CHAPTER-V
DERIVATIVE AFFIXES

Verbal derivative affixes in Manipuri may be studied under two groups as verbal derivative prefixes and verbal derivative suffixes. Verbal prefixes are very few in number while suffixes are large in number. They take a major part in the functioning of the language since Manipuri verbal roots are bound and they take the help of the suffixes to become free words.

5.1 Affixes

In the analysis of verbal affixes in Manipuri one interesting fact that emerges in the scene is grammaticalization. The by now classic definition of the term 'grammaticalization' was provided by Jerry Kurylowicz [(1965) 1975: 52]: 'Grammaticalization' consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one" (Bernd et al., 1991: 3). Grammaticalization is inherently a diachronic concept. It refers to a historical semantic process whereby a "root morpheme with a full lexical meaning assumes a more abstract functional or grammatical meaning" (Matisoff, Areal and Universal Dimensions of grammaticalization in Labu, Vol. 1, cited in Bernd et al., 1991).

Many linguists accept the notion "what-today-are-affixes-were-once independent words" proposed by George Vonder Gabetentz (1901: 250-251) (Bernd et al., 1991: 8). The free form gradually loses its identity and it might have attained the status of an affix. In other words, grammaticalization is a process through which a lexical item develops into a grammatical item. In this process, the meaning of the lexical item may be lost completely and sometimes, it becomes hard to trace the origin of the grammatical item.

5.1.1 Grammaticalized Prefixes

The affixation of the prefixes demands the verbal roots to be reduplicated. There are four grammaticalized verbal prefixes in Manipuri. They are โป-, ปุ-, กป-, โค-. 
The prefix पोः is derived from the verb पोः 'be foolish'. The addition of this prefix to a verbal root gives the meaning ‘to do something carelessly or foolishly/without any good reason’. It may sometimes mean recurrence of an action which is indicated by the suffix -ta ~ da. In negative environments (which will be discussed just after this sub-section) the suffix is dropped. Syntactic illustration:

1. **ca-** ‘eat’
   
   माहक-ति अप हें अप हें-बा पोः-का-दा का-ि
   he-PART get get-NMZ RED-eat-LOC eat-SAM
   ‘He eats whatever he gets (less caring about diet)’

2. **cat-** ‘go’
   
   माहक-ति पोः-कात-ता कात-ि
   he-PART RED-go-LOC go-SAM
   ‘He strays (anywhere) without any purpose’

3. **nok-** ‘laugh’
   
   माहक-ति पोः-नोक-ता नोक-ि
   he-PART RED-laugh-LOC laugh-SAM
   ‘He laughs without any reason’

The suffix पोः has another variation पुः which is used in spoken form only. पोः is retained in the written texts while पुः is not used in texts. Some examples of reduplication where पोः can be replaced by पुः are given below.

पोः-का-दा का-ि ~ पुः-का-दा का-ि
   ‘eats anything/carelessly’

पोः-कौ-दा कौ-ि ~ पुः-कौ-दा कौ-ि
   ‘scolds somebody without any purpose’

पोः-लाक-ता लाक-ि ~ पुः-लाक-ता लाक-ि
   ‘comes habitually without any reason’

पोः-पा-दा पा-ि ~ पुः-पा-दा पा-ि
   ‘reads anything’
paŋ-tum-ɗə tum-mi ~ puŋ-tum-ɗə tum-mi ‘sleeps almost all the time’

paŋ-ɓɔ-ɗə harau-i ~ puŋ-ɓɔ-ɗə harau-i ‘is happy foolishly/without proper reason’

paŋ-ke-ɗə ke ~ puŋ-ke-ɗə ke ‘puts on make-up all the time or without any reason’

paŋ-tʰɔk-tə tʰɔk-i ~ puŋ-tʰɔk-tə tʰɔk-i ‘drinks heavily without any control’

paŋ-sau-ɗə sau-i ~ puŋ-sau-ɗə sau-i ‘gets angry on petty matters’

The prefixation of paŋ- to a verbal root can occur in negative environment also where it means not much, not frequently’. Syntactic illustration:

04. nop- ‘be weak’

ma-ɡa jeŋŋa-bo-ɗə nəŋ-su paŋ-nop nop-te-Φ
he-ASS compare-NMZ-LOC you-also RED-weak weak-NEG-SAM
‘You are not too weak compared to him’

5. ɲaŋ- ‘talk, give comment’

məhak-ti mi-gi məram-ɗə paŋ-ɲaŋ ɲaŋ-de-Φ
he-PART man-GEN about-LOC RED-talk talk-NEG-SAM
‘He does not talk much’ or ‘He hardly gives any comment about others’

6. lu- ‘be difficult’

ŋası-gi wəhəŋ-siŋ-du paŋ-lu lu-de-Φ
today-GEN question-PL-DET RED-difficult difficult-NEG-SAM
‘Today’s questions were not too difficult’

The verbs in sentence (1-3) ca-, cat- and nok- are action verbs that occur in positive environments. This does not mean that this prefix cannot go with stative and process verbs (see the examples given above showing the variant of paŋ- and puŋ-). The verb nop- in sentence (4) and lu- in sentence (6) are stative verbs while ɲaŋ- in sentence (5) is an action verb.
5.1.2 *pum-*

The prefix *pum-* is originated from the nominal bound root *-pum* ‘whole’. The prefixation of *pum-* to a verbal root gives the meaning ‘completely’. The prefix has also two variant forms as *pum-* and *pug-*. The first variant form *pum-* is used in written form while *pug-* is found in spoken form only. It is homophonous with *pug-* a variant of *pug-* (see 5.1.1.1). Syntactic illustrations:

7. **têt-**  ‘break, torn’
   
   ![example](image)

   ‘This cloth is completely torn’

8. **kʰa-**  ‘be bitter’
   
   ![example](image)

   ‘This curry is completely bitter in taste’

9. **kau-**  ‘forget’
   
   ![example](image)

   ‘I have forgotten the lesson completely’

10. **cot-**  ‘be wet’
    
    ![example](image)

    ‘I am completely drenched in the rain’

11. **tek-**  ‘collapse’
    
    ![example](image)

    ‘Many houses were completely collapsed in the earthquake’
The verbs *tat- in sentence (7), *kau- in sentence (9), and *tek- in sentence (11) are process verbs while the verbs *kha- in sentence (8) and *cot- in sentence (10) are stative verbs. The prefix *pum- cannot go with action verbs. Some examples are given below to show the variation of *pum- and *pun-.

*pum-cam cam-mi ~ *pun-cam cam-mi ‘is completely tasteless’
*pum-cai cai-re ~ *pun-cai cai-re ‘is completely untidy’
*pum-ŋau ŋau-re ~ *pun-ŋau ŋau-re ‘has gone completely mad’
*pum-pen pen-le ~ *pun-pen pen-le ‘is completely satisfied’
*pum-haŋ haŋ-ŋe ~ *pun-haŋ haŋ-ŋe ‘is completely empty’
*pum-pot pot-le ~ *pun-pot pot-le ‘is completely rotten’
*pum-lep lep-pe ~ *pun-lep lep-pe ‘has completely stopped’
*pum-mot mot-le ~ *pun-mot mot-le ‘is completely dirty’
*pum-tot tot-sin-na-re ~ *pun-tot tot-sin-na-re ‘is completely mixed up’
*pum-top top-pi ~ *pun-top top-pi ‘is completely different’
*pum-lak lak-sil-le ~ *pun-lak lak-sil-le ‘is completely under control’

The verbs shown in the above examples are stative and process. The prefix *pum- cannot occur with action verbs. Consider the following examples:

* *pum-ca ca-re ‘has completely eaten’
* *pum-cen cel-le ‘has completely run’
* *pum-pa pa-re ‘has completely read’

It may be noted that the homophonous prefix *pun- can occur with stative verbs. The interesting fact that may be observed here is that the prefix *pun- which occur in negative environment is derived from the verbal root *paŋ- ‘be foolish’ while the other prefix occurred in positive environment is derived from the nominal bound root *pum ‘whole’.
The prefix \( \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ} \)- is derived from the verb \( \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ} \)- 'startle'. When it is attached to a verbal root it gives the meaning of 'suddenness'. Most frequently, it occurs with action and process verbs. It can also occur with process verbs (which changes from stative) very rarely in a comparative environment. Examples are given below to make this point clear.

**\( \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ} \)- with action verbs**

12. \text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{adok-} 'release'
   \[ \text{a}^{\text{i}}\text{-n}^{\text{a}} \text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ə}^{\text{u}i\text{-du}} \text{ k}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{-t}^{\text{h}}\text{a}} \text{ t}^{\text{h}}\text{a-dok-i} \]
   I-NOM rope-DET RED-release release-OUT-SAM
   'I release the rope suddenly'

13. \text{nok-} 'laugh'
   \[ \text{n}^{\text{u}i\text{-du}} \text{ k}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{-nok}} \text{ n}^{\text{o}k-\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{at-lə}^{\text{k-i}}} \]
   woman-DET RED-laugh laugh-START-DEIC-SAM
   'The woman started to laugh suddenly'

14. \text{lau-} 'shout'
   \[ \text{a}^{\text{ŋ}^{\text{a}n}}^{\text{-du-n}^{\text{a}}} \text{ m}^{\text{a}-\text{m}^{\text{a}n-\text{d}^{\text{a}}} \text{ k}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{-lau}} \text{ lau-i}} \]
   child-DET-NOM 3PP-dream-LOC RED-shout shout-SAM
   'The child shouts suddenly in his dream'

15. \text{c}^{\text{o}n}^{\text{-}} 'spring'
   \[ \text{l}^{\text{i}n-du} \text{ u-bə-\text{də}} \text{ m}^{\text{ə}-\text{k}^{\text{h}^{\text{oi}}} \text{ ki-bə-\text{n}^{\text{a}}} \text{ k}^{\text{h}}\text{ŋ-c}^{\text{o}n}} \]
   snake-DET see-NMZ-LOC he-PL fear-NMZ-CAUS RED-jump
   \text{c}^{\text{o}n-\text{t}^{\text{h}^{\text{ok-i}}} \text{ jump-OUT-SAM}}
   'They sprang out of fear when they saw the snake'
The verbs tʰadok- nok-, lau- and cong- in sentences (12-15) are all action verbs and the addition of kʰəŋ- gives the meaning of ‘suddenness’. Now consider the following examples with process verbs.

16. lep- ‘stop’

ləmbi-da gari-du kʰəŋ-lep lep-kʰə-re-Φ
way-LOC vehicle-DET RED-stop stop-DEF-PERF-SAM
‘The vehicle stopped suddenly on the way’

17. ta- ‘fall’

lairik-tu si-gi kʰut-təgi kʰəŋ-ta ta-kʰə-re-Φ
book-DET I-GEN hand-ABL RED-fall fall-DEF-PERF-SAM
‘The book suddenly fell off my hand’

18. nik- ‘shake’

ai-kʰoi-na pʰəm-ləŋi-da ləmai-du kʰəŋ-nik nik-lək-i
I-PL-NOM sit-SPFD-LOC ground-DET RED-shake shake-DEIC-SAM
‘The ground shook suddenly when we were sitting’

19. noŋ ta- ‘rain’

ai-kʰoi-na ləmbi-da cət-ləŋi-da noŋ kʰəŋ-ta ta-rək-i
I-PL-NOM way-LOC go-SPFD-LOC rain RED-fall fall-DEIC-SAM
‘It began raining suddenly when we were going on the way’

The verb lep-, ta-, nik- and noŋ ta- in sentences (16-19) are process verbs and they freely take the prefix kʰəŋ-. There are also some process verbs which have been originated from stative verbs (see 4.5.1 and 5.2.2.2.4.1). They can also take this prefix but in certain contexts. Consider the following examples:

20. iŋ- ‘be cold’
In sentence (20) the verb *iŋ-sin-* with the reduplicative prefix *kʰəŋ-* ‘suddenly’ implies that there is a reference on which the speaker presupposes a situation which might be cool or hot and compared to it there is a sudden change of climate. The underlying structure of sentence (21) is that before giving the comment the speaker has a presupposition in his mind that the referent was not as dark complexioned as he is at the time of making his comment. The occurrence of *kʰəŋ-* with the verb *pik-sin-* in sentence (22) implies that with reference to a bigger man the referent becomes relatively small. In other words, it shows a comparison between two persons of different heights. Similarly,
the underlying structure of sentence (23) shows the comparison between two persons where the referent becomes relatively ugly when compared to a third person.

The prefix $k^h\eta$- has semantic restriction in occurrence with stative verbs. This is because something or somebody cannot acquire a quality suddenly e.g. somebody or something cannot become big or small, tall or short instantly. Of course, there are some stative verbs which are temporal in nature e.g. $k^h\eta$- ‘be dry’, $p^h\alpha$- ‘be cured of an illness’. They can take the prefix $k^h\eta$-. Consider the following sentences:

24. $p^h\alpha$- ‘be cured of an illness/get relief from pain, etc.’
   a. hidak害羞 ca-bα-dagi害羞 ei kok cik-pα害羞 $k^h\eta$-p$h\alpha$害羞 $p^h\alpha$-re-Φ
      medicine this eat-NMZ-ABL I headache RED-cure cure-PERF-SAM
      ‘I have got relief from headache suddenly after taking this medicine’
   b. pau害羞 adu ta-bα-dα害羞 ma-ma-du害羞 anaba害羞 $k^h\eta$-p$h\alpha$害羞
      news that hear-NMZ-LOC 3PP-mother-DET illness RED-relieve
      $p^h\alpha$-k$h\alpha$-re-Φ
      relieve-DEF-PERF-SAM
      ‘The mother was relieved from anxiety instantly on hearing the good news’

25. $k^h\eta$- ‘be dry’
    laimai-dα害羞 ta-bα害羞 petrol-du害羞 $k^h\eta$-k$\eta$害羞 k$\eta$-k$h\alpha$-re-Φ
    floor-LOC fall-NMZ petrol-DET RED-dry dry-DEF-PERF-SAM
    ‘The petrol on the floor has dried up instantly’

Both sentences (24.a & b) show happenings which take place suddenly due to some cause. But the degree of suddenness is slightly different. In sentence (24.a) the referent gets relief from headache quickly after taking medicine but not instantly. In other words, the relief from headache may take place after a few minutes, i.e., the reaction/effect of the
medicine does not work instantly. On the other hand, the relief, which the mother gets from anxiety in sentence (24.b), comes instantly when she heard the good news. In both cases, the prefixation of kʰəŋ- is acceptable. The verb kəŋ- in sentence (25) with the prefix kʰəŋ- implies that the time taken in the process of drying is very quick and instantaneous. But it is not always acceptable in other contexts also. An event or happening may take place within a short time and beyond one’s expectation and in such situations the adverb jamna tʰuna ‘very soon’ is used. Consider the following sentences.

26. kəŋ- ‘be dry’
   pukʰri-si jam-na tʰu-na kəŋ-ŋi
   pond-DET much-ADV quick-ADV dry up-SAM
   ‘The pond dries up quickly’

27. cau- ‘be big, grow’
   oŋaŋ-si jam-na tʰu-na cau-i
   child-DET much-ADV quick-ADV big-SAM
   ‘The child grows up quickly (unusually)’

28. mun- ‘be ripe’
   hainau-si jam-na tʰu-na mul-li
   mango-DET much-ADV quick-ADV ripe-SAM
   ‘The mango gets ripe quickly (beyond one’s expectation)’

5.1.1.4 koi-

The prefix koi- is derived from the verbal root koi- ‘go or move round’. When attached to a verbal root it gives the meaning of ‘around, everywhere, without purpose or aimlessly’. Syntactic illustrations:

29. pu- ‘carry’
   ma-na cat-pə-da oŋaŋ-du koi-pu pu-i
   he-NOM go-NMZ-LOC child-DET RED-carry carry-SAM
   ‘He carries the child with him wherever he goes’
30. cen- ‘run’

\[\text{cen} \text{-du sman} \text{-d} \text{a koi-cen cel-li}\]

child-DET lawn-LOC RED-run run-SAM

‘The child runs around in the lawn’

31. jen- ‘look’

\[\text{jen} \text{-na imun} \text{-d} \text{a koi-jen jen-} \text{ni}\]

he-NOM inside the house-LOC RED-look look-SAM

‘He looks around inside the house’

32. ha- ‘hawk’

\[\text{ha} \text{-du-na jum-}t^\text{ho} \text{ñ k}^\text{h} \text{udin} \text{-d} \text{a ma-gi}\]

man-DET-NOM house-door every-LOC he-GEN

pot koi-ha ha-i

article RED-hawk hawk-SAM

‘The man hawks his article from door to door’

33. cat- ‘go around, roam, wander’

\[\text{cat} \text{-a} \text{du lambi} \text{-d} \text{a koi-cat cat-li}\]

mad man-DET street-LOC RED-go go-SAM

‘The mad man wanders aimlessly in the street’

Some more examples of koi- with some verbal roots are shown below.

koi-rañ lan-ñi ‘make noise without rhyme and reason’
koi-rau lau-i ‘shout indiscriminately/without rhyme and reason’
koi-t\text{h}i t\text{h}i ‘search/look for in every possible way’
koi-sen sen-na-i ‘take care of (someone) in every possible way’
koi-rot lot-li ‘hide in every possible place’
koi-tan tan-na-i ‘chase every where’
koi-k\text{h}om k\text{h}om-mi ‘collect from everywhere’
It may be noted that this prefix cannot occur with stative verbs because of the semantic constraint of the prefix, e.g.,

*koí-thum thum-mi ‘around + sweet’
*koí-nuŋ nusi ‘around + love’

5.1.2 Non-grammaticalized prefixes
The non-grammatizalized prefixes which are involved in the process of reduplication of Manipuri verbs are: i-, ta- and suk-.

5.1.2.1 Prefix i-
The prefix i- when attached to a verbal root gives the meaning ‘general, anything, almost’. Syntactic illustrations:

34. ja- ‘agree/accept’
   əi-di  i-ja  ja-i
   I-PART RED-agree agree-SAM
   ‘I agree with anything’

35. tan- ‘feel boring’
   əi ŋəsi-di  i-tən  təl-li
   I today-PART RED-feel bore feel bore-SAM
   ‘I feel boring today’

36. son- ‘be weak’
   əi i-sa-si  i-son  son-thə-i
   I 1PP-body-DET RED-weak weak-DOWN-SAM
   ‘I feel weak (these days)’

37. segai- ‘be torn’
   pʰi-si  i-se  segai-re-Φ
   cloth-DET RED-torn torn-PERF-SAM
   ‘The cloth is almost torn’
38. **cin-** ‘be tight’

p'urit-si  na-ŋon-da  i-cin  cil-li

shirt-DET 2PP-DIR-DAT RED-tight tight-SAM

‘This shirt is tight to you’

The verb **ja-** in sentence (34) with the prefix **i-** gives the meaning of ‘anything’ while the verb **tan-** in sentence (35) and **son-** in sentence (36) show a degree of a state. The verb **cin-** in sentence (37) means a general statement.

Another function of the prefix **i-** is to show superlative degree with stative verbs where the comparison is among similar category and the noun phrase of the sentence takes -na ‘comparative marker’. Consider the following sentences.

39. **nem-** ‘be short’

əŋaŋ  asi-na  i-nem  nem-mi

child this-CMP RED-short short-SAM

‘This child is the shortest (among the boys)’

40. **wa-** ‘be tired’

əi  ṭasi-na  i-wa  wa-i

I today-CMP RED-tired tired-SAM

‘I feel most tired today (compared to other days)’

41. **kan-** ‘be strong’

məhak-na  laikai-si-de  mə-sa  i-kən  kəl-li

he-CMP locality-DET-LOC 3PP-body RED-strong strong-SAM

‘He is the strongest man in the locality’

The prefix **i-** can also occur in negative environment where it gives the meaning of ‘not much’. It may be noted that the first syllable of a verb in case of disyllabic or polysyllabic verbs reduplicate, e.g. in **segai-** in sentence (37).
The verbs ca- , tʰək- , pen- , lak- and nau- in sentences (42 to 46) occur in negative environment and they show the degree of ‘not much’.

5.1.2.1 Prefix tə-

The prefixation of tə- to some stative verbs gives the meaning of a greater degree. When the verb is reduplicated the prefix tə- occurs two times unlike the other reduplicative prefixes. Syntactic illustrations:
47. ɲaɲ- ‘be red’

ma-gi kʰəjai-du tə-ɲaɲ tə-ɲaɲ-ŋi
she-GEN cheek-DET RED-red RED-red-SAM
‘Her cheek is reddish’

48. pʰiŋ- ‘be rash’

ma-di tʰəbek təu-bə-də tə-pʰiŋ tə-pʰiŋ-ŋi
he-PART work do-NMZ-LOC RED-rash RED-rash-SAM
‘He is rash in doing something’

49. nəu- ‘be fresh/look young’

nupi-məca əsi tə-ŋəu tə-ŋəu-ri-Φ
woman-small this RED-young RED-young-PROG-SAM
‘This girl is still very young’

50. seq- ‘be real/be confirmed’

ma-gi mə-ma ləi-tə-re-Φ hai-bə-si tə-seq
he-GEN 3PP-mother be-NEG-PERF-SAM say-NMZ-DET RED-confirm
tə-seŋ-ŋe-Φ
RED-confirm-PERF-SAM

‘It has been confirmed that his mother has expired’

51. lu- ‘be clean’

ŋəsi-di ətija əsi tə-ru tə-ru-i
today-PART sky this RED-clean RED-clean-SAM
‘Today the sky is clear’

5.1.2.3 Prefix suk-

The prefix suk- always occurs in a negative environment and it means ‘never’. It can occur with all classes of verbs: action, stative and process. Examples:
52. **lak-** ‘come’

mohak ṭorang məphəm asi-do suk-lak lak-te-∅

he yesterday place this-LOC RED-come come-NEG-SAM

‘He never came here yesterday’

53. **wari-sa-** ‘talk’

ai ma-gə wari suk-sa sa-na-de-∅

I he-ASS story RED-talk talk-REC-NEG-SAM

‘I never talk with him’

54. **pan-** ‘bear fruit’

hɔinəu pambi osi hɔinəu suk-pan pan-de-∅

mango tree this mango RED-bear bear-NEG-SAM

‘This mango tree never bears fruit’

55. **mun-** ‘be ripe’

hɔinəu osi suk-mun mun-de-∅

mango this RED-ripe ripe-NEG-SAM

‘This mango never ripens (It takes a long time to ripe)’

56. **nuŋsi-** ‘love’

ma-nə nəŋ-bu suk-nəŋ nuŋsi-de-∅

he-NOM you-ACC RED-love love-NEG-SAM

‘He never loves you’

5.2 **Derivative Suffixes**

Derivative suffixes that are attached to verbal roots may be classified into two: grammaticalized suffixes and non-grammaticalized suffixes.

5.2.1 **Grammaticalized Suffixes**

There are twelve grammaticalized suffixes established in the Manipuri language. Four of them are restricted in the sense that they can occur with certain verb
groups while the remaining eight suffixes are non-restricted \textit{i.e.}, they can occur freely with any type of verb.

5.2.1.1 Restricted grammaticalized suffixes

The restricted grammaticalized suffixes are -t$^h$at, -t$^b$ek, -k$^b$ai and -hat. They are derived from destructive verbs and addition of these suffixes gives the meaning ‘to do something forcefully in order to destroy’. Sometimes, the meaning of destruction is not seen in some cases.

The verbal roots from which the destructive suffixes are originated are t$^h$at- ‘pluck’ > -t$^h$at, t$^b$ek- ‘break’ > -t$^b$ek, k$^b$ai- ‘cut’ > -k$^b$ai and hat- ‘kill’ -hat. The verbal roots to which the first three destructive suffixes are to be attached may be analysed from three points of view by the binary feature as (i) ± Agentive (Agt) (ii) ± Force and (3) ± Separation.

(i) ± Agentive

Almost all the verbal roots, which can take the destructive suffixes, are action verbs (see 4.2.1.3). Hence, they are agentive (see 4.4) \textit{i.e.}, + Agentive. However, there are some process verbs which can take the destructive suffixes. Examples:

- ni$q^k$ai- ‘shatter’
- cek$k^b$ai- ‘crack’
- k$^b$amdek- ‘scar/burn’
- sat$kai$- ‘bloom’
- cijn$k^b$ai -‘crack’
- pok$k^b$ai- ‘burst’
- cat$^h$at- ‘have ulcer’

(ii) ± Force

The application of force while performing an act varies according to the acts. For instance, tearing off a paper segai- takes less force than tearing off a thick paper or
cloth. Similarly, the amount of force applied in performing the act sik-tat- ‘pinch’ is much less than that of nai-t^b\text{th}- ‘squeeze/crush’. The verbs which are Agentive are Force.

(iii) ± Separation

The action of the destructive verbs may result in separation or sometimes not. But the normal shape of the objects is broken. The verb jan-t^{b\text{h}}\text{at}- ‘cut apart’, t^{b\text{h}}udek- ‘break a stick’, t^{b\text{h}}ugai- ‘break glass’, cik-t^{b\text{h}}\text{at}- ‘bite’, cap-t^{b\text{h}}\text{at}- ‘cut with scissors’, soi-dat- ‘cut with knife’, segai- ‘tear apart’, etc. are verbs that result in separation by cutting with a sharp weapon or by biting with teeth and by hitting on a hard surface. On the other hand, verbs like cii\text{t}^{b\text{h}}\text{at}- ‘pull hard to break’, lai-t^{b\text{h}}\text{at}- ‘twist hard to break’, lai-t^{b\text{h}}ek- ‘twist hard’, net-b\text{at}- ‘trample’, etc. do not give the result of separation. They simply give a broken shape of the thing to which the above actions are applied. In other words, it can be said that destructive suffixes may or may not retain their original meaning when they are attached to different action verbs as they have undergone the process of grammaticalization. The loss of meaning, if there is, may be partial or complete.

5.2.1.1 Suffix -t^{b\text{h}}\text{at}

The suffix -t^{b\text{h}}\text{at} is originated from the verb t^{b\text{h}}\text{at}- ‘pluck’. When it is attached to destructive verbs, it gives the meaning ‘to destroy by cutting sharply or pluck by breaking’ (Madhubala, 1997). The suffix has three phonologically conditioned allomorphs as -tat ~ dat ~ t^{b\text{h}}\text{at}. -tat occurs after a verbal root which begins with an aspirated sound and ends in a voiceless sound e.g. p^{b\text{h}}uk-tat- ‘pull out’, k^{b\text{h}}ot-tat- ‘scratch’, set-tat- ‘tear apart’, hut-tat- ‘bore a hole’, etc. -dat occurs in the same situation but the final sound of the verbal root is voiced e.g. soi-dat- ‘cut apart’, p^{b\text{h}}an-dat- ‘mow’, su-dat- ‘pound’, t^{b\text{h}}om-dat- ‘hit hard’. -t^{b\text{h}}\text{at} occurs elsewhere e.g. cii\text{t}^{b\text{h}}\text{at}- ‘pull hard to break’ lai-t^{b\text{h}}\text{at}- ‘twist hard to break’, cap-t^{b\text{h}}\text{at}- ‘cut apart with scissors’, etc. Syntactic illustrations:
57. **pkuk**- ‘pull out’

napi-siŋ-du loi-ña pkuk-tət-lu

ggrass-PL-DET finish-ADV pull-DEST-COM

‘Pull out all the grass (to make the area clean)’

58. **płu**- ‘beat’

huranbɔ-du mi-jam-ña płu-ːdɔt-le-Φ

thief-DET man-many-NOM beat-DEST-PERF-SAM

‘The thief was beaten by the people’

59. **net**- ‘trample’

ɔŋaŋ-ña lai-du net-ːt/sl-le-Φ

child-NOM flower-DET trample-DEST-PERF-SAM

‘The child trampled the flower’

60. **kʰai**- ‘cut’

mairen-si əi-ña kʰai-ːdɔt-le-Φ

pumpkin-DET I-NOM cut-DEST-PERF-SAM

‘I have cut this pumpkin apart’

61. **jan**- ‘cut’

komla pambi-si jan-ːt/kənu

orange tree-DET cut-DEST-PROH

‘Do not cut down this orange tree’

62. **mut**- ‘become extinguish’

mai-du tombɔ-ña mut-ːt/kɔ-re-Φ

fire-DET Tomba-NOM extinguish-DEST-DEF-PERF-SAM

‘Tomba extinguished the fire’

63. **ca**- ‘eat’

əi-gi cinban ca-ːt/sl-Φ

I-GEN lip eat-DEST-PERF-SAM
The verb *phuk-tat* in sentence (57) results in separation when the destructive suffix is attached to it. The meaning of the verb implies that an agent carries out the action of separating the plant from the soil and it also implies force. The verb *phu-dat-* in sentence (58) implies an agent and force is applied in the act of beating but it does not result in separation. The verb *net-tat-* in sentence (59) implies an agent but it does apply force in the sense that the child trampled the flower without notice while playing and the act of trampling may or may not result in separation. It depends on the weight of the child. The verb *khai-dot-* in sentence (60) implies an agent and necessary force is applied to cut apart the pumpkin and finally it results in separation. The same condition is occurred in the verb *jan-dot-* ‘cut’ in sentence (61). The verb *mutt-at-* ‘extinguish’ in sentence (62) may mean both burning fire and an electric current. It needs an agent in both types of action and it finally results in separation in the sense that a burning fire is stopped and an electric current is cut off. But the force applied in the actions is different. In case of power cut, no force is used while in extinguishing a fire like burning of a house, necessary force is applied. However, in case of putting off a small fire like burning of firewood used for cooking does not need much force. The verb *cat-at-* in sentence (63) is different from the other verbs given above in the sense that it lacks an agent (an animate agent see Chapter-IV) it does not result in separation but the normal shape of the lip is broken.

