | 'skin' |
| 4. | [u°n-] | 'snow/ice' |
| 5. | [khòy-] | 'navel' |
| 6. | [kho°y-] | 'bee/fishing hook' |
| 7. | [cà-bà] | 'eating' |
| 8. | [ca°-bà] | 'mongering' |
| 9. | [yèn-] | 'mushroom' |
| 10. | [ye°n-] | 'hen' |
| 11. | [kəm-bà] | 'killing' |
| 12. | [kə°m-bà] | 'over ripen/loss of taste' |

In the above illustrations the vowels in examples number 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12 are shown as longer than the corresponding vowels in examples 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11 respectively. As pointed out earlier in 1.1.2 above, it is not the vowel length but the length or duration of the tone which accompanies them.

Sometimes the length and height of the same tone is different. This is conditioned by the environment, hence it is regarded as phonetic and does not provide grounds for identification as separate toneme. In some rare instances tones change their colour (2.1.11).

1.1.4 Junctures : Apart from sentence boundary and other phrase boundary juncture, there is an internal juncture phoneme. This transition from one sound to the other within the same macrosegment provides contrast between two types of transition between the same successive vowels and consonants. As for example - /càkkhàybè/ 'burnt(with bonfire)' and /càk+khàybè/ 'collecting rice'; /càythàbè/ 'a post in the royal court' and /cày+thàbè/ 'counting with sticks/hit with stick'; /càkthogbè/ 'cook' and /càk+thogbè/ 'cooking rice'.

In the above examples the distinction between the two different kinds of transition between the same successive vowel and consonant phonemes is shown by a /+/ plus juncture. In /càkkhàybè/ 'burnt (with bonfire)' there is no break between any of the syllables; (and in rapid speech it is virtually pronounced as /càkhàybè/). In /càk+khàybè/ 'collecting rice' on the other hand, there may be a perceptible break between /k/ and /kh/, but in rapid speech this is often disregarded. This difference is marked in the examples above by /+/ 'plus juncture' to show the difference in

transition. Hence, this transition, which is often disregarded, as are weakly stressed vowels in rapid speech, has been regarded as a phoneme (Lehman. 1968, 4.8.3).

As already mentioned above, there are two terminal junctures; one is phrase boundary juncture and the other sentence boundary juncture. These junctures may be termed as external junctures and they can be represented by /#/ and /##/, for the phrase boundary and sentence boundary respectively. They are marked where necessary. Illustrations :

càkchə̀ŋ # chabə̀ hə̀wle ##
'kitchen construction started'(construction of kitchen started)

càkchə̀ŋ chabə̀ # lakle ##
'kitchen builder came'(the kitchen-builder has come)

konthə̀ŋ # chembə̀ cətli ##
'gate repairing going'(going to repair the gate)

konthə̀ŋ chembə̀ # cətli ##
'gate repairer going'(the gate-repairer is going)

1.1.5 Consonants of the second sub-system : The eight consonants in the second sub-system are of only one kind : stops. Four of them are voiced and aspirated, while four of them are voiced unaspirated. As mentioned earlier in (1.0), these phonemes are found in loan-words only, therefore, they deserve separate treatment. That is why they are termed consonants of the second sub-system. These phonemes occur in

four positions : bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. Diagrammatically, then, these eight consonants occur in four positions as follows :

	Bilabial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar	
	Unas. Asp.		Unas. Asp.		Unas. Asp.		Unas. Asp.	
Stops voiced	b	bh	d	dh	j	jh	g	gh

Fig. - 4. Diagram showing borrowed consonant phonemes.

1.2 Contrast : Most phonemes are easily attestable by minimal pairs. Where minimal pairs can not be established, they are attested by examples in contrast and overlapping distribution. Examples are given below to validate the phonological identity of the phonemes listed above. Examples are primarily restricted to contrasts of phonetically similar phonemes. All segmentals in the first sub-system except / b, d, g, and e/ occur initially. All segmentals in the first sub-system occur medially, while only / p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, w and y/² and all vowels occur finally.

The stops / p, t, k, m, n, ŋ/ have allophones. / p, t, k/ are not fully released in final positions, while they become almost glottal if another syllable beginning with

2 These phonemes are not fully pronounced or released in final positions. / w and y/ are near equivalent of the / u and i/ respectively in final positions.

a vowel immediately follows them. The phoneme /b, d, j, g/ present a problem in the analysis, because their occurrence in inherited words are restricted to medial position only, except /j/ which occurs initially in one inherited word /jəgoj/ 'dance', but they occur in initial and medial positions in loan words, such as -/babu/ 'petty officer', /baba/ 'father', /dada/ 'brother(elder)', /dollan/ 'storeyed house', /jat/ 'class/type', /khajəna/ 'tax', /gari/ 'motor car', /jaga/ 'space/seat', etc.. So, they are regarded as inherited as well as loan phonemes. However, as evidenced from earlier writings in Meiteiron³, /b, d, j, g/ did not exist at all in the early times. Hence, it is presumed that, they are loan sounds in Meiteiron from other languages which may have existed in some inherited words in allophonic variation to voiceless sounds, such as /p, t, c, k/ and later acquired phonemic status in medial positions. Hence they are treated in both the sub-systems (1.2.2). /m, n, ŋ/ are also not fully released in final positions. /n/ varies with /l/ in final positions. /m/ varies with /n/ in the case of /punnemək ~ punnemək/ 'all'. In intervocalic positions /l/ becomes /r/; and /r/ never occurs in final positions and in word initial positions. The semivowels /w and y/ never contrast with /i/ and /u/. In cases of final positions immediately followed by syllables beginning with /i, o, u/ there is a case of assimilation. ✓

3 This is evidenced from Cheitharol Kumbaba, Panthoipi Khunkum, and various other books including the Puyas, where no trace of /b, d, j, g/ is available.

In Meiteiron the roots are monosyllabic and the root patterns are : V, VC, VX, CV, CVC, CVX, XV, XVC, and XVX (C for Consonant, V for Vowel, and X for Semivowel). These root patterns are the major types. Clusters of two consonants or a cluster of a consonant and semivowel can be established thereby increasing the number of root patterns by CXV, CXVC, and CXVX. These clusters are confined to a few phonemes in a small number of instances, for example - /w/, /y/ as the second component, that also with / k, kh/ as the first component in initial positions only. There are clusters with [r] as the second component but they can not occur in initial positions (refer 1.3). Illustrations :

/i/	'write'
/in/	'fishing net'
/əy/	'I'
/ka/	'room'
/kət/	'paddy godown'
/koy/	'beard'
/ya/	'tooth'
/yət/	'right'
/way/	'chaff'
/kwa/	'betel nut'
/kwak/	'crow'
/kyam.gəy/	'name of a place'
/khway/	'name of a place'

In the case of loan-words root patterns with consonant clusters are present. But these root patterns are strictly within the norms of the language from which they are borrowed. Since many new words have been borrowed from various languages, clusters are found even with native sounds in those words like /ijjət/ 'prestige'.

In all the cases, the clusters can be differently interpreted under the native situation. So, loan words such as /ijjət/ 'prestige', /bighni/ 'devil/destructive force' can be transcribed as /ijət/ by dropping the geminated sound and /bighini/ by inserting an /i/ between the cluster, thereby concluding that no cluster is present in Meiteiron.

Although, there are many suffixes in the language minimal pairs are easily available in the roots. Examples will show the minimal contrasts as well as in analogous environments in either pre-vocalic or post-vocalic positions. Minimal contrasts will precede contrast in analogous environments :

(1) The phoneme /p/ contrasts with all the consonant phonemes of the first sub-system. It also contrasts with the two semivowels. Illustrations :

p/ph - /pabə/ 'reading' : /phabə/ 'disheveling';
 /əpaŋbə/ 'foolishness' : /əphaŋbə/ 'receiver/something got'.

p/b - /əpɔkɔpə/ 'father/something swelled out':
/əbɔk/ 'grandmother'.

p/m - /pabə/ 'reading' : /mabə/ 'groping';
/əpəŋbə/ 'foolishness' : /əməŋbə/ 'denseness'; /nəp/ 'mucus':
/nəm/ 'back'.

p/w - /pəbə/ 'thin' : /wəbə/ 'sorrow';
/ipa/ 'father' : /iwa/ '(my) husband'; /nəp/ 'mucus' : /nəw/
'oar'.

p/t - /pabə/ 'reading' : /tabə/ 'falling';
/əpəŋbə/ 'foolishness' : /ətəŋbə/ 'hardened scar';
/kùppə/ 'fine' : /kùtpə/ 'low lying'.

p/th - /pabə/ 'reading' : /thabə/ 'hitting/
unloading'; /əpəŋbə/ 'foolishness' : /əthəŋbə/ 'something
given on loan'.

p/d - /əpɔmbə/ 'boil/swelling' : /ədɔmdə/
'towards that side'.

p/n - /pabə/ 'reading' : /nabə/ 'illness';
/əpəŋbə/ 'foolishness' : /ənəŋbə/ 'thickened/condensed';
/nəp/ 'mucus' : /nənbə/ 'laying upon'.

p/l - /pabə/ 'reading' : /labə/ 'male';
 /əpəŋbə/ 'bluntness' : /ələŋbə/ 'brightness'⁴; /nəp/ 'mucus' :
 /nəllu/ 'lay upon (command)'.

p/c - /pabə/ 'reading' : /cabə/ 'eroding/
revealing'; /əpəŋbə/ 'bluntness' : /əcəŋbə/ 'living/not died'.

p/ch - /pabə/ 'reading' : /chabə/ 'making';
 /əpəŋbə/ 'bluntness' : /əchəŋbə/ 'green'.

p/j - /upak/ 'plank' : /cujak/ 'maize'.

p/y - /pabə/ 'reading' : /yabə/ 'agreeing';
 /əpaybə/ 'something flying' : /əyaybə/ 'something roasted';
 /nəp/ 'mucus' : /nəy/ 'dirty (water, etc.)'.

p/k - /pabə/ 'reading' : /kabə/ 'burnt';
 /əpaybə/ 'something handling' : /əkaybə/ 'something broke';
 /nəp/ 'mucus' : /nəkpə/ 'near'.

p/kh - /pa/ 'eyelash' : /kha/ 'south';
 /pəbə/ 'thin' : /khəbə/ 'bitter'; /əpəbə/ 'something thin' :
 /əkhəbə/ 'something bitter'.

p/g - /upum/ 'rotten wood' : /ugum/ 'like wood'.

4 [l] changes to [r] in intervocalic positions. So,
 /ə+ləŋbə/ becomes /ə[r]əŋbə/.

p/ŋ - /pabə/ 'reading' : /ŋabə/ 'taking support';
 /əpəŋbə/ 'bluntness' : /əŋəŋbə/ 'roaring'; /nəp/ 'mucus' :
 /nəŋ/ 'you'.

p/h - /pabə/ 'reading' : /habə/ 'hawking';
 /əpabə/ 'reader' : /əhabə/ 'hawker'.

(2) The phoneme /ph/ contrasts with all the consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two semivowels. Illustrations :

ph/p - see above.

ph/b - /l̩ayphaw/ 'prophecy' : /l̩aybaw/ 'pro-
 claimation (gospel)'.

ph/m - /phabə/ 'disheveling' : /mabə/ 'groping';
 /əphəŋbə/ 'receiver' : /əməŋbə/ 'denseness'.

ph/w - /phəbə/ 'catching' : /wəbə/ 'sadness';
 /əphəbə/ 'something caught' : /əwəbə/ 'someone sad'.

ph/t - /phabə/ 'disheveling' : /tabə/ 'falling';
 /əphabə/ 'something dishevelled' : /ətabə/ 'something fallen'.

ph/th - /phabè/ 'dishevelling' : /thabè/ 'off-loading'; /əphabè/ 'something dishevelled' : /əthabè/ 'something off-loaded'.

ph/d - /cinpha/ 'telling something by heart' : /cinda thibè/ 'habitually using abusive words'.

ph/n - /phabè/ 'dishevelling' : /nabè/ 'illness'; /əphabè/ 'something dishevelled' : /ənabè/ 'sick person'.

ph/l - /phabè/ 'dishevelling' : /labè/ 'male'; /əphabè/ 'something caught' : /əlèbè/ 'something distinct'.

ph/c - /phàbè/ 'catching' : /càbè/ 'eating'; /əphabè/ 'something dishevelled' : /əcabè/ 'something eroded'.

ph/ch - /phabè/ 'dishevelling' : /chabè/ 'making'; /əphabè/ 'something dishevelled' : /əchabè/ 'something hot/made'.

ph/j - /chàphàbè/ 'hunter' : /chàjàbè/ 'meat eater'.

ph/y - /phabè/ 'dishevelling' : /yabè/ 'agreeing'; /əphàybè/ 'slanting' : /əyàybè/ 'striking'.

ph/k - /phabà/ 'disheveling' : /kabà/ 'burnt';
 /əphabà/ 'something dishevelled' : /əkabà/ 'something burnt'.

ph/kh - /phàbà/ 'catching' : /khàbà/ 'bitterness';
 /əphàbà/ 'something caught' : /əkhàbà/ 'something bitter'.

ph/g - /pàphədəbà/ 'forbidden to handle/touch' :
 /pàygədəbà/ 'things to handle/touch'.

ph/ŋ - /phabà/ 'disheveling' : /ŋabà/ 'taking
 support'; /əphabà/ 'something dishevelled' : /əŋabà/ 'something
 supported'.

ph/h - /phabà/ 'disheveling' : /habà/ 'hawking';
 /əphabà/ 'something dishevelled' : /əhabà/ 'something hawk'.

(3) The phoneme /b/ contrasts with all the
 consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two
 semivowels. Illustrations :

b/p, b/ph - see above.

b/m - /ŋəmboy/ 'as if it can' : /ŋəmmoy/
 'can not', /ibay/ 'brother-in-law (elder)' : /imay/ 'my face'.

b/w - /məbuŋ/ 'her brother (elder)' : /məwŋ/ 'manner of circling'.

b/t - /məbuŋ/ 'her brother(elder)' : /mətuŋ/ 'back/after him'.

b/th - /məbuŋ/ 'her brother (elder)' : /məthuŋ/ 'manner of reaching'.

b/d - /pambə/ 'like/fond of' : /pamdə/ 'at the paddy field (hills)'.

b/n - /cəban/ 'offerings to devils' : /cənan/ 'oat'.

b/l - /hùybi/ 'mother dog/big dog' : /hùyli/ 'kind of small insect'.

b/c - /ubuk/ 'inside centre of the tree' : /ucuk/ 'small wood pole'.

b/ch - /cəybu/ 'owner of stick' : /cəychu/ 'walking stick'.

b/j - /thibum/ 'rotten night soil/ rotten stool': /thijum/ 'water extracted from night soil/stool'.

b/y - /caybu/ 'owner of stick' : /cayyu/
'rebuke (command)'.

b/k - /laybak/ 'fortune/fate' : /haykak/
'water chest nut'.

b/kh - /libun/ 'bundle of cane stick' :
/likhun/ 'clue'.

b/g - /thibum/ 'rotten night soil' :
/thigum/ 'as if night soil'.

b/ŋ - /cebaŋ/ 'sheet of paper' : /ceŋaŋ/
'red paper'.

b/h - /laybaw/ 'proclamation (gospel)' :
/layhaw/ 'fertile (soil)'.

(4) The phoneme /m/ contrasts with all the
consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two
semivowels. Illustrations :

m/p, m/ph, m/b - see above.

m/w - /mà/ 'bed bug' : /wà/ 'bamboo'; /ima/
 'my mother' : /iwa/ 'my husband'; /lèm/ 'path/way/track' :
 /lèw/ 'paddy field'.

m/t - /mabè/ 'groping' : /tabè/ 'falling';
 /əmàṅbè/ 'something lost' : /ətàṅbè/ 'something rare';
 /phəmde/ 'not sit' : /phètte/ 'not good (bad)'.

m/th - /mabè/ 'groping' : /thabè/ 'hitting';
 /əmàṅbè/ 'something lost' : /əthàṅbè/ 'something lifted'.

m/d - /pammunə/ 'with great desire' :
 /pamdunə/ 'as desired'.

m/n - /mabè/ 'groping' : /nabè/ 'illness';
 /əmèkpè/ 'gloomy' : /ənèkpè/ 'near'; /lèm/ 'fathom' :
 /lèn/ 'property'.

m/l - /mabè/ 'groping' : /labè/ 'male';
 /əmàṅbè/ 'something lost' : /əlàṅbè/ 'noisy'; /lèm/ 'fathom' :
 /ləl/ 'property'.⁵

m/c - /mabè/ 'groping' : /cabè/ 'eroding';
 /əmònè/ 'something soft' : /əcònè/ 'something lengthy'.

5 In the illustrations /lon/ and /lol/, two different forms have the same meaning 'property'. This is because /n/ and /l/ are free variants in final positions.

m/ch - /mabè/ 'groping' : /chabè/ 'making';
/emembè/ 'darkness' : /achembè/ 'short cut'.

m/j - /tømmenabè/ 'for relaying' :
/tamjenabè/ 'for imitating'.

m/y - /mabè/ 'groping' : /yabè/ 'agreeing';
/imay/ 'my face' : /iyay/ 'mid water'; /læm/ 'fathom' :
/læy/ 'tongue'.

m/k - /mabè/ 'groping' : /kabè/ 'burnt';
/amènbè/ 'old' : /ækènbè/ 'strong'; /nèmnèbè/ 'for pressing' :
/nèknebè/ 'for to be near'.

m/kh - /møjnbè/ 'exposing at wrong time' :
/khøjnbè/ 'cry by animals and birds'; /amèkpè/ 'gloomy' :
/ækhèkpè/ 'not flowing'.

m/g - /chèngmay/ 'face of construction (house)':
/chènggay/ 'house/building'.

m/ŋ - /mabè/ 'groping' : /gabè/ 'taking
support'; /emajnbè/ 'something lost' : /øjajnbè/ 'something red';
/læm/ 'fathom' : /læn/ 'thread'.

m/h - /mabè/ 'groping' : /habè/ 'hawking';
/amèkpè/ 'gloomy' : /èhèkpè/ 'something cut into notches'



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(5) The phoneme /w/ contrasts with all the consonant phonemes in the first sub-system except /j/. It also contrasts with the semivowel /y/. Illustrations :

w/p, w/ph, w/b, w/m - see above.

w/t - /wàbè/ 'sadness' : /tábè/ 'hearing'; /əwàbè/ 'someone worried' : /ətábè/ 'one who hears'; /ləwbè/ 'taking' : /lètɔpè/ 'stop (flow)'.

w/th - /wàbè/ 'sadness' : /thábè/ 'thickness'; /əwàbè/ 'someone worried' : /əthábè/ 'something thick'.

w/d - /iwa/ 'my husband' : /ida/ 'the sort of thatch'.

w/n - /way/ 'chaff' : /nay/ 'puss'; /əwaybè/ 'something hit by the head' : /ənaybè/ 'something spun'; /paw/ 'news' : /panbè/ 'reigning'.

w/l - /wà/ 'bamboo' : /là/ 'plantain leaf'; /əwàbè/ 'someone worried' : /əlábè/ 'something distinct'; /ləw/ 'hook' : /ləl/ 'property'.

w/c - /wàbè/ 'sadness' : /cábè/ 'eating'; /əwàbè/ 'someone worried' : /əcábè/ 'eater'.

w/ch - /wàybà/ 'hiring' : /chàybà/ 'chewing';
 /əwàybà/ 'something hired' : /əchàybà/ 'something chewed'.

w/y - /way/ 'chaff' : /yay/ 'a powerful
 supernatural thing'; /iwa/ 'my husband' : /iya/ 'my tooth'
 /yaw/ 'sheep' : /yay/ 'a powerful supernatural thing'.

w/k - /wàbà/ 'sadness' : /kàbà/ 'climbing';
 /əwàbà/ 'someone worried' : /əkàbà/ 'climber'; /lawbà/
 'shouting' : /lakpə/ 'coming'.

w/kh - /wàbà/ 'sadness' : /khàbà/ 'bitterness';
 /əwàbà/ 'someone worried' : /əkhàbà/ 'something bitter'.

w/g - /waybà/ 'hitting by the head' :
 /((thu)gaybà/ 'breaking'.

w/ŋ - /wà/ 'bamboo' : /ŋà/ 'fish'; /əwag/
 'north' : /əŋag/ 'child/baby'; /paw/ 'news' : /paŋ/ 'cross'.

w/h - /way/ 'chaff' : /hay/ 'swinging';
 /əwagbà/ 'something tall' : /əhanbà/ 'something open (door)'.

(6) The phoneme /t/ contrasts with all the
 consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two
 semivowels. Illustrations:

t/p, t/ph, t/b, t/m, t/w - see above.

t/th - /ta/ 'spear' : /tha/ 'moon/month';
 /etabè/ 'something fallen' : /èthabè/ 'something planted'.

t/d - /laytəŋ/ 'a medium sized basket for
 measuring paddy/grains' : /laydəŋ/ 'only the God'.

t/n - /tabè/ 'falling' : /nabè/ 'illness';
 /ətabè/ 'something fallen' : /ənabè/ 'someone ill'; /itpà/
 'trimming by removing thin layers by knife' : /inbè/ 'pushing'.

t/l - /tabè/ 'falling' : /labè/ 'male';
 /ətəkpè/ 'deserted/vanished' : /ələkpè/ 'something snatched';
 /pət/ 'lake' : /pəl/ 'arum'.

t/c - /tabè/ 'falling' : /cabè/ 'eroding';
 /ətabè/ 'something fallen' : /əcabè/ 'something eroded'.

t/ch - /tabè/ 'falling' : /chabè/ 'making';
 /ətabè/ 'something fallen' : /əchabè/ 'something made'.

t/j - /həytəbè/ 'do not know' : /həytəbè/ 'by all
 means'.

t/y - /tabè/ 'falling' : /yabè/ 'admitting';

/ətabè/ 'something fallen' : /əyabè/ 'someone agreed';
 /tètɔpè/ 'broke (rope)' : /təyɔbè/ 'painting'.

t/k - /tabè/ 'falling' : /kabè/ 'burnt';
 /ətabè/ 'something fallen' : /əkabè/ 'something burnt';
 /tètɔpè/ 'broke (rope)' : /təkɔpè/ 'running over'.

t/kh - /təbè/ 'hearing' : /khəbè/ 'bitterness';
 /ətabè/ 'hearer' : /əkəbè/ 'something bitter'.

t/g - /ləytəni/ 'why not stay' : //ləygeni/ 'will
 stay'.

t/ŋ - /tabè/ 'falling' : /ŋabè/ 'taking support';
 /ətabè/ 'something fallen' : /əŋabè/ 'something at others
 support'; /pət/ 'thing/article' : /pət/ 'raft'.

t/h - /tabè/ 'falling' : /habè/ 'hawking';
 /ətabè/ 'something fallen' : /əhabè/ 'something hawked'.

(7) The phoneme /th/ contrasts with all the
 consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two
 semivowels. Illustrations :

th/p, th/ph, th/b, th/m, th/w, th/t - see above.

th/d - /làythabè/ 'turning down (knob)' :
/làydabè/ 'not purchasing'.

th/n - /tha/ 'moon' : /na/ 'ear'; /əthabè/
'something planted' : /ənabè/ 'sick person'.

th/l - /tha/ 'moon' : /la/ 'large round
shallow basket for drying grains'; /əthabè/ 'something thick' :
/əlàbè/ 'something distinct'.

th/c - /thàbè/ 'thickness' : /càbè/ 'eating';
/əthabè/ 'something thick' : /əcàbè/ 'eater'.

th/ch - /thabè/ 'off loading' : /chabè/ 'hot';
/əthabè/ 'something planted' : /əchabè/ 'something hot'.

th/j - /yàythabè/ 'hitting down' : /yàyjabè/
'striking(honorific)'.

th/y - /thabè/ 'off loading' : /yabè/
'admitting'; /əthabè/ 'something planted' : /əyabè/ 'someone
agreed'.

th/k - /thabè/ 'off loading' : /kabè/ 'burnt' ;
/əthabè/ 'something planted' : /əkabè/ 'something burnt'.

th/kh - /thàbè/ 'thickness' : /khàbè/
 'bitterness'; /əthàbè/ 'something thick' : /əkhàbè/ 'something
 bitter'.

th/g - /tathəni/ 'will slash down' : /tagəni/
 'will fall'.

th/n - /thabè/ 'off loading' : /ŋabè/ 'taking
 support'; /əthabè/ 'something planted' : /əŋabè/ 'something
 at others support'.

th/h - /thabè/ 'off loading' : /habè/
 'hawking'; /əthabè/ 'something planted' : /əhabè/ 'hawked
 goods'.

(8) The phoneme /d/ contrasts with all the
 consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two
 semivowels. Illustrations :

d/p, d/ph, d/b, d/m, d/w, d/t, d/th - see
 above.

d/n - /ləyda/ 'the sort of flower' : /ləyna/
 'flower leaf'.

d/l - /hadum/ 'a kind of yam' : /halum/
'small overground yam (non-edible)'.

d/c - /phidəm/ 'ideal' : /micəm/ 'ordinary
person'.

d/ch - /ədum/ 'like that' : /əchum/ 'thus'.

d/j - /phidon/ 'end of cloth' : /phijon/
'dress/garment'.

d/y - /idu (nigthəw)/ 'younger brother' :
/iyu/ 'father-in-law'⁶; /mədom/ 'alone' : /məyom/ 'bundle'.

d/k - /ləyda/ 'the sort of flower' : /ləyka/
'petal'.

d/kh - /ləyda/ 'the sort of flower' : /ləykha/
'lower part of the tongue'.

d/g - /ləydəni/ 'why not purchase' : /ləygəni/
'will purchase'.

d/ŋ - /hɔŋdəbə/ 'not changed' : /hɔŋgəbə/
'changed'.

6 /idu (nigthəw)/ and /iyu/ are archaic forms.

d/h - /cəɖum/ 'rice ball' : /cəhum/ 'three hundred'.

(9) The phoneme /n/ contrasts with all the consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two semivowels. Illustrations :

n/p, n/ph, n/b, n/m, n/w, n/t, n/th, n/d - see above.

n/l - /nabə/ 'illness' : /labə/ 'male'; /ənanbə/ 'something slippery' : /əlanbə/ 'something wrong'⁷.

n/c - /nabə/ 'illness' : /cabə/ 'eroding';
/ənabə/ 'sick person' : /əcabə/ 'something eroded'.

n/ch - /nabə/ 'illness' : /chabə/ 'making';
/ənabə/ 'sick person' : /əchabə/ 'something made'.

n/j - /cənəbə/ 'eating (reciprocate)' : /cəjəbə/ 'eating (honorific)'.

n/y - /nabə/ 'illness' : /yabə/ 'admitting';
/ənabə/ 'sick person' : /əyabə/ 'someone agreed'; /lan/ 'war' : /lay/ 'God'.

⁷ /n/ and /l/ are variants in final positions, hence no contrast can be illustrated.

n/k - /nabə/ 'illness' : /kabə/ 'burnt';
/ənbə/ 'sick person' : /əkabə/ 'something burnt'.

n/kh - /na/ 'ear' : /kha/ 'south'; /ina/
'my ear' : /ikha/ 'next to me (brother)'.

n/g - /pognə/ 'by the raft' : /pogge/ 'with
the raft'.

n/ŋ - /nabə/ 'illness' : /ŋabə/ 'taking
support'; /ənbə/ 'sick person' : /əŋabə/ 'something at
others support'; /lan/ 'war' : /laŋ/ 'net/trap'.

n/h - /naybə/ 'spinning' : /haybə/ 'swinging';
/ənaybə/ 'something spun' : /əhaybə/ 'something swinging'.

(10) The phoneme /l/ contrasts with all the
consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two
semivowels. Illustrations :

l/p, l/ph, l/b, l/m, l/w, l/t, l/th, l/d, l/n.

- see above.

l/c - /labə/ 'male' : /cabə/ 'eroding';
/iklabə/ 'something baked in fire' : /ikcəbə/ 'baked in fire
(honorific)'

1/ch - /labè/ 'male' : /chabè/ 'making';
 /əlànbè/ 'something crossed' : /əchanbè/ 'something for hire'.

1/j - /lɛŋla/ 'clue' : /lɛŋja/ 'one single
 thread'.

1/y - /labè/ 'male' : /yabè/ 'admitting';
 /əlànbè/ 'something crossed' : /əyànbè/ 'something cut';
 /lal/ 'war' : /lay/ 'god'.

1/k - /labè/ 'male' : /kabè/ 'burnt';
 /əlàbè/ 'something distinct' : /əkàbè/ 'climber'.

1/kh - /làbè/ 'distinct/clear' : /khàbè/
 'bitterness'; /əlàbè/ 'something distinct' : /əkhàbè/
 'something bitter'.

1/g - /yàŋlen/ 'back bone' : /yàŋgen/ 'a
 kind of reed'.

1/ŋ - /là/ 'plantain leaf' : /ŋà/ 'fish';
 /ələwbè/ 'something taken' : /əŋəwbè/ 'something fried';
 /lal/ 'war' : /laŋ/ 'trap/net'.

1/h - /labè/ 'male' : /habè/ 'hawking';
 /əlàgbè/ 'something noisy' : /əhàgbè/ 'something empty'.

(11) The phoneme /c/ contrasts with all the consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two semivowels. Illustrations :

c/p, c/ph, c/b, c/m, c/w, c/t, c/th, c/d, c/n,
c/l - see above.

c/ch - /cabè/ 'eroding' : /chabè/ 'making';
/əcabè/ 'something eroded' : /əchabè/ 'something made'.

c/j - /tukəcəbà/ 'hatred/uneasiness' :
/hakəjəbà/ 'itch' ⁸.

c/y - /cabè/ 'revealing/eroding' : /yabè/
'admitting'; /əcabè/ 'something eroded' : /əyabè/ 'something
admitted'.

c/k - /càbè/ 'eating' : /kàbè/ 'climbing';
/əcàbè/ 'eater' : /əkàbè/ 'climber'.

c/kh - /càbè/ 'eating' : /khàbè/ 'bitterness';
/əcàbè/ 'eater' : /əkhàbè/ 'something bitter'.

c/g - /icum/ 'water dripped from the thatch' :
/igum/ 'like thatch'.

8 /cə/ and /jə/ are variants. refer, 2.2.13.

c/ŋ - /cabà/ 'revealing/eroding'; /ɲabà/
 'taking support'; /əcabà/ 'something eroded' : /əɲabà/
 'something at others support'.

c/h - /cabà/ 'revealing' : /habà/ 'hawking';
 /əcabà/ 'something eroded' : /əhabà/ 'something hawkered'.

(12) The phoneme /ch/ contrasts with all the
 consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two
 semivowels. Illustrations :

ch/p, ch/ph, ch/b, ch/m, ch/w, ch/t, ch/th,
 ch/d, ch/n, ch/l, ch/c - see above.

ch/j - /tachinbà/ 'falling (in)' : /thajinbà/
 'hitting(in)'.⁹

ch/y - /chabà/ 'making' : /yabà/ 'admitting';
 /əchabà/ 'something made' : /əyabà/ 'something admitted'.

ch/k - /chabà/ 'making' : /kabà/ 'burnt';
 /əchabà/ 'something made' : /əkabà/ 'something burnt'.

⁹ /chin/ and /jin/ are variants. They are in complimentary
 distribution. refer, 2.2.1.

ch/kh - /chòybà/ 'incorrect' : /khòybà/ 'zig-zag'; /əchòybà/ 'something wrong' : /əkhòybà/ 'something not straight'.

ch/g - /pichum/ 'eyebrow' : /pigum/ 'like tear'.

ch/ŋ - /chabə/ 'making' : /ŋabə/ 'taking support'; /əchabə/ 'something made' : /əŋabə/ 'something at others support'.

ch/h - /chabə/ 'making' : /habə/ 'hawking'; /əchabə/ 'something made' : /əhabə/ 'something hawked'.

(13) The phoneme /j/ contrasts with all the consonant phonemes in the first sub-system except /w/. It also contrasts with the two semivowels. Illustrations :

j/p, j/ph, j/b, j/m, j/t, j/th, j/d, j/n, j/l, j/c, j/ch - see above.

j/y - /ləmjən/ 'race' : /ləmyən/ 'jungle hen'.

j/k - /jəgoy/ 'dance' : /kəphoy/ 'pomegranate'.

j/kh - /ləŋja/ 'single thread' ; /ləŋkha/ 'below the thread'.

j/g - /ciŋjum/ 'water from spring in the hills' :
/ceŋgum/ 'mushroom'.

j/ŋ - /cujak/ 'maize' : /cuŋak/ 'prop supporting
sugarcane tree'.

j/h - /lɛŋjum/ 'water dripped from wet thread' :
/lɛŋhum/ 'pieces of thread'.

(14) The phoneme /y/ contrasts with all the
consonant phonemes in the first sub-system. It also contrasts
with the semivowel /w/. Illustrations :

y/p, y/ph, y/b, y/m, y/w, y/t, y/th, y/d, y/n, y/l,
y/c, y/ch, y/j - see above.

y/k - /ya/ 'tooth' : /ka/ 'room'; /ayabə/ '
'something admitted' : /əkabə/ 'something burnt'.

y/kh - /yaybə/ 'roasting' : /khaybə/ 'giving share';
/əyaybə/ 'something roasted' : /əkhaybə/ 'something given as
share'.

y/g - /khuya/ 'portion of the bed in which leg is
put/human sole' : /khuga/ 'name of a river/shoe sole'.

y/ŋ - /yabə/ 'admitting' : /ŋabə/ 'taking support'; /yaybə/ 'roasting/baking' : /yaŋbə/ 'light (weight)'; /məy/ 'fire' : /məŋ/ 'dream'.

y/h - /yenbə/ 'dividing' : /henbə/ 'more'; /əyenbə/ 'something distributed' : /əhenbə/ 'something in excess'.

(15) The phoneme /k/ contrasts with all the consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two semivowels. Illustrations :

k/p, k/ph, k/b, k/m, k/w, k/t, k/th, k/d, k/n, k/l, k/c, k/ch, k/j, k/y - see above.

k/kh - /kəbə/ 'climbing' : /khəbə/ 'bitterness'; /əkəbə/ 'climber' : /əkhəbə/ 'something bitter'.

k/g - /ləyken/ 'hard surface(earth)' : /ləygen(bə)/ 'habitual buyer'.

k/ŋ - /kabə/ 'burnt' : /ŋabə/ 'taking support'; /əkabə/ 'something burnt' : /əŋabə/ 'something at others support'; /pək/ 'belly' : /pəŋ/ 'musical drum'.

k/h - /kabə/ 'climbing' : /habə/ 'choking at the throat'; /əkabə/ 'climber' : /əhabə/ 'someone choked at the throat'.

(16) The phoneme /kh/ contrasts with all the consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two semivowels. Illustrations :

kh/p, kh/ph, kh/b, kh/m, kh/w, kh/t, kh/th, kh/d, kh/n, kh/l, kh/c, kh/ch, kh/j, kh/y, kh/k - see above.

kh/g - /maykhum/ 'purdah' : /maygum/ 'as if the face'.

kh/ŋ - /khəŋbə/ 'struck with sudden amazement': /ŋəŋbə/ 'buzzing'; /əkhaybə/ 'something taken out' : /əŋaybə/ 'someone waiting'.

kh/h - /khəbə/ 'bitterness' : /həbə/ 'choking at the throat'; /əkhaybə/ 'something taken out' : /əhaybə/ 'something swinging'.

(17) The phoneme /g/ contrasts with all the consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two semivowels. Illustrations :

g/p, g/ph, g/b, g/m, g/w, g/t, g/th, g/d, g/n, g/l,
g/c, g/ch, g/j, g/y, g/k, g/kh - see above.

g/ŋ - /cegay/ 'piece of earthen pitcher' : /cegay/
'waiting for the last card in the card game'.

g/h - /hongəǹbè/ 'habitual shifter' : /hongəǹbè/
'caused to shifting'.

(18) The phoneme /ŋ/ contrasts with all the
consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two
semivowels. Illustrations :

ŋ/p, ŋ/ph, ŋ/b, ŋ/m, ŋ/w, ŋ/t, ŋ/th, ŋ/d, ŋ/n, ŋ/l,
ŋ/c, ŋ/ch, ŋ/j, ŋ/y, ŋ/k, ŋ/kh, ŋ/g - see above.

ŋ/h - /ŋab̀è/ 'taking support' : /hab̀è/ 'hawking';
/əŋab̀è/ 'something at others support' : /əhab̀è/ 'something
hawked'.

(19) The phoneme /h/ contrasts with all the
consonant phonemes in the first sub-system including the two
semivowels. For illustrations of the various contrasts - see
(1) to (18) above.

(20) The phoneme /i/ contrasts with all the vowel phonemes in the first sub-system. Illustrations :

i/e - /pìkpè/ 'small/little' : /pèkpè/ 'collecting/extracting'; /pi/ 'tear' : /pe/ 'white big umbrella'.

i/ə - /ikaybà/ 'shame' : /əkaybà/ 'something taken out'; /pìkpè/ 'small/little' : /pèkpè/ 'suited'; /loybì/ 'hill' : /loybè/ 'coming to an end'.

i/a - /ide/ 'to the thatch' : /ade/ 'yonder'; /pìbè/ 'giving' : /pàbè/ 'thin'; /pi/ 'tear' : /pa/ 'eyelash'.

i/o - /ìkpè/ 'roasting' : /òkpè/ 'enough'; /pìbè/ 'giving' : /pèbè/ 'taking on the back'; /pìkpè/ 'small' : /pòkpè/ 'giving birth'; /pi/ 'tear' : /po/ 'pieces used in games'.

i/u - /ibè/ 'writing' : /ubè/ 'seeing'; /i/ 'thatch' : /u/ 'tree'; /pìk(pè)/ 'small' : /pùk/ 'belly'; /ti/ 'penis' : /tu/ 'body hair'.

(21) The phoneme /e/ contrasts with all the vowel phonemes in the first sub-system. Illustrations :

e/i - see above.

e/ə - /tɛm/ 'implement used in weaving' : /təm/
'plain/valley'; /landɛ/ 'not wrong' : /landə/ 'at war'.

e/a - /pɛ/ 'white big umbrella' : /pa/
'eyelash'.

e/o - /thɛŋbə/ 'colliding' : /thɔŋbə/ 'cooking';
/pɛ/ 'white big umbrella' : /pɔ/ 'pieces used in games'.

e/u - /pɛnbə/ 'contentment' : /pʊnbə/ 'union';
/mɛɕɛ/ 'his/her sister' : /mɛcu/ 'its colour'.

(22) The phoneme /e/ contrasts with all the
vowel phonemes in the first sub-system. Illustrations :

e/i, e/e - see above.

e/a - /tɛnbə/ 'idleness?' : /tanbə/ 'driving
away'.

e/o - /tɛnbə/ 'idleness' : /tonbə/ 'helpless'.

e/u - /pɛnbə/ 'mentioning' : /pʊnbə/ 'binding'.

(23) The phoneme /a/ contrasts with all the vowel phonemes in the first sub-system. Illustrations :

a/i, a/e, a/ə - see above.

a/o - /tanbè/ 'driving away' : /tonbè/ 'helpless'; /pa/ 'eyelash' : /po/ 'pieces used in games'.

a/u - /adè/ 'yonder' : /udè/ 'at the tree'; /panbè/ 'reigning' : /punbè/ 'binding'; /ipa/ 'my father' : /ipu/ 'my grandfather'.

(24) The phoneme /o/ contrasts with all the vowel phonemes in the first sub-system. Illustrations :

o/i, o/e, o/ə, o/a - see above.

o/u - /oybè/ 'becoming' : /uybè/ 'drowsyness'; /pombè/ 'swelling/boil' : /pumbè/ 'rotten'; /ilo/ 'come and write' : /ilu/ 'go and write'.

(25) The phoneme /u/ contrasts with all the vowel phonemes in the first sub-system. For illustrations see (20) to (24) above.

1.2.1 The suprasegmental phonemes are also easily attestable by minimal pairs. Where minimal pairs can not be established, they are attested by examples in contrast and overlapping distribution. Examples follow to validate the phonological identity of the suprasegmental phonemes. The suprasegmentals comprise tones and junctures.

1.2.1.1 Tones : The falling tone contrasts with the level tone as follows :

 /ì/ 'blood' : /i/ 'write'; /tìn/ 'worm' :
/tin/ 'saliva'; /pì/ 'give' : /pi/ 'tear'.

 /lègbà/ 'movement' : /legbà/ 'making rows'.

 /èchègbà/ 'something dyed' : /echègbà/ 'green'.

 /kàbà/ 'climbing' : /kabà/ 'burnt'.

 /tògbà/ 'raised platform' : /tongbà/ 'riding'

 /tùmbà/ 'sleeping' : /tumbà/ 'pointed/diluted'

1.2.1.2 Junctures : The three junctures including the two terminal junctures are illustrated below :

/c`ak+kh`ayb`e/ 'collecting rice'
 /c`akkh`ayb`e/ 'burnt with big flames'
 /c`ak+thogb`e/ 'cooking rice'
 /c`akthogb`e/ 'cook (the person who cooks)'.

The above illustrations are for internal juncture. The phrase and sentence boundary junctures are illustrated below :

/ch`angon chab`e # c`etli ##/ 'cowshed builder going' (one who build cowsheds is going)'.

/ch`angon # chab`e c`etli ##/ 'cowshed construction going (someone is going to build cowshed)'.

1.2.2. Borrowed phonemes : As discussed earlier (1.1.5) the consonant phonemes in the second sub-system are generally found in loan words, while the unaspirated /b, d, j, g/ occur in inherited words also. The voiced aspirated and unaspirated borrowed phonemes occur in initial as well as medial positions in loan-words. Examples follow to validate the phonological identity of the phonemes in the second sub-system. In the illustrations preference is given to minimal contrasts as in the case of the phonemes in the first sub-system.

(1) The phoneme /bh/ contrasts with the following :

bh/b - /bhut/ 'ghost' : /but/ 'ankle boot';
/bhar/ 'responsibility' : /bar/bar/ 'repeatedly'.

bh/dh - /bhara/ 'fare' : /dhara/ 'descendants'.

bh/d - /bhut/ 'ghost' : /dut/ 'messenger(derogatory)'.

bh/jh - /bhalo/ 'bravo' : /jhal/ 'a kind of musical instrument'.

bh/j - /bhalo/ 'bravo' : /jal/ 'trick(derogatory)'.

bh/gh - /bhot/ 'vote' : /ghot/ 'earthen pitcher used in worshipping Gods'.

bh/g - /bhari/ 'very/many/heavy' : /gari/ 'vehicle'.

(2) The phoneme /b/ in the second sub-system contrasts with the following :

b/bh - see above.

b/dh - /bora/ 'hesian cloth' : /dhora/ 'wheel'.

b/d - /but/ 'ankle boot' : /dut/ 'messenger'.

b/j - /bol/ 'ball' : /jol/ 'water'.

b/gh - /bor/ 'bridegroom/boon' : /ghor/ 'not
cheerful'.

b/g - /bol/ 'ball' : /gol/ 'goal'.

(3) The phoneme /dh/ contrasts with the following :

dh/bh, dh/b - see above.

dh/d - /dham/ 'place/manner' : /dam/ 'blockade in
the river'.

dh/jh - /dhup/ 'jos stick/incense' : /jhut/ 'betray'.

dh/j - /dhup/ 'jos stick/incense' : /jut/ 'suitable'.

dh/g - /dhobi/ 'washerman' : /gobi/ 'cabbage/
cauliflower'.

(4) The phoneme /d/ in the second sub-system
contrasts with the following :

d/bh, d/b, d/dh - see above.

d/jh - /dan/ 'charity' : /jhan/ 'a kind of musical instrument'.

d/j - /dol/, 'political party' : /jol/ 'water'.

d/gh - /dəri/ 'small cotton carpet' : /ghəri/ 'watch'.

d/g - /dəri/ 'line/verandah' : /gari/ 'vehicle'.

(5) The phoneme /jh/ contrasts with the following :

jh/bh, jh/dh, jh/d - see above.

jh/j - /jhan/ 'a kind of musical instrument' :
/jan (maribā)/ 'range firing'.

(6) The phoneme /j/ in the second sub-system contrasts with the following :

j/bh, j/b, j/dh, j/d, j/jh - see above.

j/g - /jora/ 'pair' : /gora/ 'white/white man'.

(7) The phoneme /gh/ contrasts with the following :

gh/bh, gh/b, gh/d - see above.

gh/g - /ghuti/ 'a kite' : /guli/ 'bullet/tablet'.

(8) The phoneme /g/ in the second sub-system contrasts with all the borrowed phonemes except /jh/. For illustrations refer (1 to 4) and (6-7) above¹⁰.

1.3 There are a few restrictions on the occurrence of single consonants. All consonants occur medially. All except /b, d, g/ in the first sub-system occur initially. /l/ has an allophone [r] (2.1.3). Only the phonemes /p, t, m, n, ŋ, l/ occur in final positions. Again, /n/ and /l/ are free variants in final positions (2.1.4). In a few instances /m/ and /n/ are also free variants.¹¹ The syllable types - CV,

¹⁰ In the illustrations /r/ is retained for to show the original form of the borrowed word.

¹¹ /m/ varies with /n/ in /punnemək/ punnemək/ 'all', /punnə/ punnə/ 'as a whole'.

CVC, V, VC, CVX, VX, XVC, XV and XVX are very common. Clusters of two consonants or a cluster of a consonant and a semivowel can be established, thereby increasing the number of syllable types - CCV, CCVX, CXV, CXVC and CXVX. But two consonant clusters are confined in a very small number of instances, with [r_] as the second component in word medial positions. The cluster of a consonant and a semivowel is also restricted to /k, kh/ as the first component in initial positions. In this case, the clusters are within the syllable and they are not separated by syllable boundaries, although in the case of CC type clusters, there is not only syllable but also morpheme boundaries except in a few cases, like - /pi.th[r_]ay/ 'brass', /pa.kh[r_]a/ 'widower', /lu.kh[r_]a/ 'widow', /ŋà.k[r_]a/ 'a kind of fish (biologically - clarias batrachus)', and /cəm.p[r_]a/ 'lemon', etc.. The clusters are :

CC types (apart from the above) - /pì.kh[r_]e/ 'give+definite+completive/realization', /nət.t[r_]a/ 'isn't?', /u.p[r_]ak.nə/ 'fall by the belly to the ground'¹², /həy.t[r_]e/ 'not known how to proceed', /cà.d[r_]e/ 'eat+negative+completive', etc..

CX types - /kwak/ 'crow', /khway/ 'name of a place', /khway/ 'every/all', /kyam.ləy/ 'a kind of tree', /kyam.gəy/ 'name of

¹² /up[r_]akne/ is /up+lak+nə/.

a place', etc..

As mentioned in 1.2 above, these clusters can be interpreted in the following manner. /pì.khɿr_7e/ 'give+ definite+completive/realization' is the combination of the morphemes {pì} 'give' + {khi} 'definite' + {le} 'completive/ realization'. Since {khi} in such positions becomes {khə} this may be transcribed as /pì.khə.le/. In the same manner /net.tɿr_7a/ 'isn't?' which is the combination of {net} 'something like yes'¹³, + {te} 'negative' + {la} 'interrogative' can be transcribed as /net.tə.la/, /u.pɿr_7ak.nə/ 'fall by the belly to the ground' which is the combination of {up} 'fall by the belly' + {lək} 'sink' + {nə} 'by' as /u.pə.lək.nə/, /həy.tɿr_7e/ 'not known how to proceed' which is the combination of {həy} 'expert/knowledge' + {te} 'negative' + {le} 'completive/realization' as /həy.tə.le/, and /cà.dɿr_7e/ 'eat+negative+completive/realization' which is the combination of {cà} 'eat' + {te} 'negative' + {le} 'completive/realization' as /cà.də.le/. Since in these cases the clusters are separated by morpheme boundaries the forms which are not separated by morpheme boundaries are also separated by syllable boundaries by inserting a vowel between the two consecutive consonants or consonant and semivowel, in

¹³ {net} is derived from the copula {ni} refer, 3.8.1.

the following manner. Illustrations :

/pi.th[r]ay/ 'brass' is transcribed as /pi.thə.lay/, /cəm.p[r]a/ 'lemon' as /cəm.pə.la/, /ŋà.k[r]a/ 'a kind of fish' as /ŋà.kə.la/, /kwa/ 'betel nut' as /kə.wa/, /kwak/ 'crow' as /kə.wak/, /khway/ 'name of a place' as /khə.way/, /kyam.ləy/ 'a kind of tree' as /ki.yam.ləy/, /kyam.gəy/ 'name of a place' as /ki.yam.gəy/, etc..

In all the cases above, the vowel ə/i is inserted between the consecutive consonant or consonant and semivowel. /ə/ is inserted in all the cases except /y/ as the second component and in loan-words like /bighni/ that is, /bighini/, where /i/ is inserted.

There is an advantage in accepting this interpretation. This interpretation not only reduces the number of syllable types but makes the morpheme cuts easier. This also makes the number of allomorphs fewer, otherwise, a number of allomorphs with a single consonant have to be established. For example :

/pìkh[r]e/ 'give+definite+completive' will have the following {pì+kh+le}, /càb[r]a/ 'eat+nominalizer+

interrogative' will have {cà+b+la}, /cètp[r_]a/ 'go+nominalizer+interrogative' will have {cèt+p+la}, /lèyt[r_]a/ 'live+negative+interrogative' will have {lèy+t+la}, etc..

In the above examples a number of morphemes with single consonants {kh}, {b}, {p}, {t} etc. are seen. They are allomorphs of {khi}, {bà}, {pà}, {tè}. These morphemes with single consonants will complicate the analysis and this may lead to confusion when words like /cèmp[r_]a/ 'lemon', /ŋàk[r_]a/ 'a kind of fish' etc. are analyzed.

1.3.1 Medial gemination and cluster : There are cases of medial gemination and medial cluster in this language, although they are separated by syllable boundaries. Meiteiron is considered as a monosyllabic language, because most of the syllables except a few are morphemes. Hence, syllable boundaries may be regarded as morpheme boundaries.¹⁴ The following examples will illustrate the cases of medial gemination and clusters in this language :

Medial gemination :

/pp/ - /cèppè/ 'compressing', /kèppè/ 'shooting', /cèppè/ 'lie sideways', /kuppè/ 'fine', /hippè/ 'lie down', /khèppè/ 'winnowing', and /ètèppè/ 'different', etc..

¹⁴ Except a few syllables like /nog/ in /nogchà/ 'lion', /hè/ in /hèway/ 'pulses', etc. all others are morphemes.

/tt/ - /càtte/ 'not go', /chàtte/ 'not bloom',
/chètte/ 'not wear/not tear', /həgcittək/ 'till day after
to-morrow', and /khòtte/ 'not scratch' etc..

/kk/ - /càkka/ 'with rice', /təkke/ 'will run
over/will grind', /pùkka/ 'with belly', /pòkkəni/ 'will give
birth' etc.

/mm/ - /phəmmu/ 'sit down (command)', /khammu/
'ask to stop', /khummu/ 'give reply', /khòmmu/ 'collect it',
/temmu/ 'level it' etc.

