

# Chapter 5

## Complementation in Assamese and Mising

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### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter is a detailed study of the semantics and grammar of relative subordination in Assamese and Mising. The chapter has the following structure. In Section 5.1, we explored the cognitive concepts of vantage point and viewing arrangement, which are crucial in determining the construal of complementation. Section 5.2 examined finite

complementation in Assamese and Mising, focusing on the complementizers *ze*, *buli*, and *amna*, and their role in shaping complement construction. The subsequent sections discussed finite complementation in rapid informal speech, as well as *wh*- and *whether/if* clauses. Section 5.3 delved into non-finite complementation in Assamese and Mising, highlighting the significance of complementizers that mark them. Finally, section 5.4 investigated the structural similarities between complement and relative clauses in Assamese and Mising languages.

Grammatical connections between two situations arise from conceptual relationships. As discussed in Chapter 2-4, these connections facilitate various functions, such as evidence, modification, or complementation. Specifically, complement clauses provide answer to ‘what’ questions related to main clauses, clarifying their meaning or content. Clausal complementation is a type of subordination where complement clauses complete the meaning of the main clause they are linked to. In cognitive linguistics terms, they elaborate on the main verb’s ground. A complementizer like ‘that’ in English, links the complement clause to the main clause.

Due to their subordinate nature, complement clauses undergo a conceptual shift. They function within the larger sentence structure, not as independent events. As already said, this phenomenon, where the main clause overshadows the subordinate clause, is termed conceptual subordination (Langacker, 1991, p. 436).

Clausal complements can be of two types: finite and non-finite. Finite complement clauses are grounded in time as in (1a) below.

(1a) *I know that she is a singer.*

Grammatically, the complement clause acts as the object of the main verb (‘know’ in (1a)). However, its importance lies in specifying what the speaker knows (‘what I know’). The subject (‘she’) retains its nominative case.

Non-finite complement clauses also elaborate on the ground but lack specific time reference as in (1b) and (1c) below:

(1b) *I love to sing.*

(1c) *I heard her singing in the bathroom.*

Non-finite clauses may lack subjects entirely ('to sing') or use the accusative case ('her singing'). This reflects their reliance on the main clause for identification. They profile the action as a type, focusing on its nature rather than the specific event itself.

Finite complement clauses, with tenses and subjects, profile the event as a process, allowing independent understanding. Their role as complements is "only secondary" (Langacker, 2008, p. 438). In contrast, non-finite clauses cannot be grasped independently due to the lack of tense and a subject.

### **5.1 Vantage Point and Viewing Arrangement**

Cognitive linguistics explores how grammar reflects our experiences. We conceptualize the world and use grammar to express these conceptualizations. A single event can have multiple interpretations based on the perspective (mental position) of the conceptualizer. As said previously, this ability to construe events differently is called construal. In Langacker's (2008, p. 55) words: "In viewing a scene, what we actually see depends on how closely we examine it, what we choose to look at, which elements we pay most attention to, and where we view it from."

As discussed in Chapter 1 of the thesis, two key concepts related to each other in clausal complementation are vantage point (speaker's perspective) and viewing arrangement (relationship between speaker and event). A viewing arrangement considers: Is the speaker a distant observer or integrated with the event? Second, is there an asymmetry, i.e., a clear distinction between speaker and event?

We have an Optimal Viewing Arrangement (OVA) when the speaker acts as a distant observer, reporting established facts and creating a clear separation from the event.

We have an Egocentric Viewing Arrangement (EVA) when the speaker shares the perspective of someone involved in the event, creating a shared experience.

Consider the following two examples:

(2a) *I know the sun rises every morning.*

(2b) *I saw the sun rising this morning.*

Sentence (2a) presents the sunrise as a general fact, while sentence (2b) emphasizes the speaker's direct experience.

When the speaker views the event objectively (distant reality), a finite complement clause is used, creating an OVA with clear asymmetry between speaker and the subject of the complement clause. When the speaker views the event subjectively, a non-finite complement clause is used, creating an EVA with blurred asymmetry, where the speaker can share the perspective of someone in the event.

As Langacker (2009, p. 293) suggests, there are at least two conceptualizers. There is the speaker, C0, who is the initial conceptualizer and apprehends the whole sentence. Then, there is C1, who is the main conceptualizer and who apprehends the complement event called CL2, e.g., 'She (C1) believes that John is dishonest.' However, sometimes, C0 and C1 can overlap, i.e., they may be the same person.

In the same way, C1 can sometimes be implicit as in 'It is said that the forest is haunted.' This creates a sense of a 'virtual' C1 who is the source of the reported information (contrast this with 'She (C1) believes that the forest is haunted.')

Finite complement verbs (e.g., 'know,' 'think,' 'believe,') often deal with knowledge and how we understand reality (see, for a detailed discussion on the semantics of verbs that goes with finite complementation, Wierzbicka, 1988, pp. 132-140).

On the other hand, non-finite complement clauses cannot stand alone and, unlike their finite counterparts, cannot be apprehended by 'any' conceptualizer, but a conceptualizer who is involved in CL2, e.g., 'Mary (C1) loves to swim.' On the other hand, in 'I love to swim,' C0 and C1 overlap.

## **5.2 Finite complementation in Assamese and Mising**

In this section, finite complementation in Assamese and Mising is discussed. A fundamental aspect of human communication is narrating or communicating the utterances of others. Finite complementation, in particular, facilitates the narration of quoted speech, often occurring with verbs of cognition and communication, such as

knowing, saying, believing, and thinking. This is attributable to the fact that finite complement clauses report on the content of speech, thought or belief of somebody. Their primary function is quotational. The finite complementizers in Assamese are *ze* and *buli*, and in Mising it is as *ɜmna*. The complementizer *ze* in Assamese is equivalent to English ‘that’. It introduces a finite complement clause and can be dropped when needed. *ze* clauses are mostly used in formal communication.

The basic meaning of English ‘that’ is that of identification. It identifies a specific person or thing known, observed, heard or previously mentioned (e.g., ‘That girl is my friend.’) Similarly, the finite complementizer ‘that’ in English helps to identify a situation that is known (e.g., ‘I know that she is honest.’), heard (e.g., ‘I heard that she is coming to the party tonight.’), or previously mentioned (e.g., ‘She said that she won’t be coming today.’)

In the same way, the finite complementizers *ze*, *buli* in Assamese, and *ɜmna* in Mising, helps identify situations that have been previously communicated, observed or simply, known. In Assamese, the complementizer *ze* exhibits metonymic quotative properties just like English ‘that’, as it references a specific quote that has been previously heard, known, stated, or mentioned. On the other hand, *buli* and *ɜmna* are purely quotative. This is evident from the fact that *buli* is composed of the verb root *bul* ‘to say’ and the non-finite *-i*, while *ɜmna* is composed of the verb root *ɜm* ‘say’ and the non-finite *-nam*, however the final phoneme /m/ in *-nam* is never realized in the finite complementizer *ɜmna*. This may be attributed to the fact that *ɜmnam* is frequently followed by the verb *lu* ‘tell’, which triggers the elision of the final /m/ phoneme in *ɜmnam* making it *ɜmna*. Evidence that the complementizers *buli* and *ɜmna* are purely quotational is that they can simply be used as quotative markers in non-finite complementation as in (15e), (15f), and (26d), (26e), (26f), in Assamese and Mising, respectively.

All three of them, i.e., *ze*, *buli* and *ɜmna*, helps in identifying a quote that has been previously communicated, heard, observed, or understood. That is why, they are compatible with verbs of saying (e.g., *ko* ‘tell’ in Assamese and *lu* ‘tell’ in Mising), verbs of knowledge (e.g., *zan* ‘know’ in Assamese and *kin* ‘know’ in Mising), verbs of hearing (e.g., *xun* ‘hear’ in Assamese and *tad* ‘hear’ in Mising), etc.

As will be clear from the discussion below, the *ze* and *buli* complementation in Assamese and the *ʒmna* complementation in Mising is used mainly for a distant conceptualizing. They express factual statements and the verbs used in the main clause are verbs of knowing, thinking, believing, reporting, etc.

### 5.2.1 Finite Complementation with Assamese *ze*, *buli* and Mising *ʒmna*

A complementizer is a word that acts like a bridge, connecting a main clause and a complement clause. Complementizers can be seen as mental space builders (Fauconnier, 1985). They contribute to building mental spaces by acting as a signal that the sentence is introducing a new idea or perspective. This can prompt the listener to create a separate mental space for the information in the dependent clause. Different complementizers can indicate different relationships between the main and dependent clauses, e.g., ‘that’ often indicates a factual statement within the dependent clause as in ‘I know that Mary is very beautiful’; while ‘if’ introduces a hypothetical situation, as in ‘I don’t know if John is coming today.’ Thus, based on the complementizer used, the listener builds mental spaces in complementation. Unlike the English complementizer ‘that’, which sits in the clause initial position and can sometimes be dropped<sup>1</sup>, the Assamese complementizer *buli* and the Mising complementizer *ʒmna* sits in the clause-final position of the complement clause and cannot be dropped. But another finite complementizer *ze* in Assamese sits in the clause initial position i.e., introduces the complement clause and can be dropped.

In (3a) and (3b) below, C0 and C1 are the same person. In other words, the speaker (C0) in either of the examples is expressing her conceptualization as C1, i.e., that the Sun rises in the East, and that the girl called Mary is very beautiful. Note that both are factual statements as understanding of the world and are expressed in each of the CL2s.<sup>2</sup>

(3a) *‘I know that the Sun rises in the East.’* [verb of cognition]

(3b) *‘I believe that Mary is very beautiful.’* [verb of cognition]

In (4a), the main clause is *Mary-e koisil* ‘Mary said,’ and the complement clause is *nahu buli* which Mary uttered to someone to mean that she would not come. As a speaker,

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<sup>1</sup> In informal speech *that* is often dropped.

<sup>2</sup> CL2 stands for the complement clause.

