Chapter 3

Adverbial Subordination in Assamese and Mising

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is a detailed study of the semantics and grammar of adverbial subordination in Assamese and Mising. The chapter has the following structure. In Section 3.1, we have discussed the conceptual import of adverbial subordination as a means of clause linking where the conceptual connection between the two clauses involved is that of modification relationship. In Section 3.2, we have discussed Adverbial subordination as a means of clause-linking in Assamese and Mising. We have presented a comprehensive discussion of adverbial subordination in Assamese and Mising, encompassing a thorough analysis of each subtype, supplemented by numerous illustrative examples, as well as a detailed discussion of their grammatical and semantic properties. As part of this analysis, we have also endeavored to elucidate the semantic properties of each adverbial subordinator and their impact on the clauses they connect.

Asymmetrical Relationship in Subordination

Unlike coordination, where clauses share a more symmetrical relationship, subordination involves an asymmetrical relationship between clauses. A subordinate clause is dependent on the main clause for its complete meaning. It functions as a modifier, providing additional information, context, or reason for the main clause event. As a result, it cannot stand alone as a complete sentence. For instance, in the sentence 'Because it was raining, we stayed indoors', the clause 'Because it was raining' is subordinate to the main clause 'we stayed indoors.' The subordinate clause provides the reason for the action in the main clause and is marked by a subordinating conjunction like 'because', 'if' 'when', etc. signaling its dependency.

Langacker (1991, p. 436) defines *conceptual subordination* as a hierarchical relationship between clauses, where one clause is more prominent than the other. Thus, in his words, in subordination, "[t]he subordinate clause's profile is overridden by the main clause at a higher level of organization. The main clause, superseding the subordinate clause's profile, lends its profile to the composite clausal construction." The main clause is more prominent, overriding the subordinate clause's profile. This means the main clause's meaning is dominant, while the subordinate clause provides supporting information.

In the sentence 'Because it rained, we stayed indoors', the main clause 'we stayed indoors' is the primary focus. The subordinate clause 'Because it rained' explains the reason for staying indoors.

The main clause's profile overrides the subordinate clause's, making it the central idea. The subordinate clause, as a supporting detail, is understood in relation to the main clause. This combined structure forms a composite clausal construction, where the main clause lends its profile to the entire sentence.

This means that the main clause is considered to be at a higher level of organization than the subordinate clause, i.e., the main clause's 'profile', i.e., its meaning, is more dominant. The subordinate clause, while important, is secondary to the main clause; it is additional information, enriching the main idea. Thus, in the sentence 'Because it rained, we stayed indoors', the main clause, 'we stayed indoors', is the primary focus. The

subordinate clause, 'Because it rained', provides additional information, specifically the *reason* for staying indoors.

When the main clause 'we stayed indoors' is processed, it overrides the profile of the subordinate clause 'Because it rained.' In other words, the main clause's meaning becomes the primary focus, and the subordinate clause is understood in relation to it. The combination of the main clause and the subordinate clause forms a single, complex sentence. This is known as a composite clausal construction. The main clause, being dominant, lends its profile to this entire construction. In essence, the main clause is the central idea, and the subordinate clause provides additional context or explanation. This hierarchical relationship between the two clauses is a fundamental aspect of conceptual subordination.

On the other hand, Leonard Talmy applied the Gestalt psychology principle of figure-ground alignment to linguistic analysis. This principle, originally used to understand visual perception, suggests that we perceive objects as figures standing out against a background ground. Talmy extended this concept to grammar, particularly to the relationship between clauses. He argues that in a sentence like 'Because it rained, we stayed indoors', the main clause 'we stayed indoors' is the figure (F), while the subordinate clause 'Because it rained' is the ground (G). As (F) the main clause is the central focus, the primary event or state being described. It stands out as the prominent element. As (G), the subordinate clause provides context or reason for the figure. It is the background against which the figure is perceived.

It is important to note that figure-ground relationships can be recursive. This means that even within a subordinate clause, there can be further figure-ground distinctions. For instance, in a sentence like 'Because Mary was ill, she could not come,' 'Because Mary was ill' is subordinate to 'she could not come,' but within the subordinate clause 'Because Mary was ill', the figure (F) is 'Because' and 'Mary was ill' is the reason for her not coming is the ground (G).

This example demonstrates how figure-ground relationships can be nested within each other, creating a complex hierarchy of information.

The current chapter focuses on *adverbial subordination* only. Relativization and complementation as forms of subordination are discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.

3.1 The conceptual import of adverbial subordination

Adverbial subordination occurs when one clause modifies another, functioning like an adverb to provide additional information about time, cause, condition, manner, or concession. For example, in 'Because it was raining, we stayed indoors', the subordinate clause 'Because it was raining' modifies the main clause 'we stayed indoors' by providing the reason for the action. Similarly, in 'If you study hard, you will succeed' the subordinate clause 'If you study hard' modifies the main clause 'you will succeed' by stating the condition for success. Subordinate clauses answer questions like 'when', 'why', 'how', and 'under what circumstances', about the main clause event. These questions reflect different conceptual connections between the subordinate and main clauses. By modifying the main clause based on these connections, subordinate clauses enrich the overall meaning and context of the sentence.

As the conceptual relationship between situations evolves, the grammatical linking mechanism adapts, influencing both clause structure and the choice of subordinators. Consider, for example, the following two situations:

Situation 1: I will go there.
Situation 2: I will eat.

Depending on their conceptual connection, these situations can be grammatically expressed in various ways: temporally ('After I go there, I will eat'), conditionally ('If I go there, I will eat'), causally ('I will go there because I want to eat'), concessively ('Even if I go there, I won't eat'). These illustrate how conceptual relations determine grammatical expression, encoded through various subordinators such as 'after', 'because', 'if', 'even if', etc. Notice how the grammatical form changes with the shift in the conceptual connection.

This is also evident in Assamese and Mising. Consider the following two situations, 3 and 4, in Assamese. Mising examples are presented in Section 3.2 below.

Situation 3: *moi zam*

moi   za-m

I   go-FUT

'I will go.'

Situation 4: *moi kʰam*

moi   kʰa-m

I   eat-FUT

'I will eat.'

Fig. 21: Two juxtaposed situations

In Figure 21, the two boxes *X* and *Y* represent two clauses that are juxtaposed, i.e., placed side-by-side without any explicit connector, so their possible conceptual connection will be inferred by the listener. Recall that in juxtaposition, both the clauses are figures in their own right against a common ground hidden in context. Therefore, both *X* and *Y* are represented by bolded boxes with arrows inside them, signifying their processual nature.

One possible conceptual connection, as discussed above, is adverbial subordination and they can be of different types, which the following examples demonstrate:

Temporal subordination:

(1a)   *moi zuar[1] **pasot** (G) kʰam (F)*

        moi   za-a-r   pasot   kʰa-m

        I   go-NF-GEN   SUB   eat-FUT

        'After I go, I will eat.'

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[1] *zuar* is made of the verb root *za* 'go', the non-finite *-a* and the genitive *-r*. The final phoneme *-a* in *za* and the non-finite *-a* coalesces and makes it *zua* (*a+a= ua*)

The temporal subordinator, here, is *pasot* meaning 'after'. The subordinator *pasot* follows *zuar,* where *zua* is a non-finite, precisely, a nominalized form of the verb *-za* 'go', nominalized by the marker *–a*. Thus, conceptually, *zua* refers to a reified action so the genitive *-r* is attached to it. Thus, *zua-r pasot* means 'behind the back of the act of leaving'.

'Primarily, *pasot* is a spatial postposition indicating the location of something following the location of something else in space. In the example above, *pasot* indicates that in the domain of time, the main clause event will happen after the subordinate clause event happens. Thus, in turn, *pasot* subordinates the subordinate clause action to the main clause event as a temporal subordinator.

Conditional subordination:

(1b)   *moi go**le (G)** k^ham **(F)***

      moi   za-ile   k^ha-m

      I   go-SUB   eat-FUT

      'If I go, I will eat.'

The periphrastic subordinator *-ile* in Assamese is a complex morpheme composed of *-il* and *-e.* While *-il* marks perfective aspect, indicating a completed action, *-e*, a locative marker[2], metaphorically grounds this action in a temporal and conditional context. This grounding reifies or nominalizes the action, making it a precondition for the main clause event, i.e., the action of going must be completed before the action of eating can take place. Thus, *-ile* functions as a conditional subordinator, establishing a conditional link between the two clauses.

Causal subordination:

(1c)   *moi k^ha**boloi (G)** zam **(F)***

      moi   k^ha-iboloi   za-m

      I   eat-SUB   go-FUT

      'I will go because I want to eat.'

---

[2] Assamese has two locative markers: *-t* (e.g., *g^hor-ot* 'at home') and *-e* (e.g. *g^hor-e g^hor-e* 'at every home').

The subordinator *-iboloi* is composed of *-ibo* and *-loi*. While *-ibo* is a future marker, indicating a future action, *-loi* is an allative marker, typically signifying a goal or destination. In the context of *-iboloi*, the allative marker *-loi* reifies or nominalizes the future action, transforming it into a kind of goal or purpose. This reified action then serves as the ground for the main clause event. Thus, *-iboloi* functions as a causal subordinator, establishing a causal link between the two clauses.

Concessive subordination:

(1d)   *moi go**leu (G)** nak^hau **(F)***

  moi za-ileu   na-k^ha-u

  I   go-SUB   NEG-eat-1

  'Even if I go, I won't eat.'

The subordinator *-ileu* is a combination of *-ile* and *-u.* While *-ile*, as discussed earlier, indicates a completed action, the emphatic marker *-u* reinforces the concessive nature of the subordinate clause. This emphasis suggests that even if the action in the subordinate clause occurs, the main clause action will still not take place. Therefore*, -ileu* functions as a concessive subordinator.

These examples demonstrate how Assamese employs subordinators like *-pasot* (temporal), *-ile* (conditional), *-iboloi* (causal), and *-ileu* (concessive) to express various conceptual connections between clauses. Section 3.2 provides a detailed analysis of other adverbial subordinators in the language.

Manner subordination

Another important aspect of subordination is that within subordination, the conceptual connection may be integrated to varying degrees. Thus, manner subordination, as exemplified by (1e) below, expresses a tighter conceptual link between the subordinate and the main clause actions compared to temporal or causal subordination. In (1e), the subordinator *zen* subordinates Situation 6 to Situation 5:

Situation 5:

mur onub^hob hoise

moi-r onub^hob   ho-is-e

I-GEN feeling   be-ING.PROG-3

'I have a feeling.'

Situation 6:

moi pori zam

moi　　por-i　　za-m

I　　　fall-NF　go-FUT

'I will fall down.'

(1e)　　*moi pori zam **zen (G)** onub^hob hoise **(F)***

　　　moi　　por-i　za-m　zen　　onub^hob　　　ho-is-e

　　　I　　　fall-NF　go-FUT SUB　feeling　　　　be-ING.PROG-3

　　　'I feel like I will fall down.'

As a modal marker, *zen* expresses that the potential for falling (as indicated by the subordinate clause *moi pari zam zen* 'as if I will fall down') is the Ground (G). It is a necessary precondition for the feeling of impending doom (as indicated by the main clause *onub^hob hoise* 'I feel') is the Figure (F). Without the potential for falling, the feeling would not arise.

However, one can very well argue that the feeling of impending doom is inextricably linked to the potential for falling, making it difficult to separate the two into distinct figure-ground elements. But this possibility suggests that manner subordination is different from other types of adverbial subordination.

The inherent connection between the main clause and the subordinate clause in manner subordination distinguishes it from other types of adverbial subordination. While in temporal or causal subordination, the subordinate clause provides additional, non-essential information, in manner subordination, the subordinate clause is integral to the meaning of the main clause.

The difficulty in separating the figure and ground in manner subordination highlights the unique nature of this construction. It suggests a deeper level of integration between the two clauses, where the subordinate clause is not merely a modifier but a crucial component of the overall meaning.

Given this, in manner subordination, the subordinate clause is not an adjunct. In (1e), for instance, the main clause verb *onub^hob hoise* 'I feel' requires a manner adverbial, namely *pori zam zen* 'like I will fall down.' While this makes manner subordination similar to complementation, it is not identical. In complementation, the subordinate clause (the complement clause) functions as an object (a nominal complement), whereas in manner subordination, it serves as a manner adverbial.

These examples illustrate how adverbial subordination provides a distinct way to grammatically connect two situations based on their underlying conceptual relationship.

3.2 Adverbial subordination in Assamese & Mising

As discussed, adverbial subordinate clauses can be categorized into five primary types: temporal, conditional, causal, concessive, and manner, based on their conceptual connections. Each type is characterized by unique subordinators, which convey distinct meanings and exhibit specific forms.

A fundamental aspect of human experience is the spatial nature of existence. Everything in the world is situated in relation to other things. This spatial relationship can be ego-centric (e.g., 'the table is in front of me') or non-ego-centric (e.g., 'the book is on the table). Prepositions like 'in', 'on', 'before', and 'after', ground one thing in relation to another, conceptually subordinating one to the other. For instance, in 'the table is in front of me', the table is the figure (F), and 'I' am the ground (G).

Similarly, subordinators like 'because', 'if', 'even if', etc., convey relational information, situating one action in relation to another. They, too, conceptually subordinate one action to another. In 'he could not come as he is ill', 'he could not come' is the figure (F), and 'as he is ill' is the ground (G). 'As' implies a causal sequence, where the causal action precedes the consequence.

Therefore, from a semantic perspective, subordinators can be categorized as either "prepositional/postpositional[3] subordinators" (e.g., 'before,' 'after') or "pure

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[3] Such 'subordinators' called prepositions in English, are realized postpositions in Assamese and Mising.

subordinators" (e.g., 'because', 'if', 'even if'). The latter term is used for lack of a more precise linguistic designation.

Adverbial Subordinators

Post-positional

(e.g., Ass. *agot* 'before', *pasot* 'after'
Mis. *lзdupз* 'after,' *-dopз* 'before')

Pure

(e.g., Ass. *karone* 'because,' *zodi* 'if,')
Mis. *зdɨloi* 'whenever,' *lзgapз* 'because')
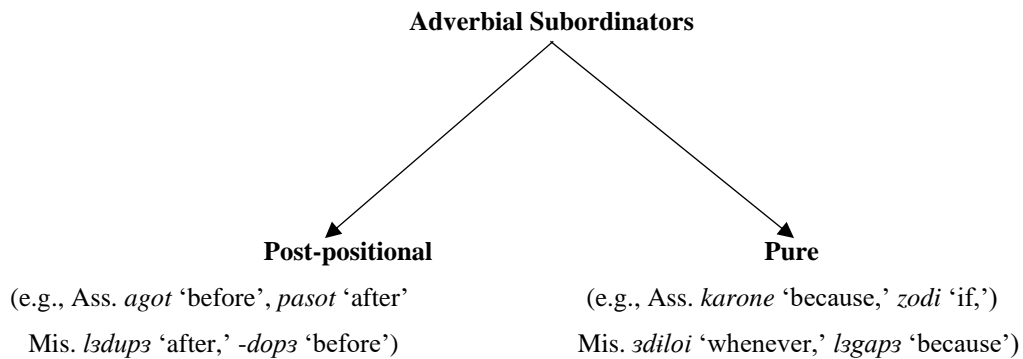
Fig. 22: Types of adverbial subordinators based on semantics

Assamese and Mising languages employ both postpositional subordinators (e.g., *-t*, *agot*, *pasot*, *pora* in Assamese; *lзdupз*, *-dopз* in Mising) and pure subordinators (e.g., *karone*, *babe*, *zodi* in Assamese; *зdɨloi*, *lзgapз*, *mɨlo* in Mising).

