LEXICAL NOMINALIZATION AND THE EXTENDED FUNCTIONS OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE kara² IN RERA, A NORTHERN NAGA LANGUAGE

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Dipjyoti Goswami
ABSTRACT

Rera is an undocumented, Tibeto-Burman (Bodo-Konyak, Northern Naga-Tangsa) language of North-East India. The purpose of this thesis is to describe lexical nominalization processes in Rera and provide an account of the extended functions of the demonstrative kəra², which is extensively used within most of the Tangsa varieties, and hence this thesis provides the first account of this phenomenon in Rera. Finally, the thesis includes an overview of the core grammatical properties of Rera at the morphosyntactic level.

To begin with, Rera exhibits basic argument structures, i.e. noun phrases, pronouns, and determiners, as well as postpositional phrases. In addition, pronouns can be marked for case in an ergative-absolutive case system. In this system, the intransitive subject and the transitive object take absolutive marking, while the transitive subject is marked by the ergative. Clause structures include both verbal and non-verbal clauses. Verbal clauses include intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clause constructions. Simple sentences can include pre-clause material, such as conjunctions, pre-clause participant reference, vocatives, and exclamations. Complex sentence structures include coordinate clauses, quotative clauses, and subordinate plus matrix clause combinations. The thesis includes an extensive morphosyntactic overview of Rera, which shows various constructional and behavioral syntactic structures of the
language. Given this information, this thesis first provides explanations of the lexical nominalization processes followed by the discussion on the extended functions of the demonstrative *kora*².

This thesis provides a detailed description of lexical nominalization processes in Rera. It discusses the use of the two prefixal nominalizers, i.e. *i¹-* and *keʔ³-* which are used to derive nouns from verbs, attributives, and even nouns. The use of these two nominalizers results in event and participant nominalization. Moreover, the *i¹-* based nominalization in particular can show speaker stance in narratives and these nominalizations can be marked for tense. Classifiers can also signal a nominalized construction, a type of substantivization strategy. Finally, the investigation of nominalized constructions shows that nominalization can also be achieved by verb stem alternation. At first, verb stem alternation occurs in the presence of the nominalizer *i¹-*.

Apart from the nominalization process in Rera, the current work demonstrates the functions of the demonstrative *kora*² in two ways, i.e. the non-extended functions and the extended functions. The non-extended functions of the demonstrative *kora*² exhibit adnominal functions, where the placement of a noun head referent in relation to the speaker can be indicated by the demonstrative. In addition, the demonstrative can also occur as a demonstrative pronoun substituting for a noun phrase. The extended functions of the demonstrative *kora*² show its use as a pre-clausal marker of topical noun phrases, vocatives, and exclamations. It is also used to indicate the nominalized status of relative and adverbial subordinate clauses under substantivization strategy of nominalization, where demonstratives signal nominalized constructions. Finally, conjunction, discourse deictic marker, and speaker stance are examined.
บทคัดย่อ

เรราซึ่งเป็นภาษาที่ยังไม่มีการศึกษาและยังไม่เคยมีการบันทึกไว้อย่างชัดเจน เป็นภาษาในระบบภาษาอยุธยา-เบต-พุ่ษ (กลุ่มปอย-คอมบี้, ในภาษาภาษา-ตังสะคะตะวันออก)ที่พูดในอินเดียตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์ในการบรรยายเกี่ยวกับกระบวนการที่จะเป็นคำนามในภาษาเรราและนำเสนอเกี่ยวกับการขยายหน้าที่ของคำว่า $kəra²$ ซึ่งเป็นคำที่ใช้กันอย่างแพร่หลายในภาษาต่าง ๆ ของภาษาตังสะคะ วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้นับเป็นงานแรกที่อธิบายปรากฏการณ์ดังกล่าวในภาษาเรรา และยังนำเสนอลักษณะทางไวยากรณ์เบื้องต้นในภาษาเรราในระดับไวยากรณ์ของหน่วยคำตัว

ภาษาเรรามีโครงสร้างทางไวยากรณ์ในระดับพื้นฐาน ได้แก่ นามสกุล, สรรพนาม, คำนำหน้า, และคำปัจจุบัน นอกจากนี้ยังมีระบบการสัมบูรณ์ - การเกี่ยวพันที่มีการระบุการของคำสรรพนามด้วย ระบบคำต่าง ๆ จะมีการระบุการสัมบูรณ์ของประธานของกรรมกริยาและกรรมของสกรรมกริยา ในขณะที่ประธานของสกรรมกริยาจะมีการระบุการเกี่ยวพื้นฐาน คำต่าง ๆ ของเรราจะมีหน้าที่แสดงแยกรายการภูมิการ์ กรรมกริยาและกรรมของสกรรมกริยา ซึ่งจะมีการระบุการเกี่ยวพัน คำต่าง ๆ ของเรราจะมีหน้าที่แสดงการประกอบตัวอย่างกรรมกริยา กรรมกริยาและกรรมของสกรรมกริยา ซึ่งจะมีการระบุการเกี่ยวพัน คำต่าง ๆ ของเรราจะมีหน้าที่แสดงการประกอบตัวอย่างกรรมกริยา กรรมกริยาและกรรมของสกรรมกริยา ซึ่งจะมีการระบุการเกี่ยวพัน คำต่าง ๆ ของเรราจะมีหน้าที่แสดงการประกอบตัวอย่างกรรมกริยา กรรมกริยาและกรรมของสกรรมกริยา ซึ่งจะมีการระบุการเกี่ยวพัน คำต่าง ๆ ของเรราจะมีหน้าที่แสดงการประกอบตัวอย่างกรรมกริยา กรรมกริยาและกรรมของสกรรมกริยา ซึ่งจะมีการระบุการเกี่ยวพัน คำต่าง ๆ ของเรราจะมีหน้าที่แสดงการประกอบตัวอย่างกรรมกริยา กรรมกริยาและกรรมของสกรรมกริยา ซึ่งจะมีการระบุการเกี่ยวพัน คำต่าง ๆ ของเรราจะมีหน้าที่แสดงการประกอบตัวอย่างกรรมกริยา กรรมกริยาและกรรมของสกรรมกริยา ซึ่งจะมีการระบุการเกี่ยวพัน คำต่าง ๆ ของเรราจะมีหน้าที่แสดงการประกอบตัวอย่างกรรมกริยา กรรมกริยาและกรรมของสกรรมกริยา ซึ่งจะมีการระบุการเกี่ยวพัน คำต่าง ๆ ของเรราจะมีหน้าที่แสดงการประกอบตัวอย่างกรรมกริยา กรรมกริยาและกรรมของสกรรมกริยา ซึ่งจะมีการระบุการเกี่ยวพัน คำต่าง ๆ ของเรร
ประโยคกับอนุประโยคหลัก (matrix clause) นอกจากนี้วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ยังนำเสนอเกี่ยวกับไวยากรณ์ของหน่วยคำในภาษาเรราแบบกว้าง ๆ ซึ่งประกอบด้วยโครงสร้างไวยากรณ์ของหน่วยสร้างและไวยากรณ์ชิ้นถุศัพท์ในภาษา หลังจากนั้นวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้จะบรรยายถึงวิธีกระบวนการทำให้เป็นคำนามและตามมำด้วยการอภิปรายเกี่ยวกับการขยายหน้าที่ของคำป้อง kəra²

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้นำเสนอรายละเอียดเกี่ยวกับกระบวนการทำให้เป็นคำนามในภาษาเรราที่รวมถึงการกัปปะรายเกี่ยวกับการใช้คำป้องแปลเป็นนามที่ใช้ติดหน้าคำ ได้แก่ i¹- และ keʔ²- ที่ใช้แปลคำนามต่าง ๆ ให้เป็นคำนาม ได้แก่ คำศัพท์ คำขยายหน้าคำ หรือแม้แต่คำนามเอง การใช้คำป้องคำต่างกล่าวแสงให้เกิดกระบวนการการทำให้เป็นคำนามในเหตุการณ์และผู้แสดงบทบาท และกระบวนการการทำให้เป็นคำนามด้วย i¹- ยังสามารถแสดงมุมมองของผู้พูดในเรื่องเล่าและใช้ระบบการแปลได้ด้วย นอกจากนี้ยังมีคำลำดับนามที่แสดงให้เห็นหน่วยสร้างของการแปลงให้เป็นคำนามด้วยซึ่งจัดเป็นประเภทหนึ่งของกลวิธีในการแปลงให้เป็นคำนาม ใบของที่สุด การศึกษาหน่วยสร้างการแปลงให้เป็นคำนามยังแสดงให้เห็นว่ากระบวนการแปลงให้เป็นคำนามปรากฏในการแปลของรูปคำศัพท์ที่วิทยำด้วย โดยในอีนิเดี่ยวก้การแปลงรูปคำศัพท์ที่จะเกิดขึ้นเมื่อมีคำป้องแปลเป็นนาม i¹- และในบางกรณีกระบวนการแปลงให้เป็นคำนามสามารถเกิดขึ้นได้ด้วยการเปลี่ยนเสียงวรรณยุกต์โดยตรงโดยไม่มีคำป้องแปลเป็นนาม i¹- นอกจากนี้จากกระบวนการแปลงให้เป็นคำนามในภาษาเรรา งานวิจัยนี้ได้แสดงให้เห็นหน้าที่ของคำป้องชี้ kəra² ในรูปแบบได้แก่ หน้าที่เดิม (ที่ยังไม่มีการขยาย) และหน้าที่ขยายซึ่งแต่ละชั้นของคำป้องชี้ kəra² มีหน้าที่ป้องชี้คำนามที่เกี่ยวข้องกับผู้พูดซึ่งจะอยู่ในตำแหน่งหน้าคำนาม และยังมีหน้าที่เป็นสรรพนามชี้วัตถุที่ใช้แทนนามีสิ่ง ส่วนหน้าที่ขยายชี้ของคำป้องชี้ kəra² นั้นคือ การเป็นหน่วยเติมหน้าอนุประโยคในอนุประโยคที่เป็นคำนามที่ใช้เรียกชื่อ และเป็นคำศัพท์ นอกจากนี้คำป้องชี้ดังกล่าวยังใช้แสดงสถานะของการแปลงเป็นคำนามของอนุประโยคที่ใช้ขยายและวิเศษณานามประโยคด้วยกลวิธีในการแปลงให้เป็นคำนามที่คำป้องชี้ดังกล่าวแสดงให้เห็นหน่วยสร้างการแปลงเป็นคำนาม ท้ายที่สุด งานวิจัยนี้ได้ศึกษาคำศัพท์คำป้องชี้ ด้นป้องแจง และมุมมองของผู้พูดด้วย
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1S first-person singular
2S second-person singular
3S third-person singular
1P first-person plural
2P second-person plural
3P third-person plural
1.POSS first-person possessive determiner
2.POSS second-person possessive determiner
3.POSS third-person possessive determiner
ADJ adjective
AGR agreement marking
ASM word that is borrowed from Assamese
ATTR attributive
AUTO self:reflexive formative
CL classifier
COMP complementizer
CONT continuous
COS change of state
CAUS causative
DUAL dual marker
ERG ergative
EUPH euphonic
EXCL exclamation
F feminine
HBTL habitual
HESIT hesitation marker
IMPV imperfective
IRR irrealis marker
<table>
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<td>object</td>
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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Background
The following work is a descriptive syntactic study of the Rera variety of Tangsa, a language of the Northern Naga branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family, which is spoken in North-East India (Morey, 2016; Khan, 2017). This thesis work presents an overview of the morphosyntactic processes in Rera, as well as an examination of nominalization at the lexical level, along with the extended functions of the demonstrative $kara^2$.

The account of Rera morphosyntactic properties demonstrates variable ordering of a noun phrase. The various modifiers in a noun phrase can occur optionally both in pre- and post-head positions. Furthermore, this thesis provides analysis of explicit behaviors of the Rera pronoun system, which includes personal, demonstrative, possessive, reflexive, reciprocal, and interrogative pronouns. Moreover, clausal construction and an account of sentence construction are also provided in the examination of the morphosyntax in Rera.

Much has been written about nominalization in Sino-Tibetan languages (Genetti, 2008, Genetti, 2011; Morey, 2011); however, not much has been written about the Northern Naga languages and there is no thorough description of nominalization when it comes to the Tangsa languages. Therefore, this thesis work describes the syntactic and functional dimensions of nominalization patterns in Rera.

The most typical nominalizer is the nominalizer $i^1$, which derives nominals from verbs that function as arguments with referential status within clauses (See Chapter 3). The second nominalizer is $ke^2$, with limited occurrences in the data as discussed in Chapter 3. Other nominalization patterns include zero nominalization, classifier nominalization, and an emerging tone-shifting nominalization construction.

---

1 In the demonstrative $kara^2$ the superscript numerals represents tone categories as discussed in §1.4. In addition, the demonstrative is first introduced in Chapter 2, and later discussed thoroughly in Chapter 4, along with its extended functions.
Demonstratives have multiple functions in Tibeto-Burman languages (Diessel, 2006). They can denote distances between a person and a located object or another person. In addition, the demonstrative kəra² exhibits extended functions such as a topic marker, vocative expression marker, linker, exclamation marker, discourse deictic marker, and time-adverbial marker. The demonstrative kəra² signals nominalized constructions under substantivization strategies. Under this strategy kəra² marks relative clause constructions, tail-head linkage constructions, and pre-clause constructions.

The remainder of this introductory chapter introduces the Rera people and language (§1.2). This is followed by the research methodology (§1.3), the Rera phonological inventory (§1.4), and an account of approaches to nominalization and demonstratives in the literature (§1.5). The chapter ends with the contributions, limitations, and the overall organization of the thesis (§1.6).

1.2 The Rera people and language

The Rera people live in North-East India. They originally came from Myanmar and were among the earliest Tangsa² language speakers in North-East India, with an estimated population of two thousand people. The speakers of the language, which is commonly referred to by the exonyms Ronrang or Roira, currently use the autonym Rera (rɛ²ra², rɯ²ra²) in contemporary writing and official documents regarding their language.

The remainder of this section is structured as follows: (§1.2.1) presents the linguistic affiliation of the Rera Tangsa languages, while (§1.2.2) discusses the geography and history of the Rera people.

1.2.1 Linguistic affiliation

Rera is a variety of the Tangsa language group, which belongs to the greater Northern Naga language group. The existence of the variety was first recorded by Das Gupta (1980). Later, Burling (2003) demonstrated the classification of Tangsa in relation to the greater Tibeto-Burman group, as in Figure 1.

---

2 Tangsa is also referred as Tangshang in Myanmar. However, all the Tangshang varieties do not belong to the Tangsa sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman. For example, Nocte, Tutsa and Wancho are considered as a Tangshang variety in Myanmar, but are considered as separate subgroups in North-East India and, therefore, do not belong to the Tangsa sub-group.
Figure 1 shows that the Tangsa languages belong to the Konyak group of the larger Bodo-Konyak classification of Tibeto-Burman (Burling 2003, p. 175). In a more detailed classification of the Naga languages, Voegelin (as cited in Hale 1982) places Tangsa languages under the Northern Naga language group of the greater Bodo-Naga-Kachin group of Tibeto-Burman. See Figure 2.
Voegelin (1977) shows that Rera (Ronrang) is a sub-variety of the Tangsa languages under the Northern Naga language group. However, Grierson (1903) puts the Tangsa languages under the Eastern sub-group of the Naga languages, as shown in Figure 3.
According to Grierson (1903), the Rera-Tangsa language belongs to the Eastern Naga language group of the Naga group within Tibeto-Burman, as shown in Figure 3. Furthermore, Morey (2013) shows the classification of the Tangsa languages. According to him, the Tangsa language group includes around thirty languages, which are further divided into the Pangwa and non-Pangwa groups, as diagrammed in Figure 4.
Figure 4 Tangsa languages
(Morey, 2013, p. 3)
The Pangwa are known as the Eastern Naga group who “sing a particular cycle of ritual and historical songs, called the Wihu song, or Sahwi song” (Morey, n.d. a). In addition to this, Morey (2013, p. 3) demonstrates that the Pangwa varieties “have person agreement markers on verbs that generally do not mark hierarchical relations”, unlike non-Pangwa varieties.

Linguists, however, do not agree on the inclusion of all the Tangshang varieties under Tangsa, whereas all the varieties that are identified as Tangsa also belong to the Tangshang varieties (Morey, S. personal communication, 2016). In addition, there is more conflict when it comes to the Tangshang in Myanmar, which is a name that refers to the same languages as Tangsa. Some linguists (Voegelin, 1977, as cited in Hale, 1982; Khan, 2017) put the Tangsa/Tangshang languages under the Northern Naga group and, therefore, Rera is considered to be a language belonging to these groups. However, the terms Tangshang and Tangsa are not cognate with each other. Tangshang refers to the story of the two siblings Tang Nyuwang and Shang Nywang (Statezni, 2013), whereas the word Tangsa is a combination of tag² ‘mountain’ and sa² ‘person’, a name coined by Bipin Buragohain (Morey, 2017, p. 350), an Indian government officer who worked on the Northern Naga languages. Furthermore, the classification of the Tangshang varieties, according to Khan (2017, p. 7) are listed in Table 1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subgroups</th>
<th>Dialects</th>
<th>Criterion for grouping</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upland Pangva</td>
<td>Shecyü, Chamchang, Mungre, Mueshaungx, Lochang, Haqcyeng, Ngaimong, Shangvan, Yukli, Cholim, Longri, Jöngi, Maitai</td>
<td>Autonym and exonym pang-va means ‘those who practice rituals’; geographic location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Pangva</td>
<td>A: Lungkhi, Khalak, Gachai</td>
<td>Autonym and exonym pang-va means ‘those who practice rituals’; geographic location; Group A has negation after verbs whereas Group B has negation before verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B: Rinkhu, Nakkhi, Rasi, Rasa, <strong>Rera</strong>, Kochung, Shokra, Shangti, Shanchin, Khangchin, Khandu, Lawnyung, Yangbaivang, Gaqha, Raraq, Raqnu, Kotlum, Assen, Hasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yungkuk-Tikhak</td>
<td>Yungkuk, Tikhak, Longchang, Moklum, Kato, Nukyaq</td>
<td>They were known as non-Pangva and are slightly different from the two Pangva groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ole</td>
<td>Nahen, Lumnu, Yangno, Kumgaq, Haqpo, Chamkok, Champang, Haqcyum, Tawke, Hokuq</td>
<td>Geographically, they live in a connected area and are known by the general name, Ole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kon-Pingnan</td>
<td>Youngkon, Chawang, Nukvuk, Miku, Pingku, Nansa (Nyinshao)</td>
<td>Kon, Pingku, and Nansa are closely related varieties a bit further south from the Ole group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haqte</td>
<td>Haqkhii, Haqman, Bote, Lama, Haqkhun, Nocte, Phong, Havi, Tutsa</td>
<td>This group has mutual comprehension among the varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olo</td>
<td>Haqsik, Lajo</td>
<td>Both varieties live close to each other and are known as Olo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ola</td>
<td>Kaishan</td>
<td>Kaishan is known as Ola and is different from Olo and Sandzik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandzik</td>
<td>Sandzik</td>
<td>Sandzik is different from other groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyokat</td>
<td>Chuyo, Gaqkat, Wancho</td>
<td>These varieties are a bit close to Konyak group and geographically adjacent to each other as well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunyon</td>
<td>Kuku, Makyam</td>
<td>Kuku and Makyam live to the east of Namphuk river close to Lainong people. They are different from other neighboring Tangshang groups</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 shows the 11 different Tangshang subgroups, which includes Rera under the Eastern Pangva~Pangwa subgroup of the Northern Naga.

Further afield, Rera does not have its own ISO code. However, the language is referred to by the ISO of the larger Tangshang ISO 639-3: nst. According to *Ethnologue* (Simons & Fennig, 2017), the name ‘Tangsa’, which is used in India, refers to only the Tangshang varieties. However, the code has now been named Tangsa on the India side and Tangshang in Myanmar.

### 1.2.2 Geography and history of the Rera people

The location of the Rera people is shown in the topographical map in Figure 5.

![Map of the location of the Rera people](source)

*Figure 5 The location of the Rera people (Google, 2017)*

In Figure 5, the red circles show that the Rera people are located in Arunachal Pradesh, near the Indo-Myanmar border. Figure 5 also shows that they are close to the state of Assam.
According to the Rera people, they migrated in 1971 from the Patkai hills to Manmao town, which is located in Changlang district, in the state of Arunachal Pradesh.³

Nowadays, the majority of the Rera people live in the state of Arunachal Pradesh, while a small group of Rera people also live in Phulbari village situated in the state of Assam. The noted places with a majority Rera population are Manmao town and Balinong village in Changlang district. Manmao town was their original home, while Balinong village now has the majority of the Rera population. Since life was challenging without adequate resources, they migrated towards the plains in search of fertile land, with a good source of water, for wetland cultivation of paddy rice. They were also looking for financial opportunities, such as jobs and business opportunities. They moved down to Balinong village and spread into the neighboring areas in the state of Assam.

Balinong is one of the largest villages among the Rera villages. According to older Rera people, they named it “Balinong” because it is a sandy land or an island that is situated amid the rivers, i.e. the Buri Dihing, Kharsang, Langbang, and Namchik rivers. The Rera believe that the presence of the sandy land may be due to a vast flood of the Buri Dihing river in earlier years. Evidence for this assumption is that early settlers saw tree trunks and the remains of wild fruits beneath the soil during ploughing.

Wangmon Ronrang was one of the early explorers of this new land. Later, he moved, along with his family and a few other families, to the new land. In addition, having more experience and knowledge about the rest of the country and state, he was made the first “Gaon Burha” (village head) of the village. Later, many families came one after another.

Even though the Rera people mostly farm for a living, the young people also serve in the government sectors as well as in corporate and private jobs. Nowadays, most of the young people are educated. However, most of the older people are not educated, as there were not enough opportunities to study in the past. The first village education in Balinong came in 1976 through a private English school taught by Ganhum Ronrang. Later, in 1977, the first government Lower Primary school was opened. In 1987, the first Anganbadi School⁴ was opened, and Mrs. Likdam Ronrang

³ I would like to acknowledge Dr. John Mansfield for providing me with some of these data.
⁴ Anganbadi Schools are government-subsidized schools, which offer free education to children along with daily meals. The meals are offered to encourage children who are below the poverty line.
was appointed as the first Anganbadi teacher. In addition, a private foundation school was opened in 1997 and most recently, in the year 2005, an industrial training institute was established.

Due to urbanization and increasing language contact from the neighboring state, elements of traditional culture and the degree of language vitality have been decreasing. However, the constant awareness of the need for language revitalization by the Rera Welfare Society and other language researchers has contributed to the willingness of Rera society to introduce their own orthography and literacy in the Rera-speaking areas.

In terms of religion, the early settlers were mostly animists. Later, in 1972, the Balinong Baptist Church was established under the Tangsa Baptist Church. Most of the Rera people have converted to Christianity and the traditional religion of the Rera is disappearing. This has also resulted in the loss of their traditional attire as many of them are influenced by western outlooks. However, the willingness of translating the Bible into Rera might lead towards the documentation of the language. The following section discusses the methodology of the research for this thesis.

1.3 Methodology

This section deals with the methodology and the practical workflows involved in the collection and organization of the data. The data collection process embraces collaboration with the community members to get the best-quality data. In addition, the process of data collection was started at the initiative of Dr. Stephen Morey in 2008, and later I started collecting data in 2013. However, for this research work, data were collected and transcribed in 2016 over multiple fieldtrips. This research gained the interest of the Rera Welfare Society at a later stage, though most of the community members sought interest at an earlier stage of the research, which was collaborative from the beginning. However, it is essential to mention that native speakers’ motivation for preserving their language is not always the same as other native speakers’, nor is it always the same as that of linguists and hence, sometimes the data collection and elicitation process was interrupted. However, numerous aspects of data collection and processing were enhanced due to the collaboration.

Data collection for this thesis was carried out during August – December 2016 over three field trips. The first two trips included an approximately ten-day stay and the
third trip was five days. All of the data were collected and recorded in Balinong village, which is in Tirap district, and in Manmao village in Changlang District. Some data had been recorded in Manmao in 2013, which included a 300-word wordlist and some traditional stories. Later, some of the stories were re-recorded and transcribed again as a part of the current thesis work to improve accuracy with the language consultants in Balinong village.

Some of the data were recorded and transcribed in earlier fieldtrips between 2014 and 2015, which were also reanalyzed during the fieldwork trips in 2016. The previous data (two stories and an 800-word list) were recorded from Manmao town in Changlang District from two older people, aged between 75-90. The fieldtrips also included the collection of several stories as well as a wordlist and some context-free sentences.

In a later stage of the research, the Rera Welfare Society provided historical and geographic information about the community. They also shared information about their language, and, most importantly, they encouraged community people about the documentation of their language, as there has been no previous description.

The remainder of this section covers the data collection procedure in (§1.3.1). The information about the language consultants are described in (§1.3.2), while (§1.3.3) provides information about the data types.

**1.3.1 Data collection procedure**

Data collection began with surveys that gathered information from multiple age groups. The information gathered included the age, literacy level, and gender of the language consultants.

In the data collection process, careful attention was paid to capturing high quality recordings. To that end, audio recordings were created in .wav format with a sampling rate of 48 kHz and a bit depth of 16 (Johnson 2004, p. 147). The recording equipment that was used includes a high definition audio-video recorder (Zoom Q3) and a high definition audio recorder (Olympus WS-852), along with omni-directional microphones. Most of the time, sessions were recorded both with video and audio recorders. Table 2 summarizes the devices and software used for data collection.

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5 As an Independent researcher, it was difficult to find a way of staying for a longer period of time. However, as mentioned above, Dr. Stephen Morey helped immensely in providing necessary data.
Table 2 Data collection recording devices and software

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recording device</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZoomQ3</td>
<td>To record data (video &amp; audio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olympus WS-852</td>
<td>To record data (audio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omni-directional microphones</td>
<td>To record data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praat</td>
<td>To analyze speech sounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonology Assistant</td>
<td>To analyze phonological data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIL Fieldworks (FLEx)</td>
<td>To archive lexical and textual data</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different types of genres were collected and transcribed during the data collection field trips, to serve documentary and descriptive linguistic goals. Textual and lexical data was entered into FLEx, in order to be systematic and consistent with the glossing. Two texts data are presented in Appendix A.

1.3.2 Language consultants

Data were collected primarily from two main speakers; however, three other speakers also helped when the main speakers faced difficulties in providing the meaning of certain texts. Besides the main language consultants, some other people from the community also helped in the data collection. Mr. Tanny Shamma Ronrang (age 60) and Mr. Shamlem Shamma Ronrang (age 29) also helped in explaining the traditional stories and in those places where the main consultants could not remember the meanings of some words.

The two main language consultants for this project are Ms. Sahtum Ronrang (age 55) and Mr. Mansham Shamma Ronrang (age 27). Ms. Sahtum Ronrang is an expert in traditional storytelling and has a great understanding of the language, while Mr. Mansham Shamma Ronrang helped recheck the processed data.

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6 Three of the transcribed stories that are used for this research work were recorded by Dr. Stephen Morey in 2008 from a native speaker viz. Mr. Mohen Rera. The first translations were done by Dr. Morey with Mr. Simon Ronrang in 2008, and later in 2016, all of the translations were rechecked by me with Ms. Sahtum Ronrang and Mr. Mansham Shamma Ronrang. In addition, I would like to acknowledge Dr. Morey for helping me also in revising the data in January, 2017.

7 My involvement with the Rera started in 2013 as part of Dr. Stephen Morey’s language documentation projects. The two projects that I am involved in are (I) Australian Research Council Future Fellowship (2010-2014), for the project entitled “A Multifaceted Study of Tangsa- A Network of Linguistic Varieties in North-East India (ARCFT100100614); (II) Australian Research Council Discovery Program Grant (2016-present), for the project entitled Tangsa Wihu Song: insight into culture through language, music, and ritual (ARCDP160103061).
1.3.3 Data types
The data that were collected included isolated lexical items, context-free elicitation data, and text data. Eight hundred lexical items, based on various semantic domains, were collected, transcribed, and rechecked with community members in multiple sessions. Elicited data was recorded in order to look at various syntactic as well as morphological features. Finally, six different texts were recorded and transcribed. These included four traditional stories, a folk (Wihu) song, and a procedural text about how to weave cotton cloth.

Most of the time and effort spent in the language area was devoted to the transcription and analysis of the speech recordings of the lexemes. Each item was repeated three times in an interval of approximately four seconds, followed by the word in a carrier sentence to record the data in natural speech. Later, recorded texts were interlinearized in FLEX in order to maintain consistency and quality of the data. The phonological inventory of Rera that is used to transcribe the data is shown in the following section.

1.4 Phonological inventory and transcription system
Rera has 21 consonant phonemes and 8 vowel phonemes, along with three contrastive tones. The phonemic transcriptions that are reflected in the examples in the current work are presented in the consonant, vowel, and tone inventories in Table 3, Table 4, and Table 5. For more information about Rera phonology, see Goswami (2017).

The minimal Rera syllable consists of just the nucleus vowel and the maximal syllable consists of an onset and a rhyme with a coda. Rera has monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, and quadrisyllabic words. Words with five and six syllables also exist even though they are rare in the data.

The consonant phonemic inventory of Rera includes oral and nasal stops at the bilabial, alveolar, post-alveolar, and post-palatal points of articulation. These are listed in Table 3.
Table 3 The consonant phoneme inventory in Rera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>post-alveolar</th>
<th>post-palatal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the stops, /dʒ/ and /tʃ/ are the only affricates in Rera. There are two voiced fricatives: labial /v/, alveolar /z/, and three voiceless fricatives: alveolar /s/, post-alveolar /ʃ/, and glottal /h/. Finally, there are two approximants /w/, and /l/, along with the trill /r/. Note that unlike some of the other Tangsa varieties aspirated stops do not occur in Rera.