Mary did not have to say *moi nahu* instead of *nahu* (where the first-person pronoun is missing) because the hearer can easily infer that the missing first-person pronoun's referent is Mary herself. Thus, the complementizer *buli*, which is derived from the root word *bul* 'to say' (see Section 5.2 above), quotes in (4a) only *nahu*. This also explains why *nahu* is not within the quotation marks, because that would be redundant, i.e., the complementizer *buli* meaning 'saying' is functioning like quotation marks.

Similarly, in (4b), *Marybi gikuma ʒmna luka*, the main clause is *luka* and the complement clause is *gikuma* which Mary uttered to mean that she would not come. Here as well, Mary did not have to say *ŋo gikuma* instead of *gikuma* (where the first-person pronoun is missing) because the hearer can easily infer that the missing first-person pronoun's referent is Mary herself. Thus, the complementizer *ʒmna*, which is derived from the root word *ʒm* 'to say' (see Section 5.2 above), quotes in (4b) only *gikuma*. This also explains why *gikuma* is not within the quotation marks, because that would be redundant, i.e., the complementizer *ʒmna* meaning 'saying' is functioning like quotation marks.

In (4a) – (4h), C0 and C1 are different persons. That is, the speaker C0, just expresses C1's conception of reality.

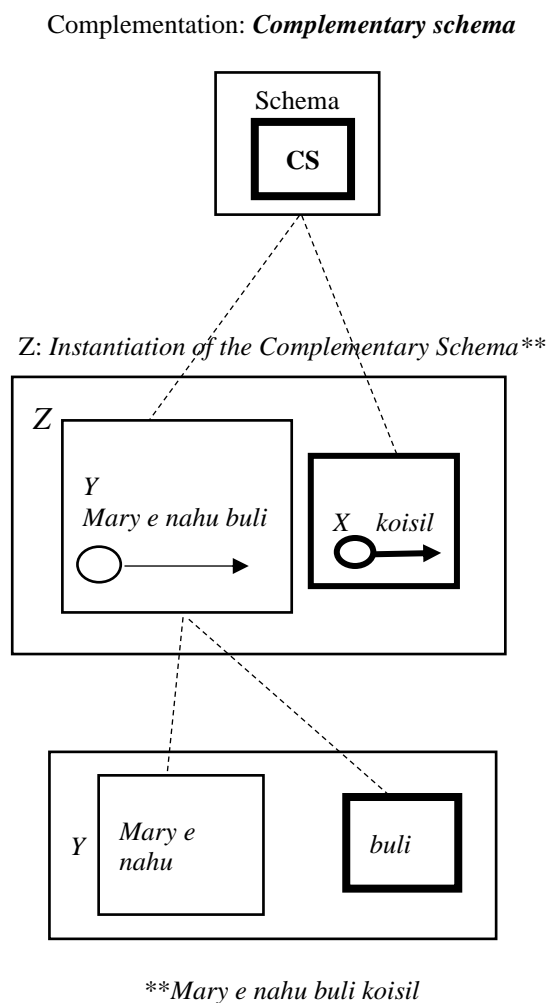
The complementizers *buli* and *ʒmna* complement the main clause by directly quoting the VP of the subordinate clause uttered by the subject. In other words, *buli* and its Mising counterpart *ʒmna* are in essence connected to direct quoting or narration.

In (4a) – (4d), the subordinate clause subject and the main clause subject are co-referential, and the VP of the subordinate clause consists of direct quotations attributed to the shared subject of both clauses. Therefore, they are direct narrations. That is, in (4a), the VP of the subordinate clause *nahu* is a direct quotation made by the main clause subject Mary about her own self. The speaker is just expressing whatever Mary said. The same applies to (4b), (4c), and (4d).

- (4a) *Mary e nahu buli koisil* (Assamese) (direct narration)  
 Mary-e na-ah-u buli ko-isil  
 Mary-ERG NEG-come-1 COMP say-PST  
 'Mary said that she won't come.' (lit)

Fig. 38 that follows, is a schematic representation of the Complementary schema (CS) and its instantiation (based on (4a) above). The subject of the second clause in (4a) is dropped as it is a co-referential.

The topmost box Z represents the entire sentence. X represents the main clause and serves as the figure (F), while Y represents the complement clause and functions as the ground (G). The lower boxes provide a more detailed breakdown of the complement clause structure. It highlights the complement clause, with the complementizer *buli* acting as the figure (F), while ‘*Mary e nahu*’ as the ground (G). On the other hand, the dotted lines connecting the boxes signify the instantiation of the complementary schema, as well as the elaboration of the internal structure of the clauses involved.



**Fig. 35: Complementation by *buli***



(4b) *Marybi gikuma*<sup>3</sup> *ɜmna luka* (Mising) (direct narration)

Mary-bi gi-ku-ma ɜmna lu-ka  
 Mary-she come-return-NEG COMP say-PST  
 ‘Mary said that she won’t come.’ (lit)

(4c) *Mary e b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>am buli koisil* (Assamese) (direct narration)

Mary-e b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>a-m buli ko-isil  
 mary-ERG rice eat-FUT COMP say-PST  
 ‘Mary said that she will eat rice.’ (lit)

(4d) *Marybi apin dojɜ ɜmna luka* (Mising) (direct narration)

Mary-bi apin do-jɜ ɜmna lu-ka  
 Mary-she rice eat-FUT COMP say-PST  
 ‘Mary said that she will eat rice.’ (lit)

In (4e) – (4h), the subjects of the main clause and subordinate clause are non-co-referential, with the main clause subject and the subordinate clause subject representing different individuals. Furthermore, the VP of the subordinate clause comprises of quotations made by the main clause subject, which pertain to the subordinate clause subject. For example, in (4e), the VP of the subordinate clause *tina bor dhunija* is a direct quotation made by the main clause subject John about the subordinate clause subject Tina. The same applies to (4f), (4g) and (4h). We have termed (4a) – (4h) as direct narration, wherein the speaker directly reports the utterance of the main clause subject without any modifications.

(4e) *Tina bor d<sup>h</sup>unija buli John e koisil* (Assamese) (direct narration)

Tina bor d<sup>h</sup>unija buli John-e ko-isil  
 Tina very beautiful COMP John-3 say-PST  
 ‘John said that Tina is very beautiful.’

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<sup>3</sup> In Mising, negative constructions exhibit a notable pattern: the habitual marker *-dag* is suppressed, and only the negative marker attaches to the root verb.

(4f) *Tinabi ka:jumdag<sup>4</sup> ɜmna Johnbi ludagai* (Mising) (direct narration)

Tina-bi ka:jum-dag ɜmna John-bi lu-dagai

Tina-she beautiful-HAB COMP John-he say-PST

‘John said that Tina is very beautiful.’

(4g) *Mary aru g<sup>h</sup>uri nahe **buli** John e koisil* (Assamese) (direct narration)

Mary aru g<sup>h</sup>ur-i na-ah-e buli john-e ko-isil

Mary more turn-NF NEG-come-3 COMP John-3 say-PST

‘John said that Mary would not come back.’

(4h) *Marybi gi:ladkuma:boŋ ɜmna Johnbi ludagai* (Mising) (direct narration)

Mary-bi gi-lad-ku-ma:-boŋ ɜmna John-bi lu-dagai

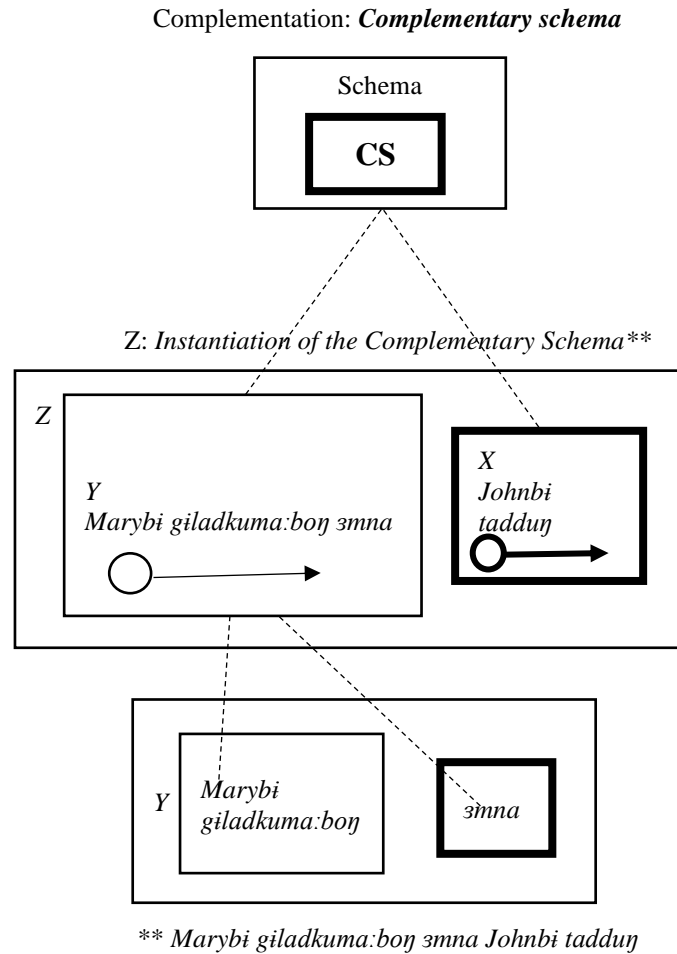
Mary-she come-return-back-NEG-PRF COMP John-he hear-PST

‘John said that Mary would not come back.’

Fig. 39 on the next page, is a schematic representation of the complementary schema and its instantiation (based on (4h) above).

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<sup>4</sup> Mising lacks a distinctive category of adjectives. The modifiers in Mising are often created by combining a morpheme expressing some quality with the habitual *-dag*.



**Fig. 36: Complementation by *ʒmna***

In (5a) and (5b), C0 and C1 are the same person. The speaker i.e., C0 is expressing her own conceptualization as C1 i.e., that he will come back. The VP of the subordinate clause is the direct quotation of the main clause's subject. The main clause subject says something about the subject of the subordinate clause. It is, therefore, a direct narration.

