Morphophonemic Changes in Manipuri

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Abstract

An attempt is made in this paper for the first time in the grammatical history of Manipuri on the morphophonemic changes when two words or a word and an affix are joined together. Morpho-phonemic changes otherwise called Sandhi in Sanskrit and in most of the Indian Languages deal with the interaction between morphological and phonological processes and its focus is the sound changes that occur in words when they combine to form compound words. The changes may occur in the first word or in the second word or in both. This analysis of Manipuri attempts to present a series of formal rules that successfully predict the regular sound changes occurring in the language. Thirty rules are framed to account for the changes that occur in Manipuri. The rules are derived from well-established examples to substantiate.

Wherever necessary, explanations required to clear the rule formation are also given to satisfy the readers and the language as well.

Keywords:

1. Introduction

This paper attempts for the first time in the grammatical history of Manipuri to explain the morphophonemic changes that occur when two words or a word and an affix are joined together in consolidated manner. Manipuri belongs to the Kuki-Chin-Naga group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages (Grierson & Konow, 1903-28). Morphophonemic changes, otherwise called 'Sandhi' in Sanskrit and in most of the Indian Languages, except Tamil, where it is called 'puNarcci', deal with the interaction between

morphological and phonological processes and its focus is the sound changes that occur in words when they combine to form compound words (Sobhana, 1997). The changes may occur in the first word or in the second word or in both. Very little studies are done inM. This analysis on the Sandhi changes in Manipuri attempts to present a series of formal rules that successfully predict the regular sound changes occurring in the language.

2. Classification of Manipuri Morphophonemic Changes

The morphophonemic changes, hereafter, Sandhi, in Manipuri can be broadly classified into three types, namely,

1. Without any change
2. Dropping and
3. With change.
   a) Changes in any one of the words
   b) Changes in both

The classification of the morphophonemic changes in Manipuri is mainly based on whether there is any change in the resultant combined word or any dropping of vowels or syllables or any appearance of a new sound in the combined word.
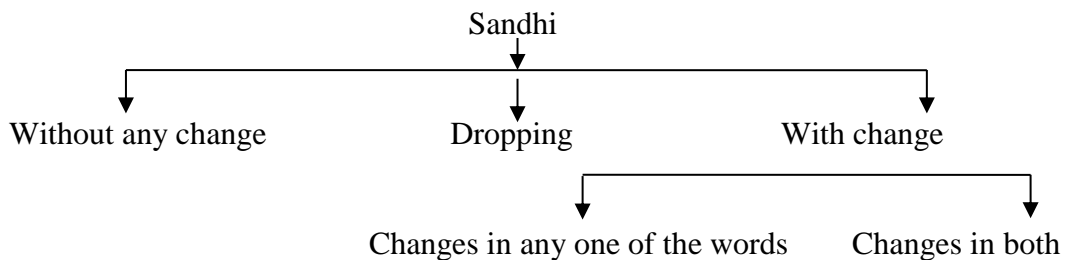
Diagram 1: Types of Sandhi

2.1 Without Any Change

In this type, both the compounding words are nouns and there is no phonological change in the resultant word after Sandhi (Yashawanta Singh, 2000).

Rule 1: **Noun (N) + Noun (N) > NN**

As for as the meaning of the words in combination is concerned, the following three types emerge:

1. The words may retain the meaning of individual words

    Example

    li 'cane'+ cəi 'stick' > licəi 'cane stick'

2. denote some meaning related to the combination

3. Example

    ŋa 'fish' + mi 'man' > ŋami 'fisherman'

    khoŋ 'his/her+ tekpə ' break' > khoŋtekpə 'lame man'

4. give a new meaning with the totality of the combination

5. Example

    lai 'God' + wa 'word' > laiwa 'chant/mantra'

    cak 'meals' + səŋ 'hut' > caksəŋ 'kitchen'

    thau 'oil' + məi 'fire' > thauməi 'lamp'

    layyeŋ 'treatment' + səŋ 'hut'> layeŋsəŋ 'hospital'

    mit 'eye' + taŋbi 'bald' > mittaŋbi 'blind woman'

2.2 Dropping

Dropping here refers to dropping of prefixes, suffixes or both, from the first or the second word in the combination. This may be classified as follows:

Dropping

| Type I (from 1st word) | Type II (from 2nd word) | Type III (from 1st & 2nd word) |

| Suffix dropping | Prefix dropping | Suffix dropping | Prefix & suffix dropping | Prefix & suffix dropping |

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Diagram 2: Sandhi with Dropping