/nn/ - /cannəbà/ 'intimate', /tannəbà/ 'to run
after', /tinnəbà/ 'mixing up', /punnəbà/ 'for binding purposes',
/konnəbà/ 'hugging', etc..

/ŋŋ/ - /həŋŋu/ 'ask', /taŋŋu/ 'take shelter',
/lèŋŋu/ 'move', /ciŋŋu/ 'drag', /chuŋŋu/ 'brew', /khəŋŋu/
'blow', etc..

/ll/ - /khəllu/ 'think', /ləllu/ 'cross',
/pullu/ 'bind', /chillu/ 'arrange', /chollu/ 'chant', etc..

/ww/ - /ləwwəy/ 'village'.

/yy/ - /cəyyu/ 'rebuke', /pəyyu/ 'hold' etc..

Medial clusters :

/p/ as the first element - /kàpmənbà/ 'excessive weeping', /kàpte/ 'not shoot', /lùpthəbà/ 'sinking down', /thupcinbà/ 'folding (in)', /lùpchinbà/ 'soaking (in)', /lùpkənu/ 'do not soak', /lùpkhəle/ 'sink + definite + completive', /lùpnəbà/ 'something for soaking', etc..

/t/ as the first element - /càtpè/ 'going', /càtthəbè/ 'going down', /càtcəbà/ 'going politely', /cətchinbè/ 'going further', /càtkənu/ 'going prohibited', /càtkhəle/ 'definitely gone', /càtnəbà/ 'for going', /cətlu/ 'go (command)', /cəthənbà/ 'caused to go'.

/k/ as the first element - /càkpè/ 'burning', /càkte/ 'not burn', /hakmənbà/ 'excessive involvement', /pòkkhày/ 'explode', /làkthubə/ 'maltreating', /pokphəm/ 'place of birth', /mukna/ 'a kind of wrestling', /likli/ 'bottle', /càkhənbà/ 'caused to burning', /làkchille/ 'tightened', /hùkcille/ 'finished putting inside the mouth'.

/m/ as the first element - /tùmbà/ 'sleeping', /cəmpəla/ 'lemon', /cəmtək/ 'slight tasteless', /chəmkùp/ 'small bits of hair', /chəmduna/ 'by making', /lèmkhay/ 'road branching', /cəmphùt/ 'plain boiling', /kamthòkle/ 'emitted', /khammu/ 'stop it', /kamnəbà/ 'for to emit', /tùmhənbà/ 'cause to sleep', /yùmya/ 'near the house', /kumja/ 'year'.

/n/ as the first element - /inbà/ 'pushing'
 /panphəm/ 'target', /kontək/ 'slightly bent', /landale/
 'invaded', /ŋanthək/ 'earthen funnel', /tankhayle/ 'driven
 away', /tange/ 'will make up', /tanja/ 'opportune time',
 /lanchəŋ/ 'war tent'.

/ŋ/ as the first element - /ceŋpək/ 'flattened
 rice', /lèŋbà/ 'movement', /ceŋphu/ 'earthen pitcher for storing
 rice', /yàŋtək/ 'ridge of the roof', /yàŋdə/ 'at the backbone',
 /taŋthək/ 'uneven', /caŋcət/ 'average', /thaŋjiŋ/ 'a kind of
 water fruit', /khəŋjay/ 'name of a hill tribe', /thəŋchaŋ/
 'long sword', /taŋkək/ 'chapter', /kəŋg̃ləŋ/ 'oyster', /kəŋkhəl/
 'mosquito net', /təŋhənbà/ 'cause to become costly', /məpuyəy/
 'country/home'.

/l/ as the first element - /talhəwli/ 'engaged
 in dogging', /pəlway/ 'near the barricade'¹⁵.

/y/ as the first element - /ləypak ~ laybak/
 'country/earth/land/mud', /laybək/ 'forehead', /ləyphəm/
 'address', /cəytək/ 'piece of stick', /cəytheŋ/ 'blow/pang',
 /həyjinbà/ 'driving in', /həykək/ 'water chest nut', /həykhà/
 'apricot', /həymaŋ/ 'a sour fruit', /həynəbà/ 'handy',
 /həyŋaŋ/ 'name of a place', /cəyhənbà/ 'caused to rebuke'.

¹⁵ As /n/ and /l/ are free variants in final positions, illustrations in /n/ are applicable for /l/ also. But in the above illustrations /l/ is preferable.

/w/ as the first element - /ŋəwpək/ 'palate', /əŋəwbə/ 'white', /ŋəwphəm/ 'frying place', /khəwtək/ 'apprehending doubt', /khəwdembə/ 'hemming', /ŋəwthoŋ/ 'fried and cook', /khəwgəŋəbə/ 'throttle', /ləwkhəw/ 'harvest', /ləwkon/ 'paddy fields', /kəwjeŋ/ 'locust', /kəwchinbə/ 'kicking inside', /phəwman/ 'paddy found among rice', /phəwnəbə/ 'for drying', /təwlənde/ 'not done'.

1.3.2 All vowels except /e/ occur in initial positions, while all of them occur in medial and final positions. Clusters of two vowels in a single syllable nucleus is not found, but clusters of a vowel and semivowel is possible. In all such combinations the second component is one of the two semivowels. The semivowels in these combinations are glidic. There are six such combinations. They are : /uy/, /oy/, /əy/, /ay/, /əw/, and /aw/.

In all cases of vowel clusters outside the syllable boundary one of the two semivowels is inserted between the two. As for example - /əyɪnbə/ 'one who pushes/ pusher', the components are /ə/ 'I', a pronominal prefix + /ɪnbə/ 'pushing'. In the same manner in the cases of /əyɪŋbə/ 'something cold', /əwɔnbə/ 'something measured', /əwunbə/ 'something given as dowry', etc. also, the combinations are /ə+ɪŋbə/, /ə+ɔnbə/, and /ə+unbə/, respectively.

1.3.3 The consonants in the second sub-system generally occur in loan-words. They also occur in inherited words. However, the instances where the aspirated phonemes occur in inherited words is negligible. They occur in one or two instances, such as - /tadhən/ 'eldest brother/someone older than me'; /imhandhəw/ 'father's eldest brother's wife'; /ibudhəw/ 'great grandfather'. They have clusters with other consonants within or outside the syllable boundary, according to the phonological system of the language from which the words are borrowed. Example - /dhrubə/, 'prince Dhruba'; /bendhu/ 'friend'; /brəmhəputrə/ 'Brahmaputra (river)'; etc..

Some of the phonemes set above could be interpreted differently. /l/ and /r/ could be controversially declared as two different phonemes. /ch/ could be taken only as /s/ and not as stop. /y/ and /w/ could be set up as allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively.

As mentioned earlier in 1.2 above, /l/ and /r/ are allophones of the same phoneme, because there is no contrast between them, and /l/ in intervocalic positions becomes /r/. In other words /l/ singly never occur in medial positions, while /r/ can not occur in initial and final positions. /l/ and /r/ are in complimentary distribution. /l/ can not occur in the positions where /r/ occurs, and /r/ can not occur in the

positions where /l/ occurs. Illustrations :

/l`aŋb`a/ 'noisy'	/*r`aŋb`a/
/lan/ 'war'	/*ran/
/*`al`aŋb`a/	/er`aŋb`a/ 'one who makes noise', etc.

The situation is more clear if we take /-le/ 'a morpheme indicating completive/realization'. If the root ends with a consonant it is /le/, but if it ends with a vowel it becomes /re/. For example - /c`at+le/ 'go+completive', /t`ok+le/ 'leave+completive', /c`a+re/ 'eat+completive', /chi+re/ 'die+completive', etc..

/ch/ is phonetically [s̥], but there is a case of three way variation among the stop phonemes as a result of aspiration condition (2.2.1). Since there is no contrast among /ch/, /s/, /ts/ etc. the phoneme is interpreted as /ch/ from its morphophonemic behaviour.

/y/ and /w/ could be considered as non-syllabic allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively, in the environment where they occur after another vowel; but if this interpretation is followed. vowel length would have to be made phonemic for the vowel phonemes /ə/, /a/, /e/ and /o/, but not for /i/ and /u/. This also would give a new cluster type of VVV in a

single syllable and VVVV in two syllables, occurring together in words such as /yay/ and /iyày/. Thus, they would have to be transcribed as /iai/ and /iiài/.

But, the two semivowels can occur in the position which is generally occupied by a consonant as in /yay/ 'agree', /ya/ 'teeth', /yùm/ 'house', /khùtyày/ 'middle finger', /khuya/ 'sole', /way/ 'chaff', /wa/, 'bamboo', /paw/ 'news', /luwaŋ/ 'name of a clan', etc.. Again, if the interpretation that /y/ and /w/ are non-syllabic allophones of /i/ and /u/ is followed, the two semivowels are to be dropped from the phonemic inventory and diphthongs are to be established. But as there will be VVV sequences in a single syllable, it will be difficult to define a diphthong. Further, /khùtyày/ 'middle finger' has to be transcribed as /khùtiài/ thereby creating a problem in syllable cuts, as /khùtiài/ can be cut as /khu.ti.ài/ instead of the correct /khùt.iài/.

1.4 Vowel length is conditioned by tone, but phonetic vowel length has a complex distribution. Because of this complexity making vowel length phonemic creates more problems than it solves, as each major morpheme, then, has a long and short shape which occur in totally unpredictable distribution. Examples : /tabè/ 'falling', /etabè/ 'something fallen', /manbè/ 'oldness', /əmènbè/ 'something old', etc.. In

the above examples the tone is shifted, thereby making the length of the vowel different such as /a/ in /etàbà/ is shorter than the /a/ in /tabà/.

CHAPTER II

2

MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.0 There are various morphophonemic changes in Meiteiron. Unless these are properly taken care of many problems can crop up which will be impossible to handle when morphology and syntax are dealt with. Some of the difficulties are variables in consonants and vowels and the change in case of tones. As shown in 1.1.1 and 1.4.3 above, length or stress is not considered important because they are not functional in this language. The various morphophonemic rules are given below :

2.1 Phonologically conditioned morphophonemic changes :

1. Although voicing is a distinctive feature of stops, it is not distinctive in final positions of syllables, morphemes and words, because no voiced stop can occur in final positions. Illustrations :

/p/	[nəp]	'mucus'
/b/	*[nəb]	
/t/	[khət]	'hand'
/d/	*[khud]	
/k/	[kək]	'head'
/g/	*[kog] ¹⁶	

2. Absence of release is phonetic in Meiteiron because only unreleased consonants can occur in the final position in syllable, morpheme or word. Illustrations :

[p̚]	[nəp̚]	'mucus'
[t̚]	[mit̚]	'eye'
[k̚]	[pək̚]	'white hair'
[m̚]	[thum̚]	'salt'
[n̚]	[khun̚]	'village'
[ŋ̚]	[khug̚]	'top'

3. As already stated in 1.2 and 1.3 above [l̚] and [r̚] are positional variants of the same phoneme. [r̚] does not occur initially after word junctures. [l̚] does not occur in intervocalic positions. They occur in mutually exclusive environments. Illustrations :

[l̚] changing to [r̚] - when prefixed by {ə}, or {mə}, the initial [l̚] changes to [r̚] :-

/l̚àŋbè/ 'making noise' /ə+l̚àŋbè/ becomes /ə+r̚àŋbè/ which has become /ər̚àŋbè/, which means 'one who makes noise'.

In the case of me the situation is a little different. The bound roots generally occur with a suffix, but if {mə} is prefixed the suffix can be dropped. In this case

also [l] changing to [r] in intervocalic positions is maintained. For example :

/lɔ̀nbə/ 'making noise', /mə+lɔ̀nbə/, ought to be /mə+rɔ̀nbə/ becomes /məɾɔ̀n/ 'manner of making noise'.

4. /l/ and /n/ are phonemically distinctive, but they are not distinctive in syllable final positions. Either /l/ or /n/ can occur in this position. Illustrations :

/lɔl/ ↪ /lon/ 'language'
/pɔlbə/ ↪ /pɔnbə/ 'binding' etc.

Thus, so far as /l/ and /n/ are concerned in syllable final positions they can be interpreted as phonemic free variants, except in cases where final /l/ is followed immediately by a syllable beginning with /l/; and /n/ followed by a syllable beginning with /n/. In which case, they remain as /l/ and /n/, respectively. Illustrations :

/lɔlbə/ ↪ /lonbə/ 'boiling'
/lɔl ↪ lon/ is the root for 'boil'.
/lɔl ↪ lon + lə + bə/ 'becomes /lɔllebə/
'something boiled'
/lɔl ↪ lon + nə + bə/ becomes /lonnebə/
'something for boiling', etc..

5. If the final consonant is one of the unvoiced /p, t, k/ all the consonant phonemes except /b, d, j, g/ can begin the next syllable. Illustrations :

/təp.nə/	'slowly'
/lak.te/	'not come'
/cət.ke/	'will go'
/kək.ŋəg/	'red haired'
/kək.wə/	'name of a place' ¹⁷
/kək.yən/	'a kind of big bird'.

6. If the final consonant is /m, n, ŋ/, the next syllable if it is a CV syllable, the C will be generally /b, d, j, g/; but if it is a CVC syllable the first C before the V will be /p, t, c, k/. Illustrations :

/tùm.bə/	'sleeping'
/tan.bə/	'earning'
/tìŋ.bə/	'soaking'
/təm.də/	'at the valley'
/pən.də/	'branch of arum'
/coŋ.de/	'not jump'
/tan.jə/	'chance'
/ləm.jə/	'orphan'
/lèŋ.jà/	'vulture'

/leŋ.ga/	'of equal age'
/ləm.gəŋ/	'dry land'
/lon.gə/	'with language'
/tem.pak/	'pebble'
/kon.tək/	'slightly bent'
/taŋ.kək/	'chapter'
/yoŋ.cək/	'a kind of tree'
/cum.cət/	'simple and straight forward'.

There are a few exceptions to this rule as in /ləm.gəŋ/ 'dry land' above. Again this rule becomes redundant in case of morphemes which have allomorphs beginning with /p-*ɤ* b-*ɤ* ph-; t-*ɤ* d-*ɤ* th-; c-*ɤ* j-*ɤ* ch-; and k-*ɤ* g-*ɤ* kh-/. In these cases aspiration condition has preference over the above rule¹⁸.

7. All aspirated consonants can begin the next syllable in a sequence of syllables except in a few cases¹⁹.
Illustrations :

/cay.khay.bə/ 'throwing at rampage'

/pok.khəy.bə/ 'blasting out'

¹⁸ For these exceptions and for aspiration initials, refer 2.2.1 later in this chapter and 7. below, in this section.

¹⁹ For exception to this rule, refer, 2.2.1 later, where aspiration condition is discussed.

/ciŋ.the.bə̀/	'pulling down'
/kum.the.bə̀/	'climbing down'
/hùt.the.bə̀/	'drilling down'
/lə.phoy/	'banana'
/ki.hom/	'pineapple'
/puŋ.phay/	'a kind of grass'.

8. Semivowels and vowels are functionally alike. The two semivowels are phonetically allophones of the corresponding high vowels /i/ and /u/. Illustrations :

/iiai/	/iyay/	'mid water'
/i`ai/	/y`ay/	'something which has magical power'
/taiiai/	/tayay/	'second elder brother'.

9. Voicing is phonologically present in the case of /m, n, ŋ, l/, but this statement is not functional in the case of /l/, because /l/ has the same distribution as the unvoiced /p, t, k/. Illustrations :

/lal+le/	'wrong(completive)'
/còt+le/	'wet(completive)'
/tòk+le/	'leave(completive)'

10. Two low central vowels do not occur in two consecutive syllables, in which case, one of them, generally the second one is changed to neutral vowel /ə/²⁰. Illustrations :

/ka+lə/	'room + interrogative'
/wà+lə/	'bamboo + interrogative'
/na+lə/	'ear + interrogative'
/ŋà+lə/	'fish + interrogative'

11. The tones become slightly longer/shorter or higher/lower according to the context in which they occur, but this type of shift is not distinctive and is very common. There is also another kind of shift in which the tone number one is heard as tone number two and vice-versa. This generally happens whenever a prefix {ə-} is added to the form. Illustrations :

/məǹb̀ə/	'sorting(vegetables)'
/əm̀əǹb̀ə/	'vegetable etc. sorted'
/l̀ə̀yb̀ə/	'buying'
/ə̀l̀ə̀yb̀ə/	'something bought'.

²⁰ Refer. 2.2.2 also.

2.2 Morphologically conditioned morphophonemic changes :

1. Any stem which begins with aspiration and ends with a vowel or semivowel or a nasal will accept {-dok-}, {-dek-}, {-get-}, {-jən-}, {-gay-}, {-dət-}, while all stems which begin with aspiration and end with stops will accept {-tok-}, {-tek-}, {-kət-}, {-cən-}, {-kay-}, {-tət-}, and all other stems will accept {-thok-}, {-thek-}, {-khət-}, {-chən-}, {-khay-}, {-thət-}²¹. Thus, {-thok-} - {-tok-} - {-dok-}, {-khət-} - {-kət-} - {-get-} etc. may be considered allomorphs of the same morpheme because they occur in mutually exclusive environments.

Illustrations :

/kət+thok+pə/	'dedication/sacrifice'
/leŋ+thok+pə/	'moving out'
/paŋ+thok+pə/	'carrying out'
/təm+thok+pə/	'disclosing/relaying'
/kàp+thok+pə/	'shooting out'
/loy+thok+pə/	'finishing with'
/hun+dok+pə/	'throwing away'
/haŋ+dok+pə/	'opening'
/phoy+dok+pə/	'uprooting'
/phan+dok+pə/	'shaved off'

²¹ {-chən-} - {-jən-} - {-cən-} has another variant, that is, {-chin-} - {-jin-} - {-cin-}.

/khay+dok+pè/	'subtraction'
/thaj+dok+pè/	'move'
/thaw+dok+pè/	'driving out (vehicle)'
/khòt+tok+pè/	'scratch out'
/khèp+tok+pè/	'winnowing'
/phùt+tok+pè/	'boiling (out)'
/thək+tok+pè/	'rebounding'
/hùt+tok+pè/	'drilling (out)'
/kət+chən+bè/	'offering'
/lèŋ+chən+bè/	'move in'
/paŋ+chən+bè/	'helping'
/lùp+chən+bè/	'soak in'
/loy+chən+bè/	'put in order'
/ta+chən+bè/	'falling in'
/cà+chən+bè/	'eating (in)'
/hən+jən+bè/	'repeating'
/hun+jən+bè/	'throwing in'
/phum+jən+bè/	'bury in'
/thaj+jən+bè/	'moving inside'
/phà+jən+bè/	'fastening'
/khà+jən+bè/	'enclosing/fencing'
/thà+jən+bè/	'sent inside'
/hoy+jən+bè/	'driving in (cattle)'
/khèp+cən+bè/	'winnowing'
/hùt+cən+bè/	'drilling in'

/háp+cən+bə/	'putting in'
/phùt+cən+bə/	'boiling (in)'
/thùp+cən+bə/	'folding in'
/thàk+cən+bə/	'putting in (salt etc.)'.
/ləŋ+khət+pə/	'throwing up'
/làk+khət+pə/	'drawing up'
/tan+khət+pə/	'making up'
/ləy+khət+pə/	'turning up'
/pa+khət+pə/	'effervescence'
/hay+gət+pə/	'hoisting'
/thaŋ+gət+pə/	'lifting up'
/hun+gət+pə/	'throwing up'
/phà/gət+pə/	'bind (up)'
/hùt+kət+pə/	'drilling up'
/chùp+kət+pə/	'covering up'

Aspiration in these suffixes is lost when they are added to forms (stems) with aspiration in the beginning and unvoiced consonant at the end.

2. In the case of interrogative suffix /la/ :

(i) if the base ends in /a/, the suffix form is /lə/²²,

- (ii) if the base ends in a vowel other than /a/
the suffix form is /la/, and
- (iii) if the base ends in a consonant, the
suffix form is /lə/ or /la/.

An examination of the following illustrations
will help in establishing the above rules. Illustrations :

/cà+ge+la/	'will (you) eat?'
/pe+la/	'is it big white umbrella?'
/lì+la/	'is it cane?'
/cu+la/	'is it sugar cane?'
/khoy+la/	'is it bee?'
/hù+ya+la/	'is it dog?'
/phəw+la/	'is it paddy?'
/ka+lə/	'is it room?'
/pa+lə/	'is it eyelash?'
/ta+lə/	'is it spear?'
/mìt+lə/	'is it eye?'
/khùt+lə/	'is it hand?'
/kòk+la/	'is it head?'
/càk+la/	'is it rice?'

23 /la/ or /lə/ after the vowels and semivowels are
phonetically [ra] or [rə]. Refer. 2.1.3 above.

3. Any suffix beginning with /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, can accept any CV or CVC stem before it. Illustrations :

/cà+men+le/	'excessively eaten'
/cay+men+le/	'excessive rampage'
/cət+mən+le/	'excessively going'
/cà+ni/	'will eat'
/cà+nig+ŋi/	'intend to eat'
/cət+nig+ŋi/	'intend to go'
/chày+nig+ŋi/	'intend to chew'
/cà+ŋəm+de/	'not able to eat'
/cət+ŋəm+de/	'not able to go'
/pày+ŋəm+de/	'not able to handle'

4. {-khi} changes to {-khə} , if it is directly followed by {-li, -le, -lo}. Illustrations :

/cà+khə+le/	'eat+definite+completive'
/cà+khə+li/	'eat+definite+continuative'
/cà+khə+lo/	'eat+definite+command'
/cət+khə+le/	'go+definite+completive'
/cət+khə+li/	'go+definite+continuative'
/cət+khə+lo/	'go+definite+command'.
/phùt+khə+le/	'boil+definite+completive'

5. {-ke} changes to {-kə} and {-ge} changes to {-gə} before {-ni, -də, and -nu}. Illustrations :

/cət+kə+ni/ 'will go'
 /cət+kə+də+la/ 'will not go?'
 /cət+kə+nu/ 'prohibited to go'
 /cà+gə+ni/ 'will eat'
 /cà+gə+də+la/ 'will not eat?'
 /cà+gə+nu/ 'prohibited to eat'

{-ke} and {-ge} are variants of the same morpheme. {-ke} occurs after the base which ends in a stop consonant while {-ge} occurs after the base which ends in voiced phonemes. Illustrations :

/cət+ke/ 'will go'
 /lúp+ke/ 'will sink'
 /tək+ke/ 'will teach'
 /pì+ge/ 'will give'
 /pe+ge/ 'will be about to weep'
 /cət+cə+ge/ 'will go (honorific)'
 /cà+ge/ 'will eat'
 /pò+ge/ 'will carry on the back'
 /phù+ge/ 'will beat'
 /phəm+ge/ 'will seat'
 /phan+ge/ 'will shave'

/həŋ+ge/	'will open'
/həy+ge/	'will say'
/həy+ge/	'will swing'
/law+ge/	'will shout'

6. {-pu ɿ -bu} are variants of the same morpheme. {-pu} occurs after voiceless finals, while {-bu} occurs after voiced finals. Illustrations :

/cək+pu/	'to rice'
/khùt+pu/	'to hand'
/yòt+pu/	'to iron'
/phək+pu/	'to mat'
/thəŋ+bu/	'to sword'
/chə+bu/	'to animal'
/hùy+bu/	'to dog'
/u+bu/	'to tree'

7. {-tə ɿ -də} are variants of the same morpheme. {-tə} occurs after voiceless finals, while {-də} occurs after voiced finals. In the same way {-ti ɿ -di}, {-kə ɿ -gə}, {-təŋ ɿ -dəŋ}, {-pə ɿ -bə}, are also variants of the same morpheme, occurring in the same environments as in the case of {-tə ɿ -də}.

Illustrations :

Illustrations :

/c`ak+te/	'at rice'
/p`uk+te/	'at belly'
/p`at+te/	'at lake'
/n`ep+te/	'at mucus'
/h`ey+də/	'at fruit'
/l`ew+də/	'at paddy field'
/u+də/	'at tree'
/lan+də/	'at war'
/thoŋ+də/	'at bridge'
/kom+də/	'at pit'
/c`ak+ti/	'rice+particularization'
/u+di/	'tree+particularization'
/c`ak+tu/	'rice+demonstrative'
/u+du/	'tree+demonstrative'
/c`ak+kə/	'with rice'
/u+gə/	'with tree'
/c`ak+təŋ/	'only rice'
/u+dəŋ/	'only tree'
/lak+pə/	'coming'
/c`a+bə/	'eating'

8. {-khoy} and {-hoy} are also variants of the

same morpheme. They can occur in the same set of contexts, except in the case of pronominal prefixes, with which only {-khoy} can occur. Illustrations :

/cawbə+khoy	↪	cawbə+hoy/	'Chaoba and others'
/tombe+khoy	↪	tombe+hoy/	'Tomba and others'
/nə+khoy	↪	*nə+hoy/	'your'
/mə+khoy	↪	*mə+hoy/	'they'
/əy+khoy	↪	*əy+hoy/	'we'

9. {i ↪ -li ↪ -pi ↪ -mi ↪ -wi ↪ -ŋi ↪ -y ↪ -∅} are variants of the same morpheme. If the base ends in /k/, the suffix form is {-i}; if the base ends in /t/ or /n/ or /l/, the suffix form is {-li}; if the base ends in /p/ or /m/ or /ŋ/ or /w/, the suffix form is {-pi}, {-mi}, {-ŋi}, {-wi} respectively; and if the base ends in /y/ or the front vowels, the suffix form is {-∅}; while it is {-y}, if the base ends in any of the back or central vowel. Illustrations :

/lak+i/	'come(habitual/infinitive/truth)'
/pək+i/	'birth(habitual/infinitive/truth)'
/cət+li/	'go(habitual/infinitive/truth)'
/cəl+li/	'run(habitual/infinitive/truth)'
/lùp+pi/	'sink(habitual/infinitive/truth)'
/phəm+mi/	'sit(habitual/infinitive/truth)'
/həŋ+ŋi/	'ask(habitual/infinitive/truth)'

/law+wi/	'shout(habitual/infinitive/truth)'
/ləy+∅ > ləy/	'live(habitual/infinitive/truth)'
/cà+y/	'eat(habitual/infinitive/truth)'
/pì+∅ > pì/	'give(habitual/infinitive/truth)'
/pe+∅ > pe/	'about to weep(habitual/ infinitive/truth)'
/pu+y/	'carry(habitual/infinitive/truth)'
/po+y/	'carry on the back(habitual/ infinitive/truth)'

10. {-te} changes to {-tè} and {-de} changes to {dè} before {-bè, -li, -le, -chə, -nə, and -la}. Illustrations :

/cèt+te+bè/	'not going'
/cà+dè+bè/	'not eating'
/cèt+te+li/	'not yet gone'
/cà+dè+li/	'not yet eaten'
/cèt+te+le/	'not gone/going stopped'
/cà+dè+le/	'not ate/eating stopped'
/cèt+te+chə+nu/	'let not go'
/cà+dè+chə+nu/	'let not eat'
/cèt+te+nə/	'by not going'
/cà+dè+nə/	'by not eating'
/cèt+te+la/	'did not (you) go?'
/cà+dè+la/	'did not (you) eat?'

{-te ~ -de} are allomorphs of the same morpheme. Generally {-te} occurs after voiceless finals, while {-de} occurs after voiced finals.²⁴ Illustrations :

/cət+te/	'not going'
/cək+te/	'not burning'
/hɪp+te/	'not sleeping'
/ca+de/	'not eating'
/chi+de/	'not die'
/phù+de/	'not beating'
/pò+de/	'not carrying on the back'
/pe+de/	'not about to weep'
/haŋ+de/	'not open'
/phəm+de/	'not sitting'
/phəŋ+de/	'not get'
/lan+de/	'not wrong'
/hày+de/	'not saying'
/həw+de/	'not growing'

11. {-lic ~ -ic ~ -pic ~ -mic ~ -ŋi} are variants of the same morpheme. If the base ends in a vowel or semivowel or in /t/, /n/, /l/, the suffix form is {-li}; if the base ends

24 There are a few exceptions to this rule, as in the cases of /haw+te/ 'not tasty', /hey+te/ 'not known how to do'. The suffix form in these cases according to this rule, is ought to be, */haw+de/ (which is never existed in Maitairon). However, /hày+de/ is found in this language, but its meaning is 'not pouring' and has no relation with /hey+te/.

in /k/, the suffix form is {-li ~ -i}; and if the base ends in /p/ or /m/ or /ŋ/, the suffix form is {-pi, -mi, -ŋi} respectively. Illustrations :

/cà+li/	'eat+continuative'
/pu+li/	'carry+continuative'
/pì+li/	'give+continuative'
/hoy+li/	'drive+continuative'
/law+li/	'shout+continuative'
/cèt+li/	'go+continuative'
/pul+li/	'bind+continuative'
/t`ak+li or t`ak+i/	'teach+continuative'
/k`ep+pi/	'weep+continuative'
/ph`em+mi/	'sit+continuative'
/haŋ+ŋi/	'open+continuative'

12. {-le ~ -pe ~ -me ~ -ŋe} are variants of the same morpheme. If the base ends in a vowel or semivowel or in /k, t, n, l, / the suffix form is {-le}; if the base ends in /p, m, ŋ/, the suffix forms are {-pe ~ -me ~ -ŋe} respectively.

Illustrations :

/cà+le/	'eat+completive' ²⁵ ,
/pu+le/	'carry+completive'

25. Completive in the gloss is realization of the action as well.

/pì+le/	'give+completive'
/hoy+le/	'drive+completive'
/law+le/	'shout+completive'
/cət+le/	'go+completive'
/tək+le/	'teach+completive'
/pul+le/	'bind+completive'
/kəp+pe/	'weep+completive'
/phəm+me/	'sit+completive'
/həŋ+ŋe/	'ask+completive'

All the variants change to {-lə, -pè, -mè, -ŋe} if they occur before {-bè, -gè}. Illustrations :

/cà+lə+bè/	'something ate'
/cà+lə+gè/	'eat+realization+with'
/hàp+pè+bè/	'put+realization+nominalizer'
/hàp+pè+gè/	'put+realization+with'
/phəm+mè+bè/	'sit+realization+nominalizer'
/phəm+mè+gè/	'sit+realization+with'
/həŋ+ŋe+bè/	'ask+realization+nominalizer'
/həŋ+ŋe+gè/	'ask+realization+with'.

13. {-cə ~ -jə} are variants of the same morpheme. {-cə} occurs after voiceless finals, while {-jə} occurs after voiced finals. In the same way {-pi ~ -bi}, {-poy ~ -boy} are

also variants of the same morpheme, occurring in the same environments as in the case of $\{-c\epsilon \rightsquigarrow -j\epsilon\}$. Illustrations :

/t`ak+c\epsilon+le/	'teach+polite+completive'
/c`et+c\epsilon+le/	'go+polite+completive'
/h`ap+c\epsilon+le/	'put+polite+completive'
/c`a+j\epsilon+le/	'eat+polite+completive'
/ni+j\epsilon+le/	'beg+polite+completive'
/ph`u+j\epsilon+le/	'beat+polite+completive'
/l`aw+j\epsilon+le/	'shout+polite+completive'
/l`ay+j\epsilon+le/	'buy+polite+completive'
/t`ak+pi+le/	'teach+requestive+completive'
/h`ap+pi+le/	'put+requestive+completive'
/ch`a+bi+le/	'build+requestive+completive'
/h`ay+bi+le/	'swing+requestive+completive'
/ph`am+bi+le/	'sit+requestive+completive'
/t`ak+poy/	'teach+uncertain'
/c`et+poy/	'go+uncertain'
/c`a+boy/	'eat+uncertain'
/ch`u+boy/	'wash+uncertain'
/h`aw+boy/	'grow+uncertain'
/t`am+boy/	'learn+uncertain'
/t`an+boy/	'drive away+uncertain'
/t`oŋ+boy/	'ride+uncertain'
/th`oŋ+boy/	'cook+uncertain'
/ph`əŋ+boy/	'got+uncertain'

14. { -u ɤ -w ɤ -pu ɤ -mu ɤ -ɲu ɤ -lu ɤ -yu ɤ -∅ }

are variants of the same morpheme. If the base ends in /k/, the suffix form is {-u}; if the base ends in any of the central vowels, the suffix form is {-w}; if the base ends in /p, m, ŋ/, the suffix forms are {-pu, -mu, -ɲu} respectively; if the base ends in /t, n, l/, the suffix form is {-lu}; if the base ends in any of the front vowels and /y/, the suffix form is {-yu}; and if the base ends in any of the back vowels and the semivowel /w/, the suffix form is {-∅}. Illustrations :

/t`ak+u/	'teach (command)'
/lak+u/	'come (command)'
/pa+w/	'read (command)'
/phə+w/	'be good (command)'
/kəp+pu/	'weep (command)'
/phəm+mu/	'sit (command)'
/təŋ+ɲu/	'taste (command)'
/cət+lu/	'go (command)'
/cel+lu/	'run (command)'
/pi+yu/	'give (command)'
/ke+yu/	'to fop (command)'
/pəy+yu/	'hold (command)'
/pu+∅/	'carry (command)'
/pò+∅/	'carry on the back (command)'
/thəw+∅/	'drive (command)'
/kəw+∅/	'kick (command)'

15. {*-lo* *-po* *-mo* *-go*} are variants of the same morpheme. {*-lo*} occurs after the base which ends in /t, k, n, l/, the two semivowels and all vowels; while {*-po*, *-mo*, *-go*} occurs after the base which ends in /p, m, ŋ/ respectively. The same rule is applicable in the cases of {*-lu* *-pu* *-mu* *-nu*}; {*-loy* *-poy* *-moy* *-goy*}; {*-ləm* *-pəm* *-məm* *-gəm*} and {*-lək* *-pək* *-mək* *-gək*}. Illustrations :

/cət+lo/	'go+command (immediate)'
/tək+lo/	'stop+command (immediate)'
/pəl+lo/	'bind+command (immediate)'
/pi+lo/	'give+command (immediate)'
/ke+lo/	'fop+command(immediate)'
/pa+lo/	'read+command (immediate)'
/hày+lo/	'say+command (immediate)'
/law+lo/	'shout+command (immediate)'
/káp+po/	'shoot+command (immediate)'
/phum+mo/	'bury+command (immediate)'
/təŋ+go/	'taste+command (immediate)'
/cət+lu/	'go+command (different place)'
/tək+lu/	'teach+command (different place)'
/pəl+lu/	'bind+command (different place)'
/phù+lu/	'beat+command (different place)'
/hày+lu/	'say+command (different place)'
/kew+lu/	'go and call'(command)'
/phəm+mu/	'sit+command (different place)'
/káp+pu/	'shoot+command (different place)'

/həŋ+ŋu/	'open+command (different place)'
/cət+loy/	'go+negative (intensive)'
/tək+loy/	'teach+negative (intensive)'
/pul+loy/	'tie+negative (intensive)'
/pi+loy/	'give+negative (intensive)'
/pa+loy/	'read+negative (intensive)'
/hày+loy/	'say+negative (intensive)'
/law+loy/	'shout+negative (intensive)'
/phəm+moy/	'sit+negative (intensive)'
/háp+poy/	'put+negative (intensive)'
/həŋ+ŋoy/	'ask+negative (intensive)'
/cət+ləm+de/	'go+would have started+negative'
/tək+ləm+de/	'teach+would have started+ negative'
/pul+ləm+de/	'tie+would have started+negative'
/phù+ləm+de/	'beat+would have started+ negative'
/hày+ləm+de/	'say+would have started+negative'
/ləw+ləm+de/	'take+would have started+negative'
/phəm+məm+de/	'sit+would have started+negative'
/háp+pəm+de/	'put+would have started+negative'
/həŋ+ŋəm+de/	'ask+would have started+negative'
/cət+lək+li/	'go+started earlier+continue'
/pa+lək+li/	'read+started earlier+continue'
/hày+lək+li/	'say+started earlier+continue'

/h`ap+pək+li/ 'put+started earlier+continue'
 /ph`əm+mək+li/ 'sit+started earlier+continue'
 /h`əŋ+ŋək+li/ 'ask+started earlier+continue'

16. The interrogative marker is affixed to the noun or the NP to form interrogatives. However, this rule becomes obsolete in the case of :

/c`à+kho+la/ 'eat+command+interrogative'²⁷
 /c`à+w+la/ 'eat+command+interrogative'
 /c`à+nu+la/ 'eat+prohibitive+interrogative'
 /c`à+lo+la/ 'eat+come for action+interrogative'
 /c`à+lu+la/ 'eat+go for action+interrogative'
 /c`à+chi+la/ 'eat+benefactive+interrogative'
 /c`à+chə+nu+la/ 'eat+let+prohibitive+interrogative'
 /c`à+hən+lu+la/ 'eat+cause+command+interrogative'

that is, after the verbal suffixes { -kho, -w, -nu, -lo, -lu, -chi, -chənu }. This exception is because of the common tendency of assimilating different words into one in the standard speech. The actual form in these cases are -

/c`à+kho h`ày+b`ə+la/ 'asked to eat?'
 /c`à+w h`ày+b`ə+la/ 'ordered to eat?'
 /c`à+nu h`ày+b`ə+la/ 'prohibited to eat?'²⁸
 /c`à+lo h`ày+b`ə+la/ 'invited to eat?'

27. 'command' here means 'permission'. Here the meaning of 'definite and continue' is also present.

28. /c`à+nu/ is also assimilated form of /c`à+gə+nu/.

/cà+lu hày+bè+la/ 'can go to eat?'
 /cà+chi hày+bè+la/ 'let's eat?'
 /cà+chə+nu hày+bè+la/ 'let not prohibit eating?'
 /cà+hən+lu hày+bè+la/ 'let cause him eat?'

SUMMARY

To summarize, we have discussed above :

(1) The phonologically conditioned morphophonemic changes : The features like, absence of voiced stops in final positions; /l/ and /r/ becoming allophones of the same phoneme; /l/ and /n/ are free variants in final positions; voiced finals are generally followed by voiced initials while voiceless finals are generally followed by voiceless initials, although this is not applicable in the case of aspiration initials. Functionally the vowels and semivowels are equivalent. Although /l/ is voiced, it has the same distribution as the unvoiced / p, t, k/; non-occurrence of two low central vowels in consecutive syllables, in which case changing the second one to neutral vowel /ə/; and tone shift, were illustrated.

Note : The glosses are mostly near equivalent. Sometimes it may be interpreted differently.

(ii) In the second part of this chapter, the morphologically conditioned morphophonemic changes were discussed. The features like, aspiration condition which shows three way variation of the stop phonemes, constituting a single morphophoneme; /la/ changing to /le/; suffixes beginning with /m, n, ŋ/ accepting any CV or CVC stem; while there are restrictions for others; various allomorphic variations; consonant assimilative gemination of /p, m, ŋ/; and interrogative which is generally formed with nouns being formed with verbs were discussed and illustrated.

CHAPTER III

3

MORPHOLOGY

3.1

NOUNS

3.1.0 A noun in Meiteiron at the morphological level can be determined by means of prefixes and suffixes. The roots in this language do not show the form-class to which they belong. But the free roots or free nominal forms can show the form-class to which they belong. For example - the root {cà-} 'eat', {phà-} 'catch', {ta-} 'fall', etc. become nouns when the suffix {-bà} is added to them and can take one or more of the set of noun suffixes. The free nominal forms like, {mì} 'man', {u} 'tree', etc. which are nouns by themselves can also take one or more of the set of noun suffixes. Accordingly those forms, free or bound, which can take one or more of the following set of prefixes and suffixes are nouns in Meiteiron. The prefixes and suffixes are :

{a-}	'personifier'
{a- ∩ i-}	'first person pronominal'
{nə-}	'second person pronominal'
{mə-}	'third person pronominal'
{mə- ∩ khut-}	'manner/mode/way'
{-nə}	'agent/actor/instrument'
{-pu ∩ -bu}	'patient/receiver'
{-ta ∩ -də}	'locative/at'

{-ti ~ -di}	'particularization'
{-tu ~ -du}	'demonstrative (the/that)'
{-ke ~ -ge}	'with'
{-ki ~ -gi}	'possessive/genetive'
{-la ~ -le}	'interrogative/question'
{-teŋ ~ -deŋ}	'isolating'
{-chu}	'also'
{-chi}	'this'
{-chiŋ}	'plurality'
{-khoy ~ -hoy}	'collectivity/many(inclusive)'
{-mak}	'personification'
{-ni}	'copula'

There are restrictions in the acceptance of these prefixes and suffixes by the roots and forms, that is, some roots and forms can not take some of the affixes. Further, some of the affixes can not occur together in the same form. For example :

The prefix {ə-} is not acceptable to the form /mi/ 'man', the suffix such as {-chiŋ} is not acceptable to forms like, /tombe/ 'Tomba (name of a person)', etc..

3.1.1 On the basis of formation, a noun in Meiteiron is divided into two main categories. They are - (a) Simple, and (b) Compound. Again, simple nouns can be sub-divided into two :

(i) Non-dependent, and (ii) Dependent. Diagrammatically, then, it can be represented as follows :

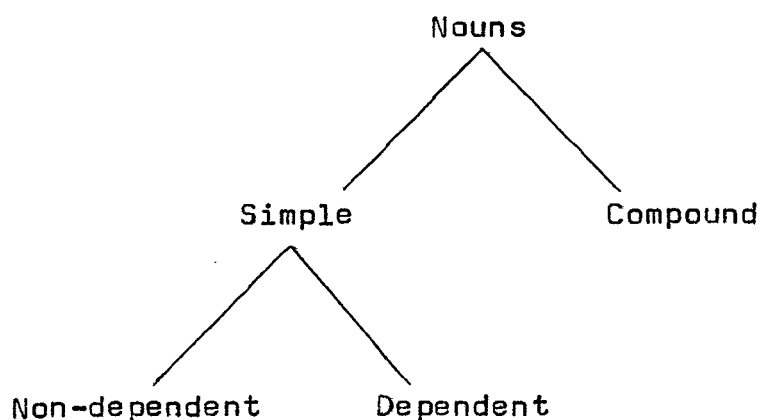


Fig. - 5. Diagram showing classification of nouns.

3.1.1.1 Simple Nouns : Those forms are called Simple nouns, if they fulfill any of the following criteria -
 (i) which by themselves can occur as nouns, such as, {mì} 'man', {ḡà} 'fish', {tombə} 'Tomba (name of a person)', {na} 'ear', {yùm} 'house', etc.; (ii) which can occur as nouns by prefixation, such as, {khùt+kà} 'manner of climbing', {mə+cà} 'his son/son', {mə+thoŋ} 'manner of cooking', etc.; and (iii) which can occur as nouns by suffixing {-bəs-pə} directly after the root or after some other suffixes, such as, {cà+bə} 'eating', {thək+pə} 'drinking', {cà+khi+bə} 'eat+definite+nominalizing suffix', etc.. Those nouns falling under (i)

above are non-dependent, while those falling under (ii) and (iii) above comprise dependent nouns.

(i) Non-dependent : Nouns which can not be sub-divided into smaller morphemic segments and by themselves can function as nouns without any prefix or suffix, but can take some of the prefixes and suffixes listed in 3.1.0 above, are called non-dependent. Illustrations :

{mì}	'man'
{laphù}	'plantain tree'
{tombe}	'Tomba (name of a person)'
{cauba}	'Chaoba (name of a person)'
{khùt}	'hand'
{kok}	'head'
{phi}	'cloth'
{u}	'tree'
{cè}	'paper'
{hùy}	'dog'
{hewdon}	'cat'
{uci}	'rat'
{thabi}	'cucumber'
{tìn}	'worm'
{tin}	'saliva'
{chendan}	'sparrow'
{lilun}	'bow'

{ten}	'arrow'
{yum}	'house'
{thòŋ}	'door'
{thoŋ}	'bridge' etc.

The suffixes and prefixes which are acceptable or not acceptable by non-dependent nouns are illustrated below :

The non-dependent noun like mi 'man' can take the following suffixes -

{mi+bu}	'man+object marker'
{mi+nə}	'man+subject marker'
{mi+də}	'man+locative'
{mi+di}	'man+particularization'
{mi+du}	'man+demonstrative'
{mi+ge}	'man+with'
{mi+gi}	'man+possessive'
{mi+la}	'man+interrogative'
{mi+dəŋ}	'man+isolating'
{mi+chu}	'man+also'
{mi+chi}	'man+this'
{mi+chiŋ}	'man+plural'
{mi+ni}	'man+copula'

while it can not take the following :

*{ə+mi}

*{i+mi}
 *{ne+mi}
 *{me+mi}
 *{khut+mi}
 *{mi+khoy}
 *{mi+mek}

Again, {tombe} 'Tomba (name of a person)' can take the following suffixes -

{tombe+ne}	'Tomba+subject'
{tombe+bu}	'Tomba+object'
{tombe+de}	'Tomba+locative'
{tombe+di}	'Tomba+particularization'
{tombe+du}	'Tomba+demonstrative'
{tombe+ge}	'Tomba+with'
{tombe+gi}	'Tomba+possessive'
{tombe+la}	'Tomba+interrogative'
{tombe+den}	'Tomba+isolating'
{tombe+chu}	'Tomba+also'
{tombe+chi}	'Tomba+this'
{tombe+khoy}	'Tomba and others'
{tombe+mek}	'Tomba+personification'
{tombe+ni}	'Tomba+copula'

while it can not take the following :

*{e+tombe}

*{i+tombe}
 *{ne+tombe}
 *{me+tombe}
 *{khut+tombe}
 *{tombe+chin}

(ii) Dependent : Nouns which are formed by prefixing and/or suffixing to a root²⁹ are called dependent. Dependent nouns also can take some of the prefixes and suffixes listed in 3.1.0 above. Illustrations :

The dependent noun like, cà+bè 'eating' can take the following prefixes and suffixes -

{e+càbè}	'eater'
{khut+cà}	'manner of eating'
{cà+bè+ne}	'eating+subject'
{cà+bè+bu}	'eating+object'
{cà+bè+de}	'eating+locative'
{cà+bè+di}	'eating+particularization'
{cà+bè+du}	'eating+demonstrative'
{cà+bè+ge}	'eating+with'
{cà+bè+gi}	'eating+possessive'
{cà+bè+la}	'eating+interrogative'
{cà+bè+dəŋ}	'eating+isolating'

29 A root in Meiteiron can not indicate the class in which it belongs, that is, it can not show whether it is a verb or a noun root. The set of affixes are the deciding factor.

{cà+bè+chu} 'eating+also'
 {cà+bè+ni} 'eating+copula'

while it can not take the following :

*{i+cà+bè}
 *{nə+cà+bè}
 *{mə+cà+bè}
 *{cà+bè+chij}³⁰
 *{cà+bè+khoy}
 *{cà+bè+mək}

There are four different types of dependent nouns. They are: (A) - Prefix +root, (B) - Prefix + root + suffix, (C) - Root + suffix, and (D) - Root + suffix(es)³¹ + suffix. Illustrations :

A. Prefix + root

{mə+pa}	'manner+reading'
{mə+thog}	'manner+cooking'
{mə+pi}	'manner+giving'
{khüt+kà}	'manner+climbing'
{mə+cà}	'third person+issue(son/ daughter)'

30 This combination is possible if {-du, -ni} follows, e.g. {cà+bè+chij+du} 'eating+ Plural+Demonstrative'.

31 Suffixes here mean verbal suffix or suffixes.

B. Prefix + root + suffix

{ə+pa+bə}	'reader'
{ə+cà+bə}	'eater'
{ə+həŋ+bə}	'one who asks'
{ə+ŋàk+pə}	'one who guards'

C. Root + suffix

{pa+bə}	'reading'
{cà+bə}	'eating'
{cət+pə}	'going'
{tòk+pə}	'leaving'

D. Root + suffix(es) + suffix

{cà+khi+bə}	'eat+definite+nominalizer'
{hày+lu+bə}	'say+action at another place+nominalizer'
{cà+ləm+mi+bə}	'eat+started+continue+nominalizer'

The variety of nouns in D. above is purely derivative, since the nouns have been derived from verbs by adding the nominalizing suffix.

3.1.1.2 Compound Nouns : Forms which can act as nouns even when they are combined with some other or similar type of nouns, or roots are called nouns showing compounding. There are seven different types under this category. They are :

(A) - Noun +Noun, (B) - Noun + Augment, (C) - Noun + Dimunitive, (D) - Noun + Root, (E) - Noun + Dependent Noun, (F) - Noun + Noun + Dependent Noun, and (G) - Noun + Decorative form.³²

Illustrations :

A. Noun + Noun

{càk+chəŋ}	'kitchen(rice+house)'
{kon+thəŋ}	'gate(garden+door)'
{u+həy}	'fruit(tree+fruit)'
{yət+cəy}	'iron rod(iron+stick)'

B. Noun + Augment

{hùy+jaw}	'dog+big'
{yùm+jaw}	'house+big'
{i+caw}	'flood(water+big)'
{thəŋ+jaw}	'main door(door+big)'
{ka+jaw}	'room+big'

32 This is a meaningless form, but always accompanies the noun. The name decorative is used as the standard speakers call them /wahey layteŋ/ 'decorative word'. /wahey/ means 'word' and /layteŋ/ means 'decoration'.

C. Noun + Diminutive

{hù y+naw}	'puppy (small+dog)'
{thò ng+naw}	'window (door+small)'
{chən+naw}	'calf (cow+small)'
{yong+naw}	'monkey+small'
{yen+naw}	'chick (hen+small)'

D. Noun + Root

{wà+həŋ}	'question (word+ask)'
{i+ləm}	'canal/stream (water+way)'
{khò ng+loy}	'travelling company (foot+company)'
{phi+jet}	'dress (cloth+wear)'

E. Noun + Dependent Noun³³

{phi+chabə}	'weaver (cloth+weaving)'
{u+chubə}	'carpenter (tree+worker)'
{thò ng+gàkpə}	'watchman (door+guard)'
{yò t+chubə}	'black-smith (iron+worker)'

³³ Dependent Noun may be interpreted as root + suffix.

F. Noun + Noun + Dependent Noun³⁴

{c`ak+ch`eŋ+chab`e}	'kitchen builder'
{kon+th`oŋ+chemb`e}	'gate repairer'

G. Noun + Decorative form³⁵

{chumag+thel`oŋ}	'surroundings of the house(front)'
{yen`ekha+l`ukkha}	'surroundings of the house(side)'
{napi+nalag}	'snakes and other creatures'

3.1.2 Number : Nouns in Meiteiron are not inflected for number. However, the three numbers, that is, singular, plural and dual are indicated by suffixes or other forms.

3.1.2.1 Plural : Plural in Meiteiron is formed at the morphological level by affixation of the plural marker {chin} to the noun. All nouns in Meiteiron can not take this suffix. There are other words which when they follow the noun or noun phrase indicate more than one. They are -

34 This variety of nouns may be regarded as phrases.

35 In some cases both the constituents have meanings, as in /yenchag+napi/ 'curry+grass', /tin+kag/ 'worm+mosquito' ; but they have a different meaning!

