

THE STRUCTURE OF MEITEILON NOMINALS

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IN

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BY

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CERTIFICATE

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I, Maibam Somobala Devi (Regd. No. 12HAPH07), hereby declare that this thesis entitled “**The Structure of Meiteilon Nominals**” submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics embodies the veritable research work carried out by me under the guidance and supervision of Dr. Gracious Mary Tensen, Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies, School of Humanities, University of Hyderabad. It is a research work which is free from plagiarism.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

1PS	First Person Singular
2PS	Second Person Singular
3PS	Third Person Singular
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
ASP	Aspect
ASS	Associative
CLA	Classifier
COP	Copul
DAT	Dative
DEF	Definite
DEIC	Deictic marker
DEM	Demonstrative
DEM.1	Proximal Demonstrative
DEM.2	Distal Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
DP	Determiner Phrase
FOC	Focus
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
HAB	Habitual
HON	Honorific marker

IND	Indicative
INF	Infinitival marker
LOC	Locative
N	Noun
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun phrase
NUM	Number
NZR	Nominalizer
OBJ	Object
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PRES	Present
PROG	Progressive marker
Q	Question particle
QUOT	Quotative
REF	Referential
REL	Relative clause marker
SPEC	Specific
SUB	Subject
TOP	Topic

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1. About the Research Topic

Traditionally, noun phrases have been understood to consist at least of a head noun and an arbitrary number of noun-phrase modifiers. Any phrase with a noun as its main component, or "head," and the ability to serve as an argument (e.g., subject or object) in a sentence is referred to as a noun phrase. The syntax and semantics of the nominal domain have drawn more attention and study during the past three decades, and important discoveries about the nominal structure have been made. All this research has been motivated by the "DP-hypothesis" (Abney 1987) and influenced by the theoretical developments that took place within generative grammar. According to the DP-hypothesis, noun phrases can be understood as composed of Determiner Phrases (DP) above Noun Phrases (NP). Abney (1987) argues in his work that a noun phrase and a verb phrase or clause should be treated in parallel. A functional element D, denoted by the determiner, is said to head a noun phrase, just as a functional element inflection (infl) heads a clause (IP); however, it is debatable if this theory holds true for all languages. A number of questions have been raised regarding the status of the determiner elements found within the DP, in particular, the position and interpretation of (in)definite articles and other D items such as demonstratives, possessives etc. Should the DP-analysis relate to all noun phrases in every language? The core assumption of DP-hypothesis is that an NP is dominated by a DP, but there are languages which do not have articles. What could be the possible analysis of those

languages which lack an overt article? Do they lack a D projection altogether, or must a null D be postulated for these languages?

Recent research has also investigated the layering of other functional projections in the noun phrase. Usually, these layers are motivated by the morphological markers that occur in the noun phrase. How many such projections can be assumed in a nominal domain, how can they be motivated, and what are their interpretative properties? I would like to investigate these questions by examining Meiteilon, a language which lacks an overt article.

The thesis examines the internal structure of nominal phrase in Meiteilon under the theoretical assumptions of Determiner Phrase (DP) analysis (by Abney 1987) in the generative linguistics framework. The core assumption of DP-hypothesis is that an NP is dominated by a DP i.e., the noun phrases are headed by a determiner (D) a functional element. However, there are languages including Meiteilon which do not have articles in the language system. The main issue here is what could be the possible analysis of those languages which lack an overt article? Do they lack a D projection altogether, or must a null D be postulated for these languages? I favour the assumption that the presence or absence of a definite determiner is not the sole criterion for positing a DP projection within the nominal phrase; the DPs should be projected both in languages that have articles and in those that do not. In other words, DP is a universal projection and all languages, including article-less languages have overtly or covertly realized DP i.e. the difference between article languages and article-less languages is that there is null D in latter (Longobardi 1994, Borer 2005 and others). This is shown by assuming that nominals are universally assigned a D (determiner). Positing a determiner projection within the nominal phrase is necessary for feature checking i.e. the main need for proposing a determiner phrase projection within the nominal phrase is the

presence of a universal D (determiner) feature in the nominal system. Therefore, DPs are universal and are not parameterized cross-linguistically; however, the overt realization of a D head is subject to parametric variations.

By adopting the DP universal theory, the study shows that Meiteilon being an article-less language, the noun phrases are headed by a null head D and a maximal projection of demonstrative, a functional head is situated below the DP, and the Dem head is the element which checks the D-features: [+definite], [+referentiality], [+specificity] and [+deictic], available in the language system.

The thesis also examines a number of phenomena within the nominal phrase by adopting the DP-hypothesis, including (in)definiteness, bare nominals, derived nominals, and the structure of noun modification; in this case, the noun modifiers, demonstratives, adjectives, and relative clauses within the nominal phrases are examined.

This dissertation's analysis of Meiteilon is primarily based on my own native speaker's intuition, though all of the examples and grammaticality assessments have also been verified by other Meiteilon native speakers.

1.2. Basic Facts About Meiteilon Language

Meiteilon, also known as Manipuri is a language mainly spoken in Manipur state which is located in north-eastern part of India. It comes from the term **Meitei** ‘the Meitei community inhabiting in the valley region’ and **lon** ‘language’, so **Meiteilon** ‘the language spoken by the Meiteis’. It is mainly spoken in valley region; however Meiteilon is used to communicate among the different communities with different mother tongues. Therefore, Meiteilon plays the role of lingua franca for the people of

Manipur. Additionally, the Meitei people who live in neighboring states like Assam, Tripura, and Mizoram as well as neighboring countries like Bangladesh and Myanmar speak it.

Meiteilon is a well developed, culturally rich and advanced language. On August 20, 1992, Meiteilon, a Modern Indian language, was officially recognized as one of India's schedule VIII languages (MIL). It is the most developed Tibeto-Burman language spoken in India, with its own writing system and literature, and the first of the TB languages to be recognized as one of India's schedule VIII languages. Manipur University offers B.A. (honors) level courses in Meiteilon in all associated colleges, in addition to post-graduate courses in the Department of Manipuri Language and Literature. It has also been acknowledged by the North Eastern Regional Language Centre (Guwahati), Guwahati University, Delhi University, the Board of Secondary Education (Assam), and the Central Board of Secondary Education (New Delhi).

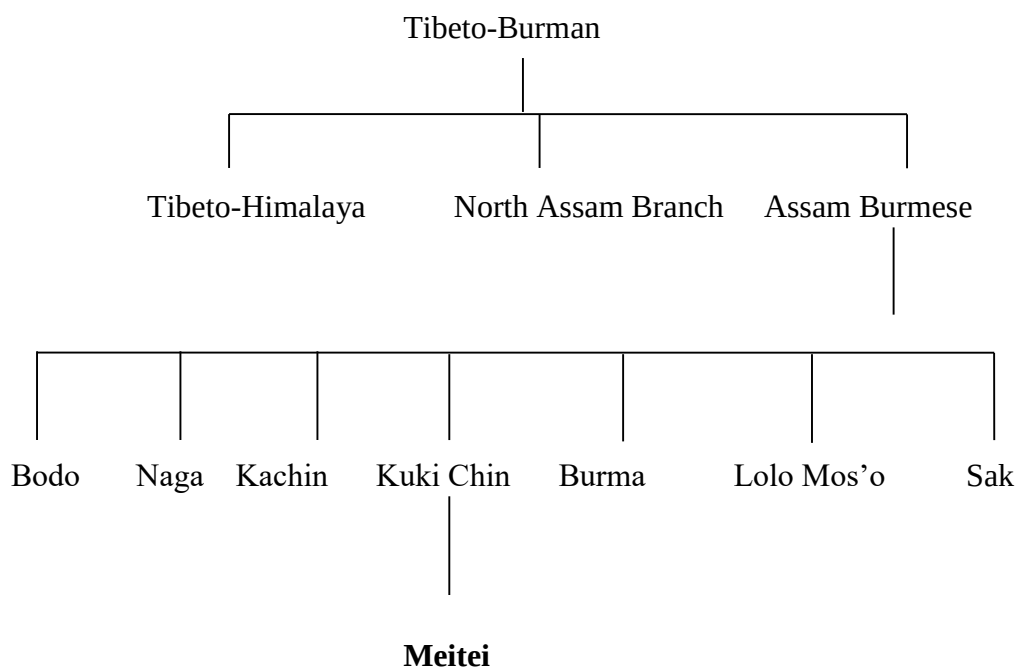
There have always been concerns and problems with the Meiteilon script because of the historical issues with it. Hinduism's influence has had a significant impact on the language's slow script alteration as it has spread throughout Manipur. Manipuri was not influenced by Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi, Bengali, or Sanskrit until the late 17th century. During the time of Maharaja Garibniwaj (1709–1748), Bengali sounds began to infiltrate the Manipuri sound system, replacing Meitei script in writing. The mass conversion of the local population from their native religion to Hinduism began in the 18th century, during the reign of Maharaj Garibniwaj (1709–1748), and many loan words from Sanskrit, Hindi, and Bengali began to influence the language of Manipur, replacing the Meitei script in writing. Prior to that, until the end of the 17th century, there were no influences from Indo-Aryan languages.

Bengali script was brought to Manipur with the introduction of Hinduism, and it eventually took the place of the original script when Manipur's native script was abandoned. Manipuris have exclusively used the Bengali alphabet since 1925. People have, nevertheless, recently started to pay attention to their original script. In addition to the resurgence of traditional religion and culture, the indigenous Meitei script was introduced through the usage of the script in classrooms and in newspaper special sections.

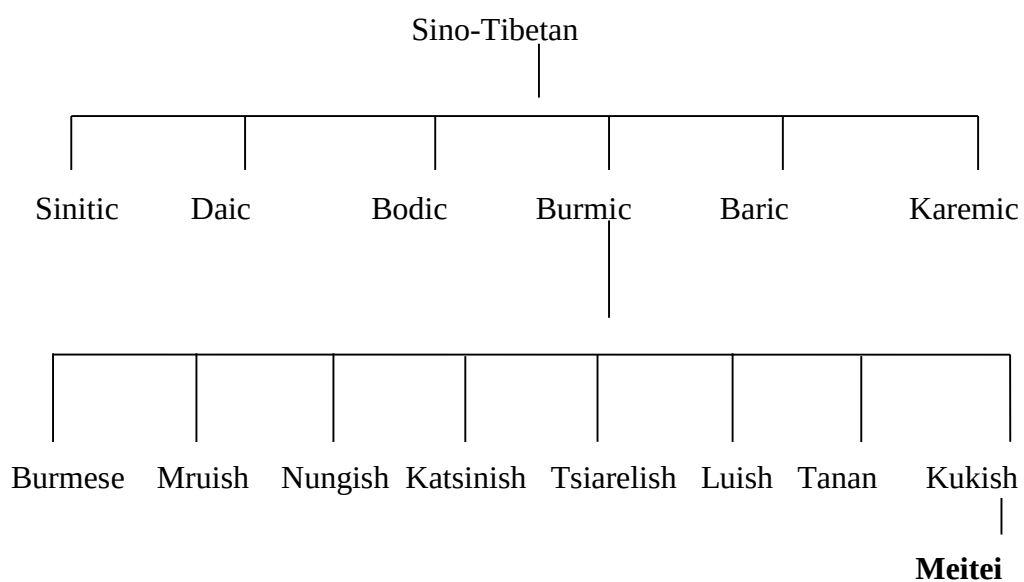
Manipur's official language is Manipuri, also known as Meiteilon (the Meitei + lon "language"). It is primarily spoken in northeastern India, in the Manipur valley area. But among speakers of 29 different mother tongues, Meiteilon is the only language used for communication (Yashawanta 2000). As a result, it is considered the Manipuri people's primary language. Additionally, the Meitei people who live in neighboring states like Assam, Tripura, and Mizoram as well as neighboring countries like Bangladesh and Myanmar speak it. On August 20, 1992, Meiteilon was officially recognized by India as a language included in schedule VIII. It is the most developed language among the Tibeto-Burman languages, having its own writing system and literature, and it was the first to recognize.

1.2.1. Language group

Meiteilon comes under the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is basically spoken in the state of Manipur. According to Grierson, (1904), Meiteilon belongs to the Kuki-Chin group of the Tibeto-burman languages. Shafer (1966) placed Meiteilon in Kuki-Naga group.



Classification of Meiteilon in the Tibeto-Burman Group by Grierson 1904.



Classification of Meiteilon in the Sino-Tibetan Group by Shafer 1966.

1.2.2. Linguistic features

Meiteilon shares genetic features of Tibeto-Burman features. It's a rigid head final order SOV language. It has two phonemic tones, but they are not different from each other like in Tenyidie or Chinese. Given the context, Meiteilon's tone can be identified as slightly agglutinative. Because of this, the majority of grammatical features have morphological markings. Disyllabic forms tend to be reduced to monosyllabic forms by it (DeLancey 1987).

The main difference in tenses between the verbal forms of Meiteilon, according to Bhat and Ningomba, is between the future and non-future tenses. Nevertheless, they went on to say that temporal, as opposed to modal, differences are the fundamental differences between the verbal forms in Meiteilon. There are numerous aspectual distinctions among the verbs, but very few possess modal distinctions. Pronominal marking on verbs, which is thought to be the original characteristic of TB languages, is absent from Meiteilon (DeLancey 1889). Nonetheless, the presence of nominal and pronominal markers is a characteristic shared by TB languages. Meiteilon does not use explicit article marking; instead, definiteness is indicated with demonstratives. Additionally, the language uses the numeral "one" in place of indefinite articles. There is no grammatical gender in Meiteilon. Based on natural or biological gender '*pi*' is used for feminine and '*pa*' is used for masculine.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The main objectives of the thesis are as follows:

1. To investigate the internal structure of Meiteilon noun phrases within the framework of DP-hypothesis (by Abney 1987).

2. To examine the various phenomena within the noun phrase to locate functional elements associated with the nominal phrase in Meiteilon.
3. To examine whether Meiteilon which lacks an overt article is NP language or DP language following Bošković (2008, 2010a, 2010b)'s generalizations.
4. To study the status of the determiner elements and the realization the D-features within the noun phrases, in particular the position and interpretation of (in)definite articles and other D items such as demonstratives, possessives etc.
5. To examine the so-called split determiner constructions in Meiteilon DP.
6. To examine the properties of Meiteilon derived nominals to validate the DP-hypothesis by explaining the parallelisms between the clausal and nominal domain even in languages without articles by allowing demonstratives and null D to be heads.
7. To examine the structure of noun modifying system found in the language through the available noun modifiers viz., adjectives, demonstratives, relative clauses.

1.5. Overview of the Thesis

Chapter 1 provides a brief general description about the background of the research topic i.e., Noun Phrases. In this chapter a brief information about the Meiteilon language and the general background on the Meiteilon nominals are provided. Then the next section presents the objectives and the organization of the thesis.

Chapter 2 presents a brief survey of literature on nominal phrases mainly discussed the DP-Hypothesis by Abney (1987) and the literature on nominal phrase in Meiteilon as well as in other Indian languages under within the DP framework.

This chapter also provides the overview of the noun phrases in general and it gives a detailed knowledge about the internal structure of the noun phrase and again a detailed discussion on how the traditional view of looking at Noun Phrase (NP) has developed to Determiner Phrase (DP) analysis has been discussed.

Chapter 3 presents the internal structure of Meiteilon nominal phrases. The first part of this chapter examines whether Meiteilon which lacks an overt article is NP language or DP language following Bošković (2008, 2010a, 2010b)'s generalizations. The next section deals with various phenomena within the noun phrase to locate functional elements associated with the nominal phrase in Meiteilon. I discussed on the (in)definiteness marking system in Meiteilon which shows that Meiteilon does not have a well defined definiteness marking mechanism in its nominal system. It also shows the lack of a single (in)definiteness marking element within the nominal phrase. Therefore a set of devices are resorted to in order to mark (in)definiteness of a noun in Meiteilon, including extra grammatical devices. However, the discussion shows that the presence or absence of a definite determiner is not the sole criterion for positing a determiner phrase projection within the nominal phrase. This is shown by assuming that nominals are universally assigned a D (determiner). The occurrence of a universal D-feature in the nominal system constitutes the main criterion for positing a determiner phrase projection within the nominal phrase.

By adopting the assumption that the main need for proposing a determiner phrase projection within the nominal phrase is the presence of a universal D (determiner) feature in the nominal system. Therefore, DPs are universal and are not parameterized cross-linguistically; however, the overt realization of a D head is subject to parametric variations, the Meiteilon noun phrases are analysed within the DP-hypothesis. Adopting the DP universal theory, the study shows that Meiteilon being an

article-less language, the noun phrases are headed by a null head D and a maximal projection of demonstrative, a functional head is situated below the DP, and the Dem head is the element which checks the D-features: [+definite], [+referentiality], [+specificity] and [+deictic], available in the language system.

Meiteilon found to have two positions for Demonstratives; *Noun-Demonstrative* and *Demonstrative-Noun- Demonstrative*. Meiteilon demonstratives projects its own functional projection right below the DP and demonstrative head is where the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] features are checked. And the complex construction where the prenominal demonstrative appeared with the post nominal demonstrative with genitive case marked, and the prenominal demonstrative occurs at the [Spec, DemP] and this is the case of feature copying through the Spec-Head agreement to reinforce the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] feature in the language and the prenominal demonstrative gets the genitive case through the Spec-Head agreement process.

This chapter also examines a number of phenomena within the nominal phrase by adopting the DP-hypothesis, including (in)definiteness, bare nominals, derived nominals. And proposed that Meiteilon Gerunds contain a verbal projection embedded inside them; the verbal element inside gerund shows typical verbal characteristics: it selects compliments, takes adjuncts and assigns appropriate cases. So the D-VP analysis by Abney (1987) is suitable for analysing Meiteilon gerund constructions and posits the assumption that Meiteilon gerunds have a property of complex noun which has an internal verbal structure. On the other hand, derived nominal can be modified by a determiner or an adjective as they have an internal structure of a noun.

Chapter 4 presents the structure of noun modification inside the DP; in this case, the noun modifiers; adjectives, and relative clauses within the nominal phrases are

examined. Chapter 4 presents the structure of noun modification inside the DP; in this case, the noun modifiers; adjectives, and relative clauses within the nominal phrases are examined. This chapter shows that Meiteilon adjectives are direct modifiers as they are close to the head noun. The movement of adjective is not allowed beyond the NP; its within the NP. Any other nominal element cannot occur in between the noun and the adjective. Having the two positions of adjectives and multiple adjectives can occur in nominal phrase in Meiteilon behaves as adjuncts. Prenominal adjective is adjoined to the left of NP and the postnominal adjective is adjoined to the right of NP, and more adjectives can adjoin both to the left and right of NP and have multiple adjectives.

Again for relative clauses this chapter shows that Meiteilon does not use interrogative pronouns as relative marker as English uses. Meiteilon uses two ways of relative clause formation they are: i) Relative clause formation by addition of nominalizer (NZR) *pə ~ bə* to the embedded verb and demonstratives (DEM) - *tu/du (ədu) ~ to/do (ədo) ~ si (əsi) ~ se (əse)* is used as correlative marker, ii) Another way of formation is by using the quotative **haibə** which is the extended meaning of verb **hai-bə** ‘to say’. The N-final position in Meiteilon relative clause construction is the base position and the N-initial position is derived position. Kayne’s assumption proposed [D-CP] structure. Since maximal projection DemP is proposed just below the DP for Meiteilon DP. Proposed the assumption that the base structure of Meiteilon relative clause is [DemP-CP] i.e. relative clause CP is left adjoined to the DemP and modifies the noun. The N-initial position the structure is derived through the head (N) raising to the Spec, CP, i.e. through the N-movement from the base position to Spec, CP position.

Chapter 5 provides the summary and the main findings of the study.

1.5. Introduction to Meiteilon Nominals

Meiteilon Nouns

According to the traditional grammars Meiteilon has only two word classes i.e. noun and verb. According to Thoudam (1980), at the morphological level, nouns in Meiteilon can be determined by the means of prefixes and suffixes. The nominalizer suffix -bə is attached to the root of a word class to form a noun in Meiteilon. Thoudam further states that free nominal forms which are nouns by themselves such as mi ‘man’, u ‘tree’ etc. can take one or more of the set of noun suffixes. The set of prefixes and suffixes provided by Thoudam (1980) are as follows:

ə-	‘personifier’
ə-/ i-	‘first person pronominal’
nə-	‘second person pronominal’
mə-	‘third person pronominal’
mə-/ k ^h ut	‘manner/ mode/ way’
-nə	‘agent/ actor/ instrument’
-pu/ -bu	‘patient/ receiver’
-tə/ -də	‘locative/at’
-ti/ -di	‘particularization’
-tu/ -du	‘demonstrative (the/ that)’
-kə/ -gə	‘with’

-ki/ -gi	‘possessive/genetive’
-la/ -lo	‘interrogative/ question’
-təŋ/ -dəŋ	‘isolating’
-su	‘also’
-siŋ	‘plurality’
-k ^h oy/ -hoy	‘collectivity/ many (inclusive)’
-mək	‘personification’
-ni	‘copula’

Thoudam added, though, that there are limitations on which affixes can be accepted, so not all noun roots and their forms can accept all of them. Thoudam uses the prefix ə-, which can only be attached to common nouns and not proper nouns, as an example to show this phenomenon. Thoudam therefore proposed two distinct categories of nouns, namely Simple nouns and Compound nouns, based on such a formulation.

Simple nouns: These are the simplest form of nouns found in Meiteilon. They can appear alone as nouns, as in the cases of *mi* (man), *həy* (fruit), and *ləy* (flower).

Compound nouns: Compound nouns on the other hand, are the type of nouns which act as nouns after being combined with some other roots or another noun as well. Some examples of such nouns are as shown in (28):

1) *p^hi + sabə*

cloth to weave

‘weaver’

2) $u + h\dot{a}y$

tree fruit

‘fruit’

Yashawanta (2000) following Thoudam’s line of classification defined compound nouns as the type of nouns which are formed by the combination of two or more nouns or by the combination of noun with words belonging to another class. The examples of such types of nouns are cited below:

A. Noun + Noun = Noun

3) $\check{c}ak + s\dot{a}\eta = \check{c}aks\dot{a}\eta$

rice shed ‘kitchen’

4) $yot + \check{c}\dot{a}y = yot\check{c}\dot{a}y$

iron stick ‘iron rod’

B. Noun + Verb root = Noun

5) $wa + h\dot{a}\eta = wah\dot{a}\eta$

word ask ‘question’

6) $wa + t^hok = wat^hok$

word to go out ‘furore’

C. Noun + Augmentative

7) $huy + \check{y}\dot{a}w = huy\check{y}\dot{a}w$

dog big 'big dog'

8) $i + \check{c}aw = i\check{c}aw$

water big 'flood'

The adjective ' $\check{y}aw$ ' and ' $\check{c}aw$ ' comes from the adjective ' $\check{a}\check{c}awba$ ' which means 'big'.

D. Noun + Diminutive

9) $sən + naw = sənənaw$

cow small 'calf'

10) $t^hoŋ + naw = t^hoŋnaw$

door small 'window'

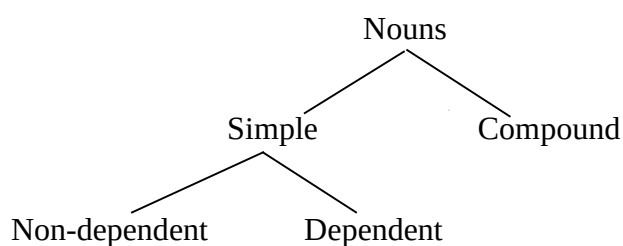
However, Thoudam (1980) further divided simple nouns into two categories. They are non-dependent nouns and dependent nouns. Non-dependent simple noun are the nouns which can occur by themselves and can take some of the prefixes and suffixes at times; an example of nondependent noun is p^hi 'cloth'. Dependent nouns are the nouns which are formed by the process of affixation to a root; an example of dependent simple noun is

11) $pa-bə$

read- NZR

'to read'

Diagrammatically, Thoudam represented nouns of Meiteilon as shown bellow:



(Thoudam, 1980: 89)

Yashwanta (2000), apart from compound nouns, again follows Thoudam's line of classification and depending on the occurrence of noun in Nouns in Meiteilon, groups nouns as simple nouns and derived nouns.

a) Simple Noun: These types of nouns are the ones that can stand alone without any affixation. Some examples of such type of nouns are mi 'man'; nupi 'woman'; sa 'animal'; səgol 'horse'; ləyrik 'book'; yum 'house' and so on.

b) Derived Noun: Derived nouns are the type of nouns which are formed by either prefixing or suffixing of third person pronominal to the verb root. They are called 'derived' because they are derived from verbs through the process of affixation. These nouns can be formally classified into the following groups; firstly, derivation by prefixation of third person pronominal mə- and k^hu- to the verb root and secondly, those derived by suffixation of the nominalizers -pə and -bə to the verb root. Some of the examples of first group of nouns which are derived through prefixation are as follows:

12) mə + ča = məčə

manner + eat

'the manner of one's eating'

13) k^hu + nok = k^hunok

Manner + laugh

'the manner of one's laughing'

Some of the examples of second group of nouns derived through suffixation are as follows:

14) ča + bə = čabə

eat NZR

‘to eat’ or ‘eating’

15) t^hək + pə = t^hək pə

drink NZR

‘to drink’ or ‘drinking’

Thus, from the above analysis of noun class classification it can be seen that Meiteilon nouns can be classified into two major types i.e. simple and complex nouns. Further these two noun forms can be classified into two each types according to their respective forms:

- i) Simple nouns: a) Free nouns
 - b) Bound nouns
- ii) Complex noun: a) Derived nouns
 - b) Compound nouns
- i) Simple nouns**

Meiteilon simple nouns are found in two forms; firstly, free forms where a noun base is independent and can stand alone and represent the respective noun class as we can see from example (16):

a) Free nouns

16.	<i>mi</i>	‘man’	<i>u</i>	‘tree’
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<i>kon</i>	‘utensil’	<i>khut</i>	‘hand’
<i>lin</i>	‘snake’	<i>huy</i>	‘dog’
<i>yum</i>	‘house’	<i>ciŋ</i>	‘hill’
<i>t^ha</i>	‘moon’	<i>sa</i>	‘animal’
<i>nat</i>	‘culture’	<i>məy</i>	‘fire’
<i>noŋ</i>	‘rain’	<i>nuŋsit</i>	‘wind’
<i>p^həw</i>	‘paddy’	<i>ŋa</i>	‘fish’
<i>nuŋsit</i>	‘air’	<i>mai</i>	‘face’
<i>ceŋ</i>	‘rice’	<i>isiŋ</i>	‘water’
<i>mit</i>	‘eye’	<i>sanapot</i>	‘toy’
<i>miŋ</i>	‘name’	<i>əŋaŋ</i>	‘child’

b) Bound nouns

Second type is bound forms where the nominal base needs a formative particle to make them proper form to stand as a noun,

17. *mə-k^həl* ‘type’
- mə-p^həm* ‘place’
- mə-nəm* ‘smell’
- mə-kup* ‘grit’

mə-təm ‘time’

mə-məy ‘last’

mə-pal ‘flower’

mə-k^hol ‘sound’

ii) **Complex nouns**

After the simple nouns let us discuss about the complex nouns where the word forms acts as a noun after being combined with some other roots or another nouns as well. Under the term complex nouns I want to discuss about two types of complex forms of nouns: i) derived nouns, ii) compound nouns:

a) Derived nouns: Derived nouns are the type of noun which are formed by either prefixation or suffixation of some markers to the verb roots.

