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Complementation in Tenyidie (Angami)

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Abstract

There are four complementizers in Tenyidie, of which one is both an initial as well as a final complementizer. The remaining three are final complementizers and are variants of the quotative. The difference in the quotative between Tenyidie and the other languages is that in Tenyidie the quotative has no longer any resemblance (in form, function or meaning) to the verb 'say'. Due to this, this paper claims that the verb 'say' in Tenyidie has been fully grammaticalised as opposed to partial grammaticalisation in other languages. All the four complementizers occur across the different permissible complement constructions in the language, namely, the finite and non-finite clauses.

Keywords: Complementizer, Simple quotative, Complex quotative, Direct quotative, Full grammaticalisation

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Complementation in Tenyidie (Angami)*

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1. Introduction

Tenyidie /Angami (ISO 639-3:njm; Glottolog anga1288) is a head-final Tibeto-Burman language under the Angami-Pochuri [Pochury] group (Burling, 2003) spoken in Nagaland in the North-East of India.

Complementation is a process of subordination by means of which two clauses are joined together by a linker called a complementizer. According to Noonan (1985) “Complementizers typically derive from pronouns, conjunctions, adpositions or case markers, and, rarely verbs...” (p. 47).

According to Subbarao (2012), languages differ in their choice of complementizers. Indo-European languages are said to have Initial Complementizers (IC), whereas, South Asian languages have a Final Complementizer (FC) as well as an IC. The Tibeto-Burman languages, Dravidian, Indo-Aryan Sinhala, the Munda Mundari have an FC which is a quotative.

This paper examines and provides a description of complementation in Tenyidie with focus on (i) the types and distribution of complementizers employed by the language in the process of subordination, (ii) the types of complement clauses exhibited in the language, (iii) the functions of the quotative in the language, and (iv) the derivational constructs of the different complement types in the language.

2. Types of complementizers in Tenyidie

Tenyidie exhibits four types of complementizers. They are:

- 3:** : the reported quotative form of the verb ‘say’
- i** : the direct quotative form of the verb ‘say’
- ket̪ə** : this complementizer is a combination of *ke* (nominalizer) + *t̪ə* (deictic demonstrative). *ket̪ə* also occurs in other subordinate clauses namely relative clauses and adverbial clauses. In relative clauses *ket̪ə* is followed by a determiner (*-u* in 1a), and in adverbial clauses it is followed by an adverbial marker (*-ki* in 1b).
- 3:-ket̪ə** : Quotative + *ket̪ə*
- 3:-di** : Quotative + VP Conjunct

ket̪ə in a relative clause

- (1a) [nɔ̌ tekhu ŋu-ket̪ə]-u tekhumɛvi puo
2SG\NOM tiger saw-COMP-DET.DEF weretiger DET.INDEF
‘The tiger you saw is a weretiger.’

ket̪ə in an adverbial clause

- (1b) [nɔ̌ tekhu-u ŋu-ket̪ə]-ki mit̪ʰie mɔ̌ mɔ̌ ga
2SG\NOM tiger-DET.DEF saw-COMP-ADV afraid or NEG WHQ
‘Were you afraid when you saw the tiger?’

* This paper is a modified version of a chapter from my Ph.D. thesis *Aspects of Tenyidie (Angami) Syntax* (Kevichüsa, 2007)

ketɕə is an initial complementizer (2a) and *ʒ:*, *i*, *ʒ:ketɕə*, *ʒ:di* are final complementizers. *ketɕə* also occurs as a final complementizer in a participial clause (13). The three final complementizers are variants of the quotative form of the verb ‘say’: where *ʒ:* and *i* are of a **simple form** and hence may be termed as a ‘**simple quotative**’, whereas the other two namely *ʒ:ketɕə* and *ʒ:di*, due to their **composite form** may be termed as ‘**complex quotatives**’.

Similar to other verb-final languages, Tenyidie has **post-sentential complementizers**. The language also permits **pre-sentential complementizers**¹. Thus, the three types of complement constructions possible in Tenyidie are: (i) construction with pre-sentential complementizer as illustrated in sentence (2a), (ii) construction with post-sentential complementizer as illustrated in sentence (2b), and (iii) nesting construction as illustrated in sentences (6) and (7a).

The complementizer *ketɕə* occurs as an initial complementizer (IC) that introduces a complement clause **after** the main clause, with a discourse effect similar to clefting in English. This is illustrated in sentence (2a) below. The other three complementizers occur as final complementizers (FC), and will be further discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2.

- (2a) *a* *si-[ketɕə* *nɔ* *tekhu* *puo* *ŋu]*
 1SG\NOM heard-COMP 2SG\NOM tiger one saw
 ‘I heard that you saw a tiger.’/ ‘It is I heard that you saw a tiger.’
- (2b) [*nɔ* *tekhu* *puo* *ŋu-ʒ: ketɕə*] *a* *si*
 2SG\NOM tiger one saw-QUOTCMPLX 1SG\NOM heard
 ‘I heard that you saw a tiger.’

