Chapter II

Phonological, morphological, and morphophonological features of Mising

2. Introduction

This chapter sheds light on the phonological, morphological, and morphophonological features of Mising. Syntactic features are not discussed as it is outside the scope of this study. In §2.1, we focus on the segmental and suprasegmental features of Mising. The *segmental phonology* shows the phonemic inventory and the distribution of different phonemes, whereas the *suprasegmental phonology* sheds light on the linear and metrical syllable structure, occurrence of word-medial geminate and non-geminate consonant clusters, stress and intonation, and the vexing question of the presence or absence of tone. Mising morphology (§2.2) is discussed under two headings: *inflectional* and *derivational*. Number and case (often referred to as morphosyntactic categories), definiteness, demonstratives, and gender are focused under the dimensions of nominal inflections while tense, aspect, and mood are studied under verbal inflections. Adjectives are inflected for comparative and superlative degree with the suffixes *-ja* and *-pak* respectively. As regards the derivational morphology, it focuses on *nominalization, verbalization,* and *adverbialization.* This section also seeks to expound the word-formation processes such as prefixation, compounding, and reduplication. Morphophonemics is an interesting area of study in Mising. Various morphophonemic changes occur when different grammatical suffixes are attached to root words. Some frequently observed changes are alternation between vowel length and the velar nasal *ŋ*, devoicing of voiced stops in the word-final position, and deletion of the velar nasal *ŋ* in the word-final position and these features are discussed in §2.3. Similarly, various morphophonemic changes such as *vowel coalescence, word-medial*
gemination, and deletion are triggered when the marker -ə is attached to nominal and adjectival roots. These changes are, however, restricted only to the geminate group of Mising dialects (for details, see §5.3).

2.1. Phonology

The previous descriptions of Mising phonemes by researchers differ from one another. In Prasad's *Mising Grammar* (1995), a list of twenty-eight phonemes is shown, out of which twenty-five are segmental and three are suprasegmental. The inventory of vowel phonemes as shown by Prasad (1995:13), include two front vowels i and e, three central vowels ḭ, ḛ, and a̰, and two back vowels u and o. The presence of two central retroflex vowels is shown in Mising: high central retroflex vowel ḭ and high mid-central retroflex vowel ḛ. And the two diphthongs mentioned are au and ai. The consonants include p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, ng, r, l, ts, z, w, and y. The suprasegmental features in Mising as mentioned by Prasad include three tones: high ′, low ∪, and level (unmarked) (Prasad 1995:12). On the other hand, Taid (1998) gives a list of seven vowels- i, e, ḭ, a, u and o. The presence of long vowels and the absence of tone are also discussed by Taid in his study. He has shown a total number of eighteen diphthongs in Mising.

A study on Mising phonology by Prasad (1995), as I have already discussed in §1.2.4, is an amalgamation of two dialects (*Pагро* and *Sa:jaŋ*) and so the data presented in the book is not easily understood or clear to readers. The present investigation stands close to Taid's findings on Mising phonology. In the remainder of this chapter this is further discussed along with the morphological and morphophonemic features of the language.
2.1.1. Mising phonemes

The present investigation shows twenty-nine phonemes in Mising, of which fourteen are vowels and fifteen are consonants. Tables 2 and 3 show the vowels and consonants in Mising with respect to their place and manner of articulation.

Table 2 – Vowels in Mising

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e:</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 – Consonants in Mising

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place →</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manner ↓</td>
<td>-v</td>
<td>+v</td>
<td>-v</td>
<td>+v</td>
<td>-v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.1. Vowels

Mising has fourteen vowels; seven short and seven long (table-2). The vowel system in Mising shows two front, three central, and two back vowels. Discussion on long vowels follow in §2.1.1.1.1. In this section we focus on the occurrence of short vowels in all the positions (initial, medial, and final). Few examples are illustrated in Table-4.
Table 4- Occurrence of short vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Word Initial</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Word medial</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Word final</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>iki:</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td>gimur</td>
<td>‘cotton’</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>‘stomach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>eñe</td>
<td>‘arum’</td>
<td>mere</td>
<td>‘charcoal’</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>‘crab’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>iimi</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>pətir</td>
<td>‘hen-coop’</td>
<td>api</td>
<td>‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>økkaŋ</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
<td>lopo</td>
<td>‘foot’</td>
<td>e:me</td>
<td>‘third wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>adi</td>
<td>‘mountain’</td>
<td>gasor</td>
<td>‘shawl’</td>
<td>tapa</td>
<td>‘pumpkin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>ui</td>
<td>‘spirit’</td>
<td>kujab</td>
<td>‘spade’</td>
<td>anu</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>omoŋ</td>
<td>‘daughter’</td>
<td>gommanj</td>
<td>‘dumb’</td>
<td>oŋo</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.1. Vowel length

Vowel length is a prominent feature in Mising. The presence of long vowels in Mising is mentioned in the works of Grierson’s Linguistic Survey of India (1903), Taid (1998, 2000), and Pegu (2008). All Tani languages seem to distinguish vowel length, the lexical function of which differs from language to language (Sun 1993:457). The occurrence of long vowel in most of the modern Tani languages as reported by Sun, in Mising, most instances of long vowels occur in open syllables as in o:-ri ‘coriander leaves’, po:-lo ‘moon’, and i-ki: ‘dog’. We also notice evidence of length contrast in closed syllables, for instance: a:m ‘paddy’, e:g ‘pig’, and gər ‘ask someone to move’. However, the occurrence of long vowels in closed syllable is rare.
Table 5- shows short-long vowel contrast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>'to do'</td>
<td>gimur</td>
<td>'cotton'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>'blood'</td>
<td>gi:mur</td>
<td>'to carry by mistake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e:me</td>
<td>'arum'</td>
<td>penam</td>
<td>'to curse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:</td>
<td>e:me</td>
<td>'third wife'</td>
<td>pe:nam</td>
<td>'to cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i:r</td>
<td>'to wash'</td>
<td>pinam</td>
<td>'to pour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i:r</td>
<td>'be gorgeous'</td>
<td>pi:nam</td>
<td>'to reach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø:</td>
<td>'to throw'</td>
<td>gø:nam</td>
<td>'to wear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø:</td>
<td>ø:</td>
<td>'to agree'</td>
<td>gø:ma</td>
<td>'to be bent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>anø</td>
<td>'mother (ref)'</td>
<td>kanam</td>
<td>'to have'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>anø</td>
<td>'river'</td>
<td>ka:nam</td>
<td>'to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u:saŋ</td>
<td>'to boil'</td>
<td>junam</td>
<td>'to burr'y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u:saŋ</td>
<td>'to lift up(clothes)'</td>
<td>ju:nam</td>
<td>'to be bend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>'give birth'</td>
<td>sonam</td>
<td>'to pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:</td>
<td>o:</td>
<td>'recede'</td>
<td>so:nam</td>
<td>'to dance'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all the long vowels occur distinctly in all the positions. The occurrence of a long vowel in a word-final position is not realized just like the alternation of voiced-voiceless stops like p and b, t and d, for instance: linø talap ‘onion’ may be pronounced as linø talab ‘onion’ and ko: ‘boy’ → ko ‘boy’. Likewise, the short-long phonemic contrast between minimal pairs in the word-final position is never distinct, for instance: /take/ ‘crab’ and /take:/ ‘ginger’. Here, without referring to the context, either of the words could mean alternatively. Some examples of short-long vowel contrast are given in Table-5.


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2.1.1.2. Diphthongs

True diphthongs did not exist in proto-Tani. The diphthongs in the modern Tani languages are from neighboring languages or are the result of syllabic contraction (Sun 2003:456). The diphthongs as found in the present day Mising are illustrated in Table 6 as given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>kai</td>
<td>‘elder brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>‘youngest child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ui</td>
<td>‘spirit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>‘term for addressing one’s wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>‘a colloquial term for addressing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>‘bamboo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oan</td>
<td>‘to fall in (water)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>‘mother (term for reference’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iuk</td>
<td>‘bamboo shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bau</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oud</td>
<td>‘tall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>laum</td>
<td>‘thrice/three times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>ao</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>io</td>
<td>‘nephew’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Monosyllabic words like oi ‘youngest child’, ui ‘spirit’, ai ‘self’, ia ‘bamboo’, ou ‘mother ao ‘son’, and ia ‘bamboo’ can be clearly identified as diphthongs whereas we find a mixed treatment for the words kai ‘elder brother’, oan ‘to fall in (say water), iuk ‘bamboo shoot’, oud ‘tall’, laum ‘thrice/three times’ as monosyllabic and as well as disyllabic words. The occurrence of monosyllabic words in diphthongal form is very
limited and so the presence or absence of diphthongs in Mising is highly incommodious. A recent study on Galo (Post 2007) also shows the occurrence or non-occurrence of diphthongs in the underlying representations of monosyllabic Galo roots and other morphemes as a niggling affair. He assumes the presence of a few heterorganic sequences to have emerged as a result of historical process of compounding and prefixation (Post 2007:139).

2.1.1.3. Consonants

The inventory of consonant phonemes in Mising is shown in Table-3. The segmental phonology of this language shows the occurrence of the voiced and voiceless stops at three places of articulation (bilabial, dental, and velar). Some examples are given below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pinam} & \quad \text{'to sharpen'} & \text{binam} & \quad \text{'to carry'} \\
\text{tonam} & \quad \text{'to wait'} & \text{donam} & \quad \text{'to eat'} \\
\text{ka:nam} & \quad \text{'to see'} & \text{ga:nam} & \quad \text{'to scratch'}
\end{align*}
\]

The voiced and voiceless stops in Mising occur in all the positions (initial, medial, and final position of a word. However, the voice-voiceless contrast of the stops in the word-final position is not realized.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{talap} & \quad \text{'onion'} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{talab} & \quad \text{'onion'} \\
\text{ta} & \quad \text{'bee'} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{tagud} & \quad \text{'bee'} \\
\text{galuk} & \quad \text{'shirt'} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{galug} & \quad \text{'shirt'}
\end{align*}
\]

The two voiced and voiceless alveolar fricatives [s] and [z] occur in word initial and medial positions, for instance: \textit{sito} 'elephant', \textit{asi} 'water', \textit{zommap} 'name of a small
fish', and *azon* ‘friend’. The occurrence of [s] and [z] in the word-final position is found only in loan words. Some examples are: *bakos* ‘box’, *kagos* ‘paper’, and *mogoz* ‘brain’.

Like most of the Tani languages (Sun 1993), we find four nasals [m, n, ŋ, ŋ] in Mising which occur at the place of bilabial, dental, palatal, and velar respectively. All the nasals, excluding the palatal nasal, occur in all positions of a word. The palatal nasal /ŋ/ occurs only in the word-medial position of a word in most of the Mising dialects. Some examples of the occurrence of nasals are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-initial</th>
<th>Word-medial</th>
<th>Word-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mipak</em> ‘non-Mising’</td>
<td><em>amik</em> ‘eye’</td>
<td><em>domum</em> ‘cloudy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nitom</em> ‘song’</td>
<td><em>andŋ</em> ‘short’</td>
<td><em>amin</em> ‘name’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>aŋŋ</em> ‘shame’</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>go</em> ‘I’</td>
<td><em>ogo</em> ‘fish’</td>
<td><em>iŋŋ</em> ‘stone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like most of the Tani languages (Sun 1993, Post 2007) the palatal nasal /ŋ/ can occur in the word-initial position in *Mo:jĩŋ Mising* whereas it is restricted in the rest of the Mising dialects, for instance, *jumra* ‘forest’ and *jinti* ‘sweet potato’.