As discussed by Yashwanta (2000), these nouns can be formally classified into two groups:

- a) Derivation by prefixation of third person pronominal *mə-* and the other marker *khu-* to the verb root and gives the meaning of manner of one's performing the action.

18. a) *mə + ča = məča*

eat ‘the manner of one's eating’

b) *khu + ča = khuča*

eat ‘the manner of one's eating’

b) Derivation by suffixation of the nominalizer -pə ~ -bə to the verb root:

19. a) $\check{c}a + bə$
eat NZR
‘to eat’
- b) $\check{c}ət + pə$
go NZR
‘to go’

b) Compound nouns

These are the nouns which are formed by the combination of two or more nouns or by the combination of nouns with the words belonging to another word class.

a) Noun + noun = noun

20. i) $\check{c}ak + səŋ = \check{c}aksəŋ$
rice (cooked) + shed ‘kitchen’
- ii) $yot + \check{c}əy = yot\check{c}əy$
iron + stick ‘iron rod’

b) Noun + verb root

21. i) $wa + həŋ = wahəŋ$
word + ask ‘question’
- ii) $wa + ŋaŋ = waŋaŋ$
word + speak ‘the way of speaking’

c) Noun + augmentative

22. i) *huy* + *jaw* = *huyjaw*

dog + big 'big dog'

ii) *yum* + *jaw* = *yumjaw*

house + big 'big house'

d) Noun + diminutive

23. i) *huy* + *naw* = *huynew*

dog + small 'small dog/ puppy'

ii) *thoŋ* + *naw* = *thoŋnew*

door + small 'window'

1.3.1. Meiteilon pronouns

Meiteilon has six types of the pronouns including Personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, reflexive pronouns and interrogative pronouns. All the pronouns can function as nouns in a sentence.

1. Personal pronouns

The Meiteilon first person singular pronouns is **əy** 'I', second person singular pronoun is **nəŋ** 'you' and third person singular pronoun is **məhak** 'he/she'. The first person plural pronoun is **əykhoy** 'we', second person plural pronoun is **ŋəkhoy** 'you' and third person plural pronoun is **məkhoy** 'they'. Meiteilon also has dual form of personal pronouns, the first person dual pronoun is **ibani** 'we two', the second person

dual pronoun is **ŋəbani** ‘you two’ and the third person dual pronoun is **məbani** ‘they two’. The Meiteilon personal pronoun table can be seen as follows:

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person	əy ‘I’	ibani ‘we two’	əykhoy ‘we’
Second person	nəŋ ‘you’	ŋəbani ‘you two’	ŋəkhoy ‘you’
Third person	məhak ‘he/she’	məbani ‘they two’	məkhoy ‘they’

Table.1: Meiteilon personal pronouns

In addition to above free form personal pronouns these pronouns has its bound forms too. The free form personal pronouns occur when they are used alone and the bound forms occur when they are attached to some other element like kinship term and body part term. The bound form personal pronouns can be seen in bellow table:

Person	Free form	Bound form
First person	əy	i
Second person	nəŋ	nə
Third person	məhak	mə

Table.2: Meiteilon bound form personal pronouns

23. a) *i-ma* ‘my mother’
b) *nə-ma* ‘your mother’

c) *mə-ma* 'his/her mother'

d) *i-k^hut* 'my hand'

e) *nə- k^hut* 'your hand'

f) *mə- k^hut* 'his hand'

g) *i-yum* 'my house'

h) *nə-yum* 'your house'

i) *mə- yum* 'his/her house'

24. a) *əy layrik ləy-bə cət-li*

I book buy-NZR go-PROG

'I am going to buy book'

b) *i-pa layrik ləy-bə cət-k^hi*

my-father book buy-NZR go-PERF

'My father went to buy book'

c) *nəŋ layrik ləy-bə cət-li-ra*

you book buy-NZR go-PROG-Q

'Are you going to buy book'

d) *nə-pa-nə nəŋ-bu kəw-ri*

your-father-NZR you-Acc call- PROG

'your father is calling you'

- e) *məhak* *layrik ləy-bə* *cət-k^{hi}*
- he/she book buy-NZR go-PERF

‘He/she went to buy book’

- f) *mə-pa-nə* *məhak-ki* *layrik ləy-bə* *cət-k^{hi}*
- his/her- father-NZR he/she-Gen book buy-NZR go-PERF

‘his/her father went to buy his/her book’

- g) *məhak* *mə-yum-də* *cət-k^{hre}*
- he/she his/her-house-LOC go-PERF

‘He left for his home’

2. Possessive Pronoun

Possessive pronouns are formed by suffixation of genitive suffix **gi~ki** to the personal pronouns. We can see the formation bellow in the table:

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person	əy-gi ‘my’	ibani-gi ‘our (two)’	əykhoy-gi ‘our’
Second person	nəŋ-gi ‘your’	ŋəbani-gi ‘your (two)’	ŋəkhoy-gi ‘your’
Third person	məhak-ki ‘his/her’	məbani-gi ‘their (two)’	məkhoy-gi ‘their’

Table.3: Meiteilon possessive pronoun

25. a) *əy -gi layrik*

I-GEN book

‘my book’

b) *nəŋ -gi layrik*

you-GEN book

‘your book’

c) *məhak -ki layrik*

he -GEN book

‘his book’

d) *mək^hoy -gi layrik*

their -GEN book

‘their book’

3. Demonstrative Pronoun

Meiteilon is article-less language. But it has two demonstratives particles, **-si** ‘proximate’ and **-du ~ -tu** ‘distal’. **-si** indicates the object or person being spoken of is near or currently seen or known to the speaker or topic of conversation, **-du ~ -tu** indicates something or someone not present at the time of speech. Based on these two demonstrative particles, there are two demonstrative pronouns which are formed by

attaching third person prefix **mə-** or nominal prefix **ə-** which does not make any difference in meaning:

Proximal

əsi ‘this (one)’

məsi ‘this (one)’

Distal

ədu ‘that (one)’

mədu ‘that (one)’

26. a) *məsi əy-gi layrik –ni*

this I-GEN book-COP

‘this one is my dog’

b) *mədu əy-gi layrik –ni*

that I-GEN book-COP

‘that one is my book’

4. Interrogative Pronoun

Meiteilon interrogative pronouns are **kəna** ‘who’, **kəri** ‘what’ and **kərəmbə** ‘which’.

27. a) *nəŋ kəna-nə si-də tʰarək-pə-no*

you who-NOM here-LOC send-NZR-Q

‘Who send you here?’

b) *nəŋ kəri pam-i*

you what want-S.ASP

‘what do you want?’

c) *nəŋ kərəmbə layrik pam-i*

you which book want –S.ASP

‘which book do you want?’

5. Indefinite Pronoun

In Meiteilon, indefinite pronouns are formed by using two ways; i) a question word plus **-su** ‘also’ and ii) question word plus **-kum** ‘like’ plus nominalizer **pə~bə**. The formation can be seen bellow:

i) Question word plus **-su** ‘also’

kəna-su ‘no one/nobody’

kəri-su ‘nothing’

These pronouns are treated as negative polarity pronouns as they occur only in negative context as we can see in 28 (a) and (b).

28. a) *kənasu məp^həm-si-də lak-te*
 nobody place-Dem-LOC come-NEG
 ‘No one has come here’

b) *məp^həm-si-də kərisu ləy-te*
 place-Dem-LOC nothing have-NEG
 ‘Nothing is here’

ii) Question word plus **-kum ~ -gum** ‘like’ plus nominalizer **pə~bə**

kəna- gum-bə ‘someone/somebody’

kəri-gum-bə ‘something

29. a) *kənaɡumbə-nə* *layrik-tu* *ləw-khre*

someone-Nom *book-DEM.2* *take –S.ASP*

‘someone has taken that book’

b) *kərigumbə* *əronbə* *əma* *ləy-re*

something *secret* *one* *have- PERF*

‘something secret is there’

6. Reflexive Pronoun

In Meiteilon reflexive pronouns are formed by prefixation of respective pronominal markers i.e., **i-** for first person, **nə-** for second person and **mə-** for third person, to the root **sa** ‘body’ or ‘self’. The formation can be seen bellow:

i-sa - *isa* ‘myself’

nə-sa - *nəsa* ‘yourself’

mə-sa - *məsa* ‘himself/herself’

30. a) *əy* *isa-bu* *nuɲsi*

I *myself-ACC* *love*

‘I love myself’

b) *nəŋ nəsə-bu nuŋsi-bra*

you yourself-ACC love -Q

‘do you love yourself?’

c) *məhak məsa-bu nuŋsi*

he/she himself-ACC love- S.ASP

‘He/she loves himself/herself’

1.3.3. Meiteilon Demonstratives

Meiteilon is a language which does not have articles. Yashawanta (2000) also pointed out that Meiteilon does not have definite and indefinite articles like ‘a’, ‘an’, ‘the’ in English, however it has two demonstratives i.e. –‘si’ (proximate) and ‘tu~du’ (distal). The deictic function is performed by the demonstratives -*si* (proximal) and -*du* (distal). ‘si’ denotes the object or person being spoken of is near or currently seen or known to the speaker or topic of conversation, where ‘tu~du’ indicates something or someone not present at the time of speech. Though Meiteilon lacks overt marking of definiteness by the definite articles, definiteness is expressed by demonstratives. Meiteilon demonstratives functions both the properties of the definite articles and demonstratives.

1. Proximal: -*si*, implies that the object or person being spoken of near or currently seen or known to the speaker or the topic of conversation.

31. *layrik si*
book DEM.1
this book

2. Distal: *-du~tu*, indicates something or someone not present at the time of speech but seen or known to the speaker or topic of conversation.

32. a) *layrik tu*
book DEM.2
‘the/that book’

b) *əŋaŋ du*
boy DEM.2
‘the/that boy’

1.3.4. Meiteilon Adjectives

Meiteilon does not have a distinct word-class of adjectives. The lexical items which are used as adjectives in this language are derived from state verbs. The independent adjectives are formed through two respective rules;

- I. Suffixation of NZR suffix ‘*-bə ~-pə*’ to the polysyllabic (mostly disyllabic) state verb root

Polysyllabic verb root + *-bə*

33. a)	p^həjə-bə	ləy	*ə-p^həjə-bə	ləy
	beautiful	flower	beautiful	flower
	‘beautiful	flower’	‘beautiful	flower’

- b) **nunḡay-bə** pao ***ə-nunḡay-bə** pao
 happy news happy news
 ‘happy/good news’ ‘happy/good news’

II. Prefixation of attributive marker ‘ə-’ and suffixation of NZR suffix ‘-bə ~-pə’
 to the monosyllabic state verb root

ə- + monosyllabic verb root+ -bə

34. a) **ə- kən-bə** yum *** kən-bə** yum
 strong house
 ‘strong house’
 b) **ə- son-bə** yum *** son-pə** yum
 weak house
 ‘weak house’

1. Attributive Adjectives

Meiteilon adjectives formed through the application of the two rules can be used as attributive adjectives which directly modifies the head noun. Attributive adjectives can occur prenominally and postnominally.

a) Adjectives in prenominal position

35. a) **ə-tha-bə** layrik
 thick book
 ‘big book’

b) *p^həjə-bə turel*

beautiful river

‘beautiful river’

b) Adjectives in postnominal position

36. a) *layrik ə-tha-bə*

book Att + thick + NZR

‘big book’

b) *ləy phəjə-bə*

flower beauty+ NZR

‘beautiful flower’

However, the exceptional case of modifier **məčə** ‘small’, where neither of the above mentioned derivative rules can be applied and it obligatorily occurs postnominally.

37. a) *layrik məčə*

book small

‘small book’

b) **məčə layrik*

small book

‘small book’

We can see from the 37. (a) and (b) the modifier **məča** obligatorily occurs postnominally otherwise it is ungrammatical.

2. Predicative adjectives

As Meiteilon adjectives are verbal in nature all the verbal inflections can take in predicative form (Bhat 1991). The use of predicative form is dependent upon the verbal inflectional markers attached to the adjectives.

i. With copula **–ni**

The adjectives which are derived by the two rules, which are used as attributive adjectives, can appear in the predicate position by taking help of copula.

38. *layrik əsi ə-hən-bə-ni*

book this new – COP

‘This book is new’

The full derived form of adjectives cannot occur with mood and negative forms. It has to take only root forms.

ii. With Mood marker **–i**

39) *layrik əsi taŋ-i*

book this expensive-IND

‘This book is expensive ’

40) *layrik əsi pha-i*

book this good-IND

‘This book is good’

iii. with negative marker- **te~de**

- 41) *jum əsi pʰəjə-de*
 house this good-NEG
 ‘This book is not good’

- 42) **jum əsi pʰəjə-bə-de*
 house this good-NEG
 ‘This book is not good’

iv. with question marker- **ra**

However, to use as a question form, it takes the nominalised state verbs.

- 43) *layrik əsi taŋ-bə-ra*
 book this to be costly- Q
 ‘Is this book costly?’

Thus, Meiteilon adjectives are verbal in nature as they behaves like verbs in taking all the verbal inflections while appears as predicates.

Distribution of more than one adjective

As we have seen earlier, Meiteilon adjectives can occur prenominally or postnominally. They can be moved around the noun without causing any ungrammaticality. Now we will examine the distribution of more than one adjective inside the noun phrases.

- 44) a. *nunsi-bə ə-ŋou-bə ə-pik-bə huy əni si*

cute white small dog two DEM.1

‘These two small white cute dogs’

b. *ə-ŋou-bə ə-pik-pə nuŋsi-bə huy əni si*

white small cute dog two DEM.1

‘These two small white cute dogs’

c. *ə-pik-pə ə-ŋou-bə huy nuŋsi-bə əni si*

small white dog cute two DEM.1

‘These two small white cute dogs’

d. *huy nuŋsi-bə ə-pik-pə ə-ŋou-bə əni si*

dog cute small white two DEM.1

‘These two small white cute dogs’

The above examples show that adjectives can be moved around the noun as well as the other adjectives. They do not have any restrictions in movements. The adjective *məčə* cannot move around the noun, however the N+Adj (*məčə*) can move around the adjectives. Consider the examples given below:

45) a. *nuŋsi-bə ə-ŋou-bə huy **məčə** əni si*

cute white dog small two DEM.1

‘These two small white cute dogs’

b. *huy mǎčǎ nuŋsi-bə ə-ŋou-bə əni si*

dog small cute white two DEM.1

‘These two small white cute dogs’

c. *nuŋsi-bə huy mǎčǎ ə-ŋou-bə əni si*

cute dog small white two DEM.1

‘These two small white cute dogs’

*d. *nuŋsi-bə huy ə-ŋou-bə mǎčǎ əni si*

cute dog white small two DEM.1

*e. *huy nuŋsi-bə mǎčǎ ə-ŋou-bə əni si*

dog cute small white two DEM.1

Thus, it is evident that adjective *mǎčǎ* is different from the other adjectives morphologically and syntactically. Meiteilon has another adjective ‘ə-pik-pə’ which has the same meaning of *mǎčǎ* ‘small’ and which is derived by the rule (1) and can occur prenominally or post nominally. The question here is that if *mǎčǎ* ‘small’ is an adjective then why it is different from the other adjectives in terms of formation and syntactic occurrence? Is this exceptional word an adjective or other noun modifying words? The further research will be on the identification of the word category of the so called adjective *mǎčǎ*.

1.3.5. Numerals and Quantifiers

Numbers and quantifiers in Meiteilon are always in complementary distribution and can never occur together.

46. a. *huy əni si*

dog two DEM.1

‘these two dogs’

b. *huy kʰərə si*

dog some DEM.1

‘some of these dogs’

c. **huy kʰərə əni si*

dog some two DEM.1

Again, numerals, quantifiers and plural markers are in complementary distribution.

47. a. **huy-siŋ əni si*

dog-PL two DEM.1

b. **huy-siŋ kʰərə si*

dog-PL some DEM.1

‘some of these dogs’

c. **huy-siŋ kʰərə əni si*

dog-PL some two DEM.1

‘some of these two dogs’

1.3.6. Possessives

Possessives in Meiteilon are marked only by using genitive case marker suffix -ki ~ -gi to indicate the possessor of an object, unlike that of English which has two different ways of marking possessive. The first way employs the use of possessive morpheme ‘s’ construction and other way employs the use of preposition ‘of’, which connects the possessed noun and the possessor noun.

The singular personal pronouns in Meiteilon are i ‘I’, nəŋ ‘you’ and ma ‘S/He’. The possessive pronominal prefixes are derived from the personal pronouns; i- is the first person possessive pronominal, nə- is the second person possessive pronominal and ma- is the third person possessive pronominal. These prefixes can be affixed with kinship terms as well as other nouns as shown in (48). Examples of possessive construction in Meiteilon is shown as in (49) respectively.

- 48.
- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>i-pa</i> | ‘my father’ |
| <i>i-ma</i> | ‘my mother’ |
| <i>i-yum</i> | ‘my house’ |
| <i>nə-pa</i> | ‘your father’ |
| <i>nə-ma</i> | ‘your mother’ |
| <i>nə-yum</i> | ‘your house’ |
| <i>ma-pa</i> | ‘his/her father’ |
| <i>ma-ma</i> | ‘his/ her mother’ |
| <i>ma-yum</i> | ‘his/ her house’ |

49. *əi-gi* *lairik*

1PS-GEN book

‘My book’

50. *nəŋ-gi* *lairik*

2PS-GEN book

‘your book’

51. *məhak-ki* *lairik*

3PS-GEN book

‘His book’

This section aimed to give an overview of the nominal system in Meiteilon, the detailed analysis of the Meiteilon nominals is presented in the following chapters (chapter 3 and 4).

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

The focus of the current dissertation is to investigate the structure and the interpretation of noun phrases in Meiteilon under DP-hypothesis proposed by Abney (1987), the approach to examine the noun phrases which are different from the traditional noun phrase analysis. In order to analyze the structure and the functions of Meiteilon noun phrases, we need to understand the nature of noun phrases in general, and we need to understand the approaches to analyze the noun phrases. In order to fetch knowledge about noun phrases (NPs) in general, this chapter provides a brief overview of the structure of noun phrases (NPs) and the different approaches that generative syntax has made to analyze noun phrases. Section 2.1 deals with an overview of noun phrases. Section 2.2 deals with a brief review of the theoretical approaches and the development of the theoretical approaches within the generative framework

2.1. Noun Phrase: An Overview

Constituents headed by a noun are traditionally referred to as noun phrases, or NPs. In a sentence, a noun phrase adds additional information. A noun phrase has a different function in a sentence depending on where it appears. A noun phrase can serve as a sentence's subject, object, or predicative complement. Crystal (1980) defines noun phrases as phrases such as Noun phrases (NP), also known as "nominal groups," are the

CONSTRUCTIONS that nouns most frequently enter and of which they are the HEAD word. A noun phrase's minimal structure is its noun (or noun substitute, like PRONOUN); the constructions that come before and after the noun are frequently referred to as PREMODIFICATION and POSTMODIFICATION, respectively.

Quirk et al (1985) stated that Noun phrases are made up of a head, which is usually a noun, and elements that either determine the head or optionally modify it or modify another element in the phrase.

The noun phrase constituents according to Quirk et al (1985:123) are as follows:

a) the **head**, which dictates concord in the sentence,

b) the **determinative** consisting of (i) pre-determiners, like the English terms "all," "both," and "double," (ii) central-determiners, like the articles "a," "an," "the," "this," "some," and so forth, and (iii) post-determiners, which come after pre-modifiers but before central- or pre-determiners. These include numerals and closed-class quantifiers like many, few, and several.

c) the **premodification**, which includes anything other than determinatives that comes before the head, particularly nouns and adjectives.

d) the **postmodification** refers to elements positioned following the head, including complementation, non-finite clauses, relative clauses, and prepositional phrases.

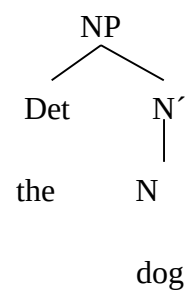
Quirk et al. (1985) differentiated modifiers between restrictive (e.g. my elder brother) and non-restrictive (my lovely friend) modifiers. According to them dependents that have the ability to create a subclass of the class indicated by the NP's

head are known as restrictive modifiers; on the other hand, non-restrictive or descriptive modifiers describe the NP's referent in terms of a specific attribute that it possesses.

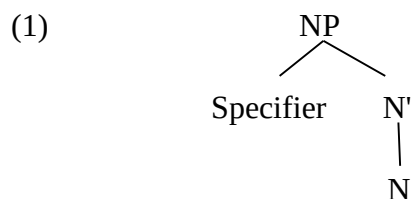
2.2. From NP to DP

In earlier years of introduction of generative framework (Jackendoff 1977, Chomsky 1981, 1986) views the noun phrase as the maximal projection of the head N (Noun) and the determiners as the specifier of the noun phrase, adjectives are adjoined to N-bar (N') and prepositional phrases are the complements of noun phrases.

Ex: The dog.

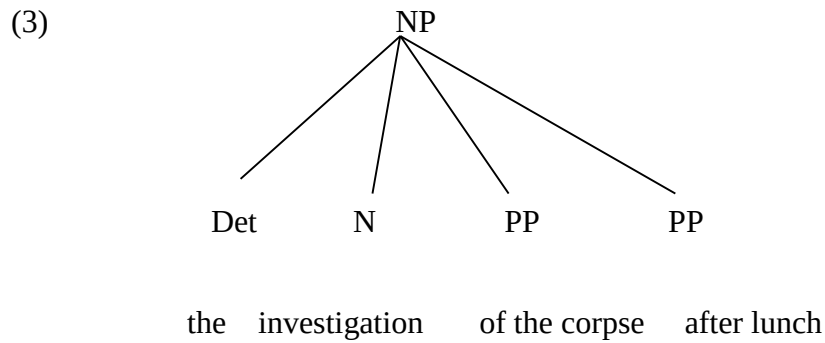


Noun phrases were regarded as maximal projections of a lexical head N0 in the classic Principles and Parameters framework (see Chomsky 1981). The maximal level NP is obtained by combining the specifier (a determiner or a prenominal genitive phrase) with the topmost N-level according to the X-bar theory. Therefore, it was customary to view noun phrases as their maximum projections. The tree structure of this traditional maximal projection is depicted as in the structure in (1).



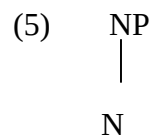
Haegeman (1991), depicts a pre-X-Bar phrase structure of NP and the flat structure as in (2) and (3):

(2) The investigation of the corpse after lunch.



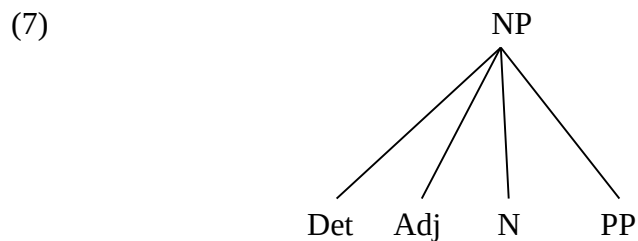
Again Carnie (2002) also derived noun phrases through the phrase structure rule as in (4) and the tree structure as in (5):

(4) $NP \rightarrow N$



The flat structure of complex noun phrase (6) looks like as in (7):

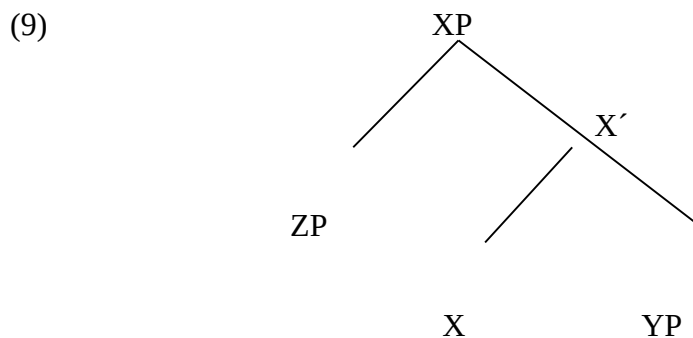
(6) the big book of poems



So, the phrase structure rule is rewritten as in (8):

(8) $NP \rightarrow (Det) (Adj) N (PP)$

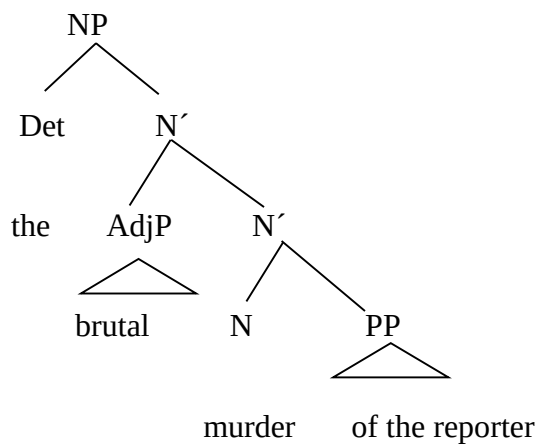
Adopting the version of X-bar Theory whereby all heads, lexical or functional, project their own phrases, and all phrasal structures across languages share a general schema represented in Fig 1, where X is a category variable heading XP, ZP is specifier position of XP, and YP is the position for an optional complement.



