Functions of Nominalized Forms in Manipuri Language

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Manipuri, locally known as Meiteilon (Meitei- the Meitei community; lon- language) is the state language of Manipur which is one of the seven states of North-East India, with the city of Imphal as its capital. The state is bounded by Nagaland in the north, Mizoram in the south, Assam in the west, and by the borders of the country Myanmar in the east as well as in the south. 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).

Manipuri language has been recognized by the Government of India as the state official language of Manipur along with English and it is one of the 22 scheduled languages of India. By the 71st amendment of the constitution in 1992, Manipuri is included in the list of scheduled languages in the 8th Schedule of Indian Constitution (Sarangi, A. 2009).

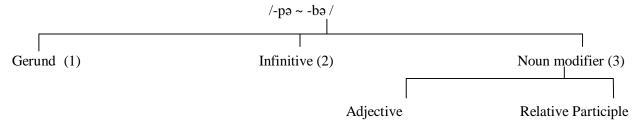
Manipuri is the mother tongue of the major ethnic group, the Meitei. This language is also being spoken by some native Manipuri speakers in the neighbouring North-Eastern states of India, viz., Assam, Tripura, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya. There are some native Manipuri speakers in part of Bangladesh and Myanmar. It is the main common medium of communication among 33 different mother tongues of different tribes in Manipur and also among other people inhabiting in Manipur and hence, it is being used as the lingua-franca in the state of Manipur.

Manipuri language is the only Tibeto-Burman language in India which has its own script, the Meitei-Mayek script, which has been in existence from 1st century A.D.

Nominalizer in Manipuri

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 the 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. Though it is called as a nominalizing suffix, the suffix can be used to derive the infinitive form of the verb and can be used to denote noun modifier also along with the gerundial forms. This article tries to establish the grammatical functions of the suffix /-pə ~ -bə / which is often considered only as a nominalizing suffix by many Manipuri grammarians.

The function of the suffix can be shown diagrammatically as below:



1. Gerundial Function

Since the gerunds have the features of both noun and verb, they are called hybrid nouns for they take the characteristics of the verbs from which they are derived and used as noun denoting the action expressed by the verb. These nouns denote the '-ing' meaning of English, that is, these denote the action in the nominal form (Yashawanta, 2000).

In Manipuri the gerunds are formed by adding the nominalizing suffix /-pə \sim -bə/ to the verb root. The structure is Verb Root + nominalizing suffix /-pə \sim -bə/.

Example

- 1. uhəi-wahəi ca-bə phə-i. fruits eat-ger. good-cop. 'Eating fruits is good.'
- 2. əyuk-tə khoŋ-nə cət-pə əphəbə həinəbi-ni. morning-loc. leg-nom. go-ger. good habit-cop. 'Walking in the morning is a good habit.'
- 3. məna-məsin ca-bə phə-i. vegetables eat-ger. good-cop. 'Eating vegetables is good.'
- 4. sinema toynə yeŋ-bə phə-t-te. movie often see-ger. good-neg.'Seeing movies often is not good.'
- 5. ŋəŋ ŋaihaktəŋ lairik-tu pa-bə lep-p-u. you (non-hon.sg) for a while book-det. read-ger. stop-imp. 'You stop reading the book for a while.'
- 6. nupi ədu-nə kəp-pə-du khudiŋmək-nə u-i. woman that-nom. cry-ger-det. everybody-ins. see-PT 'Everybody see that woman crying.'
- 7. tombi-nə tombə-dəgi henna lairik pa-bə-nə mahak-nə tombi-nom. tomba-abl. more book read-ger.-ins. she(hon/non.hon. sg.)-nom. pərikha-də məkok thoŋ-ŋ-i. examination-loc. first get-PT

Tombi's studying (Tombi who studies) more than Tomba gets (her) the first rank in the examination.

The gerunds can be used in negative sense also by adding the negative marker /-tə \sim də/ to the root followed by /-bə/. Hence the structure of negative gerund is

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Verb root + /-ta \sim da/ + /-ba/.
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In the negative gerund the nominalizer will always be /-bə/ since it is suffixed to the stem, that is, the verb root followed by the negative marker /-tə \sim də/.

