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Compounding in Western Rengma

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Abstract

This paper aims to describe compounding in Western Rengma which is one of the most prominent factors of word formation processes. Words in Western Rengma are formed with one bound root and one free form combined to create new words in Western Rengma, which operate as separate grammatical constructions. This paper will explore four types of compounding—endocentric, exocentric, co-ordinate, and attributive compounding to discuss the morphological properties of compounding in Western Rengma. Each of these types would then be further examined along with its subtypes.

One of the dialects of Rengma within the Tibeto-Burman (TB) language family's Angami-Pochuri group is Western Rengma *Terüpvunyu*, which is also the name of the dialect and community. The speakers of this dialect are found in the eastern Karbi-Anglong district of Assam, India.

Keywords: Western Rengma, compounding, endocentric, exocentric, co-ordinate.

1.0. Introduction

Western Rengma is spoken in Dimapur in the state of Nagaland and the East Karbi-Anglong district of Assam, India, it is one of the endangered languages of North-east India. It belongs to the branch of the Angami-Pochuri family of Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages. Rengma people numbered 65,328 in total, according to the 2011 population census. The exonym "Rengma," which refers to "ring men," was introduced by Europeans during the colonization era. This tribe's members wore enormous rings around their ears and necks in the past. The dialect of Western Rengma is known as Terüpvunyu, pronounced */tərapiŋu/*. Because it was chosen by the indigenous people to represent the community and the language, it functions as both an endonym and an autonym. Rengmas can be grouped into four categories: Northern (Ntenyi, spoken in Dimapur and Kohima, Nagaland) and Central (Terüpvunyu, includes East Karbi Anglong district in Assam, and Dimapur, Nagaland, falls under the Eastern section; Tseminyu). Southern: Spoken in the Manipur and Nagaland border regions are Ketenenyu, Azonyu, and Nzonyu.

The present study's methodology involves the utilization of widely accepted field linguistics techniques, such as questionnaires, observations, and interviews, to gather primary data. Most of the random words and sentences collected during the fieldwork came from groups of men and women ranging in age from 25 to 60. To gather the information required for the study, interviews with language speakers were conducted. In order to gather the necessary data, the research was carried out in the village of Nkhenlari in the East Karbi Anglong District of Assam. Mr. Khenga Rengma and Mr. Thangshi Rengma were the chosen informants for this study. In addition to the primary source, secondary sources were also accessed online in the form of books, journals, Ph.D. theses, periodicals, articles, etc. This paper is an attempt to



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bring Western Rengma to the forefront of the linguistic discussion, as there has been very little research done in this area.

2.0. Previous works

One of the few published studies on Western Rengma is A Study of Tenselessness in Rengma (Western) by Monali Longmailai. She addresses the tense, aspect, and mood characteristics found in Western Rengma and the serial verb construction (SVC), which is essential for figuring out when to use tense, aspect, and mood (TAM). J.P. Mills in his book *The Rengma Nagas*, describes the socio-cultural traits of the community and mentions that the Northern and Southern districts of Western Rengma were geographically apart. The names of the northern and southern regions are Ntenyi and Nzong, respectively. In addition, *Jo Kenjih Do Latsishwu (Grammar & Words)*, written by John S. Rengma, contained basic Western Rengma grammar.

3.0. Compounding in Western Rengma

Compounding, according to Abbi, is the process of joining two separate words in a language to form a new term. Compounds are generally the result of two important processes: (1) the words that are juxtaposed to form a compound already have an independent status in the language, and (2) the constituent elements of the compound lose their original meaning and acquire a new meaning after being coined as a compound (Abbi, 2001). Within word formation processes in Western Rengma, compounding is a crucial aspect. In Western Rengma, there are four types of compounding: exocentric, endocentric, co-ordinate, and attributive compounding. These will be further examined from both structural and semantic perspectives, along with relevant examples.

