Chapter 4

Noun Morphology

4.1. Noun

Noun in Zeme may be defined as a class of words that can be postposed by morphemes for plural *{-rəme}***,** gender *{-pəi, -səi, and -pui}*, cases *{-ne, -du, gene-}* markers, etc. Syntactically, nouns in Zeme could also be function as the nucleus of a noun phrase i.e., the head of a noun phrase. Structurally, nouns in Zeme can be classified into following types as (i) basic nouns, (ii) derived nouns and (iii) compound nouns.

4.1.1. Basic Nouns:

Basic nouns are those which can stand alone without any affixation i.e., neither prefixation nor suffixation. Basic nouns in Zeme are as follows:

4.1.1.1. Monosyllabic mono-morphemic nouns

In mono-morphemic nouns, there is only one morpheme containing one syllable or more than one syllable. However, most of the nouns are mainly consisting of either one syllable or two syllables. Some mono-morphemic nouns are shown below:

tak	'cooked rice'
dui	'water'

tiŋ	‘rain’
p^h^ai	‘cloth’
pai	‘village court’

4.1.1.2. Disyllabic mono-morphemic nouns

heti	‘deer’
heki	‘house’
kəba	‘pig’
mira	‘bone’
uyeŋ	‘peacock’
kureŋ	‘grasshopper’
buiki	‘cowshed’

4.1.1.3. Trisyllabic mono-morphemic nouns

miciba	‘flesh’
mitəli	‘forehead’
mibago	‘wrist’
tiŋdəiyu	‘mud’
pəluiluŋ	‘nature’
hetakli	‘cooking pot’
kit^h^inki	‘hut’

4.1.2. Derived Noun:

Derived nouns are nouns which are derived from the verbs. Derived nouns in Zeme are mainly derived from the verbs by suffixing declarative marker *-ləi* to the verbal roots. Some of the derived nouns in Zeme are shown below:

	Verbs		**Verbal noun**	
(a)	*sək*	>	*sək-ləi*	'drinking'
	be drink		drink-DECL	
(b)	*tet*	>	*tet- ləi*	'going'
	be go		go- DECL	
(c)	*təi*	>	*təi- ləi*	'holding'
	be hold		hold- DECL	
(d)	*təiju*	>	*təiju- ləi*	'eating'
	be eat		eat- DECL	
(e)	*zəi*	>	*zəi- ləi*	'sleeping'
	be sleep		sleep- DECL	
(f)	*sap*	>	*sap- ləi*	'standing'
	be stand		stand- DECL	
(g)	*lui*	>	*lui- ləi*	'buying'
	be buy		buy- DECL	

(h)	*lim*	>	*lim- ləi*	‘dancing’
	be dance		dance- DECL	

4.1.3. Compound Nouns:

Compound Nouns are formed by juxtaposition of independent morphemes. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, compound nouns are commonly found in the language. Structurally, compound nouns can be classified in the following categories:

4.1.3.1. Noun + Noun

(a)	*tuŋ*	+	*dui*	>	*tuŋdui* ‘milk’
	breast		water		
(b)	*hədam*	+	*həki*	>	*hədamki* ‘brickhouse’
	brick		house		
(c)	*ləisitəŋ*	+	*duibuŋ*	>	*ləisitəŋ-duibuŋ* ‘inkpot’
	pen		bottle		
(d)	*iŋgai*	+	*həki*	>	*iŋgaiki* ‘thatch house’’
	thatch		house		

4.1.3.2. Noun + Adjective

(a)	*int^{h}ui* +	*di-be* >	*int^{h}uidibe*	'big basket'
	basket	big-NMZ		
(b)	*dui* +	*di-be* >	*duidibe*	'flood'
	water	big-NMZ		
(c)	*hetəi* +	*poine* >	*hetəipoine*	'puppy'
	dog	small		
(d)	*hərapa* +	*ge-be* >	*hərapagebe*	'red flower'
	flower	red-NMZ		
(e)	*herasəm* +	*ti-be* >	*herasəmtibe*	'long story'
	story	long-NMZ		

4.1.4. Semantic types of nouns

Nouns in Zeme can be semantically divided into two sub-types viz. (i) common nouns (ii) proper nouns. Common nouns consists of nouns that denote kinship terms, body parts, fauna, flora, nature related objects, location, direction, time, instruments etc. However, proper nouns include personal/human names and place names etc. as illustrated follows:

4.1.4.1. Common nouns

Kinship terms

Possession is indicated by the pronominal prefixes of the personal pronouns in Zeme. However, the alternative expressions like */mipui/* 'mother' */mipəiyu/* 'father' etc., do not show a particular possessor as can be illustrated in following examples:

Pronominal Prifixes	Possessed kinshipnterms	Alternative Expressions	Gloss
ə '1SG'	*ə-pui* 'my mother' *ə-pəiyu* 'my father'	*mipui* *mipəiyu*	'mother' 'father'
nəŋ '2SG'	*nəŋ-pui* 'your mother' *nəŋ-pəiyu* 'your father'	*mipui* *mipəiyu*	'mother' 'father'
pə '3SG'	*pə-pui* 'his/her mother' *pə-pəiyu* 'his/her father'	*mipui* *mipəiyu*	'mother' 'father'

Table no.10: Kinship terms

Body parts

In Zeme, the body parts of humans and animals are naturally possessed the pronominal clitics as can be seen in the following examples:

Body parts	**Gloss**
ə-ba	'my hand'
ə-pidəi	'my foot'

nəŋ-ba	‘your hand’
nəŋ-pidəi	‘your foot’
pə-ba	‘his/her hand’
pə-pidəi	‘his/her foot’

Fauna

inrui	‘bird’
intiya	‘ant’
kʰaurui	‘animal’
haliyam	‘bat’
məgum	‘cobra’
iŋkane	‘cockroach’
liyambe	‘fly’
rihik	‘louse’
keli	‘squirrel’

Flora

məpa	‘flower’
hiŋbaŋ	‘tree’
iŋkum	‘orchid’
hepa	‘mushroom’
kənribebaŋ	‘creeper’

insəiyu	‘fern’
pʰəitak	‘grass’
inraŋ	‘cactus’