5.2.1.1.2 Suffix -t*b*ek

The suffix is derived from the destructive verb *t*ek- ‘break a stick with hands’. The addition of this suffix to destructive verbs implies to do something hard in order to break or destroy the normal shape of something. The suffix has also three phonologically conditioned allomorphs as -tek ~ -dek ~ t*b*ek and the conditioning factor is same with -t*at* (5.1.2.1). Verbs which take -tek are *phuk-tek-* ‘pull out’, *thup-tek-* ‘fold improperly’. They are very few in number. Verbs with -dek are *phudek* ‘break’, su-

64. ciŋ- ‘pull’
uri-si ᵒŋaŋ-nə  ciŋ-tʰek-e-Φ
creeper-DET child-NOM pull-DEST-PERF-SAM
‘The child pulled the creeper’

65. loi- ‘twist’
tu-sin-bə-də  ai-gi  kʰoŋ loi-tʰek-e-Φ
fall-IN-NMZ-CAUS I-GEN leg twist-DEST-PERF-SAM
‘My leg got twisted when I stumbled’

66. nai- ‘stir’
iŋkʰol-gi  məna-məsiŋ-si  sən-nə  nai-tʰek-e-Φ
kitchen garden-GEN vegetable-DET cow-NOM stir-DEST-PERF-SAM
‘The vegetables planted in the kitchen garden have been destroyed/trampled by the cow’

67. nai- ‘press’
pʰənuŋ-də  loi-bə  lairik-siŋ-si  məhək-nə  nai-tʰek-e-Φ
bed-LOC be-NOM book-PL-DET he-NOM press-DEST-PERF-SAM
‘He has pressed the books hard which are on the bed’

68. kʰam- ‘scar’
ma-gi  mə-mai-du  məi-nə  cak-pə-dəgi  kʰam-dek-e-Φ
he-GEN 3PP-face-DET fire-NOM burn-NMZ-ABL scar-DEST-PERF-SAM
‘His face was badly scarred after the burn’

The verb ciŋ-tʰek- in sentence (64) implies an agent as well as force which does not result in separation. loi-tʰek- in sentence (65), nai-tʰek- in sentence (66), nai-tʰek- in
sentence (67) imply the same sense as sentence (64) that is to say they are all agentive and force is applied but they do not result in separation. The normal form of leg in sentence (65), vegetables/plants in sentence (66) and books in sentence (67) are broken. They only differ from $k^h$am-dek- in sentence (68) in the sense that it is not agentive.

5.2.1.3 Suffix -$k^h$ai

The destructive suffix -$k^h$ai is originated from the verbal root $k^h$ai- ‘cut’. The suffixation of -$k^h$ai to action verbs gives the meaning ‘to cut or break something’. It has also three allomorphic variations as -kai ~ gai ~ $k^h$ai and their distribution is also same to -t$^b$at (see 5.1.2.1). Verbs with -kai are sik-kai- ‘pinch’, satkai- ‘bloom’, p$^b$ak-kai- ‘pull apart’. Verbs with -gai are t$^b$en-gai- ‘collide’, p$^b$ugai- ‘beat’, segai- ‘tear apart’, su-gai- ‘pound to break’, hogai- ‘scratch’, han-gai- ‘prick’, k$^h$ogai- ‘scratch’, etc. Verbs with -$k^h$ai are tak-$k^h$ai- ‘rub hard on a surface’, len-$k^h$ai- ‘cut with a sharp blade’, t$^a$u-$k^h$ai- ‘dig in the soil’, nai-$k^h$ai- ‘stir’, etc. Syntactic illustrations:

69. sik- ‘pinch’

laisabi-du-nə ma-mai-dagi urin-sin-du sik-kai

girl-DET-NOM 3PP-face-ABL pimple-PL-DET pinch-DEST-SAM

‘The girl pinches the pimples on her face’

70. segai- ‘tear’

ānaj-du-nə lairik-si se-gai-re-Φ

child-DET-NOM book-DET tear-DEST-PERF-SAM

‘The child has torn the book’

The final consonant of set- ‘tear’ has been deleted when -$k^h$ai follows it and -$k^h$ai changes to -gai when it occurs after se- (set-) (see 5.3.2.2).

71. t$^b$en- ‘touch’
The verb sik-kai- in sentence (69) implies that there is an agent to perform the act of squeezing and no force is applied and the result is also not separation. The verb segai- in sentence (70) has an agent who applied force in performing the act of tearing and it results in separation. tʰeŋ-gai- in sentence (71) has an agent and force is also applied but it does not result in separation. The action results in breaking down of the normal shape of the vehicles. met-kʰai- in sentence (72) implies an agent who applies force in order to break the boil and let out pus from it. The pus is separated from the boil and thus the action results in separation. ləŋ-kʰai- in sentence (73) has an agent and the action is done violently by applying full force to break. The result may be separation if the utensils are broken and if it is not, then, the result may not be separation. But the thing is not in its place (separated from its own place). It may cause the breaking down of the normal shape.
of the utensils. sugai- in sentence (74) implies an agent and necessary force is applied and the action results in separation.

5.2.1.1.4 Suffix -hat

The suffix -hat is derived from the verbal root hat- 'kill'. The suffix has restricted use with some verbs and the suffixation of -hat to the verbal roots give the meaning of superiority in most cases. Syntactic illustrations:

75. tu- 'fall'
inak kʰun-βọ-ŋa laiɾa-βa-bu tu-hat-li
rich-NMZ-NOM poor-NMZ-ACC fall-SUP-SAM
'The rich exploit the poor'

76. nam- 'press'
tomba-ŋa oŋaŋ-du-bu ədum nam-hat-li
Tomba-NOM child-DET-ACC always press-SUP-SAM
'Tomba always suppress the child'

77. sum- 'keep under spell'
issi-du-ŋa ətaba-siŋ-bu sum-hat-ləm-mi
song-DET-NOM audience-PL-ACC keep under spell-SUP-COMP-SAM
'The song enticed the audience'

78. ka- be scorch'
nunṣa-ɗa kui-ŋa loi-ɓa-dagí ɗa-mai-du
sunlight-LOC long-ADV be-NMZ-ABL 2PP-face-DET
ka-hat-le-Φ
scorch-SUP-PERF-SAM
'Your face becomes dark because of long exposure in the sun'

79. cai- 'scold'
na-kʰa tʰa-bə-siŋ-bu ədum-nə cəi-hət-kənu
2PP-down be-NMZ-PL-ACC like-ADV scold-SUP-PROH
‘Do not scold your juniors like that’

80. lau- ‘shout’
əŋəŋ-da kəi-gi lau-hət-li-bə-no
child-DAT what-GEN shout-SUP-PROG-NMZ-Q
‘Why do you shout at the child (like that)︖’

The verbs tuhət- in sentence (75), namhət- in sentence (76), caihat- in sentence (79) and lauhət-in sentence (80) show superiority or power possessed by the agent and exercise it on others. The verbs sumhət- in sentence (77) and kahət- in sentence (78) also possess the meaning of superiority indirectly.

5.2.1.2 Non-restricted grammaticalized suffixes

There are eight non-restricted grammaticalized suffixes in Manipuri which are derived from verbal roots. They are non-restricted in the sense that they can be attached to any class of verb. They are -kən ‘habitual’, -lək ‘deictic’, -tʰək ‘outward’, -pi ‘benefactive’, -mən ‘excessive’, -həu ‘inceptive’, -nij ‘wish’, and -təu ‘do’.

5.2.1.2.1 Suffix -kən

The suffix -kən is originated from the verb kən- ‘be strong, be good in doing something’ and in course of time, this verb has developed into a grammaticalized suffix and the meaning changes to habitual. The suffix has two variations -kən ~ gan. -kən occurs after unaspirated voiceless stops p, t, k, and -gan occurs elsewhere. -kən ~ gan changes to -kəl ~ ɡəl when followed by /l/. Syntactic illustrations:

81. Ṯaŋ- ‘talk’
ma-di wa Ṯaŋ-gəl-li
he-PART speech talk-HAB-SAM
‘He is talkative’
82. **ŋəŋ-** ‘hum’
   ma-di  cak tʰŋəŋ-bə-da  isəi  ŋəŋ-gəl-li
   he-PART rice cook-NMZ-LOC song hum-HAB-SAM
   ‘She usually hums songs while cooking’

83. **tʰəu-** ‘drive’
   ma-di  gari  jaŋ-na  tʰəu-gəl-li
   he-PART vehicle fast-ADV drive-HAB-SAM
   ‘He usually drives fast’

84. **soi-** ‘make mistake’
   ma-na  təu-bə  tʰəbə̆k-ti  soi-gəl-li
   he-NOM do-NMZ work-PART mistake-HAB-SAM
   ‘He usually makes mistakes’

85. **kai-** ‘break’
   məŋsel  osi  kai-gəl-li
   looking glass this break-HAB-SAM
   ‘This looking glass is breakable’

86. **hau-** ‘grow’
   pambi  osi  hau-gəl-li
   plant  this grow-HAB-SAM
   ‘This plant grows easily (without much care)’

87. **sau-** ‘irritate, get angry’
   ma-di  tʰu-na  sau-gəl-li
   he-PART quick-ADV irritate-HAB-SAM
   ‘He is easily irritable’

88. **tek-** ‘break’
   usa  osi  tek-kəl-li
   branch  this  break-HAB-SAM
‘The branch of this tree is breakable’

89. saŋ- ‘be long’
ma-gi səm-si saŋ-gaŋ-li
she-GEN hair-DET long-HAB-SAM
‘Her hair grows quickly’

90. siŋ- ‘be wise, intelligent’
moiraŋ-gi mi-siŋ-di siŋ-gaŋ-li
Moirang-GEN people-PL-PART wise-HAB-SAM
‘People of Moirang are wise in general’

91. noi- ‘be fat’
ma-gi mə-ca-siŋ-di noi-gaŋ-li
she-GEN 3PP-offspring-PL-PART fat-HAB-SAM
‘Her children are usually fat’

92. buddhi pʰə- ‘be brainy’
ma-kʰoi-gi məcin mənao-di buddhi pʰə-gaŋ-li
3PP-PL-GEN brothers and sisters-PART brain good-HAB-SAM
‘Their brothers and sisters are usually brainy’

93. tʰum- ‘be flooded’
məpʰəm əsi isiŋ tʰum-gaŋ-li
place this water flood-HAB-SAM
‘This place easily gets flooded with water’

The verbs jaŋ-gaŋ- in sentence (81), nəŋ-gaŋ- in sentence (82), tʰau-gaŋ- in sentence (83), soi-gaŋ- in sentence (84) and sau-gaŋ- in sentence (87) show habitual act or event while some verbs show physical property. Verbs like kai-gaŋ- in sentence (85), həu-gaŋ- in sentence (86), tek-kən- in sentence (88) and saŋ-gaŋ- in sentence (89) show physical
property of the object referred in the sentences. The verbs sin-gan- in sentence (90), noi-gan- in sentence (91), buddhi pʰə- in sentence (92) refer to a quality which is generally acquired by a group of people. The verb tʰum-gan- in sentence (93) refers to an event which generally occurs.

5.2.1.2.2 Suffix -lak

The suffix -lak is originated from the verb lak- ‘come’. The suffixation of -lak to a verbal root involves both space and time in the sense that it implies physical displacement as well as time continuation (for more detail see 5.2.1.3). The three semantic parameters suggested by Bhat and Ningomba (1997: 186) the motion orientation of the suffix -lak is towards the speaker, place of occurrence is away from the speaker’s place and relative position is event precedes the motion. The suffix has five variations as -lak ~ rək ~ pək ~ mək ~ nək. The first variation occurs after morphemes that end in /n, t/ and /k/. In case of /n/ ending morphemes it changes to /l/ that /n/ assimilates to /l/ e.g. jon- ‘sell’ + lak become jol-lak-. The second variation -rək occurs after morphemes that end in vowels e.g. ca- ‘eat’ as ca-rək-, pai- ‘fly’ as pai-rək-, tau- ‘float’ as tau-rək- etc. -pək occurs after morphemes that end in /p/ e.g. nap- ‘stick’ as nap-pək-, kop- ‘be dent’ as kop-pək-, kup- ‘cover’ as kup-pək- etc. -mək follows morphemes that end in /m/ e.g. tam- ‘learn’ as tam-mək-, tum- ‘sleep’ as tum-mək-, kʰom- ‘collect’ as kʰom-mək- etc. -nək comes after morphemes that end in /ŋ/ e.g. cəŋ- ‘enter’ as cəŋ-nək-, jəŋ- ‘look’ as jəŋ-nək-, həŋ- ‘change’ as həŋ-nək- etc. Syntactic illustrations:

94.  ləi- ‘buy’
     i-ma-nə        kəitʰen-dəgi ŋa ləi-nək-i
     1PP-mother-NOM market-ABL fish buy-DEIC-SAM
     ‘My mother bought fish from the market’

95.  tʰək- ‘drink’
The verbs *lai-*, *tʰak-*, *ca-* and *jeg-* in sentences (94-96) imply physical displacement *i.e.*, the action is performed away from the speaker and at some other place and hence, the actions occur in space while the verbs *noi-*, *məsa* *pʰə-* and *pa-* in sentences (98-100)
imply an action or event that is occurred in a specific time which is away from the present \textit{i.e.}, past time.

5.2.1.2.3 \textbf{Suffix -t}^{b}\textbf{ok}

The suffix -t\(^{b}\)ok is derived from the verbal root t\(^{b}\)ok- 'go out'. The meaning of the verb is retained in the suffix while denoting directionals (for more detail see 5.2.3). It generally goes with directional verbs and the suffixation of -t\(^{b}\)ok means outward directional (see 4.2.1.1). The suffix has three variations as \textit{-tok} \sim \textit{dok} \sim \textit{thok}. \textit{-tok} occurs after morphemes that begin with aspirated sounds and end in unaspirated voiceless stop /p, t, k/ as sat-tok- 'bloom fully', p\(^{b}\)at-tok- 'give way', k\(^{b}\)et-tok- 'scratch out', sit-ok- 'spit out' etc. \textit{-dok} occurs after any morpheme that begins with aspirated sounds and ends in a voiced sound \textit{e.g.} sau-dok- 'melt out', p\(^{b}\)au-dok- 'go through', san-dok- 'lend something to others', k\(^{b}\)on-dok- 'select a particular item from a group', hai-dok- 'pour out', etc. \textit{-thok} occurs elsewhere \textit{e.g.} ciij-t\(^{b}\)ok- 'pull out', in-t\(^{b}\)ok- 'push out', l\(\omega\)n-t\(^{b}\)ok- 'throw out', pu-t\(^{b}\)ok- 'carry out', lau-t\(^{b}\)ok- 'take out' etc. Syntactic illustrations:

101. \textbf{l\(\omega\)n-} 'throw'

\textit{\textit{\(\omega\)i-na p\(^{b}\)i segai-b\(\omega\)-siij-du l\(\omega\)n-t\(^{b}\)ok-k\(\omega\)-re-\(\Phi\)}}

1-NOM cloth tear off-NMZ-PL-DET throw-OUT-DEF-PERF-SAM

'I have thrown out the torn clothes'

102. \textbf{k\(^{b}\)ok-} 'peel'

\textit{\textit{\(\omega\)lu m\(\omega\)ku k\(^{b}\)ok-tok-u}}

potato peel peel-OUT-COM

'Peel out the boiled potatoes'

103. \textbf{ciij-} 'pull'

\textit{\textit{\(\omega\)i-na tebal-du ciij-t\(^{b}\)ok-i}}

1-NOM table-DET pull-OUT-SAM

'I pulled out the table'
104. **sɒt-** ‘pull’  
**ma-ṇa tiŋkʰəŋ sɒt-tok-i**  
he-NOM thorn pull-OUT-SAM  
‘He pulled out the thorn’

105. **jai-** ‘hit’  
**cɑpʰu əkoppɒ-du ma-ṇa jai-tʰok-e-∅**  
pot dented-DET he-NOM hit-OUT-PERF-SAM  
‘He has repaired the dented pot by hitting’

106. **san-** ‘lend’  
**ma-ṇa gari-du noŋmə-ɗɨ pʊŋ məŋa san-dok-i**  
he-NOM vehicle-DET one day-TIME hour five lend-OUT-SAM  
‘He lends out his vehicle for five hours a day’

The verbs *laŋ-, kʰok-, ciŋ-, sɒt-, jai-* and *san-* in sentence (101 to 106) are directional verbs as they easily take the directional suffix -tʰok. Apart from giving directional meaning, the suffix -tʰok has other meanings (the detailed semantic structure of -tʰok can be seen in 5.2.3.1).

5.2.1.2.4 **Suffix -pi**

The suffix is homophonous with -pi ~ *bi* ‘honorific’. The suffix -pi is derived from the verb *pi-* ‘give’. The verb has undergone a process of grammaticalization and it gradually loses its syntactic freedom and develops into a suffix. The semantic structure of *pi-* ‘give’ is to be generous of doing something. The generosity of the agent is received by someone else and the person who receives the generosity is benefited by the act of giving or doing something and thus, the suffix -pi has attained its meaning as ‘benefactive’. Consider the following sentences.
107.a. əi-na mema-da lairik əmə pi-Φ
I-NOM Mema-DAT book one give-SAM
‘I give a book to Mema.’

b. əi-na lairik əmə lai-rəgə mema-da pi-Φ
I-NOM book one buy-CPART Mema-DAT give-SAM
‘I bought a book and gave it to Mema.’

c. əi-na mema-gidamək lairik əmə lai-i/lai-bi-Φ
I-NOM Mema-for book one buy-SAM/buy-BEN-SAM
‘I buy a book for Mema.’

d. əi-na mema-gi lairik əmə lai-bi-Φ
I-NOM Mema-GEN book one buy-BEN-SAM
‘I buy a book for Mema.’

e. əi-na mema-gi lairik əmə lai-Φ
I-NOM Mema-for book one buy-SAM
‘I buy a book for Mema.’

The first two sentences have pi- ‘give’ as a main verb in the sentences while in sentence (107.c) the structure of the sentence has been changed. The main verb is lai- ‘buy’ or lai-bi ‘buy for someone’. The noun sequence -gidamək ‘for’ has shown the benefactive meaning which makes the verb lai- ‘buy’ enable to stand alone without the benefactive suffix -pi. In other words, it can be said that -pi ~ bi is optional with the beneficiary -gidamək. The suffix -damək can also be dropped from the sequence -gidamək and only -gi is remained in the surface form and in such cases the main verb optionally takes the benefactive suffix -pi ~ bi as seen in sentence (107.d and e) while keeping the meaning of the sentence intact. Here we are dealing here with an instance of grammaticalization whereby a lexical item, the verb ‘give’ assumes a grammatical meaning, that of expressing a ‘prepositional notion’ ‘for’ or ‘to’ in certain contexts, a process that has occurred in a number of languages worldwide (Bernd, 1991: 2).
The suffix -pi has two variations as -pi ~ bi. -pi occurs after unaspirated voiceless stop sounds /p, t, k/ while -bi occurs after voiced sounds. Syntactic illustrations:

108. **hek-** ‘pluck’
    ma-na ai-gi hainau ama hek-pi-Φ
    he-NOM I-GEN mango one pluck-BEN-SAM
    ‘He plucks a mango for me’

109. **su-** wash’
    bembem-na ai-gi pʰi su-bi-Φ
    Bembem-NOM I-GEN cloth wash-BEN-SAM
    ‘Bembem washes clothes for me’

110. **tak-** ‘teach’
    ai-na aŋaŋ-siŋ-du lairik tak-pi-Φ
    I-NOM child-PL-DET book teach-BEN-SAM
    ‘I teach the children’

111. **sit-** ‘sweep’
    i-ce-na wai sit-pi-re-Φ
    1PP-sister-NOM sweep-BEN-PERF-SAM
    ‘My sister has swept the floor for me’

112. **sem-** ‘make’
    i-ma-na kophi sem-bi-re-Φ
    1PP-mother-NOM coffee make-BEN-PERF-SAM
    ‘My mother has made coffee for me’

113. **kʰak-** ‘keep one’s share’
    ensaŋ-du ma-gi kʰaa kʰak-pi-ju
    curry-DET he-GEN some spare-BEN-COM
    ‘Spare some curry for him’
The verbs in the above sentences show benefactive done by somebody for someone. The recipient of the generosity is not seen in the surface form in sentences (111) and (112) but the meaning of benefactive is conveyed by the suffix -pi ~ bi and the action has been done for someone.

**Extensive use of suffix -pi ~ bi**

Although the semantic component of -pi always denotes to do something good for someone, it fails in some cases. The verb pi- ‘give’ means generosity of someone. But this meaning is sometimes lost when it goes with certain action verbs like pʰu- ‘beat’, hat- ‘kill’, net- ‘trample’ etc. Consider the following sentences.

114. pʰu- ‘beat’

| mə-kʰoi-nə əŋəj-du  pʰu-bi-re-∅  |
| he-PL-NOM child-DET beat-BEN-PERF-SAM |

‘They beat the child.’

115. hat- ‘kill’

| ma-gi mə-ca-du sək kʰəŋ-də-bə-siŋ-nə  |
| he-GEN 3PP-offspring-DET face know-NEG-NMZ-PL-NOM |

| hat-pi-kʰə-re-∅  |
| kill-BEN-DEF-PERF-SAM |

‘Some unknown persons killed his son.’

116. net- ‘trample’

| loi-siŋ-si kəna-nə net-pi-ri-bə-no  |
| flower-PL-DET who-NOM trample-BEN-PROG-NMZ-Q |

‘Who trampled these flowers?’

The verbs pʰubi- in sentence (114), hatpi- in sentence (115) and netpi- in sentence (115) do not necessarily mean benefactive instead of the attachment of the benefactive suffix -pi ~ bi. The reason for the incapability of giving the meaning of generosity is due to the
semantic structure of the destructive verbs for one cannot be generous by the above actions. It can be concluded that verbs of destruction cannot give the meaning of generosity and here the mood of the speaker’s side can also be examined. The actions above are not necessary and can be avoided. In such cases the suffix -pi ~ bi is used to show actions which are unwanted.

Another use of the suffix -pi ~ bi can be seen in the following sentences.

117. ca- 'eat'
    ai morok-si ca-bi-ge
    I chilli-DET eat-BEN-INT
    ‘I will eat this chilli’

118. ka- 'climb'
    ai u-si ka-bi-ge
    I tree-DET climb-BEN-INT
    ‘I will climb this tree’

119. lek- ‘hold night’
    təmna-i hai-bo jum-du-da ai əhiəj lek-pi-ge
    haunt-SAM say-NMZ house-DET-LOC I night hold-BEN-INT
    ‘I will hold night in the haunted house’

The verb cabi- in sentence (117) denotes a challenge from the speaker’s side. The speaker is challenging that he can eat the chilli. In the second sentence, the speaker is challenging that he can climb the tree while others are hesitating. In the last sentence also, the speaker challenges that he can hold a night in the house that is haunted.

5.2.1.2.5 Suffix -man

The suffix is originated from the verb man- ‘be excessive’ which is very rarely used. The suffixation of -man to a verbal root gives the meaning ‘to do something excessively or do something out of one’s control’. With stative verbs it means ‘excess of something’. Consider the following sentences.
120. man- ‘be excessive’
   a.ḷ y ca-bə-də  jam-nə  məl-le-Φ
      you eat-NMZ-LOC much-ADV excessive-PERF-SAM
      ‘you are too excessive in eating.’
   b.ḷ y  ca-məl-le-Φ
      you much-ADV eat-EXC-PERF-SAM
      ‘You are too excessive in eating’

In sentence (120.a) the verb that carries the aspect marker is man- which changes to məl-
when followed by -le. In sentence (120.b) the main verb of the sentence is ca- which
takes the excessive suffix -man as well as the aspect marker. Consider some more examples.

121. kui- ‘be long (of time)/take much time’
  ḷ y  ca  thog-ba-si  kui-mən-kə-re-Φ
   you-NOM rice cook-NMZ-DET long-EXC-DEF-PERF-SAM
   ‘You take much time in cooking (finish it quickly)’

122. tən- ‘be late’
  ḷ y jahau  tən-məl-le-Φ
   you get up late-EXC-PERF-SAM
   ‘You get up very late (try to be early)’

123. mot- ‘be dirty/untidy’
   ka  asi  mot-məl-le-Φ
   room this dirty-EXC-PERF-SAM
   ‘This room is so untidy (so let me clean it)’

124. nok- ‘laugh’
  ḷ y  nok-məl-le-Φ
   you laugh-EXC-PERF-SAM
'You laugh too much (so be careful in future)'

5.2.1.2.6 **Suffix -hau**

The suffix **-hau** is derived from the verb **hau-** ‘start’ (for more detail see 5.2.2). Syntactic illustrations:

125. **cat-** ‘go’

ajo-ta mohak lambi-da cat-hau-i

morning-LOC he road-LOC go-INCP-SAM

‘He was going on the road in the morning’

(I saw/met him on the way)

126. **kap-** ‘cry’

ø̣ŋø̣ kap-hau-ri-Φ

child cry-INCP-PROG-SAM

‘The child was crying (when I left the place)’

127. **tʰοŋ-** ‘cook’

i-ma-nə cak tʰοŋ-hau-ri-Φ

IPP-mother-NOM meal cook-INCP-PROG-SAM

‘My mother was still cooking (when I left home)’

128. **tʰak-** ‘drink’

ca øma-tə tʰak-hau-kʰi-ge

tea one-only drink-INCP-DEF-INT

‘Let me drink/have a cup of tea (as I have free time/before doing other works).’

129. **pa-** ‘read’

ŋəsi-di iruʃa-da-ŋəai-də
today-PART take bath-NEG-SPFD-LOC
The first three verbs cat-hau-, kap-hau- and thon-hau- in sentences (125 to 127) show that the speaker personally encounters the event or action and he is reporting it to someone. The action which the speaker encounters was in progress. The verbs thak-hau- and pa-hau- in sentences (128 and 129) imply an opportune situation where the speaker wants to carry out the action.

5.2.1.2.7 -nig

The suffix -nig is originated from the verb niŋ- ‘wish’ and the meaning is retained in the suffix also. The suffixation of -nig to a verb means ‘wish to do something or become something’. Syntactic illustrations:

130. jau- ‘join’
    əi n.c.c. jau-niŋ-ŋi
    I NCC join-wish-SAM
    ‘I want to join NCC’

131. cat- ‘go, visit’
    əi dili cat-niŋ-ŋi
    I Delhi go-wish-SAM
    ‘I want to visit Delhi’

132. tum- ‘sleep’
    əi ŋaihak-təŋ tum-niŋ-ŋi
    I for a while only sleep-wish-SAM
    ‘I want to sleep for a while’
133. tʰək-  ‘drink’

αι ca əhaubə əmə tʰək-niŋ-ŋi
I tea delicious one drink-wish-SAM
‘I want to have a delicious tea’

134. pʰə-  ‘be good’

məmə məpa-siŋ-na məca-siŋ-bu pʰə-hən-niŋ-ŋi
mother father-PL-NOM offspring-PL-ACC good-CAUS-wish-SAM
‘Parents want their children to be good (in all respects)’

135. wag-  ‘be tall’

αι nəŋ-gum-na wag-niŋ-ŋi
I you-like-CMP tall-wish-SAM
‘I want to be tall like you’

Some scholars like Bhat and Ningomba (1986) treat -tʰok and -niŋ as vector verbs and the combination of a verbal root and one of the two suffixes as compound verbs. This point has been made clear in Chapter-III (3.3.2). Another statement about compound verb is given by Bidyarani (2002) and Loken (1997). Bidyarani (2000: 54-56) discussed about compound verbs. She did not make the point clear. It is confusing and misleading as well as she contradicts herself. She defines Manipuri compound verbs as follows:

In Manipuri compound verbs are formed by combination of two or more roots and they must be ended by aspect markers or modality. Compound verbs are very limited in number. They are formed by the suffixation of -tʰok or -niŋ with a verbal root and they must be ended by the aspect markers i.e. even in the compound verb, one aspect marker is necessary to be added.”

In the first sentence she says compound verbs are formed by the combination of two or more roots while in the third sentence she says – they are formed by the suffixation of -tʰok and -niŋ with a verbal root. The definition given in the first sentence
is correct. However, she did not make it clear that -\textit{thok} and -\textit{nij} are to be treated as verbal roots or suffixes. To make the point clear consider the following definition given by Bhat (1986:128).

If two or more rather independent linguistic elements are joined together to form a word, we call it compounding whereas if a dependent element (affix) is attached to an independent one, we call it affixation'.

Further he points out the deference between the two as follows:

One interesting difference between affixation and compounding is that in the case of compound words, we generally find it possible or even necessary to establish very rich underlying structures of which only a very small truncated part is overtly retained by the compound word; whereas in the case of composite words derived through affixation, we do not generally find any need to establish underlying structure which are different from the structures that actually occurs in the composite words themselves.

The above definition and point of difference clearly shows what is compounding and what affixation is. One more point that is necessary to be added here is that a compound word (the combination of two linguistic elements) is a compact word. Once two roots or words are compounded the form is established as a free word. Hence, no insertion or any kind of interference is allowed within the compounded form. But in case of -\textit{nij} any suffix can be inserted between the verbal root and the suffix. This can be seen in the study of compound verbs by N. Loken Singh(1997) in his thesis (p.50) as:

\begin{align*}
\text{Root + suffix(es)} & + \text{Root + suffix(es)} \\
\text{høŋ + høn + jø + nij + møn + kʰø + re} & \quad \text{‘have too much intention to be asked’} \\
\text{jeŋ + høn + jø + nij + lam + de} & \quad \text{‘had no intention too much to be seen’} \\
\text{høi + høn + jø + nij + lam + mi} & \quad \text{‘had intention to let him to request’ and so on.}
\end{align*}
It can be seen from the above examples that many suffixes are inserted between the roots hag- ‘ask’ and nij- ‘intention’ jeg- ‘look’ and nij- ‘intention’ and hai- ‘say’ and nij- ‘intention’. This evidence easily proves that nij- is not a verbal root here. In other words, it can be said that the verbal root nij- ‘wish’ has undergone a historical and semantic process known as grammaticalization and it has developed into a suffix and it has the essential property of an affix that it is highly productive.

Regarding -thok, it can be stated that no insertion cannot occur between the root and -thok because it comes closest to the root and that is why Shobhana (1997:204) described it as one of the first level derivative suffixes. It has also undergone the same process of grammaticalization and it becomes highly productive in the sense that it can go with all types of verbs and it has four different functions (see 5.2.3.1). Thus, it can be concluded that -thok and -nij are no more verbal roots and the combination of a verbal root and -nij and -thok should not be treated as verbal compounds (for compounds see 3.3.2 for more detail).

5.2.1.2.8 Suffix -tau

The suffix is originated from the verbal root tau- ‘do’. In the sentence level, the suffix is usually followed by -ri and -re. Consider the following sentences:

136. τau- ‘do’
   ι τʰabak τau-ri-Φ
   I work do-PROG-SAM
   ‘I am working.’