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cət-pə'going' cət-tə-bə 'not going'
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Example

8. məhak-nə intərbhiyu ədu yaobə cət-tə-bə-du phə-i she/he (hon/non-hon.sg.) interview that attend go-neg.ger-det. good-PT 'Her/his not going to attend that interview is good.'

2. Infinitive Function

The infinitives are non-finite form of the verbs and occur with finite verbs. The infinitives are formed by adding the nominalizing suffix /-pə ~ -bə/ to the verb root as in the case of gerundial forms. The suffix /-pə ~ -bə/ is termed as infinitive suffix by Bhat & Ningomba (1997). The structure is

Verb Root + nominalizing suffix /-pə ~ -bə/.

Though the form is same as that of the gerund, the use of it in the following sentences expresses the infinitive form.

Example

9. məhak ŋəraŋ cak ca-bə lak-i. she/he (hon/non-hon.sing.) yesterday food eat-inf. come-PT 'She/he came yesterday to eat food.'

10. əi boksiŋ təm-bə cət-li.

I boxing learn-inf. go-PT 'I went to learn boxing.'

11. seema-na canəbə pi-bə lak-i.

Seema-nom. food give-inf. come-PT

'Seema came to give food.'

12. əikhoi ŋəraŋ cinema yeŋ-bə cət-lu-i. we yesterday movie see-inf. go-rem.-PT 'We went to see a movie yesterday.'

13. məkhoi hotel-də ca thək-pə cət-kə-ni. they hotel-loc. tea drink-inf. go-fut.t-PT 'They will go to drink tea in the hotel.'

14. əi lousiŋ-gyan phəŋ-nə-bə lairik pa-i. I knowledge get-inf. book read-PT 'I read books to gain knowledge.'

Many Manipuri scholars are of the opinion that there is no infinitive use of these nominalised forms in Manipuri. But if these are to be taken as nominalised forms, the purposive case marker /-kidəmək ~ gidəmək/ 'for' is to be used with these gerundial/infinitive forms. Otherwise they will not give the same meaning as in English sentences.

15. əinə məisurdə əigi ipwanupadə pəisa pibə cətli.

'I am going to Mysore to give money to my brother.'

16. əinə məisurdə əigi ipwanupadə pəisa pinəbəgidəmək cətli.

'I am going to Mysore for giving money to my brother.'

This means that the above Manipuri sentences show the function of infinitive only and not the nominalised form of the verb. It is to be noted that in most of the occurrences the infinitive expresses the purpose meaning also (15). To get the meaning of purposive in the above sentences (16), the purposive case marker is to be used as in the following sentences.

Example

17. məhak ŋəraŋ cak ca-nə-bə-gidəmək lak-i. she/he (non/non-hon.sing.) yesterday food eat-inf. Come-PT 'She/he came yesterday for eating food.'

18. əi boksin təm-nə-bə-gidəmək cət-li.

I boxing learn-inf. go-PT

'I went for learning boxing.'

19. seema-nə canəbə pi-nə-bə-gidəmək lak-i.

Seema-nom. food give-inf. come-PT

'Seema came for giving food.'

20. əikhoi ŋəraŋ cinema yeŋ-nə-bə-gidəmək cət-lu-i.

we yesterday movie see-inf. go-rem-PT

'We went for seeing a movie yesterday.'

21. məkhoi hotel-də ca thək-nə-ba-gidəmək cət-kən-i.

they hotel-dat. tea drink-inf. go-fut.t-PT

'They will go for drinking tea in the hotel.'

22. əi lousin-gyan phən-nə-bə-gidəmək lairik pa-i.

I knowledge get-inf. book read-PT

'I read books for gaining knowledge.'

2.1. Express Sequence of Actions

The conjunctive particle 'əməsuŋ' is used with the last but one of the infinitive forms to express various sequence of actions.