Nature

tiŋkai	‘air’
həmi	‘fire’
kəmo	‘cloud’
himlo	‘mountain’
intu	‘stone’
kəzik	‘dew’
kəramoi	‘dust’
naimik	‘sun’
henəm	‘forest’
duitibe	‘flood’

Location

məlaŋki	‘kitchen’
kizisim	‘courtyard’
immaŋ	‘fireplace’
buiki	‘cowshed’

Direction

tiŋpəi	'north'
tiŋrun	'south'
tiŋbiya	'east'
tiŋtu	'west'
intohəŋbe	'upwards'
insuk-keiyube	'downward'
iŋgaŋ	'middle'

Temporal nouns

nəmai	'today'
inčomai	'tomorrow'
nanai	'day after tomorrow'
indanai	'day before yesterdy'
inzimai	'yesterday'
tiŋmui	'night'

Cultural artifacts

keluwaŋ	'basket carried by women(without hole)'
iŋk^{h}a	'basket carried by women (with hole)'
hebe	'basket carried by man'
inziŋni	'dress worn by women at time of marriage'

nəmpəmne ‘dress worn by men’

iŋrəi ‘axe’

4.1.4.2. Proper noun

Some of the proper nouns in Zeme are discussed below:

Personal/human names

Male name

In Zeme, the names of men folk are indicated by the morpheme -*be* to as such examples are given below:

*iŋgimluŋ**be***

*haimuitəiyu**be***

*nəmdoyiŋ**be***

*itərai**be***

*həŋliyabuiyiŋ**be***

Female name

In Zeme, the names of the female folk are also indicated by the morpheme -*le* as can be seen in the following examples:

*taitui**le***

*menza**le***

*riŋsami**le***

*niŋčiŋ**le***

*hiŋbui**le***

Place names

təusem kʰunəu	‘name of tousem village’
təusem kʰulen	‘name of place’
pʰokloŋ	‘name of village’
teguwaram	‘name of village’
kətaŋnəm	‘name of village’
kətiyaŋ	‘name of village’
ketaŋ	‘name of village’
məndu	‘name of village’
əben	‘name of village’
niyu məndu	‘name of village’
dəige	‘name of village’
inzuŋkuwak	‘name of village’
pumram	‘name of village’
paŋkaŋ	‘name of village’
impa	‘name of village’
niyu impa	‘name of village’
məguloŋ	‘name of village’
niyu məguloŋ	‘name of village’

inziŋniŋ	'name of village'
niŋdiram	'name of village'

4.2. Gender:

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages Zeme has no grammatical gender. In other words, the gender distinction in the language is determined on the basis natural sex i.e., all the male are referred to masculine and all the female are referred to feminine.

4.2.1. By using opposite lexical items

In Zeme, some of the nouns particularly kin nouns are made male and female distinction by using opposite lexical items as can be seen in the following examples:

eg.	**Masculine**		**Feminine**	
	rehaŋme	'boy'	*hələiyume*	'girl'
	rahəŋme	'bachelor'	*mebe*	'maid'
	pənapəiyu	'husband'	*pənao*	'wife'
	mipəiyu-mi	'man'	*mipui-mi*	'woman'
	pəpao	'grandfather'	*pəpai*	'grandmother'

4.2.2. By using *pəiyu* and *pui*

In case of human nouns, the male and female is expressed by postposing markers *pəiyu* for male and *pui* for female respectively. It is worth mentioning here that gender markers in Zeme likely derived from the lexical items denoting *pəiyu* 'father' and *pui* 'mother' respectively.

Masculine		**Feminine**	
*mi pəi*yu	'father'	*mi pui*	'mother'
mina pəiyu	'son'	*pəna pui*	'daughter'
kəmi pəiyu	'widower'	*kəmi pui*	'widow'
pəsi pəiyu	'elder brother'	*misiciŋ pui*	'elder sister'

4.2.3. By using *səi* and *pui*

In case of animals, male and female are indicated by the suffix -*səi* for male and –*pui* for female as shown below:

Masculine		**Feminine**	
hətəi-səi	'male dog'	*hətəi-pui*	'female dog'
hənəi-səi	'he wolf'	*hənəi-pui*	'she wolf'
heradi-səi	'male tiger'	*heradi-pui*	'female tiger'

duilui-səi	'male loin'	*duilui-pui*	'lioness'
kətum-səi	'bull'	*kətum-pui*	'cow'
keməi-səi	'he-goat'	*kemei-pui*	'she goat'

4.2.4. By using *re* and *pui*

In case of non-human animate nouns particularly bird, the male gender is expressed by the maker *re* and female gender is generally expressed by the maker *pui* as shown below:

Generic term	Masculine	Feminine
təbiyaŋ 'goose'	*təbiyaŋ re* 'male goose'	*təbiyaŋ pui* 'female goose'
inrui 'hen'	*inrui re* 'cock'	*inrui pui* 'hen'
uyeŋ 'peacock'	*uyeŋ re* 'male peacock'	*uyeŋ pui* 'peahen'
təp^{h}əm 'duck'	*təp^{h}əm re* 'male duck'	*təp^{h}əm pui* 'female duck'

4.2.5. Neuter gender

All the inanimate nouns are considered as neuter gender. Consider the following examples.

dui	'water'
hiŋbaŋ	'tree'
pičop	'shoe'

məčuwa	‘shirt’
zudagəi	‘glass’
həbi	‘rice’
inčai	‘salt’
iŋkʰəm	‘door’

4.3. Number:

Like many other Sino-Tibetan languages, the number is not grammatically significant in this language. In other words, there is no agreement between verbs and its argument. Zeme has two numbers namely singular and plural. Singular is not marked overtly while plural is marked by a suffix *-rəme* in the language as shown in the following examples:

Singular		**Plural**	
həki	‘house	*həki-rəme*	‘houses’
hətəi	‘dog’	*hətəi-rəme*	‘dogs’
napoine	‘child’	*napoine-rəme*	‘children’
kəməi	‘goat’	*kəməi-rəme*	‘goats’.
nəmrui	‘bird’	*nəmrui-rəme*	‘birds’
mənəiyu	‘leaf’	*mənəiyu-rəme*	‘leaves’

Besides, the plurality can also be formed by suffixing *bou* and *duŋ* to the noun expressing the sense of 'group' as can be demonstrated in the following examples:

rəhaŋme bou	'group of boys'
kənt^{h}ame bou	'group of players'
radi duŋ	'groups of tiger'
kəpo duŋ	'herd of elephant'

