A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF JEJARA
(PARA NAGA)

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Degree: Master of Arts in Linguistics

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ABSTRACT

Jejara (Para Naga) is a Tibeto-Burman language whose speakers live in the Naga Hills of northwest Myanmar. This research is among the very first works published about the language. The linguistic situation in the region itself is also still so little known that any language classifications attempted are done so with disclaimers about the lack of comprehensive information. This thesis, therefore, contributes by beginning to fill in some of the lack of information.

This thesis provides linguistic information about Jejara grammar from a basic linguistic theoretical perspective. After a brief overview of the Jejara phonological system and a few morphological processes, a description of the grammar of the language is provided. The grammar sketch covers the main features of Jejara. These are based on a set of texts produced by a native speaker, including personal narratives, role-plays of dialogues and descriptions of events in video clips and pictures.

The grammatical description includes a presentation of grammatical categories and discussion on the noun phrase, its linear order and components. The simple clause form is looked at, along with unique forms such as locative and equative clauses. Observations about the verb complex have been laid out and clause types such as non-declarative forms are discussed along with comments on transitivity and causativity. Finally, structures which connect clauses to one another, both coordinating and subordinating, are discussed.

Interesting characteristics of the language discovered include the overcounting numeral system which is in use until today. Another remarkable grammatical feature is the multiple functions of reduplication, including reduplication of verbs to

indicate imperfectivity. When the reduplicated forms are found preceding the matrix verb, they express the manner in which that verb is undertaken. When following the matrix, resultant state is indicated. The use of gender particles within a noun phrase to further specify the head as well as resumptive pronouns which function as the second mention of a referent within a single clause are further unique features of the language.

Areas exhibiting obvious need for further research include case marking particles and particles patterning clause-finally. In both cases the fine details of motivation for choosing certain particles over others or even over zero marking are not yet understood.

บทคัดย่อ

ภาษาเจอเจอเรอ (ปารา นากา) เป็นภาษาในตระกูลทิเบต – พม่า ซึ่งมีประชากรผู้ใช้ภาษาอาศัย อยู่ในบริเวณเทือกเขานากา ทางตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศพม่า งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ถือเป็นเอกสาร ตีพิมพ์เกี่ยวกับภาษาเจอเจอเรอ (ปารา นากา) ฉบับแรก เนื่องจากภาษาเจอเจอเรอยังไม่เป็นที่รู้จัก มากนัก ดังนั้นวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้จึงมีจุดประสงค์เพื่อให้ความรู้เพิ่มเติมเกี่ยวกับภาษาดังกล่าว

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาไวยากรณ์ภาษาเจอเจอเรอผ่านมุมมองทางทฤษฎีภาษาศาสตร์พื้นฐาน โดยให้ภาพรวมเกี่ยวกับระบบเสียง และกระบวนการทางวิทยาหน่วยคำเป็นส่วนประกอบ ภาพรวมของไวยากรณ์และคุณลักษณะสำคัญของภาษาเจอเจอเรอได้จากการวิเคราะห์ตัวบท เรื่องเล่า บทสนทนาสมมติ และการบรรยายเหตุการณ์ในคลิปวิดีโอ และภาพจากผู้บอกภาษา

ในการศึกษาไวยากรณ์เชิงพรรณนาในภาษาเจอเจอเรอ ผู้วิจัยเริ่มจากประเภททางไวยากรณ์ใน ภาษาเจอเจอเรอ นามวลี ลำดับคำ องค์ประกอบคำ อนุพากย์ความเดียว อนุพากย์บอกสถานที่ และอนุพากย์ขยายความ โครงสร้างของคำกริยา ประเภทของอนุพากย์ เช่น อนุพากย์ที่ไม่ใช่รูป ประโยคบอกเล่าประกอบกับการวิเคราะห์คุณสมบัติทางสกรรมสภาพ และกำลังการเลือก อาร์กิวเมนต์ของคำกริยาหรือวาเลนซ์ นอกจากนี้ยังวิเคราะห์โครงสร้างอนุพากย์ความรวม และอนุ พากย์ความซ้อนด้วย

คุณลักษณะที่น่าสนใจของภาษาเจอเจอเรอคือระบบ overcounting numeral system ซึ่งพบว่า ยังมีการใช้อยู่จนถึงทุกวันนี้ คุณลักษณะทางไวยากรณ์อีกอย่างที่น่าสนใจคือการซ้ำคำ การซ้ำ

คำในภาษาเจอเจอเรอมีหลากหลายหน้าที่ หนึ่งในนั้นคือการซ้ำคำกริยาเพื่อแสดงการณ์ลักษณะไม่สมบูรณ์ หากซ้ำกริยาหน้าคำกริยาหลัก จะเป็นการแสดงอาการของเหตุการณ์ หากซ้ำกริยาหลังคำกริยาจะเป็นการแสดงสภาพผล นอกจากนี้ยังมีการใช้อนุภาคแสดงเพศและสรรพนามเงาเพื่อแสดงสิ่งอ้างถึงเดียวกันภายในอนุพากย์

ข้อเสนอแนะสำหรับงานวิจัยในอนาคตได้แก่การศึกษาอนุภาคแสดงการก และการใช้อนุภาคท้ายประโยค เนื่องจากยังไม่เคยมีการศึกษารายละเอียดถึงสาเหตุว่าทำไมผู้ใช้ภาษาจึงเลือกใช้อนุภาคตัวหนึ่งมากกว่าอีกตัวหนึ่ง หรือเลือกที่จะไม่ใช้เลย

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

This section includes a list of abbreviations and symbols used in this work. Abbreviations are given in alphabetical order as Table 1. The abbreviation can be found on the left with the word it signifies or a brief description on the right. A list of symbols is found following the abbreviations as Table 2. Following the list of symbols is a quick reference chart (Table 3) for the abbreviations referring to each text considered for this research. Every interlinear example given throughout this work is identified for the text and sentence number from which it originally comes, using these abbreviations. A further description of how each text was prompted and collected is given in section 1.3. By cross-referencing these, readers can understand the context within which each language sample was uttered.

Table 1 Abbreviations

Item	Description
1	for pronouns, first person
2	for pronouns, second person
3	for pronouns, third person
(nm)	indicates that the preceding proper noun is a person's name
(plc)	indicates that the preceding proper noun is a place
A	most agent-like participant in a clause
ABL	ablative
ACCP	accompaniment
AGR.PL	plural agreement
ALL	allative
A-not-A	a question type which offers a choice between two or more options
ASP	aspect
ATR	attributive
BEN	benefactive (verbal particle)
BEN	beneficiary (case particle)
C	consonant
CAUS	causative (verbal particle)
CAUS	causer (case particle)
CASE	case particle
CC	a sequence of two consonants
CL	clause
COMP	complement

Item	Description
CMPL	completive
CONN	connective
CONT	content
COP	copula
CT	class term
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
du	dual
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclusive
F	final
FEM	female
FLEx	FieldWorks Language Explorer
GEND	gender particle
GNCR	for pronouns, generic (not specified for person)
H	head
HUM	particle used in locative meanings with human referents
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INS	instrument
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
ITRG	interrogative
LIST	marks words as belonging to a list
LOC	locative
LRP	language resource person
LWC	language of wider communication
M	male
N	noun
N_{LOC}	locator noun
NZ	nominalization marker
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
OBLG	obligative modality
P	most patient-like participant in clause
pl	for pronouns, plural
PL	plural
PLT	politeness marker
POL	polar
POSS	possessive
PRN	pronoun

Item	Description
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal
PRT	particle
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
Q	question
QUANT	quantifier
QUOT	represents reported speech
REC	recipient
REL	relativization marker
RES	resumptive
RL	relational prefix
RV	restrictive, case marker on $NP_{TEMP\ or\ LOC}$
S	only argument of a verb which semantically takes only a single argument
S	following bracketed material, clause
sg	singular
SOV	basic word order in a clause in which the agent is followed by the patient, followed by the verb
SP	speech recipient
SUP	superlative
T	time
TAG	for questions, tag
TAM	tense, aspect, mood, modality
TEMP	temporal
TOP	topic
V	vowel (only in chapter 2)
V	verb
V_{ATR}	attributive verb

Table 2 Symbols

Symbol	Function
→	indicates a change from what is found on the left of the arrow to the right
.	meanings or functions on both sides of '.' are expressed by the vernacular (in glossing)
+	used to indicate a morpheme break that is not realized in the orthography
'single quotes'	the word or abbreviation enclosed is the gloss or grammatical function
-	dependent morpheme
italics	words formatted in italics are in the vernacular, almost always orthographic
…	in free translation, indicates that part of the sentence as uttered has been elided by author
{…or...}	represents a choice between the usage of the two elements listed between the brackets
[text]	in vernacular, highlights a particular constituent
[text]	in free translation, indicates that the information contained in brackets is implicit in the vernacular, but has been made explicit in English
("text")	in free translation, indicates another possible free translation of a portion of the free translation already given, whether more literal to expose the vernacular pattern more clearly or more idiomatic for easier understanding in English

Table 3 Text titles, abbreviations and elicitation methods

Label	Title	Methodology to prompt text
Ad[1]	Adpositions	Manipulation of spoon in relation to pot
Adv[1]	Adverbs	Direct elicitation[2]
BBS[3]	Before Bible School	Request of LRP to tell emotional story
BP	Body Parts	Body coloring task (Staden 2006)
C	Colors	Direct elicitation
C&N	Count & Non-count	Visual stimuli (Thein 2010)
CB[4]	Cut & Break	Cut and Break task (Bohnemeyer 2001)
CK[5]	Cow Killing situations	Researcher described situation, using tangible props, requesting LRP to role-play
CN[1]	Complete Negatives	Direct elicitation (prompted by an encountered structure)
CS	Comparatives & Superlatives	Direct elicitation
D[1]	De-emphasize subject; change order; change to negative	Researcher described situation, inviting LRP creativity as he role-played
DI[1]	Definite/Indefinite	Researcher described situation, inviting LRP creativity as he role-played
E05	Elicitation 2005[6]	Performed by previous researcher
K[7]	Kitchen picture description	LRP description of the objects and activities in a photograph of a Jejara kitchen
L52[1]	L52 brother and sister are scolded for fighting	Visual stimuli (Moran)
L59a[1]	L59a tripping and falling expressed by experiencer	Visual stimuli (Moran 2002)
L59b	L59b tripping and falling expressed by spectator	Visual stimuli (Moran 2002)
L60b	L60b dropping a vase expressed by observer (suspects agent did it on purpose)	Visual stimuli (Moran 2002)
L60c	L60c dropping a vase expressed by spectator	Visual stimuli (Moran 2002)
L63	L63 shooting an arrow	Visual stimuli (Moran 2002)

[1] A subset of sentences from this text is available in Appendix F.

[2] Where "Direct elicitation" is listed as the methodology, realize that as far as possible the researcher did not look for direct translations from the LWC, Burmese. Rather, she invited LRP creativity in how he would express different concepts. Additionally, the topics covered in each of these texts and subsequent questioning were guided, as much as possible, by Jejara forms that were coming to the surface.

[3] This text is available as Appendix A.

[4] This text is available as Appendix B.

[5] This text is available as Appendix C.

[6] Examples indicated as coming from this text are those which were collected in 2005 using direct elicitation by a researcher who previously began work with the Jejara language. She made her texts available to the current researcher. Interlinearized examples coming from this text reflect the fact that they were transcribed during an earlier stage in Jejara orthographic development.

[7] This text is available as Appendix D.

Label	Title	Methodology to prompt text
L64	L64 cutting oneself	Visual stimuli (Moran 2002)
L75	L75,76 enter, exit; ascend, descend	Visual stimuli (Moran 2002)
LQ[8]	Lexical Quantifiers	Direct elicitation
N	Numbers	Direct elicitation
NE[8]	Notes, Examples from previous researcher's data	Direct elicitation
NP[8]	Noun Phrase	Request for highly detailed description of a noun
Nqe	Nqe	Direct elicitation
NR[8]	Nouns & Relationalism	Visual stimuli (Moran 2002) – use each object in sentence
O[8]	Oblique cases	Visual stimuli (Moran 2002)
P	Pivot	Direct elicitation (ideas from Coupe 2007)
PP	Power Phrases	Direct elicitation
Prn[8]	Pronouns, titles, familial terms	Questioning, following leads for a wide range of possibilities
PU	Pronoun Usages	Direct elicitation
RC[8]	Relative Clause	Direct elicitation
S	Supplementary	Direct elicitation
SE[9]	Staged Events set 1a	Staged events set 1a (Staden 2001)
SS	Shilailili Sawmaipvui 'Who sank the boat?'	Shell book[10]
T[8]	Time	Elicitation with visual stimuli (Moran 2002)
Tr	Transitivity – see, build, love	Direct elicitation
TT	Taiwainqi Taivuinqi 'The pig and the dog'	Shell book
V[8]	Valency change testing	Direct elicitation
W	Washing	Direct elicitation

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[8] A subset of sentences from this text is available in Appendix F.

[9] This text is available as Appendix E.

[10] Shell books refer to a specific material used in literacy development, where the illustrated book is provided and then the transcribed content is inserted in the vernacular.

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 The Jejara people

Among the 135 ethnic peoples recognized as living in Myanmar (alternately known as Burma) are the Naga of the Northwest. Within the people referred to as Naga, Jejara [d̥ʑɤd̥ʑɤɹɤ], also known as Para [paɹa], is one of the groups with its own unique language. The Jejara do not have a literary history, and therefore feel that historical information about their geographical origins and patterns of migration may have lost accuracy while being passed down orally. Whether despite or in response to this, the Jejara people formed a literacy and culture committee in 1975. By collecting information from their own elders who have lived through previous generations until the present and by going to study sites where Jejara have lived this committee has gathered historical information about themselves and compiled a book titled *Jejara A.K.A. Para Naga: A Summary of history and origins and cultural traditions.* Unless otherwise stated, information presented here to introduce the Jejara people is taken from this book and from personal conversation with the language resource person (LRP) with whom the researcher worked for the data collection used in the grammatical analysis presented in this paper (Jejara 2012: 1).

The Jejara people, similar to other ethnic groups in the area, are of Mongolian descent and migrated down from the Mongolian plateau. There are two main names which are used for the people whose language is considered in this paper[11]. One, Para (or Para Naga), has also been spelled Bara. It comes from a word "Parasar" meaning "people who camp in clusters of shelters at mountain fields" (Jejara 2012: 3). In the past, they have practiced slash and burn agriculture, frequently relocating as their fields were shifted further from their villages in each succeeding year. Before actually founding new villages, the people would build temporary huts near their fields where they would stay during farming seasons. This is how they got the name "Para" from "Parasar." The second name by which they are recognized, Jejara, has also been rendered Jedger. It is spelled *Jaijairai* in their script. This

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[11] In the Ethnologue, this language group is identified: Naga, Para [pzn]. Alternate names listed are: Bara Naga, Jejara Naga, Parasar (Lewis 2013).

nomenclature identifies them as a peaceful, easy going people, slow to anger and not greedy. Although other works make use of the name Para, this work will mostly use the term Jejara, the name with which the people presently choose to identify.

One of the early locations where the Jejara are known to have lived was at the source of the Nantalet River, which they depended on for many basic needs. The name of one of the early villages in which the Jejara people lived is Je Jar Yaw Kywe. This village name shares the same basic form and meaning as the people group name. Je Jar Yaw Kywe is still considered an ancient site of the Jejara people. It is located in Nagaland, India, neighboring the Laruri people who are understood to be related to the Jejara.

At present, the city of Layshi (Layshee) is considered the center of Jejara territory, which covers approximately 200 mi.^{2} and is bordered by mountain ranges and rivers. Layshi is located in Layshi Township, Khamti District in Sagaing Division, Myanmar. The general location of Naga peoples in northwest Myanmar can be seen in Figure 1 below (Naga 2006). The Jejara live in Layshi and surrounding areas. Figure 2 (Naga 2006) gives a more specific idea of which area exactly can be considered Jejara area. It has been designated based on the location of their villages in relation to surrounding villages of speakers of other languages. Jejara territory is the aqua-colored section near the top labeled Para.
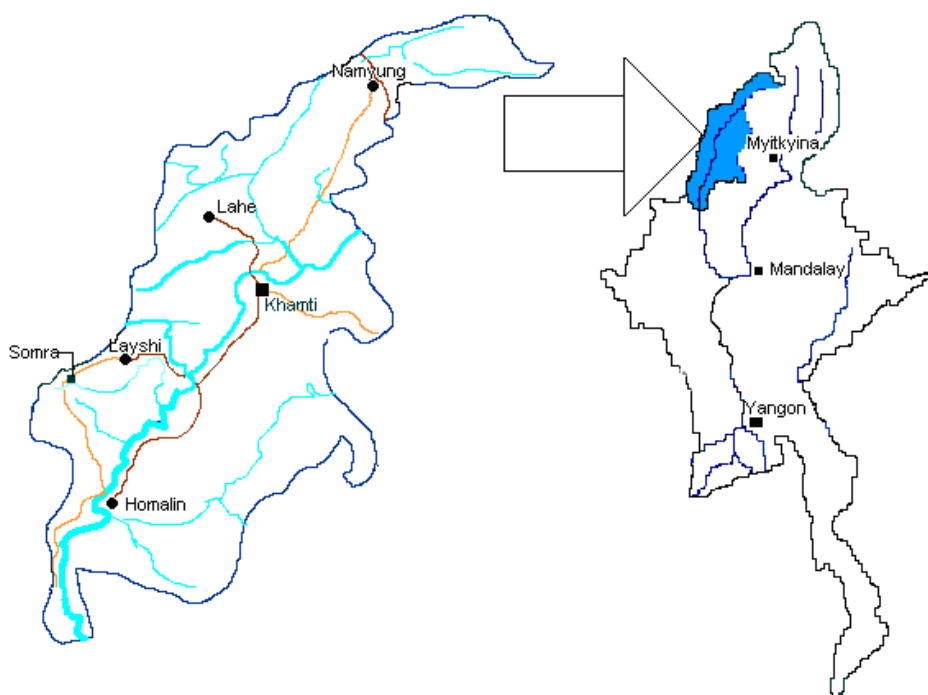
Figure 1 Location of Naga peoples in Myanmar

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Figure 2 Jejara (Para) area in Naga Hills of northwest Myanmar

The Jejara continue to live as agriculturalists. In addition to rice, which in recent history they have begun to cultivate in terraced paddies, high-quality coffee and oranges are among their crops. Due to poor transportation and communication infrastructure they are not able to market their goods, but they subsist on their produce.

It is estimated that there are 1460 Jejara people in seven villages in Layshi Township (Naga 2006: 4). Some choose to practice Buddhism and others Christianity. In a sociolinguistic survey performed in 2004, four Jejara villages were visited. When word lists were compared with those collected from speakers in neighboring villages of Makuri and Long Phuri peoples, 17-25% lexical similarity was found. When making the comparison between word lists from the four Jejara villages, 83-93% lexical similarity was found (Naga 2006: 17). One can say that this clearly shows Jejara to be a distinct language from the languages spoken by its neighbors. Further, it suggests variation in speech between different villages, although respondents to a questionnaire answered the question: "What are the names of other villages that speak your language *exactly the same as yours*?" by listing the same seven Jejara villages. The survey concluded that Jejara exhibits high language vitality, with people using their mother tongue almost exclusively. The domains in which it is not spoken include the district center, at school and for Bible reading, since there is no vernacular Bible. The language is likely to "continue to be spoken by future generations" (29).

1.2 Preview of chapters

This research seeks to answer the question: What are the basic grammatical forms seen in Jejara? It does so by presenting the most salient forms found in the Jejara data. These are divided into chapters and subtopics. The arrangement of information is informed by other grammatical descriptions, grammar textbooks and outlines and, as much as possible, by relationships between Jejara forms themselves.

Excluding the introduction and conclusion, this paper presents linguistic topics on the Jejara language divided into seven chapters. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the phonology and morphology of the language. This is is comprised of a presentation of phonemes and orthographic forms which is joined by a discussion of syllable and word structure. The morphological processes of affixation, compounding and reduplication are also addressed. Chapter 3 is the word class chapter. It deals with the grammatical categories which are recognized in Jejara, divided roughly into those related to nouns, those related to verbs and ones which operate at the clause level. In Chapter 4 the noun phrase is examined. Its linear order is given, temporal and locative noun phrases are introduced and structural variations are considered. Space is given to an examination of demonstratives, kinship terms and resumptive pronouns.

Chapter 5 deals with the simple clause. Its linear order is considered, and various unique clause types are discussed. A discussion of semantic relations is also included. The verb complex is the focus of Chapter 6. It is introduced with a figure displaying its form. This is followed by discussion of the members which pattern in each of the 11 positions (pre- and post-head) identified in the verb complex. Chapter 7 discusses non-declarative sentences in the forms of interrogatives and imperatives. The issues of transitivity and valency-altering causativization are also considered. Finally, Chapter 8 addresses inter-clausal coordination. The discussion includes reference to clausal coordination in the forms of connective particles, juxtaposition, and also multi-verb constructions and a unique particle *law*. Finally, nominalization, complementization and relative clause formation are considered as further types of inter-clausal connections because of their subordinating nature. The potentially complex and lengthy sentences which result are mentioned.

1.3 Methodology

The researcher used a variety of methods to collect the language data analyzed for this thesis. She depended on one native speaker of Jejara to act as the language

resource person (LRP) and used a variety of prompts which resulted in utterances which have become the texts that make up the corpus of data analyzed for this grammar sketch. Those prompts are described here briefly[12]. In most cases, the texts were first produced as spontaneous oral speech, and later transcribed into Jejara orthography by the LRP. Others were initially written texts, some of which were then further recorded orally as well.

In order to get an idea of how utterances regarding the relative locations of objects (expressed in many languages by adpositional phrases) were expressed, objects on hand – a pot and spoon – were used (Ad). As the researcher altered the position of the spoon in relation to the pot – to its left or right, underneath it or inside – the LRP produced language excerpts which could be used to describe each position in turn.

Two significant sized texts, Before Bible School (BBS) and Kitchen picture description (K) in Appendix A and Appendix D respectively, were produced as free speech by the LRP. The first was prompted by a request to tell of a highly emotional experience in his life– either a very happy or very sad situation. The second came out of a request to have him describe one photograph – his choice out of a handful – of a scene from his home area.

In order to test for a wide range of possible evidentials based on (1) the relative locations of speaker, listener and the event being described, (2) the time when the event took place as well as (3) the emotions of the participants, the researcher set up a series of situations involving a person and his friend encountering the butchering of a cow (CK, Appendix C). Physical items which were immediately available were used as props to help visualize the relative locations of speaker, listener and the event being described. The researcher set up multiple situations that could include dialogue about the butchering of a cow. In some, both participants were near the scene but the event was within the line of sight of one and not the other; for one, both stumbled upon a scene where a cow had obviously been butchered, but the event was now past and both of them were surprised to see it, as they had known nothing about it, or any other number of combinations. The LRP role-played each respective dialogue.

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[12] It may prove useful to know which method was used to produce a given text. Therefore, the abbreviation the researcher has adopted for each text is given in parentheses along with its description. These abbreviations correspond to those given above each interlinear example, indicating the original text and sentence number from which they are taken. Quick reference can also be made to Table 3 for text titles, their respective abbreviations, and a brief summary of the elicitation method. Those texts included in the appendices can also be cross-referenced based on these titles and abbreviations.

To expose any specific patterns related to passivization or deemphasizing (D) the subject, situations about a neighbor's car being stolen were set up by the researcher and explained to the LRP, who was then invited to produce utterances that might occur in those actual situations. Further, to allow potential difference between grammatical structures used to refer to newly introduced participants and already known ones to surface, the researcher suggested a situation in which the LRP would need to make introductions between two people, with the LRP then encouraged to articulate what he would say if he truly found himself in those circumstances (DI).

Pro Lingua's *Color Lexicarry* (Moran 2002) was a resource used to prompt a number of types of speech and elicit certain vocabulary words (L52, 59, 60, 63, 64, 75, 76; O). One of these resulted in three different utterances, each describing the sequence of events in three frames of drawn pictures. The frames depicted a situation where a vase slips out of someone's hand, falls to the floor and breaks, and she then fixes it with glue. The researcher had the LRP repeat this scenario three times. He was first asked to speak as though he were the experiencer, then as though he were an objective spectator, and finally as though he were observing the situation and suspected the agent as having dropped the vase purposefully. Other single pictures and series of pictures from the *Lexicarry* were used to seek grammatical structures for non-core arguments like destination and purpose, and to test nouns for a form of inalienable possession (NR) among other things.

In testing for any potential noun categories between count and non-count (C&N), the researcher made use of another language learning book, the *First Picture Dictionary* (Thein 2012). The book includes scenes in different contexts (at the city, in a house) each with a fair amount of detail. The researcher pointed to an item or group of items and had the LRP write down the vernacular word he would use to refer to what he saw. After doing this for a list of words – ranging from duck to water, coffee beans to salt to a road – the researcher had him describe the quantity of each item orally, while looking back, picture by picture. Lexical items such as 'a lot', 'a little' and 'only one' surfaced in a relatively natural, non-translated way.

Although the researcher was not able to take advantage of them to the full extent described by the producers, she also used resources from Language and Cognition Department, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (available at http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/volumes/) as elicitation devices. An elicitation device entitled Staged Events (Staden 2001) was a source of many utterances (SE, Appendix E). It consisted of a series of short video clips each depicting a unique action, which

were followed by still shots, one to represent each video clip action. The researcher had the LRP describe what he was viewing, clip after clip, scene after scene as though another Jejara person were asking him, "What do you see?" with the inquirer not able to see the screen. Most of the clips and pictures from Staged Events Set 1a were covered. Similarly, words for destruction which might change based on the instrument used, the intent of the agent, etc. were elicited using a second set of video clips, Cut and Break (Bohnemeyer 2001) (CB, Appendix B). A last resource available from Max Planck Institute was titled Body colouring task (Staden 2006) (BP). The researcher had the LRP list approximately 20 of the body parts terms he would immediately think of in Jejara. She then used the blank model of a body provided in the regulations for the task and wrote the Jejara word for each body part on photocopies of this human model, one word for each page. Then the researcher had the LRP color in the area represented by each word, thus collecting not merely a translation from another language, but vernacular lexical items based on a native speaker's own conception and division of the parts.

Other grammatical topics were sought using methods that were nearer direct translation. As much as possible, the researcher attempted to express what she was looking for in general terms so that the resulting language sample would be less likely to resemble the LWC used between the LRP and researcher, and have more potential to exhibit more natural Jejara forms. The topics which were covered using these types of elicitation techniques included expressions which might be expressed by adverbs (Adv), clauses the researcher termed "complete negatives" (CN) and lexical quantifiers (LQ). Testing for the usage of an agreement marker for a plural agent (Nqe) and for any evidence of a pivot (P) were also carried out in this way. Information about the numeral system (N), pronouns titles and kinship terms (Prn) as well as about relative clauses (RC) was gathered in this fashion. Testing for transitivity (Tr) and valency change (V) and comparative and superlative forms (CS) all made use of methods of fairly direct questioning.

The constructions which prompted the researcher as to just what type of utterance to request from the LRP came from the researcher's general knowledge of Burmese in some cases, English in others, and grammar in general. Other prompts came from research she had already done in reading Alexander Coupe's description of Mongsen Ao (2007). At times what the researcher perceived to be a unique feature of Jejara was noticed, and further testing was performed based on this. For example, when it was noticed that more than one word which might translate as 'wash' in English used a different vocabulary item in Jejara, further questioning revealed as many as

seven unique words in Jejara (W). The same activity allowed the researcher to make discoveries and ask further questions regarding the difference in construction for performing tasks on oneself or on something perceived to be possessed by the agent (e.g. washing one's face or one's clothes) versus items not perceived as possessed (e.g. a table).

The researcher referred to one text which was a list of sentences produced by direct elicitation, collected by (and used with permission from) a previous researcher (E05). Discussions with the LRP based on questions arising from the other researcher's text were answered in what became another text of its own (NE).

A final source of texts was two stories from among a number of shell books[13] which have been written in Jejara as part of literacy effort (TT and SS). The researcher did not have time to get careful glosses for these, and therefore was able to make only limited use of them. In all, 39 texts were produced during the time the researcher and LRP spent together. In addition to this was the text from the previous researcher and the two short stories, resulting in a total of 42 texts consulted for this thesis. The texts range in length from two sentences to 120.

In cases where the original text was recorded in audio form and subsequently transcribed (or vice versa), a Sony digital recorder was the recording tool used. The researcher relied on the LRP to transcribe the contents of his recorded speech into a notebook using Jejara orthography. Most of the significant-sized texts used for this analysis, including the personal narrative BBS, and K, the thorough description of a picture taken in a Jejara house, were collected and recorded this way. For a few texts, including CK, a collection of multiple ways to describe and converse in scenes where a cow is being butchered, the LRP produced the text as a written work in a notebook. Once the orthographic, handwritten version of a text existed, the researcher transcribed it into FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEx). In a few cases, an utterance was elicited and the LRP dictated it to the researcher who entered it directly into FLEx as he guided her in spelling and word breaks.

Taking advantage of having most of these texts written out by a native speaker, LRP's decisions regarding word breaks[14], although not exhibiting perfect consistency, have been taken into consideration and influenced researcher analyses about

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[13]Shell books refer to a specific material used in literacy development, where the illustrated book is provided and then the transcribed content is inserted in the vernacular.
[14] Overall, the spacing choices made by the LRP reflect what might better be termed "phrase breaks."

constituent structure. One example of this is found in her work interpreting the parts of locative phrases and the set of criteria used to identify locator nouns[15].

1.4 Theoretical perspective

This study has been conducted based on the theoretical perspective Dryer (2006: 208) has termed "basic linguistic theory," taken from Dixon 1997. He describes it as a theory which: "takes as much as possible from earlier traditions and only as much as necessary from new traditions… roughly described as traditional grammar, minus its bad features (such as its tendency to describe all languages in terms of concepts motivated for European languages), plus necessary aspects absent from traditional grammar. It has supplemented traditional grammar with a variety of ideas from [subsequent theoretical perspectives]" (2006: 211). He describes it as a theory which has been growing and becoming standardized, but has not been given recognition as a theory. This grammar sketch follows basic linguistic theory in that it adopts a descriptive approach. A grammar which takes a basic linguistic theoretical approach can also be thought of as explanatory in the fact that it explains how a grammar system is at work in the language. What it avoids is a focus on explaining the reasons for the patterns found. The intention in the present work, then, following basic linguistic theory, is to outline the grammar of the language based on perspectives which the language itself dictates rather than to fit it into the mold of a highly specialized theory.

More specifically, this research has relied heavily on Coupe's *A grammar of Mongsen Ao* to orient the researcher to the types of grammatical features she might expect and ways in which said features could be described. Consequently, certain analyses, terminology used, and the shape that the basic theoretical approach has taken in this particular work have been influenced by his approaches and results. Coupe explains the theoretical orientation of his work (2007: 21):

> It is hoped that this work might serve as a reference grammar for the study of Tibeto-Burman historical-comparative linguistics, and more generally for the study of linguistic typology; consequently, an overriding consideration has been to ensure that its contents are intelligible to readers of all theoretical persuasions. To achieve this objective, the description has been couched in a broadly functionalist-

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[15] Locative phrases as noun phrase arguments are dealt with in section 5.4.2 and locator nouns discussed in section 3.2.2.

typological framework… with the desire that the results may be equally accessible to both formally- and functionally-oriented linguists.

1.5 Language resource person

Because it was not possible to do data collection in the home area of the Jejara people, the researcher requested two language resource persons (LRPs) to travel to Yangon where she could meet them to collect data for her research. Despite much effort to provide two, only one was available. The researcher therefore depended on a single LRP from whom she collected a variety of text types. He worked to produce free translations (in Burmese) for each text, and together they worked through glossing the texts and looking at questions that would contribute to further analysis. Details about him, with a focus on those factors which might influence his language production, are presented below for the reader's quick reference.

Name: Weli Ja (in Jejara: *Vuili Ja*)

Age at time of data collection: 38 years

Languages spoken:
1. Jejara – first and most fluent language
2. Burmese (officially "Myanmar") – second
3. Karen – third
4. Amimi – a little: basic greetings and enough to meet basic needs

Birthplace: Ping Ne Gone (Pene Gon) village, Layshi Township, Sagaing Division, Myanmar

Places lived, chronologically (dates approximate):
1. Ping Ne Gone village – 1975-1983
2. Pathein Township, Ayeyarwady Division (Makyigone and Asugyi villages; living with Karen family) – 1983-1989
3. Ping Ne Gone – 1989-1991 (for 3rd and 4th standard[16])
4. Tamu city on the Indian border – 1991-1993 (for 5th and 6th standard)
5. Layshi city – 1993-1995 (for 7th through 9th standard)
   - due to a number of factors, he had to discontinue attending school (1995)
   - continued to live in Layshi and Ping Ne Gone
6. Nyaunglaypin, Karen state – 1997-2001 (attended Karen Bible college and received a certificate of theology)
7. Having become involved in Jejara literacy work, he lives mostly in Ping Ne Gone, traveling back and forth to Yangon (2002-present)

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[16] In Myanmar, First Standard is approximately equivalent to first grade, and so on for each consecutive Standard. The final Standard in the school system is 10th.

Parents (father passed away, mother still living):
1. Both born in Deingaleinawai village, Layshi Township, Sagaing Division, Myanmar to the best of his knowledge
2. Both of their first and best languages are Jejara
3. Both can speak a little Burmese
4. Father could speak Karen and a little English

Marriage: Married Karen woman 2003; she lives in Bago, Yangon Division

1.6 Language classification

Languages spoken by Naga people are generally assumed to fall into the broader Tibeto-Burman language family (Marrison 1967: 267), and can be considered isolating. They also have the characteristics of being tonal (Marrison 1967: 98) and following the basic subject-object-verb (SOV) word order (Dryer 2003: 43).

Those who have attempted to produce linguistic classification of 'Naga'[17] languages have generally agreed with Saul who states: "[T]hese divisions cannot be seen as providing some sort of definite cultural role, [yet] they do form a reference point which… can be used as a benchmark in order to move towards a more structured approach to the Naga. As more accurate information becomes available, some fine-tuning will undoubtedly be required" (2005: 19). In short, there is limited information and the languages of the Naga region have not, in any of the literature reviewed by the researcher, been claimed to form a linguistic grouping. Figure 3 is Thurgood's (2003) proposal of where some languages from the Naga region fit within broader linguistic classifications. It shows five language groups from the Naga Hills of India.
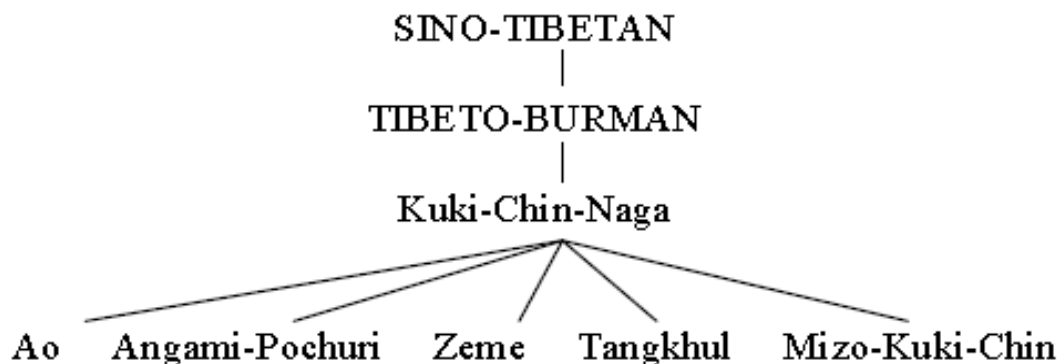
Figure 3 Thurgood's classification of Naga

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[17] As succinctly expressed by Burling, the label 'Naga' "has too often been used as if it designated a linguistic subgroup… [They] certainly recognize some common 'Naga' ethnicity, but this recognition may have come only after the British gave them the name 'Naga'… This term should not fool us into believing that they must have some linguistic unity. The languages spoken by 'Nagas' fall into at least two, and possibly several, completely distinct branches of Tibeto-Burman" (2003: 172).

Marrison also worked on a classification of the Naga in India, classifying them according to geographical regions (1967: 263-266). He divided them into groups A, B and C, ranging from north to south respectively. B was further broken down into B1, B2 and B3. Comparing the locations of the groups he proposed to the location where the Jejara live shows that they are closest to B2 and B3. The former contains the groups Lotha, Yimchungru, Ntenyi and Meluri. The latter is comprised of Tangkhul and Maring. As part of the literature review for this thesis, the grammar of a variety of Ao was studied. Ao is classified by Marrison as type B1.

Burling also presents a classification of languages, his covering "The Tibeto-Burman Languages of Northeastern India" (2003: 184-188). The Jejara, not living in India, are again not directly part of the classification. He, too, divides the languages geographically. The applicable region is what he terms the Eastern Border Area, because it borders Myanmar. He further breaks the languages in this area down into seven groups. By comparing his map with the Jejara location across the border, they are nearest to the Angami-Pochuri and Tangkhul groups.

Min Naing (1960) and Tin Yi (2004) proposed classifications of 'Naga languages' which were relatively similar to each other. Para (Jejara) was included as a language for these classifications, with both assigning Para to what they termed "Naga of Somra Region." In Tin Yi's classification (67-68), the Para are joined in this group by Tangkhul (Koki Naga) and Makuri. This classification seems to be based on regional, rather than linguistic, evidence.

Saul assigns ethnic classification to Nagas, qualifying his classification as less than perfect due to the continuing lack of information. He divides the Naga people into six groups, moving geographically from north to south. He accounts for Para by recognizing them as a group included under Ao-Yinchungru (2005: 19-23).

1.7 Literature review

In his work on 'Naga languages' in northeast India, Marrison (1967) states that "no linguistic materials are available for the study of the Burma Nagas, so they have been omitted from this study" (15). A relative lack of information and resources persists to this day. He comments further, "The most remarkable feature of the Naga scene is the survival of so many and diverse languages, which have vigorously preserved much of their original character, in spite of the rapidly changing circumstances of modern times" (270). As continues to be stated in various terms

and from different perspectives, this lack of clarity must be kept in mind when considering any statements presented as background information.

The following paragraphs contain brief summaries of literature which the researcher studied as a background to this grammatical sketch, and which has informed her work. It may also provide direction for other researchers seeking to study related topics. First, works related to languages from the Naga region are listed and described. This is followed by reviews of literature more broadly about grammar and theoretical perspectives.

1.7.1 Works on Naga

"The Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeastern India" by Robbins Burling (2003) undertakes to classify the Tibeto-Burman languages of northeastern India as accurately as possible according to the currently available data. It divides the region into three geographical areas: the Central, Northern and Eastern Border areas. A total of 13 language groupings are named, and the level of certainty for each grouping discussed. The classification is discussed using a good combination of language family trees, area maps and prose to describe the situation as well as it is known, and the need for further research.

A Grammar of Mongsen Ao by Alexander Coupe (2007). In his own words, Coupe's work "describes the grammar of Mongsen, one of two major dialects of the Ao language" (1). He does this by giving a brief introduction to the language group and its phonology. This is followed by the grammar itself including chapters on: word classes; clause structure and grammatical functions; the noun phrase, relative clauses and nominalizations; nominal morphology; verbs and verbal morphology; verbless, copula and existential clauses; imperatives and clause combining. This monograph is a thorough description based on four texts. Coupe's analysis is impacted by and includes anecdotes from his time in the language area. It uses a "broadly functionalist-typological framework" intending to be accessible to language of all theoretical backgrounds (21).

The thesis *A comparison of imperfectivity in Leinong Naga, Lisu and Burmese* by Ohn Mar Htun Gwa (2010) states as its purposes: "1. To analyze, describe and compare the behavior of imperfectivity in the three Tibeto-Burman languages: Leinong, Lisu, and Burmese. 2. To provide language documentation for the preservation of the unwritten language, Leinong, and to make this research available to the linguistic community" (10). In it an introduction is given to Burmese, Lisu and Leinong Naga

people, followed by a brief phonological and grammatical overview of each, with particular attention given to Leinong. Particles used for imperfective meanings in each language are introduced. These particles are studied for the types of clauses in which they occur and cooccur. The meanings resulting from usage with different semantic types of verbs are presented. This work provides a great initial contribution to Leinong and an interesting comparative approach.

Another thesis, also dealing with a language of the Naga people in Myanmar and written by native speaker Vong Tsuh Shi (2009) was reviewed. The stated purpose of *Discourse studies of Makuri Naga narratives* is to be "an initial study of some discourse structures of the Makuri Naga language… [It] analyzes three Makuri first person narratives by identifying segment boundaries, salience schemes, aspects of participant reference, and reference and ranking for participants" (1). This work is a great contribution to linguistic work on Makuri Naga.

An unpublished survey report by the Naga Survey Team (2006), *A sociolinguistic survey of Makuri, Para, and Long Phuri Naga in Layshi Township, Myanmar,* was written with the purpose of gaining "a broad overview of the dialects and basic sociolinguistic factors among the Naga" (ii). It reports the findings of a sociolinguistic survey undertaken in 2004 to evaluate the need for vernacular language development for Naga varieties in Layshi Township using clearly presented statistics, tables and prose, with conclusions stated.

The classification of the 'Naga languages' of North-East India by Geoffrey Marrison (1967) takes as its goal the attempt to "classify [the 'Naga languages' of India], both amongst themselves, and also in relationship to the Tibeto-Burman family, and to indicate elements which may be of other origins" (1). Marrison revisits an earlier work by Sir George Grierson[18], clarifying, building on and correcting it as possible. After an introduction to 'Naga', he compares 'Naga languages' "in detail with one another, and with neighboring languages, at the levels of phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax… A final classification is suggested" (i). Although older, this work is still widely referred to in current works. This seems to be due to an ongoing limited amount of reliable material.

Marrison lists nine features indicating "a fair degree of syntactical uniformity amongst them all, which is in general agreement with the common Tibeto-Burman pattern" (230). Although some of the terminology and the analytical approach may

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[18] Linguistic Survey of India volume 3 part 2 Calcutta, 1903.

differ, in this study the Jejara language has been found, in general, to follow the same patterns.

These include the following:

1. SOV sentence order
2. Nouns followed by their adjectives
3. Postpositions
4. Postpositions following the adjective when acting on an NP including an adjective
5. Genitive expressed by juxtaposition, possessor followed by possessed
6. Verb phrases modified by "stringing together of affixes"
7. "Complex sentences are usually constructed by the use of gerundial and participial phrases rather than by main and subordinate clauses"
8. "Subordinate phrases" occur before the "principal verb or verbal phrase"
9. Particle markers, if required for interrogative sentences, occur sentence-finally

1.7.2 Grammar and theory

A second work by Coupe, this time addressing grammatical terminology, was reviewed. "Converbs" (2005) from the *Encyclopedia of Languages and Linguistics* describes the term "converb" according to current literature and Coupe's own experience. The article gives a definition of "converb" and considers converbs' formal properties, looking at examples cross-linguistically and work by various authors, taking into account difficulties with characteristics and terminology used as criteria. The information is clearly presented, yet easier to follow for those who have familiarity with at least some of the languages used for examples and some background on the subject. The researcher would like to spend more time considering whether this category could or should be applied effectively to some of the verbal phenomena in Jejara.

A second article on converbs, "The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category" by Martin Haspelmath (1995), was also considered. The article was written to respond to the fact that "there is very little typological, cross-linguistic research on converbs. Indeed, the converb has hardly been recognized as a cross-linguistically valid grammatical category up to now" (2). It begins with a look at the morpho-syntactics of converbs cross-linguistically, followed by a definition of "converb" and difficulties with the definition. The form of converbs, how they can be differentiated from similar constructions, and a look at converb control across languages follow.

Finally, grammaticalizations forming converbal constructions are discussed. Disagreement between this work and Coupe's work on converbs was found. Whether or not Coupe's is more cross-linguistically valid, it may prove more useful in the Southeast Asian context.

In his article "Descriptive theories and explanatory theories," Matthew Dryer (2006) challenges the concept that there are atheoretical grammars. He makes a distinction between descriptive theories and explanatory theories, characterizing the former as "theories about what languages are like" (207). Even these are described as explanatory in the fact that they explain the grammar of the language. They do not attempt, however, to explain the reasons for the features of that grammar, as explanatory theories do. "[I]t is fair to say that a single descriptive theoretical framework has emerged as the dominant theory assumed in descriptive grammars… Basic linguistic theory" (210).

1.8 Contribution of this thesis

This thesis is a contribution to the field of linguistics in that it is the first known work published about the Jejara language. It also contributes to the wider picture of the Tibeto-Burman languages in the region of the Naga Hills. This is a linguistically diverse area, and yet the extent and pattern of that diversity is still far from known in its entirety. Lotsüro, a Naga herself, states: "The Naga society… is a kaleidoscope of various tribes, cultures, languages and customs. Often the only thing that unifies them is the common nomenclature 'Naga'" (2000: 152). Burling (2003) makes a number of statements about the linguistic variety and challenge represented by the area. "The states along the Myanmar border compromise the linguistically most heterogeneous region in Northeastern India. In spite of valiant efforts by Marrison (1967) and French (1983), languages of the people called 'Naga' are particularly confusing, and there may be no Tibeto-Burman region anywhere where the languages are so diverse. Between [the geographical extremes of the Konyak group in the Northeast affiliated with Bodo-Koch and with Jingphaw and the Mizo, Kuki and Chin in the South] we find massive heterogeneity and uncertainty" (182). One statement in particular provides more than enough evidence for the value – even necessity – of a work such as the current one: "A full understanding of the 'Naga' languages will not be possible until [the] languages of Myanmar are taken into account" (Burling 2003: 183).

This work is also written with the intention of making a contribution to the Jejara people themselves in their efforts to preserve and develop their traditions and culture. Their language is, of course, both a major aspect of those traditions and culture as well as a vehicle used to express and preserve them. On the part of the Jejara there has been intentional effort, for example, put into developing an orthography and promoting literacy in the last few decades. One example of how this grammar sketch may provide assistance is by giving analyses which play a role in informing word break decisions. Further, an expressed desire of the people is to have an increased volume of vernacular literature. Production of high-quality original texts as well as translations can be carried out taking into consideration the results of this study.

1.9 Scope and limitations

One of the most obvious limitations about the research presented in this thesis is that it is based almost entirely on the speech, written work, and explanatory assistance of a single language resource person (LRP). Thus, it does not claim to represent the grammar of all Jejara speakers. Further, it is based on a finite number of texts. One of the text types most lacking in the dataset is direct elicitation to give a basic pattern for and test the structures of certain constructions. The fact that the researcher does not have an ability to converse in the language has also limited her ability to make any intuitive judgment calls on how to gloss or analyze particular items or forms. It may, for example, have resulted in a misunderstanding of the division of constituents in some cases.

Regarding language ability, all interactions with the LRP were conducted in the national language, Burmese. The researcher does not have a complete command of this language, which could result in her being misguided at times. On the other hand, using this language of communication was a strength in that it is a Tibeto-Burman language just as Jejara is. Certain features will have become more apparent because of the greater similarities between Burmese and Jejara than, for example, Jejara and English.

This thesis does not claim to represent a full description of Jejara grammar, but only a sketch. Further, all analyses which are presented are done so with the understanding that an increase of at least three factors are needed in order to test and verify (or alter) the current analysis: (1) increased time interacting with more native speakers about their understandings and perceptions of the language

structures in question; (2) Jejara language learning on the part of the researcher herself to begin to form a personal intuitive understanding of the language; (3) a deepening understanding of grammatical perspective and theory itself, as the researcher increases her exposure and the field itself grows.

1.10 Summary

Chapter 1 has served as an introduction to this thesis. It has introduced the Jejara people and given an overview of topics to be covered in the following chapters. The methodology used to carry out the research was described, and the theoretical perspective taken by the researcher explained. Information was given about the language resource person. Language classification was addressed. A review of literature pertinent to the Jejara language and this research was given. There was discussion on how this thesis contributes to the field of linguistics and the Jejara people. Finally, its scope and limitations were discussed.

Chapter 2
Phonology and morphology

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a basic overview of Jejara phonology and morphology is given. Phoneme charts are provided in section 2.2, including brief discussion on consonants, vowels and tone. A table displaying Jejara orthographic forms in relation to phonemes and their phonetic forms is the focus of section 2.3. The syllable and word structure found in Jejara are mentioned in section 2.4. Section 2.5 gives an overview of morphological processes in Jejara, including affixing, compounding and reduplication.

2.2 Phonemes

This section provides a cursory overview of Jejara phonology, including phoneme charts for consonants, vowels and tones. The phoneme charts are based on an unpublished phonological analysis performed by Lubbe (2007). The orthography used for the vernacular throughout this paper is also based on that analysis. This orthography has been in use to an extent from 2007 to the present. The community has chosen to make two specific adjustments. They now write vowels that previously included an umlaut diacritic as digraphs, with the second letter being an 'i'. They have also decided not to mark tone. Besides intentional changes, throughout this time a number of spelling inconsistencies have evolved indicating that some segments identified as separate phonemes may actually be allophones. In specific, there is confusion regarding stops and affricates at the post-alveolar place of articulation. Additionally, some difficulty is seen regarding voiced and voiceless labiovelar fricatives.

The grammatical analysis given in this paper is not affected by any confusion between the phonetic or phonemic status of certain segments. However, there is need for an in-depth reanalysis in order to produce a reliable phonological description. Further, revision and further testing of the orthography is recommended.

2.2.1 Consonants

Based on Lubbe's work (2007), 35 distinct phonemic consonants are identified in Jejara. They occur at six different places of articulation, and are articulated in five distinct manners. The details of these phonemes are displayed as Figure 4 below.

