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

háybrə   kərino
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. hátpə   tarəmmí   ədubu
   hát   -pə   ta -ləm -í   ə   -tu   -pu
   kill -NOM   fall -EVD -NHYP ATT -ddet -ADVR
   to kill   fallen   but

hátle
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:[64] 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.[65] 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.

Table 1. List of word structure rules for verbs

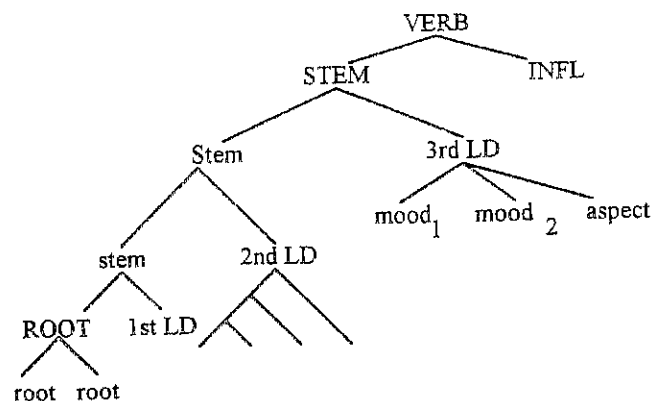|		
a.	Verb	→ STEM INFL
b.	STEM	→ Stem (3rd LD)
c.	Stem	→ stem (2nd LD)
d.	stem	→ ROOT (1st LD)
e.	ROOT	→ root (root)
f.	3rd LD	→ (mood 1) (mood 2) (aspect)
g.	2nd LD	→ $(2ndLD_1)$, $(2ndLD_2)$, $(2ndLD_3)$...
h.	1st LD	→ 1stLD

Figure 1. Structure of the Meithei verb

Three criteria are used to distinguish derivational and inflectional morphology in Meithei. It is argued that inflectional morphology is more productive than derivational morphology; that in the linear order inflectional morphology occurs further out from the root than derivational morphology; that the morphophonology of inflectional morphology is more general than that of derivational morphology. Each of these criteria are discussed below.

Inflectional morphology is more productive than derivational morphology. First, inflectional morphology is "paradigmatic", in the sense meant by Aronoff

(1976: 2). That is, every Meithei verb exhibits a paradigm with each of the inflectional markers as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Partial inflectional paradigm of the verbs *cá* 'eat' and *tum* 'sleep'

inflectional affix		verb	
		čá-	'eat'
-í	'nonhypothetical'	*čáy*	'eats'
-u	'imperative'	*čáw*	'eat!'
-ke	'optative'	*čáge*	'would like to eat'
		tum-	'sleep'
-í	'nonhypothetical'	*tummí*	'sleeps'
-u	'imperative'	*tummu*	'sleep!'
-ke	'optative'	*tumge*	'would like to sleep'

This is not the case with derivational morphology: as described in the section 7.1.1 to 7.1.3, there are selectional restrictions on the verb roots that derivational morphemes can be affixed to. The characterization of inflectional morphology as productive is correct if we consider the productivity of the category as a whole. Of course, certain inflectional paradigms may be "defective" (Aronoff 1976: 2), so that a particular inflectional morpheme may be unproductive whereas the category it belongs to is productive. For example, the following English data evidently argue against productivity as a defining characteristic of inflection: the inflectional plural suffix *-en* in *oxen* is unproductive (does not occur with all nouns), whereas the derivational agentive suffix *-er* as in *baker* is highly productive. This does not mean that the category of plural is not fully productive in English. We know that it is, since nearly all singular nouns have a plural equivalent, but not all verbs can form a noun with *-er*.

In Meithei, the formal productivity of inflectional morphology is complemented by its semantic productivity: the meanings signalled by the inflectional morphology are regular, easier to predict than the meanings signalled by the derivational morphemes which are often idiosyncratic.

It is generally also expected (Greenberg 1966) that derivational morphology occurs encompassed within inflectional morphology, so that derivational morphology occurs closer to the root than inflectional morphology. Corresponding to this in Meithei, the three categories which occur closest to the root have been called derivational, and the fourth category farther out from the root, inflectional.

Finally, it has been noted that the phonology closer to the root (the phonology of derivational morphology) is less regular than the phonology further out from the root (the phonology of inflectional morphology) (Sapir 1921). More specifically, it has been observed that the phonological rules which apply on derivational morphology have a more restricted environment of application than phonological rules that apply on the inflectional morphology (Kiparsky 1982). This is certainly true in Meithei where the categories of first, second and third level derivational suffixes undergo lexical phonological rules and the affixes in the inflectional category undergo only post-lexical rules (see Chapter 2 for details).

It has been noted that derivational morphology has a tendency to consist of borrowed or lexicalized forms (Bybee 1985). In Meithei, suffixes from first, second and third level derivation have a diachronic relationship with a stem in the language; that is, the suffix has been derived from the stem (see the right hand column in Table 3). In this process of grammaticalization, the stem loses its stem tone and the vowel of the stem may appear as ə.

All first level derivational suffixes are transparently related to stems; out of the 16 second level derivational suffixes, 10 are related to stems, and out of 7 third level derivational suffixes, 3 are related to stems. Thus there is a cline, where morphemes closer to the root are historically grammaticalized forms; farther from the root there are fewer morphemes which are transparently lexicalized equivalents of stems; and in the inflectional morphology there are no morphemes derived from stems.

The distinction between inflectional and derivational morphology is possible and useful in describing the Meithei verb.[66] Note, however, that derivational morphology, defined as category changing morphology, is useful in characterizing only a subset of all derivational morphemes. The category changing morphemes are: the nominalizers -pə (see section 6.1), mə- and khu- (see section 4.1.3), which derive nouns from verbs, and -nə which derives adverbs from verbs (see section 3.3.2.2).

7.1.1 First level derivation

The first level derivational category consists of 8 suffixes; as mentioned above, a verb may be affixed by only one of these suffixes and this suffix must occur directly after the root. Suffixes of the first level derivational category fall into two semantic classes: those which describe to what extent an agent or actor desires/intends to affect some object and those which describe the direction and manner in which an action is performed. The first semantic class consists

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of four markers: -khay 'totally affect', -thət 'partially affect', -thek 'affect with pressure', -hət 'affect with undue psychological or physical influence'.

Table 3. First and second level derivational suffixes and related roots

First level derivational suffixes			
-khay	'totally affect'	kháy-	'cut with a knife'
-thət	'partially affect'	thə́t-	'break by pulling, to pluck'
-thek	'affect with pressure'	thə́k-	'break with the hands'
-hət	'affect with undue psychological/physical influence'	hə́t-	'kill'
-sin	'V inward'	sin-	'be in'
-thok	'V outward'	thók-	'be out'
-thə	'V downward'	thə-	'be down'
-khət	'V upward'	khət-	'be up'
Second level derivational suffixes			
-min	'comitative'	mín-	'be together'
-pi	'V to or for someone other than self'	pí-	'give'
-čə	'V for sake of self'	sá-	'body'
-hən	'causative'	hán-	'advance/push ahead'
-niŋ	'desire to V'	níŋ-	'dream, wish'
-mən	'V in excess'	man-	'greedy'
-kən	'V repeatedly, habitually	kən-	'save'
-həw	'inceptive'	hə́w-	'begin, grow'
-ləm	'indirect evidence'	lə́m-	'path'
-lək	'distal'	lak-	'come'

The suffix -khay 'totally affect' signifies an action that completely destroys the integrity of an object.

(1) a. phə́klə́ŋ   əsi   sóydənə
       phə́k -lə́ŋ ə -si   sóy -tə   -nə
       reed mat -thatch ATT -pdet   sure -NEG -ADV
       this wall   certainly

čékhayrəkkəni
čék -khay -lək -kə -ni
crack -TOTAF -DISTAL -POT -COP
will crack up
'This wall will surely crack (at some point, due to faulty construction).'

b. məŋoŋdə məčindu sémmu háyrəmlə́gə
mə -ŋoŋ -tə məčin -tu sém -u háy -ləm -ləgə
3P -to -LOC machine -DDET repair -IMP say -EVD -AFTER
to him the machine repair even though said

mánə loynə phúgayrəmle
má -nə loy -nə phú -khay -ləm -lə -e
he -CNTR all -ADV beat -TOTAF -EVD -PERF -ASRT
he all destroyed
'I told him to repair the machine instead of destroying it.'

When the action is performed willfully, the use of this marker signifies malicious or deadly intent on the part of the actor or agent. Thus compare (1c) with (1d) and (1e) with (1f).

(1) c. phúbə
phú -pə
beat -NOM
'to beat'

d. phúgaybə
phú -khay -pə
beat -TOTAF -NOM
'to beat till bones are broken'

e. ləŋbə
ləŋ -pə
throw -NOM
'to throw'

f. ləŋkhaybə
ləŋ -khay -pə
throw -TOTAF -NOM
'to throw out (with intent to harm)'

-thət signifies an action that partially affects an object by piercing, tearing or breaking off a piece, or otherwise damaging its integrity. The examples given by Th. Harimohon Singh are the breaking off of an attached object like the cover of a tape recorder or tearing off of the sole of a shoe. See also (1g,h).

(1) g. əygi layrik phə́ktətpə
əy -ki layrik phə́k -thət -pə
I -GEN book tear -PARTAF -NOM
my book tear apart

mía. məsə́k khəŋle
mí -tu mə -sə́k khəŋ -lə -e
men -DDET 3P -face know -PERF -ASRT
that man his face know
'I discovered the man who tore up my book.'

h. phidu nəŋnə thindətpə yároy
phi -tu nəŋ -nə thin -thət -pə yá -loy
cloth -DDET you -CNTR pierce -PARTAF -NOM agree -NPOT
that cloth you pierce through cannot
'You cannot go through the cloth (with a pointed object like a needle).'

The suffix -thek signifies an action that disturbs the integrity of an object/being by exerting pressure on the object/being that is being destroyed or ravaged.

(1) i. ŋərəŋgi nóŋnúŋsittunə učék
ŋərəŋ -ki nóŋ -núŋ -sit -tu -nə učék
yesterday -GEN rain -in -blow -DDET -INST bird
yesterday's by that storm bird

yamnə phúdek pírəmle
yam -nə phú -thek pí -ləm -lə -e
much -ADV beat -PRESAF give -EVD -PERF -ASRT
very beaten were given
'In yesterday's storm many birds were given a beating.'

j. thóŋsi kənano phə́ktek?ibəno
thóŋ -si kəna -no phə́k -thek -li -pə -no
door -PDET who -INQ tear -PRESAF -PROG -NOM -INQ
this door who is it who has torn down
'Who is it that had torn down this door?'

The suffix -hət 'to make a killing at V', (derived from hát- 'kill', similar to the idiomatic use of kill in English), is used to signify an action that is accomplished through exerting undue or intense physical or psychological influence over someone.

(1) k. *lawhətpə*
    law   -hət   -pə
    shout -INFLAF -NOM
    'to   shout down'

    l. *əynə*   *kənabusu*   *tuhətpə*
    əy -nə   kəna -pu -su   tu -hət   -pə
    I   -CNTR who -PAT -ALSO fall -INFLAF -NOM
    I   anybody   torture

    pamde
    pam -tə   -e
    like -NEG -ASRT
    do not like
    'I do not like to torture anybody.'

    m. *thəmbálgi*   *ləynəmnə*   *mípum*
    thém -pál -ki   ləy -nəm -nə   mí   -pum
    place -flower -GEN flower -smell -ADV man   -all
    of the lotus   flowery smell   all men

    n. *khudiŋməkpu*   *sumhətpə*   *nəmmí*
    khudiŋ -mək -pu   sum -hət -pə   nəm -í
    each -EACH -PAT   thus -INFLAF -NOM smell -NHYP
    each and every one   totally   has had a smell
    'The smell of lotus charmed everyone.'

    o. *mági*   *məmáydu*   *nuŋsanə*
    má -ki   mə -máy -tu   nuŋ -sa   -nə
    3P -GEN 3P -face -DDET sun -hot   -INST
    his   that face   by the heat of the sun

    káhətpə   *malle*
    ká -hət -pə   mal -lə   -e
    roast -INFLAF -NOM seem -PERF -ASRT
    to be burnt   it seemed
    'His face seems to have been sunburned.'