- (5a) *xi g<sup>h</sup>uri ahibo **buli** moi zanu* (Assamese) (direct narration)  
 xi g<sup>h</sup>ur-i ah-ib-o buli moi zan-u  
 he turn-NF come-FUT-3 COMP I-GEN know-1  
 'I know that he will come back.'

- (5b) *bɪ ɡɪladʒɜku ʒmna ŋo mɜːdag* (Mising) (direct narration)  
 bɪ ɡɪ-lad-jɜ-ku ʒmna ŋo kin-dag  
 he come-return-FUT-back COMP I know-HAB  
 ‘I know that he will come back.’

On the other hand, *ze* clauses in Assamese are mostly used in formal speech. That is why, they are widely used to reproduce famous sayings or quotations in the language as in (6a).

In (6a), C0 and C1 are two different persons. Here, C0 reports what C1 said, about hating the sinner and not the sin. That is, indirectly, the complement clause is also a part of the speaker i.e., C0’s conception of reality. *ze* metonymically quotes or points to the subordinate clause subject’s utterance in (6a).

- (6a) *zixu kʰrista e koisil ze papok ɡʰinaba, papik nohoi* (Assamese) (direct narration)  
 zixu kʰrista-e ko-isil ze pap-ok ɡʰin-ib-a  
 Jesus Christ-ERG say-PST COMP sin-DOM hate-FUT-2  
 papi-k na-hoi  
 sinner-DOM NEG-be  
 ‘Jesus Christ said that hate the sin not the sinner.’

Mising, on the other hand, is mainly a spoken language and is not much used in formal settings, and thus, does not have any specific complementizer for formal usages. They on the other hand resort to simple juxtaposition in such cases as in (6b) below.

- (6b) *zisu kristobi ludagai aiman agerdɜmpak tajumlaŋ, taniːdɜmmaŋ* (Mising)  
 zisu kristo-bɪ lu-dagai ai-man ager-dɜ-m-pak  
 Jesus christ-he tell-PST good-NEG work-DEF-ACC-EMP  
 tajum-laŋ, taniː-dɜ-m-maŋ  
 hate-IMP man-DEF-ACC-NEG  
 ‘Jesus Christ said that hate the sin not the sinner.’

In (7a), we have another construction with the complementizer *ze*. While in (7b), the same construction is expressed with the complementizer *buli*. Sentence (7a) would be

more appropriate in a formal setting, whereas (7b) is more suitable for informal contexts. Thus, *buli* and *ze* can be considered stylistic variants of each other. In both (7a) and (7b), C0 and C1 are the same. And C0 expresses its own conceptualization as C1.

- (7a) *moi b<sup>h</sup>abu ze sorkare eitu t<sup>h</sup>ik kam kora nai* (Assamese)  
 moi b<sup>h</sup>ab-u ze sorkar-e ei-tu t<sup>h</sup>ik kam  
 I think-1 COMP government-ERG this-CLF fine work  
 kor-a nai  
 do-2 NEG  
 ‘I don’t think that the government has done a good thing doing this.’

- (7b) *sorkare t<sup>h</sup>ik kam kora nai **buli** moi b<sup>h</sup>abu* (Assamese)  
 sorkar-e ei-tu t<sup>h</sup>ik kam kor-a nai buli moi  
 government-ERG this-CLF fine work do-2 NEG COMP I  
 b<sup>h</sup>ab-u  
 think-1  
 ‘I don’t think that the government has done a good thing doing this.’

Even though conceptualizers are essential and universal components of constructions, they can be either explicit, as in the examples above, or implicit. Implicit conceptualizers are those that are not overtly mentioned in the sentence. These are found in impersonal constructions, which lack explicit dummy subjects. Consider the sentence ‘It is known that she is honest.’ Here, the complement event ‘that she is honest’ cannot be traced back to a specific conceptualizer within the sentence. These constructions deliberately avoid specifying a conceptualizer. Instead, they depict an abstract setting where anyone can be the conceptualizer.

In impersonal constructions, the conceptualizer is only evoked in a general way. It remains implicit and unimportant. By default, the speaker is assumed to be the conceptualizer, but the perspective or the vantage point can easily shift to another character within the setting.

The primary focus of impersonal constructions lies on the event itself, the ‘what’ (the content of the complement event), rather than the specific ‘who’ (the conceptualizer) responsible for its interpretation (See Achard, 1998, p. 274).

In Assamese and Mising, unlike languages with dummy subjects, these constructions require implicit conceptualizers, which can be people (*manuh* for people as in (8a) and *tani* for people as in (8b) below) or everyone (*xokolu* for everyone as in (9a) and *appiη* for everyone as in (9b) below).

The speaker (C0) as part of the setting is understood as the conceptualizer by default, but it can also be someone else within the setting. These constructions, as expected, focus on the event itself rather than the specific person who conceptualizes it. In the sentences above, everyone says that she is honest. The quotative complementizers *buli* and *ɜmna*, in here, are used to re-narrate that saying. This implies that *buli* and *ɜmna* are basically quotative, but they have polysemous or extended uses.

- (8a) *xi xot **buli** manuhe zane* (Assamese) (indirect narration)  
 xi xot buli manuh-e zan-e  
 he honest COMP people-ERG know-3  
 ‘People know that he is honest’

- (8b) *bɪ ɜmpɜi ainɜ **ɜmna** tani:jɜ kindag* (Mising) (indirect narration)  
 bɪ ɜmpɜi ainɜ ɜmna tani:-jɜ kin-dag  
 he normally honest COMP people-NOM know-HAB  
 ‘People know that he is honest’

- (9a) *tai xot **buli** xokoluei zane* (Assamese) (indirect narration)  
 tai xot buli xokolu-e-i zan-e  
 she honest COMP everyone-ERG-EMP know-3  
 ‘Everyone knows that she is honest.’

- (9b) *bɪ ainɜ **ɜmna** appiηɜi kindag* (Mising) (indirect narration)  
 bɪ ainɜ ɜmna appiη-ɜ-i kin-dag  
 she honest COMP everyone-NOM-EMP know-HAB  
 ‘Everyone knows that she is honest.’

In (10a) and (10b), the speaker fails to recall what the other person wanted to eat, whether it was chicken, fish, or whisky. Thus, he is asking him, where a possible noun is replaced with a pronoun, precisely, an interrogative pronoun, i.e., *ki* ‘what’ in (10a) and *okko* ‘what’ in (10b). Given this, the *buli* and *ɜmna* here are quoting here an ‘unknown’ thing, i.e., a thing that is forgotten. Cognitively, something unknown is a potential query, hence, *ki* ‘what’ or *okko* ‘what.’

- (10a) *tumi ki k<sup>h</sup>aba **buli** koisila?* (Mising) (direct narration)  
 tumi ki k<sup>h</sup>a-ib-a buli ko-isil-a  
 you what eat-FUT-2 COMP say-PST-2  
 ‘What did you say you would eat?’

- (10b) *bi okkom dojɜ **ɜmna** luka* (Mising) (direct narration)  
 bi okko-m do-jɜ ɜmna lu-ka  
 he what-ACC eat-FUTCOMP say-PST  
 ‘What did you say you would eat?’

### 5.2.2 Finite Complementation in rapid informal speech Assamese and Mising

There is another type of finite complement clause that which is not marked by any complementizer. In English, these appear within quotation marks, e.g., He said, “I will go.” Here, “He said” is the main clause, requiring a complement clause. It cannot stand alone because it begs the question: what did he say? Only the complement clause “I will go” completes its meaning. Similarly, “I will go” cannot stand alone because of the quotation marks. The quotation marks signal that “I will go” is someone's spoken words. This raises another question: who is the speaker?

Davis (2022, p. 1064) argues that complement clauses marked by a complementizer (“that” in the above example) and those marked by quotation marks do not differ in meaning. Both are subordinate to the main clause they belong to. In effect, the quotation marks themselves act as a complementizer in these constructions.

It is to be noted that in (11a) - (11d), the complementizers *buli* in Assamese and *ɜmna* in Mising are dropped. This is usually done in casual or rapid speech.

(11a) *Mary e nahu koisil* (Assamese) (direct narration)

Mary-e na-ah-u ko-isil  
 Mary-ERG NEG-come-1 say-PST  
 ‘Mary said, “won’t come”.’ (lit)  
 ‘Mary said she won’t come’

(11b) *Marybi gikuma ɜmdag* (Mising) (direct narration)

Mary-she gi-ku-ma ɜm-dag  
 Mary-she go-return-NEG say-HAB  
 ‘Mary said, “won’t come”.’ (lit)  
 ‘Mary said she won’t come’

(11c) *Marye b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>am koisil* (Assamese) (direct narration)

Mary-e b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>a-im ko-isil  
 mary-ERG rice eat-FUT say-PST  
 ‘Mary said, “will eat”.’ (lit)  
 ‘Mary said she would eat.’

(11d) *Marybi dojɜ ɜmdag* (Mising) (direct narration)

Mary-bi do-jɜ ɜm-dag  
 Mary-she eat-FUT say-HAB  
 ‘Mary said, “will eat”.’ (lit)  
 ‘Mary said she would eat.’

Thus, the finite complementizers in Assamese and Mising categorized by their broad semantic functions are presented in Table 7 and Table 8 that follows, respectively.



**Table 7: Finite Complementizers in Assamese**

Sl. No.	Finite Complementizer	Semantics
1	<i>ze</i>	Metonymically quotative
2	<i>buli</i>	Quotative

**Table 8: Finite Complementizer(s) in Mising**

Sl. No.	Finite Complementizer	Semantics
1	<i>amna</i>	Quotative

### 5.2.3 *Wh-* and *Whether/If* Complementation in Assamese and Mising

Both Assamese and Mising have another type of finite complementation where the complement clause takes the form of *wh*-questions or *whether/if* clauses.

In the case of *wh*-clauses, they function similarly to quotative complements, lacking a grammatical marker (complementizer) in both languages. Semantically, they act as complements to the main clause<sup>5</sup>, providing information or expressing uncertainty.