All of the consonant phonemes occur in word-initial position, except for the glottal stop /ʔ/. All of the stops appear with almost all the vowels in both syllable-initial and -final positions except for the front open vowel /ɛ/. This vowel only occurs with initial /p, tʃ, l/ in the data. Sonorants can occur in both syllable-initial and syllable-final positions, except for /ɲ/, which can only occur syllable-initially.

The Rera vowel phonemes are shown in Table 4.

Table 4 The vowel phoneme inventory in Rera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-mid</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The vowel inventory does not include diphthongs. Close vowels are produced in the front and back positions. However, there is no close central vowel. Central vowels are found at both mid and open positions.

The Rera toneme inventory is given in Table 5.

**Table 5 The toneme inventory in Rera**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone numbers</th>
<th>Tone characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tone 1</td>
<td>High [45]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 2</td>
<td>Mid [33]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 3</td>
<td>Low [21]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tonal inventory, in Table 5, includes one mid, level tone and two contour tones. The tone-bearing unit in Rera is the syllable, not the word. There are three tones, as shown above, in live syllables, which have final vowels or nasals, whereas dead syllables, which have final stop consonants, carry a low tone. Thus, tone marking is always contrastive in the live syllables. The various approaches to nominalization and demonstratives in the literature are discussed in (§1.5).

### 1.5 Approaches to nominalization and demonstratives in the literature

One prominent characteristic of Tibeto-Burman languages is nominalization at both lexical and clausal levels, while demonstratives are noted for their wide range of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic functions. The nominalization literature is considered as it relates to this thesis, in (§1.5.1), followed by the behaviors of demonstratives in the literature in (§1.5.2).

#### 1.5.1 Nominalization in the literature

The serious study of nominalization in Tibeto-Burman languages began with Matisoff’s (1972) study on Lahu nominalization, genitivization, and relativization. In it he discusses how a single morpheme, ve, functions as a nominalizing morpheme, a complementizing morpheme, a relativizing morpheme, and a genitive marker. In addition to Matisoff’s work, similar functions of nominalization have been reported in a range of Asian languages, including Tibeto-Burman and Austronesian languages (Genetti, 2011; Grunow-Hårsta, 2011; Liu & Gu, 2011; DeLancey, 1986, 2002; Morey, 2011; Post, 2011; Hsieh, 2011).
Grunow-Hårsta (2011) looked at derivational nominalization in Magar, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Central Himalayas. She identifies four suffixal nominalizers: -ke, -mʌ, -o, and -cyo ~ -cʌ, along with one prefixal nominalizer mi~me~my. The suffixal nominalizers have a limited function, while the nominalizer mi is much more productive. It functions as a noun marker, possessed noun marker, and a lexical nominalizer. The functions of the Magar nominalizer mi are similar to the productive functions of the Rera nominalizer i¹, which can also be a possessive noun marker. Furthermore, i¹ combines with the demonstrative kara². This form serves as a topic marker, a conjunction, and an anaphoric discourse marker.

Konnerth (2014) reports a single nominalizer ke- (with allomorphs ki~ka-) in Karbi (Tibeto-Burman, Bodo-Garo). She mentions that “this nominalizing velar prefix has many apparent cognates across several branches of Tibeto-Burman both inside and outside Northeast India,” which is “productive in deriving nouns from verbs” (Konnerth, 2009, p. 121; 2014, p. 384). This suggests that it is a feature of Proto-Tibeto-Burman. Thus, it is possible that the nominalizer ke?- in Rera is cognate with Proto-Tibeto Burman ke-.

Yap et al. (2011, p. 14) demonstrates the substantivization strategy, where nominalized constructions are “identified by noun phrase markers, among them classifiers, plural markers, possessive pronouns, demonstratives, definiteness markers and case markers”. This phenomenon is pervasive in Rera, where classifiers indicate the nominalized status of verbal forms.

Another much-discussed phenomenon in Tibeto-Burman literature is the referential and non-referential uses of nominalization constructions. Nominalization constructions often “develop extended, non-referential functions”, where nominalization constructions “combine with lexical head nouns to form adnominal constructions” forming part of a noun phrase and modifying that noun phrase (Yap et al., 2011, p. 26). In Rera, the nominalized constructions formed by the nominalizer i¹- modify the head noun within a noun phrase, functioning as an adnominal modifier.

Morey (n.d. a), identifies two nominalizing prefixes, ə- and tɕi²-, in Mueshaungx (Moshang), a Tangsa language spoken in India and Myanmar. The nominalizer ə- can be “combined with both verbs and adjectives”. This finding supports the present study, as the Rera nominalizer i¹-, cognate to the Moshang ə-, functions in the same way, where it exhibits morphological bounding to head verbs and noun roots, to denote nominalization constructions.
Finally, one of the first generalizations regarding nominalization constructions in Tibeto-Burman states that they can frequently express the speaker’s stance, specifically mirativity (DeLancey, 1986). Speaker stance nominalization constructions can be signaled by nominalizers, noun phrase markers, or demonstratives. This issue is found in Rera, where the nominalizer \( i^1 \) and the demonstrative \( kara^2 \) is used to express speaker stance in narratives. This occurs when calling attention or expressing amazement or surprise. The demonstrative \( kara^2 \) can also be used in a substantivization strategy as an aspect of signaling nominalized constructions, and, therefore, the extended functions of a demonstrative in the literature are discussed in the following section.

### 1.5.2 Demonstratives in the literature

Diessel (2006, p. 430) defines demonstratives as deictic expressions that “indicate the relative distance of a referent in the speech situation vis-a-vis the deictic center,” while the deictic center is defined by “the speaker’s location at the time of utterance.” Syntactically, demonstratives can co-occur with a noun in a noun phrase, “they may occur in a copular or non-verbal clause”, and “they are used as independent pronouns in argument positions of verbs and adpositions” (Diessel, 1999, p. 1). In Rera, demonstratives within a noun phrase indicate deictic references between the referent and the deictic center. These same forms can behave as demonstrative pronouns by substituting for a noun phrase.

An early document of Moshang, a variety of Tangsa, mentions the demonstrative \( kərəu \) or \( kərə \) (Needham, 1897), with its distal deictic function. Morey (n.d. b) speaks of the most frequent demonstrative \( kara \) ‘that’ in Chamchang (a Tibeto-Burman, Tangsa language), which can appear in different forms such as \( ka, kara, kərəka \), etc. In addition, Morey mentions that the demonstrative has distal deictic uses. The demonstrative, however, does not always denote distal deictic expressions in discourse. Furthermore, Morey (n.d. a) reports the demonstrative \( kəkɤ^1 \) ‘that’ as a noun phrase marker in Moshang, which is also seen in Rera.

Furthermore, the use of demonstratives in nominalization constructions is a widely discussed phenomenon. Yap et al. (2011, p. 16) demonstrates that “nominalization constructions can also be signaled by demonstratives and other definiteness markers”, which, undergo substantivization. The Rera demonstrative \( kara^2 \) is used to signal the nominalized status of subordinate clauses. In addition, Morey (n.d. a & b) also notes that demonstratives in Moshang and Chamchang undergo grammaticalization as substantivization markers of clauses.
Further afield, Morey (2011, p. 16) demonstrates the use of the definiteness marker *wa* to signal nominalized constructions in Nampuk Singpho, a Tibeto-Burman, Bodo-Konyak-Jingphaw language. Morey (2011, p. 289) postulates that “such nominalized clauses are usually found in combination with the definiteness marker *wa*”. Nominalization by substantivization is indicated by the demonstrative *kara* in Rera, instead of a definite marker, as in Namphuk Singpho.

In more distant Northern Pwo Karen (Tibeto-Burman, Karenic), Phillips (2017) reports the use of the medial demonstrative *nɔ* as a marker of topical noun phrases, relative clauses, and temporal adverbial and conditional adverbial clauses.

Finally, de Vries (1995, p. 514) reports that in several Papuan languages “demonstrative forms are used both in contexts of referent identification, e.g. as demonstrative operators in noun phrases, and in topicality contexts, e.g. as topic markers with adverbial clauses and phrase, recapitulative clauses, new topic NPs and given topic NPs.” de Vries (1995, p. 521) further reports that demonstratives in tail-head linkage clauses cannot be accounted for in terms of providing deictic expressions or referent identification. Rather, they provide new information based on the previous expression in a tail-head linkage construction. This phenomenon is addressed in the current thesis, which also shows the use of demonstratives in a tail-head linkage construction. The following section (§1.6) discusses the contributions, limitations, and composition of the study.

### 1.6 Contributions, limitations, and composition of this study

The purpose of this thesis work is to account for nominalization at both lexical and clausal levels. The current work looks deeply at the various uses of the two nominalizers *i¹* and *keʔ³* in Rera. The extended functionality of *kara* provides opportunities to study clause-level syntactic criteria such as clausal nominalization, clausal coordination, etc.

As for the significance of this thesis work, this research contributes to the first documentation of the language. This study may help others studying similar phenomena in other or related Tangsa languages in North-East India and beyond. Furthermore, this thesis is limited to the discussion of a detailed diachronic review of the nominalizers along with other syntactic behaviours.

The remainder of this thesis begins with a morphosyntactic overview of Rera in Chapter 2. Then lexical nominalization is discussed in Chapter 3. The extended functions of the demonstrative *kara* are illustrated in Chapter 4. Finally, the thesis ends with the conclusion in Chapter 5.
Chapter 2
Morphosyntactic Overview of Rera

2.1 Overview

The aim of this thesis is to account for the nominalization constructions and the extended functions of the demonstrative kara² ‘that’. As a background to this overall study, this chapter presents a morphosyntactic overview of Rera.

As with most Tibeto-Burman languages, word order is SOV with postpositional phrases. However, arguments can be omitted if otherwise understood. Noun phrases are head-medial with variable ordering of modifiers. The case alignment is ergative-absolutive, where the subject of an intransitive clause and the direct object in a transitive clause are marked the same, while the transitive subject is marked differently. Furthermore, elaborate expressions denote four to six-syllable coordinative constructions. The clause structures include verbal and non-verbal clausal constructions, where verbal clauses include intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clause constructions. In contrast, non-verbal clause constructions denote identity and static locational expressions.

The variable ordering of the modifiers in a noun phrase is a key part of the discussion in the morphosyntactic analysis, which shows that four different modifiers can precede the head of a noun phrase (possessors, numerals, adjectives, and demonstratives), while three different post-head slots complete the Rera noun phrase (e.g. demonstratives, adjectives, and numerals). The clausal inventory includes verbal, attributive, and verbless copula clauses.

This morphosyntactic overview provides a first description of Rera. The earliest linguistic work on Tangsa is eleven pages about the Moshang or Mueshaungx and Shecyü language varieties, which includes some lexical as well as syntactic study, with sentences and their English glosses (Needham, 1897). Another preliminary work is the documentation of daily used words and a basic syntactic description of eleven Tangshang/Tangsa varieties (Das Gupta, 1980). Bandyopadhyay (1989) provides an 868-item wordlist for a Tangsa variety which is called Jogli or Yukli.
Work on Northern Naga languages includes Morey’s (n.d. a) description of the Moshang and Chamchang varieties. Morey (n.d. b) describes various morphosyntactic features, such as argument structures, verb agreement, and clausal structures in Moshang, a Tangsa language. Furthermore, Morey (2017) analyzes verb stem alternation in his recent paper on the Pangwa varieties, where he describes the verbal forms as an independent root changing into a nominal, which can be achieved by stem alternation.

This chapter is divided into the discussion of basic argument constructions (§2.2), elaborate expressions (§2.3), clausal constructions (§2.4), and sentence constructions (§2.5). The chapter ends with a summary of the morphosyntactic constructions in (§2.6).

2.2 Basic argument constructions
This section deals with the argument constructions in Rera. The three basic argument constructions are noun phrases (§2.2.1), pronouns (§2.2.2), and postpositional phrases (§2.2.3).

2.2.1 Noun phrase structures
The Rera noun phrase consists of an obligatory noun head which is preceded and followed by optional modifiers, as diagrammed in (1).

(1) **Rera simple noun phrase construction**

(POSS) (DEM) (NUM) (ADJ) **HEAD** (ADJ) (NUM) (DEM)

The diagram in (1) shows that demonstratives, numerals, and adjectives can occur in both pre- and post-head positions, while the possessor modifier only occurs preceding the noun head.

A noun phrase example showing the pre-head modifiers is shown in (2).

(2) **Elicited data 71**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kəra}^2 & \quad \text{wa}'r\text{um}^2 & \quad \text{a}^2-\text{nɛ}^2 & \quad \text{a}^2-\text{dʒɔŋ}^2 & \quad \text{a}^2-\text{fe'}k\text{ɔm}^2 & \quad \text{dʒum}^2 \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{three} & \quad \text{ATTR-new} & \quad \text{ATTR-big} & \quad \text{ATTR-red} & \quad \text{house}
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘those three, new, big, red house’
‘those three big new red houses’
In the noun phrase in (2), the demonstrative $kəra^2$ ‘those’, the numeral $wa'rum^2$ ‘three’, the three adjectives $a^2ne^2$ ‘new’, $a^2dʒɔŋ^2$ ‘big’ and $a^2je'kom^2$ ‘red’ precede the head noun $dʒum^2$ ‘house’.

The post-head optional modifiers are exemplified in (3).

(3) **Elicited data 09**

\[
\text{i}^2\text{na}^2 \quad [kəra^2 \quad dʒum^2 \quad wa'rum^2 \quad kəra^2]_{\text{NP}}
\]

that that house three that

Lit. ‘that house three that’

‘those three houses’

In (3), the numeral $wa'rum^2$ ‘three’ and the demonstrative $kəra^2$ ‘that’, both follow the head noun $dʒum^2$ ‘house’. Another example of a similar kind is shown in (4).

(4) **Folktale 01.08**

\[
i^4kəra^2-ma^3 \quad [dʒum^2 fə^3,rum^2 \quad kəra-ma^3 \quad kəra^2] \quad a^2du^3
\]

that-from house hundred.three that-from that down side

$ka^2la^2 \quad məŋ^2 \quad a^2sam^2 \quad du^3 \quad ka^1-o^2-li^2$

Indian country Assam down side go-COMP-CONT.1p

\[
\text{me}^3\text{ke}^2 \quad \text{ning}^2\text{khan}^2 = \text{na}^2 \quad η^1 \quad \text{din}^2 \quad kəra^2
\]

what cause = at say if that

Lit. ‘After that house three hundred after that downside Indian country Assam downside went, what cause (for what reason) say if that’

‘After that, (of) those three hundred households, for what reason were we coming down to Assam, if it is said.’

In (4), the different modifiers, including the numeral $fə^3,rum^2$ ‘three hundred’ and the demonstrative $kəra^2$ ‘that’, along with its variant $kəra-ma^3$ ‘after that’, occur following the head noun $dʒum^2$ ‘house’.
An example of pre- and post-head modifiers is presented in (5).

(5) Elicited data 44

\[ γa¹ \ kat² \ a³-ki² \ kəra² \ a²-hab² \ ra²-to² \]
1S.POSS shirt ATTR-old that ATTR-beautiful SEQ-PAST.3

Lit. ‘My shirt be old that, beautiful had’
‘My old shirt over there was beautiful’.

In example (5) the possessor modifier, \( γa¹ ‘1S.POSS’ \), precedes the head. The attributive modifier \( a³-ki² \) modifies the noun \( kat³ ‘shirt’ \) and occurs in the post-head position. In addition, the demonstrative \( kəra² ‘that’ \) also occurs in the post-head position of the noun phrase \( γa¹ kat³ a³-ki² ‘my old shirt’ \). The optional modifiers in a noun phrase are discussed thoroughly in §2.2.1.1.

2.2.1.1 Noun phrase modifiers

This section presents an overview of the modifiers in Rera. The remainder of this section begins with the pre-head noun phrase modifier, viz. the possessors as demonstrated in (§2.2.1.1.1), while demonstratives are reported in (§2.2.1.1.2). (§2.2.1.1.3) presents the numerals and quantifiers, while adjectives are discussed in (§2.2.1.1.4). Finally, the section ends with a discussion of noun phrase coordination in (§2.2.1.1.5).

2.2.1.1.1 Possessors

Possessors are pre-posed to a noun head. In Rera, a noun phrase possessor can be found with or without a possessive enclitic. The discussion starts with the possessive construction without the enclitic, and then examples are shown with the possessive enclitic.

The noun phrase without a possessor is shown in (6).

(6) Elicited data 72

\[ γa¹ = Ø \ jak³ \ fi¹ \ kəra² \ a²-dʒə̀ŋ² \]
1s hand finger this ATTR-big

Lit. ‘I, finger of hand this big’
‘My finger is big.’
In (6), the possessor ŋa¹ ‘1.POSS’ occurs without the possessive enclitic =re². Another example of a possessor noun phrase without the possessor enclitic is exemplified in (7).

(7) Folktales 02.15

\[
\begin{align*}
\eta¹ & \quad heʔ²ṭin² = Ø & \quad kakra² & \quad nap³kum² kəfəŋ² & \quad ka³ & \quad je³-ra² \\
\text{1.POSS} & \quad \text{nest} & \quad \text{that} & \quad \text{wild banana} & \quad \text{this} & \quad \text{fall-SEQ} \\
\eta¹-ra² & \quad \text{say-SEQ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘My nest that wild banana this fall, say’

‘My nest in the wild banana fell (is being destroyed)’, having spoken.’

In (7), the possessor noun phrase ŋa¹ heʔ²ṭin² = Ø ‘my nest’ occurs without the possessive enclitic =re² in the subject argument, which is further modified by the demonstrative kakra² ‘that’. In contrast, a possessive construction in the object position is illustrated in (8).

(8) Folktales 02.12

\[
\begin{align*}
Ø & \quad boʔ³le² = Ø & \quad na³kt² = na² & \quad nup³-to² & \quad η¹ \\
\text{SUBJ} & \quad \text{elephant ear} & \quad \text{at} & \quad \text{enter-PAST:3S} & \quad \text{say} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘Elephant ear at entered say’

‘It entered into an elephant’s ear, it is said.’

Example (8) shows a possessive construction in the object argument boʔ³le² = Ø ‘elephant’s’, where the object argument boʔ³le² = Ø occurs without the possessive enclitic =re².

The possessor noun phrase can be marked with the possessive enclitic =re², as shown in (9).

(9) Elicited data 14

\[
\begin{align*}
mi²wa¹ = re² & \quad dʒum² \\
\text{man} & \quad \text{POSS} & \quad \text{house} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘Man’s house.’

‘The man’s house.’

In (9), the possessive enclitic, =re², marks the possessor noun phrase, mi²wa¹ ‘man’, which precedes the head noun dʒum² ‘house’. Meanwhile, unlike the pre-head
possessors, another prominent noun modifier that can occur before or after the head noun is the Rera demonstrative as discussed in (§2.2.1.1.2).

2.2.1.1.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in the Rera noun phrase can either precede, follow, or occur at both pre- and post-head positions of the noun phrase. There are, however, significant uses of the demonstratives, such as kəra², which is discussed in Chapter 4. A pre-head demonstrative is illustrated in (10).

(10)  Elicited data 05

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{kəra}² & \text{wa}¹ = \text{re}² & \text{pi}²-\text{vaŋ}²-\text{sa}² & \text{a}²-\text{han}² \\
\text{that} & \text{man = POSS} & \text{3s-cousin-CL} & \text{ATTR-beautiful}
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘That man’s him cousin beautiful’
‘That man’s cousin is beautiful.’

In (10), the use of kəra² indicates that wa²re² ‘man’ is in a distant location within sight. In addition, the third person singular pronoun pi² ‘3s’ marks the possessive vaŋ²sa² ‘cousin’.

In contrast, example (11) shows a post-head demonstrative in Rera.

(11)  Folktale 02.17

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{wit}³ & \text{waŋ²} & \text{ko²-ʁa}² & \text{kəra}² & \text{e} & \text{[ŋa}¹ \text{heʔ²fʔin}² \text{kəra}²] \\
\text{ask} & \text{go. up} & \text{after-SEQ} & \text{that} & \text{EXCL} & \text{1.POSS nest} & \text{that}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{nap}³\text{kum}² & \text{kəʃʃoŋ²} & \text{ka}¹ & \text{je³-to²} \\
\text{wild} & \text{banana} & \text{that} & \text{fall-PAST.3}
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘Ask go up after, that, eh! my nest that wild banana that fell’
‘After asking to go up, my nest in the wild banana (tree) fell.’

In (11), the demonstrative kəra² ‘that’ occurs after the head noun heʔ²fʔin² ‘nest’ with the meaning ‘that nest’ in the possessive noun phrase ŋa² heʔchin² ‘my nest’. In addition, the allomorph of the demonstrative kəra²~ kə¹ also occurs after the head noun nap³kum² kəʃʃoŋ² ‘wild banana’.

In addition, demonstratives can also occur in both the pre- and post-head positions at the same time. Consider example (12).
In (12), the distal demonstrative \( i^{2}n^{2} \) ‘that’ that precedes the head noun \( d^{2}g^{2}m^{2}z^{3}ok^{3} \) ‘houses’ is referring to it, while the demonstrative \( k^{2}ra^{2} \) ‘that’ follows the head noun. However, the difference between the pre- and post-head demonstrative positioning is, in fact, hard to describe and will require more research.

Rera has several demonstratives which indicate the location of the hearer in relation to the speaker, as listed in Table 6.

**Table 6 Demonstratives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Hearer position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( a^{1}r^{2}a^{2} ) ‘this’</td>
<td>Close to the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( i^{2}n^{2}a^{2} ) ‘that’</td>
<td>Yonder to the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( k^{2}ra^{2} ) ‘that’</td>
<td>Yonder to the speaker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 shows the three demonstratives used in Rera, along with their semantic domains. The first demonstrative, \( a^{1}r^{2}a^{2} \) ‘this’, is illustrated in (13).

(13) **Elicited data 49**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a}^{1}\text{r}^{2} & \text{a} \quad \text{d}^{2}\text{g}^{2}\text{m}^{2} \\
\text{this} & \text{house} \quad \text{ATTR-big}
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘This house big’

‘This house is big.’

In (13), the demonstrative modifier of \( d^{2}g^{2}m^{2} \) ‘house’ is the proximal demonstrative \( a^{1}r^{2}a^{2} \) ‘this’, which indicates that the house is close to the speaker. The distal demonstrative \( i^{2}n^{2}a^{2} \) ‘that’ is exemplified in (14).

(14) **Elicited data 50**

\[
\begin{align*}
[i^{2}n^{2} & \quad d^{2}g^{2}m^{2}-z^{3}k^{3} \\
\text{that} & \text{house-pl} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{ATTR-big}
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘That houses big’

‘Those houses are big.’
In (14), the demonstrative *i*\(^1\)\(\text{na}^2\) ‘that’ indicates relative distance, i.e. distal, between *dzum\(^2\)zok\(^3\) ‘house-PL’ and the speaker’s current location. In addition, the demonstrative *i*\(^1\)\(\text{na}^2\) ‘that’ refers to the head noun *dzum\(^2\)zok\(^3\) ‘houses-PL’, while the demonstrative *kəra\(^2\) ‘that’ puts more nominal elements to the head noun *dzum\(^2\)zok\(^3\) ‘houses-PL’ by modifying it. Furthermore, it is noticed that in most examples, the demonstrative *kəra\(^2\) tends to fill the post-head position to modify the head noun even if a specific adnominal demonstrative occurs in the pre-head position.

### 2.2.1.1.3 Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers can occur in both the pre- and post-head positions in a noun phrase. The numerals from ‘one’ to ‘ten’ are listed in Table 7.

**Table 7 Rera cardinal numerals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rera Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wa¹tfi¹</em></td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wa¹ni³</em></td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wa¹rum²</em></td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bə²li³</em></td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bə²ŋa³</em></td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a²rok³</em></td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mi²ʃi³</em></td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a²ʃɔt³</em></td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a²ku¹</em></td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ro²ha²tfi¹</em></td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (15) shows a cardinal numeral preceding the head.

(15) **Elicited data 34**

```
wa¹rum²  fo¹mən²  mi²-fə²-kug³
three    good    person-child-PL
```

Lit. ‘Three good younger persons (children).’

‘The three good children.’

Example (15) shows the cardinal numeral *wa¹rum² ‘three’ preceding the head noun *mi²-fə²-kug³ ‘younger persons’ and the attributive *fo¹mən² ‘good’.

Numerals can also occur post-head in a noun phrase, as in (16).
In (16), the head noun dʒum² ‘house’ is followed by the post-head numeral wa’rum² ‘three’.

Another example of a post-head numeral is shown in (17).

(17) Folktale 02.33

man²pan³ kaʔ³ wa’tʃi¹
story that one

Lit. ‘story that one’
‘One story is done.’

In (17), the numeral wa’tʃi¹ ‘one’ occurs after the head noun man²pan³ ‘story’ in a verbless copula clause construction. Furthermore, the numeral is preceded by the demonstrative kəra² ~ kaʔ³ ‘that’ in the noun phrase.

Like numerals, quantifiers can also occupy the pre- or post-head position in a noun phrase. Example (18) shows a pre-head quantifier.

(18) Elicited data 31

a²ʃak³maŋ² dʒum²-zok³
many house-PL

Lit. ‘Many houses.’
‘Many houses’

In (18), the quantifier a²ʃak³maŋ² ‘many’ precedes the head noun dʒum²-zok³ ‘houses’, while example (19) shows a quantifier that follows the head noun.

(19) Elicited data 32

dʒum²-zok³ e²kom²ba³
house-PL few

Lit. ‘Few houses’
‘Few houses.’
In (19), the quantifier ɛ²kɔmba³ ‘few’ follows the head noun dʒum²zok³ ‘houses’. Likewise in (20), the quantifier a²ʃak³maŋ² ‘many’ follows the head noun.

(20) Elicited data 33

kəra² dʒum²-zok³ a²ʃak³maŋ²
that house-pl. many

Lit. ‘This many houses’
‘These many houses.’

Example (20) shows that the quantifier a²ʃak³maŋ² ‘many’ occurs following the head noun dʒum²zok³ ‘houses’, which is modified by the pre-head demonstrative kəra² ‘that’. The last modifier within the noun phrase to be considered is adjectives.

2.2.1.1.4 Adjectives

As with other noun head modifiers, adjectives can either precede or follow the noun head. Pre-head adjectives are illustrated in (21).

(21) Elicited data 11

wa¹rum² a¹-dʒɔŋ² a¹-fe¹kɔm² dʒum² kəra²
three ATTR-big ATTR-red house TOP

Lit. ‘Three big red houses.’
‘These big red houses.’

In (21), the numeral wa¹rum² ‘three’ and the adjectives a¹dʒɔŋ² ‘big’ and a¹fe¹kɔm² ‘red’ occur before the head noun dʒum² ‘house’.

Example (22) shows a series of adjectives in the pre-head position.

(22) Elicited data 10

a¹-dʒɔŋ² bo¹tɔ²to² a¹-dʒɔm² a¹-kam²kam² kek wa¹rum²
ATTR-big fat ATTR-sweet ATTR-hot cake three

Lit. ‘big fat sweet hot cake three’
‘The three big fat hot sweet cakes.’

In (22), the adjectives a¹dʒɔŋ² ‘big’, bo¹tɔ²to² ‘fat’, a¹dʒɔm² ‘sweet’, and a¹kam²kam² ‘hot’ occur before the head noun kek ‘cake’. In addition, the attributive bo¹tɔ²to² ‘fat’ does not occur with the attributive prefix a¹-, which is addressed for further research.
Adjectives can also follow a head noun, as in (23).

(23) Elicited data 51

\[ i^2p_i^3 = re^2 \quad d\text{jum}^2 \quad a^2-d\text{ʒɔŋ}^2 \]
\[ 3s = \text{poss} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{ATTR-big} \]

Lit. ‘His house big’
‘His big house.’

In (23), the adjective \( a^2-d\text{ʒɔŋ}^2 \) ‘big’ follows the head noun \( d\text{jum}^2 \) ‘house’.
Furthermore, sometimes this kind of construction can also form as a non-verbal copula clause construction if the intonation of the sentence is changed, which can produce a sentence like ‘his house is big’. Noun phrase coordination is discussed in (§2.2.1.1.5).

2.2.1.1.5 Noun phrase coordination

This section presents simple noun phrase coordination in Rera. The coordinate noun phrase combines two or more nouns or noun phrases into a larger unit having “the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements” (Haspelmath, 2005, p. 1).
In Rera, noun phrase coordination can be achieved with the coordinating conjunction, as in (24).

(24) Conjunctive coordinate noun phrase

Noun phrase, \( i^1\text{na}^2 \) Noun phrase

In (24), the conjunctive coordinate noun phrase contains two juxtaposed noun phrases combined by the conjunctive coordinative \( i^1\text{na}^2 \) ‘and’. In addition, the conjunctive coordinative has the same form as one of the demonstratives showing distal references. However, this issue needs to be addressed for further investigation. See example (25).