The second subcategory of the first level derivational suffixes consists of four suffixes that when used with motion verbs signify the direction in which an action is done. These are *-sin* 'V in an inward motion', *-thok* 'V in an outward motion, *-thə* '‚ in a downward motion', and *-khət* 'V in an upward motion'. The use of *-sin* is illustrated in (1p).

(1) p. *məhákmə*   *layrik*   *pusilli*
    mə -hák -nə   layrik   pu -sin -í
    3P -here -CNTR book   bring -IN -NHYP
    he   book   bring in
    'He carried the book in.'

By metaphoric extension *-sin* may signify that the action performed in conjunction with others as in (1q), where an entity gets "in" on an action being performed by a group of people.

(1) q. *kápsinbə*
    kə́p -sin -pə
    cry -IN -NOM
    'join others in weeping'

The use of *-thok* 'V in an outward motion' is illustrated in (1r). As illustrated in (1s,t), *-thok* may be used idiomatically to mean 'to V carelessly, to V with abandon'.

(1) r. *əynə*   *inkholdəgi*   *yén* *tanthokʔí*
    əy -nə   inkhon -təgi   yén tan -thok -í
    I   -CNTR garden -ABL   hen drive -OUT -NHYP
    I   from the garden hen drove out
    'I drove away the hen from the garden.'

    s. *thandokpə*
    than -thok -pə
    light -OUT -NOM
    'to light more lamps than necessary'

    t. *kápthokpə*
    kə́p -thok -pə
    cry -OUT -NOM
    'to weep openly'

The use of *-thə* 'V in a downward motion' is illustrated in (1u).

(1) u. *onthəkhrədəwni*
    on   -thə   -khi   -lə   -təw   -ni
    turn -DOWN -STILL   -PRO   -OBLG -COP
    '(Had the road been a little narrower, we) were going to fall down (the hill).'

The use of *-khət* 'V in an upward motion' is illustrated in (1v) and in (1w) where it is used metaphorically to mean 'grow, get bigger'.

(1) v. *núŋsít*   *sítləkpədə*   *ləsiŋ*
    núŋ -sít   sít -lək   -pə   -tə   ləsiŋ
    in   -blow blow -DISTAL -NOM -LOC cotton
    wind   when it blew   cotton

    pumnəmək   *paykhətləmmí*
    pum -nə   -mək   pay -khət   -ləm   -í
    all   -ADV -EACH   fly   -UP   -EVD   -NHYP
    absolutely   all flew up
    'When the wind came, all the cotton flew up.'

    w. *čawkhətkədəwribəni*
    čaw -khət   -kə   -təw -li   -pə   -ni
    big -UP   -POT   -OBLG -PROG -NOM -COP
    '(Their character) will have developed.'

Bhat and Ningomba (1986b: 5) point to semantic restrictions on the use of directional markers. Directional suffixes cannot be used with verbs such as *eat*, *cry*, or *die*, with which it is either odd or impossible to specify the direction of action. Verbs that inherently refer to a particular direction of action such as *thá-* 'plant', which occurs with an inward/downward movement, can occur with the suffix *-sin* 'in' but not with the suffix *-thok* 'out'. Similarly, *phoy-* 'uproot by hand' can occur with the suffix *-thok* 'out' but cannot suffix *-sin* 'in'. Finally, verbs that do not inherently imply some direction of action, such as *jump* or *fly*, can refer to an action that is performed in an upward, downward, inward or outward direction and thus may occur with any directional suffix.

As illustrated in (1x-z), the suffixes *-thok*, *-khət* and *-thə* have an extended aspectual reading. As seen in (1x), *-thok* is used to mean 'to V with abandon, completely V, finish Ving'; as seen in (1y) *-khət* signifies 'to begin to V' and in (1z) *-thə* means 'to continue to V'.

(1) x. *čáthʊˌkhəre*
    čá -thok -khi -lə   -e
    eat -OUT -STILL -PERF -ASRT
    'ate up all (of it)'

    y. *pakhətlo*
    pa   -khət -lə   -o
    read -UP   -PRO -SOLCT
    'start reading (read ahead)'

    z. *ŋaythəbə*
    ŋay -thə   -pə
    wait -DOWN -NOM
    'continue to wait'

7.1.2 Second level derivation

The second level derivational suffixes consist of 19 morphemes which belong to one of 10 categories listed in Table 4.

Table 4. Second level derivational suffixes

Category 1:	*-min*	'comitative'
	-nə	'reciprocal'
Category 2:	*-pi*	'V for someone other than self'
	-čə	'V for sake of self'
Category 3:	*-hən*	'causative'
Category 4:	*-niŋ*	'wish to V'
Category 5:	*-mən*	'V to excess'
	-kən	'V habitually, repeatedly'
Category 6:	*-həw*	'V in the nick of time'
	-khi	'V ahead or behind expected time'
Category 7:	*-ləm*	'indirect evidence'
Category 8:	Directionals:	
	-lə	'proximal'
	-lək	'distal'
	-lu	'action away from speaker'
Category 9:	*-tə*	'negative'
Category 10:	*-lə*	'prospective aspect'

These semantically defined categories predict co-occurrence restrictions between members of the same category since morphemes that signal analogous meanings never co-occur. For example, a verb will never be suffixed by two markers from the 'direction' category: if a verb is marked by *-lə* 'proximal' (which indicates that an action takes place near the speaker), it would be semantically anomalous for that same verb to be marked by *-lək* 'distal' (which indicates that an action was performed at a distance from the speaker).

The order of categories given in Table 4 is the most common orders in which the markers appear in the stem. Indeed, these numbered positions do not represent position classes since the order of second level derivational suffixes is free.

In sections 7.1.2.1 to 7.1.2.10 each of the second level derivational suffixes morphemes is described.

7.1.2.1 Category 1: Reciprocal and comitative

Category 1 consists of *-min* 'comitative' which indicates that actors or agents perform the same action at the same time in a group and of *-nə* 'reciprocal' which indicates that two or more people are doing some action in conjunction with each other or one person is joining in to perform an action with another.[67] For example, compare (2a) with (2b).

(2) a. *khəŋnə́y*
    khəŋ -nə   -í
    know -RECIP -NHYP
    'know each other'

   b. *tumminŋəydə*
    tum -min   -ŋəy   -tə
    sleep -TOGETHER -DURING -LOC
    'when sleeping together'

Collective verbs, which encode activities that are typically performed in conjunction with at least one other person, are formed from the combination of a lexical base and the reciprocal suffix.

(2) c. *čá-*   'eat'   *čánə-*   'feast'
    čát-   'go'   *čátnə-*   'culturally customary'
    theŋ- 'touch'   *theŋnə-* 'meet'
    san-   'canter' *sannə-*   'play'

The reciprocal marker may be used in a sentence with *-sen* 'self' to provide a distributive reading to the sentence:

(2) d. *məkhoy   məsen   pəysa   pínərəmmí*
    mə   -khoy mə -sen pəysa pí -nə   -ləm   -í
    3P   -hpl   3P -self money give -RECIP -EVD -NHYP
    they   themself money gave each other
    'They each gave money to the other.'

7.1.2.2 Category 2: V for the sake of self/other

-pi signifies that an action is performed to or for someone other than the actor or agent. This action may be advantageous, as in (3a), or detrimental, as in (3b), to the recipient of the action.

(3) a. *yeŋsinbirəbədi*
    yeŋ -sin -pi   -lə   -pə   -ti
    look -IN -REC -PRO -NOM -DLMT
    'If the (parents) look into these things (for the children's sake)...'

   b. *nəŋnə   mábu   yamnə*
    nəŋ -nə   má   -pu   yam -nə
    you -CNTR   he   -PAT lot   -ADV
    you   him   much

    čəyhətpire
    čəy -hət   -pi   -lə   -e
    beat -INFLAF -REC -PERF -ASRT
    abused
    'You gave him a lot of abuse.'

As indicated in Table 3, *-pi* is derived from the verb *pí-* 'give'. Matisoff (1989: 40–45) reports that 'give' undergoes a common grammaticalization process in Tibeto-Burman languages such as Lahu to form a benefactive or causative marker.[68] In Meithei, the lexicalized meaning for *-pi* falls somewhere between a benefactive (since the action performed may be detrimental and not beneficial to the recipient) and a causative (since the actor causes something to happen to the recipient).[69]

The suffix *-čə* indicates that an action is performed for the sake of the actor or agent.

(3) c. *nəŋ thə́bə́k təwriŋəydə*

nəŋ	thə́bə́k	təw	-li	-ŋəy	-tə
you	work	do	-PROG	-DURING	-LOC
you	work	at the time of doing			

tumjənunu

tum	-čə	-lu	-nu
sleep	-SELF	-PRO	-PROBH
don't sleep			

'(For your own sake) don't go to sleep while you are on duty.'

-čə works secondarily as an emphatic reflexive marker in the sense that the action is performed with no initiation other than the initiative of the actors, as in (3d) where a group of children relate that they have performed a required action without parental guidance.

(3) d. *čásənminnəjərəkkhí*

čá	-sin	-min	-nə	-čə	-lək	-khi	-í
eat	-IN	-TOGETHER	-RECIP	-SELF	-DISTAL	-STILL	-NHYP

'We ate up by ourselves when we were over there.'

There are a number of verbs which are frozen forms containing the suffix *-čə*. A few examples are given in (3e).

(3) e.

thá	'give up, send'	*thájə-*	'believe'
čá-	'eat'	*čájə-*	'serve food'
phə́-	'be good'	*phə́jə-*	'be beautiful'
pírəge	'like to give'	*píjərəge*	'like to serve food'
hə́ŋ-	'ask'	*həŋjə-*	'self doubt'
si-	'die'	*sijə-*	'commit suicide'

It is clear that these are lexicalized forms since they can be further suffixed by *-čə* 'self'.

(3) f. *čájəhənjələmləge*

čájə	-hən	-čə	-ləm	-lə	-ke
serve food	-CAUS	-SELF	-EVD	-PRO	-OPT

'(I) am going to serve (him) food myself.'

(3) g.

əŋáŋsı   čawrə́gə   məsánə

ə	-ŋáŋ	-si	čaw	-lə́gə	mə	-sá	-nə
ATT	-child	-PDET	big	-AFTER	3P	-body	-CNTR
this child			after growing big		her face		

phə́zəjərəkkəni

phə́jə	-čə	-lək	-kə	-ni
beauty	-SELF	-DISTAL	-POT	-COP
will become beautiful				

'When this one grows up she will be beautiful.'

7.1.2.3 Category 3: Causative

The causative marker *-hən* indicates that some action is initiated by one person and carried out by another. Thus compare (4a) and (4b).

(4) a. *təwbəni*

təw	-pə	-ni
do	-NOM	-COP
'(We) did the work.'		

b. *təwhənbəni*

təw	-hən	-pə	-ni
do	-CAUS	-NOM	-COP
'(We) caused the work to be done.'			

As discussed in section 7.1.4, the scope of the causative marker is determined by its position.

7.1.2.4 Category 4: Desire to V

-niŋ 'wish' indicates a desire on the part of the speaker to have performed some action either at some past instance or in the future.

(5)

əynə   tóŋsi   lónniŋŋí

əy	-nə	tóŋ	-si	lón	-niŋ	-í
I	-CNTR	lock	-PDET	lock	-wish	-NHYP
I		this lock		wish to lock		

'I wish to lock this door.'

7.1.2.5 Category 5: Speaker's attitude towards what extent V is performed

The suffix *-mən* 'in excess' describes an action that is performed to excess.