Plurality in Zeme can also be expressed by means of numerals or quantifiers as shown in the following examples:

insuŋbuŋ	*səna*	'seven almirahs'
almirahs	seven	

zudagəi	*mədai*	'four mirrors'
mirrors	four	

həčiŋ	*taibe*	*kəsa*	'some dry wood'
wood	dry	some	

hədui	*čipum*	*kəsa*	'few drops of water'
drop	water	some	

məpa kəsa 'some flower'

flower some

4.3.1. Pluralisation of Personal Pronoun:

Apart from the general nouns, the personal pronouns are made plural by means of plural morpheme -*nui* as shown in the following table:

Persons	Singulars		Plurals	
1st	*i*	'I'	*ə-nui*	'we'
2nd	*nəŋ*	'you'	*nəŋ-nui*	'you'
3rd	*pa*	'he/she	*pə-nui*	'they'

Table no.11: Pluralization of personal pronouns

4.3.2. Pluralisation of demonstartive pronouns

In Zeme, demonstrative pronoun is pluralized by suffixing general plural marker -*rəme* to the basic demonstrative root however the plural marker is not used if the sentence has numeral more than two as can be seen in the following examples:

(1) *ai-rəme* *mənəiyu* *di-be-rəme-ləi*

DEM-PL leaf be large-NMZ-PL-DECL

'These are large leaves'

(2) *ai-rəme* *ə-ki* *məŋəiyu-ləi*

DEM-PL 1-house five-DECL

'These are my five houses'

(3) *aize* *timriyaŋ* *di-be* *kena-ləi*

DEM cart be big-NMZ two-DECL

'These are two big carts'

(4) *aize* *hətəi* *kena-ləi*

DEM dog two-DECL

'These are two dogs'

4.3.3. Pluralisation of kinship terms

In Zeme, kinship term is also pluralized by using the same plural marker *-rəme* as can be seen in the following examples:

pənarəhaŋme-reme	'sons'
pənapui-rəme	'daughters'
pəpəiyu-rəme	'fathers'
mipui-rəme	'mothers'
pəpao-rəme	'grandfathers'
pəpai-rəme	'grandmothers'

However, the plural marker -*rəme* is not used if ‘two’ or more ‘higher’ numerals follow the noun or noun phrases. In such cases the idea of plurality is expressed by numerals as can be seen in the following examples:

(5) *zadagəi* *kəčum*
mirror three
‘Three mirrors’

(6) *insuŋbuŋ* *səna*
almirah seven
‘Seven almirahs’

(7) *hərapa* *k^hit* *mədai*
flower bunch four
‘Four bunches of flower’

(8) *int^{h}ui* *məŋəiyu*
basket five
‘Five baskets’

(9) *mirik-buŋ* *təset*
match-box eight
‘Eight matchbox’

4.4. Numerals:

Numerals formed a special sub-class of nouns. Zeme being a TB language, numeral system in Zeme is mainly of the decimal type. However, the vigesimal system is also found in the language. As in many South Asian languages in general and Tibeto-Burman languages in particular, compounding is the productive morphological process to form the higher numerals in the language. Numerals in Zeme can be classified in the following categories:

1. Cardinal Numerals
2. Ordinal Numerals
3. Fractional Numerals
4. Multiplicative Numerals
5. Distributive Numerals
6. Restrictive Numerals
7. Approximate Numeral

4.4.1. Cardinal numerals

Structurally, cardinal numerals in Zeme can be sub-classified into two types: (i) basic numerals and (ii) compound numerals.

4.4.1.1. Basic numerals

The basic numerals from one to ten in Zeme are bund roots which always take numeral formative prefixes in the form of *ə-, ke-, kə-, mə-, sə- and tə-.*It is interesting to note that different prefixes are used to form the basic cardinal numerals in Zeme as can be seen in the following table:

Value	*Gloss*	*Num*	*Value*	*Gloss*	*Num*
1	One	*ə-ket*	6	Six	*sə-rok*
2	Two	*ke-na*	7	Seven	*sə-na*
3	three	*kə-čum*	8	Eight	*tə-set*
4	Four	*mə-dai*	9	Nine	*sə-kui*
5	Five	*mə-ŋəiyu*	10	Ten	*kə-rəiyu*
20	twenty	*iŋkai*	100	hundred	*hai*
1000	thousand	*čəŋ*			

Table no.12: Basic numerals in Zeme

It is observed that the numeral 'one' has nominal formative prefix *ə-*, the numeral 'two' has prefix *ke-*, the numeral 'three' and 'ten' have prefix *kə-*, the numeral 'four' and 'five' have prefix *mə-* and the numeral 'six', 'seven' and 'nine' have prefix *sə-* respectively. However, the numerals twenty, hundred and thousand behave different from the other basic numerals i.e., they do not take any kind of prefixes or suffixes in their underlying form. It is also observed that numeral roots like *ket* 'one', *na* 'two', *čum* 'three', *ŋəiyu* 'five', *rok* 'six', *na* 'seven' and *kui* 'nine' seems to be Proto-Tibeto-Burman numerals as *kat, *g-ni-s, *g-sum, *lŋa~*b-ŋa, *d-ruk, *s-nis and *d-kuw as reconstructed by (Benedict, 1972, Matisoff, 1995)

4.4.1.2. Compound numerals

Compound numerals are large in number and more productive to form higher numerals in the language as mentioned earlier. Compound numerals can be classified into the following categories: (i) Additive compound numerals (ii) Multiplicative compound numerals and (iii) Multiplicative cum additive compound numerals.

