Chapter-5

MORPHOSYNTACTIC VARIATIONS

5.1. Deletion of Pronominal Prefixes

5.2. Variation in the Suffixes

5.3. Deletion of Morphemes

5.4. Addition of Morphemes

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In this chapter, morphosyntactic variations found in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects have been analysed. There is a variation in the components of sentence in the six dialects of Manipuri due to the variations in the use of morphemes or words etc. Such variation of morphemes or words not only affects the sentence structure but also causes the variations in semantic interpretation. Therefore, those variations that are found in the six dialects can be analysed as given below.

- Deletion of pronominal prefixes
- Variation in the suffixes
- Deletion of morphemes
- Addition of morphemes
- Variation in words
- Variation in Wh-question forms

5.1. DELETION OF PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

In Manipuri, there are three pronominal markers (prefixes). They are first person pronominal marker i- ‘my’, second person pronominal marker nə- ‘your’ and third person pronominal marker mə- ‘his/her’. These three pronominal markers are added to the noun as a prefix in order to show possession. For instance-
1a.  i-mai  ‘my face’

   1pp-face

1b.  nə-mai  ‘your face’

   2pp-face

1c.  mə-mai  ‘his/her face’

   3pp-face

These pronominal prefixes i.e. i-, nə-, mə- can be used with body parts also. For examples-

2a.  i-kʰut

   1pp-hand  ‘my hand’

2b.  nə-kʰut

   2pp-hand  ‘your hand’

2c.  mə-kʰut

   3pp-hand  ‘his/her hand’

Furthermore, pronominal prefixes can also be used to express intimate possessions. For examples-

3a.  i-ca

   1pp-child  ‘my child’

3b.  nə-ca

   2pp-child  ‘your child’

3c.  mə-ca

   3pp-child  ‘his/her child’
These pronominal prefixes are used with some nouns to indicate the ownership of something. For example

4a. i-pot
   1pp-thing 'my thing'

4b. nə-pot
   2pp-thing 'your thing'

4c. mə-pot
   3pp-thing 'his/her thing'

Furthermore, in Manipuri there are some sentences in Manipuri in which these pronominal markers are used to specify the entity. For example-

5a. i-mai-də tʰa-u
   1pp-face-DAT slap-DAT
   'Slap on my face'

5b. nə-mai-də tʰa-u
   2pp-face-DAT slap-DAT
   'Slap on your face'

5c. mə-mai-də tʰa-u
   3pp-face-DAT slap-DAT
   'Slap on his/her face'
Such types of constructions i.e. 5a, 5b and 5c are found to use in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects but in Heirok dialect, all the pronominal prefixes i.e. i-, nɔ- and mɔ- are deleted in such form of sentences as-

6a. (i)-mai-dɔ \( ^b_a-u \)
(1pp)-face-DET-DAT  slap-COM
‘Slap on my face’

6b. (nɔ)-mai-dɔ \( ^b_a-u \)
(2pp)-face-DAT  slap-COM
‘Slap on your face’

6c. (mɔ)-mai-dɔ \( ^b_a-u \)
(3pp)-face-DAT  slap-COM
‘Slap on his/her face’

In the above examples, the sentences 6a, 6b and 6c have same construction if all the pronominal markers are deleted and there is a meaning ambiguity regarding the example 6a, 6b and 6c. In this case, it is difficult to understand that who is the doer of an action and who is the receiver of an action.

In sentence 5a, 5b, and 5c, the meaning is cleared that the action receiver will be ‘I’ in the sentence 5a, ‘you’ in the 5b and ‘he/she’ in the 5c. It is, further, cleared that the pronominal prefixes can give the clear meaning in these three sentences (i.e. 5a, 5b, 5c). However, in sentences 6a, 6b, and 6c, the meaning of the sentences is not cleared in the sense that if the pronominal markers are deleted. It is sometimes very difficult to identify who is the action doer and who is the action receiver. For instance, \textit{mai-tə /də tʰage}, in this sentence, it is not
determined that the agent will be either 1\textsuperscript{st} person or 2\textsuperscript{nd} person or 3\textsuperscript{rd} person. In this situation, the context plays a very important role in order to identify the action doer and action receiver. Such forms are widely used in Heirok dialect whereas in the other remaining five dialects, it is not commonly used.

Another example is, 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} person pronominal markers n\- and m\- are removed in Heirok dialect but in other remaining dialects of Manipuri, if the action reciever is 2\textsuperscript{nd} or 3\textsuperscript{rd} person, it is not allowed to remove pronominal markers as in the examples 7a and 7b.

Imphal/Kumbi/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

7a. n\-ru \quad \text{kok-t\^oks-h} u/o
   \quad 2pp-head \quad shave-DEIC-COM
   \quad ‘Shave your hair’

7b. m\-ru \quad \text{kok-t\^oks-h} u/o
   \quad 3pp-head \quad shave-DEIC-COM
   \quad ‘Shave his/her hair’

Heirok

7c. lu \quad \text{kok-t\^oks-h} lo
   \quad head \quad shave-DEIC-COM
   \quad ‘Shave the hair’
Sometimes, it is also observed that the 1pp marker is optional in the five dialects as done in Heirok dialect. Examples are 8a, 8b and 8c.

8a. (i)-kʰut tek-le
   1pp-hand fracture-PRF
   ‘My hand got fracture’

8b. (i)-mai ta-ge
   1pp-face wash-INTE
   ‘Let me wash my face’

8c. (i)-sɔm kək-u/o
   1pp-hair cut-COM
   ‘Cut my hair’

However, 2pp and 3pp are not optional in certain contexts in the five dialects (except Heirok dialect) as in the examples 9a, 9b and 9c.

9a. nə-kʰut tek-la-bə-ra
   2pp-hand fracture-PRF-NOMZ-INT
   ‘Have you fractured your hand?’

9b. mə-kʰut tek-la-bə-ɾə
   3pp-hand fracture-PRF-NOMZ-INT
   ‘Has he fractured his hand?’

9c. mə-kʰut tek-le
   3pp-hand fracture-PRF
   ‘He has fractured his hand’
5.2. VARIATION IN THE SUFFIXES

In this sub-heading, variation in the use of suffixes is analysed among the six dialects. For instance, The alternative marker is -tum in Imphal dialect and it is replaced by -kum in Kumbi dialect. Such variations of suffix in sentences are highlighted in this section. Some more examples are given below.

5.2.1. Use of -niŋ ‘purposive’

-niŋ is used as a mood marker in Manipuri in order to express the intention of the speakers or any other else as in the example 1a, 1b and 1c. Here, the suffix -ŋi is used in Imphal and Thanga dialects and corresponds to -ŋe in Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects as a simple aspect marker.

1a. ǝi ca-niŋ-ŋi/ŋe
     I eat-mood-SAM
     ‘I want to eat’

1b. ǝi lak-niŋ-ŋi/ŋe
     I come-mood-SAM
     ‘I want to come’

1c. nǝŋ lak-niŋ-bǝ-rǝ
     you come-mood-NOMZ-INT
     ‘Do you want to come?’

In addition, this -niŋ suffix can be used in statement, interrogative sentences etc. The suffixes -niŋ and -nǝ are purposive markers and can be occurred in different environments. If the nominaliser -bǝ follows the -niŋ, the
suffix -nə is used as in the example 2a and if the nominaliser -bə is replaced by -ŋai ‘nominaliser’, then -niŋ/-nə is used depending on the choice of the speakers as in the example 2b and 2c. For instance

2a. mədu ca-nə-bə-ni/ne (Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo)

   that eat-PUR-NOMZ-COP

   ‘That is for eating’

2b. mədu ca-niŋ-ŋai-ne (Chairel, Heirok)

   that eat-PUR-NOMZ-COP

   ‘That is for eating’

2c. mədu ca-nə-ŋai-ne (Chairel and Heirok)

   that eat-PUR-NOMZ-COP

   ‘That is for eating’

In the above example 2a, the suffix -nə and -bə is replaced by -niŋ and -ŋai respectively as in the example 2b. Here, the nominaliser -bə is replaced by -ŋai, this will be discussed later in section 5.2.7. The first (2a) type of sentence is found in the four dialects of Manipuri viz. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga and Wangoo dialects whereas in Chairel and Heirok dialects, second (2b) and third (2c) type of sentence constructions are found.
Some examples are also given to illustrate the variations.

3a. ḥəjeŋ tʰonŋ-ñə-bə-ni/ne (Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga and Wangoo)

tomorrow cook-PUR-NOMZ-COP

‘It is for cooking tomorrow’

3b. ḥəjeŋ tʰonŋ-ñai-ne (Chairel and Heirok)

tomorrow cook-PUR-NOMZ-COP

‘It is for cooking tomorrow’

4a. mɔsi cɔi-si mi pʰu-ñə-bə-ni/ne (Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga and Wangoo)

this stick-DET someone beat-PUR-NOMZ-COP

‘This stick is for beating someone’

4b. mɔsi cɔi-si mi pʰu-ñai-ne (Chairel and Heirok)

this stick-DET someone beat-PUR-NOMZ-COP

‘This stick is for beating someone’

5a. nə-buk tʰən-ñə-bə ca-u/wo (Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga and Wangoo)

2pp-stomach full-PUR-NOMZ eat-COM

‘Eat your fill’

5b. nə-buk tʰən-ñai ca-wo (Chairel and Heirok)

2pp-stomach full-PUR-NOMZ eat-COM

‘Eat your fill’
Further, if we use the suffix -ŋai in some environments, there is no change or variations in the six dialects of Manipuri viz. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok in which -ŋai can not be replaced by -bə. For example

6a. kərɪmtə təu-niŋ-ŋai ləi-te
   nothing do-PUR-NOMZ have-NEG
   ‘There is nothing to do’

6b. ca-niŋ-ŋai ləi-te
   eat-PUR-NOMZ have-NEG
   ‘There is nothing to eat’

6c. nəŋ-ŋiŋ-ŋai ləi-te
   speak-PUR-NOMZ have-NEG
   ‘There is nothing to speak.

However, in some negative environments -ŋai is replaced by -bə in the five dialects but not in Heirok dialect. In Heirok dialect, -ŋai is used. For instance-

Imphal/Kumbi/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

7a. əmuk hənnə təu-də-na-bə pʰu/wo
   once again do-NEG-mood-NOMZ beat-ϕ/COM
   ‘Beat not to do once again’

7b. mətnə-mənau təu-də-na-bə pʰu/wo
   next do-NEG-mood-NOMZ beat- ϕ
   ‘Beat not to do once again’
Heirok

7c. əmuk hənnə təу-da-нə-ңai pʰu-wo
    once again do-NEG-mood-NOMZ beat-COM

    ‘Beat not to do once again’

Furthermore, in some sentences, the suffix -niң and -bə cannot be replaced by -nə and -ңai as a purposive as well as nomonaliser respectively in all the six dialects. For instance

8a. əi ca-ңiң-bə pok-te
    I eat-mood-NOMZ feel-NEG

    ‘I don’t have any mood to eat’

*8b. əi ca-ңiң-ңai pok-te
    I eat-mood-NOMZ feel-NEG

    ‘I don’t have any mood to eat’

8c. əi tʰək-ңiң-bə pʰau-de
    I drink-mood-NOMZ feel-NEG

    ‘I don’t have any mood to drink’

*8d. əi tʰəк-ңə-ңai pʰau-de
    I drink-mood-NOMZ feel-NEG

    ‘I don’t have any mood to drink’
5.2.2. Use of the suffix -je ‘confirmation’

In Heirok and Thanga dialects, it can be observed that the confirmation marker -je is used extensively. But, in the remaining four dialects, -je is used depending on the context whenever necessary. For examples

1a. əi cak ca-ri

I rice eat-PA

‘I am eating rice’

The sentence 1a is a statement expressing an action is going on. In such construction, the confirmation marker -je is used frequently with or without having meaning in Heirok and Thanga dialects. For instance

1b. əi cak ca-ri-je

I rice eat-PA-CN

‘I am eating rice’

However, in other dialects addition of -je suffix to the verbal root has its own meaning and the sentence which has not -je suffix and which has -je suffix give different meanings. Such difference in meaning is not considered properly in Heirok and Thanga dialects. In the four dialects, occurrence of -je indicates that the action is doing at the time of inquiry and as a confirmation of doing that work at that time. Sometimes the suffix -je plays as a reported speech in Kumbi dialect with the use of different tones i.e. high. For example
A. məhak cak ca-ri-je
   he rice eat-PA-CN

   ‘He is eating rice’

In the above example A, if the high tone is in the suffix -je, then this -je ‘confirmation’ becomes marker for a reported speech in kumbi dialect as

B. məhak cak ca-ri-jé
   he rice eat-PA-RPS

   ‘He is eating now’ (said by someone to somebody)

But, in Heirok and Thanga dialects such difference is not marked considerably. Furthermore, in the given example below, -li/-ŋi is progressive aspect marker added to the verbal root to show the continuity of the action in all the six dialects whereas in Heirok dialect if the progressive aspect marker is added to the verbal root, then confirmation marker -je always follows the progressive marker li/ŋi in discourse level. Here, -ŋi is the allomorph of the suffix -li as mentioned in chapter 3 (table 3.2).