Example

- 23. əikhoi mənipuri ŋaŋ-bə, pa-bə əməsuŋ i-bə təm-gə-ni. we Manipuri speak-inf. read-inf. and write-inf. learn-fut.t-PT 'We will learn to speak, read and write Manipuri.'
- 24. nupaməca-du-nə khoŋ-nə cətpə, cenbə əməsuŋ sannəbə həu-i. boy-det.-nom. leg-ins. go-inf. run-inf. and play-inf. starts 'The boy starts to walk, run and play.'

When a sentence shows a sequence of actions, the infinitive forms cannot be substituted by the gerund with the purposive case marker. This definitely shows that sentences like (23 & 24) the above have infinitive uses of the verb only and not the nominalised forms as claimed by some of the scholars.

2.2. Permissive Function

Furthermore, to establish that there are infinitive functions of the nominalised forms in Manipuri, the 'acceptance type' of permissive is formed by adding the permissive marker to the infinitive form of the verbs.

Manipuri has two major types, namely, 'let type' which occurs after verb roots and 'acceptance type' which occurs after infinitive form of the verb. These are represented by different markers.

Acceptance type takes /ya-gəni/ 'may' as the marker which occurs after the infinitive form of the verb. While seeking permission /ya-gədra?/ is used and /ya-gəni/ is used in the sense of granting permission to carry out the action. The structure is

Infinitive + /ya-gədra?/ or /ya-gəni/.

Example

- 25. əi ca-bə ya-gədra? I eat-inf. perm.Q.
 - 'May I eat?'
- 26. hoi, nəŋ ca-bə ya-gəni. yes you (non-hon.sg.) eat-inf. perm.
- 'Yes, you may eat.'
 27. məhak ca-bə va-gədra?
 - she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) eat-inf. perm.Q.
 - 'Can she/he eat?'
- 28. hoi, məhak ca-bə ya-gəni.

yes she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) eat-inf. perm.

'Yes, she/he may eat.'

Even in the negative permissive construction also, the infinitive function of the verb is used and not the nominalized one. The negative permissive marker /ya-roi/ 'may not' occurs after the infinitive form of the verb. The structure is

Infinitive + /ya-roi-dra?/ or /ya-roi/.

Example

- 29. əi ca-bə ya-roi-dra? I eat-inf. neg.perm-Q. 'May I not eat?'
 - iviay i not cat:
- 30. hoi, nəŋ ca-bə ya-roi. yes you (non-hon.sg.) eat-inf. neg.perm.

'Yes, you may not eat.'

31. məhak ca-bə ya-roi-dra?

she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) eat-inf. neg.perm-Q.

'Can she/he not eat?'

32. hoi, məhak ca-bə ya-roi.

yes she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) eat-inf. neg.perm.

'Yes, she/he may not eat.'

2.3. Future Subjunctive Function

The infinitive function can be further substantiated by the future subjunctive structure which is formed as follows.

'Infinitive + /yai/'.

Example

33. məhak mənipur-də cət-pə yai.

she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) Manipur-dat. go-inf. fut.sub.

'She/he may go to Manipur.'

34. həyen non cu-bə yai.

tomorrow rain rain-inf. fut.sub.

'It may rain tomorrow.'

In the negative subjunctive also, the auxiliary verb /yai/ is used with the infinitive form of the verb with negative markers /-tə- \sim -də-/. The structure of the negative future subjunctive is

'Verb Root-neg-inf. + /yai/'.

Example

35. məhak mənipur-də cət-tə-bə yai.

she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) Manipur-dat. go-neg-inf.fut.sub.

'She/he may not go to Manipur.'

36. həyen non cu-də-bə yai.

tomorrow rain rain-neg-inf.fut.sub.

'It may not rain tomorrow.'

2.4. Infinitive with Modals

The infinitive function can also be found in sentences with certain auxiliary verbs. The verbs used in a simple sentence other than the main verb which is morphologically marked to form either compound verbs or to mean different kinds of senses/moods like intention, abundance, completeness, assurance, definiteness, disgust, etc. are called auxiliary verbs. In other words, the auxiliary is a verb occurring after the main verb in a sentence such that the sentence is not transformable into two sentences, each containing one of the verbs namely, main verb and auxiliary verb.

