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THE LAMKANG LANGUAGE: GRAMMATICAL SKETCH, TEXTS AND LEXICON*

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Lamkang is a Northern Kuki-Chin Tibeto-Burman language spoken primarily in the southeastern region of Manipur State, India. This monograph is grammatical sketch of Lamkang based primarily on research conducted by author Harimohon Thounaojam, supplemented with texts published by G.A. Grierson. Analysed texts and a lexicon are provided.

Keywords: Lamkang; Kuki-Chin; Manipur

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1. INTRODUCTION

Lamkang (also known or spelled as Hiroi-Lamgang, Lamkaang, Lamkang Naga) is a Northern Kuki-Chin Tibeto-Burman language spoken primarily in the southeastern region of Manipur State, India (see Maps 1-3). Lamkang speakers also live in two villages in Nagaland and one village in Myanmar directly across the Southeastern Manipur border (Gordon 2005). Previous published description of Lamkang is limited to eleven pages of notes in the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) (Grierson 1967 [1904]).

Map 1. Manipur in India

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Map 2. District map of Manipur

Population figures from Manipuri sources for Lamkang speakers range from 3,452 in 1981 (The People of Manipur 2005) to 4,524 in 2001 (Manipuri Online Team 2001). The Ethnologue reports the number of Lamkang at 10,000 in 1999 (Gordon 2005); it does not provide a more recent figure. We assume that the Ethnologue number is high because it represents village government census figures rather than actual numbers of speakers.

Whether the number of speakers is closer to five or ten thousand, social, political and economic factors threaten Lamkang's longevity. Integration and competition for government jobs with the socio-economically dominant Meitei, who populate the state capital Imphal in the central Manipur valley, point to a possible erosion of the linguistic situation of Lamkang.

Culturally, too, the lure of the central Imphal valley is strong. Bilingualism in Lamkang and Meitei (a.k.a. Meithei, Meiteiron) is the norm and some Lamkang may also speak English or Hindi (Gordon 2005). Younger speakers often study in Imphal and participate in the life and cultural activities there (for example, see E-Pao! 2005).

Map 3.Manipur

A lack of pedagogical or other written materials in the language adds to Lamkang's precarious situation. Literacy is limited to Meitei, which is written in the Bengali script. Literacy rates for those between 10 to 40 years of age are around 40% (Gordon 2005).

We intend the following grammatical sketch, analysed texts and lexicon to establish a linguistic record of Lamkang and provide a basis for further fieldwork and analysis.

1.1. Ethnographic description

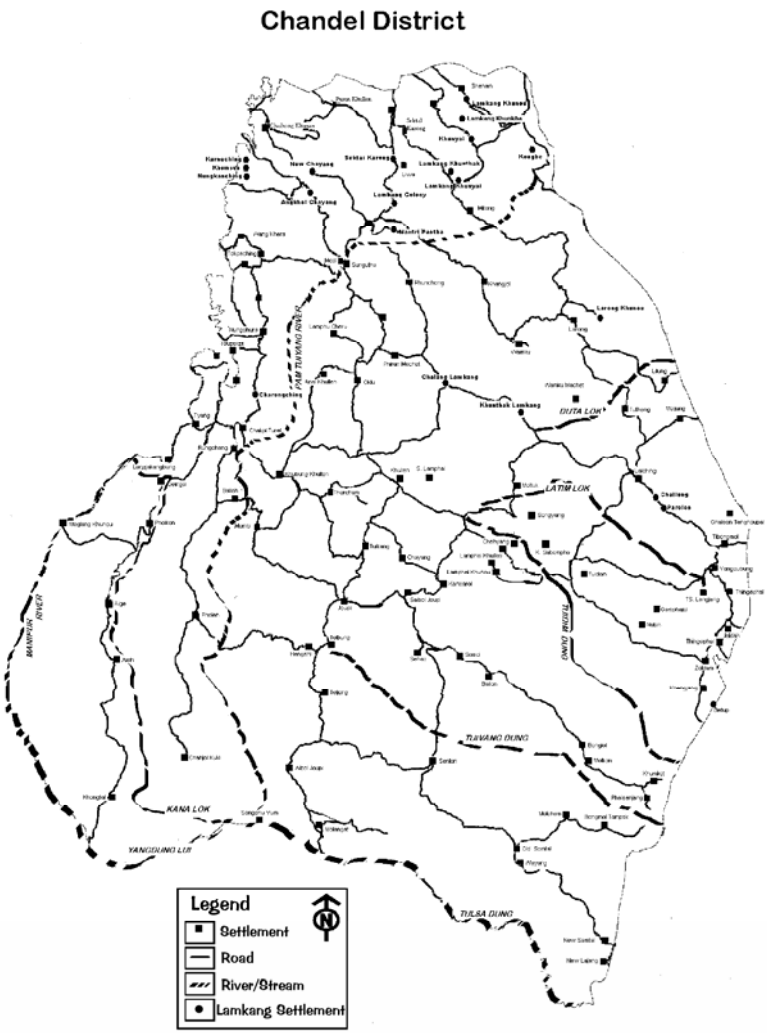
Lamkang, which means 'cutting the jungle and making way', is used as a place name, a language name and an ethnic label. Since the Lamkang made boats for Meitei kings, they are also known as Hiroi Lamkang (from Meitei *hiroy* 'boat protector') (The People of Manipur 2005). Grierson (1967 [1904]), pointing to Damant (1880), notes that the Lamkang may also be known as the Lumyang Kuki tribe. This section provides a few demographic and ethnographic details about the Lamkang.

1.1.1 Population and Location

The Lamkang were originally a nomadic group that moved to new locations to find fertile land. The low fertility of the soil in the hilly regions allowed the Lamkang to stay in one place for no longer than two to three years. Since there is now no fallow fertile land in the area, most Lamkang villages are permanent settlements.

The main Lamkang settlements are villages in the Chandel district of Manipur (see Map 4). The main villages are:

Angbrasu	Komsen	Mantri Pantha
Angkhel Chayang	Kurnuching	New Chayang
Betup	Laingang Ching	New Khunthak
Chalong	Lamkang Colony	New Thumtham
Chalang Lamkang	Lamkang Khunkha	Duchang
Charongching	Lamkang Khunou	Nungkanching
Kongbe	Lamkang Khunthak	Pantha
Keithelmanbi	Lamkang Khunyai	Parolon
Khullen	Lamkang Pantha	Sektai Karong
Khunthak Lamkang	Larong Khunou	Thamnapokpi
Khunyai	Leiphrang Tampak	



Map 4. Chandel district

1.1.2 Religion

The Lamkang practice ancestor worship and believe in a supreme deity who controls the universe. Christian evangelism began in this region in the late 1800s when the area was under British control and it continues today. As a result, many Lamkang are either practicing Baptists or Catholics.

1.1.3 Village Design and Administration

Lamkang villages are located mostly on defendable hill slopes. Houses are built on both sides of the roads on these slopes. Wood, bamboo, thatch and mud are used in the construction of the houses. Those who can afford it have brick houses. Tin roofs are most common. Wood houses have floors that are raised three to four feet off the ground. The area below the raised floor provides shelter for domestic birds and animals, such as ducks and pigs.

Village administration is carried out by a chief and several ministers who are assigned specific duties. The names of these ministers and their functions are given in Table 1:

Title of official	*Function of official*
Khullapka	Head of village
Luplakpa	Assistant head of village
Senapati	Minister's bodyguard
Mantri	Chief Minster
Chingsanglakpa	Protects outer perimeter of the village
Khuchal Yupal	Minister of liquor (arranges wine for village festivals)
Pakhanglak	Looks after the unmarried males in the village
Sellung	Minister of finance
Meitei Lambu	Hospitality minister (looks after visitors, especially Meiteis, during village festivals)
Lanching	Minister of war
Naharak	Looks after the youth of the village
Ningollak	Looks after the girls and women of the village
Thoukal	Function unknown
Changloy	Function unknown

Table 1. Lamkang Village Officials and Their Functions

1.1.4 Naming

Naming practices in Lamkang society are based on birth order. Male and female names also indicate clan membership. Different names are used for sons and daughters.

1.1.5 Clans and Marriage

The Lamkangs classify themselves as belonging to one of four groups that are further divided into the clans listed below. Members of each clan are closely associated with a surname, as illustrated in Table 2. We do not have an exhaustive list of the surnames or clan names, so we do not know into which clan the common surnames Lamkang or Pantha fit.

Lamkang groups	*Lamkang clan names*	*Surname*
Group 1:	1. Keynim	Not known
	2. Surte	Rang
	3. Kangten	Wang
Group 2:	4. Tholung	Dar
	5. Yangwei	Dar
	6. Silsih	Khenu
Group 3:	7. Sangkhil	Reng
	8. Songnem	Reng
Group 4:	9. Khular	Sel
	10. Dilbung	Bung
Membership Unknown	11. Leyon	Set

Table 2. Lamkang Clan and Surnames

Intermarriage within the same clan or group is prohibited and is censured with a fine or severe ostracism. For example, intra-group couples may not be buried in the common village cemetery (see below). They are also not permitted to participate in any of the ceremonies or rites of their clan.

The dowry system is as follows: When a daughter marries, the bride's parents present the groom with a dowry of tools, such as spades, daggers, and *sam* [šəm] 'bamboo basket'. Wealthier parents or those of high status may also make a dowry of cows and pigs. These more traditional gifts may be supplemented with items such as almirahs (freestanding steel cupboards), utensils and cloth. This newer tradition is due to contact with Meitei culture.

1.1.6 Burial

The Lamkang bury their dead. They have a general burial ground in the center of the village. There are strict rules about who can be buried in this central graveyard: for example, children who are less than a year old or those who have married within the same clan cannot be buried there. There are also additional separate burial grounds for each Lamkang group.

1.1.7 Occupation

The Lamkang grow rice, which is a major crop of Manipur and is a staple of the Lamkang diet. The Lamkang also grow maize, ginger, beans, arum, pumpkin, and a variety of lentils. Surrounding forests are used for harvesting firewood and hunting small game. The Lamkang are skilled in making baskets and other bamboo products which they sell at the local markets.

1.2. Genetic Affiliation of Lamkang

Grierson (1967 [1904]) assumes that Lamkang is an Old Kukish language. This places it in the Mizo-Kuki-Chin Group (Thurgood 2003). According to the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005), Lamkang is a Northern Kuki language most closely related to Anal Naga.

It is often the case in India that minority-language linguistic communities tolerate linguistic variation, rather than insist on language purism (Khubchandani 1997: 86). Thus, we see minority Indian languages borrowing massive amounts of vocabulary as well as grammatical structures from adjacent dominant languages. The situation is no different for Lamkang, which contains many of borrowings from Meitei, the lingua franca for speakers of Naga and Kuki languages in Manipur. Regular and intense contact with Meitei speakers occurs in the market centers in the Meitei-dominated valley areas. Additionally, Lamkang villages are surrounded by Meitei villages. The Indo-Aryan and English words in Lamkang have presumably been borrowed indirectly via Meitei, the lexicon of which contains borrowings from Bengali, and a smaller set from Assamese, Hindi and English (Chelliah 1997).

1.3. Data Sources

Most of the data in this sketch comes from original fieldwork conducted by Harimohon Thounaojam between 1989 and 1998 in Lamkang speaking villages in Manipur. The main consultant for this study was Mr. Kh. Beshot Lamkang Pantha, a sixty-year-old native speaker of Lamkang. The people of Pantha village consider Mr. Lamkang a village leader, a role that is reinforced by the social work he undertakes in a non-governmental organisation. Mr. Lamkang is literate in Meitei. He takes an active interest in the documentation of Lamkang and is currently working on a manuscript of Lamkang proverbs that will be written down in the Bengali-Assamese script, the same script currently used to write Meitei. Other speakers who contributed to this study in the Pantha village are Mr. Thambal Silsih Lamkang (literate in Meitei), Mr. S.K. Khoshel Lamkang (the Postmaster), and Mr. Purum Pantha. Mr. Shenhong Lamkang, a twelfth grade student of Kurnu Ching village also provided data for this study.

A second data source is Grierson (1967 [1904]). Grierson's notes on Lamkang consist of an analysis of a standard LSI word and phrase list and two texts with word-for-word translations. These materials were prepared for Grierson by Babu Bisharup Singh, who provided Grierson with much of the data for the Kuki-Chin language descriptions in the LSI.

Grierson's description of Lamkang uses word lists and texts transliterated from the Bengali alphabet. Tone is not indicated. In transliterations, dashes mark morpheme boundaries. Additionally, the significance of the macron in Grierson's data is not clear, in particular for the following:

a and ***ā*** It is probable that in keeping with the LSI transliteration guide (Grierson 1967 [1904]: i), *a* stands for [ə] and *ā* for [a]. However, Grierson notes that in the Lamkang materials, *a* and *ā* freely alternate so that the same word may occur with either vowel.

ē and ***ū*** The letters *ē* and *ū* do not represent lengthened vowels and do not correspond to rising tone in author Thounaojam's data.

au and ***aū*** The diphthongs [aw] and [əw] may be represented as *au*, *aū,* or *āo*.

The Grierson data provide an important supplement to our own data. From it we get two additional texts, more vocabulary and additional evidence for variation such as the deletion of word final nasals discussed in section 2.6 and a possibility for historical comparison. Since we can't vouch for the reliability of the data, whenever we've cited data from Grierson, the Grierson transliteration is always supplied and labeled with [G]. Texts 1 and 2 in the appendix are also from Grierson.

2. PHONOLOGY

This section presents the phonological contrasts found in Lamkang. The transcription is phonemic. The acute accent indicates rising tone. Unmarked syllables have falling tone.

2.1. The Consonant Phonemes

As shown in Table 3, Lamkang has twenty consonants (although the phonemic status of the voiced velar stop [g] is not certain).

	Bilabial	*Alveolar*	*Palato-alveolar*	*Palatal*	*Velar*	*Glottal*
Oral Stops	p	t			k	
	p^h	t^h			k^h	
	b	d			(g)	
Nasal Stops	m	n			ŋ	
Affricates			č			
			ǰ			
Fricatives		s				h
Approximants						
Glide	w			j		
Lateral		l				
Rhotic Trill		r				

Table 3. The Consonant Phonemes of Lamkang

The lists (1)-(10) illustrate the distribution of the consonant phonemes in word initial, word medial (syllable initial and final), and word final positions. Example (1) illustrates the distribution of the unaspirated voiceless stops /p, t, k/.

(1)	a.	/p/	**p**əwá	‘bird’
			pən**p**ak	‘thank’
			u**p**khu	‘dry cough’
			pənnə́**p**	‘slow’
	b.	/t/	**t**əmə	‘low’
			pəl**t**oŋ	‘gate’
			kə**t**dál	‘breadth’
			pərbu**t**	‘lash’
	c.	/k/	**k**ədól	‘I hide’
			sum**k**úŋ	‘tortoise’
			ká**k**čol	‘select’
			pənpa**k**	‘thank’

The voiced stops /b/ and /d/ occur in word initial and word medial (syllable initial and final) positions. This is illustrated in the examples in (2). There are no minimal or near-minimal pairs in this data to show that the voiced velar stop [g] is a phoneme in Lamkang. As seen in the Lexicon, word initial occurrence of [g] is restricted to words of Bengali origin. Grierson (1967 [1904]: 201) lists *ga-dūm* [G] ‘drum-beating’ where, according to him, the initial *ga-* is a spelling variant of the verbal prefix /kə-/.

(2)	a.	/b/	**b**ák	‘bat’
			pər**b**ut	‘lash’
			ki**b**wér	‘elder’

(2) cont.	b.	/d/	**d**iŋ	‘tree’
			kə**d**əl	‘I hide’
			plú**d**kləmdə	‘admit’
	c.	/g/	**g**arí (IA)[1]	‘vehicle/cart’
			číŋ**g**ədíl	‘hill’

The voiceless aspirated stops /p^h, t^h, k^h/ can occur in word initial and medial (syllable initial) position. Examples are given in (3).

(3)	a.	/p^h/	**ph**ay	‘lap’
			way**ph**úl	‘dust’
	b.	/t^h/	**th**oŋ	‘hurt’
			nəy**th**en	‘share’
	c.	/k^h/	**kh**ət	‘one’
			ča**kh**ət	‘one hundred’

The nasal stops /m, n, ŋ/ can occur in word initial, word medial (syllable initially and finally), and word final positions. Examples are given in (4).

(4)	a.	/m/	**m**ətík	‘piece’
			rot**m**anbi	‘will not escape’
			so**m**tuku	‘ninety’
			pa**m**	‘country’
	b.	/n/	**n**i	‘day’
			paw**n**árek	‘prose’
			pə**n**pak	‘thank’
			plúŋbí**n**	‘hope’

[1] We use (IA) to indicate that a word is of Indo-Aryan origin. A list of abbreviations is provided before the References.

(4) cont.	c.	/ŋ/	**ŋ**áksaŋ	‘eel’
			ki**ŋ**əy	‘I want’
			plú**ŋ**bín	‘hope’
			pəlto**ŋ**	‘gate’

The examples in (5) show the distribution of the voiced and voiceless palatal affricates. The voiceless palatal affricate /č/ occurs only in word initial and medial (syllable initial) positions. See (5a). The voiced affricate /ǰ/ also occurs in word final position as in (5b), but is rarely attested.

(5)	a.	/č/	**č**əytúŋ	‘reed’
			khú**č**ól	‘ring finger’
	b.	/ ǰ /	**ǰ**aríp	‘stand’
			ki**ǰ**éŋ	‘which is dark’
			krá**ǰ**	‘I scold’

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and glottal fricative /h/ occur in word initial and word medial (syllable-initial) positions. They do not occur syllable or word finally. (We find only one example of syllable final [s] in a borrowed word: *kusti* ‘leprosy’ (IA).) Examples are given in (6).

(6)	a.	/s/	**s**om	‘ten’
			kə**s**á	‘which is hot’
	b.	/h/	**h**á	‘teeth’
			diŋ**h**ók	‘bark’ (noun)

As seen in (7), the lateral /l/ and trill /r/ occur in word initial, word medial (syllable initially and finally), and word final positions.

(7)	a.	/l/	**l**á	‘song’
			ə**m**l**ə**mdə	‘it was’
			sə**l**pá	‘man’
			pahi**l** [G]	‘put on’
	b.	/r/	**r**oŋ	‘fort’
			un**r**úŋ	‘mustard plant’
			ko**r**thə́w	‘infinite’
			nə**r**	‘mouth’

Free Variation. The phonemes /l/ and /n/ contrast syllable initially as in (17a-d), but there are no minimal pairs contrasting these sounds in word final position. In fact, as in many of the languages in this area, [l] and [n] are in free variation word finally as in (8e-j). Following Meitei (Chelliah 1997: 20), we assume that /n/ has the allophone [l] in word final position.

(8)	a.	ləy	‘add’
	b.	nəy	‘I’ (first person pronoun)
	c.	(kər)náy	‘dense’
	d.	láy	‘floor’
	e.	čol~čon	‘select’
	f.	pal~pan	‘plant’
	g.	múl~mún	‘rock, hill’
	h.	mol~mon	‘pillow’
	i.	təl~tən	‘bread’
	j.	rál~rán	‘war’

Minimal pairs for /r/ and /l/ show these sounds contrast in initial position as seen in (9a-d). However, in three examples, see (18e-g), either [r] or [l] is possible word initially. More data is needed to determine the extent of this variation.

(9)	a.	lúm	‘warm’
	b.	rúm	‘plenty’
	c.	len	‘be on, be back of’
	d.	ren	‘fresh’
	e.	la~ra	‘far’
	f.	lupa~rupa (IA)	‘silver, money’
	g.	láŋ~ráŋ	‘extreme’

Finally, the two glides /w/ and /j/ occur in word initial, medial (syllable initial and final) and final positions. In word final position, the semi-vowel is the off-glide of a diphthong. Examples are given in (10).

(10)	a.	/w/	**w**ák	‘pig’
			ki**w**er	‘elder’
			kətə́**w**nə	‘which is a source’
			ərbə**w**	‘property’
	b.	/j/	**y**ám	‘flour’
			sil**y**aŋ	‘bull’
			ú**y**then	‘dogs’
			setphú**y**	‘sand’

There are a few examples where syllable initial [b] varies with [w] as in *wa(ŋ)~ba(ŋ)* ‘go’.

As discussed in section 2.4, glides and approximants can be C_2 in C_1C_2 clusters.

2.2. Tones

Syllables may bear either a rising or falling tone. The acute accent indicates a rising tone, falling tone is unmarked, e.g. *pə́n* ‘store’ and *pən* ‘back’.

Minimal pairs in (11) illustrate the contrast between the two tones. The words in column one have a falling-falling (F-F) tone pattern, while words in column two have a falling-rising (F-R) tone pattern.

(11)

	F-F		*F-R*	
a.	kidim	'which is full'	kidím	'local doctor'
b.	kibeŋ	'which is deaf'	kibéŋ	'I break'
c.	kewar	'which is light'	kəwár	'I sow'
d.	kərnol	'I try'	kərnól	'I repeat'
e.	tubul	'dew'	tubúl	'frog'

2.3. Vowels

2.3.1 Monophthongs

Lamkang has six vowel phonemes /i, e, a, ə, o, u/ as illustrated by the minimal or near minimal pairs in (12).

(12)

/i/	kip	'throw'
/o/	kol	'waist'
/e/	khel	'ask'
/a/	kal	'place'
/ə/	kəl	'distance'
/u/	kup	'move'

There is no phonemic distinction between long and short vowels. As shown in (13a-b), vowels lengthen word finally. In Thounaojam (1998) all examples of lengthening of word final vowels are in monosyllabic words.

(13)

a.	[díː]	'water'	díbéŋ	'island'
b.	[khuː]	'village'	khulakpa	'village chief'

Grierson provides the examples in (14a-d) which show that the vowel [i] may be pronounced closer to [e] in word final position.

(14)						
	a.	-ŋi	~	-ŋe	[G]	'agentive'
	b.	-i	~	-e	[G]	'converb'
	c.	pi	~	pē	[G]	'give'
	d.	hinki	~	hinkē	[G]	'from'

2.3.2 Diphthongs

As illustrated by the (near) minimal pairs in (15) the diphthongs /əy, əw, ay, aw, uy, oy/ are phonemes in Lamkang.

(15)			
	/əy/	məy	'gun'
	/əw/	məw	'elder'
	/ay/	ərmay	'pumpkin'
	/aw/	paw	'news'
	/uy/	puy	'rat'
	/oy/	poy	'belly'

Near-minimal pairs contrasting diphthongs with rising and falling tone are given in (16).

(16)			
	/ə́y/	mə́y	'fire'
	/əy/	nəy	'I' (first person pronoun)
	/ə́w/	korthə́w	'infinite'
	/əw/	ərəw	'property'
	/áy/	korkáy	'sweet potato'
	/ay/	ərmay	'pumpkin'
	/áw/	kəŋáw	'which is abnormal'
	/aw/	sunúnaw	'young girl'
	/úy/	kupkhúy	'break (something)'
	/uy/	puy	'rat'
	/óy/	kunkóy	'turn'
	/oy/	kokthoy	'hang'

2.4. The Syllable

2.4.1 Vowels

The distribution of vowels in word initial, medial and final positions for the syllable types V, VC, CV, and CVC with falling and rising tone is illustrated in Table 4. At this point, we assume that the exhibited gaps are accidental. We need more compounds to confirm distribution in medial position. The lack of vowel-initial syllables in word medial position or final position can be explained through the application of morphophonological rules (see section 2.6).

Vowel	*Shape*	*Example*	*Vowel*	*Shape*	*Example*
i	#V	----	í	#V	----
	#VC	*Imphal* 'capital of Manipur'		#VC	*ín* 'house'
	#CV	*thi* 'put'		#CV	*thí* 'iron'[2]
	#CVC	*thimté* 'midwife'		#CVC	*číŋgədíl* 'hill'
	...V...	----		...V...	-----
	..VC..	----		...VC...[3]	-----
	...CV...	*titikərwə́y* 'cruel'		...CV...	*khoyníŋi* 'nightingale'
	...CVC...	*pərtitləmdə* 'likely cause you pain'		...CVC...	*kərtímčəp* 'which is appropriate'
	V#	----		V#	----
	VC#	----		VC#	*kədúŋín* 'hospital'
	CV#	*pərdi* 'thatch'		CV#	*sámthí* 'comb'
	CVC#	*əpulin* 'You add!'		CVC#	*kárbíd* 'which is tired'

[2] Grierson (1967 [1904]: 201) lists this as *thirr* [G] 'iron'.

[3] This syllable type in medial position is only available with a preceding glottal stop as in *kíʔípdok* 'I slept'.

Vowel	*Shape*	*Example*	*Vowel*	*Shape*	*Example*
e	#V	*eren* 'fresh'	é	#V	*éʔyəw* 'kill, extinguish'
	#VC	----		#VC	----
	#CV	*bethə* 'towards him'		#CV	----
	#CVC	*terlíŋ* 'thorn'		#CVC	*čéŋ* 'dark'
	...V...	----		...V...	----
	..VC..	----		..VC..	----
	...CV...	----		...CV...	*kənphéyar* 'twin'
	...CVC...	*kərkhelle* 'ask'		...CVC...	*máčénnə* 'to run'
	V#	----		V#	----
	VC#	----		VC#	----
	CV#	*kíle* 'play'		CV#	*kikhé* 'I hit'
	CVC#	*úythen* 'dogs'		CVC#	*kəpdér* 'I hate'
a	#V	*alu* 'potato' (IA)	á	#V	----
	#VC	*arrpom-dā* [G] 'embraced'		#VC	----
	#CV	*ya* 'smoke'		#CV	*nápəl* 'proud'
	#CVC	*wanpé* 'duck'		#CVC	*mál* 'meal'
	...V...	----		...V...	----
	..VC..	----		..VC..	----
	...CV...	*ədadə* 'wide'		...CV...	*kərpáləmdə* 'calculation'
	...CVC...	*kəčaŋŋi* 'I'm able'		...CVC...	*molpákbú* 'bed sheet'
	V#	----		V#	----
	VC#	----		VC#	----
	CV#	*uŋta* 'and'		CV#	*bú-kəsá* 'weaver'
	CVC#	*ərmat* 'bug'		CVC#	*kətdál* 'breadth'

Vowel	*Shape*	*Example*	*Vowel*	*Shape*	*Example*
ə	#V	*ədadə* 'wide'	ə́	#V	*ə́pí* 'mother-in-law'
	#VC	*əm* 'be'		#VC	*ə́n* 'curry'
	#CV	*čəla* 'gift'		#CV	*kə́kənə* 'vibration'
	#CVC	*tərtráŋ* 'bachelor'		#CVC	*rə́kdəkrop* 'courage'
	...V...	----		...V...	----
	..VC..[4]	*kəʔəmpiŋ* 'continually'		..VC..	----
	...CV...	*kəŋgəlóy* 'round'		...CV...	*əwathə́bi* 'papaya'
	...CVC...	*dorləmdə* 'pushed up'		...CVC...	*ərə́ŋŋi* 'gum'
	V#	----		V#	----
	VC#	*əy* 'throw'		VC#	----
	CV#	*ənnə* 'paper'		CV#	*ərnə́* 'leaf'
	CVC#	*nər* 'mouth'		CVC#	*ritlə́p* 'jute'
o	#V	---	ó	#V	----
	#VC	*ondə* 'called'		#VC	----
	#CV	*dothun* 'push'		#CV	*kóbi* 'cabbage' (IA)
	#CVC	*tompə́yka* 'rust'		#CVC	*khóŋgráw* 'pant'
	...V...	----		...V...	----
	..VC..	----		...VC...	----
	...CV...	*mədoča* 'method of eating'		...CV...	*kəróra* 'which is good'
	...CVC...	*ma-don-tha* 'on the branch'		...CVC...	*kukhópča* 'enough'
	V#	----		V#	----
	VC#	----		VC#	----
	CV#	*pənto* 'eggplant'		CV#	*-mó* 'interrogative'

[4] This syllable type in medial position is only available with a preceding glottal stop as in *toʔorthuŋŋi* 'killing'.

Vowel	*Shape*	*Example*	*Vowel*	*Shape*	*Example*
	CVC#	*ma-don* [G] 'branch'		CVC#	*káŋkól* 'shield'
u	#V	*ukíl* 'lawyer' (IA)	ú	#V	----
	#VC	*un* 'ice'		#VC	*úpkhú* 'dry cough'
	#CV	*tuwa* 'where'		#CV	*úy* 'dog'
	#CVC	*čukpá* 'leaf'		#CVC	*númmə* 'till'
	...V...	----		...V...	----
	..VC..	----		...VC...	----
	...CV...	*somtuku* 'ninety'		...CV...	*silnúŋe* 'cow'
	...CVC...	*ínthuŋki* 'at the front of the house'		...CVC...	*kədúŋŋe* 'very, loudly, fast'
	V#	----		V#	----
	VC#	----		VC#	----
	CV#	*Khenu* 'surname of Silsih clan'		CV#	*kunú* 'my mother'
	CVC#	*úysun* 'pet'		CVC#	*pəntgədúr* 'garlic'

Table 4. Distribution of Vowel Phonemes

2.4.2 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

As seen in Table 4, the allowed syllable shapes are V, VC, CV, and CVC. Initial clusters creating CCV(C) syllables are also allowed. Syllable final consonants are either nasals, approximants or stops. In a C_1C_2 sequence, C_2 must be an approximant. C_1 may be a stop or a fricative (i.e. voiceless unaspirated stop, voiced unaspirated stop, voiceless aspirated stop, or the fricatives /s, h/). Table 5 indicates which CC clusters are attested (✓) and which examples are not (✗). Examples are given in (17). The cluster patterns found in Lamkang are in keeping with those posited for Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) by Benedict (1972: 37). Unlike PTB, however, Lamkang allows voiceless aspirated stops as C_1 in consonant clusters.

C_1 ⇩ C_2 ⇨	*l*	*r*	*w*	*y*
p	✓	✓	✓	×
p^h	✓	×	×	×
b	✓	×	✓	×
t	✓	✓	×	×
t^h	✓	✓	✓	×
d	×	✓	×	×
k	✓	✓	✓	✓
k^h	✓	×	✓	×
g	×	✓	×	×
m	×	×	×	×
n	×	×	×	×
ŋ	×	×	×	×
č	×	×	×	×
ǰ	×	×	×	×
s	×	✓	✓	×
h	×	×	×	✓
w	×	×	×	×
y	×	×	×	×
l	×	×	×	×
r	×	×	×	×

Table 5. Attested CC clusters

(17)

[pl]	plúŋ	‘soul’
[pr]	prəjákləmdə	‘announce’
[pw]	pwábu	‘nest’
[pʰl]	kə́phla	‘I send’
[bl]	blúŋkrip	‘attention’
[bw]	kibwér	‘who is elder’
[tl]	tluŋláy	‘floor’
[tr]	trúk	‘six’
[tʰl]	thlá	‘month’
[tʰr]	thramnə	‘page’
[tʰw]	thwaytréŋ	‘angel’
[dr]	kindrit	‘which is truth’
[kl]	klin	‘which is big’
[kr]	krúŋ	‘god’
[kw]	hoŋkwá	‘coward’
[ky]	lilakyaw	‘actor’
[kʰl]	khlám	‘I find’
[kʰw]	wankhway	‘cook’
[gr]	rugríbər	‘advance’
[sr]	srá	‘be poor’
[sw]	swə́ŋ	‘be rich’
[hy]	hyi	‘blood’

Note that The sequences [tʰl], [tʰr] and [pl] occur in several words that refer to inner states as illustrated in the words (18a-e).

(18)

a.	kəthlə́t	‘I balk’
b.	kəthrá-	‘beautiful, good, nice one’
c.	kə́rthlím	‘I charm’
d.	kəníthlə́knə	‘I am jealous’
e.	plúŋseŋ	‘clear/honest’

The following consonant sequences across syllable boundaries are attested in the data listed in (19).