2.1 Simple Quotatives

As mentioned earlier, there are two simple quotatives in Tenyidie: the indirect/reported *ʒ:* and the direct quotative *i*. Both these forms occur following a process of **morphological contraction** in which the verbal conjunct *di* and the **matrix verb** gets deleted and the quotative fuses with the aspect marker *fə* as illustrated in (3) and (5).

2.1.1 The indirect quotative *ʒ:*

Unlike other South Asian languages where the quotative is a derivation of the verb ‘say’, and the form of the verb is retained, the *ʒ:* in Tenyidie bears no similarity to the verb ‘say’ *pu* (3b).

- (3a) *tsibu_i-e* [*pro_i dzəku* *nu* *vɔ-tyo*] *ʒ:-fə*
 Tsibu-ERG Dzükou to go-FUT REPQUOT-ASP
 ‘Tsibu said that she would go to Dzükou.’
- (3b) *tsibu_i-e* [*pro_i dzəku* *nu* *vɔ-tyo*] *ʒ:di* *pu-fə*
 Tsibu-ERG Dzükou to go-FUT QUOTCMPLX said-ASP
 ‘Tsibu said that she would go to Dzükou.’

¹ A study on other Naga languages (Mepfhüo, 2020) verifies the occurrence of ICs in Chokri and Nzonkhwen (Southern Rengma) which both belong to the Tibeto-Burman language family.

2.1.2 The direct quotative *i*

In contrast to the reported quotative *3:* (3 and 4), Tenyidie exhibits a direct quotative form *i* as illustrated in sentence (5a). Similar to the indirect quotative, the direct quotative is a contracted form of *idi pu-fə* (5b). The direct quotative is a feature which has so far not been noted in other South-Asian languages.

- (4) *tsibu-e* *[a* *dʒəku* *nu* *vɔ-tyo* *3:]*-*fə*
 Tsibu-ERG 1SG\NOM Dzükou to go-FUT REPQUOT-ASP
 ‘Tsibu said that I (the speaker) would go to Dzükou.’
- (5a) *tsibu_i-e* *[a_i* *dʒəku* *nu* *vɔ-tyo* *i]*-*fə*
 Tsibu-ERG 1SG\NOM Dzükou to go-FUT DIRQUOT-ASP
 ‘Tsibu said, “I will go to Dzükou.”’
- (5b) *tsibu_i-e* *[a_i* *dʒəku* *nu* *vɔ-tyo* *idi]* *pu-fə*
 Tsibu-ERG 1SG\NOM Dzükou to go-FUT DIRQUOT said-ASP
 ‘Tsibu said, “I will go to Dzükou.”’
- (6) *tsibu-e* *[a-3:se* *dʒəku* *nu* *vɔ-tyo* *3:]*-*fə*
 Tsibu-ERG 1SG-COMPCL Dzükou to go-FUT REPQUOT/said-ASP
 ‘Tsibu said that I said that I (the speaker) would go to Dzükou.’

Sentence (6) illustrates the nesting type of complement construction as reported in Saxena (1988) for Lhasa and Lahu. Saxena claims that this type of construction is a typical Tibeto-Burman feature. *3:se*² in sentence (6) is obligatory and has been analysed as a complementizer clitic. It occurs with subject NPs that select an antecedent in the non-local domain. It is pertinent to mention here that *3:se* also occurs with long-distance anaphors (Kevichüsa, 2007).

Yet another nesting type of construction is found in Tenyidie as illustrated in sentence (7a). Here we find both the initial complementizer and the simple quotative co-occurring in a sentence in their respective positions i.e. *ketfə* as an IC and *3:* as an FC.

- (7a) *abuno_i-e* *pu[-ketfə* *puo_i_j-e* *tsali* *puo* *ʃhə-fə-tyo* *3:]*-*si*
 Abuno-ERG said-COMP 3SG-ERG song one do-ASP-FUT REPQUOT-DM
 ‘Abuno said that she would sing a song.’

Note that the quotative in (7a) is followed by a deictic marker *si* which is yet another instance of a contracted form of *sə-kemhie-di* DM-like/similar-VP conjunct which means ‘like that’. However, unlike the contracted form found in (3) and (5), *si* in (7a) cannot be used in its expanded form as the ungrammaticality of (7b) illustrates. The internal structure of sentence (7a) requires further investigation and research.

- (7b) **abuno_i-e* *pu[-ketfə* *puo_i_j-e* *tsali* *puo* *ʃhə-fə-tyo* *3:]* *sə kemhie* *di*
 Abuno-ERG said-COMP 3SG-ERG song one do-ASP-FUT REPQUOT DM like/similar VP CONJ

² In the earlier translation of the Bible, we find the phrase ‘(And) Elijah said to Ahab...’ (I Kings 17:41) being translated as ‘(Sitse) Elijah-e (sie) Ahab *3:se* ...’. This, however, is viewed by some speakers as a poor translation. The other view may be that the usage of *3:se* has changed over time.

