Chapter 4  Noun phrase syntax and nominalization

4.0 Preview
This Chapter will deal with two different aspects of Assamese nouns- (i) the syntax of the noun phrase - the construction headed by a noun, and (ii) Nominalization- the process of using clauses in place of nouns. One aspect of the syntax of noun phrases i.e. the relation between head nouns and their dependents- (determiners and modifiers) has already been discussed in Chapter Three. In the present chapter the relations of noun phrases to units that are not dependent on them are taken up for discussion.

A noun phrase may be related to other units in four different ways: (a) complementation, (b) apposition, (c) co-ordination and (d) modification. The last has been considered in Chapter Three. The present chapter takes up the other three.

4.1 Complementation

The term complementation is used in grammar in two different senses- (i) It signifies "a set or series of complements that a verb etc may or must take" (Quirk et. al 1985: 1150). In this sense Quirk et. al define complementation as "part of a phrase or clause which follows a word, and completes the specification of a meaning relationship which that word implies" (ibid). (ii) 'It signifies the general relation in which complements stand: thus distinguished, in particular, from that of modification' (Matthews 1997:64). The sense in which the term has been used in the present study is compatible with both the senses.
4.1.1 Verb complementation

There are four main types of verb complementation in which noun phrases are involved—
a) copular, b) monotransitive, c) complex transitive and d) ditransitive (cf. Quirk et al 1985: 1170), as in (1)-(4) respectively:

1. ram e-zon b¹al lora
   Ram one-det good boy
   'Ram is a good boy.'

2. m³i e-ta dᵃŋ³r bagʰ mar-il-ω
   I one-det big tiger kill-past-1
   'I have killed a big tiger.'

3. deuta-i m³o-k dᵃŋ³r manuh kor-il-e
   father-nom l-acc great man do-past-3
   'Father has brought me up.'

4. ma-je m³o-k e-kʰoⁿ gamo³a di-l-e
   mother-nom l-acc one-det towel give-past-3
   'Mother gave me a towel.'

(a) Copular complementation:

When a verb links two nouns or one noun and one adjective such a construction is called
copular and the verb is called a copula or linking verb. In such constructions, the first
noun is the subject and the second is the subject complement. In Assamese the nouns in
the subject complement slot do not carry any functional marker, as in (1). However, they
can rarely be inflected for other categories like gender, number, reference etc, as in (6)
and (7)

5. bizupʰukɔn e-zɔn obʰineta
   Bijuphukan one-det actor
   'Biju Phukan is an actor.'
In other aspects an NP in the subject complement slot is the same as NPs in other functions.

The verb of a copulative or equational sentence in Assamese, when used in present tense generally remains elliptic, as in (8); but it is overt in the past and future tenses as in (9) and (10):

8. ram mɔ-ɾ bʰai
   Ram I-gen brother
   ‘Ram is my brother.’

9. ram e-zɔn rɔza as-il
   Ram one-det king be-past
   ‘Ram was a king.’

10. ram eibar mɔntri ho-b-ɔ
    Ram this time minister be-fut-3
    ‘Ram will be a minister in this session.’

(b) Monotransitive complementation:

A noun phrase that is used as a complement to monotransitive verbs is called a direct object. Noun phrases are used as direct objects in two different forms—absolutive and accusative. The issue of choice between these two forms and other aspects was discussed in §1.2.3. A further point in this regard should be mentioned, namely the problematic predicates in Assamese.
Some predicates in Assamese are problematic due to their indeterminacy as construction types. The following three examples from (11) to (13) illustrate this point:

11. \( \text{ram-e } bhat \ kha-is-e \)
    Ram-nom rice eat-impv-3
    'Ram is eating rice.'

12. \( \text{ram-e } jhu-is-e \)
    Ram-nom sleep-impv-3
    'Ram is sleeping.'

13. \( \text{ram-e } khaoz \ karh-is-e \)
    Ram-nom walk do-impv-3
    'Ram is walking.'

