

- (21) e. *kəmdəwre*  
 kərəm -təw -lə -e  
 how -do -PERF -ASRT  
 how are you doing  
 'How do you do?'

- f. *nóŋmadi kəmdəwwi*<sup>56</sup>  
 nóŋ -mə -ti kərəm -təw -li  
 day -one -DLMT how -do -PROG  
 'What happened one day...'

The question word *kərigi* 'why', can be used to introduce a direct quote as in (21g), where the speaker sets up the situation in which the speech act that he is about to report occurred.

- (21) g. *phəŋə* *háyrábani*  
 phəŋə -nə háy -ləbə -ni  
 beauty -ADV say -HAVING -COP  
 beautifully said that

*kəriginobu* *phátʔəbə*  
 kərigi -no -pu phé -tə -pə  
 why -INQ -ADVR good -NEG -NOM  
 since that bad

*khánjínle* *moydu* *pumme*  
 khán -sin -lə -e mə -khoy -tu pum -lə -e  
 think -IN -PERF -ASRT 3P -hpl -DDET rot -PERF -ASRT  
 chosen they are rotten  
 '...I put it to them beautifully, (I said), "since they made a bad selection, (the ones selected), they will be rotten..."'

## Chapter 6 Subordination

There are three basic forms of clausal subordination in Meithei: subordinate clauses formed by suffixing a nominalizer to a noninflected verb; complements formed by suffixing complementizers to the nominalized clause; and adverbial clauses formed by suffixing subordinators on either nominalized clauses or complements.

### 6.1 Nominalization

Verbs can be nominalized in a number of ways and can function as relative clauses, adjectives, or nominalized complements. In this section, I will describe the morphology of nominalization and the constructions in which nominalized verbs occur. The phrase structure of nominalized clauses is represented in (1).

- (1)  $S_{nom} \rightarrow (NP^*) V_{nom}$   
 $V_{nom} \rightarrow V-(\text{derivational morphology})\text{-nominalizer}$

#### 6.1.1. Nominalizers

There are three nominalizers in Meithei. First, verbs are nominalized by suffixation of *-pə*.

- (2) a. *nupidi* *ŋádu* *phábə* *pammí*  
 nu -pi -ti ŋá -tu phá -pə pam -í  
 person -FEM -DLMT fish -DDET catch -NOM like -NHYP  
 that woman that fish to catch like  
 'The woman wants to catch fish.'

Second, as argued in section 5.6.1, mood markers (*-kə* 'potential', *-loy* 'nonpotential', *-təw* 'obligation/probability', and *-tə* 'necessity') also act as nominalizers. Evidence for this is that verbs inflected with a mood marker can be suffixed by *-lə* 'interrogative' or the copula *-ni* both of which occur only on nominals. The mood markers may occur independently as nominalizers (as in (2b)) or may occur in conjunction with the nominalizer (as in (2c)).

- (2) b. *yáwgədro*  
 yəw -kə -tə -lə -o  
 reach -POT -NES -INT -SOLCT  
 will she be able to attain  
 'Will she be able to make it?'

- c. *čátkadəbra*  
 čət -kə -tə -pə -lə  
 go -POT -NES -NOM -INT  
 'Must you go?'

Third, there are lexical nominalizers, the most common of which is *jat* 'type' (borrowed from the Hindi *jat* 'caste'; see Chapter 9 for further discussion).

- (2) d. *má əygi kadə thákʔəməjatlə*  
 má əy -ki ka -tə thək -ləm -lə -jat -lə  
 he I -GEN room -LOC smoke -EVD -PERF -TYPE -INT  
 he my to room is it that (he) smoke  
 'Could it be that he smoked in my room?'

Evidence that *jat* is nominalizing comes from the fact that verbs suffixed with *jat* can take the interrogative marker. This follows the generalization stated in section 5.6.1 that only nominalized forms can take the interrogative.

The noun *pót* 'thing' is also used as a nominalizer to delimit the action or state described in the verb as being from a group of similar actions or states.

- (2) e. *səmgətpə mənəhənbə nəmpót natʔene*  
 sém -khet -pə mən -hən -pə nəm -pót nətə -ne  
 make -UP -NOM lose -CAUS -NOM able -thing not -SI  
 make cause to lose possible thing not all  
 '...it is not the kind of thing where I will hurt or help (the students myself)...'

Evidence that *pót* is a nominalizer comes from the fact that the copula *-ni* can be suffixed to a verbal noun of the form *V-pót*. This is illustrated in (2f).

- (2) f. *səmkhəpətni*  
 sém -khi -lə -pót -ni  
 short -STILL -PRO -THING -COP  
 'it was going to be a type of shortcut'

### 6.1.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are based on nominalized clauses. Meithei exhibits externally headed relative clauses where the relativized noun occurs to the right of the clause and is marked with the nominalizer *-pə*. The relativized position is left unmarked. Relative clauses are generated through the phrase structure rule given in (3a). An example is given in (3b).

- (3) a. NP → S<sub>nom</sub> N
- b. *ŋəsi čátpə nupadudi*  
 ŋəsi čət -pə nu -pa -tu -ti  
 today go -NOM person -MAS -DDET -DLMT  
 today one who goes that boy
- məsá pháy*  
 mə -sá phé -í  
 NM -body good -NHYP  
 body is good  
 'The boy who is going today is handsome.'

The following arguments can be relativized: Actor (3c), Patient (3d), Theme (3e), Recipient/Goal (3f), Instrument (3g), Ablative (3h), and Path (3i).

- (3) c. Actor:  
*kolom páyrəbə nipa*  
 kolom páy -lə -pə ni -pa  
 pen hold -PROX -NOM person -MAS  
 pen one who held boy
- məčádo əygi mərəpni*  
 mə -čá -tu əy -ki mərəp -ni  
 NM -small -DDET I -GEN friend -COP  
 that small one my friend is  
 'That small boy who held the pen is my friend.'

## d. Patient:

<i>Ramnə</i>	<i>phúbə</i>	<i>Tombədu</i>	<i>sólli</i>	
Ram -nə	phú -pə	Tombə -tu	són -í	
Ram -CNTR	beat -NOM	Tomba -DDET	weak -NHYP	
Ram	to beat	that Tomba	is weak	
'Tomba who was beaten by Ram is weak.'				

## e. Theme:

<i>əynə</i>	<i>láyɾəkpa</i>	<i>layriktu</i>	<i>pháy</i>	
əy -nə	láy -lək -pə	layrik -tu	phá -í	
I -CNTR	buy -DISTAL -NOM	book -DDET	good -NHYP	
I	which was bought	that book	is good	
'The book which I bought is good.'				

## f. Experiencer/Goal:

<i>əhən</i>	<i>oyrəbə</i>	<i>nupadunə</i>	
ə -hən	oy -lébə	nu -pa -tu -nə	
ATT -old	be -HAVING	person -MAS -DDET -CNTR	
old	become	that man	

<i>ɣárúbák</i>	<i>pírəmbə</i>	
ɣá -lú -pák	pí -ləm -pə	
fish -trap -broad	give -EVD -NOM	
basket of fish	to the one given	

<i>nupidu</i>	<i>əygi</i>	<i>nupini</i>	
nu -pi -tu	əy -ki	nu -pi -ni	
person -FEM -DDET	I -GEN	person -FEM -COP	
that woman	my	friend is	
'The woman to whom the basket of fish was given by the man who is old is my wife.'			

## g. Instrument:

<i>Tombənə</i>	<i>ɳa</i>	<i>phákhībə</i>	
Tombə -nə	ɳa	phá -khi -pə	
Tomba -CNTR	fish	catch -STILL -NOM	
Tomba	fish	to have caught	

<i>laŋau</i>	<i>sini</i>	
laŋ -tu	si -ni	
net -DDET	pdet -COP	
that net	is this	

'This is the net that Tomba caught the fish with.'

## h. Ablative:

<i>tebəl</i>	<i>matháktə</i>	<i>láyribə</i>	
tebəl mə -thák -tə	láy -li -pə		
table NM -top -LOC	be -PROG -NOM		
table	on top	of being	

<i>layriktəgi</i>	<i>wáhəypərəŋsiŋdu</i>	<i>iyu</i>	
layrik -təgi	wáhəypərəŋ -siŋ -tu	i -u	
book -ABL	sentence -GPL -DDET	write -IMP	
from the book	those sentences	write	
'Write out the sentences in the book that is on the table.'			

## i. Path:

<i>Tombənə</i>	<i>Sitaɣə</i>	<i>loynənə</i>	<i>plen</i>
Tombə -nə	Sita -kə	loynə -nə	plen
Tomba -CNTR	Sita -ASS	together -ADV	plane
Tomba	with Sita	together	plane

<i>paykhibə</i>	<i>čindoldu</i>	<i>yamnə</i>	<i>waŋɳi</i>
pay -khi -pə	čig -thon -tu	yam -nə	waŋ -í
fly -STILL -NOM	hill -name -DDET	much -ADV	tall -NHYP
one who flew	that hill	very	is tall
'The mountains over which Tomba flew the plane with Sita are very tall.'			

## 6.1.2.1 Semantic role and pragmatic marking on the relativized noun

The relativized noun, following the principles outlined in Chapter 4, may be marked by a semantic role or pragmatic marker. For example, the delimitative enclitic marks the relativized noun in (4a).

- (4) a. *húy hátə nupadi əygr mərúpni*  
 húy hát -pə nu -pa -ti əy -ki mərúp -ni  
 dog kill -NOM person -MAS -DLMT I -GEN friend -COP  
 dog to kill those men my friend is  
 'Only the men who kill dogs are my friends.'