2.2 The complex quotatives 3:di and 3:ketɕə

The complex quotative 3:di occurs as a final complementizer with the verb *pu* ‘said’, and in purposive clauses (14a). Where 3:di occurs, 3:ketɕə can also occur (8 a,b) but not vice-versa as the grammaticality of sentence (9a) with 3:ketɕə, and the ungrammaticality of sentence (9b) with 3:di illustrate.

- (8a) *pete-e* [sɔdu vɔɬ -tyo 3:ketɕə] *pu*
 Pete-ERG tomorrow come-FUT QUOTCMPLX said
 ‘Pete said that she would come tomorrow.’
- (b) *pete-e* [sɔdu vɔɬ -tyo 3:di] *pu*
 Pete-ERG tomorrow come-FUT QUOTCMPLX said
 ‘Pete said that she would come tomorrow.’
- (9a) [*pete-e* sɔdu vɔɬ -tyo 3:ketɕə] *a* *si-ba*
 Pete-ERG tomorrow come-FUT QUOTCMPLX 1SG\NOM know-ASP
 ‘I know that Pete will come tomorrow.’
- (b) *[*pete-e* sɔdu vɔɬ -tyo 3:di] *a* *si-ba*
 Pete-ERG tomorrow come-FUT QUOTCMPLX 1SG\NOM know-ASP

The following section further discusses the two types of complex quotatives.

3. Types of complements in Tenyidie

All the four complement types, namely, finite clause type, non-finite clause type, gerundival or verbal noun type, and the participial type discussed in Subbarao (2012), occur in Tenyidie. The following sentences are illustrative:

Finite Embedded Clause

- (10) *pete-e* [sɔdu vɔɬ -tyo 3:ketɕə] *a* *si-ba*
 Pete-ERG tomorrow come-FUT QUOTCMPLX 1SG\NOM know-ASP
 ‘I know that Pete will come tomorrow.’

Non-finite Embedded Clause

Infinitival Clause

- (11) *pete-e* [PRO vɔɬ] *nə-ba*
 Pete-ERG come want-ASP
 ‘Pete wants to come.’

Gerundival clause

- (12) [dzəvə-ketɕə] *ha* *vi*
 swim-COMP DEF good
 ‘Swimming is good.’

Participial Clause

- (13) [ɲienuo-u-(e) thezu-u tɕə-ba-ketɕə] *pete-e* *ŋu*
 cat- DEF-(ERG) mouse-DEF eat-ASP-COMP Pete-ERG saw
 ‘John saw the cat eating the mouse.’

Considering the data in (10-13) it is interesting to note that the quotative 3: **does not occur with FC *ketɕə* in the non-finite clauses** (sentences 12 and 13), which indicates that its occurrence is **restricted to the FC in a finite clause**. Further, except for sentence (11), *ketɕə* occurs in the other complement types. In sentence (11) we find the ‘want’ - class predicate and there is no occurrence of *ketɕə*; instead we have an instance of clausal union due to which the clause gets a non-finite reading.

The embedded verb in **purposive clauses** is generally infinitive but similar to Mizo (Subbarao & Lalitha, ms.) the embedded verb in Tenyidie (14a, b) below carries the future marker *tyo* and is thus **finite**, and hence, the **occurrence of the quotative 3:**

- (14a) *pete-e* [*pro ph.ɿə-tyo* 3:*di*] *vɔ-te*
Pete-ERG read-FUT QUOTCMPLX go-PRSPRF
‘Pete has gone to read.’
- (b) *pete-e* [*pro ph.ɿə-tyo* 3:*ketɕə* *la*] *vɔ-te*
Pete-ERG read-FUT QUOTCMPLX for go-PRSPRF
‘Pete has gone to read.’

The complementizer in examples (14a) and (14b) can be dropped as illustrated in (15). The postposition *la* is also dropped along with the complementizer. Note that in sentences (14 a, b) **the future marker *tyo* occurs with the embedded verb *ph.ɿə***. The dropping of the complementizer leads to the obligatory dropping of the future marker *tyo*. The dropping of the future marker renders the verb non-finite.

- (15) *pete-e* *vɔ* [*PRO ph.ɿə*] - *te*
Pete-ERG go read - PRSPRF
‘Pete has gone to read.’

In (15), the present perfect marker *te* on the surface level seems to be attached to the embedded verb *ph.ɿə* but this is not the case. Rather, it is attached to the matrix verb *vɔ*³. Sentence (15) is again a case of clausal union. However, the clausal union that we find here is different from the one in sentence (11). In sentence (11) both the verbs remain *in situ* - the embedded verb *vɔ.ɿ* in the embedded clause and the matrix verb *nə* in the final position, whereas, in sentence (15) the matrix verb *vɔ* raises⁴ and adjoins to the embedded verb *ph.ɿə* as shown in structure (16).

