Deictic suffixes in Manipuri¹

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1. Manipuri deictic suffixes:

The Manipuri language makes use of four deictic suffixes: $r
ightarrow, r
ightarrow, and k^h
ightarrow. These are used for denoting the location or orientation of an event or state, primarily with reference to the speaker's location. There are three different semantic parameters which help to differentiate one from the other. They are (1) motion or orientation of the event (towards or away from the speaker), (2) place of occurrence of the event (at the place of the speaker or at a place which is away from him), and (3) relative positions of these two (event preceding or following the motion or orientation). The following table will give a clear picture.$

| Suffixes | Motion or orientation | Place of occurrence | Relative position of the two |
|----------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| rə | toward the speaker | at the speaker's | event follows the motion |
| | | place | |
| ru | away from the | away from the | event follows the motion |
| | speaker | speaker's place | |
| rək | toward the speaker | away from the | event precedes the |
| | _ | speaker's place | motion |
| khə | away from the | at the speaker's | event precedes the |
| | speaker | place | motion |

Table 1

The use of these four suffixes can be illustrated with the help of the following paradigms and sentences.²

 $^{^1\,}$ This paper is part of the research on Manipuri being done by D. N. S. Bhat and M. S. Ningomba. It was given at the 24th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Ramkhamhaeng University, Bangkok (1991).

² The verbal forms given in these examples to illustrate the various uses and meanings of these deictic suffixes end in the non-future tense suffix which has the alternant \mathbf{y} after the suffixes $\mathbf{r} \neq$ and $\mathbf{r} \mathbf{u}$, and the alternant \mathbf{i} after the suffixes $\mathbf{r} \neq \mathbf{k}$ and $\mathbf{k} h \Rightarrow$. The vowel \Rightarrow of the suffix $\mathbf{k} \rightarrow \mathbf{g}$ gets deleted when the non-future tense suffix is added.

| 1. | tāw | 'do' | tāwrāy | 'came here and did something' |
|----|-----|-------|---|---|
| | | | təwrūy | 'went there and did something' |
| | | | təwrək-i | 'did something and came here' |
| | | | təwkhi | 'did something and went away' |
| 2. | ca | 'eat' | carēy carūy carək-i cak ^h i | 'came and ate' 'went and ate' 'ate and came' 'ate and went away' |

- Johnne Peterkhoyde cak carūy John-NOM Peter-PL-LOC cooked rice eat-dSFX³-nonfut. John went to Peter's place and dined.
- John məyumdəgi cā thəklək-i John his house-ABL tea drink-dSFX-nonfut. John took tea in his place and came here.
- 5. Johnnə sal pürək-əgə Peterdə pirāy John-NOM shawl bring-dSFX- Peter-Loc give-dSFX-nonfut. PERF-ASSO John brought a shawl and gave it to Peter.
- Johnne yāmne sāwne thebek tokkhi John-NOM very angry-ADV job resign-dSFX-nonfut. With great anger, John resigned from his job and went away.

But when the speaker himself is carrying out an activity, he would be referring to a motion which is related to the location in which he is speaking rather than to himself, as in the following example:

| 7. | əy carə̃gəni | 'I will come here and eat' |
|----|--------------|--|
| | əy carūgəni | 'I will go and eat (somewhere else)' |
| | əy carək-i | 'I ate (somewhere else and came here)' |
| | əy cakhigəni | 'I will eat here and go' |

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³ "Deictic suffix." [Ed.]

2. Allomorphy.

The initial consonant r of the first three of these suffixes, namely r a, ru, and rak, is found to show the following sandhi changes.

It might be noted in this connection that the meanings of the suffixed forms in the case of some of the examples given below are somewhat different from the primary meanings mentioned above. The nature of such semantic differences is discussed in detail under section 3 below.

(1) The initial consonant r of these three deictic suffixes assimilates completely to the preceding consonant when that consonant is m, n, or p. For example:

| 8. | p⊾∍m | ʻsit' | phəmməy phəmmūy phəmmək−i | 'came and sat here' 'went and sat there' 'came sitting (as on a bus)/ sat sometime (somewhere else) and came' |
|-----|------|----------|---------------------------------|---|
| 9. | thēŋ | 'touch' | thēŋŋəy thēŋŋūy thēŋŋək-i | 'came and touched' 'went and touched' 'touched from the opposite direction/ touched and came' |
| 10. | lep | 'decide' | leppəy leppūy leppək-i | 'came and decided' 'went and decided' 'decided and came' |

(2) The r changes to 1 when the preceding consonant is t or n; if the preceding consonant is n, it also changes to 1 by assimilation to the suffix. For example:

| 11. | sot | 'take on credit' | sotlūy | 'came and took on credit' 'went and took on credit' 'took on credit and came' |
|-----|-----|------------------|--------|---|
| 12. | tan | | tallūy | 'came and earned' 'went and earned' 'earned and came' |

(3) If the preceding consonant is k, the first two suffixes ($r \Rightarrow$ and ru) delete their initial consonant, whereas the third one ($r \Rightarrow k$) changes it to 1. For example:

| 13. | lok | 'harvest' | lok-əy | 'came and harvested' |
|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|----------------------|
| | | | lok-ūy | 'went and harvested' |
| | | | lok-lək-i | 'harvested and came' |

(4) The suffix $k^h \vartheta$ drops its final vowel when followed by the nonfuture tense suffix i. For example:

| 14. | lok | 'harvest' | lokkhi | 'harvested and went away' |
|-----|-----|-----------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| | | | lokkhre | 'has harvested and gone away' |
| | | | lokkhrəgəni | 'will have harvested and gone' |

3. Semantic variations.

There are certain semantic variations that are shown by these deictic suffixes, which are primarily dependent upon the meaning of the verbal bases with which they occur. These semantic variations are discernible by examining the two classes of verbs: the dynamic and the stative.

3.1. Dynamic verbs.

In the case of dynamic verbs, the first two suffixes, $r\bar{\vartheta}$ and $r\bar{u}$, are rather uniform in providing the following meanings:

| rð | 'to come (or bring something) and do something' |
|----|---|
| rū | 'to go (or take away something) and do something' |

Examples:

| 15. | lāw | 'cry' | lāwrəy lāwrūy | 'came and cried' went and cried' |
|-----|------|-----------|---------------------|--|
| 16. | thōŋ | 'cook' | tʰōŋŋə̄y tʰōŋŋūy | 'came and cooked' 'went and cooked' |
| 17. | sī | 'die' | sīrēy sīrūy | 'came and died' 'went and died' |
| 18. | yok | ʻrear up' | yok-əy | 'brought someone and reared up' |
| | | | yok-ūy | 'took away someone and reared up' |