Chapter-4

LEXICAL CHANGES AND SEMANTIC VARIATIONS

4.1. Lexical Changes

4.1.1. Identical Lexical Correspondences

4.1.2. Non-identical Lexical Changes

4.2. Semantic Variations

4.2.1. Lexical Level

4.2.2. Phrasal Level
There are some levels of dialect variations. Among those, lexical and semantic variations are also levels of dialect variation. Under this section, lexical changes and semantic variations in the six dialects of Manipuri have been discussed. With this, it is observed that there are some differences in the lexical items of six dialects i.e. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel, and Heirok. In addition, variation in the lexical items also causes, semantic variations among the six dialects. Those variations regarding the lexical items and semantic variations are discussed below with examples.

4.1 LEXICAL CHANGES

One of the most noticeable changes or variations among the dialects is the difference in the use of lexical items or vocabularies. For example, a *lift* in British English is called an *elevator* in American English, a *lorry* is called a truck, and a *jumper* is called a sweater. In addition to different terms being used to refer to the same items, sometimes it is also found that a single term can be used to refer to different things in different dialects. For example, in northern Germany, where varieties of Low German are spoken, the word *mucke* means ‘mosquito’ while in parts of Austria, *mucke* means ‘gnat’ or ‘housefly’ (Natalie Schilling-Estes, 320). Similarly, *ŋəpái* means ‘giant gourami’, in Thanga dialect while in Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel, and Heirok dialects, *ŋəpái* means ‘Notopterus chitala’. In order
to highlight those changes in the six dialects, lexical changes can be analysed into two categories.

a) Identical lexical correspondences

b) Non-identical lexical changes

4.1.1. **Identical Lexical Correspondences**

In many cases, the six dialects namely Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects have identical or exact lexical correspondences despite of having tonal differences. Here, the tonal system of the lexical items of these six dialects will not be discussed and all the examples are mainly nominal form of words. The Identical correspondences can further be sub-categorised into three types.

i. Identical correspondences in monosyllabic words

ii. Identical correspondences in disyllabic words and

iii. Identical correspondences in multisyllabic words

4.1.1.1. **Identical correspondences in monosyllabic words**

Under this section, some identical monosyllabic words which have similar meanings in the six dialects i.e. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok are given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imphal</th>
<th>Kumbi</th>
<th>Thanga</th>
<th>Wangoo</th>
<th>Chairel</th>
<th>Heirok</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>səm</td>
<td>səm</td>
<td>səm</td>
<td>səm</td>
<td>səm</td>
<td>səm</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mit</td>
<td>mit</td>
<td>mit</td>
<td>mit</td>
<td>mit</td>
<td>mit</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cak</td>
<td>cak</td>
<td>cak</td>
<td>cak</td>
<td>cak</td>
<td>cak</td>
<td>‘rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>‘bed bug’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
siŋ siŋ siŋ siŋ siŋ siŋ ‘ginger’
nuŋ nuŋ nuŋ nuŋ nuŋ nuŋ ‘stone’

4.1.1.2. Identical correspondences in disyllabic words

In this, identical correspondences in disyllabic words are discussed and examples are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imphal</th>
<th>Kumbi</th>
<th>Thanga</th>
<th>Wangoo</th>
<th>Chairel</th>
<th>Heirok</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ləpʰoi</td>
<td>ləpʰoi</td>
<td>ləpʰoi</td>
<td>ləpʰoi</td>
<td>ləpʰoi</td>
<td>ləpʰoi</td>
<td>‘banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pari</td>
<td>pari</td>
<td>pari</td>
<td>pari</td>
<td>pari</td>
<td>pari</td>
<td>‘male child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>həitup</td>
<td>həitup</td>
<td>həitup</td>
<td>həitup</td>
<td>həitup</td>
<td>həitup</td>
<td>‘apple’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hikpi</td>
<td>hikpi</td>
<td>hikpi</td>
<td>hikpi</td>
<td>hikpi</td>
<td>hikpi</td>
<td>‘louse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mairen</td>
<td>mairen</td>
<td>mairen</td>
<td>mairen</td>
<td>mairen</td>
<td>mairen</td>
<td>‘pumpkin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰərai</td>
<td>kʰərai</td>
<td>kʰərai</td>
<td>kʰərai</td>
<td>kʰərai</td>
<td>kʰərai</td>
<td>‘grill’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.1.3. Identical correspondences in multisyllabic words.

Some identical multisyllabic words which correspond identically among the six dialects are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imphal</th>
<th>Kumbi</th>
<th>Thanga</th>
<th>Wangoo</th>
<th>Chairel</th>
<th>Heirok</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laikʰudeŋ</td>
<td>laikʰudeŋ</td>
<td>laikʰudeŋ</td>
<td>laikʰudeŋ</td>
<td>laikʰudeŋ</td>
<td>laikʰudeŋ</td>
<td>‘big tub’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sənabun</td>
<td>sənabun</td>
<td>sənabun</td>
<td>sənabun</td>
<td>sənabun</td>
<td>sənabun</td>
<td>‘pitcher’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hidakpʰu</td>
<td>hidakpʰu</td>
<td>hidakpʰu</td>
<td>hidakpʰu</td>
<td>hidakpʰu</td>
<td>hidakpʰu</td>
<td>‘hookah’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laŋmeidoŋ</td>
<td>laŋmeidoŋ</td>
<td>laŋmeidoŋ</td>
<td>laŋmeidoŋ</td>
<td>laŋmeidoŋ</td>
<td>laŋmeidoŋ</td>
<td>‘a place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hijangəi</td>
<td>hijangəi</td>
<td>hijangəi</td>
<td>hijangəi</td>
<td>hijangəi</td>
<td>hijangəi</td>
<td>‘a month’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.2. Non-Identical Lexical Changes

Under this head, certain lexical items which have different forms but carry same meaning, corresponding to each other are given. Furthermore, it can be divided into four categories. They are-

- Partial difference among the words
- Complete difference among the words
- Change in the compound words
- Irregular change among the words

4.1.2.1. Partial difference among the words

In this partial difference, the differences are mainly due to the difference in one syllable either in the first syllable or in the second syllable. This can further be analysed into two forms.

a. Difference in the first syllable

In this sub-category, some selected examples which are different in the first syllable are given. This difference is mainly due to the change in the vowel as well as insertion of consonant as in the example $k^b{o}gni\eta>k^b{u}ni\eta$ or change of consonant as well as diphthong to monophthong as in the example $l\sigma{u}rak>m\sigma{r}ak$ or or both in the vowel and consonant as $n\sigma{m}ajk^h{a}>l\sigma{m}ajk^h{a}$ or due to the deletion of phoneme as in the $k^h{u}k{-}u>k^h{u}{-}u$. Sometimes, addition of one free morpheme as in the $h\sigma{b}o\eta>laih\sigma{b}o\eta$ can also be observed. Furthermore, some Examples are given below to show the variations.
b. **Difference in the second syllable**

