CHAPTER III
THE CLASSIFICATION OF WORDS
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CLASSIFICATION OF WORDS IN MANIPURI

3. It is also important for the languages of the Tibeto-Burman Family particularly Manipuri, to classify the words properly. There are several instances where the words belonging to some other class or category occupies the position of some other category and also function differently according to the position they occupy in the sentences. This is an area which many scholars have over looked or have never thought of and therefore, several problems which cannot be solved easily cropped up. It may be noted that the root of the colour words (which everyone will claim adjectives) are verbs. The root of the red colour is /ŋəŋ/ and for white is /ŋəw/ and for black is /mu/. In the sentence /ləy ədu ŋəŋj/ ‘the/that flower is red’, /phi ədu ɡəŋhelle/ ‘the/that cloth has been reddened’. As mentioned earlier if we add the suffix /-be/ in these roots they become nouns. Thus in the sentence /phi ədu mubera?/ ‘is the cloth black?’ /mube/ is not like the English adjective black. It is ‘something known as black’ here. It is worth
mentioning here about the words /əmube/, /ənjəbe/ and /əŋəməbe/, etc. which has been considered as adjectives by most of the scholars. These forms are not purely adjectives. They are nouns. Because they only occupy the nominal position in sentences and at the same time they can go with the nominal affixes only. As the affixes play the most important role in the language in all its aspects, for the classification of the words also we have to depend on them, that is, on these affixes. As a consequence we have to list the affixes as Noun affixes, Verb affixes, etc. to determine the class to which the word belongs. This is done because of the fact that noun affixes cannot go with verb forms and the verb affixes cannot be attached to the nouns and vice-versa.

In the traditional grammars we have noticed the following word classes. They are Nouns, Pronouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs, Postpositions, Prepositions, Conjunctions and Interjections, etc. These traditional people who wrote the books of grammar of the language gave examples from Manipuri language for the classes mentioned above. It is unfortunate to understand that they do not have the knowledge of the grammatical descriptions. They thought that the grammars of all the languages are the same, i.e., the internal structure
and behaviour of all the languages are the same. Accordingly, they defined the above classes or parts of speech in the traditional terms. The introduction or imposition of the prepositions and post-positions in Manipuri without any basis and without understanding the logic of the use of these classes in English grammar is another blunder committed by these scholars. They translated the English prepositions in /menunjde/, at /-de/, etc. and posited the name preposition to them. Their prescriptive grammars were the grammar of English language in whose grammatical frame they provided Manipuri words as examples. These were considered as the best grammar of Manipuri. Some such grammars prepared under the aegis of Sanskrit grammar also exist. These grammars are prescribed as texts books in the syllabus. Still there are a large number of people who defended such grammars and they are arguing in support of these grammars.

The problem with this group of scholars is a hard task for the language scholars (Linguists). They are the best intellectual of Manipuri literature and of course language to the common people. The general public has a great regard and they have a high opinion about them and what they said are considered correct. They are regarded as the great
scholars for Manipuri Language and the authority of the grammar of the language. It is unfortunate to understand that they have no knowledge of grammatical descriptions or the science of language. They are of the opinion that all the languages have grammars but all the features are the same for all languages. Keeping this in mind they concluded that Manipuri has the same form classes or the parts of speech and other grammatical categories with any other language. Thus, they feel that the internal structure and the behavior of all the languages are the same.

It is felt that it is necessary to mention the above facts because the scholars coming from outside the state in the country or from abroad are collecting the information from these people as the people think that they are great scholars and they are the champions of Manipuri grammar. The same mistake is committed by the various Central Government organizations in the country as well. They choose people (linguists) having similar concepts. The main reason is we are trying to analyze Tibeto-Burman languages under the Indo-Aryan hypothesis because of lack of sound knowledge of morphology and semantics. It
is necessary to understand the meaning of all the syllables because Manipuri is monosyllabic language. It is also required to have a sound knowledge of roles played by the affixes in the level of morphology and syntax of the language. It shall also be examined whether there can be a clear cut demarcation between morphology and syntax, since some of the affixes play the syntactic role. The most common features of the language shall also be put forward for the analysis. There is a common tendency of shortening, dropping, deletion which cannot be overlooked while extra care is to be given in dealing with one word sentences. In case this is not done then, we are drawing wrong inferences. Several shortcomings noticed in the works done in the language have been pointed out as none of the scholars have a serious view of the above basic and essential points. They either overlooked it or this has never appeared in their mind. It might be due to lack of the basic knowledge of linguistics. It may be stated here that for a language like Manipuri a complete and detailed description is more important than looking for generating or transforming the language at this stage.
One might ask why I am very critical of the works done in the language? The answer is that my analysis has an altogether different approach. In this analysis Manipuri sentences from texts have been transcribed and they are classified according to their function, the position they occupy in the sentences or constructions and the affixes they took. Perhaps this not practiced by the majority/most of the scholars working in the language. Their analysis which is based on the meaning has led them to conclude that the aspects are tenses.