In (11) \( bhat \) is a noun phrase which realizes object element in the clause. So the verb \( khaiz \) is monotransitive. In (12), the verb completes its meaning without any object and is therefore an intransitive verb. (13) is apparently similar to (11) in having a noun phrase \( khaoz \) in the same object slot, and therefore the verb \( karhize \) ought to be regarded as a transitive verb. However, grammarians regard the whole construction as one lexeme i.e. a conjunct verb. In the same way, the following constructions in brackets are also intransitive conjunct verbs:

14. \( \text{ram-e } mas \ mar-is-e \)
    Ram-nom fish kill-impv-3
    'Ram is fishing.'

15. \( \text{hi ga } du-is-e \)
    he body wash-impv-3
    'He is bathing.'

16. \( \text{hiita-i } bhat \ randh-is-e \)
    Sita-nom rice cook-impv-3
    'Sita is cooking.'
17. mDi gan ga-is-ω
   I   song  sing-impv-1
   ‘I am singing.’

18. deuta-i prartbna kor-is-e
    father-nom prayer  do-impv-3
    ‘Father is praying.’

19. hjir-e kɔrɔ pat-is-3
    they-nom talking  arrange-impv-3
    ‘They are talking.’

But the verbs- mar, d'aro, randh, ga, kɔr and pat are all transitive verbs in other clauses, as in (20), (21) and (22):

20. ram-e bag'b-tɔ mar-il-e
    Ram-nom tiger-det kill-past-3
    ‘Ram has killed the tiger.’

21. hita-i kapɔr-k'ɔm  d'u-b-ɔ
    Sita-nom cloth-det wash-fut-3
    ‘Sita will wash the cloth.’

22. mɔi b'at randh-im, ma-je dali randh-ib-ɔ
    I   rice  cook-fut-1, mother-nom pulses cook-fut-3
    ‘I shall cook the rice, mother will cook the pulse.’

The only way to solve this problem seems to be to say that the above bracketed constructions are within a process of compounding. They fulfil some criteria for a single word (cf. Introduction ) but not all (cf. §1.3.1)

(c) Complex transitive complementation:

Some monotransitive verbs require one further noun phrase related to the direct object to complete their meanings. For example in (23) kɔr is a monotransitive verb; but in (24) it is incomplete without the second (third, if subject is counted) NP:
23. manuh-z3n-e kam-tw hjonkale kor-il-e
   man-det-nom work-det early do-past-3
   ‘The man has completed the work early.’

24. deuta-i mò-k manuh kor-il-e
   father-nom I-acc man do-past-3
   ‘Father has brought me up.’

\textit{kòk} in (24) is called a complex transitive verb, and the clause element realized by the
NP manuh is called an object complement due its relation with the object mòk. The
object mòk and complement manuh correspond to an underlying copular construction
\textit{m3i manuh holo}. Two other examples of complex transitive complementation are given
below:

25. ami prèbkat kolita-k \textit{hòb}apotí pat-im
   we Prabhat Kalita-acc president make-fut-1
   ‘We shall make Prabhat Kalita president.’

26. \textit{hòta-i \textit{svayamvara-loc}} Ram-acc swami bor-il-e
   Sita-nom svayamvara-loc Ram-acc husband select-past-3
   ‘Sita selected Rama as her husband in the svayamvara.’

(d) Ditransitive complementation:

In ditransitive complementation two noun phrases are involved as object. One of them is
called the indirect object, which is normally realized, by animate nouns, and another is
called direct object, which is normally realized, by concrete nouns, as in (27) and (28):

27. deuta-i azi mò-k \textit{e-khòn} kitap di-l-e
   father-nom today I-acc one-det book give-past-3
   ‘Father gave me a book today.’

28. mòi b\textit{haiti-k e-ta kòlom di-m}
   I brother-acc one-det pen give-fut.1
   ‘I shall give my younger brother a pen.’
mosk and bʰaitik in (27) and (28) are indirect objects and škʰun kitap and šta kalbm
are direct objects. The relation between the two noun phrases in ditransitive
complementation is different from the relation between the two NPs in complex transitive
complementation that the relation in the former is not copular. A comparison of (25) and
(28) will make the difference clear:

25. ami prəbʰat kolita-կ həbʰapoti pat-im ~ prəbʰat kolita  həbʰapoti  ho-b-ո
   Prabhat Kalita president be-fut-3
   'Prabhat Kalita will be president.'

28. mɔi bʰaiti-k e-ta kalbm di-m ~ bʰaiti-je e-ta kalbm pa-b-ո
   brother-nom one-det pen get-fut-3
   'My brother will get a pen.'