Place of articulation / Manner of articulation	Labial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p pʰ	ʈ[19] ʈʰ	t tʰ	c cʰ	k kʰ	ʔ
Affricates	bv pf	dz ts		dʑ tɕ		
Fricatives	v f	z s	r	ʑ ɕ	ɣ x	h
Approximants	β	ð	l	j	w	
Nasals	m	n		ɲ		

Figure 4 Consonant chart

2.2.2 Vowels

In Jejara, seven plain vowels and two diphthongs are found to form a perfectly symmetrical vowel chart. This is depicted as Figure 5.

	Front	Back centralised	Back
Close	i	ɯ	u
Mid	e	ɤ	o
Open		ɑ	
Diphthongs	ɛi		oʊ

Figure 5 Vowel chart[20]

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[19] Lubbe writes: "This symbol represents the voiceless dental plosive [ʈ] which contrasts with voiceless alveolar plosive [t]" (2007).

[20] This figure is based directly on unpublished work by Lubbe (2007) which was done in conjunction with a statement of orthography for Jejara in their literacy development efforts.

2.2.3 Tone

There are three distinct tones in Jejara. Figure 6 gives examples of minimal pairs with tones.

High ´		Mid Ø		Low `	
/pʰú/	'type of bamboo'	/pʰu/	'to dry in the sun'	/pʰù/	'paddy rice'
/pwé/	'festival'	/pwe/	'swell'	/pwè/	'year'
/pfɯ́/	'pot'	/pfɯ/	'plate'		
		/ⁿʈɑ/	'ear'	/ⁿʈɑ̀/	'village'
		/tso/	'deep'	/tsò/	'wooden mortar'
		/ci/	'temporary bamboo house'	/cì/	'water'

Figure 6 Tone chart[21]

Tone is, however, not as robust as in some languages, and there are not a great number of minimal pairs showing contrast only by tone. Currently, the Jejara have chosen not to indicate it in their orthography.

2.3 Orthography

Aside from this chapter, all the analysis in this study is done using the Jejara orthographic form as the vernacular. Figure 7 shows each phoneme, its phonetic form, and then its orthographic representation. Consonants are listed in the top part of the figure, followed by vowels.

Phonemic	Phonetic	Orthograpic	Phonemic	Phonetic	Orthograpic
/p/	[p]	<p>	/x/	[x]	<gh>
/pʰ/	[pʰ]	<ph>	/ɣ/	[ɣ]	<g>
/ʈ/	[ʈ]	<t>	/h/	[h]	<h>
/ʈʰ/	[ʈʰ]	<th>	/β/	[β]	<b>
/t/	[t̪]	<d>	/ð/	[ð]	<td>
/tʰ/	[t̪ʰ]	<dh>	/l/	[l]	<l>
/c/	[c]	<q>	/j/	[j] / [ʝ]	<y>
/cʰ/	[cʰ]	<qh>	/w/	[w]	<w>
/k/	[k]	<k>	/pf/	[pf]	<pf>
/kʰ/	[kʰ]	<kh>	/bv/	[b̥ɣ]	<pv>
/f/	[f]	<f>	/ts/	[ts]	<tsh>
/v/	[v]	<v>	/dz/	[d̥z̥]	<tz>

Phonemic	Phonetic	Orthograpic		Phonemic	Phonetic	Orthograpic
/s/	[s]	< s >		/tɕ/	[tɕ]	< c >
/z/	[z]	< z >		/dʑ/	[d̥ʑ̥]	< j >
/r/	[ɹ] [ɾ]	< r >		/m/	[m]	< m >
/ɕ/	[ɕ]	< sh >		/n/	[n] / [ɲ] / [ŋ]	< n >
/ʑ/	[ʑ]	< zh >		/ɲ/	[ɲ]	< ny >
/i/	[i]	< i >		/u/	[u]	< u >
/e/	[e̞]	< e >		/o/	[o̞]	< aw >
/ɤ/	[ɤ̝]	< ä > → < ai > [22]		/ɛi/	[ɛi]	< ay >
/ɯ/	[ɯ̟]	< ü > → < ui >		/oʊ/	[oʊ]	< o >
/ɑ/	[ɑ]	< a >				

Figure 7 Phonemic, phonetic and orthographic forms[23]

2.4 Syllable and word structure

Most words in Jejara, when they are not analyzable as compounds or elaborate expressions, are one, two or three syllables long[24]. The minimal syllable is comprised of a consonant followed by a vowel. No final consonants occur. It is possible to have a consonant cluster CC beginning a syllable, where the second consonant is restricted to the approximants /j/ and /w/. The template for the Jejara syllable, then, is $C_1(C_2)V$ where C_2 is limited to /j/ or /w/ and V can be any one of the monophthongs or diphthongs given in Figure 5. Examples of words formed from these types of syllable structures are given as Figure 8[25].

CV		CCV	
/há/	'this'	/twɤ/	'weep'
/ʔɑ.pɑ/	'father'	/dʑwè/	'mushroom'
/té.pà.ɣɑ/	'scattered'	/pjo.pjo.hɑ/	'smooth'
/mɤ.kʰá.cí/	'saliva' ("chin water")	/sò.pwè.pwè.sù/	'apple' ("flower fruit")

Figure 8 Syllable and word structure[26]

There are also words in Jejara which exhibit prenasalization. A minor syllable is another feature. These features need to be studied further.

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[22] The arrow indicates that an orthographic change has taken place. To the left of the arrow is the grapheme identified in Lubbe's (2007) orthography statement, and the digraph to the right is the representation now being used by the Jejara.

[23] The figure is based on Lubbe's (2007) unpublished orthography statement in every way except two. Since tones are no longer written, they have been excluded, and the updated written representations of vowels which are now written differently have been included.

[24] In most cases, a distinctive meaning is apparent for each syllable.

[25] The phenomena of prenasalization and minor syllables also occur.

[26] This figure is based directly on unpublished work by Lubbe (2007).

2.5 Morphology and word formation

There is, at times, ambiguity between whether to analyze processes and even languages as agglutinating or isolating. Although in this analysis preference is given to treating many morphemes which have single meanings as independent lexical items, there are still a small number of processes which the researcher has chosen to consider morphological[27]. In this section, the morphological processes of affixation, compounding and reduplication will each be considered in turn.

2.5.1 Affixes and a phonological process

Although the lines between words and affixes are by no means obvious and clear-cut, there are a number of items in the Jejara data which are being considered affixes. There are two main prefixes at work, usually in conjunction with other nominalization processes, to form nouns from verbs. The two items found to have this function are *a-* and *ta-*. Example (1) displays one instance where the general nominalizer *a-* and the more specific agentitive nominalizer *rai* 'person who' are acting on the verb *zhai* 'sleep' to result in the meaning 'person who sleeps'.

(1)   K 1.9

a-	*zhai*	***rai***	*law*	*lu*
NZ	sleep	**person.who**	also	exist

 … there are those who sleep…

---

[27] Besides a few morphemes considered affixes the researcher tends to look at most meaningful morphemes as words and considers Jejara isolating. In most cases single syllables demonstrate independent meaning. For multisyllabic words, internal structure can be seen or they can be shown to be compounds. The researcher's perspective is influenced by her familiarity with Burmese. One description of Burmese explains: "[m]orphemes are either free or bound forms, with the free forms corresponding to word-level units and the bound forms to a closed class of grammatical affixes. Burmese represents what is popularly called a 'monosyllabic language,' in that a free form is typically a one-syllable morpheme and also a type of minimal word. Thus the lower two levels of the grammatical hierarchy tend to merge in Burmese" (Hopple 2011: 48). Indeed, Proto-Sino Tibetan itself is said to be monosyllabic (Thurgood 1994). In this section, the choice to consider a few elements as affixes has a few motivations. Each seems fairly tightly bound to the words with which it works. None of the four prefixes considered here ever occur with other elements intervening between it and the stem on which it works. Further, each item identified as an affix occurs preceding its head. As an SOV language, in Jejara it is both expected and found common that the head occurs before elements which operate on it. Considering pre-head elements as prefixes decreases the number of occurrences of modifiers before their heads.

The nominalizing *ta-* is illustrated in (2) where it forms the abstract noun *talawsai* 'happiness'.

(2)   Adv 2.1

ta-	*lawsai*	*law*	*lu*
NZ	happy	also	exist

There is also happiness…

Another type of affixation occurs on a subset of nouns. There is a set of nouns which are bound and require something like possession under most circumstances. This set includes some corporeal words, kinship terms, food items as well as words for time. When a specific possessor is not known or explicated, they take a relational prefix[28] in the form of one of the more general personal pronouns. There are examples in the data with *ta-* '3sg' and those with the generic pronoun *haw-*. (3) shows that *sha* 'flesh' (from a cow which is being butchered) takes this relational prefix, being inalienably possessed even though that possessor is not made clear.

(3)   CK 3

nyai	*tda*	***ta-***	*sha*	*khu*	*ya*	*le*
2sg	as.for	**RL**	flesh	take	IRR	CL.F

 … Will you take [some] meat?

ta- has a further function as a verbal affix, in its role in conjunction with the postverbal *ha*, forming a circumfixing pair which functions around a verb to give a superlative meaning. Discussion on this construction takes place in section 5.3.7.

Affixation can apply to verbs without affecting their grammatical category. Although there is a postverbal particle which can indicate causation, there is also a prefix *zha-* which seems to have the same semantic function. This is not unlike the situation in Mongsen Ao where both morphological and analytic constructions are used to form causatives (Coupe 2007: 190, 197). In (4) and (5) the reader can see the contrast between two utterances that are nearly identical except for the causative. However, the second is altered in meaning by the inclusion of the causative prefix.

---

[28] This term follows, for example, Coupe (2007: 247). He explains about Mongsen Ao: "The relational prefix *tə-* is limited to occurring on the bound roots of kinship terms, body parts and other entities that conceptually form part of a whole."

(4)   W 10

pfui	*jai*	*laisui*	*la*
pot	DEM.DIST	clean	CL.F

That pot is clean.

(5)   W 11

pfui	*jai*	**zha-**	*laisui*	*lu*	*lai*
plate	P	**CAUS**	clean	IPFV	CL.F

[She] is cleaning that pot.

In a discussion on affixation, morphologically triggered phonological processes must also be considered. There is a phonological process which occurs when the numbers *anqi* 'two' or *asaw* 'three' follow many lexical items[29]. It is a process of vowel deletion. There are no phonological constraints necessary to instigate this process since all words are already vowel final. (6) shows the morphologically reduced form of *anqi* 'two' occurring after *pa* 'father' and *tzadhi* 'son'.

(6)   SE 7

ta-	*pa*	**-nqi**	*ta-*	*tzadhi*	**-nqi**	*le*
RL	father	**two**	RL	son	**two**	CL.F

Are they father and son? ("His father-two? His son-two?")

Some of the most prominent forms of affixation in Jejara have been discussed. These include prefixing for nominalization and for obligatory possession. There is also a causative prefix. Finally, the phonological process of vowel reduction in relation to the numbers *anqi* 'two' and *asaw* 'three' was introduced.

2.5.2 Compounding

The most salient form of compounding in Jejara derives nouns. The grammatical categories of the input lexical items can consist of two verbs or two nouns, or one of each in either order. It is possible for compounded or reduplicated forms to become a component of another compound. Table 4 gives a presentation of a few of each of these. Square brackets have been used to identify sequences which are components of a larger compound. Plus signs are used to show breaks between meaningful parts.

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[29] The LRP often transcribed the numerals in their phonologically reduced form. However, he did not do so in every case. The difference may be related to how tightly the number is perceived to be connected to the word it follows, or could simply be a lack of consistency in transcription in the midst of the new, developing orthography.

Table 4 Compounds

Vernacular	Structure	Gloss	Grammatical categories
qi + tu + tu	water + big + big	sea	N [V$_{ATR}$[30] V$_{ATR}$]
le + tsha + zhaw	book + do + house	school	[N V] N
pfui + phya + phya	pot + flat + flat	plate	N [V$_{ATR}$ V$_{ATR}$]
tzwa + laiwa	rice + curry	meal	N N
jai + pvui	grandfather + grandmother	grandparent	N N
taiwai + pfuirai	pig + pots	containers for feeding pigs	N N
Papai + le + tshazhaw[31]	Bible + school	Bible school	N N
pfuinqai + rai	mountain + people	people from the mountains	N N
zhu + tsha	incident + work (v)	work (N)	N V
le + tsha	book + work	school	N V
tsha + zhaw	work + house	school	V N
sui + tza + tza	ladle + eat + eat	spoon	V [V V]
taivui + nqi	dog + breast	dog breast	N N
swa + dha	old + bean	fermented beans	V$_{ATR}$ N

2.5.3 Reduplication

Reduplication as a morphological process is relatively common in Jejara, and is seen to have a number of functions. In each case observed, lexical items undergoing reduplication are verbs. Reduplication can result in changing a word into the grammatical category of noun. Lexical items identified as nouns which exhibit reduplication as at least part of their makeup are seen in Table 5[32].

Table 5 Lexicalized nominalizations

Vernacular	Gloss	Base	Gloss
atzetze	dance (N)	*tze*	dance (V)
maiqhiqhi	ball	*maiqhi*	kick
daidai	between[33]	*dai*	skinny

---

[30] Attributive verbs function identically to other verbs in almost every way, including compounding. They are identified as attributive verbs using the notation V$_{ATR}$ here specifically to make it clear that they do, in fact, pattern the same as verbs in this context as well.

[31] Interestingly, the morpheme *le* 'paper' plays a double function here. It is the final syllable of the word 'Bible' (*Papai+ le* 'paper') and the initial syllable of the word 'school' (*le+tsha+zhaw* 'paper + work + house').

[32] All three exhibit reduplication of the last syllable. *atzetze*, however is unique in that its first syllable is *a-*, itself a nominalizer.

[33] The word glossed 'between' is a locator noun. See section 3.2.2 on locator nouns.

Reduplication is also used synchronically for a number of productive grammatical processes. Instances where the reduplicated forms occur as a modifying element of a noun phrase are given as (7) and (8). Attributives occur either before or after the noun they modify, as discussed further in section 4.3.4. (7) illustrates *dawdaw* the reduplicated form of 'white' modifying *taivui* 'dog'.

(7)   NP 2.2

taivui   ***dawdaw***

dog   **white**

white dog

Some attributives taking reduplicated forms have an additional semantic component of simultaneously indicating distance[34]. Some instead indicate temporal removal[35] (for an event that happened in the relatively distant past). The example below is seen to include a semantic aspect of spatial distance.

(8)   NP 1.2

arara   *ntuphuisu*   *khai*   *ha*

come.DIST   mango   one   DEM.PROX

… that one coming-from-[Layshi] mango…

A further two roles of reduplication indicating grammatical functions can both be analyzed as indicating an imperfective aspect[36]. However, by carefully comparing instances of reduplication in (9) and (10), differences can be seen. When the reduplicated verb occurs previous to the main verb of an utterance, the imperfectivity expresses that the state or activity indicated by the reduplicated verb is ongoing as a process of the main verb event. Therefore, it can be understood to represent the manner in which the main verb is undertaken.

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[34] e.g. *tze+rara* 'dance'+'come.DIST' (NE 115)

Here and throughout this paper reference is sometimes made to interlinear texts without the example actually visually available in that section. These examples can be found in the appendices. The text in each appendix has a title and its abbreviation. Each sentence in a given text is numbered. These abbreviations and numbers can be used to cross reference. For example here, in NE 115, the 'NE' refers to a text which is found in Appendix F. It is titled "Miscellaneous (Ad, Adv, CN, C&N, D, DI, L52, L59a, LQ, NE, NP, NR, O, Prn, RC, T, V)." Since NE is in this list, NE 115 will be found here.

[35] e.g. *caicai* 'tell.PST' (BBS 1.13), *kuku* 'attend.PST' (BBS 4.2)

[36] See section 3.3.2 for a more complete handling of this process.

(9)	**Preverbal IPFV: Manner** in which main V is executed	
SE 17	*wewe*	*ra*
	carry.IPFV	come

[He] carried [it] and came. ("during the ongoing process of carrying [it], [he] came")

When the reduplicated verb occurs following the main verb of an utterance, the imperfectivity indicates that which results from the activity of the main verb.

(10)	**Postverbal IPFV: State** resulting due to execution of main V	
L60c 2	*laigaw*	*dhadha*
	fall.down	**break.IPFV**

[It] fell down and broke. ("is in an ongoing state of being broken")

In contrast with the postverbal imperfective formed by reduplication, the preverbal imperfective is commonly removed from its main verb by intervening clausal arguments.

2.6 Conclusion

Chapter 2 has given an overview of the phonemes found in Jejara, including consonants, vowels and tones. After presenting the orthographic conventions, syllable and word structure were summarized. Observations about morphology were then made, including discussion on affixes, compounding and reduplication.

Chapter 3
Word classes

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the grammatical categories that have been found applicable in Jejara. They are divided roughly into those related to nouns, those related to verbs and clausal level lexical items.

3.2 Nouns

Nouns are those lexical items which act as the heads of noun phrases. The major word class of nouns (defined further in section 4.2) is an open class which subsumes under it numerous subcategories of nouns, each exhibiting more or less of the characteristics of a prototypical noun. Proper nouns are one type of nouns which tend to have a limited number of specific referents in the real world. They are often capitalized, although this convention is not fully consistent yet in Jejara orthography. Another type of nouns, locator nouns, has been identified in Jejara and is described in 3.2.2. Time nouns and class terms are each identified as unique categories of nouns. They are dealt with in subsections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4, respectively. Pronouns of all kinds are a subset of nouns. Section 3.2.5 is dedicated to further discussion of these unique nouns.

Nouns are also formed by processes of nominalization. These processes are discussed in sections 2.5.1 and 8.3.1

3.2.1 Proper nouns

Proper nouns in Jejara function as a subset of nouns. They have specific referents, and do not tend to be able to take much modification. Jejara proper nouns can, however, be pluralized as in *Naga+rai* 'Naga+PL' (K 1.1). In common with other nouns, proper nouns can act as members of a list, in which case they might be followed by *hai* 'LIST' (BBS 1.9) to indicate multiple participants working together in

the same semantic role[37]. Proper nouns acting as NPs can be marked for the semantic role they play (BBS 1.13), such as agent or location, and can generally be followed by nominal particles[38]. Particularly where a list of people has been given as working together to perform a certain role (usually as agents), a resumptive pronoun[39] may follow this list (BBS 1.9). For example, if two people have been listed, a dual pronoun will often follow in a slot closer to the verb.

Proper nouns can take on the role of modifying a head noun within the noun phrase, or can form compound nouns together with other nouns. It is common for them to occur in apposition with other nouns signifying the same referent. It is also common to see proper nouns preceded by identifying kinship terms or titles and that the kinship term, in turn, is often possessed. For example, in the texts used for this analysis there is a significant amount of first-person narrative. In that case, the kinship noun would be marked for first singular possession, indicating the relationship of the referent to the speaker. In illustration (11), *tzui* 'mother' defines the kinship role between the speaker and *Tshephu*, the proper noun in question. The word *tzui* 'mother' is possessed by the preceding '1sg', so that two ways of referring to the same referent are uttered in apposition.

(11)   BBS 1.9
[a   tzui]   [Tshephu]
1sg   mother   Tshephu (nm)
my mother Tshephu

Table 6 gives a sampling of proper nouns from each of the semantic categories represented by proper nouns in the data: people's names, place names, names of ethnic groups, and words relating to religious or spiritual beings or objects. The left-hand column represents the vernacular. The right hand column shows either a gloss, a transliteration into English from the Jejara or Burmese original if there is some tradition of transliteration for the term, or simply a repetition of the vernacular where the author is unaware of any other way of expressing the word in Roman script tradition.

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[37] See section 5.4.12 for a discussion on the use of this particle and other marking which indicates accompaniment.
[38] Particles marking semantic roles are discussed in section 5.3.5.
[39] See section 4.9 for a discussion on resumptive pronouns.

Table 6 Proper nouns

Personal names	
Latiqai	Latiqai
Jikhaitzui	Jikhaitzui
Awkhin	Aung Khin
Place names	
Penekon	Ping Ne Gone
Zhanko	Yangon/Rangoon
Amerika	America (USA)
People group names	
Jaijairai	Jejara/ Para Naga
Kaiyinrai	Karen
Naga	Naga
Words related to religion and spirituality	
Papaile	Bible
Tzawtzuiparai	god (one of any number)
Laitwapa	God (the one God in a monotheistic belief)

Example (12) displays a sentence including four proper nouns, allowing the reader to see a few different functions in action. The first two are place names, marked for their semantic role of destination. The next is functioning as a modifier within what could be analyzed a complex compound. The word "Karen" characterizes what type of Bible school is being referred to. Lastly "Bible" is acting as a compound noun with *tshazhaw* 'school'.

(12)   BBS 4.5

ja	*jai*	*hawlai*	*ja*	***Zhanko***	*lwa*
like.that	DEM.DIST	ABL	like.that	**Yangon (plc)**	ALL

hawpwai	*nqwe*	*ka*	***Nyawlaybi***	*lwa*
together	go.together	go.down	**Nyaunglaypin (plc)**	ALL

[Kaiyinrai	***[Papaile***	*tshazhaw]]*	*ga*	*ku*
Karen (ppl)	**Bible**	school	go	attend

And like that, [we] together went down from there to Yangon, to Nyaunglaypin to attend the Karen Bible school.

3.2.2 Locator nouns

Although many languages use what are analyzed as adpositions to identify location, in Jejara, there seems to be a class of locator nouns[40], which, along with case markers, perform this role. Locator nouns can immediately follow another noun to indicate a location in relation to it, or a location based on a portion of that referent noun. It is common for locator nouns to be followed immediately by a nominal particle indicating location, whether a locative, ablative or allative case marker. This is the strongest motivating factor in identifying these items as nouns rather than postpositions, since location marking particles are among the set of case marking particles which act on noun phrases (see section 5.4.1).

A list of nouns which the researcher proposes to be locator nouns are given in Table 8 along with one example each of a phrase in which it occurs. The syntactic properties of these words are not identical, but are similar enough to show commonality which sets them apart as unique among the larger set of nouns. Members were chosen based on nine considerations about their use within the language. The researcher began with ten questions[41] about the syntactic patternings about these lexical items to identify what makes a prototypical locator noun and which items should be included in this subset. The details are expanded upon below.

All lexemes in the list are found to immediately follow other nouns, but the typical locator noun[42] does not follow another locator noun. If it can be used more widely than for locative meaning (for example, to mark time), it is a less typical member of the locator noun class. Having the ability to be marked by non-locative nominal particles (all other semantic role markers except allative and ablative) makes the lexical item a less typical member of the locator noun category. Orthographically, the LRP tended to write locator nouns immediately following the previous noun, without spacing. To be followed by the particle *lwa* 'portion', which itself shows a few characteristics in common with locator nouns makes a lexical item a less typical

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[40] Nouns which behave in ways similar to the locator nouns identified in Jejara are also found in Kham (Nepal), identified by Watters as "relator nouns" (1998: 274). Again, a similar phenomeon is observed in Daai Chin (Myanmar), described by So-Hartmann using the term "location nouns" (2008: 87). Okell (1969: 141) also identifies "location-nouns" in Burmese as "nouns denoting space and time."

[41] These criteria were set by the researcher herself as she observed the patterns of Jejara locative phrases. The criteria given the most weight are those which Jejara N_{LOC} display most consistently.

[42] The nouns discussed in this section can be seen to lie on a continuum between the prototypical noun and the prototypical locator noun. When a particular word is identified as being a less strong or not a true locator noun, or a criterion is identified as being an indicator against locator noun status, this generally indicates that the item in question is moving away from special status as a locator noun, back into the wider category of general nouns. Alternatively, it could be moving further away from noun status altogether, and acting more as a particle.

N_LOC. On the other hand, being followed by the case marking *haw* LOC is a criterion indicating locator noun status. As with *lwa,* being followed by the lexical item *kawmaidhai* 'side, area, portion', a locator noun-like item, is evidence against strong locator noun status. Lastly, having the ability to unite with *jai* DEM in a locative demonstrative construction is evidence weakening an item's locator noun status. Table 7 displays the nine criteria used[43], listed left to right across the top roughly from the criteria which is given the most weight to the least. The first row gives the pattern of a prototypical locator noun in relation to each criterion, and is followed below by the set of locator nouns found in the data and their status in relation to each criterion. Reading top to bottom will allow the reader to identify the most typical to the least typical members of the set[44].

Table 7 Criteria for locator noun status

Identifying criteria	Follows another N	Follows another N_LOC	Meanings other than LOC	Followed by non-LOC case marking	Written as one with preceding N	Followed by *lwa*	Followed by LOC *haw*	Followed by *kawmaidhai*	Forms place DEM with *jai*
Proto-typical	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
puikhai	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
shipwai	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
yikwe	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
laiqe	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
mpa	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
tzi	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
jipwai	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
guipwai	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
mainqai	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
lwa[45]	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
kawmaidhai[45]	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-

---

[43] Some of the nouns listed in the table can function outside of locative phrases as nouns or verbs with meanings related to their N_LOC meanings. With the limited dataset, it is impossible to verify that any of these definitely do not have a full noun/verb form, although this would be an interesting question to pursue. This is a characteristic in similarity to the lexical items analyzed as "nascent postpositions" by Coupe in Mongsen Ao (2007: 184). This was initially considered as one of the deciding criterion, along with the question of whether the noun could be found followed by an existential verb. However, these two criteria have been set aside for now, if only because the answers cannot be verified at this time.

[44] *daidai* 'between' is another locator noun, but it has not been included in Table 8 because it does not occur in a context which allows it to be analyzed for each of the determining factors listed here.

[45] *lwa* and *kawmaidhai* have been included as items which show significant similarity to other locator nouns, but have been analyzed as just slightly too divergent, and therefore not belonging to the set.

Table 8 once again identifies the locator nouns[46], this time giving a gloss for each and a phrase which illustrates it in use. The first four lexemes listed are found to have identical patterning.

Table 8 Locator nouns[47]

Vernacular	Gloss	Example	Gloss
puikhai	underneath	*pfui + puikhai + haw*	at under the pot
shipwai	behind	*ta + shipwai + lwa*	to behind herself
yikwe	inside	*pfui + yikwe haw*	at inside the pot
laiqe	between	*saipwenqi + laiqe haw*	at between two tables
mpa	beside	*pfui + mpa haw*	at beside the pot
tzi	in front/on top of	*pfui + tzi haw*	at on top of the pot
jipwai	right	*pfui + jipwai kawmaidhai*	right of the pot
guipwai	left	*pfui + guipwai kawmaidhai*	left of the pot
mainqai	side	*qitutu mainqai + haw*	at beside the sea
kawmaidhai	portion/area/side	*tati + kawmaidhai + lai*	with (INS) the base (bottom portion)
lwa	portion	*a + li + lwa + lai*	my leg (A)

One item from the locator noun table, *mpa* 'beside', shows an ability to form a locative demonstrative pronoun by joining to the right of *jai* 'DEM.DIST'. This seems to be a unique ability not shared by the others, discussed further in section 3.2.5.2. The two lexemes listed at the very bottom of the table are not at this time considered locator nouns. They are more divergent than the others. However, the fact that they do show a degree of commonality, and that they play roles in conjunction with other locator nouns, has made it beneficial to include them here. They seem to provide a function which can assist in creating locative meanings for nouns. If a noun is able to or requires being followed by either *lwa* or *kawmaidhai* it is not considered as a strong or true locator noun. Finally, the orthographic conventions chosen by the LRP were taken into account. Although spacing is not yet standardized in the orthography, the LRP's choices can still give a clue as to the

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[46] A closed class of words which may well be treated as locator nouns are cardinal directions. There are no examples of these occurring within clauses, and therefore nothing can be said about their distribution. Here are their forms: *guipwailwa* 'North', *tzitilwa* 'East', *jipwailwa* 'South' and *shipwailwa* 'West'. The elicitation form includes the morpheme *lwa* (last item listed in Table 8) as the final syllable of each. Of further interest is that the form for 'North' is equal to 'left'. Likewise, 'South' is equivalent to 'right'. 'East' and 'West' correspond to 'front/top' and 'back', respectively. Although this discussion is interesting, the researcher has included it only as a footnote. This is because, in word list recordings from Ping Ne Gone village, an audio note was made that the language has two words for 'West' and none for 'North' and 'South'. Status of cardinal directions is currently unsure.

[47] In the examples in the table, the following conventions are used: '+' indicates a morpheme break where the LRP did not have a space; a space is used where he used one.

constituents he perceives. If the locator noun was written as one with the noun it followed, this showed it to be a more typical member of this class.

3.2.3 Time nouns

As is discussed further in section 4.3.4, Jejara is found to possess a subset of time nouns. The main function of time nouns is to act as temporal NPs in a clause. They encode the same semantic content as is expressed by time adverbials in many languages. Table 9 through Table 11 below give the reader a quick overview of time words relating to the categories of years, days and divisions of the day[48]. Each table is followed by a visual representation of the words and how they relate to each other in time.

Table 9 Years

Vernacular	Gloss
nqawkawpapa	three years ago
nqawkawpa	two years ago
nqawkaw	last year
tapwe	year
saikawpa	next year(s)
saikawpamailu	two years from now

Figure 9 Years

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[48] In each of these three tables, common morphemes can be seen between the lexical items. Although the researcher realizes this is material for further analysis, it is beyond the scope of the current work.

Table 10 Days

Vernacular	Gloss
nqawshetzuimailu	two days before yesterday
nqawshetzui	day before yesterday
nqawshe	yesterday
catzawpui	today
saqi	tomorrow
sainqi	day after tomorrow
saikhainqi	two days after tomorrow
saipakhainqi	three days after tomorrow
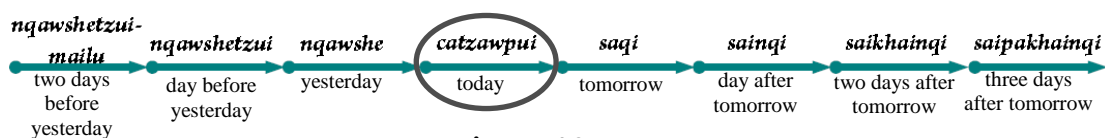
Figure 10 Days

Table 11 Divisions of the day

Vernacular	Gloss	Approximate actual time
laintai	morning	~sunrise-8 or 9 am
nqece	noon	noon
nqeceshidrui	after noon	~noon-3 pm
ntaripwai	afternoon	~3 pm-sunset
ntari	evening	~sunset-9 pm
tzawceqai	midnight	midnight
ntariceqai	middle of the night	~10 pm-2 am
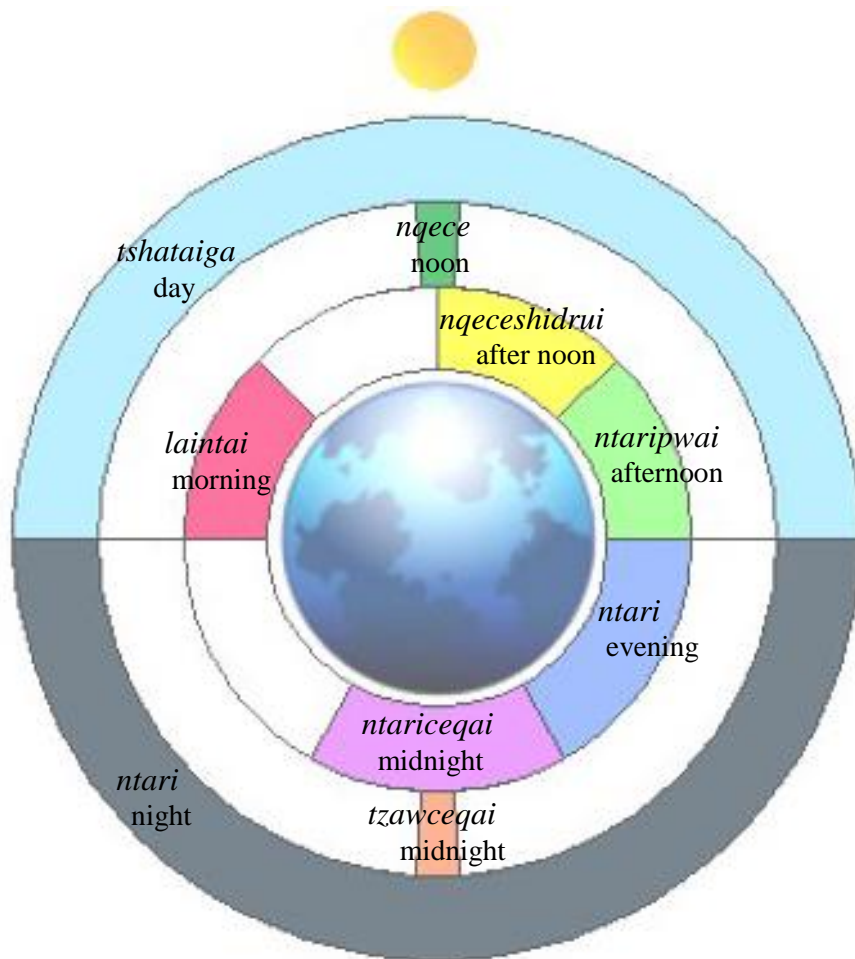
Figure 11 Divisions of the day

Table 12 lists further time words which can be used fairly generally and interpreted based on the context.

Table 12 General time words

Vernacular	Gloss
tamaipfui	from before
taguti	before
ca	now
casaqi	currently
maluli	shortly
khaiqi	another time/once
talaishisai	late(r)

3.2.4 Class terms

Class terms are also a type of nouns. A lexical item can be considered a class term if it is frequently present as functioning together with or acting as a part of another noun. It has the role of identifying the noun with which it acts as being a member of a particular class. In Jejara, class terms are used for some semantic categories of nouns. Table 13 lists a few that can be gleaned from the data.

Table 13 Class terms

Class term	Gloss/category	Example	Gloss
phwakaw	container	*lai*[49] + ***phwakaw***	pot
		cwe 'clothing' + ***phwakaw***	shelf
qi	city/village	*Lishi* 'Layshi' + ***qi***	Layshi
pvui	plant/tree	*rwa* 'grass' + ***pvui***	forest
		la 'banana' + ***pvui***	banana tree
saw	plants/wood	***saw*** + *pwepwe* UNSURE	flower
		saw + *khwa* UNSURE	stick
({lai or *saw})su*	fruit	*sawpwepwe* 'flower' + ***laisu***	apple
		la 'banana' + ***su***	banana
		pwezhwa 'jackfruit' + ***sawsu***	jackfruit
qi	liquid	*mairhaiga* 'tea (leaves)' + ***qi***	tea
ri	day	*ta-tarui* + ***ri*** 'day'	Saturday

The final four items in the table, beginning with *saw*, are confirmed to function as independent nouns in the language, with the meanings 'wood', 'fruit', 'water', and 'day' respectively. Only *saw* occurs at the beginning of lexical items, the rest occur finally. The use of the class term together with its noun seems to be optional in cases where the meaning is unambiguous. Place names, for example, do not require *qi*. Fruits which are not formed from another lexical item do not require a class term. This was observed when the researcher was working with the LRP for language learning. The LRP at times included *laisu/sawsu/su* as the final portion for fruit terms and at other times would refer to the same fruits without any of these endings. However, a fruit like *sawpwepwelaisu* 'apple' requires a class term. By itself, the portion before the class term, *sawpwepwe,* means 'flower'. Only the complete *sawpwepwe* + *laisu* 'flower' + 'fruit'[CT] yields the intended 'apple'.

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[49] The longer word *laiwa* 'curry' is the origin.

3.2.5 Pronouns

Pronouns are a subset of nouns with limited modification pattern. A number of unique categories of pronouns are considered briefly in the subsections below.

3.2.5.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns can pattern as any type of argument in a clause. The pronouns in Jejara show distinctions for first, second and third person. There is also a generic pronoun *haw*. In form it is identical to the first plural (INCL), and in its generic sense it has a meaning which might best be glossed 'one'. Pronouns are further divided into singular, dual and plural. For first person, dual and plural pronouns have inclusive and exclusive forms. Third person pronouns come in three forms. One identifies the referent as proximate – approximately within arms' reach. Another is distal, to identify referents which are further away than those referred to by the proximate pronoun and there is a pronoun which does not specify distance.

In the data, the pronouns take the same form whether they are acting as the only semantic argument of a clause, the agent or patient in a clause with two arguments or as a non-core argument. The possessive form is likewise identical[50].

Table 14 shows the closed class of personal (and possessive) pronouns in Jejara.

Table 14 Personal pronouns

Pronoun	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		INCL	EXCL	INCL	EXCL
1	*a*	*tzi*	*atzi*	*(a)haw*	*(a)wai*
2	*nyai*	*nyaitzi*		*ri*	
3 Distal	*jai*	--		*jairai*	
Proximate	*ha*	*hanqi*		*harai*	
Unspecified	*ta*	*tanqi*		*tarai*	
GNRC	*haw*				

---

[50] There may be identifying suprasegmental features of which the researcher is not aware. She is aware that tone is used in some languages – including others from the Naga region – to indicate the different grammatical roles being played by pronouns, whether to indicate the difference between personal pronouns and possessive, or the difference between personal pronouns based on roles they play in the clause. Since the data was transcribed using Jejara orthography which does not indicate tone, there is no clear evidence to verify whether or not these phenomena occur in relation to Jejara pronouns.

An example of the pronoun *jairai* '3pl.DIST' is provided as (13) below where it is the single argument of a clause.

(13)   NE 5
jairai   *yamaitsha*   *lu*
3pl.DIST   tired   IPFV
They are tired.

A pronoun is used in (14) below in the place of agent.

(14)   BBS 4.4
ja   *tshatsha*   ***atzi***   *lwatzai*   *laili*   *nkui*
like.that   do   **1du.INCL**   travel   cost   receive
… Like that, the two of us earned [the money for our] travel cost ("did to receive [our] travel cost").

In (15) are numerous pronoun usages, including the second singular as patient.

(15) BBS 6.4
a   *law*   *jaitda*   *a*   *tsha*   *maicai*   *lai*   ***nyai***   *cawrui*   *ye*
1sg   also   like.that   1sg   do   be.able   INS   **2sg**   help   IRR

tda   *ja*   *a*   *twa*   *maisui*   *x*
QUOT   like.that   1sg   say   want   F
I want to say that I will also help you with [whatever] I can do.

An instance where the pronoun is the head modified by a relative clause is shown in (16). The pronoun is in turn the topic of verbless clause (complement not shown).

(16) SE 8
ca   *nkui*   *lu*   ***hanqi***   *ya*
now   see   REL   **3du**   TOP
These two [men] [we] see now…

(17) below shows the first person singular pronoun being used possessively with a body part. *li* 'leg' is being possessed by the first person relational prefix.

(17) BBS 1.12

a-	*li*	*lwa*	*lai*	*ma*	*ga*	*le*	*jaitda*	*tsha*	*cai*	*ra*
RL	leg	portion	A	NEG	go	can	like.that	be	CONN	come

… The bottom half of my legs became so that they couldn't move ("go") anymore.

Alienable possession, in this case a rice paddy, is also expressed simply with the use of the pronoun. (18) shows the dual singular as possessor.

(18) P 40

ri	*ntawlu*
2pl	paddy

Your (dual) paddy.

In some cases where the participant 'you' is being emphasized, when an addressee and the speaker are being referred to, the second dual can be used even though the speaker is one of the participants. This comes out in (19), which simultaneously shows the pronoun in an accompaniment role.

(19) PU 8

nyaitzi	*je*	*ga*	*ye*
2du	together	go	IRR

You will go together [with me].

Kinship terms can also function in the role of personal pronouns. See section 4.8 for a table of kinship terms and discussion on their usages.

3.2.5.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Another subset of pronouns consists of demonstrative pronouns. Their usages are discussed further in section 4.7.2, but Table 15[51] is given below to display the members of this class[52].

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[51] In the table, many lexical items are seen to have morphemes in common. Although the researcher realizes that this is material for further analysis, it is beyond the scope of the current work.
[52] Demonstratives that are used to modify nouns (non-pronominal) are discussed in section 4.6.4.

Table 15 Demonstrative pronouns

Vernacular	Gloss	Comments
awhe	here	Refers to location
ha	this	Refers to a previously mentioned, nearby referent. Often used as a topic in equative clauses[53].
hajai	as for that	Refers to previously described situation
hatda	like this	Refers to activity described just previously
hayaha, hayahaha	as for that, it is…	Introduces something the speaker intends to focus on. Identify the referent as topic, by use of *ya*.
ja, jahailo	like that	Refers to situation, action or feeling just described or alluded to. Can be used on a discourse level.
jai, jaiyajai, jaiyajaijai	that	Refers to a subject or item just mentioned.
jaijai	that; there	Refers to location or task
jaitda	like that	Refers to previously mentioned activity or situation
jatilaiti	that kind of time	Refers to the time to which the situation in question is bound
talintzawntzaw	many kinds	Refers to things – multiple things of various kinds; also more abstractly to refer to usages
jaitzuitzui	that kind of thing	Refers to an event

3.2.5.3 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns can also function as core and periperhal arguments of a verb.

Table 16[54] displays the list of specific indefinite pronouns occurring in the data.

Table 16 Specific indefinite pronouns

Pronoun	Gloss
tukhaikhaikhai	something
kukhaikhai	something
likhaikhai	something
khaiqiqi	sometimes
khaisiqiqi	sometimes
khaikawkaw	somewhere
ntzuiraikhaikhai	somebody

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[53] See section 5.3.4 for equative clause form.

[54] In the table, many lexical items are seen to have morphemes in common. Although the researcher realizes that this is material for further analysis, it is beyond the scope of the current work.

Looking at the formation of specific indefinite pronouns, the word *khai* 'one' is a basic element, and a process of reduplication of the final element is also seen in every case.

(20) shows the indefinite pronoun *kukhaikhai* 'something' in the role of a patient.

(20)	SE 5					
swarai	*khai*	*pasa*	*jai*	*tzaitzai*	*ra*	
older.person	one	M	A	walk	come	
sai	***kukhaikhai***	*zhwa*		*lu*	*whai*	
CONN	**something**	look.for		IPFV	in.the.manner	

An older person walked in as if he is searching for something…

In (21) the indefinite pronoun *khaisiqiqi* 'sometimes' is in a non-core argument role.

(21)	P 58		
khaisiqiqi	*sai*	*ra*	*lai*
sometimes	RV	come	CL.F

[He] comes only sometimes.

Another set of indefinite pronouns are nonspecific. These are the pronouns which refer to a single, unidentified and unspecified referent. Table 17 displays some which occur in the data.

Table 17 Nonspecific indefinite pronouns

Vernacular	Gloss
shilawtshatshalaw	anyone
kwatilaw	anytime
kuhawlawtshabaishu	anywhere
taikalawtshabaishu	anything

All nonspecific indefinite pronouns make use of the lexical item *law,* which has two potentially relevant senses: 'even' or 'also'. They are formed based around the semantically relevant interrogative pronoun[55], and can also include other clausal components, including the verb *tsha* 'do'. These may best be considered elaborate expressions, or some type of construction at the phrase level rather than individual lexical items[56].

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[55] Interrogative pronouns are listed in Table 23.
[56] Further discussion about the internal structure is beyond the scope of the current work.

3.2.5.4 Togetherness and aloneness

There are three ways observed in Jejara to express concepts of togetherness and aloneness. Each relies on a single morpheme, but the meaning is constructed in a way which sometimes results in long strings of speech which can be considered elaborate expressions. Two types of togetherness are expressed, including one similar to reciprocality and another which gives a sense of accompaniment. The term "aloneness" is used for expressions which have a sense of internal unity, resulting in exclusivity.

The first of the morphemes introduced here is *pwai*, a lexical item which is inalienably possessed and is a type of relational term meaning 'friend' or 'group (of friends)'. It has related senses of a contained whole in its use as a portion of some words for spatial areas such as *shipwai* 'behind' and periods of time like *ntaripwai* 'afternoon'. With the generic relational prefix[57] *haw-*, *hawpwai* yields 'together'. It can be used for many activities that are carried out between two or more people. In some cases *hawpwai* becomes an integral part of what might be considered an elaborate expression used to convey the nature of an event being described. Table 18 shows a few instances realized in the data.

Table 18 Togetherness (reciprocality): *hawpwai*

Vernacular	Gloss	Comments
***hawpwai**pwaisi*	discuss	Note that there is more than one way to express this single, corporately acted out event ('discuss')
***hawpwai**silu*	discuss	
***hawpwai**phyai*	fight	This could be broken down to mean "hit each other," but the LRP explained there does not have to be hitting involved to use this lexical item to mean 'fight'
***hawpwai**ginkalaw*	lean on each other	Unsure of the internal structure and meanings of the component parts
***hawpwai**nqwe*	take along together	This expression applies when either multiple or a single participant(s) take another along with them
***hawpwai**maisui*	love together	This is used in a reciprocal sense

In addition to *hawpwai*, the lexical item *je* also expresses a type of togetherness. It tends to pattern following a pronoun, and brings into focus the cooperative nature in

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[57] For an introduction to the relational prefix, see section 2.5.1.

which an event is carried out. Most frequently, it is formed with a dual pronoun
with the resulting meaning that those two agents will carry out the task. However,
when coupled with the singular pronoun, the result is also two agents. Table 19
displays the usages found in the texts.

Table 19 Togetherness (accompaniment): *je*

Vernacular	Base pronoun	Semantic usage in text
aje	1sg	Together with me
tzije	1du.INCL	The two of us (speaker and listener) together
atzije	1du.EXCL	The two of us together (exclusive of listener)
nyaitzije	2du	(me) together with you
tanqije	3du	The two of them together

In addition to morphemes expressing togetherness is also one for aloneness. The
"aloneness" morpheme *qe* can follow a noun to show that the person or group is
complete within themselves. It is used with pronouns to indicate exclusivity. Lexical
items form with this morpheme with the semantic result of indicating that the
participant represented by the pronoun completes the action of the verb without
outside help. The forms occurring in the dataset can be seen in Table 20.

Table 20 Aloneness (exclusivity): *qe*

Vernacular	Base pronoun	Semantic usage in text
aqe	1sg	by myself
taqe	3sg	by his/her/itself
hawqe(haw)	GNRC	by oneself

Further, *qe* can be productive to form new exclusive meanings. The following table
with three novel usages and the comments serves to shed further light on the
function and semantic role of *qe*.

Table 21 Further *qe* **usages**

Vernacular	Gloss	Comments and examples
haw+jaijairai+qe	us Jejara	Context: Speaking of the people group as a complete whole, the sole corporate owners of their culture (BBS 6.2)
haw+qe+haw+sai	by oneself	This more elaborate expression has the same semantic result as *hawqe* in Table 20 above
lai+qe	between	Internal unity is a concept understood in the semantics of the word 'between' (CB 23)

3.2.5.5 Resumptive pronouns

Resumptive pronouns point back to a referent which has already been mentioned explicitly in the same clause. These are discussed in section 4.9. Their forms are identical to personal pronouns. The set of those which are seen in the data to act in this function are repeated below as Table 22.

Table 22 Resumptive pronouns

Pronoun	Gloss
a	1sg
ta	3sg
tanqi	3du
tarai	3pl

3.2.5.6 Interrogative pronouns

There are a number of lexical items and grammatical patterns working together to express interrogative mood in Jejara. Section 7.2 deals with the formation of interrogative clauses. Table 23 provides an overview of interrogative pronouns. In forming content questions, these pronouns exemplify a fair amount of freedom in the position they take, just as can be seen with noun phrases generally.

Table 23 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronoun	Gloss
shi	who
taika	what
kwai	which
kwaipasa	what/which thing
kuhaw	where
kwati	when
kuta	when
titdatsha	why
titda	how
kushahai	how many/how much

(22) shows a basic example where an interrogative pronoun is used.

(22)   Prn 45

jai	***shi***	*le*
3sg.DIST	**who**	CL.F

Who is he/she?

Final particles also play a role in question formation in Jejara. There are remaining challenges and questions about the details of how this works itself out. Discussion on the topic is deferred to section 7.2 where it can be addressed more comprehensively.

3.2.6 Lexical quantifiers and numerals

In Jejara, two word classes are significant in the role of quantification. These are lexical quantifiers and numerals. They are focused on in turn, followed by an introduction to the overcounting number system and discussion on ordinalization.

3.2.6.1 Lexical quantifiers

A total of 10 lexical quantifiers were found in the corpus of texts. They pattern immediately to the right of their noun head. They also have the ability to function as the sole members of headless NPs (see example (24)). In Table 24 the reader can see a table of quantifiers. Some are obviously formed of other lexical items, in which case glosses corresponding to that internal structure are shown in the right-hand column.

Table 24 Quantifiers

Quantifier	Gloss	Structure
hasha	a little	
tusai	a little	
hoshahai	many, a lot of	
tadruipa	most	
khai+nqi	a couple	1+2
khai+rai	some	1+pl
khai+nqi+saw	a few	1+2+3
tamaiji	all	
li+hoshahai	all kinds	*li*+many
khainquisaw+hai	about 1, 2 or 3	a few+*hai*

(23) shows the quantifier *hoshahai* 'many' patterning to the right of its head noun *khayiphi* 'cabbage'

(23)   NR 10.1

khayiphi	***hoshahai***	*law*	*whiya*	*jai*	*lai*
cabbage	**a.lot.of**	plant	after	DEM.DIST	INS

tishu	*taka*	*laisai*	*shu*	*tsha*	*le*
business	money	enter	in.order.to	do	CL.F

If [one] plants a lot of cabbage, with that, they will make a profit. ("business money will come in")

The quantifier *khairai* 'some' is found to function as a headless NP every one of its occurrences except that where it was elicited with the express purpose of seeking out quantifiers. In the latter case it is shown to pattern together with the head noun in the same way as the other lexical items listed as quantifiers in this section. (24) reveals how it can stand alone as a headless NP, with the actual agent 'people' left implicit. Two clauses in a row show it in this role.

(24)   K 1.5

tdahiya	***khairai***	*azheqi*	*gatda*	*,*
as.for	**some**	journey	go	

khairai	*shazhu*	*gatda*	*tsha*	*nqe*	*le*
some	hunting.trip	go	do	PL.AGR	CL.F

… some go on trips, some go hunting.