The words in the language can broadly be classified into Nouns (pure), Derived Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs, Pronouns, Verbs, Numerals and others (unclassified). The classification is done mainly based on the affixes which can go with them and the position they occupy in larger constructions and sentences. They are discussed below.
3.1. **NOUNS**

Nouns in Manipuri are those which can take one or more of the following affixes. The affixes are listed below:

3.1.1. **Noun Prefixes**

The prefixes which can go with the nouns are pronominal prefixes which indicate inalienability with the possessor. The other prefixes can be attached to the derived nouns. So, only the pronominal prefixes are taken in this section.

The pronominal prefixes are –

- `a-` - '1st person`
- `na-` - 'you/2nd person'
- `ma-` - 'he/3rd person'
These prefixes listed above are found in -

ə+bok 'my grandmother'

i+pa ‘my father’

ne+kok ‘your head’

me+yum ‘his house’

These prefixes occur with the nouns (pure) only and cannot be attached with any other form belonging to some other class.

3.1.2. **Noun Suffixes**

The suffixes, which are found attached to the nouns, derived nouns, in the adjectives in noun phrases including numerals, the case markers and the bound coordinators are termed nominal suffixes. Accordingly, the nominal suffixes are -

{-g₁ ~ -k₁}'possessive/genitive marker' (case)
{~de ~-te} ‘locative’ {case}

{-ne} ‘nominative’ {case}

{-bu ~-pu} ‘accusative’ {case}

{-sin} ‘many’

{-yam} ‘many’

{-khoy ~-hoy} ‘many (inclusive)/collectivity’

{-mek} ‘in person/personification’

{-ra ~-la ~-ro ~-lo} ‘question/interrogative’

{-deŋ ~-teŋ} ‘exclusive/isolating’

{-ni} ‘copula (functioning as main verb)’

{-su} ‘also’

{-ko} ‘suggestive’

{-ne} ‘seeking for confirmation/question’

{-ge ~-ke} ‘with’

{-di ~-ti} ‘particularization’
3.1.3. The occurrence of the suffixes listed above are illustrated below:

momongi layrik tare 'Momon's book fell down'.

tompokki phurit sure 'Tompok's shirt wash(complete)

iboton imphalde cētkhi 'Iboton go(definite) to Imphal'.

īto phakto phemmi 'Ito sits on the mat'.

īmonē ībobī phure 'Imo beats Ibobī'.

ibetonne mēnibu kēwwi 'Ibeton calls Mani'.

maypakpu tombe nēmīkhi 'Tombi pushes Maipak'.

cēksin ude loy 'The bird(many) lives on the tree'.

khowyam ōmē pire 'Many bags are given.'

ītōkhoy lakle 'Many including Ito has come'.

iboton khoy nērā cōtkhī 'Many including Iboton left yesterday'.

māimukē takhiko 'Maimu himself heard of it'.

nēn mēnirā? 'Are you Manī?'

mēsī turellē? 'Is it a river?'

ibetondēn lakkhi 'Only Ibeton has come'.
phuritten pukho ‘Take only the shirt.’

məhak ibotonni ‘He is iboton.’

ibetombisu lak.i ‘Ibetomi also come.’

tamoko ‘Brother (please agree with me)’

imuŋne “This is the house (inside)’

image cətkəni ‘(I) will go with my mother.’

These suffixes can occur together as in

tombo+də+gi;

iboton+gi+nə;

iboton+gi+ra;

iboton+khoy+rom+də+gi+di+ne; etc.

The demonstrative pronoun roots /-du -tu/ and /-si/ also occur with the nouns and nominal roots. Since they have been regarded pronominal roots they are not included in the list of suffixes. The prefixes are also not included in the list.
3.2. Derived Nouns

As already mentioned nouns are derived from verbs. There are two types of derivations under this. One process of the formation is with prefixation and the other process is with sufixation.

3.2.1. Derived Noun with Prefix

In this type of derivation there are always two verb roots involved. They are –

\[\text{æ+ca-æ+thok 'eatables/food etc'}\]
\[\text{æ+gæm-æ+thew 'noblemen'}\]
\[\text{æ+thum-æ+haw 'sweet-meats'}\]
\[\text{mæ+yum-mæ+kày (panbe) 'marriage married life'}\]
\[\text{mæ+yum-mæ+kày 'house and buildings'}\]
3.2.2. Derived Nouns with suffix

cə+nə 'something called eat'
cət+pə 'something called go'
pak+pə 'something called broad'
kha+nə 'something called bitter'
tum+nə 'something called sleep'

3.2.3. These derived nouns also can take the noun affixes listed in 3.1.2. above. Illustrations:

məhak əca-əthəkki dukan phəmmi 'He is shopkeeper selling eatables'
əca-əthəktə tagəni 'it will fall on the eatables'
əca-əthəkə thelle 'There is full of eatables'
əca-əthəkəpu phəmməbra 'can get eatables'
əca-əthəksiq pursk-ı 'Comes with eatables'
\textit{\textasciitilde ca\-eth\textasciimacron{}mektuni} ‘it is those eatables’

\textit{\textasciitilde ca\-eth\textasciimacron{}kla} ‘is it eatables’

\textit{\textasciitilde ca\-eth\textasciimacron{}ktu} ‘that eatables’

\textit{\textasciitilde ca\-eth\textasciimacron{}kni} ‘this is eatables’

\textit{\textasciitilde ca\-eth\textasciimacron{}ksu} ‘eatables also’

\textit{\textasciitilde ca\-eth\textasciimacron{}ktli} ‘what about eatables’