The distribution of the dental lateral /l/ and the palatal continuant /j/ vary across Mising dialects. Majority of the Mising dialects (especially dialects placed in the geminate group) show the occurrence of the dental lateral /l/ in the initial and medial positions but not in the word final position, for instance: *lamb* ‘road’ and *mɔlɔm* ‘to frighten (someone)’. On the other hand, *Mo:jĩŋ Mising* and *Sa:jãŋ Mising* (non-geminate group Mising dialects) exhibits the occurrence of the dental lateral /l/ in all positions of a word, for instance, *lobag* ‘lazy’, *alap* ‘wing’, and *mɔkɔl* ‘charcoal’. The
Mo:jiŋ Mising speakers have preserved the proto-coda [l] which is prone to loss in most of the Tani languages as reported in Sun’s (1993) comparative study on Tani languages.

2.1.2. Phonotactics

In this section we discuss the suprasegmental features of Mising. It sheds light on the geminate and non-geminate consonant clusters (§2.1.2.1), syllable structures and the syllable canon (§2.1.2.2), the presence of vowel length and not tone (§2.1.2.3), and the placement of stress and intonation (§2.1.2.4) in Mising.

2.1.2.1. Consonant clusters

Consonant cluster in Mising occur only in word-medial position and not in initial or final positions. The consonants that occur as cluster in the word-medial position do not belong to the same syllable but they are members of the preceding and following syllables. The clusters are of two types: geminated and non-geminated.

2.1.2.1.1. Geminated clusters

The geminated clusters in Mising found between various consonants are given in Table 7.
Table 7 - geminated consonant clusters (GCC) in Mising

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GCC</th>
<th>Mising word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-pp-</td>
<td>appun</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bb-</td>
<td>abbug</td>
<td>‘gun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tt-</td>
<td>pottaŋ</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dd-</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kk-</td>
<td>mikki</td>
<td>‘smoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gg-</td>
<td>laggulunj</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ss-</td>
<td>ossur</td>
<td>‘young leaves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zz-</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mm-</td>
<td>gommanj</td>
<td>‘dumb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nn-</td>
<td>onno</td>
<td>‘thread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nj-</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ŋŋ-</td>
<td>āŋŋo</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rr-</td>
<td>dorroŋ</td>
<td>‘ribs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ll-</td>
<td>olluŋ</td>
<td>‘boat/canoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jj-</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data on hand shows the presence of different geminated consonant clusters in Mising. However, we do not find clustering of consonants such as -dd-, -zz-, and -ŋŋ-. It is important to mention here that the geminated consonant clusters as shown above are not uniform in all Mising dialects. Some Mising dialects like Mo:jįŋ and Sajaj do not allow the clusters -pp- and -ŋŋ- in some words, for instance: appun ‘flower’ → apun ‘flower’ and āŋŋo ‘five’ → ēṇo ‘five’. The variations observed in different consonant clusters are discussed in §3.2.5.
2.1.2.1.2. Non-geminate clusters

Non-geminate consonant clusters in Mising can be further divided into homorganic and heterorganic clusters. The clusters occur in word-medial position. Some examples are ampi ‘sticky rice’, ambin ‘rice grain’, matsik ‘knife’, aglij ‘anger’, matbu ‘ash’, dorkay ‘earthworm’, doksiri ‘necklace’, marsay ‘edible leaves’, sagro ‘cough’, muglij ‘thunder bolt’, albaiy ‘thigh’, anjir ‘sweat’, pagli ‘sweet potato’, jinti ‘a variety of sweet potato’, sojkit ‘whistle, mensaraj ‘fox’, and dopsoy ‘thief’. The possible clustering of different consonants is shown in Table-8. Here, the ‘y’ signals the presence of clusters and ‘x’ shows restriction of clustering between two consonants.\(^1\)

Table 8- shows the occurrence of various geminated and non-geminated consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>j</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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</table>

\(^{1}\) A complete list of clustering between geminated and non-geminated consonants can be found in the list of words belonging to different grammatical categories as given in Appendix-A.
The chart given above shows that the palatal nasal [n], palatal continuant [j], and the alveolar fricative [z] do not combine with any of the consonants to form clusters while the alveolar tap [r] combines with all consonant phonemes to form clusters. In case of other consonants we find combination and as well as restriction. The table given above is prepared with the data collected from the Pagro dialect. Mising dialects exhibits variations in different lexical categories and we notice variation in geminate and non-geminate clusters as well. The differences observed in consonant clusters are discussed in §3.2.5.

2.1.2.2. Syllable

2.1.2.2.1. Syllable canon

The syllable canon in Mising is (C₁) V₁ (C₂); C₁ represents the initial consonant, V₁ is the obligatory nuclear vowel, and C₂ represents the final consonant. Sun (2003) shows the syllable canon of Tani as (C) (C) V (C). This is so because of the presence of initial consonant cluster in some of the Tani languages, especially those which belong to the western Tani sub-group.

2.1.2.2.2. Syllable structure

Syllables in Mising are monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic. Illustrations of the three types are shown in the Table given below:
Table 9- shows syllable structures in Mising

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable Structure</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>‘to sharpen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VV</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.V</td>
<td>‘bamboo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.VC</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.CV</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.CVC</td>
<td>‘saliva’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV</td>
<td>‘parrot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.VC</td>
<td>‘crow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CVC</td>
<td>‘banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC.CV</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC.CVC</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CV.CVC</td>
<td>‘beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CV.CV</td>
<td>‘necklace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CV.CVC</td>
<td>‘fox’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mising verbal roots are monosyllabic and they mostly occur in CV structure, for instance: pa ‘to cut’, do ‘to eat’, pi ‘to sharpen/to pour’, so ‘to pull’, so: ‘to dance’, ti ‘to drink’ and many more. However, the verb roots cannot stand independently and they always take TAM features without which they are meaningless. The syllable structures in Mising tremendously show CV or CVC syllable structure. Trisyllabic words are found to be very rare in Mising.
2.1.2.3. Tone

Mising has no tone. Grierson (1903) has mentioned about the presence of tone in Mising in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. III-Part-I), but not a single datum is presented by which one can claim for the presence of tone in Mising. Prasad (1995) has shown three tones in Mising: high ('), level ("), and low (') in his study of two dialects of Mising, namely *Sa:jag* and *Mo:jig.*\(^{15}\) What Prasad calls to be tone appears to be a vowel lengthening. Earlier studies on Mising have no mention of the presence of long vowels in Mising. It is worth mentioning here that a comparative study on Tani languages conducted by Sun (1993) shows the presence of tone as well as long vowels in most of the languages grouped under the Tani sub-group. However, he confirms that phonemic tone is a prevalent feature in the Western Tani sub-group while it is completely non-existent in some Eastern Tani languages like Bokar (Sun 2003:457). Some Tani languages like Galo (Post 2007) shows the presence of tone and as well as vowel length. Few examples are: *bi* '3sg', *mò* 'think', and *jàa* 'rotten' (Post 2007:880) to which the Mising equivalents are *hi* '3sg', *mò* 'think', and *ja* 'rotten' respectively. Even if Mising had tone once when they dwelled in the hilly tracks of Arunachal Pradesh there is every possibility that they might have lost its tonal features from the time that came in contact with the plains people. In Mising, the presence of vowel length is prominent while we confirm the absence of tone. We observe the presence of homophones in the language which are not distinguished by tone. Some examples of homophonous words out of hundreds are: *igij* 'waist'/*igij* 'axe', *ai* 'self'/*ai* 'roots and underground nuts', *agom* 'speech'/*agom* 'one morsel (of rice), and *ajo* 'tongue'/*ajo* 'mother-in-law (reference). Some examples of short-long vowel contrast are given in Table-5. Thus, we can vouch for the presence of vowel length in Mising and not tone.

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\(^{15}\) *Sa:jag* and *Mo:jig*, like other dialects of Mising, accounts for the presence of long vowels and not tone.
2.1.2.4. Stress and intonation

Word-stress is not a prominent feature in Mising. The second syllable is often stressed, for instance: *asi* (V.CV) ‘water’, *imi* (V.CV) ‘fire’, *pobe* (CV.CV) ‘parrot’, and *mensaruj* (CVC.CV.CVC) ‘fox’. Metrical theory describes this type of unit as *lambic*, in which the bounded (head which governs the syllable that immediately precedes or follows) metrical foot is right-dominant, the other being left-dominant or the unit which is called *Trochee* (Hayes 1981; Kager 1995).16 In Mising, the final syllable is the more prominent in a disyllabic foot. This is illustrated below.

\[
\begin{aligned}
(1a) & & F \\
& & W \quad S \\
a & & si \\
\end{aligned}
\quad
\begin{aligned}
(1b) & & F \\
& & W \quad S \\
p\bar{o} & & ki \\
\end{aligned}
\]

*Figure 3- illustrations of disyllabic feet asi (V.CV) ‘water’ and p\bar{o}ki (CV.CV) ‘dove’*

[Subscript: F = Foot, S = Strong, W = Weak]

The stress placement in Mising cannot be generalized from the above discussion alone. Here, it is important to bring in another phenomenon called *Quantity Sensitivity* which deals with the role of syllable weight (Katamba 1989:232). As already discussed in §2.1.1.1.1 about the presence of long vowels in Mising, the role of syllable weight (here, the presence or absence of a long vowel in a syllable) needs to be considered. Words in which the syllable is heavy, or syllable which ends in a long vowel takes the stress irrespective of its position. A few examples are: *i:sor* (V.CVC) ‘saliva’, *e:po\bar{g}* (V.CVC) ‘first wife’, and *take:* (CV.CV) ‘crab’. This can also be supported with the

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16 One of the Tani languages which has a *Trochaic* system or foot having initial prominence is Galo (see Post 2008:197).
traditional definition of stress where *length* is understood to be one of the phonetic ingredients of stress placement; the others being *pitch* and *loudness* (Katamba 1989:221).

(2a) \( F \)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
i: \\
\text{sor}
\end{array}
\]

(2b) \( F \)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
W \\
ta \\
S \\
\text{ke:}
\end{array}
\]

Figure 4- illustrations of disyllabic feet *i:sor* (V.CVC) ‘saliva’ and *take*: (CV.CV) ‘ginger’.

Figure 4 shows examples where the syllabic weight (or open syllable ending in a long vowel) falls in (2a) initial and (2b) final syllables of a disyllabic foot. In (2a), stress is realized in the first syllable and in (2b) it falls in the final syllable. In both the cases it is determined by the syllabic weight following the *Sensitivity Quantity rule*.

From the above discussions, the stress placement in Mising can be generalized by considering two rules: (1) *syllable quantity insensitive stress rule* and (2) *quantity sensitive stress*. The first rule applies to disyllabic foot without taking into account the internal structure of a syllable while the second rule applies to disyllabic foot where the internal structure of a syllable needs consideration. Stress is realized in the *final syllable* when we talk about the first rule. On the other hand, it falls either on the *initial* or *final syllable* which is strictly determined by the presence of syllabic weight.

Two degrees of intonation: *rising* and *falling* are heard in Mising. These vary from one Mising dialect to another, and in fact, it may vary from one Mising village to another. This suprasegmental feature is outside the scope of the present study.