3.2.6.2 Numbers

Numbers follow the same syntactic patterning as lexical quantifiers. They function to the right of their head, a noun. Although there are a number of creative usages of numbers in the text, it is most common for them to appear to the right of and act directly on the head. (25) shows just this. The number *khai* 'one' follows the head noun *tainka* 'fish'.

(25)   NE 71

ntapa	*haw*	*tainka*	***khai***	*sai*	*la*
glass	LOC	fish	**one**	be.inside	CL.F

There is one fish in the glass.

(26) displays an example from spontaneous speech. The number *anqi* 'two' modifies the preceding head noun *ntzuirai* 'person'.

(26)   SE 12

tdahi	*ha*	*ya*	*ntzuirai*	**anqi**	*saipwe*	*tzi*	*haw*
well.then	this	TOP	person	**two**	table	top	LOC

Well, this [is]… two people… at a table.

3.2.6.3 Derivational morphology of numbers: overcounting system

An interesting topic for discussion regarding Jejara numbers is the overcounting system in use. The term "overcounting" follows Coupe, who describes the overcounting system in Mongsen Ao as having been decimalized (2007: 117).

To begin the discussion on overcounting, the numbers one through ten are given as Table 25.

Table 25 Numbers one through ten

Number	Gloss
khai	one
anqi	two
asaw	three
pezhai	four
painka	five
tarui	six
taynqai	seven
taishwai	eight
taipvui	nine
taira(hai)	ten

In Jejara, the overcounting system is one in which every number between two multiples of 10 (for example, 11-19) has the lexical form of the next multiple of 10 (20, in our example) as part of its own lexical form. The rough semantics of a number like 11 would be 'to fill up 20, one'. This is not only applicable to figures between multiples of 10, but between multiples of hundreds, thousands, and beyond. According to the LRP, this is the system used in their native language until

this day. Because numbers with many digits become quite complicated, however, young people tend to not be able to or find it too much work to produce these long strings. Instead, they might express the number in Burmese, or might utter it as single digits: "one thousand one hundred eleven" would be produced as "1-1-1-1."

In Table 26 the reader can see a sampling of numbers. Color coding which corresponds to that in Table 25 will help identify some of the repeated parts used to make up one after another layer of numbers, all counting backwards from the next biggest unit they are working to fill up.

Table 26 Numbers in the overcounting system

Number	Gloss
ta + *maipvui* + *khai*	11
ta + *maipvui* + *painka*	15
maipvui	20
ta + *khi* + *saw* + *khai*	21
khi + *saw*	30
khitai + *pvui*	90
khitai + *ra*	100
khitai + *ra* + *ta* + *nqi* + *tzui* + *khai*	101
khitai + *ra* + *ta* + *nqi* + *tzui* + *ta* + *maipvui* + *khai*	111
shaghi + *khai*	1000
shaghi + *ta* + *nqi* + *tzui* + *khitai* + *ra*	1100
shaghi + *ta* + *nqi* + *tzui* + *khitai* + *ra* + *ta* + *nqi* + *tzui* + *tai* + *ra*	1110
shaghi + *ta* + *nqi* + *tzui* + *khitaira* + *ta* + *nqi* + *tzui* + *ta* + *maipvui* + *khai*	1111
shaghi + *tai* + *ra*	10000
shaghi + *khitai* + *ra* + *ta* + *nqi* + *tzui* + *shaghi* + *maipvui* + *ta* + *nqi* + *tzui* + *shaghi* + *ta* + *nqi* + *tzui* + *khitaira* + *ta* + *nqi* + *tzui* + *ta* + *maipvui* + *khai*	111111
drui + *khai*	1 million
drui + *ra*	10 million

Table 27 sorts out some of the morphology which is found in the makeup even of cardinal numbers. Many of these function as building blocks which make the expression of numbers in the overcounting system possible. Others are more basic and will be familiar to speakers of many languages without overcounting systems, such as a morpheme used to represent groups of ten.

Table 27 Morphology in cardinal numbers

Vernacular	Gloss	Comments
hai		An optional ending on multiples of ten from 10-30; used rarely on thirty but frequently on ten and twenty
khi-	ten	Fixed to the front of a multiple of ten
ta-[58]	to.fill.up	Used with *maipvui* 'twenty' in the derivation of numbers 11-19 and *khisaw* 'thirty' for 21-29
ta-, -pa	to.fill.up	Used with *khipezhai* 'forty', *khipainka* 'fifty', *khitarui* 'sixty', *khitaynqai* 'seventy', *khitaishwai* 'eighty', *khitaipvui* 'ninety' and *khitaira* 'hundred' in the derivation of numbers 31-39, 41-49, 51-59, 61-69, 71-79, 81-89, 91-99; Used again to form numbers 200-900 in the same pattern as *ta-, -tzui* below
ta-,-tzui	to.fill.up	Used with *anqi* 'two' after *khitaira* 'hundred' to mean 'to fill up 200'
ta-,-tzui	to.fill.up	In the range from 10,000-11,000 this follows *maipvui* 'twenty', resulting in what an outsider might interpret as 'to fill up 20,000 two times'; the number 'two' occurs twice in these constructions, seemingly redundant, but the correct way to form these Jejara numbers, yielding 'to fill up 20,000'
-ra		The standard last syllable of any word which is a multiple of 100

3.2.6.4 Ordinalization

According to discussions with the LRP, there does not seem to be a direct equivalent to ordinal numbers in Jejara. The researcher elicited one system that would be used in awarding prizes in competitions. A summary is seen as Table 28.

Table 28 Ordinalization for prizes

Number	Structure	Gloss
tamaipfui	first	first
laimbairai+anqi	ordinalization + 'two'	second
laimbairai+asaw	ordinalization + 'three'	third

When asked whether the pattern continues, the response was that they do not usually give more than third prize. It seems that this set of the words is used exclusively for that situation.

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[58] In the case of *ta-+anqi* or *+asaw* an *a* is dropped. See section 2.5.1.

Another context in which ordinal numbers are used in many languages is to refer to birth order in families. In Jejara there is also a system for this. There is a particular lexical form used to refer to the oldest, which is further specified for gender, male or female. A unique combination of prefix and suffix circumfix the word 'two' to produce the form 'second', and the suffix changes for numbers three and higher to form their respective forms.

Table 29 Ordinalization for birth order

Vernacular	Structure	Gloss	Comments
tasawtu+*{pa* or *tzui}*	oldest+{M or FEM}	oldest (M or FEM)	
ta+*nqi*+*tzui*	ordinalization+ 'two' +ordinalization	second oldest	Resulting form used to refer to male or female, although the suffix is FEM -*tzui*
ta+*saw*+*pa*	ordinalization+ 'three' +ordinalization	third oldest	Used for 'third' and higher, confirmed up to 'five'; for male or female, although the suffix is M -*pa*

The researcher elicited numbers as they might be used in one last context to see whether any pattern might emerge regarding a standard usage of ordinalization. This is the way of referring to grades in schools. A pattern once again surfaced, but unique from the other patterns found. Table 30 displays this.

Table 30 Ordinalization for school grades

Vernacular	Structure	Gloss	Comments
dhapfuirai		kindergarten	Morpheme *pfui* in common with *tamai**pfui** 'first'
laipwai+*khai*	grade+one	'first grade'	Applies to intervening grades not shown as well
laipwai+*taira*	grade+ten	'tenth grade'	

3.2.7 Nominal particles

Particles which play roles directly connected to nouns or noun phrases are presented in this section, divided into nominal case markers and other particles[59]. Elements which seem to be more tightly part of the noun itself are also considered. Note, however, that it is not always perfectly clear whether certain items should be

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[59] Figure 12 in section 4.3.1 provides the reader with a visual representation of the elements of the NP in relation to the head.

considered independent particles or affixes. The observations made in the following sections are true whether the lexical items in question are considered affixes or independent particles. Motivation for choosing the terminology related to the latter analysis in most cases is that many items, such as the nominal case markers considered below, can occur significantly removed from the head noun to which they relate.

3.2.7.1 Nominal case markers

Although there are questions remaining and potentially much still to be discovered about case markers[60] in Jejara, this research currently takes a perspective encouraged by Coupe and his reasoning regarding the encoding of core grammatical functions in Mongsen Ao (2007: 150). He makes a distinction between "grammatical functions" and "grammatical relations," carefully stating factors which motivate the designation of grammatical relations in a language[61].

> If a language consistently targets a specific subset of arguments of the predicate for syntactic operations… then the controller of those syntactic operations might be identified as a grammatical relation, such as "subject" or "object". Whereas grammatical functions are found in all languages, grammatical relations such as "subject" and "object" are language-specific and may not be relevant to the syntax of every language.

Coming from a similar perspective, the researcher chooses to avoid grammatical relation terminology as much as possible, unless and until it becomes unavoidably clear that case markers or other syntactic features cannot simply be identified as indicating grammatical functions, but must be understood for the grammatical relations they demonstrate. Coupe further includes an explanation that the lack of relevance of designating grammatical functions is a common phenomenon in Tibeto-Burman languages, and refers to examples from the Naga region (2007: 286):

> Mongsen is representative of those languages in which core case marking is not syntactically motivated. Although the grammar possesses the morphological means to differentiate grammatical functions explicitly by using agentive case-marking on the A

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[60] This term follows Coupe (2007: 184).
[61] The choice not to identify grammatical relations in Jejara also motivates the semantic labels "agent" (A) and "patient" (P). If there is reason to refer to the argument of a verb which semantically only takes one argument, it can be called the single argument of an intransitive clause (S).

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argument of transitive clauses and no explicit marking on the O argument, it is quite frequently found that both core arguments of transitive clauses are unmarked for case. In these situations, context and/or world knowledge must be relied upon to assign semantic roles correctly to noun phrase referents, particularly when both referents are animate entities. Pragmatically and/or semantically motivated marking of core arguments appears to be a shared characteristic of other Tibeto-Burman languages of the region and is reported to operate in Lahu (Matisoff 1973: 155–156; Matisoff 1976: 423–427) and in Meithei, also known in the literature as Manipuri (Chelliah 1997: 93; Bhat and Ningkomba 1997: 54–56.).

In Jejara, case markers can be found on noun phrases of all kinds. In this analysis, case-marking lexical items are being considered independent particles. They function to mark the role which a noun phrase argument plays. It is not obligatory to mark NPs for core argument roles they play when that role can be understood. Table 31 lists the closed class of case markers occurring in the language, organized roughly so that case markers indicating core argument semantic roles come first, followed by markers for other arguments (causer and benefactive) which often have humans as referents. Location related particles are grouped last[62].

Table 31 Case marking particles

Case marker	Role, abbreviation		Comments
jai (jaijai)[63]	Agent	A	Restricted to animate referents (includes S arguments)
	Patient	P	Restricted to inanimate referents
lai	Agent	A	Usage where the role of the participant is pragmatically recoverable seems to indicate formal speech
sai	Recipient	REC	The participant who receives
shu	Speech recipient	SP	For verbs of speech, specifically indicates recipient of message
lailili	Causer	CAUS	The agent responsible for an outcome
laitwa	Benefactive	BEN	The participant benefiting from an action

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[62] *kaw* is a marker for a human referent who is representing a locative argument in a given clause. Although it has properties in common with locative case markers, it also shows differences, and is not included in this table of case markers. One unique property is that it is optionally followed by other locative markers. Discussion on this lexical item is undertaken in section 4.6.5.

[63] Although the data does show *jai* marking the categories of NP arguments listed here, the data is limited, and more evidence is still needed to confirm that the animate/inanimate split is the motivation for using the same marker for arguments in different semantic and syntactic roles.

Case marker	Role, abbreviation		Comments
haw	Location	LOC	This is a general locative marker. It has an extended usage to indicate ablative and also the parallel general temporal marker and beginning temporal marker.
	Source	ABL	
	Time	LOC	
	Source time	ABL	
hawlai	Source	ABL	Although arguments in these roles can be marked by *haw*, this particle (which integrates the general one) is more specific about the fact that motion is involved.
	Source time	ABL	
hawsai	Restrictive location	LOC.RV	Consists of the parts *haw* LOC and *sai* 'restrictive', with the resulting meaning: "upon reaching [specified location]."
sai	Restrictive (temporal)	RV	The time marked with this particle was reached or must be reached before the event of the verb took/takes place.
lai	Instrument	INS	
	Source	ABL	
lwa	Goal	ALL	
ma	Goal	ALL	Very limited occurrences; perhaps borrowed
	Patient	P	

In relation to case marking of core arguments, it is clear that further research is required. This is particularly true regarding the need to confirm whether the human and nonhuman referent split is an adequate explanation for the behavior of *jai* which marks both agent and patient arguments[64]. *lai* also patterns in a fairly wide range of semantic contexts. Here, the researcher has simply presented the particles which pattern in the single position, immediately to the right of the noun phrase. She lists the roles in which she has found each one, and the explanation which seems most logical given the available data.

Case marking to indicate semantic roles is discussed more thoroughly in section 5.4 and examples can be found there.

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[64] Particularly because the researcher encountered difficulty assigning clearly-defined grammatical roles to some of these particles (*jai* being most problematic), syntactically-motivated factors were carefully considered. No motivation to consider grammatical relations an important feature of the language surfaced. Lacking a very satisfactory analysis to date, Table 31 reflects simple contextual observations. The researcher will continue to look for further evidence which is either confirming or suggestive of a better, different analysis.

3.2.7.2 Other particles working within or on the noun phrase

In the lexicon, there are a number of particles which are seen to have roles related to the noun phrase which have not yet been covered in preceding discussion.

Table 32 identifies a number of nominal particles[65], excluding those which have been discussed previously. In reality, words such as measurals, attributives, lexical quantifiers, demonstratives and gender identifiers all pattern in and between these particles as well. In the table below nominal particles are listed roughly in order, with those closest to the head noun (immediately to its right) at the top, moving out to the periphery as one makes their way to the bottom of the table[66]. The first four, before the bold line, occur within the NP, while the others act on the NP.

Table 32 Nominal particles

Particle	Gloss or function	Comments: syntactic patterning, semantic meaning or section link
hai	LIST	Discussed in section 4.6.2
sa	DIM	• occurs before NUM (C&N 17.1-2)
rai	PL	• immediately follows N (BP 3), except when *hai* LIST intervenes (BBS 4.4)

lwa	'portion'	• immediately follows N which refers to
		    ○ time (NR 14.1)
		    ○ or a physical item (BBS 1.12)
		marking it as the portion being referred to

law	'even'	Discussed in section 3.4.3
tda	LIST	Discussed in section 4.6.2
si	'just' Restrictive/EMPH	• occurs after NUM and DIM (C&N 19.1-2), following NP CASE (K 1.7) or sentential complement (SE 7) • can be followed by *ya*, *law*, *qilaw* EMPH (CN 1)
tda	EMPH, counter-expectation	• immediately following *law* to mean "even/also NP" (BBS 1.3)
ya[67]	as for	• gives slight contrast or emphasis to NP (L52 3) • occurs after case marker

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[65] Some hierarchies regarding the constituent level over which each has scope are probable. However, sorting and identifying some morphemes as affixes and others as words does not prove to be an easy or even always meaningful task (see section 2.5). For example, one might think that plural marking on nouns could be a potential affix. And yet even between the noun and its plural marking a particle used to indicate nouns as members of a list is seen intervene (BBS 4.4). The distinction between parts of a word and parts of a phrase proves difficult to make definitively, and may not even yield great benefits.

[66] Line breaks are used to give a rough indication of where there is uncertainty. For example, there is no data to indicate whether the finally-listed *tda* and *ya* cooccur, and therefore in what order they would be found. For further details on the ordering noun phrase-related elements, see section 4.3.1.

[67] This is a unique sense from *ya* TOP. It is found immediately following *ha,* for example, which itself is a topicalizer. Further, it follows other NP-marking particles, namely *haw* LOC and *si* 'just'. A point for further study is its frequent usage after *hi* 'if', which is considered a connective. This connective may in fact have nominalizing effect on the clause it follows.

Particle	Gloss or function	Comments: syntactic patterning, semantic meaning or section link
ma	Counter-expectation	Discussed in section 3.4.3
ha, ya	Topicalizer	• the two are allomorphs (SE 8, 34) • frequently used in existential and equative propositions (SE 9)

3.2.7.3 Noun-internal structure

The focus of this section is to look at internal structure found in certain nouns. Table 33 provides a list of meaningful parts of nouns in the data in three categories. Some can best be understood as nominalizing affixes and others as more fixed elements of the noun word[68]. *rai* is a nominalizing morpheme producing a number of semantic results. There are two morphemes indicating gender, which also have extended usages, both by themselves and in conjunction with other morphemes. Two phonological forms, each demonstrating connection to a specific semantics set of nouns, are also displayed.

Table 33 Noun word-level structure

Formation	Examples	Gloss	Base
rai in usages related to agentivity and humanity			
N_1 + *rai* → N_2 'agent of N_1'	*letsha*+*rai*	student	*letsha* 'school'
	pfuinqai+*rai*	mountain people	*pfuinqai* 'mountain'
N_1 + *rai* → N_2 (human)	*nyaitzuisa*+*rai*	woman	
	ntzui+*rai*	person	
N_1 + *rai* → N_2 (respected person)	*tasawtu*+*rai*	high status person	*tasawtu* 'older person'
N_1 + *rai* → N_2 (ethnic group)	*Jaijai*+*rai*	Jejara	*Jaijairai* 'Jejara'
	Kaiyin+*rai*	Karen	*Kaiyin* 'Karen'
N_1 + *tsharai* → N_2 'user of N_1'	*maiqhiqhi*+ *tsharai*	soccer player	*maiqhiqhi* 'ball'
Suffixes *pa* and *tzui* for gender and other usages			
N_1+*pa* → N_2 'male N_1'	*a*+*pa*	father	
	aju+*pa*	older brother	
ta+UNSURE+*pa* → N (person of status, respected)	*ta*+*ghukatshe*+ *pa*	person in position of responsibility	
	ta+*taiga*+*pa*	chairperson	

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[68] Some of the items listed show evidence of a degree of productivity while others seem to have been significantly lexicalized. *nyai-* as a portion of words with human referents, for example, is no longer an active process of affixation. The shared syllable and the common thread of meaning are pointed out for readers' interest. It would be material for diachronic studies of the language. Other items included in Table 33 cannot easily be identified as synchronically productive at this point in the research.

Formation	Examples	Gloss	Base
N₁ + *tzui* → N₂ 'female N₁'	*a+tzui*	mother	
	the+tzui	teacher.FEM	
haw + {N₁ or V} + *pa* → N₂ (thing)	*haw+zhutsha+ pa*	things to do/work	*zhutsha* 'work (N)'
	haw+tsha+pa		*tsha* 'work (V)'
N₁ [TEMP] + *pa* → N₂ [TEMP]	*nqawkaw+pa*	two years ago	*nqawkaw* 'last year'
	saikaw+pa	coming years	*saikaw* UNSURE
Phonological elements corresponding to semantic commonality			
nyai- (a component of words for humans)	*nyai+pasarai*	man	*pasa* M + *rai* agent
	nyai+sa	child	*sa* DIM
n-[69] (a component of words for body parts)	*n-qaw*	neck	

3.3 Verbs

Verbs form the foundation of the Jejara clause. There are a wide variety of elements which can work together with the verb, and therefore provide diagnostic criteria by which to identify lexical items as verbs. Because Jejara is a verb final language, the first thing to do to identify a verb is to look to the end of the clause. From there, more specific criteria can also be used. One of the easiest to identify and most consistently applicable criteria is the ability to be negated. The negative particle *ma* occurs immediately before the verb it negates. (27) below gives an illustration of negating the verb *tza* 'eat'.

(27)   LQ 10

*pwezhwasawsu laipye   khai ji   ya   **ma**   tza ke   su*

jackfruit   whole.of.round one   big   so   **NEG**   eat   to.completion can

A whole jackfruit is big, so [I] can't eat it all.

There are also many verbal particles which can occur to the right of a verb. Modification by any of these particles is indicative of verbal status. In (27) above, *ke* and *su* are two of these. The whole range of verbal particles is examined in more detail in Chapter 6 which discusses them as members of the verb complex.

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[69] This affix is no longer productive. Matisoff (2003: 118) refers to PTB *m-, explaining that it was a prefix on both verb and noun roots. It has been observed to sometimes show up "as a 3rd person possessive prefix (often with inalienably possessed items like kinship terms and body parts)." Also noteworthy is that Matisoff's examples are given in Meithei, a language in the Naga region.

Another characteristic feature of Jejara verbs is their ability to string together in multi-verb constructions. This is discussed further in section 8.2 but also illustrated by *taisui+ra+pwa* of (28) below.

(28) CB 7

ta	*shipwai*	*lwa*	***taisui***	***ra***	***pwa***	*he*
3sg.POSS[70]	behind	ALL	**back.up**	**come**	**sit**	CMPL

… She backed up and came to sit [there]. ("backed up and came to sit behind herself")

A further way to identify Jejara verbs is by the derivational processes that can be applied to them, including nominalization and relativization. A range of nominalizers such as *ti* 'the time when V' occur at the end of the verb phrase[71]. Further, there are nominalizers in the form of prefixes. *a-* and *ta-* can precede verbs to create abstract nouns with resulting meanings like 'sleep (N)'[72]. The relativizer *lu* also follows verbs, providing a means of identification[73]. For example, *tamaisui+lu* 'like+REL' modifies *lwatzui* 'road' (BBS 1.3). Processes of reduplication likewise apply to verbs, providing yet another diagnostic criterion[74].

These various syntactic patterns, the presence of different particles, and the application of certain processes can all be used together to identify an element as a verb.

Rather than engaging in much discussion here regarding word categories which relate to verbs (such as postverbal particles) and possible classes of verbs, these topics are addressed in their respective sections. Elements which occur within the verb complex are addressed in Chapter 6. A few verbal behaviors which cannot be narrowed to fitting in the topics covered by other chapters are touched on below. First, a brief overview of the category of attributive verbs as it pertains to both the verb complex and the noun phrase is given as section 3.3.1. One unique case of a verbal process which can pattern either within the verb complex or elsewhere within the clause, removed from the matrix verb, is summarized in section 3.3.2.

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[70] Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating possession, here and throughout this paper pronouns used in a possessive manner are indicated with '.POSS' where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.

[71] See discussion on clause nominalization section 8.3.1.

[72] See discussion on affixation section 2.5.1.

[73] See discussion on relativization section 8.3.3.

[74] See discussion on reduplication in sections 2.5.3 and 6.3.4.

3.3.1 Attributive verbs

"Mongsen is typical of Tibeto-Burman languages of the region, and indeed generally, in lacking an underived class of adjective (Coupe 2007: 80)." Following suit, Jejara does not have a separate word class of adjective. Semantic content expressed by adjectives in many languages are encoded by attributive verbs in Jejara. Attributive verbs can act in two main ways. They can function as the predicate of a clause. They also act as elements of the noun phrase, modifying its head. Although little space is given to the discussion of whether there is any syntactic difference between verbs encoding different types of events or states, the topics of attributive verbs used as both clausal elements and noun phrase elements are touched on in their appropriate sections. Discussion on how attributive verbs function as clause level elements is undertaken in section 5.3.5.1. Section 4.3.4 gives an overview of how attributive verbs[75] can function as noun phrase elements.

3.3.2 Verbal reduplication: imperfectivity

In Jejara, in addition to verbal particles, verbs themselves are lexical building blocks used to modify verbs. As introduced in section 2.5.3, the process of verbal reduplication can be used to express imperfectivity and results in semantic modification of the matrix verb in a clause[76]. It is unique from the imperfectivity marker *lu* within the verb complex which expresses aspectual meaning about the head verb itself[77]. This reduplication is a morphological process with a grammatical function, demonstrated in (29). The function is to indicate the imperfectivity of the verb, in this case *tshe* 'hold'. This imperfectivity indicates an event-internal perspective, with the semantic result that one can say it represents the manner in which the main verb is executed. The activity "comes and breaks" happens during the state of "holding."

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[75] As is seen in section 4.3.4, this includes more than those words which might be adjectives in a language like English.

[76] The functions of Jejara reduplicated verbs very closely match the functions of converbs as described by Coupe (2005). They are "dependent" (5) in that they do not function as the matrix verb in the clause to which they belong. Coupe includes in his list of meanings which converbs can express "overlapping temporality, manner, directivity," (8) all of which are encoded by the reduplicated forms described here as encoding imperfectivity. Further, Coupe refers to Johanson (1995), saying, "converbs in a modifying function are propositionally restrictive and express meanings that correlate with adverbial interpretations" (9). This is an accurate description of the reduplicated forms in Jejara. The point at which the Jejara verb forms diverge from the converb as Coupe describes it is in structure. While his converbs are "usually marked by an affix on a verb stem" (6), in Jejara it is reduplication of the verb which signals these meanings.

[77] See section 6.3.10.

(29)   CB 19

nyaitzuisatzuirai   *khai*   *jai*   *sawkhwa*   *maiku*   **tshetshe**   *ra*   *tairwaiqhi*
girl   one   A   stick   dry   **hold.IPFV**   come   break

… A girl, holding a dry stick, comes and breaks [it].

As in example (29), it is very common for these reduplicated constructions to pattern with a main verb which is directional, and for the reduplicated word to immediately precede the verb it describes. It is possible, however, both to describe the manner of verbs besides directional ones, as well as to have intervening arguments. (30) provides an example of both. The argument *ta + shipwai* "behind herself" intervenes between the reduplicated form *pwapwa* 'sit.IPFV' and the matrix verb *taisui* 'back up'.

(30)   CB 7

nyaitzuisarai   *khai*   *saipwe*   *ra*   *mainqai*   *cai*
woman   one   table   come   be.beside   CONN

pwapwa   *ta*   *shipwai*   *lwa*   **taisui**   *ra*   *pwa*   *he*
sit.IPFV   3sg.POSS   behind   ALL   **back.up**   come   sit   CMPL

A woman came near the table and, sitting, backed up and sat.

The reduplicated word can have scope over several events. In (31) the LRP is describing a scene which involves three participants. A woman is cooking, and a young man joins her, "look-sitting" at what she is doing. The imperfective *pwapwa* is the background information, providing, if you will, the manner in which the following action takes place. That subsequent action entails an older man coming up and sitting as well. Quite a length of speech (indicated by brackets in the example) intervenes between the manner which has been set up and the verb which occurs under those circumstances. This is in part because the speaker thinks in between about how to refer to the newly introduced participant (older man).

(31) SE 32

ta   *tzwawa*   *tshalu*   *ti*   **pwapwa**   *[tanqi*   *pa*   *le*
3sg   food   cook   look.at   **sit.IPFV**   3du   father   CL.F

swaparai   *khai*   *jai*   *ra*   *ta*   *pwakaw*   *haw]*   **ra**   *pwa*
older.person   one   A   come   3sg   chair   LOC   **come**   sit
… he… sitting down watching her cook – their father? – an older man comes and sits at his chair…

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(32) shows the word *laitzetze* as meaning 'quickly'. It looks to be an example of how reduplicated forms expressing manner can be lexicalized, so that this is no longer a synchronic process of imperfectivity by reduplication. Dividing it into syllables yields the parts 'go + dance + dance'. Although manner is expressed using this reduplicated form, the fact that its gloss is not exactly equivalent to the sum of the parts is a sign of lexicalization.

(32) CK 7.2
ay   ***laitzetze***   *ga*   *ye*
yes   **quickly**   go   IRR
Yeah – [let's] go quickly.

One verb which is commonly reduplicated in the data is *tsha* 'do'. The nature of the verb itself is such that it can be used in a wide variety of circumstances, having a general and broad semantic meaning. This is likely a contributing factor of its frequent occurrence in the widest range of circumstances. It is often seen occurring in positions other than immediately preceding a verb which it modifies. It has moved toward having connective features in some usages, so that it joins one clause to the next, indicating that while the preceding action was 'being done', the following event also occurred. This can be seen in (33). There is a long description of a series of activities the speaker and his teacher undertook in order to earn money for a journey they were to take. The activities were listed in one continual sentence, concluding with the utterance below. The entire free translation has been included to facilitate understanding about how 'doing like that' fits into the larger context, and sets the manner in which the travel costs were received.

(33)   BBS 4.4
ja   ***tshatsha***   *atzi*   *lwatzai*   *laili*   *nkui*
like.that   **do.IPFV**   1du.INCL   travel   cost   receive
[We] made chairs for church and cupboards for our office, then we went down to Yaydaung village and made chairs again. **Doing** *like that, the two of us earned [the money for our] travel cost.*

Further comment can be made about constructions with reduplicated verbs resulting in imperfective meanings in regards to syntactic order. Until now, all examples have been grounded in a matrix verb which follows the imperfective construction. There are also examples where the reduplicated construction follows a verb rather than preceding it[78]. This yields a sense which can be interpreted as resultative, rather

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[78] These are also addressed in section 6.3.4 as part of the verb complex.

than pointing to the manner of an activity. (34) provides a clear example. The verb *dha* 'break apart' in its reduplicated form indicates the state of affairs resulting from the immediately preceding verb *laitzaika* 'fall down'.

(34) L60c 2

o	*ta*	*sawpwepwe*	*pa*	*lwe*	*ga*	*ti*	*haw*
oh	3sg	flower	pot	carry	go	time	LOC

laitzaika	**laigaw**	**dhadha**	*ga*	*whailo*
slip.and.fall	**fall.down**	**break.IPFV**	go	finished

Oh! While she was carrying the vase, [it] fell and broke ("is in an ongoing state of being broken") to pieces.

In summary, the process of reduplication applied to verbs can result in the grammatical function of indicating imperfectivity. When such a construction occurs preceding a main verb, it can be described as revealing the manner in which the main verb was executed. When occurring following the main verb, the resulting semantic sense is to indicate the ongoing state of affairs ensuing due to the event described in the main verb.

3.4 Clausal word categories

A wide range of particles can pattern between clauses to connect them through a variety of processes. Other clause level particles are found at the end of clauses. These can indicate mood and aspect, along with a wide range of deontic (speaker-oriented) modalities. It is noteworthy that there is much overlap between those particles used for clause connection and those used clause-finally. After a discussion of particles in these two complementary roles, the construction *law*(*ma*) is addressed. Interjections also pattern at the clausal level. In Jejara, intensifiers, too, function at the clause level, not being bound to the verb.

3.4.1 Clause connectives

Verbs and clauses[79] can be connected in various ways. The lexical items used in connective processes as observed in Jejara are introduced in this section. Certain processes of nominalization, complementization and relativization are also types of clause connectives in that they enable clausal material to pattern within matrix clauses. These latter processes are covered in more detail in Chapter 8.

Displays of clause-conjoining lexical items are given as Table 34 and Table 35. The first includes connectives used for additional relations, such as *lai* 'and then'. These encode relations which are fairly temporal. The second table represents connectives indicating logical relations. The relations indicated by the former can be considered coordinating, while in many languages the latter are viewed as subordinating. The criteria for the division of Jejara words into the two categories of additional relations connectives and logical relations connectives has been based more on semantic criteria than syntactic. This is because syntactic evidence for coordination versus subordination is not robust.

The connectives listed below work on the clause level and pattern clause-finally. In the case of Table 34, each lexical item sets the clause it concludes in time relative to the event of the following clause[80].

Table 34 Connectives: addition relations

Vernacular	Gloss	Example
cai	and then	Ad 7
lai	and then	NE 118
sai	and then	SE 33
whailo	after	BBS 2.1
whiya	after	NR 15.1

---

[79] In Jejara, there are many cases in which it is difficult to identify lexical items being used as connectives in clause conjoining functions as distinctly different from clause final particles. Often, lexical items of the same form are used. There can be overlap in the roles, such that a word's function as a clause final particle is what enables it to conjoin the clause over which it has scope with the following clause. Further, with arguments freely left implicit when pragmatically recoverable and with clause final particles not being obligatory, a clause can technically be as minimal as a single verb. This results in difficulty drawing clear lines separating what is a clause from what is a verb. For this reason, in relation to connectives, the author uses both the term "verb" and the term "clause" with the understanding that processes applicable to conjoining one may be equally applicable to the other. With further study, some processes may be found to be unique to the connection of verbs which are obviously occurring together within a single clause or, conversely, to the connection of constituents which are clearly full clauses.

[80] Table 34, Table 35 and Table 36 list connectives, some of which are multiple-syllabic or even demonstrate fairly obvious internal structure. Analysis of these parts is outside the scope of this work. However, lexical items which seem to be strongly related have been grouped together on a single line.

The connectives in Table 35 pattern following a clause which has a logical relation to the clause which, in turn, follows it.

Table 35 Connectives: logical relations

Vernacular	Gloss	Example
hi	if	BBS 1.6
jatalaw[81]	but	K 1.2
jayaw; jatsha	therefore	BBS 1.2; BBS 5.2
laili[82]	because	BBS 5.2
law	if	T 22.2
ri; riyaw	during	K 1.3; CB 16
sai	for purpose of	O 3
ti	until	T 22.2
whai	in the manner	CB 22
whilaw	if it happens	BBS 1.14
ya	if; so	BBS 3; LQ 10
yaw	at time of	L59a 1
yawtda	in the case	BBS 1.5

Another category of connectives has been designated "discourse connectives." These are those which give the speech a continual flow, and seem to operate freely on numerous levels of grammatical hierarchy. They can be found within the phrase or clause (NR 14.1), joining clauses together (K 1.8) or joining entire discourse chunks one to another (SE 12). In some cases they may simply be used by the speaker to give his speech flow or rhythm, and therefore seem to be able to take on the role of a pause-filler as well (DI 1.1). The connectives which have been thus designated are displayed in Table 36.

---

[81] Occurs sentence-initially, joining to previous sentence.

[82] When comparing other usages of *laili* (e.g. BBS 5.3 currently analyzed as CAUS CASE), it could also be designated a case-marking NPRT. Its usage in Table 35 then would be to mark a clause which is functioning as a sentential complement of a matrix clause. Or, if both usages took *laili* to be a noun, it would be a case of unmarked relativization in occurrences like BBS 5.2 and a case of an NP$_{POSS}$ or compound N in cases like BBS 5.3.

Table 36 Connectives: discourse

Vernacular	Gloss	Example
jahatda[83]	like that	BBS 1.12
tahi; tahiya	then	K 1.10; NR 2.1
tda; tdahi; tdahiya	saying; so then; as for	K 1.8; SE 12; BBS 1.1
tshabaisui	and after	NP 1.1
tshatshalaw	as for	K 1.7

We have looked at three sets of particles related to providing connection at the inter-clausal level or higher. Our discussion now turns to particles used to mark the closure of clauses.

3.4.2 Clause final particles

The label "clause final particles" logically applies to items which occur as the last elements of clauses. There are quite a number of lexical items found to pattern in this position in the data. As might be expected, it is not easy to assign one-to-one glosses for these items. No perfect pattern has yet been found to define specific contexts for the usage of each. The fact that there are such a range of clause final particles, and that despite this many of the sentences which occur in the language are found to function quite well without conclusion by any of these elements, necessitates the deduction that there are many more intricacies to be discovered regarding the details of usages of each.

Table 37 lists the items specifically found patterning in the position which is identified in Chapter 6 as the second to last slot (before the evidentiality marker) in the verb complex[84]. Below the reader can see the tentative gloss assigned to each item according to the role it could be playing in contexts in which it is found.

---

[83] *jahatda* functions as a connective at the discourse level by referring back to previously mentioned material. It is also appropriate to consider it a propositional demonstrative, referring to a previously mentioned event or series of events.

[84] Further information about and discussion on these particles is undertaken in section 6.3.11.

Table 37 Clause final particles

Vernacular	Gloss
ba	yet.PROH (with NEG), Q$_{CONT}$
baiti	yet.PROH (with NEG)
bay	CL.F
be	CL.F
ga	IRR
hailo	EMPH
he	PLT
hi	CMPL
la, lai	CL.F
lay	Q
le	CL.F
leka	Q$_{TAG}$
mai	PLT
whailo	CMPL
x	Q, IRR, F
xay	EMPH
xo	IMP.PLT
ya	IRR
ye	IRR

An important point for further study regarding clause final particles is in relation to their form. There are those which have identical initial consonants and others with the same rhymes. Some are even comprised of two syllables. It may become possible to analyze some of these items as contractions, or having portmanteau features that fall into a particular pattern. Some may be phonological variations of what is conceptually a single lexical item to the native speaker.

3.4.3 Another construction: *law*(*ma*)

A particular combination of two particles with unique distribution will be mentioned in this section. They do not seem to be restricted to working only on certain elements of a clause, or certain levels of the syntactic hierarchy and can therefore be considered a construction operating at clause level.

The particle *law* has a number of senses, but in this particular flexible usage, it can be glossed 'even'. It, optionally followed by *ma*, is seen to follow noun phrases (SE 2) and verb phrases (CK 5). The item over which it has scope is semantically pulled out and highlighted, emphasizing a sense of contra-expectation. This particle seems to be structurally independent, working with other elements of the discourse at will.

ma occurs immediately following *law* in four out of five of its occurrences. It has a similar semantic role, therefore seeming to add to the force of the speaker's emphasis. This pair of particles acts to place focus on a fact that the speaker expects will be surprising for the listener. In their combined usage, then, the feeling of contra-expectation may be increased, or it may simply be a more pleasing sounding way of articulating the same concept.

(35) allows the reader to see an example of these two particles working together, with the preceding NP as their scope.

(35)	Adv 3						
tasawtu	*rai*	***law***	***ma***	*tarai*	*lawsai*	*lu*	*lai*
older.person	PL	**even**	**even**	3pl	happy	IPFV	CL.F

Even older people are happy.

3.4.4 Interjections

As in other languages, interjections can be used to add flavor and express the opinion, perspective or emotion of a speaker in a speech act. Almost every occurrence of an interjection in the texts is sentence initial. In four cases the speaker interrupts his own speech (represented by a dash in LRP transcription) and begins a new clause with an interjection. One of these cases (BBS 1.13) shows the interjection standing in the place of a clause. Instead of further expanding on his thoughts, the speaker utters *am*, a thinking sound with which he completes the sentence.

Table 38 provides the reader a list of interjections as encountered in the texts.

Table 38 Interjections

Interjection	Gloss	Description
a	ah	Worried
am	um	Troubled, bothered, dissatisfied
		Thinking (pause-filler)
aw	oh	Coming to understand or realize
ay	alright	Come to point of decision
	yes	Positive agreement
co	okay	Come to point of decision/rallying others
ha	hah	Surprised (possibly negatively)
hay	hey	Surprised
		Getting someone's attention from a distance (sometimes uttered twice)
na[85]	(Burmese ကွယ် /kwɛ/)	Emphatic
o	oh	Surprised
u	yes	Affirmative, polite

(36) shows one usage of an interjection. The speaker is commenting to a friend on information he has gained, namely that a mythun is being killed for a festival.

(36)   CK 9.2

ay	*tzi*	*ga*	*ti*	*ya*	*le*
alright	**1du**	**go**	**look.at**	**IRR**	**CL.F**

All right, shall we go see?

3.4.5 Intensifiers

In the dataset, Jejara demonstrates that it has a small class of intensifiers. Only two items are found, which are given as Table 39. Both can be glossed 'very'.

Table 39 Intensifiers

Vernacular	Gloss
talaisai	very
wayqi	very

---

[85] Of the interjections, only *na* occurs clause-finally, and it may be borrowed.

Below, (37) gives one instance of the usage of *talaisai*[86] in the texts. This intensifier is seen to modify verbs and occurs preceding them, although NP arguments can intervene between the two. (37) shows *tataitzi* patterning between the intensifier and existential verb. In the data, the intensifier *talaisai* most commonly modifies attributive verbs.

(37)   NE 12

sharai	*ya*	***talaisai***	*tataitzi*	*lu*	*lai*
tiger	TOP	**very**	strength	exist	CL.F

Tigers are very strong. ("have very [much] strength")

The second intensifier, *wayqi*, occurs only twice in the data as an intensifier[87]. (38) shows one of these. It may be different from *talaisai* in that it occurs with negated verbs, although with so few occurrences it is difficult to verify whether this is its exclusive context or not.

(38) CK 7.1

hay	*ayipa*	*jaipa*	*jai*	***wayqi***	*ma*	*thajai*
hey	friend	DEM.M	DEM.DIST	**very**	NEG	trust

Hey, friend! I don't really trust that man.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the grammatical categories observed in Jejara. Nouns were discussed, along with a number of sub classes. Pronouns of five different categories were introduced. This was followed by an introduction to lexical quantifiers and numerals, including the overcounting system. Other morphemes found to pertain to nouns, including nominal case markers were introduced. Elements which show themselves to be elements of noun words were also considered.

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[86] Because of the functioning of the prefix *ta-* as a nominalizer, and maybe even more so because of its usage (along with *ha*) for forming superlative meanings which act like nominals, the researcher suspects that the intensifier *talaisai* is one type of comparative or superlative construction, and would perhaps best be considered a nominal, a form resulting from a particular nominalizing process. There is not sufficient evidence to prove or disprove these hypotheses.

[87] It also has an occurrence seen to have another sense which has been designated a verb, since it is followed by a clause connector. In that sense it does not work with the negative; it encodes 'have more'. The same form is also used in a related sense to express comparatives (section 5.3.6).

Verbs are found to be a second major word class in Jejara. A subset of these, attributive verbs, were presented, followed by an overview of the process of verbal reduplication and its aspectual function in indicating imperfectivity.

Word categories pertaining to the clause were also dealt with. These include the related clause connectives and clause final particles and a unique construction *law*(*ma*). The concluding two categories were interjections and intensifiers.

Chapter 4
Noun phrase

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the noun phrase. After introducing nouns in terms of their identifying properties and distributional characteristics, the focus continues with the noun phrase structure including the basic linear order and a presentation of complex noun phrase modification. Then one exception to noun phrase linear order is introduced, followed by a presentation of attributive verbs as noun phrase elements. Chapter 4 further describes the existence of a temporal noun phrase as opposed to an adverbial and a locative noun phrase as opposed to an adpositional phrase. Then the structural variants seen in apposition, conjoined noun phrases, and a noun phrase including gender particle are addressed. Further variants are found in the noun phrase for expressing measurement of entities signified by that noun and distributive and partitive constructions. Demonstratives, kinship terms, resumptive pronouns and their usages are explained.

4.2 Identifying properties and distributional characteristics of a noun

In Jejara the most basic identifying feature of a noun is its function as the head of a noun phrase (NP). Nouns also demonstrate the basic ability to be possessed[88]. Nouns are further identifiable by their ability to be marked for plurality. Additionally, nouns can be delimited by using (optional) measure words then marked for number or by lexical quantifiers. Nouns can be ascribed characteristics by attributive verbs, which follow quantifiers. The rightmost lexical item modifying a noun within the noun phrase is a demonstrative.

A noun phrase can be identified by optional case marking particles, including those which mark the NP for its role as an agent or patient[89]. NPs can further be identified

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[88] There is a subset of nouns which seem to be bound under most circumstances, and can be identified by the obligatory presence of the prefixing *ta-* or another version of the relational prefix. For more information, see section 2.5.1 where processes of affixation are described.
[89] See section 3.2.7.1 and footnote 61 for an explanation of the motivation behind the choice of terminology for case marking particles.

for the semantic role of goal, instrument and other non-core semantic roles[90]. In cases where nouns are members of verbless clauses as either topic or complement, markers which indicate topic or finalize the statement can be seen patterning following the noun phrases. These particles overlap with those that mark agentive NPs and clause final (postverbal) particles, respectively.

4.3 Noun phrase structure

The basic noun phrase structure of Jejara and an exception are presented in the following sections, followed by some discussion on attributive verbs in the noun phrase.

4.3.1 Linear order

The Jejara noun phrase patterns with the head on the left-hand side; its modifiers follow it on the right. There are three exceptions to this: (1) relative clauses (2) attributives[91] and (3) nouns which possess the head noun. These occur to the left of the head noun when they are acting as noun phrase elements to modify and delimit the head.

A summary of the noun phrase linear order can be depicted as below.

(REL clause)	(Attributive [92])	(Possessor – N)	Head	(LIST particle *hai*)	(PL particle *rai*)	(Lexical quantifier or numeral)	(Gender particle)	(Restrictive particle *si*)	(Attributive[92])	(Demonstrative)

Figure 12 Noun phrase linear order

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[90] At times, lexical items used for discourse-level functions, such as those which mark contrast or trace new and old referents can pattern immediately to the right of nouns when other noun phrase elements do not intervene. This does not provide conclusive evidence that an item is a noun, however, as these particles occur freely on a number of levels.

[91] Optionally. They can also occur post-head.

[92] All other elements of the noun phrase, excluding the head, can also be described as "attributive" in the sense that they modify the head. The lexical items which occur in these two positions have verbs as their base, sometimes taking reduplicated forms or semantically-empty syllables as discussed in 4.3.4. They differ from the relative clauses in the initial position particularly in that the relative clauses referred to all occur with *lu* REL. The relative clauses, although also attributive in meaning, are separated as distinct in form. Additionally, the two (relative clauses and other attributives) are seen to cooccur, motivating the recognition of two positions. No claim is made at this time about the grammatical category of the items occurring in these two positions labelled "attributive." Further research should make clear, for example, whether they are verbal or deverbal, and whether some require being recognized as relative clauses without a relativizer.

Examples of multiple lexical items modifying a single head noun are somewhat rare in naturally produced texts. Since not all of the elements of the noun phrase are found to cooccur in a single noun phrase anywhere in the data, it is impossible to make definite claims about the ability or non-ability of members from different positions to cooccur. Another remaining question is whether there are restrictions which dictate when an attributive will occur before its head and when it will occur after, or whether the semantic result is different[93].

A few difficult questions find answers in the utterance displayed as (39) below. The first element is a relative clause *tatziti + haw nkui + lu* 'that [you] see in front'. It is followed by an attributive *sawdhuidhui*[94] 'wooden'. These are both pre-head modifiers, and the head they modify, *zhaw* 'house', follows them. The final element in this particular NP is another attributive (this one post-head) *tu* 'big'. This example confirms (1) that the pre-head relative clause and attributive can cooccur, (2) that they do so in that order and (3) that the pre- and post-head attributives can cooccur[95].

(39)   NP 2.2
tatziti   haw   nkui   lu   sawdhuidhui   zhaw   tu
front   LOC   see   REL   wooden   house   big
The big wooden house that [you] see in front…

Following are a number of more basic examples of noun phrase elements modifying their heads.

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[93] The data shows attributives occurring after their head with much greater frequency than before. Further, many preverbal attributives encode meanings which, in English, would more naturally be rendered as relative clauses rather than adjectives. The reader can refer to SE 2 where *saisai* 'finish' occurs before *jai* 'thing' to render 'thing that was finished'. Mongsen Ao also exhibits an attribute type (identified by Coupe as a relative clause) in its noun phrase which can occur either in the pre- or post-head position. Coupe explains that, depending on the semantic content of the attribute and head, the two can differ with the pre-head being restrictive and the post nonrestrictive. In other cases the difference in meaning between the two is so minimal LRPs struggle to identify it (2007: 208-9, 219-20). (Footnotes 92 of section 4.3.1 and 107 of 4.3.4 discuss the grammatical category status of these attributives.)

[94] Section 4.3.4 discusses the common pattern of reduplicating attributive verbs which are modifying nouns within the NP.

[95] This is the only textual example of these cooccurrences. It should be noted that, as seen in (49), this noun phrase is embedded in a larger relative clause which is, in turn, an NP element. This recursive embedding could potentially impact the form that this sample takes, so that it is, in fact, not prototypical. At this time, there is no data with which to confirm whether these noun phrase elements take the same order when they are not embedded.

(40) illustrates a head noun followed by the plural marking particle and then a quantifier.

(40)   C&N 11.1-2
taiwatutu   rai   hoshahai
duck   PL   many
many ducks

(41) displays the head noun *taipyai* 'branch' followed by an attributive *maiku* 'dry'.

(41)   CB 16
sawtaipyai   maiku
woodbranch   dry
… a dry branch…

In (42) the head noun *pwezhwasawsu* 'jackfruit' is followed by a measural then a numeral quantifier.

(42)   LQ 10
pwezhwasawsu   laipye   khai
jackfruit   whole.of.round   one
one whole jackfruit

(43) shows the head noun *sawdrui* 'grove' followed by an attributive and a demonstrative.

(43)   BBS 1.8
sawdrui   talainqi   jai
grove   remainder   DEM.DIST
… That remaining stand of trees…

Example (44) shows a noun followed by a quantifier which is in turn modified by an attributive *qi* 'more than'.

(44)   BBS 2.1
mpa   khai   qi   ga   ataijai   bai
week   one   more.than   go   massage   finish
… to get massages for over a week…

In (45) the noun is followed by a numeral quantifier and then a restrictive particle.

(45)   CB 2.1-2

yikhwe   *khai*   *si*
rock   one   just

only one rock

One noun phrase modifier that has not yet been exemplified is the possessor. Noun phrases in Jejara can be possessed by other noun phrases, including pronouns. The construction used to represent possession is juxtaposition. The NP to the left possesses the NP to the right in these juxtapositions. In (46) a house is stated as being possessed by a person named Jaijaiqai.

(46)   Tr 1

Jaijaiqai   ***taizhaw***   *nkui*
Jaijaiqai (nm)   **house**   see

[I] see Jaijaiqai's house.

Example (47) shows how a more complex NP can be possessed. "Jejara culture information" is possessed by the first person plural pronoun *wai*.

(47)   DI 1.2

jayaw   **wai**   **Jaijairai* *luzhi*   *zhuzhu*
therefore   **1pl.POSS**   **Jejara**   **culture**   **information**

ɲai   *maicai*   *maisui*   *hi*   *ya*
2sg   know   want   if   as.for

Therefore, if you want to know about our Jejara culture…

The reader may wonder whether grounds for confusion arise between this and other grammatical functions often indicated by juxtaposition. These are addressed in sections 4.6.1 and 4.6.2.