From the above examples it is proved that these forms are derived nouns as they can take the nominal suffixes. Let us now examine the case of the derived nouns formed with suffixes. Examples –

\textit{cabegi} ‘for eating’

\textit{cabedo} ‘at eating’

\textit{cabene} ‘by eating’

\textit{cabedu} ‘that eating’

\textit{cabebu} ‘eating at’

\textit{cabes\textasciitilde{}ndo} ‘those many eatings’
cabəmek ‘eating in particular’
cabəra ‘eat+question’
cabədeŋ ‘exclusively for eating’
cabeni ‘(the one who) eat’
cabesu ‘eating also’
cabedi ‘what about eating’

The above examples have shown that these nouns derived with suffixes can also take the nominal suffixes listed above. Further they occur only in the position where nouns occur in larger constructions i.e. sentences and also cannot function as verbs. They also need another verb to make the sentence complete. Examples –

məhak pambidu uy ‘He sees the plant’
məhak cabədu uy ‘he sees the eating’
tombine rani pammi ‘Tombi likes Rani’
tombine cabə pammi ‘Tombi likes eating’
From the above examples it is clear to us that these derivatives occur in the position of nouns and also take the nominal suffixes. We can also examine whether they can function as verbs in the sentences as it has already been mentioned that they cannot function as verbs and they require another verb to make the sentence complete.

Illustrations:

*mehak pambidu 'He the plant'
*mehak cabedu 'He the eating'
*tombine rani 'by Tombi Rani'
*tombine cabe 'by Tombi eating'

The illustrations above shown that like the nouns pambi 'plant' and rani 'Rani' the derived nouns have equal distribution. Hence they are considered as nouns.
3.2. Verbs

Those forms which can take the verb suffixes listed below and can occur in the sentence final position are verbs in Manipuri.

3.3.1 Verbal suffixes: Those suffixes after whose affixation the verb roots can stand and function as verbs in larger constructions are considered verb suffixes. Here it must be noted that the derivative suffix {-be ~ -pe} shall not be confused with complements, etc. This will be discussed in detail later. The verb suffixes are listed below:

{-i ~ -li} \hspace{1cm} \text{habitual/infinitive}

{-li ~ -ri ~ -pi ~ -mi ~ -wi ~ -ni} \hspace{1cm} \text{continue/realize}

{-le~re~pe~me~ne~e} \hspace{1cm} \text{completive/realization}

{-khi ~ -khe-} \hspace{1cm} \text{definitive}

{-te ~ -de ~ -te~ -de-} \hspace{1cm} \text{negative}

{-ke ~ -ge ~ -ka ~ -ge-} \hspace{1cm} \text{non-realization}
{-ləm--rəm--məm--pəm--νəm-} continue unknown start
{-lak--rək--pək--mək--νək-} continue known start
{-si} start (together)
{-se-} accept/wish
{-sen-} inward
{-loy--roy} dissent
{-u--w--lu--pu--mu--nu} command
{-lu--ru--pu--mu--nu} command but action elsewhere
{-lo--ro--po--mo--νo} command instant/force
{-lo--ro--po--mo--νo} come for the act
{-ko} desiderative/suggestive/solicit
{-nə-} reciprocative/purposive
{-ne} together with
{-ne} declarative
{-nu} let/wish
{-nu} prohibitive
{-min-} together
{-day}  performing
{-se}  intensive
{-ye}  participation/indulgence
{-hen-}  causation
{-ca- -je-}  polite
{-ca- -je-}  reflexive
{-boy -po-y}  uncertain/hardly

3.3.1.1. The occurrence of the verb suffixes listed above are illustrated below:

tombe cak ca+y 'Tomba eat rice'
Tomba rice eat+infinitive/habitual
tombe cak ca+ri 'Tomba continue eat rice'
Tomba rice eat+continue
tombe cak ca+re 'Tomba complete eat rice'
Tomba rice eat+complete
tombe cak  ca+khi 'Tomba definite eat rice'

Tomba rice eat+definite

tombe cak  ca+de 'Tomba not eat rice'

Tomba rice eat+negative

əy cak ca+ge 'I want eat rice'

ə l  rice eat+non-realization (not perform)

noŋ ta+rəm+mi It's raining'

rain fall+unknown start time+realization/continue

noŋ ta+rək+le 'It has started raining'

rain fall+start known+realization(complete start)

məhək ca+həw+re 'He start eating'

he  eat+start+realization

təw+ge təw+se+nu 'Let (them) do'

do+non-realize do+intensive+let

mə+nəŋ+də in+sil+lu 'Push inside'

distal+in+locative push+inside+command

ma ca+ge+nu hay+yu 'Tell him not to eat'

he eat+non realize+prohibit say+command
nan cet+lu 'You go'
you go+command
taw+ro yen+ne+ge ‘Start, want to see’
do+command see+realize+nonrealize
non neron lak+khi+ko 'You came yesterday. Isn't'
You yesterday come+definite+desiderative

3.3.1.2. The distinction between Verbs and Derived Nouns: There is a problem with the Derived Nouns. The reason is most of the scholars have treated the noun forming suffix i.e. nominalizing suffix {-be ~ -pe} as infinitive suffix and they give the meaning of the verb forms suffixed with it as 'to ...'. But this is not correct. As already mentioned, once this suffix is added to the verb root or to the verb form no more verbal affixes can be added to it and it cannot occupy the verbal position in sentences. Thus the words /ca+be/, /cat+pe/, /tum+be/, /ka+be/, /kak+pe/, etc. have been given the meaning as 'to eat', 'to go', 'to climb', 'to cut', etc. respectively. This is not correct. These items became metaphysical entities. This is found in most of the Tibeto-
Burman Languages. Boro and Rabha have also the same feature.