Unless a relativized noun is marked by the determiner *-si* or *-tu*, it gets an indefinite reading as in (4a,b).

- (4) b. *layrik yamnə kənnə pabə nupa*  
 layrik yam -nə kən -nə pa -pə nu -pa  
 book lot -ADV hard -ADV read -NOM person -MAS  
 book very hard one who studies boy  
  
*məčánə əphəbə thəbək phəŋŋi*  
 mə -čá -nə ə -phə -pə thəbək phəŋ -ni  
 NM -small -CNTR ATT -good -NOM work find -COP  
 small which is good work will find  
 'Boys who study hard get good jobs.'

When marked by the distance determiner a relativized human noun is either a physically or conversationally distant topic as in (4c). Use of the proximate determiner with the relativized noun phrase to refer to a current topic of conversation or a person visible to the speaker is stylistically marked but possible, see (4d). The use of the proximate determiner with relativized inanimate nouns is not stylistically marked.

- (4) c. *nupa phúbə nupidu*  
 nu -pa phú -pə nu -pi -tu  
 person -MAS beat -NOM person -FEM -DDET  
 the man one who beat that girl  
  
*əy kizáy*  
 əy ki -čə -í  
 I fear -SELF -NHYP  
 I fears  
 'I'm afraid of the girl who beat the man.'

- d. *nupa phúbə nupisi əy kizáy*  
 'I'm afraid of this girl here who beat the man.'

### 6.1.2.2 Internally headed relative clauses

Relative clauses may be internally headed. In this case, the relativized noun appears within the relative clause and a determiner referring to the relativized noun functions as the nominalizer of the clause. Example (5a) illustrates the externally headed relative clause construction and (5b-d) illustrate the corresponding internally headed construction.

- (5) a. *həwnə ɲəŋbə nupa ədo*  
 həw -nə ɲəŋ -pə nu -pa ə -tu  
 loud -ADV speak -NOM person -MAS ATT -dDET  
 loudly to speak man that one  
  
*əygi mərúpni*  
 əy -ki mərúp -ni  
 I -GEN friend -COP  
 my friend is  
 'The boy that spoke loudly is my friend.'
- b. *nupa həwnə ɲəŋbədo*  
 nu -pa həw -nə ɲəŋ -pədu  
 person -MAS loud -ADV speak -DCOMP  
 boy loudly that speaking  
  
*əygi mərúpni*  
 əy -ki mərúp -ni  
 I -GEN friend -COP  
 my friend is  
 'The loudly speaking boy is my friend.'
- c. *nupa əwanbəsi əygi mərúpni*  
 nu -pa ə -wan -pəsi əy -ki mərúp -ni  
 person -MAS ATT -tall -DCOMP I -GEN friend -COP  
 man this one that is tall my friend is  
 'The tall man is my friend.'
- d. *nupa phúbəsi əygi mərúpni*  
 nu -pa phú -pəsi əy -ki mərúp -ni  
 person -MAS beat -DCOMP I -GEN friend -COP  
 man this beater my friend is  
 'The beater of men, this one, is my friend.'

(5) e. *səŋɡom*            *thəkpaɿ*            *əŋəŋdǎdi*  
       sən -khom        thək -paɿ            əŋəŋ    -té            -ti  
       cow -udder     drink -DCOMP       child    -EX            -DLMT  
       milk            this drinking        child

### 6.1.2.3 Question words as relative pronouns

(6) a. *əynə*                      *upudu*                      *kəri*                      *yáwbəge*  
           əy    -nə            u            -pu    -tu            kəri            yáw    -pə    -ke  
           I        -CNTR    wood    -carry    -DDET    what    include    -NOM-OPT  
           I                      that box                      what    it wants to include

b.	<i>kənadə</i>	<i>pəysa</i>	<i>pīgədəge</i>			
	kəna -tə	pəysa	pī	-kə	-tə	-ke
	who -LOC	money	give	-POT	-NES	-OPT
	to whom	money	we should give			

<i>háynə</i>	<i>əykhoy</i>	<i>ŋáŋnərammí</i>		
háy -nə	əy -khoy	ŋán -nə	-ləm	-í
that -INST	I -hpl	speak -RECIP	-EVD	-NHYP
that	we	spoke together		
'We talked about who we should give money to.'				

c. *kəramnənə*      *irónbəgə*<sup>57</sup>      *háybaðu*      *útlu*  
*kəramnə* -*nə*      *irónba* -*ke*      *háy* -*pəðu*      *út*      -*lə*      -*u*  
 how      -ADV      ironba      -OPT      say      -DCOMP      show      -PRO      -IMP  
 how want      ironba      that      show  
 'Please show me how to cook ironba.'

#### 6.1.2.4 Quotatives used to signal relative clauses

When the relative clause refers to a future state a quotative must be used to subordinate the clause (see Chapter 9 for details on the interaction of tense and subordination).

(7) a. *kolom páykhraḡani háyba*  
       *kolom páy -khi -lə -kə -ni háy -pə*  
       pen hold -STILL -PRO -POT -COP say -NOM  
       pen will hold that

<i>nupa</i>		<i>mæčádo</i>		<i>əygi</i>	<i>mərúpni</i>			
nu	-pa	mə	-čá	-tu	əy	-ki	mərúp	-ni
person	-MAS	NM	-small	-DDET	I	-GEN	friend	-COP
boy		that	young	one	my		friend	is
'The boy that is going to hold the pen is my friend.'								

Note that (7a) cannot mean, 'The boy who said that he would hold the pen'. Examples (7a,b) are structurally distinct from complements (see section 6.2), since the relativized actor occurs outside the subordinated clause. The relativizing function of the quotative also occurs with non-future events or states as in (7b).

- (7) b. *kolom páykhre* *háyba*  
 kolom páy -khi -lə -e háy -pə  
 pen hold -STILL -PERF -ASRT say -NOM  
 pen held that
- nupa mǎčádo əygi mǎrúpni*  
 nu -pa mǎ -čá -tu əy -ki mǎrúp-ni  
 person -MAS NM -small -DDET I -GEN friend -COP  
 man small one my friend is  
 'The boy that held the pen is my friend.'

### 6.1.2.5 Adjectives

Independent adjectives are formed through the prefixation of *ə-* 'attributive' to the nominalized forms of state verbs.<sup>58</sup> Adjectives and relative clauses have the same function (i.e. to modify a noun) but are formally and distributionally distinct. A nominalized verb in a relative clause can refer to a state (8a) or an action (8b). Adjectives, on the other hand, can describe only states.

- (8) a. *əygi yamná sawgənbə mǎrúp*  
 əy -ki yam -nə saw -kən -pə mǎrúp  
 I -GEN lot -ADV anger -REPEAT -NOM friend  
 my very always angry friend

*daktǎrdo hǎwǰiktǎ čátkhre*  
 doctor -tu hǎwǰik -tǎ čát -khi -lə -e  
 doctor -DDET now -LOC go -STILL -PERF -ASRT  
 that doctor at this moment has gone  
 'My friend who is a doctor who is very angry has just left.'

- b. *húy hátə nupadi*  
 húy hát -pə nu -pa -ti  
 dog kill -NOM person -MAS -DLMT  
 dog to kill the men  
 'the men who kill dogs...'

Second, relative clauses appear either before the relativized noun or are internally headed relative clauses which contain the relativized noun. Relative clauses, however, never occur after the relativized noun. Adjectives may be postnominal as in (8c) or prenominal as in (8d).

- (8) c. *sadhəbiget əsaba páyrəgə*  
 sadhəbiget ə -sa -pə páy -légə  
 certificate ATT -hot -NOM hold -AFTER  
 certificate false after securing  
 '...after securing a false certificate...'

Speakers recognize a slight semantic difference between postnominal and prenominal adjectives. Postnominal adjectives are simply descriptive but prenominal adjectives identify the modified noun as belonging to a class of similar things.<sup>59</sup>

The similarity between adjectives and relative clauses allows for the ambiguity illustrated in (8d) which can mean 'the shop that sells old books' and has the structure in (8e); or 'the old shop that sells books' and has the structure in (8f).<sup>60</sup>

- (8) d. *əmənbə layrik yonbə dukandu*  
 ə -mən -pə layrik yon -pə dukan -tu  
 ATT -old -NOM book sell -NOM shop -DDET  
 old book selling that shop

*əygin*  
 əy -ki -ni  
 I -GEN -COP  
 is mine

- e. [[[əmənbə layrik]<sub>np</sub>] yonbə<sub>snom</sub>] dukandu<sub>np</sub>]  
 'the shop that sells old books'

- f. [[əmənbə] [[layrik yonbə<sub>snom</sub>] dukandu<sub>np</sub>]]  
 'the old shop that sells books'

### 6.1.2.6 Combining relative clauses and coreference

When two relative clauses refer to the same relativized noun phrase, the clauses can be juxtaposed to indicate that they are conjoined. In this case the relativized noun phrase appears once in the sentence.

- (9) a. *əy ahal əmə ŋəsi yamna pəysa*  
*əy ə -hən ə -mə ŋəsi yam -nə pəysa*  
 I ATT -old ATT -one today lot -ADV money  
 I parent one today very money
- páybə inakkhunbə sound oybə kaŋbu nətte*  
*páy -pə inakkhun -pə sound oy -pə kaŋbu nətte*  
 hold -NOM rich -NOM sound be -NOM group is not  
 holding being rich sound being type is not  
 'My parent (father) is not the type who has a lot of money, who is rich, who is reliable...'

If an overt conjunction appears between the two relative clauses, however, these cannot refer to the same noun phrase. For example, (9b) refers to two separate groups of girls, those who dance and those who drink; in (9c), however, the two relative clauses refer to the same group of girls.