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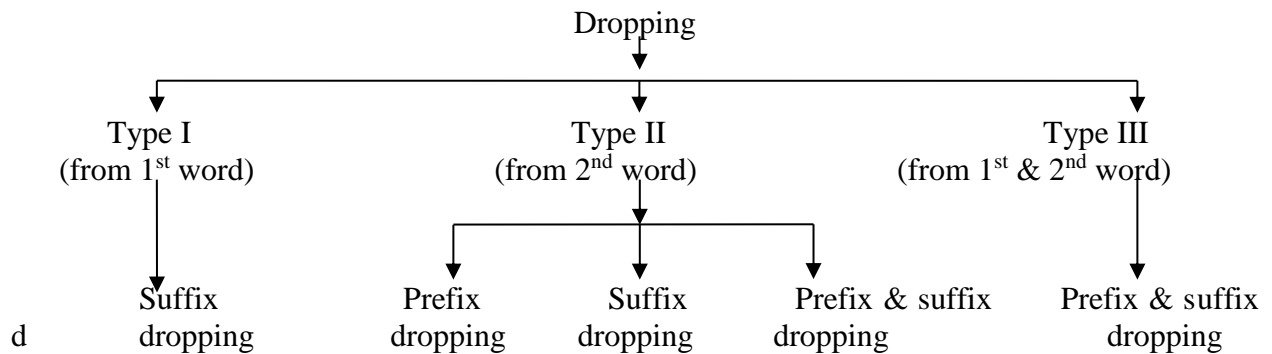
2.2.1. Type I - Suffix Dropping

Manipuri has a special feature called nominalizer having different functions in different contexts. Nominalizer is a form/marker which nominalizes any category of words, such as the verbs, the adjectives, etc., in many languages. In Manipuri, the suffix /-pə ~ -bə / is considered as a nominalizer which is added to verb roots. The occurrence of /-pə ~ -bə/ is phonologically conditioned: /-pə/ occurs after verb roots ending with voiceless stops: Example, kəp-pə 'crying', tət-pə 'breaking', kək-pə 'cutting'; and /-bə/ occurs in other places: Example, phəm-bə 'sitting', kəŋ-bə 'drying', lau-bə shouting', hay-bə 'telling', cəi-bə 'scolding', etc.(Rebika Devi Soibam, 2014)

(a) When a gerund/verbal noun/adjectival noun, hereinafter gerund (GN), occurs as the first word, the nominalizing suffix /-pə/ or /-bə/ will be dropped (i.e., syllable dropping) when it is compounded with a noun.

Model

Gerund + Noun

sannəbə 'play' + pot 'thing' > sannə + pot > sannəpot 'toy'

Rule 2: **/-bə/ > ɸ / - a noun** **(when another noun is added)**

Example

əkoŋbə 'bet' +sel 'money' > əkoŋsel 'bet money'

əthenbə 'offering..' + pot 'thing' > əthenpot 'something that is offered to the God'

Sentences

əkəppə əŋaŋdudə sannəpot ədu piyu.

'Give the toy to the crying child/the child who is crying.'

phootbol sannəbədu nerokanə thoirəbəninə əkoŋseldu əinə phəŋləni.

'I will get the bet money as Neroca has won the football match.'

lainiŋthəudə kətnənəbə əthenpottu phəjənə semmu.

'Make the athenpot nicely to offer to the Lainingthau.'

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(b) When the person marker /-i/ is added to a gerund ending with /-bə/ and whose root ends in a vowel, /-bə/ is dropped in the process. It is to be noted that there is no agreement between the subject and the finite verb in Manipuri. But the person marker /-i/ is added irrespective of the subject and the tense to the verb root derived from the gerund (Rebika Devi Soibam, 2016).

Model

        Gerund + -i

        pa-bə + -i > pa + -i > pai

    Rule 3:   **/-bə/ > ɸ / V- (after vowel ending verb roots)**

    Rule 4:   **-V + -i > -Vi   (V stands for any vowel)**

Example

    pabə 'reading' + /-i/ > pai '(I) read.'

    tabə 'listening' + /-i/ > tai '(I) listen.'

    lubə 'be difficult' + /-i/ > lui '(It is) difficult for me.'

Sentences

    əinə ŋəraŋ nobel əmə pai.

    'I read a novel yesterday.'

    icenə rediodə isəi tai.

    'My sister listens music in the radio.'

    thəbək əsi əiŋondədi yamnə lui.

    'This word is very difficult for me.'

(c) When the person marker /i/ is added to a gerund ending with /-bə/, whose root ends with the vowels /-i/, /-e/ or the diphthongs /-əi/, /-ai/, /-oi/ and /-ui/, the person marker /-i/ is dropped in the sandhi.

Model

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Gerund + -i

i-bə 'to write' + -i >

/-bə/ > ɸ / V- (after vowel ending verb roots)

Rule 5:   **-V + -i > -V**

Rule 6:   **-i > ɸ /front vowels and diphthongs -**

(If the -V is /-i/ or /-e/ or the diphthongs like /-əi/, /-ai/, /-oi/ or /-ui/)

Example

ibə 'to write'+ /-i/ > i   '(he) writes.'

cəibə 'to scold' + /-i/ > cəi '(he) scolds.'

laibə 'easy' + /-i/ > lai '(It is) easy.'

Sentences

əi həujik imannəbigi məyumdə ləi.

'I am at my friend's home now.'

əikhoygi oja sundərnə rasibu ŋəraŋgi para pharəktəbəgi cəi.

'Out teacher Sunder scolds Rasi for not studying yesterday's lesson.'

sakhigi məməudu məpamdə pot yamnə thəi haynəi.

'It is said that that Sakhi's daughter in law gave many things secretly to her paternal home.'

(d) When the alternant person marker /-li/ is added to verbal nouns ending with the nominalizing suffix /-pə/, whose verb root ends with the stop sound /t/, /-pə/ is dropped

Example

cət-pə 'to go' + /-li/ > cətli

pət-pə 'be rotten' + /-li/ > pətli

Rule 7: /-pə/ > ɸ / -li

2.2.2 Type II: From the second word

2.2.2.1 Prefix dropping

When a monosyllabic noun is compounded with a word beginning with /mə-/, /-mə/ of the second word will be dropped.