The NPs realizing direct and indirect object elements in ditransitive
complementation are different from each other in form. The form of an indirect object is
obligatorily accusative, as in (29) and it is different in some cases from the direct object
of monotransitive complementation types, where the accusative form is not obligatory, as
in (30). Rather, in some cases the absolute form is obligatory, as in (31):

29. kukur-tə-k ɛ-kʰun biskut di-ja
   dog-det-acc one-det biscuit give-2.fam
   'Give the dog a biscuit.'

* kukur-tə ɛ-kʰun biskut di-ja

30. sikari-zən-e bagʰ-tə/bagʰ-tə-k dekʰ-isil
    hunter-det-nom tiger-det/tiger-det-acc see-dpast
    'The hunter saw the tiger.'

31. moj mas-tə kin-il-ɔ
    I fish-det buy-past-1
    'I have bought the fish.'
The form of direct object is normally absolute as in (32)

32. tumi mō-k e-zən manuh di-b-a
    you 1-acc one-det man give-fut-2.fam
    '(You) Supply me with a man.'

But if the same is realized by a proper name the form is obligatorily accusative and
in such case the predication is ambiguous (cf §1.2.3). For example, (33) has two
meanings as in (a) and (b):

33. məi manuh-zən-kək ram-ək geta-ł-ə
    I man-det-acc Ram-acc hand over-past-1
    (a) 'I handed over the man to Ram.'
    (b) 'I handed over Ram to the man.'

This ambiguity is avoided by changing the indirect object to an adverbial construction as in (c) and (d):

(c)  məi manuh-zən-kək ram-ər hat-ət geta-ł-ə
    'I handed over the man to Ram.'

(d)  məi ram-ək manuh-zən-kək hat-ət geta-ł-ə
    'I handed over Ram to the man.'

Normally, there is no positional restriction between direct and indirect objects, e.g.

34. məi ram-ək kitap-kən di-ł-ə ~ məi kitap-kən ram-ək di-ł-ə
    I  Ram-acc book-the give-past-1
    'I gave the book to Ram.'

However, emphasis can effect the position of the objects. The unstressed object
generally precedes the stressed one, whether direct or indirect, as in (34a) and (34b):

34a. məi ram-ək kitap-kən di-ł-ə
    'Ram is the one to whom I gave the book.'
34b.  mɔi kitap-kʰa then ram-ɔk di-l-ɔ

'The book I gave to Ram.'

The unstressed object may even precede the subject of the clause, as (34c)

34c.  kitap-kʰa mɔi ram-ɔk di-l-ɔ

'Ram is the one to whom I gave the book.'

It should be pointed out here that instead of a noun phrase direct objects can be
realized by units like post-positional phrases, as in (35), non-finite clauses as in (36),
finite clauses, as in (37) etc:

35.  mɔi toma-r bilgje deuta-k ko-is-ɔ

'I have told my father about you.'

36.  tumi ɔh-a-tɔ mɔi ram-ɔk zɔna-is-ɔ

'I have informed Ram about your coming.'

37.  tumi ah-ib-a buli mɔi deuta-k ko-is-ɔ

'I have told father that you will come.'

Indirect objects are, however, cannot be realized by these type of constructions

4.1.2 Adjective complementation

In Assamese a noun or NP can complement an adjective also (Though typically
adjectives are complemented by units other than noun or NP). In (38) and (39) the nouns
siowali and ḥɔmaz are used as complements to the adjectives pagɔl and birodi
respectively:

38.  ei lora-zɔn bɔr siowali pagɔl

'This boy is mad about girls.'
The noun phrases complementing adjective are, however, shorter in length in comparison to NPs in verb complementation. Moreover they are without any inflection for which they are like a constituent of a compound adjective, though constructions like in (40) and (41) reject such possibilities:

40. मोहर गाख़िर पाल्नेम मनुह-जन-े
buffalo-gen milk mad man-det-nom
 azi मोहर गाख़िर ने-का-ि
today buffalo-gen milk neg-drink-3
‘The man who is so much fond of buffalo milk, refuses to drink the same today.’