In this sub-category, the difference is mainly in the second syllable of the words. These words are formed by combining one free root and one bound root or both may be bound roots or may be free roots. Examples are illustrated below-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imphal</th>
<th>Kumbi</th>
<th>Thanga</th>
<th>Wangoo</th>
<th>Chairel</th>
<th>Heirok</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰuniŋ</td>
<td>kʰuniŋ</td>
<td>kʰuniŋ</td>
<td>kʰoŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>kʰuniŋ</td>
<td>kʰuniŋ</td>
<td>‘heel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰu-u</td>
<td>kʰuk-u</td>
<td>kʰu-u</td>
<td>kʰu-u</td>
<td>kʰok-u</td>
<td>kʰok-ŋu</td>
<td>‘knee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>‘ankle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɔŋmaŋkʰa</td>
<td>nɔŋmaŋkʰa</td>
<td>nɔŋmaŋkʰa</td>
<td>nɔŋmaŋkʰa</td>
<td>lɔmɑŋkʰa</td>
<td>lɔmɑŋkʰa</td>
<td>‘adhatoda’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lɔurak</td>
<td>mərak</td>
<td>mərak</td>
<td>lɔurak</td>
<td>lɔurak</td>
<td>lɔurak</td>
<td>‘a unit for measuring land’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hɔibɔŋ</td>
<td>ləhɔibɔŋ hɔibɔŋ hɔibɔŋ ləhɔibɔŋ hɔibɔŋ</td>
<td>‘fig tree’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səmbun</td>
<td>səmji</td>
<td>səmbun</td>
<td>səmji</td>
<td>səmji</td>
<td>səmbun</td>
<td>‘hair bun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>‘wrist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenjum</td>
<td>lenban</td>
<td>lenjum</td>
<td>lenban</td>
<td>lenban</td>
<td>lenjum</td>
<td>‘shoulder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soibum</td>
<td>soiŋin</td>
<td>soibum</td>
<td>soibum</td>
<td>soibum</td>
<td>soibum</td>
<td>‘bamboo shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>uŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>ucuk</td>
<td>ucup</td>
<td>ucup</td>
<td>ucuk</td>
<td>‘peg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahi</td>
<td>wahi</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>wahi</td>
<td>wahi</td>
<td>watin</td>
<td>‘an insect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰuŋŋum</td>
<td>pʰuŋŋik</td>
<td>pʰuŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>pʰuŋŋik</td>
<td>pʰuŋŋik</td>
<td>pʰuŋŋum</td>
<td>‘olivier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰoŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>tʰoŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>tʰoŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>tʰoŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>tʰoŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>tʰoŋŋiŋ</td>
<td>‘sesame’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be observed that there is complete difference among the words in the six dialects of Manipuri i.e. Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel, Heirok and Imphal. The words are of monosyllabic or disyllabic or multisyllabic in nature.

Example -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imphal</th>
<th>Kumbi</th>
<th>Thanga</th>
<th>Wangoo</th>
<th>Chairel</th>
<th>Heirok</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>mittu</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>‘eyelash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰabouŋa</td>
<td>ŋacoŋ</td>
<td>pʰabouŋa</td>
<td>ŋahau</td>
<td>pʰabokŋa</td>
<td>pʰabokŋa</td>
<td>‘swamp barb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coŋna</td>
<td>coŋna</td>
<td>coŋna</td>
<td>upʰoi</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>coŋna</td>
<td>‘common myna’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰoiniŋ</td>
<td>cucrubi</td>
<td>kʰoiniŋ</td>
<td>kʰoiniŋ kʰonŋ kicks</td>
<td>cucrubi</td>
<td>kʰoiniŋ</td>
<td>‘nightingale’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahi</td>
<td>cicribi</td>
<td>cicribi</td>
<td>cicribi</td>
<td>cicribi</td>
<td>isiŋcaubi</td>
<td>‘an insect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cer³i</td>
<td>cer³i</td>
<td>cer³i</td>
<td>mənaɾai</td>
<td>cer³i</td>
<td>bʊjare</td>
<td>‘bougainvillia’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰuŋŋ</td>
<td>kusumlai</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋ</td>
<td>kʰuŋŋ</td>
<td>‘balsom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukkAna</td>
<td>mukkAna</td>
<td>mukkAna</td>
<td>mukkAna</td>
<td>mukkAna</td>
<td>mukkAna</td>
<td>‘pearl danio’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukabi</td>
<td>s剜cet</td>
<td>s剜yetŋa</td>
<td>ukabi</td>
<td>ukabi</td>
<td>s剜s剜yet</td>
<td>‘climbing perch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaonæjən</td>
<td>taicep</td>
<td>kaonæjən</td>
<td>tajep</td>
<td>kaojen</td>
<td>kaonæjən</td>
<td>‘a kind of cock’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
--- | ṇamurin | kəmbɔgnarin | --- | --- | numıtjuŋbi | ‘a kind of garden lizard’ |
numitjuŋbi numitjuŋbi --- numitjuŋbi numitjuŋbi ‘garden lizard’
k^b{oibu} k^b{oibu} k^b{oibuniŋt}^b{u} --- --- bomb^b{e}ra ‘bumble bee’
lonk^b{əŋiŋ} lonk^b{əŋiŋ} lonk^b{əŋiŋ} lonk^b{əŋiŋ} urok^b{e}a jonk^b{əŋiŋ} ‘an aquatic insect’
--- səmutin --- həinəutin til --- ‘an insect’
kurak kurak kurak kurak kurak gulab ‘butterfly’
--- haunasek haunasek haunasek isinəmp^b{i} isinəmp^b{i} ‘a kind of water bug’
t^b{əŋgonlenbi jəgoisabi laik^b{urumbi} jəgoisabi jəgoisabi t^b{əŋgonlenbi ‘stick insect’
--- t^b{igobi} kobit^b{jəbi} t^b{igobi} t^b{igobi} t^b{ikobi} ‘a kind of beetle’
--- tŋkɔŋkɔŋkoŋ --- k^b{awaŋtakpi} kəbokarəməc ‘chrysalis’
jembindiŋ jembriniŋ jembolëniŋ jibinĩsəuɓa jembrinîŋ --- ‘a desease on ear’
punjdon haibon punjdon punjdon punjton punjdon ‘guava’
--- jensinmubi --- --- jensinəcəuɓa gəŋgajensin ‘wood sorrel’
sin̅- mərum- --- mərum- laiibuŋ- laipuŋ-
k^b{aŋk}^b{e} konbi --- konbi k^b{aŋk}^b{e} k^b{aŋk}^b{e} ‘brush tomato’
t^əunəm t^əunəm mənimət^b{əuri} t^əunəm t^əunəmbi --- ‘cassia/caecia’
--- məikappi --- --- --- tumit məpən ‘a herb’
kəlməni taut^b{ra} --- kulənni --- kulənni ‘water spinach’
nəŋballəi t^b{iri} kəŋəläi tŋk^b{əŋləi} səmbəlləi nəŋballəi ‘lantana’
sənərəi sənərəi sənərəi sənərəi sənərəi t^b{oŋpi ‘marigold’
jubaŋkusum pəŋgəŋləi --- jubaŋkusum --- heloiɓai ‘big chinarose’
jubaŋkusum- morokläi --- jubaŋkusum morokläi jubaŋkusum ‘small
 t^b{ondoɓə chinarose’
--- soija pitʰrai- pitʰrai- pitʰrai- petʰrai-
kompak kompak kompak kompak ‘bronze tub’
kʰərai can jəlon jəloni jot kʰərai kʰərai ‘grill’
nupa in səŋbren səŋbren inpʰi inpʰui nupa in ‘a kind of fishing net’
loŋʰrai pongal loŋʰrai loŋʰrai loŋʰrai --- ‘a fish net with long handle’
--- istop istop sot istop --- ‘a kind of device use to bail out water’

monpak- maitʰə monpak- maidʰə maitʰə monpak-
pʰidək pʰidək pʰidək ‘bed sheet’
polanjʰok polanjʰok səŋgəm polanjʰok polanjʰok polanjʰok ‘cloth line’
majaŋ paŋ majaŋ paŋ paŋ paŋ ‘a device use in weaving’
--- sanəm kʰwaŋli --- sanəm --- ‘weaving belt’
lepsumbən lepsum səmbən hausumbəl --- suməm ‘a kind of mortar’
kənəl kənəl --- kənə ni --- taijot ‘kernal’
--- sakʰum --- səu səu səu ‘a kind of cover’
--- kantʰək kəntʰək tʰola --- --- ‘rack/shelf’
pʰəubəi pʰəubəi --- pʰəubəi --- kʰecura ‘a stack of’
lok kʰak nəptronŋ lok --- kʰak ‘mucus’
la pʰəura pʰəura pʰəura pʰəura la ‘flat basket to expose paddy’
4.1.2.3. Change in the Compound Words

