COMPLEMENTATION IN THE NAGA GROUP OF LANGUAGES

A thesis submitted to Nagaland University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

by

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I hereby declare that the work in this thesis entitled "Complementation in the Naga Group of Languages" submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of Dr. Mimi Kevichüsa Ezung is a bonafide research work. I also declare that the dissertation, in part or in full, has not been submitted for any degree or diploma to this or any other university.

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This is to certify that the work entitled *Complementation in the Naga Group of Languages*, submitted in partial fulfilment for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in Linguistics to Nagaland University, is original and has been carried out by **Keneichanuo Mepfhü-o** under the supervision and guidance of **Dr. Mimi Kevichüsa Ezung**.

This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or diploma to this or any other University. This thesis conforms to the standards and procedures of Nagaland University and the UGC regulations for the award of Ph.D. degree, 2016.

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List of Abbreviations

ACC - Accusative

ADR- Adjectivilizer

ASP- Aspect

CLR- Classifier

COMP- Complementizer

DEF-Definite

DET- Determiner

ERG- Ergative

EXT - Existential

FEM- Feminine

FUT – Future

HAB- Habitual

IMP - Imperative

INT- Intensifier

LOC- Locative

NEG- Negative

NOM- Nominative

NOZ- Nominalizer

PL- Purposive Linker

PP- Postposition

PROG - Progressive

PRS - Present

PRSPRF - Present Perfect

PST- Past

QUOT- Quotative

SCM - Subject Case Marker

VC - Verbal Conjunct

MAP OF NAGALAND
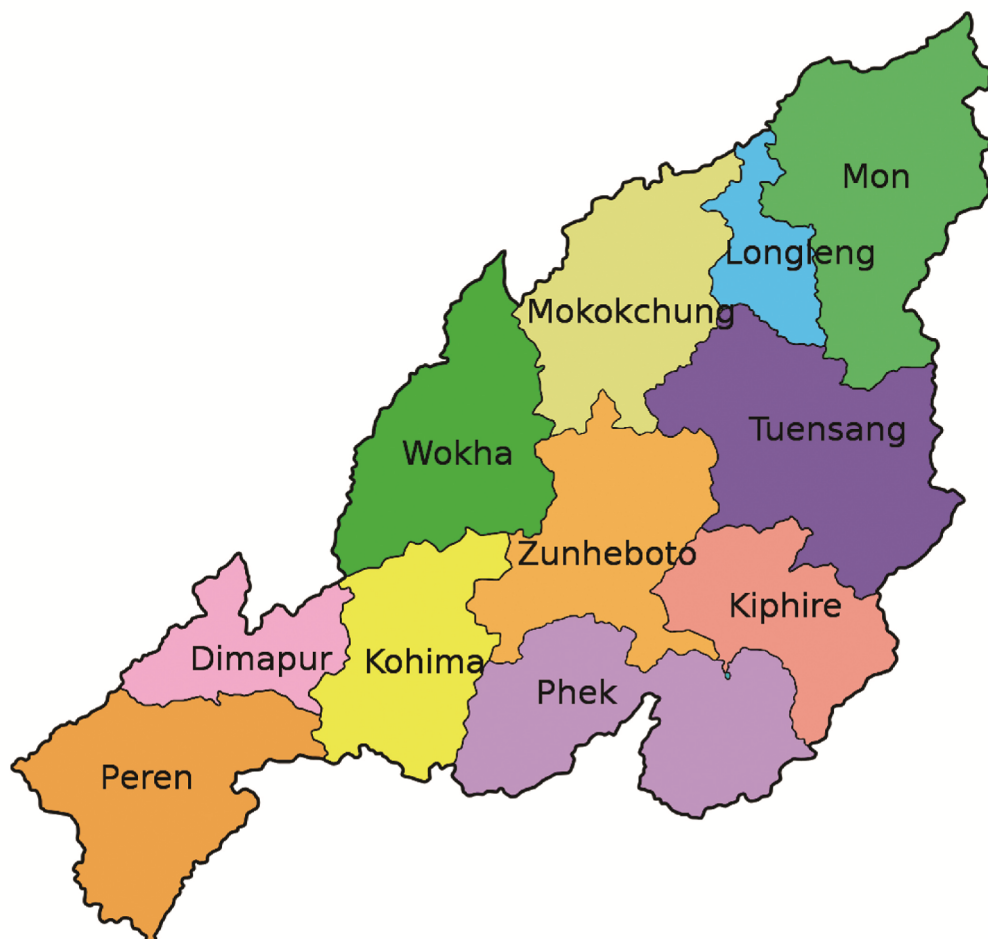
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CHAPTER – 3: MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND DISTRIBUTION OF COMPLEMENTIZERS

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CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Naga group of languages belongs to the Tibeto-Burman Language Family. According to Burling (1998), 'the languages of the people called "Naga" are particularly confusing, and there may be no Tibeto-Burman region anywhere where the languages are so diverse.' Linguistic study of the Naga languages is sparse. As such, research in this area is vast and enormous. This research study is an attempt to examine complementation in some languages belonging to the Naga group. Based on Burling's Classification of the Naga Languages (1998) and Marrison's Classification of the Naga Languages (1976),twelve (12) Naga languages have been selected for the study; Ao, Chokri, Khiamniungan, Konyak,Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sümi, Yimchunger and Zeme .

This chapter gives a brief introduction to: i) The genetic classification of the Naga language family by various scholars, ii) The languages under study and iii) How the dissertation is being structured and documented.

1.1 GENETIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE NAGA LANGUAGES

Various scholars have tried to classify the Naga languages. Some of the classifications are discussed below.

Burlings (1998) classified the Naga Languages by naming each group by its most prominent language and then branching the languages under it into independent languages. The classification is given in Figure 1.1.0. The languages which are similar are indicated by solid lines at the bottom of the figure, dashed lines indicate languages which are probably similar and the dotted lines indicate speculations.

Grierson (1903) classified the Naga group of languages into three groups.

1. Western Group: Angami, Sema, Rengma and Kezhama
2. Central Group: Ao, Lotha, Thukumi, Yimchunger and some other languages.
3. Eastern Group: Konyak, Phom and Chang spoken in Nagaland and Banpana, Mohangai, Mutonia, Assiringia, Moshang and Tangsa spoken in Arunachal Pradesh. A schematic representation is given in figure 1.1.1
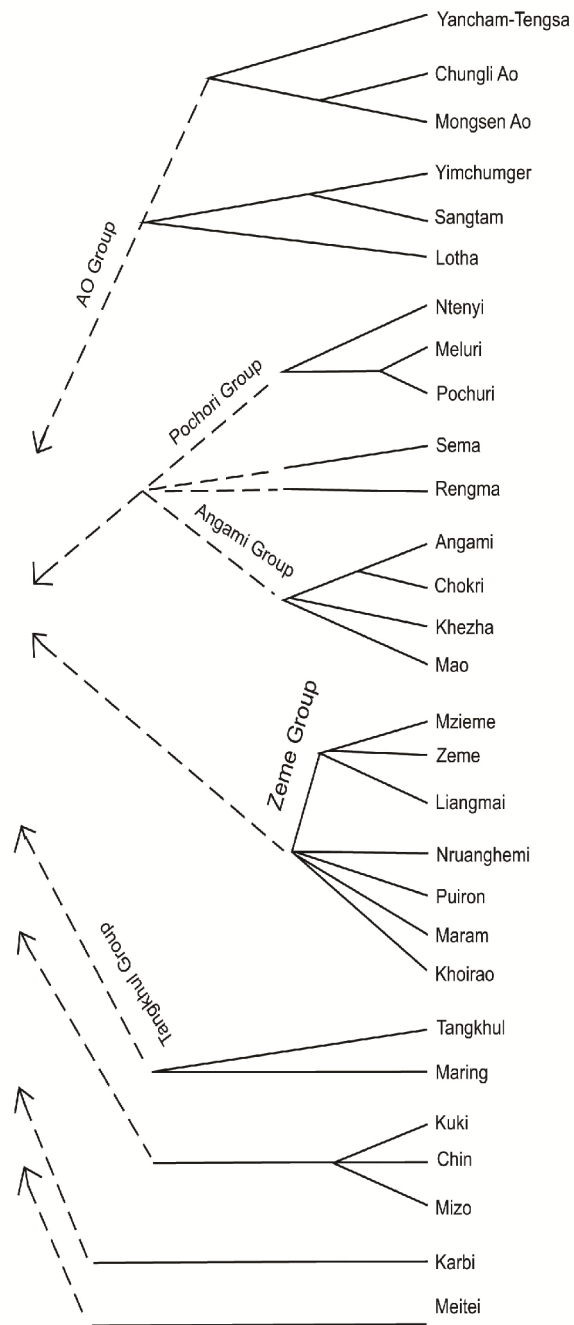
Figure 1.1.0: Classification of the Naga Languages (Burlings, 1998)

```
                              NAGA
              /                 |                 \
             /                  |                  \
   Western Group         Central Group        Eastern Group

   Angami                Ao                   Konyak

   Sema                  Lotha                Phom

   Rengma                Thukumi              Chang

   Kezhami               Yimchunger
```
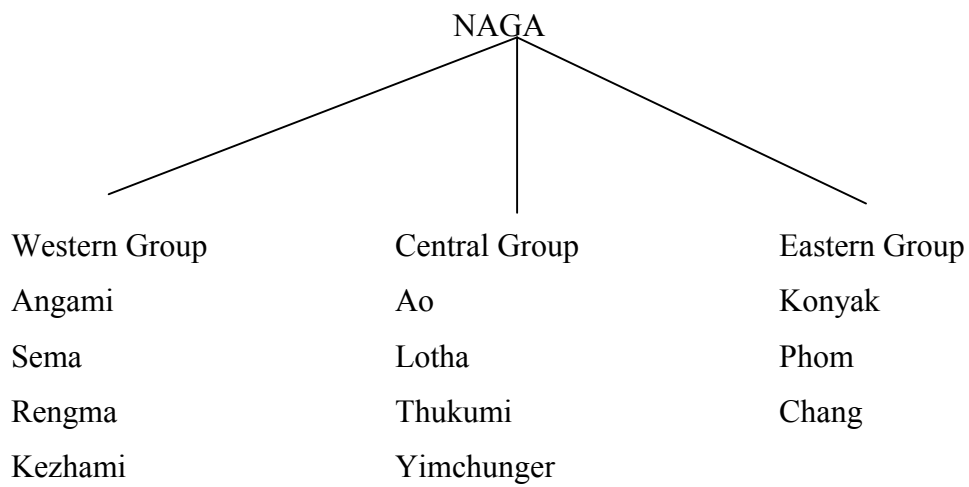
Figure 1.1.1: Schematic representation of Grierson's classification of Naga Languages (1903)

```
                                NAGA
               /                  |                    \
              /                   |                     \
            A                     B                      C
        Konyak                 /     \                 /    \
        Phom                 B1       B2             C1      C2
        Chang            Chungli     Lotha        Angami    Rengma

                         Mongsen     Yimchunger   Sema      Zeme

                         Sangtam     Ntenyi       Chokri    Liangmai

                         Yacham-Tengsa  Meluri    Kezhama   Maram

                                                  Mao       Khoirao

                                                            Puiron

                                                            Nruanghemei
```
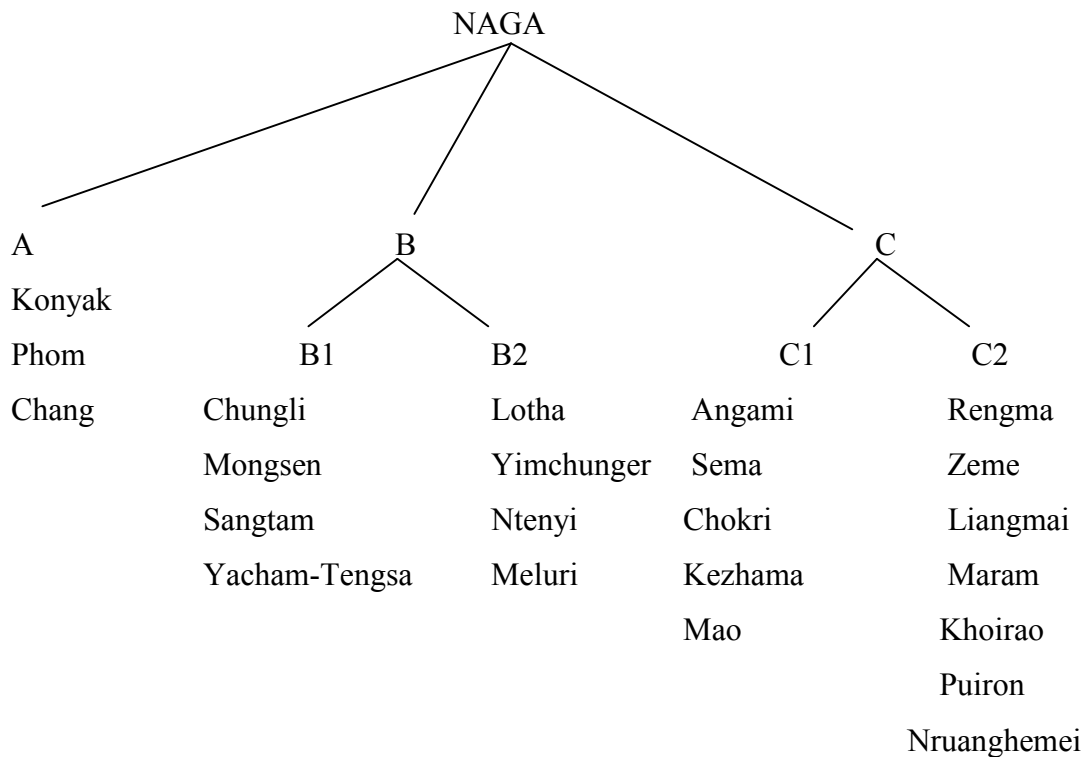
Figure 1.1.2: Schematic representation of Marrison's classification of Naga Languages (1967)

Ezung (2018) proposed the classification of the Naga Languages into the Tenyimia group and the non Tenyimia group on the basis of linguistics evidence. The proposal is mainly grounded among other features, on the distinction between the voiceless and the voiced phonemes of the Naga languages. The presence and absence of voiced plosives clearly distinguishes the Tenyimia group from the non Tenyimia group respectively. A schematic representation is given in figure 1.1.3 below.

Naga Languages

Tenyimia Group	Non-Tenyimia Group
Chokri	Ao
Khezha	Chang
Rengma	Khiamniungan
Sümi	Konyak
Zeme	Lotha
	Phom
	Pochury
	Sangtam
	Yimchunger
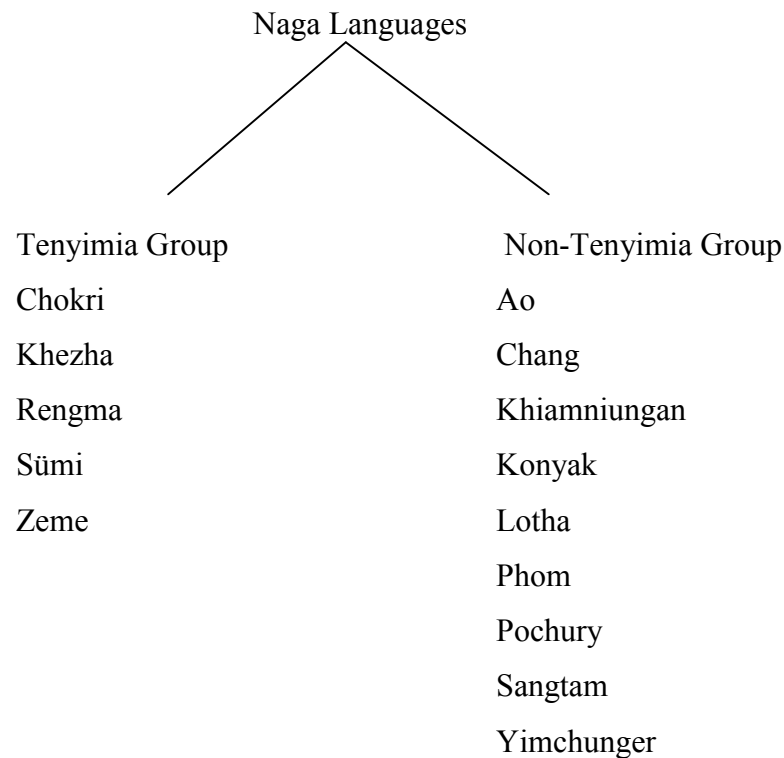
Figure 1.1.3: Classification of Naga Languages (Ezung, 2018)

Marrison (1967) classified Naga languages into three types.
1. Type A1: Yogli, Moshang, Nocte and Wanchoo spoken in Arunachal Pradesh.
2. Type A2: Konyak, Phom and Chang.
3. Type B1: Yacham-Tengsa, Ao (Chungli), Ao (Mongsen), and Sangtam.
4. Type B2: Lotha, Yimchunger, Ntenyi and Meluri.
5. Type B3: Thangkhul spoken in Manipur and Marring Spoken in Burma.
6. Type C1: Sema, Angami, Chokri, Kezhama and Mao.
7. Type C2: Rengma, Maram, Khoirao, Zeme, Liangmai, Puiron, Nruanghemei.
   Except for Rengma and Zeme, the other languages in this Type are spoken in the Eastern part of Cachar and North-West Manipur.
   A schematic representation is given in figure 1.1.2

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LANGUAGES UNDER STUDY

Naga languages are very diverse and distinct. There are cases where the dialectical variations within a particular tribe are so diverse that they are mutually-unintelligible. Under such diversity, almost all Naga tribes have come to a consensus to adopt a particular dialect as their common language. Some of the languages have already been standardised while some are still in the process of standardisation. It is also worth mentioning here that all the languages under study are included in the UNESCO list of endangered languages in India. This section gives a brief view of the languages under study, the tribes, the geographical locations and the dialect they have adopted as their common language.

