Title: A Descriptive Grammar of Jejara (Para Naga)
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There are so many who have been used by him to enable me to accomplish this task. Some have assisted me directly with the thesis. Many have contributed by the roles they have had in shaping who I am today, and these are no less important. Although I will not be able to mention everyone, it is my privilege to show my gratitude to those to whom it is appropriate to do so here.

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Tiffany Barkman
ABSTRACT

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

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

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

Interesting characteristics of the language discovered include the overcounting numeral system which is in use until today. Another remarkable grammatical feature is the multiple functions of reduplication, including reduplication of verbs to
indicate imperfectivity. When the reduplicated forms are found preceding the matrix verb, they express the manner in which that verb is undertaken. When following the matrix, resultant state is indicated. The use of gender particles within a noun phrase to further specify the head as well as resumptive pronouns which function as the second mention of a referent within a single clause are further unique features of the language.

Areas exhibiting obvious need for further research include case marking particles and particles patterning clause-finally. In both cases the fine details of motivation for choosing certain particles over others or even over zero marking are not yet understood.
ภาษาเจอเจอเรอ (ปารา นากา) เป็นภาษาในตระกูลทิเบต-พม่า ซึ่งมีประชากรผู้ใช้ภาษาอาศัยอยู่ในบริเวณที่อยู่ใกล้กันทางตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศพม่า งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้เป็นเอกสารตีพิมพ์เกี่ยวกับภาษาเจอเจอเรอ (ปารา นากา) ฉบับแรก เนื่องจากภาษาเจอเจอเรอไม่เป็นที่รู้จักมากนัก ดังนั้นวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้จึงมีจุดประสงค์เพื่อให้ความรู้เพิ่มเติมเกี่ยวกับภาษาดังกล่าว

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาไวยากรณ์ภาษาเจอเจอเรอผ่านมุมมองทางทฤษฎีภาษาศาสตร์พื้นฐาน โดยให้ภาพรวมเกี่ยวกับระบบเสียง และกระบวนการทางไวยากรณ์น้อยค่าเป็นส่วนประกอบภาพรวมของไวยากรณ์และคุณลักษณะสำคัญของภาษาเจอเจอเรอ เป็นการวิเคราะห์ตัวบทเรื่องเล่า บทสนทนาสมมติ และการบรรยายเหตุการณ์ในคลิปวิดีโอ และภาพจากผู้บอกภาษา

ในการศึกษาไวยากรณ์เชิงพรรณนาในภาษาเจอเจอเรอ ผู้วิจัยเริ่มจากประเภททางไวยากรณ์ในภาษาเจอเจอเรอ นำมาสร้างตัวบําคํา องค์ประกอบตัวบําคํา อนุพากย์ความเดียว อนุพากย์บอกสถานที่ และอนุพากย์ขยายความ โครงสร้างของตัวบําคําในภาษาเจอเจอเรอ เช่น อนุพากย์ที่ไม่ใช่รูปประโยคบอกเวลาประกอบกับการวิเคราะห์คุณสมบัติทางกิริยาภาพ และการสร้างสรรค์การศึกษาโครงสร้างคําในภาษาเจอเจอเรอ เช่น อนุพากย์ที่มีองค์ประกอบการที่ไม่ใช่รูปประโยคบอกเวลา

คุณลักษณะที่น่าสนใจของภาษาเจอเจอเรอคือระบบ overcounting numeral system ซึ่งพบว่าบางมีการใช้อยู่จนถึงทุกวันนี้ คุณลักษณะทางไวยากรณ์เชิงสถิติอย่างที่น่าสนใจคือการที่ใช้
คำในภาษาเจอเจอเรอมีหลากหลายหน้าที่ หนึ่งในนั้นคือการข้ามคำบริบทเพื่อแสดงการผลลัพธ์ไม่สมบูรณ์ หากข้ามบริบทนำคำบริบทหลัก จะเป็นการแสดงอาการของเหตุการณ์ หากข้ามบริบทหลังคำบริบทจะเป็นการแสดงสภาพผล นอกจากนี้ยังมีการใช้อนุภาคแสดงเพศและสรรพนามแปลเพื่อแสดงสิ่งจำจึงถึงได้ว่าภาษาในอนุภาค

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

Table 1 Abbreviations

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<thead>
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<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>for pronouns, first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>for pronouns, second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>for pronouns, third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nm)</td>
<td>indicates that the preceding proper noun is a person's name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(plc)</td>
<td>indicates that the preceding proper noun is a place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>most agent-like participant in a clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCP</td>
<td>acompaniment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR.PL</td>
<td>plural agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-not-A</td>
<td>a question type which offers a choice between two or more options</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>attributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive (verbal particle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>beneficiary (case particle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative (verbal particle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causer (case particle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASE</td>
<td>case particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>a sequence of two consonants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>FieldWorks Language Explorer</td>
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<tr>
<td>GEND</td>
<td>gender particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNCR</td>
<td>for pronouns, generic (not specified for person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUM</td>
<td>particle used in locative meanings with human referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITRG</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST</td>
<td>marks words as belonging to a list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRP</td>
<td>language resource person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LWC</td>
<td>language of wider communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.LOC</td>
<td>locator noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ</td>
<td>nominalization marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLG</td>
<td>obligative modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>most patient-like participant in clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>for pronouns, plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLT</td>
<td>politeness marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POL</td>
<td>polar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRN</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROH</td>
<td>prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRT</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTB</td>
<td>Proto-Tibeto-Burman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUANT</td>
<td>quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td>represents reported speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relativization marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>resumptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL</td>
<td>relational prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RV</td>
<td>restrictive, case marker on NP_{\text{TEMP or LOC}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>only argument of a verb which semantically takes only a single argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>following bracketed material, clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>basic word order in a clause in which the agent is followed by the patient, followed by the verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>speech recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUP</td>
<td>superlative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAG</td>
<td>for questions, tag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>tense, aspect, mood, modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel (only in chapter 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V_{ATR}</td>
<td>attributable verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table 2 Symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>→</td>
<td>indicates a change from what is found on the left of the arrow to the right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.</td>
<td>meanings or functions on both sides of ‘.’ are expressed by the vernacular (in glossing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>used to indicate a morpheme break that is not realized in the orthography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘single quotes’</td>
<td>the word or abbreviation enclosed is the gloss or grammatical function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>dependent morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>italics</em></td>
<td>words formatted in italics are in the vernacular, almost always orthographic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…</td>
<td>in free translation, indicates that part of the sentence as uttered has been elided by author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{...or...}</td>
<td>represents a choice between the usage of the two elements listed between the brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[text]</td>
<td>in vernacular, highlights a particular constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[text]</td>
<td>in free translation, indicates that the information contained in brackets is implicit in the vernacular, but has been made explicit in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(‘text’)</td>
<td>in free translation, indicates another possible free translation of a portion of the free translation already given, whether more literal to expose the vernacular pattern more clearly or more idiomatic for easier understanding in English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3: Text titles, abbreviations and elicitation methods

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

---

1. A subset of sentences from this text is available in Appendix F.
2. Where “Direct elicitation” is listed as the methodology, realize that as far as possible the researcher did not look for direct translations from the LWC, Burmese. Rather, she invited LRP creativity in how he would express different concepts. Additionally, the topics covered in each of these texts and subsequent questioning were guided, as much as possible, by Jejara forms that were coming to the surface.
3. This text is available as Appendix A.
4. This text is available as Appendix B.
5. This text is available as Appendix C.
6. Examples indicated as coming from this text are those which were collected in 2005 using direct elicitation by a researcher who previously began work with the Jejara language. She made her texts available to the current researcher. Interlinearized examples coming from this text reflect the fact that they were transcribed during an earlier stage in Jejara orthographic development.
7. This text is available as Appendix D.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Methodology to prompt text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L64</td>
<td>L64 cutting oneself</td>
<td>Visual stimuli (Moran 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L75</td>
<td>L75,76 enter, exit; ascend, descend</td>
<td>Visual stimuli (Moran 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LQ8</td>
<td>Lexical Quantifiers</td>
<td>Direct elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>Direct elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE8</td>
<td>Notes, Examples from previous researcher’s data</td>
<td>Direct elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP8</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Request for highly detailed description of a noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nqe</td>
<td>Nqe</td>
<td>Direct elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR8</td>
<td>Nouns &amp; Relationalism</td>
<td>Visual stimuli (Moran 2002) – use each object in sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O8</td>
<td>Oblique cases</td>
<td>Visual stimuli (Moran 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Pivot</td>
<td>Direct elicitation (ideas from Coupe 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Power Phrases</td>
<td>Direct elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prn8</td>
<td>Pronouns, titles, familial terms</td>
<td>Questioning, following leads for a wide range of possibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU</td>
<td>Pronoun Usages</td>
<td>Direct elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC8</td>
<td>Relative Clause</td>
<td>Direct elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Supplementary</td>
<td>Direct elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE9</td>
<td>Staged Events set 1a</td>
<td>Staged events set 1a (Staden 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Shilailili Sawmaipvui ‘Who sank the boat?’</td>
<td>Shell book10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T8</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Elicitation with visual stimuli (Moran 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>Transitivity – see, build, love</td>
<td>Direct elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT</td>
<td>Taiwainqi Taivuinqi ‘The pig and the dog’</td>
<td>Shell book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V8</td>
<td>Valency change testing</td>
<td>Direct elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Washing</td>
<td>Direct elicitation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 A subset of sentences from this text is available in Appendix F.
9 This text is available as Appendix E.
10 Shell books refer to a specific material used in literacy development, where the illustrated book is provided and then the transcribed content is inserted in the vernacular.
Chapter 1
Introduction

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

The Jejara people, similar to other ethnic groups in the area, are of Mongolian descent and migrated down from the Mongolian plateau. There are two main names which are used for the people whose language is considered in this paper11. One, Para (or Para Naga), has also been spelled Bara. It comes from a word “Parasar” meaning “people who camp in clusters of shelters at mountain fields” (Jejara 2012: 3). In the past, they have practiced slash and burn agriculture, frequently relocating as their fields were shifted further from their villages in each succeeding year. Before actually founding new villages, the people would build temporary huts near their fields where they would stay during farming seasons. This is how they got the name “Para” from “Parasar.” The second name by which they are recognized, Jejara, has also been rendered Jedger. It is spelled Jaijairai in their script. This

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11 In the Ethnologue, this language group is identified: Naga, Para [pzn]. Alternate names listed are: Bara Naga, Jejara Naga, Parasar (Lewis 2013).
nomenclature identifies them as a peaceful, easy going people, slow to anger and not greedy. Although other works make use of the name Para, this work will mostly use the term Jejara, the name with which the people presently choose to identify.

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

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

![Figure 1 Location of Naga peoples in Myanmar](image)
The Jejara continue to live as agriculturalists. In addition to rice, which in recent history they have begun to cultivate in terraced paddies, high-quality coffee and oranges are among their crops. Due to poor transportation and communication infrastructure they are not able to market their goods, but they subsist on their produce.

It is estimated that there are 1460 Jejara people in seven villages in Layshi Township (Naga 2006: 4). Some choose to practice Buddhism and others Christianity. In a sociolinguistic survey performed in 2004, four Jejara villages were visited. When word lists were compared with those collected from speakers in neighboring villages of Makuri and Long Phuri peoples, 17-25% lexical similarity was found. When making the comparison between word lists from the four Jejara villages, 83-93% lexical similarity was found (Naga 2006: 17). One can say that this clearly shows Jejara to be a distinct language from the languages spoken by its neighbors. Further, it suggests variation in speech between different villages, although respondents to a questionnaire answered the question: “What are the names of other villages that speak your language exactly the same as yours?” by listing the same seven Jejara villages. The survey concluded that Jejara exhibits high language vitality, with people using their mother tongue almost exclusively. The domains in which it is not spoken include the district center, at school and for Bible reading, since there is no vernacular Bible. The language is likely to “continue to be spoken by future generations” (29).
1.2 Preview of chapters
This research seeks to answer the question: What are the basic grammatical forms seen in Jejara? It does so by presenting the most salient forms found in the Jejara data. These are divided into chapters and subtopics. The arrangement of information is informed by other grammatical descriptions, grammar textbooks and outlines and, as much as possible, by relationships between Jejara forms themselves.

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

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

1.3 Methodology
The researcher used a variety of methods to collect the language data analyzed for this thesis. She depended on one native speaker of Jejara to act as the language
resource person (LRP) and used a variety of prompts which resulted in utterances which have become the texts that make up the corpus of data analyzed for this grammar sketch. Those prompts are described here briefly. In most cases, the texts were first produced as spontaneous oral speech, and later transcribed into Jejara orthography by the LRP. Others were initially written texts, some of which were then further recorded orally as well.

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

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

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

12 It may prove useful to know which method was used to produce a given text. Therefore, the abbreviation the researcher has adopted for each text is given in parentheses along with its description. These abbreviations correspond to those given above each interlinear example, indicating the original text and sentence number from which they are taken. Quick reference can also be made to Table 3 for text titles, their respective abbreviations, and a brief summary of the elicitation method. Those texts included in the appendices can also be cross-referenced based on these titles and abbreviations.
To expose any specific patterns related to passivization or deemphasizing (D) the subject, situations about a neighbor’s car being stolen were set up by the researcher and explained to the LRP, who was then invited to produce utterances that might occur in those actual situations. Further, to allow potential difference between grammatical structures used to refer to newly introduced participants and already known ones to surface, the researcher suggested a situation in which the LRP would need to make introductions between two people, with the LRP then encouraged to articulate what he would say if he truly found himself in those circumstances (DI).

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

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

Although the researcher was not able to take advantage of them to the full extent described by the producers, she also used resources from Language and Cognition Department, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (available at http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/volumes/) as elicitation devices. An elicitation device entitled Staged Events (Staden 2001) was a source of many utterances (SE, Appendix E). It consisted of a series of short video clips each depicting a unique action, which
were followed by still shots, one to represent each video clip action. The researcher had the LRP describe what he was viewing, clip after clip, scene after scene as though another Jejara person were asking him, “What do you see?” with the inquirer not able to see the screen. Most of the clips and pictures from Staged Events Set 1a were covered. Similarly, words for destruction which might change based on the instrument used, the intent of the agent, etc. were elicited using a second set of video clips, Cut and Break (Bohnemeyer 2001) (CB, Appendix B). A last resource available from Max Planck Institute was titled Body colouring task (Staden 2006) (BP). The researcher had the LRP list approximately 20 of the body parts terms he would immediately think of in Jejara. She then used the blank model of a body provided in the regulations for the task and wrote the Jejara word for each body part on photocopies of this human model, one word for each page. Then the researcher had the LRP color in the area represented by each word, thus collecting not merely a translation from another language, but vernacular lexical items based on a native speaker’s own conception and division of the parts.

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

The constructions which prompted the researcher as to just what type of utterance to request from the LRP came from the researcher’s general knowledge of Burmese in some cases, English in others, and grammar in general. Other prompts came from research she had already done in reading Alexander Coupe’s description of Mongsen Ao (2007). At times what the researcher perceived to be a unique feature of Jejara was noticed, and further testing was performed based on this. For example, when it was noticed that more than one word which might translate as ‘wash’ in English used a different vocabulary item in Jejara, further questioning revealed as many as
seven unique words in Jejara (W). The same activity allowed the researcher to make discoveries and ask further questions regarding the difference in construction for performing tasks on oneself or on something perceived to be possessed by the agent (e.g. washing one's face or one's clothes) versus items not perceived as possessed (e.g. a table).

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

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

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

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

\(^{13}\)Shell books refer to a specific material used in literacy development, where the illustrated book is provided and then the transcribed content is inserted in the vernacular.

\(^{14}\)Overall, the spacing choices made by the LRP reflect what might better be termed “phrase breaks.”
constituent structure. One example of this is found in her work interpreting the parts of locative phrases and the set of criteria used to identify locator nouns15.

1.4 Theoretical perspective

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

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

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

15 Locative phrases as noun phrase arguments are dealt with in section 5.4.2 and locator nouns discussed in section 3.2.2.
typological framework... with the desire that the results may be equally accessible to both formally- and functionally-oriented linguists.

1.5 Language resource person

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

Name: Weli Ja (in Jejara: Vuili Ja)

Age at time of data collection: 38 years

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

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

Places lived, chronologically (dates approximate):
1. Ping Ne Gone village – 1975-1983
2. Pathein Township, Ayeyarwady Division (Makyigone and Asugyi villages; living with Karen family) – 1983-1989
5. Layshi city – 1993-1995 (for 7th through 9th standard)
   • due to a number of factors, he had to discontinue attending school (1995)
   • continued to live in Layshi and Ping Ne Gone
7. Having become involved in Jejara literacy work, he lives mostly in Ping Ne Gone, traveling back and forth to Yangon (2002-present)

16 In Myanmar, First Standard is approximately equivalent to first grade, and so on for each consecutive Standard. The final Standard in the school system is 10th.
Parents (father passed away, mother still living):
1. Both born in Deingaleinawai village, Layshi Township, Sagaing Division, Myanmar to the best of his knowledge
2. Both of their first and best languages are Jejara
3. Both can speak a little Burmese
4. Father could speak Karen and a little English

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

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

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

```
SINO-TIBETAN
   └ TIBETO-BURMAN
        └ Kuki-Chin-Naga
             └ Ao
             └ Angami-Pochuri
             └ Zeme
             └ Tangkhul
             └ Mizo-Kuki-Chin

Figure 3 Thurgood's classification of Naga
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17 As succinctly expressed by Burling, the label ‘Naga’ “has too often been used as if it designated a linguistic subgroup… [They] certainly recognize some common ‘Naga’ ethnicity, but this recognition may have come only after the British gave them the name ‘Naga’… This term should not fool us into believing that they must have some linguistic unity. The languages spoken by ‘Nagas’ fall into at least two, and possibly several, completely distinct branches of Tibeto-Burman” (2003: 172).
Marrison also worked on a classification of the Naga in India, classifying them according to geographical regions (1967: 263-266). He divided them into groups A, B and C, ranging from north to south respectively. B was further broken down into B1, B2 and B3. Comparing the locations of the groups he proposed to the location where the Jejara live shows that they are closest to B2 and B3. The former contains the groups Lotha, Yimchungru, Ntenyi and Meluri. The latter is comprised of Tangkhul and Maring. As part of the literature review for this thesis, the grammar of a variety of Ao was studied. Ao is classified by Marrison as type B1.

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

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

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

1.7 Literature review
In his work on ‘Naga languages’ in northeast India, Marrison (1967) states that “no linguistic materials are available for the study of the Burma Nagas, so they have been omitted from this study” (15). A relative lack of information and resources persists to this day. He comments further, “The most remarkable feature of the Naga scene is the survival of so many and diverse languages, which have vigorously preserved much of their original character, in spite of the rapidly changing circumstances of modern times” (270). As continues to be stated in various terms
and from different perspectives, this lack of clarity must be kept in mind when considering any statements presented as background information.

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

1.7.1 Works on Naga

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

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

The thesis A comparison of imperfectivity in Leinong Naga, Lisu and Burmese by Ohn Mar Htun Gwa (2010) states as its purposes: “1. To analyze, describe and compare the behavior of imperfectivity in the three Tibeto-Burman languages: Leinong, Lisu, and Burmese. 2. To provide language documentation for the preservation of the unwritten language, Leinong, and to make this research available to the linguistic community” (10). In it an introduction is given to Burmese, Lisu and Leinong Naga
people, followed by a brief phonological and grammatical overview of each, with particular attention given to Leinong. Particles used for imperfective meanings in each language are introduced. These particles are studied for the types of clauses in which they occur and cooccur. The meanings resulting from usage with different semantic types of verbs are presented. This work provides a great initial contribution to Leinong and an interesting comparative approach.

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

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

The classification of the ‘Naga languages’ of North-East India by Geoffrey Marrison (1967) takes as its goal the attempt to “classify [the ‘Naga languages’ of India], both amongst themselves, and also in relationship to the Tibeto-Burman family, and to indicate elements which may be of other origins” (1). Marrison revisits an earlier work by Sir George Grierson18, clarifying, building on and correcting it as possible. After an introduction to ‘Naga’, he compares ‘Naga languages’ “in detail with one another, and with neighboring languages, at the levels of phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax… A final classification is suggested” (i). Although older, this work is still widely referred to in current works. This seems to be due to an ongoing limited amount of reliable material.

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

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18 Linguistic Survey of India volume 3 part 2 Calcutta, 1903.
differ, in this study the Jejara language has been found, in general, to follow the same patterns.

These include the following:

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

1.7.2 Grammar and theory

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

A second article on converbs, “The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category” by Martin Haspelmath (1995), was also considered. The article was written to respond to the fact that “there is very little typological, cross-linguistic research on converbs. Indeed, the converb has hardly been recognized as a cross-linguistically valid grammatical category up to now” (2). It begins with a look at the morpho-
syntactics of converbs cross-linguistically, followed by a definition of “converb” and difficulties with the definition. The form of converbs, how they can be differentiated from similar constructions, and a look at converb control across languages follow.
Finally, grammaticalizations forming converbal constructions are discussed. Disagreement between this work and Coupe’s work on converbs was found. Whether or not Coupe’s is more cross-linguistically valid, it may prove more useful in the Southeast Asian context.

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

1.8 Contribution of this thesis
This thesis is a contribution to the field of linguistics in that it is the first known work published about the Jejara language. It also contributes to the wider picture of the Tibeto-Burman languages in the region of the Naga Hills. This is a linguistically diverse area, and yet the extent and pattern of that diversity is still far from known in its entirety. Lotsüro, a Naga herself, states: “The Naga society... is a kaleidoscope of various tribes, cultures, languages and customs. Often the only thing that unifies them is the common nomenclature ‘Naga’” (2000: 152). Burling (2003) makes a number of statements about the linguistic variety and challenge represented by the area. “The states along the Myanmar border compromise the linguistically most heterogeneous region in Northeastern India. In spite of valiant efforts by Marrision (1967) and French (1983), languages of the people called ‘Naga’ are particularly confusing, and there may be no Tibeto-Burman region anywhere where the languages are so diverse. Between [the geographical extremes of the Konyak group in the Northeast affiliated with Bodo-Koch and with Jingphaw and the Mizo, Kuki and Chin in the South] we find massive heterogeneity and uncertainty” (182). One statement in particular provides more than enough evidence for the value – even necessity – of a work such as the current one: “A full understanding of the ‘Naga’ languages will not be possible until [the] languages of Myanmar are taken into account” (Burling 2003: 183).
This work is also written with the intention of making a contribution to the Jejara people themselves in their efforts to preserve and develop their traditions and culture. Their language is, of course, both a major aspect of those traditions and culture as well as a vehicle used to express and preserve them. On the part of the Jejara there has been intentional effort, for example, put into developing an orthography and promoting literacy in the last few decades. One example of how this grammar sketch may provide assistance is by giving analyses which play a role in informing word break decisions. Further, an expressed desire of the people is to have an increased volume of vernacular literature. Production of high-quality original texts as well as translations can be carried out taking into consideration the results of this study.

1.9 Scope and limitations

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

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

This thesis does not claim to represent a full description of Jejara grammar, but only a sketch. Further, all analyses which are presented are done so with the understanding that an increase of at least three factors are needed in order to test and verify (or alter) the current analysis: (1) increased time interacting with more native speakers about their understandings and perceptions of the language.
structures in question; (2) Jejara language learning on the part of the researcher herself to begin to form a personal intuitive understanding of the language; (3) a deepening understanding of grammatical perspective and theory itself, as the researcher increases her exposure and the field itself grows.

1.10 Summary
Chapter 1 has served as an introduction to this thesis. It has introduced the Jejara people and given an overview of topics to be covered in the following chapters. The methodology used to carry out the research was described, and the theoretical perspective taken by the researcher explained. Information was given about the language resource person. Language classification was addressed. A review of literature pertinent to the Jejara language and this research was given. There was discussion on how this thesis contributes to the field of linguistics and the Jejara people. Finally, its scope and limitations were discussed.
Chapter 2
Phonology and morphology

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of articulation</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manner of articulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ tʰ</td>
<td>c cʰ k kʰ</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>bv pʃ</td>
<td>dz ts</td>
<td>dz tʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>v f</td>
<td>z s r z ʃ</td>
<td>y x h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>β δ l j</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m n j n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4 Consonant chart

2.2.2 Vowels

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Back centralised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td>α</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>εi</td>
<td></td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5 Vowel chart

---

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

20 This figure is based directly on unpublished work by Lubbe (2007) which was done in conjunction with a statement of orthography for Jejara in their literacy development efforts.
2.2.3 Tone
There are three distinct tones in Jejara. Figure 6 gives examples of minimal pairs with tones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High</th>
<th>Mid ø</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pʰú/ 'type of bamboo'</td>
<td>/pʰu/ 'to dry in the sun'</td>
<td>/pʰù/ 'paddy rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pwè/ 'festival'</td>
<td>/pwe/ 'swell'</td>
<td>/pwè/ 'year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pfú/ 'pot'</td>
<td>/pfu/ 'plate'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'rɑ/ 'ear'</td>
<td>/'rɔ/ 'village'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tsɔ/ 'deep'</td>
<td>/tsɔ/ 'wooden mortar'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ci/ 'temporary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamboo house'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6 Tone chart

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Orthographic</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Orthographic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>&lt;p&gt;</td>
<td>/x/</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>&lt;gh&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/</td>
<td>[pʰ]</td>
<td>&lt;ph&gt;</td>
<td>/ɣ/</td>
<td>[ɣ]</td>
<td>&lt;g&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>&lt;t&gt;</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>&lt;h&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɾ/</td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>&lt;ɾ&gt;</td>
<td>/β/</td>
<td>[β]</td>
<td>&lt;b&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɾʱ/</td>
<td>[ɾʰ]</td>
<td>&lt;ɾʰ&gt;</td>
<td>/ð/</td>
<td>[ð]</td>
<td>&lt;td&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰ/</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>&lt;tʰ&gt;</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>&lt;l&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>[c]</td>
<td>&lt;q&gt;</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>[j] / [ɟ]</td>
<td>&lt;y&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cʰ/</td>
<td>[cʰ]</td>
<td>&lt;qh&gt;</td>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>&lt;w&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>&lt;k&gt;</td>
<td>/pf/</td>
<td>[pf]</td>
<td>&lt;pf&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰ/</td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
<td>&lt;kh&gt;</td>
<td>/bv/</td>
<td>[bj]</td>
<td>&lt;pv&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>&lt;f&gt;</td>
<td>/ts/</td>
<td>[ts]</td>
<td>&lt;tsh&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>[v]</td>
<td>&lt;v&gt;</td>
<td>/dz/</td>
<td>[dʒ]</td>
<td>&lt;tʃ&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 This figure is based directly on unpublished work by Lubbe (2007).
### 2.4 Syllable and word structure

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CCV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hâ/</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/â.pâ/</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tê.pû.yâ/</td>
<td>'scattered'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mû.kû.û/</td>
<td>'saliva'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/twv/</td>
<td>'weep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dzwè/</td>
<td>'mushroom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pjo.pjo.ha/</td>
<td>'smooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sû.pwè.pwè.sû/</td>
<td>'apple'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 8 Syllable and word structure**

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

---

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

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

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

25 The phenomena of prenasalization and minor syllables also occur.

26 This figure is based directly on unpublished work by Lubbe (2007).
2.5 Morphology and word formation

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

2.5.1 Affixes and a phonological process

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(1) & \quad K \quad 1.9 \\
\text{a-} & \quad zhai & \quad rai & \quad \text{law} & \quad \text{lu} \\
\text{NZ} & \quad \text{sleep} & \quad \text{person.who} & \quad \text{also exist} \\
& \quad \text{... there are those who sleep...}
\end{align*}
\]

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

23
The nominalizing *ta*- is illustrated in (2) where it forms the abstract noun *talawsai* ‘happiness’.

(2) Adv 2.1
ta- lawsai law lu
NZ happy also exist
There is also happiness...

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

(3) CK 3
nyai tda ta- sha khu ya le
2sg as.for RL flesh take IRR CL.F
... Will you take [some] meat?

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

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

---

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

[She] is cleaning that pot.

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

Are they father and son? (“His father-two? His son-two?”)

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

### 2.5.2 Compounding

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

---

29 The LRP often transcribed the numerals in their phonologically reduced form. However, he did not do so in every case. The difference may be related to how tightly the number is perceived to be connected to the word it follows, or could simply be a lack of consistency in transcription in the midst of the new, developing orthography.
Table 4 Compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Grammatical categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qi + tu + tu</td>
<td>water + big + big</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>N $V_{ATR}^{30}$ $V_{ATR}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le + tsha + zhay</td>
<td>book + do + house</td>
<td>school</td>
<td>[N V] N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pfui + phy a + phy a</td>
<td>pot + flat + flat</td>
<td>plate</td>
<td>N $V_{ATR}$ $V_{ATR}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzwa + laiwa</td>
<td>rice + curry</td>
<td>meal</td>
<td>N N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jai + pvui</td>
<td>grandfather + grandmother</td>
<td>grandparent</td>
<td>N N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taiwai + pfuirai</td>
<td>pig + pots</td>
<td>containers for feeding pigs</td>
<td>N N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papai + le + tshazhaw$^{31}$</td>
<td>Bible + school</td>
<td>Bible school</td>
<td>N N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pfunqal + rai</td>
<td>mountain + people</td>
<td>people from the mountains</td>
<td>N N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhu + tsha</td>
<td>incident + work (v)</td>
<td>work (N)</td>
<td>N V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le + tsha</td>
<td>book + work</td>
<td>school</td>
<td>N V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsha + zhay</td>
<td>work + house</td>
<td>school</td>
<td>V N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sui + tza + tza</td>
<td>ladle + eat + eat</td>
<td>spoon</td>
<td>V $[V V]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taiwai + ngi</td>
<td>dog + breast</td>
<td>dog breast</td>
<td>N N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swa + dha</td>
<td>old + bean</td>
<td>fermented beans</td>
<td>$V_{ATR}$ N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.3 Reduplication

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

Table 5 Lexicalized nominalizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atzetze</td>
<td>dance (N)</td>
<td>tze</td>
<td>dance (V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makingqui</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td>makinghi</td>
<td>kick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daidai</td>
<td>between$^{33}$</td>
<td>dai</td>
<td>skinny</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

$^{31}$ Interestingly, the morpheme le ‘paper’ plays a double function here. It is the final syllable of the word ‘Bible’ (Papai + le ‘paper’) and the initial syllable of the word ‘school’ (le + tsha + zhay ‘paper + work + house’).

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

$^{33}$ The word glossed ‘between’ is a locator noun. See section 3.2.2 on locator nouns.
Reduplication is also used synchronically for a number of productive grammatical processes. Instances where the reduplicated forms occur as a modifying element of a noun phrase are given as (7) and (8). Attributives occur either before or after the noun they modify, as discussed further in section 4.3.4. (7) illustrates dawdaw the reduplicated form of ‘white’ modifying taivui ‘dog’.

(7)  NP 2.2
taivui  dawdaw
dog  white
white dog

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

(8)  NP 1.2
arara  ntuphuisu  khai  ha
come.DIST  mango  one  DEM.PROX
... that one coming-from-[Layshi] mango...

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

\(^{34}\) e.g. tze+rara ‘dance’+‘come.DIST’ (NE 115)

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

\(^{35}\) e.g. caicai ‘tell.PST’ (BBS 1.13), kuku ‘attend.PST’ (BBS 4.2)

\(^{36}\) See section 3.3.2 for a more complete handling of this process.
When the reduplicated verb occurs following the main verb of an utterance, the imperfectivity indicates that which results from the activity of the main verb.

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

### 2.6 Conclusion

Chapter 2 has given an overview of the phonemes found in Jejara, including consonants, vowels and tones. After presenting the orthographic conventions, syllable and word structure were summarized. Observations about morphology were then made, including discussion on affixes, compounding and reduplication.
Chapter 3
Word classes

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

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

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

3.2.1 Proper nouns
Proper nouns in Jejara function as a subset of nouns. They have specific referents, and do not tend to be able to take much modification. Jejara proper nouns can, however, be pluralized as in Naga + rai ‘Naga + PL’ (K 1.1). In common with other nouns, proper nouns can act as members of a list, in which case they might be followed by hai ‘LIST’ (BBS 1.9) to indicate multiple participants working together in
the same semantic role\textsuperscript{37}. Proper nouns acting as NPs can be marked for the semantic role they play (BBS 1.13), such as agent or location, and can generally be followed by nominal particles\textsuperscript{38}. Particularly where a list of people has been given as working together to perform a certain role (usually as agents), a resumptive pronoun\textsuperscript{39} may follow this list (BBS 1.9). For example, if two people have been listed, a dual pronoun will often follow in a slot closer to the verb.

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

(11) \hspace{1em} BBS 1.9

\begin{tabular}{lcl}
\textit{tzui} \hspace{1em} & \textit{Tshephu} \\
1sg \hspace{1em} & mother & Tshephu (nm) \\
& my mother Tshephu \\
\end{tabular}

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

\textsuperscript{37} See section 5.4.12 for a discussion on the use of this particle and other marking which indicates accompaniment.

\textsuperscript{38} Particles marking semantic roles are discussed in section 5.3.5.

\textsuperscript{39} See section 4.9 for a discussion on resumptive pronouns.
Table 6 Proper nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal names</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latiqai</td>
<td>Latiqai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jikhaitzui</td>
<td>Jikhaitzui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awkhin</td>
<td>Aung Khin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place names</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Penekon</td>
<td>Ping Ne Gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhanko</td>
<td>Yangon/Rangoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amerika</td>
<td>America (USA)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People group names</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jaijairai</td>
<td>Jejara/Para Naga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiyinrai</td>
<td>Karen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga</td>
<td>Naga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words related to religion and spirituality</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Papaile</td>
<td>Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzawtzuiparai</td>
<td>god (one of any number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laitwapa</td>
<td>God (the one God in a monotheistic belief)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(12) BBS 4.5
ja jai hawla jain Zhanko lwa
like.that DEM.DIST ABL like.that Yangon (plc) ALL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{42}\) The nouns discussed in this section can be seen to lie on a continuum between the prototypical noun and the prototypical locator noun. When a particular word is identified as being a less strong or not a true locator noun, or a criterion is identified as being an indicator against locator noun status, this generally indicates that the item in question is moving away from special status as a locator noun, back into the wider category of general nouns. Alternatively, it could be moving further away from noun status altogether, and acting more as a particle.
On the other hand, being followed by the case marking *haw* LOC is a criterion indicating locator noun status. As with *lwa*, being followed by the lexical item *kawmaidhai* ‘side, area, portion’, a locator noun-like item, is evidence against strong locator noun status. Lastly, having the ability to unite with *jai* DEM in a locative demonstrative construction is evidence weakening an item’s locator noun status.

Table 7 displays the nine criteria used⁴³, listed left to right across the top roughly from the criteria which is given the most weight to the least. The first row gives the pattern of a prototypical locator noun in relation to each criterion, and is followed below by the set of locator nouns found in the data and their status in relation to each criterion. Reading top to bottom will allow the reader to identify the most typical to the least typical members of the set⁴⁴.

**Table 7 Criteria for locator noun status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identifying criteria</th>
<th>Follows another N</th>
<th>Follows another N&lt;sub&gt;LOC&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Meanings other than LOC</th>
<th>Followed by non-LOC case marking</th>
<th>Written as one with preceding N</th>
<th>Followed by <em>lwa</em></th>
<th>Followed by <em>haw</em></th>
<th>Followed by <em>kawmaidhai</em></th>
<th>Forms place DEM with <em>jai</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Proto-typical</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>puikhai</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>shipwai</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yikwe</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>laige</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mpa</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tzi</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jipwai</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>guipwai</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mainqai</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lwa</em>⁴⁵</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kawmaidhai</em>⁴⁵</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴³ Some of the nouns listed in the table can function outside of locative phrases as nouns or verbs with meanings related to their N<sub>LOC</sub> meanings. With the limited dataset, it is impossible to verify that any of these definitely do not have a full noun/verb form, although this would be an interesting question to pursue. This is a characteristic in similarity to the lexical items analyzed as “nascent postpositions” by Coupe in Mongsen Ao (2007: 184). This was initially considered as one of the deciding criterion, along with the question of whether the noun could be found followed by an existential verb. However, these two criteria have been set aside for now, if only because the answers cannot be verified at this time. ⁴⁴ *daidai* ‘between’ is another locator noun, but it has not been included in Table 8 because it does not occur in a context which allows it to be analyzed for each of the determining factors listed here. ⁴⁵ *lwa* and *kawmaidhai* have been included as items which show significant similarity to other locator nouns, but have been analyzed as just slightly too divergent, and therefore not belonging to the set.
Table 8 once again identifies the locator nouns46, this time giving a gloss for each and a phrase which illustrates it in use. The first four lexemes listed are found to have identical patterning.

Table 8 Locator nouns47

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

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

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

47 In the examples in the table, the following conventions are used: ‘+’ indicates a morpheme break where the LRP did not have a space; a space is used where he used one.
constituents he perceives. If the locator noun was written as one with the noun it followed, this showed it to be a more typical member of this class.

3.2.3 Time nouns

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

Table 9 Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngawkawpapa</td>
<td>three years ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngawkawpa</td>
<td>two years ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngawkaw</td>
<td>last year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapwe</td>
<td>year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saikawpa</td>
<td>next year(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saikawpamailu</td>
<td>two years from now</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9 Years

\(^{48}\) In each of these three tables, common morphemes can be seen between the lexical items. Although the researcher realizes this is material for further analysis, it is beyond the scope of the current work.
### Table 10 Days

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ngawshetzuimailu</em></td>
<td>two days before yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngawshetzui</em></td>
<td>day before yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nqawshe</em></td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>catzawpui</em></td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saqi</em></td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sainqi</em></td>
<td>day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saikhainqi</em></td>
<td>two days after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saipakhainqi</em></td>
<td>three days after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 10 Days*

### Table 11 Divisions of the day

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Approximate actual time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>laintai</em></td>
<td>morning</td>
<td>~sunrise-8 or 9 am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nqece</em></td>
<td>noon</td>
<td>noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngeceshidrui</em></td>
<td>after noon</td>
<td>~noon-3 pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ntaripwai</em></td>
<td>afternoon</td>
<td>~3 pm-sunset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ntari</em></td>
<td>evening</td>
<td>~sunset-9 pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tawceqai</em></td>
<td>midnight</td>
<td>midnight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ntariceqai</em></td>
<td>middle of the night</td>
<td>~10 pm-2 am</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12 lists further time words which can be used fairly generally and interpreted based on the context.

**Table 12 General time words**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tamaipfui</em></td>
<td>from before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taguti</em></td>
<td>before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ca</em></td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>casaqi</em></td>
<td>currently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maluli</em></td>
<td>shortly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khaiqi</em></td>
<td>another time/once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>talaishisai</em></td>
<td>late(r)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.4 Class terms

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

### Table 13 Class terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class term</th>
<th>Gloss/category</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phwakaw</td>
<td>container</td>
<td>lai49 + phwakaw</td>
<td>pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cwe ‘clothing’ + phwakaw</td>
<td>shelf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi</td>
<td>city/village</td>
<td>Lishi ‘Layshi’ + qi</td>
<td>Layshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pvui</td>
<td>plant/tree</td>
<td>rwa ‘grass’ + pvui</td>
<td>forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>la ‘banana’ + pvui</td>
<td>banana tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saw</td>
<td>plants/wood</td>
<td>saw + pwepwe Unsure</td>
<td>flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>saw + khwa Unsure</td>
<td>stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((lai or saw))su</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>sawpwe ‘flower’ + laisu</td>
<td>apple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>la ‘banana’ + su</td>
<td>banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pweshwa ‘jackfruit’ + sawsu</td>
<td>jackfruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi</td>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>mairhaiga ‘tea (leaves)’ + qi</td>
<td>tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>ta-tarui + ri ‘day’</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

49 The longer word laiwa ‘curry’ is the origin.
3.2.5 Pronouns

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

3.2.5.1 Personal pronouns

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>EXCL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>tzi</td>
<td>atzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyai</td>
<td>nyaitzi</td>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Distal</td>
<td>jai</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>jairai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Proximate</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>hanqi</td>
<td>harai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Unspecified</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>tanqi</td>
<td>tarai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNRC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>haw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There may be identifying suprasegmental features of which the researcher is not aware. She is aware that tone is used in some languages – including others from the Naga region – to indicate the different grammatical roles being played by pronouns, whether to indicate the difference between personal pronouns and possessive, or the difference between personal pronouns based on roles they play in the clause. Since the data was transcribed using Jejara orthography which does not indicate tone, there is no clear evidence to verify whether or not these phenomena occur in relation to Jejara pronouns.
An example of the pronoun *jairai ‘3pl.DIST’* is provided as (13) below where it is the single argument of a clause.

(13) NE 5