Rule 8: **CV(C) + me- > CV(C) – & me- > ϕ**

(C stands for any consonant)

Example

phi 'cloth'+ məyom 'bundle' > phiyom 'something that is covered with cloths; luggage'

ləu 'paddy plant'+ məphəm 'place' > ləuphəm 'paddy field'

cəru 'straw' + məkhok 'stem, stalk' > cərukhok 'stubble'

ceŋ 'rice' + məkup 'powder' > ceŋkup 'rice flour'

ciŋ 'mountain' + məmay 'face' > ciŋmay 'brow (hill)'

ciŋ 'mountain' + mənuŋ 'face' > ciŋnuŋ ''

ciŋ 'mountain' + məkhoŋ 'foot' > ciŋkhoŋ 'foothill'

mit 'eye' + məpan 'margin, boundary' > mitpan 'eye lid'

Sentences

phiyom əsi kənagino?

'Whose covered luggage is this?'

2.2.2.2 Suffix Dropping

When a gerund/verbal noun/adjectival noun occurs as the second word, the nominalizing suffix /-pə/ or /-bə/ of the second word will be dropped if it is compounded with a noun as the first word.

Rule 9: **CV + GN + /-bə/-pə/ > CVGNR**

/-bə/-pə/ > ϕ

(/-bə/-pə/ of the second word)

(GN stands for any gerundial noun and R stands for GN root)

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Example:

    wa 'word/bamboo' + həudokpə 'to initiate' > wahəudok 'introduction'

    wa 'word/bamboo' + kaybə 'break' > wakay 'irritating words'

    wa 'word/bamboo' + koybə 'round, walk, roal' > wakoy 'circumlocution'

    wa 'word/bamboo' + nombə 'shake, work' + sel 'money' > wanomsel 'bribe'

    hi 'boat' + kaybə 'break' + wa 'word/bamboo' > higaywa 'words instigating quarrel'

Sentences

    lairik ədugi wahəudoktu niŋthijənə i.

    'The introduction to the book is well written.'

    wari sannəbədə wakay yaorəkkəniko. əduna ceksillu.

    'Irritable words may spill while conversing. So, be careful.'

    tombidi wakoy yamnə sugənbəni.

    'Tombi most of the time circumlocutes while talking.'

    əiŋondə sərkargi thəbək cəŋnəbəgi wanomsel piniŋŋai ləijəte.

    'I do not have bribe money to pay for a government job.'

    mədugi hənubi ənidu mətəm pumbədə higaywadə naŋnəi.'

    Those two old ladies always talk higaywa.'

2.2.2.3 Prefix and Suffix Dropping

      When certain adjectives like əmubə 'black' əŋənbə 'white', əŋaŋbə 'red', əsaŋbə 'long' and əpakpə 'broad' occur as the second word, the prefix /-ə/ and the nominalizing suffix /-bə/ are dropped if it is compounded with a monosyllabic noun as the first word.

Model

    phi 'cloth' + ə-mu-bə 'black' >

    ………….. + ə-   -bə > φ

    …………..+ mu   > phimu 'black cloth'

      Rule 10:   **CV(C) + ə- R- bə > CV(C)R**

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that is, (ə- -- -bə > ɸ) / CV(C)-

(Where R stands for the root)

Example

phi 'cloth' + əŋəubə 'white' > phiŋəu 'white cloth'

phi 'cloth' + əŋaŋbə 'red' > phiŋaŋ 'red cloth'

thaŋ 'knife' + əsaŋbə 'long' > thaŋsaŋ ' a long sword'

thaŋ 'knife' + əpakpə 'broad' > thaŋpak 'broad knife'

Sentences

phimu setpə nupa əmə lakle.

'A man in black attire has come.'

əhəlsiŋnə sirəmdaidə thimu phai.

'The bedridden and dying elderly persons defecate black night soil.'

2.2.2.4 Dropping of second syllable and prefix and suffix

If the first word is a disyllabic noun, the second syllable of it is dropped besides the dropping of /ə/ and /bə/ of the second word in the combination. This is not a general rule but applicable for a few words only.

Rule 11: $CVC^{1 \cdot} CVC^2 + ə- R- bə > CVC^1R$

(i) $CVC^{2 >} ɸ$

(ii)   ə- -- -bə > ɸ

Example

ləibak 'soil'+ əmubə 'black' > ləimu > laimu 'black soil' (ə > a)

ləibak 'soil' + əŋaŋbə 'red' > ləiŋaŋ 'red soil'

Sentences

pukhridəgi laimu khərə kotkhətlək-u.

'Get some black soil from the pond.'

məkhoy yumgi phəklaŋdi ləiŋaŋ təi.

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'The wall of their house is painted with red soil.'

2.2.3 Type III: From First and Second Word

The prefix /mə-/ of the first word and the suffix bə-/ of the second word are dropped when they are compounded.

Rule 12 : (i) /mə-/ of the first word > ɸ

(ii) suffix bə-/ of the second word > ɸ

Example

məca 'one's son or daughter'+ yambə 'many' > cayam 'having many children'

Sentence

cayam pokpə imuŋdi məhəusanə lairəgəlli.