Imphal/Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

2a. ma cak tʰoŋ-ŋi/li
   she rice cook-PA

   ‘She is cooking rice’
Thanga/Heirok

2b. ma cak tʰoŋ-li-je

she rice cook-PA-CNF

‘She is cooking rice’

If -je is added to the verbal root after -li ‘progressive’, it gives confirmation of the action in the remaining four dialects i.e. Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel. In Heirok and Thanga, -je is used frequently and freely in this context when conversation.

5.2.3. Use of -du vs -do ‘definitive’

-do and -du, both are determiners which are added to noun to make the noun more specific in all the six dialects.

Imphal

1a. ma-gi pau-du/do ṇəranŋ ta-i

he-GEN news-DET yesterday hear-SAM

‘I heard his news yesterday’

Kumbi/Chairel

1b. ma-gi pau-do ṇəranŋ ta-i

he-GEN news-DET yesterday hear-SAM

‘I heard his news yesterday’
Thanga/Wangoo/Heirok

1c. ma-gi pau-du ṇəraŋ ta-i
   he-GEN news-DET yesterday hear-SAM

   ‘I heard his news yesterday’

In the above examples, it can be observed that the determiner -du in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects is replaced by -do in Kumbi and Chairel dialects. If the suffix -du is used in place of -do as used in 1a, the meaning is changed in Kumbi dialect. It gives more specific or definiteness to the noun in that context in kumbi dialect. This variation in meaning is not found in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects. In the five dialects, -do and -du have similar interpretation in this environment. In Imphal dialect, both the forms i.e. -du and -do are found to use in Conversation Imphal dialect with similar interpretation.

5.2.4. Use of -dounə vs -gumno ‘like’

Another variation is that the suffix -dounə ‘like’ is not used in Heirok dialect, -gumno is used instead. On the another hand, -dounə is used in Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects and both forms are used in Imphal dialect as shown in the following examples. However, this varaiation is mainly observed in the command sentence.
Imphal

1a. ma-ðounə/gumnə nə-k^b oid-su təu

he-like 2pp-PL-also do-ϕ

‘Try to be like him’

Kumbi/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

1b. ma-ðounə nə-k^b oid-su təu/təu-wo

he-like 2pp-PL-also do-COM

‘Try to be like him’

Heirok

1c. ma-gumnə nə-k^b oid-su təu-wo

he-like 2pp-PL-also do-COM

‘Try to be like him’

Besides this, in some statement type of sentences, -gumbə is found to use in all the six dialects as in 2a and 2b. Example 2b can be used as a shortened form of example 2a.

2a. ma-gumnə təu-bə mi-di ətanbə-ni

he-like do-NOMZ person-PART rare-COP

‘It is rare like him/persons like him are very rare’

2b. ma-gumbə-di ətanbə-ni

he-like-PART rare-COP

‘It is rare like him/persons like him are very rare’
However, sentence like 2c is also used in the five dialects but not in Heirok dialect as a counterpart of the example 2a. Besides, it is also observed that the shortened form of example 2c as in the example 2d is not used in conversation as used as 2b instead of 2d, example 2e is used as an equivalent to 2b.

2c. ma-dounə təu-bə mi-di otaŋbo-ni
   he-like do-NOMZ person-PART rare-COP
   ‘Persons like him are very rare.

*2d. ma-dəubə otaŋbo-ni
   he-like rare-COP
   ‘Persons like him are very rare.

2e. ma-dounə təubə-di otaŋbo-ni
   he-like do-PART rare-COP
   ‘Persons like him are very rare.

5.2.5. Use of -tum ‘alternative’

The suffix -tum~dum is used as an alternative marker in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. However, this suffix is replaced by -kum~gum in Kumbi dialect and -ōinə in Heirok dialect. The suffix -tum~dum indicates an alternate action which follows a previous action in a discourse. It is mainly found to use in suggestive and let imperative type of sentences. Examples-
Imphal/Thanga

1a. lairik-tum pa-si
    book-ALT read-SUG
    ‘Let us read the book’

Kumbi

1b. lairik-kum pa-se
    book-ALT read-SUG
    ‘Let us read the book’

Wangoo/Chairel

1c. lairik-tum pa-se
    book-ALT read-SUG
    ‘Let us read the book’

Heirok

1d. lairik-oinø pa-se
    book-ALT read-SUG
    ‘Let us read the book’

Imphal/Thanga

2a. kannøde cak-tum tʰon-si (lau)
    anyway rice-ALT cook-SUG (come-∅)
    ‘Anyway, come and let us cook the rice’
Kumbi

2b. kannote cak-kum t'øŋ-se (lau)
   anyway rice-ALT cook-SUG come-∅

   ‘Anyway, come and let us cook the rice’

Wangoo/Chairel

2c. kannade cak-tum t'øŋ-se (lau)
   anyway rice-ALT cook-SUG come-∅

   ‘Anyway, let us cook the rice’

Heirok

2d. kannø-te cak-oimø t'øŋ-lu-se la-wo
   anyway rice-ALT cook-DEIC-SUG come-SAM

   ‘Anyway, let us cook the rice’

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

3a. nøŋ-dum pʰu-ge
   you-ALT eat-INTE

   ‘Let me beat you’

Kumbi

3b. nøŋ-gum pʰu-ge
   you-ALT eat-INTE

   ‘Let me beat you’
Heirok

3c. นํา-อยิ่ง ปุ-เก
you-ALT eat-INTE

‘Let me beat you’

In the above example 2d, there is a insertion of suffix -lu ‘deictic’ in Heirok dialect. This phenomenon of insertion of the suffix -lu is occurred frequently in Heirok dialect if the verb is ended by -se ‘suggestive’ marker.

5.2.6. Replacement of -mu ‘command’

The suffix -mu ‘command’ in Imphal and Thanga dialects is replaced by -mo in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects and -lu in Heirok dialect in the following command sentences. It is also noted that the command suffix -wo can be observed in Heirok dialect but it is not marked morphologically in the five dialects i.e. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel. For instance

Imphal/Thanga

1a. каж หุม-มุ ล overthrow
mosquito fan-COM come-ϕ

‘Come and drive away the mosquitoes’

Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

1b. каж หุม-มอ ล overthrow
mosquito fan-COM come-ϕ

‘Come and drive away the mosquitoes’
Heirok

1c. kaŋ hum-lu la-wo

mosquito fan-COM come-COM

‘Come and drive away the mosquitoes’

5.2.7. Nominaliser -bə vs -ŋai

The nominaliser -bə is used in the four dialects of Manipuri whereas it is -ŋai in the two dialects namely Chairel and Heirok dialects in certain contexts. In Heirok dialect, the pronominal marker n- is also found to delete in this construction. Further, the command marker -u in Imphal and Thanga dialects is replaced by -wo in Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects. Examples

Imphal

1a. nə-buk-tu tʰən-nə-bə ca-u

2pp-stomach-DET full-PUR-NOMZ eat-COM

‘Eat your fill’

Kumbi/Wangoo

1b. nə-buk-tu tʰən-nə-bə ca-wo

2pp-stomach-DET full-PUR-NOMZ eat-COM

‘Eat your fill’
Thanga

1c. นə-buk-to  tʰən-นə-əə  ca-u

   2pp-stomach-DET full-PUR-NOMZ eat-COM

   ‘Eat your fill’

Chairel

1d. นə-buk-tu  tʰən-นə-ŋai  ca-wo

   2pp-stomach-DET full-PUR-NOMZ eat-COM

   ‘Eat your fill’

Heirok

1e. puk-(tu)  tʰən-นə-ŋai  ca-wo

   stomach-(DET) full-PUR-NOMZ eat-COM

   ‘Eat your fill’

5.2.8. Use of -də ‘definitive’

The suffix -də is used in sentence to show the continuity of the action if it is followed by -nə ‘adverb’ in all the six dialects except Kumbi and Thanga dialects. In Kumbi and Thanga dialects, the suffix -rə is used instead of -də. Further, it is also observed in Thanga dialect that the suffix -gə is used in place of -nə as shown in the given examples-
Imphal/Wangoo/Chairel/Heirok

1a. cak ca-dɔ-nɔ lei-re
    rice eat-DEF-ADV live-PRF
    ‘He is still eating the rice’

Kumbi

1b. cak ca-(rä)-nɔ lei-re
    rice eat-DEF-ADV live-PRF
    ‘He is still eating the rice’

Thanga

1c. cak ca-rə-gə lei-re
    rice eat-DEF-CON live-PRF
    ‘He is still eating the rice’

In above example, the word cadɔnɔ has two interpretations according to the tone it carries. One means definitive in eating with high tone and another one is without eating with low tone in Imphal, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects. However, in Kumbi and Thanga dialects, different forms i.e. carɔnɔ and carɔgə are used respectively. Therefore, the question of tone does not arise in these two dialects i.e. Kumbi and Thanga regarding the word cadɔnɔ. Continuity in eating is carɔnɔ and carɔgə in Kumbi and Thanga dialects respectively while without eating is cadɔnɔ in both the dialects. In Kumbi, it is also observed that the -rə in the suffix -rənɔ can be optional whereas -rə in the -rəgə can not be optional as in
the example above (1c). Further, the suffix -dɔ is optional if it indicates the positive sense. On the other hand, the suffix -dɔ can not be optional if it indicates the negative meaning in Imphal, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects as shown in the example 1d and 1e.

1d. cak ca-(dɔ)-nɔ lɔi-re (positive meaning)

rice eat-(DEF)-ADV live-PRF

‘He is still eating the rice’

1e. cak ca-dɔ-nɔ lei-re (negative meaning)

rice eat-DEF-ADV live-PRF

‘He is not eating the rice’

5.2.9. του- vs -nɔ ‘do’

The verbal root του in the following sentences is removed in Heirok dialect. The suffix -nɔ and the copulative maker -ni/ne is directly added to the verbal root ca after the intentive marker -ge in Heirok dialect as shown in the example 1c. Such form is not found in the remaining five dialects. In Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects, there are two types of sentence construction with verbal root του such as 1a and 1b.
In the above examples, the verbal root του is replaced by -nɔ in 1c.

Further, the progressive marker -ri in 1b is replaced by -ne ‘copula’ in Heirok dialect. In Heirok dialect, there is no difference in meaning with progressive marker or without progressive marker in that environment. Instead of these two sentences i.e. 1a and 1b, only one sentence i.e. 1c is used in Heirok dialect.

5.2.10. Use of -de ‘realised negative’

The suffix -te-de is the negative marker used in the five dialects viz. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel and it is -te in Heirok dialect. This suffix -de is attached to the noun after copulative suffix -ni-ne in the three
dialects i.e., Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel whereas in Imphal, Thanga and Heirok dialects, the negative marker -te--de is added to the root \( k^{h}\eta \). This \( k^{h}\eta \) is deleted in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects and not in Imphal, Thanga and Heirok dialects as shown in the examples below. Further, in Heirok dialect, only the negative marker -te is used, and -de is not found to use as an allomorph of -te.