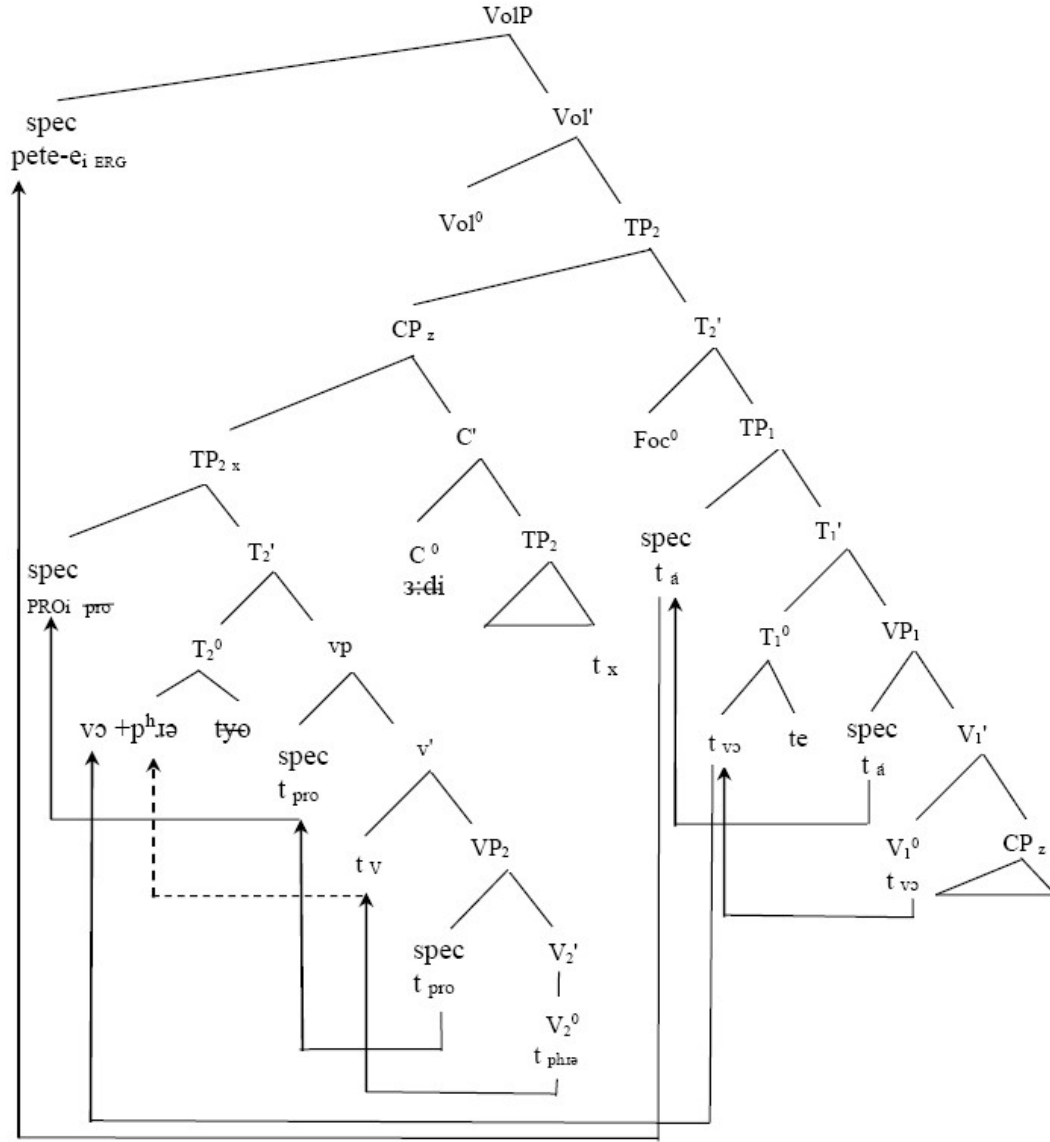
³ As evidence to support this, the following sentences are given below:

- i) *pete-e vɔ-te* ‘Pete has gone.’
ii) **pete-e ph.ɿə-te* *‘Pete has read.’

The ungrammaticality of (ii) shows that there is a constraint on the occurrence of the present perfect *te* with the verb *ph.ɿə*. For a sentence such as ‘Pete has read’, one would have to say ‘Pete-e *ph.ɿə-wa-te*’ where *wa* is the marker of completion. The present perfect *te* by itself does indicate that the action has been completed, and hence, needs the support of *wa* the completion marker. The reading that we get from (i) is: Pete has gone but is still in the place where she has gone to. The addition of *wa* as in ‘Pete-e *vɔ-wa-te*’ would indicate that the action of ‘going’ is complete: that Pete has gone and has come back.

⁴ This phenomenon of verb raising in purposive clauses in Tenyidie is also observed in Chokri, Pochury, Nzonkhwe, and Zeme (Mepfhü-o, 2020). Khezha/Kuzhale too exhibits this feature (Kevichüsa-Ezung, 2023).