{məyam}	³⁶	'many'
{pumnəmək}		'all'
{chəngu}	³⁷	'flock'
{kaŋlup}		'group'
{chəllup}	³⁸	'group'
{məpəy}		'heap'
{məpun or cəbun}		'bundle'
{khùppu}		'host of ...'
{kaŋbu}		'party'

Some of the nouns in Meiteiron can take/have all the above as well as the plural marker {-chiŋ}, while some of them can not. Illustrations :

Singular	Plural/more than one
{mi} 'man'	{michiŋ} 'men'
	{miyam} 'many men'
	{mi pumnəmək} 'all men'
	{mi kaŋlup} 'group of men'
	{mi məpəy} 'heap of men'
	{mi cəbun} 'bundle of men', ³⁹
	{mi khùppu} 'host of men'
	{mi kaŋbu} 'party of men'

-
- 36 This has another form {-yam} which is affixed to the noun as in the illustration above.
- 37 This is generally used for lesser animals, although it is used for human beings in the derogatory sense.
- 38 This is used for animals only.
- 39 This is to mean 'a large contingent of men' i.e. 'crowd'.

Singular	Plural/more than one	
{ucek} 'bird'	{ucəkchiŋ}	'birds'
	{ucek məyam}	'many birds'
	{ucek pumnəmək}	'all birds'
	{ucek kaŋlup}	'group of birds'
	{ucek chəŋgu}	'flock of birds'
	{ucek məpey}	'heap of birds'
	{ucek cəbun}	'bundle of birds'
{chà} 'animal'	{chàchiŋ}	'animals'
	{chà+yam}	'many animals'
	{chà pumnəmək}	'all birds'
	{chà kaŋlup}	'group of animals'
	{chà chəŋgu}	'flock of animals'
	{chà məpey}	'heap of animals'
	{chà cəbun}	'bundle of animals'
	{chà kaŋbu}	'party of animals'
{u}	{uchig}	'trees'
	{u məyam}	'many trees'
	{u pumnəmək}	'all trees'
	{u məpey}	'heap of trees'
	{u cəbun}	'bunch of trees'

3.1.2.2 Dual : Dual in Meiteiron is indicated by suffixes and/or independent forms. The form which indicated dual or pair are {-pot ~ -bot} or {pabot}; and {pugba}. Like {pabot} and {pugba}, {-pot} also sometimes occur independently, while its variant {-bot} never occurs independently. Illustrations :

{phaw pot} or {phawbot}	'two <u>chənbay</u> of paddy', ⁴⁰
{chanbot} or {chan pabot}	'pair of cow/bull'
{ucek pugba}	'pair of bird'

The dual can be taken as an unit for counting. They are illustrated below. Illustrations :

{phawbot emə}	'one two <u>chənbay</u> of paddy'
{phawbot əni}	'two two <u>chənbay</u> of paddy'
{phawbot təla}	'ten two <u>chənbay</u> of paddy'
{chan pabot əni}	'two pair of cows'
{chan pabot meŋa}	'five pair of cows'
{ucek pugba məli}	'four pair of birds'
{khunu pugba kun}	'twenty pair of pigeons', ⁴¹

Nouns like, tombe, cauwe, ibemhəl, etc. which are human names can not go with the plural or 'more than one' suffix or forms. However, they can take the suffix {-khoy}, which

40 {chənbay} is a bamboo basket which is used as a unit for measuring paddy or other grains.

41 {pugba} sometimes means the pair of 'a male and a female'.

indicates plural in the case of noun substitutes (3.3.1.1).

For example :

{tombəkhoy}	'Tomba and others'
{cawbəkhoy}	'Chaoba and others'
{ibemhəkhoy}	'Ibemhal and others'

3.1.3 Gender : Nouns in Meiteiron fall into two gender classes, personal and non-personal. Nouns designating man or human beings are personal while all other objects are regarded as non-personal. Heavenly bodies, however, are regarded as personal. Grammatically, there is no specific inflection for the gender difference, although the noun substitutes show some difference, such as - /məhak/ 'he' as the substitute for animate human beings, that is, for personal gender, and /məchi/ 'it/this' for all other objects, that is, for non-personal. The interrogative noun substitute also show this distinction - /kəna/ 'which person' for personal and /kəli/ 'which thing' for all others, that is, for non-personal. /məchi/ 'this/it' is found sometimes used to human beings in a derogatory sense.

There are some cases where the forms are different for male and female, for example :

{nipa}	'man'	{nipi}	* 'woman'
{ichəy-chəkpa}	'male singer'	{ichəy chəkpi}	'female singer'
{jəgoy-chabə}	'male dancer'	{jəgoy-chabi}	'female dancer'

* {nupi}

But this is an exception attestable in a few cases and is not applicable in general. If the above forms are treated as masculine and feminine, as it seems from its appearance; then, the following forms should also have their {-i} ending forms, but they do not have it. Illustrations :

{càk-càbè} 'rice eater' {*càk-càbi}
 {ichig-chòkpè} 'water fetcher' {*ichig-chòkpi}

This can be more clearly illustrated by the following examples :

nipa ədu tule 'The man has fallen'
 'man the fall+completive'

u ədu tule 'The tree has fallen'
 'tree the fall+completive'

khùt tekle 'The hand is broken(fractured)'
 'hand broken'

cəy tekle 'The stick is broken'
 'stick broken(break+completive)'

tombə puləgə kòyyu 'Take Tomba with you in the walk'
 'Tomba bring+with walk+command'

ceŋjen puləgə kòyyu 'Take food with you in the walk'
 'food bring+with walk+command'

ibemhal puləgə kòyyu 'Take Ibemhal with you in the
 'Ibemhal bring+with walk+command' walk'.

Hence, it has been presumed that there is no grammatical gender in Meiteiron.

3.1.4 Syntactically a noun in Meiteiron can be defined as a class of forms which can occupy the subject and/or object slot in a sentence. Functionally, it is the head of the noun phrase (NP). The following examples will illustrate them.

Illustrations :

- (1) tombe cək cày
'Tomba rice eat' (Tomba eats rice)'
- (2) mənina tombəbu phùy
'Mani Tomba beat (Mani beats Tomba)'
- (3) əkenbə mənina əchonbə tombəbu phùy
'strong Mani weak Tomba beat'
(Stronger Mani beats weaker Tomba)
- (4) əykhoygi məninggi tombəbu mənina phùy
'our west Tomba Mani beat'
(Mani beats Tomba, who lives at our west)
- (5) tombəbu mənina phùy
'Tomba Mani beat (Mani beats Tomba)'

In the above examples, {tombe} is subject in example (1), while it is object in all other examples, that is, in examples (2-5) above. In examples (3) and (4), it is the head of the nominal group, that is, the NPs. In the same manner, {mənina} in examples (2-5) above is the subject in the sentences; and it is the head in each NP. {cək} in example (1) is the object in the sentence. As defined earlier the forms {tombe, mənina, and cək} are all nouns because they occur in the subject and object slot in the sentence. They are also the head of the nominal group. This has been illustrated by expanding

sentence (1), tombə càk cày in the following manner.

- (1a) əŋaŋ oylibè tombə əŋəwbè càk cày
 'child being Tomba white rice eat'
 (Young Tomba is eating white rice)

In (1a), the noun /tombə/ is substituted by a bigger construction /əŋaŋ oylibè tombə/, which is a noun phrase; and /càk/ has been substituted by /əŋəwbè càk/, which is also a noun phrase. In the two phrases, /əŋaŋ oylibè tombə/ and /əŋəwbè càk/, the head in them is /tombə/ and /càk/ respectively. This is illustrated in a diagram below :

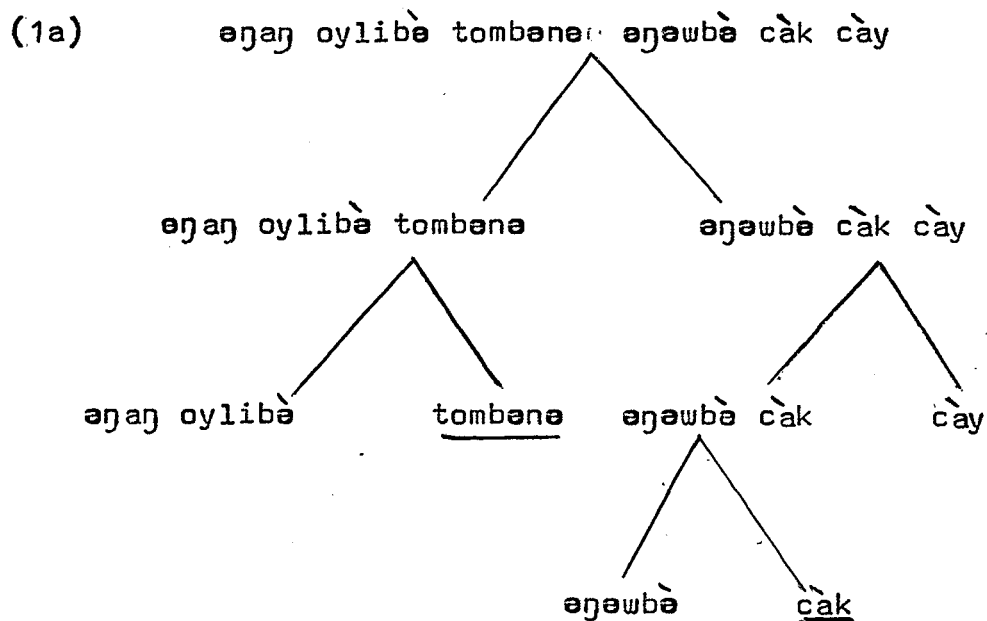


Fig.- 6. Diagram showing head in the NP. . . .

The above diagram, using labels of the constituent types in place of words is shown in the diagram below :

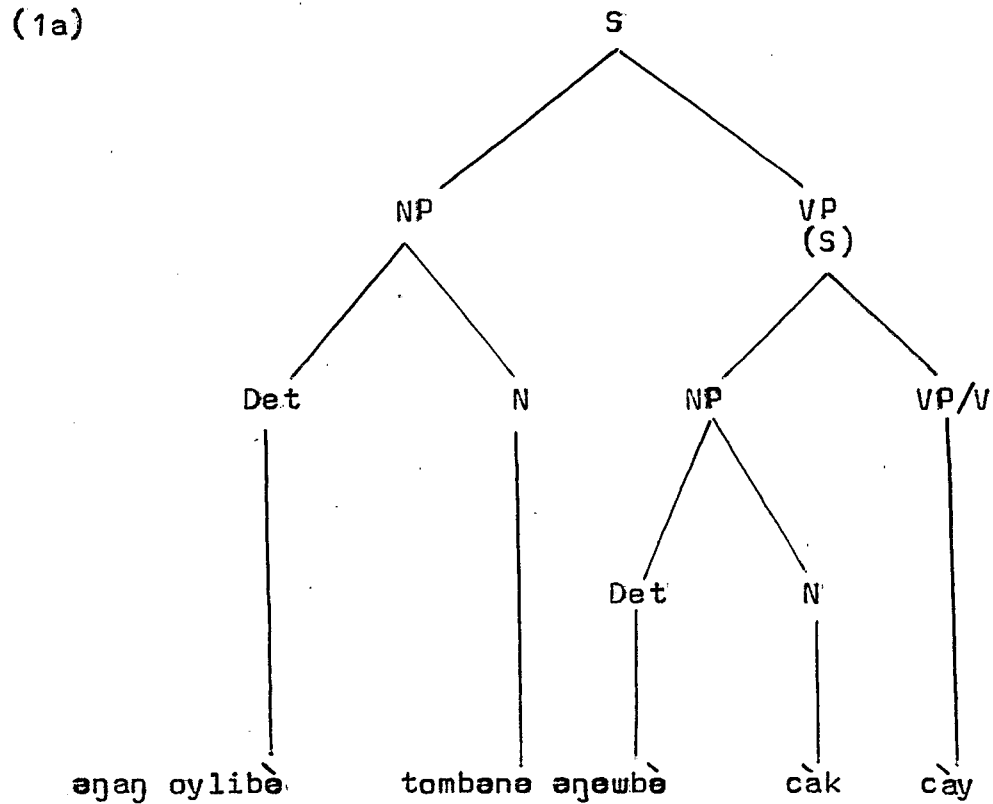


Fig. - 6a. Diagram showing head in the NP by labels.

From the above illustrations, it can be seen that the form /tombə/ is functionally alike with the phrase /əŋaŋ oylibè tombə/, while /cək/ has the same function with /əŋəwbè cək/. A substitution procedure will help in examining the above. This has been illustrated in a substitution table, as below :

əŋaŋ oylibə əŋəwbə phəjəbə tombəne 'young white good looking Tomba	məyaŋ kəŋbə thin	mənibu Mani	phùu beat'	
əŋaŋ oylibə əŋəwbə 'young white	tombəne Tomba	məyaŋ kəŋbə thin	mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
əŋaŋ oylibə 'young	tombəne Tomba		mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
əŋəwbə phəjəbə 'white good looking	tombəne Tomba		mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
əŋəwbə 'white	tombəne Tomba		mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
phəjəbə 'good looking	tombəne Tomba		mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
	tombəne 'Tomba		mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
	əŋagne 'child		mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
	cawbəne 'Chaoba		mì man	phùu beat'
	u edu 'tree the		tombəde Tomba	pìle gave'
	u 'tree		tombəde Tomba	pìle gave'

In the above examples, the pattern of arrangement is SOV. There are other patterns of arrangements also, but in all the cases substitution by single words is possible. The forms /tombə/, /əŋaŋ/, /cawbə/, /u/ in the first column occupy the subject position in the sentences. Since they can be substituted by each other, they are regarded as belonging to the same category of forms, that is, noun. The forms /mənibu/, /mì/, /əŋagne/, and /tombəde/ in the second column occupy the object position in the sentences, They also can be substituted

3.1.6 Types of nouns : Nouns in Meiteiron may be either proper or common. A noun is said to be proper if it indicates a person or place, such as, /tomba/ 'Tomba (name of a person)', /imphal/ 'Imphal city', /kalentha/ 'summer month', etc. while it is common if it names a more general way : /nipa/ 'man', /chà/ 'animal', /u/ 'tree', etc.

Further, a noun in Meiteiron may be either concrete or abstract. A noun is said to be concrete if it is not abstract, that is, it can be seen, felt, tasted, etc.. A concrete noun in Meiteiron, generally is a non-dependent noun.

Illustration :

{mi}	'man'
{u}	'tree'
{càk}	'rice'
{chamu}	'elephant'
{nà}	'fish'

A noun is abstract if it names something which exists only as an idea or concept in the mind. An abstract noun in Meiteiron is generally a dependent noun. Abstract nouns are those formed with the suffix {-pə̀ -bə̀} to the root or to any other form or to a combination of root and suffixes. Illustrations :

{cabe}	'eating'
--------	----------

{thəkpa}	'drinking'
{tùmməbè}	'sleep+realization+nominalizer'
{càlibè}	'eat+continue+nominalizer'
{phəjəbè}	'beautiffulness'
{khəŋbè}	'know'

The concrete as well as the abstract noun can indicate number, that is, singular and plural (3.1.2) by taking the suffixes and forms which indicate more than one, but dual number is indicated only in the case of concrete nouns.

3.2

VERBS

3.2.0 A verb in Meiteiron is a member of a class of forms which gives the meaning of aspect and modality by way of affixing or compounding. Verbs in Meiteiron do not indicate tense. None of the verbal suffixes are tense markers. However, time is indicated by aspect and independent forms. The suffix for 'non-realization' looks like a tense marker, but it is also a morpheme indicating 'non-realization', that is, the action is yet to be performed, which may not be performed at all. Sometimes this also indicates intention. Various forms of command, negation, benefactive, etc. are also formed by suffixing the respective markers to the root or the verb form. There are restrictions to the occurrence of the verbal affixes. Some of them can not occur directly after the root, while some of them occur only in medial positions and some of them occur in final positions (3.2.1). Verb roots are all bound (3.2.2). A list of verbal suffixes which indicate aspect and modality, when they occur with a root or in multiple combinations and function as verbs in Meiteiron are given below :

{-i}	'habitual/infinitive/stative/truth'
{-li}	'continuative'
{-le}	'completive/realization'
{-ke}	'intentional/non-realization'

{-lɛm}	'action being started earlier' ⁴²
{-lɛk}	'action started earlier but continuing' ⁴³
{-hɛn}	'causative'
{-hɛw}	'start/inchoative'
{-khi}	'definitive/certainty'
{-tɛ}	'negative'
{-loy}	'negative(intentive)'
{-u}	'command'
{-lɔ}	'command(start immediately/on the spot)'
{-lo}	'command(come for action/invite)'
{-lu}	'command(go for action)'
{-nu}	'prohibitive'
{-kho}	'command(keep)'
{-chɛ}	'benefactive/let(exclusive)'
{-chi}	'benefactive/let(inclusive)'
{-nu}	'wish' ⁴⁴
{-chɛn}	'inwards(movement)'
{-thok}	'outwards(movement/show)'
{-khet}	'drawing upwards'

-
- 42 { -lɛm } indicates that the action has started at a time in the past. The action, of course, has been completed by now. This is commonly used in reporting/narrating an event at a later time, i.e. 'the action at that time!'
- 43 { -lɛk } indicates that the action has started at a time in the past but it is still continuing. This when occurring with realization/completive indicates completion of the action.
- 44 { -nu } always occurs after { -chɛ }.

{-khay}	'broke/divide', ⁴⁵
{-that}	'broke(ropе/string)', ⁴⁶
{-min}	'together'
{-nə}	'reciprocal'
{-pi}	'polite/requestive', ⁴⁷
{-cə}	'polite(declarative)', ⁴⁸
{-ne}	'declara-tive'
{-ko}	'suggestive/solicitation'
{-mən}	'excessive', ⁴⁹
{-boy}	'suspicious/uncertain/as if'
{-day}	'suspicious with presupposition/about to'
{-the}	'push down/fall down'
{-ni}	'copula', ⁵⁰

3.2.1 All the verb suffixes listed above can be classed under four sub-classes according to the order in which they can occur. They are :

Order - 1 : includes those suffixes which can not occur directly after the root;

-
- 45,46,49 These can be treated as roots also, as in the forms {khaybə} 'cut into two pieces', {thatpə} 'broke/pluck', {mənbə} 'greedy/excess (in anything), etc..
- 47,48 This suffixes show disrespect in cases like, /cəbige/ 'eat+disrespect+non-realization', {həyjəlu} 'go and tell', {həyjəlo} 'come and beg', etc..
- 50 This is a nominal suffix but in some cases it goes with the verbs. Refer, 3.9.0 .

Order - 2 : includes those suffixes which can not occur in final positions;

Order - 3 : includes those suffixes which can occur in final positions only, and no other suffix can occur after it;

Order - 4 : includes those suffixes which can occur in medial and final positions as well as directly after the root.

Suffixes coming under Order - 1 are : { -day, -ne, -ni, -nu, and -nu }.

Suffixes under Order - 2 are : { -lak, -lam, -ca, -chen, -thok, -han, -ne, -cha, -man, -min, -haw, -khet, -khoy, -thet, and -pi }.

Suffixes under Order - 3 is { -ko }.

All other suffixes not covered by the above three Orders come under Order - 4.

The following examples will illustrate the above Order classes. All the illustrations of Order - 4 below, can take the suffix of Order - 3 in final positions. Those having exceptions are marked 'not possible'. Illustrations :

- (1) əy cək cày (cà+i)
'I rice eat+infinitive (I eat rice)'
- (2) əy cək càli
'I rice eat+continue (I am eating rice)'
- (3) əy cək càle
'I rice eat+completive (I ate rice)'
- (4) əy cək cəge
'I rice eat+(non-realization (I will eat rice))'
- (5) əy cək cəkhi
'I rice eat+definite (I eat rice definitely)'
- (6) əy cək càde
'I rice eat+negative (I do not eat rice)'
- (7) əy cək càloy
'I rice eat+intentional negative (I will not eat rice)'
- (8) nəŋ cək cəw (ca+w)
'you rice eat+command (Take your meal)'
- (9) nəŋ cək càlo
'you rice eat+command immediate (Take your meal now)'
- (10) nəŋ cək càlo
'you rice eat+invitation (Come for a meal)'
- (11) nəŋ cək càlu
'you rice eat+different place (Go for the meal)'
- (12) əykhoj cək cəchi
'we rice eat+let (Let us have our meal)'
- (13) nəŋ cək cəkho
'you rice eat+keep (You keep on eating rice)'
- (14) məhək càləboy khəllule⁵¹
'he eat+as if think+realization (It was thought as
if he has taken meal)'

51 {-boy} although it generally occurs after verbs is more nominal. {cələboy} may be interpreted more appropriately as {cələbə oyləbə} 'eat+completive+nominalizer is+completive+nominalizer'.

Suffixes of Order - 2 below can not take the suffix of Order - 3 directly. Further, the suffixes of Order - 2 can not occur with all the suffixes of Order - 4. Illustrations :

- (15) əy cək cələmmi
'I rice eat+started earlier+continue'
(I was in the state of eating)
- (16) əy cək cələkli
'I rice eat+start but continue+continue'
(I have been eating rice from some time past)'
- (17) əynə mabu cək cəhəlli
'I+by him+to rice eat+cause+continue'
(I made him eat rice)
- (18) məhak cək cəchənu
'he rice eat+let+wish'
(Let him eat the rice)
- (19) cəktu cəchəllu
'rice+the eat+putting inside mouth+command'
(Finish the rice by putting inside the mouth)
- (20) cəktu cəthokū (thok+u)
'rice+the eat+out+command'
(Finish the rice by emptying the plate)
- (21) əyge cək cəminnəchi
'I+with rice eat+together+reciprocal+benefactive'
(Eat rice together with me)
- (22) gəchi cək cəbiyu
'today rice eat+request+command'⁵²
(Kindly have meal to-day)
- (23) əy həybigə
'I say+disrespect+unrealization'
(I will tell)
- (24) əy cək cəməlle
'I rice eat+excessive+realization'
(I have excessively ate the rice)
- (25) əynə mabu inthəle
'I+by him push+down+realization'
(I pushed him down)

52 {-yu} is the suffix indicating 'command' but in such cases it is not used to mean 'command' but it means 'request'.

- (26) əy cətcaɛ
'I go+polite+realization'
(I am going/I am taking leave)
- (27) nəŋ cətcaɛlo
'you go+disrespect+command'
(You may go)
- (28) məhak cəhəwɛ
'he eat+inchoative+realization'
(He had started eating)
- (29) nəŋ ciŋkətlu
'you draw+up+command'
(you draw it up)
- (30) məhaknə caykhay (cay+khay+∅)
'he+by throw+away+continue'
(He throw it at rampage)
- (31) mədu ciŋtətlu
'that draw+broke+command'
(Draw that to **break**)

Suffixes of Order - 1 below can occur in final positions. All the illustrations of Order - 1 can take the suffix of Order - 3 and can occur with some of the suffixes of Order -4. Illustrations :

- (32) nəŋ cəgenu
'you eat+non-realization+prohibitive'
(you are prohibited to eat)
- (33) məhak cəchenu
'he eat+benefactive+wish'
(Let him eat)
- (34) məhakti cəlene
'he+particularization eat+completive+declarative'
(He had eaten)
- (35) əy cəgəni
'I eat+non-realization+copula'
(I will eat)
- (36) cək cələmday oyle
'rice eat+start+about to is+completive'
(It is time to eat/rice/meal)

In the above illustrations all those forms which can occur with any of the suffixes or in multiple combinations are verbs.

3.2.2 Types of verbs : All the verb forms are bound. They are all dependent unlike nouns, which can be either dependent or non-dependent. All the verb forms are composed of a root and one or more suffix, for example, {cà+li} 'eat+continue', {hày+həl+li} 'caused to say', etc.. Verbs in Meiteiron can be divided into two classes according to their formation. They are - (i) those with affixation, such as, {cà+y} 'eat(habitual)', {i+li} 'write(continue)', {pa+le} 'read (completive)', etc.; and those showing compounding, such as, {pì+thək+le} 'give+drink+completive', {pì+cà+le > pìjèle} 'give+eat+completive', etc.. Then, it can be represented in a diagram as follows :

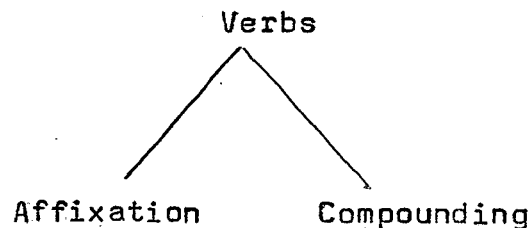


Fig. -7. Diagram showing classification of verbs.

3.2.2.1 Affixation : Those verbs which are formed either by adding one or more suffix(es) to the root are verbs formed

with affixation. The suffixes may be either aspect or modality markers or may be both. The various types of combinations of modality and aspect or aspect+aspect etc. are illustrated⁵³ below :

A. R+A

cà+i > cày	'eat(infinitive)'
cà+li	'eat(continuative)'
cà+le	'eat(completive)'
cà+ge	'eat(non-realization)'

B. R+A+A

cà + lək + li	'eat+started earlier+continue'
cà + ləm + mi	'eat+started earlier+continue'
cà + hən + ge	'eat+causation+non-realization'
cà + həw + le	'eat+inchoative+realization'

C. R+A+A+A

cà+həl+lək+li	'eat+causation+start+continue'
cà+həl+ləm+mi	'eat+causation+in process+continue'
cà+lək+ləm+mi	'eat+start+process+continue'

53 In the illustrations - R stands for root, A stands for Aspect, and M for modality.

D. R+A+A+A+A

ca+həl+lək+lə+ge
 'eat+causation+start+realization+non-realization'⁵⁴

ca+həl+lək+ləm+mi
 'eat+causation+start+start process+continue'

E. R+A+M

ca+hən+khi
 'eat+causation+definitive'

ca+ge+nu
 'eat+non-realization+prohibitive'

ca+lək+u
 'eat+start complete+command'

F. R+A+A+M

ca+həl+lək+khi
 'eat+causation+ start+ definitive'

ca+həl+ləm+mu
 'eat+causation+start in progress+command'

54 'realization' and 'non-realization' occurring together is very common in Meiteiron. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ This is a semantic phenomenon, hence it is not explained in the present analysis.

G.

R+A+A+A+M

cà+həl+lək+kə+nu
 'eat+causation+start+non-realization+prohibitive'

cà+həl+lək+lə+loy
 'eat+causation+start+realization+intentional negative'

H.

R+A+A+A+A+M

cà+həl+lək+ləm+mə+ni
 'eat+causation+start+process(start)+realization+copula'

cà+həl+lək+lə+gə+nu
 'eat+causation+start+realization+non-realization+prohibitive'

I.

R+A+M+A

cà+ləm+khi+ge
 'eat+start(process)+definitive+non-realization'

cà+hən+də+le
 'eat+causation+negation+completive'

J.

R+A+A+M+A

cà+həl+lək+khi+ge
 'eat+causation+start(process)+definitive+non-realization'

cà+həl+lək+te+le
 'eat+causation+start(process)+negative+completive'

K.

R+m

\
ca+khi
'eat+definitive'

\
ca+de
'eat+negative'

\
ca+loy
'eat+intentional negative'

L.

R+m+m

\
ca+khi+de
'eat+definitive+negative'

\
ca+khi+nu
'eat+definitive+prohibitive'

\
ca+nə+khi
'eat+reciprocate+definitive'

M.

R+m+m+m

\
ca+khi+chə+nu
'eat+definitive+benefactive+wish'

\
ca+nə+khi+de
'eat+reciprocate+definitive+negative'

\
ca+lu+chə+nu
'eat+go for action+benefactive+wish'

N.

R+m+m+m+m

\
ca+thok+pi+lu+nu
'eat+out+polite+go for action+prohibitive'

O. R+m+m+m+m+m

cà+chin+bi+lu+khi+nu
'eat+in+polite+go for action+definitive+prohibitive'

cà+min+nə+bi+lu+nu
'eat+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+prohibitive'

P. R+m+m+m+m+m+m

cà+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu
'eat+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+definitive+p-rohibitive'

cà+chin+min+nə+bi+lu+nu
'eat+together+in+reciprocate+polite+go for action+prohibitive'

Q. R+m+m+m+m+m+m+m

cà+chin+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu
'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+definitive+prohibitive'

cà+thok+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu
'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+definitive+prohibitive'

R. R+m+m+m+m+m+m+m+m

cà+chin+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu+ne
'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+definitive+prohibitive+declarative'

S.

R+M+M+M+M+M+M+M+M+M

cà+chən+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu+ne+ko
 'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+
 definitive+prohibitive+declarative+suggestive'

cà+thok+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu+ne+ko
 'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+
 definitive+prohibitive+declarative+suggestive'

T.

R+M+A+M

cà+chən+həl+lu
 'eat+in+causative+command'

cà+chən+hən+khi
 'eat+in+causative+definitive'

U.

R+M+A+M+A

cà+chən+hən+jə+le
 'eat+in+causative+requestive+completive'

cà+chən+hən+khi+ge
 'eat+in+causative+definitive+non-realization'

V.

R+M+A+M+A+A

cà+chən+hən+jə+ləm+me
 'eat+in+causative+requestive+start+completive'

cà+chən+hən+khi+ləm+me
 'eat+in+causative+definitive+start+completive'

W. R+m+A+m+A+A+A

cà+chen+hèn+jè+lèm+lè+ge
'eat+in+causative+polite+start+completive+non-
realization'

cà+thok+hèn+jè+lèm+lè+ge
'eat+out+causative+polite+start+completive+non-
realization'

X. R+m+A+A

cà+thok+hèn+ge
'eat+out+causative+non-realization'

cà+chen+hèn+ge
'eat+in+causative+non-realization'

Y. R+m+A+A+A

cà+thok+hèl+lè+ge
'eat+out+causative+completive+non-realization'

cà+chen+hèl+lèm+mè
'eat+in+causative+start+completive'

Z. R+m+A+A+A+A

cà+thok+hèl+lèm+mè+ge
'eat+out+causative+start+completive+non-realization'

cà+chen+hèl+lèm+mè+ge
'eat+in+causative+start+completive+non-realization'

11. R+m+A

ca+bi+khi+nu
'eat+polite+definitive+prohibitive'

ca+bi+khi+de

AA. R+M+M+A.

cà+bi+khi+nu
'eat+polite+definitive+prohibitive'

cà+bi+khi+de
'eat+polite+definitive+negative'

AB. R+M+M+A+M

cà+thok+pi+khi+ñu
'eat+out+polite+causative+command'

cà+thok+pi+hən+khi
'eat+out+polite+causative+definitive'

AC. R+M+M+A+M+A.

cà+thok+pi+hən+khə+lə
'eat+out+polite+causative+definitive+completive'

cà+min+nə+lək+khi+ge
'eat+together+reciprocate+start+definitive+non-
realization'

AD. R+M+M+A+A

cà+thok+pi+ləm+me
'eat+out+polite+start+completive'

cà+min+nə+ləm+me
'eat+together+reciprocate+start+completive'

AE R+M+M+A+A+A

cà+thok+pi+həl+ləm+me
'eat+out+polite+causative+start+completive'

cà+min+nə+həl+ləm+me
'eat+together+reciprocate+causative+start+completive'

AF. R+M+M+A+A+A+A

cà+thok+pi+həl+lək+ləm+me
'eat+out+polite+causative+start+start+completive'

cà+min+nə+hən+khi+lək+ləm+mi
'eat+together+reciprocate+causative+definitive+
start+start+completive'

AG. R+M+M+A+M+A+A

cà+thok+pi+hən+khə+lə
'eat+out+polite+causative+completive'

cà+min+nə+hən+khə+lə
'eat+together+reciprocate+definiive+definitive+
completive'

AH. R+M+M+A+M+A+A+A

cà+thok+pi+hən+khi+lək+ləm+mi
'eat+out+polite+causative+definitive+start+start+
completive'

cà+min+nə+hən+khi+lək+ləm+mi
'eat+together+reciprocate+causative+definitive+start+
start+completive'

AI. R+M+M+M+A.

cà+thok+pi+khə+le
'eat+out+polite+definitive+completive'

cà+min+nə+khə+le
'eat+together+reciprocate+definitive+completive'

AJ. R+M+M+M+A+M

cà+thok+pi+khi+ləm+de
'eat+out+polite+definitive+start+negative'

cà+min+nə+khi+ləm+de
'eat+together+reciprocate+definitive+start+negative'

AK. R+M+M+M+A+M+A

cà+thok+pi+khi+ləm+də+li
'eat+out+polite+definitive+start+negative+continuative'

cà+thok+pi+khi+ləm+də+le
'eat+out+polite+definitive+start+negative+completive'

AL. R+M+M+M+A+A

cà+thok+pi+khi+ləm+me
'eat+out+polite+definitive+start+completive'

cà+min+nə+khi+ləm+me
'eat+together+reciprocate+definitive+start+completive'

AM. R+M+M+M+A+A+A

\`ca+thok+pi+khi+lək+ləm+mi
'eat+out+polite+definitive+start+start+continuative'

\`ca+min+nə+bi+lək+ləm+mi
'eat+together+reciprocate+polite+start+start+continuative'

AN. R+M+M+M+M+A

\`ca+chən+min+nə+jə+le
'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+completive'

\`ca+thok+min+nə+jə+le
'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+completive'

AO. R+M+M+M+M+A+M

\`ca+chən+min+nə+jə+lək+khi
'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+start+definitive'

\`ca+thok+min+nə+jə+lək+khi
'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+start+definitive'

AP. R+M+M+M+M+A+M+A

\`ca+chən+min+nə+jə+lək+khi+ge
'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+start+definitive+non-realization'

\`ca+thok+min+nə+jə+lək+khi+ge
'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+start+definitive+non-realization'

AQ. R+M+M+M+M+M+A

cà+chən+min+nə+bi+khi+ge
 'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+definitive+
 non-realization'

cà+thok+min+nə+bi+khə+le
 'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+definitive+
 completive'

AR. R+M+M+M+M+M+A+A

cà+thok+min+nə+bi+khi+ləm+me
 'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+definitive+
 start+completive'

cà+chən+min+nə+bi+khi+ləm+me
 'eat+in+together+reciprocate+definitive
 start+completive'

3.2.2.2 Compounding : Those verbs which are formed by compounding either with a verb or any other class of words, are verbs showing compounding. The various types of compounding in Meiteiron are illustrated below :

A. Root+Root+Suffix(es)

pi+cà+le > pijəle
 'give+ear+completive'

pi+thək+le
 'give+drink+completive'

cà+nig+ŋe
'eat+intend+completive'

pi+thək+pi+yu
'give+drink+polite+command'

pi+thək+hən+jə+ləm+me
'give+drink+causative+polite+start+completive'

B. Root+Suffix(es)+Root+Suffix(es)

thək+cə+nig+ŋi
'drink+polite+intend+continuative'

háy+jə+nig+ŋi
'say+polite+intend+continuative'

cà+thək+hən+jə+nig+khi+ləm+mi
'eat+out+causative+polite+intend+definitive+start+continuative'

C. Root+Root+Root+Suffix(es)

pi+thək+nig+ŋi
'give+drink+intend+continuative'

pi+thək+nig+mən+khə+le
'give+drink+intend+excessive+definitive+completive'

D. Root+Root+Suffix(es)+Root+Suffix(es)

pi+thək+cə+nig+ŋi
'give+drink+polite+intend+continuative'

pi+thək+hən+jə+nig+khə+le
'give+drink+causative+polite+intend+definitive+completive'

3.2.3 All the above suffixes indicate either aspect or modality. As already mentioned in 3.2.0, a verb in this language can not indicate tense. However, time is indicated by the aspect markers, such as, /i/ 'habitual/continue', /li/ 'continuative', /le/ 'completive/realization', /ke/ 'intensive/non-realization', etc. as also by forms like, /ŋəchi/ 'to-day', /həwjik/ 'now', /həyeŋ/ 'to-morrow', /ŋəlaŋ/ 'yesterday', etc.. This is illustrated below :

- (37) əy kəythen cətli
'I market going(continuative)'
- (38) əy ŋəlaŋ kəythen cətli
'I yesterday market going'
- (39) əy həwjik kəythen cətli
'I now market going'
- (40) əy həyeŋ kəythen cətkeni
'I to-morrow market will go'

In examples (37-39) above, the verb/cətli/ 'going' remains the same in all the sentences, but the difference at the time of going is indicated by the independent forms /ŋəlaŋ/ 'yesterday', in example (38); and /həwjik/ 'now' in example (39). In all the cases 'my going to the market' part of the speech remains the same. In example (40), since the action is yet to be performed or it is not yet realized, this is indicated by the non-realization particle {-kə} and the independent form /həyeŋ/ 'tomorrow'. Therefore, it is interpreted that tense is not present in Meiteiron, while time is indicated by aspect markers and independent forms.

3.2.4 Voice : Voice is not a distinctive category in Meiteiron. The subject marker in Meiteiron is {-nə}, while the object marker is {-puɔ-bu}. Change in the position of the subject and object does not make any difference in sentences of Meiteiron. This is illustrated below :

(41) tombəna cawbəbu phuy
'Tomba Chaoba beat (Tomba beats Chaoba)'

(41a) cawbəbu tombəna phuy
'Chaoba Tomba beat (Tomba beats Chaoba)'

(42) əyna thabu uy
'I moon see (I see the moon)'

(42a) thabu əyna uy
'moon I see (I see the moon)'

In the above examples, those forms with the suffix {-nə} are subjects, and those forms with the suffix {-bu} are objects, irrespective of the position they occupy in the sentences.

3.2.4.1. Voice here stands for active and passive. In the present analysis it is interpreted that the verbs in Meiteiron can not show active/passive difference. However, there are sentences which seem to be passive constructions, like :

(43) əyna thəgnə yalli
'I+by sword+by cut'

- (44) tombəne cəyne phùbàni
 'Tomba+by stick+by beating+is' (Tomba beats by the
 stick)'

In the above examples (43-44), {thàgne} 'by sword', {cəy+ne} 'by stick', seems to show passive construction in Meiteiron because of the suffix {-ne} 'by'. In these cases the sense of 'by' indicated by {-ne}, is used to indicate instrument in the action, rather than passive. Hence, these sentences can not be taken as passive constructions.

But, this is one of the speculations as the result of the present analysis. More work is to be done on this, before making a final statement.

3.2.5 Syntactically⁵⁵ a verb in Meiteiron can be defined as a class of forms which can function as the head of the verb phrase (VP), and also occupies the verbal position in a sentence. In the following examples, those forms occurring at the end of a sentence are verbs. But there are exceptions. In poetry for stylistic reasons or in some sub-standard Meiteiron, the verb position is changed. However, the speech form which is regarded grammatical or proper and is commonly used by the standard speakers, has the verb at the end of the sentence.

Illustrations :

55. To have a clear cut demarcation between Morphology and Syntax is not possible in Meiteiron because morphemes are the deciding factor in them. Therefore, here and in the previous section on Nouns syntactic criteria is incorporated.

- (45) mənɪnə tɔmbəbu phùɪ
 'Mani Tomba beat(Mani beats Tomba)'
- (46) mənɪnə tɔmbəbu kənnə phùɪ
 'Mani Tomba hard beat(Mani beats Tomba hard)'
- (47) mənɪnə yəgnə celli
 'Mani fast run(Mani is running fast)'

In the above examples, phùɪ, celli are verbs, while kənnə phùɪ, yəgnə celli are VPs. In the VPs also phùɪ and celli are the head, that is the main verb. This is illustrated below :

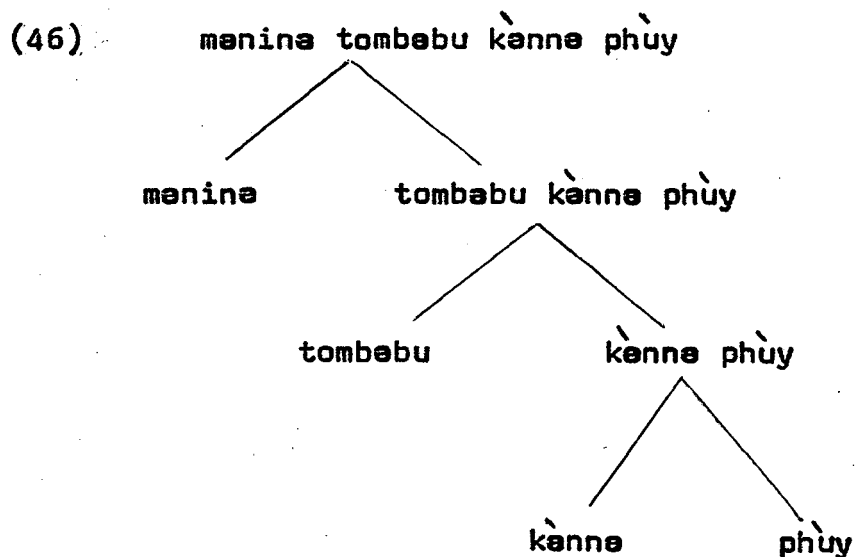


Fig. - 8. Diagram showing the main verb in the VP.

The above diagram, using labels of the constituent types in place of words is shown in the diagram below :

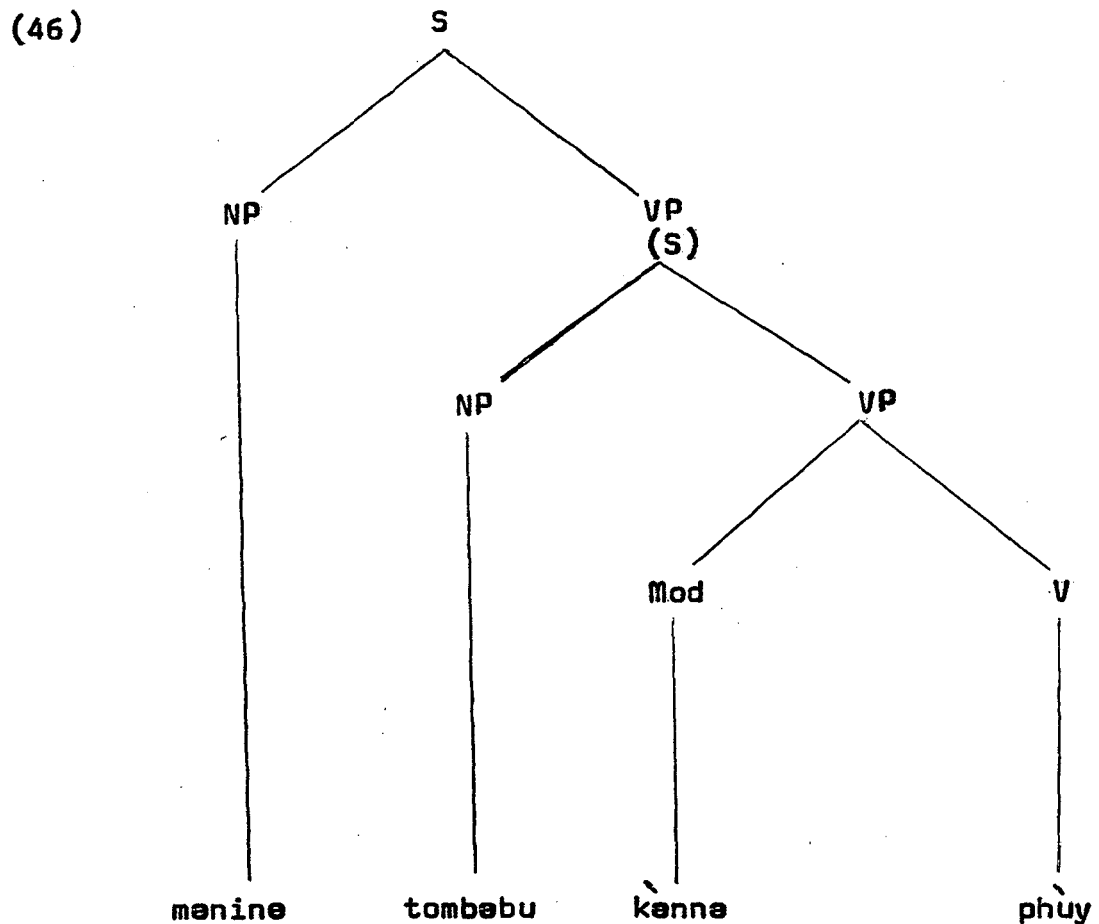


Fig. - 8a. Diagram showing the main verb in the VP by labels.

From the above illustrations, it can be seen that the form *phùy* is functionally alike with the verbal group, that is, the verb phrase *kənnə phùy*. This is illustrated below :

tombene 'Tomba	menibu Mani	yamne very	kènnè hard	phùy beat/hit'
tombene 'Tomba	menibu Mani		kènnè hard	phùy beat'
tombene 'Tomba	mənibu Mani			phùy beat'
tombene 'Tomba	menibu Mani			kəwwi calling'
tombene 'Tomba	cawbəbu Chaoba			kəwwi calling'
mənine 'Mani	cawbəbu Chaoba			kəwwi calling'
cawbene 'Chaoba	bol ball		kènnè hard	kəwwi kicking'
cawbene 'Chaoba	bol ball			kəwwi kicking'

The pattern in all the above examples is subject (s), object (O), and verb (V), that is, SOV. In all the cases, the VPs can be substituted by single verbs. Those forms occurring in the last or third column above, such as, yamne kènnè phùy, kènnè phùy, phùy, kènnè kəwwi, kəwwi occupy the verbal position in the sentences. Therefore, they are either verbs or verb phrases.

3.2.6 Verbal position : The verbal position in Meiteiron is any basic position which may be always occupied by a verb that is, generally the last in a sentence. This is illustrated below :

- (48) mehak càk cày - Verb in $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} +$
 'he rice eat'
 verb pattern. Structure in this slot function as the finite verb.
- (49) caubene kènne kàwwi - Verb in a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} +$
 'Chaoba hard kick'
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{auxiliary} \\ \text{modifier} \end{array} \right\} +$ verb pattern. In such cases the last verb is the main verb, while the first is modifier.
- (50) ey càk càgani - Verb in a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} +$
 'I rice will eat'
 verb+copula pattern. In such cases the copula is not the main verb.
- (51) eyni - Verb in a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} +$ copula
 'I am'
 pattern. In such cases the copula is the main verb.

3.3

NOUN: SUBSTITUTES

3.3.0 Generally this class of forms is termed pronouns. This name has been adopted from the following definition. Any word which can substitute a noun in a construction; can take the nominal suffixes and also can function in place of a noun is termed 'noun substitute'. As for example -

- (1) manine tombede hay, mani gæchi cætkeni
'Mani Tomba say, Mani to-day will go'

In the above example, the noun /mani/ is used repeatedly. This repetition can be avoided if the repeated or second /mani/ is substituted by a noun substitute as follows :

- (1a) manine tombede hay, mehak gæchi cætkeni
'Mani Tomba say, he (Mani) to-day will go'
- (1b) manine tombede hay, eyhak gæchi cætkeni
'Mani Tomba say, I (Mani) to-day will go'

Examples (1), (1a) and (1b) are all grammatical and meaningful, but (1a) and (1b) are preferable forms⁵⁶. The difference between (1a) and (1b) is - in (1a) the report is made in the reporter's own style, that is, indirect, while in (1b) the report is in the direct speech.

56 Both (1a) and (1b) are ambiguous.

To validate the above definition, a few more examples are given to show that /məhak or əyhak/ can take the nominal suffixes. Illustrations :

məhak+ki	'he+possessive'
məhak+nə	'he+by'
məhak+pu	'he+to'
əyhak+ki	'I+possessive'
əyhak+nə	'I+by' etc.

The noun substitutes for the three different persons are different and they also differ for singular and plural, (3.3.1.1).

3.3.1 Types of noun substitutes : The noun substitutes in Meiteiron may be broadly classified into three types. They are - (i) Personal noun substitutes, (ii) Demonstrative noun substitutes, and (iii) Interrogative noun substitutes. Diagrammatically, then, it can be represented as follows :

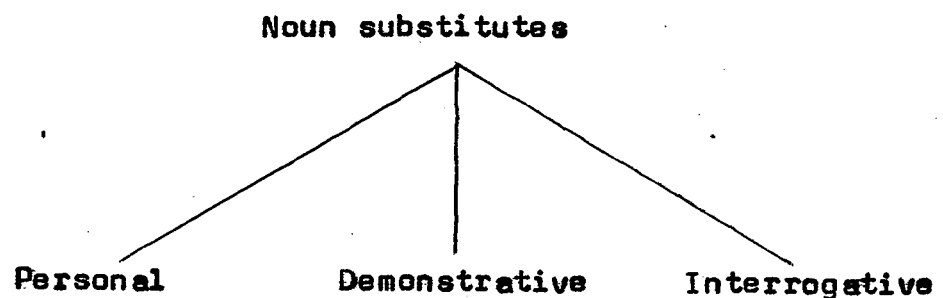


Fig - 9. Diagram showing classification of Noun substitutes.

Fig. - 9. Diagram showing classification of Noun substitutes.

3.3.1.1 Personal noun substitutes : Personal noun substitutes are used for human beings only. In a sentence, if the repeated NP is a human being, it can be substituted by personal noun substitutes. Grammatically, there are three classes of persons each in singular and plural in Meiteiron. They are - (a) First person, (b) Second person, and (c) Third person. The different personal substitutes for the three classes in the two numbers are illustrated below :

TABLE I

	Singular	Plural
First person	ey/eyhak 'I'	eykhoy 'we'
Second person:	nəg/nəhak 'you'	nəkhoy 'you'
Third person	ma/məhak 'he'	məkhoy 'they'

The personal noun substitutes have secondary forms in the singular only. They are i/e for the first person, nə for the second person, and mə for the third person. This is shown in a Table below :

TABLE II

	Singular	
	Primary	Secondary
First person	ey/eyhak 'I'	i/e 'I'
Second person	nəg/nəhak 'you'	nə 'you'
Third person	ma/məhak 'he'	mə 'he'

There is also another noun substitute mi 'man'. This is used both as a first person substitute or for someone else who is not known, but it is restricted to human beings. For example - migi phulit lèwkhèle may mean either 'my shirt has been taken away' or 'someone's shirt has been taken away'. The personal substitutes along with their secondary forms are illustrated below:

- (2) əygi laylikni
 'I book is' (This is my book)'
- (3) ikokni
 'I head is (This is my head)'
- (4) əbokni
 'I grandmother is (She is my grandmother)'
- (5) nəggi laylikni
 'you book is (This is your book)'
- (6) nəkokni
 'you head is (This is your head)'
- (7) magi laylikni
 'he book is (It is his book)'
- (8) məkokni
 'he head is (This is his head)'
- (9) migi laylik lèwkhèle
 'my/someone book taken away (My/Someone's book has
 been taken away)'

The personal substitutes occur in alienable and inalienable possessions. In the case of kin terms, like - mother, father, etc. the secondary singular forms of the personal substitutes are inalienable to the possessor. Thus,

in /ima/ 'my mother', the first personal singular substitute secondary form i- indicates that the possessor is the speaker; in /nama/ '(your) mother', the secondary form of the second personal substitute ne- shows that the possessor is the addressee; but in the case of /məma/ '(his) mother',⁵⁷ the third person secondary mə- indicates that the possessor is neither the speaker nor the addressee. Further, an attributive⁵⁸ word, that is, a personal noun substitute of the respective person, first, second, or third can be added for specificity or emphasis, such as - /əygi ima/ 'my mother', /nəggi nama/ 'your mother', and /magi məma/ 'his mother'. These personal substitutes when occurring with demonstratives show remoteness and nearness to the speaker(3.3.2). The following sets of examples will illustrate the inalienable possessions :

SET I

i+ma	'my mother'	ne+ma	'your mother'	mə+ma	'his mother'
i+pa	'my father'	ne+pa ⁵⁹	'your father'	mə+pa	'his father'
i+ca	'my child'	ne+ca	'your child'	mə+ca	'his child'

57: Forms with mə- like məma are regarded as generic terms.