The Aos inhabit the Mokokchung district in Nagland. The Aos are broadly divided into three clans and based on these divisions, they speak three distinct dialects; Chungli, Mongsen and Changki. Chungli is the standard variety and is used in sphere of education, mass media and religious activities. (T. Temsunungsang, 2003)

The Chakhesangs inhabit the Phek district in Nagaland. The languages spoken by its people are Chokri, Khezha/Kuzhale, Poula and Sümi. There are some villages under Chakhesang region which speaks Sangtam and Rengma. Chokri and Kuzhale are the two main languages used in schools as a mother tongue subject upto the elementary level. (Personal Interview: Vengota Nyekha, Langauge Assistant (Chokri) Directorate of School Education)

The Khiamniungan is a Naga tribe located in Tuensang district. The language spoken by the tribe is known as Khiamniungan. There are wide dialectical variations from village to village. The standard variety is based on the Noklak variety which is used in the local dialect textbooks for schools, and religious activities. (Personal Interview: Keen M, Research Scholar (Lingustics), Nagaland University)

Konyaks inhabit the eastern most part of Nagaland in Mon district. Konyak has a wide range of dialects varying from village to village. However, the dialect spoken in Wakching is used as the common language which is used in all spheres of education and formal communication. (Personal Interview: Nyeiang Konyak, Language Officer (Konyak) Directorate of School Education)

The Lothas inhabit the Wokha district. Based on geographical demarcation, they are broadly divided into three ranges: upper, middle and lower. Interestingly, the Lothas speaks only one common language known as *Lothayi* (meaning Lotha Language) which is used in the local language textbooks for school and in all sphere of social and religious

activities. (Personal Interview: Chonchibeni Lotha, Language Officer (Lotha), Directorate of School Education)

Longleng is the district headquater of the Phom bounded by Konyak in North-East, Ao in the West and Chang in the South. They speak varieties of dialects. The common Phom dialect was first known as *"Yongnyah Shah"* which was later changed to *"Phom Shah"* meaning Phom Language. All literary and religious books use *Phom Shah*. (Personal Interview: Manken Nyam, Language Assistant (Phom), Directorate of School Education)

The native territory of the Pochury is located in the eastern part of Phek district. The Pochuries comprise of thirty (30) villages and they speak eight (8) language varieties namely, *Müluozhü, Thsüywü, Yisiyü, Akkeazü, Lürathüra, Mekuri, Sangphuyu* and *Mipfüzhü*. Some villages speak Khezha and Kuki languages. On 7th October 1989, the Pochury Literature Committee was formed. The Pochuries adopted *Müluozhü* as its common language and it is now used in school textbooks till class 8. The word *Müluozhü* is derived from Meluri, previously known as Müluori. Müluori refers to the inhabitants of Müluori (Meluri) and Khamaisü. Zhü means language. Thus, *Müluozhü* means the language spoken by the Müluori villages. (Personal Interview: Lingochu, Language Assistant (Pochury), Directorate of School Education)

Rengmas inhabit the Kohima district with its headquarter at Tseminyu. They are broadly divided into two, Northern and Southern Rengma. Based on this division, they speak two distinct language varieties: Nzonkhwe and Nthenyi. As of now, Nzonkhwe, which is spoken in Tseminyu area, is the standard variety, and is a medium of communication in all social activities. (Personal Interview: S.Joseph Thong, Language Officer (Rengma) Directorate of School Education)

The Sümis reside in the centre of Nagaland bordering all the other Naga tribes except Konyak, Phom, and Khiamniungan. Earlier, the Sümis spoke two language varieties – *Tuku* and *Swu*. The *Tuku* variety is no longer spoken by the Sumi but by other tribes namely: Sangtam, Mongsen (Ao), Yimchunger, Khiamniungan and Chang. As of now, their standard variety is based on the Swu variety and known as *Sümi Tsa* (meaning Sümi Language). *Sümi Tsa* is used in all official purposes such as Christian literature and school textbooks. (Personal Interview: L.Hokheto Yepthomi, Assistant Language Officer (Sumi) Directorate of School Education)

The Sangtams inhabit the districts of Tuensang and Kiphire. They speak three language variety: i) *Lihkyang yu* (yu means language) is spoken in Alipur, in Tuensang district; ii)*Phelongre yu* is spoken in Phelongre and Lihtsangwong in Kiphire district; iii) *Sanphure yu* is spoken in 11 villages under Kiphire district namely, Sanphure , Tütheyo,Tüthezu, Azetso, Tsongphong, Pongren, Ngoro, Asote and Longmatra (old), Longmatra (new), Longmatra (town). *Sangtam yu* is a combination of all these three language variety. *Sangtam yu* is derived from the name of the tribe *Sangtam* and *yu* meaning language. Thus, *Sangtam yu* means Sangtam Language. (Personal Interview: T.Yangliba Sangtam, Assistant Language Officer (Sangtam), Directorate of School Education)

Yimchungers inhabit the Tuensang district of Nagaland. They are broadly divided into 10 ranges viz. Western range, Mangko range, Kewong range, Tsurongto range, Pungro range, Melomika range, Khong range, Hakumeti range, Shamator range and Chessore range. Language varieties in this area are Langa, Tikhir, Chirr, Makury, Longphur and Phunung. Langa is the common language and is used in social and religious activities. (Personal Interview: S. Chipong Yim, Language Assistant (Yimchunger), Directorate of School Education)

The Zemes inhabit Peren District. They are broadly divided into two areas: upper and lower- Peren and Nsong repectively. Based on these geographical demarcations, the Zemes speak two languages. However, they are mutually intelligible and both the dialects are used in written and spoken form. (Personal Interview: Pauleu Legesie, Language Officer (Zeme), Directorate of School Education)

The number of speakers of the languages under study as presented in the census of India (2001) is given in Table 1.1. It may be mentioned here that the Naga languages do not have a script of their own and use the Roman Script. This is a result of the influence of the American Missionaries

Name of the language	Number of speakers
Ao	2,57,404
Chokri	83,560
Khiamnuingan	37,755
Konyak	2,48,109
Lotha	1,70,001
Phom	1,22,508
Pochury	16,744
Rengma	61,345
Sümi	103,529
Sangtam	84,273
Yimchunger	92,144
Zemi	34,110

Table 1.1 Alphabetical abstract of mother tongue speakers
(Census of India, 2001)

1.2 STRUCTURE AND DOCUMENTATION

The dissertation has been divided into six (6) chapters. The first chapter gives a brief introduction to the genetic classification of the Naga languages by various scholars. It also gives a brief overview of the languages under study. The second chapter presents the survey of literature relevant to the area under study. In chapter 3, the morphological analysis and distribution of the complementizers are discussed. The various complement types and complement strategies employed by the languages are examined in chapter 4. In chapter 5, the position of occurrence of the final complement clause is discussed. Chapter 6 gives an overall summary and findings of the study. All the chapters end with a summary in the form of a table.

For documentation, broad transcription is used using the IPA symbols. For referencing, the Harvard Working Papers in Linguistics Style Sheet by Harvard University, USA, is used. The languages have been analysed alphabetically. The data is presented in the following format:

Line 1: Orthographic representation of the languages.

Line 2: Phonetic transcription using the IPA symbol.

Line 3: Gloss following the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

Line 4: English Translation.

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of this study is to examine the process of complementation in some select Naga languages. The study aims:

i) to identify the **different complementizers** and give a **morphological analysis** of the complementizers in the languages under study.

i) to examine whether the languages permit both **initial complemtizer (IC)** and **final complementizer (FC).**

ii) to examine the **distribution of the complementizers** in the complement clauses.

iii) to examine and describe **the complement types** in the languages.

iv) to examine the various **complementation strategies** each language employs.

v) to examine the **position of occurrence of the final complement clause** in the languages under study.

vi) Since this research is a comparative study, it aims to give **a typological analysis of the languages** under study based on complementation.

METHODOLOGY

The data were collected using questionnaires and through personal interview with the native speakers of the language. Keeping in mind that within a particular tribe, there are many spoken varieties of the language, the data were collected based on the standard variety of the language.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

It is hoped that this research will contribute significantly to the study and better understanding of the linguistic features and grammatical description of the Tibeto-Burman languages in general and the Naga languages in particular. All the languages proposed for this research is enlisted by UNESCO as endangered languages of India[1]. Most of these languages are either undocumented or poorly documented. As such, this study hopes to contribute to the pressing need to document these languages.

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[1] https://en.m.wikipwdia.org>wiki>list_of_endangered_languages_in_india&sa

CHAPTER -2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a brief review of literature relevant to the area under study. The following writings are reviewed in this chapter: Aspects of Tenyidie (Angami) Syntax- Mimi Kevichüsa (2007); Complementation – Micheal Noonan (1985); South Asain Languages: A Syntactic Typology- Karumuri V. Subbarao (2012); Complement Clauses and Complementation Strategies in Typological Perspective – R.M.W.Dixon (2008)

2.1 ASPECTS OF TENYIDIE (ANGAMI) SYNTAX- MIMI KEVICHÜSA (2007)

Kevichüsa (2007, 41-60) discusses complementations in Tenyidie. Her findings shows that Tenyidie has four complementizers viz. **ʒ:** , **kecə ,** **ʒ:-kecə** and **ʒ:-di.** The morphological analysis is as follows:

ʒ: - Quotative form of the verb 'say' and strictly a final complimentizer.

kecə   - A combination of *ke*(nominalizer) and *cə* (deictic marker).

ʒ:-kecə - Quotative + kecə

ʒ:-di   -Quotative + Conjunctive Participial Marker

Kevichüsa also discusses in the detail the distribution of the complementizers. The findings are as follows:

i)   ***kecə*** occurs by itself as an initial complementizer.

1. a   si   [**kecə** nɔ tekhu   puo ŋu]
      I nom heard   comp you big-cat one saw
     'I heard that you saw a big cat.'/ 'What I heard is that you saw a big cat'

ii)   ***ʒ:-kecə*** occurs as a final complementizer.

2. [nɔ   tekhu   puo ŋu **ʒ:-kecə]**   a   si
     you nom big-cat   one saw quot-comp I nom heard
      'I heard that you saw a big-cat.'

iii)   **ʒ:-di** occurs as a final complementizer with the verb *pu* 'said' and in purposive clauses.

3. puo -e   [pro vor-tyo   **ʒ:-di**] pu
    he/she -erg   come-fut   quot-cp said
    'He/She said that she would come.'

4. puo-e   [pro mhacha-tyo   **ʒ:-di**] vor
    he/she -erg   cook-fut   quot-cp come
    'He/She came to cook'

iv)   The quotative **ʒ:** occur alone as a final complementizer. In such cases, it has a dual function- one as the main verb 'said' and the other as the complementizer.

5. tsibu-e [pro dzəku   nu vɔ-tyo   **ʒ:**   - ʃə]
    tsibu-erg   Dzükou to go- fut quot/comp - asp
    'Tsibu said that she would go to Dzükou.'

v)   The final complimentizer **ʒ:** and the initial complementizer **kecə** can co-occur in a sentence.

6. abuno$_i$-e   pu **kecə** puo$_{i/j}$ –e   tsali puo chə-ʃə-tyo   **ʒ:-si**
    abuno-erg said comp she -erg song one   do-asp-fut quot-dm
    'Abuno said that she would sing a song.'

vi)   Tenyidie has a direct quotative marker **i** which is used in the direct speech. This is in contrast to the reported quotative **ʒ:** which is used in the reported speech.

7. tsibu-e   "a dzəku   nu vɔ-tyo" **i-ʃə**
    tsibu-erg   I Dzükou to go-fut   dir quot-asp
    'Tsibu said, "I will go to Dzükou.'

8. tsibu-e a (ʒse) dzəku nu vɔ-tyo **ʒ:-kecə** pu-ʃə
    tsibu-erg I comp cl dzükou to go-fut quot-comp said-asp
    'Tsibu said that I (the speaker) would go to Dzükou.'

The findings also shows that all the four complement types are possible in Tenyidie. The following examples are illustrative:

  i) Finite Embedded Clause

   9. [pete-e sodu vɔr-tyo **ɜ:-kecə**] a si-ba
    Pete-erg tomorrow come-fut quot-comp i know-asp
    'I know that Pete will come tomorrow'

  ii) Non-finite Embedded clause

  (ii.i) Infinitival Clause

   10. Pete-e [PRO vɔr] nə-ba
    Pete-erg come want-asp
    'Pete wants to come'

  (ii.ii) Gerundival Clause

   11. [dzəvə-**kecə**] ha vi
    Swim-comp def good
    'Swimming is good'

  (ii.iii) Participial Clause

   12. [nyienuo-u thezu-u cə-ba-**kecə**] pete-e ŋǔ
    Cat -def mouse-def eat-asp-comp pete-erg saw
    'Pete saw the cat eating the mouse'

Kevichüsa notes that ɜ: does not occur with *kecə* in the non-finite clauses. Sentence (11) and (12) is illustrative.

According to Kevichüsa, sentence (10) is an example of the 'want' class predicates, and the complementizer *kecə* does not occur. Instead, the structure is that of a 'clausal union' which gives it a non-finite reading.

The findings further show that the embedded verbs in purposive clauses in Tenyidie are finite since they occur with the future marker *tyo*, which warrants the use of the quotative ɜ:. She illustrates this point with the following examples:

13a. pete-e [pro phrə-tyo ɜ: **-di**] vɔ-te
  Pete-erg   read-fut quot-cp go-prs perf
  'Pete has gone to read.'

 b. pete-e [pro phrə-tyo ɜ: **-kecə** la] vɔ-te
  Pete –erg   read-fut quot-comp for go-prs perf
  'Pete has gone to read.'

In sentence (13) the complementizer can be dropped. The postposition *la* along with the complementizer can also be dropped in sentence (13b). This results in the obligatory dropping of the future marker *tyo* rendering the verb as non-finite which further leads to the replacement of pro by PRO. The following example is illustrative:

14. pete-e   vɔ [PRO phrə] -te
    Pete-erg go   read   -prs prf
    'Pete has gone to read.'

   Kevichüsa provides evidence to show that the present perfect marker *te* is attached to the matrix verb *vɔ*, though on the surface level it seems to be attached to the embedded verb *phrə*. The evidence she provides is as follows:

  15a. pete-e vɔ-te

   b.*pete-e phrə-te

Sentence (15b) is ungrammatical because there is a constraint on the occurrence of the present perfect *te* with the verb *phrə*. *te* by itself does not indicate that the action has been completed and needs the support of the completion marker *wa*. To generate a sentence such as 'Pete has read', the occurrence of the completion marker *wa* along with the present perfect *te* is obligatory and one would have to say, 'Pete-e phrə-wa-te'.

Sentence (14) is again a case of clausal union. However, Kevichüsa states that the clausal union here differs from the one we find in sentence (10). In sentence (10), both the verbs remain *in-situ* – the embedded verb *vɔr* in the embedded clause and the matrix verb *nə* in the final position. Whereas, in sentence (14), the embedded verb *phrə* raises and adjoins to the matrix verb *vɔ*.

   She also discusses the position of occurrence of the final complement clauses. Her findings shows that all the three position discussed in literature are possible in Tenyidie. The following examples are illustrative:

   i) *In-situ* position in the matrix clause

    [..... [$_{CP}$ S$_2$ COMP] V$_1$]
    S$_1$ S$_1$

    13. Khɔtɔ-e   [sodu   chute-tyo ʒ:-kecə]   si-ba
      khoto-erg tomorrow holiday-fut quot-comp   know-asp
      'Khoto knows that tomorrow is a holiday'

   ii) To the right of the verb of the matrix clause

    [..... V$_1$ [$_{CP}$ S$_2$ COMP]   ]
    S$_1$ S$_1$

14. Khɔtɔ-e si-ba   [sodu   chute-tyo   ɜ:-kecə]
    Khoto-erg know-asp tomorrow holiday-fut quot-comp
    'Khoto knows that tomorrow is a holiday.'

iii)   To the left of the subject of the matrix clause

[[cp S$_2$ COMP]........ V$_1$]
S$_1$ S$_1$

15. [sodu   chute-tyo ɜ:-kecə]   khɔtɔ-e   si-ba
    Tomorrow holiday-fut quot-comp khoto-erg know-asp
    'Khoto knows that tomorrow is a holiday.'

2.2 COMPLEMENTATION – MICHEAL NOONAN (1985)

Noonan discusses in detailed the types of complements, complements strategies and complement-taking predicates (CTPS) in English.

According to him, there are four main types of complements:

1. That-clause

    Eg:-That Cartier defeated Dugue would be significant.

2. Infinitive clause

    Eg:- For cartier to defeat Dugue would be significant.

3. Gerundal/Verbal noun clause

    Eg:- Cartier's defeating Dugue is significant.

4. Participial clause

    Eg: - Nelson saw Cartier defeating dugue.

According to Noonan, all languages have some sort of sentence-like (S-like) complement type. He discusses three type of S-like complement type:

1. Indicative and subjunctive S-like complements.

    Indicative: the form that most closely resembles declarative main clauses is referred to as indicative.

    Subjunctive: Subjunctives have a special non-indicative stem or conjugation. It also differs from indicatives in occurring with modal particles or special complementizers.

    Indicative and subjunctive verbal forms are said to differ in mood.

2. Serial verb construction

One in which two or more successive verbs are joined together with no connecting particles, clitic etc.

Eg:

We'll go see

3. Infinitive complements (IC)

Infinitive meaning not limited by person, number, tense.

IC types do not express inflectional distinctions.

IC subjects do not take:

i. Nominative case marking

ii. Condition verb agreement

iii. Associative (genitival) case is not marked

iv. The notional subjects of infinitives are typically equi-deleted, raised or made objects of adpositions.

2.3 SOUTH ASAIN LANGUAGES: A SYNTACTIC TYPOLOGY- KARUMURI V. SUBBARAO (2012)

Subbarao's study focuses on the nature of IC and FC, structural difference between IC and FC, the position of occurance of an IC clause and an FC clause with regards to South Asian Languages (SALs).

2.3.1 FUNCTION OF IC

An FC can function as:

1. Disjunctive marker

The IC *ki* 'that' in Hindi-Urdu function as a disjunctive marker in alternative question.

Hindi-Urdu

16. vah   bilī   hai *ki*   billā?
    That female cat is   or   male cat
    'Is it a female cat or a male cat?'

2. Subordinating linker

The IC functions as a subordinating linker linking the main clause and the embedded clause with the interpretation of *then* in English

17. ham šṭešan pahunc hī   rahe the   *ki* [S2garī chūt gayī S2]
    we   station reach emph progr were   IC   train leave went
    'We were about to reach the station, then the train left'

3. Expletive IC

18. ašokā   *jo* ki ek mahān rājā   the bare dayālu the
    Ashoka who IC a   great   king   was very kind was
    'Ashoka, who was a great king, was very kind'

4. Occurs in relative clauses

In Gujarati, the IC *ke* occurs in the relative clauses, but it precedes the relative

pronoun.

Gujarati

19. mānas *ke je* letter lakhe che te ā   story jāne   che
    Man   IC who letter is writing he that story knows pres
    'The man who is writing a letter knows the story.'

2.3.2 FUNCTION OF FC

An FC can function as:

1. Complementizer

In Mizo, the embedded clause with an FC may occur to the left of the matrix clause

20. [CP naktuk   cu colhni a- ni- aŋ tiʔCP] zova-n   a-hria
    tomorrow def holiday 3s- be - fut comp Zova-erg 3s- know
    'Zova knows that tomorrow will be a holiday'

2. Reason marker

Sinhala

21. Tāttage   upandinə *kiyəla* api kēk hæduwa
    Father's birthday   quot   we cake made
    'We made a cake on father's birthday'
(i.e., 'since it was his birthday,' or 'realizing it was his birthday')

(Gair 2003:807)

3. Purpose marker

The quotative FC is a conjunctive participial form of the verb *to say* in

Kokborok

22. aŋ khumti nɔ nai- na hɨn-ɨi phai-kha
    i Khumti acc see- inf say-cpm(quot) come- pst
    'I came in order to see Khumti'

(Subbarao *et.al.*2010:29)

4. Identifier

Marathi

23. tyā gāwāt   widzay *mhanūn/*   *asa* ek   mulgā malā bhetla
    that town.loc Vijay   quot (identifier) that one boy I.dat meet.pst.3sm
    'In that town I met a boy named Vijay'

<div align="right">(Pandharipande 1997:6)</div>

2.3.3 POSITION OF OCCURRENCE OF IC AND FC –CLAUSE

The canonical position of FC (quotative) clause in SALs is the same as the position
in which the DO occurs

$[s_{1.....} [_{CP} s_2 \text{ COMP}] VP_1 s_1]$

It can occur to the right of the verb of the matrix clause

$[s_{1......} VP_1 [_{CP} s_2 \text{ COMP}] Ss_1]$

It can occur to the left of the verb of the matrix clause

$[s_1 [_{cp} s_2 \text{ COMP}] ...... VP_1 s_1]$

An IC-clause cannot occur clause-internally in any of the SALs
An IC-clause cannot occur to the left of the matrix clause in any SALs

2.4 COMPLEMENT CLAUSES AND COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES IN TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE – R.M.W.DIXON (2008)

According to Dixon, in many languages, certain verbs can take a clause, instead of an
NP, as core arguments. He called this true complement clause. He states that the set of
verbs which may take a complement clause as an argument is severely restricted and
labelled those verbs as R. The verbs in set R typically includes 'see', 'hear', 'know',
'believe', and 'like'. Though the composition may vary, complement taking verbs (set R)
is found in all languages. Dixon claims that there are typologically three types of
languages regarding complementation:

1. Languages employing only the true complement clauses.

2. Languages with a mix of complement clauses and complementation strategies.

3. Languages devoid of complement clauses and complementation strategies.

Dixon claims that languages which lack true complement clauses constructions will employ the following complementation strategies:

2.4.1 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION STRATEGY

In serial verb construction (SVC), two (or sometimes more) verbs function together like a single predicate and are conceived of as describing a single action. The most common variety of SVC is asymmetrical, with a Major member (covering a wide range of verbs) and a Minor member (one of a small set of verbs). The general rule is that all the verbs in SVC should have the same subject.

2.4.2. RELATIVE CLAUSE STRATEGY

In relative clause strategy, verbs that are not from the set R is predicate within a relative clause which modifies the head noun of an NP, which in turn is an argument of the main clause, whose predicate is a verb of set R.

Eg: - language: Dryibal

24. ŋaja$_A$ bura-n   [gayu-ŋga nyalŋga$_S$ wanda -ŋu]$_O$
    1sg see-PST   cradle-LOC child   hang-REL
    'I saw the child hanging in a cradle.'

Note that a relative clause is marked by –ŋu(the verbal suffix) instead of a tense aspect mood ending in Dryibal.

2.4.3 NOMINALIZATION STRATEGY

According to Dixon, languages lacking a full range of complement clause constructions will often employ some kind of nominalization as a complement strategy. He discusses three types of Nominalization strategies:

1. Verbs, adjectives or complement clauses are nominalised to describe a process and the results. The result being optional.

2. Nominalization of verb-plus-object.

3. Nominalization of the whole clause.

2.4.4 COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES INVOLVING LINKED CLAUSES

In linked clause strategies, verbs in different clauses are linked together within a sentence, neither being embedded within the other. He explains three possibilities:

1. Apposition: the two clauses may be in apposition (parataxis) with an NP or pronoun or demonstrative- which is one argument of the clause that include complement-taking verb (from set R) - having reference to the entire apposed clause.

2. Clause chaining: in clause chaining strategy, a number of clauses referring to distinct but related events are placed in sequence. There is one main clause, marked for the full set of verbal categories. Other clauses may just mark whether they have the same or different arguments to a following clause.

3. Purposive linking: Languages which lack a Potential complement clause construction may use purposive clause linking as a complement strategy. Verbs which take a purposive complementation strategy are often intransitive. In English, purposive linking complementation clause is marked by '*to*'.