(6) a. *əy čák čáməlle*
ə̯y čák čá -məl -lə -e
I rice eat -EXCESS -PERF -ASRT
I rice eaten too much
'I've eaten too much rice.'

The suffix *-kən* indicates that an action is performed repeatedly where such repetition is not called for (see (6b)). As seen in (6c), the suffix may also indicate habitual action.

(6) b. *nókkənbə*
nók -kən -pə
laugh -REPEAT -NOM
'someone who laughs all the time whether or not there is a joke, laughs as a habit.'

(6) c. *əydi   yamnə   pígənbə   míni*
əy -ti   yam -nə   pí -kən   -pə   mí -ni
I -DLMT   lot -ADV   give -REPEAT   -NOM   man -COP
I   a lot   always giving   man am
'I am a very generous man.'

7.1.2.6 Category 6: Speaker's attitude towards time taken to perform V

The root *həw-* 'start' is used as the inceptive suffix *-həw*.[70] The use of *-həw* implies that there is a limited window of opportunity within which the action may have been/ may be initiated. Thus in (7a), the speaker is unable to begin eating at the required time.

(7) a. *məkhoy   məyamnə   čábədə   əydi*
mə -khoy   mə -yam   -nə   čá -pə   -tə   əy   -ti
3P -hpl   3P -much   -ADV   eat -NOM   -LOC   I   -DLMT
they   all of them   at eating   I

čáhəwdre
čá -həw -tə -lə -e
eat -START -NEG -PERF -ASRT
did not begin to eat
'I didn't get to eat when they were all eating.'

When an action is succesfully carried out within the window of opportunity, the meaning 'having initiated Ving successfully' or 'having managed to V' is obtained.

(7) b. *thúgayhəwrə́bəni*
thú -khay -həw -lə́bə -ni
break -TOTAF -START -HAVING -COP
'It is a good thing that it was broken (when it was).'

(7) c. *əynə   phəŋhəwribədudi*
əy -nə   phəŋ -həw   -li   -pədu   -ti
I -CNTR   get -START   -PROG -DCOMP -DLMT
I   managed to get
'the one that I (managed to) have...'

When the action is to be carried out in the future, it signifies the suitability or desirability of doing the action. For example in (7d), which is an indirect command, the use of *-həw* is an encouragement to initiate the action at a propitious moment.

(7) d. *nəhák   čák   čáhəwdəko*
nə -hák   čák   čá -həw   -tə   -ko
2P -here   rice   eat -START -NES -TAG
you   food   must start to eat, O.K.
'You must eat (now), all right?'

-khi 'still, already, yet' indicates the speaker's attitude or expectation about the time frame within which an action is performed or a state is attained. Thus the speaker can indicate that an action continues to be performed past the expected state ('still Ving, continue Ving'), completed before the expected state ('already Ved') or not begun at the appropriate time ('is yet to V'). Exactly which of these meanings is signalled by *-khi* is determined by the tense of a sentence.

When the sentence is in the past tense, the suffix indicates that the action was performed before the expected time as indicated by the gloss 'already Ved'. Compare (7e) and (7f).

(7) e. *məhák layriksi parəmmí*
'He read this book.'

f. *məháknə   layriksi   pakhirəmmí*

mə	-hák	-nə	layrik	-si	pa	-khi	-ləm	-í
3P	-here	-CNTR	book	-PDET	read	-STILL	-EVD	-NHYP
he			this	book	already	read		

'He has read this book already.'

Whereas (7f) implies that the speaker tried to stop the actor from reading the book but failed, (7e) does not have this implication. This reading is also obtained in the uncertain past (signalled here with the use of *-ləm* 'indirect evidence').

(7) g. *nəŋ sóydə́nə   hápkhirəmgəni*

nəŋ	sóy	-tə	-nə	háp	-khi	-ləm	-kə	-ni
you	certain	-NEG	-ADV	put	-STILL	-EVD	-POT	-COP
you	surely			already	must	have	given	

'You must surely already have given him (the money).'

When a sentence in the past tense has negative or nonpotential marking, the meaning obtained is 'not already Ved, not yet Ved, still not Ved' where the speaker expects the action to have been completed by the time of speech but it was not.[71]

(7) h. *čákhirəmdre*

čá	-khi	-ləm	-tə	-lə	-e
eat	-STILL	-EVD	-NEG	-PERF	-ASRT

'He still had not eaten.'

When the sentence has a future tense reading, the meaning signalled by the suffix is that the action, which has not been performed yet, should be performed before some other action.

(7) i. *əy   čák   čákhini*

əy	čák	čá	-khi	-ni
I	rice	eat	-STILL	-COP
I	food	will eat		

'I still have to eat.'

Similarly, with imperative sentences, *-khi* indicates that the verb should be performed before any other.

(7) j. *khərə wátli   thəwkho*

khərə	wát	-li	thəw	-khi	-o
some	lack	-PROG	drive	-STILL	-SOLCT
some	lacking		won't you still drive		

'You need to go a little further, keep driving.'

If the verb contains the nonpotential marker (the primary way of marking negation in the future tense), the meaning 'should not yet V' is obtained. As seen in (7l) the same meaning is obtained with the prohibitive marker.

(7) k. *məkhoy   laktri   pháwbə   əy*

mə	-khoy	lak	-tə	-li	pháw	-pə	əy
3P	-hpl	come	-NEG	-PROG	till	-NOM	I
they		not coming			till		I

čák   čákhiroy

čák	čá	-khi	-loy
rice	eat	-STILL	-NPOT
food	not eat yet		

'I should not eat yet, (I should wait) till they come.'

l. *nəŋ   čák   čákhinu*

nəŋ	čák	čá	-khi	-nu
you	rice	eat	-STILL	-PROBH
you	rice	don't yet eat		

'Don't eat yet (wait till I get home).'

In a sentence with a present tense reading, *-khi* indicates 'still Ving' where the speaker expects or wishes that the action has ended or is surprised that it continues.[72]

(7) m. *čákhidrəne*

čá	-khi	-tə	-lə	-ne
eat	-STILL	-NES	-INT	-SI

'They're still eating, right?'

It is not possible to use *-khi* with first person actors or agents in the past tense without first setting up the temporal limits of the activity. Thus (7n,p)

are ungrammatical unless part of a narrative of what the actor did on a particular occasion as in (7o,q).

(7) n. *əy layriksi   pakhi
     əy layrik -si   pa   -khi   -í
     I   book   -PDET read   -STILL -NHYP
     I   this book   already read
     'I read the book.'

     o. əy məphə́m   əsidə   layrik pakhi
        əy mə -phə́m ə -si -tə   layrik pa   -khi   -í
        I   NM -place ATT -pdet -LOC book read   -STILL -NHYP
        I   place   that   book still read
        'I read that book (the whole time I was) at that place.'

     p. *əynə   túrendə   inuʲəkhi
        əy -nə   tú -len -tə i   -lu   -čə   -khi   -í
        I -CNTR stream -best -LOC water -bath -SELF -STILL-NHYP
        I   to the river   bathed
        'I've gone to the river to bathe.'

     q. əynə   ŋəsay   túrendə
        əy -nə   ŋəsay   tú -len   -tə
        I -CNTR   ago   stream -best -LOC
        I   while back   to river

        inuʲəkhi
        i   -lu   -čə   -khi   -í
        water -deep -SELF -STILL   -NHYP
        bathed
        'I went to the river to bathe some time ago.'

Since -khi does not deal with the internal temporal constituency of a situation, I do not consider it to be an aspect marker. Although it does not signal the usual types of meanings expected from deontic or epistemic mood markers, it does fall under the realm of epistemic modality in that the speaker must believe that the stated action has or will occur before being able to comment on its timeliness. This is reflected in translations given by native speakers like 'certainly will V/should V' for sentences with -khi in the future tense. In the past tense, -khi is used when the speaker has some visual or auditory evidence to support the proposition. Thus compare (7r) and (7s).

(7) r. čákhre[73]
        čá   -khi   -lə   -e
        eat -STILL -PERF -ASRT
        'It could be seen that he had already eaten.'

     s. čáre
        čá   -lə   -e
        eat -PERF -ASRT
        '(He told me he) has eaten.'

-khi may also be considered to signal deontic mood since the speaker is signalling a desire that the world conform to his/her word.

7.1.2.7 Category 7: Indirect evidence

-ləm 'indirect evidence' indicates that the speaker has indirect evidence, knowledge gained through inference based on indisputable external data, to support the truth of a proposition. For example, in (8a,b) the speaker has/sees evidence that the relevant action has occurred. The speaker is not an eyewitness to the actual action but only to the result, conclusion or final stages of the action.

(8) a. əynə   čə́tkhibədə   má čák čárəmni
        əy -nə   čə́t -khi   -pə   -tə   má čák čá -ləm   -li
        I -CNTR go -STILL -NOM -LOC   he rice eat -EVD -PROG
        I   upon going   he food eating
        'When I arrived there he was obviously eating dinner.'

     b. məhák   čárəmkhre
        mə   -hák   čá -ləm -khi   -lə   -e
        3P   -here eat -EVD -STILL -PERF   -ASRT
        he   already eaten
        'He has obviously eaten already.'

-ləm can be used to oppose the speaker's knowledge, which is based on evidence no longer available, with the hearer's ignorance concerning the content of the proposition.

(8) c. *mətəm   əmədə   məhák   yamnə*

mətəm	ə	-mə	-tə	mə -hák	yam	-nə
time	ATT	-one	-LOC	3P -here	lot	-ADV
time	at one			she	much	

pházərəmmí

pházə	-ləm	-í
pretty	-EVD	-NHYP
was beautiful		

'(You can't see it but) Once upon a time she was very beautiful.'

With present and future tense, the speaker infers that the action/situation in the verb must be or will come into being. This inference is based on past experience that allows the speaker to predict a trend in behavior.

(8) d. *mənekhoydə*   *čátkhibədu*

mə	-ne	-khoy	-tə	čət	-khi	-pədu
3P	-paternal aunt	-hpl	-LOC	go	-STILL	-DCOMP
at aunt's and their place				when goes will cause to eat		

čáhəlləmgəni

čá	-həl	-ləm	-kə	-ni
eat	-CAUS	-EVD	-POT	-COP
will cause to eat				

'On going to her aunt's house (she) is forced to eat.'

-ləm may appear with first person actors or agents in past or present tense where it indicates that whereas the speaker has evidence about the truth of a proposition, the hearer does not. That is, the speaker directly experiences the action but evidence of the action is not present at the time of speech. Sentences with a first person actors, agents or themes and *-ləm* marking in the verb are common in personal narratives. Tony Woodbury (p.c.) has pointed out that this use of the indirect marker is reminiscent of 'perspective' questions in Sherpa where the speaker takes the perspective of the hearer in order to establish empathy with the hearer. Under such an interpretation, (8e) is acceptable. However, if the speaker is not taking the perspective of the hearer, (8e) would be ungrammatical since it would be anomalous for a speaker to claim indirect evidence for an action and at the same time be a participant in that action.

(8) e. *əy   čák   čárəmme*

əy	čák	čá	-ləm	-lə	-e
I	rice	eat	-EVD	-PERF	-ASRT
I	food	have eaten			

'I have eaten.'

In a sentence with a first person actor, agent or theme in the future tense, the speaker predicts the performance of an action or attainment of state. These predictions are inferences of the speaker based on currently available information. The hearer does not now, and will not in the future, see evidence of the action. Thus in (8f) the speaker predicts that the hearer will arrive after the initiation of the action and will not be a direct witness to it.

(8) f. *əy   čák   čárəmgəni*

əy	čák	čá	-ləm	-kə	-ni
I	rice	eat	-EVD	-POT	-COP
I	food	will eat			

'I will be eating (when you come to see me).'

In combinations of *-ləm* with *-u* 'imperative' or *-hən* 'causative', the person giving the command expects the order to be carried out when he or she is not present. So in (8g), the speaker will not see the action being performed.