```plaintext
jairai yamaitsa lu
3pl.DIST tired IPFV
```

They are tired.

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

(14) BBS 4.4

```plaintext
ja tshatsha atzi lwatzai laili nkui
like.that do 1du.INCL travel cost receive
```

… Like that, the two of us earned [the money for our] travel cost (“did to receive [our] travel cost”).

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

(15) BBS 6.4

```plaintext
a law jaitda a tsha maicai lai nyai cawrui ye
1sg also like.that 1sg do be.able INS 2sg help IRR
```

```plaintext
tda ja a twa maisui x
QUOT like.that 1sg say want F
```

I want to say that I will also help you with [whatever] I can do.

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

(16) SE 8

```plaintext
ca nkui lu hanqi ya
now see REL 3du TOP
```

These two [men] [we] see now…
(17) below shows the first person singular pronoun being used possessively with a body part. *li* ‘leg’ is being possessed by the first person relational prefix.

(17) BBS 1.12

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

... The bottom half of my legs became so that they couldn’t move (‘go’) anymore.

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

(18) P 40

```
ri ntawlu
2pl paddy
```

Your (dual) paddy.

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

(19) PU 8

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

You will go together [with me].

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

### 3.2.5.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Another subset of pronouns consists of demonstrative pronouns. Their usages are discussed further in section 4.7.2, but Table 15\(^{51}\) is given below to display the members of this class\(^{52}\).

---

\(^{51}\) In the table, many lexical items are seen to have morphemes in common. Although the researcher realizes that this is material for further analysis, it is beyond the scope of the current work.

\(^{52}\) Demonstratives that are used to modify nouns (non-pronominal) are discussed in section 4.6.4.
Table 15 Demonstrative pronouns

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

3.2.5.3 Indefinite pronouns

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

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

Table 16 Specific indefinite pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tukhaikhaikhai</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukhaikhai</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likhaikhai</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaiiqi</td>
<td>sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaisiqi</td>
<td>sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaikawkaw</td>
<td>somewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntsuiraikhaikhai</td>
<td>somebody</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53 See section 5.3.4 for equative clause form.
54 In the table, many lexical items are seen to have morphemes in common. Although the researcher realizes that this is material for further analysis, it is beyond the scope of the current work.
Looking at the formation of specific indefinite pronouns, the word *khai ‘one’* is a basic element, and a process of reduplication of the final element is also seen in every case.

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

(20)  
SE 5  
swaraikhai pasajaitzaitzair  
older.person one M A walk come  

$sai$  *kukhaikhai* zhwa lu whai  
CONN something look.for IPFV in.the.manner  
An older person walked in as if he is searching for something...

In (21) the indefinite pronoun *khaisiqi ‘sometimes’* is in a non-core argument role.

(21)  
P 58  
khaisiqi sairusai  
sometimes RV come CL.F  
[He] comes only sometimes.

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

**Table 17 Nonspecific indefinite pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>shilawtshatshalaw</em></td>
<td>anyone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kwaitlaw</em></td>
<td>anytime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kuhawlawtshabaishu</em></td>
<td>anywhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taikalawtshabaishu</em></td>
<td>anything</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

\(^{55}\) Interrogative pronouns are listed in Table 23.  
\(^{56}\) Further discussion about the internal structure is beyond the scope of the current work.
3.2.5.4 Togetherness and aloneness

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

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

Table 18 Togetherness (reciprocality): *hawpwai*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hawpwaiwaisi</em></td>
<td>discuss</td>
<td>Note that there is more than one way to express this single, corporately acted out event (‘discuss’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hawpwaisilu</em></td>
<td>discuss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hawpwaihyai</em></td>
<td>fight</td>
<td>This could be broken down to mean “hit each other,” but the LRP explained there does not have to be hitting involved to use this lexical item to mean ‘fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hawpwaviginkalaw</em></td>
<td>lean on each other</td>
<td>Unsure of the internal structure and meanings of the component parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hawpwainqwe</em></td>
<td>take along together</td>
<td>This expression applies when either multiple or a single participant(s) take another along with them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hawpwaimsai</em></td>
<td>love together</td>
<td>This is used in a reciprocal sense</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

\(^{57}\) For an introduction to the relational prefix, see section 2.5.1.
which an event is carried out. Most frequently, it is formed with a dual pronoun with the resulting meaning that those two agents will carry out the task. However, when coupled with the singular pronoun, the result is also two agents. Table 19 displays the usages found in the texts.

Table 19 Togetherness (accompaniment): je

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

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

Table 20 Aloneness (exclusivity): qe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Base pronoun</th>
<th>Semantic usage in text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aqe</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>by myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taqe</td>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>by his/her/itself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawqe(haw)</td>
<td>GNRC</td>
<td>by oneself</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 21 Further qe usages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comments and examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haw + jaijairai + qe</td>
<td>us Jejara</td>
<td>Context: Speaking of the people group as a complete whole, the sole corporate owners of their culture (BBS 6.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haw + qe + haw + sai</td>
<td>by oneself</td>
<td>This more elaborate expression has the same semantic result as hawqe in Table 20 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lai + qe</td>
<td>between</td>
<td>Internal unity is a concept understood in the semantics of the word ‘between’ (CB 23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.5.5 Resumptive pronouns
Resumptive pronouns point back to a referent which has already been mentioned explicitly in the same clause. These are discussed in section 4.9. Their forms are identical to personal pronouns. The set of those which are seen in the data to act in this function are repeated below as Table 22.

Table 22 Resumptive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>1sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>3sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanqi</td>
<td>3du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarai</td>
<td>3pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 23 Interrogative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shi</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taïka</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwai</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwai pasai</td>
<td>what/which thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhaw</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwati</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kata</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titdatsha</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titda</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kushahai</td>
<td>how many/how much</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(22) shows a basic example where an interrogative pronoun is used.

(22) Prn 45
jai shi le
3sg.DIST who CL.F
Who is he/she?

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

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

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

Table 24 Quantifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hasha</td>
<td>a little</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tusai</td>
<td>a little</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoshahai</td>
<td>many, a lot of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tadrupa</td>
<td>most</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khai + nqi</td>
<td>a couple</td>
<td>1 + 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khai + rai</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>1 + pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khai + nqi + saw</td>
<td>a few</td>
<td>1 + 2 + 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamaiji</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li + hoshahai</td>
<td>all kinds</td>
<td>li + many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khainquisaw + hai</td>
<td>about 1, 2 or 3</td>
<td>a few + hai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(23) shows the quantifier hoshahai ‘many’ patterning to the right of its head noun khayiphi ‘cabbage’

(23) NR 10.1
khayiphi hoshahai law whiya jai lai 
cabbage a.lot.of plant after DEM.DIST INS 
tishu taka laisai shu tsha le 
business money enter in.order.to do CL.F

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

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

(24) K 1.5
tdahiya khairai azheqi gatda , 
as.for some journey go 
khairai shazhu gatda tsha nqe le 
some hunting.trip go do PL.AGR CL.F 
... some go on trips, some go hunting.

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

(25) NE 71
ntapa haw tainka khai sai la 
glass LOC fish one be.inside CL.F
There is one fish in the glass.
(26) displays an example from spontaneous speech. The number *anqi* ‘two’ modifies the preceding head noun *ntzuirai* ‘person’.

(26) SE 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tdahi</th>
<th>ha</th>
<th>ya</th>
<th>nztuirai</th>
<th>anqi</th>
<th>saipwe</th>
<th>tsi</th>
<th>haw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>well.then</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>table</td>
<td>top</td>
<td>LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### 3.2.6.3 Derivational morphology of numbers: overcounting system

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

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

#### Table 25 Numbers one through ten

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>khai</em></td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anqi</em></td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>asaw</em></td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pezhai</em></td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>painka</em></td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tarui</em></td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taynqai</em></td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taishwai</em></td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taipvui</em></td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taira</em>(hai)</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Jejara, the overcounting system is one in which every number between two multiples of 10 (for example, 11-19) has the lexical form of the next multiple of 10 (20, in our example) as part of its own lexical form. The rough semantics of a number like 11 would be ‘to fill up 20, one’. This is not only applicable to figures between multiples of 10, but between multiples of hundreds, thousands, and beyond. According to the LRP, this is the system used in their native language until
this day. Because numbers with many digits become quite complicated, however, young people tend to not be able to or find it too much work to produce these long strings. Instead, they might express the number in Burmese, or might utter it as single digits: “one thousand one hundred eleven” would be produced as “1-1-1-1.”

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

### Table 26 Numbers in the overcounting system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta + maipvui + khai</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta + maipvui + painka</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maipvui</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta + khi + saw + khai</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khi + saw</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khitai + pvui</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khitai + ra</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khitai + ra + ta + nqi + tsui + khai</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khitai + ra + ta + nqi + tsui + ta + maipvui + khai</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaghi + khai</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaghi + ta + nqi + tsui + khitai + ra</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaghi + ta + nqi + tsui + khitai + ra + ta + nqi + tsui + tai + ra</td>
<td>1110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaghi + ta + nqi + tsui + khitaira + ta + nqi + tsui + ta + maipvui + khai</td>
<td>1111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaghi + tai + ra</td>
<td>10000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaghi + khitai + ra + ta + nqi + tsui + shaghi + maipvui + ta + nqi + tsui + shaghi + khitaira + ta + nqi + tsui + ta + maipvui + khai</td>
<td>111111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drui + khai</td>
<td>1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drui + ra</td>
<td>10 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hai</td>
<td></td>
<td>An optional ending on multiples of ten from 10-30; used rarely on thirty but frequently on ten and twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khi-</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>Fixed to the front of a multiple of ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-58</td>
<td>to.fill.up</td>
<td>Used with maipvui ‘twenty’ in the derivation of numbers 11-19 and khisaw ‘thirty’ for 21-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-, -tsui</td>
<td>to.fill.up</td>
<td>Used with anqi ‘two’ after khitaira ‘hundred’ to mean ‘to fill up 200’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>The standard last syllable of any word which is a multiple of 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.6.4 Ordinalization

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

Table 28 Ordinalization for prizes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tamaipfui</td>
<td>first</td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laimbairai + anqi</td>
<td>ordinalization + ‘two’</td>
<td>second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laimbairai + asaw</td>
<td>ordinalization + ‘three’</td>
<td>third</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

58 In the case of ta+anqi or +asaw an a is dropped. See section 2.5.1.
Another context in which ordinal numbers are used in many languages is to refer to birth order in families. In Jejara there is also a system for this. There is a particular lexical form used to refer to the oldest, which is further specified for gender, male or female. A unique combination of prefix and suffix circumfix the word ‘two’ to produce the form ‘second’, and the suffix changes for numbers three and higher to form their respective forms.

Table 29 Ordinalization for birth order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tasawtu + {pa or tzui}</td>
<td>oldest + {M or FEM}</td>
<td>oldest (M or FEM)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta+nqi+tzui</td>
<td>ordinalization + ‘two’ + ordinalization</td>
<td>second oldest</td>
<td>Resulting form used to refer to male or female, although the suffix is FEM -tzui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta+saw+pa</td>
<td>ordinalization + ‘three’ + ordinalization</td>
<td>third oldest</td>
<td>Used for ‘third’ and higher, confirmed up to ‘five’; for male or female, although the suffix is M -pa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 30 Ordinalization for school grades

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhapfuirai</td>
<td>kindergarten</td>
<td>Morpheme pfui in common with tamaipfui ‘first’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laipwai + khai</td>
<td>grade + one</td>
<td>‘first grade’</td>
<td>Applies to intervening grades not shown as well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laipwai + taira</td>
<td>grade + ten</td>
<td>‘tenth grade’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.7 Nominal particles

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

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59 Figure 12 in section 4.3.1 provides the reader with a visual representation of the elements of the NP in relation to the head.
considered independent particles or affixes. The observations made in the following sections are true whether the lexical items in question are considered affixes or independent particles. Motivation for choosing the terminology related to the latter analysis in most cases is that many items, such as the nominal case markers considered below, can occur significantly removed from the head noun to which they relate.

### 3.2.7.1 Nominal case markers

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

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

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

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

---

60 This term follows Coupe (2007: 184).
61 The choice not to identify grammatical relations in Jejara also motivates the semantic labels “agent” (A) and “patient” (P). If there is reason to refer to the argument of a verb which semantically only takes one argument, it can be called the single argument of an intransitive clause (S).
argument of transitive clauses and no explicit marking on the O argument, it is quite frequently found that both core arguments of transitive clauses are unmarked for case. In these situations, context and/or world knowledge must be relied upon to assign semantic roles correctly to noun phrase referents, particularly when both referents are animate entities. Pragmatically and/or semantically motivated marking of core arguments appears to be a shared characteristic of other Tibeto-Burman languages of the region and is reported to operate in Lahu (Matisoff 1973: 155–156; Matisoff 1976: 423–427) and in Meithei, also known in the literature as Manipuri (Chelliah 1997: 93; Bhat and Ningkomba 1997: 54–56.).

In Jejara, case markers can be found on noun phrases of all kinds. In this analysis, case-marking lexical items are being considered independent particles. They function to mark the role which a noun phrase argument plays. It is not obligatory to mark NPs for core argument roles they play when that role can be understood. Table 31 lists the closed class of case markers occurring in the language, organized roughly so that case markers indicating core argument semantic roles come first, followed by markers for other arguments (causer and benefactive) which often have humans as referents. Location related particles are grouped last62.

Table 31 Case marking particles

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

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

⁶³ Although the data does show jai marking the categories of NP arguments listed here, the data is limited, and more evidence is still needed to confirm that the animate/inanimate split is the motivation for using the same marker for arguments in different semantic and syntactic roles.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case marker</th>
<th>Role, abbreviation</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haw</td>
<td>Location LOC</td>
<td>This is a general locative marker. It has an extended usage to indicate ablative and also the parallel general temporal marker and beginning temporal marker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source ABL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source time ABL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawlai</td>
<td>Source ABL</td>
<td>Although arguments in these roles can be marked by haw, this particle (which integrates the general one) is more specific about the fact that motion is involved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source time ABL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawsai</td>
<td>Restrictive location LOC.RV</td>
<td>Consists of the parts haw LOC and sai ‘restrictive’, with the resulting meaning: “upon reaching [specified location].”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai</td>
<td>Restrictive (temporal) RV</td>
<td>The time marked with this particle was reached or must be reached before the event of the verb took/takes place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lai</td>
<td>Instrument INS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source ABL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lwa</td>
<td>Goal ALL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>Goal ALL</td>
<td>Very limited occurrences; perhaps borrowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patient P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In relation to case marking of core arguments, it is clear that further research is required. This is particularly true regarding the need to confirm whether the human and nonhuman referent split is an adequate explanation for the behavior of jai which marks both agent and patient arguments64. lai also patterns in a fairly wide range of semantic contexts. Here, the researcher has simply presented the particles which pattern in the single position, immediately to the right of the noun phrase. She lists the roles in which she has found each one, and the explanation which seems most logical given the available data.

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

---

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

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

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

**Table 32 Nominal particles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Gloss or function</th>
<th>Comments: syntactic patterning, semantic meaning or section link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hai</td>
<td>LIST</td>
<td>Discussed in section 4.6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>• occurs before NUM (C&amp;N 17.1-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rai</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>• immediately follows N (BP 3), except when hai LIST intervenes (BBS 4.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lwa</td>
<td>‘portion’</td>
<td>• immediately follows N which refers to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o time (NR 14.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o or a physical item (BBS 1.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>marking it as the portion being referred to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>‘even’</td>
<td>Discussed in section 3.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tda</td>
<td>LIST</td>
<td>Discussed in section 4.6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>‘just’ Restrictive/EMPH</td>
<td>• occurs after NUM and DIM (C&amp;N 19.1-2), following NP CASE (K 1.7) or sentential complement (SE 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• can be followed by ya, law, qilaw EMPH (CN 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tda</td>
<td>EMPH, counter-expectation</td>
<td>• immediately following law to mean “even/also NP” (BBS 1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya(^{67})</td>
<td>as for</td>
<td>• gives slight contrast or emphasis to NP (L52 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• occurs after case marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

\(^{67}\) This is a unique sense from ya TOP. It is found immediately following ha, for example, which itself is a topicalizer. Further, it follows other NP-marking particles, namely haw LOC and si ‘just’. A point for further study is its frequent usage after hi ‘if’, which is considered a connective. This connective may in fact have nominalizing effect on the clause it follows.
Particle | Gloss or function | Comments: syntactic patterning, semantic meaning or section link
--- | --- | ---
ma | Counter-expectation | Discussed in section 3.4.3
ha, ya | Topicalizer | • the two are allomorphs (SE 8, 34)
 |  | • frequently used in existential and equative propositions (SE 9)

### 3.2.7.3 Noun-internal structure

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

**Table 33 Noun word-level structure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formation</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>rai</em> in usages related to agentivity and humanity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N_1 + rai \rightarrow N_2) ‘agent of (N_1),’</td>
<td>letsha + rai</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>letsha ‘school’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N_2) (human)</td>
<td>pfuinqai + rai</td>
<td>mountain people</td>
<td>pfuinqai ‘mountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N_1 + rai \rightarrow N_2)</td>
<td>nyaitzuisa + rai</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N_2) (human)</td>
<td>ntsui + rai</td>
<td>person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N_1 + rai \rightarrow N_2) (respected person)</td>
<td>tasawtu + rai</td>
<td>high status person</td>
<td>tasawtu ‘older person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N_1 + rai \rightarrow N_2) (ethnic group)</td>
<td>Jaijai + rai</td>
<td>Jejara</td>
<td>Jaijairai ‘Jejara’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N_1 + tsharai \rightarrow N_2) ‘user of (N_1),’</td>
<td>maiqhiqhi + tsharai</td>
<td>soccer player</td>
<td>maiqhiqhi ‘ball’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Suffixes *pa* and *tsui* for gender and other usages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formation</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(N_1 + pa \rightarrow N_2) ‘male (N_1),’</td>
<td>a + pa</td>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N_2)</td>
<td>aju + pa</td>
<td>older brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ta + UNSURE + pa \rightarrow N) (person of status, respected)</td>
<td>ta + ghukatshe + pa</td>
<td>person in position of responsibility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ta + taiga + pa</td>
<td>chairperson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(27) LQ 10

`pwezhwasawsu laipye khai ji ya ma tza ke su`

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

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

---

69 This affix is no longer productive. Matisoff (2003: 118) refers to PTB *m-*, explaining that it was a prefix on both verb and noun roots. It has been observed to sometimes show up “as a 3rd person possessive prefix (often with inalienably possessed items like kinship terms and body parts).” Also noteworthy is that Matisoff's examples are given in Meithi, a language in the Naga region.
Another characteristic feature of Jejara verbs is their ability to string together in multi-verb constructions. This is discussed further in section 8.2 but also illustrated by *taisui + ra + pwa* of (28) below.

(28) CB 7
*ta* shipwai *lwa* *taisui* *ra* *pwa* *he*
3sg.POSS\(^{70}\) behind ALL back.up come sit CMPL
... She backed up and came to sit [there]. ("backed up and came to sit behind herself")

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

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

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

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\(^{70}\) Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating possession, here and throughout this paper pronouns used in a possessive manner are indicated with ‘.POSS’ where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.

\(^{71}\) See discussion on clause nominalization section 8.3.1.

\(^{72}\) See discussion on affixation section 2.5.1.

\(^{73}\) See discussion on relativization section 8.3.3.

\(^{74}\) See discussion on reduplication in sections 2.5.3 and 6.3.4.
3.3.1 Attributive verbs

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

3.3.2 Verbal reduplication: imperfectivity

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

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

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

77 See section 6.3.10.
As in example (29), it is very common for these reduplicated constructions to pattern with a main verb which is directional, and for the reduplicated word to immediately precede the verb it describes. It is possible, however, both to describe the manner of verbs besides directional ones, as well as to have intervening arguments. (30) provides an example of both. The argument ta + shipwai “behind herself” intervenes between the reduplicated form pwapwa ‘sit IPFV’ and the matrix verb taisui ‘back up’.

The reduplicated word can have scope over several events. In (31) the LRP is describing a scene which involves three participants. A woman is cooking, and a young man joins her, “look-sitting” at what she is doing. The imperfective pwapwa is the background information, providing, if you will, the manner in which the following action takes place. That subsequent action entails an older man coming up and sitting as well. Quite a length of speech (indicated by brackets in the example) intervenes between the manner which has been set up and the verb which occurs under those circumstances. This is in part because the speaker thinks in between about how to refer to the newly introduced participant (older man).
(32) shows the word laitzetze as meaning ‘quickly’. It looks to be an example of how reduplicated forms expressing manner can be lexicalized, so that this is no longer a synchronic process of imperfectivity by reduplication. Dividing it into syllables yields the parts ‘go + dance + dance’. Although manner is expressed using this reduplicated form, the fact that its gloss is not exactly equivalent to the sum of the parts is a sign of lexicalization.

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

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

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

Further comment can be made about constructions with reduplicated verbs resulting in imperfective meanings in regards to syntactic order. Until now, all examples have been grounded in a matrix verb which follows the imperfective construction. There are also examples where the reduplicated construction follows a verb rather than preceding it78. This yields a sense which can be interpreted as resultative, rather

78 These are also addressed in section 6.3.4 as part of the verb complex.
than pointing to the manner of an activity. (34) provides a clear example. The verb dha ‘break apart’ in its reduplicated form indicates the state of affairs resulting from the immediately preceding verb laitzaika ‘fall down’.

(34) L60c 2
o ta sawpwepe pa lwe ga ti haw
oh 3sg flower pot carry go time LOC

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

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

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

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

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

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

The connectives listed below work on the clause level and pattern clause-finally. In the case of Table 34, each lexical item sets the clause it concludes in time relative to the event of the following clause\(^\text{80}\).

**Table 34 Connectives: addition relations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(cai)</td>
<td>and then</td>
<td>Ad 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(lai)</td>
<td>and then</td>
<td>NE 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sai)</td>
<td>and then</td>
<td>SE 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(whailo)</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>BBS 2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(whiya)</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>NR 15.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^{80}\) Table 34, Table 35 and Table 36 list connectives, some of which are multiple-syllabic or even demonstrate fairly obvious internal structure. Analysis of these parts is outside the scope of this work. However, lexical items which seem to be strongly related have been grouped together on a single line.
The connectives in Table 35 pattern following a clause which has a logical relation to the clause which, in turn, follows it.

Table 35 Connectives: logical relations

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

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

---

81 Occurs sentence-initially, joining to previous sentence.
82 When comparing other usages of *laili* (e.g. BBS 5.3 currently analyzed as CAUS CASE), it could also be designated a case-marking NPRT. Its usage in Table 35 then would be to mark a clause which is functioning as a sentential complement of a matrix clause. Or, if both usages took *laili* to be a noun, it would be a case of unmarked relativization in occurrences like BBS 5.2 and a case of an NP\_POSS or compound N in cases like BBS 5.3.
We have looked at three sets of particles related to providing connection at the inter-clausal level or higher. Our discussion now turns to particles used to mark the closure of clauses.

### 3.4.2 Clause final particles

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

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

---

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

84 Further information about and discussion on these particles is undertaken in section 6.3.11.
An important point for further study regarding clause final particles is in relation to their form. There are those which have identical initial consonants and others with the same rhymes. Some are even comprised of two syllables. It may become possible to analyze some of these items as contractions, or having portmanteau features that fall into a particular pattern. Some may be phonological variations of what is conceptually a single lexical item to the native speaker.

### 3.4.3 Another construction: law(\textit{ma})

A particular combination of two particles with unique distribution will be mentioned in this section. They do not seem to be restricted to working only on certain elements of a clause, or certain levels of the syntactic hierarchy and can therefore be considered a construction operating at clause level.
The particle *law* has a number of senses, but in this particular flexible usage, it can be glossed ‘even’. It, optionally followed by *ma*, is seen to follow noun phrases (SE 2) and verb phrases (CK 5). The item over which it has scope is semantically pulled out and highlighted, emphasizing a sense of contra-expectation. This particle seems to be structurally independent, working with other elements of the discourse at will.

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

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

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

### 3.4.4 Interjections

As in other languages, interjections can be used to add flavor and express the opinion, perspective or emotion of a speaker in a speech act. Almost every occurrence of an interjection in the texts is sentence initial. In four cases the speaker interrupts his own speech (represented by a dash in LRP transcription) and begins a new clause with an interjection. One of these cases (BBS 1.13) shows the interjection standing in the place of a clause. Instead of further expanding on his thoughts, the speaker utters *am*, a thinking sound with which he completes the sentence.
