Notes

1. DeLancey's evidence that seeks to establish pronominal marking as an original Proto-Tibeto-Burman trait is not uncontested (e.g. LaPolla 1992).

2. This list was compiled from K.S. Singh and Manoharan (1993) and Sen (1992).

3. One bittersweet joke in Imphal is that rickshaw drivers in the state are the most educated in the country. Many speak English and hold Masters degrees but cannot find better employment.

4. Texts and elicited data were processed using Summer Institute of Linguistics software called *Interlinear Text Processing*.

5. There is one exception to this rule: *adə* 'way over there' which is pronounced with emphatic intonation (a lengthening of the vowel accompanied with creaky voice). This form is possibly a lexicalized combination of the attributive prefix *ə-* (note that an initial *ə* would be ungrammatical here) and the locative suffix *-tə* with emphatic intonation.

6. The contrast of /a/ and /ə/ word finally is marginal. A small class of nouns end in /a/ and contrast with verb plus nominalizer sequences which end in /ə/ (*pibə* 'to give' and *piba* 'clan member') or noun plus case marker which ends in /ə/ (*longa* 'kind of bamboo' and *lóngə* 'with language').

7. Since only a vowel can form the nucleus of a Manipuri syllable, in borrowed words a [ə] is inserted as the nucleus for words with syllabic nasals or liquids: *philəm* 'film', *tebəl* 'table'. Presumably, the word for 'film' was borrowed from an Indo-Aryan language where the insertion of [ə] had already taken place.

8. Thoudam (1980: 50) attributes such variation to the insertion of *ə*; however, this would not account for the realization of /l/ as [r] when *ə* is not present.

9. *Phonology in a Lab Box* is in use at the University of Texas at Austin by Anthony Woodbury. *SoundEdit* and *Signalyze* for the Macintosh were made available to me through Kerry Green and associate Kathy Fohr of the Speech Perception Lab at the University of Arizona. I am grateful to these individuals for giving me access to the hardware and software necessary for this instrumental study.

10. These minimal pairs have been noted by Ningthongjam (1982: 33) who differentiates them by postulating a pause juncture with the subordinating suffix sequence; however, since a pause is not always present between a root and a subordinating sequence, the pause juncture hypothesis falls short of a real explanation about the contrast in these pairs.

11. L. Mahabir Singh has also undertaken instrumentation of tone minimal pairs, noting F_o, amplitude and duration to see which of these contribute to the perceptual distinction of the two tones. Unfortunately, I am unable to report his findings in full since I have in my possession only an abbreviated report (L. Mahabir Singh 1988) of his 1982 Master's thesis where the results are given.

12. Concerning the position of [lateral] in the feature geometry, I follow Levin (1987), in assuming that it is dependent of [Coronal].

13. The negative marker *-tə* provides an exception to this rule in frozen forms such a *nətte* [nətʔe] 'not' which is composed of identifiable morphemes: *nə* 'be' (not a free form in Meithei), along with *-tə* the negative marker and the assertive marker *-e*. In all other environments the negative marker does voice as expected, e.g. *paydənə* 'not flying', *páydənə* 'not holding'.

14. As explained in 2.6.2, in sequences of oral stops, the first stop may be weakened. In this case, the [t] of the root *sét* deletes after Deaspiration has taken place. Thus /sétkhay/ → /sétkay/ → /sékay/ → [ségay].

15. Consider the necessary ordering between Lateral deletion and Velar deletion. In the derivation of a form like *čoŋthorəkʔəgə* 'jumping out', if Lateral deletion is assumed to apply before Velar deletion the incorrect form given in (i) is derived. If Velar deletion is assumed to apply before Lateral deletion the incorrect form given in (ii) is derived.

i.　/čoŋ -thok -lək-lə/　　Lateral deletion applies
　　*[čoŋthokəkə]　　　　environment for Velar deletion no longer available

ii.　/čoŋ -thok-lək-lə/　　Velar deletion applies
　　*[čoŋtholələ]　　　　environment for Lateral deletion no longer available

Thus the mere ordering of Lateral deletion before Velar deletion or the ordering of Velar deletion before Lateral deletion will not derive the correct result. However, both rules do apply to the form. Thus, the formalism used to characterize the application of these rules must insure that Velar deletion applies with the affixation of *-lək* but is 'turned off' with the affixation of *-lə*. Furthermore, Lateral deletion must not be allowed to apply until after the affixation of *-lək* and the application of Velar deletion. This can be accomplished in Lexical Phonology and Morphology (Kiparsky 1982, 1983; Mohanan 1986) by pairing the application of Velar deletion with the suffixation of *-lək* and the application of Lateral deletion with all other suffixation.