4.4.1.2.1. Additive compound numerals

The numerals from 11/eleven to 19/nineteen are additive numerals in the language; they are formed by the addition of basic numerals from 1/one to 9/nine to decade *kərəiyu* '10'. In the case of additive compound numeral, the higher numerals usually precedes the lower numerals i.e., the head is in the left of the compound word. It is also interesting to note that the numeral formative prefix *ə-* is being dropped to form the higher numerals 10 onwards i.e., 11, 21, 31, and 41and so on. However, the rest of the numeral formative prefixes like *kə-, ke-, mə-, tə-* and *sə-* are remained as prefixes to the respective numerals as can be seen in the following examples:

kərəiyu-ket ‘eleven’

[10 +1=11]

kərəiyu-kena ‘twelve’

[10 +2 =12]

kərəiyu-kəčum ‘thirteen’

[10 + 3 =13]

kərəiyu-mədai ‘fourteen’

[10 + 4 = 14]

kərəiyu-məŋəiyu ‘fifteen’

[10 + 5 =15]

kərəiyu-sərok ‘sixteen’

[10+ 6 = 16]

kərəiyu-səna ‘seventeen’

[10 + 7 =17]

kərəiyu-təset ‘eighteen’

[10 + 8 =18]

kərəiyu-səkui ‘nineteen’

[10 + 9 =19]

As mentioned above that Zeme has vigesimal numeral *iŋkai* ‘20’ as a few number of Tibeto-Burman languages of North East India namely Manipuri (Yashawanta, 2000), Dimasa (Dhiren, 2013), Rongmei (Deb, 2015) etc do. The presence of vigesimal numeral *iŋkai* '20' is one of the typical features of Zeme. The formations of numerals from 21/twenty-one to 29/twenty-nine are demonstrated as below:

iŋkai-ket	'twenty-one'
[20 + 1 =21]	
iŋkai-kena	'twenty-two'
[20 +2 =22]	
iŋkai-kəčum	'twenty-three'
[20 + 3 =23]	
iŋkai-mədai	'twenty-four'
[20 + 4 =24]	
iŋkai-məŋəiyu	'twenty-five'
[20 +5 =25]	
iŋkai-sərok	'twenty-six'
[20 + 6 =26]	
iŋkai-səkui	'twenty-nine
[20 + 9 =29]	

4.4.1.2.2. Multiplicative compound numerals

The multiplicative compound numerals from 30/thirty to 39/thirtynine are formed by the multiplication of basic numeral 3/three to decade *rəiyu* 'ten'. In case of multiplication, the *him* 'three', the allomorph of *kəčum* is used to take part to form the higher numerals from 30 to 39. It is also interesting to note that the lower numeral precedes the higher numeral in the formation of following sets of numerals as demonstrated below:

him-rəiyu 'thirty'

[3 x 10 = 30]

him-rəiyu-ket 'thirty-one'

[3 x 10 + 1 = 31]

him-rəiyu-kena 'thirty-two'

[3 x 10 + 2 = 32]

him-rəiyu-kəčum 'thirty-three'

[3 x 10 + 3 = 33]

him-rəiyu-mədai 'thirty-four'

[3 x 10 + 4 = 34]

him-rəiyu-məŋəiyu 'thirty-five'

[3 x 10 + 5 = 35]

him-rəiyu-sərok ‘thirty-six’

[3 x 10 + 6 = 36]

him-rəiyu-səna ‘thirty-seven’

[3 x 10 + 7 = 37]

him-rəiyu-təset ‘thirty-eight’

[3 x 10 + 7 = 37]

him-rəiyu-səkui ‘thirty-nine’

[3 x 10 + 7 = 37]

Conversely, the decade numerals from 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, and 90 are formed by multiplication of decade by basic numerals from 4/four to 9/nine respectively. It is important to note that the numeral ‘ten’ in Zeme has four allomorphs: *kə-rəiyu, he, riŋ* and *riyak*. Interestingly the decade *kə-rəiyu* is used to form numerals from 10-19 (as shown above), the decade *he* is used to form numeral from 41-49 and the allomorph *riŋ* is used to form the numerals from 51-59, however the allomorph *riyak* is explicitly used to form higher numerals from 60-90 as can be seen in the following examples:

he-dai ‘forty’

[10 x 4 = 40]

riŋ-ŋəiyu ‘fifty’

[10 x 5 = 50]

riyak-sərok 'sixty'

[10 x 6 = 60]

riyak-səna 'seventy'

[10 x 7 = 70]

riyak-təset 'eighty'

[10 x 8 = 80]

riyak-səkui 'ninety'

[10 x 9 = 90]

In the formation of higher numerals 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, and 90 Matisoff (1995) rightly pointed out that "In many Kuki-Naga languages all the round numerals from 30-90 are multiplicative decimal construction, but the formation of '30' is different from '40' and above. THIRTY is expressed as 3 X 10, with the morpheme for TEN based on the independent '10', and the UNIT morpheme PRECEDING this TEN morpheme; '40, 50…..90' are expressed as 10X4, 10X5……10X9, with the UNIT morpheme following this TEN morpheme." This is true in the case of Zeme as well, that the numeral thirty is expressed as 3 X 10 i.e., the UNIT morpheme precedes the ten morphemes.

The century numerals from one hundred to nine hundred (100-900) are formed by multiplication of the century root *hai* '100' to the basic numerals one to nine (1-9) as follows:

hai-ket	'one hundred'
hai-na	'two-hundred'
hai-čum	'three-hundred'
hai-mədai	'four hundred'
hai-məŋəiyu	'five hundred'
hai-sərok	'six hundred'
hai-səna	'seven hundred'
hai-təset	'eight hundred'
hai-səkui	'nine hundred'

It is observed that the numeral formative prefixes *ə-, ke- and kə-* are being dropped to form the higher numerals such as one hundred, two hundred and three hundred however the numeral formative prefix *mə-, sə-, tə-* are used to form higher numeral such as four hundred, five hundred, six hundred, seven hundred, eight hundred and nine hundred as illustrated above. Similarly, the numerals from one thousand to nine thousand are also formed by multiplication of the root *čəŋ* 'thousand' to the basic numerals from one to nine. It is worth mentioning here that the numeral formative prefixe *ə-* is being dropped to form the higher numeral one thousand however, the numeral formative *ke-, mə-, kə-, sə-, tə-* are remained as prefixes to form the numerals such as two thousand, three thousand and so on as illustrated in the following examples:

čəŋ-ket	'one thousand'
čəŋ-kena	'two thousand'
čəŋ-kəčum	'three thousand'
čəŋ-mədai	'four thousand'
čəŋ-məŋəiyu	'five thousand'
čəŋ-sərok	'six thousand'
čəŋ-səna	'seven thousand'
čəŋ-təset	'eight thousand'
čəŋ-səkui	'nine thousand'