Imphal/Thanga

1a. məu-ne \( k^{h}\eta\)-de ləisabi-ne \( k^{h}\eta\)-de cəp mannəi

woman-COP know-NEG damsel-COP know-NEG exact same-ϕ

‘There is no difference between the married and unmarried woman’

Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

1b. məu-ne-de ləisabi-ne-de cəp mannə-je

woman-COP-NEG damsel-COP-NEG exact same-SAM

‘There is no difference between the married and unmarried woman’

Heirok

1c. məu-ne \( k^{h}\eta\)-te ləisabi-ne \( k^{h}\eta\)-te cəp mannə-je

woman-COP know-NEG damsel-COP know-NEG exact same-SAM

‘There is no difference between the married and unmarried woman’

5.2.11. Use of -da vs -me ‘assurance’

The suffix -ne and -me is used in Thanga and Heirok dialects instead of -da which is used in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects to indicate the
assurance or trustworthy about an event or action. In Imphal, both the -mi or -da is found to use in conversation as a choice of the speaker(s). Example

**Imphal**

1a. məhak lak-əm-moi-da/mi
   
   he come-PRF-URL-ASSU
   
   ‘He would not have been there’

**Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel**

1b. məhak lak-əm-moi-da
   
   he come-PRF-URL-ASSU
   
   ‘He would not have been there’

**Thanga**

1c. məhak lak-əm-moi-ne
   
   he come-PRF-URL-ASSU
   
   ‘He would not have been there’

**Heirok**

1d. məhak lak-əm-loi-me
   
   he come-PRF-URL-ASSU
   
   ‘He would not have been there’

### 5.3. DELETION OF MORPHEMES

Under this sub-heading, deletion of morphemes in sentence level among the six dialects is discussed. Among the six dialects, one dialect may delete one
morpheme in conversation and some other dialects do not delete morphemes in conversation. Details analysis are given below with examples in which deletion of morphemes can be observed.

5.3.1. Deletion of -tu--du ‘definitive’

The determiner -tu--du is optionally added to the noun to determine or sepecify the noun in all the six dialects except in Thanga and Chairel dialects. In Chairel, addition of -tu--du to the noun or use of noun without the suffix -tu--du has no difference in meaning while in Thanga, without the suffix -tu--du is found to use frequently in conversation. For example

Imphal/ Kumbi/Wangoo/Heirok

1a. cak-tu kǝdai-no

    rice-DET where-AGR

    ‘Where is the rice’

Thanga

1b. cak kǝdaiǝ tʰǝm-mǝm-ge/ cak kǝdai-no

    rice where-LOC keep-EVI-INTE/ rice where-AGR

    ‘Where is the rice?’

Chairel

1c. cak kǝdai-no

    rice where-AGR

    ‘Where is the rice’
In Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok, if the suffix -\text{tu} is added to the noun then it gives extra meaning to particularise the noun i.e. \textit{cak} as in the example 1a and if the suffix -\text{tu~du} is deleted, it gives no specific meaning of the noun i.e. \textit{cak} but in Chairel dialect, the distinction in meaning with or without -\text{tu~du} is not cleared.

**5.3.2. Deletion of -\text{ti~di} ‘particularisation’**

Like the suffix -\text{tu~du}, deletion of particularisation marker -\text{ti~di} is found in Chairel dialect as in the example given below (1a) and it is optional in the remaining four dialects as in the example 1b while in Thanga, demonstrative marker -\text{si} is added before particularisation suffix -\text{di} as in the example 1c.

**Chairel**

1a. \text{p}^\text{hi} / \text{pu-roi-də-ra}\text{h}

\text{cloth} / \text{bring-URL-DEF-INT}

‘Won’t you bring the cloth?’

**Imphal/Kumbi/Wangoo/Heirok**

1b. \text{p}^\text{hi}-\text{di}/(\text{ri}) / \text{pu-roi-də-ra}\text{h}

\text{cloth-(PART)} / \text{bring-URL-DEF-INT}

‘Won’t (you) bring the cloth?’

**Thanga**

1c. \text{p}^\text{hi}-\text{si-di} / \text{pu-roi-də-ra}\text{h}

\text{cloth-DET-PART} / \text{bring-URL-DEF-INT}

‘Won’t you bring the cloth?’
In the above given, example (1a) is frequently used in the Chairel dialects and example 1b is used in the remaining four dialects viz. Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo and Heirok whereas example 1c is used in Thanga dialect. It is also noted that if the particularisation suffix -ti-di is added to noun, it can ask a question or it functions as a question form as shown in the following examples 2a and 2b.

2a. \[\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{i-di}\]
   cloth-PART
   ‘where is the cloth?’

2b. \[\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{i-du-di}\]
   cloth-DET-PART
   ‘Where is the cloth?’

Example 1a is interrogative sentence and it means ‘will you bring the cloth or not’. Such type of question can be asked by the example like 2a, if particularisation suffix -ti-di is added to noun. It indicates not only the particular entity but also conveys the question in that particular context after the deletion of the verb in the sentence. Such types of sentence construction are mainly found in Kumbi dialect rather than other remaining five dialects. It is also observed that the -du ‘determiner’ can be used before -di ‘particularisation’ in all the six dialects as in the example 2b. However, in Thanga dialect, example 2b is commonly used instead of example 2a.
5.3.3. Deletion of locative marker -də

Deletion of locative marker ‘-də’ is found in sentence while communicating among the peoples in all the six dialects. In Imphal and Thanga dialects, this process of deletion of locative marker is not used frequently. These two dialect communities i.e. Imphal and Thanga, considered to use with locative marker is a proper form of speech but in other dialects it is not such as considered by Imphal and Thanga dialects. In Heirok, if the pronominal marker is deleted, locative marker-τə~də is added to the noun as mə-mai>mai-τə. Examples are

Imphal/Thanga

1a. məkʰa-də lak-o
   down-LOC come-COM
   ‘Come down’

Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel/Heirok

1b. məkʰa lak-o
   down- φ come-COM
   ‘Come down’

Imphal/Thanga

2a. cəi-du jenəkʰa-də ləi-bə-ni
   stick-DET side of house-LOC lie-NOMZ-COP
   ‘The stick is on the side of the house’
Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel/Heirok

2b.  cɔi-du  jenakʰa  lɔi-bɔ-ne

stick-DET  side of house-∅  lie-NOMZ-COP

‘The stick is on the side of the house’

Imphal/Thanga

3a.  mɔ-mai-dɔ  tʰa-u

his/her-face-LOC  slap-COM

‘Slap on his/her face’

Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

3b.  mɔ-mai  tʰa-wo

his/her-face  slap-COM

‘Slap on his/her face’

Heirok

3c.  mai-tɔ  tʰa-wo

face-DAT  slap-COM

‘Slap on his/her face’

5.3.4. **Deletion of copulative suffix -ni/-ne**

In the following examples, it can be observed that the sentence  mɔhak lɔu-u-bɔ-ni/ne ‘he is farmer’ is replaced by  lɔu-u-je in Heirok dialect and there is no change in the remaining five dialects i.e. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel. Sometimes, in Heirok, the copula ni/ne can be deleted and replaced
by aspect marker -je in some sentences. Such form of sentence is not found in
Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri. For instance

Imphal/Thanga

1a. tombɔ lɔųubɔ-ŋi/ŋi lɔųubɔ mi-ŋi
   tomba farmer-COP/farmer man-COP
   ‘Tomba is farmer’

Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

1b. tombɔ  lɔųubɔ-ne
   tomba farmer-COP
   ‘Tomba is farmer’

Heirok

1c. tombɔ  lɔų-u-je
    tomba field-do-SAM
    ‘Tomba is farmer’

Here, lɔųubɔ means ‘farmer’, it mainly focuses on the person not the
occupation whereas lɔųu-je means the occupation of the person. Moreover, there
is also a sentence which is used similarly in all the six dialects i.e. Imphal,
Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok to indicate ‘he is a farmer’. The
sentence is mɔhak lɔumi-ŋi ‘he is a farmer’.
5.3.5. Deletion of Reduplicated Morpheme

Sometimes, deletion of reduplicated morpheme can be seen in Imphal, Thanga and Heirok dialects not in other remaining three dialects. In the given example, the verbal root *tok* ‘stop’ is found to use as a reduplicated verb in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. Such types of reduplicated verb is not found to use frequently in Imphal, Thanga and Heirok dialects.

**Imphal**

1a. ca-niŋ-ŋə-gə cau ca-niŋ-d-rə-gə tok-u
   
   eat-mood-PRF-CON eat-φ eat-mood-NEG-PRF-CON stop-COM
   
   ‘If you want to eat or not, you can do whatever you want’

**Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel**

1b. ca-ge ca-wo ca-roi tok-ke tok-o
   
   eat-INTE eat-COM eat-URL stop-INTE stop-COM
   
   ‘If you want to eat or not, you can do whatever you want’

**Thanga**

1c. ca-niŋ-ŋə cau ca-niŋ-d-rə tok-u
   
   eat-mood-PRF eat-φ eat-mood-NEG-PRF stop-COM
   
   ‘If you want to eat or not, you can do whatever you want’

**Heirok**

1d. ca-ge ca-u ca-roi tok-o
   
   eat-INTE eat-COM eat-URL stop-COM
   
   ‘If you want to eat or not, you can do whatever you want’
5.3.6. **Deletion of benefactive marker -pi**

In the sentence given below, it is observed that the benefactive morpheme -pi is deleted in Heirok dialect but not in other dialects. So, in Heirok dialect, such sentence without -pi ‘benefactive’ as found to use freely in this community even though, the meaning of benefactive is reflected in such sentence of Heirok dialect. In the example of Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects as illustrated below, the morpheme -pi is used whereas in Heirok dialect it is deleted. However, in Thanga dialect, the position of subject is occupied by maidɔmɔk ‘for him/her’ whereas in the remaining dialects, the subject position can be occupied either by kɔnanɔ or maidɔmɔk. Further, -ni which is used in all the six dialects except in Heirok dialect, is the shortened form of unrealised aspect marker -gɔni.

**Imphal/Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel**

1a. kɔna-nɔ  mai-dɔmɔk  lep-pi-ni
   
   who-nom  his-for  stand-BENF-URL

   ‘Who will support for him?’

**Thanga**

1b. mai-dɔmɔk  kɔna-nɔ  lep-pi-ni
   
   he-for  who-NOM  stand-BENF-URL

   ‘Who will support for him?’
Heirok

1c. kəna-ŋa mai-domək lep-kəni

who-nom his-for stand-URL

‘Who will support for him?’

5.3.7. Deletion of unrealised marker -gə

In the following examples, the unrealised suffix -gə (-gəni>-gə) is deleted in some interrogative sentences in Kumbi and Heirok dialects whereas in the remaining dialects it is not found. It is also observed that the vowel /ə/ in -dərə is deleted to form the cluster as -drə for easy pronunciation in Imphal, Wangoo and Chairel dialects and -dro in Thanga dialect. In Kumbi and Heirok dialects, the vowel /ə/ is changed into /o/ as -do in Kumbi and /u/ as -du in Heirok respectively. Further, it can be observed that, there is an addition of -du ‘determiner’ to the noun i.e. pʰi in order to specify the cloth in Thanga dialect. On the other hand, such addition of morpheme is not found in the remaining five dialects. Despites, it is also noted that if the genitive marker -ki~gi is added to mə ‘3pp’, it becomes mai ‘his’ in pronunciation in all the six dialects. Example-

Imphal/Wangoo/Chairel

1a. mai ədu-gumbə pʰi pʰəŋ-gə-dra

he-φ DET-like cloth find-URL-DEF-INT

‘Will I get the cloth like him?’
Kumbi

1b. mai ṃdu-gumbé pʰi pʰəŋ-do-rə

he-φ DET-like cloth find-DEF-INT

‘Will I get the cloth like him?’

Thanga

1c. mai ṃdu-gumbé pʰi-du pʰəŋ-gə-dro

he-φ DET-like cloth-DET find-URL-DEF-INT

‘Will I get the cloth like him?’

Heirok-

1d. mai ṃdu-gumbé pʰi phəŋ-du-rə

he-φ DET-like cloth find-DEF-INT

‘Will I get the cloth like him?’