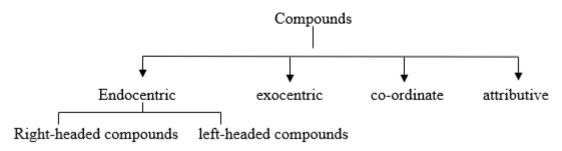


Figure 1: Types of compounds in Western Rengma

3.1. Endocentric Compound

An endocentric compound is one in which one member serves as the head and the other acts as its modifier. In this case, the head of the compound is its primary referent, and the root determines the compound's category. In Western Rengma, most compound words are endocentric, which signifies that one of the constituents serves as the head of the compound. Thus, the compound word $ment^hue$ -di 'cow's milk' is the combination of two elements $ment^hue$ 'cow' and di 'water/milk' where di 'water/milk' serves as the head that modifies $ment^hue$ 'cow'. The head in Western Rengma occurs on both sides of the phrases; right-headed and left-headed compounds. In most cases, endocentric compounds tend to be the same part of speech as the head.

3.1.1. Right-headed Compounds



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In Western Rengma, the right-headed compounds belong to the nominal bases. The word class and the necessary semantic information are provided by the first root, which also modifies the second root. The head in these types of compounds is placed on the right side of the compound words. In Western Rengma, Noun+Noun compounds are more common when the first root modifies the second root to generate a compound element that belongs to the noun class. For example,

1.	a. <i>ſeŋ</i> 'wood'+ <i>ben</i> 'plant'	>	<i>fenben</i> 'tree'
	b. $t^h e h e$ 'fur' + $p^h e$ 'cloth'	>	<i>t^hehep^he</i> 'blanket'
	c. hep^he 'eye' + di 'water'	>	hep ^h edi 'tear'
	d. karefu 'worship'+ ka 'house'	>	karesuka 'temple'
	e. $p^h u$ 'bee' + di 'water'	>	<i>p^hudi</i> 'honey'
	f. <i>tabo</i> 'pig' + $t^h e$ 'meat'	>	<i>tabot^he</i> 'pork'
	g. <i>tarre</i> 'hen' + t ^h e 'meat'	>	tarret ^h e 'chicken'

The examples above demonstrate how compounds are essentially made up of noun roots. While there are compounds belonging to other word classes as well, they are less common. There are very few occurrences where noun compounds are created by combining nouns with verbs or nouns with adjectives. However, the verbal or adjectival roots serve as the compound's head, where the root of the first lexeme modifies the root of the second lexeme. For example,

2.	a. <i>kabaŋ</i> 'cook' + <i>ka</i> 'house'	>	kabaŋka 'kitchen'
	b. <i>kadʒat</i> 'sleep' + <i>fe</i> 'place'	>	<i>kad3ika</i> 'bedroom'

The above examples 2(a) and (b) demonstrate that the first lexeme *kabaŋ* 'cook' and *kadʒat* 'sleep' which functions as a verb root modifies the second root *ka* 'house' and *fe* 'place' which is a noun and serves as the head of the compound referring to 'kitchen' and 'bedroom'. These types of compounding are very less in number where Verb+Noun compounding results in the formation of a lexeme that belongs to the noun or any other word class.

3.1.2. Left-headed Compounds

In a left-headed endocentric compound, the root of the second lexeme modifies the root of the first. In these compounds, the head is positioned on the left side of the compound.

3.	a. <i>heka</i> 'sun' + <i>karre</i> 'rise'	>	hekakarre 'sunrise'
	b. <i>heka</i> 'sun' + kat∫e 'set'	>	<i>hekakat∫e</i> 'sunset'
	c. tfan 'sky' + Kanni 'shine'	>	<i>t∫ankanni</i> 'daylight'
	d. di 'water' + ri 'flow'	>	diri 'river'
	e. <i>di</i> 'water' + <i>t/ɔŋ</i> 'kettle'	>	<i>ditʃɔŋ</i> 'kettle'
г			1 0 1 1

Examples from (3) demonstrate that left-headed compounds often include a noun root as their head, which is modified by the second element, which is a verb and adjective root. Example (3d) shows water that is bigger referred to as a 'flood' in this context. In Western Rengma, left-headed compounds are smaller in number than right-headed compounds.