- (9) b. *səŋgom thákʔibə əmasuŋ*  
*sən -khom thék -li -pə ə -mə -su*  
 cow -udder drink -PROG -NOM ATT -one -ALSO  
 milk who is drinking and
- həyeŋ jaɡóy sáɡədəwribə*  
*həyeŋ jaɡóy sá -kə -təw -li -pə*  
 tomorrow dance dance -POT -OBLG -PROG -NOM  
 tomorrow dance who will be dancing
- nupi məčásinɖu əyɡi məruɖni*  
*nu -pi mə -čá -sinɖ -tu əy -ki məruɖ -ni*  
 person -FEM NM -small -GPL -DDET I -GEN friend -COP  
 female those small ones my friends are  
 'The girls who drink milk and the girls who will be dancing tomorrow are my friends.'
- c. *həyeŋ jaɡóy sáɡədəwribə səŋgom thákʔibə nupi məčásinɖu əyɡi məruɖni*  
 'Those girls who will be dancing tomorrow and are drinking milk are my friends.'

A relative clause may be embedded within another.

- (9) d. *Merina sabə kek čákhɪbə*  
 Meri -nə sa -pə kek čá -khi -pə  
 Mary -CNTR hot -NOM cake eat -STILL -NOM  
 Mary baking cake eating
- nipado əyɡi məruɖni*  
*ni -pa -tu əy -ki məruɖ -ni*  
 person -MAS -DDET I -GEN friend -COP  
 that man my friend is  
 'The man who ate the cake that Mary baked is my friend.'
- e. *Məniɖur universitigi gesthawski*  
 Məniɖur universiti -ki gesthaws -ki  
 Manipur university -GEN guest house -GEN  
 of Manipur University of the guest house
- rum nəmbər tərədəgi purəkpa*  
*rum nəmbər tərə -təgi pu -lək -pə*  
 room number ten -ABL carry -DISTAL -NOM  
 room number ten from which was brought
- layriktu ŋəraŋ láyɾəkpa tebal*  
*layrik -tu ŋəraŋ léy -lək -pə tebal*  
 book -DDET yesterday buy -DISTAL -NOM table  
 that book yesterday which was bought table
- məthákta thəmməmbə ŋəsi əyúk*  
*mə -thák -tə thəm -ləm -pə ŋəsi ə -yúk*  
 NM -top -LOC place -EVD -NOM today ATT -early  
 on top of which was placed today morning
- lakʔəmbə nupado*  
*lak -ləm -pə nu -pa -tu*  
 come -EVD -NOM person -MAS -DDET  
 who came that boy

<i>əygi</i>	<i>inawnupagi</i>	<i>mərúpni</i>
əy -ki	i -naw nu -pa -ki	mərúp -ni
I -GEN	1P -new person -MAS	-GEN friend -COP
my	younger brother's	friend is

'The boy who brought this book from room number 10 of the Manipur University Guest House, who kept that book which was bought yesterday on the table, and who came this morning is my younger brother's friend.'

### 6.1.3 Verbs which subcategorize for nominalized clauses

A nominalized clause fills the argument structure of certain verbs that contribute aspectual or modal meaning to that clause. For example, the verb *həwbə* 'to start' indicates the initiation of an action.

- (10) a. *əy čábə həwre*  
 əy čá -pə həw -lə -e  
 I eat -NOM start -PRO -ASRT  
 I to eat started  
 'I have started eating an apple.'

Other verbs that have aspectual meaning and require nominalized clauses are *yáñ* 'fast', *táp* 'slow', and *món* 'too slow'. As shown in (10b,c) the verb *láy* 'to finish' indicates the end of some action that has been carried on for some time or is carried out habitually.

- (10) b. *má Dili čátpə loyre*  
 má Delhi čát -pə loy -lə -e  
 he Delhi go -NOM finish -PRO -ASRT  
 he Delhi to go going to be finished  
 'His trips to Delhi are going to be over.'

- c. *má Dili čátpə loydri*  
 má Delhi čát -pə loy -tə -li  
 he Delhi go -NOM finish -NEG -PROG  
 he Delhi to go is not finished  
 'He will go more and more often to Delhi.'

In some instances, the verb has taken on extended aspectual meanings; for example, *phábə* 'to arrest/to catch/to tie' is used to signify the completion of an

action or the full attainment of a state as in (10d). Similarly, the verb *kabə* 'roast to a burn' can indicate that an action has been performed to excess as in (10e).

- (10) d. *laysábi pháre*  
 lay -sá -pi phá -lə -e  
 god -body -FEM catch -PERF -ASRT  
 virgin completed  
 'She has grown up.'

- e. *lakpə káre*  
 lak -pə ká -lə -e  
 come -NOM roast -PERF -ASRT  
 to come roasted  
 'He overstayed his welcome.'

Such verbs may also function to indicate modality. For example, the verb *tábə* 'to fall' can indicate an action is compelled to come about.

- (10) f. *ṇəsi má phúbə tare*  
 ṇəsi má phú -pə ta -lə -e  
 today he beat -NOM fall -PRO -ASRT  
 today he to beat will fall out  
 'Today he is going to be beaten.'

The verb *yá* 'possible' indicates the mild possibility of an event or state having taken or going to take place or being attained.

- (10) g. *ṇəsi má Dili čátpə yáy*  
 ṇəsi má Dili čát -pə yá -i  
 today he Delhi go -NOM possible -NHYP  
 today he Delhi to go is possible  
 'Today it is possible that he go to Delhi.'

The verb *ṇəm* 'can' indicates the extent of the ability of the theme to perform some action.



- (10) h. *məhák*      *Hindi pabə*      *ḡámí*  
          *mə -hák*      *Hindi pa -pə*      *ḡám -í*  
          3P -here      *Hindi read -NOM*      *able -NHYP*  
          he      *Hindi to read*      *is able*  
          'He can read Hindi.'

The verb *óy* 'to be' can indicate a desire for some verb or state to come about. It also occurs with *dərkər* 'duty' (a loan word from Hindi) in the lexicalized form *dərkər óy* 'to need to, to be responsible for'.<sup>62</sup>

- (10) i. *isornə*      *nəḡbu*      *thəwǵán*  
          *isor -nə*      *nəḡ -pu*      *thəw -čán*  
          *god -CNTR*      *you -PAT*      *duty -let*  
          *god*      *you*      *please*

*píbə*      *oysənnu*  
*pí -pə*      *oy -sin -u*  
*give -NOM*      *be -IN -IMP*  
*to give*      *may it be*  
          'May God bless you.'

- j. *nəḡ čátpə*      *dərkər*      *oy*  
          *nəḡ čát -pə*      *dərkər*      *oy*  
          *you go -NOM*      *duty*      *is*  
          *you to go*      *necessity*      *is*  
          'It is necessary for you to do.'

The verb *phə* 'good' can indicate a preference for a future action.

- (10) k. *əykhoy*      *ənisu*      *čátpə*      *phəy*  
          *əy -khoy*      *ə -ni -su*      *čát -pə*      *phə -í*  
          *I -hpl*      *ATT -two -ALSO*      *go -NOM*      *good -NHYP*  
          *we*      *two also*      *to go*      *is good*  
          'It is better if the two of us go.'

## 6.2 Complementation

As reflected in the phrase structure rules in (11a), the argument of a verb may be a subordinated sentence which may consist of a nominalized clause followed by a complementizer or a sentence (an inflected verb and its arguments) fol-

lowed by a quotative. The choice between the use of a quotative or complementizer depends on the evidential value that a speaker wishes to place on a complement. These distributional facts are discussed in Chapter 9. This section will deal with the formal characteristics of complements.

- (11) a. S → S' V  
          S' → S<sub>nom</sub> (COMP)  
          S' → S quotative

Complementizers may either be *-pə* 'nominalizer' or a sequence of nominalizer and determiner, *-pəsi -pədu* (hereafter determiner-complementizer) as illustrated in (11b) and (11c), respectively. Further examples are given in section 9.2.

- (11) b. *əynə*      *čénbə*      *təppí*  
          *əy -nə*      *čén -pə*      *táp -í*  
          *I -CNTR*      *run -NOM*      *slow -NHYP*  
          *I*      *to run*      *slow*  
          'I run slowly.'

- c. *mána*      *isiḡ*      *thəkpədu*  
          *má -nə*      *i -siḡ*      *thək -pədu*  
          *he -CNTR*      *water -GPL*      *drink -DCOMP*  
          *him*      *water*      *that drinking*

- əynə*      *khammí*  
*əy -nə*      *kham -lə -í*  
*I -CNTR*      *stop -PERF -NHYP*  
*I*      *stopped*  
          'I stopped him from drinking water.'

Quotatives are based on *háy* 'say' and occur with the nominalizer (*háybə*), or with the determiner-complementizer (*háybəsi* or *háybədu*), as well as other subordinating morphology. A list of quotatives with illustrative examples is given in section 6.4.

As seen in (11d) -- which is not a direct quote -- the complement *ḡəsi lakkəni* is not headed by an overt complementizer. The "zero" complementizer is present only with verbs of saying and is discussed further in section 9.2.

- (11) d. *məhák*      *ŋəsi*      *lakkəni*      *náy*  
           *mə* -hák    *ŋəsi*      *lak*      -kə      -ni      *háy*    -í  
           3P    -here    today    come    -POT    -COP    say    -NHYP  
           he            today    will come            said  
           ‘He said that he would come today.’

### 6.3 Adverbial clauses

As represented in phrase structure rule in (11a), sentences may be modified by adverbial clauses which occur in sentence initial position. Adverbial clauses are subordinated sentences further suffixed by clausal subordinators (e.g. case markers or lexical subordinators).