Table 38 provides the reader a list of interjections as encountered in the texts.

### Table 38 Interjections

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

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

(36) CK 9.2

**ay** tsi ga ti ya le

*alright* 1du go look.at IRR CL.F

All right, shall we go see?

### 3.4.5 Intensifiers

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

### Table 39 Intensifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>talaisai</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayqi</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{85}\) Of the interjections, only *na* occurs clause-finally, and it may be borrowed.
Below, (37) gives one instance of the usage of talaisai\textsuperscript{86} in the texts. This intensifier is seen to modify verbs and occurs preceding them, although NP arguments can intervene between the two. (37) shows tataitzi patterning between the intensifier and existential verb. In the data, the intensifier talaisai most commonly modifies attributive verbs.

(37) NE 12
\begin{verbatim}
sharai ya talaisai tataitzi lu lai
tiger TOP very strength exist CL.F
\end{verbatim}
Tigers are very strong. (“have very [much] strength”)  

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

(38) CK 7.1
\begin{verbatim}
hay ayipa jaipa jai wayqi ma thajai
hey friend DEM.M DEM.DIST very NEG trust
\end{verbatim}
Hey, friend! I don't really trust that man.

### 3.5 Conclusion

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

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

\textsuperscript{87} It also has an occurrence seen to have another sense which has been designated a verb, since it is followed by a clause connector. In that sense it does not work with the negative; it encodes ‘have more’. The same form is also used in a related sense to express comparatives (section 5.3.6).
Verbs are found to be a second major word class in Jejara. A subset of these, attributive verbs, were presented, followed by an overview of the process of verbal reduplication and its aspectual function in indicating imperfectivity.

Word categories pertaining to the clause were also dealt with. These include the related clause connectives and clause final particles and a unique construction *law*(ma). The concluding two categories were interjections and intensifiers.
Chapter 4
Noun phrase

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

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

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

\(^{88}\) There is a subset of nouns which seem to be bound under most circumstances, and can be identified by the obligatory presence of the prefixing ta- or another version of the relational prefix. For more information, see section 2.5.1 where processes of affixation are described.

\(^{89}\) See section 3.2.7.1 and footnote 61 for an explanation of the motivation behind the choice of terminology for case marking particles.
for the semantic role of goal, instrument and other non-core semantic roles\(^{90}\). In cases where nouns are members of verbless clauses as either topic or complement, markers which indicate topic or finalize the statement can be seen patterning following the noun phrases. These particles overlap with those that mark agentive NPs and clause final (postverbal) particles, respectively.

### 4.3 Noun phrase structure

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

#### 4.3.1 Linear order

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

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

![Figure 12 Noun phrase linear order](image)

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

91 Optionally, they can also occur post-head.

92 All other elements of the noun phrase, excluding the head, can also be described as “attributive” in the sense that they modify the head. The lexical items which occur in these two positions have verbs as their base, sometimes taking reduplicated forms or semantically-empty syllables as discussed in 4.3.4. They differ from the relative clauses in the initial position particularly in that the relative clauses referred to all occur with *lu REL*. The relative clauses, although also attributive in meaning, are separated as distinct in form. Additionally, the two (relative clauses and other attributives) are seen to cooccur, motivating the recognition of two positions. No claim is made at this time about the grammatical category of the items occurring in these two positions labelled “attributive.” Further research should make clear, for example, whether they are verbal or deverbal, and whether some require being recognized as relative clauses without a relativizer.
Examples of multiple lexical items modifying a single head noun are somewhat rare in naturally produced texts. Since not all of the elements of the noun phrase are found to cooccur in a single noun phrase anywhere in the data, it is impossible to make definite claims about the ability or non-ability of members from different positions to cooccur. Another remaining question is whether there are restrictions which dictate when an attributive will occur before its head and when it will occur after, or whether the semantic result is different\textsuperscript{93}.

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{94} Section 4.3.4 discusses the common pattern of reduplicating attributive verbs which are modifying nouns within the NP.

\textsuperscript{95} This is the only textual example of these cooccurrences. It should be noted that, as seen in (49), this noun phrase is embedded in a larger relative clause which is, in turn, an NP element. This recursive embedding could potentially impact the form that this sample takes, so that it is, in fact, not prototypical. At this time, there is no data with which to confirm whether these noun phrase elements take the same order when they are not embedded.
(40) illustrates a head noun followed by the plural marking particle and then a quantifier.

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

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

(41) CB 16
*sawtaipyai maiku*
woodbranch dry
... a dry branch...

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

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

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

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

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

(44) BBS 2.1
*mpa khai qi ga ataijai bai*
week one more.than go massage finish
... to get massages for over a week...
In (45) the noun is followed by a numeral quantifier and then a restrictive particle.

(45) CB 2.1-2
yikhwe  khai  si
rock  one  just
only one rock

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

(46)  Tr 1
Jaijaiqai  taizhaw  nkui
Jaijaiqai (nm)  house  see
[I] see Jaijaiqai's house.

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

(47)  DI 1.2
jayaw  wai  Jaijairai  luzhi  zhuzhu
therefore  1pl.POSS  Jejara  culture  information
nyai  maicai  maisui  hi  ya
2sg  know  want  if  as.for
Therefore, if you want to know about our Jejara culture…

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

4.3.2 Modifiers of a head noun
There are multiple occurrences throughout the texts of demonstratives, lexical quantifiers, numerals and attributives occurring post-head, but in most cases only a single one of these modifiers is found occurring with a single head. Pre-head relative clauses and noun phrase possession as modifiers show more complexity. The
complexity generally results from embedding, with a common example being a locative phrase\textsuperscript{96} distributed as part of a sequence which in turn modifies the head.

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

\begin{verbatim}
(48)       NP 1.2
Finding an mango one this
[a]tza maisui lu
[ntzwe lainkwe sashizhiha tshabisai se ntzuiha lu] pa COMP he
ripe yellow reddish and.then sour sweet REL thing CL.F
This one mango which comes from Ping Ne Gone village, Layshi Township [is] the one which I want to eat and is yellow-brushed-with-red ripe and sweet and sour.
\end{verbatim}

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

\textsuperscript{96} Locative phrases as noun phrase arguments are dealt with in section 5.4.2.
\textsuperscript{97} Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating that it is being used resumptively, here and throughout this paper pronouns used in a resumptive manner are indicated with ‘.RES’ where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.
\textsuperscript{98} Section 4.3.4 discusses the common pattern of reduplicating attributive verbs which modify nouns within the NP. Footnote 107 further includes discussion on form and grammatical category of this and related lexical items.
to link them to the head. Alternatively, they could be a string of separate items, each item modifying the head in turn, or with some grouped together to act as joint modifiers.

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

(49) NP 2.2
[[tatziti haw nkui lu sawdhuishui zhaw tu] haw
front LOC see REL wooden house big LOC
taiwui dawdaw pwailaici lu zhaw jai] TOP
dog white run.out REL house DEM.DIST
[tasawturai zhaw khai he] COMP
person.with.authority house one CL.F
The big wooden house [you] can see ahead which the white dog is running out of [it] the house of an elder. (“that white-dog-is-running-out-of-[it] house”)

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

---

99 A few sets of brackets are used to facilitate discussion of its structure, but for a full visual representation of constituents and embedding, see Figure 13.

100 This internal noun phrase is discussed in section 4.3.1 as example (39).
4.3.3 Exceptional order: time

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

\hspace{1cm} (50) BBS 1.8
\hspace{1cm} khai ri haw ya
\hspace{1cm} one day LOC as.for
\hspace{1cm} ... so one day ...

\textsuperscript{101} Confirmed for the modifiers khai ‘one’ and demonstratives.
\textsuperscript{102} Coupe proposes that diachronically these were compounds constituting of two nouns, with the head on the right. The compounds were then reanalyzed, the initial portions coming to be considered as quantifiers or modifiers.
Example (51) shows what is not mentioned as occurring in Mongsen: an attributive verb patterns to the left of the noun\textsuperscript{103}.

(51) E05\textsuperscript{104} 1.5
\textit{tshatäga} \textit{tzaw’pǜ}
very.hot day
very hot day

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

(52) BBS 1.8
\textit{tzawpu} \textit{khai} \textit{ri} \textit{haw} \textit{ya}
day one day LOC as.for
... one day...

In (53) there seems to be a similar usage of ‘one day’ near the beginning of a story, used to set the time as a certain part of the action is about to begin. In this case, however, \textit{tzawpu} no longer occurs.

(53) SS 2
\textit{khai} \textit{ri} \textit{ya}
one day as.for
... one day...

\textsuperscript{103} This ordering is not unacceptable in Jejara noun phrases since slots for attributives occur both pre- and post-head. However, pre-head attributives are less common, especially in the absence of post-head elements. It is also interesting to note that even though the generalities of this exceptional order are parallel to Mongsen, the details do not prove to be worked out identically.

\textsuperscript{104} Here, and in all other examples coming from E05, the reader will notice that the Jejara orthography differs from the orthography in examples from all other texts. This reflects the fact that this particular text was collected in 2005 during an earlier stage of Jejara orthographic development. For further information about the sources of all texts, see Table 3 and section 1.3.
Bearing resemblance to this unconventional order of the noun meaning ‘day’ is a parallel break in the linear order. Although the demonstrative ha typically patterns to the right of the noun it modifies, it is found to pattern instead to the left when modifying the time-related nouns ‘afternoon’ and ‘night’. One example is shown in (54) below\textsuperscript{105}.

\begin{quote}
\texttt{D 5.2}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{ha ntari shi lai ma ra yasai ga bai lu la}
  \item \texttt{this night who A even come kill go finish IMPF CL.F}
\end{itemize}

Who came and killed [him] last night?
\end{quote}

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

4.3.4 Attributive verbs: NP elements

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{106} Some space is given to a description of attributive verbs as verbal predicates in section 5.3.5.1.

\textsuperscript{107} Since one of the grammatical functions of reduplication in Jejara is to form nominals from verbs (see section 2.5.3), another possible analysis could identify these attributive formations as deverbal nominals whose function is to ascribe an attribute to a head noun. This follows Coupe’s analysis of Mongsen Ao (2007: 204). He terms lexical items of this form and in this function “deverbal adjectives,” describing them as being “derived from stative verbs” by one of two nominalization processes. This is a tempting analysis considering the lexical item arara in NP 1.2 (48) where a- (which can function as NZ) is an element of the attributive. Alternatively, with further data a- could be found to play the role of REL in addition to NZ. Another possibility is that the syllable a does not provide semantic meaning or play a grammatical role in these contexts, but rather contributes further to the phonological weight of the attributive, fitting in smoothly with the current analysis.
An example is seen in (55) below.

(55) NR 5.1
ari *shaishai* khai a maikhwai la
pants **long** one 1sg want CL.F
I want a pair of pants….

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

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

(56) BBS 1.11
a lai *wiqhaiqhai* laigapi
1sg A **go.throw** ax.handle
…the ax handle that I had thrown...

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

(57) NP 2.2
tatziti haw nkui lu sawdhuidhui zshaw *tu* haw
front LOC see REL wooden house **big** LOC
The big wooden house [you] can see ahead…

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

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108 This and other verbs (e.g. *rara* in BBS 1.5 *caicai* in BBS 1.13) which are not “attributive” in the sense of encoding semantic information equivalent to adjectives in English, for example, are seen to function very similarly to the more “semantically adjective-like” verbs in the NP attributive positions. It was considered whether to identify some or all as nominals, whether the process of reduplication was the nominalization trigger or not. Similarly, the possibility of considering them relativizations, whether without a relativizer or with the reduplication indicating the relativization, was taken into account. With their form and function demonstrating quite a close match with the more “semantically adjective-like” lexemes which can pattern in the attributive positions, the researcher decided that at this point the motivation to analyze them as three distinct grammatical processes was low.
phrase it is seen to take the form saha (SE 5). There seems to be some flexibility in the forms attributives take and the functions various forms play. This variation may represent nuances in emphasis or style.

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

### 4.4 Temporal noun phrase

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

\[\text{(58) D 2.1}\]

\textit{D} 2.1 \text{ nqawshe tarai kari laighui rai lai la laighui be tdi \ yesterday 3pl car thief PL A come steal CL.F QUOT}

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

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

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

\(^{110}\) In section 5.4 is a discussion on semantic role marking, allowing the form of NP\(_{\text{TEMP}}\) to be compared to others. Section 5.4.7 contains discussion on temporal noun phrases in specific.

\(^{111}\) See section 5.3.4 for a description of equative clauses.
Temporal noun phrases can take locative case marking, an extended usage of locative marking particles discussed further in 5.4.1. One example is displayed as (60), where the year is followed by *haw* in its ablative sense.

(60) BBS 5.3

*pwe 2002 haw tshapfai*

*year 2002 ABL begin.continue*

... [our work together] began in 2002...

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

### 4.5 Locative noun phrase

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

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

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112 Locative phrases have, accordingly, been mentioned as one of the types of NP arguments. See section 3.2.7.1. The discussion here on locative phrases is motivated by the desire to compare Jejara forms with those in other languages where adpositional phrases pattern differently.
In some languages such as English, adpositional phrases can further act as a particular type of modifier in a noun phrase. For example, the prepositional phrase “on the table” delimits the word “spoon” in the statement “the spoon on the table.” In Jejara, this particular construction is not present. Locative phrases can, however, pattern within an NP argument to modify a head noun. This is done by means of the relative clause. The locative phrase acts as one of the arguments of the relative clause, so that the minimal form includes a locative noun phrase followed by the verb complex and relativizer, all of which precede the head. (61) gives an example, with the initial locative phrase “on the table” (inner brackets) a constituent of the relative clause (outer brackets), with the resultant sense “the-on-the-table-placed-and-left carrots”.

(61) CB 10

\[
[
\text{saipwe} \quad \text{tzi} \quad \text{haw}] \quad \text{tshe} \quad \text{tzutzu} \quad \text{lu} \\
\text{table} \quad \text{on.top} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{hold} \quad \text{leave.in.place.IPV} \quad \text{REL}
\]

\[
\text{khawqhipvaisasa} \quad \text{ca} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{lephaiphai} \quad \text{haiqi} \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{bai} \\
\text{carrot} \quad \text{now} \quad \text{as.for} \quad \text{chop.up.IPV} \quad \text{again} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{finish}
\]

This time [he] is chopping up the carrots that were left on the table.

The basic construction, then, for a noun phrase including a locative phrase as a modifier is: \([\text{NP}_{\text{loc}} \text{CASE} \text{VP} \text{lu}]^{113}\).

### 4.6 Structural variants

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

#### 4.6.1 Appositional noun phrases

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

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113 Further examples of this construction occur in NP 1.2, 2.2. They can be seen in section 4.3.2.
An example of noun phrases apposed to refer to the same participant is seen in (62), composed of a title and proper noun.

(62) BBS 1.4

\begin{verbatim}
[saya Awkhin] teacher.M Aung Khin (nm)
\end{verbatim}

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

(63) BBS 1.4

\begin{verbatim}
[a swapa] [saya Awkhin] lai
1sg.POSS teacher.M teacher.M Aung Khin (nm) A
\end{verbatim}

... my teacher Teacher Aung Khin [said]...

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

(64) CK 11.1

\begin{verbatim}
hay ha taika tshatsha
hey this what do
\end{verbatim}

Hey! What is this [which they have] done here?...

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

\begin{verbatim}
[114 Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating possession, here and throughout this paper pronouns used in a possessive manner are indicated with ‘.POSS’ where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.
\end{verbatim}
same utterance, showing the contrast between the possessive and appositional constructions.

(65) L52 3

\[[nyai]\ [tasawtupa] ya titdatshayaw nyai- nqi ja\]

\[2sg\ oldest.M\ as.for\ why\ 2sg.RL\ younger.sibling\ like.that\]

\[phyai\ la\ , [haw] [tasawturai] ya\]

\[hit\ CL.F\ GNRC\ older.person\ TOP\]

\[haw- nqi rai tiha caitwa nqwexay\]

\[GNRC.RL\ younger.sibling\ PL\ well\ guide\ OBLG\]

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

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

4.6.2 Conjoined noun phrases

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

(66) SS 1.1

\[taiwai, taivui, mpyuimpyui, taigui, paizhi rai jai\]

\[pig\ dog\ cat\ frog\ mouse\ and.group\ TOP\]

\[qitutu mainqai haw lu nqe le tdi\]

\[sea\ beside\ LOC\ live\ PL.AGR\ CL.F\ QUOT\]

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

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

\[(67)\] BBS 1.9

\[ja\][tzu][tzu][atzui][hai][tahi][jai][haw]\]

like.that exist leave.in.place mother LIST then DEM.DIST LOC

\[Latiqai\][hai][atzui][Tshephu][hai][tda][tarai]\]

Latiqai (nm) LIST mother Tshephu (nm) LIST LIST.F 3pl.RES

\[asaw\][jai][sawmpi][ga][lwetaidwe][lu][ti][sai][nkui]\]

three A fallen.tree go lift REL time RV see

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

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

**4.6.3 Gender particle noun phrases**

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

\(^{115}\) See section 4.9 for a discussion on resumptive pronouns.
applies to humans and specifies gender. The forms of the gender-indicating particles are summarized in Table 40 below.

**Table 40 Gender-indicating particles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa(sa)</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzui(sa)</td>
<td>FEM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**Table 41 Characteristics of NP with gender particle**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Includes</th>
<th>GEND NP</th>
<th>Any NP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender neutral head N</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender specific head N</td>
<td>uncommon</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head N refers to new participant</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head N refers to known participant</td>
<td>uncommon</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantified by <em>khai</em> ‘one’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantified by other numerals, lexical quantifiers; not quantified</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The gender particle tends to occur with a referent which is previously unknown to the audience. Also, it is rare to see this gender reference taking place when the initial reference to the person is already gender specific, although it can happen (SE 16). These generalities being stated, one should note that a non-gender specific head noun (e.g. the generic ‘person’) does not make the gender reference necessary, nor does the referent being previously unknown (CB 13). When the speaker is intentionally communicating the idea of a non-specified person or people in general, neither quantifier nor gender reference is used (CB 8). Constructions using the gender-indicating particle can further be modified by a demonstrative (O 3.1).
(68) illustrates two instances of the gender reference construction. Although there are gender specific words for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ in Jejara (nyaipasarai and nyaitzuisarai, respectively), both participants in this utterance are referred to as ntsuirai ‘person’, with a gender-specifying particle (pasa and tzuisa) following after the numeral.

(68) SE 10
maikhakha ha ya tamaipfui ntsuirai khai pasa lai
picture this TOP from.before person one M A

ntsuirai khai tzuisa sai
person one FEM REC

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

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

(69) SE 35
ha ya ntsuirai anqi sai nyaitzuisarai lai tsha lu
this TOP people two REC woman A cook NZ

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

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

4.6.4 Measural noun phrases

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

Words which have the semantic function of giving a measurement of the head noun occur in addition to the numbers or lexical quantifiers quantifying Jejara nouns. They pattern following the head they modify, preceding numerals. (70) shows one of the occurrences, in this case laipye ‘whole (of round)’.
A whole jackfruit is big, so I can’t eat it all.

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

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

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

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

In contrast, (72) shows the same morphemes, but broken down differently by the LRP in transcription. ‘small orange juice cup’ is the noun phrase which is then quantified. shiwaiqi ‘orange juice’ + pa ‘cup’ form a compound modified by the diminutive sa before being quantified by the number khai.
Besides cases which make use of measural words, nouns are quantified using only numerals or lexical quantifiers. These lexemes follow their heads and are not followed by a classifier. (73) provides an example.

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

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

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

4.6.5 Distributive and partitive noun phrases
Another unique ability often exhibited by noun phrases is the ability to express distributive meanings such as “three each” and partitive meanings such as “some
of.” Syntactically and semantically, lexical items and constructions used for these meanings tend to have relation to the numerals and/or classifiers in a noun phrase. The dataset, unfortunately, does not reveal a clear pattern of how these occur in Jejara, especially in conjunction with numerals. One example each of an utterance bearing semantic resemblance to constructions which have been labeled distributive and partitives is given, but the limited number of occurrences makes it difficult to state any patterns.

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

(76) BBS 2.4
a li jai tusaisai ga le
1sg.POSS leg TOP a.little.each go can
... little by little my legs came to be able to move...

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

(77) BBS 5.2
a law letsharai khainqi hai ntu
1sg also students some LIST be.present
... I also had some [of the other] students with me...

### 4.7 Demonstratives

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

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

---

116 jai is seen operating in a wider range of syntactic contexts than ha and the principal reason for this is likely that it occurs with greater frequency and therefore more of its functions can be observed in the corpus of texts. Until further evidence presents itself, the researcher makes the assumption that each of these demonstratives can distribute as widely as the combined distributions of both.
Table 42 Forms of *jai* DEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>jai</em></td>
<td>that</td>
<td>acceptable, common</td>
<td>BBS 1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jaiya</em></td>
<td>that</td>
<td>shortcut, but not considered wrong</td>
<td>(no example in context)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jaiyajai</em></td>
<td>as for that</td>
<td>complete</td>
<td>(no example in context)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jaiyajaijai</em></td>
<td>as for that</td>
<td>fullest</td>
<td>K 1.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7.1 Demonstratives (modifying)

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

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

(78) \(\text{mpwasui} \ jai \ kuta \ zhasai \ ga\)

\(\text{cow} \quad \text{DEM.DIST} \quad \text{when} \quad \text{kill} \quad \text{IRR}\)

When are [you] going to kill that cow?

(79) \(\text{mpyimpyi} \ ha \ ya \ tacaimairawraw \ mai\)

\(\text{cat} \quad \text{DEM.PROX} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{black} \quad \text{POL}\)

This cat [is] black.

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

(80) \(\text{jairai} \ ya \ laisuitshai \ ha\)

\(3\text{pl.DIST} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{cleanliness} \quad \text{DEM.PROX}\)

\(\text{ma} \ \text{lu} \ \text{lu} \ \text{nyaipasarai} \ \text{he}\)

\(\text{NEG} \ \text{exist} \ \text{REL} \ \text{man} \ \text{CL.F}\)

They are men without cleanliness (‘this cleanliness’).

There is another demonstrative working in a determiner role which distributes exclusively with time statements. It can function on its own to mean ‘now’, or
pattern before a time related noun to mean ‘this’. (81) shows how ca functions as a demonstrative when patterning together with a time word, and also that it patterns to the left as seen in the discussion on the exceptional pattern for time nouns, section 4.3.3.

(81)  CK 17.1
ca pwe zhasai lu whai
this year kill IPFV in.the.manner
... just as [you] killed [a cow] this year...

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

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

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

(82)  BBS 1.7
jai paile ti ye
DEM.DIST think attempt.to IRR
... I'll think about that...

In (83) the narrator describes how he, pinned under a tree, had others use an ax handle as a lever to help him escape. Demonstrative pronouns are used twice to refer to the ax handle. The second occurrence takes instrumental case marking.
(83) BBS 1.11
a lai wiqhaqhai laigapi ga khu jai
1sg A go.and.throw ax.handle go take DEM.DIST
ra setaw jai lai ga sekaile
come insert.to.use.as.lever DEM.DIST INS go lift.as.with.lever
laici sai a law ra laici le
come.out RV 1sg also come come.out can
.. the ax handle I had thrown aside, [they] went and got that, and only when [they] came and took [me] out with that I was able to come out.

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

(84) SE 11
ha ya swaparai lai taika lay ra zhwa nkui
DEM.PROX TOP older.person A what Q.CONT come look.for see
bai ta pwakaw haw ra pwa lu jai mai
finish 3sg.RES chair LOC come sit REL thing POL
This [is] the thing where an older man comes, looks for and finds – what? – [and then] comes and sits on his chair.

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

(85) BBS 1.2
hawtzuipa rai law haw ma taisui su
parent PL also GNRC NEG support can
jayaw haw tzuipa rai cawrui jaitda lu ye
therefore 1pl parents PL help like.that live IRR
My parents aren’t able to support me to go to school, so I will help them. (“[I] will help our parents; like that, [I] will live.”)

117 The list of demonstratives in section 3.2.5.2 includes those which stand for an activity and indicate manner. They can be recognized by the use of ‘like’ in their gloss.
Pronominal demonstratives play important roles in referring back to items, events or even abstract concepts previously mentioned. They can take the same positions as other NPs.

4.7.3 Demonstrative locative construction

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

(86) \hspace{1em} K 1.7
\begin{verbatim}
jai + haw  si    ja
there     just  like.that
\end{verbatim}
\hspace{1em} ... just there, and like that ...

(87) \hspace{1em} K 1.6
\begin{verbatim}
tahi  talintzawntzaw jai + haw  dhruikha nqe  le
then  many.kinds there  hook  PL  CL.F
\end{verbatim}
\hspace{1em} ... and so there [we] hang all kinds of things.

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

(88) \hspace{1em} BBS 5.3
\begin{verbatim}
 jai + hawlai  phehailo
from.then beginning
\end{verbatim}
Starting from then...

\(^{118}\) Perhaps, however, ‘here’ is represented only by the forms built on first singular pronouns, as in the following paragraphs.
In addition to the possibility of representing location with the demonstrative plus locative case marker combination, another possibility exists. In this case, the second unit is the locator noun\textsuperscript{119} \textit{mpa} ‘beside’ rather than a case marker. (89) shows one of these constructions in use. Observe that \textit{jai ‘that’ + mpa ‘beside’} is functioning as a locative NP argument. In the example it is followed by a topicalizer. It is only the English free translation where “the fire” seems to be part of a prepositional phrase. In Jejara \textit{jai + mpa} ‘there-beside’ is a noun phrase argument of the verb.

(89) K 1.10
\begin{tabular}{ccccc}
\textit{jai} & \textit{mpa} & \textit{jai} & \textit{mpui} & \textit{taigai} & \textit{nqe} \\
\text{DEM.DIST} & \text{beside} & \text{TOP} & \text{fire} & \text{warm.oneself} & \text{PL.AGR} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{c}
\dotfill \text{... warm themselves beside the fire...} \\
\end{tabular}

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

(90) K 1.3
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
\textit{ahaw} & \textit{ca} & \textit{nkui} & \textit{lu} & \textit{lu} & \textit{ha} \\
\text{DEM} & \text{now} & \text{see} & \text{IPFV} & \text{NZ} & \text{TOP} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{c}
\dotfill \text{...the thing [we] see here now...} \\
\end{tabular}

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

(91) Prn 44
\begin{tabular}{cccc}
\textit{ahaw} & \textit{ra} & \textit{rai} \\
\text{DEM.ALL} & \text{come} & \text{urging} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{c}
\text{Come here.} \\
\end{tabular}

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

\textsuperscript{119} Locator nouns are introduced in section 3.2.2.
currently working to help the researcher as well as his own people. That sentence begins as seen in (92). The locative demonstrative awhe occurs in the clause along with the temporal NP ca. Both are non-core noun phrases, and together they set the utterance in the present time and space. tdahiya intervenes as a discourse particle.

(92)  BBS 6.1
ca   tdahiya   awhe
now as.for DEM
So now, here…

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

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

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

(93)  L52 2
ha + tzuisa   lai   alaihwaiti   jatsha   a   lai   phyaibai   mai
DEM.PROX + FEM A   teased.me therefore 1sg A   hit   CL.F
This girl teased me, so I hit [her].
In (94) the same construction is built using the distal demonstrative and male-indicating particle, further modified by the distal demonstrative in its modifying role. In this usage of a gender-marked demonstrative, the speaker and listener come upon a scene where a man is killing a cow, which they do not believe is his to kill.

(94) CK 7.1
\[
\text{\textit{jai} + pa \quad \textit{jai wayqi ma thajai}}
\]
\[
\text{DEM.DIST + M DEM.DIST very NEG trust}
\]
[I don't really trust that man…

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

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

4.8 Kinship terms

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

The Jejara people are divided into two groups. Perhaps these groups could be termed clans. Each person is a member of one or the other clan, Tidharai or Tawtshawrai. Membership is hereditary. The guidelines for marriage are connected to this division. One is permitted to marry someone only from the other clan, not from one’s own. Therefore, if you are Tidharai, you are free to marry someone who is Tawtshawrai and vice versa. Additionally, the appropriate form of address for people in various forms of relation to oneself – even friends – is often dependent on whether they are from the same clan as oneself or not.
The group of which you are not a member, therefore, can often be referred to from your own perspective as the “marriable side” and your own side as the “non-marriable side.” One can refer to a person as from their “marriable side” even if that person is of the same gender as them or is already married. It is simply a statement about the mutual relationship based on respective clans.

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

**Table 43 Kinship terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship term</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>apa</em></td>
<td>father</td>
<td>For both one’s father and his brothers, older or younger. For the latter it would be common to follow the title with their given name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>atzui</em></td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>For both one’s mother and her sisters, older or younger. For the latter it would be common to follow the kinship term with their given name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ajupa</em></td>
<td>brother, older</td>
<td>For one’s older brother and boys/men older than oneself from one’s clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ajutzui</em></td>
<td>sister, older</td>