Postpositional Subordinators:

> *-t:* A basic spatial postposition in Assamese, locating an event or action.
>
> *agot*: Derived from *ag* 'before' and *-t*, indicating a location before a reference point.
>
> *pasot*: Derived from *pas* 'after' and *-t*, indicating a location after a reference point.
>
> *pora*: A spatial postposition meaning 'from'.
>
> *lзdupз*: Derived from the postposition *lamkupз* 'after' in Mising.
>
> *dopз*: Derived from the postposition *po:pз* 'before' in Mising.

Pure Subordinators: These subordinators express various semantic relations without relying on spatial grounding.

> *zetia*, *babe*, *zodi*: Assamese subordinators for time, reason, condition, respectively.
>
> *зdɨloi*, *lзgapз*, *mɨlo*: Mising subordinators for time, reason, and condition, respectively.

From a *morphological* perspective, these subordinators can be categorized into:

Free Morpheme Subordinators*:* These are independent words (e.g., *agot*, *pasot*, *karone*, *babe*, *ʐodi*, *ʐen,* etc. in Assamese; *lɜdupɜ*, *ɜdɨloi*, *lɜgapɜ*, *lɜgaŋ*, etc. in Mising).

Bound Morpheme Subordinators*:* These are suffixes that attach to other words (e.g., *-ile*, *-iboloi*, *-i*, etc. in Assamese; *-gom*, *-ge:la*, *dopɜ*, *-dagdo*, *-nɜmpɜ*, etc. in Mising).

Adverbial Subordinators

Free morphemes
(e.g., Ass. *karone,* Mis. *ɜdɨloi* 'because')

Bound morphemes
(e.g., Ass. *–ile*, Mis. *–gom* 'if')[4]
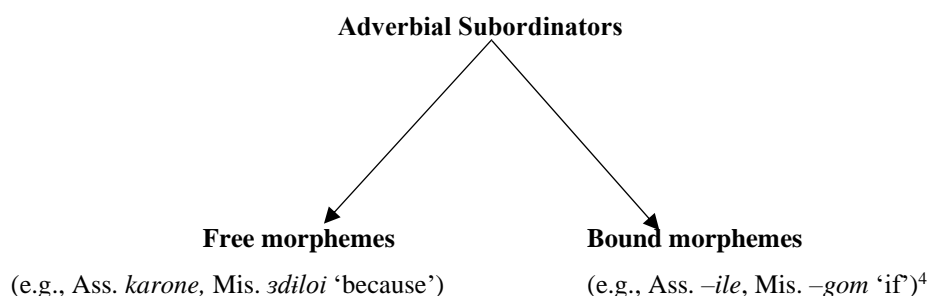
Fig. 23: Types of adverbial subordinators based on structure

Adverbial Subordination Schema

Adverbial subordination schema is a schema that represents a hierarchical relationship between clauses. This schema is an abstraction derived from numerous *instances* of adverbial subordinate clause constructions. In this schema, one clause, the subordinate clause, is dependent on another, the main clause. As stated in the Chapter 1 of the thesis, this hierarchical relationship is evident in various types of subordination, such as temporal, causal, and conditional, as discussed earlier.

In the following sections, we will present diagrams illustrating the hierarchical structure or relationship between clauses in adverbial subordination made by free morphemes and bound morphemes. We will see that bound morpheme subordination involves non-finite nominalized clauses, while free morpheme subordination can involve both finite and non-finite clauses. We will use Assamese examples to illustrate these concepts.

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[4] Bound morpheme subordinators in these two languages often exhibit a periphrastic form, comprising two or more grammatical markers. As illustrated in the examples of Ass. *-ile*, *-iboloi*, and *-ileu*, these subordinators are formed by combining multiple grammatical elements.

As noted, Mising also employs both free and bound morpheme subordinators. It has both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. Figures 7, 8 and 9 under Section 3.2.1.1 illustrate, respectively, non-finite clauses with free morpheme, non-finite clauses with bound morpheme, and finite clauses with free morpheme subordinators in Mising.

Subordination by bound morphemes: Hierarchical Structure

We have conditional subordination made by a bound morpheme in sentence (1b), renumbered as (1f) below. Fig 24 presents the hierarchical structure involved in this example.

(1f) *moi go**le** (G) kʰam (F)*

moi   za-ile   kʰa-m

I   go-SUB   eat-FUT

'If I go, I will eat.'
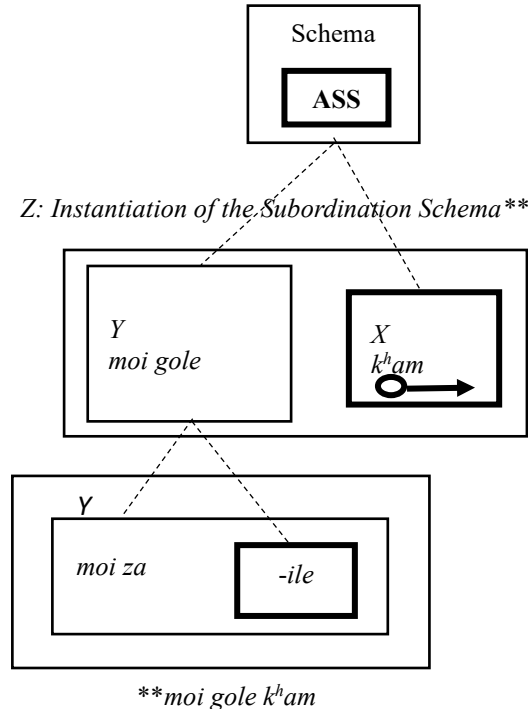
Subordination: *Adverbial Subordination Schema*

Fig. 24: Subordination by bound morphemes: Hierarchical relationship

Fig. 24 illustrates the hierarchical relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause in a conditional sentence. The larger box labeled *Z* represents the entire sentence. Within this, the larger box *Y* represents the non-finite subordinate clause, functioning as the Ground (G). The smaller, bolded box *X* represents the main clause, the Figure (F). The arrow within *X* indicates its processual nature as a tensed clause, i.e., the main finite clause.

At the lower level, the subordinate clause *Y* is further analyzed. The larger box within *Y* represents the Ground of the subordinate clause, and the smaller, bolded box within it represents the Figure (F), the subordinator *-ile*.

As said in Chapter 1 of the thesis, the ground is typically larger than the figure, and is therefore represented by a bigger box. The figure, on the other hand, is smaller and is bolded. Dotted lines between the boxes indicate the instantiation of the subordination schema, as well as the elaboration of the internal structure of the clauses involved. (The described convention applies to all relevant diagrams presented in the current chapter).

This figure applies to all other constructions of 'non-finite clauses with bound morpheme subordinators.'

The structure in Fig 24 highlights the hierarchical relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause, as well as the internal structure of the subordinate clause itself.[5]

Subordination by free morphemes: Hierarchical Structure

On the other hand, free morpheme subordinators can occur with a finite clause, as in (1e), renumbered as (1g) below, as well as a non-finite clause, as in (1a), renumbered as (1h). In (1g), the free morpheme subordinator is *zen* 'as if'; in (1h), it is *pasot* 'after'. Figs. 25 and 26 in the following pages present the hierarchical structures involved in these two

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[5] It is to be noted that the Ground within the subordinate clause, i.e., *moi za*, is also a complex structure with its own internal Figure-Ground relationship, where *moi* is the Figure and *za* is the Ground. However, we have not illustrated this in our diagram. (This applies to all the relevant diagrams presented in the current chapter).

examples. As stated in Chapter 1 of the thesis, manner subordination involves *Manner Subordination Schema (MSS).*

(1g) *moi pori zam **zen** (G) onub^hob hoise **(F)***

moi	por-i	za-m	zen	onub^hob	ho-is-e
I	fall-NF	go-FUT	SUB	feeling	be-ING.PROG-3

'I feel like I will fall down.'

Subordination: ***Manner Subordination Schema***

**moi pori zam zen lagise

Fig. 25: Subordination by free morphemes: Hierarchical Structure

In Fig. 25, the top box labeled *Z* represents the entire sentence. The two boxes labeled *Y* and *X* within it represent the finite and the non-finite clause, respectively. *Y* functions as the Ground (G), while *X* the Figure (F). The arrow within both *X* and *Y* indicates that they are both processual, i.e., tensed clauses.

At the lower level, the subordinate clause *Y* is further elaborated. The smaller, right, bold box within *Y* represents the Figure (F), i.e., the subordinator *zen*, while the larger left box within *Y* represents the subordinate clause, which is the Ground (G). This figure applies to all other diagrams of 'finite-clauses with free morpheme subordinators' presented below.

(1h) *moi zuar **pasot** (G) kʰam (F)*

      moi   za-a-r   pasot   kʰa-m

      I   go-NF-GEN   SUB   eat-FUT

      'After I go, I will eat.'

Subordination: ***Adverbial Subordination Schema***

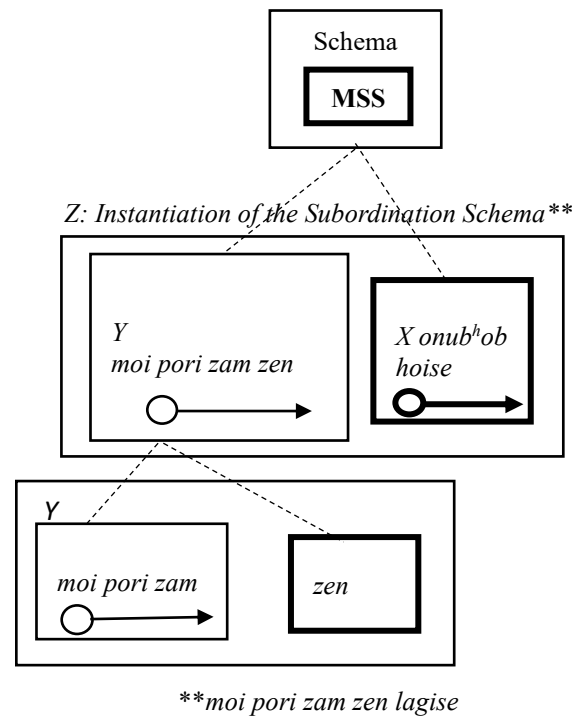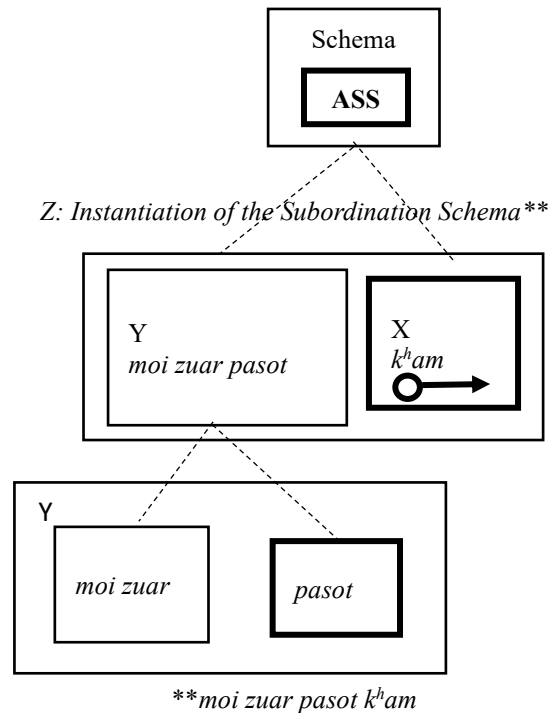**Fig. 26: Subordination by free morphemes: Hierarchical Structure**

In Fig. 26, the top box labeled *Z* represents the entire sentence. The two boxes within it represent the two clauses. The left box, labeled *Y*, is the non-finite subordinate clause and it functions as the Ground (G). The box *X* represents the main clause and it functions as the Figure. The arrow within X indicates that it is processual, i.e., tensed.

At the lower level, the subordinate clause *Y* is further elaborated. The right-hand box within *Y* represents the Figure (F), i.e., the subordinator *zen*, while the left box the subordinate clause, which is the Ground (G). This figure applies to all other 'non-finite clauses with free morpheme subordinators' diagrams presented below.

We have identified at least thirty-one and seventeen adverbial subordinators in Assamese and Mising, respectively, as detailed in the sections that follow.

3.2.1 Temporal clauses in Assamese and Mising

Temporal clauses are clauses that qualify the main clause with respect to time. They establish a temporal relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause within the sentence, denoting how the two clauses relate to each other temporally, such as anteriorly, posteriorly, or simultaneously.

From a conceptual standpoint, actions in the world occur in time. They may happen sequentially i.e., one after the other, or simultaneously i.e., concurrently in time. This is a universal principle. Depending on their situations, speakers of the world may create their own meanings, such as conditional, causal, concessive and so on, based on these temporally connected actions. These meanings are subjective to the speaker. While all actions are temporal and connected to each other temporally, temporal adverbial clauses can also convey other meanings like conditional, causal, concessive, etc., depending on the speaker's perspective.

3.2.1.1 Anteriority

Anteriority is when the event in the subordinate clause happens before the event in the main clause. In Assamese, temporal clauses denoting anteriority are always in the non-finite form. Subordinators denoting anteriority in Assamese include, the free morpheme subordinators: *pasot, logeloge,* and the bound morpheme subordinators: *-pora, -i[6], -ilei, -iei, -ile*.

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[6] *-i* used in SVC constructions in Assamese indicates the completion of each action before the closing action in the chain of actions.

In Mising, temporal clauses denoting anteriority are also in the non-finite form and the subordinators that mark them are: *lɜdupɜ*, a free morpheme, and *-ge:la, -dange:la, -mɨlo, -dokkɜ*, all bound morphemes.

pasot in Assamese and lɜdupɜ in Mising

The free morpheme subordinator *pasot* in Assamese has already been discussed in Section 3.1. In Mising, the free morpheme subordinator *lɜdupɜ* conveys the meaning of 'after' in temporal contexts. As previously mentioned, *lɜdupɜ* is derived from the spatial postposition *lamkupɜ*, which means 'after' in terms of spatial location, i.e., it denotes the spatial position of an object relative to another.