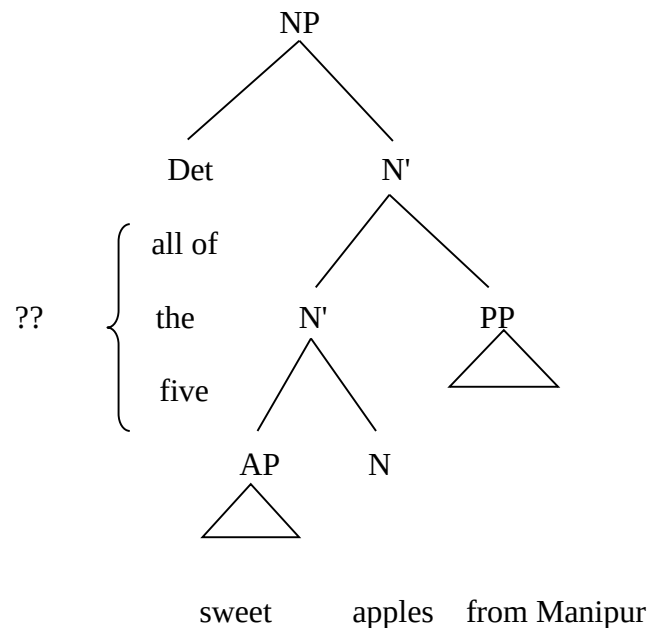
X-bar Phrase Structure

In the literature on syntax, numerous theories have been put forth to investigate the internal organization of noun phrases. According to generative syntax, the noun phrase is the maximal projection of the head N (Noun), the determiners are the noun phrase's specifiers, adjectives are positioned next to N-bar (N'), and prepositional phrases are the noun phrases' complements.

(10) The brutal murder of the reporter



With the development in linguistic theory the noun phrase structure where the N being head finds questionable as the position of the elements inside the phrase is inappropriate. Such a noun phrase has traditionally been analyzed within generative syntax in the X-bar framework like the structure given below :

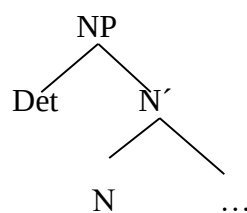


X-Bar representation of noun phrase

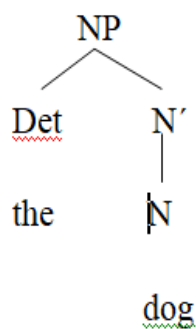
Nouns in generative syntax have historically been examined using the X-bar syntax representation as the head of the phrase with the determiner in the specifier position. However, what happens when we include a postdeterminer, like genitive constructions, or a predeterminer, like all/all of? The premodification portion of the noun phrase cannot be analyzed in its entirety in the traditional NP analysis structure. This is an issue with the X-bar syntax system, which makes up the phrase structure system in contemporary syntactic fields. In the middle of the 1980s, an alternative analysis emerged for these and other reasons.

Within the framework of generative grammar, Abney (1987) put forth a robust theory of noun phrases known as the DP-hypothesis. This theory is not the same as the conventional understanding of noun phrase analysis. According to this perspective, the noun phrase is a phrasal projection of the determiner rather than the noun. This indicates that determiners are the head of the noun phrase rather than the specifiers of the NP. As a result, the noun phrase is DP rather than NP.

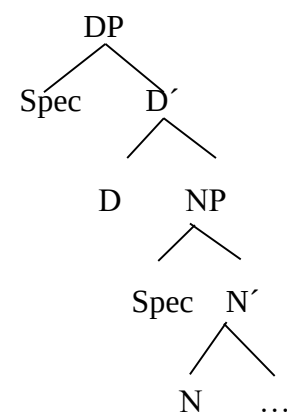
NP-analysis



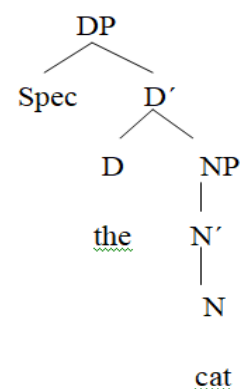
a)



DP-hypothesis

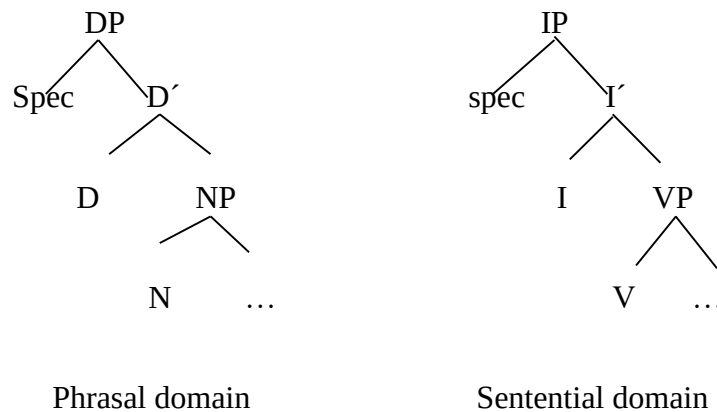


b)



NPs are the complement of DP within DP. This viewpoint prohibits adjunction. Adjectives are regarded as NP/DP specifiers. This theory was put forth by Abney (1987), who followed the trend of treating functional categories as phrase heads. Within

the framework of X-bar theory, Abney (1987) provided an explanation of the syntactic and semantic features of nominal structures that behave similarly to verbal structures. The DP-hypothesis examines the similarity between nominal phrases and sentences to demonstrate the theory's viability.



Ex: a) John's destruction of the spaceship. (DP)

b) John destroyed the spaceship. (IP) (Abney, 1987, p.14)

Both the constructions contain an inflectional category which dominates among other elements, AGR. Spec position acts as the structural subject and its complement as the predicate. D determines the X'-Projection of the noun phrase (DP) as same as I determines the X' projection of the sentence (IP). Thus DP can be analysed as IP.

The analysis of noun phrases has become more flexible and insightful with the introduction of functional categories. Following the DP hypothesis's assumption, NPs have been reinterpreted in terms of DP. In the nominal system, the determiner plays a crucial role. All languages, including article-less languages, have overtly or covertly realized DP; the difference between article languages and article-less languages is that the latter have null D (Longobardi 1994 and others). A number of languages from

various language families have been studied within this framework and considered DP as a universal projection.

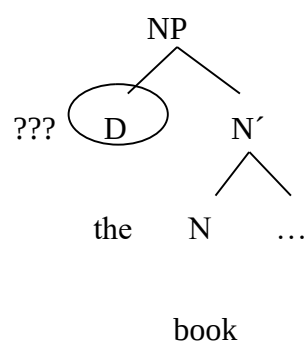
2.2.1 Motivations for the DP-hypothesis?

Ever since, the NP-analysis for the noun phrases has been prominent in the traditional generative syntax, however the motivation for DP-hypothesis comes from some evidences that the NP-analysis method could not explain some evidences, they are as follows:

I) Determiner (D) without a phrase

The first evidence comes from the general X-bar rule that “Everything that is not a head must be a phrase”, also the **Specifier rule: $XP \rightarrow (YP) X'$** , the question arises for the status of determiners sitting in the specifier position of noun phrases, why is it that the Determiner (D) sitting here without a phrase looking like a head without a phrase that is determiner phrase? So, there is a need to discuss about this determiner phrase and find a solution of D.

(15)



This problem is solved by the DP-hypothesis, by taking determiner as head that takes the noun phrase its complement. There actually is a clear position for the possessive noun phrase.

II) Problem with Genitive constructions

Second evidence comes from the Genitive construction. Genitive constructions can be of two types:

a) Free genitive: The book of Mary.

b) Construct genitive: Mary's book.

Some facts about these two genitive constructions are:

- 's is not a suffix.
- 's attaches to phrases rather than to head and marks the edges of a phrase,

Ex: The woman's book.

- 's is in complementary distribution with determiners,

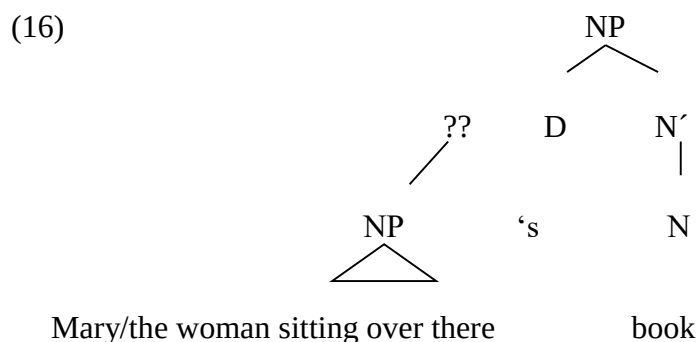
Ex: [The woman sitting over there]'s book.

*The woman sitting there's the book.

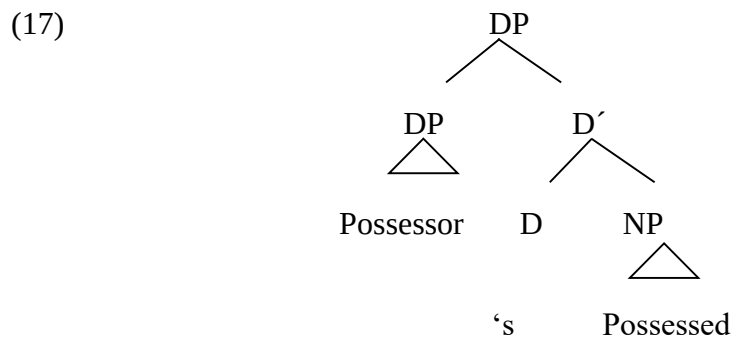
- But for the free genitive constructions there are two determiners,

Ex: The coat of the man.

So, the problem arises if we consider genitive 's as determiner, if 's is a determiner, where does the possessor go?



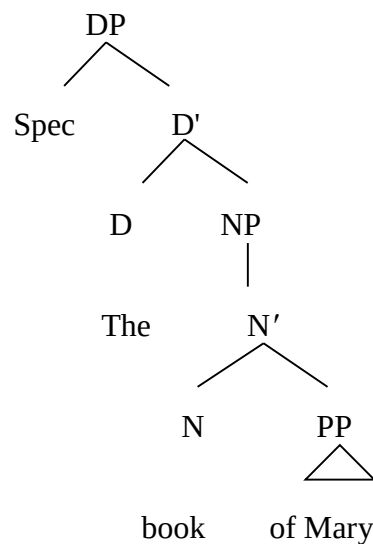
Having this determiner in specifier position leaves us with something unexplained about the positioning of noun phrases. So, the problem is solved by the possession structure by DP-hypothesis as given bellow:



So, let us apply and check the possession construction for both the genitive constructions:

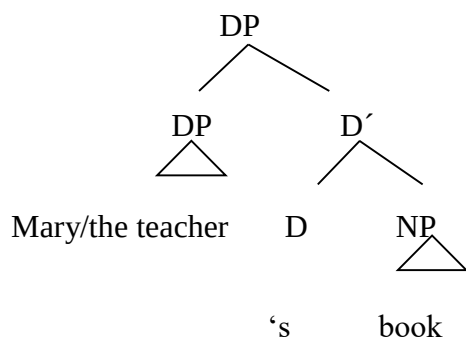
a) Free genitive construction

(18) The book of Mary.

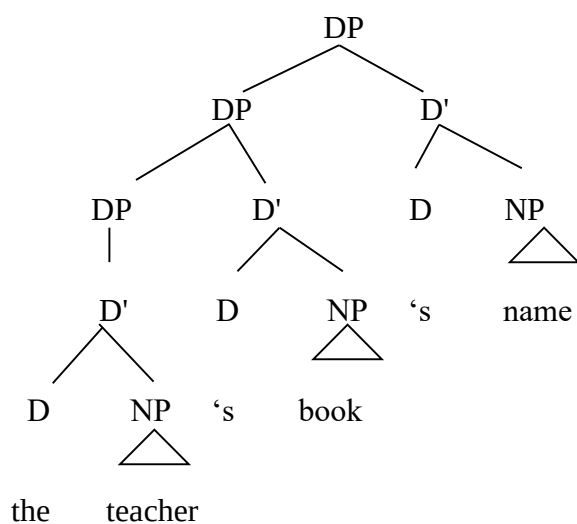


b) Construct genitive construction

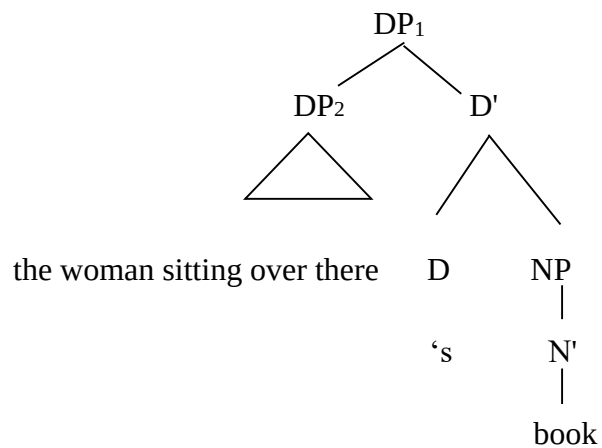
(19) Mary's/ the teacher's book



(20) The teacher's book's name



(21) The woman sitting over there's book



This then explains why it should be the case that you have an item that in complementary distribution with determiners functioning in the position it does, it explains why it appears at the end of this possessive noun phrases. This is the only place it could go.

III) About NPs without determiners?

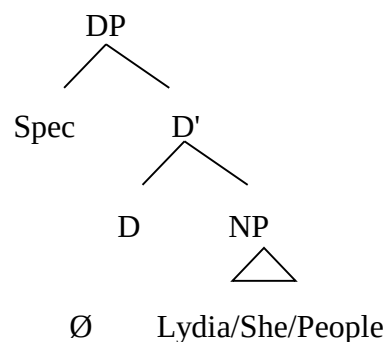
In his work, Abney (1987) argues for a new structure for a noun phrase where noun phrase is argued to be headed by a functional element D, identified with the determiner. Now the question arises about the noun phrases without determiners where the nouns such as proper nouns (Lydia, Tommy, etc.) and pronouns (he, she, they, you, we, etc.) appear without a determiner which is considered as the heads of the phrase. Again mass nouns (student vs. the student, people vs. the people, milk vs. the milk, etc.) and plural nouns (books vs. the books, dogs vs. the dogs, etc.) can occur with or without a determiner. For example (22) the sentences given below:

- (22) a) **Lydia** is a cute girl.
- b) **She** likes milk.
- c) **People** will say something.
- d) **Students** are afraid of surprise tests.

The old phrase structure treated determiners an optional element of noun phrases so it was easy for these structures, however for DP-hypothesis the determiners are the head that take noun phrases as complements, if determiners are head it might be predicted there really should be obligatory. In fact, it is also observed that in many

languages these types of phrases with these types of nouns can have overt determiners so considering this fact; we cannot infer that these types of phrases are headless. The problem is solved by DP-Hypothesis; the theory posits that for the noun phrases where the determiners are missing have a functional categories there structurally but no phonological content. Thus, a silent D head is there, so these types of noun phrases are considered a DP with null head. DPs that lack an overt determiner actually involve a covert determiner feature. Since nouns that lack an overt determiner have the same basic distribution as nouns with a determiner considering the existence of a null determiner every time an overt determiner is absent. The phrase structures with null head will look like as bellow (23):

23.



There are disagreements over whether this theory holds true for all languages, though. Many concerns have been expressed concerning the status of the determiner elements contained in the DP, specifically the placement and meaning of (in)definite articles as well as other D items like demonstratives and possessives. Should every noun phrase in every language be covered by the DP-analysis? The fundamental tenet of the DP hypothesis is that a DP dominates an NP, however some languages lack articles. What kind of analysis might be done on languages without an explicit article? Do they have no D projection at all, or do these languages require the postulation of a null D?

The layering of other functional projections within the noun phrase has also been studied recently. These layers are typically driven by the noun phrase's morphological markers. What are the interpretative qualities of such projections, how many such projections can be assumed in a nominal domain, and how can they be motivated?

In recent studies some scholars too have argued against the universality of a DP projection and have argued for a “no-DP analysis” of article-less languages by Chierchia (1998), Cheng and Sybesma (1999), Dayal (2004, 2009), Bošković (2005a, 2005b, 2008 & 2010a, 2010b). Bošković (2005a, 2005b, 2008, 2010a, 2010b) argues that there is a fundamental syntactic and semantic difference between article and article-less languages.

These differences are the following (Generalizations from Bošković (2008, 2010a, 2010b)):

- 1) Left Branch Extraction (LBE): Only languages without articles may allow LBE.
- 2) Adjunct extraction from NP: Only languages without articles may allow adjunct extraction out of TNPs.
- 3) Scrambling: Only languages without articles may allow scrambling.
- 4) Negative Raising: Languages without articles disallow NR, and languages with articles allow it.
- 5) Superiority and multiple Wh-fronting (MWF): MWF languages without articles do not display superiority effects.
- 6) Clitic doubling: Only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling.
- 7) Adnominal genitive: Languages without articles do not allow transitive nominals with two lexical genitives.
- 8) Superlatives: Only languages with articles allow the majority superlative reading.

- 9) Head-internal relatives and locality: Head-internal relatives display island-sensitivity in article-less languages, but not in languages with articles.
- 10) Polysynthetic languages: Polysynthetic languages do not have articles.
- 11) Focus morphology: Negative constituents must be marked for focus in NP languages.
- 12) Negative concord with complex negative constituents: The negative concord reading may be absent with multiple complex negative constituents only in DP negative concord languages.
- 13) Quantifier scope: Inverse scope is unavailable in NP languages in examples like (43).
- 14) Radical pro-drop: Radical pro-drop is possible only in NP languages.
- 15) Number morphology: Number morphology may not be obligatory only in NP languages.
- 16) Focus adjacency: Elements undergoing focus movement are subject to a verb adjacency requirement only in DP languages.
- 17) Interpretation of possessives: Possessors may induce an exhaustivity presupposition only in DP languages.
- 18) Classifiers: Obligatory nominal classifier systems are available only in NP languages.

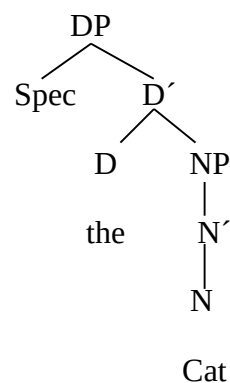
For this study I will go with the assumption that DP is a universal projection and all languages, including article-less languages have overtly or covertly realized DP i.e. the difference between article languages and article-less languages is that there is null D in latter (Longobardi 1994, Borer 2005 and others). The presence or absence of a definite determiner is not the sole criterion for positing a DP projection within the nominal phrase; the DPs should be projected both in languages that have articles and in those that do not. In other words, This is shown by assuming that nominals are universally assigned a D (determiner). Positing a determiner projection within the nominal phrase is necessary for feature checking i.e. the main need for proposing a determiner phrase projection within the nominal phrase is the presence of a universal D (determiner) feature in the nominal system. Therefore, DPs are universal and are not parameterized cross-linguistically; however, the overt realization of a D head is subject to parametric variations.

2.4. Literature Review on DP

1. Abney (1987)

DP-hypothesis

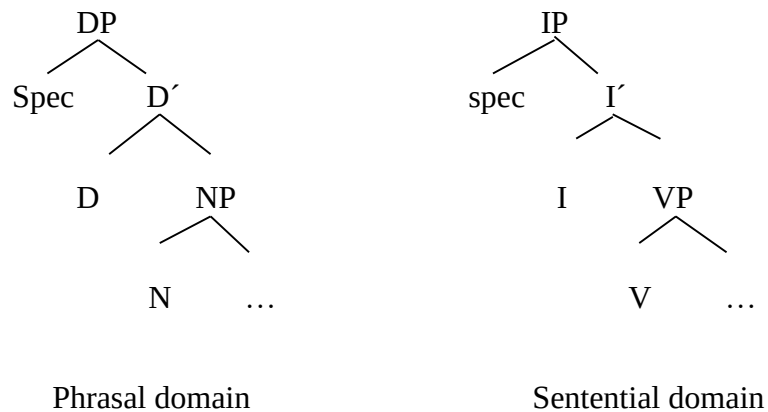
The DP-hypothesis is a robust theory of noun phrase put forth by Abney (1987). Perhaps the most significant of the proposals with the D at the head of the DP is Abney (1987). Abney contends that the noun phrase is headed by a functional category D(eterminer), choosing an NP, based on empirical data from numerous languages. This theory deviates from the conventional understanding of noun phrase analysis in that it analyzes a conventional noun phrase as a DP. According to this perspective, the noun phrase is a phrasal projection of the determiner rather than the noun. This indicates that determiners are the head of the noun phrase rather than the specifiers of the NP. Thus, the noun phrase is called DP not NP.



1. Abney's DP-Analysis

NPs are the complement of DP within DP. This viewpoint prohibits adjunction. Adjectives are regarded as NP/DP specifiers. This theory was put forth by Abney (1987), who followed the trend of treating functional categories as phrase heads. Within

the framework of X-bar theory, Abney (1987) explained both syntactic and semantic aspects of nominal structures that behave similarly to verbal structures. The DP-hypothesis examines the similarity between nominal phrases and sentences to demonstrate the theory's viability.



Parallelism between DP and IP

Ex: a) John's destruction of the spaceship. (DP)

b) John destroyed the spaceship. (IP) (Abney, 1987, p.14)

An inflectional category that predominates among other elements is present in both constructions: AGR. The structural subject is spec position, and the predicate is its complement. In the same way that I determines the X' projection of the sentence (IP), D determines the X'-Projection of the noun phrase (DP). DP can therefore be examined as IP. The motivations for this analysis include the following:

- Many languages exhibit AGR (agreement) in the NP, which serves as motivation for a functional head.
- Determiners, like other functional categories, are closed classes, lack descriptive content, are frequently dependent phonologically, and do not assign theta roles.

- The DP-analysis gives noun phrases a structure that is similar to that of clauses (IP): noun phrases share the same AGR features, case assignment, and functional head as IP.

I will follow the spirit of Abney's DP-analysis to account for the Meiteilon DP. However, Abney did not mention about the articleless languages, since the D position is specially reserves for the definite article. Since Meiteilon lacks overt marking of the definite article, in this research, I will consider the place of demonstratives within the DP.

2. Giusti (1993, 1997)

Abney (1987) proposed that articles and demonstratives occur in the same position D. This proposal was based on the observation that articles and demonstratives are in complementary distribution in languages such as English, as in (1):

(1) a) ***the this** boy

b) ***this the** boy

c) * **a this** girl

d) ***this a** girl

However, the fact that demonstratives can co-occur with articles in many other languages (including Irish, Javanese, Hungarian, Romanian and Spanish) suggests that demonstratives are not in D. This assumption should be the same cross-linguistically.

Giusti (1993, 1997) proposes "that demonstratives are base generated in a low specifier of a functional projection and may move to Spec, DP at LF (via Spec, AgrP immediately below DP)" Giusti (1993, 1997). She shows this in the following Romanian data:

(2) a) *acest frumos băiat*

this nice boy

b) *băiat-ul acesta frumos*

boy-the this nice

Giusti (1993, 1997)

She argues that when there is no article in D, the uninflected demonstrative *acest* in (2a) has shifted from Spec, AgrP to Spec, DP. The demonstrative is base-generated in Spec, AgrP, and the adjective *frumos* indicates that the demonstrative is not a head and is not in D, or this movement of N would violate the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984). In (2b), the noun *băiat* has moved and left-adjoined to the article *ul*, crossing the inflected demonstrative *acesta*. The corresponding structures of (2a-b) are shown below:

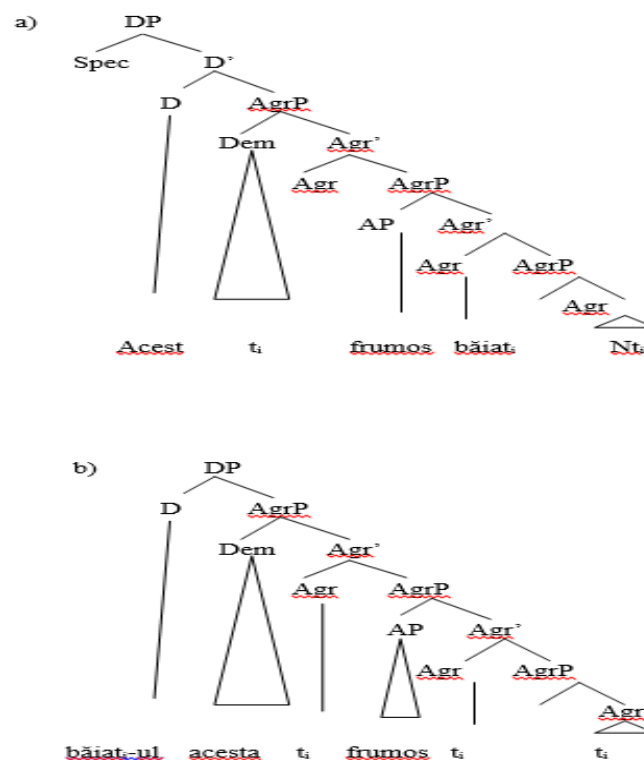


Figure: 5. Giusti's (1993, 1997) analysis of demonstratives

3. Bernstein (1997)

Bernstein (1997) adopts and develops Giusti's (1993) demonstrative-in-specifier analysis to explain demonstrative reinforcement constructions in Romance and Germanic languages. She gives the examples in (1):

(1) a) den här mannen (Swedish)

the here man-the

this man'

b) cette femme-ci (French)

this woman-here

'this woman'

Bernstein (1997)

In French (1b), the demonstrative *cette* is not adjacent to the reinforcer *-ci* as it is in the Germanic example, *den här* in (1a). She points out that the demonstrative (*cette femme*) may appear before the reinforcer in either pattern. Bernstein suggests that demonstratives of a function projection FP (which would replace AgrP in Giusti (1993, 1997)) immediately below DP are base-generated in the specifier position, and their reinforcers in the head. Though she does not completely rule out the possibility that in some languages the demonstrative raises to Spec or DP, she asserts—in contrast to Giusti (1993, 1997)—that the demonstrative head raises and substitutes into D. This would explain why Romance and Germanic languages do not co-occur the demonstrative and the definite article. Bernstein states that a movement operation that raises the NP and left-adjoins it to the FP (containing the noun and its modifier) is how the Romance word order is produced, as shown in (2) and represented:

- (2) ce livre jaune ci
 this book yellow here
 ‘this yellow book’

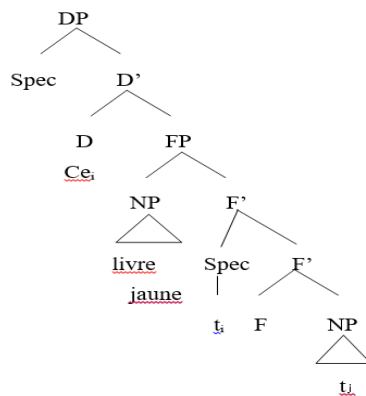


Figure: 6. Bernstein's (1997) analysis of demonstratives and reinforcers

The Germanic word order, with both the demonstrative and its reinforcer preceding the noun is accounted for by the absence of this movement:

- (3) det här stora huset (Swedish, Bernstein's (1997))
 this here big house-the
 ‘this big house’

Regarding the structure-preservation principle, Bernstein's (1997) suggestion to shift an XP (i.e., Dem) to an X position (i.e., D0) is actually rather undesirable. Her NP-movement analysis, however, can be expanded to take into consideration the demonstrative and reinforce DP-final position in Vietnamese.