'A family having many children is usually poor one.'
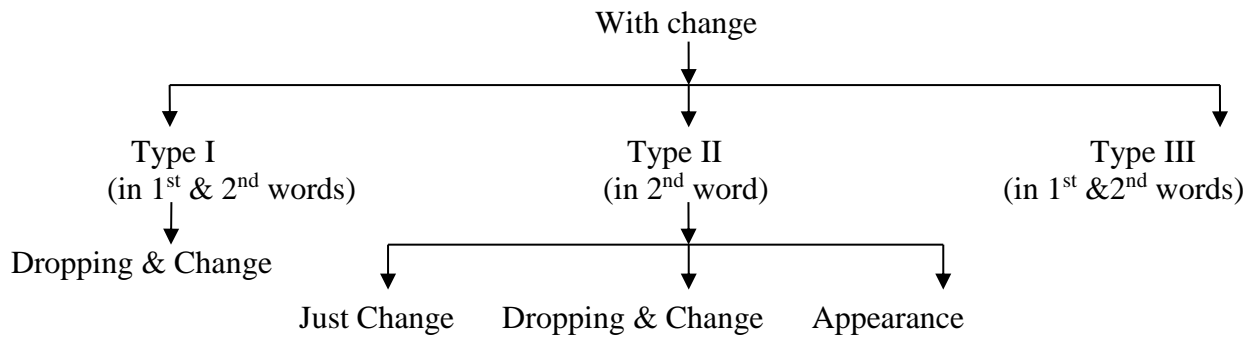

2.3 With Change

Diagram 3a: Sandhi with change

2.3.1 Type I: Dropping and Change

2.3.1.1. When two words are joined, there will be a dropping in the first word and thereby a change effected in the second word.

Model

mə-ca + c-enbi > cajenbi 'woman who bears a new child'

mə- > ɸ

ca+ c-enbi > > cajenbi

  c- > j- / V-

Rule 13:   **mə-ca + vlC- > ca-vdC-**

              (i) mə- > ɸ

Rule 14   **(ii) vlC- > vdC- / V-**

                (vlC- is voiceless consonant and vdC is voiced consonant).

This change of voiceless consonant changing into voiced consonant is a common feature in Manipuri in certain environments, like after vowels, nasals, etc.

Example

        məca + cenbi > cajenbi   'woman who bears a new child'

        məca + pokpi > cabokpi   'woman who bears a new child'

2.3.1.2. When the present continuous marker /-li/ is added to verbal nouns ending with /-bə/ and whose root ends with nasal /-n-/, /n/ changes into /-l/.

Model

      kənbə 'hard' + /-li/ > kəlli '(Its) hard.'

               (i)   /-bə/ is dropped.

                      kən- 'hard' + /-li/ > kəlli

                    -n>l / -l

Rule 15:   **-n > -l   due to regressive assimilation.**

Example

      tənbə 'lazy/bore' + /-li/ > təlli '(Its) boring.'

      nanbə 'slippery' + li/ > nalli   '(Its) slippery.'

 Sentences

nupadu masa yamnə kəlli.

'The man is very strong.'

əi ŋəsidi yamnə təlli.

'I am feeling bored today.'

2.3.2 Type II

2.3.2.1. Change in the Second Word

(a) When a vowel or nasal ending first word joins with the second word/suffix beginning with a voiceless sound, the voiceless becomes voiced in Sandhi. (c > j; p > b; t > d; k > g)

      Rule 16:   **VlC > VdC / after Vowels and Nasals.**

Example

      sa 'animal' + cəi 'stick' > sajəi 'whip'

      so 'key' + cəi 'stick' > sojəi 'key'

      phəu 'paddy' + kəi 'tiger' > phəugəi 'granary'

      cin 'mouth' + cak 'meals' > cin-jak 'food'

Sentences

      thananə miyamdu sajəinə kəlləgə tankhaykhi.

      'Police chase the people by beating with whip.'

      sojəi əsi waikhusigə cannəde.

      'This key does not match the lock.'

      nəŋnə phəugəi adudə cahigi canəbə phəu mətik canə pəisinbə yagəni.

      'You can store paddy in that granary sufficient enough for a year.'

      əikhoynə həkcaŋ phənə ləinəbə əphəbə cinjak cabə təŋaiphəde.

      'We must eat good food to remain healthy.'

(b) If a vowel ending noun is compounded with a second word beginning with /l-/, the /l-/ changes into /-r/.

      Rule 17:   **l- > r- / Vowel-**

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Example

        ce 'paper' + ləi 'flower' > cerəi   'bougainvillea'

        phi 'cloth' + ləi 'flower' > phirəi   'inner side of phanek coming down while wearing'

        thi 'night soil' + ləi 'flower' > thirəi 'a type of plant'

        ŋa 'fish' + lubak '..' > ŋarubak 'container for dry fish- made of bamboo'

Sentences

        həijiŋpotkidəmək phiruk kun dərkar oigəni.

        'Twenty phiruks will be needed for the heijingpot.'

        cerəigi məcu yamnə ləi.

        'There are many colours of bougainvillea.'

        park sidə thirəi ədukki mətik yamnə həu-i.