Similarly, *lɜdupɜ* follows a clause marked with the habitual aspect, as exemplified by *do-dag* in (2b), *gɨ-dak-ku* in (2e), and *do-dag* in (2g) below. In Mising, the suffix *-dag* marks the habitual aspect. The habitual aspect denotes an abstraction, rather than a specific temporal instance of an action. The habitual aspect effectively removes the action from a particular time frame, focusing solely on the action as an 'activity'. In other words, it nominalizes the action, treating it as a reified entity.

Both *pasot* and *lɜdupɜ* occupy the clause-final position within subordinate clauses. The events in the *pasot* or *lɜdupɜ* clauses precede and provide the ground (G) for the main clause event, which follows and constitutes the figure (F).

In (2a) and (2b), the subordinate clause event 'after he eats' precedes the main clause event 'I will eat.' The primary information, or focus, lies in the main clause event 'I will eat,' which serves as the figure (F). The subordinate clause 'after he eats' provides temporal context, qualifying the main clause and establishing the temporal ground (G) for the figure's occurrence.

(2a) *xi kʰuar **pasot** (**G**)moi kʰam (**F**)*   (Assamese)

xi	kʰa-a-r	pasot	moi	kʰa-m
he	eat-NF-GEN	SUB	I	eat-FUT

'I will eat, after he eats.'

(2b)   *bɨ dodag **lɜdupɜ** (G) ŋo dojɜ (F)*   (Mising)

bɨ   do-dag   lɜdupɜ ŋo   do-jɜ

he   eat-HAB   SUB   I   eat-FUT

'I will eat after he eats.'

Temporally connected situations can also convey additional meanings. These meanings are subjective and depend on the speaker's perspective on the situation. Thus, for instance, a temporal situation like (2a) can be transformed into a conditional one, as illustrated in (2c), by incorporating the emphatic marker *-he* in Assamese into the subordinate clause. In (2c), 'I will eat' occurs solely 'after he eats,' and under no circumstances before. Consequently, 'I will eat' serves as the figure (F), while 'only after he eats' constitutes the conditional ground (G). The addition of the emphatic marker *-he* to an event imparts a conditional reading to that event.

(2c)   *xi kʰuar **pasothe** (G) moi kʰam (F)*   (Assamese)

xi   kʰa-a-r   pasot-he   moi   kʰa-m

he   eat-NF-GEN   SUB-EMP   I   eat-FUT

'I will eat, only after he eats.

In (2d) and (2e), the adverbial clause event 'after he goes' functions as the temporal ground (G), preceding the event in the main clause, the figure (F) 'I will go.' The Mising example in (2e) of the non-finite clause with the free morpheme *lɜdupɜ* is diagrammed in Fig. 27 that follows.

(2d)   *xi zuar **pasot** (G)moi zam (F)*   (Assamese)

xi   za-a-r   pasot   moi   za-m

he   go-NF-GEN   SUB   I   go-FUT

'I will go after he goes.'

(2e)   *bɨk gɨdakku **lɜdupɜ** (G) ŋo gɨjɜ (F)*   (Mising)

bɨ-k   gɨ-dak-ku   lɜdupɜ   ŋo   gɨ-jɜ

he-GEN   come-HAB-return   SUB   I   go-FUT

'I will go after he goes.'

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** *bɨk gɨdakku lɜdupɜ ŋo gɨjɜ*
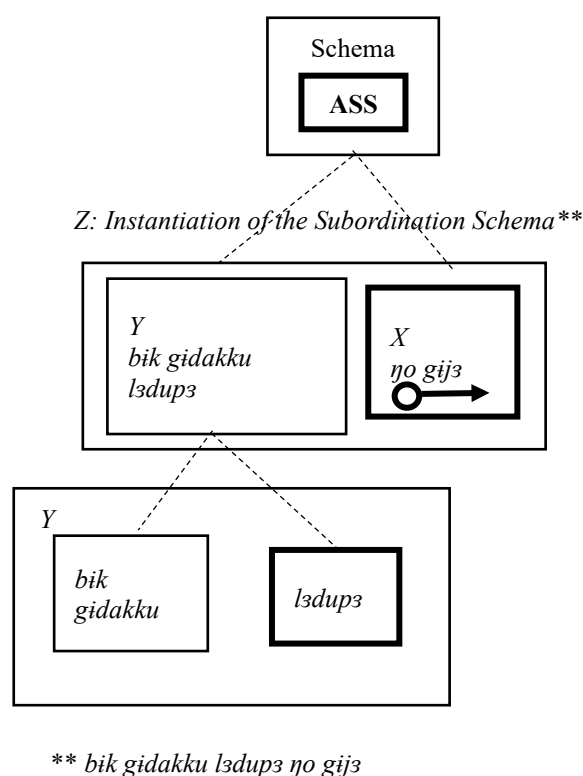
Fig. 27: Temporal subordination by *lɜdupɜ*

In (2f) and (2g), the adverbial clause 'after eating rice' serves as both the temporal and conditional ground (G) upon which the main clause event, the figure (F), 'don't take a bath' is contingent. The primary focus of the situation is on the advice 'don't take a bath' which is the figure, while 'after eating' is the ground, providing context for when one should avoid bathing. 'After eating' establishes the temporal (G) ground upon which the main clause event 'of not bathing' (F) is deemed inadvisable.

(2f)   *bʰat kʰuar **pasot (G)** ga dʰubo nalage (F)*   (Assamese)

bʰat   kʰa-a-r   pasot   ga   dʰu-ibo   na-lag-e

rice   eat-NF-GEN   SUB   body   wash-FUT   NEG-be attached-3

'It is not advisable to bathe immediately after eating a meal.'

(2g)   *apin dodag **lɜdupɜ (G)** ɨrsupɜ lagema (F)*   (Mising)

apin   do-dag   lɜdupɜ   ɨrsu-pɜ   lage-ma

rice   eat-HAB   SUB   bath-ALL   want-NEG

'It is not advisable to bathe immediately after eating a meal.'

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-*i* in Assamese and *-ge:la* in Mising

The bound morpheme subordinator *-i* in Assamese and *-ge:la* in Mising also denote anteriority in temporal situations. *-i* and *-ge:la* marks the subordinate clause event that happens before the main clause event.

They also function as serial verb markers in their respective languages. In a sequence of events, occurring one after the other, *-i* and *-ge:la* mark each event up to the penultimate one. In other words, they mark each preceding subordinate event leading up to the ultimate main event. They also convey a sense of completion of the event, implying that the main clause event can only occur after the completion of the event marked by them. *-ge:la* is composed of *-ge:* meaning 'opening of something' (See Taid, 2016, p. 344). In here, *-ge:* means 'opening of a new action', i.e., metaphorically, it opens the door for a new action to happen. While, is the non-finite marker in Mising bearing resultative semantics. Additionally, *-i* in Assamese is a non-finite marker in the language.

In (3a) and (3b), 'after eating rice' sets the temporal ground (G) for the main clause event 'I will go to the market' (F). The Mising example in (3b) of the non-finite clause with the bound morpheme *-ge:la* is diagrammed in Fig. 28 on the next page.

(3a)   *bʰat keita kʰai (G) bozaroloi zam (F)*   (Assamese)

bʰat-keita   kʰa-i   bozar-oloi   za-m

rice-CLF   eat-SUB   market-ALL   go-FUT

'After eating rice, I will go to the market.'

(3b)   *apin doge:la (G) bozar gɨjɜ (F)*   (Mising)

apin   do-ge:la   bozar   gi-jɜ

rice   eat-SUB   market   go-FUT

'After eating, I will go to the market.'
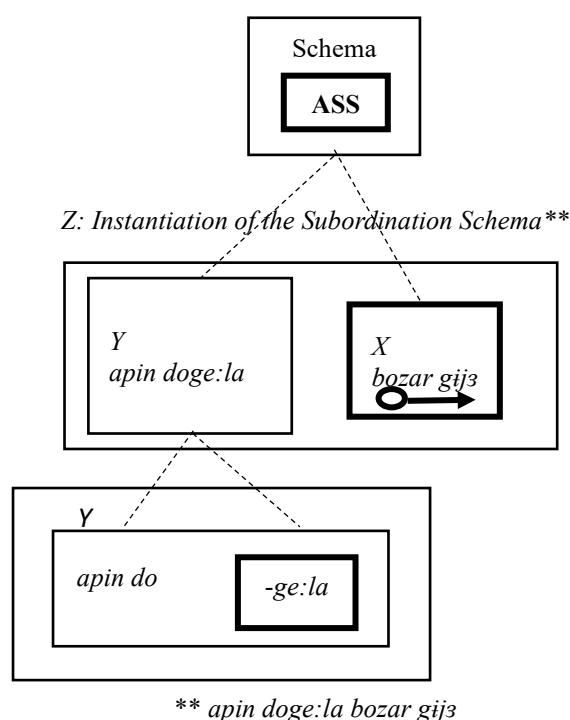
Fig. 28: Temporal subordination by *-ge:la*

In (3c) and (3d), the event of 'eating rice' sets the temporal ground for the 'taking a bath' event as the figure. Subsequently, 'taking a bath' becomes the temporal ground for the 'going to sleep' event as the figure. Examples (3c) and (3d) demonstrate serial verb constructions in Assamese and Mising, respectively. *-ge:* denotes the opening of a subsequent action, while the non-finite *-la* denotes a resultative meaning, i.e., only after the preceeding action completes, the subsequent action will happen.

(3c) *moi bʰat kʰai ga dʰui xum*   (Assamese)

moi	bʰat	kʰa-i	ga	dʰu-i	xu-m
I	rice	eat-SVC	body	wash-SUB	sleep-FUT

'I will sleep, only after eating and taking bath.'

(3d) *ŋo apin doge:la irsuge:la jubjɜ*   (Mising)

ŋo	apin	do-ge:la	irsu-ge:la	jub-jɜ
I	rice	eat-SVC	irsu-SUB	sleep-FUT

'After eating rice, taking bath, I will sleep.'

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***-ilei, -iei, logeloge* in Assamese and *-dange:la* in Mising**

The bound morpheme subordinators *-ilei* and *-iei*, as well as the free morpheme subordinator *logeloge* in Assamese and *-dange:la* in Mising, roughly convey the meaning of 'as soon as' in temporal situtaions. They are all positioned at the clause-final position within the non-finite subordinate clause they belong to.

The subordinator *-ilei* in Assamese is composed of the non-finite marker *-il*, which also functions as a perfective marker, the locative marker *-e*, and the emphatic marker *-ei*. The locative marker *-e* positions the subordinate event as the ground for the main clause event, which serves as the figure. The emphatic marker *-ei* imparts a sense of immediacy to the event it is suffixed to.

As previously mentioned, the perfective aspect signifies that the action is complete but still relevant in the present context. Therefore, for the main clause event to materialize, the subordinate clause event must be realized first. This implies that the actualization of the subordinate event is crucial for the realization of the main event. The combination of *-il* and *-e* imparts a conditional reading to the clause they are attached to.

In (4a) and (4b), the subordinate events, 'as soon as she finishes eating' and 'as soon as he comes from the market', serve as the temporal or locational ground for the main clause events, 'I will eat' and 'I will serve dinner', respectively. Due to the conditional meaning inherent in *-ile*, these situations can also be interpreted conditionally. However, the temporal meaning of 'as soon as' is more prominent in these contexts.

(4a) *tair k^{h}ua ho**lei** (**G**) moi k^{h}am (**F**)*   (Assamese)

tai-r	k^{h}a-a	ho-ilei	moi	k^{h}a-m
she-gen	eat-NF	be-SUB	I	eat-FUT

'As soon as she finishes eating, I will eat.'

(4b) *eu bozaror pora ah**ilei** (**G**) b^{h}at barhim (**F**)* (Assamese)

eu	bozar-or	pora	ah-ilei	b^{h}at	barh-im
he	market-GEN	from	come-SUB	rice	serve-FUT

'As soon as he comes, I will serve dinner.'

The subordinator *-iei*, on the other hand, is composed of the SVC[7] non-finite marker *-i* and the emphatic marker *-ei*. This implies that the main clause event occurs immediately after the subordinate event.

In (5a) and (5b), the subordinate events, 'as soon as I finished eating' and 'as soon as I got the news' establish the temporal ground for the subsequent main clause events.

(5a)   *bʰat keita kʰaiei (G) bozaroloi zam (F)*   (Assamese)

      bʰat-keita   kha-iei   bozar-oloi   za-m

      rice-CLF   eat-SUB   market-ALL   go-FUT

      'As soon as I finish eating, I will go to the market.'

(5b)   *kʰobor tu paiei (G) phone korisu (F)*   (Assamese)

      kʰobor-tu   pa-iei   phone kor-is-u

      news-CLF   get-SUB   phone do-ING.PROG-1

      'I am calling as soon as I got the news.'

logeloge in Assamese

Coming to the free morpheme subordinator *logeloge* in Assamese, when the event in the *logeloge* clause occurs, the event in the main clause immediately follows. *logeloge* is derived from the spatial postposition *logot*. *logot* indicates spatial proximity or coexistence between two entities. Moreover, *logot* is composed of the free morpheme *log* denoting 'spatial proximity' and the locative marker *-t*. Similarly, *logeloge* signifies temporal proximity between two situations. Just as *logot* typically accompanies a noun or noun phrase, *logeloge* accompanies a reified action, grammatically realized as a non-finite clause, as exemplified by *ah-a-r*[8] in (6a) and *dekʰ-a-r*[9] in (6b). The subordinator *logeloge* always follows a non-finite subordinate clause, occupying the clause-final position.

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[7] serial verb construction

[8] *ahar* is composed of the root verb *ah* 'come,' suffixed by the non-finite marker *-a* and the genitive marker *–r*.

[9] *dekʰar* is composed of the root verb *dekʰ* 'see,' suffixed by the non-finite *-a* and the genitive *–r*.

In (6a), the subordinate event of 'father coming' establishes the temporal ground for the subsequent main clause event of 'mother serving dinner.'

(6a) *deuta ahar **logeloge (G)** mae bʰat barhile (F)*   (Assamese)

   deuta ah-a-r   logeloge   ma-e   bʰat barh-il-e

   father come-NF-GEN SUB   mother-ERG rice serve-PRF-3

   'As soon as father came, mother served dinner.'

Similarly, in (6b), the subordinate event of 'her seeing me' sets the temporal ground (G) for the subsequent main clause event of 'her fleeing' as the figure (F).

(6b) *muk dekʰar **logeloge (G)** tai polal (F)*   (Assamese)

   moi-k dekʰ-a-r   logeloge   tai polua-il

   I-ACC see-NF-GEN SUB   she flee-PRF

   'As soon as she saw me, she fled.'

-dange:la in Mising

The Mising bound morpheme subordinator *-dange:la* consists of the emphatic marker *-dan*, *-ge:* meaning 'opening of an action here', and the non-finite *-la* that signifying 'result'. The emphatic marker *-dan* gives a sense of immediacy to '*-dange:la*, resulting in the meaning 'immediately after.'