4. Lyons (1999)

A revised version of the DP framework was proposed by Lyons (1999) in relation to the definiteness phenomenon. He made two claims in this version:

1. Freeform definite articles, such as the English "the," specify rather than head. Instead of NP, it is the specifier of DP.
2. The grammatical category of definiteness, rather than the word class of Det, is represented by D.

5. Bošković (2008, 2010a, 2010b)

Bošković (2008) proposed several generalizations that he believed an article-less language would display. Drawing from these generalizations, he asserted that there is a fundamental distinction between languages with and without articles. According to him, since cross-linguistic generalizations involve syntactic-semantic phenomena, the presence or absence of an article in a language plays a crucial role that cannot be reduced to phonology. Languages lacking articles in particular do not project DP. The generalizations will be discussed in chapter three in detail.

In Indian languages, the first ever proposal for a DP was made by Bhattacharya and Dasgupta (1992), acknowledging the difference between a Hindi language (without classifiers but with agreement) and Bangla language (with classifiers but without agreement); they termed the phrase BP or Badge Phrase which establishes agreement for agreement languages and definiteness for classifier languages. A fuller proposal for DP in Bangla was made in extensive work in Bhattacharya (1999). Thakur (2015) also analyzed the DP structure in Hindi by adopting DP framework and tried to explain all the nominal structures and confirms that the DP framework makes the analysis of noun phrases easier than the earlier approaches.

Chapter 3

Structure of the Meiteilon Nominal Phrase

3. Introduction

This chapter mainly deals with the internal structure of Meiteilon nominal phrases. The first part of this chapter examines the Meiteilon noun phrase using Bošković (2008, 2010a, 2010b)'s generalizations for determining whether a language NP language or DP language to check whether these generalizations work for Meiteilon which lacks (in)definite article.

The next section deals with various phenomena within the noun phrase to locate functional elements associated with the nominal phrase in Meiteilon. I discussed on the (in)definiteness marking system in Meiteilon which shows that Meiteilon does not have a well defined definiteness marking mechanism in its nominal system. Therefore a set of devices are resorted to in order to mark (in)definiteness of a noun in Meiteilon, including extra grammatical devices.

I adopt the assumption that the main need for proposing a determiner phrase projection within the nominal phrase is the presence of a universal D (determiner) feature in the nominal system. Therefore, DPs are universal and are not parameterized cross-linguistically; however, the overt realization of a D head is subject to parametric variations, the Meiteilon noun phrases are analysed within the DP-hypothesis. Adopting the DP universal theory, I argue that Meiteilon being an article-less language, the noun phrases are headed by a null head D and a maximal projection of demonstrative, a functional head is situated below the DP, and the Dem head is the element which checks the D-features: [+definite], [+referentiality], [+specificity] and [+deictic],

available in the language system. I propose the assumption that Meiteilon demonstratives projects its own functional projection right below the DP and demonstrative head is where the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] features are checked. And the complex construction where the prenominal demonstrative appeared with the post nominal demonstrative with genitive case marked, I again propose that this prenominal demonstrative occurs at the [Spec, DemP] and this is the case of feature copying through the Spec-Head agreement to reinforce the strong features of [+Ref] and [+Deictic] feature in the language.

This chapter also examines a number of phenomena within the nominal phrase by adopting the DP-hypothesis, including (in)definiteness, bare nominals, derived nominals and gerunds and I proposed that Meiteilon derived nominals has the internal structure of a noun phrase whereas Gerund constructions are complex DP which has the property of the underlying verbal element. The D-VP analysis by Abney (1987) adopted for analysing the complex structure of Meiteilon gerunds.

3.1. Meiteilon Noun Phrases

The simplest noun phrase in Meiteilon may consist of a single noun or a pronoun without any determiner or modifier as in (1.a,b,c):

- 1) a) *tombə* *skul* *cət-kʰre*
 Tomba school go-Perf.Asp
 ‘Tomba has gone to school.’
- b) *məhak* *doktər-ni*
 3PS doctor-COP

‘He is doctor.’

c) *məsi sən-ni*

this cow-COP

‘This is cow’

Simple noun phrases can appear in various positions, such as subject, object, or predicate and can receive generic, predicative, or existential (indefinite or definite) interpretation as in (2.a,b,c,d):

2) a) *sən-nə napi ča-i* (subject - Generic reading)

cow-NOM grass eat-S.ASP

‘Cows eat grass.’

b) *sən-nə ləmpak-tə napi ca-ri* (Subject - Existential reading)

cow-NOM field-LOC grass eat-PROG

‘Cows eating grass in the field.’

c) *məhak-nə sən tan-li* (Object – Existential reading)

3PS-ACC cow chase-PROG

‘He is chasing cows’

d) *məsi sən ni* (Predicate - Predicative reading)

this cow COP

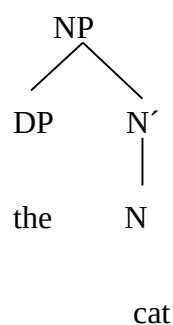
‘This is cow’

sən ‘cow’ in (2.a) appear in subject position and denotes a universal reading as all cows eat grass; however, *sən* ‘cow’ being in (2.b) represents an event in which some cows not all cows are eating grass in the field. Same as in (2.c), *sən* ‘cow’ in object position denotes the existential meaning by representing some cows not all the cows. Again, *sən* ‘cow’ in (2.d) being in predicate position gives the predicative reading. Therefore, it illustrates that the same bare NP provide different interpretations with different positions.

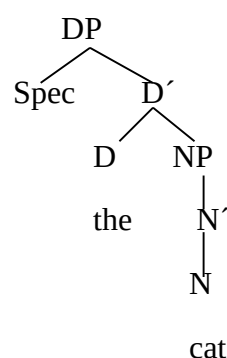
Meiteilon lacks the grammaticalization of (in)definiteness by (in)definite articles in the syntactic representation of nominal phrases, the universal feature of definiteness is expressed with demonstratives and indefiniteness with the numeral ‘one’ which serves the function of indefinite articles. Let us consider the examples below:

3. a) huy – si
 dog- DEM.1
 ‘this dog’
- a) huy – du
 dog- DEM.2
 ‘the/that dog’
- b) huy əma
 dog one
 ‘a dog’

In traditional view of noun phrase analysis noun phrase is a phrasal projection of the head noun and determiners are the Specifiers.



Abney (1987) proposed a strong theory of noun phrase which called DP-hypothesis. In this view, the noun phrase is a phrasal projection not of the noun but of the determiner. This means, determiners are not the Specifiers of NP, they are the head of noun phrase. Thus, the noun phrase called DP not NP. Within DP, NPs are the complement of DP.



As we have discussed in literature review section, Bošković (2008, 2010a, 2010b) postulated a number of generalizations which an article or article-less language is said to exhibit and based on these generalizations he claimed that there is a fundamental difference between the languages with articles and languages without articles. And he assumed that languages that do not have articles do not project DP. Since Meiteilon lacks an overt definite article, let us test the Meiteilon data by applying the generalizations made by Bošković to find out whether the generalizations work for Meiteilon language to posit a NP language or DP language.

3.2. Bošković's generalizations and Meiteilon Noun Phrase

Generalization 1: Left branch extraction

The first generalization states that left branch extraction is possible in NP languages but not in languages with DP (Bošković, 2008). Let us analyze the Meiteilon data and see if movement of adjectives or the extraction of adjectives is possible in Meiteilon.

18. *əi* [*əpʰəbə* *layrik əmə*] *pa-ri*
 1PS good book one read-PROG
 ‘I am reading a good book’

19. **əpʰəbə* *əi* [*t_i* *layrik əmə*] *pa-ri*
 good 1PS book one read-PROG
 ‘I am reading a good book’

Example (18) shows the basic word order of adjective and noun within a noun phrase and (19) shows that the adjective extraction of adjectives *əpʰəbə* ‘good’ to the left side results into an ungrammatical sentence in Meiteilon. Hence, as per the generalization Meiteilon seems to be DP language as left branch is not possible.

Generalization 2: Adjunct extraction from NP

Only languages without articles may allow adjunct extraction out of TNPs (Traditional Noun Phrases) (Bošković 2008). Let us look at the Meiteilon data to check whether adjunct extraction is possible or not.

20. *məhak* [*^{NP} Imphal-də* *ləy-bə* *skul* *əmə-da*] *tam-i*
 2PS Imphal -LOC be –NZR school one-LOC study-IND
 ‘He studies in one of the schools in Imphal’

21. **kəday-də ləy-bə məhak-nə [NP t_i skul əmə-da tam-i]*
 which-LOC be-NOM 3PS-NOM school one-LOC study-IND

From example (21) we can see that the adjunct extraction is not possible since extracting the adjunct results into an ungrammatical sentence. Moreover, Meiteilon does not have overt Wh-movement, Wh-extraction is not possible in the language. Therefore, the second generalization does not work in Meiteilon language.

Generalization 3: Scrambling

Only languages without articles may allow scrambling (Bošković 2008). Let us check the Meiteilon data whether scrambling is possible or not .

22. *əy-nə məhak-pu p^hu-i*
 1PS-NOM 3PS-ACC hit-IND
 ‘I hit him’
23. *məhak-pu əy-nə p^hu-i*
 3PS-ACC 1PS-NOM hit-IND
24. *p^hu-i əy-nə məhak-pu*
 hit-IND 1PS-NOM 3PS-ACC
25. *p^hu-i məhak-pu əy-nə*
 hit-IND 3PS-ACC 1PS-NOM

26. *əy-nə* *pʰu-i* *məhak-pu*
 1PS-NOM hit-IND 3PS-ACC

27. *məhak-pu* *pʰu-i* *əy-nə*
 3PS-ACC hit-IND 1PS-NOM

Example (22) is the basic sentence with SOV word order. Example (23) – (27) is odd to use in the language however they are not ungrammatical, so, we can say that scrambling is possible in Meiteilon. Therefore, the third generalization works in Meiteilon.

,Generalization 4: Negative raising

“Languages without articles disallow negative raising and languages with articles allow it (Bošković 2008)”. Since, Meiteilon does not allow negative raising, this generalization seems to work in the language.

Generalization 5: Superiority and multiple Wh-Fronting

Multiple Wh-fronting languages without articles do not show superiority effects (Bošković 2008). Meiteilon does not have Wh-movement phenomenon, therefore the generalization for multiple Wh-fronting is not applicable.

Generalization 6: Clitic doubling

Only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling (Bošković 2008). Meiteilon does not have the phenomenon of clitic, therefore the generalization for clitic doubling is not applicable in Meiteilon.

Generalization 7: Adnominal genitive

It states that languages without articles do not allow transitive nominals with two lexical genitives (Bošković 2010b). Let us check Meiteilon data whether this generalization works in the language.

28. *tombə-gi* *lairik* *pabə-gi* *məwoŋ*

Tomba-GEN book read-GEN style

‘Tomba’s way of reading’

29. *əy-gi* *imuŋ-gi* *mi-siŋ*

1PS-GEN family-GEN man-PL

‘My family members’

30. *məhak-ki* *huy-gi* *mamiŋ*

3PS-GEN dog-GEN name

‘His dog’s name’

Example (28)-(30) shows that Meiteilon allows the presence of two lexical genitives to the transitive nominals without giving ungrammatical forms. However, according to the generalization Meiteilon should not allow this phenomenon as it is articles language. Therefore, the generalization does not work in the language.

Generalization 8: Superlatives

This generalization states that only languages with articles allow the majority superlative reading. Dependents that have the ability to create a subclass of the class indicated by the NP’s head are known as restrictive modifiers; on the other hand, non-restrictive or descriptive modifiers describe the NP’s referent in terms of a specific

attribute that it possesses.. Let us check the Meiteilon data which are direct translation of Bošković's example.

31. mi ayambə biyəṛ tʰək-i
 man most beer drink- PRES
 ‘Most people drink beer’

The above example may be interpreted in a sense that people mostly drink beer rather than any other drinks. However, if we insert a focus particle after the quantifier *əyambə* and a demonstrative particle after the noun *beer* then it may result into a different interpretation. Such construction with insertion of focus particle and demonstrative is shown in (32) and (33) respectively.

32. mi əyambə-di biyəṛ tʰək i
 man most-FOC beer drink- PRES
 ‘Most of the people drink beer’

33. mi əyambə biyəṛ-du tʰək-i
 man most beer-DEM drink- PRES
 ‘Most people drink that /the beer’

However, the reading of examples (32-33) is similar to that of example (31), so the test of this generalization fails. Therefore, this generalization also fails in Meiteilon.

Generalization 9: Head-internal relatives and locality

This generalization 9 states that head-internal relatives display island-sensitivity in article-less languages but not in languages with articles (Bošković 2010b).

Bhat and Ningomba (1997) stated that Meiteilon uses two main types of clauses in order to carry out the function of relative clauses which functions as modifier of nouns through sentences. They are external relative clauses and internal relative clauses; external relative clauses are those clauses in which equi-deletion occurs inside the relative clause and the co-referential noun (head noun) occurs outside the clause. Whereas, internal relative clauses are the clauses in which equi-deletion occurs outside the relative clause and the co-referential noun is retained inside the clause. Let us check the Meiteilon data:

34. *čəwbə-nə pʰu-bə əŋaŋ-du tombə-gi məčə ni [external]*
 Chaoba-NOM hit-NZR child-DEM Tomba-GEN offspring-COP
 ‘The boy whom Chaoba beat is Tomba’s son’

35. *čəwbə-nə əŋaŋ-bu pʰu-bə-du tombə-gi məčə ni [internal]*
 Chaoba-NOM child-ACC hit-NZR-DEM Tomba-GEN offspring-COP
 ‘Chaoba beat the boy who is Tomba’s son’

(Bhat and Ningomba 1997, p. 278)

36. **čəwbə-nə kəna-bu pʰu-bə-du tombə-gi məčə -no?*
 Chaoba-NOM who-ACC hit-NZR-DEM Tomba-GEN offspring Q
 *‘Who did Chaoba beat up was Tomba’s son?’

36. **kəna-bu čəwbə-nə t_i pʰu-bə-du tombə-gi məčə -no?*
 Who-ACC Chaoba-NOM hit-NZR-DEM Tomba-GEN offspring Q
 *‘Who did Chaoba beat up was Tomba’s son?’

Since Meiteilon does not have Wh-movement, island-sensitivity cannot be tested correctly. Thus, the test doesn't work for Meiteilon.

Generalization 10:

The tenth generalization states that 'polysynthetic languages do not have articles'. Since, Meiteilon is an agglutinating language testing this generalization is baseless.

Generalization 11: Focus morphology

The eleventh generalization, which is one of the additional generalizations, states that negative constituents must be marked for focus in NP languages (Bošković 2010b). In Meiteilon formation of words such as *No one*, *Someone* and so on always needs a wh-particle which always bears focus, so let us look at an example which does not have a wh-element present as shown below:

37. *tomba* *lak-t-rə-bə-rə*
 Tomba come-Neg-Perf-NZR-Q
 'Hasn't John come?'

The above example shows that negative constituents in Meiteilon do not show the presence of focal element. Hence, the eleventh generalization does not work for Meiteilon.

Generalization 12: Negative concord with complex negative constituents

This generalization states that the negative concord reading may be absent with multiple complex negative constituents only in DP negative concord languages

(Bošković, 2010b). Meiteilon does not have the negative concord phenomenon, so this generalization cannot be tested. Hence, this generalization doesn't work in Meiteilon.

Generalization 13: Quantifier scope

This generalization states that inverse scope is unavailable in NP languages.

38. Someone loves everyone

Here, he stated that *everyone* can take either narrow or wide scope; however according to him inverse scope is the phenomenon where *everyone* takes wide scope.

Let us examine the Meiteilon translation of the above example

39. *kənə-no-mə-nə* *mi* *pumnəmək-pu* *nuŋsi*
 who- Q -one- Nom man everyone-Acc love
 ‘Someone loves everyone’

The word *pumnəmək* which means *everyone* or *everything* also means *all* in Meiteilon. Thus, this generalization won't work in the language.

Generalization 14: Radical pro-drop

The fourteenth generalization states that radical pro-drop is possible only in NP languages (Bošković, 2010b). Bošković defined radical pro-drop as productive argumental pro-drop of both subjects and objects in the absence of rich verbal agreement. Crystal (2008) defined radical pro-drop as the phenomenon where languages can drop not only subjects but also objects and other phrases as well. Such kind of phenomenon is possible in Meiteilon; the following examples support the statement.

40. a) *əy* *čak* *ča-re*
 I(Sub) rice(Obj) eat-PERF(Verb)

‘I had my meal’

b) *čak* *ča-re* [Subject dropped]

rice(obj) eat-PERF(verb)

c) *ča-re* [Both Subject and object dropped]

eat-PERF(verb)

All the three constructions shown in the above example are grammatical constructions. Thus, these examples proved that Meiteilon is a radical pro-drop language.

Generalization 15: Number morphology

Bošković (2010b) stated that number morphology may not be obligatory in NP languages. Let us check the Meiteilon example.

41. *tombə-nə* *layrik* *pu-rək-e*

Tomba-NOM book bring-DEIC-PERF

‘Tomba brought book/books’

42. *tombi-nə* *həy* *pi-rək-e*

Tombi-NOM fruit give-DEIC-PERF

‘Tombi gave me fruit/fruits.’

43. *meri-nə* *p^{hi}* *ləy-rək-e*

Mary-NOM cloth buy-DEIC-PERF

‘Mary bought cloth/clothes’

According to Boškovic (2010b), the head noun can be interpreted as plural in NP languages even if plural morphology is absent. Such construction is possible in Meiteilon, therefore number morphology is not obligatory in Meiteilon.

Generalization 16: Focus adjacency

This generalization states that elements undergoing focus movement are subject to a verb adjacency requirement only in DP languages (Boškovic, 2010b). In order to check whether such phenomenon exists in Meiteilon let us check the example in (44).

44. *lairik-ti* *meri-nə* *pu-k^hre*
 book-FOC Mary-NOM take-PERF
 ‘Mary took the book’

The test is about whether the pre-verbal element gets focus but in the above example it is *Mary* who took the book (not anybody else). So this shows that the test has failed.

Generalization 17: Interpretation of possessives

The seventeenth generalization states that possessors may induce an exhaustivity presupposition only in DP languages (Boškovic, 2010b). However, if we put *all* in the data of Meiteilon we may get the exhaustive reading as in the following

45. *meri-gi* *lairik əhum mək*
 Mary-GEN book three all

‘All of Mary’s three books’

Moreover, in English *John’s three shirts* does not necessarily mean John has only three shirts. Thus this generalization fails.

Generalization 18: Classifiers

The last generalization states that obligatory nominal classifier systems are available only in NP languages (Bošković, 2010b). Since Meiteilon does not have a nominal classifier system, this generalization doesn’t work in Meiteilon.

3.3. The Structure of DP Meiteilon

After discussing all the generalizations proposed by Bošković, we can observe that most of the generalizations do not seem to work and some of the generalizations works. Taking into consideration to the issue, it cannot be determined based on the result which is not fully valid to the language. Therefore, by leaving the notion of Meiteilon being NP or DP language, I will go with the line of Lyons (1999) that “The languages which do not grammaticalize definiteness use different ways to show this semantic or pragmatic phenomenon which means definiteness is universal, while its grammaticalization is language specific” (Lyons, 1999). I will follow the assumption of universality of definiteness and support DP analysis for Meiteilon since the presence or absence of a definite determiner is not the sole criterion for positing a DP projection within the nominal phrase; the DPs should be projected both in languages that have articles and in those that do not. In other words according to Longobardi 1994, Borer 2005 and others; DP is a universal projection and all languages, including article-less languages have overtly or covertly realized DP i.e. the difference between article

languages and article-less languages is that there is null D in latter. This is shown by assuming that nominals are universally assigned a D (determiner). Positing a determiner projection within the nominal phrase is necessary for feature checking i.e. the main need for proposing a determiner phrase projection within the nominal phrase is the presence of a universal D (determiner) feature in the nominal system. Therefore, DPs are universal and are not parameterized cross-linguistically; however, the overt realization of a D head is subject to parametric variations. Adopting the DP universality the next section examines the structure of Meiteilon noun phrases.

3.3.1. (In)definiteness Marking in Meiteilon

(In)definiteness is a noun phrase feature to differentiate between the definite noun phrases (identifiable referent/entity in the given context) and indefinite noun phrases (entities which are not identifiable). According to Crystal (2008), the term "definiteness" refers to a particular, identifiable entity or class of entities and is used in grammar and semantics. As per Kadmon (1990), the definite noun phrases denote a singular set that is the maximal entity of things that correspond to their descriptive content. Chelliah (1997) also defines definiteness as the situation in which a speaker presumes that the listener can recognize the referent of an argument.

The unique identifiability of definite articles, which means that uniqueness is their distinguishing quality, is one of two well-known methodologies used to evaluate definite noun phrases in literature (Russel 1905, Kadmon 1990). This theory states that indefinites differ from definites in that they do not require maximality or, alternatively, that their semantic simply selects some entity from the domain, whereas definites take a set of entities and return the unique maximal entity in that set, whereas indefinites

take a set of entities and return the singular maximal entity in that set (Alok, 2012, P-14). Let's have a look at some illustrations from Löbner (1985) to analyze this notion.

- 6) a) *The dogs are sleeping but the dogs are not.
- b) *The dog is sleeping but the dog is not.
- 7) a) Some dogs are sleeping but some dogs are not.
- b) Some dog is sleeping but some dogs are not. Löbner (1985)

The second approach is based on the analysis of definite noun phrase in terms of (non)familiarity. According to this theory, definite noun phrases are known to the hearer, but indefinite noun phrases are not (Christophersen 1939, Heim 1982, 1983). Heim (1983) also claims that definite noun phrases refer to the variable already introduced in the discourse; indefinite noun phrases introduce a new variable. For example:

- 8) a) Give me a book.
- b) Give me the book. Heim (1983)

Example (8.a)) shows that the entity *book* is new to the context and it can be any book which is unknown to the hearer however, example (8.b) shows that the entity *book* is not new, they are talking about a particular book and it is known by both the speaker and the hearer.

Hawkins (1991) identified the sources of identifiability/familiarity. The sources are as follows:

- i) When an entity is a member of the previous discourse set, which means the entity has already been discussed.

- ii) If an entity is part of the immediate situation of utterance in which the speaker and the hearer find themselves.
- iii) Knowledge shared by people in the same physical location such as the same village, city etc.
- iv) If an entity has a predictable co-occurrence based on community knowledge, it can be identifiable.
- v) A referent may be considered identifiable/familiar when the relevant information is provided within the definite NP itself, such as genitive phrase or a relative clause.

Hawkins (1991)

Meiteilon is a language which lacks the overt marking of (In)definiteness by the articles as it does not have articles in the grammatical feature of the language unlike English (a, an, the). According to Lyons (1999), while definiteness is universal, its grammaticalization varies depending on the language; languages that do not grammaticalize definiteness employ various techniques to illustrate this pragmatic and semantic phenomenon. Though Meiteilon lacks the grammaticalization of (in)definiteness by (in)definite articles in the syntactic representation of nominal phrases, the universal feature of definiteness is expressed with demonstratives and indefiniteness with the numeral ‘one’ which serves the function of indefinite articles and always follows the noun. Let us consider the examples below:

9) a) *huy – si*

dog- DEM.1

‘this dog’

- b) *huy – du*
- dog- DEM.2
- ‘the/that dog’
- c) *huy əma*
- dog one
- ‘a dog’

Since demonstrative encodes the definite feature in Meiteilon let us have a discussion on demonstratives in general and the nature of Meiteilon demonstratives in specific.

3.3.2. Demonstratives in Meiteilon

In general, demonstrative is a word used to refer to some other entity which associated with a notion of relative distance (proximal/distal), whether in the linguistic or non-linguistic context. Demonstratives are directly referential expressions because they indicate things without providing a description of them, and they can be used to refer to linguistic or extralinguistic (situational) entities. Grammatically, it can be used as determiner as in (10.a) or a pronoun as in (10.b); and semantically it can be deictic (i.e. referring to an entity in the physical environment) as in (10.c) or pragmatically it can be anaphoric (i.e. referring back to an entity previously mentioned in discourse) as in (10.d).

- 10) a) This book is good. (Demonstrative determiner)
- b) This is my book. (Demonstrative pronoun)

c) That is your book. (Deictic)

d) I bought some books and these are related to Linguistics. (Anaphoric)

According to Diessel (1999) there are three criteria to define demonstratives i.e. Demonstratives are, first and foremost, deictic expressions with particular syntactic purposes. Secondly, demonstratives typically fulfill particular pragmatic purposes. They are mainly employed to draw the hearer's attention to specific locations or objects within the speech scenario. Lastly, certain semantic characteristics define demonstratives. There are two deictically contrastive demonstratives in every language: a proximal demonstrative, which refers to something near the speaker, and a distal demonstrative, which refers to something farther away from the topic of discussion. He distinguished between a demonstrative's categorical standing and its use in a specific grammatical context. He says that the category position of a demonstrative is defined by the combination of two features: (i) a certain distribution and (ii) a specific form. Two demonstratives must be in different categories if they can be legally and distributively separated. As a result, demonstratives can occur in four distinct syntactic contexts. Accordingly, he suggested four alternative categorization statuses for demonstratives.

- i. **Demonstrative pronouns:** where the demonstratives are employed as distinct pronouns in the argument position of verbs and adpositions. They are used in conjunction with noun phrases and serve as pro-nominals. When gender, number, and case are morphologically present in a language, these demonstratives exhibit the previously mentioned property.
- ii. **Demonstratives determiners:** when the demonstratives can be used with a noun or noun phrase. This type of demonstrative selects an argument and functions as the

determiner phrase's (DP) D head. **Adverbial demonstratives:** where the demonstratives functions as verb modifiers.