In our discussion on Mising phonology we have shown fourteen vowels (short and long) and fifteen consonants in the phonemic inventory of Mising. The attestation of few diphthongs is observed. We do not find word-initial and word-final consonant cluster, and in fact, the occurrence of consonant clusters in word-medial position is
dubious as the two members of the consonants occur in different syllables. Tone is not present in Mising. At the surface level, metrical foot is right dominant; stress falls on the second syllable in a disyllabic foot. We have also discussed on the loanword phonology of Mising. It is observed that borrowed words undergo some phonological modifications like omission of aspirated sounds and the attachment of the velar nasal /ŋ/.

2.1.2.5. Loan word phonology

The loan word phonology differs from one Mising dialect to another; strictly depends from one Mising speaker to another which is based on the degree of exposure one has with Assamese. Some of the observed sets of phonological adaptations in general, are the development of voiced aspirate sounds, inclusion of the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, the occurrence of dental lateral /l/ in word-final position, and the use of voiceless velar fricative /ɦ/ as voiceless velar stop /kl/.

Aspiration is not a feature in Mising. Aspirated phonemes in Assamese are de-aspirated by Mising speakers, for instance ḍ'oti ‘loin cloth worn by Assamese men folk’ > duti ‘loin cloth worn by Assamese men folk’, gak’ir ‘milk’ > gak’r ‘milk, dek’ ‘country’ > dek ‘country’.17 However, the close language contact situation of the Mising speakers with the Assamese serves as a catalyst for the former in developing the aspirated features possessed by the latter. The Assamese examples given above are pronounced as the same by many, if not all, Mising speakers.

The phoneme /h/ is not present in the list of Mising phonemes; though we see its presence in most of the Tani languages. The Misings pronounce /h/ only in words borrowed from either Assamese or English, for instance: hisab ‘count’ and hostel ‘students’ boarding place’, respectively. However, all Mising speakers have the tendency to omit it when it occurs at the beginning of a word like in hisab ‘count’ >

17 The Mising equivalent for ḍ'oti is ugon. As a result of acculturation, ugon is no more worn by Mising men folk. It is replaced with Assamese ḍ'oti.
isab ‘count’, replaces it with the alveolar fricative /s/ or simply omits it in word medial position as in fiibhagor ‘a district in Assam’ > sibsagor or iboagor ‘a district in Assam’.

Likewise, the dental lateral /l/ occurs only in the initial and medial positions of a word, for instance, lo:bag ‘lazy’ and so:le ‘pale’. The occurrence of /l/ in word-final position is observed only in words borrowed from Assamese and English as in al ‘plough’ (hal in Assamese) and hutel/utel ‘hotel’ respectively.

It may also be noted that the voiceless velar fricative /h/ in Assamese is replaced with the voiceless velar stop /k/ by Mising speakers when it occurs word medially and finally, but in word-initial it is replaced with /h/. Few examples are illustrated in Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assamese</th>
<th>Mising</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>homój</td>
<td>homoi/omoi</td>
<td>‘time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohomija</td>
<td>okomianj</td>
<td>‘Assamese people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bojofî</td>
<td>bojok</td>
<td>‘age’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Misings are in close contact with Assamese speakers ever since their settlement in various parts of the Brahmaputra valley. A good number of Assamese lexis has poured into Mising at a prodigious rate. They are used by Mising speakers today either with or without phonological and/or morphological adaptations. Besides, we also notice the employment of various Assamese suffixes for different grammatical functions.

2.2. Morphology

Mising is an agglutinative language. Nominal roots do not host prefixes but take two to three suffixes as in ko:-kidi-dɔ-m ‘boy-PLU-DEF-ACC’- ‘the boys’. Likewise, verb
roots do not take prefixes, but can host as many as six to seven suffixes, for instance: \textit{gi-len-bo-gor-ma-mi-lo} ‘go/move-out-along with someone-quickly-NEG-if-LOC’-‘if (you are) not able to go/move out (say, from a room) with someone quickly’. Verb roots in Mising undergo higher morphological construction \textit{vis-à-vis} nominal roots and they may be termed as highly agglutinative.

\subsection*{2.2.1. Morpheme and a word}

A morpheme in Mising consists of a single phoneme or a short sequence of phonemes which may form one or more than one syllable, for instance: \textit{i:} ‘blood’, \textit{dam-} ‘beat’, and \textit{jum-nam} ‘sleep-\textit{NMzI}’-‘sleeping’. Mising morphemes may be categorized into two: roots (free) and non-roots (bound). Roots which include noun, pronoun, adjectives, verbs and adverbs undergo higher morphological constructions to form a stem. On the other hand, non-roots comprising of affixes (prefixes\footnote{The inventory of prefixes is very limited in Mising. They are not affixed to free roots (nominals and adjectives), but instead, they have their own semantic groundings. This is discussed in the section on Mising prefixes (§2.2.3.1)} and suffixes) and other bound forms like particles do not tend to undergo higher morphological constructions.

A Mising word can be defined as: (1) a free form uttered in isolation with semantic or pragmatic content, for instance; \textit{bau} ‘kinship term for addressing father’. (2) a combination of free and bound form, \textit{galug} (free) + \textit{-\textsigma} (bound) \rightarrow \textit{galug\textsigma} ‘shirt.COP’ or ‘shirt.GENR’.\footnote{The marker \textit{-\textsigma} operates as a copula when attached to sentence-final NP and as a generic marker/definite non-specific when suffixed to a subject NP (for details, see §5.1).} (3) and, a combination of two or more free forms, for instance; \textit{iki:} ‘dog’ + \textit{abo} ‘father’ \rightarrow \textit{kibo} ‘father dog’. All the three definitions given above can undergo higher morphological constructions as in \textit{kibo-kidi-d\textsigma-m} ‘father dog-PLU-DEF-...
ACC' - ‘the father dogs’, ka:la-duŋ-ai ‘see-NF-EXIST-PST’ - ‘was seeing’, and ud-no-de-m ‘tall-NMZL-DEF-ACC’.

2.2.2. Lexical categories

Lexical categories include noun, verb, adjective, and adverb. In Mising, a predicate adjective can be considered as a sub-class of verb, inasmuch as that it can co-occur with the existential verb duŋ, and dak ‘present tense marker’, for instance: do-dak ‘eat-PRES’, li-dak ‘red-PRES’ and si-duŋ ‘grow-EXIST’, ud-duŋ ‘tall-EXIST’ respectively. This shows the close distribution between a verb and adjective.

Adverbs are derived from adjectives. Adverbials are formed by attaching the adverb suffix -po to adjectival roots, for instance: ai-po ‘nice-ADVL’ - ‘nicely’ and arai-po ‘long-ADVL’. It is worth to note here that in the process for derivation of adverb form an adjectival root, the root may get fully reduplicated as in aso-po ‘slow-ADVL’ - ‘slowly’ > aso-aso-po ‘slow-slow-ADVL’ - ‘slowly’.

2.2.3. Word formation

The most common processes of word formations in Mising include affixation (prefixation and suffixation), compounding of various lexical classes, and reduplication. Word-formation by the process of reduplication and stem modifications are, however, rare in this language. An instance of stem modification is asi ‘water’ > fesi ‘urine’. We notice the attachment of the palatal continuant j word-initially, with the former initial front-high vowel i replacing the front-mid vowel e. This kind of sporadic stem modifications in the formation of new words are also reported in Bokar: isi ‘water’ > isi: ‘urine’ and agu ‘to be hot’ > gu: - ‘to burn’ (Sun 2003:458). Here, the modification
is by means of vowel length as can be noticed in the given examples where word-final short vowels \(i\) and \(e\) are replaced with long \(i\) and \(e\) respectively.

2.2.3.1. Prefixation

Mising has a limited number of prefixes attested until date.\(^{20}\) The commonly used prefixes in Mising are \(a-\), \(si-\), \(ta-\), \(po-\), \(do-\), and \(je\). Nominal roots do not take prefixes but take three to four suffixes as in \(ko:kid i-də-m-sin\) 'boy-PLU-DEF-ACC-EMPH'-'The boys'. Likewise, verb roots do not take prefixes but seven to eight grammatical suffixes can be attached, for instance: \(g i-len-bo-gor-kin-ma-milo-sin-da\) 'go/come-out-along with someone-hurriedly-know-NEG-if-EMPH'-'not know how to go/come out hurriedly taking someone with' (Taid 1995:146). The prefixes are not attached to free nominal and adjectival roots in the sense that they have related meaning based on semantic ground.

2.2.3.1.1. \(a-\)

Mising has kinship terms both for addressing and reference, for instance: \(bau\) 'father', \(ou\) 'mother', \(baboi\) 'paternal uncle', \(kaki\) 'maternal uncle/father-in-law', \(ta:to\) 'grandfather', \(ja:jo\) 'grandmother' are terms for addressing to which the terms for reference are \(a-bu\), \(a-na\), \(a-bboi\), \(a-ki\), \(a-to\), and \(a-jo\) respectively. Here, we notice the occurrence of the prefix \(a-\) in terms for reference and not addressing. However, we find this prefix in terms of addressing only in colloquial forms which are used amid family members. Some examples are: \(a:-me/akku(ŋ)\) 'eldest son', \(a-pi\) 'daughter', \(a-in\) 'son/daughter, \(a-in = \) 'gold', and \(anay\) 'daughter'.

\(^{20}\) The form of the Mising prefixes vary in their reflexes from the *P-TB prefixes as shown in Sun's (2003) comparative study of Tani languages.
The terms for body parts have the prefix *a*- attached, for instance: *a-mik* ‘eye’, *a-ki* ‘stomach’, *a-ηκηγ* ‘chest’ *a-ηκα* ‘teeth’, *a-lag* ‘hand’, *a-la* ‘leg’, *a-mit* ‘body hair’, *a-ηκικ* ‘a woman’s breast’, and *a-ιβιαŋ* ‘thigh’. It is understood that the terms for these body parts have been derived from the word *a-mik* ‘body’. Along these lines, it may also be stated here that the sourcing of terms for body parts is not always the same; another procedure involved in naming body parts is by compounding of two nouns which are of different semantic fields, for instance: *amik* ‘eye’ + *ζαπ* ‘net’ → *mikζap* ‘eyelashes’ and *alag* ‘hand’ + *ζπο* ‘winnowing fan’ → *lakζap* ‘palm’ (cf. §2.2.3.2.1).

The prefix *a*- also occurs in nominal roots which have semantic base related to numerals and classifiers. The attachment of this prefix is found in numerals numbering from one to six, for instance: *a-ko* ‘one’, *a-ηπι* ‘two’, *a-um* ‘three’, *a-ζπι* ‘four’, *a-ηπο* ‘five’ and *a-κκηγ* ‘six’. The numerals beyond six do not bear this prefix (*κινιδ* ‘seven’, *πι:ζι* ‘eight’, *κοναŋ* ‘nine’ and *ζιηŋ* ‘ten’). Some examples of the prefix *a*- found in classifiers are: *a-soŋ* ‘long circular objects (like pencil and bamboo)’, *a-bor* ‘flat objects (like shirt and book), *a-dor* ‘used for four legged animals, reptiles, and also fish (big), *a-pir* ‘used for leech, small fish etc’, *a-mηŋ* ‘used for plants/trees’, and *a-tak* ‘used for objects divided into flat pieces’ (for Mising classifiers, see Doley and Post (2009)).

The occurrence of the prefix *a*- is also observed in some adjectival roots. In fact, this is the only prefix found in adjectives, for instance: *a-νυ* ‘new’, *a-κυ* ‘old’, *a-ραι* ‘long’, *a-νδηγ* ‘short’, *a-βιŋ* ‘elder’, and *a-με* ‘young/small’.