5.3.8. Deletion of dative marker

The dative marker is -də in the five dialects but not in Kumbi dialect. The dative marker is -lə in Kumbi dialect. In Heirok dialect, the dative marker is found to delete in conversation and in Kumbi, it is optional. Further, the command marker -lo is used in Heirok dialect instead of -u/o which is used in the remaining dialects. Examples

Imphal/Thanga

1a. mə-ŋon-də pi-rək-u

3pp-PM-DAT give-DEIC-COM

‘Give to him’
Kumbi
1b. mə-ṇon-(lə) pi-rək-o
    3pp-PM-(DAT) give-DEIC-COM
    ‘Give to him’

Wangoo/Chairel
1c. mə-ṇon-də pi-rək-o
    3pp-PM-DAT give-DEIC-COM
    ‘Give to him’

Heirok
1d. mə-ṇon pi-rək-lo
    3pp-PM give-DEIC-COM
    ‘Give to him’

In the above examples among the six dialects, it can be understood that the command marker -u in the Imphal and Thanga dialects is replaced by -o in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects whereas in Heirok dialect, it is -lo. In addition to this, it is also observed that the dative marker -də in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects is replaced by -lə in Kumbi dialect. This dative marker -də is found to delete in Heirok dialect in this context whereas it is optional in Kumbi dialect. Sometimes, if the subject is pronoun i.e. əi, nəŋ, ma and followed by person marker -pon then, the dative marker is found to delete in the remaining five dialects as done in Heirok dialect. However, if the subject is
personal pronoun, then the dative marker -dọ (in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok) and -lọ (in Kumbi) is obligatory. In this case, the person marker -pon which is added to the pronoun as in the above examples 1a, 1b, 1c and 1d is deleted or does not attach to the noun in all the six dialects as illustrated below-

**Imphal/Thanga**

2a.  rọtọn-dọ      pi-rọk-u
    
    ratan-DAT      give-DEIC-COM
    
    ‘Give to Ratan’

**Kumbi**

2b.  rọtọn-lọ      pi-rọk-o
    
    ratan-DAT      give-DEIC-COM
    
    ‘Give to Ratan’

**Wangoo/Chairel**

2c.  rọtọn-dọ      pi-rọk-o
    
    ratan-DAT      give-DEIC-COM
    
    ‘Give to Ratan’

**Heirok**

2d.  rọtọn-dọ      pi-rọk-lo
    
    ratan-DAT      give-DEIC-COM
    
    ‘Give to Ratan’
5.4. ADDITION OF MORPHEMES

Addition of morpheme can be found in the sentence level in the six dialects of Manipuri. The addition of morpheme adds extra meaning to that environment in some dialects while in other dialects addition of morpheme does not affect the semantic property in that particular context. For instance, in Thanga dialect, the morpheme -di is added to particularise the situation but not in the other remaining dialects, Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok as shown below.

Imphal/Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

1a ना‌ह-बु‌ नु‌षी-डा‌-बो‌-इ‌ नात्ते
   you-ACC love-NEG-NOMZ-GEN not
   ‘It is not that, I don’t love you’

Thanga

1b ना‌ह-बु‌ नु‌षी-डा‌-बो‌-इ‌-डी‌ नात्ते
   you-ACC love-NEG-NOMZ-GEN-PART not
   ‘It is not that, I don’t love you’

Heirok

1c ना‌ह-बु‌ नु‌षी-टा‌-पो‌-इ‌ नात्ते
   you-ACC love-NEG-NOMZ-GEN not
   ‘It is not that, I don’t love you’

In Heirok dialect, the negative marker -डा and nominaliser -बो is replaced by -टा and -पो respectively as in the above example.
5.4.1. -co vs -wo ‘command’

The command marker -co and -wo can be used after deitic marker -ru which is added to the verbal root in Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel whereas in Heirok dialect it is -wo. In this case, the deitic marker -ru i.e. away from the source also carries the meaning of command in Imphal and Thanga dialects. From this direction, it is cleared that the suffix -co can occur after -ru deictic marker in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. On the other side, -wo ‘command marker’ can occur after this deictic marker -ru in Heirok dialect specially. No variation is found in Imphal and Thanga dialects in the use of these two suffixes. Examples

**Imphal/Thanga**

1a. isiŋ l_Tagru

water take-DEIC-ϕ

‘Go and bring the water’

**Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel**

1b. isiŋ l_Tagru-co

water take-DEIC-COM

‘Go and bring the water’

**Heirok**

1c. isiŋ l_Tagru-wo

water bring-DEIC-COM

‘Go and bring the water’
Further, if only lauru is used then the suffix -ru functions both ‘deictic’ and ‘command’ in Imphal and Thanga dialects. On the other hand, -co is used after -ru as lauruco, then the suffix -ru functions as a deictic marker only and -co is command marker. It is also found to use this suffix -co as a reduplicated form in Kumbi dialect as in the example 1d. In that case, this suffix -co indicates the meaning of ‘extra emphasis or strong intention’ but in other dialects it is hardly used.

1d. isiŋ  ləu-ru-co-co

-water bring-DEIC-COM-COM

‘Go and bring the water’ (strong intention)

5.4.2. Use of deictic marker -ru

In Heirok dialect, it is found to use frequently the deictic marker -ru in the command sentences which is not natural in the remaining dialects. In Heirok, the deictic marker -ru regularly follows the action verbs and the deictic marker -ru is normally followed by -wo ‘command’. In this case, addition of -ru to the verbal root has different senses in the remaining five dialects but not in Heirok dialect. For instance, the words tʰau and tʰa-ru have different senses, tʰau means action need to be done instantly at the speaker’s place whereas tʰaru means action need to be done away from the speaker’s place at present or after sometime in the five dialects. However, in Heirok, it is common feature to add -ru before command marker -wo as tʰa-ru-wo and the command sentence without -ru is hardly used in Heirok dialect. Examples
5.4.3. Addition of -tə ‘definitive’

In the examples given below, it can be observed that the definitive marker -tə is added to the verbal root and followed by -nə ‘adverb’ in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects whereas in Kumbi, it is -lə~rə. In Heirok dialect, the definitive -tə~də is not used in this environment, instead of this, -kəni~gəni ‘unrealised’ is added to the verbal root and nəmaidə which is found to use in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri is replaced by maītə in Heirok dialect. Sometimes tərəkkədure is used in Heirok dialect in place of təarəktənə tokkəni which is used in the remaining five dialects. Example
Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

1a. nə-mai-də tʰa-rək-tə-nə tok-ə-rä-nil/tok-kəni

2pp-face-DAT slap-PREC-DEF-ADV stop-PRF-STAR-URL

‘I shall slap on your face’

1b. nə-mai-rə tʰa-rək-lə-nə tok-kəni

2pp-face-DAT slap-PREC-DEF-ADV stop-URL

‘I shall slap on your face’

Kumbi

1b. nə-mai-rə tʰa-rək-lə-nə tok-kəni

2pp-face-DAT slap-PREC-DEF-ADV stop-URL

‘I shall slap on your face’

Heirok

1c. mai-tə tʰa-rək-kə-du-re/tʰa-rək-kəni

face-DAT slap-PREC-URL-do-PRF/slap-PREC-URL

‘I am going to slap on your face’

5.4.4. Addition of kʰək ‘only’

The suffix kʰək is used in Imphal and other dialects to focus on a particular person or thing as

1a. ma-kʰəktə-rə

he/she-focus-INT

‘Only him/her?’ (focus on person)

1b. lairik-kʰəktə-rə

book-focus-INT

‘Only book?’ (focus on book)
In sentences, only $k^hək$ or -tə--də or both as $k^həktə$ can be used in all the six dialects as in the examples below (2a, 2b and 2c) respectively.

2a. əi ɳa- $k^hək$ ca-ni
    I fish-focus eat-URL
    ‘I will eat only fish’

2b. əi ɳa-də ca-ni
    I fish-focus eat-URL
    ‘I will eat only fish’

2c. əi ɳa-$k^həktə$ ca-ni
    I fish-focus eat-URL
    ‘I will eat only fish’

But, in Kumbi, the focus marker $k^həktə$ is replaced by only -tə--də and followed by interrogative marker -rə to make a question.

For example-

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel/Heirok

3a. ma-$k^həktə$-rə
    he-focus-INT
    ‘Only him?’
Kumbi
3b. ma-də-rə
   he-focus-INT
   ‘Only him?’

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel/Heirok
4a. cak-kʰəktə-rə
   rice-focus-INT
   ‘Only rice?’

Kumbi
4b. cak-tə-rə
   rice-focus-INT
   ‘Only rice, do you want’

   It is also observed that, if kʰək is used with -tə, it gives a meaning that is more specific in Kumbi as-

4c. nəŋ-kʰəktə-rə
   you-focus-INT
   ‘Only you?’ (more specific or focus)

   However, more specificity in meaning by the use of kʰək in sentence is not distinguished in the remaining five dialects i.e., Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok.
5.5. VARIATION IN WORDS

In this sub-section, variation in the use of word or words in sentence is highlighted. One dialect uses some words in conversation in order to convey meaning to others whereas another dialect uses some other words in order to convey the same interpretation to others. For instance, $\text{h} \text{a} \text{kca}$ $\text{n} \text{u} \text{g} \text{a} \text{i} \text{e}$ ‘I am not well’ is used in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects while in Kumbi and Chairel dialects, $\text{i}$ $\text{s}$ $\text{a}$ $\text{n} \text{u} \text{g} \text{a} \text{i} \text{e}$ ‘I am not well’ is used instead of $\text{h} \text{a} \text{kca}$ $\text{n} \text{u} \text{g} \text{a} \text{i} \text{e}$. The word $\text{h} \text{a} \text{kca}$ is replaced by $\text{i}$ $\text{s}$ $\text{a}$ in Kumbi and Chairel dialects.

5.5.1. Use of $\text{k}$ $\text{o}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{o}$ ‘strongly/hardly’

$k$ $\text{o}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{o}$ is an adverb placed before a verb to modify a verb in all the six dialects. But this adverb is not placed before an adjective to modify the adjective in all the six dialects except in Kumbi dialect. In this dialect, this adverb $k$ $\text{o}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{o}$ is placed before an adjective which is not common feature of the remaining five dialects i.e., Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok. Some examples are illustrated below in which $k$ $\text{o}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{o}$ is placed before a verb.

i. $\text{k}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{e}$ $\text{c}$ $\text{e}$ $\text{l}$ $\text{u}$ $\text{l}$ $\text{o}$

strong-ADV run-COM

‘Run fast’

ii. $\text{y}$ $\text{a}$ $\text{m}$ $\text{k}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{n}$ $\text{e}$ $\text{c}$ $\text{e}$ $\text{l}$ $\text{l}$ $\text{o}$

very strong-ADV run-COM

‘Run very fast’
The above two forms (i and ii) can be observed in all the six dialects. Further, some examples are given in which adverb $k\ddot{o}nn\ddot{a}$ is placed before an adjective in Kumbi dialect but not in other remaining dialects.

1a. mohak masak jamn\ddot{o} $p^b\ddot{e}r\ddot{o}$-i
   she outlook very beauty-SAM
   ‘She is very beautiful’

1b. mohak masak sat$^b$in\ddot{o} $p^b\ddot{e}r\ddot{o}$-i
   she outlook extremely beauty-SAM
   ‘She is very beautiful’

1c. mohak masak t$^b$in\ddot{o} $p^b\ddot{e}r\ddot{o}$-i
   she outlook extremely beauty-SAM
   ‘She is very beautiful’

The above example 1a, 1b and 1c are found to use in the five dialects viz. Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects but in Kumbi dialect, $k\ddot{o}nn\ddot{a}$ is used instead of $jamn\ddot{o}$ or $sat^b$in\ddot{o}$ or $t^b$in\ddot{o}$ as-

1d. mohak masak $k\ddot{o}nn\ddot{a}$ $p^b\ddot{e}r\ddot{o}$-i
   she outlook strongly beauty-SAM
   ‘She is very beautiful’

More examples are-

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel/Heirok

2a. insan$\ddot{u}$-si jam-(n\ddot{a}) hau-wi/we
   curry-DET very-ADV tasty-SAM
   ‘This curry is very tasty’
There is a morphosemantic variation in the use of ㄷㄲ in the five dialects. If the word ㄷㄲ is used in the remaining dialects as used in Kumbi, it means ungrammatical or sometimes humorous form of speech.