<td>For one’s older sister and girls/women older than oneself from one’s clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anqipa</em></td>
<td>brother, younger</td>
<td>As older above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anqitzui</em></td>
<td>sister, younger</td>
<td>As older above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tasawtupa</em></td>
<td>oldest, male</td>
<td>For the oldest male in a family. Parents could call their oldest son this, but they would not use it as a form of address. They might say something like “my son, the oldest.” Cannot be pluralized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tasawtutzui</em></td>
<td>oldest, female</td>
<td>As male above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aju</em></td>
<td>in-law, brother</td>
<td>For anyone from the right generation/age to be one’s elder sibling, but not from the right clan. Especially someone related to oneself by marriage, but also anyone from one’s marriable side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or sister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ari</em></td>
<td>son</td>
<td>For one’s own son, and for the sons of one’s siblings or anyone of that age/generation, optionally followed by their given names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship term</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ala</td>
<td>daughter</td>
<td>For one’s own daughter, and for the daughters of one’s siblings or others of that generation, optionally followed by their given names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akui</td>
<td>uncle</td>
<td>For one’s mother’s brothers and other men from that generation who are not one’s father’s brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anqai</td>
<td>aunty</td>
<td>For one’s father’s sisters and other women from that generation who are not one’s mother’s sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apvuiajai</td>
<td>grandparents</td>
<td>Either side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apvui</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td>Either side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ajai</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>Either side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzaisa</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
<td>Male or female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaipvui</td>
<td>great-grandparents</td>
<td>For anyone from generations before grandparents (ancestors)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maicwecwe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ajai</td>
<td>great-grandfather</td>
<td>For any male from generations before grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maicwecwe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apvui</td>
<td>great-grandmother</td>
<td>For any female from generations before grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maicwecwe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzaisa</td>
<td>great-grandchild</td>
<td>Male or female, for anyone from grandchildren’s children’s generation and lower (descendants)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maicwecwe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayipa</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>For males to call another male who is the same age as oneself, a friend, and not from one’s clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayirai</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>For males to call another male who is the same age as oneself, a friend, and who is from one’s clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amaizhi</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>For females to call another female who is the same age as oneself, a friend, and not from one’s clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azhawti</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>For a female to call another female who is the same age as oneself, a friend, and from the same clan as oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thepa</td>
<td>teacher, male</td>
<td>A term of respect used more broadly than just for a schoolteacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thetzui</td>
<td>teacher, female</td>
<td>A term of respect used more broadly than just for a schoolteacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>therai</td>
<td>teacher and group</td>
<td>To refer to a teacher and a natural group he belongs to, such as his family; can function as 3pl; it can refer to ‘teachers’ in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasawturai</td>
<td>person with authority</td>
<td>Can refer to male or female, to a single person or a number of people – but rai is included either way</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Addressing groups of people in the second plural or referring to them in the third plural is done using pronouns – *ri* and *jairai*, respectively – unlike a pattern observed in Burmese which uses titles or kinship terms widely in place of what would be a simple, closed set of pronouns in a language like English (Okell 1969: 99).
In order to address anyone of higher status than oneself, it is preferred if they are addressed by a title or kinship term. Examples would be “teacher,” “uncle,” “father,” “brother” and the equivalent terms for females. If a certain person has important standing, they will be addressed by the relevant title by people of all ages. With each of these it is possible, but not required if understood pragmatically, to follow the term with the proper name of the person being addressed or referred to. It is uncommon to refer to oneself by a kinship term or title. People use a, the first singular personal pronoun, to refer to themselves. To address people younger than oneself the speaker has many choices which are appropriate. They can use the second singular pronoun nyai, the addressee’s proper name or a relevant kinship term such as “son,” “daughter,” “younger brother,” etc.

4.9 Resumptive pronouns

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

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

(95) Adv 3
    tasawtu rai law ma tarai lawsai lu lai
    older.person PL even even 3pl.RES happy IPFV CL.F
Even older people are happy.

---

120 This is the most common, although a pronoun seeming to occur as the first reference to the participant which is also identified by a resumptive pronoun is shown in example (98).
121 See (96) and (99) for cases where the resumptive pronoun is not immediately before the verb.
122 See D 1.2 for just one example of no resumptive pronoun.
123 Although there is nothing in the form of resumptive pronouns explicitly indicating that they are being used resumptively, here and throughout this paper pronouns used in a resumptive manner are indicated with ‘.RES’ where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.
Another example can be seen as (96) below. The resumptive usage of tanki ‘3du’ can be contrasted with the possessive. Although they are identical in form, the first usage is the resumptive one, the pronoun being an agent of qi ‘hit’. In the second usage of tanki is as a possessor of kuri ‘head’.

(96) SE 31
maiqhi tsharai ntsuirai anqi khaitsu ku
soccer.player person two jump go.up
tanki maiduji jai tanki kuri lai qi
3du.RES ball P 3du.POSS head INS hit
Two soccer players jump up and when they hit the ball with their head...

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

(97) LQ 12
cwe -nqi akhwa -nqi tanki je tshetsu bay
blanket two covering two 3du.RES INCL place.and.leave CL.F
The blanket and sheet are placed together.

It is not only third person referents which are further specified using resumptive pronouns. It is simply common to do so because the range of referents which could potentially be indicated by a third person pronoun in any given speech act are infinitely greater than those by first or second person pronouns. The latter are more likely to be indicated by a pronoun (as opposed to a more semantically specific noun) in the first place. However, even a first person singular referent originally indicated by a pronoun can be referred to with a resumptive pronoun, perhaps to give greater emphasis. (98) is an example where this occurs124:

(98) NP 1.2
ntphuisu khai ha a lai a tza maisui lu
mango one DEM.PROX 1sg A 1sg.RES eat want REL
ntse lainkwe sashizhiha tshabaisui se ntsuiha lu pa he
ripe yellow reddish and.then sour sweet REL thing CL.F
This one mango…[is] the thing which I want to eat and is yellow-brushed-with-red ripe and sweet and sour.

124 However, an alternative analysis could consider atzamaisuilu to be a nominalization. The process of nominalizing and would be prefixation with a- the general nominalizer, working together with the post-clausal nominalizing particle lu. The resulting nominal atzamaisuilu can act as an attributive modifying the head noun.
(99) reveals another example of slightly novel usage with a resumptive pronoun followed by a numeral. The number is used to delimit the pronoun, showing that it is not any random plural number, but that there were, in specific, three agents.

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

Tshephu hai tarai asaw jai
Tshephu (nm) LIST 3pl.RES three A
sawmpi ga lwetaidwe lu ti sai nkui
fallen.tree go lift be.in.state time RV see

... [I] only saw Mother, Latiqai and Mother Tshephu when they were going to lift the log.

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

4.10 Conclusion
Chapter 4 has provided information about the Jejara noun phrase. In addition to discussing the identifying properties, distributinal characteristics and the basic linear order of the noun phrase, other unique information regarding nouns and the noun phrase has been provided, such as a presentation of complex modification of the head noun. Other issues included the exceptional noun phrase order seen with certain time nouns and attributive verbs acting as part of the noun phrase. Temporal and locative phrases as NP arguments and how the locative phrase can be used as a nominal modifier were addressed. Further, the structural variants connected to apposed and conjoined noun phrases and noun phrases indicated for gender by the gender particle were considered. Discussion on a measural construction was followed by a brief mention of distributives and partitives. Demonstratives of various forms and with a range of functions were addressed, followed by observations about kinship terms and resumptive pronouns as other lexical items in their respective noun phrase roles.
Chapter 5
Simple clauses

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{126}\) Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating possession, here and throughout this paper pronouns used in a possessive manner are indicated with ‘.POSS’ where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.
(101) also demonstrates the basic SOV word order very clearly. A totally free word order would leave the interpretation of this utterance ambiguous. With two human participants of the verb ‘love’, it would be impossible to identify who loved whom without some identification of roles, whether by word order or case marking. Yet the LRP produced it without any particular marking to identify the experiencer or stimulus of the verb *tamaisu* ‘love’ and still confidently gave only a single free translation. The initial NP was identified as the experiencer of the verb, and the second NP as the stimulus127, confirming that there is a basic order to the NP constituents of a clause, despite the flexibility which is shown in the following discussion.

(101) Tr 11

[Jaïjaila] [Jaïjaiqai] [tamaisu lu lai]
Jaïjaila (nm) Jaïjaiqai (nm) love IPFV CL.F
Jaïjaila loves Jaïjaiqai.

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

(102) NR 5.1

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

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

(103) D 4.1

*naqawshe* [ari li] [taiwui lai] [tse zhai bai]
yesterday son leg dog A bite BEN finish
Yesterday a dog bit [our] son's leg.

---

127 With an experiential verb such as ‘love’, the experiencer is mapped as the agent participant, and the stimulus as the patient.
There are also numerous textual examples of argument elision. Both core and peripheral arguments can be elided; if they are recoverable pragmatically, the verb is often expressed without them as in (104). Neither the agent nor the location referred to are expressed explicitly.

(104) Adv 6
[khaiqi] [nqi  ti  lai]
once  arrive  ever  CL.F
[I] have been [there] once before.

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

(105) BBS 1.7
jaitda [a] [cai] ja
like.that 1sg say like.that
…[he] said that to me…

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

(106) L52 2
[ha  tsuisa  lai] [a] [laikhwaiti]
DEM.PROX  FEM  A  1sg  tease

jatsha [a  lai] [phyai  bai  mai]
therefore 1sg A hit finish CL.F
This girl teased me, that’s why I went and hit [her].
(107) is a clear example of a verb occurring without any noun phrase arguments.

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

For verbs with only an S argument the clause structure is: [NP, VP]S. In these clauses, the semantic nature of the verb only requires a single argument. Essentially, the clause form does not change. The only difference is that here there is no patientive argument at all, even implied. In outward form, these clauses look identical to those with two argument verbs with one argument elided128. (108) provides an example.

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

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

5.3 Clause types

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

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

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

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

\[(109) \quad \text{Ad 6} \]
\[
[suitzatza] \quad [pfui \ tzi \ haw] \quad [tzu \ le]
\]

spoon pot top LOC exist CL.F

The spoon is on top of the pot.

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

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

\[(110) \quad \text{NE 44} \]
\[
[ta-tzi \ haw] \quad [ku \ lu \ lai]
\]

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

[It] is on top of it. (“on its top”)

---

\(^{129}\) Locative phrases as NP arguments are discussed in section 4.5.

\(^{130}\) For a description of locator nouns, see section 3.2.2. These lexical items play the same semantic role as those which in Mongsen Ao Coupe has termed “nascent postpositions” (2007: 184). He finds a fairly traceable diachronic relation to body parts in Ao. There is some evidence of this in Jejara, too. For example tzi ‘front’, ‘top’ is also used to refer to the body part ‘face’.
Table 44 lists the copular verbs that are used in locative clauses.

**Table 44 Copular verbs for locatives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
<td>be on top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu</td>
<td>exist(^{131})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai</td>
<td>be inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzu</td>
<td>exist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(111) NE 71

\[
\text{[ntapa haw]} \quad \text{[tainka khai]} \quad \text{[sai la]}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>glass</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>fish</th>
<th>one</th>
<th>be.inside</th>
<th>CL.F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

There is one fish in the glass.

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

5.3.2 Existential clause

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

\(^{131}\) Any potential semantic or syntactic differences between the two verbs glossed ‘exist’ are not yet known.
In (112) *lu* functions as a copula expressing the existence of work which has already been completed.

(112) BBS 1.5

\[ haw \ tzuipa \ rai \ turai \ tsha \ rara \ laa \ hoshahai \ lu \]

1pl parents PL work do come also a.lot.of exist

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

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

(113) K 1.9

\[ tahiya \ tzwalaiwatszhouzha \ awhe \ tda\haya \ khairai \ ya \ mpui \ maiki \]

then kitchen here as.for some as.for fire warm

\[ azhai \ rai \ laa \ lu \ , \ tzukaw \ laa \ lu \]
NZ .sleep person.who also exist sleeping.place also exist

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

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

### 5.3.3 Possessive clause

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

(114) NE 68

\[ [jai \ kaw \ haw] \ [tayipa \ painka] \ [lu \ la] \]

3sg.DIST HUM LOC friend five exist CL.F

He has five friends.

\[ tzwalaiw + tshalu + zhaw \ ‘meals+cook+house’ \]
The creative nature of language is once again clear as we look at variations on this construction. (115) shows the possessor expressed as a basic NP, without any locative marking. The LRP feels it is not quite as complete as an utterance using a NP\textsubscript{LOC}, but does not deem it incorrect.

(115) E05 1.71  
\[
[jä’ ya’] [tayipa pänka] [lu’ la]  
\]
3sg TOP friend five exist CL.F
He has five friends.

In (116) the possessive phrase is split, with the NP sawpwe\textsubscript{pwe} ‘apple’ separated from its quantifier by the NP\textsubscript{LOC} a ‘1sg’.

(116) NE 65  
\[
[sawpwe\textsubscript{pwe}welaisu] [a kaw] painka [lu la]  
\]
apple 1sg HUM five exist CL.F
I have five apples.

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

(117) BBS 5.3  
\[
tahiya [haw- yikhwe tatshataiga] law [ntu]  
\]
them RL mind pain also be.present  
... then [I] also had mind (“emotional”) pain with [me]...

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

(118) NE 62  
\[
[nyaisatzuirai ha ya] [ta- pwe painka] [lu la]  
\]
girl this TOP RL year five exist CL.F
This girl is five years old.

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

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

(119) K 1.1

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

\[
[Naga \text{ rai tzwalaiwa tshalu zhaw khai he}]_{\text{COMP}}
\]

Naga PL meals cook house one CL.F

The picture [you] can see now [is] a Naga cooking house (“kitchen”).

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

(120) DI 1.1, 2

\[
\text{sayama } [\text{hayahaha}]_{\text{TOP}} \text{ wai Jajairai le tahi luzhi tda}
\]

teacher.F as.for.this 1pl.POSS Jejara literature then culture saying

\[
\text{taghukutsepa tataigapa khai he}]_{\text{COMP}}
\]

person.responsible chairperson one CL.F

Teacher, this [is] the chairman of the committee our for Jejara literacy and culture.

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

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

(122) NE 52

\[ jai \quad ya \quad ta-\quad gha \quad ma \quad daw \]

3sg.DIST as.for RL tooth NEG white

As for him, his teeth are not white.

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

5.3.5 **Attributive clause**

In Jejara, to ascribe a characteristic to a noun phrase in the form of a complete clause, an attributive verb can be used following the NP to which the characteristic is ascribed. This is the basic attributive construction and can be depicted as [NP VP\_ATR]. In (123) the topic marker follows the topic *pfü* ‘mountain’ and the particle *lä* marks the end of the clause, following the verb *tu* ‘big’.

(123) E05 1.26

\[ pfü\quad ya’ \quad [tu\quad lä’] \]

mountain TOP big CL.F

The mountain is big.

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

(124) E05 1.22

\[ lâlu’dha’\quad [dha’ga] \]

peanut hard

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(128) BBS 1.6

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

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

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

(129) NR 7.1

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

ma da lu la
NEG good exist CL.F

It’s not good for us people to be deaf. (“having our ears stopped is not good for us people”)

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

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

(130) W 10

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

That pot is clean.
He is using a knife and ax and is clearing the field.

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

**5.3.6 Comparative construction**

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

Comparative constructions rely on the comparative particle wayqi ‘more’, which patterns preverbally. The whole comparative clause can be depicted as \[NP_1 \text{ wayqi } VP \], where \(NP_1\) is the comparatively greater of the two. (132) exhibits this construction. The comparative is applied to an attributive verb. The reader will notice that the NPs being compared occur one after another. The speaker’s audience identifies the item being claimed as superior by word order (it occurs initially). In some cases, as below, the topic marker ya is also present.

(132) \[\text{CS 1.1}\]
\[
\text{[lainqisawpwesu ya]} \text{ [lasu] wayqi kaira lai}
\]
apple TOP banana more good CL.F

Apples are better than bananas.

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

(133) \[\text{CS 5.2}\]
\[
\text{[ta- tzala lai] wayqi twa lai}
\]
RL daughter A more speak CL.F

Daughter speaks more [than son].
One construction shows a lexical item that is identical in form to the comparative particle, but shows qualities of a verb, being followed by a clause-conjoining particle\(^{133}\). (134) displays wayqi ‘more’ being followed by the clause-conjoining lai and having semantic scope over maicaira ‘come to know’.

(134) BBS 6.1
\[\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{haw} & \text{Jaijairai} & \text{khwezhu} & \text{law} & \text{tshatshalaw} & \text{wayqi} & \text{lai} \\
1pl & \text{Jejara (ppl)} & \text{subject} & \text{also} & \text{as for} & \text{more} & \text{CONN}
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ntzuirai} & \text{lai} & \text{law} & \text{maicai} & \text{ra} & \text{ye} \\
\text{other people} & \text{A} & \text{even} & \text{know} & \text{come} & \text{IRR}
\end{array}\]

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

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

### 5.3.7 Superlative construction

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

(135) NE 81
\[\begin{array}{llllllllll}
[taiwalaqi] & \text{ya} & \text{ta} & \text{lairu}]^{\text{TOP}} & [\text{ta-} & \text{kaira} & \text{ha} & \text{he}]^{\text{COMP}} \\
\text{egg} & \text{as for} & 3sg.POSS & \text{taste} & \text{SUP} & \text{good} & \text{SUP} & \text{CL.F}
\end{array}\]

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

\(^{133}\) The ability to be used in this way raises the questions: (1) Should all usages of wayqi be considered a single word from a single grammatical category or should they not? (2) If yes, to which class would it most appropriately belong? It may be best to assign waqi verb status with the gloss ‘have more’.
(136) shows another example, with the verb *laipvuisa* ‘little’ nominalized to form the complement.

(136) NE 85
[yiku jai]TOP [ta- laipvuisa ha he]COMP
stone DEM.DIST SUP little SUP CL.F
That rock is the smallest [one].

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

(137) CS 5.3
[ta- tzui ya]TOP haiqi [ta- twa ha he]COMP
RL mother TOP again SUP speak SUP CL.F
Mother speaks the most.

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

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

5.4.1 Distribution of argument types within the clause
Table 45 gives a visual representation of the locations where each NP type has been observed patterning in relation to other arguments of the same clause. S represents the single semantic argument of a clause, A the most agentive argument and P the most patientive. The position in which an NP type might occur is shown by a blank line, and an ‘x’ indicates that there is an occurrence of that NP in that position found in the data. Because actual occurrence is so great in relation to range of possibilities, it is hypothesized that each can pattern, as well, in positions in which they have not
yet been observed given the limited data. The argument types looked at in this table, particularly NP_{LOC} and NP_{TEMP}, are peripheral ones, commonly a reason for great syntactic flexibility.

Table 45 Syntactic distribution of NP types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cooccurrence</th>
<th><em>S</em></th>
<th>S_</th>
<th>P_</th>
<th>A_P</th>
<th>AP_</th>
<th>_AP</th>
<th>PA_</th>
<th>PA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>A_</th>
<th>With other non-core arguments</th>
<th>Without other arguments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP_{LOC}</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_{TEMP}</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_{ABL}</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_{ALL}</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_{BEN}</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_{INS}</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_{RV}</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_{RVLOC}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

5.4.2 Location

In Jejara, location is expressed using locative phrases which pattern as NP arguments. There is one locative case marking particle, haw, and it occurs following these noun phrases to identify their role. The argument indicating location arranges itself with remarkable syntactic flexibility in Jejara. It seems to be able to pattern in any position in relation to the other arguments. Since it also occurs with great frequency, almost every possible combination is found in occurrence in the dataset.
(138) shows one locative phrase acting as the location argument in the clause. Its form is seen to be a noun *saipwe* ‘table’ followed by the locator noun *tzi* ‘top’ followed by the case marking particle *haw* to form the NP$_{\text{loc}}$:

(138) CB 10

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

... the carrots that were left on the table.

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

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

### 5.4.3 Source

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

(139) NP 1.1

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

The mangoes which come from Ping Ne Gone village Layshi Township...
In (140) the source location *tshapaige* ‘shop’ is immediately followed by the relevant case marker, *hawlai*.

(140) O 2

\textit{ntzuirai khai pasa tshapaige hawlai la lu}

person one M shop ABL come IPFV

A man is coming out of a shop.

An argument being used in an ablative sense, then, is indicated by one form of the ablative case marker *haw, lai* or *hawlai*, patterning to its right.

5.4.4 Goal

Goal is another semantic role encoding both location and motion. Arguments in the role of goal describe the destination a motion event. In Jejara, arguments in the semantic role of goal are identified by allative case marking in the form of the particle *lwa*. The particle follows the NP to which it pertains. The goal-marking case particle is identical in form to the noun meaning ‘way, route’. (141) provides an instance where the goal is a village, which is made clear by the corresponding case marker. In this case it is the only explicitly stated argument of its verb.

(141) BBS 1.7

\textit{talaishilwaya nta lwa ga}

after.that village ALL go

... after that [I] went to the village...

NPs in the semantic role of goal are marked by the allative case particle *lwa*.

5.4.5 Restrictive location

Another case marker related to location is *hawsai*, where *haw* is the general locative marker and *sai* is used to restrict the event encoded in the clause to occurrence at a certain point in time. When following a noun phrase which has a location as its referent, *hawsai* indicates “upon arrival at NP.” (142) exhibits this case marker in action, marking *lwatzui* ‘road’ as the arrival point at which the subsequent action – unfold and put down – took place.
only upon carrying [it] to the road did [she] come, unfold [it] and put [it] down, and like that climb on, sit and, riding, go.

The complex case marker *hawsai*, then, can pattern following an NP to indicate the arrival at a particular location as a prerequisite for the event encoded in the clause.

### 5.4.6 Human marker

When human referents are involved in clauses which include a meaning component of location, other variations come into play. *kaw* is a lexical item which has location-related semantics. In one of its senses it is used to nominalize verbs with the resultant meaning ‘place.where.V’ (see section 8.3.1). In its usage which is related to the current discussion it is found occurring following human referents in utterances related to location, whether static or in motion. It can (optionally) further be followed by a specific case marking particle identifying the referent as existing at a point in space or a destination. Below in (143) the reader can see the first singular actor followed by the human location marker and then the general locative case marker.

(143) CN 1

I don’t have even one friend. (“Even one friend doesn’t exist at me”)

Similar to (143) above, the utterance in (144) also shows the usage of *kaw* after a personal pronoun. However, here it is not followed by any markers although the ablative case marker *hawlai* would be compatible with the meaning of this utterance. The argument encodes the source of information. We can see, then, that further case marking is not required to follow the human locative marking particle.

(144) DI 1.1

... you can ask him all [you want to know].
The utterance below in (145) shows that the usage of *kaw* with a proper name. It is followed by *lwa* to mark destination.

(145) BBS 2.1
apa Jikhaitzui kaw lwa mpa khai qi
father Jikhaitzui HUM ALL week one more than
... [I went] to Father Jikhaitzui to get massages for over a week.

Another utterance, found in (146), shows the further possibility of using the regular locative case marker following a pronoun without *kaw* intervening\(^\text{134}\).

(146) CK 1
ayipa a haw mpwasui zhasai lu lai
friend 1sg LOC cow kill IPFV CL.F
Friend, here [they're] killing a cow. (“[They’re] killing a cow at me.”)

### 5.4.7 Time

In Jejara, to situate an occurrence temporally, the time NP can be marked using the same case marking particle as an NP\(_{\text{LOC}}\). The difference in construction between temporal and locative noun phrases is that the former do not include locator nouns. *haw* marks the temporal NP argument, patterning to its right. (147) shows the marking pattern, with *ra* + *ga* + *lu* + *pwe* ‘in the coming year’ marked for its temporal semantic role.

(147) CK 18
mpwasui ha ra ga lu pwe haw zhasai ye
cow this come IRR REL year LOC kill IRR
[We] will kill this cow in the coming year.

In the NP above, the head noun ‘year’ is modified by the relative clause ‘coming’. Another time related construction is seen to frequently pattern with the temporal marker *haw*. (148) displays one of these occurrences. The NP is formed by nominalizing a verb with *ti* ‘time’ to result in the sense ‘at time of Ving’. In the example, it is rendered “when” in the free translation. The time case marker is frequently found patterning together with these nominalizations formed with *ti*.

\(^{134}\) See section 4.7.3 for further discussion on *a*haw.
The locative marker can pattern to mark a stationary location in space or the source of motion. In its extended usage for marking time this morpheme shows the same flexibility. It can mark a starting point in time for an ongoing situation, as demonstrated in (149). The reader can see the temporal source marker immediately after pwe ‘year’ 2002 in this description of how and when the LRP became involved in language development work.

(149)  BBS 5.3
ja  pwe 2002  haw  tshapfai  jaitda  ca  tdahiya
like.that  year  2002  ABL  begin.and.then  like.that  now  as.for
pwe 2013 law ma nqi ja ra tzai he
year 2013 even even arrive like.that come arrive CMPL
… so [contact, working together] began in 2002 and now it is already 2013.

A clause earlier in the same sentence, displayed as (150) below, shows a similar construction. In this case the time is being referred to by a demonstrative pronoun, and the temporal marker is identical to the one used for source in space: hawlai.

(150)  BBS 5.3
jai  hawlai  phehailo  tahiya  haw-  yikhwe  tatshataiga
DEM.DIST  ABL  beginning then  GNRC.RL  mind  pain
Beginning then, [I also had] emotional pain [with me.]

Further, time arguments can occur without overt case marking. (151) gives one of many instances where the temporal noun phrase ca + laintai ‘this morning’ is not followed by any particles to identify it.

(151)  D 5.1
ca  laintai  ayipa  kaw  lwa  lairui  ga  yaw
this  morning  friend  HUM  ALL  visit  go  at.time.of
… this morning when [I] went to visit my friend…

Temporal noun phrases can take the same case marking particles as locative NPs, including the general haw for points in time as well as ablative and allative markers.
for temporal starting and ending points. Alternatively, \( \text{NP}_{\text{TEMP}} \) can be unmarked.

Introduced in the following section is another particle which acts to restrict the clause’s action to the point in time indicated by the NP it marks.

### 5.4.8 Restrictive time

Another case particle significant to expressing temporal arguments, \( \text{sai} \), follows an \( \text{NP}_{\text{TEMP}} \) to indicate that only when said time is reached will the action take place. In (152) it can be seen in context, following \( \text{saqi} \) ‘tomorrow’.

(152) CK 15.2
\[
\text{saqi} \quad \text{sai} \quad \text{zhasai} \quad \text{ga} \quad \text{lu} \quad \text{ye} \\
\text{tomorrow} \quad \text{RV} \quad \text{kill} \quad \text{IRR} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{IRR}
\]

… I think [we’ll] kill [it] tomorrow [not sooner].

There is obvious similarity between this and the restrictive locative described in section 5.4.5 above, both in form and in meaning. The restrictive locative is formed of the locative \( \text{haw} + \text{sai} \) RV and has the same restrictive semantics.

### 5.4.9 Benefactive

Benefactive marking identifies an NP as the referent on whose behalf an action is being performed. In Jejara an argument can be marked as a beneficiary by \( \text{laitwa} \) which follows the NP it marks. (153) shows this marking on the initial NP, \( \text{pwe} \) ‘celebration’. One can see through this example that the idea of ‘beneficiary’ is broadened to include ‘purpose’.

(153) CK 10.2
\[
\text{ngawshe} \quad \text{pwe} \quad \text{laitwa} \quad \text{mpwasui} \quad \text{zhasaisai} \quad \text{le} \quad \text{tdi} \\
\text{yesterday} \quad \text{celebration} \quad \text{BEN} \quad \text{cow} \quad \text{kill.PST} \quad \text{CL.F} \quad \text{QUOT}
\]

… [they] killed a cow yesterday for the celebration [it is said].

When the argument which is in the semantic role of beneficiary is expressed as a pronoun, there is no overt marking.

That an action is undertaken for the benefit of another can also be expressed using a verbal particle. As expected, it is rare for the benefactive verbal particle and beneficiary case marker to cooccur. When the beneficiary is not human (e.g. an institution) the case particle tends to be used, and when the beneficiary is a human
the verbal particle tends to be used. (154) is the one example where these particles do cooccur.

(154) Tr 7.1
Jaijaiqai tatzui laitwa taizhaw tsha zhai lu lai
Jaijaiqai (nm) mother BEN house build BEN IPFV CL.F
[They] are building a house for Jaijaiqai's mother.

5.4.10 Causer
The causer case marking particle follows a noun phrase encoding the participant who causes a situation to occur and has the form laillii. Occurrences of this particle in the texts are few, but all mark arguments that the speaker identifies as the instigator or reason for a negative occurrence. The clauses with arguments taking this case marker include verbs with meanings such as ‘die’ and ‘drown’. (155) illustrates laillii CAUS following jai ‘3sg’ to identify ‘him’ as a possible culprit.

(155) SS 4
jai laillii sawmaipvui lairaw sa ga tda paile le
3sg.DIST CAUS boat drown small go COMP think CL.F
Do [you] think that it was because of him the boat sank?

This case marker has similarities to the benefactive in that in addition to there being a case marker for causer, there is also verbal morphology to indicate causativization (see section 7.5). However, there are no examples of the two cooccurring. One further lexical item exhibits similarity, this one in form as well as meaning. The clause connective laili is glossed ‘because’, also an important lexical item in expressing concepts of causation.

5.4.11 Instrument