In (7a) and (7b), the subordinate events function as both the temporal and conditional ground, immediately preceding the main clause event.

(7a) *apin do**dange:la (G)** bozar gɨjɜ (F)*   (Mising)

   apin do-dange:la bozar gɨ-jɜ

   rice eat-SUB   market go-FUT

   'As soon as I finish eating, I will go to the market.'

(7b) *kobordɜm tad**dange:la (G)** phone iduŋ (F)*   (Mising)

   kobor-dɜ-m   tad-dange:la phone   i-duŋ

   news-DEF-ACC   hear-SUB phone   do-PROG

   'As soon as I got the news, I called you.'

***-ile* in** Assamese and ***-milo* in** Mising

As already discussed (see Section 3.2.1.1), the periphrastic subordinator *-ile* in Assamese is composed of *-il* and *-e*. The perfective marker *-il* indicates a completed action, while the locative marker *-e* grounds this action temporally and conditionally. This reifies the subordinate clause event, making its completion a necessary precondition for the main clause event, as exemplified in (8a). However, the conditional meaning in (8a) is less prominent than its temporal meaning. The conditional meaning in (8a) can be strengthened by adding the emphatic marker *-he*, as shown in (8b). The subordinate clause event 'only after you are done' establishes the temporal and conditional ground, enabling the main clause event 'of leaving' to occur.

(8a)   *tumar kʰai ho**le** (**G**) tumi zaba (**F**)*   (Assamese)

   tumi-r   kha-i ho-ile   tumi za-ibo-a

   you-GEN eat-NF be-SUB   you go-FUT-2

   'After you are done eating, you leave.'

(8b)   *tumar kʰai ho**le**he (**G**) tumi zaba (**F**)* (Assamese)

   tumi-r   kha-i ho-ile-he tumi za-ib-a

   you-GEN eat-NF be-SUB-EMP you go-FUT-2

   'Only after you are done eating, you can leave.'

Similarly, in (9a), the main clause event will occur only after the event in the *-milo* clause happens. - *milo* is also a non-finite marker in Mising. In other words, 'after you finish your meal' (*-ŋab*, following the verb *do* 'eat' in (9a), conveys a perfective sense, indicating that the action is complete but still relevant in the present context).

(9a)   *no doŋabjo**milo** (**G**) no gɨlaŋkubo (**F**)* (Mising)

   no do-ŋab[10]-jo-milo   no gi-laŋ-ku-bo

   you eat-complete-IMP-SUB you go-IMP-back-immediacy

   'When you finish eating, get going.'

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[10] *-ŋab* is commonly added to a verb stem ending with a vowel, denoting purpose.

In (9b), the *-mɨlo* clause precedes the main clause event, establishing the temporal ground for the subsequent main clause event 'I will eat' as the figure.

(9b)   *bɨ doŋab**mɨlo** (G) ŋo dojɜ (F)* (Mising)

bɨ   do-ŋab-mɨlo   ŋo   do-jɜ

he   eat-complete-SUB   I   eat-FUT

'After she finishes eating, I will eat.'

-pora in Assamese and **-dokkɜ** in Mising

The bound morpheme subordinators *-pora* in Assamese and *-dokkɜ* in Mising are equivalent to 'since' in temporal situations. They mark the beginning of a time period during which the event in the main clause commences. In other words, the subordinate clause event precedes the main clause event, and the main clause event initiates within the timeframe of the subordinate clause event. Essentially, both *–pora* and *-dokkɜ* are spatial postpositions[11] in their respective languages, signifying 'from', indicating a starting point for a journey or action. A starting point must be a place, a tangible entity. Similarly, *-pora* and *-dokkɜ* in temporal contexts follow a specific point in time. However, this point in time, representing an action, must be reified, i.e., a non-finite event, as seen in *zu-a-r*[12] in (10a) and *kʰu-a-r*[13] in (10c) in Assamese, and *gɨ-dag* in (10b) and *do-dag* in (10d) in Mising. Both always occupy the clause-final position of subordinate clauses.

In (10a) and (10b), the subordinate clause events 'he went to Delhi' mark the beginning of the time period since which the speaker has not met him. The subordinate clause establishes the temporal ground upon which the main clause event, the figure, occurs.

(10a)   *xi dilliloi zuar**pora** (G) tak log pua nai (F)*   (Assamese)

xi   dilli-loi   za-a-r-pora   xi-k   log   pa-a   nai

he   dilli-ALL   go-NF-GEN-SUB   he-ACC meet get-NF NEG

'I haven't met him since he went to Delhi.'

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[11] *Guwahati-r pora* (Guwahati-GEN from) 'from Guwahati'; *Guwahati-dokkɜ* (Guwahati-from) 'from Guwahati'

[12] *zuar* is a non-finite verb, made of the verb *za* 'go', non-finite *–a*, and the genitive *-r*.

[13] *kʰuar* is a non-finite verb, made of the verb *kʰa* 'eat', the non-finite *-a* and the genitive *-r*.

(10b) *bɨ dilli gɨdag**dokkɜ** (G) bɨm rɨksuma (F)*   (Mising)

       bɨ   dilli   gɨ-dag-dokkɜ bɨ-m   rɨksu-ma

       he   delhi   go-HAB-SUB he-ACC   meet-NEG

       'I haven't met him since he went to Delhi.'

In (10c) and (10d), the adverbial clause 'since I had the pulao' sets the temporal ground (G) for the main clause event 'I haven't been feeling well' as the figure (F).

(10c) *pulao kʰini kʰuar**pora** (G) mur pet tu beja hol (F)*   (Assamese)

       pulao-kʰini   kʰa-a-r-pora   moi-r pet-tu   beja ho-il

       pulao-CLF   eat-NF-GEN-SUB   i-GEN stomach-CLF bad be-PRF

       'My stomach is upset since I had the pulao.'

(10d) *pulao dodag**dokkɜ** (G) aki aimaŋ (F)*   (Mising)

       pulao   do-dag-dokkɜ aki   ai-maŋ

       pulao   eat-HAB-SUB   stomach   well-NEG

       'I haven't been feeling well since I had the pulao.'

In (10e), (10f), (10g), and (10h), the subordinate clause events 'since coming to Tezpur' and 'since coming home' act as the temporal ground from which the events in the main clauses, 'he keeps visiting us' and 'he is sleeping', respectively, have been ongoing.

(10e) *Tezpuroloi ahar**pora** (G) teu amar gʰoroloi ahiei tʰake (F)* (Assamese)

       Tezpur-oloi   ah-a-r-pora   teu   ami-r   gʰor-oloi

       Tezpur-ALL   come-NF-GEN-SUB   he   we-GEN   home-ALL

       ah-i-ei   tʰak-e

       come-NF-EMP   stay-3

       'Since coming to Tezpur, he keeps visiting us.'

(10f) *tezpur gɨdag**dokkɜ** (G) bɨ ŋoluk ukumpɜ gɨtɨlduːdag (F)*   (Mising)

       tezpur gɨ-dag-dokkɜ   bɨ   ŋo-luk   ukum-pɜ

       Tezpur come-HAB-SUB   he   I-PL   home-ALL

       gɨ-tɨl-duː-dag

       come-move-stay-HAB

       'Since coming to Tezpur, he keeps visiting us.'

(10g) *teur ahar**pora** (G) xui ei ase (F)*   (Assamese)

      teu   ah-a-r-pora   xu-i-ei   as-e

      he   come-NF-GEN-SUB   sleep-NF-EMP be-3

      'He is sleeping since coming home.'

(10h) *bɨ gɨdagku**dokkɜ** (G) jublaŋoŋ duŋ (F)*   (Mising)

      bɨ   gi-dag-ku-dokkɜ   jub-la-ŋoŋ   duŋ

      he   come-HAB-return-SUB sleep-NF-EMP PROG

      'Since coming back, he has been sleeping.'

3.2.1.2 Posteriority

Posteriority refers to a temporal relationship where the main clause event precedes the subordinate clause event. In Assamese, temporal clauses expressing posteriority are always non-finite. Subordinators denoting posteriority in Assamese include the free morpheme subordinator *agot* and the bound morpheme subordinators *-loike* and *-porzjonto*. In Mising, the subordinator denoting posteriority is the bound morpheme *-dopɜ*.

The subordinator *agot*, meaning 'before' is a spatial postposition, similar to *pasot* 'after' indicating the location of one thing relative to another. In temporal contexts, it signifies the point in time before which something else will occur. In other words, the *agot* event happens after the event in the main clause. *agot* follows a reified action, i.e., a non-finite action, as seen in *korar*[14] in (11a), *ahar* in (11b), and *korar* in (11c).

In (11a), the subordinate event 'before doing anything' establishes the temporal ground, and the main clause event of 'think twice' occurs subsequently. The subordinate clause provides context for the timing of the main clause event, making the subordinate event the ground and the main clause event the figure.

In (11b) and (11c), the main clause event precedes the subordinate clause event. The subordinate events establish the temporal ground for the subsequent main clause events,

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[14] The non-finite *korar* is made of the root verb kor 'do', the non-finite *-a* and the genitive *-r*. Similarly, *ahar* is made of the root verb *ah* 'come', the non-finite *-a*, and the genitive *-r*.

which are the figures. In Assamese, the emphatic marker *-ei* can be affixed to *agot*, creating *agotei*. The subordinator *agot* always occupies the clause-final position of a non-finite subordinate clause.

agot in Assamese

(11a)   *zikunu kam korar **agot** (G) dubar bʰabiba (F)*   (Assamese)

zikunu   kam   kor-a-r   agot   dubar   bʰab-ib-a

whatever   work   do-NF-GEN   SUB   two times   think-FUT-2

'Think twice before doing anything.'

(11b)   *tai ahar **agotei** (G) xi gol goi (F)*   (Assamese)

tai   ah-a-r   agotei   xi   za-il   za-i

she   come-NF-GEN SUB   he   go-PRF go-NF

'He left before she arrived.'

(11c)   *xi kamtu korar **agotei** (G) tumi kora (F)*   (Assamese)

xi   kam-tu   kor-a-r   agot   tumi   kor-a

he   work-CLF   do-NF-GEN   SUB   you   do-2

'You do the work, before he does.'

-dopɜ in Mising

The subordinator *-dopɜ* in Mising can convey both 'before' and 'until' in temporal situations. Thus, the *-dopɜ* event occurs posteriorly to the main clause event. *-dopɜ* is derived from the spatial postposition *po:pɜ* (e.g., *Ram-kɜ po:pɜ ŋo* 'Ram-GEN before I' = 'I am before Ram.' It indicates the location of one thing relative to another. Similarly, -*dopɜ* marks a reified event marked by the habitual marker *-dag*, as illustrated in (12a) - (12c).

In (12a), (12b), and (12c), the subordinate events marked by *-dopɜ* constitute the ground (G). These clauses signify the endpoint until which the main clause event will occur. In other words, the main clause event will happen 'before' and will continue until the subordinate clause event takes place. These events can also be interpreted conditionally. Until the subordinate clause event occurs, the main clause event will persist. However, once the subordinate clause event happens, the main clause event will cease.

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In (12a), the subordinate event 'until my health permits me' serves as the conditional ground, determining the duration of the main clause event, the figure, 'I will keep working.'

(12a) *azin amin aila dudag**dopɜ** (G) ager gertɨl dujɜ (F)*   (Mising)

      azin   amin   aila   du-dag-dopɜ   ager   ger-til   du-jɜ

      flesh   back   good   stay-HAB-SUB   work   do-move   stay-FUT

      'Until my health permits me, I will keep working.'

In (12b), the main clause event of 'I have no tension' will persist until the temporal ground, the subordinate event 'you are with me' continues.

(12b) *no ŋok kɜraddudag**dopɜ** (G) ŋo mɜdirma (F)* (Mising)

      no   ŋo-k   kɜrad-du-dag-dopɜ   ŋo   mɜdir-ma

      you   I-GEN near-stay-HAB-SUB   I   sadness-NEG

      'Until you are with me, I have no sorrow.'

In (12c), the main clause event, 'I will wait' will continue happening until the subordinate event, 'until he comes' occurs.

(12c) *bɨ gɨpɨdag**dopɜ** (G) ŋo tojɜ (F)* (Mising)

       bɨ   gɨ-pɨ-dag-dopɜ   ŋo   to-jɜ

       he   come-reach-HAB-SUB I   wait-FUT

       'I will wait until he comes.'

-loike and *-pozjonto* in Assamese

While Assamese has two other subordinators, the bound morphemes *-loike* and *-porzjonto*, both conveying the meaning 'until,' they are stylistic variants of each other. *-porzjonto* is typically used in formal contexts, while *-loike* is more common in informal settings. These clauses indicate the endpoint until which the event in the main clause will continue. They can also be interpreted conditionally. The event in the main clause will not occur until the condition in the subordinate clause is fulfilled.

The subordinator *-loike* is composed of the allative marker *-loi*, meaning 'towards something,' and *-ke*, meaning 'not beyond that.' This implies that the main clause event will occur before and continue until the subordinate clause event happens, but not beyond that. The allative case denotes motion towards something, indicating movement toward a specific entity. Thus, *-loike*, derived from the allative *-loi*, signifies that the main clause event progresses or continues in time until the subordinate clause event occurs. Just as *-loi* grammatically follows a noun (e.g. *Guwahati-loi* 'to Guwahati'), *-loike* also follows a reified situation, such as *par-a*[15] in (14a), *nu-kʰu-a* in (14b), and *tʰa-k-a* in (14c). Similarly, *-porzjonto* follows a reified, non-finite clause, as evidenced in (14d).

Both *-loike* and *-porzjonto* are primarily spatial postpositions (e.g., *Guwahati loike/porzjonto za-m* 'Guwahati until go-FUT' = 'I will go upto Guwahati') and occupy the clause-final position of the non-finite subordinate clause they belong to.

In (13a), (13b), and (13c), the main clause event will continue as long as the conditional ground in the subordinate clause persists.

(13a) *dehai para**loike** (G) moi kam kori zam (F)*   (Assamese)

deha-i   par-a-loike   moi   kam   kor-i   za-m

body-ERG   can-NF-SUB   I   work   do-NF   go-FUT

'I will work until my health permits me.'

(13b) *xi nukʰua**loike** (G) moiu nakʰau (F)*   (Assamese)

xi   na-kʰa-a-loike   moi-u   na-kʰa-u

he   NEG-eat-NF-SUB   I-EMP   NEG-eat-1

'I won't eat until he eats.'

(13c) *tumi mur logot tʰaka**loike** (G) moi nisinto (F)*   (Assamese)

tumi   moi-r   logot   tʰak-a-loike   moi   nisinto

you   I-GEN   with   stay-NF-SUB   I   carefree

'I am fine until you are with me.'

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[15] *para*, *nukʰua*, *tʰaka* are all non-finite verbs, suffixed by the non-finite *-a* to the root verbs *par* 'can', *kʰa* 'eat', and *tʰak* 'stay,' respectively, making them reified.