58: There are restrictions in the acceptance of the attributives. For details, refer later in this section.

59: nəpa, nəma, although it stands for 'your father', 'your mother', it is considered as a term of disrespect.

SET II

i+kok	'my head'	nə+kok	'your head'	mə+kok	'his head'
i+khùt	'my hand'	nə+khùt	'your hand'	mə+khùt	'his hand'
i+mìt	'my eye'	nə+mìt	'your eye'	mə+mìt	'his eye'
i+yum	'my house'	nə+yum	'your house'	mə+yum	'his house'
i+ləm	'my land'	nə+ləm	'your land'	mə+ləm	'his land'
i+chen	'my cattle'	nə+chen	'your cattle'	mə+chen	'his cattle'

Those coming under set I, that is, the roots, such as ma-, pa-, etc. can not occur independently. They are all bound roots. They always occur with one of the three secondary forms of the personal noun substitutes. Further, there are restrictions to the occurrence of the three persons. The form ima 'my mother' or ipa 'my father', etc. with the secondary first person noun substitutes will have the first person substitute ay 'I' or eygi 'I+possessive' or eykhoygi 'we+possessive', etc. only occurring with them, such as, eygi ima 'my mother', eygi ipa 'my father', eykhoygi ima 'our mother', etc.. One can not say *nengi ima to mean 'your mother' or *nengi ipa to mean 'your father'; but one can say nekhoigi ima 'your mother', eykhoygi nepa. Here the situation is different. nekhoigi ima may mean 'mother belonging to you but whom I have my regards', and eykhoygi nepa means 'my husband who is like your father in age'. The most appropriate address for 'your mother' in the standard speech is nekhoigi nema.

In the same manner in the case of nema 'your mother' or mama 'his mother', there are restrictions in their occurrence. nema or any other form with ne- can occur with nengi, such as nengi nema 'your mother', nengi nepa 'your father', nengi naca 'your son/child', etc.. The constructions *aygi nema 'my mother', *magi nema 'his mother' are not acceptable. mama or any other form with me- can occur only with magi, such as magi mama 'his mother', magi mepa 'his father', magi meca 'his son/child', etc.. They can not occur with ey or neng, in such forms as *aygi mama to mean 'my mother', *nengi mama to mean 'your mother', etc.. The possible sets of occurrence are illustrated below :

SET III

eygi ima 'my mother' nengi nema 'your mother' magi mama 'his mother'
eygi ipa 'my father' nengi nepa 'your father' magi mepa 'his father'
eygi ica 'my child' nengi naca 'your child' magi meca 'his child'

The above illustrations show that the secondary forms of the noun substitutes which become prefixes of the first second, and third person (according from the person from which it has derived) are inalienable possessor, because they are particles which show the relationship of the speaker with the object. The restrictions to their occurrence with the personal noun substitutes indicate the person, that is, first, second, or third of the possessor. This indicates the generic category of the possessor.

In the case of set II, the roots can occur independently. But to show the nearness and remoteness to the speaker as well as to show the person of the possessor, that is, first person, second person, and third person; different personal prefixes are prefixed to them. Since these forms such as kòk 'head', khùt 'hand', etc. can also occur independently one can easily say əygi kòk 'my head', nənggi kòk 'your head', magi kòk 'his head', etc., but at the same time one can also say əygi ikòk 'my head', nənggi nəkòk 'your head', and magi məkòk 'his head'. In these cases, there is a sense of 'my own', 'your own' and 'his own', that is, əygi ikòk 'my own head', etc.. Again, one can never say, *əygi nəkòk/məkòk to mean 'my head' or *nənggi ikòk/məkòk to mean 'your head' or *magi ikòk/nəkòk to mean 'his head'. This allocation of the first, second, and third person prefixes also shows that the prefixes are inalienable to the possessor to indicate the category of the possessor.

3.3.1.2 Demonstrative Noun substitutes : Demonstrative noun substitutes are all bound. The demonstrative roots chi- and du- can also occur with nouns in the form of suffixes, such as, cawbachi 'this Chaoba', nonchàdu 'the/that lion', cawbàdu 'the/that Chaoba', etc.. These can be expressed in the following manner also. cawbà achi 'this Chaoba', nonchà adu 'the/that lion', cawbà edu 'the/that Chaoba'.

Generally, the demonstrative noun substitute roots occur in combination with the first personal prefix a-, and the third personal prefix me-. With the first personal prefix they indicate nearness, which may conveniently be termed as 'proximal'; while with the third personal prefix, they indicate remoteness, which may be termed as 'distal'. For example :

echi 'this' (proximal)'
machi 'this (distal)'
edu 'the/that (proximal)'
medu 'the/that (distal)'

In the above examples only a- and me- are found combined with the demonstrative roots. The personal prefix a- and me- indicate proximal and distal respectively, when they are combined with demonstrative noun substitute roots. There is no intermediate position between them, hence, na- is not found in combinations.

Further there are restrictions in the occurrence of echi 'this' and machi 'this', in constructions. In the same manner there are restrictions in the occurrence of edu, and medu also. machi and medu occurs before the subject in SOV constructions, while echi and edu occurs before the subject in the OSV constructions. When these demonstrative substitute roots occur in combination with nouns, they indicate particularization and demonstrative.

There are two more demonstrative noun substitute roots which cannot occur with nouns. They are : echom 'this side', and edom 'that side'. They also can not occur independently without the personal prefix e or me. Here in this case also, the personal prefixes indicate proximal and distal. Illustrations :

echomde	'this side (proximal)'
machomde	'this side (distal)'
edomde	'that side (proximal)'
medomde	'that side (distal)'

In the above illustrations, the suffix de has a locative sense.

3.3.1.3 Interrogative Noun substitutes : Interrogative noun substitutes are also bound forms, which can not occur independently without a suffix or suffixes attached to it. An interrogative noun substitute can be of person, object, place, time, manner, and quantity. In some cases combination of person and place, or place and thing, etc. can also be indicated. Illustrations :

kəna	'who'	ke+na	'which+person'
kəli	'which'	ke+li	'which+thing'
kəday	'where'	ke+day	'which+place'

kələm	'how'	kə+ləm	'which+manner/way/mode'
kəya	'how much'	kə+ya	'which/quantity/much'
kəyam	'how many'	kə+yam	'which+quantity/many'
kə+na+də	'which+person+at'(at whose place)'		
kə+li+də	'which+thing+at (at which place)'		
kə+na+də+no	'to whose place'		
kə+day+də+no	'to which place'		
kə+dəwnəy	'when'		
kə+dom+də	'to which direction'		

In the above illustrations, the element kə indicates the meaning 'which'. The second, third, or fourth elements in the forms indicate person, place, thing, manner, quantity, time, etc.. The interrogative element is kə, without which no interrogation is indicated.

3.3.2 All the noun substitutes indicated above can take all the nominal suffixes. They also can substitute the nouns, that is, they can occupy the nominal position in bigger constructions. Hence, they are regarded as noun substitutes.

3.4

MODIFIERS⁶⁰

3.4.0 A modifier in Meiteiron is a class of forms which modifies a noun or a verb. The same modifier can modify either a noun or a verb, as in kə̀nne cə̀tpè 'fast walker/act of going fast', and kə̀nne cə̀tli 'going fast'. cə̀tpè 'going' is a nominal form since it can take most of the nominal suffixes and also can function as a noun, while cə̀tli 'go+continue' is a verbal form. The traditional concept of a clear cut division between adverbs and adjectives is not a favourable classification for Meiteiron. If we accept the traditional view, then, we have to posit two different names for a particular form. Hence the term modifier is preferable for this class of forms, although there are some nouns which can not accept the same suffix with the verbs. For example - mì 'man' can not accept the modifier kə̀nne, but it will accept əkə̀nbə 'strong'⁶¹.

Except the numerals which are purely adjectives and which have nothing to do with verbs, the same form modifies both the noun and the verb. Illustrations :

⁶⁰ Modifiers is used here to mean both adjectives and adverbs. This is to mean the class of forms which modifies either a noun or a verb.

⁶¹ In both the forms kə̀nne and əkə̀nbə the root is the same, that is, kən 'strong'. In the case of 'going' it has been interpreted as 'fast' while in the case of 'man' it is interpreted as 'strong'. The meaning given in the examples has little to do with the analysis of the language, because in some cases, approximate or the literal meanings of the individual words or morphemes are given.

- (1) nəŋ həwjik cətpə yale
 'you now going allowed (can)'
- (2) nəŋ ɣəchi cətpə phey
 'you to-day going good (better)'
- (3) nəŋ həwjikk cətlu
 'you now go+command'
- (4) məhak ɣəchi cəkhi
 'he to-day go+definite'

In the above illustrations cətpə is a nominal form with the nominalizing suffix {-pe ~ -bə}. So the words həwjik and ɣəchi are modifiers to the nominal form. In the case of cətlu and cəkhi which are undoubtedly verbal forms also, the two forms are modifiers.

3.4.1 Types of modifiers : Modifiers in Meiteiron can be divided into two major types, according to their behaviour, that is, the class of forms which they modify. They are : Restricted and Unrestricted. Diagrammatically, then, it can be represented as follows :

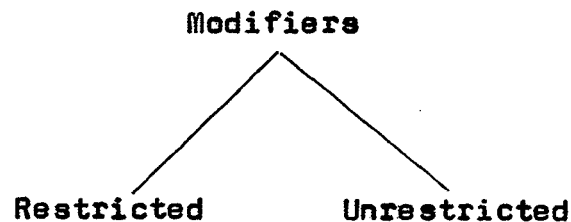


Fig. -10. Diagram showing types of modifiers.

3.4.1.1 Restricted : Those modifiers which can modify only the nouns and no other class of forms, like- numerals, demonstrative and interrogative noun substitutes, name of days and months, verbal nouns, etc. are called restricted.

Illustrations :

- (5) əḡaḡ ədu
 'child the'
- (6) əḡaḡ əmə
 'child one'
- (7) phəjəbè əḡaḡ
 'beautiful child'
- (8) əḡaḡ kəya
 'child how much (many)'
- (9) niḡthəwkabè numit
 'Monday day'
- (10) kalen tha
 'Summer month'

In the above examples, həwjik, ədu, əmə, phəjəbè, kəya, niḡthəwkabè, kalen, etc. are modifiers of the corresponding nouns occurring with them. These noun modifiers can not modify a verb, as such, it has been considered that these modifiers have limitation to their occurrence. Hence, they are termed as restricted modifiers.

As mentioned in (3.4.0), the modifiers have to undergo some changes (although the root remains the same), that is, they have to take different prefixes and suffixes. For example, phəjəbè in example (8) modify the noun əḡaḡ

but if it is to modify the verbal noun cètpè, then it becomes phəjəne.

Further, there are differences in the position of the modifiers, when they occur with the form or element which they modify. The noun substitutes ədu, kəya, and the numerals əme, occur after the noun which they modify; while the days, months, verbal nouns, etc. that is, həwjik, nɪŋthəwkabə, kalen, etc. occur before the noun which they modify.

3.4.1.2 Unrestricted : Those modifiers which can modify both a noun or a verb are termed unrestricted. Illustrations :

- (11) həwjik cətlu
 'now go+command'
- (12) phəjəne cətlu
 'nicely go+realization'
- (13) həwjik cətpè
 'now go+nominalizer(going)'
- (14) phəjəne cətpè
 'nicely going'
- (15) lawne həyju
 'loudly say+command'
- (16) lawne həybè
 'loudly saying'

In the above examples, həwjik in example (11), and (13) modify the verb cətlu and the noun cətpè, respectively.

In the same way, phajene in examples (12) and (14) modify the verb cètle and the noun càtpè, respectively; and in examples (15) and (16) lawne modifies the verb hàyyu and the noun hàybè. Since, these modifiers modify both a noun and a verb they are regarded as unrestricted.

3.4.2 Substantives : There is a class of forms which can function as nouns as well as noun modifiers, but they can not modify a verb. This class of forms is subclassed as substantives. Substantives are also regarded as restricted modifiers (3.4.1.1), but because of its difference from other modifiers, they are given separate treatment. The substantives are a variety of nouns which when they occur with a noun modify the noun. Some substantives are formed with the prefixation of e-⁶² to a Verbal noun (VN), for example - /ecàbè/ 'eater/one who eats', /enàgbè/ 'the red one/something red', etc.. /ecàbè/ and /enàgbè/ are the combination of e+ the verbal noun càbè, and e+ the VN nàgbè, respectively⁶³. The substantives can occur before or after the noun which they modify. They are illustrated below :

- (17) machide ley enàgbè ame chátle⁶⁴
 'here flower red one bloom+realization'
 (Here a/one red flower has bloomed)

62 e- might be the secondary first person noun substitute.

63 /càbè/, /nàgbè/, etc. are also substantives.

64 /chátle/ is not exactly English past 'bloomed'.

- (18) mächide ɛ̀ɲàɲbè ləy əmə chàtle
 'here red flower one bloom'
 (Here a/one red flower has bloomed)
- (19) ɛ̀ɲaɲ phəjəbè əmə celli
 'child beautiful one run'
 (A/one beautiful child is running)
- (20) phəjəbè ɛ̀ɲaɲ əmə celli
 'beautiful child one run'
 (A/one beautiful child is running)

In the above illustrations, ɛ̀ɲàɲbè and phəjəbè which occur before as well as after the nouns ləy and ɛ̀ɲaɲ function as modifiers, although they are nominal forms, and they occur as nouns; for example -

- (21) ɛ̀ɲaɲbèdu həkkənu
 'the red(one) (do) not pluck'
 (Do not pluck the red one)
- (22) phəjəbədudi kədayde tùmmi
 'the beautiful(one) where sleep+continue'
 (Where the beautiful one is sleeping)
- (23) ɛ̀càbè məchək khəɲɲe
 'eater person/face/identity know+realization'
 (The person who eats is known/ The eater is identified)

In the above, ɛ̀ɲàɲbè in example (21), phəjəbè in example (22), and ɛ̀càbè in example (23) are nouns, because they occupy the nominal position in the above sentences. They also have the nominal suffixes attached to them. Hence, they are regarded as a variety of noun called substantives⁶⁵.

65) Substantives when occurring before the comma-pause co-ordination (at the end of the phrase), indicate verbal meaning. But this can be shown only through transformations. In the present analysis, because of model constraints this is not discussed here.

3.5

NUMERALS

3.5.0 Numerals in Meiteiron are modifiers. They modify the nouns. There are two types of numerals in Meiteiron as in most of the languages. They are : cardinal and ordinal. The cardinal and ordinal numerals occur in different positions. The cardinals occur after nouns while the ordinals occur before nouns. They are illustrated below :

mi əmə
'man one'

əŋaŋ əni
'child two'

əhanbè mi
'first man'

ənichubè əŋaŋ
'second child'

The major difference between the cardinals and the ordinals is indicated in the case of one and the first, that is, əmə 'one' and əhanbè 'first'. For other numerals, the suffix {-chubè} is added to the cardinal form to form ordinals, for example -

<u>Cardinal</u>		<u>Ordinal</u>	
məga	'five'	məgachubè	'fifth'
nipan	'eight'	nipanchubè	'eighth'
kun	'twenty'	kunchubè	'twentieth'
camə	'hundred'	caməchubè	'hundredth'

3.5.1 Cardinal : Cardinal numbers are counted upto one billion. This is an exception for Meiteiron from other Tibeto-Burman languages. The semantic implication of the cardinal numbers are not discussed in the present analysis, since it requires detailed semantic study of the language. The cardinal numbers in Meiteiron are :

əmə	'one'
əni	'two'
əhum	'three'
məli	'four'
məŋa	'five'
təluk	'six'
təlet	'seven'
nipan	'eight'
məpəŋ	'nine'
təla	'ten'
təlamathoy	'eleven'
təlanithoy	'twelve'
təlahumdoy	'thirteen' ⁶⁶
təlaməli	'fourteen'
təlaməŋa	'fifteen'
təlatəluk	'sixteen'
təlatelet	'seventeen'

66 In the case of the first three numbers after every decal digit, that is, ten, twenty, thirty, etc., it is one extra/more, two extra/more, or three extra/more, but after that the cardinal forms, four, five, and so on are added.

təlanipan	'eighteen'
təlamapən	'nineteen', ⁶⁷
kun	'twenty'
kunmathoy	'twenty one'
kunnithoy	'twenty two'
kulhumdoy	'twenty three'
kunməli	'twenty four'
kunməga	'twenty five'

The addition of -mathoy which is derived from the combination of əme 'one' and thoy 'extra/more', nithoy from əni 'two' and thoy 'extra/more', humdoy from əhum 'three' and doy, a variant of thoy 'extra/more', məli 'four', məga 'five', etc. as in the above examples, in any number of every tenth additional digit shows the increasing number. Hence, the repetition of the -mathoy, -nithoy, and so on is not shown in the illustrations, instead the tenth digits are given below :

kunthəla	'thirty'
niphu	'forty'
yəgkhəy	'fifty'
humphu	'sixty'
humphutəla	'seventy'
məliphu	'eighty'

67. nineteen, twenty nine, etc. are ten plus nine, twenty plus nine, etc. in Meiteiron, unlike in Indo-Aryan languages, where it is one less than twenty, one less than thirty, etc.

məlipʰutəla	'ninety'
came	'(one/a) hundred'

For 'hundred and one' it is came əmə, that is, it starts from the beginning. It will go one like came əni 'hundred and two', came əhum 'hundred and three', till it reaches came məlipʰutəla məpən 'one hundred ninety nine'. Then, cəni 'two hundred' comes. The same process will go on repeating for all the numbers beyond two hundred also. To indicate the hundredth digit ca or cə is prefixed before the number. Illustrations :

cəhum	'three hundred'
caməli	'four hundred'
caməŋa	'five hundred'
catəluk	'six hundred'
cətələt	'seven hundred'
canipən	'eight hundred'
camapən	'nine hundred'
lichig	'(a/one) thousand' ⁶⁸
lichig əni	'two thousand'
lichig əhum	'three thousand'
lichig məli	'four thousand'
lichig məŋa	'five thousand'
lichig təluk	'six thousand'

68 lichig əmə '(a/one) thousand' is also possible'

lichij talet	'seven thousand'
lichij nipan	'eight thousand'
lichij mapan	'nine thousand'
lichij tala	'ten thousand'
laykhe eme	'one lakh'
laykhe tala	'ten lakh'
koti	'hundred lakh'
koti tala	'thousand lakh'
binde	'one billion'.

3.5.2 Ordinals : To indicate ordinal numbers except for the first, all other ordinal numbers are formed by adding a suffix {-chubə}, in the cardinal number (3.5.0). The ordinal numbers in Meiteiron are illustrated below :

əhanbə	'first'
ənichubə	'second'
əhumchubə	'third'
məlichubə	'fourth'
məgachubə	'fifth'
təlukchubə	'sixth'
taletchubə	'seventh'
nipanchubə	'eighth'
mapanchubə	'ninth'
tələchubə	'tenth'

3.6

RESPECT FORMS

3.6.0 Apart from the respect markers {-pi ㄨ -bi} and {-cə ㄨ -jə}, there are some special kind of forms which are used in the royal court and other respectable gatherings as well as to address an honourable or respectable person or any elder person. Some of them are not in common use these days, but some of them have become so popular that without them the speech seems very rude. The traditional practice in the Meitei society, to show respect to elders which is still in practice, has made these forms very popular even in the day-to-day conversation. These forms are shown side by side with the normal forms in the illustrations, and extinct or unused forms are marked with an asterisk (*).

Illustrations :

Respect	Normal	
habè	càbè	'eating'
caythabè	ilujabè	'bathing'
lùk	càk	'rice/meal'
lègbà	cətpə	'going'
phànbà	thàkpə	'smoking/drinking'
khudonj	hidak	'hookah/smoke'
pane	kəwa	'betel'

Respect	Normal	
edom	nej	'you'
tàkpibè	hàybè	'said/asked'
yollèbè	lallèbè	'wrong'
cèppè	tùmbè	'sleeping'
tigthokpè	tumbè	'sleeping'
thònbè	chetpè	'wearing'
noggabè	chibè	'die'
laykhidèbè	chibè	'die'
enoybè	ilonbè	'a kind of curry'
hangetcèbè	hàybè	'appeal'
*punemjèbè	khulumbè	'pray/knelt before someone'
*əṅṅ onbè	hàtpè	'kill'
lèṅchinbè	cəṅbè	'enter'

In the royal court, the normal speech forms were not used, because that was considered disrespectful. Nowadays, some of these forms are not used at all, while those which have been retained are used commonly. In some social contexts the ordinary or common words, like - /itu/ 'my wife', /ikhòṅ/ 'my leg', /milonbè/ or /pùk kəṅbè/ 'pregnant', etc. are not used. In their place more ornate or prestigious forms like - /nəṅay hawnubi/ in place of /itu/, /tawjiṅ melu hunbè/ in place of /milonbè/ were used. But in the case of /khòṅ/ 'leg' a loan-word /colon/ is considered more ornate.

3.7

FORMATION OF INTERROGATIVES

3.7.0 Interrogatives in Meiteiron are generally formed by suffixing the interrogative marker $\{-la \rightsquigarrow -l\grave{a}\}$ to the noun or the verbal noun, for example -

tombə+la	'Tomba+interrogative marker'
ichig+la	'water+interrogative marker'
cà+bə+la	'eat+interrogative marker'
thək+pə+la	'drink+interrogative marker'
phù+bə+la	'beat+interrogative marker'

In the above examples, tombə, ichin, are nouns. For them the suffix $\{-la\}$ or $\{-l\grave{a}\}$, as the case may be, is added to them to form interrogatives. In the case of the roots cà, thək, and phù the nominalizer $\{-p\grave{a}\}$ or $\{-b\grave{a}\}$ as the case may be, are added to them before the interrogative marker is added to indicate interrogation. This nominalizer can be added after the verb suffixes also to form interrogation. Illustrations :

cà+li+bə+la	'eat+continuative+nominalizer+interrogative'
cà+lə+bə+la	'eat+completive+nominalizer+interrogative'
cà+khi+bə+la	'eat+definitive+nominalizer+interrogative'

In the above illustrations, {cà} is the root for 'eat', {-li}, {-lɛ}, and {-khi} are verbal suffixes. The interrogative marker {-la ~ -lɛ}, can not occur directly after these verb suffixes. In other words interrogative can not be formed from verbs⁶⁹. However, the interrogative noun substitutes indicate interrogation in Meiteiron⁷⁰.

69 Refer. 2.2.16.

70 For more on interrogatives refer. 4.1.3.2.

3.8

FORMATION OF NEGATIVES

3.8.0. In Meiteiron negatives are formed by suffixing negative morphemes to a verb or the verb roots. Negative morphemes or negative markers are all verb suffixes. Negative markers in Meiteiron are {-te} and {-loy}. Illustrations :

càt+te	'go+negative'
phà+de	'catch+negative'
càt+tə+le	'go+negative+realization'
cà+də+le	'eat+negative+realization'
cà+lək+te	'eat+start+negative'
cà+khi+de	'eat+definitive+negative'
cà+loy	'eat+negative(intentive)'
thùp+poy	'fold+negative(intentive)'
thəm+moy	'place+negative(intentive)'
hàŋ+goy	'open+negative(intentive)'
càt+həl+loy	'go+causative+negative(intentive)'
càt+ləm+moy	'go+start+negative(intentive)'

In the above illustrations, the negative markers occur after the root and verbal suffixes only. But there are instances where the nominalizing suffix {-pə} or {-bə} occur after the negative marker, for example, càt+te+bə 'go+negative+nominalizer', cà+də+bə 'eat+negative+nominalizer', cà+khi+de+bə 'eat+definitive+negative+nominalizer' (3.1.1.1, ii).

3.8.1 Negatives are formed exclusively at the morphological level. There is no other means of indicating negation except through the suffixes listed in 3.8.0 . However, in the case of the copula {-ni} there is a different treatment. For example - the positive statement cawbani 'This is Chaoba' has the corresponding negative form cawba nette 'This is not Chaoba'. nette means 'no' in Meiteiron. It is presumed that nette 'no' is derived from {-ni}. To indicate negation, the copula which is considered as main verb (3.2.6) is first separated from the NP, then, the i in {-ni} has been changed to a . After that the negative suffix {-te} is added to it. In the process /t/ is geminated, because {-te} can not occur after vowels (2.2.10).

3.9

COPULA

3.9.0 There is a kind of verb element which is found directly attached with the noun or NP. This element functions as the verb in sentences. This is the verbal part in sentences and without this a sentence in Meiteiron is incomplete (if there is no verb or VP in the sentence). The particle is {-ni}. Illustrations :

- (1) cawbeni
 'Chaoba+copula (This is Chaoba)'
- (2) mehak cawbeni
 'he Chaoba+copula (He is Chaoba)'
- (3) mehak epikpə cawbeni
 'he little Chaoba+copula (He is the little Chaoba)'
- (4) mehak cawbe
 'he Chaoba (He Chaoba)'
- (5) mehak epikpə cawbe
 'he little Chaoba (He little Chaoba)'

In the above illustrations, examples (1-3) have the copula {-ni} with the noun/NP and they give a complete sense. In examples (4) and (5) because of the absence of the copula {-ni} they are incomplete.

3.9.1 The copula is treated as a main verb because of the following reasons. It is also the verbal nucleus in a sentence.

It also functions the same as main verbs in VPs or in sentences.

Illustrations :

- (6) cawbə cətli
 'Chaoba go+continue(Chaoba is going)'
- (7) tombə cəli
 'Tomba eat+continue(Tomba is eating)'
- (8) məni
 'Mani+is (It is Mani)'
- (9) tombəni
 'Tomba+is (It is Tomba)'

In the illustrations, the copula {-ni} in examples (8) and (9) above, has the same function as cətli in example(6), and cəli in example (7), which are the main verb in the sentences.

Further, like other verbs negative also can be formed with copula by affixing the negative particle {-te}(3.8.1).

SUMMARY

To summarize, we have discussed above :

Nouns - Nouns in Meiteiron have been determined by a set of affixes, because no root can show the class to which it belongs. Nouns have been divided into Simple, and Compound. Further, Simple nouns have been sub-divided into Non-dependent and Dependent. A different type of noun in the compound group, made up of a noun and a decorative word has been illustrated. Concrete and abstract nouns have also been distinguished. Regarding gender, natural gender has been divided into personal and non-personal. Grammatical gender is absent. The three numbers - Singular, Plural and Dual have been illustrated and discussed.

Verbs - Verbs in this language have also been determined determined through a set of suffixes. Therefore, it has been argued that in Meiteiron the distinction between morphology and syntax is not always clear. The verbal suffixes indicate aspect and modality only. These suffixes have been grouped under four orders according to their occurrence. Tense has not been indicated by the suffixes, although time has been indicated by suffixes as well as independent forms. Verbs have been divided into affixation and compounding. Active and passive voice has not been discussed because this has been considered non-distinctive.

Noun substitutes - This is traditionally termed pronouns. The noun substitutes have been divided into three types - Personal, Demonstrative and Interrogative. The personal noun substitutes are alienable and inalienable to the possessor. They have primary and secondary forms in singular number. Singular and plural have different forms. Demonstrative noun substitutes modify the noun also. The proximal and distal have been indicated by the secondary first person and third person forms, when they are prefixed to the demonstrative noun substitutes.

Modifiers - Modifiers comprise adjectives and adverbs. Since the same form modifies either a verb or a noun, the common term modifiers has been introduced. However, there are some forms, like verbal nouns, substantives, and noun substitutes which do not modify a verb. Hence, the modifiers have been classified into Restricted and Unrestricted. Restricted has been used to designate the modifiers which modify only the nouns and unrestricted for those modifiers which modify both a noun and a verb.

Numerals - The cardinal and ordinal numbers have been illustrated in this section. The first three numbers after each decal number is -mathoy, -nithoy, -humdoy; but after that the cardinal numbers have been repeated.

Respect forms - There is a section on respect-forms, that is, the language of royal court. The ornate forms and ordinary forms have been illustrated in this section.

Interrogative formation - Interrogatives are formed with nouns. For the formation of interrogatives from verbs, the suffix {-pə̃ -bə̃} is attached to the verb before the interrogative particle is added.

Negative formation - Negatives are formed by suffixing the negative particle to the verb. However, the nominalizing suffix can be added to the negative form.

Copula - The copula functions like a main verb. This has been illustrated in this section. The process of forming negatives with the copula has also been discussed.

CHAPTER IV

4.0

SYNTAX

4.1 The structure of a sentence consists of its syntactic form. The analysis of the structure of sentence in a language can roughly be described as those aspects of the syntax of the language. A sentence is not merely a random string of words. It is a construction. A construction is made up of smaller units known as constituents. A constituent in Meiteiron may be bound or free. A construction in Meiteiron may be endocentric or exocentric according to the type of constituents, which compose it. An endocentric construction is one in which the principal constituent is comparable to the complete construction, that is, the principal constituent in the construction is of the same category and it functions like the combined construction. Illustrations :

- (1) tombe amachug cawbe
 'Tomba and' Chaoba'
- (2) tombe amachug cawbe amachug ay
 'Tomba and Chaoba and I'
- (3) tombe cawbe amachug ay
 'Tomba Chaoba and I'
- (4) phajeba` enan
 'beautiful child'

In the above examples, the principal constituents tombe, cawbe, ay, phajeba`, and enan are of the same category,

that is, nouns, and they can function like the combined construction. Hence, these are regarded as endocentric constructions.

An exocentric construction is one in which the constituents can not function like the combined constructions.

Illustrations :

- (5) kènne cèlli
'fast running'
- (6) tombe cèlli
'Tomba (is) running'
- (7) thòg hannu
'door open'

In the above illustrations, the constituents can not function like the combined construction. Hence, they are regarded as exocentric constructions.

An endocentric construction may be either coordinating or subordinating. Illustrations :

- (8) cabè emechun thèkpè
'eating and drinking'
- (9) tombègè cawbègè
'Tomba with Chaoba with'
- (10) ènàn èdu
'child the'
- (11) nipa èchi
'man this'

In the above illustrations, examples (8) and (9) are coordinating constructions, because the principal constituents are all heads or heads with coordinator(c). Examples (10) and (11) are subordinating constructions because the constituents are head (H) and modifier(Mod). This is shown below by taking examples (8) and (10).

Illustrations :

- (8) càbè amachug thàkpà
 'eating and drinking'
 (H) (c) (H)
- (10) əŋəŋ ədu
 'child the'
 (H) (Mod)

The number of constituents in a construction may vary; and a construction, if it can occur independently as a complete utterance, then, it becomes a sentence in Meiteiron. In other words, a sentence in Meiteiron may be said to be constructed by smaller units known as constituents because a single word can be a sentence in Meiteiron. Illustrations :

- (12) əyni
 'I am'
- (13) əygi yumni
 'my house+is'(This is my house)'

Examples (12) and (13) are sentences. In (12) there is only one word but it has two morpheme constituents, that is -

- (14) ey
'I'
- (15) ni
'is (copula)'

But in (13) there are two words and it has four morpheme constituents, that is -

- (16) eygi
'my'
- (17) yumni
'house+is'

eygi and yumni can be further divided as (18) and (19), and (20) and (21) respectively.

- (18) ey
'I'
- (19) gi
'possissive (of)'
- (20) yum
'house'
- (21) ni
'is(copula)'

The constituents shown above are all morphemes. There are more complex constructions than (12) and (13) above, which can be analysed as consisting of constituents that are phrases rather than words or morphemes. The phrases themselves have constituents, depending on the complexity of the sentence.

Illustrations :

- (22) nipa edu kènne cèlli
'man the fast running(The man is running fast)'
- (23) ley edu yanne cawwi
'flower the very big(The flower is very big)'
- (24) eykhoygi mənĩnde leybè nipa edu tùmmi
'our west living person the sleeping'
(The person living at our west is sleeping)'
- (25) eykhoygi mənĩnde leybè nipa edu kènne tùmmi
'our west living person the fast sleeping'
(The person living at our west is fast sleeping)'

The above sentences, although they are more complex than sentence (12) and (13), can be cut into smaller constituents. Sentence (22) has two groups and it has four word constituents. Illustrations :

- (26) nipa edu
'man the'
- (27) kènne cèlli
'fast running'

(26) and (27) are phrases having two words each as constituents. (28) and (29) are constituents of (26), while (30) and (31) are constituents of (27).

- (28) nipa
'man'
- (29) edu
'the'
- (30) kènne
'fast'
- (31) cèlli
'running'

The constituent structure of sentence (22) can be shown in a tree diagram as follows :

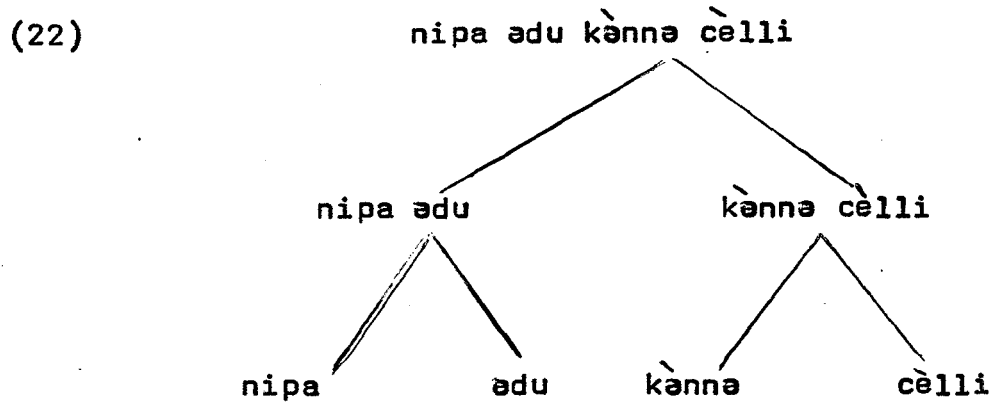


Fig. - 11. Diagram showing constituent structure of sentence (22).

The constituent structure of sentence (22) is simple as compared to the structure of sentence (25). Sentence (25) has also two groups but it has seven word constituents.

(32) əykhoygi mənɪŋdə ləybə nipa ədu
'our west living man the

(33) kə̀nnə tùmmi
'fast sleeping'

The constituents of phrase (33) are the two words kə̀nnə and tùmmi, while the situation is more complex in the case of phrase (32), but nevertheless, it is usually agreed that the constituents of phrase (32) are the phrase (34) and the sentence (35).

- (34) nipa edu
'man the'
- (35) eykhoygi menigde laybè (nipa)
'our west living (man)'

(34) has the constituents (28) and (29), that is nipa and edu. (35) however, can be divided into (36) and (37).

- (36) eykhoygi menigde
'our west'
- (37) laybè
'living'

(36) again has two constituents (38) and (39).

- (38) eykhoygi
'our'
- (39) menigde
'west'

The constituents in the above are all words. There can be further divisions at the morphological level. Sentence (25) can be reproduced in a tree diagram showing the morpheme constituents as below :

(25)

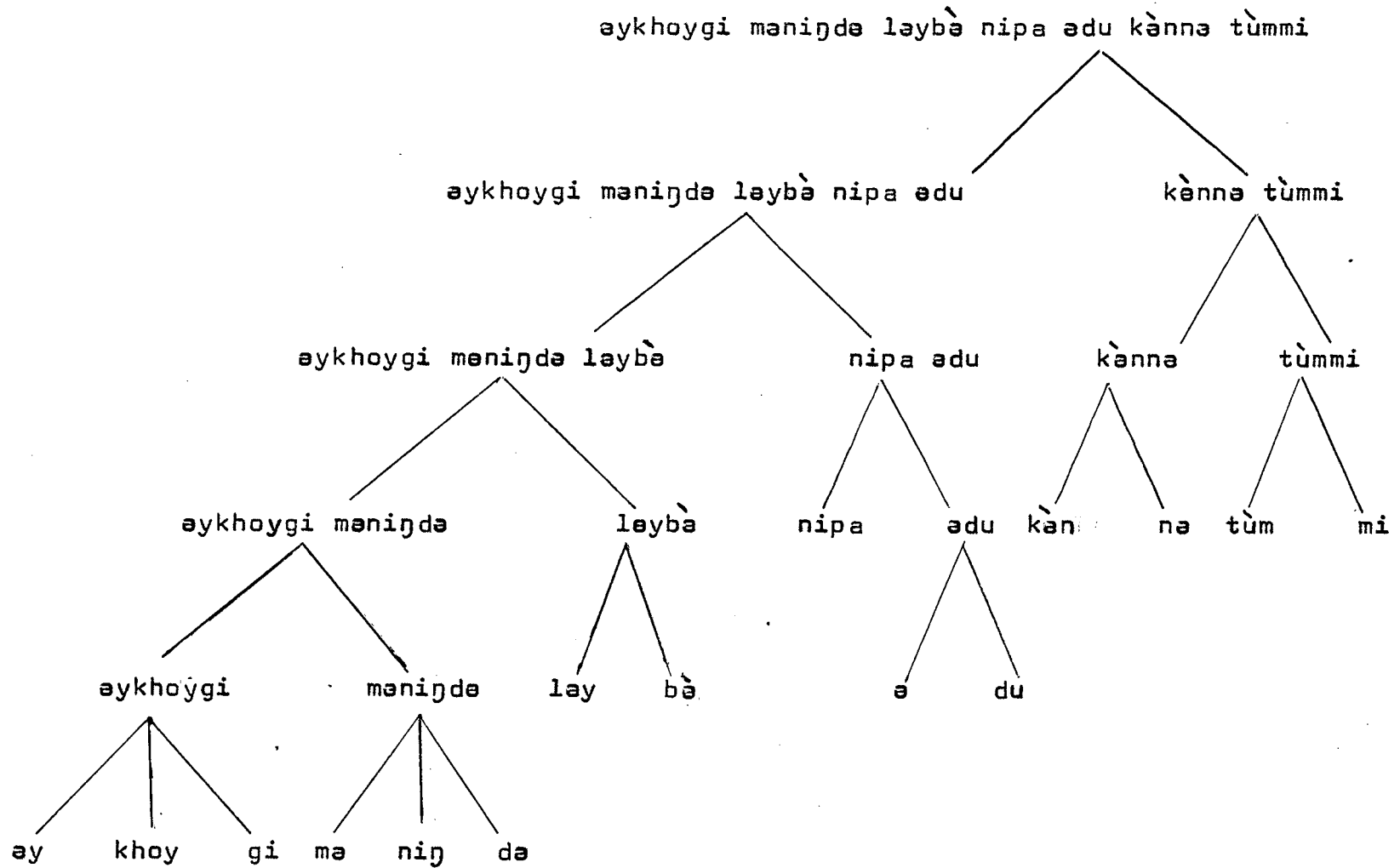


Fig. - 12. Diagram showing morpheme constituents of sentence (25).

The constituents in the above sentences (22) and (25) can be labelled according to their classes. The basic constituents - words - have well known labels called form classes, which is traditionally known as parts of Speech. They are : nouns (N), verbs (V), pronouns or noun substitutes (Ns), modifiers (Mod), that is, adjectives and adverbs; determiners (Det);⁷¹ etc.. By putting the labels to the constituents the classes of the constituents can be recognised as well as can show the identical structure of sentences. The constituent structure of sentences (22) and (25) using labels of the constituent types in place of words is shown in the diagram below :

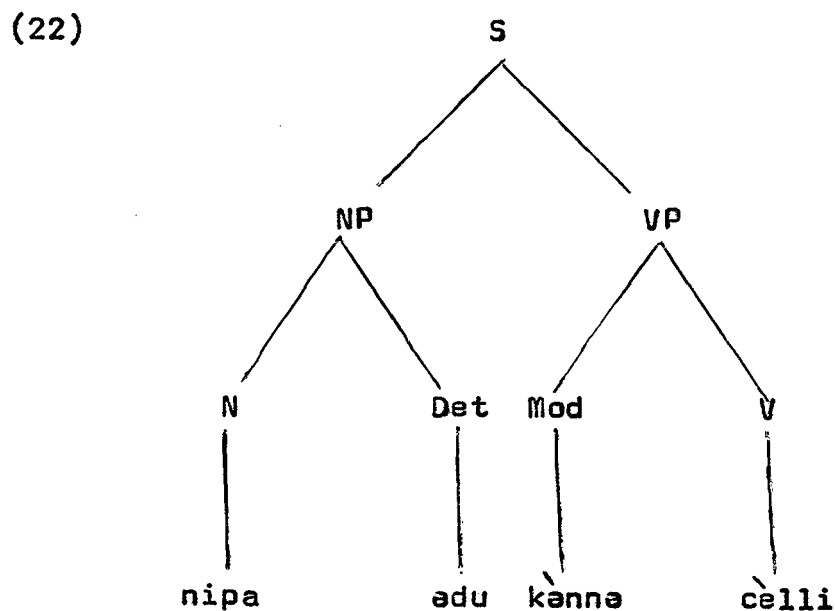


Fig. - 13. Diagram showing immediate constituents of sentence (22).

71 Det. is also modifier.

(25)

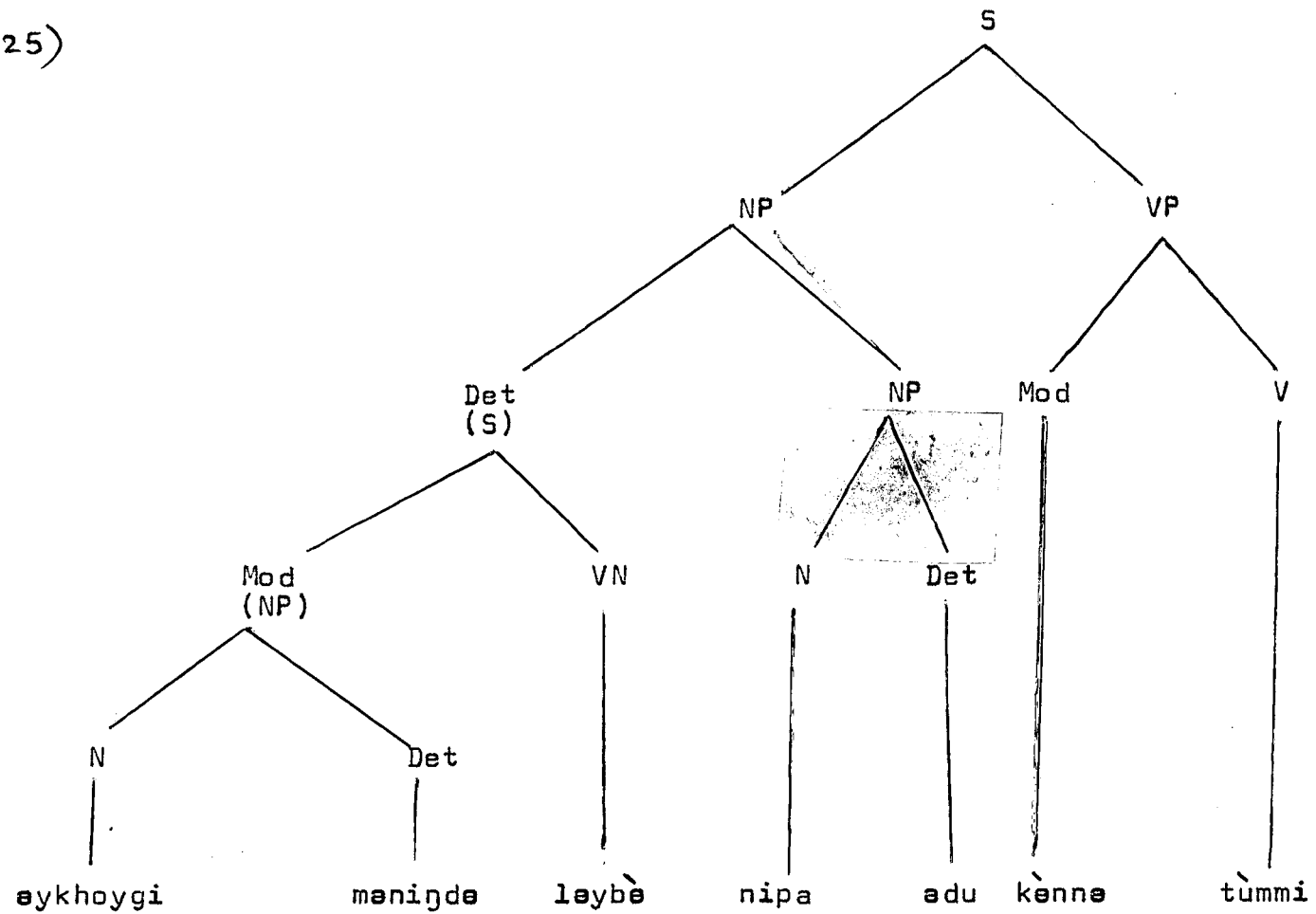


Fig. - 14 . Diagram showing word constituents by labels of sentence (25)

Sentence (40) is a more complex construction than sentence (25). It is shown in an Immediate Constituent (IC) diagram :

(40) eykhoygi meniᅇde h̄əwb̄ə h̄əyn̄əw-pambi m̄əkh̄oᅇde leyb̄ə nipa ədu k̄ənn̄ə nale
 'our west growing mango tree foot living man the serious ill
 (The man living at the foot of the mango tree growing at our is seriously ill)'

eykhoygi	meniᅇde	h̄əwb̄ə	h̄əyn̄əw-pambi	m̄əkh̄oᅇde	leyb̄ə	nipa	ədu	k̄ənn̄ə	nale
eykhoygi	meniᅇde	h̄əwb̄ə	h̄əyn̄əw-pambi	m̄əkh̄oᅇde	leyb̄ə	nipa	ədu	k̄ənn̄ə	nale
eykhoygi	meniᅇde	h̄əwb̄ə	h̄əyn̄əw-pambi	m̄əkh̄oᅇde	leyb̄ə	nipa	ədu	k̄ənn̄ə	nale
eykhoygi	meniᅇde	h̄əwb̄ə	h̄əyn̄əw-pambi	m̄əkh̄oᅇde	leyb̄ə	nipa	ədu		
eykhoygi	meniᅇde	h̄əwb̄ə	h̄əyn̄əw-pambi	m̄əkh̄oᅇde	leyb̄ə				
eykhoygi	meniᅇde		h̄əyn̄əw-pambi	m̄əkh̄oᅇde					

The above constituents are words. There can be further cuts into into morphemes, but it is no shown. Again, further cuts in h̄əyn̄əw-pambi is possible but it is also considered optional.

4.2 There are various definitions of sentence but in the present analysis, a sentence is interpreted as a complete utterance boundable by sentence boundary junctures ## ---##, that contains at least one phrase. An utterance in Meiteiron can be classified as a sentence, if, it occurs as a complete utterance with a sequence of selected linguistic items combined into a unit in accordance with certain patterns of syntactic arrangement. Therefore, a sentence may consist of a single word or a phrase or a sequence of phrases or a complex form of sentence within a sentence.

- (41) ibobini
 'Ibobi(name of person) + is (It is Ibobi)'
- (42) càk cày
 'rice eat (I/you/ he eat rice)'
- (43) tomba càk cày
 'Tomba rice eat (Tomba eats rice)'
- (44) tombəna càk əməchug əynə gà cày
 'Tomba+by rice and I+by fish eat (Tomba eats rice and I eat fish)'
- (45) tomba əməchug əy channəli
 'Tomba and I playing (Tomba and I are playing)'

An utterance here is a stretch of meaningful speech that conforms to the pattern or arrangement of Meiteiron and is bounded by a word or phrase boundary juncture. Illustration :

- (46) əy
 'I'
- (47) mi əni
 'man two'

All the examples (41 to 47) above are utterances, Examples (41 to 45) are bounded by sentence boundary juncture, (46) is bounded by word boundary juncture, and (47) is bounded by phrase boundary juncture. However, it may be argued that examples (41) and (42) are not sentences in the ordinary way, as they seem incomplete; but they are bounded by the sentence boundary juncture ## - - - - ##, and can be used by standard speakers in answer to questions, such as -

(48) kənanə ? 'Who are you/who is there ?' whose answer can be example (41), that is, ibobini 'I am Ibobi/It is Ibobi' and (49) nəŋ kəli cəy 'what do you eat/what are you eating' whose answer can be example (42), that is, cək cəy '(I) eat rice/(I) live on rice'. Therefore, they are regarded as sentences while (46) and (47) can not be regarded as sentences.

A phrase is a string of morphemes or words that behaves as a grammatical unit, within which a phrase boundary juncture #, may not intervene and whose head is a nominal or a verbal nucleus. A phrase in Meiteiron may contain only one word, such as #mɨ# 'man' #lakle# 'came', etc., or more than one word like #mɨ əmə# 'one person/man', #kənnə cətli# 'going fast', etc..

If the head of the phrase is nominal and can occupy the nominal position in the sentence and also can function as

subject or object of the sentence, then, it is a noun phrase (NP). Illustrations :

- (50) #mì əmə#
'man one/a (a/one man)'
- (51) #phəjəbə əŋə əmə#
'beautiful child one(a/one beautiful child)'
- (52) #əwənbə u ədu#
'tall tree the(the tall tree)'
- (53) #əwənbə u ədu# tèkle##⁷²
'tall tree the fell down'
(The tall tree have fell down).

In the above examples, (50), (51) and (52) are phrases, the head in each of them is a nominal. In example (50), the head is mì 'man', and in (51) əŋə 'child', and in (52) u 'tree'. They are the nuclei in the phrases. Hence, the phrases are regarded as noun phrases. In example (53) there is a phrase boundary between ədu and tèkle. It contains more than one phrase. It is phrase (52) plus tèkle. The phrase (52) occupies the nominal position in the sentence, and it also functions as subject in the sentence. A subject in a sentence is always a noun and this phrase (that is, phrase (52)) can be substituted by a single noun such as u 'tree'. Thus, we have -

- (54) #u# tèkle##
'#tree# fell down##'(The tree fell down)'

72 tèkle generally mean 'break', but here it means 'fell down'

Therefore, the phrase ~~the tall tree~~ fell down

Therefore, the phrases (50 to 52) above are regarded as noun phrases.

But, if, the head is verbal, and occupies the verbal position in a sentence, that is, the final position in a sentence,⁷³ and also can function as predicate of the sentence, then, the phrase is a verb phrase (VP). Illustrations :

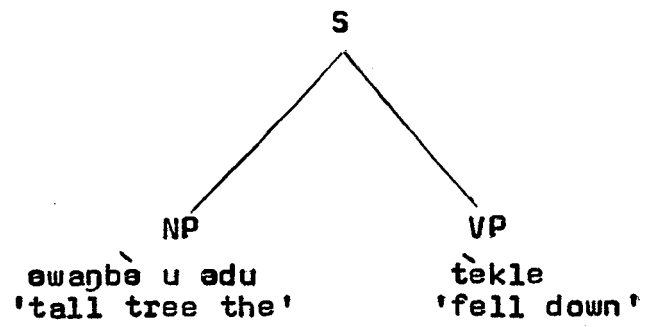
- (55) #y`agne c`elli#
'fast running'
- (56) #h`awjik c`etli#
'now going'
- (57) #m`i əm`ə# y`agne c`elli##
'#man the# fast running##(A man is running fast)'

In the above examples, (55) and (56) are phrases, in which the main verb is c`elli 'running' and c`etli 'going'. They are the nuclei in the phrases, hence they are regarded as verb phrases. In example (57) in the sentence #m`i əm`ə# y`agne c`elli## 'a man is running fast', the phrase #y`agne c`elli# 'running fast' occupies the verbal position, which is the predicate in the sentence.