21 The counting system in Mising beyond ten appears in phrasal form, for instance: *ζιηŋ-κο-λαγ-ako* ‘ten-one-and-one’- ‘one ten and one’. The suffix -*ko* following *ζιηŋ* ‘ten’ is almost certainly derived from *ako* ‘one’.
From the above discussion it is understood that the prefix a- is attached to nominal and adjectival roots which has semantic grounds relating to kinship terms (reference and colloquial addressing), body parts, numerals, and classifiers.

2.2.3.1.2. si-

The prefix si- is attached to nominal roots which has a distinct semantic reference to higher animals. In Lare Galo (Post 2008:268), roots denoting higher animals are prefixed by ho- (examples: hobɔ ‘mithun’ and horɔ ‘boar’). Citing examples from other studies on Tani languages (Apatani and Mising), Post states that the reflexes of this prefix vary irregularly. Sun (2003) assumes the appearance of the prefix sa- (si- in Mising) to have evolved from the first components of earlier compounds reflecting Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB hereafter) *syə ‘flesh/meat/animal’. A few examples in Mising in which we notice the prefix si- are s-ita ‘elephant’, su-mjo ‘tiger’, si-tum ‘bear’, si-ra ‘wild boar’, si-ram ‘rhinoceros’, and si-be ‘monkey’.

2.2.3.1.3. ta-

The prefix ta- has reference to lower animals, insects, diseases, trees/plants, and small objects. A few examples are illustrated in Table-11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Base</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower animals</td>
<td>tabi</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>takom</td>
<td>‘insect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>take:</td>
<td>‘crab’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tamik</td>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tase-kojum</td>
<td>‘red-ant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insects</td>
<td>tapum-tari</td>
<td>‘insects’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.3.1.4. pə-

The prefix pə- is attached to name of birds. It is derived from the PTB *bya ‘bird’ (Benedict 1972:177). In Mising, the prefix pə- is stemmed out of the word pə-tənə ‘bird’. Some examples are pə-ki ‘dove’, pə-be ‘parrot’, pə-ki ‘dove’ pə-pupulu ‘owl’, pə-pit ‘a small bird’, pə-zab ‘duck’ pə-rog/po-rog ‘fowl’, pa-ksarul ‘sparrow’, and pə-ak ‘crow’. This prefix also applies to objects which are related to birds. Given below are few examples.

(3) pə-tir ‘hen-coop (circular)’
(4) pə-ra ‘hen-coop (cylindrical)’
(5) pə-tum ‘bamboo basket’

Besides applying the above rule, i.e. using the prefix pə- to name birds, the Mo:jiŋ Mising speakers also make use of the prefixed root taŋ (the second part of pə-
ttaj ‘bird’) to name birds, for instance, taŋ-ki ‘dove’, ta-kpon ‘water crow’, tu-lusi ‘bird that builds nest on areca nut tree’. However, not all names of birds begin with pa- or taŋ. Some examples common to all Mising dialects are: betkorok ‘a small bird’ and kokordi ‘a name of a bird’.

2.2.3.1.5 do-

The prefix do- falls on nominals relating to weather. It is stemmed out from the PTB *don ‘sky/rain’. Few examples are: do:-mir ‘sky’, do:-pi ‘dew drops’, do:pi ‘sun’, do- t ‘water leakage due to a bad roof’, do-raŋ ‘draught’, and do-mum ‘cloudy’. The occurrence of the prefix do- on nominal roots is less when compared to other prefixes found in Mising. As discussed in Sun (2003), most of the prefixes such as a-, si-, ta-, pə- (reflexes of which may vary) are found in most of the Tani languages but however, the occurrence of the prefix do- is relatively less in Western Tani languages, for instance, this weather prefix is not found in Galo.

2.2.3.1.6. ge-

The prefix ge- is derived from the word ene ‘arum’. It occurs in names/parts of different types of arum and food items prepared from their leaves and/or seeds. Some examples are yesup ‘a variety of arum’, gebur ‘long sized arum which gets cooked easily’, gepop ‘large size arum with many mouths’, neli ‘arum sibling’, negak ‘arum which takes a long time to be cooked’, gerek ‘curry prepared from arum leaves’, nelsin ‘the soft leaves of arum’, and getkōŋ ‘the stem of arum plant’.

Like in Galo (Post 2007), the structure of Mising nominal roots which bear the above discussed prefixes has a symmetrical structure; the prefix or the first formative
(or Formative1) gives the generic information and the prefixed root or the second formative (Formative2) gives the specific reference. On the other hand, the structure of adjectives is asymmetrical in which both the formatives have related meaning and it may be termed as specific. This is illustrated below with the nominal root *pəbe* ‘parrot’ and the adjectival root *anu* ‘new’.

(6) \[ pə + be \rightarrow pəbe \text{ ‘parrot’} \]
Formative1 + Formative2 → Noun

(7) \[ a + nu \rightarrow anu \text{ ‘new’} \]
Formative1 + Formative2 → Adjective (Specific)

This can be rewritten as Formative1 (prefix) + Formative2 (prefixed root) → Noun or Adjective.

2.2.3.2. Compounding

Compounding involves word-formation based on the combination of at least two potentially free forms, most frequently members of open classes such as nouns or verbs (Aikhenvald 2006:24). In Mising, a good number of new words are formed by combining nouns, verbs/adjectives, and numerals (cardinal numbers). The attachments of the two members of various lexical classes are in the order of *noun-noun*, *verb-verb*, *noun-verb*, *noun-adjective*, and *noun-numeral*. The combination between noun-noun has a higher frequency of creating new words than the composition of the rest of the lexical classes mentioned.

In the formation of new words by compounding, we notice the employment of various phonological and morphological criteria, and the application of semantics to some extent. The phonological processes, generally, involve stress adjustment between participant members, *aphaeresis/deletion* of initial sound or syllable and
apocope/deletion of final sound or syllable, and the shortening of vowel length.\textsuperscript{22} Morphological blending between the attached lexical classes or simple juxtaposition of two free words, if not with all components, is often observed. The application of semantics is sometimes involved in the choice of the second member of the compound word in terms of similarity with other objects. However, this is restricted only to nominal compounds (noun-noun).

\subsection*{2.2.3.2.1. Noun-noun}

As mentioned earlier, noun-noun compositions create an array of new nominal roots. Words are created which involves simple juxtaposition, morphological blending by way of aphaeresis, apocope, or with the application of semantics in one of the composite nominal roots (usually the second root). Few examples are illustrated below to show the various criteria involved.

(8a) \(\text{porog} + \text{adin} \rightarrow \text{porogadin}\) ‘chicken’
(8b) \(\text{ko} + \text{kon\textalpha} \rightarrow \text{ko:kon\textalpha}\) ‘children’
(8c) \(\text{iki} + \text{abo} \rightarrow \text{ki:bo}\) ‘father dog’
(8d) \(\text{sit\textalpha} + \text{an\textalpha} \rightarrow \text{t\textalpha\textalpha}\) ‘female elephant’
(8e) \(\text{alag} + \text{\textalpha po} \rightarrow \text{lagpo}\) ‘palm’

One of the procedures in creating a new noun is by \textit{simple juxtaposition} of two free nominal roots as given in (8a-b). In the process, the components retain their root structure by not undergoing any change. However, the two free roots form one phonological word and are characterized by single stress. In other words, the two components as in (8a): \(\text{po.mg} \rightarrow \text{fowl’ (CV.CVC) and a.din} \rightarrow \text{‘meat’ (V.CVC)}\) has their stress on the second syllable respectively, but when juxtaposed, they have their stress on the phoneme beginning the second member of the compounded word treating the two

\textsuperscript{22} The terms \textit{aphaeresis} and \textit{apocope} are used in comparative philology, and sometimes in modern phonology. The former refers to the deletion of an initial sound in a word and the latter with the deletion of word-final sound (Crystal 2008:29-30).
words as one phonological word. This could be represented as porog ‘fowl’ + adin ‘flesh’ → porogadin (CVCVCVCVC). Some other examples are: eg.adin ‘pork’, sagoli.adin ‘mutton’, and goru.adin ‘beef’. From the given examples, we can say that adin ‘flesh’ is commonly attached to names of fowls and animals. Another criteria involved in simple juxtaposition is the co-ordination between the nominal components which gives a unitary concept as in (8b) ko: ‘boy’ + kon;J1j ‘girl’ → ko:kon;J1j ‘children’. Other examples are min;J ‘old woman + m;J ‘old man’ → min;m;J ‘old people’, and an;J ‘mother’ + abu ‘father’ → an;Jabu ‘parents’. This type of coordination mostly occur on + human nominals.

We now have the combination between two nominal roots in which one of the components refers to names of lower and higher class of animals and the other to kinship terms of reference ( abu ‘father’ and an;J ‘mother’). It may be noted that these two kinship terms are used as second element of the nominal components so as to give the gender division of the names of animals which are undoubtedly the first member, as in (8c-d). Some examples are gure ‘horse’ + abo ‘male’ → rebo ‘male horse’, soben ‘goat’ + an;J ‘female’ → benn;J ‘female goat’, and p;Jaboabu ‘duck’ + an;J ‘female’ → zabno ‘drake/female duck’. In this type of compounding we notice morphological blending between the final syllable of the two nominal roots by way of aphaeresis or by omission of the initial syllables of the given roots.

Also, we have the combination of two nominal roots with different semantic fields in which one of the components is used semantically so as to create a new noun. The interpretation of semantics observed here is based on similarity of the second member with that of other objects, for instance, in (8e) we do not find any related meaning between the two components. In the combined roots alag ‘hand’ and p;J ‘winnowing fan’ as given in (8e), the latter is similar to a palm in its shape, and hence, it is attached to the former root to create the compound word lagpo ‘palm’. Other examples are al;J ‘leg’ + p;J ‘winnowing fan’ → lpo ‘foot’ and amik ‘eyes’ + sap
'net' → *miksap* 'eyelash'. Here, *asap* 'net' is as much similar to that of *hairs* near our eyes when we talk of the functions of its enclosure; the former encloses/traps fish or bird while the latter encloses our eyes. The combined roots undergo morphological blending between the final syllables of the given roots and in the process, deletion of the initial syllables takes place. However, this type of compounding is very rare.

### 2.2.3.2.2. Verb-verb

Verbal compounds, also known as root serialization (or contiguous incorporating verb sequences, Durie (1995)), are sequences of verb roots which result in the creation of a new verb with shared arguments (Sophen 2007:32). Verbal compounding creates a good number of new verbs in Mising. The most frequent procedure includes attachment of two free verb roots; stative as well as dynamic. Consider the examples given below.

(9a) tat 'hear' + kin 'know' → tatkin 'know how to hear'
(9b) ka: 'see' + kin 'know' → kankan 'know how to see'
(9c) tat 'hear' + mo 'make' → tamo 'make to hear'
(10a) ad 'write' + kin 'know' → adkin 'know how to write'
(10b) gi 'go' + kin 'know' → gikan 'know how to walk'
(10c) pori 'study' + mo 'make' → porimo 'make to study'

Verb compounding can be used to convey the same meanings as serial verbs (see Givón (1991) and Aikhenvald (1999)). In the examples given above we notice the compounding of two verb roots by the criterion of simple juxtaposition. Like nominal compounds (cf. §2.2.3.2.1), the resultant word (here, a verb root) is treated as a single phonological word and at the syntactic level as verb serialization. With this procedure new verb roots are created abundantly by attaching the verb root kin 'know' and mo 'make' to another verb root which include both stative (9a-c) and dynamic verbs (10a-c).
Another procedure involved in verbal compounding is the attachment of an array of auxiliary verbs to free verb roots (stative and dynamic). Few examples are illustrated below.