(25) Elicited data 46

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[mi}^2\text{wa}^1\text{sa}^2 & \quad i^1\text{na}^2 & \quad ji^1\text{tʃi}^1\text{ku}^1\text{nu}^2\text{sa}^2 \text{ kora}^2]_{\text{NP}} & \quad \text{du}^i \\
\text{man.person.child} & \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{woman.child} & \quad \text{this} & \quad \text{rice} \\
\text{sa}^1\text{-sa}^2\text{-lo}^3 & \quad \text{si}^1\text{ni}^2 & \quad \text{kon}^2\text{ti}^2\text{-daŋ}^1\text{-niŋ}^2 & \quad \text{friends}\text{-CL.group-with} \\
\text{eat-CONT-NPAST} & \quad \ldots & \quad \text{…} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘This boy and girl eating rice with group of friends.’
‘This boy and the girl are eating rice with their friends.’
In (25), the two nominals $mi^2wa^1sa^2$ ‘boy’ and $ji^1ti^1ku^2nu^2sa^2$ ‘girl’ are coordinated by the conjunctive conjunction $i^1na^2$ ‘and’. In addition, the coordinated NP is modified by the demonstrative $kara^2$ ‘this’. The coordinate noun phrase fills the subject position of the clause.

The disjunctive coordinate noun phrase is diagrammed in (26).

(26)  **Disjunctive coordinate noun phrase**

Noun phrase,$fi^2na^3$ Noun phrase$_2$

In (26), two juxtaposed noun phrases are disjuncted by the disjunctive coordinate $fi^2na^3$. Consider example (27).

(27)  **Elicited data 92**

$mi^2mi^2$ $fi^2na^3$ $ge^2he^2$ $yo^2$
cat or dog QP

Lit. ‘Cat or dog, is it’
‘Is it a cat or a dog?’

Example (27) shows the disjunctive coordinated noun phrases $mi^2mi^2$ ‘cat’ and $ge^2he^2$ ‘dog’, which are combined by the disjunctive coordinator $fi^2na^3$ ‘or’. Finally, (§2.2.1.1.6) summarizes the Rera noun phrase structure.

**2.2.1.1.6 Summary of Rera noun phrase structure**

The internal constituents of a simple noun phrase include possessors, demonstratives, numerals, and adjectives. Possessors occupy the pre-head slot in a noun phrase and can be marked by a possessive enclitic $=re^2$. In contrast, demonstratives can occur in pre-, post- and both pre- and post-head slots. Finally, numerals, quantifiers, and adjectives can occur both pre- and post-head in a noun phrase. In addition, the noun head is always obligatory, while the modifiers are optional. The following section (§2.2.2) describes the pronouns and determiners of Rera.

**2.2.2 Rera pronouns and determiners**

Pronouns in Rera can be divided into personal (§2.2.2.1), demonstrative (§2.2.2.2), possessive determiner (§2.2.2.3), reflexive and reciprocal (§2.2.2.4), and interrogative (§2.2.2.5), each of which is discussed in turn.
2.2.2.1 Personal pronoun inventory

In Rera, the personal pronouns have singular, dual, and plural number, as well as three persons. One notable feature of the Rera pronoun system is that it “allows limited neutralization of person or of number” (Dixon, 2010, p. 199). In a singular/plural paradigm, there is no distinction between plural for second- and third-persons.

The personal pronoun system of Rera is presented in Table 8.

Table 8 Personal pronoun system of Rera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>ηa₁</td>
<td>ni²ni²</td>
<td>naŋ²rum³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>mo²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>i'pi²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 shows the Rera personal pronoun inventory. Personal pronouns have singular, dual, and plural forms; however, only the first-person pronoun has a dual form. In addition, the first-person plural pronouns have both inclusive and exclusive forms. Furthermore, the personal pronoun inventory shows the lack of person differences for plural forms for second- and third-person.

An example of a first person singular pronoun is shown in (28).

(28) **Folktale 01.01**

    ηa₁  a'ya²  man²pan³  ku²³lan²
    1s    here    story    tell-NPAST:1s

Lit. ‘I here story tell’

‘I am telling a story.’

In (28), the first person singular pronoun ηa₁ ‘1s’ occurs as a subject argument followed by the demonstrative pronoun a'ya² ‘here’. This simple sentence contains the object argument man²pan³ ‘story’ followed by the predicate ku²³lan² ‘tell’.

Example (29) shows the first and second person singular pronouns in Rera.
(29) **Elicited data 53**

\[ \eta a^1 \quad mo^2 \quad ma^2-bu^2-laŋ^2 \]
\[ 1S \quad 2S \quad \text{IRR-hit-NPAST.1S} \]

Lit. ‘I you will hit’
‘I hit you.’

In (29), the first-person singular pronoun \( \eta a^1 \) ‘1S’ occurs in the subject position, while the second-person singular pronoun \( mo^2 \) ‘2S’ occurs in the object position.

Example (30) illustrates the third-person singular pronoun.

(30) **Elicited data 54**

\[ i^2pι^3 \quad jup^3 \]
\[ 3S \quad \text{sleep} \]

Lit. ‘He sleep’
‘He sleeps.’

Example (30) shows the third-person singular pronoun \( i^2pι^3 \) ‘3s’ as the intransitive subject.

An example showing the first-person plural pronoun is presented in (31).

(31) **Elicited data 55**

\[ naŋ^2rum^3 \quad ge^2he^2 \quad kə \quad ma^2-bu^2-i^2 \]
\[ 1P \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{IRR-hit-1P} \]

Lit. ‘We dog that will hit’
‘We will hit the dog.’

In (31), the first-person inclusive plural pronoun, \( naŋ^2rum^3 \), occurs in the transitive subject position. In addition, the verb \( ma^2-bu^2-i^2 \) ‘IRR-hit-1P’ in the predicate position occurs by following the direct object argument \( ge^2he^2 \ kə \) ‘that dog’.

An example of a second-person plural pronoun is shown in (32).

(32) **Elicited data 56**

\[ fa’rum^2-ra^2 \quad ge^2he^2 \quad kə \quad bu^2-lo^2 \]
\[ 2P-\text{ERG} \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{hit-NPAST:3S} \]

Lit. ‘You, dog that hit’
‘You (plural) hit the dog.’
Example (32) shows the second-person plural pronoun, \( fa'rum^2 \), occurring in a transitive construction as the subject argument, which takes the ergative case marking.

A third-person plural reference is illustrated showing that the second- and third-person plural forms are the same in Rera, as in (33).

(33) **Elicited data 57**

\[
\begin{align*}
fa'rum^2 & \quad jup^3-to^2 \\
3P & \quad sleep-PAST.3
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘They slept’

‘They slept.’

In (33), the third-person plural pronoun, \( fa'rum^2 \), occurs as the subject argument of the intransitive construction. In addition, even though the second- and the third-person plural forms are same in Rera, the verb agreement disambiguates the uses of the pronouns, as in (33), the agreement marker -to\(^2\) refers to the third-person plural pronoun \( fa'rum^2 \).

Meanwhile, an example of the second- and third-person plural pronouns is shown in (34).

(34) **Folktale 01.10**

\[
\begin{align*}
i^1-kora^2 & \quad ning^2kan^2 & \quad na^2 & \quad ni'rum^2-ra^3 & \quad kora^2 & \quad fa'rum^3 \\
NMLZ\text{-that} & \quad cause & \quad at & \quad 1P-\text{ERG} & \quad that & \quad 3P
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kora^2 & \quad mi^2 & \quad fa^1 & \quad rum^3 & \quad ka^1-to^2 & \quad kora^2 \\
that & \quad person & \quad hundred & \quad three & \quad go-PAST.3 & \quad that
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
be^2yag^2 & \quad wan^2-o^2-to^2 \\
all & \quad cut-\text{COMP-PAST.3P}
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘That why at (this is why), we that them that person three hundred went (came), that all cut (killed)’

‘That is why, we killed all the three hundred of them who came.’

In (34), the first-person plural pronoun \( ni'rum^2-ra^3 \) ‘1P-\text{ERG}’ and the third-person plural pronoun \( fa'rum^3 \) ‘3P’ occur in the main clause \( ni'rum^2-ra^3 \) \( kora^2 \) \( fa'rum^3 \) \( kora^2 \) \( mi^2 \) \( fa^1 \) \( rum^3 \) \( ka^1-to^2 \) \( kora^2 \) preceded by the pre-clause \( i^1-kora^2 \) \( ning^2kan^2 \) \( na^2 \) ‘that is why’. In addition, both the first- and the third-person plural pronouns are modified by the demonstrative \( kora^2 \) ‘that’.
The first-person dual pronoun is illustrated in (35).

(35) **Elicited data 58**

\[ ni^2ni^2-ra^2 \quad i^2pi^3 \quad bu^2-to^2 \]

1. DUAL-ERG 3S hit-PAST.3P

Lit. ‘We two, him hit’
‘We two hit him.’

In (35), the first-person dual pronoun, \( ni^2ni^2 \), followed by the ergative case marker -\( ra^2 \) ‘ERG’, occurs as the subject argument in a transitive construction. Furthermore, this example raises ambiguity as to the use of verb agreement, as the predicate takes the third-person agreement marker -\( to^2 \) ‘3P’ instead of a first-person marker.

The Rera pronouns inflect for case marking, in an ergative-absolutive alignment. In this system, the subject of an intransitive clause and the direct object in a transitive clause are marked the same, whereas the subject of a transitive clause is marked differently. However, the ergative-absolutive marking raises some irregularities as the (S) arguments are not always marked as absolutive and all the (A) arguments are not always marked ergative. Furthermore, the third-person subject (S) arguments can be marked with the ergative -\( ra^2 \). Morey (2012, p. 1), in his discussion of the Singpho subject marker, uses the term ‘agentive’ as “it has fewer implications of being paradigmatic than ergative.” He further states that the agentive (or ergative) marking in Tibeto-Burman languages is “not obligatory and is used for functions such as emphasis of agentivity and marked constituent order” (Morey, 2012, p. 1). Following this argumentation for complexities and optionality of the ergative case system, this thesis work provides a basic analysis of the case marking in Rera. However, further research is needed in order to deal with the Rera case marking patterns.

The Rera case system is diagrammed in (36), followed by relevant examples.

(36) **Rera ergative-absolutive case marking system**

```
Intransitive  →  S

Transitive  →  A  P
```
Diagram (36) shows the ergative case marking pattern in Rera, where the intransitive subject and the transitive object are marked for absolutive case and the (A) arguments of a transitive clause is marked with ergative case.

An example of an ergative argument and a zero-marked absolutive is shown in (37).

(37) Elicited data 17

\[
i^{2}p^{3}ra^{2} \quad \eta a^{1}\emptyset \quad bu^{2}ta^{2}
\]

3s-ERG 1s-\emptyset hit-1s:PAST

Lit. ‘He hit me.’
‘He hit me.’

In (37), the transitive subject \(i^{2}p^{3}‘3s‘\) is marked by the ergative suffix \(-ra^{2}\) and the transitive object \(\eta a^{1}‘1s‘\) is marked by zero.

In contrast to a transitive predicate, example (38) shows a zero-marked absolutive subject with an intransitive predicate.

(38) Elicited data 02

\[
\eta a^{1}\emptyset \quad ka^{1}ta^{2}
\]

1s-\emptyset go-1s:PAST

Lit. ‘I went.’
‘I went’

In (38), the intransitive subject \(\eta a^{1}‘1s‘\) is zero-marked with an intransitive predicate.

As already mentioned in the beginning, this is not the whole story of case marking in Rera. The case system has irregularities. The intransitive (S) arguments can also be marked by the ergative case suffix \(-ra^{2}\) in both third-person singular and plural forms. Consider example (39).

(39) Elicited data 65

\[
i^{2}p^{3}ra^{2} \quad jup^{3}
\]

3s-ERG sleep

Lit. ‘He sleep’
‘He sleeps.’

In (39), the (S) argument \(i^{2}p^{3}ra^{2}‘3s-ERG‘\) inflects for the ergative case suffix \(-ra^{2}\) preceding the intransitive predicate \(jup^{3}‘sleep‘\). This phenomenon is, however, not
very regular, as speakers often eliminate the ergative suffix in the third person of an intransitive predicate. Therefore, case marking requires further research.

In addition, Rera noun phrases also inflect for case marking, as in (40).

(40) **Folktale 02.19**

\[ \eta^{1} \beta^{k^{3}j^{1}} -ra^{2}\]

1s wild.pig-ERG push-BE say-SEQ

Lit. ‘Me, wild pig push be saying.’

‘The wild pig pushed me, it is said.’

Example (40) shows that the noun phrase \( \beta^{k^{3}j^{1}} \) ‘wild pig’ takes ergative marking which is marked by the ergative suffix \(-ra^{2}\). This example shows the ambiguity of the case system as the third-person (O) argument is marked by \(-ra^{2}\) instead of zero-marked to indicate an ergative-absolutive system.

The instances of occurrence of the case suffix \(-ra^{2}\) are summarized in Table 9 and Table 10.

**Table 9 Case marking in intransitive clauses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 10 Case marking in transitive clauses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-ra²</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct object</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 and Table 10 show that the (S) and (O) arguments are marked with a zero absolutive suffix. The (A) argument is marked with the suffix \(-ra^{2}\), which indicates ergative case. However, the (A) arguments for first- and second-person singular are not marked. This shows some optionality and complexity of understanding the case
system in Rera, which needs further investigation. Meanwhile, demonstrative pronouns are discussed in the following section (§2.2.2.2).

**2.2.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns**

Demonstrative pronouns substitute for a noun phrase and, hence, they can “make up a complete NP” (Dixon, 2003, p. 63). Demonstrative pronouns have the same form as the Rera proximal and distal demonstratives. They are listed in Table 11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11 Rera demonstrative pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a²ra¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i¹ra²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 shows the Rera demonstrative pronouns, which can be categorized by their deictic references, such as proximal and distal.

The behavior of the proximal demonstrative pronoun is illustrated in (41).

(41) **Elicited data 23**

\[
\begin{align*}
  & a^{2}ra^{1} \quad \eta a^{1} \quad a^{1}pu^{2} \\
  \text{this} & \quad 1.\text{POSS} \quad \text{elder brother} \\
  \text{Lit.} & \quad \text{‘This my elder brother.’} \\
  & \quad \text{‘This is my elder brother.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Example (41) shows the referent of the proximal demonstrative \( a^{2}ra^{1} \) ‘this’ is closer to the deictic center in a verbless copula identity construction. The verbless copula construction contains the verbless copula subject \( a^{1}ra^{2} \) ‘this’ along with the verbless copula complement \( \eta a^{1} a^{1}pu^{2} \) ‘my brother’.

The distal demonstrative \( i^{1}ra^{2} \) ‘that’ indicates relative distance between the referent and the deictic center, as in (42).

(42) **Elicited data 22**

\[
\begin{align*}
  & i^{1}ra^{2} \quad \eta a^{1} \quad a^{1}pu^{2} \\
  \text{that} & \quad 1s \quad \text{elder brother} \\
  \text{Lit.} & \quad \text{‘That (out of sight) my elder brother.’} \\
  & \quad \text{‘That is my elder brother.’}
\end{align*}
\]
In (42), the demonstrative $i'ra^2$ ‘that’ indicates that $a'pu^2$ ‘elder brother’ is out of sight from the speaker’s position. The demonstrative pronoun fills the verbless copula subject argument in the verbless copula construction, along with the verbless copula complement $\eta a^1 a'pu^2$ ‘my elder brother’.

To summarize, this section shows the two demonstrative pronouns in Rera. However, the demonstrative $kəra^2$ can also function as a demonstrative pronoun, as discussed in Chapter 4. Meanwhile, the possessive determiners are discussed in (§2.2.2.3).

### 2.2.2.3 Possessive determiners

The possessive determiners in Rera have the same form as the singular and plural personal pronouns. They can also be marked by an optional enclitic $=re^2$. The possessive determiners are listed in Table 12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>$\eta a^1 (=re^2)$</td>
<td>$ni^2run^3 (=re^2)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>$mo^2 (=re^2)$</td>
<td>$mo^2 (=re^2)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>$i^3pi^3 (=re^2)$</td>
<td>$fə^1run^3 (=re^2)$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12 shows the possessive pronouns in both singular and plural forms. There is no evidence of dual possessive determiners in Rera. For the second person possessive pronouns, the forms are the same in both singular and plural.

A first-person singular possessive determiner is illustrated in (43).

(43) **Elicited data 37**

$$kəra^2 [\eta a^1 = re^2 \; jak^3fi^1-ka^3]_{\text{SUBJ}} \; a^2-dʒɔŋ^2$$

that 1s = poss hand-finger-CL ATTR-big

Lit. ‘That my finger big’
‘My finger is big.’

In (43) the possessive determiner, $\eta a^1 = re^2$, precedes the head noun $jak^3fi^1ka^3$ ‘hand-finger-CL’, which together occupy the subject position in an attributive clause.
The first-person possessive determiner can also occur without the enclitic =rɛ². Consider example (44).

(44) **Elicited data 48**

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\eta a^1 = \emptyset & j a k^3 & j i^1 & kəra^2 & a^2-dʒɔŋ^2 \\
1S.\text{POSS} & \text{hand} & \text{finger} & \text{that} & \text{ATTR-big}
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘My, finger of hand this big’
‘My finger is big.’

In (44), the possessor is encoded by \(\eta a^1 1\text{POSS}\), which occurs without the possessive enclitic =rɛ². It modifies the noun head \(j a k^3 j i^1\) ‘finger’, which occurs in a verbless copula clause with an attributive predicate \(a^2-dʒɔŋ^2 \text{ATTR-big}\). In addition, the omission of the possessive enclitic in this case does not affect the meaning of possession.

Another example of a possessive determiner without the possessive enclitic =rɛ² occurring in a verbless copula complement is exemplified in (45).

(45) **Elicited data 73**

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
i^1r a^2 & \eta a^1 = \emptyset & a^1p u^2 \\
\text{that} & 1\text{POSS} & \text{elder brother}
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘That my elder brother.’
‘That is my elder brother.’

In (45), the possessive determiner \(\eta a^1 1\text{S}\) occurs without the possessive enclitic in a copula object position in the verbless copula clause.

A second-person possessive determiner is illustrated in (46).

(46) **Elicited data 74**

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
mo^2 = rc^2 & i^2p o^2 & kəra^2 & a^2-hap^3 \\
2S.\text{POSS} & \text{mother} & \text{that} & \text{ATTR-beautiful}
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘Your mother that beautiful’
‘Your mother is beautiful.’

In (46), the possessive determiner \(mo^2 = rc^2 2\text{S.POSS}\) indicates the hearer’s position as the possessor of the noun head referent, \(i^2p o^2\) ‘mother’.

A third-person possessive determiner is illustrated in (47).
Example (47) illustrates the third-person possessive determiner $i^2pi^3 = re^2$, which precedes the possessee head $po^2$ ‘mother’. In both the examples (46) and (47), the use of $kara^2$ is optional after the nominal object $i^2po^2$ ‘mother’. The following section (§2.2.2.4) demonstrates the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns in Rera.

### 2.2.2.4 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

In Rera, reflexive pronouns are formed by adding a reflexive suffix $=ba^1$ ‘self’ to the personal pronouns, which “share the property of referring to activities where the participants are not all distinct from one another” (Dixon, 2012, p. 138). The reflexive suffix is an enclitic, which attaches to a personal pronoun (PERSN PRON) as diagrammed in (48). In addition, the predicate is marked by the reflexive formative prefix $ra^2$ ‘AUTO’.

#### (48) Reflexive pronoun

\[ [\text{Personal pronoun} + =ba^1]_{\text{REFLX}} \]

In (48), the internal structure of the reflexive pronoun is illustrated, which includes a personal pronoun along with reflexive enclitic $= ba^1$. Consider example (49).

#### (49) Elicited data 6

\[ i^2pi^3-ra^2 = ba^1 \quad ra^2-lan^2-pak^3-to^2 \]

\[ 3s-\text{ERG-REFLX} \quad \text{AUTO:self-kill-PERF-PAST:3} \]

Lit. ‘He killed himself.’

‘He killed himself.’

In (49), the third person pronoun takes the reflexive $= ba^1$ following the ergative marker $-ra^2$. In addition, the predicate always contains a prefix $ra^2$ ‘AUTO’.

The reflexive pronouns are summarized in Table 13.
Table 13 Reflexive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>ŋa¹-ra²=ba¹</td>
<td>ni²rum³-ra²=ba¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>mo²-ra²=ba¹</td>
<td>fa¹rum³-ra²=ba¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>i²pi³-ra²=ba¹</td>
<td>fa¹rum³-ra²=ba¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A reciprocal pronoun is formed with the noun *mi’ma²* ‘person’ as in (50).

(50) **Reciprocal pronoun**

Personal pronoun + *mi’ma²* + = *ba¹*

As shown in (50), a reflexive pronoun consists of a personal pronoun followed by the noun *mi’ma²* ‘person’, along with the reflexive enclitic = *ba¹*. See example (51).

(51) **Elicited data 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ni²ni²-mi’máma²=ba¹</th>
<th>ra²-lan²-pak³-ti²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.DUAL-person = REFLEX</td>
<td>AUTO:self-kill-PERF-PAST:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lit. ‘We bit each other.’

‘We bit ourselves.’

In (51), the second-person dual pronoun *ni²ni² ‘2.DUAL’* is followed by the noun *mi’ma² ‘person’*, along with the reflexive marker = *ba¹*. In addition, the noun *mi’ma²* contains a sense of possessiveness in it as the first morpheme *mi¹* is the word for person, while *ma²* together with the noun contains a possessive meaning.\(^8\)

Furthermore, the predicate includes the reflexive formative prefix *ra²- ‘AUTO’* on the verb roots. The interrogative pronouns, among the last pronoun types, are described in the following section (§2.2.2.5).

---

\(^8\) In some Tangsa varieties the first morpheme in *mi’ma² ‘person’* i.e. *mi¹* has a glottal ending *miʔ* (Morey, p.c).
2.2.2.5 Interrogative pronouns

There are two general bound interrogative morphemes ‘gu¹taŋ² and me³ke²’ which combine with other morphemes to form interrogative pronouns. They occur with additional elements where “the additional element is still recognizable” (Konnerth 2014, p. 174). These additional elements often include the possessive enclitic =rɛ², the ergative suffix -ra², or an independent word, such as yo¹ ‘QP’.

The use of the interrogative pronoun me³ke² ‘what’ is exemplified in (52).

(52)  Elicited data 18

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
mo¹ & min³ & me³ke² \\
2.poss & name & what
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘Your name what?’
‘What is your name?’

In (52), the interrogative pronoun me³ke² ‘what’ fills the copula complement position of a verbless copula construction.

An example of the interrogative pronoun, gu¹taŋ² ‘who’, is shown in (53).

(53)  Elicited data 59

\[
\begin{array}{c}
mo² & gu¹taŋ² \\
2s & who
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘you who’
‘Who are you?’

Example (53) demonstrates the interrogative pronoun gu¹taŋ² ‘who’, which occurs as the complement in a verbless construction. Furthermore, in examples (52) and (53), the interrogative pronoun me³ke² ‘what’ and gu¹taŋ² ‘who’ occur in situ, while in (54) the interrogative pronoun me³ke² ‘what’ occurs in the subject position.
(54) **Folktales 01.07**

\[ \text{i} \text{k} \text{ara}^2 \text{ma}^2 \quad \text{me}^2 \text{ke}^2 \quad \text{ma}^2 \text{-r} \text{a}^2 \text{ni}^2 \quad \text{mu}^2 \text{j} \text{ka}^2 \text{j} \quad \text{ga}^3 \quad \text{ya}^2 \]

after that \quad what \quad \text{IRR-BE} \quad \text{world} \quad \text{village at}

\[ \text{ya}^3 \text{m} \text{lo}^2 \text{h} \text{a}^2 \text{-to}^2 \quad \text{k} \text{a}^2 \text{ma}^2 \quad \text{k} \text{a}^2 \text{r}^2 \quad \text{ka}^2 \text{tu}^2 \]

how long \quad stay-PAST:3P \quad \text{after that} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{Kachu}

\[ \text{ga}^3 \quad \text{k} \text{a}^2 \text{ma}^2 \text{k} \text{a}^2 \text{r}^2 \quad \text{m} \text{i}^2 \quad \text{d} \text{zum}^2 \quad \text{k} \text{a}^2 \text{r}^2 \quad \text{fa}^3 \]

village that \quad person that \quad house that \quad hundred

\[ \text{rum}^2 \quad \text{r}^3 \text{-wan}^2 \text{-to}^2 \]

three \quad \text{BE-COS-PAST:3P}

Lit. ‘After that what will world village, how long stayed after that, that Kachu village that person three hundred existed’

‘And after that, what it will be, how long they lived in this world, there were three hundred households of people staying at Kachu.’

In (54), the interrogative pronoun \text{me}^2 \text{ke}^2 ‘what’ occurs in the subject position by preceding the verbal predicate \text{ma}^2 \text{-r} \text{a}^2 \text{ni}^2 ‘IRR-BE’. The whole clause, \text{me}^2 \text{ke}^2 \text{ma}^2, \text{r} \text{a}^2 \text{ni}^2 ‘what will be’, follows the verbless pre-clausal time adverbial \text{i} \text{k} \text{ara}^2 \text{ma}^2 ‘after that’. Furthermore, the whole complex sentence contains another interrogative pronoun \text{ya}^3 \text{m} \text{lo}^2 ‘how long’ in the second clausal expression of the sentence, which fills the object argument in the clause by preceding the existential predicate \text{ha}^2 \text{-to}^2 ‘stay-PAST:3P’. The occurrences of the interrogative pronouns in various positions, such as in a subject or object position, are hard to explain. However, a possible analysis for this phenomenon could be addressed using pragmatic factors, such as the degree of importance of the argument in speech.

The interrogative pronoun \text{me}^2 \text{ke}^2 \text{ne}^2 ‘which’ is exemplified in (55).

(55) **Elicited data 60**

\[ \text{me}^2 \text{ke}^2 \text{ne}^2 = \text{re}^2 \quad \text{k} \text{a}^2 \text{r}^2 \quad \text{a}^2 \text{-han}^2 \]

which \quad this \quad ATTR-good

Lit. ‘Which this good’

‘Which one is good?’

In (55), the verbless copula subject position is filled by the interrogative pronoun \text{me}^2 \text{ke}^2 \text{ne}^2 ‘which’. Together with the demonstrative, \text{k} \text{a}^2 \text{r}^2, it has the meaning ‘which one’.
Example (56) shows the interrogative pronoun $me^2ke^2 \eta o^1ta^2$ ‘why’.

(56) Elicited data 61

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mo}^2 & \quad me^2ke^2 & \quad \eta o^1ta^2 & \quad ka^1-o^2 \\
2s & \quad \text{what} & \quad \text{say-PAST:2s} & \quad \text{go-COMP}
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘You what said go’

‘Why do you want to go?’

In (56), the interrogative pronoun $me^2ke^2$ ‘what’, along with the verb $\eta o^1ta^2$ ‘say-SEQ’, denotes an interrogative pronoun phrasal expression ‘why’. In addition, the interrogative pronoun expression $me^2ke^2 \eta o^1ta^2$ occupies the intransitive interrogative subject preceding the predicate $ka^1-o^2$ ‘go-COMP’ of the clause. The interrogative pronoun denoting the semantic category of reason ‘why’ with the ergative suffix is illustrated in (57).

(57) Folktale 02.23

\[
\begin{align*}
pe^1ka^1-tu^2 & \quad mo^1 & \quad me^2ke^2 \eta o^1-ra^2 & \quad \text{dat}^3-tu^2 & \quad wa^2 \\
\text{fruit-CL} & \quad 2s & \quad \text{what} & \quad \text{say-ERG} & \quad \text{fall-PAST:2s} & \quad \text{RL}
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘Fruit, you what say fell that’

‘Ah, peka fruit, why did you fall?’

In (57), the interrogative phrasal expression $me^2ke^2 \eta o^1-ra^2$ ‘why’, which takes the ergative suffix -ra^2, precedes the intransitive predicative $\text{dat}^3-tu^2$ ‘fall-PAST:2s’. In addition, the whole interrogative clause $mo^1 me^2ke^2 \eta o^1-ra^2 dat^3-tu^2$ ‘why did you fall’ follows the vocative $pe^1ka^1-tu^2$ ‘fruit-CL’.

The manner interrogative pronoun, $me^2ke^2 raji^2an^2$ ‘how’, is illustrated in (58).

(58) Elicited data 62

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mo}^2 & \quad me^2ke^2 & \quad raji^2an^2 \\
2s & \quad \text{what} & \quad \text{sky}
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘You what sky’

‘How are you?’

In (58), the interrogative pronoun expression $me^2ke^2 raji^2an^2$ ‘how’ forms as a compound word with the roots $me^2ke^2$ ‘what’ and $raji^2an^2$ ‘sky’. The use of $raji^2$ ‘sky’ may be explained by the question’s reference to a certain period of time. The reason for this is that the word $raji^2$ is always associated with calendrical objects, such as
day and month names, where it refers to the counting of time in reference to the atmosphere of the sky.

Finally, the interrogative pronoun of amount is illustrated in (59).

(59) **Elicited data 63**

\[ \text{kora}^2 \text{ dʒiam}^2 = \text{re}^2 \ \eta^0 \]

that how much say

Lit. ‘This how much say’

‘How much is that?’

In (59), the interrogative pronoun \text{dʒiam}^2\text{re}^2 ‘how much’ occurs as part of an expression with \eta^0 ‘say’. Together they fill the verbless complement position in a verbless clause construction.

Table 14 summarizes the interrogative pronoun forms in the data.