Illustrations:

ey ca+be pammi 'I am fond of eating
(I want something called eat)'

He eat+ Nominalizer like+infinitive

meshak cat+khi+be kuy+re 'He leaves long time ago'

He go+definite+nominalizer long time+complete/realize

One can ask neŋ keri pammi 'what you want?' The reply will be
cabe/ 'eat'. This means that what I want is a metaphysical entity
called 'eat', i.e. 'something called/known as eat'. In the same way one
can question keriŋo kuyribedu 'what is the long time/ago'? The
reply will be cetkhibe means 'the going away i.e. the something
known as going away/left'.

3.3.1.3. Adjectives in the language are derived from the verb roots: It is
important to state that all the adjectives are derived from verb roots.
Here it is also said by some scholars that the adjectives are derived from the derived nouns. This is true in the case of those adjectives formed with prefixation to the derived nouns or *inseparable pair of words*, but not to those adjectives, which do not have a prefix. Illustrations:

mēhak mu:y 'He is black'
He black+habitual/infinitive
tombe ḋew+wi 'Tomba is white'
Tomba white+habitual/infinitive
tombi phē+jē:y 'Tombi is beautiful'
Tombi beauty+reflexive+infinitive/habitual

In the above examples, mu:y, ḋew+wi, phē+jē:y are verbs because the suffixes -y, -wi, -y are verb suffixes. In case the suffix {-be} is added to them instead of the verb suffixes they can no longer remain as verbs. They become derived nouns.
Examples:

mu+be  'something known as black'

ψew+be  'something known as white'

ψe+je+be  'something beautiful(reflex)'

These nominal forms can take the prefix {e-} but in this it has become personified. The prefix {e-} which is considered as adjective forming prefix by some can be added only to the derived nouns formed by adding {-be} directly to the root. This controversy can be settled by adopting the Substantive theory. Some of the instances where this prefix is added are given below.

Examples:

ε+mube  'black'

ε+ψewbe  'white'

*e+ψejebe
It must be kept in mind that pure nouns also function as adjectives in certain constructions in which they occur after the derived nouns.

3.3.1.4. Except the time adverbials all other adverbs are also derived from verb roots: The time adverbials are:

- **hewjik** ‘now’
- **njesai** ‘before awhile’
- **njesi** ‘to-day’
- **horen** ‘after awhile’
- **heyeg** ‘tomorrow’
- **nornmey** ‘next year’
- **hakum** ‘last year’, etc.

The other adverbs which are also adjectives like –

- **kennè** ‘strongly/fast’
- **yanène** ‘quickly/fast’
- **thune** ‘quickly/fast/hastily’
tēpne ‘slowly’

lapne ‘distant/far’

are all derived from the verb roots - kēn-, yēn-, thu-, tēp-, lap-. There are reduplicated adverbs also. They are also derived from verb roots. Examples –

yēn-yeŋne ‘very fastly’

thuŋ-θuŋne ‘very quickly’

3.3.2. PRONOUNS: In Manipuri there are the Personal Pronouns and the wh-type of pronouns. The personal pronouns are - eŋ ‘I’, nēŋ ‘you’. ma ‘he’. They have secondary forms which are found attached to forms which are inalienable to the possessor. In other words it has also relevance to distal and proximal as well.
3.3.2.1. **Personal Pronouns:** The personal pronouns are:

First Person \( \text{əy} \) 'I'

Second Person \( \text{ʊŋ} \) 'you'

Third Person \( \text{ma} \) 'he'

There is a suffix {-khoŋ - høy} which is considered as plural of the above three persons whenever they are added to the forms. This cannot be accepted as plural because this suffix can go with the proper names, like tombe 'Tomba', cawbe 'Chaoba', etc. and also there is no inflection in the verb.

There is also another personal pronoun /mi/. This may mean the first person 'my' or the third person 'man/someone'.

For example:

/mi gi phurit lewkhére/ may mean either 'my shirt has been taken away' or 'someone's shirt has been taken away'.
The secondary forms of the three personal pronouns are 1-\text{-}, ne-\text{-}, and me-\text{-} for the first, second, and third person respectively.

The personal pronouns occur in alienable and inalienable possessions. In the case of kin terms and immediate and intimate possessions, etc., the secondary forms of the personal pronouns are inalienable to the possessor. The following examples will illustrate:

Illustrations:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{eygi ima} & 'my mother' \\
\text{eygi iyum} & 'my house' \\
\text{eygi ikok} & 'my head' \\
\text{eygi iphurit} & 'my shirt' \\
\text{nengi nema} & 'your mother' \\
\text{nengi neyum} & 'your house' \\
\text{nengi nekok} & 'your head' \\
\text{nengi nephurit} & 'your shirt'
\end{tabular}
magi mema  'his mother'
magi meyum  'his house'
magi mekok  'his head'
magi mephurit  'his shirt'

It must be noted here that in these languages one cannot say */nəŋgi ima/ or */magi ima/ to mean 'my mother'. In the same manner it is not possible to say */eygi nema or mema/ to mean 'my mother'.