(11a) \textit{ka:} ‘see’ + \textit{san} ‘ascend’ \rightarrow \textit{ka:san} ‘to look upward’
(11b) \textit{gi} ‘go’ + \textit{san} ‘ascend’ \rightarrow \textit{gisan} ‘go upward’
(11c) \textit{mo} ‘think’ + \textit{yap} ‘finish’ \rightarrow \textit{moyap} ‘finished thinking’
(11d) \textit{do} ‘eat’ + \textit{yap} ‘finish’ \rightarrow \textit{donap} ‘finish eating’
(11e) \textit{tat} ‘hear’ + \textit{bek} ‘chance’ \rightarrow \textit{tatek} ‘chance to hear’
(11f) \textit{ti} ‘drink’ + \textit{bek} ‘chance’ \rightarrow \textit{tibek} ‘chance to drink’

The auxiliary verbs which are the second members in verbal compounding complement the main verb (stative and dynamic) roots by adding different shades of meaning. Example (11a-b) \textit{san} ‘ascend’ adds the meaning to the direction of the main verb, in (11c-d) \textit{yap} ‘finish’ gives the result of the action done by the main verb, and \textit{bek} ‘chance’ as in (11e-f) is attached to the main verb so as to give the accomplishment.

Thus, we notice juxtaposition of verbs at two levels: verb root + verb root and verb root + auxiliary verb.

2.2.3.2.3. Noun-adjective

Nominal and adjectival roots are also combined together to form new words. The attachment of these two lexical classes results in the formation of noun. This can be represented as nominal root (or Nroot) + adjectival root (or Adjroot) \rightarrow noun (N) or adjective (Adj).

(12a) \textit{asi} ‘water’ + \textit{gu} ‘hot’ \rightarrow \textit{sigu} ‘luke warm water’
(12b) \textit{asi} ‘water’ + \textit{le} ‘fresh’ \rightarrow \textit{sile} ‘stream water’
(13a) \textit{am} ‘paddy’ + \textit{aku} ‘old’ \rightarrow \textit{amku} ‘old rice grain’
(13b) \textit{am} ‘paddy’ + \textit{anu} ‘new’ \rightarrow \textit{anmu} ‘new paddy/grain’
The combination of two roots undergoes aphaeresis in the examples given above. Examples (12a-b) display aphaeresis in the nominal roots with morphological blending occurring between the final syllable of the nominal roots and the monosyllabic adjectival roots. On the other hand, we notice aphaeresis in the disyllabic adjectival roots with blending taking place between the monosyllabic nominal roots and the final syllable of the adjectival roots, as in (13a-b). Here, two of the combined roots vary with respect to their syllable structure; while one of the attached roots is monosyllabic, the other is disyllabic. And the phenomenon of aphaeresis always occurs in the disyllabic nominal or adjectival root irrespective of their position (position = first root or the final root of the two roots combined together in a compounded word).

It is worthy to note here that the compounded noun can also function as an adjective. The following constructions are illustrative:

(14a) mizi-da\textsuperscript{\textdagger} si-gu asi gilas-ko ko-la-du\textsuperscript{-ai}
\quad oldman-DEF water-hot water glass-INDEF ask-NF-EXIST-PST
\quad ‘The old man was asking a glass of hot water.’

(14b) ad\textdagger siggo
\quad DEM.PROX water-hot-COP
\quad ‘That is luke warm water’.

In (14a), sigu ‘luke warm water’ qualifies the noun asi ‘water’ while in (14b), we see its occurrence as a predicate adjective which, like any other adjectival roots, has the capacity to take the copula verb -\textdagger. An adjective in Mising generally precede an NP, but it may also follow, for instance: kajum-n\textdagger kon\textdagger ‘beautiful-ADZL-girl’-‘beautiful girl’ can also occur as kon\textdagger kajum-n\textdagger ‘girl-beautiful-ADZL-INDEF’-‘girl beautiful’, i.e. ‘beautiful girl’. However, the occurrence of adjective which is derived by compounding two nominal roots do not follow an NP, for instance: si-gu asi ‘water-hot water’-‘hot water’ cannot occur as *asi si-gu ‘water water-luke warm’.
2.2.3.2.4. Noun-numeral

The compounding of numerals (cardinal numbers one-six and ten) with two nominal roots `jum` `night' and `loge` `day' is observed in Mising. Few examples are illustrated below:

(15a) `jum` `night' + `ako` `one' → `jumko` `one night'
(15b) `jum` `night' + `anpi` `two' → `jumpi` `two nights'
(15c) `loge` `day' + `aum` `three' → `loum` `three days'
(15d) `loge` `day' + `appi` `four' → `lo:pi` `four days'
(15e) `jum` `night' + `kinid` `seven' → *`jumnid
(15f) `loge` `day' + `pipi` `eight' → *`lopi
(15g) `loge` `day' + `jig` `ten' → `lo:jig` `ten days'

The compound word observed in examples (15a-d, 15g) results in the deletion of the initial syllable of the first member and the deletion of the second syllable of the second member of the two roots combined. However, the combination of the given nominal roots (`jum` `night' and `loge` `day') with numerals `kinid` `seven', `pipi` `eight', and `konag` `nine' are restricted. Ordinal numbers in Mising do not participate in the combination of noun-numeral.

2.2.3.3. Reduplication

Reduplication is not a very prominent morphological process in Mising and it has very little contribution in forming new words. We observe full reduplication in nominal and adjectival roots.

Some instances of nominal roots which undergo full reduplication are: `ai-ai` `self-self'-'self', `loko-loko` `once-once'-`sometimes', `atar-atar`
'alone-alone'-'all alone', kampo-kampo 'white-white', bɔtɔ-bɔtɔ 'big-big'-'large', and aso-aso 'slow-slow'-'slow'. We notice that adjectival roots get reduplicated to a greater extent vis-à-vis nominal roots and they can be turned into an adverb by attaching the suffix -pa, for instance, arai-arai-pa 'long-long'-at great length'.

2.2.3.4. Derivational morphology

The distinction between compounds and derived words as stated by Booij (2007:85) is that in the former each of the constituents is a form of lexeme, whereas the latter involves affixes, that is, non-lexemic morphemes. In Mising, a wide range of new words are formed by derivation. Verbs and adjectives are turned to nouns or noun-like entities by employing different suffixes. The number of suffixes (or nominalizers) attached to verbs outnumbers the relatively few suffixes (-nɔ and -nam) attached to adjectives. These suffixes are commonly shared between nominal and adjectival roots in the process of nominalization (§2.2.3.4.1). Besides nominalization, the other process of word-formation includes verbalization; verbal roots are derived from nouns by ways of aphaeresis/deletion of word-initial syllable or apocope/deletion of word-final syllable. It is also worth to mention here that adjectives are adverbialized with the derivational suffix -pa.

2.2.3.4.1. Nominalization/derived nouns

There are certain ways for a language to convert one grammatical category to another with the help of certain rules. A verb can be converted to a noun and vice-versa, and so are other grammatical categories (like adjective, adverb) which may be inclined to the adaptability procedure. The phenomenon by which verbs and adjectives (may include other grammatical categories) are turned to nouns or noun-like entities are referred to as nominalization.
Researchers ((Noonan (1997), Delancy (2002), and (Post 2007), over the years, have established the richness of the uses of nominalizations in many TB languages. Like most of the TB languages, verbs and adjectives in Mising can be turned to nouns with the employment of different nominalizing suffixes. Mising nominalizers may be categorized into two classes: Class A and Class B. Class A nominalizers are commonly attached to nominal and adjectival roots which are marked with the suffixes -nə and -nam. Few examples are illustrated below:

(16a) gad ‘reap’ + -nə ‘NMZL’ → gadnə ‘reaper’
(16b) tatbek ‘hear’ + -nə ‘NMZL’ → tatbeknə ‘hearer’
(16c) u:d ‘tall’ + -nə ‘NMZL’ → u:dnə ‘tall one’
(17a) gad ‘reap’ + -nam ‘NMZL’ → gadnam ‘reaping’
(17b) tatbek ‘hear’ + -nam ‘NMZL’ → tatbeknam ‘hearing’
(17c) u:d ‘tall’ + -nam ‘NMZL’ → u:dnam ‘being tall’

It is evident from the examples (16a-c) that -nə functions as an agentive nominalizer and -nam (17a-c) has the role of naming of events and states when attached to verbal and adjectival roots. This class of nominalizers can take on attributive functions; for instance, take on the role of relative clauses.

(18a) go-k kajkin-nam ager ger-nə tani-də gi-ma
  1.SG-GEN know-NMZL work work-NMZL man-DEF come-NEG
  ‘The worker whom I know has not come.’

(18b) muksup-kə aipə mə-nam konə-də miglu-nə-kə
  muksup-GEN much like-NMZL girl-DEF blind-NMZL-INDEF
  ‘The girl whom Muksup loves is blind (a blind girl).’

The action noun can be an intermediate between a fact/occurrence interpretation and a manner interpretation in some languages (Comrie and Thompson 2007: 339). In Mising, besides naming of events and states, the nominalizer -nam can also refer to
manner, for instance, gad-nam ‘reap-NMZL’ as in (16a) can refer either to the occurrence of reaping or to the manner of reaping.

In the other class of nominalizers (Class B) we find locative, instrumental, and a few nominalizers which are derived from nouns. The nominalizers placed in this class are attached to verbal roots and they are based semantically.

(19) *tak* ‘cut’ + *ko* ‘LOC.NMZL’ → *takko* ‘place for cutting’
(20) *tak* ‘cut’ + *na-na* ‘INST.NMZL’ → *tak-na-na* ‘tool for cutting’
(21) *ti* ‘drink’ + *zon* ‘friend’ → *tizon* ‘friend in drinking’
(22) *lu* ‘say’ + *mur* ‘mistake’ → *lumur* ‘wrong utterance’
(23) *gi* ‘go’ + *rop* ‘trip’ → *girop* ‘one trip’
(24) *kab* ‘cry’ + *tər* ‘end’ → *kabtər* ‘end to a cry’
(25) *i* ‘do’ + *zək* ‘mistake’ → *izək* ‘result in mistake’
(26) *do* ‘eat’ + *yat* ‘scrap’ → *doyat* ‘scrap (food)’

The locative and the instrumental nominalizers -*ko* and -*na-na* respectively are attached to dynamic (19-20) and as well as stative verbs, for instance, *jub-ko* ‘sleep-LOC.NMZL’-’sleeping place’ and *lu-na-na* ‘say-INST.NMZL’-’way to say’. These two nominalizers are used when there are no specific words for the resultant nouns derived from verbs, for example, there is no Mising equivalent for the English word *abattoir* and so the derived noun in Mising would be *adin tak-ko* ‘meat/flesh cut-LOC.NMZL’- ‘a place where meat is cut/slaughtered’-’abbattoir’. However, sometimes these nominalizers are used when one forgets or do not know the specific words, for instance, Mising has the word *apo* for ‘winnowing fan’ and this could also be expressed by employing the instrumental nominalizer as in *kabhin-na-no* ‘winnow-INST.NMZL’ or ‘instrument for winnowing’.