Generally, compound words are formed by combining two or more independent lexical items in Manipuri. These six dialects have lexical differences in the formation of compound words. These changes are mainly due to the change of order of the words that make the compound or replacement of one lexeme by another lexeme. The other factors are different socio-cultural settings and experiences among the dialects. For instance, people of Imphal, Thanga and Chairel believed that the grass ‘kəbonapi’ came from Myanmar and hence the name kəbonapi (kəbo means Myanmar called by the Meetei community and napi means grass) existed. On the other side, Kumbi, Wangoo and Heirok dialects have different concepts and interpretations regarding the term ‘kəbonapi’ which is used in Imphal, Thanga as well as Chairel dialects. Hence the term tʰaŋənapi, poroksəubi and komprek are used respectively instead of kəbonapi in Kumbi, Wangoo and Heirok dialects. Some other examples are also given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imphal</th>
<th>Kumbi</th>
<th>Thanga</th>
<th>Wangoo</th>
<th>Chairel</th>
<th>Heirok</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>səruhumdaŋ humdaŋsəru səruhumdaŋ</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>səruhumdaŋ</td>
<td>səruhumdaŋ ‘rib’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səgolhidak</td>
<td>səgolhidak</td>
<td>səŋoihidak</td>
<td>səgolhidak</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>‘thorn apple’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəbonapi</td>
<td>tʰaŋənapi</td>
<td>kəbonapi</td>
<td>poroksəubi</td>
<td>kəbonapi</td>
<td>komprek</td>
<td>‘aligator weed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ucimorok</td>
<td>pʰəumorok</td>
<td>ucimorok</td>
<td>pʰəumorok</td>
<td>kʰəŋəmorok</td>
<td>ucimorok</td>
<td>‘a small chilly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṃamu-</td>
<td>ṃamu-</td>
<td>ṃamu-</td>
<td>ṃamu-</td>
<td>ṃamu-</td>
<td>ṃamu-</td>
<td>‘spotted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bogra</td>
<td>kojəra</td>
<td>bulla</td>
<td>gonjəra</td>
<td>gonjar</td>
<td>gojəra</td>
<td>snakhead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morehəŋəoi</td>
<td>morehəŋəoi</td>
<td>hoŋiŋəŋaŋ</td>
<td>morehəŋəoi</td>
<td>morehəŋəoi</td>
<td>morehəŋəoi</td>
<td>‘frog’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.2.4. Irregular change among the words

In this sub-section, some irregular changes among the words that are found in the six dialects of Manipuri are discussed. These irregular changes are due to the insertion or deletion of sounds or replacement of sound or replacement of cluster by a single sound. Example-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imphal</th>
<th>Kumbi</th>
<th>Thanga</th>
<th>Wangoo</th>
<th>Chairel</th>
<th>Heirok</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seg rak</td>
<td>sōka</td>
<td>segak</td>
<td>seg rak</td>
<td>segak</td>
<td>sega</td>
<td>‘armpit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōgon</td>
<td>tumbon</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>tōgon</td>
<td>tōbon</td>
<td>tōgon</td>
<td>‘basket for keeping fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰwaŋcit</td>
<td>kʰaŋcit</td>
<td>kʰwaŋjet</td>
<td>kʰwaŋcit</td>
<td>kʰaŋset</td>
<td>kʰwaŋjet</td>
<td>‘cloth worn on the waist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanjcek</td>
<td>kaŋcit</td>
<td>kaŋcep</td>
<td>kanjcek</td>
<td>kaŋset</td>
<td>kanjcek</td>
<td>kaŋşəппi ‘beetle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səmbandoŋ</td>
<td>səmandaŋ</td>
<td>səmandaŋ</td>
<td>səmbandoŋ</td>
<td>səmbandoŋ</td>
<td>səmandaŋ</td>
<td>‘hair bun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əbaʃęmmə</td>
<td>əpəmmə</td>
<td>əpaài</td>
<td>əbaʃęmmə</td>
<td>əpəmmə</td>
<td>əbaʃęmmə</td>
<td>‘giant gourami’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əaijəu</td>
<td>əakicəu</td>
<td>əakicəu</td>
<td>əaijəu</td>
<td>əakicəu</td>
<td>əaijəu</td>
<td>əaijəu ‘peppered loach’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2. SEMANTIC VARIATIONS

Change in the lexical items of a language affects the meaning of a word also. Semantic variation, in this section, means changes or variations in meaning of a word among the dialects. One single term conveys different interpretations among the dialects such as the word \( p^b \text{um} \) means small pieces or remnants of paddy grains in Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects whereas it means white winged small insect found in paddy granary in Imphal and Thanga dialects. Semantic Variations can broadly be classified into two levels as shown in the fig.

![Fig- 4.1. Classification of Semantic Variations](image-url)
4.2.1. Lexical level

In this level, only the change in the word level is mainly focused and further, can be analysed into three types as follows-

(i) **Meaning widening (broadening)**

In semantic changes, meaning widening means ‘the range of meaning of a word increases so that the word can be used in more contexts than were appropriate for it before the change’ (Lyle Campbell, 256). For instance, *bride* meant ‘young bird’ along with the change in pronunciation, but in modern English, the meaning is widened to encompass all the members of the genus, bird. Similarly, in Manipuri, the word *jambu* is used only in the royal family as an address term for male ego class. Nowadays, the term *jambu* is also used by the common people in day to day conversation as an address term freely in Meetei society. One more example is *ice* ‘elder sister’. This word *ice* is mainly used to the elder sisters of father’s brother’s daughters as well as mother’s sister’s daughters. However, the meaning of the term *ice* is broadened and it is also used to any elder sisters despite of father’s brother’s daughters and mother’s sister’s daughters. This type of change is rarely found in Manipuri.

(ii) **Meaning narrowing**

It is a kind of semantic change in which ‘the range of meaning is decreased so that a word can be used appropriately only in fewer contexts than it could before the change’ (Lyle Campbell, 257). For instance, in Manipuri, the term *itṣi* ‘brother in law’ is used by female ego class to their husband’s elder brothers as well as their father’s sister’s elder sons. However, this term *itṣi* is
mainly confined to their husband’s elder brothers and not to others. This means that the meaning of the term is now narrowed in certain contexts. This type of changes is rarely observed in Manipuri.

(iii) **Meaning shift**

In this third type of semantic change, the meaning of one lexical item is changed or shifted into another as in the example in English, the word *knight* once meant ‘youth’ but shifted to *mounted man-at-arms*. However, in the context of Manipuri dialects, it means shifting or change of meaning of a word from one dialect to another. For instance, the word *həibɔŋ* means ‘cluster fig tree’ in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects, on the other hand the meaning of the word *həibɔŋ* changes or shifts into another meaning as ‘guava’ in Kumbi dialect. Such form of meaning change is frequently used and observed in all the six dialects of Manipuri.

Moreover, Some lexical items are given in order to observe the semantic variations or interpretations of one lexical item into different interpretations in the six dialects. One dialect has an interpretation for one lexical item but that interpretation may be different from another dialect due to their different cultural settings or beliefs or occupations etc. For example, ‘ŋəpai’ is a kind of fish having flat body and numerous small bones in Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel, Heirok and Imphal dialects whereas in Thanga dialect, it (ŋəpái) means a small fish used in making *hentak* (a kind of naturally fermented pastry of fishes) and others. It is a kind of meaning shift from one dialect to another dialect. Further, some lexical
items are listed below which have semantic variations or differences among the six dialects (Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok).