This is a common feature in most of the Tibeto Burman languages. Tangkhul, Kabui, Paite, Kow, Tarao, Boro, Rabha and many other languages have the same feature.

3.3.2.2. The ke- pronouns: Like the English wh- Manipuri has ke-pronouns. These are termed ke-pronouns. They are

ke+na  'which person' i.e. 'who'
ke+ri  ‘which thing’ i.e. ‘what’
ke+ya  ‘which much’ i.e. how much
ke+yam ‘which many’ i.e. how many
ke+day ‘which place’ i.e. ‘where’
ke+dom ‘which direction’,
ke+rem  ‘which manner’ i.e. ‘how’
ke+dew  ‘which time’ i.e. ‘when’

The (ke-) stands for ‘which’ and (-na) stands for ‘person’; (-ri) stands for ‘thing’; (-ya) stands for ‘much’; (-yam) stands for ‘many’ cf. meyam ‘many’ (-day) stands for ‘place’ while (-dom) stands for ‘direction’. This logic is supported by the following:

kena ley ‘who is there’
keri tewre ‘what has happened’
keyagino ‘for how much’
keyam leyre ‘How many (you) have’
kedaydeno ‘where are your going’
kedomdeno 'in which direction' etc.

The above examples have shown that the Manipuri interrogative pronouns are formed with ke-.

3.3.3. **NUMERALS:** In Manipuri we find Cardinal and Ordinal numerals. The cardinal numerals always remain as adjectives and they always occur after the nouns. But the Ordinal numerals are formed with the prefixation of the formative prefix e- and with the addition of the nominalizing suffix {-pe ~ -be}, they occurs before and after the nouns and function like the adjectives.

3.3.3.1. **The Cardinal Numbers:** The Cardinal numbers in Manipuri are –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>øme</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eni</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ehum</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
meri        'four'
mena        'five'
teruk       'six'
teret       'seven'
nipan       'eight'
mapen       'nine'
tera         'ten'

The formation of the cardinals after every decade up to three that is thirteen, twenty three, and so on are with the addition of mathoy in the case of eleven, twenty one, thirty one, etc. and nithoy in the case of twelve, twenty two, thirty two, forty two, etc. and humdoy in the case of thirteen, twenty three, ninety three etc. It may be noted here that ma relates to one and ni relates to two and hum relates to three and thoy stands for 'more/excess'. For example

teramathoy   'eleven'
teranithoy   'twelve'
terahumdoy  'thirteen'
kunmathoy  'twenty one'
kunthramathoy  'thirty one'
kunthranithoy  'thirty two'
niphuhumdoy  'forty three'

For the cardinals after each decade from fourteen, twenty four, thirty four onwards the cardinal number is added directly to the word for the decade cardinal.

For example:

teramëri  'fourteen'
teramena  'fifteen'
terateruk  'sixteen'
kunteret  'twenty seven'
kunthranipan  'thirty eight'
nipherapen  'forty nine'
humphumŋa  'sixty five' etc.

As mentioned above they occur only after the nouns in Noun Phrases.

Examples:

mi  ene  'one man'
man one
enŋat  eni  'two children'
child two
u  tɛrɛk  'six trees'
tree six
kɛy  nipan  'eight tigers'
tiger eight

3.3.3.2. The Ordinals:

Except the first which has been derived from /han-/ 'early/before' all other ordinal numbers are formed by adding /-su-/ and /-be/ in the ordinals.
Examples:

ëhanbe           ‘first’
ënisubë          ‘second’
ëhumsubë         ‘third’
merisubë          ‘fourth’
kunmatohoysubë   ‘twenty first’
yankheynithoysubë ‘fiftysecond’ etc.

The ordinals occur before or after the nouns. Examples:

ëhanbe  ënaŋ     ‘first child/eldest child’
ënaŋ ëhanbe         ‘first child/eldest child’
ëhumsubë mi       ‘third man’
mi ëhumsubë        ‘third man’ etc.

From the above examples it is noticed that the ordinals occur before
and after the nouns. They also take the nominal suffixes whenever they
occur after the nouns but cannot take these suffixes whenever they precede a noun in the Noun phrase. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mi ehanbe+ne} & \quad \text{‘by the first man’} \\
\text{mi ehanbe+bu} & \quad \text{‘to the first man’} \\
\text{eŋaŋ enisube+du} & \quad \text{‘the/that second child’}
\end{align*}
\]

One cannot accept \text{*mine ehanbe *eŋaŋbu ehanbe}. It may be noted here that someone may argue that eŋaŋdu enisube is acceptable. It is true this is acceptable but it has a different shade of meaning. It conveys altogether different meaning and it does not come under the single phrase. This can be seen if we attach the suffixes again to the second element. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eŋaŋdu enisubene} & \quad \text{‘child that second by’} \\
\text{child+that second+Nominative} \\
\text{eŋaŋdu enisubedegi} & \quad \text{‘child that two present’} \\
\text{child+that two+there+genitive}
\end{align*}
\]
What is desired is to show the difference. But some scholars cannot make this distinction. Thus this also has become a problem in the analysis of Manipuri. Thus the word classes in Manipuri are substantives, verbs, pronouns, numerals and certain other words.