137. ι τʰabak τau-go-dau-ri-Φ
   I work do-POT-do-PROG-SAM
   ‘I am going to do (some) work.’
In sentence (136) the verb ταυ- 'do' occurs as a main verb in the sentence while in sentence (137) it becomes a grammaticalized suffix. English has also the same situation as given by Palmer (1965:163) as cited by Bernd et al., (1991:46).

(a) Henry is going to town.
(b) The rain is going to come.

According to Palmer, the verb ‘is going to’ in both sentences have considerable differences in meaning that the two meanings are “synchronically unrelated”. Again, Bernd et al., (1991) quoted Jesperson from *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (1911: 217). He described the situation like this – Sentences like (b) have developed historically from sentences like (a) and that before the fifteenth century (b) is unlikely to have been altered. Palmer again give reason about the development of sentence (b) as an instance of grammaticalization: the verb of motion be going to occurring in (a) has given rise to a future tense, actually the ‘purest’ future form of English in sentence (b).

The analysis of Manipuri verb ταυ- ‘do’ in sentence (136) and -ταυ as a suffix in (137) may be done from the view of English verb is going to. Along with the following aspect marker the grammaticalized suffix -ταυ has also developed into an aspect marker as -ταυ-ɾи and -ταυ-ɾe ‘is going to’. The different meanings of the two suffixes are discussed below.

The verb form with the suffix -ταυ-ɾи in sentence (137) may be examined minutely. Here another suffix -κα ‘potential’ is found to have occurred just after the verbal root. But now-a-days, this construction is rarely found in spoken form and it is retained in written form only. In spoken form, this -κα is almost dropped. Still, it is found in the underlying sentence structure. The verb form after the deletion of -κα in sentence (137) will be as -ταυ-ɾαυ-ɾи ‘is going to do’.

Another point that is worth to be mentioned here in the variations of -ταυ as -ταυ ~ δαυ is, as a general rule -ταυ occurs after morphemes that end in unaspirated voiceless stops (p, t, k) and -δαυ follows morphemes that end in voiced sounds.
Now, coming to the difference in meaning between the two aspect markers -
-təu-ri and -təu-re, consider some examples. The sequence -təu-ri 'is going to' has
different meanings when it occurs with different verb classes. When it is attached to
action verbs, it denotes a planning. Consider the following sentences:

138. thɔŋ- 'cook'

ŋɔsi-di tombi-na cak thɔŋ-daʊ-ri-Φ

Today-PART Tombi-NOM rice cook-do-PROG-SAM

'Today Tombi is going to cook'

139. cæt- 'go'

ŋɔsi-di oï kæiθen cæt-tau-ri-Φ

Today-PART I market go-do-PROG-SAM

'Today I am going to market'

140. lai- 'buy'

hæyæŋ-di oï pʰurit æma lai-daʊ-ri-Φ

Tomorrow-PART I shirt one buy-do-PROG-SAM

'Tomorrow I am going to buy a shirt'

141. thæ- 'send by post'

hæjæŋ-di oï i-ca-nupa-ɡi lairik æma

Tomorrow-PART I 1PP-offspring-man-GEN book one
thæ-daʊ-ri-Φ

send-do-PROG-SAM

'Tomorrow I am going to send a book to my son by post'

142. ca-na- 'have a feast'

hæjæŋ-di memi-hoi-da oï-kʰoi mæjam

Tomorrow-PART Memi-PL-LOC I-PL all
cak ca-na-dou-ri-\( \Phi \)
rice eat-REC-do-PROG-SAM

‘Tomorrow we will have a feast at Memi’s house’

143. cat- ‘go’
taŋ tɔra-\( \delta \) əi tʰoubal-\( \delta \) luhon-\( \beta \) əmə cat-təu-ri-\( \Phi \)
date ten-LOC I Thoubal-LOC wedding one go-do-PROG-SAM

‘I am going to attend a wedding ceremony at Thoubal on the 10\(^{th}\) of this month’

All the examples given above have a temporal adverb. Sentence (138) implies that ‘Tombi’ is going to cook for today only and that she does not cook regularly in the house. In sentence (139), the referent ‘I’ does not go to market regularly but occasionally. In sentence (140), the referent is going to buy a shirt for the day only and it implies that the action is occasional. In sentence (141) sending a book by post is also occasional for the referent. Similarly the verbs in sentences (142) and (143) are also occasional. The adverbs, in one sense, show an implication of the occasional happening or planning.

Another sense implied by the suffixation of -tau-ri to action verbs is when the referent responds as a denial to something asked/proposed against his routine-work. As for instance, when cooking is the referent’s inevitable routine work in the morning then, as a denial, he may use the following sentence if he is asked/proposed to do some other work.

144. əi ajuk-tə cak tʰon-dəu-ri-\( \Phi \)

I morning-LOC rice cook-do-PROG-SAM

‘I am going to cook in the morning.’

The suffixation of the sequence suffix -tau-ri with stative and process verbs gives another meaning which is totally different from action verbs. They show a kind of prediction or assumption with stative verbs. Consider the following sentences:
In sentence (145), the speaker assumes about the child’s beauty in future as he might have noticed some particular feature in the anatomy of the child. In sentence (146), the guava tree might have full of flowers which lead the speaker to the assumption. Similarly, in sentence (147), the speaker predicts about a flood as there might be frequent raining or it might have rained continuously for days. In sentence (148), the child might have an unusual growth which led the speaker think that he will be taller than his father. In the
last sentence (149), the speaker might have seen some symptoms of fever in the child which made him say the sentence as a warning.

As seen above, the verbs with -tau-ri indicate some kind of planning or an action which is occasional and a sense of prediction or assumption. The sequence suffix -tau-re have the meaning ‘is ready to do something or is likely to happen shortly’. Both suffixes denote an action or happening which is going to take place in the future. But the sense of futurity is different in the sense that -tau-re is closer to the realization than -tau-ri. In other words, it can be said that -tau-re has a higher probability of realization than -tau-ri. Consider some examples with -tau-re:

150. noŋ-cu- ‘rain’
    noŋ-cu-dau-re-Φ  pəɾəp  pəɾə pəɾ  cat-həu-ra-si
    rain-do-PERF-SAM quickly  go-INCP-PROS-SUG
    ‘It is about to rain, so let’s go quickly.’

151. tʰo-rək- ‘come out’
    ai tʰo-rək-tau-Φ  ȵaihak-təŋ  ȵai-rəm-mu
    I come out-DEIC-do-PERF-SAM a while-only wait-COMP-COM
    ‘I am about to come out, wait for a few minutes only.’

152. tum- ‘sleep’
    əŋəŋ-si tum-dau-re-Φ  ləŋ-lək-lə-nu
    child-DET sleep-do-PERF-SAM make noise-DEIC-PROS-PROH
    ‘The child is about to sleep, so don’t make noise any more.’

153. mun- ‘be properly cooked’
    ensaŋ-si mun-dau-re-Φ
curry-DET properly cook-do-PERF-SAM
    ‘The curry is about to be finished/properly cooked.’

154. kəŋ- ‘be dry’
The verbs in the above given examples show a near future that an action or a happening is about to be realized while sentence (155) is worth to be discussed. The referent is planning to go to Mysore within this month and her plan is about to be realized on the 12th of this month and another implication is that the speaker is also aware of the plan.

Both suffixes can occur in negative environment also. Examples of some negative sentences are given below.

156. **jau-** ‘join’

\[
\text{pisäk-ti} \quad \eta{s}i \quad \text{cak} \quad \text{ca-nā-ba} \quad \text{jau-roi-dāu-ri-} \Phi
\]

Pishak-PART today rice eat-REC-NMZ join-NPOT-do-PROG-SAM

‘Today Pishak is not going to attend the feast.’

157. **skul ka-** ‘attend school’

\[
\eta{nā}-sī \quad \eta{s}i \quad \text{iskul} \quad \text{ka-roi-dāu-re-} \Phi
\]

child-DET today school attend-N.POT-do-PERF-SAM

‘The child is not going to attend school today.’

The negative suffix -loi ‘non-potential’ which is found in the negative construction of the two sentences given above has its contrastive form -ka ‘potential’. However, the suffix -ka is not seen in the sentences given so far (from 138 to 155). The reason is simply because of the deletion of -ka (there are many instances where -ka is dropped, see 5.3.2).
From the analysis it can be concluded that ka- in such constructions may not be seen in the surface structure but it is always there in the underlying structure.

5.2.2 Verbal Derivative Suffixes

Non-grammaticalized suffixes may be studied under the following sub-heads:
(1) Deictic suffixes (2) Multifunctional suffixes (3) Suffixes -sin, -\( t^b \)ok, -\( k^b \)at and -\( t^b \)a (4) Modifiers (5) Other derivative suffixes.

5.2.2.1 Deictic Suffixes

the notion of deixis (which is merely the Greek word for ‘pointing’ or ‘indicating’ – it has become a technical term of grammatical theory) is introduced to handle the ‘orientational’ features of language which are relative to the time and place of utterance (Lyons, 1968: 275). In linguistics, a deictic expression is an expression that refers to the personal, temporal, or spatial aspect of an utterance, and whose meaning therefore depends on the context in which it is used (Wikipedia). Bhat and Ningomba (1997: 172) observed three different semantic parameters which help to differentiate between the four suffixes (-r\( a \), -ru, -r\( a \)k, -k\( b \)i) as (1) motion or orientation of the event (‘towards’ versus ‘away’) from the speaker, (2) place of occurrence of the event (‘at the place of the speaker’ versus ‘at a place which is away from him’) and (3) relative positions of these two (event ‘preceeding’ versus ‘following’ the motion of orientation).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>Motion of orientation</th>
<th>Place of occurrence</th>
<th>Relative position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-r( a )</td>
<td>Towards the speaker</td>
<td>At the speaker’s place</td>
<td>Event follows the motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>Away from the speaker</td>
<td>Away from the speaker’s place</td>
<td>Event follows the motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r( a )k</td>
<td>Towards the speaker</td>
<td>Away from the speaker’s place</td>
<td>Event precedes the motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k( b )i</td>
<td>Away from the speaker</td>
<td>At the speaker’s place</td>
<td>Event precedes the motion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be noted that -k\( b \)i will come under the sub-section Multi-functional Suffixes next to deictic suffixes. Another point to be noted is that deictic suffixes can be attached to any given verbal base (Bhat & Ningomba, 1997: 172) is not true (see 4.2.2)
5.2.2.1.1 **Suffix -la**

The semantic structure of the suffix -la is to come and perform an action at the speaker's place with the event following the motion. It involves physical displacement of the agent. As the suffix indicates, it generally goes with action verbs, not with stative and process verbs. The suffix has six allomorphic variations as -la ~ ra ~ pa ~ ma ~ ga ~ a

(1) -la: it follows morphemes that end in /n/ and /l/, /n/ changes to /l/ and the suffix -la follows it.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kət-} & \rightarrow \text{kət-la} & \text{‘offer + deictic’} \\
p^\text{h}ot- & \rightarrow \text{p^h ot-la} & \text{‘mend + deictic’} \\
\text{jon-} & \rightarrow \text{jol-la} & \text{‘sell + deictic’} \\
k^{\text{h} \text{ən}-} & \rightarrow \text{k^h ən-la} & \text{‘select + deictic’, etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) -ra: it comes after morphemes that end in voiced sounds.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta-} & \rightarrow \text{ta-ra} & \text{‘listen to + deictic’} \\
\text{su-} & \rightarrow \text{su-ra} & \text{‘work + deictic’} \\
\text{pi-} & \rightarrow \text{pi-ra} & \text{‘give + deictic’} \\
p^{\text{h} \text{əu}-} & \rightarrow \text{p^h əu-ra} & \text{‘dryin in the sun + deictic’, etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

(3) -pa: it occurs after morphemes that end in /p/.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nap-} & \rightarrow \text{nap-pa} & \text{‘stick + deictic’} \\
k^{\text{h} \text{o}p-} & \rightarrow \text{k^h op-pa} & \text{‘hem + deictic’} \\
\text{lep-} & \rightarrow \text{lep-pa} & \text{‘stand + deictic’} \\
\text{hap-} & \rightarrow \text{hap-pa} & \text{‘put + deictic’, etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

(4) -ma: follows morphemes that end in /m/.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tam-} & \rightarrow \text{tam-ma} & \text{‘learn + deictic’} \\
\text{tum-} & \rightarrow \text{tum-ma} & \text{‘sleep + deictic’} \\
k^{\text{h} \text{o}m-} & \rightarrow \text{k^h om-ma} & \text{‘collect + deictic’} \\
p^{\text{h} \text{um}-} & \rightarrow \text{p^h um-ma} & \text{‘bury + deictic’, etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

(5) -na: follows morphemes that end in /ŋ/.
jēŋ-la > jēŋ-ŋə ‘watch + deictic’
haŋ-la > haŋ-ŋə ‘open + deictic’
seŋ-la > seŋ-ŋə ‘clean + deictic’
tʰøŋ-la > tʰøŋ-ŋə ‘cook + deictic’, etc.

(6) -a: it occurs after morphemes that end in /k/.
nek-la > nek-ə ‘hire + deictic’
hek-la > hek-ə ‘pluck + deictic’
khik-la > khik-ə ‘sprinkle + deictic’
phuk-la > phuk-ə ‘root out + deictic’, etc.

Syntactic illustrations:

158. ca- ‘eat’
   bino horen nundaj ai-kʰoi-da cak ca-rə-ɡəni
   Bino after sometime night I-PL-LOC cooked rice eat-DEIC-NREAL
   ‘Bino will come to my place and have dinner.’

159. tʰøŋ- ‘cook’
   memə-na ai-kʰoi-da nəranaj cak tʰøŋ-ŋə-ı
   Mema-NOM I-PL-LOC yesterday rice cook-DEIC-SAM
   ‘Mema came and cooked in my house yesterday.’

160. pi- ‘give’
   mahak-na ai-ŋon-da lairik əsi pi-rə-ı
   he-NOM I-DIR-LOC book this give-DEIC-SAM
   ‘He came and gave me this book.’

161. kau- ‘call’
   ai-na santi-hoi-da lai-rəi-da i-ma-na kau-rə-ı
   I-NOM Shanti-PL-LOC stay-SPFD-LOC IPP-mother-NOM call-DEIC-SAM
   ‘Mother came and called me while I was at Shanti’s house.’
162. li- ‘narrate’

məhak-na ci-ŋon-da ŋəraŋ-gi ʔaudok-tu-gi mərəm-da
he-NOM I-DIR-LOC yesterday-GEN event-DET-GEN about-LOC
wari li-rə-i
story- narrate-DEIC-SAM

‘He came and narrated me about yesterday’s event.’

In the sentences above, there is no word for ‘come’ in the surface structure. Still, all the sentences have the meaning of ‘come’. This is because of the deictic suffix -lə which implies the motion of the speaker. The suffixation -lə to action verbs indicates spatial orientation as well as that the event is performed after the motion.

5.2.2.1.2 Suffix -lu

The semantic structure of the suffix -lu is to go somewhere, perform an action and come back. In this case also, the event follows the motion, that is to say, the action is performed after going somewhere. The motion of orientation is away from the speaker. The suffix has the possibility of occurring with stative and process verbs (for stative verbs see 4.2.2). The suffix has also six allomorphic variations: -lu ~ ru ~ pu ~ mu ~ gu ~ u. They are studied one by one.

(1) -lu: it occurs after morphemes that end in /n/ and /t/. /n/ changes to /l/ when -lu follows.

hon-lu- > hol-lu- ‘carry + deictic’
jan-lu- > jal-lu- ‘hang + deictic’
pon-lu- > pal-lu- ‘stop for a while + deictic’

(2) -ru: it occurs after morphemes that end in vowel sounds.

pa-lu- > pa-ru- ‘read + deictic’
pi-lu- > pi-ru- ‘give + deictic’
hai-lu- > hai-ru- ‘say + deictic’
sal- > sal- ‘make + deictic’

(3) -pu: it comes after morphemes that end in /p/.

kap- > kəp-pu- ‘cry + deictic’
cap- > čap-pu- ‘clip + deictic’
hap- > hap-pu- ‘put inside + deictic’
kʰop- > kʰop-pu- ‘stitch + deictic’

(4) -mu: it follows morphemes that end in /m/.

sem- > sem-mu- ‘repair + deictic’
nam- > nam-mu- ‘smell + deictic’
kom- > kom-mu- ‘be loose + deictic’
jom- > jom-mu- ‘wrap + deictic’

(v) -nu: it occurs after morphemes that end in /ŋ/.

kʰɑŋ- > kʰɑŋ-nu- ‘startle + deictic’
poŋ- > poŋ-ŋu- ‘be fool + deictic’
nɑŋ- > nɑŋ-ŋu- ‘be poor + deictic’
haŋ- > haŋ-ŋu- ‘open + deictic’

(6) -u: it occurs after morphemes that end in /k/.

tek- > tek-u- ‘break + deictic’
hak- > hak-u- ‘carve + deictic’
pʰak- > pʰak-u- ‘open + deictic’
sak- > sak-u- ‘sing + deictic’

Syntactic illustrations:

163. cat- ‘go’

ai kolej-da cat-lu-re-O
I college-LOC go-DEIC-PERF-SAM
‘I have gone to college’
164. jeg- 'look, watch'
   ai i-tʰəntə sinema-du jeg-lu-ra-ge
   I 1PP-alone movie-DET watch-DEIC-PROS-INT
   'I’ll go alone and watch the movie'

165. pi- 'give'
lairik-tu ai-na oja-da pi-ru-re-Φ
   book-DET I-NOM teacher-LOC give-DEIC-PERF-SAM
   'I have given the book to teacher'

166. jau- 'reach'
   ai kʰəŋcat-tu-da dili jau-ru-re-Φ
   I journey-DET-LOC Delhi reach-DEIC-PERF-SAM
   'I have gone to/visited Delhi also in my journey'

167. lai- 'buy'
højeg-di i-bani pʰi əmə lai-ru-si
   tomorrow-PART 1PP-two cloth one buy-DEIC-SUG
   'Tomorrow let us go and buy a cloth'

168. thin- 'return something'
   ai memə-gi lairik-tu thil-lu-re-Φ
   I Mema-GEN book-DET return-DEIC-PERF-SAM
   'I have gone to Mema’s place and returned her book'

The verb cat-lu-re in sentence (163) implies that the referent went to college and now he has come back. The verb in sentence (164) jeg-lu-ra-ge is not realized. In such constructions, the referent will go, perform the action and come back. The sense of motion of the referent away from the speaker may not be literally seen in the sentence. In such cases the deictic suffix -lu is used. Similarly, all the verbs in the following sentences with -lu indicate spatial orientation of an event.
The suffix can also go with process verbs like tek- 'break', tum- 'sleep', ken- 'fall', na- 'fall ill' etc. Unlike action verbs, no physical displacement is involved in the case of process verbs as they lack agentive. Consider the following sentences:

169. **tek-** 'break'

*cauki-si məkʰon namə tek-lu-re-Φ*

chair-DET leg one break-DEIC-PERF-SAM

'One leg of this chair had been broken (but now it has been repaired)'

170. **tum-** 'sleep'

*əi ȵaihak tum-mu-re-Φ*

I for a while sleep-DEIC-PERF-SAM

'I had slept for a while/I took a short nap'

171. **ken-** 'fall'

*ma-gi səm loi-nə kel-lu-re-Φ*

he-GEN hair all-ADV fall-DEIC-PERF-SAM

'Almost all her hair had fallen (but now it has stopped)'

172. **na-** 'fall ill/sick'

*əŋəŋ-si numit hum-ni na-ru-re-Φ*

child-DET day three sick-DEIC-PERF-SAM

'The child had been sick for three days'

173. **tat-** 'break'

*əi-gi lik-si tat-lu-re-Φ*

I-GEN chain-DET break-DEIC-PERF-SAM

'My chain had been broken (but now it is repaired)'

The semantic structure of -lu with process verbs is different from that of action verbs. It is obvious that no physical displacement is involved in the underlying meaning of the
verbs. It can also be studied under three points supposing A, B and C as in the following diagram.

In sentence (168) the verb tek- with -lu implies that the leg of the chair was intact before it was broken and this represented by point A. At point B, the leg of the chair was broken and it has got repaired at point C. Similarly, the leg of this chair was broken and it came to an utilizable position after repair. In sentence (169) the verb tum- ‘sleep’ with -lu denotes that the referent was awake (point A), then he went to sleep (point B) and after a while he has awakened (point C). The verb ken- ‘fall’ with -lu in sentence (171) implies that the referent had a hair fall and now the situation does not remain so i.e. the hair-fall has stopped. The verb na- ‘fall ill/sick’ with -lu in sentence (172) implies that the child became sick and then he has recovered from the illness. The verb tat- ‘break’ with -lu in sentence (173) gives the idea that the chain is no more in a broken stage as it has got repaired. The same analysis applies to stative verbs also (see 4.2.2.2).

5.2.2.1.3 Suffix -lak

The semantic structure of -lak may be studied from three different points of view viz., (i) purely deictic sense with the dimension of both space and time, (ii) narrating about an event or about somebody or something and (iii) towards a goal (somebody or something). The suffix has five morphological variations as -lak ~ rak ~ pak ~ mak ~ gak.

(1) -lak: it follows morphemes that end in /n/, /t/ and /k/. In case of /n/ ending morphemes /n/ changes to /l/ when -lak follows it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpeme</th>
<th>Modified Morpeme</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lon-lak-</td>
<td>lol-lak-</td>
<td>‘embroider + deictic’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰan-lak-</td>
<td>tʰəl-lak-</td>
<td>‘be full + deictic’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son-lak-</td>
<td>sol-lak-</td>
<td>‘be weak + deictic’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pun-lak- > pul-lak- ‘gather + deictic’
kut-lak- > kut-lak- ‘be low + deictic’
hut-lak- > hut-lak- ‘bore + deictic’
jot-lak- > jot-lak- ‘swallow + deictic’
mot-lak- > mot-lak- ‘be dirty + deictic’
jek-lak- > jek-lak- ‘draw + deictic’
hek-lak- > hek-lak- ‘pluck + deictic’
hik-lak- > hik-lak- ‘be loose + deictic’
\(t^h\)ek-lak- > \(t^h\)ek-lak- ‘break + deictic’

(2) -rak: it follows morphemes that end in vowels.

tau-lak- > tau-rak- ‘float + deictic’
lau-lak- > lau-rak- ‘take + deictic’
ho-lak- > ho-rak- ‘be hollow + deictic’
\(t^h\)oi-lak- > \(t^h\)oi-rak- ‘win + deictic’

(3) -pak: it occurs after morphemes that end in /p/.

tap-lak- > tap-pak- ‘be slow + deictic’
\(t^h\)up-lak- > \(t^h\)up-pak- ‘fold + deictic’
sup-lak- > sup-pak- ‘cover + deictic’
nop-lak- > nop-pak- ‘be weak + deictic’

(4) -mak: it comes after morphemes that end in /m/.

lem-lak- > lem-mak- ‘remain + deictic’
lum-lak- > lum-mak- ‘be heavy + deictic’
\(k^h\)um-lak- > \(k^h\)um-mak- ‘respond + deictic’
\(t^h\)om-lak- > \(t^h\)om-mak- ‘hit + deictic’

(5) \(k^h\)oŋ-lak- > \(k^h\)oŋ-ŋak- ‘blow + deictic’
taŋ-lak- > taŋ-ŋak- ‘be costly + deictic’
\(t^h\)eŋ-lak- > \(t^h\)eŋ-ŋak- ‘be late + deictic’
-lak, as a deictic meaning, occurs in both dimensions of space and time. As mentioned above, the suffix originates from the verbal root lak- 'come' and thus, the suffixation of -lak to a verbal root implies coming back after performing an action. The motion of orientation is towards the speaker and place of occurrence is away from the speaker.

Syntactic illustrations:

174. **ca-** ‘eat’
   
   "oi ləta-hoi-də cak ca-rək-i"
   
   I Lata-PL-LOC meal eat-DEIC-SAM

   ‘I took meal at Lata’s place’

175. **cen-** ‘run’
   
   "əŋəŋ-du əwan-lom-dəgi cel-lək-i"
   
   child-DET north-side-ABL run-DEIC-SAM

   ‘The child came running from the northern side’

176. **lai-** ‘buy’
   
   "əi-əno həi-si kəitən-dəgi ləi-rək-i"
   
   I-NOM fruit-DET market-ABL buy-DEIC-SAM

   ‘I bought this fruit from the market’

177. **tanna-** ‘chase’
   
   "huranbə-du pulis-əno tanna-rək-i"
   
   thief-DET police-NOM chase-DEIC-SAM

   ‘Police chased the thief’

178. **təok-** ‘come out’
   
   "nupi-du imuŋ-dəgi təok-lək-i"
   
   woman-DET inside the house-ABL come out-DEIC-SAM

   ‘The woman came out of the house’
The verb in sentence (173) implies that the referent took meal at somewhere and came back. In sentence (174) the verb cel-lak- indicates that ‘the referent came running towards the speaker’. The verb loi-rak- in sentence (175) gives the meaning that the action of ‘buying’ occurs first and the referent comes back. Similarly, the verbs tanna-rak- ‘chase’ in sentence (176) and thok-lak- ‘come out’ in sentence (177) indicate an action done somewhere and return back. All the sentences in the above given examples involve physical displacement of the referent. There are also some verbs which do not show physical displacement when combined with the suffix. They are stative verbs and they occur in the dimension of time and they show continuity of an event. Consider the following sentences.

179. **noi-** ‘be fat’

άηαη-σι πικ-λιηαι-δαγι noi-rak-i

child-DET small-SPFD-since fat-DEIC-SAM

‘The boy has been fat since his childhood’

180. **mu-** ‘be black’

νυπι αηι laiηα-ηιαη-δαγι mu-rak-i

woman this before marriage-SPFD-since black-DEIC-SAM

‘This woman has been dark-skinned before marriage’

181. **ŋau-** ‘be fair’

νυπι-ναηα-σι ποκρα-δαγι ŋau-rak-i

woman-small-DET birth-since fair-DEIC-SAM

‘This girl has fair complexion since her birth’

182. **son-** ‘be weak’

μα-γι μα-κα-νυπα-δυ ποκρα-δαγι μα-σα sol-lak-i

3PP-GEN 3PP-offspring-man-DET birth-since 3PP-body weak-DEIC-SAM

‘His son has been weak since his birth’

183. **səm ŋag-** ‘have brown hair’
All the sentences given above have a temporal adverb which indicates a point of time without which the sentences are incomplete. This is because of the semantic component of the meaning carried by the suffix -tak. It may be observed that the suffix involves a continuation of an action, process or state from a time in the past. There are also selectional restrictions in the temporal adverbs, for instance, nasai ‘today’s recent past’, naraŋ ‘yesterday’, nahān ‘day before yesterday’ cannot go with stative verbs since they are not semantically matched with the verbs and one cannot acquire the state of being fat, being black or dark complexioned, being fair and so on within such a short time. On the other hand, action and process verbs can take the temporal adverbs nasai ‘today’s recent past’ as in the sentences below:

184. noŋ cu- ‘rain’
    noŋ-si nasai ajuk-tagi cu-rak-li-Ø
    rain DET today’s recent past morning since rain DEIC PROG SAM
    ‘It has been raining since today morning’

185. ca- ‘eat’
    ai nasai-dagi cak ca-rak-li-Ø
    I today’s recent past since rice eat DEIC PROG SAM
    ‘I have been eating since a while ago’

186. su- ‘wash’
    ai nasai pun tøra-dagi pʰi su-rak-li-Ø
    I today’s recent past hour ten since cloth wash DEIC PROG SAM
    ‘I have been washing clothes since 10 o’clock today’

187. ta- ‘listen’
The sentences in the above given examples have a temporal adverb งา sai ‘today’s recent past’ as well as a particular point of time along with it to indicate that the action has been continuing since a recent past (in the day itself) up to the present time of uttering the sentence. The difference between stative and dynamic verbs is only the use of temporal adverbs which show a longer or shorter time period.

Another interesting fact which has been discovered during the analysis is that the suffix -lak is vastly used in the language. As a part of survey for the original source, when a book of short stories “Cherei” /cerai/ by Manihar Singh (2006) was studied, almost all the verbs in every sentence were found to have the suffix -lak. It has been observed from the data available on the book that the suffix indicates a sort of directional meaning ‘towards’ somebody or something. Secondly, it is found out that the suffix is used in the narrative system. This indirectly implies that all the events or actions are realized. Of course, it can also occur in non-realized aspect also. To make it clear consider the following sentences from the book.

188.  hen- ‘be excess’

ajuk-ki puŋ tərəmətʰoi kʰəɾə həl-lək-pə mətəm-ni
morning-GEN hour eleven some past-DEIC-NMZ time-COP
‘The time was around some minutes past eleven in the morning’

(Cherei, p.1, 1ˢᵗ line)

189. tʰau- ‘drive’

mohendro ma-gi saikəl səmanə tə-nə tʰau-jil-lək-i
Mohendro he-GEN cycle lawn upto-ADV ride-IN-DEIC-SAM
‘Mohendro rode his cycle towards/to the lawn’

(p.1)
190. **caŋ-**  ‘enter’

\[
\text{imüŋ-də  caŋ-sil-lək-i}
\]

inside the house-LOC enter-IN-DEIC-SAM
‘He came inside the house’  

191. **kau-**  ‘call’

\[
\text{səna hai-nə  ma-gi  nupi nimisəna kau-rək-i}
\]

Sana say-ADV he-GEN wife Nimisana call-DEIC-SAM
‘He called his wife Nimisana by the name Sana’

192. **ta-**  ‘fall’

\[
\text{kʰədan  ta-rək-pə-du  jam-nə  rasi  lai}
\]

chin fall-DEIC-NMZ-DET much-ADV cute-SAM
‘The area around the chin is very cute’

The verbal root **hen-** is used in the nominalized form in sentence (188) and it shows some narration. In sentence (189) the verb **tʰau-j-il-lək-** shows the direction of riding the cycle towards the lawn which is both directional as well as narration and it is the same in sentence (190) also. The verb **kau-rək-** in sentence (191) implies a person to whom the referent is addressing and the direction is towards the wife. The verb **ta-** ‘fall’ in sentence (192) with **-rək** indicates a direction which is downward from the upper part of the face.