Noun phrases which represent an entity that is used in order to perform an action are acting in the semantic role of instrument. Arguments functioning as instruments in Jejara are identified by the nominal case marker lai. In the texts, examples are seen of the instrument marker following various types of NPs such as demonstrative pronouns, personal pronouns, nominalized clauses and simple nouns.

(156) is a description the LRP gave of a brief video clip in which a man hacked vigorously with a small knife at a cloth which was stretched out and tied to two
tables. It shows the pattern for marking an argument which is playing the semantic role of instrument. The marking *lai* follows the NP *ntzuijaija + sa* ‘small knife’ which is the instrument being used in the scene.

(156) CB 4
*ntzuijaija sa lai ra taw phe nkui lai*
knife DIM INS come chop break.apart see CL.F

It should be mentioned that *lai* takes on many functions in Jejara. As a case marker, it can also be used to mark agentive arguments (see section 3.2.7.1). It also functions to fulfill a number of roles in the clause final position (see section 3.8.2). As an instrument marker, it is very straightforward, and simply patterns to the right of an NP in the instrument role of a clause.

### 5.4.12 Accompaniment

Many languages have a way to mark an argument as accompanying or doing the verb together with a main agent. Jejara does not have a case marker for this role. Rather, there are two structures used to coordinate participants who are acting in the same role together. The first is a particular structure to mark the accompaniment of one person with another so that the total number of participants results in a pair. With the use of this structure, there is no precedence given to one of the members of the pair as being the main participant with the other the accompanying. The form does not focus as much on semantic roles but only the dual nature of the participants.

In the title of a children’s story displayed as (157) this construction is shown joining together two NPs as a pair. It involves affixing the number ‘two’ -ni35 to the end of both nouns which make up the pair.

(157) TT
*taïwai -ni35 taïvui -ni35*
pig two dog two
Pig and dog

The same construction can be seen, for example, in expressions of natural pairs like “father and son,” in which case both words also occur with the relational prefix ta-.

---

135 The phonological process of losing its initial vowel (*a of anqi*) is undergone.
strengthening the concept of relational bond which unites them as a pair. An example is seen below as (158), where the distribution of double participants is again indicated by -nqi suffixed to each.

(158) SE 7
ntzuirai anqi ta+pa -nqi ta+tzadhi -nqi le
person two RL+father two RL+son two CL.F
Two people – father and son?…

(159) provides another example of a variety of ways in which this can work itself out. A blanket and a sheet are described as being placed together in one spot. Following the word for each is -nqi ‘two’, indicating that they are joint. The word which follows these two is another reference back to this pair of linens. It is one of the unique pronoun forms discussed in section 3.2.5.4 and is comprised of the third dual pronoun plus je, a morpheme indicating togetherness and accompaniment.

(159) LQ 12
cwe -nqi akhwa -nqi tanqi+je tshetzu bay
blanket two covering two 3du + together put.down CL.F
The blanket and sheet are placed together.

Another example below, (160), reveals a number of differences, showing the range available with this construction. The two participants in the pair are two people, referred to by their names. The utterance begins with Tshariqai, the first participant who is not, in fact, marked by -nqi. This is because pragmatically, at the initial mention of this participant he is going to the market alone and not yet a member of a pair. Only when the second participant is introduced as the friend he met at the market do we have the marking -nqi. In the free translation into Burmese by the LRP it is clear that the focus is not on one participant meeting or seeing the other, but that they met each other\textsuperscript{136}. As in the previous example, mentions of “togetherness” follow the formation of this pair. In this case, however, a more general word for ‘together’ is used. The term hawpwai\textsuperscript{137} has the components haw the generic relational pronoun and pwai for a group or group of friends. The verb nqwe also has “togetherness” as one of its semantic components. It is used together with motion verbs like “go” or “come” to express meanings like the English “pick up” and “come and get” when in reference to a person.

\textsuperscript{136} In Burmese no patient or agent marking is used, but plural agreement marking is found on the verb.

\textsuperscript{137} Discussed in section 3.2.5.4.
Tshariqai went to the market and met with Dhetshaqai, and then they came [home] together.

In the texts, there are two other lexical items which together relate to a sort of accompaniment, semantically. The first is hai and the second tda\textsuperscript{138}. They pattern together in the order listed. Intervening between the two morphemes are NPs which accompany each other, participating together in the activity of the verb. In (161) below hai marks the older person as accompanying the young man while they stand back to back conversing. tda follows to show the completion of a list of participants. Both a construction including tanqi ‘3du’ to refer to “the both of them” as well as hawpwai ‘together’ are found as further components used in the description of the situation, strengthening the concept of togetherness or accompaniment.

Although there is no case marking for accompaniment, there are unique structures which can be used to signify participants working together in a clause. This includes the special construction with –nqi marking participants as a pair as well as the constructions for lists, relying on the particles hai and tda. The use of je, a morpheme indicating togetherness, constructions with dual (or presumably plural) pronouns, and inclusion of the word hawpwai ‘together’ are all also prominent in expressing meanings related to accompaniment.

\textsuperscript{138}For further description of the particles hai and tda working together to form lists, see 4.6.2 on conjoined noun phrases.
5.5 Conclusion
Chapter 5 has covered information about simple clauses in Jejara. The basic linear order was discussed, followed by a treatment of seven unique clause types. The syntactic patterning and marking of semantic roles within the clause were further considered.
Chapter 6
Verb complex

6.1 Introduction
This chapter looks at the components that make up the Jejara verb complex. The linear order is given and in the following sections the relative position of each component of the verb complex is expanded on, along with further description about the members of that position. The chapter is concluded with a figure which reviews the verb complex as discussed, including notes on relative ordering.

6.2 Linear order
The Jejara verb phrase is relatively complex with positions for quite a number of lexical items performing various functions. A few of these positions occur preceding the verbal head. The majority of them occur postverbally.

At this stage in the research it is difficult to make definite claims about just how some of these lexical items would best be classified. Hypotheses are set out that identify certain postverbal items as being aspect-like, modality-like, and mood-like. Although these designations may be proven highly appropriate and relevant to the language, there is much still to be discovered about how these TAM markers work together or separately. Sometimes complexity is seen within a single lexical item, at other times it is a result of cooccurrence of multiple lexical items.

Each lexical item found to function within the verb complex has been grouped together with like particles and assigned a position relative to other sets of verbal particles. Figure 14 illustrates how the Jejara verb complex can be depicted, each set of related lexical items assigned a position.
Eleven positions have been identified, excluding the head\textsuperscript{139}. Eight of these are basic slots. In addition to this there are three zones, positions where up to two class members can pattern side-by-side allowing multiple lexical items of that class to occur in a single verb complex\textsuperscript{140}. With this number of operators, it is challenging to find a clause where all or even many of the operators are functioning together, making it a taxing task to lay out a definite linear order. In fact, with further investigation some may turn out to be mutually incompatible. Others that have been given separate positions may be found to belong to a single class, allowing the positions to be collapsed. Much can be observed already, however, with the available data, and discussions of the members of each slot and zone are found in the ensuing sections.

\textsuperscript{139} Previously, two more items were included preverbally. The first was a slot for intensifiers. Semantically, these seem to have a close tie to the verb. However, they are found in positions removed from the rest of the verb complex by intervening noun phrases (e.g. NE 12), and so have been excluded at this time. Another class of words which was considered as possibly holding a preverbal position within the verb complex was resumptive pronouns. In the vast majority of cases, these occur immediately preceding the verb and are written by the LRP as a single unit with the verb. Once again, however, the fact that sometimes noun phrase material is inserted between these items on the verb (e.g. SE 31) has motivated the researcher to exclude them from the verb complex at this time.

\textsuperscript{140} Terminology for “slots” and “zones” follows Coupe (2007: 288), who recognizes it as the approach of Kari 1989.
6.3 Structure of the verb complex

Each of the elements which can function in each of the verb phrase positions is considered in turn in the following sections. They can be broken down into three broad categories: preverbal elements, head and postverbal elements, and are presented in that order.

6.3.1 Directionals

The initial position in the verb complex is occupied by directionals\textsuperscript{141}. This set of directionals\textsuperscript{142} is confirmed to pattern previous to the verb. (162) displays the directional ga ‘go’ preceding lu ‘stay’.

\begin{verbatim}
(162) BBS 5.1
nyai Lishi qi haw ga lu
2sg Layshi (plc) city LOC go stay
...
\end{verbatim}

Directionals are seen to function in more than one way. They can either encode physical motion or not. They also carry aspect-like semantics. As actual verbs of movement, the occurrence of a directional verb before the main verb indicates that the motion took place before the action. For example, ga + ku, ‘go’ + ‘attend’ would be interpreted “go and attend” (BBS 4.5). Directionals can also play a role which does not encode motion, but has aspectual characteristics, indicating the degree to which the event is completed or ongoing. There is potential for these quasi-aspectual directionals to be used in an emotive manner as well, by giving a judgment call on the activity from the speaker’s perspective. We can see, for instance ga + ke, ‘go’ + ‘be used up’ as an integral part of the question which could be idiomatically stated: “Where did all the dried meat disappear (go and be used up) to?” (V 11.3). This type of expression seems to be similar to statements in English such as “went and” in “went and locked my keys in the trunk.” Both a sense of completion and a sense of amazement or frustration are drawn out by the use of the directional. All verbs of directional motion can be used in this slot, with ra ‘come’ and ga ‘go’ being most common.

\textsuperscript{141} These could be conceived of as either verbs working in serial with the other event verb, as secondary verbs within the verb complex alongside a matrix verb, or as having been grammaticalized to a status as particles in this position. There are both preverbal directionals and postverbal ones which clearly hold positions in the verb complex. Therefore, the researcher is currently considering every directional verb which occurs next to another verb (does not have non-verbal complex matter intervening) as a part of the verb complex. She does not intend to make a claim that directional verbs together with other verbs cannot be considered multi-verb constructions.

\textsuperscript{142} See section 8.2 for further discussion on directionals and multi-verb constructions.
6.3.2 Negative

A significant position in the verb complex is the negative slot. It is confirmed as occurring preverbally. Only one item, \textit{ma}^{143}, occurs in this slot. Its function is simply to negate the fact of the occurrence of the activity described by the verb, or the reality of the state for stative or attributive verbs. (163) illustrates the negative particle being used to express the non-occurrence of the event encoded by \textit{pe} ‘break’.

(163) CB 23
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{ma} & \textit{pe} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{break} \\
\end{tabular}

... [It] didn't break...

In (164) \textit{ma} occurs before the verb \textit{ti} ‘look at’ and its particle \textit{su} ‘can’ to result in the combined meaning “can't look at.” In this case, the negative has scope first over \textit{su} ‘can’, and secondarily over the entire verb complex.

(164) CK 8.2
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textit{ma} & \textit{ti} & \textit{su} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{look.at} & \text{can} \\
\end{tabular}

... I can't look at [that type of thing.]

6.3.3 Head

The head of the verb complex is the verb. The verb complex cannot exist without it. Within the scheme of the entire VP, the head occurs relatively far left, with the majority of verb phrase elements occurring to its right. All other elements of the verb phrase have meaning because of and specify the meaning of this head. The example shown as (165) allows the reader to see the head verb \textit{pha} ‘float’ followed by two aspectual particles.

(165) NE 88
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\textit{sawga} & \textit{qi} & \textit{tzi} & \textit{haw} & \textit{pha} & \textit{law} & \textit{lu} \\
leaf & water & top & LOC & \textit{float} & \textit{leave.as.is} & IPFV \\
\end{tabular}

The leaf is floating on top of the water. ("is being left in the state of floating")

\begin{footnote}{143}{The form of this negative particle is a perfect match for the PTB *\textit{ma} ‘negative’ (Matisoff 2003: 172, 488).}
6.3.4 Reduplicated verbs

In ‘Naga languages' of northeast India as studied and classified by Marrison, he notes that reduplication is used freely in a wide variety of ways. These differ from language to language, but distributive, intensive and repetitive usages are frequently seen (1967: 102).

(166) below gives an example of the usage of a reduplicated verb to indicate a resultant state. The verb phai ‘cut’ is used twice after the main verb laiki ‘chop’. The “chopping” has resulted in the state of “being cut up.”

(166) CB 6
khawqipvaisasa rai saipwe tsi haw ra tshetzu bai
carrot PL table top LOC come put.down finish
sai lai laiki phaiphai tsha lu
CONN INS chop cut.IPFV do IPFV
… [someone] came and placed carrots on the table and, with a knife, is doing chopping-into-pieces [to them].

The section about verbal reduplication in the word class chapter, 3.3.2, also describes these derivations and includes more examples. There, space is especially given to discussion of reduplicated verbs occurring preverbally. These do not seem to be part of the verb phrase due to the fact that other clausal elements, both core and non-core NP arguments, can intervene between them and the verb they modify. The reduplicated verbs which occur syntactically within the verb phrase have the semantic outcome of describing the result of the state of a situation after the event of the verb has occurred, while those occurring preverbally, elsewhere in the clause, have the semantic outcome of describing the manner in which the activity of the main verb is being carried out.

6.3.5 Directionals

Postverbal directionals occur before the slot of aspect-like particles. Most comments made regarding the preverbal directionals apply to the directionals occurring postverbally. Because of its location relative to the verb, however, the resulting semantic meaning for directionals in this slot is somewhat different. If a lexical item is being used to indicate actual motion, the motion occurs after the event represented by the head verb. For example, the combination khu + ra, ‘take’ + ‘come’ is to be understood “take (in this case, a rag) and come” as in (167) below.
(167) CB 1
cwedhai khu ra taceqai qhaidha ga lu la
cloth take come center tear go IPFV CL.F
[She] brought (“has taken and come with”) a cloth, and is tearing [it] down the middle.

When a postverbal directional does not carry the full extent of the lexical meaning of motion, and is used more aspectually, inceptive or completive meanings are encoded. qimpe + ga ‘break’ + ‘go’ indicates that the item in question (a branch) has just been broken – with the added focus of completely or irreversibly (CB 16). (167) above also includes one of these aspect-like directionals postverbally. qhaidha ‘tear’ is followed by ga ‘go’. Although the event is expressed imperfectively (lu), the use of the directional is significant in expressing the concept that this type of event will be irreversible.

6.3.6 Aspect-like particles

The directional verb position is followed by the first class of lexical items designated as aspect-like. The members of this class have been shown to pattern before the slot of deontic modality markers. The lexical items patterning here are aspect-like in a manner unique from those occurring in the zone further on in the verb phrase, and the set of lexemes permitted is different. ke, lwa, nqi and tda occur in this slot. They carry the meanings shown in Table 46.

Table 46 Aspect-like particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ke</td>
<td>V to completion</td>
<td>SE 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lwa</td>
<td>V to return things back to original state</td>
<td>L60a 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nqi</td>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>K 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tda</td>
<td>do [2 or more previously-mentioned Vs] alternately</td>
<td>K 1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(168) is an utterance describing the last part of a scene where a young woman drops and breaks a vase that she was carrying. The aspectual particle lwa is glossed ‘again’, but it does not indicate that she has already repaired the vase once. It indicates that she has repaired it somewhat back to its original state.
… having repaired [it], [she] is holding [it].

6.3.7 Pre-modality particles

Following that aspectual category is a broader undefined category for particles. This set of lexical items is confirmed to occur before the deontic modality indicating particles. Because the individual characteristics of each of these particles have not yet become clearly identifiable, what they have in common is not yet obvious, either. The members of this class may in the future show themselves to group together with other items in already-identified slots to make a more unified whole. Alternatively, they may break apart into more distinctive categories. Table 47 gives a brief overview of the items currently designated as fitting here. The second two pair with the negative particle.

Table 47 Particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rai</td>
<td>urging</td>
<td>Epistemic modality – speaker is invested in listener carrying out V (used in IMP clauses)</td>
<td>Prn 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ever</td>
<td>Describes having experienced something at least once</td>
<td>Adv 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>never</td>
<td>Pairs with NEG to form this meaning</td>
<td>CN 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai</td>
<td>without</td>
<td>Pairs with NEG to form this meaning</td>
<td>SE 33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his commentary on a video clip where a rag is seen being torn apart without any agent (169), the LRP used the particle *sai* patterning with the negative *ma* to yield the meaning ‘without’.

(169) CB 8
ntzuirai law ma ntu sai taceqai qaighthadhaha ga bai
person even NEG be.present without by.itself like.that center torn.IPFV go finish

… [a rag] tears apart at the center by itself without even a person present!
6.3.8 Deontic modality-related particles

The next position in the verb phrase is a zone, occupied by deontic modality-related particles. Their position is established as preceding the zone for aspect-like particles. Each member of the class displays the characteristic of giving some perspective on the agent in relation to the verb in question. This zone can be occupied by up to two members of its class in a row. Table 48 gives an overview of the members present and the semantics that each contributes to the VP.

Table 48 Deontic modality particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type of modality</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>le, lex</td>
<td>can V</td>
<td>Abilitive</td>
<td>BBS 1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maicai</td>
<td>can V</td>
<td>Abilitive</td>
<td>BBS 6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su</td>
<td>can V</td>
<td>Abilitive</td>
<td>Prn 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhai</td>
<td>V for [someone]</td>
<td>Benenactive</td>
<td>NR 4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cai</td>
<td>V unintentionally</td>
<td>Abilitive</td>
<td>BBS 1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nqwexay</td>
<td>should V</td>
<td>Obligative</td>
<td>L52 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maisui</td>
<td>want to V</td>
<td>Desirative</td>
<td>BBS 6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>attempt to V</td>
<td>Permissive</td>
<td>Adv 1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shu</td>
<td>cause or allow to V</td>
<td>Permissive</td>
<td>V 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(170) illustrates cai being used to indicate lack of intention.

(170) BBS 2.4

\textit{paile cai le}

think unintentionally CL.F

...[I] thought [unintentional, non-premeditated].

(171) displays the ability of marker su together with the negative ma in one clause. The negative particle is preverbal, and the abilitive postverbal.

(171) NR 14.1

\textit{haw le haw- ntaw ma zhupyai su he}

GNRC A GNRC.RL shadow NEG catch.up.to can CL.F

... one cannot catch up to one’s [own] shadow.

\textsuperscript{144} There is more than one verbal particle with abilitive meanings. Whether the choice of one over the other is based on fine semantic distinctions, particular constraints in the syntactical context or other factors is yet unknown and represents material for further study.
With further study, more information would surface. Two issues which warrant continuing research include (1) looking at whether there are differences between the different abilitive particles and (2) finding out whether the obligative particle could in fact be broken down into smaller parts, each with its own function or meaning.

6.3.9 Plural agreement

There is a plural agreement marker which clearly occurs immediately before the second category of aspect-like particles. The form of the plural marker is nqe, and its purpose is to show agreement with a plural agent. It is not required every time participants are plural and is used relatively infrequently. Its function may be to emphasize the plural nature of the participants of the verb even if the specifics of who or how many they are is not expressed explicitly in the clause, as in the case of the agentive argument being elided. (172) shows the plural agreement marker with the agent, ntzuirai ‘person’, resulting in the sense of ‘people (in general)’.

(172)    D 7
ntzuirai lai tamaisui nqe le
person A love PL.AGR CL.F
People love [well-behaved children].

The plural agreement marker may also be used more often in more formal or intentionally articulated speech and text as opposed to casual speech. For example, when the researcher first discovered this particle she very intentionally elicited a number of statements with multiple participants. Most of these resulted in utterances including nqe, although some were specifically tested and found to be acceptable without it as well. (173) and (174) exhibit two nearly identical occurrences of a sentence. The first contains the agreement marker, while the second does not. The result is a slightly altered style or emphasis.

(173)    Nqe 3
nyaisawturai turai ma tsha nqe lu la
older.people work NEG work PL.AGR be.in.state CL.F
Older people don’t work. (“are in the state of not working”)

(174)    Nqe 4
nyaisawturai turai ma tsha lu la
older.people work NEG work IPFV CL.F
Older people don’t work. (“are not, ongoingly, working”)

141
*nqe* does occur in text freely uttered by the LRP\(^{145}\), although with low frequency relative to the number of instances with multiple agents in a clause. In one particular clause, a unique structure plays a unique grammatical function. The plural marker is reduplicated. When going over the text with the LRP, he explained that what would have been an irrealis meaning in the clause with a single agreement marker was changed to realis by the reduplication. The relevant part of the sentence is displayed as (175) below. It refers to how people sit and warm themselves around the fire in the kitchen which can be seen in a photograph the LRP is describing.

(175) K 1.10

\[mpui \ text{taigai} \quad nqe \quad ja \quad law \quad pwa \quad nqe \quad nqe \quad ga\]

\[\text{fire} \quad \text{warm.oneself} \quad \text{PL} \quad \text{like.that} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{sit} \quad \text{PL} \quad \text{PL} \quad \text{IRR}\]

\[...[\text{They}] \text{sit like that and warm themselves at the fire.}\]

Because of the irrealis marker at the end of this sentence, the interpretation would generally be “They sit like that and could/would/will warm themselves at the fire.” However, according to the LRP’s explanation the dual usage of the plural marking changes the meaning to realis.

### 6.3.10 Aspect-like particles

Following the position for plural marking is a second one for aspect-like particles. This is a zone where two members are seen to be able to function together. Its members are confirmed to pattern previous to the clause final particles. Explanations of each item are given in Table 49. Some of the members of this class also function, with very similar semantics, as clause-conjoining elements.

**Table 49 Aspect-like particles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bai</em></td>
<td>finish</td>
<td>V is completed</td>
<td>CB 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>law</em></td>
<td>V.and.leave</td>
<td>Entered into state/situation and left</td>
<td>CB 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lu</em></td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>Progressive, ongoing, continuing</td>
<td>CB 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maire</em></td>
<td>still</td>
<td>As before, until now</td>
<td>Adv 4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>riya</em></td>
<td>continue.to.V</td>
<td>Ongoing into future</td>
<td>CK 17.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{145}\) One occurs in (175), seen in the earlier part of the sentence, in addition to the reduplicated occurrence which is highlighted.
6.3.11 Clause final particles

The second to last position of the verb complex is a zone assigned to clause final particles. The members of this set are those which can be followed only by the epistemic modality marker. The first part of this verb phrase zone goes to particles which definitely mark mood. These are ya IRR and x Q (question). In these senses, these two are clearly found to position themselves before other clause final particles.

Some of the other clause final particles in Jejara also seem to encode TAM; the researcher does not yet completely understand these aspects in all their complexity. Since this is the furthest position from the verb, it is expected that its members are more grammatical, proving difficult to assign semantic meaning to. There are hints that elements of mood are integrated into some or all of them, including declarative, imperative, hortative or more. Epistemic modality may be signaled by some. Table 50 lists the many lexical items seen to position themselves as clause final elements. The column “Notes and possible TAM roles” allows the reader to see at a glance observations which have been made about each item.

Speakers have a great range of options as to which clause final particles to use to represent any one of the multitude of ideas they may wish to express in a given clause. That there is such choice alerts analysts to the fact that there must be further grammatical or pragmatic factors at work dictating the choice of word, whether these factors are found within the lexemes themselves or within the wider syntactic or semantic context. One approach recommended for further study is to analyze whether meanings of certain particles differ based on the person reference with which they cooccur.

---

146 There is reason to doubt whether some of the final positions in the verb complex chart are most appropriately considered verb phrase elements. Because Jejara is a verb final language, it is difficult to identify the boundary between the end of the VP and the end of the clause. Although these last two positions are particularly suspect, it is useful to show them here in their interaction with the VP elements.

147 Those clause final particles which occur at the end of clauses solely in a connective way are not dealt with here. They can be seen in section 3.4.1.
There is much to be discovered regarding the use of clause level particles in Jejara. Not all of these particles are discussed here. However, insights can be gleaned by the

---

Table 50 Clause final particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Notes and possible TAM roles</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>Q\textsubscript{CONT}</td>
<td>Interrogative mood</td>
<td>V 11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PROH</td>
<td>Mirative modality</td>
<td>Adv 4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baiyti</td>
<td>PROH</td>
<td>Imperative or hortative mood</td>
<td>Adv 4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bay</td>
<td>CL.F</td>
<td>Unsure due to only single usage</td>
<td>LQ 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>CL.F</td>
<td>Always preceding \textit{tdi QUOT} or \textit{x F}</td>
<td>D 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga</td>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>Irrealis mood</td>
<td>CB 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hailo</td>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>Inchoative or completive aspect depending on event type</td>
<td>SE 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>CL.F</td>
<td>For non-verbal clauses</td>
<td>K 1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>Inchoative or completive aspect depending on event type</td>
<td>CB 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi</td>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>Completive aspect</td>
<td>BBS 6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la, lai</td>
<td>CL.F</td>
<td>Basic sentence final, declarative or realis</td>
<td>CB 1, CB 11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Interrogative mood</td>
<td>SE 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>CL.F</td>
<td>Contexts include declarative/interrogative, irrealis/realis – perhaps semantically empty clause final marker</td>
<td>K 1.2, CK 3, K 1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leka</td>
<td>Q\textsubscript{TAG}</td>
<td>Irrealis mood</td>
<td>RC 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>CL.F</td>
<td>Hortative (polite) or answer to (potentially implicit) question</td>
<td>BBS 1.4, L52 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whailo</td>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>Also seems emphatic</td>
<td>LQ 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x, xu</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Alone or in conjunction with and followed by \textit{le}</td>
<td>CK 13.2, CK 14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Marks finality of speech, e.g. end of discourse</td>
<td>BBS 6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xay</td>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>Epistemic modality</td>
<td>NE 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo</td>
<td>IMP.PLT</td>
<td>Imperative, polite mood</td>
<td>CK 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>Occurs only as first member where two cooccur</td>
<td>CK 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>Irrealis mood</td>
<td>BBS 1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\textsuperscript{148} A note made in section 3.4.2 bears repeating here: “An important point for further study regarding clause final particles is in relation to their form. There are those which have identical initial consonants and others with the same rhymes. Some are even comprised of two syllables. It may become possible to analyze some of these items as contractions, or having portmanteau features that fall into a particular pattern. Some may be phonological variations of what is conceptually a single lexical item to the native speaker.”
comparison of five utterances exhibited below, identical except for their endings. (176) shows the template for the utterances. The alternative endings in Table 51 below can be inserted to replace the bracketed material in (176). The reader will notice that *lu* listed as the initial part of many of these clause endings is an imperfective marker. It belongs to the zone of aspect-like particles. It is common that the particles from the zone explicitly identified as aspectual and from this zone simply identified as “clause final” have mutual effect on one another to result in unique meanings. These meanings exhibit connection not just to individual lexical items used but are dependent on their interaction with one another. Notes from the LRP on the appropriate situation for an utterance or resulting sense are found as the right-hand column of the table. The contrast provides a starting point for untangling the possibilities of meanings encoded and grammatical roles played by each item individually and various combinations.

(176) NE 14
guiraw  tayitsui  *[lu  lai]*
spider  angry  IPFV  CL.F
The spider is mad.

**Table 51 Several clause endings in context**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause ending</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lu</em>  <em>lai</em></td>
<td>A very basic statement, with the observer describing the situation he sees in neutral terms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lu</em>  <em>la</em></td>
<td>Identical in meaning, sense and grammatical completeness to above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lu</em></td>
<td>Identical in meaning and sense to above, but being shorter makes it a little more abrupt or less polite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hailo</em></td>
<td>Could be uttered in the case where a spider seems to have been calm and patient until now, and just at the time of utterance it has become angry and had enough with whatever is bothering it. This indicates inceptive aspect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lu</em>  <em>mai</em></td>
<td>Could be uttered by an observer to someone who comes upon the scene, with the speaker giving this statement as an explanation for the spider’s behavior.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3.12 Evidentiality particle

The final position of the verb phrase chart holds an evidentiality marker. There is only a single item, although it has two forms: *tdi* and *tdix*. It patterns at the very end of a clause and identifies the information uttered as reported speech. If a clause final marker is present, the evidentiality particle seems to be restricted to following one of these four: *be*, *he*, *lai* or *le*. Although it has a preference to follow these four clause final markers, it can also follow members from other positions of the verb complex, in the absence of a clause final marker.

In (177) *tdi* can be seen identifying that the speaker heard the information about a stolen car from others.

(177) D 1.1