(19)

[pt^h]	kipthi	‘throw’
[pd]	kə́pdet	‘show’
[pn]	kə́pnítə	‘smile’
[pk]	kə́pkəy	‘bite’
[pk^h]	úpkhú	‘dry cough’
[pč]	kə́pčaŋ	‘win/am able’
[bk^h]	khúbkhóŋ	‘heel’
[mp]	humpí	‘tiger’
[mp^h]	pəmpho	‘name of a month’
[mb]	sumbu	‘owl’
[mt]	somtuku	‘ninety’
[mt^h]	sə́mthí	‘comb’
[md]	khlámdə́y	‘enquire’
[mn]	thrəmnə́	‘page’
[mk^h]	kumkhóŋ	‘freeze’
[mč]	kəntímčə́p	‘quite’
[ms]	pamsá	‘verandah’
[ml]	komla	‘orange’
[tp^h]	setphúy	‘sand’
[tb]	khútbar	‘coarse’
[tn]	kə́tna	‘wave’
[tk]	tititkərwə́y	‘be cruel’
[tl]	ritlə́p	‘jute’
[np]	wanpé	‘duck’
[np^h]	kənphéyar	‘twin’
[nt]	kəntímčə́p	‘quite’
[nt^h]	kinthuntrimədiltha	‘afternoon’
[nd]	ondə	‘called’
[nč]	kənčún	‘tremble’
[ns]	kunsók	‘vomit’
[nr]	unrúŋ	‘mustard plant’
[nl]	lenlə́y	‘debt’
[kp]	míkpənsár	‘image’
[kt]	kókto	‘be late’

(19) cont.			
	[kt^{h}]	kə́kthəmčá	‘humble’
	[kn]	kəníthlə́knə	‘jealous’
	[kk^{h}]	sikkhət	‘pair’
	[kč]	kə́kčol	‘select’
	[ks]	wə́ksá	‘pork’
	[kr]	təkrənə	‘agree’
	[ŋp]	yeŋpí	‘name of a month’
	[ŋp^{h}]	noŋməpúŋphaŋ	‘accomplish’
	[ŋb]	káŋbél	‘frying pan’
	[ŋm]	səŋmé	‘blur’
	[ŋt]	kreŋtíŋ	‘river bank’
	[ŋn]	thoŋnaw	‘window’
	[ŋk]	heŋkowá	‘coward’
	[ŋg]	həŋgə́nethəŋ	‘increase’
	[ŋč]	ləŋčák	‘bobbin’
	[ŋǰ]	ləŋǰá	‘vulture’
	[ŋs]	yeŋsún	‘morning’
	[ŋh]	diŋhók	‘bark’ (N)
	[rǰ]	pərǰa	‘vast’
	[rs]	həŋkə́rson	‘incline’
	[rh]	ərhə́ybədə́tlə́mdə	‘advise’
	[lt]	pəltoŋ	‘gate’
	[lt^{h}]	kinthuntrimədiltha	‘afternoon’
	[ln]	silnú	‘cow’
	[lk]	selkərthánələ́mdə	‘bet’
	[lč]	nikrálčim	‘quench’
	[lr]	kélrəm	‘sheep’
	[lh]	tilhə́w	‘onion’
	[ls]	silsá	‘beef’

As can be seen in (20), the intra-syllabic clusters can have the shape CCC when a closed syllable is followed by a syllable initial consonant cluster.

(20)

[ntr]	kinthuntrimədiltha	‘afternoon’
[ptr]	kuptru	‘continue’
[pt^{h}r]	kupthrúŋ	‘commence’
[tkl]	wansɔ́tklo	‘console’
[mtr]	somtrúk	‘sixty’
[mpr]	čəmpra	‘lemon’
[nk^{h}w]	wankhway	‘cook’
[ndr]	sendráŋ	‘sparrow’
[nt^{h}r]	minthren	‘divorce’
[ŋgr]	khóŋgráw	‘pant’
[nkr]	niŋkral	‘eager’
[lt^{h}r]	dulthrə́	‘soil’
[rt^{h}r]	kə́rthru	‘I bathe’
[rtl]	nələtərtlaŋ	‘youth’
[rt^{h}l]	kə́rthlím	‘I charm’
[rtr]	tərtráŋ	‘bachelor’

2.5. Morphophonology

The following Lamkang liaison phenomena are found in many Southern Chin languages, as well as in Meitei.

Total Assimilation with Suffixation. The agentive and instrumental suffix is *-Ni*, where the initial nasal assimilates in place and manner of articulation with the final consonant or semi-vowel of the stem with which the suffix concatenates. Examples are given in (21a-c).

(21)

	a.	b.	c.
	nanni	*ləykhəmme*	*nəyye*
	nən-Ni	ləykhəm-Ni	nəy-Ni
	2-AGT	Leikham-AGT	1-AGT
	‘you (pl)’	‘Leikham’	‘I’

Stop Gemination. The final consonant of a root is geminated when the adjacent suffix is vowel initial. Examples are given in (22a-f).

(22)

a.	*čákkə*	d.	*kinditti*
	čák-ə		kindrit-i
	eat-GNM		truth-CVB.ST
	‘eat’		‘(it) was the truth’
b.	*suttə*	e.	*ebuŋŋa*
	sut-ə		ebuŋ-a
	see-GNM		Abung-P/RECIP
	‘see’		‘to Abung’
c.	*nikhətti*	f.	*nəyya*
	ni-khət-i		nəy-a
	day-one-CVB.ST		1-P/RECIP
	‘(it) was one day’		‘to poor me’

The initial stop of a root maybe geminated when the prefix is a vowel.

(23)

əppu
ə-pu
2-father
‘your father’

Glide or Glottal Stop Insertion. A glide is inserted between a final root vowel and the following adjacent vowel of a root or suffix. Examples are (24a-b). The glosses provided for *pi* and *upu* are are based on the meaning of the compound. Support for these glosses also come from [pi] in *piyopdok* ‘mouse’ and Meitei *upu* ‘box’.

(24) a. *kipiyər*
kV-pi-ar
NMLZ-give-embrace
'who grasped'

b. *piyúpwaʔín*
pi-upu-wa + ín[5]
animal-box-DEM+house
'zoo'

With prefixes that have a final vowel, e.g. *kV-* 'first person possessive' or *kV-* 'nominaliser', an intrusive glottal stop occurs between the prefix vowel and the adjacent root vowel.

(25) a. *kíʔip*
kV-ip
1.AGR-sleep
'I sleep'

b. *kéʔər*
kV-ər
NMLZ-green
'which is green'

c. *kəʔəmpókkə*
kV-əm + pók-ə
NMLZ-be+abundance-GNM
'which is abundant'

In one example, a glide rather than a glottal stop is inserted between the adjacent prefix-root vowels.

(26) *teyéʔyəwrə*
tV-éʔyəw-rə
Q-kill-MD.POSS
'somehow to kill'

Adjacent vowels in other cases are also separated by either a glottal stop or glide. It is not clear which option is most common, since some

[5] The '+' indicates a compound where at least one member of the compound is a free morpheme (root and one or more affixes).

words are attested with either a glottal stop or glide, as in 'zoo', which can be *piyúpwaʔín* or *piyúpwayín*.

Vowel Harmony with Prefixation. The first person possessive prefix *kV-* has an unspecified vowel which is determined by the vowel of the root to which it attaches. As illustrated in (27), the prefix is:

kə- (written as *ka* in Grierson) if the root vowel is /a/ or /o(j)/ as in (27a and b);
ki- if the root vowel is /i/ as in (27c);
ku- if the root vowel is /u/ as in (27d).

(27)	*Prefix vowel*	*Root vowel*	*Example and gloss*
a.	ə	a/á	*kə-pá* 1-male 'my father'
b.	ə	o(y)/óy	*ka-poi* [G] 1-belly 'my belly'
c.	i	i/í	*ki-mík* 1-eye 'my eye'
d.	u	u/ú	*ku-nú* 1-female 'my mother'

As illustrated in (28) the allomorphs of the nominaliser *kV-* (see section 3.1) and the first person agreement prefix *kV-* (see section 3.3.1) cannot be described as neatly as the first person possessive prefix *kV-*. In general, it seems that the frontness of a root vowel determines the frontness of the prefix vowel for the nominaliser and agreement marker. The allomorph [ku-] occurs when the root vowels are not front as in

(28a-e), while allomorph [ki-] occurs when the root vowels are front, as in (28f-h).

(28)	*Prefix vowel*	*Root vowel*	*Example and gloss*
a.	u	ə	*kū-khat-son* [G] kV-khət-son NMLZ-one-small 'being small'
b.	u	u	*kudúŋŋi* kV-dúŋ-i NMLZ-hard-CVB.ST 'being deep'
c.	u	o	*kudóp* kV-dóp NMLZ-soft 'being soft'
d.	u	uy	*kučúyyi* kV-čúy-Ni NMLZ-shield-AGT/INST 'spearing'
e.	u	uy	*kū-dūi-yā* [G] kV-duy-ə 1.AGR-nice-GNM 'I like X'
f.	i	e	*kisen* kV-sen NMLZ-red 'being red'

(28) cont.	*Prefix vowel*	*Root vowel*	*Example and gloss* *kiyiŋ*
g.	i	i	kV-yiŋ NMLZ-pretend 'pretense'
h.	i	i	*kidi* kV-di NMLZ-die 'being dead'

However, there are several examples where roots occur with the allomorph [kə-] regardless of the frontness of the root vowel, as in (29).

In other cases variation between the allomorphs is attested, as in *kidil~kədíl* 'small'. The [kə] variant is probably a result of destressing the prefix syllable.

(29)	*Prefix vowel*	*Root vowel*	*Example and gloss*
a.	ə	a	*kəŋáw* kV-ŋáw NMLZ-strange 'being abnormal'
b.	ə	o	*kətróp* kV-tróp NMLZ-bloom 'being rotten'
c.	ə	u	*ka-chūm* [G] kV-čum NMLZ-correct 'being proper'

(29) cont.	*Prefix vowel*	*Root vowel*	*Example and gloss*
			kəčarə
d.	ə	a	kV-čak-rə 1.AGR-eat-MD.POSS 'I will eat'
e.	ə	ay	*ka-prai* [G] kV-pray 1.AGR-beat 'I beat'
f.	ə	ə	*kəʔəm* kV-əm NMLZ-be 'which is'
g.	ə	e	*kərkhelle* kV-khel-le 1.AGR-ask-CONJ 'I ask, then'
h.	ə	i	*ka-tik-mē* [G] kV-tik-mə-i 1.AGR-fit-NEG-CVB.ST 'I am unfit'
i.	ə	o	*ka-yong-dā* [G] kV-yoŋ-də 1.AGR-catch-PFV 'I've caught'

(29) cont.	*Prefix vowel*	*Root vowel*	*Example and gloss*
	ə	u	*ka-tūm* [G] kV-tom 1.AGR-get 'I get'

Other prefixes that sometimes exhibit vowel harmony are the nonspecific quantifier prefix *tV-* and the causative prefix *pV-*. For example, as shown in (30a-b), the interrogative prefix *-tV* is realised as [ti-] when the root vowel is front, and [tu-] or [to-] otherwise (30c-d). However, again presumably in unstressed syllables, the form [tə-] occurs with roots with either back or front vowels. See (30e-g).

(30)	*Prefix vowel*	*Root vowel*	*Example and gloss*
a.	i	e	*tidekdə* tV-dek-də Q-show-PFV 'somewhat showed'
b.	i	i	*tidittə* tV-dit-thə Q-time-LOC 'some time'
c.	u	a	*tuwathə* tV-wa-thə Q-dem-LOC 'somewhere'
d.	o	a	*tortlaŋ* tV-r-tlaŋ Q-R-youth 'rather young'

(30)	*Prefix vowel*	*Root vowel*	*Example and gloss*
cont.			*ta-plē-dā* [G]
e.	ə	i	tV-pli-də Q-like this-PFV 'whatever has happened?'
f.	ə	a	*ta-am* [G] tV-əm Q-be 'rather be'
g.	ə	u	*təlu* tV-lu Q-head 'what'

Similar variation is attested for the causative prefix *pV-*. In (31a), the root vowel /u/ yields the allomorph [pu-]. As seen in (31b-c), however, even though the root vowel is /u/ in (31b) and /i/ in (31c), the prefix surfaces as [pə-].

(31)				
	a.	pu-bul	CAUS-smear	'cause to smear'
	b.	pə(r)-thum	CAUS-leap	'cause to leap'
	c.	pə(r)-tit	CAUS-pain	'cause pain'

One example of vowel harmony between roots is found in Text 1, sentence 2.

(32) *s**u**nú*
s**á**-nú
body-female
woman

Second-Position Intrusive [r]. An apparently intrusive consonant [r] may sometimes occur after the first syllable of a word, most often after

a prefix but also after root syllables. This is illustrated in the following word pairs that exhibit root and prefix allomorphs with and without [r].

(33)	*No intrusive -r-*	*Intrusive -r-*
a.	*ma-chanu* [G] 'son, child'	*ma-charr-nū* [G] 'son, child'
b.	*kəlo* 'unite'	*kərlo* 'unite'
c.	*kəthá* 'good'	*kərthá* 'good'
d.	*əwaŋŋi* 'comes'	*ərwan* 'come'

It may once have been possible to attribute a meaning to [r] but this meaning has now been lost. Grierson thinks that this consonant was once a full syllable, a prefix /rə-/ which has been reduced to [r]. His evidence for this comes primarily from words in his data source that consist of a doubled *-rr-* as in (34a). Grierson makes the case that the doubled consonant is a result of compensatory lengthening due to the deletion of the syllable vowel. He provides some words as consisting of a prefix *rə-* (written *ra-* in Grierson) as in (34b). It is not clear if this syllable was actually recorded in the data source or if it is part of Grierson's analysis. The arrangement of morpheme analysis in these examples is ours.

(34)	a.	*karr-bāng-dā* [G]	b.	*ka-ra-wā* [G]
		kV-r(ə)-waŋ-də		kV-r(ə)-waŋ
		1.AGR-R-go-PFV		1.AGR-R-go
		'I have come'		'I go'

Weak final Consonants. Grierson notes that final nasals are often deleted. Consider for example the allomorphs of the root 'go' ([waŋ]~[wan] and [wa]); 'male' [pá] vs. [páŋ]; 'he/she' ([ma] vs. [maŋ]) and 'at' ([thu] and [thuŋ]). See LaPolla (1994) for similar final consonant variation in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

Syllable final oral stops may also delete as attested by these variant forms: *duk~du* 'cut' and *ča~čak* [G] 'eat'.

There are also some examples where word medial CC clusters simplify, so that $C_1C_2 \rightarrow C_2$. This is probably a fast speech effect since

our data shows words with the clusters either reduced or unreduced. An example is (*rútəŋ* < *rúktəŋ*) 'strength'.

Fast-speech Deletion. A prefix vowel may be deleted when followed by a approximant. This is illustrated in (35a) for /kV-/ 'nominaliser'; and (35b) for /pV-/ 'causative'.

(35)	a.	ka-lā [G]	'which is far'	or	klā [G]	'which is far'
	b.	pa-rai-nū [G]	'struck'	or	ka-prai-yā [G]	'I struck'

3. MORPHOLOGY

Free roots are always nominal. Verbs are bound roots, e.g. *čák* 'eat', *pa* 'read', *čén* 'run'. Adjectives and adverbs are derived from verbs. Nominal and verbal affixes are discussed below.

3.1. Nouns

Nouns in Lamkang are free roots such as *mí* 'man', *ŋá* 'fish', *há* 'tooth', and *ǰon* 'John'. Semantic role markers are discussed in section 4.3. Noun compounding has two functions in Lamkang. First, it is used to create new lexical items. Secondly, a limited set of nouns are used as the second stem in noun-noun compounds to signal the following categories:

Augmentative
Diminutive
Number
Gender

We assume that these are derivational categories. At this point, we cannot say how productive these word formation processes are. Further research is also needed to determine if other means exist to indicate the same meanings. Similarly, we need more data to understand the semantic principles governing compounding.

3.1.1 Creating New Nouns

Simple nouns can be combined with nouns (as in (36a-c)) or with verbs as in (36d-e) to add to Lamkang's lexical inventory.

(36)	a.	dí-khullup	water-way	'stream'
	b.	diŋ-pal	tree-plant	'a tree-like plant'
	c.	rál-paw	war-news	'battle report'
	d.	diŋ-hon	tree-shade	'shade'
	e.	paw-khel	news-ask	'question'

We observed a second pattern where the first stem is a noun and the second is a nominalised verb (nominalising prefix *kV*-Verb). We use a plus (+) to indicate that one stem of the resulting compound, in this case, the second stem, is a free morpheme. Examples are given in (37).

(37)	a.	lila + kəyaw	drama+presenter	'actor'
	b.	sá + kətot	animal+hunter	'hunter'
	c.	sil + kəpu	cow+owner	'cow owner'
	d.	ín + kəpu	house+owner	'house owner'
	e.	ín + kəsá	house+maker	'house builder'
	f.	bú + kətrik	cloth+wearer	'dress'
	g.	bú + kəsá	cloth+maker	'weaver'
	h.	lá + kəthe	song+singer	'singer'
	i.	mík + kətot	eye+loser	'blind person'
	j.	sen + kəlo	money+taker	'servant'
	k.	laū + kūnūm [G]	paddy+cutter	'cultivator'

The nominalised verb may occur as the first stem in a compound, as shown in (38).

(38) *kəthílča*
kV-thíl + ča
NMLZ-request+eat
'beggar' (lit. one who requests food)

kədúŋín
kV-dúŋ + ín
NMLZ-sick+house
'hospital' (lit. house for one who is sick)

In a third noun compound pattern we observed, the causative prefix *pV-* occurs on the second stem, as in example (39).

(39) *dípərya*
dí + pV-r-ya
water+CAUS-R-vast
'flood/irrigation water' (lit. water caused to spread)

3.1.2 Augmentative and Diminutive
An augmentative can be formed by compounding a noun with *klin* 'big'. Examples are in (40).

(40)	a.	dí-klin	water-big	'flood'
	b.	bú-klin	cloth-big	'over-sized cloth'
	c.	lu-klin	head-big	'big head'
	d.	múl-klin	hill-big	'mountain'
	e.	sil-klin	cow-big	'big cow'

A noun is diminutive when it occurs in a compound with *son* 'small' or *naw* 'young'. Examples are in (41).

(41)	a.	sil-son	cow-small	'calf'
	b.	úy-son	dog-small	'puppy'
	c.	yóŋ-son	monkey-small	'monkey'

(41)	d.	hər-son	hen-small	‘chick’
cont.	e.	kəy-naw	tiger-young	‘tiger cub’
	f.	mí-naw	man-young	‘young man’
	g.	sunú-naw	woman-young	‘girl’

3.1.3 Number

Plurality is indicated by compounding a noun with *rek* ‘more than one’ as shown in (42).

(42)	a.	mí-rek	‘men’
	b.	sil-rek	‘cows’
	c.	úy-rek	‘dogs’
	d.	naw-rek	‘children’
	e.	yomé-rek	‘cats’
	f.	sunú-rek	‘women’

3.1.4 Numeral Morphology

The Lamkang cardinals 1-10 are listed in (43) below along with the Meitei equivalents.

(43)	*Lamkang*	*Meitei*	
	khət	əmə	‘one’
	kini	əni	‘two’
	kudúm	əhúm	‘three’
	pəli	məri	‘four’
	pərŋa	məŋa	‘five’
	trúk	təruk	‘six’
	tikhiyu	təret	‘seven’
	tret	nipan	‘eight’
	tuku	məpən	‘nine’
	som	təra	‘ten’

Comparing the Lamkang numerals with the Meitei equivalents, and assuming that the related languages have the same numeral roots we surmise that:

‘two’ and ‘three’ are composed of a prefix *kV-* and a verb root,
‘four’ and ‘five’ are composed of a prefix *pV-* and a verb root,
‘six’ is composed of a prefix *tV-* and a verb root.

The prefix *kV-* may be the nominaliser. It is not clear what the two other prefixes mean. As for the numeral ‘one’, a referee of this article notes that in Ngmen (Southern Chin), *khat* ‘one’ occurs in counting but when opposed to the dual and plural, the syllable onset does not occur: *ət* ‘one’, *goi* ‘dual’, *gui* ‘plural’. On comparative grounds, then we might suspect that the *ət* of *khət* ‘one’ is the numeral root in Lamkang.

Most probably Lamkang ‘seven’ and ‘nine’ are composed of a prefix *tV-* and a verb root as well. Compare Paite roots (*sə)gí?* ‘seven’ and *kuă* ‘nine’ (Singh 1985: 148) with the Lamkang equivalents.

The numerals from 11-19, 21-29, 31-39, 41-49, 51-59, etc. are additive compounds; for example, the number *som* ‘ten’ is ‘added’ to *khət* ‘one’ using the conjunction *ləy* to yield *somləykhət* ‘eleven’. Numerals made through additive compounding are listed in (44).

(44)

som-ləy-khət	ten-plus-one	‘eleven’
som-ləy-kini	ten-plus-two	‘twelve’
som-ləy-kudúm	ten-plus-three	‘thirteen’
som-ləy-pəli	ten-plus-four	‘fourteen’
som-ləy-pərŋa	ten-plus-five	‘fifteen’
som-ləy-trúk	ten-plus-six	‘sixteen’
som-ləy-tikhiyu	ten-plus-seven	‘seventeen’
som-ləy-tret	ten-plus-eight	‘eighteen’
som-ləy-tuku	ten-plus-nine	‘nineteen’
somkini-ləy-khət	twenty-plus-one	‘twenty one’
somkini-ləy-pəli	twenty-plus-four	‘twenty four’
somkudúm-ləy-khət	thirty-plus-one	‘thirty one’

(44) cont.	somkudúm-ləy-kudúm	thirty-plus-three	‘thirty three’
	sompəli-ləy-trúk	forty-plus-six	‘forty six’
	sompəli-ləy-tret	forty-plus-eight	‘forty eight’
	sompərŋa-ləy-tikhiyu	fifty-plus-seven	‘fifty seven’
	sompərŋa-ləy-tuku	fifty-plus-nine	‘fifty nine’
	somtrúk-ləy-khət	sixty-plus-one	‘sixty one’
	somtikhiyu-ləy-kini	seventy-plus-two	‘seventy two’
	somtret-ləy-kudúm	eighty-plus-three	‘eighty three’
	somtuku-ləy-khət	ninety-plus-one	‘ninety one’

The numerals 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, etc. are multiplicative compounds. They are formed by compounding two cardinals. The product of the values of the juxtaposed cardinals yields the meaning of the multiplicative compound. For example, *som* ‘ten’ compounded with *kini* ‘two’ (i.e., 10x2) yields *somkini* ‘twenty’. Examples are given in (45).

(45)	som-kini	ten times two	‘twenty’
	som-kudúm	ten times three	‘thirty’
	som-pəli	ten times four	‘forty’
	som-pərŋa	ten times five	‘fifty’
	som-trúk	ten times six	‘sixty’
	som-tikhiyu	ten times seven	‘seventy’
	som-tret	ten times eight	‘eighty’
	som-tuku	ten times nine	‘ninety’
	čakhet-kini	one hundred times two	‘two hundred’
	čakhət-pərŋa	one hundred times five	‘five hundred’

A detailed description of the numeral system of Lamkang is given in Thounaojam (1989).

3.1.5 Gender

Compounding with *pá* 'male' indicates masculine gender and compounding with *pí* 'female (childbearer)' or *nú* 'female' indicates feminine gender. Examples are given in (46).

(46)

Male		*Female*	
úy-pá	'male dog'	úy-nú	'female dog, bitch'
sil-pá	'male cow, bull'	sil-nú	'female cow'
yomé-pá	'male cat, tom'	yomé-pí	'female cat, queen'
wák-pá	'male pig, boar'	wák-pí	'female pig, sow'
diŋ-pá	'fruitless tree'	diŋ-pí	'fruit-bearing tree'

The root *pí* 'female' has a cognate form that signals 'beneficial N'. Compare, for example (47a) and (b). In (47a), the main root with *pá* means a generic bitter leaf. In (47b), the main root with *pí* indicates a bitter leaf with beneficial properties. A similar polysemy is exhibited by *pí* 'grandmother' in Meitei (Chelliah 2004).

(47)

a.	*čukpá*	a bitter leaf	from *čuk* 'bitter' and *pá* 'male'
b.	*čukpí*	a bitter leaf (*Adhatoda vesica*) used in ritual feasts and to cure coughs and colds	from *čuk* ' bitter' and *pí* 'female'

Also of interest are words for 'brother' and 'sister'. The most transparent are *a-chā-pā* [G] 'brother' and *a-chā-nu* [G] 'sister'. These are formed on the root *čá* 'small'. Another pair for male and female siblings is: *ənaw* 'brother' based on the root *naw* 'young' and *əčá* 'sister' based on the root *čá* 'small'.

As shown in examples (48a-c), the root *khúŋ* is used in compounds designating male birds and *nú* 'female' is used for female birds. The precise meaning of *khúŋ* is unknown.

(48)	a.	pəwákhúŋ	‘male bird’	pəwánú	‘bird’
	b.	hərkhúŋ	‘cock’	hərnú	‘hen’
	c.	wanpékhúŋ	‘drake’	wanpénú	‘duck’

3.2. Pronouns

Lamkang pronouns can be classified into personal and demonstrative pronouns.

3.2.1 Personal Pronouns and Possessive Prefixes

The independent personal pronouns are given in Table 6.

	Singular	*Plural*
1st person	nəy~nem	nəyn~nen
2nd person	nəŋ	nən~nəŋin
3rd person	maŋ~ma	məman

Table 6. Lamkang Personal Pronouns

Note that the plurals are indicated by a suffix *-n*. A referee of this article notes that Lamkang *-n* must be related to *-ni*, the plural collective in Southern Chin.

The following prefixes are used to indicate possession. These can be compared with the pronominal prefixes for Anal: 1 *ka-*, 2 *a-*, 3 *wa-* (Jacquesson 2001: 122). Number is not differentiated.

	Prefix
1st person	kV-
2nd person	ə-, nə-
3rd person	mə-

Table 7. Lamkang Possessive Prefixes

The examples in (49) illustrate how *kə-*, *(n)ə-*, and *mə-* indicate possession by a first, second or third person respectively.

(49)					
	1st	*kəpá*	'my father'	*kənaw*	'my child'
	2nd	*əpá*	'your father'	*ənaw*	'your child'
	3rd	*məpá*	'his/her father'	*mənaw*	'his/her child'

Body parts are inherently possessed and thus always occur with a possessive prefix when referential. Thus *kimik* is 'my eye', *kapoi* [G] 'my belly', *apoi* [G] 'your belly'.

The pronominal affixes may also occur with verbs to derive a gerund from a verb, as illustrated in (50).

(50)			
	a.	kəčák	'my eating'
	b.	kənek	'my drinking'
	c.	əwəŋ	'your going'
	d.	ətə́w	'your digging'
	e.	məpa	'his reading'
	f.	məsut	'her looking'

3.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

There are two demonstrative pronouns in Lamkang based on the root *wa*. These are *əwa* (*ə-* 'distal' and *wa* 'demonstrative'), which indicates remoteness from the speaker, and *həwa* (*hə-* 'proximate' and *wa* 'demonstrative'), which indicates proximity to the speaker.

Four discourse markers based on the distal demonstrative indicate movements from one narrative episode to another. The first three are given in (51a-c) where the distal demonstrative occurs with the abstract nouns *dil* 'behind' or *thuŋ* 'location, at'. As is common in Tibeto-Burman languages, semantic role makers are used for adverbial subordination. (See Genetti 1991 and Chelliah 1997). See also Text 1, sentences 24 and 27, and Text 2, sentence 29. The discourse marker in (51d) is composed of the demonstrative and a verb.

(51) a. *əwdilthə*
ə-wa + dil-thə
DIST-dem+behind-LOC
'shortly'

b. *əwəthuŋŋi*
ə-wa + thuŋ-Ni
DIST-dem+at-AGN
'(it) was at that'

c. *əwdilthəŋwa*
ə-wa + dil-thuŋ-wa
DIST-dem+behind-at-dem
'eventually'

d. *əwələyyi*
ə-wa + ləy-Ni
DIST-dem+add-AGN
'(it) was then'

3.3. Verbs

Verbs in Lamkang are bound roots. In our corpus, the verb root must be followed by at least one suffix from categories 3-9, or, as discussed in section 4.2.1, the existential copula *-pi*. Also, as discussed in section 4.2.1, a nominalised verb (*kV*-verb) may occur with no verbal suffix. The maximum number of suffixes that can follow the root is four. The nine affixal categories of Lamkang presented in Table 8 below are based on affix distribution and semantics. The abbreviation used for each affix is given in brackets after the affix gloss.

Category	*Affixes with gloss*
1. Subject Agreement	*kV-* 'first person agreement' (1.AGR)
	ə- 'second person agreement' (2.AGR)
	(extended use: *ə-* 'distal' (DIST)
	mə- 'third person agreement' (3.AGR)
2. Causative	*pə-* 'causative' (CAUS)
3. Extent	*-num* 'intensifier' (INTENSE)
	-rén 'excess' (EXCESS)
4. Direction	*-noldə* 'completive:downward' (COMPL.DWN)
	-sli 'completive:inward' (COMPL.IN)
	-krep 'compeltive:force' (COMPL.FRC)
	-dok 'completive:event' (COMPL.EVNT)

Category	*Affixes with gloss*
5. Actor Interaction	-*kheŋ* 'comitative' (COM)
	-*luŋŋe* 'reciprocal' (RECP)
	-*čə* 'middle' (M)
6. Optative/Imperative	-*če* 'hortative' (HORT)
	-*só* 'desiderative' (DESD)
	-*inče* 'imperative:benefactive' (IMP.BEN)
	-*lək* 'imperative:durative' (IMP.DUR)
	-*no* 'imperative:immediate' (IMM.IMP)
7. Modality	-*nu* 'certainty' (MD.CERT)
	-*ləm* 'probability' (MD.PROB)
	-*rə* 'possibility'' (MD.POSS)
	-*ni* 'intention' (MD.INTEND)
	-*nikidik* 'irrealis' (MD.IRR)
8. Negative	-*mə* 'negative' (NEG)
9. Aspect	-*piŋ* 'continuous' (CONT)
	-*ə* 'gnomic' (GNM)
	-*rak* 'inchoative' (INCHO)
	-*də* 'perfective' (PFV)

Table 8. Lamkang Verbal Affixes: Suffixes

3.3.1 Verbal Affixes

Category 1: Subject Agreement. A well-known feature of most Kuki languages is that possessive pronoun prefixes and person prefixes on the verb are identical (Jacquesson 2001: 120). In Lamkang too, the first, second and third person subject agreement prefixes are the same forms as the possessive pronoun prefixes. (Note: We use "subject" as a convenient term for the minimally required argument of a predicate.) The occurrence of subject agreement prefixes is not obligatory. From a total of 319 clauses in our database, 138 clauses have no prefixal marking on the verb. We need more data to know what determines the occurrence or non-occurrence of an agreement prefix. It is possible that agreement is based on factors other than identity with the subject, as in

Belhare (Bickel 2003: 563). At this point, we are only able to provide examples of where person subject agreement prefixes do occur.

First person subject agreement. The first person subject agreement prefix *kV-* is illustrated in (52).

(52) a. *kəčákdoknu*
kV-čák-dok-nu
1.AGR-eat-COMPL.EVNT-MD.CERT
'I will certainly eat'

b.

uŋta	*man*	*hini*	*thedə*	*mruk*
uŋta	man	hin-ki	the-də	mə-ruk
and	3PL	direction-GEN	say-PRF	INCL-also
then	they	from there	said	here

kərŋaləpinče
kV-r-ŋa-ləp-inče
1.AGR-R-rest-serve-IMP.BEN
let me rest
'...then, when they were close to the human, from there he said to them, "Let me rest here."' (T1.17)[6]

Note that *kV-* also functions as a nominaliser, as shown in section 3.1. We gloss the prefixes by these distinct functions, either 'NMLZ' or '1.AGR'.

Second person subject agreement. Following the pattern that the agreement markers are derived from the possessive prefixes, we would expect Lamkang to have a second person subject agreement prefix *ə-*. However, in our data we find only two syntactic environments of an *ə-*

[6] Data from the texts in the Appendix are referenced with the text and sentence number, e.g. Text 1, sentence 2 is (T1.2).

prefix that indicate agreement with a second person subject. The first is in questions, as in (53a), the second is in imperatives, as in (53b).