4.4.1.2.3. Multiplicative cum additive compound numerals

Numerals from 41-49, 51-59, 61-69, 71-79, 81-89, 91-99 in Zeme are formed through the multiplication of first two numerals and the summation of the third ones.

he-dai-ket	'forty-one'
[10 x 4 + 1 = 41]	
he-dai-mədai	'forty-four'
[10 x 4 + 4 = 44]	

riŋ-ŋəiyu-ket ‘fifty-one’

[10 x 5 + 1 = 51]

riŋ-ŋəiyu-sərok ‘fifty-six’

[10 x 5 + 6 = 56]

riyak-sərok-ket ‘sixty-one’

[10 x 6 + 1 = 61]

riyak-sərok-səkui ‘sixty-nine’

[10 x 6 + 9 = 69]

riyak-səna-ket ‘seventy-one’

[10 x 7 + 1 = 71]

riyak-səna-səna ‘seventy-seven’

[10 x 7 + 7 = 77]

riyak-təset-ket ‘eighty-one’

[10 x 8 + 1 = 81]

riyak-təset-səkui ‘eighty-nine’

[10 x 8 + 9 = 89]

riyak-səkui-ket ‘ninety-one’

[10 x 9 + 1 = 91]

riyak-səkui-səkui ‘ninety-nine’

[10 x 9 + 9 = 99]

4.4.2. Numerals in Noun Phrase construction

Syntactically, numeral is one of the optional grammatical elements in Noun-Phrase in Zeme. Functionally numeral is a modifier of the head noun in Zeme Noun Phrase and the numeral follows the head noun without any exception. So the order of numerals in an NP is [Noun + Numerals] as in (10)-(11). However, if the head noun is modified by an adjective and a numeral, the order is the head noun followed by the adjectival, followed by the numerals as can be seen in (12)-(13):

(10)	*i-ne*	*[nəmrui*	*kəčum]$_{NP}$*	*ŋəu-ləi*
	i-NOM	bird	three	be see-DECL
	'I saw three birds.'			

(11)	*ə-gu*	*[heki*	*kena]$_{NP}$*	*la-ləi*
	1-GEN	house	two	EXIST-DECL
	'I have two houses.'			

(12)	*i-ne*	*[nəmrui*	*tik-be*	*məŋəiyu]$_{NP}$*	*ŋəu-ləi*
	i-NOM	bird	be black-NMZ	five	be see-DECL
	'I saw five black birds.'				

(13)	*i-ne*	*[həka*	*di-be*	*kena]$_{NP}$*	*tui-ləi*
	i-NOM	fish	be big-NMZ	two	be catch-DECL
	'I caught two big fish.'				

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, the plural morphemes in Zeme cannot co-occur with numerals i.e., if the numerals are present in Noun phrase construction, the plural morphemes are being dropped. In other words, the plurality is expressed by numerals rather than plural morphemes as shown in the following examples:

(14)	*kəbuisaŋ-rəme*	*p^{h}əitak*	*təiyu-ləi*
	bull-PL	grass	be eat-DECL
	'The bulls are grazing.'		

(15)	*kəbuisaŋ*	*kena*	*p^{h}əitak*	*təiyu-ləi*
	bull-PL	two	grass	be eat-DECL
	'Two bulls are grazing.'			

(16)	*ə-nui*	*hetəi-rəme-du*	*lak-ləi*
	1-PL	dog-PL-ACC	be beat-DECL
	'We beat the dogs.'		

(17)	*i-ne*	*hetəi*	*gi-be*	*kəčum-du*	*lak-ləi*
	i-NOM	dog	be red-NMZ	three-ACC	be beat-DECL
	'I beat three red dogs.'				

4.4.3. Ordinals numerals

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, the ordinal numerals in Zeme are formed by means of affixation mostly by prefixation and suffixation except in the case of ordinal 'first'. In other words, the ordinal *rəiləŋ-be* 'first' is formed by suffixing nominalizer *-be* to the root morpheme *rəiləŋ*. However, the rest of the ordinal numerals such as second, third, fourth, etc. are formed by prefixing *pa-* and suffixing *-be* to the numeral root respectively, however, the *rəiləŋbe* 'first'is merely a suppletive form which is found in many other Tibeto-Burman languages namely Manipuri, Dimasa, Rongmei, Kok-Borok etc.The following examples show the formation of ordinal numerals in the language.

rəiləŋ-be	'first'
pa-kena-be	'second'
pa-kəčum-be	'third'
pa-mədai-be	'fourth'
pa-məŋəiyu-be	'fifth'
pa-sərok-be	'sixth'
pa-səna-be	'seventh'

pa-təset-be	'eight'
pa-səkui-be	'ninth'

4.4.4. Fractional numerals

In Zeme, the lexical items for 'half', 'piece' and 'quarter' are the only basic fractional numerals found in the language. It is interesting to note that all lexical items indicating half, piece and quarter in Zeme is words bilabial initial. It is also worth mentioning here that the fractional numeral in the language is very rare as few fractional numerals are noticed in the language. Thus it is one of the typical features of Tibeto-Burman language as shared by Zeme and its sister languages. Fractional numerals found in Zeme are illustrated in the following examples:

pepi	'half'
pəsap	'piece'
pədou	'quarter'

4.4.5. Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals in Zeme are formed by prefixing the morpheme *lo-* to the corresponding cardinal numerals. It is generally used when a question arises "how many times or how many folds" as many other Tibeto-Burman languages do. The multiplicative numerals in Zeme are shown below:

lo-ket	'once'
lo-na	'twice'
lo-čum	'thrice'
lo-mədai	'four times'
lo-məŋəiyu	'five times'
lo-sərok	'six times'
lo-kərəiyu	'ten times'

4.4.6. Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals in the language are formed by reduplicating the root morpheme as demonstrated in the following examples.