3.3.3.3. There are some words which are put together here. Some of them are conjunctions. Some conjunctions are particles. Some exclamatory words are also included in this category. They are:

3.3.3.3.1. **Conjunctions**: /æmæsun/, /təwɪŋumbəsun/ and other particles like /-gə..., -gə/, /-gə loynene/, and a host of other conjunctions. It is imminent to discuss here the issue of a kind of connectives which join constructions. These constructions may be treated as independent clauses or phrases, according to the individual’s impression or interpretation. They are joined by comma pause in the language. These constructions can be rewritten as sentences framing rewrite rules or they can be kept at phrases. Be it a sentence or a phrase it function as qualifier of the subject in the sentence. This is one process through
which one can produce a never ending sentence in Manipuri and can continue forever till a VP is added to it to end the sentence.

Illustration:

"aykhoygi meninde laybe pukhri aceswbeeduuge awa parne ctelege meniglome yerkhibeade yum ame uribedu mekhathenebe naknde layribe lambi adugi kham theebete cu hewribedu meninde laybe khaqpokeq edude leyrembe sheedu cethre."

This sentence can be sliced into several pieces as follows:

"aykhoygi meninde laybe 'at the west of our (house)'

"pukhri aceswbeeduuge 'that big pond'

"awa parne ctelege 'mover towards north'

"meniglome yerkhibeade 'then look at the west direction'

"yum ame uribedu 'a house is seen'

"mekhathenebe naknde layribi 'living at the southern side'"
ləmbi ədugi 'that road'
kham theŋbæde 'at the end/dead end'
cu həwribədugi 'sugarcane are growing'
meningde leybe 'living at the west'
kharpoksaŋ aćuda layrambe 'living at that hut'
æshəlду 'the old man'
cətkhre. 'gone/left'

This is a single sentence. All the above pieces of the sentence are qualifier to the word æshəlду 'the old man' and the final word cətkhre 'gone/left' is the main verb. It is the only verb in the sentence which is essential for the completion of the sentence. This has already been mentioned that whether these units shall be treated as sentences or phrases and which is the connector? This is treated as conjoined by comma conjunction.

The two conjunctions /əməsun and təwigumbəsuŋ/ although they are frequently used in writing are hardly, say, not at all used in speaking.
They are termed conjunctions which are used in writing but not used in speech (Thoudam, 1991). The conjunctions found in the language are listed below:

ge 'with'

ge loynana 'together with'

su 'also'

ədupu 'however'

əduna 'as such'

ədugə 'thus/after that'

ədumakpu 'such that'

ədudagi 'then'

ədum oynamək 'even though'

ədugi mətuda 'thereafter'

məramdi 'because'

məram əduna 'therefore'

nəttəgə 'or'
muk 'as much'
gum 'as it'
ge .....ge 'along with'
su .....su 'also with'
ne .....ne 'and also/ and with'
əmsə̱nə̱ 'and'
təwigungə̱nə̱ 'but'

Examples of sentences joined by these conjunctions are given below:

Examples:

tombə cawbexe cetli 'Tomba goes with Chaoba'
tombə cawbexe loynema cetli 'Tomba together with Chaoba goes'
tombəsu cetli 'Tomba also goes'
tombi layrey eduβu mebuKI seŋgi 'Tombi is poor however honest'
tombi cəlkhi aduna kəŋde 'Tombi left as such not known'
tombi lakkeni eduge lakke 'Tombi will come after that will come'
tombine hay əduməkpu ŋay kho ‘Tombi says such but wait’

tombine hay ədu dagi cətle ‘Tombi says then left’

tombine hay ədum oynəmak yer kho ‘Tombi says even though wait’

manə phuy ədugi mtudə keydəwre ‘He beats thereafter what happen’

ma cetkhi məəmdə nare ‘He left because ill’

ma nare məəm əduna yadre ‘He is sick therefore not possible’

ma nəttreqe nən cətiu ‘Either he or you go’

tombəmək cawwi ‘(It) is as big as much Tomba’

tombigəm cəti ‘Walks as if Tombi’

tombig meə cəti ‘Tombi along with him goes’

tombisu masu cəti ‘He also goes with Tombi’

tombine mane cəti ‘Tombi and with he goes’

tombi əmesuŋ ma cəti ‘Tombi and he goes’

mane hay təwəguməbəsuŋ thajəde ‘He says but not trust’
In the above sentences it is shown that the above conjunctions conjoin sentences in Manipuri language.

3.3.3.2. **Exclamatory words:** /ish, oh, eh, oho/ and several other words of exclamation. Examples of sentences with these forms are given below:

**Examples:**

ish! taremgendé ‘ish! might fall’

Oh! kawrengendé ‘oh! might forget’

Eh! keydewre ‘eh! What happen’

Ohol Kawredo ‘ohol I forgot’

3.3.3.3. **Onomatopoetic words:** /dron-dron/, /gron-gron/, /bri-bri/, /phet-phet/ etc. and others. These are all reduplicated words related to the sounds. It is desirable that they shall be put in the section on
reduplication. Hence they are not discussed here and also they are not shown in the diagram.