- iii. **Identificational demonstratives:** where the demonstratives can occur are in copular and nonverbal clauses. This class of demonstratives, like others, is employed to highlight specific components within the discourse universe or context for the listener.

Distribution	Category
Pronominal demonstrative	Demonstrative pronoun
Adnominal demonstrative	Demonstrative determiner
Adverbial demonstratives	Demonstrative adverb
Identificational demonstrative	Demonstrative identifier

Demonstratives: Distribution and category

According to Lyons (1999), unlike demonstratives, which have identifiability but lack inclusivity, definite articles are both identifiable and inclusive. This suggests that demonstratives don't care about inclusivity, even though they are usually thought of as definitive. Furthermore, demonstratives "pointing out" accomplish the same goal as deixis.

Demonstratives Vs definite articles

	Demonstratives	Definite articles
Definiteness	✓	✓
Identifiability	✓	✓

familiarity	×	✓
Inclusiveness	×	✓
Deictic expression	✓	×
Stand alone	✓	×
Adjectival nature	✓	×

Definite article bears both identifiability and inclusiveness (the reference is to the totality of the objects or mass in the context which satisfy the description) whereas demonstratives possessing only identifiability and lacks inclusiveness (Lyons, 1999:11). In regard to inclusiveness, Lyons (1999) states that what binds demonstratives to the definite article is identifiability. The reference refers to the entirety of the mass or objects in the scene that meet the requirements of the description. This implies that demonstratives are not concerned about a matter of inclusiveness which is encoded by the definite article:

11) “Pass me the book.” (adapted from Lyons, 1999, p. 17-18)

It implies that there must be one book and the book denotes the totality of the objects in the contexts that the speaker has in mind.

12) “Pass me that book.” (adapted from Lyons, 1999, p. 17-18)

It suggests the possibility that there are more books than one, and the speaker might accompany the statement with a gesture to point out which book she/he has in mind.

Lyons (1999) pointed out that different methods are used by languages that do not grammaticalize definiteness to illustrate this pragmatic or semantic phenomenon. According to Alexiadou (2007), demonstrative pronouns are occasionally used with the function of the article in languages lacking a separate morpheme for the definite article.

Lyons (1997) argues that the term "definite articles" does not necessarily refer to a specific [+definite] characteristic: The specifier of the functional projection D, or whatever may occupy this position on any given occasion, grammaticalizes definiteness structurally rather than necessarily realizing it in lexical form (such as by a definite item). I support Lyon's basic assumption that definite articles are not necessarily the only source of definiteness, referentiality and identifiability in the NP structure, it can also attain from demonstratives.

Meiteilon is a language which does not have articles; Meiteilon being an article less language the definite feature is expressed by demonstratives. Yashawanta (2000) also pointed out that Meiteilon does not have definite and indefinite articles like 'a', 'an', 'the' in English, however it has two demonstratives. Though Meiteilon lacks overt marking of definiteness, referentiality and identifiability by the definite articles, all these features are expressed by demonstratives. Meiteilon has two demonstratives i.e. –'si/-əsi' (proximate) and '-tu ~ -du/-ədu' (distal). '-si' denotes the object or person being spoken of is near or currently seen or known to the speaker or topic of conversation, where '-tu ~ -du' indicates the reference of something or someone not present at the time of speech.

Proximal: -si/əsi, implies that the object or person being spoken of near or currently seen or known to the speaker or the topic of conversation as in (13.a & b) which shows that the *layrik* 'book' is near or known to the speaker:

13) a) *layrik -si phə-i*

book-DEM.1 good-SA

'This book is good.'

b) *layrik - əsi segai-re*

book-DEM.1 tear-PERF

‘This book is torn.’

3. **Distal:** *-du~-tu*, indicates something or someone not present at the time of speech but seen or known to the speaker or topic of conversation as in (14.a,b,c):

14) a) *layrik-tu*

book- DEM.2

‘the/that’

b) *əŋaŋ-du*

boy-DEM.2

‘the/that boy’

c) *huy ədu*

dog DEM.2

‘the/that dog’

Grammatically, it can be used as determiner as in (13.a) or a pronoun as in (13.b); and semantically it can be deictic (i.e. referring to an entity in the physical environment) as in (13.c) or pragmatically it can be anaphoric (i.e. referring back to an entity previously mentioned in discourse) as in (13.d).

13) a) *layrik -si phə-i* (Demonstrative determiner)

book -DEM.1 good -SA

‘This book is good.’

- b) *məsi* *əy-gi* *layrik -ni* (Demonstrative pronoun)

DEM.P 1PS-GEN book -COP

‘This is my book.’

- c) *ədu* *nəŋ -gi* *layrik -ni* (Deictic)

DEM.2 2PS`GEN book -COP

‘That is your book’

- d) *əy -nə* *layrik* *əmə* *ləy-re* *mədu linguistik-kə* *məri ləynə-i*

1PS-NOM book one buy-PERF

‘I bought a book and that is related to Linguistics. (Anaphoric)

Traditionally it is confirmed that in languages with articles, the deictic function in a nominal expression is taken care of by the article or determiners; however in an article-less language the deictic function is taken care by other elements. Therefore the demonstratives functioning as definite articles are possible. “According to the origin of definite articles, they have emerged from demonstrative pronouns through a process of semantic and phonological weakening (Alexiadou, 2007)”. According to him “both the definite article and the demonstrative can be said to impart definiteness and referentiality” (Alexiadou, 2007). One obvious difference between demonstratives and definite articles is that, though both are definite, demonstratives can stand alone where definite articles not.

- 15) a) I like that.

*b) I like the book.

Another difference is demonstratives have double usage i.e. demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners but definite articles do not.

16) a) **This** is book. (Demonstrative pronoun: used as a subject)

b) **This** book is good. (Demonstrative determiner : used as a modifier)

The definite marker in Meiteilon is more of demonstrative in nature as they can stand alone as pronouns and also can function as determiners in the sentences as follows:

16) a) *məsi pʰə-i* (Demonstrative pronoun)

DEM.1good-IND

‘This is good’

b) *məsi-gi layrik-si pʰə-i* (Demonstrative determiner)

DEM.1 book-DEM.1 good-IND

‘This book is good’

3.3.2.1. Demonstrative Pronouns in Meiteilon

As mentioned earlier demonstrative pronouns are used as independent pronouns in argument position and they are pro-nominals and are used along with a noun phrase. Meiteilon also used demonstratives *əsi/məsi* and *ədu/mədu* as pronouns in argument position and as pro-nominals and used along with a noun phrase. Let us consider the following sentences:

17) a) *məsi pʰə-i*

DEM.1 good-SA

‘This is good’

b) əy mædu pam-i

1PS DEM.2 like-SA

‘I like that’

c) mæsi layrik-ni

DEM.1 book-COP

‘This is book’

d) mædu huy-ni

DEM.2 dog-COP

‘That is dog.’

e) mæsi əy-gi layrik-ni

DEM 1PS-GEN book-COP

‘This is my book.’

f) mædu mæhak-ki layrik-ni

DEM 3PS-GEN book-COP

‘That is his book.’

We can see from the above sentences that demonstrative pronouns are used as subject or object independently in place of the noun. In sentence (17.a) demonstrative pronoun is in subject position and in sentence (17.b) in object position and denotes the

specific thing. In sentence (17 c, d, e, f) the demonstrative pronouns are used to represent the reference of another noun present in the noun phrase; *məsi* in (17.c) and *mədu* in (17.d) represents the reference of the other nouns *layrik* ‘book’ and *huy* ‘dog’ respectively and same as in sentence (17.e) and (17.f).

3.3.2.2. Demonstrative Determiners in Meiteilon

Demonstratives determiners occur with a noun or noun phrase and modify the noun or the noun phrase. Meiteilon demonstrative determiners occur with a noun or noun phrase and modify the noun or the noun phrase. As discussed earlier Meiteilon lacks definite articles but the definiteness is encoded by the two demonstratives i.e. – *si/əsi* (proximal) and *tu~du/ədu* (distal). *-si/əsi* denotes the object or person being spoken of is near or currently seen or known to the speaker or topic of conversation, where *tu~du/ədu* indicates something or someone is far from the speaker but nearer to the listener, again it also indicates something or someone not present at the time of speech but it is known to both the speaker and the hearer. Consider the examples below:

18) a) *layrik-si/əsi əy-gi ni*

book- DEM.1 1PS-GEN COP

‘This book is mine’

b) *layrik -tu/ədu tebəl-də t^həm-u*

book-DEM.2 table-LOC keep-COM

‘Keep that/the book on the table.’

b) *layrik - tu* *əy-nə* *ləy-re*

book-DEM.2 1PS-NOM buy- PERF

‘I bought that/the book’

In the above sentence (18.a), we can see that demonstrative *-si* occurs with the noun *layrik* and denotes a particular book not any book and also indicates the object which is currently talking about; *layrik* ‘book’ is near or currently seen or known to the speaker. Again in sentence (18.b), the demonstrative *-tu* denotes the [+definite] feature of the object being in the topic of conversation which indicates that the conversation is about the particular book which is known to both the speaker and the listener but not present at the time of speech.

Meiteilon also has the noun phrase structure where the two demonstratives of the identical feature (proximal-proximal/distal-distal) is used and gives more emphasis on the realization of the deictic feature than the anaphoric reference and according to Singh (2000), it is the case of Split determiner phenomenon. Let us see the examples on this phenomenon:

19. a) *məsi-gi* *layrik-si/əsi* *əy-gi* *ni*

DEM.1-GEN book- DEM.1 1PS-GEN COP

‘This book is mine’

b) *mədu-gi* *layrik -tu/ədu* *əy-gi* *ni*

DEM.2-GEN book- DEM.2 1PS-GEN COP

‘That book is mine’

In the above examples (19.a & b) the pre-nominal demonstrative and post nominal demonstratives are identical; both are proximal-proximal and distal-distal if we try to mix these two demonstratives it will give ungrammatical structure, let us see the structures:

20. a) **məsi-gi* *layrik -tu/ədu* *əy-gi* *ni*
- DEM.1-GEN book- DEM.2 1PS-GEN COP

‘This book there is mine’

- b) **mədu-gi* *layrik -si/əsi* *əy-gi* *ni*
- DEM.2-GEN book- DEM.2 1PS-GEN COP

‘That book here is mine’

Therefore it is seen that Meiteilon uses many mechanisms to encode most of the D-features by using demonstratives in many ways as Lyons (1999) pointed out.

Demonstrative	Meaning	Functions	Features
<i>-si/məsi</i> <i>DEM.1</i>	this	Denotes the object or person being spoken of is: - near to the speaker - known to the speaker -currently seen by both the speaker and listener - topic of conversation.	-Deictic: Proximal - referential

<i>-tu/mədu</i> <i>DEM.2</i>	that	Indicates something or someone is: - far from the speaker but nearer to the listener -not present at the time of speech but it is known to both the speaker and the hearer	- Deictic: Distal - referential
<i>məsi-gi + N + -si/əsi</i> <i>DEM.1 + N + DEM.1</i>	here + N + this	Indicates emphasis on: - pointing out a particular thing which is currently present and seen by both the speaker and the listener	-Deictic: Proximal -referential
<i>ədu-gi + N + -tu/ədu</i> <i>DEM.2 + N + DEM.2</i>	there + N + that	Indicates emphasis on: - pointing out the particular thing far from the speaker but nearer to the listener. - not present at the time of speech but it is known to both the speaker and the hearer	- Deictic: Distal - Referential

Table: Demonstrative functions in Meiteilon

this boy nice of his

b. băiatul acesta (frumos) al sau

boy-the this nice oh his

ii) a. este hombre (Spanish)

this man

b. el hombre este

the man this

iii) b. afto to vivlio (Greek)

this the book

Adapted from (Alexiadou et al. 2007:110)

A further question raises is this: is this leftmost position (SpecDP) the ‘base’ position or is it a derived position since in many languages. Many linguists (Giusti 1997, 2002; Brugè 2000, 2002; Brugè & Giusti 1996; Panagiotidis 2000; Grohmann & Panagiotidis 2005; Shlonsky 2004) proposed an assumption that the demonstrative is found in the position of SpecDP as a result of movement from a lower position (Alexiadou et al. 2007:109).

According to Giusti (1997), A functional projection lower than DP is used to generate the demonstrative in Spec. Again Bernstein (1997) also claimed that demonstrative elements are phrasal elements and they are base-generated in the specifier position of a functional projection that is located below DP.

Brugè (1996) proposed that within the extended nominal projection, the demonstrative is generated in a low position, specifically in the [Spec, FP] position. To

check its [+REF] feature through Specifier Head agreement, this element must always move to [Spec, DP] at Logical Form, even in languages where it can only appear in the base position (22.ii.b). Demonstrative can therefore occur in [Spec, DP] and [Spec, FP], two different positions. The demonstrative starts in [Spec, FP] and raises to [Spec, DP] if necessary at Logical form, but it is required at PF. However, Roca (1996a) (cited in Taboada; 2007) proposed the assumption that different languages have different base positions for the demonstrative, which is a functional head projecting its own phrase with an XP (DemP) below the DP. The demonstrative is not syntactically homogeneous across languages. Like many other South Asian languages, Meiteilon does not have overt marking system of definiteness by the definite article as it does not have a counterpart of definite article ‘the’, as in English. The Demonstratives in Meiteilon are used for overt marking the [+Referential] and [+Deictic] features. Meiteilon demonstratives usually has two structures, they are:

i) Simple construction: where a single demonstrative (proximal or distal) occurs after the head noun.

22. a) huy -si
 dog DEM.1
 ‘this dog’
- b) huy -du
 dog DEM.2
 ‘that dog’

ii) Complex construction: where the two demonstratives of the identical feature (proximal-proximal/distal-distal) occurs prenominally and postnominally.

23. a) *məsi -gi huy -si*
 DEM.1 –GEN dog -DEM.1
 ‘This dog’
- b) *mədu -gi huy -du*
 DEM.2 –GEN dog -DEM.2
 ‘That dog’
- c) * *məsi -gi huy -du*
 DEM.1 –GEN dog -DEM.2
 ‘This dog’
- d) * *mədu -gi huy -si*
 DEM.2 –GEN dog -DEM.1
 ‘That dog’
- e) * *huy -si məsi -gi*
 dog -DEM.1 DEM.1 –GEN
- f) * *məsi -gi huy*
 DEM.1 –GEN dog
- g) *əphəbə huy -si*
 good dog -DEM.1
 ‘This good dog’
- h) *huy əphəbə -si*

dog good -DEM.1

‘This good dog’

- i) *məsi-gi* *aphəbə* *huy -si*
 DEM.1-GEN good dog-DEM.1

‘This good dog’

- j) *məsi-gi* *huy* *aphəbə-si*
 DEM.1-GEN dog good-DEM.1

‘This good dog’

In the simple construction, demonstratives always occur after the nouns whether the noun is in subject position or object position (23.a, b). In the complex construction the identical demonstratives (proximal-proximal/distal-distal) occurs in prenominal and postnominal positions and the prenominal demonstrative gets genitive case (24.a, b). We cannot combine two different demonstratives (proximal-distal/distal-proximal), it creates an ungrammatical construction (23.c, d).

Therefore, Meiteilon demonstrative can be found in both the extreme left of the noun phrase where it precedes all the nominal elements and occupies SpecDP and again it occupies the extreme right of the noun phrase following all the nominal elements as we can see in (25.a,b).

25. a) *aphəbə* *huy* *əni* *si*
 good dog two DEM.1
 ‘This two good dogs’

- b) *məsi-gi* *aphəbə* *huy* *əni* *si*

DEM.1-GEN good dog two DEM.1

‘This two good dogs’

26. a) **əphəbə* *məsi-gi* *huy-si*

good DEM.1-GEN dog-DEM.1

‘This good dog’

From the above discussed data, it is evident that Meiteilon demonstratives found to occur in two positions (prenominal with genitive case and postnominal).

Since DP is considered universal cross linguistically and the D position is meant only for definite article, leaving the D head position as null head in Meiteilon since it lacks definite article, I would like to propose a functional projection of demonstratives (DemP) inside DP. Since It is assumed that D contains a [+DEF] feature, which needs to be associated with an overt element (i.e. lexicalized). This requirement may be satisfied either by the definite article or by the demonstrative. Since Meiteilon lacks definite article, Meiteilon demonstrative is a functional head which projects a maximal projection situated right below the determiner phrase. Dem head where [+definite] feature, [+Deictic] and all the other features are checked. And nouns are compliments of the DemP.

Meiteilon being a head final language and the nominal elements occurs after noun, I assume the postnominal demonstrative position is the base position of demonstratives. Again the demonstrative occurs at the extreme right of the DP following all the nominal elements. And the prenominal demonstrative is optional in PF and obligatory in LF. Demonstratives raises to the [Spec, DemP] to check the [+Ref] and [+deictic] feature which is the two features specified of demonstratives. The main

motivation for raising the demonstrative to the [Spec, DemP] is to check the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] feature and reinforce the feature of demonstrative through Spec-Head agreement and as the result the pronominal demonstrative gets genitive case marked. Hence, Following the lines of Roca (1996a), “Dem is a functional head projecting an XP (DemP) situated below the DP” (cited in Taboada; 2007), I propose the assumption that Meiteilon demonstratives projects its own functional projection right below the DP and demonstrative head is where the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] features are checked. And the complex construction where the pronominal demonstrative appeared with the post nominal demonstrative with genitive case marked, I again propose that this pronominal demonstrative occurs at the [Spec, DemP] and this is the case of feature copying through the Spec-Head agreement to reinforce the strong features of [+Ref] and [+Deictic] feature in the language.

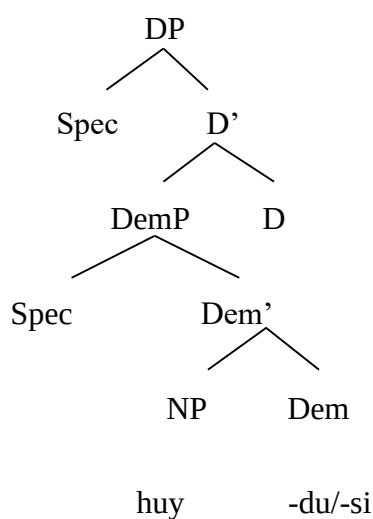
3.3.2.3. The Structure of Simple and Complex Demonstrative Determiner

In the previous section it is proposed that Meiteilon demonstratives projects its own functional projection right below the DP and demonstrative head is where the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] features are checked. And the complex construction where the pronominal demonstrative appeared with the post nominal demonstrative with genitive case marked, I again propose that this pronominal demonstrative occurs at the [Spec, DemP] and this is the case of feature copying through the Spec-Head agreement to reinforce the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] feature in the language.

1. The Structure of Simple Demonstrative

The syntactic structure of Meiteilon DP with simple Demonstrative can be illustrated as bellow:

27. huy si/-du
 dog this/that

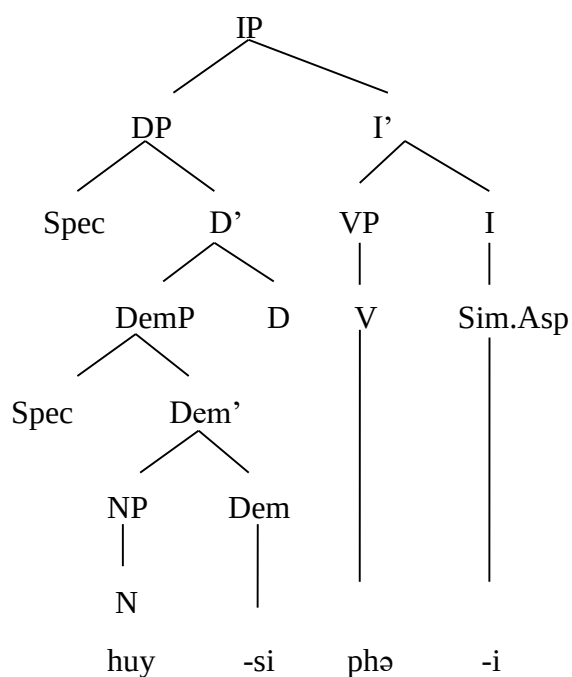


The structure of the Meiteilon Simple Demonstrative

Meiteilon demonstratives occur after the head noun and are always appear at the final position of DP with the [+Ref] and [+deictic] feature. Again it can occur at the subject position and also at the object position as in sentences (28.a & b):

- 28) a) huy – si phə-i (Demonstrative in subject position)
 dog – Dem good-Sim.Asp
 ‘This dog is good.’

The syntactic structures of the sentences (22.a) can be seen as below:

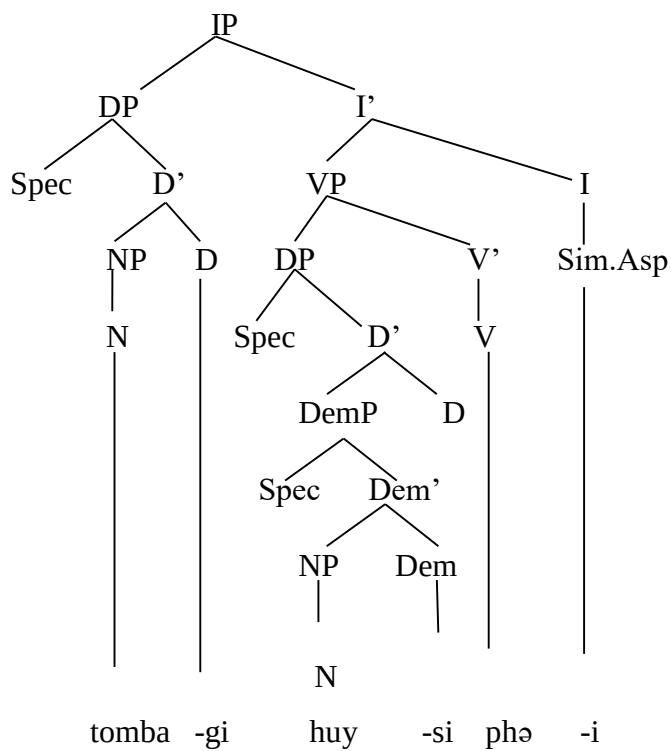


b) tombə-gi huy-si phə-i (Demonstrative in object position)

Tomba-Gen dog-Dem good-Sim.Asp

‘This dog of Tomba is good.’

The syntactic structures of the sentences (28.b) can be seen as below:



Meiteilon demonstratives always occur after the head noun and are always appear at the final position of DP with the [+Ref] and [+deictic] feature as seen in (29.a,b,c):

29) a) huy - si (N – DEM)

dog - DEM.1

‘This dog’

b) huy -siŋ -si (N – PL. – DEM)

dog -PL.- DEM.1

‘These dogs’

c) huy əŋəwbə -si (N – ADJ – DEM)

dog white -DEM.1

‘This white dog’

d) huy əni -si (N – NUM - DEM)

dog two-DEM.1

‘These two dogs’

e) huy əŋəwbə əni -si (N – ADJ – NUM- DEM)

dog white two -DEM.1

‘These two white dogs’

f) *si huy *(DEM-N)

DEM.1 dog

‘This dog’

g) *si huy -siŋ * (DEM-N-PL.)

DEM.1 dog-PL.

‘These dogs’

h) *huy -si -siŋ *(N-DEM-PL.)

dog-DEM.1 PL.

‘these dogs’

i) *huy əŋəwbə -si əni *(N – ADJ - DEM-NUM)

dog white -DEM.1 two

‘These two white dogs’

From the above sentences (29.a-e), we can see that demonstratives always follows the noun directly or indirectly (far away from the head noun) and it always appear at the final position of DP, and blocking the movement of other nominal elements beyond demonstrative (29.f-i) gives the explanation of demonstrative being in position of the head of the maximal projection of demonstrative and projecting in the final position of the nominal phrase and functioning as a phrase marker and modifies the noun.

2. The Structure of Complex Demonstrative

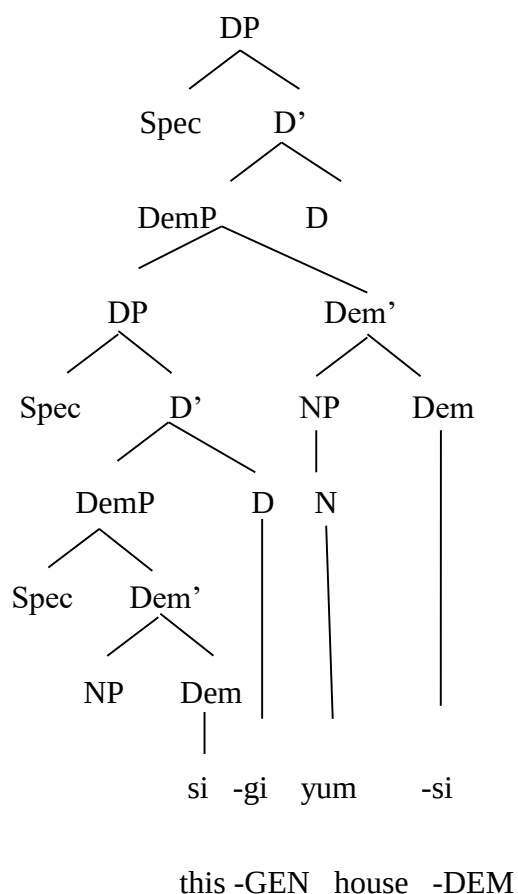
Based on the proposal made for the structure of demonstratives in Meiteilon in the previous section; the complex construction where the prenominal demonstrative

appeared with the post nominal demonstrative with genitive case marked. Let us examine how the structure of Meiteilon complex demonstrative construction looks like:

30. si-gi yum-si (DEM-N-DEM)

DEM.1-GEN house-DEM.1

‘this house’



Meiteilon Complex Demonstrative Construction

The prenominal demonstrative without a postnominal demonstrative is not allowed in the structure, as we can see in (31):

31. *si yum *(DEM-N)

DEM.1 house

‘this house’

For this complex structure also the movement of the postnominal demonstrative is restricted to the final position of the phrase and the movement of the nominal elements beyond the demonstrative is not allowed as in (32.b &d):

32. a) si-gi yum əwaŋbə -si (DEM-N- ADJ-DEM)
 DEM.1-GEN house tall -DEM.1
 ‘this tall house’
- b) *si-gi yum -si əwaŋbə *(DEM-N-DEM-ADJ)
 DEM.1-GEN house -DEM.1 tall
 ‘this tall house’
- c) si-gi yum əwaŋbə əni-si (DEM-N- ADJ-NUM-DEM)
 DEM.1-GEN house tall two -DEM.1
 ‘these two tall houses’
- d) *si-gi yum əwaŋbə -si əni *(DEM-N- ADJ -DEM-NUM)
 DEM.1-GEN house tall -DEM.1 two
 ‘these two tall houses’

From the structures we have discussed, we can assume that the base position of Meiteilon demonstrative is the final position of the phrase and the demonstratives being appeared in the prenominal alone is not possible since we proposed a the maximal projection of demonstrative in Meiteilon prenominal demonstrative being in the Spec position of the functional projection DemP needs a visible head.