For *whether/if* clauses, Assamese uses the marker *ne nai* ‘or not’, while Mising uses the dubitative marker *-soη..-soη*. Taid (2016: 236) too has discussed these suffixes *soη..-ma:soη* as pairs of suffixes indicating an affirmative and a negative possibility.

It is to be noted that Taid (2016, p. 327) classifies these *wh-* and *whether/if* constructions as relative clauses in Mising. However, this thesis considers them as finite complement clauses due to their involvement of a conceptualizer and verbs of knowledge. The suffix *-zi*, attached to the subordinate clause, functions as a dubitative marker, indicating uncertainty about the knowledge expressed within the complement clause.

*Wh*-clauses ask questions using words like *who*, *what*, *where*, *why*, etc. They are compatible with main clauses that provide answers to those questions.

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<sup>5</sup> See Dirven (1989, pp. 118-119)

*Whether/if* clauses express uncertainty about the event in the complement clause. Therefore, they are compatible with main clauses indicating a lack of information.

In these constructions, the following relationships hold between the conceptualizers (C0, C1, and CL2). Consider the following examples:

(12a) *xi koloi gol moi nazanu* (Assamese)

xi koloi za-l moi na-zan-u  
 he where go-PRF I NEG-know-I  
 ‘I don’t know where he has gone.’

(12b) *bi okolop gikazi ŋo kinma* (Mising)

bi okolop gi-ka-zi ŋo kin-ma  
 he where go-PST-DUB I know-NEG  
 ‘I don’t know where he has gone.’

(12c) *xi koloi polal moi nazanu* (Assamese)

xi koloi pola-l moi na-zan-u  
 he where run-PRF I NEG-know-I  
 ‘Where he has run to, that I don’t know.’

(12d) *bi okolop dugpakkazi 3d3m ŋo kinma* (Mising)

bi okolop dug-pak-ka-zi 3d3-m ŋo kin-ma  
 he where flee-EMP-PST-DUB that-ACC I know-NEG  
 ‘Where he has run to, that I don’t know.’

In (12a) - (12d), the speaker (C0) identifies with the subject of the main clause (C1). However, C0 lacks the information necessary to answer the question posed in the complement clause (CL2). While C0 acknowledges the question, they are unable to provide an answer.

Similar relationships hold for *whether/if* clauses, as illustrated in sentences (13a) - (13d). Here, C0 acknowledges the uncertainty expressed in the complement clause but cannot confirm or deny it.

- (13a) *xi g<sup>h</sup>uri ahibo **ne nai** moi nazanu* (Assamese)  
xi g<sup>h</sup>uri ah-ib-o ne nai moi na-zan-u  
he turn come-FUT-3 or not I NEG-know-1  
‘I don’t know whether/if he will come back or not.’
- (13b) *bi giduŋkusoy gikuma:soy ŋo kinma* (Mising)  
bi gi-duŋ-ku-soy gi-ku-ma:-soy ŋo kin-ma  
he come-PROG-return-DUB come-back-NEG-DUB I know-NEG  
‘I don’t know whether/if he will come back or not.’
- (13c) *kamtu hol **ne nai** moi nazanu* (Assamese)  
kam-tu ho-l ne nai moi na-zan-u  
work-CLF be-PRF or not I NEG-know-1  
‘I don’t know whether/if the work is done or not.’
- (13d) *agerd3 kaboj3soy kaboma:soy ŋo kinma* (Mising)  
ager-d3 kabo-j3-soy kabo-ma:-soy ŋo kin-ma  
work-CLF become-FUT-DUB become-NEG-DUB I know-NEG  
‘I don’t know whether/if the work is done or not.’

### 5.3 Non-finite Complementation in Assamese and Mising

While all complement clauses rely on the main clause for meaning, the level of dependency can vary. The non-finite complement clause shows the highest degree of dependence on the main clause. This dependence is twofold: (a) The complement clause relies on the main clause to establish its reality; it describes an event as a general type, not a specific instance; (b) the complement clause depends on the main clause for its identification within that reality. Thus, non-finite complementation, as Radden & Dirven (2007, p. 55) suggest, exhibits the tightest conceptual linkage between clauses. The more conceptually dependent a complement clause is, the more structurally dependent it will be. Thus, compared to finite complementation, non-finite complementation is structurally tighter, i.e., non-finite complement clause, unlike its finite counterpart, is not an

independent identity; it is non-finite in form (see also Bolinger, 1980; and Langacker, 1991).

Uniquely, non-finite complement clauses are viewed subjectively by the conceptualizer (C1) as someone already involved in the event. Unlike finite complement clauses, they cannot be objectively construed from a distance (see our discussion in 5.1 above). They lack independent meaning and rely on the main clause for their conceptualization of reality, as in, to repeat our earlier examples in (2a) and (2b), viz., ‘I know that the Sun rises every morning’ vs. ‘I saw the Sun rising this morning’.

This link between clauses in non-finite complementation is established using non-finite complementizers, which contribute to the building of mental spaces for a thing-like reified action or event to be viewed from various perspectives. In turn, such complementizers atemporalize actions or events. Thus, in English, the complementizer – *ing* in ‘Mary hates smoking’ where ‘smoking’ is a non-finite complement clause, reifies the verb ‘smoke’. The sentence tells us about Mary’s perspective on the act of smoking. On the other hand, in ‘He loves to smoke’, the non-finite complementizer is ‘to’ which reifies the verb ‘smoke’.

As will be clear from the discussion below, the non-complementation in Assamese and Mising is used mainly for a subjective conceptualizing of the complement event. Thus, non-finite complementation is often used with verbs of perception, sensation, volition., etc., where the speaker feels more involved in the complement event. Also, because non-finite clauses lack tense and a typical subject, they are grounded in reality by the main clause verb and receive their identification through the main clause subject. As discussed earlier, the subject of the non-finite complement clause is either missing or in the accusative, i.e., it does not behave like a typical subject of an independent clause.

We constantly discuss things in the world, whether it is universal truths (e.g., ‘Elephants are majestic animals’), personal opinions (e.g., ‘I don’t like fish’), desires (e.g., ‘I want him’), knowledge (e.g., ‘I know John’), or emotional responses (e.g., ‘I love his hugs’).

In the same way, non-finite complement clauses, by reifying actions into conceptual entities, are compatible with main clauses that express opinions, knowledge, or emotional

responses about these entities. This explains their compatibility with perception verbs (e.g., ‘I saw her coming’), sensation verbs (e.g., ‘I love to read’), and knowledge verbs (e.g., ‘I know how to swim’).

The following examples of non-finite complement clauses in Assamese and Mising, highlighting their compatibility with **attributive verbs**:

- (14a) *aam k<sup>h</sup>abaloi b<sup>h</sup>al (hoi)*<sup>6</sup> (Assamese)

aam k<sup>h</sup>a-iboloi b<sup>h</sup>al  
mango eat-COMP good  
‘Mangoes taste good.’

- (14b) *porhiboloi b<sup>h</sup>al pau* (Assamese)

porh-iboloi bhal pa-u  
read-COMP good feel-1  
‘I like to read.’

- (14c) *xaturibo zanu* (Assamese)

xatur-ibo zan-u  
swim-COMP know-1  
‘I know to swim.’

- (14d) *aam donam aidag* (Mising)

aam do-nam ai-dag  
mango eat-COMP well-HAB  
‘Mangoes taste good.’

- (14e) *ŋo porinam aip3 m3:dag* (Mising)

ŋo pori-nam aip3 m3:-dag  
I read-COMP good feel-HAB  
‘I like to read.’

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<sup>6</sup> The copula *ho* ‘be’ (along with the relevant person marker it takes on, e.g. *-i* in *hoi*) is not uttered in idiomatic Assamese present tense constructions.

(14f) *ŋo ba:nam kindag* (Mising)

*ŋo*      *ba:-nam*      *kin-dag*  
 I      swim-NF      know-HAB  
 ‘I know to swim.’

### 5.3.1 Types of non-finite complement clauses in Assamese<sup>7</sup>

We have identified five types of non-finite complement clauses in Assamese, each marked by a different non-finite complementizer. These complementizers also function as non-finite markers in Assamese. We will focus on their grammar and meaning in the following sub-sections.

#### 5.3.1.1 The non-finite complementizer *-a*

One of the non-finite complementizers in Assamese is *-a*. It is also a nominalizer. Therefore, it is compatible with attributive verbs such as *b<sup>h</sup>al (hoi)* ‘is good’ and *beja (hoi)* ‘is bad.’ It is also the only non-finite marker compatible with the classifier *-tu*, as in (14b).

Assamese is a numeral classifier language (see Borah, 2008, 2012). Thus, in Assamese, a classifier always accompanies a noun when it is numerically quantified. The fact that *-a* is compatible with a classifier (i.e., *tu*, which classifies three-dimensional things and by extension abstract entities) provides evidence that the verb marked by it is fully nominalized, i.e., it has become fully noun-like. Actions marked by it exhibit the highest degree of reification.

In example (15a), the main clause is *beja (hoi)* ‘is harmful’ while the atemporal complement clause is *mod k<sup>h</sup>ua* ‘drinking alcohol’ complementing the predicative adjective *beja* ‘harmful’. Similarly, in example (15b), the main clause is *b<sup>h</sup>al (hoi)* ‘is good’, while the atemporal complement clause is *xatura* ‘swimming’ and it complements the predicative adjective *b<sup>h</sup>al* ‘good’.