3.4. The above classifications of the words in Manipuri are for the time being tentative. They are classified on the basis of the different morphemes depending on the structure. In some cases the occurrences i.e. the distributions of these entities have been incorporated. But the difficulty arises when we examine them in groups. Confusions are also there in the treatment of expressions, like - legacy əŋəŋbəni and əŋəŋbə legacy. Both sentences give the same meaning 'It is red flower'. Again, if we want someone to 'Bring the red flower' we can use either of the two constructions given below:

legacy əŋəŋbəni purək-u
flower red+that bring+command

əŋəŋbə legacy purək-u
red flower+that bring+command
In both the above cases the person who has been given the task will bring the red flower only and will not bring flowers of other colour. It may also be noted that the suffix -du is attached to əŋga and 1əy whenever they occur in the second position. As numerals are the best example of adjectives in any language we can decide the adjective position in the language from the position of the numerals in noun phrases. In Manipuri noun phrases the numerals occur after the noun and it also takes the nominal suffixes. The noun does not accept the affixes. e.g.

\begin{align*}
\text{ləy \ əma} & \quad \text{‘one flower/a flower’} \\
\text{flower one} & \\
\text{mi \ əhum} & \quad \text{‘three men’} \\
\text{man three}
\end{align*}

From the examples it is clear that the numerals follow the noun. Thus it has been considered that the adjectives follow the nouns in this language. It may also be noted that as the numerals do, the modifiers i.e. the adjectives, which follows the noun take the affixes. This can be
supplemented by the following examples in which the suffixes are taken by the adjectives (numerals):

\[\text{ley əmə+du 'that(one) flower'}\]

flower one+particular

\[\text{mị əhum+gi 'of three men'}\]

man three+genitive/possessive

\[\text{ucek məna+ne 'by five birds'}\]

bird five+nominative

Therefore, in the previous examples \text{ley əŋəbədu purek-u} and \text{əŋəbə leydu purek-u}, we found that \text{əŋəbədu} and \text{leydu} are occurring in the adjectival position in the two phrases and at the same time they are taking the suffixes as it was done by the numerals which have been generally accepted as adjectives. From this it is seen that the noun \text{ley 'flower'} is occupying the adjectival position and functions as adjective in such constructions.
These and several such instances have made the classification of words extremely difficult. How can one claim - mî ‘man’, ływ ‘flower’, wcek ‘bird’, etc. are adjectives. It may be noted here that these nouns in certain constructions qualify the verbal nouns and function as adjectives.

3.5. **The problem of adjective position in sentences:** There is a problem of adjective position in the sentence. It was claimed by all the scholars that adjectives in Manipuri occur either before or after the noun. But this is not a correct or true proposition. The adjectives occur after the nouns and the position occupied by the numerals in Noun Phrases is the adjective position in the language. Although it has been explained earlier it is presented here again. In the case of Ɓaŋɓe ley and ley Ɓaŋɓe both meaning ‘red flower’ it has been contended that ley in the NP Ɓaŋɓe ley and Ɓaŋɓe in the NP ley Ɓaŋɓe are adjectives respectively. The reason is in the NPs the suffixes are attached to the adjectives as it is done by the numerals. In Boro and Rabha also the numerals occur after the nouns in NPs while there is no difference between the change of position of the adjective and noun, e.g. Boro
{mùṣan mānsī} and {mānsī mùṣan} having the same meaning 'good man' and Rabha {chhwa kāy} and {kāy chhwa} having similar meaning 'tall man'. This is to be examined further but because of certain limitations it cannot be illustrated here.

ey ca+be pam+mi
(I want something called eat)

1 eat+ Nominalizer like+infinitive
mēhak ca+thi+be kuy+re 'He leaves long time ago'

He go+definite+nominalizer long time+complete/realize

One can ask neŋ kēri pammī 'what you want?' The reply will be /cabe/ 'eat'. This means that what I want is a metaphysical entity called 'eat', i.e. 'something called/known as eat'. In the same way one can question kēri no kuyribēdū 'what is the long time/ago'? The reply will be cētkhibē means 'the going away i.e. the something known as going away/left'.
3.6. The classification of words in Manipuri keeping in view of the above arguments are shown below. As already mentioned the pure nouns such as mi ‘man’, ka ‘room’, yum ‘house’, u ‘tree’, ucok ‘bird’, ley ‘flower’ etc. sometime function as modifiers and the same modifier like ken ‘strong/hard’, thun ‘fast/quick’, cen ‘with running’ modifies the verb as well as the noun. The word classes or form classes so far mentioned above are Nouns, Pronouns, Derived Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs, Numerals, Conjunctions and Interjections. These form classes, traditionally classified as parts of speech, although they are noticed in the language, shall be examined carefully and critically; so as to enable to understand how far they function independently of each other and these nomenclatures are suitable or correct for them.