CHAPTER - 3

MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND DISTRIBUTION OF COMPLEMENTIZERS

In this chapter, the languages under study are analysed under two sub-headings. The first section is an attempt to give the morphological analysis of the complementizers. According to Subbarao (2012, 23), complementizer is a functional category like tense and aspect, and is normally a 'grammaticalized form' that is devoid of any semantic content. Based on this, the complementizers in the languages under study have been analysed on whether they function as:

1. Quotative
2. Verbal Conjunct (VC)
3. Nominalizer
4. Deictic marker
5. Tense and Aspect markers
6. Case Marker.
7. Verb 'do' grammaticalized to function as a complementizer.

The second section gives an analysis of the distributions of the complementizers in the different types of complement clauses viz;

1. Finite Embedded clauses
   1.1 Non-Purposive
   1.2 Purposive
2. Non –Finite Clauses
   2.1 Participial Clauses
   2.2 Gerundival Clauses
   2.3 Infinitival Clauses
       2.3.1 Want verb
       2.3.2 Purposive clauses

Note that only the distribution of the complementizers are analysed here in this chapter. Cases where the complementizers do not occur in certain complement types are not mentioned. Those cases are looked into and analysed in the next chapter.

3.1 LANGUAGE: AO

3.1.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

There are three types of complementizers in Ao: *ta, pa* and *tsə*

3.1.1.1 *ta* : *ta* in Ao has many functions. It functions as an adjectiviliser. Sentences (1) and (2) are illustrative. *Ta* has an allophone *te* which functions as negation and classifier in labelling body parts. Sentences (3) to (8) are illustrative. Another function is that of a complementizer in complement clauses.[2] Sentence (9) is illustrative.

(i) *ta* as adjectiviser:

1.	ta	jung	2.	ta	sen
	ta	ʧuŋ		ta	sən
	ADR	*good*		*ADR*	*new*
	'Good.'			'New.'	

(ii) *ta* as negation

3.	te	-chi	4.	ta	-ro
	ta	-ʧi		ta	rɔ
	NEG	*eat*		*NEG*	*come*
	'Don't eat.'			'Don't come.'	

(iii) *ta* as classifier in body parts naming

5.	te	nuk	6.	te	bang
	tə	nək		tə	paŋ
	CLR	*eye*		*CLR*	*mouth*
	'Eye.'			'Mouth.'	

7.	te	ka	8.	te	tsüng
	tə	ka		tə	tsəŋ
	CLR	*hand*		*CLR*	*foot*
	'Hand.'			'Foot.'	

(iv) *ta* as complementizer:

9.	Watiba	-i	guitar	atümür	ta	ni	angashi
	[watiba	-i	kitar	atəməɹ	**ta**]	ni	aŋaʃi
	Watiba	*-SCM*	*guitar*	*play*	*COMP*	*I*	*heard*

'I heard that Watiba plays the guitar.'

---

[2] Through personal communication with Dr.Pangersenla. 14.06.2019@12:00noon.

3.1.1.2 **pa** is derived from the deictic marker *ipa*. The following example is illustrative:

10. iba   ki
    ipa   ki
    that   house
    'That house.'

Pa also functions as the nominalizer. Sentence below is illustrative:

11. Tsü   awa   tsü-ba   tajung
    tsə   awa   **tsə-pa**   tatʃuŋ
    water   swim   COMP-NOZ   good
    'Swimming is good.'

3.1.1.3 **tsə** is the future marker

12. pa   aru   tsü
    pa   aɹu   tsə
    He   come   FUT
    'He will come.'

3.1.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

3.1.2.1 Complementizer **ta** occurs in non-purposive clause.

13. Naro   -la   -i   Akhum   -la   arur   ta   meteta   lir
    naɹo   -la   -i   [akəm   -la   aɹuɹ   **ta**]   mətəta   lir
    Naro   -FEM   -SCM   Akhum   -FEM   come   COMP   know   ASP
    'Narola knows that Akhumla is coming. '

14. Aren   -la   arutsü   ta   Asen   -i   ashi
    [aɹən   -la   aɹu-tsə   **ta**]   asən   -i   aʃi
    Aren   -FEM   come-FUT   COMP   Asen   -SCM   said
    'Asen said that Aren will come.'

3.1.2.2 Complementizer **pa** occurs in participial clause.

15. Mapang   shitak   nung   chiyong   -ba   yimya   süpaang
    mapaŋ   ʃitak   nuŋ   tʃijuŋ   **-pa**   jimja   səpaŋ
    time   right   PP   eat   COMP   habit   do
    'Make a habit of eating on time.'

16. Shi   talila   aji   -ba   majung
    ʃi   talila   atʃi   **-pa**   matʃuŋ
    meat   many   eat   COMP   bad
    'Eating too much meat is bad.'

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3.1.2.3 Complementizer *tsə* occurs in gerundival and purposive clauses.

(i) Gerundival clauses

    17.   Moko   achi -tsüba   nokdanger
           muko   atʃi **-tsə-pa**   nokdaŋər
           tobacco *eat*   *-COMP.FUT-NOZ* *prohibit*
           'Smoking is prohibited.'

    18.   Shikari   tsü   nokdanger
           ʃikari   **tsə**   nokdaŋər
           hunting *COMP* *prohibit*
           'Hunting is prohibited.'

(ii) Purposive clauses

    19. Ni soruchiok tsü   ao
         ni [suɹutʃok **tsə**]   ao
         I   *cook*   *COMP.FUT* *go*
         'I went to cook.'

3.2 LANGUAGE: CHOKRI

3.2.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

      There are four types of complementizers in Chokri namely *ɔ, kəti, ɔ-kəti* and *ɔ-de*.

3.2.1.1 *ɔ*: This is the quotative form of the verb 'say'. The orthographic representation of the complementizer *ɔ* is not overt. It bears a fall-rise contour tone. The *tɔ̀* bearing the fall tone represents the future tense and the rising tone in the vowel represents the complementizer. Orthographically, the future marker **tɔ̀** and the quotative **ɔ́** are merged into one and the tone of the quotative is carried forward to the future marker. Thus, it can be written as,

tɔ̀ + ɔ́ = tɔ̌

When it occurs in a complement clause, it functions as a quotative as well as a complementizer. The following examples are illustratives:

    20. Pu voto
         pu vɔ-tɔ̀
         he *come-FUT*
         'He will come.'

    21. Pu   voto   sü
         pu   vo   - tɔ̌:   sə
         He *come* *-FUT. QUOT/COMP* *ASP*
         'He said that he will come.'

3.2.1.2 **kəti :** *kəti* was formerly written as *kətsə,* where *kə-* is the nominalizer and *-tsə* is the deictic marker *that.* It may be mentioned here that the language is undergoing change and they have adopted *kəti* instead of *kətsə.* However, they are yet to adopt that change in the deictic marker.

The following examples are illustrative:

22. Niepo -o   n   khrü -yo
     ɲepɔ   -ɔ   n   khrə -jɔ
     God   *-DEF* *you* *love* *-HAB*
     'God loves you.'

23. Niepo -o   kü-   khrü
     ɲepɔ   -ɔ   kə-   khrə
     God   *-DEF* *NOZ* *love*
     'God's love.'

24. Lesida   tsüo
     lesida   tsɔɔ
     book   *that*
     'That book.'

3.2.1.3 **ɔ-kəti:** This complementizer is a combination of the quotative *ɔ* and the complementizer **kəti.** It always occurs with the future marker.

3.2.1.4 **ɔ-de:** *ɔ-de* is a combination of the quotative *ɔ* and the Verbal Conjunct (VC) **de.**

The following example illustrates **de** as the conjunctive participial marker.

25. Azo vo   de ta   -te
     azo vɔ   de ta   -te
     azo *come* *VC* *go* *-PST*
     'Azo came and left.'

3.2.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

3.2.2.1 **kəti:** *kəti* functions as an initial as well as a final complemetizer. It occurs in non-purposive clauses without the future marker, the participial and gerundival clauses. The following examples are illustrative:

(i) Non-Purposive Clauses

Kəti as a final complementizer

26. Azu   ce   -lü ba   küti   I se   -va
     [azu   ce   -lə ba   **kəti**] i se   -va
     mother *home* *-PP* *LOC* *COMP* *I* *know* *- PROG*
     'I know that my mother is at home.'

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27. I Atale Phek lü voto küti se
   i [atale phek lə vo- tš̌: **kəti**] se
   I Atale Phek PP *go-FUT. QUOT* COMP *heard*
   'I heard that Atale is going to Phek.'

Kəti as an initial complementizer

28. I se küti Azu ce -lü ba
   i se [**kəti** azu ce -lə ba]
   I heard COMP *mother home* -PP LOC
   'I heard that my mother is at home.'

29. I se küti Atale Phek lü voto va
   i se [**kəti** atale phek lə vo- tš̌: va
   I heard COMP *Atale Phek PP go-FUT.QUOT* PROG
   'I heard that Atale is going to Phek.'

(ii) Participial clauses

30. I-e künalü thüzo ti küti ngo
   i-e [kənalə thəzɔ ti **kəti**] ŋɔ
   I -SCM cat mouse eat COMP *saw*
   'I saw the cat eating the mouse.'

31. I natsio thüva kra küti se
   i [natsio thəva kra **kəti**] se
   I baby night cry COMP *hear*
   'I heard the baby crying at night.'

(iii) Gerundival Clauses

32. Rühu küti unü
   rəhu **kəti** unə
   hunt COMP *like*
   'Hunting is fun.'

33. Rühu küti unü
   rəhu **kəti** unə
   hunt COMP *like*
   'Hunting is fun.'

3.2.2.2 **ɔ-kəti:** ɔ-kəti functions as a final complementizer in non-purposive clauses with the future marker. The following examples are illustrative:

34. Atale Phek lü voto   küti i se
    [atale phek lə vo- tɔ̌:   **kəti**] i se
    Atale Phek PP *come-FUT.COMP* COMP *I heard*
    'I heard that Atale is going to Phek.'

35. Abi -e   Anga   voto   küti se -va
    abi -e   [aŋa   vo- tɔ̌:   **kəti**] se -va
    Abi *-SCM*   *Anga*   *come-FUT.COMP* COMP *know* *-PROG*
    'Abi knows that Anga is coming.'

3.2.2.3 *ɔ:de* functions as a final complementizer in the non-purposive clauses with the verb *say* and the purposive clauses. The following examples are illustrative:

(i) Non- Purposive Clause

36. Pu vo -to   de   po sü
    pu [vo -tɔ̌:   **de**]   po sə
    he *go* *-FUT. COMP* COMP *say* *ASP*
    'He said that he will come.'

37. Atalü tsüzi   kühuce lü voto   ode   po va
    atalə tsəzi   kəhuce lə vo--tɔ̌:   **de**   po va
    Atale *tonight*   *church* PP *go.FUT .COMP* COMP *say* *ASP*
    'Atalü said that she will go to church tonight.'

(ii) Purposive Clause

38. I mha cho to   de   vo
    i [mha cho -tɔ̌:   **de**]   vo
    I *food* *cook* *-FUT. COMP* COMP *go*
    'I went to cook.'

39. I lesi phi to   de   vo
    i [lesi phi -tɔ̌:   **de**]   vo
    I *book* *read* *-FUT. COMP* COMP *go*
    'I went to read.'

3.2.2.4 ɔ : The quotative functions as a final complementizer in non-purposive clause

40. Pu   voto   sü
    pu   [vɔ́ - tɔ̆]   sə
    He   go-FUT.QUOT/COMP   ASP
    'He said that he will come.'

3.3 LANGUAGE: KHIAMNIUNGAN

3.3.1. MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

Khiamniungan have five complementizers: ***tə, ao ,kə, tsən*** and ***nai.***

3.3.1.1 tə*: tə* is the accusative case. The following examples are illustrative:

41. Koi   thsam -tü   ve   khu -wan
    koi   tshʌm -tə   we   khu -wan
    Koi   book   -ACC   read   go   PST
    'Koi has gone to read the book.'

42. Mono üh   yahpheng tü   thik
    munu ə̃ʔ   jʌpheŋ   tə   thik
    mono SCM   football   ACC   kick
    'Mono kicked the ball.'

3.3.1.2 ***ao:*** *ao* is the purposive linker.

43. Apa   shi   -e
    ʌpʌ   ʃi   -e
    he   come -FUT
    'He will come.'

44. Apa   ahe   ao   shi   -e
    ʌpʌ   ʌ-he   ao   ʃi   -e
    he   NOZ-eat PRL come -FUT
    'He will come to eat.'

3.3.1.3 ***kə:*** *kə* is an intensifier.

45. Nekong nü   tsokü shioko
    nekoŋ   nə   tsokə ʃioko
    bag   SCM   INT   clean
    'The bag is very clean.'

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46. Pouhai nü tsokü laiuko
pouhʌi nə tsokə laiuko
man *SCM* *INT* *tall*
'The man is very tall.'

3.3.1.4 tsən: **tsən** is the progressive form of the verb.

47. Thsam nou ni apakou hakü ve -tsün thsokü soung
tshʌm nɔʔ ɲi ʌpʌkou hakə we -tsən thsokə su:ŋ
book *DET* *you* *person* *with* *read* *PROG* *INT* *big*
'The book which you are reading with the person is very big.'

48. Koi yahpheng melothso nüko loum -tsün i-yan
koi jʌpheŋ melothso nəko lu:m -tsən i-jan
Koi *football* *boy* *with* *play* *PROG* *lost*
'The football which Koi is playing with the boy is lost.'

3.3.1.5 nai: **nai** is the postposition.

49. Apa thsam -ve -nai mein
ʌpʌ tshʌm -we -nai mi:n
he *book* *-read* *-PP* *good*
'He is good in studies.'

50. Ngo yam ahen -nai khun
ŋɔ jʌm ehen -nʌi khun
I *road* *narrow* *-PP* *went*
'I went on the narrow road.'

3.3.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

3.3.2.1 **tə** :Complementizer **tə** occurs with non-purposive clauses only. The following examples are illustrative:

(i) Non- Purposive Clause

51. Ngo jü nyiu tsam ai noin tü ngen
ŋɔ [tsə ɲiu tsʌm ʌi nɔin tə] ŋen
I *my* *mother* *house* *PP* *have* *COMP* *know*
'I know that my mother is at home.'

52. Ngo Tsuham Bangkok ai eiuanji tü loun
ŋɔ [tsuhʌm bæŋkɔk ʌi iwʌnʧi tə] lun
I *Tsuham* *Bangkok* *PP* *going* *COMP* *heard*
'I heard that Tsuham is going to Bangkok.'

3.3.2.2 *ao* : Complementizer *ao* occurs in non-finite clauses viz. participial clauses, the infinitives, and gerunds. The following examples are illustrative:

(i) Participial Clause

53. Atao nouko hesiu ao   saisüle ashan
    ʌtʌo   nukɔ   heʃiu **aɔ**   saisəle ʌʃʌn
    Time   on   eating COMP habit   make
    'Make a habit of eating on time.'

(ii) Infinitives

    Want verb

54. Tongkhem tsam-ai   shi ao   aium
    tɔŋkhem   tsʌm-ʌi   ʃi   **aɔ**   a:ɯm
    Tongkhem   house-LOC go   COMP wants
    'Tongkhem wants to go home.'

 (iv)   Gerundival Clause

    Liuhoum ao   tsüshio-e
    liuhum   **aɔ**   tsəʃio-e
    hunting   COMP prohibited
    'Hunting is prohibited.'

3.3.2.3 *kə* : Complementizer *kə* occurs in participial clauses like the complementizer *ao*. However, in the case of *kə*, the verb is always duplicated.

55. Atao nouko hesiu-hesiu kü   saisüle ashan
    ʌtʌo   nukɔ   heʃiu-heʃiu **kə**   sʌisəle ʌʃʌn
    Time   PP   eating   COMP habit   make
    'Make a habit of eating on time.'

The complementizer *kə* can occur with an intransitive verb whereas the complementizer *ao* cannot, as illustrated below:

56. Ngo methso nou asou shap-shap kü   loun
    ŋɔ   [meʧhɔ nu   ʌsɔ   ʃʌp-ʃʌp   **kə**]   lun
    I   baby   DEF night crying   COMP heard
    'I heard the baby crying at night.'

57. * Ngo methso nou asou shap   ao   loun
    ŋɔ   [meʧhɔ nu   ʌsɔ   ʃʌp   **aɔ**]   lun
    I   baby   DEF night crying COMP heard
    'I heard the baby crying at night.'

3.3.2.4 **tsən** : Complementizer **tsən** occurs with gerunds. The following examples are illustrative:

58. Neh   tsokü   ahe-tsün   tsü-mei
    neʔ   tsɔkə   ʌ-he-**tsən**   tsə-me
    meat   too much   NOZ-eat-COMP   NEG-good
    'Eating too much meat is bad.'

59. Aliye   - tsün   tsü-mei
    ʌ-lije   -**tsən**   tsə-me
    NOZ -fight -COMP   NEG-good
    'Fighting is bad.'

3.3.2.5 **nai** and **tsən** :There are two sets in the distribution of complementizers **nai** and **tsən**. In the first set, **nai** occurs in cleft sentences and **tsən** in gerundival constructions, with or without objects. This is illustrated in sentences (60) – (63).In the second set, **nai** occurs in infinitives when there is an overt occurrence of an object, as illustrated in sentence (64) and **tsən** occurs in infinitives in the absence of an overt object, as illustrated in sentence (65).

Set I

nai in cleft sentences with or without an overt object.

60. Ashio   nai   tsü-mei
    ʌʃiɔ   **nʌi**   tsə-me
    drink   COMP   NEG -good
    'It is bad to drink.'

61. Theng-shio   nai   tsü-mei
    theŋ-ʃio   **nʌi**   tsə-me
    alcohol-drink   COMP   NEG -good
    'It is bad to drink alcohol.'

tsən in gerundival constructions with or without an overt object.

62. Ashio   tsün   tsü-mei
    ʌʃio   **tsən**   tsə-me
    drink   COMP   NEG -good
    'Drinking is bad.'

63. Theng-shio   tsün tsü-mei
    theŋ-ʃio   **tsən** tsə-me
    alcohol-drink   COMP   NEG -good
    'Drinking alcohol is bad.'

Set II

Nai in infinitival constructions with an overt object.

64. Theng-shio   nai   tsü-mei
    theŋ-ʃio   **nʌi**   tsə-me
    alcohol- drink COMP   NEG -good
    'To drink alcohol is bad.'

tsən in infinitival constructions without an overt object.

65. Ashio   tsün   tsü-mei
    ʌʃio   **tsən**   tsə-me
    drink   COMP NEG-good
    'To drink is bad.'

3.3.2.6   *tsən* **and** *tə* : Complementizers *tsən* and *tə* can co-occur in the embedded clause of a finite sentence. This phenomenon is also seen in Tenyidie (Kevichüsa, 2007, 43)

66. Haowon   khokiang   khong-tsün   khiaunia   ame   tsak   tü   ngo   ngen
    [hʌɔwon   khɔkiʌŋ   khɔŋ-**tsən**   khɯɲiʌ   ʌme   tʃʌk   **tə**]   ŋɔ   ɲen
    Haowon   guitar   play- COMP   person   good   one   COMP   I   heard
    'I know that Haowon is a good guitarist.

3.4 Language:Konyak

3.4.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

Konyak have three complementizers: *pu, sə* and *pu-a.*

3.4.1.1 *pu :* This complementizer is the nominalizer as the following example illustrate:

67. Kahwang   -a   meinang
    kaʔwʌ   -a   mainʌŋ
    God   SCM   good
    'God is good.'

68. Kahwang   mei   -pu
    kaʔwʌ   mai   -pu
    God   good   NOZ
    'God's goodness.'

69. Tüo   kahtang   lan   shemaiyaoma   nang
    tau   kaʔtaŋ   lan   ʃəmaijaoma   naŋ
    the   mountain   PLU   beautiful   ASP
    'The mountains are beautiful.'

70. Tüo   kahtang   shemeipu
    tau   kaʔtaŋ   ʃəmai-pu
    the   mountain   beautiful-NOZ
    'The beauty of the mountain.'

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3.4.1.2 *sə*: A morphological analysis of *sə* shows that it does not fall under any of the 7 mentioned functional categories. Hence, it has been categorised as other functional category.

3.4.1.3 *pu-a* : This complementizer is a combination of the nominalizer *pu* and the subject case marker *a.* Sentences (67) and (68) above are illustrative.

3.4.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

3.4.2.1 *pu* function as a final complementizer in participial clause.

i) Participial Clause

71. Aton -e   Shamong   mei   hah   pu   ngi
     aton -ə   [ʃamoŋ   mai   haʔ   **pu**]   ŋei
     Aton   *SCM*   *Shamong*   *meat*   *eat*   *COMP*   *saw*
     'Aton saw Shamong eating the meat.'

72. Cinema   te   tai   pu   tao-e   lengnang
     [sinima   te   tai   **pu**]   tao   leŋ-naŋ
     Cinema   *PP*   *going*   *COMP*   *i -SCM*   *like-ASP*
     'I like going to the cinema.'