iii.　Level 1 suffixation of -lək, -thok, etc.　　Velar deletion rule
　　　Level 2 suffixation of -lə, -li, -ləm, etc.　　Lateral deletion rule

As a natural consequence of Lexical Phonology and Morphology, the Velar deletion rule is prevented from applying on the forms with the suffixes that are affixed at Level 2 and the Lateral deletion rule is prevented from applying on the forms created at Level 1 since it is only operative at Level 2. A derivation illustrating the application of the Lateral deletion and Velar deletion following this level ordering is given in iv. for the word *čoŋthorəkʔəgə* 'having jumped'.

iv.　Level 1　čoŋ-thok-lək-　　Velar deletion applies
　　　　　　čoŋtholək-
　　　Level 2　čoŋtholək-lәkә　Lateral deletion applies
　　　　　　čoŋtholәkәkә
　　　　　　čoŋthorəkʔəgə　　further morphology and phonology

16. Within the Lexical Phonology and Morphology framework, compounds constitute underived environments and because of the *Strict Cycle Condition* they will not undergo lexical rules.

17. The tone of neither stem is relevant in the application or nonapplication of Total assimilation of *l*.

18. It is difficult to further substantiate this point since the only enclitic which begins with *l* is the interrogative *-lə*.

19. In fast speech, *ə* deletes before nasals.

i.　*təwribni*
　　təw　-li　　　-pə　　-ni
　　do　-PROG　-NOM　-COP
　　'is doing'

Other vowels may also undergo deletion in a similar environment. Thus *čátkhəre* 'has gone' may also be pronounced as *čátkhre*, where *khre* consists of *-khi* 'still' and *-lə* 'perfect'.

20. See Hoeksema (1985: 4) for a detailed discussion of such an organization of the Lexicon.

21. Houses are considered inalienable since they refer to an ancestral home rather than just to a building that may be acquired and disposed of.

22. This form is also listed by Pettigrew (1912: 24) as meaning 'how many, how much'. This meaning does not seem to be currently in use.

23. The proximal, derived from the Proto-Tibeto-Burman root *(h)i (Benedict 1983: 1) may still be used as a free form as in (i).

    i. *əŋáŋgisi*   *sidə*   *thə́mge*
        əŋáŋ   -ki   -si   si -tə thə́m -kə
        child -GEN -PDET pdet -LOC place -OPT
        for this child   at here   will keep
        '(All) the food kept here is for the child (not for you, so stop eating it).'

24. Much of this analysis is taken from Hodson (1908: 163ff).
25. With the prefixation of *ə-*, in stems of the shape CaC where the coda is [w], the vowel is reduced to [ə]. Examples are given in (i-iii).

    i.   *caw-*   'big'   *əcəwbə*   'be big'
    ii. *haw-*   'taste' *əhəwbə*   'tasty'
    iii. *saw-*   'anger' *əsəwbə*   'be angry'

26. This prefix is most probably cognate to the Garo and Baro *kV-* prefix (where the V stands for a variable vowel), which derives adjectives from intransitive verbs (Burling 1984: 36). *khəjiktə* is probably composed of this prefix and the root *čik* 'sever' as seen in (10a).
27. *khitə́ŋ* has nonaspirated variant *kitə́ŋ*.
28. This is also true for many unrelated languages of the region. See Verma (1976).
29. The prefix *khu-* is no longer productive in Meithei. Recall that the third person possessive prefix is also *mə-*. This homophony between the pronominal prefix and the derivational prefix is also attested in Tibetan where the prefix *ə-* has a pronominal use (indicating the third person pronoun) and a homophonous prefix has a nonpronominal use, since it is used to derive nominals from verbs. These are considered as derived from a Proto-Tibeto-Burman third person pronoun (Wolfenden 1929, Benedict 1972).
30. See also Chomsky (1982: 211) for a definition of governing category.
31. (6b) is accepted but characterized as "poetical". Some consultants except (7b) whereas others feel it is ungrammatical with a third person pronoun and better with a first person pronoun and reflexive.
32. In my judgement, however, (9b) is grammatical without the complementizer: *'Who did you say went in first?'*

33. Ch. Yashawanta Singh (1984) states that a reflexive can be the actor of an imperative sentence and provides (i) as an example; however, examples such as (ii) indicate that the argument in (i) is in fact an unrealized second person pronoun and that the reflexive is just a resumptive emphatic.

    i. *nəsámək̀nə*   *thəbə́k ədu*   *təw*
        nə -sá   -mək -nə   thəbə́k ə   -tu   təw -u
        2P -body -ONLY -CNTR   work ATT -ddet   do -IMP
        yourself   work that   do
        '(You) do that work yourself!'

    ii. *nəŋ/ nəkhoy*   *nəsámək̀nə*
        nəŋ nə -khoy   nə -sá   -mək -nə
        you 2P -hpl   2P -body -ONLY -CNTR
        you you all   yourself

        čə́tlə́gə   *məkhoydə*   *háyyu*
        čə́t   -lə́gə   mə -khoy -tə   háy -lu   -u
        go   -AFTER   3P -hpl -LOC   say -ADIR -IMP
        having gone   to them   say
        'You go and tell them yourself !'