Verbs can also be turned to nouns by suffixing the truncated form of nominal roots, for instance, in example (21) we find the attachment of the nominalizer -*zon*
which is derived from *azon* ‘friend/company’. And this is attached to all types of verbs. Other forms of nominalizers as illustrated (22-26) have their own shades of meaning

[-*mur* = mistake resulting from, -*rop* = to begin an action, -*tar* = end point, -*zak* = result in making a mistake, and -*pat* = remaining part].

### 2.2.3.4.2. Verbalization/derived verbs

Verbalization is a prominent phenomenon in Mising. Nominal roots are verbalized (nouns are turned to verbs) which undergo various phonological adaptations. The phonological processes involved in verbalization are derivation by ways of *apphaeresis/deletion of word-initial syllable or apocope/deletion of word-final syllable*, or *by resorting to both*. Some resultant verbal roots derived from nominal roots are illustrated below:

(27a) *appun* ‘flower’ > *pun* ‘to pluck’
(27b) *ager* ‘work’ > *ger* ‘to work’
(27c) *asar* ‘wind’ > *sar* ‘to blow’
(27d) *makso* ‘dance’ > *so* ‘to dance’
(27e) *gashum* ‘clothes’ > *sum* ‘to wrap’
(27f) *domir* ‘sky’ > *mir* ‘to roar’
(28a) *abbug* ‘gun’ > *ab* ‘to shoot’
(28b) *a:m* ‘paddy’ > *a* ‘to dry’
(28c) *dax* ‘leakage’ > *di* ‘to leak’
(28d) *majit* ‘dream’ > *ma* ‘to dream’
(28e) *patir* ‘coop’ > *po* ‘to make’
(28f) *tabab* ‘comb’ > *tub* ‘to comb’
(29a) *jari* ‘lightening’ > *ar* ‘to light’
(29b) *ojit* ‘curry’ > *ji* ‘cook’

In the derived verbal roots (27a-f), we observe the deletion of the initial syllable of the verbal roots while (28a-f) are evidence of the deletion taking place in the final
syllable. Another typical way of forming a verb root is by deleting the initial and the final phoneme from the nominal root (29a-b). This type of derivation, however, is very rare. We observe that nouns of all types (but not necessary all nominal roots) undergo the abovementioned phonological processes. Some examples of nominal roots which cannot be verbalized and which uses other verb forms are given below with illustrative examples.

(30a) $apin$ ‘food’ $>$ $mo$ ‘cook/prepare’
(30b) $isij$ ‘tree’ $>$ $re$ ‘climb’
(30c) $a:m$ ‘paddy’ $>$ $gat$ ‘reap’
(30d) $arig$ ‘field’ $>$ $i$ ‘cultivate’

The nominal roots as shown in (30a-d) cannot be verbalized by employing any of the phonological processes (i.e. deletion of initial syllable, final syllable, or by resorting to both) as discussed above. In fact, the verb forms are not in any way created depending on the structure of the nominal roots. One cannot draw a strict generalization as to what types of nominal roots undergo verbalization and which types do not.

2.2.3.4.3. Adverbialization

Adjectival roots are adverbialized by suffixing $-po$. Other lexical categories like noun and verb cannot be turned to adverbs. Given below are few examples from different categories of adjectives such as colours, shapes, qualities, personalities, time, ages, sound related, touch related, and taste related, to which the suffix $-po$ can be attached.

(31a) $kam.po$ ‘kampo’ $+$ $po$ ‘ADVL’ $\rightarrow$ $kam-po$ ‘whitely’
(31b) $li$ ‘red’ $+$ $po$ ‘ADVL’ $\rightarrow$ $li-po$ ‘redly’
(31c) $batt.to$ ‘large’ $+$ $po$ ‘ADVL’ $\rightarrow$ $batt-po$ ‘largely’
(31d) $a-rai$ ‘long’ $+$ $po$ ‘ADVL’ $\rightarrow$ $a-rai-po$ ‘at length’
Examples (31 a-h) show different classes of adjectives which take the adverbial suffix -pə. Disyllabic adjective as in (31a) can be fully reduplicated and it can be turned to adverbs by suffixing -pə, for instance, kampo-kampo-pə ‘white-REDP-ADVL’ ‘Lit: whitely’. In the given examples the disyllabic adjectives are illustrated by dividing the syllable with a dot (.) and all these words can be fully reduplicated. Reduplication in full form adds some empathy to the adjectival root. On the other hand, monosyllabic adjective as given in (31 b) cannot be reduplicated, for instance, *li-li-pə. This phenomenon applies to categories of all adjectives. Partially reduplicated adjectival roots cannot take the adverbial suffix -pə, for instance, *mopen-more-pə ‘break-REDP’ and *sopen-soren-pə ‘pull-break-REDP’.

2.2.3.5. Inflectional morphology: nominal

2.2.3.5.1. Case

Case marks the dependent nouns for the kind of relation they bear to their heads. At the clause level, it shows the relation of a noun to a verb and at the phrase level it shows the relation of a noun to another noun and adposition (Blake 2001). The Mising case system is composed of eight cases. They are given in Table-12.
Nominative

Mising has a nominative-accusative case system in which the nominative case is not overtly marked. "In most languages the nominative bear no marking, but consists of the bare system; it owes its status as nominative to the existence of marked cases" (Blake 1994:31). Consider the Mising examples given below:

(32) \textit{mensarun-ə-φ u-dak}
\textit{fox-GENR-NOM haul-PRES}
'Foxes hawl.'

(33) \textit{mensarun-ə-φ ko-da-m gam-to}
\textit{fox-GENR-NOM boy-DEF-ACC bite-PERF}
'Some fox has bitten the boy.'

(34) \textit{otul-bi-φ jakasi-m/-mə ozi-da-m bi-ka}
\textit{otul-3.SG-NOM yakasi-DAT baby-DEF-ACC give-PST}
'Otul gave the baby to Yakasi.'

From the examples given above (33-34), we notice that there is no nominative case marker in Mising. One may want to assume that the marker -ə as in (32-33)
attached to the NPs to be a nominative case suffix, but here, the marker -∅ has the function of a *generic/definite non-specific marker*. The marker -∅ has two different syntactic functions; it operates as a generic/definite non-specific marker when attached to a subject NP, and as a copula when it is attached to a sentence-final NP or an adjective (for details, see §5.1).

### 2.2.3.5.1.2. Accusative

Nominals which are directly affected by the action of the verb are the direct objects (DO hereafter) and they are marked for accusative case. In Mising, accusative is marked with three allomorphs -m∅, -m and -m. Few examples are given below:

(35)  
{luidor·bi·∅} {menoka·m∅-m} {dam·to}  
{luidor·3.SG-NOM} {menoka·ACC} {beat·PERF}  
‘Luidor has beaten Menoka.’

(36)  
{iki·-∅} {mekuri·am} {paso·ma}  
{dog·GENR-NOM} {cat·ACC} {afraid·NEG}  
‘Dogs are not afraid of cats.’

(37)  
{jumra(η)·menzak·-∅} {ko·-kidi·do·m} {man·to}  
{jumra(η)·menzak·-∅} {ko·-kidi·da·am} {man·to}  
{forest·buffalo·GENR-NOM} {boy·PLU·DEF·ACC} {chase·PERF}  
‘Some wild buffalo (buffaloes from the forest) has chased the boys.’

(38)  
{jumra(η)·menzak·-∅} {*ko·-ko·m∅-am} {man·to}  
{forest·buffalo·GENR-NOM} {boy·INDEF·ACC} {chase·PERF}  
‘Some wild buffalo (buffaloes from the forest) has chased a boy.’

The accusative case marker -m∅ and -m occurs with direct object (DO) nominals (Proper nouns) which ends in a vowel (35), whereas a proper noun ending in a
consonant always take the marker -m, for instance: prodip-m ‘Prodip-ACC’. It is to be noted here that +animate nominals ending with either a vowel or a consonant takes the marker -om, for instance: pazab-om ‘duck-ACC’ or mekur-om ‘cat-ACC’ as in (36). It may also be stated that Mising allows only definite NPs to take accusative case. In construction (37) we notice that the object NP has the constituents ko:-kidi-d ‘boy-PLU-DEF’ or ‘The boys’ which takes the accusative case marker -m. On the other hand, indefinite object NPs as in (38) does not take the accusative case marker. However, when -na ‘any’ follows the indefinite object NP ko:-ko ‘a boy’, the case marker -m can be attached to it. The construction as given in (38) can be rewritten as shown in (39).

(39) jumra(g)-menzak-ə-φ ko:-ko-na-m  mən-to
forest-buffalo-GENR-NOM boy-INDEF-any-ACC chase-PERF
‘Some wild buffalo (buffaloes from the forest) has chased a boy.’

The suffix -na (see section §2.2.3.4.1) is a nominalizer, but here, it semantically means ‘any’ which does not alter the meaning of the indefiniteness of the object NP ko:-ko ‘a boy’ as given in example (39). This is a case of morphological adjustment to place the accusative case marker on indefinite object NPs.

2.2.3.5.1.3. Dative

In Mising, the indirect object always precedes the direct object, and this can be represented as: Sentence → Subject (S) + Indirect Object (IO) + Direct Object (DO) + Verb (V). Dative case is marked on IO with the suffixes -ma, -am, and -m.

(40) tokou-bi aotani-ma ozi-da-m bi-ka
tokou-3.SG aotani-DAT baby-DEF-ACC give-PST
‘Tokou gave the baby to Aotani.’
(41)  tokou-bi  pakkam  *ambin-(om)  bi-ka
    tokou-bi  paki-om  ambin-(om)  bi-ka
    tokou-3.SG  dove-DAT  rice grain-ACC  give-PST
    ‘Tokou gave rice grain to the dove.’

(42)  tokou-bi  paki-da-m  ambin-om  bi-ka
    tokou-3.SG  dove-DEF-DAT  rice grain-ACC  give-PST
    ‘Tokou gave rice grain to the dove.’

Dative case on ±human NPs take the marker -me as in (40) above, whereas
-om or -m occurs with +animate NPs; -om is attached to NPs ending in either a vowel
as in (41) or a consonant, for instance: mesaru-om ‘fox-DAT’. On the other hand, -m is
attached only to definite NPs. The definite marker -do ends with the central-mid vowel
a which is identical with the initial phoneme of the dative case suffix -om, and so it is
understood that some morpho-phonemic changes takes place in which one of the
central-mid vowels (-a) gets deleted (cf. §5.3.2). One more issue which needs to be
discussed here is the occurrence of the dative NP or the definite NP which precedes the
DO. It is noticed that the presence of a dative NP (with case marker attached to it)
allows the occurrence of the accusative case marker (-om) with an NP, otherwise, the
accusative case marker is not attached to an NP with the presence of definite dative NP
(c.f. examples 41- 42).

2.2.3.5.1.4. Genitive

Genitive case shows the relation between one NP to another NP at the clause
level. An NP is marked for genitive case with the suffixes -ka and -k.

(43)  biren-ka  om-de-da  dilli-bo  du-dak
    biren-GEN  daughter-DEF  delhi-downward.LOC  stay-PRES
‘Biren’s daughter stays in Delhi.’

(44) zugita-ka menzak-dok-ka a-raaj ka-ma
zugita-GEN buffalo-da-GEN horn EXIST-NEG
‘Jugita’s buffalo has no horns.’

(45) go-k kai-bi arik-pa gi-kaaj
1.SG-GEN elder brother-3.SG paddy field go-PST
‘My brother went to the paddy field.’