41. ज्ञातजन्त्रिक एदर्ज़ सृज़ोम मनुह-जन-े
socialistic ideology opposite man-det-nom
 marks-क क जॉम man kor-िब-ि
Marx-ace what honour do-fut-3
‘How can a man, who is against the ideals of socialism, respect Marx?’

4.1.3 Post-positional complementation

The nouns in the postpositional phrases (cf §3.5.3) may be regarded as the complements to their respective postpositions, as in English the nouns in the prepositional phrases are called complements to the prepositions. All types of nouns can be used as postpositional compliments. The notion of ‘government’ (Robins 1989:233) is applicable for this type of constructions in Assmese (cf §4.4.2). The postpositions govern the form of the noun. Some of them govern the noun for the genitive form and some for the absolutive form, as in (42) and (43) respectively:
42. ram-Dr para poisa-khini an-ib-a
   Ram-gen from money-det bring-fut-2.fam
   ‘Take the money from Ram.’

43. ram hombandhe besi khe a mo ne-zan-o)
   Ram about much detail I neg-know-1
   ‘I don’t know much details about Ram.’

Postpositional phrases have been discussed in detail in Chapter Two and Chapter Three.

4.2 Apposition

4.2.1 The nature of Apposition

P.H Matthews defines apposition as ‘A syntactic relation in which an element is juxtaposed to another element of the same kind. Especially between noun phrases that do not have distinct referents’ (Matthews 1997:22). Appositive use of noun phrases is common in Assamese, where two units, one being a noun phrase and the other(s) being any unit(s) in nominal function, are used in the same syntactic function; but the relation between them is not coordinative. For example the use of the noun phrases mor deuta and razoni kolita is coordinative in (44), but appositive in (45):

44. mor- r deuta aru razoni kolita azi ija-loi ah-ib-c
   I-gen father and Rajani Kalita today here-dat come-fut-3
   ‘My father and Rajani Kalita will come here today.’

45. mor- r deuta razoni kolita azi ija-loi ah-ib-c
   I-gen father Rajani Kalita today here-dat come-fut-3
   ‘My father Rajani Kalita is coming here today.’

Identical reference of the units of an apposition is an obligatory requirement. Thus in (45) mor deuta and razoni kolita refer to the same person. And similarly in (46) rog'u


deka and mow ataitkoi bissahi bondh uzon are correferential and therefore the relation between them is appositive:

46. rog^u deka, mow-r ataitkoi bissahi bondh^u-zon-ok, 
Roghu Deka, I-gen most faithful friend-det-acc 
msi azikali lsg-ei n-pa-o 
I now meet-emph neg-get-1
'I do not get to meet Roghu Deka, my most faithful friend.'

Alternatively, the reference of one must be included in the reference of the other. In

(47) mow ezon k^ura is identified as zzikant^ kolita:

47. mow-r e-zon k^ura zzikant^ kolita guwahati-t t^ak-e 
I-gen one-det uncle Jaykanta Kalita Guwahati-loc stay-3
'Jaykanta Kalita, one of my uncles, stays in Guwahati.'

Therefore the relationship between the constituents in apposition is analogous to a copular relationship as in (45a), (46a) and (47a):

45a. rzoni kolita mow-r deuta 
'Rajani Kalita is my father.'

46a. rog^u deka mow-r ataitkoi bissahi bondh^u 
'Raghu Deka is my most faithful friend.'

47a. jzikant^ kolita mow-r e-zon k^ura 
'Jaykanta Kalita is one of my uncles.'

4.2.2 Full and partial apposition

While deciding about the division of appositive constructions into full and partial subtypes, the following conditions, cited by Quirk et al (1985: 1302) are useful:

(i) Each of the appositives can be separately omitted without affecting the acceptability of the sentence.
(ii) Each fulfils the same syntactic function in the resultant sentences.

(iii) It can be assumed that there is no difference between the original sentence and either of the resultant sentences in extralinguistic reference. Those appositives, which fulfill all these three conditions mentioned above are termed full apposition; otherwise, the appositions are held to be partial. For example, by omitting each appositive in turn from (47) we obtain the two sentences (47b) and (47c):

47b.  mó-r ɛ-zɔn kʰura  guwahati-t tʰak-e
     ‘One of my uncles stays at Guwahati.’