        There are so many thirai plants growing in this park.'

        nupiməca ədunə məmagi phirəidə yalləgə mətuŋ innəi.

        'The little girl follows her mother holding the tip of the shawl.'

2.3.2.2 Dropping and Change

 (a) If a nasal/ stop ending noun is compounded with another word beginning with /mə-/, /mə-/ is dropped and /r/ of the second word changes into /l/.

      Rule 18: r- > l- / Nasals- and voiceless stops

                   /mə-/ > ɸ

Example

        khoŋ 'leg' + mərək 'in between' > khoŋlək 'space between toes'

        pot 'thing' + mərəm 'reason, cause, his/her area' > pot-ləm 'ingredient'

Sentences

        lai khurumnəbəgi potləm pumbə surəbra?

'Are all the … for the puja?'

(b) If a vowel/nasal/stop ending noun is compounded with the adjective əcəubə 'big', the prefix /ə-/ and the nominaling suffix /-bə/ are dropped and /c/ of the second word changes into /j/.

Model

       kəi 'tiger' + əcəubə 'big' > kəijau 'big tiger'

       i) dropping of /ə-/

       ii) dropping of /-bə/

       iii) c > j / Vowels-, Nasals- and stops-

       iv) /-əu-/ > /-au/ / when - /-bə/ is dropped

       Rule 19:   **/-əu-/ > /-au/ / when - /-bə/ is dropped (and c- becomes j-)**

Example

       mi 'human' + əcəubə 'big' > mijau 'big man'

       hui 'dog' + əcəubə 'big' > huijau 'big dog'

       thaŋ 'knife' + əcəubə 'big' > thaŋjəu 'thangjau, a kind of big knife for gardening'

       lik 'chain' + əcəubə 'big' > likcau 'big necklace'

Sentences

    ŋəraŋ numidaŋ əikhoigi yumdə phimmu setpə huranbə əmə cəŋləkkhi.

    'A thief in black attire entered into our house yesterday night.'

    uməŋsidə kəijao əmə ləi haynəi.

    'It is said that a big tiger lives in this forest.'

(c) If a vowel/ nasal ending noun is compounded with another word started with /mə-/, /mə-/ is dropped and /c/ of the second word changes into /j/.

       a) dropping of /mə-/

       b) c > j / Vowels- and nasals-

Example

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ce 'paper' + məcet 'piece' > cejet   'a piece of paper'

phi 'cloth'+ məcet 'piece' > phijet   'a piece of cloth'

lən 'thread' + məca 'small' > lənja   'single thread'

(d) If a nasal ending noun is compounded with another word started with /mə-/, /mə-/ is dropped and /t/ of the second word changes into /d/.

a) dropping of /mə-/

b) t > d / Nasals-

c) -n > -ŋ / -d

Rule 20: -n > -ŋ / -d

Example

ciŋ 'mountain' + mətol 'face' > ciŋdol 'peak'

ciŋ 'mountain' + mətum 'face' > ciŋdum 'hill-lock, mound'

2.3.2.3 Appearance

When the question marker /-a/ is suffixed to a finite verb in future negative, /-dr-/ appears in between /-loi- ~ -roi-/ and /-a/ in the Sandhi as glide.

Rule 21:   Verb finite + -a > verb finite + -dr- + -a

Example

cətloi + /-a/ > cətloi-dr-a > cətloidra   'Won't you go?'

tumloi + /-a/ > tumloi-dr-a > tumloidra   'Won't you sleep?'

caroi + /-a/ > caroi-dr-a > caroidra   'Won't you eat?'

kiroi + /-a/ > kiroi-dr-a > kiroidra   'Won't you be afraid of?'

2.3.3 Type III: In the First and Second Word

Type III

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                              Type III
                                 │
            ┌────────────────────┴──────────────────────────┐
            ▼                                                │
  Dropping & assimilation                      Dropping & appearance
            │                                                │
   ┌────────┴────────────┐                                   │
   ▼                     ▼                                    │
Dropping in first word   Dropping & change in second         │
& change in second word   word & change in first word        │
   │                                                          │
   ┌──────────────┬──────────────────┐                        │
   ▼              ▼                  ▼                         │
Dropping in first word  Dropping in first word  Dropping in first word
& appearance of /r/ or /dr/  & appearance of /w/  & appearance of /m, /ŋ/ & /p/
                                                              │
                         Dropping with assimilation and appearance
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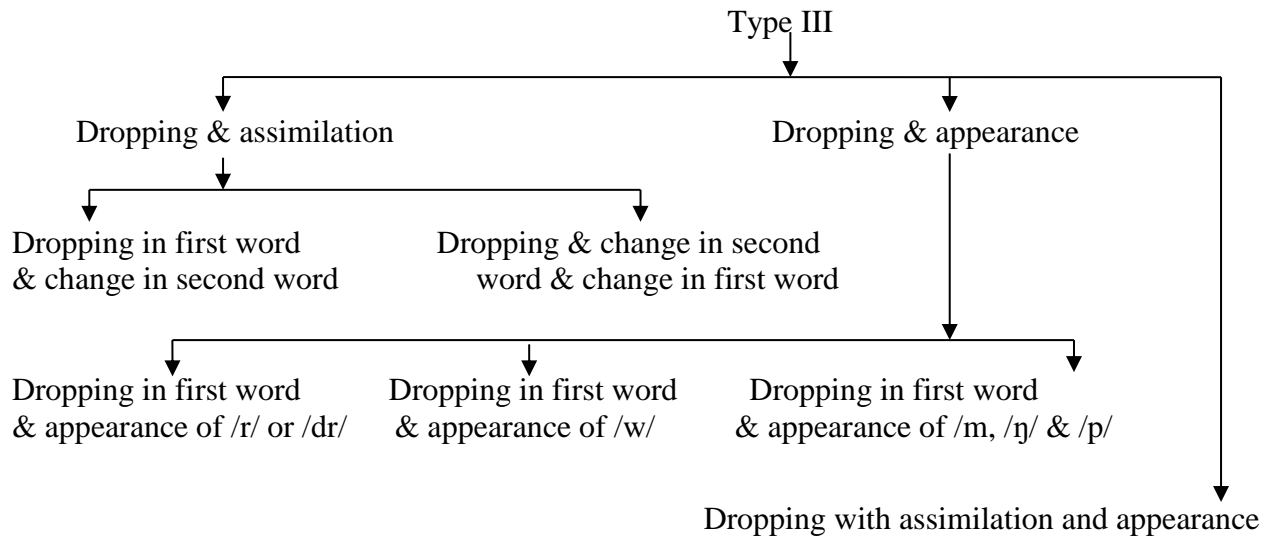
Diagram 3b: Sandhi with change