(8) g. *əpəl   čárəmmu*

əpəl	čá	-ləm	-u
apple	eat	-EVD	-IMP
apple	eat		

'Eat this apple (when I have gone).'

h. *nəŋ əy   laktríbə*   *ŋayrəmmu*

nəŋ əy	lak	-tə	-li	-pə	ŋay	-ləm	-u
you I	come	-NEG	-PROG	-NOM	wait	-EVD	-IMP
you I	haven't yet come				wait		

'Wait till I come.'

In (8i), the speaker is the instigator of an action, the result of which is seen by both the speaker and hearer (becuase there is a man lying on the ground).

(8) i. *mábu   əynə   sənnə*

má	-pu	əy	-nə	sən		-nə
he	-PAT	I	-AGN	cow		-CNTR
him		I		the cow		

wayhənləmme

way	-hən	-ləm	-lə		-e
gore	-CAUS	-EVD	-PERF		-ASRT
caused to gore					

'I ordered the cow to gore him.'

-ləm has been analyzed as a marker of direction or sequentiality (Pettigrew 1912). It is true that directionality is implied by *-ləm* since it indicates that the speaker arrives at the scene of the action (by moving towards it) after it has been initiated. A similar relationship between deixis and evidentiality is described by Silverstein (1978: 241) in Wasco-Wishram, where the marker that derives noun phrases of adverbial value (e.g. 'outside' from 'out') and locates actions with respect to a place (e.g. 'to go down into') develops into the marker of the 'passive of evidence' construction (e.g. 'As can be surmised based on evidence, X has been Ved'). Silverstein believes that "the passives of evidence originally entered Wasco-Wishram idiomatic speech as forms pointing out where such-and-such an action took place, as a conversational equivalent to referring to the evidence for that action." A similar scenario might be sketched for Meithei where a directional suffix *-ləm* with a neutral directional meaning acquires an added evidential reading.[74]

Since *-ləm* indicates that the initiation of an action is complete at the time when the speaker becomes cognizant of the action, it is commonly used for the narration of past events. For this reason it is often analyzed as a past tense marker (Bhat and Ningomba 1986a: 4), a perfect marker (S. Gourababu Singh 1988: 22) or a perfective marker (N. Nonigopal Singh 1987: 165). As has been discussed above, however, *-ləm* may also be used with future tense. Furthermore, a simple aspect label for *-ləm* would lead one to believe that no additional pragmatic information is provided by it, which would certainly be a misleading characterization of *-ləm*.

7.1.2.8 Category 8: Directionals

Three markers indicate the position of an entity with regard to the position of the speaker. The proximal marker *-lə* indicates that the entity performs an action at the place of the speech event.

(9) a. *mánə   núŋtigi   əygidə*

má	-nə	núŋti	-ki	əy		-ki	-tə
he	-CNTR	day	-GEN	I		-GEN	-LOC
he		everyday[75]		to my place			

laktúnə   čák čárəri

lak	-túnə	čák	čá	-lə		-li	-í
come	-ING	food	eat	-TDIR		-PROG	-NHYP
coming		food	eats here				

'He comes here everyday to my place and eats.'

The distal marker *-lək* (derived from the verb *lak* 'go') indicates that an action takes place (as in (9b)) or is initiated at some location other than where the speech event occurs (as in (9c)).

(9) b. *mánə   apəl   čárəkʔi*

má	-nə	apəl	čá	-lək	-í
3P	-CNTR	apple	eat	-DISTAL	-NHYP
he		apple	ate		

'He ate an apple over there.'

c. *mánə   apəl   čárəkʔi*

má	-nə	apəl	čá	-lək	-li
3P	-CNTR	apple	eat	-DISTAL	-PROG
he		apple	came eating		

'When he came here he was eating an apple.'

While *-lək* implies that an entity performs (or is still performing) an action and then approaches the place of the speech event, *-lu* 'action away from place of speech' signifies that an entity moves away from place of the speech event to perform some action.

(9) d. *mígidə   čáttúnə   kərigi*

mí	-ki	-tə	čət	-túnə	kəri	-ki
man	-GEN	-LOC	go	-ING	what	-GEN
to the man's			going		for what reason	

čák čáruri

čák	čá	-lu	-li
rice	eat	-ADIR	-PROG
food	there to eat		

'Why do you go to his place to eat?'

e. əydi   Kəlkəta   čə́tlure
   əy -ti   Kəlkəta   čə́t -lu   -lə   -e
   I -DLMT   Calcutta   go -ADIR   -PERF -ASRT
   I   Calcutta   have gone
   '(After our last conversation), I went to Calcutta.'

As in other Tibeto-Burman languages the directional markers can signal aspectual meanings. (For a discussion of similar facts in Lahu, see Matisoff (1973b: 320), and in Jinghpaw and Burmese see DeLancey (1980: 163)). The extension of meanings of directional markers to cover aspectual oppositions follows a pattern observed for locative expressions in non-Tibeto-Burman languages as well. Comrie (1976: 106) points out that in English the motion *towards* serves as "the model for prospective meaning", so that in *I'm going to write a letter*, the speaker is moving in time towards an action that is to come about. Furthermore, Comrie argues that the motion *"from* serves as the model for perfect meaning," as in the English sentence *I have just written a letter*, where speaker is seen as physically emerging from an activity.

Similarly in Meithei, *-lə* 'proximal' indicates prospective aspect. This use of this directional marker as a marker of aspect is lexicalized in Meithei. The result is two distinct, homophonous markers *-lə* where one is the proximal marker and the other is the prospective. This is evidenced by forms such as (9f) where both markers appear.

(9) f. məkhoy   lakʔə́gə   sidə   tumlərəni
        mə -khoy lak -ləgə   si -tə   tum -lə   -lə   -ni
        3P -hpl   come -AFTER pdet -LOC sleep -PROX -PRO -COP
        they   after coming here   going to sleep here
        'After coming they are going to sleep here.'

Further discussion of the prospective marker is given in section 7.1.2.10.

The directional marker *-lək* which indicates the emergence of an entity towards the place of speech after the completion (or successful instigation) of an action implies perfect aspect. Thus (9g) implies that Chawba has completed cutting the rope.

(9) g. *Chawbənə*   *thə́wri*   *ədu*
       Chawbə   -nə   thə́w -li   ə   -tu
       Chaoba   -CNTR   oil   -string   ATT   -ddet
       Chaoba   rope   that

kə́kthətləkpəni
kə́k -thət   -lək   -pə   -ni
cut -PARTAF -DISTAL -NOM   -COP
completed cutting there
'Chaoba cut up the rope and came here.'

Meithei also signals inchoative aspect with the directional marker *-lu*. Recall that *-lu* indicates that an act has been performed away from the speech event, with the emphasis on the movement of an entity from the place where the speech event occurs to where the action occurred. This emphasis on the originating position of the entity is metaphorically extended to indicate the cause of an action. In sentences such as (9h) and (9i), the directional marker can be translated as 'developing out of V'.

(9) h. *parubədəgi*
        pa   -lu   -pə   -təgi
        read   -ADIR   -NOM   -ABL
        'from reading'

     i. *əykhoy*   *ŋáŋnərudə́nə*
        əy -khoy   ŋáŋ -nə   -lu   -tə́nə
        I -hpl   talk -RECIP -ADIR   -BY
        we   of our talking together
        '(What's) to come of our talking like this...'

The aspectual meanings signalled by directional markers are summarized in Table 5. Recall that the aspectual use of the distal marker *-lək* and *-lu* 'away from speaker' represent an extension in the meaning of the directional marker, whereas the aspectual use of *-lə* 'proximal' is presently lexicalized so that there are two distinct markers, one of which is the directional marker and the other the aspect marker.

Table 5. Aspectual oppositions signalled through directional markers

	Direction	Aspect
-lək	distal	perfect
-lu	away from speaker	inchoative
-lə	proximal	prospective

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7.1.2.9 Category 9: Negative

The negative marker -*tə* can be used to describe an action or state that was not or has not up to the time of speech been performed or realized.[76]

(10) a. *əy fotostat   təwde*
  əy fotostat   təw -tə   -e
  I photostat   do -NEG -ASRT
  I photostat   haven't made
  'I haven't made copies.'

The negative marker occurs with -*e* 'assertive' as in (10a), but never with -*i* 'nonhypothetical'. Whereas a constant situation or action that does take place is expressed with -*i* 'nonhypothetical' which refers to general or constant truths, a particular nonoccurrence of an event or state is expressed with -*e* 'assertive' which refers to particular events.

(10) b. *mənipurdə   un tade*
  Manipur -tə   un ta   -tə   -e
  Manipur -LOC   snow fall -NEG -ASRT
  in Manipur   snow does not fall
  'It hasn't snowed in Manipur.'

The past or present nonexistence of situations or states are expressed in nominalized form as in (10c) or with the independent sentential negator *nətte*.

(10) c. *Johndi   ŋá yamnə   čádəbəni*
  John -ti   ŋá yam -nə   čá   -tə   -pə   -ni
  John -DLMT fish lot -ADV   eat -NEG -NOM -COP
  John   fish much   does not eat
  'John doesn't eat a lot of fish.'

  d. *pərikhyadu   satrə   yamnə   pas*
  pərikhya -tu   satrə   yam -nə   pas
  test   -DDET student   lot -ADV pass
  the test   student   many   pass

təwbə   nətte
  təw -pə   nə -tə   -e
  do -NOM   be -NEG   -ASRT
  to do   is not
  'The people who administer these exams don't pass many people.'

A double negative construction, where both the sentential negator and the negative marker -*tə* appear, can be used to assert a fact that is contrary to what the hearer has asserted or expects to be the case.

(10) e. *məhák   Moirangdə   čáttəbə   nətte*
  mə -hák   Moirang -tə   čát -tə   -pə   nə -tə   -e
  3P -here   Moirang -LOC   go -NEG -NOM be -NEG -ASRT
  he to   Moirang   not going   is not
  'It is not the case that he isn't going to Moirang.'

7.1.2.10 Category 10: Prospective aspect -*lə*

The prospective aspect -*lə* indicates an action viewed from the point of its initiation. It can be translated as 'was/is/will be going to V.'

(11) a. *məhák   əybu   ŋaydúnə   ləyrəmməgani*
  mə -hák   əy -pu   ŋay -túnə ləy -ləm   -lə   -kə   -ni
  3P -here I -PAT   wait -ING   be   -EVD -PRO -POT -COP
  he   for me   waiting   probably is
  'He is probably going to be waiting for me.'

  b. *tumlurəbə   mətuŋdə   míyamdu*
  tum -lu   -lə   -pə   mə -tuŋ -tə   mí -yam -tu
  sleep -ADIR -PRO -NOM NM -back -LOC   man -much -DDET
  gone to sleep   later   the group of men

həwgəmnərəkkhi
  həw -khət -nə   -lək   -khi
  start -UP   -RECIP -DISTAL -STILL
  we woke up
  'We were just going to sleep when they all those men got here.'

As noted in section 7.1.2.10, the prospective marker is historically derived from the proximal marker -*lə*. The aspectual meaning of the marker is influ-

oriented towards or takes place where the speaker is situated. As described in section 9.2.2, when the prospective marker is used in the future tense, it implies that the speaker is certain that the action described in the verb is going to occur. Some speakers may to duplicate the prospective marker -lə to emphasize the certainty of Ving so that it may be used as a warning:[77]

(11) c. *má lak?əbədi*

má lak	-lə	-pə	-ti	ə	-muk
he come	-PERF	-NOM	-DLMT	ATT	-once
he at this coming				once	

amuk

sawrərərəni

saw	-lə	-lə	-lə	-ni
angry	-PROX	-PRO	-PRO	-COP
is certainly going to be angry				

'(You better watch it), when he comes here he is going to be angrier (than we are).'

d. *má lak?ə́gə*   *əykhoydə*   *čák*

má lak	-lə́gə	əy	-khoy	-tə	čák
he come	-AFTER	I	-hpl	-LOC	rice
he after coming		to us			food

čárərərəni   *háyrəmmí*

čá	-lə	-lə	-lə	-ni	háy	-ləm	-í
eat	-PROX	-PRO	-PRO	-COP	say	-EVD	-NHYP
is certainly going to eat					said		

'(You had better believe it) He told me that he was certainly going to come and eat at our house.'