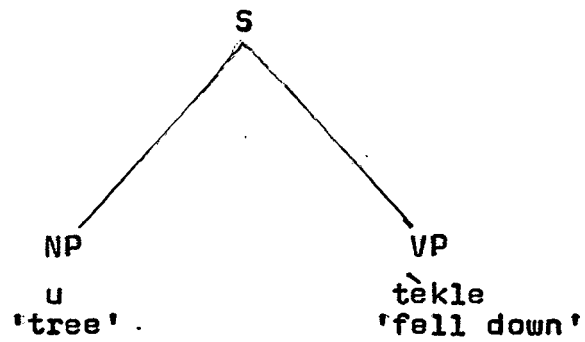
The phrases in examples (53), (54) and (57) are shown in diagram below :

73 The verbs always occupy the final position in a sentence. Refer, 3.2.6.

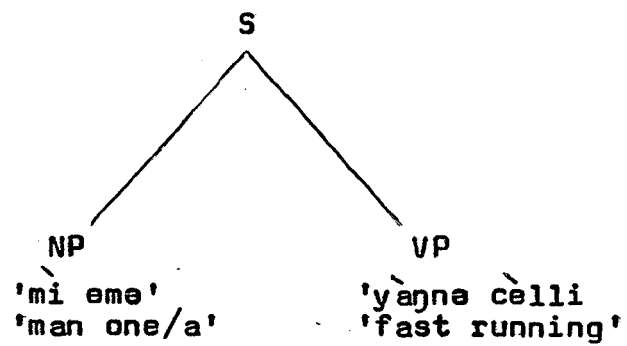
(53)



(54)



(57)



4.1.2 Sentences in Meiteiron can be divided into two groups, major and minor. A major sentence is a sentence which does not delete the NP in speech, that is, the subject is actualised in speech⁷⁴. Generally, a major sentence always has a VP. If it does not have a VP, then, it will have a copula attached to the NP or the subject. As already mentioned in (3.9.1) above, a copula can be regarded as a main verb, because it functions as a main verb in sentences. The examples below will illustrate the major sentences in Meiteiron.

- (58) əy cək cələ
'I rice eat+completive(I have completed eating rice)'
- (59) tombəna cawbəbu phuy
'Tomba+by Chaoba+to beat(Tomba beats Chaoba)'
- (60) cawbəbu tombəna phuy
'Chaoba+to Tomba+by beat(Tomba beats Chaoba)',⁷⁵
- (61) əy lakle
'I come+realization(I have come)'
- (62) əy cawbəni
'I Chaoba+is (I am Chaoba)'
- (63) thani
'moon+is (It is moon)'

In all the above illustrations, the subjects are actualised. In examples (58), (61) and (62) the subject is

74. 'subject is actualised in speech' means the dropping/deletion of subject, a common phenomenon in standard Meiteiron is not there. In sentences like, cək cələ 'Rice ate/taken meal' the subject can be any of the following : əy 'I', nəŋ 'you', ma 'he', tombə 'Tomba', etc..

75. Change in the position of subject and object has no impact in Meiteiron. Refer, 3.2.4.

ey 'I', in (59) and (60) the subject is tombə 'Tomba', and in (63) the subject is tha 'moon'. They are present in the speech.

The pattern in example (63) is treated as similar to the pattern in example (61), thereby regarding the copula ni as a VP. The pattern in the major sentences, then, can be - (a) Subject (S), object (O), and verb (V), as in examples (58) and (59); (b) object, subject, and verb, as in example (60); (c) subject and verb, as in example (61); (d) subject, object, and copula (v), as in example (62); and (e) subject and copula, as in example (63), above.

A minor sentence is one in which the NP is deleted, that is, the subject is not actualised in speech. Illustrations :

- (64) tha ule
 'moon see+completive (--- saw the moon)'
- (65) cālege lakke
 'eat+realization+non-realization come+non-realization'
 (--- will come after eating)'
- (66) cawbābu phūle
 'Chaoba+to beat+completive (--- Chaoba beaten)'
- (67) cāle
 'eat+completive (-- have ate)'

In the above examples, the subject in all the sentences are not actualised. The --- in the gloss can be filled by an NP or a noun (N) or noun substitute (Ns), like -

amubə tombəne 'The black Tomba', or tombə 'Tomba', or əy 'I' etc., because the subjects are deleted/dropped in speech.

The pattern in the examples (64) and (66) is purely OV; in example (65) it is VV; and in example (67) it is V'. There is another type of minor sentence which has the pattern OVv. Illustration :

(68) *gəchi lakkəni*
 'to-day will come' (--- will come to-day)'

The above example can be considered as OV pattern, since ni has also been considered as verb suffix (3.2.0), but it has been more accurately interpreted as OVv pattern, because copula here has a different meaning/function, that is, showing certainty in direct or reported speech.

Therefore, the pattern of arrangement for the major sentences are - sOV, OsV, sV, sOV, and sV; while in the case of minor sentences, the pattern of arrangement is OV, VV, V, and OVv.

4.1.3 A sentence in Meiteiron may be either simple, or compound, or complex, according to its structure.

4.1.3.1 Simple sentence : A simple sentence in Meiteiron is a sentence which has at least one VP in it and which does not have a complex or compound construction. A simple sentence may be major or minor. Illustrations :

- (69) ay càk cày
'I rice eat+infinitive (I eat rice)'
- (70) tombə cətli
'Tomba go+infinitive (Tomba is going)'
- (71) məhak əykhoydə ləy
'he our+at live+infinitive(He lives at our place)'
- (72) məninə tombəbu phùy
'Mani+by Tomba+to beat+infinitive(Mani beats Tomba)'
- (73) m̀ini
'man+is (This is a man)'
- (74) hippı
'sleep+infinitive (--- is sleeping)'

The examples (69 to 74) above, are regarded as simple sentences, because they all include at least one VP and and they all have one predicate each. In example (69) cày is the VP and càk cày is the predicate; in example (70) cətli is the VP as well as the predicate;⁷⁶ in example (71) and (72) ləy and phùy are the VP and əykhoydə ləy and tombəbu phùy are the predicates, respectively; in example (73) m̀ini is the predicate while ni is the VP; but in the case of (74) it has been considered that hippi is the VP as well as the predicate.⁷⁷

76 In this example the NP in the predicate group is deleted. Noun deletion is a common phenomenon in this language.

77 The interpretation here is hippe təwli 'sleeping doing'. There are other interpretations also.

4.1.3.2 Compound sentence : A compound sentence is one which has more than one simple sentences conjoined together into one simple sentence by coordinate conjunctions. Compound sentences with co-referring nouns or verbs are also found. In such cases one of the verbs or nouns is deleted⁷⁸. Illustrations :

- (75) tombə əməchug əy channəli
'Tomba and I play+reciprocate+infinitive
(Tomba and I are playing)'
- (76) ibetonna nà əməchug tomanne chà cày
'Ibeton+by fish and Toman+by meat eat+infinitive'
(Ibeton eats fish and Toman eats meat)'
- (77) ibetonna nok.i, tomanne keppi, ibetonna lawwi,
'Ibeton+by laugh, Toman+by weep, Ibeton+by shout,
əməchug əyna yeggi
and I+by look (Ibeton is laughing, Toman is
weeping, Ibeton is shouting, and I am looking)'

In the above illustrations, example (75) has two sentences joined together by the coordinate conjunction əməchug 'and'. The two sentences are -

- (75a) tombə channəli 'Tomba is playing'
(75b) əy channəli 'I am playing'

In the same manner, example (76) has two sentences
(76a) ibetonna nà cày 'Ibeton is eating fish/Ibeton eats fish'
and (76b) tomanne chà cày 'Toman eat fish'/Toman is eating fish'

⁷⁸ Refer, 4.2.3.1.

They are conjoined by the conjunction əməchug 'and'. In examples (75) and (76) the common verb is deleted.

In the case of example (77) more than two sentences are conjoined by one coordinate conjunction. It has got four different sentences joined together. They are -

- (77a) ibotonnə nok.i 'Iboton is laughing'
 (77b) tomannə kep̄pi 'Toman is weeping'
 (77c) ibetonnə lawwi 'Ibeton is shouting'
 (77d) əynə yeḡgi 'I am looking'

The sentences (77a), (77b), (77c) and (77d) above are all simple sentences. They are joined into one simple sentence by a coordinate conjunction, Since, they do not have a complex construction then, sentences like (77) above, are regarded as compound sentence.

4.1.3.3 Complex sentence : A complex sentence is one in which two or more sentences are joined together by a complex coordinate conjunction or a sentence that is included in another sentence, for example - əynə lakpage mahak cətkhi 'I arrived he left (He left when I arrived)'. The following examples will illustrate complex sentences in Meiteiron.

- (78) tombəge məniɡe ɕətli
'Tomba+with Mani+with go+infinitive
(Tomba and Mani are going together)'
- (79) tombe ɕək ɕələgeɕ məkhoydə lakkeni
'Tomba rice eat+after their+at come+will+copula
(After eating rice Tomba will come at their house)'
- (80) əykhoyɡi məniɡ oyləpne həwbə həynəw-pambi məkhəndə
'our+possessive west toward growing mango tree foot
ləybə nipa ədu nale
living man the ill(The man living at the foot of the
mango-tree growing towards our west is ill)'

In the illustrations above, example (78) has the complex conjunction / -ge -ge/, while (79) has only -ge; but in the case of example (80) there is no complex conjunction. In example (80) there are three sentences embedded together. They are -

- (80a) əykhoyɡi məniɡ oyləpne həwwi
'our+possessive west toward grow (It is growing towards our west)'
- (80b) həynəw-pambi məkhəndə ləy
'mango-tree foot+at live (It lives at the foot of the mango-tree)'
- (80c) nipa ədu nale
'man the ill+realization(The man is ill)'

4.1.4 A sentence in Meiteiron can be declarative(statement), interrogative, or imperative. If a sentence indicates a statement of truth or state or condition or gives permission, then, the sentence is regarded as a declarative(statement).

Further, whether a sentence in Meiteiron is declarative or not is indicated by the suffixes which are attached to the verb or to the noun. If a sentence has interrogative markers attached to the NP and indicates a question, then, the sentence is an interrogative one; and if a sentence has imperative markers attached to the VP and indicates a command or order, then, it is an imperative one. Then, sentences in Meiteiron can be divided into three classes according to its formation. Diagrammatically, then, it can be shown as follows:

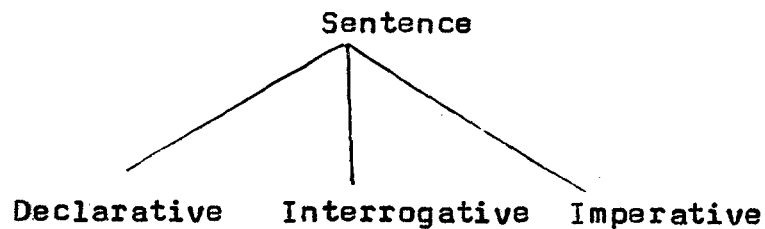


Fig. - 15. Diagram showing types of sentences.

4.1.4.1 Declarative sentence (statements) : Declarative sentences or statements are the most common type of sentences found in Meiteiron. This kind of sentence may conveniently be termed the favourite sentence type. Declarative sentences are those sentences, in which no suffix indicating interrogation or imperative is attached to the NP or VP (as the case may be), nor any sense of these is indicated either by intonation or otherwise. Illustrations :

- (81) əy cək cələ (I have taken rice/meal)
'I rice eat+completive'
- (82) məhak cawbəni (He is Chaoba)
'he Chaoba+copula'
- (83) nəŋ cətpe yale (you are allowed to go)
'you going allowed'
- (84) əy cək cələ həynə manə həy (He said "I have taken my
'I rice eat+completive say he say' meal")

Declarative sentences may be either direct or quoted. In the above examples, (81 to 83) are direct, while (84) is quoted. The difference between direct and quoted speech is indicated by the addition of the verb hay or haynə ... hay in the direct speech.

Declarative sentences also indicate permission. For the formation of permissive sentences the verb becomes a verbal noun (VN) and then yale/yay 'agree/allowed/permitted' is added to the sentence. yale/yay becomes the main verb in the sentence and it indicates permission as in example (83) above.

4.1.4.2 Interrogative sentence : Interrogative is generally marked at the morphological level by affixing the interrogative marker $\{-la \sim -lə\}$ to the nominal form,⁷⁹ for example :
cə+bə+la 'eat+nominalizer+interrogative marker', tombə+la
'Tomba+interrogative marker', i+lə 'thatch+interrogative marker'.

79 Refer, 3.7.0.

But there are a few instances where interrogation is marked at the syntactic level. It is convenient to ascribe this function to intonation at the level of syntax. However, we will not attempt to examine this phenomenon here.

Generally, questions can be the NP in a sentence, or the VN, or the head of the NP, or the numerals, or some of the modifiers, or the noun substitutes. Illustrations :

- (85) əpikpə mənɪlə cətkhəlɪbədu ?
'small Mani+interrogative go+definite+continuative+nominalizer+demonstrative (Isn't Mani the person just gone)'
- (86) cək cələbəla ?
'rice eat+realization+nominalizer+interrogative (Have --- taken meal?)'
- (87) cələbəla ?
'eat+realization+nominalizer+interrogative (Have eaten)'
- (88) cəkɫə
'rice+interrogative (Is it rice)'
- (89) məchi laylik əməla ?
'this book one+interrogative (Is it a book)'
- (90) həwɟɪklə ?
'now+interrogative (Is it now)'
- (91) məchɪlə
'this/it+interrogative (Is it this)'

In the above illustrations, the interrogative marker {-lə} is after məni in ~~the~~ əpikpə mənɪlə in example (85); while the same is or its variant -lə is after the VN in examples (86) and (87); after the head of the NP, that is, noun (N) in example (88); after the modifier in example (90);

after the numeral in example (89); and after the Ns in example (91).

A verb or any other class of forms can not be questioned, except a few verb forms with command and non-realization (2.2.16). Coordinate as well as subordinate structures can be questioned either separately or in combination. The questioned element in the both the cases remain the same, even questiones can be on more than one thing in a sentence. Illustrations :

- (92) cakkə ɲagə cəbàla ?
 'rice+with fish+with eat+nominalizer+interrogative
 (Do you eat rice as well as fish)'
- (93) yum ədugə əhəl ədugədi kədaydə cətkhəle ?
 'house the+with oldman the+with+particular where+
 demonstrative go+definite+completive (Where the
 house with the old man gone)'
- (94) əɲaɲ ədugə məmaga ləylibàla ?
 'child the+with mother+with live+continuative+
 nominalizer+interrogative (The child together with
 the mother is there?)'
- (95) əykhoygi məniɲdə ləybə yum ədudə ləybə nipa ədu
 'our+possessive west+at living house the+at living
 man the
 cətkhələbàla ?
 go+definitive+realization+nominalizer+interrogative'
 (The man living at the west of our house has left?)'

The following interrogative sentences can be derived from sentence (95).

- (95a) aykhoygi mənində ləybə nipa ədu cətkhələbələ ?
'Is it the man living at the west of our house gone'
- (95b) yum ədudə ləybə nipa ədu cətkhələbələ ?
'Is it the man living at the house gone'
- (95c) nipa ədu cətkhələbələ ?
'Is it the man gone'

This shows that all the parts in a sentence can be questioned. But in all the cases the question suffix remain the same.

Interrogative sentences in Meiteiron can be broadly divided into two main types - (i) hoy/may questions (yes/no), and (ii) kə- questions (wh- questions).⁸⁰ hoy/may questions are those for which at least hoy 'yes' can be one of the answers in the positive (along with others) although the negative answer may not be may 'no'. hoy/may questions are indicated by the suffix {-lə ~ -la}. The following are the examples of hoy/may questions.

- (96) nəŋ cək cələbələ ?
'you rice eat+realization+nominalizer+interrogative
(Have you finished eating/taking rice/meal)'
- (97) cauba ŋachi lakpələ ?
'Chaoba to-day come+nominalizer+interrogative
(Did Chaoba come to-day)'
- (98) adəgichi tombəla ?
'yonder+possessive+this Tomba+interrogative
(Is it the one over there Tomba)'

80: The names 'hoy/may' and 'kə-' questions have been coined because hoy means 'yes' and may means 'not yes'. For kə- like the English wh-, the interrogative part of the noun substitutes are indicated by kə-, which is present in all questions of this type.

- (99) madu tombagi yumla ?
'that Tomba+possessive house+interrogative
(Is that Tomba's house)'
- (100) c`ak hapkhola ?
'rice putmore +command+interrogative
(Shall put some more rice)'
- (101) n`ej c`ak c`al`eloy ?
'you rice eat+realization+intentional negative
(Do you intend not to eat rice)'
- (102) ma c`etl`eloyd`ela ?
'he go+realization+negative(intentional)+negative+
interrogative (Will he not go)'
- (103) n`ej c`ak c`akhigela ?
'you rice eat+definitive+non-realization+interrogative
(Will you eat rice)'
- (104) ma c`aleko ?
'he eat+realization+suggestive
(Do you know he ate)'
- (105) `aykhoy c`atl`achila ?
'we go+realization+let+interrogative
(Should let us go)'
- (106) n`ekhoy c`atl`agela ?
'you(plural) go+realization+non-realization+
interrogative (Would you intend to go)'
- (107) ma c`atkh`elab`ala ?
'he go+definitive+realization+nominalizer+
interrogative(Did he go away)'

All the examples above have a common answer hoj 'yes'. in the positive. There are other positive answers also. Since these differences are minor, they do not deserve to treat as separate entities. The most common positive answer is-root or form to which the interrogative element is affixed plus the suffix -li or -le as the case may be. In the case of negative answers may or natte or root or form plus {te ~ de} or root/form plus {d`e ~ t`e} plus li/le.

ka- questions in Meiteiron - Sentence which asks for a lexical rather than a yes/no, that is, hoy/may response. The ka- word which occur in sentences are interrogatives, because they are interrogative noun substitutes. The answer to ka questions are conditioned by the noun substitute which occur in the sentence. For example : In the question nəŋ kəli cəli 'What you are eating?' kəli refers to a thing and it can not refer either a man or place; the answer will be something which can be ate, may be 'meal/candy/fruit, etc.'. Likewise, in kəna ləy? 'Who is there?'. kəna refers only to a person/man, it can not be anything other than əy 'I', or tombə 'Tomba' or someone else.

4.1.4.3 Imperative sentence : The imperative or command is indicated at the morphological level. Therefore, the imperative sentence in Meiteiron is marked by the suffixes which indicate command. The imperative markers in Meiteiron are - {-u}, {-lo}, {-lu}, {-nu}, and {-kho}. Any of the above suffixes attached to the V or VP in a sentence, indicates that it is an imperative sentence. Illustrations :

- (108) nəŋ cətlo
'you go+command (You go)'
- (109) nəŋ cəw
'you eat+command(You eat)'
- (110) tombə nəŋ cəlu
'Tomba you eat+command(different place)(Tomb
(Tomba you go and eat)'

Imperatives are in the second person in both the numbers. Imperatives in Meiteiron may be normal, immediate, action to be performed at a different place, and an invitation to perform. Prohibition is also considered a command in Meiteiron because it is more an imperative than declarative. The normal imperatives are indicated by {-u}; immediate by {-lò}; go and perform at a different place by {-lu}; an invitation to perform by {-lo}; command keep on by {-kho}; and prohibitive by {-nu}. Illustrations :

- (111) nəŋ cək cəw
'you rice eat+command (You eat rice/take your meal)'
- (112) nəŋ cək cəlò
'you rice eat+immediate command (Take your meal now)'
- (113) nəŋ cək cəlu
'you rice eat+different place (You go and take meal)'
- (114) nəŋ cək cəlo
'you rice eat+invitation (You come for the meal)'
- (115) nəŋ cək cəkho
'you rice eat+keep (you keep on eating rice/meal)'
- (116) nəŋ cək cəŋenu
'you rice eat+non-realization+prohibitive
(You do not eat rice/You are prohibited to take meal)'

4.2

COORDINATION OR CONJOINING

4.2.0 Sentences in Meiteiron can be joined together with the help of connectors or conjuncts. The method of showing connections or relationships in Meiteiron are very wide. A conjunction is a word or word group that connects two or more sentence components. The various conjuncts which join sentences in Meiteiron are the following⁸¹:

(1)	eməchun	'and'
(2)	-gə	'with'
(3)	-gə ... -gə	'with .. with'
(4)	-gə loynəne	'together with'
(5)	ədudəgi	'then'
(6)	ədugi matundə	'thereafter'
(7)	-chu/-chu .. -chu	'also'
(8)	-ne ... -ne	'together..together'
(9)	ədunə	'as such/so'
(10)	mələm ədunə	'therefore'
(11)	mələmdi	'because'
(12)	ədubu	'but'
(13)	təwigumbəchun	'but'
(14)	ədum oynəmək	'however'
(15)	əduməkpu	'even then'

⁸¹ Some of the conjunctions are nominal suffixes. Refer, 3.1.0.

(16)	aduga	'then/after that'
(17)	nettəlagə	'or'
(18)	-muk	'as if (size)'
(19)	-gum	'as if (habit)'

Apart from the above conjunctions which join sentences in Meiteiron, there is a pause which also acts as a conjunct. This pause is the comma pause. The various sentences or constructions which are joined by the above conjunctions are illustrated below⁸² :

- (1) tombe əməchun əy channəli⁸³
'Tomba and I playing'
- (2) tombəne nə əməchun əyne chà cày
'Tomba fish and I meat eat'
- (3) tombəne nə əməchun əyne chà əməchun cawbəne càk cày
'Tomba fish and I meat and Chaoba rice eat'
- (4) tombe cawbə mənə yaymə əməchun əy channəli
'Tomba Chaoba Mani Yaima and I playing'
- (5) əy ibohəlgə channəli
'I Ibohal+with playing'
- (6) imphal tulel nəmbul tulelga tinnəle
'Imphal river Nambul river+with joined'
- (7) imphal tulelga nəmbul tulelga tinnəle
'Imphal river+with Nambul river+with joined'

82 Because of model constraints, deletion, gapping, co-referring nouns and verbs and other transformations, although seen in the illustrations are not discussed.

83 The meanings of the connectors in the illustrations are approximate.

- (8) əyge mənige tombəgə cawbəgə cətli
'I+with Mani+with Tomba+with Chaoba+with going'
- (9) əy tombəgə loynənə channəli
'I Tomba+with together playing'
- (10) əy tombəgə mənige loynənə channəli
'I Tomba+with Mani+with together playing'
- (11) məkhoydə cətlu y ədudəgi əy lakpəni⁸⁴
'Their's went then I am coming'
- (12) tombə cətkhəle ədudəgi əy lakle⁸⁵
'Tomba gone then I came'
- (13) tombə cətkhəle ədugi mətundə əy lakle
'Tomba gone then after that I came'
- (14) əychu channəli tombəchu channəli
'I+also playing Tomba+also playing'
- (15) əychu cətkəni
'I+also will go'
- (16) tombəne əyne cək cəy
'Tomba+together I+together rice eat'
- (17) tombəne əyne mənine cətli
'Tomba+together I+together Mani+together going'
- (18) məkhoy phətte ədunə əy məkhoygə tinnəloy
'They bad as such I they+with will not mix'
- (19) məkhoy cətte ədunə əy cəttəle
'They not go so/as such I not gone'
- (20) məkhoy təlli mələm ədunə (məkhoy) layləy
'They idle therefore (they) poor'
- (21) əy lakləloy mələmdi əy nale
'I will not come because I am ill'
- (22) tombədi cəle ədubu əydi cədəli
'Tomba ate but I not (yet) eat'

84] This sentence has other versions, They are (11a) məkhoydə cətlubədəgi (əy) lakpəni, (11b) əy məkhoydə cətlu y ədudəgi lakpəni.

85] This sentence has also another version (12a) tombə cətkhələbədudə əy lakle.

- (23) əynə həybəni ədubu məkhoynə yakhide
'I told but they do not agree'
- (24) məhaknə tannakhi təwwigumbəchun phənbədi gəmkhide
'He run after(dogged) but getting not able'
- (25) əynə həybəni ədum oynemək kannəgəni thajədə
'I told however use will not believe'
- (26) tombənə təwlibəni əduməkpu nəg khələ yawbiyu
'Tomba doing even then you some join'
- (27) nəg cətlukho ədugə həyge
'You go then will tell'
- (28) nəg təwge nettelege təwloy hekte həyru
'You will do or not do just tell'
- (29) tombə cawbəmuk cawwi
'Tomba Chaoba as big'
- (30) məni cawbəgum cətli
'Mani Chaoba like going/walking'
- (31) əykhoygi məniğdə həwbə, həynəw pambi məkhəndə ləybə,
'Our west growing mango tree foot living
nipa ədu cətkhəle
man the gone'

The conjunctions can occur in combinations also, that is, different conjunctions join various parts of sentences of a conjoined structure. Illustrations :

- (32) əy əməchun cawbə tombəgə cətli
'I and Chaoba Tomba+with going'
- (33) əy əməchun cawbə tombəgə ləynənə cətli
'I and Chaoba Tomba+with together going'
- (34) əychu cawbachu tombəgə ləynənə cətli
'I+also Chaoba+also Tomba+with together going'
- (35) əyge tombəgə cətlule ədubu kanneloy
'I+with Tomba+with gone but no use'

- (36) eychu cawbechu cètlule edubu kannade
'I+also Chaoba+also gone but no use'
- (37) tombe amachun ey cètluy edubu yalekte
'Tomba and I gone but not agreed'
- (38) tombe amachun ma cètlulèbèni edum oynemak kannade
'Tomba and he went however no use'
- (39) tombachu cawbechu cètlule edum oynemak kannade
'Tomba+also Chaoba+also gone however no use'
- (40) tombage cawbage cètlule edum oynemak yadale
'Tomba+with Chaoba+with gone however not agreed'

Some of the conjunctions listed above and illustrated can join infinite number of sentences under one conjoined structure. According to the number of sentences which can be joined by a conjunction, the conjunctions can be broadly divided into two major classes. They are - (i) limited, and (ii) unlimited. The limited conjuncts are those which can join only two sentences and/or those after joining a sentence or parts in a construction no other conjunction can occur after them. Those conjunctions which can join infinite number of sentences are termed as unlimited conjuncts. The unlimited conjuncts are the following :

<u>amachun</u>	'and'
<u>-ge ... -ge</u>	'with ... with'
<u>-chu/-chu ... -chu</u>	'also/also ... also'
<u>-ne ... -ne</u>	'together ... together'

All other conjunctions listed in (4.2.0) above, (except the four conjunctions mentioned above) are limited conjuncts.

4.2.1 Phonologically, each occurrence of the conjunctions is attached to the immediately preceding NP and there is possibility to pause after each occurrence. Illustrations :

- (1) tombe eməchun / ey channeli⁸⁶
'Tomba and I playing'
- (5) ey ibohəlge / channeli
'I Ibohal+with playing' etc.

4.2.2 The conjunctions listed above (4.2.0) can be divided into four groups according to the type of sentence components they connect :

4.2.2.1 Coordinating conjunction : Coordinating conjunctions connect grammatically equivalent constructions. The coordinating conjunctions are : eməchun, edubu, təwwigumbəchun, edum oynemek, and nettelege. Illustrations :

- (41) caube eməchun tombe
'Chaoba and Tomba'
- (42) caube eməchun tombe cətli
'Chaoba and Tomba going'

86 This pause which is indicated by / (a bold slant line) is not equivalent to comma pause or any other kind of pause found in this language.

- (42) cawbə əməchug tombe channəli
'Chaoba and Tomba playing'
- (43) tombe cək cəy ədubu məhakti cəde
'Tomba rice eat but he not eat'
- (44) tombəne həykhi təwwigumbəchug əy yakhide
'Tomba asked but I not agree'
- (45) tombe cətliule ədum oynəmək kannəde
'Tomba gone however no use'
- (46) tombe nettələgə cawbə cətkeni
'Tomba or Chaoba will go'

In the above illustrations, cawbə in example (42) and tombe in example (46) seems non-equivalent to the other construction, that, tombe cətli in (48) and cawbə cətkeni in (46). But these are grammatically equivalent constructions. In these cases there is a case of co-referring VP, because of model constraints it is not shown in the present analysis.

4.2.2.2 Correlative conjunction : Like the coordinating conjunctions, correlative conjunctions also connect grammatically equivalent constructions. The difference is that correlative conjunctions occur in pairs. The correlative conjunctions are -chu ... -chu, -gə ... -gə, -chu ... -gə, -ne ... -ne. Illustration

- (47) tombəgə cawbəgə cətli
'Tomba+with Chaoba+with going'
- (14) əychu channəli tombəchu channəli
'I as well as Tomba is playing'
- (16) tombəne əyne cək cəy
'Tomba and I together is having our meal'

4.2.2.3 Comparative conjunction : These are very similar to correlative conjunctions. The comparative conjunctions are - muk, -gum. Illustrations :

- (29) tomba cawbmuk cawwi
'Tomba is as big as Chaoba'
- (48) tomba cawbgum cətli
'Tomba waliks as if Chaoba (walks)'

4.2.2.4 Consequential conjunction : A consequential conjunction connects two or more grammatically equal sentences but one of the sentence is resultant to the other. Consequential conjunctions are - ədugi mətundə, ədunə, mələm ədunə, mələmdi and əduməkpu. Illustrations :

- (49) tomba cətkhəle ədugi mətundə əy lakle
'Tomba went thereafter I came'
- (50) manə cəykhi ədunə əy cəloy
'He rebuked so I will not eat'
- (51) iboton pəngi mələm ədunə khətnay
'Iboton is foolish therefore (he) quarrels)
- (52) ibeton lakləloy mələmdi məhak nale
'Ibeton will not cone because she is ill'
- (53) əyne chembəni əduməkpu thəjəde
'I am repairing even then (I) have no confidence'
- (54) nəg tūmmukho əduga caw
'you first go to sleep then (you) eat'

4.2.2.5 Subordinating conjunction : A subordinating conjunction connects two or more grammatically non-equivalent constructions. The subordinating conjunctions are the rest of the conjunctions listed in (4.2.0) above leaving those listed under coordinating, correlative, comparative and consequential conjunctions. Illustrations :

- (55) tomba cawbaga cətli
 'Tomba goes with Chaoba'
- (56) tomba cawbega loynana cətli
 'Tomba together with Chaoba are going' etc.

CHAPTER III

3

MORPHOLOGY

3.1

NOUNS

3.1.0 A noun in Meiteiron at the morphological level can be determined by means of prefixes and suffixes. The roots in this language do not show the form-class to which they belong. But the free roots or free nominal forms can show the form-class to which they belong. For example - the root {cà-} 'eat', {phà-} 'catch', {ta-} 'fall', etc. become nouns when the suffix {-bà} is added to them and can take one or more of the set of noun suffixes. The free nominal forms like, {mì} 'man', {u} 'tree', etc. which are nouns by themselves can also take one or more of the set of noun suffixes. Accordingly those forms, free or bound, which can take one or more of the following set of prefixes and suffixes are nouns in Meiteiron. The prefixes and suffixes are :

{a-}	'personifier'
{ə- ∪ i-}	'first person pronominal'
{nə-}	'second person pronominal'
{mə-}	'third person pronominal'
{mə- ∪ khut-}	'manner/mode/way'
{-nə}	'agent/actor/instrument'
{-pu ∪ -bu}	'patient/receiver'
{-ta ∪ -də}	'locative/at'

{-ti ~ -di}	'particularization'
{-tu ~ -du}	'demonstrative (the/that)'
{-ke ~ -ge}	'with'
{-ki ~ -gi}	'possessive/genetive'
{-la ~ -la}	'interrogative/question'
{-teŋ ~ -dəŋ}	'isolating'
{-chu}	'also'
{-chi}	'this'
{-chiŋ}	'plurality'
{-khoy ~ -hoy}	'collectivity/many(inclusive)'
{-mæk}	'personification'
{-ni}	'copula'

There are restrictions in the acceptance of these prefixes and suffixes by the roots and forms, that is, some roots and forms can not take some of the affixes. Further, some of the affixes can not occur together in the same form. For example :

The prefix {ə-} is not acceptable to the form /mi/ 'man', the suffix such as {-chiŋ} is not acceptable to forms like, /tombe/ 'Tomba (name of a person)', etc..

3.1.1 On the basis of formation, a noun in Meiteiron is divided into two main categories. They are - (a) Simple, and (b) Compound. Again, simple nouns can be sub-divided into two :

(i) Non-dependent, and (ii) Dependent. Diagrammatically, then, it can be represented as follows :

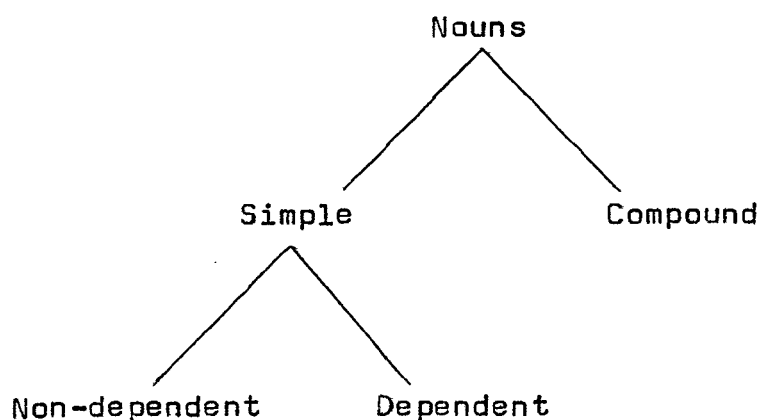


Fig. - 5. Diagram showing classification of nouns.

3.1.1.1 Simple Nouns : Those forms are called Simple nouns, if they fulfill any of the following criteria -
 (i) which by themselves can occur as nouns, such as, {mì} 'man', {ḡà} 'fish', {tombə} 'Tomba (name of a person)', {na} 'ear', {yùm} 'house', etc.; (ii) which can occur as nouns by prefixation, such as, {khùt+kà} 'manner of climbing', {mə+cà} 'his son/son', {mə+thoŋ} 'manner of cooking', etc.; and (iii) which can occur as nouns by suffixing {-bəs-pə} directly after the root or after some other suffixes, such as, {cà+bə} 'eating', {thək+pə} 'drinking', {cà+khi+bə} 'eat+definite+nominalizing suffix', etc.. Those nouns falling under (i)

above are non-dependent, while those falling under (ii) and (iii) above comprise dependent nouns.

(i) Non-dependent : Nouns which can not be sub-divided into smaller morphemic segments and by themselves can function as nouns without any prefix or suffix, but can take some of the prefixes and suffixes listed in 3.1.0 above, are called non-dependent. Illustrations :

{mì}	'man'
{laphù}	'plantain tree'
{tombe}	'Tomba (name of a person)'
{cauba}	'Chaoba (name of a person)'
{khùt}	'hand'
{kok}	'head'
{phi}	'cloth'
{u}	'tree'
{cè}	'paper'
{hùy}	'dog'
{hewdon}	'cat'
{uci}	'rat'
{thabi}	'cucumber'
{tìn}	'worm'
{tin}	'saliva'
{chendan}	'sparrow'
{lilun}	'bow'

{ten}	'arrow'
{yum}	'house'
{thòŋ}	'door'
{thoŋ}	'bridge' etc.

The suffixes and prefixes which are acceptable or not acceptable by non-dependent nouns are illustrated below :

The non-dependent noun like mi 'man' can take the following suffixes -

{mi+bu}	'man+object marker'
{mi+nə}	'man+subject marker'
{mi+də}	'man+locative'
{mi+di}	'man+particularization'
{mi+du}	'man+demonstrative'
{mi+ge}	'man+with'
{mi+gi}	'man+possessive'
{mi+la}	'man+interrogative'
{mi+dəŋ}	'man+isolating'
{mi+chu}	'man+also'
{mi+chi}	'man+this'
{mi+chiŋ}	'man+plural'
{mi+ni}	'man+copula'

while it can not take the following :

*{ə+mi}

*{i+mi}
 *{ne+mi}
 *{me+mi}
 *{khut+mi}
 *{mi+khoy}
 *{mi+mek}

Again, {tombe} 'Tomba (name of a person)' can take the following suffixes -

{tombe+ne}	'Tomba+subject'
{tombe+bu}	'Tomba+object'
{tombe+de}	'Tomba+locative'
{tombe+di}	'Tomba+particularization'
{tombe+du}	'Tomba+demonstrative'
{tombe+ge}	'Tomba+with'
{tombe+gi}	'Tomba+possessive'
{tombe+la}	'Tomba+interrogative'
{tombe+den}	'Tomba+isolating'
{tombe+chu}	'Tomba+also'
{tombe+chi}	'Tomba+this'
{tombe+khoy}	'Tomba and others'
{tombe+mek}	'Tomba+personification'
{tombe+ni}	'Tomba+copula'

while it can not take the following :

*{e+tombe}

*{i+tombe}
 *{ne+tombe}
 *{me+tombe}
 *{khut+tombe}
 *{tombe+chin}

(ii) Dependent : Nouns which are formed by prefixing and/or suffixing to a root²⁹ are called dependent. Dependent nouns also can take some of the prefixes and suffixes listed in 3.1.0 above. Illustrations :

The dependent noun like, cà+bè 'eating' can take the following prefixes and suffixes -

{e+càbè}	'eater'
{khut+cà}	'manner of eating'
{cà+bè+ne}	'eating+subject'
{cà+bè+bu}	'eating+object'
{cà+bè+de}	'eating+locative'
{cà+bè+di}	'eating+particularization'
{cà+bè+du}	'eating+demonstrative'
{cà+bè+ge}	'eating+with'
{cà+bè+gi}	'eating+possessive'
{cà+bè+la}	'eating+interrogative'
{cà+bè+dəŋ}	'eating+isolating'

29 A root in Meiteiron can not indicate the class in which it belongs, that is, it can not show whether it is a verb or a noun root. The set of affixes are the deciding factor.

{cà+bè+chu} 'eating+also'
 {cà+bè+ni} 'eating+copula'

while it can not take the following :

*{i+cà+bè}
 *{nə+cà+bè}
 *{mə+cà+bè}
 *{cà+bè+chij}³⁰
 *{cà+bè+khoy}
 *{cà+bè+mək}

There are four different types of dependent nouns. They are: (A) - Prefix +root, (B) - Prefix + root + suffix, (C) - Root + suffix, and (D) - Root + suffix(es)³¹ + suffix. Illustrations :

A. Prefix + root

{mə+pa}	'manner+reading'
{mə+thog}	'manner+cooking'
{mə+pi}	'manner+giving'
{khüt+kà}	'manner+climbing'
{mə+cà}	'third person+issue(son/ daughter)'

30 This combination is possible if {-du, -ni} follows, e.g. {cà+bè+chij+du} 'eating+ Plural+Demonstrative'.

31 Suffixes here mean verbal suffix or suffixes.

B. Prefix + root + suffix

{ə+pa+bə}	'reader'
{ə+cà+bə}	'eater'
{ə+həŋ+bə}	'one who asks'
{ə+ŋàk+pə}	'one who guards'

C. Root + suffix

{pa+bə}	'reading'
{cà+bə}	'eating'
{cət+pə}	'going'
{tòk+pə}	'leaving'

D. Root + suffix(es) + suffix

{cà+khi+bə}	'eat+definite+nominalizer'
{hày+lu+bə}	'say+action at another place+nominalizer'
{cà+ləm+mi+bə}	'eat+started+continue+nominalizer'

The variety of nouns in D. above is purely derivative, since the nouns have been derived from verbs by adding the nominalizing suffix.

3.1.1.2 Compound Nouns : Forms which can act as nouns even when they are combined with some other or similar type of nouns, or roots are called nouns showing compounding. There are seven different types under this category. They are :

(A) - Noun +Noun, (B) - Noun + Augment, (C) - Noun + Dimunitive, (D) - Noun + Root, (E) - Noun + Dependent Noun, (F) - Noun + Noun + Dependent Noun, and (G) - Noun + Decorative form.³²

Illustrations :

A. Noun + Noun

{càk+chəŋ}	'kitchen(rice+house)'
{kon+thəŋ}	'gate(garden+door)'
{u+həy}	'fruit(tree+fruit)'
{yət+cəy}	'iron rod(iron+stick)'

B. Noun + Augment

{hùy+jaw}	'dog+big'
{yùm+jaw}	'house+big'
{i+caw}	'flood(water+big)'
{thəŋ+jaw}	'main door(door+big)'
{ka+jaw}	'room+big'

32 This is a meaningless form, but always accompanies the noun. The name decorative is used as the standard speakers call them /wahey layteŋ/ 'decorative word'. /wahey/ means 'word' and /layteŋ/ means 'decoration'.

C. Noun + Diminutive

{h`uy+naw}	'puppy (small+dog)'
{th`og+naw}	'window (door+small)'
{ch`an+naw}	'calf (cow+small)'
{y`og+naw}	'monkey+small'
{y`en+naw}	'chick (hen+small)'

D. Noun + Root

{w`a+h`an}	'question (word+ask)'
{i`+l`em}	'canal/stream (water+way)'
{kh`og+l`oy}	'travelling company (foot+company)'
{phi`+j`et}	'dress (cloth+wear)'

E. Noun + Dependent Noun³³

{phi`+chab`e}	'weaver (cloth+weaving)'
{u`+chub`e}	'carpenter (tree+worker)'
{th`og+g`akp`e}	'watchman (door+guard)'
{y`ot`+chub`e}	'black-smith (iron+worker)'

³³ Dependent Noun may be interpreted as root + suffix.

F. Noun + Noun + Dependent Noun³⁴

{c`ak+ch`eŋ+chab`e}	'kitchen builder'
{kon+th`oŋ+chemb`e}	'gate repairer'

G. Noun + Decorative form³⁵

{chumaŋ+theloŋ}	'surroundings of the house(front)'
{yenəkha+lukkha}	'surroundings of the house(side)'
{napi+nalaŋ}	'snakes and other creatures'

3.1.2 Number : Nouns in Meiteiron are not inflected for number. However, the three numbers, that is, singular, plural and dual are indicated by suffixes or other forms.

3.1.2.1 Plural : Plural in Meiteiron is formed at the morphological level by affixation of the plural marker {chin} to the noun. All nouns in Meiteiron can not take this suffix. There are other words which when they follow the noun or noun phrase indicate more than one. They are -

34 This variety of nouns may be regarded as phrases.

35 In some cases both the constituents have meanings, as in /yenchəŋ+napi/ 'curry+grass', /tin+kəŋ/ 'worm+mosquito' ; but they have a different meaning!

{məyam}	³⁶	'many'
{pumnəmək}		'all'
{chəngu}	³⁷	'flock'
{kaŋlup}		'group'
{chəllup}	³⁸	'group'
{məpəy}		'heap'
{məpun or cəbun}		'bundle'
{khùppu}		'host of ...'
{kaŋbu}		'party'

Some of the nouns in Meiteiron can take/have all the above as well as the plural marker {-chiŋ}, while some of them can not. Illustrations :

Singular	Plural/more than one
{mi} 'man'	{michiŋ} 'men'
	{miyam} 'many men'
	{mi pumnəmək} 'all men'
	{mi kaŋlup} 'group of men'
	{mi məpəy} 'heap of men'
	{mi cəbun} 'bundle of men', ³⁹
	{mi khùppu} 'host of men'
	{mi kaŋbu} 'party of men'

-
- 36 This has another form {-yam} which is affixed to the noun as in the illustration above.
- 37 This is generally used for lesser animals, although it is used for human beings in the derogatory sense.
- 38 This is used for animals only.
- 39 This is to mean 'a large contingent of men' i.e. 'crowd'.

Singular	Plural/more than one	
{ucek} 'bird'	{ucəkchiŋ}	'birds'
	{ucek məyam}	'many birds'
	{ucek pumnəmək}	'all birds'
	{ucek kaŋlup}	'group of birds'
	{ucek chəŋgu}	'flock of birds'
	{ucek məpey}	'heap of birds'
	{ucek cəbun}	'bundle of birds'
{chà} 'animal'	{chàchiŋ}	'animals'
	{chà+yam}	'many animals'
	{chà pumnəmək}	'all birds'
	{chà kaŋlup}	'group of animals'
	{chà chəŋgu}	'flock of animals'
	{chà məpey}	'heap of animals'
	{chà cəbun}	'bundle of animals'
	{chà kaŋbu}	'party of animals'
{u}	{uchig}	'trees'
	{u məyam}	'many trees'
	{u pumnəmək}	'all trees'
	{u məpey}	'heap of trees'
	{u cəbun}	'bunch of trees'

3.1.2.2 Dual : Dual in Meiteiron is indicated by suffixes and/or independent forms. The form which indicated dual or pair are {-pot ~ -bot} or {pabot}; and {pugba}. Like {pabot} and {pugba}, {-pot} also sometimes occur independently, while its variant {-bot} never occurs independently. Illustrations :

{phaw pot} or {phawbot}	'two <u>chənbay</u> of paddy', ⁴⁰
{chanbot} or {chan pabot}	'pair of cow/bull'
{ucek pugba}	'pair of bird'

The dual can be taken as an unit for counting. They are illustrated below. Illustrations :

{phawbot emə}	'one two <u>chənbay</u> of paddy'
{phawbot əni}	'two two <u>chənbay</u> of paddy'
{phawbot təla}	'ten two <u>chənbay</u> of paddy'
{chan pabot əni}	'two pair of cows'
{chan pabot meŋa}	'five pair of cows'
{ucek pugba məli}	'four pair of birds'
{khunu pugba kun}	'twenty pair of pigeons', ⁴¹

Nouns like, tombe, caube, ibemhəl, etc. which are human names can not go with the plural or 'more than one' suffix or forms. However, they can take the suffix {-khoy}, which

40 {chənbay} is a bamboo basket which is used as a unit for measuring paddy or other grains.

41 {pugba} sometimes means the pair of 'a male and a female'.

indicates plural in the case of noun substitutes (3.3.1.1).

For example :

{tombəkhoy}	'Tomba and others'
{cawbəkhoy}	'Chaoba and others'
{ibemhəkhoy}	'Ibemhal and others'

3.1.3 Gender : Nouns in Meiteiron fall into two gender classes, personal and non-personal. Nouns designating man or human beings are personal while all other objects are regarded as non-personal. Heavenly bodies, however, are regarded as personal. Grammatically, there is no specific inflection for the gender difference, although the noun substitutes show some difference, such as - /məhak/ 'he' as the substitute for animate human beings, that is, for personal gender, and /məchi/ 'it/this' for all other objects, that is, for non-personal. The interrogative noun substitute also show this distinction - /kəna/ 'which person' for personal and /kəli/ 'which thing' for all others, that is, for non-personal. /məchi/ 'this/it' is found sometimes used to human beings in a derogatory sense.

There are some cases where the forms are different for male and female, for example :

{nipa}	'man'	{nipi}	* 'woman'
{ichəy-chəkpa}	'male singer'	{ichəy chəkpi}	'female singer'
{jəgoy-chabə}	'male dancer'	{jəgoy-chabi}	'female dancer'

* {nupi}

But this is an exception attestable in a few cases and is not applicable in general. If the above forms are treated as masculine and feminine, as it seems from its appearance; then, the following forms should also have their {-i} ending forms, but they do not have it. Illustrations :

{càk-càbè} 'rice eater' {*càk-càbi}
 {ichig-chòkpè} 'water fetcher' {*ichig-chòkpi}

This can be more clearly illustrated by the following examples :

nipa ədu tule 'The man has fallen'
 'man the fall+completive'

u ədu tule 'The tree has fallen'
 'tree the fall+completive'

khùt tekle 'The hand is broken(fractured)'
 'hand broken'

cəy tekle 'The stick is broken'
 'stick broken(break+completive)'

tombə puləgə kòyyu 'Take Tomba with you in the walk'
 'Tomba bring+with walk+command'

ceŋjen puləgə kòyyu 'Take food with you in the walk'
 'food bring+with walk+command'

ibemhal puləgə kòyyu 'Take Ibemhal with you in the
 'Ibemhal bring+with walk+command' walk'.

Hence, it has been presumed that there is no grammatical gender in Meiteiron.

3.1.4 Syntactically a noun in Meiteiron can be defined as a class of forms which can occupy the subject and/or object slot in a sentence. Functionally, it is the head of the noun phrase (NP). The following examples will illustrate them.

Illustrations :

- (1) tombe cək cày
'Tomba rice eat' (Tomba eats rice)'
- (2) mənina tombəbu phùy
'Mani Tomba beat (Mani beats Tomba)'
- (3) əkenbə mənina əchonbə tombəbu phùy
'strong Mani weak Tomba beat'
(Stronger Mani beats weaker Tomba)
- (4) əykhoygi məninggi tombəbu mənina phùy
'our west Tomba Mani beat'
(Mani beats Tomba, who lives at our west)
- (5) tombəbu mənina phùy
'Tomba Mani beat (Mani beats Tomba)'

In the above examples, {tombe} is subject in example (1), while it is object in all other examples, that is, in examples (2-5) above. In examples (3) and (4), it is the head of the nominal group, that is, the NPs. In the same manner, {mənini} in examples (2-5) above is the subject in the sentences; and it is the head in each NP. {cək} in example (1) is the object in the sentence. As defined earlier the forms {tombe, mənini, and cək} are all nouns because they occur in the subject and object slot in the sentence. They are also the head of the nominal group. This has been illustrated by expanding

sentence (1), tombə càk cày in the following manner.

- (1a) əŋaŋ oylibè tombə əŋəwbè càk cày
 'child being Tomba white rice eat'
 (Young Tomba is eating white rice)

In (1a), the noun /tombə/ is substituted by a bigger construction /əŋaŋ oylibè tombə/, which is a noun phrase; and /càk/ has been substituted by /əŋəwbè càk/, which is also a noun phrase. In the two phrases, /əŋaŋ oylibè tombə/ and /əŋəwbè càk/, the head in them is /tombə/ and /càk/ respectively. This is illustrated in a diagram below :

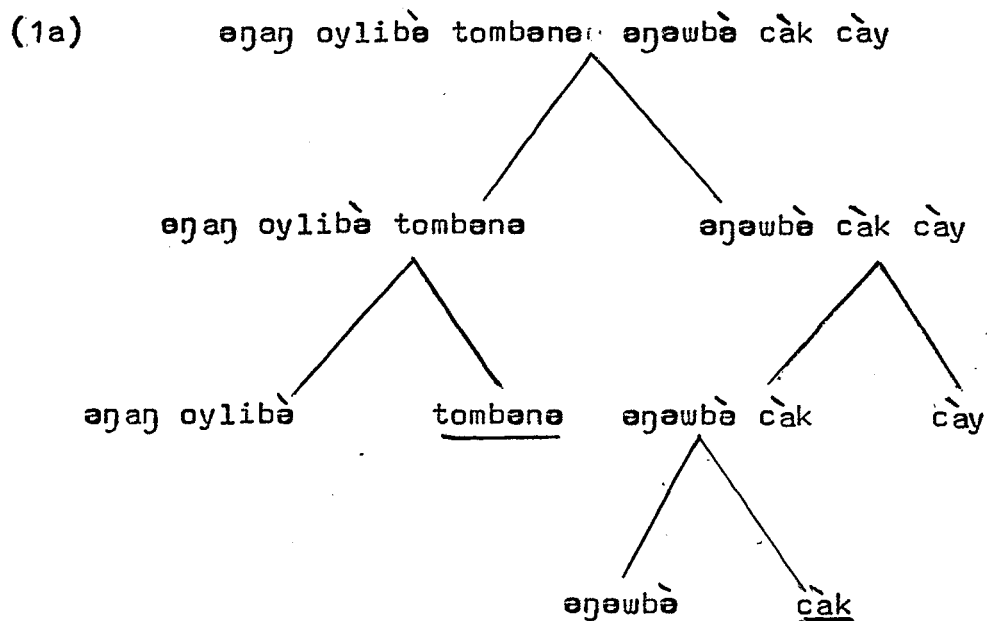


Fig.- 6. Diagram showing head in the NP.