- (12) a. S            →    (AdvP) NP\* V  
           AdvP        →    S' CS  
           AdvP        →    S quotative

#### 6.3.1 Case markers as clausal subordinators

Clausal subordinators are derived from the locative, genitive, associative and ablative case markers, following a pattern that is common in Tibeto-Burman languages, as noted by Konow (1909: 9) and discussed in detail for 26 languages of the family in Genetti (1988).

Table 1. Case markers and their subordinating function

Case marker	Meaning
-kə	‘associative’ at the same time as Ving
-ki	‘genitive’ for the purpose of Ving
-tə	‘locative’ after Ving
-təgi	‘ablative’ resulting from Ving
-nə	‘instrumental’ by Ving, because of Ving

The associative marker *-kə* is used to form an adverbial clause which signals a temporal sequence of events either where the subordinated clause is the first event and the main clause, the second (as in (12b)) or where both events occur simultaneously (as in (12c,d)). A cause and effect relationship between the

first and second events is not strongly implied. The *V-paga* sequence is translated as ‘when V’.

- (12) b. *baji*      *tolop phəŋbaga*      *lăw čátʔoybə*  
           *baji*      *tolop phəŋ* -pə    -kə      *lăw*    *čát*    -toy      -pə  
           father    salary find -NOM -ASS    take go    -NES    -NOM  
           father    salary when gets                    take intend to go  
           ‘...when my father gets his salary then I’ll need to take the money (over there).’

- c. *əynə*      *layriktu*      *hék*    *páybaga*      *má*  
           *əy* -nə    *layrik* -tu    *hék*    *páy* -pə    -kə      *má*  
           I    -CNTR book -DDET just hold -NOM -ASS he  
           I            that book      just when carrying      he

*lakʔi*  
*lak*    -í  
 come -NHYP  
 came  
 ‘He came when I held that book.’

- d. *má čithi irəbaga*      *ləyrəm̩mi*  
           *má*    *čithi*    *i*    -lə    -pə    -kə    *ləy*    -ləm    -li  
           he    letter write -PRO -NOM -ASS is    -EVD -PROG  
           he    letter about to write                    then was there  
           ‘He was there, about to write a letter.’

The genitive marker *-ki* can be suffixed to a nominalized verb to indicate a clause meaning ‘for the purpose of Ving’. The nominalized phrase suffixed by *-ki* can also have the meaning ‘from that Ving, concerning Ving’ as in (12e).

- (12) e. *thəbaktu*      *təwbəgi*      *lupa*      *lisín*      *məri*  
           *thəbək* -tu      *təw* -pə    -ki      *lupa*      *lisín*      *mə*      -li  
           work    -DDET do    -NOM -GEN rupees 1000 NM      -four  
           the work            for those who do    money 1000 four

*əməsu*      *píkhi*      *háybəni*  
           *ə*      -mə    -su      *pí*    -khi      *háy*    -pə    -ni  
           ATT    -one    -ALSO give -STILL say -NOM -COP  
           also one                    gave            that  
           ‘...I have heard that he also paid Rs. 4000 to get his job...’

- f. *nəŋ čák čárəbəgi*  
*nəŋ čák čá -lə -pə -ki*  
 you rice eat -PROX -NOM -GEN  
 you rice from having eaten

*čəybidrəbəni*  
*čəy -pi -tə -lə -pə -ni*  
 scold -REC -NEG -PRO -NOM -COP  
 have not yet scolded  
 'I didn't scold you for coming here to eat.'

The locative marker *-lə* may be suffixed to a nominalized verb to indicate a time clause with the meaning 'when Ving, upon Ving'.

- (12) g. *nəŋgi nəča əykhoydə lakpəda*  
*nəŋ -ki nə -ča əy -khoy -tə lak -pə -tə*  
 you -GEN 2P -small I -hpl -LOC come -NOM -LOC  
 your sister to our place when coming

*əynə čák čáhəŋkhi*  
*əy -nə čák čá -hən -khi -í*  
 I -CNTR rice eat -cause -STILL -NHYP  
 I rice already caused to eat  
 'When your sister came to our place I fed her.'

The ablative marker *-təgi* is used to form a subordinate clause which gives an explanation for a current state that has just come into being. It can be translated as 'resulting from V'.

- (12) h. *nəŋnə páybadəgi layriksi*  
*nəŋ -nə páy -pə -təgi layrik -si*  
 you -CNTR hold -NOM -ABL book -PDET  
 you from carrying this book

*səgaybə həwre*  
*sət -khay -pə həw -lə -e*  
 tear -TOTAF -NOM start -PRO -ASRT  
 to tear will start  
 'This book will start tearing from your carrying it.'

As noted by P. Madhubala Devi (1979: 196), *-təgi* may also be used to compare two clauses.

- (12) i. *mána čətpəsi əynə čénbadəgi*  
*má -nə čət -pəsi əy -nə čén -pə -təgi*  
 he -CNTR go -DCOMP I -CNTR run -NOM -ABL  
 he that going I from running

*hennə thúy*  
*hen -nə thú -í*  
 more -ADV fast -NHYP  
 more is fast  
 'His walking is faster than my running.'

Adverbial clauses may also be formed by suffixing *-nə* 'instrumental' to a nominalized clause to signal a cause clause.

- (12) j. *hómədabənə*  
*hótne -tə -pə -nə*  
 try -NEG -NOM -INST  
 'due to not trying'

k. *má čénbənə pháy*  
*má čén -pə -nə phé -í*  
 he run -NOM -INST good -NHYP  
 he due to running is good  
 'He is doing himself good by running.'

### 6.3.2 Adverbial Participials

Adverbial clauses can be opposed to adverbial participials which are suffixed to non-nominalized verbs. The participializers are morphologically complex, lexicalized units.

Table 2. The morphological composition and meaning of adverbial participials

Participial	Composed of	Glossed as	Meaning
<i>-ləŋə</i>	locative-instrumental	'by'	by Ving
<i>-túnə</i>	determiner-instrumental	'-ING'	Ving
<i>-nəbə</i>	instrumental-nominalizer	'in order to'	for Ving
<i>-ləgə</i>	perfect-associative	'after'	after Ving
<i>-ləbə</i>	perfect-nominalizer	'having'	having Ved

The participializer *-tánə*, which is composed *-tə* 'locative' and *-nə* 'instrumental', can be affixed directly to a verb to mean, 'as a consequence of Ving, by Ving'. The proposition in the main clause is seen as the result of action described in the subordinated clause.

- (13) a. *kəramnə námđána*  
 kərem -nə ném -ténə  
 how -ADV force -BY  
 how by force
- təmhangədəwribəno*  
 təm -hən -kə -təw -li -pə -no  
 learn -CAUS -POT -OBLG -PROG -NOM -INQ  
 should cause to learn, do you know  
 'How can (the teachers) force the students (who don't want to study) to learn?'

- b. *čák čarəđána sawbə phəre*  
 čak čá -lə -tənə saw -pə phé -lə -e  
 rice eat -PERF -BY anger -NOM good -PRO -ASRT  
 rice since eating to be angry is better  
 'Since I've eaten, I am not going to be angry anymore.'

*V-tánə* can be opposed to *V-túnə* which is composed *-tu* 'distal determiner' and *-nə* 'instrumental' and indicates that the occurrence of the action described in the participial and in the main verb, partially or fully overlap in time. The participials *-tánə* and *-túnə* must be glossed as a single unit since neither *\*V-tu* or *\*V-tə* are possible.

- (13) c. *əy mági mətuŋ indúna laʔi*  
 əy má -ki mə -tuŋ in -túnə lak -í  
 I he -GEN NM -behind follow -ING come -NHYP  
 I his behind following came  
 'I followed him.'

Native speakers feel that *V-tánə* and *V-túnə* are interchangeable because the meaning indicated by *V-túnə*, the simultaneity of action in the subordinate and main verb, is included in the meaning indicated by *V-tánə*. That is, in addition to the two events occurring at the same time, the action described in the main verb may also be a consequence of the action described in the subordinated verb. An example of this is (13d).

- (13) d. *má sənnə waydúna ture*  
 má sən -nə way -túnə tu -lə -e  
 he cow -CNTR gore -ING fall -PERF -ASRT  
 he by the cow having been gored had fallen  
 'Having been gored by the cow, he had fallen.'

Here the action of the cow not only occurs simultaneously with the falling of the man but is the cause for the man's falling.

The aspect marker *-lə* 'perfect' and *-kə* 'associative' combine to form the participializer *-légə* 'after Ving'. This lexicalized sequence should be distinguished from the productive sequence *V-lə-kə* (V-prospective-associative) 'when/if V', illustrated in (12c).

- (13) e. *məhák sel khərə púrəga*  
 mə -hák sel khərə pú -légə  
 3P -here money some borrow -AFTER  
 he money some having borrowed
- čátkhre*  
 čát -khi -lə -e  
 go -STILL -PERF -ASRT  
 left  
 'He left after borrowing some money.'

The sequence *-lábə*, composed of *-lə* 'perfect' and *-pə* 'nominalizer', must be distinguished from the productive sequence *-lə-pə* which is composed of the prospective aspect and the nominalizer as in (3c) and (15f). *-lábə* is treated as a participial since unlike other subordinators it has high tone.

- (13) f. *mí atəynəne hánna*  
 mí ə -təy -nə -ne hán -nə  
 man ATT -other -CNTR -SI first -ADV  
 man others already

*phónkhrəbə layriksinđəgi*  
 phón -khi -lábə layrik -sin -təgi  
 publish -STILL -HAVING book -GPL -ABL  
 having published from the books  
 '...from the books already published by other men...'