34. However, the functional equivalent of a passive construction can be derived through the omission of an actor or agent argument from a clause.
35. Foley and Van Valin base much of their classification on work done by Dowty (1979) who develops a classification of verbs to account for basic aspectual/modal distinctions made in languages.
36. The arguments in such sentences cannot be bare noun phrases unless they are plural or have collective interpretation.

    i. *kwak múy*   ii. *činni thummí*
        kwak   mu   -í   činni thum -í
        crow   black -NHYP   sugar sweet -NHYP
        'Crows are black.'   'Sugar is sweet.'

37. Bhat (as cited in Dixon 1991), notes examples like (i) where the goal (what he call the indirect object) is marked by the patient (what he calls the accusative) marker. I can find no examples of this sort in my data. P. Madhubala Devi (1979: 73) gives the equivalent with the locative marker.

i.

əynə		mábu		sel	pí	
əy	-nə	má	-pu	sel	pí	-í
I	-CNTR	he	-PAT	money	give	-NYHP
I		to him		money	gave	

'I gave him money.'

If Bhat is correct, then three argument predicates might subcategorize for an actor, patient (in (i) *má* will be patient, one who is unwillingly affected by an action) and theme (in (i) *sel* 'money' will be the theme, the object transferred through an action).

38. I could find no examples with inanimate causees as in English: *I caused the ball to hit the window* or *I caused the ball to hit John.* Such sentences are usually expressed by means of a noncausative construction.

39. This point is also noted in Ch. Yashawanta Singh (1991: 139) and Bhat (1991: 132) for Meithei. Also, the facts presented here are in keeping with Cole (1983), where Bolivian Quechua is shown to mark the causee on a semantic rather than a syntactic basis; that is, on the basis of the extent of agency exhibited by the causee rather than the transitivity of the verb.

40. Although the agentive and contrastive *-nə* are homophonous they are distinct: the agentive marker does not add contrastive meaning and it is always present with agents of causative constructions, whereas the contrastive marker is optional and always adds pragmatic information. The causative marker may occur only once in a sentence whereas the contrastive may occur on more than one argument.

i.

əynə		məsunə		ollí	
əy	-nə	mə	-su	-nə	on	-í
I	-CNTR	NM	-color	-CNTR	change	-NHYP
I		color			change	

'It is I who changed the color (but not the design).'

41. A possible reading is, 'I love Ram more than I love Tomba.'

42. Based on the fact that it is impossible for a speaker to be distanced from himself/herself, the first person pronoun əy cannot occur with the distal

43. Like other markers of this category, adversative *-pu* can function as a clausal subordinator and here it conveys the meaning 'even S', 'in spite of S'.

i.

məkhoy		pumnəməknə			páybəbu		
mə	-khoy	pumnə	-mək	-nə	páy	-pə	-pu
3PP	-hpl	all	-ONLY	-ADV	hold	-NOM	-ADVR
they		each one			even having held		

tháŋgətbə			ŋə́mde-		
tháŋ	-khət	-pə	ŋə́m	-tə	-e
lift	-UP	-NOM	able	-NEG	-ASRT
to lift up			not able		

'Even though they all took hold of it, they were not able to lift it.'

44. Some consultants say that the sequence *-punəbu* is grammatical but others find it only marginally acceptable. It occurs in older published literature (e.g. Pettigrew 1912); it can be elicited but never occurs in naturally occurring speech.

45. Bhat (1991: 130-132) uses (i) and (ii) to support the claim that sentence initial arguments are identified as actors.

i.

əy	má	úy
I	he	saw

'I saw him.'

ii.

má	əy	úy
I	he	saw

'He saw me.'

The lack of overt pragmatic or semantic role marking is highly marked and my consultants uniformly preferred sentences with some pragmatic or semantic marking on at least one of the arguments. Sentences such as (i) and (ii) were more often considered ungrammatical than ambiguous.

46. For some reason, this sentence is not possible with the verb *pírəmmi* which is composed of *pí* 'give' *-ləm* the indirect evidential marker and *-í* the nonhypothetical marker.