-porzjonto

(13d) *kamtu nuhu**aporzjonto** (G) tumi zabo nuara* **(F)**   (Assamese)

      kam-tu   na-ho-a-porzjonto   tumi   za-ibo na-par-a

      work-CLF   NEG-be-NF-SUB   you   go-FUT NEG-can-2

      'You can't leave until the work is done.'

3.2.1.3 Simultaneity

Simultaneity in temporal situations means that the main clause event and the subordinate clause event co-occur, i.e., both events coincide temporally.

In Assamese, subordinators denoting simultaneity are: the bound morpheme *–ute* 'while' (used with a non-finite temporal subordinate clause); the free morphemes: *zetia* 'when' (used with a finite temporal subordinate clause); *zetiai* 'whenever' (used with a finite temporal subordinate clause). In Mising, temporal subordinate clauses denoting simultaneity are marked by the bound morpheme: *-dagdo* 'while' and the free morpheme subordinators - *ɜdɨlo* 'when' and *-ɜdɨloi* 'whenever' (both used with finite subordinate clauses).

-ute and ***zetia*** in Assamese

As stated in the Introduction of the thesis, the subordinator *-ute* 'while' is composed of non-finite *-u* and locative *-te*. Thus, *-ute* is used with a non-finite subordinate clause, unlike its finite counterpart *–zetia* 'when'. *-ute* denotes the underlying temporal overlap or simultaneity between two events.

In example (14a), the ongoing subordinate clause event *kali duporija bʰat kʰai tʰak**ute*** 'while I was eating my meal yesterday at noon' establishes the temporal ground upon which the main clause event *John ahisil* 'John came' takes place. Similarly, in (14b), the continuous subordinate clause event *azi pua kʰuz karhiboloi za**ute*** 'while I was going for a walk' sets the temporal ground for the main clause event *Johnok dekʰa palu* 'I saw John,' the figure.

(14a) *kali duporija bʰat kʰai tʰak**ute** (G) John ahisil **(F)***   (Assamese)

      kali   duporija   bʰat   kʰa-i   tʰak-ute   John   ah-isil

      yesterday   noon   rice   eat-NF stay-SUB   John   come-PST

      'While I was having my meal yesterday, John came.'

(14b) *azi pua kʰuz karhiboloi za**ute** (**G**) Johnok dekʰa palu (**F**)*   (Assamese)

azi	pua	kʰuz	karh-ibo-loi	za-ute	John-ok	dekʰ-a
today	morning	steps	walk-FUT-ALL	go-SUB	John-ACC	see-NF

pa-il-u

get-PRF-1

'This morning, while I was going for a walk, I saw John.'

As said, the subordinator *zetia* in Assamese, specifies the time period when the main clause event has happened. Thus, they intersect temporally. The *zetia* clause serves as the locational ground upon which the main clause event occurs. *zetia* is optionally accompanied by the correlate *tetia* 'then' in the main clause.

In -*ute* clauses, the focus is on the action of the main clause, while in *zetia* clauses, the focus is on that particular moment in time marked by the subordinator *zetia*.

In (15a), the subordinate event indicating a definite period (i.e., childhood) *xorute zetia dusto koru* 'when we did mischief during our childhood' is the ground (G); the main clause event *kʰub piton kʰau* 'we would get a smack' is the figure (F). The subordinator *zetia* picks up that one particular moment in past time when we would get a smack, i.e., when we did mischief. In (15b) as well, the subordinator *zetia* picks up that one particular moment in future time when we would learn to do the job well, i.e., only when we do the job ourselves. That is why, it is not possible to rephrase the sentences in example (15c) – (15f) below in an idiomatic manner using the -*ute* form.

(15a) *xorute **zetia** dusto koru (**G**) (tetia) kʰub piton kʰau (**F**)* (Assamese)

xoru-te	**zetia**	dusto	kor-u	kʰub	piton	kʰa-u
small-LOC	SUB	mischief	do-1	very	beating	eat-1

'During our childhood, we would get a smack whenever we did mischief.'

(15b) *kamtu **zetia** tumi nize koriba (**G**) tetia he xikiba (**F**)* (Assamese)

kam-tu	zetia	tumi	niz-e	kor-ib-a	tetia	he
work-CLF	SUB	you	self-ERG	do-FUT-2	then	only

xik-ib-a

learn-FUT-2

'Only when you yourself do it, will you learn.'

(15c) *Sibonathe ketiaba **zetia** alox muhurtot soku mudi otitor smriti rumont^hon kore (**G**),*

tetia azi dukuri bosoror pasotu teur monor sokur agot b^hahi ut^he kuru-pandav aru

*ram-rabonor xei bohuborno uzwal sitrobur (**F**).   (Assamese)*

Sibonath-e	ketiaba	zetia	alox	muhurto-t	soku	mud-i
Sibonath-ERG	sometimes	SUB	idle	moment-LOC	eyes	close-N
otit-or	smriti	rumont^hon	kor-e	tetia	azi	dui-kuri
past-GEN	memories	reminisce	do-3	then	today	two-twenty
bosor-or	pasot-u	teu-r	mon-or	soku-r		agot
years-GEN	after-EMP	he-GEN	heart-GEN	eyes-GEN		before
b^hah-i	ut^h-e	kuru-pandav	aru	ram-rabon-or		bohu-borno
float-NF	rise-3	kuru-pandav	and	Ram-Ravan-GEN		many-color
uzwal	sitro-bur					
bright	picture-PL					

'While resting by closing his eyes, Sibonath vividly recalled colorful images of the fights between the Kauravas and the Pandavas, and between Ram and Ravana, even after forty years. (lines adopted from Borgohain, 1975, p. 10)

(15d) *gauot **zetia** banpani hoi (**G**), hazar hazar bundakesubur dole dole gator pora*

*ulaboloi d^hore (**F**) aru panije zetia gutei onsoltu burai pelai (**G**), tetia dudinmanor*

*b^hitorote kesubur moriboloi d^hore (**F**).   (Assamese)*

gau-ot	zetia	banpani	hoi	hazar	hazar
village-LOC	SUB	flood	be	thousand	thousand
bundakesu-bur		dole dole			
earthworm-PL		collectively			
gat-or	pora	ula-ibo-loi		d^hor-e aru	pani-e	zetia
hole-GEN	from	come out-FUT-ALL		start-3 and	water-ERG	SUB
gutei	onsol-tu				
altogether	locality-CLF				
bura-i	pela-i	tetia	dui-din-man-or		b^hitorote
drown-NF	throw-NF	then	two-day-some-GEN		within kesu-
bur	mori-ibo-loi	d^hor-e			
earthworm-PL	die-FUT-ALL	start-3			

'When a flood occurs in the village, thousands of earthworms come out of their holes in troops, but they begin to die within a day or two when the floodwater submerges the whole area.' (lines adopted from Borgohain, 1975, p. 10)

(15e) *aankale tʰik ene xomoijote **zetia** podulimukʰot ahi tʰijo hou (**G**), sesa botahzak gat logar loge logei mur deh mon xanto hoi pore…(**F**)*   (Assamese)

aankale	tʰik	ene	xomoi-ot-e	zetia	podulimukʰ-ot
on other days	exactly	like	time-LOC-EMP	SUB	front yard-LOC
ah-i	tʰio	ho-u	sesa	botah-zak	gat	logar
come-NF	stand	be-1	cool	breeze-PL	body	touch
logeloge-i		moi-r	deh	mon	xanto		hoi	por-e
immediately-EMP		I-GEN	body	heart	peaceful		be	fall-3

'On other occasions, at this time of day, when I come here and stand in the front yard, a calm breeze touches me and gives me a sense of peace. (lines adopted from Borgohain, 1975, p. 33)

(15f) *moi **zetia** xeuzija gʰah asilu (**G**), teu mur belitu asil (**F**)*   (Assamese)

moi	zetia	xeuzija	gʰah	as-il-u	teu	moi-r	beli-tu	as-il
I	SUB	green	grass	be-PRF-1	he	I-GEN	sun-CLF	be-PRF

'We were once like green grass and warm sunshine – a perfect pair.' (lines adopted from acclaimed Assamese movie *Maj Rati Keteki* (2017) by Santana Bordoloi)

In (15g), the subordinator -*ute* marks the subordinate event as the ground, and the main focus is on the action in the main clause, i.e., where the hearer was during the happening of the earthquake. On the other hand, in (15h), the subordinator *zetia* picks up that one particular moment in past time when the earthquake struck. In that moment in time, the clock also struck 7.

(15g) *kali bʰumikompo ah**ute** (**G**) kot asili toi (**F**)*   (Assamese)

kali	bʰumikompo	ah-ute	kot	as-il-i	toi
yesterday	earthquake	come-SUB	where	exist-PRF-2	you

'Yesterday during earthquake, where were you?'

(15h) *kali **zetia** bʰumikompo ahisil (**G**) tetia xat bazisil (**F**)*   (Assamese)

kali	zetia	bʰumikompo	ah-isil	tetia	xat	baz-isil
yesterday	SUB	earthquake	come-PST	then	seven	strike-PST

'Yesterday when the earthquake hit, the time was 7 O' clock.'

-dagdo, and *ʒdilo* in Mising

The bound morpheme subordinator *-dagdo* 'while' in Mising is composed of the habitual marker *-dag* and the specific location marker *-do*. *-do* comes from the place adverb *-odo* (contracted form: *-do*) meaning 'there' (e.g., *odo bɨ duŋai* 'there he PST.PROG' = 'He was there') *-odo* is also a time adverb (e.g., *odo ŋo gɨ-ka* 'then I go-PST' = 'Then I went.')

The subordinator *-dagdo* marks the event as the ground upon which the main clause happens. The habitual *-dag* renders the verb non-finite, i.e.., it abstracts away the event from time. Because it is non-finite, i.e., reified, the locative marker *-do* could be added to habitual *-dag*.

In (16a), the ongoing subordinate clause event *ŋok apin dol duːdagdo* 'while I was eating', lays the locational ground upon which the figure, *bɨ gɨdagai* 'he came' occurs. That is, while the *-dagdo* event was happening, the main clause event happens. Just like *-ute* clauses in Assamese, in *-dagdo* clauses in Mising, the focus is on the action of the main clause. In (16a), the main clause event 'he came' is the main focus of attention.

(16a) *ŋok apin dol duːdagdo (G) bɨ gɨdagai (F)*   (Mising)

      ŋo-k   apin   do-l   duː-dagdo   bɨ   gɨ-dagai

      I-GEN   rice   eat-NF   stay-SUB   he   come-PST

      'He came while I was eating.'

Similarly, in (16b) - (16f) below, we have marked the subordinate clauses marked by -*dagdo* with (G), and the main clauses as (F).

(16b) *paper pola duːdagdo (G) agomdʒm paːtagai (F)*   (Mising)

      paper   po-la   duː-dagdo   agom-dʒ-m   paː-tagai

      paper   read-NF   stay-SUB   news-DEF-ACC   get-PST.PRF

      'I got the news while reading the newspaper.'

(16c) *silo gɨgoŋkap gɨdagdo (G) Johnmʒ kaːto (F)*   (Mising)

      silo   gɨgoŋ-ka-p   gɨ-dagdo   John-mʒ   kaː-to

      today   roam-NF-ALL   go-SUB   John-ACC   see-PST

      'While walking around (G), I saw John today (F).'

(16d) *bɨ gɨdagdo (G) ŋo jubla duŋai (F)*   (Mising)

      bɨ   gɨ-dagdo   ŋo   jub-la   duŋai

      he   come-SUB   I   sleep-NF   PST.PROG

      'When he came (G), I was sleeping (F).'

(16e) *bɨ apin dol duːdagdo (G) ŋo gɨpɨtagai (F)*   (Mising)

      bɨ   apin   do-l   duː-dagdo   ŋo   gɨ-pɨ-tagai

      he   rice   eat-NF   stay-SUB   I   come-reach-PST.PRF

      'I reached while he was eating.'

(16f) *mʒlo tarʒmoton tondagdo (G) no okol duŋʒn (F)*   (Mising)

      mʒlo   tarʒmoton   ton-dagdo   no   okol   duŋ-ʒn

      yesterday   earthquake   vibrate-SUB   you   where   PROG-Q

      'Yesterday when the earthquake occurred, where were you?'

ʒdɨlo in Mising

On the other hand, the free morpheme subordinator *ʒdɨlo,* is a question word, meaning 'when.' *ʒdɨlo* is composed of *ʒdɨ* 'a certain point of time' and the generic locative marker *-lo*. Just like the *zetia* clauses in Assamese, in *ʒdɨlo* clauses as well, the focus is on the particular moment in time marked by the subordinator *ʒdɨlo*, as in (16h) and (16i) below. The locative *-lo* marks the subordinate event as the location upon which the main clause events happen. That is, in (16h) it states the ground upon which the main clause event of 'you will learn will happen.' Similarly, in (16i), *-lo* grounds the subordinate event upon which the main clause event of 'doing it nicely will happen.

(16h) *agerdʒm ʒdɨlo aɨʒ gersujʒzi (G) odopag ikisujʒ (F)*   (Mising)

      ager-dʒ-m   ʒdɨlo   aɨ-ʒ   ger-su-jʒ-zi   odo-pag

      work-DEF-ACC SUB   self-NOM   do-yourself-FUT-DUB then-EMP

      iki-su-jʒ

      learn-yourself-FUT

      'Only when you do the work yourself, will you learn.'

(16i)   *agerdɜm **ɜdɨlo** gerjɜzi (**G**) aipɜ iduŋ (**F**)*   (Mising)

ager-dɜ-m   ɜdɨlo   ger-jɜ-zi   aipɜ   i-duŋ

work-DEF-ACC SUB   do-FUT-DUB   good   do-PROG

'When you do the work, do it nicely.'

Fig. 29 illustrates the hierarchical relationship between the main clause and the finite subordinate clause marked by the free morpheme *ɜdɨlo* in example (16i).