əket-ket	'one each'
kəna-na	'two each'
kəčum-čum	'three each'
mədai-dai	'four each'
məŋəiyu-ŋəiyu	'five each'
sərok-rok	'six each'
səna-na	'seven each'
təset-set	'eight each'
səkui-kui	'nine each'
kərdiyu-rəiyu	'ten each'

iŋkai-kai	'twenty each'
haiket-ket	'hundred each'

4.4.7. Restrictive numerals

Restrictive numerals in Zeme are formed by suffixing */-rinne/* to the cardinal numerals as shown in the following examples:

ke-rinne	'only one'
kena-rinne	'only two'
kəčum-rinne	'only three'
mədai-rinne	'only four'
kərəiyu-rinne	'only ten'
haiket-rinne	'only hundred'

4.4.8. Approximate numerals

Approximate numerals in the language are formed by adding morpheme *gumbe* to the corresponding cardinal numerals as can be seen in the following examples.

ləisi	*məŋəiyu-gumbe*	'about five books'
book	five-about	

heki	*kərəiyu-gumbe*	'about ten houses'
house	ten-about	
hetəi	*kəčum-gumbe*	'about three dogs'
dog	three-about	

4.5. Case and postpositions:

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, case relations in Zeme are expressed by means of postpositions. There are eight case markers in Zeme to show the relationship between the noun and pronoun with other constituents in the sentence. Undoubtedly, the same case markers are used for both animate and inanimate nouns. Case markers are not marked for number and gender of the nouns in Zeme. The eight cases in Zeme are described below:

(i) Nominative case

(ii) Accusative case

(iii) Dative case

(iv) Locative case

(v) Genitive case

(vi) Instrumental case

(vii) Associative case and

(viii) Ablative case

Cases	Form	Function
Nominative	*ne*	Agent
Accusative	*ču/du*	Experiencer
Dative	*həŋ*	Recipient
Locative	*ge*	Location of participant
Genitive	*gu*	Possession
Instrumental	*ne*	Instrument of agent
Associative	*nai*	Participants
Ablative	*gene*	Source

Table no.13: Case markers in Zeme

4.5.1. Nominative Case:

Nominative case in Zeme is expressed by the postposing the nominative case marker *-ne* to the noun or pronoun as can be seen in the following examples:

(21) *i-ne* *kətum-du* *lak-ləi*

I-NOM cow-ACC be beat-DECL

'I beat the cow'.

(22) *hetəi-ne* *heməi* *təiyu-ləi*

dog-NOM meat be eat-DECL

'The dog ate the meat.'

(23)	*pa-ne*	*henapoine-du*	*ŋəu-ləi*
	he-NOM	child-ACC	be see-DECL
	'He sees the child.'		

(24)	*i-ne*	*aipəu*	*hərasəm*	*ləisi*	*kena*	*lui-ləi*
	i-NOM	DEM	story	book	two	be buy-DECL
	'I buy this two story book.'					

However, the nominative case marker *-ne* is randomly dropped in Zeme in the following examples (25)-(28):

(25)	*i*	*tak*	*təiyu-ləi*
	I	rice	be eat-DECL
	'I eat rice.'		

(26)	*pa*	*nəmrui-du*	*lak-ləi*
	he	bird-ACC	be hit-DECL
	'He hits the bird.'		

(27)	*i*	*hənapoine-du*	*ŋəu-ləi*
	I	child-ACC	be see-DECL
	'I see the child.'		

(28) *henapoine* *nəŋ-ču* *ŋəu-ləi*

child you-ACC be see-DECL

'The child sees you.'

4.5.2. Accusative Case:

In Zee, the accusative case is marked by markers *-cu* ~ *-du*. More specifically the marker *-cu* occurs with noun or pronoun ends with consonants and the *-du* occurs with nouns or pronouns ends with vowels as exemplified below:

(29) *i* *nəŋ-ču* *inča-ləi*

I you-ACC like-DECL

'I like you.'

(30) *pa-ne* *herasəm-ču* *iŋgiya-ləi*

he-NOM story-ACC love-DECL

'He loves story.'

(31) *i* *hələiyupui-du* *ŋəu-ləi*

I lady-ACC be see-DECL

'I see the lady.'

(32) *i-ne makahəga-me-du tui-di-ləi*

i-NOM robber-man-ACC be catch-EVD-DECL

'I caught the robber.'

4.5.3. Dative Case:

Dative case in Zeme is expressed by postposing the marker *-həŋ* to the nouns or pronouns as can be seen in the following examples:

(33) *mipui-ne miyaone-həŋ heməi pəi-ləi*

mother-NOM cat-DAT meat be give-DECL

'Mother gave the meat to the child.'

(34) *i-ne pa-həŋ məčo əket inzimai pəi-ləi*

I-NOM he-DAT shirt one yesterday be give-DECL

'I gave him a shirt yesterday.'

(35) *pa-ne hesaŋne-həŋ ketəiyugesak kəi-ləi*

She-NOM guest-DAT food be serve-DECL

'She served the food to the guest.'

(36) *kagetəipəiyu-ne nəpoine-həŋ ləisi pəi-ləi*

Teacher-NOM child-DAT book be give-DECL

'Teacher gave the book to the child.'

(37)	*samani-ne*	*pinky-həŋ-ge*	*čiyaka*	*pəi-ləi*
	Samani-NOM	pinky-DAT-LOC	bag	be give-DECL

‘Samani give a bag to pinky.’

(38)	*kəbui tuŋdui*	*həname-həŋ-ge*	*pəi-ləi*	
	cow milk	child-DAT-LOC	be give-DECL	

‘Give milk to the child.’

4.5.4. Locative Case:

The locative case in Zeme is expressed by postposing the marker *-ge* to the noun to indicate the location of an object or an event as can be seen in the following examples:

(39)	*i*	*ə-ki-ge*	*bəm-ləi*
	I	1-house-LOC	stay-DECL

‘I am in my house’.

(40)	*pa*	*Manipur-ge*	*luŋ-ləi*
	He	Manipur-LOC	live-DECL

‘He lives in Manipur.’

(41) *hənapoine-rəme* *kere-ge* *waŋ-ləi*

children-PL garden-LOC be come-ləi

'The children come to the garden'

(42) *ariŋ* *hiŋbaŋ* *kaŋ-ge* *zei-ləi*

aring tree under-LOC be sleep-DECL

'Aring slept under the tree'

(43) *kʰəuriŋ-rəme* *həlu-ge* *la-ləi*

animal-PL field-LOC EXIST-DECL

'Animals are in the field.'

4.5.5. Genitive Case:

The genitive case in Zeme is expressed by the marker -*gu* to indicate possession of a thing or a person as shown in (44)-(47). Genitive case is also expressed by pronominal prefixes in the language as shown in the following examples (48)-(51):

(44) *ə-gu* *bəs* *la-ləi*

1-GEN bus EXIST-DECL

'I have a bus.'