1. **səmji ‘hairbun’**

   *səmji* is known as hairbun in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri whereas it is called *səmbun* in Imphal, Thanga and Heirok dialects of Manipuri. On the other hand, in Kumbi *səmbun* means fallen hair that is thrown after combing. It is also recognised that *səmji* means the falling hair or suspended hair on the face.

2. **mukkatin ‘silkworm’**

   It means a silkworm which eats caster leaves or tursor leaves in the five dialects but not in Kumbi dialect. In Kumbi dialect, if the worm which eats caster leaves is called *mukkat* and the worm which eats the turser leaves is known as *ləimətin*.

3. **səmjet ‘annabus’**

   *səmjet* is the name of a fish in Thanga dialect whereas in the remaining five dialects viz. Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok, it is called *ukabi*. *səmjet* gives another interpretation in other dialects that means ‘comb’, a device used in dressing hair or combing.

4. **conŋa ‘myna’**

   *conŋa* is the name of a bird which is black or reddish in colour in the six dialects of Manipuri i.e. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects of Manipuri. The bird which is black in colour is known as *conŋa səmubi*
and red in colour is known as *cọnγa ʂẹ̄gbì* in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Chairel and Heirok dialects. However, *cọnγa* simply means the reddish colour myna in all the dialects except Wangoo dialect. In Wangoo dialect, the term *up̱oi* is used instead of *cọnγa* (ʂẹ̄gbì) and *cọnγa* specifically means a bird which is known as *cọnγa ʂmubi* in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga and Heirok dialects and *jumbroibi* in Chairel dialect.

5. ** hàìboŋ ‘cluster fig tree’**

   *hàìboŋ* is the term used to represent the fruit i.e. ‘cluster fig tree’ (*Ficus glomerata*) in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects of Manipuri but in Kumbi and Chairel dialects, it is known as *laihàìboŋ*. In Kumbi, *hàìboŋ* means a kind of a fruit which is known as *puydon* ‘guava’ in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects of Manipuri.

6. **mànaraì ‘A kind of flower’**

   It is a kind of small plant having bushy leaves and the leaves are reddish green in colour in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Chairel and Heirok dialects except in Wangoo dialect. In this dialect i.e. Wangoo, *mànaraì* means the another flower which is known as *cerài* ‘bougainvillea’ in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Chairel dialects and *bujare* in Heirok dialect.

7. **p̱ùjum ‘olivier’**

   This word means a kind of small and white insect which is found in the paddy granary in Imphal and Heirok dialects but in the remaining four dialects, it is not called as *p̱ùjum*. Instead of this, it is known as in *p̱ùhik* in Kumbi, in
Thanga, it is known as $p^{\text{h}}\emptyset\text{ugri}$ and in Wangoo and Chairel dialects, it is known as $p^{\text{h}}\emptyset\text{urik}$. In Kumbi dialect, $p^{\text{h}}\emptyset\text{ymum}$ means small pieces of husks remained in the basket or on the threshing mat and $p^{\text{h}}\emptyset\text{ugri}$ means dust like particles of rice grain.

8. **ŋapemma/ŋabemma ‘giant gourami’**

   It is a small fish used as a roasted fish for eating or making hentak (a kind of preservable pastry type food stuff made of dried fish pulverizing with some other ingredients) in Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects. However, in Thanga dialect ŋapai is the name of this small fish which is known as ŋapemma/ŋabemma in the remaining five dialects. In addition, in Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects, the name ŋapai has another interpretation which is different from Thanga dialect. ŋapai means a fish which has white flat body with small numerous bones in the five dialects i.e. *Notopterus chitala* in English. On the other hand, ŋapak is the counter name of the fish ‘ŋapai’ in Thanga dialect.

9. **ŋap$^{\text{h}}$ak ‘a dry fish that is cut lengthwise and opened’**

   It is a variety of dry fish mainly made up of big fish and used in making curry in all the six dialects. In Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects, it is called ŋap$^{\text{h}}$ak instead of ŋap$^{\text{h}}$ak. On the other side, ŋap$^{\text{h}}$ak means a kind of fish in these three dialects i.e. Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel.
10. **ŋamurin ‘a kind of chemelion’**

   It is a kind of reptile found mainly in the bushes of straw and is called as əmərin in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects whereas it is called as numitju bi in Heirok dialect and kəmboŋ nar in Thanga dialect. In Kumbi dialect, the term numitju bi has another interpretation, that means ‘garden lizard’ in all the dialects except Heirok.

11. **numitju bi ‘garden lizard’**

   In Heirok, numitju bi is known as həŋkə but in the remaining five dialects, həŋkə means a variety of chameleon or salamander which is mainly found in the forest and its size is bigger than ‘numitju bi’.

12. **wahi ‘mole cricket’**

   This is an insect having wings and can be eaten as a roasted food in all the six dialects whereas in Heirok dialect it is called as watin. However in the remaining four dialects, watin means a wing less worm which lives inside the bamboo and it is also known as tīgog in Thanga dialect. The term tīgog has another interpretation in the remaining five dialects that means, a white worm which lives under the ground.

13. **tīkōŋkəŋkəŋ ‘a kind of worm’**

   In Kumbi, it is a kind of insect and taken as a larval stage of butterfly. It is called as kəmaway takpi in Wangoo, kobitin in Chairel and kəbokəncət in Heirok dialect. The term tīkōŋkəŋkəŋ is not used in Thanga and Imphal dialects. However, kobitin which is found in Chairel dialect gives another interpretation
for another kind of worm in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects of Manipuri and tıpkoŋkaŋkoŋ means a variety of bird in Imphal, Wangoo and Heirok dialects whereas in Kumbi, both the insect and bird are known as tıpkoŋkaŋkoŋ.

14. kegetin ‘a kind of worm’

kegetin is a kind of worm lives on caster plant like a silkworm in Imphal, Kumbi and Thanga dialects of Manipuri. In Wangoo it is called as ləimatin but ləimatin is a silkworm used to produce silk in Imphal, Kumbi and Thanga dialects. However, in Chairel dialect, it is simply called as tin and in Heirok dialect, it is not found. Nowadays, the meaning of kegetin is broadening. It means not only a kind of worm but also means silkworm in all the dialects of Manipuri.

15. kʰuŋə ‘balsom’

kʰuŋə is name of a flower and its leaves are used in the treatment of a nail related disease in all the six dialects. In Kumbi dialect the name of this flower is called as kusumləi. However, in the remaining five dialects kusumləi means another flower namely ‘safflower’ which is very much important in the new year festival of Meetei community.

16. ləipujaŋkʰaŋkʰə ‘talong pipit/indian nightshade’

ləipujaŋkʰaŋkʰə is a medicinal plant and its fruits are used in the treatment of cold and fever in all the six dialects. In Chairel and Heirok dialects, it is called as kʰaŋkʰə. In these two dialects i.e. Chairel and Heirok, ləipujaŋkʰaŋkʰə is the name of a plant which is known as siŋkʰaŋkʰə in Imphal and mərum konbi in
Kumbi and Wangoo dialects whereas in Thanga dialect, it is not found. Further, $siŋk^bh aŋk^bə$ means a thorny plant i.e. yellow berried nightshade and its fruits is larger than the $ləiŋk^bh aŋk^bə$ in Kumbi, Wangoo and Heirok dialects. Sometimes, $siŋk^bh aŋk^bə$ is used in the treatment of dental problem of children in all the six dialects.

17. \textit{səmbəlləi/ŋəbəlləi ‘lantana’}

It is a thorny plant and planted to decorate or fence the garden or kitchen garden, called as $ŋəbəlləi$ in Imphal and Heirok dialects but, it is called as $l^bɨrəi$ in Kumbi, $kərəŋləi$ in Thanga, $tɨŋk^bəŋləi$ in Wangoo and $səmbəlləi$ in Chairel dialects respectively. In Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects of Manipuri, $səmbəlləi$ means a plant with yellowish leaves planted to decorate the garden and known as ‘Duranta thorn’ in English. In Heirok dialect, $səmbəlləi$ also means another plant with yellow fruits which is known as $uriksibi$ in Kumbi and Wangoo dialects. In Imphal, Thanga and Chairel dialects this plant i.e. $uriksibi$ is not found.