(15a) *mod k<sup>h</sup>ua beja (hoi)*

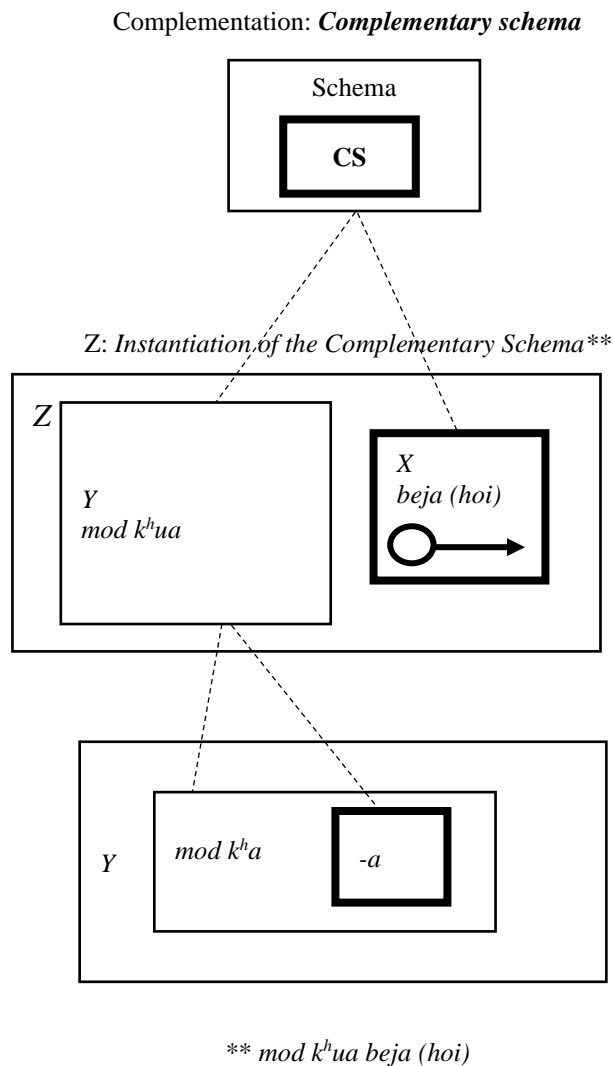
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<sup>7</sup> A portion of this chapter has been previously published as ‘The Grammar and Meaning of Atemporal Complement Clauses in Assamese: A cognitive Linguistics Approach’ (2024) in *Himalayan Linguistics*, 23(1), 43-56.

mod            k<sup>h</sup>a-a            beja    (hoi)  
 alcohol        eat-CMPZ        bad    (be)  
 ‘Drinking alcohol is harmful.’

(15b) *xatura b<sup>h</sup>al (hoi)*  
 xatur-a        b<sup>h</sup>al    (hoi)  
 swim-COMP    good    (be)  
 ‘Swimming is good for health.’

Fig. 40 below, is a schematic representation of the Complementary Schema (CS) and its instantiation (based on (15a) above).



**Fig. 37: Complementation by -a**

In (15a), we have a generalized statement about a particular type of action: ‘Drinking alcohol is harmful.’ Let’s consider (15c) below, where another non-finite complementizer, i.e., *-ibloi* (see Section 5.3.1.2 below), is used in place of *-a*. This substitution results in a change of meaning: the sentence in (14c) expresses a personal opinion about the taste of mod ‘alcohol.’

- (15c) *mod k<sup>h</sup>aboloji beja (hoi)*  
 mod                    k<sup>h</sup>a-iboloi      beja      (hoi)  
 alcohol                eat-COMP      bad      (be)  
*‘Drinking alcohol is not tasty.’*

The complementizer *-a* can be used with a non-generalized statement as well. In such a case, *-a* is suffixed by the classifier *-tu*. Assamese, unlike English, does not have an article like ‘the’. Thus, when a classifier is suffixed to a noun, it results in a definite NP, e.g., *lora-tu* ‘the boy’. Thus, *zua-tu* in (15d) means a specific instance of going, complementing the verb *gom pa* ‘to learn’. The example (15e), where the classifier *-tu* is missing is, thus, not well-formed.

- (15d) *tumi taloi zuatu gom pau*  
 tumi    tar-loi                za-a-tu                gom    pa-u  
 you    there-ALL            go-COMP-CLF    clue    get-3  
*‘I learned about you going there.’*

- (15e) *\*tumi taloi ebar zua gom pau*  
 tumi    tar-loi                za-a                    gom    pa-u  
 you    there-ALL            go-COMP            clue    get-3

This also explains, why (15f) below would not *usually* be used to mean (15a) above; it will be uttered rather as an opinion about a *specific instance* of drinking alcohol (e.g., upon seeing someone drinking alcohol), although it can *metonymically* mean a generalized statement on the possible harmful effects of drinking alcohol.



- (15f) *mod k<sup>h</sup>uatu beja (hoi)*  
 mod                    k<sup>h</sup>a-a-tu            beja    (hoi)  
 alcohol                eat-COMP-CLF bad    (be)  
 ‘In my opinion, drinking alcohol is harmful.’

In (15g) below, we have a further example where the non-finite verb in the complement clause complementing the predicative adjective *beja* ‘bad’ is suffixed by the same classifier *tu*.

- (15g) *tar k<sup>h</sup>uatu bor beja (hoi)*  
 xi-r                    k<sup>h</sup>a-a-tu                    bor    beja    (hoi)  
 he-GEN                eat-COMP-CLF            very   bad    (be)  
 ‘His style of eating is disgusting.’

The suffix *-a*, when added to the verb root *bul*, creates the form *bula*, which serves a quotational function. This *bula* is always followed by a classifier or a noun-classifier combination. For instance, in examples (15a) - (15c), “*ahim*”<sup>8</sup> meaning ‘I’ll come’; “*nahu*”<sup>9</sup> meaning ‘I won’t come’, and “*sorijam*”<sup>10</sup> meaning ‘I’ll slap you’ are direct quotes reported through *bula*.

While both *bula* and *buli* are quotative, they differ in their semantic scope. *buli* can function as a finite complementizer, enabling the reporting of distant conceptualizations. In contrast, *bula* is restricted to internal conceptualizations, where the speaker expresses their opinion or knowledge about the truth value of the reported statement. Since truth values are inherently tied to situations rather than objects, the suffixation of *-a* to *bul* subtly shifts the meaning towards denoting a situation, thus facilitating the expression of truth values.

Importantly, *bula* is always followed by the classifier *-tu* or the noun-classifier combination e.g., *kotha-tu* ‘speech-classifier’ as in (16c) below.

<sup>8</sup> *ah-im* ‘come-Future-Ø’ = ‘I’ll come’ (The first-person person marker in future is realized as Ø’ in Assamese.).

<sup>9</sup> *na-ah-u* ‘negative-come-1’ = ‘I won’t come’.

<sup>10</sup> *soria-im* ‘slap-Future-Ø’ = ‘I’ll slap you.’

(16a) *xi ahim bulatu xosa (hoi)*

xi ah-im bul-a-tu xosa (hoi)

he come-FUT say-COMP-CLF true (be)

‘The report that he said that he would come is true.’

(16b) *xi nahu bula kot<sup>h</sup>atu xosa (hoi)*

xi n-ah-u bul-a kot<sup>h</sup>a-tu xosa (hoi)

he NEG-come-1 say-COMP speech-CLF true (be)

‘The report that he said that he would come is true.’

(16c) *xi tak sorijam bula kot<sup>h</sup>atu misa (hoi)*

xi xi-k sorija-m bul-a kot<sup>h</sup>a-tu misa (hoi)

he he-DOM slap-FUT say-COMP speech-CLF false (be)

‘The report that he said that he would slap him is untrue.’

Alternatively, as shown in examples (16d) - (16 f) below, the sentences can be re-written using the quotative *buli* instead of *bula*. In these cases, *buli* does not function as a finite complementizer to express distant conceptualizations. Rather, it participates in subjective conceptualizations by quoting the verb phrase (VP) of the subordinate clause. This quotative *buli* is always followed by the nominalized form of the verb *ko* ‘tell’ i.e., *kua* plus the classifier *-tu* as in (16d); or by *kua* followed by the noun *kot<sup>h</sup>a* ‘speech’ and the classifier *-tu* as in (16e) and (16f).

(16d) *xi ahim buli kua<sup>h</sup>tu xosa (hoi)*

xi ah-im buli ko-a-tu xosa (hoi)

he come-FUT QUOT. tell-COMP-CLF true (be)

‘That he said that he would come is true.’

(16e) *xi nahu buli kua kot<sup>h</sup>atu xosa (hoi)*

xi n-ah-u buli ko-a kot<sup>h</sup>a-tu xosa (hoi)

he NEG-come-1 QUOT. tell-COMP speech-CLF true (be)

‘That he said that he would come is true.’

- (16f) *xi tak sorijam buli kua kot<sup>h</sup>atu misa (hoi)*  
 xi xi-k sorija-m buli ko-a kot<sup>h</sup>a-tu misa (hoi)  
 he he-DOM slap-FUT QUOT. tell-COMP speech-CLF false (be)  
 ‘That he said that he would slap him is untrue.’

### 5.3.1.2 The non-finite complementizer *-iboloi*

The non-finite complementizer *-iboloi* is composed of the non-finite *-ibo*, which is also the future marker in Assamese and the allative *-loi*. It is used typically to express a personally generalized statement, i.e., personal truths as was observed with (15c) above, which is reproduced as (17a) that follows.

- (17a) *mod k<sup>h</sup>aboloi beja (hoi)* (factual modality)  
 mod k<sup>h</sup>a-iboloi beja (hoi)  
 alcohol eat-COMP bad (be)  
 ‘Drinking alcohol is not tasty.’

- (17b) *mod k<sup>h</sup>aboloi moza (hoi)* (factual modality)  
 mod k<sup>h</sup>a-iboloi moza (hoi)  
 alcohol eat-COMP good (be)  
 ‘Drinking alcohol is a great fun.’

The complementizer *-iboloi* is, thus, also associated with a specific instance of the process in question, often with a future orientation. It may be used to express our emotional response regarding the thing in the complement clause. Consider the following examples, where the atemporal complement clauses have complemented the compound verb *mon za* ‘feel like’, and the verb *ko* ‘say’, respectively.

- (17c) *tak saboloi mon goise* (factual modality)  
 xi-k sa-iboloi mon za-is-e  
 he- DOM see-COMP mind go-ING.PROG-3  
 ‘I want to see him.’

- (17d) *xi tumak zaboloi koise* (factual modality)  
 xi tumi-k za-iboloi ko-is-e  
 he you-DOM go-COMP say-ING.PROG-3  
 ‘He has asked you to go.’