Subordination: ***Adverbial Subordination Schema***
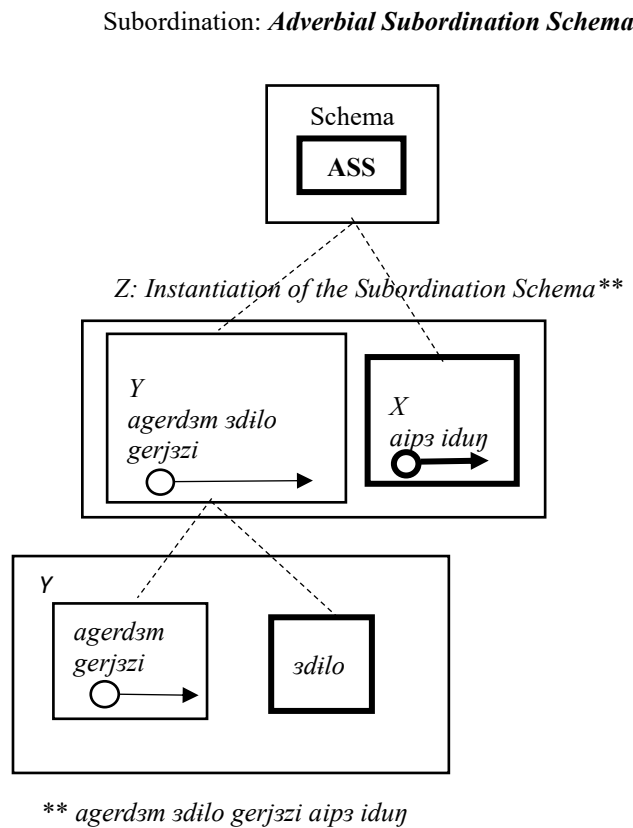

Fig. 29: Temporal subordination by *ɜdɨlo*

zetiai in Assamese and ***ɜdɨloi*** in Mising

The free morpheme subordinators *zetiai* in Assamese and *ɜdɨloi* in Mising convey a similar meaning to the English word 'whenever' indicating that something happens or occurs at any time; they imply a general or indefinite time, without specifying a particular moment.

zetiai is a combination of *zetia* (meaning 'when') and the emphatic marker *ei*, emphasizing that whenever one situation arises, the other inevitably follows. *ʒɨloi* is composed of *ʒɨlo*[16] meaning 'when' and the emphatic marker *ʒi,* thus, emphasizing that when-ever one event happens, the other will also definitely happen. Both *zetiai* and *ʒɨloi* are used with habitual clauses in their respective languages, as the subordinator 'whenever' itself is inherently tense-neutral, disregarding temporal distinction.

In (17a) and (17b), the subordinate clause events, 'whenever sister comes,' 'whenever Ram comes,' set the temporal grounds upon which the main clause event 'brings sweets for us' occurs as the figure.

(17a)　*baideu **zetiai** ahe (**G**) amaloi mitʰai loi ahe (**F**)*　　　(Assamese)

　　　baideu zetiai　ah-e　　　　ami-or-loi　　mitʰai lo-i　　　　ah-e

　　　sister　SUB　　come-3　　　we-GEN-ALL　sweets bring-NF　　come-3

　　　'Whenever my sister comes, she brings sweets for us.'

(17b)　*Rambɨ **ʒɨloi** gɨdagzi (**G**) ŋolukkɜp mitai bombidag (**F**)*　　(Mising)

　　　Ram-bɨ　　　ʒɨloi gɨ-dag-zi　　　　　ŋo-lukkɜ-p　　mitai　bombi-dag

　　　Ram-he　　　SUB　come-HAB-DUB　　I-PL-ALL　　　sweets bring-HAB

　　　'Whenever Ram comes, he brings sweets for us.'

In (17c) and (17d), we have marked the subordinate clauses that are marked by the presence of *zetiai* and *ʒɨloi* as (G) and the main clause as (F).

(17c)　*moi Guwahatiloi **zetiai** zau (G) taik log koru (F)*　　　(Assamese)

　　　moi　　Guwahati-loi zetiai　za-u　　tai-k　　　　log　　kor-u

　　　I　　　Guwahati-ALL SUB　　go-1　　she-ACC　　　meet　do-1

　　　'Whenever I got to Guwahati, I meet her.'

---

[16] As said, *ʒɨlo* is composed of *ʒɨ* 'a certain point of time' and the generic location marker *-lo.* That is, it marks an unspecific generic location and that is why, it is compatible with *ʒɨloi* 'whenever' events which are not real specific events, rather they are generic abstracted events from many specific events.

(17d) *ŋo Guwahatipɜ **ɜdɨloi** gɨdagzi **(G)** bɨm rɨksudo **(F)*** (Mising)

ŋo   Guwahati-pɜ ɜdɨloi gɨ-dag-zi   bɨ-m   rɨksu-do

I   guwahati-ALL SUB   go-HAB-DUB   he-acc   meet-HAB

'Whenever I go to Guwahati, I meet her.'

3.2.2 Conditional clauses in Assamese and Mising

Conditional clauses express a condition that must be met for the main clause event to occur. Since the condition is not yet fulfilled but must be, the tense in the conditional clause is often present or future. The main clause, representing the event that depends on the condition, is typically in the future tense.

In Assamese, conditional clauses can be finite or non-finite. Finite clauses are marked by the free morpheme subordinator *zodi* 'if'. Non-finite clauses are marked by the bound morpheme subordinator *-ile*. In Mising, the conditional subordinator is the bound morpheme *-mɨlo*. As already said, *-mɨlo* is also a non-finite marker in the language.

These subordinators, whether free or bound morphemes, imply a temporal relationship: the event in the main clause is contingent upon the condition expressed in the subordinate clause. In Assamese, the subordinator *zodi* can optionally be accompanied by the correlate *tene* 'then' in the main clause. The free morpheme *zodi* in Assamese can sit in both clause-initial or clause-final position of a finite subordinate clause, while the bound morpheme *-ile* in Assamese and *-mɨlo* in Mising can sit only in the clause-final position of the non-finite subordinate clause.

In (28a) below, the subordinate clause event 'if he comes' sets the conditional ground upon which the main clause event *moi zam* 'I will go' will conditionally occur as the figure.

zodi in Assamese

(18a) *xi **zodi** ahe **(G)**, moi zam **(F)*** (Assamese)

tumi   zodi   ah-e   moi   za-m

you   SUB   come-3   I   go-FUT

'If he comes, I will.'

Note that *zodi* normally precedes the finite form of the verb in the subordinate clause as in (18a) above, i.e., *ahe.*

In the rest of the examples of (18), we have marked the subordinate clause with *zodi* as (G), and the main clause as (F).

(18b) *moi **zodi** matu (**G**) xi ahibo (**F**)*   (Assamese)

moi   zodi   mat-u   xi   ah-ibo

I   SUB   call-1 he   come-FUT

'If I call, he will come.'

In (18c), it is stated that if the conditional ground of the subordinate clause (i.e., *tumi zodi matila heten* 'if I had called') were true, then the main clause event (i.e., *xi ahile heten* 'he would have come') would have happened. However, since the condition in the subordinate clause was not fulfilled, the event in the main clause did not occur.

(18c) *tumi **zodi** matila heten (**G**) xi ahile heten (**F**)*   (Assamese)

tumi   zodi   mat-il-a   heten   xi   ah-il-e   heten

you   SUB   call-PRF-2   possibly   he   come-PRF-3   possibly

'If you had called, he would have come.'

-*ile* in Assamese

As discussed in Section 3.1.1, the suffix *-ile* is composed of the perfective marker *-il* and the locative marker *-e*. This structure indicates that the event marked by *-ile* serves as the ground for the main clause event.

Therefore, in (19a), the subordinate event is not only the ground but also has a direct impact on the main clause event. The main clause event can only be realized if and when the condition in the subordinate event is fulfilled.

(19a) *tumi go**le** (**G**) moiu zam (**F**)*   (Assamese)

tumi   za-ile   moi-u   za-m

you   go-SUB   I-EMP   go-FUT

'If you go, I will go too.'

In the rest of the examples of (19), and the Mising examples in (20), we have marked the subordinate clauses marked by *–ile* and *-mɨlo*, respectively, as (G) and the main clause as (F).

(19b)   *dusto korile (G) mar kʰaba (F)*   (Assamese)

dusto   kor-ile   mar   kʰa-ib-a

mischief   do-SUB   beating   eat-FUT-2

'If you do mischief, you will be punished.'

(19c)   *tumi matile (G) xi ahibo (F)*   (Assamese)

tumi   mat-ile   xi   ah-ibo

you   call-SUB   he   come-FUT

'If you call, he will come.'

-mɨlo in Mising

(20a)   *no gɨmilo (G) ŋosin gɨjɜ (F)*   (Mising)

no   gɨ-mɨlo   ŋo-sin gɨ-jɜ

you   go-SUB   I-EMP go-fut

'If you go, I will go too.'

(20b)   *ŋo gogmilo (G) bɨ gɨjɜ (F)*   (Mising)

ŋo   gog-mɨlo   bɨ   gɨ-jɜ

I   call-SUB   he   come-FUT

'If I call, he will come.'

(20c)   *no gogjamilo (G) bɨ gɨjai(F)*   (Mising)

no   gog-ja-mɨlo   bɨ   gɨ-jai

you   call-possibly-SUB   he   come-possibly

'If you had called, he would have come.'

3.2.3 Causal clauses in Assamese and Mising

Causal clauses express the cause, purpose, or reason for the action in the main clause. They answer the question 'why?' and can be divided into purpose clauses and reason clauses.

In Assamese, causal subordinators are free morphemes like *zate* 'so that', *karone/babe* 'because' and *zihetu* 'as' as well as bound morphemes like *-iboloi*, *-akoi*, *-t*, *-ilot*, and *-i*.

In Mising, causal subordinators include the free morpheme subordinators: *lɜgapɜ* and *lɜgaŋ*, and the bound morphemes *-kokki, -kapɜ* and *-la*.

3.2.3.1 Purpose Clauses

Purpose clauses indicate the purpose or intention behind the main clause event. They explain the motivation for the event. The subordinators *zate, -iboloi, -akoi* in Assamese and *lɜgapɜ, -kapɜ, lɜgaŋ* in Mising are used in purpose clauses.

zate clauses are finite while *iboloi* and *-koi* clauses are non-finite. In Mising, *lɜgapɜ, -kapɜ* and *lɜgaŋ* are all non-finite clauses. All of the mentioned subordinators in both Assamese and Mising occupy the final position within the subordinate clause.

zate in Assamese and ***lɜgapɜ*** and ***lɜgaŋ*** in Mising

zate, lɜgapɜ and *lɜgaŋ* are free morpheme subordinators in their respective languages, conveying meanings like 'because' and 'so that'. In Mising, *lɜgapɜ* and *lɜgaŋ* are interchangeable and express the same meanings.

The main clause events *xi bʰalkoi porhise* in (21a), and *bɨ aipɜ poriduŋ* in (21b), both meaning 'he is studying hard' occur due to the purpose stated in the subordinate clause, i.e., *bʰal result koribo pare/result ainam* 'doing well in the exam.' The subordinate event serves as the ground or reason for the main clause event. Note that while *zate* immediately follows the main clause in Assamese, the Mising *lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ* precedes the main clause. While, *zate* goes with finite subordinate clauses, *lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ* goes with non-finite subordinate clauses.

(21a) *xi bʰalkoi porhise (**F**) **zate** bʰal result koribo pare (**G**)*   (Assamese)

xi	bʰal-koi	porh-is-e	zate	bʰal	result	kor-ibo	par-e
he	good-way	read-PROG-3	SUB	good	result	do-FUT	can-3

‘He is studying hard so that he does well in his exams.’

(21b) *result ainam **lɜgapɜ/ lɜgaŋ** (**G**) bɨ aipɜ poriduŋ (**F**)*   (Mising)

result	ai-nam	lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ	bɨ	aipɜ	pori-duŋ
result	good-NF	SUB	he	good	read-PROG

‘He is studying hard so that he can do well in his exams.’

In (21c) and (21d), we have marked the subordinate clauses marked by the presence of *zate* and *lɜgapɜ/ lɜgaŋ,* respectively, as (G) and the main clause as (F).

(21c) *moi azi xunkale utʰisu (**F**) **zate** xunkale kamkʰini xekʰ koribo paru (**G**)*(Assamese)

moi	azi	xunkale	utʰ-is-u	zate	xunkale	kam-kʰini
I	today	early	rise-PROG-1	SUB	early	work-CLF

xekʰ	kor-ibo	par-u
finish	do-FUT	can-1

‘I got up early today so that I can finish my work early.’

In the rest of the sentences of (21) as well, we have marked the **lɜgapɜ/ lɜgaŋ** clause as the ground (G) and the main clause as the figure (F).

(21d) *agerdɜm lomna gerabnam **lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ** (**G**) ŋo silo lomna darobduŋ (**F**)*(Mising)

ager-dɜ-m	lomna	ger-ab-nam	lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ	ŋo	silo
work-DEF-ACC	early	do-complete-NF	SUB	I	today

lomna	darob-duŋ
early	rise-PROG

‘I woke up early today so that I can finish my work early.’

(21e) *sakori paːnam **lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ** (**G**) poriduŋ (**F**)*   (Mising)

sakori	paː-nam	lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ	pori-duŋ
job	get-NF	SUB	read-PROG

‘He is studying to get a job.’

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(21f) *dogaŋ paːnam lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ bɨ arig ikaŋkɨduŋ* (Mising)

dogaŋ paː-nam   lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ bɨ   arig

grain get-NF   SUB   he   farming

i-kaŋ-kɨ-duŋ

do-PRF-experience-PROG

'He is farming to get his own grains.'

(21g) *bɨ bɨk mɜːnam paːnam lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ (G) mojumduŋ (F)* (Mising)

bɨ   bɨ-k   mɜː-nam   paː-nam   lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ mojum-duŋ

he   she-GEN   heart-NF   get-SUB   SUB   try-PROG

'He is trying very hard to woo her.'

-iboloi in Assamese

The bound morpheme subordinator *-iboloi* is a combination of the future marker *-ibo* and the allative marker *-loi*. This combination implies a projected future reality, suggesting a potential event that may be realized in the future. The allative case marker *-loi* is compatible with this meaning as it indicates direction or destination, similar to the concept of moving through time.

The *-iboloi* clause establishes the purposive ground (G) for the main clause event (F) to occur. It provides the reason or motivation behind the main action.

(22a) *bʰat kʰaboloi (G) zam (F)* (Assamese)

bhat   kha-iboloi   za-m

rice   eat-SUB   go-FUT

'I will go to eat rice.'

(22b) *sakori paboloi (G) porhisu (F)* (Assamese)

sakori pa-iboloi   porh-is-u

job   get-SUB   read-ING.PROG-1

'I am studying to get a job'.

It is important to note that when two situations are closely intertwined cognitively, the –*iboloi* form is preferred in Assamese over the *zate* form.

In examples (23a) and (23b), the two individuals involved share a deep mental connection, anticipating their meeting or expressing intense desire. In both cases, the -*iboloi* form is used to convey this strong cognitive link. The *zate* form would not be appropriate in these contexts. The *zate* form in Assamese is mainly used for advisory or directive contexts, as in (23c) below. However, in Mising, clauses conveying advisory intent are typically connected through juxtaposition as in (23d) below.

(23a)   *mur tumak log paboloi(G) bor mon goise (F)*   (Assamese)
     moi-r tumi-k   log   pa-iboloi   bor   mon   go-is-e
     I-GEN you-ACC   meet   get-SUB   very heart za-ING.PROG-3
     'I so want to meet you'.

(23b)   *xi tair mon paboloi (G) bor sesta korise (F)*   (Assamese)
     xi   tai-r   mon   pa-iboloi   bor   sesta kor-is-e
     he   she-GEN   heart get-SUB   very   try   do-ING.PROG-3
     'He is trying very hard to woo her'.