(16)



Taking the structure for Pattern 3 for sentence (29), the matrix verb v_0 , generated in V_1^0 , moves via T_1^0 and adjoins to the embedded verb $ph_{iə}$ in T_2^0 . The future tense $tyə$ along with the complementizer $3:di$ gets deleted. Such an instance of verb raising accompanied by deletion of tense and complementizer has not been reported in any language thus far, and in the absence of any given literature, the process is being represented here by a strikethrough across the deleted word. Moreover, the dropping of the tense renders the clause non-finite, hence the occurrence of PRO instead of pro. The ergative subject *Pete-e* moves from the spec of VP_1 to the spec of TP to satisfy the EPP. It further moves up to the spec of VolP to check its volitional features under a spec-head relation with the volitional⁵ head Vol^0 .

⁵ I am grateful to Rajesh Bhatt for suggesting the volitional projection at a workshop discussion on 30 January 2007.

4. Functions of the quotative⁶ in Tenyidie

Following the grammaticalised functions of the verb ‘say’ in other South-Asian languages found in Saxena (1988) and Subbarao (2012) the following are the many functions of the quotative (simple and complex) in Tenyidie:

As a Complementizer

- (17) *kevi-e bunɔ vɔɔ-tyo ɜ:kɛʈə si-ba*
 Kevi-ERG Buno come-FUT QUOTCMPLX know-ASP
 ‘Kevi knows that Buno will come.’

Quotative

- (18) *kevi-e metʃie ɜ:kɛʈə bunɔ-e pu*
 Kevi-ERG intelligent QUOTCMPLX Buno-ERG said
 ‘Buno said that Kevi is intelligent.’

Purposive

- (19a) *á tsibu ze kese-tyo ɜ:kɛʈə la vɔɔ*
 1SG\NOM Tsibu with meet-FUT QUOTCMPLX for came
 ‘I came to meet Tsibu.’
- (b) *á tsibu ze kese-tyo ɜ:di vɔɔ*
 1SG\NOM Tsibu with meet-FUT QUOTCMPLX came
 ‘I came to meet Tsibu.’
- (c) *á tsibu ze kese-tyo ɜ: vɔɔ*
 1SG\NOM Tsibu with meet-FUT QUOT came
 ‘I came to meet Tsibu.’

Naming-Labelling

- (20) *a' zemie tsibu ɜ:kɛʈə-pʃə*
 1SG\POSS friend Tsibu QUOTCMPLX-FEM.DEF
 ‘My friend called Tsibu.’

Conditional

- (21) *a' meɕzi-tuo ɜ:-rɔ nɔ a' die ze mɔɔɔsuo tuo*
 1SG\ACC follow-FUT QUOT-if you 1SG\POSS word follow must FUT
 ‘If you want to follow me, you must do my bidding.’

Evidential

- (22) *meri-e sie-ta ɜ:-fie*
 Mary-ERG die-PRF QUOT-EVD
 ‘It seems that Mary has died.’

⁶ Functions of the ‘quotative’ is used as opposed to functions of the verb ‘say’ against the claim that the ɜ: in Tenyidie no longer bears any resemblance (in form, meaning or function) to the verb ‘say’ except in sentences (3a, 4, 6 and 7a).

5. Position of occurrence of the final complementizer clause

Subbarao (2012) proposes three patterns in relation to position of the clause with the final complementizer (FC-clause). This section examines the positions in relation to Tenyidie. It is observed that like in other Tibeto-Burman languages all the three patterns are found in Tenyidie.

Pattern 1

in situ position in the matrix clause.

[S₁ --- [CP S₂ COMP] V₁ S₁]

In the words of Subbarao (2012) the *in situ* position in South Asian languages is the canonical position in which the direct object occurs, that is in the medial position (23).

- (23) *tsibu-e* *[sɔdu* *chuti-tyo* *ʒ:ketʃə]* *si-ba*
 Tsibu-ERG tomorrow holiday-FUT QUOTCMPLX know-ASP
 ‘Tsibu knows that tomorrow will be a holiday.’

Pattern 2

To the **right** of the **verb** of the matrix clause.

[S₁ --- V₁ [CP S₂ COMP] S₁]

- (24) *tsibu-e* *si-ba* *[sɔdu* *chuti-tyo* *ʒ: -ketʃə]*
 Tsibu-ERG know-ASP tomorrow holiday-FUT QUOTCMPLX
 ‘Tsibu knows that tomorrow will be a holiday.’

Pattern 3

To the **left** of the **subject** of the matrix clause.

[S₁ [CP S₂ COMP] --- V₁ S₁]

- (25) *[sɔdu* *chuti-tyo* *ʒ: -ketʃə]* *tsibu-e* *si-ba*
 tomorrow holiday-FUT QUOTCMPLX Tsibu-ERG know-ASP
 ‘Tsibu knows that tomorrow will be a holiday.’