### 5.2.2.2 Multifunctional Suffixes

There are three suffixes with variant functions. In some contexts they function as deictic and somewhere else as non-deictic. They are: **-kʰi, -hau and -lam**.

#### 5.2.2.2.1 Suffix -kʰi

The suffix has two allomorphs as **-kʰə and -kʰi**. **-kʰə** occurs before command marker ‘-o’, perfective -rə and -re whereas **-kʰi** occurs elsewhere. The suffix has deictic meaning when the action is realized. The motion of orientation is away from the speaker and the action occurs at the speaker’s place and the event precedes the motion. In other
words it can be said that somebody has done an action at the speaker’s place and then went away. Syntactic illustrations:

193. **cat-** ‘go’
    
    məhək ʰəŋəŋ-ke əwəŋ-ləm-da  cat-kʰi-Φ
    he now-LOC north-side-LOC go-DEF-SAM
    ‘He went towards the north just now’

194. **pu-** ‘carry’
    
    tombə-ŋə  tʃusən  cat-pə-da lairik-tu  pu-kʰi-Φ
    Tomba-NOM tuition go-NMZ-LOC book-DET take-DEF-SAM
    ‘Tomba took away the book when he went for tuition.’

195. **ca-** ‘eat’
    
    məni-du ʃəŋəŋ əi-kʰoi-da cək  ca-kʰi-Φ
    Mani-DET yesterday I-PL-LOC meal eat-DEF-SAM
    ‘Mani took meal at my house yesterday’

196. **tʰak-** ‘drink’
    
    əŋəŋ-du əi-kʰoi-da səŋɡəm tʰak-kʰi-Φ
    child-DET I-PL-LOC milk drink-DEF-SAM
    ‘The child drank milk at my house’

197. **tʰok-** ‘go out’
    
    məhək əʃət-ki puŋ təɾət-τə jum-dəgi tʰok-kʰi-Φ
    he morning-GEN hour seven-LOC house-ABL go out-DEF-SAM
    ‘He went out of the house at 7 o’clock in the morning’

The verbs in the above examples imply physical displacement of the referent. The verb **cat-kʰi** in sentence (193) indicates that the referent was at the speaker’s place a while ago before the utterance of the sentence. In sentence (194) the speaker was certain of the fact that the referent took ‘the book’ away with him. The verb **ca-kʰi** in sentence (195)
implies that the referent took meal at the speaker’s place and went away. The same analysis holds for the sentences (196) and (197). All the sentences above imply two implications: (i) definiteness - the actions were definitely performed and evidentiality - the speaker eyewitnessed the actions (here, definiteness entails evidentiality and vice-versa) and (iii) the actions are spatial oriented i.e. they involve physical displacement.

The suffix gives other implications when it is followed by non-realized suffix -kani ~ gani. Consider the following sentence.

198. ca- ‘eat’
   ai cak ca-khii-gani
   I rice eat-DEF-NREAL
   ‘I will take meal.’

The verb ca-khii-gani in sentence (198) expresses three different meanings. It may be a situation where the referent is still eating and is asked to do some other work or to stop eating, then the referent might have replied “I will keep on eating” as a denial. The second meaning may be “I will eat here and go away”, and the last meaning may be “I will eat first and then do the work” (see 6.2.1). The situation is true for other non-realized suffixes like -si ‘suggestive’ and -sanu ‘let permission’ and interrogative environment. Consider some more examples:

199. ca- ‘eat’
   ai-khii cak ca-khii-si
   I-PL rice eat-DEF-SUG
   (1) ‘Let us keep eating.’
   (2) ‘Let us take meal here and go away.’
   (3) ‘Let us take meal first and then do the work’

200. pa- ‘read’
   ojango-si-du pa-khii-sanu
   child-PL-DET read-DEF-PERM
   (1) ‘Let the children keep reading.’
(2) 'Let the children read here and go away.'
(3) 'Let the children read first and then do the work'

201. ca- 'eat'

\[ \text{nəŋ cak ca-k}^{b}\text{i-gə-də-ra} \]
\[ \text{you rice eat-DEF-POT-SPF-INTR} \]

(1) 'Will you certainly take meal (after the feast),'
(2) 'Will you keep eating?'
(3) 'Will you take meal (or may I throw it away).'
(4) 'Will you take meal here and go away?'
(5) 'Will you take meal first and do the work?'

The suffix can also occur in negative environment also (as shown below).

202. tum- 'sleep'

\[ \text{əi tum-k}^{h}i\text{-roi-Φ} \]
\[ \text{I sleep-DEF-NPOT-SAM} \]
'I will not sleep right now'

203. haidok- 'reveal/disclose'

\[ \text{əi nəŋon-də wap}^{h}\text{əm-du haidok-k}^{b}\text{i-roi-Φ} \]
\[ \text{I you-DIR-LOC matter-DET disclose-DEF-NPOT-SAM} \]
'I will not disclose the matter to you right now (because it is not the right time)'

The verbs in the above sentences indicate that the actions will not be done at the time of the utterance. It implies that the action will be suspended for sometime.

There is another construction with -loi ~ roi where it means a serious promise for not doing something again.

204. ca- 'eat'

\[ \text{əi ma-nə pi-bə pot əmuk hən-nə ca-k}^{b}\text{ə-ra-roi-Φ} \]
\[ \text{I he-NOM give-NMZ thing once repeat-ADV eat-DEF-PROS-N.POT-SAM} \]
'I will never eat again whatever he gives me to eat.'
205. jeg- ‘watch’
oi sinema kau-ba-da amuk han-na jeg-kb-ro-roi-∅
I cinema name-NMZ-LOC once repeat-ADV watch-DEF-NPOT-SAM
‘I will never ever watch any movie.’

206. pi- ‘give’
ma-na sana wai-ge hai-ba-da-di
he-NOM gold borrow-INT say-NMZ-LOC-PART
oi pi-kb-ro-roi-∅
I give-DEF-NPOT-SAM
‘I will never give her gold ornaments whenever she requests’

The above sentences show the implication that the speaker is fed up of the activities and
that promises never to make the mistake again (see 5.2.4.10).

The suffix -kbo when followed by -o ‘command’ the vowel /a/ is deleted and
it becomes -kbo. New consider some examples with -kbo.

207. tbo- ‘drink’
cia tbo-ko-∅
tea drink-DEF-COM-
‘Have tea (before you go or before you start the work)’

208. pun- ‘gather’
nb-oi mpham-si-da han-na pun-kb-o-∅
you-PL place-DET-LOC before-ADV gather-DEF-COM
‘You gather here first’

209. gai- ‘wait’
gai-kbo! cat-kb-i-nu
wait-DEIC-COM go-DEF-PROH
‘Wait! Don’t go away.’
The verbs in the above sentences do not merely mean a simple command but give the implication of commanding to do something before doing another work or to do something first at the the speaker’s place before going away (see 6.2.2).

The suffix also denotes definiteness and evidentiality of an action but without deictic sense. Consider some examples:

210. **tum-** ‘sleep’

οηαη-du tum-kʰə-re-Φ

child-DET sleep-DEF-PERF-SAM

‘The child went to sleep.’

211. **loi-** ‘finish’

αι lairik-si pa-β loi-kʰə-re-Φ

I book-DET read-NMZ finish-DEF-PERF-SAM

‘I have finished reading this book’

212. **patʰə-** ‘overflow/over run’

ca-du maι-tʰək-to kʰərə patʰə-kʰə-re-Φ

eat-DET fire-on-LOC some spill-DEF-PERF-SAM

‘The tea spilt over the fire (while it was boiling)’

213. **tok-** stop’

məhak sanna-β tum-kʰə-re-Φ

he play-NMZ sleep-DEF-PERF-SAM

‘He has slept’

214. **kʰənnə-** ‘discuss’

mə-ma ma-pa-na wapʰəm-du kʰənnə-kʰə-re-Φ

3PP-mother 3PP-father-NOM matter-DET discuss-DEF-PERF-SAM

‘The parents discussed the matter’
The verbs in the above sentences show definiteness of the actions because of the suffixation of -kʰə but without any displacement of the actors.

5.2.2.2 Suffix -hau

The suffix has three different functions: the senses of deictic, opportunity and separation. The situation of deictic occurrence is as follows:

1. The event or action may have happened in the past or around the time of the reporting.
2. The event or action is happened somewhere else and not at the place around the speaker.
3. The speaker is the eyewitness of the event.
4. The speaker is reporting about a third person.
5. The speaker is reporting something of an action or an event.

Consider the following sentences:

215. pan- ‘bear fruit’
    məmən̥ cəhi-da komla pambi-si komla jam-nə pal-hau-i
    last year-LOC orange tree-DET orange much-ADV bear-INCP-SAM
    ‘This orange tree bore many fruit last year’

216. isiŋ cau- ‘be flooded’
    ai-nə həl-lok-pə-də əsam-di isiŋ cau-hau-ri-Φ
    I-NOM return-DEIC-NMZ Assam-PART flooded-INCP-PROG-SAM
    ‘Assam was still flooded when I returned’

217. son- ‘be weak’
    əŋan̥-du mə-sa sol-hau-i
    child-DET 3PP-body weak-INCP-SAM
    ‘The child was weak (when I visited)’
All the sentences in the above examples imply that the speaker has eyewitnessed a situation/happening or something being done. In sentence (215) the speaker has the evidence of the orange tree bearing many fruit last year. In the same way, sentences (216) and (217) show the implication of the speaker to have eyewitnessed the situations. Coming to action verbs, in sentence (218), the speaker has the evidence that ‘Memi’s taking meal’ has been over and he is reporting this to another person and at the time of
reporting he is most probably away from her. The speaker has the evidence of the teacher’s sitting in the hotel and the woman’s weaving in sentences (219) and (221) respectively and while reporting this to another person he is somewhere else. In sentence (220) the speaker has the evidence that ‘the child’ had just started ‘reading’ and at the time of reporting, the speaker is not near the child. In sentence (222) the speaker eyewitnessed the children still watching TV inside the house and this implies that the speaker is outside the house.

The speaker may report about a second person and in this case, the listener is also the person itself. In other words, the speaker is talking about having eyewitnessed some of the listener’s activities. Consider the following sentences:

223. **tum-** ‘sleep’
    əi-ŋəŋ lək-ləm-bə-ðə ʃəŋ tum-ʃəu-i
    I-NOM yesterday come-COMP-NMZ-LOC you sleep-INCP-SAM
    ‘When I came to your house I found you sleeping.’

224. **pa-** ‘read’
    ʃəŋ puŋ ahum ədu-wai-ðə ʃəŋ laibreri-ðə lairik
    yesterday hour three that-around-LOC you library-LOC book
    pa-ʃəu-i
    read-INCP-SAM
    ‘I saw you reading in the library around 3 o’clock yesterday.’

225. **cat-** ‘go’
    ʃəŋ əsəi əjuk kancipur-ðə cat-ʃəu-i
    you a few hours ago morning Canchipur-LOC go-INCP-SAM
    ‘I saw you going somewhere in Canchipur in the morning (I was also going somewhere)’
The speaker is reporting about having eyewitnessed some activity of the listener (the second person) in sentences (223) and (224). In sentence (225) the verb cat-hau- implies both speaker and the referent were going on the road. The speaker has the evidence that the referent was also going but the referent might have not seen him. Another case may be that the speaker saw the referent going there without the latter’s knowledge and the speaker was not going (as for instance, sitting in a hotel or shop or waiting for a bus). In such a case the following sentence might be used:

226. naŋ nosai ajuk kancipur-da cat-kʰi-ϕ
    you a few hours ago morning Canchipur-LOC go-DEF-SAM
    ‘You went somewhere in Canchipur in the morning (I was also at Canchipur)’

The sentences (225) and (226) clearly show the difference in meanings of the suffixes -hau and -kʰi.

The suffix -hau may also give the meaning of ‘opportunity’ when it goes with -ke ~ ge, -si, -ro, etc. The situations in which it can occur are when:

(1) The speaker may be talking about himself.
(2) The action may be realized or non-realized.

Examples:

227. pa- ‘read’
    ai ṭəraŋ lairik kʰara pa-hau-i
    I yesterday book some read-INCP-SAM
    ‘Yesterday I read some book (as I had an opportunity)’

228. ca- ‘eat’
    ai cak ca-hau-ra-ge
    I rice eat-INCP-PROS-INT
    ‘Let me have my meal (as I have a little free time)’
229. tum- ‘sleep’
   nəŋ ni ai hak tum-hau-ro
   you for a while sleep-INCP-COM
   ‘(You) sleep for a while (as you have a lot of works later)’

230. phəŋ- ‘get’
   əi-su pʰi ama phəŋ-hau-re-∅
   I-also cloth one get-INCP-PERF-SAM
   ‘I have also got a cloth (luckily)’

231. tau- ‘do’
   əi-kʰoi tʰəbək kʰəə tau-hau-si
   I-PL work some do-INCP-SUG
   ‘Let us do some work (instead of sitting idly or for the benefit of future generation)’

All the sentences given above are not reporting about others' imply a sense of opportunity and in this sense they are totally different from the sentences (223-225). The speaker may talk about himself as seen in sentences (227) and (230).

The suffix -hau may also occur in a situation apart from the above mentioned; it may also denote a sense of separation and do something in the absence of somebody. The situations for this meaning are postulated below:

(1) The verbs may occur either in a non-realized or realized aspect (in certain contexts.

(2) The verbs may imply someone to stay behind and someone separating from the other.

(3) The person who stays behind may perform something in the absence of the other.

Examples:
232. tʰon- ‘cook’
   aį cak  tʰon-hau-rə-ge
   I rice cook-INCP-PROS-INT
   ‘Let me cook (while you are away)’

233. su- ‘wash’
   aį ph'i  su-hau-rə-ge
   I cloth wash-INCP-PROS-INT
   ‘Let me wash the clothes (while you are away)’

234. pa- ‘read’
   mala-di lairik pa-ja-hau-ra-sənu
   Mala-PART book read-REF-INCP-PROS-PERM
   ‘Let Mala stay behind and study’

235. senna- ‘take care’
   tombi-na  aŋŋaŋ  senna-hau-gəni
   Tombi-NOM child take care-INCP-NREAL
   ‘Tombi will take care of the child (while we are away)’

236. laihau- ‘stay behind’
   a. aį lo-i-hau-rə-ge  nəŋ  cət-lo
      I stay-INCP-PROS-INT  you go-COM
      ‘You go, let me stay behind’

   b. memca-di sinjaamai bəjar-da  lo-i-hau-re-Φ
      Memcha-PART Singjamei market-LOC stay-INCP-PERF-SAM
      ‘Memcha stayed behind at Singjamei market’

The verbs in the above sentences imply two senses: to stay behind i.e. not joining a party or trip and perform an action in somebody’s/others’ absence”. The verbs can be put separately in the root form while the verb in sentence (236) is different. laihau- can be
treated as a single unit (see 3.2.1 and 3.2.3.2). Similar verb forms are purak- ‘bring’, putbok- ‘discover’, tbo rak- ‘come out’, etc.

5.2.2.2.3 Suffix -lam

The suffix has six allomorphic variations as -lam ~ ram ~ pam ~ mam ~ gam ~ om. The occurrences of these variations are displayed below:

(1) -lam: it occurs after morphemes that end in /l/ and /n/. /n/ changes to /l/ when -lam follows. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Complete Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hat-lam</td>
<td>hat-lam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jet-lam</td>
<td>jet-lam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>met-lam</td>
<td>met-lam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nol-lam</td>
<td>nol-lam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sol-lam</td>
<td>sol-lam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'il-lam</td>
<td>t'il-lam-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) -ram: it follows morphemes that end in vowels. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Complete Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hai-lam</td>
<td>hai-ram-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau-lam</td>
<td>tau-ram-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-lam</td>
<td>ta-ram-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nai-lam</td>
<td>nai-ram-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho-lam</td>
<td>ho-ram-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hai-lam</td>
<td>hai-ram-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ai-lam</td>
<td>t'ai-ram-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nau-lam</td>
<td>nau-ram-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sau-lam</td>
<td>sau-ram-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) -pam: it occurs after morphemes that end in /p/. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Complete Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nap-lam</td>
<td>nap-pam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kap-lam</td>
<td>kap-pam-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kap-ləm > kap-pəm- 'shoot + completive'
hap-ləm > hap-pəm- 'put + completive'

(4) -məm: it comes after morphemes that end in /m/. Examples:
təm-ləm > təm-məm- 'learn + completive'
tʰəm-ləm > tʰəm-məm- 'place + completive'
nəm-ləm > nem-məm- 'short + completive'
tʰum-ləm > tʰum-məm- 'sweet + completive'
sem-ləm > sem-məm- 'repair + completive'

(5) -qəm: it follows morphemes that end in /ŋ/. Examples:
seŋ-ləm > seŋ-qəm- 'clean + completive'
iŋ-ləm > iŋ-qəm- 'cold + completive'
ciŋ-ləm > ciŋ-qəm- 'drag + completive'
tiŋ-ləm > tiŋ-qəm- 'soak + completive'

(6) -əm: it occurs after morphemes that end in /k/. Examples:
hek-ləm > hek-əm 'pluck + completive'
lak-ləm > lak-əm 'come + completive'
nok-ləm > nok-əm 'laugh + completive'
cak-ləm > cak-əm 'burn + completive'
tok-ləm > tok-əm 'stop + completive'

The semantic structure of -lam is to perform something “not here and not now”. All the possible combinations of -lam with other suffixes will come under either one of the semantic scope. There are three possible combinations of -lam with other suffixes: (i) -lam + i/-e (ii) -lam + -kəni ~ gəni and (iii) -lam + ru/-o, -ke ~ ge.

-lam + i/-o may give different meanings when they are attached to action and stative verbs. With action verbs the combination of the suffixes gives the meaning of an
action that is realized or completed and thus, they come under the scope of 'not now'.
Consider the following examples:

237. **lak-** ‘come’

\[
\text{memə ajuk-tə}\quad \text{ai-kʰoi-də}\quad \text{lak-əm-mi (ləm-mi)}
\]

Mema morning-LOC I-PL-LOC come-COMP-SAM

‘Mema came to my house in the morning.’

238. **kʰəp-** ‘winnow’

\[
\text{thaba-nə}\quad \text{ceŋ kʰəp-pəm-mi (ləm-mi)}
\]

Thaba-NOM rice winnow-COMP-SAM

‘Thaba winnowed rice.’

239. **həŋ-** ‘ask’

\[
\text{jaja-nə}\quad \text{ai-ŋon-də}\quad \text{wəhəŋə}\quad \text{aənə həŋ-ŋəm-mi}
\]

Jaya-NOM I-DIR-LOC question one ask-COMP-SAM

‘Jaya asked me a question.’

240. **təm-** ‘learn’

\[
\text{əi sar jiten-da}\quad \text{hindi təm-məm-mi}
\]

I Sir Jiten-LOC Hindi learn-COMP-SAM

‘I learnt Hindi from Sir Jiten.’

241. **pan-** ‘reign’

\[
\text{mənɪpur-da}\quad \text{gəribəniwaj-nə}\quad \text{cəhi nipʰumatʰoi}\quad \text{pal-ləm-mi}
\]

Manipur-LOC Garibniwaz-NOM year forty one reign-COMP-SAM

‘King Garibniwaz reigned for fortyone years in Manipur.’

The combination of suffixes -**ləm** + i may also imply another meaning where it refers to an action which is in progress in the past. The sentence structure may either be a complex one where the verb of the matrix clause takes the suffixes or a simple sentence. Still, it
implies another clause in the underlying structure which highlights a sense of evidentiality of the action. Consider the following sentences:

242. sa- ‘weave’
\[\text{āi-nā rani-hōi-dā cāt-lu-bā-dā māhāk pʰi sa-rām-mi}\]
I-NOM Rani-PL-LOC go-DEIC-NMZ-LOC she cloth weave-COMP-SAM
‘When I went to Rani’s house she was weaving cloth’

243. pa- ‘read’
\[\text{āi-nā lairik lāu-bā cāt-lu-bā-dā caubā-du}\]
I-NOM book take-NMZ go-DEIC-NMZ-LOC Chaoba-DET
\[kʰābər pə-rām-mi\]
newspaper read-COMP-SAM
‘When I went to collect my book Chaoba was reading a newspaper’

244. ui- ‘take a nap’
\[\text{āi-nā pōt lāi-bā cāt-lu-bā-dā dukandar-du}\]
I-NOM thing buy-NMZ go-DEIC-NMZ-LOC shopkeeper-DET
\[ui-rām-mi/uï-du-nā lāi-rām-mi\]
takea nap-COMP-SAM/ take a nap-DET-ADV stay-COMP-SAM
‘When I went to buy some items the shopkeeper was taking a nap’

245. jen- ‘watch’
\[kāmālā-du nēraŋ hol-dā sinema jen-ṇām-mi\]
Kamala-DET yesterday hall-LOC cinema watch-COMP-SAM
‘Kamala was watching a movie in the hall yesterday’

246. kak- ‘cut’
\[nēraŋ-du nēraŋ som kāk-pʰām-dā som kāk-ṇām-mi\]
child-DET yesterday hair cut-place-LOC hair cut-COMP-SAM
‘The child was getting a hair cut at the saloon’
The first three sentences (242) to (244) are complex sentences having two clauses – one dependent clause and another is matrix clause which carries the suffixes -lam+i. The sentences imply that the speaker has evidence of the actions which were in progress in the past. In sentence (242) the speaker found the referent weaving cloth. In sentence (243) the speaker found the referent reading newspaper and in sentence (244) the referent was taking a nap. The three sentences (245-247) are simple sentences having one verb only. But, the underlying structure of the sentence implies that the speaker had some evidence of the action which was in progress in the past. In sentence (245) the speaker found the referent watching a movie in a hall which indicates that the speaker was also present in the hall. In sentence (246) also the speaker found the boy getting a hair cut at the saloon. In sentence (247) the speaker was present in the charity show where she found the referent singing a song. Even though the presence of the speaker at the places where the actions were in progress is not mentioned in the sentences, the meaning is conveyed in the underlying structure of the sentences. The analysis done so far shows that the suffix -lam has some aspectual as well as evidential meanings.

The suffix -lam may give another meaning when it occurs with stative verbs. Consider the following sentences:

248. **mu-** ‘be dark-complexioned’

    noŋ hanna-di mu-ram-mi

    you earlier-PART dark-COMP-SAM

    ‘You were dark-complexioned earlier’

249. **pʰajə-** ‘be beautiful’
The verb form *mu-ram-mi* in sentence (248) implies a change of situation or state or condition. The referent was dark-complexioned earlier but now he is no longer dark that means he has become fairer. In sentence (249) the change that the speaker refers is that the referent was very beautiful earlier when she was young or a few years ago, but she does not remain so. In sentence (250) the verb form *masa pʰaram-mi* implies that the referent was very strong but now he is no longer healthy. The change of situation that can be observed from the verb form *kal-lam-mi* in (251) is that when compared to somebody who is strong, the referent was also very strong in his youth, but he does not remain so. The last sentence (252) implies that a change has taken place in the condition of the child's hair. The referent had curly hair while he was an infant but it gradually changes to straight hair as he grows up (which not true for everybody with curly-hair). The analysis
of the above sentences lead to a conclusion that a simple statement like $V + \text{lam-ram+i}$ refers to the comparison of two situations which prevailed in the past with that of present.

The suffix -lam when followed by -kani ~ gani shows uncertainty of an action which covers the scope 'not here'. The following examples will make the point clear.

253. **lai-** 'be in a place'

\[
\text{əŋəŋ-} \text{du} \quad \text{suməŋ-} \text{ə} \quad \text{lai-ram-gəni}
\]

child-DET lawn-LOC be-COMP-NREAL

'The child might be in the lawn'

254. **tum-** 'sleep'

\[
\text{nupi-} \quad \text{ḥəuyik} \quad \text{tum-məm-gəni} \quad (-\text{lam-gəni})
\]

woman-DET now sleep-COMP-NREAL

'The woman might be sleeping now'

255. **cat-** 'go'

\[
\text{əŋəŋ-} \text{du} \quad \text{iskul} \quad \text{cat-lam-gəni}
\]

child-DET school go-COMP-NREAL

'The child might have gone to school'

256. **pa-** 'read'

\[
\text{satrə-} \text{du} \quad \text{laibreri-} \text{ə} \quad \text{lairik} \quad \text{pa-ram-gəni}
\]

student-DET library-LOC book read-COMP-N.REAL

'The student might be reading in the library'

257. **tʰoŋ-** 'cook'

\[
\text{rita-} \text{du} \quad \text{cak} \quad \text{tʰoŋ-ŋəm-gəni} \quad (-\text{lam-gəni})
\]

Rita-DET rice cook-COMP-NREAL

'Rita might be cooking'

In the above sentences it may be observed that the 'completive' suffix -lam occurs with a 'non-realized' suffix -kani ~ gani and this feature is not exceptional to Manipuri only.
English has also this feature where an action which is not yet realized goes with a past form of the auxiliary verb ‘may’. The combination of -lam + kanį ~ gani gives a sense of uncertainty; yet, the speaker assumes that the referent may be performing something ‘not here’ on the basis of his daily routine or habit. Sentence (253) implies that the referent is not at the place of the speaker. In sentence (254) the speaker assumes that the referent might be sleeping at her house and at the time of uttering the sentence the speaker is at another place. In sentence (255) the speaker assumes that the referent might be in school as usual, yet he is not certain about it. The verb forms in sentences (256) and (257) imply the same condition as in the above examples.

Another occurrence of -lam may be with some suffixes which are not yet realized: -u/-o ‘command’, -ke-ge ‘intentive’ and -si ‘proposal’ etc. which refer to perform something in somebody’s absence and perform something first before doing another action. Consider the following sentences.

258. iruğa- ‘take bath’

nəŋ sen-ŋo iruğa-ram-mu
‘(You) take bath well (while I am away)’

259. ca- ‘eat’

nəŋ cak ca-ram-mu
‘You take your meal (while I am away)’

260. cat- ‘go’

əi koiiten cat-lam-ma-ge (-la-ge)
I market go-COMP-PROS-INT
‘Let me go to the market (without you)’
The first four sentences (258 – 261) indicate the performance of some action in the absence of the speaker while the last four sentences (262-265) give the meaning ‘to do something first before doing other actions’ or ‘before leaving the place’. In sentence (262) the speaker asks the referent to give the book before the ‘latter’ leaves. Similarly the other sentences imply the same context.
5.2.2.4 Suffixes \(-\text{sin}, -\text{thok}, -\text{khat}, -\text{tba}\)

These suffixes may be studied under the following ways accordingly: (1) directional meaning (2) class changing derivative (3) comparative meaning and (4) other meanings as repetition, completive, start and continuation respectively.

5.2.2.4.1 Directional meaning

Most appropriately, the suffixes may be attached to directional verbs to denote the following directions: \(-\text{sin}\) ‘inward directional’, \(-\text{thok}\) ‘outward directional’, \(-\text{khat}\) ‘upward directional’ and \(-\text{tba}\) ‘downward directional’. They have the following allomorphic variations as: \(-\text{cin} \sim \text{jin} \sim \text{sin}\), \(-\text{kat} \sim \text{gat} \sim \text{khat}\) and \(-\text{kat} \sim \text{cin} \sim \text{tok}\) occur after any morpheme that begins with an aspirated sound and ends in a stop. Examples are:

- \(\text{hut} + \text{kat}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{hut-kat-}\) ‘bore + upward direction’
- \(\text{hut} + \text{cin}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{hut-cin-}\) ‘bore + inward direction’
- \(\text{hut} + \text{tok}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{hut-tok-}\) ‘bore + outward direction’
- \(\text{tEk} + \text{kat}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{tEk-kat-}\) ‘bend + upward direction’
- \(\text{tEk} + \text{cin}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{tEk-cin-}\) ‘bend + inward direction’
- \(\text{tEk} + \text{tok}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{tEk-tok-}\) ‘bend + outward direction’
- \(\text{kAp} + \text{kat}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{kAp-kat-}\) ‘winnow + upward direction’
- \(\text{kAp} + \text{cin}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{kAp-cin-}\) ‘winnow inward direction’
- \(\text{kAp} + \text{tok}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{kAp-tok-}\) ‘winnow + outward direction’

\(-\text{gat}, -\text{jin}\) and \(-\text{dok}\) occur after any morpheme that begin with an aspirated sound and ends in a vowel or a nasal sound. Examples are:

- \(\text{hon} + \text{gat}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{hon-gat-}\) ‘carry + upward direction’
- \(\text{hon} + \text{jin}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{hon-jin-}\) ‘carry + inward direction’
- \(\text{hon} + \text{dok}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{hon-dok-}\) ‘carry + outward direction’
- \(\text{hai} + \text{gat}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{hai-gat-}\) ‘swing + upward direction’
hai + jin  >  hai-jin-  ‘swing + inward direction’
hai + dok  >  hai-dok-  ‘swing + outward diection’
th₄añ + g₄t  >  th₄añ-g₄t-  ‘carry + upward direction’
th₄añ + jin  >  th₄añ-jin-  ‘carry + inward direction’
th₄añ + dok  >  th₄añ-dok-  ‘carry + outward direction’

The suffix -tʰə has no allomorphic variation except in one case that is tʰadə- ‘drop (down)’. The original form is tʰa + tʰə > tʰadə- ‘release + downward direction. The suffix -tʰə cannot be attached to disyllabic verbs.