The participializer *-nába*, composed of *-na* 'instrumental' and *-pa* 'nominalizer', is suffixed to verbs to indicate a purpose clause.

- (13) g. *əy drama yeŋnába* *čátləmme*  
*əy drama yeŋ -nába* *čát -ləm -lə -e*  
 I drama see -IN ORDER TO go -EVD -PERF-ASRT  
 I drama to see had gone  
 'I had gone there to see the drama.'

- h. *əy tumnába* *sém* *sare*  
*əy tum -nába* *sém* *sa -lə -e*  
 I sleep -IN ORDER TO prepare make -PERF-ASRT  
 I to sleep preparations made  
 'I made the preparations for sleeping.'

### 6.3.3 Lexical subordinators

An adverbial clause can be indicated by an independent lexical item. For example, in (14a) *pháwbə* 'up to' is used to mark a concessive clause.

- (14) a. *čák čáw* *háyrába*  
*čák čá -u* *háý -léba*  
 rice eat -IMP say -HAVING  
 rice eat having said
- pháwbə* *čájədəba*  
*pháw -pə* *čá -čə* *-tə -pə*  
 till -NOM eat -SELF -NEG -NOM  
 up to that not eating
- əyŋónə* *kərigi* *čáy háyribəno*  
*əy -ŋón -tə* *kəri -ki* *čáy háý -li -pə -no*  
 I -to -LOC what -GEN ate say -PROG -NOM -INQ  
 to me why ate you are saying  
 'Even though every one said that I should eat, I did not eat, so why are you going around saying that I ate?'

*Kan* 'time' (borrowed from Hindi *kal* 'era') with *-tə* 'locative' means 'at the time of V'.

- (14) b. *həwətləkpa* *kandə*  
*həw -khət -lək -pə* *kan -tə*  
 start -UP -DISTAL -NOM time -LOC  
 getting up at that time  
 'at the time of getting up'

The suffix *-ŋəy* 'during' (derived from the stem *ŋay* 'wait') can be suffixed to a verb to mean 'when V'.

- (14) c. *əykhoyna* *satrə* *oyriŋəy* *matəmgə*  
*əy -khoy -nə* *satrə oy -li -ŋəy* *mə -təm -kə*  
 I -hpl -CNTR student be -PROG -DURING NM -time -ASS  
 our student being time also  
 '...between the time when we were students (and now)...'

### 6.3.4 *-ti* 'delimitative' and *-su* 'also' as subordinators

When *-ti* 'delimitative' is affixed to a nominalized verb in the prospective aspect, a hypothetical conditional clause meaning 'if this V' is signalled.

- (15) a. *həwəyjár kayrəbədi* *əygisu*  
*həwəyjár kay -lə -pə -ti* *əy -ki -su*  
*həwəyjár unwrap -PRO -NOM -DLMT I -GEN -ALSO*  
 soybean if unwrap for me too

- pírəʔu*  
*pí -lək -u*  
 give -DISTAL -IMP  
 give  
 'If you unwrap the jar of fermented soybean, give me some too.'

*-su* 'also' marks a concessive subordinate clause when suffixed to a nominalized clause.

- (15) b. *parikhya pas tawrabasu*  
*parikhya pas taw -lə -pə -su*  
 test pass do -PRO -NOM -ALSO  
 test pass even doing
- layrikti həytredána*  
*layrik -ti həy -tə -lə -e -təne*  
 book -DLMT proficient -NEG -PRO -ASRT -BY  
 book at that time are not proficient  
 'So even if they pass their exams they will not be proficient in (the content of) any book...'

### 6.3.5 Combinations of subordinators

Possible combinations of subordinators are given in Table 3.

Table 3. Examples of multiple levels of subordination

sequence	compostion
<i>pədu-tə</i>	complementizer-locative
<i>pədu-təgi</i>	complementizer-ablative
<i>pədu-nə</i>	complementizer-instrumental
<i>pə-tə-nə</i>	nominalizer-locative-instrumental
<i>lə-kə-nə</i>	nominalizer-associative-instrumental
<i>li-nə</i>	progressive-instrumental
<i>pə-ni-nə</i>	nominalizer-copula-instrumental
<i>nəbə-ki</i>	participial-genitive
<i>ləga-nə</i>	participial-instrumental
<i>ɲəy-də</i>	lexical subordinator-locative

A complementizer can be followed by a clausal subordinator. In (16a) the complementizer-locative case marker sequence signals 'at the time that V'. In (16b) the complementizer-ablative case marker sequence signals 'from the fact that V'. In (16c) the complementizer-instrumental sequence signals 'because of that V'.

- (16) a. *nəkhoyne čəipədudə*  
*nə -khoy -nə čət -pədu -tə*  
 2P -hpl -CNTR go -DCOMP -LOC  
 you all at that going
- əysu yəwge*  
*əy -su yəw -ke*  
 I -ALSO participate -OPT  
 I too will participate  
 'When you go, let me go too. (Literally: At that going of yours...)'

- b. *kloj təwrəmbədudəgi Dimapurdə*  
*kloj təw -ləm -pədu -təgi Dimapur -tə*  
 close do -EVD -DCOMP -ABL Dimapur -LOC  
 close from that fact to Dimapur

- sit khərə hənne*  
*sit khərə hən -lə -e*  
 seat some empty -PERF -ASRT  
 seat some were empty  
 'From the fact that (the shop) was closed, there were some seats empty at Dimapur.'

- c. *pún tərəməkháydegi léppəkpədunə*  
*pún tərə -mə -kháy -təgi lép -lək -pədu -nə*  
 hour ten -one -half -ABL stop -DISTAL -DCOMP -INST  
 hour from 10:30 onwards because of that stopping  
 'Because of stopping from 10:30 o'clock onwards...'

The instrumental can be suffixed to other subordinating case markers. In (16d), the locative-instrumental sequence signals 'upon Ving, then'. In (16e) the associative-instrumental sequence signals 'when Ving, then'.

- (16) d. *skul kabəðəna*  
 skul ka -pə -tə -nə  
 school attend -NOM -LOC -INST  
 school when attending

*əyna layrik púy*  
 əy -nə layrik pu -í  
 I -CNTR book carry -NHYP  
 I book carry  
 'When I go to school I carry my books.'

- e. *má čátləgəna nəŋ ləyhəwro*  
 má čát -lə -kə -nə nəŋ ləy -həw -lə -o  
 she go -PRO -ASS -INST you be -START -INT -SOLCT  
 she when goes then you will you remain, tell me  
 'When she goes, will you please stay?'

As illustrated by (16f-h), the instrumental marker can be suffixed to non-subordinated clauses as well to signal 'because of Ving'.

- (16) f. *pəysa ləytrinə pídri*  
 pəysa ləy -tə -li -nə pí -tə -li  
 money be -NEG -PROG -INST give -NEG -PROG  
 money because (I) do not have did not give  
 'They haven't given (you) any money because they don't have any.'

- g. *layriktu Tombəna pubəniŋa*  
 layrik -tu Tombə -nə pu -pə -ni -nə  
 book -DDET Tomba -CNTR carry -NOM -COP -INST  
 that book Tomba because (he) is having it

*kərisu mənloy*  
 kəri -su mən -loy  
 what -ALSO lose -NPOT  
 whatever will not be lost  
 'Since that book is with Tomba there is no fear of it being misplaced.'

- h. *məhák sənəbənina<sup>63</sup> thoybə*  
 mə -hák sən -pə -ni -nə thoy -pə  
 3P -here weak -NOM -COP -INST first -NOM  
 she since being weak to win

*ŋəmdre*  
 ŋəm -tə -lə -e  
 can -NEG -PERF -ASRT  
 could not  
 'Since she is weak, she couldn't win (the beauty contest).'

As illustrated in (16i,j), participials can be followed by clausal subordinators.

- (16) i. *čárunəbəgini*  
 čá -lu -nəbə -ki -ni  
 eat -ADIR -IN ORDER TO -GEN -COP  
 'I am going there to eat. (Literally: I am going there in order to eat.)'

- j. *pərikhya məyá yəwrəkʔəgəna*  
 pərikhya mə -yá yəw -lək -ləgə -nə  
 test NM -near reach -DISTAL -AFTER -INST  
 test near after the time has already come  
 'When the time of the exams have already drawn near, then...'

Lexical subordinators may be followed by clausal subordinators as in (16k).

- (16) k. *təwriŋəyda*  
 təw -li -ŋəy -tə  
 do -PROG -DURING -LOC  
 'at the time of doing'

## 6.4 The quotative subordinator

The quotative is used to subordinate a clause that presents statements made by someone other than the speaker or statements about the desires, wishes, or intentions of someone other than the speaker. The morphology on the quotative determines the exact clausal relationship between the clause subordinated by the quotative and the main clause. Table 4 lists the forms of the quotative attested in my data.

Table 4. Quotatives

Quotative	Gloss of suffixes	Meaning of quotative
<i>háydánə</i>	BY	by saying so, then
<i>háydúnə</i>	ING	having said so, then subject Ved
<i>háyna</i>	INST	that
<i>háybə</i>	NOM	that
<i>háybəgi</i>	NOM-GEN	regarding that which was said
<i>háybədə</i>	NOM-LOC	according to what subject (rightly) say/says
<i>háybədəgi</i>	NOM-ABL	as a result of that which was said
<i>háybədu</i>	NOM-DDET	that
<i>háybənə</i>	NOM-INST	because of that being said
<i>háybənina</i>	NOM-COP-INST	because it is thus said
<i>háybəbu</i>	NOM-ADVR	although that is
<i>háybəsi</i>	NOM-PDET	that
<i>háyrəgə</i>	AFTER	after saying that

Note that the quotatives translated as 'that' in Table 4 are distinguished by the evidential value placed on a subordinated clause (not fully confirmed, hearsay, or a report of the intentions or desires of a person other than the speaker). Details about these quotatives are given in Chapter 9.