7.1.3 Third level derivation

The third level derivational suffixes can be distinguished from second level ones in that they do not exhibit variable ordering. As shown in Table 6, there are 7 third level derivational suffixes markers belonging to 3 categories. There can be only one instantiation of each category and each instantiation must occur in the order specified (i.e., category 11 before category 12 and category 12 before 13). The possible combinations of mood and aspect markers are discussed in sections 7.1.3.1 to 7.1.3.3.

Table 6. Third level derivational morphemes

Category 11:		
Mood 1	-kə	'potential'
	-loy	'nonpotential'
Category 12:		
Mood 2	-tə	'necessity'
	-təw	'obligation, probability'
	-toy	'intention'
Category 13:		
Aspect	-li	'progressive'
	-lə	'perfect'

7.1.3.1 Category 11: Potential and nonpotential mood

Category 11 consists of -kə 'potential' and -loy 'nonpotential' which indicate the potential (non)occurrence of an action or attainment of state. These may occur individually as in (12a-c) or in combination with one of Category 12 markers (Category 11 must occur before Category 12).

(12) a. *súkəneye*

sít	-kə	-ne	-ye
sell	-POT	-SI	-CONFM

'Someone says that it will sell.'

b. *nóŋ čuroy*

nóŋ	ču	-loy
rain	fall	-NPOT
rain	will not fall	

'It will not rain.'

The potential marker appears with the copula -ni in the sequence -kəni to indicate future tense.

(12) c. *nóŋ čugəni*

nóŋ	ču	-kə	-ni
rain	fall	-POT	-COP
rain	will fall		

'It will rain (today).'

Future tense indicated by the sequence -kəni can be opposed to future tense indicated by the suffixation of the copula directly on a verb root. Whereas the -kəni sequence indicates the possibility for future action, the copula alone indicates that the action will certainly take place in the future.

(12) d. əy   apəl   əmə   čáni
     əy   apəl   ə   -mə   čá -ni
     I   apple   ATT -one   eat -COP
     I   apple   one   will eat
     'I will eat an apple.'

    e. əykhoy   Ukhrul čə́tkhrəni
       əy -khoy   Ukhrul čə́t -khi   -lə   -ni
       I -hpl   Ukhrul go -STILL -PRO   -COP
       we   Ukhrul will go
       'We will be going to Ukhrul.'

The potential and nonpotential mood markers may also refer to potentially realizable/unrealizable actions or states in the past. See (7g) for the use of -kəni in a sentence with past tense reading.

(12) f. Johndi   ŋá   yamnə   čároy
     John -ti   ŋá   yam -nə   čá -loy
     John -DLMT   fish lot -ADV   eat -NPOT
     John   fish much   would not eat
     'John wouldn't eat more fish (even though we begged him to).'

7.1.3.2 Category 12: Necessity, obligation and intention

Category 12 may indicate epistemic or deontic modality. -təw 'obligation, probability' (derived from təw- 'do') does double duty as an epistemic and a deontic marker. -təw indicates a strong probability that an action will take place.

(13) a. məhák   čə́ttəwre
     mə -hák   čə́t   -təw   -lə   -e
     3P -here   go   -OBLG   -PERF   -ASRT
     he   must be gone
     'He must have gone.'

It is impossible to use epistemic -təw with first person actors, agents and themes for an event that occurred in the past. This is expected since a speaker knows what he/she has done, so it would be peculiar to express this in terms of a probability. However, epistemic -təw may be used with first person actors, agent or theme to express an unrealized past event.

(13) b. onthəkhrədəwni
       on   -thə   -khi   -lə   -təw   -ni
       fall -DOWN   -STILL   -PRO   -OBLG   -COP
       '(Had the road been a little narrower, we) could have fallen down (the hill).'

-təw is deontic when it indicates an obligation on the part of an entity to perform some action.

(13) c. əy   Dili   čə́ttəwri
       əy   Dili   čə́t   -təw   -li
       I   Delhi   go   -OBLG   -PROG
       I   Delhi   should go
       'I should go to Delhi.'

-toy is a contraction of dərkar óy-. The lexical item dərkar is borrowed from Hindi dərkar 'necessary, needed' (Pathak 1946) and oy means 'be'. The full form dərkar óy- means 'have the responsibility to V'. The contracted form -toy, however, has shifted in meaning to signify an action that the actor or agent intends to perform in the immediate future.

(13) d. əygi   phidu   hánnə
       əy -ki   phi   -tu   hán   -nə
       I -GEN   cloth -DDET   first   -ADV
       for me   the cloth   first

    ləyhəwdoyniko
    ləy -həw   -toy   -ni   -ko
    buy -START   -INTEND   -COP   -TAG
    intend to buy, O.K.
    'I intend to buy some cloth for myself, O.K.?'

e. *nəŋ   kərəm   mətəmdə*   *tumdoybə́*

nəŋ	kərəm	mə	-təm	-tə	tum	-toy	háy	-pə
you	how	3P	-time	-LOC	sleep	-INTEND	say	-NOM
you	how	at time			will sleep			

'When do you say you intend to sleep?'

-toy indicates an intention of the speaker to perform some action, so it can appear with first but not second or third person actors or agents, since the speaker cannot be sure of someone else's intention.

(13) f. *əy   čák   čádoyni*

əy	čák	čá	-toy	-ni
I	rice	eat	-INTEND	-COP
I	food	will eat		

'I will eat.'

-toy can be used with second or third person themes when the marker is used to indicate encouragement or to prompt someone to fulfill their duty. In such constructions the theme must be suffixed *-su* 'also'.

(13) g. *másu   čə́ttoyni*

má	-su	čət	-toy	-ni
he	-ALSO	go	-INTEND	-COP
he also		wants to go		

'He should go.'

-toy is also utilized to make the recipient of an action seem more in control of that action. For example in (13h) the addressee is to receive a salary. The speaker questions the amount of salary to be received by asking how much the addressee intends to receive. Even though the addressee is not in control of the amount of money that is to be received, it is made to seem as if he/she is.

(13) h. *nəhák   pəysa   kəyam   phəŋdoybə́*

nə	-hák	pəysa	kəyam	phəŋ	-toy	háy	-pə
2P	-here	money	how much	find	-INTEND	say	-NOM
you		money	how much	intend to get			

'How much money did you say you will get?'

-tə 'must, necessary' is an epistemic marker indicating a certainty.

(13) i. *čákhidrəne*

čá	-khi	-tə	-lə	-ne
eat	-STILL	-NES	-INT	-SI

'I suppose he is eating.'

-tə also has a deontic use where it indicates a necessary course of action for an entity. Epistemic *-tə* is always preceded by *-kə* 'potential'.

(13) j. *nəhák   hidák   əsi*

nə	-hák	hidák	ə	-si
2P	-here	medicine	ATT	-pdet
you		medicine	this	

čágədəbəniko

čá	-kə	-tə	-pə	-ni	-ko
eat	-POT	-NES	-NOM	-COP	-TAG
must eat					

'You must take the medicine, O.K.?'

k. *nəŋ   məphə́m   əsidə*

nəŋ	mə	-phə́m	ə	-si	-tə
you	3P	-place	ATT	-pdet	-LOC
you	place		here		

tumgədəbəni

tum	-kə	-tə	-pə	-ni
sleep	-POT	-NES	-NOM	-COP
must sleep				

'You must sleep here (if our plans for the morning are to be properly carried out).'

It is impossible for a speaker to state the necessity for self to do some action (as seen in (13d)), unless this action is contrasted with the action of others.

(13) l. *əynə   dinərdu   məkhoygə*

əy	-nə	dinər	-tu	mə	-khoy	-kə
I	-CNTR	dinner	-DDET	3P	-hpl	-ASS
I		the dinner		with them		

loynənə   *čə́tkədəbəni*
loynə   -nə   čə́t -kə -tə   -pə   -ni
together -ADV   go -POT -NES -NOM   -COP
with them   must go
'I must go to the dinner with them (even if you don't).'

m. **əy čə́tkədəbəni*

7.1.3.3 Combination of Category 11 and 12 mood markers

The potential and negative potential marker *-kə* and *-loy* can be suffixed by either *-təw*, *-toy* or *-tə*. The distinction between *-təw*, *-toy* and *-tə* and *-kədəw*, *-kədoy*, *-kədə* is subtle enough that native speakers give them as variants of each other. The form with the potential marker seems to refer to a more distant future, or to a more hypothetical or possible but unrealized past, than the Category 12 marker by itself. Compare the use of *-təw* and *-kədəw* in (14a): *háygədəwni* refers to an obligation concerning a possible future event whereas *háydəwni* refers to obligation once that event has begun to take place.

(14) a. *əykhoy*   *si*   *háygədəwni*   *fas*   *step*
      əy -khoy   si   háy -kə -təw -ni   fas   step
      I -hpl   pdet   say -ASS -OBLG -COP   first step
      we   this   should say   first step

      seken   *stepsi*   *háydəwni*   *thard*
      seken   step -si   háy   -təw   -ni   thard
      second   step -PDET   say   -SHOULD -COP   third
      second   the step   should say   third

      stepsi   *háydəwninə́*
      step -si   háy -təw   -ni   háy -nə
      step -PDET   say -SHOULD   -COP   say -INST
      step this   that should say
      'We should say thus (if we make a chart): we should say this step is
      the first step, this is the second step, this is the third step ...'

(14b) is an example of the sequence *-kədoy*. (14c) is an example of the sequence of *-kədə* with epistemic *-tə*.

(14) b. *igədoybə*
      i   -kə   -toy   -pə
      write   -POT -INTEND -NOM
      'the one that you intend to write'

      c. *onthəkhrəgədəbəni*
      on -thə   -khi   -lə   -kə   -tə   -pə   -ni
      fall -DOWN -STILL -PRO -POT -NES -NOM   -COP
      'is going to fall down'

When one of the Category 12 markers is suffixed to the nonpotential marker *-loy*, the meaning signalled is a necessity, obligation or certainty of the nonrealization of the action expressed in the verb.

(14) d. *píroydəwbəni*
      pí   -loy   -təw   -pə   -ni
      give   -NPOT   -OBLG -NOM   -COP
      'should not be by giving'

      e. *phə́mmoydoyno*
      phə́m -loy   -toy   -no
      sit   -NPOT -INTEND   -INQ
      'Why won't you sit here?'

      f. *John həyeŋ*   *čə́tloydəbəni*
      John həyeŋ   čə́t -loy -tə   -pə   -ni
      John tomorrow   go -NPOT -NES -NOM -COP
      John tomorrow   must not go
      'John must not go tomorrow.'

7.1.3.4 Combination category 11 and 12 with other verbal affixes

When the indirect evidence marker *-ləm* is combined with Category 11 mood markers, it indicates a possible but unconfirmed action or state for the future. On the other hand, when *-ləm* appears with a Category 11 - Category 12 sequence, a past unrealized state is indicated. Thus compare (14g) with (14h) and (14i) with (14j).

(14) g. čátləmgəni

    čə́t -ləm -kə -ni

    go -EVD -POT -COP

    '(he) has probably gone'

    h. purəkhəlləmgədəbənidə

    pu -lək -həl -ləm -kə -tə -pə -ni -tə

    carry -DISTAL -CAUS -EVD -POT -NES -NOM -COP -CTE

    'should have caused to bring'

    i. čátləmmoy

    čə́t -ləm -loy

    go -EVD -NPOT

    'probably has not gone'

    j. əy čátləmmoydəbəni

    əy čə́t -ləm -loy -tə -pə -ni

    I go -EVD -NPOT -NES -NOM -COP

    I would not have gone

    '(If I had known this would happen) I would not have gone.'