4.3.2 Modifiers of a head noun

There are multiple occurrences throughout the texts of demonstratives, lexical quantifiers, numerals and attributives occurring post-head, but in most cases only a single one of these modifiers is found occurring with a single head. Pre-head relative clauses and noun phrase possession as modifiers show more complexity. The

complexity generally results from embedding, with a common example being a locative phrase[96] distributed as part of a sequence which in turn modifies the head.

Through a direct request for as much modification on a single noun as possible, equative clauses resulted. The first, a description of a mango, is available as (48) below. The heads of each NP are bolded and brackets mark the topic and complement, as well as layers of embedded elements.

(48)　　　NP 1.2

[[[[Lishi　*qiqa*　　*Penekon]*　　　　*haw]*
Layshi (plc)　township　Ping Ne Gone (plc)　ABL

arara]　　　**ntuphuisu**　*[khai]*　*[ha]]*_{TOP}
come.DIST　**mango**　　one　　this

[[[[a]　*lai]*　*[a]*　　*tza*　*maisui*　*lu]*
1sg　　A　　1sg.RES[97]　eat　want　REL

[ntzwe　*lainkwe*　*sazhizhiha*　*tshabaisui*　*se*　　*ntzuiha*　*lu]*　**pa]**_{COMP}　*he]*
ripe　　yellow　reddish　　and.then　sour　sweet　REL　**thing**　CL.F
This one mango which comes from Ping Ne Gone village, Layshi Township [is] the one which I want to eat and is yellow-brushed-with-red ripe and sweet and sour.

This utterance consists of a topic and complement. The first element of the topic indicates the source location of the head noun, 'mango'. The modifying *arara*[98] 'come' includes the locative phrase which precedes it. This complex construction is followed by the head noun. Following the head is a numeral and then a demonstrative. This analysis considers everything previous to the demonstrative to be the topic of an equative statement, and everything following it the complement. In the complement, the first element (=third line) is a relative clause 'which I want to eat'. Following that, one can observe a series of five attributive verbs, with the connective *tshabaisui* between first three conjoining them with the final two. It may be that all five are a multi-verb construction and depend jointly on the relativizer *lu*

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[96] Locative phrases as noun phrase arguments are dealt with in section 5.4.2.

[97] Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating that it is being used resumptively, here and throughout this paper pronouns used in a resumptive manner are indicated with '.RES' where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.

[98] Section 4.3.4 discusses the common pattern of reduplicating attributive verbs which modify nouns within the NP. Footnote 107 further includes discussion on form and grammatical category of this and related lexical items.

to link them to the head. Alternatively, they could be a string of separate items, each item modifying the head in turn, or with some grouped together to act as joint modifiers.

(49) is another clause with multiple layers of modification on a noun – a house[99].

(49)　　　NP 2.2

[[tatziti	*haw*	*nkui*	*lu*	*sawdhuidhui*	*zhaw*	*tu]*	*haw*
front	LOC	see	REL	wooden	house	big	LOC

taivui	*dawdaw*	*pwailaici*	*lu*	***zhaw***	*jai]* TOP
dog	white	run.out	REL	**house**	DEM.DIST

[tasawturai	***zhaw***	*khai*	*he]* COMP
person.with.authority	**house**	one	CL.F

The big wooden house [you] can see ahead which the white dog is running out of [is] the house of an elder. ("that white-dog-is-running-out-of-[it] house")

Once again, relative clauses are used in the modification of NP heads, with locative phrases embedded within relative clauses. The noun phrase indicated by internal brackets in the first line and followed by the locative case-marking *haw* includes its own relative clause (including a locative phrase), attributive, head and post-head attributive[100]. The head noun *zhaw* 'house' in this internal noun phrase points to the same referent as the head of the clause level NP~TOP~, but this particular usage does not function as the head of the matrix clause. The use of *zhaw* 'house' as a "sub" or "embedded" head assists the listener in tracking with the speaker in the complexity of recursive embedding. Following this first complex noun phrase (=first line) we see another noun phrase *taivui+dawdaw* 'white dog'. The relative clause *pwailaici lu* takes as its arguments the locative phrase of the first line and the noun phrase about the dog (agent). All of this modifies the head noun which is then followed by its demonstrative. That makes up the topic. The complement is simpler. It consists of the possessive noun *tasawturai* 'person.with.authority', the head *zhaw* 'house' and then its number. The clause is completed by a final particle. Figure 13 represents the sentence visually.

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[99] A few sets of brackets are used to facilitate discussion of its structure, but for a full visual representation of constituents and embedding, see Figure 13.
[100] This internal noun phrase is discussed in section 4.3.1 as example (39).
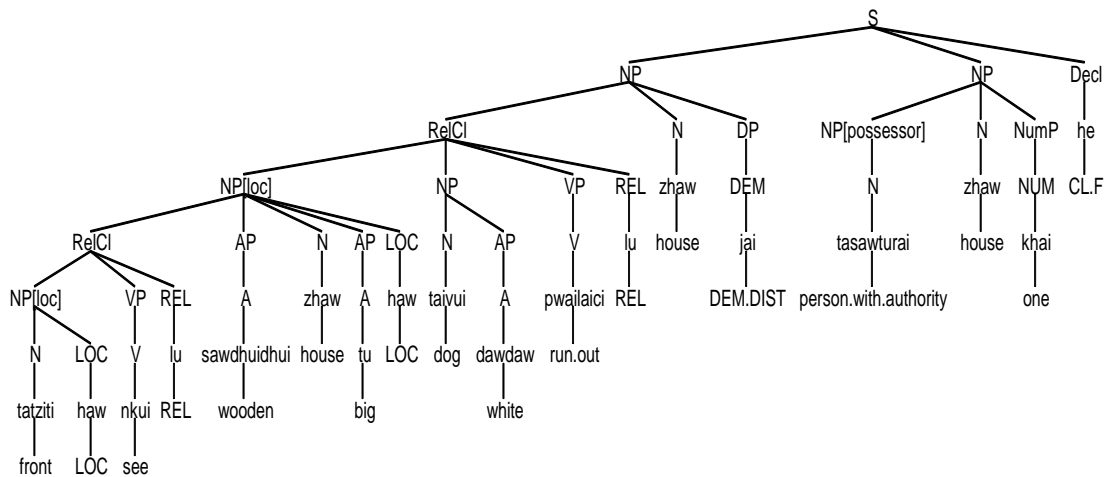
Figure 13 NP 2.2 tree diagram

4.3.3 Exceptional order: time

What follows is mention of a noun which can function as a head but patterns with exceptional order. When a modifier normally occurring to the right of a noun is applied to the noun *ri* 'day' the modifier occurs uncharacteristically to the left of its head[101]. Although this is unexpected, the same exception is seen to occur in Mongsen Ao, documented by Coupe (2007: 203). He states that the nouns 'day' and 'time' are preceded by their quantifiers, even though all other nouns in the language occur with quantifiers in the post-head position[102]. (50) shows one instance of this atypical ordering, with number before noun.

(50) BBS 1.8
khai   ri   haw   ya
one   day   LOC   as.for
… so one day …

---

[101] Confirmed for the modifiers *khai* 'one' and demonstratives.
[102] Coupe proposes that diachronically these were compounds constituting of two nouns, with the head on the right. The compounds were then reanalyzed, the initial portions coming to be considered as quantifiers or modifiers.

Example (51) shows what is not mentioned as occurring in Mongsen: an attributive verb patterns to the left of the noun[103].

(51)   E05[104] 1.5
tshatäga   tzaw`pü`
very.hot   day
very hot day

In (52) we can see that the quantifier 'one' occurs after the initial mention of *tzawpui* 'day'. After the quantifier another lexical item glossed 'day' (*ri*) occurs. The LRP says both occurrences are necessary. He describes the second reference to 'day' as referring back to the first. Looking at further usages of both terms, there may be a semantic difference. *tzawpui* 'day' has another sense 'hot'. It may mean 'daytime' as opposed to the nighttime portion of a single 24 hour day. In that case, the phrase may translate as 'one day during the daytime,' with *ri* 'day' used to ground the phrase in real time. In fact, the noun ေန့ [ne̠] in Burmese is defined as "a day, from sunrise to sunset" while the noun ရက် [jɛʔ] is defined as "a natural day of 24 hours," corresponding to the two different definitions of 'day' proposed in this hypothesis (Judson 1993).

(52)   BBS 1.8
tzawpui   khai   ri   haw   ya
day   one   day   LOC   as.for
… one day…

In (53) there seems to be a similar usage of 'one day' near the beginning of a story, used to set the time as a certain part of the action is about to begin. In this case, however, *tzawpui* no longer occurs.

(53)   SS 2
khai   ri   ya
one   day   as.for
… one day…

---

[103] This ordering is not unacceptable in Jejara noun phrases since slots for attributives occur both pre- and post-head. However, pre-head attributives are less common, especially in the absence of post-head elements. It is also interesting to note that even though the generalities of this exceptional order are parallel to Mongsen, the details do not prove to be worked out identically.
[104] Here, and in all other examples coming from E05, the reader will notice that the Jejara orthography differs from the orthography in examples from all other texts. This reflects the fact that this particular text was collected in 2005 during an earlier stage of Jejara orthographic development. For further information about the sources of all texts, see Table 3 and section 1.3.

Bearing resemblance to this unconventional order of the noun meaning 'day' is a parallel break in the linear order. Although the demonstrative *ha* typically patterns to the right of the noun it modifies, it is found to pattern instead to the left when modifying the time-related nouns 'afternoon' and 'night'. One example is shown in (54) below[105].

(54) D 5.2

ha	*ntari*	*shi*	*lai*	*ma*	*ra*	*yasai*	*ga*	*bai*	*lu*	*la*
this	**night**	who	A	even	come	kill	go	finish	IMPF	CL.F

Who came and killed [him] last night?

In contrast, longer units of time function in the ways that other nouns do – with the quantifier to the right. For example, 'one' follows 'week' (BBS 2.1).

4.3.4 Attributive verbs: NP elements

One of the elements of the noun phrase warrants special attention. Attributives are seen in their basic form to act as verbs; they function as the predicate of verbal clauses. However, lexical items which semantically ascribe characteristics are also seen to function within a noun phrase as modifiers of a noun[106]. There is both a pre- and post-head slot designated to these attributives. Here the phonological form of attributives patterning in either of those slots is addressed.

When attributive verbs which in their basic form are monosyllabic are found to function as noun phrase elements, modifying the head, they are frequently seen to be reduplicated. This seems to reflect a preference in the language for a certain level of phonological weight to be carried by lexical items in this position. Attributives which pattern in a reduplicated form immediately following the noun cannot be considered predicates of a clause, but function as proper noun phrase elements[107].

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[105] Other cases which at quick glance might look like the demonstrative *ha* is patterning in a pre-head position are quickly found to be instances where it is being used pronominally.

[106] Some space is given to a description of attributive verbs as verbal predicates in section 5.3.5.1.

[107] Since one of the grammatical functions of reduplication in Jejara is to form nominals from verbs (see section 2.5.3), another possible analysis could identify these attributive formations as deverbal nominals whose function is to ascribe an attribute to a head noun. This follows Coupe's analysis of Mongsen Ao (2007: 204). He terms lexical items of this form and in this function "deverbal adjectives," describing them as being "derived from stative verbs" by one of two nominalization processes. This is a tempting analysis considering the lexical item *arara* in NP 1.2 (48) where *a-* (which can function as NZ) is an element of the attributive. Alternatively, with further data *a-* could be found to play the role of REL in addition to NZ. Another possibility is that the syllable *a* does not provide semantic meaning or play a grammatical role in these contexts, but rather contributes further to the phonological weight of the attributive, fitting in smoothly with the current analysis.

An example is seen in (55) below.

(55)   NR 5.1

ari	***shaishai***	*khai*	*a*	*maikhwai*	*la*
pants	**long**	one	1sg	want	CL.F

I want a pair of pants….

The same lexical item *shai* 'long' functions in the language and can act as a predicate of a clause in its non-reduplicated form (NE 35).

(56) illustrates a modifying element with its last syllable reduplicated. *wiqhaiqhai*[108] 'go throw' occurs before *laigapi* 'ax handle', its head.

(56)   BBS 1.11

a	*lai*	***wiqhaiqhai***	*laigapi*
1sg	A	**go.throw**	ax.handle

… the ax handle that I had thrown…

Attributive verbs which are not reduplicated, however, can also be seen to act as members of the noun phrase and are marked accordingly. In (57) the word *tu* 'big' is clearly part of the noun phrase, this confirmed by the locative case marker which follows it.

(57)   NP 2.2

tatziti	*haw*	*nkui*	*lu*	*sawdhuidhui*	*zhaw*	***tu***	*haw*
front	LOC	see	REL	wooden	house	**big**	LOC

The big wooden house [you] can see ahead…

A reduplicated form of the same attributive verb (*tutu* e.g. CB 21) is also seen to function in the language. In addition to reduplication, the addition of a simple syllable seems to play a similar role in adding phonological weight to an attributive. *ntzui* 'sweet' + *ha* = 'sweet' in (48) may include *ha* for this purpose. The same is seen with the word for 'red' which has the base form *sa*. As a modifier within a noun

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[108] This and other verbs (e.g. *rara* in BBS 1.5 *caicai* in BBS 1.13) which are not "attributive" in the sense of encoding semantic information equivalent to adjectives in English, for example, are seen to function very similarly to the more "semantically adjective-like" verbs in the NP attributive positions. It was considered whether to identify some or all as nominals, whether the process of reduplication was the nominalization trigger or not. Similarly, the possibility of considering them relativizations, whether without a relativizer or with the reduplication indicating the relativization, was taken into account. With their form and function demonstrating quite a close match with the more "semantically adjective-like" lexemes which can pattern in the attributive positions, the researcher decided that at this point the motivation to analyze them as three distinct grammatical processes was low.

phrase it is seen to take the form *saha* (SE 5). There seems to be some flexibility in the forms attributives take and the functions various forms play. This variation may represent nuances in emphasis or style.

Additionally, longer attributive verbs such as *maiku* 'dry' can also be found in NPs, modifying the noun. Instances of reduplication for multisyllabic words in these modifying positions are rare.

4.4 Temporal noun phrase

We return to our discussion of time expressions in Jejara. Although it is common to consider lexical items which give the temporal setting for an utterance as adverbs, no motivation for this category has been observed in Jejara. Temporal words or phrases are seen to act as nominals[109] in much the same ways NPs playing other semantic roles act[110]. Although not core arguments, structurally they fill a noun phrase position preverbally as other noun phrases do. Semantically, temporal noun phrases play a major role in situating the activity of a clause in its temporal setting. For example, the clause displayed as (58) below can be depicted as: $[NP_{TEMP} \, NP_P \, NP_A \, VP]_S$. In this particular instance, case marking is seen only on the agent argument. Both the temporal and the patient argument are left unmarked, a common occurrence among noun phrases when their roles are pragmatically recoverable.

(58)   D 2.1

nqawshe	*tarai*	*kari*	*laighui*	*rai*	*lai*	*la*	*laighui*	*be*	*tdi*
yesterday	3pl	car	thief	PL	A	come	steal	CL.F	QUOT

Yesterday thieves came and stole their car [someone said].

(59) demonstrates that time words such as *catzawpui* 'today' can function as one of the two noun phrases required to form verbless clauses. In this particular case it is the topic and core argument (and takes the appropriate marking) of an equative clause consisting of topic and complement[111].

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[109] Having temporal concepts indicated by noun phrases is not unique to Jejara. The same phenomenon is described as occurring, for example, in Mongsen Ao (2007: 122-3). The researcher has observed it in Burmese, as well.

[110] In section 5.4 is a discussion on semantic role marking, allowing the form of NP_{TEMP} to be compared to others. Section 5.4.7 contains discussion on temporal noun phrases in specific.

[111] See section 5.3.4 for a description of equative clauses.

(59)   NE 7

catzawpui ***ya***   *tshataiga*   *tzawpui*   *ri*   *he*
today   **TOP** daytime   hot   day   CL.F
Today [is] a very hot day.

Temporal noun phrases can take locative case marking, an extended usage of
locative marking particles discussed further in 5.4.1. One example is displayed as
(60), where the year is followed by *haw* in its ablative sense.

(60)   BBS 5.3

pwe   ***2002***   ***haw***   *tshapfai*
year   **2002**   **ABL**   begin.continue
… [our work together] began in 2002…

We see, then, that temporal setting in Jejara is indicated by temporal noun phrases.
It is appropriate to identify them as NPs because they take the same slots in clauses
that are available to other NPs, and can be followed by case markers.

4.5 Locative noun phrase

In many languages, prepositions or postpositions are used to describe the location of
objects, and for other extended meanings. In Jejara, words which might be described
as "postpositions" are seen to have the same functions and distributional patterns as
case marking particles which occur following noun phrases to mark the semantic
role of the argument they represent[112]. Thus, they have been identified not as
postpositions but case markers.

Three main case markers involving location are seen operating in the texts. Ablative
case marking indicates that the argument is the starting point or source of motion,
and is encoded in Jejara by the particle *hawlai* or sometimes simply by *haw* or *lai*.
An argument which represents a destination is marked with the allative case marker
lwa. The case marker *haw* is generally used to mark an argument referring to a static
location and roughly corresponds to 'at' or sometimes 'on' or 'in'. It marks locative
case. In unambiguous cases it is seen to identify ablative case as well. Phrases
expressing locative meaning generally pattern as arguments of the verb.

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[112] Locative phrases have, accordingly, been mentioned as one of the types of NP arguments. See
section 3.2.7.1. The discussion here on locative phrases is motivated by the desire to compare Jejara
forms with those in other languages where adpositional phrases pattern differently.

In some languages such as English, adpositional phrases can further act as a particular type of modifier in a noun phrase. For example, the prepositional phrase "on the table" delimits the word "spoon" in the statement "the spoon on the table." In Jejara, this particular construction is not present. Locative phrases can, however, pattern within an NP argument to modify a head noun. This is done by means of the relative clause. The locative phrase acts as one of the arguments of the relative clause, so that the minimal form includes a locative noun phrase followed by the verb complex and relativizer, all of which precede the head. (61) gives an example, with the initial locative phrase "on the table" (inner brackets) a constituent of the relative clause (outer brackets), with the resultant sense "the-on-the-table-placed-and-left carrots".

(61)   CB 10

[[saipwe   tzi   haw]   tshe   tzutzu   lu]
table   on.top   LOC   hold   leave.in.place.IPFV   REL

khawqhipvaisasa   ca   ya   lephaiphai   haiqi   tsha   bai
carrot   now   as.for   chop.up.IPFV   again   do   finish
This time [he] is chopping up the carrots that were left on the table.

The basic construction, then, for a noun phrase including a locative phrase as a modifier is: [NP$_{LOC}$ CASE VP *lu*][113].

4.6 Structural variants

In this section, some unique noun phrase structures are introduced. The forms for appositional noun phrases and conjoined noun phrases are given. The unique gender particle, a particle which can be used to further specify a noun phrase head, is addressed. Structures used to express measurement as well as distributive and partitive structures are introduced.

4.6.1 Appositional noun phrases

Noun phrases can pattern immediately next to each other without a possessive meaning. Pragmatics will assist communicators in understanding whether a possessive meaning is intended or not.

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[113] Further examples of this construction occur in NP 1.2, 2.2. They can be seen in section 4.3.2.

An example of noun phrases apposed to refer to the same participant is seen in (62), composed of a title and proper noun.

(62)   BBS 1.4
[saya   Awkhin]
teacher.M   Aung Khin (nm)
teacher Aung Khin

There are also more complex appositional noun phrases where the two noun phrases involved have internal structure. Contextual understanding may become more important to helping to interpret phrases with greater complexity. For example (63) is the wider context from which (63) is taken. Two NPs patterning in apposition to each other are bracketed. There are a number of interpretive possibilities. The first NP could either be the possessor of the second, or the two could be different ways to refer to the same person. From conversations with the Jejara LRP the researcher is aware that there is someone he knows who he refers to as "Teacher Aung Khin." Having this contextual information about the LRP, it was simple for the listener to understand that these are two references to the same person, not a possession of the second. It would, in fact, be strange for the second NP, a person specifically identified by name, to be possessed by the first unnamed one.

(63)   BBS 1.4
[a   swapa]   [saya   Awkhin]   lai
1sg.POSS[114]   teacher.M   teacher.M   Aung Khin (nm)   A
… my teacher Teacher Aung Khin [said]…

In (64), a demonstrative pronoun and interrogative pronoun are apposed. There is no possession involved. Both pronouns refer to an unnamed event.

(64) CK 11.1
*hay **ha** **taika**   tshatsha*
hey **this** **what**   do
Hey! What is this [which they have] done here?…

(65) reveals two uses of apposition. In both cases the initial noun is a pronoun. Each of these pronouns is also used possessively (bolded but not bracketed) within the

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[114] Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating possession, here and throughout this paper pronouns used in a possessive manner are indicated with '.POSS' where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.

same utterance, showing the contrast between the possessive and appositional constructions.

(65)   L52 3

[nyai]	*[tasawtupa]*	*ya*	*titdatshayaw*	**nyai-**	**nqi**	*ja*
2sg	**oldest.M**	as.for	why	**2sg.RL**	**younger.sibling**	like.that

phyai	*la*	,	*[haw]*	*[tasawturai]*	*ya*
hit	CL.F		**GNRC**	**older.person**	TOP

haw-	**nqi**	*rai*	*tiha*	*caitwa*	*nqwexay*
GNRC.RL	**younger.sibling**	PL	well	guide	OBLG

Why did you, the older one, hit your younger sister like that? The person who is older needs to set a good example for one's younger sibling.

"You, the older one" and "the person who is older" both use the same appositional construction in Jejara. In each, a pronoun is followed by a kinship term. It does not come out as clearly in the English free translation because the second occurrence uses the generic pronoun with a general "older one" term which is difficult to translate. These two parallel constructions contrast with *nyai-nqi* and *haw-nqi*, the forms meaning 'your younger sibling' and 'one's younger sibling'. Notice the pronoun forms preceding *nqi* 'younger sibling' are bound relational prefixes. *nqi* 'younger sibling' cannot regularly occur alone. This makes its two forms in the utterance different from the appositional construction in that *ta-* or some other prefix to mark relationship does not (and cannot) occur between the relational prefix.

4.6.2 Conjoined noun phrases

There are a number of options for conjoining noun phrases in Jejara. In (66), the introductory sentence of a children's story, five nouns are joined together in a list and the particle *rai* at the end clarifies them as a group. In this case they are a group of agents collectively carrying out the activity of the clause's verb. No connectives are seen between the NPs themselves.

(66)   SS 1.1

taiwai	,	*taivui*	,	*mpyuimpyui*	,	*taigui*	,	*paizhi*	*rai*	*jai*
pig		**dog**		**cat**		**frog**		**mouse**	**and.group**	TOP

qitutu	*mainqai*	*haw*	*lu*	*nqe*	*le*	*tdi*
sea	beside	LOC	live	PL.AGR	CL.F	QUOT

A pig, dog, cat, frog and mouse lived beside the sea.

Noun phrases can also be conjoined using a single repeated particle *hai* after each noun phrase showing them to belong to the same list of two or more. Interestingly, this particle occurs preceding the plural particle *rai* in the noun phrase (BBS 4.4). Each of the lists is completed by a particle *tda,* and the basic structure for noun phrases conjoined as lists is: [N *hai* N *hai* N *hai tda*]. Even lists of abstract items such as events follow this pattern (BBS 5.3). *tda* can also signal the end of a thought process which is list-like even without *hai* (BBS 4.4).

The structure is not rigid, and with other marking, for example *law* 'also', sometimes *hai* is not found (K 1.11). At times the speaker chooses to follow the list up with the use of a resumptive pronoun[115] and quantifier giving the total number of NPs referred to in the list. These constructions can further take a case marking particle to show the role of the list of NPs. The NPs conjoined in this way will have unity in all playing the same semantic role within the clause. In the example in (67) the speaker is referring to a time when a large tree fell on him and had him pinned down; he felt he was hovering near death when he saw help coming. He lists the people coming to his aid. The list is interrupted partway through with a discourse particle and locational demonstrative. While this indicates that this NP is somewhat loosely bound structurally, the construction maintains its form despite the interruption.

(67)   BBS 1.9

ja	*tzu*	*tzu*	***atzui***	***hai***	*tahi*	*jai*	*haw*
like.that	exist	leave.in.place	**mother**	**LIST**	then	DEM.DIST	LOC

Latiqai	***hai***	*,*	***atzui***	***Tshephu***	***hai***	***tda***	*tarai*
Latiqai (nm)	**LIST**		**mother**	**Tshephu (nm)**	**LIST**	**LIST.F**	3pl.RES

asaw	*jai*	*sawmpi*	*ga*	*lwetaidwe*	*lu*	*ti*	*sai*	*nkui*
three	A	fallen.tree	go	lift	REL	time	RV	see

… Staying like that I only saw Mother, Latiqai and Mother Tshephu when they were going to lift the log.

Another unique structure used to join two members together in a noun phrase has been observed. It is discussed in section 5.4.12 on accompaniment.

4.6.3 Gender particle noun phrases

Another unique noun phrase variant in Jejara is the ability to include a gender-indicating particle. A human referent can be referred to as 'person' or even 'man' or 'woman', then, following its modifiers, be further specified by a lexical item which

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[115] See section 4.9 for a discussion on resumptive pronouns.

applies to humans and specifies gender. The forms of the gender-indicating particles are summarized in Table 40 below.

Table 40 Gender-indicating particles

Vernacular	Gender
pa(sa)	M
tzui(sa)	FEM

In all textual occurrences of noun phrases with the gender particle, the number *khai* 'one' follows a human referent. The numeral is, in turn, followed by this gender-indicating particle. The noun phrase which includes the gender particle, then, can be depicted as $[N_{[HUM]} \ NUM_{['one']} \ GEND]_{NPGEND}$.

Table 41 shows the characteristics of an NP including the gender particle versus the flexibility of NPs in general and is followed by further discussion of the same.

Table 41 Characteristics of NP with gender particle

Includes	GEND NP	Any NP
Gender neutral head N	+	+
Gender specific head N	uncommon	+
Head N refers to new participant	+	+
Head N refers to known participant	uncommon	+
Quantified by *khai* 'one'	+	+
Quantified by other numerals, lexical quantifiers; not quantified	-	+

The gender particle tends to occur with a referent which is previously unknown to the audience. Also, it is rare to see this gender reference taking place when the initial reference to the person is already gender specific, although it can happen (SE 16). These generalities being stated, one should note that a non-gender specific head noun (e.g. the generic 'person') does not make the gender reference necessary, nor does the referent being previously unknown (CB 13). When the speaker is intentionally communicating the idea of a non-specified person or people in general, neither quantifier nor gender reference is used (CB 8). Constructions using the gender-indicating particle can further be modified by a demonstrative (O 3.1).

(68) illustrates two instances of the gender reference construction. Although there are gender specific words for 'man' and 'woman' in Jejara (*nyaipasarai* and *nyaitzuisarai*, respectively), both participants in this utterance are referred to as *ntzuirai* 'person', with a gender-specifying particle (*pasa* and *tzuisa*) following after the numeral.

(68)   SE 10

maikhakha	*ha*	*ya*	*tamaipfui*	***ntzuirai***	***khai***	***pasa***	*lai*
picture	this	TOP	from.before	**person**	**one**	**M**	A

ntzuirai	***khai***	***tzuisa***	*sai*
person	**one**	**FEM**	REC

This [is] the picture from before [with] one man [giving something] to a girl.

(69) is an utterance without the gender-indicating structure present. It demonstrates what we see most often: the lack of a gender particle in these two contexts: (1) in references to more than one person ('person two') and (2) for already known participants ('woman' – a referent from an earlier utterance).

(69) SE 35

ha	*ya*	***ntzuirai***	***anqi***	*sai*	***nyaitzuisarai***	*lai*	*tsha*	*lu*
this	TOP	**people**	**two**	REC	**woman**	A	cook	NZ

lwe	*ga*	*jai*	*bai*	*tza*	*pwa*	*lu*	*ti*	*maikhakha*
carry	go	give	finish	eat	sit	IPFV	time	picture

This [is] a picture of the time when a woman carries and gives the food that [she] cooked to two people who sit down and eat [it].

4.6.4 Measural noun phrases

No lexical items indisputably functioning as classifiers are seen in Jejara. This follows the pattern that Marrison also notes, indicating that in the 'Naga languages' he compared and categorized little to no use was made of classifiers (1967: 248). Of course, noun phrases do still demonstrate the ability to express quantities of nouns by measurement. This, too, can result in the noun phrase taking a unique structure.

Words which have the semantic function of giving a measurement of the head noun occur in addition to the numbers or lexical quantifiers quantifying Jejara nouns. They pattern following the head they modify, preceding numerals. (70) shows one of the occurrences, in this case *laipye* 'whole (of round)'.

(70)   LQ 10

pwezhwasawsu	**laipye**	*khai*	*ji*	*ya*	*ma*	*tza*	*ke*	*su*
jackfruit	**whole.of.round**	one	big	so	NEG	eat	to.completion	can

A whole jackfruit is big, so [I] can't eat it all.

The reader can see that the measural word immediately follows the head noun; it is followed by a numeral quantifier. Other measurals include *laika* 'bunch' (e.g. of bananas) and *pa* 'cup' as in the following examples.

The researcher performed an exercise with the LRP, seeking for evidence of the presence or lack of classifier phrase. She had him identify objects in pictures from a book, asking him to give the name and quantity of each one. The elicitation exercise included writing down the names of the nouns based on the visual stimuli in pictures. After identifying each noun the LRP went back through the pictures and verbalized each noun he had written down together with its quantity to result in these language samples.

More than one option of how to express the quantities of measurable items emerged. In the list of nouns the LRP made at the beginning of the exercise, both *shiwaiqi* 'orange juice' (71) and *shiwaiqipasa* 'small cup of orange juice' (72) were written down as nouns which were then further quantified in the recording.

(71) follows the typical pattern for measuring quantities of nouns. *shiwaiqi* 'orange juice' is the noun, modified by the measural *pa* 'cup', which is identified as 'small' by the diminutive *sa* before being quantified by the number *khai* 'one'. The top row of the vernacular shows the word breaks given by the LRP.

(71)   C&N 17.1-2

shiwaiqi   *pasakhai*

shiwaiqi	**pa**	*sa*	*khai*
orange.juice	**cup**	DIM	one

one small cup of orange juice

In contrast, (72) shows the same morphemes, but broken down differently by the LRP in transcription. 'small orange juice cup' is the noun phrase which is then quantified. *shiwaiqi* 'orange juice' + *pa* 'cup' form a compound modified by the diminutive *sa* before being quantified by the number *khai.*

(72)   C&N 19.1-2

shiwaiqipasa			*khaisi*	
shiwaiqi	*pa*	*sa*	*khai*	*si*
orange.juice	cup	DIM	one	just

one small cup of orange juice

Besides cases which make use of measural words, nouns are quantified using only numerals or lexical quantifiers. These lexemes follow their heads and are not followed by a classifier. (73) provides an example.

(73)   BBS 1.8

sawpvui	**khai**	*maile*	*ga*
tree	**one**	fall	go

… one tree fell over…

In the elicitation exercise described above, those words which would be considered count nouns in English and which were displayed in the pictures with the quantity of one, the structure in (74) below is the one which resulted each time.

(74)   C&N 12.1-2

taiwatutu	**khai**	*si*
duck	**one**	just

only one duck

In (75), even a construction which requires an additional noun ("pieces") for grammatical construction in English does not have such a requirement Jejara.

(75) NE 66

a	*kaw*	*sawsu*	*ha*	**painka**	*lu*	*la*
1sg	HUM	fruit	this	**five**	exist	CL.F

I have five [pieces] of this fruit.

In summary, the use of classifiers is not found in Jejara, but there is a structure and words available to express measural meanings.

4.6.5 Distributive and partitive noun phrases

Another unique ability often exhibited by noun phrases is the ability to express distributive meanings such as "three each" and partitive meanings such as "some

of." Syntactically and semantically, lexical items and constructions used for these meanings tend to have relation to the numerals and/or classifiers in a noun phrase. The dataset, unfortunately, does not reveal a clear pattern of how these occur in Jejara, especially in conjunction with numerals. One example each of an utterance bearing semantic resemblance to constructions which have been labeled distributive and partitives is given, but the limited number of occurrences makes it difficult to state any patterns.

In (76) is a possible distributive usage, formed out of the word 'a little' with its last syllable reduplicated.

(76)   BBS 2.4

a	*li*	*jai*	***tusaisai***	*ga*	*le*
1sg.POSS	leg	TOP	**a.little.each**	go	can

… little by little my legs came to be able to move…

(77) provides an example of the quantifier *khainqi* 'some' modifying its head noun, yielding a partitive meaning.

(77)   BBS 5.2

a	*law*	***letsharai***	***khainqi***	*hai*	*ntu*
1sg	also	**students**	**some**	LIST	be.present

… I also had some [of the other] students with me…

4.7 Demonstratives

There are two main lexemes functioning as demonstratives in Jejara. The key difference between the two is spatial distance. The proximate demonstrative *ha* is used to refer to things which are near – approximately near enough to touch – while the distal *jai* is used in other cases[116].

Four different forms of *jai* were given by the LRP. Each has the same meaning, but each gives a different impression. Table 42 shows these forms, along with a comment about on what basis the choice to use it is made by a speaker or perceived by a listener, according to the LRP explanations.

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[116] *jai* is seen operating in a wider range of syntactic contexts than *ha* and the principal reason for this is likely that it occurs with greater frequency and therefore more of its functions can be observed in the corpus of texts. Until further evidence presents itself, the researcher makes the assumption that each of these demonstratives can distribute as widely as the combined distributions of both.

Table 42 Forms of *jai* DEM

Vernacular	Gloss	Comments	Example
jai	that	acceptable, common	BBS 1.11
jaiya	that	shortcut, but not considered wrong	(no example in context)
jaiyajai	as for that	complete	(no example in context)
jaiyajaijai	as for that	fullest	K 1.13

4.7.1 Demonstratives (modifying)

Demonstratives acting as modifiers in a noun phrase pattern in the NP final position.

(78) and (79) show examples of the distal and proximal demonstratives, respectively, modifying simple NPs.

(78) CK 13.1

mpwasui	***jai***	*kuta*	*zhasai*	*ga*
cow	**DEM.DIST**	when	kill	IRR

When are [you] going to kill that cow?

(79) NE 84

mpyimpyi	***ha***	*ya*	*tacaimairawraw*	*mai*
cat	**DEM.PROX**	TOP	black	POL

This cat [is] black.

Demonstratives acting as determiners within the noun phrase are found to modify all types of nouns. An example where the head noun is abstract, *laisuitshai* 'cleanliness', is seen in (80).

(80) NE 51

jairai	*ya*	*laisuitshai*	***ha***
3pl.DIST	TOP	cleanliness	**DEM.PROX**

ma	*lu*	*lu*	*nyaipasarai*	*he*
NEG	exist	REL	man	CL.F

They are men without cleanliness ("this cleanliness").

There is another demonstrative working in a determiner role which distributes exclusively with time statements. It can function on its own to mean 'now', or

pattern before a time related noun to mean 'this'. (81) shows how *ca* functions as a demonstrative when patterning together with a time word, and also that it patterns to the left as seen in the discussion on the exceptional pattern for time nouns, section 4.3.3.

(81) CK 17.1

ca	*pwe*	*zhasai*	*lu*	*whai*
this	year	kill	IPFV	in.the.manner

… just as [you] killed [a cow] this year…

In summary, the demonstratives *ha* and *jai* are found in noun phrases modifying the head noun from the rightmost noun phrase slot. Further, the unique time demonstrative *ca* modifies time nouns patterning to their left.

4.7.2 Demonstrative pronouns

A significant matter of discussion regarding demonstratives is their role as demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns take the same positions that other NPs can take within the clause. They might pattern immediately preceding the verb, or other arguments might intervene. They can function as S, A or P arguments. Demonstrative pronouns are also seen to act as non-core arguments, and are marked accordingly. Being able to function as other NP arguments do, they can also be seen in apposition with other nouns or juxtaposed with another NP to form verbless clauses with topic and complement.

(82) shows the narrator's speech in response to a recommendation from his teacher. The demonstrative *jai* takes the role of the complement of a cognitive process – thought – and refers back to the idea given by the teacher.

(82)   BBS 1.7

jai	*paile*	*ti*	*ye*
DEM.DIST	think	attempt.to	IRR

… I'll think about that…

In (83) the narrator describes how he, pinned under a tree, had others use an ax handle as a lever to help him escape. Demonstrative pronouns are used twice to refer to the ax handle. The second occurrence takes instrumental case marking.

(83)   BBS 1.11

a	*lai*	*wiqhaiqhai*	*laigapi*	*ga*	*khu*	***jai***
1sg	A	go.and.throw	ax.handle	go	take	**DEM.DIST**

ra	*setaw*	***jai***	*lai*	*ga*	*sekaile*
come	insert.to.use.as.lever	**DEM.DIST**	INS	go	lift.as.with.lever

laici	*sai*	*a*	*law*	*ra*	*laici*	*le*
come.out	RV	1sg	also	come	come.out	can

.. the ax handle I had thrown aside, [they] went and got that, and only when [they] came and took [me] out with that I was able to come out.

(84) begins with a demonstrative and shows it taking topicalization marking. The sentence is a verbless equative clause. The demonstrative pronoun acts alone as the clause topic.

(84)   SE 11

ha	*ya*	*swaparai*	*lai*	*taika*	*lay*	*ra*	*zhwa*	*nkui*
DEM.PROX	TOP	older.person	A	what	Q.CONT	come	look.for	see

bai	*ta*	*pwakaw*	*haw*	*ra*	*pwa*	*lu*	*jai*	*mai*
finish	3sg.RES	chair	LOC	come	sit	REL	thing	POL

This [is] the thing where an older man comes, looks for and finds – what? – [and then] comes and sits on his chair.

There are demonstratives which refer to a previously stated event. (85) shows the demonstrative *jaitda* 'like that' pointing back to the event of 'helping'. This type of demonstrative can be considered as demonstrating a manner, since it refers back to an activity. The speaker carries out the clause's verb (in this example *lu* 'live') in the manner of the previously mentioned activity (*cawrui* 'help') to which *jaitda* or another of these manner demonstratives refers[117].

(85)   BBS 1.2

hawtzuipa	*rai*	*law*	*haw*	*ma*	*taisui*	*su*
parent	PL	also	GNRC	NEG	support	can

jayaw	*haw*	*tzuipa*	*rai*	*cawrui*	***jaitda***	*lu*	*ye*
therefore	1pl	parents	PL	help	**like.that**	live	IRR

My parents aren't able to support me to go to school, so I will help them. ("[I] will help our parents; like that, [I] will live.")

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[117] The list of demonstratives in section 3.2.5.2 includes those which stand for an activity and indicate manner. They can be recognized by the use of 'like' in their gloss.

Pronominal demonstratives play important roles in referring back to items, events or even abstract concepts previously mentioned. They can take the same positions as other NPs.

4.7.3 Demonstrative locative construction

Demonstrative pronouns which take the place of an argument that refers to a location have a distinct form. Both proximal and distal demonstratives are used to form this demonstrative construction. The formula to create these constructions is: [DEM + CASE$_{\text{LOC}}$]. A demonstrative locative construction is comprised of a simple demonstrative plus a locative case marking particle. When the input demonstrative is *jai* the resulting demonstrative is 'there' and the use of *ha* is assumed to form 'here', although no instances are seen in the dataset[118]. (86) and (87) reveal how the locative marker directly follows the demonstrative to result in the meaning 'there'.

(86)　　　　　K 1.7

jai + haw　　si　　ja

there　　　just　　like.that

 … just there, and like that …

(87)　K 1.6

tahi　*talintzawntzaw*　***jai + haw***　*dhruikha*　*nqe*　*le*

then　many.kinds　**there**　　hook　　PL　CL.F

 … and so there [we] hang all kinds of things.

There are also instances of demonstratives being followed by the source or goal markers, a set of case markers also encoding location, producing in the meanings 'from there' and 'to there' respectively. (88) shows the beginning of a sentence at a transition point in a personal narrative. The demonstrative works together with the ablative case marker to indicate source. The semantic usage is broadened, and here indicates source time, resulting in the free translation 'from then'.

(88)　　　　　BBS 5.3

jai + hawlai　*phehailo*

from.then　　beginning

 Starting from then…

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[118] Perhaps, however, 'here' is represented only by the forms built on first singular pronouns, as in the following paragraphs.

In addition to the possibility of representing location with the demonstrative plus locative case marker combination, another possibility exists. In this case, the second unit is the locator noun[119] *mpa* 'beside' rather than a case marker. (89) shows one of these constructions in use. Observe that *jai* 'that' + *mpa* 'beside' is functioning as a locative NP argument. In the example it is followed by a topicalizer. It is only the English free translation where "the fire" seems to be part of a prepositional phrase. In Jejara *jai* + *mpa* 'there-beside' is a noun phrase argument of the verb.

(89)   K 1.10

jai	*mpa*	*jai*	*mpui*	*taigai*	*nqe*
DEM.DIST	**beside**	TOP	fire	warm.oneself	PL.AGR

… warm themselves beside the fire…

a + *haw* is another construction which is not used nearly as widely as the two discussed above, but does seem to function, at least semantically, as a locative demonstrative although formed from a personal pronoun. (90) displays *ahaw* being used to refer to the location 'here'. It appears related to *a* '1sg' + *haw* LOC ("at me"), whether the connection is diachronic or synchronic.

(90)   K 1.3

ahaw	*ca*	*nkui*	*lu*	*lu*	*ha*
DEM	now	see	IPFV	NZ	TOP

…the thing [we] see here now…

(91) demonstrates that this locative demonstrative can also be used – without change in form – to refer to a goal location, if that goal is where the speaker is.

(91)   Prn 44

ahaw	*ra*	*rai*
DEM.ALL	come	urging

Come here.

Another locative pronominal demonstrative also includes the first singular pronoun and has a gloss 'here'. Its form is *awhe.* Unlike the components of *ahaw,* however, *whe* is not seen to function elsewhere in the data except in another sense as a clause final particle. For an example of *awhe* being used as a demonstrative, observe a sentence where the LRP concludes a personal narrative by describing how he is

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[119] Locator nouns are introduced in section 3.2.2.

currently working to help the researcher as well as his own people. That sentence begins as seen in (92). The locative demonstrative *awhe* occurs in the clause along with the temporal NP *ca*. Both are non-core noun phrases, and together they set the utterance in the present time and space. *tdahiya* intervenes as a discourse particle.

(92)   BBS 6.1

ca	*tdahiya*	***awhe***
now	as.for	**DEM**

 So now, here…

Pronominal locative demonstrative constructions, in summary, are seen in four main forms. The first two include a basic demonstrative. With the demonstrative forming the first element, they are followed by either a locative case marker or the locator noun *mpa*. The second two forms share in common the element *a* '1sg'. While in the first, this pronoun is clearly followed by the case marking particle *haw*, in the second one the second syllable is not clearly identifiable.

4.7.4 Gender demonstrative construction

Both of the primary demonstratives under consideration in this section can be used for another unique construction which is found acting as a verb's argument. The form is: [DEM + PRT$_{\text{GEND}}$]. This can also be depicted [{*jai* or *ha*} + {*tzui* or *pa*}], where the latter indicate 'female' or 'male'. The initial portion is a demonstrative, and the second portion a gender-indicating particle. The gender particles are optionally followed by the diminutive *sa* (as in Table 40). These constructions can be understood as gender-based demonstratives. They are used to refer to humans, but their formation is based around a demonstrative.

(93) shows one of the occurrences, and in this case the lexical item is clearly identified as an NP, being marked for case. The speaker is making excuses to his father who is calling him after seeing him hit his sister.

(93)   L52 2

ha+tzuisa	*lai*	*alaikhwaiti*	*jatsha*	*a*	*lai*	*phyaibai*	*mai*
DEM.PROX+FEM	A	teased.me	therefore	1sg	A	hit	CL.F

 This girl teased me, so I hit [her].

In (94) the same construction is built using the distal demonstrative and male -indicating particle, further modified by the distal demonstrative in its modifying role. In this usage of a gender-marked demonstrative, the speaker and listener come upon a scene where a man is killing a cow, which they do not believe is his to kill.

(94)   CK 7.1

jai+pa   *jai*   *wayqi*   *ma*   *thajai*

DEM.DIST+M   DEM.DIST   very   NEG   trust

[I] don't really trust that man…

Semantically interesting is that each occurrence seems to be in a context where the speaker has a negative opinion of or attitude to the referent. Although occurrences are limited and it cannot be verified yet, the researcher suspects it is a derogatory term, or at most neutral.

It has been shown that demonstratives play a wide variety of roles in Jejara. Besides acting as noun phrase elements to modify the head noun, they can also act as full NPs themselves. Further, unique demonstrative constructions are those which indicate location as well as a set which are used to refer to humans.

4.8 Kinship terms

Kinship terms are significant in the set of nominal lexical items in Jejara. They can be used pronominally and as vocatives to address a person directly. Kinship terms regularly pattern in apposition with other nouns, whether in a juxtaposed construction of possession or co-referentially. In order to understand a number of the kinship terms in Jejara, it is important to understand some of the social structure which motivates them.

The Jejara people are divided into two groups. Perhaps these groups could be termed clans. Each person is a member of one or the other clan, Tidharai or Tawtshawrai. Membership is hereditary. The guidelines for marriage are connected to this division. One is permitted to marry someone only from the other clan, not from one's own. Therefore, if you are Tidharai, you are free to marry someone who is Tawtshawrai and vice versa. Additionally, the appropriate form of address for people in various forms of relation to oneself – even friends – is often dependent on whether they are from the same clan as oneself or not.

The group of which you are not a member, therefore, can often be referred to from your own perspective as the "marriable side" and your own side as the "non-marriable side." One can refer to a person as from their "marriable side" even if that person is of the same gender as them or is already married. It is simply a statement about the mutual relationship based on respective clans.

With that background information, kinship terms can be introduced, focused on Table 43. It contains kinship terms which can be used to directly address individuals in that relationship to oneself, whether in a pronominal or vocative usage, or to talk about them in conversation. Each lexical item is given a rough gloss, followed by further explanation that does not come through clearly in the English gloss or which expands on extended usages. Where the kinship term requires a relational prefix, *a-* '1sg' has been used.

Table 43 Kinship terms

Kinship term	Gloss	Comments
apa	father	For both one's father and his brothers, older or younger. For the latter it would be common to follow the title with their given name
atzui	mother	For both one's mother and her sisters, older or younger. For the latter it would be common to follow the kinship term with their given name
ajupa	brother, older	For one's older brother and boys/men older than oneself from one's clan
ajutzui	sister, older	For one's older sister and girls/women older than oneself from one's clan
anqipa	brother, younger	As older above
anqitzui	sister, younger	As older above
tasawtupa	oldest, male	For the oldest male in a family. Parents could call their oldest son this, but they would not use it as a form of address. They might say something like "my son, the oldest." Cannot be pluralized
tasawtutzui	oldest, female	As male above
aju	in-law, brother or sister	For anyone from the right generation/age to be one's elder sibling, but not from the right clan. Especially someone related to oneself by marriage, but also anyone from one's marriable side
ari	son	For one's own son, and for the sons of one's siblings or anyone of that age/generation, optionally followed by their given names

Kinship term	Gloss	Comments
ala	daughter	For one's own daughter, and for the daughters of one's siblings or others of that generation, optionally followed by their given names
akui	uncle	For one's mother's brothers and other men from that generation who are not one's father's brothers
anqai	aunty	For one's father's sisters and other women from that generation who are not one's mother's sisters
apvuiajai	grandparents	Either side
apvui	grandmother	Either side
ajai	grandfather	Either side
tzaisa	grandchild	Male or female
jaipvui maicwecwe	great-grandparents	For anyone from generations before grandparents (ancestors)
ajai maicwecwe	great-grandfather	For any male from generations before grandparents
apvui maicwecwe	great-grandmother	For any female from generations before grandparents
tzaisa maicwecwe	great-grandchild	Male or female, for anyone from grandchildren's children's generation and lower (descendents)
ayipa	friend	For males to call another male who is the same age as oneself, a friend, and not from one's clan
ayirai	friend	For males to call another male who is the same age as oneself, a friend, and who is from one's clan
amaizhi	friend	For females to call another female who is the same age as oneself, a friend, and not from one's clan
azhawti	friend	For a female to call another female who is the same age as oneself, a friend, and from the same clan as oneself
thepa	teacher, male	A term of respect used more broadly than just for a schoolteacher
thetzui	teacher, female	A term of respect used more broadly than just for a schoolteacher
therai	teacher and group	To refer to a teacher and a natural group he belongs to, such as his family; can function as 3pl; it can refer to 'teachers' in general
tasawturai	person with authority	Can refer to male or female, to a single person or a number of people – but *rai* is included either way

Addressing groups of people in the second plural or referring to them in the third plural is done using pronouns – *ri* and *jairai,* respectively – unlike a pattern observed in Burmese which uses titles or kinship terms widely in place of what would be a simple, closed set of pronouns in a language like English (Okell 1969: 99).

In order to address anyone of higher status than oneself, it is preferred if they are addressed by a title or kinship term. Examples would be "teacher," "uncle," "father," "brother" and the equivalent terms for females. If a certain person has important standing, they will be addressed by the relevant title by people of all ages. With each of these it is possible, but not required if understood pragmatically, to follow the term with the proper name of the person being addressed or referred to. It is uncommon to refer to oneself by a kinship term or title. People use *a*, the first singular personal pronoun, to refer to themselves. To address people younger than oneself the speaker has many choices which are appropriate. They can use the second singular pronoun *nyai*, the addressee's proper name or a relevant kinship term such as "son," "daughter," "younger brother," etc.