As illustrated in (17a-c), case markers in their subordinating function can occur with the quotative.

- (17) a. *háybədəy*                      *kəppe*                      *Səkuntələse*  
          háy -pə -təgi      kəp      -e      Sakuntala      -si  
          say -NOM -ABL      cry      -ASRT      Sakuntala      -PDET  
          from that                      cried                      this Shakuntala  
          'As a result (she) started crying, that Shakuntala.'

- b. *kánnəhəwsi*                      *háybəgi*                      *wáni*  
          kánnə -həw -si      háy -pə -ki      wá -ni  
          utility -START -SUP      say -NOM -GEN      word -COP  
          let us make use                      regarding that                      that is it  
          'What I am proposing is: let (us also) get something out of it.'

- c. *pháhəwge*                      *kánnəhəwge*  
          phá -həw      -ke      kánnə -həw      -ke  
          good -START      -OPT      utility -START      -OPT  
          to want good                      to want to make useful

- háybəgi*                      *wánibə*  
          háy -pə      -ki      wá      -ni      -pə  
          say -NOM -GEN      topic      -COP      -NOM  
          regarding that                      word is  
          '... Regarding what you say, you want to so something good and useful.'

Adverbial participializers also occur with quotatives: see for example *háydánə* in (17d,e), *háydúnə* in (17g,f) and *háyrəgə* in (17h,i). In narratives, *háydánə* and *háydúnə* link a direct quote with the narrator's description of subsequent action or comment on the quote whereas *háyrəgə* links together two pieces of a direct quote.

- (17) d. *əykhoygi*                      *ofistə*                      *həwjik nəwnə*  
          əy -khoy -ki      ofis      -tə      həwjik      nəw      -nə  
          I -hpl      -GEN      office -LOC      now      new      -ADV  
          of our                      at the office      now      newly

- čəŋləkpə*                      *məkhoy*                      *keranini*  
          čəŋ      -lək      -pə      mə      -khoy      kerani      -ni  
          enter -DISTAL -NOM      3P      -hpl      clerk -COP  
          those who have joined      they                      being a clerk

- háydánə*                      *əhúm*                      *mərikhək*                      *ləyse*  
          háy -tənə      ə      -húm      mə -li      -khək      ləy      -si  
          say -BY                      ATT -three      one -four      -UPTO      be      -PDET  
          by saying so then three                      up to four                      be this  
          'The three or four new hires in our office have joined as clerks (but they really don't know anything about this job).'



e. *héntákpu* *purákʔe*  
*hénták* -pu *pu* -lək -e  
 dried fish -ADVR carry -DISTAL -ASRT  
 dried fish of have brought

*həwnəbro* *háyđánə*  
*həwnə* -pə -lə -o *háy* -ténə  
 initiate -NOM -INT -SOLCT say -BY  
 is it tasty by saying so then

*matəy-mənw* *asi*  
*mə* -təy *mə* -naw *ə* -si  
 NM -relative of opposite sex NM -young ATT -pdet  
 husband and wife this

*pəŋkhát-khátməre*  
*pəŋ* -khát *khát* -nə -lə -e  
 foolish -quarrel quarrel -RECIP -PERF -ASRT  
 argued with each other crazily  
 "Where on earth did you get this dried fish from?" and in this way  
 they quarreled for some time.'

f. *nəŋbu* *yót* *məkók* *asi* *pallu*  
*nəŋ* -pu *yót* *mə* -kók *ə* -si *pan* -lə -u  
 you -PAT hoe NM -head ATT -pdet rule -PRO -IMP  
 you hoe head this put

*háyđúnə* *hukum* *píye*  
*háy* -túnə *hukum* *pí* -ye  
 say -ING command give -CONFM  
 thus order gave

'He directs you to put a handle in that hoe. (Literally: He gave an  
 order by saying this: you go ahead and put the handle in that hoe.)'

g. *məpú* *asi* *pumme* *háyđúnə*  
*mə* -pú *ə* -si *pum* -lə -e *háy* -túnə  
 3P -man ATT -pdet rotten -PERF -ASRT say -ING  
 his grandfather this is rotten thus

*yóŋ* *məyam* *kayđúnə* *čénkhəre*  
*yóŋ* *mə* -yam *kay* -túnə *čén* -khi -lə -e  
 monkey NM -very take out -ING run -STILL -PERF -ASRT  
 monkey many taking out ran away  
 '(They said), 'This grandpa is rotten,' so saying, these many monkey  
 ran away.'

h. *khéile* *háyrágə* *čəphu əmədə*  
*khét* -lə -e *háy* -lágə *čəphu* ə -mə -tə  
 cut -PERF -ASRT say -AFTER pot ATT -one -LOC  
 cut after saying in that pot in that

*phájəna* *ŋanthokpiro*  
*phé* -čə -nə *ŋan* -thok -pi -lə -o  
 good -SELF -ADV boil -OUT -REC -PRO -SOLCT  
 nicely will you boil

"Cut (the pan)"; after saying that (he said), "Boil them well in a pot."

The quotative may also occur with the instrumental marker, as in (17h,i), to  
 indicate a causal relationship between a statement or an opinion held and  
 some resulting action.

(17) i. *čithi* *ədo* *parubədudə* *sen*  
*čithi* ə -tu *pa* -lu -pədu -tə *sen*  
 letter ATT -ddet read -ADIR -DCOMP -LOC money  
 letter that upon that reading money

*pannəbə* *nupa* *ədunə*  
*pannə* -pə *nu* -pa ə -tu -nə  
 oversee -NOM person -male ATT -ddet -CNTR  
 the one who oversees man that

*čithi* *purəkʔibə*  
*čithi* *pu* -lək -li -pə  
 letter bring -DISTAL -PROG -NOM  
 letter bringing

*nupa* *ədudə* *sen* *píkho*  
*nu* -pa ə -tu -tə *sen* *pí* -khi -o  
 person -MAS ATT -ddet -LOC money give -STILL -SOLCT  
 man that money won't you give

*háybənina məraybāk-phāba*  
 háy -pə -ni -nə mə -lay -pək phé -pə  
 say -NOM -COP -INST 3P -god -get good -NOM  
 because it is said his good fortune

*dolaypabədu ədudə*  
 dolay -pa -pə -tu ə -tu -tə  
 chariot -keep -NOM -DDET ATT -ddet -LOC  
 that gate keeper that

*sen píkħare*  
 sen pí -khi -lə -e  
 money gave -STILL -PERF -ASRT  
 money gave

*pubə ṇāmbə məkhay*  
 pu -pə ṇām -pə mə -khey  
 bring -NOM possible -NOM NM -share  
 bring being able largest amount

'On reading the letter, the man who kept the money as he was instructed in the letter to do so, gave the man that carried the letter, the fortunate gate keeper, money, all that he could carry.'

j. *mədu ləwdəna hekta*  
 mə -tu léw -təne hek -tə  
 NM -ddet take -BY just -EX  
 that having taken no explication

*háybənədi yároy*  
 háy -pə -nə -ti yá -loy  
 say -NOM -INST -DLMT agree -NPOT  
 because of that being said will not agree  
 'They would not agree (to a resolution) because they had taken an undocumented case.'

The adversative marker *-pu* is used with the quotative to create a concessive clause, subordinating a report and is used to link-up two mentions of the same constituent in an extended discourse.

(17) k. *mána háybəbu garidu yámna*  
 má -nə háy -pəbu gari -tu yám -nə  
 he -CNTR say -ALTHOUGH vehicle -DDET lot -ADV  
 he although that car very

*phəri háy*  
 phé -li háy -í  
 good -PROG say -NHYP  
 good said  
 'But about what he said, he told me that the car is in good condition.'

1. *Ramsi əṇáṇidi háybəbu*  
 Ram -si əṇāṇ -ni -ti háy -pəbu  
 Ram -PDET child -COP -DLMT say -ALTHOUGH  
 this Ram is a child although

*yamna sínji*  
 yam -nə sínj -í  
 lot -ADV wise -NHYP  
 very is wise  
 'Although (they say that) Ram is a small boy he is very wise.'

m. *u əwanbədəgidi táy*  
 u ə -wan -pə -təgi -ti ta -í  
 tree ATT -tall -NOM -ABL -DLMT fall -NHYP  
 tree from a tall one fell

*háybəbu má side*  
 háy -pəbu má si -tə -e  
 say -ALTHOUGH he die -NEG -ASRT  
 although he did not die  
 'Although (it is said that) he fell from a high tree, he was not killed.'

## 6.5 The ordering of clauses in the sentence

In summary, there are six formally distinct clause types in Meithei: finite clauses, nominalized complements, determiner complements, quotative complements, participials and subordinate adverbial clauses. These clauses can be combined and ordered within sentences in a variety of ways. The most common orders for determiner-complementizer complement constructions are

given in (18a,b). The complement may be sentence initial, maybe followed by the main clause, or maybe embedded between the verb of the main clause and its arguments. As seen in (18c), it is not possible for the determiner complement to occur sentence finally.

(18) a. Complement NP V

<i>Tombibu</i>	<i>čádəbasi</i>		<i>Ramnə</i>	<i>pammí</i>
Tombi -bu	čá -tə -pəsi		Ram -nə	pam -í
Tombi -ADVR	eat -NEG -DCOMP		Ram -CNTR	like -NHYP
Tombi	this not eating		Ram	likes
'Ram likes Tombi's not eating.'				

b. NP Complement V

*Ramnə Tombibu čádəbasi pammí*

NP V Complement

c. \**Ramnə pammí Tombibu čádəbasi*

Complements headed by quotative complementizers show more flexibility in word order. Such complements may be embedded between the main verb and its arguments in the main clause as in (18d), occur sentence initially as (18e), or sentence finally as in (18f).