(53) a. *ə-čák-dok-mō*
ə-čák-dok-mō
2.AGR-eat-COMPL.EVNT-INTRG
'Did you finish eating?'

b. *nəŋ* *dí* *ənek*
nəŋ dí ə-nek
2 water 2.AGR-drink
'You drink water!'

To reiterate, it is only in questions and imperatives, that the *ə-* refers back to a second person subject. In all other instances, the *ə-* prefix on the verb has a deictic reading. This reading may have arisen from the inherent deixis of person marking and then been reinforced by the existence of the *ə-* distal prefix which occurs on nominals. In any case, since this deictic reading does not correspond with subject person, we gloss the deictic *ə-* prefix on verbs as 'distal'.

The distal verbal *ə-* prefix occurs predictably when the speaker frames an event as physical movement or the transfer of information from the speaker to the hearer. Thus verbs of movement ('arrive', 'leave', 'come', 'walk') and verbs of saying ('say', 'reply', 'answer', 'question') often occur with the *ə-* prefix. As shown in (54), the subjects of sentences with this deictic marker need not be second person.

(54) a. *ma-māng* *ma-ín-thang* *marr-wannā*
mə-maŋ mə-ín-thaŋ mə-r-waŋ-nə
3-3 3-house-to 3.AGR-R-go-ADV
his to his house as approaching
'As he approached his house…'

(54) cont.

khong	*gadūm*	*karrdām-dā*	***a-jā-dā***
khoŋ	gadum	kV-r-dam-də	ə-ya-də
drum	beating	NMLZ-R-dance-PFV	DIST-hear-PFV
drum	beating	who were dancing	heard

'he heard drum beating dancers.' (T2.16)

b.

ma-sarāworr	***arrthāng-dā***
mə-servant-wor	ə-r-thaŋ-də
3-servant-under	DIST-R-reply-PFV
his servant	replied

'His servant replied… (T2.18)

c.

āo-thū	*ma-māng*	*ma-pā*
ə-wa + thuŋ	mə-maŋ	mə-pá
DIST-dem+at	3-3	3-father
thereupon	his	his father

hin-thā	***arrthāng-dā***
hin-thə	ə-r-thaŋ-də
direction-LOC	DIST-R-reply-PFV
to	answered

'...at that he said to his father...' (T2.20)

d.

ma	***ərwaniməy***
ma	ə-r-waŋ-ni-mə-i
3	DIST-R-go-MD.INTEND-NEG-CVB.ST
she	not coming

mələyyə	*ma*	*mədúŋŋə*
mə-ləy-ə	ma	mə-dúŋ-ə
INCL-add-GNM	3	3.AGR-sick-GNM
because	he	is sick

'She is not coming because he is sick.'

(54) e. cont.

nəy	*bu*	*čákthidə*	*nanithə*
nəy	bu	čák-thir-də	nən-gi-thə
1	rice	eat-accompany-PFV	2-GEN-LOC
I	rice	eaten together	your (pl) home

ərwanikdik

ə-r-waŋ-nikdik
DIST-R-go-MD.IRR
will come
'When I have finished eating, I will come your house.'

Third person subject agreement. The prefix *mə-* occurs on verbs in clauses with third person subjects, as illustrated in (55). See also (58b).

(55) a.

na-nāo-pā	*hawā*
na-naw-pá	hə-wa
2-young-male	PROX-dem
your brother	this

[ma-di-thūng-ki	*woi-khat]*	*ring-dā*
mə-di + thuŋ-i	woy-khət	riŋ-də
3.AGR-die+at-CVB.ST	occasion-once	life-PFV
having been dead	one time	came alive

'...your brother, having once been dead, has come alive… (T2.21)

b.

məmanni	*məmún*	***məphathunni***
mə-man-Ni	mə-múl	mə-pha-thun-i
3-3PL-AGT	INCL-hill	3.AGR-get-at-CVB.ST
their	on the hill	getting there

'Their getting to the top of the hill...' (T1.10)

In (56), the (subject) pronoun is interpreted as the patient of the action. We assume that there is an unstated third person agent which is reflected in the third person *mə-* marked verb.

(56)

nai	***mapraidā*** [G]
nəy	mə-pray-də
1	3.AGR-beat-PFV

'I am struck (by someone)'

Category 2: The Causative. Examples of the causative prefix *pV-* are given in (57). In Lamkang, as in many Tibeto-Burman languages, the causative is derived from the verb *pi* 'give' (see Matisoff 1991).

(57)

a.	pə-čen	CAUS-run	'cause to run'
b.	pə-kəl	CAUS-overcook	'cause to overcook'
c.	pə-saŋ	CAUS-long	'cause to lengthen'
d.	pu-bul	CAUS-smear	'cause to smear'
e.	pə(r)-thum	CAUS-leap	'cause to leap'
f.	pə(r)-tit	CAUS-pain	'cause pain'

g.

kəʔəmpiŋ	*didə*	***pərtitləmdə***
kV-əm-piŋ	di-də	pV-r-tit-ləm-də
NMLZ-be-CONT	die-PFV	CAUS-R-cruel-MD.PROB-PFV
the same way	killed	likely cause 2 pain

'...I will kill you, likely causing you pain."' (T1.26)

h.

nanga-ki	*ā-raū*	*ma-pūm*
nəŋ-ki	ə-ləw	mə-pum
2-GEN	DIST-wealth	INCL-all
your	that wealth	all

kasūbi	*hin-thā*	*pi-dā*
kasubi	hin-thə	pi-də
harlot	direction-LOC	give-PFV
harlot	to	given

(57) cont. h. ***po-māng-dā***

pV-maŋ-də
CAUS-waste-PFV
caused to be wasted
'...having given all your wealth to harlots, your (son) has wasted it.' (T2.20)

Category 3: Extent. The suffix *-num* indicates that an action has been performed with great intensity, as in (58a). The suffix *-rén* indicates an action has been performed to excess. Examples are (58b-c).

(58) a. *čáknummə*

čák-num-mə
eat-INTENSE-NEG
'do not eat too much!'

b.

əbuŋŋi	*thopa*	*kudúŋréni*
əbuŋ-Ni	thopa	kV-dúŋ-rén-i
Abung-AGT	Thopa	NMLZ-hard-EXCESS-CVB.ST
Abung	Thopa	it is with force

mə-bun-nə

mə-bun-ə
3.AGR-beat-GNM
beats
'Abung beats Thopa hard.'

c. *kəčáknumréndok*

kV-čák-num-rén-dok
1.AGR-eat-INTENSE-EXCESS-COMPL.EVNT
'I ate way too much.'

Category 4: Directional. Lamakang has directional suffixes that indicate the direction in which a V is performed.

Suffix	*Directional meaning*	*Gloss*	*Abbreviation*
-dok	'V onward', 'V further'	completive.event	COMPL.EVNT
-noldə	'V pushing downward'	completive.down	COMPL.DWN
-sli	'V inward'	completive.in	COMPL.IN
-krep	'V breaking in pieces'	completive.force	COMPL.FRC

Table 9. Directional Suffixes

When a directional suffix is used with verbs of movement (e.g. 'come', 'go', 'run') or applied force (e.g. 'break', 'smash', 'chop'), the meaning of the resulting verb is compositional (e.g. 'come down', 'arrive at an exact spot', 'come in', 'come further', 'break into pieces'). Additionally, the suffixes indicate completion of an action, each suffix highlighting how the action is completed from a different vantage point, i.e., these suffixes are also aspect markers: *-dok*, by far the most frequently attested of these suffixes, highlights event completion; *-noldə* and *-sli* highlight direction of completion; and *-krep* highlights force of completion. See examples in (59a-b) and Text 1, sentences 13, 14, and 31. The directional/completive suffixes may connote excess of action. See (59c-d).

(59)	a.	čák-sli-	eat-COMPL.IN	'eat till full'
	b.	kə-čák-dok-	1.AGR-eat-COMPL.EVNT	'I finished eating'
	c.	neksli-	drink-COMPL.IN	'drink too much'
	d.	čák-dok-	eat-COMPL.EVNT	'eat everything up'

Another directional type suffix described by Grierson but not found in our data is *-hān* or *-hang* [G] 'V upwards'. No examples are provided.

The use of directional suffixes for completive aspect is common in the languages of the area. See, for example, Bhat and Ningomba (1997) and Chelliah (1997) for similar semantic extensions of directional verb prefixes in Meitei.

Category 5: Actor Interaction. Three suffixes define the number and interaction of actors involved in the performed action. These are given in Table 10.

Suffix	*Meaning*	*Gloss*	*Abbreviation*
-kheŋ	'V together'	comitative	COM
-luŋŋe	'V each other'	reciprocal	RECP
-čə	'V by self'	middle	M

Table 10. Actor Interaction Suffixes

The suffix -*kheŋ*, derived from the root *kheŋ* 'together' indicates that actors perform an action at the same time, in conjunction with each other, e.g. (60a).

The suffix -*luŋŋe* is a typical reciprocal marker. Thus with the verb 'kill', -*luŋŋe* signals that two actors kill each other. In addition, -*luŋŋe* can also occur with a verb that refers to the culturally specific action of 'coming together in order to feast' (60b). In this instance, we suppose that the actors are seen as mutually creating an environment where the other can perform the action described in the verb.

The suffix -*čə* (recorded by Grierson as *cha*) is similar to the reflexive/middle morpheme found in the Dulong-Rawang languages (LaPolla 2004). This suffix indicates the self-directed (towards self) and solitary (by oneself) nature of an action. There are no examples in our corpus where -*čə* indicates just reflexivity, as in 'V self' (but see (60d), from Grierson). Several examples of -*čə* (written as *cha*) as are found in Text 2, sentence 9, where the prodigal son reviews in soliloquy how his plight is the result of his own reckless behavior.

(60) a. *čák-kheŋ*
eat-COM
'eat together'

(60) cont.

b. *čák-luŋŋe*
eat-RECP
'eat at the same time' (as at a feast)

c. *cho-cha-nū* [G]
commit-M-MD.CERT
'certainly committed by self'

d. *thē-cha-dā* [G]
say-M-PFV
'said to (him)self'

Category 6: Optative/Imperative. Category 6 consists of suffixes used to issue commands, requests, wishes and exhortations at various politeness levels. Category 6 suffixes are given in Table 11.

Suffix	*Meaning*	*Gloss*	*Abbreviation*
-če	let's V!	'imperative: hortative'	HORT
-inče	please V for *x*'s sake!	'imperative: benefactive'	IMP.BEN
-lək	keep Ving!	'imperative: durative'	IMP.DUR
-no	V immediately!	'imperative: immediate'	IMM.IMP
-só	wish V to be done!	'imperative: desiderative'	DESD

Table 11. Optative and Imperative Suffixes

Proposals indicated with the hortative *-če* allow the speaker to propose or urge a course of action. A referee of this article points out that Burmese has a similar morpheme with the same function. The speaker intends to be a participant in the action. Examples are (61a-c). As (61c) shows, *-če* occurs after *-mə* 'negative' in the order of affixes.

(61) a.

nen	*bu*	*čákče*
nen	bu	čák-če
1PL	rice	eat-HORT

'Let's eat rice!'

(61) cont.

b. *nen* *kəythél-thə* *wəŋ-če*
nen kəythél-thə waŋ-če
1PL market-LOC go-HORT
'Let's go to the market!'

c. *nen* *bu* *čákməče*
nen bu čák-mə-če
1PL rice eat-NEG-HORT
'Let's not eat rice!'

The suffix *-inče* is used for polite requests, such as invitations to the addressee to take a seat or have a meal. See (62a). There are three less mitigated ways to issue a command. First, the verb root may be affixed by the second person agreement marker *ə-*, as in (62b). Second, the suffix *-lək* urges the addressee to continue to V, as in (62c). (In our corpus we find another suffix, *-dat*, which also means 'keep Ving'. The difference between *-dat* and *-lək* is not clear.) Third, in conjunction with the *ə-* prefix, the suffix *-no* indicates that the speaker insists that the addressee V immediately, as in (62d).

(62)

	Word	*Morph analysis*	*Word gloss*
a.	nek-inče	drink-IMP.BEN	'Please drink!'
b.	ə-čák	2.AGR-eat	'(You) eat!'
c.	čák-lək	eat-IMP.DUR	'(Don't hesitate), keep eating!'
d.	ə-waŋ-no	2.AGR-go-IMM.IMP	'Go immediately!'

Finally, the suffix *-só* indicates 'wish to V', is shown in (63). An illustrative sentence is given in (106a). This suffix may be derived from the root *suk* 'wish'. (The [k] of *duk* 'cut' in (d) deletes in fast speech.)

(63) a. *čáksó* 'wish to eat'
b. *wəŋsó* 'wish to go'
c. *sutsó* 'wish to see'
d. *dusó* 'wish to cut'

Category 7: Mood. The suffixes indicating mood are given in Table 12, listed in order of greatest to least certainty.

Suffix	*Gloss*	*Abbreviation*
-nu	'certainty'	MD.CERT
-ləm	'probability'	MD.PROB
-rə	'possibility'	MD.POSS
-ni	'intention'	MD.INTEND
-nikdik	'irrealis'	MD.IRR

Table 12. Mood suffixes

The suffix *-nu* indicates that an action or state has or will certainly occur or come into being. Examples of *-nu* with past and future reference are illustrated in examples (64a) and (64b), respectively. The suffix *-nu* can combine with *-dok* 'completive: event' to add a sense of completion for future action. Compare example (64b) with (64c).

(64) a. *pāp* *chochanū* [G]
pap čoča-nu
sin commit-MD.CERT
'sin I have committed.'

b. *kachāknū* [G]
kV-čák-nu
1.AGR-eat-MD.CERT
'I am going to eat.'

c. *kəčákdoknu*
kV-čák-dok-nu
1.AGR-eat-COMPL.EVNT-MD.CERT
'I will certainly eat.'

The suffix *-ləm* indicates that a proposition is most likely true. The examples in our corpus fit with this analysis; however, more direct

native speaker elicitation is necessary to confirm our hypothesis. There is repeated use in Text 1 of *-ləmdə* 'that's likely what happened' (*-ləm* 'probable' and *-də* 'perfective'). This allows events in the created world of the narrative to be framed as received truth through a narrative tradition.

(65) *mí* *məkheŋŋi* *kipiyər*
mí mə-kheŋ-Ni kV-pi-ar
man INCL-together-AGT NMLZ-give-embrace
man all of them who grasped

luluŋŋi *binləmdə*
lu-luŋ-i bin-ləm-də
head-together-CVB.ST choice-MD.PROB-PFV
being together had chosen, it is said
'All the townsfolk grasped what they had chosen (to do), it is said.'
(T1.32)

The suffix *-ni* indicates the speaker's intention to carry out an action in (66).

(66) *khət* *əyupí* ***ləpni***
khət ə-yu-pí ləp-ni
one DIST-fruit-female[7] serve-MD.INTEND
one some fruit will serve
'...(I) will serve you some fruit.' (T1.20)

As illustrated in (67), the suffix *-rə* indicates possibility.

(67) *məwpá* *əwaŋŋi* [*sikwor*
məw-pá ə-waŋ-Ni sik-wor
elder-male DIST-dem-AGT join.up-under
older brother that one branch

[7] See section 3.1.5 for explanation of this gloss.

(67) cont.	***kéʔyəwrə***	*diŋ*	*lenni*]	*hanpəkəldə*
	kV-éʔyəw-rə	diŋ	len-i	han + pV-kəl-də
	NMLZ-kill-MD.POSS	tree	on-CVB.ST	up+CAUS-high-PFV
	which could kill	tree	being on	caused him to be high up

'The elder brother caused him to be high up on the deadly tree branch.'
(T1.11)

The suffixes *-ləm* 'probable' and *-rə* 'possible' can combine, as seen in (68).

(68)	*ma*	*pudúkni*	*dí*	*mənekləmrə*
	ma	pudúkni	dí	mə-nek-ləm-rə
	3	tomorrow	water	3.AGR-drink-MD.PROB-PROP
	he	tomorrow	water	will drink

'He will most likely drink water tomorrow.'

The root *hep* 'suspect' may occur in a verb compound to indicate the uncertainty of a proposition. It is possible that *hep* is a mood suffix; however, the only data we have with *hep* are (a-e).

(69)			
	a.	čákhep	'may eat'
	b.	wəŋhep	'may go'
	c.	suthep	'may see'
	d.	čénhep	'may run'
	e.	təheplu	'how'
		tV-hep-lu	
		Q-suspect-head	

The suffix -*nikdik*, presumably built on the suffix -*ni* 'intend to V', also indicates an unrealised future event[8]. The suffix may also imply that the action in a proposition will occur near the speaker, e.g. 'come and V'. Author Thounaojam found that most verbs marked with -*nikdik* have first person subjects. Third person subjects rarely occur with verbs marked by -*nikdik* and second person subjects occur in this context only in interrogatives. Examples are in (70a-d).

(70) a.

nəy	*tombətuŋ*	*kilthiŋŋi*	*kəwəŋnikdik*
nəy	tombə-tuŋ	kilthiŋŋi	kV-waŋ-nikdik
1	Tomba-ASS	together	1.AGR-go-MD.IRR
I	with Tomba	together	will go

'I will go together with Tomba.'

b.

ǰon	*uŋŋu*	*prit*	*wəŋnikdik*
ǰon	uŋŋu	prit	waŋ-nikdik
John	and	Preet	go-MD.IRR
John	and	Preet	will go

'John and Preet may go.'

---

[8] This morpheme has two further allomorphs: [nikadi] and [nikidi]. See Text 1, sentence (16) and (i) below.

(i) kathoknikadi [G]
kV-thok-nikdik
pa-be-md.irr
'I shall be.'

If we consider /nikadik/ to be the underlying form, the three allomorphs can be derived as follows:

	/nikadik/	/nikadik/	/nikadik/
Vowel harmony kV → ki	nikidik	----	nikidik
Fast speech, vowel deletion ka → k	nikdik	----	----
Final k → Ø / __#	----	nikadi	nikidi
	[nikdik]	[nikadi]	[nikidi]

In our glosses, the allomorph *nikdik* is provided on the morpheme analysis line.

(70) c. *lilaruk* *čáknikdik*
cont. lila-luk čák-nikdik
Lila-ALSO eat- MD.IRR
Lila too will eat
'Lila will also eat.'

d. *nəŋ* *tidenni* *wəŋnikdik*
nəŋ tV-den-ni waŋ-nikdik
2 Q-continue-day go-MD.IRR
2 some day will go
'On which day might you go?'

Since *-nikdik* indicates an unrealised future event, the adverbial *yani* 'yesterday' cannot modify a verb with this suffix.

Category 8: Negative. Negation is indicated by *-mə*, as shown in (71). Clauses that end with the converb suffix *-i* are from elicited data published in Thounaojam (1998). It is not clear what the discourse function of these stranded dependent clauses is. Perhaps they represent a speech style, as in the English utterance, 'Tomba and I don't eat fish, so...'.

(71) *tombə* *uŋŋu* *nəy* *ŋá* *čákmei*
tombə uŋŋu nəy ŋá čák-mə-i
Tomba and 1 fish eat-NEG-CVB.ST
Tomba and I fish not eating
'Tomba and I do not eat fish...'

The negative also functions as a prohibitive, as seen in (72).

(72) a. *əčákmə*
ə-čák-mə
2.AGR-eat-NEG
'Don't eat!'

(72) b. *čáknummə*

cont. čák-num-mə
eat-INTENSE-NEG
'Don't eat too much!'

c. *əykrepnumrénme*
əy-krep-num-rén-mə-i
throw-COMPL.FRC-INTENSE-EXCESS-NEG-CVB.ST
'intensely wishing to not completely throw...'

Negation may also be indicated by the negative copula *máŋ* 'is not', as in (73).

(73) *nəy buthoŋ mí máŋ*
nəy bu-thoŋ mí máŋ
1 rice-cook man be.not
'I am not a cook.'

Category 9: Aspect. We have identified four aspect markers in Lamkang. These are listed in Table 13:

Suffix	*Aspect*	*Abbreviation*
-piŋ	continuous	CONT
-rak	inchoative	INCHO
-ə	gnomic	GNM
-də	perfective	PFV

Table 13. Aspect Suffixes

Continuous Aspect. The continuous aspect is signaled by *-piŋ*, as in (74).

(74) *kəčákpiŋ*
kV-čák-piŋ
1.AGR-eat-CONT
'I'm still eating.'

Inchoative Aspect. From Grierson's data we learn that there is also an inchoative aspect. He describes a suffix *-rak* that means 'to begin, to be about to V'. An example is given in (75).

(75) *kadirakthiyā* [G]
kV-di-rak + thir-ə
1.AGR-die-INCHO+accompany-GNM
'I am about to die.' (i.e. from now on death will be my company)

Gnomic Aspect. The suffix *-ə* indicates timeless events and states that are equally valid in the past, present and future (76a-b).

(76) a. *ma dí mənekkə*
ma dí mə-nek-ə
3 water 3.AGR-drink-GNM
'He drinks water.'

b. *sil əwa kudúŋŋi məčénnə*
sil ə-wa kV-dúŋ-i mə-čén-ə
cow DIST-dem NMLZ-hard-CVB.ST 3.AGR-run-GNM
cow that it is speedy it runs
'The cow runs fast.'

Perfective Aspect. The suffix *-də* signals perfective aspect, as illustrated by examples (77a-b).

(77) a. *uŋta man hini thedə*
uŋta man hin-ki the-də
and 3PL direction-GEN say-PRF
then they from there said

(77) cont. a. *mruk* *kərŋaləpinče*
mə-ruk kV-r-ŋa-ləp-inče
INCL-also 1.AGR-R-rest-serve-IMP.BEN
here let me rest
'... then, when they were close to the human, from there he said to them, "Let me rest here."'

b. *plúŋrinle* ***bində***
plúŋ-rin-le bin-də
character-life-CONJ choice-PFV
in mind also decided
'...(he) decided (it) in his mind.' (T1.6)

See section 4.4.2.2 for the subordinating function of *-də*.

3.3.2 Serial Verbs and Complex Predicates

A sequence of actions is encoded in serial verb constructions, as illustrated in (78).

(78) *kathēmpi* [G]
kV-thém-pi
1.AGR-divide-give
'I divide and give.'

V_1V_2 sequences where V_1 is an adverbial modifier of V_2 are illustrated in (79). In these complex predicates, V_1 is a bound root and V_2 is a free form.

(79) a. *hanpəkəldə*
han + pV-kəl-də
up+CAUS-high-PFV
'caused to be high up'

(79) b. *wākarrdolamdā* [G]
cont. waŋ + kV-r-do-ləm-də
go+1.AGR-R-method-MD.PROB-PFV
'likely to have gone and joined'

Finally, compounds of a nominalised verb and the roots *set* 'much' or *láŋ* 'extreme' are the comparative and superlative forms of nominal modifiers, as in (80).

(80) a. *ka-sāng-sēt* [G]
kV-saŋ-set
NMLZ-tall-much
'one who is taller'

b. *ka-thā-lang-lang* [G]
kV-thrá-láŋ-láŋ
NMLZ-good-extreme-extreme
'one who is the very best'

3.3.3 Unidentified Affix

The suffix *-čok* occurs in three words in Text 1, sentences 29 and 31, repeated in (81). In these examples *-čok* apparently indicates 'comprehensively V'.

(81) a. *hurčokdə*
hur-čok-də
question-CV-PFV
'fully questioned'

b. *khelčokləmdə*
khel-čok-ləm-də
ask-CV-MD.PROB-PFV
'had repeatedly asked'

c. *pətrudokčokdə*
pV-tru-dok-čok-də
CAUS-start-COMPL.EVNT -CV-PFV
'had fully completed the work'

We need more examples to determine the exact meaning of *-čok* and its category membership.

3.4. Emphatics

Four affixes mark a strong degree of inclusion or exclusion:

mə- 'inclusive' (i.e. all of X).
-be 'no holds barred' (i.e. out and out X)
-di 'exclusive proximate' (i.e. exactly this X).
-do 'exclusive type' (i.e. exactly that type of X).

These affixes can occur on nouns or verbs.

In (82), the verbs *pum* 'be all', *kheŋ* 'be together', and *khay* 'be every', prefixed by *mə-* 'inclusive', signal meanings such as 'all N' (82a); 'the whole group of N' (82b); and 'every N' (82c). The resulting words modify nouns.

(82)

ā-raū	*ma-pūm* [G]	
ə-ləw	mə-pum	
2-wealth	INCL-all	
your wealth	all	
'all your wealth'		(T2.20)

mí	*məkheŋŋi*	
mí	mə-kheŋ-Ni	
man	INCL-together-AGT	
man	all of them	
'the whole group of men'		(T1.32)

ka-am-ki-makhai [G]		
kV-əm-ki + mə-khay		
NMLZ-be-GEN+INCL-every		
which is mine+everything		
'everything which is mine'		(T2.21)

In (83a-c), *mə-* 'inclusive' is directly prefixed on the modified noun. Notice in (b) that the *-nə* 'adverbial' occurs to the left of the verbal suffix *-rə* 'probable'. This sequence is the only example we have of the adverbial co-occurring with other verb morphology.

(83) a. *ma-sa-wāi* *awā* [G]
mə-sá-way ə-wa
INCL-body-husk DIST-dem
'even those husks' (T2.8)

b. *mədotlotnəra*
mə-do + tV-lot-nə-rə
INCL-method+Q-escape-ADV-MD.POSS
by any means of escape (T1.15)

c. *mədoʔéʔyəwnəra*
mə-do + éʔyəw-nə-rə
INCL-method+kill-ADV-MD.POSS
'using any means of killing' (T1.9)

The enclitic *-be* indicates no-holds-barred action or an across-the-board state, as illustrated by the examples in (84).

(84) a. *məǰakthuŋbe*
mə-ǰak-thuŋ-be
INCL-again-at-EMPH.NHB
completely reacted against (T1.6)

b. *nang* *nēmbē* *ka-dēt-ka-mā*
nəŋ nem-be kV-det + kV-máŋ
2 many- EMPH.NHB NMLZ-end+NMLZ-not
you completely ceaselessly

ka-am-pamēn [G]
kV-əm + pV-men
1.AGR-be+CAUSE-together
are together
'You (and I) are always together...' (T2.21)

The 'exclusive proximate' *-di* can occur with either nouns or verbs to signal 'exclusively this' as in *mandi* 'exclusively these people'; *pididə* 'this exact feeding'; and *tadi* 'this exact saying'. It is not clear if *-di* should be analysed as a suffix or enclitic in such cases. The suffixal analysis is supported by the fact that *-di* occurs before inflectional marking, as in *pi-di-də* 'just gave', composed of *pi-* 'give', *-di* 'exclusive proximate' and *-də* 'perfect'. The fact that *-di* can occur with both verbs and nouns, and that it is usually at the edge of a word, supports the enclitic analysis.

The 'exclusive type' *-do* occurs word finally, as in the nouns *kənpado* 'this kind of joy' and *əpəndo* 'this type of plant', and in the verb *pərthumləmdo* 'leapt just so'.

3.5. The Nonspecific Quantifier and Interrogatives

The prefix *tV-* is a nonspecific quantifier that can modify either nouns or verbs. As in (85a), it signals 'to somehow V' when it occurs with verbs. When *tV-* occurs with nouns the meaning is 'some N' (85b).

(85) a. *teyéʔyəwrə*
tV-éʔyəw-rə
Q-kill-MD.POSS
'to somehow kill'

b. *tidittə*
tV-dit-thə
Q-time-LOC
'at some time'

The interrogative stems listed in Table 14 are *tV-* quantified nouns or verbs, as reflected in the morphological analyses given in the third column. The *kV-* prefix 'who' is most likely related to the nominaliser *kV-* and is glossed as such (NMLZ). Illustrative sentences can be found in 4.2.2.

Interrogative	*Gloss*	*Notes on possible morpheme analysis*
ku~ko	'who'	*kV-* 'nominaliser'
təlu	'what'	*tV-* 'Q' + *lu* 'head'
tuwa	'where'	*tV-* 'Q' + *wa* 'demonstrative'
təheplu	'how'	*tV-* ' Q' + *hep* 'suspect' + *lu* 'head'

Interrogative	*Gloss*	*Notes on possible morpheme analysis*
tiden	'which (time or day)'	*tV-* 'Q' + *den* 'continue'
tiden-thəŋŋi	'when'	*tV-* 'Q' + *den* 'continue' + *thuŋ* 'at' + *-i* 'converb'
ti(ya)	'how much' or 'how many'	*tV-* 'Q' + *ya* 'much'
ta-ki [G]	'why'	*tV-* 'Q'+ *-ki* 'from'

Table 14. Lamkang Interrogatives

3.6. Extended uses of the Possessive Prefix

The extended uses of the posessive prefixes described thus far are listed in Table 15.

	Possessive prefix	*Agreement on verb with person of subject*	*Related uses?*
kV-	first person	first person subject	Nominaliser (*kV*-V) Interrogative (*kV*-N)
ə-	second person	second person subject (extended to imperative)	Distal Marker (*ə*-V 'V towards' or *ə*-N 'that N')
mə-	third person	third person subject	Inclusive (*mə*-V or *mə*-N)

Table 15. Extended Uses of Possessive Prefixes

The use of the nominaliser as a relative clause marker is discussed in section 4.4.2.4. Based on evidence from related languages, we can say that the possessive prefixes and subject agreement prefixes are related. However, it is not obvious how the remaining prefix functions are derived from the person marking functions and this remains a question for further research.

4. SYNTAX

In this section we discuss the structure of noun phrases, semantic role marking, clause types and clause linkage. The examples illustrate that Lamkang is a verb final language with flat structure. The order of

arguments is determined on pragmatic grounds. NPs are often omitted from the clause.

4.1. The Noun Phrase

The order of possible post- and pre-head modifiers in the noun phrase is

Adjectival/ Ordinal Numeral	**Phrase Head**	Cardinal Numeral	Quantifier	Demonstrative

Adjectives are a small closed class in Lamkang — we have only one clear example of an adjective: 'rich' in Text 1, Sentence 33, but we assume that others must exist. Instead, noun modification is carried out through internally and externally headed relative clauses (see section 4.4.2.4 for examples). Ordinal numerals occur before the head noun and cardinal numerals after the head noun, as shown in (86). No numeral classifier system is evident.

(86)

	CARDINALS		ORDINALS
a.	*mí khət* man one 'one man'	d.	*rukri mí* first man 'first man'
b.	*naw kudúm* young three 'three children'	e.	*məkinithə naw* second young 'second child'
c.	*úy kini* dog two 'two dogs'	f.	*məkudúm úy* third dog 'third dog'

Other post-head modifiers are demonstrative pronouns and quantifiers, as shown in (87).

(87) a.

nila	*khət*	*əwa*	*kəʔəm*	*dáydə*
ni-le	khət	ə-wa	kV-əm	dáy-də
day-CONJ	one	DIST-dem	NMLZ-be	after-PFV
day	one	there	be	after

'It was one day later...' (T1.28)

b.

kēl	*ma-son*	*khat*	*ma-pi-mē*
kél	mə-son	khət	mə-pi-mə-i
goat	INCL-small	one	INCL-give-NEG-CVB.ST
goat	even young	one	never giving

'Not giving even one young goat...' (T2.20)

Examples of quantifiers are listed in (88). The quantifiers in (88a-c) are simple, while the quantifiers in (88d-h) are: nominalised verbs (88d), noun-verb compounds (88e), based on nouns and prefixed by *mə-* 'inclusive' (88f-g), and based on verbs and prefixed by *mə-* 'inclusive' (88h).

(88)

	Quantifier	*With a Noun*	*Gloss*
a.	*rēt* [G][9] 'several, many'	*masarāwor rēt* [G]	'several servants'
b.	*pəŋ* 'only N'	*mípəŋ*	'only the man'
c.	*be* 'just N'	*míbe*	'just the man'
d.	*kənem~kinem* 'many N'	*mí kinempa* *əpā kanēm hinki* [G]	'many men' 'from many fathers'
e.	*ləpkhət* 'a group of N'	*sil ləpkhət* *sunú ləpkhət*	'a group of cows' 'a group of women'
f.	*məluŋpa* 'a group of'	*mí məluŋpa* *úy məluŋpa*	'a group of men' 'a group of dogs'

[9] Perhaps a variant of *rek-* 'more than one, plural'. See (42).