**Table 14 Interrogative pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic fields</th>
<th>Pro-forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>\text{gu}^1\text{taŋ}^2</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>\text{gu}^1\text{taŋ}^2\text{re}^2</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\text{me}^2\text{ke}^2\text{ne}^2\text{re}^2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>\text{me}^2\text{ke}^2</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason</td>
<td>\text{me}^2\text{ke}^2\ \eta^0\text{ta}^2</td>
<td>why (is that so)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\text{me}^2\text{ke}^2\ \eta^0\text{ra}^2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\text{me}^2\text{ke}^2\ \eta^0\text{ta}^2\ \text{naŋ}^2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>\text{me}^2\text{ke}^2\text{raŋ}^2\text{an}^2</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\text{yam}^2\text{lo}^2</td>
<td>how long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>\text{dʒiam}^2\text{re}^2</td>
<td>how much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\text{dʒiam}^2\text{rem}^2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, (§2.2.2.6) summarizes the Rera pronoun system.
2.2.2.6 Summary

To summarize, Rera has a personal pronoun inventory that includes singular, dual and plural pronouns. Possessive determiners are formed by a combination of a personal pronoun and the possessive enclitic =re². Demonstrative pronouns exhibit proximal and distal references in the same form as adnominal demonstratives. Reflexive pronouns consist of a personal pronoun form with the reflexive suffix =ba¹, while reciprocal pronouns are comprised of a personal pronoun with a person-marking word mi¹ma² along with the reflexive enclitic =ba¹. Finally, the interrogative pronouns use the two general morphemes me²ke² and gu¹tay², which can take additional elements, such as the verb ŋo¹ ‘say’, to denote a full semantic meaning. Postpositional phrases, the last type of argument construction, are discussed next.

2.2.3 Postpositional phrases

As in other SOV languages, Rera exhibits postpositional phrases. These consist of the object of the postposition, along with a postpositional enclitic. The object of the postposition is either a noun phrase or a pronoun.

(60)   Rera postpositional phrase

Object of the postposition + Postposition

For (60), the postpositional phrase includes the object of the postposition followed by the postposition. The Rera postpositions in the corpus are shown in Table 15.

Table 15 Rera postpositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic meaning</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accompaniment</td>
<td>=ni²</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referential</td>
<td>ma²~ = ma³</td>
<td>‘from/to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>=na²</td>
<td>‘at’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is shown in Table 15, there are three postpositions in Rera. An example of a postposition denoting accompaniment in the corpus includes =ni² ‘with’ as exemplified in (61).
Elicited data

ŋa¹ mo² = ni² fkul ka¹-taj²
1s 2s = with school go-PAST:1s

Lit. ‘I you with school went’
‘I went to school with you.’

In (61), the postposition = ni² ‘with’ occurs as the head of the postpositional phrase and mo² ‘2s’ occurs as the object of the postposition.

An example of the postposition maʔ³ ‘from/to’ is illustrated in (62).

Elicited data 21

ŋa¹ je¹tʃi¹ ku²nu³-sa² maʔ³ lik³dap³ maʔ³-kuʔ³-l-taj²
1s girl-Cl from book IRR-give-NPAST:1s

Lit. ‘I girl from book will give’
‘I gave the book to the girl.’

In (62), the postposition maʔ³ occurs as the head of the postpositional phrase je¹tʃi¹ ku²nu³-sa² maʔ³ ‘to the girl’, where the object of the postposition is je¹tʃi¹ ku²nu³-sa² ‘girl’. In addition, the postposition maʔ³ can occur as an independent word as well as a suffix. This postposition raises ambiguity of meaning and can have the meaning of either ‘from’ (source) or ‘to’ (goals, recipients), depending on the path of the verb.

In contrast to the meaning in example (62), the postposition = maʔ³ can have the meaning of ‘from’ and can be used as an enclitic. Consider example (63).

Folktale 01.08

[i²kəra² = maʔ³] PRECLAUSE dʒum² fa³.rum² kəra = maʔ³ kəra²
that = from house hundred.three that = from that
a²duʔ³ ka²la² mun² a²sam² duʔ³
down side Indian country Assam down side

ka¹- ə²-li² me²ke² niŋ²kan² = na² ŋo¹ din² kəra²
go- COMP-CONT.1P what cause = at say if that

Lit. ‘After that house three hundred that downside Indian country Assam downside went, what cause (for what reason) say if that’
‘After that, (of) those three hundred households, for what reason were we coming down to Assam, if it is said.’
In (63), the postposition -maʔ³ ‘from’ occurs in the pre-clause position. The postposition -maʔ³ occurs with the demonstrative i’kəra² ‘that’, and these two words together function as a temporal adverb. In addition, it occurs in the following subordinate clause dʒum² ʃa⁹rum² karəʔ³ kəra² ‘those three hundred households’ with the adnominal demonstrative kəra ‘that’, where it functions similarly to that of the first in the pre-clause position. This ambiguity of meaning shows more complexity of uses of the postposition -maʔ³, which need more investigation. Finally, example (64) shows another combination of the postposition -maʔ³ in Rera.

(64) **Folktale 01.05**

\[
\begin{aligned}
a²ni¹ = maʔ³ & \quad ka²ʃyu² = na² & \quad ha²-to² & \quad kə = maʔ³ & \quad ni¹rum² \\
\text{long ago} = \text{from} & \quad \text{kachu} = \text{at} & \quad \text{stay-PAST.3} & \quad \text{that} = \text{from} & \quad \text{1P} \\
ti² & \quad ni²-wa¹ & \quad ʃa⁹-ti² & \quad kəra² & \quad ku²ʃan² \\
\text{grandfather} & \quad \text{two-CL:M} & \quad \text{say-PAST.1} & \quad \text{that} & \quad \text{festival} \\
me²ʃu⁵ & \quad a²piu² & \quad a²liu² & \quad ha²-to² \\
\text{festival:EUPH} & \quad \text{joy} & \quad \text{joy:EUPH} & \quad \text{stay-PAST.3} \\
\end{aligned}
\]

Lit. ‘Long ago from Kachu at stayed then from, our grandfathers two said that festival joyfully staying’

‘Long ago, when staying at Kachu, what we call our ancestors, stayed joyfully celebrating festivals.’

In (64), the postposition =maʔ² co-occurs with the temporal adverbial a²ni¹ ‘long ago’ in the pre-clause position. Additionally, it also occurs with the demonstrative kə ~kəra² ‘that’ and forms a temporal adverbial meaning ‘when’. Finally, an example of the postpositional enclitic =na² is shown in (65).

(65) **Elicited data 30**

\[
\begin{aligned}
ʃa⁵ & \quad guahati = na² & \quad ma²-ʃan²wan²-taŋ² \\
1S & \quad \text{Guwahati} = \text{at} & \quad \text{IRR-come-PAST:1S} \\
\end{aligned}
\]

Lit. ‘I came at Guwahati.’

‘I came from Guwahati.’

In (65), the postpositional enclitic =na² marks the proper name guahati ‘Guwahati’, which shows where the located object has come from, not where he is presently located. The path is expressed by the verb way’wan² ‘come’. Another example of a similar kind is illustrated in (66).
Elicited data 29

ŋa¹ a'pu² kəra² balinŋ = na² ha²-lo²
1S.POSS elder.brother that Balinong = AT stay-NPAST:3s

Lit. ‘My elder brother that, lives at Balinong.’
‘My elder brother lives in Balinong.’

In (66), the reference object, balinŋ ‘Balinong’, is the location where the older brother lives. It occurs with the enclitic = na² ‘at’.

Furthermore, to express a specific spatial relation, a locational postpositional phrase consists of a possessive noun phrase that consists of a noun phrase possessor and relator noun possessee, along with the postpositional enclitic = na². This is diagrammed in (67).

(67) Rera relator noun phrase

Reference object noun phrase (possessor) + Relator noun (possessee) + (= na² )

As is shown in (67), the Rera relator noun phrase consists of a reference object (ground noun) followed by a relator noun, and the locative enclitic = na². See example (68).

Elicited data 27

lik³dam² kəra² tebul tʃak³ = na²
book that table upside = at

Lit. ‘Book that table’s upside at.’
‘That book is on the table.’

In (68), the object of the postposition is the possessive noun phrase tebul tʃak³ ‘table upside’. Within this noun phrase, the relator noun, tʃak³ ‘upside (on the table’s top)’, serves as the possessee noun phrase, and the reference object noun phrase, tebul ‘table’, serves as the possessor noun phrase. The spatial relation that is expressed by this noun phrase is a coincidence superiority spatial relation.

An example of a relator noun showing a coincidence relation, as expressed in text, is illustrated in (69).
In (69), the locational coincidence relation is expressed by the relator noun ta¹ ‘upside’ within the noun phrase pin²joŋ² ta¹ ‘tree’s upside’, which literally means ‘from the top of the tree’. In addition, the relator noun phrase lacks the locative enclitic = na².

An interiority spatial expression is illustrated in (70).

(70) Elicited data 28

kɔlam       kəra²       toŋ¹ke²       mon²=na²
gen > ASM that bag inside = at

Lit. ‘Pen that bag’s inside at.’
‘That pen is inside the bag.’

Rera encodes interiority using the relator noun mon² ‘inside’. In (70), mon² ‘inside’ encodes the interiority relationship between the located object kɔlam ‘pen’ and the reference object toŋ¹ke² ‘bag’. The located object kɔlam ‘pen’ (a borrowed word from Assamese) is totally contained in the reference object toŋ¹ke² ‘bag’.

Another interiority example is shown in (71).

(71) Elicited data 41

pe³rọt³       mon²=na²       ge²he²       kəra²       i¹-dʒup³-sa¹-lo³
garden       inside = at dog that NMLZ-sleep-CONT-PART

Lit. ‘Garden’s inside at, dog that sleeping’
‘That dog is sleeping in the garden.’
In (71), the locational phrase, \( pɛ²rut³ \, moŋ² \, na² \) ‘in the garden’, occurs in the pre-clause position, while \( ge²he² \, kəra² \) ‘that dog’ occurs in the subject position preceding an intransitive verb predicate \( i¹dʒup³ \, sa¹lo³ \) ‘sleeping’.

The Rera relator nouns in the data are summarized in Table 16.

**Table 16 Rera relator nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spatial relations</th>
<th>Relator nouns</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coincidence</td>
<td>( tfak³ , ta¹ )</td>
<td>‘upside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interiority</td>
<td>( moŋ² )</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following section (§2.2.4) summarizes the basic argument constructions in Rera.

### 2.2.4 Summary of basic argument structures

This section has provided a description of the basic argument constructions, namely noun phrases, pronouns, and locational phrases. Within the noun phrase, the noun head is the only obligatory element and can be modified by possessors, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers, and adjectives. Numerals, quantifiers, adjectives, and demonstratives can occur either before or after the noun head. Possessors, which only occur preceding the head, can be optionally marked by the possessor enclitic \( =rɛ² \).

Pronouns and determiners are divided into five different types: personal pronouns, possessive determiners, demonstrative pronouns, reflexive pronouns, and interrogative pronouns. Postpositional phrases consist of a postposition along with the object of the postposition, which can be either a noun, noun phrase, or a pronoun. Furthermore, a relator noun locational phrase includes a ground noun, which expresses a location, and a relator noun, which expresses a spatial relation, within the object of the postposition noun phrase. The object of the postposition is followed by the postpositional locative enclitic \( =na² \). However, the postposition is not always obligatory. One additional set of constructions, which exhibit nominal characteristics, are elaborate expression constructions.

### 2.3 Elaborate expressions

Elaborate expressions are an areal feature of Asian languages, which have “idiomatic and colorful meanings” (Hanna, 2013, p. 33). It was Mary Haas (1964) who first used the term “elaborate expression”, while some others called them “four-syllable
idiomatic expressions” (Liem, 1969) or four-syllable coordinative constructions (Pan, 1972). Matisoff (1973) describes an elaborate expression as:

... a compound containing four (usually monosyllabic) elements, of which either the first and the third or the second and fourth are identical (A-B-A-C or A-B-C-B). (p. 81)

The most prevalent elaborate expression construction in Rera is diagrammed in (72).

(72) **Elaborate Expression construction- Type 1**

\[ [A_1 + B] + [A_2 + C] \approx [NMLZ_1 + B] + [NMLZ_2 + C] \]

In this four-syllable construction, the first \( (A_1) \) and the third \( (A_2) \) syllables are completely reduplicated, while the second \( (B) \) and the fourth \( (C) \) syllables are partially reduplicated. See example (73).

(73) **Folktale 01.06**

\[
\begin{align*}
&a^2han^2 \text{ ma}^2r^2 \\
&\text{good from stay-SEQ} \\
&i^1-pak^2-i^1-sat^3 \\
&\text{NMLZ-eat-NMLZ-EUPH prepare-COS-PAST:3} \\
&kolo^2-wan^2-to^2 \\
&\text{... BE-past:2} \\
&a^{'}ra^2 \\
&i^1-nom^2-i^1-na^2 \\
&\text{this NMLZ-dance-NMLZ-EUPH} \\
&mna^2 \text{ ro-to}^2 \\
&\text{Lit. good staying, food were prepared, there was dancing.} \\
&\text{‘Staying well, foods were prepared, also there was dancing.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In (73), two elaborate expressions occur: \( i^1pak^2i^1sat^3 \) ‘food’ in clause 1 and \( i^1nom^2i^1na^2 \) ‘dancing’ in clause 2. The nominalizer \( i^1 \)- always occurs in the \( (A_1, 2) \) slots and the verbs occur in the \( (B) \) and \( (C) \) slots. In the elaborate expression constructions \( i^1pak^2i^1sat^3 \) ‘food’ and \( i^1nom^2i^1na^2 \) ‘dancing’, the \( (C) \) slots contain a nonsense syllable, such as \( sat^3 \) and \( na^2 \), which are more like a euphonic expression. The euphonic expression indicates rhyming of the syllable in \( (B) \) with \((C)\).

A second type of elaborate expression can be found which shows a hexasyllabic pattern, as diagrammed in (74).

(74) **Elaborate Expression Construction - Type 2**

\[ [A_1 + B_1 + C + A_2 + B_2 + D] \]

In this pattern, the first and second syllables \( (A_1 + B_1) \) and the fourth and fifth syllables \( (A_2 + B_2) \) are disyllabic. Consider example (75).
(75) Elicited data 12

\[ fa^2ni^2na^3ja^2ni^2-ba^3 \quad ra^2-lan^2-pak^3-to^2 \]
\[ each.\text{other}-\text{RFLXV} \quad AUTO-\text{kill}-\text{PERF}-\text{PAST.3} \]

Lit. ‘Each other, self killed they’
‘They killed each other.’

In (75), in \( fa^2ni^2na^3ja^2ni^2ba^3 \), the (A + B) slots carry the meaning ‘each.\text{other}’, while the third syllable (C) \(-na^3\) does not necessarily have to carry meaning. The final syllable is the reflexive marker \(-ba^3\). However, the \(-na^3\) could have the same root as the locative enclitic \(=na^2\), and the tone changes from Tone 2 to Tone 3 because of the environment where the preceding and the following tones are mid tones. As a reason of this, the pitch of the mid tone might fall to a low tone. In addition, there is a rhythm of expression including tone rhyme (partial reduplication) going on between (C) and (D) \(-na^3-\sim-\text{ba}^3\) and both syllables always carry the same tone. The clause structure is described in the next section.

2.4 Clause anatomy

Rera has both verbal and non-verbal clauses. (§2.4.1) discusses verbal clause constructions, while (§2.4.2) discusses the verb agreement in Rera. The non-verbal clause constructions are discussed in (§2.4.3).

2.4.1 Verbal clause constructions

Verbal clauses encompass intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clause constructions.

The Rera simple intransitive verb clause construction is diagrammed in (76).

(76) Intransitive clause construction

Subject + Intransitive Predicate

The intransitive clause construction includes a subject argument along with the verbal predicate, as in (77).
(77) **Elicited data 02**

\[
\begin{array}{c c c c}
\eta a^1 & ka^{1-\text{tag}}^2 \\
1S & \text{go-PAST:1S}
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘I went.’

‘I went.’

In (77), the dynamic verb \(ka^{1-\text{tag}}^2\) ‘go-PAST:1S’ occurs as the predicate. It is preceded by the subject argument, \(\eta a^1 \cdot 1S\).  

In (78), the clausal construction of the simple transitive is shown.

(78) **Transitive clause construction**

Subject + Direct Object + Transitive Predicate

Diagram (78) illustrates the transitive clause, which includes a subject and a direct object argument followed by the transitive predicate. Consider example (79).

(79) **Elicited data 01**

\[
\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c}
\eta a^1 & i^2\text{pi}^3 & bu^2-\text{tag}^3 \\
1S & 3S & \text{hit-PAST.1S}
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘I hit him.’

‘I hit him.’

In (79), the predicate consists of a past tense form of the transitive verb \(bu^2-\text{tag}^3\) ‘hit-PAST.1S’ preceded by two core arguments, i.e. the subject argument \(\eta a^1 \cdot 1S\) and the object argument \(i^2\text{pi}^3 \cdot 3S\).

The ditransitive clausal construction is diagrammed in (80).

(80) **Ditransitive clause construction**

Subject + Direct object + Indirect Object + Ditransitive Predicate

As shown in (80), the Rera ditransitive clause construction exhibits a subject argument followed by the direct object and the indirect object, along with the ditransitive predicate. See example (81).
(81) Elicited data 21

\[
\eta a \quad i^2 t\dot{f}^1 k\dot{u}^2 n^2 \quad k\ddot{a}r^2 \quad m^2 \quad l\ddot{i}k^3 d\ddot{a}p^3 \quad m^2-k^1-l^2 g^2
\]

1S girl that to book IRR-give-NPAST:1S

Lit. ‘I girl that to book, will give.’
‘I will give the book to that girl.’

In (81) the ditransitive predicate \(m^2-k^1-l^2 g^2\) ‘IRR-give-NPAST:1S’ has the noun phrase subject \(\eta a\) ‘1S’, while \(l\ddot{i}k^3 d\ddot{a}p^3\) ‘book’ is the direct object and the locative clause \(i^2 t\dot{f}^1 k\dot{u}^2 n^2 k\ddot{a}r^2 m^2\) ‘to that girl’ occurs as the indirect object by preceding the direct object \(l\ddot{i}k^3 d\ddot{a}p^3\) ‘book’.

Indirect and oblique objects occur in different positions in the clause, as shown in (82).

(82) Folktale 02.19

\[
i^1-k\ddot{a}r^2 \quad [r\ddot{e}^2 k^1 \quad k\ddot{a}r^2 \quad i^1-k\ddot{a}r^2] \quad [p^e k^1-\ddot{u}^2]^3
\]

NMLZ-that squirrel that NMLZ-that fruit-CL

\[
i^1-k\ddot{a}r^2 \quad [p\ddot{i}n^2 \ddot{f}^2 \ddot{\eta}^2 \quad t^a^1] \quad d^a t^3 \quad t\ddot{f}^2-\ddot{w}^2-t^2-\ddot{t}^2
\]

NMLZ-that tree upside fall CAUS-COS-PAST:3

Lit. ‘Then, squirrel that, the \(p^e k^1\) fruit up in the tree was fallen.’
‘As for that squirrel and the fruit, it fell from the tree.’

In (82) the transitive predicate \(d^a t^3 \quad t\ddot{f}^2-\ddot{w}^2-t^2-\ddot{t}^2\) ‘fall’ has the noun phrase \(r\ddot{e}^2 k^1 k\ddot{a}r^2 \quad i^1-k\ddot{a}r^2\) ‘the squirrel’ as subject, while \(p^e k^1-\ddot{u}^2\) \(i^1-k\ddot{a}r^2\) ‘the fruit’ is a direct object. The locational oblique object \(p\ddot{i}n^2 \ddot{f}^2 \ddot{\eta}^2 \quad t^a^1\) ‘in the tree’ occurs following the direct object.

To summarize, the first type of verbal construction is the intransitive clause construction, which includes a subject and the predicate. In contrast, transitive constructions, the second type, include a subject argument and a direct object argument along with the verbal predicate. Finally, the ditransitive construction contains a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object, along with the ditransitive verbal predicate.

2.4.2 Verb agreement

Rera has post-verbal subject-agreement combined with tense markers but no object agreement. The agreement markers attached to the TAM categories are divided into
“TAM + AGR”, where the “agreement markers can be treated as dependent affixes, and the TAM markers are carrier affixes” (Morey, 2016). In addition, the irrealis forms have a pre-verbal element and a post-verbal agreement marker. The post-verbal agreement suffixes for non-past tense are shown in Table 17.

Table 17 Non-past tense verb agreement in Rera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST person</td>
<td>√V-(l)-ag(^2) V-NPAST-1S</td>
<td>√V-(l)-i(^2) V-NPAST-1P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND person</td>
<td>√V-n-u(^2) V-NPAST-2S</td>
<td>√V-(l)-an(^2) V-NPAST-2P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD person</td>
<td>V-Ø V-NPAST-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST person</td>
<td>(mi^2)-(√V-l)-ag(^2)- be(^3) (\text{NEG-V-NPAST-1S-NEG})</td>
<td>(mi^2)-(√V)- (i^2)-be(^3) (\text{NEG-V-NPAST-1P-NEG})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND person</td>
<td>(mi^2)-(√V-n)-u(^2)-be(^3) (\text{NEG-V-NPAST-2S-NEG})</td>
<td>(mi^2)-(√V-l)-an(^2)-be(^3) (\text{NEG-V-NPAST-2P-NEG})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD person</td>
<td></td>
<td>(mi^2)-(√V)- Ø-be(^3) (\text{NEG-V-NPAST-3-NEG})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is shown in Table 17, the post-verbal agreement markers vary between singular and plural in first and second persons, whereas the configuration is the same for third-person singular and plural. The agreement alignment contains the verb root (\(\sqrt{V}\)) followed by the tense and person-number agreement markers.

Morey (2017, p. 16) illustrates agreement markers in Tangsa varieties, where he also presents the agreement system of Rera. Morey’s analysis differs from my analysis for tense agreement markers in the second person singular for non-past.\(^9\) He does not record the second-person singular tense suffix -n, whereas my data and Dr. John Mansfield’s data display the -n as a tense marker in the second-person singular for non-past. In addition, this study improves upon the representation of the agreement

\(^9\) Morey’s (2017, p. 16) Tangsa agreement markers are shown in Appendix (B).
system as it displays the tone marking in the agreement markers, along with the verb roots, as opposed to Morey’s presentation where he does not mark tone for the Rera variety of Tangsa.

The structure of agreement markings in a negative sentence construction includes the negative prefix $mi^2$ followed by the verb and the agreement markers, along with the negative suffix -$be^2$.

Example (83) presents a first-person post-verbal subject-agreement marker in Rera.

(83) Folktale 01.01

$\eta^1 \ a^'ya^2 \ man^2pan^3 \ ku^2-l-aj^2$

1s here story tell-NPAST-1s

Lit. ‘I here story telling’
‘I am telling a story.’

In (83), the post-verbal subject agreement marker -$aj^2\ '1s'$ occurs along with the non-past tense suffix -$l$.

Another example showing the first-person plural post-verbal subject-agreement is exemplified in (84).

(84) Elicited data 90

$ni^1rum^2 \ ba^2j^2-l-i^2$

1p come-NPAST-1p

Lit. ‘We come’
‘We come.’

In (84), the first-person agreement marker -$i^2\ '1p'$ refers to the plural subject of the clause.

Consider example (85) for a negative construction with the prefix $mi^2$ in Rera.10

(85) Elicited data 91

$mo^2 \ mi^2-ba^2j^2-n-u^2-be^3$

2s NEG-come-NPAST-2s-NEG

Lit. ‘You not come’
‘You are not coming.’

10 The negative prefix $mi^2$ can also be pronounced $mi^2$ by younger speakers, which I found when rechecking the texts with a younger speaker, Mr. Mansham Shamma Ronrang.
The second-person subject-agreement -\textit{u}^2 ‘2s’ in a negative sentence construction provides the subject argument \textit{mo}^2 ‘2s’ in the intransitive clause construction.

Next, Table 18 provides the post-verbal agreement markers in the past tense. Unlike the agreement markers in the non-past tense, there is a regular -\textit{t} ‘past’ suffix.

**Table 18 Past tense verb agreement in Rera**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>$\sqrt{V\text{-}t\text{-}aŋ^2}$</td>
<td>$\sqrt{V\text{-}t\text{-}i^2}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{V-PAST-1s}</td>
<td>\textit{V-PAST-1p}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>$\sqrt{V\text{-}t\text{-}u^2}$</td>
<td>$\sqrt{V\text{-}t\text{-}aŋ^2}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{V-PAST-2s}</td>
<td>\textit{V-PAST-2p}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>$\sqrt{V\text{-}t\text{-}o^2}$</td>
<td>\textit{V-PAST-3}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 shows that the person-agreement markers remain the same, while the grammatical past tense is marked by -\textit{t}. An example of this is shown in (86).

\textbf{(86) Folktale 01.11}

$\emptyset$ be\textit{yag}

\textit{SUBJ} all kill-COMP-PAST-3P

Lit. ‘(They) all killed.’

‘(They) were all killed.’

Example (86) illustrates the third-person plural agreement marker -\textit{o}^2 ‘3p’ preceded by the past tense marker -\textit{t} along with the verb \textit{lan}^2 ‘kill’. Verb agreement supplies the only reference to the elided third-person subject argument. In addition, the -\textit{o}^2 suffix directly after the verb is tentatively glossed as completive, which will need further investigation.

Verb agreement with the irrealis prefix is shown in Table 19, which includes the non-past tense suffix. Irrealis is indicated by the prefix \textit{ma}^2.
As is shown in Table 19, the verb markers for unrealized situations include a pre-verbal irrealis marker along with the non-past tense markers -l and -n. However, the first-person plural agreement marking does not behave the same, as it does not include the non-past tense suffix -l.

An example of first-person agreement marking, along with the irrealis marker $ma^2$, is shown in (87).

(87) Elicited data 21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s girl-cl.</th>
<th>from book</th>
<th>IRR-give-NPAST-1S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\eta^1$</td>
<td>$je^1{\bar{t}}i^2{ku^2nu^2-sa^2}$</td>
<td>$ma^2$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lit. ‘I girl from book will give’
‘I will give the book to the girl.’

Example (87) shows the first-person agreement marker -$ag^2$ attached to the verb $ku^3$ ‘give’, along with the irrealis marker $ma^2$ and the default non-past tense suffix -l.

Another example of agreement marking for an unrealized situation is shown in (88).

(88) Folktales 02.05

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NMLZ-that</th>
<th>squirrel</th>
<th>that</th>
<th>only</th>
<th>IRR-able-Ø</th>
<th>say-PART</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$i^1{\bar{kora^2}}$</td>
<td>$re^2{\bar{k}a^1}$</td>
<td>$ka^3{\bar{kora^2}}$</td>
<td>$ba^2$</td>
<td>$ma^2-{\bar{nyut^3}}$</td>
<td>$\eta^1-o^2$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lit. ‘That squirrel that only will able say’
‘“The squirrel only will be able to do it,” he said.’

In (88), the agreement marker is zero-marked for the third-person plural pronoun.

This section describes the agreement system in Rera. The Rera verb roots carry tense markers along with the agreement markers. However, third persons in non-past and
irrealis tense do not carry any tense suffixes. Furthermore, in the non-past, the irrealis marker $ma^2$ can occur along with the non-past tense suffixes -l and -n. Non-verbal constructions are discussed in (§2.4.3).

2.4.3 Non-verbal constructions
Rera exhibits attributive and verbless copula constructions. Verbless copula constructions are used to express identity and static location (Dixon, 2002), while attributive constructions carry an attributive predicate expressing attribution of the subject argument. The attributive construction is demonstrated in (§2.4.3.1). Verbless copula constructions are demonstrated in (§2.4.3.2).

2.4.3.1 Attributive clause construction
An adjective in Rera can act as the predicate of a clause, as diagrammed in (89).

(89) Attributive Clause Construction

$\text{Subject} + \text{Adjective Predicate}$

The attributive clause construction includes a subject argument followed by the adjective predicate. Consider example (90).

(90) Elicited data 15

$\text{i}^2\text{pi}^3 \quad k\text{ara}^2 \quad \emptyset \quad a^2-hab^3$

$3s \quad \text{TOP} \quad 3\text{.SUBJ} \quad \text{ATTR-beautiful}$

Lit. Her, (she) beautiful.

‘As for her, (she) is beautiful.’

In (90), $a^2\text{hab}^3$ ‘beautiful’ is the adjectival predicate with $i^2\text{pi}^3$ ‘3s’ in the pre-clause position, along with the topic marker $k\text{ara}^2$. Subject reference is elided.

The attributive forms inlcude an attributive prefix (ATTR-) along with the root adjective word. See example in (91).

(91) Elicited data 43

$\eta a^1 \quad k\text{at}^3 \quad k\text{ara}^2 \quad \emptyset \quad a^1-ki^2$

$1\text{.POSS} \quad \text{shirt} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{SUBJ} \quad \text{ATTR-old}$

Lit. ‘My shirt that be old.’

‘As for my shirt over there, (it) is old.’
In (91), the attributive form, *a’ki² ‘old’*, is preceded by the possessive noun phrase *ŋa¹ kat³ ‘my shirt’* along with the demonstrative *kəra² ‘this’*.

An attributive modifier in the subject noun phrase is exemplified in (92).

(92) **Elicited data 44**

\[ \eta a¹ \h k a³ \h a¹-k i² \h k a² \h a²-h a³-r a²-t o² \]
\[ 1 S . \text{POSS} \h \text{shirt} \h \text{ATTR-old} \h \text{that} \h \text{ATTR-beautiful -BE-PAST.3} \]

Lit. ‘My shirt be old that, beautiful’

‘As for that, my old shirt over there is beautiful’.

Example (92) shows that the attributive subject noun phrase *ŋa¹ kat³ a¹-ki² ‘my shirt ATTR-old’* is followed by the attributive predicate *a²-ha³-r a²-t o² ‘ATTR-beautiful’*. Verbless copula clause constructions are discussed in the following section.

### 2.4.3.2 Verbless copula clause constructions

The verbless copula clause construction in Rera consists of two juxtaposed noun phrase constructions, as diagrammed in (93).