47c.  zɔikantɔ kolita guwahati-t tʰak-e
     ‘Jaykanta Kalita stays at Guwahati.’

In (47) the apposition meets all the three conditions-

i) The resultant sentences are acceptable.

ii) Both noun phrases realize same clause element i.e. subject.

iii) The extralinguistic reference of (47) and (47b-c) is the same.

Therefore the apposition in (47) is full apposition.

48.  hi ze na-h-il  hei kɔtʰa-tɔ-we mó-k dukʰ di-sil
     he that neg-come-past that fact-det-nom I-acc sorow give-dpast
     ‘The fact that he did not come made me unhappy.’

48a.  *hi ze nahil mók dukʰ disil

48b.  hei kɔtʰa-tɔ-we mók  dukʰ di-sil

The apposition in (48) fails to meet the condition (i). The omission of the second appositive results in an unacceptable sentence (48a); but omitting first appositive we get an acceptable sentence, namely, (48b).

In (49) condition (ii) is not met:
49. del-xt r3za ganguli bahini bidej-xt go-i bhiiza mekuri hci-j
country-loc king Ganguli troupe foreign-loc go-part wet cat be-3
‘Ganguli’ s team is like a king within the country but outside it resembles a wet cat.’

ganguli bahini is subject in (49); but delj-D t Oza cannot be the subject, as in (49a):

49a. * delj-D t r3za bidej-Dt go-i bhiiza mekuri h3-i

On the other hand, condition (iii) is not met in (50):

50. dh um-pan-xt para kensar hoi buli tumi di-ja zukti-bor
smoking-gen from cancer be that you give-part argument-det
m3i man-i lo-bc newar-ω
1 admit-part take-part cannot-1
‘I cannot admit that smoking causes cancer, as you argue.’

Each of the appositives here is omissible in turn and each fulfils the subject function
in the resultant sentences (50a) and (50b):

50a. dh um-pan-xt para kensar hoi buli m3i man-i lo-bc newar-ω
50b. tumi di-ja zukti-bor m3i man-i lo-bc newar-ω

But (50a) is different from both (50) and (50b) with regard to the scope of the
extralinguistic reference. Therefore the apposition in (48-50) are partial.

4.2.3 Strict and weak apposition

Appositions are called strict when the appositives belong to the same general syntactic
class as in (47) where both the appositives are noun phrases. Appositives from different
syntactic classes are said to be in weak apposition. For instance, in (51) the first
appositive is a noun phrase but the second is a ze clause:

51. nripen goswami, ama-r osa-xt ze t4k-e, birat bhal manuh
Nripen Goswami, we-gen near-loc that stay-3, very good man
‘Nripen Goswami, our neighbour, is a very good person.’
4.2.4 **Nonrestrictive and restrictive apposition**

Apposition may be viewed as nonrestrictive and restrictive also (cf §3.3). In nonrestrictive apposition the appositives are in separate information units and this fact is indicated, in speech, by separate tone units and in writing by their separation by commas or heavier punctuation, as in (52). In (53) the apposition is restrictive, where the appositives are not separate information units.

52. bhūpen hazorika, e-gəraki bik'jat gajok, djīm-ə-e manuh
   Bhupen Hazarika, one-det famous singer, Assam-gen-emph man
   ‘Bhupen Hazarika, a famous singer, belongs to Assam.’

53. bhūpen hazorika gajok-gəraki-k tumi dekh-is-a-ne
   Bhupen Hazarika singer-det-acc you see-impv-2.fam-interg
   ‘Have you seen Bhupen Hazarika the singer?’

In (53), the appositives refer to Bhupen Hazarika the singer as opposed to any other Bhupen Hazarika known to the speaker.

4.2.5 **More than two units in apposition**

Apposition is normally a combination of two units; but there may occasionally be more than two units in apposition at the same level, as in (54):

54. ama-ɾ məcəm-ə deuta, ama-ɾ ʒənəm-data, ama-ɾ ʒəm-data,
    we-gen affection-gen father, we-gen birth-doner, we-gen food-doner,
    azi aru nai
    today more no

   ‘Our dear father, our birth giver, our food provider, is no more today.’