### 5.3.1.3 The non-finite complementizer *-ibo*

The atemporal complementizer *-ibo* is associated with modality, i.e., a reality that has a potential to be factual or realized, as in the examples below. *-ibo* is also the future marker in Assamese. The complement clauses in the examples complement, respectively, the verbs *zan* ‘can/know’ and *par* ‘can’.

- (18a) *moi xaturibo zanu* (disposition modality)  
 moi xatur-ibo zan-u  
 I swim-COMP know-1  
 ‘I can swim.’

- (18b) *xi gari solabo pare* (disposition modality)  
 xi gari sola-ibo par-e  
 he car drive-COMP can-3  
 ‘He can drive a car.’

Both (18a) and (18b) above express disposition modality, expressing the ability to perform some particular act or task. In (18c) and (18d), we have another such example with the complementizer *-ibo*, expressing a potential reality. The complement clauses in the examples complement, respectively, the verbs *bisar* ‘want’ and the compound verb *xidd<sup>th</sup>anto lo* ‘decide’.

- (18c) *moi zabo bisarisu* (potential modality)  
 moi za-ibo bisar-is-u  
 I go-COMP want-ING.PROG-1  
 ‘I want to go.’

- (18d) *moi zaboloi xidd<sup>h</sup>anto loisu* (potential modality)  
 moi za-iboloi xidd<sup>h</sup>anto lo-is-u  
 I go-COMP decision take-ING.PROG.1  
 ‘I have taken the decision to go.’

While (18e) expresses a potential reality with the verb *bisar* ‘want’ (18f), by contrast expresses a factual reality, i.e., the speaker has taken a decision to go, which is a factual. Thus, (18e) and (18f) are ill-formed.

- (18e) \**moi zaboloi bisarisu*  
 moi za-iboloi bisar-is-u  
 I go-COMP want-ING.PROG-1

- (18f) \**moi zabo xidd<sup>h</sup>anto loisu*  
 moi za-ibo xidd<sup>h</sup>anto lo-is-u  
 I go-COMP decision take-ING.PROG.1

The ungrammaticality of (18e) and (18f) provide clear evidence that *-ibo* and *-iboloi* have different semantics. One is associated with potential reality, the other factual reality.

The examples below provide further evidence that *-ibo* is associated with potential reality. The complement clauses in the examples complement the modal verbs *lag* ‘be attached’ in (19a), and (20a), and *pari* ‘be possible’ in (21a).

- (19a) *xomoiot ahibo lage* (deontic modality)  
 xomoi-ot ah-ibo lag-e  
 time-LOC come-COMP be attached-3  
 ‘Arriving on schedule is desirable.’

- (20a) *azi mod k<sup>h</sup>abo pari* (intrinsic modality)  
 azi mod kha-ibo par-i  
 today alcohol eat-COMP be able-IMM  
 ‘It may be a day for drinking alcohol.’

(21a) *azi boroxun ah<sup>ibo</sup> lage* (epistemic modality)

azi boroxun ah-ibo lag-e  
 today rain come-COMP be attached-3  
 ‘It is likely to rain today.’

The (b) versions of (19), (20) and (21) are ill formed as they have *–iboloi* in place of *–ibo*.

(19b) \**xomoiot ahiboloi lage*

xomoi-ot ah-ibo lag-e  
 time-LOC come-COMP be attached-3  
 ‘Arriving on schedule is desirable.’

(20b) \**azi mod k<sup>h</sup>aboloi pari*

azi mod kha-ibo par-i  
 today alcohol eat-COMP be able-IMM  
 ‘It may be a day for drinking alcohol.’

(21b) \**azi boroxun ahiboloi lage*

azi boroxun ah-ibo lag-e  
 today rain come-COMP be attached-3

#### 5.3.1.4 The non-finite complementizer *-i*

The atemporal complementizer *-i* is associated with complementation that is resultative in meaning. In the following examples *–i* is used and they express a result had from an accomplished instance of a particular type of action as in (22a); or an expected result from such an action as in (22b) below. The complement clauses in the examples complement the compound verb *b<sup>h</sup>al lag* ‘enjoy’. *-i* is also the serial verb marker in the language.

(22a) *anza-k<sup>h</sup>on k<sup>h</sup>ai bor b<sup>h</sup>al lagil*

anza-k<sup>h</sup>on k<sup>h</sup>a-i bor b<sup>h</sup>al lag-il  
 curry-CLF eat-COMP very good be attached-PRF  
 ‘I thoroughly enjoyed eating the curry.’

(22b) *taloi goi nissoi bor b<sup>h</sup>al lagibo*

tar-loi	za-i	nissoi	bor	b <sup>h</sup> al	lag-ibo
there-ALL	go-COMP	sure	very	good	be attached-FUT

‘I am sure we will thoroughly enjoy going there.’

In (22c) and (22d) below, we have two examples, each expressing a resultative summary of a particular type of action. In both examples the compound verb *beja pa* ‘hate/dislike’ controls the complement clauses.

(22c) *dorob k<sup>h</sup>ai beja pau*

dorob	k <sup>h</sup> a-i	beja	pa-u
medicine	eat-COMP	bad	get-1

‘I hate having medicines.’

(22d) *mas k<sup>h</sup>ai bohute beja pai*

mas	k <sup>h</sup> a-i	bohute	beja	pa-i
fish	eat-COMP	many	bad	get-3

‘Many dislikes eating fish.’

### 5.3.1.5 The non-finite complementizer *-ile*

The non-finite complementizer *-ile* is associated with complementation that expresses a condition. It establishes the condition as a ground and is compatible with main clauses featuring emotion verbs, indicating how we will feel once the condition is fulfilled. This can be seen in examples (23a) - (25a) below, which present three conditional statements using *-ile*. The complement clauses in these examples express a present (23a), future (24a), and past (25a) condition, respectively, complementing the noun *duk<sup>h</sup>* ‘pain’. In other words, the sadness is linked to the fulfillment of the stated condition.

(23a) *tumi kandile duk<sup>h</sup> pau*

tumi	kand-ile	duk <sup>h</sup>	pa-u
you	cry-COMP	hurt	get-1

‘When you cry, I get hurt.’

- (24a) *tumi kandile duk<sup>h</sup> pam*  
 tumi kand-ile duk<sup>h</sup> pa-m  
 you cry-COMP hurt get-FUT  
 ‘If you cry, I will get hurt.’

- (25a) *tumi nahile duk<sup>h</sup> palu heten*  
 tumi na-ah-ile duk<sup>h</sup> pa-il-u heten  
 you NEG-come-COMP hurt get-PRF-1 COND  
 ‘If you did not come, I would have been hurt.’

It is clear from the discussion above that the marker *-ile* atemporalizes a subordinate clause that expresses a condition. As a matter of fact, *-il*, in being the present perfect marker in Assamese, means that the action involved has just finished, but its impact or relevance is still there in the present. Thus, an extended (i.e., polysemous) meaning of *-il* is fulfilment of a condition, resulting in a particular result as its impact (i.e., pain in the case of the concerned examples). Thus, we have *-il* in the complement clauses in (23a) - (25a), suffixed by *-e* as a condition marker.

Actions marked by *-ile* exhibits a high degree of actionality, which enables it to be alternately expressed by the temporal and conditional subordinators like *zetia* and *zodi*, as in the (b) versions of (23), (24), and (25). We analyze these clauses as complement clauses rather than adverbial subordinate clauses, because when we say *duk<sup>h</sup> pau* ‘I get hurt’ as in (23b), *duk<sup>h</sup> pam* ‘I will be hurt’ as in (24b), and *duk<sup>h</sup> palu heten* ‘I would have been hurt’ as in (25b), immediately the question will arise as to ‘what is it that hurts you?’ in (23b), ‘what will hurt you?’ in (24b), and ‘what would have hurt you?’ in (25b). Thus, functions as a complement, providing essential information to fully articulate the meaning of the main clause.

- (23b) *tumi zetia kanda, duk<sup>h</sup> pau*  
 tumi zetia kand-a duk<sup>h</sup> pa-u  
 you when cry-1 hurt get-1  
 ‘When you cry, I get hurt.’



(24b) *tumi zodi kanda duk<sup>h</sup> pam*

tumi	zodi	kand-a	duk <sup>h</sup>	pa-m
you	if	cry-1	hurt	get-FUT

‘If you cry, I will be hurt.’

(25b) *tumi zodi nahila heten, tente duk<sup>h</sup> palu heten*

tumi	zodi	na-ah-il-a	heten	tente	duk <sup>h</sup>	pa-il-u	heten
you	if	NEG-come-PRF-2	COND	then	hurt	get-PRF-1	COND

‘If you would have not come, I would have been hurt.’

### 5.3.2 Types of non-finite complement clauses in Mising

We have identified four types of non-finite complement clauses in Mising and three different non-finite complementizers. Notably, the absence of a complementizer is characteristic of informal, rapid speech, wherein the root verb in its bare form functions as the non-finite verb, which is discussed in Section 5.3.2.1

We focus on the grammar and meaning of each of these non-finite complementation form in the sub-sections that follow.

#### 5.3.2.1 Non-finite Complementation in Mising with *-nam*

Mising employs the non-finite complementizer *-nam* to introduce non-finite clauses that function as complements within a sentence. Actions marked by *-nam* exhibits the highest degree of reification. It is the only complementizer that takes the definitive marker *-d3* in the language. It is primarily used to express universal and personal truths. Thus, (26a) - (26i) show how *-nam* can be used to create general statements about actions.

(26a) *apon ti:nam aima*

apon	ti:-nam	ai-ma
alcohol	drink-COMP	good-NEG

‘Drinking alcohol is harmful.’

(26b) *misa agom lunam aima*

misa	agom	lu-nam	ai-ma
false	words	say-COMP	good-NEG

‘Lying is bad.’

(26c) *bozek jub**nam** aima*

bozek	jub-nam	ai-ma
Too much	sleep-COMP	good-NEG

‘Sleeping too much is bad.’