3.6.1. It is noticed that some nouns pure as well derived function as modifiers in certain constructions. In such a situation they function as modifiers and they no longer remain attached to their original category. As for example – the sentence ley enagbe eme satli ‘one red flower blooms’ and enagbe ley eme satli ‘one red flower blooms’. The two sentences convey the same meaning, although there is difference
in the word order. As they convey the same meaning the scholars have the misconception and they claimed that adjectives can occur before or after the nouns. Their conclusion is fallacious if we examine from this point of view. In the case of ley əŋərbə ‘flower red’ the emphasis is given on the flower and in the case of əNaNbe ley ‘red flower’ more emphasis is given to the red. So in this particular context the flower although it is a noun functions as adjective. So, they are no longer nouns in such situations. It is not like the English adjective black. It is ‘something known as black’ here. It is worth mentioning here about the words /əmuba/, /əŋərbə/ and /əŋəwbə/, etc. which has been considered as adjectives by most of the scholars. These forms are not purely adjectives. They are nouns. Confusions are also there in the treatment of expressions, like - ley əŋərbənī and əŋərbə leynī. Both sentences give the same meaning ‘It is red flower’. Again, if someone is given this command and ask to ‘Bring the red flower’, either of the two constructions given below can be used.

ley əŋərbədu purēk-ū

flower red+that bring+command
In both the cases the person who has been given the task will bring the red flower only and will not bring flowers of other colour. It may also be noted that the suffix {-du} is attached to ḭaļe and ley whenever they occur with the form in the second position.

3.6.2 Again, there is the problem in distinguishing the adjectives and adverbs in Manipuri. In the sentences ḭaļe adu ḵejañe ḷexe ‘the child has walked perfectly’ and ḭaļe adu ḵejañe ḷexe ᵇamle ‘the child is able to walk perfectly’. In the two sentences ḵejañe occurs before ḷexe and ḷexe ᵇamle respectively. As per the classification made earlier ḷexe is a verb while ḷexe ᵇamle is a noun, but they are modified by the same modifier ḵejañe. Hence it has made us difficult to distinguish between the adjectives and adverbs. But in the case of time adverbials it requires further explanation. These and other related issues
have compelled to think of alternatives which might contribute to ease out such issues. As an alternative the following classification has been made using the term **substantives** under which the Pure Nouns, Derived Nouns, the adjectives and adverbs along with the ordinal numbers are placed because some of them have distributional equivalence i.e. occur in similar positions and functioning according to their syntactic position in larger constructions, i.e. sentences. Accordingly the words in Manipuri are classified as Substantives, Pronouns, Verbs, Numerals, Conjunctions and Exclamatory. This is shown by the help of a diagram below:

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WORDS
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Substantives Pronouns Verbs Numerals Conjunctions Exclamatory
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Pure Nouns Derived Nouns Adjectives Adverbs Numerals
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Diagram showing the different word classes of Manipuri
3.6.3. The reasons for using the term substantives in the present analysis are the following. They are:

Since the words belonging to the form class Nouns (Pure and Derived), Modifiers (Adjectives and Adverbs) and Numerals (Ordinal) have the same function in larger constructions it is preferred that they shall be placed under one umbrella. This means that although they belong to the particular word-class or form-class, in certain contexts they occur in the slots occupied by other class of word or form-class and function like them. Thus they changed their word class or form class. At such situations they are no longer in the class to which it belongs.

The word cabe "something called eat" is formed by the combination of the root ca- 'eat' and the suffix -be 'derivative suffix'. It has been stated earlier that -be ~ -pe is a derivative suffix which makes the verb root or verb to change to another class. cari 'eat continue/realize/performing' is a verb comprising the root ca- 'eat' and the suffix -ri 'continue, etc.' When the derivative suffix -be is
added to it, it no longer remain as verb since it cannot function as a verb nor it can occupy the verb position/slot in the sentence and also cannot take the verb suffixes. Again if one asks keri tewri ‘what (he/she) is doing’ the answer shall be cari ‘(he/she) is eating’. This is a sentence although it has only one word. There are many such sentences in this language. Here cari ‘eating’ remains as verb as it occupies the verbal position and also functions as verb. As mentioned above the suffix –be is added to it then it becomes caribe, then it cannot occupy the verb position in the sentence and to make the sentence complete a different verb or the copula -ni shall be added to the sentence. *mehak cak caribe ‘he rice/meal eat’ is not a complete sentence.

After adding –ni, we have mehak cak cariben ‘He is still eating rice/He is carrying on the act of something known as eating the rice’. This has shown that caribe is no longer a verb. To make it more clear let us examine the following utterance *mehak cabè ‘he eat’. This is not a complete sentence. But in the utterance mehak cabè hayre ‘he has been able to eat’ a verb hayre ‘able/learnt’ has been added to complete the sentence. In this case if one asks keri hayre ‘what (he)
has been able to perform’, the answer will definitely be cabe ‘eat (something called)’. This means it is a metaphysical entity according to logic. These arguments are further supported by the following.

mehak ethumbe cabe pammi ‘He is fond of sweet eating’

Here what he wants/fond of is ethumbe cabe ‘sweet eat’. This can be compared with the utterance mehak ethumbe uhey pammi ‘He is fond of sweet fruits’. cabe ‘eat (something called)’ occurs in the same position where uhey ‘fruit’ occurs. So cabe is no longer a verb.

Further the modifiers kenne ‘strong/hard/fast’, phejene ‘nicely’ etc modifies the verb as well the nouns have been illustrated above. The derived nouns when occurring with nouns in NPs function either as Nouns or Modifiers according to the position in the utterance. In such situation the pure Noun function as modifier in some context. To avoid such controversies the term substantives have been instituted.