(88) cont.

g.	*mətut*	*ŋá mətut*	‘heap of fish’
	‘a heap of’	*čárú mətut*	‘heap of straw’
h.	*məkheŋ*	*ŋá məkheŋ*	‘all fishes’
	‘all together’	*čárú məkheŋ*	‘all straws’

Possession is often indicated by a prefix (see Section 3.2.1). The order of constituents in possessive phrase with a prefix is thus

[Possessive Prefix Head Noun] Demonstrative

When the head noun is an inalienable possession, as in (86a-b), the structure of a possessive NP will be

Possessive Pronoun [Possessive Prefix Head Noun]

(See also Text 1, sentences 3 and 16.)

(89) a.

ma-māng	*ma-plūng*
mə-maŋ	mə-plúŋ
3-3	3-character
‘his mind’	(T2.19)

b.

məmaŋi	*mənawpá*	*əwa*	
mə-maŋ-ki	mə-naw-pá	ə-wa	
3-3-GEN	3-young-male	DIST-dem	
his	his younger brother	that	
‘his younger brother’			(T1.3)

Further data on noun modification is presented in section 4.4.2.4.

4.2. Clause Types

Basic clause types in Lamkang are the declarative, interrogative, and imperative. The morphology and syntax of these clause types are described this section.

4.2.1 Declaratives

Equative clauses (i.e. X is Y) may be indicated with the copula *-pi*, as in (90a-b). The predicate may also be a nominalised verb with no overt copula, as in (90c-f). (90f) illustrates an equative clause with the negative copula.

(90) a. *čák-pi*
eat-COP
'This is eating.'

b. *ma kidíl əpəŋpi*
ma kV-díl əpəŋ-pi
3 NMLZ-small Apang-COP
he who is small is Apang
'He is small, Apang is.'

c. *puywa yompəŋŋi klin*
puy-wa yom-pəŋ-i kV-lin
rat-dem cat-even-CVB.ST NMLZ-big
the rat being even a cat which is big
'The rat is as big as cat.'

d. *rəywa kəthrá*
rəy-wa kV-thrá
flower-dem NMLZ-good
the flower which is best
'The flower is beautiful.'

e. *ma kəsuŋ pədáynuŋŋe mədák kətlóŋ*
ma kV-suŋ pədáynuŋ-Ni mə-dák kV-tlóŋ
3 NMLZ-tall but-AGN 3-flesh NMLZ-weak
he who is tall but being his body who is weak
'Although he is weak, he is tall.'

(90) f. *ləikhəm* *kəthrákəmə*
cont. ləikhəm kV-thrá + kV-máŋ
proper name NMLZ-good+ NMLZ-not
Leikham is not good
'Leikham is bad.'

In stative clauses (i.e. X exists), the nominalised stative copula *əm* 'be' is the main predicate. Examples are in (91a-c). The negative copula *maŋ* is used for the nonexistent state (91d).

(91) a. *han-thū-dēm-pang* *machā-pā* *ka-wērr*
han + thuŋ-them-pən mə-čá-pá kV-wer
up+at-divide-back 3-small-male NMLZ-old
at that time his son who is older

laū-thā *ka-am*
law-thə kV-əm
field-LOC NMLZ-be
in the field who was
'At that time the man's elder son was in the field.' (T2.15)

b. *nəŋ* *tuwathə* *kəʔəmmə*
nəŋ tV-wa-thə kV-əm-ə
2 Q-dem-LOC NMLZ-be-HAB
you somewhere one is living
'Where do you live?'

c. *āo-thū* *pa-wā* *hawā* *nai-ki* *ín*
ə-wa + thuŋ pawá hə-wa nəy-ki ín
DIST-dem+at bird PROX-dem 1-GEN house
thereupon bird that my house

(91) cont. c.

rū-būl	*ka-am*	*ē-da*	*arrthāng-dā* [G]
ru-bul	kV-əm	the-də	ə-r-thaŋ-də
bamboo-root	NMLZ-be	say-PFV	DIST-R-reply-PFV
bamboo root	being	said	replied

'Then the bird replied, my house is in the bamboo root.' (T3.3)

d.

harakhūn	*saŋgār-nā*	*wā-dā*
hə-la-khun	saŋar-Ni	waŋ-də
PROX-far-morning	wild cat-AGT	go-PFV
next morning	wild-cat	went

pa-wā	*hawā*	*a-ma-dā*
pawá	hə-wa	ə-máŋ-də
bird	PROX-dem	DIST-not-PFV
bird	that	was not there

'The next morning the wild cat went (to the bamboo root), but the bird was not there.' (T3.4)

In existential statives (i.e. there is X), the existential copula *thok* 'happen' is the matrix predicate. The verbs may be nominalised, as in (92).

(92)

arāngo	*saŋgār-lē*	*pa-wā*
ə-raŋ-do	saŋar-le	pawá
DIST-old- method	wild cat-CONJ	bird
formerly done	wild cat	bird

khat-lo	*ka-thok-dā*
khət-lo	kV-thok-də
one-unite	NMLZ-happen-PFV
one-friendship	was

'Once upon a time, a wild cat was friends with a bird.' (T3.1)

4.2.2 Interrogative Clauses

Lamkang polar interrogatives are formed by the interrogative enclitic on a noun phrase, as in (93a-c), or a predicate, as in (93d).

(93) a. *tombə-mō* [G]
tombə-mo
Tomba-INTRG
'Is it Tomba?'

b. *hə-wa her-son-mō* [G]
hə-wa her-son-mo
PROX-dem hen-small-INTRG
'Is it a chick?'

c. *imphal-thə-mō* [G]
imphal-thə-mō
Imphal-LOC-INTRG
'Is it at Imphal?'

d. *ə-čák-dok-mō* [G]
ə-čák-dok-mō
2.AGR-eat-COMPL.EVNT-INTRG
'Did you finish eating?'

The answer to the questions in (93) may be *um* 'yes' or *me* 'no'. Interrogative forms are given in Table 14 (pages 69-70), and illustrative sentences are given in (94).

(94) a. *nəŋ kupəti*[10]
nəŋ kV-pá-ti
2 NMLZ-male-EXCL.PROX
'Who are you?'

b. *nəŋ kunawti*
nəŋ kV-naw-ti
2 NMLZ-young-EXCL.PROX
'Whose son are you?'

[10] It is not clear why the *-di* 'exclusive proximate' is voiceless in this instance.

(94) c. *nəy kutuŋ wəŋnikdik*

cont. nəy kV-tuŋ waŋ-nikdik
1 NMLZ-with go-MD.IRR
'Who will go with me?'

d. *naŋgā awā kohinkē-arēn* [G]

nəŋ-a	ə-wa	kV-hin-ki	ə-rēn
2-P/RECIP	DIST-dem	NMLZ-direction-GEN	DIST-buy
you	that	from whom	buy

'From whom did you buy that?'

e. *nəŋ təlu əŋəyyə*

nəŋ tV-lu ə-ŋəy-ə
2 Q-head DIST-want-GNM
'Whatever do you want?'

f. *nəŋ tuwathə kəʔəmmə*

nəŋ tV-wa-thə kV-əm-ə
2 Q-dem-LOC NMLZ-be-GNM
you somewhere living
'Wher(ever) do you live?'

g. *nəŋ tidenni wəŋnikdik*

nəŋ tV-den-ni waŋ-nikdik
2 Q-continue-day go-MD.IRR
you some day will go
'On which day might you go?'

h. *ma tidenrəŋ wəŋnikdik*

ma tV-den-rəŋ waŋ-nikdik
3 Q-continue-former go-MD.IRR
he whenever will go
'When might he go?'

(94) i. *nəŋ kuyuŋ əwəŋŋə*
cont. nəŋ kV-tuŋ ə-waŋ-ə
2 NMLZ-with DIST-go-GNM
you with whom 2 go
'Who goes with you?'

4.2.3 Imperative Clauses

Commands in Lamkang are expressed by marking the clause predicate with the second person agreement marker *ə-*. Examples are given in (95a-b).

(95) a. *nəŋ əčák*
nəŋ ə-čák
2 2.AGR-eat
'Eat!'

b. *nəŋ di əsuk*
nəŋ di ə-suk
2 water 2.AGR-drink
'Drink water!'

An imperative verb is often followed by *-no* to indicate that an action should be performed right away. Examples are given in (96).

(96) *nəŋ skul əwəŋno*
nəŋ skul ə-waŋ-no
2 school 2.AGR-go-IMP.IMM
you school go
'You go to school immediately!'

A polite request is indicated by *-inče* 'imperative: benefactive', as in (97a-b).

(97) a. *nəŋ pudukni bu əčákinče*
nəŋ pudukni bu ə-čák-inče
2 tomorrow rice 2.AGR-eat-IMP.BEN
you tomorrow rice eat
'Tomorrow, you must come here and eat!'

(97) b. *nəŋ* *imphal* *əwaŋinče*
cont. nəŋ imphal ə-waŋ-inče
2 Imphal 2.AGR-go-IMP.BEN
you Imphal come
'You must come to Imphal!'

The suffix *-mə* 'negative' is suffixed to the verb root to issue a prohibition.

(98) *nəŋ* *kəythel* *əwəŋmə*
nəŋ kəythel ə-waŋ-mə
2 market 2.AGR-go-NEG
you market don't go
'Do not go to market!'

In some cases, declarative clauses can function as imperatives. It is not clear under what pragmatic or syntactic conditions the *ə-* prefix is omitted from the verb, as in (99). Note: the *Lila* refers to traditional street theater enacted without a stage. The players perform on the street or on a field surrounded by the audience.

(99) *nəŋ* *lila* *həysut*
nəŋ lila həy-sut
2 Lila there-see
you Lila see
'You might go there and see the Lila.'

As illustrated by the examples in (61), proposals are created with the hortative *-če* 'let's'.

4.3. Semantic Role Marking

As mentioned above, Lamkang clause structure is flat. Semantic role markers indicate the semantic relationship between the verb and clause NPs. The semantic role markers are listed in Table 16.

Semantic Role Marker		*With* mí *'man'*		*With* rəy *'flower'*	
-Ni	'agentive/ instrumental'	*míŋi*	'the man'	*rəyye*	'the flower'
-a	'patient/recipient'	*míya*	'at the man'	*rəyya*	'at the flower'
-thə	'locative'	*míthə*	'located at/in/on the man'	*rəythə*	'located at/in/on the flower'
-tuŋ	'associative'	*mítuŋ*	'with some man'	*rəytuŋ*	'with some flower'
-ki	'genitive'	*míki*	'of the man'	*rəyki*	'of the flower'

Table 16. Semantic Role Markers

The associative is derived from *tuŋ* 'be with'. The ablative is originally a combination of the root *hin* 'direction' and *-ki* 'genitive'. The same collocation is found in Meitei where Meitei *-tə* 'locative' combines with Meitei *-ki* 'genitive' to form *-təgi* 'ablative'. The examples in Table 16 illustrate the words *mí* 'man' and *rəy* 'flower' with each of these semantic role markers. Notice that [hin] has the allomorph [kin].

Examples of sentences with the associative are given in (100a-c). An example of the genitive is in Text 2, sentence 21; of the ablative, in Text 1, sentence 17; and of the locative, in Text 1, sentence 18.

(100)a. *nəy besottuŋ kəwəŋínpiŋ*
nəy besot-tuŋ kV-waŋ-ín-piŋ
1 Beshot-ASS 1.AGR-go-house-CONT
I with Beshot I went
'I am going with Beshot'

b. *ma ǰontuŋ məčákdok*
ma jon-tuŋ mə-čák-dok
3 John-ASS 3.AGR-eat-COMPL.EVNT
he with John ate
'He ate with John.'

(100) c. cont.

nəy	*tombətuŋ*	*kilthiŋŋi*	*kəwəŋnikdik*
nəy	tombə-tuŋ	kilthiŋŋi	kV-waŋ-nikdik
1	Tomba-ASS	together	1.AGR-go-MD.IRR
I	with Tomba	together	will go

'I will go together with Tomba.'

In the pattern of semantic role marking in elicited data, the agent of a one place predicate takes no marking, as in (101a), while agent of a two place predicate is marked by *-Ni* 'agent' and patients by *-a* 'patient' (101b-e).

(101) a.

ləikhəm	*kəthrákəmə*
ləikhəm	kV-thrá + kV-máŋ
proper name	NMLZ-good+NMLZ-not
Leikham	who is not good

'Leikham is bad.'

b.

thopəŋi	*bolla*	*mətherrə*
thopə-Ni	bol-a	mə-ther-ə
Thopa-AGT	ball-P/RECIP	3.AGR-kick-GNM
Thopa	ball	kicks

'Thopa kicks the ball.'

c.

nəyye	*silla*	*kəsuttə*
nəy-Ni	sil-a	kV-sut-ə
1-AGT	cow-P/RECIP	1.AGR-see-GNM
I	cow	see

'I see the cow.'

d.

silla	*nəyye*	*kəsuttə*
sil-a	nəy-Ni	kV-sut-ə
cow-P/RECIP	1-AGT	1.AGR-see-GNM
cow	I	see

'The cow, I see (it).'

(101) e. cont.	*thopəŋi*	*həyməyya*	*məbunnə*
	thopə-Ni	həyməy-a	mə-bun-ə
	Thopa-AGT	Heimei- P/RECIP	3.AGR-beat-GNM
	Thopa	Heimei	beats

'Thopa beats Heimei.'

From textual data, i.e. narratives 1-3 in the Appendix, a sample of which is repeated here in (102), we can see that the rules governing semantic role marking are more complicated. For one thing, non-agents can occur with the agentive marker, e.g. 'wild cat' in (102a). See also Text 1, sentence 22. Secondly, agents can occur with no marking, as in (102b). Finally, in texts, patients are often unmarked. For example, in (102c) the animate patient 'tiger' is unmarked.

(102) a.

harakhūn	***sangār-nā***	*wā-dā*	*pa-wā*
hə-la-khun	saŋar-Ni	waŋ-də	pawá
PROX-far-morning	wild cat-AGT	go-PFV	bird
next morning	wild-cat	went	bird

hawā	*a-ma-dā* [G]
hə-wa	ə-máŋ-də
PROX-dem	DIST-not-PFV
that was	not there

'The next morning the wild cat went (to the bamboo root), but the bird was not there.' (T3.4)

b.

mənaw	*tlorrəŋ*	*məkheŋ*
mə-naw	tə-lo-láŋ	mə-kheŋ
3-young	Q-unite-extreme	INCL-together
his younger brother	quite properly	all

(102) b. *pətrudokčokdə*
cont. pV-tru-dok-čok-də
CAUS-start-COMPL.EVNT-CV-PFV
had fully completed the work
'When the young girl was from working around the fields, the young man properly completed all her work at the farm.'
(T1.31)

c.

humpípá	*əwaŋŋi*	*teʔardə*
humpí-pá	ə-wa-Ni	tV-ar-də
tiger-male	DIST-dem-AGT	Q-embrace-PFV
big tiger	that one	somehow grabbing

mədətlani	*kučúyyi*	***humpípá***
mə-dət-lani	kV-čúy-ŋi	humpí-pá
3.AGR-try-CVB.ACT	NM-shield-INST	tiger-male
when trying	spearing	big tiger

toʔorthuŋŋi	*thunǰawdə*
toʔor + thuŋ-i	thun-čaw-də
hunt+at-CVB.ST	at-big-PFV
was killed	pushed far

'When the tiger tried to grab (the fruit), (the man) pushed his spear far in, killing the big tiger.' (T1.23)

4.4. Coordination and Subordination

4.4.1 Conjunctions

Two constituents of the same category can be coordinated with *uŋŋu* or *uŋtə* 'and', as in (103). These are most likely dialect variants. Both are possibly based on *-tuŋ* 'associative'.

(103) a.

kíʔip	*uŋŋu*	*kətroŋ*
kV-ip	uŋŋu	kV-troŋ
1.AGR-sleep	and	1.AGR-roam
I sleep	and	I roam

'I sleep and roam.'

b.

ram	*uŋŋu*	*nəy*	*ŋá*	*čákme*
ram	uŋŋu	nəy	ŋá	čá-mə-i
Ram	and	1	fish	eat-NEG-CVB.ST
Ram	and	I	fish	do not eat

'Ram and I do not eat fish.'

c.

tombiŋe	*ča*	*uŋta*	*dí*	*mənekkə*
tombi-Ni	ča	uŋta	dí	mə-nek-ə
Tombi-AGT	tea	and	water	3.AGR-drink-GNM
Tombi	tea	and	water	drinks

'Tombi drinks tea and water.'

When three or more constituents are conjoined, the constituents may occur with the conjunction preceding only the last constituent, as in (104).

(104) *josua pitər uŋŋu thəmthi*
'Joshua, Peter and Thamthi...'

A series of phrases can be conjoined, as in the gapping construction in (105a). In (105b), a series of clauses are conjoined through juxtaposition.

(105) a.

həyməyŋe	*ŋá*	*uŋta*	*məniŋi*	*sá*
həyməy-Ni	ŋá	uŋta	məni-Ni	sá
Heimei-AGT	fish	and	Mani-AGT	meat
Heimei	fish	and	mani	meat

məčákkə
mə-čák-ə
3.AGR-eat-GNM
eats
'Heimei eats fish and Mani eats meat.'

b.

tombəŋe	*məbunə*	*məniŋe*	*məkawwə*
tombə-Ni	mə-bun-ə	məni-Ni	mə-kaw-ə
Tomba-AGT	3.AGR-beat-GNM	Mani-AGT	3.AGR-kick-GNM
Tomba	beats	Mani	kicks

čawbiŋe	*mətrəppə*	*uŋta*	*nəyye*	*kəsuttə*
čawbi-Ni	mə-trəp-ə	uŋta	nəy-Ni	kV-sut-ə
Chaobi-AGT	3.AGR-cry-GNM	and	1-AGT	1.AGR-see-GNM
Chaobi	cries	and	I	see

'Tomba beats, Mani kicks, Chaobi cries, and I see.'

The semantic role marker *-tuŋ* 'associative' also functions to co-ordinate NPs. See example (100c) above.

Disjunctive conjunction is indicated through *məyonso* 'or' and adversative conjunction through *pədáynu* 'but, however'. These conjugation types are illustrated in (106).

(106) a.

tombə	*məyonso*	*čawbə*	*ərwansó*
tombə	məyonso	čawbə	ə-r-waŋ-só
Tomba	or	Chaoba	2.AGR-R-go-DESD
Tomba	or	Chaoba	I want them to come

'Make either Tomba or Chaoba come.'

(106) cont. b.

ma	*kutoy*	*pədáynu*	*kəmár*
ma	kV-toy	pədáynuŋ	kV-már
3	NMLZ-short	but	NMLZ-fat
she	who is short	but	who is fat

'She is short but fat.'

c.

ma	*sukthuk*	*pədáynu*	*məplúŋseŋ*
ma	sukthuk	pədáynuŋ	mə-plúŋ-seŋ
3	poor	but	3.AGR-character-clear
she	poor	but	honest

'She is poor but honest'

Conjoining as in lists can be carried out with the following affixes:

-le	...	-le
ruk	...	-le
-yonso	...	-yonso

The disjunctive conjunction *məyonso* (perhaps composed of *mə-* 'mode' + *yon* 'together' + *-so* 'wish V to be done') is obviously related to the form *-yonso*. Examples of these conjunctions are given in (107). Note in (107b) that Grierson provides the gloss *-ŋin-* 'for'. It is not clear if *ŋin* is a root or suffix.

(107) a.

həyməyle	*besotle*	*wəŋdok*
həyməy-le	besot-le	waŋ-dok
Heimei-CONJ	Beshot-CONJ	go-COMPL.EVNT
Heimei and	Beshot and	went

'Heimei and Beshot went together.'

b.

nəy	*gopalle*	*mənile*
nəy	gopal-le	məni-le
1	Gopal-CONJ	Mani-CONJ
I	with Gopal	and Mani

(107) b. *kilthiŋŋi kəwəŋŋinpiŋ*
cont. kilthiŋŋi kV-waŋ-ŋin-piŋ
together 1.AGR-go-for-CONT
together I am going
'I am going together with Gopal and Mani.'

c. *nəyyonso ǰonyonso čákdok*
nəy-yonso ǰon-yonso čák-dok
1-together John-together eat-COMPL.EVNT
I together with John ate
'I ate together with John.'

In one example, *-le* occurs on just one member of the conjunct.

(108) josua-le ləykhəm
Joshua-AND Leikham
'Johshua and Leikham...'

4.4.2 Clause linking
There are five ways to create subordinate clauses in Lamkang:

-i	'converb: state' signals current state.
-lani	'converb: action' indicates simultaneous action.
-də	'perfective' signals consecutive action.
-nə	'adverb' signals reason or cause.
kə-	'nominaliser' signals a relative clause.

Each of these possibilities is discussed and illustrated with examples.

4.4.2.1 Current State. As illustrated by (109a-b), *-i* 'converb: state' marks a dependent clause that expresses a current state against the background of which matrix verb is performed or exists. The relevant verbs are highlighted. The non-highlighted occurrences of the converb suffix in (110a and b) are discussed with further examples in (111).

(109) a.

məmanni	*məmún*	***məphathunni***
mə-man-Ni	mə-múl	mə-pha-thun-i
3-3PL-AGT	INCL-hill	3.AGR-get-at-CVB.ST
they	on the hill	getting to

'after their getting on the hill…

kudúŋŋi	*klin*	*diŋ*	*sikwor*
kV-dúŋ-i	kV-lin	diŋ	sik-wor
NMLZ-hard-CVB.ST	NMLZ-big	tree	join up-under
being very	which was big	tree	branch

'from a tree branch which was very big…'

əwa	*phaləmdə*
ə-wa	pha-ləm-də
DIST-dem	get-MD.PROB-PFV
there	apparently plucked

'they plucked fruit.'
'After they got to the hill they plucked fruit from a very big tree branch.' (T1.10)

b.

məwpá	[*əwaŋŋi*	*sikwor*
məw-pá	ə-wa-Ni	sik-wor
elder-male	DIST-dem-AGT	join up-under
older brother	that one	branch

kéʔyəwrə	*diŋ*	***lenni***]
kV-éʔyəw-rə	diŋ	len-i
NMLZ-kill-MD.POSS	tree	on-CVB.ST
which could kill	tree	being on

(109) b. *hanpəkəldə*
cont. han + pV-kəl-də
up+CAUS-high-PFV
caused him to be high up
'The older brother caused him to be high up on the deadly tree branch.' (T1.11)

c.

məhi	*əwa*	*káŋ*
mə-hi	ə-wa	káŋ
3-blood	DIST-dem	knife
its blood	that	knife

lenni	*pubuldə*
len-i	pV-bul-də
on-CVB.ST	CAUS-smear-PFV
being on	caused to be smeared

'He caused its blood to be on the knife.' (T1.8)

Linking Dependent Clauses: Nominalised Verb -i. The converb suffix may also occur on a nominalised verb, making the nominalised constituent the head of a dependent clause, as shown in (110).

(110) a.

məmaŋi	*mənawpá*	*əwa*
mə-maŋ-ki	mə-naw-pá	ə-wa
3-3-GEN	3-young-male	DIST-dem
of his	his younger brother	that

kudúŋŋi	*sunúʔəmdə*
kV-dúŋ-i	sá-nú + əm-də
NMLZ-hard-CVB.ST	body-female+be-PFV
being hateful	wife had been

'Being hateful of his younger brother, the wife had been.' (T1.3)

(110) b. cont.

*məd*o*éʔyəw*	***kəčaŋŋi***
mə-do + éʔyəw	kV-čaŋ-i
INCL-method+kill	NMLZ-able-CVB.ST
any way of killing	which was able

piyu	*əwa*	*éʔyəwdə*
piyu	ə-wa	éʔyəw-də
mouse	DIST-dem	kill-PFV
mouse	that	killed

'Killing what he was able to, he killed a mouse.' (T1.8)

The roots *láŋ* 'extreme' and *dúŋ* 'hard' occur in nominalised form with the converb suffix *-i* in the words *kə-láŋ-i* and *kə-dúŋ-i*. Dependent clauses headed by either of these verbs may specify the duration or the manner in which matrix clause predicates are performed, as shown in (111).

(111) a.

əbuŋŋi	*thopa*	***kudúŋ-rén-i***
əbuŋ-Ni	thopa	kV-dúŋ-rén-i
Abung-AGT	Thopa	NMLZ-hard-EXCESS-CVB.ST
Abung	Thopa	being forceful

mə-bun-nə

mə-bun-ə

3.AGR-beat-HAB

he beats

'Abung beats Thopa hard.'

b.

sil	*əwa*	***kudúŋŋi***	***məčénnə***
sil	ə-wa	kV-dúŋ-i	mə-čén-ə
cow	DIST-dem	NMLZ-hard-CVB.ST	3.AGR-run-HAB
cow	that	being fast	it runs

'The cow runs fast.'

(111) c.	***kəthráŋŋi***	***kəʔəmləm***
cont.	kV-thrá-láŋ-i	kV-əm-ləm
	NMLZ-good-extreme-CVB.ST	NMLZ-be-MD.PROB
	being happy	likely were
	'(they) were apparently happy.'	

Nouns may also be modified by either of these words, as illustrated in (112a-b).

(112) a.	*kudúŋŋi*	*diŋ*
	kV-dúŋ-i	diŋ
	NMLZ-hard-CVB.ST	tree
	which being deep	forest
	'..being deep in the jungle...'	(T1.9)

b. *təʔərəŋŋikəthráŋŋi*

tV-ə-láŋ-i + kV-thrá-láŋ-i
Q-DIST-extreme-CVB.ST+NMLZ-good-extreme-CVB.ST
being the best

əpando

ə-pan-do
DIST-plant-EXCL.TYPE
that fruit
'...being the best fruit' (T1.21)

Subordinating Conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions are listed in Table 17. As shown by the analysis of the examples in (113), all subordinating conjunctions contain the converb suffix *-i.*

Subordinating Conjunction	*Gloss*
ə-wə-ləy-yi	'therefore'
ə-wə-thuŋ-ŋi	'then'
mə-del-thəŋ-ŋi	'thereafter'
pə-dáy-nuŋ-ŋe	'however'

Table 17. Lamkang Subordinating Conjunctions

Examples of subordinating conjunctions are given in (113a-e).

(113) a.

ma	*čákdok*	*əwəthuŋŋi*
ma	čák-dok	ə-wa + thuŋ-Ni
3	eat-COMPL.EVNT	DIST-dem+at-AGN
she	ate	then

kíʔípdok
kí-íp-dok
1.AGR-sleep-COMPL.EVNT
we slept
'She ate, then (we) slept.'

b.

thəmthi	*kərhelča*	*əwəthuŋŋi*
thəmthi	kV-r-hel-čə	ə-wa + thuŋ- ŋi
Thamthi	NM-R-return-M	DIST-dem+at-AGN
Thamthi	returning	then

nəy	*kíʔípdok*
nəy	kí-íp-dok
1	1.AGR-sleep-COMPL.EVNT
I	I slept

'Thamthi came back and then I slept.'

(113) c. cont.

məman	*thláləmme*
mə-man	thrá-ləm-mə-i
3-3PL	good-MD.PROB-NEG-CVB.ST
they	being apparently bad

əwələyyi	*manna*
ə-wa + ləy-Ni	man-a
DIST-dem+add-AGN	3PL-P/RECIP
therefore	them

kəpdér
kV-pV-dér
1.AGR-CAUS-hate
hate
'They are the worst, so I hate them.'

d.

həyməy	*kərthelča*	*mədelthəŋŋi*
həyməy	kV-r-thel-čə	mə-den-thuŋ-Ni
Heimei	1.AGR-R-return-M	INCL-continue-at-AGN
Heimei	came back	thereafter

tombə	*məwəŋdok*
tombə	mə-waŋ-dok
Tomba	3.AGR-go-COMPL.EVNT
Tomba	went

'Heimei came back and after that Tomba went.'

e.

ma	*kəsuŋ*	*pədáynuŋŋe*	*mədák*	*kətlóŋ*
ma	kV-suŋ	pədáynuŋ-Ni	mə-dák	kV-tlóŋ
3	NMLZ-tall	but-AGN	3-flesh	NMLZ-weak
he	who is tall	but is	his body	which is weak

'Although he is weak, he is tall.'

4.4.2.2 Consecutive and Simultaneous Action. The dependent clause states a consecutive action with the matrix clause when suffixed by-*də* 'perfective'. See (114) for examples.

(114) a.

nəy	[*bu*	*čákthidə*]	*nanithə*
nəy	bu	čák-thir-də	nən-gi-thə
1	rice	eat-accompany-PFV	2-GEN-LOC
I	rice	eaten together	your (pl) home

ərwanikdik

ə-r-waŋ-nikdik
DIST-R-go-MD.IRR
will come
'I, having finished eating with my family, will come to your home.'

b.

nanga-ki	*ā-raū*	*ma-pūm*	*kasūbi*
nəŋ-ki	ə-ləw	mə-pum	kasūbi
2-GEN	DIST-wealth	INCL-all	harlot
your	the wealth	all	harlot

hin-thā	*pi-dā*	*po-māng-dā*
hin-thə	pi-də	pV-maŋ-də
direction-LOC	give-PFV	CAUS-waste-PFV
to	having given	caused to be wasted

'...having given all your wealth to harlots, (your son) has wasted it' (T2.20)

c.

ma-khūt-thū	*mēēk*	*ēdā*	*wāng-yong-dā*
mə-khút-thuŋ	mek	e-də	waŋ-yuŋ-də
3-hand-at	dung	defecate-PFV	go-fly-PFV
on his hand	dung	having defecated	flew away

'Just then the bird having defecated dung on his paw, flew away.' (T3.7)

Simultaneous action between the subordinated and matrix clause is indicated by *-lani/laŋi* 'converb: simultaneous' as shown in (115). See also Text 1, sentence 23, and Text 2, sentence 11 or 20 for further examples.

(115)

lam-klā	*ma-am-lāni*	*ma-māng*
lə́m + kV-la	mə-əm-lani	mə-maŋ
place+NMLZ-far	3.AGR-be-CVB.ACT	3-3
place which is far	he approaching	his father

dai-dā	*won-pi-sā-dā*	*wang-chen-dā*
dáy-də	won-pi-sá-də	waŋ-čén-də
after-PFV	call-give-body-PFV	go-run-PFV
after seeing	was compassionate	came running

'When he was far from the place, his father having seen him was compassionate and came running.' (T2.11)

4.4.2.3 Causation and Reason. Finally, a subordinate clause marked by *-nə* 'adverbial' provides the cause, reason ('because V'), or source ('by Ving', 'using V') for the event or state expressed in the matrix predicate. Examples are given in (116).

(116) a.

əwsilthə[11]	[*doláy*	*əwa*
ə-wa + sik-thə	do-láy	ə-wa
DIST-dem+join-LOC	method-ground	DIST-dem
then	on the ground	there

mínaw	*ma*	*əmnə*]
mí-naw	ma	əm-nə
man-young	3	be-ADV
young man	he	because he was

[11] The vowel of the demonstrative *wa* is deleted in fast speech.

(116) cont. a.

bethə	*pərthumləmdo*
be-thə	pV-r-thum-ləm-do
towards-LOC	CAUS-R-leap-MD.PROB-EXCL.TYPE
right there	leapt just so, it is said

'Then, because the young man was there on the ground, the tiger leapt right there.' (T1.18)

b.

yā	*thē-dā*	*"a-pā,*	*[nai*
ya	the-də	ə-pá	nəy
hear	say-PFV	2-male	1
hearing	said	my father	I

ka-tūm-na	*ā-raū*	*a-wā]*
kV-tum-nə	ə-ləw	ə-wa
NMLZ-allot-ADV	2-wealth	DIST-dem
using that which is allotted to me	wealth	that

[nai-ka	*hinthā]*	*mahai-pi"*
nəy-ki	hin-thə	mə-həy-pi
1-GEN	to-LOC	3.AGR-here-give
mine	towards	give

'The younger son among them said to his father, "My father, give me your wealth by allotting to me my inheritance."' (T2.2)

4.4.2.4 Relative Clauses. Relative clauses are formed by prefixing the verb of the relativised clause with *kV-* 'nominaliser'. Relative clauses may be pre-heads as in (117a-b), or post-heads as in (117c-e).