In these examples, the non-finite verb clauses (‘drinking alcohol,’ ‘lying,’ and ‘sleeping too much’) describe actions as general types, not specific instances.

While *-nam* can indicate general statements as exemplified by the three examples above, it can also indicate ‘personalized generalizations’ as in (26d) and (26e) below. These statements reflect truths specific to an individual, formed through repeated experiences. They represent personal preferences, unlike universal truths about actions in general (e.g., ‘drinking alcohol is harmful’).

(26d) *ŋɔ po**nam** aip3 m3:dag*

ŋɔ	po-nam	aip3	m3:-dag
I	read-COMP	well	feel-HAB

‘I love to read.’

(26e) *Johnbi futbol keli**nam** aip3 m3:dag*

John-bi	futbol	keli-nam	aip3	m3:-dag
John-he	football	play- COMP	good	feel-HAB

‘John likes to play football.’

It is to be noted, however, when used with the definitive marker *-d3* and referring to a specific instance of an action, *-nam* loses its generalizing function. Consider (25f) below, which describes a single instance of someone going somewhere, and *-nam* with *-d3* clarifies this specificity.

(26f) *no olop gi**nam**d3m kindag*

no	olop	gi-nam-d3-m	kin-dag
you	there	go-COMP-DEF-ACC	know-HAB

‘I learned about you going there.’

The examples (26g) and (26h) below, are identical with (26b) and (26c) above in form, except that the definitive marker *-d3* is missing in (26b) and (26c). When attached to nouns, *-d3* creates definite noun phrases (e.g., *ko:d3* ‘the boy’). Similarly, when added to non-finite verbs, it can suggest a specific action, although it might also carry a metonymic meaning of a generalized statement as is evidenced in (26g) - (26i).

(26g) *misa agom lunamd3 aima*

<i>misa</i>	<i>agom</i>	<i>lu-nam-d3</i>	<i>ai-ma</i>
false	words	say-COMP-DEF	well-NEG

‘Lying is bad.’

(26h) *bozek jubnamd3 aima*

<i>bozek</i>	<i>jub-nam-d3</i>	<i>ai-ma</i>
Too much	sleep- COMP-DEF	well-NEG

‘Sleeping too much is bad.’

(26i) *nok ukump3 ginam aip3 m3:dag*

<i>no-k</i>	<i>ukum-p3</i>	<i>gi-nam</i>	<i>aip3</i>	<i>m3:-dag</i>
you-GEN	home-ALL	go-COMP	good	feel-HAB

‘I like going to your house.’

However, the non-finite complementizer *-nam* when suffixed to the verb root *3m* ‘say’, making it *3mnam*, has quotational properties.

*-nam* when suffixed to *3m* is always followed either by the definitive *-d3*, or by the noun *agom* ‘speech’ and the definitive *-d3*. In the examples below, “*gij3*”, “*gikuma*”, “*dij3*” are direct quotes that are reported by the quotative *3mnam*. It is different from the finite complementizer *3mna* as *3mna*, in addition to being quotative, can also function as a finite complementizer.

But *3mnam* cannot function as a finite complementizer to report a distant conceptualization. It can only take part in a subjective conceptualization, where it reports the VP of the subordinate clause, as in (27a) – (27c).

(27a) *bi gij3 3mnamd3 arro*

bi	gi-j3	3m-nam-d3	arro
he	come-FUT	say-COMP-DEF	true

‘The report that he said that he would come is true.’

(27b) *bi gikuma 3mnam agomd3 arro*

bi	gi-ku-ma	3m-nam	agom-d3	arro
he	come-return-NEG	say-COMP	speech-DEF	true

‘The report that he said that he won’t come is true.’

(27c) *bi bim dij3 3mnam agomd3 aroma*

bi	bi-m	di-j3	3m-nam	agom-d3	aro-ma
he	he-ACC	slap-FUT	say-COMP	speech-DEF	true-NEG

‘The report that he said that he would slap him is untrue.’

Alternately, the above sentences can also be re-written using *3mna* in place of *3mnam* as those in (27d) – (27f). In these sentences, *3mna* is only a quotative word. The non-finite complementizer is *-nam* suffixed to *lu* ‘tell’ in (27d), (27e) and (27f).

*3mna* is always followed by the verb *lu* ‘tell’ and the definitive *-d3*, or the verb *lu* ‘tell’ followed by the noun *agom* ‘speech’, and the definitive *-d3*.

(27d) *bi gij3 3mna lunamd3 arro*

bi	gi-j3	3mna	lu-nam-d3	arro
he	come-FUT	QUOT.	tell-COMP-DEF	true

‘That he said that he would come is true.’

(27e) *bi gikuma 3mna lunam agomd3 arro*

bi	gi-ku-ma	3mna	lu-nam	agom-d3	arro
he	come-back-NEG	QUOT.	tell-COMP	speech-DEF	true

‘That he said that he would come is true.’

(27f) *bi bim dij3 3mna lunam agomd3 aroma*

bi	bi-m	di-j3	3mna	lu-nam	agom-d3	aro-ma
he	he-ACC	slap-FUT	QUOT.	tell-COMP	speech-DEF	true-NEG

‘The report that he said that he would slap him is untrue.’

### 5.3.2.2 Non-finite Complementation in Mising with *-la*

The non-finite complementizer *-la* in Mising is primarily used to introduce resultative clauses. These clauses express the outcome or consequence of an action. They capture a common human experience: we perform actions that lead to specific results. That is, we express how we feel after having come into contact with a thing or after an action is complete.

Thus, sentence (28a) exemplifies the use of *-la* to express an expected result from an action. On the other hand, sentences (28b) – (278f) demonstrate how *-la* can indicate the achieved result of a specific action type.

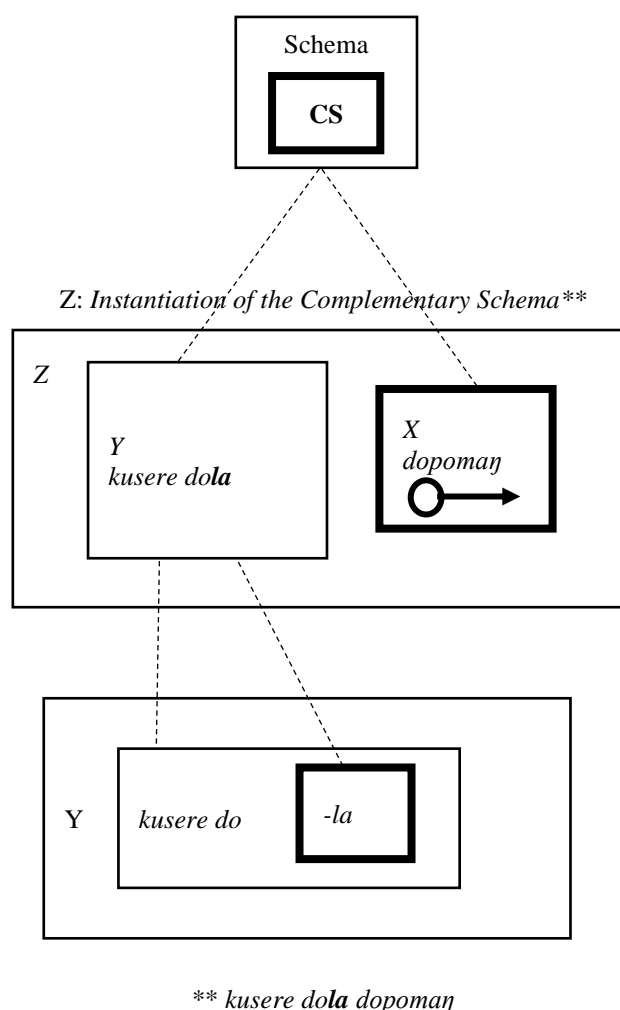
(28a) *olop gi<sup>la</sup> m3:poj3*  
 olop gi-la m3:po-j3  
 there go-COMP feel-nice-FUT  
 ‘I am sure we will enjoy going there.’

(28b) *kobord3m pa:la m3:pokan*  
 kobor-d3-m pa:-la m3:po-kan  
 news-CLF-ACC get- COMP feel-nice-PST  
 ‘I am happy to receive the news.’

(28c) *kusere dola dopoman*  
 kusere do-la do-po-man  
 medicine eat-COMP eat-nice-NEG  
 ‘I hate having medicines.’

Fig. 41 on the next page is a schematic representation of the Complementary schema (CS) and its instantiation (based on (28c) above).

Complementation: *Complementary schema*



**Fig. 38: Complementation by -la**

(28d) *oŋod3 dola dopodagai*

oŋo-d3	do-la	do-po-dagai
fish-DEF	eat-COMP	eat-nice-PST

‘I liked eating the fish.’

(28e) *a:n3 gorat kont3kko tedla asins3 m3sarsukaŋ*

a:n3	gorat	kont3k-ko	ted-la	asins3	m3-sar-su-kaŋ
river	side	some time-IND	sit-COMP	heart	worry-untangle-do-PST

‘Sitting in the river-side for some time made my worries go away.’

- (28f) *puli:d3 p3doŋ pala anu ann3 ŋinsa:duŋ*  
 puli:-d3      p3doŋ pa-la      anu      ann3      ŋinsa:-duŋ  
 sapling-DEF    rain    get-COMP      new    leaf    grow-PROG  
 ‘The sapling is thriving, thanks to the recent rainfall.’

### 5.3.2.3 Non-finite Complementation in Mising with *-milo*

The non-finite complementizer *-milo* introduces conditional clauses in Mising. These clauses express a condition that must be met for something else to happen. This is clear from (29a) - (29c) below. These sentences demonstrate how *-milo* can be used with different time frames for the condition. Thus, (29a) can be explained as expressing a present condition; (29b) can be explained as expressing a future condition; (29c) can be explained as expressing a past condition.

All three sentences connect the condition in the *-milo* clause to the main clause verb *m3:dir* ‘sadness,’ indicating that the speaker’s sadness is related to the fulfillment of the condition.