5.5.2. Use of the word ḡoxcaŋ ‘body’

ḡoxcaŋ means ‘body’ in all the six dialects of Manipuri. However, in some contexts, ḡoxcaŋ is used differently in the six dialects. In Kumbi and Chairel dialects, the interpretation of ḡoxcaŋ is different from remaining four dialects. Examples are given below-

Kumbi
2b. isaŋ-si 竦竦 hau-we
curry-DET strongly tasty-SAM
‘The curry is very tasty’

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel/Heirok
3a. lmişabi-du 竦竦 pʰ-o-i
girl-DET very good-SAM
‘That girl is very good’

Kumbi
3b. lmişabi-du 竦竦 pʰ-o-i
girl-DET strongly good-SAM
‘That girl is very good’
1a. həkcanj nuŋŋai-te
   body well-NEG
   ‘I am not well’

1b. oi həkcanj nuŋŋai-te
   I body well-NEG
   ‘I am not well’

1c. ṇəsi-di həkcanj-si/se icok coktʰə-i
   today-PART body-DET exhaust exhaust-SAM
   ‘I am very exhausted today’

In the above examples 1a, 1b and 1c, həkcanj is used extensively in the four dialects i.e. Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects whereas in Kumbi and Chairel dialects, the word həkcanj is not used, instead of that the word isa is used as-

2a. i-sa nuŋŋai-te
   1pp-body well-NEG
   ‘I am not well’

2b. oi i-sa nuŋŋai-te
   I 1pp-body well-NEG
   ‘I am not well’

2c. ṇəsi-di/ri i-sa-se i-cok coktʰə-i
   today-PART my-body-DET 1pp-exhaust exhaust-SAM
   ‘I am very exhausted today’
In the above examples, it is also noted that there is a semantic variation in the use of *həkcaŋ*. If *həkcaŋ* is used instead of *isa* in Kumbi dialect, it connotates a meaning which is related to sex organs. So, it is not allowed to use this word *həkcaŋ* freely in the conversation or discourse. In addition, all the three pronominal markers i.e. i-, nə- and mə- can be added to *isa* to describe the person to whom the utterance is focused but in *həkcaŋ*, pronominal markers can not be added to identify the person. Examples-

3a. i-sa nuŋŋai-re
   1pp-body happy-PRF
   ‘I am feeling well’

3b. nə-sa nuŋŋai-rə-bə-ɾə
   2pp-body happy-PRF-NOMZ-INT
   ‘How are you feeling now?’

3c. mə-sa pʰə-re
   3pp-body good-PRF
   ‘He has good health’

*4a. i-həkcaŋ nuŋŋai-te
   1pp-body happy-NEG
   ‘I am not well’

*4b. nə-həkcaŋ nuŋŋai-tə-bə-ɾə
   2pp-body happy-NEG-NOMZ-INT
   ‘Are you ill?’
4c. mə-həkcaŋ  pʰə-i
3pp-body  good-SAM

‘He has good health’

In the above examples 4a, 4b and 4c the addition of pronominal markers (i.e. i-, nə- and mə-) are not allowed before həkcaŋ instead of this, personal pronouns i.e. əi, nəŋ and ma/məhək can be used respectively as-

5a. əi  həkcaŋ  nəŋai-te
I  body  happy-NEG

‘I am sick’

5b. nəŋ  həkcaŋ  nəŋai-te-bə-ɾə
you  body  happy-NEG-NOMZ-INT

‘Are you sick’

5c. ma  həkcaŋ  nəŋai-te
he  body  happy-NEG

‘He is sick’

Sometimes, isa, nəsa and məsa are also found to use in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects. In addition, it is noted that the word həkcaŋ is used with some specific nouns as a phrasal form in all the six dialects as in the examples 6a, 6b and 6c including Kumbi and Chairel dialects. Though, həkcaŋ in the examples 6a and 6b, are optional except 6c in Kumbi and Chairel dialects.
For instance

6a. həkcanj-sajel

‘body exercise’

6b. həkcanj-kaqat

‘Body organ’

6c. həkcanj-polaŋ

‘Body skeleton’

5.5.3. Use of kot vs kəi ‘rice granary’

Both kot and kəi are mainly used for storing rice grains in all the six dialects. However, the variation that has been found in all the six dialects are illustrated below with examples-

Imphal

1a. əi-nə kot-təgi pʰəu pek-i

I-NOM granary-ABL paddy collect-SAM

‘I collect paddy from the (rice) granary’

Kumbi

1b. əi-nə kot-əogi pʰəu pek-e

I-NOM granary-ABL paddy collect-SAM

‘I collect paddy from the (rice) granary’
In the above examples kot in Imphal, Kumbi and Chairel dialects of Manipuri is replaced by kɔi in Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects of Manipuri. kot and kɔi are a kind of store house for keeping rice grains for long time use. However, there is a semantic variation between the two words in Kumbi dialect. If the person used kot, then it is a specific place either may be small or big for keeping rice grains and mainly made up of bamboo or pʰ kloŋ with round shape. On the other hand, kɔi is a big place where paddy or other things can be placed according to the situation and should be four sided form. Such variations can not be observed in the remaining five dialects of Manipuri.
5.5.4. Use of Ḹənə vs Ḹəunə ‘loudly’

In the following examples, it can be observed that the word Ḹənə in the Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects is replaced by Ḹəunə in Heirok dialect of Manipuri. The literal meaning of Ḹənə means ‘strongly’ even though, Ḹənə means barking of dog loudly in this context in the five dialects i.e. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects whereas in Heirok dialect, Ḹəunə is used in this context. Examples are illustrated below-

Imphal/Thanga

1a. hui-(du) Ḹənə Ḹəoŋŋə
   dog-(DET) strongly bark-SAM
   ‘The dog barks loudly’

Kumbi/Wangoo

1b. hui-do Ḹənə Ḹəoŋŋə
    dog-DET strongly bark-SAM
    ‘The dog barks loudly’

Chairel

1c. hui-du Ḹənə Ḹəoŋŋə
    dog-DET strongly bark-SAM
    ‘The dog barks loudly’
Heirok
1d. hui-du houna kʰon-li-je
   dog-DET loudly bark-PRG-CONF
   ‘The dog barks loudly’

5.5.5. Use of konna vs hitto ‘forcefully’

It is observed that the words konna and hitto are used differently in the six dialects. The variations are illustrated below with examples.

Imphal/Thanga
1a. ma-nə sən-du/do konna pʰu-i
   he-NOM cow-DET forcefully beat-SAM
   ‘He beats the cow forcefully’

Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel
1b. ma-nə sən-do konna pʰu-je
   he-NOM cow-DET forcefully beat-SAM
   ‘He beats the cow forcefully’

Heirok
1c. ma-nə sən-du hitto pʰu-je
   he-NOM cow-DET forcefully beat-SAM
   ‘He beats the cow forcefully’
5.5.6. Use of tʰaŋgɔ,tpa vs kɔtpa ‘to lift up’

In the six dialects, it can also be identified that the word tʰaŋgɔ,tpa ‘keep upward/to lift up something’ which is used in the five dialects viz. Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok is not used in Kumbi dialect instead of this, kɔtpa is used extensively. In this case, the verbal root ‘kɔt’ follows the noun ‘sɔgai’ and ‘lɔp’ as a incorporated verb.

Imphal/Thanga

1a. tombi-ŋo polaŋ-du sɔgai-dɔ tʰaŋ-gɔt-li

tombi-NOM basket-DET reck-LOC lift-DEIC-SAM

‘Tombi keeps the basket on the reck’

Kumbi

1b. tombi-ŋo polaŋ-du sɔgai-rɔ/lɔp-ɔ kɔt-le

tombi-NOM basket-DET reck-LOC lift-SAM

‘Tombi keeps the basket on the reck’

Wangoo/Chairel/Heirok

1c. tombi-ŋo polaŋ-du sɔgai-dɔ tʰaŋ-gɔt-le

tombi-NOM basket-DET reck-LOC lift-DEIC-SAM

‘Tombi keeps the basket on the reck’

However, it is also observed that the verbal root kɔt always follows the noun lɔp ‘a kind of reck’ in Kumbi dialect as in the example 1d whereas dialects like Imphal and Wangoo do not use the word lɔp in conversation. In Imphal and Wangoo dialects, tʰoła is used instead of lɔp.
1d. polaŋ-du ṭəp-ə kət-kʰo (Kumbi)
basket-DET reck-LOC keep-COM
‘Keep/lift up the basket on the shelf’

Sometimes, tʰaŋɡəpə is used after the word mətʰəktə in all the six
dialects as in the example.

1e. polaŋ-du mətʰəktə/la tʰaŋɡət-kʰo
basket-DET reck-LOC keep-COM
‘Keep/lift up the basket on the shelf’

5.5.7. Use of the word olaŋbə ‘hot’

The word olaŋbə is used in Kumbi dialect as a sentence with an aspect
marker but not in other remaining dialects. In Imphal, it is found to use the term
in olden days but nowadays, people of Imphal rarely used this word in
conversation. For examples

Kumbi
1a. olaŋ-ŋe
hot-SAM
‘It is hot’

But in other five dialects, the example 1b is used commonly.

1b. sa-i or sa-je or humaŋ səu-we
hot-SAM
‘It is hot’
1c. ȵəsi-di  olaŋ-onsau-i  
   today-PART  hot-SAM  
   ‘Today is very hot’  

   Further, the above example (1c) is, sometimes, found to use in all the six dialects.

5.5.8. Use of natomtə/ natʰəntə ‘alone’

   In Heirok natomtə ‘alone’ is used dominantly instead of natʰəntə ‘alone’ which is also used dominantly in Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects but in Imphal dialect both forms are used. For example

   Imphal/ Kumbi/ Thanga/ Wangoo/ Chairel

   1a.  natʰəntə  lak-pə-rə  
      alone  come-NOMZ-INT  
      ‘Do you come alone’  

   Heirok

   1b.  natomtə  lak-pə-rə  
      alone  come-NOMZ-INT  
      ‘Do you come alone’  

5.5.9. Use of hairəkandədə ‘when said’

   This word is used mostly in Thanga dialect. Instead of this hairəkanlə or hairəgə is used in Kumbi and hairəkandə in Imphal, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects. For example-
Imphal/Wangoo/Chairel/Heirok

1a. ma-nə hai-rə-kan-də kʰəŋ-ŋi/ŋe
    he-NOM say-PRF-when-LOC know-SAM
    ‘I know when he said’

Kumbi

1b. ma-nə hai-rə-kan-la/hai-rə-gə kʰəŋ-ŋe
    he-NOM say-PRF-when-LOC know-SAM
    ‘I know when he said’

Thanga

1c. ma-nə hai-rə-kan-də-də kʰəŋ-ŋi
    he-NOM say-PRF-when-DEF-FOC know-SAM
    ‘I know when he said’

5.5.10. \textit{tʰinbə} vs \textit{waibə} ‘strike’

\textit{tʰinbə} follows the noun \textit{kin} ‘knuckle’ in the Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects of Manipuri. On the other hand, \textit{waibə} follows the \textit{kin} in Thanga dialect of Manipuri. In Kumbi dialect, \textit{waibə} follows the noun \textit{kʰuniŋ} ‘elbow’ as \textit{kʰuniŋə wairəkkənì} ‘I shall hit (you) by my elbow. Sometimes in Heirok dialect the deitic marker -\textit{jin} is found to use in such context. Examples

Imphal/Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

1a. kin-nə tʰil-lək-kənì
    fist-INST hit-PREC-URL
    ‘I shall hit by my fist’
Thanga

1b. kin-nə wai-rək-kəni

fist-INST smash-PREC-URL

‘I shall hit (your) by my fist’

Heirok

1c. kin-nə tʰin-jin-lək-kəni

fist-INST smash-DEIC-PREC-URL

‘I shall hit (you) by my fist’

Moreover, the example 1c which is used in Heirok dialect is found to use in the remaining dialects according to different environments.

5.5.11. Use of jeŋniŋdəbə vs uniŋtəbə ‘not to be pleasing to see’

The word jeŋniŋdəbə ‘not to be pleasing to see’ in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects is replaced by uniŋtəbə in Heirok dialect.

In the words i.e. jeŋniŋdəbə and uniŋtəbə, if the nominaliser -bə is deleted, the negative suffix -də changes into -təm in Kumbi and Heirok dialects. Besides, due to the change of -dəbə into -təm, the adverb -nə is optional in Kumbi and Heirok dialects but not in other remaining dialects. Examples are illustrated below-

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

1a. nə-sək-tu jeŋ-niŋ-də-bə-nə loi-re

2pp-face-DET look-mood-NEG-NOMZ-ADV finish-PRF

‘I don’t like to see your face’
Kumbi

1b. nә-sәk-tu jeŋ-niŋ-tәm-(nә) loi-re

2pp-face-DET look-mood-NEG-ADV finish-PRF

‘I don’t like to see your face’

Heirok

1c. sәk-tu u-niŋ-tәm-(nә) loi-re

face-DET see-mood-NEG-(ADV) finish-PRF

‘I don’t like to see you’

Here in the examples (1b) and (1c), -tәm is derived from -tәbә. It is mainly for easy pronunciation.