4.9 Resumptive pronouns

The use of resumptive pronouns is another noteworthy feature of Jejara. The usage of these pronouns is a grammatical feature which results in core clausal arguments being referred to more than once in a single clause. Third person resumptive pronouns in particular occur with relative frequency. When this occurs, a more semantically rich noun[120] identifying the referent will occur earlier in the utterance, followed later by a pronoun. It is the second lexical items (the pronouns) which are being classified as resumptive pronouns in Jejara. The forms of the pronouns used for this construction are identical to personal pronouns. A list is given as Table 22 in section 3.2.5.5.

Resumptive pronouns refer to participants who have already been mentioned within the clause and almost always pattern immediately before the verb[121]. They are by no means obligatory, and as such have not been considered agreement markers[122]. The sentence displayed as (95) has *tasawturai* 'older people' as the single NP of the verb. However, immediately before the verb, *tarai* '3pl.RES'[123] signifies the same referents.

(95)   Adv 3

tasawtu	*rai*	*law*	*ma*	***tarai***	*lawsai*	*lu*	*lai*
older.person	PL	even	even	**3pl.RES**	happy	IPFV	CL.F

Even older people are happy.

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[120] This is the most common, although a pronoun seeming to occur as the first reference to the participant which is also identified by a resumptive pronoun is shown in example (98).
[121] See (96) and (99) for cases where the resumptive pronoun is not immediately before the verb.
[122] See D 1.2 for just one example of no resumptive pronoun.
[123] Although there is nothing in the form of resumptive pronouns explicitly indicating that they are being used resumptively, here and throughout this paper pronouns used in a resumptive manner are indicated with '.RES' where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.

Another example can be seen as (96) below. The resumptive usage of *tanqi* '3du' can be contrasted with the possessive. Although they are identical in form, the first usage is the resumptive one, the pronoun being an agent of *qi* 'hit'. In the second usage of *tanqi* is as a possessor of *kuri* 'head'.

(96)   SE 31

maiqhiqhi tsharai		*ntzuirai*	*anqi*	*khaitshu*	*ku*
soccer.player		person	two	jump	go.up

tanqi	*maiqhiqhi*	*jai*	*tanqi*	*kuri*	*lai*	*qi*
3du.RES	ball	P	3du.POSS	head	INS	hit

Two soccer players jump up and when they hit the ball with their head…

(97) below illustrates a case where *tanqi* '3du' is acting as a resumptive pronoun representing non-animate arguments, a blanket and sheet.

(97)   LQ 12

cwe	*-nqi*	*akhwa*	*-nqi*	***tanqi***	*je*	*tshetzu*	*bay*
blanket	two	covering	two	**3du.RES**	INCL	place.and.leave	CL.F

The blanket and sheet are placed together.

It is not only third person referents which are further specified using resumptive pronouns. It is simply common to do so because the range of referents which could potentially be indicated by a third person pronoun in any given speech act are infinitely greater than those by first or second person pronouns. The latter are more likely to be indicated by a pronoun (as opposed to a more semantically specific noun) in the first place. However, even a first person singular referent originally indicated by a pronoun can be referred to with a resumptive pronoun, perhaps to give greater emphasis. (98) is an example where this occurs[124].

(98)   NP 1.2

ntuphuisu	*khai*	*ha*	***a***	*lai*	***a***	*tza*	*maisui*	*lu*
mango	*one*	*DEM.PROX*	**1sg**	A	**1sg.RES**	eat	want	REL

ntzwe	*lainkwe*	*sazhizhiha*	*tshabaisui*	*se*	*ntzuiha*	*lu*	*pa*	*he*
ripe	yellow	reddish	and.then	sour	sweet	REL	thing	CL.F

This one mango…[is] the thing which I want to eat and is yellow-brushed-with-red ripe and sweet and sour.

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[124] However, an alternative analysis could consider *atzamaisuilu* to be a nominalization. The process of nominalizing and would be prefixation with *a-* the general nominalizer, working together with the post-clausal nominalizing particle *lu*. The resulting nominal *atzamaisuilu* can act as an attributive modifying the head noun.

(99) reveals another example of slightly novel usage with a resumptive pronoun followed by a numeral. The number is used to delimit the pronoun, showing that it is not any random plural number, but that there were, in specific, three agents.

(99)   BBS 1.9
atzui   *hai*   *tahi*   *jai*   *haw*   *Latiqai*   *hai*   *,*   *atzui*
mother   LIST   then   DEM.DIST   LOC   Latiqai (nm)   LIST   mother

Tshephu   *hai*   ***tarai***   ***asaw***   *jai*
Tshephu (nm)   LIST   **3pl.RES**   **three**   A

sawmpi   *ga*   *lwetaidwe*   *lu*   *ti*   *sai*   *nkui*
fallen.tree   go   lift   be.in.state   time   RV   see
… [I] only saw Mother, Latiqai and Mother Tshephu when they were going to lift the log.

Resumptive pronouns can be summarized as pronouns identical in form to their personal pronoun counter-parts. They provide a second reference to a participant within a single clause, most commonly immediately before the verb. It is frequent that resumptive pronouns are used for third person referents.

4.10 Conclusion

Chapter 4 has provided information about the Jejara noun phrase. In addition to discussing the identifying properties, distributional characteristics and the basic linear order of the noun phrase, other unique information regarding nouns and the noun phrase has been provided, such as a presentation of complex modification of the head noun. Other issues included the exceptional noun phrase order seen with certain time nouns and attributive verbs acting as part of the noun phrase. Temporal and locative phrases as NP arguments and how the locative phrase can be used as a nominal modifier were addressed. Further, the structural variants connected to apposed and conjoined noun phrases and noun phrases indicated for gender by the gender particle were considered. Discussion on a measural construction was followed by a brief mention of distributives and partitives. Demonstratives of various forms and with a range of functions were addressed, followed by observations about kinship terms and resumptive pronouns as other lexical items in their respective noun phrase roles.

Chapter 5
Simple clauses

5.1 Introduction

Simple clauses are the focus of discussion in Chapter 5. After an overview of the linear order, unique clause types are dealt with in turn. This is followed by an overview of semantic relations, their roles and forms in a clause.

5.2 Linear order

Jejara exhibits flexibility of clause alignment in two significant ways. First, the arguments in a clause show remarkable ability to occur in all variety of orders relative to each other, within the bounds of remaining preverbal. Secondly, arguments of a verb can be elided whenever pragmatically recoverable. This being said, there is still a default paradigm for aligning the elements of a clause. The verb is consistently found in the final position, and the most agent-like argument tends to occur initially, followed by the most patient-like when both are in occurrence. In general, the pattern SOV[125] emerges.

In (100) the agent *jai* 'she' is followed by the patient *ta + cwe* 'her clothing', and finally the clause ends with its head, the verb *tshui* 'wash', although neither of the arguments are marked for their roles with case marking particles. The structure can be depicted as [NP$_A$ NP$_P$ VP]$_S$.

(100)	W 1				
[jai]	*[ta*	*cwe]*	*[tshui*	*lu*	*la]*
3sg.DIST	3sg.POSS[126]	clothing	wash	IPFV	CL.F
She is washing her clothes.					

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[125] "SOV" is used as the abbreviation to refer to the default order of agent – patient – verb. This should not be understood to mean that the research claims the presence of grammatical relations in Jejara. In contexts other than discussion about the default clause form, A and P are used to refer to the most agent-like and patient-like arguments, respectively.

[126] Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating possession, here and throughout this paper pronouns used in a possessive manner are indicated with '.POSS' where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.

(101) also demonstrates the basic SOV word order very clearly. A totally free word order would leave the interpretation of this utterance ambiguous. With two human participants of the verb 'love', it would be impossible to identify who loved whom without some identification of roles, whether by word order or case marking. Yet the LRP produced it without any particular marking to identify the experiencer or stimulus of the verb *tamaisui* 'love' and still confidently gave only a single free translation. The initial NP was identified as the experiencer of the verb, and the second NP as the stimulus[127], confirming that there is a basic order to the NP constituents of a clause, despite the flexibility which is shown in the following discussion.

(101)   Tr 11
[Jaijaila]   *[Jaijaiqai]*   *[tamaisui   lu   lai]*
Jaijaila (nm)   Jaijaiqai (nm)   love   IPFV   CL.F
Jaijaila loves Jaijaiqai.

As mentioned, this basic clause structure demonstrates flexibility. The verb complex always remains the final constituent, but otherwise the order can be changed quite freely. (102) begins with the patient argument *ari* 'pants', followed by the agent *a* '1sg'.

(102)   NR 5.1
[ari   shaishai   khai]   [a]   [maikhwai   la]
pants   long   one   1sg   want   CL.F
I want a pair of pants.

(103) is another example where the order of these two arguments is reversed, the patient patterning before the agent. Note that the agent is explicitly indicated as such by use of the case marker *lai.*

(103)   D 4.1
nqawshe   [ari   li]   [taivui   lai]   [tze   zhai   bai]
yesterday   son   leg   dog   A   bite   BEN   finish
Yesterday a dog bit [our] son's leg.

---

[127] With an experiential verb such as 'love', the experiencer is mapped as the agent participant, and the stimulus as the patient.

There are also numerous textual examples of argument elision. Both core and peripheral arguments can be elided; if they are recoverable pragmatically, the verb is often expressed without them as in (104). Neither the agent nor the location referred to are expressed explicitly.

(104)   Adv 6

[khaiqi]	*[nqi*	*ti*	*lai]*
once	arrive	ever	CL.F

[I] have been [there] once before.

As can be seen in (105), it is possible – and also very frequent – for the patient to be the sole argument expressed in a verb complex. Previous to this utterance the narrator was being encouraged by his teacher to continue his studies. Therefore, the audience is already aware of who the participants are and of the content of their speech to one another. As the narrator, then, the LRP naturally left out the agent and referred to the content of the speech by the use of a demonstrative. Only the recipient of the message is explicit. Not only is the elided argument's referent being provided by the pragmatic context, but it is also only by depending on the pragmatic context that the audience is able to assign the correct role to the explicitly-expressed argument.

(105)   BBS 1.7

jaitda	*[a]*	*[cai]*	*ja*
like.that	**1sg**	say	like.that

…[he] said that to me…

(106) is a two-clause sentence where the second clause includes only the first singular agent explicitly. The audience naturally deduces that the patient argument of the second clause is the same referent as the agent in the first.

(106)   L52 2

[ha	*tzuisa*	*lai]*	*[a]*	*[laikhwaiti]*
DEM.PROX	FEM	A	1sg	tease

jatsha	*[a*	*lai]*	*[phyai*	*bai*	*mai]*
therefore	**1sg**	**A**	hit	finish	CL.F

This girl teased me, that's why I went and hit [her].

(107) is a clear example of a verb occurring without any noun phrase arguments.

(107)   L59a 2
hariha   sai   laidwe   ra   nqi   mai
try.hard   CONN   get.up   come   CMPL   CL.F
[He] tried hard and managed to get up.

For verbs with only an S argument the clause structure is: $[NP_S VP]_S$. In these clauses, the semantic nature of the verb only requires a single argument. Essentially, the clause form does not change. The only difference is that here there is no patientive argument at all, even implied. In outward form, these clauses look identical to those with two argument verbs with one argument elided[128]. (108) provides an example.

(108)   SE 5
[swarai   khai   pasa   jai]   [tzaitzai   ra]   sai
older.person   one   M   A   walk   come   CONN
An older person walked in and…

Discussion in 5.3.5 regarding the syntactic patterning of constituents marked for certain semantic relations further expands on the flexible nature of the language in regards to the ordering of clausal constituents.

5.3 Clause types

In the following section, seven types of concepts which in many languages are expressed by unique clause constructions are considered. Jejara exhibits its own unique constructions. Discussion about the form that these clauses take in Jejara begins with locative, existential and possessive clauses, all of which use copular verbs. Forms for equative and attributive clauses are given, followed by comparative and superlative constructions.

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[128] In fact, this is one thing that prompts the researcher not to identify 'S' as a separate argument type, but rather to recognize it as the most agent-like argument of a clause.

5.3.1 Locative clause

A locative clause is an expression of the location of a referent in the form of a complete clause. In Jejara, by default a locative clause begins with the NP whose position is to be described. This can be followed by a locative phrase[129], an NP whose semantic function is to identify a location. The clause is concluded with a verb of existence. [NP NP$_{LOC}$ VP$_{COP}$] $_S$ is the basic order, with the initial and second NPs able to change positions. As always, if they are pragmatically recoverable, the arguments can be elided. (109) below shows a prototypical locative clause.

In order to get a picture of how Jejara speakers form utterances about the location of objects, a number of statements were elicited by having the LRP describe a spoon and its placement in relationship to a pot. A fairly representative example is displayed as (109) below. Brackets indicate the three main constituents.

(109)   Ad 6

[suitzatza]   *[pfui*   *tzi*   *haw]*   *[tzu*   *le]*

spoon   pot   top   LOC   exist   CL.F

The spoon is on top of the pot.

Above we see that the noun whose location is being described, *suitzatza* 'spoon', patterns first, followed by the noun which provides the locational reference point, *pfui* 'pot'. The next morpheme is the locator noun *tzi*[130]. *pfui* + *tzi* 'pot top' is identified as a locative argument by the locative case marker *haw* patterning to the NP's right. The next element is a copular verb, which gives way to the sentence final particle.

In Jejara locative clauses, a range of verbs which express position occur. Some are more semantically specific than others. For example, the verb *ku* is identical in form to *ku* 'go up'. But it is also used in locative clauses to denote existence (without motion) on top of something. (110) illustrates this usage.

(110)   NE 44

[ta-tzi   *haw]*   ***[ku***   *lu*   *lai]*

3sg + top   LOC   **be.on.top**   IPFV   CL.F

[It] is on top of it. ("on its top")

---

[129] Locative phrases as NP arguments are discussed in section 4.5.

[130] For a description of locator nouns, see section 3.2.2. These lexical items play the same semantic role as those which in Mongsen Ao Coupe has termed "nascent postpositions" (2007: 184). He finds a fairly traceable diachronic relation to body parts in Ao. There is some evidence of this in Jejara, too. For example *tzi* 'front', 'top' is also used to refer to the body part 'face'.

Table 44 lists the copular verbs that are used in locative clauses.

Table 44 Copular verbs for locatives

Copular	Gloss
ku	be on top
lu	exist[131]
sai	be inside
tzu	exist

(111) illustrates the use of *sai* 'be inside'. Additionally, it is evidence that, as expected, constituent order is flexible. The NP_{LOC} is seen to occur as the initial clause element.

(111)   NE 71

[ntapa	*haw]*	*[tainka*	*khai]*	*[sai*	*la]*
glass	LOC	fish	one	**be.inside**	CL.F

  There is one fish in the glass.

To summarize, the Jejara locative clause is found to generally take three main constituents. A noun phrase representing the referent tends to be the first, followed by a locative phrase giving its location then concluded by an existential verb. There is, however, flexibility which allows variations on this construction.

5.3.2 Existential clause

The existence of a referent can be expressed using an existential clause. The construction in Jejara is an NP followed by a copular verb expressing existence, so that these clauses can be represented: $[NP\ VP_{COP}]_S$. The NP represents the referent whose existence is being asserted (or negated). The copular can be *lu* or *lai*. In essence, the form is identical to a locative clause except the NP_{LOC} is missing and the verb form is restricted. In form, the locative clause can be thought of as an existential clause with the location of existence made explicit. Semantically, it differs in that the locative clause introduces the previously unknown location of a known referent while the existential asserts (to the listener) the unknown existence of a referent.

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[131] Any potential semantic or syntactic differences between the two verbs glossed 'exist' are not yet known.

In (112) *lu* functions as a copula expressing the existence of work which has already been completed.

(112)   BBS 1.5

haw	*tzuipa*	*rai*	**turai**	**tsha**	**rara**	**law**	**hoshahai**	**lu**
1pl	parents	PL	**work**	**do**	**come**	**also**	**a.lot.of**	**exist**

… the work… our [Jejara] predecessors have done, there is a lot of.

(113) is a description of a scene in a Jejara kitchen as depicted in a photograph. It includes two existential clauses. The first is "there are people who sleep and warm themselves by the fire (fire-warm themselves)" and the second "there are sleeping places (beds)."

(113)   K 1.9

tahiya	*tzwalaiwatshaluzhaw*[132]	*awhe*	*tdahiya*	*khairai*	*ya*	*mpui*	*maiki*
then	kitchen	here	as.for	some	as.for	fire	warm

azhai	***rai***	***law***	***lu***	**,**	***tzukaw***	***law***	***lu***
NZ .sleep	**person.who**	**also**	**exist**		**sleeping.place**	**also**	**exist**

So then, in this kitchen there are those who sleep warming themselves by the fire and there are also beds.

The basic form of the existential clause in Jejara, then, is an NP followed by an existential verb.

5.3.3 Possessive clause

Jejara expression of possession using a full clause depends on three main elements. One takes the form of an NP$_{LOC}$ which encodes the possessor and can be considered a possessive phrase. Another element is an NP which represents the item possessed. A copular verb (*ntu* 'be present' or *lu* 'exist') completes the clause. The basic structure can be represented as [NP$_{LOC}$ NP VP$_{COP}$]$_S$. Each of these elements is found in turn in (114).

(114)   NE 68

[jai	*kaw*	*haw]*	*[tayipa*	*painka]*	*[lu*	*la]*
3sg.DIST	HUM	LOC	friend	five	exist	CL.F

He has five friends.

---

[132] *tzwalaiwa+ tshalu+ zhaw* 'meals+cook+house'

The creative nature of language is once again clear as we look at variations on this construction. (115) shows the possessor expressed as a basic NP, without any locative marking. The LRP feels it is not quite as complete as an utterance using a NP$_{LOC}$, but does not deem it incorrect.

(115)   E05 1.71

[jä' ya']   *[tayipa pänka]*   *[lu' la]*
3sg TOP   friend   five   exist   CL.F
He has five friends.

In (116) the possessive phrase is split, with the NP *sawpwepwe* 'apple' separated from its quantifier by the NP$_{LOC}$ *a* '1sg'.

(116)   NE 65

[sawpwepwelaisu] *[a*   *kaw]* **painka** *[lu*   *la]*
apple   1sg   HUM **five** exist CL.F
I have five apples.

(117) shows the LRP describing himself after facing a set of difficulties. The result is a possessive clause with himself as the implicit possessor, understood in context, and pain in his mind as the possessed.

(117)   BBS 5.3

tahiya   *[haw-*   *yikhwe*   *tatshataiga]* *law*   *[ntu]*
then   RL   mind   pain   also   be.present
… then [I] also had mind ("emotional") pain with [me]…

A person's age can also be expressed using a possessive construction as in (118), where a certain number of years exist "at the referent" whose age is being described.

(118)   NE 62

[nyaisatzuirai *ha*   *ya]* *[ta-* *pwe* *painka]* *[lu*   *la]*
girl   this   TOP RL year five   exist CL.F
This girl is five years old.

In summary, possessive clauses consist of a possessor NP and a possessed NP, most often but not always in that order. There is the option of eliding arguments. Each clause requires a copular verb expressing existence.

5.3.4 Equative clauses

Clauses which identify one entity as identifying, being equivalent or belonging to the set of another are formed by the juxtaposition of topic and complement noun phrases, resulting in verbless clauses of the form [NP$_{TOP}$ NP$_{COMP}$]$_S$. It is common that the topic is marked by *ya* TOP or some variant of it, and the complement by the clause final *he*. Semantically, these clauses can equate items in a one-to-one correspondence or a correspondence where one is a member of a set of many. In the dataset, equative clauses have a tendency to occur as the introductory lines to discourses describing visual material. (119) below is the opening sentence in the description of a photograph of a Jejara kitchen. The two noun phrases being equated are bracketed.

(119) K 1.1

[ca   nkui   lu   maikhakha   hayahaha]$_{TOP}$
now   see   REL   picture   as.for.that

[Naga   rai   tzwalaiwa   tshalu   zhaw   khai   he]$_{COMP}$
Naga   PL   meals   cook   house   one   CL.F
The picture [you] can see now [is] a Naga cooking house ("kitchen").

(120) is the opening line of a short dialogue where the speaker makes introductions between two of his acquaintances.

(120)   DI 1.1, 2

sayama   [hayahaha]$_{TOP}$ [wai   Jaijairai le   tahi   luzhi   tda
teacher.F   as.for.this   1pl.POSS Jejara   literature then   culture saying

taghukutshepa   tataigapa   khai   he]$_{COMP}$
person.responsibile   chairperson   one   CL.F
Teacher, this [is] the chairman of the committee our for Jejara literacy and culture.

(121) is a clause where *sawga* 'leaf' is being identified as belonging to the subset of things which are *tapaishishi* 'green'. (122) below it, along with the discussion that follows, uses a contrast to give evidence that the color word *tapaishishi* 'green' here is in fact a nominal form.

(121)   NE 1

*[sawga   ya]*_{TOP}   *[tapaishishi   he]*_{COMP}
leaf   TOP   green   CL.F
The leaf [is] green ("a green thing").

(122) shows *daw* 'white' being used verbally, as we can see by the fact that it is negated. It takes the most basic attributive clause form, in contrast to (121) above which takes the equative form.

(122)   NE 52

jai   *ya*   *ta-*   *gha*   **ma**   **daw**
3sg.DIST   as.for   RL   tooth   **NEG**   **white**
As for him, his teeth are not white.

The nominal form of 'white' is *tadawdaw*, following the pattern of 'green' above with *ta-* as a prefix and then reduplication at the end. This is evidence that this is a nominalized form of the color.

5.3.5 Attributive clause

In Jejara, to ascribe a characteristic to a noun phrase in the form of a complete clause, an attributive verb can be used following the NP to which the characteristic is ascribed. This is the basic attributive construction and can be depicted as [NP VP_{ATR}]_S. In (123) the topic marker follows the topic *pfü`* 'mountain' and the particle *lä´* marks the end of the clause, following the verb *tu* 'big'.

(123)   E05 1.26

[pfü`       ya`]   *[tu   lä´]*
mountain   TOP   big   CL.F
The mountain is big.

Below, (124) shows the same overall structure as (123) above, with the topic followed by the attributive verb. Here, however, the noun and verb do not show any special marking. It is still identified by the LRP as a complete clause.

(124)   E05 1.22

[lälu`dha´]   *[dha´ga]*
peanut   hard
The peanut is hard.

By comparing (125) and (126) below, it also becomes obvious that the same characteristic can be expressed by both verbal and deverbal forms. The construction of the first follows the form for attributive clauses presented above, and includes the optional intensifier *talaisai*. This utterance uses 'strong' in its verbal form *taitzi*. In (126) the copula *lu* patterns following the noun form *tataitzi* 'strength' to express how strong tigers are with a possessive construction. This takes the pattern [NP NP VP$_{COP}$]$_S$ like the possessives seen in section 5.3.3.

(125)   NE 13
[sharai ya]   [talaisai taitzi   lai]
tiger   TOP   very   strong   CL.F
Tigers [are] very strong.

(126)   NE 12
[sharai   ya]   talaisai   [tataitzi]   [lu   lai]
tiger   TOP   very   strength   exist   CL.F
Tigers have much strength.

We have seen that attributive clauses can be expressed using either verbal or nominalized forms of lexical items which ascribe a characteristic.

The attributive clause can also be entirely verbless, without a copula, following the form of equative clauses of section 5.3.4. The form of this type of clause is [NP$_{TOP}$ NP$_{COMP}$]$_S$. An example of this from section 5.3.4 is repeated as (127).

(127)   NE 1
[sawga   ya]$_{TOP}$ [tapaishishi   he]$_{COMP}$
leaf   TOP   green   CL.F
The leaf [is] green.

We have seen that attributive clauses have a basic form [NP VP$_{ATR}$]$_S$. They can alternatively be expressed using possessive or equative forms, allowing speakers to encode the NP in question as a possessor of the characteristic being ascribed, or as being equated with that characteristic.

5.3.5.1 Attributive verbs

An aside is taken here to discuss further the status of attributive verbs as main verbs at the clausal level.

(128) below shows *da* 'good', semantically denoting a state, functioning as a verb forming its own clause within the sentence.

(128)　　　　BBS 1.6

jai	*tiqhai*	*nyai*	*law*	*likhaikhai*	*tsha*	*hi*	***da***	*ye*
DEM.DIST	look.at	2sg	also	something	do	if	**good**	IRR

Looking at ("considering") that, [it] would be good if you do something, too.

(129) below further demonstrates that the same lexical item can be directly negated, like any event-denoting verb.

(129)　NR 7.1

haw	*ntzuirai*	*ha*	*haw*	*nta*	***laiphaw***	*bai*	*law*
1pl	person	TOP	1pl.POSS	ear	**stopped**	NZ	also

ma	***da***	*lu*	*la*
NEG	**good**	exist	CL.F

It's not good for us people to be deaf. ("having our ears stopped is not good for us people")

Considering (129) above further, *laiphaw* 'stopped' is another attributive verb. It modifies ear, occurring directly to its right, and then this particular attributive clause is nominalized by *bai*, resulting in a semantic meaning like "having our ears stopped (being deaf)."

Another noteworthy feature related to attributive verbs is that the same word can be used with both stative and active semantic meaning. (130) and (131) below demonstrate the contrast, with the verb *laisui* first being used to ascribe a characteristic and then to denote an action.

(130)　W 10

pfui	*jai*	***laisui***	*la*
pot	DEM.DIST	**clean**	CL.F

That pot is clean.

(131)   NE 118

jai	*ntzui*	*hai*	*laiga*	*hai*	*tda*	*tshe*	*lai*
3sg.DIST	knife	LIST	ax	LIST	LIST.F	use	CONN

tailu	**laisui**	*lu*	*lai*
field	**clear**	IPFV	CL.F

He is using a knife and ax and is clearing the field.

Attributive verbs not only have the verbal characteristic of being able to act as the predicate of a clause, but show themselves to be verbs in other ways including: being relativized (D 7), nominalized ((129) above) and occurring with various postverbal and clause final particles (NE 6, 2).

5.3.6 Comparative construction

Jejara exhibits unique constructions for the expression of comparative and superlative meanings. Some comments about what has been observed follow.

Comparative constructions rely on the comparative particle *wayqi* 'more', which patterns preverbally. The whole comparative clause can be depicted as [NP$_1$ NP$_2$ *wayqi* VP]$_S$, where NP$_1$ is the comparatively greater of the two. (132) exhibits this construction. The comparative is applied to an attributive verb. The reader will notice that the NPs being compared occur one after another. The speaker's audience identifies the item being claimed as superior by word order (it occurs initially). In some cases, as below, the topic marker *ya* is also present.

(132)   CS 1.1

[lainqisawpwesu	*ya]*	*[lasu]*	**wayqi**	*kaira*	*lai*
apple	TOP	banana	**more**	good	CL.F

Apples are better than bananas.

(133) illustrates that the same construction applies to verbs which encode activities. In this case, the activity is *twa* 'speak'. The context of this utterance is that it follows the sentence: "Son speaks a lot."

(133)   CS 5.2

[ta-	*tzala*	*lai]*	**wayqi**	*twa*	*lai*
RL	daughter	A	**more**	speak	CL.F

Daughter speaks more [than son].

One construction shows a lexical item that is identical in form to the comparative particle, but shows qualities of a verb, being followed by a clause-conjoining particle[133]. (134) displays *wayqi* 'more' being followed by the clause-conjoining *lai* and having semantic scope over *maicaira* 'come to know'.

(134)   BBS 6.1

haw	*Jaijairai*	*khwezhu*	*law*	*tshatshalaw*	***wayqi***	*lai*
1pl	Jejara (ppl)	subject	also	as.for	**more**	CONN

ntzuirai	*lai*	*law*	*maicai*	*ra*	*ye*
other.people	A	even	know	come	IRR

 … people will also get to know more about us Jejara.

Comparatives in Jejara can be expressed using *wayqi*, a particle occurring preverbally. It is confirmed to indicate 'more' with both attributive verbs and those encoding activities. The lexical item identified as the comparative particle also exhibits characteristics of a verb itself.

5.3.7 Superlative construction

In Jejara, a pair of morphemes, *ta-* and *ha,* surrounds the verb in question to yield the superlative meaning. This construction forms nominals, recognizable as such by their ability to act as complements. The clause structure in which these pattern typically looks similar to that of equatives: [NP$_{TOP}$ NP$_{COMP}$]$_S$. One instance is given below as (135).

(135)   NE 81

[taiwalaiqi	*ya*	*ta*	*lairu]*$_{TOP}$	*[ta-*	*kaira*	***ha***	*he]*$_{COMP}$
egg		as.for	3sg.POSS	taste	**SUP**	good	**SUP**	CL.F

Eggs, though, taste the best. ("As for eggs, their taste [is] the best")

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[133] The ability to be used in this way raises the questions: (1) Should all usages of *wayqi* be considered a single word from a single grammatical category or should they not? (2) If yes, to which class would it most appropriately belong? It may be best to assign *waqi* verb status with the gloss 'have more'.

(136) shows another example, with the verb *laipvuisa* 'little' nominalized to form the complement.

(136)   NE 85

| *[yiku* | *jai]*_{TOP} | | ***[ta-*** | *laipvuisa* | ***ha*** | *he]*_{COMP} |

*[yiku   jai]*_{TOP}   ***[ta-***   *laipvuisa*   ***ha***   *he]*_{COMP}
stone   DEM.DIST   **SUP**   little   **SUP**   CL.F
That rock [is] the smallest [one].

As with comparatives, the superlative can also be found functioning with verbs of activity. (137) illustrates this with the verb *twa* 'speak'. In its original context, this utterance follows the one displayed as (133) in section 5.3.6.

(137)   CS 5.3

*[ta-   tzui   ya]*_{TOP}   *haiqi*   ***[ta-***   *twa*   ***ha***   *he]*_{COMP}
RL   mother   TOP   again   **SUP**   speak   **SUP**   CL.F
Mother speaks the most.

The formation of superlatives is seen to depend on the use of a pair of morphemes, *ta-* and *ha,* surrounding the verb to produce the sense 'most'.

5.4 Semantic relation marking

Jejara demonstrates a fairly vigorous case marking system to indicate semantic relations. First, the distribution of the argument types is presented. This is followed by a discussion on each of the semantic roles in turn. Of ten semantic roles explored below (plus one unique related marker), nine are seen to be represented using case marking. For a full list of case markers which includes treatment of core arguments, see section 3.2.7.1. The case markers *sai* and *shu* indicating the roles of recipient and speech recipient respectively are discussed in section 7.4.2 on ditransitivity.

5.4.1 Distribution of argument types within the clause

Table 45 gives a visual representation of the locations where each NP type has been observed patterning in relation to other arguments of the same clause. S represents the single semantic argument of a clause, A the most agentive argument and P the most patientive. The position in which an NP type might occur is shown by a blank line, and an 'x' indicates that there is an occurrence of that NP in that position found in the data. Because actual occurrence is so great in relation to range of possibilities, it is hypothesized that each can pattern, as well, in positions in which they have not

yet been observed given the limited data. The argument types looked at in this table, particularly NP_{LOC} and NP_{TEMP}, are peripheral ones, commonly a reason for great syntactic flexibility.

Table 45 Syntactic distribution of NP types

Cooccurence	_S	S_	_P	P_	A_P	AP_	_AP	_PA	PA_	_A	A_	With other non-core arguments	Without other arguments
NP_{LOC}	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	
NP_{TEMP}			x	x									x
NP_{ABL}		x										x	x
NP_{ALL}			x	x						x	x		x
NP_{BEN}			x		x								
NP_{INS}			x	x	x	x			x		x	x	x
NP_{RV}	x			x								x	x
NP_{RVLOC}				x									x

Since locative is the most frequently occurring of the semantic relation markers dealt with in this section, the argument it marks also shows the greatest range of possibilities for syntactic location relative to other arguments of the verb. Noticing that the others also exhibit great flexibility, the researcher hypothesizes that they show the ability to pattern in all the relative positions which the location marker does even if there are not enough occurrences in the texts to prove each. The researcher postulates that a speaker chooses how to order his set of arguments based on the emphasis he wants to give.

5.4.2 Location

In Jejara, location is expressed using locative phrases which pattern as NP arguments. There is one locative case marking particle, *haw,* and it occurs following these noun phrases to identify their role. The argument indicating location arranges itself with remarkable syntactic flexibility in Jejara. It seems to be able to pattern in any position in relation to the other arguments. Since it also occurs with great frequency, almost every possible combination is found in occurrence in the dataset.

(138) shows one locative phrase acting as the location argument in the clause. Its form is seen to be a noun *saipwe* 'table' followed by the locator noun *tzi* 'top' followed by the case marking particle *haw* to form the NP$_{LOC}$.

(138)   CB 10

saipwe	***tzi***	***haw***	*tshe*	*tzutzu*		*lu*	*khawqhipvaisasa*
table	**top**	**LOC**	hold	leave.in.place.IPFV		REL	carrot

… the carrots that were left on the table.

As is described in section 5.4.3, the same case marker can be used to identify an argument which represents the source of motion. In 5.4.6 its usage as broadened to pattern together with expressions of time is shown.

(138) above is a fairly typical construction to represent location. For further discussion see 4.6.5 on locative noun phrases.

5.4.3 Source

In Jejara, marking an argument for its semantic role as source, or ablative, shows similarities to marking for location. This is not unexpected, as source integrates meanings of location in addition to movement. Source, or the location from which something comes, can be encoded using an ablative case marker identical in form to the locative *haw*. The two usages can be considered sub-senses of a single lexical item. To contrast the marking of stationary location arguments with those indicated as source, the former tend to include a locator noun, while source arguments are not found to do so. Also, *lai* and the composition *hawlai* are further forms of the ablative case marking particle. The latter is the most semantically specific, therefore depending less on context to make its ablative meaning clear. The following two examples show the more general and then the more specific forms of the ablative particle appearing in free speech. (139) exhibits *haw* appearing after the name of the township and village from which the mangoes being described come.

(139)   NP 1.1

Lishi	*qiqa*	*Penekon*	***haw***	*arara*	*ntuphuisu*	*ya*
Layshi	township	Ping Ne Gone	**ABL**	come.DIST	mango	TOP

The mangoes which come from Ping Ne Gone village Layshi Township…

In (140) the source location *tshapaige* 'shop' is immediately followed by the relevant case marker, *hawlai*.

(140)   O 2

ntzuirai	*khai*	*pasa*	*tshapaige*	**_hawlai_**	*la*	*lu*
person	one	M	shop	**ABL**	come	IPFV

 A man is coming out of a shop.

An argument being used in an ablative sense, then, is indicated by one form of the ablative case marker *haw*, *lai* or *hawlai*, patterning to its right.

5.4.4 Goal

Goal is another semantic role encoding both location and motion. Arguments in the role of goal describe the destination a motion event. In Jejara, arguments in the semantic role of goal are identified by allative case marking in the form of the particle *lwa*. The particle follows the NP to which it pertains. The goal-marking case particle is identical in form to the noun meaning 'way, route'. (141) provides an instance where the goal is a village, which is made clear by the corresponding case marker. In this case it is the only explicitly stated argument of its verb.

(141)   BBS 1.7

talaishilwaya	*nta*	**_lwa_**	*ga*
after.that	village	**ALL**	go

 … after that [I] went to the village…

NPs in the semantic role of goal are marked by the allative case particle *lwa*.

5.4.5 Restrictive location

Another case marker related to location is *hawsai*, where *haw* is the general locative marker and *sai* is used to restrict the event encoded in the clause to occurrence at a certain point in time. When following a noun phrase which has a location as its referent, *hawsai* indicates "upon arrival at NP." (142) exhibits this case marker in action, marking *lwatzui* 'road' as the arrival point at which the subsequent action – unfold and put down – took place.

(142)   SE 17

lwatzui **haw** **sai** *ra* *khaishaqhai*
road   **LOC** **RV** come unfold.put.down

ja   *ku*   *pwa*   *ntawntaw*   *ga*   *bai*
like.that go.up   sit   ride.IPFV   go   finish
 … only upon carrying [it] to the road did [she] come, unfold [it] and put [it] down, and like that climb on, sit and, riding, go.

The complex case marker *hawsai*, then, can pattern following an NP to indicate the arrival at a particular location as a prerequisite for the event encoded in the clause.

5.4.6 Human marker

When human referents are involved in clauses which include a meaning component of location, other variations come into play. *kaw* is a lexical item which has location-related semantics. In one of its senses it is used to nominalize verbs with the resultant meaning 'place.where.V' (see section 8.3.1). In its usage which is related to the current discussion it is found occurring following human referents in utterances related to location, whether static or in motion. It can (optionally) further be followed by a specific case marking particle identifying the referent as existing at a point in space or a destination. Below in (143) the reader can see the first singular actor followed by the human location marker and then the general locative case marker.

(143)   CN 1

a   **kaw**   **haw**   *ayipa*   *khai*   *si*   *law*   *ma*   *lu*
1sg   **HUM**   **LOC**   friend   one   just   even   NEG   exist
I don't have even one friend. ("Even one friend doesn't exist at me")

Similar to (143) above, the utterance in (144) also shows the usage of *kaw* after a personal pronoun. However, here it is not followed by any markers although the ablative case marker *hawlai* would be compatible with the meaning of this utterance. The argument encodes the source of information. We can see, then, that further case marking is not required to follow the human locative marking particle.

(144)   DI 1.1

ha   **kaw**   *tamaiji*   *lainkwai*   *le*
3sg.PROX   **HUM**   all.there.is   ask   CL.F
 … you can ask him all [you want to know].

The utterance below in (145) shows that the usage of *kaw* with a proper name. It is followed by *lwa* to mark destination.

(145) BBS 2.1

apa	*Jikhaitzui*	***kaw***	***lwa***	*mpa*	*khai*	*qi*
father	Jikhaitzui	**HUM**	**ALL**	week	one	more.than

… [I went] to Father Jikhaitzui to get massages for over a week.

Another utterance, found in (146), shows the further possibility of using the regular locative case marker following a pronoun without *kaw* intervening[134].

(146) CK 1

ayipa	*a*	***haw***	*mpwasui*	*zhasai*	*lu*	*lai*
friend	1sg	**LOC**	cow	kill	IPFV	CL.F

Friend, here [they're] killing a cow. ("[They're] killing a cow at me.")

5.4.7 Time

In Jejara, to situate an occurrence temporally, the time NP can be marked using the same case marking particle as an NP$_{LOC.}$ The difference in construction between temporal and locative noun phrases is that the former do not include locator nouns. *haw* marks the temporal NP argument, patterning to its right. (147) shows the marking pattern, with *ra*+*ga*+*lu*+*pwe* 'in the coming year' marked for its temporal semantic role.

(147) CK 18

mpwasui	*ha*	*ra*	*ga*	*lu*	*pwe*	***haw***	*zhasai*	*ye*
cow	this	come	IRR	REL	year	**LOC**	kill	IRR

[We] will kill this cow in the coming year.

In the NP above, the head noun 'year' is modified by the relative clause 'coming'. Another time related construction is seen to frequently pattern with the temporal marker *haw*. (148) displays one of these occurrences. The NP is formed by nominalizing a verb with *ti* 'time' to result in the sense 'at time of Ving'. In the example, it is rendered "when" in the free translation. The time case marker is frequently found patterning together with these nominalizations formed with *ti*.

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[134] See section 4.7.3 for further discussion on *a+haw*.

(148)   L60c 2

o	*ta*	*sawpwepwe*	*pa*	*lwe*	*ga*	***ti***	***haw***
oh	3sg	flower	pot	carry	go	**time**	**LOC**

Oh! When she was carrying the vase…

The locative marker can pattern to mark a stationary location in space or the source of motion. In its extended usage for marking time this morpheme shows the same flexibility. It can mark a starting point in time for an ongoing situation, as demonstrated in (149). The reader can see the temporal source marker immediately after *pwe* 'year' 2002 in this description of how and when the LRP became involved in language development work.

(149)   BBS 5.3

ja	***pwe***	***2002***	***haw***	*tshapfai*	*jaitda*	*ca*	*tdahiya*
like.that	**year**	**2002**	**ABL**	begin.and.then	like.that	now	as.for

pwe	*2013*	*law*	*ma*	*nqi*	*ja*	*ra*	*tzai*	*he*
year	2013	even	even	arrive	like.that	come	arrive	CMPL

… so [contact, working together] began in 2002 and now it is already 2013.

A clause earlier in the same sentence, displayed as (150) below, shows a similar construction. In this case the time is being referred to by a demonstrative pronoun, and the temporal marker is identical to the one used for source in space: *hawlai*.

(150)   BBS 5.3

jai	***hawlai***	*phehailo*	*tahiya*	*haw-*	*yikhwe*	*tatshataiga*
DEM.DIST	**ABL**	beginning	then	GNRC.RL	mind	pain

Beginning then, [I also had] emotional pain [with me.]

Further, time arguments can occur without overt case marking. (151) gives one of many instances where the temporal noun phrase *ca + laintai* 'this morning' is not followed by any particles to identify it.

(151)   D 5.1

ca	***laintai***	*ayipa*	*kaw*	*lwa*	*lairui*	*ga*	*yaw*
this	**morning**	friend	HUM	ALL	visit	go	at.time.of

… this morning when [I] went to visit my friend…

Temporal noun phrases can take the same case marking particles as locative NPs, including the general *haw* for points in time as well as ablative and allative markers

for temporal starting and ending points. Alternatively, NP$_{TEMP}$ can be unmarked. Introduced in the following section is another particle which acts to restrict the clause's action to the point in time indicated by the NP it marks.

5.4.8 Restrictive time

Another case particle significant to expressing temporal arguments, *sai*, follows an NP$_{TEMP}$ to indicate that only when said time is reached will the action take place. In (152) it can be seen in context, following *saqi* 'tomorrow'.

(152)   CK 15.2

saqi	*sai*	*zhasai*	*ga*	*lu*	*ye*
tomorrow	**RV**	kill	IRR	exist	IRR

… I think [we'll] kill [it] tomorrow [not sooner].

There is obvious similarity between this and the restrictive locative described in section 5.4.5 above, both in form and in meaning. The restrictive locative is formed of the locative *haw* + *sai* RV and has the same restrictive semantics.

5.4.9 Benefactive

Benefactive marking identifies an NP as the referent on whose behalf an action is being performed. In Jejara an argument can be marked as a beneficiary by *laitwa* which follows the NP it marks. (153) shows this marking on the initial NP, *pwe* 'celebration'. One can see through this example that the idea of 'beneficiary' is broadened to include 'purpose'.

(153)   CK 10.2

nqawshe	*pwe*	*laitwa*	*mpwasui*	*zhasaisai*	*le*	*tdi*
yesterday	**celebration**	**BEN**	cow	kill.PST	CL.F	QUOT

… [they] killed a cow yesterday for the celebration [it is said].

When the argument which is in the semantic role of beneficiary is expressed as a pronoun, there is no overt marking.

That an action is undertaken for the benefit of another can also be expressed using a verbal particle. As expected, it is rare for the benefactive verbal particle and beneficiary case marker to cooccur. When the beneficiary is not human (e.g. an institution) the case particle tends to be used, and when the beneficiary is a human

the verbal particle tends to be used. (154) is the one example where these particles do cooccur.

(154)   Tr 7.1

Jaijaiqai	*tatzui*	***laitwa***	*taizhaw*	*tsha*	***zhai***	*lu*	*lai*
Jaijaiqai (nm)	mother	**BEN**	house	build	**BEN**	IPFV	CL.F

[They] are building a house for Jaijaiqai's mother.

5.4.10 Causer

The causer case marking particle follows a noun phrase encoding the participant who causes a situation to occur and has the form *lailili*. Occurrences of this particle in the texts are few, but all mark arguments that the speaker identifies as the instigator or reason for a negative occurrence. The clauses with arguments taking this case marker include verbs with meanings such as 'die' and 'drown'. (155) illustrates *lailili* CAUS following *jai* '3sg' to identify 'him' as a possible culprit.

(155)   SS 4

jai	***lailili***	*sawmaipvui*	*lairaw*	*sa*	*ga*	*tda*	*paile*	*le*
3sg.DIST	**CAUS**	boat	drown	small	go	COMP	think	CL.F

Do [you] think that it was because of him the boat sank?

This case marker has similarities to the benefactive in that in addition to there being a case marker for causer, there is also verbal morphology to indicate causativization (see section 7.5). However, there are no examples of the two cooccurring. One further lexical item exhibits similarity, this one in form as well as meaning. The clause connective *laili* is glossed 'because', also an important lexical item in expressing concepts of causation.

5.4.11 Instrument

Noun phrases which represent an entity that is used in order to perform an action are acting in the semantic role of instrument. Arguments functioning as instruments in Jejara are identified by the nominal case marker *lai*. In the texts, examples are seen of the instrument marker following various types of NPs such as demonstrative pronouns, personal pronouns, nominalized clauses and simple nouns.

(156) is a description the LRP gave of a brief video clip in which a man hacked vigorously with a small knife at a cloth which was stretched out and tied to two

tables. It shows the pattern for marking an argument which is playing the semantic role of instrument. The marking *lai* follows the NP *ntzuijaija + sa* 'small knife' which is the instrument being used in the scene.

(156)   CB 4
ntzuijaija *sa*   **lai**   *ra*   *taw*   *phe*   *nkui* *lai*
knife   DIM   **INS**   come   chop   break.apart   see   CL.F
[I] see [someone] come and chop [it] apart with a small knife.

It should be mentioned that *lai* takes on many functions in Jejara. As a case marker, it can also be used to mark agentive arguments (see section 3.2.7.1). It also functions to fulfill a number of roles in the clause final position (see section 3.8.2). As an instrument marker, it is very straightforward, and simply patterns to the right of an NP in the instrument role of a clause.

5.4.12 Accompaniment

Many languages have a way to mark an argument as accompanying or doing the verb together with a main agent. Jejara does not have a case marker for this role. Rather, there are two structures used to coordinate participants who are acting in the same role together. The first is a particular structure to mark the accompaniment of one person with another so that the total number of participants results in a pair. With the use of this structure, there is no precedence given to one of the members of the pair as being the main participant with the other the accompanying. The form does not focus as much on semantic roles but only the dual nature of the participants.

In the title of a children's story displayed as (157) this construction is shown joining together two NPs as a pair. It involves affixing the number 'two' *-nqi*[135] to the end of both nouns which make up the pair.

(157)   TT
taiwai **-nqi**   *taivui*   **-nqi**
pig   **two**   dog   **two**
Pig and dog

The same construction can be seen, for example, in expressions of natural pairs like "father and son," in which case both words also occur with the relational prefix *ta-*,

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[135] The phonological process of losing its initial vowel (*a* of *anqi*) is undergone.

strengthening the concept of relational bond which unites them as a pair. An example is seen below as (158), where the distribution of double participants is again indicated by *-nqi* suffixed to each.

(158)   SE 7

ntzuirai	*anqi*	*ta+pa*	**-nqi**	*ta+tzadhi*	**-nqi**	*le*
person	two	RL+father	**two**	RL+son	**two**	CL.F

Two people – father and son?…

(159) provides another example of a variety of ways in which this can work itself out. A blanket and a sheet are described as being placed together in one spot. Following the word for each is *-nqi* 'two', indicating that they are joint. The word which follows these two is another reference back to this pair of linens. It is one of the unique pronoun forms discussed in section 3.2.5.4 and is comprised of the third dual pronoun plus *je*, a morpheme indicating togetherness and accompaniment.

(159)   LQ 12

cwe	**-nqi**	**akhwa**	**-nqi**	*tanqi+je*	*tshetzu*	*bay*
blanket	**two**	**covering**	**two**	3du + together	put.down	CL.F

The blanket and sheet are placed together.

Another example below, (160), reveals a number of differences, showing the range available with this construction. The two participants in the pair are two people, referred to by their names. The utterance begins with *Tshariqai*, the first participant who is not, in fact, marked by *-nqi*. This is because pragmatically, at the initial mention of this participant he is going to the market alone and not yet a member of a pair. Only when the second participant is introduced as the friend he met at the market do we have the marking *-nqi*. In the free translation into Burmese by the LRP it is clear that the focus is not on one participant meeting or seeing the other, but that they met each other[136]. As in the previous example, mentions of "togetherness" follow the formation of this pair. In this case, however, a more general word for 'together' is used. The term *hawpwai*[137] has the components *haw* the generic relational pronoun and *pwai* for a group or group of friends. The verb *nqwe* also has "togetherness" as one of its semantic components. It is used together with motion verbs like "go" or "come" to express meanings like the English "pick up" and "come and get" when in reference to a person.

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[136] In Burmese no patient or agent marking is used, but plural agreement marking is found on the verb.
[137] Discussed in section 3.2.5.4.

(160)   P 1.2
Tshariqai   *tshapaige* *lwa* *ga* *yaw*   ***Dhetshaqai***   ***-nqi***
Tshariqai (nm)   market   ALL go at.the.time.of **Dhetshaqai (nm)**   **two**

ga   *hawpwai* *nkui* *ja*   *hawpwai* *nqwe*   *la*   *lai*
go   together   see   like.that together   go.together come   CL.F

Tshariqai went to the market and met with Dhetshaqai, and then they came [home] together.

In the texts, there are two other lexical items which together relate to a sort of accompaniment, semantically. The first is *hai* and the second *tda*[138]. They pattern together in the order listed. Intervening between the two morphemes are NPs which accompany each other, participating together in the activity of the verb. In (161) below *hai* marks the older person as accompanying the young man while they stand back to back conversing. *tda* follows to show the completion of a list of participants. Both a construction including *tanqi* '3du' to refer to "the both of them" as well as *hawpwai* 'together' are found as further components used in the description of the situation, strengthening the concept of togetherness or accompaniment.

(161)   SE 21
laidhiraihai   *khai* ***swarai***   ***hai***   *khai* ***tda***
unmarried.man   one   **older.person**   **LIST**   one   **LIST.F**

tanqi+*sawpfui*+*lwa*   ***hawpwairwalawbai***
3du+backs+ALL   come.together

hawpwaisilu   *shwai*   *lu*   *nkui*   *la*
discuss   stand   IPFV   see   CL.F

[I] see a young man standing back to back, discussing with one older man.