Of the two types of auxiliary verbs, namely, auxiliary I and Auxiliary II, type II Auxiliary comprises of modal auxiliaries like pammi 'want', ŋəmmi 'can' and yai 'may' which are free forms. They occur after the infinitive function/form of the verbs.

Example

37. əi MBBS təmbə pammi.

I MBBS study-inf. aux.

'I want to study MBBS.'

38. məhak yan-nə cenbə nəmmi.

she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) speed-adv. run-inf. aux.

'She/he can run fast.'

39. məhak həyen klas-tə lakpə yai.

she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) tomorrow class-dat. come-inf. aux.

'She/he may come to the class tomorrow.'

The negative forms pamde 'do not want', ŋəmde 'cannot' and yade 'should not' also occur after the infinitive form of the verb.

Example

- 40. əi MBBS təm-bə pamde.
 - I MBBS study-inf. neg.aux.
 - 'I do not want to study MBBS.'
- 41. məhak yan-nə cen-bə nəmde.
 - she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) speed-adv. run-inf. neg.aux.
 - 'She/he cannot run fast.'
- 42. məhak həyen class-tə lakpə yade.
 - she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) tomorrow class-dat. come-inf. neg.aux.
 - 'She/he should not come to the class tomorrow.

Because of the functional differences discussed above, there is a need to establish that the form 'Verb + /-pə \sim -bə/' has two functions, namely, gerundial and infinitive functions at this stage.

3. Noun Modifier Function

The nominalizing marker /-pə ~ -bə/ is also used to modify a noun with two functions, namely, adjectival and relative participle (RP) functions (Sobhana, 1997). Since both RP and adjectives have similar structures, they are grouped under noun modifier. The structures are

- 1. $/9-/ + Verb root + /-p9 \sim -b9/$
- 2. Verb root + $/-pə \sim -bə/$
- 3. Verb root + suffix + /-pə \sim -bə/

(Please note that the suffix may be one of these: $/-ri- \sim -li-/$, $/-rə- \sim -lə-/$, $/-kə-də- \sim -ga-də-/$, $/-kə- \sim -ga-/$, $/-roi \sim -loi/$, etc.)

3.1. Adjectival Function

The form with the nominalizer /-pə \sim -bə/ can function as adjective also. The condition for this form is that the nominalizer is added to a kind of verb roots from which abstract nouns can be derived. The adjectival usage can be classified into two: one with the attributive prefix /ə-/ (Structure Type I) and the other without this (Structure Type II) (Rebika, 2013). The attributive marker /ə-/ can be prefixed only to the monosyllabic verb roots and cannot be prefixed if there is another marker suffixed to the verb root followed by /-pə \sim -bə/, irrespective of whether it is monosyllabic or otherwise. All the adjectives may occur before or after the nouns. When used after a noun they function as adjectival nouns since they can be inflected for gender, number and case. The root remains same.

Example

Structure Type I

- 43. ə-phə-bə oja attr. mkr.-good teacher 'good teacher'
- 44. ə-hən-bə kar adj.mkr-new car 'new car'
- 45. ə-mu-bə kələm adj.mkr-black pen 'black pen'
- 46. ə-tekpə ŋa adj.mkr-fresh fish 'fresh fish'

Structure Type II

47. phəjə-bə nupiməca beautiful-ger. girl 'beautiful girl' 48. ŋaosinnə-bə nupaməca naughty-ger. boy 'naughty boy'49. nuŋsi-bə isəi melody-ger. song

'melodious song'

3.1.1. Negative Adjectives

Negative adjective can be derived from affirmative adjectives by adding negative marker/-tə ~ -də/ before the nominalizer /-pə ~ -bə/. While forming these negative adjectives, the adjectival prefix /-ə/ will be dropped as discussed earlier.