Therefore, I propose that the base position of Meiteilon demonstrative is the postnominal which is the final position of the phrase projecting its own maximal projection DemP, and the prenominal demonstrative occurs at the [Spec, DemP] and this is the case of feature copying through the Spec-Head agreement to reinforce the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] feature in the language. Therefore, we can conclude that Meiteilon found to have two positions for Demonstratives; *Noun-Demonstrative* and *Demonstrative-Noun- Demonstrative*. Meiteilon demonstratives projects its own functional projection right below the DP and demonstrative head is where the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] features are checked. And the complex construction where the prenominal demonstrative appeared with the post nominal demonstrative with genitive case marked, and the prenominal demonstrative occurs at the [Spec, DemP] and this is the case of feature copying through the Spec-Head agreement to reinforce the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] feature in the language and the prenominal demonstrative gets the genitive case through the Spec-Head agreement process.

Anaphoric use of Demonstratives

Anaphoric use of demonstrative is also another pragmatic feature of demonstratives. Here the demonstrative feature will be [-Deictic] and the demonstrative refers back to the expression i.e. to an entity referred to already available in the discourse (Alexiadou et.al, 2007, p.104). For example in the sentence given bellow:

33. I bought a book yesterday and read that till late night.

In the sentence (33) the demonstrative *that* refers back to the *book* which is the entity already available in the discourse. Here the demonstrative functions as an anaphoric reference.

Meiteilon demonstratives can also functions as anaphoric reference as given in sentence below:

34. *əi-nə ŋəraŋ lairik əmə ləi mədu həwjik pa-gəni*

I-NOM yesterday book one bought that now read -FUT

‘I bought a book yesterday, I will read that now.’

Here, the demonstrative *mədu* refers back to the book which was bought yesterday. The demonstrative functions as the anaphoric reference.

3.4. Derived Nominals and Gerunds in Meiteilon

3.4. Derived Nominals in Meiteilon

According to Crystal (2008), gerund is a word derived from a verb and it is used as a noun. Derived nouns are the type of noun which is derived from another word class mostly verb and formed by either prefixation or suffixation of some nominal markers to the verb roots, actually it is the process of nominalization.

Chomsky’s (1970) seminal paper “Remarks on nominalization” first talked about derived nominal and gerunds. The examples (31. a & b) bellow adapted from Chomsky (1970) elaborates the difference between the two constructions:

31. a). John’s *destroying* the book annoyed us. (Gerund)

 b). John’s *destruction* of the book annoyed us. (Derived Nominal)

Adapted from (Alexiadou et al. 2007:480)

In the examples above, both *destroying* and *destruction* are related to the verb destroy, but according to Chomsky (1970), the syntactic structure for these two

constructions are different, the first construction (31. a) is gerund construction, and the second one (31. b) is derived nominal construction. According to Chomsky, Gerunds have the property of the underlying verbal element, and on the other hand, derived nominal has the internal structure of a noun phrase. Since gerunds have the internal structure of a verb, they cannot be modified by a determiner or an adjective; however, they can be modified by an adverb. On the other hand, derived nominal can be modified by a determiner or an adjective as they have an internal structure of a noun. We can see the illustrations for these arguments in the examples below:

32. a) John's *destroying* the book annoyed us.
 b) *The/that *destroying* the book annoyed us.
 c) *John's aggressive *destroying* the book annoyed us.
 d) John's aggressively *destroying* the book annoyed us.

In the example (32.b) and (32.c), the gerund *destroying* being modified by the determiner or the adjective (aggressive) is ungrammatical; however it is grammatical when it is modified by an adverb (aggressively), therefore it has internal structure of verb. Again in example (33.b) and (33.c) we can see that the derived nominal *destruction* can be modified by the determiner or the adjective (aggressive) however it can't be modified by the adverb (aggressively), it shows its nominal nature.

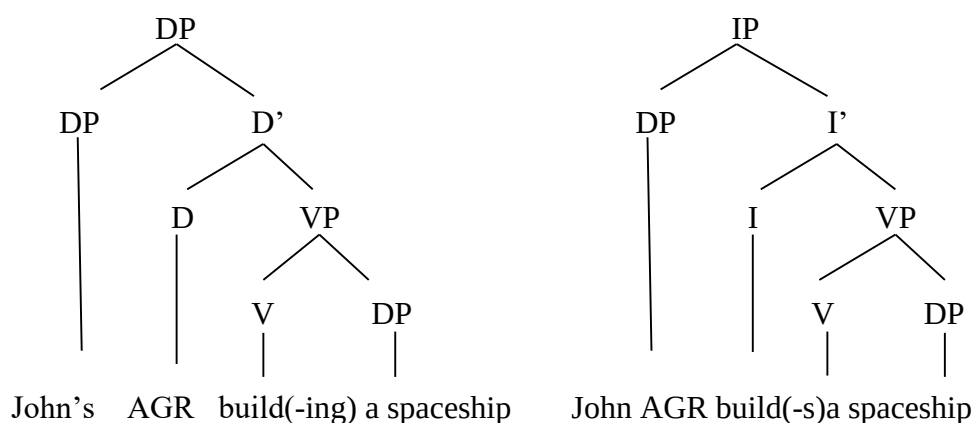
33. a) John's *destruction* of the book annoyed us.
 b) The/that *destruction* of the book annoyed us.
 c) John's aggressive *destruction* of the book annoyed us.
 c) John's *aggressively *destruction* of the book annoyed us.

Abney (1987) studies all English gerunds (including Poss-ing, Acc-ing, and Ing-of with a stronger emphasis on Poss-ing) and makes the case that they are all DPs and fall under the grammatical category of noun phrase. Therefore, Abney's DP-analysis of the noun phrase has provided a better analysis of gerunds as it treats gerunds as having the categorical status of nominal phrase which has an internal structure of a verb that accounts for their verbal properties (Thakur, 2015).

In fact, Abney used the syntax of gerunds to support a structural parallelism between sentences and noun phrases and test the applicability of DP-analysis to all different kinds of noun phrases. He looks into the gerund's nominal and sentential properties and comes to the conclusion that while the gerund's internal structure is that of a verb phrase, it has the distribution of a noun phrase. He refers to gerunds as a "syntactic bridge" between verb and noun phrases; hence they fall within the category of intermediate syntactic constructions. Let us see the structural comparison between a nominal phrase and a sentence by Abney (1987):

34. a) John's building a spaceship.

b) John builds a spaceship.



In the clause structure (IP), Infl is located in Agr(eement) and T(ense) inflectional suffixes marked on verb (along with auxiliary elements). We can notice that what differentiates (34.a) from (34.b) is that the subject noun phrase in (34.a) is in

the genitive case rather than in nominative case and the verb *build* occurs with a suffix *-ing*. Abney argues that the suffix *-ing* as in (34.a), is an infl like element in gerund and constitutes a nominal counterpart of clausal inflections. On the basis that subject noun phrase in (34.a) occurs in genitive case form, a case relation between two nominal elements, he argues that the status of *-ing* is nominal. Following the assumption that D element constitutes the functional head of a noun phrases, Abney proposes gerunds to be a DP. Gerund constructions have a verbal projection embedded in them. This verbal element exhibits standard verbal traits such as choosing complements, accepting adjuncts, and allocating suitable cases. In order to explain these facts regarding the external and internal distribution of gerunds, Abney suggests an analysis wherein the head D selects a VP from the gerund DP to serve as a complement. This analysis has been called D-VP analysis by him. As a result, gerunds are actually DP and they have a verbal projection within them. The gerund constructions in Meiteilon are examined within the assumptions of the DP-analysis with a view to explain their complex nominal-verbal behaviour.

Derived Nominals in Meiteilon

Since we are dealing with derived nominals in Meiteilon let us discuss about the morpheme ‘-bə’ which is multi-functional and to understand the function it plays in different situations; the morpheme ‘pə ~ -bə’ functions differently in different situations, let us know about the different functions of this morpheme:

i) **Infinitive marker**: ‘-pə ~ -bə’ functions as infinitive marker when the morpheme is suffixed to a verbal root and followed by a finite verb, and the verbal root is derived into an infinitive form.

Example:	<i>c^ha-bə</i> ,	<i>tum-bə</i> ,	<i>p^hə-bə</i> ,	<i>hek-pə</i>	<i>kəp-pə</i>
	eat-INF	sleep-INF	good-INF	pluck-INF	cry-INF
	‘to eat’	‘to sleep’	‘to be good’	‘to pluck’	‘to cry’

25)	<i>əi</i>	<i>tum-bə</i>	<i>pam-i</i>
	I	sleep-INF	want-SA

‘I want to sleep.’

ii) **Adjectival marker**: when ‘-bə’ attaches to the monosyllabic verb roots together with prefix ‘ə-’ (attributive marker) and only ‘-bə’ attached to the polysyllabic verb roots, the verbal root derived into an adjective which is the main adjective formation pattern in Meiteilon.

Example:	<i>ə-p^hə-bə</i> ,	<i>ə-rəŋ-bə</i> ,	<i>ə-t^heŋ-bə</i> ,	<i>ə-pəŋ-bə</i>
	‘good’	‘bright’	‘late’	‘fool’
	<i>p^həjə-bə</i>	<i>nuŋay-bə</i>	<i>khoiraŋ-bə</i>	<i>həraw-bə</i>
	‘beautiful’	‘happy’	‘anxious’	‘happy’

iii) **Complementizer**: ‘bə’ marks the complement clause in embedded sentences.

26)	<i>məhak</i>	<i>tum-khi-bə</i>	<i>əi</i>	<i>k^həŋ-i</i>
	3PS	sleep-PERF-COMP	1PS	know-SA

‘I know that she slept.’

iv) **Relativizer**: when *bə ~ pə* is added to the verb root of an embedded clause and with a correlative determiner at the end of the phrase, it functions as the relative marker in Meiteilon.

According to Chomsky (1970), derived nominal has the internal structure of a noun phrase. Since gerunds have the internal structure of a verb, they cannot be modified by a determiner or an adjective; however, they can be modified by an adverb. On the other hand, derived nominal can be modified by a determiner or an adjective as they have an internal structure of a noun. We can see the illustrations for these arguments in the examples bellow:

36. a) *ma-gi* *ətənbə* *mə-ca-se* *əi* *pam-de*
 he/she-GEN lazy NZR-eat-DEM I like-NEG

‘I don’t like her lazy way of eating.’

- b) *ma-gi* *ətənbə* *kʰu-ca -se* *əi* *pam-de*
 he/she-GEN lazy NZR-eat-DEM I like-NEG

‘I don’t like her lazily way of eating.’

- c) **ma-gi* *tənnə* *mə-ca-se* *əi* *pam-de*
 he/she-GEN lazily NZR-eat-DEM I like-NEG

‘I don’t like her lazily way of eating.’

- b) **ma-gi* *tənnə* *kʰu-ca -se* *əi* *pam-de*
 he/she-GEN lazily NZR-eat-DEM I like-NEG

‘I don’t like her lazily way of eating.’

From the sentences (36. a-d) we have seen that the derived nouns can be modified by adjective but it cannot be modified by an adverb, therefore we can conclude that these derived forms found in Meiteilon are nominal in nature and they have an internal structure of a noun.

Infinitival forms

Some of the examples of second group of nouns derived through suffixation are as follows:

- ii) verb root + -pə ~ -bə

This is infinitive form and they are the non-finite forms of verb and occur with finite verbs.

Example: a) $ca + bə = cabə$

eat NZR

‘to eat’

- b) $t^hək + pə = t^hək pə$

drink NZR

‘to drink’

These forms are found in sentences as follows:

36. a) $əi \quad sem \quad ca-bə \quad pam-i$

I apple eat-NZR want-S.ASP

‘I want to eat apples’

b) *əi* *irujə-bə* *tən-li*

I bathe-NZR lazy-S.ASP

‘I am lazy to take bath.’

Another construction where the nominalization process is done to get a nominal function from a verbal root is Gerundial construction where the verbal root is constructed to a nominal form. In English the gerund form is verb+ing however, Meiteilon infinitives and gerund constructions are similar where the nominalizer suffix - *pə/ bə* is suffixed to the verb root.

37. a) *tum-bə-nə* *həkcaŋ* *pʰəhə-li*

sleep -NZR -NOM *body* *good -CAUS -S.ASP*

‘*Sleeping is good for health.*’

Gerunds in Meiteilon occur in all the typical nominal positions. As we can illustrate in sentences below:

Gerund in subject position

38. a) *pʰi* *sa -bə* *əpʰəbə* *tʰəbək ni*

clothe weave -NZR good work COP

‘Weaving is good work.’

b) *nok -pə* *həkcaŋ* *pʰə -i*

laugh -NZR body good -S.ASP

‘Laughing is good for health.’

Gerund in object position

39. a) *əi kəp-pə pam -de*

I cry-NZR like-NEG

‘I don’t like crying.’

b) *əi hindi i-bə təm -e*

I Hindi write-NZR learn-PERF

‘I learnt writing in Hindi.’

Gerund as a subject complement

40. a) *tombi-nə pamjə-bə tʰəbək-ti tum-bə ni*

Tombi-NOM like -NZR work-TOP sleep -NZR COP

‘Tombi’s favourite activity is sleeping’

Gerund as object of a preposition

41. *məhak tum-bə-gi məmiŋ cət-li*

he/she sleep-NZR-GEN famous-S.ASP

‘He/she is famous for sleeping.’

According to Chomsky (1970), Gerunds have the property of the underlying verbal element. Since gerunds have the internal structure of a verb, they cannot be modified by a determiner or an adjective; however, they can be modified by an adverb. Let us now illustrate the Meiteilon Gerunds with its modification process:

42. a) *thoibi-nə huy-du-bu təmtʰinə hat-kʰi*

Thoibi-NOM dog-DEM-ACC brutally kill- PERF

‘Thoibi killed the dog brutally.’

b) *thoibi-nə huy-du-bu təmtʰinə hat-pə*

Thoibi-NOM dog-DEM-ACC brutally kill-NZR

‘Thoibi’s brutally killing the dog.’

c) *thoibi-nə huy-du-bu *təmtʰi-bə hat-pə*

Thoibi-NOM dog-DEM-ACC brutal kill-NZR

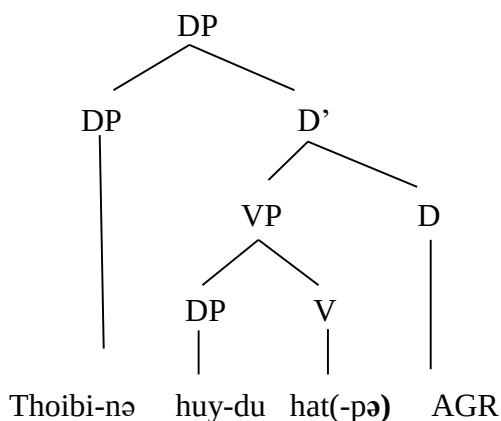
‘Thoibi’s brutal killing the dog.’

We can see from the sentences (42 a-c), gerund form which is *hat-pə* ‘killing’ can be modified by the adverb *təmtʰinə* ‘brutally’ but it cannot be modified by the adjective *təmtʰi-bə* ‘brutal’. Hence, it is confirmed in Meiteilon as Chomsky (1970) suggested that Gerunds cannot be modified by an adjective, though Gerunds found to be have the nominal phrase distribution but internal structure of gerunds are of verbs.

According to Abney's (1987) DP-analysis, gerunds are classified as nominal phrases with the internal structure of verbs, which explains their verbal characteristics. Abney proposes gerunds to be a DP. Gerund constructions have a verbal projection embedded in them. This verbal element exhibits standard verbal traits such as choosing complements, accepting adjuncts, and allocating suitable cases. In order to explain these facts regarding the external and internal distribution of gerunds, Abney suggests an analysis wherein the head D selects a VP from the gerund DP to serve as a complement. This analysis is dubbed D-VP analysis by him. As a result, gerunds are really DP because they have a verbal projection inside of them.

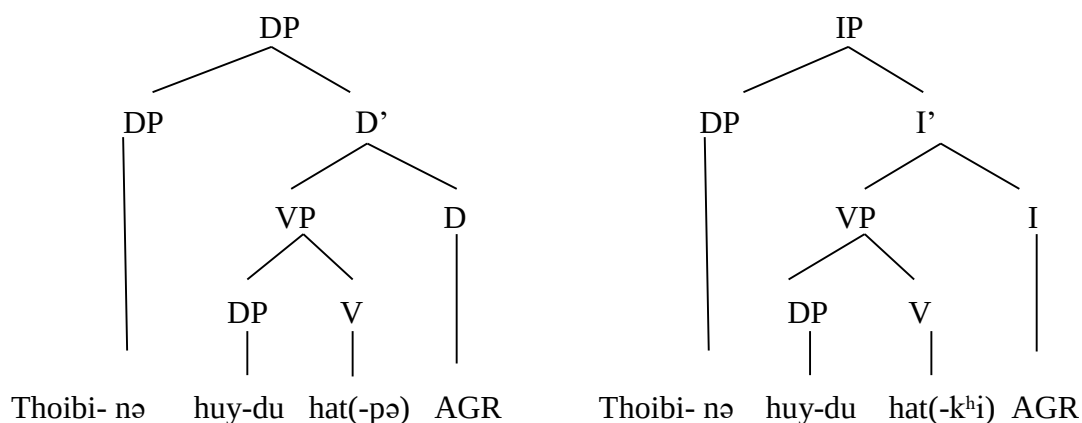
Following Chomsky(1970)'s analysis of gerunds I propose that Meiteilon gerunds have the distribution nature of noun as they can occur in all the possible positions where a noun can occur but it has the internal structure of a verb and as it can be modified by an adverb not by an adjective. Unlike English gerunds the overt subject of gerunds occurs in nominative case where the English gerund has genitive case. Following Abney (1987)'s D-VP analysis I propose the assumption that Meiteilon gerund constructions are DP and it contain a verbal projection embedded inside it. Therefore, D-VP analysis for Meiteilon gerund construction:

44. *Thoibi-nə* *huy-du* ***hat-pə***
 Thoibi-NOM dog-DEM kill-NZR
 ‘Thoibi’s killing the dog’



So, based on Abney (1987)'s structural comparison between a nominal phrase and a sentence, similar comparison can be seen in Meiteilon as follows:

45. a) Thoibi-nə huy-du ***hat-pə*** b) Thoibi-nə huy-du ***hat-khi***
- Thoibi-NOM dog-DEM kill-NZR Thoibi-NOM dog-DEM kill-PERF
- ‘Thoibi’s killing the dog’ ‘Thoibi’s killed the dog’



In the clause structure (IP), Infl is located in Agr(eement) and Asp(ect) inflectional suffixes marked on verb . We can notice that both the subject noun phrase is in nominative case unlike English gerunds which has genitive case marked. And the verb *hat* occurs with a suffix *-pə* which resembles the English gerund suffix *-ing*, Abney proposed the suffix *-ing* as an infl like element in gerund and constitutes a nominal counterpart of clausal inflections. Following the assumption of Abney I propose that the suffix *-pə* (in 45.a) in Meiteilon is nominal element which constitutes the nominal counterpart of clausal inflection *-kʰi* (Perfective Aspect). Therefore, Meiteilon Gerund constructions contain a verbal projection embedded inside them; the verbal element inside gerund shows typical verbal characteristics: it selects compliments, takes adjuncts and assigns appropriate cases. So the D-VP analysis by Abney (1987) is suitable for analysing Meiteilon gerund constructions and posits the assumption that Meiteilon gerunds have a property of complex noun which has an internal verbal structure. On the other hand, derived nominal can be modified by a determiner or an adjective as they have an internal structure of a noun.

Chapter summary

After discussing all the generalizations proposed by Bošković to determine if Meiteilon whether a language NP language or DP language to check whether these generalizations work for Meiteilon which lacks (in)definite article. We can observe that most of the generalizations do not seem to work and some of the generalizations works. Taking into consideration to the issue, it cannot be determined based on the result which is not fully valid to the language. Therefore, by leaving the notion of Meiteilon being NP or DP language, I follow the assumption DP universality; universality of definiteness and support DP analysis for Meiteilon since the presence or absence of a definite determiner is not the sole criterion for positing a DP projection within the nominal phrase; the DPs should be projected both in languages that have articles and in those that do not, however, the overt realization of a D head is subject to parametric variations.

Though Meiteilon lacks the grammaticalization of (in)definiteness by (in)definite articles in the syntactic representation of nominal phrases, the universal feature of definiteness is expressed with demonstratives and indefiniteness with the numeral ‘one’ which serves the function of indefinite articles and always follows the noun.

Meiteilon being a head final language and the nominal elements occurs after noun, I assume the postnominal demonstrative position is the base position of demonstratives. Again the demonstrative occurs at the extreme right of the DP following all the nominal elements. And the prenominal demonstrative is optional in the language, demonstratives raises to the [Spec, DemP] to check the [+Ref] and [+deictic] feature which is the two features specified of demonstratives. The main motivation for raising the demonstrative to the [Spec, DemP] is to check the [+Ref] and

[+Deictic] feature and reinforce the strong feature of demonstrative through Spec-Head agreement and as the result the pronominal demonstrative gets genitive case marked. Therefore, we can conclude that Meiteilon found to have two positions for Demonstratives; *Noun-Demonstrative* and *Demonstrative-Noun- Demonstrative*. Meiteilon demonstratives projects its own functional projection right below the DP and demonstrative head is where the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] features are checked. And the complex construction where the pronominal demonstrative appeared with the post nominal demonstrative with genitive case marked, and the pronominal demonstrative occurs at the [Spec, DemP] and this is the case of feature copying through the Spec-Head agreement to reinforce the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] feature in the language and the pronominal demonstrative gets the genitive case through the Spec-Head agreement process.

Again for the Meiteilon Gerund constructions it proposed that Meiteilon Gerunds contain a verbal projection embedded inside them; the verbal element inside gerund shows typical verbal characteristics: it selects compliments, takes adjuncts and assigns appropriate cases. So the D-VP analysis by Abney (1987) is suitable for analysing Meiteilon gerund constructions and posits the assumption that Meiteilon gerunds have a property of complex noun which has an internal verbal structure. On the other hand, derived nominal can be modified by a determiner or an adjective as they have an internal structure of a noun.

Chapter 4

Modification Relation inside the Meiteilon DP

4. Introduction

This chapter deals with the DP-internal modification relations in Meiteilon. The chapter mainly discuss about the distribution and the syntactic positions and their semantic interpretations in the language. The first part deals with the determiner (demonstrative) as a modifier and then adjectives and finally the relative clauses in Meiteilon.

According to Crystal (1980), the term "modification" in syntax refers to the structural dependence of one grammatical unit on another; however, different approaches introduce different restrictions on the term's scope. As a result, some reserve the term for structural dependence within any endocentric phrase. Quirk *et al* (1985; 66) also states that a phrase's head is always related to the modifying function, and heads are always required while modifiers are typically optional. Thus, it suggests adhering to Saussure's idea of sign, which states that there must be a modified (the one who is a head and which takes modification) and a modifier (the one who modifies) during the modification process.

Quirk et al. (1985) also address restrictive and non-restrictive modification. The difference between the two, according to them, is that in the former scenario, the head's reference as a class member can only be determined by the modification that has been given, whereas in the latter scenario, the information or modification given to the head merely acts as an addition, adding no additional value to the process of determining the head's membership in the class. Modifiers semantically contribute descriptive

information to the head. Therefore, when we discuss noun modification, we are discussing the categories function as noun modifiers. Adjectives, participles, nouns, and relative clauses are examples of modifiers. Adjectives are most likely the sort of modifier that occurs most frequently. This chapter examines the structure of adjectives and relative clauses. Let us begin the chapter with the adjectives in Meiteilon.

4.1. Adjectives in Meiteilon

This section will explore the DP-internal adjectives. It will examine the distribution of adjectives and its interpretation inside in the nominal phrase.

Adjectives in Meiteilon do not belong to a certain word class. State verbs are the source of the lexical items in this language that are utilized as adjectives. Two distinct rules are used to construct the independent adjectives.

- 1) Prefixation of attributive marker ‘ə-’ and suffixation of NZR suffix ‘-bə ~-pə’ to the monosyllabic state verb root; ə- + **monosyllabic verb root** + -bə

1. a) ə- **thi-bə** yum * **thi-bə** yum

ugly house

‘ugly house’

- b) ə- **pik-pə** yum * **pik-pə** yum

small house small house

‘small house’ ‘small house’

- 2) Suffixation of NZR suffix ‘-bə ~-pə’ to the polysyllabic (mostly disyllabic) state verb root; **Polysyllabic verb root** + -bə

2. a) **p^həjə-bə** məp^həm ***ə-p^həjə-bə** məp^həm

	beautiful	place		beautiful	place
	‘beautiful place’			‘beautiful place’	
b)	<i>nunay-bə</i>	<i>pao</i>		<i>*ə-nunay-bə</i>	<i>pao</i>
	happy	news		happy	news
	‘happy/good news’			‘happy/good news’	

4.1.1. Functions of Meiteilon Adjectives

According to Hofherr (2010), adjectives can appear in two main types of syntactic contexts i.e., a) as attributive adjectives which directly modifies a noun and b) as predicative adjectives as the complement of a copula. Cinque (2010) suggests two sources of attributive adjectives i.e a) Direct Modification (DM) and b) Indirect Modification (IM) (adapted from Devi, 2017). Adjectives that are direct modification sources syntactically involve the merging of distinct AP classes in the specifiers of multiple dedicated functional heads. Adjectives of this kind have certain ordering constraints. That is, they are immobile. Most DMs are situated nearer the head noun. For example, an electrical engineer. Conversely, they are reduced relative clauses produced in the specifier of a higher functional projection through indirect modification (IM). The reduced relative clauses can be ordered in any order; that is, any kind of adjective movement is permitted. The head noun can be further away from IM. As in "ancient beautiful house". Let us consider the Meiteilon examples given bellow.\

4.1.2. Attributive Adjectives

Meiteilon adjectives can occur pronominally and postnominally and directly modifies the noun.