(45) *aize* *ə-gu* *həlu* *la-ləi*

DEM 1-GEN field EXIST-DECL

'This is my field.'

(46) *pə-gu* *kebaŋ*

3-GEN servant

'His servant'

(47) *pə-gu* *int^{h}ui*

3-GEN basket

'Her basket'

(48) *pa-ze* *ə-pui* *ləi*

She-DET 1-F DECL

'She is my mother.'

(49) *ə-na* *ki-luŋ-ge* *la-ləi*

1-son house-in-LOC EXIST-DECL

'My son is in the house.'

(50)	*nəŋ-na-rəme*	*daige*	*la-ləu*
	2-child-PL	where	EXIST-IMP

‘Where are your children?’

(51)	*aize*	*ə-ki-rəme*	*ləi*
	DEM	1-house-PL	DECL

‘These are my houses.’

4.5.6. Instrumental Case:

The instrumental case in Zeme is expressed by the marker *-ne*. It is worth mentioning here that the instrumental marker *-ne* is homophonous with nominative case marker in the language as can be seen in the following examples:

(52)	*i*	*čiŋrumki-ne*	*čiŋbaŋ*	*kui-ləi*
	I	saw-INST	tree	be cut-DECL

‘I cut the tree with a saw’.

(53)	*i*	*dəiraŋ-ne*	*ta*	*təiyu-ləi*
	I	spade-INST	work	be do-DECL

‘I work by spade.’

(54)	*pa*	*məči*	*həke–ne*	*paŋ–ləi*
	he	fruit	knife-INST	be cut-DECL

‘He cut the fruit with a knife.’

(55)	*kagetəipəiyu*	*hətui-ne*	*ləisiname-ze*	*lak-ləi*
	Teacher	stick-INST	student-DET	be beat-DECL

‘Teacher beat the student with a stick.’

(56)	*mitəm-kiyap-pəiyu*	*təgine-ne*	*mitəm*	*kiyap-ləi*
	hair-cut-man	scissor-INST	hair	be cut-DECL

‘The barber cut the hair with scissors.’

(57)	*i*	*hənəi-ne*	*iŋgəiyuki*	*ka-bəm-ləi*
	I	boat-INST	river	cross-PROG-DECL

‘I am crossing the river with a boat.’

4.5.7. Associative case:

The associative case in Zeme is expressed by postposing the marker *-nai* to the nouns or pronouns as can be seen in the following examples:

(58)	*hənapoine*	*həlu-ge*	*bol-nai*	*bəm-ləi*
	child	field-LOC	ball-ASS	stay-DECL

‘The child is in the field with a ball.’

(59)	*muhindro*	*pə-kaŋme-nai*	*kirket*	*int^ha-bəm-ləi*
	Muhindro	3-friend-ASS	cricket	be play-PROG-DECL

‘Muhindro is playing cricket with his friend.’

(60)	*i*	*saran-nai*	*silcər*	*tet-gu-ləi*
	I	saran-ASS	silchar	be go-IRS-DECL

‘I will go to silchar with Saran.’

(61)	*ə-sipui-nai*	*ə-sipəiyu-rəme*	*ki-luŋ-ge*	*la-ləi*
	1-sister-ASS	1-brother-PL	house-in-LOC	EXIST-DECL

‘My brother and sister are in ths house.’

(62)	*niŋciŋle*	*pə-pui-nai*	*tet-ləi*
	Niŋciŋle	3-F-ASS	be go-DECL

‘Niŋciŋle went with her mother.’

4.5.8. Ablative Case:

The ablative case in Zeme is expressed by the ablative case marker -*gene*, which is the combination of locative case marker -*ge* and nominative or instrumental case marker -*ne* as can be seen in the following examples:

(63) *mənəiyu* *hiŋbaŋ-gene* *kəkeiyu-ləi.*
leaf tree-ABL be fall-DECL
'Leaves fall from the tree.'

(64) *ə-nui* *iŋgəiyuki-gene* *hədui* *lu-ləi*
1-PL river-ABL water be get-DECL
'We get water from river.'

(65) *john* *silchər-gene* *waŋdai-ləi*
John delhi-ABL be return-DECL
'John has returned from Silchar.'

(66) *jiribam* *imp^{h}al-gene* *dəiyu-ləi*
Jiribam imphal-ABL be far-DECL
'Jiribam is far from Imphal.'

(67)	*pa*	*həki-pəi-gene*	*insakkəiyu-ləi*
	he	house-top-ABL	be jump-DECL

‘He jumped from the top of the house.’

(68)	*hənapoine*	*ləisiki-gene*	*waŋ-ləi*
	child	school-ABL	be come-DECL

‘The child came from school.’

4.6. Pronouns

In Zeme, pronouns are sub classes of nouns however, they can be distinguished from the nouns by the criterion of persons i.e., pronouns can be used in all three persons: first, second and the third. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, the gender distinction is not found in the case of Zeme pronouns however the singular-non-singular distinction is made. In Zeme, pronouns may be classified into the following categories as illustrated below:

(a) Personal pronoun

(b) Demonstrative pronoun

(c) Interrogative pronoun

(d) Reflexive pronoun and

(e) Indefinite pronoun

4.6.1. Personal pronoun

Personal Pronoun in Zeme can be categorized into three persons as (i) first person (ii) second person and (iii) third person. Structurally all the three personal pronouns are monosyllabic in nature. It is interesting to note that the second person personal pronoun *nəŋ* seems to be Proto Tibeto-Burman **naŋ* (Benedict 1972). It is also worth to be mentioned here that the first and third persons plural are formed by the suffixation of *-nui* to the first and third persons pronominal clitics: *ə* and *pə*, whereas the plural of second person personal pronoun is formed by the suffixing *-nui* directly to the second person personal pronoun *nəŋ*. This is one of the typical features of Tibeto-Burman languages shared by Zeme language. The personal pronouns in Zeme can be shown in the following table no. 14.

Person	Singular	Plural
First	*i* 'I'	*ənui* 'we'
second	*nəŋ* 'you'	*nəŋnui* 'you'
Third	*pa* 's/he'	*pənui* 'they'

Table no.14: Personal pronouns in Zeme

4.6.2. Demonstrative pronoun

Demonstrative pronouns in Zeme can be classified into two types: proximate and remote.