- 50. ə-mu-bə 'black' (Affirmative adjective)
- 51. mu-də-bə 'not black' (Negative adjective)

Example

- 52. phə-t-tə-bə mi good-neg-ger.mkr. person 'not good person'
- 53. mu-də-bə əŋaŋ black-neg-ger.mkr. child 'not black child'
- 54. siŋ-də-bə hui clever-neg.-ger.mkr. dog 'not clever dog'
- 55. ŋaosinnə-də-bə əŋaŋ naughty-neg-ger.mkr. child 'not naughty child'

3.2. Relative Participle Function

In the traditional grammar, the relative participle (RP) is often called adjectival clause since a verb is also involved in the production of RP. The RP construction is formed in two ways, namely,

- (i) Simple nominalized form of the verb root and
- (ii) By adding suffixes after the verb root followed by /-pə ~ -bə/ as given above. The attributive marker /ə-/ cannot be prefixed to a RP form irrespective of whether it is monosyllabic or not.

Both the RP forms can be transformed into 'adjective + noun' by using certain rules. These 'adjective + noun' forms will not take any temporal or spatial particles. This characteristic feature distinguishes the RP from the adjectives. They are to be treated as different constructions.

A simple nominalized form of the verb functions as RP if it is followed by a noun.

Example

- 56. adə cət-pə nupa-si əi-gi ipa-ni. there go-RP man-det. I-gen. father-cop. 'The man who goes there is my father.'
- 57. isəi sək-pə nupiməca-si tombi-ni. song sing-RP girl-det. tombi-cop. 'The girl who sings is Tombi.'

3.2.1. Relative Participles with Suffixes

Suffixes denoting various grammatical functions may be added to the verb root followed by /-pə ~ -bə/. Some of the markers are listed below with their usages. Many of the variant suffixes are phonologically conditioned (Rebika, 2013).

Example

-ri ~ -li to denote progressive aspect

58. kriket sannə-ribə nupaməca-si əi-gi inaonupaa-ni. cricket play-prs.RP boy-det. I-gen. younger brother-cop. 'The boy who is playing cricket is my younger brother.'

59. tum-libə əŋaŋ-du məhak-ki məca-ni.

sleep-prs.RP baby-det. she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.)-gen. child-cop.

'The baby who is sleeping is her/his child.'

-rə ~ -ləto denote perfect aspect

60. cak ca-rə-bə misin-du məkhoi-ni.

meals eat-pst.RP people-det. they-cop.

'They are the people who have taken meals.'

61. əyuk-tə lak-lə-bə nupa-du shyam-ni.

morning-loc. come-pst.RP man-det. shyam-cop.

'The man who came in the morning is Shyam.'

If a temporal particle is used to denote past time, the gerundial form of the verb can be used to form past RP. Example

62. ŋəran kriket sannə-bə nupaməca-du əi-gi inaonupa-ni.

yesterday cricket play-ger. boy-det. I-gen. younger brother-cop.

'The boy who played cricket yesterday is my younger brother.'

/-kədə ~ -gədə/ to denote future

63. həyen klas-tə takpi-gədəbə para-du məsi-ni.

tomorrow class-loc. teach-fut.RP lesson-det. this-cop.

'This is the lesson which will be taught tomorrow in the class.'

64. məsi əi-nə həujik təu-gədəbə thəbək-ni.

this I-nom. now do-fut.RP work-cop.

'This is the work which I will do now.'

-kən ~ -gən to denote habitual

65. tət-kən-bə ləŋ purək-kən-u.

break- thread bring-fut.-imp.

'Don't bring the thread which breaks easily.'

66. hosteldə sa toynə ca-gən-bə nupiməca-du rita-ni.

hostel-loc. non-veg. often eat- girl-det. Rita-cop.

'Rita is the girl who often eats non veg. in the hostel.'

/-tə ~ -də/to denote past and present negative

67. məhak nəran klas-tə lak-tə-bə məhəiroi-ni.

she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) yesterday class-loc. come-non-fut.neg.RP student-cop.

'She/he is the student who did not come to the class yesterday.'

-roi ~ -loi to denote future negative

68. məkhoi khətnə-roi-dəbə məhəiroi-sin-ni.

they quarrel-fut.neg-RP student-pl.-cop.

'They are the students who will not quarrel.'

69. məhak həyen klas-tə lak-loi-dəbə məhəiroi-ni.

she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.) tomorrow class-loc. come-fut.neg-RP student-cop.