(93) **Verbless copula construction**

Noun phrase₁ + Noun phrase₂

In (93), the first noun phrase is the verbless copula subject, while the second noun phrase is the verbless copula complement. See example (94).

(94) **Folktale 01.01**

\[ \eta a¹ \h m i³ \h k a² \h m o²-h e n² \h r u²-r a² \]
\[ 1 S . \text{POSS} \text{name} \h \text{that} \h \text{Mohen} \h \text{Rera} \]

Lit. ‘My name that Mohen Rera.’

‘My name is Mohen Rera.’

In (94), *ŋa¹ min³ kəra² ‘my name that’*, the verbless copula subject, contains the possessive first-person pronoun *ŋa¹ ‘1S.POSS’*, the noun *min³ ‘name’*, along with the demonstrative *kəra²*. The proper name *məhən² ru²-ra² ‘Mohen Rera’* occurs as the verbless copula complement. In this construction, the verbless copula subject, *ŋa¹ min³ kəra² ‘my name’* is identified by the verbless copula complement *məhən² ru²-ra² ‘Mohen Rera’*. 
Locative clauses are one type of verbless clause construction in Rera. A static location construction is illustrated in (95).

(95)  Elicited data 28

\[ \text{kolam} \quad \text{kara}^2 \quad \text{tong}^2 \cdot \text{ke}^3 \quad \text{moŋ}^2 = \text{na}^2 \]

pen  that  bag  inside = at

Lit. ‘Pen that pen bag’s inside at.’
‘The pen is inside the bag.’

In (95), \text{kolam kara}^2 ‘this pen’ is in the verbless copula position. The verbless copula complement, \text{tong}^2 \cdot \text{ke}^3 \text{moŋ}^2 = \text{na}^2 ‘bag in = at’, denotes the static location of the located object, i.e. the verbless copula subject referent \text{kolam kara}^2 ‘that pen’. In addition, these types of clauses carry two noun phrases, where the first noun phrase is the verbless copula subject and the second noun phrase is the verbless copula complement.

2.4.4 Summary of clause anatomy

In Rera, verbal clauses are described based on their predicate types as intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. In contrast, non-verbal clause constructions are of two types: attributive clause constructions, which consist of a subject argument and an attributive predicate, and verbless copula clause constructions, which consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases. The first noun phrase is the verbless copula subject and the second noun phrase is a verbless copula complement. This construction is used to express identity and static location relations. The following section (§2.5) demonstrates sentence constructions in Rera.

2.5 Sentence constructions

Beyond the clause, a sentence can include both pre- and post-clause elements in addition to the clausal core, consisting of the predicate and the core arguments: subject, direct, and indirect objects. Sentences can also combine to form complex sentence constructions. Simple sentences are described in (§2.5.1) and complex sentences are described in (§2.5.2).

2.5.1 Simple sentence constructions

The Rera simple sentence construction includes an optional pre-clause, followed by the clausal core and any post-core material, as diagrammed in (96).
Simple Sentence Construction

(Pre-Clause) + Subject + (Direct Object) + (Indirect Object) + (Oblique Object) + Predicate

The pre-clause position can be filled by a topic noun phrase, vocative, or a conjunction, which are often marked by the demonstrative kəra². The main clause contains the subject argument, along with the optional object arguments, such as direct, indirect, and oblique objects. Furthermore, the predicate can contain one or more verbs.

A simple sentence can also contain a conjunction in the pre-clause position, as in (97).

Folktale 02.31

i¹kəra² -re² re²ka¹ ka²³ jak³ na² ka¹-o²-to²
then squirrel that hand LOC go-COMP-PAST:3

Lit. Then, squirrel that on hand, went.
‘And, that squirrel took it away in the hand.’

In (97), the i¹kəra²-re² ‘then’ performs as a conjunction and links the main clausal element to the previous expressions in the narrative. The subject noun phrase is re²ka¹ ka²³ ‘that squirrel’. It is followed by the locational phrase jak³ ‘hand’, which is marked by the locative case marker, na². The locative phrase indicates the location of the unexpressed direct object referent that the squirrel took away.

A simple sentence construction with a conjunction and topical noun phrase is illustrated in (98).

Folktale 02.06

[i¹-kəra² re²ka¹ kəra² i¹-kəra²] Ø [pe¹ka¹-tu²³]
NMLZ-that squirrel that NMLZ-that 3.SBJ fruit-CL

[i¹-kəra²] [pin²ʃɔŋ² ta¹] dat³ tfit²-wan²-to²
NMLZ-that tree upside fall CAUS-COS-PAST:3

Lit. ‘Then the squirrel, (it) that pe¹ka¹ fruit up in that tree dropped.’
‘And the squirrel dropped down a (pekə) fruit from the tree.’

In (98), the simple sentence construction contains a pre-clause conjunction i¹kəra² ‘then’ along with the topical noun phrase re²ka¹ kəra² i¹kəra² ‘this squirrel’. Within
the clausal core, the elided subject is followed by the direct object argument, 
\(pe'\text{ka}^1\text{tu}\text{ʔ}^3\text{i'kara}^2\) ‘this \(pe'\text{ka}^1\) fruit’. This is followed by the oblique object \(pin^2\text{jo}^2\text{ta}^1\) ‘in the tree’. The sentence ends with the predicate \(dar^2\text{tj}^3\text{wan}^2\text{to}^2\) ‘cause to fall’.

This section has discussed simple sentence constructions, which contain the subject and object arguments along with the verb predicate. In addition, a simple sentence can also include an optional pre-clausal conjunction and/or a topic-marked noun phrase. The conjunction and the topic marking noun phrases are marked by the demonstrative \(kara^2\). After discussing the simple sentence constructions, (§2.5.2) discusses complex sentence construction in Rera.

### 2.5.2 Complex sentence constructions

Complex sentence constructions in Rera include coordinate clauses and a subordinate clause in combination with a main clause.

#### 2.5.2.1 Coordinate clause construction

A coordinate clause in Rera contains a series of two independent clauses, which, in fact, has no coordinating conjunctive. An example of a coordinate clause construction without a coordinating conjunctive is shown in (99).

\[(99)\] 
**Folktales 01.06**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a}^1\text{han}^2\text{-ma}^3 & \quad \text{ha}^2\text{-ra}^2 & \quad [i^1\text{-pak}^2\text{-i}^1\text{-sat}^3 & \quad \text{kolo}^2\text{-wan}^2\text{to}^2]_{\text{CL1}} \\
good\text{-AGR} & \quad \text{stay-SEQ} & \quad \text{NMLZ-eat-NMLZ-eat} & \quad \text{prepare-COS-PAST.3} \\
[a^2\text{ra}^2 & \quad i^1\text{-nom}^2\text{-i}^1\text{-na}^2 & \quad m^2 = na^2 & \quad ro\text{-to}^2]_{\text{CL2}} \\
\text{here} & \quad \text{NMLZ-dance-NMLZ-EUPH} & \quad \text{also} = \text{at} & \quad \text{do-PAST.3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘good staying, food prepared, this dancing, also was.’

‘Staying well, foods were prepared, and there was dancing.’

In (99), the two independent clauses \(i^1\text{pak}^2\text{i}^1\text{sat}^3\text{kolo}^2\text{wan}^2\text{to}^2\) ‘food prepared’ and \(a^2\text{ra}^2\text{i}^1\text{nom}^2\text{i}^1\text{na}^2\text{m}^2\text{na}^2\text{ro}^2\text{to}^2\) ‘there was dancing’ occur in a coordinate construction, which lacks the coordinating conjunction. The two clauses include two different sets of nominalized expressions, \(i^1\text{pak}^2\text{i}^1\text{sat}^3\) ‘food’ in the first clause, and \(i^1\text{nom}^2\text{i}^1\text{na}^2\) ‘dancing’ in the second clause. Meanwhile, there are also non-verbal constructions in Rera as demonstrated in §2.4.2.

The structure of a complex sentence construction containing a subordinate clause is shown in (100).
(100) **kəra²-marked subordinate construction**

Subordinate clause + kəra² + Main clause

For (100), the subordinate clause construction is marked by the demonstrative kəra² followed by a main clause. An example of a complex sentence construction with a kəra²-marked subordinate clause is shown in (101).

(101) **Folktale 01.22**

\[
\text{[nap³kum² kəfŋε² le?²-ra² kəma?³ kəra²]}_{\text{SC}}
\]

wild banana push-SEQ that that

\[
\text{[nap³kum² kəfŋε² kəra²wa² kəra² pak²-se²³ ha²-to²]}_{\text{MC}} \ ηo¹
\]

wild banana from that bat stay-PAST:3 say:RSP

Lit. ‘Wild banana pushed that that, at wild banana that bat stayed, say.’

‘After the wild banana pushed, the wild bat stayed there in the banana tree.’

In (101), the demonstrative kəra² ‘that’ marks the subordinate clause construction nap³kum² kəfŋε² le?²-ra² kəma?³, which precedes the main clause. The main clause occurs in the second sentence followed by a declarative form ηo¹ ‘say:RSP’.

A quotative construction is diagrammed in (102).

(102) **Quotative complex sentence construction**

Main clause + Speech complement + Quotative marker

In (102), Rera quotative complex sentence contains a main clause followed by the speech complement and a declarative predicate.

An example of a complex sentence with quotative pre-clausal expression with a speech complement is illustrated in (103).
(103) Folktales 02.29

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ekəra}^2 & \text{he'we}^2\text{klu}^2_{\text{QUOTATIVE}} & \text{ka}^2 & \text{woi}^2\text{raj}^2\text{-wa}^1\text{-ra}^3 \\
\text{EXCL} & \text{crab.F} & \text{that} & \text{Woirang-CL.M-ERG} \\
\hline
\text{a} & \text{ka}^2 & \emptyset & \text{tfum}^3 & \text{pak}^3 & \text{ka}^1\text{-la}^3 \\
\text{HESIT} & \text{this} & \text{(3.OBJ)} & \text{into pieces} & \text{cut} & \text{go-IMPV} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{[ŋo}^1\text{]}_{\text{POSTCLAUSE}} \ldots \\
\text{say:RSP}
\]

Lit. ‘Eh! Crab this Woirang… this stem into pieces cut go, say’

‘Eh, the crab (said), “That Woirang is going and cutting the (stem) into pieces”, he said.’

In (103), the complex sentence starts with a pre-clause exclamation e which is marked by \text{kəra}^2. This is followed by the main clause, \text{he'we}^2\text{klu}^2, which contains an elided quotative verb. The speech complement \text{ka}^2\text{woi}^2\text{raj}^2\text{wa}^1\text{ra}^3 \text{a} \text{ka}^2 \text{tfum}^3 \text{pak}^3 \text{ka}^1\text{la}^3 is preceded by the post-clausal declarative form \text{ŋo}^1 ‘say:RSP’.

Two types of complex sentence constructions are shown in this section: the coordinate sentence construction, a preposed subordinate clause construction, and a quotative construction. The coordinate construction contains two simple sentences which are coordinated by the demonstrative \text{kəra}^2 that acts as a conjunctive. Furthermore, subordinate constructions are marked by the demonstrative \text{kəra}^2, while quotative constructions include the main clause, along with speech complement, followed by the declarative predicate.

### 2.6 Rera morphosyntax summarized

The preceding discussion has introduced Rera simple argument constructions, elaborate expressions, clause anatomy, and sentence constructions. These are all summarized in Table 20.
### Table 20 Summary of morphosyntactic constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction name</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basic argument constructions:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrase structure</td>
<td>(POSS) (DEM) (NUM) (ADJ) HEAD (ADJ) (NUM) (DEM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrase coordination structure</td>
<td>Conjunctive &gt; Noun phrase₁, i'na² Noun phrase₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive construction</td>
<td>Disjunctive &gt; Noun phrase₁, i'na² Noun phrase₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive determiner construction</td>
<td>Possessive.determiner = Possessee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postpositional phrase structure</td>
<td>Object of the postposition + head of the postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locational phrase structure</td>
<td>Location = Ground noun + (Relator noun) + Locative enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Elaborate expressions:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaborate expression construction</td>
<td>Type1- [A₁ + B] + [A₂ + C] [ \rightarrow [NMLZ₁ + B] + [NMLZ₁ + C]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Type2- [A₁ + B₁ + C + A₂ + B₂ + D]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clause constructions:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive clause construction</td>
<td>Subject + Intransitive Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive clause construction</td>
<td>Subject + Direct Object + Transitive Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditransitive clause construction</td>
<td>Subject + Direct object + Indirect Object + Ditransitive Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive clause construction</td>
<td>Subject + Attributive Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbless copula construction</td>
<td>Noun phrase₁ + Noun phrase₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sentence construction:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple sentence construction</td>
<td>(Pre-Clause) + Subject + (Direct Object) + (Indirect Object) + (Oblique Object) + Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Complex sentence constructions:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kara²-marked subordinate constructions</td>
<td>kara²-marked subordinate clause + main clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotative complex sentence construction</td>
<td>Quotative main clause + Speech complement + Quotative marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following this background on morphosyntax, the next chapter describes lexical nominalization in Rera.
Chapter 3

Lexical Nominalization

3.1 Overview
This chapter examines lexical nominalization in Rera. There are only two prefixal nominalizers in Rera, \textit{keʔ³} and \textit{i¹}.

In the literature, Yap et al. (2011) observes that:

...nominalization in its core sense refers to the process by which we derive nominal expressions – for example, from verbs (e.g. watch > watcher) or adjectives (e.g. narrow > narrowness, narrowing). Clauses may also be nominalized (e.g. awaken the public conscience > awakening (of) the public conscience). Nominalization constructions are often distinguished in terms of the following types: participant vs. event; lexical vs. clausal; embedded vs. non-embedded. (p. 3)

This quote defines nominalization and gives the various possible nominalization types in a language, which is applicable to Rera, as Rera nominalized constructions distinguish between participant and event, and lexical and clausal nominalization. In addition, derivational nominalization figures prominently at the lexical level, which can be achieved with the morphological binding of the nominalizers with verb roots. This chapter discusses lexical nominalization strategies, such as morphological nominalization, classifier nominalization, and verb stem alternation nominalization. In addition, the functions of lexical nominalization are discussed.

The chapter is divided into three main sections: lexical nominalization strategies (§3.2), the basic functions of lexical nominalization (§3.3), and nominalization and tense marking (§3.4). Finally, the chapter is summarized in (§3.5).

3.2 Lexical nominalization strategies
This section presents an overview of the lexical nominalization strategies in Rera. These include morphological nominalization strategies (§3.2.1), classifier nominalization (§3.2.2), and verb stem alternation nominalization constructions (§3.2.3).
3.2.1 Morphological nominalization strategies

Nominalization is core to Tibeto-Burman languages. These morphological processes are mostly derivational rather than inflectional. To start, morphological nominalization with the nominalizing prefixes keʔ³- and i¹- are discussed in the following sections.

3.2.1.1 Nominalization with keʔ³-

The nominalizer keʔ³- has many apparent cognates across several branches of Tibeto-Burman both inside and outside Northeast India (Konnerth 2009, 2012). Konnerth (2014) further states that the Proto-Tibeto-Burman nominalizer ke- (with allomorphs ki- ~ ka-) indicates nominalized constructions which derive nouns from verbs. There is one instance of the keʔ³- nominalizer found in the text data, where the nominalizer prefix keʔ³- occurs with a verb predicate, which results in the nominalization of the verbal root (Diagram (104), as illustrated in (105).

(104)  Nominalization Pattern with keʔ³-

Nominalization  ➔  Predicate

+ keʔ³- ➔ [keʔ³- + Verb Predicate]_{NOMINALIZED}

The nominalizer occurs with the verb predicate to signal a nominalized construction as presented in Diagram (104). See example (105).

(105)  Folktales 03.04

kəra²  sa'na¹  ni²  kəra²  Ø  kam²  tfa²  keʔ³-ka¹-to²  yo¹
that  sister two  that  3.SUBJ  water  fetch  NMLZ-GO-PAST:3  say:RSP

Lit. ‘That two sister that, (their) water fetch going, say’

‘As for those two sisters, their going to fetch water is said.’

In (105), the verb ka¹ ‘go’ is nominalized by keʔ³-, and indicates an event nominalization. This keʔ³- derived noun has verbal features like tense and number inflections. This is an instance of what Post (2007, p. 752) refers to as “clausal nominalization” in which predicative clauses retain verbal features such as tense, aspect, and mood marking. The use of keʔ³- derived lexical nouns is very restricted in Rera. The second nominalizer i¹- is discussed in the following section.
3.2.1.2 Nominalization with \( i^1 \)-

The nominalizer \( i^1 \)- is a grammaticalized form of the third possessive prefix, \( i^2 \)-‘3.poss’, with the same features except having Tone 2. All verbs have a nominalized form with the \( i^1 \)- prefix.

A nominalized verb is illustrated in (106).

(106) **Folktale 02.10**

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{pak}^{3}\text{se}^{3} & \text{kəra}^{2} & \text{i}^{1}\text{-pu}^{3} & \text{rə}^{2-o^{2}}\text{to}^{2} \\
\text{bat} & \text{that} & \text{NMLZ-fly} & \text{be-COMP-PAST:3}
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘Bat that flying was.’

‘That bat was flying.’

In (106), the verb \( \text{pu}^{3} \) ‘fly’ is nominalized by the \( i^1 \)- nominalizer. The nominalized verb \( \text{i}^{1}\text{-pu}^{3} \) ‘flying’ occurs as the copula complement followed by the copula \( \text{rə}^{2-o^{2}}\text{to}^{2} \) ‘was’.

Another example of an event nominalization is given in (107).

(107) **Elicited data 77**

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i}^{1}\text{-dʒup}^{3}\text{sa}^{2} & \text{kəra}^{2} & \text{a}^{2}\text{han}^{2} \\
\text{NMLZ-sleep.HABT} & \text{that} & \text{ATTR-good}
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘Sleeping that good’

‘Sleeping is good.’

In (107), the nominalizer \( i^1 \)- occurs with the verb \( \text{dʒup}^{3} \) ‘sleep’ along with the suffix \(-\text{sa}^{2} \) ‘HABT’. It functions as the subject argument of the attributive clause.

Another example of an \( i^1 \)- nominalization is shown in (108).

(108) **Elicited data 79**

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i}^{1}\text{-ri}^{3} & \text{kəra}^{2} & \text{ma}^{2}\text{-ra}^{2} \\
\text{NMLZ-die} & \text{that} & \text{IRR-BE}
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘Death that (it) will happen’

‘As for death, it is inevitable.’

In (108), the nominalizer \( i^1 \)- occurs with the verb \( \text{ri}^{3} \) ‘die’. The derived noun occurs in the pre-clause position with the meaning of ‘death’.
Table 21 examplifies additional $i^l$- nominalizations in Rera.

### Table 21 Nominalization pattern1: $i^l$- nominalization constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Event nominalizer</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$dʒup^3$ ‘sleep’</td>
<td>$[i^l- + dʒup^2] = i^l dʒup^3$</td>
<td>‘sleeping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ʤɔ³$ ‘run/fly’</td>
<td>$[i^l- + ʤɔ^3] = i^l ɪʤɔ³$</td>
<td>‘running/flying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ni²$ ‘laugh’</td>
<td>$[i^l- + ni²] = i'ni²$</td>
<td>‘laughing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ri³$ ‘die’</td>
<td>$[i^l- + ri³] = i'ri³$</td>
<td>‘death’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nominalizations with $i^l$- also occur in elaborate expression structures.

**Nominalization pattern: Elaborate expression nominalization**

Nominalization $\rightarrow [A_1 + B] + [A_2 + C] \rightarrow [i^l- + Verb] + [i^l- + Euphonic]$

In (109), the nominalizer $i^l$- occurs in the elaborate expression construction in both $(A_1)$ and $(A_2)$ positions, along with the verb in $(B)$ and the euphonic, partially-reduplicated element in $(C)$. Consider example (110).

**Folktale 01.06**

```
a¹han²-ma³³     ha²-ra²     [i¹-pak³-i¹-sat³]     kə³lo².
good-AGR       stay-SEQ       NMLZ-eat-NMLZ-eat       prepare-

wan²-to²]       [a²ra²      i¹-nom²-i¹-na²]     mə²=na²
COS-PAST.3      here       NOMZ-dance-NOMZ-dance     also=at

rə²-to²]       be-PAST.3
```

Lit. ‘good staying, food prepared, this dancing, also was.’

‘Staying well, foods were prepared, also there was dancing.’

In (110), two different sets of nominalized expressions, $i'pak³i'sat³$ ‘food’ in the first clause and $i'nom²i'na²$ ‘dancing’ in the second clause, occur within elaborate expressions. The nominalizer $i^l$- always occurs in the $(A_{1,2})$ slots and the verbs occur in $(B)$ and $(C)$ slots. The first $(A_1)$ and the third $(A_2)$ syllable is a complete reduplication, where the second $(B)$ and the fourth $(C)$ forms are partially reduplicated and $(C)$ acts as a euphonic syllable. In addition, as in the second clause,
the (C) slots in $i'nom^{2}i'na^{2}$ are euphonic syllables. Furthermore, the sequential marker indicates successions and chronological order of performing the action, such as, in this case, the omitted subject argument denotes the event of ‘staying well’ and ‘preparing foods’ and ‘the event of dancing’ one after another or in successions. Meanwhile, the following section discusses the classifier nominalization construction in Rera, shown in (§3.2.2).

### 3.2.2 Classifier nominalization

Nominalization constructions can be identified by noun phrase markers such as classifiers, plural markers, possessive pronouns, demonstratives, definiteness markers, and case markers (Yap et al., 2011). Substantivization strategies are found in Rera using classifiers as nominalizers, as shown in (111).

**(111) Elicited data 80**

```
ηa¹ = ra²       tfe¹         nin²-ti²-wa³         ge²he² ma²-du²-sa²-laŋ²
1S = ERG       …     drink-DUAL-CL:M    dog    IRR.eat.CONT.NPAST
```

Lit. ‘I, drinker’s dog, will feeding’
‘I will feed the drinker’s dog.’

In (111), the classifier -wa³ ‘CL:M’ serves as a noun phrase marker to indicate participant nominalization of the verb nin² ‘drink’, which inflects for the dual agreement marker -ti². The nominalization serves as the possessor modifier of the noun head ge²he² ‘dog’. Finally, the last type of lexical nominalization strategy includes verb stem alternation nominalization constructions (§3.2.3).

### 3.2.3 Verb stem alternation nominalization

Nominalization can also be achieved in Rera by verb stem alternation, where verbs have an alternate stem that is indicated by tone change. There are instances where some verbs do not have an alternate stem. These verbs, however, are nominalized by changing the tone of the root verbs alone. This nominalization process by verb stem alternation is common within the other Pangwa varieties of the Tangsa sub-groups. Morey (2017) indicates that:

in many of the varieties of the Tangsa languages, there are two main forms of the verb, a verbal form, which combines with the person marked agreement particles, and a nominalized form, often preceded by a nominalizer. In many cases the two forms are identical, but they may vary… (p. 1)
Morey’s observation of verb-stem alternation fits with Rera as verb-stem alternation affects nominalization at the lexical level. Furthermore, in this type of verb stem alternation, according to Morey (n.d. a), “the nominalized root differs from the verbal root in tone category”, where, if there “is a verb stem alternation, the nominalized root carries Tone 3, while the verbal root may carry either Tone 1 or Tone 2”. Consider examples (112a) and (112b).

(112) a. Elicited data 81

\[ mo^2 \quad \text{nin}^2-tu^2 \]
\[ 2s \quad \text{drink-2s.PAST} \]

Lit. ‘You drank’
‘You drank.’

b. Elicited data 82

\[ mo^2-ra^2 \quad \text{i}^1-\text{nin}^3 \quad kəra^2 \quad a^2\text{-han}^2 \]
\[ 2.\text{POSS-SEQ} \quad \text{NMLZ-drink} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{ATTR-good} \]

Lit. ‘My drink that good’
‘My drink is good (tasty).’

The two forms of the verb \( \text{nin}^2 \) ‘drink’ in (112a) and (112b) shows the alternate verb stems. The verbal form in (112a) carries Tone 2, whereas the nominal form of the same verb carries Tone 3.

The verb stem alternation nominalization construction is diagrammed in Figure 6.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Situation 1} & \quad \text{Verb stem + Tense-person} \\
& \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Stem Alternation} \\
& \quad \leftarrow \quad \text{Situation 2} \\
& \quad \text{NMLZ + Verb stem} \\
& \quad \downarrow \\
& \quad \text{Results} \\
& \quad \downarrow \\
& \text{Non-Nominalized Construction} \\
& \quad \text{Verbal Root - Tone 1/2} \\
& \quad \downarrow \\
& \quad \text{Nominalized Construction} \\
& \quad \text{Nominalized Root - Tone 3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 6 Verb stem alternation nominalization construction
Rera verb stem alternation is illustrated further in Table 22.

Table 22 Verb stem alternation with a nominalizer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Verb Stem + Tense (Non-past/Past)</th>
<th>NMLZ + Verb Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$pu^2$-to$^2$ ‘flew’</td>
<td>$i^1pu^3$ ‘flying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$ka^1$-to$^2$ ‘went’</td>
<td>$i^1ka^3 \sim i^1keʔ^3$ ‘going’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>$βαŋ^2$-to$^2$ ‘came, moved’</td>
<td>$i^1βαŋ^3$ ‘coming, moving’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>$məŋ^1$-laŋ$^2$ ‘dream (V)’</td>
<td>$i^1məŋ^3$ ‘dream (N)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>$nin^2$-to$^2$ ‘drunk’</td>
<td>$i^1nin^3$ ‘drinker’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22 shows examples, collected from native speakers, of verb stem alternation with a nominalizer. The verb stems presented in Table 22 either carry Tone 1 or Tone 2, and the tense suffixes carry Tone 2. These verbal forms are nominalized during verb stem alternation, where the nominalized roots always carry Tone 3. Note that the nominalized forms are more likely to be signalled by the nominalizer $i^1$, along with shifted tone (Tone 3) on the derived root forms from their verbal roots carrying Tone 1 or 2.

However, Rera shows evidence of nominalization through verb stem alternation alone, without the nominalizer. Consider the non-nominalized item in (113).

(113) Elicited data 87

$w^1feka^2$  $kara^2$  $pu^2$-to$^2$

bird that fly-PAST

Lit. ‘Bird that flew’

‘That bird flew away.’

In (113), the verb $pu^2$ ‘fly’ inflects for tense marking with the tense marker -to$^2$. As is shown, the tone on the verb stem is Tone 2.

In contrast, three sentential examples of verb stem alternation are shown for the verb $pu^2$ ‘fly’. Consider examples (114), (115), and (116).
(114) **Elicited data 85**

\[ i¹-pu³-sa² \quad we¹je²ka² \]

NMLZ-fly-HABT bird

Lit. ‘Flying bird’
‘The flying bird.’

In (114), the noun phrase contains the nominalized modifier \( i¹-pu³-sa² \) ‘NMLZ-fly-HABT’ followed by the head noun \( w¹je²ka² \) ‘bird’. The nominalized verbal root carries Tone 3 occurring with the nominalizer \( i¹ \), which is a shift from Tone 2. It is functioning as a modifier of the head noun.

Another example (115), in a non-verbal attributive construction marked the same.

(115) **Elicited data 86**

\[ i¹-pu²-sa² \quad kara² \quad sam¹ba²ta² \]

NMLZ-fly.HABT that bad

Lit. ‘Flying that bad’
‘That flying is bad.’

In (115), the verb \( pu² \) ‘fly’ is nominalized by the nominalizer \( i¹ \) and the tone of the verb has shifted to Tone 3. Furthermore, in both (114) and (115), the nominalized verbs receive habitual marking by the habitual suffix -sa².

In contrast, nominalization can take place with just a tone change, without the \( i¹ \)-nominalizer, as illustrated in (116).

(116) **Folktale 02. 11**

\[ [kara² \quad ma² \quad Ø-pu³ \quad ra \quad \_kara²] \quad pak²se²³ \quad ka¹-o²-to² \]
then for NMLZ-fly be that bat go-COMP-PAST:3

Lit. ‘Then for flying be that bat went’
‘After **flying** away, that bat went.’

In (116), the derived noun \( pu³ \) ‘flying’ does not have any nominalization marking, but still refers to a nominalized event by changing its tone from Tone 2 to Tone 3. The clause-final demonstrative \( kara² \) ‘that’ also indicates the nominalization of the clause. This function of the demonstrative \( kara² \) is examined in more detail in Chapter 4.
Other instances of nominalization through verb stem alternation alone are illustrated in Table 23.

Table 23 Examples of tone alternating strategy in Rera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal form</th>
<th>Tone altered form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŋo¹ ‘say’</td>
<td>ŋo³ ‘saying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka¹ ‘go’</td>
<td>ka² ‘going’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sum³ ‘be.sweet’</td>
<td>sum¹ ‘sweetness’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are illustrated in context in (117 – 119).

(117) a. Elicited data 83

ŋa¹ ka¹-taŋ²
1s go-PAST:1s

Lit. ‘I went’
‘I went.’

b. Elicited data 84

i²pi³ skul = na² ka² kɔ¹ Ø a¹-han²
3.poss school = at going that 3.subj ATTR-good

Lit. ‘His/her in school going that, (it) good’
‘As for his/her going to the school, (it) is good.’

The verb ka¹ ‘go’ takes Tone 1 in (117a), and carries verbal characteristics, such as inflection for tense and person. On the other hand, in (117b), the derived nominal ka² ‘going’ has Tone 2.