The three units in (54) are in apposition to each other. In some appositions the appositives may themselves include two or more units in apposition. Such a complex apposition may be formed from the apposition in (54), as in (54a):
54a. ma, tɔmə-r potidebɔtɑ, tɔmə-r hɪr-ɔr həndur, 
mother, you-gen husband-God, you-gen forehead-gen vermilion, 
amə-r mɔrɔm-ɔt deuta, amə-r ɔsɔr-ɔt data, amə-r ɔnɔn-data, 
we-gen affection-gen father, we-gen birth-doner, we-gen food-doner, 
azi aru nai 
today more no 

'Mother, your husband, the vermilion of your forehead, our father ...........

The units of an apposition may also be a combination of units not in appositive relation but coordinative relation. Such appositive can be formed as in (55a-b) from the apposition in (55):

55. umes das, amə-r ɔsɔr-ɔt ze tʰak-e, bɔr mɔrɔmijal manuh 
Umesh Das, we-gen near-loc that stay-3, very kind man 
'Umesh Das, who lives near us, is very kind person.'

55a. umes das aru təmə-r pɔt̪i, amə-r ɔsɔr-ɔt ze tʰak-e, bɔr mɔrɔmijal manuh 
Umesh Das and he-gen . wife, - - - - - - - - 
'Umesh Das and his wife ............'

55b. umes das, aru tekʰet-gr pɔt̪i, amə-r ɔsɔr-ɔt ze tʰak-e, 
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 
aru amə-r gʰɔr-loi ze ah-i thak-e 
and we-gen home-dat that come-part remain-3, 
bɔr mɔrɔmijal manuh 
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

'Umesh Das and his wife, who live near us and often come to our home, are very kind people.'

4.2.6 Ambiguity between apposition and other constructions
Nonrestrictive appositions require devices to disambiguate them from similar constructions. In Assamese there are three different ways by which disambiguation can
be achieved—(a) using the same functional marker for appositives, (b) using intonation and punctuation for separation and (c) using explicit indicators.

As Assamese is an inflectional language, the function of a noun phrase and/or its relation with other words or phrases in the clause is easy to show, as in (56) and (57):

56. rəzoni kolita-i mʊ-r deuta-k ei kitap-kʰən di-sil
   Rajani Kalita-nom I-gen father-acc this book-det give-dpast
   ‘Rajani Kalita gave this book to my father.’

57. rəzoni kolita-i, mʊ-r deuta-i ei kitap-kʰən di-sil
    - - - father-nom - - - -
   ‘Rajani Kalita, my father gave this book.’

In (56) the nominative inflectional affix –i makes the first NP the subject of the clause and the accusative affix –k makes the second NP the object of the same; but in (57) the same NPs in the same positions become appositive by the nominative affix –i in both of them. Such appositions are separated by intonation as well. However, without inflectional difference two NPs, occurring next to one another, may be in a relation other than apposition also, as in (58):

58. hihiː-t-e lora-槛-k ram-k mat-ibɔ-loi pɔɾʰa-isil
    they-nom boy-det-acc Ram-acc call-part -dat send-dpast
    ‘They sent the boy to call Ram.’

Here lora-槛-k and ram-k bear the same case inflection of the accusative, but they are not appositional: they are two objects of two different verbs. However, in a similar sentence, namely, (59) below, the relation between the NPs with same case inflection, is appositive due to separate intonation or punctuation by a comma:

59. hihiː-t-e zɔŋt kolita-k, mʊ-k ɔɾɔman kɔɾ-e
    they-nom Jagat Kalita-acc, I-acc misbehaviour do-3
    ‘They misbehaved with me, Jagat Kalita.’
4.2.7 Explicit indicators of apposition

In order to make a nonrestrictive apposition explicit, there are numerous expressions available in Assamese. Such expressions can generally be inserted between the appositives. The appositions in (57) can be made more explicit by using such an indicator, as in (57a):

57a. rzoni kolita-i, mane mω-r deuta-i ei kitap-kʰan di-sil
   Rajani Kalita-nom, I mean I-gen father-nom this book-det give-dpast
   "Rajani Kalita, I mean my father gave this book."