Category 11 markers cannot be directly suffixed by progressive or perfect aspect markers; they must be suffixed by either *-təw* or *-toy* first. (In (14k) and (14l) you can't have *-tə*.)

(14) k. phúgədəwribəni

    phú -kə -təw -li -pə -ni

    beat -POT -OBLG -PROG -NOM -COP

    'you should undergo his beating'

    l. phúgədəwrəbəni

    phú -kə -təw -lə -pə -ni

    beat -POT -OBLG -PRO -NOM -COP

    '(you) should be beaten'

A possible semantic explanation for this restriction of aspectual marking with potential and nonpotential markers is that before a statement can be made about the internal temporal make-up of an event or action, that event or action must be located in a particular time.

    Since Category 11 markers do not have a time reference (they refer to a potential state in the past, present or future) while Category 12 mood markers

do (they refer to the desire or prediction of the speaker from his/her present perspective of how the past or future world conforms to the world stated in the proposition), aspect marking can appear with Category 12 but not with Category 11 markers.

7.1.3.5 Category 13: Aspect

Category 13 consists of *-li* 'progressive' and *-lə* 'perfect'. The progressive can indicate that an action is being carried out in the past (15a), present (15b), or future (15c).

(15) a. əygi phə́mmuŋdə

    əy -ki phə́m -muŋ -tə

    I -GEN seat -family -LOC

    my on bed

    tummibədu kənano

    tum -li -pədu kəna -no

    sleep -PROG -DCOMP who -INQ

    that is sleeping who is it

    'Who was it that was sleeping in my bed?'

    b. əŋáŋdu čák čári

    əŋáŋ -tu čák čá -li

    child -DDET rice eat -PROG

    the child food eating

    'The child is eating.'

    c. satrəsiŋnə ingədəwribəni

    satrə -siŋ -nə in -kə -təw -li -pə -ni

    student -GPL -CNTR follow -POT -OBLG -PROG -NOM -COP

    the students should follow

    'the students should be following the teachers'

The progressive marker may also refer to an existing or continuous state.

(15) d. əynə čátniŋlibədi Delidəni

    əy -nə čə́t -niŋ -li -pə -ti Deli -tə -ni

    I -CNTR go -wish -PROG -NOM -DLMT Delhi -LOC -COP

    I wishing to go it is to Delhi

    'The place that I'd like to go to is Delhi.'

e. *məhák*   *məsə́k*   *ədúm*   *phə́zəri*
    mə -hák   mə -sə́k   ə -súm   phə́zə -li
    3P -here   3P -face   ATT -so   beauty -PROG
    she   her face   thus   is beautiful
    '(Even though she is old), she continues to be beautiful.'

The perfect indicates a completed action which has relevance at the time of speech. It can be differentiated from the homophonous prospective aspect marker in that the prospective aspect marker occurs before the mood markers whereas the perfect marker appears after the mood markers. The use of the perfect marker in the future tense is seen in (15b). The primary way to express past tense is *-le* which is composed of *-lə* 'perfect' and *-e* 'assertive'.

(15) f. *məhák*   *lakʔe*
    mə -hák   lak -lə   -e
    3P -here   come -PERF   -ASRT
    he   has come
    'He came.'

g. *lə́yte*
    lə́y -tə   -e
    be -NEG   -ASRT
    'did not/does not exist'

7.1.4 Scope differences

-ləm 'indirect evidence' and *-hən* 'causative' and the suffixes in Category 6 and 7 can appear in different positions (with regard to other derivational morphemes). This variation in order corresponds to scope differences, the rightmost marker having scope over everything to its left. For example, (16a) can be opposed to (16b) where *-ləm* 'indirect evidence' occurs with *-khi* 'still': in the sequence *-khiɾəm* where *-ləm* has scope over *-khi*, the meaning obtained is 'probably still V', in the sequence *-ɾəmkhi*, *-khi* has scope over *-ləm*, and the meaning obtained is 'still seems V'.

(16) a. *məhák*   *čák*   *čákhiɾəmmoy*
    mə -hák   čák   čá -khi   -ləm   -loy
    3P -here   rice   eat -STILL   -EVD   -NPOT
    he   food   not seem to still eat
    'He probably has not eaten yet.'

b. *məhák*   *čátləmkhiɾoy*
    mə -hák   čát -ləm -khi -loy
    3P -here   go -EVD -STILL -NPOT
    he   still seems to not have left
    'It still seems that he has not left.'

-khi 'still' has scope over the directional marker *-lək* in (16c) but in (16d) *-lək* has scope over *-khi*.

(16) c. *puɾəkmənkhre*
    pu -lək -mən -khi -lə -e
    carry -DISTAL -EXCESS -STILL -PERF -ASRT
    'has carried too much from a distance'

d. *paythokpihənkhiɾəʔəmmí*
    pay -thok -pi -hən -khi -lək -ləm -í
    fly -OUT -REC -CAUS -STILL -DISTAL -EVD -NHYP
    'Someone set it free/let it fly (before I could get there to make that happen myself).'

Similarly, in (16e) *-hən* 'causative' has scope over *-niŋ* 'wish' signalling 'wish to cause to V', as opposed to (16f) where the meaning 'cause to wish to V' is expressed.

(16) e. *məhákna*   *əybu*   *čániŋhəllí*
    mə -hák -nə   əy -pu   čá -niŋ -hən -í
    3P -here -CNTR   I -PAT   eat -wish -CAUS -NHYP
    he   I   cause to want to eat
    'He made me feel like eating.'

f. *pahənniŋŋí*
    pa -hən -niŋ -í
    read -CAUS -WISH -NHYP
    'wished to cause to read'

Also compare (16g) with (16h): in (16g) *-hən* 'causative' has scope over the directional *-lək* whereas in (16h) *-lək* has scope over *-hən*. In (16h) the action is instigated at a distance and continues to the location of locution, whereas in (16g), the action is instigated and completed at a distance after which the speaker moves towards location of locution.

(16) g. *čáhəlləkʔe*

čá	-həl	-lək	-e
eat	-CAUS	-DISTAL	-ASRT

'made to eat when (I was) there.'

h. *čithi*   *ədu*   *purəkhənkhre*

čithi	ə	-tu	pu	-lək	-hən	-khi	-lə	-e
letter	ATT	-ddet	carry	-DISTAL	-CAUS	-STILL	-PERF	-ASRT
letter	that		caused to carry					

'caused (him when over there) to bring the letter here (at an earlier time).'

7.1.5 *Inflectional morphology*

The inflectional morphology of the verb, which was described in detail in Chapter 5, consists of eight illocutionary mood markers: the nonhypothetical -*í*; the assertive -*e*; the optative -*ke*; the imperative -*u*; the prohibitive -*nu*; the solicitive -*o*; the supplicative -*si*; and the permissive -*sənu*. Only one inflectional morpheme may appear with a given verb root and the inflectional marker will appear after all derivational morphology and before all enclitics.

7.2 The noun morphology

The noun in Meithei is composed minimally of a root. Suffixal categories are derivational (gender and number) or inflectional (case). There is a prefixal category which is non-category changing (possessive prefixes). Markers from the same category cannot co-occur. Figure 2, a representation of the Meithei noun, can be derived through the word structure rules in Table 7. Phrase structure rules for nouns derived from verbs are given in section 6.1.

Table 7. List of word structure rules for nouns

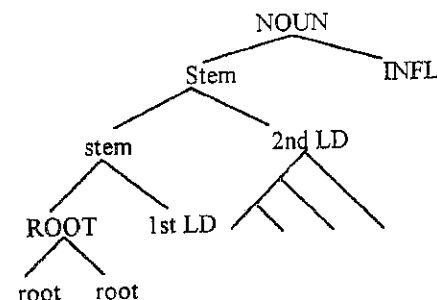| N	→	STEM INFL (ENC)
Stem	→	stem (2nd LD)
stem	→	ROOT (1st LD)
ROOT	→	(prefix) root (root)

Figure 2. The structure of the Meithei noun

Note that the word structure rules for verbs and nouns are identical except for the category of the word level node, the possible terminal elements of the derivational and inflectional categories and the lack of third level nominal derivation.[78] The rules in Table 1 and Table 7 can be collapsed so that the word level node is W for word. The subcategorization frames of affixes will restrict the rewriting of a particular rule so that only nominal affixes occur with a noun and verbal affixes occur with a verb root.

7.2.1 *Inflectional morphology*

The sole nominal inflectional category is case marking. The category is highly productive formally and semantically. Table 8 shows the paradigmatic nature of case marking.[79]

Table 8. Inflectional paradigm of *nupá* 'male child'

inflectional affix		root	
-*nə*	'agentive/instrumental'	*nupanə*	'by the boy'
-*pu*	'accusative'	*nupabu*	'the boy (patient)'
-*tə*	'locative'	*nupadə*	'at/to the boy'
-*təgi*	'ablative'	*nupadəgi*	'from the boy'
-*ki*	'genitive'	*nupagi*	'of the boy'
-*kə*	'associative'	*nupagə*	'with the boy'

Although case markers are functionally inflectional, they exhibit the clitic-like characteristic of docking at the edge of a phrase. Compare for example (19a-c).

(17) a. *nupigine*   'of the female, you know'
     b. *nupi ənigine* 'of the two females, you know'

     c. *nupi*   *məcá*   *ənigine*
        nu   -pi   mə -čá   ə   -ni -ki   -ne
        person -FEM   NM -small ATT -two -GEN -SI
        female   small   of two, you know
        'of the two girls, you know'

In (17a) the genitive is suffixed directly on the noun but in (17b,c), where a numeral and adjective are added to the noun phrase, the case marker must be suffixed at the right edge of the phrase and not to the noun. Like clitics, case markers are promiscuous with regard to the lexical category with which they can occur: in Chapter 4 and 6, examples of case markers with nouns, noun phrases, relative clauses and adverbial clauses were discussed. Thus case markers function as inflectional endings but operate formally as clitics.

7.2.2 Derivational morphology

Derivational morphology is not productive in that there are apparently arbitrary restrictions on which suffixes may occur with which nouns. Thus, *-lom* 'approximate' may be used with human but not nonhuman nouns. Plurals are indicated with *-siŋ* but this suffix cannot occur with pronouns or proper names (as in English *The Flintstones are here* which refers to Mrs. Flintstone and her family).

7.2.2.1 Category 2: Gender

Nouns are not marked for grammatical gender. Semantic gender may be indicated for animate beings by *-pi* 'female' and *-pa* 'male'.[80] Thus in (18a) the stem *nu* 'human' is suffixed by *-pi* to indicate a female human and *-pa* to indicate a male human. (18b,c) are further examples.

(18) a. *nupi*   'female human'   *nupa*   'male human'
     b. *hənubi* 'old woman'   *hənuba* 'old man'
     c. *phisabi* 'female weaver'   *phisaba* 'male weaver'

The feminine and masculine suffixes appear in traditional proper names which are based on adjectives used in naming a child. Thus the eldest male child is named *Tomba* and the eldest female child is named *Tombi* from *tón* 'top' and one of the gender suffixes.

Occupational titles of professions traditionally held by men do not have female equivalents (18d). Where men are the predominant workers in a given profession, the masculine professional title can refer to male or female workers in that occupation. Thus (18e-g) may refer to a male or female potter, goldsmith or story teller, respectively. (18h) is a special case in that, although weavers are predominantly female, the occupational title used is the masculine form.

(18) d. *usúba*   'carpenter'
     e. *čəphusaba* 'potter'
     f. *sənásaba*   'goldsmith'
     g. *wárílíba*   'story teller'
     h. *phisaba*   'weaver'

7.2.2.2 Category 3: Number and quantification

Although nouns are not obligatorily marked for number they may occur with such specification. Singular nouns can be indicated by the numeral *əmə* 'one' as in (19a).