4.6.2.1. Proximate

The proximate demonstrative pronoun in Zeme is formed by adding *-ze* and *-pəu* to the demonstrative root *ai* as can be seen in the following examples:

(69) *ai-ze* *ketum* *ləi*
DEM cow DECL
'This is a cow'

(70) *ai-ze* *ə-ki* *ləi*
DEM 1-house DECL
'This is my house'

(71) *ai-ze* *ə-gu* *həlu-ləi*
DEM 1-GEN field-DECL
'This is my field'

(72) *ai-ze* *mənəiyu* *di-be-ləi*
DEM leaf be large-NMZ-DECL
'This is a large leaf'

(73)	*ai-pəu*	*əzaŋme*	*ti-ləi*
	DEM	men	be tall-DECL

'These men are tall'

(74)	*ai-pəu*	*hərasəm*	*i-ləi*
	DEM	story	be good-DECL

'This is a good story.'

(75)	*i*	*ai-pəu*	*ləisi*	*inča-ləi*
	i	DEM	book	be like-DECL

'I like this book'

4.6.2.2. Remote

The remote demonstrative pronouns in the language are formed by suffixing *-ze and* and *-pao* to the demonstrative root *či.* The *-pao* occurs with animate things whereas *-ze* occurs with inanimate things as demonstrated in the following examples:

(76)	*či-pao*	*pəiyu*	*di-ləi*
	DR-REM	man	be fat-DECL

'That man is fat'

(77) *či-pao* *pui* *ri-ləi*

DR-REM girl be lean-DECL

'That girl is lean'

(78) *či-pao* *pəiyu* *pəkiyunpaŋ-ləi*

DR-REM boy be deaf-DECL

'That boy is deaf'

(79) *či-pao* *hekiyun-ze* *zo-ra-be-ləi*

DR-REM horse-DET be sold-IRS-NMZ-DEC

'That horse is to be sold'

(80) *či-ze* *nəŋ-gu* *ləisi-ləi*

DEM you-GEN book-DECL

'That is your book.'

(81) *či-ze* *kəbuigari* *cəi-be-ləi*

DEM bullockcart be small-NMZ-DECL

'That is a small bullock cart.'

4.6.3. Interrogetive pronoun

Structurally, interrogative pronouns in Zeme can be divided into two types: (i) basic and (ii) derived.

4.6.3.1. Basic interrogative

The basic interrogative pronoun in Zeme is underived ones. The basic interrogative pronouns in Zeme are described below:

čao 'who'

dai 'what'

4.6.3.2. Derived interrogative

The derived interrogative pronouns are derived from the basic interrogative pronouns by adding various case markers. Derived interrogative pronouns are extensively used in Zeme as many other Tibeto-Burman languages do. The derived interrogative pronouns in Zeme can be illustrated in the following examples:

čao-ne 'whom'

what-NOM

čao-gu 'whose'

what-GEN

dai-ge ‘where’

what-LOC

The uses of interrogative pronouns in Zeme are shown in the following examples:

(82) *čao-ne* *čira-ləu*

who-NOM be know-IMP

‘Who knows?’

(83) *həlu-ge* *kəu-kəu* *ču-ləu*

field-LOC what-what be grow-IMP

‘What is grown in the field?’

(84) *daitəiyuze* *nəŋ* *tet-ləu*

why 2SG be go-IMP

‘Why are you going?’

(85) *nəŋ* *čao-du* *iŋgiya-ləu*

you who-ACC love-IMP

‘Whom do you love?’

(86) *nəŋ* *dai-ge* *bəm-ləu*

2SG what-LOC place-IMP

'Where do you live?'

4.6.4. Reflexive pronoun

Reflexive pronouns in Zeme are formed by adding the marker *-rin* to the pronominal prefix which usually occurs after the subject argument as can be seen in the following examples:

(87) *i* *ə-rin-ne* *ə-ču* *nəm ləi*

I 1-REFL-NOM 1-ACC trust DECL

'I trust myself'

(88) *pa* *pa-rin-ne* *malaŋ-ləi*

she 3-REFL-NOM be cook-DECL

'She cooks herself'

(89) *nəŋ* *nəŋ-rin-ne* *təiyu-ləu*

you you-REFL-NOM work-COM

'You work yourself'

(90) *ənui ənui-rin-ne təiyu-ləi*

we 1PL-REFL-NOM be make-DECL

'We made it ourselves'

(91) *pənui pənui-rin-ne waŋ-ləu*

they 3PL-REFL-NOM be come-COM

'They come themselves'

4.6.5. Indefinite pronoun

Like many other South East Asian languages in general and Tibeto-Burman languages in particular, Zeme does not have distinct form of indefinite pronouns rather indefinite pronouns in the language are formed by means of compounding as can be seen in the following examples:

dəu dəube	'anything'
ket aləine	'everything'
kesa	'something'
mi həŋ ket	'someone'
mi gədumakləi	'nobody'

The uses of interogative pronoun in sentence construction in Zeme language is illustrated as follows:

(91)	*mihəŋket*	*nəŋ-ki-ge*	*waŋ-muidə-ləi*	
	Someone	you-house-LOC	be come-EVD-DECL	
	‘Someone is coming to my house.’			

(92)	*məket*	*pə-gu*	*ceka-ge*	*la-ləi*
	Something	3-GEN	bag-LOC	EXIST-DECL
	‘Something is there in her bag.’			

(93)	*mihəŋket-du*	*keluwa-ge*	*bəm-mak-ləi*
	No one-ACC	village-LOC	live-NEG-DECL
	‘No one stay in the village.’		

(94)	*həlaŋki-ge*	*migede*	*ga-ləi*
	kitchen-LOC	nothing	NEG-DECL
	‘Nothing is there in the kitchen.’		

(95) *aige* *migə-du* *waŋ-mak-ləi*

here nobody-ACC be come-NEG-DECL

'Nobody come here.'

(96) *magetaləine* *i-ne* *əpui-həŋ-ge* *pəi-gu-ləi*

everything i-NOM 1F-DAT-LOC be give-IRS.ASP-DECL

'I will give everything to my mother.'