A nominalization with ŋo³ ‘saying’ is illustrated in (118).
(118) a. Folktale 02. 01

\[\text{woirang-CL.M say SEQ that monkey one BE-PAST.3} \]

Lit. ‘Woirang say, that one monkey, was’
‘The one called Woirang Father was a monkey.’

b. Folktale 05.04

\[\text{saying SEQ think-PAST:3 that now=at} \]

Lit. ‘Saying (tale) that, now thought that the pig crossed the river’
‘Saying that (that tale), while people were thinking about how to cross the river, the wild pig crossed the river.’

In (118a), the verb \(\gamma^1\) ‘say’ occurs as the predicate of a headless relative clause and takes Tone 1. In contrast, in (118b), the tone of the verb \(\gamma^1\) changes to Tone 3, and occurs as a derived nominalized form \(\gamma^3\) ‘saying’, which refers to a tale.

Unlike the verbal roots, in verb stem alternation nominalization, the attributive roots always carry either Tone 2 or Tone 3, whereas the nominalized roots carry Tone 1. Consider examples (119a) and (119b).

(119) a. Elicited data 88

\[\text{ATTR-big fat ATTR-sweet ATTR-hot cake} \]

Lit. ‘Big fat sweet hot cake’
‘The big fat sweet hot cake’

b. Elicited data 89

\[\text{I her love sweetness that} \]

Lit. ‘I her love sweetness that’
‘I love her sweetness.’
The adjective \textit{a\textsuperscript{1}d\textsuperscript{2}jom\textsuperscript{2} ‘ATTR-sweet’} carries Tone 2 in its attributive root in (119a), and occurs as a modifier of the head noun \textit{ksek\textsuperscript{3} ‘cake’}. In addition, the attributive form also takes the attributive prefix \textit{a\textsuperscript{1}}. In contrast, the nominalized form \textit{d\textsuperscript{3}jom\textsuperscript{1} ‘sweetness’} carries Tone 1, as in (119b), without the attributive prefix.

To summarize, two types of verb stem alternation nominalization constructions are described. In the first construction, nominalization is signaled by the nominalizer \textit{i\textsuperscript{1}-}, along with verb stem alternation. In the second construction, nominalized constructions can also be formed without the nominalizer \textit{i\textsuperscript{1}-}, by verb stem alternation alone, for both verbs and attributives.

### 3.2.4 Rera Nominalization strategies summarized

This section has demonstrated nominalization strategies, specifically morphological, classifier, and verb stem alternation nominalization strategies. Morphological nominalization can be achieved by the morphological binding of the nominalizers along with the verb roots. This is accomplished by the nominalizers \textit{i\textsuperscript{1}-} and \textit{ke\textsuperscript{2}-}. Meanwhile, the instances of classifier nominalization constructions are identified by the noun phrase marker, i.e. the classifier -wa\textsuperscript{3} ‘CL:M’. It is possible to have other types of classifier nominalized constructions in Rera, but this needs more analysis. Finally, Rera lexical nominalization strategies include verb stem alternation nominalization construction which is realized as tone change, for both verbs and attributives, with or without the nominalizer \textit{i\textsuperscript{1}-}. The following section discusses the functions of lexical nominalization in Rera.

### 3.3 The Function of lexical nominalization

This section takes a look at how lexical nominalizations function within the clause as participant and event nominalizations that functions as arguments in the clause. The functions of lexical nominalization are discussed following its strategies in order to identify which strategies result in the nominalization of participant or event nominalization. To begin with, the nominalized constructions with \textit{ke\textsuperscript{2}-} can function as participant nominalization, while the nominalized construction with \textit{i\textsuperscript{1}-} can function as either participant or event nominalization. Nominalized constructions under classifier nominalization constructions indicate participant nominalization. Furthermore, verb stem alternation nominalization constructions can result in event or action nominalized constructions. Given this basic overview, in this section, participant nominalizations are considered first (§3.3.1), followed by
event nominalizations (§3.3.2). This is followed by the use of nominalizations to indicate speaker stance (§3.3.3).

### 3.3.1 Participant nominalization

The nominalizer *i¹-* is used to derive nominals from verbs that function as arguments with referential status within clauses. These participant nominalizations refer to subjects and objects.

A copula subject participant nominalization is illustrated in (120).

(120) **Folktale 04.44**

```plaintext
ko'ja³ kəra² *i¹-ŋam²* ni² ŋə²³ kəra² a²go¹
there that NMLZ-flesh and fish that NEG-have

Lit. ‘There that, meat and fish that not have.’
‘Thus, there was neither meat nor fish.’
```

In (120), the nominalizer *i¹-* occurs with the noun *ŋam²* ‘flesh (animal)’, which results in participant nominalization *i¹ŋam²* ‘meat’. Furthermore, the demonstrative *kəra² ~ i¹kəra²* can denote participant nominalized constructions. The demonstrative pronoun *i¹kəra²* ‘that’, acting as an argument, is illustrated in (121) (Phillips, 2017).

(121) **Folktale 01.04**

```plaintext
*i¹-kəra²* tfog² *ku²-wan²-ləŋ²* a¹ra² ŋa¹-ra²³
NMLZ-that tell give-COS-PRES.1S here 1S-ERG

a¹ya² a¹ya² man³pan³ *i¹-kəra²* te²tfit²-wan²-ləŋ²
here here story NMLZ-that know-COS-NPAST.1S

Lit. ‘That tell given here, I here here story that known’
‘That one which I am telling to you, I have a story that I need to tell you.’
```

In (121), the nominalized demonstrative *i¹kəra²* serves as the head of the noun phrase *i¹kəra² tfog² ku²wan²ləŋ²* ‘that one which I am telling to you’ and is an instance of participant nominalization. The *i¹kəra²* refers to a particular object by conveying a sense of ‘that one’.

Additionally, as mentioned in the beginning of the section (§3.3), some instances of verb stem alternation nominalization strategies can function as participant nominalization. See example (122).
In (122), the verb nin³ ‘drink’ is nominalized during stem alternation, which also occurs with the nominalizer i¹-. In addition, the default verbal root of nin³ ‘drink’ carries Tone 2, which is changed in stem alternation as a nominalization strategy.

Other participant nominalizations are illustrated in Table 24.

**Table 24 Participant nominalization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Verb/Adjective/Noun</th>
<th>Participant nominalizer</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pak³ ‘eat’</td>
<td>[i¹- + pak³] = i¹pak²</td>
<td>‘food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ti² ‘juicy’</td>
<td>[i¹- + ti²] = i¹ti²</td>
<td>‘juice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ŋam³ ‘animal’</td>
<td>[i¹- + ŋam³] = i¹ŋam³</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>məŋ¹ ‘dream’ (v)</td>
<td>[i¹- + məŋ¹] = i¹məŋ¹</td>
<td>‘dream’ (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>puŋ³paʔ³ ‘instrument’</td>
<td>[keʔ³ + puŋ³pa] = keʔ³puŋ³paʔ³</td>
<td>‘particular hunting instrument’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24 presents examples of participant nominalized construction of derived nominals from verbs, adjectives, and nouns. There are limited examples of participant nominalization in my corpus occurring with keʔ³, which needs to be addressed by further research.

To summarize, two nominalizers have been considered. The first is the nominalizer i¹-, which nominalizes verbs, attributives, and nouns. The resulting nominalizations function as arguments within the clause. Secondly, the nominalizer keʔ- derived lexical nouns (II) from verbs are also found in the Rera corpus. Thirdly, the nominalizer i¹- derived attributive nominals are discussed. Finally, the nominalizer i¹- can mark nominal constructions to denote specific semantic categories, such as turning ‘instrument’ into ‘a kind of particular instrument’ as shown in Table 24.
These are the four core nominalization structures in Rera, which are summarized in Table 25.

Table 25 Four core types of nominalization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of structure</th>
<th>Applies to</th>
<th>Results in</th>
<th>Form in Rera</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Derivational I</td>
<td>Verb or Predicate</td>
<td>Lexical noun</td>
<td>[NMLZ:i¹-V/ Predicate]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivational II</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Lexical noun</td>
<td>[NMLZ:ke²³-V]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivational III</td>
<td>Attributive</td>
<td>Lexical noun</td>
<td>[NMLZ:i¹-Attributive]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivational IV</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Lexical noun</td>
<td>[NMLZ:i¹-N]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2 Event nominalization

In Rera, as mentioned above, both $i¹$- and $ke²³$- nominalizer prefixes occur in event nominalizations. In addition, my corpus has a higher frequency of uses of the $i¹$- nominalizer in comparison to the $ke²³$- nominalizer. In addition, lexical nominalizations have the same morphosyntactic characteristics as non-derived nouns (Comrie & Thompson, 2007). This following discussion presents the nominalization process of a second order ontological entities (Yap et al., 2011), i.e. an event or action nominalization.

As shown in Diagram (123), an event nominalization with $i¹$- is shown in (124).

(123) Nominalization Pattern: $i¹$-

\[
\text{Nominalization} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
\text{Predicate} \\
\text{+ } i¹ \rightarrow [i¹ + \text{Verb Predicate}]_{\text{NOMINALIZED}}
\end{array}
\]

As is in Diagram (123), lexical nominalization includes the nominalizer $i¹$- in combination with the verbal predicate, resulting in derivational nominalization.

(124) Elicited data 76

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\eta a¹ & i¹-dʒup³-sa² & a²han² \\
1S.POSS & \text{NMLZ-sleep-PROG.HBTL} & \text{ATTR-good}
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘My sleeping good’
‘My sleeping is good.’

In example (124), the lexical nominalization $i²dʒup³sa²$ ‘NMLZ-sleep-PROG.HBTL’ of the root verb $dʒup³$ ‘sleep’ receives progressive tense and habitual marking by the suffix
In addition, the nominalized construction $i^2dʒup^3sa^2$ serves as the head of the attributive subject argument, with a possessive determiner $ŋa^1$ ‘1S.POSS’, which occurs as a non-verbal copula subject to the attributive predicate $a^2han^2$ ‘ATTR-good’.

Another example of event nominalization is given below in (125).

(125) **Folktale 03.10**

\[
\begin{align*}
&fa^2-ra^3 & jun^2-ra^3 & i^1-ne^2-ra^3 & ŋa^1 & kəra^2 & jo^2 \\
&\text{tiger-ERG} & \text{chase-SEQ} & \text{NMLZ-tired-SEQ} & 1S & \text{that} & \text{water} \\
&\text{tʃe}^1 & = na^2 & a & \text{we}^2-ra^3 & ŋa^1 \\
&\text{emerge} & = \text{at} & \text{HESIT} & \text{move.side.to.side-SEQ} & 1S \\
&kəra^2 & kam^2 & nin^1rak^3 & a & kəra^2 & jo^2 & tʃe^1 \\
&\text{that} & \text{water} & \text{thirsty} & \text{HESIT} & \text{that} & \text{water} & \text{emerge} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘Tiger chase tiredness my, that water emerge in moving, I that water thirsty, that water emerge’

‘The tiger chased (me) and despite my tiredness, I thrashed about in the water because I was thirsty.’

In (125), the event nominalization occurs by following the pre-clause $fa^2-ra^3$ $jun^2-ra^3$ ‘the tiger was chasing me’ and perhaps acts as a linker to connect the pre-clausal expression with the main clause, i.e. the clausal expression follows $i^1ne^2-ra^3$ ‘my tiredness’. It is significant to see that the nominalized segment $i^1ne^2$ ‘tiredness’ takes the ergative form $=ra^2$, which also occurs in the preceding verb $jun^2-ra^3$ ‘chase-ERG’ and the subject argument $fa^2-ra^3$ ‘tiger-ERG’, which is a topic for further investigation.

An event nominalization construction can also be achieved by the verb stem alternation nominalization strategy. Consider example (126).

(126) **Folktale 02. 11**

\[
\begin{align*}
&[kəra^2 \ ma^2 \ Ø-pu^3 \ ra \ kəra^2] & \text{pak}^3se^3 & ka^1-o^2-to^2 \\
&\text{then} & \text{for} & \text{NMLZ-fly} & \text{be} & \text{that} & \text{bat} & \text{go-COMP-PAST:3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Lit. ‘Then for flying be that bat went’

‘After **flying** away, that bat went.’
In (126), the derived noun *pu³* ‘flying’ shows the nominalization of an event, which does not have any nominalization marking. However, it still refers to a nominalized event by changing its tone from Tone 2 to Tone 3. Meanwhile, nominalized constructions can also be used to show speaker stance as discussed in (§3.3.3).

3.3.3 Stance marking

In Rera, nominalized constructions can also be used to express speakers’ stance or mood. This is illustrated in (127).

(127) **Folktale 03.11**

\[
i^1\text{-}ʃi^2 \quad r^1\text{-}i^2 \quad jo^3
\]

\[
\text{NMLZ-}\text{sing} \quad \text{be-1P} \quad \text{pol}
\]

Lit. ‘Singing should we’
‘We should be singing!’

In (127), the nominalizer *i*- occurs with the verb *ʃi²* ‘sing’. However, the nominalized form of the verb *ʃi²* does not really convey a regular nominalized meaning; rather it expresses the speaker’s mood about whether or not to sing.

Another example of speakers’ stance is exemplified in (128), where it receives tense and number marking.

(128) **Elicited data 78**

\[
ŋa^1 \quad i^1\text{-}dʒup^3\text{-}wan^2\text{-}tan^2
\]

\[
\text{1s} \quad \text{NMLZ-}\text{sleep-COS-PAST:1}
\]

Lit. ‘I slept (change of state)’
‘I should have slept!’

In (128), the nominalized construction with \(i^1\text{-}dʒup^3\text{-}wan^2\text{-}tan^2\) ‘NMLZ-sleep-COS-PAST:1’ expresses speaker stance of realization of an action (sleep). In addition, the suffix \(-wan^2\) ‘COS’ puts more emphasis on the aspectual meaning of changing state to support the expression of stance in the nominalized construction.

To conclude, stance marking is not very common in Rera. However, it appears as a tool in narratives to show the mood of a speaker as a story-telling device. This topic needs more analysis, as it is currently limited to the above example due to a lack of examples in the corpus. The following section summarizes the functions of lexical nominalization in Rera.
3.3.4 Rera nominalization functions summarized

The Rera lexical nominalization functions exhibits three basic functions, i.e. participant, event, and stance marking. A participant nominalized construction indicates derive nominals from verbs that function as arguments with referential status within clauses. Furthermore, an event nominalization construction can be found with the nominalizer $i^1$- as well as in verb stem alternation strategy. Finally, nominalized constructions also indicate speakers’ stance in narratives. The following section (§3.4) illustrates the tense marking in a nominalized construction.

3.4 Nominalization and tense marking

This section shows that nominalized constructions can signal tense marking. Yap et al. (2011, p. 33) says that “the non-referential use of nominalization constructions is their reanalysis as finite clause, with the morphological nominalizer being reinterpreted as a tense-aspect-mood marker”. However, in Rera, this is not the same. Instead of nominalizers being used as tense, aspect, and mood markers, lexical nominalized constructions inflect for tense and person, as in (129).

(129) Folk tale 01.09

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i$^1$-} & \text{k$\bar{o}$ra$^2$} & \text{lum$^2$to$^2$} & \text{tanuk}^3 \\
\text{NMLZ-that} & \text{this} & \text{this} & \text{1p} \\
\text{k$\bar{o}$ra$^2$} & \text{i$^1$-} & \text{fut}^3 & \text{i$^1$-} & \text{wan$^3$-to$^2$} \\
\text{this} & \text{NMLZ-pierce-nmlz-c} & \text{cut-PAST.3} \\
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘Then, Lumto upside people this we this piercing cutting’
‘With the whole of Lumto, there was piercing and cutting.’

In (129), the nominalizer $i^1$- occurs with the verb $fut^3$ ‘pierce’ and $wan^3$ ‘cut’ in an elaborate expression, which inflects for the past tense and third-person marker -to$^3$. The following section (§3.5) summarizes nominalization constructions in Rera.

3.5 Rera nominalization summarized

In Rera, lexical nominalizations are most likely to be coded by the nominalizer $i^1$-, while $ke^2$- derived nominalization can also be found. Classifier nominalization types are formed with substantivization strategies. They serve as noun markers and indicate nominalized constructions when they occur with verbs. Finally, verb stem alternation can indicate nominalization. Verb stem alternation constructions are of two types. In the first type, tones shift in the presence of the $i^1$- nominalizer. In the
second type, only the tone changes without the nominalizer $i^1$. The second type is achieved by changing the tones of the roots in isolated contexts. Furthermore, derived attributive nominals carry Tone 1, as opposed to the other word categories, such as nouns and verbs, which carry Tone 3 in their nominalized roots.

These nominalizations can function as participant nominalizations, event nominalizations, and also indicate speakers’ stance. Unlike some other Tangsa varieties, Rera nominalized forms sometimes can inflect for tense marking, where the nominal element is attached to an additional suffix marking tense along with the nominalizer.

The Rera nominalization patterns are summarized in Table 26.

**Table 26 Rera nominalization patterns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical nominalization</th>
<th>Participant/ event nominalization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Verb/ noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$i^1$ / $ke^2$ + Verb predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$i^1$ + Attributive predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Elaborate expression nominalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[$A_1 + B] + [A_2 + C] &gt; [i^1 + Verb] + [i^2 + Euphonic]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb stem alternation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbal root = Tone 1/2 $\rightarrow$ Nominalized root = $i^1\cdot$Tone 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbal root = Tone 1/2 $\rightarrow$ Nominalized root = Tone 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attributive root = Tone 2/3 $\rightarrow$ Nominalized root = Tone 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following chapter describes the extended functions of the demonstrative $kəra^2$ in Rera.
Chapter 4
The extended functions of $kəra^2$

4.1 Overview
This chapter presents an analysis of the extended functions of the demonstrative $kəra^2$. $kəra^2$ ‘that’ and variants $kə¹ kəra^2$, $kə¹maʔkəra^2$, $kəra^2 kəra^2$, $kəra^2 kə¹$ is the most frequently used lexical item in the Tangsa ~ Tangshang language varieties.\(^{11}\)

The function of a demonstrative within a noun phrase to indicate the distance of the noun referent from a speaker is the most basic function of $kəra^2$. Then, its function as a demonstrative pronoun is the next most basic function, where it occurs by substituting for a noun phrase. In addition, the demonstrative $kəra^2$ can also occur with the postposition $maʔ^3$, where it functions as the object of the postposition.

Besides the general use of $kəra^2$ as a demonstrative, it has many different extended functions in phrasal and clausal expressions in Rera. The extended functions of the demonstrative include pre-clause marking and subordinate clause marking. Native speakers also use it as a filler in conversational speech, replacing other demonstratives with $kəra^2$.

This chapter first presents a review of $kəra^2$ as an adnominal demonstrative and demonstrative pronoun in \((4.2)\). Then, \((4.3)\) discusses the extended functions of the demonstrative $kəra^2$. Finally, the extended functions of the demonstrative $kəra^2$ are summarized in \((4.4)\).

4.2 Review of $kəra^2$ as an adnominal demonstrative and demonstrative pronoun
The deictic non-extended functions of $kəra^2$ include the indication of the placement of a noun head referent in relation to the speaker and as a demonstrative pronoun substituting for a noun phrase. It is, however, hard to distinguish the proximal functions of $kəra^2$ based on the dataset, and therefore is left to be addressed in further research. $kəra^2$ functioning as an adnominal demonstrative is shown in (130).

\(^{11}\) It is noticed that pronunciations with $[kʰ]$ occur in some places as an allophonic variation with the variation of $kə¹maʔkəra^2$ ~ $kʰmaʔkəra^2$. 

87
(130) Elicited data 66

\[
kəra² \quad wa² = re² \quad pi²-vaj¹-sa² \quad a¹-hab² \quad ku²
\]

that \ man = poss \ 3S-cousin-CL \ ATTR-beautiful \ very

Lit. ‘That man’s cousin very beautiful’
‘That man’s cousin is very beautiful.’

In (130), the demonstrative \(kəra²\) indicates the spatial distance of the \(wa²re²\)
\(pi²vaj¹sa²\) ‘man’s cousin’ from the speaker.

In addition, if the referent is too far from the speaker, then the demonstratives \(i'na²\)
‘that’ with the allomorph of \(kəra² ~ kə¹\) is used, as exemplified in (131).

(131) Elicited data 20

\[
i'na²-kə¹ \quad a¹-ne² \quad a¹-fe¹kɔm² \quad dʒum²
\]

that-that \ new \ ATTR-red \ house

Lit. ‘That new red house.’
‘That new red house (at a great distance).’

In (131), \(i'na²kə¹\) shows a greater distance of the referent \(a¹ne²\ a¹fe¹kɔm²\ dʒum²\ ‘a
new red house’ from the speaker’s deictic center. The allomorph \(-kə¹\ ‘that’,
specifically, puts focus on the greater distance of the reference object \(dʒum²\ ‘house’.

Consider example (132), which shows \(kəra²\) as a distal demonstrative pronoun in
Rera.

(132) Elicited data 19

\[
kəra² \quad a¹-fe¹kɔm² \quad dʒum²
\]

that \ ATTR-red \ house

Lit. That red house.’
‘That is a red house.’

In (132), \(kəra²\) functions as a demonstrative pronoun by substituting for the noun
phrase slot in a verbless copula construction.

The above discussion of the demonstrative \(kəra²\) already shows its distal function as
an adnominal and demonstrative pronoun. However, native speakers sometimes also
refer to its proximal meaning, which needs further analysis. Nevertheless, the use of
the demonstrative for both distal and proximal functions could be due to native
speakers’ tendency to replace complex or specific reference words (demonstratives in
this case) with kəra², as the demonstrative has multiple functions. It has been noticed during the data collection that younger people do not always distinguish the deictic uses of the demonstrative kəra². Example (133) shows a proximal use of the demonstrative.

(133) **Folktale 04.15**

\[ i^1\text{-}kəra^2 \quad ma^2 \quad i^1ka^3 \quad jo^2 \quad kəra^2 \quad miʔ³\text{-}ho^3 \]

\[ \text{NMLZ} \text{-} \text{that} \quad \text{for} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{NEG} \text{-} \text{dry} \]

Lit. ‘That for that water this not dry’

‘And then, this water was not dry.’

In (133), the demonstrative kəra² shows that the reference object jo² ‘water’ is closer to the speaker.

The demonstrative pronoun kəra² can also be used as a discourse deictic expression in narratives. It refers to a portion of a discourse relative to the speaker’s current location in the discourse, as illustrated in (134a) and (134b).

(134) a. **Folktale 01.03**

\[ [i^1\text{-}kəra^2 \quad \eta^1 \quad ra^2\text{-}wa^1\text{-}wa^3 \quad ro^3 \quad a^2ku^1 \quad ta^2\text{-}wan^2\text{-}to^2] \]

\[ \text{NMLZ} \text{-} \text{that} \quad \text{1.} \text{-} \text{POSS} \quad \text{year} \quad \text{-} \text{CL} \quad \text{ten} \quad \text{nine} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{-} \text{COS} \quad \text{PAST.3} \]

Lit. ‘That, my year ten nine arrive (change of state)’

‘And, I have arrived at ninety years.’

b. **Folktale 01.04**

\[ i^1\text{-}kəra^2 \quad tfon^2 \quad ku^2\text{-}wan^2\text{-}laŋ^2 \quad a^1ra^2 \quad \eta^1\text{-}ra^3 \]

\[ \text{NMLZ} \text{-} \text{that} \quad \text{tell} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{-} \text{COS} \quad \text{-} \text{NPAST.1S} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{1S} \text{-} \text{ERG} \]

\[ a^1ya^2 \quad a^1ya^2 \quad \text{man}^2\text{-}pan^3 \quad i^1\text{-}kəra^2 \quad \text{te}^2\text{tfi}^2\text{-}\text{wan}^2\text{-}laŋ^2 \]

\[ \text{here} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{story} \quad \text{NMLZ} \text{-} \text{that} \quad \text{know} \quad \text{-} \text{COS} \quad \text{-} \text{NPAST.1S} \]

Lit. ‘That tell given here, I here here story that known’

‘That one which I am telling to you, I have a story that I need to tell you.’

In (134), i'kəra² refers to the previous expression in the narrative, where the speaker says that ‘he was ninety years old’ in (134a). In addition, in (134b) i'kəra² is functioning as a noun head, modified by a relative clause, which includes the serial verb construction tfon² ku^2\text{-}wan^2\text{-}laŋ^2 a^1ra^2 ‘which I am telling you’. Furthermore,
i¹-kəra² occurs as a noun modifier in the main clause in (134b), which follows the noun man²pan³ ‘story’.

To summarize, the demonstrative kəra² can function as an adnominal modifier and a demonstrative pronoun, with either distal or proximal meaning. Next, the extended functions of the demonstrative kəra² are discussed in the following section.

4.3 Extended functions of kəra²

The grammaticalization of the demonstrative kəra² has resulted in several extended functions. These extended functions include pre-clause marking of topical noun phrases, vocatives, and conjunctions. The demonstrative also signals the nominalized status of adverbial and relative subordinate clauses. Furthermore, the demonstrative can express speakers’ stance. Finally, the demonstrative is used in discourse deictic expressions in Rera.

The organization of this section starts with pre-clause marking in (§4.3.1). Then (§4.3.2) sheds light on the discussion of kəra² as a marker of subordinate clause constructions. (§4.3.3) discusses the speaker stance use of kəra².

4.3.1 kəra² as a pre-clause marker

This section presents the kəra² marked pre-clausal constructions. The pre-clause position refers to “the position that immediately precedes the clausal core” (Phillips, 2017, p. xxiv). The pre-clausal expressions include topic marked noun phrases, vocative expressions, conjunctions, adverbial phrases, and kəra² marked pre-clausal exclamations.

4.3.1.1 kəra² as a topic marker

A topicalized expression is marked by the demonstrative kəra² within the pre-clause construction, which often refers to the subject or/and direct object referent in the main clause. An example showing a kəra² marked pre-clause noun phrase, which is co-referential with the direct object referent, is illustrated in (135).
(135) Folktale 04. 03

i¹-kəra²  muk²  a¹-dʒɔŋ²  kəra²  gorman-ra³  bitif
NMLZ-that  peak  ATTR-big  that  government-ERG  British

sahap  a¹-ha²-to²  kəma²  dak³  kəra²  dak³-to²
sahib  ATTR-stay-PAST:3  when  cut  that  cut-PAST:3

Lit. ‘Then, big peak that, government, when the British Sahib (people) were there, cut that (the big peak) down.’

‘Then, as for the big peak, the government, from (the time) when the British were (ruling) here, cut that big mountain peak (it) down.’

In (135), kəra² occurs as a topic marker with muk² a¹-dʒɔŋ² ‘peak ATTR-big’, which refers to the direct object referent, which is referenced by the demonstrative pronoun, kəra² ‘that’, in the main clause.

A topic-marked participant that is co-referential with the subject in the clause is illustrated in (136).

(136) Folktale 01.08

i¹kəra² = maʔ³  [dʒum² ja³  rum²  kəra² maʔ³  kəra²]
after that  house  hundred  three  that  that

Ø  a²duʔ³  ka²la²  mun²  a²sam²  duʔ³
3p  downside  Indian country  Assam  downside

ka¹-o²-li²  ...  
go-COMP-CONT:1P  ...

Lit. ‘That from, house three hundred that, downside Indian country Assam downside going’

‘After that, as for those three hundred households, (they) are going down to Assam...’

In (136), the pre-clause phrasal expression dʒum² ja³ rum² kəra² maʔ³ ‘those three hundred houses’ is marked by kəra². The topicalized pre-clause expression refers to the subject argument in the main clause, which is elided. This topicalized participant reference is also referenced by zero in the subject. In addition, the pre-clause construction is preceded by the conjunction i¹kəra² maʔ³ ‘after that’, which is, further, followed by the main clause construction.
Another example of a topic marked pre-clausal construction is illustrated in (137).

(137) **Folktale 01.09**

\[i^1\cdot kəra^2 \quad \{lum^2\cdot to^2 \quad ta^3\cdot nuk^3 \quad kəra^2 \quad kəra^2\}_{\text{PRE-CLAUSE}}\]

\[\text{NMLZ-that Lumto upside-people that that} \]

\[\{ni^1\cdot rum^2 \quad kəra^2 \quad i^1\cdot fut^3\cdot i^1\cdot wan^3 \quad tan^1\cdot to^2\}_{\text{MC}} \]

\[1P \text{ that NMLZ-pierce-NMLZ-cut attack-PAST:3P} \]

Lit. ‘Then, Lumto upside people that that, they that piercing cutting attacked’

‘Then, as for the whole of those upside Lumto people, they attacked us, piercing and cutting.’

In (137), the second \(kəra^2\) ‘that’, in the pre-clause, marks the noun phrase \(lum^2\cdot to^2 ta^3\cdot nuk^3 kəra^2\) ‘those upside Lumto people’ and indicates a clausal boundary with the main clause that follows it. The first \(kəra^2\) within the pre-clause noun phrase occurs as an adnominal demonstrative indicating distal reference to the \(lum^2\cdot to^2 ta^3\cdot nuk^3\) from the speaker’s current location. Furthermore, in the main clause, \(kəra^2\) ‘that’ modifies the first person plural \(ni^1\cdot rum^2\) ‘1P’ as an adnominal demonstrative. The following section discusses \(kəra^2\) as a marker of vocative expression.

### 4.3.1.2 Vocative expression marker

As is the case with noun phrase topic marking, \(kəra^2\) can also mark vocative expressions, as illustrated in (138).

(138) **Folktale 02.27**

\[he^1\cdot we^2\cdot ku^2 \quad kəra^2 \quad me^2\cdot ke^2 \quad yo^1\cdot ra^2 \quad sa^3\cdot nuk^3\cdot ti^2 \quad wa^2\]

\[\text{crab.F that what say-SEQ order-2S.PAST RL} \]

Lit. That female crab, what say, ordered?’