5.5.12. Use of әмотә vs әкәмә ‘dirtness’

әмотә means dirty in all the six dialects but in certain contexts, әкәмә is used instead of әмотә in Heirok dialects and not in other dialects viz. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel. Furthermore, if әкәмә is used in this context, it gives another interpretation in the five dialects but not in Heirok dialect. Here, әкәмә means loose dress for a person that may be either man or woman.

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

1a. ә-mәt-pә әә bi set-tә-nә lei-re

ATT-dirty-NOMZ cloth wear-DEF-ADV live-PRF

‘You have still wore dirty cloths’
Kumbi

1b. ṣ-mot-pə ṣ-hi set-tə-nə lei-re

ATT-dirty-NOMZ cloth wear-DEF-ADV live-PRF

‘You have still wore dirty cloths’

Heirok

1c. ṣ-kam ṣ-kam-bə ṣ-hi set-tə-nə lei-re

ATT-dirty ATT-dirty-NOMZ cloth wear-DEF-ADV live-PRF

‘You have still wore dirty cloths’

Sometimes, in Imphal dialect, morpheme kambə is found to express the use of cloths without proper care. Instead of morpheme kambə ‘loose dress’, morpheme kombə/ceksindəbə is sometimes used in Kumbi and other dialects also. For instance

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel/Heirok

2a. məsi nupi-si mə-ptune kom-mi

this woman-DET 3pp-cloth loose-SAM

‘This woman is loose dresser’

Kumbi

2b. məsi nupi-si mə-ptune cek-sin-de/kom-mi

this woman-DET 3pp-cloth loose-DEIC-NEG

‘This woman is loose dresser’
There is a semantic variation regarding the use of *ceksinbo*, it means to take care in wearing of cloth and wearing of cloth tightly in all the six dialects. This variation is mainly depend on the context or situation.

5.5.13. tap vs pak ‘seldom’

Both *tap* and *pak* means ‘seldom’, *tap* is found to use in Heirok dialect whereas *pak* is found to use in the remaining five dialects. In Heirok, it is also observed that the confirmation marker -je is also found to occur after unrealised negative -loi but this occurrence of -je confirmation marker is not found in the remaining dialects in such context. These two words always occur in the negative environment in all the six dialects. For instance

Imphal/Kumbi/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

1a. ma pak lak-oj

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{he} & \text{seldom} & \text{come-URL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He is not coming that soon’

Heirok

1b. ma tap lak-loi-je

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{he} & \text{seldom} & \text{come-URL-CN} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He is not coming that soon’

It is also observed that the words *tap* and *pak* are always followed by verb that may be either action verb or stative verb as-
Examples with action verb-

Imphal/Kumbi/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

2a. ma jen pak ca-de
he chicken seldom eat-NEG
‘He seldom eats chicken’

2b. ma impʰal pak ka-de
he imphal seldom climb-NEG
‘He will seldom go Imphal’

Heirok

2c. ma jen tap ca-te
he chicken seldom eat-NEG
‘He seldom eats chicken’

2d. ma impʰal tap ka-te
he imphal seldom climb-NEG
‘He will seldom go Imphal’

Examples with stative verbs-

Imphal/Kumbi/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

3a. tombi məsək pak pʰəŋə-roi
tombi outlook seldom beauty-URL
‘Tombi will hardly become beauty’

3b. məni pak waŋ-de
mani seldom tall-NEG
‘Mani hardly becomes tall’
Heirok

3c. tombi məsək tap pʰəjə-roi-je
   tombi outlook seldom beauty-URL-CNF
   ‘Tombi will hardly become beauty’

3d. məni tap waŋ-de
   mani seldom tall-NEG
   ‘Mani hardly becomes tall’

   In Heirok dialect, addition of confirmation marker -je can also be observed after the unrealised negative marker -roi as in the example 3c.

5.5.14. paknə vs pəŋə ‘hardly/rarely’

   The words i.e. paknə and pəŋə are found to use as pak and tap (as in section 5.5.13) in the six dialects. However, paknə is used in the four dialects i.e. Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel, pəŋə is used only in the Imphal dialect but in Heirok dialect, both the forms are not used, instead of paknə and pəŋə, tap is used as illustrated below. Sometimes, the word paknə is also found to use in Imphal dialect. Examples

   Imphal

1a. thəjə sa pəŋə ca-de
   thaja meat seldom eat-NEG
   ‘Thaja seldom eats meat’
Kumbi/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

1b. ṭhajə sa paknə ca-de
    thaja meat seldom eat-NEG
    ‘Thaja seldom eats meat’

Heirok

1c. ṭhajə sa tap ca-de
    thaja meat seldom eat-NEG
    ‘Thaja seldom eats meat’

In the above examples, if the word 鹑 sns is used in place of paknə and tap as used in 1a, it means another interpretation that ‘he/she eats wisely not ‘foolishly’ in kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects. Such type of sentence is hardly found to use in all the six dialects except Imphal dialect. In addition, tap is used in place of paknə or 鹑 sns in Heirok dialect, it also gives another meaning in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects.

5.5.15. Use of ṭhə vs kamb ‘speaking ill word’

The word ṭhə means ‘ugly’ in all the six dialects but in certain contexts, it means use of slang or unpleasant speech in conversation in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects. On the other hand, kamb is used instead of ṭhə in this particular context in Kumbi and Chairel dialects of Manipuri. Example
Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo
1a. mɔ-cin tʰi-kʰə-re
   3pp-mouth slang-DEF-PRF
   ‘He utters slang words’

Kumbi/Chairel
1b. mɔ-cin kam-kʰə-re
   3pp-mouth slang-DEF-PRF
   ‘He utters slang words’

Heirok
1c. cin tʰi-kʰə-re
   mouth slang-DEF-PRF
   ‘He utters slang words’

   In the above examples, if the word tʰikʰre is used instead of kamkʰre, there is ambiguity of meaning in the six dialects as-

2a. mɔ-cin/cin tʰi-kʰə-re
   3pp-mouth lie-DEF-PRF
   ‘He tells lie’

2b. mɔ-cin/cin tʰi-kʰə-re
   3pp-mouth ugly-DEF-PRF
   ‘He has ugly lips’ (not in proper shape)
Here, it is noted that the root \( t^h i \) in the example 2a means the ‘telling lie’ in this context whereas it means ugliness of lips in another context as in the example 2b. In the above examples 1a and 1c \( t^h i \) means ‘telling ill words, but this is not found to use i.e., 1a and 1c in Kumbi and Chairel dialects. For this, \( t^h i \) is replaced by \( kam \) in Kumbi and Chairel dialects which specifically means the telling of ill words or slang. Furthermore, if \( kam \) is used in place of \( t^h i \) in Heirok dialect as used in example 1b, it interpretes the dirtiness of the mouth of somebody in that particular situation. Nowadays, in Kumbi and Chairel dialects, the word \( t^h ib \) is found to use in conversation as a formal speech and it is mainly due to the influence of other dialects, specially standard dialect.

5.5.16. Use of \( lub \) vs \( p^h ab \) ‘pure’

In certain context, the verb root \( p^h ab \) ‘good’ is used in Kumbi and Chairel dialects. On the other hand, \( lub \) ‘clean’ is used in place of \( p^h ab \) in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects. Further, \( lub \) and \( p^h ab \) have different meanings even though, in the following examples, \( lub \) and \( p^h ab \) give similar interpretation in this particular environment as-

Imphal/Thanga

1a. isiŋ lu-i

water clean-SAM

‘The water is pure/clean’
Kumbi/Chairel

1b. isiŋ \( p^b_\text{ŋ} \)-je

water good-SAM
‘The water is pure/clean’

Wangoo/Heirok

1c. isiŋ lu-je

water clean-SAM
‘The water is pure/clean’

However, in the above examples, it is also observed that, if the word \( lub_\text{ŋ} \) is used instead of \( p^b_\text{ŋ} \), there is a semantic variation in Kumbi and Chairel dialects. Here, in this situation, \( lub_\text{ŋ} \) means the water is transparent whether it may be drinkable or not, does not matter but should be transparent at any case. Despite of having different meanings, \( lub_\text{ŋ} \) and \( p^b_\text{ŋ} \) in this context mean the water is pure that can be used for drinking, cooking, bathing etc. in all the six dialects.

5.5.17. Use of lonb_\text{ŋ} vs p^h_\text{ŋ}tup_\text{ŋ} ‘boil’

In certain context, it can be observed that the word \( lonb_\text{ŋ} \) is replaced by \( p^h_\text{ŋ}tup_\text{ŋ} \) in Heirok dialect not in other five dialects. Examples

Imphal/Thanga

1a. ca-du k^b_\text{ŋ}p_\text{ŋ} jamn_\text{ŋ} lol- lu

tea-DET some very boil-COM
‘Prepare some more tea’ (in quantity)
In the above examples, it can be understood that the word \( p^h \text{utp} \) does not occur in all the six dialects except Heirok dialect. \( p^h \text{utp} \) can occur with some other nouns (solid forms) like potato, egg, arum etc. in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. In this context, Heirok dialect also uses \( p^h \text{utp} \) for solid substances as other dialects used as in the following examples-

2a. \( \text{alu-du} \quad p^h \text{ut-lu/lo} \)  
    potato-DET boil-COM  
    ‘Boil the potato’

2b. \( \text{pan-du} \quad p^h \text{ut-lu/lo} \)  
    arum-DET boil-COM  
    ‘Boil the arum’

There is no variation in these contexts i.e. 2a and 2b in Heirok dialect.
Furthermore, it is also noted that, if the boiling of milk is concerned, *lonbə* is used in Wangoo and Chairel dialects, *ŋəubə* is used in Kumbi dialect, both *ŋəubə* and *lonbə* is used in Imphal, Thanga and Heirok dialects as

**Imphal/Thanga/Heirok**

3a. sɔŋom-du  ŋəu-ro/lon-lo  
milk-DET  boil-COM/boil-COM  
‘Boil the milk’

**Wangoo/Chairel**

3b. sɔŋom-du/do  lon-lo  
milk-DET  boil-COM  
‘Boil the milk’

**Kumbi**

3c. sɔŋom-du  ŋəu-wο/ro  
milk-DET  boil-COM  
‘Boil the milk’

In Kumbi, *lonbə* is especially associated with some specific activities such as preparing of tea, making of *hɔwaijar* (a kind of fermented soya bean) or boiling of foods for animals etc.
5.5.18. Use of məpan vs mətai ‘outside’

In the following type of construction, it is observed that the word mətai ‘side’ is used instead of məpan ‘outside’ in Wangoo dialect giving same interpretation. In this regards, if the word mətai is used, it gives another interpretation which is unaccepted form of speech in the five dialects namely Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Chairel and Heirok dialects. It is because the specific meaning of mətai is ‘side’ in the five dialects and occurred with some specific nouns. Further, mətai also gives the meaning of side of some areas as in the examples 2a, 2b and 2c. It is also observed that the definitive -kʰə is found to delete in Heirok dialect as illustrated in the Example 1c.

Imphal/Kumbi/Thanga/Chairel

1a. məpan tʰok-kʰə-ro
   Outside go-DEF-COM
   ‘Go outside’

Wangoo

1b. mətai tʰok-kʰə-ro
   side go-DEF-COM
   ‘Go outside’

Heirok

1c. məpan tʰok-lo
   outside go-COM
   ‘Go outside’
Following are the examples in which \textit{mətai} is used to mean the side of some nouns in all the six dialects.

2a. ləmbi mətai
    road side
    ‘Side of the road’

2b. kʰun-gi mətai
    village-GEN side
    ‘Side of the village’

2c. mətai-də pʰəm-mu/mo
    side-LOC sit-COM
    ‘Sit on side’ (here the side may be the side/edge of mat or side of bench etc.)