3.4.2.2 *sə* is a final complementizer which occurs in non-purposive and purposive clauses.

ii) Non-Purposive Clause

73. Tao -e   Aton   Mon   te   tai   -lak   she   jai   -nang
     tao -ə   [aton   mɔn   te   tai   -lak   **sə**]   tʃai   -naŋ
     I   *SCM*   *Aton*   *Mon*   *PP*   *go*   *-FUT*   *COMP*   *hear*   *-ASP*
     "I heard that Aton is going to Mon."

74. Aton -e   shanong   pei   -lak   she   i
     aton -ə   [sanoŋ   pai   -lak   **sə**]   i
     Aton   *SCM*   *Shanong*   *come*   *FUT*   *COMP*   *say*
     'Aton said that Shanong will come.'

iii) Purposive Clause

75. Tao   nük   hah   -lak   she   pei
     tao   [nək   haʔ   lak   **sə**]   pai
     I   *food*   *eat*   *-FUT*   *COMP*   *come*
     'I came to eat.'

3.4.2.3 **pu-a** occurs in Gerundival clause.

iv) Gerundival Clause

76. Tela   pu-a   ye   -mei
    tela   **pu-a**   je   -mai
    fight   *COMP*   *NEG*   *-good*
    "Fighting is bad."

77. Yeang   yat   pu-a   mei   -nang
    jəŋ   jat   **pu-a**   mai   -naŋ
    water   *swim*   *COMP*   *good*   *-TNS*
    "Swimming is good."

3.5 LANGUAGE: LOTHA

3.5.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

Lotha have two complementizers **tɔ** and **ʤiʤɔ**.

3.5.1.1. **tɔ** : A morphological analysis of **tɔ** shows that it does not fall under any of the 7 mentioned functional categories. Hence, it has been categorised as other functional category.

3.5.1.2 **ʤiʤɔ** is a combination of the deictic marker ʤi (that) and **ʤɔ** is the definite determiner as is illustrated in sentences (79) and (80). It also function as a case marker as illustrated in sentences (81).

78. Kako   79. Kako   jo
    kakɔ   kako   ʤɔ
    book   *book*   *DET*
    'Book.'   'The book.'

80. Oki   ji   jo   teria
    Oki   ʤi   ʤɔ   teɹia
    house   *that*   *DET*   *small*
    'That house is small'

81. Potsow   jo   mmhona
    potso   ʤɔ   m:mhona
    God   *SCM*   *good*
    'God is good.'

3.5.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

3.5.2.1 *tɔ* is a final complementizer and it occurs in non-purposive clause. Following examples are illustrative:

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

82. Therali jo   Wokha -i   yiala to   ana zocho
    [theɹali ʤɔ   wokha   i   jiala **tɔ**]   ana zɔchɔ
    Therali SCM *Wokha* PP   *go*   COMP *I*   *heard*
    'I heard that Therali is going to Wokha.'

83. Therali na   tsata   to   Soren na   ntsia
    [therali na   tsata   **tɔ**]   soren na   ntʃia
    Therali SCM *coming* COMP *Soren* SCM *know*
    'Soren knows that Therali is coming.'

3.5.2.2 *ʤidʒɔ* : *ʤidʒɔ* occurs in gerundival clauses. The following examples are illustrative:

ii) Gerundival Clause

84. Ojü   hoo   jijo   mmhona
    ocə   ho   **ʤidʒo**   m:mhona
    water *swim* COMP   *good*
    'Swimming is good.'

85. Rotao   jijo   nmhon
    ɹotao   **ʤidʒo**   n- mhon
    fighting   COMP   NEG- *good*
    'Fighting is bad.'

3.6 LANGUAGE: PHOM

3.6.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

There are two types of complementizers in Phom: *ʃei* and *pəjə*. Both functions as final complementizers.

3.6.1.1 *ʃei* : A morphological analysis of *ʃei* shows that it does not fall under any of the 7 mentioned functional categories. Hence, it has been categorised as other functional category.

3.6.1.2 *pəyə*: *pə* is the nominalizer. *jə* could not be morphologically analysed.

86. Laai   meei   -pü   hük
    lai   mi   -pə   hək
    book   good   -NOZ   one
    'A good book.'

87. Hapa   laai   meei   angke
    hapa   lai   mi   aŋke
    this   book   good   ?
    'This book is good.'

3.6.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

3.6.2.1 *ʃei* is a final complemnetizer that occur in the non-purposive clause. (note: *ʃei* always occur with the locative)

88. Ngei   ngelei   onyiü   shem   mei   nyüke   shei   nying   nyeih
    ŋəi   [ŋəlai   uɲə   ʃam   məi   ɲəke   **ʃei**]   ɲiŋ   ɲeiʔ
    I   my   mother   home   PP   LOC   COMP   know   PROG
    "I know that my mother is at home."

3.6.2.2 *pəyə* functions as a final complementizer in non-purposive, participial and gerundival clauses. The following examples are illustrative:

(i)   Non-Purposive Clause

89. Chaiba   bangkok   lei   sha   -püyü   ngei   -i   tan   -teke
    [ʧaiba   bæŋkok   lai   ʃa   **pəjə**]   ŋei   -e   tan   -təke
    chaiba   bangkok   SCM   go   COMP   I   SCM   hear   PST
    "I heard that Chaiba is going to Bangkok."

90. Alen   heih   -püyü   chaiba   -i   nying   -nyüke
    [alen   heʔ   **pəjə**]   ʧaiba   -e   ɲiŋ   ɲəke
    alen   come   COMP   chaiba   SCM   know   PROG
    'Chaiba knows that Alen is coming.'

(ii) Participial Clause

91. Nyiak   kü   naü   thaüp   -püyü   nge   -i   tan   -teke
    [ɲak   kə   naə   thap   **pəjə**]   ŋei   -e   tan   -təke
    night   PP   baby   cry   COMP   I   -SCM hear   -PST
    'I heard the baby crying at night.'

(iii) Gerundival Clause

92. Awlak   hup   -püyü   kham   nyieh
    ɔlak   həp   **pəjə**] kham   -ɲeiʔ
    tobacco *inhale* *COMP* *prohibited* *PROG*
    "Smoking is prohibited."

3.7 LANGUAGE: POCHURY

3.7.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

Pochury have two complementizers ***ta kəsa*** and ***n:ta***.

3.7.1.1 ***nta***: ***nta*** is derived from the verbal conjunct (VC) *nə*, future marker *na* and *ta* . The initial sound of *nə* and *na* are merged into one which results into /*n:*/. Thus, /*n:*/ itself performs two functions; one as the verbal conjunct and the other as the future marker. To this is added /*ta*/. /*ta*/ does not function like a quotative but appears to be similar to the quotative *ʒ:* in Tenyidie[3] and could not be morphologically analyzed. Structurally, it can be written as:

    n(a) + n(ə) + ta = n:ta
    FUT   + VC   + ?   = COMP

The following examples are illustrative:

93. Ma   ru   na
    ma   ru   na
    he   *come*   *FUT*
    'He will come.'

94. Ma   ru   nü   te   -dhuo
    ma   ru   nə   te   - thjɔ
    he   *come*   *VC*   *go*   *-PST*
    'He came and left.'

3.7.1.2 ***ta kəsa*** is a combination of two morphemes, ***ta*** and ***kəsa***.

3.7.1.3 ***kəsa***: ***kəsa*** is a combination of the nominalizer ***kə-*** and the verb ***sa*** meaning 'do' which has been grammaticalised to function as a complementizer. The following examples are illustrative:

95. Avüwa   nü   mühie   -ve
    avəwa   nə   məhje   -ve
    god   *SCM*   *good*   *-ASP*
    "God is good."

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[3] Kevichüsa (2007,41-43)

96. Avüwa   kü-   mühie
    avəwa   kə-   məhje
    god   *NOZ*   *good*
    "God's goodness."

97. Etho   nüh   küro   sa   na
    itho   nə   kərɔ   sa   na
    etho   *SCM*   *work*   *do*   *FUT*
    'Etho will do the work.'

3.7.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

3.7.2.1 **ta kəsa** functions as final complementizer in non-purposive clauses and the participial clauses. The following examples are illustrative:

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

98. Esie   nü   Evi   tse   dhuo   ta   küsa   tshü   ve
    isi   nə   [ivi   tse   -thuo   **ta**   **kəsa**]   tʃə   ve
    Esie   *SCM*   *Evi*   *come*   *TNS*   *COMP*   *COMP*   *know*   *PROG*
    "Esie knows that Evi is coming."

(ii)   Participial Clause

99. Hi   Etho   asa   tsatsa   ta   küsa   ngu   -dhuo
    hi   [ithɔ   asa   tsatsa   **ta**   **kəsa**]   ŋu   -thuo
    I   *Etho*   *meat*   *eat*   *COMP*   *COMP*   *see*   *TNS*
    "I saw Etho eating the meat."

3.7.2.2 **n:ta** is a final complementizer which occur in the non-purposive clause with the verb say and the purposive clause. The following examples are illustrative:

(i) Non-Purposive Clause with verb *say*.

100. Ma   ru   nta   küza
     ma   [ru   **n:ta**]   kəza
     he   *come*   *COMP*   *say*
     'He said that he will come.'

101. John   nüh   Mary   ru   nta   küza
     ʤon   nə   [meri   ru   **n:ta**]   kəza
     John   *SCM*   *Mary*   *come*   *COMP*   *say*
     'John said that Mary will come.'

(iii)   Purposive Clause

102. Lingo   ze   nta   wa   dhuo
      liŋɔ   ze   **n:ta**   wa   thuɔ
      lingo   *sleep*   COMP   *go*   TNS
      'Lingo went to sleep.'

3.8   LANGUAGE: RENGMA

3.8.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

There are three types of complementizers in Rengma; *kə…tsə, kəthjə* and *tse*.

3.8.1.1 *kə…tsə* is a Discontinuous Morph as an occurance of an infix is obligatory . *Kə...* is the nominalizer and *tsə* is derived from the deictic marker *tsügü*. The following examples are illustrative:

103. Gwa   104. Kegwa
      wa   kə- wa
      good   *NOZ- good*
      good   Goodness

105. Ka   tsügü
      ka   tsə-gə
      house   that-DEF
      'That house.'

The infix may be an aspect marker or a main verb. Thus, the structure of *kə…tsə* can be written as:

        kə-(ASP)-(MV)-*tsə*

Where; ASP is the aspect marker

        MV is the Main Verb

        The parenthesis indicates that the two elements are in complementary distribution.

3.8.1.2 *Kəthjə*: Complementizer *kəthjə* is a combination of the nominalizer *kə*- and the verb *thjə* meaning 'do' which has been grammaticalized to function as a complementizer.

106. Ale   tha   thyü   bin   nle
      ale   tha   thjə   bĩ   n:ne
      he   *thing*   *do*   PROG   -ASP
      'He is working.'

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3.8.1.3 *tse*:   *tse* is the quotative form of the verb say as is shown in the given sentences.

107. Ale ryü   -ti   tse   zo   -shü
ale [rə   -ti   **tse]** zɔ   -ʃə
He   *come* *-FUT* *QUOT* *say* *-ASP*
'He said that he will come.'

108. Ale ryü   -ti   tse   -shü
ale [rə   -ti   **tse]**   -ʃə
He   *come* *-FUT* *QUOT*   *-ASP*
'He said that he will come.'

3.8.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZER.

3.8.2.1 Complementizer *tse* functions as a final complementizer in non-purposive and
purposive. The following examples are illustrative:

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

109. Julie   le   ryü   -ti   tse   anga   le   zo   -shü
[dʒuli le   rə   -ti   **tse]** aŋa   le   zɔ   -ʃə
Julie *SCM*   *come* *-FUT* *COMP* *Anga* *SCM*   *say*   *-ASP*
'Anga said that Julie will come.'

(ii) Purposive Clause

110. Ale boni -ti   tse   gwü   lale
ale bɔni -ti   **tse**   gə   lale
i   *cook* *-FUT* *COMP* *go*   *ASP*
'I went to cook.'

3.8.2.2 ***kə…tsə*** functions as an IC as well as an FC. In non-purposive Clauses, ***kə…tsə***
functions as an IC and in Participial Clauses, it functions as an FC. It also occurs with the
gerundival clause.

(i)   ***kə…tsə*** as an IC

111. Ale sha   ke-   bin - tsü   Ajvü   le   kaki   bin   nle
ale ʃa   **[kə**   bĩ   **-tsə**   aʒu   le   kaki   bĩ   n:ne]
I   *know* *COMP* *ASP* *-COMP* *mother* *SCM*   *house* *LOC*   *-ASP*
'I know that my mother is at home.'

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(ii) *kə…tsə* as an FC

112.
Julie	le	cake	tyü	ke -	bin	- tsü	ale	hu	-le
[dʒuli	le	kek	tjə	**kə**	bĩ	-tsə]	ale	jhu	-le
julie	*SCM*	*cake*	*eat*	*COMP*	*ASP*	*-COMP*	*I*	*see*	*-ASP*

'I saw Julie eating the cake.'

(iii) *ketsə* in Gerundival Clause.

113.
Thyü	chonri	**ke -**	tyü	**- tsü**	le	gwa	mvü
thjə	kənʒə	kə-	tjə	-tsə	le	wa	mvə
meat	*plenty*	*COMP-*	*eat*	*-COMP*	*ASP*	*good*	*NEG*

'Eating too much meat is bad.'

3.8.2.3 *kəthjə* functions as an Initial complementizer (IC) in non-purposive clauses and as an Final Complementizer (FC) in participial clause. It also occurs in the gerundival clauses. The following examples are illustrative:

(i) *kəthjə* as an IC

114.
Ale	shabin	kethyü	ajvü	le	kaki	bin	nle
ale	ʃabi	[**kəthjə**	aʒu	le	kaki	bĩ	n:ne]
I	*know*	*COMP*	*my mother*	*SCM*	*house*	*PROG*	*ASP*

'I know that my mother is at home.'

(ii) *kəthjə* as an FC

115.
Julie	le	cake	tyü	kethyü	ale	hu	le
[dʒuli	le	kek	tjə	**kəthjə**]	ale	hu	le
julie	*SCM*	*cake*	*eat*	*COMP*	*I*	*see*	*ASP*

'I saw Julie eating the cake.'

(iii) *kəthjə* in Gerundival Clause

116.
Kega	kethyü	le	gwa	mvü
kəga	**kəthjə**	le	wa	mvə
fighting	*COMP*	*ASP*	*good*	*NEG*

'Fighting is bad.'

3.9 LANGUAGE: SANGTAM

3.9.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

Sangtam have two types of complementizers: ***pə*** and ***patsə***

3.9.1.1 ***pə*** is the Verbal Conjunct . The following example is illustrative:

117. Alipa ro -pü tsi -cho
ʌlipʌ ro -pə tʃi -tʃo
he *come* *-VC* *leave* *-PST*
'He came and left.'

3.9.1.2 ***patsə*** is a combination of the nominalizer ***pa*** and ***tsə*** is derived from the deictic marker '*hatsə*'. It also functions as a case marker. The following examples are illustrative:

118. Abüdongba atsa -ba
ʌpədoŋpʌ ʌtsʌ -pa
God *good* *-NOZ*
'God's goodness. '

119. hatsü kyütih
hatsə kjəti
that *bag*
'That bag.'

120. Abüdongba tsü atsa
ʌpədoŋpʌ tsə ʌtsʌ
God *-SCM* *good*
'God is good.'

3.9.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

3.9.2.1 ***pə*** occurs in Non-Purposive clause.

121. Ihnü itpa kuhla lile pü müdhele
i:nə [itpa kula lile **pə**] məthele
I *mother* *home* *LOC* *COMP* *know*
'I know that my mother is at home.'

122. Ihnü Alipa Bangkok lang würe pü yuchikho
i:nə [alipa laŋ vəre **pə**] juchiko
I *Alipa* *Bangkok* *PP* *go* *COMP* *hear*
'I heard that Alipa is goin to Bangkok.'

3.9.2.2 *patsə* ocuurs in gerundival and participial clauses

(i) Gerundival Clause

123. Shuh   jüm   batsü   longnyüp   -le
     ∫u   t∫am   **patsə**   loŋɲəp   -le
     meat *hunt* COMP   *fun*   PRS
     'Hunting is fun.'

(ii) Participial Clause

124. Akhunga   amala   tra   batsü   ihnü   yuchiko
     akuŋa   amala   tra   **patsə**   inə   juchiko
     baby   *night* *crying* COMP   *I*   *heard*
     'I heard the baby crying at night.'

3.10 LANGUAGE: SÜMI

3.10.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

Sümi have 3 complementizers: ***ipi, akeu*** and ***keu***.

A morphological analysis shows that the complementizers do not fall under any of the 7 mentioned categories. Hence, it has been categorised as the other functional caterory.

3.10.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

3.10.2.1 ***ipi*** occurs in Non-Purposive Clause

125. Iza   ye   akilo ani   ipi   ino   ithi   ani
     [iza   je   akilɔ aɲi   **ipi**]   inɔ   ithi   aɲi
     mother SCM   *home* LOC   COMP   *I*   *know* PROG
     'I know that my mother is at home.'

126. John   ye   Mary   ighiniche   ani   ipi   ithi   ani
     [ʤɔn   je   meri   iɣiɲit∫e   aɲi   **ipi**] ithi   aɲi
     John   SCM   *Mary* *come*   FUT   COMP   *know* PROG
     'John knows that Mary is coming.'

3.10.2.2 ***akeu*** occurs in Participial Clause

127. Anga   no   qa   akeu   John   no   chilu
     [aŋa   nɔ   qa   **akeu**] ʤɔn   nɔ   t∫ilu
     baby   SCM   *cry*   COMP   *John* SCM   *heard*
     'John heard the baby crying.'

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128. Mary   no   ashi   chu   akeu   John   no   ithulu
     [meri   nɔ   aʃi   cu   **akeu**] ʤɔn   nɔ   ithulu
     mary SCM   *meat* *eat*   COMP   *John* SCM   *saw*
     'John saw Mary eating the meat.'

3.10.2.3 *keu* occurs in Gerundival Clause

129. Azü   gha   keu   ye   aloe
     azə   ɣa   **keu**   je   alɔ-e
     water *swim*   COMP   SCM   *good*
     'Swimming is good.'

130. Kichighi   keu   ye   alomoe
     kiʧiɣi   **keu**   je   alɔ-mɔ-e
     fight   COMP   SCM   *good-NEG-PST*
     'Fighting is bad.'

3.11 LANGUAGE: YIMCHUNGER

3.11.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

Yimchunger have three types of complementizers: ***de, khi*** and ***bə.***

3.11.1.1 *khi* is the nominalizer. The following examples are illustrative:

131. Ari   nü   jaktsü
     ari   nə   ʧʌktsə
     Ari SCM   *beautiful*
     'Ari is beautiful.'

132. Alomi   jaktsükhi
     ʌlɔmi   ʧʌktsə-khi
     world   *beautiful-NOZ*
     'The beauty of the world.'

3.11.1.2 A morphological analysis of the complementizers ***de*** and ***bə*** shows that it does not fall under any of the 7 mentioned functional categories. Hence, it has been categorised as other functional category.

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3.11.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

3.10.2.1　　　Complementizer *de* occurs in the non-purposive and the participial clauses. the following examples are illustrative:

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

133.　I-　　be　　thüyam　ching　lah　　-de　　I　-nü　mükheah　-lah
[i　　be　　thijam　chiŋ　la　　**-de**]　i　nə　məkheaʔ　la
my　mother　house　PP　have　COMP　I　SCM　know　ASP
'I know that my mother is at home.'

134.　Sorila　Kuthur　ching　yüchoh　de　　i　-nü　so　　-do
[sɔɹila　kuthur　chiŋ　jəchɔʔ　**de**]　i　-nə　sɔ　-do
Sorila　Kuthur　PP　going　COMP　I　SCM　hear　PST
'I heard that Sorila is going to Kuthur.'

(ii)　　Participial Clause

135.　I　nü　khungarü　alo　　ching　yapde　　　ngüdo
i　nə　[khuŋaɹə　alɔ　　ʧiŋ　jʌp-**de**]　-ŋudɔ
I　SCM　baby　ground　PP　sleep-COMP　-PST
'I saw the baby sleeping on the ground.'

136.　Ari　nü　Sorila　choir　lung　khün　thsüde　　sodo
aɹi　nə　[sɔɹila　khɔəɹ　luŋ　khən　ʧə-**de**]　sɔ-tɔ
Ari　SCM　Sorila　choir　PP　song　sing-COMP　hear-PST
'Ari heard Sorila singing in the choir. '

3.11.2.2　Complementizer *khi* occurs in the gerundival clauses. It also occurs in the non-purposive clause where complementizer *de* occurs.The following examples are illustrative:

(i)　　Non-Purposive Clause

137.　I-　　be　　thüyam　ching　lah　-khi　i　-nü　mükheah　-lah
[i　　be　　thijam　chiŋ　la　　**khi**]　i　-nə　məkheaʔ　la
my　mother　house　PP　have　COMP　I　SCM　know　ASP
'I know that my mother is at home.'