5.2.2.2A.2 Class changing derivative

The suffixes -sin, -tʰok, -kʰat, -tʰə have an important role in the shifting of verb’s meaning from one category to another. The addition of these suffixes gives a stative verb a process meaning and sometimes, an action meaning thereby introducing an agent (for more detail see 4.5). Some examples are shown below:

266. pəŋ-sin-  ‘become foolish’

əŋpəŋ-si  cai-mən-dunə  pəŋ-sil-le-Φ

child-DET scold-EXC-because of foolish-IN-PERF-SAM

‘The child has become foolish because of too much scolding’

267. mu-sin-  ‘become dark’

hʊndək-ti  nəŋ  na-ru-bə-dəgi  kucu

nowadays-PART you ill-DEIC-NMZ-ABL complexion
kʰəro  mu-sil-li

some  dark-IN-SAM

‘Nowadays your complexion has become dark because of the illness’
268. **kʰəŋ-jin-**  ‘know for the future’

*k̖ampaundy-gi mərem-də kʰəŋ kʰəŋ-jil-lu*

compounding-GEN about-LOC some know-IN-COM

*nəŋ-gi enalaisis-tə kannə-rək-kəni*

you-GEN analysis-LOC useful-DEIC-N.REAL

‘Know something about compounding; it will be useful in your analysis’

269. **kom-tʰok-**  ‘become loose’

*kʰudop-si nə-ŋən-də kom-tʰok-e-Φ*

ring-DET 2PP-to-DAT loose-OUT-PERF-SAM

‘The ring has become loose to you’

270. **noŋ ŋan-tʰok-**  ‘dawn’

*əi-kʰoi-nə wakit ət-liŋi-də noŋ ŋan-tʰo-rək-e-Φ*

I-PL-NOM walking go-SPFD-LOC dawn-OUT-DEIC-PERF-SAM

‘Day broke out as we were having a morning walk’

271. **cum-tʰok-**  ‘make correction’

*əŋkə asi cum-tʰok-u*

sum this correct-OUT-COM

‘Correct this sum’

272. **cau-kʰət-**  ‘become big’

*ma-gi potjom-si hanna-dəgɨ cau-kʰət-le-Φ*

he-GEN luggage-DET earlier-ABL big-UP-PERF-SAM

‘His luggage has become bigger than before’

273. **noi-kʰət-**  ‘become fat’

*əŋən asi cəhi-si-də jam-nə noi-kʰət-le-Φ*

child this year-DET-LOC much-ADV fat-UP-PERF-SAM
‘The child has become very fat this year’

274. **con-tʰə-**  ‘be late’

\[tʰəurəm ədu hou-bə-də  pəŋ-kʰai əmə con-tʰə-re-∅\]

programme that start-NMZ-LOC hour-half one late-DOWN-PERF-SAM

‘The programme started half an hour later than the scheduled time’

275. **kut-tʰə-**  ‘become low’

\[ləmbi əsi əmə əmə əmə con-tʰə-re-∅\]

road this much-ADV low-DOWN-PERF-SAM

‘This road has become very low.’

276. **pai-tʰə-**  ‘become slant’

\[pʰirəl əkʰəŋ əsi əmə əmə con-tʰə-re-∅\]

flag post this north-toward-LOC slant-DOWN-PERF-SAM

‘The flag post is slant towards the north’

The verbs **pəŋ-sin-**, **mu-sin-**, **kom-tʰək-**, **noŋ ʔan-tʰək-**, **cau-kʰət-**, **noi-kʰət-**, **con-tʰə-**, **kut-tʰə-** and **pai-tʰə-** in sentences above are process verbs derived from stative verbs **pəŋ-**, **mu-**, **kom-**, **noŋ ʔan-**, **cau-**, **noi-**, **con-** ‘be long’, **kut-** and **pai-** respectively. While the verbs **kʰəŋ-jin-** and **cum-tʰək-** in sentences (268) and (271) are action verbs derived from the stative verbs **kʰəŋ-** and **cum-**.

The four suffixes **-sin**, **-tʰək**, **kʰət** and **-tʰə** when attached to stative verbs may also give another meaning that is comparative sense. Consider the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative Verb</th>
<th>Process Verb</th>
<th>Comparative Sense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>pik-</strong> ‘be small’</td>
<td><strong>pik-tʰə-</strong></td>
<td>‘be relatively small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cau-</strong> ‘be big’</td>
<td><strong>cau-kʰət-</strong></td>
<td>‘be relative big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pa-</strong> ‘be thin’</td>
<td><strong>pa-tʰə-</strong></td>
<td>‘be relatively thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pəu-</strong> ‘be coarse’</td>
<td><strong>pəu-kʰət-</strong></td>
<td>‘be relative coarse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kup-</strong> ‘be fine’</td>
<td><strong>kup-tʰə-</strong></td>
<td>‘be relatively fine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wau- ‘be light-coloured’ > wau-tʰok- ‘be relatively light-coloured’
jak- ‘be dark-coloured’ > jak-sin- ‘be relatively dark-coloured’
pan- ‘be fair-complexioned’ > pan-tʰok- ‘be relatively fair-complexioned’
lai- ‘be a little dark-complexioned’ > lai-sin- ‘be relatively a little dark-complexioned’
səŋ ‘be green’ > səŋ-jin- ‘be relatively green’
mu- ‘be black’ > mu-sin- ‘be relatively black’
pet- ‘be soft’ > pet-tʰok- ‘be relatively soft’
kan- ‘be hard’ > kan-sin- ‘be relatively hard’

Syntactic illustrations:

277. **pau-koṭ-** ‘be relatively coarse’
    peket-tə jon-bə cinı-si-nə kʰəro pau-koṭ-li
    packet-LOC sell-NMZ sugar-DET-CONT some coarse-UP-SAM
    ‘The sugar which is sold in packet is coarser (as compared to others)’

278. **kuṭ-ṭə** ‘be relatively fine’
    tʰum peket-si-nə kʰəro kuṭ-ṭə-i
    salt packet-DET-CONT some fine-DOWN-SAM
    ‘This packet of salt is finer (as compared to others)’

279. **pa-ṭə** ‘be relatively thin’
    nəŋ-gi pʰi-si-nə si-nɔŋ-dəgi pa-ṭə-i
    you-GEN cloth-DET-CONT I-DIR-ABL thin-DOWN-SAM
    ‘Your cloth is thinner than mine’

280. **pan-tʰok-** ‘be relatively fair-complexioned’
    ma-ɡi ma-ca-nupi ətəmbi-si-nə
    she-GEN 3PP-offspring-woman younger-DET-CONT
ma-ce-dagi kucu kʰərə pan-tʰok-i
3PP-sister-ABL complexion some fair-OUT-SAM

‘Her younger daughter is fairer than her elder sister’

281. kʰən-sin- ‘be relatively hard’
jam ət otpa-si-nə kʰərə kən-sil-li
dough-DET-CONT some hard-IN-SAM

‘This dough is harder (as compared to others)’

282. tʰot-tok- ‘be relatively soft’
təl əsi-nə kʰərə tʰot-tok-i
roti this-CONT some soft-OUT-SAM

‘This roti is softer (as compared to other varieties)’

283. ləŋ-tʰok- ‘be relatively thin’
ma-gi səŋgom-si-nə kʰərə ləŋ-tʰok-i
he-GEN milk-DET-CONT some thin-OUT-SAM

‘The milk that he has brought is thinner (than others)’

284. məɾai mun-sin- ‘be relatively properly cooked’
ma-nə tʰon-bə ensaŋ-si-nə məɾai mun-sil-li
she-NOM cook-NMZ curry-DET-CONT proper-cook-IN-SAM

‘The curry that she has prepared better (than those prepared by others)’

285. cau-kʰat- ‘be relatively big’
loirəŋ əni-si-də məsi-nə kʰərə cau-kʰat-li
pattern two-DET-LOC this-CONT some big-UP-SAM

‘Out of the two floral patterns this one bigger’

286. ləŋ-kʰat- ‘be relatively bright’
balb si-nə kʰərə ləŋ-kʰat-li
bulb DET-CONT some bright-UP-SAM
‘This bulb is brighter (than others)’

The verbs with the four suffixes -sin, -thok, -khat and -tha imply a sense of comparison in the above sentences. Though the compared things may not be present in the sentences, the meaning is conveyed in the sentence structures.

Some extended meanings of the suffix -sin are as follows:

1. join somebody in an action,
2. putting additional things,
3. doing something at random or which is undesirable,
4. doing something intentionally and
5. pretending to do something.

They are discussed one by one below:

(1) Join somebody in an action

cai- ‘scold’ > cai-sin- ‘joining others in scolding’

ŋəŋ- ‘speak’ > ŋəŋ-sin- ‘joining when somebody is speaking’

kəp- ‘cry’ > kəp-sin- ‘joining others in weeping’

jau- ‘join’ > jau-sin- ‘joining others in doing something’

pan- ‘help’ > pan-sin- ‘joining or helping others in doing something’

Syntactic illustrations:

287. [cai-sin-] ‘joining others in scolding’

mə-jambə-du-na-su caubə-da caii-sil-li
3PP-elder brother-DET-NOM-also Chaoba-LOC scold-IN-SAM
‘His elder brother also joined the group in scolding Chaoba’

288. [pan-sin-] ‘join or help others in doing something’

tʰəba-su əi-kʰoi-gi tʰəbək-tə paŋ-sil-li
Thaba-also I-PL-GEN work-LOC help-IN-SAM
‘Thaba helps us in our work (by joining the working team)’
289. **jau-sin-** ‘join others in doing something’

\[ \text{o-i-di m-ә-kʰoi-gi мәрәк-тә ca-bә jau-sil-le-Ф} \]

I-PART 3PP-PL-GEN among-LOC eat-NMZ join-IN-PERF-SAM

‘I joined them in eating’

(2) Put additional things:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>New Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soi-</td>
<td>soi-jin-</td>
<td>‘put additional things in the cutting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰәŋ-</td>
<td>kʰәŋ-jin-</td>
<td>‘know something extra’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰa-</td>
<td>pʰa-jin-</td>
<td>‘learn extra lessons by heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeŋ-</td>
<td>jeŋ-sin-</td>
<td>‘prepare extra lessons’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰut-</td>
<td>pʰut-cin-</td>
<td>‘put additional things in the boiling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tәm-</td>
<td>tәm-sin-</td>
<td>‘learn something extra’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak-</td>
<td>tak-sin-</td>
<td>‘teach extra lesson’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic illustrations:

290. **hap-cin-** ‘put additionally’

\[ \text{salat-tә tʰum kʰәrә hap-cil-lu} \]

salad-LOC salt some put-IN-COM

‘Add some salt in the salad’

291. **pʰa-jin-** ‘learn extra lessons by heart’

\[ \text{sәireŋ asи-su pʰa-jil-lu} \]

poem this-also learn by heart-IN-COM

‘Learn this poem also by heart (in addition to others)’

292. **tәm-sin-** ‘learn something extra’

\[ \text{әremә-dә mәtәm мәң-hәn-gәnу sinpʰәm әәә tәm-sil-lu} \]

waste-LOC time waste-CAUS-PROH profession one learn-IN-COM

‘Do not waste time. Instead learn a profession’

(3) Doing something at random or which is undesirable:
tham- ‘put’  >  tham-jin- ‘put something out of order’
jek- ‘paint/draw’  >  jek-sin- ‘paint something at random’
tai- ‘apply’  >  tai-sin- ‘apply something at random’
lon- ‘embroider’  >  lon-sin- ‘embroider any pattern or something at random’
nam- ‘press’  >  nam-sin- ‘place something out of order’
nai- ‘torture’  >  naï-sin- ‘stay at one’s place which is not desirable’
lep- ‘stand’  >  lep-sin- ‘stand in front of others and obstruct the view (which is not desirable)’
p’om- ‘sit’  >  p’om-jin- ‘sit for a long time (which is not desirable)’
;al- ‘cp,e’  >  lak-sin- ‘visit by somebody (who is not welcome or when the host is busy)’

Syntactic illustrations:

293. tham-jin- ‘put something without order’
   tebəl maθak-tə p’iš-si kəna-na tham-jil-li
   table on-LOC cloth-PL-DET who-NOM put-IN-SAM
   ‘Who put these clothes on the table?’

294. jek-sin- ‘draw something at random’
   lairik mak’um-da jek-sin-gənu
   book cover-LOC draw-IN-PROH
   ‘Don’t draw anything on the cover of the book’

295. lep-sin- ‘stand in front of others and obstruct the view’
   ai-gi maŋ-da lep-sin-gənu
   I-GEN front-LOC stand-IN-PROH
   ‘Don’t stand in front of me.’

296. lak-sin- ‘visit by somebody (untimely)’
ma-na ηοsi opʰis ka-bə tʰəŋ-li-bə-si mi kʰaɾə
he-NOM today office attend-NMZ late-PROG-NMZ-DET people some
lak-sin-bə-dagi-ni
come-IN-NMZ-ABL-COP
‘His coming late to office today is because of the untimely visit of some people’

The verb tʰəm-jin- may also be used to mean ‘to put something safely’. The other verbs in the above given example denote ‘to do something at random or something undesirable’.

(v) Do something intentionally

lau- ‘shout’ > lau-sin- ‘shout intentionally’
jen- ‘watch’ > jen-sin- ‘watch/supervise intentionally’
lan- ‘make noise’ > lan-sin- ‘make noise intentionally’
tam- ‘inform’ > tam-sin- ‘inform intentionally’
məral si- ‘blame’ > məral si-jin- ‘blame intentionally’
tʰəŋ- ‘blame’ > tʰəŋ-jin- ‘blaming intentionally’

Syntactic illustrations:

297. təm sin- ‘inform intentionally’
memi-na pau-du mə-ma-də təm-sil-li
Memi-NOM news-DET 1PP-mother-LOC inform-IN-SAM
‘Memi informed her mother about the news intentionally’

298. lan-sin- ‘make noise’
əŋan-siŋ-du swai-də lan-sil-həŋ-gəŋ-gənu
child-PL-DET here-LOC make noise-IN-CAUS-PROG.
‘Don’t let the children make noise here’

299. lau-sin- ‘shout intentionally’
Pretend doing something

The suffix -sin when followed by -na gives the meaning of 'pretend'. Examples are:

- tau- ‘to’ > tau-sin-na- ‘pretend doing’
- tum- ‘sleep’ > tum-sin-na- ‘pretend sleeping’
- jen- ‘look’ > jen-sin-na- ‘pretend looking’
- sau- ‘be angry’ > sau-jin-na- ‘pretend to be angry’
- kəp- ‘cry’ > kəp-sin-na- ‘pretend to be crying’
- cai- ‘scold’ > cai-sin-na- ‘pretend scolding’
- pʰu- ‘beat’ > pʰu-jin-na- ‘pretend beating’
- kau- ‘forget’ > kau-sin-na- ‘pretend to forget’

Syntactic illustrations:

300. tum-sin-na- ‘pretend sleeping’
      əŋaŋ-du lairik təu-nil-ŋa-dunə tum-sin-na-i
      child-DET book read-wish-NEG-due to sleep-IN-REC-SAM
      ‘The child pretends to sleep as to avoid reading’

301. kʰəŋ-jin-na-da- ‘pretend not to recognize’
      nupi-du-na əi-bu u-βa-da kʰəŋ-jin-na-de-∅
      woman-DET-NOM I-ACC see-NMZ-LOC recognize-IN-REC-NEG-SAM
      ‘The woman pretends not to recognize me when she saw me’

302. kəp-sin-na- ‘pretend crying’
      əŋaŋ-du ma-ma u-βa-da kəp-sin-na-i
      child-DET 3PP-mother see-NMZ-LOC cry-IN-REC-SAM
      ‘The child pretends to cry on seeing his mother’
The suffix -thok when added to non-directional action verbs gives the meaning of completeness. Consider the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Thok</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca-</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
<td>ca-thok-</td>
<td>'eat + completeness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau-</td>
<td>'do'</td>
<td>tau-thok-</td>
<td>'do + completeness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>'write'</td>
<td>i-thok-</td>
<td>'write + completeness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>'read'</td>
<td>pa-thok-</td>
<td>'read + completeness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeŋ-</td>
<td>'look'</td>
<td>jeŋ-thok-</td>
<td>'look + completeness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəp-</td>
<td>'cry'</td>
<td>kəp-thok-</td>
<td>'cry + completeness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam-</td>
<td>'learn'</td>
<td>tam-thok-</td>
<td>'learn + completeness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phut-</td>
<td>'boil'</td>
<td>phut-thok-</td>
<td>'boil + completeness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tum-</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
<td>tum-thok-</td>
<td>'sleep + completeness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic illustrations:

303. ca-

ca-thok-a-ro-(-la-ro)
cak-si han-nə ca-t⁴ok-a-ro (-lə-ro)
rice-DET advance-ADV eat-OUT-PROS-COM
‘Come and take your meal first (before doing something)’

304. phut-

phut-a-si-(-la-si)
alu-si phut-tok-a-si (-lə-si)
potato-DET boil-OUT-PROS-SUG
‘Let us boil the potato’

305. tʰoŋ-

i-ce-nə tʰoŋ-dok-ləm-me-Φ
IPP-sister-NOM today-PART rice cook-OUT-COMP-PERF-SAM
‘My (elder) sister had already cooked meal (for us)’

306. phey-

‘scour’
You scour the utensils'

'Learn this lesson by heart quickly'  

All the verbs in the above sentences give a sense of 'completeness' when they go with -tʰok 'out'.

The suffix -kʰat gives the meaning of 'starting of an action' (durative action verbs) (see also 5.2.1.2). Some examples with -kʰat are given below:

su- 'wash' > su-gat- 'wash + start'
ca- 'eat' > ca-kʰat- 'eat + start'
tʰon- 'cook' > tʰon-gat- 'cook + start'
i- 'write' > i-kʰat- 'write + start'
hap- 'load' > hap-kat- 'load + start'
sa- 'build' > sa-gat- 'build + start'
lon- 'pile' > lon-kʰat- 'pile + start'
seŋ- 'clean' > seŋ-gat- 'clean + start'
cam- 'wash' > cam-kʰat- 'wash + start'

Syntactic illustrations:

'>(You) start washing clothes (while I am eating or doing something)'
309. hap-    ‘load’
    pot-siŋ-du  gari-ɗo  hap-kɔt-lʊ-ro
    thing-PL-DET vehicle-LOC load-UP-DEIC-COM
    ‘Go and start loading the things on the vehicle’

310. ca-    ‘eat’
    ɓi pʰi su-bɔ  loi-liŋ-ɗi-ge,  nɔŋ cak ca-kʰɔt-ɗo-ŋo
    I cloth wash-NMZ finish-IN-DEIC-DEF-INT you rice eat-UP-COMP-COM
    ‘Let me finish the washing, in the meantime (you) start eating
     (I’ll join you shortly)’

311. cam-    ‘wash’
    ɓi-ɗɔ kon pʰen-liŋsi-ɗo  nɔŋ-ɗo  cam-kʰɔt-ɗo-ŋo
    I-NOM utensil scour-SPFD-LOC you-NOM wash-UP-DEIC-COM
    ‘(You) start washing the utensils while I scour them’

312. lon-    ‘knit’
    ɓi pʰurit  ɗam  lon-kʰɔt-le-ɓ
    I sweater one knit-UP-PERF-SAM
    ‘I have started knitting a sweater’

All the verbs in the above sentences imply the meaning of ‘starting of an action’ when
-kʰɔt is attached to them.

The suffix -tʰø gives the meaning of ‘continuation’ when it is added to some
durative verbs. Examples:

cat-  ‘go’    >    cat-tʰø-    ‘go + continue’
pa-  ‘read’    >    pa-tʰø-    ‘read + continue’
i-  ‘write’    >    i-tʰø-    ‘write + continue’
sak-  ‘sing’    >    sak-tʰø-    ‘sing + continue’
tak-  ‘teach’    >    tak-tʰø-    ‘teach + continue’
tam- ‘learn’ > tam-tʰa- ‘learn + continue’
pi- ‘supply’ > pi-tʰa- ‘supply + continue’
lau- ‘take’ > lau-tʰa- ‘take + continue’
jen- ‘distribute’ > jen-tʰa- ‘distribute + continue’

Syntactic illustrations:

313. cat- ‘go’
ai-kʰoi-gi tʰabok adu məkʰə cat-tʰa-də-re-Φ (-dre)
I-PL-GEN work that further go-DOWN-NEG-PERF-SAM
‘We do not continue our work’

314. pi- ‘supply’
sarkar-na kerosin pi-tʰa-rək-tə-re-Φ (-tre)
government-NOM kerosene give-DOWN-DEIC-NEG-PERF-SAM
‘The government has stopped the supply of kerosene to the public’

315. jen- ‘distribute’
səŋstʰən əsi-nə lairəbə praŋa-siŋ-də məkʰə ta-nə
organisation this-NOM poor people-PL-LOC continue-ADV
cen jen-tʰa-kʰi-gəni
rice distribute-DOWN-DEF-NREAL
‘This organisation will continue the distribution of rice to the poor people’

316. tam- ‘learn’
ai-di lairik məkʰə tam-tʰa-kʰi-gəni
I-PART book further learn-DOWN-DEF-NREAL
‘I will continue my study further’

317. tak- ‘teach’
para-si məkʰə tak-tʰa-kʰi-ge
lesson-DET further teach-DOWN-DEF-INT
All the verbs in the sentences given above denote continuation of an action when -tha is attached to them.

5.2.2.2.5 **Suffix -laga**

The suffix has six allomorphic variations as -la ~ ra ~ pa ~ ma ~ ija ~ a and their condition of occurrence is same as -lam (5.2.2.2.3). The suffix has three different functions which would mean:

1. doing something earlier
2. the manner of doing something
3. as a conjunction joining two verbs.

The suffixation of -laga to action or stative verbs (which refer to the result of an action – see 4.3.2) in a subordinate clause imply that the action has been/will be performed first than another action. Consider the following sentences:

318. **ca-** ‘eat’
   -i cak ca-raga iskul c=at-li
   I rice eat-CPART school go-SAM
   ‘I go to school after taking meal’

319. **su-** ‘wash’
   -i hajen p\textsuperscript{hi} k\textsuperscript{b}ara su-r\textsuperscript{em-maga} (laga) lak-ke
   I tomorrow cloth some wash-COMP-CPART come-INT
   ‘I will come tomorrow after washing some clothes’

320. **iruja-** ‘take bath’
   na-k\textsuperscript{b}oi nu\textsuperscript{m}ti-gi iruja-raga skul c=at-kad\textsuperscript{b}a-ni
   2PP-PL everyday-GEN take bath-CPART school go-must-COP
   ‘You must go to school after taking bath everyday’
The verb **ca-** in sentence (318) indicates that the action of ‘eating’ has been performed earlier before going to school while the verb **su-** in sentence (319) mean an action which has not yet been performed but to be performed the next day before going to the rendezvous. The verb **iruje-** in sentence (320) implies an action ‘to bath’ which is commanded or advised to be done before performing some other action ‘to go to school’ meanwhile the verb **tum-** in sentence (321) indicates an enquiry if the referent had done something ‘going to bed early’ and if the other action ‘getting up early’ follows it. A slight difference in the meaning of the verb **saoj-** in sentence (320) may be observed since the verb is a stative verb. It implies that the natural colour of the referent’s hair is not brown. She has used a hair-dye to make it brown and the action of applying a hair-dye on the referent’s hair results stability for sometime before it changed to brown in colour. In all the sentences given above, the verbs show that two actions occur next to each other. There are also sentences when two action verbs occur simultaneously.

(2) When two action verbs occur simultaneously in a sentence the verb which takes the suffix **-laga** imply a sort of manner i.e. how does he come, how does he speak, how does he read, how does he watch and so on. Consider the following sentences.
It can be observed that the above sentences have two action verbs occurring simultaneously. In sentence (323) the verb lep-paga denotes manner of how did the referent come by bus i.e. ‘standing’ which may be because of unavailability of seats. In sentence (324) the referent’s ‘sitting straight’ denotes the manner or the way how he sits while reading. Both the actions of sitting and reading occur at the same time. In all the above sentences the answer to the question as to how an action is performed by the referent is given by another action. In other words, the referent is performing two actions at the same time.
The suffix -laga also functions as a conjunction while expressing a quality or state of somebody or something. Consider the following sentences.

328. **mu-**  ‘be black’
    nupa əsi mu-raga  waŋ-ŋi
    man  this black-CPART tall-SAM
    ‘This man is black and tall’

329. **mu-**  ‘be black’
    ma-gi  mə-sam-du  mu-raga  jam-mi
    she-GEN 3PP-hair-DET black-CPART much-SAM
    ‘Her hair is black and thick’

330. **pik-**  ‘be small’
    lairik əsi  pik-øgə  (-løgə)  məgən  lai-ø
    book  this small-CPART quality have-SAM
    ‘This book is small but useful’

331. **man-**  ‘be similar’
    əŋaŋ əsi  mə-pa  mal-løgə (man-løgə)  ŋau-i
    child  this 3PP-father similar-CPART  fair-SAM
    ‘This child resembles his father but fairer’

The first two sentences give the same sense. Sentence (328) expresses the appearance of a person as black and tall and so is the sentence (329) while in sentence (330) the suffix -laga functions as a conjunction ‘but’ expressing the size and quality of ‘the book’ and so is the case in sentence (331).

5.2.2.3 **Modifiers**

There are suffixes denoting modifier meaning which may be divided into two groups: (i) modifiers expressing ‘slightly’ and (ii) modifiers expressing ‘superlative degree’.
5.2.2.3.1 Modifiers expressing ‘slightly’

This modifier may further be sub-divided into three divisions as: (i) modifiers occurring in reduplicative form only, (ii) modifier occurring in non reduplicative form only and (iii) modifiers occurring in both environments. It may or may not cause disturbance in the semantic structure of the sentence. They are attached to stative verbs only.

5.2.2.3.1 Modifiers occurring in the reduplicative form only

The suffix -li which functions as a modifier in a sentence cannot occur in a non-reduplicative environment and it has two variations as -li ~ ri. -li occurs after m, n, ŋ, p, t, k while -ri occurs after vowel sounds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thum-</td>
<td>thum-li</td>
<td>'slightly sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet-</td>
<td>pet-li</td>
<td>'slightly soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηου-</td>
<td>ηου-ri</td>
<td>'slightly white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>pa-ri</td>
<td>'slightly thin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tek-</td>
<td>tek-li</td>
<td>'slightly broken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nop-</td>
<td>nop-li</td>
<td>'slightly weak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mon-</td>
<td>mol-li</td>
<td>'slightly soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kut-</td>
<td>kut-li</td>
<td>'slightly low'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>νων-</td>
<td>νων-ri</td>
<td>'slightly thick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ναν-</td>
<td>ναν-ri</td>
<td>'slightly red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μυ-</td>
<td>μυ-ri</td>
<td>'slightly black'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic illustrations:

332. thum- ‘be sweet’

c a asi thum-li thum-li ηου-i
tea this sweet-MOD sweet-MOD do-SAM

‘This tea tastes slightly sweet’
333. **mon-** ‘be soft’

sopʰa əsi mol-li mol-li (mon-li mon-li) təu-i
sopʰa this soft-MOD soft-MOD do-SAM
‘This sofa is slightly soft’

334. **nop-** ‘be weak’

cai əsi nop-li nop-li təu-i
cai this weak-MOD weak-MOD do-SAM
‘This stick is slightly weak’

335. **ŋaŋ-** ‘be red’

ləi əsi ŋaŋ-li ŋaŋ-li təu-i
ləi this red-MOD red-MOD do-SAM
‘This flower is reddish in colour/slightly red’

336. **pa-** ‘be thin’

ma-na pu-rək-pə səŋgom-du pa-ri pa-ri təu-i
he-NOM bring-NMZ milk-DET thin-MOD thin-MOD do-SAM
‘The milk that he has brought is slightly thin’

The verbs with the reduplicative suffix -li ~ ri in the above given examples modify the stative verbs with the meaning ‘slightly’ e.g. tʰum-li tʰum-li ‘slightly sweet’ in sentence (332), mol-li mol-li ‘slightly soft’ in sentence (333), etc.

Another suffix which can occur in reduplicative environment is -pet. It has two variations as -pet ~ pʰet. Examples:

- tʰum- ‘be sweet’ > tʰum-pet tʰum-pet ‘slightly sweet’
- lup- ‘sink’ > lup-pʰet lup-pʰet ‘ready to sink’
- nok- ‘smile’ > nok-pʰet nok-pʰet ‘smilingly’
  - ci-pʰet ci-pʰet ‘frequently’
  - ku-pʰet ku-pʰet ‘twinkling’
The first three forms have bases from which they are derived whereas the last two modifiers have no bases and they are always collocated with certain verbs e.g. ci-p^et ci-p^et na- ‘be sick frequently’ and ku-p^et kap^et ɲanbɔ ‘twinkling (of stars)’. Another form of reduplication is also possible where the verb is not reduplicated. Instead, the suffix only gets reduplicated. Consider the examples:

thum-p^et lak-p^et ‘slightly sweet’
lup-p^et lak-p^et ‘ready to sink’

5.2.3.1.2 Modifier occurring in non-reduplicative form only

The suffix -p^at is the only modifier occurred in non-reduplicative form which gives the meaning ‘slightly’. It always occurs in a negative environment.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seq- ‘be clear’</td>
<td>seq-p^at-ta-</td>
<td>‘not clear enough’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mun- ‘be properly cooked’</td>
<td>mun-p^at-ta-</td>
<td>‘not yet properly cooked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca- ‘be fit’</td>
<td>ca-p^at-ta-</td>
<td>‘not properly fitting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lum- ‘be warm’</td>
<td>lum-p^at-ta-</td>
<td>‘not warm enough’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon- ‘be hard’</td>
<td>kon-p^at-ta-</td>
<td>‘not hard enough’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nəŋ- ‘be thick’</td>
<td>nəŋ-p^at-ta-</td>
<td>‘not thick enough’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saŋ- ‘be long’</td>
<td>saŋ-p^at-ta-</td>
<td>‘not long enough’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jau- ‘arrive’</td>
<td>jau-p^at-ta-</td>
<td>‘not yet reached’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noŋ ta- ‘rain’</td>
<td>noŋ ta-p^at-ta-</td>
<td>‘not yet rained’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noŋ ɲan- ‘sun rise’</td>
<td>ɲan-p^at-ta-</td>
<td>‘dawn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loi- ‘finish’</td>
<td>loi-p^at-ta-</td>
<td>‘not yet finished’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic illustration:

337. ca- ‘be fitting’
The verbs in the above given examples imply that the degree/quality of something expected is not yet satisfactory enough or something which is bound to happen for sure has not yet happened. The verb ca- ‘be fitting’ in sentence (337) gives a negative meaning when it goes with the negative modifier -phat. Similarly, the expected degree of clearness or quality of the photograph is not yet achieved in sentence (338). The remaining sentences also imply the same situation. The semantic structure of -p^hat restricts it from occurring with dynamic verb (as action and process verbs do not indicate quality).
5.2.2.3.1.3 Modifiers which can occur in both environments

The suffixes which can occur in both environments *i.e.* in reduplicative as well as non-reduplicative environments are -lap, -tak and -kum ~ gum.