(23c)   *bʰalkoi porh (F) zate bʰal result koribo paro (G)*   (Assamese)
     bʰal-koi   porh   zate   bʰal   result kor-ibo   par-o
     good-ADV   read   SUB   good   result do-FUT   can-1
     'Study hard so that you may get good results.'

(23d)   *aipɜ potok (F) ainɜ result pa:jɜpɜ (G)*   (Mising)
     ai-pɜ   po-tok   ai-nɜ   result   pa:-jɜ-pɜ
     good-ADV   read-IMP   good-ADJ   result   get-FUT-ALL
     'Study hard so that you may get good results.'

***-akoi* in Assamese**
The bound morpheme subordinator –*akoi* is composed of the non-finite -*a* and the –*koi*, an adverbial marker, e.g., *dʰuniya-koi* 'beautifully' Similarly, -*koi* can also be used with a reified action, as in *tʰaka-koi* in (24a). The sentence means that the speaker wants the

other person to come with the intention of staying at their place. It implies that the other person should be prepared to stay overnight or for a longer period. In the same way, the sentence (24b) with *kʰua-koi* means that the speaker wants to visit the hearer's place with an intention of having a meal there. Thus, in these cases, *-koi* indicates the purpose or intention of the action.

(24a)　*tʰakakoi (G) ahiba (F)*　　　　　　　(Assamese)

　　　　tʰak-akoi　　　ah-ib-a

　　　　stay-SUB　　　come-FUT-2

　　　　'Come with a plan to stay.'

(24b)　*tumalukor gʰoroloi kʰuakoi (G) zam (F)*　　　(Assamese)

　　　　tumi-luk-or　gʰor-oloi　　kʰa-akoi　　za-m

　　　　you-PL-GEN　home-ALL　　eat-SUB　　go-FUT

　　　　'I plan to visit your place and have a meal.'

-kapɜ in Mising

As stated in the Introduction of the thesis, the bound morpheme subordinator *-kapɜ* is composed of the non-finite marker *-ka* meaning 'desire', and the allative marker *-pɜ* in Mising. This combination conveys a sense purpose to the clause. Thus, the *-kapɜ* clause sets the purposive ground (G), for the main clause event (F). We have marked the subordinate clauses marked by the presence of *- kapɜ* as (G) and the main clause as (F).

(25a)　*dokapɜ (G) gɨjɜ (F)*　　　　(Mising)

　　　　do-kapɜ　　　gɨ-jɜ

　　　　eat-SUB　　　go-FUT

　　　　'I will go to eat.'

(25b)　*no ŋoluk ukumpɜ duŋakapɜ (G) gɨlaŋ (F)*　　(Mising)

　　　　no　　ŋo-luk ukum-pɜ　　duŋa-kapɜ　　gɨ-laŋ

　　　　you　our-PL home-ALL　　stay-SUB　　come-IMP

　　　　'Come to our home to stay'.

3.2.3.2 Reason clauses

Reason clauses express the cause or reason for the main clause event. They can be finite or non-finite in Assamese, while in Mising, they are always non-finite.

In Assamese, subordinators used in reason clauses include the free morpheme subordinators: *karone* 'because' *babe* 'because' *zihetu* 'as' and the bound morpheme subordinators: *-at*, *-ilot*, and *-i*. The subordinators *karone* and *babe* are stylistic variations.

In Mising, the two free morpheme subordinators marking reson clauses, *lɜgapɜ* and *lɜgaŋ*, are also stylistic variations.

karone/babe in Assamese

In (26a) and (26b), the subordinate events *tar gatu beja karone/babe* 'because he is sick' and *tumi zua karone/babe* 'because you went' serve as the causal ground or reason for the main clause events as the figure, i.e., *xi ahibo nuarile* 'he could not come' and *kamtu hol* 'the work got done', respectively. *karone* and *babe* occur with both finite as in (26a), (26b) and (26c) as well as non-finite (26d) subordinate clauses. They sit at the end of the subordinate clause.

(26a)   *tar gatu beja **karone/babe** (**G**) xi ahibo nuarile (**F**)*   (Assamese)

        xi-r   ga-tu   beja   karone/babe   xi   ah-ibo

        he-GEN body-CLF   bad   SUB   he   come-FUT

        na-par-il-e

        NEG-can-PRF-3

        'He could not come because he is sick.'

(26b)   *tumi zua **karone/babe** (**G**) kamtu hol (**F**)*   (Assamese)

        tumi   za-a   karone/babe   kam-tu   ho-il

        you   go-2   SUB   work-CLF   be-PRF

        'The work got done only because you went.'

In (26c), the subordinate clause event *kamtu kora karone/babe* 'because you did the work' caused the main clause event *tumak dʰonjabad (dilu)* '(I) thank you' to happen. The subordinate clause event acts as the reason ground leading to the speaker thanking the hearer in the main clause.

(26c) *kamtu kora **karone/babe** (G) tumak dʰonjabad (dilu) (F)*   (Assamese)

kam-tu	kor-a	karone/babe	tumi-k	dʰonjabad	(de-il-u)
work-CLF	do-NF	SUB	you-ACC	thanks	give-PRF-1

'Thank you for doing the job.'

Similarly, in (26d), the subordinate event *kamtu nuhuar karone/babe* 'the work not getting done' serves as the reason or ground for the speaker calling the hearer responsible.

(26d) *kamtu nuhuar **karone/babe** (G) tumiei daji (F)*   (Assamese)

kam-tu	na-ho-a-r	karone/babe	tumi-ei	daji
work-CLF	NEG-be-NF-GEN	SUB	you-EMP	responsible

'You are responsible for the work not being done.'

***zihetu* in Assamese**

The free morpheme subordinator *zihetu* means 'as' and also indicates the reason for something happening in the main clause. In (27a), the subordinate event *zihetu tair ga beja* 'as she is sick' serves as the reason ground leading to the main clause event *tai nahe* 'she could not come.' Note that when *zihetu* occurs with a finite subordinate clause, it usually precedes that clause.

(27a) ***zihetu** tumi naha (G) moiu nazau (F)*   (Assamese)

zihetu	tumi	na-ah-a	moi-u	na-za-u
SUB	you	NEG-come-2	I-EMP	NEG-go-1

'As you won't come, I too won't go.'

In (27b), the subordinate event *zihetu tai etia xustʰo* 'as she is well now' serves as the reason ground leading to the main clause event *tai kamtu koribo paribo* 'she can do the work now' becoming possible.

(27b) ***zihetu** tai etia xustʰo (G) tai kamtu koribo paribo (F)*   (Assamese)

zihetu	tai	etia	xustʰo	tai	kam-tu	kor-ib-o
SUB	she	now	healthy	she	work-CLF	do-FUT-3

par-ib-o
can-FUT-3

'As she is healthy now, she can do the work.'

-at in Assamese

The bound morpheme subordinator *-at* is composed of the non-finite marker *-a* and the locative marker *-t* in Assamese. The locative marker *-t* locates or marks the subordinate event as the ground upon which the main clause event occurred. It occurs at the clause-final position within the subordinate clause.

In (28a), the subordinate event *gatu beja lagat* 'as she fell ill' lays the causal ground leading to the main clause event *tai gʰoroloi gol goi* 'she went home.'

(28a)   *gatu beja lagat (G) tai gʰoroloi gol goi (F)*   (Assamese)

ga-tu	beja	lag-at	tai	gʰor-loi	za-il
body-CLF	bad	be attached-SUB	she	home-ALL	go-PRF

za-i

go-NF

'She went home as she fell ill.'

Similarly, in (28b), the subordinate event *boroxun dijat* 'as it started raining' acts as the causal ground or location leading to the main clause event *goromtu olop komil* 'the heat lessened a little' becoming possible.

(28b)   *boroxun dijat (G) goromtu olop komil (F)*   (Assamese)

boroxun	de-at	gorom-tu	olop	kom-il
rain	give-SUB	heat-CLF	little	less-PRF

'As it started raining, the heat lessened a little.'

-ilot in Assamese

The subordinator *-ilot* is composed of the perfective marker *-il,* and the locative marker *-t* in Assamese. Together, they mark the event they are suffixed to as the causal ground for the main clause event to occur. It occurs in the clause-final position within the subordinate clause.

In (29a) and (29b), the subordinate events *xi ahilot* 'as he came' and *deuta ahilot* 'as father came,' respectively, serve as the causal ground upon which the main clause events occur: *kamtu hol* 'the work got done', and *ma e b^hat barhile* 'mother served dinner'.

As observed in our previous discussion, the bound morpheme *-il* is a present perfect marker in Assamese, indicating that an action has just concluded, and its effects or relevance persist in the present. Consequently, the meaning of *-ilot* (which includes *-il*) is the completion of an action, leading to a specific outcome or impact, such as 'the work getting done' or 'mother serving dinner' in the provided examples. The locative marker *-t* functions as the ground or context for the action signified by *-il*.

(29a) *xi ah**ilot** (G) kamtu hol (F)* (Assamese)

xi	ah-ilot	kam-tu	ho-il
he	come-SUB	work-CLF	be-PRF

'Because he came, the work got done.'

(29b) *deuta ah**ilot** (G) ma e b^hat barhile (F)* (Assamese)

deuta	ah-ilot	ma-e	b^hat	barh-il-e
father	come-SUB	mother-ERG	rice	serve-PRF-3

'As father came, mother served rice.'

-i in Assamese

The subordinator *-i* also has causal meanings. In addition to its temporal meanings (as discussed in section 3.1.1), *-i* can act as a causal ground for the event in the main clause to occur.

In (30a), the subordinate event *tumak dek^hi* 'seeing you' acts as the causal ground leading to the main clause event *mat exar diboloi ahilu* 'came to say hi.'

(30a) *tumak dek^h**i** (G) mat exar diboloi ahilu (F)* (Assamese)

tumi-k	dek^h-i	mat	exar	de-ibo-loi	ah-il-u
you-ACC	see-SUB	voice	one	give-NF-ALL	come-PRF-1

'Seeing you, I have come to say hi.'

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In (30b), the subordinate event *tumak kanda dek^{h}i* 'seeing you cry' acts as the causal ground that led to the main clause event *taiu kandise* 'she, too, started crying.'

(30b)   *tumak kanda dek^{h}i (G) taiu kandise   (F)*   (Assamese)

tumi-k	kand-a	dek^h-i	tai-u	kand-is-e
you-ACC	cry-2	see-SUB	she-EMP	cry-PROG-3

'Seeing you cry, she is also crying.'

lɜgapɜ and *lɜgaŋ* in Mising

In Mising, the free morpheme subordinators *lɜgapɜ* and *lɜgaŋ*, are used both in purpose and reason clauses. In (31a), (31b), and (31c), the main clause events occurred due to the reason or ground stated in the subordinate clause: *bɨk amirdɜ aimamam lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ* 'because he was ill', *agerdɜ kaboma:nam lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ* 'for the work not getting done', and *ager gernam lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ* 'because you did the work', respectively. Note that *lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ* sits in the clause-final position within the subordinate clause, which always precedes the main clause.

(31a)   *bɨk amirdɜ aimamam **lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ** (G) bɨ gɨlatoma (F)*   (Mising)

bɨ-k	amir-dɜ	ai-ma-mam	lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ	bɨ	gɨ-
he-GEN	body-DEF	good-NEG-NF	SUB	he	

lato-maŋ

go-reverse-NEG

'He could not come because he was ill.'

(31b)   *agerdɜ kaboma:nam **lɜgapɜ/ lɜgaŋ** (G) nom mɜ:lɨksuma (F)* (Mising)

ager-dɜ	kabo-ma:-nam	lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ	no-m
work-DEF	happen-NEG-NF	SUB	you-ACC

mɜ:lɨksu-ma

blame-NEG

'You are to be blamed for the work not being done.'

(31c) *ager gernam **lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ (G)** nom aipɜ mɜ:duŋ (F)*   (Mising)

ager	ger-nam	lɜgapɜ/lɜgaŋ	no-m	aipɜ	mɜ:-duŋ
work	do-NF	SUB	you-ACC	good	feel-PROG

'I am happy because you did the work.'

-kokki in Mising

Another causal subordinator in Mising is the bound morpheme *-kokki*. This morpheme is primarily used as an instrumental case marker, indicating that a noun serves as the instrument or means by which an action is accomplished.

In examples (32a) and (32b), *-kokki* is attached to non-finite clauses marked by the non-finite marker *-nam*. These clauses function as instrumental grounds, explaining the reason or means by which the main clause event occurs. The *-kokki* marker is placed at the end of the subordinate clause.

(32a) *bɨ ramnam**kokki (G)** bɨ gɨlama:boŋ (F)*   (Mising)

bɨ	ram-nam-kokki	bɨ	gɨ-la-ma:-boŋ
he	fever-NF-SUB	he	come-NF-NEG-COMPLETION

'Because he is sick (G), he could not come (F).'

(32b) *pɜdoŋ onam**kokki (G)** gunamdɜ komikaŋ (F)*   (Mising)

pɜdoŋ	oled-nam-kokki	gunam-dɜ	komi-kaŋ
rain	fall-NF-SUB	heat-DEF	less-PST.PRF

'The heat lessened (F) because it rained (G).'

-la in Mising

Yet another causal subordinator in Mising is the bound morpheme *-la*. It is also a non-finite marker in Mising. It implies 'because of,' 'as a result of' (see Taid 2016: 199). The *-la* clauses act as the causal ground for the main clause event, as in (36a) - (36e) below. Note that *–la* is placed at the end of the subordinate clause.

(33a) *Rambɨ gɨla (G) agerdɜ kabokaŋ (F)*   (Mising)

     Ram-bɨ   gɨ-la   ager-dɜ   ka-bo-kaŋ

     Ram-he   come-SUB   work-DEF   be-complete-PST

     'The work got done because Ram came.'

(33b) *baɨbɨ gɨpɨlaŋkula (G) o:bɨ   apin sakbito (F)*   (Mising)

     bai-bɨ   gɨ-pi-laŋ-ku-la   o:-bɨ   apin

     father-he   come-reach-as soon as-return-SUB   mother-she   rice

     sakbi-to

     serve-PRF

     'As father came, mother served rice.'

(33c) *baɨbɨ bozar gɨpagla (G) molu kelilaŋkaŋ (F)*   (Mising)

     bai-bɨ   bozar   gɨ-pag-la   molu   keli-laŋ-kaŋ

     father-he   market   go-EMP-SUB   we   play-as soon as-PST

     'We could play only because father went to the market.'

(33d) *messagedɜm pa:la (G) nom phoneduŋ (F)*   (Mising)

     message-dɜ-m   pa:-la   no-m   phone-duŋ

     message-DEF-ACC   get-SUB   you-ACC   phone-PROG

     'I am calling you after I got the message.'