- | | | | | |
|----|----|-----------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| 3. | a) | <i>ə-nəw-bə</i> <i>kar</i> | b) | <i>kar</i> <i>ə-nəw-bə</i> |
| | | new car | | car new |
| | | ‘new car’ | | ‘new car’ |
| 4. | a) | <i>phəjə-bə</i> <i>yum</i> | b) | <i>yum</i> <i>phəjə-bə</i> |
| | | beautiful house | | house beautiful |
| | | ‘beautiful house’ | | ‘beautiful house’ |

Adjectives derived through the two adjective formation rules can move around the noun but the movement beyond the NP is barred as it creates an ungrammatical construction. they can be further away from the head noun. It looks like an indirect modifier which is adjoined to the noun. Let us see the examples bellow:

- | | | |
|----|----|--|
| 4. | a) | <i>phəjə-bə</i> <i>ə-ŋaŋ-bə</i> <i>ləy əsi</i> |
| | | beautiful red flower this |
| | | ‘this beautiful red flower’ |
| | b) | <i>ə-pik-pə</i> <i>nuŋsi-bə</i> <i>yum əsi</i> |
| | | small cute house |
| | | ‘this small cute house’ |
| | c) | * <i>ə-pik-pə</i> <i>yum əsi</i> <i>nuŋsi-bə</i> |
| | | small house this cute |

4.1.3. Predicative adjectives

As Meiteilon adjectives are verbal in nature all the verbal inflections can take in predicative form. The use of predicative form is dependent upon the verbal inflectional markers attached to the adjectives.

v. With copula **-ni**

The adjectives which are derived by the two rules, which are used as attributive adjectives, can appear in the predicate position by taking help of copula.

5. *layrik əsi ɔ-hən-bə-ni*

book this new-COP

‘This book is new’

vi. With Mood marker **-i**

6. a) *layrik əsi taŋ -i*

book this cost-IND

‘This book is costly’

b) *layrik əsi phə-i*

book this good-IND

‘This book is good’

vii. with negative marker- **te/de**

7. a) *yum əsi phəjə-de*

house this good-NEG

‘This book is not good’

b) **yum əsi phəjə-bə -de*

house this good-neg

‘This book is not good’

viii. with question marker **-ra**

To use as a question form, it takes the nominalised state verbs.

8. layrik əsi **taŋ-bə-ra**

book this costly- Q

‘Is this book costly?’

Thus, Meiteilon adjectives are verbal in nature as they behaves like verbs in taking all the verbal inflections while appears as predicates.

4.1.4. Distribution of attributive adjectives inside the DP

Meiteilon adjectives, derived by the two rules can occur either prenominally or postnominally within a noun phrase and modifies the head noun.

9. a) *pʰəjə-bə yum əhum əsi*

beautiful house three this

‘These three beautiful houses’

b) *yum pʰəjə-bə əhum əsi*

‘house beautiful three this

‘These three beautiful houses’

10. a) *ə-pik-pə* *yum* *əhum* *asi*

small house three this

‘These three small houses’

b) *yum* *ə-pik-pə* *əhum* *asi*

house small three this

‘These three small houses’

4.1.5. Distribution of more than one adjective

As of now we know that Meiteilon adjectives can occur prenominal or postnominally. They can be moved around the noun without causing any ungrammaticality as we have seen in (9) and (10). Now we will examine the distribution of more than one adjective inside the noun phrases. Multiple adjectives can occur in both prenominal or postnominal positions in Meiteilon nominal phrase with no difference in meaning.

Multiple adjectives in prenominal position

11. a. *nuŋsi-bə* *ə-ŋou-bə* *ə-pik-bə* *huy* *ən* *si*

cute white small dog two DEM

‘These two small white cute dogs’

b. *ə-ŋou-bə* *ə-pik-pə* *nuŋsi-bə* *huy* *əni* *si*

white small cute dog two DEM

‘These two small white cute dogs’

c. *ə-pik-pə* *ə-ŋou-bə* *huy* *nuŋsi-bə* *əni* *si*

small white dog cute two DEM

‘These two small white cute dogs’

d. *huy* *nuŋsi-bə* *ə-pik-pə* *ə-ŋou-bə* *əni* *si*

dog cute small white two DEM

‘These two small white cute dogs’

The above examples show that adjectives can be moved around the noun as well as the other adjectives. They do not have any restrictions in movements.

4.1.6. Syntactic Position of Meiteilon Adjectives

In the literature of the position of attributive adjectives, there are three major positions taken with regard to attributive adjectives (for detailed discussion on the positions of attributive adjective refer Bhattacharya (1999)):

i) specifiers (Jackendoff (1977), Giorgi and Longobardi, Cinque (1994) and Longobardi (1994))

ii) heads (Abney (1987), Kester (1993), also Bernstein (1993b))

iii) adjuncts

(a) adjoined to NP (Valois (1991), Svenonius (1993), Bernstein (1993b))

(b) adjoined to N’ (Fukui (1986))

(adapted from Bhattacharya (1999))

As we have seen in example (9 & 10), Meiteilon Adjectives can occur prenominally and postnominally without the meaning change. And also we have seen in example (11) that more than one adjective can occur inside Meiteilon DP and these adjectives can move around the noun without changing the meaning with grammatical structure. By looking at the occurrences of the nominal elements inside DP, we can propose two possible word order distributions i.e. N - ADJ - NUM - DEM and ADJ- N - NUM - DEM respectively. Meiteilon adjectives are direct modifiers as they are close to the head noun whether pronominal or postnominal and any other nominal element cannot occur in between the noun and the adjective. We can see from the example (12), the example (12.a & b) is the possible order but the example (12.c & d) is not allowed in the language.

12. a) *yum pʰəjə-bə əhum əsi*

house beautiful three this

N ADJ NUM DEM

‘These three beautiful houses’

b) *pʰəjə-bə yum əhum əsi*

beautiful house three this

ADJ N NUM DEM

‘These three beautiful houses’

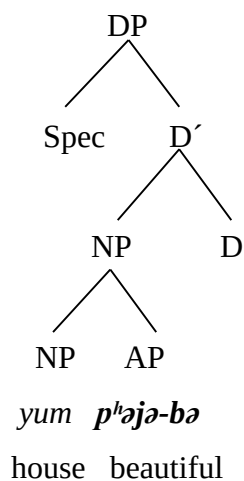
c) **yum əhum pʰəjə-bə əsi*

house three beautiful this

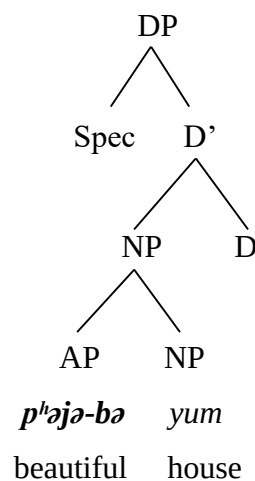
	N	NUM	ADJ	DEM
d)	<i>*pʰəjə-bə</i>	<i>əhum</i>	<i>yum</i>	<i>əsi</i>
	beautiful	three	house	this
	ADJ	NUM	N	DEM

Hence, having the two positions of adjectives in nominal phrase in Meiteilon behaves as adjuncts. However the movement of adjective is not allowed beyond the NP; it is within the NP as we have seen in example (12.c & d) the adjective movement beyond NP is not allowed. Therefore, prenominal adjective is adjoined to the left of NP and the postnominal adjective is adjoined to the right of NP, and more adjectives can adjoin both to the left and right of NP and have multiple adjectives.

Prenominal adjective structure



Postnominal adjective structure



Semantic property of Meiteilon adjectives:

Hoefherr (2010) suggests **gradability** as the prototypical property of adjectives which cannot apply to other categories. Gradability is equal to degree expressions plus an adjective (very, too) (Adapted from Devi, 2017).

Example: too long

very short

Meiteilon adjectives can combine with degree words, which validates an adjective class. Meiteilon degree word is *yamnə*.

Example 13: a) *məhak* *yamnə* *pʰəbə* *nupa ni*

3PS very good man COP

‘He is very good man’

b) *məhak* *yamnə* *tənbə* *nupa ni*

3PS very lazy man COP

‘He is very lazy man’

4.2. Relative Clauses in Meiteilon

This section is focused on the analysis of relative clauses in Meiteilon. It determines their properties in terms of identification of the relativizer marker, the relativization strategy, the order of relative clauses with respect to the head noun, the grammatical functions of relativized nouns, and the syntactic representation of Meiteilon relative clauses.

Relative clauses (RCs) are a common linguistic feature found in languages and function as a noun or noun phrase modifier in a language. According to Givón (1990), within noun phrases, relative clauses function as noun modifiers by way of subordinate clauses embedded within them. Riemsdijk (2006) also mentioned about relative clause as a clause that alters a noun phrase, which is the typical phrasal constituent. The head

of the relative clause is what we refer to as the modified noun phrase. Subbarao (2012) also identified a relative clause as relative clauses are subordinate clauses with either a [+finite] or [-finite] embedded predicate. Depending on the language family, such a non-finite predicate can be participial or infinitival. The English relative clause *who did the work* in the sentence, *The man who did the work is my father* is an embedded clause inside the noun phrase and attributively modifies the head noun *man*. Relative clause constructions have distinct characteristics from other noun modifiers as they involve the coreference relation with the head noun; as in the above example, the RC *who did the work* contains coreference to the head noun *man* as the relative pronoun *who* refers to the head noun *man*. Keenan (1985, P. 142) refers to the common noun in a relative clause expressing the relativization domain as *a domain noun*.

Relative pronouns introduced the relative clauses in English in general, and other than relative pronouns, relative clauses in English can also be introduced either by complementizer *that* or by nothing as we can see from the examples (1-3):

- 1) The girl [**whom** you gave the flower] is my daughter.
- 2) The girl [**that** you gave the flower] is my daughter.
- 3) The girl [you gave the flower] is my daughter.

Relative clauses (RCs) can be of two groups, namely: (i) Restrictive relative clauses and (ii) Non-restrictive relative clauses. Information required to understand the sentence is introduced by a restrictive clause. whereas, in the case of a non-restrictive relative clause, it can be removed from the sentence, and it does not change the meaning of the sentence, which means the additional information by the clause is not necessary. Restrictive relative clauses do not need any punctuation; however, non-restrictive relative clauses are usually marked by commas and separated from the independent

clause. We shall see some sentences which contain a restrictive relative clause (4) and a non-restrictive relative clause (5):

4) His cousin *who studies in Imphal* is a singer. (Restrictive relative clause)

5) His cousin , *who studies in Imphal*, is a singer. (Non-restrictive relative clause)

Sentence (4) consists of a restrictive relative clause, *who studies in Imphal*, which describes the head noun by giving the information about the noun *his cousin*; there may be more than one cousin, but it refers particularly to the cousin who is staying in Imphal, and it is unavoidable as it is important to have the extra knowledge to get the exact reference of the noun. However, the non-restrictive relative clause in sentence (5), which is separated by a comma, and the information given by the clause is not necessary as from the sentence construction with a comma, and we get the knowledge that the clause refers to its only coreference noun which is there is only one cousin, and he stays in Imphal. Therefore the additional information is not essential.

This chapter will examine the relative clauses in Meiteilon, to analyze and determine their properties in terms of identification of the relativizer marker, the relativization strategy, the order of relative clauses with respect to the head noun, the grammatical functions of relativized nouns and the syntactic analysis of Meiteilon relative clauses. What relativization strategy is used in forming relative clauses in Meiteilon.

4.2.1 Relativization Strategies

Relative clauses are formed by different strategies; as we have seen in the earlier section that English relative clauses are formed by using many strategies. Keenan (1985:146) identified four strategies for presenting relative clauses, they are:

1. by using an ordinary personal pronoun

2. by a special pronominal (relative pronoun)
3. by a full NP
4. by nothing at all, a gap

The first strategy involves the process of pronoun retention, where there is a resumptive pronoun that is coreferential with the head noun and which occurs in the normal position as it occurs in an independent clause (Keenan 1985). We can see from the Urhobo example (6):

Urhobo (Keenan, 1985, p.147)

(6) *John mle aye l-ɔ vbere*

John saw woman that-she sleep

‘John saw the woman who is sleeping.’

In the above example, *l-ɔ vbere* ‘who is sleeping’ involves retention of the personal pronoun *ɔ* ‘she,’ which is coreferential with the head noun *aye* ‘woman.’

The second strategy is by relative pronoun as in the English language, this strategy indicates the relativized noun inside the relative clause by using a clause-initial pronominal element that is cased marked (by the case or by an adposition) to show the relativized noun's role within the relative clauses. We can see the example of a relative clause formed by a relative pronoun from English:

(7) The girl *who broke the T.V* is my friend.

In the above example the relative clause is introduced by a relative pronoun *who* which is coreferential with the head noun *girl*.

The third strategy of relativization is by using a full noun phrase it also called non-reduction strategy in which the head noun appears as a full-fledged noun phrase in the relative clause (Comrie and Kuteva 2005). We can see example from Hindi as in (8):

Hindi (Comrie 1989:139)

(8) [ādmī ne jis cākū se murgi ko māra thā], us cāku ko Rām ne dekha.

man ERG which knife with chicken ACC killed that knife ACC Ram ERG saw

‘Ram saw the knife with which the man killed the chicken.’

The head noun *cāku*, which means "knife," appears in the relative clause *ādmī ne jis cākū se murgi ko māra thā*, or "with which the man killed the chicken," and then reappears in the main clause in its entirety as *cāku*.

The fourth strategy in gap strategy there is a gap left between the noun phrases inside the relative clauses. The gap strategy does not create relative clauses that contain overt references to the head noun (Keenan 1985, Comrie 1989). In this strategy the noun phrases are missing within relative clauses and the position of gaps inside the relative clause is coreferential with the head noun. The position of the gap position in the relative clause indicates the grammatical functions of the relativized nouns and the this gap position is indicated by Ø. Let us see the example from English (9):

(9) I want the book the man took.

In the above example the relative clause *the man took* modifies the head noun *book* in *I want the book the man took* where there is a missing noun phrase position which is object of the transitive verb *took* and this gap position is coreferential to the head noun *book*.

Therefore, from all the discussions it is seen that relative clauses are subordinate clauses embedded inside the noun phrases which modify the noun with or without a relativizer. They may contain personal pronoun or relative pronoun or full NP or nothing (a gap), however the clause construction functions the modification of nouns.

4.2.2. Position of relative clauses inside the DP

Restrictive relative clauses (RCS) are further divided into external (headed) and internal (headed) relative clauses. Again, within external restrictive relative clauses, languages further distinguish (i) pre-nominal relative clauses from (ii) post-nominal relative clauses. Pre-nominal relative clauses are those which allow the embedded clause modifying the head noun to occur to its left or those relative clauses in which the domain noun is outside the embedded clause. Post-nominal relative clauses on the other hand are those in which the domain noun is outside the embedded clause and the embedded clause is in the right of the domain noun. We shall see some examples below:

Postnominal external relative clause

10) The man [*who is standing near the bridge*] is my father.

In the sentence above (10), the domain noun (*man*) occurs outside the restrictive clause so this is external relative clause and since the S_{rel} occurs to the right of the domain noun so it is referred to postnominal external (headed) relative clauses.

Prenominal external relative clause

Meiteilon

11) [*t^hoŋ mənək -tə lep -li -bə*] nupa -du əi -gi ipa ni

door near –LOC stand -PROG-NZR man –DEM.2 1PS –GEN father COP

‘The man who is standing near the door is my father.

In the Meiteilon sentence above (11) the domain noun *nupa* ‘man’ occurs outside of restrictive clause and the relative clause *t^{hoŋ} mənak-tə lep-li-bə* occurs to the left of the domain noun, this is the example of prenominal external relative clause.

Again according to Keenan (1985) “postnominal RCS are more prominent in most of the languages however prenominal RCS is available only in verb final languages”. Meiteilon being a verb final language prenominal restrictive relative clause is prominent and this confirms Keenan’s view. Postnominal relative clause in Meiteilon is also possible in appositive and non-restrictive sense as in (12.a,b):

- 12) a. huy [tombi -nə u -bə] -du əi -gi ni
 dog Tombi -NOM see -NZR DEM.2 1PS -GEN COP
 ‘The dog, that Tombi saw is mine.’
- b. huy [tombi -nə u -i haibə] -du əi -gi ni
 dog Tombi -NOM see -SA QUOT -DEM.2 1PS-GEN COP
 ‘The dog, that Tombi saw is mine.’

According to Subbarao (2012) based on the position of occurrence of the head there are three types of relative clauses attested in South Asian languages; they are:

- i) Externally headed relative clauses (EHRCs)
- ii) Relative-Correlative clauses
- iii) Internally headed relative clauses (IHRCs)

4.2.3. Grammatical functions of relativized nouns

Keenan and Comrie (1977) introduced a universal generalization called Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (NPAH): Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Oblique > Possessor > Object of comparison: an implicational scale for the relativizability of different grammatical roles for all languages. This relativization hierarchy suggests that certain nouns are more accessible than others; which means the Subject category of a noun is more accessible than the Direct object and Direct object is more accessible than the Indirect object and so on. Furthermore, it suggests that if a position in the hierarchy can be relativized, then so can all of the positions to the left of that position. For instance, if a language's Direct object is relativizable, then the Subject category is as well; if the Indirect object is also relativizable, then the Direct object is as well, and so forth.

4.2.4. Syntactic analysis of relative clauses

In the literature of syntactic analysis of relative clauses the two distinct approaches i.e. the “adjunction” approach by Chomsky (1977) and “raising/promotion” approach by Kayne (1994).

16. a) the man [Ram saw] (Adjunction analysis)

b) the [man_i [Ram saw t_i]] (Raising analysis)

The assumption behind the "adjunction" approach is that the relative clause in (16.a) is adjoined to its base-generated head. According to Devi (2007), there is a shift in the usage of the overt relative pronoun, called the empty operator.

17. a) the man [who_i [Ram saw t_i]]

b) the man [Op_i [Ram saw t_i]]

On the other hand, the ‘raising’ analysis claims for relative clauses (17.b) as complement of the matrix determiner, the antecedent noun is raised from within the relative (Alexiadou. et al., 2007). This approach posits a [D-CP] structure of the relative clause where the matrix DP selects the CP that is the relativised clause.

After discussing about the theoretical frameworks of relative clauses, we will continue with the main purpose of this study which is to look into above discussed parameters of relative clause and to study the relative clauses in Meiteilon and analyze Meiteilon relative clauses and determine their properties in terms of identification of relativizer marker, the order of relative clauses with respect to the head noun, the relativization strategy, the grammatical functions of relativized nouns and the syntactic representation of Meiteilon relative clauses. So, the main research questions aims for this study are as follows:

- 1) What relativization strategy is used in forming relative clauses in Meiteilon?
- 2) What is the relativizer maker in Meiteilon? Is it pronouns or complementizers?
- 3) What is the position of Meiteilon relative clauses with respect to the head noun?
- 4) Which grammatical elements can be relativized in Meiteilon?
- 5) What is the syntactic representation of Meiteilon relative clauses?
- 6) What relativization strategy is used in forming relative clauses in Meiteilon?
- 7) What is the relativizer maker in Meiteilon? Is it pronouns or complementizers?

- 8) What is the position of Meiteilon relative clauses with respect to the head noun?
- 9) Which grammatical elements can be relativized in Meiteilon?
- 10) What is the syntactic representation of Meiteilon relative clauses?

4.2.2. Relative clauses in Meiteilon

4.2.2.1. Relativization strategy and position of relative clauses

Meiteilon does not use interrogative pronouns as relative marker as English uses. Meiteilon uses two ways of relative clause formation they are:

- i) Relative clause formation by addition of nominalizer (NZR) *pə ~ bə* to the embedded verb and demonstratives (DEM) - *tu/du (ədu) ~ to/do (ədo) ~ si (əsi) ~ se (əse)* is used as correlative marker as in (21) and (22):

21) [*tombi -nə hek -pə*] *lai -du yam p^həjə -i*

Tombi-NOM pluck-NZR flower-DEM very beautiful-SA

‘The flower that Tombi plucked is very beautiful.’

22) [*əy -nə ɲəraŋ pa -bə*] *layrik -tu tombi-gi ni*

I-NOM yesterday read-NZR book- DEM table-GEN COP

‘The book which I bought yesterday is for Tombi.’

- ii) Another way of formation is by using the quotative **hai-bə** which is the extended meaning of verb **hai-bə** ‘to say’, as in (23) and (24):

23) [*abem-nə nuŋsi hai-bə*] *nupa-du əy-gi oja-ni*

Abem-NOM love-S.ASP QUOT man-DEM.2 I-GEN teacher-COP

‘The man that Abem loves is my teacher.’

24) [səŋai hat-li hai-bə] nupa-du jel-də thəm-k^{hre}

deer kill-S.ASP QUOT man-DEM.2 jail-LOC put-PERF

‘The man who killed deer has been put in the jail.’

The difference between these two types of RCs is that the relative clause with the quotative marker uses the quotative marker (*haibə*) and the verb in embedded clause is a finite verb whereas RCs with nominalizer uses nominalizer marker and the verb of the embedded clause is not a finite verb but a nominalized form.

According to Bhat & Ningomba (1997) Meiteilon makes use of two types of relative clauses externally headed relative clause and internally headed relative clause. According to them in both these types of relative clauses, the finite verb is changed into a non-finite one by attaching the infinitive suffix ‘bə’ to it. Externally headed relative clause is commonly used in the language and the second type of relative clause used infrequently in the language. Meiteilon uses both prenominal and postnominal relative clauses under EHRCs .

Externally headed relative clauses

Prenominal relative clauses in Meiteilon

28) a. [niŋol-nə pa-bə] lairik-tu laibreri-dəgi ni

Ningol-NOM read-NZR book-DEM.2 library-ABL COP

‘The book which Ningol read is from library.’

b. [niŋol-nə pa-i haibə] lairik-tu laibreri-dəgi ni

Ningol-NOM read- SA QUOT book-DEM.2 library-ABL COP

‘The book which Ningol read is from library.’

In (28.a & b) both the RCs (*niŋol-nə pa-bə, niŋol-nə pa-i haibə*) precedes the head noun (*lairik*) and head noun occurs outside the relative clause and the correlative determiner occurs to the right of the head noun. As Keenan (1985) stated “while prenominal RCS are dominant only in verb-final languages other forms of revitalization are common in such languages”, Meiteilon; a verb final language commonly uses prenominal relative clauses in the restrictive sense and postnominal pattern in non-restrictive sense as in (19).

Postnominal Relative clauses in Meiteilon

29) a. *lairik [niŋol-nə pa-bə] -du laibreri -dəgi ni*
 book Ningol-NOM read-NZR -DEM.2 library -ABL COP

‘The book, which Ningol read is from library.’

b. *lairik [niŋol-nə pa-i haibə] -du laibreri -dəgi ni*
 book Ningol-NOM read-S.ASP Quot -DDEM library-ABL COP

‘The book, which Ningol read is from library.’

In (29.a & b) both the RCs (*niŋol-nə pa-bə, niŋol-nə pa-i haibə*) follows the head noun (*lairik*) and head noun occurs outside the relative clause and the correlative determiner occurs to the right of the relative clauses. The head of the relative clause is not found inside the clause and it is co-indexed with the head of the main clause. The prenominal and postnominal relative clause order can be illustrated as HN + RC + DEM and RC + HN + DEM respectively.

Internally headed relative clause (IHRC) in Meiteilon

IHRCs are infrequently used in Meiteilon however it is possible and makes sense when someone uses. Let us see the example in (30):

30) *cawbə -nə əŋaŋ -bu phu -bə -du tombə -gi məca -ni*

Chaoba -NOM child-ACC beat -NZR –DEM.2 Tomba -GEN son -COP

‘Chaoba beat the boy... that (boy) is Tomba’s son.’

(Bhat & Ningomba, 1997)

In (30) the head noun with its case suffix *əŋaŋ -bu* ‘boy-Acc’ occurs inside the relative clause *cawbə -nə phu -bə* ‘to beat by Chaoba’, these constructions are not frequently used but it makes sense.

As we have seen in examples above (28, 29, 30) the demonstrative particle ‘tu ~ du’ does not move with the head noun moves from post nominal to prenominal position, it stayed back to its position; the determiner is attached to the end of the phrase not to the head noun.

The demonstrative particle to be used can be either proximal (*əsi/si*) as in (31.a) or distal (*tu/ədu/du*) as in (31.b); we may choose the demonstrative particle depending on the distance conveyed by the noun phrase. Consider the examples bellow:

31) a. *əbem-nə pam-bə phurit-si yam phəjə-i*

Abem-NOM like-NZR top –DEM.1 very beautiful-SA

‘The top which Abem liked is very beautiful.’

b. *əi-nə ɣəraŋ ləi-bə phurit –tu niŋol-gi ni*

I -NOM yesterday buy-NZR Shirt –DEM.2 Ningol-GEN COP

‘The top that I bought yesterday is for Ningol.’

The demonstrative particles add the specificity feature to the noun phrase that contains the relative clause; without these the noun phrase gives a generic or habitual meaning; the following examples exemplifies the statement:

32) *mənipur -də [hindi ŋaŋ -bə] mi məyam lə-i*

Manipur-LOC Hindi speak-NZR man many be-SA

‘There are many people in Manipur who speaks Hindi.’

33) *[əy-nə pa-bə] layrik -tu tombi-nə pam-i*

I-Nom read-NZR book- DDEM table-GEN like-COP

‘Tombi likes books which I read.’

34) *[tombi-nə hek-pə] ləi ibok-nə pam-i*

Tombi-NOM pluck-NZR flower grandmother-NOM like-SA

‘Grandmother likes flowers which Tombi plucks’

3.3. Grammatical functions of relativized nouns in Meiteilon

All the noun phrase positions in the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (NPAH) by Keenan and Comrie (1979) can be relativized as we can see from the following examples:

Subject modification:

We have seen in the previous section that both the Meitelon relative clause constructions can occur pronominally or postnominally. In both of the positions, when

the subject is modified subject noun does not get any case and the determiner attaches to the end of the phrase. Considering the example (35.a) as the base clause structure we can see two relative clause structures where (35.b,d) is prenominal and (35.c,e) is postnominal in which the relativized position is the subject of the clause.