On the basis of these three patterns, a pattern for the position of the clause with an **initial complementizer (IC-clause)** in Tenyidie would be:

Pattern 4

[S₁ --- V₁ [CP COMP S₂] S₁]

- (26) *a* *si-/[ketʃə* *nɔ* *tekhu* *ŋu]*
 1SG\NOM heard-COMP 2SG\NOM tiger saw
 ‘I heard that you saw tiger.’/ ‘It is I heard that you saw tiger.’

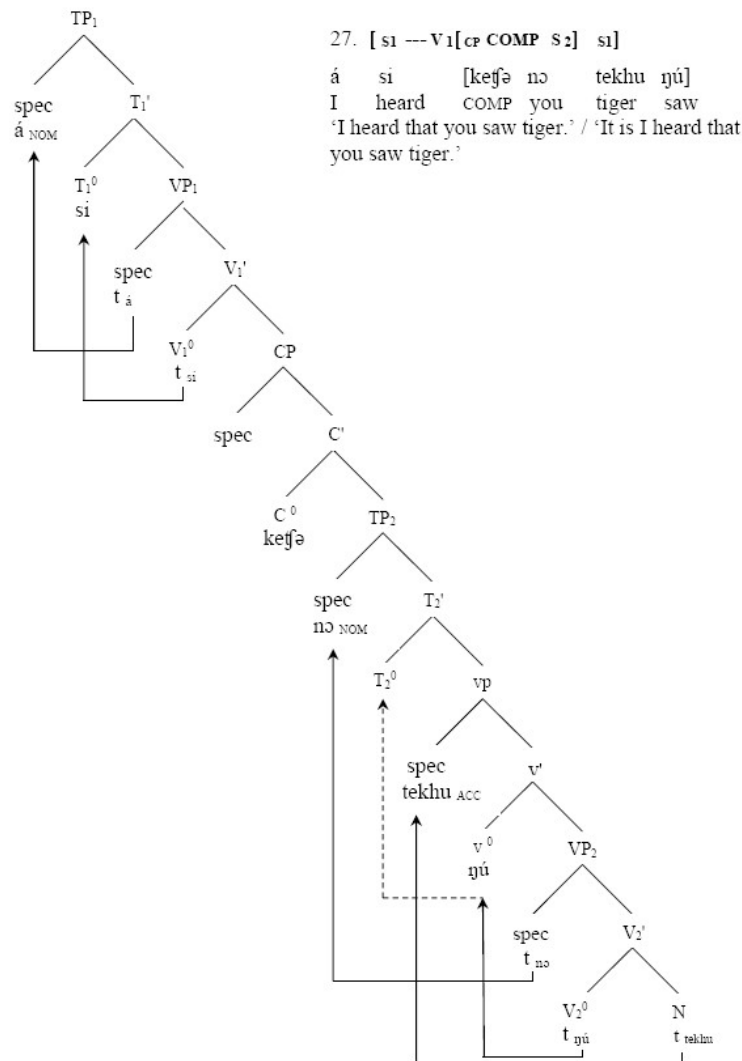
Taking into consideration the four patterns available in the language, the following section presents the derivational constructs of the complement clause types in the language.

6. Derivational constructs of the complement clause types in Tenyidie

The derivational process follows that of the head-complement order and therefore is non-parametric in nature, wherein the underlying VP core is a verb-medial construct. This analysis is necessitated due to restrictions that are faced with an underlying verb-final VP core in the process of deriving other subordinating structures namely the Pre-N, Post-N and internally headed relative clauses in the language (Kevichüsa, 2007). The derivation starts with Pattern 4 which is the pattern for the clause with an initial complementizer (IC-clause).