The suffix -lap has two allomorphs as -lap ~ rap. Morphemes that end in m, n, ñ, p, t, k take -lap while vowel ending morphemes take -rap. Some examples are listed below.

- **ŋañ-** 'be red' > ŋañ-lap/ŋañ-lap ŋañ-lap 'slightly red'
- **mu-** 'be black' > mu-rap/mu-rap mu-rap 'slightly black'
- **sañ-** 'be long' > sañ-lap/sañ-lap sañ-lap 'slightly long'
- **kon-** 'bend' > kol-lap/kol-lap kol-lap 'slightly bend'
- **kop-** 'be dent' > kop-lap/kop-lap kop-lap 'slightly dent'
- **møm-** 'be dark' > møm-lap/møm-lap møm-lap 'slightly dark'
- **pet-** 'be soft' > pet-lap/pet-lap pet-lap 'slightly soft'
- **pa-** 'be thin' > pa-rap/pa-rap pa-rap 'slightly thin'
- **noi-** 'be fat' > noi-rap/noi-rap noi-rap 'slightly fat'

Syntactic illustrations:

342. **sañ-** 'be long'

ŋañ-du-gi pa-du sañ-lap/ sañ-lap sañ-lap tau-i
child-DET-GEN eyelash-DET long-MOD long-MOD long-MOD do-SAM
'The child’s eyelash is slightly long'

343. **pa-** 'be thin'

nupi-du mø-sa pa-rap tau-i
woman-DET 3PP-body thin-MOD do-SAM
'The woman is slightly thin'

The reduplicative form denotes plurality meaning. Consider the following sentence:

344. **pa-** 'be thin'
nupi-siŋ-du ma-sa pa-rāp pa-rāp tāu-i
woman-PL-DET 3PP-body thin-MOD thin-MOD do-SAM
‘The women are slightly thin’

Another suffix which denotes ‘slightly’ is -tak. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Morphemes</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sin-</td>
<td>sin-tak/sin-tak sin-tak</td>
<td>slightly sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰa-</td>
<td>kʰa-tak/kʰa-tak kʰa-tak</td>
<td>slightly bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kən-</td>
<td>kən-tak/kən-tak kən-tak</td>
<td>slightly hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet-</td>
<td>pet-tak/pet-tak pet-tak</td>
<td>slightly soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mot-</td>
<td>mot-tak/mot-tak mot-tak</td>
<td>slightly dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nəŋ-</td>
<td>nəŋ-tak/nəŋ-tak nəŋ-tak</td>
<td>slightly thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten-</td>
<td>ten-tak/ten-tak ten-tak</td>
<td>slightly short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pik-</td>
<td>pik-tak/pik-tak pik-tak</td>
<td>slightly small</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic illustrations:

345. **sin-** ‘be sour’

sem-si sin-tak tāu-i
apple-DET sour-MOD do-SAM
‘This apple is slightly sour’

346. **laŋ-** ‘be thin’

cə-si laŋ-tak tāu-i
tea-DET thin-MOD do-SAM
‘The tea is slightly thin (It is of less milk)’

347. **pik-** ‘be small’

kʰau əsi pik-tak tāu-i
bag this small-MOD do-SAM
‘This bag is slightly small’

348. **kʰa-** ‘be bitter’
'This curry tastes slightly bitter'

It may be noted that the reduplication of -lap and -tak gives plurality meaning when they modify animates. It is made clear in the sentences (343) and (344).

Another suffix denoting 'slightly' is -kum ~ gum. In this construction, only the first word takes the verb and it is not reduplicated unlike the other constructions so far studied. The second word takes lak- which is added throughout the construction with any kind of verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
t^h\text{ot-} & \quad \text{‘be soft’} \quad > \quad t^h\text{ot-kum}/t^h\text{ot-kum lak-kum} \quad \text{‘slightly soft’} \\
\text{kak-} & \quad \text{‘be salty’} \quad > \quad \text{jak-kum}/\text{jak-kum lak-kum} \quad \text{‘slightly salty’} \\
\text{man-} & \quad \text{‘be similar’} \quad > \quad \text{man-gum}/\text{man-gum lak-kum} \quad \text{‘slightly resemble’} \\
t^h\text{a-} & \quad \text{‘be thick’} \quad > \quad t^h\text{a-gum}/t^h\text{a-gum lak-kum} \quad \text{‘slightly thick’} \\
\text{tiŋ-} & \quad \text{‘be straight’} \quad > \quad \text{tiŋ-gum}/\text{tiŋ-gum lak-kum} \quad \text{‘slightly straight’} \\
\text{jan-} & \quad \text{‘be light’} \quad > \quad \text{jan-gum}/\text{jan-gum lak-kum} \quad \text{‘slightly light’} \\
\text{kem-} & \quad \text{‘be crispy’} \quad > \quad \text{kem-gum}/\text{kem-gum lak-kum} \quad \text{‘slightly crispy’} \\
\text{lu-} & \quad \text{‘be clean’} \quad > \quad \text{lu-gum}/\text{lu-gum lak-kum} \quad \text{‘slightly clear’}
\end{align*}
\]

Syntactic illustrations:

349. \text{lu-} \quad \text{‘be clear’}
\text{ŋası-di toti isin-ši lu-gum tau-i}
\text{today-PART tap water-DET clear-MOD do-SAM}
\text{‘Today the tap water is slightly clear (than before)’}

350. \text{t^h\text{a-}} \quad \text{‘be thick’}
\text{tål-si t^h\text{a-gum lak-kum tau-i}}
\text{roti-DET thick-MOD do-SAM}
\text{‘This roti is slightly thick (than others)’}
351. \textit{jaŋ}- ‘be light’

\begin{verbatim}
bora-si ŋəsi-di jaŋ-gum lak-kum təu-i
\end{verbatim}

sack-DET today-PART light-MOD do-SAM

‘This sack is slightly light (than before)’

5.2.2.3.2 Modifiers expressing intensity

There are some modifiers which are attached to stative verbs only. They are very specific and no productive (Yashawanta, 2000: 39). They occur only in reduplicative environment as listed below:

\begin{verbatim}
cum- be straight’ > cum-driŋ cum- ‘be very straight’
wan- ‘be tall’ > wan-drøŋ wan- ‘be very tall’
san- ‘be long’ > san-drøŋ san- ‘be very long’
pak- ‘be broad’ > pak-tʰɾok pak- ‘be very broad’
cau- ‘be big’ > cau-tʰɾok cau- ‘be very big’
ŋəu- ‘be white/fair’ > ŋəu-rok ŋəu- ‘be very white/fair’
ŋəu- ‘be white/fair’ > ŋəu-srək ŋəu- ‘be very white/fair’
ŋəŋ- ‘be red’ > ŋəŋ-səŋ ŋəŋ- ‘be very red’
mu- ‘be black’ > mu-sin-mu- ‘be very black’
mu- ‘be black’ > mu-suk-mu- ‘be very black’
pik- ‘be small’ > pik-tru pik- ‘be very small’
səŋ- ‘be green’ > səŋ-trik səŋ- ‘be very green’
kʰu- ‘be narrow’ > kʰu-drık kʰu- ‘be very narrow’
kut- ‘be low’ > kut-sit kut- ‘be very low’
həŋ- ‘be new’ > həŋ-trik həŋ- ‘be very new’
ten- ‘be short’ > ten-trik ten- ‘be very short’
pa- ‘be thin’ > pa-driŋ pa- ‘be very thin’
tai- ‘be pale’ > tai-pʰet tai- ‘be very pale’
\end{verbatim}
Syntactic illustrations:

352. **cau-** ‘be big’
    
    nupa-du cau-t\textsuperscript{b}rok cau-i
    
    man-DET big-MOD big-SAM
    
    ‘The man is very big’

353. **pik-** ‘be small’
    
    nən-gi k\textsuperscript{b}on-di pik-tru pik-i
    
    you-GEN feet-PART small-MOD small-SAM
    
    ‘Your feet is very small’

354. **tai-** ‘be pale’
    
    na-bə-dagi sila-du kucu tai-p\textsuperscript{b}et tai-re-φ
    
    ill-NMZ-ABL Sheela-DET complexion pale-MOD pale-PERF-SAM
    
    ‘The complexion of Sheela has turned very pale owing to her illness’

355. **cum-** ‘be straight’
    
    ucan pambi-si cum-driŋ cum-mi
    
    pine tree-DET straight-MOD straight-SAM
    
    ‘This pine tree is very straight’

5.2.2.4 Other derivative suffixes


5.2.2.4.1 -\textit{na} ‘reciprocal’

The suffix is homophonous with -\textit{na} ‘purposive’ and adverbial -\textit{na}. The reciprocal suffix -\textit{na} is attached to dynamic verbs and it implies two or more than two persons or things. Some examples are given below:
phu- ‘beat’ > phu-na ‘beat each other or one another.’
kən- ‘think’ > kən-na ‘discuss’
ja- ‘agree’ > ja-na ‘agree with each other or one another’
on- ‘change’ > on-na ‘exchange with each other or one another’
kəi- ‘cut’ > kəi-na ‘divorce’
səm- ‘join’ > səm-na ‘join together with one another’
cen- ‘link’ > cen-na ‘involve’
lau- ‘shout’ > lau-na ‘shout at each other or one another’
jen- ‘look’ > jen-na ‘look at each other or one another’

Syntactic illustrations:

356. jet- ‘argue’
    nupa-siŋ-du mikəl-gi matəŋ-da mərəi jet-na-rəm-mi
    man-PL-DET election-GEN about-LOC argument argue-REC-COMP-SAM
    ‘The men argued on the matter related to election’

357. wari sa- ‘talk’
    oja-siŋ wari sa-na-ri-Φ
    teacher-PL talk-REC-PROG-SAM
    ‘The teachers are talking’

358. ca- ‘eat’
    nərəŋ əi-kəoi cək ca-na-i
    yesterday I-PL rice eat-REC-SAM
    ‘We had a feast yesterday’

359. pau pʰau- ‘keep in touch’
    əi-kəoi əni-di pau pʰau-na-i
    I-PL two-PART news go through-REC-SAM
    ‘We (two) keep ourselves in touch’

360. matəŋ paŋ- ‘help’
In the examples given above, the suffix -nə is attached to the verbs to convey the meaning of ‘each other or one another’. In sentence (354) the referent is more than one person. Similarly, the other sentences have also more than one referent.

5.2.4.2 -minna ‘together’

The addition of this suffix to an action verb gives the ‘associative’ meaning i.e., to perform an action together. It is the combination of two suffixes -min-nə which is taken as a sequence of suffixes as -min cannot stand alone without the reciprocal suffix -nə. Some examples are shown below:

```
cat- 'go' > cat-minna 'go together'
tʰak- 'drink' > tʰak-minna 'drink together'
pʰam- 'sit' > pʰam-minna 'drink together'
jeq- 'look' > jeq-minna 'look together'
sanna- 'play' > sanna-minna 'play together'
cen- 'run' > cen-minna 'run together'
loi- 'buy' > loi-minna 'buy together'
tam- 'learn' > tam-minna 'learn together'
tʰan- 'carry' > tʰan-minna 'carry together'
pa- 'read' > pa-minna 'read together'
```

Syntactic illustrations:

361. tʰak- ‘drink’
The above sentences show that the actions are performed together by two or more than two persons. In sentence (361) the action of drinking is performed by two persons. Similarly, the action of carrying in sentence (362) is also performed by two persons.

### 5.2.4.3 -han ‘causative’

The suffixation of the causative suffix -han imply to make somebody to do or cause to happen something. The resulting verb of the suffixation of -han may be either class-changing or class-maintaining. In class-changing category, it brings a change in the verb class from stative or process meaning to action meaning by enforcing an agent to
perform something to get some result. For instance, the stative verb cot- ‘be wet’ may be
changed to an action verb by adding the suffix -han as cot-han ‘make somebody or
something wet’ which demands an agent (for more detail see 3.5.2).

The suffix may also be attached to action verbs and it does not bring any
change in the verb class, i.e., the resulting verb is class-maintaining derived verb.
Examples are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Action Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kap-</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nok-</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sau-</td>
<td>‘get angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰak-</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tœu-</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰam-</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰa-</td>
<td>‘catch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanna-</td>
<td>‘chase’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinh-</td>
<td>‘stretch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰot-</td>
<td>‘stitch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñai-</td>
<td>‘wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñaŋ-</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic illustrations:

366. **tanna-** ‘chase’

oi-nœ tomba-do sœn-du tanna-hal-li (-han-li)
I-NOM Tomba-LOC cow-DET chase-CAUS-SAM
‘I made Tomba chase the cow’

367. **pʰot-** ‘stitch/mend’

oi-nœ muci-do kʰeŋŋup pʰot-hal-li (-han-li)
I-NOM cobbler-DAT shoe stitch-CAUS-SAM
In the sentences given above the speaker makes somebody to do something. In sentence (366) the speaker causes Tomba to chase the cow. In sentence (367) the speaker causes the cobbler to mend the shoe. The verb class remains same as action verbs in all the sentences listed above.

5.2.4.4 -la ‘prospective’

The suffix is homophonous with perfective -la. Both the suffixes have six allomorphic variations as -la ~ ra ~ pa ~ ma ~ ga ~ a. The suffixation of -la to a verb form indicates that the action will be done shortly or an event will take place shortly. The occurrences of the allomorphs are given below with examples:

- la follows after morphemes that end with /t/ and /n/. Examples:

cat- ‘go’ > cat-la- > cat-la- ‘go + prospective’
hut- ‘bore’ > hut-la- > hut-la- ‘bore + prospective’
-ra comes after any morpheme that ends in vowel sounds. Examples:

ja- ‘agree’ > ja-la- > ja-ra- ‘agree + prospective’
pi- ‘give’ > pi-la- > pi-ra- ‘give + prospective’
pu- ‘carry’ > pu-la- > pu-ra- ‘carry + prospective’
hai- ‘say’ > hai-la- > hai-ra- ‘say + prospective’

te- ‘tame’ > te-la- > te-ra- ‘tame + prospective’
haus- ‘start’ > hau-la- > hau-ra- ‘start + prospective’

-pa occurs after any morpheme that ends in /p/ sound. Examples:

kup- ‘cover’ > kup-la- > kup-pa- ‘cover + prospective’
nap- ‘stick’ > nap-la- > nap-pa- ‘stick + prospective’
cap- ‘cut’ > cap-la- > cap-pa- ‘cut + prospective’
hap- ‘put’ > hap-la- > hap-pa- ‘put + prospective’
k'op- ‘hem’ > k'op-la- > k'op-pa- ‘hem + prospective’
lep- ‘stop’ > lep-la- > lep-pa- ‘stop + prospective’

-ma follows any morpheme that ends in /m/ sound. Examples:

jom- ‘wrap’ > jom-la- > jom-ma- ‘wrap + prospective’
pum- ‘rotten’ > pum-la- > pum-ma- ‘rotten + prospective’
t'um- ‘be sweet’ > t'um-la- > t'um-ma- ‘be sweet + prospective’
pam- ‘like’ > pam-la- > pam-ma- ‘like + prospective’
cam- ‘wash’ > cam-la- > cam-ma- ‘wash + prospective’
jam- ‘be much’ > jam-la- > jam-ma- ‘be much + prospective’

-ŋa comes after any morpheme that ends in /ŋ/ sound. Examples:

laŋ- ‘be noisy’ > laŋ-la- > laŋ-ŋa- ‘be noisy + prospective’
səŋ- 'be long' > səŋ-la- > səŋ-ŋa- 'be long + prospective'

thəŋ- 'be late' > thəŋ-la- > thəŋ-ŋa- 'be late + prospective'

haŋ- 'be empty' > haŋ-la- > haŋ-ŋa- 'be empty + prospective'

paŋ- 'help' > paŋ-la- > paŋ-ŋa- 'help + prospective'

kuŋ- 'be dense' > kuŋ-la- > kuŋ-ŋa- 'be dense + prospective'

-a follows any morpheme that ends in /k/ sound. Examples:

lak- 'come' > lak-la- > lak-a- 'come + prospective'

tek- 'break' > tek-la- > tek-a- 'break + prospective'

nik- 'shake' > nik-la- > nik-a- 'shake + prospective'

sak- 'sing' > sak-la- > sak-a- 'sing + prospective'

hek- 'pluck' > hek-la- > hek-a- 'pluck + prospective'

ŋak- 'guard' > ŋak-la- > ŋak-a- 'guard + prospective'

Syntactic illustrations:

371. nek- 'hire'

nupi-du kon pʰeŋ-na-bə nek-a-si (-la-si)
woman-DET utensil scour-PUR-NMZ hire-PROS-SUG

'Let us hire the woman for scouring the utensils'

372. haʊ- 'start'

nuŋtʰil-gi pun əmə-da pərikʰja həu-rə-ŋi (-la-gani)
afternoon-GEN hour one-LOC examination start-PROS-NREAL

'Examination will start at 1 o'clock (shortly)'

373. lep- 'stop'

ai ca thək-po lep-po-ŋi (-lo-gani)
I tea drink-NMZ stop-PROS-NREAL

'I'll stop taking tea'

374. thʊm- 'be sweet'
The prospective suffix of the above sentences shows that the action will be performed shortly. In sentence (371) the speaker shows the prospect of hiring someone and in sentence (372) the examination is going to be started shortly. The verbs lep- ‘stop’, thum- ‘be sweet’ and həŋ- ‘ask’ in sentences (373 to 375) indicate the same.

In a negative construction with -loï, the suffixation of -la implies a sense of promise or certainty of something. Consider the following sentences:

376. ca- ‘eat’
   əi ɲa  ca-rə-roi-ϕ
   I fish eat-PROS-NPOT-SAM
   ‘I will not eat fish (I will become a vegetarian)’

377. thək- ‘drink’
   əi ʒu  thək-ə-roi-ϕ (-la-roi)
   I wine drink-PROS-NPOT-SAM
   ‘I will not drink wine (I’ll stop drinking wine)’

378. lak- ‘come’
   məhak məpʰəm-si-də  amuk lak-ə-roi-ϕ (-la-roi)
   he place-DET-LOC again come-PROS-NPOT-SAM
   ‘He will not come here again’
Sentences (376) and (377) are like a promise to the hearer while in sentence (378) the speaker is sure about something. But in case of stative verbs, there is no meaning of promise since there is no agent to make a promise. Consider the following sentences of stative verbs.

379. **cau-** ‘be big’
   a. u əsi cau-rə-roi-ɸ
      tree this big-PROS-NPOT-SAM
      ‘This tree will grow no more (It has stopped its growth)’
   b. u əsi cau-rə-roi-ɸ
      tree this big-PROS-NPOT-SAM
      ‘This tree is not a big tree (according to its species)’

380. **ŋau-** ‘be white’
   a. pʰi əsi ŋau-rə-roi-ɸ
      cloth this white-PROS-NPOT-SAM
      ‘This cloth will be no more white as expected’
   b. pʰi əsi ŋau-rə-roi-ɸ
      cloth this white-PROS-NPOT-SAM
      ‘This is not a white cloth (according to the materials)’

381. **ca-** ‘be fit’
   a. pʰurit-si əi-ŋon-da ca-rə-roi-ɸ
      shirt-DET I-DIR-DAT fit-PROS-NPOT-SAM
      ‘This shirt will no more fit me (as I have become fat)’
   b. pʰurit-si əi-ŋon-da ca-roi-ɸ
      shirt-DET I-DIR-DAT fit-NPOT-SAM
      ‘This shirt will not fit me’
5.2.4.5 -ta ‘negative’

The suffix has two allomorphs as -ta ~ da. -ta follows any morpheme that ends in unaspirated voiceless stops (p, t, k) while -da comes after morphemes that end in vowel sounds. Syntactic illustrations:

382. **jau-** ‘join’

    * `ai nəranj piknik jau-da-re-ϕ (-dre)`
    I yesterday picnic join-NEG-PERF-SAM
    ‘I have not joined the picnic yesterday’

383. **kʰok-** ‘peel out’

    * `olu-si məku kʰok-tə-ri-ϕ (-tri)`
    potato-DET peel peel out-NEG-PROG-SAM
    ‘The potato is not yet peeled out’

384. **ca-** ‘eat’

    * `nəŋ kihom ca-da-ba-ra (-bra)`
    you pineapple eat-NEG-NMZ-INTR
    ‘Don’t you eat pineapple?’

385. **tʰok-** ‘drink’

    * `məhak ca tʰok-tə-ba-ra (-bra)`
    he tea drink-NEG-NMZ-INTR
    ‘Doesn’t he drink tea?’

386. **tum-** ‘sleep’

    * `əŋəŋ-si həŋik pʰau-bə tum-da-ri-ϕ (-dri)`
    child-DET now till-NMZ sleep-NEG-PROG-SAM
    ‘The child has not been asleep till now’

5.2.4.6 -liŋai

It is the combination of two morphemes -li and -ŋai. -li is the progressive suffix while -ŋai alone indicates duration or time. The combination or sequence of
morphemes -\textit{liŋai} denotes a specific duration and in such cases -\textit{li} cannot stand alone while -\textit{ŋai} alone indicates duration or time. Consider some examples which have -\textit{ŋai}.

\begin{itemize}
\item k\textit{a}id\textit{aŋai} \quad \text{‘on which day’}
\item \textit{a}duŋ\textit{ai} \quad \text{‘that time (referring to the past time)’}
\item m\textit{a}m\textit{aŋŋ\textit{ai}} \quad \text{‘once upon a time’}
\item la\textit{i}sem\textit{ŋai} \quad \text{‘the time of creation’}
\item jel\textit{hōŋŋ\textit{ai}} \quad \text{‘since the time immemorial’}
\end{itemize}

It can be observed that in the above given examples the words have the status of a free form as they are not attached to verbal roots. Another point to be noted here is that -\textit{ŋai} alone cannot be attached to verbal roots. The following examples will clarify this.

\begin{itemize}
\item ca- \textit{‘eat’} > ca-\textit{liŋai-} > ca-\textit{riŋai-} \quad \text{‘while eating’}
\item t\textit{hōk-} \textit{‘drink’} > t\textit{hōk-liŋ\textit{ai}-} > t\textit{hōk-riŋ\textit{ai}-} \quad \text{‘while drinking’}
\item k\textit{ap-} \textit{‘cry’} > k\textit{ap-liŋ\textit{ai}-} > k\textit{ap-piŋ\textit{ai}-} \quad \text{‘while crying’}
\item tum- \textit{‘sleep’} > tum-\textit{liŋ\textit{ai}-} > tum-\textit{miŋ\textit{ai}-} \quad \text{‘while sleeping’}
\item hiŋ- \textit{‘be alive’} > hiŋ-\textit{liŋ\textit{ai}-} > hiŋ-\textit{piŋ\textit{ai}-} \quad \text{‘while alive’}
\item cat- \textit{‘go’} > cat-\textit{liŋ\textit{ai}-} > cat-\textit{liŋ\textit{ai}-} \quad \text{‘while going’}
\item k\textit{bōn-} \textit{‘think’} > k\textit{bōn-liŋ\textit{ai}-} > k\textit{bōl-liŋ\textit{ai}-} \quad \text{‘while thinking’}
\item noi- \textit{‘be fat’} > noi-\textit{liŋ\textit{ai}-} > noi-\textit{riŋ\textit{ai}-} \quad \text{‘while somebody is fat’}
\item k\textit{ãŋ-} \textit{‘be thin/slim’} > k\textit{ãŋ-liŋ\textit{ai}-} > k\textit{ãŋ-riŋ\textit{ai}-} \quad \text{‘while somebody is thin/slim’ etc.}
\end{itemize}

The allomorphic variations can be seen from the above examples as -\textit{li} \sim -\textit{ri} \sim -\textit{pi} \sim -\textit{mi} \sim -\textit{ŋi} \sim -\textit{i} and their occurrence is conditioned in the same way as -\textit{la} (5.2.4.4).

It is true that the addition of the sequence of suffixes denotes a specific duration but the degree of specification varies according to the meaning of the verbs to
which the suffix is added. The most specific duration is indicated when the suffix is attached to action verbs. Consider the following examples.

387. **ca-** ‘eat’
\[
i-na\ cak\ ca-riŋai-da\ mema\ lak-i
\]
I-NOM rice eat-SPFD-LOC Mema come-SAM
‘Mema came to my house while I was taking meal’

388. **su-** ‘wash’
\[
i-na\ \phi\ su-riŋai-da\ eŋaŋ-du\ kap-pək-i\ (-lak-i)
\]
I-NOM cloth wash-SPFD-LOC child-DET cry-DEIC-SAM
‘The child cried while I was washing clothes’

389. **sanna-** ‘play’
\[
eŋeŋ-na\ sanna-riŋai-da\ i-na\ caŋ\ tʰon-ŋi
\]
child-NOM play-SPFD-LOC I-NOM rice cook-SAM
‘I cooked while the child was playing’

Now consider some examples of stative verbs which have temporal meanings:

390. **noi-** ‘be fat’
\[
i-na\ noi-riŋai-da\ phurit-si\ ca-rrəm-mi
\]
I-NOM fat-SPFD-LOC blouse-DET fit-COMP-SAM
‘This blouse fitted me while I was fat’

391. **kəŋ-** ‘be thin/slim’
\[
pʰurit-si\ mala-na\ jəŋ\ kəŋ-ŋiŋai-da\ (-liŋai)\ lit-ləm-bə-ni
\]
shirt-DET Mala-NOM back thin-SPFD-LOC wear-COMP-NMZ-COP
‘Mala used to wear this shirt while she was thin’

392. **na-** ‘be ill/sick’
Consider the following sentences which have stative verbs with no temporal meaning.

394. naha oi- ‘be in one’s youth’
   a. naha oi-riŋəi punsi-du nuŋŋai-bə-ni-da
      youth be-SPFD life-DET happy-NMZ-COP-DEC
      ‘The days of youth were very enjoyable’
   b. naha oi-riŋəi-da məhək əp̥əbo səisəpə ome o-iəm-mi
      youth be-SPFD-LOC he talented singer one be-COMP-SAM
      ‘He was a talented singer in his days of youth’

395. əŋəŋ oi- ‘be in one’s childhood’
   a. əŋəŋ oi-riŋəi matam haibə-si mi kʰudəŋ-nə kəllək-nə-i
      child be-SPFD time say-DET man every-NOM envy-REC-SAM
      ‘Everybody envies childhood time’
   b. a-i-kʰoi-na əŋəŋ oi-riŋəi-da pukʰri əmodi turel-da jam-nə
      I-PL-NOM child be-SPFD-LOC pond and river-LOC much-ADV
      iroi-rək-i
      swim-DEIC-SAM
      ‘We used to swim in the ponds and river (frequently) in our childhood’

The duration implied by the action verbs as ca-, su- and sanna- in sentences (387 – 389) is more specific in the sense that the duration occurred in doing the actions are rather short compared to that of the stative verbs as noi-, karp-, na- in sentences (390 – 392). They are stative verbs with temporal meanings in the sense that a person does not remain fat throughout his lifetime; he may become slim due to some reasons. Similarly, a thin or
a slim person may also become fat within a short time (see 4.2.2 for more detail). The duration implied by these temporal stative verbs is rather short i.e. they are more specific than the verbs naha oi- 'be in one’s youth', əṇaŋ oi- 'be in childhood' in sentences (391) and (392). The duration implied by the two verbs is longer than others shown above. The derived words in sentence (394.a) and (395.a) i.e. naha oi-ripei punsi ‘life of youths’ and əṇaŋ oi-ripei matam ‘in one’s childhood’ occur in a noun phrase in the sentences. From the above analysis, it can be concluded that the degree of specification is different according to the semantic structure of the verbs. With action verbs, the duration is most specific, stative verbs with temporal meaning are less specific and then, the stative denoting a time span of one’s childhood or youth have lesser degree of specification while words with -ripei only (as shown above) have the least degree of specification. In other words, it can be said that it shows duration only (without any specific period).