'She/he is the student who will not come to the class tomorrow.'

3.2.2. Relative Participle with Definitizer

/-khi-/ 'denoting definiteness' and /-khrə-/ 'denoting perfect aspect and definiteness' are the markers used when the action is definite in future with /-gədə/. In the past, /-khi-/ and /-khrə-/ are used with temporal particles.

Example

- 70. cak ca-khi-gədə-bə misiŋ-du məkhoi-ni. meals eat-defz.-fut.RP people-det. they-cop.
 - 'They are the people who will take meals (definiteness).'
- 71. hayen cət-khrə-gədə-bə bas-tu məsi-ni.
 - tomorrow go-defz-fut.RP bus-det. this-cop.
 - 'This is the bus which will go tomorrow (definiteness).'
- 72. ŋəran ca-khi-bə nupa-du məhak-ni.
 - yesterday eat-defz-RP man-det. she/he (hon/non-hon. sg.)-cop.
 - 'He is the man who ate yesterday (definiteness).'

3.2.3. 'Adjective + Noun' Transformation from RPs

Both types of RP forms can be transformed into 'adjective + noun/participial noun' as given below by the application of some transformation rules.

- 73. tum-li-bə nupa > ə-tum-bə nupa
 - The man who is sleeping > Sleeping man
- 74. tum-lə-bə nupa > ə-tum-bə nupa
 - The man who has slept > Sleeping man
- 75. khoŋ-li-bə hui > ə-khoŋ-bə hui
 - The dog which is barking > Barking dog
- 76. kəp-li-bə əŋaŋ > ə-kəp-pə əŋaŋ
 - The baby which is crying > Crying baby
- 77. thon-lə-bə cak > ə-thon-bə cak
 - The rice which has been cooked > Cooked rice
- 78. kay-rə-bə thonnao > ə-kay-bə thonnao
 - The window which has been broken > Broken window

These forms are considered as 'adjective + noun' forms only and are not derived from RP constructions by many scholars. When these 'adjective + noun/participial noun' forms are derived the following features become essential.

- 1. The suffixes to denote the grammatical functions will be dropped and the attributive marker /ə-/ is prefixed.
- 2. When these suffixes are dropped, the resultant form will not denote the progressive or perfect aspects.
- 3. They give universal meaning to the construction.

In the above examples, ə-tum-bə nupa 'sleeping man', ə-khoŋ-bə hui 'barking dog', ə-kəp-pə əŋaŋ 'crying child', ə-thoŋ-bə cak 'cooked rice' and ə-kay-bə thoŋnao 'broken window' are 'adjective + noun/participial noun' forms and are universal ones and they do not show any progressive or perfect aspects.

Because of the above reasons, a passive RP construction cannot be transformed into an 'adjective + noun/participial noun' form. Take for example,

- 79. miyam-nə hat-khrə-bə nupa-du kumar-ni.
 - people-nom. kill-def.-RP man-det. kumar-cop.
 - 'Kumar is the man who has been killed by people.'
- 80. ŋəran man-khi-bə sengao-du əi-gi-ni.
 - yesterday loss-def.-RP purse-det.I-poss.-cop.
 - 'The purse which was lost yesterday is mine.'

In both the sentences, hat-khrə-bə nupa 'the man who has been killed' and maŋ-khi-bə sengao 'the purse which was lost' cannot be transformed in to 'adjective + noun/participial noun' constructions like * ə-hat-pə nupa and * ə-maŋbə sengao.

Conclusion

It may be concluded that the nominalized form of the verb with the structure 'verb root + /-pə \sim -bə /' has four different functions, namely, gerund, infinitive, adjective and relative participle. The functions may be distinguished by the word which follows the nominalized form.

Gerundial function: if the form is followed by copula verb, complements, etc.

Infinitive function: if followed by a finite verb Adjectival function: if followed by a noun

Relative Participle function: if followed by a noun, only this 'RP + Noun' can be transformed to an 'adjective + noun/participial noun' form.

Thus the article has made the functions distinct and has contributed to a new approach in the analysis of nominalized forms.

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