18. \textit{kurak ‘butterfly’}

\textit{kurak} is an insect in the six dialects and is equivalent to English ‘butterfly’. However, in Heirok dialect it is called as $gulap$. The term $gulap$ means a flower (i.e. rose in English) in the five dialects viz. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel. For this flower (i.e. rose), Heirok has a name as $atorgulap$. 
19. nuŋsəm ‘a kind of edible algae’

It is edible algae and called nuŋsəm in all the five dialects but not in Heirok dialect. In Heirok dialect, it is called as isəŋ. However, in all the five dialects, isəŋ means a kind of algae which is not edible and found in the moist places or under water. So, the term isəŋ gives another interpretation in the five dialects. In Heirok, there is no distinct name for these two things i.e. isəŋ and nuŋsəm. Simply, the term isəŋ is used to interpret two different types of algae i.e. nuŋsəm and isəŋ in Heirok dialect.

20. kəmtʰi ‘a big knife’

It is a big knife having blunt tip found in the six dialects of Manipuri but in Heirok and Imphal dialects, it is known as tʰaŋʃu (sometimes it is called tʰaŋ meton tekpi in Imphal). However, tʰaŋʃu means another big knife having long handle in Kumbi, Thanga and Wangoo dialects. In Imphal, Chairel and Heirok dialects, tʰaŋʃu also means another big knife having long handle and used in the cutting of grasses in the paddy field but in Kumbi and Thanga dialects, it is called as ləuritʰaŋʃu and in Wangoo dialect, it is called as ləuritʰaŋ. Here, the difference between tʰaŋʃu and ləuritʰaŋʃu or ləuritʰaŋ is mainly on the handle. One has short handle (tʰaŋʃu) and another has long handle (ləuritʰaŋʃu or ləuritʰaŋ).
21. **puhhu ‘a device’**

It is a device or instrument used in making basket or in binding books in the five dialects but not in Chairel dialect. In Chairel dialect, it is called as *patum* but in the five dialects, *patum* means a device used in the stitching of shoes.

22. **hagmawikudog ‘adze’**

This instrument is used in making houses and furniture work in all the six dialects. However in Heirok dialect it is called as *hagmaw*, on the other hand, *hagmaw* means a device like an axe or pieces of wood taken out from the beam or wood in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri.

23. **can ‘a device’**

It is an instrument used to grill fishes or in drying fishes in Kumbi dialect and made up of small iron rods. This device is also used in the remaining five dialects viz. Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok. But, it is cleared that in Imphal and Heirok dialects, it is called as *khrai*, in Thanga dialect, it is called as *jolon*, in Wangoo dialect, it is called as *joloni* and in Chairel dialect, it is called as *jot khrai*. Here, there is a semantic variation in the term *khrai* which is used in the Imphal and Heirok dialects. In Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects *khrai* means a kind of device used in the drying of fish, chilly, beans etc. and made up of bamboo but in Imphal and Heirok dialects, the device which is made up of bamboo is also known as *khrai*. There is no separate terms for both the devices which are made up of bamboo or small iron rods and it is used according to context in Imphal and Heirok dialects. There is also a kind of *khrai*
called waikup kʰraí used to take out chaffs or husks from the rice. It is found to use in Kumbi dialect and the device i.e. waikup kʰraí is found to use in Imphal dialect in olden days. Furthermore, waikup kʰraí is not found to use in the remaining dialects. Nowadays, can kʰraí is also used instead of can in Kumbi dialect by younger generation.

24. **loŋ ‘a fishing device’**

It is used in fishing in the lake by female folk in all the six dialects. Nowadays, loŋ is not found to use this device in fishing in the Imphal and Heirok dialects and it is called as loghʰrai in Thanga dialect. In the five dialects, loghʰrai is also a fishing device but it has long handle. Today, loghʰrai is hardly found to use in fishing in all the six dialects. The loghʰrai with long handle is called as pongšl in Kumbi dialect. If the pongšl is made up of bamboo then it is called as loghʰrai otherwise pongšl in Kumbi dialect. This difference is not cleared in the remaining five dialects. One point is that the two devices (with handle and without handle), have one name as loghʰrai in Thanga dialect. Further, it is also noted that the device which is made bamboo with long handle is hardly found to use in all the six dialects.

25. **polan ‘strainer basket’**

It is used to keep and wash the vegetables and other things in the six dialects of Manipuri. In Imphal, Thanga and Heirok dialects, polan is a small variety of basket and its wefts are loosely bind type of basket whereas in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri, it is called as jendai. In Imphal,
Thanga and Wangoo dialects, medium and larger types of basket are known as *jendai*, on the other hand, this medium and larger varieties of basket are known as *polag* in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. It is also noted that *polag* may or may not have legs but *jendai* has four legs on the lower part in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects.

26. **sumbøn ‘mortar’**

It is a big flat body type of mortar in all the six dialects but it is called as *sambøn maipakpi* in Thanga dialect and *summøn* in Heirok dialect. However, in Thanga dialect, *sambøn* means another type of mortar which has erect posture. Such erect posture type of mortar is called *lepsumbøn* in Imphal dialect, *lepsum* in Kumbi dialect, *hausumbøl* in Wangoo dialect and there is no different terms for these two types of mortar in Heirok dialect. This type, that means, erect type is not found to use in Chairel dialect.

27. **kʰon ‘small mortar’**

It is a small type of mortar used in all the six dialects for grinding of spices, garlic, ginger and many other things. This is known as *toksu* in Thanga dialect. In the remaining five dialects *toksu* means small type of device used to grind vegetables and made up of bamboo or *jentø* ‘giant reed’. In Imphal dialect, it is not found to use.

28. **løisu ‘hammer like device’**

It is a hammer like device use to break the clod of soil in all the six dialects. However, it is called as *toksu* in Imphal and Heirok dialects. But, *toksu* means small mortar in Thanga dialect and a hammer like device with short handle
used to hit the stack or post for fencing in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. Further, \textit{lœisu} is specially used in breaking the clod of soil in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel. The term \textit{lœisu} itself indicates that \textit{lœ} means soil and \textit{su} means strike.

29. \textbf{kokjet ‘turban’}

It is a decorative headdress of Meetei used only by man in all the six dialects. In Heirok dialects, the term \textit{kokjet} is used for the headdress of female also. But, in Thanga, headdress of woman is called as \textit{kœuset}. Further, the term \textit{kokset} can be used for both male and female headdress in the four dialects i.e. Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel.

30. \textbf{pʰai ‘a ring like device’}

It is a ring like device made up of bamboo or cane or straw used to keep pots on it in all the six dialects. However it is called as \textit{pʰaija} in Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri. On the other hand, \textit{pʰaija} interpretes a coil of cloth that is used to put on the head to carry water pot or any load in Imphal and Heirok dialects. It is also noted that both the devices which are made up of bamboo or straw and cloth are called as \textit{pʰaija} in the Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects.

31. \textbf{puna ‘latch’}

It is a kind of small lock used to close the door or window in all the six dialects. But, it is called as \textit{porol–pœurol} in Heirok dialects. However, \textit{porol–pœurol} is a kind of long latch that is fitted in the inner side of a door or window from left bar to right bar or vice versa to support or to close the door or window in the remaining five dialects.
32. **paknəm ‘a baked pastry of bason’**

   It is a kind of food made up of *bason* (bason means powdered pulse) with chilly, salt, spices, vegetables etc. in all the six dialects. It is called as *ganəm* in Thanga dialect and *beson ganəm* in the Heirok dialect. On the other hand, *ganəm* means a kind of food made up of small fishes with chilly, salt, culinary herbs etc. in Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri.