(18) d. *Johnnə*

<i>Tombə</i>	<i>čátkhre</i>			
John -nə	Tombə čát -khi -lə -e			
John -CNTR	Tomba go -STILL -PERF -ASRT			
John	Tomba had gone			

*háybasi*

<i>nínšínlammí</i>				
háy -pəsi	nín -sín -ləm -í			
say -DCOMP	wish -wise -EVD -NHYP			
that	remembered			
'John remembered that Tomba had gone.'				

e. *Tombə čátkhre háybasi Johnnə nínšínlammí*

f. <i>əy</i>	<i>khənde</i>		<i>məhák</i>	<i>skul</i>
əy	khəŋ -tə -e		mə -hák	skul
I	know -NEG -ASRT		3P -here	school
I	not know		he	school

<i>čátkhre</i>		<i>háybə</i>
čát -khi -lə -e		háy -pə
go -STILL -PERF -ASRT		say -NOM
had gone		that
'I didn't know that he had gone to school.'		

Both (18d) and (18e) are common orders with quotative-complementizer complements in texts; (18f) appears in elicited data and is most likely a direct translation from English.

An adverbial clause can also be extraposed to the right of the main verb in order to put it in focus.

(18) g.

<i>bas</i>	<i>páythoktəná</i>	<i>sirəmdəwrəbni</i>						
bas	páy -thok -təné si -ləm -təw -lə -pə -ni							
bus	carry -OUT -BY	die -EVD -OBLG -PRO -NOM -COP						
bus	by taking	may have been killed						

<i>čəkanún</i>	<i>loynə</i>	<i>páythokkhidána</i>						
čəka -núŋ	loy -nə	páy -thok -khi -təné						
tire -in	all -ADV	carry -OUT -STILL -BY						
inner tube	all	by taking						
'...when (I) took the bus, (we) might have died, since all the tires burst...'								

6.5.1 Embedding

A clause can be embedded within another. In (19a) an adverbial participial is embedded within an complement, in (19b) the complement is embedded within an adverbial clause, and in (19c) the complement is embedded within another complement.

(19) a. <i>mədu</i>	<i>úbəda</i>	<i>nínthəwəna</i>
mə -tu	ú -pə -tə	nínthəw -nə
NM -ddet	see -NOM -LOC	king -CNTR
that upon	seeing	king

<i>khállì</i>	<i>əygumbə</i>	<i>ninṭhəw</i>	<i>əmə</i>
khén -li	əy -kum -pə	ninṭhəw ə -mə	
think -PROG I	-LIKE -NOM	king ATT -one	
thinking	like me	king a	

<i>əygumbə</i>	<i>ninṭhəw</i>	<i>əmə</i>	<i>ləyriṇəyda</i>
əy -kum -pə	ninṭhəw ə -mə	ləy -li -ṇəy -tə	
I -LIKE -NOM	king ATT -one	be -PROG -during -LOC	
like me	king a	at the time of being	

<i>əygi</i>	<i>inaynə</i>	<i>nəṇbəsi</i>
əy -ki i -nay -nə	nəṇ -pəsi	
I -GEN 1P -servant -CNTR	poor -DCOMP	
my	my servant	that being poor

#### *nunṇayte*

nunṇay -tə -e	
happy -NEG -ASRT	
not happy	

'On seeing that the king thought, "At the time when there is a king like me, the fact that I have a poor subject is not a happy thing."'

b. <i>nunṇayhənge</i>	<i>háyṇə</i>	<i>khálladónə</i>
nunṇay -hən -ke háy -nə	khén -lə -tə	
happy -CAUS -OPT say -INST	think -PERF -BY	
want to cause to be rich	that from	thinking thus
'...thinking that (he) will make him rich...'		

c. <i>máne</i>	<i>meṣḍə</i>	<i>layrik</i>	<i>páybədu</i>
má -nə	meṣ -tə	layrik	páy -pədu
he -CNTR	table -LOC	book	hold -DCOMP
he	on the table	book	that piling

<i>yeṇbə</i>	<i>nunṇayte</i>	
yeṇ -pə	nunṇay -tə -e	
see -NOM	happy -NEG -ASRT	
to look	is not nice	

'His piling books on the table is not nice to look at.'

### 6.5.2 Ellipsis

In naturally occurring speech, it is possible to use a subordinated clause without a following finite verb.

(20) a. <i>čák</i>	<i>čáhəwdónə</i>
čák čá -həw -tə	
rice eat -START -BY	
meal having eaten	
'First eat your meal...'	

b. <i>čáikədabə</i>	<i>ləyɾabədi</i>
čát -kə -tə -pə	ləy -lə -pə -ti
go -POT -NES -NOM	be -PRO -NOM -DLMT
you have to go	if it is

<i>kók</i>	<i>kók</i>	<i>čátthokurodónə</i>
kók kók čát -thok -u -lə -o	háy -lə -tə	
head head go -OUT -IMP -INT -SOLCT	say -PERF -BY	
go ahead as you have been told to go		
'If you have been told to go, then why not (go) without making a fuss.'		

c.	<i>píhənniṇmənkhəradónə</i>						
	pí	-hən	-niṇ	-mən	-khi	-lə	-túnə
	give	-CAUS	-WISH	-EXCESS	-STILL	-PRO	-ING
	'(I wish) very much that you are going to give (it to her, I ask you to do so).'						

### 6.5.3 Clause chaining

Subordinate clauses can be combined, exhibiting the clause-chaining discourse structure that is commonly noted for Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 1989a: 2). Participials can occur in a sequence to indicate a sequence of activities or a list of states.

(21) a. *imur̥də*      *čádánə*    *tháktánə*    *láytnoʔe*  
 i -mur̥ -tə    čá -ténə    thók -ténə    ləy -thok -e  
 1P -in -LOC eat -BY drink -BY be -OUT -ASRT  
 at my house eating drinking turned out to be  
 '... it turned out that he remained, at his friend's house eating and drinking.'

b. *ɲəsi*    *əyúk*      *əy*    *inɲarəgə*                      *sámɲet*  
 ɲəsi    ə -yúk    əy i -lu -čə -lágə    sám-čət  
 today ATT -early I water -bath -SELF -AFTER hair-cut  
 today morning I after bathing comb

*hallágə*                      *phi*    *sétlágə*                      *skul*    *čátləmmí*  
 hən -lágə    phi sét -lágə    skul čát -ləm -í  
 repeat -AFTER cloth wear -AFTER school go -EVD -NHYP  
 after doing again cloth after wearing school went  
 'This morning I bathed, combed my hair, dressed and went to school.'

c. *sinema*    *holdə*      *khərə*    *hoteldə*                      *khərə*  
 sinema hol -tə    khərə hotel -tə    khərə  
 cinema hall -LOC some hotel -LOC some  
 cinema to the hall some to the hotel some

*phámduṇə*                      *koyduṇə*                      *láythokti*  
 phám -túnə    koy -túnə    ləy -thok -ti  
 place -ING roam -ING be -OUT -DLMT  
 lounging around roaming around be this way  
 '...some go to the cinema hall, some around the hotel lounging, and roaming around...'

Two contiguous nominalized complements may be conjoined complements.

(21) d. *khubák*      *məyi*      *yeŋbə*                      *kuthi*      *yeŋbə*  
 khut -pák    mə -yi    yeŋ -pə    kuthi    yeŋ -pə  
 hand -broad NM -line look -NOM horoscope look -NOM  
 palm lines to read horoscope to look  
 '...looking at people's palms and reading their horoscopes...'

Finite clauses can also be placed in sequence to each other to indicate a sequence of events.

(21) e. *nəŋ*    *həwjik*    *čəy*    *yaŋkháy*      *phúbə*                      *tare*  
 nəŋ    həwjik    čəy    yaŋ -kháy    phú -pə    ta -lə -e  
 you now stick 100 -cut beat -NOM fall -PRO -ASRT  
 you now stick 50                      turn out that you will be beaten

*tha*      *təruk*      *jel*    *púbə*                      *tare*  
 tha      təruk      jel pí -pə    ta -lə                      -e  
 month six jail give -NOM fall -PRO -ASRT  
 month six jail to be given will turn out

*háynə*                      *hukum*      *pathokʔe*  
 háy -nə    hukum    pa -thok -lə -e  
 say -INST command read -OUT -PERF -ASRT  
 that command read out  
 'I am commanded thus: you will be given 50 lashes and sent to jail for six months.'

f. *ɲəsi*    *əyúk*      *əy*    *inɲarə*  
 ɲəsi    ə -yúk    əy i -lu -čə -lə                      -e  
 today I -early I water -bath -SELF -PERF -ASRT  
 today morning I bathed

*sámɲet*                      *həndokʔe*    *phí*  
 sém -čət    hən -thok -lə -e                      phí  
 hair -cut repeat -OUT -PERF -ASRT cloth  
 comb did over clothes

*sétille*    *ədugə*    *skuldə*                      *čátləmmí*  
 sét -sin -lə -e    ədugə    skul -tə    čát-ləm -í  
 wear -IN -PERF -ASRT and then school -LOC go -EVD -NHYP  
 got into and then to school went  
 'This morning I bathed, combed my hair, dressed and went to school.'

A sentence without ellipsis can consist of several adverbial clauses, with the restriction that it must contain one finite verb. An example is (17i), repeated as (21g) where each clause is provided with a free translation and marked with an ampersand.