‘Oh female crab, what did you order?’

In (138), \(kəra^2\) occurs following the vocative \(he^1\cdot we^2\cdot ku^2\) ‘female crab’ with the meaning ‘hey female crab’ or ‘oh female crab’. In addition, the crab is the addressee in the conversation.

The allomorph of \(kəra^2 \sim kə^1\) can also mark a vocative expression, as exemplified in (139).
In (139), the reduced form of \( k\alpha^a \) occurs in the pre-clause position by following the vocative expression \( nap\text{\textsuperscript{m}kum\text{\textsuperscript{m}kat\jo\text{\textsuperscript{m}}} } \) ‘wild banana’, who is the addressee in a conversation.

However, it is not always necessary for vocatives to occur with \( k\alpha^a \), as in (140).

In (140), the vocative argument \( \beta\text{\textsuperscript{g}k\text{\textsuperscript{g}j\text{\textsuperscript{i}}} } \) ‘Oh wild pig’ is not marked by the demonstrative \( k\alpha^a \). In addition, sometimes there is an \( e \) with a high falling pitch as a vocative marker in some other Tangsa varieties (Morey, p.c.).

### 4.3.1.3 \( k\alpha^a \) as a marker of pre-clause exclamations

\( k\alpha^a \) can be used to mark pre-clause exclamations. Exclamations are broadly defined as “any emotional UTTERANCE, usually lacking the grammatical structure of a full sentence, and marked by full intonation” (Crystal, 1985, p. 177). See example (141).

In (141), the reduced form of \( k\alpha^a \) – \( k\alpha^i \) occurs in the pre-clause position by following the vocative expression \( e\text{\textsuperscript{e}we\text{\textsuperscript{w}ku\text{\textsuperscript{w}}} } \) ‘crab.F’. In addition, sometimes there is an \( e \) with a high falling pitch as a vocative marker in some other Tangsa varieties (Morey, p.c.).
In (141), kəra² marks the pre-clause exclamation e¹, which shows the speaker's attitude of being surprised at what the speaker he²we²ku² 'crab.' says about the action of cutting by the woi²ray²wa³raʔ³ 'Woirang monkey'. Finally, the last pre-clause function of the demonstrative kəra² ~ i¹kəra² is described in the following section (§4.3.1.4).

4.3.1.4 kəra² as a conjunction

Although Rera has regular conjunctions (i²na² ~ a²na² 'and'), kəra² can also function as a conjunction where it links two separate elements either at the phrase level or at the clause level. An example showing the use of kəra² ~ kaʔ³ linking two separate phrasal elements is shown in (142).

(142) Folktale 01.12

...i¹ka³ [niŋ²kan² na²] [ni¹rum² kəra² a²duʔ³
then cause at 1p that downside

a²sam² muj²³ duʔ³ ka¹-o²-ti²]
assam:country downside go-COMP-PAST:1

Lit. 'Then cause at we that downside Assam country downside went.'
'Then, that is why we came down to Assam.'

In (142), i¹ka³ 'then', the allomorph of kəra², functions as a conjunction, which shows a continuity of information (action) from the previous references in the story and occurs in the pre-clause position. In addition, a²duʔ³ ~ duʔ³ 'downside' is used to show remoteness and deictic references when the reference object is out of sight from the speaker.

Another example of kəra² as a conjunction is exemplified in (143).

(143) Folktale 01.07

i¹-kəra²-ma² me²ke² ma²-ra³ni² muj²kan²
NMLZ-that-for what IRR-BE world

gaʔ³ yaʔ³ yam²loʔ³ ha²-to²
village at how long stay-PAST

Lit. 'For that, what it will be, world-village at how long lived'
'For that, what it will be, how long they lived in this world.'
In (143), a morphological bounding of the demonstrative kara² with the nominalizer i¹- along with the postpositional suffix -ma² ‘for’ shows its use as a conjunction. The conjunction serves to advance the narrative.

The most common use of i¹kara² ~ i¹kamaʔ² is as a conjunction in narratives, as in (144).

(144) a. Folktales 02.13

```
LIT. ‘Ah! Elephant that crying what happened’

Ah! The elephant having cried out, “Eh what is happening to me”.
```

b. Folktales 02.14

```
Then, having told that, “what has happened to me?”
```

In (144), the previous sentence shows a situation in (144a), where the elephant (bo³le²) is crying. The allomorph of i¹kara²~i¹kamaʔ ‘then’ occurs in the initial position of the second sentence in (144b), which connects the sequence of thoughts and links the two sentences in the greater context of the narrative. It has been recorded in the corpus that the i¹kara² typically occurs in the sentence- or clause-initial position.

The nominalizer i¹- can occur with the demonstrative kara², and provides pragmatic functions in doing so. An example of the nominalizer i¹- in a combination with kara² expressing conjunctive structure is exemplified in (145).
(145) **Folktale 04.15**

\[
i¹-\text{kəra}² \quad \text{ma}² \quad i¹\text{ka}³ \quad \text{jo}² \quad \text{kəra}² \quad \text{mi}³\text{ho}³
\]

*NMlz*-that for that water this NEG-dry

Lit. ‘Then, for that, this water was not dry’

‘And then, for that, this water was not dry.’

In (145), the clause-initial form, \(i¹\text{kəra}²\) ‘NMlz-that’ is functioning as a conjunction which indicates temporal sequence. These occurrences of \(i¹\text{kəra}²\) are more common in story-telling than in normal discourse, e.g. conversation, monologue, etc.

### 4.3.1.5 \(kəra²\) as a pre-clause marker summarized

This section has shown the extended functions of the demonstrative \(kəra²\) occurring in a pre-clause position. First, topicalized constructions were discussed. These are marked by the demonstrative \(kəra²\) within the pre-clause construction. Topicalized expressions, typically, refer to the subject or/and direct object referent in the main clause. Secondly, the use of \(kəra²\) to mark vocative expression was demonstrated. The demonstrative \(kəra²\) occurs in vocative expressions and indicates expression of address in narratives. Thirdly, the \(kəra²\) marked pre-clausal exclamations were also described, where the demonstrative occurs with the exclamation particle \(e¹\). Finally, \(kəra²\) can function as a conjunction linking separate elements either at the clause level or sentence level (previous expressions in a narrative). The following section discusses \(kəra²\) as a marker of subordinate clauses in §4.3.2.

### 4.3.2 \(kəra²\) as a marker of subordinate clauses

Nominalization constructions can be signaled by demonstratives through a substantivization strategy, “whereby a clause can be more readily recognized as a nominalization construction” (Yap et al., 2011, p. 14). The demonstrative \(kəra²\) ‘that’ signals nominalization constructions at the clause level for both relative (§4.3.2.1) and adverbial clauses (§4.3.2.2).

### 4.3.2.1 \(kəra²\) as a marker of relative clauses

The Rera complex noun phrase construction includes a relative clause construction, which is to be considered part of the extended functions of \(kəra²\), as diagrammed in (146).
(146) Relative clause construction

Noun head [Clause + \(k ara^2\)]

As shown in (146), the relative clause occurs following the external head. This clause is marked by the demonstrative \(k ara^2\). The following example (147) illustrates a relative clause construction.

(147) Elicited data 47

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
mi^2wa^1 & gu'ta^2rna^2 & ja^1 & ma^2 & kam^2lam^2 & jo^2 \\
man & who & 1s & for & bring & water \\
\end{array}
\]

\[k ara^2\]_RELATIVE-CLAUSE \[a^1-hap^2\] \[ku^2\]

that ATTR-beautiful very

Lit. ‘Man who me for bring water that beautiful very’
‘The man who brings my water is very beautiful.’

In (147), the relative clause \(gu'ta^2rna^2 ja^1 ma^2 kam^2lam^2 jo^2 k ara^2\) ‘who brings my water’ occurs following the head, \(mi^2wa^1\) ‘man’. This construction occurs in the subject position of an attributive clause, with the attributive predicate \(a^1hap^2\) ‘beautiful’ followed by the intensifier \(ku^2\) ‘very’.

An example of a noun phrase with a relative clause from text is exemplified in (148).

(148) Folktale 02.01

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
woi^2ra^2wa^1 & jo^1-ra^2 & k ara^2 & jok^2wi^2 & wa^1tfti^1 \\
Woirang-CL.M & say-SEQ & that & monkey & one \\
\end{array}
\]

\[r o -to^2\]
BE-PAST:3

Lit. ‘Woirang say that one monkey was’
‘The one who is called Woirang was a monkey.’

In (148), the noun phrase \(woi^2ra^2wa^1 jo^1ra^2\) ‘one who is called Woirang’ is a headless relative clause which is marked by \(k ara^2\), which is referring to the subject \(woi^2ra^2wa^1\) ‘Woirang’ within a verbless copula clause. Woirang is identified as a monkey in the copula complement noun phrase that follows. In addition, this \(k ara^2\)-marked construction shows ambiguity in marking of the relative clause. The status of the demonstrative \(k ara^2\) is ambiguous to some extent as to whether it is occurring
as an adnominal demonstrative to mark a zero subject, or as the head of the relative clause construction. This issue needs to be addressed in further research.

Another example of a relative clause in text is shown in (149).

(149) Folktale 01.10

\[ i^1\text{-}kəra^2 \text{ niŋ}^2\text{kan}^2 \text{ na}^2 \text{ ni}^1\text{rum}^2\text{-ra}^3 kəra^2 \text{ fa}^1\text{rum}^3 \]

NMLZ-that cause at 1P-ERG that 3P

\[ kəra^2 \text{ [mi}^2 \text{ fa}^3 \text{ rum}^2 \text{ ka}^1\text{-to}^2 \text{ kəra}^2] \]

that person hundred three go-PAST:3 that

\[ be^2\text{yag}^2 \text{ wan}^2\text{o}^2\text{-to}^2 \]

all cut-COMP-PAST:3

Lit. ‘Then, cause at, we that they that three hundred of them who went (Lumto people) that, all were cut.’

‘Then, that is why we killed all three hundred of them (Lumto people) who came.’

In (149), \( kəra^2 \) marks the relative clause that modifies the noun head \( mi^2 \) ‘person’, which refers to Lumto\(^{12} \) people. This complex noun phrase \( mi^2 fa^3 rum^2 ka^1\text{-to}^2 kəra^2 \) refers to the object referent in the clause. The following section demonstrates the use of the demonstrative \( kəra^2 \) as a marker of adverbial clauses.

4.3.2.2 \( kəra^2 \) as a marker of adverbial clauses

\( kəra^2 \) is also used to mark an adverbial subordinate clause, such as a time adverbial clause, as shown in (150).

(150) Folktale 02.11

\[ kəra^2=ma^2 pu^3 ra \text{ kəra}^2 \text{ pak}^3\text{se}^3 ra \text{ ka}^1\text{-o}^2\text{-to}^2 \]

that=for fly BE that bat go-COMP-PAST:3

Lit. ‘That for fly be that bat went’

‘And then, after flying away, the bat went.’

In (150), the initial subordinate clause, \( kəra^2ma^2 pu^3 ra kəra^2 \) ‘after flying away’ shows a sequence of time, where an action of flying has been carried out, which is followed by the main clause \( pak^3\text{se}^3 ra kəra^2 \text{ ka}^1\text{o}^2\text{to}^2 \) ‘the bat went’.\(^{13} \) This type of time

\(^{12} \) Lumto is a specific group of the Tangsa people.

\(^{13} \) The verb \( pu^3 \) ‘fly’ is pronounced as \( pʰu^3 \), which is not contrastive in Rera.

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adverbial expression is frequently used in narratives to proclaim a continuity of events one after another, as shown in (151).

(151) Folktales 02. 07

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{[dat}^3 & \text{tfit}^2 \text{wan}^3 \text{r} & \kara^2]_{\text{sc}} & \text{[i}^1 \kara^2 & \text{pe}^1 \text{ka}^2 \text{tu}^3 & \text{te}^2] \\
\text{fall & CAUS-COS-BE & that & NMLZ-that & fruit-CL} \\
\text{dat}^3 \text{r} & \kara^2]_{\text{sc}} & \emptyset & [\beta \text{ok}^2 \text{ji}^1 & \text{rup}^3 & \text{ka}^2 \text{du}^3 & \text{te}^2] \\
\text{fall-BE-that & SUBJ & [wild.pig & nest & upside & hit} \\
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘Fall (drop) cause that, that fruit, fall on pig’s nest and hit’
‘And dropping it down, having dropped, it hit a pig’s nest.’

In (151), \( \kara^2 \) ‘that’ signals the nominalized status of both the adverbial subordinate clause \( \text{dat}^3 \text{tfit}^2 \text{wan}^3 \text{r} \kara^2 \) ‘dropping it down’, and the second adverbial clause \( i^1 \kara^2 \text{pe}^1 \text{ka}^2 \text{tu}^3 \text{dat}^3 \text{r} \kara^2 \) ‘having dropped it’.

Another example of a \( \kara^2 \) marked adverbial clause indicating a nominalized construction is shown in (152).

(152) Folktales 04. 01

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{[jo}^2 & \text{lum}^2 \text{to}^2 & \kara^2 & \text{ma}^3 & i^1 \kara^2 = \text{ma}^3 & \text{am}^2 \text{tfu}^i} \\
\text{water & flood-PAST:3 & that & from & NMLZ-that = from & now} \\
\text{a}^2 \text{ja}^2 & \text{to}^2 \text{ny}^3 \text{lo}^4 & \text{muk}^3 & \text{a}^1 \text{dzo}^2 & \text{wa}^2 \text{tfi}^i \\
\text{here & tell-PRES:3 & peak & ATTR-big & one} \\
\text{a}^1 \text{rin}^2 & \text{wa}^2 \text{tfi}^i & \text{a}^1 \text{ha}^2 \\
\text{ATTR-small & one & ATTR-stay} \\
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘That flooded water, now (then) as told here peak, there one big peak, one small peak exists.’
‘And after that \text{water flooded}, as it is told now, there was a big peak and a small peak.’

In (152), \( \text{jo}^2 \text{lum}^2 \text{to}^2 \kara^2 \text{ma}^3 \) ‘after water flooded’ is a \( \kara^2 \) marked adverbial clause construction. The clause \( \text{jo}^2 \text{lum}^2 \text{to}^2 \kara^2 \text{ma}^3 \) ‘after water flooded’ is formed with the noun \( \text{jo}^2 \) ‘water’, a verb predicate \( \text{lum}^2 \text{to}^2 \) ‘flooded’, and the demonstrative \( \kara^2 \) along with \( \text{ma}^3 \) ‘from’, which nominalizes the clause.
$\kara^2$-marked adverbial clauses also occur in tail-head linkage constructions, which consist of two sentences that convey the same information. The tail presents the mainline event, while the head recapitulates the information in the previous clause. This is shown in (153).

(153) a. Folktale 02.08

$[...\nap^3\kum^2 \kats^2 \le^3]\$

wild banana push

Lit. ‘Wild banana push’

‘The wild banana tree was pushed.’

b. Folktale 02.09

$[\nap^3\kum^2 \kats^2 \le^3-\ra^2 \kama^3 \kara^2] \napk^2 \kach^2$

wild banana push-SEQ that:from that wild banana

$kara^2\wa^2 \kara^2 \pak^3\se^3 \hta^2-\to^2 \tio^1$

from that bat stay-PAST.3 say

Lit. ‘Wild banana push that from that wild banana from (in) that bat stayed, say’

‘And having pushed the wild banana tree, the bat stayed in the wild banana tree there, it is said.’

In (153), $\nap^3\kum^2 \kats^2 \le^3 \kama^3 \kara^2$ ‘after having pushed a wild banana tree’ is a recapitulation of the main clause in (153a), which occurs in (153b) as a temporal adverbial clause.
The tail-head linkage construction is diagrammed in (154).

(154) Tail-head linkage construction

Diagram (154) shows that, in Rera, the expression that occurs as the tail is the main clause. This is followed by the subordinate adverbial clause. This subordinate clause is substantivized by kəra² and the whole clause acts as a subordinate clause preceding the main clause in the sentence. Consider example (155a) and (155b).

(155) a. Folktale 02.02

\[\ldots \text{pin}^2\text{fong}^2 \quad \text{ta}^1 \quad \text{ha}^2\text{-}to^2 \quad \text{o}^1 \] \[\text{N + POSTP + V} \]
\[\text{stay-PAST.3} \quad \text{say} \]

Lit. ‘Tree upside stayed, say’
‘…(They) stayed in the top of the tree, it is said.’
b. Folktale 02. 03

[\textit{pin}²ʃ\textit{foŋ}² \textit{ta}¹ \textit{ha}² \textit{rə} \textit{kəra}²] \textit{he}¹ \textit{kəra}² \textit{kəra}²

tree upside stay BE that crab that that

e \textit{woi}²\textit{raj}² \textit{wa}¹ lei \textit{a}²\textit{motfu}¹ \textit{məna}²

EXCL Woirang- CL.M VOC now PART

\textit{mo}¹\textit{ra}²\textit{3} \textit{i}²\textit{kəra}² \textit{pin}²\textit{foŋ}² \textit{kəra}² \textit{kə'ta}¹\textit{wa}²

2S-ERG NMLZ-that tree that from

\textit{a}² \textit{si}'\textit{ri}¹ \textit{kəra}² \textit{dat}³ \textit{tʃi}² \textit{paŋ}¹ \textit{ŋo}¹ \textit{ku}²\textit{ra}²]_{S2}

HESIT gourd that fall CAUS let.1S say give-SEQ

Lit. ‘Tree upside stay be that, crab that, “Oh Woirang, now you that tree that from that gourd (siri) that fall say giving”’

‘While staying in the tree, (said) “Hey, crab, now, I have said that I will make the \textit{siri} fruit fall down the tree for you”.’

In (155a), \textit{pin}²\textit{foŋ}² \textit{ta}¹ \textit{ha}²\textit{to}² ‘stayed in the top of the tree’ is an event line clause, occurring as the tail in a tail-head linkage. In (155b), the adverbial clause, which is marked by \textit{kəra}², occurs preceding the main clause of the next sentence and repeats the information in (155a).

Tail-head linkage construction is often achieved through adverbial clause construction, as in (156).

(156) a. Folktale 03.04

[... \textit{kam}² \textit{tfa}² \textit{ke}²\textit{2-ka}¹\textit{-to}² \textit{ŋo}¹]_{S1}

... water fetch NMLZ-go-PAST.3 say

Lit. ‘...water fetch going say.’

‘(They) went to fetch water, it is said.’

b. Folktale 03.05

[\textit{kam}² \textit{tfa}² \textit{ka}¹ \textit{kəra}² \textit{kam}² \textit{kəra}² \textit{bo}²\textit{3} \textit{nun}²]_{S2}

water fetch go that water that mud mix

Lit. ‘Water fetch go that water that mud mix’

‘When they went to fetch water, the water was mixed up with mud.’
In (156) kam² tfa² ke²-ka¹-to² yo¹ ‘went to fetch water’ occurs in the tail of the tail-head linkage in (156a) at the end of the sentence, and that same expression is used in the beginning of (156b). The clause in the head construction in the second sentence in (156b) is marked by kəra², which indicates an adverbiaal construction. Furthermore, tail-head linkage occurs most frequently in the same thematic paragraph in Rera, rather than beyond paragraph boundaries. In addition, tail-head linkage is an important feature of narrative discourse, particularly in the time-chain of the story where it emphasizes main events, i.e. the meaning carried through the main verbs. Meanwhile, the following section discusses the use of kəra² to denote speaker stance.

4.3.3 kəra² as speaker’s stance
Nominalization in Tibeto-Burman frequently expresses speaker stance. DeLancey (1986, p. 3) refers to this as “the expression of surprise, amazement or counter-expectation”. This is illustrated for Rera in (157).

(157) a. Folktale 02.03

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccccc}
pin²tʃoŋ² & ta¹ & ha² & ra & kəra² & he¹ & kəra² & kəra² & \\
tree & up side & stay & BE & that & crab & that & that & \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
e & woi²raŋ²-wa¹ & lei & a²mətʃu¹ & məna² & mo¹-raʔ³ & \\
EXCL & Woirang-CL.M VOC & now & PART & 2S-ERG & \\
i¹-kəra² & pin²tʃoŋ² & kəra² & a & si’ri¹ & kəra² & \\
NMLZ-that & tree & that & HESIT & siri & that & \\
dat³ & tʃit³ & pay¹ & yo¹ & ku²-ra² & \\
fall & fall & let.1S & say & give-SEQ & \\
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘Tree upside staying, that crab that, Eh! Woirang crab now we that tree that, hesitation! Siri that fall I will, say giving.’

‘While staying in the tree, “Hey Woirang crab, now, I have said that I will make the Siri fruit fall down from the tree for you”.’

b. Folktale 02.04

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
ηa¹-ra²³ & mi³² & a & ηa¹-ra²³ & mi²-jut²-ləŋ¹ & be² & \\
1S-ERG & NEG & HESIT & 1S-ERG & NEG-able-1S & NEG:EMPH & \\
\end{array}
\]

Lit. ‘I, hesitate! I not able do’

‘I am not able to do it.’
c. Folktale 02.05

\[ i^1-k\text{\textordm{a}}^2 \quad re^2ka^1 \quad k\text{\textordm{a}}\text{\textordm{a}}^2 \quad ba^2 \quad ma^2\text{-}\text{\textordm{j}}u\text{\textordm{t}}^3 \quad \eta^1-r\text{\textordm{o}}^2^3 \]

NMLZ-that squirrel that only IRR-able say-PART

Lit. ‘Attention, that squirrel will be able to do, said’

“‘Attention, the squirrel only will be able to do it,’ he said.’

In (157c), the demonstrative \( k\text{\textordm{a}}^2 \) occurs with the nominalizer \( i^1- \), which shows the speaker’s mood of counter-expectation in a narrative. The context of the speaker stance of counter-expectation can be gathered from the previous context in the narrative as shown in (157a) and (157b). In (157a), the squirrel (actor) is referring to an action of dropping the Siri fruit from the tree, and later, in (157b), the squirrel admits to his inability to perform the action. The series of actions in (157a) and (157b) create a thrilling atmosphere to the witnesses (speakers) in the narrative, such as the Woirang crab \( \text{\textordm{woi}}^2\text{\textordm{r}}\text{\textordm{a}}^2 \text{\textordm{g}}^1 \text{\textordm{e}}^1 \text{\textordm{i}}^1 \) . As a result of the expectation regarding the action of dropping down the Siri fruit, the crab in (157c), expresses his stance with \( i^1-k\text{\textordm{a}}^2 \) literally meaning ‘attention’.

Another example showing the speaker’s amazement of an action is illustrated in (158).

(158) Folktale 02.22

\[ i^1-k\text{\textordm{a}}^2 \quad \beta\text{\textordm{k}}^3\text{\textordm{g}}^1 \text{\textordm{j}}^1 \quad k\text{\textordm{a}}\text{\textordm{a}}^2 \quad \eta^1 \quad r\text{\textordm{u}}^3 = na^2 \quad pe^1\text{\textordm{k}}^1\text{\textordm{a}}^1\text{-}\text{\textordm{t}}^3 \]

NMLZ-that wild.pig that 1.POSS nest = at fruit-CL

\[ dat^3\text{-}r\text{\textordm{o}} \quad \eta^1\text{-}r\text{\textordm{o}}^2 \]

fall-BE say-SEQ

Lit. ‘Eh (gosh)! That wild pig that my nest in fruit fall, say’

‘Gosh! And that pig said, a Peka fruit fell on my nest.’

In (158), the speaker’s amazement of the action of falling a fruit on the pig’s nest is expressed by \( i^1-k\text{\textordm{a}}^2 \). The examples of speaker stance are limited in the texts, and, therefore, there could be more functions related to this topic.

Finally, the Rera demonstrative functions are summarized in (§4.4).

4.4 Rera demonstrative functions summarized

The preceding discussion has introduced the extended functions of the demonstrative \( k\text{\textordm{a}}^2 \) along with the functions of the nominalized form of \( k\text{\textordm{a}}^2 \). It can
function as a marker of pre-clause topical noun phrases. The demonstrative can also be used as a vocative case marker in Rera. The grammaticalization of the demonstrative also includes its use as a conjunction, where it connects separate expressions. Furthermore, the demonstrative can also substantivize relative and adverbial clauses, where it signals nominalized constructions. Moreover, a tail-head linkage construction includes a tail, which is, more often, an event line construction occurring as a main clause. In addition, the head construction in a tail-head linkage is an adverbial clause in Rera. Finally, $\text{kəra}^2$ can be used to express speaker stance in narratives. These functions are summarised in Table 27.

**Table 27 Summary of the extended functions of $\text{kəra}^2$**

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Chapter 5
Conclusion

This thesis has provided the first description of Rera morphosyntactic structures, along with an examination of lexical nominalization, and the extended functions of the demonstrative $kəra^2$.

The morphosyntactic examination shows basic argument constructions including noun phrase structures, pronouns, determiners, and postpositional phrases. The noun phrase in Rera consists of an obligatory noun head, along with optional modifiers. These optional modifiers include possessors, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers. These modifiers can occur both pre- and post-head in a noun phrase. In addition, the demonstratives can occur pre-, post-, and in both pre- and post-head positions, while other modifiers can either precede or follow the head noun. This thesis also discusses noun phrase coordination, in which two or more nouns or noun phrases are combined into a larger unit.

Pronouns can be distinguished as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, possessive determiners, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, and interrogative pronouns. Morphosyntactically, personal pronouns have an ergative-absolutive case system in which ergative is marked by the suffix -$ra^2$ and the absolutive is indicated by zero. In addition, possessive determiners are formed by a combination of a personal pronoun form and the possessive enclitic =$rɛ^2$, while reflexive pronouns include the reflexive suffix =$ba^1$. Interrogative pronouns are a set of compound words, while demonstrative pronouns exhibit proximal and distal references. In addition, the demonstrative pronouns have the same form as adnominal demonstratives. Finally, the non-extended use of $kəra^2$ shows that it can refer to a previous expression in narratives viz-a-viz a discourse deictic expression.

Rera postpositional phrases consist of the object of the postposition, along with a postpositional enclitic. The locational phrases include an obligatory location noun phrase object along with an optional locational enclitic =$na^2$. To express a spatial relation, a relator noun is used, which is the possessee of the locational noun. Both spatial references of coincidence and interiority are found in the corpus. Finally, elaborate expression constructions can be either four or six syllables, i.e. [$A_1 + B$ $+$ $A_2 + C$] or [$A_1 + B_1 + C + A_2 + B_2 + D$].
Clausal structures include both verbal and non-verbal clause constructions. A verbal clause construction can be identified based on its predicate types, i.e. intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses. Non-verbal clause constructions are of two types, i.e. attributive clause constructions and verbless copula clause constructions. Attributive clauses include the attributive predicate along with the subject argument. Verbless copula clause constructions consist of two juxtaposed noun phrase constructions, the verbless copula subject and the verbless copula complement.

Simple sentence constructions contain the subject and object arguments, along with the verb predicate. In addition, a simple sentence can also include an optional pre-clausal conjunction, noun phrase, vocatives, or exclamations, all of which can be marked by the demonstrative kara². Complex sentences can include a kara²-marked subordinate clause construction followed by a matrix clause. The second type of complex sentence construction is a quotative complex sentence, which includes a main clause and a speech complement. Coordinate clause constructions are the third type of complex sentence construction. They contain a series of two independent clauses which have no coordinating conjunction.

Lexical nominalization constructions in Rera include nominalizers, classifier nominalization, and verb stem alternation nominalization. There are two prefixal nominalizers found in Rera, i.e. i¹- and keʔ³-, which nominalize non-nominals, such as verbs, into nouns. The nominalizer i¹- is a grammaticalized form of the third person possessive prefix, i²- ‘3.poss’. Both i¹- and keʔ³- occur in event and participant nominalization constructions. The text examples show that i¹-nominalized constructions can be used to express speaker stance or mood. Finally, these nominalized constructions can also inflect for tense and number marking.

In addition, nominalization construction can also be indicated by noun phrase markers, such as classifiers. In Rera, classifiers can be used to indicate nominalized verbs, a type of substantivization strategy.

Nominalized constructions can also be signaled by verb stem alternation. In this alternation, the verbal root may carry either Tone 1 or Tone 2, while the nominalized root carries Tone 3. There are two types of verb stem alternation nominalized constructions. In the first type, the nominalizer i¹- occurs with the tonal stem alternation. In the second type, nominalization is achieved by tone change alone without the nominalizer i¹-. Finally, the tonal patterns with verbal and attributive forms contrast in their tone-shifting patterns.
The grammaticalization of the demonstrative *kəra*² has developed several extended functions. Besides the non-extended uses of *kəra*², such as adnominal modification and demonstrative pronoun, *kəra*² can mark pre-clause noun phrases, vocatives, and exclamations in Rera. The demonstrative *kəra*² also signals nominalized constructions under a substantivization strategy (Yap et al., 2011). Under this strategy, *kəra*² marks subordinate clause constructions, both relative clause constructions and adverbial clause constructions. One pattern in which substantivized adverbial clauses can occur is in a tail-head linkage construction. In a tail-head linkage construction, the demonstrative marks the head of a tail-head linkage construction, which, more often, occurs in the same thematic paragraph, rather than beyond paragraph boundaries.

The demonstrative *kəra*² together with the nominalizer *i¹* has various extended functions. One prominent use of *i¹kəra*² is to indicate speaker stance, which shows the speaker’s mood or counter-expectation in narratives. In addition, *i¹kəra*² most frequently occurs as a conjunction at the beginning of a sentence.