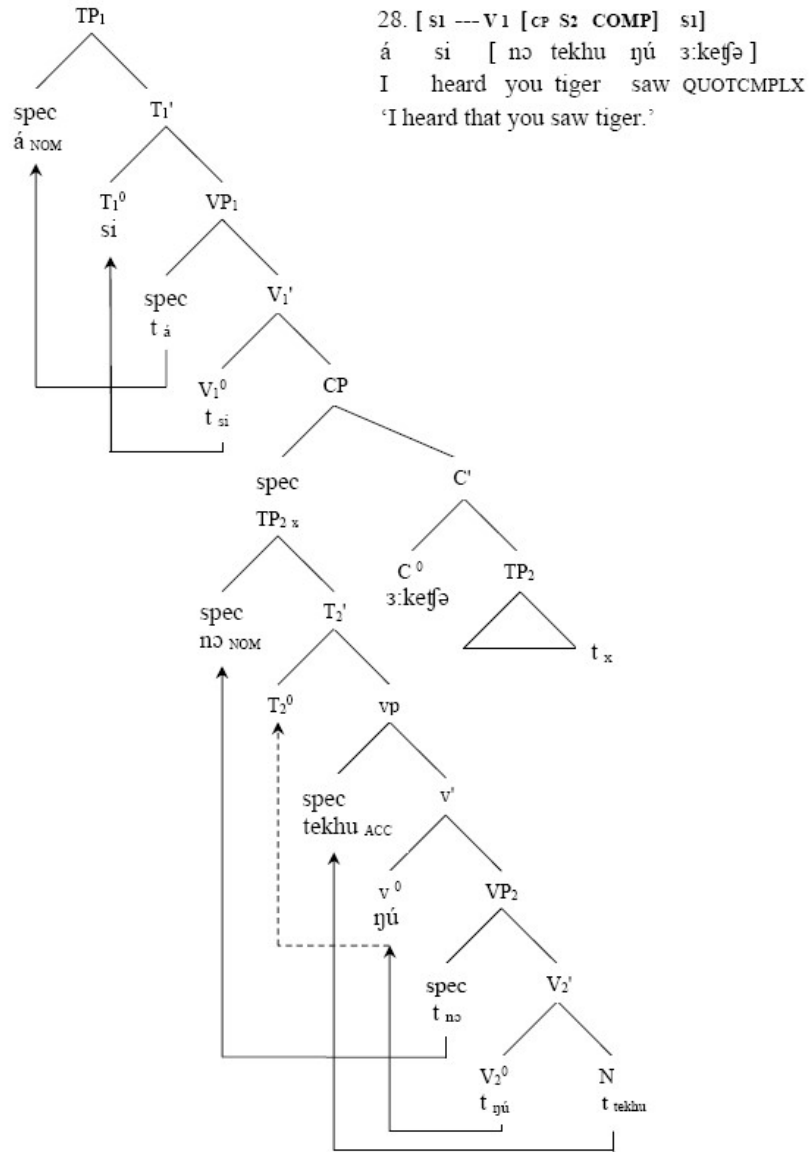
Structure (27) below is a complement clause with an initial complementizer (Pattern 4). Here the verb is a V_A verb and the subject originates VP internally⁷. The embedded verb $\eta\acute{u}$ moves from the VP core position to the v^0 head. Tenyidie being an OV language that exhibits object agreement, the object *tekhu* moves leftward to the spec of vp to get its agreement features checked under a specifier-head relation with the verb. The embedded verb further raises to T_2^0 for tense and the embedded subject *no* moves to the spec of TP_2 for EPP reasons and for a spec-head relation.

(27) Initial Complementizer (Pattern 4)



⁷ Further readings on the verbal architecture of Tenyidie is found in Kevichüsa (2007) and Kevichüsa-Ezung (2023).

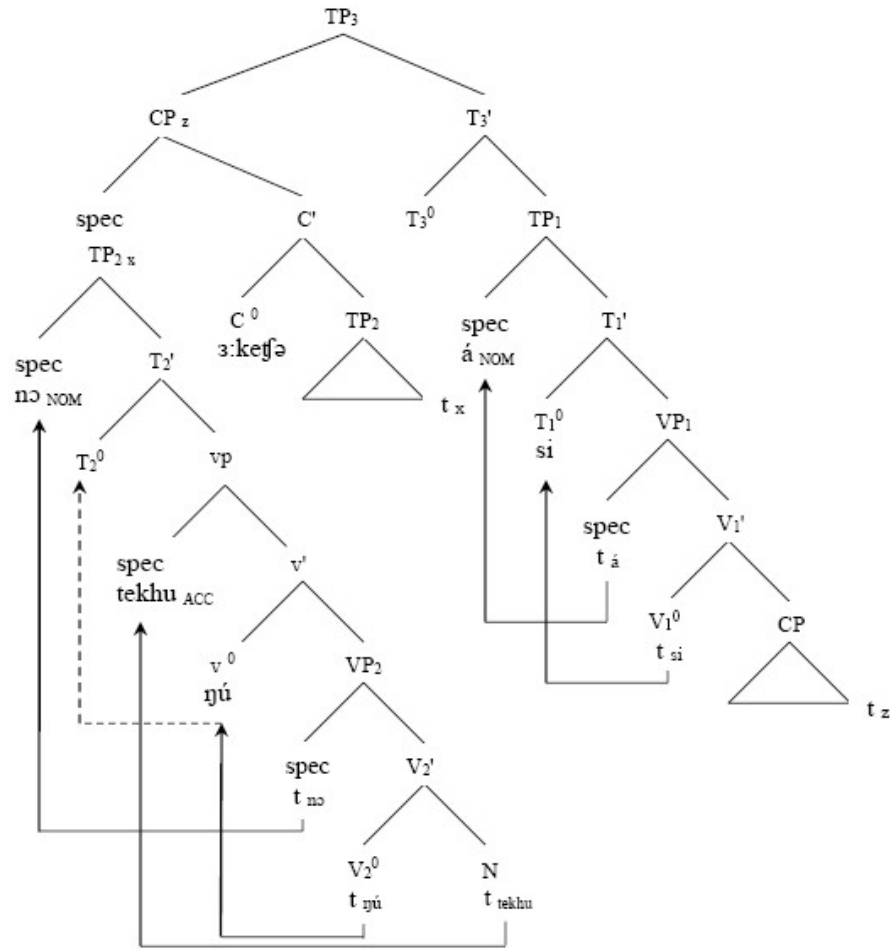
(28) **Final Complementizer (Pattern 2)**



In structure (28) above, we have a final complementizer and the complement clause occurs to the right of the matrix verb (Pattern 2). To derive this structure, the TP₂ complement of the complementizer *kefə* in (27) is scrambled to the spec of CP.