4.0. Exocentric Compound

Exocentric compounds, also known as *bahuvrihi samasa* in Indian grammatical tradition, are compounds formed by joining two semantically identical or semantically related words and thus form an equational compound. Compounds that are formed in such a way that none of the constituents acts as a head are known as exocentric compounds (Abbi, 2001). The number of exocentric compounds in Western Rengma



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is less in number. For example, kad_{3i} 'soil' + kanje 'shake' > 'earthquake' here, none of the constituents is functioning as the head nor it is modifying any of the roots. In such cases, it is difficult to understand the meaning of these compounds as there is no allocated head to depict the meaning of the compound. This is to be mentioned here that often the result of such compounding is of nominal bases. A few instances have been mentioned below.

4.	a. <i>t/an</i> 'sky'/heaven' + kanre 'shower'	>	tsankanre 'rain'
	b. $t^h e$ 'meat' + karhe 'cut' + nju _[+HUMAN]	>	<i>t^hekarhenju</i> 'butcher'
	c. <i>tatſen</i> 'lentil' + <i>di</i> 'water'	>	<i>tatſendi</i> 'oil'
	d. <i>pɔŋ</i> 'heart' + <i>kendʒiŋ</i> 'anger'	>	njonkendzin 'angry'
	e. <i>pɔŋ</i> 'heart' + <i>kanjaŋ</i> 'sad'	>	njonkanjan 'sorrow'

In the above examples 4 (a, b, c, d, e & f) all the first lexemes of the compound are of noun roots. Whereas, the second lexemes are from different word classes. In this case, both the first and second elements stand independently with no specific head, but both the roots collectively contribute to the meaning of a newly created compound word.

5.0. Co-ordinate Compound

Coordinate compounds are formations in which the constituents are linked by the conjunction 'and', and such compounds do not have any head. Semantically, it can be considered that coordinate compounds have two heads. These compounds have identical roots, interrelated and their meanings can be opposite. Coordinate compounds are often composed of nouns.

5.	a. <i>masha</i> 'bow' + lubu 'arrow'	>	masha-lubu 'bow-arrow'
	b. <i>njepvu</i> 'husband' + <i>nje</i> 'wife'	>	<i>njepvu-nje</i> 'couple'
	c. <i>tfan</i> 'heaven' + <i>kad3i</i> 'earth/soil'	>	<i>tʃan-kadʒi</i> 'heaven-earth'
	d. pvu 'father' + d_3u 'mother'	>	pvu-d3u 'parents'
	e. <i>sage</i> 'brother' + <i>sagi</i> 'sister'	>	sage-sagi 'sibling'
	f. $t^h i$ 'grandmother' + $ba\eta$ 'grandfather'	>	thi-ban 'grandparents'

From the above examples of 5, it can be observed that the constituent elements combine two nouns, where one does not dominate over the other. The two nominal roots collectively form a new lexeme that gives rise to a new meaning.

6.0. Attributive Compound

Attributive compounds are produced by combining a noun or verb with an attributive function as the initial element, followed by an adjective or adverb that serves as the modifying component. In Western Rengma attributive compounds consist of a noun or verb followed by an adjective. In this form of combination, the second lexeme always modifies the first. The concept of headedness does not exactly apply to this form of compound; rather, the adjective refers to the quality of the noun or the verb that it follows.

>	<i>p^higua</i> 'beautiful'
>	<i>p^higuamu</i> 'ugly'
>	<i>nɔŋ-tʃi</i> 'black-hearted'
>	non-nt/in 'pure-hearted
>	nongua 'good-hearted'
	> > >



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From the above examples, it can be justified that the verb $p^{h}i$ 'look' and the noun *pop* 'heart' function as the head followed by the adjectives that modify the head root resulting in the formation of compounds that are adjectives.