- (29a) *no kabjomilo m3:dirdag*  
 no      kab-jo-milo      m3:-dir-dag  
 you    cry-FUT-COMP    feel-tired-HAB  
 ‘If you cry, I feel sad.’

- (29b) *no kabmilo m3:poma:j3*  
 no      kab-milo      m3:-po-ma:j3  
 you    cry-COMP      feel-nice-NEG-FUT  
 ‘If you cry, I will be hurt.’

- (29c) *no gi mamilo m3:dirjai*  
 no      gi-ma-milo      m3:-dir-jai  
 you    go-NEG-FUT-COMP    feel-tired-COND.PST  
 ‘If you did not come, I would have been hurt.’

#### 5.3.2.4 Non-finite Complementation in rapid informal speech in Mising

In rapid informal speech in Mising, the root verb, assumes a non-finite function, appearing in its bare, uninflected form without an accompanying complementizer. This form is mainly employed to create general statements about actions. Consider the following examples that follow, (30a) – (30d), where the root verbs occur in their bare form. This form is mainly used to denote modality.

- (30a) *ŋo ba:jodag* (disposition modality)

ŋo      ba:-jo<sup>11</sup>-dag  
I        swim-know-HAB  
'I know to swim.'

- (30b) *ŋo gari dukkindag* (disposition modality)

ŋo      gari      duk-kin-dag  
I        car        drive-know-HAB  
'I know to drive a car.'

- (30c) *ŋo porili:dag* (factual modality)

ŋo      pori-li<sup>12</sup>:-dag  
I        read-like-HAB  
'I like to read.'

- (30d) *ŋo porijodag* (disposition modality)

ŋo      pori-jo-dag  
I        read-know-HAB  
'I know to read.'

- (30e) *cricket kelili:dag* (potential modality)

cricket      keli-li:-dag  
cricket      play-desire-HAB  
'I want to play cricket.'

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<sup>11</sup> *jo* is derived from *ijo* meaning 'to know'.

<sup>12</sup> *li* is derived from *ili* meaning 'desire'. However, it can also be employed to express the meaning of 'liking' in particular contexts.



(30f) *ŋo doli:dag* (potential modality)

*ŋo do-li:-dag*

I eat-desire-HAB

‘I want to eat.’

(30g) *ŋo so:li:ma* (potential modality)

*ŋo so:-li:-ma*

I dance-desire-NEG

‘I don’t want to dance.’

Thus, Assamese has at least five, and Mising has at least three non-finite complementizers in their respective languages, which are presented in Table 9 and Table 10 that follows, categorized by their broad semantic functions.

**Table 9: Non-finite Complementizers in Assamese**

Sl. No.	Non-finite Complementizer	Semantics
1	<i>-a</i>	Generalized statement
2	<i>-iboloi</i>	Personal generalization
3	<i>-ibo</i>	Potential modality
4	<i>-i</i>	Resultative
5	<i>-ile</i>	Conditional

**Table 10: Non-finite Complementizers in Mising**

Sl. No.	Non-finite Complementizer	Semantics
1	<i>-nam</i>	Generalized statement
2	<i>-la</i>	Resultative
3	<i>-milo</i>	Conditional

#### 5.4 Structural similarity between Complement and Relative Clauses in Assamese and Mising

We observe below that Assamese and Mising, like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, often exhibit a close structural similarity between non-finite complement clauses and

non-finite relative clauses<sup>13</sup>. This similarity arises because the non-finite relative clause is embedded within the non-finite complement clause. However, this is only the case when the relative clause is made non-finite or nominalized by *-a* in Assamese and *-nam* in Mising, which also functions as a complementizer (see Section 5.3.1.1 and Section 5.3.2.1).

In example (31a), the relative clause *tai kina* ‘of her buying’ is followed by the head noun *frock* ‘frock.’ *kina* is the non-finite or the nominalized form of the verb *kin* ‘buy’, nominalized by *-a*. Similarly, in (30b), the relative clause *mɜlok riksuna* ‘of my meeting yesterday’ is followed by the head noun *ko:nɜdɜ* ‘the girl’. *riksuna* is the non-finite or the nominalized verb form of the verb *riksu* ‘meet’, nominalized by *-nam*.

(31a) *tai kina frocktu* (Assamese)

tai kin-a frock-tu  
she buy-NF frock-CLF  
‘The frock she bought.’

(31b) *mɜlok riksuna ko:nɜdɜ* (Mising)

mɜlok riksuna ko:nɜ-dɜ  
yesterday meet-NF girl-DEF  
‘The girl that you met yesterday.’

Now consider (31c) and (31d). The relative clause *tai kina* ‘of her buying’ in (30a) is now embedded within the non-finite complement clause *tai kina frocktu* ‘the frock of her buying’ in (30c). That is, *tai kina* is a relative clause that modifies the head noun *frocktu* ‘the frock’, but the relative clause with the head noun *tai kina frocktu* ‘the frock of her buying’ itself serves as a complement to the main clause *dek<sup>h</sup>ilu* ‘I saw’.

Similarly, the relative clause *mɜlok riksuna* ‘of my meeting yesterday’ in (30b) is embedded within the non-finite complement clause *mɜlok riksuna ko:nɜdɜ* ‘of my meeting her yesterday’ in (30d). That is, *mɜlok riksuna* ‘of my meeting’ is a relative clause that modifies the head noun *ko:nɜdɜ* ‘the girl’, but the relative clause together with

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<sup>13</sup> Recall that relative clauses in Assamese and Mising are either finite or non-finite (see Chapter 4).

the head noun *m3lok riksunam ko:n3d3* ‘of my meeting of the girl yesterday’ itself serves as a complement to the main clause *giduŋ* ‘has come’.

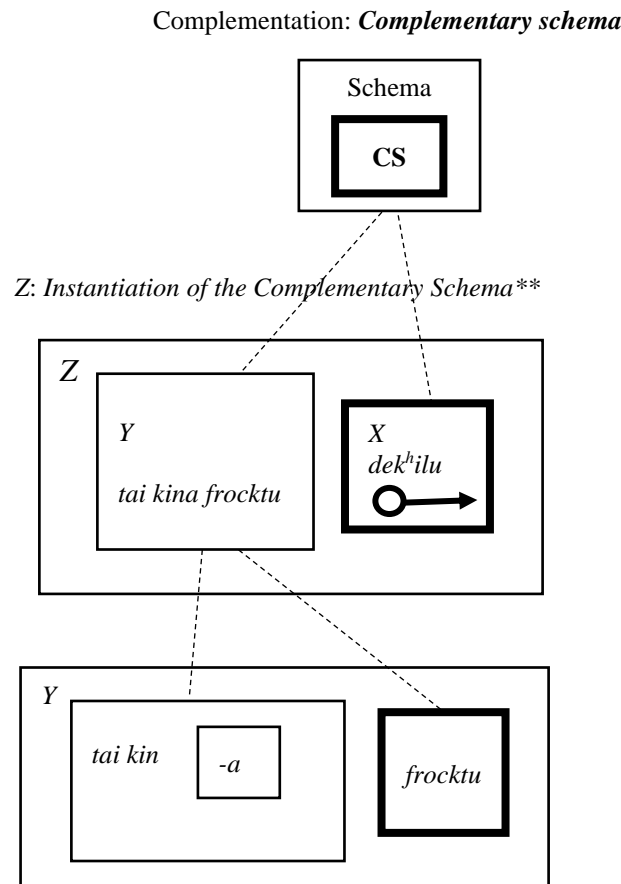
(31c) *tai kina frocktu dek<sup>h</sup>ilu* (Assamese)

tai kin-a frock-tu dek<sup>h</sup>-il-u  
 she buy-NF frock-CLF see-PRF-1  
 ‘I saw the frock that she has bought.’

(31d) *m3lok riksunam ko:n3d3 giduŋ* (Mising)

m3lok riksu-nam ko:n3-d3 gi-duŋ  
 yesterday meet-NF girl-DEF come-PROG  
 ‘The girl I met yesterday has come.’

The non-finite complement clause with an embedded non-finite relative clause in (31c) is schematically presented in Figure 42 that follows.



**Fig. 39: The non-finite complement clause with an embedded non-finite relative clause**

In Fig. 39, The topmost box *Z* represents the entire sentence. *X* represents the main clause and serves as the figure (F), while *Y* represents the complement clause and functions as the ground (G). The lower boxes provide a more detailed breakdown of the complement clause structure. It highlights the complement clause, with the complementizer *-a*. However, since the complement clause is again composed of the relative clause *tai kina* ‘of her buying’ and the head noun *froctu* ‘the frock’, we show a schematic representation of the relative clause as well, where the head noun *froctu* ‘the frock’ is the figure (F), hence represented by smaller bold box, and the relative clause is represented by the bigger un-bold box.

Similarly, in (31e) and (31f) that follows, *xi nahu bula* ‘his saying that he was not coming’ and *bi gikuma 3mnam* ‘his saying that he was not coming’ are relative clauses that modifies the head nouns *kot<sup>h</sup>atu* ‘the speech’ and *agomd3* ‘the speech’, respectively. However, they are embedded inside the non-finite complement clause *xi nahu bula kot<sup>h</sup>atu* and *bi gikuma 3mnam agomd3* that themselves serve as complements to the main clauses *xosa (hoi)* ‘is true’ in (31e) and *arro* ‘is true’ (31f), respectively.

(31e) *xi nahu bula kot<sup>h</sup>atu xosa (hoi)* (Assamese)

xi	n-ah-u	bul-a	kot <sup>h</sup> a-tu	xosa	(hoi)
he	NEG-come-1	say-NF	speech-CLF	true	(be)

‘The report that he said that he would come is true.’

(31f) *bi gikuma 3mnam agomd3 arro* (Mising)

bi	gi-ku-ma	3m-nam	agom-d3	arro
he	come-back-NEG	say-NF	speech-DEF	true

‘The report that he said that he won’t come is true.’

The discussion above clarifies why there is structural similarity between the non-finite relative clause and the non-finite complement clause in both languages.

This chapter is followed by a Conclusion in which we present our final thoughts and summarizing remarks.