47. I have found one example of *-o* 'solicitive' used to prohibit an action (i). This might warrant a reanalysis of the negative imperative *-nu* as indicated as in (ii).

i.

hə́y	cánò
hə́y	cá -no
fruit	eat -NEGIMP

ii.   *nə* 'negative' + *u* 'imperative' =   -nu 'prohibitive'
      nə 'negative' + *o* 'solicitive' =   -no 'mild prohibitive'

48. However, the negative marker may occur with the permissive in idioms (see Chapter 6).

49. Examples where the interrogative is suffixed to the bare verb stem are marginally acceptable in the Imphal dialect for some verbs. Whereas forms like **čára* from *čá* 'eat' and **čátra* from *čə́t* 'go' are clearly ungrammatical, consultants are ambivalent about forms like *setra* as in (i). I have yet to determine the distribution of this dialectal feature.

i.   *ŋəŋ phirón   sétra*
     ŋəŋ phi   -lón sét -lə
     you cloth -weave wear -INT
     you pant   do you wear
     'So you've worn pants?'

50. The quotative *háy* 'say' is especially prone to being shortened or deleted, thereby causing the quotative to merge with the preceding word phonologically. This process might involve the deletion of the initial laryngeal of the quotative as shown in examples (i) and (ii). Note that in (i) intervocalic *r* has also been deleted. The entire quotative may be deleted with a glottal stop marking the place of the deleted stem as in (iii) and (iv).

i.   *kəmáynə́*
     kə̀rəm háy -nə
     how   say -INST
     'how was it that'

ii. *yumbanbə́ydudi*
     yum   -pan -pə   háy -pədu   -ti
     house -rule -NOM say -DCOMP -DLMT
     'it is what is called household management'

iii. *čílleʔbə́*   iv. *lakkeʔbə́*
     čil -lə   -e   háy -pə   lak   -ke háy -pə
     wore -PERF -ASRT say -NOM   come -OPT say -NOM
     'that she wore it'   'that (he) wants to come'

51. This is similar to Chinese constructions like *nǐ lái bù lái* 'Are you

52. In interrogatives, this marker always occurs with the interrogative enclitic *-lə*. As seen in (10b), it may also be used independently. In such cases it is a polite imperative. See Chapter 9 for further discussion of the solicitive marker.

53. The question words have the following composition. *kəna* 'who' contains *-na*, possibly the 'agentive', but it does not mark case any more as evidenced by the form *kənanə* 'by whom'. *kəri* 'what' contains *-ri*, the meaning of which is unknown. *kəydəw* 'doing what' contains *kəri* 'what' and *təẁ* 'do'; *kəri* becomes *kəy* by a fast speech rule which has been lexicalized in question words. *kəydəwŋəy* 'when (exact time/ day)' contains *kəri* 'what', *təw* 'do' and *ŋəy* 'during'. 'How much, how many' is *kəyám* (for mass noun) which contains *yám* 'lot' and *kəya* (for count nouns). *kərəm* 'how, in what way' contains *lə́m* 'path, way', *kərəmbə* 'which' contains *lə́m* 'path, way' and *-pə* 'nominalizer', *kəday* 'where' contains *-təgi* 'ablative' (*-təgi* becomes *təy* through a fast speech rule which in its lexicalized form becomes *tay*), *kəmdəwnə* 'how do V' contains *kərəm* 'how', *təw* 'do' and *-na* 'instrumental', *kəmáynə* 'how' contains *kərəm* 'how' and *háy* 'say' and *-na* 'instrumental', *kəmdəw* 'to what extent' contains *kərəm* 'how' and *təw* 'do', *kədomdə* 'which way' contains *som* 'side' and *-tə* 'dative'. *kərigi* 'why' is composed of *kəri* 'what' and *-ki* 'genitive but the expected meaning 'of what, from what or belonging to what' is not obtained. Possibly, *kərigi* might can be translated as 'from what (cause)' thereby yielding the meaning of 'why'.

54. The similarity between the solicitive *-o* and the inquisitive enclitic *-no* is apparent both in a segmental sense and from their meanings: both contain the segment *-o* and both soften the communicative force of the speech act they signal. It is probable that *-no* is the lexicalized combination of *nə* 'be' and the solicitive marker. In the synchronic grammar *-o* affixes to verbs whereas *-no* affixes to nominal forms.

55. Ch. Yashawanta Singh (1984: 179) states that *kədəwŋəy* refers to an exact time but P. Madhubala Devi (1979: 219) differentiates *kədəwŋəy* from *kərəmkandə* by stating that the first asks for an approximate time and that the second asks for a specific time.