```
hapfuiharai tarai kari zhataimpwai be tdi
the.people.from.over.there 3pl car disappeared CL.F QUOT
... the car of the people from [the house] over there (“the neighbors”) disappeared [it is said].
```

6.4 Conclusion

The eleven distinct positions (excluding the head) found in the Jejara verb complex have been outlined in the preceding sections. The relative order is given, and some features are described using examples. Figure 15 serves to review the content of each slot and zone along with the relative order.

In the line below the label for each set of lexical items, the reader will find a description as to the relative location of that item. There is not yet conclusive evidence for the ordering of a few of these slots. For example, deontic modality-like particles are identified as occurring before the aspect-like particle zone. In the figure, the plural agreement marker is located between the positions for deontic modality-like particles and aspect-like particles. The data does not provide any evidence to confirm which of the two patterns first. This information can be understood by looking at the bottom row. Where the relative location of an item is known exactly, it is simply listed as occurring before the item which actually follows it in the figure.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before V</th>
<th>Head V</th>
<th>(Directional)</th>
<th>(Reduplicated V)</th>
<th>(ASP-like PRT)</th>
<th>(PRT)</th>
<th>(CL.F PRT)</th>
<th>(Evidential)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before Directional</td>
<td>Before ASP-like PRT zone</td>
<td>Before deontic modality PRT (1/2)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>nkuinkui</em> ‘see.IPFV’) &amp; (e.g. <em>ga</em> ‘go’)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>ke</em> ‘to.completion’)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>zhai</em> BEN)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>mai</em> ‘can’)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>nqe</em> ASP-like PRT (1/2))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before Directional</td>
<td>Before ASP-like PRT zone</td>
<td>Before deontic modality PRT (2/2)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>lai</em> CL.F)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>gu</em> IRR)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>lai</em> CL.F)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>gu</em> IRR)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>lai</em> CL.F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before V</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>(Negative)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>ma</em> ‘not’)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>nkuinkui</em> ‘see.IPFV’) &amp; (e.g. <em>ga</em> ‘go’)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>ke</em> ‘to.completion’)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>zhai</em> BEN)</td>
<td>(e.g. <em>mai</em> ‘can’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before V</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>(Head V)</td>
<td>Before ASP-like PRT slot</td>
<td>Before ASP-like PRT</td>
<td>(PRT)</td>
<td>(CL.F PRT)</td>
<td>(Evidential)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 15 Verb complex summarized

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Chapter 7
Interrogatives & imperatives, transitivity & causativity

7.1 Introduction
This chapter presents five different forms of Jejara interrogative clause types. Further, imperative and prohibitive forms are discussed. Finally, transitivity is considered and verbal processes of causativity, which can alter the semantic valency of a clause, are handled.

7.2 Interrogatives
The most basic forms of interrogative clauses are content and polar. The forms that these take in Jejara are considered below. A-not-A questions, those where the question is between two or more options, are also discussed. Tag questions and finally noun phrase questions are also addressed briefly before an overview of interrogative final particles.

7.2.1 Content questions
The most basic component of the content question in Jejara is the interrogative pronoun. *shi* ‘who’ is seen occurring in (178).

(178)  
\[ \text{Prn 45} \]
\[ \text{jai} \quad \text{shi} \quad \text{le} \]
\[ 3\text{sg.DIST} \quad \text{who} \quad \text{CL.F} \]
Who is he/she?

(179) demonstrates another occurrence of the content question in Jejara. It occurs in free text where the LRP is describing an item being passed between two people in a video clip. He could not recognize what was being passed between them, so he interrupted his own speech with the minimal question form, “What?” The form is \[ [\text{PRN}_{ITRG} \quad \text{PRT}_Q]_{ITRG,\text{CONT}}. \]
The arrangement of arguments occurring in content questions has a range of options similar to those seen in declarative clauses, where anything pragmatically recoverable is often elided. Any arguments the speaker wishes to express explicitly occur with significant freedom of order. There is, logically, one obligatory argument in the formation of content questions, the item being questioned. There must be an interrogative pronoun to represent this NP. Since it, too, continues to exhibit flexibility in the position it takes, the interrogative pronoun can be considered to occur in situ. Sometimes this argument receives double representation, with a noun phrase – frequently a demonstrative pronoun – occurring previous to the interrogative pronoun ((178) above). The interrogative pronoun can be marked for its semantic role, as agent, for example (D 5.2). It is not uncommon to see temporal noun phrases occur preceding the interrogative pronoun (also D 5.2). Other NP types rarely pattern before the interrogative pronoun, yet there is syntactic freedom. For example, the data contains an instance where the patient argument occurs before the interrogative pronoun kulwa ‘where’ (V 11.3).

The two examples of content questions given above pattern with different clause final particles. lay (179) has been identified as occurring solely with questions. le (178), however, is more often seen on declarative sentences. It can be found in a range of contexts, and seems to indicate little other than the end of a clause. The interrogative pronoun is an obligatory part of content questions and further marking is not required. In fact, interrogative clauses are also seen to occur with no clause final element at all (CK 13).
The interrogative pronouns as used in the data are represented as Table 52\textsuperscript{149}.

Table 52 Interrogative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>shi</em></td>
<td>who</td>
<td></td>
<td>Prn 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taika</em></td>
<td>what</td>
<td></td>
<td>CK 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kwai</em></td>
<td>which</td>
<td></td>
<td>Prn 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kwai</em> + <em>pasa</em></td>
<td>what/which thing</td>
<td>which + thing</td>
<td>Prn 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ku</em> + <em>haw</em></td>
<td>where.at</td>
<td>ku + LOC</td>
<td>BBS 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ku</em> + <em>lwa</em></td>
<td>where.to</td>
<td>ku + ALL</td>
<td>V 11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kwa</em> + <em>ti</em></td>
<td>when</td>
<td>which(?) + time</td>
<td>Prn 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kuta</em></td>
<td>when</td>
<td></td>
<td>CK 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>titda</em> + <em>tsha</em></td>
<td>why</td>
<td>how + do</td>
<td>L52 1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>titdatsha</em> + <em>yaw</em></td>
<td>why</td>
<td>why + at.time.of (otherwise a CONN)</td>
<td>L52 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>titda</em></td>
<td>how</td>
<td></td>
<td>BBS 2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>titda</em> + <em>whai</em></td>
<td>how</td>
<td>how + in.the.manner (otherwise a CONN)</td>
<td>Prn 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kushahai</em></td>
<td>how much/many</td>
<td></td>
<td>Prn 53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{7.2.2 Polar questions}

The basic polar question takes the same constituent order as a declarative sentence. (180) illustrates one of these interrogatives, taking the form \([\text{NP}_A \text{ NP}_{\text{ACC}} \text{ VP}]_{\text{ITRG.POL}}\).

(180)    \text{NE 117}    
nyai a laimpui ra le 
2sg 1sg come.along come CL.F  
Will you come along with me?

Although it is fairly common for questions to take the clause final marker *le*, the same particle also frequently appears in declarative clauses, whether realis or irrealis. It has no identifiable consistent role except to indicate that a clause (any one of a number of types) is complete. Because this study takes the orthographic form of Jejara as its basis, there is no confirmation about whether prosodic features such as intonation play a role in identifying polar questions as interrogative rather than declarative clause types. It seems likely, since neither individual lexical items

\textsuperscript{149} Some of the words set forth as interrogative pronouns here clearly demonstrate internal structure. It may be just as appropriate to divide these up so that lexical items such as *kwai* would be considered two words: *ku* ‘where’ and *lwa* ALL. One reason for not doing so is that not all the internal components can be identified with perfect clarity at this time.
nor constituent order are seen to play this role. However, contextual and pragmatic factors make the interrogative interpretation clear in many cases. For example, (180) above is addressed to the second person. We can understand that when addressing someone in the second person, it is much more likely that a speaker is asking the hearer about his desires or intentions rather than making a declaration of them.

### 7.2.3 A-not-A questions

A-not-A questions are those where the speaker presents two (or more) options to the listener, of which they must choose one. There are a variety of forms that A-not-A questions can take in Jejara according to the data. When the options being presented are between two items, the basic form tends to be $[\text{NP CL.F NP CL.F}]_{A\text{-}not\text{-}A}$. (181) provides one example.

(181) SE 22
wezhaw le kure lay
blanket.wrap CL.F head.wrap Q_{POL}
… a blanket? a head wrap?…

When the options presented in the question are between doing something and not doing it, having something or not having it, the simplest form is $[\text{VP CL.F NEG VP CL.F}]_{A\text{-}not\text{-}A}$. One instance is displayed as (182). In the Jejara form, the speaker is asking himself the question: “Do I even have academic abilities or not?” In the ensuing discourse, he makes it clear that he would not make his decision based on the answer to that question.

(182) BBS 5.3
a tumaicai law lu le ma lu le
1sg learning even exist CL.F NEG exist CL.F
… whether or not [I] had academic abilities…

It is not always obligatory to mark both of the alternatives as being questioned. In some cases only one of the either/or options is marked with a question particle. As in (182), marking may not be by specifically interrogative particles. In some occurrences of A-not-A questions, at least one of the options takes no marking at all (SE 19).
Further, there seems to be an increase of complexity when the options presented are between the two different activities each encoded as its own verb complex with its own verbal particles. (183) allows the reader to get a glimpse of this. It is an utterance made just after the speaker has dropped a vase which has shattered. Notice that what is usually thought of as a final particle, le, intervenes between lexical items tshati ‘repair’ + lwa ‘again’ and vui ‘be.able.to’. These translate as just a single VP ‘able to fix again’. The result is an occurrence of four of what tend to be considered “final particles” in a single interrogative clause.

(183) L60a 3
a ha tshati lwa le vui le
ah DEM.PROX repair again CL.F be.able.to CL.F
ma tshati lwa le vui la
NEG repair again CL.F be.able.to CL.F
Oh. Am [I] going to be able to fix that again or not?

7.2.4 Tag questions
Two further question types will be mentioned briefly. Firstly, there is a tag question. Its form can be summarized [S leka]_{TAG}. One occurrence is shown as (184). The example is shown to conclude with le + ka, a string of two verbal particles which seem to combine especially to function as this unique tag question indicator\(^{150}\). The speaker assumes that, contrary to his preferences, the answer is “yes.”

(184) RC 5
pwakaw tzi haw ta-sha sailai mainqi lai
chair top LOC RL flesh fat laugh CONN
pwa lu pa jai a mainqi lu leka
sit IPFV person A 1sg laugh IPFV Q_{TAG}
The fat man sitting on the chair laughing is laughing at me, isn’t he?

\(^{150}\) ka is not known to function alone clause-finally.
7.2.5 Noun phrase questions

The other question type to be mentioned here can be considered a noun phrase question. In these questions, individual elements of a proposition, rather than a state or event, are questioned. Its form is very simple: $[\text{NP } \{\text{tda or } x\}]_{Q,\text{NP}}$.

(185) shows just a demonstrative pronoun being questioned. The utterance was produced by the LRP as he role-played a scene where a son asked his mother about the location of some dried meat. This is how the mother replied, questioning simply the NP which has as its referent the already-mentioned meat.

(185) V 11.4
\[ jai \ x \ ? \ nyai \ jupa \ lai \ ala \ sai \ ga \ jai \ baimai \]
\[ \text{DEM.DIST Q} \ 2sg \ brother \ A \ daughter \ REC \ go \ give \ CL.F \]
That? Your brother went and gave it to [my] daughter.

There are cases, however, where the questioning can be inferred and is not marked explicitly. Repeating (179) as (186) below, the reader will notice two NPs listed immediately after the content question. These are being questioned, each in turn, as possible answers to the question of what item exactly is being viewed. It is easy to recognize the two noun phrases as being questioned if one utters the English free translation aloud, and notices the rising intonation\(^{151}\).

(186) SE 10
\[ ha \ ya \ tamaipfui \ ntzuirai \ khai \ pasa \ lai \]
\[ \text{DEM.PROX TOP from.before person one M A} \]
\[ ntzuirai \ khai \ tzuisasai \ taika \ lay \]
\[ \text{person one girl what} \ Q_{\text{CONT}} \]
\[ cwe \ wezhawsa \ jai \ lu \ jai \ maikhakha \ mai \]
\[ \text{blanket towel give REL thing picture PLT} \]
This picture is the picture from before [with] one person giving – what? A blanket, A towel? – to a girl.

The speaker can also use the noun phrase question type to make known his general desire for more information regarding the referent of the NP being questioned. The speaker assumes the listener will understand what information she is seeking, and therefore does not fully articulate it. It may be comparable to the English “What about…?” as in “What about your dog?” when both speaker and listener are already

\(^{151}\) The free translation given by the LRP included question particles after each of the NPs in question.
aware of the context that, for example, the listener is buying a cat, but already has a
dog which has a reputation of attacking cats. (187) gives an example of how this can
be expressed in Jejara. Notice that everything preceding the question particle tda is
a single NP.

(187)  CK 19.1
taguti nkuinkui ga lu nyai mpwasui tda
before see.IPV go REL 2sg cow as.for
What about your cow that [we] always saw before?

7.2.6 Interrogative final particles
Although a number of particles can be found concluding interrogative clauses, only
four clearly show interrogative marking to be part of their function. To summarize
these, Table 53 is given.

Table 53 Interrogative final particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Question type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lay</td>
<td>CONT, Q.NP, A-not-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x, xu</td>
<td>CONT, Q.NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leka</td>
<td>Q.TAG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tda</td>
<td>Q.NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3 Imperatives and prohibitives
An imperative is a command to a second person audience. In Jejara, imperative
statements can be expressed with no clause final marker. This seems to be the
default, non-polite form. It is common in Jejara, as in many languages, to elide the
second person argument of imperatives. Three out of four imperative clauses in
(189) do not express the addressee explicitly. The addressee of an imperative can,
however, be expressed explicitly. This can be done in the form of a vocative, so that
the referent of the vocative would be the listener. An example of the use of the
vocative ari ‘son’ to address the person being commanded is given as (188). It
further illustrates the imperative without any clause final marker.

(188)  V 10.2
ari , a la sai sha maiku ga jai
son  daughter REC meat dry go give
Son! Go give dry meat to daughter.
It is also possible to use the second person pronoun in the imperative, seen in (189). Imperative clauses can take the clause final particle xo, a command-softening particle specific to imperatives, also demonstrated in (189).

(189) shows four clauses in a row, together forming a single speech complement. Three of these are imperatives, with two of them identical in form: ga + lu ‘go’ + ‘live’. Neither of these exhibit specific imperative marking. The first is shown to have the second person agent expressed explicitly. The final one illustrates the use of the clause final particle marker xo, therefore softening the final command.

(189) BBS 5.1

nyai Lishi qi haw ga lu,
2sg Layshi (plc) city LOC go live

hoshahai lu lai ga lu a tairaw xo
many exist CONN go live 1sg wait IMP.PLT
… [Teacher Aung Khin said,] “You go stay in Layshi. There is a lot of work to do. Go stay [there]. Wait for me.”

Prohibitives are another kind of imperative, but in the negative. Jejara forms these using the combination of the preverbal negative particle ma and a clause final prohibitive particle batti or ba within a single verb complex. (190) and (191) below show each of the two final particles in turn. The variation between batti and ba, if there is a fine distinction for the native speaker, results in an identical free translation.

(190) Adv 4.1

ma tsharai batti
NEG do yet.PROH
Don’t do [it] yet.

(191) Adv 4.2

ma tsharai ba
NEG do yet.PROH
Don’t do [it] yet.
7.4 Transitivity
In the following sections, two topics related to transitivity are covered. First, the prevalence of ambitransitivity in Jejara is addressed. Then two types of verbs which tend to be semantically ditransitive are considered.

7.4.1 Ambitransitivity
The discussion of transitivity takes a somewhat different focus in Jejara than in other languages where the explicit mention of or reference to core arguments is required, and where there is a more fixed word order. Even when looking at semantic arguments rather than syntactic, the prevalence of verbs which function both as intransitive and transitive affects the approach taken to verbal transitivity.

Coupe observes a relative lack of value of discussing transitivity in Mongsen Ao (2007: 81).

[T]here are interesting complications in the marking of grammatical functions that tend to operate outside of verb transitivity classes. Furthermore, virtually any transitive verb that is able to occur with two core arguments can also be used with just one core argument that corresponds to the O argument of a transitive clause. Some of these qualify as patientive ambitransitive verbs; others that are not genuinely ambitransitive require the antecedent mention of an argument in order to license its pragmatically recoverable elision. A limited number of verbs can function as agentive ambitransitives, in which the sole core argument corresponds to the A argument of a transitive clause. Verbs with omitted core arguments (as well both patientive and agentive ambitransitives) occur without any formal marking of a change in the valency status of the verb.

In Jejara, too, there is frequent elision of arguments and no observable difference between clause forms with decreased semantic arguments and those where semantically present arguments have simply been elided. What is of interest to consider is the characteristics of ambitransitives. Two ambitransitive verbs are presented below.

The word qai has two senses: ‘feed’ and ‘care for’. The first has three semantic arguments: the person who feeds, the one who is fed, and the food being fed. All are expressed explicitly in (192). ta ‘he’ feeds taiwai ‘pig’ tzwa ‘rice'.
The second usage, however, takes only two arguments. They can be seen in (193) as a ‘1sg’ and haw + tsuipa + rai ‘our parents’.

(193) BBS 1.1
a  haw-  tsuipa   rai  tsha  qai
1sg  RL   parents  PL   work  care.for
... I... will work to care for our parents...

(194) and (195) illustrate that laisiu ‘clean, clear’ can be used either actively or statively. The first semantically requires both an agent and patient (jai ‘3sg’ and taliu ‘field’\(^\text{152}\)), but the second requires no agent. It takes only the single argument pfui ‘pot’.

(194) NE 118
jai   ntsui   hai   laiga   hai   tda   tshe   lai
3sg.DIST   knife   LIST   ax   LIST   LIST.F   use   CONN

taliu  laisiu  lu  lai
field   clear   IPFV   CL.F
He is using a knife and ax and is clearing the field.

(195) W 10
pfui    jai   laisiu   la
pot   DEM.DIST   clean   CL.F
That pot is clean.

The word zhasai ‘kill’, likewise, seems to have two different transitivity options. The transitive usage is most often seen in the texts, with a killer and the one killed (V 4). However, there is also a usage which does not seem to semantically acknowledge a killer, and takes only the patientive argument (D 6).

\(^{152}\) This particular utterance also makes the instruments explicit, although both the instruments and the agent are expressed before the connective, lai.
7.4.2 Ditransitivity

Another point of discussion regarding transitivity in Jejara is the semantic ditransitivity of certain verbs. Two verb types whose ditransitivity impacts the norms of clausal case marking are discussed. The first type includes verbs which take three core semantic arguments because the verb type encodes something about “giving,” necessitating a giver, gift and recipient.

The case marker sai is a particle marking recipient exclusively\(^{153}\). It is only found, therefore, in clauses which have a verb ‘give’ or a similar verb which includes two human or animate arguments along with the object being transferred between them. In clauses centered on ‘give’ verbs, there is still variation in agentive marking between lai and jai and null (the latter seen rarely). Further, in each clause from the ‘give’ semantic class (almost all of the examples are in fact with jai ‘give’), the patient argument (i.e. item being given) is marked null. In terms of word order, there is still a great deal of flexibility, with agent-recipient-patient being a slightly more common order for the arguments than other possible combinations. As with other verbs in the language, arguments are elided when recoverable.

A narration of the event observed in a series of pictures where a man gives a woman a gift is represented as (196). The agent argument is marked lai A, followed by the recipient indicated by the particle sai and the object with a zero case marking.

(196)    O 4
   ntsuirai  khai  pasa  lai  khai  tsuisa  sai  khwaijai
   person  one  M  A  one  F  REC  present
   ra  jai  lu  lai
   come  give  IMPF  CL.F

A man comes and gives a present to a woman.

Verbs encoding speech, likewise, take three semantic arguments. These three core arguments are the speaker, her speech and the listener. As with verbs of giving, clauses with speech verbs demonstrate the use of a unique case marker. To mark the person being spoken to, the speech recipient case marker shu is used. (197) illustrates one occurrence\(^{154}\).

\(^{153}\) There is another case marker of the same form which has senses related to time and location, but there are no grounds for confusion since it must occur on temporal and locational noun phrases.

\(^{154}\) No observations can be made about the marking or ordering of arguments in clauses based around speech verbs, because in all textual occurrences these arguments are implicit.
The one unique feature arising, then, in certain verbs which semantically require three arguments is the presence of an argument overtly marked by one of the unique case markers: either sai for recipient or for shu speech recipient.

7.5 Causativization

In Jejara, two main verbal elements can add a causative meaning to a verb\(^{155}\). One is the postverbal particle shu. Another is a verbal prefix zha-. These are of interest here because they increase the number of semantic arguments in a clause. Additionally, causatives can be expressed semantically using clausal connectives.

7.5.1 Postverbal particle shu

The most productive way to express causativity morphologically in Jejara depends on the postverbal particle shu. (198) provides an example, with the causative marker occurring immediately after the verb of the matrix clause. With a verb such as ‘come’ it is most common to see one animate participant and a location as the arguments. Although in the example the location is implicit, the number of participants has, due to causativization, increased to include the addressee (explicit in the conditional clause, implicit in the imperative) in addition to his younger sister.

(198) V 2

nyai turai tailu ga hi nyai- nqitzui jai
2sg thing buy go if 2sg.RL younger.sister A

la shu xo
come tell.to\(^ {156}\) IMP. PLT

If you go to the market, tell your sister to come [home].

---

\(^{155}\) The same phenomenon is observed in Mongsen Ao where both morphological and analytic constructions are used to form causatives (Coupe 2007: 190, 197).

\(^{156}\) shu can be used to express causativization with varying strength and method. For example, it can actually mean to physically cause to happen, or to cause by commanding or even simply to allow. Some of this range is reflected in glosses given.
Verbs which inherently have a higher number of semantic arguments than others, such as “give” verbs, can also be marked by the causative particle. The semantic arguments of such a construction should logically include causer, causee (speech recipient), recipient and object. All four are present in (199) below. However, they do not pattern as arguments around a single verb\(^{157}\). The object occurs as a demonstrative, referring to the dried meat mentioned in the preceding line of the dialogue. It is set off by a comma in the vernacular. Following this, the causee is listed next, marked as speech recipient. This is followed by the first singular causer, marked as agent. The first part of the activity is then encoded by the verb and followed by a connective. The recipient argument is introduced here, in conjunction with the verbs encoding the continuing activities which wrap up the complex proposition, including the causativization. Although the speech verb cai ‘tell’ is pragmatically connected to how the speaker “causes” the action, (198) above demonstrates that it need not be made explicit. In (199) more of the steps involved in causativization in the real world are made explicit by the overt use of the speech verb.

(199) V 11.5