The above diagram, using labels of the constituent types in place of words is shown in the diagram below :

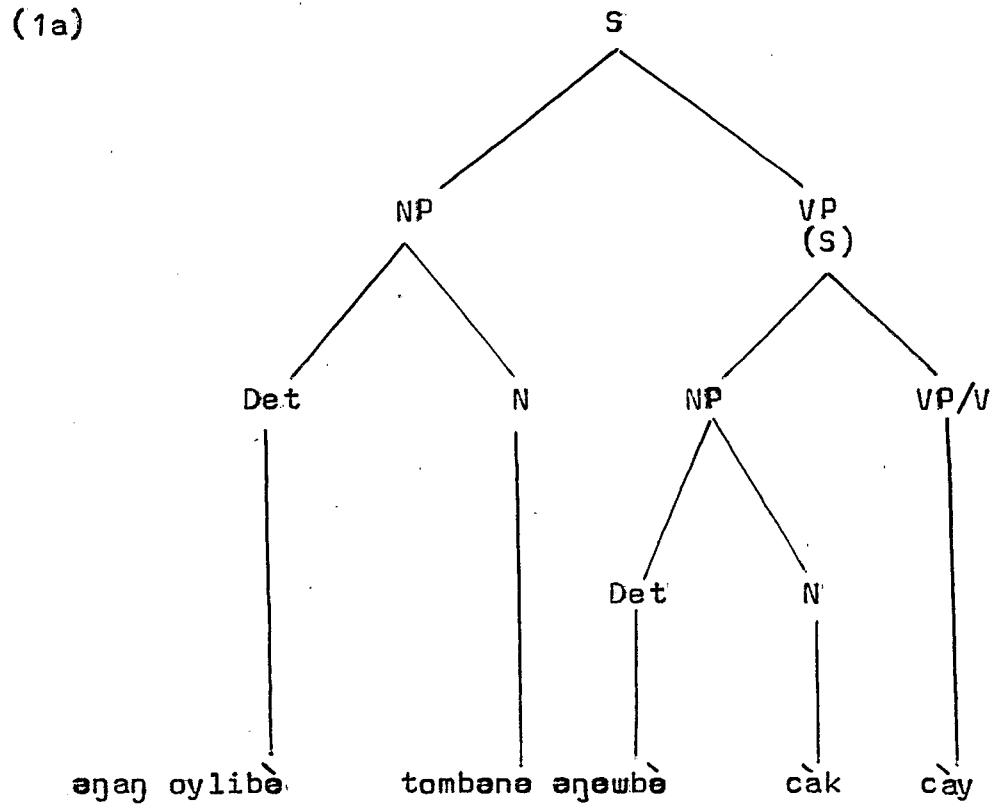


Fig. - 6a. Diagram showing head in the NP by labels.

From the above illustrations, it can be seen that the form /tombə/ is functionally alike with the phrase /əŋaŋ oylibè tombə/, while /cək/ has the same function with /əŋəwbè cək/. A substitution procedure will help in examining the above. This has been illustrated in a substitution table, as below :

əŋaŋ oylibə əŋəwbə phəjəbə tombəne 'young white good looking Tomba	məyaŋ kəŋbə thin	mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
əŋaŋ oylibə əŋəwbə 'young white	tombəne Tomba	məyaŋ kəŋbə thin	mənibu Mani
əŋaŋ oylibə 'young	tombəne Tomba	mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
əŋəwbə phəjəbə 'white good looking	tombəne Tomba	mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
əŋəwbə 'white	tombəne Tomba	mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
phəjəbə 'good looking	tombəne Tomba	mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
	tombəne 'Tomba	mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
	əŋagne 'child	mənibu Mani	phùu beat'
	cawbəne 'Chaoba	mì man	phùu beat'
	u edu 'tree the	tombəde Tomba	pìle gave'
	u 'tree	tombəde Tomba	pìle gave'

In the above examples, the pattern of arrangement is SOV. There are other patterns of arrangements also, but in all the cases substitution by single words is possible. The forms /tombə/, /əŋaŋ/, /cawbə/, /u/ in the first column occupy the subject position in the sentences. Since they can be substituted by each other, they are regarded as belonging to the same category of forms, that is, noun. The forms /mənibu/, /mì/, /əŋagne/, and /tombəde/ in the second column occupy the object position in the sentences, They also can be substituted

by each other. They are also treated as belonging to the same category of forms.

3.1.5 Nominal position : The nominal position in Meiteiron is any basic position which may be always occupied by a noun or pronoun. This is illustrated below :

- (6) ucek pay - {Noun
'Birds fly' Pronoun} in a {noun
pronoun} + verb pattern. Structure in this slot function as subject of the verb.
- (7) əy cak cəy {Noun
'I eat rice' Pronoun} in a {noun
pronoun} + {noun
pronoun} + verb pattern. In such cases the first noun/pronoun function as subject of the verb, while the second noun/pronoun function as object of the verb.
- (8) məhak tombəni {Noun
'He is Tomba' Pronoun} in a {noun
pronoun} + {noun
pronoun} + copula pattern. In this kind of structure, the first noun/pronoun is the subject of the verb, while the second noun/pronoun is the object of the verb, that is, the copula.
- (9) məhaknə cabəni - Same as above.
'He eats it'

3.1.6 Types of nouns : Nouns in Meiteiron may be either proper or common. A noun is said to be proper if it indicates a person or place, such as, /tomba/ 'Tomba (name of a person)', /imphal/ 'Imphal city', /kalentha/ 'summer month', etc. while it is common if it names a more general way : /nipa/ 'man', /chà/ 'animal', /u/ 'tree', etc.

Further, a noun in Meiteiron may be either concrete or abstract. A noun is said to be concrete if it is not abstract, that is, it can be seen, felt, tasted, etc.. A concrete noun in Meiteiron, generally is a non-dependent noun.

Illustration :

{mi}	'man'
{u}	'tree'
{càk}	'rice'
{chamu}	'elephant'
{nà}	'fish'

A noun is abstract if it names something which exists only as an idea or concept in the mind. An abstract noun in Meiteiron is generally a dependent noun. Abstract nouns are those formed with the suffix {-pà ~ -bà} to the root or to any other form or to a combination of root and suffixes. Illustrations :

{càbè}	'eating'
--------	----------

{thəkpa}	'drinking'
{tumməbə}	'sleep+realization+nominalizer'
{càlibə}	'eat+continue+nominalizer'
{phəjəbə}	'beautiffulness'
{khəŋbə}	'know'

The concrete as well as the abstract noun can indicate number, that is, singular and plural (3.1.2) by taking the suffixes and forms which indicate more than one, but dual number is indicated only in the case of concrete nouns.

3.2

VERBS

3.2.0 A verb in Meiteiron is a member of a class of forms which gives the meaning of aspect and modality by way of affixing or compounding. Verbs in Meiteiron do not indicate tense. None of the verbal suffixes are tense markers. However, time is indicated by aspect and independent forms. The suffix for 'non-realization' looks like a tense marker, but it is also a morpheme indicating 'non-realization', that is, the action is yet to be performed, which may not be performed at all. Sometimes this also indicates intention. Various forms of command, negation, benefactive, etc. are also formed by suffixing the respective markers to the root or the verb form. There are restrictions to the occurrence of the verbal affixes. Some of them can not occur directly after the root, while some of them occur only in medial positions and some of them occur in final positions (3.2.1). Verb roots are all bound (3.2.2). A list of verbal suffixes which indicate aspect and modality, when they occur with a root or in multiple combinations and function as verbs in Meiteiron are given below :

{-i}	'habitual/infinitive/stative/truth'
{-li}	'continuative'
{-le}	'completive/realization'
{-ke}	'intentional/non-realization'

{-ləm}	'action being started earlier' ⁴²
{-lək}	'action started earlier but continuing' ⁴³
{-hən}	'causative'
{-hew}	'start/inchoative'
{-khi}	'definitive/certainty'
{-te}	'negative'
{-loy}	'negative(intentive)'
{-u}	'command'
{-lò}	'command(start immediately/on the spot)'
{-lo}	'command(come for action/invite)'
{-lu}	'command(go for action)'
{-nu}	'prohibitive'
{-kho}	'command(keep)'
{-chə}	'benefactive/let(exclusive)'
{-chi}	'benefactive/let(inclusive)'
{-nu}	'wish' ⁴⁴
{-chən}	'inwards(movement)'
{-thok}	'outwards(movement/show)'
{-khet}	'drawing upwards'

-
- 42 { -ləm } indicates that the action has started at a time in the past. The action, of course, has been completed by now. This is commonly used in reporting/narrating an event at a later time, i.e. 'the action at that time!'
- 43 { -lək } indicates that the action has started at a time in the past but it is still continuing. This when occurring with realization/completive indicates completion of the action.
- 44 { -nu } always occurs after { -chə }.

{-khay}	'broke/divide', ⁴⁵
{-that}	'broke(ropе/string)', ⁴⁶
{-min}	'together'
{-nə}	'reciprocal'
{-pi}	'polite/requestive', ⁴⁷
{-cə}	'polite(declarative)', ⁴⁸
{-ne}	'declara-tive'
{-ko}	'suggestive/solicitation'
{-mən}	'excessive', ⁴⁹
{-boy}	'suspicious/uncertain/as if'
{-day}	'suspicious with presupposition/about to'
{-the}	'push down/fall down'
{-ni}	'copula', ⁵⁰

3.2.1 All the verb suffixes listed above can be classed under four sub-classes according to the order in which they can occur. They are :

Order - 1 : includes those suffixes which can not occur directly after the root;

-
- 45,46,49 These can be treated as roots also, as in the forms {khaybə} 'cut into two pieces', {thatpə} 'broke/pluck', {mənbə} 'greedy/excess (in anything), etc..
- 47,48 This suffixes show disrespect in cases like, /cəbige/ 'eat+disrespect+non-realization', {həyjəlu} 'go and tell', {həyjəlo} 'come and beg', etc..
- 50 This is a nominal suffix but in some cases it goes with the verbs. Refer, 3.9.0 .

Order - 2 : includes those suffixes which can not occur in final positions;

Order - 3 : includes those suffixes which can occur in final positions only, and no other suffix can occur after it;

Order - 4 : includes those suffixes which can occur in medial and final positions as well as directly after the root.

Suffixes coming under Order - 1 are : { -day, -ne, -ni, -nu, and -nu }.

Suffixes under Order - 2 are : { -lak, -lam, -ca, -chen, -thok, -han, -ne, -cha, -man, -min, -haw, -khet, -khoy, -thet, and -pi }.

Suffixes under Order - 3 is { -ko }.

All other suffixes not covered by the above three Orders come under Order - 4.

The following examples will illustrate the above Order classes. All the illustrations of Order - 4 below, can take the suffix of Order - 3 in final positions. Those having exceptions are marked 'not possible'. Illustrations :

- (1) əy cək cày (cà+i)
'I rice eat+infinitive (I eat rice)'
- (2) əy cək càli
'I rice eat+continue (I am eating rice)'
- (3) əy cək càle
'I rice eat+completive (I ate rice)'
- (4) əy cək cəge
'I rice eat+(non-realization (I will eat rice))'
- (5) əy cək cəkhi
'I rice eat+definite (I eat rice definitely)'
- (6) əy cək càde
'I rice eat+negative (I do not eat rice)'
- (7) əy cək càloy
'I rice eat+intentional negative (I will not eat rice)'
- (8) nəŋ cək cəw (ca+w)
'you rice eat+command (Take your meal)'
- (9) nəŋ cək càlo
'you rice eat+command immediate (Take your meal now)'
- (10) nəŋ cək càlo
'you rice eat+invitation (Come for a meal)'
- (11) nəŋ cək càlu
'you rice eat+different place (Go for the meal)'
- (12) əykhoj cək cəchi
'we rice eat+let (Let us have our meal)'
- (13) nəŋ cək cəkho
'you rice eat+keep (You keep on eating rice)'
- (14) məhək càləboy khəllule⁵¹
'he eat+as if think+realization (It was thought as
if he has taken meal)'

51 {-boy} although it generally occurs after verbs is more nominal. {cələboy} may be interpreted more appropriately as {cələbə oyləbə} 'eat+completive+nominalizer is+completive+nominalizer'.

Suffixes of Order - 2 below can not take the suffix of Order - 3 directly. Further, the suffixes of Order - 2 can not occur with all the suffixes of Order - 4. Illustrations :

- (15) əy cək cələmmi
'I rice eat+started earlier+continue'
(I was in the state of eating)
- (16) əy cək cələkli
'I rice eat+start but continue+continue'
(I have been eating rice from some time past)'
- (17) əynə mabu cək cəhəlli
'I+by him+to rice eat+cause+continue'
(I made him eat rice)
- (18) məhak cək cəchənu
'he rice eat+let+wish'
(Let him eat the rice)
- (19) cəktu cəchəllu
'rice+the eat+putting inside mouth+command'
(Finish the rice by putting inside the mouth)
- (20) cəktu cəthokū (thok+u)
'rice+the eat+out+command'
(Finish the rice by emptying the plate)
- (21) əyge cək cəminnəchi
'I+with rice eat+together+reciprocal+benefactive'
(Eat rice together with me)
- (22) gəchi cək cəbiyu
'today rice eat+request+command'⁵²
(Kindly have meal to-day)
- (23) əy həybigə
'I say+disrespect+unrealization'
(I will tell)
- (24) əy cək cəməlle
'I rice eat+excessive+realization'
(I have excessively ate the rice)
- (25) əynə mabu inthəle
'I+by him push+down+realization'
(I pushed him down)

52 {-yu} is the suffix indicating 'command' but in such cases it is not used to mean 'command' but it means 'request'.

- (26) əy cətcale
'I go+polite+realization'
(I am going/I am taking leave)
- (27) nəŋ cətcaelo
'you go+disrespect+command'
(You may go)
- (28) məhak cəhəwle
'he eat+inchoative+realization'
(He had started eating)
- (29) nəŋ ciŋkhetlu
'you draw+up+command'
(you draw it up)
- (30) məhaknə caykhay (cay+khay+Ø)
'he+by throw+away+continue'
(He throw it at rampage)
- (31) mədu ciŋthetlu
'that draw+broke+command'
(Draw that to **break**)

Suffixes of Order - 1 below can occur in final positions. All the illustrations of Order - 1 can take the suffix of Order - 3 and can occur with some of the suffixes of Order -4. Illustrations :

- (32) nəŋ cəgenu
'you eat+non-realization+prohibitive'
(you are prohibited to eat)
- (33) məhak cəchenu
'he eat+benefactive+wish'
(Let him eat)
- (34) məhakti cəlene
'he+particularization eat+completive+declarative'
(He had eaten)
- (35) əy cəgəni
'I eat+non-realization+copula'
(I will eat)
- (36) cək cələmday oyle
'rice eat+start+about to is+completive'
(It is time to eat/rice/meal)

In the above illustrations all those forms which can occur with any of the suffixes or in multiple combinations are verbs.

3.2.2 Types of verbs : All the verb forms are bound. They are all dependent unlike nouns, which can be either dependent or non-dependent. All the verb forms are composed of a root and one or more suffix, for example, {cà+li} 'eat+continue', {hày+həl+li} 'caused to say', etc.. Verbs in Meiteiron can be divided into two classes according to their formation. They are - (i) those with affixation, such as, {cà+y} 'eat(habitual)', {i+li} 'write(continue)', {pa+le} 'read (completive)', etc.; and those showing compounding, such as, {pì+thək+le} 'give+drink+completive', {pì+cà+le > pìjèle} 'give+eat+completive', etc.. Then, it can be represented in a diagram as follows :

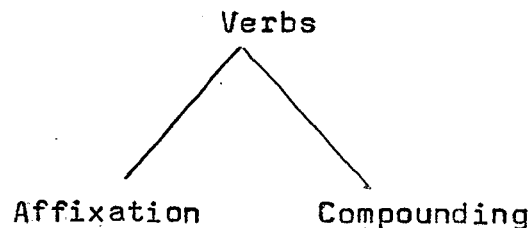


Fig. -7. Diagram showing classification of verbs.

3.2.2.1 Affixation : Those verbs which are formed either by adding one or more suffix(es) to the root are verbs formed

with affixation. The suffixes may be either aspect or modality markers or may be both. The various types of combinations of modality and aspect or aspect+aspect etc. are illustrated⁵³ below :

A. R+A

cà+i > cày	'eat(infinitive)'
cà+li	'eat(continuative)'
cà+le	'eat(completive)'
cà+ge	'eat(non-realization)'

B. R+A+A

cà + lək + li	'eat+started earlier+continue'
cà + ləm + mi	'eat+started earlier+continue'
cà + hən + ge	'eat+causation+non-realization'
cà + həw + le	'eat+inchoative+realization'

C. R+A+A+A

cà+həl+lək+li	'eat+causation+start+continue'
cà+həl+ləm+mi	'eat+causation+in process+continue'
cà+lək+ləm+mi	'eat+start+process+continue'

53 In the illustrations - R stands for root, A stands for Aspect, and M for modality.

D. R+A+A+A+A

ca+həl+lək+lə+ge
 'eat+causation+start+realization+non-realization'⁵⁴

ca+həl+lək+ləm+mi
 'eat+causation+start+start process+continue'

E. R+A+M

ca+hən+khi
 'eat+causation+definitive'

ca+ge+nu
 'eat+non-realization+prohibitive'

ca+lək+u
 'eat+start complete+command'

F. R+A+A+M

ca+həl+lək+khi
 'eat+causation+ start+ definitive'

ca+həl+ləm+mu
 'eat+causation+start in progress+command'

54 'realization' and 'non-realization' occurring together is very common in Meiteiron. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ This is a semantic phenomenon, hence it is not explained in the present analysis.

G.

R+A+A+A+M

cà+həl+lək+kə+nu
 'eat+causation+start+non-realization+prohibitive'

cà+həl+lək+lə+loy
 'eat+causation+start+realization+intentional negative'

H.

R+A+A+A+A+M

cà+həl+lək+ləm+mə+ni
 'eat+causation+start+process(start)+realization+copula'

cà+həl+lək+lə+gə+nu
 'eat+causation+start+realization+non-realization+prohibitive'

I.

R+A+M+A

cà+ləm+khi+ge
 'eat+start(process)+definitive+non-realization'

cà+hən+də+le
 'eat+causation+negation+completive'

J.

R+A+A+M+A

cà+həl+lək+khi+ge
 'eat+causation+start(process)+definitive+non-realization'

cà+həl+lək+te+le
 'eat+causation+start(process)+negative+completive'

K.

R+m

\
ca+khi
'eat+definitive'

\
ca+de
'eat+negative'

\
ca+loy
'eat+intentional negative'

L.

R+m+m

\
ca+khi+de
'eat+definitive+negative'

\
ca+khi+nu
'eat+definitive+prohibitive'

\
ca+nə+khi
'eat+reciprocate+definitive'

M.

R+m+m+m

\
ca+khi+chə+nu
'eat+definitive+benefactive+wish'

\
ca+nə+khi+de
'eat+reciprocate+definitive+negative'

\
ca+lu+chə+nu
'eat+go for action+benefactive+wish'

N.

R+m+m+m+m

\
ca+thok+pi+lu+nu
'eat+out+polite+go for action+prohibitive'

O. R+m+m+m+m+m

cà+chin+bi+lu+khi+nu
'eat+in+polite+go for action+definitive+prohibitive'

cà+min+nə+bi+lu+nu
'eat+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+prohibitive'

P. R+m+m+m+m+m+m

cà+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu
'eat+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+definitive+p-rohibitive'

cà+chin+min+nə+bi+lu+nu
'eat+together+in+reciprocate+polite+go for action+prohibitive'

Q. R+m+m+m+m+m+m+m

cà+chin+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu
'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+definitive+prohibitive'

cà+thok+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu
'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+definitive+prohibitive'

R. R+m+m+m+m+m+m+m+m

cà+chin+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu+ne
'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+definitive+prohibitive+declarative'

S.

R+M+M+M+M+M+M+M+M+M

cà+chən+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu+ne+ko
 'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+
 definitive+prohibitive+declarative+suggestive'

cà+thok+min+nə+bi+lu+khi+nu+ne+ko
 'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+go for action+
 definitive+prohibitive+declarative+suggestive'

T.

R+M+A+M

cà+chən+həl+lu
 'eat+in+causative+command'

cà+chən+hən+khi
 'eat+in+causative+definitive'

U.

R+M+A+M+A

cà+chən+hən+jə+le
 'eat+in+causative+requestive+completive'

cà+chən+hən+khi+ge
 'eat+in+causative+definitive+non-realization'

V.

R+M+A+M+A+A

cà+chən+hən+jə+ləm+me
 'eat+in+causative+requestive+start+completive'

cà+chən+hən+khi+ləm+me
 'eat+in+causative+definitive+start+completive'

W. R+m+A+m+A+A+A

cà+chen+hèn+jè+lèm+lè+ge
'eat+in+causative+polite+start+completive+non-
realization'

cà+thok+hèn+jè+lèm+lè+ge
'eat+out+causative+polite+start+completive+non-
realization'

X. R+m+A+A

cà+thok+hèn+ge
'eat+out+causative+non-realization'

cà+chen+hèn+ge
'eat+in+causative+non-realization'

Y. R+m+A+A+A

cà+thok+hèl+lè+ge
'eat+out+causative+completive+non-realization'

cà+chen+hèl+lèm+mè
'eat+in+causative+start+completive'

Z. R+m+A+A+A+A

cà+thok+hèl+lèm+mè+ge
'eat+out+causative+start+completive+non-realization'

cà+chen+hèl+lèm+mè+ge
'eat+in+causative+start+completive+non-realization'

11. R+m+A

ca+bi+khi+nu
'eat+polite+definitive+prohibitive'

ca+bi+khi+de

AA. R+M+M+A.

cà+bi+khi+nu
'eat+polite+definitive+prohibitive'

cà+bi+khi+de
'eat+polite+definitive+negative'

AB. R+M+M+A+M

cà+thok+pi+khi+ñu
'eat+out+polite+causative+command'

cà+thok+pi+hən+khi
'eat+out+polite+causative+definitive'

AC. R+M+M+A+M+A.

cà+thok+pi+hən+khə+lə
'eat+out+polite+causative+definitive+completive'

cà+min+nə+lək+khi+ge
'eat+together+reciprocate+start+definitive+non-
realization'

AD. R+M+M+A+A

cà+thok+pi+ləm+me
'eat+out+polite+start+completive'

cà+min+nə+ləm+me
'eat+together+reciprocate+start+completive'

AE R+M+M+A+A+A

cà+thok+pi+həl+ləm+me
'eat+out+polite+causative+start+completive'

cà+min+nə+həl+ləm+me
'eat+together+reciprocate+causative+start+completive'

AF. R+M+M+A+A+A+A

cà+thok+pi+həl+lək+ləm+me
'eat+out+polite+causative+start+start+completive'

cà+min+nə+hən+khi+lək+ləm+mi
'eat+together+reciprocate+causative+definitive+
start+start+completive'

AG. R+M+M+A+M+A+A

cà+thok+pi+hən+khə+lə
'eat+out+polite+causative+completive'

cà+min+nə+hən+khə+lə
'eat+together+reciprocate+definiive+definitive+
completive'

AH. R+M+M+A+M+A+A+A

cà+thok+pi+hən+khi+lək+ləm+mi
'eat+out+polite+causative+definitive+start+start+
completive'

cà+min+nə+hən+khi+lək+ləm+mi
'eat+together+reciprocate+causative+definitive+start+
start+completive'

AI. R+M+M+M+A.

cà+thok+pi+khə+le
'eat+out+polite+definitive+completive'

cà+min+nə+khə+le
'eat+together+reciprocate+definitive+completive'

AJ. R+M+M+M+A+M

cà+thok+pi+khi+ləm+de
'eat+out+polite+definitive+start+negative'

cà+min+nə+khi+ləm+de
'eat+together+reciprocate+definitive+start+negative'

AK. R+M+M+M+A+M+A

cà+thok+pi+khi+ləm+də+li
'eat+out+polite+definitive+start+negative+continuative'

cà+thok+pi+khi+ləm+də+le
'eat+out+polite+definitive+start+negative+completive'

AL. R+M+M+M+A+A

cà+thok+pi+khi+ləm+me
'eat+out+polite+definitive+start+completive'

cà+min+nə+khi+ləm+me
'eat+together+reciprocate+definitive+start+completive'

AM. R+M+M+M+A+A+A

\`ca+thok+pi+khi+lək+ləm+mi
'eat+out+polite+definitive+start+start+continuative'

\`ca+min+nə+bi+lək+ləm+mi
'eat+together+reciprocate+polite+start+start+continuative'

AN. R+M+M+M+M+A

\`ca+chən+min+nə+jə+le
'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+completive'

\`ca+thok+min+nə+jə+le
'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+completive'

AO. R+M+M+M+M+A+M

\`ca+chən+min+nə+jə+lək+khi
'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+start+definitive'

\`ca+thok+min+nə+jə+lək+khi
'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+start+definitive'

AP. R+M+M+M+M+A+M+A

\`ca+chən+min+nə+jə+lək+khi+ge
'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+start+definitive+non-realization'

\`ca+thok+min+nə+jə+lək+khi+ge
'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+start+definitive+non-realization'

AQ. R+M+M+M+M+M+A

cà+chən+min+nə+bi+khi+ge
 'eat+in+together+reciprocate+polite+definitive+
 non-realization'

cà+thok+min+nə+bi+khə+le
 'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+definitive+
 completive'

AR. R+M+M+M+M+M+A+A

cà+thok+min+nə+bi+khi+ləm+me
 'eat+out+together+reciprocate+polite+definitive+
 start+completive'

cà+chən+min+nə+bi+khi+ləm+me
 'eat+in+together+reciprocate+definitive
 start+completive'

3.2.2.2 Compounding : Those verbs which are formed by compounding either with a verb or any other class of words, are verbs showing compounding. The various types of compounding in Meiteiron are illustrated below :

A. Root+Root+Suffix(es)

pi+cà+le > pijəle
 'give+ear+completive'

pi+thək+le
 'give+drink+completive'

cà+nig+ŋe
'eat+intend+completive'

pi+thək+pi+yu
'give+drink+polite+command'

pi+thək+hən+jə+ləm+me
'give+drink+causative+polite+start+completive'

B. Root+Suffix(es)+Root+Suffix(es)

thək+cə+nig+ŋi
'drink+polite+intend+continuative'

hày+jə+nig+ŋi
'say+polite+intend+continuative'

cà+thək+hən+jə+nig+khi+ləm+mi
'eat+out+causative+polite+intend+definitive+start+continuative'

C. Root+Root+Root+Suffix(es)

pi+thək+nig+ŋi
'give+drink+intend+continuative'

pi+thək+nig+mən+khə+le
'give+drink+intend+excessive+definitive+completive'

D. Root+Root+Suffix(es)+Root+Suffix(es)

pi+thək+cə+nig+ŋi
'give+drink+polite+intend+continuative'

pi+thək+hən+jə+nig+khə+le
'give+drink+causative+polite+intend+definitive+completive'

3.2.3 All the above suffixes indicate either aspect or modality. As already mentioned in 3.2.0, a verb in this language can not indicate tense. However, time is indicated by the aspect markers, such as, /i/ 'habitual/continue', /li/ 'continuative', /le/ 'completive/realization', /ke/ 'intensive/non-realization', etc. as also by forms like, /ŋəchi/ 'to-day', /həwjik/ 'now', /həyeŋ/ 'to-morrow', /ŋəlaŋ/ 'yesterday', etc.. This is illustrated below :

- (37) əy kəythen cətli
'I market going(continuative)'
- (38) əy ŋəlaŋ kəythen cətli
'I yesterday market going'
- (39) əy həwjik kəythen cətli
'I now market going'
- (40) əy həyeŋ kəythen cətkəni
'I to-morrow market will go'

In examples (37-39) above, the verb/cətli/ 'going' remains the same in all the sentences, but the difference at the time of going is indicated by the independent forms /ŋəlaŋ/ 'yesterday', in example (38); and /həwjik/ 'now' in example (39). In all the cases 'my going to the market' part of the speech remains the same. In example (40), since the action is yet to be performed or it is not yet realized, this is indicated by the non-realization particle {-kə} and the independent form /həyeŋ/ 'tomorrow'. Therefore, it is interpreted that tense is not present in Meiteiron, while time is indicated by aspect markers and independent forms.

3.2.4 Voice : Voice is not a distinctive category in Meiteiron. The subject marker in Meiteiron is {-nə}, while the object marker is {-puɔ-bu}. Change in the position of the subject and object does not make any difference in sentences of Meiteiron. This is illustrated below :

- (41) tombəna cawbəbu phuy
'Tomba Chaoba beat (Tomba beats Chaoba)'
- (41a) cawbəbu tombəna phuy
'Chaoba Tomba beat (Tomba beats Chaoba)'
- (42) əyna thabu uy
'I moon see (I see the moon)'
- (42a) thabu əyna uy
'moon I see (I see the moon)'

In the above examples, those forms with the suffix {-nə} are subjects, and those forms with the suffix {-bu} are objects, irrespective of the position they occupy in the sentences.

3.2.4.1 Voice here stands for active and passive. In the present analysis it is interpreted that the verbs in Meiteiron can not show active/passive difference. However, there are sentences which seem to be passive constructions, like :

- (43) əyna thəgnə yalli
'I+by sword+by cut'

- (44) tombəne cəyne phùbàni
 'Tomba+by stick+by beating+is' (Tomba beats by the
 stick)

In the above examples (43-44), {thàgne} 'by sword', {cəy+ne} 'by stick', seems to show passive construction in Meiteiron because of the suffix {-ne} 'by'. In these cases the sense of 'by' indicated by {-ne}, is used to indicate instrument in the action, rather than passive. Hence, these sentences can not be taken as passive constructions.

But, this is one of the speculations as the result of the present analysis. More work is to be done on this, before making a final statement.

3.2.5 Syntactically⁵⁵ a verb in Meiteiron can be defined as a class of forms which can function as the head of the verb phrase (VP), and also occupies the verbal position in a sentence. In the following examples, those forms occurring at the end of a sentence are verbs. But there are exceptions. In poetry for stylistic reasons or in some sub-standard Meiteiron, the verb position is changed. However, the speech form which is regarded grammatical or proper and is commonly used by the standard speakers, has the verb at the end of the sentence.

Illustrations :

55. To have a clear cut demarcation between Morphology and Syntax is not possible in Meiteiron because morphemes are the deciding factor in them. Therefore, here and in the previous section on Nouns syntactic criteria is incorporated.

- (45) mənɪnə ɒmbəbu phùɪ
 'Mani Tomba beat(Mani beats Tomba)'
- (46) mənɪnə ɒmbəbu kənnə phùɪ
 'Mani Tomba hard beat(Mani beats Tomba hard)'
- (47) mənɪnə yàŋnə ʧɛllɪ
 'Mani fast run(Mani is running fast)'

In the above examples, phùɪ, ʧɛllɪ are verbs, while kənnə phùɪ, yàŋnə ʧɛllɪ are VPs. In the VPs also phùɪ and ʧɛllɪ are the head, that is the main verb. This is illustrated below :

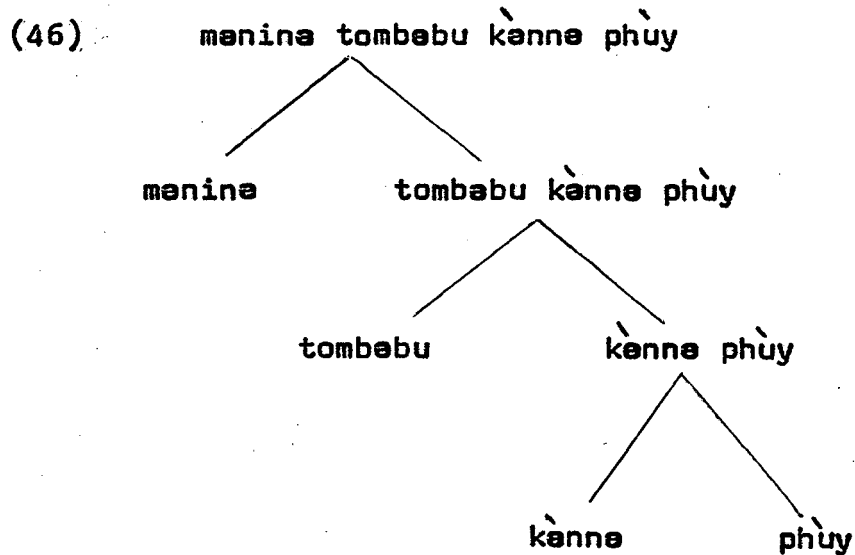


Fig. - 8. Diagram showing the main verb in the VP.

The above diagram, using labels of the constituent types in place of words is shown in the diagram below :

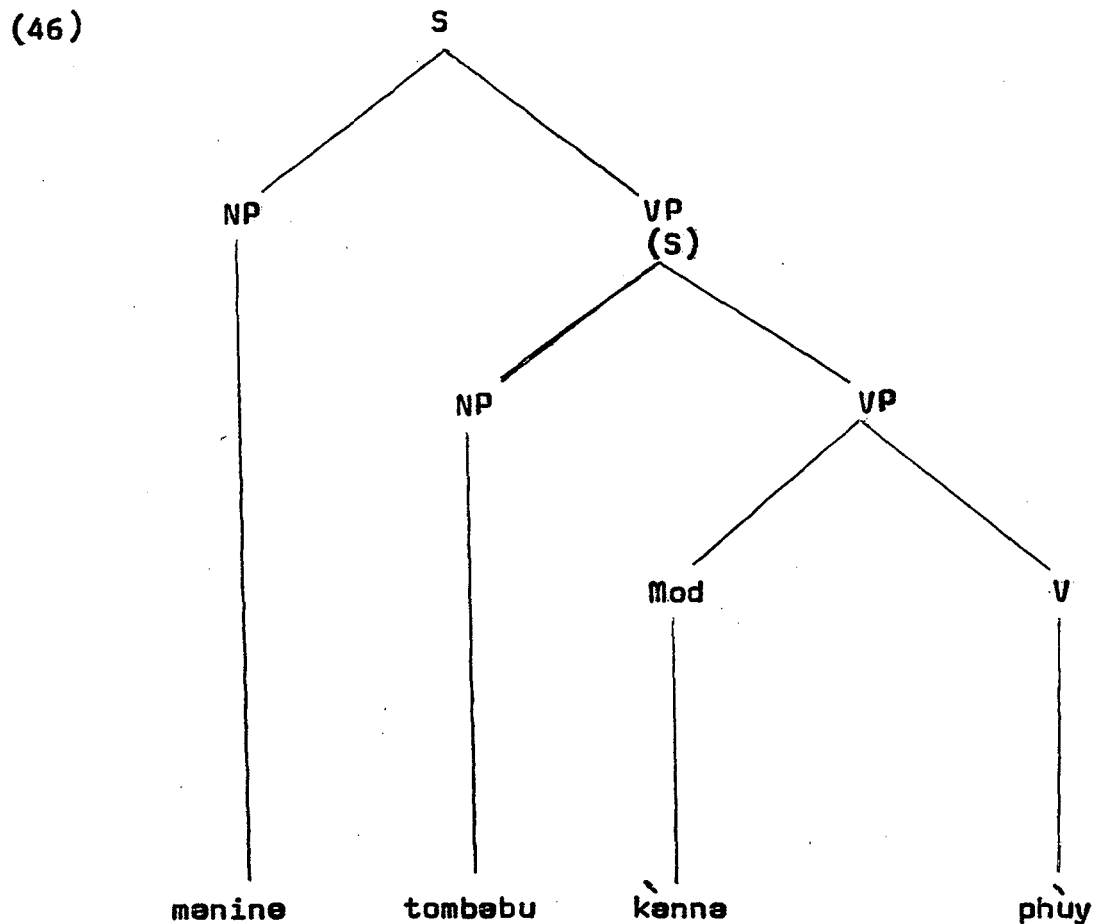


Fig. - 8a. Diagram showing the main verb in the VP by labels.

From the above illustrations, it can be seen that the form *phùy* is functionally alike with the verbal group, that is, the verb phrase *kənnə phùy*. This is illustrated below :

tombəne 'Tomba	mənibu Mani	yamne very	kənnə hard	phùy beat/hit'
tombəne 'Tomba	mənibu Mani		kənnə hard	phùy beat'
tombəne 'Tomba	mənibu Mani			phùy beat'
tombəne 'Tomba	mənibu Mani			kəwwi calling'
tombəne 'Tomba	cawbəbu Chaoba			kəwwi calling'
mənine 'Mani	cawbəbu Chaoba			kəwwi calling'
cawbəne 'Chaoba	bol ball		kənnə hard	kəwwi kicking'
cawbəne 'Chaoba	bol ball			kəwwi kicking'

The pattern in all the above examples is subject (s), object (O), and verb (V), that is, SOV. In all the cases, the VPs can be substituted by single verbs. Those forms occurring in the last or third column above, such as, yamne kənnə phùy, kənnə phùy, phùy, kənnə kəwwi, kəwwi occupy the verbal position in the sentences. Therefore, they are either verbs or verb phrases.

3.2.6 Verbal position : The verbal position in Meiteiron is any basic position which may be always occupied by a verb that is, generally the last in a sentence. This is illustrated below :

- (48) mehak càk cày - Verb in $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} +$
 'he rice eat'
 verb pattern. Structure in this slot function as the finite verb.
- (49) caubene kenne kàwwi - Verb in a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} +$
 'Chaoba hard kick'
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{auxiliary} \\ \text{modifier} \end{array} \right\} +$ verb pattern. In such cases the last verb is the main verb, while the first is modifier.
- (50) ey càk càgani - Verb in a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} +$
 'I rice will eat'
 verb+copula pattern. In such cases the copula is not the main verb.
- (51) eyni - Verb in a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{pronoun} \end{array} \right\} +$ copula
 'I am'
 pattern. In such cases the copula is the main verb.

3.3

NOUN: SUBSTITUTES

3.3.0 Generally this class of forms is termed pronouns. This name has been adopted from the following definition. Any word which can substitute a noun in a construction; can take the nominal suffixes and also can function in place of a noun is termed 'noun substitute'. As for example -

- (1) manine tombede hay, mani gæchi cætkeni
'Mani Tomba say, Mani to-day will go'

In the above example, the noun /mani/ is used repeatedly. This repetition can be avoided if the repeated or second /mani/ is substituted by a noun substitute as follows :

- (1a) manine tombede hay, mehak gæchi cætkeni
'Mani Tomba say, he (Mani) to-day will go'
- (1b) manine tombede hay, eyhak gæchi cætkeni
'Mani Tomba say, I (Mani) to-day will go'

Examples (1), (1a) and (1b) are all grammatical and meaningful, but (1a) and (1b) are preferable forms⁵⁶. The difference between (1a) and (1b) is - in (1a) the report is made in the reporter's own style, that is, indirect, while in (1b) the report is in the direct speech.

56 Both (1a) and (1b) are ambiguous.

To validate the above definition, a few more examples are given to show that /məhak or əyhak/ can take the nominal suffixes. Illustrations :

məhak+ki	'he+possessive'
məhak+nə	'he+by'
məhak+pu	'he+to'
əyhak+ki	'I+possessive'
əyhak+nə	'I+by' etc.

The noun substitutes for the three different persons are different and they also differ for singular and plural, (3.3.1.1).

3.3.1 Types of noun substitutes : The noun substitutes in Meiteiron may be broadly classified into three types. They are - (i) Personal noun substitutes, (ii) Demonstrative noun substitutes, and (iii) Interrogative noun substitutes. Diagrammatically, then, it can be represented as follows :

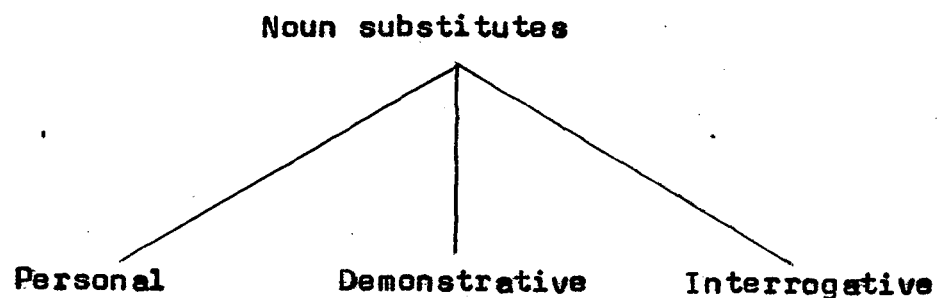


Fig - 9. Diagram showing classification of Noun substitutes.

Fig. - 9. Diagram showing classification of Noun substitutes.

3.3.1.1 Personal noun substitutes : Personal noun substitutes are used for human beings only. In a sentence, if the repeated NP is a human being, it can be substituted by personal noun substitutes. Grammatically, there are three classes of persons each in singular and plural in Meiteiron. They are - (a) First person, (b) Second person, and (c) Third person. The different personal substitutes for the three classes in the two numbers are illustrated below :

TABLE I

	Singular	Plural
First person	ey/eyhak 'I'	eykhoy 'we'
Second person:	nəg/nəhak 'you'	nəkhoy 'you'
Third person	ma/məhak 'he'	məkhoy 'they'

The personal noun substitutes have secondary forms in the singular only. They are i/e for the first person, nə for the second person, and mə for the third person. This is shown in a Table below :

TABLE II

	Singular	
	Primary	Secondary
First person	ey/eyhak 'I'	i/e 'I'
Second person	nəg/nəhak 'you'	nə 'you'
Third person	ma/məhak 'he'	mə 'he'

There is also another noun substitute mi 'man'. This is used both as a first person substitute or for someone else who is not known, but it is restricted to human beings. For example - migi phulit lèwkhele may mean either 'my shirt has been taken away' or 'someone's shirt has been taken away'. The personal substitutes along with their secondary forms are illustrated below:

- (2) əygi laylikni
'I book is' (This is my book)'
- (3) ikokni
'I head is (This is my head)'
- (4) əbokni
'I grandmother is (She is my grandmother)'
- (5) nəggi laylikni
'you book is (This is your book)'
- (6) nəkokni
'you head is (This is your head)'
- (7) magi laylikni
'he book is (It is his book)'
- (8) məkokni
'he head is (This is his head)'
- (9) migi laylik lèwkhele
'my/someone book taken away (My/Someone's book has been taken away)'

The personal substitutes occur in alienable and inalienable possessions. In the case of kin terms, like - mother, father, etc. the secondary singular forms of the personal substitutes are inalienable to the possessor. Thus,

in /ima/ 'my mother', the first personal singular substitute secondary form i- indicates that the possessor is the speaker; in /nama/ '(your) mother', the secondary form of the second personal substitute ne- shows that the possessor is the addressee; but in the case of /məma/ '(his) mother',⁵⁷ the third person secondary mə- indicates that the possessor is neither the speaker nor the addressee. Further, an attributive⁵⁸ word, that is, a personal noun substitute of the respective person, first, second, or third can be added for specificity or emphasis, such as - /əygi ima/ 'my mother', /nəggi nama/ 'your mother', and /magi məma/ 'his mother'. These personal substitutes when occurring with demonstratives show remoteness and nearness to the speaker(3.3.2). The following sets of examples will illustrate the inalienable possessions :

SET I

i+ma	'my mother'	ne+ma	'your mother'	mə+ma	'his mother'
i+pa	'my father'	ne+pa ⁵⁹	'your father'	mə+pa	'his father'
i+ca	'my child'	ne+ca	'your child'	mə+ca	'his child'

57: Forms with mə- like məma are regarded as generic terms.

58: There are restrictions in the acceptance of the attributives. For details, refer later in this section.

59: nəpa, nəma, although it stands for 'your father', 'your mother', it is considered as a term of disrespect.

SET II

i+kok	'my head'	nə+kok	'your head'	mə+kok	'his head'
i+khùt	'my hand'	nə+khùt	'your hand'	mə+khùt	'his hand'
i+mìt	'my eye'	nə+mìt	'your eye'	mə+mìt	'his eye'
i+yum	'my house'	nə+yum	'your house'	mə+yum	'his house'
i+ləm	'my land'	nə+ləm	'your land'	mə+ləm	'his land'
i+chen	'my cattle'	nə+chen	'your cattle'	mə+chen	'his cattle'

Those coming under set I, that is, the roots, such as ma-, pa-, etc. can not occur independently. They are all bound roots. They always occur with one of the three secondary forms of the personal noun substitutes. Further, there are restrictions to the occurrence of the three persons. The form ima 'my mother' or ipa 'my father', etc. with the secondary first person noun substitutes will have the first person substitute ay 'I' or eygi 'I+possessive' or eykhoygi 'we+possessive', etc. only occurring with them, such as, eygi ima 'my mother', eygi ipa 'my father', eykhoygi ima 'our mother', etc.. One can not say *nengi ima to mean 'your mother' or *nengi ipa to mean 'your father'; but one can say nekhoigi ima 'your mother', eykhoygi nepa. Here the situation is different. nekhoigi ima may mean 'mother belonging to you but whom I have my regards', and eykhoygi nepa means 'my husband who is like your father in age'. The most appropriate address for 'your mother' in the standard speech is nekhoigi nema.

In the same manner in the case of nema 'your mother' or mama 'his mother', there are restrictions in their occurrence. nema or any other form with ne- can occur with nengi, such as nengi nema 'your mother', nengi nepa 'your father', nengi naca 'your son/child', etc.. The constructions *aygi nema 'my mother', *magi nema 'his mother' are not acceptable. mama or any other form with me- can occur only with magi, such as magi mama 'his mother', magi mepa 'his father', magi meca 'his son/child', etc.. They can not occur with ey or neng, in such forms as *aygi mama to mean 'my mother', *nengi mama to mean 'your mother', etc.. The possible sets of occurrence are illustrated below :

SET III

eygi ima 'my mother' nengi nema 'your mother' magi mama 'his mother'
eygi ipa 'my father' nengi nepa 'your father' magi mepa 'his father'
eygi ica 'my child' nengi naca 'your child' magi meca 'his child'

The above illustrations show that the secondary forms of the noun substitutes which become prefixes of the first second, and third person (according from the person from which it has derived) are inalienable possessor, because they are particles which show the relationship of the speaker with the object. The restrictions to their occurrence with the personal noun substitutes indicate the person, that is, first, second, or third of the possessor. This indicates the generic category of the possessor.

In the case of set II, the roots can occur independently. But to show the nearness and remoteness to the speaker as well as to show the person of the possessor, that is, first person, second person, and third person; different personal prefixes are prefixed to them. Since these forms such as kòk 'head', khùt 'hand', etc. can also occur independently one can easily say əygi kòk 'my head', nənggi kòk 'your head', magi kòk 'his head', etc., but at the same time one can also say əygi ikòk 'my head', nənggi nəkòk 'your head', and magi məkòk 'his head'. In these cases, there is a sense of 'my own', 'your own' and 'his own', that is, əygi ikòk 'my own head', etc.. Again, one can never say, *əygi nəkòk/məkòk to mean 'my head' or *nənggi ikòk/məkòk to mean 'your head' or *magi ikòk/nəkòk to mean 'his head'. This allocation of the first, second, and third person prefixes also shows that the prefixes are inalienable to the possessor to indicate the category of the possessor.

3.3.1.2 Demonstrative Noun substitutes : Demonstrative noun substitutes are all bound. The demonstrative roots chi- and du- can also occur with nouns in the form of suffixes, such as, cawbachi 'this Chaoba', nəngchàdu 'the/that lion', cawbàdu 'the/that Chaoba', etc.. These can be expressed in the following manner also. cawbà achi 'this Chaoba', nəngchà adu 'the/that lion', cawbà edu 'the/that Chaoba'.

Generally, the demonstrative noun substitute roots occur in combination with the first personal prefix a-, and the third personal prefix me-. With the first personal prefix they indicate nearness, which may conveniently be termed as 'proximal'; while with the third personal prefix, they indicate remoteness, which may be termed as 'distal'. For example :

echi 'this' (proximal)'
machi 'this (distal)'
edu 'the/that (proximal)'
medu 'the/that (distal)'

In the above examples only a- and me- are found combined with the demonstrative roots. The personal prefix a- and me- indicate proximal and distal respectively, when they are combined with demonstrative noun substitute roots. There is no intermediate position between them, hence, na- is not found in combinations.

Further there are restrictions in the occurrence of echi 'this' and machi 'this', in constructions. In the same manner there are restrictions in the occurrence of edu, and medu also. machi and medu occurs before the subject in SOV constructions, while echi and edu occurs before the subject in the OSV constructions. When these demonstrative substitute roots occur in combination with nouns, they indicate particularization and demonstrative.

There are two more demonstrative noun substitute roots which cannot occur with nouns. They are : echom 'this side', and edom 'that side'. They also can not occur independently without the personal prefix e or me. Here in this case also, the personal prefixes indicate proximal and distal. Illustrations :

echomde	'this side (proximal)'
mæchomde	'this side (distal)'
edomde	'that side (proximal)'
mædomde	'that side (distal)'

In the above illustrations, the suffix de has a locative sense.

3.3.1.3 Interrogative Noun substitutes : Interrogative noun substitutes are also bound forms, which can not occur independently without a suffix or suffixes attached to it. An interrogative noun substitute can be of person, object, place, time, manner, and quantity. In some cases combination of person and place, or place and thing, etc. can also be indicated. Illustrations :

kəna	'who'	ke+na	'which+person'
kəli	'which'	ke+li	'which+thing'
kəday	'where'	ke+day	'which+place'

kələm	'how'	kə+ləm	'which+manner/way/mode'
kəya	'how much'	kə+ya	'which/quantity/much'
kəyam	'how many'	kə+yam	'which+quantity/many'
kə+na+də	'which+person+at'(at whose place)'		
kə+li+də	'which+thing+at (at which place)'		
kə+na+də+no	'to whose place'		
kə+day+də+no	'to which place'		
kə+dəwnəy	'when'		
kə+dom+də	'to which direction'		

In the above illustrations, the element kə indicates the meaning 'which'. The second, third, or fourth elements in the forms indicate person, place, thing, manner, quantity, time, etc.. The interrogative element is kə, without which no interrogation is indicated.

3.3.2 All the noun substitutes indicated above can take all the nominal suffixes. They also can substitute the nouns, that is, they can occupy the nominal position in bigger constructions. Hence, they are regarded as noun substitutes.