7.0. Compound Nouns

A compound noun is one of the important aspects of compounding in Western Rengma which falls under the noun categorization. A compound noun is formed by combining a noun with another noun, verb, adjective, or post-position which results in the formation of a new noun compound. One of the key components of compounding in Western Rengma that comes under the noun class is a compound noun. A compound noun is created by joining a noun with a verb, adjective, or post-position, creating a new compound which is a noun. The possible formation of noun compounds in Western Rengma is mentioned below:

7.1. Noun-Noun Compound

A compound noun with two noun constituents is called a Noun+Noun compound. Here, the first root modifies the second root to generate a new compound noun which provides a new meaning. The occurrences of noun compounds in Western Rengma are shown in the examples below:

7. a	a. <i>sen</i> 'wood' + <i>t/iŋ</i> 'forest'	>	sent/iŋ 'forest'
ł	b. tarro 'hen' $+ di$ 'water'	>	tarrədi 'egg'
C	c. <i>t^hapet</i> 'banana' + <i>ban</i> 'tree'	>	<i>t^hapetban</i> 'banana tree'
C	d. $t^h a t / i$ 'mango' + $f a$ 'seed'	>	<i>t^hatſifa</i> 'mango'
e	e. <i>hunt^hira</i> 'orange' + <i>fa</i> 'seed'	>	<i>hunt^hiraſa</i> 'orange'
f	f. $t^h a p j u \eta$ 'jackfruit' + $\int a$ 'seed'	>	<i>t^hapjuŋʃa</i> 'jackfruit'
Ę	g. $k^h arru$ 'betel' + $\int a$ 'seed'	>	<i>k^harruſa</i> 'betel nut'
ł	n. $ment^hue$ 'cow' + t^he 'meat'	>	$ment^hue-t^he$ 'beef'
i	$l. lak^h ru$ 'bitter gourd' + di 'water'	>	<i>lak^hru-di</i> 'bitter gourd juice'

In example (7a) *sen* 'wood' and *tfiŋ* 'forest' combine to generate the noun compound *sentfiŋ* forest,' in which the first root modifies the second word, i.e., forests are made of woods. Both roots in this case are free morphemes with distinct meanings. A new noun compound is created when two noun roots are combined, as seen in examples 7 (d, e, f, & g). The fruits in the discussion that have seeds in them such as 'mangoes' t^hat/i have 'seed' *fa* in them; as a result, they have created the compound noun t^hat/ifa , which signifies 'mango'.

7.2. Noun-Verb Compound

A significant number of compound words in Western Rengma are created by combining nouns and verbs. In this kind of compounding, two independent elements combine to create a new lexeme with an entirely new meaning. In Western Rengma, noun-verb compounds are frequently connected to outfits and bodily parts. The following examples provide a detailed illustration of the occurrence of such compounding.

>	<i>pit^hɔŋ</i> 'cap/hat'
>	<i>pihju</i> 'turban'
>	piran 'crown'
>	$p^{h}aran$ 'sock'
	>



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e. p^ha 'leg' + ke 'wear'	>	p^hake 'shoe'
f. $p^h a$ 'leg' + dze 'wear'	>	<i>p^had3e</i> 'slipper'
g. p^ha 'leg' + san 'step'	>	p ^h asan 'ladder'
h. p^ha 'leg' + <i>ludo</i> 'step'	>	p ^h aludo 'staircase'
	,	

In the examples above the first roots pi 'head' and p^ha 'leg' are associated with human body parts attached to the verb roots to form a new lexeme with a whole new meaning. In example 8 (a, b & c) the first lexeme pi referring to 'head' is attached to every term associated with the head or anything placed on the head. The same is true with the root p^ha which is attached to all terms that have to do with the legs such as p^haran , which means 'sock'. However, in example 8 (g & h), the resultant compounds do not relate to any clothing; rather, they refer to something related to legs, hence *pha* is the first constituent in this instance.

7.3. Verb-Noun Compound

Verbs and a noun are the constituent elements of this kind of compound; the second root, a noun, modifies the first root, a verb, and the final compound is a noun.