56. Alternatives are:

i.   *nóŋmədi*   *kəmdəwwi*
     nóŋ -mə́   -ti   kərəm -təw -í
     day -one   -DLMT   how   -do   -NHYP
     one day   how done

ii. *nóŋmədi*   *kəmdəwge*   *háybəbu*
    nóŋ -mə -ti   kəm -təw   -ke   háy -pə   -pu
    day -one -DLMT   how -do   -OPT say -NOM   -ADVR
    one day   how wanted to do that

57. *Irónba* is a chutney made of dried fermented fish, green chilies and starchy vegetables.

58. There are idiosyncratic instances where adjectives can be formed on non-state verb roots.

i. *əčábə*   *pót*
    ə   -čá   -pə   pót
    ATT   -eat   -NOM   thing
    for eating   thing
    'something edible'

59. This is similar to the difference of meaning between post and prenominal adjectives in French. For example, the French *un grand garçon* means 'a grown-up boy' but *un garçon grand* means 'a tall boy'.

60. These examples were reported to me by Th. Harimohon Singh whose source is Ch. Yashawanta Singh (p.c.).

61. This sentence most probably indicates beginning of menstruation.

62. The verb *man* 'seems' also functions to indicate mood, indicating a probability based on indirect evidence, that some event or state has taken place or been attained. The verb occurs in the frozen expression *oyrəmanne*.

i. *čəhi əməgi*   *oyrəmanne*
    čəhi ə   -mə   -ki   oy -lə   man   -ne
    year ATT -one   -GEN   be -PRO   resemble -SI
    year of one   be seems
    'It seems it is going to go on for a year.'

Both the evidential and mood values of *oyrəmanne* are reflected in these restrictions: the verb cannot be used with present tense since it indicates future probability or with first person actors since the verb indicates only indirect information.

63. The sequence *-ninə* can also be *-ni* 'copula' and *-nə* 'contrastive'. In this case the clause has a comparative reading.

i. *məhak*   *kə́nnə́*   *hótnəbənínə*
    mə   -hak   kə́n   -nə   hótnə -pə   -ni   -nə
    3P   -here   intense   -ADV   try   -NOM   -COP -CNTR
    he   intensely   having tried

    pərikhya   *ŋə́mle*
    pərikhya   ŋə́m   -lə   -e
    test   success -PERF   -ASRT
    test   succeed
    'Because he studied harder (than you), he passed the exam.'

64. In this section, I provide the criteria I used to distinguish inflectional from derivational morphology.

65. I use phrase structure rules to derive the ordering of categories within the word since other ways of deriving the linear ordering of morphemes do not work here. For example, linear ordering may be derived through the interaction of phonology and morphology as in the theory of Lexical Morphology and Phonology (Kiparsky 1982, 1983; Mohanan 1986). Although it can be stated that inflectional morphemes do undergo later level phonological rules and thus occur outside of the derivational morphology, there is nothing on the basis of phonology to preempt a particular order for the morphemes in the second and third derivational level. Secondly, the notion that the "head of a word" will always be at the rightmost edge of a word and thus be ordered to the right of the constituent of which it is the head (Di Sciullo and Williams 1987) is of no use here. Since derivational markers signal things like the person for whom or with whom some action is performed or the manner some action is performed, but do not derive intra or intercategory changes, there is no reason to consider them as heads. It would be possible, following Di Sciullo and Williams (1987: 26) to diacritically mark the noncategory changing rightmost suffix to indicate that it carries the category of stem it is concatenated with. This would be an unrevealing solution for Meithei, since all 19 second and third level derivational suffixes will have to be so marked. Finally, a purely templatic formula is not in evidence for Meithei, since second level derivational morphemes do not occur in a fixed position.

66. -nə adverbial does not enter into the ordering of morphemes described in 7.1 since it must affix to a verb root. -pə 'nominalizer' may affix to a verb root, after verb derivation or verb inflection (see examples (2a), (2e) and (2c) in Chapter 6). The nominalizing prefixes do not occur with other prefixes and occur with only nominal suffixes.

67. For some consultants it is possible for the two markers to appear together in a lexicalized sequence to indicate an action that is performed in conjunction with and at the same time as another person as in (i).

i. čánəminnənə́bəni

čánə	-min	-nə	-nə́bə	-ni
feast	-TOGETHER	-RECIP	-IN ORDER TO	-COP

'It is in order to have a feast together.'

Evidence that -minnə is not a productive sequence is that both -nə 'reciprocal' and -minnə can occur in the same word as in (ii).

ii. čə́tnəminnəhəwbənə

čət	-nə	-minnə	-həw	-pə	-nə
go	-RECIP	-TOGETHER	-START	-NOM	-INST

'It is better if you go together with her.'

68. Matisoff argues, based on discussion of grammaticalization of give in Yao Samsao, Vietnamese, Khmer and Mandarin, that this is a universally available pattern of grammaticalization.