33. **cəpi ‘an instrument use in the bullock cart’**

   It is used in the bullock cart to tight the looseness of the wheel in Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects. But, it is called as *hui* in Wangoo dialect. In other remaining dialects *hui* means a kind of measurement based on the width of the either end of the expanded thumb and index finger. It also means a kind of device used to tighten the furnitures or door instead of nails in olden days.

34. **pʰubom tʰuri ‘a kind of rope’**

   It is a kind of rope used to tight and to bring the handful of paddy plants or bundle of paddy which can be carried on one’s head in Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects of Manipuri. But it is called as *cərai aṣəbə* in Wangoo dialect, *pʰuhon tʰuri* in Chairel dialect, *cərai tʰuri* in Heirok dialect. It is also noted that the *cərai tʰuri* which is used in Heirok dialect means a kind of short rope used to bind or fasten the tips of rice bags etc. in Imphal and Kumbi dialects. Such type of rope is not found in Thanga dialect of Manipuri.
35.  

**kʰebo** ‘wooping cough’

It is a kind of respiratory problem faced by human beings in all the six dialects. But this disease is called as *tʰogebɔ* in Thanga dialect and *kʰegɔtpɔ* in Heirok dialect. On the another side, *tʰogebɔ* which is used in Thanga dialect means hiccup in Wangoo dialect. However in Heirok dialect both the wooping cough and belch are known as *kʰegɔtpɔ* whereas in Kumbi, Thanga and Chairel dialects, belch is known as *kekʰɔtpɔ* and in Wangoo dialect it is called as *tʰogebra* as same as hiccup.

36.  

**lalu** ‘a kind of sweet edible thing’

It is a kind of sweet edible thing made up of rice powder with molasses in all the six dialects. But, it is called as *lɔlu* in Kumbi dialect, *ɔlalu* in Thanga dialect and *naru* in Heirok dialect. Further, it can be observed that the term *ɔlalu* which is used in Thanga dialect means a kind of small plant and its modified stem is edible like a ginger and turmeric in all the remaining five dialects.

37.  

**pʰɔyum** ‘small pieces of husk or chaffs’

It is the remnant dirty things of paddy in all the four dialects i.e. Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects. However, in Thanga and Imphal dialects, it is termed as *pʰɔugriŋ* and *pʰɔukup* respectively. On the other hand, in Imphal dialect, there is a semantic variation in respect of this term i.e. *pʰɔyum*. The term *pʰɔyum* means a kind of small white insect found in the rice granary in Imphal dialect.
38. **serai** ‘rounded sign of hair on the top of the head’

It is a natural gift to all the human beings that, this sign of hair can be seen on the head of any human being. It is called as *serai* in Kumbi dialect, *cirai* in Thanga dialect, *cakro* in Imphal and Wangoo dialects, *cakor* in Chairel dialect and *cakoro* in Heirok dialect. But in Kumbi, Thanga, Chairel and Heirok dialects, *cakro* means a kind of device used by the Lord Krishna in the epic, *The Mahabharata*.

39. **kantbi** ‘black remnant of oil lamp’

It is the black rounded remnant found on the oil lamp is known as *kantbi* in Kumbi and Heirok dialects, *tengali* in Imphal, Thanga and Chairel, *kali* in Wangoo. But, in Kumbi and Heirok dialects *kali* and *tengali* mean soot of lamp.

40. **laŋköŋ** ‘drain’

It is small drain dug around the estate (especially around the houses, kitchen garden etc.) for outlet of water in all the six dialects. But it is called as *koŋban* in Wangoo and Imphal dialects, sometimes this term is found to use in Kumbi dialect. If the people use *koŋban* then there is a semantic variation in Kumbi dialect. In Kumbi dialect, it means the bank of canal mainly in the paddy field. Further, in Chairel, *laŋkŋ* means the drain which is dug at the side of road. The term *laŋkŋ* is not found to use in Thanga dialect and the term *nšla* is used instead of these terms i.e. *koŋban* and *laŋkŋ* in Heirok dialect. However, *nšla* means gutter which is fixed at the edge of house to carry water in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. In Heirok dialect, there is no
distinct terms for these gutter and drain, nola is used to represent both the ‘drain’ as well as ‘gutter’.

41. ceŋkup ‘chaffs’

It is the fine husk or chaffs found after polishing the rice in the rice mill which is used as a good food for cow, pig, fish etc. in all the six dialects. In Chairel, the term waikup is used in place of ceŋkup. Here, waikup means small pieces of chaffs which are taken out from the rice in the rice mill or sometimes it is found mixed with broken rice in Kumbi, Wangoo and Heirok dialects. The alternative term for waikup is wairu in Thanga, Wangoo and Imphal dialects. Further, in Thanga dialect, ceŋkup means broken rice and on the one side, broken rice is known as cakkem/cəgem in the remaining dialects i.e. Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok. Nowadays, some people in all the dialects except Thanga dialect used these two terms i.e. ceŋkup and waikup as a similar term which mean especially the chaffs that is used to feed cow, pig, fish etc. but, use of these terms depend on speakers i.e. choice of the speaker. In addition, there is a slight difference in the two terms i.e. ceŋkup (more fine) and waikup (small pieces of chaffs used in cooking) in Imphal dialect in olden days, but today, the meaning of the two terms become similar.

42. hunnəŋcak ‘a kind of spool’

It is a kind of spool on which threads are winded and it is fitted in the shuttle for making cloth in weaving in all the six dialects. This term is not found in Imphal and Heirok dialects, simply, the ləŋcak is used in place of hunnəŋcak.
In Thanga, it is called as *hunlọyca* in Wangoo as *hunnọyca* due to the lost of syllable. If the speaker use to say as *hunlọyca*, it means specially a type of *lọyca*. On the other hand, if the speaker simply use to say *lọyca*, it means any type of *lọyca* ‘spool’.

43. **kaba kʰənbə ‘to keep the mouth open’**

It is a kind of punishment or something in which mouth is kept open by putting a stack or something in the mouth. This is called as *kəbak kʰənbə* in Imphal, *kəba kʰənbə* in the remaining dialects except in Heirok dialect. In Heirok dialect, it is called as *kəbak*. In using this term *kəbak*, there is a semantic variation between the Heirok and other remaining dialects. In Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel, *kəbak* means the young seeds of big bean or tree bean used in making salad i.e. *sinju* in Manipuri. This term *kəbak* is not found to use in Imphal and Kumbi dialects.

44. **kontñoŋ ‘gate’**

It is a gate or an entrance place of a house. This is called *tʰonγan* in Imphal, Thanga and Heirok dialects. On the other hand, *tʰonγan* means lower part of a door in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. Currently, this term is hardly used in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri.

45. **lok ‘phlegm’**

It is dense mucus that is found in the throat especially while getting cold and cough in Imphal, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. This is called as *kʰak* in Kumbi and Heirok dialects whereas it is called as *nəptroŋ* in Thanga dialect. The
semantic variations found regarding this term is that, *lok* means cold and fever (a disease) in Kumbi, Thanga and Heirok dialect. On the other side, *naptroy* means dense snot that is found especially in the nose in Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects. In Imphal *lok* interpretes both phlegm and fever according to the different contexts.

46. **sonarai ṣaŋba ‘harlequin marigold’**

   It is a kind of marigold and its colour is dark red in all the six dialects. It is called *sonarai mDICkpi* in Kumbi dialect, *hau sonarai* in Thanga, Imphal and Wangoo dialects, *sonarai laba* in Heirok dialect. In Chairel dialect only the term *sonarai* is used for different types of marigold. The point need to be discussed here is that *hau sonarai* that is used in Imphal, Thanga and Wangoo dialects gives another interpretation in Kumbi and Heirok dialects. In these two dialects, *hau sonarai* means a kind of marigold which is yellow in colour and has eight petals on it. Generally, *hau sonarai* is taller than other types of marigold.