This thesis work only represents a start to an understanding of Rera morphosynatctic behaviors, along with nominal aspects such as lexical nominalization and the extended functions of the demonstrative *kəra*². Much remains to be investigated. While transcribing and analyzing the language data, I encountered confusion as to the gloss for *kəra*². Sometimes the native speaker glossed it as ‘this’, rather than ‘that’. Another issue that remains to be addressed is the combination and meaning of *kəra*² with the nominalizer *i¹*, i.e. *kəra*²~ *i¹kəra*², and whether the presence or non-presence of the nominalizer results in different functions. The case marking in Rera is perplexing due to its irregularities with regard to the ergative-absolutive pattern, which needs more analysis with appropriate data. In conclusion, further research and data are needed to understand the grammatical patterns of the Rera variety of Tangsa.
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APPENDIX A
THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

[*Please note that the text numbers (e.g. Folktale xx.xx) in the body of the thesis do not correspond to the example numbering given here. The numbering of the examples in the body of the thesis corresponds to the author’s FLEX database.]

1. \(\eta a^1\ a'ya^2\ man^2\text{pan}^3\ ku^2\text{lan}^2\)
   \(\text{1}\text{S}\ \text{here}\ \text{story}\ \text{tell-NPAST:1S}\)
   
   Lit. ‘I here story tell’
   ‘I am telling a story’

2. \(\eta a^1\ \text{min}^3\ \text{kora}^2\ \text{mo}^2\text{hen}^2\ \text{ru}^2\text{ra}^2\)
   \(\text{1}\text{S}\ \text{name}\ \text{that}\ \text{mohen}\ \text{rera}\)
   
   Lit. ‘My name that mohen Rera’
   ‘My name is Mohen Rera’

3. \([i^1\text{-kora}^2\ \eta a^1\ \text{ra}^2\text{wa}^1\text{-wa}^3\ \text{ro}^2\ a^2\text{ku}^1\ \text{ta}^2\text{-wan}^2\text{-to}^2]\)
   \(\text{NMLZ-that}\ \ \text{1.POSS}\ \text{year-CL}\ \text{ten}\ \text{nine}\ \text{arrive-COS-PAST.3}\)
   
   Lit. ‘That, my year ten nine arrive (change of state)’
   ‘And, I have arrived at ninety years.’

4. \(i^1\text{-kora}^2\ \text{fog}^2\ \text{ku}^2\text{-wan}^2\text{-lan}^2\ \text{a}^2\text{ra}^2\ \eta a^1\text{-ra}^2\)
   \(\text{NMLZ-that}\ \ \text{tell}\ \ \text{give-COS-NPAST.1S}\ \text{here}\ \text{1S-ERG}\)
   
   \(a'ya^2\ a'ya^2\ \text{man}^2\text{pan}^3\ i^1\text{-kora}^2\ \text{te}^2\text{fog}^3\text{-wan}^2\text{-lan}^2\)
   \(\text{here}\ \text{here}\ \text{story}\ \ \text{NMLZ-that}\ \ \text{know-COS-NPAST.1S}\)
   
   Lit. ‘That tell given here, I here here story that known’
   ‘That one which I am telling to you, I have a story that I need to tell you.’
5. \(a^n_i^1 = m_\lambda^3\) \(k_\alpha^2 t_\mu^2 = n_\alpha^2\) \(h_\alpha^2 - t_\omega^2\) \(k_\omega = m_\lambda^3\) \(n_\iota^1 r_\mu^2\)

long ago = from kachu = at stay-PAST.3 that = from 1P

\(-t_i^2\) \(n_i^2 - w_a^1\) \(\eta_o^1 - t_i^2\) \(k_\alpha^2\) \(k_u^2 j_\epsilon^2\)

grandfather two-CL:M say-PAST.1 that festival

\(m_e^2 j^n_2\) \(a^2 p_i^u^2\) \(a^2 l_i^u^2\) \(h_\alpha^2 - t_\omega^2\)

festival:EUPH joy joy:EUPH stay-PAST.3

Lit. ‘Long ago from Kachu at stayed then from, our grandfathers two said that festival joyfully staying’

‘Long ago, when staying at Kachu, what we call our ancestors, stayed joyfully celebrating festivals.’

6. \(a^2 h_an^2\) \(m_a^2\) \(h_\alpha^2 - r_a^2\) \(i^1 - p_a^k^3\) \(i^1 - s_a^t^3\) \(k_o^2 - w_a^n^2 - t_\omega^2\)

good from stay-SEQ NMLZ-eat-NMLZ-EUPH prepare-COS-PAST:3

\(a^1 r_a^2\) \(i^1 - n_o^m^2\) \(i^1 - n_a^2\) \(m_\omega a^2\) \(r_o - t_\omega^2\)

this NMLZ-dance-NMLZ-EUPH ... BE-past:2

Lit. good staying, food were prepared, there was dancing.’

‘Staying well, foods were prepared, also there was dancing.’

7. \(i^1 k_\alpha^2 m_a^2\) \(m_e^2 k_e^2\) \(m_a^2 - r_o^3 n_i^2\) \(m_u^j^3 k_a^2\) \(g_a^2\) \(y_a^2\)

after that what IRR-BE world village at

\(y_a^2 m_o^2 l_o^2\) \(h_\alpha^2 - t_\omega^2\) \(k_\omega m_a^2\) \(k_\alpha^2\) \(k_\alpha^2 t_\mu^2\)

how long stay-PAST:3P after that that Kachu

\(g_a^2\) \(k_\omega m_\omega a^2\) \(m_i^2\) \(k_\alpha^2\) \(d_\gamma m^2\) \(k_\alpha^2\) \(f_a^3\)

village that person that house that hundred

\(r_u^m^2\) \(r_o^2 - w_a^n^2 - t_\omega^2\)

three BE-COS-PAST.3P

Lit. ‘After that what will world village, how long stayed after that, that Kachu village that person three hundred existed’

‘And after that, what it will be, how long they lived in this world, there were three hundred households of people staying at Kachu.’
8. \([i^1kəra^2=maʔ^3]_{\text{PRECLAUSE}}^{}dʒum^2 \ fa^3.ruμ^2 \ kəra = maʔ^3 \ kəra^2\)

\(a^2.du^3 \ ka^2.la^2 \ muŋ^2 \ a^2.sam^2 \ dū^3\)

that = from house hundred.three that = from that
down side Indian country Assam down side

\(kəra^2 \ i^1-ʃuτ^3 \ i^1-\text{wan}^3-\text{to}^2\)

this NMLZ-cut-pierce-cut-PAST.3

Lit. ‘After that house three hundred that downside Indian country Assam downside went, what cause (for what reason) say if that’

‘After that, (of) those three hundred households, for what reason were we coming down to Assam, if it is said.’

9. \(i^1-kəra^2 \ lum^2\text{to}^2 \ tənuk^3 \ kəra^2 \ kəra^2 \ ni^1\text{ruμ}^2\)

\(kəra^2 \ i^1-\text{fut}^3-i^1-\text{wan}^3-\text{to}^2\)

this NMLZ-pierce-nmlz-cut-PAST.3

Lit. ‘Then, Lumto upside people this we this piercing cutting’

‘With the whole of Lumto, there was piercing and cutting.’

10. \(i^1-kəra^2 \ niŋ^2\text{kan}^2 \ na^2 \ ni^1\text{ruμ}^2-\text{ra}^3 \ kəra^2 \ fa^1\text{ruμ}^3\)

\(kəra^2 \ mi^2 \ fa^1 \ ruμ^3 \ kəra^2 \ i^1-\text{to}^2 \ kəra^2\)

that person hundred three go-PAST.3 that

\(\text{be}^2\text{yaŋ}^2 \ \text{wan}^4-o^2-\text{to}^2\)

all cut-COMP-PAST.3P

Lit. ‘That why at (this is why), we that them that person three hundred went (came), that all cut (killed)’

‘That is why, we killed all the three hundred of them who came.’
11. Ø be²yay² lan²-o²-t-o²

SUBJ all kill-COMP-PAST:3P

Lit. ‘(They) all killed.’
‘(They) were all killed.’

12. [i¹-kəra²kat³ hit³ ma²] PRECLAUSE i¹-ka³³ [kəra²]

NMLZ-that fear for NMLZ-that that

i¹-to²ṭjin³ ma²-ra? miʔ²-τoʔ³ noʔ³ i¹ be²]

NMLZ- avenge for-ERG NEG-pay can 1P emph

i¹ka³ [ning²khan² na²] [ni¹rum² kəra² a²duʔ]

then cause LOC 1P that down side

a²sam² mun² duʔ³ ka¹-o²-ti²]

assam:country down side go-COMP-PAST:1

Lit. ‘Then, due to fear of that revenge, we could not pay, then because of that, we came downside to the Assan country.’
‘Due to fear of revenge, since we could not repay (for the killing of the three hundred people), and so that is why we came down to Assam.’
Lit. ‘all this that tell give that Assam country at that stayed time joyfully only stayed we world here stayed like that, that story one is that story that what story caused say if then tell give I’

‘All this that I am telling, the time that we are staying in Assam being joyful, we staying in this world, the one story, that story, whatever it is, I told you.’
THE MONKEY STORY

1. \text{woirang-CL.M say SEQ that monkey one BE-PAST.3}

Lit. ‘Woirang say, that one monkey, was’
‘The one called Woirang Father was a monkey.’

2. \text{ni\textsuperscript{1}rum\textsuperscript{2} ti\textsuperscript{2} ni\textsuperscript{2}-wa\textsuperscript{1} i\textsuperscript{1}k\textordmasculine{ara}\textsuperscript{2} ma\textsuperscript{2} man\textsuperscript{2}-pan\textsuperscript{3}}

1p grandfather two-CL.M NMLZ-that from story

\text{k\textordmasculine{ara} Woirang-CL.M-ERG that Woirang-CL.M say-PAST}

\text{ni\textsuperscript{2}-wa\textsuperscript{1}ra\textsuperscript{3} k\textordmasculine{ara} woirang-CL.M sink\textsuperscript{1}r\textordmasculine{a}\textsuperscript{1}ti\textsuperscript{2}}

Lit. ‘Our grandfather two that from story that Woirang that Woirang said that tree upside stayed say’
‘From the story of our grandfathers, the Woirang, the one called Woirang, was staying in the top of the tree, it is said.’

3. \text{pin\textsuperscript{2}t\textordmasculine{a}f\textordmasculine{on} \textsuperscript{2} ta\textsuperscript{1} ha\textsuperscript{2} ra k\textordmasculine{ara} he\textsuperscript{1} k\textordmasculine{ara} k\textordmasculine{ara}]

\text{tree upside stay BE that crab that that}

\text{e Woirang- CL.M EXCL lei a\textsuperscript{2}mot\textordmasculine{u}i\textsuperscript{1} m\textordmasculine{on}a\textsuperscript{2}}

\text{EXCL Woirang- CL.M VOC now PART}

\text{mo\textsuperscript{1}-ra\textsuperscript{3} i\textsuperscript{1}-k\textordmasculine{ara} pin\textsuperscript{2}t\textordmasculine{a}f\textordmasculine{on} k\textordmasculine{ara} k\textordmasculine{otr}a\textsuperscript{1}wa\textsuperscript{2}}

\text{2S-ERG NMLZ-that tree that from}

\text{a\textsuperscript{2} si\textordmasculine{r}i\textordmasculine{1} k\textordmasculine{ara} dat\textsuperscript{3} t\textordmasculine{f}\textordmasculine{it}\textsuperscript{3} pa\textsuperscript{1}n\textsuperscript{1} \textendash \textordmasculine{jo} k\textordmasculine{a}\textsuperscript{2}-ra\textsuperscript{2}J\textsubscript{52}}

\text{HESIT gourd that fall CAUS let.1S say give-SEQ}

Lit. ‘Tree upside stay be that, crab that, “Oh Woirang, now you that tree that from that gourd that fall say giving’
‘While staying in the tree, (said) “Hey, crab, now, I have said that I will make the sir\textit{i} fruit fall down the tree for you”.’

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4. \( \eta^1-ra^2 \) mi?² a \( \eta^1-ra^2 \) mi?²-\( \eta^1-\)laŋ¹ be²
1S-ERG NEG HESIT 1S-ERG NEG-able-1S NEG:EMPH

Lit. ‘I, hesitate! I not able do’
‘I am not able to do it.’

5. \( i^1-kəra^2 \) re²ka¹ kə¹kəra² ba² ma²-\( \eta^1-ra^2 \)
NMLZ-that squirrel that only IRR-able-Ø say-PART

Lit. ‘That squirrel that only will able say’
"The squirrel only will be able to do it," he said.

6. \([i^1-kəra^2 \) re²ka¹ kəra² \( i^1-kəra^2 \)] \Ø \([pe^1ka^1-tu?^3 \)
NMLZ-that squirrel that NMLZ-that 3.SUBJ fruit-CL

Lit. ‘Then the squirrel, (it) that \( pe^1ka^1 \) fruit up in that tree dropped.’
‘And the squirrel dropped down a fruit from the tree.’

7. \([dat^3 \) tfit²-wan²-\( \eta^1-kəra^2 \) \) \( pe^1ka^1-tu?^3 \)
fal CAUS-COS-BE that NMLZ-that fruit-CL

Lit. ‘Fall (drop) cause that, that fruit, fall on pig’s nest and hit’
‘And dropping it down, having dropped, it hit a pig’s nest.’

8. \( \beta^3\eta^1 \) rup³ = na² te²²-ra² \( \beta^3\eta^1 \) kəra² jo²²-ra²
wild pig nest = at hit-SEQ wild pig that run-SEQ

Lit. ‘Wild pig nest at hit wild pig that run wild banana push’
‘And having hit in the pig’s nest, the pig having run out, pushed a wild banana tree.’
9. \([\text{nap}^3\text{kum}^2 \text{katjøŋ}^2 \text{le}^2\text{-ra}^2 \text{ka}^3\text{ma}^3 \text{køra}^2] \text{nap}^3\text{kum}^2 \text{katjøŋ}^2\)  
   wild banana push-SEQ that:from that wild banana  
   \(\text{køra}^2\text{wa}^2 \text{køra}^2 \text{pak}^3\text{se}^3 \text{ha}^2\text{-to}^2 \text{ŋo}^1\)  
   from that bat stay-PAST.3 say:RSP  
   Lit. ‘Wild banana push that from that wild banana from (in) that bat stayed, say’  
   ‘And having pushed the wild banana, the bat stayed in the wild banana tree there, it is said.’

10. \(\text{pak}^3\text{se}^3 \text{køra}^2 \text{i}^1\text{pu}^3 \text{rø}^2\text{-o}^2\text{-to}^2\)  
    bat that NMLZ-fly be-COMP-PAST:3  
    Lit. ‘Bat that flying was.’  
    ‘That bat was flying.’

11. \([\text{køra}^2 \text{ma}^2 \text{Ø-pu}^3 \text{rø} \text{køra}^2] \text{pak}^3\text{se}^3 \text{ka}^1\text{-o}^2\text{-to}^2\)  
    then for NMLZ-fly be that bat go-COMP-PAST:3  
    Lit. ‘Then for flying be that bat went’  
    ‘After flying away, that bat went.’

12. \(\text{Ø bo}^2\text{le}^2=\text{Ø na}^3\text{kt}^2=\text{na}^2 \text{nup}^2\text{-to}^2 \text{ŋo}^1\)  
    SUBJ elephant ear=at enter-PAST:3S say  
    Lit. ‘Elephant ear at enetred say’  
    ‘It entered into an elephant’s ear, it is said.’

13. \(\text{a bo}^2\text{le}^2 \text{køra}^2 \text{i}^1\text{-ko}^2\text{-ra}^2 \text{me}^2\text{ke}^2 \text{ra}^2\text{-to}^2 \text{ŋa}^1\)  
    HESIT elephant that NMLZ-cry-SEQ what BE-PAST.3 1S  
    \(\text{wa}^2 \text{ŋo}^1\text{-ra}^2\)  
    RL say-SEQ  
    Lit. ‘Ah! Elephant that crying what happened’  
    ‘Ah! The elephant having cried out, "Eh what is happening to me".’
14. \(i^1\text{-}kə = ma^2\) \(kəra^2\) \(tʃoŋ^2\text{-}wan^2\text{-}to^2\text{-}na\) \(kəra^2\) \(me^3\text{ke}^2\) \(tu^2\)

NMLZ-that:from that tell-COS-PAST:3-PART that what:2S.PAST

\(wa^2\) \(ŋa^1\)

RL 1S

Lit. ‘Then that caused to tell, that what happened, say’
‘Then, having told that, ’what has happened to me.’

15. \(ŋa^1\) \(heʔ^2\text{tʃin}^2 = Ø\) \(kəkəra^2\) \(nap^3\text{kum}^2\) \(kətʃoŋ^2\) \(ka^3\) \(je^3\text{-}ra^2\)

1S nest that wild banana this fell-SEQ

\(ŋo^1\text{-}ra^2\)

say-SEQ

Lit. ‘My nest that wild banana this fell, say’

“My nest in the wild banana being destroyed”, having spoken.’

16. \(nap^3\text{kum}^2\) \(kətʃoŋ^2\) \(me^3\text{ke}^2\) \(ŋo^1\text{ra}^2\) \(je^4\text{-}to^2\) \(wa^2\)

wild banana what say SEQ fall-PAST.3 RL

\(ŋo^1\text{-}ra^2\) \(wit^3\) \(waŋ^2\)

say-SEQ ask go up

Lit. ‘Wild banana what say fell that say ask go up’

‘And he went up to ask, ”why was this wild banana fallen down?”’

17. \(wit^3\) \(waŋ^2\) \(ko^2\text{-}ra^2\) \(kəra^2\) \(e\) \([ŋa^1\) \(heʔ^2\text{tʃin}^2\) \(kəra^2\)]

ask go.up after-SEQ that EXCL 1.Poss nest that

\(nap^3\text{kum}^2\) \(kətʃoŋ^2\) \(kə^1\) \(je^3\text{-}to^2\)

wild banana that fall-PAST.3

Lit. ‘Ask go up after, that, eh! my nest that wild banana that fell’

‘After asking to go up, my nest in the wild banana fell.’

18. \([nap^3\text{kum}^2\) \(kətʃoŋ^2\) \(ko^1\)] \(me^3\text{ke}^2\) \(ŋo^1\text{-}ra^2\) \(je^3\text{-}tu^2\) \(wa^2\)

wild banana that what say-SEQ fall-2S:PAST RL

Lit. ‘Wild banana that, what say, fell?’

‘Oh wild banana, why did you fall?’
19. ŋa¹ βɔk³ŋi¹ -ra² leʔ²-ra² ŋo¹-ra²
1s wild.pig-ERG push-BE say-SEQ
Lit. ‘Me, wild pig push be saying.’
‘The wild pig pushed me, it is said.’

20. βɔk³ŋi¹ mo¹ me²ke² ŋo¹ ta³
wild pig 2s what say PART
Lit ‘Wild pig, you what say?’
‘Oh wild pig, what did you say?’

21. nap³kum² kəʃoŋ² ŋo³-tu² wa²
wild banana break-PAST.2s RL
Lit ‘Wild banana broke that’
You broke the wild banana.

22. i¹-kəra² βɔk³ŋi¹ kəkəra² ŋa¹ rup³=na² pe¹ka¹-tu³
NMLZ- that wild.pig that 1.POSS nest=at fruit-CL

    dat³-ra² ŋo¹-ra²
    fall-BE say-SEQ
Lit. ‘Eh (gosh)! That wild pig that my nest in fruit fall, say’
‘Gosh! And that pig said, a Peka fruit fell on my nest.’

23. pe¹ka¹-tu³ mo² me²ke² ŋo¹-ra² dat³-tu² wa²
peka-CL 2s what say-SEQ fall-PAST.2s RL
Lit. ‘Peka fruit you what say fell that’
Ah, Peka fruit why did you fall?

24. ŋa¹ re²ka¹ kəra² tʃum³ pak³ra²
1s squirrel that into pieces cut-SEQ
Lit. ‘Me squirrel that into pieces cut’
The squirrel having cut me off into pieces.
25. **re²ka¹** mo² **me²ke² ŋo¹-ra²** tfum³ **pak³-tu²**
squirrel 2s what say-SEQ into pieces cut-PAST.2s

   wa² **pe²ka¹-tu²³** kəra²
   RL peka-CL that

Lit. ‘Squirrel you what say into pieces cut that Peka fruit that’
‘Squirrel, and why did you break the branch?’

26. **he¹we²ku²-ra³** **sə¹nuk³-ra²**
crab. F-ERG order-SEQ

Lit. ‘Crab order’
‘The crab ordered.’

27. **he¹we²ku²** kəra² **me²ke² ŋo¹-ra²** sə¹nuk³-tu² **wa²**
crab. F that what say-SEQ order-2S.PAST RL

Lit. That female crab, what say, ordered?’
‘Oh female crab, what did you order?’

28. **me²ke² me²ke²** ŋo¹-ra²-tu² -wa² **ŋo¹-ra²**
what what say-SEQ-PAST.2S-CL say-SEQ

Lit. ‘What what said say’
‘Why was your need to say like that?’

29. **[ekəra² he¹we²ku²]** QUOTATIVE **[kəra² woi²ra²-wa¹-ra³]**
EXCL crab. F that Woirang-CL.M-ERG

   a **kəra² Ø tfum³** pak³ ka¹-la²³] SPEECH COMPLEMNT
   HESIT this (3.OBJ) into pieces cut go-IMPV

   **[ŋo¹]** POSTCLAUSE ⋯
say: RSP

Lit. ‘Eh! Crab this Woirang… this stem into pieces cut go, say’
‘Eh, the crab (said), “That Woirang is going and cutting the (stem) into pieces, he said.’
30.  
\( i¹\text{ra}² \eta¹ \text{kə}³ \text{kəra}² \text{pe}¹\text{ka}¹\text{tu}²³ \text{kəra}² \text{tfum}³ \)
that 1s that that peka-cl that into pieces

\( \text{pak}²\text{o}²\text{-tan}² \)

cut-comp-past.1

Lit. ‘That I that that Peka fruit that into pieces cut’
‘Thus, I cut the stem of that peka fruit away.’

31.  
\( i¹\text{kəra}² \text{-re}² \text{re}²\text{ka}¹ \text{ka}³ \text{jak}³ \text{na}² \text{ka}¹\text{-o}²\text{-to}² \)
then squirrel that hand loc go-comp-past:3

Lit. Then, squirrel that on hand, went.
‘And, that squirrel took it away in the hand.’

32.  
\( \text{re}²\text{ka}¹ \text{kəra}² \text{na} \text{kəra}² \text{pe}¹\text{ka}¹\text{tu}²³ \text{ka}³ \text{tfum}³ \text{pak}³\text{-ro} \)
squirrel that part that peka-cl that into pieces cut-seq

\( \text{kəra}² \text{i}¹\text{kəra}² \text{wak}³\text{ŋi}¹ \text{rup}³\text{=}\text{na}² \text{dat}³\text{-ro} \text{ka}³³ \)
that nmlz-that wild pig nest=at fall-be that

\( \beta³\text{ŋi}¹ \text{ka}³ \text{jo}³ \text{tʃit}³ \text{kəra}² \)
wild pig that run fall that

Lit. ‘Squirrel that that Peka fruit that into pieces cut that then wild pig nest at fall that wild pig that run fall that’
‘The squirrel having cut it, dropped it on the pig’s nest and made the pig to run away.’

33.  
\( \text{man}²\text{pan}³ \text{ka}³ \text{wa}¹\text{tʃi}¹ \)
story that one

Lit. ‘story that one’
‘One story is done.’
THE TWO SISTERS

1. \(i^1\)-k\(\text{ə}^\text{ma}^2\)  w\(\text{a}^1\)-\(\text{tʃ}^1\)  k\(\text{ə}^2\)  m\(\text{a}^2\)  r\(^1\)

NMLZ-that  one  that  what  for  be
Lit. ‘Then one that what for be’
‘After that one, what will happen?’

2. s\(\text{a}^1\)-n\(\text{a}^1\)  n\(\text{i}^2\)  e  k\(\text{a}^2\)  a\(^2\)-g\(^1\)

sister  two  EXCL  water  NEG-have
Lit. ‘Sister two, eh! water not have’
‘Two sisters had no water.’

3. i\(^2\)-p\(\text{o}^2\)-r\(\text{a}^2\)  k\(\text{a}^2\)  t\(\text{ʃ}^2\)  k\(\text{a}^1\)-l\(\text{a}^3\)  y\(\text{o}^2\)-r\(\text{a}^2\)

3.POSS-mother-ERG  water  fetch  go-IMPV  say-SEQ
Lit. ‘Their mother water fetch going say’
‘Their mother said, ‘Go and fetch water’.’

4. k\(\text{ə}^2\)  s\(\text{a}^1\)-n\(\text{a}^1\)  n\(\text{i}^2\)  k\(\text{ə}^2\)  Ø  k\(\text{a}^2\)  t\(\text{ʃ}^2\)  k\(\text{e}^2\)-k\(\text{a}^1\)-t\(^2\)

that  sister  two  that  3.SUBJ water  fetch  NMLZ-go-PAST:3  say:RSP
Lit. ‘That two sister that, (there) water fetch going, say’
‘As for those two sisters, there going to fetch water is said.’

5. k\(\text{a}^2\)  t\(\text{ʃ}^2\)  k\(^1\)  k\(\text{ə}^2\)  k\(\text{a}^2\)  k\(\text{ə}^2\)  b\(\text{o}^3\)  n\(\text{n}^2\)

water  fetch  go  that  water  that  mud  mix
Lit. ‘Water fetch go that water that mud mix’
‘Having gone to get water, it was muddy water, mixed up with mud.’

6. b\(\text{o}^3\)  n\(\text{n}^2\)  k\(\text{ə}^2\)  m\(\text{e}^2\)-k\(\text{e}^2\)  y\(\text{o}^1\)-r\(\text{a}^2\)  n\(\text{n}^2\)-t\(\text{o}^2\)  w\(^2\)

mud  mix  that  what  say-SEQ  mix-PAST:3  RL
Lit. ‘Mud mix that what saying mix’
‘Why was the water muddy?’
7. o βak² ηi¹-ra² we²-ra² jo² jo²
EXCL pig wild-ERG move.side.to.side-SEQ water water

emerge upside

Lit. ‘Oh wild pig, moving side to side water water emerge’
‘Oh, the wild pig, thrashing where the river spring emerges.’

8. jo² tfe¹ ta¹-ra² βak² ηi¹ mo¹-ra² me²ke²
water emerge upside-SEQ pig wild 2S-ERG what
ηo¹-ra² we²-tu² wa²
say-SEQ move.side.to.side-PAST.2s RL

Lit. ‘Water emerge upside wild pig you what say move side to side
(thrashed)’
‘And pig, why were you thrashing about at the place where the river spring
emerges?’

9. e faʔ³-ra² jun²-ra² ηa¹ kəra²
EXCL tiger-ERG chase-SEQ 1s that

Lit. ‘Eh! tiger chase me that’
‘Ah, the tiger was chasing me.’

10. faʔ-ra² jun²-ra² i¹-ne²-ra² ηa¹ kəra² jo²
tiger-ERG chase-SEQ NMLZ-tired-ERG 1s that water

emerge = at HESIT move.side.to.side-SEQ 1s that water

thirsty HESIT that water emerge RL. be-SEQ

Lit. ‘Tiger chase tiring me that water emerge at, ah! move side by side
(thrashed) I that water thirsty, ah! that water emerge be’
‘And because the tiger was chasing me, I was tired, so I thrashed about in
the water because I was thirsty, so the water became muddy.’
Lit. ‘Say say then told’
‘And saying, he then told like that.’

Lit. ‘That cause that those two sisters that water go that mother that what say mud mix water that told’
‘And because of that, those two sisters, having gone to fetch water, their mother said why was the water that you went to fetch muddy?’

Lit. ‘Eh mud mix cause that mud mix at that river cleaning not search able we mother’
‘Eh, because that was muddy, we could not search for clean water, oh mother.’

Lit. ‘Now also mother not heart not’
‘Now, mother, do not be discouraged.’
15. \textit{i}¹\textit{-kəra}² \textit{bo}³ \textit{nun}² \textit{kam}² \textit{tfa}¹\text{-wan}²\text{-ti}² \textit{kəra}² \textit{he}² \textit{ma}³\text{NMLZ-that} \text{mud} \text{mix} \text{water} \text{fetch-COS-1P} \text{that} \text{slow} \text{with} \text{he}² \textit{ma}³\text{i}³\text{ki}¹ \textit{ma}²\text{-rə-wan}² \textit{ŋo}¹\text{-ra}² \textit{i}³\text{pi}² \text{slow}\text{with}\text{NMLZ-clear}\text{FUT-be-COS}\text{say-SEQ}\text{3S} \textit{po}² \textit{ma}³\text{ŋo}² \text{mother} \text{from} \text{tell} \text{say-PAST.2} \text{say:RSP}

Lit. ‘Then mud mix water fetch that slow with slow with cleaning will say he mother from tell say say’

‘Although we fetched muddy water, slowly, slowly it will settle down, they said to their mother.’

16. \textit{i}¹\textit{-kəra}² \textit{i}³\text{po}² \textit{i}³\text{wa}²\text{-ra}² \textit{me}²\text{ke}² \textit{ma}²\text{-rə} \textit{du}³\text{NMLZ-that} \text{mother} \text{father-ERG} \text{what} \text{FUT-be} \text{PRT}

Lit. ‘Then mother father what will be’

And then, father and mother are (saying) ‘what will happen?’
# APPENDIX B

## TANGSA AGREEMENT SYSTEM\(^{14}\)

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<td>V ba?</td>
<td>V tek?</td>
<td>V ti?</td>
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<td>V V</td>
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<td>V tek?</td>
<td>V ti?</td>
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\(^{14}\) Morey (2017, p. 16).
RESUME

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