Although there is no case marking for accompaniment, there are unique structures which can be used to signify participants working together in a clause. This includes the special construction with –*nqi* marking participants as a pair as well as the constructions for lists, relying on the particles *hai* and *tda*. The use of *je*, a morpheme indicating togetherness, constructions with dual (or presumably plural) pronouns, and inclusion of the word *hawpwai* 'together' are all also prominent in expressing meanings related to accompaniment.

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[138] For further description of the particles *hai* and *tda* working together to form lists, see 4.6.2 on conjoined noun phrases.

5.5 Conclusion

Chapter 5 has covered information about simple clauses in Jejara. The basic linear order was discussed, followed by a treatment of seven unique clause types. The syntactic patterning and marking of semantic roles within the clause were further considered.

Chapter 6
Verb complex

6.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the components that make up the Jejara verb complex. The linear order is given and in the following sections the relative position of each component of the verb complex is expanded on, along with further description about the members of that position. The chapter is concluded with a figure which reviews the verb complex as discussed, including notes on relative ordering.

6.2 Linear order

The Jejara verb phrase is relatively complex with positions for quite a number of lexical items performing various functions. A few of these positions occur preceding the verbal head. The majority of them occur postverbally.

At this stage in the research it is difficult to make definite claims about just how some of these lexical items would best be classified. Hypotheses are set out that identify certain postverbal items as being aspect-like, modality-like, and mood-like. Although these designations may be proven highly appropriate and relevant to the language, there is much still to be discovered about how these TAM markers work together or separately. Sometimes complexity is seen within a single lexical item, at other times it is a result of cooccurrence of multiple lexical items.

Each lexical item found to function within the verb complex has been grouped together with like particles and assigned a position relative to other sets of verbal particles. Figure 14 illustrates how the Jejara verb complex can be depicted, each set of related lexical items assigned a position.

(Directional)	(Negative)	Head V	(Reduplicated V)	(Directional)	(ASP-like PRT)	(PRT)	(Deontic modality PRT) (1/2)	(Deontic modality PRT) (2/2)	(Plural agreement)	(ASP-like PRT) (1/2)	(ASP-like PRT) (2/2)	(CL.F PRT) (1/2)	(CL.F PRT) (2/2)	(Evidential)
(e.g. *ga* 'go')	(*ma*)		(e.g. *nkuinkui* 'see.IPFV')	(e.g. *ga* 'go')	(e.g. *ke* 'to.completion')	(e.g. *rai* 'urging')	(e.g. *zhai* BEN)	(e.g. *su* 'can')	(*nqe*)	(e.g. *bai* 'finish')	(e.g. *lu* IPFV)	(e.g. *ga* IRR)	(e.g. *lai* CL.F)	(*tdi* QUOT)

Figure 14 Verb complex

Eleven positions have been identified, excluding the head[139]. Eight of these are basic slots. In addition to this there are three zones, positions where up to two class members can pattern side-by-side allowing multiple lexical items of that class to occur in a single verb complex[140]. With this number of operators, it is challenging to find a clause where all or even many of the operators are functioning together, making it a taxing task to lay out a definite linear order. In fact, with further investigation some may turn out to be mutually incompatible. Others that have been given separate positions may be found to belong to a single class, allowing the positions to be collapsed. Much can be observed already, however, with the available data, and discussions of the members of each slot and zone are found in the ensuing sections.

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[139] Previously, two more items were included preverbally. The first was a slot for intensifiers. Semantically, these seem to have a close tie to the verb. However, they are found in positions removed from the rest of the verb complex by intervening noun phrases (e.g. NE 12), and so have been excluded at this time. Another class of words which was considered as possibly holding a preverbal position within the verb complex was resumptive pronouns. In the vast majority of cases, these occur immediately preceding the verb and are written by the LRP as a single unit with the verb. Once again, however, the fact that sometimes noun phrase material is inserted between these items on the verb (e.g SE 31) has motivated the researcher to exclude them from the verb complex at this time.

[140] Terminology for "slots" and "zones" follows Coupe (2007: 288), who recognizes it as the approach of Kari 1989.

6.3 Structure of the verb complex

Each of the elements which can function in each of the verb phrase positions is considered in turn in the following sections. They can be broken down into three broad categories: preverbal elements, head and postverbal elements, and are presented in that order.

6.3.1 Directionals

The initial position in the verb complex is occupied by directionals[141]. This set of directionals[142] is confirmed to pattern previous to the verb. (162) displays the directional *ga* 'go' preceding *lu* 'stay'.

(162) BBS 5.1

nyai	*Lishi*	*qi*	*haw*	***ga***	***lu***
2sg	Layshi (plc)	city	LOC	**go**	**stay**

… "You go stay in Layshi…."

Directionals are seen to function in more than one way. They can either encode physical motion or not. They also carry aspect-like semantics. As actual verbs of movement, the occurrence of a directional verb before the main verb indicates that the motion took place before the action. For example, *ga + ku,* 'go' + 'attend' would be interpreted "go and attend" (BBS 4.5). Directionals can also play a role which does not encode motion, but has aspectual characteristics, indicating the degree to which the event is completed or ongoing. There is potential for these quasi-aspectual directionals to be used in an emotive manner as well, by giving a judgment call on the activity from the speaker's perspective. We can see, for instance *ga + ke,* 'go' + 'be used up' as an integral part of the question which could be idiomatically stated: "Where did all the dried meat disappear (go and be used up) to?" (V 11.3). This type of expression seems to be similar to statements in English such as "went and" in "went and locked my keys in the trunk." Both a sense of completion and a sense of amazement or frustration are drawn out by the use of the directional. All verbs of directional motion can be used in this slot, with *ra* 'come' and *ga* 'go' being most common.

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[141] These could be conceived of as either verbs working in serial with the other event verb, as secondary verbs within the verb complex alongside a matrix verb, or as having been grammaticalized to a status as particles in this position. There are both preverbal directionals and postverbal ones which clearly hold positions in the verb complex. Therefore, the researcher is currently considering every directional verb which occurs next to another verb (does not have non-verbal complex matter intervening) as a part of the verb complex. She does not intend to make a claim that directional verbs together with other verbs cannot be considered multi-verb constructions.

[142] See section 8.2 for further discussion on directionals and multi-verb constructions.

6.3.2 Negative

A significant position in the verb complex is the negative slot. It is confirmed as occuring preverbally. Only one item, *ma*[143], occurs in this slot. Its function is simply to negate the fact of the occurrence of the activity described by the verb, or the reality of the state for stative or attributive verbs. (163) illustrates the negative particle being used to express the non-occurrence of the event encoded by *pe* 'break'.

(163)   CB 23

ma	*pe*
NEG	break

… [It] didn't break…

In (164) *ma* occurs before the verb *ti* 'look at' and its particle *su* 'can' to result in the combined meaning "can't look at." In this case, the negative has scope first over *su* 'can', and secondarily over the entire verb complex.

(164)   CK 8.2

ma	*ti*	*su*
NEG	look.at	can

… I can't look at [that type of thing.]

6.3.3 Head

The head of the verb complex is the verb. The verb complex cannot exist without it. Within the scheme of the entire VP, the head occurs relatively far left, with the majority of verb phrase elements occurring to its right. All other elements of the verb phrase have meaning because of and specify the meaning of this head. The example shown as (165) allows the reader to see the head verb *pha* 'float' followed by two aspectual particles.

(165)   NE 88

sawga	*qi*	*tzi*	*haw*	***pha***	***law***	***lu***
leaf	water	top	LOC	**float**	**leave.as.is**	**IPFV**

The leaf is floating on top of the water. ("is being left in the state of floating")

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[143] The form of this negative particle is a perfect match for the PTB *ma 'negative' (Matisoff 2003: 172, 488).

6.3.4 Reduplicated verbs

In 'Naga languages' of northeast India as studied and classified by Marrison, he notes that reduplication is used freely in a wide variety of ways. These differ from language to language, but distributive, intensive and repetitive usages are frequently seen (1967: 102).

(166) below gives an example of the usage of a reduplicated verb to indicate a resultant state. The verb *phai* 'cut' is used twice after the main verb *laiki* 'chop'. The "chopping" has resulted in the state of "being cut up."

(166)		CB 6					
khawqhipvaisasa	*rai*	*saipwe*	*tzi*	*haw*	*ra*	*tshetzu*	*bai*
carrot	PL	table	top	LOC	come	put.down	finish

sai	*lai*	*laiki*	***phaiphai***	*tsha*	*lu*
CONN	INS	chop	**cut.IPFV**	do	IPFV

… [someone] came and placed carrots on the table and, with a knife, is doing chopping-into-pieces [to them].

The section about verbal reduplication in the word class chapter, 3.3.2, also describes these derivations and includes more examples. There, space is especially given to discussion of reduplicated verbs occurring preverbally. These do not seem to be part of the verb phrase due to the fact that other clausal elements, both core and non-core NP arguments, can intervene between them and the verb they modify. The reduplicated verbs which occur syntactically within the verb phrase have the semantic outcome of describing the result of the state of a situation after the event of the verb has occurred, while those occurring preverbally, elsewhere in the clause, have the semantic outcome of describing the manner in which the activity of the main verb is being carried out.

6.3.5 Directionals

Postverbal directionals occur before the slot of aspect-like particles. Most comments made regarding the preverbal directionals apply to the directionals occurring postverbally. Because of its location relative to the verb, however, the resulting semantic meaning for directionals in this slot is somewhat different. If a lexical item is being used to indicate actual motion, the motion occurs after the event represented by the head verb. For example, the combination *khu+ra,* 'take' + 'come' is to be understood "take (in this case, a rag) and come" as in (167) below.

(167)   CB 1

*cwedhai   khu   **ra**   taceqai   qhaidha   ga   lu   la*
cloth   take   **come**   center   tear   go   IPFV   CL.F
[She] brought ("has taken and come with") a cloth, and is tearing [it]
down the middle.

When a postverbal directional does not carry the full extent of the lexical meaning of
motion, and is used more aspectually, inceptive or completive meanings are
encoded. *qimpe + ga* 'break' + 'go' indicates that the item in question (a branch) has
just been broken – with the added focus of completely or irreversibly (CB 16). (167)
above also includes one of these aspect-like directionals postverbally. *qhaidha* 'tear'
is followed by *ga* 'go'. Although the event is expressed imperfectively (*lu*), the use of
the directional is significant in expressing the concept that this type of event will be
irreversible.

6.3.6 Aspect-like particles

The directional verb position is followed by the first class of lexical items designated
as aspect-like. The members of this class have been shown to pattern before the slot
of deontic modality markers. The lexical items patterning here are aspect-like in a
manner unique from those occurring in the zone further on in the verb phrase, and
the set of lexemes permitted is different. *ke, lwa, nqi* and *tda* occur in this slot. They
carry the meanings shown in Table 46.

Table 46 Aspect-like particles

Vernacular	Gloss	Example
ke	V to completion	SE 29
lwa	V to return things back to original state	L60a 3
nqi	CMPL	K 1.4
tda	do [2 or more previously-mentioned Vs] alternately	K 1.5

(168) is an utterance describing the last part of a scene where a young woman drops
and breaks a vase that she was carrying. The aspectual particle *lwa* is glossed 'again',
but it does not indicate that she has already repaired the vase once. It indicates that
she has repaired it somewhat back to its original state.

(168)   L60c 3

tshati	***lwa***	*bai*	*tshe*	*lu*	*lai*
repair	**again**	finish	hold	IPFV	CL.F

… having repaired [it], [she] is holding [it].

6.3.7 Pre-modality particles

Following that aspectual category is a broader undefined category for particles. This
set of lexical items is confirmed to occur before the deontic modality indicating
particles. Because the individual characteristics of each of these particles have not
yet become clearly identifiable, what they have in common is not yet obvious,
either. The members of this class may in the future show themselves to group
together with other items in already-identified slots to make a more unified whole.
Alternatively, they may break apart into more distinctive categories. Table 47 gives
a brief overview of the items currently designated as fitting here. The second two
pair with the negative particle.

Table 47 Particles

Vernacular	Gloss	Description	Example
rai	urging	Epistemic modality – speaker is invested in listener carrying out V (used in IMP clauses)	Prn 44
ti	ever	Describes having experienced something at least once	Adv 6
ti	never	Pairs with NEG to form this meaning	CN 7
sai	without	Pairs with NEG to form this meaning	SE 33

In his commentary on a video clip where a rag is seen being torn apart without any
agent (169), the LRP used the particle *sai* patterning with the negative *ma* to yield
the meaning 'without'.

(169)   CB 8

ntzuirai	*law*	***ma***	*ntu*	***sai***	*taqe*
person	even	**NEG**	be.present	**without**	by.itself

ja	*taceqai*	*qhaidhadha*	*ga*	*bai*
like.that	center	torn.IPFV	go	finish

… [a rag] tears apart at the center by itself without even a person present!

6.3.8 Deontic modality-related particles

The next position in the verb phrase is a zone, occupied by deontic modality-related particles. Their position is established as preceding the zone for aspect-like particles. Each member of the class displays the characteristic of giving some perspective on the agent in relation to the verb in question. This zone can be occupied by up to two members of its class in a row. Table 48 gives an overview of the members present and the semantics that each contributes to the VP.

Table 48 Deontic modality particles

Vernacular	Gloss	Type of modality	Example
le, lex	can V	Abilitive	BBS 1.5
maicai	can V	Abilitive	BBS 6.4
su	can V	Abilitive[144]	Prn 63
zhai	V for [someone]	Benefactive	NR 4.2
cai	V unintentionally		BBS 1.9
nqwexay	should V	Obligative	L52 3
maisui	want to V	Desirative	BBS 6.4
ti	attempt to V		Adv 1.1
shu	cause or allow to V	Permissive	V 9

(170) illustrates *cai* being used to indicate lack of intention.

(170)   BBS 2.4

paile   ***cai***   *le*

think   **unintentionally**   CL.F

…[I] thought [unintentional, non-premeditated].

(171) displays the ability of marker *su* together with the negative *ma* in one clause. The negative particle is preverbal, and the abilitive postverbal.

(171)   NR 14.1

haw   *le*   *haw-*   *ntaw*   ***ma***   *zhupyai*   ***su***   *he*

GNRC   A   GNRC.RL   shadow   **NEG**   catch.up.to   **can**   CL.F

… one cannot catch up to one's [own] shadow.

---

[144] There is more than one verbal particle with abilitive meanings. Whether the choice of one over the other is based on fine semantic distinctions, particular constraints in the syntactical context or other factors is yet unknown and represents material for further study.

With further study, more information would surface. Two issues which warrant continuing research include (1) looking at whether there are differences between the different abilitive particles and (2) finding out whether the obligative particle could in fact be broken down into smaller parts, each with its own function or meaning.

6.3.9 Plural agreement

There is a plural agreement marker which clearly occurs immediately before the second category of aspect-like particles. The form of the plural marker is *nqe*, and its purpose is to show agreement with a plural agent. It is not required every time participants are plural and is used relatively infrequently. Its function may be to emphasize the plural nature of the participants of the verb even if the specifics of who or how many they are is not expressed explicitly in the clause, as in the case of the agentive argument being elided. (172) shows the plural agreement marker with the agent, *ntzuirai* 'person', resulting in the sense of 'people (in general)'.

(172)   D 7
*ntzuirai lai tamaisui **nqe**   le*
person   A   love   **PL.AGR** CL.F
People love [well-behaved children].

The plural agreement marker may also be used more often in more formal or intentionally articulated speech and text as opposed to casual speech. For example, when the researcher first discovered this particle she very intentionally elicited a number of statements with multiple participants. Most of these resulted in utterances including *nqe*, although some were specifically tested and found to be acceptable without it as well. (173) and (174) exhibit two nearly identical occurrences of a sentence. The first contains the agreement marker, while the second does not. The result is a slightly altered style or emphasis.

(173)   Nqe 3
*nyaisawturai turai ma tsha **nqe**   lu   la*
older.people   work   NEG work **PL.AGR** be.in.state CL.F
Older people don't work. ("are in the state of not working")

(174)   Nqe 4
nyaisawturai turai ma tsha lu   la
older.people   work   NEG work IPFV CL.F
Older people don't work. ("are not, ongoingly, working")

nqe does occur in text freely uttered by the LRP[145], although with low frequency relative to the number of instances with multiple agents in a clause. In one particular clause, a unique structure plays a unique grammatical function. The plural marker is reduplicated. When going over the text with the LRP, he explained that what would have been an irrealis meaning in the clause with a single agreement marker was changed to realis by the reduplication. The relevant part of the sentence is displayed as (175) below. It refers to how people sit and warm themselves around the fire in the kitchen which can be seen in a photograph the LRP is describing.

(175) K 1.10

mpui	*taigai*	*nqe*	*ja*	*law*	*pwa*	***nqe***	***nqe***	*ga*
fire	warm.oneself	PL	like.that	also	sit	**PL**	**PL**	IRR

…[They] sit like that and warm themselves at the fire.

Because of the irrealis marker at the end of this sentence, the interpretation would generally be "They sit like that and could/would/will warm themselves at the fire." However, according to the LRP's explanation the dual usage of the plural marking changes the meaning to realis.

6.3.10 Aspect-like particles

Following the position for plural marking is a second one for aspect-like particles. This is a zone where two members are seen to be able to function together. Its members are confirmed to pattern previous to the clause final particles. Explanations of each item are given in Table 49. Some of the members of this class also function, with very similar semantics, as clause-conjoining elements.

Table 49 Aspect-like particles

Vernacular	Gloss	Description	Example
bai	finish	V is completed	CB 13
law	V.and.leave	Entered into state/situation and left	CB 24
lu	IPFV	Progressive, ongoing, continuing	CB 1
maire	still	As before, until now	Adv 4.4
riya	continue.to.V	Ongoing into future	CK 17.1

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[145] One occurs in (175), seen in the earlier part of the sentence, in addition to the reduplicated occurrence which is highlighted.

6.3.11 Clause final particles[146]

The second to last position of the verb complex is a zone assigned to clause final particles[147]. The members of this set are those which can be followed only by the epistemic modality marker. The first part of this verb phrase zone goes to particles which definitely mark mood. These are *ya* IRR and *x* Q (question). In these senses, these two are clearly found to position themselves before other clause final particles.

Some of the other clause final particles in Jejara also seem to encode TAM; the researcher does not yet completely understand these aspects in all their complexity. Since this is the furthest position from the verb, it is expected that its members are more grammatical, proving difficult to assign semantic meaning to. There are hints that elements of mood are integrated into some or all of them, including declarative, imperative, hortative or more. Epistemic modality may be signaled by some. Table 50 lists the many lexical items seen to position themselves as clause final elements. The column "Notes and possible TAM roles" allows the reader to see at a glance observations which have been made about each item.

Speakers have a great range of options as to which clause final particles to use to represent any one of the multitude of ideas they may wish to express in a given clause. That there is such choice alerts analysts to the fact that there must be further grammatical or pragmatic factors at work dictating the choice of word, whether these factors are found within the lexemes themselves or within the wider syntactic or semantic context. One approach recommended for further study is to analyze whether meanings of certain particles differ based on the person reference with which they cooccur.

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[146] There is reason to doubt whether some of the final positions in the verb complex chart are most appropriately considered verb phrase elements. Because Jejara is a verb final language, it is difficult to identify the boundary between the end of the VP and the end of the clause. Although these last two positions are particularly suspect, it is useful to show them here in their interaction with the VP elements.

[147] Those clause final particles which occur at the end of clauses solely in a connective way are not dealt with here. They can be seen in section 3.4.1.

Table 50 Clause final particles[148]

Vernacular	Gloss	Notes and possible TAM roles	Example
ba	Q$_{CONT}$	Interrogative mood	V 11.3
	PROH	Mirative modality	Adv 4.2
baiti	PROH	Imperative or hortative mood	Adv 4.1
bay	CL.F	Unsure due to only single usage	LQ 12
be	CL.F	Always preceding *tdi* QUOT or *x* F	D 2.6
ga	IRR	Irrealis mood	CB 22
hailo	EMPH	Inchoative or completive aspect depending on event type	SE 31
he	CL.F	For non-verbal clauses	K 1.1
	CMPL	Inchoative or completive aspect depending on event type	CB 7
hi	CMPL	Completive aspect	BBS 6.2
la, lai	CL.F	Basic sentence final, declarative or realis	CB 1, CB 11.2
lay	Q	Interrogative mood	SE 2
le	CL.F	Contexts include declarative/interrogative, irrealis/realis – perhaps semantically empty clause final marker	K 1.2, CK 3, K 1.3
leka	Q$_{TAG}$	Irrealis mood	RC 5
mai	CL.F	Hortative (polite) or answer to (potentially implicit) question	BBS 1.4, L52 2
whailo	CMPL	Also seems emphatic	LQ 9
x, xu	Q	Alone or in conjunction with and followed by *le*	CK 13.2, CK 14.1
x	F	Marks finality of speech, e.g. end of discourse	BBS 6.4
xay	EMPH	Epistemic modality	NE 114
xo	IMP.PLT	Imperative, polite mood	CK 4
ya	IRR	Occurs only as first member where two cooccur	CK 3
ye	IRR	Irrealis mood	BBS 1.2

There is much to be discovered regarding the use of clause level particles in Jejara. Not all of these particles are discussed here. However, insights can be gleaned by the

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[148] A note made in section 3.4.2 bears repeating here: "An important point for further study regarding clause final particles is in relation to their form. There are those which have identical initial consonants and others with the same rhymes. Some are even comprised of two syllables. It may become possible to analyze some of these items as contractions, or having portmanteau features that fall into a particular pattern. Some may be phonological variations of what is conceptually a single lexical item to the native speaker."

comparison of five utterances exhibited below, identical except for their endings. (176) shows the template for the utterances. The alternative endings in Table 51 below can be inserted to replace the bracketed material in (176). The reader will notice that *lu* listed as the initial part of many of these clause endings is an imperfective marker. It belongs to the zone of aspect-like particles. It is common that the particles from the zone explicitly identified as aspectual and from this zone simply identified as "clause final" have mutual effect on one another to result in unique meanings. These meanings exhibit connection not just to individual lexical items used but are dependent on their interaction with one another. Notes from the LRP on the appropriate situation for an utterance or resulting sense are found as the right-hand column of the table. The contrast provides a starting point for untangling the possibilities of meanings encoded and grammatical roles played by each item individually and various combinations.

(176) NE 14
guiraw   tayitzui   [lu   lai]
spider   angry   **IPFV   CL.F**
The spider is mad.

Table 51 Several clause endings in context

Clause ending		Description
lu	*lai*	A very basic statement, with the observer describing the situation he sees in neutral terms.
lu	*la*	Identical in meaning, sense and grammatical completeness to above.
lu		Identical in meaning and sense to above, but being shorter makes it a little more abrupt or less polite.
	hailo	Could be uttered in the case where a spider seems to have been calm and patient until now, and just at the time of utterance it has become angry and had enough with whatever is bothering it. This indicates inceptive aspect.
lu	*mai*	Could be uttered by an observer to someone who comes upon the scene, with the speaker giving this statement as an explanation for the spider's behavior.

6.3.12 Evidentiality particle

The final position of the verb phrase chart holds an evidentiality marker. There is only a single item, although it has two forms: *tdi* and *tdix*. It patterns at the very end of a clause and identifies the information uttered as reported speech. If a clause final marker is present, the evidentiality particle seems to be restricted to following one of these four: *be, he, lai* or *le.* Although it has a preference to follow these four clause final markers, it can also follow members from other positions of the verb complex, in the absence of a clause final marker.

In (177) *tdi* can be seen identifying that the speaker heard the information about a stolen car from others.

(177) D 1.1
hapfuiharai   *tarai kari zhataimpwai be* **tdi**
the.people.from.over.there   3pl   car   disappeared   CL.F   **QUOT**
… the car of the people from [the house] over there ("the neighbors")
disappeared [it is said].

6.4 Conclusion

The eleven distinct positions (excluding the head) found in the Jejara verb complex have been outlined in the preceding sections. The relative order is given, and some features are described using examples. Figure 15 serves to review the content of each slot and zone along with the relative order.

In the line below the label for each set of lexical items, the reader will find a description as to the relative location of that item. There is not yet conclusive evidence for the ordering of a few of these slots. For example, deontic modality-like particles are identified as occurring before the aspect-like particle zone. In the figure, the plural agreement marker is located between the positions for deontic modality-like particles and aspect-like particles. The data does not provide any evidence to confirm which of the two patterns first. This information can be understood by looking at the bottom row. Where the relative location of an item is known exactly, it is simply listed as occurring before the item which actually follows it in the figure.

Before V	(Directional)	(e.g. *ga* 'go')
Before V	(Negative)	(*ma*)
Head	**Head V**	
Before Directional	(Reduplicated V)	(e.g. *nkuinkui* 'see.IPFV')
Before ASP-like PRT slot	(Directional)	(e.g. *ga* 'go')
Before deontic modality PRT	(ASP-like PRT)	(e.g. *ke* 'to.completion')
Before deontic modality PRT	(PRT)	(e.g. *rai* 'urging')
Before ASP-like PRT zone	(Deontic modality PRT) (1/2)	(e.g. *zhai* BEN)
Before ASP-like PRT zone	(Deontic modality PRT) (2/2)	(e.g. *su* 'can')
Before ASP-like PRT zone	(Plural agreement)	(*nqe*)
Before CL.F PRT	(ASP-like PRT) (1/2)	(e.g. *bai* 'finish')
Before CL.F PRT	(ASP-like PRT) (2/2)	(e.g. *lu* IPFV)
Before Evidential	(CL.F PRT) (1/2)	(e.g. *ga* IRR)
Before Evidential	(CL.F PRT) (2/2)	(e.g. *lai* CL.F)
Outermost item	(Evidential)	(*tdi* QUOT)

Figure 15 Verb complex summarized

Chapter 7
Interrogatives & imperatives, transitivity & causativity

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents five different forms of Jejara interrogative clause types. Further, imperative and prohibitive forms are discussed. Finally, transitivity is considered and verbal processes of causativity, which can alter the semantic valency of a clause, are handled.

7.2 Interrogatives

The most basic forms of interrogative clauses are content and polar. The forms that these take in Jejara are considered below. A-not-A questions, those where the question is between two or more options, are also discussed. Tag questions and finally noun phrase questions are also addressed briefly before an overview of interrogative final particles.

7.2.1 Content questions

The most basic component of the content question in Jejara is the interrogative pronoun. *shi* 'who' is seen occurring in (178).

(178)   Prn 45
jai   ***shi***   *le*
3sg.DIST   **who**   CL.F
Who is he/she?

(179) demonstrates another occurrence of the content question in Jejara. It occurs in free text where the LRP is describing an item being passed between two people in a video clip. He could not recognize what was being passed between them, so he interrupted his own speech with the minimal question form, "What?" The form is [PRN$_{ITRG}$ PRT$_Q$]$_{ITRG.CONT.}$

(179)   SE 10
ha   *ya*   *tamaipfui*   *ntzuirai*   *khai*   *pasa*   *lai*
DEM.PROX   TOP   from.before   person   one   M   A

ntzuirai   *khai*   *tzuisasai*   **taika**   **lay**
person   one   girl   **what**   **Q**_{CONT}

cwe   *wezhawsa*   *jai*   *lu*   *jai*   *maikhakha*   *mai*
blanket   towel   give   REL   thing   picture   PLT
This picture is the picture from before [with] one person giving – what?
A blanket, A towel? – to a girl.

The arrangement of arguments occurring in content questions has a range of options similar to those seen in declarative clauses, where anything pragmatically recoverable is often elided. Any arguments the speaker wishes to express explicitly occur with significant freedom of order. There is, logically, one obligatory argument in the formation of content questions, the item being questioned. There must be an interrogative pronoun to represent this NP. Since it, too, continues to exhibit flexibility in the position it takes, the interrogative pronoun can be considered to occur *in situ*. Sometimes this argument receives double representation, with a noun phrase – frequently a demonstrative pronoun – occurring previous to the interrogative pronoun ((178) above). The interrogative pronoun can be marked for its semantic role, as agent, for example (D 5.2). It is not uncommon to see temporal noun phrases occur preceding the interrogative pronoun (also D 5.2). Other NP types rarely pattern before the interrogative pronoun, yet there is syntactic freedom. For example, the data contains an instance where the patient argument occurs before the interrogative pronoun *kulwa* 'where' (V 11.3).

The two examples of content questions given above pattern with different clause final particles. *lay* (179) has been identified as occurring solely with questions. *le* (178), however, is more often seen on declarative sentences. It can be found in a range of contexts, and seems to indicate little other than the end of a clause. The interrogative pronoun is an obligatory part of content questions and further marking is not required. In fact, interrogative clauses are also seen to occur with no clause final element at all (CK 13).

The interrogative pronouns as used in the data are represented as Table 52[149].

Table 52 Interrogative pronouns

Vernacular	Gloss	Structure	Example
shi	who		Prn 45
taika	what		CK 10
kwai	which		Prn 48
kwai+pasa	what/which thing	which+thing	Prn 47
ku+haw	where.at	ku+LOC	BBS 3
ku+lwa	where.to	ku+ALL	V 11.3
kwa+ti	when	which(?)+ time	Prn 49
kuta	when		CK 13
titda+tsha	why	how+do	L52 1.2
titdatsha+yaw	why	why+at.time.of (otherwise a CONN)	L52 3
titda	how		BBS 2.2
titda+whai	how	how+in.the.manner (otherwise a CONN)	Prn 52
kushahai	how much/many		Prn 53

7.2.2 Polar questions

The basic polar question takes the same constituent order as a declarative sentence. (180) illustrates one of these interrogatives, taking the form [NP$_A$ NP$_{ACCP}$ VP]$_{ITRG.POL}$.

(180)　　　NE 117

nyai　a　laimpui　　ra　　le

2sg　1sg　come.along　come　CL.F

Will you come along with me?

Although it is fairly common for questions to take the clause final marker *le*, the same particle also frequently appears in declarative clauses, whether realis or irrealis. It has no identifiable consistent role except to indicate that a clause (any one of a number of types) is complete. Because this study takes the orthographic form of Jejara as its basis, there is no confirmation about whether prosodic features such as intonation play a role in identifying polar questions as interrogative rather than declarative clause types. It seems likely, since neither individual lexical items

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[149] Some of the words set forth as interrogative pronouns here clearly demonstrate internal structure. It may be just as appropriate to divide these up so that lexical items such as *kulwa* would be considered two words: *ku* 'where' and *lwa* ALL. One reason for not doing so is that not all the internal components can be identified with perfect clarity at this time.

nor constituent order are seen to play this role. However, contextual and pragmatic factors make the interrogative interpretation clear in many cases. For example, (180) above is addressed to the second person. We can understand that when addressing someone in the second person, it is much more likely that a speaker is asking the hearer about his desires or intentions rather than making a declaration of them.

7.2.3 A-not-A questions

A-not-A questions are those where the speaker presents two (or more) options to the listener, of which they must choose one. There are a variety of forms that A-not-A questions can take in Jejara according to the data. When the options being presented are between two items, the basic form tends to be [NP CL.F NP CL.F]$_{\text{A-not-A}}$. (181) provides one example.

(181)   SE 22
wezhaw   **le**   *kure*   **lay**
blanket.wrap   **CL.F**   head.wrap   **Q$_{\text{POL}}$**
… a blanket? a head wrap?…

When the options presented in the question are between doing something and not doing it, having something or not having it, the simplest form is [VP CL.F NEG VP CL.F]$_{\text{A-not-A}}$. One instance is displayed as (182). In the Jejara form, the speaker is asking himself the question: "Do I even have academic abilities or not?" In the ensuing discourse, he makes it clear that he would not make his decision based on the answer to that question.

(182) BBS 5.3
a   *tumaicai*   *law*   **lu**   *le*   **ma**   **lu**   *le*
1sg   learning   even   **exist**   CL.F   **NEG**   **exist**   CL.F
… whether or not [I] had academic abilities…

It is not always obligatory to mark both of the alternatives as being questioned. In some cases only one of the either/or options is marked with a question particle. As in (182), marking may not be by specifically interrogative particles. In some occurrences of A-not-A questions, at least one of the options takes no marking at all (SE 19).

Further, there seems to be an increase of complexity when the options presented are between the two different activities each encoded as its own verb complex with its own verbal particles. (183) allows the reader to get a glimpse of this. It is an utterance made just after the speaker has dropped a vase which has shattered. Notice that what is usually thought of as a final particle, *le*, intervenes between lexical items *tshati* 'repair' + *lwa* 'again' and *vui* 'be.able.to'. These translate as just a single VP 'able to fix again'. The result is an occurrence of four of what tend to be considered "final particles" in a single interrogative clause.

(183)   L60a 3

a	*ha*	*tshati*	*lwa*	***le***	*vui*	*le*
ah	DEM.PROX	repair	again	**CL.F**	be.able.to	CL.F

ma	*tshati*	*lwa*	***le***	*vui*	*la*
NEG	repair	again	**CL.F**	be.able.to	CL.F

Oh. Am [I] going to be able to fix that again or not?

7.2.4 Tag questions

Two further question types will be mentioned briefly. Firstly, there is a tag question. Its form can be summarized [S *leka*]$_{TAG}$. One occurrence is shown as (184). The example is shown to conclude with *le*+*ka*, a string of two verbal particles which seem to combine especially to function as this unique tag question indicator[150]. The speaker assumes that, contrary to his preferences, the answer is "yes."

(184)   RC 5

pwakaw	*tzi*	*haw*	*ta-*	*sha*	*sailai*	*mainqi*	*lai*
chair	top	LOC	RL	flesh	fat	laugh	CONN

pwa	*lu*	*pa*	*jai*	*a*	*mainqi*	*lu*	***leka***
sit	IPFV	person	A	1sg	laugh	IPFV	**Q**$_{TAG}$

The fat man sitting on the chair laughing is laughing at me, isn't he?

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[150] *ka* is not known to function alone clause-finally.

7.2.5 Noun phrase questions

The other question type to be mentioned here can be considered a noun phrase question. In these questions, individual elements of a proposition, rather than a state or event, are questioned. Its form is very simple: [NP {*tda* or *x*}]$_{Q.NP}$.

(185) shows just a demonstrative pronoun being questioned. The utterance was produced by the LRP as he role-played a scene where a son asked his mother about the location of some dried meat. This is how the mother replied, questioning simply the NP which has as its referent the already-mentioned meat.

(185)   V 11.4
jai   *x*   *?*   *nyai* *jupa*   *lai* *ala*   *sai* *ga* *jai* *baimai*
DEM.DIST **Q**   2sg   brother   A   daughter   REC   go   give CL.F
That? Your brother went and gave it to [my] daughter.

There are cases, however, where the questioning can be inferred and is not marked explicitly. Repeating (179) as (186) below, the reader will notice two NPs listed immediately after the content question. These are being questioned, each in turn, as possible answers to the question of what item exactly is being viewed. It is easy to recognize the two noun phrases as being questioned if one utters the English free translation aloud, and notices the rising intonation[151].

(186)   SE 10
ha   *ya*   *tamaipfui*   *ntzuirai*   *khai* *pasa* *lai*
DEM.PROX   TOP   from.before   person   one   M   A

ntzuirai *khai* *tzuisasai* *taika* *lay*
person   one   girl   what   Q$_{CONT}$

cwe   *wezhawsa*   *jai*   *lu*   *jai*   *maikhakha*   *mai*
blanket   **towel**   give   REL   thing   picture   PLT
This picture is the picture from before [with] one person giving – what? A blanket,
A towel? – to a girl.

The speaker can also use the noun phrase question type to make known his general desire for more information regarding the referent of the NP being questioned. The speaker assumes the listener will understand what information she is seeking, and therefore does not fully articulate it. It may be comparable to the English "What about…?" as in "What about your dog?" when both speaker and listener are already

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[151] The free translation given by the LRP included question particles after each of the NPs in question.

aware of the context that, for example, the listener is buying a cat, but already has a dog which has a reputation of attacking cats. (187) gives an example of how this can be expressed in Jejara. Notice that everything preceding the question particle *tda* is a single NP.

(187)   CK 19.1

taguti	*nkuinkui*	*ga*	*lu*	*nyai*	*mpwasui*	***tda***
before	see.IPFV	go	REL	2sg	cow	**as.for**

What about your cow that [we] always saw before?

7.2.6 Interrogative final particles

Although a number of particles can be found concluding interrogative clauses, only four clearly show interrogative marking to be part of their function. To summarize these, Table 53 is given.

Table 53 Interrogative final particles

Vernacular	Question type
lay	CONT, Q.NP, A-not-A
x, xu	CONT, Q.NP
leka	Q.TAG
tda	Q.NP

7.3 Imperatives and prohibitives

An imperative is a command to a second person audience. In Jejara, imperative statements can be expressed with no clause final marker. This seems to be the default, non-polite form. It is common in Jejara, as in many languages, to elide the second person argument of imperatives. Three out of four imperative clauses in (189) do not express the addressee explicitly. The addressee of an imperative can, however, be expressed explicitly. This can be done in the form of a vocative, so that the referent of the vocative would be the listener. An example of the use of the vocative *ari* 'son' to address the person being commanded is given as (188). It further illustrates the imperative without any clause final marker.

(188)   V 10.2

ari	*,*	*ala*	*sai*	*sha*	*maiku*	***ga***	***jai***
son		daughter	REC	meat	dry	**go**	**give**

Son! Go give dry meat to daughter.

It is also possible to use the second person pronoun in the imperative, seen in (189). Imperative clauses can take the clause final particle *xo*, a command-softening particle specific to imperatives, also demonstrated in (189).

(189) shows four clauses in a row, together forming a single speech complement. Three of these are imperatives, with two of them identical in form: *ga + lu* 'go' + 'live'. Neither of these exhibit specific imperative marking. The first is shown to have the second person agent expressed explicitly. The final one illustrates the use of the clause final particle marker *xo*, therefore softening the final command.

(189)   BBS 5.1

nyai	*Lishi*	*qi*	*haw*	***ga***	***lu***	,
2sg	Layshi (plc)	city	LOC	**go**	**live**	

hoshahai	*lu*	*lai*	***ga***	***lu***	*a*	*tairaw*	*xo*
many	exist	CONN	**go**	**live**	**1sg**	wait	**IMP.PLT**

… [Teacher Aung Khin said,] "You go stay in Layshi. There is a lot of work to do. Go stay [there]. Wait for me."

Prohibitives are another kind of imperative, but in the negative. Jejara forms these using the combination of the preverbal negative particle *ma* and a clause final prohibitive particle *baiti* or *ba* within a single verb complex. (190) and (191) below show each of the two final particles in turn. The variation between *baiti* and *ba*, if there is a fine distinction for the native speaker, results in an identical free translation.

(190) Adv 4.1

ma	*tsharai*	***baiti***
NEG	do	**yet.PROH**

Don't do [it] yet.

(191) Adv 4.2

ma	*tsharai*	***ba***
NEG	do	**yet.PROH**

Don't do [it] yet.

7.4 Transitivity

In the following sections, two topics related to transitivity are covered. First, the prevalence of ambitransitivity in Jejara is addressed. Then two types of verbs which tend to be semantically ditransitive are considered.

7.4.1 Ambitransitivity

The discussion of transitivity takes a somewhat different focus in Jejara than in other languages where the explicit mention of or reference to core arguments is required, and where there is a more fixed word order. Even when looking at semantic arguments rather than syntactic, the prevalence of verbs which function both as intransitive and transitive affects the approach taken to verbal transitivity.

Coupe observes a relative lack of value of discussing transitivity in Mongsen Ao (2007: 81).

> [T]here are interesting complications in the marking of grammatical functions that tend to operate outside of verb transitivity classes. Furthermore, virtually any transitive verb that is able to occur with two core arguments can also be used with just one core argument that corresponds to the O argument of a transitive clause. Some of these qualify as patientive ambitransitive verbs; others that are not genuinely ambitransitive require the antecedent mention of an argument in order to license its pragmatically recoverable elision. A limited number of verbs can function as agentive ambitransitives, in which the sole core argument corresponds to the A argument of a transitive clause. Verbs with omitted core arguments (as well both patientive and agentive ambitransitives) occur without any formal marking of a change in the valency status of the verb.

In Jejara, too, there is frequent elision of arguments and no observable difference between clause forms with decreased semantic arguments and those where semantically present arguments have simply been elided. What is of interest to consider is the characteristics of ambitransitives. Two ambitransitive verbs are presented below.

The word *qai* has two senses: 'feed' and 'care for'. The first has three semantic arguments: the person who feeds, the one who is fed, and the food being fed. All are expressed explicitly in (192). *ta* 'he' feeds *taiwai* 'pig' *tzwa* 'rice'.

(192)   TT 7

*taiwai   sai   ya   ta   tzwa   **qai***
pig   REC   as.for   3sg   rice.cooked   **feed**
… As for the pig, he would feed [it] rice…

The second usage, however, takes only two arguments. They can be seen in (193) as *a* '1sg' and *haw+tzuipa+rai* 'our parents'.

(193)   BBS 1.1

*a   haw-   tzuipa   rai   tsha   **qai***
1sg   RL   parents   PL   work   **care.for**
… I… will work to care for our parents…

(194) and (195) illustrate that *laisui* 'clean, clear' can be used either actively or statively. The first semantically requires both an agent and patient (*jai* '3sg' and *tailu* 'field'[152]), but the second requires no agent. It takes only the single argument *pfui* 'pot'.

(194)   NE 118

jai   ntzui   hai   laiga   hai   tda   tshe   lai
3sg.DIST   knife   LIST   ax   LIST   LIST.F   use   CONN

*tailu   **laisui**   lu   lai*
field   **clear**   IPFV   CL.F
He is using a knife and ax and is clearing the field.

(195)   W 10

*pfui   jai   **laisui**   la*
pot   DEM.DIST   **clean**   CL.F
That pot is clean.

The word *zhasai* 'kill', likewise, seems to have two different transitivity options. The transitive usage is most often seen in the texts, with a killer and the one killed (V 4). However, there is also a usage which does not seem to semantically acknowledge a killer, and takes only the patientive argument (D 6).

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[152] This particular utterance also makes the instruments explicit, although both the instruments and the agent are expressed before the connective, *lai*.

7.4.2 Ditransitivity

Another point of discussion regarding transitivity in Jejara is the semantic ditransitivity of certain verbs. Two verb types whose ditransitivity impacts the norms of clausal case marking are discussed. The first type includes verbs which take three core semantic arguments because the verb type encodes something about "giving," necessitating a giver, gift and recipient.

The case marker *sai* is a particle marking recipient exclusively[153]. It is only found, therefore, in clauses which have a verb 'give' or a similar verb which includes two human or animate arguments along with the object being transferred between them. In clauses centered on 'give' verbs, there is still variation in agentive marking between *lai* and *jai* and null (the latter seen rarely). Further, in each clause from the 'give' semantic class (almost all of the examples are in fact with *jai* 'give'), the patient argument (i.e. item being given) is marked null. In terms of word order, there is still a great deal of flexibility, with agent-recipient-patient being a slightly more common order for the arguments than other possible combinations. As with other verbs in the language, arguments are elided when recoverable.

A narration of the event observed in a series of pictures where a man gives a woman a gift is represented as (196). The agent argument is marked *lai* A, followed by the recipient indicated by the particle *sai* and the object with a zero case marking.

(196)   O 4

ntzuirai	*khai*	*pasa*	**lai**	*khai*	*tzuisa*	**sai**	*khwaijai*
person	one	M	**A**	one	F	**REC**	present

ra	*jai*	*lu*	*lai*
come	give	IMPF	CL.F

A man comes and gives a present to a woman.

Verbs encoding speech, likewise, take three semantic arguments. These three core arguments are the speaker, her speech and the listener. As with verbs of giving, clauses with speech verbs demonstrate the use of a unique case marker. To mark the person being spoken to, the speech recipient case marker *shu* is used. (197) illustrates one occurrence[154].

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[153] There is another case marker of the same form which has senses related to time and location, but there are no grounds for confusion since it must occur on temporal and locational noun phrases.

[154] No observations can be made about the marking or ordering of arguments in clauses based around speech verbs, because in all textual occurrences these arguments are implicit.

(197) CK 7.1

taigazhupvui	*rai*	***shu***	*ga*	*cai*	*ye*
village.head	PL	**SP**	go	say	IRR

… [Let's] go tell the village head…

The one unique feature arising, then, in certain verbs which semantically require three arguments is the presence of an argument overtly marked by one of the unique case markers: either *sai* for recipient or for *shu* speech recipient.

7.5 Causativization

In Jejara, two main verbal elements can add a causative meaning to a verb[155]. One is the postverbal particle *shu.* Another is a verbal prefix *zha-.* These are of interest here because they increase the number of semantic arguments in a clause. Additionally, causatives can be expressed semantically using clausal connectives.

7.5.1 Postverbal particle *shu*

The most productive way to express causativity morphologically in Jejara depends on the postverbal particle *shu.* (198) provides an example, with the causative marker occurring immediately after the verb of the matrix clause. With a verb such as 'come' it is most common to see one animate participant and a location as the arguments. Although in the example the location is implicit, the number of participants has, due to causativization, increased to include the addressee (explicit in the conditional clause, implicit in the imperative) in addition to his younger sister.

(198) V 2

nyai	*turai*	*tailu*	*ga*	*hi*	*nyai-*	*nqitzui*	*jai*
2sg	thing	buy	go	if	2sg.RL	younger.sister	A

la	***shu***	*xo*
come	**tell.to**[156]	IMP.PLT

If you go to the market, tell your sister to come [home].

---

[155] The same phenomenon is observed in Mongsen Ao where both morphological and analytic constructions are used to form causatives (Coupe 2007: 190, 197).

[156] *shu* can be used to express causativization with varying strength and method. For example, it can actually mean to physically cause to happen, or to cause by commanding or even simply to allow. Some of this range is reflected in glosses given.

Verbs which inherently have a higher number of semantic arguments than others, such as "give" verbs, can also be marked by the causative particle. The semantic arguments of such a construction should logically include causer, causee (speech recipient), recipient and object. All four are present in (199) below. However, they do not pattern as arguments around a single verb[157]. The object occurs as a demonstrative, referring to the dried meat mentioned in the preceding line of the dialogue. It is set off by a comma in the vernacular. Following this, the causee is listed next, marked as speech recipient. This is followed by the first singular causer, marked as agent. The first part of the activity is then encoded by the verb and followed by a connective. The recipient argument is introduced here, in conjunction with the verbs encoding the continuing activities which wrap up the complex proposition, including the causativization. Although the speech verb *cai* 'tell' is pragmatically connected to how the speaker "causes" the action, (198) above demonstrates that it need not be made explicit. In (199) more of the steps involved in causativization in the real world are made explicit by the overt use of the speech verb.

(199)   V 11.5
*jai   , nyai-   jupa   **shu** a   **lai** cai   lai*
DEM.DIST   2sg.RL brother **SP** 1sg **A**   tell   CONN

*ala   **sai**   ga   jai   **shu**   baimai*
daughter   **REC**   go   give   **CAUS**   CL.F
That – I talked to your brother and caused [him] go give [it] to [my] daughter.

7.5.2 Prefix *zha-*

Another possibility for the expression of causatives exists in Jejara. This is the verbal prefix *zha-*. Although it is found less frequently than the postverbal particle *shu*, a number of examples occur in the text. One is demonstrated as (200) below, with the causative affixed to the verb *lawsai* 'happy' for the free translation 'make happy'.

(200) V 1
*khwe tsha lai nyaisa rai **zha-** lawsai*
song   sing INS child   PL   **CAUS** happy
Make the children happy by singing songs.

---

[157] This seems to be a multi-verb construction where "tell" and "cause to go and give" are conceptualized as a single event. The relative arguments are made explicit as they are needed.

There are at least some verbs which can take either one or the other causative marking. With additional research, verb classes may emerge of those which can take one or the other or both. Alternatively, there may be fine semantic differences.

Consider two examples with the attributive verb *maiku* 'dry' to view both causative constructions. First, (201) exhibits the causative marked by a prefix.

(201)   K 1.8

atshatsha	*jai*	*lwa*	*wekwai*	***zha-***	*maiku*
pepper	DEM.DIST	ALL	place.on	**CAUS**	dry

… [we] place chilies on here to dry … ("to cause [them] to dry")

In (202) the postverbal particle is used[158].

(202)   V 8

lainqi	*tsataiga*	*lai*	*cwe*	*rai*	*maluli*	*maiku*	***shu***	*su*	*lai*
sun	heat	A	clothing	PL	shortly	dry	**CAUS**	can	CL.F

The heat of the sun can dry ("can cause to dry") clothes in just a short time.

7.5.3 Clausal relations and causativity

Further, there are clause construction options which do not require any explicit causative marking. The causative meaning is expressed and understood based on the semantic content of the specific lexical items. The use of connectives[159] to link more than one clause – cause and result – together is central to this type of causative expression[160]. An instance of this is seen in (203) below, where a man's teasing caused a woman to be embarrassed, which further caused her to cry. These are linked together as clauses without any explicit morphological causative marking. Semantically, listeners understand that each event in turn resulted in the other. The connective *yaw* plays a pivotal role in linking the clauses so that one behavior is understood as caused by what precedes it.

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[158] Perhaps this usage focuses on the end result of the causative process while the use of the prefix in (201) is more purposive.

[159] See 3.4.1 for discussion on clause connectives and a display of those occurring in Jejara.

[160] Whether this is another option to be freely chosen from, or is the only way to express certain causative concepts cannot yet be verified.

(203)   V 7.2

lailatzuirai	*khai*	*laidhiparai*	*lai*	*laikhwaititi*
unmarried.woman	one	unmarried.man	A	kept.teasing

ta	*zhi*	**yaw**	*dwai*	*lu*	*lai*
3sg	embarassed	**at.time.of**	cry	IMPF	CL.F

An unmarried man was teasing an unmarried woman, and she got embarrassed, so [she's] crying.