5.5.19. Use of \textit{nakkən} vs \textit{nak} ‘side’

\textit{nakkən} and \textit{nak} mean the side of something that may be animate and inanimate objects (like body, road, house, tree etc.). Sometimes, these two words have parallel meaning with \textit{mətai}. However, in some context, only \textit{nakkən} and \textit{nak} can occur properly in all the six dialects. In this context, the word \textit{mətai} ‘side’ cannot occur even having similar interpretations with \textit{nakkən} in certain environments. It can be observed that the word \textit{nakkən} is found to use in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. Conversely, the word \textit{nak} is found to use in Heirok dialect only. In addition to this, \textit{nak} may be the shorten form of \textit{nakkən} even though it is very difficult to find the speakers who used this \textit{nakkən} instead of \textit{nak} in Heirok dialect. Examples
Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

1a. sin-du nakkən-dəgi hap-pu/po

firewood-DET side-ABL keep-COM

‘Keep the firewood from the side of the fireplace’

Kumbi

1b. sin-du nakkən-ləgi hap-po

firewood-DET side-ABL keep-COM

‘keep the firewood from the side of the fireplace’

Heirok

1c. sin-du nak-təgi hap-lo

firewood-DET side-ABL keep-COM

‘Keep the firewoods from the side of the fireplace’

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

2a. nun-du u-du-gi nakkən-də ləi-bə-ne

stone-DET tree-DET-ABL side-LOC lie-NOMZ-COP

‘The stone is on the side of the tree’

Kumbi

2b. nun-du u-du-gi nakkən-lə ləi-bə-ne

stone-DET tree-DET-ABL side-LOC lie-NOMZ-COP

‘The stone is on the side of the tree’
Heirok

2c. nuŋ-du u-du-gi nak-tə ləi-bə-ne

   stone-DET tree-DET-ABL side-LOC lie-NOMZ-COP

   ‘The stone is on the side of the tree’

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

3a. ma-gi nakkən-də tompok p̥əm-mi

   he-GEN side-LOC tompok sit-PA

   ‘Tompok is sitting on the side of him’

Kumbi

3b. ma-gi nakkən-ə tompok p̥əm-mi

   he-GEN side-LOC tompok sit-PA

   ‘Tompok is sitting on the side of him’

Heirok

3c. ma-gi nak-tə tompok p̥əm-li-je

   he-GEN side-LOC tompok sit-PA-CNФ

   ‘Tompok is sitting on the side of him’

In the examples 3a, 3b and 3c, if the words nakkən and nak are replaced by mətai, it means unwanted speech form. So, the word mətai has parallel interpretation with nakkən and nak even though, it cannot be occurred in certain environments in which the words nakkən and nak occured freely.
5.5.20. **Use of \( t^bakpə \) vs \( sitpə \) ‘spitting’**

In the five dialects i.e. Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok, it is found to use \( sitpə \) ‘to spit’ whereas in Kumbi dialect it is \( t^bakpə \) ‘to add’ as similar interpretations. Literally, \( t^bakpə \) means to add something like salt, sugar, spices etc. into the curry, tea etc. in all the six dialects. However, in some contexts, \( t^bakpə \) means ‘to spit’ in Kumbi dialect whereas \( sitpə \) is used in place of \( t^bakpə \) in the remaining five dialects. In the following examples, it is shown that \( sitpə \) and \( t^bakpə \) have similar interpretation despite of having different interpretations in another context.

**Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel**

1a. \( nə-mai-du-də \) \( tin \) \( sit-cil-lək-kəni \)

2pp-face-DET-LOC saliva spit-DEIC-PREC-URL

‘I shall spit on your face’

**Kumbi**

1b. \( nə-mai-du-rə \) \( tin \) \( t^bak-cil-lək-kəni \)

2pp-face-DET-LOC saliva add-DEIC-PREC-URL

‘I shall spit on your face’

**Heirok**

1c. \( mai-du-də \) \( tin \) \( sit-cil-lək-kəni \)

face-DET-LOC saliva spit-DEIC-PREC-URL

‘I shall spit on your face’
5.5.21. Use of ləubə vs jabə ‘take’

In the following examples, it is observed that the word ləubə ‘to take’ in Imphal, Thanga and Heirok dialects is replaced by jabə ‘to collect’ in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri. In this situation ləu and jawo has same interpretation of taking rice water for washing of hair but in certain contexts, they have different interpretations if the noun cējhi does not precede them.

Imphal/Thanga

1a. cējhi  kʰəra  ləu/jau
   ricewater  some  take-ϕ
   ‘Take some rice water’

Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

1b. cējhi  kʰəra  ja-wo
   ricewater  some  take-COM
   ‘Take some rice water’

Heirok

1c. cējhi  kʰəra  ləu-wo
   ricewater  some  take-COM
   ‘Take some rice water’

5.5.22. Use of takʰətpə vs tʰonjínba ‘pile up’

takʰətpə means ‘the pile up of soil or mud on the lower part of plants’ for better growth in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri whereas it is tʰonjínba in Heirok dialects of Manipuri. Examples
1a. morok mə-kʰoŋ takʰət-lu
   chilly 3pp-leg pile up-COM
   ‘Pile up the soil on the chilly plants’

Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel
1b. morok mə-kʰoŋ takʰət-lo
   chilly 3pp-leg pile up-COM
   ‘Pile up the soil on the chilly plants’

Heirok
1c. morok mə-kʰoŋ tʰonjìn-lo
   chilly leg pile up-COM
   ‘Pile up the soil on the chilly plants’

Furthermore, there is a semantic variation regarding the use of tʰonjìnbo in this context. tʰonjìnbo means addition of soil on some specific area to increase the level of that area in the five dialects i.e. Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, and Chairel. In Heirok dialect, addition of soil on an area is also known as tʰonjìnbo in some other contexts but not in the above context.

5.5.23. Use of janbo vs sombo ‘heap up’

janbo is used in the six dialects of Manipuri except in Heirok dialect. In Heirok dialect sombo is used instead of janbo. The word janbo is not found to use in Heirok dialect but in the remaining dialects the word janbo is found to use with a little variation. In Kumbi, janbo and sombo have a little semantic variation as
\textit{janbə} means loosening of the soil whereas \textit{sombə} means not only loosening of the soil but also pile up the soil are concerned. Although, \textit{janbə} and \textit{sombə} have similar interpretation in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects. Example

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel}
\item 1a. \textit{morok} \textit{məkʰoŋ} \textit{jan-si/som-si}
\textit{chilly} \textit{3pp-leg} \textit{heap up-SUG}
\textit{‘Let us heap up the soil on chilly plant’}
\item \textbf{Kumbi}
\item 1b. \textit{morok} \textit{məkʰoŋ} \textit{jan-se}
\textit{chilly} \textit{3pp-leg} \textit{heap up-SUG}
\textit{‘Let us heap up the soil on the chilly plant’}
\item \textbf{Heirok}
\item 1c. \textit{morok} \textit{məkʰoŋ} \textit{som-se}
\textit{chilly} \textit{3pp-leg} \textit{heap up-SUG}
\textit{‘Let us heap up the soil on the chilly plant’}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{5.5.24. Use of məpi vs lajau vs laipi ‘first code of the wall’}

\textit{laipi} is used in Imphal and Heirok dialects of Manipuri whereas in Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects of Manipuri, \textit{lajau} is used and in Kumbi dialect of Manipuri, it is \textit{məpi}. Sometimes, \textit{lajau} is also found to use in Kumbi dialect. In the following examples, the variations that have been found in the six dialects of Manipuri are highlighted.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Imphal/Heirok}
\end{itemize}
1a. ləipi təi-jə/jo
   
   first code plaster-COM
   
   ‘Plaster the first code of the wall’

Kumbi

1b. məpi/ləiyau təi-jo
   
   first code plaster-COM
   
   ‘Plaster the first code of the wall’

Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

1c. ləi-jau təi-ju/təi-jo
   
   mud-big plaster-COM
   
   ‘Plaster the first code of the wall’

5.5.25. majon vs maton ‘bud’

    majon is the young bud of a plant. This word has variation when fitted in
the sentence. In Thanga dialect of Manipuri, maton is used whereas in Heirok
dialect, majon is used and in the remaining dialects both the words majon and
maton is used depending on the speaker. However, there is a morphosemantic
variation in the use of these two words in Kumbi and Thanga dialects. If the bud
comes from cabbage, beans, paddy grain etc. then it is called maton whereas if
the buds comes from the trees, it is known as majon in Kumbi and Thanga
dialects. Such difference can not be observed in the remaining four dialects i.e.,
Imphal, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok. Examples
5.5.26. Use of \(n^\text{th}\)un ‘buttock/back side’

\(n\varepsilon\text{th}^i\) is used in the four dialects but not in the Thanga and Heirok dialects as in the following examples. The people of Thanga and Heirok use the words \(n\varepsilon\text{th}^i\text{un}\) and \(t^\text{th}\text{un}\) instead of \(n\varepsilon\text{th}^i\) respectively. If \(n\varepsilon\text{th}^i\) is used instead of \(t^\text{th}\text{un}\) in Thanga and Heirok dialects in this environment, the speakers of Heirok and Thanga dialects take another sense that is annoying form of speech. Example

Imphal/Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

1a. \(n\varepsilon-t^\text{th}i\) cam-ge lau/lak-o

\(2\text{pp-stool} \text{ wash-INTE} \text{ come-ϕ/come-COM}\)

‘Come and let me wash your stool’
Thanga
1b. nə-tʰun cam-ge lau
   2pp-buttock wash-INTE come-∅
   ‘Come and let me wash your stool’

Heirok
1c. tʰun cam-ge lau-wo
   buttock wash-INTE come-COM
   ‘Come and let me wash your stool/buttock’

In Imphal, the reason behind the used of the word nəh'i instead of the word tʰun ‘buttock’ is that the word tʰun connotates unpleasant form of meaning.

5.5.27. Use of pəkte ‘have not’

In the following examples, it can be observed that the word pəkte ‘have not’ is used in Heirok dialect in certain contexts but not in other remaining dialects. On the other hand, the word ləikʰon is also used to express some quality in Imphal and Thanga dialects. Example

Imphal/Thanga
1a. nʊŋsibɔ ləikʰon əmətɔ jau-de
   love quality one have-NEG
   ‘This person bears no fondness/tenderness’
Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

1b. nŋsiŋbɔ əmɔttɔ jau-de

love one have-NEG

‘This person has no sign of love’

Heirok

1c. nŋsiŋbɔ əpɔ-te

love have-NEG

‘This man has no sign of love’

5.5.28. Use of likpɔ ‘miser’

If a person is very miser then likpɔ ‘miser’ is used in the six dialects of Manipuri. If the noun forming prefix kʰu- is added to the verbal root lik, it means the degree of miser of a person as shown in the examples below. However, in this context, kʰukup and nakuppi are used in Kumbi and Heirok dialects respectively.

Example

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

1a. mɔsi nupa-se kʰu-lik əmɔ-ni/ne

this man-DET manner-miser one-COP

‘This man is very miser’

Kumbi

1b. mɔsi nupa-se kʰu-kup əmɔ-ne

this man-DET manner-miser one-COP

‘This man is very miser’
Heirok

1c. məsi nupa-se nakuppi-ne

this man-DET miser-COP

‘This man is very miser’

In the above example 1c, it can be noted that, if the word nakuppi is used then, it means another interpretation in the remaining five dialects. nakuppi means a kind of spice used in making curry, salad etc. So, sometimes misunderstanding arises in this context in Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo, and Chairel dialects of Manipuri regarding the example 1c of Heirok dialect is concerned. Today, both the forms i.e. kuppə and likpə are found to use in Kumbi and Thanga dialects as a choice of the speakers.

5.5.29. Use of ciŋkʰətpə vs takʰətpə ‘heap up of soil’

ciŋkʰətpə ‘heap up of soil for planting chilly, potato, cabbage etc.’ is used in Heirok dialect in place of takʰətpə which is used in the remaining five dialects. Sometimes, the people of Kumbi dialect use haigətpə instead of takʰətpə and hugətpə in Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects in place of takʰətpə as given in the examples.