2.3.3.1 Dropping and Assimilation

(a) Dropping in first and change in second word

The prefix /mə-/ of the first word and the suffix /bə-/ of the second word is dropped when they are compounded and /l/ becomes /r/ due to progressive assimilation (Madhubala Potsangbam. 2002).

a) Dropping of /mə-/ and /bə-/

b) l > r / Vowels-

Example

mətu 'his wife'+ lonbə 'many' > turonbə 'having more than one wife'

Sentence

turonbəgi thəbəksi məitəi khunainə yade.

'The Meitei society does not allow having many wives (by/for a man).'

(b) Dropping and change in second word and change in first word

Not only in Manipuri but in many other Indian languages also syllabic pattern plays a major role in compounding. Most of the monosyllabic words involve in compounding for various

grammatical and functional usages (Bhat & Ningomba, 1997). When the monosyllabic first word ends with the nasals /-n/ or /-ŋ/, the voiceless sound of the second word becomes voiced due to regressive assimilation, as discussed earlier and the alveolar nasal becomes velar nasal before a velar sound.

       a) dropping of /mə-/

       b) n > ŋ / - k/g/kh/gh

Example

       sən 'cow' + məkhom 'its milk' > səŋgom 'milk'

       thi 'night soil' + məkhun 'hole' > thigun 'anus'

Sentences

       səŋgom yamnə thokpə sənbi əmətə əi pəmmi.

       'I want a cow that gives a lot of milk.'

       saŋgondə sanyam thəmmi.

       'Many cows are being kept in the cow shed.

(c) When a monosyllabic first word ending with the nasal /-n/ is compounded with a word starting with /mə-/, /mə-/ is dropped and /-r-/ changes into /l/ due to progressive assimilation and /-n/ changes in to /l/ due to regressive assimilation.

       a) dropping of /mə-/

       b) -n > -l / - r

       Rule 22: -r- > -l- / l-

Example

       tin 'evil spirits' + mərəm 'reason' > tillam 'related to evil spirits'

       nupidu lairəm-tilləm thibə yamnə kəlli.

       'The woman searches spiritual things very much.'

       lan 'war' + lup 'group' > lallup 'war group'

       Here, n > l due to regressive assimilation.

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2.3.3.2 Dropping and Appearance

(a) When the question marker /-ra/ is suffixed to a gerundial noun ending with the nominalizing suffix /-bə ~ -pə/, /-ə/ is dropped from /-bə ~ -pə/ in the sandhi.

Rule 23: **/-ə/ of /-bə ~ -pə/ > ɸ / -ra**

Example

cabə 'to eat' + /-ra/ > cabəra > cabra 'do/does (you/he/she/they) eat?'

cətpə 'to go' + /-ra/ > cətpəra >cətpra 'do/does (you/he/she/they) go?'

Sentences

nəkhoy chaobigi yumdə ŋəraŋ numidaŋ caklen carəbra?

'Did you take dinner at Chaobi's home yesterday?

ŋəŋ ŋəsi ayuk kəmitigi miphəm yaobə cətpra?

'Did you go to attend the committee's meeting this morning?'

Even when it is in negative, the rule is applied.

cadəbə 'not eat' + /-ra/ > cadəbə-ra > cadəbra 'do/does not (you/he/she/they) eat?'

cəttəbə 'not go' + /-ra/ > cəttəbə-ra > cəttəbra 'do/does not (you/he/she/they) go?'

cadrəbə 'not eat' + /-ra/ > cadrəbə-ra cadrəbra 'do/does not (you/he/she/they) eat?'

Sometimes no change occurs as in the following

(b) When the question marker /-ra/ is suffixed to a noun ending with /y/ no change occurs

Example

ləway 'village' + /ra/ > ləwayra 'Is it a village?'