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138. | Sorila | Kuthur | ching | yüchoh | -khi | i | -nü | so | -do |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [sɔɹila | kuthur | chiŋ | jəchɔʔ | **-khi**] | i | nə | sɔ | -dɔ |
| *Sorila* | *Kuthur* | *PP* | *going* | *COMP* | *I* | *SCM* | *hear* | *PST* |

'I heard that Sorila is going to Kuthur.'

(ii)   Gerundival Clause

139. | Ke- | phung | khi | ju | tsü | lah |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ke- | phuŋ | **khi** | cu | tsə | la |
| *water* | *swim* | *COMP* | *DET* | *good* | *ASP* |

'Swimming is good.'

140. | Rukachi | khi | ju | mü | tsü |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɹukachi | **khi** | cu | mə | tsə |
| *fight* | *COMP* | *DET* | *NEG* | *good* |

'Fighting is bad.'

3.11.2.3 Complementizer **bə** occurs in the non-purposive clauses. **bə** has the semantic feature of +FUTURE attached to it. Hence, **bə** occurs in clauses with future interpretation as is shown in sentences (141).

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

141. | I- | be | thüyam | ching | lah | -pü | i | -nü | mükheah | -lah |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [i | be | thijam | chiŋ | la | **-bə**] | i | nə | məkheaʔ | la |
| *my* | *mother* | *house* | *PP* | *have* | *COMP* | *I* | *SCM* | *know* | *ASP* |

'I know that my mother will be at home.'

Further, the future tense baʔ is dropped whenever **bə** occurs. The following examples are illustrative:

142. | Anihbuh | arübah | de | api | nü | thato |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [anibuʔ | aɹə-baʔ | **de**] | api | nə | tha-dɔ |
| *he* | *come-FUT* | *COMP* | *he* | *SCM* | *say- ASP* |

'He said that he will come.'

143. | Anihbuh | arü | pü | api | nü | thato |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [anibuʔ | aɹə | **bə**] | api | nə | tha-dɔ |
| *he* | *come* | *COMP* | *he* | *SCM* | *say- ASP* |

'He said that he will come.'

As is evident from examples above, **bə** has a dual function of complementizer and future marker. In sentence (142) the future marker *baʔ* and the complementizer *de* both occur. In (143), *baʔ* and *de* are dropped and replaced by *bə*. The readings of (142) and (143) are the same.

(iii)   **bə** also occurs in purposive clause. The following examples are illustrative:

144.   I   tükihthürapü   wükheah
        i   [təkiʔthəɹʌ-**bə**]   ɨ-khea
        I   *cook-COMP*   *go-ASP*
        'I went to cook.'

3.12   LANGUAGE: ZEME

3.12.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

Zeme have three complementizers: *le, ketsu* and *le-ketsu*

3.12.1.1 *le* is the quotative form of the verb say

145.   pa   gwang   zie   lie   gai
        pa   [gwaŋ   zie   **le**]   gai
        he   *come*   *FUT*   *QUOT/COMP*   *ASP*
        'He said that he will come.'

3.12.1.2 *ketsu* is a combination of the nominalizer *ke* and *tsu* could not be morphologically analysed.

146.   Tinggwang   au   yi
        tiŋgwaŋ   au   i
        God   *SCM*   *good*
        'God is good.'

147.   Tinggwang   keyi
        tiŋgwaŋ   ke-i
        God   *NOZ-good*
        'God's goodness.'

3.12.1.3 *le-ketsu* is the combination of the quotative and the complementizer *ketsu*

3.12.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE COMPLEMENTIZERS

3.12.2.1 **le** occurs in non-purposive clauses with the verb 'say'. It also occurs in purposive

   clause. **le** has a dual function, one as the quotative and the other as a

   complementizer.

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

148. Pa   gwang   zie   lie   gai
      pa   [gwaŋ   zie   **le**]   gai
      he *come*   *FUT* *QUOT/COMP*   *ASP*
      'He said that he will come.'

   (ii) Purposive

149. I   laisiu   pei   zie   lie   gwang
      i   laisiu   pe   zie   **le**   gwaŋ
      I *book*   *read* *FUT* *QUOT*   *go*
      'I went to read.'

3.12.2.2. **ketsu** occurs in non-purposive , gerundival and participial clauses.

   The following examples are illustrative

   (i)   Non-Purposive Clause

150. Apui   kilung   ga   bam   kecu   i   ci
      [apui   kiluŋ   ga   bam   **ketsu**] i   tsi
      mother *house*   *PP* *LOC* *COMP*   *I*   *know*
      'I know that my mother is at home.'

   (ii)   Gerundival Clause

151. Hemaaleitei   ga   leitei   kecu   suiyige
      hemaleitei   ga   leitei   **ketsu** sujige
      choir   *PP* *singing* *COMP*   *fun*
      'Singing in the choir is fun.'

   (iii)   Participial clause

152. I   tingmui   ngeina   hap   kecu   koa   siu
      i   [tiŋmui   ɲiena   hʌp   **ketsu** koa]   siu
      I *night*   *baby*   *cry*   *COMP*   *sound*   *heard*
      'I heard the sound of the baby crying at night.'

3.12.2.3 **lə-*ketsu*** occurs only in the non-purposive clause. Where **le- *ketsu*** occur ***ketsu*** can also occur. Sentences 153 and 154 are illustrative:

153. Ina   gwang   la   lie   kecu   Peihau   ci   bam
     [ina   gwaŋ   la   le   ***ketsu***]   pehau   tsi   bam
     Ina   come   ASP   QUOT   COMP   *Peihau   know*   ASP
     'Peihau knows that Ina is coming.'

154. Ina   gwang   la   kecu   Peihau   ci   bam
     [ina   gwaŋ   la   ***ketsu***]   pehau   tsi   bam
     Ina   come   ASP   COMP   *Peihau   know*   ASP
     'Peihau knows that Ina is coming.'

Summary:

1. Rengma and Chokri have initial complementizer (IC). Sentence (28), (29), (111) and (114) are illustrative.

2. An overall summary of the chapter is presented in table 3.1 and table 3.2 respectively.

Languages	Quotative	Verb 'do'	Verbal Conjunct	Nominalizer	Deictic Marker	Tense and Aspect	Case	Other functional category
1. Ao	-	-	-	+ (pa)	+ (pa)	+ FUT(tsə)	-	ta-adjectiviser negation classifier
2. Chokri	+ (ɔ)	-	+ (ɔːde)	+ (kə)	+ (ti)	-	-	-
3.Khiamnuingan	-	-	-	-	-	-	+ (tə)	+ ao- infinitive mkr kə-Intensifier tsən- -ing verb nai- Post position
4.Konyak	-	-	-	+ (pu)	-	-	+ (a)	+ (sə)
5. Lotha	-	-	-	-	+ (ʤi)	-	+ (ʤo)	+ ʤo-definite tɔ
6. Phom	-	-	-	+ (pə)	-	-	-	+ ʃei jə
7. Pochury	-	+ (sa)	+ (n)	+ (kə)	-	+ FUT (n)	-	+ (ta)
8.Rengma	+ (tse)	+ (thjə)	-	+ (ke)	+ (tsə)	-	-	-
9. Sangtam	-	-	+ (pə)	+ (pa)	+ (tsə)	-	-	-
10. Sümi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+ ipi akeu keu
11. Yimchunger	-	-	-	+ (khi)	-	-	-	+ de bə
12. Zeme	+ (le)	-	-	+ (ke)	-	-	-	+ tsu

Table3.1 Morphological Analysis of the Complementizers in the Naga Group of Languages

Complementizers in the languages under study are analysed under 7 functional categories viz. Quotative, Verb 'do', Verbal Conjunct, Nominalizer, Deictic Marker, Tense and Aspect, and Case. Complementizers in some languages do not fall under any of these categories. As such, those complementizers are labelled as other functional categories. Complementizers that function as a specific category is assigned a (+) feature with the complementizer in the language in parentheses and those that do not are assigned a (-) feature.

The analysis of table 3.1 is as follows:

1. Quotative functions as complementizers in Chokri, Rengma and Zeme.
2. The grammaticalised form of the verb 'do' functions as complementizers in Pochury and Rengma.
3. Verbal conjuncts functions as complementizers in Chokri, Pochury and Sangatam.
4. Nominalizers functions as complementizers in almost all the languages except Khiamniungan and Sümi.
5. Deictic markers functions as complentizers in Ao, Chokri, Rengma and Sangtam.
6. Future tense functions as complementizers in Ao and Pochury.
7. Case functions as complementizers in Khiamniungan, Konyak and Lotha.

Languages	Complementizers			Non-Purposive	Purposive	Participial	Gerunds	Infinitive *want* verb	Cleft
1.Ao	ta			+	-	-	-	-	-
	pa			-	-	+	-	-	-
	tsə			-	+	-	+	-	-
2. Chokri	ɔ			+	-	-	-	-	-
	kəti			+	-	+	+	-	-
	ɔ-kəti			+	-	-	-	-	-
	ɔ-de			+	+	-	-	-	-
3. Khiamniungan	tə			+	-	-	-	-	-
	aɔ			-	-	+	+	+	-
	kə			-	-	+	-	-	-
	tsən			-	-	-	-	+	-
	tsən and tə			+	-	-	-	-	-
	nai & tsən	I	nai	-	-	-	-	-	+
			tsən	-	-	-	+	-	-
		II	nai	-	-	-	-	+	-
			tsən	-	-	-	-	+	-
4. Konyak	pu			-	-	+	-	-	-
	sə			+	+	-	-	-	-
	pu-a			-	-	-	+	-	-
5. Lotha	tɔ			+	-	-	-	-	-
	dʒidʒɔ			-	-	-	+	-	-
6. Phom	ʃei			+	-	-	-	-	-
	pəjə			+	-	+	+	-	-
7. Pochury	ta-kəsa			+	-	+	-	-	-
	n:ta			+	+	-	-	-	-
8. Rengma	tse			+	+	-	-	-	-
	kə...tsə			+	-	+	+	-	-
	kəthjə			+	-	+	-	-	-
9. Sangtam	pə			+	-	-	-	-	-
	patsə			-	-	+	+	-	-
10.Sümi	ipi			+	-	-	-	-	-
	akeu			-	-	+	-	-	-
	keu			-	-	-	+	-	-
11. Yimchunger	de			+	-	+	-	-	-
	khi			+	-	-	+	-	-
	bə			+	+	-	-	-	-
12.Zeme	le			+	+	-	-	-	-
	ketsə			+	-	+	+	-	-
	le-ketsə			+	-	-	-	-	-

3.2 Distribution of the Complementizers in the Naga group of languages

Languages vary in the number of complementizers and its distributions in the complement clauses. Table 3.2 shows the different complementizers in each language and its distributions in the complement clauses. Complementizer that occur in a particular complement clause is assigned a (+) feature and those that do not, is assigned a (-) feature.

The distributions of the complementizers in the languages are varied and distinct to the language. However, one common feature is that in all the languages, complementizers occur in the non- purposive clauses.

CHAPTER -4

COMPLEMENT TYPES AND COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the languages are analysed under two sections consecutively. In the first section, the various complement types are discussed and analysed. The second section is an attempt to give an analysis of the complementation strategies each language employs in forming the complement clauses.

Complement types are analysed under the following sub-headings:

3. Finite Embedded clauses

   3.1 Non-Purposive

   3.2 Purposive

4. Non - Finite Clauses

   4.1 Participial Clauses

   4.2 Gerundival Clauses

   4.3 Infinitival Clauses

      4.3.1   Want verb

      4.3.2   Purposive clauses

According to Dixon (2008, 33) in many languages, certain verbs can take a clause, instead of an NP, as core arguments. He called this true complement clause. He also claims that languages which lack true complement clauses constructions will employ the following complementation strategies:

1. Serial verb construction strategy

2. Relative clause strategy

3. Nominalization strategy

4. Complementation strategies involving linked clauses

   4.1 Apposition

   4.2 Clause Chaining

   4.3 Purposive linking

Out of the six strategies, only three strategies viz Serial Verb Construction Strategy, Nominalisation Strategy, Purposive Linking Strategy were used to analysed the languages. The area of study for the analysis of the other three strategies is vast and the present study does not cover those areas.

4.1 LANGUAGE : AO

4.1.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

All the four complement types are found in Ao.

4.1.1.1 Finite Embedded Clause

(i) Non- Purposive Clause

1. Ni kü- tsü   kidang lir   ta   meteta lir
   ni [kə- tsə   kitaŋ   lir   **ta**]   mətəta lir
   I   my   mother house *LOC* *COMP*   *know*   *ASP*
   'I know that my mother is at home.'

(ii) Purposive Clause

2. Ni   soruchiok   tsü   ao
   ni [suɹutʃok   **tsə**]   ao
   I   cook   *COMP.FUT*   *go*
   'I went to cook.'

3. Narola   tazüng   tsü   ogo
   narola [tazəŋ   **tsə**]   uko
   Narola   read   *COMP FUT*   *gone*
   'Narola has gone to study.'

4.1.1.2 Non-Finite Clauses

(i) Participial Clause

4. Amang   nung tanur -i   aje   ba   ni angashi
   [amaŋ   nuŋ   tanuɹ -i   atʃə **pa**]   ni aŋaʃi
   night *PP* *baby* *-CASE* *cry* *COMP.NOZ* *I* *heard*
   'I heard the baby crying at night.'

(ii) Gerundival Clause

5. Raratep -ba   majung
   ɹaɹatəp **-pa**   matʃuŋ
   fighting *COMP.NOZ* *bad*
   'Fighting is bad.'

(iii) Infinitival Clause

Want verb

6. Akhum -la   aru   nür
   akəm   -la   aɹu   nər
   Akhum *-FEM* *come* *want*
   'Akhum wants to come.'

From the above data, we can analyse that except for the infinitival clause, all other complement types have a complementizer. In sentence (6) we have the 'want' class predicate with the occurrence of a clausal union, giving it a non-finite reading. However, in the purposive clause in sentences (2) and (3) the verb carries a future marker and is thus finite.

In Tenyidie[4], the movement of the verb in the embedded clause is permitted. In such cases, the verb of the embedded clause is raised and it adjoins with the verb of the matrix clause. However, this is not permitted in Ao as is evident from the ungrammatical sentences in (7) and (8).

7. *Narola   ogo   tazüng
   narola   uko   [tazəŋ]
   Narola   gone   read
   'Narola has gone to study.'

8. *Ni   ao   soruchiok
   ni   ao   suɹutʃok
   I   go   cook
   'I went to cook.'

4.1.2 COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Ao language is given below:

1. Purposive, non-purposive and participial clauses are true complement clauses. This is evident in sentences 1-4.
2. *Want* class predicate in the infinitive employs the serial verb construction strategy. Sentence 6 is illustrative.
3. Gerundival clauses employ the nominalization strategy. Sentence 5 is illustrative.
   pa in Ao has dual functions one as the complementizer and the other as a nominalizer. This is explained in section 3.1.1.2 in Chapter 3.

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[4] Kevichüsa (2007, 45)

4.2 LANGUAGE: CHOKRI

4.2.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

All the four complement types are found in Chokri.

4.2.1.1 Finite Embedded Clause

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

9. Atale   tsüzi   kühuce   lü   voto   küti   po   va
   atale   [tsəzi   kəhuce   lə   vo- tɔ̌:   **kəti**] pɔ   va
   Atale *tonight* *church* *PP* *come-FUT.COMP* *COMP* *say* *PROG*
   'Atale said that she will go to church tonight.'

10. Azu   ce   -lü   ba   küti   I   se   -va
    [azu   ce   -lə   ba   **kəti**] i   se   -va
    mother *home* *-PP* *LOC* *COMP*   *I* *know*   *- PROG*
    'I know that my mother is at home.'

(ii) Purposive Clause

11. Atalü   -e   phi   -to   de   vo   -te
    atalə   -e   [pro phi -tɔ̌:   **de**] vo   -te
    Atalü *-SCM* *read*   *-FUT. COMP*   *COMP* *go* *-PST*
    'Atalü has gone to read.'

4.2.1.2 Non-Finite Clauses

(i) Participial Clause

12. I-e   künalü   thüzo   ti   küti   ngo
    i-e   [kənalə   thəzɔ   ti   **kəti**] ŋɔ
    I -SCM *cat*   *mouse* *eat* *COMP*   *saw*
    'I saw the cat eating the mouse.'

(ii) Gerundival Clause

13. Rühu   küti   unü
    rəhu   **kəti**   unə
    hunt   *COMP.NOZ*   *like*
    'Hunting is fun.'

(iii) Infinitival Clause

Want verb

14. Atalü   vo   nyi   va
    atalə   vɔ   ɲi   va
    Atalü *go*   *want* *ASP*
    'Atalü wants to come.'

Except for the infinitival clause, all the other complement types have the complementizer *kəti.*

As mentioned in the literature review for Tenyidie, Chokri also exhibits the same phenomenon. The analysis given for Tenyidie[5] holds for Chokri as well, as illustrated in sentences (14) and (15). In sentence (14) we have the 'want' class predicate with the occurrence of a clausal union, giving it a non-finite reading. The embedded verb in purposive clauses carries a future marker and is thus finite, and hence, the occurrence of the complementizer *ɔ-de.*

The complementizer in sentence (11) can be dropped. The dropping of the complementizer leads to the obligatory dropping of the future marker which occurs with the verb in the embedded clause. The dropping of the future marker makes the sentence non-finite which leads to the replacement of *pro* by *PRO.* The following example is illustrative:

15. Atalü -e   vo phi   -te
    atalə -e   vɔ [PRO phi] -te
    Atalü -CASE go read   *-PST*
    'Atalü has gone to read.'

Sentence (15) is again a clausal union. However, the clausal union here is different from the one in sentence (14). In sentence (14) both the verbs remain *in situ,* the embedded verb *vɔ* in the embedded clause and the matrix verb *ɲi* in the final position. Whereas,in sentence (15), the embedded verb *phi* raises and adjoins to the matrix verb *vɔ.*

4.2.2 COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Chokri is given below:

1. Purposive, non-purposive and participial clauses are true complement clauses. Sentences 9, 10, 11 and 12 are illustrative.

2. Gerundival clauses employ the nominalization strategy. Sentence 13 is illustrative. Note that the **kə-** in complementizer **kəti** is a nominalizer .This is explained in section 3.2.1.2 in Chapter 3.

3. Infinitival clauses with the want predicates employ the serial verb construction strategy. Sentence (14) is illustrative.

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[5] Kevichüsa (2007, 45-46)

4.3 LANGUAGE: KHIAMNIUNGAN

4.3.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

All the four complement types are possible in Khiamniungan. The following examples are illustrative:

4.3.1.1 Finite Embedded Clause

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

16. Ngo   jü   nyiu   tsam   ai   noin   tü   ngen
    ŋɔ   [tsə   ɲiu   tsʌm   ʌi   nɔin   tə]   ŋen
    I   my   mother   house   LOC   have   COMP   know
    'I know that my mother is at home.'

(ii) Purposive Clause

17. Haowon   thsamve   ao   khun
    hauwɔn   [tshʌm-we   ʌɔ]   khu-n
    Haowon   book-read   COMP   go-ASP
    'Haowon has gone to study.'

4.3.1.2 Non-Finite Clauses

(i) Participial Clause

18. Ngo   soutsom   tsam   nai   kho   ao   aiu-ji
    ŋɔ   [sɔtsɔm   tsʌm   nʌi   kho   ʌɔ]   a:ɯ-ʧi
    I   cinema   house   LOC   go   COMP   like
    'I like going to the cinema.'

(ii) Infinitival Clause

Want verb

19. Tongkhem   shi   ao   aium
    tɔŋkhem   ʃi   ʌɔ   a:ɯm
    Tongkhem   come   COMP   wants
    'Tongkhem wants to come.'

(iii) Gerundival Clause

20. Ashio   tsün   tsü-   mei
    ʌ-ʃio   **tsən**   tsə-   me
    NOZ-drink   COMP   NEG   good
    'Drinking is bad'

An interesting finding from the above given data is that Khiamniungan does not exhibit clausal union with the 'want' class predicate in the infinitives as is shown in sentence (19).

Verb raising is not permitted in the purposive clause in Khiamniungan. The following example is illustrative:

21. *Haowon khu ven
    hauwɔn khu we-n
    Haowon go read-PST
    'Haowon has gone to study.'

4.3.2 COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Khiamniungan is given below:

1. Purposive, non-purposive, participial are true complement clauses. Sentences 16, 17 and 18 are illustrative.

2. The gerundival clauses employ the nominalization strategy. Sentence 20 is illustrative.

3. The want predicate of the infinitival clauses does not fall under any of the mentioned strategies. Hence it is marked as other strategies. (complementizer ʌo occurs)

4.4 LANGUAGE : KONYAK

4.4.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

All the four complement types are possible in Konyak.