5.2.4.7 -labadi

The suffix -labadi ‘if’ occurs in a subordinate clause of a complex sentence. The suffix is the combination of three suffixes as -la, -ba and -di. In the present context it has been treated as a sequence of suffixes as the desired meaning cannot be provided when they are separated. When they are treated as separate morphemes, the meaning is completely different from -badi ‘if’. It will be discussed later. Consider some examples of -labadi which has also six allomorphic variations as -lam (5.2.2.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tak-</td>
<td>‘teach’</td>
<td>tak-labadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam-</td>
<td>‘learn’</td>
<td>tam-labadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jon-</td>
<td>‘sell’</td>
<td>jon-labadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau-</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>tau-labadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>‘fear’</td>
<td>ki-labadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can-</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
<td>can-labadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tap-</td>
<td>‘be slow’</td>
<td>tap-labadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nan-</td>
<td>‘press’</td>
<td>nan-labadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lot-</td>
<td>‘hide’</td>
<td>lot-labadi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Syntactic illustrations:

396. **u-** 'see'

\[
\text{u-} \text{r} \text{a} \text{b} \text{a} \text{d} \text{i} \text{m} \text{h} \text{a} \text{k} \text{c} \text{e} \text{n} \text{s} \text{i} \text{l} \text{k} \text{-} \text{a} \text{n} \text{i} (-\text{s} \text{i} \text{n} \text{l} \text{k} \text{-} \text{k} \text{a} \text{n} i)
\]

you see-if he run-\text{IN-DEIC-NREAL}

'He will run to you if he sees you'

397. **ta-** 'hear'

\[
\text{p} \text{a} \text{u} \text{-} \text{d} \text{u} \text{t} \text{a} \text{r} \text{a} \text{b} \text{a} \text{d} \text{i} \text{m} \text{h} \text{a} \text{k} \text{a} \text{i} \text{-} \text{a} \text{g} \text{o} \text{n} \text{-} \text{d} \text{a} \text{p} \text{h} \text{on} \text{t} \text{a} \text{u} \text{-} \text{r} \text{a} \text{k} \text{-} \text{k} \text{a} \text{n} i
\]

news-\text{DET hear-if he I-DIR-LOC phone do-\text{DEIC-NREAL}}

'He will ring me if he hears the news'

398. **\text{\$om-}** 'can do'

\[
\text{p} \text{a} \text{r} \text{i} \text{k} ^{b} \text{ja} \text{a} \text{s} \text{i} \text{-} \text{d} \text{a} \text{m} \text{h} \text{a} \text{k} \text{a} \text{e} \text{k} \text{t} \text{h} \text{o} \text{n} \text{-} \text{b} \text{e} \text{\text{\$om-}l} \text{a} \text{b} \text{a} \text{d} i
\]

examination this-LOC you-NOM top get-NMZ can do-if

\[
\text{\text{saik} \text{a} \text{e} \text{a} \text{l} \text{o} \text{i} \text{-} \text{b} \text{i} \text{-} \text{g} \text{a} \text{n} i
}\]

cycle one buy-\text{BEN-NREAL}

'I'll buy a bicycle for you if you can top the examination'

399. **\text{una-}** 'meet'

\[
\text{u} \text{n} \text{a} \text{n} \text{i} \text{-} \text{l} \text{a} \text{b} \text{a} \text{d} \text{i} \text{a} \text{m} \text{h} \text{a} \text{k} \text{a} \text{n} \text{\text{-}a} \text{n} \text{i} \text{\text{-}l} \text{a} \text{b} \text{a} \text{d} \text{\text{-}\text{a} \text{b} \text{a} \text{d} \text{i}} \text{\text{\$a} \text{i} \text{h} \text{a} \text{k} \text{n} \text{a} \text{i} \text{r} \text{o}
\]

you he-ACC meet-WISH-if a few minutes wait-COM

'Wait for a few minutes if you want to meet him'

5.2.4.8 **-na** 'adverbial'

The suffixation of **-na** to stative verbs denotes manner of adverb which can occur in both reduplicative and non-reduplicative while with action verbs it is reduplicated. Some examples are listed below.
kan-  ‘be hard’ > kan-na/kan-na kan-na ‘fast, quickly’
tap-  ‘be slow’ > tap-na/tap-na tap-na ‘slowly’
γan-  ‘be early’ > γan-na/γan-na γan-na ‘early’
tʰu-  ‘be quick’ > tʰu-na/tʰu-na tʰu-na ‘quickly’
tʰeŋ-  ‘be late’ > tʰeŋ-na/tʰeŋ-na tʰeŋ-na ‘late’
nau-  ‘be new’ > nau-na/nau-na nau-na ‘newly’
cet-  ‘be tight’ > cet-na/cet-na cet-na ‘tightly’
ḥau-  ‘be loud’ > hau-na/hau-na hau-na ‘loudly’
sau-  ‘be angry’ > sau-na/sau-na sau-na ‘angrily’
iŋ-  ‘be calm’ > iŋ-na/iŋ-iŋ-na ‘calmly’
kup-  ‘be minute’ > kup-na/kup-na kup-na ‘minutely’
tʰot-  ‘be soft’ > tʰot-na/tʰot-na tʰot-na ‘softly’
cen-  ‘run’ > cen-na cen-na ‘by running’
kap-  ‘cry’ > kap-na kap-na ‘by crying’
sai-  ‘chew’ > sai-na sai-na ‘by chewing’
ui-  ‘take a nap’ > ui-na ui-ba ‘by taking a nap’

Syntactic illustrations:

400. tap-  ‘be slow’
    ḍhan-du  tāp-ŋa  lak-i
    old man-DET slow-ADV come-SAM
    ‘The old man comes slowly’

401. hau-  ‘be loud’
    ḍhau-ŋa  hau-na  ḍkap-pi
    child-DET loud-ADV cry-SAM
    ‘The child cries loudly’

402. tʰeŋ-  ‘be late’
Today I am a bit late (due to some reasons).

He waited for you for a long time.

The adverbs when reduplicated gives a sense of habituality or an event occurring frequently while non-reduplicative adverbials imply that the events occur only once.

Consider the following sentences to observe the semantic differences between reduplicative and non-reduplicative forms of adverbs.

The old man usually speaks slowly.

Suni comes late (as usual).

Don’t speak loudly.

Guni usually goes quickly.
The adverbials in the above sentences give a sense of repetition, habitual when they occur in reduplicative form. For examples, the adverb *tap-na tap-na* in sentence (404) implies that the event occurs repeatedly. Similarly, the other adverbs in sentences (405-407) imply the same sense. Now consider some sentences with adverbs which are derived from activity/action verbs.

408. *cat-* ‘go’
   òi-na lɔmbi-dɔ cat-na cat-na wak₃₄an k₅₆al-li (k₅₆an-li)
   I-NOM road-LOC go-ADV go-ADV thought think-SAM
   ‘I thought of something while I was going’

409. *ca-* ‘eat’
   òi-na kwa ca-na ca-na wa ɔŋŋŋi
   I-NOM betel nut eat-ADV eat-ADV speech speak-SAM
   ‘I speak while chewing betel nut’

410. *tʰon-* ‘cook’
   mema-na cak tʰon-na tʰon-na kon pʰenŋi
   Mema-NOM rice cook-ADV cook-ADV utensil scour-SAM
   ‘Mema scours utensil while cooking’

411. *sem-* ‘cut vegetables’
   nira-na ensaŋ sem-na sem-na ma-ca lairik tak-i
   Neera-NOM curry cut-ADV cut-ADV 3PP-offspring book teach-SAM
   ‘Neera teaches her child while cutting vegetables’

It can be observed from the above examples that the adverbials derived from the action verbs are reduplicated. They cannot occur in a non-reduplicative environment.

5.2.4.9 *-k₃ ‘potential/non-realization’*

The suffix has two variations as *-k₃ ~ ɡ₃*. *-k₃* comes after any morpheme that ends in unaspirated stop sounds (p, t, k) while *-ɡ₃* follows any morpheme that ends in
vowels and nasal sounds. The suffix can occur in three combinations which form a sequence of suffixes as -kani ~ gani which denotes non-realization, -kαnυ ~ gαnυ which gives the meaning of prohibitive and -kαdαβα ~ gαdαβα which means ‘is to do/has to do/have to do’. In the first two contexts -kα ~ gα can be dropped while in the last context it is present obligatorily. Examples are given below:

ca- ‘eat’ ca-kani > ca-gani > ca-ni ‘will eat’
ten- ‘be short’ ten-kani > ten-gani > ten-ni ‘will be short’
tat- ‘break’ tat-kani > tat-gani > tat-ni ‘will break’
cak- ‘burn’ cak-kani > cak-gani > cak-ni ‘will burn’
tap- ‘be slow’ tap-kani > tap-gani > tap-ni ‘will be slow’
t’om- ‘hit’ t’om-kani > t’om-gani > t’om-ni ‘will hit’
tu- ‘fall’ tu-kani > tu-gani > tu-ni ‘will fall’
sañ- ‘be long’ sañ-kani > sañ-gani > sañ-ni ‘will be long’

Syntactic illustrations:

412. t’hak- ‘drink’
    òi sañgom t’hak-kαni
    I milk drink-NREAL
    ‘I will drink milk’

413. ca- ‘eat’
    òi hai ca-gαnι
    I fruit eat-NREAL
    ‘I will eat fruit’

414. tat- ‘break’
    lαŋ αsi t’hυ-na tat-kαnι
    thread this quick-ADV break-NREAL
    ‘This thread will break easily’

415. kαu- ‘be short’
k'ongrau əsi nə-ŋon-da kəu-gəni
trouser this 2PP-DIR-DAT short-N.REAL
‘This trouser will be short to you’

Some examples of -kanu are given below:

cat- ‘go’ cat-kanu > cat-kanu > cat-nu ‘don’t do’
kæp- ‘cry’ kæp-kanu > kæp-kanu > kæp-nu ‘don’t cry’
nok- ‘laugh’ nok-kanu > nok-kanu > nok-nu ‘don’t laugh’
pa- ‘read’ pa-kanu > pa-ənə > pa-nu ‘don’t read’
hai- ‘swing’ hai-kanu > hai-ənə > hai-nu ‘don’t swing’

Syntactic illustrations:

416. kau- ‘kick’
køuta-du kau-gənu
can-DET kick-PROH
‘Don’t kick the can’

417. tøu- ‘do’
mi øta-da økaibø pi-gədəbo thəbo tøu-gənu
man other-LOC disturbance give-have to work do-PROH
‘Don’t do anything that will disturb others’

418. ca- ‘eat’
ha cékaŋ sok-kødəbo pot ca-gənu
health harm-have to thing eat-PROH
‘Don’t consume anything that is harmful to health’

419. kau- ‘forget’
mi-gi tøubimal kau-gənu
man-GEN gratitude forget-PROH
‘Don’t be ungrateful (don’t forget gratitude to those who helped you)’

420. noknə- ‘mock at’
mi nokna-gənə
man mock at-PROH
‘Don’t mock at others’

Some examples of -kadaba with some verbal roots are given below:

- **ta-** ‘listen’ > ta-kadaba > ta-gədaba ‘have to listen’
- **i-** ‘write’ > i-kadaba > i-gədaba ‘have to write’
- **lon-** ‘knit’ > lon-kadaba > lon-gədaba ‘have to knit’
- **hap-** ‘put’ > hap-kadaba > hap-gədaba ‘have to put’
- **kʰənna-** ‘discuss’ > kʰənna-kadaba > kʰənna-gədaba ‘have to discuss’

Syntactic illustrations:

421. **in-** ‘follow’

ai-kʰoi-na əpʰauba mi-siq-gəi kʰudun in-gədaba-ni
I-PL-NOM famous man-PL-GEN way follow-have to-COP
‘We must follow the way of famous personalities’

422. **niŋ-siŋ-** ‘remember’

na-kʰoi na-sa-gəi na-tʰau niŋsiŋ-gədaba-ni
you-PL 2PP-body-GEN 2PP-duty remember-have to-COP
‘You should remember your duties’

423. **hau-** ‘wake’

ai-kʰoi-na həkcaŋ pʰə-na-bə ajuk qən-na hau-gədaba-ni
I-PL-NOM health good-PUR-NMZ morning early-ADV wake-have to-COP
‘We should wake up early in the morning for our good health’

424. **tʰək-** ‘drink’

ai-kʰoi-na matəm pumba-da əpʰəba isiq tʰək-kadaba-ni
I-PL-NOM time all-LOC good water drink-have to-COP
‘We must drink clean and pure water all the time’
425. **cat-** ‘go’

nəŋ ʰəjəŋ ʰaɪtʰən ʰaːt-kədaba-ni

you tomorrow market go-have to-COP

‘You have to go to market tomorrow’

5.2.4.10 **-loi** ‘non-potential’

The suffixation of **-loi** to verbal roots denotes negative sense. It has six allomorphic variations as **-loi ~ roi ~ poi ~ moi ~ noi ~ oi** and their occurrence is same with the conditioning factor of **-la** ‘prospective’ (see 5.2.4.4). The suffix is often contrasted with **-ka** ‘non-realization’. The contrastive meaning may be observed from the following sentences:

426. **lon-** ‘prepare tea’

a. əi ca lon-gəni

I tea prepare-NREAL

‘I will make tea’

b. əi ca lol-loi-∅ (-lon-loi)

I tea prepare-NPOT-SAM

‘I will not make tea’

The contrast can also be seen in the question answer forms.

427.a  nəŋ ca lon-gədaba-ra (lon-gədaba-ra > lon-gədra)

you tea prepare-have to-INTR

‘Will you make/prepare tea?’

It is to be noted that **-ba** from **gədaba** is deleted by applying **-na/a** deletion rule as (**gəda-bra/gədaba-ra > gədra**). The same **-a** deletion rule deletes **-a** from **-da** and whereby resulting **lon-gəda-bə-ra > lon-gədabra/lon-gədara > lon-gədra**.
b. əi ca lol-loi-∅ (lon-loi)
I tea prepare-NREAL-SAM
‘I will not make tea’

Another possible construction where the contrast may be seen is given below.

cə- ‘eat’ ca-gədəbə-ni ‘have to/ ought to/ supposed to/ must eat’
ca-roi-dəbə-ni ‘have not to/ ought not to/ not supposed to/ must not eat’

It may be used in sentences as:

428. ca-
    ‘eat’

a. nəŋma-ə həi kʰəə ca-gədəbə-ni
daily-LOC fruit some some eat-have to-COP
    ‘We ought to eat a small amount of fruit everyday’

b. na-rəŋə-də-di həi kʰək ca-roi-dəbə-ni
sick-SPFD-LOC-PART fruit never eat-NPOT-have to-COP
    ‘You ought not to eat fruit when you are sick’

The suffix -lo stereotype gives different meanings which are conditioned by its neighbouring
suffixes i.e. the suffixes which precede it. When -kʰi precedes -lo, the combination of
the suffixes imply a temporal negative. Consider the following sentences.

429. tʰon-
    ‘cook’

əi cak tʰon-kʰi-roi-∅
I rice cook-DEF-NPOT-SAM
    ‘I will not yet cook’

430. ka-
    ‘attend’

əi opʰis ka-kʰi-roi-∅
I office attend-DEF-NPOT-SAM
    ‘I will not yet attend office (for some time or now)’
431. \texttt{iruj}- \textit{‘take bath’}
\begin{align*}
\text{ai iruj-} & \text{-k}^h\text{i-roi-} \Phi \\
i & \text{take bath-DEF-NPOT-SAM} \\
\text{‘I will not yet take bath (for some time or now).’}
\end{align*}

The verb \texttt{thorj} - ‘cook’ in sentence (429) with the suffixes \texttt{-k}^h\text{i-loi} implies a temporal meaning of negation. It gives the meaning that the action of ‘cooking’ is not to be performed right at the time of uttering the speech in the sense that it will be held in suspension for some time and the speaker means to perform the action after some time. The temporal meaning is inherent in the verb form itself. That is why the sentence needs no temporal adverb like \texttt{haujik} ‘right now’, \texttt{jaiahk} ‘for some time’ etc. in the surface form. Similarly, the verbs in sentences (430-431) imply the speaker’s intention to perform the action after some time (see 5.2.2.2.1).

Another construction is with \texttt{-lo} ‘prospective’ where the speaker’s intension is not to do something. It may be a simple negative statement or stoppage of a habit and sometimes, a sense of promise. Consider the following sentences:

432. \texttt{ca-} \textit{‘eat’}
\begin{align*}
\text{ai} & \text{ cak ca-rh-roi-} \Phi \\
i & \text{ rice eat-PROS-NPOT-SAM} \\
\text{‘I will not take meal (today)’}
\end{align*}

433. \texttt{pa-} \textit{‘read’}
\begin{align*}
\text{ai} & \text{ yasi-di lairik pa-rh-roi-} \Phi \\
i & \text{ today-PART book read-PROS-NPOT-SAM} \\
\text{‘I will not read book today’}
\end{align*}

434. \texttt{ca-} \textit{‘eat’}
\begin{align*}
\text{ai} & \text{ Ya ca-rh-roi-} \Phi \\
i & \text{ fish eat-PROS-NPOT-SAM} \\
\text{‘I will not eat fish (in future)’}
\end{align*}
Sentences (432 and 433) denote the speaker’s intention to eat and not to read for one day only while sentence (434) gives a sense of promise (for detail see Chapter-II).

The addition of -kʰa ‘definitive’ to -ra-roi intensifies the statement by giving a sense of promise. Consider the following sentences.

435. \textit{tʰək-} ‘drink’
   \[ \text{əi əmuk hən-na ju tʰək-kʰə-ra-roi-Φ (-kʰə-ra-roi)} \]
   ‘I once again-ADV wine drink-DEF-PROS-NPOT-SAM
   ‘I will never ever drink wine again’

436. \textit{jwar sanna-} ‘gamble’
   \[ \text{əi əmuk hən-na jwar sanna-kʰə-ra-roi-Φ (-kʰə-ra-roi)} \]
   ‘I once again-ADV gamble-DEF-PROS-NPOT-SAM
   ‘I will never ever gamble again’

437. \textit{ŋaŋ-} ‘speak’
   \[ \text{əi mə-ŋon-da muk hən-na wa ŋaŋ-kʰə-ra-roi-Φ} \]
   ‘I 3PP-DIR-LOC once again-ADV speech speak-DEF-PROS-NPOT-SAM
   ‘I will never ever speak to him again’ (see 5.2.2.2.1)

4.2.4.11 -pə ~ bə

It is a nominalizer suffix which changes the word class of the verb to a nominal form. The word resulting from the suffixation of -pə ~ bə is also known as verbal noun. -pə comes after unaspirated voiceless stops (p, t, k) while -bə follows morphemes that end in voiced sounds \textit{i.e.} vowels and nasal sounds. Some examples showing the variation are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cat-</td>
<td>pə</td>
<td>cat-pə</td>
<td>‘going/to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kat-</td>
<td>pə</td>
<td>kat-pə</td>
<td>‘offering/to offer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kək-</td>
<td>pə</td>
<td>kək-pə</td>
<td>‘cutting/to cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nəp-</td>
<td>pə</td>
<td>nəp-pə</td>
<td>‘sticking/to stick’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hop- 'be loose' > hop-pə 'loose'
nok- 'to laugh' > nok-pə 'laughing/to laugh'
cā- 'eat' > ca-bə 'eating/to eat'
pi- 'give' > pi-bə 'giving/to give'
pu- 'carry' > pu-bə 'carrying/to carry'
tam- 'learn' > tam-bə 'learning/to learn'
təŋ- 'taste' > təŋ-bə 'tasting/to taste'
ken- 'fall' > ken-bə 'falling/to fall'

Syntactic illustrations:

438. cat- 'go'

əŋaŋ-sə! na-kʰoi cət-pə ja-re-Φ
child-PL you-PL go-NMZ agree-PERF-SAM
‘Children! You may go’

439. su- 'wash'

əi pʰi su-bə həu-də-ri-Φ
I cloth wash-NMZ start-NEG-PROG-SAM
‘I have not yet started washing clothes’

The verbal noun or derived noun can be followed by copula -ni as seen in the following sentences.

440. ca- 'eat'

ma-di sa ca-bə-ni
he-PART meat eat-NMZ-COP
‘He is a non-vegetarian’

441. sək- 'sing'

isai-du ma-nə sək-pə-ni
song-DET he-NOM sing-NMZ-COP
‘The song is sung by him’
Adjectives are formed by adding attributing a- to the derived noun, e.g. cat- ‘go’ > acat-pa ‘one who goes’. Verbal nouns which are derived from disyllabic verbal roots like harau- ‘be happy’, ciqna- ‘hesitate, suspect, doubt’, pakhɔt- ‘become nervous’ etc. do not take the prefix a-. The derived nouns as harau-ba, ciqna-ba, pakhɔt-pa can also become adjectives (see Chapter-II). Derived forms like ca-ri-ba ‘one who is eating’, ca-ram-ba ‘one who was eating’, ca-ra-ba ‘one who has eaten’, ca-ru-ba ‘one who went somewhere to eat’, ca-ra-ba ‘one who came here to eat’, etc. are adjectives which are normally found in a relative clause construction. They can also occur with copula -ni.

The derived word which have -pa ~ ba are generally followed by interrogative marker -la ~ ra and -ke ~ ge, -no. Syntactic illustrations are given below:

442. hai- ‘know, experienced, skilled’
   nәŋ cak tʰɔŋ-ba hai-ba-ra
   you rice cook-NMZ know-NMZ-INTR
   ‘Do you know how to cook?’

443. pa- ‘read’
   nәŋ lairik əsi pa-ra-ba-ra
   you book this read-PERF-NMZ-INTR
   ‘Have you read this book?’

444. pʰɔŋ- ‘find’
   sɔŋai hai-ba sa əsi mɔŋʰem kɛdai-da pʰɔŋ-ba-ge
   bow-antlered deer say-NMZ animal this place where-LOC find-NMZ-INTR
   ‘Where do you find the bow-antlered deer (Cervus eldi eldi)?

445. sat- ‘bloom’
   siroi lili kari tʰa-da sat-pa-ge
   Siroy Lili which month-LOC bloom-NMZ-INTR
   ‘In which month does Siroy Lily bloom?’
446. **cat-** ‘go’
   
   
   नेन कढाई-डा  कैट-ली-बा-नो  
   
   you where-LOC go-PROG-NMZ-Q  
   ‘Where are you going?’

447. **sai-** ‘chew’
   
   
   नेन करी  sai-री-बा-नो  
   
   you what chew-PROG-NMZ-Q  
   ‘What are you chewing?’

Sentences (442-447) in the above examples show that they are interrogative sentences which are formed by adding interrogative markers (-la, -ke, and -no) to a nominal form. It may be observed that the nominalizer -pa ~ ba takes an important role in the formation of interrogative sentences.

4.2.4.12 **-ca**

448. **su-** ‘wash’
   
   
   होस्टल-डा  लई-बा  satra-सिं-डी  मा-सा-गी  मा-पै-ि  
   
   hostel-LOC stay-NMZ student-PL-PART 3PP-body-GEN 3PP-cloth  
   
   मा-सा-ना  su-जा-ि  
   
   3PP-body-NOM wash-REF-SAM  
   ‘Those students who stay in hostel wash their clothes by themselves’

449. **tḥonḥ-** ‘cook’
   
   
   cak-ती  ने्-ना  tḥonḥ-जा-बा-रा  
   
   rice-PART you-NOM cook-REF-NMZ-INTR  
   ‘Do you prepare your own meal?’
The verbs su-, tʰon-, tʰi- and sak-tak- in sentences (448-450) are action verbs and the suffixation of -ca ~ ja to them give the meaning of performing an action by the self while the verbs pam- ‘like’ and pen- ‘satisfy’ in sentences (452 and 453) are stative verbs and the addition of -ca ~ ja to them imply that the referent experiences the effect.

It may be noted that the suffix -ca ~ ja is also used as a request marker. The following sentences will show the difference in meaning between reflexive and request form.
454. **jen-**  ‘look’

lairik aši ai amuk-tə jen-ja-ge
book this I once-only look-REF-INT
‘Please allow me to have a look at the book’

455. **lak-**  ‘come’

ai hajen ajuk lak-ca-ra-ge
I tomorrow morning come-REF-PROS-INT
‘Let me visit you tomorrow morning’

Sentences (454) and (455) have verbs indicating request to an elder person in the form of seeking permission to do something.

5.2.4.13  **-pi**

It is an honorific marker which is homophonous with benefactive -pi (see 5.2.1.2.4). The suffix has another variant form -bi and the conditioning factor of occurrence is same with benefactive -pi. The suffix is commonly associated with honorific verb forms given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Common</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leŋ-</td>
<td>cat-</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lan-</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>ca-</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰan-</td>
<td>tʰak-</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caiʔθə-</td>
<td>iruʔə-</td>
<td>‘take bath’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cep-</td>
<td>hip-</td>
<td>‘lie down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mitjeŋ tə-</td>
<td>jen-</td>
<td>‘look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leŋkʰət-</td>
<td>həugət-</td>
<td>‘wake up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic illustrations:

456. **leŋ-sin-**  ‘take a seat’
Please take the seat

'Please take the seat'

457. **p^b^a^n-**  'drink'

   ca-si    p^b^a^n-bi-ju

   tea-DET drink-POL-COM

'Please have the tea'

The polite form with honorific lexical items is not a common practice in day-to-day use. They are replaced by common lexical items while the polite marker -pi is still retained. Consider the following examples.

458. **p^b^o^m-**  'sit'

   p^b^i-da-si-də    p^b^o^m-bi-ju

   seat-DET-LOC sit-POL-COM

'Please take the seat'

459. **cəŋ-**  'enter'

   imuŋ-lom-də    cəŋ-bi-ju

   inside the house-direction-LOC enter-POL-COM

'Please enter inside the house'

5.2.4.14  -la

It is the perfective suffix which is homophonous with -la 'prospective' (5.2.4.4). It has the same variations with the same conditionaing factors. The suffix -la when followed by -ga becomes a sequence of suffixes and it has multiple functions (5.2.2.2.5). With the perfective meaning it implies that the action is finished or completed as ca-ra-gə 'after finished eating', tʰək-la-gə 'after finished drinking' etc. The suffix -la may be nominalized as ca-ra-ba 'one who has eaten', jen-la-ba 'something that has been seen', lai-ra-ba 'something that has been bought' etc. These forms may be followed by a compula -ni. Consider the following sentences.
The verb *ca-* in sentence (460) is an action verb and the suffixation of -la indicates that the action of eating has been finished while *tat-* in sentence (461) is a process verb. But the sentence implies that the process of ‘being torn’ is completed and it simply shows a state or condition of the cloth. Thus, in the present context, the sentence is a stative sentence. The verb *iŋ-* in sentence (462) and *kaŋ-* in sentence (463) imply that a change has taken place in the sense that the water was hot earlier but it has become cold and the cloth was wet earlier and it has become dry. Both sentences mean process of some change. Hence, they are to be treated as process verbs.

5.2.4.15 *-na*

This suffix indicates purpose or intention of doing or achieving something. It may be attached to both monosyllabic and disyllabic or polysyllabic verbal roots.
The suffixation of -na to monosyllabic verbal roots may be followed by nominalizer -pa ~ ba and verbal inflectional markers. When -na is attached to a monosyllabic verbal root, there is a difference in the pronunciation of the verbal root, i.e., the vowel of the verbal root is lengthened (which occurs in this case only). This does not happen when the verbal root or the preceding morpheme is disyllabic or polysyllabic and when the suffix is followed by derivative markers or inflectional suffixes except by nominalizer -pa ~ ba, e.g. in *thọŋ-na-re-Ø ‘(of a pot) used as a cooking pot’. When -na is repeated (which will come just after monosyllabic verbal root followed by single -na) the vowel lengthening does not occur as well. Examples of verbs that have nominalizer and again followed by nominal free forms are given below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thak-na-ba } & \text{ isiq } \quad \text{‘water (meant) for drinking’} \\
i-na-ba & \text{ ce } \quad \text{‘paper (meant) for writing’} \\
pa-na & \text{ lairik } \quad \text{‘book (meant) for reading’} \\
p^hot-na-ba & \text{ ləŋ } \quad \text{‘thread (meant) for stitching’} \\
pun-na-ba & \text{ thuri } \quad \text{‘rope (meant) for binding’} \\
jom-na-ba & \text{ pʰi } \quad \text{‘cloth (meant) for wrapping’ etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

Syntactic illustrations:

464. \text{thak-} ‘drink’

\[
\text{thak-na-ba } \text{ isiq } \text{kʰəɾə pu-rək-u}
\]

\text{drink-PUR-NMZ water some bring-DEIC-COM}

‘Bring some water for drinking’

465. \text{pʰot-} ‘stitch’

\[
\text{pʰi-si } \text{ pʰot-na-ba } \text{ləŋ } \text{kʰəɾə pi-rək-u}
\]

\text{cloth-DET stitch-PUR-NMZ thread some give-DEIC-COM}

‘Give me a piece of thread to stitch this cloth’
It may be mentioned that the nominalizer -\textipa{pa} ~ \textipa{ba} can be followed by copula -\textipa{ni} normally. Consider the following sentences.

466. \textipa{t\textordmasculine}i- ‘apply’
    t\textordmasculine\textipa{au}-\textipa{si} kok-\textipa{t\textordmasculine}o \textipa{t\textordmasculine}-\textipa{n\textordmasculine}a-\textipa{ba}-\textipa{ni}
    oil-DET head-LOC apply-PUR-NMZ-COP
    ‘This oil is meant for applying on hair \textit{i.e.} this is hair oil’

467. \textipa{p\textordmasculine}en- ‘scour’
    sapon-\textipa{si} kon \textipa{p\textordmasculine}en-\textipa{n\textordmasculine}a-\textipa{ba}-\textipa{ni}
    cleansing bar-DET utensil scour-PUR-NMZ-COP
    ‘This bar (detergent) is meant for scouring utensils’

Another possible occurrence of -\textipa{na} is with verbal inflectional suffixes, \textit{i.e.} with aspect marker -i. Consider the following sentences.

468. \textipa{su}- ‘wash’
    k\textipa{b\textordmasculine}ude\textipa{ng}-\textipa{d\textordmasculine}o \textipa{p\textordmasculine}i su-\textipa{n\textordmasculine}a-i
    tub-LOC cloth wash-PUR-SAM
    ‘Clothes are washed in washing tubs’

469. \textipa{tau}- ‘fry’
    k\textipa{b\textordmasculine}an-\textipa{d\textordmasculine}a \textipa{n\textordmasculine}a tau-\textipa{n\textordmasculine}a-i
    frying pan-LOC fish fry-PUR-SAM
    ‘Fish are fried in frying pans’

The suffix -\textipa{na} may be used in repeated forms with nominalized constructions only. The derived form may be followed by either a nominal or a verb. With nominals, it gives a sense of emphasis or the meaning is enhanced while with verbs, it implies that an extra effort is given in order to meet the purpose or intention of doing or achieving something. Consider the following examples.
tam-na-na-ba lairik  ‘books meant for learning only (textbook)’
thoq-na-na-ba ceŋ  ‘rice meant for cooking meal only’
i-na-na-ba ce  ‘paper meant for writing only.
hon-na-na-ba gari  ‘vehicles meant for carrying load’
soi-na-na-ba tʰaŋ  ‘knife meant for cutting vegetables’
ton-na-na-ba kʰon-up  ‘shoe meant for wearing’
sup-na-na-ba phaijup  ‘blanket meant for covering’
ahp-na-na-ba kʰau  ‘bag meant for putting things’ etc.

Syntactic illustrations:

470.  tam-  ‘learn’
      klas siks-tə tam-na-na-ba lairik pʰon-ŋ-le-Ø
      class six-LOC learn-PUR-PUR-NMZ book publish-PERF-SAM
      ‘Text books for class-VI have been published/ released’

471.  hap-  ‘put’
      lairik-siŋ-si hap-na-na-bə kʰau ama lai-rək-u
      book-PL-DET put-PUR-PUR-NMZ bag one buy-DEIC-COM
      ‘Buy a bag to put these books’

The repetition of na in the above sentences gives a sense of emphasis on the verb to which they are added. The phrase tam-na-na-ba lairik means books for learning in schools, i.e. textbooks only. Similarly, the phrase hap-na-na-ba kʰau also means a bag for putting the books only and not for other purposes. Some examples of the derived forms followed by a verb are given below.

naŋ-na-na-bə cat-li  ‘goes quickly in order to reach in time’
pʰaŋ-na-na-bə tan-naŋ  ‘chase hard in order to catch’
kʰaŋ-na-na-bə jen-ŋi  ‘look carefully in order to know’
pʰa-na-na-bə pa-i  ‘read hard in order to learn by heart’
cat-na-na-bo tən-ri ‘tries to get ready to go/set off’
ja-na-na-bo ɲan-ɲə-na-ri ‘persuing hard in order to agree/get permission’ etc.