47. **koli ḥowai ‘kidney bean’**

   It is a kind of bean found in all the six dialects and used in making curry, plain food etc. It is known as *koli ḥowai* in Imphal, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects, *osam ḥowai* in Kumbi dialect and *ḥowai ṣaŋbi* in Thanga dialect. However, *koli ḥowai* means a kind of bean and its seeds are black in colour when becomes matured in Kumbi dialect. Further, the term *ḥowai ṣaŋbi* which is used in Thanga dialect means a kind of bean with red seeds when becomes old and its
size is longer than any other beans, in English, it is called as ‘cow pea’ in all the remaining dialects except Thanga dialect of Manipuri.

48.  $p^h\text{kloŋ} \ '\text{bamboo mat}'$

   It is used mainly in fencing in all the six dialects. It is known as $p^h\text{kloŋ}$ in Imphal, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects. But, this is known as $p^h\text{op}$ in Kumbi dialect and $p^h\text{skloŋ}$ in Thanga dialect. The semantic variation that is found among these dialects is that $p^h\text{skloŋ}$ means a kind of mat made up of inner part of bamboo and used in ceiling of house, keeping paddy by making a round shape etc. in Kumbi dialect. The term $p^h\text{skloŋ}$ in Kumbi dialect is called as $p^h\text{op}$ in Thanga and Heirok dialects. For these two interpretations Imphal and Chairel dialects have one term i.e. $p^h\text{skloŋ}$. There is no two distinct terms for both the materials in Imphal and Chairel dialects as found in Kumbi, Thanga and Heirok dialects.

49.  $\text{əwa kege} \ '\text{physic nut}'$

   This plant is called $\text{əwa kege}$ in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga and Wangoo dialects of Manipuri. It is called as $\text{kege əŋəubə}$ in Chairel dialect and $\text{əwəŋ kege}$ in Heirok dialect. Here, $\text{kege əŋəubə}$ means a kind of castor which is greenish white in colour not the physic nut in Kumbi, Thanga and Wangoo dialects whereas in Imphal dialect, $\text{kege əŋəubə}$ is not found.
50. **səugri օղաբ  ‘roselle’**

It is a kind of kenaf found in all the six dialects of Manipuri. It is called *səugri օղաբ* in Thanga and Chairel dialects not in other remaining five dialects. However, *səugri օղաբ* interprets another type of ‘kenaf’ which is red in colour i.e. both the upper and lower part of leaves in Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo and Heirok dialects.

51. **tiŋgoŋ/tiŋkoŋ ‘a kind of worm’**

This is found under the soil having segmented body structured with white colour and called as *tiŋgoŋ/tiŋkoŋ* in Imphal, Kumbi and Chairel dialects whereas in Heirok, it is known as *timboŋ*. On the other hand, *timboŋ* means spumy saliva in Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. In Imphal, *timboŋ* means both the spumy saliva and an insect according to the different environments. In Heirok, there is no separate term for these spumy saliva i.e. *timboŋ*. Therefore, the term *timboŋ* is used to interprete both the terms i.e *tiŋgoŋ* and *timboŋ* depending on the different environments.

52. **pəuron cəi ‘bolt’**

It is a long bolt used to close the gate in Manipuri society and the term is used in Wangoo dialect. It is called as *konlʰoŋ cəi* in Imphal, *pəuron* in Heirok dialects. On the other hand, it is called as *korol cəi/kolol cəi* or simply *korol* in Kumbi and Chairel dialects and *konlʰoŋ cəi* in Thanga dialect. Here is a semantic variation in the use of the term *pəuron cəi* in Kumbi, Thanga and Chairel dialects.
i.e. a bolt used to close the doors of a house is known as *pəuron cai* or *pəuron* not only the bolt used in closing the gate as used in Heirok dialect.

53. **nuŋyen/nuŋyen ‘small size stone’**

It is a very small size stone found with mud or sand. It is called as *nuŋyen/nuŋyen* in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects whereas it is called *nuŋkup* in Chairel dialect. On the other hand, *nuŋyen* means a kind of clay used in making earthen pot in Chairel dialect and not in other remaining five dialects. In addition, the term *nuŋkup* means small pieces of stone in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects as different from Chairel dialect.

54. **kəmbon ‘wild rice’**

*kəmbon* is a grass and its flower is edible in Imphal, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri. In Kumbi and Heirok dialects, it is called *isi kəmbon* and *kəbok* respectively. Here, *kəmbon* means a variety of reed grass which is used in roofing of houses in Thanga dialect. In this dialect, *kəmbon ḳəmbug* is used instead of *kəmbon* which is used in other dialects. Another interpretation for *kəbok* which is used in Heirok instead of *kəmbon* is that it means parched rice in the remaining five dialects. It is also noted that both the wild rice and parched rice is called as *kəbok* in Heirok dialect i.e. same form, different meaning depending on the different situations.
55. *kʰuŋeŋ* ‘wrist’

*kʰuŋeŋ* is compound word *kʰuŋ+ceŋ=kʰuŋeŋ* and it is the lower part of hand, bangle wearing area of hand. It is called *kʰudan* in Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects, *kʰutnaŋ* in Heirok dialect. However, *kʰuŋeŋ* means lower part of leg, ankle in Kumbi, Thanga, Chairel and Heirok dialects. It is called as *kʰonŋeŋ* in Wangoo dialect whereas both the wrist and ankle are known as *kʰuŋeŋ* in Imphal.

56. *kʰuniŋ* ‘elbow’

It is a joining place between arm and lower part of hand and *kʰuniŋ* also means heel. Both elbow and heel are called as *kʰuniŋ* in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Chairel and Heirok dialects but in Wangoo dialect, *kʰuniŋ* specifically focus on elbow and heel is called as *kʰonŋiŋ*.

57. more *həŋgoi* ‘a kind of frog’

It is a kind of frog found in all the six dialects but it is called as *həŋgoi taŋsaŋ* in Thanga. On the other hand, *həŋgoi taŋsaŋ* which is used in Thanga means another type of frog having small body and long leg in Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects.

58. *tera kəkceŋ* ‘a kind of red ant’

It is kind of red ant found in all the six dialects and known as *tera kəkceŋ* in Imphal and Wangoo dialects. It is called *noŋspoŋjəubi* in Kumbi, *kəkceŋ oŋaŋbi* in Thanga. On the other hand, *tera kəkceŋ* means an ant which lives on silk cotton tree (*Bombax ceiba*) in Kumbi, Thanga and Chairel dialects as different from Imphal and Wangoo dialects.
4.2.2. Phrasal level

The phrasal forms are mainly made up of two lexical items. In the formation of phrasal forms, there is a variation in the words which form the phrasal forms. For instance, *wai təibə* means ‘mopping’ which is used in Imphal and Heirok dialects is replaced by *ləm təibə* in the remaining four dialects. The word *wai* is replaced by *ləm* in the phrasal form *wai təibə*. If the two words i.e. *wai* and *təibə* are separated, there is a no meaning of mopping in this case. Therefore, such forms are explicitly used among the six dialects of Manipuri.

Sometimes, due to the difference in the selection of lexical items in the formation of phrasal forms, there is a change in meaning of the phrasal forms among the dialects. Those changes in the phrasal forms as well as in the meaning have been discussed below with examples.

In addition, the structure of the phrasal forms are concerned, they are generally made up of one noun and one derived noun. There is variation in the use of phrasal forms in the six dialects. Three types of variation may be analysed under this sub-heading as shown in figure 4.2. as -variation in the noun, variation in the derived noun and variation in both the noun and derived noun.