69. There is also a small class of words where -pi is used as a classifier for things which branch off of larger entities: lə́mbi 'path' from lə́m 'road', khambi 'fire' from kham- 'envelope, encompass', khubi 'thumb' from khut 'hand', khóŋbi 'big toe' from khóŋ 'foot'.

70. According to Bhat and Ningomba (1986b: 4), -həw is used to signify causation. Sentences such as (i) are given as evidence; however, it is clear that causation is signalled by the subordinating morphology.

i. məhaknə purəktúnə   əy čáhəwwí

mə -hak	-nə	pu	-lək	-túnə	əy	čá	-həw	-í
3P -here	-CNTR	bring	-DIST	-ING	I	eat	-START	-NHYP
he		bringing			I	start eating		

'I could eat because he brought something.'

71. Since -khi refers to an action already completed in the past, it often carries the implication that the subject has left the place of action after the action has been performed. I assume that this is what has led both Bhat and Ningomba (1986b: 5) and N. Nonigopal Singh (1987: 59) to analyze -khi (analyzed by both writers as being underlying /-khə/ with an allomorph [khi]) as a directional marker meaning to 'V away from some place or time.'

72. It is this reading that underlies the analysis of -khi as a progressive aspect marker in Bhat and Ningomba (1986b: 3) and N. Nonigopal Singh (1987: 55).

73. Note that when -khi 'still' is followed by -lə 'perfect', -li 'progressive' or -o 'solicitive', the final vowel of -khi deletes. Thus -khi + -lə, -khi + -li and -khi + -o are -khrə, -khri and -kho, respectively. The sequence -khrə may occur with an epenthetic ə, so that khrə surfaces as khərə. See section 2.6.4 for further discussion.

74. This reading for -ləm is not currently attested in Meithei. It is, however, present in other Tibeto-Burman languages: for example, Michailovsky (1980) describes a locative particle lo in Hayu which is a reflex of Proto Tibeto-Burman, *lam 'road, way' (Matisoff 1989: 7).

75. núŋti is a complex form consisting of núŋ 'sun' and ti for which I am unable to find a gloss, most probably due to avoidance of the homophonous form ti 'testicle, penis'.

76. The negative marker can only be used to describe future or hypothetical situations in idioms such as (i).

i.

nóksi		kəday	nóktəsi			kəday
nók	-si	kəday	nók	-tə	-si	kəday
laugh	-SUP	where	laugh	-NEG	-SUP	where
let's laugh		where	let's not laugh			where

'I'm at a loss as to what to do.'

The sentence literally means, 'Let's laugh, then where (am I)?, let's not laugh then where (am I)?'

77. Out of nine speakers I questioned, five felt that this was a possible form but four felt it was unacceptable. The duplicated form of -khi 'still' adds a level of politeness to the sentence.

i.

nəŋ	čák	čákhikhinu			
nəŋ	čák	čá	-khi	-khi	-nu
you	rice	eat	-STILL	-STILL	-PROBH

This form was originally noted in Ch. Yashawanta Singh (1984); however, when I checked the form with native speakers 2 out of 4 thought the form was ungrammatical, the other two saying such forms can be found in poetry or in the stylized language of plays.

78. Also, nouns do not have a third level of derivation and do have a prefixal category that verbs do not.

79. Pettigrew (1912: 14) also lists -*sa* which he calls vocative case. As seen in (i) and (ii) -*sa* additionally acts to pluralize the noun it is suffixed to. It cannot be suffixed on inanimate nouns: **layriksa*; nouns which cannot substitute for proper names **húysa* (*húy* 'dog'), **misa* (*mí* 'man') or proper nouns **Tómbasa*. There are no examples of this marker in my data and native speakers consider it to be archaic.

i.   *əŋáŋsá*

ə	-ŋáŋ	-sá
ATT	-child	-body

'Children!'

ii.   *nupi*   *məčásá*   *nəkhoy*

nu	-pi	mə	-čá	-sá	nə	-khoy
person	-FEM	NM	-small	-body	2P	-hpl
girl			young ones		you all	

la?o

lak	-lə	-o
come	-INT	-SOLCT

come, won't you

'You girls, why don't you come here.'

80. The -*pa* suffix is related to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman agent noun suffix -*pá* as seen in Tibetan *rta-pá* 'horseman'; *c'u-pa* 'water carrier' (Matisoff 1991a: 19).