9.	a. <i>kabaŋ</i> 'cooked' + <i>tu</i> 'rice'	>	kebaŋtu 'cooked rice'
	b. <i>kadʒat</i> 'sleep' + <i>ka</i> 'room/place'	>	kad3ika 'bedroom/sleeping place'
	c. karesu 'pray' + ka 'house'	>	karesuka 'temple/church'
	d. <i>kahɔŋ</i> 'gather' + <i>ka</i> 'house'	>	kahonka 'gathering house'
	e. <i>kandda</i> 'rest/sit' + <i>sue</i> 'room'	>	kanddasue 'rest/sitting room'

Apart from the verb-noun compounds observed in Western Rengma, noun-verb-noun compounds can also occur. Below are some examples which have been mentioned:

10.	a. di 'water' + kelu 'wash' + ka 'house'	>	dikeluka 'wash/bathroom'
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7.4. Noun-Adjective Compound

Noun-adjective compounds are formed by combining a noun followed by an adjective, with the adjective serving as the second root modifying the noun placed in the initial stage. The resulting compounds are always nouns.

11.	a. di 'water' + kaddah 'big'	>	dikaddah 'flood'
	b. di 'water' + dah 'large'	>	didah 'sea/large water body'
	c. <i>ri</i> 'small/narrow river' + <i>nju</i> 'small'	>	rinju 'stream'
	d. ka 'house' + dah 'large'	>	ka-dah 'bungalow'
	e. <i>t/iŋ</i> 'forest' + <i>dah</i> 'large'	>	<i>tſiŋdah</i> 'dense forest'
	f. di 'water' + $k \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{g}$ 'cold'	>	dikon 'cold water'
	g. di 'water' + jen 'hot'	>	dijen 'hot water'

The same first root, di, meaning 'water', is combined in examples 11 (a) and 11 (b), but in 11 (a) it is combined with *kaddah*, meaning 'big', which refers to 'flood', and in 11 (b), it is combined with *dah*, meaning 'large', which refers to a 'sea'. It is clear from these examples that the prefix ka in this case is functioning as an adjectivaliser prefix. However, in the examples in 11 (f) and, 11 (g) both the root *di* 'water' is modified by the second element *kpy* 'cold' and *jen* 'hot' which refers to water that is hot or cold.

7.5. Adjective- Noun Compound



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In this kind of compounding, an adjective and a noun are combined to form the compounds. Where nouns are the outcome of such compounding. Its occurrences are shown below:

12. a. nje 'sweet' + di 'water'	>	<i>nje-di</i> 'milk'
b. $t \int e^{h} e$ 'salty' + di 'water'	>	<i>tʃekʰe-di</i> 'salty water'
c. $kak^{h}e$ 'bitter' + di 'water'	>	kak ^h e-di 'bitter-water'
d. $t^h e \eta$ 'small muddy' + ka 'house'	>	<i>t^heŋ-ka</i> 'hut'

In Western Rengma, adjective-noun compounding is less common, even though it serves a significant purpose in noun compounding. In examples 12 (a, b, and c) above, the noun roots di 'water' here modify the adjective roots *nje*, *tfe*, and *kakhe*, which represent sweet, salty, and bitter water, respectively. Furthermore, the word 'house' *ka* in 12 (d) refers to the small, muddy $t^h e\eta$ where both the constituents provide a collective meaning $t^h e\eta$ -ka which means a 'hut'.

8.0. Compound Adjective

Adjectives in compound form are called compound adjectives, they can be any possible combination of an adjective and a noun, verb, or another adjective, the resulting compounds should be adjectives in this type of compounding. The possible combinations of compound adjectives observed in Western Rengma are discussed below.

8.1. Noun-Adjective Compound

This compound is formed by combining a noun followed by an adjective which provides a complete meaning to the resultant adjective.

13. <i>a. noŋ</i> 'heart' + <i>kendʒiŋ</i> 'anger'	>	nonkendzin 'angry'
b. <i>ntfe</i> 'kid' + <i>nju</i> 'small'	>	<i>ntſenju</i> 'small kids'
Γ ' (12) (11) (1)	, 16 ,	

For instance, in (13 a), the lexemes 'heart' and 'anger', respectively, refer to *poŋkendʒiŋ* 'angry'. As seen by the examples from (6 c, d & e), all emotions in Western Rengma are associated with the heart. Here, in both cases, the first root a noun, modifies the second root, and the combined contributions of both lexemes result in the newly formed compound.