To summarize, one can causativize a verb using either the postverbal particle *shu* or the prefixing *zha-*. Causative meanings can also be expressed using clause constructions with connectives such as *yaw*.

7.6 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been complex clause types. Non-declarative sentences including interrogatives and imperatives and prohibitives were considered. Transitivity, particularly the ambitransitivity of some Jejara verbs and the multiple semantic arguments taken by ditransitive verbs, was addressed. Finally, processes of the valency-increasing causativization were discussed.

Chapter 8
Clausal connections

8.1 Introduction

This chapter responds to the question: How are clauses connected in Jejara? Three forms of coordination and a unique particle *law* are considered. Further, the processes of nominalization, complementization, and relativization are discussed as types of clause connections which allow a clause to become an element of another clause[161]. Comment is also made on the complexity and length that can be seen in Jejara sentences which use these conjoining strategies.

8.2 Inter-clausal connections

Both at the inter-clausal level as well as within the clause, Jejara clauses can be joined in a number of ways. First, non-subordinating inter-clausal connections will be addressed. Jejara clauses can be coordinated using connectives. Alternatively, clauses can be conjoined within a single sentence by simple juxtaposition, with no conjoining particle. Lastly, multi-verb constructions are used as another conjoining structure.

It may be most helpful to understand the three syntactic possibilities for clause conjoining as points on a continuum, rather than three distinct categories with well-defined lines between them. Two clauses can be confirmed as coordinated when they encode two distinct events and a clause conjoining particle occurs between them. On the other end of the spectrum are multi-verb constructions, where more than one verb works together to encode what is perceived as a single event by the speaker. The causal connection assigned by the researcher as juxtaposed clauses is the type which can be thought of as taking a position somewhere between the previous two on the continuum: two separate events are encoded, but no clause conjoining marker is used. Discussion on these three types of clausal connections is followed by an introduction to the unique connective particle *law*.

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[161] Relative clauses are clausal elements indirectly, because they pattern as noun phrase elements. It is the noun phrase which is a direct constituent of the clause.

8.2.1 Coordination

Let us begin with clause coordination using conjoining particles[162]. (204) shows two clauses coordinated by *lai*. The first is an existential clause, expressing the existence of work to be done. The second is an imperative with the second person addressee and intended agent left implicit. Two separate events are coordinated.

(204) BBS 5.1

turai	*tatshashasha*	*hoshahai*	*lu*	***lai***	*ga*	*lu*
work	work.to.do	many	exist	**CONN**	go	live

… [He said,] "… There is a lot of work to do. Go stay [there]…"

In (205) a different connective, *sai,* is used. The arguments of the first clause (a multi-verb construction) include the implicit addressees and a fallen tree which needs moving. *laigapi* 'ax handle', the instrument, is explicit. The second clause again has the addressees (also agents) implicit, while the first singular patientive argument is made explicit. This instance of coordination demonstrates more sequentiality than (204), with the sense of 'and then'.

(205)   BBS 1.11

laigapi	*khu*	*ra*	*setaw*	***sai***	*a*	*khucai*
ax.handle	take	come	insert.use.as.lever	**CONN**	1sg	take.out

"Come lift [it] with the ax handle and take me out."

8.2.2 Juxtaposition

It is also relatively common for clauses to be conjoined by simple juxtaposition. This demonstrates a middle ground between (1) clause coordination encoding two different events and indicated by a connective and (2) multi-verb constructions encoding what is cognitively perceived as a single, complex event. In (206), for example, three clauses are shown by brackets. The first ends with *ye.* This is not considered a connective, but a particle which marks irrealis in the second last verb phrase zone[163]. It is slightly less clear whether the connection between the next two clauses should be considered juxtaposition (as opposed to a multi-verb construction, in this case). But the repetition of *ra* 'come' points toward it being perceived as two separate events and also an example of juxtaposition.

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[162] A list of the particles used for clause coordination is given in section 3.4.1 as Table 34.

[163] See sections 3.4.2 and 6.3.11 for the classifications and functions of this particle.

(206)   CK 4

[a   tailu   ca   ye]   ,
1sg   buy   cook   IRR

[ha   ntaripwai   a   kaw   lairui   ra]
DEM.PROX   afternoon   1sg   HUM   visit   come

[nyai   tzwa   ra   tza   xo]
2sg.POSS[164]   rice.cooked   come   eat   IMP.PLT
… I will buy and cook [some meat]. Tonight, come visit me and eat your meal [here].

8.2.3 Multi-verb constructions

In addition to clauses coordinated with the use of conjoining particles and juxtaposition, multi-verb constructions occur. For instance, there are two occurrences of prototypical multi-verb constructions in the final portion of one of the longest sentences in the data (207). The first can be considered as comprised of two definite verbs and a directional: *lwe ga jai* 'carry go give'. This string of actions is viewed as a single event which is being carried out by a single agent, a woman. What she is carrying is food she has cooked, and the recipients are an older and younger man; each of these arguments is recoverable from preceding text. The three verbs occur one immediately after another. Between this series of verbs and the next the demonstrative *ja* intervenes. The second series of verbs takes the form: *tza pwa* 'eat sit'[165]. Syntactically, it is ambiguous whether these two verbs are carried out by all three characters, or only the two men. The video clip which prompted this description, however, shows that it is the latter.

(207)   SE 32
*khu   tawtaw   ja   **lwe   ga   jai***
scoop.out   put.in.IPFV   like.that   **carry   go   give**

*ja   **tza   pwa**   nkui   la*
like.that   **eat   sit**   see   CL.F
… [I] see [the woman] dish [it] out, take and give [it to them] and [they] sit and eat.

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[164] Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating possession, here and throughout this paper pronouns used in a possessive manner are indicated with '.POSS' where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.
[165] *nkui* 'see' is not part of this multi-verb construction. Rather, it is the matrix verb for the entire sentence. The implicit agent of the matrix is the LRP, and the rest of the sentence is embedded information about what he is viewing in a video clip.

8.2.4 *law*

The lexical item *law* can be roughly translated 'also'. It can be used for additional meanings. One of these usages is to add whole propositions. In this role, it allows Jejara speakers another way to indicate connections between clauses.

The particle *law* can be used to link clauses which seem to form a natural pair. This can be two activities performed by the same agent, a single activity performed by different agents, activities or states which have semantic similarity or even those which can be seen as opposites. In (208) below the idea of reciprocality is brought out with the combined usage of *whai* 'in the manner' and the connective *law* 'also' which joins the pair of statements about the participants loving one another.

(208) Tr 14

Jaijaiqai	*Jaijaila*	*tamaisui*	*lu*	***whai***
Jaijaiqai (nm)	Jaijaila (nm)	love	IPFV	**in.the.manner**

Jaijaila	***law***	*Jaijaiqai*	*tamaisui*	*le*
Jaijaila (nm)	**also**	Jaijaiqai (nm)	love	CL.F

Just as Jaijaiqai loves Jaijaila, Jaijaila also loves Jaijaiqai.

Examples (209) and (210) below show how the proposition in one clause can be added to by a second clause using *law*. The connection between them is indicated by the occurrence of *law* following the nominal elements ("having our ears stopped") in the second clause. These two clauses occur as consecutive sentences in the data, and so *law* is functioning as a connective across sentence boundaries in this instance.

(209) NR 6.1

haw	*ntzaitzi*	*ma*	*lu*	*hi*	*ya*	*taikalaw*	*ma*	*nkui*	*le*
1pl	eye	NEG	exist	if	as.for	nothing	NEG	see	can

If we didn't have eyes, [we] wouldn't be able to see anything.

(210) NR 7.1

haw	*ntzuirai*	*ha*	*haw*	*nta*	*laiphaw*	*bai*	***law***	*ma*	*da*	*lu*	*la*
1pl	person	TOP	1pl	ear	deaf	NZ	**also**	NEG	good	exist	CL.F

It's not either good for us people to be deaf. ("having our ears stopped is also not good for us people")

It has already been mentioned that clauses can be connected by no marking apart from simple juxtaposition. The use of the particle *law* can be used to strengthen the connection between two or more clauses. When each proposition is marked with *law*, there seems to be a sense of equivalence between the importance of those propositions, as observed in (208) above. (211) below represents a longer list of propositions, including three statements about the use of an ax and then a summary statement. Although each occurrence of *law* patterns immediately after the NP, it does not signal the addition of an argument but an additional activity. This can be understood by the fact that each proposition has a different verb representing a different event and comes through very clearly in the free translation.

(211) NR 1.1

laiga	*lai*	*saw*	*taw*	*phe*	*le*	*laiga*	*lai*
ax	INS	firewood	chop	break.apart	CL.F	ax	INS

saw	***law***	*dhrui*	*le*	*laiga*	*aga*	***law***
firewood	**also**	split	CL.F	ax	bamboo	**also**

maidhrui	*le*	*laiga*	*jaitda*	*talintzawntzaw*	*tshe*
make.pieces	CL.F	ax	like.that	many.kinds	use

With an ax [we] chop wood, with an ax [we] also split wood, an ax also makes bamboo into pieces. In that way, [we] use axes in many ways.

In summary, clauses can be coordinated by special clause-conjoining lexemes or can simply be juxtaposed. Some types of connections are best considered multi-verb constructions rather than the juxtaposition of separate clauses. A unique type of proposition addition can be carried out using the particle *law*.

8.3 Clause embedding

Three structures which result in clausal embedding are discussed below. Nominalization, complementization and relativization are three processes which result in a clause becoming a constituent of a matrix clause.

8.3.1 Nominalized clauses

By nominalizing a clause, it gains the ability to act as a clausal element in the form of a noun phrase. There are a number of particles which can work in a nominalizing way, occurring as the final element in the clause which is being nominalized. Some of these are identical in form to elements which occur clause-finally or as rightmost constituents of the verb complex in their roles in main clauses. They can be analyzed

as nominalizers when they occur as the final element in a clause which is being used as an argument of another verb.

A number of particles can play these nominalizing roles, and are presented as Table 54 below[166]. Some are specific in the semantics which result from the derivation, and others are general. In each case, a clause is enabled to act as an NP argument of a matrix clause, whether core or peripheral.

Table 54 Clause nominalizers

Vernacular	Semantics	Example
bai	Abstract nominalizer	NR 7.1
kaw	Locative nominalizer	K 1.6
lu	General event nominalizer	BBS 2.3
pa[167]	General nominalizer	BBS 1.14
pa	Agentive nominalizer	RC 5
rai	Agentive nominalizer	K 1.9
sai	Purposive nominalizer	K 1.3
ti	Temporal nominalizer	K 1.4

(212) below provides an example of *bai* acting as a nominalizer, with the nominalized clause *ayipa + sui + bai* 'friend's having died' explicitly marked as the patient argument.

(212)   D 5.1
atzui   ca   laintai   ayipa   kaw   lwa   lairui   ga   yaw
mother   this   morning   friend   HUM   ALL   visit   go   at.time.of

*[ayipa   sui   **bai]**   ma   ga   tzu   nkui   la*
friend   die   **NZ**   P   go   leave.in.place   see   CL.F
Mother – this morning I went to visit my friend, and [I] saw that he had died.

Nominalizations can introduce specific semantic meaning. The locative nominalizer, for example, does this. In (213) below *kaw* nominalizes the clause immediately preceding it, 'roast-dry rice', with the meaning 'the place where'. In the utterance,

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[166] Some other nominalizers, particularly those working on nonverbal elements like nouns, are also in use. Some of these are introduced in section 3.2.7.3.

[167] This nominalizer is an obvious cognate of the one in Mongsen Ao about which Coupe writes: "The general nominalizer *-pà?*…is the most textually frequent of all nominalizing morphology and has cognates in many Tibeto-Burman languages" (2007: 219).

we see a topic and complement; the nominalized clause being considered acts as the complement of this verbless clause.

(213)   K 1.6

tzwalaiwa	*tshalu*	*lai*	*lu*	*lu*	*tzi*	*haw*
meal	cook	CONN	IPFV	NZ	top	LOC

nkui	*lu*	*jai*	*ya*	*[azha*	*taiga*	*kaw]* COMP
see	IPFV	thing	TOP	rice	roast.to.dry	**place**

… what [we] see on top of [the place where] food is cooked is the place for drying uncooked rice…

Clauses can also function as nominal elements[168] without being marked by a nominalizing particle. (214) shows a single NP argument (sentence is given below as (215)). Notice that *a + tsha + maicai* is a full clause, with the agentive argument *a* '1sg' followed by the main verb and its abilitive particle. Yet the clause is marked by the instrument is particle *lai*. The speaker is expressing "what I am able to do" as the instrument of the matrix verb (which, in this case, is to help someone).

(214)   BBS 6.4

a	*tsha*	*maicai*	*lai*
1sg	do	be.able	INS

… with whatever I am able to do…

To summarize, clauses can be connected by enabling one clause to function as an argument of another clause. Nominalization is a process that allows this embedding to occur. Nominalization can be done using a nominalizing particle following the clause, or even without any such nominalizing particle present.

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[168] The type of nominalization being referred to produces nominals that have also been labeled sentential complements. Kroeger defines sentential complements, saying, "Complement clauses which contain their own subject NP… are sometimes referred to as sentential complements, because they contain all the essential parts of a sentence" (2008: 210). In fact, the reason for including nominalization in this chapter on clausal connections is because the nominalizations looked at tend toward this definition, so that complete or almost complete sentences are being embedded into other sentences. Considering the data with this definition and the process of sentential complementization in mind, it would also be acceptable not to analyze *bai* and *lu* as nominalizers. They would rather be considered as functioning in their CL.F and IPFV senses, respectively, and simply complementized as full sentences without any overt marking required to allow that embedding.

8.3.2 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are another form of clause which patterns within a matrix clause. In Jejara, speech and other complements are most often indicated by the complement marker *tda*, which occurs following the clause it marks. Below as (215) are the final words of a personal narrative told by the LRP. He explains that he wants to assist the listener with whatever he can, and this statement is encoded as a complement[169]. The speech act complement (marked by brackets, here and throughout the section) is concluded with *tda*, the complement marker[170]. The matrix clause 'I want to say' concludes the sentence and entire discourse.

(215)　　　BBS 6.4

[a	*tsha*	*maicai*	*lai*	*nyai*	*cawrui*	*ye*	-
1sg	do	be.able	INS	2sg	help	IRR	-

tda]	*ja*	*a*	*twa*	*maisui*	*x*
COMP	like.that	1sg	say	want	F

I want to say that I will also help you with [whatever] I can.

In the example below, it is the cognitive process of knowing which takes a complement. The complement is only a single word – the interrogative *titda* 'How?' – but it evokes a whole proposition. The LRP as the speaker is wondering about how to interpret what he is viewing[171].

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[169] It is interesting to note in the example that the LRP chose to mark the end of the speech complement with a hyphen preceding the complement marker. This is not the regular pattern throughout the data.

[170] The researcher is considering whether it would be a beneficial analytical approach to consider complementization as another form of nominalization. The complementizer *tda* is frequently followed by the particle *ya*, a topicalizer. *ya* almost always follows nominals, whether nominalizations or words which are nouns in their basic form. It can be found after nominal particles including case markers. Complementization and nominalization can be considered the same type of grammatical process in that both result in clauses being able to act as arguments of another clause. In Jejara specifically, both nominalization and complementization can be indicated either by a special marker at the end of the clause or without any overt marking at all. With such an analysis, *tda* COMP would be considered one specific form of nominalizer. To take the idea even further, the other material which *ya* marks with some frequency is clauses marked for logical relations. In specific, *hi* 'if' often patterns with *ya* TOP immediately after it. In many languages, these clause types are thought of as "dependent," and are seen to have unique patterns because of it. In Jejara, is the unique pattern to act as a nominal argument of the independent clause to which they belong? There is one language sample in particular which would provide strong evidence if it can be verified with further examples (BBS 1.8). The demonstrative *jai*, the rightmost element of a noun phrase, follows *sai*, a morpheme currently designated as a clause conjoining particle for logical relations, with the meaning 'for the purpose of'.

[171] He may be unsure either because he cannot understand the actual characters and activities, or because the whole scene does not make sense to his assumptions and understandings. Alternatively, it could be understood that the scope of the complement marker also covers the question 'father and son?' There are no grammatical markers to verify this, and so it is based on pragmatic understanding. In this case, no misunderstanding would result with either interpretation.

(216) SE 7

ntzuirai	*anqi*	*ta-*	*pa*	*-nqi*	*ta-*	*tzadhi*	*-nqi*	*le*
person	two	RL	father	two	RL	son	two	CL.F

[titda	**tda]**	*ya*	*ma*	*maicai*
how	**COMP**	as.for	NEG	know

Two people – father and son? [I] couldn't say… ("[I] don't know [the answer to the question of] how [to interpret this]")

(217) below demonstrates that identifying an item by its name or title can be done with a complement clause. The utterance is part of the LRP's description of a traditional kitchen. In the first sentence, he had identified it as a Naga kitchen, and here he is specifying that it is a kitchen of their specific people group among the many different peoples identifying as Naga. Notice that 'Jejara kitchen' is followed by the complementizer and then grounded in the matrix verb *tzai* 'be called'.

(217) K 1.2

hayaha	*[Jaijairai*	*tzwalaiwatshaluzhaw*[172]	**tda]**	*tzai*	*le*
as.for.that	Jejara (ppl)	kitchen	**COMP**	be.called	CL.F

… that is called a Jejara kitchen.

Clauses can also be embedded without any particular marking. There are many instances in the data where the embedded clauses are significantly longer than their host matrix clauses. A commonly-occurring type could be translated "I see that…" with the details of what the viewer/speaker is seeing representing the embedded clause. This came up repeatedly because the LRP was requested to describe scenes that he was viewing on the computer, as if another Jejara speaker who could not see the screen was his audience.

At times, the semantic benefit gained by embedding a clause is not immediately apparent. It may have some impact on focus or emphasis. For example, in (218) the embedded clause (bracketed) carries all the semantic meaning related to "peeling onions," and then the matrix clause is simply a very generic verb: *tsha* 'do'[173].

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[172] *tzwalaiwa+tshalu+zhaw* 'meal+cook+house'

[173] In this case the irrealis marker *ya* comes between the embedded clause and the following matrix clause. *ya* has another sense in which it works on nouns, and so it could be acting as a nominal particle on a clause which has been nominalized without explicit marking.

(218)   L64 1.1

[ntzuirai   khai[174]   ntzuijaja   lai   lawsi   gui   ya]   tsha   lu   lai
person   one   knife   INS   onion   peel   IRR   do   IPFV   CL.F
A person is preparing to ("doing to") peel onions with a knife.

8.3.3 Relative clauses

A clause can be integrated into another clause indirectly by becoming a modifier of the noun phrase. This is called a relative clause. In Jejara, relative clauses precede the head noun of a noun phrase, so that the relative clause modifies that noun. The relative clause is marked by the relativizing particle *lu* which then patterns between the verb complex of the relative clause and the noun which it modifies[175]. (219) shows a fairly typical Jejara example. *mpwasui* 'cow' is modified by the relative clause (bracketed) which can roughly be translated: "to be killed for New Year's."

(219)   CK 6

*ha   [pwelaiswa   laitwa   zhasai   **lu]**   mpwasui   maitsha*
DEM.PROX   New Year's   BEN   kill   **REL**   cow   EMPH
… that must be the cow [they] are killing for New Year's…

In (220) *bai,* a postverbal element, comes between the matrix verb of the relative clause verb and the relativizer, demonstrating that the relativizer does not only follow the verb, but the verb complex.

(220)   BBS 5.3

tahi   [haw   tzuipa   rai   law   leha   lailili   lai
then   1pl   Parents   PL   also   literacy   because.of   for

*jaitda   zhakha   ra   bai   **lu]**   laitwalwalai*
like.that   die   come   finish   **REL**   reason
…And then, it was for this literacy work that our parents gave their lives…

---

[174] Because of the semantic nature of this sentence, it would be equally possible to understand the embedding to begin after this NP, since the agent of the embedded and the matrix clause is the same.
[175] *lu* can work together with (following) *ga* to create a relativizer with irrealis meaning; e.g. in CK 18.

8.4 Sentence complexity

In the Jejara texts the different options available for clause connections are put to plenty of use. More than one type of inter-clausal connection can be found in a single sentence, and many sentences end up exhibiting great length. Although these become quite complex or impossible at times to represent as free translations of the same sentence length and clause connection type, the LRP confirms that it is good style in his language.

In (221), for example, four verb complexes occur within a single speech complement. Each is conjoined to the next in a unique manner, so that coordination through connectives and juxtaposition occur and can be observed in a single sentence. The first, *ga* + *lu* 'go stay' is imperative. Between this and the next clause we see a punctuation marker – a comma – intervene. This second clause is an existential clause, with the noun phrase argument *turai tatshashasha* 'work' expressed explicitly. The second clause is joined to the third with the connective *lai*. The third clause is a repetition of the imperative *ga* + *lu* 'go stay', followed by the last clause, a more specific command, *a* + *tairaw* 'wait for me'. Notice that in the transition from each phrase to the next, some arguments remain the same and some change. There is switching between declarative and imperative mood. Overt marking of clause conjoining is not required and clauses are conjoined in different ways to create this complex sentence.

(221) BBS 5.1

nyai	*Lishi*	*qi*	*haw*	**ga**	**lu**	,	*turai*	*tatshashasha*
2sg	Layshi (plc)	city	LOC	**go**	**stay**		work	work.to.do

hoshahai	**lu**	*lai*	**ga**	**lu**	*a*	**tairaw**	*xo*
many	**exist**	CONN	**go**	**stay**	1sg	**wait**	IMP.PLT

… "You go stay in Layshi. There is a lot of work to do. Go stay [there]. Wait for me."

Clause embedding in general and complementization in specific are further structures that contribute to the linguistic feature of long, complex Jejara sentences. One of the longest sentences in the whole corpus is at least 95% embedded clause[176]. (222) displays one of the shorter examples. The clause can be depicted this way: [[NP$_P$ NP$_{INS}$ VP]$_S$ VP]$_S$, with *nkui* 'see' as the matrix verb, and the verbs preceding it acting as a multi-verb construction to form the predicate of the embedded clause.

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[176] SE 32, approximately 14 propositions grounded with the matrix verb *nkui* 'see'

(222)   CB 3

[saw   taipyai   sa   khai   jai   ntzuijaija   lai
wood   branch   DIM   one   P   knife   INS

ra   taw   phe]   nkui   lai
come   chop   break.apart   see   CL.F

[I] see that [he] came and chopped a small branch with a knife.

Using this combination of clause coordinating and embedding options, quite a number of verb complexes can be found operating in a single sentence. For example, (207) of section 8.2.3 above is the final part of a much longer sentence(SE 32). A conservative estimate indicates that it includes about 15 verb complexes. The final verb *nkui* 'see' has as its agent the speaker himself. He has described in detail the series of events he has observed, and embeds the entire utterance as a visual complement, something like "I see that…" It is this embedding, which is clearly understood semantically, and the fact that the LRP wrote the entire stretch without a period that confirms these types of language samples as single sentences with prolific clause coordination. Space does not permit including examples of sentences of this length. However, they are available in the appendices. Three of the longest are SE 32, BBS 1.7-1.9[177] and BBS 5.3. The feature of allowing these lengthy sentences is in itself a noteworthy characteristic of clause coordination in Jejara.

8.5 Conclusion

In summary, there are a wide variety of ways to form inter-clausal connections in Jejara. Addition relations between propositions can be encoded using clause-conjoining particles or by juxtaposition. The use of multi-verb constructions is another option. The particle *law* also has a unique role to play conjoining propositions, often across sentence boundaries. Nominalization, complementization and relativization can be understood as types of subordination. Each connects a clause to another by enabling the one clause to become an element of the other (matrix clause). The first two result in a clause becoming a noun phrase argument, while relativization allows a clause to act as an element of a noun phrase, modifying the head. Widespread use of these constructions contributes to complex sentence forms.

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[177] The LRP split these three up in order to give free translation, and only after entering them into FLEx did the researcher realize they were a single Jejara sentence. Although the LRP felt he needed to "edit" this sentence into more manageable pieces in the Burmese free translation, he was not apologetic for the form of the Jejara sample, saying it was good Jejara.

Chapter 9
Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the grammatical matters discussed in this paper, chapter by chapter. It also re-articulates a few recommendations for further study.

9.2 Summary of chapters

Chapter 1 of this work provided an introduction to the Jejara people and language and to this research. In Chapter 2, the phonemes of Jejara were introduced along with orthographic forms and syllable and word structure. Morphologically, affixes, compounding and reduplication were seen. Chapter 3 looked at the language from the perspective of the lexical categories at work. One point of significant interest is the overcounting numeral system which was briefly described. Discussion on the noun phrase in Chapter 4 included an introduction of the noun phrase order and a few unique features such as exceptional noun phrase order in relation to time words. There was discussion on the temporal and locative phrases, NP structural variants, demonstratives, kinship terms and resumptive pronouns.

Chapter 5 presented the simple clause structure, which demonstrates basic SOV word order. Significant flexibility of the patterning of clausal elements was revealed and there was a discussion on unique clause types and marking of semantic relations. The verb complex was the subject of Chapter 6. It was found to include 11 positions besides the head, each with a set of particles able to function in that position. The details of the specific functions of these particles leave room for further study. The sets of particles include those used to express everything from negativity to plural agreement to aspect, mood, modality and more. Chapter 7 dealt with the non-declarative clause types interrogatives and imperatives. It also discussed transitivity and the valency-changing effects of causativization. The final chapter, Chapter 8, addressed inter-clausal connections. Clauses were found to be coordinated with an overt conjoining particle, by juxtaposition and in multi-verb constructions. Constructions allowing clauses to act as clausal elements were found

to be nominalization, complementization as well as relativization. The occurrence of sentences of significant complexity and length was introduced.

9.3 Recommendations for further study

As the Jejara language has not yet been written about academically to the researcher's knowledge, there is definitely room for much further work. She recommends, first of all, checking the findings with the wider community of speakers so that any idiosyncracies of the single LRP's speech are exposed.

In the grammatical analysis two areas stand out as particularly deserving of further study. One is sematic relation case marking, especially of core arguments. Further testing needs to be done to confirm the patterns of usage for lexical items such as *jai* which seems to mark both agent and patient, for example, to see whether the animacy split explains this. A similar need for further clarification on clause final particles persists. The great range of options available, including no clause final marking, indicates speaker choice and motivation which is not yet understood. Analyzing discourse features may prove to be beneficial to explain these and other challenging patterns.

Generally, many features of the language stand to be studied with increased depth. This work represents an overview of what could be discovered within a limited period of time based on limited interaction with the language. Each topic covered here, and others of which the researcher did not become aware, deserves more focused attention as research on the Jejara language proceeds.

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APPENDIX A
BEFORE BIBLE SCHOOL (BBS)[178]

Prompt: "Tell an emotional story – something very sad or very happy from your life."

BBS 1.1 a   Papaile tshazhaw ma   ku   rai ti   khwezhu tsha   hailo
          1sg   Bible   school   NEG   attend   T   until   subject   do   IRR

tdahiya – pwe (1995-1996) lwawhai   a   letsha   laici   ja
as.for   year   1995-1996   at.approximately 1sg   school   come.out   like.that

haw   tzuipa   rai tsha   qai   ma   re   he   na   .
1pl.POSS [179]   parents   PL   work   care.for   NEG   compare   CL.F   EMPH

This is about before I went to Bible school, in about 1995-96. I dropped out of school, deciding that working to support my parents was more important.

BBS 1.2 hawtzuipa   rai   law haw   ma taisui su   jayaw
        parent   PL   also GNRC   NEG support can therefore

haw   tzuipa   rai cawrui jaitda   lu   ye   .
1pl.INCL   parents   PL   like.that   live   IRR

My parents aren't able to support me to go to school, so I will help them ("[I] will help our parents; like that, [I] will live.").

BBS 1.3 jai   law   tda   Tzawtzuiparai   lai tamaisui   lu
        DEM.dist   also   EMPH god   A like   REL

lwatzui khai he   tda   maicai   laitwalwalai a   ja   si
road   one   CL.F   COMP understand   reason   1sg   like.that   just

a   yikhwe   haw paile bai   ja   letsha   haw   law laici
1sg.POSS   mind   in   think   finish like.that school   ABL   also   come.out

ja   lu   le   .
like.that   be.in.state CL.F

Since I understood that is also a direction God likes, I thought like that in my heart and dropped out of school.

---

[178] Note that paragraph breaks were not part of the original. They were made by the researcher. The decisions which resulted in the current breaks involved very little aforethought. She began to include paragraph breaks only part way through transcription. They have been kept as is, however, for consistency with cross-referencing sentence numbers.

[179] Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating possession, here and throughout the appendices pronouns used in a possessive manner are indicated with '.POSS' where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.

BBS 1.4 jatilaiti haw a swapa saya Awkhin lai
that.kind.of.time LOC 1sg.POSS teacher.M teacher.M Aung Khin (nm) A

nyai likhaikhai ma tsha hatda si ya ma kaira mai .
2sg something NEG do like.this just as.for NEG good PLT

At that time, my teacher Teacher Aung Khin said, "It's not good if you do nothing, just like this.

BBS 1.5 ma tsha le ra ye , ja yawtda nyai tzuipa rai
NEG do can come IRR like.that in.the.case 2sg parents PL

haw tzuipa rai turai tsha rara law hoshahai lu .
1pl.INCL parents PL work do come.PST even a.lot.of exist

"That's not going to be okay. So, there is a lot of work your parents and our [Jaijairai] predecessors have done.

BBS 1.6 jai tiqhai nyai law likhaikhai tsha hi da ye .
DEM.dist look.at.and.then 2sg also something do if good IRR

"Looking at ("considering") that, [it] would be good if you do something, too."

BBS 1.7 jaitda a cai ja – a le ya
like.that 1sg say like.that 1sg school as.for

ma tsha lwa su yawtda jai paile ti ye tda
NEG do again can in.the.case DEM.dist think attempt.to IRR COMP

ja cai bai ja talaishilwa ya nta lwa ga .
like.that say finish like.that after as.for village ALL go

Seeing that he said that, I said, "But I can't attend school again, so I'll think about it," and returned to the village…

BBS 1.8 zhawjwe tusai dipaitu sai jai
garden a.little extend for.purpose.of DEM.DIST

paile ga lulu ja tzawpui khai ri haw ya
think go be.in.state.IPFV like.that day one day LOC as.for

wai zhawjwe jai ka di a tsha ti sawpvui khai
1pl.EXCL garden P go.down chop 1sg do attempt.to tree one

maile ga sawdrui talainqi jai khairai ga di tsha ti haw .
fall go grove remainder P some go chop do time LOC

I was thinking about expanding the garden a little, and so one day at the time when I was chopping [to clear] the garden, one tree fell over. When I went to chop a remaining stand of trees…

BBS 1.9 tanqai   ga shaitailwai   ra   tati kawmaidhai   lai   ra
              tip   go hit   come base portion   INS   come

a   kwai   cai   jatilaiti   haw ya   asuimaidailai jaitda
1sg   pin.down   happened.to that.kind.of.time   LOC   as.for near.death   like.that

a   kwai   sai   mai   zha   ga   bai   tzu   ja
1sg   pin.down   be.inside   CL.F   kill   go   finish leave.in.place like.that

tzutzu   atzui   hai tahi jai   haw Latiqai   hai ,
leave.in.place.IPFV mother   LIST then DEM.DIST   LOC   Latiqai (nm)   LIST

atzui   Tshephu   hai   tda   tarai   asaw   jai sawmpi
mother   Tshephu (nm)   LIST   LIST.F   3pl.RES[180] three   A   fallen.tree

ga   lwetaidwe lu   ti   sai   nkui .
go   lift   REL   time   RV   see

… It went and hit the tree tip, and the base came and fell on me. At the time I couldn't do anything but float near death; remaining pinned under left to die like that [I] only saw Mother, Latiqai and Mother Tshephu when they were going to lift the log.

BBS 1.10 ja   ti   sai a   law azhamaisalaidwe   sawmpi   lai
               like.that   time   RV   1sg   also   regain.consciousness fallen.tree   A

a   kwai   cai   law   bai   ma   laidwe   le
1sg   pin.down   happened.to   leave.as.is   finish   NEG   get.up   can

tzutzu   jairailejai titdatshatshalaw
leave.in.place.IPFV 3pl.DIST   however.one.does

a   ma   mailutaidwe   zhai   su   mai .
1sg   P   cannot.lift   BEN   can   CL.F

Only at that time did I become concious; the fallen tree had me pinned down and while I was unable to get up, [I said to] them, "Whatever you do, [you] are not going to be able to lift [this] for me."

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[180] Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating that it is being used resumptively, here and throughout the appendices pronouns used in a resumptive manner are indicated with '.RES' where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.

BBS 1.11 laigapi khu ra setaw sai a khucai
ax.handle take come insert.use.as.lever CONN 1sg take.out

ja vui sai tsha lex mai , cai bai ja jairai jai
like.that be.able.to CONN do can IRR say finish like.that 3pl.DIST A

laigapi ga khu a lai wiqhaiqhai laigapi ga khu
ax.handle go take 1sg A go.throw ax.handle go take

jai ra setaw jai lai ga sekaile
DEM.dist come insert.use.as.lever DEM.dist INS go lift.as.with.lever

laici sai a law ra laici le .
come.out CONN 1sg also come come.out can

"Come lift [it] with the ax handle. [You] will only be able to manage that way," I said. They went and got the ax handle, the ax handle I had thrown aside. They came and used that as a lever and only when [they] came and pried and took [me] out with that I was able to come out.

BBS 1.12 jahatda tainqai khainqisaw tza ga whailo tdahiya lwatzui law
like.that step a.few little go after as.for road even

ma tzai le ma shwai le a li lwa lai ma ga le
NEG walk can NEG stand can RL leg portion A NEG go can

jaitda tsha cai ra .
like.that be CONN come

And like that when [I] had gone a few little steps, then [I] couldn't walk anymore. [I] couldn't stand. My legs became so that they couldn't move ("go") anymore.

BBS 1.13 jayaw jatilaiti haw ya a swapa
therefore that.kind.of.time LOC as.for 1sg teacher.M

Awkhin lai a caicai khwezhu jai ga pailecai – aw ,
Aung Khin (nm) A 1sg tell.PST subject DEM.DIST go remember oh

hatda ti a sui whilaw tda a – am .
like.this time 1sg die if.it.happens COMP 1sg um

Therefore, at that time [I] remembered about what my teacher Aung Khin had said to me – And I..., "Oh, if I had died now…"

BBS 1.14 Papaile tshazhaw ga sai a caicai taikalaw takhailwa
Bible school go for.purpose.of 1sg tell.PST nothing answer

ma jai tahi Tzawtzuiparai khwezhu tsha sai tshabaishu tutsha
NEG give then god subject do for.purpose.of no.matter work

talintzawntzaw , hatda si a sui whilaw jaijai titda
many.kinds like.this just 1sg die if.it.happens that how

tshashuvuihaila tda paile cai talaisai haw yikhwe
have.to.do COMP think CONN very GNRC mind

zhamaitsha pa laici le .
be.tired things.to.do.with come.out CL.F

[I] hadn't yet given any answer to what [saya Aung Khin] had said to me about going to Bible school. Therefore, I thought to myself: "Whether God's work or all kinds of work – if I die like this, how will things turn out," and it was mentally exhausting.

BBS 2.1 jatalaw ja taizhaw lwa hawpwai nqwe ku taizhaw
but like.that house ALL together go.together go.up house

ku nqi whailo tdahiya taiwalaiqi rai taikaraitda
go.up CMPL after as.for egg PL etc.

a maizhi taw zhai zhai , lulu apa Jikhaitzui kaw lwa
1sg rub put.in BEN BEN be.in.state.IPFV father Jikhaitzui (nm) HUM ALL

mpa khai qi ga a taijai bai ja lu le .
week one more.than go 1sg massage finish like.that be.in.state CL.F

When I got home from there, they rubbed me with chicken egg and things. Like this [I] stayed, and went to Father Jikhaitzui to get massages for over a week.

BBS 2.2 jatilaiti haw a Laitwapa Tzawtzuiparai atzi ,
that.kind.of.time LOC 1sg God god 1du.EXCL

titda twa lay tda yaw – hawghaghitsha tda twa le .
how say Q.CONT say at.time.of promise say say CL.F

At that time, God [and] I the two of us, [we] spoke [words of] promise.

BBS 2.3 nyai   lai   a   lwatzui ma   tzai   le   lu   ha
         2sg   A   1sg road   NEG   walk can NZ   DEM.PROX

khwa   shu   a   tsha   zhai   whailo tdahiya Papaile letshazhaw

disappear in.order.to 1sg   do   BEN   after   as.for   Bible   school

nyai   lai   a   ga   shu   maisui lu   jai   a   ma   laisui

2sg   A   1sg go   CAUS   want   NZ   DEM.DIST 1sg   NEG   dispute

ja   ga   ye   tda   .

like.that   go   IRR COMP

"If you [God] cause my not-being-able-to-walk thing to disappear, after you've done it for me I will not refuse to go to Bible college as you want me to, I will go."

BBS 2.4 jaitda   Tzawtzuiparai jwa   a   jakutsha tsha   bai   ja
        like.that god   speak 1sg   pray   do   finish like.that

ga   taijaijai   tshatsha mpa   khai   qi   whailo tdahiya ,

go   massage.IPFV do.IPFV week   one   more.than   after   as.for

a   li   jai tusaisai   ga   le   talaishilwa sawkhwa anqi   jai

1sg   leg   TOP a.little.each go   can after   stick   two   P

laiqhai   whailo tdahiya , ga   le   ra   yaw   a   yi   maisi   lai

release after   as.for   go   can come   at.time.of 1sg   mind   itchy   go

laidwe   law   ma   a   khaitshu   maisuisaigaga

get.up   even   even 1sg jump   heart.came.to.want.to

paile   cai   le   .

think   happened.to CL.F

After doing praying to God and going for a massage for over a week, little by little my legs came to be able to move. After that, when I tried to walk without ("having released") my two crutches I was able to and [I] thought, "I am so happy ("my mind is even going and getting up itchy") I even want to get up and jump."

BBS 3 ja   aqea   lawsai   lai   jitdatshabai – saqi   ya   ha
        like.that   myself   happy   CONN   after.that   tomorrow   as.for   TOP

saya   Awkhin   ma   zhwa   ku   ya ma   tsha   le   he   ,
teacher.M   Aung Khin (nm)   NEG   look.for   go.up   if NEG   be   can   CL.F

zhwa   ku   sai   zhawtzaw   lwa   ga nyai −
look.for   go.up   CONN   southern.part.of.country   ALL   go   2sg

Papaile   tshazhaw   kuhaw   ga a   ku   shu   yahailay
Bible   school   where   go 1sg   attend   tell.to

ku   cai   x   he   paile   ja   a   swapa   zhwa   ku   ja
go.up   say   F   CL.F   think   like.that 1sg   teacher.M   look.for   go.up   like.that

talaiju   rara   zhu   jai   ku   cai ja   tsha   bai
experience   come.DIST   incident DEM.dist   go.up   say like.that   do   finish

a   swapa   law talawsai tayimaisi .
1sg   teacher.M   also rejoicing happy

I was personally happy like that and then [I decided] that I must search for and go to Teacher Aung Khin tomorrow. Then I will ask, "Teacher, which Bible school did you want me to go to in the lower country?" I went to see Teacher and then told what had happened and after doing that my teacher was also happy and rejoicing.

BBS 4.1 hay !
        hey

"Hey!"

BBS 4.2 jahailo   tdahiya nyai   ha   talaiti mashilehailo   , ca   pwe   ya
        like.that as.for   2sg   TOP   time   can.no.longer.lose   this   year   as.for

nyai a   lai   ga   kuku   haw nyai   nqwe   ga
2sg 1sg   A   go   attend.DIST   LOC 2sg   go.together   go

nyai   lai   qhaica nyai   laiqhai   ye .
2sg   descend   send   2sg   release   IRR

"Well, then, you cannot waste anymore time. This year I must take you to the place where I attended [Bible school], [I] will take you down and send you [there]."

BBS 4.3 jayaw   tzi   lwatzai laili zhwa   he   tda   jaitda   saya
        therefore 1du.INCL   travel   cost look.for   CL.F   EMPH   like.that teacher.M

Awkhin   atzi   jai pwakaw   rai   tsha .
Aung Khin (nm) 1du.EXCL   A   chair   PL   make

Therefore the two of us sought [money for] our travel fare, and Teacher Aung Khin and we two made chairs.

BBS 4.4 jakutshazhaw laitwa pwakaw rai law tsha , tahiya

church BEN chair PL also do then

haw kalaw laitwa biro hai rai tsha tahi

1pl.INCL office BEN cupboard LIST PL do then

Zherawqi lwa law ka pwakaw khaiqi

Yaydaung village ALL also go.down chair another.time

ka tsha tda ja tshatsha atzi lwatzai laili nkui .

go.down do LIST.F like.that do.IPFV 1du.EXCL travel cost receive

[We] made chairs for church and cupboards for our office, then we went down to Yaydaung village and made chairs again. Like that, the two of us earned [the money for our] travel cost.

BBS 4.5 ja jai hawlai ja Zhanko lwa

like.that DEM.DIST ABL like.that Yangon (plc) ALL

hawpwai nqwe ka Nyawlaybi lwa Kaiyinrai

together go.together go.down Nyaunglaypin (plc) ALL Karen (ppl)

Papaile tshazhaw ga ku .

Bible school go attend

And like that, together [we] went down from there to Yangon, to Nyaunglaypin to attend the Karen Bible school.

BBS 4.6 ja a kujara Zhanko haw saya Awkhin talalwa

like.that 1sg graduate Yangon (plc) LOC teacher.M Aung Khin (nm) return

, tahiya ja ti jai a law tda Papaile tshazhaw

then like.that time DEM.DIST 1sg also EMPH Bible school

hawkubai yaw taika zhutsha tsha jai haw ma lu .

succeed at.time.of what work do DEM.DIST LOC NEG be.in.state

And so when I had graduated, in Yangon Teacher Aung Khin was also returning, and at that time I had also completed Bible school so what would I stay there to do?

BBS 5.1 haw   nta   lwa a   lai paile tda aje   ga   ga
        1pl.INCL village ALL 1sg A think saying together go IRR

tda   si , jatalaw saya   Awkhin   lai nyai Lishi   qi   haw
COMP just but teacher.M Aung Khin (nm) A 2sg Layshi (plc) city LOC

ga   lu , turai tatshashasha hoshahai lu   lai   ga   lu
go live work work.to.do a.lot.of exist CONN go live

a   tairaw xo   .
1sg wait IMP.PLT

I thought that we would go back to the village together, but Teacher Aung Khin said, "You go stay in Layshi. There is a lot of work to do. Go stay [there]. Wait for me."

BBS 5.2 a   la   hailo tdahiya turai lihoshahai tsha ye tda a   cai
        1sg come CMPL as.for work all.kinds do IRR COMP 1sg say

jatsha aje   ku   sai   ya   haw   maikhwaikhwai law
therefore together go.up for.purpose.of as.for 1pl.INCL want.IPFV even

tda   taqi lai jaitda a   shu   a   cai laili   ,
COMP 3sg A like.that 1sg tell.to 1sg say because

ja   a   law   letsharai khainqi hai   ntu   ,
like.that 1sg also students some LIST be.present

jajairai nqwe   ja   ku , ku   tairaw lulu   ja
3pl go.together like.that go.up go.up wait be.in.state.IPFV like.that

talaishiya saya   Awkhin   law la   ma   nqi
finally teacher.M Aung Khin (nm) also come NEG arrive

lwa   laiqe haw jai   qi   haw lairawtaw bai jai   haw
route between LOC DEM.DIST water in drown finish DEM.DIST LOC

a   swapa   law qi   haw jaitda sai   ga   be   x .
1sg teacher.M also water in like.that be.inside go CL.F F

Because he said "When I come back [we] will do a lot of work," even if [I] wanted to return together, because he had said that to me I returned together with other students, because they were there, too. After that, though, he [teacher] didn't come back – on the way (a speedboat) sank, and our teacher went down with it.

BBS 5.3 jai hawlai phehailo tahiya haw yikhwe
DEM.DIST ABL beginning then RL mind

tatshataiga law ntu , tahi haw tzuipa rai law
pain even be.present then 1pl.INCL parents PL also

leha lailili lai jaitda zhakha ra bai lu laitwalwalai –
literacy because.of for like.that die come finish REL reason

ay – a swapa haiqi ra hatda tsha bai jayaw
alright 1sg.POSS teacher.M also come like.this happen finish therefore

a yikhwe tshataiga jai lu lai , titda tshatshalaw
1sg mind pain DEM.dist exist CONN how no.matter

zhutsha ha laimpimpi ya ma laiju shu ga
work DEM.PROX without.benefit as.for NEG be.useless CAUS go

ma paishu ga tda paile cai ja a tumaicai law
NEG force.to.stay go COMP think CONN like.that 1sg learning even

lu le ma lu le law ma pailetaira , ma paile cai –
exist CL.F NEG exist CL.F even NEG consider NEG think CONN

haw swarai lai hai lai ka
1pl.INCL teacher A LIST descend go.down

ta maice shu tda a twa laili ja
3sg.RES contact in.order.to COMP 1sg say because like.that

jairai ka maice ja pwe 2002 haw tshapfai jaitda
3pl.DIST go.down contact like.that year 2002 ABL begin.continue like.that

ca tdahiya pwe 2013 law ma nqi ja ra tzai he .
now as.for year 2013 even even arrive like.that come arrive CMPL

Beginning then [I] also had mind ("emotional") pain with [me]. And then, it was for this literacy work that our parents gave their lives, so… Well, now this had happened to my teacher so [I] also had emotional pain. No matter what, [I/we] shouldn't let this work come to nothing. [I] thought, "[I] must not leave it just as it is," and [I] didn't even dwell on or think Do [I] have education or not? Our teachers said that [I] should come down and contact them, so [contact, working together] began in 2002 and now it is already 2013.

BBS 6.1 ja   tshatsha   ra   ca   tdahiya awhe taswatzui
      like.that   do.IPFV   come now   as.for   DEM teacher.FEM

Tiffany   law tshatshalaw Jaijairai khwezhu lai ta   pwe   –

Tiffany (nm)   also as.for   Jejara (ppl) subject   INS 3sg.POSS degree

khu   maisui tda twa lai laitwalwalai jailaw cawrui tahi

take want COMP say   for reason   to.her   then

jai   cawrui   whailo tdahiya haw   Jaijairai khwezhu   law tshatshalaw

3sg.DIST help   after as.for   1pl.INCL Jejara (ppl) subject   also as.for

wayqi lai   ntzuirai   lai   law maicai ra   ye .

more   CONN other.people   A   even know   come   IRR

So now, in that way, as I am helping Teacher Tiffany who is using the language of the Jejara people to graduate, while helping her, people will also get to know more about us Jejara.

BBS 6.2 tahiya haw   Jaijairai   qe   tshatshalaw – aw –

      then   1pl.INCL   Jejara (ppl) EXCL as.for   oh

hawkhwehawzhu   ya   hatda lu   lu   hi   tda

info.about.us   as.for like.this exist   IPFV   CMPL COMP

maicai lai   ra   ye   tda jaitda   lu   laitwalwalai sayama

know   exist   come IRR COMP like.that exist   reason   teacher.F

cawrui   lai jaitda ca   ra   lu   le .

help   for like.that now come   live CL.F

And so, from the view of us Jejara: "Oh, information about us has come to exist," [We] will come to know, and because it is like that [and] to help Teacher, Like that, now [I] have come to live [here].

BBS 6.3 sayama   , nyai   law nyai   yikhwe ma   laimpvui   law

      teacher.F 2sg   also 2sg.POSS mind NEG small   leave.as.is

nyai   yikhwe holwa tshexaitzu bai   lai   jaitda   tashukha

2sg   mind   very.long take.on   finish CONN like.that success

nkui nqi   ti   tsha .

see   CMPL   until   do

Teacher - you, too, don't be discouraged. Have great patience, and work until [we] see that [we] have reached success.

BBS 6.4 a   law jaitda a   tsha   maicai lai nyai   cawrui   ye – tda

      1sg   also like.that 1sg   do   be.able INS 2sg   help   IRR COMP

ja   a   twa   maisui x .

like.that 1sg say   want   F

I want to say that I will also help you with [whatever] I can.

APPENDIX B
CUT & BREAK (CB)

Prompt: Video stimuli Cut & Break (Bohnemeyer 2001)

CB 1 cwedhai khu ra taceqai qhaidha ga lu la
cloth   take   come   center   tear   go   IPFV   CL.F

[She] brought a cloth, and is tearing [it] down the middle.

CB 2 rui sawlaw bai sai mairai lai rui jai
rope   stretch.across   finish   CONN   iron.rod   INS   rope   P

ju phe nkui la
pierce   break.apart   see   CL.F

[I] see [someone] stretch out a rope and then pierce [it] with an iron rod and break [it] apart.

CB 3 saw taipyai sa khai jai ntzuijaija lai ra taw phe
wood   branch   DIM   one   P   knife   INS   come   chop   break.apart

nkui lai
see   CL.F

[I] see that [he] came and chopped a small branch with a knife.

CB 4 cwedhai maice law bai sai ntzuijaija sa lai ra
cloth   tie   leave.as.is   finish   CONN   knife   DIM   INS   come

taw phe nkui lai
chop   break.apart   see   CL.F

[I] see a rag which has been tied and then [someone] comes and chops [it] apart with a small knife.

CB 5 sawkhwa sa khu ra sai ta maiqhai tzi haw
stick   DIM   take   come   CONN   3sg.POSS   knee   top   LOC

ra qi phe ja ra wekha nkui lai
come   hit   break.apart   like.that   come   throw.down   see   CL.F

[I] see that after [he] brought a small stick, [he] came and hit [it] over his knee and broke [it] apart and threw [it] down.