- 35) a. *oja -du* *lairik əma i -ri*
 teacher -DDEM book one write -PROG
 ‘The teacher is writing a book’

Prenominal

- b. *lairik* *i -ri -bə* *oja -du*
 book write -PROG -NZR teacher -DDEM
 ‘The teacher who is writing book’

- c. *lairik* *i -ri* *haibə* *oja -du*
 book write -PROG QUOT teacher -DDEM
 ‘The teacher who is writing book’

Postnominal

- d. *oja* *lairik* *i-ri-bə-du*
 teacher book write-PROG-NZR-DEM
 ‘The teacher who is writing book’

- e. *oja* *lairik* *i-ri* *haibə -du*
 teacher book write-PROG QUOT-DDEM

‘The teacher who is writing book’

Direct and indirect object modification:

Meiteilon direct and indirect objects can be modified by relativization, we can see the direct object relativization (36.a,b) and indirect object relativization (37.a,b) as follows:

Direct object modification:

36) a. *əbemc^ha-nə* *tombi-də* *pi-k^hi-bə* *həinəw-du* *mun-le*

Abemcha-NOM Tombi-DAT give-PERF-NZR mango-DEM.2 ripe-PERF

‘The mango which Abemcha has given to Tombi is ripened.’

b. *əbemc^ha-nə* *tombi-də* *pi-k^hi* *haibə* *həinəw-du* *mun-le*

Abemcha-NOM Tombi-DAT give-PERF QUOT mango-DEM.2 ripe-PERF

‘The mango which Abemcha has given to Tombi is ripened.’

Indirect object modification:

37) a. *əbemc^ha-nə* *həinəw* *pi-k^hi-bə* *nupa-du* *way-i*

Abemcha-NOM mango give-PERF-NZR man-DDEM tall-SA.

‘The man who Abemcha gave mango is tall.’

b. *əbemc^ha-nə* *həinəw* *pi-k^hi* *haibə* *nupa-du* *way-i*

Abemcha-NOM mango give-PERF QUOT man-DET tall-SA

‘The man who Abemcha gave mango is tall.’

Oblique objects modification:

Meiteilon oblique objects are marked by specific lexical case markers and they are relativized same as subjects and objects as shown in (38):

Instrumental:

38. a. *tombi -nə lairik -tu i -k^{hi} -bə kolom -du*

Tombi -NOM book –DEM.2 write-PERF-NZR pen-DEM.2

malem -nə pam -i

Malem -NOM like -SA

‘Malem likes the pen which Tombi wrote the book.’

- b. *tombi -nə lairik -tu i -k^{hi} haibə kolom -du*

Tombi -NOM book –DEM.2 write -PERF QUOT pen –DEM.2

malem -nə pam -i

Malem -NOM like -SA

‘Malem likes the pen which Tombi wrote the book.’

Locative:

39. a. *məhak -nə tebəl -də t^{hə}m -bə gilās -tu mani -nə t^hugai -k^hre*

3PS -NOM table -LOC put -NZR glass -DDEM Mani -NOM break -PERF

‘Mani broke the glass which he/she put on the table.’

- b. *məhak -nə tebəl -də t^{hə}m -e haibə gilās –tu mani -nə*

3PS -NOM table –LOC put -PERF QUOT glass -DDEM Mani -NOM

t^hugai -k^hre

break -PERF

‘Mani broke the glass which he/she put on the table.’

Ablative:

40. b. *t^houbal -dəgi lak -pə nupa -du waŋ -i*

Thoubal -ABL come -NZR man -DDEM tall -SA

‘The man who has come from Thoubal is tall.’

c. *t^houbal -dəgi lak -e haibə nupa -du waŋ -i*

Thoubal -ABL come -PERF QUOT man -Det tall -SA

‘The man who has come from Thoubal is tall.’

Comitative

41. a. *əbem -gə c^hət -minə -bə nupi -du əi -gi oja ni*

Abem -ASS go -TOGETHER -NZR woman-DEM.2 1P –GEN teacher COP

‘The woman who is going with Abem is my teacher.’

b. *əbem -gə c^hət -minə -i haibə nupi -du əi -gi*

Abem -ASS go -TOGETHER -SA QUOT woman –DEM.2 1P -GEN

oja ni

teacher COP

‘The woman who is going with Abem is my teacher.’

Possessor modified

Both the relative clause strategy is applicable when the possessor is relativized. Consider the example (42.a) to be the base example and the other two examples (42.b,c) as the possessor relativization:

42. a. *əbem -gi huy -du bəs -nə thombi -re*

Abem -GEN dog -DEM.2 bus -INSTR hit -PERF

‘Abem’s dog was hit by bus.’

- b. *bəs -nə thombi -khi -bə əbem -gi huy -du si -re*

bus -INSTR hit -PERF -NZR Abem -GEN dog -DEM.2 die -PERF

‘Abem’s dog which was hit by bus is death.’

- c. *əbem -gi bəs -nə thombi -khi haibə huy -du si -re*

abem -GEN bus -INSTR hit -PERF QUOT dog -DEM.2 die -PERF

‘Abem’s dog which was hit by bus is death.’

Object of comparison

43. a. *tombə -nə mənɪ -dəgi wəŋ -i*

Tomba -NOM Mani -than tall -SA

‘Tomba is taller than Mani’

- b. *[mənɪ -dəgi wəŋ -bə] tombə -du siŋ -i*

mani -than tall -NZR Tomba -DEM.2 clever -SA

‘Tomba who is taller than Mani is clever.’

- b. [məni -dəgi wang -i haibə] tombə -du siŋ -i
- mani -than tall -SA QUOT Tomba -DEM.2 clever -SA
- ‘Tomba who is taller than Mani is clever.’

So far we have seen that all the positions related to NPAH is relativized in Meiteilon. Both the relative clause formation strategies are applicable in any position.

4.2.2.3. Syntactic analysis of relative clauses in Meiteilon

There have been different approaches in literature to account for relative clauses. I examined the Meiteilon relative clauses by adopting the approach proposed by Kayne (1994). Relative clauses are examined in Kayne's approach as clausal projections, or CPs, which are a determiner's complements. The relative clause's nominal "head," also known as the "antecedent," originates as DP inside the relative clause. So, Kayne's assumption proposed [D-CP] structure.

In chapter 3 I proposed the definite nominal phrase a DP having a maximal projection DemP, since Meiteilon DP has a null D construction and demonstratives functions the definiteness features, demonstratives projects its own maximal projection just below the DP with the [+REF] and [+DEICTIC] features. Since Meiteilon prenominal and postnominal relative clauses are externally headed and left adjoined to the main clause and the heads occurs outside the relative clause, we need a structure where the position of external head noun is justified. So, I would like to propose that the N-final position in Meiteilon relative clause construction is the base position and the N-initial position is derived position. Following Kayne's analysis, I propose the assumption that the base structure of Meiteilon relative clause is [DemP-CP] i.e.

relative clause CP is left adjoined to the DemP and modify the noun. For the N-initial position the structure is derived through the head (N) raising to the SpecCP, i.e. through the N-movement from the base position to SpecCP position.

So, let us consider some Meiteilon relative clause constructions for the analysis:

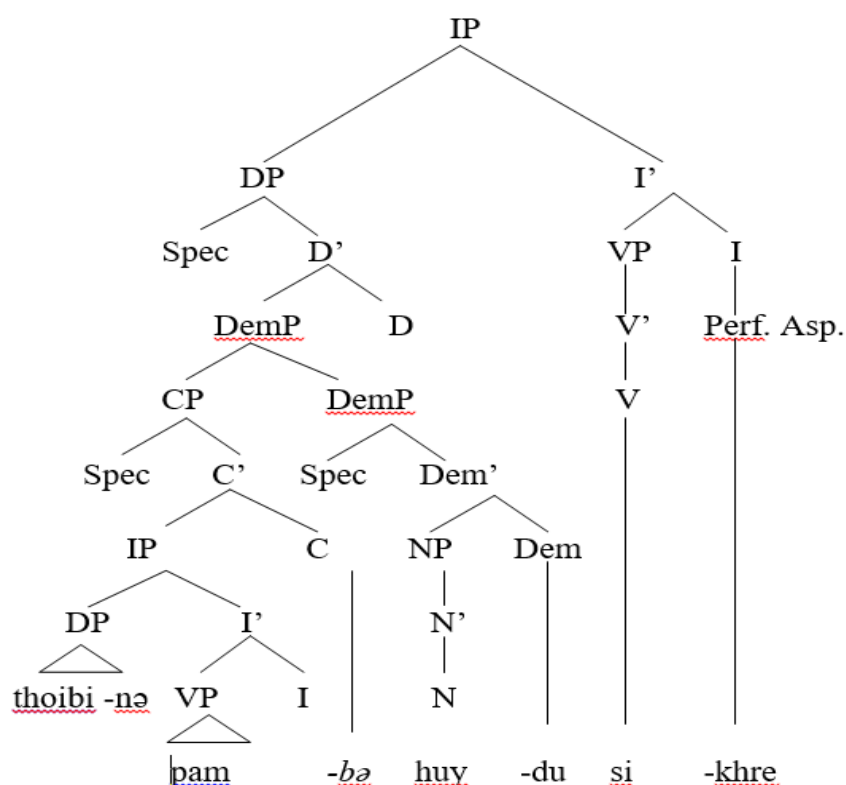
Prenominal Relative clause

44. a) [thoibi -nə pam -bə] huy -du si -khre

Thoibi -NOM like -REL dog -that die-PERF

‘The/that dog which Thoibi likes is dead.’

The syntactic structure for this construction is given bellow:



b) [thoibi -nə pam -i haibə] huy -du si -khre

Thoibi -NOM like -S.ASP QUOT dog -that die -PERF

‘The/that dog which Thoibi likes is dead.’

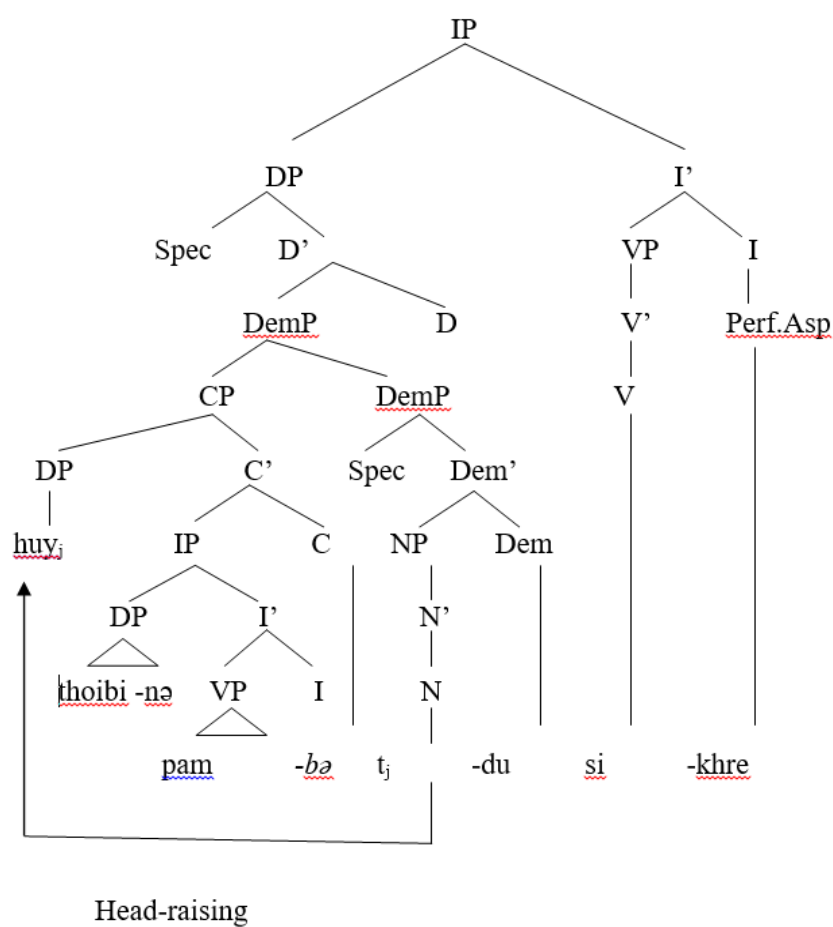
Postnominal Relative Clause

45. a) *huy [thoibi -nə pam -bə] -du si -khre*

dog Thoibi -NOM like -REL -that die -PERF

‘The/that dog, which Thoibi likes is dead.’

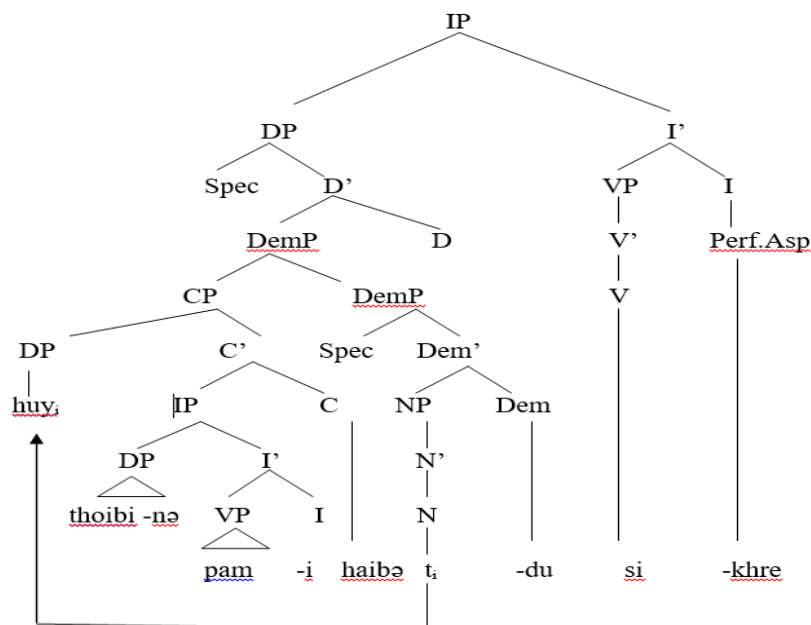
In this construction the head noun has moved to the SpecCP (head-raising process).



b) *huy [thoibi -nə pam -i haibə] -du si -khre*

dog Thoibi -NOM like -S.ASP QUOT -that die -PERF

‘The/that dog, which Thoibi likes is dead.’



Head-raising

Chapter Summary

In this chapter the noun modifiers are mainly discussed and we can sum up the chapter as Meiteilon adjectives can occur either prenominally or postnominally within a noun phrase and modifies the head noun. Multiple adjectives can occur in both prenominal or postnominal positions in Meiteilon nominal phrase with no difference in meaning. Two possible word order distributions of Meiteilon adjectives i.e. N - ADJ - NUM - DEM and ADJ- N - NUM - DEM respectively. Meiteilon adjectives are direct modifiers as they are close to the head noun. The movement of adjective is not allowed beyond the NP; its within the NP. Any other nominal element cannot occur in between the noun and the adjective. Having the

two positions of adjectives and multiple adjectives can occur in nominal phrase in Meiteilon behaves as adjuncts. Prenominal adjective is adjoined to the left of NP and the postnominal adjective is adjoined to the right of NP, and more adjectives can adjoin both to the left and right of NP and have multiple adjectives.

For relative clauses we have seen that Meiteilon does not use interrogative pronouns as relative marker as English uses. Meiteilon uses two ways of relative clause formation they are: i) Relative clause formation by addition of nominalizer (NZR) *pə ~ bə* to the embedded verb and demonstratives (DEM) - *tu/du (ədu) ~ to/do (ədo) ~ si (əsi) ~ se (əse)* is used as correlative marker, ii) Another way of formation is by using the quotative ***haibə*** which is the extended meaning of verb ***hai-bə*** ‘to say’. The N-final position in Meiteilon relative clause construction is the base position and the N-initial position is derived position. Kayne’s assumption proposed [D-CP] structure. Since maximal projection DemP is proposed just below the DP for Meiteilon DP. Proposed the assumption that the base structure of Meiteilon relative clause is [DemP-CP] i.e. relative clause CP is left adjoined to the DemP and modifies the noun. The N-initial position the structure is derived through the head (N) raising to the Spec, CP, i.e. through the N-movement from the base position to Spec, CP position.

Chapter 5

Findings and Concluding remarks

Within the framework of generative linguistics, the thesis investigates the internal structure of nominal phrases in Meiteilon using the theoretical presumptions of Determiner Phrase (DP) analysis (by Abney 1987). The fundamental tenet of the DP hypothesis is that a determiner (D), a functional element, heads noun phrases in an NP. In my opinion, a DP projection should be posited within a nominal phrase based on more than just the presence or absence of a definite determiner; DPs should be projected in both languages with and without articles. Put differently, DP is a universal projection that has been realized either overtly or covertly in all languages, including languages without articles. i.e., article-less languages differ from article-languages in that the latter have null D (Longobardi 1994, Borer 2005 and others). Assuming that nominals are always assigned a D (determiner), this is demonstrated. In other words, the primary requirement for proposing a determiner phrase projection within the nominal phrase is the existence of a universal D (determiner) feature in the nominal system. Positing a determiner projection within the nominal phrase is necessary for feature checking. As a result, DPs are cross-linguistically universal and unparameterized; however, there are parametric differences in the overt realization of a D head.

In the third chapter, I discussed about Meiteilon's DP-analysis approach. Adopting the DP universal theory, the study demonstrates that, as Meiteilon is an article-less language, the noun phrases are headed by a maximal projection of demonstrative and a null head D. A functional head is positioned below the DP, and the Dem head is the element that verifies the D-features that are present in the language system, namely [+definite], [+referentiality], [+specificity], and [+deictic].

While Meiteilon does not use (in)definite articles to grammaticalize (in)definiteness in the syntactic representation of nominal phrases, the universal feature of definiteness is expressed through demonstratives, and indefiniteness is expressed with the numeral "one," which functions as an indefinite article and always comes after the noun. Meiteilon discovered two positions for demonstratives: *Noun-Demonstrative* and *Demonstrative-Noun- Demonstrative*. For demonstratives, the base position is the postnominal demonstrative position.

The main motivation for raising the demonstrative to the [Spec, DemP] is to check the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] feature and reinforce the strong feature of demonstrative through Spec-Head agreement and as the result the pronominal demonstrative gets genitive case marked. Meiteilon demonstratives projects its own functional projection right below the DP and demonstrative head is where the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] features are checked. The complex construction is the case of feature copying through the Spec-Head agreement to reinforce the [+Ref] and [+Deictic] feature in the language and the pronominal demonstrative gets the genitive case through the Spec-Head agreement process.

Meiteilon derived nominal and gerunds are also discussed in this chapter. Meiteilon derived nominals have the internal structure of a noun, so they can be modified by a determiner or an adjective. Meiteilon gerunds have the distribution of nominal phrases, but their internal structure is that of verbs. As a result, they can only be modified by an adverb rather than an adjective. Meiteilon gerunds are characterized by a verbal projection that is embedded within them and exhibits typical verbal traits. Meiteilon gerund constructions can be analyzed using Abney's (1987) D-VP analysis, which makes the assumption that Meiteilon gerunds have the characteristics of a complex noun with an internal verbal structure.

In the fourth chapter the noun modifiers are mainly discussed and we can sum up the chapter as Meiteilon does not have a distinct word class for adjectives they are derived form. Two distinct rules are used to construct the adjectives. ə- + monosyllabic verb root+ -bə and Polysyllabic verb root + -bə. Meiteilon adjectives can occur either prenominally or postnominally within a noun phrase and modifies the head noun. Multiple adjectives can occur in both prenominal and postnominal positions in Meiteilon nominal phrase with no difference in meaning. Two possible word order distributions of Meiteilon adjectives i.e. N - ADJ - NUM - DEM and ADJ- N - NUM - DEM respectively. Meiteilon adjectives are direct modifiers as they are close to the head noun. The movement of adjective is not allowed beyond the NP; its within the NP. Any other nominal element cannot occur in between the noun and the adjective. Having the two positions of adjectives and multiple adjectives can occur in nominal phrase in Meiteilon behaves as adjuncts. Prenominal adjective is adjoined to the left of NP and the postnominal adjective is adjoined to the right of NP, and more adjectives can adjoin both to the left and right of NP and have multiple adjectives.

Again for relative clauses we have seen that Meiteilon does not use interrogative pronouns as relative marker as English uses. Meiteilon uses two ways of relative clause formation they are: i) Relative clause formation by addition of nominalizer (NZR) pə ~ bə to the embedded verb and demonstratives (DEM) - tu/du (ədu) ~ to/do (ədo) ~ si (əsi) ~ se (əse) is used as correlative marker, ii) Another way of formation is by using the quotative **haibə** which is the extended meaning of verb **hai-bə** ‘to say’. The N-final position in Meiteilon relative clause construction is the base position and the N-initial position is derived position. Kayne’s assumption proposed [D-CP] structure. Since maximal projection DemP is proposed just below the DP for Meiteilon DP. Proposed the assumption that the base structure of Meiteilon relative clause is [DemP-CP] i.e.

relative clause CP is left adjoined to the DemP and modifies the noun. The N-initial position the structure is derived through the head (N) raising to the Spec, CP, i.e. through the N-movement from the base position to Spec, CP position.

To put it briefly, the thesis's investigation demonstrates that, in comparison to traditional analyses, the DP analysis approach offers a more comprehensive theoretical explanation of the nominal phrase structure in Meiteilon which lacks (in)definite article. It gives an account of the gerund constructions that is consistent with current theoretical approaches to the syntax of noun phrases cross-linguistically, accounts for the (in)definite/referential elements within the Meiteilon simple noun phrase and complex noun phrases, and offers a methodical explanation for the DP-internal word order.

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Distribution of Adjectives in Meiteilon

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Abstract : The paper aims to present a detailed account of the distribution of Meiteilon adjectives in noun phrases as well as the differences in occurrence of different types of adjectives in the language. Meiteilon has two alternate word order for NP elements; A N NUM DEM and N A NUM DEM as adjectives can occur prenominal or postnominal. However, the adjective *māčā* 'small' obligatorily occurs after the head noun. The paper shall show that the adjective *māčā* 'small' is different from the other type of adjectives morphologically and syntactically.

Keywords: Meiteilon, adjectives, adjective distribution, noun phrase

I. INTRODUCTION

Meiteilon (the Meitei + lon 'language') is spoken basically in the state of Manipur which is in North-eastern India. It is also spoken in the neighbouring states namely Assam, Tripura, Mizoram, neighbouring countries namely Myanmar and Bangladesh by the Meitei inhabitants of these places. Meiteilon ~ Meiteiron or Manipuri is a Tibeto- Burman language of Kuki-Chin sub-family (Grierson, 1904 vol. III part III). Meiteilon, a Tibeto-Burman language is a SOV, agglutinative language. Structurally, it is a head final language which shows left branching nodes in syntactic trees. It is also a tonal language. It is the most advanced Tibeto- Burman language having its own developed literary language and script (archaic script). Meiteilon is the lingua-franca of Manipur. Since 20 August 1992 Meiteilon becomes the first Tibeto- Burman language to receive recognition as a schedule VIII language of India. This paper examines the distribution pattern of adjectives in Meiteilon noun phrases. Adjectives can appear in two main types of syntactic contexts i.e., a) as attributive adjectives which directly modifies a noun and b) as predicative adjectives as the complement of a copula (Hofherr, 2010). This paper deals with the position of attributive adjectives inside the noun phrases.

II. MEITEILON ADJECTIVES

Meiteilon does not have a distinct word-class of adjectives. Most of the attributive adjectives are derived by the two respective rules i.e., i) prefix 'ə-' + stative verb root (monosyllabic) + Nominalizer (NZR) suffix -bə ~ -pə' and ii) stative verb root (polysyllabic) + Nominalizer suffix '-bə ~ -pə'.

i) Prefix 'ə-' + monosyllabic root + Nominalizer '-bə'

- (1) a. ə -čəw -bə lairik
 PRF -big -NZR book
 'big book'
- b. ə- pik -pə lairik
 PRF small NZR book
 'small book'
- c. * ə- p^həjə -bə ləy
 PRF- beauty -NZR flower
 'beautiful flower'

Example (1) c is ungrammatical as the rule does not allow polysyllabic roots to combine with the prefix ə-, as we can see the root p^həjə is disyllabic hence the other rule can be applied to form adjective.

ii) Polysyllabic root + Nominalizer '-bə'

- (2) a. p^həjə -bə ləy
 beauty -NZR flower
 'beautiful flower'

The Adjectives in Meiteilon: The Case of So called Adjective 'măčă'

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Abstract

The paper examines the morpho-syntactic property of Meiteilon adjectives with special emphasis on so called adjective *măčă* 'small'. Meiteilon does not have a distinct word-class of adjectives. Most of the attributive adjectives are derived from stative verb roots and occurs prenominal or postnominally. However, the exceptional case of adjective *măčă* 'small', does not apply derivational rules and it obligatorily occurs postnominally. The question here is that if the *măčă* 'small' is an adjective then why it is different from the other adjectives in terms of formation and syntactic occurrence? Is this exceptional word an adjective or other noun-modifying word which has fixed ordering that is postnominal? This paper proposes that analyzing *măčă* as an adjective poses a problem for morpho-syntactic analysis of adjectives in general as it does not follow the adjective derivative rules and it has a fixed word order i.e. postnominal unlike other adjectives.

Keywords: Adjective, prenominal adjective, postnominal adjective, Morpho-syntax, gradability
ISO 639-3 codes: mni

1. Introduction

Meiteilon (the Meitei + lon ('language')) or Manipuri is spoken basically in the state of Manipur which is in North-eastern India. It is also spoken in the neighbouring states namely Assam, Tripura, Mizoram, neighbouring countries namely Myanmar and Bangladesh by the Meitei inhabitants of these places. Meiteilon ~ Meiteiron or Manipuri is a Tibeto- Burman language of Kuki-Chin sub-family (Grierson, 1904 vol. III part III). Meiteilon, a Tibeto-Burman language is a SOV, agglutinative language. Structurally, it is a head final language which shows left branching nodes in syntactic trees. It is also a tonal language. It is the most advanced Tibeto- Burman from spoken in India having its own developed literary language and script (archaic script). Meiteilon is the lingua-franca of Manipur. Since 20 August 1992 Meiteilon becomes the first Tibeto- Burman language to receive recognition as a schedule VIII language of India.

According to the traditional grammar, an adjective is a word that describes or modifies a noun. The main syntactic role is to qualify a noun or noun phrase, giving more information about the quality of the object signified. Earlier research on the adjectives were on the notion of adjectives being a separate word class but the aspects of research has been changed to look on the word class adjective whether it is the same for every language or not. Since every language is not the same, the composition and the structure of the language vary substantially and it is crucial to understand whether there is separate word class for adjective in every language or not (Dixon 1986).

This paper aims to discuss the nature of adjectives in Meiteilon. It examines the morphological structure and the syntactic function of adjectives in Meiteilon in general with special focus on the so called adjective 'măčă'.



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