Syntactic illustrations:

472. phaŋ-
    ‘catch’
    pulis-na huranba-du pʰaŋ-na-na-bo tan-na-i
    police-NOM thief-DET catch-PUR-PUR-NMZ chase-REC-SAM
    ‘Police chased the thief in order to arrested him’

473. naŋ-
    ‘be in time’
    mahak klas naŋ-na-na-bo cel-li
    he class in time-PUR-PUR-NMZ run-SAM
    ‘He runs in order to reach school in time’

The repetition of -na to the verbs in the sentences (472-473) gives the implication that an extra effort has been used in order to achieve something. In sentence (472), the policemen give an extra effort while chasing the thief. In sentence (473), the referent gives an extra effort while running all the way to school.

The suffix -na can also be attached to disyllabic or polysyllabic roots. It can also follow a derived verbal root which contains a monosyllabic verbal root and one or two verbal derivative suffix and so on. Consider the following examples.

Disyllabic or polysyllabic verbal roots with -na.

sannə-na-bo bol ‘ball (meant) for playing’
kʰətnə-na-bo mərəm ‘cause for quarrelling’
kʰənənə-na-bo wəpʰəm ‘topic (meant) for discussion’
nəŋsiŋ-na-bo pʰəto ‘photograph for memory’
tuŋsin-na-bo sel/pəisa ‘money for saving’
potthə-na-bo məpʰəm ‘place for taking rest’
sijth-a-na-ba thabak  ‘work worth to be appreciated’
iruŋ-a-na-ba isŋ  ‘water for bathing’ etc.

Syntactic illustrations:

474. **sanna-** ‘play’
\[\etaŋ-da sanna-na-ba bol-du pi-ju\]
child-DAT play-PUR-NMZ ball-DET give-COM
‘Give the ball to the child for playing’

475. **tuŋsin-** ‘save’
\[ai-gi tuŋsin-na-ba sel lai-te\-Φ\]
I-GEN save-PUR-NMZ money have-NEG-SAM
‘I have no money for saving’

Examples of monosyllabic verbal roots followed by a verbal derivative before adding -na which is again followed by a verb are given below.

476. **hai-** ‘be experienced, skilled’
\[\etaŋ-du lairik hai-nŋ-na-ba tak-u\]
child-DET book experience-wish-PUR-NMZ teach-COM
‘Motivate the child to learn more’

477. **hai-** ‘say’
\[məhak-na aiŋon-da wa-du hai-dok-na-ba tak-i\]
he-NOM I-DIR-LOC matter-DET say-OUT-PUR-NMZ insist -SAM
‘He insisted me to disclose the matter to him’

From the above examples, it may be observed that -na occurs after disyllabic or polysyllabic patterns also.
5.2.4.16 -\text{lam}dai

The addition of this suffix to a verbal root gives the meaning of ‘about to start’ doing or becoming something. As the meaning indicates it can go with dynamic verbs only, \textit{i.e.} with action verbs and process verbs. The suffix has six allomorphic variations as \text{lam}dai ~ \text{ram}dai ~ \text{pam}dai ~ \text{mam}dai ~ \text{npam}dai ~ \text{am}dai and the conditioning factor of these variations is same to \text{-lam}. Consider the sentences.

478. \text{cat}- ‘go’

\begin{verbatim}
\text{aŋaŋ} iskul cat-lamdai-da ai ph \text{su-ri-Φ}
\end{verbatim}

child school go-about to-LOC I cloth wash-PROG-SAM

‘I was washing clothes while my child was ready to go to school’

479. \text{mun}- ‘be ripe’

\begin{verbatim}
kəpʰoi-du mul-lamdai-da hek-tət-kənu
\end{verbatim}

pomegranate-DET ripe-about to-LOC pluck-DEST-PROH

‘Do not pluck the pomegranate when it is about to ripe’

480. \text{sau}- ‘boil’

\begin{verbatim}
isiŋ sau-ramdai-da ei kəu-rək-u
\end{verbatim}

water boil-about to-LOC I call-DEIC-COM

‘Call me when the water is about to boil’

481. \text{jau}- ‘reach’

\begin{verbatim}
niŋtʰem-tʰa jau-ramdai-da ei-kʰoi dili cat-kəni
\end{verbatim}

winter-month reach-about to-LOC I-PL Delhi go-NREAL

‘We will go to Delhi when winter is about to come’

482. \text{noŋ cu}- ‘rain’

\begin{verbatim}
noŋ cu-ramdai-da ei-kʰoi jum jau-həu-i
\end{verbatim}

rain about to-LOC I-PL house reach-INCP-SAM

‘It was lucky for us that we reached home before it started raining’
The verb *cat-* to which the suffix is added in sentence (478) is an action verb while the verb *mun-* in sentence (479) is a stative verb by virtue of its semantic structure. The reason why it can go with this suffix is that it implies a natural process of becoming ripe from unripe which is already present in our conscience. The verbs *sau-*-, *jau-* and *nog cu-* in sentences (481-482) are process verbs.

5.2.4.17  *-kum*

The suffix can occur with two different grammatical forms, viz (1) with verbal nouns (nominalized verbs formed by adding *-pa ~ ba* to verbal roots) (2) with a verb where kum is always followed by *-si* ‘suggestive’.

*-kum* with nominalized verbs: it can occur with all verb types *i.e.*, stative, process and action. When the suffix is attached to a verb it gives the meaning of uncertainty of an action. In normal speech this *-pa ~ ba* is often deleted and it seems to be attached to a verbal root directly. The suffix is always associated with a verb *tau-* . The suffix has two variations as *-kum ~ gum*. The *-kum* comes after voiceless sounds while *-gum* follows any voiced sounds. Consider the following sentences.

483.  *man-* ‘look like or resemble’

\[ \text{nupi-maca-si ma-ma man-ba-gum tau-i} \]

woman-small-DET 3PP-mother resemble-NMZ-uncertain do-SAM

‘The girl seems to resemble her mother’

484.  *sam-* ‘be short’

\[ \text{lambi si-na sam-ba-gum tau-i} \]

street this-CMP short-NMZ-uncertain do-sam

‘This street seems to be a short cut’

485.  *cat-* ‘go’

\[ \text{mohak nara\text{i} dili cat-k\text{\text{"i}}-ba-gum tau-i} \]

he yesterday Delhi go-DEF-NMZ-uncertain do-SAM

‘It seems to me that he left for Delhi’
486. jeŋ-  ‘watch’

memə-du  nahan  sinema jeŋ-hau-bə-gum  təu-i

Mema-DET day before yesterday movie watch-INCP-NMZ-uncertain do-SAM

‘It seems to me that Mema was watching a movie day before yesterday’

487. nog cu-  ‘rain’

ŋəranŋ  ɕiŋŋ  nog cu-bə-gum  təu-i

yesterday night rain-NMZ-uncertain do-SAM

‘It seemed that it rained at last night (but, it is not sure)’

The verb forms man-bə-gum ‘seems to resemble’, sam-bə-gum ‘seems to be short’ in sentences (483 and 484) are stative verbs. They express uncertainty of a state or condition. cat-kʰi-bə-gum ‘seems to have left’ in sentence (485) denotes uncertainty of the action. It may also mean that it is not certain when and where he went. In sentence (486) the speaker is not certain about the referent’s action whether he was watching movie or doing something else. The verb nog cu-bə-gum in sentence (487) implies that the speaker is not sure about the action. He might have assumed that it rained after hearing sounds of raining.

When the nominalizer -pə ~ ba is deleted or dropped the suffix -kum ~ gum is repeated where a dummy verb lak- takes the place of the second element of the repeated form to which kum is attached. Some examples of the reduplicated form of -kum ~ gum are shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thək- ‘drink’</td>
<td>thək-kum lak-kum</td>
<td>‘seems to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cen- ‘run’</td>
<td>cen-gum lak-kum</td>
<td>‘seems to run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nok- ‘laugh’</td>
<td>nok-kum lak-kum</td>
<td>‘seems to laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sau- ‘be angry’</td>
<td>sau-gum lak-kum</td>
<td>‘seem to be angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui- ‘be drowsy’</td>
<td>ui-gum lak-kum</td>
<td>‘seems to be drowsy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lon- ‘lock’</td>
<td>lon-gum lak-kum</td>
<td>‘seems to be locked’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc.
The dummy verb lak- in the above construction may be replaced by another dummy word kāri. Consider the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>harau-</td>
<td>‘be happy’</td>
<td>harau-gum kāri-gum</td>
<td>‘seems to be happy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tum-niţ-</td>
<td>‘feel sleepy’</td>
<td>tum-niţ-gum kāri-gum</td>
<td>‘seems to be sleepy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purak-</td>
<td>‘bring’</td>
<td>purak-kum kāri-gum</td>
<td>‘seems to bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hai-</td>
<td>‘swing’</td>
<td>hai-gum kāri-gum</td>
<td>‘seems to swing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit-</td>
<td>‘sweep’</td>
<td>sit-kum kāri-gum</td>
<td>‘seems to sweep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu-khi-</td>
<td>‘taken away’</td>
<td>puhi-gum kāri-gum</td>
<td>‘seems to have taken Away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hap-pa~m-</td>
<td>‘put inside’</td>
<td>hap-pa~m-gum kāri-gum</td>
<td>‘seems to have put inside’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the reduplicated verb forms are also followed by tau- as found in non-reduplicated form and they convey the same meaning.

-kum with verbal roots have a restriction in the selection of suffixes with which it can occur. It is always followed by the suggestive suffix -si and the combination of the suffixes denote negative proposal of a verb. Since proposal to do or not to do something is always associated with action oriented verbs (i.e. with controllable verbs), it cannot occur with uncontrollable verbs (see 2.1.6).

5.3 **Deletion or Contraction**

David (2003: 106) defined contraction as a term used in linguistics to refer to the process or result of phonologically reducing a linguistic form so that it comes to be attached to an adjacent linguistic forms or fusing a sequence of forms so that they appear as a single form. It is a phonological process whereby a syllable or part of a syllable is dropped or deleted. The deletion of the latter type (dropping of a part of a syllable) may result in the contraction of the adjacent consonants (when followed by /r/ sound). It may also bring about a sound change e.g. voicing of unaspirated stops.
5.3.1 Deletion or Dropping of a Syllable

Manipuri, being an agglutinating type of language, a verbal root may take a string of suffixes and for the language, it is quite normal to drop some of the suffixes from the string without disturbing the semantic structure of the derivational process. Nominalizer suffix -\( \text{pa} \sim \text{ba} \) and -\( \text{ka} \) of non-realizational marker -\( \text{kani} \) can be dropped.

5.3.1.1 Deletion of -\( \text{pa} \sim \text{ba} \)

The nominalizer -\( \text{pa} \sim \text{ba} \) may be dropped in certain environments. It may be dropped in the following circumstances where it occurs between -\( \text{da} \) and -\( \text{ra} \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cat-ka-da-ba-ra} & \rightarrow \text{cat-ka-da-ra} \quad \text{‘Will you go?’} \\
\text{jau-ga-da-ba-ra} & \rightarrow \text{jau-ga-da-ra} \quad \text{‘Will you join?’} \\
\text{pa-ga-da-ba-ra} & \rightarrow \text{pa-dga-da-ra} \quad \text{‘Will you read?’} \\
\text{nap-ka-da-ba-ra} & \rightarrow \text{nap-ka-da-ra} \quad \text{‘Will you stick?’} \\
\text{sem-ga-da-ba-ra} & \rightarrow \text{sem-ga-da-ra} \quad \text{‘Will you repair?’} \\
\text{k\textsuperscript{h}ok-ka-da-ba-ra} & \rightarrow \text{k\textsuperscript{h}ok-ka-da-ra} \quad \text{‘Will you peel out?’} \\
\text{ca-roi-da-ba-ra} & \rightarrow \text{ca-roi-da-ra} \quad \text{‘Will you not eat?’} \\
\text{tum-moi-da-ba-ra} & \rightarrow \text{tum-moi-da-ra} \quad \text{‘Will you not sleep?’} \\
\text{p\textsuperscript{h}ot-loi-da-ba-ra} & \rightarrow \text{p\textsuperscript{h}ot-loi-da-ra} \quad \text{‘Will you not stitch?’} \\
\text{tak-loi-da-ba-ra} & \rightarrow \text{tak-loi-da-ra} \quad \text{‘Will you not teach?’} \\
\text{ka-roi-da-ba-ra} & \rightarrow \text{ka-roi-da-ra} \quad \text{‘Will you not climb?’}, \text{ etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

It may be deleted when it is followed by -\( \text{kum} \sim \text{gum} \) which gives the meaning of uncertainty. Examples are illustrated below.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cat-pa-gum t\textau-i} & \rightarrow \text{cat-kum t\textau-i} \quad \text{‘seems to go’} \\
\text{han-ba-gum t\textau-i} & \rightarrow \text{han-gum t\textau-i} \quad \text{‘seems to be older’} \\
\text{ta-k\textsuperscript{h}i-ba-gum t\textau-i} & \rightarrow \text{ta-k\textsuperscript{h}i-gum t\textau-i} \quad \text{‘seems to have heard’} \\
\text{k\textsuperscript{h}e\textsuperscript{h}i-ba-gum t\textau-i} & \rightarrow \text{k\textsuperscript{h}e\textsuperscript{h}i-gum t\textau-i} \quad \text{‘seems to know’} \\
\text{cau-ba-gum t\textau-i} & \rightarrow \text{cau-gum t\textau-i} \quad \text{‘seems to be big’} \\
\text{m\textsuperscript{h}e\textsuperscript{h}i-ba-gum t\textau-i} & \rightarrow \text{m\textsuperscript{h}e\textsuperscript{h}i-gum t\textau-i} \quad \text{‘seems to be old’}
\end{align*}
\]
kap-pa-gum tau-i > kap-kum tau-i

‘seems to cry’ etc.

The suffix -pa ~ ba may also be deleted when the word man-li > mal-le ‘uncertainty’ follows it. Consider the following examples.

cara mal-le > ca-ra-ba mal-le
\[\text{‘seems to have eaten’}\]

i-ra mal-le > i-ra-ba mal-le
\[\text{‘seems to have written’}\]

t'ok mal-le > t'ok-pa mal-le
\[\text{‘seems to drink (liquor)’}\]

tau mal-le > tau-ba mal-le
\[\text{‘seems to do’}\]

loi-khara ba mal-le > loi-khara-ba mal-le
\[\text{‘seems to have finished’}\]

c-a niq ba mal-le > ca-niŋ-ba mal-le
\[\text{‘seems that he wishes to eat’}\]

\(\text{ŋaŋ-gən-ba mal-le} \) > \(\text{ŋaŋ-gən-ba mal-le}\)
\[\text{‘seems to be talkative’ etc.}\]

There are also two other environments where -pa ~ ba is deleted. This is interpreted in a wrong way by Shobhana (1997, see p. 156). They are -jat and -pot which she considered to be nominalizers. But the fact is that both the words are preceded by nominalizer -pa ~ ba but deleted in the surface structure. Consider the following examples.

c-a-bə jat-ni > c-a jat-ni
\[\text{ca-bə jat-ni}\]

jeŋ-bə jat-ni > jeŋ-jat-ni
\[\text{jəŋ-bə jat-ni}\]

lak-pə jat-ni > lak-cat-ni
\[\text{lak-pə jat-ni}\]

hau-bə jat-ni > hau-jat-ni
\[\text{hau-bə jat-ni}\]

lon-bə jat-ni > lon-jat-ni
\[\text{lon-bə jat-ni}\]

Examples with the word -pot are also given below:

ŋəm-bə pot natte > ŋəm pot natte
\[\text{ŋəm-bə pot natte}\]

ja-bə pot-ni > ja-pot-ni
\[\text{ja-bə pot-ni}\]

hau-bə pot-ni > hau-jə-pot-ni
\[\text{hau-bə pot-ni}\]

pa-niŋ-bə pot-ni > pa-niŋ-pot-ni
\[\text{pa-niŋ-bə pot-ni}\]
5.3.1.2 Deletion of -kə ~ gə

The suffix -kə of non-realization marker -kani ~ gani and prohibitive marker -kanu ~ ganu may be dropped without any disturbance in the meaning. Consider the following examples.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lak-κə-ni} & \quad > \quad \text{lak-ni} \quad '\text{will come}' \\
\text{lai-gəni} & \quad > \quad \text{lai-ni} \quad '\text{will buy}' \\
\text{təu-gəni} & \quad > \quad \text{təu-ni} \quad '\text{will do}' \\
\text{sanna-gəni} & \quad > \quad \text{sanna-ni} \quad '\text{will play}' \\
\text{iroi-gəni} & \quad > \quad \text{iroi-ni} \quad '\text{will swim}' \\
\text{pʰu-kəni} & \quad > \quad \text{pʰut-ni} \quad '\text{will boil}' \text{ etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

Shobhana (1997: 232) did not mention about the deletion rule and she considered -ni (when -kə ~ gə is dropped from -kani ~ gani) as copula and explained that the copula -ni alone indicates that the action will certainly take place.

The suffix -kə ~ gə may also be dropped from the prohibitive marker -kanu ~ ganu (see Chapter-II). Examples are illustrated below.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cat-lə-gənu} & \quad > \quad \text{cat-lə-nu} \quad '\text{don’t go (as the plan is dropped)}' \\
\text{ca-gənu} & \quad > \quad \text{ca-nu} \quad '\text{don’t eat}' \\
\text{ca-ru-gənu} & \quad > \quad \text{ca-ru-nu} \quad '\text{don’t go and eat there}' \\
\text{kəu-gənu} & \quad > \quad \text{kəu-nu} \quad '\text{don’t call}' \\
\text{ŋəŋ-gənu} & \quad > \quad \text{ŋəŋ-nu} \quad '\text{don’t speak}' \\
\text{pʰu-gənu} & \quad > \quad \text{pʰu-nu} \quad '\text{don’t beat}' \\
\text{pʰu-bi-gənu} & \quad > \quad \text{pʰu-bi-nu} \quad '\text{don’t beat (unnecessarily)}' \\
\text{cat-minna-gənu} & \quad > \quad \text{cat-minna-nu} \quad '\text{don’t go together}' \\
\text{pən-ja-gənu} & \quad > \quad \text{pən-jənu} \quad '\text{don’t mention}' \\
\text{pʰu-na-gənu} & \quad > \quad \text{pʰu-na-nu} \quad '\text{don’t beat each other}' \\
\text{təu-kʰi-gənu} & \quad > \quad \text{təu-kʰi-nu} \quad '\text{don’t do it now}’ \text{ etc.}
\end{align*}
\]
The suffix -kanu ~ ganu is obligatory when certain suffixes precede it. Some of them are -sin ‘inward directional’, -t\textsuperscript{b}ok ‘outward directional’, -k\textsuperscript{h}at ‘upward directional’, -han ‘causative’, -ni\textsuperscript{j} ‘wish’ etc. A hypothesis can be formulated from the above examples that -ka ~ ga can be dropped when it is preceded by verbal suffixes which end in vowels (as seen in the examples above) while -nu can be attached directly after any verbal root. -ka ~ ga cannot be dropped in -kadaba ~ gadaba ‘ought to’.

There is also another instance where -ka ~ ga can be dropped. The grammaticalized suffix -tau-ri or -tau-re ‘is going to do something’ is always preceded by -ka ~ ga which may, sometimes be deleted. Still the meaning is not disturbed (see 5.2.1.2.8). Examples are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cat-ka-dau-ri  &gt;  cat-tau-ri</td>
<td>is going to visit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pant\textsuperscript{b}ok-ka-dau-ri &gt; pant\textsuperscript{b}ok-tau-ri</td>
<td>is going to perform</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k\textsuperscript{h}anna-\textsuperscript{o}-dau-ri &gt; k\textsuperscript{h}anna-dau-ri</td>
<td>is going to discuss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p\textsuperscript{h}an-ga-dau-ri &gt; p\textsuperscript{h}an-dau-ri</td>
<td>is going to receive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si\textsuperscript{j}inna-go-dau-ri &gt; si\textsuperscript{j}inna-dau-ri</td>
<td>is going to use</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hau-ga-dau-ri &gt; hau-dau-re</td>
<td>is going to start shortly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loi-ga-dau-re &gt; loi-dau-re</td>
<td>is going to finish shortly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mun-a-dau-re &gt; mun-dau-re</td>
<td>is going to be ripe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-ga-dau-re &gt; i-dau-re</td>
<td>is going to write shortly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t\textsuperscript{h}om-ga-dau-re &gt; t\textsuperscript{h}om-dau-re</td>
<td>is going to hit etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.2 Deletion of a part of a syllable

A coda (usually consonants) of a syllable or a peak (usually vowels) of a syllable having no coda may be dropped. The first type of deletion is the deletion of /a/ which generally occurs with verbal suffixes like -p\textsuperscript{a} ~ b\textsuperscript{a}, -d\textsuperscript{a}, -k\textsuperscript{h}\textsuperscript{a} and -t\textsuperscript{a} ~ d\textsuperscript{a} while the latter type occurs in verbal root itself.
5.3.2.1 Deletion of /a/

The deletion may occur in suffixes as -pa ~ ba, -da, -kha, -ta ~ da when they are followed by -ra ‘interrogative suffix’.

5.3.2.1.1 Deletion of /a/ in -pa ~ ba

The vowel of -pa ~ ba may be deleted when it is followed by interrogative marker -ra. Consider the following examples.

ca-ba-ra  >  ca-bra  ‘Do you eat?’
cat-pa-ra  >  cat-pra  ‘Do you go?’
tok-ninj-ba-ra  >  tok-ninj-bra  ‘Do you want to quit?’
jau-han-ba-ra  >  jau-han-bra  ‘Do you let him join?’
loi-k$^h_{a}$-ra-ba-ra  >  loi-k$^h_{a}$ra-bra  ‘Has it been finished?’
ca-ri-ba-ra  >  ca-ri-bra  ‘Are you eating?’
ca-ra-ba-ra  >  ca-ra-bra  ‘Have you eaten?’
lan-t$^h$ok-pa-ra  >  lan-t$^h$ok-pra  ‘Do you throw it out?’
su-minna-ba-ra  >  su-minna-bra  ‘Do you work together?’
k$^h$atna-ba-ra  >  k$^h$atna-bra  ‘Do you quarrel?’
sanna-ru-ba-ra  >  sanna-ru-bra  ‘Did you go and play there?’
pu-rak-pa-ra  >  pu-rak-pra  ‘Did you bring it?’ etc.

5.3.2.1.2 Deletion of /a/ in -da

When the sequence of suffixes -k$\phi$aba ~ g$\phi$aba ‘ought to do something’ undergoes a deletion and -k$\phi$a ~ g$\phi$a is remained. When the interrogative marker -ra follows this sequence of suffixes -k$\phi$a ~ g$\phi$a, the /a/ of -da is generally omitted and /d/ and /ra/ is contracted in the following way.

cat-k$\phi$a-ra  >  cat-k$\phi$dra  ‘will you go?’
ca-g$\phi$do-ra  >  ca-g$\phi$dra  ‘will you eat?’
lak-k$\phi$a-ra  >  lak-k$\phi$dra  ‘will you come?’
hai-gəda-ra > hai-gədra ‘will you say?’
pu-gə-da-ra > pu-gədra ‘will you carry?’
tət-kəda-ra > tət-kədra ‘will it break?’
ləu-gəda-ra > ləu-gədra ‘will you take?’

ə of -də in -loidə-bə ‘not ought to’ which is a counterpart of -kadəba ~ gədəba may also be deleted where -ra follows and have the same form as above. Examples are given below.

tət-loidə-bə-ra > tət-loidra ‘will it not break?’
kut-loida-ra > kut-loidra ‘(surface) will it not be low?’
tʰət-loida-ra > tʰət-loidra ‘(of flower) will you not pluck it?’
pʰəm-moida-ra > pʰəm-moidra ‘will you not sit?’
təŋ-noida-ra > təŋ-noidra ‘will you not have a taste (a curry)’
tʰap-poida-ra > tʰap-poidra ‘will it not be far (from here)’ etc.

5.3.2.1.3 Deletion of /a/ in -kʰə

The suffix -kʰə ‘definitive’ may be followed by -ra ‘perfective’, -re (-ra-i) ‘perfective’ and -ri ‘progressive’ and in such situation, the /a/ of -kʰə is generally deleted and the combination of kʰ- and -ra/-ri/-re forms a fusion like -kʰra, -kʰri, -kʰre.

Examples with verbal iroots are shown below.

pai-kʰə-ra-bə > pai-kʰra-bə ‘(a bird) that has flown away’
jot-kʰə-ra-bə > jot-kʰra-bə ‘(something) that has been swallowed’
kau-kʰə-ra-bə > kau-kʰra-bə ‘(something) that has been forgotten’
loi-kʰə-ra-bə > loi-kʰra-bə ‘(something) that has been finished’
mut-kʰə-ra-bə > mut-kʰra-bə ‘(something) that has been extinct’
pʰə-kʰə-ra-bə > pʰə-kʰra-bə ‘(something) that has been got by heart’
səŋ-kʰə-ra-bə > səŋ-kʰra-bə ‘(something) that has been dyed’
sən-dok-kʰə-ri > sən-dok-kʰri ‘(of trees on hills) has spread from here to places where the eyesight cannot reach’
C3t-kh3-ri  >  c3t-khri  'has gone to somewhere and not yet returned'

pai-kh9-ri  >  pai-khri  'has been flying in one after another and is not yet finished'

jon-kh9-re  >  jon-khre  '(something) that has been sold'
	t^bou-kh9-re  >  t^bou-khre  '(vehicle) that has been driven'

ken-kh9-re  >  ken-khre  '(leaves) that have been fallen'

la3-kh9-re  >  la3-khre  '(ball) that has been thrown'

cen-kh9-re  >  cen-khre  '(someone) who has run away'

jou-kh9-re  >  jou-khre  '(someone) who has reached his destination' etc.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ca-da} & \rightarrow \text{ca-dra} & \text{ca-drai} & \text{ca-drei} & \text{ca-dre} & \text{ca-dri} & \text{ca-dra} & \text{ca-drai} & \text{ca-drei} & \text{ca-dre} & \text{ca-dri} \\
\text{hot-ta} & \rightarrow \text{hot-tra} & \text{hot-trai} & \text{hot-bre} & \text{hot-drai} & \text{hot-drei} & \text{hot-dre} & \text{hot-dri} \\
\text{kot-ta} & \rightarrow \text{kot-tra} & \text{kot-trai} & \text{kot-bre} & \text{kot-drai} & \text{kot-drei} & \text{kot-dre} & \text{kot-dri} \\
\text{sok-ta} & \rightarrow \text{sok-tra} & \text{sok-trai} & \text{sok-bre} & \text{sok-drai} & \text{sok-drei} & \text{sok-dre} & \text{sok-dri} \\
\text{nop-ta} & \rightarrow \text{nop-tra} & \text{nop-trai} & \text{nop-bre} & \text{nop-drai} & \text{nop-drei} & \text{nop-dre} & \text{nop-dri} \\
\text{phut-ta} & \rightarrow \text{phut-tra} & \text{phut-trai} & \text{phut-bre} & \text{phut-drai} & \text{phut-drei} & \text{phut-dre} & \text{phut-dri} \\
\text{lak-ta} & \rightarrow \text{lak-tra} & \text{lak-trai} & \text{lak-bre} & \text{lak-drai} & \text{lak-drei} & \text{lak-dre} & \text{lak-dri} \\
\text{ja-da} & \rightarrow \text{ja-dra} & \text{ja-drai} & \text{ja-bre} & \text{ja-drai} & \text{ja-drei} & \text{ja-dre} & \text{ja-dri} \\
\text{pa-da} & \rightarrow \text{pa-dra} & \text{pa-drai} & \text{pa-bre} & \text{pa-drai} & \text{pa-drei} & \text{pa-dre} & \text{pa-dri} \\
\text{cat-ta} & \rightarrow \text{cat-tra} & \text{cat-trai} & \text{cat-bre} & \text{cat-drai} & \text{cat-drei} & \text{cat-dre} & \text{cat-dri} \\
\text{lap-ta} & \rightarrow \text{lap-tra} & \text{lap-trai} & \text{lap-bre} & \text{lap-drai} & \text{lap-drei} & \text{lap-dre} & \text{lap-dri} \\
\text{kau-da} & \rightarrow \text{kau-dra} & \text{kau-drai} & \text{kau-bre} & \text{kau-drai} & \text{kau-drei} & \text{kau-dre} & \text{kau-dri} \\
\text{pi-da} & \rightarrow \text{pi-dra} & \text{pi-drai} & \text{pi-bre} & \text{pi-drai} & \text{pi-drei} & \text{pi-dre} & \text{pi-dri} \\
\end{align*}
\]

5.3.2.14 Deletion of /a/ in negative -ta ~ da

The negative suffix -ta ~ da may be followed by -ra 'interrogative', -ri 'progressive' and -re 'perfective' and in such a situation, the vowel /a/ of -ta ~ da is optionally dropped and the following contracted forms are produced as: -dra, -dri and -dre. Examples are illustrated below.
5.3.2.2 Deletion of coda in verbal roots

Certain verbal roots may delete coda obligatorily when particular suffixes follow them. Some of them may be devoiced while some retain the previous sounds. Examples are given below.

- hot-kʰai > ho-kʰai > hogai ‘scratch out’
- set-kʰai > se-kʰai > segai ‘tear apart’
- tʰat-tat > tʰat-tat > thɔt-at ‘pull apart’
- kot-kʰet > ko-kʰet > kokʰet ‘pull up’
- kʰot-kʰet > kʰo-kʰet > kʰokʰet ‘drag up’
- thok-lək > tʰo-lək > thɔrək ‘come out’
- tʰəm-ləm > tʰə-ləm > tʰəməm ~ tʰənəm ‘put down’

In case of the last verbal root tʰəm- ‘place’ it may have the three forms as variations: tʰəməm ~ tʰənəm ~ tʰənəm.

The semantic components of the verbal derivative affixes with their various forms and functions have been studied in this chapter. The analysis of the inflectional suffixes, as a further study of the suffixes, comes in the next chapter.