(21) g. & *čīhi ədɔ parubədudə* 'on reading that letter'

& *senpannəbə nupa ədunə* 'the treasurer then'

& *čīhi purəkʔibə nupa ədudə sen píkho* 'give money to that person who brought the letter'

& *háybəninə* 'since (he) was told to do so'

& *məraybəkphəbə dolaypabədo ədudə sen píkharə* 'to that fortunate gate keeper (he) gave the money'

& *mánə pubə ɲámbə məkhəy* 'as much as he could carry'

'On reading the letter, the man who kept the money as he was instructed in the letter to do so, gave the man that carried the letter, the fortunate gate keeper, money, all that he could carry.'

#### 6.5.4 Clausal coordination

Finite clauses can be related to each other through the use of coordinators which are based on the pronoun *ədu* 'that' and one of the oblique case markers. Corresponding forms with the proximate determiner *-si* do not appear as coordinators. Each coordinator of the form determiner-case marker has a specialized function.

The coordinator *ədudə* 'at that, because of that', composed of *ədu* 'that' and *-tə* 'locative', indicates a cause clause as in (22a).

(22) a. *nɪŋthəwgi*      *hákthəŋ*      *háydu*      *oyrəmme*  
*nɪŋthəw* -ki      *hák* -thəŋ      *háy* -pədu      *oy* -ləm -e  
king -GEN near -help say -COMP be -EVD -ASRT  
of the king      confidant      that      was

*ədudə*                      *mánə*                      *wáradána*  
ə -tu -tə      *má* -nə      *wá* -lə -tónə  
ATT -ddet -LOC he -CNTR tired -PERF -BY  
that                      he                      since (he) became tired  
'since he was the king's confidant, he became tired, and...'

*ədugi* 'instead of that', composed of the determiner and *-ki* 'genitive', marks a substitutive clause where one event (as expressed in the first clause) is replaced by another (expressed in the second clause).

(22) b. *čátlubáy*                      *kərisu*  
čət -lu                      -pə -í                      *kəri* -su  
go -ADIR -NOM -NHYP what -ALSO  
going over                      anything

*kánnəroy*                      *ədugi*  
kánnə -loy                      ə                      -tu -ki  
utility -NPOT ATT -ddet -GEN  
will not be any use of that

*čəruk* *əygi*                      *layrik*      *námbəgi*                      *wáphámdo*  
čəruk əy -ki                      *layrik*      *nám* -pə -ki                      *wá* -phém-tu  
share I -GEN book press -NOM -GEN topic -place-DDET  
share my                      book for publishing                      that topic

*mədu*                      *hənnə*                      *əmukta*                      *khánnəsi*  
mə -tu                      *hən* -nə                      ə -muk -tə                      *khén* -nə -si  
NM -ddet return -ADV ATT -once -LOC think -RECIP -SUP  
that                      already                      once again                      discuss  
'There is no use is going over it again; instead, let's discuss first, once again, that plan to publish my book.'

*ədugə*, 'and then, additionally', composed of the determiner and *-kə* 'associative', indicates an additive clause with the implication that the second clause occurs after the first.

(22) c. *məntri*      *məkók*                      *hápčillo*                      *ədugə*  
*məntri* *mə* -kók      *háp* -sin -lə -u                      ə -tu -kə  
minister NM -head put -IN -PRO -IMP ATT -ddet -ASS  
minister head                      put in here                      then

*əygi*                      *iča*                      *nupi*                      *əmə*  
əy -ki                      *i* -ča                      *nu* -pi                      ə -mə  
I -GEN 1P -child person -FEM ATT -one  
my                      my child female                      one

<i>lāybādo</i>				<i>məṇónda</i>			
lāy	-pə	-tu		mə	-ṇón	-tə	
be	-NOM	-DDET		NM	-to	-LOC	
the one living there				to him			

<i>bibahkərma</i>	<i>təwro</i>						
bibah	kərma	təw	-lə	-o			
marriage ceremony	do	-PRO	-IMP				
marriage ceremony	do						
'...make the man who has come the chief minister of your land and also, marry him to my daughter who is living there.'							

*ədudəgi* 'after that', composed of the determiner and *-tagi* 'ablative', indicates a temporal sequence of events where the second clause occurs after the first and is a consequence of the first.

(22) d. <i>bay háybədudəne</i>	<i>bay en</i>						
bay háy	-pədu	-tə	-ne	bay	en		
by say	-DCOMP	-LOC	-SI	by	an		
by	at the place where it says			by	an		

<i>eksəpiriəns</i>	<i>tičər</i>	<i>kókthani</i>		<i>ədudəgi</i>			
eksəpiriəns	tičər	kók	-tha	-ni	ə	-tu	-tagi
experienced	teacher	head	-write	-COP	ATT	-ddet	-ABL
experienced	teacher	will be the heading	after that				

<i>mənipurdə</i>	<i>phónlibə</i>			<i>khəbərsiṇdə</i>			
mənipur-tə	phónṇ	-li	-pə	khəbər	-siṇ	-tə	
Manipur-LOC	publish	-PROG	-NOM	news	-GPL	-LOC	
at Manipur	publishing			at that news			

<i>edvərtais</i>	<i>kónnə</i>	<i>təwrəni</i>					
edvərtais	kén	-nə	təw	-lə	-ni		
advertize	hard	-ADV	do	-PRO	-COP		
advertize	intensely		will do				

'...we will publish 'by an experienced teacher' at the top; after that, we will advertize aggressively in the newspapers published in Manipur...'

e. <i>ədudəgi</i>				<i>nókniṇbə</i>			
ə	-tu	-tagi	-ne	nók	-niṇ	-pə	
ATT	-ddet	-ABL	-SI	laugh	-WISH	-NOM	
from that, you see				a loving thing			

<i>əmaga</i>	<i>təmge</i>						
ə	-mə	-kə	təm	-ke			
ATT	-one	-ASS	learn	-OPT			
another would like			to teach				
'Then (hearing you speak so), let me relate an amusing thing.'							

*ədu* can occur with *-nə* 'instrumental' to indicate that the first clause is the purpose or reason for the second clause. *ədunə* can be translated as 'then, therefore or thus'.

(22) f. <i>əygi</i>	<i>inaysi</i>			<i>əwábə</i>			
əy	-ki	i	-nay	-si	ə	-wá	-pə
I	-GEN	1PP	-serve	-PDET	ATT	-tired	-NOM
my		my servant				unhappy	

<i>tarəbəni</i>							
ta	-ləbə	-ni					
fall	-HAVING	-COP					
fell out							

<i>ədunə</i>	<i>hukumdo</i>						
ə	-tu	-nə	hukum	-tu			
ATT	-ddet	-INST	command	-DDET			
then			the command				
'...it turned out that my servant was unhappy and so (I gave) the command...'							

An adversative relationship between two clauses is signalled through the suffixation of the adversative marker *-pu* to the determiner *ədu*.

(22) g. <i>khəṇdedə</i>	<i>ədubu</i>			<i>məkha</i>			
khəṇ	-tə	-e	-tə	ə	-tu	-pu	mə
know	-LOC	-ASRT	-CTE	ATT	-ddet	-ADVR	NM
happen	not to know			but			southern

<i>dukangi</i>	<i>əduwaydə</i>	<i>láy</i>
dukan -ki	ə -tu -way	-tə ləy -í
shop -GEN ATT -ddet	-thereabouts	-LOC be -NHYP
of the shop	around there somewhere	is

<i>háybra</i>	<i>kəri</i>
háy -pə	-lə kəri -no
say -NOM	-INT what -INQ
what is said	what is it

'It happens that the exact place is not known by your mother but according to what I've heard, it is somewhere around the southern shop.'

h. <i>hátpə</i>	<i>tərammí</i>	<i>ədubu</i>
hát -pə	ta -ləm -í	ə -tu -pu
kill -NOM	fall -EVD -NHYP	ATT -ddet -ADVR
to kill	fallen	but

<i>hátle</i>
hát -tə -e
kill -NEG -ASRT
did not kill

'I was supposed to kill (it) but I didn't.'

## Chapter 7

### Affixal morphology

Chapters 7 and 8 describe the morphology of Meithei. Chapter 7 describes the derivational and inflectional morphology of verbs and nouns. Chapter 8 describes compounding and patterns of lexical collocations where rhyming words are juxtaposed. Chapter 7 is divided into three sections: 7.1 describes verb morphology, 7.2 noun morphology and 7.3 cliticization.

#### 7.1 The verb morphology

A Meithei verb must minimally consist of a verb root and an inflectional suffix (chosen out of a set of illocutionary mood markers which make up the sole inflectional category in the verb). A verb may further be followed by one of the enclitics described in section 7.3.

Three derivational categories may optionally precede the final inflectional suffix:<sup>64</sup> the first level derivational suffixes which signal adverbial meanings; the second level derivational suffixes which indicate evidentiality, the deictic reference of a verb, or the number of persons an action is performed by; and the third level derivational suffixes which signal aspect and mood.

These three levels of derivational morphology are determined by the distribution and ordering of morphemes within each category. With first level derivational suffixes, only one suffix may appear in a verb and this suffix must occur directly to the left of the verb root. Up to ten second level derivational suffixes may occur in a verb; these suffixes must occur directly after the first level derivational suffixes. The order of suffixes at this level is controlled solely by scope. Opposed to this, the order of third level derivational suffixes (there may be up to 3 of these and they occur directly after second level derivational suffixes), is fixed and not controlled by scope.

The Meithei verb can be derived through the word structure rules given in Table 1 and has the structure given in Figure 1.<sup>65</sup> The subscripts in (g) refer to grammatical categories discussed in section 7.1.2. Possible terminal elements of each derivational and inflectional category are described in section 7.1.1 to 7.1.3.