(c) When the question marker /-ra/ is suffixed to a noun ending with nasals, stops, lateral, the –r- becomes /-l-/.

-r- > -l- / nasal-

Example

yum 'house' + /-ra/ > yum-l-a > yumla

ucan 'wood of pine tree' + /-ra/ > ucan-l-a > ucanla

ceŋ 'raw rice' + /a/ > ceŋ-l-a > ceŋla

lairik 'book' + /a/ > lairik-l-a > kwakla

pat 'lake' + /a/ > pat-l-a > patla

phirep 'determination' + /a/ > phirep-la-a > phirepla

pəthap 'ruler, scale, rule' + /a/ > pəthap-la-a > pəthapla

nobel 'novel' + /a/ > novel-l-a > nobella

phirol 'dress' + /a/ > phirol-l-a > phirolla

(d) When the question marker /-a/ is suffixed to a finite verb in future tense, /-ni/ is dropped when /-dr-/ appears in between finite verb and /-a/.

Rule 24: **-ni (of finite verb) > ɸ / - dra**

Example

cagəni + /-a/ > cagə-dr-a > cagədra 'Will you eat?'

lakkəni + /-a/ > lakkə-dr-a > lakkədra 'Will you come?'

phəmgəni + /-a/ > phəmgə-dr-a > phəmgədra 'Will you sit?'

Sentence

həyeŋ tombə lakkə-dra?

Is Tomba coming tomorrow?

(e) When the personal termination suffix /-i/ is added to verbal nouns ending with the nominalizing suffix /-bə/ and whose verb root ends with the diphthongs /-əu/, /-au/ and /-ao/, /-bə/ is dropped and /-w-/ appears in sandhi as a glide between the diphthong and the vowel /i/.

Rule 25: **-w- appears as a glide between diphthongs and –i**

səubə 'to boil' + /-i/ > səu-w-i. '(It) boils.'

saubə 'to get angry' + /-i/ > sau-w-i.   '(He) gets angry.'

kaobə 'to kick' + /-i/ > kao-w-i.   '(He) kicks.'

(f)   When the suffix /-i/ is added to verbal nouns ending with the nominalizing suffix /-bə/, /-bə/ is dropped and the nasals /m/ or /ŋ/ of the word doubles.

   i) /-bə/ is dropped.

   ii) The nasals /m/ or /ŋ/ doubles.

Rule 26:   **/m/ or /ŋ/ or /-p/ of the root doubles / -i**

Example

pambə 'want' + /-i/ > pammi

lumbə ' be heavy' + /-i/ > lummi '(It's) heavy.'

kəŋbə 'be dried' + /-i/ > kəŋŋi '(It's dried.'

iŋbə 'be cold' + /-i/ > iŋŋi '(It's) cold.'

Sentences

əinə sophadə phəmmi.

'I sit on the sofa.'

həudonə səgaydəgi a lammi.

'The cat tries to get the fish from sagay.'

nəŋnə nuŋsadə phəubə ŋasi yamnə kəŋŋi.

'The fish which you dried in the sun is very dry.'

ŋəsidi yamnə iŋŋi.

'It is very cold today.'

(g) When the suffix /-i/ is added to verbal nouns ending with the nominalizing suffix /-pə/, /-pə/ is dropped and the voiceless stop sound /p/ of the word doubles.

   a) /-pə/ is dropped.

   b) /-p/ of the root doubles / -i

Example

kəppə 'to cry' + /-i/ > kəppi

===

təppə 'be slow' + /-i/ > təppi

cəppə 'to cut' + /-i/ > cəppi

Sentences

əŋaŋdu məbuk lamdunə kəppi.

'The baby cries due to hunger.'

əikhoy imadi thəbək təubədə yamnə təppi.

'My mother is very slow in doing work.'

kyayonbinə kwajəpnə kwa marudu cəppi.

'The lady who sells pan cut betel nuts with kwajap.'

(Pan: combination of betel nut and betel leaf)

2.3.3.3. Dropping in First Word with Assimilation and Appearance

When the personal termination suffix /-li/ is added to verbal nouns ending with /-bə/ and whose root ends with nasal /-n-/, /n/ changes into /-l/ due to assimilation.

i) /-bə/ is dropped.

ii) n > l due to regressive assimilation.

iii) /l/ doubles when the first word is monosyllabic and the second one is a vowel

Rule 27:   **CVn +-li > CVl+-li**

Example

lanbə 'wrong' + /-i/ > lalli   '(Its) wrong.'

ŋənbə 'early' + /-i/ > ŋəlli   '(Its) early.'

yanbə 'hang' + /-i/ > yalli   '(It) hangs.'

Note: /-i/ and /-li/ are alternant forms.

    (i)   /-p/,/m/, and /ŋ/ ending verb roots take /-i/ and

    (ii)   the /k/, /t/ and /-n/ ending roots take /-li/

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Sentences

əhal ədunə parktə khoŋnə təpnə təpnə cətli.

'The old man walks slowly in the park.'

həinəudu pətli pətli təure.

'The mango is slightly rotten.'

napetnə səm kəkli.

'The barber is cutting hair.'

2.4. Three Words Combination

When three words join to form a compound word there are some changes. Dropping of initial /mə-/ and /-bə/ and /c- > j-/ have been discussed earlier. Along with that when nupi is added the initial syllable /nu-/ is dropped and /-pi/ becomes /-bi/ after the nasal.