(19) a. *ŋəraŋ*   *mí*   *əmə*   *lakʔi*
        ŋəraŋ   mí   ə   -mə   lak   -í
        yesterday man   ATT -one   come   -NHYP
        yesterday man   one   came
        'Yesterday a man came.'

Plurality is indicated with the numerals higher than one or by *-siŋ* (*layriksiŋ* 'books', *əŋánsiŋ* 'children'). First, second and third person plural pronouns are signalled with *khoy* 'this and other like this' (see section 3.3.1.1), which is also used with human nouns to signify the inclusion of those physically surrounding or closely associated to the suffixed noun. *-siŋ* cannot be used with pronouns or proper nouns and *khoy* cannot be used with nonhuman nouns.[81]

(19) b. *garisi*   *Tombəkhoygini*
    gari -si   Tombə -khoy -ki   -ni
    vehicle -PDET Tomba -hpl -GEN -COP
    this vehicle   Tomba and his family's
    'This car belongs to Tomba and his family.'

   c. *ipakhoy*
    i   -pa   -khoy
    1P   -father -hpl
    'elders'

-lom 'subset' may be suffixed to numerals to indicate an approximation of the number specified. Thus *məŋa* 'five' can be *məŋarom* 'about five'. *-lom* may also be suffixed to proper nouns or pronouns. Thus in (19f), the proper noun *Tomba* is suffixed by *khoy* to indicate 'Tomba and his family'; with the additional suffixation of *-lom* the construction can be translated as 'Tomba and some of his family and friends'.

(19) d. *Tombəkhoyromgi*   *pháwdi*
    Tombə -khoy -lom -ki   pháw -ti
    Tomba -hpl -SSET -GEN   up to -DLMT
    Tomba, some family and friends including

    kəmdəwre
    kəmdəw   -lə   -e
    how   -PERF -ASRT
    that how are
    'How is Tomba (and his family and friends) now?'

However, *-lom* cannot be used with nonhuman nouns: **phirom* where *phi* means 'cloth' and **huyrom* where *húy* means 'dog'.
   -lək 'multiplicative' can be suffixed to numerals to the indicate the number of times that some action is performed. The resulting form is a noun since a numeral suffixed by *-lək* may be further suffixed by case markers.

(19) e. *nəhák*   *bəzardə*   *marirəktəgi*
    nə -hák   bəzar -tə   mə -ri -lək   -təgi
    2P -here   bazzar -LOC NM -four -MULT   -ABL
    you   at the market from four times

    hennə   *čə́tpə*   *ŋə́mgədra*
    hen   -nə   čə́t -pə   ŋə́m   -kə   -tə   -lə
    more -ADV   go   -NOM   possible -POT -NES   -INT
    more   to go   is it possible
    'Can you go to the market more than four times?'

   f. *əhumlək?i*   *mənuŋdə*
    ə   -hum -lək   -ki   mə   -nuŋ   -tə
    ATT   -three -MULT -GEN   NM   -in   -LOC
    of three times   inside
    'within three tries'

-su 'also'[82] may be suffixed to a noun, noun phrase or nominalized verb to signal the inclusion of an entity in an action or state (see also section 6.3.4).

(19) g. *lupa* *lisiŋ* *məri*   *əməsu*   *píkhi*
    lupa lisiŋ   mə -li   ə   -mə -su   pí -khi   -i
    rupee thousand NM -four   ATT -one -ALSO give -STILL -NHYP
    rupee thousand four   also one   gave
    '(He) also paid Rs. 4000.'

The suffix *-khək* 'up to, to the extent of' is derived from *khək* 'stop, halt'.

(19) h. *əhum*   *mərikhək*
    ə   -hum   mə   -ri   -khək
    ATT   -three   NM   -four -UPTO
    three   up to four
    'up to three or four'

   i. *əynə*   *layrikkhəktə́*   *nəŋóndə*   *pírəmmí*
    əy -nə   layrik -khək -tə́   nəŋ -ŋón -tə   pí -ləm -í
    I -CNTR   book   -UPTO -EX   you -to   -LOC   give -EVD -NHYP
    I   a book   to you   gave
    'I gave a book (and nothing else) to you.'

Verbs can be derived from nouns with *-kum* 'similar to, like' (related to *kum-* 'like'). In (19j), the verb root *təw-* is nominalized with the prefixation of *mə-*, then verbalized with the suffixation of *-kum* and followed by a participializer that characteristically occurs with verbs. The verbalizing nature of *-kum* is shown in (19k) where it is followed by *-pə* 'nominalizer' which also characteristically occurs with verbs.

(19) j. *mətəwgumdə́nə*

mə -təw	-kum	-tə́nə
NM -do	-LIKE	-BY

'doing in the same way'

k. *layriksigumbə*

layrik	-si	-kum	-pə
book	-PDET	-LIKE	-NOM

'books which are like this'

7.2.2.3 Prefixal categories

Noncategory changing derivational prefixes are the possessive pronominal prefixes *i-*, *nə-* and *mə-*, the first, second, and third person possessive prefixes, respectively. These were discussed in section 3.3.1.1.

7.3 Enclitics

Enclitics are distinguished from other affixes following standard criteria established in the literature. First, whereas affixes subcategorize for lexical categories, clitics subcategorize for phrasal or lexical categories (Klavans 1979, 1983, 1985 and Borjars 1992). Clitics show a low degree of selectivity in that the category of the host may be lexical or phrasal (Zwicky and Pullum 1983 and Sadock 1991). Furthermore, clitics exhibit different phonological behavior from other affixes (Zwicky and Pullum 1983 and Sadock 1991). In Meithei, most affixes are toneless but clitics are phonologically special since they may be lexically marked for tone.[83] Also, category 7 clitics do not undergo lexical phonological rules (for example, *-ko* 'invariant tag' does not undergo the Voice assimilation rule). Finally, in the linear order of affixes, enclitics always occur at the right edge of a word or phrase; they do not interdigitate with inflectional or derivational morphology (Klavans 1979, 1983, 1985; Zwicky and Pullum 1983, Zwicky 1985, and Sadock 1991).

Enclitics in Meithei fall into six categories: determiners, case markers, the copula, mood markers, inclusive/exclusive and pragmatic peak markers and attitude markers. The members of each category are listed in Table 9. The categories are determined on the basis of position in the word (category 1 occurs before category 2, category 2 before category 3, and so on).

Co-occurrence in the mood marker category is restricted to combinations of the *-lə* 'interrogative' and *-o* 'solicitive' enclitics.[84] The enclitics in the exclusive/inclusive categories may not co-occur.

Some co-occurrence is possible in the attitude marker category. *-ne*, which indicates shared information (and so implying accepted or expected information), combines with all attitude markers that are semantically compatible with it: thus while *-ne* never co-occurs with the contrary to expectation marker *-tə*, the combinations *-nehé*, *-neye* and *-neko* (see (24q,p,t) respectively), are possible. In the linear order, *-ne* always occurs before other attitude markers. *-tə* 'contrary to expectation' may combine with *-ko* 'invariant tag' as in (24u). The remaining attitude markers, *-ye* 'confirmative', *-hé* 'exasperative' and *-ko* 'invariant tag', do not combine with each other. Thus the maximum number of attitude markers attested on a constituent is two.

The occurrence of an attitude marker or a combination of attitude markers precludes the use of an inclusive/exculsive marker. The attested combination of inclusive/exclusive markers is restricted to *-tə́* 'exclusive' combining with *-mək* 'only' as in (23h,i) or with *-khək* 'to the extent' as in (23l).

7.3.1 Determiners, semantic role and case markers

As discussed in section 3.3.1.4, the determiners *si* 'proximate' and *tu* 'distal' are stems that function as enclitics. They exhibit the clitic-like characteristic of docking at the edge of a phrase.

(20) a. *nupi   məča   ənisi*

nu	-pi	mə	-čá	əni	-si
person	-FEM	NM	-small	two	-PDET
girl		young		these two	

'these two young girls'

b. *nupi məčasi*   'this young girl'

c. *nupisi*   'this girl'

Relevant information about semantic role and case markers is given in section 7.2.2.2. Case markers occur only to the left of determiners: *nupidudə* 'to that girl' but not **nupidədu*.

7.3.2 The copula

The copula *-ni* which indicates a declarative sentence has a special status in

nouns: the verb *čawkhɔtkɔdɔwri* is nominalised and then further suffixed by the copula, resulting in *čawkhɔtkɔdɔwribɔni* 'will have developed.' The copula

Table 9. Chart of enclitics

Category 1		
Determiners:	*-si*	'proximate determiner'
	-tu	'distal determiner'
Category 2		
Semantic role	*-nɔ*	'agent'
and case markers:	*-pu*	'patient'
	-tɔ	'locative'
	-tɔgi	'ablative'
	-nɔ	'instrumental'
	-kɔ	'associative'
	-ki	'genitive'
Category 3		
Copula:	*-ni*	'copula'
Category 4		
Mood:	*-no*	'inquisitive'
	-lɔ	'interrogative'
	-o	'solicitive'
Category 5		
Pragmatic peak:	*-nɔ*	'contrastive'
	-pu	'adversative'
Inclusive/exclusive:	*-ti*	'delimitative'
	-mɔk	'only'
	-tɔ́	'exclusive'
Category 6		
Attitude:	*-ne*	'shared information'
	-tɔ	'contrary to expectation'
	-ye	'confirmative'
	-hé	'exasperative'
	-ko	'invariant tag'

may also be suffixed to a noun as in *ɔŋáŋni* 'it is a child' where *ɔŋáŋ* is 'child'.[85] *-ni* may not be followed by either nominal or verbal derivational or inflectional morphology but only by other enclitics. The copula has phrasal scope so that it attaches phonologically to the rightmost constituent in a sentence regardless of which constituent is at that edge (21a,b).[86]

(21) a. *phurittu*   *ɔŋɔwbɔni*

    phurit -tu   ɔ   -ŋɔw -pɔ -ni
    shirt -DDET ATT -white -NOM -COP
    that shirt   be white
    'That shirt is the white one.'

    b. *ɔŋɔwbɔ phurittuni*
      'That shirt is white.'

7.3.3 Mood markers

See Chapter 5 for the functions of *-lɔ* 'interrogative', *-o* 'solicitive' and *-no* 'inquisitive'. All three markers have phrasal scope and they attach to the right edge of a phrase regardless of the particular constituent that occurs at that edge. For example, in (22a,b), the meanings of the sentences are the same even though 'chicken' attaches to *-no* in (22a) and to the whole phrase in (22b).

(22) a. *kɔnagi yénawno* 'Whose chicken is it?'[87]
     b. *yénaw kɔnagino* 'Whose chicken is it?'

7.3.4 Pragmatic markers

The delimitative marker *-ti* is used to indicate that a noun, noun phrase, nominalized verb or verb is chosen out of a range of possibilities (see examples (2h), (10b) and (20) in Chapter 4 and (9g) in Chapter 8, respectively).

The exclusive enclitic *-tɔ́* can be suffixed to nouns or verbs to single out a noun or verb from a set of eligible ones as being the most representative or topmost in the set.[88]

(23) a. *ɔmɔttɔ́*

    ɔ   -mɔ   -tɔ́
    ATT   -one   -EX
    'exactly one'

b. *masigi*   *ŋá*   *makhál*

mə -si	-ki	ŋá	mə -khén
3P -PDET	-GEN	fish	NM -shape
of this		fish	type

əsi   *Moirandadá*   *phəŋŋí*

ə	-si	Moiraŋ -tə	-tá	phəŋ	-í
ATT	-pdet	Moiraŋ -LOC	-EX	find	-NHYP
this		only in Moirang		is found	

'This type of fish is found only in Moirang.'

c. *mádi*   *Tombəgə*

má -ti	Tombə -kə
he -DLMT	Tomba -ASS
he	with Tomba

čátminnədánədá   *láy*

čát -min	-nə	-tánə -tá	láy	-í
go -TOGETHER	-RECIP	-BY -EX	be	-NHYP
going together with only			is	

'He only roams around with Tomba.'