(33e) *nok kabnam ka:la (G) bɨsin kabduŋ (F)*   (Mising)

     no-k   kab-nam   ka:-la   bi-sin   kab-duŋ

     you-gen   cry-NF   see-SUB   he-EMP   cry-PROG

     'Seeing you cry, she is also crying.'

3.2.4 Concessive clauses in Assamese and Mising

Concessive clauses express a contrast or exception to the main clause. They are similar
to adversative coordination, where the second clause contradicts the first.

In Assamese, concessive subordinators include the free morpheme *zodiu,* and the bound
morphemes *–ileu, -iu*. In Mising, the concessive subordinator is *-gom*, which is also a
non-finite marker. The addition of the emphatic marker *-sin* to *-gom* further intensifies its

concessive meaning (see Taid, 2016, p. 200). Additionally, the combination of *-sin* with the non-finite *-ge:la* 'after' forms *-ge:lasin* 'even after', which can also convey a concessive meaning in Mising.

In Assamese, *zodiu* is composed of the conditional *zodi* 'if' and the emphatic marker *-u*, implying that even if the condition in the subordinate clause is fulfilled, the expected result in the main clause will not occur. *-ileu*, too, has the same semantics, and is composed of the conditional *-ile* (composed of perfective and non-finite *-il* and locative *-e*) and the emphatic *-u*, The subordinator *-iu* consists of the non-finite and serial verb marker *-i* and the emphatic marker *-u* in Assamese.

The subordinators *zodiu, -ileu, -iu* in Assamese and *-gom, -gomsin* and *-ge:lasin* in Mising indicate concession.

In (34a) and (34b), the subordinate event *zodiu xi muk matise* 'even though he had called me' acts as the concessive ground upon which the main clause event *moi kintu nazau* 'I do not think I am going' occurs. The expected result of 'him inviting me' would have been 'me accepting that invitation.' However, in concessive clauses, the main event runs counter-expectative or in contrast to what is expected in the subordinate clause. Therefore, 'I do not think I am going' happened in the main clause. Note that *zodiu* typically precedes the subordinate clause, but it is also possible to say immediately after the subordinate clause: *xi muk matise zodiu, moi kintu nazau. zodiu* clauses are always in the finite form. On the other hand, *-gom* clause, *-gom* itself being a non-finite marker, are always non-finite in form. *-gom* follows a reified action, marked by the habitual *-dag* in Mising.

zodiu in Assamese and ***-gom*** in Mising

(34a) ***zodiu* *xi muk matise (G) moi kintu nazau (F)***   (Assamese)

zodiu   xi   moi-k   mat-is-e   moi   kintu   na-za-u

SUB   he   I-ACC   call-PROG-3   I   but   NEG-go-1

'Even though he has invited me, I do not think I am going.'

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(34b) *bɨ ŋom gogdag**gom** (G) ŋo gɨma (F)* (Mising)

bɨ	ŋo-m	gog-dag-gom	ŋo	gɨ-ma
he	I-ACC	call-HAB-SUB	I	go-NEG

'Even though he has invited me, I won't go.'

In (34c) and (34d), the expected outcome of the subordinate event 'she grew up in Assam' would have been 'she knows Assamese.' However, the main clause event 'she does not know Assamese' contradicts this expectation. This demonstrates that the subordinate event provides the concessive ground for the main clause event.

(34c) *zodiu tai axomote dangor digʰol hua (G) tai kintu axomija nazane (F)* (Assamese)

zodiu	tai	axom-ot-e	dangor	digʰol	ho-a	tai	kintu
SUB	she	Assam-LOC-EMP	big	long	be-NF	she	but

axomija	na-zan-e
Assamese	NEG-know-3

'Even though she was born and brought up in Assam, she does not know Assamese.'

(34d) *bɨ osomso sɨsaːdag**gom** (G) bɨ osomija lukinma (F)* (Mising)

bɨ	osom-so	sɨsaː-dag-gom	bɨ	osomija	lu-kin-ma
he	assam-LOC	grow up-HAB-SUB	he	Assamese	tell-know-NEG

'Even though he grew up in Assam, he cannot speak Assamese.'

In (34e), the main clause event runs counter-expectative to what would have been the obvious result of the subordinate event. The subordinate event *tai iman noporhe* 'she does not study much' would have been expected to lead to the result 'she would not do well in exams.' However, the main clause event *porikkʰat kintu bʰalei kore* 'she does well in her exams' occurs instead.

(34e) *zodiu tai iman noporhe (G) porikkʰat kintu bʰalei kore (F)* (Assamese)

zodiu	tai	iman	na-porh-e	porikkʰa-ot	kintu	bʰal-ei	kor-e
SUB	she	very	NEG-read-3	exam-LOC	but	good-EMP	do-3

'Even though she does not study very much, she does well in her exams.'

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-ileu, -iu, in Assamese and ***-ge:lasin, -gomsin*** in Mising

In examples (35a) - (35i), the bound morpheme subordinators *-ileu*, *-iu*, *-ge:lasin*, and *-gomsin* are used. In these examples, the main clause events occur unexpectedly, contrary to the expectations set by the concessive grounds established by the subordinate clause events. Note that the *-ileu*, *-iu*, *-ge:lasin,* and *-gomsin* clauses always precede the main clause and occupy the final position within the subordinate clause.

(35a) *toi muk mat**ileu (G)** moi nazau **(F)***   (Assamese)

toi   moi-k   mat-ileu   moi   na-za-u

you   I-DOM   voice-SUB   I   NEG-go-1

'Even if you call me, I won't go.'

(35b) *muk zur kor**ileu (G)** moi mod nakʰau **(F)***   (Assamese)

moi-k   zur   kor-ileu   moi   mod   na-kʰa-u

I-DOM force   do-SUB   I   alcohol   NEG-eat-1

'I won't drink even if they force me.'

(35c) *muk zur kor**iu (G)** nibo nuare **(F)***   (Mising)

moi-k zur   kor-iu   ne-ibo   na-par-e

I-DOM force   do-SUB take-FUT   NEG-can-3

'He cannot take me even if he forces me.'

(35d) *bɨ Tezpurpɜ gɨ**ge:lasin (G)** ŋoluk ukumpɜ gɨtoma **(F)***   (Mising)

bɨ   Tezpur-pɜ   gɨ-ge:lasin   ŋo-luk   ukum-pɜ   gɨ-to-ma

he   Tezpur-ALL   go-SUB   i-PL   home-ALL   go-PTF -NEG

'Even though she came to Tezpur, she did not come to our house.'

(35e) *bɨ ŋom gogdag**gomsin** (G) ŋo gɨma (F)*   (Mising)

bɨ   ŋo-m   gog-dag-gomsin   ŋo   gɨ-ma

he   I-ACC   call-HAB-SUB   I   go-NEG

'Even though he has invited me, I won't go.'

3.2.5 Manner clauses in Assamese and Mising

As already observed, manner clauses, as the name suggests, convey the *how* or *in what way* an action is performed in the main clause. Unlike typical adverbial clauses, they are semantically dependent on the main clause, similar to complement clauses. However, they differ from complement clauses in that they do not function as arguments of the main clause verb but rather modify the verb itself.

To illustrate this distinction, consider the following examples:

    (36a) *He said that he is honest.*

    (36b) *He behaved as if he were a king.*

In the first sentence, 'that he is honest' is an object complement, directly completing the meaning of the verb 'said.' In the second sentence, 'as if he were a king' modifies the verb 'behaved,' indicating the manner in which the action was carried out. While both clauses complete the sense of the main clause, the manner clause does not serve as an argument of the verb.

In essence, while both complement and manner clauses can be considered as complements in a broad sense, they differ in their specific roles. Complement clauses are essential arguments of the main clause, while manner clauses are modifiers that provide additional information about the action.

Both Assamese and Mising languages employ specific morphemes to express manner clauses, which indicate how an action is performed.

In Assamese, the free morpheme *zen*[17] introduces manner clauses, signifying 'as if' or 'like'. In Mising, the bound morpheme *-nɜmpɜ* serves as a manner subordinator. *-nɜmpɜ* is composed of two parts: *-nɜ* (a suffix that derives adjectives of quality from verb roots), and *-pɜ* (a suffix that derives adjectives of manner from verb roots). When combined, these suffixes form *-nɜmpɜ*, which denotes 'similarity'.

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[17]*nisina* and *dore*, two other Assamese words, also convey similarity, but they are primarily used with nouns, as in *Ram-or nisina/dore* 'like Ram'.

In essence, both Assamese and Mising utilize these morphemes to draw a comparison between the actions or states described in the main and subordinate clauses, emphasizing their similarity.

In finite manner clauses in Assamese, *zen* is often accompanied by the lexical item *enekua* 'like' in the main clause. Finite manner clauses typically follow the main clause, as illustrated in examples (37a) and (37c). In contrast, non-finite manner clauses usually precede the main clause, as seen in examples (37e), (37g), and (37i). Mising manner clauses, on the other hand, always precede the main clauses they modify, as exemplified in examples (37b), (37d), (37f), (37h), and (37j). *-нзмрз* can be suffixed to finite clauses as in (37b), (37d), or to non-finite clauses as in (35f), (35h) and (35j). In Mising, verbs in their root forms can assume non-finite functions as in (37f) and (37j), where the verbs

In examples (37a) and (37b), the main clause event 'it feels' cannot be fully comprehended without the manner clause 'like I will fall down.' The manner clause clarifies the sensation by explaining how it feels, thus modifying the main clause event in terms of manner.

(37a) *enekua lagise (F) zen moi pori zam (G)*   (Assamese)

enekua   lag-is-e   zen   moi   por-i   za-m

like   be attached-PROG-3   SUB   I   fall-NF go-FUT

'I feel like I am going to fall down.'

(37b) *ŋo kзttapjзнзмрз (G) idag (F)*   (Mising)

ŋo   kзttap-jз-нзмрз   i-dag

I   slip-FUT-SUB   be-HAB

'I feel like I am going to fall down.'

In examples (37c), the main clause event 'she is behaving' requires additional information to be fully understood. The subordinate clause provides this necessary detail by specifying 'how she is behaving,' which is 'as if she is a VIP.' Similarly, in (37d), the main clause 'I feel' requires additional information to be fully understood. The subordinate clause provides this necessary detail by specifying 'how am I feeling' i.e., 'as if he won't come.'

(37c) *tai enekua korise (F) **zen** tai VIP he (G)*   (Assamese)

tai   enekua kor-is-e   zen   tai   VIP   he

she   like   do-PROG-3   SUB   she   VIP   EMP

'She is behaving as if she is a VIP.'

(37d) *bɨ gɨmajɜbonɜmpɜ (G) idag (F)*   (Mising)

bɨ   gɨ-ma-jɜ-bo-nɜmpɜ   i-dag

he   come-NEG-FUT-PRF-SUB   be-HAB

'I feel like he won't come.'

In examples (37e) and (37f), the non-finite subordinate clause 'like she is in great pain' modifies the main clause 'appears,' specifying 'how' she looks and completing its meaning.

(37e) *taik bor dukʰot tʰoka **zen** (G) lage (F)*   (Assamese)

tai-k   bor   dukʰ-ot   tʰak-a zen   lag-e

she-ACC   very   pain-LOC   stay-NFSUB   be attached-3

'She looks as if she's in great pain.'

(37f) *bɨm aipɜ mɜ:dɨrla dunɜmpɜ (G) idag (F)*   (Mising)

bɨ-m   aipɜ   mɜ:dɨr-la   du-nɜmpɜ   i-dag

he-ACC very   feel-tired-LOC stay-SUB   be-HAB

'She looks as if she's in great pain.'

Similarly, in examples (37g) and (37h), the subordinate clause 'as if she has seen a ghost' modifies the main clause, specifying 'how' she is reacting and completing its meaning.

(37g) *tai bʰut dekʰa **zen** (G) korise (F)*   (Assamese)

tai   bʰut   dekʰ-a   zen   kor-is-e

she   ghost   see-NF   SUB   do-PROG-3

'She is acting as if she has seen a ghost.'

(37h) *bɨ ui kabeg**nɜmpɜ** (G) idag (F)* (Mising)

bɨ ui ka-beg-nɜmpɜ i-dag

he ghost see-receive-SUB be-HAB ?

'She is acting as if she has seen a ghost.'

In examples (37i) and (37j), the subordinate clause 'He looks like' modifies the main clause, specifying 'how' he appears and completing its meaning.

(37i) *tak mod kʰua **zen** (G) lage (F)* (Assamese)

xi-k mod kʰa-a zen lag-e

he-ACC alcohol eat-NF SUB be attached-3

'He looks like he drinks.'

(37j) *bɨ apoŋ tɨ**nɜmpɜ** (G) idag (F)* (Mising)

bɨ apoŋ tɨ-nɜmpɜ i-dag

he wine drink-SUB be-HAB

'He looks like he drinks.'

Thus, our research reveals that Assamese possesses at least 33 adverbial subordinators, while Mising boasts a minimum of 17, which are presented in Table 3 and Table 4 on the following pages, marked according to their broad semantic functions. As mentioned earlier, some of these adverbial subordinators serve multiple functions.

Table 3: Adverbial Subordinators in Assamese

Sl.	Subordinator	Temporal	Conditional	Causal	Concessive	Manner
1	*pasot*	✓				
2	*-i*	✓		✓		
3	*-ilei*	✓				
4	*-iei*	✓				
5	*logeloge*	✓				
6	*-ile*	✓	✓			
7	*-pora*	✓				
8	*agot*	✓				
9	*-loike*	✓				
10	*-porzjonto*	✓				
11	*-ute*	✓				
12	*zetia*	✓				
13	*zetiai*	✓				
14	*zodi*					
15	*zate*			✓		
16	*-iboloi*			✓		
17	*-akoi*			✓		
18	*zihetu*			✓		
19	*-at*			✓		
20	*-ilot*			✓		
21	*-iboloi*			✓		
22	*-akoi*			✓		
23	*karone*			✓		
24	*babe*			✓		
25	*zihetu*			✓		
26	*-at*			✓		
27	*-ilot*			✓		
28	*zodiu*				✓	
29	*-ileu*				✓	
30	*-iu*				✓	
31	*zen*					✓

Table 4: Adverbial Subordinators in Mising

Sl.	Subordinator	Temporal	Conditional	Causal	Concessive	Manner
1	*lɜdɯrɜ*	✓				
2	*-ge:la*	✓				
3	*-dange:la*	✓				
4	*-mɨlo*	✓	✓			
5	*-dokkɜ*	✓				
6	*-dopɜ*	✓				
7	*-dolo*	✓				
8	*ɜdɨloi*	✓				
9	*lɜgapɜ*			✓		
10	*lɜgaŋ*			✓		
11	*-kapɜ*			✓		
12	*-kokki*			✓		
13	*-la*			✓		
14	*-gom*				✓	
15	*-ge:lasin*				✓	
16	*-gomsin*				✓	
17	*-nɜmpɜ*					✓

In the following Chapter, we will focus on relative clauses as subordinate clauses in these two languages.