3.4

MODIFIERS⁶⁰

3.4.0 A modifier in Meiteiron is a class of forms which modifies a noun or a verb. The same modifier can modify either a noun or a verb, as in kènne cètpe 'fast walker/act of going fast', and kènne cətli 'going fast'. cètpe 'going' is a nominal form since it can take most of the nominal suffixes and also can function as a noun, while cətli 'go+continue' is a verbal form. The traditional concept of a clear cut division between adverbs and adjectives is not a favourable classification for Meiteiron. If we accept the traditional view, then, we have to posit two different names for a particular form. Hence the term modifier is preferable for this class of forms, although there are some nouns which can not accept the same suffix with the verbs. For example - mì 'man' can not accept the modifier kènne, but it will accept əkənbe 'strong'⁶¹.

Except the numerals which are purely adjectives and which have nothing to do with verbs, the same form modifies both the noun and the verb. Illustrations :

⁶⁰ Modifiers is used here to mean both adjectives and adverbs. This is to mean the class of forms which modifies either a noun or a verb.

⁶¹ In both the forms kènne and əkənbe the root is the same, that is, kən 'strong'. In the case of 'going' it has been interpreted as 'fast' while in the case of 'man' it is interpreted as 'strong'. The meaning given in the examples has little to do with the analysis of the language, because in some cases, approximate or the literal meanings of the individual words or morphemes are given.

- (1) nɛŋ hɛwɟik cətpə yalɛ
 'you now going allowed (can)'
- (2) nɛŋ ɟachi cətpə phey
 'you to-day going good (better)'
- (3) nɛŋ hɛwɟikk cətlu
 'you now go+command'
- (4) məhak ɟachi cətchi
 'he to-day go+definite'

In the above illustrations cətpə is a nominal form with the nominalizing suffix {-pe ~ -bə}. So the words hɛwɟik and ɟachi are modifiers to the nominal form. In the case of cətlu and cətchi which are undoubtedly verbal forms also, the two forms are modifiers.

3.4.1 Types of modifiers : Modifiers in Meiteiron can be divided into two major types, according to their behaviour, that is, the class of forms which they modify. They are : Restricted and Unrestricted. Diagrammatically, then, it can be represented as follows :

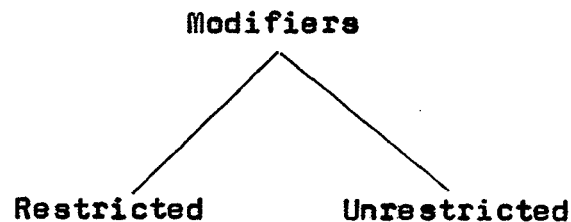


Fig. -10. Diagram showing types of modifiers.

3.4.1.1 Restricted : Those modifiers which can modify only the nouns and no other class of forms, like- numerals, demonstrative and interrogative noun substitutes, name of days and months, verbal nouns, etc. are called restricted.

Illustrations :

- (5) əḡaḡ ədu
 'child the'
- (6) əḡaḡ əmə
 'child one'
- (7) phəjəbè əḡaḡ
 'beautiful child'
- (8) əḡaḡ kəya
 'child how much (many)'
- (9) niḡthəwkabè numit
 'Monday day'
- (10) kalen tha
 'Summer month'

In the above examples, həwjik, ədu, əmə, phəjəbè, kəya, niḡthəwkabè, kalen, etc. are modifiers of the corresponding nouns occurring with them. These noun modifiers can not modify a verb, as such, it has been considered that these modifiers have limitation to their occurrence. Hence, they are termed as restricted modifiers.

As mentioned in (3.4.0), the modifiers have to undergo some changes (although the root remains the same), that is, they have to take different prefixes and suffixes. For example, phəjəbè in example (8) modify the noun əḡaḡ

but if it is to modify the verbal noun cètpè, then it becomes phəjəne.

Further, there are differences in the position of the modifiers, when they occur with the form or element which they modify. The noun substitutes ədu, kəya, and the numerals əme, occur after the noun which they modify; while the days, months, verbal nouns, etc. that is, həwjik, nɪŋthəkabè, kalen, etc. occur before the noun which they modify.

3.4.1.2 Unrestricted : Those modifiers which can modify both a noun or a verb are termed unrestricted. Illustrations :

- (11) həwjik cətlu
 'now go+command'
- (12) phəjəne cətlu
 'nicely go+realization'
- (13) həwjik cətpè
 'now go+nominalizer(going)'
- (14) phəjəne cətpè
 'nicely going'
- (15) lawne hàyyu
 'loudly say+command'
- (16) lawne hàybè
 'loudly saying'

In the above examples, həwjik in example (11), and (13) modify the verb cətlu and the noun cətpè, respectively.

In the same way, phajene in examples (12) and (14) modify the verb cètle and the noun càtpè, respectively; and in examples (15) and (16) lawne modifies the verb hàyyu and the noun hàybè. Since, these modifiers modify both a noun and a verb they are regarded as unrestricted.

3.4.2 Substantives : There is a class of forms which can function as nouns as well as noun modifiers, but they can not modify a verb. This class of forms is subclassed as substantives. Substantives are also regarded as restricted modifiers (3.4.1.1), but because of its difference from other modifiers, they are given separate treatment. The substantives are a variety of nouns which when they occur with a noun modify the noun. Some substantives are formed with the prefixation of e-⁶² to a Verbal noun (VN), for example - /ècàbè/ 'eater/one who eats', /ègàgbè/ 'the red one/something red', etc.. /ècàbè/ and /ègàgbè/ are the combination of e+ the verbal noun càbè, and e+ the VN gàgbè, respectively⁶³. The substantives can occur before or after the noun which they modify. They are illustrated below :

- (17) mèchidè ley ègàgbè èmè chátle⁶⁴
 'here flower red one bloom+realization'
 (Here a/one red flower has bloomed)

62 e- might be the secondary first person noun substitute.

63 /càbè/, /gàgbè/, etc. are also substantives.

64 /chátle/ is not exactly English past 'bloomed'.

- (18) mächide ɛ̀ɲàɲbè ləy əmə chàtle
 'here red flower one bloom'
 (Here a/one red flower has bloomed)
- (19) ɛ̀ɲaɲ phəjəbè əmə celli
 'child beautiful one run'
 (A/one beautiful child is running)
- (20) phəjəbè ɛ̀ɲaɲ əmə celli
 'beautiful child one run'
 (A/one beautiful child is running)

In the above illustrations, ɛ̀ɲàɲbè and phəjəbè which occur before as well as after the nouns ləy and ɛ̀ɲaɲ function as modifiers, although they are nominal forms, and they occur as nouns; for example -

- (21) ɛ̀ɲaɲbèdu həkkənu
 'the red(one) (do) not pluck'
 (Do not pluck the red one)
- (22) phəjəbədudi kədayde tùmmi
 'the beautiful(one) where sleep+continue'
 (Where the beautiful one is sleeping)
- (23) ɛ̀càbè məchək khəɲɲe
 'eater person/face/identity know+realization'
 (The person who eats is known/ The eater is identified)

In the above, ɛ̀ɲàɲbè in example (21), phəjəbè in example (22), and ɛ̀càbè in example (23) are nouns, because they occupy the nominal position in the above sentences. They also have the nominal suffixes attached to them. Hence, they are regarded as a variety of noun called substantives⁶⁵.

65) Substantives when occurring before the comma-pause co-ordination (at the end of the phrase), indicate verbal meaning. But this can be shown only through transformations. In the present analysis, because of model constraints this is not discussed here.

3.5

NUMERALS

3.5.0 Numerals in Meiteiron are modifiers. They modify the nouns. There are two types of numerals in Meiteiron as in most of the languages. They are : cardinal and ordinal. The cardinal and ordinal numerals occur in different positions. The cardinals occur after nouns while the ordinals occur before nouns. They are illustrated below :

mi əmə
'man one'

əŋəŋ əni
'child two'

əhanbè mi
'first man'

ənichubè əŋəŋ
'second child'

The major difference between the cardinals and the ordinals is indicated in the case of one and the first, that is, əmə 'one' and əhanbè 'first'. For other numerals, the suffix {-chubè} is added to the cardinal form to form ordinals, for example -

<u>Cardinal</u>		<u>Ordinal</u>	
məŋə	'five'	məŋəchubè	'fifth'
nipən	'eight'	nipənchubè	'eighth'
kun	'twenty'	kunchubè	'twentieth'
cəmə	'hundred'	cəməchubè	'hundredth'

3.5.1 Cardinal : Cardinal numbers are counted upto one billion. This is an exception for Meiteiron from other Tibeto-Burman languages. The semantic implication of the cardinal numbers are not discussed in the present analysis, since it requires detailed semantic study of the language. The cardinal numbers in Meiteiron are :

əmə	'one'
əni	'two'
əhum	'three'
məli	'four'
məŋa	'five'
təluk	'six'
təlet	'seven'
nipan	'eight'
məpəŋ	'nine'
təla	'ten'
təlamathoy	'eleven'
təlanithoy	'twelve'
təlahumdoy	'thirteen' ⁶⁶
təlaməli	'fourteen'
təlaməŋa	'fifteen'
təlatəluk	'sixteen'
təlatelet	'seventeen'

66 In the case of the first three numbers after every decal digit, that is, ten, twenty, thirty, etc., it is one extra/more, two extra/more, or three extra/more, but after that the cardinal forms, four, five, and so on are added.

təlanipan	'eighteen'
təlamapən	'nineteen', ⁶⁷
kun	'twenty'
kunmathoy	'twenty one'
kunnithoy	'twenty two'
kulhumdoy	'twenty three'
kunməli	'twenty four'
kunməga	'twenty five'

The addition of -mathoy which is derived from the combination of əme 'one' and thoy 'extra/more', nithoy from əni 'two' and thoy 'extra/more', humdoy from əhum 'three' and doy, a variant of thoy 'extra/more', məli 'four', məga 'five', etc. as in the above examples, in any number of every tenth additional digit shows the increasing number. Hence, the repetition of the -mathoy, -nithoy, and so on is not shown in the illustrations, instead the tenth digits are given below :

kunthəla	'thirty'
niphu	'forty'
yaŋkhəy	'fifty'
humphu	'sixty'
humphutəla	'seventy'
məliphu	'eighty'

67. nineteen, twenty nine, etc. are ten plus nine, twenty plus nine, etc. in Meiteiron, unlike in Indo-Aryan languages, where it is one less than twenty, one less than thirty, etc.

məlipʰutəla	'ninety'
came	'(one/a) hundred'

For 'hundred and one' it is came əmə, that is, it starts from the beginning. It will go one like came əni 'hundred and two', came əhum 'hundred and three', till it reaches came məlipʰutəla məpən 'one hundred ninety nine'. Then, ceɲi 'two hundred' comes. The same process will go on repeating for all the numbers beyond two hundred also. To indicate the hundredth digit ca or ce is prefixed before the number. Illustrations :

cehum	'three hundred'
caməli	'four hundred'
caməɲa	'five hundred'
catəluk	'six hundred'
catelet	'seven hundred'
canipan	'eight hundred'
camapən	'nine hundred'
lichig	'(a/one) thousand' ⁶⁸
lichig əni	'two thousand'
lichig əhum	'three thousand'
lichig məli	'four thousand'
lichig məɲa	'five thousand'
lichig təɲuk	'six thousand'

68 lichig əmə '(a/one) thousand' is also possible'

lichij talet	'seven thousand'
lichij nipan	'eight thousand'
lichij mapan	'nine thousand'
lichij tala	'ten thousand'
laykhe eme	'one lakh'
laykhe tala	'ten lakh'
koti	'hundred lakh'
koti tala	'thousand lakh'
binde	'one billion'.

3.5.2 Ordinals : To indicate ordinal numbers except for the first, all other ordinal numbers are formed by adding a suffix {-chubə}, in the cardinal number (3.5.0). The ordinal numbers in Meiteiron are illustrated below :

əhanbè	'first'
ənichubè	'second'
əhumchubè	'third'
məlichubè	'fourth'
məgachubè	'fifth'
təlukchubè	'sixth'
taletchubè	'seventh'
nipanchubè	'eighth'
mapanchubè	'ninth'
təlachubè	'tenth'

3.6

RESPECT FORMS

3.6.0 Apart from the respect markers {-pi ㄨ -bi} and {-cə ㄨ -jə}, there are some special kind of forms which are used in the royal court and other respectable gatherings as well as to address an honourable or respectable person or any elder person. Some of them are not in common use these days, but some of them have become so popular that without them the speech seems very rude. The traditional practice in the Meitei society, to show respect to elders which is still in practice, has made these forms very popular even in the day-to-day conversation. These forms are shown side by side with the normal forms in the illustrations, and extinct or unused forms are marked with an asterisk (*).

Illustrations :

Respect	Normal	
habè	càbè	'eating'
caythabè	ilujabè	'bathing'
lùk	càk	'rice/meal'
lègbà	cətpə	'going'
phànbà	thək̀pə	'smoking/drinking'
khudonj	hidak	'hookah/smoke'
pane	kəwa	'betel'

Respect	Normal	
edom	nej	'you'
tàkpibè	hàybè	'said/asked'
yollèbè	lallèbè	'wrong'
cèppè	tumbè	'sleeping'
tigthokpè	tumbè	'sleeping'
thònbè	chetpè	'wearing'
noggabè	chibè	'die'
laykhibè	chibè	'die'
enoybè	ilonbè	'a kind of curry'
hangetcèbè	hàybè	'appeal'
*punemjèbè	khulumbè	'pray/knelt before someone'
*əṅṅ onbè	hàtpè	'kill'
lèṅchinbè	cəṅbè	'enter'

In the royal court, the normal speech forms were not used, because that was considered disrespectful. Nowadays, some of these forms are not used at all, while those which have been retained are used commonly. In some social contexts the ordinary or common words, like - /itu/ 'my wife', /ikhòṅ/ 'my leg', /milonbè/ or /pùk kəṅbè/ 'pregnant', etc. are not used. In their place more ornate or prestigious forms like - /nəṅ hawnubi/ in place of /itu/, /tawjiṅ melu hunbè/ in place of /milonbè/ were used. But in the case of /khòṅ/ 'leg' a loan-word /colon/ is considered more ornate.

3.7

FORMATION OF INTERROGATIVES

3.7.0 Interrogatives in Meiteiron are generally formed by suffixing the interrogative marker $\{-la \rightsquigarrow -l\grave{a}\}$ to the noun or the verbal noun, for example -

tombə+la	'Tomba+interrogative marker'
ichig+la	'water+interrogative marker'
cà+bə+la	'eat+interrogative marker'
thək+pə+la	'drink+interrogative marker'
phù+bə+la	'beat+interrogative marker'

In the above examples, tombə, ichin, are nouns. For them the suffix $\{-la\}$ or $\{-l\grave{a}\}$, as the case may be, is added to them to form interrogatives. In the case of the roots cà, thək, and phù the nominalizer $\{-p\grave{a}\}$ or $\{-b\grave{a}\}$ as the case may be, are added to them before the interrogative marker is added to indicate interrogation. This nominalizer can be added after the verb suffixes also to form interrogation. Illustrations :

cà+li+bə+la	'eat+continuative+nominalizer+interrogative'
cà+lə+bə+la	'eat+completive+nominalizer+interrogative'
cà+khi+bə+la	'eat+definitive+nominalizer+interrogative'

In the above illustrations, {cà} is the root for 'eat', {-li}, {-lè}, and {-khi} are verbal suffixes. The interrogative marker {-la ~ -lè}, can not occur directly after these verb suffixes. In other words interrogative can not be formed from verbs⁶⁹. However, the interrogative noun substitutes indicate interrogation in Meiteiron⁷⁰.

69 Refer. 2.2.16.

70 For more on interrogatives refer. 4.1.3.2.

3.8

FORMATION OF NEGATIVES

3.8.0. In Meiteiron negatives are formed by suffixing negative morphemes to a verb or the verb roots. Negative morphemes or negative markers are all verb suffixes. Negative markers in Meiteiron are {-te} and {-loy}. Illustrations :

càt+te	'go+negative'
phà+de	'catch+negative'
càt+tə+le	'go+negative+realization'
cà+də+le	'eat+negative+realization'
cà+lək+te	'eat+start+negative'
cà+khi+de	'eat+definitive+negative'
cà+loy	'eat+negative(intentive)'
thùp+poy	'fold+negative(intentive)'
thəm+moy	'place+negative(intentive)'
hàŋ+goy	'open+negative(intentive)'
càt+həl+loy	'go+causative+negative(intentive)'
càt+ləm+moy	'go+start+negative(intentive)'

In the above illustrations, the negative markers occur after the root and verbal suffixes only. But there are instances where the nominalizing suffix {-pə} or {-bə} occur after the negative marker, for example, càt+te+bə 'go+negative+nominalizer', cà+də+bə 'eat+negative+nominalizer', cà+khi+de+bə 'eat+definitive+negative+nominalizer' (3.1.1.1, ii).

3.8.1 Negatives are formed exclusively at the morphological level. There is no other means of indicating negation except through the suffixes listed in 3.8.0 . However, in the case of the copula {-ni} there is a different treatment. For example - the positive statement cawbani 'This is Chaoba' has the corresponding negative form cawba nette 'This is not Chaoba'. nette means 'no' in Meiteiron. It is presumed that nette 'no' is derived from {-ni}. To indicate negation, the copula which is considered as main verb (3.2.6) is first separated from the NP, then, the i in {-ni} has been changed to a . After that the negative suffix {-te} is added to it. In the process /t/ is geminated, because {-te} can not occur after vowels (2.2.10).

3.9

COPULA

3.9.0 There is a kind of verb element which is found directly attached with the noun or NP. This element functions as the verb in sentences. This is the verbal part in sentences and without this a sentence in Meiteiron is incomplete (if there is no verb or VP in the sentence). The particle is {-ni}. Illustrations :

- (1) cawbeni
 'Chaoba+copula (This is Chaoba)'
- (2) mehak cawbeni
 'he Chaoba+copula (He is Chaoba)'
- (3) mehak epikpə cawbeni
 'he little Chaoba+copula (He is the little Chaoba)'
- (4) mehak cawbe
 'he Chaoba (He Chaoba)'
- (5) mehak epikpə cawbe
 'he little Chaoba (He little Chaoba)'

In the above illustrations, examples (1-3) have the copula {-ni} with the noun/NP and they give a complete sense. In examples (4) and (5) because of the absence of the copula {-ni} they are incomplete.

3.9.1 The copula is treated as a main verb because of the following reasons. It is also the verbal nucleus in a sentence.

It also functions the same as main verbs in VPs or in sentences.

Illustrations :

- (6) cawbə cətli
 'Chaoba go+continue(Chaoba is going)'
- (7) tombə cəli
 'Tomba eat+continue(Tomba is eating)'
- (8) məni
 'Mani+is (It is Mani)'
- (9) tombəni
 'Tomba+is (It is Tomba)'

In the illustrations, the copula {-ni} in examples (8) and (9) above, has the same function as cətli in example(6), and cəli in example (7), which are the main verb in the sentences.

Further, like other verbs negative also can be formed with copula by affixing the negative particle {-te}(3.8.1).

SUMMARY

To summarize, we have discussed above :

Nouns - Nouns in Meiteiron have been determined by a set of affixes, because no root can show the class to which it belongs. Nouns have been divided into Simple, and Compound. Further, Simple nouns have been sub-divided into Non-dependent and Dependent. A different type of noun in the compound group, made up of a noun and a decorative word has been illustrated. Concrete and abstract nouns have also been distinguished. Regarding gender, natural gender has been divided into personal and non-personal. Grammatical gender is absent. The three numbers - Singular, Plural and Dual have been illustrated and discussed.

Verbs - Verbs in this language have also been determined determined through a set of suffixes. Therefore, it has been argued that in Meiteiron the distinction between morphology and syntax is not always clear. The verbal suffixes indicate aspect and modality only. These suffixes have been grouped under four orders according to their occurrence. Tense has not been indicated by the suffixes, although time has been indicated by suffixes as well as independent forms. Verbs have been divided into affixation and compounding. Active and passive voice has not been discussed because this has been considered non-distinctive.

Noun substitutes - This is traditionally termed pronouns. The noun substitutes have been divided into three types - Personal, Demonstrative and Interrogative. The personal noun substitutes are alienable and inalienable to the possessor. They have primary and secondary forms in singular number. Singular and plural have different forms. Demonstrative noun substitutes modify the noun also. The proximal and distal have been indicated by the secondary first person and third person forms, when they are prefixed to the demonstrative noun substitutes.

Modifiers - Modifiers comprise adjectives and adverbs. Since the same form modifies either a verb or a noun, the common term modifiers has been introduced. However, there are some forms, like verbal nouns, substantives, and noun substitutes which do not modify a verb. Hence, the modifiers have been classified into Restricted and Unrestricted. Restricted has been used to designate the modifiers which modify only the nouns and unrestricted for those modifiers which modify both a noun and a verb.

Numerals - The cardinal and ordinal numbers have been illustrated in this section. The first three numbers after each decal number is -mathoy, -nithoy, -humdoy; but after that the cardinal numbers have been repeated.

Respect forms - There is a section on respect-forms, that is, the language of royal court. The ornate forms and ordinary forms have been illustrated in this section.

Interrogative formation - Interrogatives are formed with nouns. For the formation of interrogatives from verbs, the suffix {-pə̃ -bə̃} is attached to the verb before the interrogative particle is added.

Negative formation - Negatives are formed by suffixing the negative particle to the verb. However, the nominalizing suffix can be added to the negative form.

Copula - The copula functions like a main verb. This has been illustrated in this section. The process of forming negatives with the copula has also been discussed.

CHAPTER IV

4.0

SYNTAX

4.1 The structure of a sentence consists of its syntactic form. The analysis of the structure of sentence in a language can roughly be described as those aspects of the syntax of the language. A sentence is not merely a random string of words. It is a construction. A construction is made up of smaller units known as constituents. A constituent in Meiteiron may be bound or free. A construction in Meiteiron may be endocentric or exocentric according to the type of constituents, which compose it. An endocentric construction is one in which the principal constituent is comparable to the complete construction, that is, the principal constituent in the construction is of the same category and it functions like the combined construction. Illustrations :

- (1) tombe amachug cawbe
 'Tomba and' Chaoba'
- (2) tombe amachug cawbe amachug ay
 'Tomba and Chaoba and I'
- (3) tombe cawbe amachug ay
 'Tomba Chaoba and I'
- (4) phajeba` enan
 'beautiful child'

In the above examples, the principal constituents tombe, cawbe, ay, phajeba`, and enan are of the same category,

that is, nouns, and they can function like the combined construction. Hence, these are regarded as endocentric constructions.

An exocentric construction is one in which the constituents can not function like the combined constructions.

Illustrations :

- (5) kènne cèlli
'fast running'
- (6) tombe cèlli
'Tomba (is) running'
- (7) thòg hannu
'door open'

In the above illustrations, the constituents can not function like the combined construction. Hence, they are regarded as exocentric constructions.

An endocentric construction may be either coordinating or subordinating. Illustrations :

- (8) cabè emechun thèkpè
'eating and drinking'
- (9) tombègè cawbègè
'Tomba with Chaoba with'
- (10) enan edu
'child the'
- (11) nipa echi
'man this'

In the above illustrations, examples (8) and (9) are coordinating constructions, because the principal constituents are all heads or heads with coordinator(c). Examples (10) and (11) are subordinating constructions because the constituents are head (H) and modifier(Mod). This is shown below by taking examples (8) and (10).

Illustrations :

- (8) càbè amachug thàkpà
 'eating and drinking'
 (H) (c) (H)
- (10) əŋəŋ ədu
 'child the'
 (H) (Mod)

The number of constituents in a construction may vary; and a construction, if it can occur independently as a complete utterance, then, it becomes a sentence in Meiteiron. In other words, a sentence in Meiteiron may be said to be constructed by smaller units known as constituents because a single word can be a sentence in Meiteiron. Illustrations :

- (12) əyni
 'I am'
- (13) əygi yumni
 'my house+is'(This is my house)'

Examples (12) and (13) are sentences. In (12) there is only one word but it has two morpheme constituents, that is -

- (14) ey
'I'
- (15) ni
'is (copula)'

But in (13) there are two words and it has four morpheme constituents, that is -

- (16) eygi
'my'
- (17) yumni
'house+is'

eygi and yumni can be further divided as (18) and (19), and (20) and (21) respectively.

- (18) ey
'I'
- (19) gi
'possissive (of)'
- (20) yum
'house'
- (21) ni
'is(copula)'

The constituents shown above are all morphemes. There are more complex constructions than (12) and (13) above, which can be analysed as consisting of constituents that are phrases rather than words or morphemes. The phrases themselves have constituents, depending on the complexity of the sentence.

Illustrations :

- (22) nipa edu kenne cèlli
'man the fast running(The man is running fast)'
- (23) ley edu yanne cawwi
'flower the very big(The flower is very big)'
- (24) eykhoygi mənĩnde leybè nipa edu tùmmi
'our west living person the sleeping'
(The person living at our west is sleeping)'
- (25) eykhoygi mənĩnde leybè nipa edu kenne tùmmi
'our west living person the fast sleeping'
(The person living at our west is fast sleeping)'

The above sentences, although they are more complex than sentence (12) and (13), can be cut into smaller constituents. Sentence (22) has two groups and it has four word constituents. Illustrations :

- (26) nipa edu
'man the'
- (27) kenne cèlli
'fast running'

(26) and (27) are phrases having two words each as constituents. (28) and (29) are constituents of (26), while (30) and (31) are constituents of (27).

- (28) nipa
'man'
- (29) edu
'the'
- (30) kenne
'fast'
- (31) cèlli
'running'

The constituent structure of sentence (22) can be shown in a tree diagram as follows :

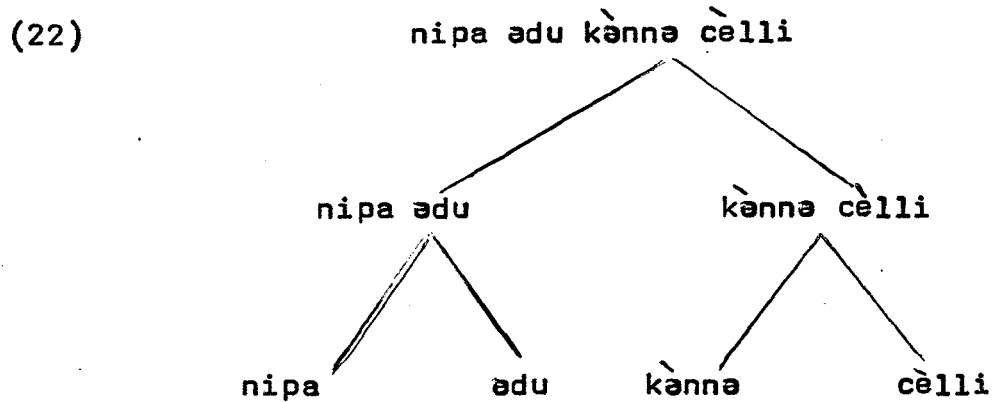


Fig. - 11. Diagram showing constituent structure of sentence (22).

The constituent structure of sentence (22) is simple as compared to the structure of sentence (25). Sentence (25) has also two groups but it has seven word constituents.

(32) əykhoygi mənɪŋdə ləybə nipa ədu
'our west living man the

(33) kənnə tùmmi
'fast sleeping'

The constituents of phrase (33) are the two words kənnə and tùmmi, while the situation is more complex in the case of phrase (32), but nevertheless, it is usually agreed that the constituents of phrase (32) are the phrase (34) and the sentence (35).

- (34) nipa edu
'man the'
- (35) eykhoygi menigde laybè (nipa)
'our west living (man)'

(34) has the constituents (28) and (29), that is nipa and edu. (35) however, can be divided into (36) and (37).

- (36) eykhoygi menigde
'our west'
- (37) laybè
'living'

(36) again has two constituents (38) and (39).

- (38) eykhoygi
'our'
- (39) menigde
'west'

The constituents in the above are all words. There can be further divisions at the morphological level. Sentence (25) can be reproduced in a tree diagram showing the morpheme constituents as below :

(25)

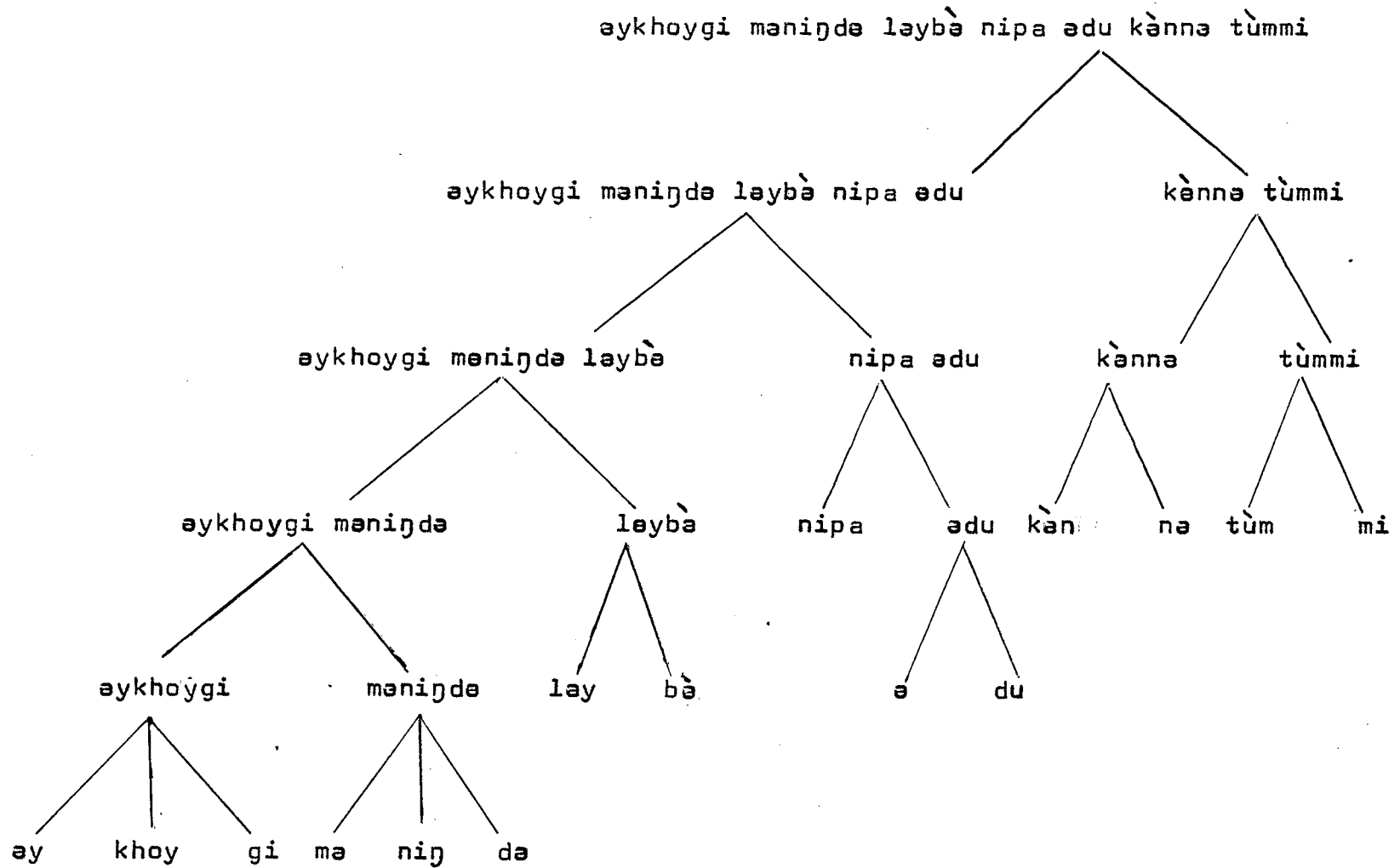


Fig. - 12. Diagram showing morpheme constituents of sentence (25).

The constituents in the above sentences (22) and (25) can be labelled according to their classes. The basic constituents - words - have well known labels called form classes, which is traditionally known as parts of Speech. They are : nouns (N), verbs (V), pronouns or noun substitutes (Ns), modifiers (Mod), that is, adjectives and adverbs; determiners (Det);⁷¹ etc.. By putting the labels to the constituents the classes of the constituents can be recognised as well as can show the identical structure of sentences. The constituent structure of sentences (22) and (25) using labels of the constituent types in place of words is shown in the diagram below :

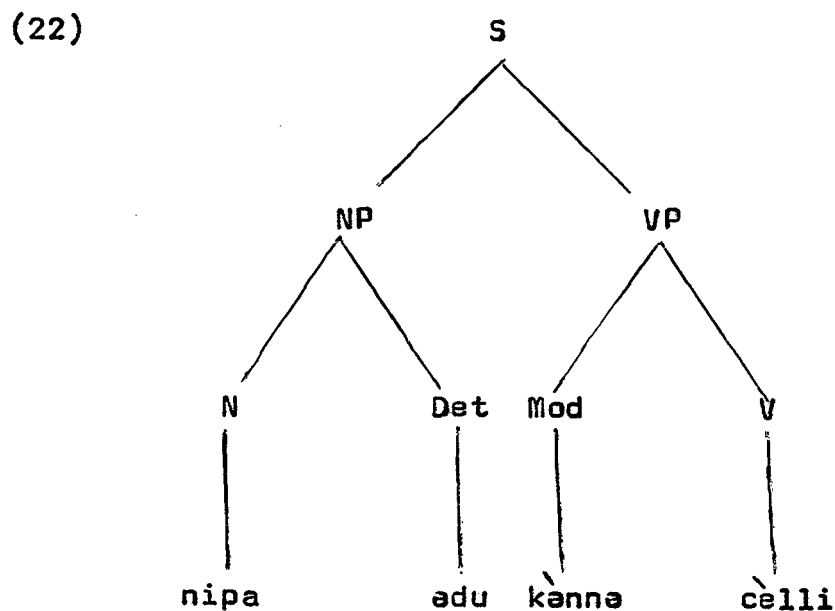


Fig. - 13. Diagram showing immediate constituents of sentence (22).

71 Det. is also modifier.

(25)

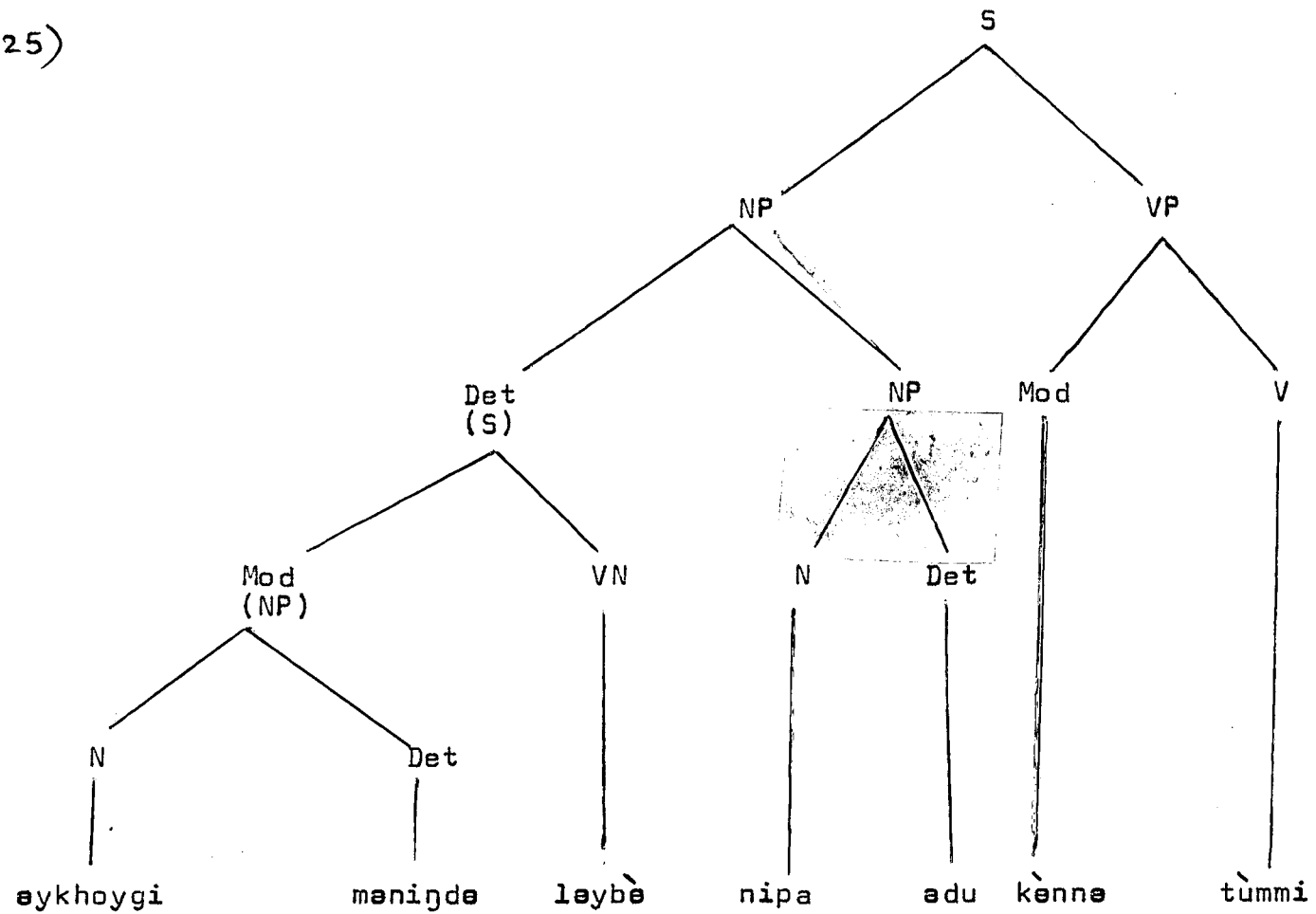


Fig. - 14 . Diagram showing word constituents by labels of sentence (25)

Sentence (40) is a more complex construction than sentence (25). It is shown in an Immediate Constituent (IC) diagram :

(40) eykhoygi meniᅇde hɛwbɛ hɛynɛw-pambi mɛkhɔᅇde leybɛ nipa ɛdu kɛnne nale
 'our west growing mango tree foot living man the serious ill
 (The man living at the foot of the mango tree growing at our is seriously ill)'

eykhoygi meniᅇde hɛwbɛ hɛynɛw-pambi mɛkhɔᅇde leybɛ nipa ɛdu kɛnne nale										
eykhoygi meniᅇde hɛwbɛ hɛynɛw-pambi mɛkhɔᅇde leybɛ nipa ɛdu								kɛnne nale		
eykhoygi meniᅇde hɛwbɛ hɛynɛw-pambi mɛkhɔᅇde leybɛ							nipa ɛdu		kɛnne	nale
eykhoygi meniᅇde hɛwbɛ				hɛynɛw-pambi mɛkhɔᅇde leybɛ			nipa	ɛdu		
eykhoygi meniᅇde			hɛwbɛ	hɛynɛw-pambi mɛkhɔᅇde			leybɛ			
eykhoygi		meniᅇde			hɛynɛw-pambi		mɛkhɔᅇde			

The above constituents are words. There can be further cuts into into morphemes, but it is no shown. Again, further cuts in hɛynɛw-pambi is possible but it is also considered optional.

4.2 There are various definitions of sentence but in the present analysis, a sentence is interpreted as a complete utterance boundable by sentence boundary junctures ## ---##, that contains at least one phrase. An utterance in Meiteiron can be classified as a sentence, if, it occurs as a complete utterance with a sequence of selected linguistic items combined into a unit in accordance with certain patterns of syntactic arrangement. Therefore, a sentence may consist of a single word or a phrase or a sequence of phrases or a complex form of sentence within a sentence.

- (41) ibobini
 'Ibobi(name of person) + is (It is Ibobi)'
- (42) càk cày
 'rice eat (I/you/ he eat rice)'
- (43) tomba càk cày
 'Tomba rice eat (Tomba eats rice)'
- (44) tombəna càk əməchug əynə gà cày
 'Tomba+by rice and I+by fish eat (Tomba eats rice and I eat fish)'
- (45) tomba əməchug əy channəli
 'Tomba and I playing (Tomba and I are playing)'

An utterance here is a stretch of meaningful speech that conforms to the pattern or arrangement of Meiteiron and is bounded by a word or phrase boundary juncture. Illustration :

- (46) əy
 'I'
- (47) mi əni
 'man two'

All the examples (41 to 47) above are utterances, Examples (41 to 45) are bounded by sentence boundary juncture, (46) is bounded by word boundary juncture, and (47) is bounded by phrase boundary juncture. However, it may be argued that examples (41) and (42) are not sentences in the ordinary way, as they seem incomplete; but they are bounded by the sentence boundary juncture ## - - - - ##, and can be used by standard speakers in answer to questions, such as -

(48) kənanə ? 'Who are you/who is there ?' whose answer can be example (41), that is, ibobini 'I am Ibobi/It is Ibobi' and (49) nəŋ kəli cəy 'what do you eat/what are you eating' whose answer can be example (42), that is, cək cəy '(I) eat rice/(I) live on rice'. Therefore, they are regarded as sentences while (46) and (47) can not be regarded as sentences.

A phrase is a string of morphemes or words that behaves as a grammatical unit, within which a phrase boundary juncture #, may not intervene and whose head is a nominal or a verbal nucleus. A phrase in Meiteiron may contain only one word, such as #mɪ# 'man' #lakle# 'came', etc., or more than one word like #mɪ əmə# 'one person/man', #kənnə cətli# 'going fast', etc..

If the head of the phrase is nominal and can occupy the nominal position in the sentence and also can function as

subject or object of the sentence, then, it is a noun phrase (NP). Illustrations :

- (50) #mì əmə#
'man one/a (a/one man)'
- (51) #phəjəbə əŋə əmə#
'beautiful child one(a/one beautiful child)'
- (52) #əwənbə u ədu#
'tall tree the(the tall tree)'
- (53) #əwənbə u ədu# tèkle##⁷²
'tall tree the fell down'
(The tall tree have fell down).

In the above examples, (50), (51) and (52) are phrases, the head in each of them is a nominal. In example (50), the head is mì 'man', and in (51) əŋə 'child', and in (52) u 'tree'. They are the nuclei in the phrases. Hence, the phrases are regarded as noun phrases. In example (53) there is a phrase boundary between ədu and tèkle. It contains more than one phrase. It is phrase (52) plus tèkle. The phrase (52) occupies the nominal position in the sentence, and it also functions as subject in the sentence. A subject in a sentence is always a noun and this phrase (that is, phrase (52)) can be substituted by a single noun such as u 'tree'. Thus, we have -

- (54) #u# tèkle##
'#tree# fell down##'(The tree fell down)'

72 tèkle generally mean 'break', but here it means 'fell down'

Therefore, the phrase ~~the tall tree~~ fell down

Therefore, the phrases (50 to 52) above are regarded as noun phrases.

But, if, the head is verbal, and occupies the verbal position in a sentence, that is, the final position in a sentence,⁷³ and also can function as predicate of the sentence, then, the phrase is a verb phrase (VP). Illustrations :

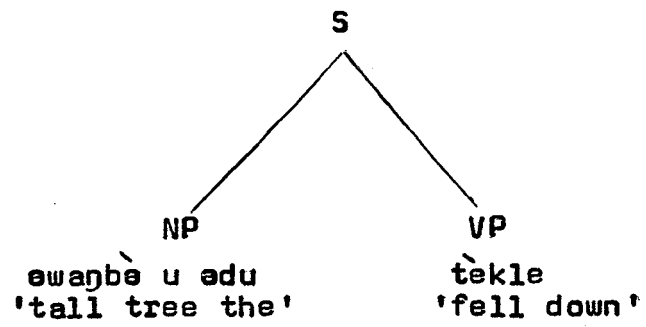
- (55) #y`agne c`elli#
'fast running'
- (56) #h`awjik c`etli#
'now going'
- (57) #m`i əm`ə# y`agne c`elli##
'#man the# fast running##(A man is running fast)'

In the above examples, (55) and (56) are phrases, in which the main verb is c`elli 'running' and c`etli 'going'. They are the nuclei in the phrases, hence they are regarded as verb phrases. In example (57) in the sentence #m`i əm`ə# y`agne c`elli## 'a man is running fast', the phrase #y`agne c`elli# 'running fast' occupies the verbal position, which is the predicate in the sentence.

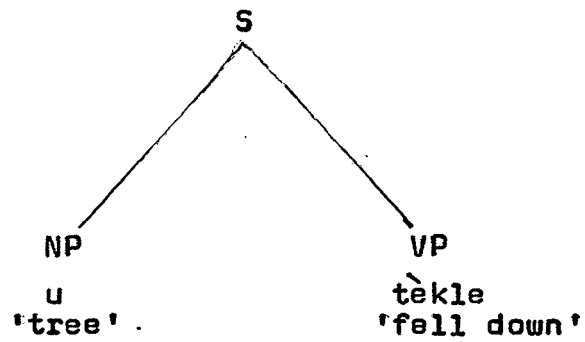
The phrases in examples (53), (54) and (57) are shown in diagram below :

73 The verbs always occupy the final position in a sentence. Refer, 3.2.6.

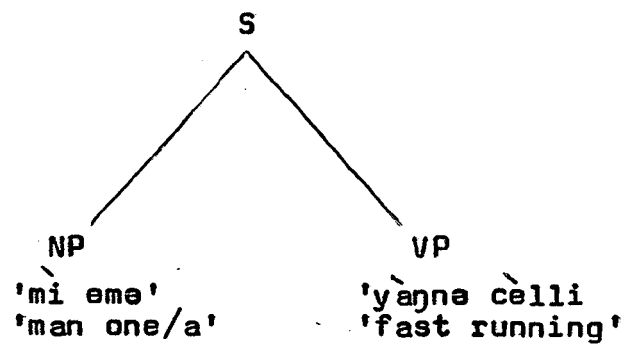
(53)



(54)



(57)



4.1.2 Sentences in Meiteiron can be divided into two groups, major and minor. A major sentence is a sentence which does not delete the NP in speech, that is, the subject is actualised in speech⁷⁴. Generally, a major sentence always has a VP. If it does not have a VP, then, it will have a copula attached to the NP or the subject. As already mentioned in (3.9.1) above, a copula can be regarded as a main verb, because it functions as a main verb in sentences. The examples below will illustrate the major sentences in Meiteiron.

- (58) əy cək cələ
'I rice eat+completive(I have completed eating rice)'
- (59) tombəna cawbəbu phuy
'Tomba+by Chaoba+to beat(Tomba beats Chaoba)'
- (60) cawbəbu tombəna phuy
'Chaoba+to Tomba+by beat(Tomba beats Chaoba)',⁷⁵
- (61) əy lakle
'I come+realization(I have come)'
- (62) əy cawbəni
'I Chaoba+is (I am Chaoba)'
- (63) thani
'moon+is (It is moon)'

In all the above illustrations, the subjects are actualised. In examples (58), (61) and (62) the subject is

74. 'subject is actualised in speech' means the dropping/deletion of subject, a common phenomenon in standard Meiteiron is not there. In sentences like, cək cələ 'Rice ate/taken meal' the subject can be any of the following : əy 'I', nəŋ 'you', ma 'he', tombə 'Tomba', etc..

75. Change in the position of subject and object has no impact in Meiteiron. Refer, 3.2.4.

ey 'I', in (59) and (60) the subject is tombə 'Tomba', and in (63) the subject is tha 'moon'. They are present in the speech.

The pattern in example (63) is treated as similar to the pattern in example (61), thereby regarding the copula ni as a VP. The pattern in the major sentences, then, can be - (a) Subject (S), object (O), and verb (V), as in examples (58) and (59); (b) object, subject, and verb, as in example (60); (c) subject and verb, as in example (61); (d) subject, object, and copula (v), as in example (62); and (e) subject and copula, as in example (63), above.

A minor sentence is one in which the NP is deleted, that is, the subject is not actualised in speech. Illustrations :

- (64) tha ule
 'moon see+completive (--- saw the moon)'
- (65) cālege lakke
 'eat+realization+non-realization come+non-realization'
 (--- will come after eating)'
- (66) cawbābu phūle
 'Chaoba+to beat+completive (--- Chaoba beaten)'
- (67) cāle
 'eat+completive (-- have ate)'

In the above examples, the subject in all the sentences are not actualised. The --- in the gloss can be filled by an NP or a noun (N) or noun substitute (Ns), like -

amubə tombəne 'The black Tomba', or tombə 'Tomba', or əy 'I' etc., because the subjects are deleted/dropped in speech.

The pattern in the examples (64) and (66) is purely OV; in example (65) it is VV; and in example (67) it is V'. There is another type of minor sentence which has the pattern OVv. Illustration :

(68) *gəchi lakkəni*
 'to-day will come' (--- will come to-day)'

The above example can be considered as OV pattern, since ni has also been considered as verb suffix (3.2.0), but it has been more accurately interpreted as OVv pattern, because copula here has a different meaning/function, that is, showing certainty in direct or reported speech.

Therefore, the pattern of arrangement for the major sentences are - sOV, OsV, sV, sOV, and sV; while in the case of minor sentences, the pattern of arrangement is OV, VV, V, and OVv.

4.1.3 A sentence in Meiteiron may be either simple, or compound, or complex, according to its structure.

4.1.3.1 Simple sentence : A simple sentence in Meiteiron is a sentence which has at least one VP in it and which does not have a complex or compound construction. A simple sentence may be major or minor. Illustrations :

- (69) ay càk cày
'I rice eat+infinitive (I eat rice)'
- (70) tombə cətli
'Tomba go+infinitive (Tomba is going)'
- (71) məhak əykhoydə ləy
'he our+at live+infinitive(He lives at our place)'
- (72) məninə tombəbu phùy
'Mani+by Tomba+to beat+infinitive(Mani beats Tomba)'
- (73) m̀ini
'man+is (This is a man)'
- (74) hippı
'sleep+infinitive (--- is sleeping)'

The examples (69 to 74) above, are regarded as simple sentences, because they all include at least one VP and and they all have one predicate each. In example (69) cày is the VP and càk cày is the predicate; in example (70) cətli is the VP as well as the predicate;⁷⁶ in example (71) and (72) ləy and phùy are the VP and əykhoydə ləy and tombəbu phùy are the predicates, respectively; in example (73) m̀ini is the predicate while ni is the VP; but in the case of (74) it has been considered that hippi is the VP as well as the predicate.⁷⁷

76 In this example the NP in the predicate group is deleted. Noun deletion is a common phenomenon in this language.

77 The interpretation here is hippe təwli 'sleeping doing'. There are other interpretations also.

4.1.3.2 Compound sentence : A compound sentence is one which has more than one simple sentences conjoined together into one simple sentence by coordinate conjunctions. Compound sentences with co-referring nouns or verbs are also found. In such cases one of the verbs or nouns is deleted⁷⁸. Illustrations :

- (75) tombə əməchug əy channəli
'Tomba and I play+reciprocate+infinitive
(Tomba and I are playing)'
- (76) ibetonna nà əməchug tomanne chà cày
'Ibeton+by fish and Toman+by meat eat+infinitive'
(Ibeton eats fish and Toman eats meat)'
- (77) ibetonna nok.i, tomanne keppi, ibetonna lawwi,
'Ibeton+by laugh, Toman+by weep, Ibeton+by shout,
əməchug əyna yeggi
and I+by look (Ibeton is laughing, Toman is
weeping, Ibeton is shouting, and I am looking)'

In the above illustrations, example (75) has two sentences joined together by the coordinate conjunction əməchug 'and'. The two sentences are -

- (75a) tombə channəli 'Tomba is playing'
(75b) əy channəli 'I am playing'

In the same manner, example (76) has two sentences
(76a) ibetonna nà cày 'Ibeton is eating fish/Ibeton eats fish'
and (76b) tomanne chà cày 'Toman eat fish'/Toman is eating fish'

⁷⁸ Refer, 4.2.3.1.