4.4.1.1 Finite Embedded Clause

(i) Non- Purposive Clause

22. Aton -e   Shanong pei   -lak she   i
    aton -ə   [sanoŋ   pai   -lak sə] i
    Aton SCM Shanong come FUT COMP say
    "Aton said that Shanong will come."

(ii) Purposive Clause

23. Tao hah -lak she   pei
    tao [haʔ lak sə] pai
    I   eat -FUT COMP came
    'I came to eat.'

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4.1.1.2 Non-Finite clauses

(i) Participial Clause

24. Aton   -e   Shamong   choir   me   hem   lok   pu   ngi
    aton   -ə   [ʃamoŋ   khoir   me   hem   lok   **pu**]   ŋei
    Aton *-SCM* *Shamong* *choir* *PP* *song* *sing* *COMP* *saw*
    'Aton saw Shamong singing in the choir.'

(ii) Infinitival Clause

Want verb

25. Aton   nok   te   ye   -hu   -nang
    aton   nɔk   te   je   -hu   -naŋ
    aton *home* *PP* *go* *-want* *-ASP*
    'Aton wants to go home.'

(iii) Gerundival clause

26. Mei   kep   pu-a   hongli   -nang
    mai   kep   **pu-a**   hɔŋli   -naŋ
    meat *hunt* *COMP* *fun*   *-ASP*
    "Hunting is fun."

Except for the infinitival clause type, all the other complement types occur with a complementizer. The infinitives with the 'want' class predicate shows clausal union. In the purposive clause in sentence (23) the verb carries a future marker and the sentence becomes non-finite and thus the occurrence of the complementizer *sə*. The dropping of the complementizer and the future marker as well as verb raising in the purposive clause is not permitted in Konyak. The following example is illustrative:

27. * Tao   pei   hah
      tao   pai   haʔ
      I   *came* *eat*
      'I came to eat.'

4.4.2   COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Konyak is given below:

1. Purposive, non-purposive, participial are true complement clauses. Sentences (22), (23) and (24) are illustrative.

2. The 'want' predicate of the infinitival clauses employs the serial verb construction strategy. Sentence (25) is illustrative.

3. The gerundival clauses employ the nominalization strategy. Sentence 26 is illustrative. Note that the **pu** in complementizer **pu-a** is a nominalizer .This is explained in section 3.4.1.2 in Chapter 3.

4.5 LANGUAGE: LOTHA

4.5.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

All the four complement types are possible in Lotha.

4.5.1.1 Finite embedded clause

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

34. | Ayo | jo | oki | vana | to | ana | ntsia |
|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|-------|
| [ajo | ʤɔ | oki | vana | **tɔ**] | ana | ntʃia |
| *Mother* | *SCM* | *house* | *LOC* | *COMP* | *I* | *know* |

'I know that my mother is at home.'

4.5.1.2 Non-finite Clauses

(i) Participial Clause

35. | Onyuru | ji | na | züro | rüma | ana | hungcho |
|--------|-----|-----|------|------|-----|---------|
| [oɲuro | ʤi | na | zəɾo | ɹəm-a] | ana | huŋ-cho |
| *cat* | *DEF* | *SCM* | *mouse* | *eat-ASP* | *I* | *see-ASP* |

'I saw the cat eating the mouse.'

36. | Abeni | na | choir | lo | okhen | khüa | Abemo | na | zo | -cho |
|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|------|-------|-----|-----|------|
| [abeni | na | khoir | lo | oken | khəᵛ-a] | abemo | na | zo | cho |
| *Abeni* | *SCM* | *choir* | *PP* | *song* | *sing- ASP* | *Abemo* | *SCM* | *hear* | *ASP* |

'Abemo heard Abeni singing in the choir.'

(ii) Gerundival Clause

37. | Mi | -khü | eyuv | jijo | khanala |
|-----|------|------|------|---------|
| mi | -khə | iju | *ʤiʤo* | khanala |
| *fire* | *smoke* | *inhale* | *COMP* | *prohibited* |

'Smoking is prohibited.'

38. | Rotao | jijo | n- | mhon |
|-------|------|-----|------|
| ɹotao | *ʤiʤo* | n- | mhon |
| *fighting* | *COMP* | *NEG-* | *good* |

'Fighting is bad.'

39. | Ojü | hoo | jijo | mmhona |
|-----|-----|------|--------|
| otsə | ho | *ʤiʤo* | m:mhona |
| *water* | *swim* | *COMP* | *good* |

'Swimming is good.'

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(iii) Infinitival Clause

    (a) Want predicates

    40. Therali na   oki   yi -hungala
          therali na   oki   ji -huŋala
          Therali *SCM* *house* *go* *want*
          'Therali wants to go home.'

(b) Purposive Clause

    41. A -na   kha   -lo   wo   -cho
          a   na   [kha lo] wo -cho
          I *SCM* *read* *PL* *go* *ASP*
          'I went to study/read.'

    42. A -na   tso   lo   wo   -cho
          a   na   [tsho lo] wo cho
          I *SCM* *cook* *PL* *go* *ASP*
          'I went to cook.'

The complementizers occurs with the finite embedded clause type and gerundival. In the participial clause, /a/ occurs with the embedded verb which needs more research. In the infinitival clause type, the 'want 'class predicate shows clausal union. The purposive clauses occur with the purposive marker *lo.*Verb raising is not permitted in Lotha.The following sentences are illustrative:

    43.* A -na   wo kha   -cho
          a   na   wo [kha] -cho
          I *SCM* *go* *read* *ASP*
          'I went to read.'

    44.* A -na   wo tso   -cho
          a   na   wo tsho -cho
          I *SCM* *go* *cook* *PST*
          'I went to cook.'

4.5.2 COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Lotha is given below:

1. Non-Purposive and participial are true complement. Sentence (34), (35) and (36) are illustrative.

2. Purposive employs the purposive linking strategy. Sentence (41) and (42)is illustrative.

3. Gerundival clauses occur with a complementizer. Sentence (37), (38), and (39) is illustrative.

4. The 'want' predicate of the infinitival clauses employs the serial verb construction strategy. Sentence (40) is illustrative.

4.6   LANGUAGE : PHOM

4.6.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

All the four complement types discuss in literature is found in Phom.

4.6.1.1 Finite Embedded Clause
(i) Non-Purposive Clause

45. Ngei   ngelei   onyiü   shem   mei   nyüke   shei   nying   nyeih
    ŋəi   [ŋəlai   uɲə   ʃam   məi   ɲəke   **ʃei**] ɲiŋ   ɲeiʔ
    I   *my*   *mother* *home* *PP*   *LOC*   *COMP* *know* *PROG*
    "I know that my mother is at home."

4.6.1.2 Non-finite Clauses
(i) Participial Clause

46. Mashi   i   yiüphü   hah   püyü   i   ee   teke
    [maʃi   i   jəphə   haʔ   **pəjə**] i   e: təke
    cat   *CASE* *mouse*   *eat*   *COMP*   *I*   *see*   *ASP*
    'I saw the cat eating the mouse.'

(ii) Gerundival Clause

47. Te   püyü   ne-   mei   -nyeih
    te   **pəjə** nə-   mai   -ɲeiʔ
    fight *COMP*   *NEG*   *bad*   *ASP*
    'Fighting is bad.'

(iii) Infinitival Clause

48. Ngei   nük   hah   -hü   angke
    ŋəi   nək   haʔ   -hə   aŋke
    I   *food* *eat*   *want* *ASP*
    'I want to eat.'

(iv) Purposive Clause

49. Manken   einüng   lüdaiteke
    mankən   ei-nəŋ   lətai-təke
    Manken   *read-PL* *go-ASP*
    'Manken has gone to study.'

50. Ngei jaü   nüng heih -teke
    ŋəi   caə   nəŋ   heʔ   təke
    I   *cook* PL   *go*   ASP
    'I went to cook.'

The embedded clause, participial clause and gerundival clause occurs with complementizers. In the infinitival type, the 'want' class predicate shows clausal union. The purposive clause occurs with a purposive linker (PL). Verb raising is not permitted in Phom.The following sentences are illustrative:

51. *Manken lüdai ei   teke
    mankən   lətai ei   təke
    Manken *go*   *read* ASP
    'Manken has gone to read.'

52. *Ngei   heih jaü   -teke
    ŋəi   heʔ   caə   -təke
    I   *go*   *cook* ASP
    'I went to cook.'

4.6.2 COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Phom are given below:

1. Non -purposive, participial are true complement clause. Sentence (45) and (46) is illustrative.
2. The gerundival clauses employ the nominalization strategy. Sentence (47) is illustrative.Note that the *pə* in complementizer *pə-yə* is a nominalizer .This is explained in section 3.6.1.2 in Chapter 3.
3. The want predicate of the infinitival clauses employs the serial verb construction strategy. Sentence (48) is illustrative.
4. Purposive clauses employ the purposive linking strategy. Sentence (49) and (50) is illustrative.

4.7 LANGUAGE: POCHURY

4.7.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

   All the four complement types are possible in Pochury.

4.7.1.1 Finite Embedded Clause

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

53. hi   Etho   Bangkok   vü   wa   -na   sadhuo   ta-küsa   küna   radhuo
    hi   [itho   bæŋkok   və   wa   -na   sathuo   **ta-kəsa**]   kəna   rathjɔ
    I   *Etho*   *bangkok*   *PP*   *go*   *FUT*   *ASP*   *COMP*   *hear*   *TNS*
    "I heard that Etho is going to Bangkok."

(ii) Purposive Clause

54. Lingo   ze   nta   wa   dhuo
    liŋɔ   [ze   **n:ta**]   wa   thjɔ
    lingo   *sleep*   *COMP*   *go*   *TNS*
    'Lingo went to sleep.'

55. Lingo   chie   nta   wa   dhuo
    liŋɔ   [tʃhe   **n:ta**]   wa   thjɔ
    lingo   *read*   *COMP*   *go*   *ASP*
    'Lingo went to read.'

4.7.1.2 Non-finite Clauses

(i) Participial Clause

   There are two patterns of participial clause in Pochury. In the first pattern, the complementizer does not occur and the nominalizer **'kə'** is prefixed to the verb. In the second pattern, the complementizer **'ta kəsa'** occur with the reduplication of the verb.

Pattern I

56. Hi   Etho   asa   kü-   tsa   ngu   -dhuo
    hi   [ithɔ   asa   **kə-**   tsa]   ŋu   - thjɔ
    I   *Etho*   *meat*   *NOZ*   *eat*   *see*   *ASP*
    "I saw Etho eating the meat."

57. Hi   sinema   vü   kü-   wa   lo   -ve
    hi   [sinema   və   **kə**   wa]   lɔ   ve
    I   *cinema*   *PP*   *NOZ*   *go*   *like*   *ASP*
    "I like going to the cinema."

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Pattern II

58. Hi Etho asa tsatsa ta-küsa ngu -dhuo
    hi [ithɔ asa tsatsa **ta-kəsa**] ŋu - thjɔ
    I Etho meat eat COMP *see* TNS
    "I saw Etho eating the meat."

59. Hi sinema vü wawa ta-küsa lo -ve
    hi [sinema və wawa **ta-kəsa**] lɔ ve
    I cinema PP *go* COMP *like* TNS
    "I like going to the cinema."

(ii) Infinitival Clause

Want verb

60. Etho zeh ngü -ve
    ithɔ ʒeʔ ŋə -ve
    Etho sleep want -PROG
    "Etho wants to sleep."

(iii) Gerundival Clause

61. aku kü- mü thuoji khe -ve
    aku kə- mə thuotʃi khe -ve
    tobacco NOZ *inhale* DET *prohibited* TNS
    "Smoking is prohibited."

62. kü- feluo thuoji mü- mümhie
    kə feluɔ thuotʃi mə- məmhie
    NOZ *fight* DET NEG *good*
    "Fighting is bad."

In Pochury, the complementizers occurs in the Finite embedded clause type, the participial and the purposive clause type. The infinitives with the 'want' class predicate shows clausal union. The purposive occurs with the complementizer *n:ta*. Note that the /n:/ in the complementizer **n:ta** also carries the feature of a future tense. Thus, the purposive clause is actually a non-finite clause and hence the occurrence of the complementizer. The complementizer in sentence (54) and (55) can be dropped and verb raising is permitted.The explanation given for purposive clause in Chokri in section 4.2.1.2 for sentence (15) also holds for Pochury. The following sentences are illustrative:

63. Lingo wa ze dhuo
    liŋɔ wa ze thjɔ
    lingo go sleep ASP
    'Lingo went to sleep.'

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64. Lingo wa   chie dhuo
    liŋɔ wa   tʃhe thjɔ
    lingo go   read *ASP*
    'Lingo went to read.'

4.7.2 COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Pochury is given below:

1. Non –purposive, purposive and participial clauses are true complement clause. Sentence (53), (54) and (56) are illustrative.

2. The want predicate of the infinitival clauses employs the serial verb construction strategy. Sentence (60) is illustrative.

3. The gerundival clauses employ the nominalization strategy. Sentence (61) and (62) are illustrative.

4.8 LANGUAGE : RENGMA

4.8.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

All the four complement types discuss in literature is found in Rengma.

4.8.1.1 Finite Embedded Clause

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

65. Ale shabin kethyü Ajvu   le   kaki bin   nle
    ale ʃabi   [**kethjə** aʒə   le   kaki bĩ   n:ne]
    I   *know* COMP *My mother* SCM *house* LOC ASP
    'I know that my mother is at home.'

(ii) Purposive Clause

66. ale lesü swü -ti   le   *tse*   gü
    ale [lesə sə   -ti   le   **tse**] gə
    I   *book* *read* -FUT ASP COMP *go*
    'I went to read/study.'

4.8.1.2. Non-finite Clauses

(i) Participial Clause

67. Ntsenyu   güle   khejengu   chübin   kethyü   ale   nyü   lo
    [n:tseɲu   gə-le   khədʒeɲu   cü bĩ   **kethjə**] ale   nə   lo
    baby   *DEF-SCM* *night*   *crying* COMP   *I*   *hear* *ASP*
    'I heard the baby crying at night.'

68. | Kesinle | -le | athyü | tyü | ke- | bin | tsü | Alo | le | hyu |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [kesinle | le | athjə | tjə | kə- | bĭ | **tsə**] | alo | le | hũ |
| *Kesinle* | *SCM* | *meat* | *eat* | *COMP* | *ASP* | *COMP* | *Alo* | *SCM* | *see* |

'Alo saw Kesinle eating the meat. '

(ii) Gerundival Clause

69. | Züvü | kethyü | le | gwa |
|---|---|---|---|
| zəvə | **kethjə** | le | wa |
| *swimming* | *COMP* | *ASP* | *good* |

'Swimming is good.'

(iii) Infinitival Clause

Want verb

70. | Julie | le | ryü | nyü | bin |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʤuli | le | rə | nə | bĭ |
| *julie* | *SCM* | *come* | *want* | *PROG* |

'Julie wants to come.'

71. | Julie | le | gwü | nyü | bin |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʤuli | le | gə | nə | bĭ |
| *julie* | *SCM* | *go* | *want* | *PROG* |

'Julie wants to go.'

From the above data analyses, we find that except for the 'want' class predicate in the infinitival clause type, the complementizers occur in all the other complement types in Rengma. The complementizer in (66) can be dropped and the verb raising is permitted. The explanation given for purposive clause in Chokri in section 4.2.1.2 for sentence (15) also holds for Rengma. The following sentence is illustrative:

73. | Ale | gü | sü |
|---|---|---|
| ale | gə | sə |
| *I* | *go* | *read* |

'I went to read.'

4.8.2 COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Rengma is given below:

1. Non –purposive, purposive and participial clauses are true complement clause. Sentence (65), (66) and (67) are illustrative

2. The gerundival clauses employ the nominalization strategy. Sentence (69) is illustrative.Note that the *ke* in complementizer *kethjə* is a nominalizer .This is explained in section 3.8.1.2 in Chapter 3.

3. The 'want' predicate of the infinitival clauses employs the serial verb construction strategy. Sentence (70) and (71) are illustrative.

4.9 LANGUAGE : SANGTAM

4.9.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

All the four complement types are possible in Sangtam.

4.8.1.1 Finite Embedded Clause

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

> 74. Ihnü Alipa Bangkok lang würe pü yuchikho
> i:nə [alipa laŋ vəre **pə**] juchiko
> *I Alipa Bangkok PP go COMP hear*
> 'I heard that Alipa is goin to Bangkok.'

(ii) Purposive Clause

> 75. Ih khih -nung wü -cho
> i khi -nuŋ və -cho
> *I read PL.FUT go -ASP*
> 'I went to read.'

4.9.1.2 Non-finite Clauses

(i) Participial Clause

> 76. Akhunga amala tra batsü Ihnü ngukho
> [akhuŋa amala tɹa **batsü**] i-nə ŋu-kə
> *baby night cry COMP I - SCM see-ASP*
> 'I saw the baby crying at night.'

(ii) Gerundival Clause

> 77. mükütsu müsü batsü mümülare
> məkətsu məsə **patsə** məmələre
> *tobacco inhale COMP prohibit*
> 'Smoking is prohibited.'

78. kihwe batsü tsa le
    kive **patsǝ** tsa le
    swim *COMP* *good* *ASP*
    'Swimming is good.'

(iii) Infinitival Clause

Want verb

79. Alipa tsü kuhlang wü -nyü -cho
    alipa tsǝ kulʌŋ vǝ -ɲǝ -tʃo
    Alipa *SCM* *home* *go* *-want* *-ASP*
    'Alipa wants to go home.'

Complementizers occur in the finite embedded clauses and gerundival clauses. The want class predicate shows clausal union and the purposive clauses occur with the future marker and are thus finite. Verb raising is not permitted in Phom. The following sentence is illustrative:

80.* Ih wü khih -cho
     i vǝ khi -cho
     I *go* *read* *-ASP*
     'I went to read.'

4.9.2 COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Sangtam is given below:

1. Non- Purposive, purposive and Participial are true complement clauses. Sentence (74), (75) and (76) is illustrative.

2. The gerundival clauses employ the nominalization strategy. Sentence (77) is illustrative.Note that the **pa** in complementizer **patsǝ** is a nominalizer .This is explained in section 3.9.1.2 in Chapter 3.

3. The want predicate of the infinitival clauses employs the serial verb construction strategy. Sentence (79) is illustrative.

4.10   LANGUAGE:SÜMI

4.10.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

All the four complement types are possible in Yimchunger.

4.10.1.1Finite Embedded Clauses

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

81.   John   ye   Mary   ighiniche   ani   ipi   ithi   ani
      ʤɔn   je   [meri   iᵛiɲiʧe   aɲi   **ipi]** ithi   aɲi
      John   SCM   *Mary*   *come*   FUT   COMP   *know*   PROG
      'John knows that Mary is coming.'

82.   Atoli   ye   Zunheboto   lo   wuni   cheni   ipi   ino   chilue
      [atɔli   je   zənhbɔtɔ   lɔ   u-ɲi   cheni   **ipi]** inɔ   ʧilu
      Atoli SCM   *Zunheboto* PP   *go-FUT* ASP   COMP   *I*   *heard*
      'I heard that Atoli is going to Zunheboto.'

(ii) Purposive Clause

83.   ni   ye   alikhuli   shiniye   wu
      ni   je   ali-khuli   ʃi-ɲi-je   u
      I   SCM   *utensils-ECH* *do-FUT-SCM*   *go*
      'I went to cook.'

4.10.1.2 Non-finite Clauses

(i) Participial Clause

84.   Anga   no   qa   akeu   John   no   chilu
      [aŋa   nɔ   qa   **akeu]**   ʤɔn   nɔ   ʧilu
      baby   SCM   *cry*   COMP   *John*   SCM   *heard*
      'John heard the baby crying.'

(ii) Gerundival Clause

85.   Kichighi   keu   ye   alomoe
      kiʧiɣi   **keu**   je   alɔ-mɔ-e
      fight   COMP   SCM   *good-NEG-PST*
      'Fighting is bad'

(iii) Infinitival Clause

      Want verb

86.   John   ye   Ighi-nishi   ani
      ʤɔn   je   iɣi-niʃi   aɲi
      John   SCM   *come-want*   PROG
      'John wants to come.'

Complementizer occurs in the finite-embedded clauses, participial clauses and gerundival clauses. The want class predicate shows clausal union and the purposive clauses occur with the future marker and are thus finite. Verb raising is not permitted in Sümi. The following sentence is illustrative:

87. *ni   ye   wu   alikhuli   shiniye
    ni   je   u   ali-khuli   ʃi-ɲi-je
    I   *SCM*   *go*   *utensils-ECH*   *do-FUT-SCM*
    'I went to cook.'

4.10.2 COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Sümi is given below:

1. Non- Purposive, Participial and Purposive are true complement clauses. Sentences (81), (82,) and (84) are illustrative.

2. The gerundival clauses employ the relative clause strategies as illustrated in sentence (85). Given below is an example of a relative clause which exhibits the occurrence of *keu*.