81. A possible variant of *khoy* is *khəy*. The reduction of the vowel to schwa is a common alternation seen in stems that have been lexicalized to serve as suffixes (see Table 3). The alternation of *o* and *ə* indicates that the stem *khoy* is in the process of becoming a suffix.

i.   *əŋáŋkhəygi*

ə	-ŋáŋ	-khóy	-ki

In a small class of stock phrases it is possible to suffix this marker to verbs as in (ii).

ii.   *čə́tkhəy*   *čə́tlurágə*

čə́t	-khəy	čə́t	-lu	-lə́gə
go	-hpl	go	-ADIR	-AFTER
going to many places		after going there		

'has gone to so many places'

To one consultant *čə́tkhəy* meant 'more than one person going somewhere'.

82. -*su* is a lexicalized shortening of -*suŋ* 'also' which occurs in the frozen form *əməsuŋ* 'and' composed of -*ə* 'attributive', *mə* 'one' and -*suŋ* 'also' (Ch. Yashwanta Singh 1984: 258). The deletion of the final *ŋ* in lexicalization is seen again in the development of the exclusive marker *tə́* from the stem *táŋ* 'rare, exclusive'. See endnote 88.

83. I adopt the view put forward in Sadock (1991) and Woodbury (1995), however, that the morphological status of a clitic might differ from its phonological status. For example, the nonhypothetical inflectional affix -*í* has high tone and therefore, according to the phonological criteria I have stated, it must be treated as a clitic. In the morphology, however, this marker is clearly an inflectional suffix since it can only be suffixed to a verb. Thus the phonology offers a probable but not necessarily defining characteristic of affixes and enclitics.

84. This is well motivated: since -*no* 'inquisitive' contains -*o* 'solicitive' the question of whether they combine is irrelevant. Furthermore, since -*ni* indicates a statement, it would be semantically anomalous for either the interrogative or solicitive to be affixed to -*ni*.

85. The copula may also suffix to verbs in the future tense that, as discussed in section 6.1, are nominal forms. Further discussion of the functions of the copula is in Chapter 6.

86. The etymologies of -*ni* 'copula'; -*ne* 'shared information'; -*no* 'inquisitive' and *nətte* 'no' can be hypothesized as shown below:

ni	= *nə*	+ -*í*	'nonhypothetical'	'it is'
no	= *nə*	+ -*o*	'solicitative'	'is it?'
ne	= *nə*	+ -*e*	'assertive'	'is it not so?'
nətte	= *nə*	+ -*tə*	'negative' + -*e* 'assertive'	'it is not so'

to derive verbs but, as explained in section 7.3.1, has the distribution of an enclitic.

87. See (14a) in Chapter 5 for analysis.
88. The exclusive enclitic *-tə́* is derived from the stem *táŋ-* 'rare'. The development of this enclitic from a related stem provides an illustration of a common pattern of lexicalization in Meithei. First, *táŋ-* 'rare' occurs as stem *táŋ* and as a verbal suffix where its original meaning is modified to mean 'distinct, exclusive' and the vowel appears as *ə*. Both uses are shown in (i).

   i.   *táŋdə́ŋbə*
        táŋ   -táŋ   -pə
        rare   -exclusive   -NOM
        'explicit, obvious'

   The final consonant of the suffix is lost so that *-táŋ* alternates with *-tə́*.

89. *yápontene* results from the following phonological processes:

   yápot+nətte+ne   →
   yápotnətene   (tt reduces to t, see 2.6.2) →
   yáponətene   (tn reduces to n, see 2.6.2) →
   yápontene   (nət becomes nt, see 2.6.5).

90. A useful semantic classification of Meithei compounds is given in Bhat and Ningomba (1986b: 2).
91. I found only one example of a right headed verbal compound: *lánʃén* 'evacuate during war' from *lán* 'war' and *cén* 'run'.
92. See for example a description of similar phenomena in Tibetan (Uray 1954), Lahu (Matisoff 1973b) and as an areal feature for the Indian subcontinent (Abbi 1992, Masica 1991).
93. Ch. Yashawanta Singh (1988) analyzes these stems as prefixes that trigger or occur with duplication.
94. As shown in Ch. Yashwanta Singh (1984: 104-117), the meaning of reduplication with *i* 'full', and *pə́ŋ* 'idiot' is changed to 'hardly V' when it occurs with a negative verb.

   i.   *pə́ŋka kade*
        pə́ŋ -ka   ka   -tə   -e
        idiot -attend attend   -NEG   -ASRT
        'hardly attends'

   ii. *iyeŋ yeŋde*
        i   -yeŋ   yeŋ   -tə   -e
        full   -attend attend -NEG   -ASRT
        'hardly sees'

95. Recall that a root is a bound morpheme with no derivational or inflectional morphology, a stem is a root with additional morphology.
96. There are examples of productive compounding with *póy-* in noun-verb compounds as in (i); however, this is not available in verb-verb compounds except in idiomatic phrases. Similarly, with the exception of duplicated forms, *kum-* is used to modify nouns (as in (ii) and (iii)) but not verbs.