(117) a.

nai	*ka-tūm-na*	*ā-raū* [G]
nəy	kV-tum-nə	ə-ləw
1	NMLZ-allot-ADV	2-wealth
I	using that which is allotted to me	wealth

'the wealth which I was allotted' (T2.2)

(117) cont.

b.

[*ma-māng*	*laipāk*	*awā-thā*	*ka-am*
mə-maŋ	laypak	ə-wā-thə	kV-əm
3-3	country	DIST-dem-LOC	NMLZ-be
his	country	in that	who resides

mí]	*khat*	*hin-thā*
mí	khət	hin-thə
man	one	direction-LOC
man	one	to

wā-karrdo-lam-dā

waŋ + kV-r-do-ləm-də

go+1.AGR-R-method-MD.PROB-PFV

likely go and join

'He thought, "I will go and join a man who resides in this country".' (T2.6)

c.

han-thū-dēm-pang	[*machā-pā*
han + thuŋ-them-pən	mə-čá-pá
up+at-divide-back	3-small-male
at that time	his son

ka-wērr]	*laū-thā*	*ka-am*
kV-wer	law-thə	kV-əm
NMLZ-old	field-LOC	NMLZ-be
who is older	in the field	was

'At that time the man's elder son was in the field.' (T2.15)

d.

əwa	*diŋ*	*klinpá*
ə-wa	diŋ	klin-pá
DIST-dem	tree	big-male
that	tree	which is biggest

'the biggest tree' (T1.14)

(117) cont. e.

ka-poi	*ka-tham*
kV-poy	kV-tham
1-belly	NMLZ-hunger
my belly	which is hungry

'my belly which is hungry' (T2.9)

5. QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The analysis we've presented here is based on a small corpus and limited native speaker input. However, we feel justified in presenting the material collected and analysed thus far since there is no guarantee that further documentation of Lamkang will continue in the near future. It is hoped that a short sketch such as this will encourage needed additional work. We note a few aspects of Lamkang grammar that require further investigation:

1. Paths of semantic change that have lead to the extended functions of the possessive prefixes *kV-*, *ə-* and *mə-*.
2. The semantic value of intrusive *-r-*, including the possibility of other consonants that may occur in the same position, for example the alternation between *kiwer* and *kibwér* 'elder', and other words that could possibly be analysed as NMLZ-consonant-root, such as *kindrit* 'truth'.
3. The pragmatic and discourse constraints on the distribution of Ø-marked vs. agreement marked verbs.
4. Morpheme ordering and scope.
5. The pragmatic, discourse, and syntactic principles that determine semantic role marking.
6. Ideophones: More data should be collected on ideophones, echo collocations, and psycho-collocations (as discussed in Van-Bik (1998) for Lai Chin and Matisoff (1986) for other South-East Asian languages).
7. Interclausal relations.
8. Tones, voice quality and stress.
9. Divergence from related languages due to contact with Meitei.

In addition to the collection of new data, existing Christian Missionary literature and recordings should be analysed and added to the corpus. Author Chelliah recently acquired analogue audio recordings of Lamkang from the Global Recordings Network. The Lamkang recording includes 90 minutes of oral translations of scripted dialogues about Christian dogma, Christian hymns, readings of Bible passages and mini-sermons. English translations of these recordings — available online at www.gospelrecordings.com — could be used with native speaker input to greatly increase the size of the Lamkang corpus.

APPENDIX 1: THREE LAMKANG TEXTS WITH INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION

Appendix 1 consists of three texts presented with four lines of analysis. Text 1 along with its free translation was recorded by author Thounaojam. Texts 2 and 3 are from Grierson (1967 [1904]), who provides free translations and some morpheme and word glosses. Author Chelliah carried out the text analysis presented here for all three texts. We reference data from the texts in the grammatical sketch with the text and sentence number, e.g. Text 1, sentence 2 is (T1.2).

The analysis presented is as follows:

Line 1:	Text 1 broad phonemic transcription
	Texts 2 and 3 original transcription from Grierson
Line 2:	Morphological Analysis
Line 3:	Morpheme Gloss
Line 4:	Word Gloss

Sentences are numbered on the left. Each sentence is followed by a free translation. Wherever possible, line breaks coincide with the end of a phrase. Square brackets are used to clarify constituency where necessary.

Text 1: The Escape of the Younger Brother [12]

1.	*əraŋŋe*	*khu*	*khət*	*thuŋŋi*
	ə-raŋ-le	khun	khət	thuŋ-ki
	DIST-old-CONJ	village	one	at-GEN
	ancient times	village	one	of long ago

[12] Author Chelliah provided a title for this text for ease of reference.

məwle	*mənaw*	*khət*	*əmləmdə*
məw-le	mə-naw	khət	əm-ləm-də
elder-CONJ	3-young	one	be-MD.PROB-PFV
elder and	his younger brother	one	apparently lived

'And in an ancient village of long ago, an elder brother and his younger brother lived, it is said.'

2.

məwpá	[*thrálikəmə*	*sunú*]	*khət*
məw-pá	thrá-lin + kV-máŋ	sá-nú	khət
elder-male	good-big+NMLZ-not	body-female	one
elder one	wicked	woman	one

əmdə
əm-də
be-PFV
was

'The elder brother's wife was wicked.'

3.

məmaŋi	*mənawpá*	*əwa*
mə-maŋ-ki	mə-naw-pá	ə-wa
3-3-GEN	3-young-male	DIST-dem
his	younger brother	that

kudúŋŋi	*sunú?əmdə*
kV-dúŋ-i	sá-nú + əm-də
NMLZ-hard-CVB.ST	body-female+be-PFV
being hateful	wife had been

'The wife had been hateful towards his younger brother.'

4.

maki	*plúŋrin*	*kəthrəkəmə*
ma-ki	plúŋ-rin	kV-thrá + kV-máŋ
3-GEN	character-life	NMLZ-good+NMLZ-not
her	thoughts	which were not good

əwaŋŋi	*mənawpá*	*teyéʔyəwrə*
ə-wa-ŋi	mə-naw-pá	tV-éʔyəw-rə
DIST-dem-INST	3-young-male	Q-kill-MD.POSS
with those	his younger brother	somehow to kill

bində
bin-də
choice-PFV
chose

'With evil thoughts she decided to somehow kill her husband's younger brother.'

5.

nikhətti	*thedə*	*ənawpá*
ni-khət-i	the-də	ə-naw-pá
day-one-CVB.ST	say-PFV	2-young-male
was one day	said	your younger brother

həwa	*əʔéʔyəw*	*didə*
hə-wa	ə-éʔyəw	di-də
PROX-dem	2.AGR-kill	die-PFV
this	you kill	dead

'One day she said (to her husband), "Kill your younger brother".'

6.

maki	*mínpu*	*əwa*
ma-ki	mí + nə-pu	ə-wa
3-GEN	man+2-owner	DIST-dem
her	your husband	that

məǰakthuŋbe	*plúŋthrəmdə*	*pədáynu*
mə-ǰak-thuŋ-be	plúŋ-thrá-mə-də	pədáynuŋ
INCL-again-at-EMPH.NHB	character-good-NEG-PFV	but
absolutely reacting against	had gotten angry	but

mə-sí-nú	*dobin*	*niŋklunnəraŋi*
mə-sá-nú	do-bin	niŋ-klun-nə-laŋi
3-body-female	method-choice	wish-happy-ADV-CVB.ACT
his wife	choice	because wished to make happy

klodəni	*didə*	*plúŋrinle*
kV-lo-də-ni	di-də	plúŋ-rin-le
1.AGR-take-PFV-MD.INTEND	die-PFV	character-life-CONJ
intended	to kill	in mind also

bində
bin-də
choice-PFV
decided

'Her husband angrily reacted fully against this idea, but later wishing to make his wife happy, he decided that he would kill the younger brother.'

7.

əwələyyi	*nikhətti*
ə-wa + ləy-Ni	ni-khət-i
DIST-dem+add-AGN	day-one-CVB.ST
it was then	being one day

mənawpá	*əwa*	*thridə*	*nom*
mə-naw-pá	ə-wa	thir[13]-də	nom
3-young-male	DIST-dem	accompany-PFV	grass
his younger brother	that	accompanied	jungle

[13] There is an apparent metathesis of [r] and [i] in [thir].

ələkto	*waləmdə*	*pədáynu*
ə-lək-to	waŋ-ləm-də	pədáynuŋ
DIST-far-do	go-MD.PROB-PFV	but
there to do	apparently took	but

éʔyəwni	*tidittə*	*pəčaŋmədə.*
éʔyəw-ni	tV-dit-thə	pV-čaŋ-mə-də
kill-MD.INTEND	Q-time-LOC	CAUS-able-NEG-PFV
will kill	whenever	had not been able to cause it

‘Then, one day he took his younger brother to the jungle for this purpose but whenever the opportunity came to kill his younger brother he could not do it.’

8.

məma	*mədoéʔyəw*	*kəčaŋŋi*
mə-maŋ	mə-do-éʔyəw	kV-čaŋ-i
3-3	INCL-method-kill	NMLZ-able-CVB.ST
his	the ways of killing	which was able

piyu	*əwa*	*éʔyəwdə*	*məhi*
piyu	ə-wa	éʔyəw-də	mə-hi
mouse	DIST-dem	kill-PFV	3-blood
mouse	that	killed	its blood

əwa	*káŋ*	*lenni*	*pubuldə*
ə-wa	káŋ	len-i	pV-bul-də
DIST-dem	knife	on-CVB.ST	CAUS-smear-PFV
that	knife	being on	caused to be smeared

‘Doing what he could, he killed a mouse and smeared a knife with its blood.’

9.

məmaŋi	*ínthə*	*ərwaŋ*
mə-maŋ-Ni	ín-thə	ə-r-waŋ
3-3-AGT	house-LOC	DIST-R-go
his	to the house	coming

kərheldə	*éʔyəwnu*	*didə*
kV-r-hel-də	éʔyəw-nu	di-də
NMLZ-R-return-PFV	kill-MD.CERT	die-PFV
returning	will kill	have killed

káŋ	*hyi*	*kərbul*	*əwa*	*tidekdə*
káŋ	hi	kV-r-bul	ə-wa	tV-dek-də
knife	blood	NMLZ-R-smear	DIST-dem	Q-show-PFV
knife	blood	which was smeared	that	sort of showed

pədáynu	*sunú*	*əwaŋŋi*
pədáynuŋ	sá-nú	ə-wa-Ni
but	body-female	DIST-dem-AGT
but	woman	that one

dáydə	*kinditti*	*mədoʔéʔyəwnəra*
dáy-də	kindrit-i	mə-do + éʔyəw-nə-rə
after-PFV	truth-CVB.ST	INCL-method+kill-ADV-MD.POSS
later	being the true	by which type killing

theda	*məmaki*	*sunú*
the-də	mə- maŋ -ki	sá-nú
say-PFV	3-3-GEN	body-female
revealed	his	woman

kəthrəkəmə	*pawnə*	*əwa*
kV-thrá + kV-máŋ	paw-nə	ə-wa
NMLZ-good +NMLZ-not	news-ADV	DIST-dem
evil	because of news	that

ərya	*pəcaŋme*
ə-r-ya	pV-caŋ-mə-i
DIST-R-vast	CAUS-able-NEG-CVB.ST
endlessly	not being able to cause

əwələyyi	*mənawpá*	*əwa*
ə-wa + ləy-i	mə-naw-pá	ə-wa
DIST-dem+add-CVB.ST	3-young-male	DIST-dem
so it was	his younger brother	that

kudúŋŋi	*diŋ*
kV-dúŋ-i	diŋ
NMLZ-hard-CVB.ST	tree
being deep	forest

kiyiŋ	*ələkthə*	*wathirdə*
kV-yiŋ	ə-lək-thə	waŋ-thir-də
NMLZ-pretense	DIST-far-LOC	go-accompany-PFV
pretense	there	went together

'When he came back to his house, (he said), "I'm back, I've killed (him) as planned", and showed his wife the bloodstained knife. But later the woman learned of the true killing, and the evil woman, hearing this news, endlessly talked about his not being able to kill (his brother). So then, it was into the deep jungle that he went with his younger brother, under the pretense (of gathering wood).'

10.

məmanni	*məmún*	*məphathunni*
mə-man-Ni	mə-múl	mə-pha-thun-i
3-3PL-AGT	INCL-hill	3.AGR-get-at-CVB.ST
they	on the hill	getting there

kudúŋŋi	*klin*	*diŋ*	*sikwor*
kV-dúŋ-i	kV-lin	diŋ	sik-wor
NMLZ-hard-CVB.ST	NMLZ-big	tree	join up-under
being very	which was big	tree	branch

əwa	*phaləmdə*
ə-wa	pha-ləm-də
DIST-dem	get-MD.PROB-PFV
that	apparently plucked

'Getting on the hill, they plucked fruit from a very big tree branch, it is said.'

11.

məwpá	*əwaŋŋi*	*sikwor*
məw-pá	ə-waŋ-Ni	sik-wor
elder-male	DIST-dem-AGT	join up-under
older brother	that one	branch

kéʔyəwrə	*diŋ*	*lenni*
kV-éʔyəw-rə	diŋ	len-i
NMLZ-kill-MD.POSS	tree	on-CVB.ST
which could kill	tree	being on

hanpəkəldə

han + pV-kəl-də
up+CAUS-high-PFV
caused him to be high up

'The older brother caused him to be high up on the branch of the deadly tree.'

12.

əwələyyi	*diŋdollonnəran*	*kəl*
ə-wa + ləy-i	diŋ + dol-lon-nə-láŋ	kəl
DIST-dem+add-CVB.ST	tree-branch-top-extreme	high
it was then	on the tree branch	high

dorləmdə
do-r-ləm-də
push-R-MD.PROB-PFV
pushed it is said

'So then (they younger brother) was pushed high on the tree branch.'

13.

mənawpá	*əwa*	*diŋ*	*lenni*
mə-naw-pá	ə-wa	diŋ	len-i
3-young-male	DIST-dem	tree	on-CVB.ST
his younger brother	that	tree	being on

hanpəkəlthidə	*ələy*
han + pV-kəl-thir-də	ə-ləy
up+CAUS-far-accompany-PFV	DIST-add
having been caused high up	ladder[14]

əwa	*ləwthidə*
ə-wa	ləw-thir-də
DIST-dem	take-accompany-PFV
that	took with

məwpáwa	*čensidə*
məw-pá-wa	čen-sli-də
elder-male-dem	run-COMPL.IN-PFV
the elder brother	ran away

'Having caused the younger brother to get high up on the tree, the elder brother took the ladder and ran away with it.'

[14] The function of the distal marker in this word is not clear.

14.

mənawpá	*əwa*	*diŋ*	*klinpá*	*lenni*
mə-naw-pá	ə-wa	diŋ	klin-pá	len-i
3-young-male	DIST-dem	tree	big-male	on-CVB.ST
younger brother	the	tree	biggest	being on

ma	*əmdok*
ma	əm-dok
3	be-COMPL.EVNT
he	was

'The younger brother was on the biggest tree.'

15.

dilwa	*dokələk*
dil-wa	do + kV-lək
behind-dem	push+NMLZ-far
there	pushed high

mədotlotnəra	*əmlitme*
mə-do + tV-lot-nə-rə	əm-lit-me
INCL-method+Q-escape-ADV-MD.POSS	be-find-NEG
using any means of escape	could not find

'There, pushed high, he could not find any means of escape.'

16.

məmanni	*təlu*	*tlodə*	[*sunnikidi*
mə-man-Ni	tV-lu	tlo-də	sun-nikdik
3-3PL-AGT	Q-head	carry-PFV	depart-MD.IRR
they	what	carrying	would certainly

didə	*məbinlani*]
di-də	mə-bin-la-ni
die-PFV	3.AGR-choice-MD.POSS-MD.INTEND
have killed	if he intended

sárki	*humpípá*	*khət*	*tomdomləmdə*
sá-ra-ki	humpí-pá	khət	tom-dom-ləm-də
body-R-GEN	tiger-male	one	bear-bear-MD.PROB-PFV
slaves of	big tiger	a	apparently carried

maʔəmnə	*kutoŋthə*	*ərwaləmdə*
ma-əm-nə	kV-toŋ-thə	ə-r-waŋ-ləm-də
3-be-ADV	NMLZ-sit-LOC	DIST-R-go-MD.PROB-PFV
as he was	being seated on	there

'Being carried on their heads was someone who could kill if he wanted to. It was said, the slaves of a big tiger carried him as was he seated there.'

17.

humpípá	*əwaŋŋi*	*mílay*
humpí-pá	ə-wa-Ni	mí-lay
tiger-male	DIST-dem-AGT	man-god
big tiger	that one	the human

əwa	*dəyda*	*uŋta*	*man*	*hini*
ə-wa	dáy-da	uŋta	man	hin-ki
DIST-dem	after-PRF	and	3PL	direction-GEN
that one	close to	then	they	from there

thedə	*mruk*	*kərŋaləpinče*
the-də	mə-ruk	kV-r-ŋa-ləp-inče
say-PRF	INCL-also	1.AGR-R-rest-serve-IMP.BEN
said	here	let me rest

'The big tiger, then, when they were close to the human, from there he said to them, "Let me rest here."'

18.

əwsilthə[15]	[*doláy*	*əwa*
ə-wa + sik-thə	do-láy	ə-wa
DIST-dem+join-LOC	method-ground	DIST-dem
then	on the ground	there

mínaw	*ma*	*əmnə*]
mí-naw	ma	əm-nə
man-young	3	be-ADV
young man	he	because he was

bethə	*pərthumləmdo*
be-thə	pV-r-thum-ləm-do
towards-LOC	CAUS-R-leap-MD.PROB-EXCL.TYPE
right there	leapt just so, it is said

'Then, because the young man was there on the ground, the tiger leapt right there.'

19.

humpípá	*əwaŋŋi*	[*diŋlenthə*	*míláy*]
humpí-pá	ə-wa-Ni	diŋ-len-thə	mí-láy
tiger-male	DIST-dem-AGT	tree-on-LOC	man-god
big tiger	that one	on the tree	human

kəčárə	*həŋkərdə*
kV-čák-rə	han + kV-ar-də
1.AGR-eat-MD.POSS	up+1.AGR-embrace-PFV
I will eat	grabbing up

'That big tiger (thought), "I will quickly grab and eat the human on the tree".'

---

[15] The vowel of the demonstrative *wa* is deleted in fast speech.

20.

mínaw	*əwaŋŋi*
mí-naw	ə-wa-Ni
man-young	DIST-dem-AGT
the young man	that one

humpípá	*əwa*	*mədoʔéʔyəwnəra*
humpí-pá	ə-wa	mə-do + éʔyəw-nə-rə
tiger-male	DIST-dem	INCL-method+kill-ADV-MD.POSS
big tiger	that	by any means of killing

pərthumləmdə

pV-r-thum-ləm-də

CAUS-R-leap-MD.PROB-PFV

cause him to leap out, it is said

əppu	[*nəŋŋi*	*məʔéʔyəw*	*khútmə*]
ə-pu	nəŋ-Ni	mə-éʔyəw	khút-mə
2-father	2-AGT	3.AGR-kill	hand-NEG
my father	you	to kill	will not be stopped

pədáynu	*nəyye*	*na*	[*hinthə*	*kidi*]
pədáynuŋ	nəy-le	nən	hin-thə	kV-di
but	1-CONJ	2	direction-LOC	NMLZ-die
but	I also	you	before	death

[*láŋláŋ*	*diŋčúy*	*khət*
láŋ-láŋ	diŋ-čúy	khət
extreme-extreme	tree-shield	one
most tasty	tree canopy	one

əyupí]	*ləpni*
ə-yu-pí	ləp-ni
DIST-fruit-female	serve-MD.INTEND
some fruit	will serve

'The young man thought to kill the big tiger by any means and so he leapt out, "My father, you will not be stopped from killing me but before I die, let me let me first serve you a most tasty fruit from this tree.'

21. *uŋtaŋi*

uŋta-ŋi
and-INST
and so

təʔəraŋŋikəthráŋŋi [16]

tV-ə-láŋ-i + kV-thrá-láŋ-i
Q-DIST-extreme-CVB.ST+NMLZ-good-extreme-CVB.ST
being very tasty

əpando	*humpípá*
ə-pan-do	humpí-pá
DIST-plant-EXCL.TYPE	tiger-male
exactly that type of fruit	tiger

əwa	*kudúŋŋi*	*kə́npado*
ə-wa	kV-dúŋ-i	kə́npa-do
DIST-dem	NMLZ-hard-CVB.ST	joy-EXCL.TYPE
that	being very	pleased

[16] We assume that the sequence [thrálaŋ] surfaces as [thráŋ].

uŋtaŋ	*məma*	*əwaŋŋi*
uŋtaŋ	mə-maŋ	ə-wa-ŋi
and	3-3	DIST-dem-INST
then	his (mouth)	with

teʔardə	*ədadə*
tV-ar-də	ə-da-də
Q-embrace-PFV	DIST-wide-PFV
tried to grab	wide

'And so, the tiger was very pleased with the fruit which was very tasty. Then he tried to grab it with his mouth, open wide.'

22.

mínaw	*əwaŋŋi*	*kərthadúsuk*
mí-naw	ə-wa-Ni	kV-r-tha-dú-suk
man-young	DIST-dem-AGT	NMLZ-R-in-meet-wish
the young man	that one	close in

sutróydə
sut-lóy-də
look-full-PFV
looked right at

'The young man, wanting to come close, looked right at him.'

23.

humpípá	*əwaŋŋi*	*teʔardə*
humpí-pá	ə-wa-Ni	tV-ar-də
tiger-male	DIST-dem-AGT	Q-embrace-PFV
big tiger	that one	somehow grabbing

mədətlani	*kučúyyi*	*humpípá*
mə-dət-lani	kV-čúy-ŋi	humpí-pá
3.AGR-try-CVB.ACT	NM-shield-INST	tiger-male
when trying	spearing	big tiger

toʔorthuŋŋi[17]	*thunǰawdə* [18]
to ʔor + thuŋ-i	thun-čaw-də
hunt+at-CVB.ST	at-big-PFV
was killed	pushed far

'When the tiger tried to grab (the fruit), (the man) pushed his spear far in, killing the big tiger.'

24.

əwdilthə	*mínaw*	*əwaŋŋi*
ə-wa + dil-thə	mí-naw	ə-wa-Ni
DIST-dem+behind-LOC	man-young	DIST-dem-AGT
shortly	young man	that one

s*arekhinthə*	*thedə*
sá-rek-hin-thə	the-də
body-plural-direction-LOC	say-PFV
towards the servants	said

huwa	*méy*	*tlondə*	*əmnə*
hə-wa	méy	tV-lon-də	əm-nə
PROX-dem	fire	Q-top-PFV	be-ADV
here	fire	wherever	because there is

hinthə	*məman*	*thrin*
hin-thə	mə-man	thir-inče[19]
direction-LOC	INCL-3PL	accompany-IMP.BEN
in that direction	they all	should take

'Then the young man said to the servants they all should take him in the direction of where there is a fire."

---

[17] We've analysed and glossed the meaning of this word based on the free translation.

[18] The affricate voices in fast speech.

[19] We assume that the suffix *-in* is perhaps the same as in *-inče* 'come V!'

25.

sárekwa	*roləmdə*
sá-rek-wa	ro-ləm-də
body-plural-dem	refuse-MD.PROB-PFV
those servants	refused, it is said

'Those servants refused, it is said.'

26.

mínaw	*əwaŋŋi*	*sarekhinthə*
mí-naw	ə-wa-Ni	sá-rek-hin-thə
man-young	DIST-dem-AGT	body-plural-direction-LOC
young man	that one	toward the servants

thedə	*nanni*	*ərotmanbi*
the-də	nəŋ-Ni	ə-lot-máŋ-bi
say-PFV	2-AGT	DIST-escape-not- BEN/CAUS[20]
said	you	will not escape

nankhel	*əpun*	*məklu*	*éʔyəwnu*
nəŋ-khel	ə-pun	ma-ki lu	éʔyəw-nu
2-ask	2-group	3-GEN head	kill-MD.CERT
you know	your group	leader's head	killed

kəʔəmpiŋ	*didə*	*pərtitləmdə*
kV-əm-piŋ	di-də	pV-r-tit-ləm-də
NMLZ-be-CONT	die-PFV	CAUS-R-cruel-MD.PROB-PFV
the same way	kill	likely cause you pain

'That young man said to the servants, "You will not escape. You know I killed your group leader. In the same way I will kill you, likely causing you pain."'

---

[20] As we have only one example of *-bi* in our data, we have not included discussion of this suffix in 3.3. If it follows the general Tibeto-Burman pattern, then *-bi*, probably derived from from *pi-* 'give', has a causative reading when it occurs with an intransitive verb and a benefactive reading when it occurs with a transitive verb (see Matisoff 1976: 431-432).

27.

əwdilthəŋwa	*tədoləmdə*
ə-wa + dil-thuŋ-wa	tV-do-ləm-də
DIST-dem+behind-at-dem	Q-method-MD.PROB-PFV
eventually	it happened some way

məyəmnə[21]	*əwatha*	*wanthíləmdə*
mə-yəm-nə	ə-wa-thə	wan-thíl-əm-də
INCL-all-AGT	DIST-dem-LOC	console-demand-be-PFV
by all of them	there	complied

'Eventually, some way or the other, they all complied with his demand.

28. *ləwbúkthuŋŋi*

ləw-búk-thuŋ-i
property-enclose[22]-at-CVB.ST
it was at the farm

nila	*khət*	*əwa*	*kəʔəm*	*dəydə*
ni-le	khət	ə-wa	kV-əm	dáy-də
day-CONJ	one	DIST-dem	NMLZ-be	after-PFV
day	one	there	be	after

kibəysekki	*manbe*	*əwa*
kibəysekki	man-be	ə-wa
unanalysed idiom	3PL-EMPH.NHB	DIST-dem
unanalysed idiom	they indisputably	that

[21] This word is most likely a Meitei borrowing, i.e. *məyamnə* 'all of them'. The analysis we present here reflects that origin.

[22] We've deduced the gloss for *-búk* based on the free translation of this word and *búkthibordə* 'bondage' composed of *búk* 'enclose'+ *thi* 'iron'+ *bor* 'tie'+ *də* 'PFV'.

wənsə́t	*kələləmdə*
wənsə́t	kV-lo-ləm-də
dearest one	NMLZ-unite-MD.PROB-PFV
dearest one	apparently united

'It was at the farm, after he had been there one day, he realised that they had united him with his soul mate."'

29.

sunúnaw	*əwaŋŋi*
sá-nú-naw	ə-wa-Ni
body-female-young	DIST-dem-AGT
young girl	that one

pəsəlnaw	*əwəthuŋŋi*
pá-səl-naw	ə-wa + thuŋ-i
male-boy-young	DIST-dem+at-CVB.ST
young boy	being there

mədoča	*mədonek*
mə-do-čak	mə-do-nek
INCL-method-eat	INCL-method-drink
the entire manner of eating	the entire manner of drinking

nəránki	*kərkhelle*
nə-rán-ki	kV-khel-le
2.AGR-war-GEN	1.AGR-ask-CONJ
your actions	we ask about and thus

hurčokdə	*ínthuŋki*[23]	*mírekwa*
hur-čok-də	ín-thuŋ-i	mí-rek-wa
question-CV-PFV	house-at-CVB.ST	man-plural-dem
fully questioned	being in house	those people

[23] Instead of the [k] a geminated velar nasal is expected.

təluləy	*kərkhelle*
tV-lu-ləy	kV-r-khel-le
Q-head-add	NMLZ-R-ask-CONJ
some together	asking and

ədohurpli
ə-do-hur-pli
DIST-method-question-like this
in that way questioning

diləmdə	*khelčokləmdə*
di-ləm-də	khel-čok-ləm-də
kill-MD.PROB-PFV	ask-CV-MD.PROB-PFV
apparently pestering	asked

'Because the young boy was there, that young girl's entire manner of eating and drinking (were strange). "We ask about your actions," and fully questioned her about people being in the house. And in that way questioning and pestering asked her.

30.

ə*wəthuŋŋi*	*maŋ*	*thedə*
ə-wa + thuŋ-i	ma-Ni	the-də
DIST-dem+at-CVB.ST	3-AGT	say-PFV
it was then	she	said

úythen	*ŋərəŋ*	*pididə*
úy-then	ŋərəŋ	pi-di-də
dog-share	scraps	give-EXCL.PROX-PFV
dog's share	scraps	just fed

'It was then that she explained that she was just fed scraps for dogs.[24]

[24] This is why she needed extra food.

31. [*tortlaŋ* *əwaŋŋi]* *sunúnaw*

tV-r-tlaŋ	ə-wa-Ni	sá-nú-naw
Q-R-youth	DIST-dem-AGT	body-female-young
somewhat young	that one	young girl

mətlundúŋi

mə-tV-lun-dúŋ-i

3.AGR-Q-pasture-hard-CVB.ST

when was working around the fields

mənaw	*tlorrəŋ*
mə-naw	tə-lo-láŋ
3-young	Q-unite-extreme
his younger brother	quite properly

məkheŋ	*pətrudokčokdə*
mə-kheŋ	pV-tru-dok-čok-də
INCL-together	CAUS-start-COMPL.EVNT-CV-PFV
all	had fully completed the work

'When the young girl was from working around the fields, the young man properly completed all her work at the farm.'

32. *mí* *məkheŋŋi* *kipiyər*

mí	mə-kheŋ-Ni	kV-pi-ar
man	INCL-together-AGT	NMLZ-give-embrace
man	all of them	who grasped

luluŋŋi	*binləmdə*
lu-luŋ-i	bin-ləm-də
head-together-CVB.ST	choice-MD.PROB-PFV
being together	had chosen, it is said

'All the townsfolk grasped what they had chosen (to do), it is said.'

33.

əntokhepluŋŋi	*əmləmdə*
an-to-kheŋ-luŋ-i	əm-ləm-də
aim-do-together-character-CVB.ST	be-MD.PROB-PFV
being together	they were, it is said

mandi	*əwaŋŋi*	*pam*
man-di	ə-wa-Ni	pam
3PL-EXCL.PROX	DIST-dem-AGT	country
they	these	country

əwəthuŋŋi	*kudúŋŋi*	*swəŋ*
ə-wa + thuŋ-i	kV-dúŋ-i	swəŋ
DIST-dem+at-CVB.ST	NMLZ-hard-CVB.ST	rich
living there	being very	rich

puraŋsum	*ərəw*	*kərbəy*
puraŋ[25]-sum	ə-ləw	kV-r-waŋ-i
olden-those	DIST-wealth	NMLZ-R-go-CVB.ST
those of old	wealth	going

phələmdə	*kəthráŋŋi*
pha-ləm-də	kV-thrá-láŋ-i
get-MD.PROB-PFV	NMLZ-good-extreme-CVB.ST
apparently got	being happy

[25] A possible analysis is *pu* ‘father’ + *raŋ* ‘ancient’. However this word is most likely borrowed from Indo Aryan *purana* ‘(of) old’.

kəʔəmləm

kV-əm-ləm

NMLZ-be-MD.PROB

apparently were

'They were together it is said. When living in that country, those of olden times were rich. They became wealthy and they were happy, it is said.'

Text 2: The Prodigal Son (from the Gospel of Luke, Chapter 15: Verses 11-32)

1.

mi	*khat-ki*	*machā-pā*	*kini*	*ka-am*
mí	khət-ki	mə-čá-pá	kV-ni	kV-əm
man	one-GEN	3-small-male	NMLZ-two	NMLZ-be
man	of one	his sons	two	who has

'There was a man who had two sons.'

2.

[*māna*	*la-ki*	*thom-pū*	*chā-pāng*]
man-a	la-ki	thom-pu	čá-pá
3PL-P/RECP	far-GEN	younger-owner	small-male
them	from among	the son	younger

ma-pā-hini		*yā*	*thē-dā*
mə-pá	hin-ki	ya	the-də
3-father	direction-GEN	hear	say-PRF
from where his father stood		hearing	said

a-pā	*nai*
ə-pá	nəy
2-male	1
my father	I

ka-tūm-na	*ā-raū*	*a-wā*	*nai-ka*
kV-tum-nə	ə-ləw	ə-wa	nəy-ki
NMLZ-allot-ADV	2-wealth	DIST-dem	1-GEN
using that which is allotted	your estate	that	mine

hinthā	*mahai-pi*
hin-thə	mə-həy-pi
to-LOC	INCL-here-give
towards	all give me

'The younger son among them said to his father, "My father, give me all of what is allotted to me from your estate."'