CB 6 khawqhipvaisasa   rai saipwe tzi   haw ra   tshetzu   bai   sai
     carrot   PL table   top LOC come put.down finish CONN

ntzui   lai laiki   phaiphai tsha lu   nkui   lai
knife   INS chop   cut.IPFV do   IPFV see   CL.F

[I] see that [someone] came and placed carrots on the table and, with a knife, is doing chopping-into-pieces [to them].

CB 7 nyaitzuisarai   khai saipwe   ra   mainqai   cai   pwapwa
     woman   one table   come be.beside   CONN sit.IPFV

ta   shipwai lwa taisui   ra   pwa   he
3sg.POSS   behind   ALL back.up   come   sit   CMPL

A woman came near the table and, sitting, backed up. ("reversed to come to sit behind herself")

CB 8 cwedhai   khai ra   khwa   bai   tzu   nkui   lu   riyaw
     cloth   one come   spread finish leave.in.place   see   IPFV   during

ntzuirai law ma   ntu   sai   taqe   ja   taceqai qhaidhadha
person   even NEG   be.present without by.itself like.that center torn.IPFV

ga   bai   na
go   finish EMPH

As [I] come to see one rag spread out, [it] tears apart at the center by itself without a person present!

CB 9 saipwe   tzi   haw tshetzu   bai   lu   khawqhipvaisasa ntzuirai
     table   top   LOC put.down   finish REL carrot   person

khai   pasa khai   ra   khucai taceqai   haw ntzuijaja sa   lai ledha
one   M   one   come   take.out center   LOC knife   DIM   INS slice.apart

tshetzu   bai
throw.and.leave   finish

A person comes and takes out the carrots that were placed on the table and with a small knife slices [them] at the center, throwing and leaving [them].

CB 10 saipwe   tzi   haw tshe   tzutzu   lu   khawqhipvaisasa
     table   top   LOC hold   leave.in.place.IPFV   REL carrot

ca   ya   lephaiphai haiqi tsha bai
now   as.for chop.up.IPFV again   do   finish

This time [he] is again chopping up the carrots that were left on the table.

CB 11.1 nyaitzuisarai khai lai pa tshe ra bai
woman one A cup hold come finish

ra tshe shwaishwai anqi ma phaicai tshe law bai .
come hold stand.IPFV two even pull.out hold leave.as.is finish

A woman comes holding a cup, comes holding [it] and, standing, even pulls out two [of them] and holds [them].

CB 11.2 nyaitzuisarai khai jai kaw pa anqi
woman one A plastic cup two

hawpwai maigui law bai lu jai
together be.one.inside.another leave.as.is finish REL thing

ra tshe shwaishwai ja khucai taitwa lai
come hold stand.IPFV like.that take.apart show CL.F

A woman comes and holds the 2 cups one inside the other thing, standing, like that, and shows [the audience] taking [them] apart.

CB 12 ntzuirai anqi cwedhai rui shilaw bai ja ntzuijaja lai
person two cloth rope stretch.out finish like.that knife INS

lephe lu
slice IPFV

Two people stretched out an old-cloth-string and then are cutting it with a knife.

CB 13 ntzuirai khai jai rui vuicelaw bai sai
person one A rope stretch.out finish CONN

laiga sa lai ra tawphai tshalu
ax small INS come chopping.apart

After a rope has been stretched out a person comes and chops it apart with a small ax.

CB 14 nyaitzuisarai khai jai qhaimpwai daidai tatza saipwe tzi haw
woman one A watermelon between thing.to.eat table top LOC

ra tshaxtzu ledha tsha bai
come place slice.apart do finish

A woman puts the edible part in the middle of a watermelon on top of a table and does slicing it apart.

CB 15 ntzuirai khai pasa sawkhwa ra mairailawbai sawdhaidhai lai
   person one M firewood come stretch.across saw INS
dhaiphe lu
cut IPFV

A man comes with firewood, stretches [it] across and is cutting [it] with a saw.

CB 16 saw taipyai maiku jaimainta tzu nkui lu riyaw
   wood branch dry twig leave.in.place see IPFV during
taqe ma qimpe ga bai
by.itself even break go finish

While [I] watch a twig of a dry branch which has been put down [there], [it] breaks apart by itself.

CB 17 khawqhipvaisasa saipwe tzi haw khainqisawhai tzu nkui
   carrot table top LOC a.number.of leave.in.place see
khai jai taqe qiphai ga bai
one TOP by.itself break go finish

[I] see a number of carrots left on the table, and one [of them] breaks apart by itself.

CB 18 ntzuirai khai pasa lemawti ntzuijaja sa lai ra lewhai
   person one M orange knife DIM INS come halve
tda riyaw ta khwai taizhai lesa laici lai
COMP during 3sg.POSS hand.and.arm blood very.red come.out CL.F

While one man comes and is halving an orange with a small knife, deep red blood comes out of his hand.

CB 19 nyaitzuisatzuirai khai jai sawkhwa maiku tshetshe ra
   girl one A stick dry hold.IPFV come
tairwaiqhi lu maikhakha
break REL picture

[This is] a picture of a girl holding a dry stick, coming and breaking [it].

CB 20 nyaitzuisarai   khai saw   maiku sawdada   whai
     woman   one firewood   dry   branch   in.the.manner

lwelwe   ra   ntzuijaja sa   lai   ra   tantakhai   ra   lephe   lu
carry.IPFV   come knife   DIM INS come one.small.branch come   slice   IPFV

A woman, carrying dry firewood, like a branch, comes and, with a small knife, comes and is slicing one branch apart.

CB 21 saipwe   tzi   haw khawqhipvaisasa   rai tzu   lu   riyaw
     table   top LOC carrot   PL leave.in.place IPFV   during

ntzuirai khai   pasa mairaiqi tutu lwelwe   ra   qitaimpwaitzubai
person   one   M   hammer big carry.IPFV   come hammered.and.crushed.up

While carrots are left in place on a table, a man, carrying a big hammer, comes and hammers and crushes [them] up.

CB 22 nyaitzuisarai   khai le   saipwe   tzi   haw khu   ra
     woman   one paper   table   top LOC take   come

tshextzu   bai   ja   shai   ga   whai
put.down   finish like.that   write   IRR   in.the.manner

ma   shai   ga   whai   tsha   pwa   lai
NEG   write   IRR   in.the.manner do   sit   CL.F

A woman took a piece of paper, came and put it down on the table and then did and sat as if [she] was going to write, as if [she] wasn't going to write.

CB 23 ntzuirai khai   pasa cwedhai saipwe   nqi   laiqe   haw
     person   one   M   cloth   table   two   between   LOC

vuicelaw   bai   sai   mairaiqi lai ra   qi khaiqi
stretch.out finish CONN hammer   INS come hit another.time

zhegaqi   yaw   ma   pe   tanqiqi   haw   sai pe   lai
hit   at.time.of NEG   break second.time LOC   RV break CL.F

A man came and, with a hammer, hit at a cloth stretched out between two tables and [he] hit [it] another time. [It] didn't break. Only the second time did [it] break.

CB 24 ntzuirai khai   pasa rui   khukhu   ra   tshe law   bai
     person   one   M   rope   take.IPFV come hold   leave.as.is   finish

kumainqai lai taceqai gamainqai   phe   bai
scissors   INS center snip   break.apart   finish

A man, taking a rope, came and held [it] in place and then cut [it] apart at the center with scissors.

APPENDIX C
COW KILLING SITUATIONS (CK)

Prompt: Situation imagined and explained by researcher, using visual stimuli to show relative space. Actual words are LRP's spontaneous creation out of each situation as described.

CK 1 ayipa ahaw mpwasui zhasai lu lai
   friend DEM cow kill IPFV CL.F

Friend, here [they're] killing a cow.

CK 2 ayipa jai   haw ga mpwasui zhasai lu lai
   friend DEM.DIST LOC go cow   kill   IPFV CL.F

Friend, [they] are killing a cow over there.

CK 3 ayipa wai kaw haw mpwasui zhasai lu   lai , nyai tda
   friend 1pl HUM LOC cow   kill   IPFV CL.F 2sg as.for
ta sha khu ya le ?
RL flesh take IRR CL.F

Friend, they're killing a cow here [where I am]. Will you take [some] meat?

CK 4 ayipa wai kaw haw mpwasui zhasai lu   lai , jayaw a tailu
   friend 1pl HUM LOC cow   kill IPFV   CL.F therefore 1sg buy
ca ye , ha   ntaripwai a   kaw lairui ra nyai   tzwa
cook IRR DEM.PROX afternoon 1sg HUM visit   come 2sg.POSS rice
ra   tza xo
come eat IMP.POL

Friend, here [by us] they are killing a cow. I will buy and cook [some]. Tonight, come visit me and eat your meal here.

CK 5 o apwaipa ti   ti   mai , tzi   mpa haw mpwasui
   oh friend   look.at attempt.to PLT 1du.INCL beside LOC cow
khai zhasai lu   law ma ma   maicai na
one kill   IPFV even even NEG   know EMPH

Oh, friend, look! They are killing a cow next to us and [we] didn't even know it.

CK 6 apwaipa ha   pwelaiswa laitwa zhasai   lu   mpwasui maitsha ,
      friend   DEM.PROX New Year's BEN   kill   REL cow   EMPH

mpwasui   sha   ya   tza   nkui   ya   lu   vui   hi
cow   meat   as.for eat   see   IRR exist   be.able.to   CMPL

Friend, that must be the cow [they] are killing for New Year's. It may be that [we] will be seen eating beef soon.

CK 7.1 hay ayipa jaipa   jai   wayqi   ma   thajai , laigui
      hey friend DEM.M   DEM.DIST very   NEG   trust   steal

zhasai lai   lu   ye , ra   taigazhupvui   rai   shu   ga   cai   ye .
kill   CL.F exist.in.state   IRR   come village.head   PL   SP   go   tell   IRR

Hey, friend! [I] don't really trust that man. [I] think [he's] killing someone else's [cow]. Come. Let's go tell the village head. ("steal-killing (that cow)")

CK 7.2 ay   laitzetze ga ye
      yes quickly   go IRR

Yeah – [let's] go quickly.

CK 8.1 ayipa haw   pwe   laitwa mpwasui zhasai nqe   lu   lai .
      friend 1pl   celebration   BEN   cow   kill   PL.AGR   IPFV CL.F

Friend, [they] are killing a cow for our celebration.

CK 8.2 hay a   jai   ma   ti   ga   a   jaitzuitzui
      hey 1sg   DEM.dist NEG   look.at   IRR 1sg   that.kind

ma   ti   su
NEG   look.at   can

Oh, I can't watch. I can't look at that type of thing.

CK 9.1 ayipa haw   pwe   laitwa tshaiji zhasai lu   lai   tdi   .
      friend 1pl   celebration   BEN   mythun kill   IPFV   CL.F   QUOT

Friend, [they] are killing a cow for our celebration [somebody said].

CK 9.2 ay   tzi   ga ti   ya   le   ?
      alright   1du.INCL go   look.at IRR   CL.F

All right, shall we go see?

CK 9.3 ay   ga   ti   ye   , khai   si   qi   law   ma   nkui   ti
      yes   go   look.at   IRR   one   just   as.much.as   even   NEG   see   ever

co   ca   ga   ya   hailo
okay   now   go   IRR   EMPH

Yeah, [let's] go see! [I] have never seen [it] even once. Alright, [let's] go now.

CK 10.1 hay   ha   taika tshatsha taizhai   rai   si   .
      hey   DEM.PROX   what   do.IPFV   blood   PL   just

Hey! What is that [which they have] done [here]? So much blood!

CK 10.2 jai   nqawshe pwe   laitwa mpwasui zhasaisai   le   tdi
      DEM.dist yesterday celebration   BEN   cow   kill.PST   CL.F   QUOT

That was for yesterday's celebration – [it is said] they killed a cow.

CK 11.1 hay   ha   taika tshatsha taizhai   rai   si   .
      hey   DEM.PROX   what   do.IPFV   blood   PL   just

Hey! What is that [which they have] done here? So much blood!

CK 11.2 jai   nqawshe pwe   laitwa mpwasui khai   ra   zhasai   lai
      DEM.dist yesterday celebration   BEN   cow   one   come   kill   go

mai
CL.F

That is a cow [they] came and killed for yesterday's celebration.

CK 12.1 hay   ha   taika tshatsha taizhai   rai   si   .
      hey   DEM.PROX   what   do.IPFV   blood   PL   just

Hey! What is that [which they have] done here? So much blood!

CK 12.2 o   hayaha   pwe   tsha   laitwa sha   ra   zhasaisai lu   ye
      oh   as.for.that celebration   do   BEN   flesh come   kill.PST   exist   IRR

Oh. That must be the meat [they] came and butchered for the celebration.

CK 13.1 mpwasui   jai   kuta zhasai   ga   ?
      cow   DEM.DIST when   kill   IRR

When are [you] going to kill that cow?

CK 13.2 mpwasui   jai   x , saqi   sai zhasai   ga   mai

         cow   DEM.DIST   Q   tomorrow   RV   kill   IRR PLT

That cow? [We] will kill [it] tomorrow [not earlier].

CK 14.1 mpwasui   jai   kuta zhasai   x le   ?

         cow   DEM.DIST when kill   Q CL.F

When are [you] going to kill that cow?

CK 14.2 mpwasui   jai   x , saqi   sai zhasai   ga   mai

         cow   DEM.DIST   Q   tomorrow   RV   kill   IRR PLT

That cow? [We] will kill [it] tomorrow [not earlier].

CK 15.1 mpwasui   jai   kuta zhasai   ga   ?

         cow   DEM.DIST when kill   IRR

When are [you] going to kill that cow?

CK 15.2 mpwasui   jai   x , saqi   sai zhasai   ga   lu   ye

         cow   DEM.DIST   Q   tomorrow   RV   kill   IRR exist   IRR

That cow? I think [we'll] kill [it] tomorrow [not sooner].

CK 16.1 mpwasui   jai   kuta zhasai   ga   ?

         cow   DEM.DIST when kill   IRR

When are [we] going to kill that cow?

CK 16.2 mpwasui   jai   x , saqi   sai zhasai   ga

         cow   DEM.DIST   Q   tomorrow   RV   kill   IRR

That cow? Kill [it] tomorrow [not sooner].

CK 17.1 ca   pwe zhasai   lu   whai   saikawpa   law

       this   year kill   exist.in.state   in.the.manner   coming.years   also

zhasai   riya   le   ?

kill   continue.to   CL.F

Will [you] kill [cows] in the coming years, just as [you] killed a cow this year?

CK 17.2 mpwasui zhasai shu xu , hayaha ta pwe laipe zhasai ga
      cow   kill   SP   Q   as.for.that RL   year   every   kill   IRR

mai
PLT

Killing a cow? [We] will do that every year.

CK 18 mpwasui ha ra ga lu pwe haw zhasai ye
      cow   DEM.PROX come   IRR   REL   year   LOC   kill   IRR

[We] will kill this cow next year.

CK 19.1 taguti nkuinkui ga lu nyai mpwasui tda .
      before see   go   REL   2sg   cow   as.for

What about your cow that [we] always saw before?

CK 19.2 jai nqawkaw zhasai whi
      DEM.DIST   last.yr   kill   CMPL

[We] killed that last year.

APPENDIX D

KITCHEN PICTURE DESCRIPTION (K)

Prompt: Using photograph as visual stimulant, produced as free speech.

K 1.1 ca   nkui lu   maikhakha hayahaha Naga   rai tzwalaiwa
       now   see   REL picture   as.for.that Naga (ppl)   PL meal

tshalu zhaw khai he   .
cook   house one   CL.F

The picture [we] can see now is a Naga cooking house [kitchen].

K 1.2 jatalaw hayaha   Jaijairai   tzwalaiwa tshalu   zhaw
       but   as.for.that Jejara (ppl) meal   cook   house

tda   tzai   le   .
COMP   be.called CL.F

But that is called a Jaijairai kitchen.

K 1.3 tahiya ahaw ca   nkui lu   lu   ha   laiwa   maishi jaitda
       then   DEM now   see   IPFV NZ   TOP curry   clean   like.that

talaiwaqi tsheyailawbai laiwa hawpwai   maishi ri
soup   put.on.to.boil curry together   clean   during

laiwa ca   sai   laije   lu   le   .
curry   cook   for.purpose.of prepare IPFV CL.F

So the thing [we] see here now is cleaning (preparing) leafy vegetables, putting the water on to boil; while cleaning [vegetables for] curry together [they] are preparing to cook curry.

K 1.4 ja   laiwa ca   lu   ti   haw tzwa   jai
       like.that curry cook IPFV time LOC rice.cooked   DEM.DIST

gilaw   bai   sai   arairhairhai lai ja   gicaw nqi   ti
dry.near.fire finish CONN turn   INS like.that roast.dry CMPL   until

ja   arai jaitda   tsha   x .
like.that turn like.that do   F

When cooking curry like that, [we] dry that rice near the fire and then, by turning [it], like that [we do it] until [it] becomes dried [we] do the turning.

K 1.5 tahi maisuiti haw jaijai tzanqi rai pwa khairuiga ja pwa
then hearth LOC there child PL sit encircle like.that sit

ja tairawraw tzwa laiwa tshalutainjwewhailo tdahiya ja
like.that wait.IPFV rice.cooked curry finished.cooking as.for like.that

hawpwai khu qai ja laintai kawmaidha tdahiya ja
together take feed like.that morning portion as.for like.that

hawpwai khu qai bai ja haw zhutsha pa
together take feed finish like.that 1pl.INCL work things.to.do.with

tailu ga , ntawlu ga tda tdahiya khairai azheqi ga tda ,
field go paddy go alternately as.for some journey go alternately

khairai shazhu ga tda tsha nqe le .
some hunting.trip go alternately do PL.AGR CL.F

So, children sit encircled in the kitchen, waiting; when the food is cooked, [we] take it together, feeding [ourselves, each other], and then if it's morning, once we have finished taking [it] together and feeding [ourselves, each other], we do our work, going to the fields to work, going to the paddies. So, [we] work, some go on trips, some go hunting.

K 1.6 tahi jaitda tzwalaiwa tshalu lai lu lu tzi haw
then like.that meal cook CONN IPFV NZ top LOC

nkui lu jai ya azha taiga kaw , laizhu , tahi
see REL thing TOP rice.paddy roast.to.dry place roasting.shelf then

talintzawntzaw jai haw dhruikha nqe le .
many.kinds DEM.DIST LOC hook PL.AGR CL.F

Then, what [we] see on top of [the place where] food has been cooked is the place for drying uncooked rice, the roasting shelf, and so there [we] hang all kinds of things.

K 1.7 swadha law tshatshalaw tsha whiya jai haw dhruikha ,
fermented.beans even as.for do after DEM.DIST LOC hook

atshatsha law taiga , azha law taiga , tahiya khaiqiqi
chili.pepper also roast.to.dry rice.paddy also roast.to.dry then sometimes

sha zhasai ti tahiya sha law taiga maiku
flesh kill time then meat also roast.to.dry dry

jai haw si ja taiga maiku tza nqe le .
DEM.DIST LOC just like.that roast.to.dry dry eat PL.AGR CL.F

Even when [we] have finished making fermented beans [we] hang them there; [we] dry chili peppers there; [we] also dry uncooked rice; sometimes when [we] butcher meat then [we] roast [it] dry just there, and like that eat dried roasted [meat].

K 1.8 tahiya atshatsha cawcaw taikatdalaw jai lwa wekwai
      then chili.pepper whether whatever.happens DEM.DIST ALL place.on

zha maiku whiya wekwaipai tda ja tsha .
CAUS dry after place.down.and.leave saying like.that do

Well then, whether it is chilies or whatever [it] happens to be, [we] place [it] on there to be dried and then store [it here, too] – that's how [we] do [it].

K 1.9 tahiya tzwalaiwa tshalu zhaw awhe tdahiya khairai ya mpui maiki
      then meal cook house DEM as.for some as.for fire warm

a zhai rai law lu , tzukaw law lu .
NZ sleep person.who also exist sleeping.place also exist

So then, here in this kitchen [there] are some who sleep warming themselves by the fire and [there] are also beds.

K 1.10 tahi khairai ya pwakaw tsha bai jai mpa jai
      then some as.for chair make finish DEM.DIST beside 3sg.DIST

mpui taigai nqe ja law pwa nqe nqe ga .
fire warm.oneself PL.AGR like.that also sit PL.AGR PL.AGR IRR

So, some [people], [upon] having made chairs the people beside there warm themselves [beside] the fire, sitting like that.

K 1.11 tahiya qi cwephwakaw law tshatshalaw
      then water shelf also as.for

jai mpa tsha law bai ja taxpfuidhaidhairaidhi
DEM.DIST beside do leave.as.is finish like.that they.washed.the.dishes

pfuidhaidhai rai dhi tda law tsha tahi taiwai tzwa laitwalwalai
pot PL wash LIST.F also do then pig food reason

taiwai pfui rai taiwai qi pa rai law naimijapwaikhainqe
pig pot PL pig water pot PL even messy.like.that

ja law lu le .
like.that also exist CL.F

Well, then, [they] have also made a water shelf beside there and like that they washed the dishes, [they] also did the pot washing; so, there are pig pots for pig food and even pig water pots, and like [it] that is messy, that's how it is.

K 1.12 jayaw   pfuinqairai   tzwalaiwa tshalu zhaw   ya   talintzawntzaw
       therefore mountain.people meal   cook   house   as.for many.kinds

ga   taw   bai   jaitda   taipuimaijwabai si   jaitda lu   le   .
go   put.in finish like.that messy   just like.that exist CL.F

So, mountain people put all kinds [of things] into their kitchens, and they are just messy/disorderly like that.

K 1.13 jaiyajaijai likhaitwahiya Jaijairai   shapfui tda   law twa   lex .
        as.for.that on.one.hand   Jejara (ppl) custom COMP   also say   can

In one way, [you] can also say that is Jejara custom.

APPENDIX E
STAGED EVENTS (SE)

Prompt: Video stimuli, Staged Events set 1a (Staden 2001).

SE 1 ntzuirai khai   pasa wezhawsa ntzuirai khai   tzuisa sai   dha   ga
    person   one   M   towel   person   one   FEM   REC   pick.up   go

jai   nkui
give   see

[I] see a man picking up and giving a towel to a woman.

SE 2 ca   saisai   jai   ya   nyaipasarai   khai jai   taika suitza
    now   finish   thing   TOP   man   one   DEM.DIST   what   ladel.and.eat

lay   tda   a   law   ma   maicai tukhai khaikhai
Q.CONT   COMP   1sg   even   NEG   know   something

suitza   lu   lai
ladel.and.eat   IPFV   CL.F

What [I saw] just now [is] one man that – I don't even know what [he is] eating – [he is] eating something.

SE 3 ntzuirai   anqi saipwe   haw pwa   sai   pfui   haw taika   lay
    person   two   table   LOC   sit   CONN   plate   LOC   what   Q.CONT

ra   tshetzu   bai   tanqaitzui   lai pa   haw
come   place.and.leave   finish   woman   A   cup   in

qi   shetaw   tsha   baisai   dawha   tzu   lu   anqi
water   pour.in   do   and.then   white   leave.in.place   REL   two

ga   khu   ra   taw   baisai   ta   suitzatza   lai   awaiwai jaizha
go   take   come   put.in   and.then 3sg   spoon   INS   stirring   drink.like.that

pwa   nkui   lai
sit   see   CL.F

[I] see two people sitting at a table and [someone] came and put – What? – in a plate and then the woman poured water into the cup and then took two of the white things that were left [there] and put [them] in [the cup] and stirred with her spoon and drank like that and sat.

SE 4 nyaitzuisarai khai jai pfui phyaphya ra tshe law bai
woman one A plate flat come hold leave.as.is finish

taitwa lu whai tsha shwaishwai ntzuirai khai pasa lai
show exist.in.state in.the.manner do stand.IPFV person one M A

ra qi bai yaw laitzaika laigaw dhadha ga bai
come hit finish at.time.of slip.and.fall bust break.IPFV go finish

A woman came and held a plate and then stayed as if to show [it], doing [this] standing; a man came and hit [her and it] and then [the plate] slipped and fell and broke, becoming broken.

SE 5 swarai khai pasa jai tzaitzai ra sai kukhaikhai
older.person one M A walk.IPFV come CONN something

zhwa lu whai hatda pa saha khai maile ga bai
look.for IPFV in.the.manner like.this bucket red one fall go finish

tzu lu jai haw taika lay
leave.in.place REL thing LOC what Q.CONT

caimairaw ha ra nkui jai ra nkui yaw
black DEM.PROX come see DEM.dist come see at.time.of

dha ga ta pwakaw haw ga pwa
pick.up go 3sg chair LOC go sit

An older person walked in as if [he] is searching for something. [He] looked inside a red bucket that had fallen over and came to see [something] - What? That black thing. [He] came and saw that, picked [it] up and went to sit down on his chair.

SE 6 nyaipasarai anqi maiqhiqhi maiqhi lu nkui la
man two ball kick NZ see CL.F

[I] see two men kicking a ball.

SE 7 am ntzuirai anqi ta pa nqi ta tzadhi nqi le
um person two RL father two RL son two CL.F

titda tda ya ma maicai hawpwai jwa si lu shwai
how COMP as.for NEG know together speak just exist.in.state stand

nkui la
see CL.F

Um, Two people – father and son? I couldn't say – [I] see them standing there talking together. ("How? I don't know.")

SE 8 ca   nkui   lu   hanqi   ya   tamaipfui nyaipasarai anqi maiqhiqhi
    now   see   REL   3du.PROX   TOP   from.before man   two   ball

kuzhe lu   jai   maikhakha taitwa tzu   bai
play   IPFV DEM.DIST picture   show   leave.in.place finish

These two men [I] see now [is] a picture showing the two men from before playing soccer.

SE 9 ca   maikhakha ha   ya   ntzuirai khai   pasa pfuisa haw
    now   picture   TOP   as.for person   one   M   bowl   LOC

taika lay   suitza   lu   jai   maikhakha
what   Q.CONT ladel.and.eat REL   thing picture

The current picture [is] the picture of a man ladling and eating [I-don't-know]-what from a bowl.

SE 10 maikhakha ha   ya   tamaipfui ntzuirai khai   pasa   lai ntzuirai
    picture   DEM.PROX   TOP   from.before person   one   M   A   person

khai tzuisa sai   taika lay   cwe   wezhawsa jai   lu   jai
one   FEM   REC   what   Q.CONT blanket towel   give REL thing

maikhakha   mai
picture   PLT

This picture [is] the picture from before [with] a man giving – What? A blanket, A towel? – to a woman. ("the – What? A blanket or a towel? – giving-her-thing picture.")

SE 11 ha   ya   swaparai   lai taika lay   ra   zhwa
    DEM.PROX   TOP   older.person A   what   Q.CONT come   look.for

nkui bai   ta   pwakaw haw ra   pwa lu   jai   mai
see   finish 3sg.RES   chair   LOC come   sit REL thing   PLT

This [is] the thing where an older man comes, looks for and finds – What? – and then comes and sits on his chair.

SE 12 tdahi   ha   ya   ntzuirai anqi saipwe tzi   haw
    well.then DEM.PROX   TOP   person   two   table   top   LOC

ra   apwapwa nqi jai   maikhakha   mai
come   sit   two 3sg.DIST picture   PLT

Well, this [is] the picture of two people coming and sitting at a table.

SE 13 hayaha   nyaitzuisatzuirai   lai ta   pfui

      as.for.that girl   A 3sg   plate

taitwa   shwai   lu   ti   nyaipasarai khai   pasa   lai

show   stand   exist.in.state   time man   one   M   A

ra   qi   maile   qhai laigaw   dhadha   ga   lu   maikhakha

come   hit   fall   free   bust   break.IPFV   go   REL   picture

As for that [it is] the picture of a girl [into whom], at the time when [she] was standing showing her plate, a man came and hit [it] and [it] fell, dropped, broke and became broken.

SE 14 ha   ya   tzuitzanqi   hawpwaisilu shwai   lu   maikhakha

      DEM.PROX   TOP   father.and.son discuss   stand   REL   picture

This [is] the picture of father and son discussing and standing. ("the father-and-son-discussing-standing picture")

SE 15 maiqhiqhi maile   ga laigaw khai   lwa   ra   lu

      ball   roll   go throw   one   again   come   exist.in.state

[This is] the one of a ball rolling and being thrown to come back again.

SE 16 nyaitzuisarai   khai   tzuisa saipwe   tzi   haw pfui   khai

      woman   one   FEM   table   top   LOC plate   one

tshextzu   bai   lu   jai mairaiqi   lai   ra   qidha   tshetzu   bai

put.down   finish   NZ   P hammer   INS   come   hit.break place.and.leave finish

A woman places a plate down on a table, comes and hits [it] broken with a hammer and leaves [it].

SE 17 ntzuitzui   khai ntawnqai   jai hatda   khaimaije   bai   sai

      mother   one   bicycle   P   like.this   fold.up   finish   CONN

wewe   ra   lwatzui   haw   sai ra   khaishaqhai   ja

carry.IPFV   come road   LOC   RV   come   unfold.and.put.down   like.that

ku   pwa ntawntaw ga   bai

go.up   sit   ride.IPFV   go   finish

After folding up a bicycle, one mother, only upon carrying [it] to and reaching the road did [she] come, unfold [it] and put [it] down, and like that climb on, sit riding away.

SE 18 ntzuirai   khai   pasa maiqhiqhi ntaw   ga laigawmaici la   lu   jai
       person   one   M   ball   roll   go again   come NZ   P
kuzhe lu   lai
play   IPFV   CL.F

A man is playing roll a ball [which] goes and comes [back] again.

SE 19 ntzuirai anqi tzwa ayai   lu   le   laiwa ca   lu   tda
       person two   rice   cook   IPFV   Q.POL curry cook   IPFV   COMP
ma   maicai tsha   pwa   nkui   la
NEG   know   do   sit   see   CL.F

[I] see two people sitting and doing – Cooking rice? Cooking curry? [I] don't know.

SE 20 ntzuirai anqi   jai tanqaitzui lai pfui   tshe   law   bai
       person two   A   woman   A   plate hold   leave.as.is finish
tanqaipa lai ra   qi ta   pfui maileka   ma   wai
man   A   come hit 3sg   plate fall.down NEG   break

[There are] two people. The woman holds a plate and then the man comes and hits [it] and her plate falls down [but] doesn't break.

SE 21 laidhirai   hai   khai swarai   hai   khai tda
       unmarried.man LIST   one   older.person LIST   one   LIST.F
tanqi   sawpfui lwa hawpwairwalawbai hawpwaisilu shwai lu   nkui   la
3du   back   ALL come.together   discuss   stand   IPFV see   CL.F

[I] see a young man and an older man, [the two of them] discussing and standing with their backs together.

SE 22 ntzuirai khai   pasa   jai wezhaw   le   kure   lay
       person   one   M   A   blanket.wrap Q.POL head.wrap   Q.POL
tshe   tzu   bai   ta   li   lai ga fuiwe   ra
hold   leave.in.place finish 3sg leg   INS go scoop/lift.up come
tanqaitzui sai   ra   jai   lu   la
woman   REC come   give   IPFV   CL.F

A man lifts – a blanket? a head wrap? – with his foot and is giving it to the woman. ("holds [it] in place, with his foot goes and scoops [it] up, comes and, to the woman, comes and is giving [it to her]")

SE 23 ntzuirai khai　tzuisa nqaintaw　tzi　haw dhaiku tzai　ya
　　　 person one　　FEM bicycle　　top　LOC get.onto ride　IRR
tsha　lu　　la　 jai　　　　maikhakha
do　　IPFV　CL.F DEM.DIST　picture

[It's] that picture [where] is doing to get onto and ride a bicycle.

SE 24 ca　　maikhakha ha　　　　　ya　maqhiqhi maile　qhai　lu　jai
　　　 now picture　　　DEM.PROX　TOP ball　　　roll　　send　REL thing
maikhakha
picture

This picture [is] the picture of a ball rolled and thrown. ("ball-rolled-and-thrown-thing picture")

SE 25 ha　　　　　　ya　　ntzuirai anqi tanqi tzwalaiwa tsha　lu　　　le　　taika
　　　 DEM.PROX　TOP person　two　3du　meal　　　 cook　IPFV　CL.F　what
tsha　lu　　　lu　 ma　　maicai　lu　　maikhakha
do　　IPFV　NZ　NEG　know　　REL picture

This [is] a picture of two people doing I don't know what – cooking a meal? ("the what-are-[they]-doing-[I]-don't-know picture")

SE 26 haya haha nyaitzuisatzuirai　　lai saipwe tzi　haw pfui　nqidhadha
　　　 as.for.that　girl　　　　　　　　A table　top　LOC plate　pieces
tsha　lu　　maikhakha
do　　REL picture

As for that, [it is] the picture where a girl is making pieces of a plate on a table.

SE 27 tahi ha　　　　　ya　　nyaisaparai　lai maiqhiqhi maile　ga laigawmaici
　　　 then DEM.PROX　TOP boy　　　　A ball　　　roll　　 go again
la　　lu　　maikhakha
come　REL picture

Well, this [is] the picture where a boy rolls a ball and [it] comes back again.

SE 28 ha　　　　　　ya　　ntzuirai khai　pasa　lai khai　tzuisa
　　　 DEM.PROX　TOP person　one　　M　　A one　　FEM
pfui　qi　mailekha　　　ma　　wai　lu　　maikhakha
plate　hit　hit.and.fall.down NEG　break　REL picture

This [is] a picture of a man hitting a woman [whose] plate falls down [but] doesn't break.

SE 29 ntzuirai khai tzuisa ta mairaiqi jai laiqhaikha yaw

person one FEM 3sg.POSS hammer P drop.intentionally at.time.of

saipwe tzi haw tzu lu pfui jai wai ke bai

table top LOC leave.in.place REL plate TOP break to.completion CL.F

A woman drops (intentionally) her hammer and the plate left on the table completely breaks.

SE 30 nyaitzuisarai khai tzuisa haiqi ta pa lwelwe ra

woman one FEM also 3sg plate carry.IPFV come

laimimaitshatsha saipwe tzi haw laigaw dhadha tshetzu bai

for.no.reason table top LOC bust break.IPFV throw.and.leave finish

A woman also, coming carrying her plate, throws [it] down on the table for no reason, and leaves [it] broken.

SE 31 maiqhiqhi tsharai ntzuirai anqi khaitshu ku tanqi maiqhiqhi jai

ball do-er person two jump go.up 3du.RES ball P

tanqi kuri lai qi tda yaw khai pasa ya maile ga

3du.POSS head INS hit saying at.time.of one M as.for fall go

tzu hailo

leave.in.place CMPL

Two soccer players jump up and when they hit their ball with their head, one fell down.

SE 32 ntzuirai khai pasa jai saw tamaipfui ya laiga sa lai

person one M A firewood from.before as.for ax small INS

laiki phephe ja khaiqi talaishilwa ya ntzuijaja lai haiqi

chop break.apart like.that another.time after as.for knife INS once

ra taw phephe ja dha maijeje khai tzuisa ta tzwalaiwa

come chop break.apart like.that pick.up then one FEM 3sg meal

tshalu pwa lu tzuisa kaw lwe (ga) ga mpui haw taw ja

cook sit REL FEM HUM carry go go fire in put.in like.that

ta tzwawa tshalu ti pwapwa tanqi pa le

3sg food cook look.at sit.IPFV 3du father CL.F

swaparai khai jai ra ta pwakaw haw ra pwa

older.person one A come 3sg chair LOC come sit

ja tsha whailo tdahiya ta khai pasa law jai mpa

like.that do after as.for 3sg one M also 3sg.DIST beside

ga pwa ja tusai pwa whiya tanqaitzui tsha lu lu jai

go sit like.that a.little sit after woman do exist REL thing

pfui	haw	khu		tawtaw	ja	lwe	ga	jai	ja
plate	LOC	scoop.out		put.in.IPFV	like.that	carry	go	give	like.that

tza	pwa	nkui	la
eat	sit	see	CL.F

I see that first of man cuts wood with the small ax from before, and then comes again and cuts [it] up with a knife, picks [it] up and carries it to a woman who is cooking. Then [he] puts [it] into the fire and, sitting down watching her cook – their father? – an older man comes and sits at his chair and the man also goes and sits beside him for a bit and then the woman dishes out what she has been cooking, takes and gives [it to them] and [they] sit and eat.

SE 33
ntzuirai	khai	pasa	jai	tzakaw	haw	turai	tshetzu		baisai	,
person	one	M	A	table	LOC	thing	place.and.leave		and.then	

ta		pwakaw	law	ma	lu	sai	hatda	ka		pwa	sai
3sg.POSS		chair	also	NEG	exist	without	like.this	go.down		sit	CONN

ruilwa	lai	ku	ja		ta	turai	suitza		pwa	nkui	la
at.distance	go	go.up	like.that		3sg	thing	ladel.and.eat		sit	see	CL.F

[I] see a man put something on a table and then without even his chair he sat down like that and then reached up at a distance and was sitting scooping out and eating is things like that.

SE 34
am	ha		law	ha	maiqhiqhi	tsharai
um	DEM.PROX		also	TOP	ball	do-er

tsha	bai	lu		la	khairai	ta	kuri	lai	qi
be	finish	exist.in.state		CL.F	some	3sg	head	INS	hit

khaitshu	rerega		khairai	maile	ga	lu	tda
jump	at.the.same.time		some	fall	go	IPFV	saying

tsha	nqe	lu	la
be	PL.AGR	IPFV	CL.F

Um, that [is] also soccer players. Some jump up at the same time and hit [the ball] with their head; [it] is happening that some are falling down.

SE 35
ha		ya	ntzuirai	anqi	sai	nyaitzuisarai	lai	tsha	lu
DEM.PROX		TOP	person	two	REC	woman	A	cook	NZ

lwe	ga	jai	bai	tza	pwa	lu	ti	maikhakha
carry	go	give	finish	eat	sit	IPFV	time	picture

This [is] a picture of the time where a woman carries and gives [the food] that she cooked to two people who sit down and eat it.

SE 36 ha   ya   maiqhiqhi   tsharai ta   kuri   qi khairai maile   ga
        DEM.PROX   TOP ball   do-er   3sg   head   hit some   fall   go
lu   tda   lu   maikhakha
exist.in.state say   REL   picture

This [is] the picture of soccer players hitting [the ball] with their head; some have fallen over.

SE 37 ha   ya   ntzuirai anqi tanqi   sawpfui   lwa
        DEM.PROX   TOP person   two   3du   back   ALL
hawpwaiginkalaw   bai   hawpwaipwaisi   lu   shwai   lu   maikhakha
lean.on.ea.other   finish discuss   IPFV   stand   REL   picture

This [is] the picture of two people leaning their backs on each other, discussing and standing.

SE 38 haya haha saipwe   tzi   haw pfui   tshe   tzu   baisai
        as.for.that   table   top   LOC   plate   hold   leave.in.place   and.then
ta   mairaiqi laiqhaikha   lu   maikhakha
3sg   hammer drop.intentionally   REL   picture

As for this, [it is] a picture of [her] holding the plate on the table and then dropping her hammer [on it].

APPENDIX F

MISCELLANEOUS (Ad, Adv, CN, C&N, D, DI, L52, L59a, LQ, NE, NP, NR, O, Prn, RC, T, V)

Ad 7 suitzatza pfui mainqai cai tzu le
     spoon   pot   be.beside   CONN exist   CL.F

The spoon is touching the pot. ("exists being beside the pot.")

Adv 1.1 twa lwa ti
     say   again   attempt.to

Say [that] again.

Adv 2.2 jai law talaimpvui maisui tdi
     3sg.DIST   also go.along   want   QUOT

He also wants to go along [he/someone said].

Adv 3 tasawtu rai law ma tarai lawsai lu lai
     older.person   PL even even 3pl.RES happy IPFV CL.F

Even older people are happy.

Adv 4.1 ma tsharai baiti
     NEG   do   yet.PROH

Don't do [it] yet.

Adv 4.2 ma tsharai ba
     NEG   do   yet.PROH

Don't do [it] yet.

Adv 4.4 twa lu phaw haw tsha lu maire .
     say IPFV during LOC do   IPFV   still

While [I] am still speaking, [he] is doing [it].

BP 3 khwaimaizhi   rai
    finger   PL

fingers

CN 1 a   kaw   haw ayipa khai si   law ma   lu
    1sg   HUM   LOC friend one   just   even NEG   exist

I don't have even one friend. ("There is not even one friend at me.")

C&N 17.1-2 shiwai   qi   pa   sa   khai
            orange   water cup   DIM   one

one small cup orange juice

C&N 19.1-2 shiwai   qi   pa   sa khai   si
            orange   water   cup   DIM one   just

just one small cup of orange juice

D 1.2 nqawshe hapfuiharai   tarai   kari laighui rai   lai
    yesterday the.people.from.over.there 3pl   car   thief   PL   A
la   laighui be   tdi   .
come   steal   CL.F   QUOT

[It is said that] yesterday the people from over there ("neighbors"), thieves came and stole their car.

D 2.6 hapfuiharai   tarai   kari laighui rai   lai nqawshe
    the.people.from.over.there 3pl   car   thief   PL   A   yesterday
la   laighui be   tdi
come   steal   CL.F   QUOT

[It is said that] yesterday thieves stole the car of the people from that house [the neighbors' car].

D 5.2 ha   ntari shi   lai   ma   ra   yasai
    DEM.PROX   night who   A   even   come   kill
ga   bai   lu   la
go   finish be.in.state CL.F

Who in the world came and killed [him] last night? ("Who even came, killed [him] and left like that last night?")

D 6 zhasai   bai

    kill   finish

was killed

D 7 taqhi   lu nyaisarai ya ntzuirai lai tamaisui nqe   le

    well-behaved   REL child   TOP person   A love   PL.AGR CL.F

People love well behaved children.

DI 1.1 sayama hayahaha wai   Jaijairai le   kawmaidhai

     teacher.F as.for.this 1pl.EXCL Jejara (ppl) literature   area

tahi   luzhi   tda   taghukutshepa   tataigapa   khai he

then   culture   saying person.responsibile chairperson   one   CL.F

Teacher, this is our chairman responsible for Jejara literacy and culture.

L52 1.2 nyaitzi jaijai titdatsha jaitda   hawpwaiphyai   lu   la

      2du   TOP why   like.that fight   IPFV CL.F

Why are you two fighting?

L52 2 ha   tzuisa lai a   laikhwaiti jatsha

     DEM.PROX   FEM   A 1sg   tease   therefore

a   lai   phyai bai   mai

1sg   A   hit   finish   CL.F

This girl teased me, that's why I hit [her].

L52 3 nyai   tasawtupa   ya   titdatshayaw nyai   nqi   ja

     2sg   oldest.M   as.for why   2sg.RL   younger.sibling   like.that

phyai   la   , haw   tasawturai   ya   haw nqi   rai tiha caitwa

hit   CL.F GNRC older.person TOP RL   younger.sibling   PL well guide

nqwexay .

OBLG

Why did you, the older one, hit your sister like that? The older one needs to set a good example for their younger sibling.

L59a 1 am nyai kaw lwa ra yaw lwantzui haw ra
      um 2sg HUM ALL come at.time.of road LOC come

a maiqhi yaw ra a maile ga lai
1sg trip at.time.of come 1sg fall go CL.F

Hmm. At the time [I] was coming here ("to you"), on the road I tripped and I fell down.

LQ 10 pwezhwasawsu laipye khai ji ya
      jackfruit whole.of.round one big so

ma tza ke su
NEG eat to.completion can

A whole jackfruit is big, so [I] can't eat it all.

LQ 12 cwe nqi akhwa nqi tanqi je tshetzu bay
      blanket two covering two 3du.RES INCL put.down CL.F

The blanket and sheet are placed together.

NE 2 lasu tze bai
     banana rotten finish

The banana is rotten.

NE 6 wai yamaitsha lu
     1pl.EXCL be.tired IPFV

We are tired.

NE 12 sharai ya talaisai tataitzi lu lai
     tiger TOP very strength exist CL.F

Tigers are very strong. ("have very [much] strength")

NE 35 sawpvui shai la
     tree tall CL.F

The tree [is] tall.

NE 114 jai taguti atzetze tze ra xay
     3sg.DIST before dance dance come EMPH.F

He used to dance before! ("danced dances")

NE 115 ha   taguti   lai tze   rara   ntzuirai xay

        3sg.PROX before   ABL dance   come.DIST person   EMPH.F

He is the person who used to dance before.

NE 117 nyai a   laimpui   ra   le

        2sg 1sg come.along   come   CL.F

Will you come along with me?

NE 118 jai   ntzui hai laiga hai   tda   tshe   lai   tailu laisui

        3sg.DIST knife   LIST ax   LIST   LIST.F use   CONN field clear

lu   lai

IPFV   CL.F

He is using a knife and ax and is clearing the field.

NP 1.1 lishi   qiqa   Penekon   haw arara   ntuphuisu   ya

        Layshi (plc)   township Ping Ne Gone (plc) ABL come.DIST mango   TOP

ntzwe   lainkwe sazhizhiha tshabaisui se   ntzuiha .

ripe   yellow   reddish   and.then sour   sweet

The mangoes which come from Ping Ne Gone village, Layshi Township are reddish-yellow ripe, sweet and sour.

NP 1.2 lishi   qiqa   Penekon   haw arara

        Layshi (plc)   township Ping Ne Gone (plc)   ABL come.DIST

ntuphuisu   khai ha   a   lai   a   tza   maisui lu

mango   one   DEM.PROX 1sg A   1sg.RES eat   want   REL

ntzwe   lainkwe sazhizhiha tshabaisui se   ntzuiha   lu   pa   he .

ripe   yellow   reddish   and.then sour   sweet   REL   thing CL.F

This one mango which comes from Ping Ne Gone village, Layshi Township [is] the one which I want to eat and is yellow-brushed-with-red ripe and sweet and sour.

NR 2.1 taka   lai phu   tzai   tahiya laizhai   law   tzai

        sickle INS rice   harvest then   reed.for.thatch   also   harvest

rwa   mayai jaitda   talintzawntzaw   tshe .

grass   cut   like.that many.kinds   use

With a sickle [one] can harvest rice; then, [they] can also harvest reed for thatch, cut the grass, and like that use [it] for many things.

NR 4.2 qhaiwhai   bai   jai   a   khwai   zhai   xo

torn   finish DEM.dist 1sg   sew   BEN   IMP.PLT

[That] is torn, so please sew it [for me].

NR 7.1 haw   ntzuirai   ha   haw   nta   laiphaw   bai   law

1pl.INCL   person   TOP   1pl.INCL   ear   deaf   NZ   also

ma   da   lu   la

NEG   good   exist   CL.F

It's not either good for us people to be deaf ("having our ears stopped is also not good for us people")

NR 14.1 lainqi   laici   kawmaidhai laintai   lwa   tdahiya haw   le

sun   come.out time   morning   portion as.for   GNRC   A

haw   ntaw   ma   zhupyai   su   he

RL   shadow NEG   catch.up.to   can   CL.F

At sunrise in the morning, one cannot catch up to one's [own] shadow.

NR 15.1 haw   sui   whiya haw   maikhalaisuitzui

1pl.INCL   die   after   1pl.POSS   spirit.of.person

tainqaw   lwa   ga   nqi   ye   .

heaven   ALL   go   CMPL   IRR

When we die, our spirit will go to heaven.

O 3 ntzuirai   khai   pa   jai   qi   haw lairawtaw   lu   yaw

person   one   M   DEM.DIST water   in   drown   IPFV   at.time.of

ntzuirai   khai   pasa   lai ta   pwe   ke   cai   le   sai

person   one   M   A 3sg   life   save   take.out   CL.F   for.purpose.of

turai   khai   ra   rui   lai   maice   taw   wetaw   zhai   lu   lai   .

thing   one   come rope   INS   tie   put.in   throw.to   BEN   IPFV   CL.F

Because that man is drowning in the water, a man comes and ties something to a rope, throwing [it] out to save his life.

Prn 45 jai   shi   le

3sg.DIST   who   CL.F

Who is he/she?

Prn 47 kwaipasa   khu   ga

       what   take   IRR

Which thing will [you] take?

Prn 48 kwai   khu   ga

       which   take   IRR

Which will [you] take?

Prn 49 kwati   ra   nqi   la

       when   come   arrive   CL.F

When did [you] arrive?

Prn 52 titdawhai   lu   la

       how   be.in.state   CL.F

How are [you]?

Prn 53 nyai nkujurai kushahai lu   la

       2sg   siblings   how.many exist   CL.F

How many brothers and sisters do [you] have?

Prn 63 taika   law   tshabaishu tza   su   la

       what   ever   no.matter   eat   can   CL.F

Whatever [it] is, [I] can eat [it].

RC 5 pwakaw   tzi   haw ta   sha   sailai mainqi lai

      chair   top   LOC RL   flesh fat   laugh   CONN

pwa   lu   pa   jai a   mainqi lu   leka

sit   IPFV   person   A   1sg   laugh   IPFV   Q.TAG

The fat man sitting on the chair laughing is laughing at me, isn't he?

T 22.2 pfuinqai   lwa ku   bai   law   law tatshapa

       on.mountain   ALL go.up   finish if   also work.to.do

hoshahai   lu   la   .

many   exist   CL.F

After we have gone up the mountain, too, there is a lot of work to do.

V 4 tadhawdaparai khai daimya rai lai zhasai bai
    rich.man   one bandit PL A kill   finish

Thieves killed a rich man.

V 9 tatzui   lai   tanqi   ta   tzwa   tza shu lu   lai   .
    mother   A   her.child RL   rice.cooked   eat   tell.to IPFV   CL.F

The mother is telling her child to eat.

V 11.3 atzui   sha   maiku   rai kulwa   ga   ke   ba ?
    mother meat   dry   PL to.where go   use.up   Q

Mother, how did [we] run out of dry meat? ("Where did [it] get used up to?")

RESUME

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