(29) **Final Complementizer** [_{S1} [_{CP} S₂ COMP] --- v₁ s₁] (Pattern 3)

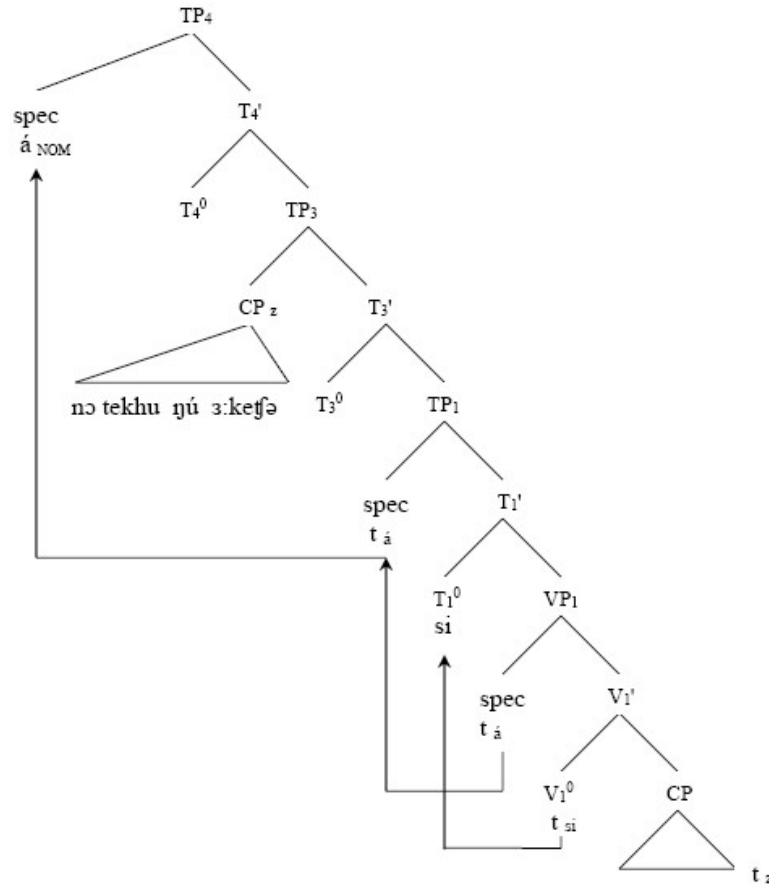
[nɔ̌ tekhu ŋú ɜ:kɛʈʂə] á si
 you tiger saw QUOTCMPLX I heard
 'I heard that you saw tiger.'



In structure (29) above, we have a final complementizer (Pattern 3). Unlike structure (28), here the clause occurs to the left of the matrix subject. To derive this structure, the whole CP is scrambled across the entire clause and adjoins to a higher TP.

(30) **Final Complementizer** [s_1 --- [$_{CP}$ S_2 COMP] v_1 s_1] **(Pattern 1)**

á [nɔ̌ tekhu ɲú ʒ:kɛʃə] si
 I you tiger saw QUOTCMPLX heard
 'I heard that you saw tiger.'



Sentence (30) is similar to sentence (29), except that the matrix subject in (30) occupies the initial position. To derive this structure, the matrix subject *á* in (29) is scrambled across the CP clause and adjoins to a higher TP.

7. Conclusion

Considering the array of complementizers, in particular the variant forms of the quotative, and the full grammaticalisation of the 'verb' *say* in Tenyidie, it is highly probable that the quotative is a native Tenyidie feature rather than a feature that developed due to areal influence in Tibeto-Burman languages as suggested by Saxena (1988). Further, the post-sentential complement constructions (Patterns 1, 2, and 3) are scrambled positions, derived from a pre-sentential construction, indicating that the language is non-configurational.

This seminal paper is by no means exhaustive and calls for further investigation and research especially on the contracted form of the quotative and the feature of verb-raising.

Abbreviations

1- first person; 2- second person; 3-third person; ADV-adverbial marker; AGR-agreement; ASP-aspect; COMP-complementizer; COMPCL-complementizer clitic; DEF-definite; DET-determiner; DIRQUOT-direct quotative; DM-deictic marker; ERG-ergative; EVD-evidential; FEM-feminine; FUT-future; INDF-indefinite; NEG-negative; NOM-nominative; PRS-present; PRF-perfective; QUOT-quotative; QUOTCMPLX-complex quotative; REPQUOT-reported quotative; SG-singular; VPCONJ-verb phrase conjunct; WHQ-wh-question particle/marker

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