3.

ə-pā	*ā-raū*	*ma-ko-ni-ngin*
ə-pá	ə-ləw	mə-ko-ni-ŋin
2-male	DIST-wealth	INCL-child-two-for
your father	that wealth	for both children

ka-thēm-pi
kV-thém-pi
1.AGR-divide-COP
I will divide

'(The father replied), "Your father will divide that wealth between his two children."'

4.

ni	*ki-ni*	*khat*	*am-thirā*
ni	kV-ni	khət	əm-thir-ə
day	NMLZ-two	one	be-accompany-GNM
day	two	one	remaining

ma-chā-pā	*thom-pū*
mə-čá-pá	thom-pu
3-small-male	young-owner
his son	younger

ā-raū	*ma-pūm*	*pū-dā*
ə-ləw	mə-pum	pu-də
DIST-wealth	INCL-all	carry-PFV
the wealth	all	carried

lam-klā	*laipāk*[26]	*khat thā*	*wā-da*
lə́m + kV-la	laypak	khət-thə	waŋ-də
way+NMLZ-far	country	one-LOC	go-PFV
which was distant	country	to a	having gone

mao-ma-ki	*ā-raū*	*ma-pūm*
maw-mə-ki	ə-ləw	mə-pum
wicked-NEG-GEN	DIST-wealth	INCL-all
wickedly	the wealth	all

po-māng-dā
pV-maŋ-də
CAUS-waste-PFV
caused to be wasted

'After hanging around for a day or two, the younger son took all the wealth to a distant country and having gone there he wasted all his wealth in wickedness.'

5.

ma-māng	*ā-raū*	*ma-pūm*	*po-māng-dā*
mə-maŋ	ə-ləw	mə-pum	pV-maŋ-də
3-3	DIST-wealth	INCL-all	CAUS-waste-PFV
his	the wealth	all	caused to be wasted

[26] Borrowed from Meitei *laybak* 'country', composed of Meitei *lə́y* 'land' and *pak* 'broad'.

laipāk	*awā*	*kūm-i*[27]	*bū*	*tāng-dā*
laypak	ə-wa	kum-ki	bu	taŋ-də
country	DIST-dem	year-GEN	rice	expensive-PFV
country	that	in year	rice	became expensive

āwa-thūng	*ma-māng*	*manūkadai*
ə-wa + thuŋ	mə-maŋ	mə-nu + kV-dáy
DIST-dem+at	3-3	INCL-future+NMLZ-after
thereupon	his	all of his future

nang-dā
nəŋ-də
poor-PFV
became poor

'He had wasted all his wealth and that year in that country, rice became expensive and thereupon, he became poor.'

6.

ma-māng	*laipāk*	*awā-thā*	*ka-am*	*mi*
mə-maŋ	laypak	ə-wā-thə	kV-əm	mí
3-3	country	DIST-dem-LOC	NMLZ-be	man
his	country	in that	who lives	man

khat	*hin-thā*	*wā-karrdo-lam-dā*
khət	hin-thə	waŋ + kV-r-do-ləm-də
one	direction-LOC	go+1.AGR-R-method-MD.PROB-PFV
one	to	likely go and join

'(He thought), "I will go and join a man who lives in this country".'

[27] The [k] of *-ki* probably surfaces as a glottal stop but is not indicated in Grierson.

7.

awā	*mi*	[*wak*	*a-rūng*]	*ē-dā*
ə-wa	mí	wák	ə-luŋ	the-də
DIST-dem	man	swine	DIST-pasture	say-PFV
that	man	swine	pasture	said

ma-mā	*laū-thā*	*si-dā*
mə-maŋ	ləw-thə	si-də
3-3	field-LOC	send-PFV
his	to the field	sent on the errand

'That man said, "Take the swine to the pasture," and sent him to work in his fields.

8.

wák	*ro-chāk-nā*	*ma-sa-wāi*	*awā*
wák	lo-čák-nə	mə-sá-way	ə-wa
swine	unite-eat-ADV	INCL-body-husk	DIST-dem
swine	using for food	even husks	that

yaūnā	*chāmi-lā*
yaw-nə	čák-ni-lə
present-ADV	eat-MD.INTEND-MD.POSS
much	want to eat

ka-poi	*yēpā sūk-nā*
kV-poy	ye-pa-suk-nə
1-belly	fill-put-wish-ADV
my belly	because wishing to fill

kū-khat-son	*pi-māng*
kV-khət-son	pi-máŋ
NMLZ-one-small	give-not
which is little	did not give

'Although he wanted very much to eat the husks fed to the swine to fill his hungry belly, even this little bit he was not given.'

9.

ma-plūng	*siŋ-dā*
mə-plúŋ	siŋ-də
3-mind	wise-PFV
his mind	became sensible

ma-māng	*ma-thainā*[28]	*thē-cha-dā*
mə-maŋ	mə-thə́y-nə	the-čə-də
3-3	3-lone-AGT	say-M-PFV
he	himself	said

"ka-pā	*ā-raū*	*klo*
kV-pá	ə-ləw	kV-lo
1-male	DIST-wealth	1.AGR-take
my father	the wealth	I have taken

ma-sarāwor-rēt	*ka-wāt ka-mā*
mə-sára-wor-ret	kV-wat + kV-máŋ
INCL-servant-under-many	NMLZ-less+NMLZ-not
even servants	not more than

bū	*chā-dā*	*kā-amā*
bu	čák-də	kV-əm-ə
rice	eat-PFV	NMLZ-be-GNM
rice	eating	one who lives

nai-yā	*ka-poi*	*ka-tham*
nəy-a	kV-poy	kV-tham
1-P/RECIP	1-belly	NMLZ-hunger
poor me	my belly	hunger

[28] This analysis is based on the likelihood that the word is borrowed from Meitei ,i.e. Meitei *məthaynə* 'alone'.

ka-di-rak-thi-yā

kV-di-rak + thir-ya
1.AGR-die-INCHO+accompany-vast
I am about to die

nai	*ka-pā*	*hin-thā*	*wā-ni*
nəy	kV-pá	hin-thə	waŋ-ni
1	1-father	direction-LOC	go-MD.INTEND
I	my-father	to	will go

ma-thē-ni	*ʻa-pā*	*nai-yā*	*lāi*
mə-the-ni	ə-pá	nəy-ya	lay
INCL-say-MD.INTEND	2-father	1-vast	god
with all intention of saying	my father	I	god

hin-thā	*pāp*	*cho-cha-nū*
hin-thə	pāp	čo-čə-nu
direction-LOC	sin	commit-M-MD.CERT
towards	sin	certainly committed

ahin-rūko	*pāp*	*cho-cha-nū*
ə-hin-ruko	pāp	čo-čə-nu
DISTAL-direction-also	sin	commit-M-MD.CERT
towards you too	sin	certainly committed

nai-yē	*nang*	*a-chā-pā*	*ka-thok-nū*
nəy-le	nəŋ	ə-čá-pá	kV-thok-nu
1-CONJ	2	2-small-male	NMLZ-happen-MD.CERT
and I	you	your son	which is certain

ka-tik-mē	*ə-sarāworr*
kV-tik-mə-i	ə-sára-wor
1.AGR-fit-NEG-CVB.ST	2-servant-under
I am unfit	your servant

sēn-klo	*khat*	*ma-hai-pā-thūt-chā' "*
sen + kV-lo	khət	mə-həy + pV-thut-čə
money+1.AGR-take	one	INCL-skill +CAUS-be-M
hired	one	cause me to be one

'He came to his senses and said to himself, "I have taken all my father's wealth. I am eating even less than the servants. Wretched me, I am hungry. I'm about to die. I will go to my father and say, 'My father I have certainly committed a sin against God. Towards you too, I have committed a sin. I am certainly not fit to be your son, please let me be your servant'."'

10.

ma-māng	*rip-dā*	*ma-pā*	*hin-thā*
mə-maŋ	rip-də	mə-pá	hin-thə
3-3	decide-PFV	3-male	direction-LOC
his	deciding	his father	toward

arrbāngdā

ə-r-waŋ-də
DIST-R-go-PFV
came

'Deciding to do this, he came to his father.'

11.

[*lam-klā*	*ma-am-lāni*]	*ma-māng*	*dai-dā*
lə́m + kV-la	mə-əm-lani	mə-maŋ	dáy-də
place+NMLZ-far	3.AGR-be-CVB.ACT	3-3	after-PFV
place which is far	he approaching	his father	after seeing

won-pi-sā-dā	*wang-chen-dā*	*ma-lolē*
won-pi-sá-də	waŋ-čén-də	mə-lo-le
call-give-body-PFV	go-run-PFV	3.AGR-unite-CONJ
was compassionate	came running	reached him, then

arrpom-dā	*yon-dā*
arpom-də	yon-də
embrace-PFV	together-PFV
embraced	gathered

'When the son was yet far from the house his father upon seeing him was compassionate and came running to him and embraced him.'

12.

āo-thū	*ma-nā-chā*	*thē-dā*
ə-wa + thuŋ	mə-naw-čá	the-də
DIST-dem+at	3-young-small	say-PFV
thereupon	his son	said

a-pā	*nai-yē*	*lāi*	*hin-thā*	*pāp*
ə-pá	nəy-Ni	lay	hin-thə	pāp
2-male	1-AGT	god	direction-LOC	sin
my father	I	god	against	sin

cho-cha-nū
čo-čə-nu
commit-M-MD.CERT
certainly committed

ahin-rūko	*pāp*	*cho-cha-nū*
ə-hin-ruk-do	pāp	čo-čə-nu
DIST-direction-also-way	sin	commit-M-MD.CERT
before you as well did	sin	certainly committed

nai-yē	*nang*	*a-chā-pā*	*ka-thok-nū*
nəy-Ni	nəŋ	ə-čá-pá	kV-thok-nu
1-AGT	2	2-small-male	NMLZ-happen-MD.CERT
I	you	your son	existing as

ka-tik-mē

kV-tik-mə-i

1.AGR-fit-NEG-CVB.ST

I am unfit

'Thereupon his son said, "My father I have certainly committed sin against God. Against you too, I have sinned. I am unfit to live as your son."'

13.

ma-pāng	*ma-sarāwor-rēt*	*hin-thā*	*thē-dā*
mə-pá	mə-sára-wor-ret	hin-thə	the-də
3-male	INCL-servant-under-many	direction-LOC	say-PFV
his father	all servants	to	said

bū	*ka-thā-lang-lang*	*horr-dā*
bu	kV-thrá-láŋ-láŋ	hor-r-də
cloth	NMLZ-good-extreme-extreme	bring-R-PFV
clothes	which are the very best	have brought

ka-chā-pā	*a-pa-hil*	*ma-khūt*	*lēn*
kV-čá-pá	ə-pa-hil	mə-khút	len
1-small-male	2.AGR-put-wear	3-hand	on
my son	get to wear	his hand	on

khūtpār	*ap-nā*	*ma-khū*	*lēn*
khút-pə́r	ə-pa-nə	mə-khú	len
hand-wide	2.AGR-put-ADV	3-khu	on
ring	by putting on	his feet	on

khongūp[29]	*ap-nā*	*ka-chā-pā*
khóŋup	ə-pa-nə	kV-čá-pá
shoes	2.AGR-put-ADV	1-small-male
shoes	by putting on	my son

hawā	*ka-di*	*karrhēlā*
hə-wa	kV-di	kV-r-hel-la
PROX-dem	NMLZ-die	NMLZ-R-return-far
this	who was dead	has returned

woi-khat	*ka-kin-jērrpa-dā*	*ka-māng-thok*
woy-khət	kV-hin + jerrpa-də	kV-maŋ-thok
occasion-one	NMLZ-toward+pure-PFV	NMLZ-lost-happen
once	who was alive	was lost

ka-do-fan-jāk	*nain*	*chān-chē*
kV-do-pha-čak	nayn	čák-ni-če
NMLZ-method-get-again	we	eat-MD.INTEND-HORT
is found	we	let's eat

nēan-chē	*cūngāi-in-chē*
nek-ni-če	čú-ŋay-inče
drink-MD.INTEND-HORT	learn-merry-IMP.BEN
let's drink	let's be merry

'His father said to his servants, "Have the very best clothes brought for my son, cause him to wear them, put a ring on his finger, put shoes on his feet. My son who was dead has returned, who at one time was alive and lost, is now found. So, let us eat and drink and be merry!"'

[29] This word is borrowed from Meitei.

14.

awā-to-nū	*ma-mān*	*nūngāi-chē*
ə-wa + to-nu	mə-man	nuŋay-če
DIST-dem+do-MD.CERT	3-3PL	merry-HORT
thus certainly did	they	let us rejoice

'Thus they rejoiced.'

15.

han-thū-dēm-pang	*machā-pā*	*ka-wērr*	*laū-thā*
han + thuŋ-them-pən	mə-čá-pá	kV-wer	law-thə
up+at-divide-back	3-small-male	NMLZ-old	field-LOC
at that time	his son	who is older	in the field

ka-am
kV-əm
NMLZ-be
who was

'At that time the man's elder son was in the field.'

16.

ma-māng	*ma-ín-thang*	*marr-wannā*	*khong*
mə-maŋ	mə-ín-thaŋ	mə-r-waŋ-nə	khoŋ
3-3	3-house-to	3.AGR-R-go-ADV	drum
his	to his house	as approaching	drum

gadūm	*karrdām-dā*	*a-jā-dā*
gadum	kV-r-dam-də	ə-čə-də
drum beating	NMLZ-R-dance-PFV	DIST-hear-PFV
beating	who were dancing	heard

'As he approached the front of the house he heard drum beating dancers.'

17.

ma-māng	*ma-sarāwor*	*khat*	*on-dā*
mə-maŋ	mə-sára-wor	khət	on-də
3-3	INCL-servant-under	one	call-PFV
his	all servants	one	called

ta-plē-dā	*khēl-dā*
tV-pli-də	khel-də
Q-like this-PFV	ask-PFV
whatever happened	asked

'He called one of the servants and asked, "What's going on?"

18.

ma-sarāworr	*arrthāng-dā*	*a-nāo-pā*
mə-sára-wor	ə-r-thaŋ-də	ə-naw-pá
3-servant-under	DIST-R-reply-PFV	2-young-male
his servant	replied	your brother

karrbāng-dā	*ma-māng*
kV-r-waŋ-də	mə-maŋ
NMLZ-R-go-PFV	3-3
who has returned	he

ka-koi-ka-parrnā-ga-mā	*karrbāng-ā*
kV-koy + kV-pV-r-na + ga-máŋ	kV-r-waŋ-ə
NMLZ-sick + NMLZ-CAUS-R-sick+with-not[30]	NMLZ-R-go-GNM
who is without illness	who is here

ē-dā	*napāng*	*pāntrā*	*khāng-dā*
the-də	nə-pá	pantra	khaŋ-də
say-PFV	2-male	feast	give-PFV
saying	your father	feast	has given

'His servant answered, "Your brother who has returned, he was sick but now has returned, so, your father has given a feast."'

[30] The glosses for *na-* and *-ga* are based on Meitei *na-* 'be ill' and *-kə* 'associative'.

19.

āo-thū	*ma-māng*	*ma-plūng*	*pa-thi-dā*
ə-wa + thuŋ	mə-maŋ	mə-plúŋ	pV-thi-də
DIST-dem+at	3-3	3-character	CAUS-anger-PFV
thereupon	his	his mind	being angry

arrbāng-lūt	*ta-di*	*ro-mē*
ə-r-waŋ-lut	ta-di	ro-mə-i
DIST-R-go-in[31]	say-EXCL.PROX	refuse-NEG-CVB.ST
to enter	absolutely say	refusing[32]

awā-kē	*ma-ramē*	*ma-pang*	*wāng-thok-dā*
ə-wa-ki	mərəmne[33]	mə-pá	waŋ-thok-də
DIST-dem-GEN	for this reason	3-father	go-happen-PFV
this	reason for	his father	came out

ma-mā	*pa-thēm-dā*
mə-maŋ	pV-thém-də
3-3	CAUS-distribute-PFV
his	entreated

'At that he became angry and absolutely refused to enter and so his father came out and entreated his (son to enter).'

20.

āo-thū	*ma-māng*	*ma-pā*	*hin-thā*
ə-wa + thuŋ	mə-maŋ	mə-pá	hin-thə
DIST-dem+at	3-3	3-father	direction-LOC
thereupon	his	his father	to

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31 We've deduced the meaning of this word based on the free translation.

32 This word has a positive reading even though it contains a negative element.

33 This seems to be from Meitei *mərəmne* 'for this reason'.

arrthāng-dā	*a-son*	*kūm*	*hāu-rak-pang*
ə-r-thaŋ-də	ə-son	kum	həw-rak + paŋ
DIST-R-reply-PFV	2.AGR-listen	year	begin-INCHO+often
answered	listen	years	beginning long ago

nanga	*sēpā*	*ma-to-lān*
nəŋ-ki	seba	mə-to-láŋ
2-GEN	service	INCL-do-extreme
your	service	doing everything

[*woi-khat-son*	*nang*	*a-pau-the*	*nai*
woy-khət-son	nəŋ	ə-paw-the	nəy
occasion-one-small	2	2-news-say	1
even once	you	your commandment	I

ma-ka-toi-ka-mā-to-mē]

mə-kV-toy + kV-maŋ-to-mə-i

INCL-NMLZ-short+1.AGR-lost-do-NEG-CVB.ST

which any less not doing

hāo-thū-kāk	*nangai*
haw-thu-kak	nəŋ-ŋəy
(idiom)	2-want
nevertheless	you

nai	*a-kāng-rūp*	*thūng*	*nūngāi-nā*
nəy	ə-kaŋ-rup	thuŋ	nuŋay-nə
1	DIST-group-friend	at	merry-ADV
my	those companions	with	merrily

ka-do-chāng-rang	*kēl*	*ma-son*	*khat*
kV-do-čaŋ-laŋi	kél	mə-son	khət
1.AGR-method-able-CVB.ACT	goat	INCL-small	one
while we're doing	goat	even young	one

ma-pi-mē	*an-to-ma-nā*	*nanga-ki*
mə-pi-mə-i	an-to-mə-nə	nəŋ-ki
INCL-give-NEG-CVB.ST	aim-do-NEG-ADV	2-GEN
never giving	whereas	your

ā-raū	*ma-pūm*	*kasūbi*	*hin-thā*
ə-ləw	mə-pum	kasūbi	hin-thə
DIST-wealth	INCL-all	harlot	direction-LOC
the wealth	all	harlot	to

pi-dā	*po-māng-dā*	*na-chā-pā*
pi-də	pV-maŋ-də	nə-čá-pá
give-PFV	CAUS-waste-PFV	2-small-male
given	cause to be wasted	your son

hawā	*marra-wān-thūng-tā*
hə-wa	mə-r-ra-waŋ + thuŋ-thə[34]
PROX-dem	3.AGR-R-far-go+at-LOC
this	his coming from afar

nang	*pāntrā*	*khāng-dā*
nəŋ	pāntrā	khaŋ-də
2	feast	give-PFV
you	feast	have-given

‘Thereupon he answered his father, “Listen, for so many years I’ve been at your service doing everything. I have not even once done less than you have commanded. Even so, when I am partying with my friends you never slaughtered a even a small goat for me but for your young son who wasted all your wealth on harlots, now when he returns you throw him a big party.”

[34] The second aspirated stop seems to be deaspirated. A rule similar to this one is present in Meitei (Chelliah 1997: 54-59).

21.

āwa-thū	*ma-pāng*	*thē-dā*
ə-wa + thuŋ	mə-pá	the-də
DIST-dem+at	3-male	said-PFV
then	his father	said

ka-chā-pā	*nang*	[*nēmbē*
kV-čá-pá	nəŋ	nem-be
1-small-male	2	many-EMPH.NHB
my son	you	completely

ka-dēt-ka-mā	*ka-am-pamēn*]
kV-det + kV-máŋ	kV-əm + pV-men
NMLZ-end+NMLZ-not	1.AGR-be+CAUS-together
ceaselessly	we are together

nai-ka-hin	*ka-am-ki-makhai*	*nanga-ki*
nəy + kV-hin	kV-əm-ki + mə-khay	nəŋ-ki
1+NMLZ-direction	NMLZ-be-GEN+INCL-all	2-GEN
from me	everything which is mine	is yours

na-nāo-pā	*hawā*	*ma-di-thūng-ki*
na-naw-pá	hə-wa	mə-di-thuŋ-i
2-young-male	PROX-dem	3.AGR-die-at-CVB.ST
your brother	this	his being dead

woi-khat	*ring-dā*
woy-khət	riŋ[35]-də
occasion-once	life-PFV
once	come alive

[35] We've deduced the meaning of this word based on the free translation.

ka-māng-ka-rahēl-dā	*fā-dā*	*nāin*
kV-maŋ + kV-ra-hel-də	pha-də	nəyn
NMLZ-lost+NMLZ-far-return-PFV	get-PFV	we
being lost, has returned	is found	we

nūngāi-nā	*kampā-dā*	*ta-am*	*ka-chūm*
nuŋay-nə	kə́npa-do	tV-əm	kV-čum
merry-ADV	joy-EXCL.TYPE	Q-be	NMLZ-correct
merrily	totally pleased	rather be	it is proper

'Then his father said, "My son you are with me all the time and whatever I have is yours. Your brother from being dead has come alive, being lost, is found. It is right that we celebrate with gladness.'

Text 3: The Wild Cat and Clever Bird [36]

The following text recorded by Bapu Bisharup Singh and provided by Grierson is "a piece of folklore taken from the lips of a Lamkang" (1967 [1904]: 291). The top line of transcription is from Grierson; the analysis is by author Chelliah. Grierson provides the following free translation:

Once upon a time, a wild cat made friends with a bird. One day he asked the bird where it lived and learnt that it was at the root of a bamboo. The next morning the wild cat went there, but the bird was gone. The cat then looked up and saw the bird on the branch of the bamboo. He got angry, jumped up, and seized a young bird. When he was going to eat it, the bird voided dung on his paw and flew away. The wild cat ate the dung and found it very good. "How nice it would have been to eat the flesh," he thought, and went angrily away.

[36] Author Chelliah provided a title for this text for ease of reference.

1.

arāngo	*sangār-lē*	*pa-wā* [37]
ə-raŋ-do	saŋar-le	pawá
DIST-old-method	wild cat-CONJ	bird
formerly done	wild cat	bird

khat-lo	*ka-thok-dā*
khət-lo	kV-thok-də
one-unite	NMLZ-happen-PFV
one-friendship	was

'Once upon a time, a wild cat was friends with a bird.'

2.

sangār-nā [38]	*pa-wā*	*hin-thā*	*ín*
saŋar-Ni	pawá	hin-thə	ín
wild cat-AGT	bird	direction-LOC	house
wild cat	bird	where	house

tong-pli-dā	*ē-dā*	*khēl-dā*
toŋ-pli-də	*th*e-də	khel-də
sit-like this-PFV	say-PFV	ask-PFV
lived	said	asked

'The wild cat asked the bird saying "Where (do you) live?"'

3.

āo-thū	*pa-wā*	*hawā*	*nai-ki*	*ín*
ə-wa + thuŋ	pawá	hə-wa	nəy-ki	ín
DIST-dem+at	bird	PROX-dem	1-GEN	house
thereupon	bird	that	my	house

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[37] The root *pa* occurs with other bird names, e.g. *páʔə* 'crow'; *wa* is perhaps from *wa~wan~waŋ* 'fly, go' which occurs in other bird names, e.g. *wanpé* 'duck' and *wanpéklín* 'goose'.

[38] In this text, the agentive/instrumental semantic role marker is given as *nā*..

rū-būl	*ka-am*	*ē-da*	*arrthāng-dā*
ru-bul	kV-əm	the-də	ə-r-thaŋ-də
bamboo-root	NMLZ-be	say-PFV	DIST-R-reply-PFV
bamboo root	being	said	replied

'At that the bird replied saying, "My house is at that bamboo root."'

4.

harakhūn	*sangār-nā*	*wā-dā*	*pa-wā*
hə-la-khun	saŋar-Ni	waŋ-də	pawá
PROX-far-morning	wild cat-AGT	go-PFV	bird
next morning	wild-cat	went	bird

hawā	*a-ma-dā*
hə-wa	ə-má-də
PROX-dem	DIST-not-PFV
that was	not there

'The next morning the wild cat went (to the bamboo root), but the bird was not there.'

5.

ma-māng	*ma-hān-sūt-nā*
mə-maŋ	mə-han + sut-nə
3-3	INCL-up+look-ADV
his	by looking right up

pa-wā	*hawā*	*rū*	*ma-don-thā*	*am-dā*
pawá	hə-wa	ru	mə-don-thə	əm-də
bird	PROX-dem	bamboo	3-branch-LOC	be-PFV
bird	that	bamboo	on his branch	was

'When looking up the cat saw the bird on the branch of the bamboo.'

6.

āo-thū	*ma-māng*	*ma-plūng*	*pa-thi-dā*
ə-wa + thuŋ	mə-maŋ	mə-plúŋ	pV-thi-də
DIST-dem+at	3-3	3-character	CAUS-being-angry
thereupon	his	his mind	caused to be angry

hang-yong-dā	*ma-shon*	*khat*	*ka-yong-dā*
həŋ-yóŋ-də	mə-son	khət	kV-yóŋ-də
on-jump-PFV	INCL-young	one	1.AGR-catch-PFV
jumping on	young one	the	I've caught

ai	*chāni-dā*
nəy	čák-ni-də
1	eat-POT-PFV
I	will eat

'At that he got angry, jumping on it thought, "I've caught the young bird, I will eat it!"'

7.

ma-khūt-thū	*mēēk*	*ēdā*	*wāng-yong-dā*
mə-khút-thuŋ	mek	e-də	waŋ-yuŋ-də
3-hand-at	dung	defecate-PFV	go-fly-PFV
on his hand	dung	having defecated	flew away

'Just then the bird defecated on his paw and flew away.'

8.

sangār	*hawā*	*mēēk*	*ma-chāk-nā*	*kū-dūi-yā*
saŋar	hə-wa	mek	mə-čák-nə	kV-duy-ə
wild cat	PROX-dem	dung	3.AGR-eat-ADV	1.AGR-nice-GNM
wild cat	that	dung	by eating	I like it

[*ma-dák*	*nālbi*	*chā-bā-ni*[39]	*ta-yā-pang*	*kū-dūi-rang*
mə-dák	nalbi	čábəni	tV-ya-pəŋ	ku-duy-láŋ
3-flesh	very	if eaten	Q-vast-as	1.AGR-nice-extreme
its flesh	very	if eaten	how much	I would like

[39] This word is probably borrowed from Meitei *čábəni* 'will eat' (from *čá-* 'eat', *-pə* 'nominaliser' and *-ni* 'potential').

ē-dā]	*sangār*	*hawā*	*ŋgo-dā*	*sūn-cha-dā*
thē-də	saŋar	hə-wa	ŋo-də	sun-čə-də
say-PFV	wild cat	PROX-dem	anger-PFV	depart-M-PFV
saying	wild cat	this	angered	departed

'The wild cat ate the dung and thought, "I like this. If I had eaten its actual flesh, how much more I would have liked it," saying this he left in anger.'

LAMKANG-ENGLISH LEXICON

Derived forms are provided because in many instances the derived forms rather than the roots are attested in our data. Furthermore, the derived forms illustrate phonological rules such as Vowel Harmony. Forms from Grierson (1967 [1904]) are indicated with a [G] as usual. The forms are given in Devanagari sort order.