8.2. Adjective-Adjective Compound

In Western Rengma, adjective-adjective compounds are independent elements that do not change any heads. Nevertheless, the two components come together to form an adjectival compound that is frequently used in the community as a metaphor to describe a range of circumstances, tastes, and colors of life.

14. a. <i>katfe</i> 'black' + <i>katfaŋ</i> 'white'	>	katse-katsay 'black-white'
b. <i>kanje</i> 'sweet' + kak^he 'bitter'	>	kanje-kak ^h e 'sweet-bitter'
c. <i>kanje</i> 'sweet' + <i>kasaŋ</i> 'sour'	>	kanje-kasaŋ 'sweet-sour'
d. kanjet 'tasty' + kamme 'tasteless'	>	kanjet-kamme 'unpleasant'
e. kagaŋ 'big' + kase 'small'	>	kagaŋ-kase 'big-small'
f. kasso 'high' + kanju 'low'	>	kasso-kanju 'high-low'
g. <i>kat^haŋ</i> 'tall' + <i>kaddi</i> 'short'	>	<i>kat^haŋ-kaddi</i> 'tall-short'

8.3. Verb-Adjective Compound



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These kinds of compounds are the combination of one action verb and an adjective. A new adjective compound is created in this kind of compounding when the first root modifies the second root, which in turn changes the meaning of the compound as a whole.

>	tetfikagua 'delicious'
>	<i>t^hɔkagua</i> 'kind'
>	$d_3 a t^h \mathfrak{I}$ 'sleepless'
>	dzat-kagua 'sleep-good'
	> > > >

9.0. Compound Verb

The sequence of compound verbs in Western Rengma is the compounding of two verb roots, such as *re*, which means 'come', and *te*, which means 'eat'. This results in *re-te*, which means 'to come and eat'. A verbal compound with an adequate meaning is formed by the combination of the two roots.

9.1. Verb-verb Compound

16. a. <i>kabbɔ</i> 'kill a person' + <i>fu</i> 'die'	>	<i>kabbɔʃu</i> 'murder'
b. bɔ 'kill' + $\int u$ 'die'	>	<i>bɔʃu</i> 'kill'
c. <i>te</i> 'eat'+ <i>t</i> / <i>i</i> 'drink'	>	te-tsi 'eat-drink'
d. te 'eat'+ $dzat$ 'sleep'	>	te-dzat 'eat-sleep'
e. $g\tilde{e}$ 'go' + re 'come'	>	gẽ-re 'go-come'
f. <i>biŋ</i> 'sit' + <i>te</i> 'eat'	>	biŋ-te 'sit-eat'

In example 16 (a & b) both the first are referring to 'kill' whereas in (16 a) *kabbb* refers to killing a person specifically and in (16 b) *bb* refers to killing in general which is [-HUMAN] and [+ANIMATE]. Here, among the two examples, *kabbbfu* is referred to as 'murder' because it is associated with humans.

10.0. Conclusion and findings

In Western Rengma, compounding is one of the most significant aspects of word formation processes. The discovery of this research work of compounding and its structures was examined from both a semantic and structural perspective. Semantic-based compounding in Western Rengma includes endocentric, exocentric, coordinate, and attributive compounding. It has Noun>Adjective>Verb compounding based on their gradation of occurrences.

Based on the research study, noun, and adjective compounds are more common than verb compounds in Western Rengma; hence, it is quite unlikely to see verbs combined with other word types for creating verb compounds. Syntactically, noun compounds are more frequently formed than adjective and verb compounds. However, they still make a significant contribution towards the word formation processes in the language.

Western Rengma has a great vocabulary. Based on their perception the uses of various terms in the language keep on changing. The language is not only rich in grammar, but it also has a wide range of semantic variations.

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