```
jai, nyai- jupa shu a lai cai lai
```
DEM.DIST 2sg.RL brother SP 1sg A tell CONN

```
ala sai ga jai shu baimai
```
daughter REC go give CAUS CL.F

That – I talked to your brother and caused [him] go give [it] to [my] daughter.

7.5.2 Prefix \textit{zha}-

Another possibility for the expression of causatives exists in Jejara. This is the verbal prefix \textit{zha}-\textit{.} Although it is found less frequently than the postverbal particle \textit{shu}, a number of examples occur in the text. One is demonstrated as (200) below, with the causative affixed to the verb \textit{lawsai} ‘happy’ for the free translation ‘make happy’.

(200) V 1

```
khwe tsha lai nyaisa rai zha- lawsai
```
song sing INS child PL CAUS happy

Make the children happy by singing songs.

\(^{157}\)This seems to be a multi-verb construction where “tell” and “cause to go and give” are conceptualized as a single event. The relative arguments are made explicit as they are needed.
There are at least some verbs which can take either one or the other causative marking. With additional research, verb classes may emerge of those which can take one or the other or both. Alternatively, there may be fine semantic differences.

Consider two examples with the attributive verb *maiku* ‘dry’ to view both causative constructions. First, (201) exhibits the causative marked by a prefix.

(201) K 1.8
atshatsha jai lwa wekwai zha- maiku
pepper DEM.DIST ALL place.on CAUS dry
… [we] place chilies on here to dry … (“to cause [them] to dry”)

In (202) the postverbal particle is used\(^{158}\).

(202) V 8
lainqi tsataiga lai cwe rai maluli maiku shu su lai
sun heat A clothing PL shortly dry CAUS can CL.F
The heat of the sun can dry (“can cause to dry”) clothes in just a short time.

### 7.5.3 Clausal relations and causativity

Further, there are clause construction options which do not require any explicit causative marking. The causative meaning is expressed and understood based on the semantic content of the specific lexical items. The use of connectives\(^{159}\) to link more than one clause – cause and result – together is central to this type of causative expression\(^{160}\). An instance of this is seen in (203) below, where a man’s teasing caused a woman to be embarrassed, which further caused her to cry. These are linked together as clauses without any explicit morphological causative marking. Semantically, listeners understand that each event in turn resulted in the other. The connective *yaw* plays a pivotal role in linking the clauses so that one behavior is understood as caused by what precedes it.

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\(^{158}\) Perhaps this usage focuses on the end result of the causative process while the use of the prefix in (201) is more purposive.

\(^{159}\) See 3.4.1 for discussion on clause connectives and a display of those occurring in Jejara.

\(^{160}\) Whether this is another option to be freely chosen from, or is the only way to express certain causative concepts cannot yet be verified.
An unmarried man was teasing an unmarried woman, and she got embarrassed, so [she’s] crying.

To summarize, one can causativize a verb using either the postverbal particle *shu* or the prefixing *zha*-\. Causative meanings can also be expressed using clause constructions with connectives such as *yaw*.

### 7.6 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been complex clause types. Non-declarative sentences including interrogatives and imperatives and prohibitives were considered. Transitivity, particularly the ambitransitivity of some Jejara verbs and the multiple semantic arguments taken by ditransitive verbs, was addressed. Finally, processes of the valency-increasing causativization were discussed.
Chapter 8
Clausal connections

8.1 Introduction
This chapter responds to the question: How are clauses connected in Jejara? Three forms of coordination and a unique particle law are considered. Further, the processes of nominalization, complementization, and relativization are discussed as types of clause connections which allow a clause to become an element of another clause. Comment is also made on the complexity and length that can be seen in Jejara sentences which use these conjoining strategies.

8.2 Inter-clausal connections
Both at the inter-clausal level as well as within the clause, Jejara clauses can be joined in a number of ways. First, non-subordinating inter-clausal connections will be addressed. Jejara clauses can be coordinated using connectives. Alternatively, clauses can be conjoined within a single sentence by simple juxtaposition, with no conjoining particle. Lastly, multi-verb constructions are used as another conjoining structure.

It may be most helpful to understand the three syntactic possibilities for clause conjoining as points on a continuum, rather than three distinct categories with well-defined lines between them. Two clauses can be confirmed as coordinated when they encode two distinct events and a clause conjoining particle occurs between them. On the other end of the spectrum are multi-verb constructions, where more than one verb works together to encode what is perceived as a single event by the speaker. The causal connection assigned by the researcher as juxtaposed clauses is the type which can be thought of as taking a position somewhere between the previous two on the continuum: two separate events are encoded, but no clause conjoining marker is used. Discussion on these three types of clausal connections is followed by an introduction to the unique connective particle law.

161 Relative clauses are clausal elements indirectly, because they pattern as noun phrase elements. It is the noun phrase which is a direct constituent of the clause.
8.2.1 Coordination

Let us begin with clause coordination using conjoining particles\(^{162}\). (204) shows two clauses coordinated by *lai*. The first is an existential clause, expressing the existence of work to be done. The second is an imperative with the second person addressee and intended agent left implicit. Two separate events are coordinated.

(204)  BBS 5.1

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{turai} & \text{tatshashasha} & \text{hoshahai} & \text{lu} & \text{lai} & \text{ga} & \text{lu}
\end{array}
\]

work  work.to.do  many  exist  **CONN** go live

... [He said,] “... There is a lot of work to do. Go stay [there]...”

In (205) a different connective, *sai*, is used. The arguments of the first clause (a multi-verb construction) include the implicit addressees and a fallen tree which needs moving. *laigapi* ‘ax handle’, the instrument, is explicit. The second clause again has the addressees (also agents) implicit, while the first singular patientive argument is made explicit. This instance of coordination demonstrates more sequentiality than (204), with the sense of ‘and then’.

(205)  BBS 1.11

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{laigapi} & \text{khu} & \text{ra} & \text{setaw} & \text{sai} & \text{a} & \text{kuhcai}
\end{array}
\]

ax.handle  take  come  insert.use.as.lever  **CONN** 1sg  take.out

“Come lift [it] with the ax handle and take me out.”

8.2.2 Juxtaposition

It is also relatively common for clauses to be conjoined by simple juxtaposition. This demonstrates a middle ground between (1) clause coordination encoding two different events and indicated by a connective and (2) multi-verb constructions encoding what is cognitively perceived as a single, complex event. In (206), for example, three clauses are shown by brackets. The first ends with *ye*. This is not considered a connective, but a particle which marks irrealis in the second last verb phrase zone\(^{163}\). It is slightly less clear whether the connection between the next two clauses should be considered juxtaposition (as opposed to a multi-verb construction, in this case). But the repetition of *ra* ‘come’ points toward it being perceived as two separate events and also an example of juxtaposition.

\(^{162}\) A list of the particles used for clause coordination is given in section 3.4.1 as Table 34.

\(^{163}\) See sections 3.4.2 and 6.3.11 for the classifications and functions of this particle.
(206) CK 4

[a tailu ca ye],
1sg buy cook IRR

[ha ntaripwai a kaw lairui ra]
DEM.PROX afternoon 1sg HUM visit come

[nyai tzwa ra tza xo]
2sg.POSS rice.cooked come eat IMP.PLT

... I will buy and cook [some meat]. Tonight, come visit me and eat your meal [here].

8.2.3 Multi-verb constructions

In addition to clauses coordinated with the use of conjoining particles and juxtaposition, multi-verb constructions occur. For instance, there are two occurrences of prototypical multi-verb constructions in the final portion of one of the longest sentences in the data (207). The first can be considered as comprised of two definite verbs and a directional: *lwe ga jai* ‘carry go give’. This string of actions is viewed as a single event which is being carried out by a single agent, a woman. What she is carrying is food she has cooked, and the recipients are an older and younger man; each of these arguments is recoverable from preceding text. The three verbs occur one immediately after another. Between this series of verbs and the next the demonstrative *ja* intervenes. The second series of verbs takes the form: *tza pwa* ‘eat sit’

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

165 *nkui* ‘see’ is not part of this multi-verb construction. Rather, it is the matrix verb for the entire sentence. The implicit agent of the matrix is the LRP, and the rest of the sentence is embedded information about what he is viewing in a video clip.

… [I] see [the woman] dish [it] out, take and give [it to them] and [they] sit and eat.
8.2.4 law

The lexical item law can be roughly translated ‘also’. It can be used for additional meanings. One of these usages is to add whole propositions. In this role, it allows Jejara speakers another way to indicate connections between clauses.

The particle law can be used to link clauses which seem to form a natural pair. This can be two activities performed by the same agent, a single activity performed by different agents, activities or states which have semantic similarity or even those which can be seen as opposites. In (208) below the idea of reciprocality is brought out with the combined usage of what ‘in the manner’ and the connective law ‘also’ which joins the pair of statements about the participants loving one another.

(208) Tr 14
Jaijaiqai Jaijaila tamaisui lu whai
Jaijaiqai (nm) Jaijaila (nm) love IPFV in.the.manner
Jaijaila law Jaijaiqai tamaisui le
Jaijaila (nm) also Jaijaiqai (nm) love CL.F
Just as Jaijaiqai loves Jaijaila, Jaijaila also loves Jaijaiqai.

Examples (209) and (210) below show how the proposition in one clause can be added to by a second clause using law. The connection between them is indicated by the occurrence of law following the nominal elements (“having our ears stopped”) in the second clause. These two clauses occur as consecutive sentences in the data, and so law is functioning as a connective across sentence boundaries in this instance.

(209) NR 6.1
haw ntsaitzi ma lu hi ya taikalaw ma nkui le
1pl eye NEG exist if as.for nothing NEG see can
If we didn’t have eyes, [we] wouldn’t be able to see anything.

(210) NR 7.1
haw ntsuirai ha haw nta laiphaw bai law ma da lu la
1pl person TOP 1pl ear deaf NZ also NEG good exist CL.F
It’s not either good for us people to be deaf. (“having our ears stopped is also not good for us people”)
It has already been mentioned that clauses can be connected by no marking apart from simple juxtaposition. The use of the particle *law* can be used to strengthen the connection between two or more clauses. When each proposition is marked with *law*, there seems to be a sense of equivalence between the importance of those propositions, as observed in (208) above. (211) below represents a longer list of propositions, including three statements about the use of an ax and then a summary statement. Although each occurrence of *law* patterns immediately after the NP, it does not signal the addition of an argument but an additional activity. This can be understood by the fact that each proposition has a different verb representing a different event and comes through very clearly in the free translation.

(211) NR 1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>laiga</th>
<th>lai</th>
<th>saw</th>
<th>taw</th>
<th>phe</th>
<th>le</th>
<th>laiga</th>
<th>lai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ax</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>firewood</td>
<td>chop</td>
<td>break.apart</td>
<td>CL.F</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>INS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>saw</th>
<th>law</th>
<th>dhru</th>
<th>le</th>
<th>laiga</th>
<th>aga</th>
<th>law</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>firewood</td>
<td>also</td>
<td>split</td>
<td>CL.F</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>bamboo</td>
<td>also</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maidhrui</th>
<th>le</th>
<th>laiga</th>
<th>jaitda</th>
<th>talintzawntzaw</th>
<th>tshe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>make.pieces</td>
<td>CL.F</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>like.that</td>
<td>many.kinds</td>
<td>use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With an ax [we] chop wood, with an ax [we] also split wood, an ax also makes bamboo into pieces. In that way, [we] use axes in many ways.

In summary, clauses can be coordinated by special clause-conjoining lexemes or can simply be juxtaposed. Some types of connections are best considered multi-verb constructions rather than the juxtaposition of separate clauses. A unique type of proposition addition can be carried out using the particle *law*.

8.3 Clause embedding

Three structures which result in clausal embedding are discussed below.
Nominalization, complementization and relativization are three processes which result in a clause becoming a constituent of a matrix clause.

8.3.1 Nominalized clauses

By nominalizing a clause, it gains the ability to act as a clausal element in the form of a noun phrase. There are a number of particles which can work in a nominalizing way, occurring as the final element in the clause which is being nominalized. Some of these are identical in form to elements which occur clause-finally or as rightmost constituents of the verb complex in their roles in main clauses. They can be analyzed
as nominalizers when they occur as the final element in a clause which is being used as an argument of another verb.

A number of particles can play these nominalizing roles, and are presented as Table 54 below\(^{166}\). Some are specific in the semantics which result from the derivation, and others are general. In each case, a clause is enabled to act as an NP argument of a matrix clause, whether core or peripheral.

**Table 54 Clause nominalizers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vernacular</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bai</td>
<td>Abstract nominalizer</td>
<td>NR 7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaw</td>
<td>Locative nominalizer</td>
<td>K 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu</td>
<td>General event nominalizer</td>
<td>BBS 2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa(^{167})</td>
<td>General nominalizer</td>
<td>BBS 1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>Agentive nominalizer</td>
<td>RC 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rai</td>
<td>Agentive nominalizer</td>
<td>K 1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai</td>
<td>Purposive nominalizer</td>
<td>K 1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>Temporal nominalizer</td>
<td>K 1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(212) below provides an example of bai acting as a nominalizer, with the nominalized clause ayipa+sui+bai ‘friend’s having died’ explicitly marked as the patient argument.

(212) D 5.1
atzui ca laintai ayipa kaw bwa lairui ga yaw
mother this morning friend HUM ALL visit go at.time.of

[ayipa sui bai] ma ga tsu nkui la
friend die NZ P go leave.in.place see CL.F

Mother – this morning I went to visit my friend, and [I] saw that he had died.

Nominalizations can introduce specific semantic meaning. The locative nominalizer, for example, does this. In (213) below kaw nominalizes the clause immediately preceding it, ‘roast-dry rice’, with the meaning ‘the place where’. In the utterance,

\(^{166}\) Some other nominalizers, particularly those working on nonverbal elements like nouns, are also in use. Some of these are introduced in section 3.2.7.3.

\(^{167}\) This nominalizer is an obvious cognate of the one in Mongsen Ao about which Coupe writes: “The general nominalizer -pàː...is the most textually frequent of all nominalizing morphology and has cognates in many Tibeto-Burman languages” (2007: 219).
we see a topic and complement; the nominalized clause being considered acts as the complement of this verbless clause.

(213) K 1.6
tzwalaiwa tshalu lai lu lu tzi haw
meal cook CONN IPFV NZ top LOC
nkui lu jai ya [azha taiga] kaw [COMP]
see IPFV thing TOP rice roast.to.dry place
... what [we] see on top of [the place where] food is cooked is the place for drying uncooked rice...

Clauses can also function as nominal elements without being marked by a nominalizing particle. (214) shows a single NP argument (sentence is given below as (215)). Notice that a + tsha + maicai is a full clause, with the agentive argument a ‘1sg’ followed by the main verb and its ablitative particle. Yet the clause is marked by the instrument is particle lai. The speaker is expressing “what I am able to do” as the instrument of the matrix verb (which, in this case, is to help someone).

(214) BBS 6.4
a tsha maicai lai
1sg do be.able INS
... with whatever I am able to do...

To summarize, clauses can be connected by enabling one clause to function as an argument of another clause. Nominalization is a process that allows this embedding to occur. Nominalization can be done using a nominalizing particle following the clause, or even without any such nominalizing particle present.

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168 The type of nominalization being referred to produces nominals that have also been labeled sentential complements. Kroeger defines sentential complements, saying, “Complement clauses which contain their own subject NP… are sometimes referred to as sentential complements, because they contain all the essential parts of a sentence” (2008: 210). In fact, the reason for including nominalization in this chapter on clausal connections is because the nominalizations looked at tend toward this definition, so that complete or almost complete sentences are being embedded into other sentences. Considering the data with this definition and the process of sentential complementization in mind, it would also be acceptable not to analyze bai and lu as nominalizers. They would rather be considered as functioning in their CL.F and IPFV senses, respectively, and simply complementized as full sentences without any overt marking required to allow that embedding.
8.3.2 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are another form of clause which patterns within a matrix clause. In Jejara, speech and other complements are most often indicated by the complement marker *tda*, which occurs following the clause it marks. Below as (215) are the final words of a personal narrative told by the LRP. He explains that he wants to assist the listener with whatever he can, and this statement is encoded as a complement\(^{169}\). The speech act complement (marked by brackets, here and throughout the section) is concluded with *tda*, the complement marker\(^ {170}\). The matrix clause ‘I want to say’ concludes the sentence and entire discourse.

(215) BBS 6.4

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{a} & \text{tsha} & \text{maicai} & \text{lai} & \text{nyai} & \text{cawrui} & \text{ye} \\
\text{1sg} & \text{do} & \text{be.able} & \text{INS} & \text{2sg} & \text{help} & \text{IRR} \\
\end{array}
\]

*tda* ] *ja* *a* *twa* *maisui* *x*

COMP like.that *1sg say want F*

I want to say that I will also help you with [whatever] I can.

In the example below, it is the cognitive process of knowing which takes a complement. The complement is only a single word – the interrogative titda ‘How?’ – but it evokes a whole proposition. The LRP as the speaker is wondering about how to interpret what he is viewing\(^ {171}\).

\(^{169}\) It is interesting to note in the example that the LRP chose to mark the end of the speech complement with a hyphen preceding the complement marker. This is not the regular pattern throughout the data.

\(^{170}\) The researcher is considering whether it would be a beneficial analytical approach to consider complementization as another form of nominalization. The complementizer *tda* is frequently followed by the particle *ya*, a topicalizer. *ya* almost always follows nominals, whether nominalizations or words which are nouns in their basic form. It can be found after nominal particles including case markers.

Complementization and nominalization can be considered the same type of grammatical process in that both result in clauses being able to act as arguments of another clause. In Jejara specifically, both nominalization and complementization can be indicated either by a special marker at the end of the clause or without any overt marking at all. With such an analysis, *tda* COMP would be considered one specific form of nominalizer. To take the idea even further, the other material which *ya* marks with some frequency is clauses marked for logical relations. In specific, *hi* ‘if’ often patterns with *ya* TOP immediately after it. In many languages, these clause types are thought of as “dependent,” and are seen to have unique patterns because of it. In Jejara, is the unique pattern to act as a nominal argument of the independent clause to which they belong? There is one language sample in particular which would provide strong evidence if it can be verified with further examples (BBS 1.8). The demonstrative *jai*, the rightmost element of a noun phrase, follows *sai*, a morpheme currently designated as a clause conjoining particle for logical relations, with the meaning ‘for the purpose of’.

\(^{171}\) He may be unsure either because he cannot understand the actual characters and activities, or because the whole scene does not make sense to his assumptions and understandings. Alternatively, it could be understood that the scope of the complement marker also covers the question ‘father and son?’ There are no grammatical markers to verify this, and so it is based on pragmatic understanding. In this case, no misunderstanding would result with either interpretation.
(216) SE 7
ntzuirai anqi ta- pa -nqi ta- tzadhi -nqi le
person two RL father two RL son two CL.F
[ttda tda] ya ma maicai
how COMP as.for NEG know
Two people – father and son? [I] couldn’t say… (“[I] don’t know [the answer to the question of] how [to interpret this]”)

(217) below demonstrates that identifying an item by its name or title can be done with a complement clause. The utterance is part of the LRP’s description of a traditional kitchen. In the first sentence, he had identified it as a Naga kitchen, and here he is specifying that it is a kitchen of their specific people group among the many different peoples identifying as Naga. Notice that ‘Jejara kitchen’ is followed by the complementizer and then grounded in the matrix verb tzai ‘be called’.

(217) K 1.2
hayaha [Jajairai tzwalaiwatshaluzhaw tda] tzai le
as.for.that Jejara (ppl) kitchen COMP be.called CL.F
... that is called a Jejara kitchen.

Clauses can also be embedded without any particular marking. There are many instances in the data where the embedded clauses are significantly longer than their host matrix clauses. A commonly-occurring type could be translated “I see that...” with the details of what the viewer/speaker is seeing representing the embedded clause. This came up repeatedly because the LRP was requested to describe scenes that he was viewing on the computer, as if another Jejara speaker who could not see the screen was his audience.

At times, the semantic benefit gained by embedding a clause is not immediately apparent. It may have some impact on focus or emphasis. For example, in (218) the embedded clause (bracketed) carries all the semantic meaning related to “peeling onions,” and then the matrix clause is simply a very generic verb: tsha ‘do’.

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172 tzwalaiwa+tshalu+zhaw ‘meal+cook+house’
173 In this case the irrealis marker ya comes between the embedded clause and the following matrix clause. ya has another sense in which it works on nouns, and so it could be acting as a nominal particle on a clause which has been nominalized without explicit marking.
A person is preparing to (“doing to”) peel onions with a knife.

8.3.3 Relative clauses

A clause can be integrated into another clause indirectly by becoming a modifier of the noun phrase. This is called a relative clause. In Jejara, relative clauses precede the head noun of a noun phrase, so that the relative clause modifies that noun. The relative clause is marked by the relativizing particle *lu* which then patterns between the verb complex of the relative clause and the noun which it modifies. (219) shows a fairly typical Jejara example. *mpwasui* ‘cow’ is modified by the relative clause (bracketed) which can roughly be translated: “to be killed for New Year’s.”

(219) CK 6

*ha*[ *pwelaiswa laitwa zhasai lu*] *mpwasui maitsha*

DEM.PROX New Year’s BEN kill REL cow EMPH

… that must be the cow [they] are killing for New Year’s…

In (220) *bai*, a postverbal element, comes between the matrix verb of the relative clause verb and the relativizer, demonstrating that the relativizer does not only follow the verb, but the verb complex.

(220) BBS 5.3

*tahi*[ *haw tsuipa rai law leha lailiti lai*]

then 1pl Parents PL also literacy because.of for

*jaitda zhakha ra bai lu*[ *laitwalwalai*]

like.that die come finish REL reason

…And then, it was for this literacy work that our parents gave their lives…

---

174 Because of the semantic nature of this sentence, it would be equally possible to understand the embedding to begin after this NP, since the agent of the embedded and the matrix clause is the same.

175 *lu* can work together with (following) *ga* to create a relativizer with irrealis meaning; e.g. in CK 18.
8.4 Sentence complexity

In the Jejara texts the different options available for clause connections are put to plenty of use. More than one type of inter-clausal connection can be found in a single sentence, and many sentences end up exhibiting great length. Although these become quite complex or impossible at times to represent as free translations of the same sentence length and clause connection type, the LRP confirms that it is good style in his language.

In (221), for example, four verb complexes occur within a single speech complement. Each is conjoined to the next in a unique manner, so that coordination through connectives and juxtaposition occur and can be observed in a single sentence. The first, ga + lu ‘go stay’ is imperative. Between this and the next clause we see a punctuation marker – a comma – intervene. This second clause is an existential clause, with the noun phrase argument turai tatshashasha ‘work’ expressed explicitly. The second clause is joined to the third with the connective lai. The third clause is a repetition of the imperative ga + lu ‘go stay’, followed by the last clause, a more specific command, a + tairaw ‘wait for me’. Notice that in the transition from each phrase to the next, some arguments remain the same and some change. There is switching between declarative and imperative mood. Overt marking of clause conjoining is not required and clauses are conjoined in different ways to create this complex sentence.

(221) BBS 5.1

nyai Lishi qi haw ga lu , turai tatshashasha
2sg Layshi (plc) city LOC go stay work work.to.do

hoshahai lu lai ga lu a tairaw xo
many exist CONN go stay 1sg wait IMP.PLT

… “You go stay in Layshi. There is a lot of work to do. Go stay [there]. Wait for me.”

Clause embedding in general and complementization in specific are further structures that contribute to the linguistic feature of long, complex Jejara sentences. One of the longest sentences in the whole corpus is at least 95% embedded clause.176 (222) displays one of the shorter examples. The clause can be depicted this way: [[NP, NP, VP], VP], with nkui ‘see’ as the matrix verb, and the verbs preceding it acting as a multi-verb construction to form the predicate of the embedded clause.

176 SE 32, approximately 14 propositions grounded with the matrix verb nkui ‘see’
Using this combination of clause coordinating and embedding options, quite a number of verb complexes can be found operating in a single sentence. For example, (207) of section 8.2.3 above is the final part of a much longer sentence (SE 32). A conservative estimate indicates that it includes about 15 verb complexes. The final verb nkui ‘see’ has as its agent the speaker himself. He has described in detail the series of events he has observed, and embeds the entire utterance as a visual complement, something like “I see that...” It is this embedding, which is clearly understood semantically, and the fact that the LRP wrote the entire stretch without a period that confirms these types of language samples as single sentences with prolific clause coordination. Space does not permit including examples of sentences of this length. However, they are available in the appendices. Three of the longest are SE 32, BBS 1.7-1.9 and BBS 5.3. The feature of allowing these lengthy sentences is in itself a noteworthy characteristic of clause coordination in Jejara.

8.5 Conclusion
In summary, there are a wide variety of ways to form inter-clausal connections in Jejara. Addition relations between propositions can be encoded using clause-conjoining particles or by juxtaposition. The use of multi-verb constructions is another option. The particle law also has a unique role to play conjoining propositions, often across sentence boundaries. Nominalization, complementization and relativization can be understood as types of subordination. Each connects a clause to another by enabling the one clause to become an element of the other (matrix clause). The first two result in a clause becoming a noun phrase argument, while relativization allows a clause to act as an element of a noun phrase, modifying the head. Widespread use of these constructions contributes to complex sentence forms.

The LRP split these three up in order to give free translation, and only after entering them into FLEEx did the researcher realize they were a single Jejara sentence. Although the LRP felt he needed to “edit” this sentence into more manageable pieces in the Burmese free translation, he was not apologetic for the form of the Jejara sample, saying it was good Jejara.
Chapter 9
Conclusion

9.1 Introduction
This chapter provides a summary of the grammatical matters discussed in this paper, chapter by chapter. It also re-articulates a few recommendations for further study.

9.2 Summary of chapters
Chapter 1 of this work provided an introduction to the Jejara people and language and to this research. In Chapter 2, the phonemes of Jejara were introduced along with orthographic forms and syllable and word structure. Morphologically, affixes, compounding and reduplication were seen. Chapter 3 looked at the language from the perspective of the lexical categories at work. One point of significant interest is the overcounting numeral system which was briefly described. Discussion on the noun phrase in Chapter 4 included an introduction of the noun phrase order and a few unique features such as exceptional noun phrase order in relation to time words. There was discussion on the temporal and locative phrases, NP structural variants, demonstratives, kinship terms and resumptive pronouns.