əŋkúr	'grape' (IA)
ən~an	'aim'
ənnə	'paper'
əm, am [G]	'be'
əmdə, a-ma-dā [G]	'was not'
əmdok	'was fully'
əmləmdə	'it was'
əmlitme	'could not find'
kəʔəm, ka-am [G]	'which is, was, live'
kəʔəmpiŋ	'continually'
ka-am-ā [G]	'they were'
kam-pā-dā [G]	'remain'
ta-am [G]	'to be'
ma-am-lā-ni [G]	'while he was'
nai-ka-hin ka-am-ki-ma-khai [G]	'all that I have'
əmbarí	'steel cupboard' (IA)

əy	‘throw’
ərə́ŋŋi	‘gum’
ərkúŋ	‘ship, boat’
ərthru	‘brain’
ərmat	‘bug’
ərməy	‘fog’
ərmay	‘pumpkin’
əw	‘yes’
əwathə́bi	‘papaya’
ə́n	‘curry’
Apaŋ	personal name (m)
aptan	‘tongue’
əpləy	‘tongue’
Abuŋ	personal name (m)
arr(pom)	‘embrace’
teʔardə	‘grabbed’
alu	‘potato’ (IA)
inče, cē~ancē ~incē [G]	‘thus’
ip	‘sleep’
kíʔip	‘I sleep’
Imphal	the capital of Manipur
ín, in [G]	‘house’
in-thūng-hā ka-am [G]	‘in the house’
ínkəthəpame	‘cottage’
ínkəpu	‘house owner’
ínkəsá	‘house builder’
ínkinə́y	‘marriage’
ínkhol	‘garden’
íntun	‘roof’
ínthə	‘in the house’

ínthuŋki	‘in front of the house’
kíʔín əkhóm	‘bed’
pyúpwaín~piyúpwaʔín~ piyúpwayín	‘zoo’
ukíl	‘lawyer’ (IA)
uŋ	‘and’
uŋta	‘and’
uŋŋu	‘and’
uŋtaŋ~uŋtaŋi	‘and so’
ut, ūt [G]	‘camel’
uthu	‘pigeon’
un	‘ice’
unrúŋ	‘mustard plant’
upu	‘box’
úy, ūi [G]	‘dog’
úythen	‘dogs’
úy kini	‘two dogs’
úynú, ūi-nū [G]	‘female dog’
ūi-nū ka-nēm-kat [G]	‘female dogs’
úypá, ūi-pā [G]	‘male dog’
ūi pā ka-nēm-kat [G]	‘male dogs’
úyrek	‘male dogs’
úy məluŋpa	‘group of dogs’
úysun	‘pet’
úyson	‘puppy’
ēdā [G]	‘defecate’
éʔyəw	‘kill, extinguish, abolish’
éʔyəwnərə~əyʔyéyəw	‘abolish’
mədoéʔyəwnəra	‘abolish’
kéyəw	‘I extinguish’
teʔéʔyəwrə	‘to kill somehow’

kəŋgəlóy	‘round’
kətdál	‘breadth’
kətlóŋ	‘weak’
kəníthlə́knə	‘who is jealous’
kənčún	‘tremble’
kəntímčə́p	‘quite’
kənphéyar	‘twin’
kəp	?
kəptrít	‘threat’
kəpdér	‘hate’
kəpnítə	‘smile’
kəprélsun	‘baby’
kəm	‘shut’
ərkəm	‘shut’
kárkəm	‘I close’
kəmpor	‘blanket’
kəy	?
kəykép	‘spoil’
kəythél	‘market’
kərčín	‘combination’
kərnol	‘try’
kəl	‘cook’
pəkəl	‘overcook’
kəl	‘saline’
kəl	‘distance’
kəllək	‘far’
kəllə́t	‘distance’
kəy	‘tiger’
ká́k	‘dump’
ká́kənə	‘vibration’

kə́kčol	‘select’
kə́kthəmčá	‘humble’
kə́tna	‘wave’
kə́npa	‘joy’ (IA)
kə́npado	‘joy’
kə́p	?
kə́pkəy	‘bite’
kə́pə́rlem	‘taste’
kə́pčaŋ	‘winnable’
kə́pdet	‘show’
kə́rdə	‘wait’
kə́rlet	‘space’
kə́troŋ~kətroŋ	‘I roam’
ka, kā [G]	‘room, side, to cover on the side’
a-kā [G]	‘the side of a building’
Kangten	clan name
kantá	‘bell’
kal	‘place’
apkal [G]	‘cause to be placed!’
kalen	‘summer’
kasūbi [G]	‘harlot’ (IA)
kaw	‘kick’
kák	‘fool’
káŋ	‘knife’
káŋklín	‘dagger’
káŋsáŋ	‘sword’
káŋkól	‘shield’
káŋbél	‘frying pan’
káŋkhuy	‘operation’
kāng [G]	‘group’

a-kāng-rūp [G]	‘my friends’
nai a-kāng-rūp [G]	‘my companions’
káŋ	‘mosquito’
káŋkhə́l	‘mosquito net’
kát	‘cactus’
kát	?
əkát	‘shoot’
kini	‘sun’
kinthuntrimədiltha	‘afternoon’
kindrit	‘truth’
kinditti	‘it was the truth’
kip	‘throw’
kipthi	‘throw’
kipčén	‘ride’
kipdélčək	‘hate’
kilthiŋŋi	‘together’
kípíni	‘laugh’
kíppi	‘parrot’
kíǰik	‘write’
kukúmok	‘mad’
kun	?
kunkóy	‘turn’
kundúŋ	‘person who has no relatives’
kunsók	‘vomiting’
kup	‘move’
kupkúy~kupkhúy	‘break’
kupkóy	‘turn’
kuptrú	‘continue’
kupthrúŋ	‘commence’
kum	‘year’

kumərán	‘new year’
kumkhóŋ~kunkhón	‘freeze’
kumsiŋ	‘age’
taykúm	‘next year’
kurčúlkə́ma	‘odd’
kursunúm kuma	‘enemy’
kuwə́r	‘dawn’
kusti	‘leprosy’ (IA)
kúkəto	‘delay’
kedər	‘old’
Keynim	clan name
kewa	‘buffalo’
kewar	‘light’
kél, kēl [G]	‘goat’
kēl pā ka-nēm-khat [G]	‘goats’
kēl pā khat [G]	‘billy goat’
kēl nū khat [G]	‘female goat’
kélrəm	‘sheep’
kéʔə́r	‘green’
ko~kú, kū [G]	‘who’
kúpəti	‘who’
kokíl	‘cuckoo’
koŋ~toŋ, tong [G]	‘sit’
tong-dā-ka-am [G]	‘he is sitting’
tong-pli-dā [G]	‘where is seated’
kutoŋthə	‘being seated on’
yū-koong [G]	‘sit’
koŋkəlóy	‘wheel’
kophí	‘coffee’ (IA)
kom	‘pond’

koma	‘child’
komo	‘uncle’
komla	‘orange’
koy	‘illness’
kakoi [G]	‘who is sick’
ka-koi-ka-parr-nā-ga mā [G]	‘without illness’
korkáy	‘sweet potato’
korthə́w	‘infinite’
kol	‘loose’
kə́rkol	‘being loose’
kol	‘waist’
ərkol	‘waist’
kolóm	‘pen’ (IA)
kok	?
kokthoy	‘hang’
kókto~kóktu	‘late’
kóbi	‘cabbage’ (IA)
kráǰ	‘scold’
krám	‘sharp’
krík	‘burden/heavy’
kríp~jaríp	‘stand’
krím	?
məkrím	‘smell’
krúŋ	‘god’
kreŋ	‘cage’
krén	‘buy, cut’
króŋ	‘king’
król	‘sound’
klék	?
məklék	‘half’

khət, khat [G]	‘one’
khət	‘one, once’
əryakhət, arja khat [G]	‘hundred’
sikkhət	‘pair’
ləpkhət	‘group of’
nikhətti	‘then/when one day’
khə́m	‘sad’
kəkhə́m	‘sadness’
khaŋwáy	‘grass hopper’
khāng [G]	‘give’
khāng-dā [G]	‘gave’
khá	‘bitterness’
kháp̀ək	‘belt’ (M)
kháw	‘bag’
khú	‘?’
úpkhú	‘dry cough’
kupkhú	‘tuberculosis’
khun~khu, khuː [G]	‘village’
Khular	clan name
Khullakpa	title of village official, village chief
khullup	‘way’
Khuchal Yupal	title of village official, minister of liquor (arranges wine for any festival in the village)
khú, khū [G]	‘foot’
a-khū [G]	‘foot’
pəkhúp	‘knee’
khúbkhóŋ	‘heel’
khúlon	‘courtyard’
khút, khūt [G]	‘hand’

a-khūt [G]	‘hand’
khúčól	‘ring finger’
khútbəm	‘wrist’
khútbar	‘coarse’
khútmə	‘to not stop’
khúmor	‘toe’
khútpəkín	‘nail’
khútpa	‘thumb’
khútpar	‘ring/bracelet’
khútpiya	‘palm’
khúliŋ	‘elbow’
ma-khūt-thū [G]	‘on his hand’
khūn [G]	‘morning’
khúy	‘break’
khúyləmdə	‘bisect’
kheŋ	‘together’
məkheŋ	‘each/all’
Khenu	surname of Silsih clan
khel, khēl [G]	‘ask’
kərkhelle	‘ask’
khēl-dā [G]	‘asked’
khēl-lo [G]	‘a friendship’
khelčokləmdə	‘had asked’
nankhel	‘you know’
khé	‘hit’
kikhé	‘hit’
khoŋ	‘drum’
khoy	‘bee’
khoykwá	‘honey bee’
khoynínji	‘nightingale’

khóŋ	‘leg’
khóŋgráw	‘pant’
khóŋgráw kətrón	‘long pant’
khóŋgráw ketóy	‘half pant’
khongūp [G]	‘shoes’
khóp	?
kukhópča	‘enough’
khlám	‘find’
khlámthuk	‘invent’
khlámdə́y	‘to enquire’
khlép	‘fold’
khūn	‘morning’
harakhūn [G]	‘in the morning’
kūhā [G]	‘(a) well’ (IA)
ga	‘drum’
gadūm	‘drum beating’
garí	‘vehicle, cart’ (IA)
gādhā [G]	‘donkey’ (IA)
gulí	‘tablet’ (IA)
gehú	‘wheat’ (IA)
Gopal	personal name (m)
ŋəy	‘want’
kiŋəy	‘want’
ŋərəŋ	‘scraps’
ŋə́l	?
pərŋə́l	‘forget’
ŋə́w	‘white’
kəŋə́w	‘white’
ŋa	‘rest’
kərŋa	‘rest’

kərŋaləp	‘let me rest’
ŋá	‘fish’
ŋá məkheŋ	‘all fishes’
ŋá mətut	‘heap of fish’
ŋáksaŋ	‘eel’
ŋáw	‘strange’
kəŋáw	‘abnormal’
čəŋkhu	‘gale’
čəm	‘friend’
čəmpra	‘lemon’ (IA)
čəla	‘gift’
čə́y, cai [G]	‘spear, knife’
kičə́y	‘I spear (someone)’
čə́y, cai [G]	‘stripes’
čə́ytúŋ	‘reed’
čə́r	‘wet’
kəčə́r	‘wet’
čə́rú	‘straw’
čə́rú məkheŋ	‘all straws’
čə́rú mətut	‘heap of straw’
čə́l	‘face’
pəčə́l	‘face’
ča	‘go’
kəčarə	‘I go’
ča	‘hundred’
čakhət	‘one hundred’
čakhətkini, cacet-kini [G]	‘two hundred’
čakhət-pərŋa	‘five hundred’
ča	‘tea’ (IA)
čaŋ, cāng [G]	‘able’

ka-do-cāng-rang [G]	‘we’re doing’
kəčaŋŋi	‘who is able’
kə́pčaŋ	‘winnable’
pəčaŋmə…	‘had not been able to cause it’
čaw	‘big’
čawkí~čəwkrí	‘chair’
čá, cā [G]	‘small’
a-cā-pā [G]	‘son’
cā-pāng [G]	‘son’
a-nā-cā ma-carr [G]	‘his young son’
thom-pū cā-pāng [G]	‘his younger son’
ma-cā-pā thom-pū [G]	‘the younger son’
nang a-cā-pā [G]	‘your (sg) son’
pasēl na-cā ka-thā-ka-mā khat [G]	‘a bad boy’
a-cā-nū [G]	‘daughter’
a-carr [G]	‘sister’
a-nā-cā [G]	‘his sister’
čák, cā [G]	‘eat’
a-cā [G]	‘eat’
čákkə	‘to eat’
əčákho	‘eat now!’
kə́čákkə	‘my eating’
cā-dā ka-am-ā [G]	‘they are eating’
cák-kheŋ	‘eat together’
cāncē [G]	‘let us eat’
čák-dók	‘ate’
cák-khum	‘kitchen’
čák-luŋŋe	‘eat at the same time (as at a feast)’
aicāni-dā [G]	‘upon his going to eat’
ma-cāk-nā [G]	‘on-eating’

cā-bā-ni [G]	‘if eaten’
čí	‘keep’
kəčí	‘I keep’
čík	‘calm’
kəčík	‘which is calm’
číŋ	‘hill’
číŋgədíl	‘hill’
Cingsanglakpa	title of village official, looks after the area surrounding the village
čukpá	‘leaf’
čukpí	‘bitterleaf’
čučú	‘breast’
čur	?
čurláy	‘rainy season’
čú~čúk	‘learn’
kučúyyi	‘I learn’
kərčú	‘learning’
cūngāi-in-chē	‘let’s be merry’
pərčúk	‘teach’
čúŋ	‘spear’?
cūm~ chūm [G]	‘correct, proper’
ka-cūm [G]	‘it is proper’
čéŋ	‘dark’
kiǰéŋ	‘which is dark’
čén, cēn [G]	‘run’
kəčén	‘I race’
ka-cēn-ā [G]	‘run, go up’
čén-nə	‘by running’
máčénnə	‘to run’
čér	‘pure’
kəčér	‘pure’

ka-kin-jērrpa-dā	‘who was alive’
cho [G]	‘commit’
cho-cha-nū [G]	‘commit’
čopháy	‘guava’
čol~čon	‘select’
čók	‘spoon’
khəčók	‘spoon’
čóŋ	‘noise’
pərčóŋ	‘noise’
čē	‘walk’
cē-nū [G]	‘will walk’
čēt	‘go, walk’
cēt-pā	‘going’
Changloy	title of village official, function unknown
Chawba, Chaoba [G]	personal name (m)
Chawbi~Chaobi	personal name (f)
ǰak	‘again’
Jadonang	personal name (m)
jam	‘spread’
Jon	personal name (m)
Joshua Pitər	personal name (m)
təkrənə	‘agree’
təŋ	?
təŋsí	‘knife’
təŋsíl	‘bobbin’
təm	?
kətəm	‘granary store’
təmkə́n	‘basket’
təm	?
kə́təmə́m	‘bloom’

təm	‘low’
tərí	‘tailor’
kitərí	‘tailor’
tərtráŋ	‘bachelor’
tərnəm	‘picture’
təl~tən	‘bread’
təlétnə	‘toy’
təʔə́r	‘throat’
tə́m	‘time’
mətə́m tenni	‘always’
tə́r	?
mətə́rpe	‘breadth’
tə́w	‘dig’
ə́tə́w	‘your digging’
kətə́wnə	‘which is a source’
dultə́w	‘dig’
ta	‘say’
tafāk [G]	‘distance’ (IA)
táŋ	‘trap’
kətáŋ	‘I trap’
tāng [G]	‘expensive’
ti	‘line’
tikhíyət	‘line’
tikítnə	‘pen’
ti-thā	‘down’
ti	‘seven’
tiksiyū, tikhíyu, tik-siyū [G]	‘seven’
ti-rēt [G]	‘eight’
tu-~ti-~tə-, ta-, tā- [G]	‘nonspecific quantifier’
tədoləmdə	‘some way’

təlu~təlúdə	‘what’
ta-ki [G]	‘from what, why’
ta-yā-pang [G]	‘however much’
tidekdə	‘sort of showed’
tiden	‘whenever’
tidenthəŋŋi	‘absolutely whenever’
tiden-rang [G]	‘absolutely whenever’
tidittə [G]	‘some time, whenever’
ti-ya [G]	‘however much or however many’
tuwa	‘wherever’
tik	‘worthy, fit’
ka-tik-mē [G]	‘I am unfit’
tikə́y	‘fox’
tikhi	‘air’
tiŋ	?
kə́tiŋ	‘cane’
tit	‘pain’
pərtitləmdə	‘likely cause you pain’
titikərwə́y	‘cruel’
tilhə́w	‘onion’
tík	‘piece’
mətík~métík	‘piece’
tíča	‘fear’
kitíča	‘which is feared’
tít, ti [G]	‘low’
ti-thā [G]	‘down’
mətít	‘below’
tím	?
kərtímčəp	‘which is appropriate’
kərtímlə́mdə	‘which is an aggregate’

tu	‘precipitation’
tuból	‘snow’
tubul	‘dew’
tuku, ta-kū [G]	‘nine’
tuŋ~yuŋ	‘with, and’
-tuŋ	‘associative’
tut	‘heap’
mətut	‘heap of’
tun	‘now’
tuni	‘today’
tubúl	‘frog’
tur	?
turpék	‘flat’
túk	?
kətúkča	‘I finish’
túŋ	‘hard, very’
kudúŋ-	‘which is hard’
kudúŋŋe~kudúŋŋi	‘very, loudly, fast’
mədúŋ	‘length’
túŋ	‘stick, spade’
kədúŋ	‘I (use a) stick’
kučúŋ	‘spear’
tun, tún [G]	‘root’
mətún	‘root’
tū	‘bind’
a-ktū [G]	‘bind’
tūn [G]	‘run’
tūn-thāng [G]	‘run’
ten	?
kə́ten	‘I hoist’

terlíŋ ‘thorn’
telre ‘sliced bamboo’
téŋ ‘aid’
tébəl ‘table’ (IA)
to ‘do’
  tomá ‘ban’
  ma-to-lān [G] ‘doing’
tot ‘hunt’
  kətot ‘hunting, be a loss’
  sá-kətot ‘hunter’
  toʔorthuŋŋi ‘killing’
tom, tūm [G] ‘to bear’
  ka-tūm [G] ‘get, allot’
  tomdomləmdə ‘carried’
tompáyka ‘rust’
Tomba personal name (m)
toy, toi [G] ‘short’
  kutoy ‘which is short’
tortlaŋ ‘rather young’
tón ‘above’
  mətónthə ‘above’
trəp ‘cry’
  mətrəppiŋ ‘crying’
trik ‘wear’
  kətrik ‘I wear’
tru ‘start’
  kuptru ‘continue’
  pətrudok ‘had completed the work’
trúk, tū, tū-rūk [G] ‘six’
tret, ti-rēt [G] ‘eight’

trén	‘pull’
kətrén	‘I pull’
tróŋ	‘tall’
kutróŋ	‘which is tall’
tróp	‘bloom’
kətróp	‘which is rotten’
tla	?
kətla	‘fall’
tlaŋ	‘youth’
tortlaŋ	‘rather young’
nələtərtlaŋ	‘youth’
tluŋ	‘floor’
tluŋláy	‘floor’
tlo	‘carry’
tlodə	‘carried’
tlorrəŋ	‘every burden’
thər	?
thərŋút	‘door’
thəy	‘lone’
kəthəynə	‘who is alone’
ma-thainā [G]	‘himself’
tha, thā [G]	‘in, to’
ələkthə	‘there’
a-dū-thang [G]	‘before’
kərthadusuk	‘being close’
thang, thāng [G]	‘in, to, towards, direction’
thaŋ, thāng [G]	‘reply’
arrthāng-dā [G]	‘replied’
thaǰədə	‘belief’
tham	‘hunger’

ka-tham [G]	‘hunger’
thal	?
thalbəm	‘eye-brow’
thalwə́m	‘mole’
thaw	‘oil’
thá	‘thick’
kəthá	‘which is thick’
thrá~thá, thā [G]	‘which is good’
kərthá~kəthra	‘which is beautiful’
kəthrakəmə	‘which is evil/bad’
kəthramílay	‘who is a gentleman’
kəthraŋe	‘nicely, good’
kəthraŋŋi	‘happy’
kəthrə́	‘goodness’
kəthlásay	‘which is nice’
ka-thā [G]	‘which is good’
ka-thā-ka-mā [G]	‘which is bad’
ka-thā-sēt [G]	‘which is better’
kudúrthə	‘which is good, be good’
thlá	‘good’
thralikəmə	‘which is wicked’
thlaləmme	‘bad’
pasēl na-cā ka-thā-ka-mā khat [G]	‘a bad boy’
ma-mā ka-thā-sēt [G]	‘best’
si-nū ka-thā khat [G]	‘a good woman’
si-nū ka-thā-rēt [G]	‘good women’
si-nū na-cā ka-thā-ka-mā-khat [G]	‘bad girl’
thám	‘seek’
kəthám	‘seeking’
thi	‘anger’

pa-thi-dā [G]	‘being angry’
thir~thi	‘put, accompany’
pərthi	‘put’
thim	?
thimpú	‘local physician’
thimté	‘midwife’
thí ~thíyel, thirr [G]	‘iron’
thíŋ	?
ərthíŋdə	‘balk’
thíl	‘demand’
kəthílča	‘beggar’
kithíl	‘I demand’
thun~thuŋ, thūng, thū [G]	‘at, before, for, from, place, village’
əwəthuŋŋi ~əwthuŋŋi	‘at/for that one’
əwəthuŋŋi ~əwthuŋŋi	‘far, then’
āo-thū [G]	‘thereupon’
məjakthuŋbe	‘far/before’
thūng-ki, thūng-ti [G]	‘from’
thunjawdə	‘having been far’
thunni	‘being far’
thum	‘leap’
pərthumləmdə	‘leapt out’
thūt [G]	‘be’
the, thē [G]	‘say’
əthe	‘say’
ē-dā [G]	‘said’
kə́the~kəthe	‘sing’
kithe	‘I say’
ma-pā hiniyā thē-dā [G]	‘to his father (he) said’
theda [G]	‘said’

thē-ca-dā [G]	‘he said’
thepikləmdə	‘advice’
ther	‘kick’
mətherrə	‘kick’
therkə́biyop	‘magnate’
thel	?
kə́rthel	‘escape’
théŋ	?
kərthéŋlə́mdə	‘adjust’
thén, then, thēn [G]	‘ask’
kərthéndə	‘bye’
kithíyel	‘I ask’
pa-thēn-dā [G]	‘entreated’
ma-thē-ni [G]	‘he will say’
thém, thēm [G]	‘divide’
kəthém	‘I distribute’
ka-thēm-pi [G]	‘divided and gave’
thok, thūk [G]	‘be’
kə́rthokə́mə	‘fail’
ka-thok lam-dā [G]	‘are, were’
ma-mā ka-thok-nā [G]	‘he is’
ma-māng ka-thok-dā [G]	‘he was’
ma-mān ka-thok-lam-dā [G]	‘they are’
ma-mān ka-wāng-no-mā [G]	‘they go’
nai ka-thūk-ni-ka-di [G]	‘I shall be’
nai-kā ka-thūk-ma-rū-wā [G]	‘I may be’
nai ka-thok-nū [G]	‘I am, I was’
thoŋ	‘hurt’
thoŋmáw~thoŋnaw	‘window’
Thopa	personal name (m)

thom	‘young’
thom-pū cā-pāng [G]	‘the younger son’
Tholung	clan name
Thoukal	title of village official, function unknown
thóŋ	‘touch’
kəthóŋ	‘touch’
thramnə́	‘page’
thridə	‘accompany’
thrin	‘take there’
məmanthrin	‘they should take there’
thru	‘bath, bathe’
kə́rthru	‘I bathe’
thlə́t	?
kəthlə́t	‘black’
thlá, thā [G]	‘month’
thla	‘chapter’
thlakə́kloy	‘full moon’
thlím	?
kə́rthlím	‘charm’
thlúŋ	?
kəthlúŋ	‘arrive’
thlóŋ	‘prepare’
thwaytréŋ	‘angel’
Thəmthi	personal name (m)
thʔí	‘axe’
dət	‘try’
mədətlani	‘since trying’
də́k~dák~dá, dak [G]	‘flesh’
mədá, ma-dak [G]	‘flesh’
mədə́ksá	‘body’

mədə́k	‘all solid’
də́ksá	‘solid form’
ədákthi	‘lazy/idle’
ərdá	‘a nerve/vein’
də́ŋ	‘taboo’
kədə́ŋ	‘which is taboo’
də́y~dáy	‘after’
ədáyni	‘day after tomorrow’
dā́yda, dai-dā [G]	‘after’
pədáynú	‘but’
də́l	?
kədə́l	‘hide’
da	‘wide’
ədadə	‘wide’
dam, dām [G]	‘twitch’
kərdam	‘twitch, dance’
gadūm	‘drum beating’
dām-dā	‘dancing’
Dar	surname of the Tholung and Yangwei clan
dám	‘?’
kudám	‘bottom’
dai-dā [G]	‘saw (verb)’
dáy	‘cold’
kə́dáy	‘cold’
daypólio	‘diarrhoea’ (IA)
di	?
pərdi	‘thatch’
di	‘die’
ka-di-rak-thi-yā [G]	‘I am about to die, I am dying’
kidi	‘die’

kidiča	‘die’
ki-di-yā [G]	‘die’
ma-di-thūng-ki [G]	‘dying from, after he had died’
diŋ	‘tree’
ding-būl-ing [G]	‘under that tree’
diŋčuy	‘tree canopy’
diŋ-hon	‘shade’
diŋhók	‘bark (N)’
diŋlenthə	‘to the tree’
diŋ-pal	‘tree like plant’
diŋpá	‘fruitless tree’
diŋpí	‘fruit-bearing tree’
dim	‘full’
kidim	‘be full’
diríŋ	‘gold’
dil	‘behind’
a-dil-thā,, a-dil-thā [G]	‘behind’
dipə́ŋthə	‘behind’
dilwa	‘behind there’
əwdilthə	‘shortly’
əwdilthəŋwa	‘eventually’
mídilthə	‘after’
dil	‘round’
ərdil	‘garland’
Dilbung	clan name
dí	‘taste’
kidí	‘taste’
dí	‘water’
dí kədíl	‘stream’
dí kərčay	‘wave’

dí klín	‘ocean’
dí khullup	‘stream’
díbáw	‘shore’
díbéŋ	‘island’
díklin	‘flood’
dípəryə	‘flood waters, irrigation water’
dípəwa	‘king fisher’
mədí	‘liquid’
dím	?
kidím	‘local doctor’
díl	‘small’
kədíl	‘little/small’
ka-dil-son [G]	‘small (eg a small house)’
duk	‘cut’
dukán, tūkān [G]	‘shop’ (IA)
duy, dūi [G]	‘nice’
kū-dūi [G]	‘find pleasure at’
kū-dūi-rang [G]	‘would be nice’
kū-dūi-yā [G]	‘I like it.’
ta-yā-pang kū-dūi-rang [G]	‘how nice it would have been (lit. how-much nice-being-for)’
dur~du,, dū [G]	‘below’
kə́rduthə~kudurthə, kū-dū-thā [G]	‘south’
dul	‘bottom’
məkə́rdulthə	‘bottom’
dulthrə́	‘soil’
dultapinpén	‘brick’
dulpəndám	‘surface’
dú	‘meet’
kuddú	‘meet’
dúŋ	‘hard’

kudúŋŋí	‘hard, fast’
dúŋ	‘sick’
kudúŋ	‘ache’
kədúŋín	‘hospital’
kundúŋ	‘person who has no relatives’
dúm, dūm [G]	‘three’
kudúm, ka-dūm [G]	‘three’
məkudúm	‘third’
naw kudúm	‘three children’
dedók	‘saw’ (N)
den	‘continue’
tidenni	‘some day’
tidenrəŋ	‘whenever’
mədelthəŋŋi	‘thereafter’
dét	‘end’
ka-dēt-ka-mā [G]	‘ceaseless’
dél	‘rise’
kərdél	‘wake’
do	‘method, way’
ədohur	‘in that way questioning’
ka-do-fan-jāk [G]	‘he has been found again’
dobin	‘type of choice’
mədo	‘method/manner of Xing’
mədo éʔyəw	‘method of killing’
mədoča	‘method of eating’
mədosut	‘way or mode of looking ‘
do	‘push’
dokələk	‘push far’
dothun	‘push at’
dorləmdə	‘pushed up’

wā-karr-do-lam-dā [G]	‘he went and joined’
don	‘branch’
dollonnəran	‘being on a branch thus’
ma-don [G]	‘branch’
ma-don-thā [G]	‘on the branch’ lit. ‘the-branch-on’
doná	‘thing/dress’
donkhál	‘animal’
dóp	?
kudóp	‘soft’
dóydəm	‘medicine’
dūngē [G]	‘fasten (bind well)’
ka-dūngē [G]	‘(beat) well and bind him with ropes’
nəŋ, nang [G]	‘poor’
nəŋ, na, nan, nanga [G]	‘you (sg)’
nangin [G]	‘you’
nangan-jū [G]	‘you’
nang-an-jū ka-thok-ngan [G]	‘you are’
nəŋgi nani, nanga-na-ki [G]	‘your’
nəŋŋi	‘you (agentive)’
nən, nan [G]	‘you (plural)’
nəy, nai, nē [G]	‘I, my’
nəyye, nai-yē [G]	‘I’
nai ka-ti [G]	‘mine’
naik pāūthē, naik ka-pāūthē [G]	‘of me’ (lit. I my-presence-in)
nai-ka-ti [G]	‘mine, seems to me’ (lit. I-my-property)
nai-ki, nai-a [G]	‘my’
nen, nain [G]	‘we’
nai-ni [G]	‘we’
nenkí, nai-ki-ki [G]	‘our’

nai ki-ki [G]	‘our’
nain ka-thok-nū [G]	‘we are’
nain pāuthē [G]	‘news of us’
ka-nāi-tēk [G]	‘near’
nəythen	‘share’
nər, nērr [G]	‘mouth’
a-nērr	‘mouth’
nə́p	?
pənnə́p	‘slow’
naw, nāo [G]	‘young’
ənawpa	‘young one’
ənaw a-nāo [G]	‘child, brother’
nawrek	‘children’
nawwa [G]	‘that child’
mənaw	‘his/her child’
nawbór	‘cradle’
Naharak	title of village official, looks after the youth of the village
nák	?
náksaŋ	‘eel’
nápəl	‘proud’
náy	‘dense’
kərnáy	‘denseness’
nár, nārr [G]	‘nose’
a-nārr	‘nose’
ni [G]	‘two’
kini	‘two’
mə́kinithə	‘second’
məkinithə naw	‘second child’
ni, nī [G]	‘day’
kənithunə	‘east’

kənithlə́knə	‘west’
ki-ni, ki-nī [G]	‘sun’
nikhətti	‘then/when one day’
nila	‘that day’
nikrálčim	‘quench’
niŋ	‘mind’
niŋkral	‘eager’
niŋ(kya)	‘shame’
niŋklunnəraŋŋi	‘by wishing to make happy’
Ningollak	title of village official, looks after the girls and woman of the village
nūm [G]	‘cut’
númmə	‘until’
nú, nū [G]	‘female’
ənú, a-nū [G]	‘mother’
kunú	‘my mother’
ne	‘like’
ká́ne	‘like’
nek	‘drink’
kənek-	‘my drinking’
neksli	‘to drink too much’
mənekka	‘drink’
mənekdók	‘drink (completed)’
mədonek	‘that way of drinking’
nēm [G]	‘many’
a-pā ka-nēm hin-ki [G]	‘from many fathers’
kənempokkə	‘abundance’
kinempok~ kinempa	‘many N’
nēmbē [G]	‘always’
noŋ	‘work’
noŋčílla	‘busy’

noŋ məpúŋphaŋtoləmdə	‘accomplish’
noŋsá	‘lion’
nom	‘grass, bush’
nót	‘rub’
kunót	‘rub’
nól	‘repeat’
kərnól	‘repeat’
ngin	‘for’
ngo	‘anger’
ngo-dā [G]	‘angrily’
nā	?
ma-nā-cā [G]	‘his son’
nā	‘ear’
a-ka-nā [G]	‘ear’
nāl [G]	‘very’
nālbi [G]	‘very’
ngānū [G]	‘duck’ (m)[40]
nu	‘future’
nūng	‘happy’
nūnggāi-cē [G]	‘they made merry’
nūng-āi-nā [G]	‘merrily’
pəŋ	‘only, even’
pəŋə́l	‘wild boar’ (m)
pədə́w	‘(a) fly’
pədáynuŋ, padāinū [G]	‘but’
pədáynuŋŋe	‘however, but’
pədúklekkí	‘next month’

[40] Perhaps borrowed from Burmese, as suggested by an anonymous referee of this article.