They are conjoined by the conjunction əməchug 'and'. In examples (75) and (76) the common verb is deleted.

In the case of example (77) more than two sentences are conjoined by one coordinate conjunction. It has got four different sentences joined together. They are -

- (77a) ibotonnə nok.i 'Iboton is laughing'
 (77b) tomannə kep̄pi 'Toman is weeping'
 (77c) ibetonnə lawwi 'Ibeton is shouting'
 (77d) əynə yeḡgi 'I am looking'

The sentences (77a), (77b), (77c) and (77d) above are all simple sentences. They are joined into one simple sentence by a coordinate conjunction, Since, they do not have a complex construction then, sentences like (77) above, are regarded as compound sentence.

4.1.3.3 Complex sentence : A complex sentence is one in which two or more sentences are joined together by a complex coordinate conjunction or a sentence that is included in another sentence, for example - əynə lakpage mahak cətkhi 'I arrived he left (He left when I arrived)'. The following examples will illustrate complex sentences in Meiteiron.

- (78) tombəge məniɡe ɕətli
'Tomba+with Mani+with go+infinitive
(Tomba and Mani are going together)'
- (79) tombe ɕək ɕələgeɔ məkhoydə lakkeni
'Tomba rice eat+after their+at come+will+copula
(After eating rice Tomba will come at their house)'
- (80) əykhoygi məniɡ oyləpne həwbə həynəw-pambi məkhəndə
'our+possessive west toward growing mango tree foot
ləybə nipa ədu nale
living man the ill(The man living at the foot of the
mango-tree growing towards our west is ill)'

In the illustrations above, example (78) has the complex conjunction / -ge -ge/, while (79) has only -ge; but in the case of example (80) there is no complex conjunction. In example (80) there are three sentences embedded together. They are -

- (80a) əykhoygi məniɡ oyləpne həwwi
'our+possessive west toward grow (It is growing towards our west)'
- (80b) həynəw-pambi məkhəndə ləy
'mango-tree foot+at live (It lives at the foot of the mango-tree)'
- (80c) nipa ədu nale
'man the ill+realization(The man is ill)'

4.1.4 A sentence in Meiteiron can be declarative(statement), interrogative, or imperative. If a sentence indicates a statement of truth or state or condition or gives permission, then, the sentence is regarded as a declarative(statement).

Further, whether a sentence in Meiteiron is declarative or not is indicated by the suffixes which are attached to the verb or to the noun. If a sentence has interrogative markers attached to the NP and indicates a question, then, the sentence is an interrogative one; and if a sentence has imperative markers attached to the VP and indicates a command or order, then, it is an imperative one. Then, sentences in Meiteiron can be divided into three classes according to its formation. Diagrammatically, then, it can be shown as follows:

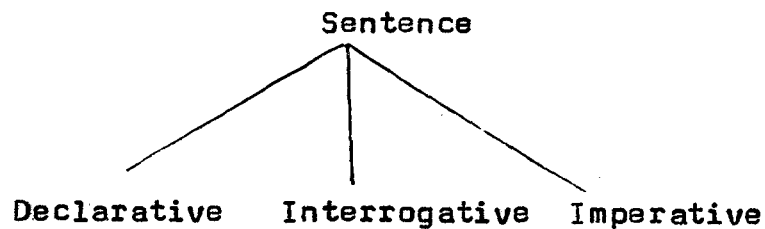


Fig. - 15. Diagram showing types of sentences.

4.1.4.1 Declarative sentence (statements) : Declarative sentences or statements are the most common type of sentences found in Meiteiron. This kind of sentence may conveniently be termed the favourite sentence type. Declarative sentences are those sentences, in which no suffix indicating interrogation or imperative is attached to the NP or VP (as the case may be), nor any sense of these is indicated either by intonation or otherwise. Illustrations :

- (81) əy cək cələ (I have taken rice/meal)
'I rice eat+completive'
- (82) məhak cawbəni (He is Chaoba)
'he Chaoba+copula'
- (83) nəŋ cətpe yale (you are allowed to go)
'you going allowed'
- (84) əy cək cələ həynə manə həy (He said "I have taken my
'I rice eat+completive say he say' meal")

Declarative sentences may be either direct or quoted. In the above examples, (81 to 83) are direct, while (84) is quoted. The difference between direct and quoted speech is indicated by the addition of the verb hay or haynə ... hay in the direct speech.

Declarative sentences also indicate permission. For the formation of permissive sentences the verb becomes a verbal noun (VN) and then yale/yay 'agree/allowed/permitted' is added to the sentence. yale/yay becomes the main verb in the sentence and it indicates permission as in example (83) above.

4.1.4.2 Interrogative sentence : Interrogative is generally marked at the morphological level by affixing the interrogative marker $\{-la \text{ } \text{ } -la\}$ to the nominal form,⁷⁹ for example :
cə+bə+la 'eat+nominalizer+interrogative marker', tombə+la
'Tomba+interrogative marker', i+lə 'thatch+interrogative marker'.

79 Refer, 3.7.0.

But there are a few instances where interrogation is marked at the syntactic level. It is convenient to ascribe this function to intonation at the level of syntax. However, we will not attempt to examine this phenomenon here.

Generally, questions can be the NP in a sentence, or the VN, or the head of the NP, or the numerals, or some of the modifiers, or the noun substitutes. Illustrations :

- (85) əpikpə mənɪlə cətkhəlibədu ?
 'small Mani+interrogative go+definite+continuative+nominalizer+demonstrative (Isn't Mani the person just gone)'
- (86) cək cələbəla ?
 'rice eat+realization+nominalizer+interrogative (Have --- taken meal?)'
- (87) cələbəla ?
 'eat+realization+nominalizer+interrogative (Have eaten)'
- (88) cəkla
 'rice+interrogative (Is it rice)'
- (89) məchi laylik əməla ?
 'this book one+interrogative (Is it a book)'
- (90) həwjiklə ?
 'now+interrogative (Is it now)'
- (91) məchilə
 'this/it+interrogative (Is it this)'

In the above illustrations, the interrogative marker {-lə} is after məni in ~~the~~ əpikpə mənɪlə in example (85); while the same is or its variant -lə is after the VN in examples (86) and (87); after the head of the NP, that is, noun (N) in example (88); after the modifier in example (90);

after the numeral in example (89); and after the Ns in example (91).

A verb or any other class of forms can not be questioned, except a few verb forms with command and non-realization (2.2.16). Coordinate as well as subordinate structures can be questioned either separately or in combination. The questioned element in the both the cases remain the same, even questiones can be on more than one thing in a sentence. Illustrations :

- (92) cakkə ɲagə cəbàla ?
 'rice+with fish+with eat+nominalizer+interrogative
 (Do you eat rice as well as fish)'
- (93) yum ədugə əhəl ədugədi kədaydə cətkhəle ?
 'house the+with oldman the+with+particular where+
 demonstrative go+definite+completive (Where the
 house with the old man gone)'
- (94) əɲaɲ ədugə məmaga ləylibàla ?
 'child the+with mother+with live+continuative+
 nominalizer+interrogative (The child together with
 the mother is there?)'
- (95) əykhoygi məniɲdə ləybə yum ədudə ləybə nipa ədu
 'our+possessive west+at living house the+at living
 man the
 cətkhələbàla ?
 go+definitive+realization+nominalizer+interrogative'
 (The man living at the west of our house has left?)'

The following interrogative sentences can be derived from sentence (95).

- (95a) aykhoygi mənində ləybə nipa ədu cətkhələbələ ?
'Is it the man living at the west of our house gone'
- (95b) yum ədudə ləybə nipa ədu cətkhələbələ ?
'Is it the man living at the house gone'
- (95c) nipa ədu cətkhələbələ ?
'Is it the man gone'

This shows that all the parts in a sentence can be questioned. But in all the cases the question suffix remain the same.

Interrogative sentences in Meiteiron can be broadly divided into two main types - (i) hoy/may questions (yes/no), and (ii) kə- questions (wh- questions).⁸⁰ hoy/may questions are those for which at least hoy 'yes' can be one of the answers in the positive (along with others) although the negative answer may not be may 'no'. hoy/may questions are indicated by the suffix {-lə ~ -la}. The following are the examples of hoy/may questions.

- (96) nəŋ cək cələbələ ?
'you rice eat+realization+nominalizer+interrogative
(Have you finished eating/taking rice/meal)'
- (97) cauba ŋachi lakpələ ?
'Chaoba to-day come+nominalizer+interrogative
(Did Chaoba come to-day)'
- (98) adəgichi tombəla ?
'yonder+possessive+this Tomba+interrogative
(Is it the one over there Tomba)'

80: The names 'hoy/may' and 'kə-' questions have been coined because hoy means 'yes' and may means 'not yes'. For kə- like the English wh-, the interrogative part of the noun substitutes are indicated by kə-, which is present in all questions of this type.

- (99) madu tombagi yumla ?
'that Tomba+possessive house+interrogative
(Is that Tomba's house)'
- (100) c`ak hapkhola ?
'rice putmore +command+interrogative
(Shall put some more rice)'
- (101) n`ej c`ak c`al`eloy ?
'you rice eat+realization+intentional negative
(Do you intend not to eat rice)'
- (102) ma c`etl`eloyd`ela ?
'he go+realization+negative(intentional)+negative+
interrogative (Will he not go)'
- (103) n`ej c`ak c`akhigela ?
'you rice eat+definitive+non-realization+interrogative
(Will you eat rice)'
- (104) ma c`aleko ?
'he eat+realization+suggestive
(Do you know he ate)'
- (105) `aykhoy c`atl`achila ?
'we go+realization+let+interrogative
(Should let us go)'
- (106) n`ekhoy c`atl`agela ?
'you(plural) go+realization+non-realization+
interrogative (Would you intend to go)'
- (107) ma c`atkh`el`ab`ala ?
'he go+definitive+realization+nominalizer+
interrogative(Did he go away)'

All the examples above have a common answer hoj 'yes'. in the positive. There are other positive answers also. Since these differences are minor, they do not deserve to treat as separate entities. The most common positive answer is-root or form to which the interrogative element is affixed plus the suffix -li or -le as the case may be. In the case of negative answers may or natte or root or form plus {te ~ de} or root/form plus {d`e ~ t`e} plus li/le.

kə- questions in Meiteiron - Sentence which asks for a lexical rather than a yes/no, that is, hoy/may response. The kə- word which occur in sentences are interrogatives, because they are interrogative noun substitutes. The answer to kə questions are conditioned by the noun substitute which occur in the sentence. For example : In the question nəŋ kəli cəli 'What you are eating?' kəli refers to a thing and it can not refer either a man or place; the answer will be something which can be ate, may be 'meal/candy/fruit, etc.'. Likewise, in kəna ləy? 'Who is there?'. kəna refers only to a person/man, it can not be anything other than əy 'I', or tombə 'Tomba' or someone else.

4.1.4.3 Imperative sentence : The imperative or command is indicated at the morphological level. Therefore, the imperative sentence in Meiteiron is marked by the suffixes which indicate command. The imperative markers in Meiteiron are - {-u}, {-lo}, {-lu}, {-nu}, and {-kho}. Any of the above suffixes attached to the V or VP in a sentence, indicates that it is an imperative sentence. Illustrations :

- (108) nəŋ cətlo
'you go+command (You go)'
- (109) nəŋ cəw
'you eat+command(You eat)'
- (110) tombə nəŋ cəlu
'Tomba you eat+command(different place)(Tomb
(Tomba you go and eat)'

Imperatives are in the second person in both the numbers. Imperatives in Meiteiron may be normal, immediate, action to be performed at a different place, and an invitation to perform. Prohibition is also considered a command in Meiteiron because it is more an imperative than declarative. The normal imperatives are indicated by {-u}; immediate by {-lò}; go and perform at a different place by {-lu}; an invitation to perform by {-lo}; command keep on by {-kho}; and prohibitive by {-nu}. Illustrations :

- (111) nəŋ cək cəw
'you rice eat+command (You eat rice/take your meal)'
- (112) nəŋ cək cəlò
'you rice eat+immediate command (Take your meal now)'
- (113) nəŋ cək cəlu
'you rice eat+different place (You go and take meal)'
- (114) nəŋ cək cəlo
'you rice eat+invitation (You come for the meal)'
- (115) nəŋ cək cəkho
'you rice eat+keep (you keep on eating rice/meal)'
- (116) nəŋ cək cəŋenu
'you rice eat+non-realization+prohibitive
(You do not eat rice/You are prohibited to take meal)'

4.2

COORDINATION OR CONJOINING

4.2.0 Sentences in Meiteiron can be joined together with the help of connectors or conjuncts. The method of showing connections or relationships in Meiteiron are very wide. A conjunction is a word or word group that connects two or more sentence components. The various conjuncts which join sentences in Meiteiron are the following⁸¹:

(1)	eməchun	'and'
(2)	-gə	'with'
(3)	-gə ... -gə	'with .. with'
(4)	-gə loynəne	'together with'
(5)	ədudəgi	'then'
(6)	ədugi matundə	'thereafter'
(7)	-chu/-chu .. -chu	'also'
(8)	-ne ... -ne	'together..together'
(9)	ədunə	'as such/so'
(10)	mələm ədunə	'therefore'
(11)	mələmdi	'because'
(12)	ədubu	'but'
(13)	təwigumbəchun	'but'
(14)	ədum oynəmək	'however'
(15)	əduməkpu	'even then'

⁸¹ Some of the conjunctions are nominal suffixes. Refer, 3.1.0.

(16)	aduga	'then/after that'
(17)	nettəlagə	'or'
(18)	-muk	'as if (size)'
(19)	-gum	'as if (habit)'

Apart from the above conjunctions which join sentences in Meiteiron, there is a pause which also acts as a conjunct. This pause is the comma pause. The various sentences or constructions which are joined by the above conjunctions are illustrated below⁸² :

- (1) tombe əməchun əy channəli⁸³
'Tomba and I playing'
- (2) tombəne nə əməchun əyne chà cày
'Tomba fish and I meat eat'
- (3) tombəne nə əməchun əyne chà əməchun cawbəne càk cày
'Tomba fish and I meat and Chaoba rice eat'
- (4) tombe cawbə mənə yaymə əməchun əy channəli
'Tomba Chaoba Mani Yaima and I playing'
- (5) əy ibohəlgə channəli
'I Ibohal+with playing'
- (6) imphal tulel nəmbul tulelga tinnəle
'Imphal river Nambul river+with joined'
- (7) imphal tulelga nəmbul tulelga tinnəle
'Imphal river+with Nambul river+with joined'

82 Because of model constraints, deletion, gapping, co-referring nouns and verbs and other transformations, although seen in the illustrations are not discussed.

83 The meanings of the connectors in the illustrations are approximate.

- (8) əyge mənige tombəgə cawbəgə cətli
'I+with Mani+with Tomba+with Chaoba+with going'
- (9) əy tombəgə loynənə channəli
'I Tomba+with together playing'
- (10) əy tombəgə mənige loynənə channəli
'I Tomba+with Mani+with together playing'
- (11) məkhoydə cətluy ədudəgi əy lakpəni⁸⁴
'Their's went then I am coming'
- (12) tombə cətkhəle ədudəgi əy lakle⁸⁵
'Tomba gone then I came'
- (13) tombə cətkhəle ədugi mətundə əy lakle
'Tomba gone then after that I came'
- (14) əychu channəli tombəchu channəli
'I+also playing Tomba+also playing'
- (15) əychu cətkəni
'I+also will go'
- (16) tombəne əyne cək cəy
'Tomba+together I+together rice eat'
- (17) tombəne əyne mənine cətli
'Tomba+together I+together Mani+together going'
- (18) məkhoy phətte ədunə əy məkhoygə tinnəloy
'They bad as such I they+with will not mix'
- (19) məkhoy cətte ədunə əy cəttəle
'They not go so/as such I not gone'
- (20) məkhoy təlli mələm ədunə (məkhoy) layləy
'They idle therefore (they) poor'
- (21) əy lakləloy mələmdi əy nale
'I will not come because I am ill'
- (22) tombədi cəle ədubu əydi cədəli
'Tomba ate but I not (yet) eat'

84] This sentence has other versions, They are (11a) məkhoydə cətlubədəgi (əy) lakpəni, (11b) əy məkhoydə cətluy ədudəgi lakpəni.

85] This sentence has also another version (12a) tombə cətkhələbədudə əy lakle.

- (23) əynə həybəni ədubu məkhoynə yakhide
'I told but they do not agree'
- (24) məhaknə tannakhi təwwigumbəchun phənbədi gəmkhide
'He run after(dogged) but getting not able'
- (25) əynə həybəni ədum oynemək kannəgəni thajədə
'I told however use will not believe'
- (26) tombənə təwlibəni əduməkpu nəg khələ yawbiyu
'Tomba doing even then you some join'
- (27) nəg cətlukho əduge həyge
'You go then will tell'
- (28) nəg təwge nettelege təwloy hekte həyru
'You will do or not do just tell'
- (29) tombə cawbəmuk cawwi
'Tomba Chaoba as big'
- (30) məni cawbəgum cətli
'Mani Chaoba like going/walking'
- (31) əykhoygi məniğdə həwbə, həynəw pambi məkhəndə ləybə,
'Our west growing mango tree foot living
nipa ədu cətkhəle
man the gone'

The conjunctions can occur in combinations also, that is, different conjunctions join various parts of sentences of a conjoined structure. Illustrations :

- (32) əy əməchun cawbə tombəgə cətli
'I and Chaoba Tomba+with going'
- (33) əy əməchun cawbə tombəgə ləynənə cətli
'I and Chaoba Tomba+with together going'
- (34) əychu cawbachu tombəgə ləynənə cətli
'I+also Chaoba+also Tomba+with together going'
- (35) əyge tombəgə cətliule ədubu kanneloy
'I+with Tomba+with gone but no use'

- (36) eychu cawbechu cètlule edubu kannade
'I+also Chaoba+also gone but no use'
- (37) tombe amachun ey cètluy edubu yalekte
'Tomba and I gone but not agreed'
- (38) tombe amachun ma cètlulèbèni edum oynemak kannade
'Tomba and he went however no use'
- (39) tombachu cawbechu cètlule edum oynemak kannade
'Tomba+also Chaoba+also gone however no use'
- (40) tombage cawbage cètlule edum oynemak yadale
'Tomba+with Chaoba+with gone however not agreed'

Some of the conjunctions listed above and illustrated can join infinite number of sentences under one conjoined structure. According to the number of sentences which can be joined by a conjunction, the conjunctions can be broadly divided into two major classes. They are - (i) limited, and (ii) unlimited. The limited conjuncts are those which can join only two sentences and/or those after joining a sentence or parts in a construction no other conjunction can occur after them. Those conjunctions which can join infinite number of sentences are termed as unlimited conjuncts. The unlimited conjuncts are the following :

<u>amachun</u>	'and'
<u>-ge ... -ge</u>	'with ... with'
<u>-chu/-chu ... -chu</u>	'also/also ... also'
<u>-ne ... -ne</u>	'together ... together'

All other conjunctions listed in (4.2.0) above, (except the four conjunctions mentioned above) are limited conjuncts.

4.2.1 Phonologically, each occurrence of the conjunctions is attached to the immediately preceding NP and there is possibility to pause after each occurrence. Illustrations :

- (1) tombe eməchun / ey channeli⁸⁶
'Tomba and I playing'
- (5) ey ibohəlge / channeli
'I Ibohal+with playing' etc.

4.2.2 The conjunctions listed above (4.2.0) can be divided into four groups according to the type of sentence components they connect :

4.2.2.1 Coordinating conjunction : Coordinating conjunctions connect grammatically equivalent constructions. The coordinating conjunctions are : eməchun, edubu, təwwigumbəchun, edum oynemek, and nettelege. Illustrations :

- (41) caube eməchun tombe
'Chaoba and Tomba'
- (42) caube eməchun tombe cətli
'Chaoba and Tomba going'

86 This pause which is indicated by / (a bold slant line) is not equivalent to comma pause or any other kind of pause found in this language.

- (42) cawbə əməchug tombe channeli
'Chaoba and Tomba playing'
- (43) tombe cək cəy ədubu məhakti cəde
'Tomba rice eat but he not eat'
- (44) tombəne həykhi təwwigumbəchug əy yakhide
'Tomba asked but I not agree'
- (45) tombe cətliule ədum oynəmək kannəde
'Tomba gone however no use'
- (46) tombe nettələgə cawbə cətkeni
'Tomba or Chaoba will go'

In the above illustrations, cawbə in example (42) and tombe in example (46) seems non-equivalent to the other construction, that, tombe cətli in (48) and cawbə cətkeni in (46). But these are grammatically equivalent constructions. In these cases there is a case of co-referring VP, because of model constraints it is not shown in the present analysis.

4.2.2.2 Correlative conjunction : Like the coordinating conjunctions, correlative conjunctions also connect grammatically equivalent constructions. The difference is that correlative conjunctions occur in pairs. The correlative conjunctions are -chu ... -chu, -gə ... -gə, -chu ... -gə, -ne ... -ne. Illustration

- (47) tombəgə cawbəgə cətli
'Tomba+with Chaoba+with going'
- (14) əychu channeli tombəchu channeli
'I as well as Tomba is playing'
- (16) tombəne əyne cək cəy
'Tomba and I together is having our meal'

4.2.2.3 Comparative conjunction : These are very similar to correlative conjunctions. The comparative conjunctions are - muk, -gum. Illustrations :

- (29) tomba cawbmuk cawwi
'Tomba is as big as Chaoba'
(48) tomba cawbgum cətli
'Tomba waliks as if Chaoba (walks)'

4.2.2.4 Consequential conjunction : A consequential conjunction connects two or more grammatically equal sentences but one of the sentence is resultant to the other. Consequential conjunctions are - ədugi mətundə, ədunə, mələm ədunə, mələmdi and əduməkpu. Illustrations :

- (49) tomba cətkhəle ədugi mətundə əy lakle
'Tomba went thereafter I came'
(50) manə cəykhi ədunə əy cəloy
'He rebuked so I will not eat'
(51) iboton pəngi mələm ədunə khətnay
'Iboton is foolish therefore (he) quarrels'
(52) ibeton lakləloy mələmdi məhak nale
'Ibeton will not cone because she is ill'
(53) əyne chembəni əduməkpu thəjəde
'I am repairing even then (I) have no confidence'
(54) nəj tūmmukho əduga caw
'you first go to sleep then (you) eat'

4.2.2.5 Subordinating conjunction : A subordinating conjunction connects two or more grammatically non-equivalent constructions. The subordinating conjunctions are the rest of the conjunctions listed in (4.2.0) above leaving those listed under coordinating, correlative, comparative and consequential conjunctions. Illustrations :

- (55) tomba cawbaga cətli
 'Tomba goes with Chaoba'
- (56) tomba cawbega loynana cətli
 'Tomba together with Chaoba are going' etc.

SUMMARY

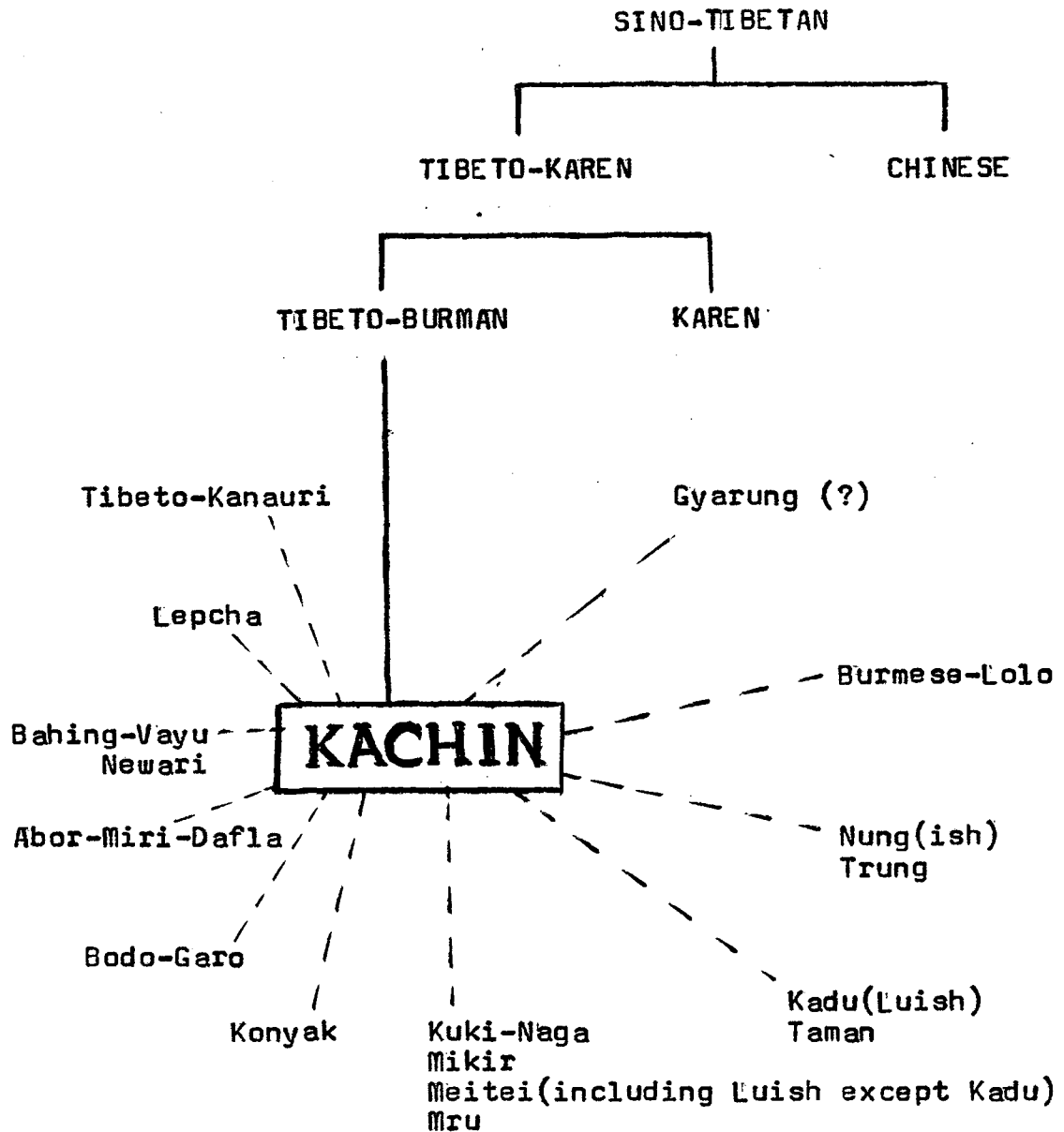
To summarize, we have discussed above -

The constituent structure of sentences - endocentric and exocentric constructions and the the immediate constituents of sentences have been discussed. The sentence, phrase, utterance, etc. have been defined and illustrated. Sentences have been divided into - Major, Minor; Simple, Compound and Complex; Declarative, Interrogative and Imperative. Permissive sentences come under declarative sentences, while prohibitive ones come under imperative sentences. The interrogative sentences have been classified into hoy/may 'yes/no' questions and ke- 'wh-' questions.

The various coordinators or conjunctions which connect constructions have also been discussed. The comma pause conjunction has been illustrated. Conjunctions have been divided into Limited and Unlimited; Coordinating, Correlative, Comparative, Consequential, and Subordinating types. It has also been illustrated that different conjunctions can occur in one conjoined sentence or construction.

APPENDIX I

CLASSIFICATION OF TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES
 (Based on Benedict's "Schematic chart of Sino-Tibetan groups"
 STC, p. 6)



Note : All languages coming under the group Luish except Kadu, that is, Sekmai, Andro, Chairel, etc. are dialects of Meitei. This classification is tentative, because this is based on the data available on date. For a better and more complete classification further study is necessary.

APPENDIX II

VOCABULARY

pi	'tear'
pì	'give'
pìkpà	'small'
pìknaw	'very small'
pithəlay	'brass'
pichum	'eye brow'
pe	'a kind of big umbrella'
pètpè	'soft/not hard'
pèkpà	'taking out'
pebè	'about to weep'
penbè	'satisfaction'
pətpə	'rotten'
pəkpa	'stick/suited'
pəmbə	'taking on the lap'
pən	'bund'
pənbe	'mentioning'
pənbè	'stop over/lay over/stay over'
pəndup	'stanza'
pəw	'pole'
pəwbè	'coarse/not fine'
pəwlon	'latch'
pəybè	'heap'
pəybè	'slanting'
pa	'eye lash'
pət	'lake'

pàtpè	'ulcer'
pàkpè	'breadth'
pakhəŋ	'youth/bachelor'
pakhəla	'widower'
pabè	'reading/matching'
pàbè/	'thin'
pam	'paddy field in the hill'
pambè	'like/fond'
pambè	'tiger'
pàn	'arum'
panbè	'reigning'
paŋbè	'helping'
paŋbè	'open(eye)/carrying out'
po	'pieces used in games'
pòt	'thing/article'
pòk	'white hair'
pòkpè	'giving birth'
pòkxhàybè	'blasting'
pothabè	'relax/taking rest'
pòbè	'taking on the back'
pombè	'swelling/boils'
pombè	'budding'
ponbè	'hunch (back etc.)'
pəŋ	'raft'
pùk	'belly'

pukcàtpè	'cholera'
puthebè	'taking down'
pubè	'bearing'
pùbè	'taking loan/borrowing'
pumbè	'rotten'
pùmbè	'rounded/all'
pun	'earthen pitcher'
punbè	'binding'
pùnbè	'meeting'
pug	'musical drum/hour'
pugba	'pair'
ti	'testicle/penis'
timpha	'water leech'
tin	'worm'
tìn	'saliva'
tillaykhombi	'caterpillar'
tìqkhəŋ	'thorn'
tìqthəw	'durba'
tinchinbè	'addition/mixing'
tinchibi	'linum'
tinthəlok	'earth worm'
tilhəw	'onion'
tək	'a kind of utensil'
təkpa	'breaking'
tekta	'a kind of spice leaf'
tekhaw	'Assam'

tekhuw yaykhu	'a kind of medicinal plant'
tembak	'clod'
tembè	'levelling'
tema	'sugarcane saplings'
ten	'arrow'
tènchè	'shortness'
tendon	'quiver'
ten jøy	'shaft'
tenkhel	'trigger'
ten thabè	'lament'
ten gòt	'cup/bowl'
ten gon	'an army'
tèpne	'slowly'
tètpè	'breaking (string)'
tèkpè	'grinding/running over'
tèkhellay	'a kind of flower'
tèmbè	'learning/imitation'
tèmbak	'lap/valley'
tèn	'bread'
tènchè	'lazyness'
tènden	'fire fly'
tenkhay	'half'
tènchè	'tasting'
tènchè	'hardened scar'
tèwbè	'doing'
tèwbè	'digging'

təy bə	'smearing'
ta	'spear/javeline'
takpə	'telling/teaching'
tək pə	'vanishing'
tamna	'a kind of bird'
tamne	'at a far distance'
tabè	'falling'
tàbè	'hearing'
tanbè	'driving away'
tantha	'rythm'
taŋkək	'chapter'
taŋthək	'wave'
taw	'a kind of dry fish worm'
tawbè	'floating'
tawthəla	'gull'
tawthəbi	'a kind of paddy'
tawjig	'fruit'
taybè	'stitching/selling paddy'
taylen	'toon wood'
tək pə	'stopping/dropping'
tokchu	'wooden mallet'
tonbè	'owe'
togbè	'riding'
tògbè	'raised platform'
togjey	'hollow pipe'
toganna	'aloof'

tu	'body hair'
tukhòŋ	'pore in the body'
tum	'pointed tip'
tumbè	'dissolving'
tumbè	'sleeping/rounded'
tuma	'even number'
tuj	'back'
tulel	'river'
tubè	'falling down'
tùbè	'stitching'
cìkpà	'bite/itching/quiet'
cithek	'corner'
cibà	'drenching out'
cìn	'mouth'
cinbà	'busy/tight/constriction'
cìnban	'lips'
cìg	'hill/mountain'
cìgbà	'dragging'
cìglay	'dragon'
cìgkhøy	'north-east direction'
cè	'paper'
cèppà	'lying sideways'
cètpà	'stead fast'
cèk	'brick'
cekla	'bird'
ceklawbi	'painted snipe'

cekhaybà	'broke open'
cenbè	'running'
cenjammuk	'basket for washing rice'
ceg	'rice (uncooked)'
cegphu	'earthen pitcher for storing uncooked rice'
ceṅhi	'lotion (rice water)'
ceṅpàk	'flattened rice'
ceṅgum	'mushroom'
ceppà	'pressing'
cətpə	'going'
cəphu	'earthen pitcher'
cəkhom	'mouthful'
cəmbà	'simple/tasteless'
cəmphùt	'plain boiling'
cənbə	'capacity'
cənəm	'garlic'
cənan	'oat'
cəniṅ	'abdomen'
cəni	'two hundred'
cəy	'stick'
cəybə	'rebuking'
cà	'wax/lac'
càk	'rice (cooked)'
cakpə	'burning'
cabè	'revealing/eroding'
càbè	'eating'

cambè	'washing'
caŋ	'average'
caychen	'bell metal drinking bowl'
caybè	'strewing'
cawbè	'big'
coppè	'getting insult'
còtpè	'getting wet'
cokthèbè	'tire'
combè	'shaggy'
conbè	'full to the brim'
cònbè	'lengthy'
cogkhù	'night heron'
cogbè	'jumping'
cogga	'a kind of bird'
cu	'cane sugar'
cùppè	'kissing'
cubè	'imbueing'
cùk	'spigot'
cuthek	'corner'cf. <u>cithek</u> .
cuba	'both sides of the face'
cum	'lizard'
cumthaŋ	'rainbow'
cumbəley	'peach'
cujak	'maize'
cùŋ	'oblong shield for lancers'

kichi	'knot'
kibà	'tie'
kin	'fist'
ketuki	'a thorny flower'
kege	'castor'
kenbè	'falling'
kèppè	'weeping'
kètpè	'offering'
kèkpè	'cutting'
kàkceŋ	'ant'
kàklay	'fissur in the sole(foot)'
kəŋ	'an aquatic plant'
kəday	'where'
kəphoy	'pomegranate'
kəbuliya	'silver oak'
kəbòk	'parched rice'
kəbokəŋ	'water hyacinth'
kəbokey	'leopard'
kəy	'tiger'
kèy	'barn'
kəytheɪ	'market'
kəychal	'wolf'
kəylak	'ladder'
kəwbə	'calling'
kəwbə	'short of length'
kəwjeŋ	'locust'

kəwna	'reed'
ka	'room'
kàp	'span'
kappə	'shooting'
kàbè	'climbing'
kabə	'scorching/burnt'
kàkphəy	'leech'
kaŋ	'a game'
kàŋ	'mosquito'
kaŋcup	'smoking pipe'
kàŋkhəl	'mosquito net'
kaŋkhəŋ	'wheel'
kaŋthon	'bedstead'
kaŋjəy	'hockey stick'
kət	'granary'
kək	'head'
kək cikpə	'headache'
kəkphay	'fungi'
kəkthəŋ	'head load'
kom	'pit'
kəmbə	'loose'
konbə	'hugging'
kənbə	'bending'
konthəŋ	'gate'
kəŋgəleŋ	'oyster'
kəŋgon	'foam/bubble'
konjin	'tap'

kona	'palm'
kongoy	'loop'
koy	'beard'
koli	'copper'
kòybè	'making round/rounded'
koybè	'unfamiliar'
kolaw	'sun'
kolphu	'a big thick utensil'
phi	'cloth'
philan	'flag'
philep	'attitude'
phi jəŋ	'screen'
phi jet	'dress'
phibəm	'position'
phidəm	'ideal'
phəŋbè	'cleaning utensils'
phəm	'bed/post'
phək	'mat'
phètte	'bad'
phəmbè	'sitting'
phənbè	'swaggering'
phəŋbè	'getting/receiving'
phəybè	'horizontal'
phəybè	'slanting'
phəyɡən	'thigh'
phaw	'paddy'
phəwbè	'drying'

phəwla	'big winnow for drying paddy'
phəklaŋ	'wall'
phabè	'disheveling'
phàbè	'catching'
phadok	'prisoner'
phanbè	'shaving'
phànbè	'drinking/smoking(ornate)'
phaybòk	'twin'
phaylen	'name of a month'
phaubè	'famous'
phòtpè	'patching'
phòŋbè	'publishing'
phòybè	'uprooting'
phùtpè	'boiling'
phunbè	'blocking the way/filling up(pit)'
phùbè	'beating'
phulit	'shirt'
thi	'night soil'
thik-nembè	'dwarf'
thibè	'searching'
thìbè	'counting/ugly'
thinbè	'escorting'
thìnbè	'striking'
thigbè	'shutting/blocking'
thekpà	'bending/curve'
thebè	'rabbit'

thenbè	'showing'
thènbè	'shallow'
thègbè	'banging/colliding'
thègbè	'late'
thèngu	'tortoise'
thèngu	'wooden hammer'
thèkpè	'drinking'
thèk	'a kind of worm'
thèbak	'chest'
thèbombi	'lungs'
thègay	'half of fathom'
thègokpè	'hiccup'
thèmoy	'heart'
thèmbal	'lotus'
thèyboṅ	'fig/jack fruit'
thà	'moon/month'
thàk	'step/stair'
thabè	'hitting/plantation'
thàbè	'thickness/release'
thàjèbè	'trust/believe'
thajèbè	'betrothing'
thàṅ	'sword/dagger/knife, etc.'
thàṅmèy	'lamp'
thòp	'brain'
thòkpè	'coming out'
thombè	'plastering'
thoṅ	'bridge'

thòṅ	'door'
thòṅgan	'gate'
thù	'vagina'
thùkkètpè	'thrilling'
thugaybè	'breaking'
thum	'salt'
thumbè	'sweet'
thùmbè	'flooding'
thumok	'basket'
thun	'hip/buttock'
chi	'die'
chì	'dismantle/demolish'
chikpè	'scratching'
chin	'job/duty'
chinbè	'copying/change'
chìnbè	'arrangement/sour'
chig	'ginger'
chìg	'firewood'
chigbè	'repayment'
chìgbè	'marked for revenge'
chìgnan	'weeds'
chìgjon	'axe'
chìgju	'a variety of salad'
chìgli	'nerves'
chen	'money'
chendaj	'sparrow'

chenbè	'herding'
chəm	'a kind of basket'
chəm	'hair'
chən	'cow'
chənnaw	'calf'
chənthəŋ	'south-west portion of house'
chəŋ	'a construction'
chəŋgay	'main house/residence'
chəŋgoy	'out house'
chəŋgon	'cow shed'
chəgol	'horse'
chəwje	'anus'
chà	'animal'
chətpè	'blooming'
chathibè	'ferocious'
chàmu	'elephant'
chəybè	'chewing'
cho	'key'
chətpè	'taking credit'
chəkpè	'touching/hurt'
chənbè	'remembering/praying'
chənbè	'weakness'
chəŋbè	'bushy'
chəybè	'cutting into slice'
chəybè	'committing mistake'
chùk	'pestle'
chunu	'lime'

chum	'mite'
chumbən	'mortar'
chumjit	'broom'
chumaŋ	'courtyard'
chuluŋ	'cave'
khikpə	'sprinkling'
khībə	'tired of'
khigbə	'ringing'
khənnəbə	'discussion'
khennəbə	'difference'
khəppə	'winnowing'
khək	'never'
khədaŋ	'chin'
khəjay	'cheek'
khəli	'alkalene'
khəlay	'lattice'
khəluŋ	'earthen jar'
khəwaŋ	'waist/loin'
khəwaŋ nabə	'lumbago'
khəyloy	'squirrel'
kha	'south'
khambi	'fire'
khamen	'brinjal/egg fruit'
khəŋ	'frying pan'
khəŋpok	'cottage/hut'
khəŋjet	'girdle'

khalew	'cobra'
khayat	'jaw'
khaw	'bag'
khom	'breast'
khon(jen)	'voice/sound'
khòṅ	'leg'
khonṅ	'canal'
khòṅthay	'footstep'
khòṅbi	'big toe'
khonṅban	'ditch'
khonṅdalum	'gourd'
khòṅjī	'anklet'
khòṅgun	'footprint'
khòṅgalaw	'trousers'
khoy	'bee'
khòy	'navel'
khoymu	'black bee'
khoyṅṅ	'nightingale'
khoybiniṅthaw	'hornet'
khoylu	'wax'
khoy-hi	'honey'
khoylin	'intestine'
khewli	'neck'
khəwnaw	'throat'
khewli utonṅ	'wind pipe'
khùt	'hand'
khùtcha	'finger'

khùkwu [khu?u]	'knee'
khubak	'palm of the hand'
khubi	'thumb'
khudəm	'sign'
khudəŋ	'wrist'
khuji	'bangle'
khujin	'nail'
khujok	'handful'
khumit	'ankle joint'
khumaŋ	'front leg'
khudop	'ring'
khudonbi	'index finger'
khudəŋ	'hind leg'
khunig	'heel'
khunigthew	'ring finger'
khunət	'treadle'
khunəm	'opposite part of the palm'
khunawbi	'little finger'
khuj	'top'
khungəŋ/khun	'village'
khulay	'shin'
khulum	'wooden sandal'
jəgoy	'dance'
mi	'man'
mi	'spider'

mit	'eye'
mitpanj	'eyelid'
mitthaw	'sty'
mitkup	'minute'
mit naha	'eye ball'
micen	'dissenter'
micaj	'ally'
mikok thibe	'census'
michi	'lead'
mikhen	'election'
minembè	'deceiving'
minay	'servant'
miŋ	'name'
miŋcət	'fame'
miŋchen	'looking glass'
milaj	'cob-web'
mihutthoŋ	'window'
mihun	'pulse'
mela	'name of a month'
meluk	'small basket for measuring rice'
mepa	'father'
metej	'help'
meton	'summit/peak'
meton	'sprout'
meca	'issues/descendants'
mecu	'colour'
matu	'feather'

mətem	'time'
məci	'horn'
məku	'owl'
məkù	'bark'
məkubok	'father-in-law'
məphen	'breadth'
məthen	'dish'
məthəŋ	'next'
məthoy	'interest'
məcha	'branch/wing'
məchin	'fibre'
məchig	'number'
məchem	'day day after to-morrow'
məchoŋ	'mane'
məkhan	'kind'
məkhum	'lid'
məmi	'shadow'
məmən	'price'
məna	'leaf'
mənamechig	'vegetable'
məŋ	'burial ground'
məŋ	'dream'
məŋge	'tamarind'
məŋgəla	'sweet potato'
məŋa	'five'
məli	'four'
məliphu	'eighty'

meliphutela	'ninty'
melup	'friend'
melu	'seed'
melum	'egg'
mehi	'liquid'
mehik	'germ'
mehèy	'fruit/result'
mehawcha	'nature'
mehak	'he'
mehaw	'fat'
mehut	'substitute'
meyek	'script'
mayan	'any Indian, except the tribals of north-east India'
mayon	'sprout'
mà	'bedbug'
maybè	'physician'
mabè	'grobe'
maləybè	'wind'
mày	'face'
may	'no'
maykəy	'direction'
maykhən	'screen'
maykhum	'viel'
mò	'a kind of flea'
mon	'pillow'
monpak/mompak	'mattress'

moŋ phəm	'graveyard'
mola	'bamboo stool'
molok	'chilly'
moybuŋ	'conch'
mut	'handful'
mùk	'ink'
muci	'cobbler'
mùktabi	'fountain pen'
mùkca-bi/cenəp	'blotting paper'
mukna	'wrestling'
munbə	'ripe'
nipi	'woman'
nipa	'man'
nipa in	'drag net'
niḅə	'begging'
nij	'back/hip'
nighthəamtha	'winter'
nighthəw	'king'
nipan	'eight'
nini	'second day'
nekpə	'hiring'
nembə	'dwarf'
nəp	'mucus'
nettalege	'or'
nəm	'back'
nəmbo	'luggage/baggage'

nəŋ/nəhak	'you'
nəhan	'day before yesterday'
na	'ear'
napi	'grass'
napu	'yellow'
natay	'proof'
naton	'nose'
nacən	'centipede'
nakhokpə	'snoring'
nammə	'single'
nay	'puss'
nayin	'ear ring'
nawwa	'child'
nog	'rain'
nogpək	'east'
nogcùp	'west'
nogphay	'mist'
nogthək	'sky'
nogthəŋ	'lightening'
nog-chà	'lion'
nogja	'day'
nogjutha	'rainy season'
noggəwbi	'pied crested cuckoo'
nogmə	'one day'
nogməy	'next year'
nogmèy	'gun'
nogmayjin	'sunday'

nogjanbè	'day break'
noglay	'whirlwind'
nogyay	'midnight'
nogyin	'pheasant'
numit	'day/sun'
numit yugbè	'noon'
numidaŋway	'evening'
numit lay	'sunflower'
nùŋ	'stone'
nug	'inside/heart'
nugthin	'daylight/daytime'
nùŋchəŋ	'piles'
nugcha	'sunshine'
nugchit	'wind'
nùŋthəŋ	'hammer'
ŋəw	'palate'
ŋəwdəŋ	'cataract'
ŋək	'neck'
ŋəchi	'to-day'
ŋəchay	'some time back'
ŋəmu	'loach/mudfish'
ŋəmkhəy	'limit'
ŋəlay	'yesterday'
ŋà	'fish'
ŋàpələm	'mud eel'
ŋàton	'labeo bata'

ḡácig	'shrimp'
ḡácək	'tadpole'
ḡanu	'duck'
ḡalakpi	'king fisher'
li	'cane'
licey	'cane stick'
lik	'necklace'
likli	'bottle'
likla	'dew'
lichig	'thousand'
lin	'snake'
lep	'height'
lemphu	'root'
lep	'hail'
leg	'shoulder'
lephu	'plantain tree'
lephoy	'banana'
lechig	'cotton'
lem	'fathom'
lèm	'track'
len	'property'
ləḡ	'thread'
ləḡkhunu	'dove'
ləḡja	'vulture'
ləy	'flower/tongue'
ləybè	'purchase/buy'

ləypən	'wall'
ləytum	'clod'
ləycin	'cloud'
ləykaŋ	'smut'
ləychəw	'white ant'
ləychabi	'virgin/maid/girl'
ləyme	'queen'
ləybak	'earth/land'
ləyna	'petal of flower'
ləygoj	'sand'
ləyyəy	'flat mallet'
ləw	'paddy'
ləw	'hook'
ləwchiŋ	'intelligence'
ləwmi	'cultivator'
ləwway	'crown of the head'
ləwway.	'rural area'
lə	'plantain leaf'
la	'big round winnow for drying grains'
lan	'war'
laŋ	'trap'
lay	'God'
laybək	'forehead'
laylik	'book'
la-ylen	'python'
laŋbən	'name of a month'

layna	'desease'
lòk	'brook'
lon	'language'
log	'fishing basket'
lòg	'multiheaded weapon with long handle'
logkhum	'hoof'
lu	'head'
lù	'fishing trap'
lupəw	'dandruff'
lukhəla	' ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠ 'widow'
luhəgbe	'marriage'
hi	'boat'
hik	'louse'
hidak	'medicine'
hidak mənə	'tobacco leaf'
higok	'green'
həkcaŋ	'body'
hen	'maggot'
hənne	'again'
həŋgam	'mustard'
həŋoy	'frog'
həyij	'fly'
həyeg	'to-morrow'
hèy	'fruit'
hèytup	'apple'
hèykek	'water chest nut'

həynəw	'mango' chest nut
həwdonj	'cat'
ha	'yam'
hətpe	'killing'
haməŋ	'goat'
haləw	'cricket/grass hopper'
holay	'saw'
hoɣlonj	'rectum'
hù	'poison'
huməŋ	'sweat'
humni	'third day'
humphu	'sixty'
humphutəla	'seventy'
humay	'fan'
huy	'dog'
huy	'rivet'
wà	'bamboo'
wakciŋ	'name of a month'
wàchək	'promise'
wàkhəl	'thought/idea'
wələp	'resolution'
wələŋ	'prose'
wahəy	'word'
waynu	'crane'
waykhu	'crab'
way	'chaff'

wawthagnabè	'brown'
yèt	'right'
yettum	'needle'
yèk	'origin of a family'
yen	'hen'
yenchin	'sorrel'
yennebè	'division'
yennaw	'chicken'
yenchaj	'curry'
yèybè	'striking'
ya	'tooth'
yayapəŋ	'molar teeth'
yacəŋbè	'dusk'
yathək	'upper jaw'
yakha	'lower jaw'
yam	'flour'
yəŋ	'back bone'
yaŋkok	'winnow'
yaŋkhey	'fifty'
yopi	'nail'
yòt	'iron'
yòtpak	'spade'
yòtcabi	'magnet'
yəŋ	'monkey'
yəŋkhəm	'loom'
yu	'wine'
yubi	'copper'
yui	'hedge'

yubi	'coconut'
yum	'house'
yuhalabè	'earthquake'
yug	'urine'
i	'thatch'
\i	'blood'
ipa	'father'
ipu	'grandfather'
ipen	'father's elder brother'
ipuloybè	'husband'
itey	'husband's elder brother'
ita	'friend(female)'
itaw	'friend(male)'
iton	'uncle'
itù	'wife'
ice	'elder sister'
icèn	'younger sister'
ica	'son/daughter'
iku	'father-in-law'
ichen	'brother-in-law(younger)'
\ichij	'water'
\ichej	'moss'
ichey	'song'
ichu	'grandchildren'
ibè	'writing'
iben	'grandmother'

ibay	'brother-in-law (elder)'
ibuḡ	'elder brother (female)'
imew	'daughter-in-law'
ima	'mother'
imabok	'mother's elder sister'
imom	'daughter'
imuḡ	'family'
in	'fishing net'
ine	'father's sister'
inembok	'mother-in-law'
indon	'aunt'
inaw	'younger brother'
inḡhol	'garden/compound'
inḡn	'name of a month'
ija	'name of a month'
ilay	'Friday'
iloybè	'swimming'
iya	'son-in-law (female)'
iyambè	'elder brother'
enḡḡ	'child'
emom	'female'
eme	'one'
eni	'two'
elum	'fever'
ehiḡ	'night'
ehanbè	'first'

əhum	'three'
əhumchubə̀	'third'
əhumlek	'thrice'
əyuk	'morning'
əchi	'this'
adə	'at a distance'
ok̀	'pig'
obə̀	'vomiting'
oləŋtha	'summer'
oỳ	'left'
u	'tree'
uphul	'dust'
ut̀	'ash'
utin	'musk rat'
uci	'rat'
ucek	'bird'
ucan	'pine'
umaybi	'kite'
un	'snow'
uǹ	'skin'
uli	'creeper'
ulit	'tailor bird'
ulig	'pimple'
ulok	'egret'
uyen	'mushroom'
ukay	'harrow'

APPENDIX II

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