Imphal

1a. morok curi takʰət-si

chilly gutter heap-SUG

‘Let us heap up the soil for planting chilly’
Kumbi

1b. morok curi takʰ ot-se/haigot-se

chilly gutter heap-SUG

‘Let us heap up the soil for planting chilly’

Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel

1c. morok curi takʰ ot-si/hugot-si/se

chilly gutter heap-SUG

‘Let us heap up the soil for planting chilly’

Heirok

1d. morok juri cijkʰ ot-se

chilly gutter heap-SUG

‘Let us heap up the soil for planting chilly’

5.5.30. ədudəgidi vs adurəiri vs ømukkə ‘connective word’

The words, ədudəgidi, adurəiri and ømukkə are used as a connective words in a discourse in the six dialects. ədudəgidi is used in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel dialects, adurəiri is used in Kumbi dialect and ømukkə in Heirok dialect in the following environments. Examples-

Imphal/Wangoo/Chairel

1a. məhak tu-rə-bə ədudəgidi mə-kʰəŋ-su tek-lə-bə…

he fall-PRF-NOMZ then 3pp-leg-also fracture-PRF-NOMZ

‘He has fallen down then his leg has also got fracture’
Kumbi

1b. mohak tu-rə-bə adurəiri mə-kboŋ-su tek-lə-bə...

he fall-PRF-NOMZ then 3pp-leg-also fracture-PRF-NOMZ

‘He has fallen down then his leg has also got fracture’

Thanga

1c. mohak tu-re adudəidi mə-kboŋ-su tek-le

he fall-PRF then 3pp-leg-also fracture-PRF

‘He has fallen down then his leg has also got fracture’

Heirok

1d. mohak tu-re omukkə mə-kboŋ-su tek-le

he fall-PRF then 3pp-leg-also fracture-PRF

‘He has fallen down then his leg has also got fracture’

In the example 1d, use of omukkə gives another interpretation in the remaining five dialects, not in Heirok dialect. If omukkə is used, it means that the same action is happened repeatedly or once again, not the different actions in the five dialects i.e., Imphal, Kumbi, Thanga, Wangoo and Chairel.

5.5.31. Use of ibo vs nabə ‘sonny’

This two words is used frequently in all the six dialects but the difference is that the word ibo is mainly used in Imphal dialect and nabə is used mainly in Kumbi, Wangoo and Chairel dialects whereas this two words are used in Thanga and Heirok dialects by combining as nabə-ibo. Examples
Imphal

1a. ibo ədum təu-nu

sonny like do-PNEG

‘Sonny, don’t do like that’

Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

1b. nabə ədum təu-no

sonny like do-PNEG

‘Sonny, don’t do like that’

Thanga/Heirok

1c. nabə-ibo ədum təu-no/nu

sonny like do-PNEG

‘Sonny, don’t do like that’

The word nabə is used in day to day conversation in two ways- one is with angry mood and another is general or simple form in all the five dialects except in Imphal dialect as-

**With angry mood**

2a. nabə nəŋ nəsi loi-ni

sonny you today complete-URL

‘Sonny, I will kill you you today’

**General or simple form**

2b. nabə nəŋ cət-la-bə

sonny you go-PRF-NOMZ

‘Sonny, have you gone home?’
One point need to be mentioned here is that the word *ibo* or *nab* can not be used by the younger one towards the elders. If it is used to the elders by the youngers, it is treated as indiscipline or uncivilised person. This is mainly because, there is a demarcated line in the use of this word. This word can be used by any persons of their same age groups or friends or persons who are younger one. It is because the meaning of this words has somekind of ‘sonny’ or ‘my child’ or endearment, that is why, only the elders people are allowed to use freely in conversation with the person of their age groups or to the younger one. This word *nab* is not allowed to use in Imphal dialect because the people of Imphal dialect treated this word as a slang related to sexual intercourse and if it is used in the conversation by a person, the person is taken as an indiscipline or unethical person. Due to this interpretation, Imphal dialect highly restricted to use this word *nab* in conversation, instead of this, the word ‘ibo’ is found to use in day to day conversation. In Thanga and Heirok dialects this two words *nab* and *ibo* are used as a compound word as ‘*nab*-ibo’. In olden days, it was found to use the word *nab* in conversation in Imphal dialect (Wangkhemcha Chingtamlen, 98) but now, the meaning of this word shifted to another one. That is why, the modern society of Imphal dialect has restricted to use this word freely in conversation in any context. Furthermore, the opposite word of this word *nab* is *nabi*. This is mainly used by the people of Kumbi and Wangoo dialects and other remaining dialects don’t use this counterpart of *nab*. The word *nab* is commonly used by the male groups of the five dialects except Imphal dialect whereas *nabi* is used by female groups of Kumbi and Wangoo dialects only.
5.5.32. Use of upsinb vs to̱sinb ‘to wear’

There is a variation in the use of upsinb and to̱sinb in the six dialects. In Kumbi, Chairel and Heirok dialects upsinb is used for wearing of pants whereas in Wangoo dialect, to̱sinb is used. In Imphal, upsinb and setcinb are used for wearing of pants whereas in Thanga, to̱sinb and setsinb is used as a speaker’s choice. Examples

Imphal
1a. kʰoŋgrau up-sin-lu/set-cin-lu
   pant wear-DEIC-COM
   ‘Wear the pant/trauser’

Kumbi/Chairel/Heirok
1b. kʰoŋgrau up-sin-lo
   pant wear-DEIC-COM
   ‘Wear the pant/trauser’

Thanga
1c. kʰoŋgrau toŋ-sin-lu/set-cin-lu
   pant wear-DEIC-COM
   ‘Wear the pant/trauser’

Wangoo
1d. kʰoŋgrau toŋ-sin-lo
   pant wear-DEIC-COM
   ‘Wear the pant/trauser’
However, *togsinbɔ* is mainly used with the noun like shoes and sometimes *upsinbɔ* is also used for wearing of shoes and caps. On the other hand, *togsinbɔ* is used for slippers in the six dialects as

**Imphal/Thanga**

2a. kʰoŋup toŋ-sin-lu/up-sin-lu

`shoe` `wear-DEIC-COM`

‘Wear the shoe’

**Kumbi/Chairel/Heirok**

2b. kʰoŋup toŋ-sin-lo/up-sin-lo

`shoe` `wear-DEIC-COM`

‘Wear the shoe’

**Example for use of slippers**

**Imphal/Thanga**

3a. sendɔl toŋ-sin-lu

`slipper` `wear-DEIC-COM`

‘Wear the slipper’

**Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel/Heirok**

3b. sendɔl toŋ-sin-lo

`slipper` `wear-DEIC-COM`

‘Wear the slipper’
5.5.33. Use of tumbə vs hippə ‘to sleep’

In certain contexts, tumbə and hippə have similar interpretation in all the six dialects. tumbə is used in Kumbi and Chairel dialects whereas Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects, hippə is used. Examples are illustrated below-

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Heirok

1a. hip-pu/po
    sleep-COM
    ‘Sleep’

Kumbi/Chairel

1b. tum-mo
    sleep-COM
    ‘Sleep’

In the above examples, it is understood that if the word hippə is used instead of tumbə in this context, it means a kind of taking rest by laying down on the mat or bed etc. not to sleep in Kumbi and Chairel dialects. However, this word hippə is hardly used in these two dialects i.e. Kumbi and Chairel, instead of this, tumbə is used to mean both sleep and rest in Kumbi and Chairel dialects. On the another side, tumbə means sleep in the remaining four dialects i.e. Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok but not a kind of rest.
Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Heirok

2a. ɳəihak-tə    hip-ke
     moment-FOC    nap-INTE
     ‘Let me nap for some moment’

Kumbi/Chairel

2b. ɳəihak-tə    tum-ge
     moment-FOC    sleep-INTE
     ‘Let me nap for some moment’

From these two examples, it is clearly shown that the example 2a means taking rest for some moment or for a period of time in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects. On the other hand, example 2b means ‘to nap’ for some moment or taking rest for a while in Kumbi and Chairel dialects. However, example 2b gives another interpretation in Imphal, Thanga, Wangoo and Heirok dialects, it mainly means sleep for a moment as sleep at night.

5.6. VARIATION IN WH-QUESTION FORMS

In Manipuri, Wh-question forms begin with kə- as kədai ‘where’, kədOm ‘where’, kəri ‘what’, kərmə ‘which’, kəidəmgəi ‘when’, kərmənə ‘when’ etc. These question words are consistently followed by -no and sometimes -bə, -ba, -bo and -ge. However, there is a variation in the choice of the suffix that follows the question words in the six dialects. Those are highlighted below.
5.6.1. Use of stdafx vs kərai ‘where’

In Manipuri, Wh-question words begin with kə- such as stdafx ‘where’, kəri ‘what’, kəɾəmbə ‘which’ etc. In the following examples, morphosyntactic variations in the use of Wh-words among the six dialects are given.

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel
1a. stdafx-də-no

where-.LOC-AGR

‘Where are you going?’

Kumbi
1b. stdafx-rə-no

where-LOC-AGR

‘Where are you going?’

Heirok
1c. ƙərai-də-no

where-LOC-AGR

‘Where are you going?’

Imphal/Thanga/Wangoo/Chairel
2a. stdafx-də ƚəi-bə-no/ƚəi-ge

where-LOC  live-NOMZ-AGR/live-INTE

‘Where are you?’
Kumbi

2b. kədai-rə ləi-bə-(no)

where-LOC live-NOMZ-(AGR)

‘Where are you?’

Heirok

2c. kərai ləi-bə-no

where live-NOMZ-AGR

‘Where are you?’

In the above examples, the suffix -no is optional and the locative marker -də which is added to kədai is -rə in Kumbi dialect and this locative marker is found to delete in Heirok dialect.

5.6.2. Use of -no/bə/bo ‘Wh-agreement’

In the following Wh-type questions, -no is used at the end of the sentence in Imphal and Thanga dialects of Manipuri as a Wh-question agreement whereas in Kumbi, Wangoo and Heirok dialects, it is -ba, in Chairel dialect of Manipuri, it is -bo. In certain cases, if the sentences begin with Wh-words, then -no suffix is always at the end position of the sentence as in the Example 1a but this is not the case of other remaining four dialects i.e., Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok. Examples are illustrated below-

Imphal/Thanga

1a. tʰəuri-du kədəu-bə-i tət-təu-ri-no/tət-toi-no


‘Why will break the rope’
Kumbi/Wangoo

1b. tʰouri-du kəidəu-bə-i tət-to-i-ba/tət-təu-ri-ba


‘Why will break the rope’

Heirok

1c. tʰouri-du kəidəu-bə-i tət-tu-ri-ba

rope-DET why-NOMZ-GEN break-do-PA-NOMZ

‘Why will break the rope’

Chairel

1d. tʰouri-du kəidəu-bə-i tət-təu-ri-bo

rope-DET why-NOMZ-GEN break-do-PA-NOMZ

‘Why will break the rope’

5.6.3. **Use of kəri vs kərom ‘what/where’**

In Heirok, *kərom* is used in the following interrogative sentences instead of *kəri* which is used in the remaining five dialects. It is also observed that the suffix -bə ‘nominaliser’ and -no ‘question agreement’ in Imphal, Kumbi, Wangoo, Chairel and Heirok dialects is replaced by -ge in Thanga dialect.

Example

Imphal/Thanga

1a. kədom cət-ləgo kəri ta-ge/ta-bə-no

where go-CON what reach-INTE/reach-NOMZ-AGR

‘Where (we have) to go to reach another place?’
Kumbi/Wangoo/Chairel

1b. kədəm cət-ləgə kari ta-bə-no

   where go-CON what reach-NOMZ-AGR

   ‘Where we have to go to reach another place’

Heirok

1c. kərom cət-ləgə kərom ta-bə-no

   where go-CON where reach-NOMZ-AGR

   ‘Where we have to go to get another place?’

5.6.4. Use of -ge ‘intentive’

   In some Wh sentences, -ge is found to occur at the end of the sentences. Mainly, this suffix -ge is occurred in Wh-type questions and it is found to use frequently in Imphal, Thanga and Chairel dialects to give the meaning of supplement or confirmation of a question. In Kumbi and Heirok dialects, -bə and -mo are used respectively whereas in Wangoo dialect, -bo is used instead of -ge suffix. Example

Imphal/Thanga/Chairel

1a. kəi-duə-rə-ge

   what-happen-PRF-INTE

   ‘What happened?’

Kumbi

1b. kəi-duə-rə-bə

   what-happen-PRF-NOMZ

   ‘What happened?’
Wangoo

1c. kɔi-dɔu-rɔ-bo

what-happen-PRF-NOMZ

‘What happened?’

Heirok

1d. kɔi-tɔu-rɔ-mo

what-happen-PRF-INTE

‘What happened?’