The enclitic *-mak* 'only' singles out an eligible participant with the implication that the situation does not normally warrant this restriction.

(23) d. *layriksi*   *Tombəgimak*   *oyrəmbə*

layrik -si	Tombə -ki	-mak	oy -ləm	-pə
book -PDET	Tomba -GEN	-ONLY	be -EVD	-NOM
this book	only for Tomba		being	

tarəbədi   *əynə*   *ségayrəmloy*

ta -lə	-pə	-ti	əy -nə	sét	-khay	-ləm	-loy
fall -PRO	-NOM	-DLMT	I -CNTR	tear	-TOTAF	-EVD	-NPOT
if it falls			I	will not tear			

'If it turns out that this book is just for Tomba, I will not tear it.'

To emphasize the quantity referred to, *-mak* may be suffixed to a noun as in (23e,f), a verb as in (23g), or to an adverb as in (23h).

(23) e. *thábáktu*   *Tombəməknə*   *tawrəmbə*

thəbák -tu	Tombə -mak	-nə	taw -ləm	-pə
work -DDET	Tomba -ONLY	-CNTR	do -EVD	-NOM
the work	by only Tomba		to work if	

óyrəbədi

óy -lə	-pə	-ti
be -PRO	-NOM	-DLMT
to work if		

'If Tomba himself (with no other help) does the work...'

f. *parikhadu*   *Rajudámak*   *pas*   *tawre*

parikha -tu	Raju -tá	-mak	pas	taw -lə	-e
test -DDET	Raju -EX	-ONLY	pass	do -PERF	-ASRT
the exam	just Raju		pass	did	

'Raju (and no one else) passed the exam.'

g. *əynə*   *mábu*   *phúdámak*   *phúy*

əy -nə	má	-pu	phú -tá	-mak	phu	-í
I -CNTR	he	-PAT	beat -EX	-ONLY	beat	-NHYP
I	him		only beat		beat	

'I only hit him (I didn't kill him).'

h. *layrik loynəmak*   *Tombədə*   *pikhirəmmí*

layrik loy -nə	-mak	Tombə -tə	pí -khi	-ləm	-í
book all -ADV	-ONLY	Tomba -LOC	give -STILL	-EVD	-NHYP
book all		to Tomba	given		

'(He) gave every single book to Tomba.'

The pragmatic markers *-nə* 'contrastive' and *-pu* 'adversative' were discussed in Chapter 4.

7.3.5 Attitude markers

Attitude markers indicate the attitude of a speaker towards a proposition, signalling: a desire for agreement, an expression of doubt about the truth of a proposition, surprise, etc. These are: *-ne* 'shared information', *-ye* 'confirmative', and *-hé* 'exasperative', *-ta* 'contrary to expectation' and *-ko* 'invariant tag'.

The shared information marker *-ne* -- which means 'as you know...' -- suggests that a proposition contains shared information known to be true by both the speaker and hearer. The use of *-ne* is illustrated in (24a) which is an

answer to the question 'Where are you going?' (24b) is a possible answer to the same question but, where (24b) simply asserts that the speaker is going to Kakching, (24a) implies that the question is pointless since the hearer is already privy to the information. (24c) provides an additional example of the use of -ne.

(24) a. *Kakčiŋdənine*

Kakčiŋ	-tə	-ni	-ne
Kakching	-LOC	-COP	-SI

'(As I'm sure you know), it is to Kakching (that I am going).'

b. *Kakčiŋdəni*

Kakčiŋ	-LOC	-COP

'It is to Kakching (that I'm going).'

c. *ədudi*   *pripəresən*   *kə́nnə*

ə	-tu	-ti	pripəresən	kə́n	-nə
ATT	-ddet	-DLMT	preparation	hard	-ADV
that			preparation	intensely	

təwdə́   *yápontene*[89]

təw	-tə́	yá	-pot	-nə	-tə	-e	-ne
do	-EX	agree	-thing	-be	-NEG	-ASRT	-SI
to do		a thing to agree about					

'...in that case (you know that) we should prepare very well.'

The shared information marker can also be used by the speaker to prompt the addressee to agree with the content of a proposition.

(24) d. *Sušil*   *adu*   *noy*   *ojasiŋdunə*

Sušil	ə	-tu	nə -khoy	oja	-siŋ	-tu	-nə
Sushila	ATT	-ddet	2P -hpl	teacher	-GPL	-DDET	-CNTR
Sushila	that		you all	teachers			

impresən   *yam*   *phə́ttene*

impresən	yam	phə́	-tə	-e	-ne
impression	lot	good	-NEG	-ASRT	-SI
impression	lot	it is not good, right			

'Your teacher's impression of Sushila is not good, is it?'

---

e. *bajinə*   *ibə*   *həyte*

baji	-nə	i	-pə	həy	-tə	-e
father	-CNTR	write	-NOM	proficient	-NEG	-ASRT
father		to write		not able		

háyribədudi   *Iŋrajine*

háy	-li	-pədu	-ti	Iŋraji	-ne
say	-PROG	-DCOMP	-DLMT	English	-SI
that you are saying				it is English, isn't it	

'Father, what you said about their not being able to write applications, that refers to English, right?'

When a speaker must provide information to someone who ought to be aware of it already but is not, -ne can be used to soften the force of the sentence; since -ne implies a shared knowledge, its use obfuscates the ignorance of the hearer.

The function of -ne as a tag marker allows a question interpretation of (24a) as given in (24f). In this case, there is nothing in the discourse which forces a declarative interpretation of the sentence: that is, when a sentence like (24a) is not a reply to a question, it is itself interpreted as a question.

(24) f. *nəŋnə*   *čə́tlisi*   *Kakčiŋdənine*

nəŋ	-nə	čə́t	-li	-si	Kakčiŋ	-tə	-ni	-ne
you	-CNTR	go	-PROG	-PDET	Kakching	-LOC	-COP	-SI
you		that are going			it is to Kakching, right			

'You are going to Kakching, right?'

If -ne occurs in a question-word question, the sentence translates like an echo question in English, where the speaker asks for repetition of information just provided. (24g) is repeated from section 5.6.5, example (12e).

(24) g. *nəŋnə kərino puthorək?í háybədəyne*

'What is it that you said you would bring?'

(24g) might also indicate that the speaker has a hard time believing that the information just heard is true.

(24) h. *kərəmbə layrikɩnə phəŋdəgene*

kərəmbə	layrik	-nə	phəŋ	-tə -ke	-ne
which	book	-CNTR	find	-NEG -OPT	-SI
which	book		did not find that (you) wanted to		

'Which of the books could you not find at the library?'

The question may also be interpreted as a rhetorical one, where the speaker thinks (and expects the hearer to concur) that no appropriate answer exists for the question.

(24) i. *kənano hunʃinlunigéne*

kəna	-no	hun	-sin -lu	-ni	háy	-ke	-ne
who	-INQ	slander	-IN -ADIR	-COP	say	-OPT	-SI
who is it		that wants to slander him					

'Who will slander him (i.e. there is no one)?'

-ne expresses disbelief when used with yes-no questions.

j. *sibu nóŋnərəne*

si	-pu	nóŋ -nə	-lə	-ne
this	-PAT	rain -INST	-INT	-SI
this here		because of the rain		

'Was it really because of the rain!?'

k. *nəŋ phirón séttribrəne*

nəŋ	phi	-lón	sét	-tə	-li	-pə -lə	-ne
you	cloth	-weave	wear	-NEG	-PROG	-NOM -INT	-SI
you	dress		are not wearing, are you				

'Can it be that you aren't dressed yet!?'

Thus, the same marker has a different communicative force (all revolving around the idea of shared knowledge) depending on whether it is used with a declarative or an interrogative sentence.

The 'contrary to expectation marker' *-tə* tags a proposition as being true even in the face of overwhelming evidence or all expectations that it is not true.

(24) l. *adə úribəsi yumnidə*

a	-tə	ú	-li	-pəsi	yum	-ni	-tə
there	-LOC	see	-PROG	-DCOMP	house	-COP	-CTE
over there		that seeing			it is a house		

'From what I can see that thing way over there is a house (not a temple or anything).'

m. *həyeŋdi əykhoy čák*

həyeŋ	-ti	əy	-khoy	čák
tomorrow	-DLMT	I	-hpl	rice
tomorrow		we		rice

sóydə́nə čánidə

sóy	-tə́nə	čá -ni	-tə
certain	-BY	eat -COP	-CTE
certainly		will eat	

'Tomorrow we will surely eat with you (although you have invited us many times and we have put it off for so long).'

n. *həwʃikpu kədaydəgi čáknodə*

həwʃik	-pu	kəday	-təgi	čák	-no	-tə
now	-ADVR	where	-ABL	rice	-INQ	-CTE
just now		from where		will actually get anything to eat		

'From where are we going to get anything to eat right now? (We came to this wedding feast with the intention of eating but it looks like all the food is gone.)'

The confirmative marker *-ye* indicates that a proposition has been stated before and might be used to ask confirmation about something that the speaker believes was said to the hearer or to repeat what has already been said. Both these uses are illustrated in the following conversational exchange where Speaker 1 asks for a repetition of what Speaker 2 has just said. Speaker 2 then responds by repeating the relevant part of his statement (indicating that it is a repetition with the suffixation of *-ye*.)

(24) o. Speaker 1:

thórəkʼəniye

thók	-lək	-kə	-ni	-ye
out	-DISTAL	-POT	-COP	-CONFM
returning, you say?				

'So, she's returning?'

Speaker 2:

əw Niŋgol *čák^ʔawba*

əw Niŋgol　　　　　čák　-kaw -pə

yes woman (of a clan)　food　-call -NOM

yes Festival (where woman returns to father's home for feast)

yáwniye

yáw　　　　　　-ni　-ye

participate -COP -CONFM

to participate, I say

'Yes, as I said, she will participate in the festival of Ningol Cakkawba.'

The confirmative marker may be used in conjunction with the shared information marker.

(24) p. *sítkənneye*

sít　-kən　-ne　-ye

sell -force -SI -CONFM

'You see, I was told it would sell well.'

The exasperative marker *-hé* is used to respond to repeated questioning or repeated requests to perform some action. It indicates that the speaker has already responded at least once to the hearer and is irritated at having to respond again. It can be translated as, 'I already told you..' Because of its strong communicative force, it is impolite to use this marker with elders or strangers.

(24) q. *təwdehé*

təw -tə　　-e　　　　-hé

do　-NEG -ASRT　　-EXASP

'I didn't do it, o.k.!'

r. *əydi* *údehé*

əy -ti　　ú　-tə　-e　　　-hé

I　-DLMT see -NEG -ASRT　-EXASP

I　　　　didn't see it, o.k.!

'No, I didn't see!'

s. *yádenehé*

yá　　　-tə　　-e　　-ne -hé

agree　-NEG -ASRT -SI -EXASP

'(You know) I don't agree to that!'

As described in section 5.6.3, the invariant tag marker can be used to form a tag question which elicits agreement from the hearer. This is illustrated in (24t,q).

(24) t. *paysinminnəbirukhi-*

pay -sin -min　　　　-nə　　-pi　-lu　-khi

fly　-IN -TOGETHER -RECIP -REC -ADIR -STILL

-nuneko

-nu　　　-ne　　　　-ko

-PROBH -SI　　　　-TAG

'Don't fly with him into that spot even if you want to, O.K.?'

u. *puminnəhənjərəmgə-*

pu　-min　　　　　-nə　　　-hən　-čə　　　-ləm -kə

carry -TOGETHER -RECIP -CAUS　-SELF -EVD　-POT

-dəbənidəko

-tə　　　　-pə　　　-ni　　-tə　-ko

-NEG　　-NOM　-COP -CTE -TAG

'I should just have caused it to be carried with someone else, right?'