In the examples given above (43-45), we notice the occurrence of the genitive -ka/-k with an NP; -ka occurs with an NP ending in a consonant, whereas -k occurs with an NP ending in a vowel.

2.2.3.5.1.5. Ablative

The ablative in Mising is expressed through the suffix -lok. Consider the example given below:

(46) go iskul-o-lok-ka bozar-pa gi-ja
1.SG school-DIR.LOC-ABL-GEN market-LOC go-FUT
‘I will go to the market from school.’

In Padam and Mising, the ablative case suffix is often derived from the locative -lok ‘from’; -ka-lo ‘along with’ < -lo ‘in/at’ (Abraham 1985:50-1).

2.2.3.5.1.6. Locative

The locative in Mising can be categorized in two: temporal (relating to time) and spatial (relating to space); both of which can be further sub-divided into general and specific references. The general and specific references for time are marked with the suffixes -pa and -do.
(47) ņo jum-ajir-pə bozar gi-jə
śo jumə-ajir-pə bozar goi-jə
1.SG night-time-LOC market go-FUT
‘I shall go to market in the evening time (anytime in evening).’

(48) pətir-bi jum-ajir-do bozar-pə gi-jə əmna lu-dak
pətir-bi jumə-ajir-do bozar-pə gi-jə əmna lu-dak
pətir-3.SG night-time-LOC market-LOC go-FUT that say-PRES
‘Pətir says that he would go to market in the evening time.’

(49) ņo-k kai-bi no-ta-do opis-pə gi-dak
śo-GEN elder brother-3.SG nine-DEF-DEF office-LOC go-PRES
‘My elder brother goes to office at nine o’clock.’

We notice that -pə as it occurs in jum-ajir-pə ‘night-time-LOC’ as in (47) has the
general reference of time which could be anytime in the evening. On the other hand, the
marker -do as in jum-ajir-do ‘night-time-LOC’ as given in construction (48) gives the
reference of a specific time which is not other than the evening time. It may also be
stated here that specific references for time, day, month, year takes the locative marker
-do. For instance: no-ta-do ‘nine-DEF-DEF’ (as given in example 49), monol-bar-do
‘tues-day-DEF’, bohag-do ‘April-DEF’, and bosor-do ‘year-DEF.’ Spatial relation is
marked with -pə. For instance:

(50) ņo jampo guati-pə gi-jə
śo tomorrow gauhati-LOC go-FUT
‘I shall go to Gauhati tomorrow.’

(51) ņo jampo guati-bo-lo-pə gi-jə
śo tomorrow gauhati-down-direction-LOC go-FUT
‘I shall go to Gauhati (which exists directionally downward from the speakers
location) tomorrow.’
'How far is Laika (place directionally left or right from speakers place) from Jonai?'

'The kamakhya temple is at Gauhati.'

The marker -po is attached to a proper noun (name of place) NP to signal the reference of space without giving any specific directional location of the entity. However, in Mising there are certain direction based locative suffixes such as -to-la/-to-lo, -ba-la/bo-lo, and -ao-la/-o-lo which precedes the general locative marker to show the specific location of a given place from a speaker’s location (50-51). The figure given below shows the directional locative case suffixes in Mising.

Figure 5 - Directional locative case suffixes in Mising
When a speaker has to express the existence of two entities at the same locality and/or place, the directional locative suffixes -to-lo, -bo-lo and -o-lo are attached to NPs (name of places), otherwise -to-lo, bo-lo, and -o-lo (which occurs mostly with motion verbs) are used for the same respectively, followed by the non-specific direction locative marker -pə as given in (50).

2.2.3.5.1.7. Instrumental

The suffixation of -kokki or -ki to an NP marks the instrumental case in Mising. Consider examples (54) and (55) given below:

(54) luidor-bi-ϕ azin-do-m matsik-ki/-kokki tək-ka
luidor-3.SG-NOM meat-DEF-ACC knife-INST cut-PST
‘Luidor cut the meat with knife.’

(55) no-ϕ odok-ki/-kokki at-jo
no-ϕ ada-k-ki/-kokki at-jo
3.SG.-NOM DEM.PROX-INST write-NEG
‘You don’t write with that (pen).’

Besides the cases discussed above, we may also talk about the vocative case in Mising. The vocative is a form of address and do not appear as dependents in constructions, but rather they stand outside constructions or are inserted parenthetically (Blake 1994:9). In Mising, vocative generally tend to occur in forms of kinship terms for address. They stand outside the construction independently, and usually occur either towards the beginning of a construction. Consider the following examples given below:

(56) oijou no-ϕ iki.-ao-do-m ka:-to-n?
youngest child 2.SG-NOM dog-son-DEF-ACC see-PERF-Q
‘Oiyau (kinship term, the youngest child in a Mising family), have you seen the puppy?’
The two constructions given above may have the same semantic status but it differs when we talk of the syntactic structures. In example (56), we notice that the kinship term oijou ‘the youngest child in a Mising family’ stands apart independently from the core syntactic construction. Here the subject NP is no ‘2.SG’ which takes the nominative case. On the other hand, we notice that the same kinship term, oijou, can function as the subject NP when it is followed by no ‘2.SG’ which takes the nominative case as shown in example (57). From this, one can come to an understanding that vocatives in Mising (which are mostly kinship terms) can stand of its own without interfering the syntactic construction. Vocatives have not always been considered as case as they are unlike other cases does not mark the relation of dependents to heads (Blake 1994:9).

Cases are also marked for non-nouns. Although case is typically a property of nouns, case marking is often found on certain classes of word (determiners, adjectives) that are not obviously nouns by independent criteria (Blake1994:8). In Mising, demonstratives can take case like NPs do. A few examples are illustrated below:

(58) sə-m  go-pag-to
    DEM-ACC throw-away-IMP
    ‘Throw this away.’

(59) no  odo-m  kapila  jop-pag-ma-n?
    2.sg DEM.PROX-ACC why throw-away-NEG-Q
    ‘Why don’t you throw that away?’

(60) sə-galug-sə-m  go-jo
    DEM-shirt-DEM-ACC wear-NEG.IMP
    ‘Do not wear this shirt.’
The demonstratives, əə ‘DEM’ and əəə ‘DEM.PROX’ like any other NPs, can take the accusative case marker as given in examples (58) and (59). Sun states that in Tani languages (Eastern and Western sub-groups), demonstratives can occur on both the flanks of an NP (2003: 463). Likewise, demonstrative in Mising also can occur exactly in the same way as shown in (60) above. The omission of one of the demonstrative markers is possible in most of the Tani languages, but the omission of the demonstrative preceding or following an NP among Tani languages vary. In Mising, a demonstrative is optional when it precedes an NP, whereas it is obligatory when it follows, for instance: *əə-galug ‘DEM-shirt’ does not make sense in a syntactic construction, but əə-galug-əə ‘DEM-shirt-DEM, or galug-əə ‘shirt-DEM’ would mean ‘This shirt’.

2.2.3.5.2. Definiteness and demonstratives

Definiteness in Mising is marked by the suffix -əə, for instance, tani-əə ‘man-DEF’ and indefiniteness is marked by -ko such as, konelj-ko ‘girl-INDEF’. Sun (2003:461) has established that deitic pronouns and adverbials are well developed in Tani, with a distance-based (proximal, distal, far distal) dimension often in combination with vertical (‘up’ and ‘down’) dimension. Agreeing to what Sun has stated, given below are few examples from Mising:

(61) əə-iį-əə
DEM.-dog-DEM.
‘This dog down here’

(62) əəə-iį-əə
DEM.PROX-dog-DEM.PROX
‘That dog down there’

(63) əəə-iį-əə
DEM.DIS-dog-DEM.DIS
‘That dog down yonder’
From the given examples (61-63), it is understood that the affixation of the demonstrative sə ‘DEM’ to an NP gives the information of a referred entity which is very near to the speaker, adə ‘DEM.PROX’ signals the presence of an entity which is close by, and də expresses an entity to be far away. Definiteness marking is distinct from demonstratives in Mising. Few examples are given below.

(64) tabi-ko ukum ara-do-pə əgəp-kəp
    snake-INDEF house inside-DEF-LOC creep-PRF
    ‘A snake crept inside the house.’

(65) tabbo mizi-da-m pa-to
    tabi-ə mizi-da-m pa-to
    snake old man-DEF bite-PERF
    ‘Some snake has bitten the old man.’

(66) tani-kidi-da-m apo-sə-m ti-mo-jə
    man-PL-DEF-DAT rice beer-DEM-ACC drink-CAUS-IRRLS
    ‘We will make the people drink this rice beer.’

(67) ko:nə-do rum-kidi-da-m sampok pa:t-mo-ka
    girl-DEF room-PLU-DEF-ACC broom sweep-CAUS-IMPRF
    ‘The girl made the boys sweep the rooms.

From the examples given above (64-67), we observe that an NP gives a definite reading when -do is attached to it, for instance, tani-kidi-do ‘man-PLU-DEF’-‘the people’ (66) and ko:nə-do ‘girl-DEF’-‘the girl’ as in (67). It is also important to bring in the role of generic reference here. A generic NP is marked with -ə, for instance: iki:ə ‘dog-GENR’ which means a dog in general. Generic and definiteness marking in Mising is discussed in detail in §5.1.2.
2.2.3.6. Verbal inflections

Research on Mising (Grierson 1903), (Prasad 1995), Doley (2003)) and Apatani (Abraham 1985) shows the presence of Tense system consisting of present, past, and future. On the other hand, a comparative study on Tani languages by Sun (2003) rejects this by arguing for the presence of aspectual value rather than tense. Also, a recent comprehensive study on the grammar of Galo by Post (2007) agrees with Sun’s (2003) claim. My study shows the presence of both tense and aspect in Mising. In §2.2.3.6.1 we discuss the tense system in Mising followed by the aspectual system in §2.2.3.6.2.

2.2.3.6.1. Tense

Tense relates the time of the situation referred to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking while aspect is the way of viewing the internal temporal constitution of a situation (Comrie 1976:3). Tense in Mising is marked for present, past and future. Few examples are given below.

\[(68) \ \text{go/golu} \ \text{o} \ \text{om} \ - \text{do-do} \]
\[\text{ndo} \ \text{m} \ \text{o} \ \text{om} \ - \text{do-do} \]
\[1.\text{sg}\/1.\text{plu} \ \text{fish-ACC} \ \text{eat-PRES} \]
‘I eat fish.’

\[(69) \ \text{nipon-bibi} \ \text{o} \ \text{om} \ - \text{do-dak} \]
\[\text{nipon-bi/bulu} \ \text{o} \ \text{om} \ - \text{do-dak} \]
\[\text{nipon-3.sg/3.plu} \ \text{fish-acc} \ \text{eat-PRES} \]
‘Nipon/(s)he eats fish.’

The main verb do ‘eat’ as given in constructions (68) and (69) takes -do and -dak to signal the presence of the present tense in Mising. The marker -do is suffixed to verb roots when the subject is a first person (singular or plural) while -dak is attached to third person (singular and plural).
Mising has two past tense markers, viz. -ka and -ai. Few examples are given below.

(70) \( \etao \) adin-søm anin-ko bozar-to-lok rø-ka
1.sg meat-DEM-ACC near-GEN market-upward.DIR-LOC buy-PST
‘I bought this meat from the nearby market.’