pən, pang [G]	‘back’
a-pang [G]	‘back’
pənto	‘eggplant’
pəntgədúr	‘garlic’
pərŋa, pa-ra-ngā [G]	‘five’
Pərtaŋ	name of a month
pərmum	‘thread’
pərwan	‘sky’
pəl	?
pəltoŋ	‘gate’
pəli~ pilli	?
pəli	‘four’
pəwá pa [G]	‘chest’
pəwá [G]	‘bird’
pəwákhúŋ	‘male bird’
pəwánər	‘beak’
pəwánú	‘female bird’
pəwábu~pwábu	‘nest’
pa-wā [G]	‘bird’
pən	‘salt’
pən	?
pənpak	‘thank/praise’
pə́tti	‘elephant’
pə́n	‘store’
pə́n	?
kə́pə́ndə́ŋ	‘express’
pa [G]	‘put’
ap-nā [G]	‘put’
a-pa-hil [G]	‘you put on’
pathə́pəčaŋmə́	‘addict’

pa	‘read’
kə́pa	‘my reading’
məpa	‘his/her reading’
Pakhanglak	title of village official, looks after the unmarried males in the village
pang [G]	‘often’
pal~pan	‘plant’
əpando	‘that plant’
diŋ-pal	‘tree-like plant’
pam	‘earth’
paməkhéŋ	‘earth’
pam	‘country’
pamsá	‘verandah’
Pampho	name of a month
Pardul	name of a month
paw, pāū [G]	‘word, news’
kəpaw	‘I speak’
nai-k pāūthē [G]	‘my word, news of me’
nang a-pāūthē [G]	‘thy word (your divine instructions)’
paw	‘news’
pāūthē [G]	‘news’
pawthum	‘news’
paw-khel	‘question’
pawthe	‘answer’
pawnə	‘word’
pawnárek	‘prose’
pawminsám	‘story’
pawkərják	‘compare’
pawgrel	‘swear’
rálpaw	‘battle report’

pá, pā~pāng [G]	‘male’
pasēl-pā ka-thā khat [G]	‘good man’
pa-sēl-pā ka-thā-rēt [G]	‘man good-many, good men’
a-pā in-thā [G]	‘in thy father’s house’
əpá, a-pā [G]	‘father’
kə-pá, ka-pā [G]	‘my father’
a-pā khat [G]	‘a father’
a-pā ki-ni [G]	‘two fathers’
a-pā ka-nēm-kat [G]	‘many fathers’
a-pā ka-nēm-kat-ki [G]	‘of many fathers’
a-pā ka-nēm-hin-ki [G]	‘from many fathers’
a-pā ka-nēm-hin-thā [G]	‘towards many fathers’
a-pā khat hin-ki [G]	‘from/of a father’
a-pā khat hin-thā [G]	‘to a father’
pəsəlnaw	‘young boy’
pāntrā	‘feast’
pāp [G]	‘sin’ (IA)
pi	‘crow’
pi	‘give’
pikín	‘give’
ma-hai-pi [G]	‘give’
api, a-pi [G]	‘Give!’
ŋərəŋpididə	‘gave’
ma-pē-gā [G]	‘is giving’
ma-pi-mē [G]	‘thou gavest not’
pi-māng [G]	‘did not give, to waste’
pitíl	‘claim’
piyin	‘journey, travel’
piyu	‘spit’
pi, pē [G]	‘copula’

pi	?
kipiyər	‘wonder’
piyopdok	‘mouse’
puy	‘rat’
pilo	‘absorb’
pí	‘cholera’
pí	‘female’
ə́pí	‘mother-in-law’
píkel	‘feminine gender’
pu, pū [G]	‘peacock’
pu, pū [G]	‘carry’
pu, pū [G]	‘owner’
ə́pu	‘father-in-law’
əppu	‘owner’
kə́pu~kəpu	‘owner’
pun	‘tomorrow’
pudúkni	‘tomorrow’
pun	‘group’
əpulin	‘add’
əpun	‘group’
kərpun	‘group’
puraŋ	‘olden’
puraŋ-sum	‘those of old’
pul	‘olden’
Pul	name of a month
pul	?
pullúp	‘drive’
pūm [G]	‘all’
ma-pūm	‘all’
pensíl	‘pencil’ (IA)

poy, poi [G]	‘belly’
poybúr	‘belly’
ka-poi [G]	‘my belly’
a-poi [G]	‘your belly’
pók	‘stomach’
pók	‘abundance’
kə́ʔəm-pókkə	‘be abundant’
prəjákləmdə	‘announce’
pray, prai [G]	‘beat, strike’
a-prai	‘beat, strike!’
nai-yā pa-rai-nū [G]	‘I have struck’
pa-rai-ningdi [G]	‘shall strike’
príčoy	‘make’
prú	‘steal’
kəprú	‘thief’
Preet	personal name (f)
prel	‘charcoal’
plə	‘cotton’
pləy, plai [G]	‘tongue’
pləygəní	‘cheat’
pli, plē [G]	‘like this’
plut	‘score’
kəplut	‘score’
plú	‘born’
plúdə	‘born’
plúdkləmdə	‘admit’
plúŋ, plūng [G]	‘character, soul’
plúŋgə́day	‘modest’
plúŋthi	‘angry’
plúŋbín	‘hope’

plúŋrinle	‘in mind also’
plúŋseŋ	‘clear/honest’
ma-plūng [G]	‘his mind’
məplúŋseŋ [G]	‘honest’
plúŋ	‘gate’
pleppíyuŋ	‘kite’
phəybən	‘thigh’
phə́r	‘mat’
kiphə́r	‘mat’
phə́lbi	‘winter’
pha, phā, fā [G]	‘get’
kəpha	‘I get’
ka-do-fan-jāk [G]	‘he has been found again’
phaləmdə	‘got, took place’
pha-jāk	‘get’
məpha	‘get’
məphathunni	‘getting on top’
phay	‘lap’
phaykədú	‘spade’
phaysil	‘buffalo’
Phurwa	name of a month
phul	?
kəphul	‘I boil’
phúrit	‘shirt (M)’
phúl	?
kuphúl	‘which melts’
phelé	‘butterfly’
phoŋ	‘gun’
phoŋmú	‘bullet’
phlət	‘appoint’

kə́phlət	‘appoint’
phla, phāk, ta-fāk [G]	‘send’
kə́phla	‘I send’
phāk, ta-fāk [G]	‘till’
bəŋ	‘enter’
ərbəŋklúp	‘enter’
bəmpí	‘save’
kə́bəmpí	‘which is saved’
ban	‘arm’
əban	‘arm’
bartín	‘bucket’ (IA)
bák	‘bat’
báyye	‘soon’
kəbáyye	‘which is soon’
biyiŋkəpút	‘kiss’
bin	‘choice’
məbinlani	‘choice’
kərbin	‘my choice’
bində	‘choose’
bíd	‘tired’
kə́rbíd	‘who is tired’
bu	‘rice’
bukəŋat	‘reap’
bu-thoŋ	‘cook’
buhum	‘paddy’
Bung	surname of Dilbung clan
but	?
pərbut	‘lash’
bun	‘beat’
kəbun	‘I beat’

burkhú	‘common cold’ (IA)
bursí, būrsi [G]	‘star’
bul	‘mud’
kərbul	‘mud’
pubul	‘smear’
bulpə́rnok	‘clay’
bú	‘cloth’
búwa	‘that cloth’
búkəthel	‘woollen cloth’
bú-kətrik	‘dress’
bú-kəsá	‘weaver’
bú-klin	‘over-sized cloth’
búkursu	‘washerman’
búk	‘enclose’
búkthibordə	‘bondage’
ləwbúkthuŋŋi	‘it was at the farm’
búl	‘foot of the tree’
búlthə́	‘at foot of the tree’
be	‘towards’
bethə	‘towards him’
beŋ	‘deaf’
kibeŋ	‘one who is deaf’
Besotta	personal name (m)
bé	‘pea’
kibé	‘pea’
béŋ	‘break’
kibéŋ	‘broken’
béŋ	‘wall’
bél	‘pot’ (IA)
bol	‘ball’ (IA)

ból	‘tie’
əból	‘bind’
kəból	‘which is tied’
brék	‘brake (E)’
blúŋ	?
blúŋkrip	‘attention’
məma, ma, ma-mā, ma-māng [G]	‘he/she’
ma-mā, ma-māng [G]	‘his’
məmaki, ma-mā ki [G]	‘his’
məy	‘gun’
məw	‘elder’
məwpa	‘elder’
məwpawa	‘the elder brother’
məwle	‘elder and’
mə́k	?
mə́knə kibeŋ	‘deaf’
kə́pə́rmə́k	‘wrong’
mə́y, mai [G]	‘fire’
mə́r, mar [G]	‘fat’
kəmə́r	‘fat one’
mai [G]	‘wife’
mao-ma-ki [G]	‘wickedly’
man, mān [G]	3 pronoun
məman, ma-mān, ma-mā-ni [G]	‘they’
məman	‘they’
mandi	‘just them’
manbe	‘indisputably them’
ma-mānā, mān-a [G]	‘their’
Mani	personal name (m)
mantri	‘chief minister’ (IA)

may	?
maydéŋŋi	‘against’
maythré	‘monkey’
malé	‘left’
má	‘chapter’
má~nə́	‘leaf’
əmá	‘leaf’
ərnal~ərnə́	‘leaf’
máŋ	‘not’
mál	‘meal’
kəmál	‘meal’
-mā	‘negative’
ga-mā	‘without’
māng [G]	‘waste, lost’
ka-mang-thok~ka-māng-thok [G]	‘he has been lost~he was lost’
po-māng [G]	‘cause to waste’
min	‘ripe’
kimin	‘ripe’
ming [G]	‘name’
nang a-ming atā [G]	‘What is your name?’
minthren	‘divorce’
mí	‘man’
nimáŋ	‘not man’
mía	‘to the man’
mí kinempa	‘many men’
míki	‘of the man’
mí khət	‘one man’
mítuŋ	‘with some man’
mí thə	‘to(wards) the man’
mídóki	‘artist’

mínaw	‘young man’
mínpu	‘husband’
míhinki	‘from the man’
mílay	‘the human’
míŋi	‘by the man’
mírek	‘men’
mírekwa	‘those men’
mík~mít	‘eye’
a-mít	‘eye’
kimík	‘my eye’
mík-kətot	‘blind person’
míkčəy	‘eyeball’
míktot	‘blind’
míkpənsár	‘image’
míkmúl	‘eyelash’
míŋsél	‘looking-glass’
mudén	‘top’
muhún	‘bubble’
múk	‘ink’
múl~mún	‘rock, hill’
məmún	‘on the hill’
múl-klin	‘mountain’
Meitei Lambu	title of village official, minister of hospitality. Looks after visitors, especially Meiteis, at village festivals.
meŋ	?
kípəmeŋ	‘tame’
melthí	‘ugly’
mér	‘dream’
mo	?

ko-mo	‘child’
moŋ	‘grow’
kumoŋ	‘grow’
moǰa	‘socks’ (IA)
morson	‘other’
mol~mon	‘pillow’
molpákbú	‘bed sheet’
-mó	‘interrogative’
mót	‘banana’
mbē	‘with’
mēēk [G]	‘dung’
mēn [G]	‘together’
pamēn [G]	‘cause to be together’
yəm	‘all’
kə́pə́ryəm	‘annexe’
məyəmnə	‘by all of them’
ya	‘smoke’
yay	‘(a) bow’
ya, yā [G]	‘much’
ərya	‘much’
kə́pə́ryə	‘wide’
tiya, ta-yā [G]	‘how much’, ‘how many’
pərjá ~pə́rya	‘vast’
yaŋ	‘soya bean’
Yangwei	clan name
yan	‘last’
yan	‘night’
yani	‘yesterday’
yaniməden	‘the day before yesterday’
yankum	‘last year’

yaynáŋ	‘turmeric’
yaw	‘present’
yawmé	‘absent’
yán	?
kiyán	‘which leaks’
yáp	?
əyáp	‘blow’
yám	‘flour’
yiŋ	‘pretend’
kiyiŋ	‘pretence’
yu	‘fruit’
əyupí	‘some fruit’
yubí	‘coconut’
yudə́k	‘liquor (ətiŋbə)’
yukhá	‘liquor (kaləy)’
yuŋ, yong [G]	‘fly’
kíyuŋ	‘which flies’
yuŋkədíl	‘reduce’
Yekha	name of a month (=Meitei *thəwan yekhə*)
yeŋ	‘morning’
yeŋpí	name of a month (=Meitei *iŋen*)
yeŋkha	name of a month
yeŋsún	‘morning’
yelbur	‘arrow’
yon	‘together’
yondə	‘gathered’
məyonso	‘or’
yom~yomé, yomē [G]	‘cat’
yomépá	‘male cat, tom’

yomépí	‘female cat, queen’
yomérek	‘cats’
yóŋ, yong [G]	‘jump’, ‘catch’
kiyóŋ	‘jump’
kiyóŋdə	‘arrest’
ka-yong-dā [G]	‘caught’
hang-yong-dā [G]	‘upon jumping up’
yóŋ	‘monkey’
yoŋ-son [G]	‘monkey’
yór	‘sale’
kuyór	‘sale’
yā, jā [G]	‘hear’
kəríya	‘hear’
a-jā-dā [G]	‘he heard’
yē	‘fill’
yē-pā [G]	‘to fill’
yəw	‘abolish’
meʔéʔyəw	‘to kill’
rəy	‘flower’
rəyya ~ rəyye	‘the flower’
rəyki	‘of the flower’
rəykinki	‘from the flower’
rəytuŋ	‘with some flower’
rəythə	‘to(wards) the flower’
rəykhutróp	‘bud’
rə́kdəkrop	‘courage’
rə́y	‘fight’
kərə́y, krə́y	‘fighting’
rak	‘to begin, to be about’
raŋ, rāng [G]	‘ancient, old’

əraŋŋe	‘ancient’
a-rāngō [G]	‘formerly’
Rang	surname of Surte clan
Ram	personal name (m)
raw	‘call’
əraw	‘known as’
rámlí	‘soldier’
rál ~ rán	‘war’
nəránki	‘your actions’
rálpaw	‘battle report’
rit	?
ritlə́p	‘jute’
riŋ	‘life’
rinkúm	‘life’
rin-dā [G]	‘life’
rip	‘decide’
kírip	‘I decide’
ru, rū [G]	‘bone’
rū-būl [G]	‘bamboo root’
ruk, rūk [G]	‘also’
ruktəŋ	‘strength’
mə́ruktəŋ	‘strong’
mruk	‘here too’
rukka, rukko [G]	‘also’
-ruk ...-le	‘also...with’
rukri	‘first’
rukri mí	‘first man’
rugínu	‘insect’
rugríbər	‘advance’
rú	‘strong’

rútəŋ	‘strength’
rúm	‘plenty’
kurúm	‘plenty’
rek	‘more than one’
Reng	surname of Sengkhil and Songnem clans
ren	‘fresh’
eren, əren	‘new, fresh’
ren, rēn [G]	‘buy’
əpəren	‘bargain’
a-rēn [G]	‘thou boughtest’
réŋ	‘river’
kəréŋ	‘river’
kreŋbín~kreŋtíŋ	‘river bank’
ro	‘refuse’
roləmdə	refused
roŋ	‘fort’
ró	?
kəróra	‘good’
rūiyā	‘rope’
lək	‘far’
ələkto	‘for that’
ələkthə	‘there’
ləŋ	?
ləŋčák	‘bobbin’
ləŋjá	‘vulture’
ləp	‘group’
ləpkhət	‘group of’
ləp	‘serve’
ləy	‘certain future’
ləy	‘add’

əwələyyi	‘so, therefore’
pələythí	‘pour’
mələyyə	‘because’
ələy ~ərləy	‘ladder/bridge’
Ləykham	personal name (m)
ləw, lau, laū [G]	‘take, send’
kə́rlaŋ	‘take’
alaū [G]	‘take!’
ləwthidə	‘took with’
laū-dā [G]	‘married (took as bride)’
laū-thā si-dā [G]	‘send’
ləw~ bəw, laū [G]	‘property, wealth, field, paddy’
ərəw~ərbəw	‘property/wealth’
laū kū-nūm mí [G]	‘cultivator’
ləwbúkthuŋŋi	‘it was at the farm’
lə́ŋ	?
ərə́ŋŋi	‘gum’
lə́m, lam [G]	‘way’
kərpáləmdə	‘calculation’
klə́m	‘step’
lə́m	‘way/road’
la, lā [G]	‘neck, far’
ka-lā, klā [G]	‘far’
kōm ka-lhā [G]	‘far’
lam-ka-lā, lam-klā [G]	‘far land, distant land’
Lanching	title of village official, minister of war
lay	‘god’
layrik	‘book’
layrik-kí-i-mí	‘author’
lá	‘song, sing’

lá-kəthe	‘singer’
lákthe	‘sing’
láŋ, lang [G]~ráŋ	‘extreme’
kəláŋ	‘prize’
ka-thā-lang-lang [G]	‘best’
tə-əráŋŋi	‘this is rather very tasty’
láy, lai [G]	‘floor, ground’
tluŋláy	‘floor’
čurláy	‘rainy season’
lai-pāk [G]	‘country’
li [G]	‘hill’
ha-li [G]	‘this hill’
lin	‘big’
klin	‘bigness’
Lila	personal name (f)
lila	‘street theater’ (IA)
lilakyaw	‘actor’
líklí	‘bottle’
lísíŋ	‘thousand’
lu, lū [G]	‘head’
a-lū	‘head’
təluləy	‘together’
lukəw	‘shoulder’
lukə́kčip	‘barber’
lukə́dúŋ	‘headache’
lukə́bu	‘bow’
lu-klin [G]	‘big head’
lubéŋ	‘cheek’
lubú	‘umbrella (yempak)’
luluŋŋi	‘head’

Luplakpa	title of village official, assistant head of village
məklu	‘leader’s head’
lut	‘in’
luŋ-	‘together, group’
əntokhepluŋŋi	‘being together’
məluŋpa	‘group of men’
lun, rūng [G]	‘pasture’
mətlunduŋi	from working hard around the pasture
lup	‘change’
kə́rlup	‘change’
lupa	‘silver, money’ (IA)
lúm	‘warm’
kəlúm	‘warming’
le	‘play’
əllekčím	‘fun’
kle~kíle	‘play, game’
leŋ	?
leŋsók	‘net’
len, lēn, lēng-thā [G]	‘on, back’
lēng-thā	‘upon his back’
lenlə́y	‘debt’
léŋ	‘light’
kəléŋ~ kléŋ	‘brightness, light’
lē-ka-long [G]	‘devil’
lo	‘climb, unite, take’
kə́rlo	‘unite’
kəloləmdə	‘I’m united with’
klo~klon	‘climb’
klodəni	‘climb’

lot	‘escape’
mədotlotnəra	‘any means for escape’
rotmanbi	‘will not escape’
lonláy	‘desert’
lon	‘on, top’
tlondə	‘where’
lola	‘pillar’
lóy	‘donkey’
lóy	‘round, full’
kəŋgəlóy	‘round’
lól	‘round’
lək	‘far’
ələkto	‘for that’
ələkthə	‘there’
lē-ka-long [G]	‘devil’
ləp	‘group’
ləpkhət	‘group of’
ləp	‘serve’
ləy	?
ələy ~ərləy	‘ladder/bridge’
Ləykham	personal name (m)
ləw~ bəw, laū [G]	‘property, wealth, field, paddy’
ərəw~ərbəw	‘property/wealth’
laū kū-nūm mí [G]	‘cultivator’
ləwbúkthuŋŋi	‘it was at the farm’
wək	‘silver, money’ (IA)
wəy	‘pot’
wəy	?
wəykhətkərnol	‘again’
wa	‘demonstrative’

ərwaləmdə	‘was there’
əwaŋŋi	‘that’
əwatha	‘that’
əwā́, awā, āo, āwa [G]	‘that’
tuwathə	‘somewhere’
həwa, hawā [G]	‘here’
həwáthə	‘here’
ha-wā, hau, hāo [G]	‘this/it’
huwa	‘here’
wár	‘?’
kəwár	‘sow’
wat	‘less’
waŋ ~ wa~ wəŋ, wā, wāng [G]	‘go, come’
arrbāng-dā [G]	‘came’
əwəŋ	‘your going’
əwáŋmə	‘do not go’
ərwan~ərwaŋ, arr-bāng [G]	‘come’
ərwamme	‘absent’
ərwápiŋ	‘coming’
ka-ra-wā [G]	‘(he) comes’
karr-bāng-ā [G]	‘he has come’
ka-wā [G]	‘I go’
nang ka-wā aping [G]	‘thou wentest’
nang ka-wāng ampati [G]	‘thou goest’
nang-in ka-wā ampati [G]	‘you went’
nangin ka-wāng-ampin [G]	‘you go’
nai ka-wā aping [G]	‘I go, I went’
nain ka-wā-ampin [G]	‘we went’
nain ka-wāng-ampin [G]	‘we go, we went’
mamā ka-wā [G]	‘he went’

ma-mā ka-wāngā [G]	‘he goes’
ma-mān ka-wāng-nomā [G]	‘they go’
ma-mān ka-wā-lom [G]	‘they went’
marrawān-thūng-tā [G]	‘when he came’
marr-wan-nā [G]	‘coming’
wəŋŋə	‘to go’
wəŋpiŋ	‘continue going’
wā-karr-do-lam-dā [G]	‘he went and joined’
wā-dā [G]	‘went’
wā-lom-dā [G]	‘going’
wāng-thok-dā [G]	‘came and left’
wāng-cēn [G]	‘run towards’
wā-nū [G]	‘gone’
wāng-yong-dā [G]	‘flew away’
waləmdə	‘went’
wathirdə	‘went together’
wanthíləmdə	‘took where demanded’
kərbəy	‘became’
Wang	surname of Kangten clan
wan	?
wankhway	‘cook’
wan	‘duck’
wanpé	‘duck’
wanpéklín	‘goose’
wanpékhúŋ	‘duck’
wanpénú	‘duck’
wan~wən	?
wansə́t	‘dear, dearest one /love’
wansə́tklo	‘console’
wankəpənsem	‘multiply’

way	?
wayphúl	‘dust’
wák	‘pig’
wákpí	‘female pig, sow’
wɔ́ksá	‘pork’
witók	‘frog’
wer	‘adult’
kiwer, ka-wērr [G]	‘elder’
kibwér	‘elder’
won~on	‘call’
ondə	‘called’
won-pi-sā-dā [G]	‘he pitied’
woy	‘a time, occassion, one time’
wor	‘under’
wɔ́m	‘black’
kubɔ́m	‘black’
wɔ́m	‘blacken’
səw	?
səwkəsól	‘snail’
səŋmé	‘blur’
sə́ŋ	?
kəsə́ŋ	‘blank’
sə́ŋ	‘cow’
sə́ŋkóm	‘milk’
sə́ŋkóy	‘cow shed’
sɔ́m, sam [G]	‘hair’
ā-sam	‘hair’
sɔ́m əŋéyɔ́w	‘barber’
sɔ́mthí	‘comb’
sa	?

kə́pə́rsa	‘difficulty’
sá, sā [G]	‘body, animal’
mədə́ksá	‘body’
sámátúm	‘meat’
ma-sa-wāi [G]	‘husks’
sá-kətot	‘hunter’
sacai kadoka [G]	‘have whipped (the body)’
sakol [G]	‘horse’
sakol nū ka-nēm-kat [G]	‘mares’
sakol nū khat [G]	‘mare’
sakol pa ka-nēm-kat [G]	‘horses’
sakol pā khat [G]	‘male horse’
sāpal~sāpalā [G]	‘saddle’
a-sarā-worr [G]	‘slave’
ma-sarāwor-rēt [G]	‘servants’
sárekhinthə	‘towards the servants’
sárekwa	‘those servants’
sárkki	‘of slaves’
sa	?
kə́pə́rsa	‘difficulty’
Sangkhil	clan name
sangāi	‘deer’
sangāi nū khat	‘female deer’
sangāi pā khat	‘male deer’
sangār	‘wild cat’
sam	‘bamboo basket’
sa-jik	‘grass’
sá	‘hot’
kəsá	‘which is hot’
sá	‘weave, build’

kəsá	‘builder, weaver’
si	‘send’
sik	‘join up’
sikkhət	‘pair’
sikwor	‘branch’
sikkhí	‘deer’
siŋ	‘wise’
kəsiŋ	‘wise’
sipháy	‘army’ (IA)
simanə	‘border’
sil, sēl [G]	‘cow’
sil-kəpu [G]	‘cow owner’
sil-klin	‘big cow’
silnú, sil nū [G]	‘(female) cow’
sil nū ka-nēm-kat [G]	‘cows’
silpá, sil-pā [G]	‘male cow, ox/bull’
sil pā ka-nēm-kat [G]	‘bulls’
silrek	‘cows’
sil ləpkhət	‘group of cows’
silek	‘cow dung’
yāo ka-sēl mi [G]	‘shepherd’
silsá	‘beef’
silsún, sil-son [G]	‘calf’
silwor	‘cow’
silyaŋ	‘bull’
Silsih	clan name
su	‘wash’
kə́rsu	‘I wash’
su-	?
si-nū [G]	‘woman’

sunú kinempa	‘many women’
sunúnaw	‘young girl’
sunú ləpkhət	‘group of women’
sunúmədə	‘a woman’
sunúrek	‘women’
sunúwa	‘woman’
suk	‘wish’
sukthúk ~sukthuk	‘poor’
suŋ~saŋ, sāng [G]	‘high, long, tall’
kəsuŋ	‘tall one’
i-sāng	‘high, taller’
kəsáŋ, ka-sāng [G]	‘high, tall’
khat ka-sāng-sēt	‘higher, highest’
sunú~sun, sūn [G]	‘depart’
sunnikidi	‘would certainly V’
sūn-ca-dā [G]	‘departed’
supár	‘belt worn by women’
sum	‘those’
sumkúŋ	‘tortoise’
sumbu	‘owl’
surulnú	‘female wild boar’
Surte	clan name
suwə́ŋ~swə́ŋ	‘rich’
sūt [G]	‘look’
mədósut	‘way of looking’
məsut	‘looking’
məsuttə	‘see’
ma-hān-sūt-nā [G]	‘on looking up’
sutroydə	‘looked right at’
seŋ	‘clear’

set	‘much’
setphúy	‘sand’
Set	surname of Leyon clan
sen	‘money’
senkəlo	‘servant’
sen	‘red’
kisen	‘red one’
sendráŋ	‘sparrow’
Senapati	title of minister’s bodyguard (IA)
sēpā	‘service’ (IA)
sel	‘man’
sel	?
kə́rsel	‘consider’
selkərthánələ́mdə	‘bet’
Sel	surname of Khular clan
Sellung	title of village official, minister of finance
sén	?
kisén	‘save from quarrel’
so~sú	‘lock’
kusú	‘I lock’
son	‘listen’
a-son [G]	‘listen’
son, shon [G]	‘small’
Songnem	clan name
som	‘ten’
somkini som kinī [G]	‘twenty’
somkiniləykhət	‘twenty-one’
somkiniləypəli	‘twenty-four’
somkudúm	‘thirty’
somkudúmləykudúm	‘thirty-three’

somkudúmləykhət	‘thirty-one’
somtret [G]	‘eighty’
somtikhiyu	‘seventy’
somtikhiyuləykini	‘seventy-two’
somtretləykudúm	‘eighty-three’
somtuku	‘ninety’
somtukuləykhət	‘ninety-one’
somtrúk	‘sixty’
somtrúkləykhət	‘sixty-one’
sompərŋa	‘fifty’
sompərŋaləytikhiyu	‘fifty-seven’
sompərŋaləytuku	‘fifty-nine’
sompəli	‘forty’
sompəli, som parangā [G]	‘fifty’
sompəliləytrúk	‘forty-six’
sompəliləytret	‘forty-eight’
somləykini	‘twelve’
somləykudúm	‘thirteen’
somləykhət	‘eleven’
somləypəli	‘fourteen’
somləypərŋa	‘fifteen’
somləytikhiyu	‘seventeen’
somləytuku	‘nineteen’
somləytrúk	‘sixteen’
somləytret	‘eighteen’
həw	
əhəwthɔ́t	‘begin’
hɔ́y	‘say’
ərhɔ́ybədɔ́tlɔ́mdə	‘advertisement, advice’
hɔ́ykərthaŋ	‘oppose’

han	‘up’
ma-hān [G]	‘right up’
ma-hān-sūt-nā [G]	‘looking up, when he looked up’
hanpəkəlthidə	‘having gotten (him) high up’
hanpəkəldə	‘caused him to be high up’
hang-yong [G]	‘to jump up’
hay, hai [G]	‘draw’
hai-sok [G]	‘draw’
hay~hə́y	‘fruit’
hə́ytúp	‘apple’
thəyhay	‘mango, mango tree’
Haymay~Heimei	personal name (m)
há, hā [G]	‘tooth’
a-hā	‘tooth’
háysil	‘teeth, tooth’
háysil	‘bring’
ərháysil	‘bring’
hāo [G]	‘coward’
hāo-thū-kāk	‘nevertheless’
hi~hyi	‘blood’
məhi	‘its blood’
hin	‘from, to, before, direction’
hiniyā [G]	‘to’
hin-ki, hin-kē [G]	‘from’
hin-thā [G]	‘to’
nahinthə	‘before you’
nai ka-hin-thā [G]	‘in my presence’
a-hin-rūko [G]	‘also in thy presence’
híŋ	‘win’
híŋ	‘ginger’

kihíŋ	‘ginger’
humpí	‘tiger’
humpípa	‘tiger’
hep	‘dry’
hep	‘(to) suspect’
təheplu	‘how’
hərkhúŋ	‘fowl’
hur	‘question’
hurčokdə	‘questioned’
kuhul	‘I question’
hel~thel	‘return’
kərhelčá	‘one who has returned’
kərheldə	‘I’m back’
hor, horr [G]	‘bring’
kohor	‘I carry, bring’
hóŋ	‘cheap’
kuhóŋ	‘which is cheap’
hoŋkwá~heŋkowá	‘coward’
həŋ	‘increase, up’
həy	‘skill’
həymáŋ	‘not skilled’
Həjari	personal name (m)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Data from Grierson (1967 [1904]) are followed by [G]. The origin of borrowed words is indicated as follows: (M) for Meitei; (IA) for Indo-Aryan for words that were most likely borrowed from Meitei as well but originally were from Hindi, Bengali or Assamese; and (E) for English. The ‘+’ is used to indicate a compound where at least one member is an indpendent morpheme that occurs with one or more affixes. Morpheme abbreviations are provided in the following charts.

Alphabetised by Abbreviation

Abbreviation	*Morpheme*	*Meaning or function*
1	kV-	‘first person (possessive)’
1.AGR	kV-	‘first person subject agreement’
2	(n)ə-	‘second person (possessive)’
2.AGR	ə-	‘second person subject agreement’
3	mə-	‘third person (possessive)’
3.AGR	mə-	‘third person subject agreement’
ABL	-hinki	‘ablative’
ADV	-nə	‘adverb’
AGT	-Ni	‘agentive’
ASS	-tuŋ	‘associative’
BEN	-bi	‘beneficial’
CAUS	pV-	‘causative’
COM	-kheŋ	‘comitative’
COMPL.DWN	-noldə	‘completive: downward’
COMPL.EVNT	-dok	‘completive: event’
COMPL.FRC	-krep	‘completive: force’
COMPL.IN	-sli	‘completive: inward’
CONJ	-le	‘conjunctive’
CONT	-piŋ	‘continuous aspect’
COP	-pi	‘copula’
CV	-čok	‘comprehensively V’
CVB.ST	-i	‘converb: state’
CVB.ACT	-laŋi/-lani	‘converb: simultaneous action’
dem	wa	‘demonstrative’
DESD	-só	‘desiderative’
DIST	ə-	‘distal’
EMPH.NHB	-be	‘emphatic: no holds barred’
EXCESS	-rén	‘V to excess’

Abbreviation	*Morpheme*	*Meaning or function*
EXCL.PROX	-di	‘exclusive proximate’
EXCL.TYPE	-do	‘exclusive type’
GEN	-ki	‘genitive’
GNM	-ə	‘gnomic’
HORT	-če	‘hortative’
IMM.IMP	-no	‘imperative: immediate’
IMP.BEN	-inče	‘imperative: benefactive’
IMP.DUR	-lək	‘imperative: durative’
INCHO	-rak	‘inchoative’
INCL	mə-	‘inclusive’
INST	-iŋ	‘instrumental’
INTENSE	-num	‘intensifier’
INTRG	-mo	‘interrogative’
LOC	-thə	‘locative’
M	-čə	‘middle’
MD.CERT	-nu	‘mood: certainty’
MD.INTEND	-ni	‘mood: intentional’
MD.IRR	-nikdik	‘mood: irrealis’
MD.POSS	-rə	‘mood: possibility’
MD.PROB	-ləm	‘probability’
NEG	mə-	‘negative’
NMLZ	kV-	‘nominaliser’
P/RECIP	-a	‘patient/recipient’
PFV	-də	‘perfective’
PL		‘plural’
PROX	hə-	‘proximate’
Q	tV-	‘nonspecific quantifier’
R	r	‘epenthetic r’
RECP	-luŋŋe	‘reciprocal’

Alphabetised by Morpheme

Affix	*Meaning or function*	*Abbreviation*
ə-	‘distal’	DIST
-ə	‘gnomic’	GNM
ə-	‘secone person agreement’	2.AGR
(n)ə-	‘second person possessive’	2
-a	‘patient/recipient’	P/RECIP
-be	‘emphatic: no holds barred’	EMPH.NHB
-bi	‘beneficial’	BEN
-če	‘hortative’	HORT
-čə	‘middle’	M
-čok	‘comprehensively V’	CV
-di	‘exclusive proximate’	EXCL.PROX
-də	‘perfective’	PFV
-do	‘exclusive type’	EXCL.TYPE
-dok	‘completive: event’	COMPL.EVNT
hə-	‘proximate’	PROX
-hinki	‘ablative’	ABL
-i	‘converb: state’	CVB.ST
-inče	‘imperative: benefactive’	IMP.BEN
-kheŋ	‘comitative’	COM
-ki	‘genitive’	GEN
-krep	‘completive: force’	COMPL.FRC
kV-	‘first person possessive’	1
kV-	‘first person agreement’	1.AGR
kV-	‘nominaliser’	NMLZ
-laŋi/-lani	‘converb: simultaneous action’	CVB.ACT
-le	‘conjunctive’	CONJ
-lək	‘imperative: durative’	IMP.DUR
-ləm	‘probability’	MD.PROB

Affix	*Meaning or function*	*Abbreviation*
-luŋŋe	‘reciprocal’	RECP
mə-	‘third person possessive’	3
mə-	‘negative’	NEG
mə-	‘inclusive’	INCL
mə-	‘third person subject agreement’	3.AGR
-mo	‘interrogative’	INTRG
-nə	‘adverb’	ADV
-ni	‘mood: intentional’	MD.INTEND
-nikdik	‘mood: irrealis’	MD.IRR
-no	‘imperative: immediate’	IMM.IMP
-noldə	‘completive: downward’	COMPL.DWN
-nu	‘mood: certainty’	MD.CERT
-num	‘intensifier’	INTENSE
-Ni	‘agentive’	AGT
-ŋi	‘instrumental’	INST
-pi	‘copula’	COP
-piŋ	‘continuous aspect’	CONT
pV-	‘causative’	CAUS
R	‘epenthetic r’	R
-rak	‘inchoative’	INCHO
-rə	‘mood: possibility’	MD.POSS
-rén	‘V to excess’	EXCESS
-sli	‘completive: inward’	COMPL.IN
-só	‘desiderative’	DESD
-thə	‘locative’	LOC
-tuŋ	‘associative’	ASS
tV-	‘nonspecific quantifier’	Q
Wa	‘demonstrative’	dem
	‘plural’	pl

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