   i. *sənbóy*   ii. *əŋáŋgum*   iii. *laybə́kum*
       sən -póy   ə -ŋáŋ   -kum   lay -pə́k -kum
       cow -wander   ATT -child -like   god -get -like
       'stray cattle'   'like a child'   'like fate'

97. The *phənék* refers to the traditional garment worn by Meithei women. It is a single piece of cloth which is wrapped at the waist and falls to the ankles.
98. *Nuŋ* also appears in nonduplicated words like *unuŋ* 'trees and the like'.
99. The compound *thə́wʃán* is interpreted idiomatically as 'kindness' (N. Kelchandra Singh: 1964a).
100. This fact contradicts the claim, presented in Ch. Yashawanta Singh (1984), P. Madhubala Devi (1979) and N. Nonigopal Singh (1987), that *-o* 'solicitive' *-u* 'imperative' are morphophonemic variants of the same morpheme.
101. When opposing imperatives to solicitives in issuing commands, native speakers will often note that the former are used to issue commands on a single occasion whereas the latter are used for habitually issued commands. Clearly, this impression that imperative marking conveys some aspectual notion is related to the fact that a familiar is seen on regular basis (hence the command to the familiar may be made on a regular basis), whereas a command to a stranger or commands to equals who are not well-known to the speaker are made on a single or limited number of occasions.
102. This explains the analysis of *-həw* being a marker of co-occurrence by Bhat and Ningomba (1986b: 4), in that the speaker is present at the same time as the occurrence of V (e.g. *cáhəwwi* 'began eating (while I was there) which also consists of *ca-* 'eat' and *-li* 'progressive.'

103. Note the curious semantic relationships between *kuy-* 'be long' and *kúy-* 'long ago'. As illustrated by the following list, a pattern of such relationships between minimal tone pairs exists.

koy	fence	*kóy-*	garden
khun	village	*khún*	furrow
čaŋ	percentage	*čáŋ*	average
čon-	fill a container to the brim	*čón*	length of trouser
ton	low caste	*tón-*	on top
thum-	sweet	*thúm-*	salty
nan-	caress	*nán-*	slip, slime
nəw-	soft, new	*náw-*	young
pu-	bring, carry	*pú-*	borrow
pun	tie, bind	*pún-*	dense, crowded
pha-	belt	*phá-*	arrest, catch, complete
mən-	old	*mə́n-*	too much
maŋ-	wasted by touching at an inappropriate time	*máŋ-*	lose, disappear
mu-	black, dirty	*mú-*	roast slightly over coals
law-	shout, noise	*láw-*	soft, downy, broad
sok-	touch	*sók-*	injure
hen-	be more	*hén-*	be more beautiful than others

104. For a female *tə́y* might refer to her husband; the elder brother of her husband; husband of her older sister; son of her maternal uncle or son of a paternal aunt older than herself.
105. The assimilation of /n/ to [m] before [p] or [b] is restricted to *tón-* 'top'.
106. *Niŋ* appears as the first stem in several compounds where it has the meaning of 'head, mind'. I am following N. Khelchandra Singh (1964a) by assuming that *niŋthi* 'nice' and *niŋthəw* 'king' are composed of the same first stem. I am not sure what the meaning of the second stem in these words is.
107. *sum* alternates with *dum* (i.e. *ədum* 'thus') and *suk* alternates with *duk* (i.e. *əduk* 'all'). This is the only example of variation between [s] and [d].
108. When this play was broadcast, eighteen rupees equalled approximately one U.S. dollar.

References

This list contains works cited in this book and includes all the materials on the Meithei language that I have collected. For materials that are hard to access, I have indicated whether I have the item (H), have the item and have had it translated from Meithei into English (HT), or have not yet acquired or seen the item (NS).

Manipuri personal names have three parts which appear in this order: (1) a family name; (2) a given name; and (3) a caste or religious title (the most common titles are *Sharma* for Brahmin men, *Singh* for non-Brahmin men, *Devi* for Hindu women, *Begum* for Muslim women and *Malik* for Muslim men). Those reacting against the imposition of Hinduism on Manipuri culture have adopted final names that do not refer to caste: *Meitei* or *Meetei* for men and *Chanu* for women. A married woman might add *Ongbi* after the family name, a single woman might add *Ningol* after the family name. If *Ongbi* or *Ningol* are used, the final titles *Devi* and *Chanu* cannot be used. In current usage, the family name may occur as an initial, in other cases the caste/sex/religion/race title has been dropped and the family name is used as the last name. I have alphabetized names according to the last name used by the author.

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