88. no   no   kaku   phikeuye   alo
    nO   nO   kaku   phi-ke-u-ye   alO
    you   *[+TR]*   *book*   *read-NOZ-DEF-[-TR]*   *good*
    'Your act of reading the book is good.'

3. The want predicate of the infinitival clauses employs the serial verb construction strategy. Sentence (86) is illustrative.

4.11 LANGUAGE: YIMCHUNGER

4.11.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

All the four complement types are possible in Yimchunger.

4.11.1.1 Finite Embedded Clauses

(i) Non-Purposive Clause

89. Sorila   Kuthur   ching   yüchoh   de   i   -nü   so   -do
    [sɔɹila   kuthur   chiŋ   jəchɔʔ   **de**]   i   nə   sɔ   -do
    Sorila   *Kuthur*   *PP*   *going*   *COMP*   *I*   *SCM*   *hear*   *PST*
    'I heard that Sorila is going to Kuthur.'

90. Ari   thsahkhitto   de   Sorila   nü   thato
    [ari   ʧʌʔkhit-to   **de**]   sɔɹila   nə   tha-to
    Ari   *go out-PST*   *COMP*   *Sorila*   *SCM*   *say- ASP*
    'Sorila said that Ari has gone out.'

(ii) Purposive Clause

91. Asang akhepü   wüto
     asaŋ   [akhe- **bə]**   ɨ-tɔ
     Asang   read- COMP.FUT   go-ASP
     'Asang has gone to read'

4.11.1.2 Non-finite Clauses

(i) Participial Clause

92. I nü   khungarü alo   ching yapde   ngüdo
     i nə   [khuŋaɹə alo   ʧiŋ   jʌp-**de]**   ŋə- tɔ
     I SCM   baby   ground   PP   sleep-COMP   see-ASP
     'I saw the baby sleeping on the ground.'

93. Ari nü   Sorila choir lung khün thsüde   sodo
     aɹi nə   [sɔɹila khɔəɹ luŋ   khən ʧə-**de**]   sɔ-tɔ
     Ari SCM Sorila choir PP   song sing-COMP   hear-ASP
     'Ari heard Sorila singing in the choir. '

(ii) Gerundival Clause

94. shih jü   khi   amünenebe
     ʃiʔ   cu   **khi** aməɲeɲebe
     meat hunt COMP   fun
     'Hunting is fun.'

(ii) Infinitival Clause

     Want verb

95. Ari nü   thüyam ching yü   ne   lah
     aɹi nə   thijam chiŋ   ɨ   ne   la
     Ari CASE house   PP   go   want ASP
     'Ari wants to go home.'

In Yimchunger, the complementizers occur in the non-purposive, purposive, participial and gerundival clauses. The want class predicate in the infinitival clause type shows clausal union. Verb raising is not permitted in Yimchunger. The following sentence is illustrative:

96.* Asang wü   akhe-to
      asaŋ   ɨ   akhe-tɔ
      Asang go   read- ASP
      'Asang has gone to read'

4.11.2 COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Yimchunger are given below:

1. Non-purposive, purposive and participialclauses are true complement clauses. Sentence (88), (90) and (91) are illustrative.

2. Gerundival clauses occur with complementizer *khi.* Sentence (93) is illustrative.

3. The want predicate of the infinitival clauses employs the serial verb construction strategy. Sentence (94) is illustrative.

4.12 LANGUAGE : ZEME

4.12.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

All the four complement types are possible in Zeme.

4.12.1.1 Finite Embedded Clause

(i) Non- Purposive Clause

97. [Ina Peren ga mie lau kecu] i siu
ina peɹen ga mje lau **ketʃu** i siu
Ina Peren *PP* *go* *FUT* *COMP* *I* *heard*
'I heard that Ina is going to Peren.'

(ii) Purposive Clause

98. I [laisiu pei zie lie] gwang
i laisiu pe zie le gwaŋ
I book read *FUT* *QUOT/COMP* *go*
'I went to read/study.'

99. Ina [laisiu pe zie lie] gwang
ina laisiu pe zie le gwaŋ
Ina book read *FUT* *QUOT/COMP* *go*
'Ina has gone to read.'

4.12.1.2 Non-finite Clauses

(i) Participial Clause

100. I nyione heza tyei bam kecu ngau
i ɲione heza tje bam **ketʃu** ŋau
I cat mouse eat *PROG* *COMP* *saw*
'I saw the cat eating the mouse.'

(ii) Gerundival Clause

> 101. Peting dau matyei kecu azai tei lu
> petiŋ dau mateji **ketʃu** azai tei lu
> *time* *PP* *eat* *COMP* *habit* *do* *IMP*
> 'Make a habit of eating on time.'

(iii)Infinitival Clause

Want verb

> 102. Ina kilung mie neu bam
> ina kiluŋ mji neu bam
> *Ina* *house* *go* *want* *ASP*
> 'Ina wants to go home.'

Except for the 'want'class predicate in the infinitival clause, all the other complement types occurs with complementizers. The 'want' class predicates shows clausal union. The complemenitizer in the purposive clause can be dropped and verb raising is permitted. The explanation given for purposive clause in Chokri in section 4.2.1.2 for sentence (15) also holds for Zeme. The following sentence is illustrative:

> 103. Ina gwang pei da
> ina gwaŋ pe da
> *Ina* *go* *read* *ASP*
> 'Ina has gone to read.'

4.12.2   COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES: The Complementation strategies employed by Zeme are given below:

1. Non-purposive, purposive and participial clauses are true complement clauses. Sentence (91), (92) and (93) is illustrative.

2. The gerundival clauses employ the nominalization strategy. Sentence (95) is illustrative. Note that the *ke* in complementizer *ketsu* is a nominalizer .This is explained in section 3.12.1 in Chapter 3.

3. The want predicate of the infinitival clauses employs the serial verb construction strategy. Sentence (96) is illustrative.

SUMMARY:

All the complement types occur in the languages under study.

Table 4.2 give an overview of the complementation strategies employed by the languages.

Complementation strategies employed by the languages are as follows:

1. Non-Purposive and Participial clauses are true complement clauses in all the languages under study.

2. Languages employ the serial verb construction strategy for the infinitive clauses with the 'want' verbs in all the languages under study.

3. Nominalization strategy is employed by all the languages for the gerundival clauses except Lotha, Phom and Sümi. Gerundivals are true complement clauses in these languages.

4. In the purposive clause, the languages can be grouped into two sets. In the first set, the purposive clauses are true complement clauses. Languages under this set are; Ao, Chokri, Khiamniungan, Konyak, Pochury, Rengma, Sümi, Yimchunger and Zeme. The other set employs the purposive linking strategy. Languages in this sets includes Lotha, Phom and Sangtam. Table 4.1 gives an overview of Verb Raising and Complementizers under purposive clauses in the Naga Group of languages.

Languages	Verb Raising	Complementizer	Future	Purposive Linker
Chokri	+	+	+	-
Pochury	+	+	+	-
Rengma	+	+	+	-
Zeme	+	+	+	-
Yimchunger	-	+	+	-
Konyak	-	+	+	-
Ao	-	+	+	-
Khiamniungan	-	+	-	+
Sümi	-	-	+	-
Sangtam	-	-	+	+
Lotha	-	-	-	+
Phom	-	-	-	+

Table 4.1 Verb Raising and Complementizers under Purposive Clauses in the Naga Group of Languages.

The languages which permit verb raising are assigned a (+) feature, and those that do not are assigned a (-) feature. Languages which permit a complementizer in the purposive clause are assigned a (+) feature, and those that do not are assigned a (-) feature. Further, those languages that permit purposive linker are assigned a (+) feature and those that do not are assigned a (-) feature.

Normally, purposive clauses are non-finite in nature; however, most of the languages under study exhibit a finite purposive clause through the occurrence of the future marker. This again is represented in the table with a (+FUT) and (-FUT) feature.

Table 4.2 Complementation Strategies in the Naga Group of Languages

Languages	Complement Types	True Complement Clause	Serial Verb	Relative Clause	Nominalization	Purposive Linking
Complementation Strategies						
1.Ao	Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	-	-		+	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-
2. Chokri	Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	-	-		+	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-
3. Khiamniungan	Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	-	-		+	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-
4. Konyak	Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	-	-		+	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-
5. Lotha	Purposive	-	-		-	+
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	+	-		-	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-
6. Phom	Purposive	-	-		-	+
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	+	-		-	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-
7. Pochury	Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	-	-		+	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-
8. Rengma	Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	-	-		+	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-
9. Sangtam	Purposive	-	-		-	+(-comp)
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	-	-		+	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-
10. Sümi	Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	-	-	+	-	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-
11. Yimchunger	Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	-	-		+	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-
12. Zeme	Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Non-Purposive	+	-		-	-
	Participial	+	-		-	-
	Gerunds	-	-		+	-
	Infinitive (want)	-	+		-	-

Normally, in a complement clause the matrix verb can take a clause as core argument instead of an NP. Dixon termed this as True Complement Clause. Dixon also mentioned that languages which lack true complement clauses will employ complementation strategies. In table 4.2, complement types that are true complement clauses are assigned a (+) feature and those that are not are assigned a (-) feature in the first column. Naga languages under study employs 4 complementation strategies: Serial Verb Construction, Relative clause Construction, Nominalization and Purposive Linking strategies. A (+) feature is assigned to complement types that employs a particular strategy and those that do not are assigned a (-) feature.

CHAPTER - 5

POSITION OF OCCURRENCE

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Literature talks about three possible position of occurrence of the final Complementizer clauses:

(i)   *In-situ* position in the matrix clause

$$[..... [_{CP} S_2 COMP] V_1]$$
$$S_1 \qquad\qquad\qquad S_1$$

(ii)   To the right of the verb of the matrix clause

$$[..... V_1 [_{CP} S_2 COMP]   ]$$
$$S_1 \qquad\qquad S_1$$

(iii)   To the left of the subject of the matrix clause

$$[[_{CP} S_2 COMP]........ V_1]$$
$$S_1 \qquad\qquad S_1$$

(Extrapolated from Kevichüsa, 2007)

This chapter discusses the position of occurrence of the final Complementizer clause in the languages under study.

5.1 LANGUAGE :AO

All the three positions are possible for the complementizer *ta* in Ao.

I

1.a Naro -la   -i   Akhum -la   arur ta   meteta lir
naɹo -la   -i   [akəm -la   aɹuɹ ***ta***] mətəta lir
Naro -FEM -CASE Akhum -FEM come COMP know   ASP
'Narola knows that Akhumla is coming. '

II

1.b Naro -la   -i   meteta lir   Akhum -la   arur ta
naɹo -la   -i   mətəta lir   [akəm -la   aɹuɹ ***ta***]
Naro -FEM -SCM know ASP Akhum -FEM come COMP
'Narola knows that Akhumla is coming. '

III

1.c Akhum -la   arur ta   Naro -la   -i   meteta lir
[akəm -la   aɹuɹ ***ta***] naɹo -la   -i   mətəta lir
Akhum -FEM come COMP Naro -FEM -SCM know ASP
'Narola knows that Akhumla is coming. '

5.2 LANGUAGE :CHOKRI

All the three positions are possible for the complementizers ***okəti*** and ***kəti.***

okəti

I

2.a I Atale Phek lü   voto   küti   se
i [atale phek lə   vo- tš: **kəti**] se
I Atale Phek PP come-   COMP heard
                          FUT.COMP
'I heard that Atale is going to Phek.'

II

2.b I se   Atale Phek lü   voto   küti
i se   [atale phek lə   vo- tš: **kəti**]
I heard Atale Phek PP come-FUT.COMP COMP
'I heard that Atale is going to Phek.'

III

2.c Atale Phek lü   voto   küti I se
[atale phek lə   vo- tš: **kəti**] i se
Atale Phek PP come-FUT.COMP COMP I heard
'I heard that Atale is going to Phek.'

kəti

I

2.1.a	I	Azu	ce	-lü	ba	küti	se	-va
	i	[azu	ce	-lə	ba	**kəti**]	se	-va
	I	*mother*	*home*	*-PP*	*LOC*	*COMP*	*know*	*- PROG*

'I know that my mother is at home.'

II

2.1.b	I	se	-va	Azu	ce	-lü	ba	küti]
	i	se	-va	[azu	ce	-lə	ba	**kəti**]
	I	*know*	*- PROG*	*mother*	*home*	*-PP*	*LOC*	*COMP*

'I know that my mother is at home.'

III

2.1.c	Azu	ce	-lü	ba	küti]	I	se	-va
	[azu	ce	-lə	ba	**kəti**]	i	se	-va
	mother	*home*	*-PP*	*LOC*	*COMP*	*I*	*know*	*- PROG*

'I know that my mother is at home.'

5.3 LANGUAGE: KHIAMNUINGAN

All the three patterns are possible for the complementizer *tü*. The *tü* complementizer has

an allomorph *ta* and its distribution is syntactic in nature. *tü* becomes *ta* in the

[--- V$_1$ [CP S$_2$ COMP]] position. i.e. to the right of the matrix clause.

S$_1$ S$_1$

In the other two positions, the *tü* form occurs.

I

3.a	Ngo	jü	nyiu	tsam	ai	noin	tü	ngen
	ŋɔ	[tsə	ɲiu	tsam	ʌi	nɔin	**tə**]	ŋen
	I	my	mother	house	LOC	have	COMP	know

'I know that my mother is at home.'

II

3.b	Ngo	ngen	jü	nyiu	tsam	ai	noin	ta
	ŋɔ	ŋen	[tsə	ɲiu	tsam	ʌi	nɔin	**tʌ]**
	I	know	my	mother	house	LOC	have	COMP

'I know that my mother is at home.'

III

3.c	Jü	nyiu	tsam	ai	noin	tü	ngo	ngen
	[tsə	ɲiu	tsam	ʌi	nɔin	**tə]**	ŋɔ	ŋen
	my	mother	house	LOC	EX	COMP	I	know

'I know that my mother is at home.'

For the complementizer **kü**, only two positions are possible. Embedded Clauses with the complementizer **kü** cannot occur to the right of the verb of the matrix clause as the ungrammaticality of sentence (27) illustrates. Sentences (26) and (28) illustrate the other two positions.

I

3.1.a Ngo meths nou asou shap-shap kü loun
ŋɔ [meʧhɔ nu ʌsɔ ʃʌp-ʃʌp **kə**] lun
I baby DEF night crying COMP heard
'I heard the baby crying at night.'

II

3.1.b *Ngo loun methso nou asou shap-shap kü
ngo loun [meʧhɔ nu ʌsɔ ʃʌp-ʃʌp **kə**]
I heard baby DEF night crying COMP
'I heard the baby crying at night.'

III

3.1.c Methso nou asou shap-shap kü ngo loun
[meʧhɔ nu ʌsɔ ʃʌp-ʃʌp **kə**] ŋɔ lun
baby DEF night crying COMP I heard
'I heard the baby crying at night.'

Complementizers **tsən** and **tə** can co-occur in all the three positions.

I

3.2.a Ngo Haowon khokiang khong- tsün khiaunia amei tsak tü ngen
ŋɔ [haɔwon khɔkiʌŋ khɔŋ-**tsən** khʌjiɲiʌ ʌme tʃʌk **tə**] ɲen
I Haowon guitar play-COMP person good one COMP know
'I know that Haowon is a good guitarist.'

II

3.2.b Ngo ngen Haowon khokiang khong- tsün khiaunia amei tsak ta
ŋɔ ɲen [haɔwon khɔkiʌŋ khɔŋ- **tsən** khʌjiɲiʌ ame tʃʌk **tʌ**]
I know Haowon guitar play-COMP person good one COMP
'I know that Haowon is a good guitarist.'

III

3.2.c Haowon khokiang khong- tsün khiaunia amei tsak tü ngo ngen
[haɔwon khɔkiaŋ khɔŋ-**tsən** khʌjiɲiʌ ame tʃʌk **tə**] ŋɔ ɲen
Haowon guitar play-COMP person good one COMP I know
'I know that Haowon is a good guitarist.'

Complementizer *ao* can occur only in one position i.e. the in-situ position. The following examples are illustrative:

I

    3.3.a Tongkhem   tsam-ai   shi ao   aium
          tɔŋkhem   [tsʌm-ʌi   ʃi   **ʌo**] aɯm
          Tongkhem   house-LOC go COMP wants
          'Tongkhem wants to go home.'

II

    3.3.b *Tongkhem aium [tsam-ai   shi ao]
          tɔŋkhem   a:ɯm tsʌm-ʌi ʃi ʌɔ
          Tongkhem wants house-LOC go COMP
          'Tongkhem wants to go home.'

 III

    3.3.c * Tsam-ai   shi ao Tongkhem   aium
          [tsʌm-ʌi   ʃi **ʌo**] tɔŋkhem   a:ɯm
           house-LOC go COMP Tongkhem wants
          'Tongkhem wants to go home.

5.4 LANGUAGE: KONYAK

All three postions are possible in Konyak for the complementizer *sə*.

I

    4.a Tao -e   Ayo -e   guitar kong -nang she jai -nang
        tao -ə [ayo -ə gitər kɔŋ -naŋ **sə**] ʧai -naŋ
        I   *SCM* *Ayo* *- SCM* *guitar* *play* *-ASP* *COMP* *hear* *-ASP*
        'I heard that Ayo plays the guitar.'

II

    4.b Tao -e   jai -nang Ayo -e   guitar kong -nang she
        tao -ə ʧai -naŋ [ayo -ə gitər kɔŋ -naŋ **sə**]
        I *- SCM* *hear* *-ASP* *Ayo* *- SCM* *guitar* *play* *-ASP* *COMP*
        'I heard that Ayo plays the guitar.'

III

4.c Ayo -e   guitar kong -nang she   tao -e   jai   -nang
     [ayo -ə   gitər   kɔŋ   -naŋ   **sə**] tao -ə   ʧai   -naŋ
     Ayo *- SCM* *guitar* *play* *-ASP* *COMP* *I* *- SCM* *hear* *-ASP*
     'I heard that Ayo plays the guitar.'

5.5 LANGUAGE :LOTHA

All the positions are possible in Lotha for the complementizer *tɔ*.

I

5.a Soren   na   Therali   na   tsata   to   ntsia
     soren   na   [therali na   tsata   **tɔ]**   ntʃia
     Soren *SCM* *Therali* *SCM* *coming* *COMP* *know*
     'Soren knows that Therali is coming.'

II

5.b Soren   na   ntsia   Therali   na   tsata   to
     soren   na   ntʃia   [therali na   tsata   **tɔ]**
     Soren *SCM* *know* *Therali* *SCM* *coming* *COMP*
     'Soren knows that Therali is coming.'

III

5.c Therali   na   tsata   to   Soren   na   ntsia
     [therali na   tsata   **tɔ]**   soren   na   ntʃia
     Therali *SCM* *coming* *COMP* *Soren* *SCM* *know*
     'Soren knows that Therali is coming.'

5.6 LANGUAGE :PHOM

Both the final complementizers; **ʃei** and **pəjə** occur in all the three position.

ʃei

I

6.a ngei   ngelei   onyiü   shem   mei   nyüke   shei   nying   nyeih
     ŋəi   [ŋəlai   uɲə   ʃam   məi   ɲəke   **ʃei]**   ɲiŋ   ɲeiʔ
     I   *my*   *mother* *home* *PP*   *LOC*   *COMP*   *know*   *PROG*
     "I know that my mother is at home."

II

6.b ngei   nying   nyeih   ngelei   onyiü   shem   mei   nyüke   shei
     ŋəi   ɲiŋ   ɲeiʔ   [ŋəlai   uɲə   ʃam   məi   ɲəke   **ʃei]**
     I   *know*   *PROG*   *my*   *mother* *home* *PP*   *LOC*   *COMP*
     "I know that my mother is at home."

III

6.c ngelei onyiü shem mei nyüke shei ngei nying nyeih
[ŋəlai uɲə ʃam məi ɲəke **ʃei]** ŋəi ɲiŋ ɲeiʔ
my *mother* *home* *PP* *LOC* *COMP* *I* *know* *PROG*
"I know that my mother is at home."

pəjə

I

6.1.a ngei -i Chaiba guitar mei shi vüng -pü yü nying -nyeih
ŋei -e [ʧaiba gitar mai ʃi gəŋ **pə** **jə]** ɲiŋ -ɲeiʔ
I *-SCM* *chaiba* *guitar* *good* *play* *COMP* *know* *PROG*
"I know that Chaiba is a good guitarist."

II

6.1.b ngei -i nying -nyeih Chaiba guitar mei shi vüng -pü yü
ŋei -e ɲiŋ -ɲeiʔ [ʧaiba gitar mai ʃi gəŋ **pə** **jə]**
I *-SCM* *know* *PROG* *chaiba* *guitar* *good* *play* *COMP*
"I know that Chaiba is a good guitarist."