(71) akø-ko:-\( \etao \) k akø-ko-\( \etao \) ame-do-k zon-su-nam
DEM.DIS-boy-DEM.DIS 1.sg-GEN child-DEF-GEN friend-REF-NMZL
azon-ai
friend-PST
‘That boy was my childhood friend.’

(72) \( \etao \) mø-jum rumrañ-ara-so duñ-ai
\( \etao \) mø-jum jumrañ-arañ-so duñ-ai
1.sg last-night forest-inside-DEM.PROX exist/live-PST
‘Last night I lived/stayed inside this forest.’

We notice difference in the use of the past tense markers -ka and -ai though both refer to past time event and/or state. The past tense marker -ka is inflected to verbal roots as given in construction (70) whereas -ai is inflected to a nominal root in the object position as shown in example (71). Also, the existential verb duñ has the capacity to take this marker as given in construction (72). Besides object NP and the existential verb, this past tense marker (-ai) can also be suffixed to the present tense marker -dak irrespective of the third person subject being singular or plural. The examples given below show the attachment of the past tense marker -ai to the present tense marker -dak.

(73) no/bi\( \etao \) bulu apoñ-øm t\( \eta \)-dak-ai
2SG/3.SG/3.PLU rice beer-ACC imbibe-PRES-PST
‘He/they use to drink rice beer (before) but today they don’t…….’

In construction (73) we notice the attachment of the past tense marker (-ai) to the present tense marker (-dak) which immediately sits after the verbal root. The attachment
of this marker semantically convey the message that the act of drinking *apog* ‘rice beer’ was practiced before which has reference to a past time event and it is unlikely that the subject would repeat the action again.

Along these lines, it is also important to note that past time reference in Mising can be expressed without the occurrence of the two past tense markers discussed above. However, this is possible only with the past time being signaled by a time adverbial such as ‘yesterday, last year’. The examples given below are illustrative.

(74)  
\begin{align*}
\text{sijo} & \quad \text{go} \quad \text{jup} \quad \text{mag} \\
\text{last night} & \quad 1.\text{SG} \quad \text{sleep} \quad \text{be not}
\end{align*}

‘I did not sleep last night.’ (Sun 2003:461;15b).

(75)  
\begin{align*}
\text{mornig} & \quad \text{arik} \quad \text{ai-ma} \\
\text{last year} & \quad \text{paddy field} \quad \text{good-NEG}
\end{align*}

‘Last year (paddy) field was bad.’

In the given constructions (74) and (75) we do not find the occurrence of the past tense markers, rather the past time reference is shown with the time adverbials *sijo* ‘last night’ and *mornig* ‘last year’.

In Mising, the future tense is marked with -jo. The following examples are illustrative.

(76)  
\begin{align*}
\text{go/polu} & \quad \text{guati-p} \quad \text{gi-j} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{FUT} \\
1.\text{SG}/1.\text{PLU} & \quad \text{guwahati} \quad \text{go-FUT}
\end{align*}

‘I/we will go to Guwahati.’

(77)  
\begin{align*}
\text{no/nolu} & \quad \text{jub-ŋak-su-j} \quad \text{sleep-fall-REFL-FUT} \\
2.\text{SG}/2.\text{PLU} & \quad \text{sleep-fall-REFL-FUT}
\end{align*}

‘You/you (plural) will fall asleep.’

(78)  
\begin{align*}
\text{bɪbulu} & \quad \text{abu-do} \quad \text{ursu-j} \quad \text{bath-FUT} \\
3.\text{SG}/3.\text{PLU} & \quad \text{river-DEF} \quad \text{bath-FUT}
\end{align*}

‘They will bathe in the river.’
In the given constructions (76-78), it is observed that the marker (-jə) is attached to all verb roots to denote the future time on an action performed by all the persons (first person, second person, and third person).

2.2.3.6.2. Aspect

Aspect is a system which primarily refers to the internal temporal structure of an event or state denoted by the verb (Comrie 1976). In Mising, we find two types of aspectual marking. Table 13 shows the aspectual suffixes with their meanings in Mising.

### Table 13- Aspectual suffixes in Mising

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-to</td>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>completed events considered as a whole without being looking into the internal structure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kaŋ</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>past situation where the event/state is ongoing and has some present relevance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.3.6.2.1. Perfective -to

Perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation, since it can both look backwards towards the start of the situation, and look forwards to the end of the situation, and indeed in equally appropriate if the situation is one of that lasts through all time, without any beginning and without any end (Comrie 1976). The perfective in Mising is marked with -to.

(79) bulu deli-bo-lo polo-ko du-to
3.PLU deli-downward. DIR-LOC month-INDEF stay-PERF

'They lived in Delhi for a month.'
The perfective -to ‘PERF’ marks final predicate to denote the occurrence of an event in the distant past without being looking into the internal structure of the event. It does not give us necessary information as to when the event started, if it has a present time reference related, and if the event is likely to be continued. It talks about the situation as a whole. This marker is also stated to have found in Galo where “it marks a predicate describing an event or state which has been completed, and which is construed as a punctual, self-contained occurrence with few or no lingering effects, which does not obviously result in a particular state, and/or with little or no immediate bearing on any subsequent events or states” (Post 2007:578).

2.2.3.6.2.2.  Perfect -kaŋ

The perfect -kaŋ ‘PRF’ is suffixed to verbal roots to refer to a past situation where the event/state is ongoing and it has some present relevance to the current state of affairs. Given below are few examples.

(80) mizi-də arık-pə gi-kaŋ
     mizǐ-də arık-pə gi-kaŋ
     old man-DEF field-LOC go-PRF
     ‘The old man went to the field.’

(81) iki:-də ası-do o-ap-kaŋ
     dog-DEF water-LOC fall-inside-PRF
     ‘The dog fell into the water.’

In construction (80) the attachment of the perfect aspect as in gi-kaŋ ‘go-PRF’ gives information about the subject’s (mizi ‘oldman’) going to the field and who is still believed to be there in the field. In the same way, in construction (81) we get the information of the iki: ‘dog’ falling into the water and it is still under the water. In both the constructions an action which happened sometime ago has reference to the present time.
In this section on morphology we have discussed the morphological features of Mising under two headings: *inflectional* and *derivational*. Number and case (often referred to as morpho-syntactic categories), definiteness and demonstratives are focused under the dimensions of nominal inflections while tense and aspect is studied under verbal inflections. The derivational morphology has expounded the employment of different types of nominalizers by which verbs and adjectives can be turned into nouns. The phenomenon of creating verbal roots from nouns by ways of aphaeresis and apocope, or by resorting to both is also noticed in Mising. The most common word-formation processes in Mising are prefixation, compounding, and reduplication. This language has a limited number of prefixes attested until date and they are based on semantic grounds. The structures of a noun on which this prefixes occur is symmetrical (in which the prefix gives the generic reference and the prefixed root gives the specific reference). On the other hand, the structure of an adjective on which the prefix *a-* occurs is asymmetrical and in which the prefix and the prefixed root shares a related meaning. Words are also formed by compounding of different lexical categories which are in the order of noun-noun, verb-verb, noun-adjective, and noun-numeral. We notice that adjectival roots gets reduplicated to a greater extend *vis-à-vis* nominal roots and they can be turned into an adverb by attaching the suffix *-pa*.

2.3. **Morphophonology**

Morphophonemics is an important characteristic feature of Mising. Various morphophonemic changes are observed in the process of word-formations and as well as at morpho-syntactic levels. Some morphophonemic changes observed by Taid (2000) are discussed below.

In Mising *b*, *d* and *g* tend to get devoiced in word-final positions when they are followed by voiceless sounds and when followed by nasal sounds, they tend to get phonetically realized as the homorganic *m*, *n*, and *g* respectively. Examples (82-86) from Taid (2000) are given below:
The alternation of vowel length and the velar nasal \( \eta \) is a prominent feature of Mising morphophonemics. It is a phonemically conditioned alternation. When vowel length is followed by velar phonemes and vowels, it is replaced by the velar nasal \( \eta \), and, when the velar nasal is followed by non-velar consonants, it is replaced with vowel length.

In addition to what Taid (2000) has observed, the present investigation further expounds the following morpho-phonemic changes in Mising.

The word-final velar nasal \( /\eta/ \) gets deleted when followed by a suffix beginning with the voiceless dental stop \( /d/ \), otherwise it is retained. Compare the examples given below:

(87a) \( \text{jumra} \) 'forest' + \( d\) 'DEF' \( \rightarrow \text{jumra-}d \) 'forest-DEF' - 'The forest'

(87b) \( \text{jumra} \) 'forest' + \( k\) 'INDEF' \( \rightarrow \text{jumra-}k \) 'forest-INDEF' - 'A forest'

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24 The marker \(-to\) has two different syntactic functions in Mising. It marks for perfective aspect and as well as for imperative.
Morpho-phonemic changes are often observed between various suffixes when attached together. For instance:

\[(88a)\] \textit{ami} ‘man’ + \textit{do} ‘DEF’ + \textit{kə} ‘GEN’ \rightarrow \textit{ami-do-kkə} ‘man-DEF-GEN’-‘The man’s…’

\[(88b)\] \textit{minə} ‘old woman’ + \textit{sə} ‘DEM’ + \textit{kə} ‘GEN’
\rightarrow \textit{minə-so-kkə} ‘old woman-DEM-GEN’-‘This old woman’s……’

\[(88c)\] \textit{iki} ‘dog’ + \textit{o\textdegree} ‘DIS.DEM’ + \textit{kə} ‘GEN’ \rightarrow \textit{iki-o\textdegree-o-kkə} ‘dog-DIS.DEM-GEN’
\textit{‘That dog’s……’}

In the examples (88a-c) as illustrated above, we often notice morpho-phonemic changes between two grammatical suffixes. The fusion of the central-mid vowel /ə/ as in \textit{-do} ‘DEF’ with the velar stop \textit{k} as in \textit{-kə} ‘GEN’ (88a) results in the replacement of \textit{ə} with \textit{o} (back-mid vowel). Likewise, when demonstratives \textit{sə} ‘DEM’ and \textit{o\textdegree} ‘DIS.DEM’ (which also ends with the central-mid vowel \textit{ə}) are attached with the genitive suffix \textit{-kə} (which begins with the velar stop \textit{k}), /ə/ is replaced with /o/ and the /k/ (the initial phoneme of the suffix \textit{-kə}) gets geminated (88b-c). A generalization drawn from these examples can be represented as - when the velar stop /k/ follows the central vowel /ə/, the latter is replaced with the back-mid vowel /o/ and the former gets geminated.

Morpho-phonemic changes in Mising can be noticed to a great extent when we talk about the attachment of \textit{-ə} ‘\textsc{genr or cop}’ to nominals ending with various short vowels as listed in table-2 (§2.1.1). However, this statement can be justified only with the geminate varieties of Mising dialects; the non-geminate varieties do not undergo morpho-phonological changes in this locale. The morphophonemic and morphosyntactic variations in different Mising dialects are discussed in Chapter 5.
2.4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have expounded the phonological, morphological, and morphophonological features of Mising as it was essential to know before attempting to look into the variations that exist between different Mising dialects. Due to unavailability of a standardized form of Mising, the general linguistic features specific to the said areas (phonology, morphology, and morphophonemics) were shown with data taken from the Pagro dialect. The Pagro dialect is gaining social status amidst the Mising people as speakers of this dialect are larger than speakers of any other Mising dialects. In the next four chapters (III-VI) we look into the dialectal variations in Mising followed by a discussion on the influence of other languages on Mising dialects in chapter VII.