Chapter 5 presented the simple clause structure, which demonstrates basic SOV word order. Significant flexibility of the patterning of clausal elements was revealed and there was a discussion on unique clause types and marking of semantic relations. The verb complex was the subject of Chapter 6. It was found to include 11 positions besides the head, each with a set of particles able to function in that position. The details of the specific functions of these particles leave room for further study. The sets of particles include those used to express everything from negativity to plural agreement to aspect, mood, modality and more. Chapter 7 dealt with the non-declarative clause types interrogatives and imperatives. It also discussed transitivity and the valency-changing effects of causativization. The final chapter, Chapter 8, addressed inter-clausal connections. Clauses were found to be coordinated with an overt conjoining particle, by juxtaposition and in multi-verb constructions. Constructions allowing clauses to act as clausal elements were found
to be nominalization, complementization as well as relativization. The occurrence of sentences of significant complexity and length was introduced.

9.3 Recommendations for further study

As the Jejara language has not yet been written about academically to the researcher's knowledge, there is definitely room for much further work. She recommends, first of all, checking the findings with the wider community of speakers so that any idiosyncracies of the single LRP's speech are exposed.

In the grammatical analysis two areas stand out as particularly deserving of further study. One is semantic relation case marking, especially of core arguments. Further testing needs to be done to confirm the patterns of usage for lexical items such as jai which seems to mark both agent and patient, for example, to see whether the animacy split explains this. A similar need for further clarification on clause final particles persists. The great range of options available, including no clause final marking, indicates speaker choice and motivation which is not yet understood. Analyzing discourse features may prove to be beneficial to explain these and other challenging patterns.

Generally, many features of the language stand to be studied with increased depth. This work represents an overview of what could be discovered within a limited period of time based on limited interaction with the language. Each topic covered here, and others of which the researcher did not become aware, deserves more focused attention as research on the Jejara language proceeds.
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APPENDIX A

BEFORE BIBLE SCHOOL (BBS)\textsuperscript{178}

Prompt: “Tell an emotional story – something very sad or very happy from your life.”

BBS 1.1 a Papaile tshazhaw ma ku rai ti khwezhu tsha hailo
\textsuperscript{1sg Bible school NEG attend T until subject do IRR}
\textsuperscript{as.for year 1995-1996 at.approximately 1sg school come.out like.that}
haw tzuipa rai tsha qai ma re he na .
\textsuperscript{1pl.POSS parents PL work care.for NEG compare CLF EMPH}

This is about before I went to Bible school, in about 1995-96. I dropped out of school, deciding that working to support my parents was more important.

BBS 1.2 hawtzuipa rai law haw ma taisui su jayaw
\textsuperscript{parent PL also GNRC NEG support can therefore}
haw tzuipa rai cawrui jaitda lu ye .
\textsuperscript{1pl.INCL parents PL like.that live IRR}

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

BBS 1.3 jai law tda Tzawtzuiparai lai tamaisui lu
\textsuperscript{DEM.dist also EMPH god A like REL}
lwatzui khai he tda maicai laitwalwalai a ja si
\textsuperscript{road one CLF COMP understand reason 1sg like.that just}
a yikhwe haw paile bai ja letsha haw law laici
\textsuperscript{1sg.POSS mind in think finish like.that school ABL also come.out}
ja lu le .
\textsuperscript{like.that be.in.state CLF}

Since I understood that is also a direction God likes, I thought like that in my heart and dropped out of school.

\textsuperscript{178} Note that paragraph breaks were not part of the original. They were made by the researcher. The decisions which resulted in the current breaks involved very little aforethought. She began to include paragraph breaks only part way through transcription. They have been kept as is, however, for consistency with cross-referencing sentence numbers.

\textsuperscript{179} Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating possession, here and throughout the appendices pronouns used in a possessive manner are indicated with ‘.POSS’ where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.
At that time, my teacher Teacher Aung Khin said, "It's not good if you do nothing, just like this.

"That's not going to be okay. So, there is a lot of work your parents and our [Jaijairai] predecessors have done.

"Looking at ("considering") that, [it] would be good if you do something, too."
... It went and hit the tree tip, and the base came and fell on me. At the time I couldn't do anything but float near death; remaining pinned under left to die like that [I] only saw Mother, Latiqai and Mother Tshephu when they were going to lift the log.

BBS 1.10

ja ti sai a law ahamaisalaidwe sawmpi lai
like.that time RV 1sg also regain.consciousness fallen.tree A
a kwai cai law bai ma laidwe le
1sg pin.down happened.to leave.as.is finish NEG get.up can
tzutzu jairailejai titdatshatshalaw
leave.in.place.IPVF 3pl.DIST however.one.does
a ma mailutaidwe zhai su mai .

1sg P cannot.lift BEN can CL.F

Only at that time did I become conscious; the fallen tree had me pinned down and while I was unable to get up, [I said to] them, "Whatever you do, [you] are not going to be able to lift [this] for me."

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180 Although there is nothing in the form of this pronoun explicitly indicating that it is being used resumptively, here and throughout the appendices pronouns used in a resumptive manner are indicated with '.RES' where the overt designation will be of assistance to the reader.
"Come lift [it] with the ax handle. [You] will only be able to manage that way," I said. They went and got the ax handle, the ax handle I had thrown aside. They came and used that as a lever and only when [they] came and pri...
[I] hadn't yet given any answer to what [saya Aung Khin] had said to me about going to Bible school. Therefore, I thought to myself: "Whether God's work or all kinds of work – if I die like this, how will things turn out," and it was mentally exhausting.

When I got home from there, they rubbed me with chicken egg and things. Like this [I] stayed, and went to Father Jikhaitzui to get massages for over a week.
"If you [God] cause my not-being-able-to-walk thing to disappear, after you've done it for me I will not refuse to go to Bible college as you want me to, I will go."

After doing praying to God and going for a massage for over a week, little by little my legs came to be able to move. After that, when I tried to walk without ("having released") my two crutches I was able to and [I thought, "I am so happy ("my mind is even going and getting up itchy") I even want to get up and jump."
I was personally happy like that and then [I decided] that I must search for and go to Teacher Aung Khin tomorrow. Then I will ask, "Teacher, which Bible school did you want me to go to in the lower country?" I went to see Teacher and then told what had happened and after doing that my teacher was also happy and rejoicing.

"Hey!"

"Well, then, you cannot waste anymore time. This year I must take you to the place where I attended [Bible school], [I] will take you down and send you [there]."

Therefore the two of us sought [money for] our travel fare, and Teacher Aung Khin and we two made chairs.
[We] made chairs for church and cupboards for our office, then we went down to Yaydaung village and made chairs again. Like that, the two of us earned [the money for our] travel cost.

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

And so when I had graduated, in Yangon Teacher Aung Khin was also returning, and at that time I had also completed Bible school so what would I stay there to do?
I thought that we would go back to the village together, but Teacher Aung Khin said, "You go stay in Layshi. There is a lot of work to do. Go stay [there]. Wait for me."

Because he said "When I come back [we] will do a lot of work," even if [I] wanted to return together, because he had said that to me I returned together with other students, because they were there, too. After that, though, he [teacher] didn't come back – on the way (a speedboat) sank, and our teacher went down with it.
Beginning then [I] also had mind (“emotional”) pain with [me]. And then, it was for this literacy work that our parents gave their lives, so… Well, now this had happened to my teacher so [I] also had emotional pain. No matter what, [I/we] shouldn't let this work come to nothing. [I] thought, "[I] must not leave it just as it is," and [I] didn't even dwell on or think Do [I] have education or not? Our teachers said that [I] should come down and contact them, so [contact, working together] began in 2002 and now it is already 2013.
So now, in that way, as I am helping Teacher Tiffany who is using the language of the Jejara people to graduate, while helping her, people will also get to know more about us Jejara.

And so, from the view of us Jejara: "Oh, information about us has come to exist," [We] will come to know, and because it is like that [and] to help Teacher, Like that, now [I] have come to live [here].

Teacher - you, too, don't be discouraged. Have great patience, and work until [we] see that [we] have reached success.
APPENDIX B
CUT & BREAK (CB)

Prompt: Video stimuli Cut & Break (Bohnemeyer 2001)

CB 1 cwedhai khu ra taceqai qhaidha ga lu la
    cloth take come center tear go IPFV CL.F

[She] brought a cloth, and is tearing [it] down the middle.

CB 2 rui sawlaw bai sai mairai lai rui jai
    rope stretch.across finish CONN iron.rod INS rope P
    ju phe nkui la
    pierce break.apart see CL.F

[I] see [someone] stretch out a rope and then pierce [it] with an iron rod and break [it] apart.

CB 3 saw taipyai sa khai jai ntzuijaja lai ra taw phe
    wood branch DIM one P knife INS come chop break.apart
    nkui lai
    see CL.F

[I] see that [he] came and chopped a small branch with a knife.

CB 4 cwedhai maice law bai sai ntzuijaja sa lai ra
cloth tie leave.as.is finish CONN knife DIM INS come
taw phe nkui lai
chop break.apart see CL.F

[I] see a rag which has been tied and then [someone] comes and chops [it] apart with a small knife.

CB 5 sawkhwa sa khu ra sai ta maiqhai tzi haw
    stick DIM take come CONN 3sg.POSS knee top LOC
    ra qi phe ja ra wekha nkui lai
    come hit break.apart like.that come throw.down see CL.F

[I] see that after [he] brought a small stick, [he] came and hit [it] over his knee and broke [it] apart and threw [it] down.
I see that [someone] came and placed carrots on the table and, with a knife, is doing chopping-into-pieces to them.

A woman came near the table and, sitting, backed up. ("reversed to come to sit behind herself")

As [I] come to see one rag spread out, [it] tears apart at the center by itself without a person present!

A person comes and takes out the carrots that were placed on the table and with a small knife slices them at the center, throwing and leaving them.

This time [he] is again chopping up the carrots that were left on the table.
CB 11.1 nyaitzuisarai khai lai pa tshe ra bai
woman one A cup hold come finish
ra tshe shwaishwai anqi ma phaicai tshe law bai .
come hold stand.IPFV two even pull.out hold leave.as.is finish
A woman comes holding a cup, comes holding [it] and, standing, even pulls out two [of them] and holds [them].

CB 11.2 nyaitzuisarai khai jai kaw pa anqi
woman one A plastic cup two
hawpwai maigui law bai lu jai
together be.one.inside.another leave.as.is finish REL thing
ra tshe shwaishwai ja khucai taitwa lai
come hold stand.IPFV like.that take.apart show CL.F
A woman comes and holds the 2 cups one inside the other thing, standing, like that, and shows [the audience] taking [them] apart.

CB 12 ntzuirai anqi cwedhai rui shilaw bai ja ntzuijaja lai
person two cloth rope stretch.out finish like.that knife INS
lephe lu
slice IPFV
Two people stretched out an old-cloth-string and then are cutting it with a knife.

CB 13 ntzuirai khai jai rui vuicelaw bai sai
person one A rope stretch.out finish CONN
laiga sa lai ra tawphai tshalu
ax small INS come chopping.apart
After a rope has been stretched out a person comes and chops it apart with a small ax.

CB 14 nyaitzuisarai khai jai qhaimpwai daidai tatza saipwe tzi haw
woman one A watermelon between thing.to.eat table top LOC
ra tshaxtzu ledha tsha bai
come place slice.apart do finish
A woman puts the edible part in the middle of a watermelon on top of a table and does slicing it apart.
A man comes with firewood, stretches [it] across and is cutting [it] with a saw.

While [I] watch a twig of a dry branch which has been put down [there], [it] breaks apart by itself.

[I] see a number of carrots left on the table, and one [of them] breaks apart by itself.

While one man comes and is halving an orange with a small knife, deep red blood comes out of his hand.

[This is] a picture of a girl holding a dry stick, coming and breaking [it].
A woman, carrying dry firewood, like a branch, comes and, with a small knife, comes and is slicing one branch apart.

While carrots are left in place on a table, a man, carrying a big hammer, comes and hammers and crushes [them] up.

A woman took a piece of paper, came and put it down on the table and then did and sat as if [she] was going to write, as if [she] wasn't going to write.

A man came and, with a hammer, hit at a cloth stretched out between two tables and [he] hit [it] another time. [It] didn't break. Only the second time did [it] break.

A man, taking a rope, came and held [it] in place and then cut [it] apart at the center with scissors.
APPENDIX C

COW KILLING SITUATIONS (CK)

Prompt: Situation imagined and explained by researcher, using visual stimuli to show relative space. Actual words are LRP’s spontaneous creation out of each situation as described.

CK 1 ayipa ahaw mpwasui zhasai lu lai
   friend DEM cow kill IPFV CL.F

Friend, here [they're] killing a cow.

CK 2 ayipa jai haw ga mpwasui zhasai lu lai
   friend DEM.DIST LOC go cow kill IPFV CL.F

Friend, [they] are killing a cow over there.

CK 3 ayipa wai kaw haw mpwasui zhasai lu lai , nyai tda
   friend 1pl HUM LOC cow kill IPFV CL.F 2sg as.for
ta sha khu ya le ?
   RL flesh take IRR CL.F

Friend, they're killing a cow here [where I am]. Will you take [some] meat?

CK 4 ayipa wai kaw haw mpwasui zhasai lu lai , jayaw a tailu
   friend 1pl HUM LOC cow kill IPFV CL.F therefore 1sg buy
ca ye , ha ntaripwai a kaw lairui ra nyai tzwa
   cook IRR DEM.PROX afternoon 1sg HUM visit come 2sg.POSS rice
   ra tza xo
   come eat IMP.POL

Friend, here [by us] they are killing a cow. I will buy and cook [some]. Tonight, come visit me and eat your meal here.

CK 5 o apwaipa ti ti mai , tzi mpa haw mpwasui
   oh friend look.at attempt.to PLT 1du.INCL beside LOC cow
   khai zhasai lu law ma ma maicai na
   one kill IPFV even even NEG know EMPH

Oh, friend, look! They are killing a cow next to us and [we] didn't even know it.
Friend, that must be the cow [they] are killing for New Year's. It may be that [we] will be seen eating beef soon.

Hey, friend! [I] don't really trust that man. [I] think [he's] killing someone else's [cow]. Come. Let's go tell the village head. ("steal-killing (that cow")")

Yeah – [let's] go quickly.

Friend, [they] are killing a cow for our celebration.

Oh, I can't watch. I can't look at that type of thing.

Friend, [they] are killing a cow for our celebration [somebody said].

All right, shall we go see?
Yeah, [let’s] go see! [I] have never seen [it] even once. Alright, [let’s] go now.

Hey! What is that [which they have] done [here]? So much blood!

That was for yesterday's celebration – [it is said] they killed a cow.

Hey! What is that [which they have] done here? So much blood!

That is a cow [they] came and killed for yesterday's celebration.

Oh. That must be the meat [they] came and butchered for the celebration.

When are [you] going to kill that cow?
That cow? [We] will kill [it] tomorrow [not earlier].

When are [you] going to kill that cow?

That cow? [We] will kill [it] tomorrow [not earlier].

When are [you] going to kill that cow?

That cow? I think [we'll] kill [it] tomorrow [not sooner].

When are [we] going to kill that cow?

That cow? Kill [it] tomorrow [not sooner].

Will [you] kill [cows] in the coming years, just as [you] killed a cow this year?
Killing a cow? [We] will do that every year.

[We] will kill this cow next year.

What about your cow that [we] always saw before?

[We] killed that last year.
APPENDIX D
KITCHEN PICTURE DESCRIPTION (K)

Prompt: Using photograph as visual stimulant, produced as free speech.

K 1.1 ca nkui lu maikhakha hayahaha Naga rai tzwalaiwa
now see REL picture as.for-that Naga (ppl) PL meal
tshalu zhaw khai he .
cook house one CL.F

The picture [we] can see now is a Naga cooking house [kitchen].

K 1.2 jatalaw hayaha Jaijairai tzwalaiwa tshalu zhaw
but as.for-that Jejara (ppl) meal cook house
tda tzai le .
COMP be.called CL.F

But that is called a Jaijairai kitchen.

K 1.3 tahiya ahaw ca nkui lu lu ha laiwa maishi jaitda
then DEM now see IPFV NZ TOP curry clean like.that
talaiwaqi tshyailawbai laiwa hawpwai maishi ri
soup put.on.to.boil curry together clean during
laiwa ca sai laije lu le .
curry cook for.purpose.of prepare IPFV CL.F

So the thing [we] see here now is cleaning (preparing) leafy vegetables, putting the water on
to boil; while cleaning [vegetables for] curry together [they] are preparing to cook curry.

K 1.4 ja laiwa ca lu ti haw tzwa jai
like.that curry cook IPFV time LOC rice.cooked DEM.DIST
gilaw bai sai arairhairhai lai ja gicaw nqi ti
dry.near.fire finish CONN turn INS like.that roast.dry CMPL until
ja arai jaitda tsha x .
like.that turn like.that do F

When cooking curry like that, [we] dry that rice near the fire and then, by turning [it], like
that [we do it] until [it] becomes dried [we] do the turning.
So, children sit encircled in the kitchen, waiting; when the food is cooked, [we] take it together, feeding [ourselves, each other], and then if it’s morning, once we have finished taking [it] together and feeding [ourselves, each other], we do our work, going to the fields to work, going to the paddies. So, [we] work, some go on trips, some go hunting.

Then, what [we] see on top of [the place where] food has been cooked is the place for drying uncooked rice, the roasting shelf, and so there [we] hang all kinds of things.

Even when [we] have finished making fermented beans [we] hang them there; [we] dry chili peppers there; [we] also dry uncooked rice; sometimes when [we] butcher meat then [we] roast [it] dry just there, and like that eat dried roasted [meat].
Well then, whether it is chilies or whatever [it] happens to be, [we] place [it] on there to be dried and then store [it here, too] – that’s how [we] do [it].

So then, here in this kitchen [there] are some who sleep warming themselves by the fire and [there] are also beds.

So, some [people], [upon] having made chairs the people beside there warm themselves beside the fire, sitting like that.

Well, then, [they] have also made a water shelf beside there and like that they washed the dishes, [they] also did the pot washing; so, there are pig pots for pig food and even pig water pots, and like [it] that is messy, that’s how it is.
K 1.12 jayaw pfuinqairai tzwalaiwa tshalu zhaw ya talintzawntzaw therefore mountain.people meal cook house as.for many.kinds ga taw bai jaitda taipuimaijwabai si jaitda lu le . go put.in finish like.that messy just like.that exist CL.F

So, mountain people put all kinds [of things] into their kitchens, and they are just messy/disorderly like that.

K 1.13 jaiyajaijai likhaitwahiya Jaijairai shapfui tda law twa lex . as.for.that on.one.hand Jejara (ppl) custom COMP also say can

In one way, [you] can also say that is Jejara custom.
APPENDIX E

STAGED EVENTS (SE)

Prompt: Video stimuli, Staged Events set 1a (Staden 2001).

SE 1 ntzuirai khai pasa wezhawsa ntzuirai khai tzuisa sai dha ga
person one M towel person one FEM REC pick.up go
jai nkui
give see

[I] see a man picking up and giving a towel to a woman.

SE 2 ca saisai jai ya nyaipasarai khai jai taika suitza
now finish thing TOP man one DEM.DIST what ladel.and.eat
lay tda a law ma maicai tukhai khaikhai
Q.CONT COMP 1sg even NEG know something
suitza lu lai
ladel.and.eat IPFV CL.F

What [I saw] just now [is] one man that – I don't even know what [he is] eating – [he is] eating something.

SE 3 ntzuirai anqi saipwe haw pwa sai pfui haw taika lay
person two table LOC sit CONN plate LOC what Q.CONT
ra tssetzu bai tanqaitzu lai pa haw
come place.and.leave finish woman A cup in
qi shetaw tsha baisai dawha tzu lu anqi
water pour.in do and.then white leave.in.place REL two
ga khu ra taw baisai ta suitzatza lai awaiwai jaizha
go take come put.in and.then 3sg spoon INS stirring drink.like.that
pwa nkui lai
sit see CL.F

[I] see two people sitting at a table and [someone] came and put – What? – in a plate and then the woman poured water into the cup and then took two of the white things that were left [there] and put [them] in [the cup] and stirred with her spoon and drank like that and sat.
A woman came and held a plate and then stayed as if to show [it], doing [this] standing; a man came and hit [her and it] and then [the plate] slipped and fell and broke, becoming broken.

An older person walked in as if [he] is searching for something. [He] looked inside a red bucket that had fallen over and came to see [something] - What? That black thing. [He] came and saw that, picked [it] up and went to sit down on his chair.

[I] see two men kicking a ball.

Um, Two people – father and son? I couldn't say – [I] see them standing there talking together. ("How? I don't know.")
These two men [I] see now [is] a picture showing the two men from before playing soccer.

The current picture [is] the picture of a man ladling and eating [I-don't-know]-what from a bowl.


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

Well, this [is] the picture of two people coming and sitting at a table.
As for that [it is] the picture of a girl [into whom], at the time when [she] was standing showing her plate, a man came and hit [it] and [it] fell, dropped, broke and became broken.

This [is] the picture of father and son discussing and standing. ("the father-and-son-discussing-standing picture")

A woman places a plate down on a table, comes and hits [it] broken with a hammer and leaves [it].

After folding up a bicycle, one mother, only upon carrying [it] to and reaching the road did [she] come, unfold [it] and put [it] down, and like that climb on, sit riding away.
A man is playing roll a ball [which] goes and comes [back] again.

[I] see two people sitting and doing – Cooking rice? Cooking curry? [I] don't know.

[There are] two people. The woman holds a plate and then the man comes and hits [it] and her plate falls down [but] doesn't break.

A man lifts – a blanket? a head wrap? – with his foot and is giving it to the woman. ("holds [it] in place, with his foot goes and scoops [it] up, comes and, to the woman, comes and is giving [it to her]")
It's that picture [where] is doing to get onto and ride a bicycle.

This picture [is] the picture of a ball rolled and thrown. ("ball-rolled-and-thrown-thing picture")

This [is] a picture of two people doing I don't know what – cooking a meal? ("the what-are-[they]-doing-[I]-don't-know picture")

As for that, [it is] the picture where a girl is making pieces of a plate on a table.

Well, this [is] the picture where a boy rolls a ball and [it] comes back again.

This [is] a picture of a man hitting a woman [whose] plate falls down [but] doesn't break.
A woman drops (intentionally) her hammer and the plate left on the table completely breaks.

A woman also, coming carrying her plate, throws [it] down on the table for no reason, and leaves [it] broken.

Two soccer players jump up and when they hit their ball with their head, one fell down.

A woman, older person one, came beside the chair left on the table after the woman existed thing.
pfui haw khu tawtaw ja lwe ga jai ja
plate LOC scoop.out put.in.IPV like.that carry go give like.that
tza pwa nkui la
eat sit see CL.F

I see that first of man cuts wood with the small ax from before, and then comes again and
cuts [it] up with a knife, picks [it] up and carries it to a woman who is cooking. Then [he] puts
[it] into the fire and, sitting down watching her cook – their father? – an older man comes
and sits at his chair and the man also goes and sits beside him for a bit and then the woman
dishes out what she has been cooking, takes and gives [it to them] and [they] sit and eat.

SE 33 ntzuirai khai pasa jai tzakaw haw turai tshetu baisai,

person one M A table LOC thing place.and.leave and.then
ta pwa kaw law ma lu si hatda ka pwa sai
3sg.POSS chair also NEG exist without like.this go.down sit CONN
ruilwa lai ku ja ta turai suitza pwa nkui la
at.distance go go.up like.that 3sg thing ladel.and.eat sit see CL.F

[I] see a man put something on a table and then without even his chair he sat down like that
and then reached up at a distance and was sitting scooping out and eating is things like that.

SE 34 am ha law ha maiqhiqhi tsharai

um DEM.PROX also TOP ball do-er
tsha bai lu la khairai ta kuri lai qi
be finish exist.in.state CL.F some 3sg head INS hit
khaitschu rerega khairai maile ga lu tda
jump at.the.same.time some fall go IPV saying
tsha nqe lu la
be PL.AGR IPV CL.F

Um, that [is] also soccer players. Some jump up at the same time and hit [the ball] with their
head; [it] is happening that some are falling down.

SE 35 ha ya ntzuirai anqi sai nyaitzuisarai lai tsha lu

DEM.PROX TOP person two REC woman A cook NZ
lwe ga jai bai tza pwa lu ti maikhakha
carry go give finish eat sit IPV time picture

This [is] a picture of the time where a woman carries and gives [the food] that she cooked to
two people who sit down and eat it.
This is the picture of soccer players hitting [the ball] with their head; some have fallen over.

This is the picture of two people leaning their backs on each other, discussing and standing.

As for this, it is a picture of [her] holding the plate on the table and then dropping her hammer [on it].
APPENDIX F
MISCELLANEOUS (Ad, Adv, CN, C&N, D, DI, L52, L59a, LQ, NE, NP, NR, O, Prn, RC, T, V)

Ad 7 suitzatza pfui mainqai cai tzu le
spoon pot be.beside CONN exist CL.F

The spoon is touching the pot. ("exists being beside the pot.")

Adv 1.1 twa lwa ti
say again attempt.to

Say [that] again.

Adv 2.2 jai law talaimpvui maisui tdi
3sg.DIST also go.along want QUOT

He also wants to go along [he/someone said].

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

Even older people are happy.

Adv 4.1 ma tsharai baiti
NEG do yet.PROH

Don't do [it] yet.

Adv 4.2 ma tsharai ba
NEG do yet.PROH

Don't do [it] yet.

Adv 4.4 twa lu phaw haw tsha lu maire.
say IPFV during LOC do IPFV still

While [I] am still speaking, [he] is doing [it].
I don't have even one friend. ("There is not even one friend at me.")

C&N 17.1-2 shiwai qi pa sa khai
orange water cup DIM one
one small cup of orange juice

C&N 19.1-2 shiwai qi pa sa khai si
orange water cup DIM one just
just one small cup of orange juice

D 1.2 nqawshe hapfuiharai tarai kari laighui rai lai
yesterday the.people.from.over.there 3pl car thief PL A
la laighui be tdi .
come steal CL.F QUOT

[It is said that] yesterday the people from over there ("neighbors"), thieves came and stole their car.

D 2.6 hapfuiharai tarai kari laighui rai lai nqawshe
the.people.from.over.there 3pl car thief PL A yesterday
la laighui be tdi come steal CL.F QUOT

[It is said that] yesterday thieves stole the car of the people from that house [the neighbors' car].

D 5.2 ha ntari shi lai ma ra yasai
DEM.PROX night who A even come kill
ga bai lu la
go finish be.in.state CL.F

Who in the world came and killed [him] last night? ("Who even came, killed [him] and left like that last night?")
D 6 zhasai bai
kill finish
was killed

D 7 taqhi lu nyaisarai ya ntzuirai lai tamaisui nqe le
well-behaved REL child TOP person A love PL.AGR CL.F

People love well behaved children.

DI 1.1 sayama hayahaha wai Jaijairai le kawmaidhai
teacher.F as.for.this 1pl.EXCL Jejara (ppl) literature area
then culture saying person.responsible chairperson one CL.F

Teacher, this is our chairman responsible for Jejara literacy and culture.

L52 1.2 nyaitzi jaijai titdatsha jaitda hawpawiphai lu la
2du TOP why like.that fight IPFV CL.F

Why are you two fighting?

L52 2 ha tzuisa lai a laikhwaiti jatsha
DEM.PROX FEM A 1sg tease therefore
a lai phyai bai mai
1sg A hit finish CL.F

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

L52 3 nyai tasawtupa ya titdatshayaw nyai nqi ja
2sg oldest.M as.for why 2sg.RL younger.sibling like.that
phyai la , haw tasawturai ya haw nqi rai tiha caitwa
hit CL.F GNRC older.person TOP RL younger.sibling PL well guide
nqwexay .
OBLG

Why did you, the older one, hit your sister like that? The older one needs to set a good example for their younger sibling.
Hmm. At the time [I] was coming here ("to you"), on the road I tripped and I fell down.

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

The blanket and sheet are placed together.

The banana is rotten.

We are tired.

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

The tree [is] tall.

He used to dance before! ("danced dances")
He is the person who used to dance before.

Will you come along with me?

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

The mangoes which come from Ping Ne Gone village, Layshi Township are reddish-yellow ripe, sweet and sour.

This one mango which comes from Ping Ne Gone village, Layshi Township [is] the one which I want to eat and is yellow-brushed-with-red ripe and sweet and sour.

With a sickle [one] can harvest rice; then, [they] can also harvest reed for thatch, cut the grass, and like that use [it] for many things.
NR 4.2 qhaiwhai bai jai a khwai zhai xo
    torn finish DEM.dist 1sg sew BEN IMP.PLT

[That] is torn, so please sew it [for me].

NR 7.1 haw ntzuirai ha haw nta laiphaw bai law
    1pl.INCL person TOP 1pl.INCL ear deaf NZ also
    ma da lu la
NEG good exist CL.F

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

NR 14.1 lainqi laici kawmaidhai laintai lwa tdahiya haw le
    sun come.out time morning portion as.for GNRC A
    haw ntaw ma zhupyai su he
RL shadow NEG catch.up.to can CL.F

At sunrise in the morning, one cannot catch up to one's [own] shadow.

NR 15.1 haw sui whiya haw maikhalaisuitzui
    1pl.INCL die after 1pl.POSS spirit.of.person
    tainqaw lwa ga nqi ye .
heaven ALL go CMPL IRR

When we die, our spirit will go to heaven.

O 3 ntzuirai khai pa jai qi haw lairawtaw lu yaw
    person one M DEM.DIST water in drown IPFV at.time.of
ntzuirai khai pasa lai ta pwe ke cai le sai
    person one M A 3sg life save take.out CL.F for.purpose.of
turai khai ra rui lai maice taw wetaw zhai lu lai .
thing one come rope INS tie put.in throw.to BEN IPFV CL.F

Because that man is drowning in the water, a man comes and ties something to a rope, throwing [it] out to save his life.

Prn 45 jai shi le
    3sg.DIST who CL.F

Who is he/she?
Prn 47 kwaipasa khu ga
what take IRR
Which thing will [you] take?

Prn 48 kwai khu ga
which take IRR
Which will [you] take?

Prn 49 kwati ra nqi la
when come arrive CL.F
When did [you] arrive?

Prn 52 titdawhai lu la
how be.in.state CL.F
How are [you]?

Prn 53 nyai nkujurai kushahai lu la
2sg siblings how many exist CL.F
How many brothers and sisters do [you] have?

Prn 63 taika law tshabaishu tza su la
what ever no.matter eat can CL.F
Whatever [it] is, [I] can eat [it].

RC 5 pwakaw tzi haw ta sha sailai mainqi lai
color chair top LOC RL flesh fat laugh CONN
pwa lu pa jai a mainqi lu leka
sit IPFV person A 1sg laugh IPFV Q.TAG

The fat man sitting on the chair laughing is laughing at me, isn't he?

T 22.2 pfuinqai lwa ku bai law law tatshapa
on.mountain ALL go.up finish if also work.to.do
hoshahai lu la .
many exist CL.F

After we have gone up the mountain, too, there is a lot of work to do.
Thieves killed a rich man.

The mother is telling her child to eat.

Mother, how did [we] run out of dry meat? ("Where did [it] get used up to?")
RESUME

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