III

6.1.c Chaiba guitar mei shi vüng -pü yü ngei -i nying -nyeih
[ʧaiba gitar mai ʃi gəŋ **pə** **jə]** ŋei -e ɲiŋ -ɲeiʔ
chaiba *guitar* *good* *play* *COMP* *I* *-SCM* *know* *PROG*
"I know that Chaiba is a good guitarist."

5.7 LANGUAGE :POCHURY

The final complementizer ***ta kəsa*** occurs in all the three position.

I

7.a hi ezha azeh vü beve ta küsa tshü ve
hi [eza aʒe və beve **ta** **kəsa]** tʃə ve
I *mother* *home* *PP* *have* *COMP* *COMP* *know* *PROG*
"I know that my mother is at home."

II

7.b ezha azeh vü beve ta küsa hi tshü ve
[eza aʒe və beve **ta** **kəsa]** hi tʃə ve
mother *home* *PP* *have* *COMP* *COMP* *I* *know* *PROG*
"I know that my mother is at home."

III

7.c hi tshü ve ezha azeh vü beve ta küsa
hi tʃə ve [eza aʒe və beve **ta** **kəsa]**
I *know* *PROG* *mother* *home* *PP* *LOC* *COMP* *COMP*
"I know that my mother is at home."

5.8 LANGUAGE :RENGMA

The final complementizer *tse* can occur in all the three positions.

I

8.a	ajvu	le	kaki	bin	nle	*tse*	ale	sha	bin
	[aʒə	le	kaki	bi	n:ne	**tse]**	ale	ʃa	bĩ
	my mother	*SCM*	*house*	*EXT*	*ASP*	*COMP*	*I*	*know*	*PROG*

'I know that my mother is at home.'

II

8.b	ale	ajvu	le	kaki	bin	nle	*tse*	sha	bin
	ale	[aʒə	le	kaki	bĩ	n:ne	**tse]**	ʃa	bĩ
	I	*my mother*	*SCM*	*house*	*EXT*	*ASP*	*COMP*	*know*	*PROG*

'I know that my mother is at home.'

III

9.c	Ale	sha	bin	ajvu	le	kaki	bin	nle	*tse*
	Ale	ʃa	bĩ	[aʒə	le	kaki	bĩ	n:ne	**tse]**
	I	*know*	*PROG*	*my mother*	*SCM*	*house*	*EXT*	*ASP*	*COMP*

'I know that my mother is at home.'

Final complementizer **kəthjə** occur in all the three positions.

I

9.1.a	ale	cinema	ki	gü	kethyü	a-	kenyü
	ale	[sinema	ki	gjə	**kəthjə]**	a-	kənə
	I	*cinema*	*PP*	*go*	*COMP*	*I -*	*like*

'I like going to the cinema.'

II

9.1.b	ale	a-	kenyü	cinema	ki	gü	kethyü
	ale	a-	kənə	[sinema	ki	gjə	**kəthjə]**
	I	*I -*	*like*	*cinema*	*PP*	*go*	*COMP*

'I like going to the cinema.'

III

9.1.c	cinema	ki	gü	kethyü	ale	a-	kenyü
	[sinema	ki	gjə	**kəthjə]**	ale	a-	kənə
	cinema	*PP*	*go*	*COMP*	*I*	*I -*	*like*

'I like going to the cinema.'

Final complementizer **kə...tsə** occur in all the three positions.

I

9.2.a ale cinema ki ke- gü -tsü a- kenyü
ale [sinema ki **kə-** gjə **-tsə]** a- kənə
I *cinema* PP COMP - go COMP *I -* *like*
'I like going to the cinema.'

II

8.2.b ale a- kenyü cinema ki ke- gü -tsü
ale a- kənə [sinema ki **kə-** gjə **-tsə]**
I *I -* *like* *cinema* PP COMP go COMP
'I like going to the cinema.'

III

8.2.c cinema ki ke- gü -tsü ale a- kenyü
[sinema ki **kə-** gjə **-tsə]** ale a- kənə
cinema PP COMP go COMP *I* *I -* *like*
'I like going to the cinema.'

5.9 LANGUAGE :SANGTAM

All the three positions are possible for the final complementizer **pə** in Sangtam.

I

9.a Ihnü Alipa Bangkok lang würe pü yuchikho
i:nə [alipa bæŋkɔk laŋ vəre **pə]** juchiko
I *Alipa* *Bangkok* PP *go* COMP *hear*
'I heard that Alipa is goin to Bangkok.'

II

9.b Ihnü yuchikho Alipa Bangkok lang würe pü
i:nə juchiko [alipa bæŋkɔk laŋ vəre **pə]**
I *hear* *Alipa* *Bangkok* PP *go* COMP
'I heard that Alipa is goin to Bangkok.'

III

9.c Alipa Bangkok lang würe pü Ihnü yuchikho
[alipa bæŋkɔk laŋ vəre **pə]** i:nə juchiko
Alipa *Bangkok* PP *go* COMP *I* *hear*
'I heard that Alipa is goin to Bangkok.'

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5.10 LANGUAGE :SÜMI

All the three positions are possible for the final complementizer **ipi** in Sümi.

I

10.a ino   Atoli ye   Zunheboto lo   wuni   cheni ipi   chilue
ino   [atɔli je   zənhbɔtɔ   lɔ   u-ɲi   cheni **ipi**] ʧilu
I   Atoli SCM   Zunheboto PP   go-FUT ASP   COMP   heard
'I heard that Atoli is going to Zunheboto.'

II

10.b ino   chilue Atoli ye   Zunheboto lo   wuni   cheni ipi
ino   ʧilu   [atɔli je   zənhbɔtɔ   lɔ   u-ɲi   cheni **ipi**]
I   heard Atoli SCM   Zunheboto PP   go-FUT ASP   COMP
'I heard that Atoli is going to Zunheboto.'

III

10.c Atoli ye   Zunheboto lo   wuni   cheni ipi   ino   chilue
[atɔli je   zənhbɔtɔ   lɔ   u-ɲi   cheni **ipi**] ino   ʧilu
Atoli SCM   Zunheboto PP   go-FUT ASP   COMP   I   heard
'I heard that Atoli is going to Zunheboto.'

5.11 LANGUAGE: YIMCHUNGER

All the three positions are possible for all the three complementizers in Yimchunger.

de

I

11.a I   nü   I-   be   thüyam ching lah   -de   mükheah -lah
i   -nə   [i   be   thijam chiŋ   la   **de**] məkheaʔ la
I   SCM   my   mother house   PP   have COMP   know   ASP
'I know that my mother is at home.'

II

11.b I   nü   mükheah -lah I-   be   thüyam ching lah   -de
i   -nə   məkheaʔ la   [i   be   thijam chiŋ   la   **de**]
I   SCM   know   ASP   my   mother house   PP   have COMP
'I know that my mother is at home.'

III

11.c I-   be   thüyam ching lah   -de   i   nü   mükheah -lah
[i   be   thijam chiŋ   la   **de**] i   -nə   məkheaʔ la
my   mother house   PP   have COMP   I   SCM   know   ASP
'I know that my mother is at home.'

khi

I

11.1.a

I	nü	I-	be	thüyam	ching	lah	-khi	mükheah	-lah
i	-nə	[i	be	thijam	chiŋ	la	**khi]**	məkheaʔ	la
I	*SCM*	*my*	*mother*	*house*		*PP*	*have*	*COMP*	*know*	*ASP*

'I know that my mother is at home.'

II

11.1.b

I	nü	mükheah	-lah	I-	be	thüyam	ching	lah	-khi
i	-nə	məkhea?	la	[i	be	thijam	chiŋ	la	**khi]**
I	*SCM*	*know*	*ASP*	*my*	*mother*	*house*		*PP*	*have*	*COMP*

'I know that my mother is at home.'

III

11.1.c

I-	be	thüyam	ching	lah	-khi	i	nü	mükheah	-lah
[i	be	thijam	chiŋ	la	**khi]**	i	-nə	məkhea?	la
my	*mother*	*house*		*PP*	*have*	*COMP*	*I*	*SCM*	*know*	*ASP*

'I know that my mother is at home.'

bə

I

11.3.a

I	nü	I-	be	thüyam	ching	lah	-pü	mükheah	-lah
i	-nə	[i	be	thijam	chiŋ	la	**-bə]**	məkhea?	la
I	*SCM*	*my*	*mother*	*house*		*PP*	*have*	*COMP*	*know*	*ASP*

'I know that my mother will be at home.'

II

11.3.b

I-	be	thüyam	ching	lah	-pü	i	nü	mükheah	-lah
[i	be	thijam	chiŋ	la	**-bə]**	i	-nə	məkhea?	la
my	*mother*	*house*		*PP*	*have*	*COMP*	*I*	*SCM*	*know*	*ASP*

'I know that my mother will be at home.'

III

11.3.c

I	nü	mükheah	-lah	I-	be	thüyam	ching	lah	-pü
i	-nə	məkhea?	la	[i	be	thijam	chiŋ	la	**-bə]**
I	*SCM*	*know*	*ASP*	*my*	*mother*	*house*		*PP*	*have*	*COMP*

'I know that my mother will be at home.'

5.12 LANGUAGE: ZEMI

All the three positions are possible for the final complementizer *ketsu* in Zemi

I

    12.a Peihau Ina   gwang la   kecu   ci   bam

           pehau [ina gwaŋ   la   **ketsu]** tsi   bam

           Peihau Ina   come   *ASP* *COMP*   *know* *ASP*

           'Peihau knows that Ina is coming.'

II

    12.b Peihau ci   bam Ina   gwang la   kecu]

           pehau tsi   bam [ina gwaŋ   la   **ketsu]**

           Peihau know *ASP* *Ina   come*   *ASP* *COMP*

           'Peihau knows that Ina is coming.'

III

    12.c Ina   gwang la   kecu   Peihau ci   bam

           ina   gwaŋ   la   **ketsu]** pehau tsi   bam

           Ina   come   *ASP* *COMP*   *Peihau know* *ASP*

           'Peihau knows that Ina is coming.'

Summary:

    Table 5.1 and 5.2 gives an overview of the position of occurrence of the final complementizer clauses. The analysis shows that the three positions are possible in all the languages.

Name of the languages	I	II	III
	IN-SITU	RIGHT OF VERB	LEFT OF SUBJECT
1. Ao	+	+	+
2. Chokri	+	+	+
3. Khiamniungan	+	±	±
4. Konyak	+	+	+
5. Lotha	+	+	+
6. Phom	+	+	+
7. Pochury	+	+	+
8. Rengma	+	+	+
9. Sangtam	+	+	+
10. Sümi	+	+	+
11. Yimchunger	+	+	+
12. Zeme	+	+	+

Table 5.1Position of Occurrence of the Final Complementizers Clause in The Naga

Group of Languages

Complementizer	I	II	III
	IN-SITU	RIGHT OF VERB	LEFT OF SUBJECT
tə	+	**+ (ta)**	+
kə	+	-	+
tsən and **tə**	+	+	+
ao	+	-	-

Table 5.2 Position of Occurrence of the Final Complementizer Clause in

Khiamniungan.

The languages which permit the different position of occurrence are assigned a (+) feature. Khiamniungan is assigned a (±) feature because it has a mixed feature. Table 5.2 is given for further explanation. Final Complementizer which permit the position of occurrence are assigned (+) feature and those that do not are assigned (-) feature.

In Khiamniungan, the complementizer *kə* occur in the in-situ position as well as to the left of the subject of the matrix clause. Complementizer *ao* occurs only in the in situ positions. The other two positions are not permitted.

CHAPTER -6

SUMMARY AND FINDINGS OF THE CHAPTERS

This chapter presents the summary and findings of the previous chapters.

Chapter 1 gives a brief overview of the genetic classification of the Naga languages by various scholars. It also gives a brief introduction of the languages under study which is then followed by the outline of the study; structure and documentation, aims and objectives of the study, and the significance of the study.

Based on the literature relevant to the present study, four papers were reviewed in Chapter 2. Kevichüsa (2007) discussed the morphological analysis of the complementizers, the distribution of the complementizers, complement types and position of occurrence of the final complement clauses in Tenyidie. Noonan (1985) discussed four main types of complements and three type of S-like complement. Subbarao's (2012) study focuses on the nature of IC and FC, structural difference between IC and FC, the position of occurrence of an IC clause and FC clause with regards to South asian Languages. Dixon (2008) claims three typological types of languages regarding complementation. He further discussed three main types of complementation strategies for languages which lack true complement clause.

Chapter 3 presents the morphological analysis of the complementizers under seven features and its distributions in the complement types. The findings are as follows:

1. Quotative functions as complementizers in Chokri, Rengma and Zeme.
2. The grammaticalised form of the verb 'do' functions as complementizers in Pochury and Rengma.
3. Verbal conjuncts functions as complementizers in Chokri, Pochury and Sangatam.
4. Nominalizers functions as complementizers in almost all the languages except Khiamniungan and Sümi.
5. Deictic markers functions as complentizers in Ao, Chokri, Rengma and Sangtam.
6. Future tense functions as complementizers in Ao and Pochury.
7. Case functions as complementizers in Khiamniungan, Konyak and Lotha.
8. Purposive clauses in most of the languages occur with complementizer except Lotha, Phom, Sangtam and Sümi.

In chapter 4, the various complement types and complementation strategies employed by the languages were examined and analysed. All languages have the four complement types

Dixon (2008), mention three typological types of languages regarding complementation. The languages under study falls in the second type viz Languages with a mix of complement clause and complementation strategies. There are similarities as well as variations in the complementation strategies employed by the languages. The findings are as follows:

1. Non-Purposive and Participial clauses are true complement clauses in all the languages.
2. Languages employ the serial verb construction strategy for the infinitive clauses with the 'want' verbs except for Lotha and Phom languages.
3. Nominalization strategy is employed by all the languages for the gerundival clauses except Lotha, Phom and Sümi. Gerundivals are true complement clauses in these languages.
4. In the purposive clauses, the languages can be grouped into two sets. In the first set, the purposive clauses are true complement clauses. Languages under this set are; Ao, Chokri, Khiamniungan, Konyak, Pochury, Rengma, Sümi, Yimchunger and Zeme. The other set employs the purposive linking strategy. Languages in this sets includes Lotha, Phom and Sangtam.

Chapter 5 analysed the position of occurrence of the final complementizer clauses. The analysis shows that the three positions are possible in all the languages. In Khiamniungan, the complementizer *kə* occur in the in-situ position as well as to the left of the subject of the matrix clause. complementizer *aɔ* occurs only in the in situ positions. The other two positions are not permitted.

From the analysis of the purposive clauses in chapter 4, an interesting conclusion can be drawn. Based on the strategies the languages employ and the verb raising features, the languages can be grouped into two broad categories. Category A includes the languages which permit verb raising in the purposive clauses. Languages which permits verb raisings are; Chokri, Pochury, Rengma, Zeme. Category B includes the languages that do not permit verb raising in the purposive clauses. Category B can further be divided into B1 and B2. The B1 group are the languages that do not have a complementizer in the purposive clause viz Lotha, Phom, Sangtam, and Sümi. B2 are the languages that occur with a complementizer in the purposive clauses. The set of languages under this group are Ao, Yimchunger, Khiamniungan and Konyak. Typologically, I have grouped the Category A as the 'Tenyimia'

group and Category B as the 'Non-Tenyimia' group[6]. Table 4.1 in chapter 4 gives an overview of the complementizers and verb raising features in the purposive clauses. A schematic representation is given in Figure 6.2.
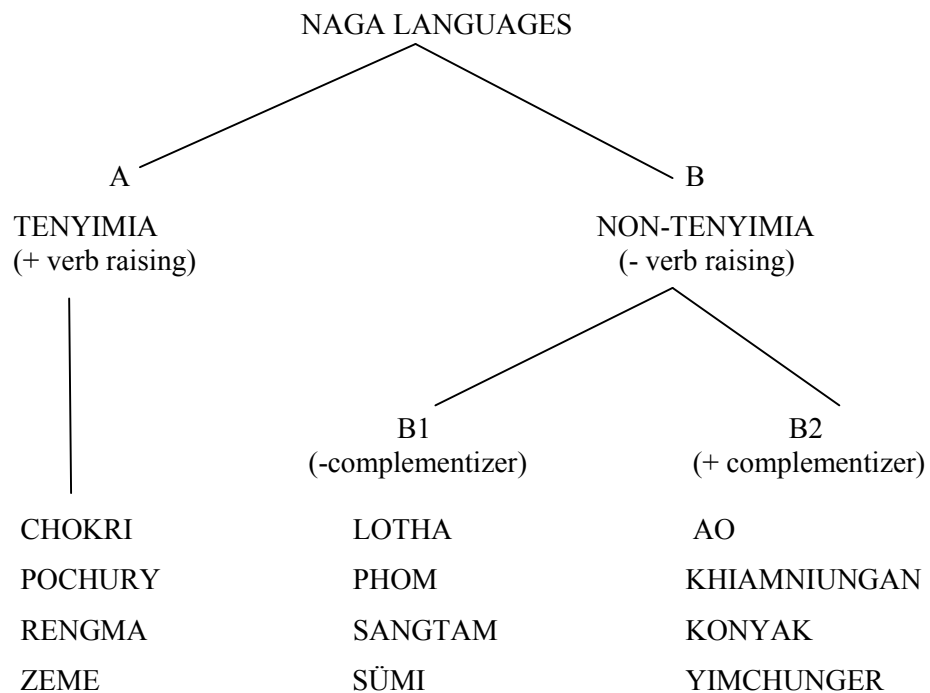
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                        NAGA LANGUAGES


            A                                   B
      TENYIMIA                            NON-TENYIMIA
     (+ verb raising)                     (- verb raising)


                              B1                      B2
                        (-complementizer)      (+ complementizer)

      CHOKRI              LOTHA                   AO
      POCHURY             PHOM                    KHIAMNIUNGAN
      RENGMA              SANGTAM                 KONYAK
      ZEME                SÜMI                    YIMCHUNGER
```

Figure 6.2 Schematic Representation of the Naga Languages based on Verb Raising in Purposive Clauses

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[6] This grouping lends support to the grouping proposed by Ezung.Mimi Kevichüsa (2018)

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ANNEXURE I

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

Name: Age:

Sex: Tribe:

Village:

1. I know that my mother is at home
2. I heard that Neinuo is going to Bangkok
3. John knows that Mary is coming
4. I heard the baby crying at night
5. I am going to church tonight
6. Make a habit of eating on time
7. Singing in the choir is fun
8. Eating too much meat is bad
9. Eating green vegetables is good
10. I like to going to the cinema
11. Smoking is prohibited
12. Swimming is good
13. Fighting is bad
14. Hunting is fun
15. I can't go with you
16. I didn't go to school today
17. Mary wants to go home
18. John wants to come
19. I know the man who is standing there
20. I ate the meat that you cooked
21. The book that you gave me is good
22. The book that she is reading is good
23. The person who build this house
24. The girl who came yesterday
25. He said that he will come
26. I heard that john plays the guitar
27. I know that John is a good guitarist

QUESTIONNAIRE 2

Name: Age:

Sex: Tribe:

Village:

A. Conjunction and Conjunctive participial marker

   1. John and Mary

   2. John came home, ate his dinner and went to sleep

B. Deictic markers

   3. This house

   4. That house (any other form of 'that')

   5. The bag is here

   6. The bag is there (any other form of 'there')

C. Utterance predicates

   7. John said that Mary left

   8. John told Jack that Mary left

   9. John says he will not do the job

D. Propositional attitude predicates

   10. John thinks that Mary will win

   11. John believes that Mary will win

   12. I doubt if he will come

   13. They doubted whether it was possible

E. Pretence predicates

   14. John and Mary pretended they were on a holiday

   15. They pretended that he came

F. Commentative predicates

   16. It was odd that John came

   17. It is significant for a student to finish his work

   18. John regrets that Mary left

G. Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge

   19. I know that she is lying

   20. I realize that I was wrong

   21. I heard John playing the guitar

H. Predicates of fearing

   22. I am afraid to fall asleep

I. Desiderative predicates

   23. I hope that John will come

   24. I want John to come

   25. Mary wants to go home

J. Manipulative predicates

   26. John made Mary to make tea

   27. She let Him go home

   28. I forced John to resign

K. Achievement predicates

   29. John tried eating spinach

   30. Mary avoids drinking alcohol

   31. John remembered to switch off the lights

   32. She happened to be out when we called

   33. You will like her once you get to know her

L. Phasal predicates

   34. He continued going down

   35. She began to cry

   36. I will start to work tomorrow

   37. Mary stopped going to school

M. Immediate perception predicates

   38. The women saw the men stealing the chicken

   39. I hear Mary playing the piano

N. Conjunctive predicates

   40. I ate meat and then I drank water

   41. I'll plant the seed and then they will grow

   42. He cooked the meat and then we ate it

ANNEXURE II

LIST OF LANGUAGE INFORMANTS

AO LANGUAGE
1. Dr. Imlienla Imchen (Assistant Professor, Centre for Naga Tribal Language Studies)
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4. Longshithung (MA (History) Hyderabad University)
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