Rule 28:   **nu > ɸ / R-**

Rule 29:   **-p- > -b- / n- or V-**

Rule 30:   **-t- > -d- / ŋ-**

Both Rules 29 and 30 can be represented as discussed earlier into one rule.

Rule 17:   -vlC- > vdC / N- and V-

Where N stands for a nasal and V stands for a vowel.

Example

a. məca 'his/her child' + cenbə + nupi 'woman' > cajenbi

    məca 'his/her child' + pokpə + nupi 'woman' > cabokpi

b. phi + sabə + nupi > phisabi   'weaver (female)'

    phi + taibə + nupi > phidaibi   'tailor (female)'

    phi + yonbə + nupi > phiyonbi   'woman who sells cloths'

    kok + taŋbə + nupi > koktaŋbi   'bald (woman)'

    kok + taŋbə + nupa > koktaŋbə   'bald (man)'

    ceŋ 'rice' + taibə + nupi 'woman' > ceŋdaibi

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Conclusion

An attempt is made for the first time to present 30 morpho-phonemic rules together in Manipuri. No such consolidated work has been done so far. There are many peculiar language specific morpho-phonemic changes in Manipuri. To mention a few, different types of assimilations, l> r and vice versa, addition of –dra- as a linking morph, voiceless sound becoming voiced, etc. These rules have brought out some specific features of the language. This consolidated rules will be of much help to the students of Manipuri and researchers as well. There may be some more rules that may be found out in future. However, it is felt here that some deeper and exhaustive research in the analysis of Sandhi in Manipuri is required to complete this task entirely.

The analysis made in this paper may be represented in a diagram followed by the list of rules framed.

Sandhi

Without any change   Dropping   With change

Type I
(from 1st word)

Type II
(from 2nd word)

Type III
(from 1st & 2nd word)

Prefix
dropping

Suffix
dropping

Prefix
dropping

Suffix
dropping

Prefix & suffix
dropping

Prefix & suffix
dropping

Type I
(in 1st word)

Type II
(in 2nd word)

Type III
(in 1st &2nd word)

Dropping & Change

Just Change   Dropping & Change   Appearance

Dropping & assimilation

Dropping & appearance

Dropping in first word
& change in second word

Dropping & change in second
word & change in first word

Dropping in first word
& appearance of /r/ or /dr/

Dropping in first word
& appearance of /w/

Dropping in first word
& appearance of /m, /ŋ/ & /p/

Dropping with assimilation and appearance

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List of rules framed

Rule 1.   Noun (N) + Noun (N) > NN

Rule 2.   /-bə/ > ɸ / - a noun   (when another noun is added)

Rule 3.   /-bə/ > ɸ / V- (after vowel ending verb roots)

(V stands for any vowel)

Rule 4   -V + -i > -Vi

Rule 5   -V + -i > -V

Rule 6   -i > ɸ /front vowels and diphthongs -

(If the -V is /-i/ or /-e/ or the diphthongs like /-əi/, /-ai/, /-oi/ or /-ui/)

Rule 7:   /-pə/ > ɸ / -li

Rule 8:   CV(C) + me- > CV(C) –

(me- > ɸ)

(C stands for any consonant)

Rule 9: CV +   GN + /-bə/-pə/ > CVGNR

/-bə/-pə/ > ɸ

(/-bə/-pə/ of the second word)

Rule 10:   CV(C) + ə- R- bə > CV(C)R

that is, (ə- -- -bə > ɸ) / CV(C)-

Rule 11: CVC^1-CVC^2 + ə- R- bə > CVC^1R

(i) CVC^{2} > ɸ

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         (ii)   ə- -- -bə > ɸ

         (Where R stands for the root)

-Rule 12:   (i) /mə-/ of the first word > ɸ

         (ii) suffix bə-/ of the second word > ɸ

Rule 13:   mə-ca + vlC- > ca-vdC

Rule 14:   vlC- > vdC- / V-

         (vlC- is voiceless consonant and vdC is voiced consonant).

Rule 15:   -n > -l   due to regressive assimilation.

Rule 16:   vlC > vdC / V- and N-

Rule 17:   l- > r- / Vowel-

Rule 18:   r- > l- / Nasals-

Rule 19:   /-əu-/ > /-au/ / when - /-bə/ is dropped (and c- becomes j-)

Rule 20:   -n > -ŋ / -d

Rule 21:   Verb finite + -a / verb finite + -dr- + -a

Rule 22:   -r- > -l- / l- (assimilation)

Rule 23:   /-ə/ of /-bə ~ -pə/ > ɸ / -ra

Rule 24:   -ni (of verb finite) > ɸ / - dra

Rule 25:   -w- appears as a glide between diphthongs and -i

Rule 26:   /m/ or /ŋ/ or /-p/ of the root doubles / -i

Rule 27:   CVn +-li > CVl+-li (n>l / -l)

Rule 28:   nu > ɸ / R-

Rule 29:   -p- > -b- / n- and V-

Rule 30:   -t- > -d- / ŋ-

Both Rules 29 and 30 can be represented as discussed earlier into one rule.

Rule 16:   -vlC- > vdC / V- and N-

         Where N stands for a nasal and V stands for a vowel.

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