![Phrasal level diagram](Fig. 4.2. Classification of Phrasal Level)
These variations are illustrated below with some selected examples.

### 4.2.2.1 Variation in the noun

Under this, the variation in the noun which precedes the derived noun in the phrase are given. Examples-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imphal</th>
<th>Kumbi</th>
<th>Thanga</th>
<th>Wangoo</th>
<th>Chairei</th>
<th>Heirok</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cin seŋba</td>
<td>cin seŋba</td>
<td>cin seŋba</td>
<td>cin seŋba</td>
<td>ja seŋba</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘brushing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>louru janbo</td>
<td>louru janbo</td>
<td>louru janbo</td>
<td>louru janbo</td>
<td>louru janbo</td>
<td>louru janbo</td>
<td>‘making ridge of paddy field well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phubi haibo coton haibo</td>
<td>phubi haibo</td>
<td>phubi haibo</td>
<td>phubi haibo</td>
<td>phubi haibo</td>
<td>phubi haibo</td>
<td>‘to thresh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lukmai-</td>
<td>lukmai-</td>
<td>potpʰəmb-</td>
<td>lukmai-</td>
<td>lukmai-</td>
<td>lukmai-</td>
<td>‘a stall for selling many items’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wai təib</td>
<td>ləm təib</td>
<td>ləm təib</td>
<td>ləm təib</td>
<td>ləm təib</td>
<td>wai təib</td>
<td>‘mopping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wai sitpə</td>
<td>ləm sitpə</td>
<td>ləm sitpə</td>
<td>ləm sitpə</td>
<td>ləm sitpə</td>
<td>wai sitpə</td>
<td>‘sweeping’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above example, it can be observed that there is morphosemantic variation in the above phrasal forms. Those phrasal forms which have morphosemantic variations among the six dialects are discussed as follows-

lukmai pʰəmbə ‘to open a vendor using lukmai for selling sweets, salads (sinju in Meeteilon), fruits etc.’

lukmai is a kind of flat shallow basket or rack used mainly by women to sell sweets, salads, fruits etc. in the market or somewhere else. This process of selling things is called lukmai pʰəmbə in Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects whereas in Thanga dialect it is known as potpʰəm pʰəmbə. On the
other sense, *potpʰəmbʰ* means selling vegetables, fruits or any other things without using *lukmai* in Kumbi, Wangoo and Heirok dialects. But there is no semantic variations between these two terms i.e. *lukmai pʰəmbʰ* and *potpʰəmbʰ* in Imphal dialect. Sometimes in Imphal dialect, *lukmai panbo* is also used in place of *lukmai pʰəmbʰ* as a choice of the speaker.

**wai təibə ‘mopping’**

It means the mopping of floor by using a cloth or anything suitable for that in Imphal and Heirok dialects. On the other hand, in Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects, it implies mopping of wall even though, it is not frequently used nowadays. Instead of *wai təibə*, *ləm təibə* is used in Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects.

**4.2.2.2. Variation in the derived noun**

In this sub-category, the variations in the derived noun which is preceded by a noun in the phrasal forms are given below. Examples-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imphal</th>
<th>Kumbi</th>
<th>Thanga</th>
<th>Wangoo</th>
<th>Chairel</th>
<th>Heirok</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in sonbo</td>
<td>in kaibə</td>
<td>in sonbo</td>
<td>in sonbo</td>
<td>in ciibə</td>
<td>in sonbo</td>
<td>‘pulling back a fishing net out of water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰəu inbo</td>
<td>pʰəu kotpə</td>
<td>pʰəuintok</td>
<td>pʰəuin</td>
<td>pʰəuin</td>
<td>pʰəu kotpə</td>
<td>‘picking and spreading of paddy when winnowing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰubak-</td>
<td>kʰubak-</td>
<td>kʰubak-</td>
<td>kʰubak-</td>
<td>kʰubak-</td>
<td>kʰubak-</td>
<td>‘clapping of hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰuək</td>
<td>pʰuək</td>
<td>pʰuək</td>
<td>pʰuək</td>
<td>pʰuək</td>
<td>pʰuək</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məi cəmbo</td>
<td>məi cəmbo</td>
<td>məi cəbo</td>
<td>məi cəmbo</td>
<td>məi cəmbo</td>
<td>məi cəmbo</td>
<td>‘lighting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəŋkʰun-</td>
<td>kəŋkʰun-</td>
<td>kəŋkʰun-</td>
<td>kəŋkʰun-</td>
<td>kəŋkʰun-</td>
<td>kəŋkʰun-</td>
<td>‘making hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hənbo</td>
<td>hənbo</td>
<td>təubə</td>
<td>hənbo</td>
<td>hənbo</td>
<td>təubə</td>
<td>for planting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The phrasal forms which have variation in meaning are discussed below as-

**in sonbọ ‘pulling back of fishing net out of water’**

It is a kind of fishing tactics and pulling back of fishing net out of water in order to catch the fish whether the fish is in the fishing net or not and is known as *in sonbọ* in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects. On the other hand, it is called as *in kaibọ* in Kumbi and Chairel dialects. There is another interpretation of *in sonbọ* in Kumbi and Chairel dialects. To take out the fishing net from the water and expose to dry is also known as *in sonbọ* in Kumbi and Chairel dialects but not in other remaining dialects.

**pot tappọ ‘order or request to buy something’**

This phrasal form means to order or request to buy something which is intended by the speaker to someone i.e. person who is going to buy something on behalf of some other person is called *pot tappọ* in Imphal, Wangoo and Heirok dialects whereas it is called as *pot cenbọ* in Kumbi, Thanga and Chairel dialects. If *pot cenbọ* is used instead of *pot tappọ* in Imphal, Wangoo and Heirok dialects, it interpretes to order something by post in the three dialects.
4.2.2.3. Variation in both noun and derived noun

The variation both in the noun and derived noun can also be observed in the six dialect. Examples-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imphal</th>
<th>Kumbi</th>
<th>Thanga</th>
<th>Wangoo</th>
<th>Chairel</th>
<th>Heirok</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lok sitpọ</td>
<td>kʰak tʰakpọ nəptroŋ sitpọ kʰak sitpọ lok sitpọ kʰak sitpọ ‘spitting of mucus’</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>məpi həibə pʰəubi pʰətpə məpi həibə pʰəubi pʰətpə --- ‘husking paddy crops’</td>
<td>pa tubo mittu tekpọ pa tubo patekpọ mitpa tusinbə pa tekpọ ‘falling of eyelash’</td>
<td>cəi kʰəpə cəi kʰəpə mənəŋ kəṃbə cəi kʰəpə mənəŋ kəṃbə cəi kʰəpə ‘to be contumacious’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phrasal forms which have morphosemantic variations are illustrated below-

**lok sitpọ ‘spitting of phlegm’**

In the above examples, *lok sitpọ* means spitting of phlegm from the throat mainly while getting cold. This interpretation is same in all the remaining six dialects but terms used to interprete this action are different as shown above. *kʰak tʰakpọ* is used in Kumbi, *kʰak sitpọ* is used in Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects respectively instead of *lok sitpọ* which is used in Imphal dialect.

Moreover, the term *nəptroŋ sitpọ* which is used in Thanga dialect has variation in meaning. It means the throwing out the mucus from the nose not from any other parts of body in Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects of Manipuri.
cōi kʰaŋbɔ ‘accustomed to tolerate any torture’

cōi kʰaŋbɔ means to tolerate the canning i.e. there is no change in the behaviour of one person or no reply even beaten by someone in Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo and Heirok dialects whereas it is called mənuŋ kənbɔ in Thanga and Chairel dialects. One point need to be discussed here is that mənuŋ kənbɔ also means patience or endurance of one person when an action is given upon him or her in Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo and Heirok dialects.