In speech nonrestrictive appositions are mostly used with the explicit indicators. Some of the common indicators in Assamese are listed below:

- ḍrṭʰat, mane  an kɔlʰat
  'that means'  'in other words'
- udahɔn sorupe  kɔbɛlo ꠐle
  'for example'  'to be frank'
- ԩʰra hol  bɪlɛkoi, bɪlɛkʰabe
  'supposing'  'specially'
- prɔdʰankoi  somukoi, somu kɔlʰat
  'mainly'  'in short'

The indicators express certain semantic relationship between the appositives and therefore cannot be used for all classes of appositions. For example the relationship in (57a) is of identificational equivalence which is expressed by mane, but the same indicator cannot be used in (60), where the relationship is of exemplificational inclusion:

60. kɔnɔba danɔr manuh-e, ԩʰra toma-r deuta-ra-i
   some elder man-nom, suppose you-gen father-2.fam(n)-nom
   toma-k bok-il-e, toma-r kenekuwa lag-e?
   you-acc rebuke-past-3 you-gen how feel-pass?
   'Supposing some elder, say, your father, rebuked you, how do you feel then?'
Interchange of the two indicators in (57a) and (60) will change the meaning as well as structure of the sentences.

Indicators are generally inserted between the appositives, as seen in the above examples. However, they may be used after the appositives also, as in (61):

61. ami sari-zən, ram aru mə zi biłjełköi, eibar dilli-loi za-m we four-det, Ram and I particularly, this year Delhi-dat go-fut.1

‘This year the four of us, particularly Ram and I, go to Delhi.’

4.2.8 **The scale of strict nonrestrictive apposition**

The semantic relationships between the appositives in nonrestrictive apposition may be displayed according to semantic scale running from ‘most appositive’ to ‘least appositive’, as in the Figure 4.1:

*Figure 4.1: A scale of semantic relationship in strict nonrestrictive NP apposition*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most appositive</th>
<th>(A) EQUIVALENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Ai) appellation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Aii) identification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Aiii) designation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Aiv) reformulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) ATRIBUTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) INCLUSION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Ci) exemplification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Least appositive | (Cii) particularization |

(A) Equivalence:

Appositives in an equivalence relationship constitute the central type of apposition, which allows either order of the appositives as in (62) and (62a):
Biraj Sarma, my most intimate friend, is coming here today.

The four sub-types of equivalence are discussed below.

(A-i) Appellation:

Appellation is a naming relationship, where both appositional noun phrases are definite and the second one is typically a proper noun and more specific than the first. This type of apposition requires no intonational separation or explicit indicator for which the relation between the appositive seems to be that of modifier-head, as in (63):

63. b\textsuperscript{\textregistered}ar\textsuperscript{\textregistered}rastr\textsuperscript{\textregistered}poti\textsuperscript{\textregistered} abdul kalam-e azi b\textsuperscript{\textregistered}al\textsuperscript{\textregistered}c\textsuperscript{\textregistered} di-b-\textsuperscript{\textregistered}
India-gen President Abdul Kalam-nom today lecturer give-fut-3

‘Abdul Kalam the President of India will deliver a lecture today.’

However, intonational separation and explicit indicator are required if the first appositive is inflected for any functional category, as in (63a):

63a. b\textsuperscript{\textregistered}ar\textsuperscript{\textregistered}rastr\textsuperscript{\textregistered}poti\textsuperscript{\textregistered}e,\textsuperscript{\textregistered}at\textsuperscript{\textregistered} abdul kalam-e azi b\textsuperscript{\textregistered}al\textsuperscript{\textregistered}c\textsuperscript{\textregistered} di-b-\textsuperscript{\textregistered}
India-gen President-nom, that means - - - - - -

(A-ii) Identification:

In this type of apposition the first appositive is an indefinite noun phrase and the second is more specific. Intonation separates the appositives but an explicit indicator is not required, e.g.

64. e\textsuperscript{\textregistered}gorak\textsuperscript{\textregistered} hij\textsuperscript{\textregistered}aguru,\textsuperscript{\textregistered} harekr\textsuperscript{\textregistered}gossami-je
one-det teacher, Harekrishna Goswami-nom
m\textsuperscript{\textregistered}k\textsuperscript{\textregistered} bar\textsuperscript{\textregistered} m\textsuperscript{\textregistered}c\textsuperscript{\textregistered}m\textsuperscript{\textregistered} kor-isil
I-acc very affection do-dpast

‘One of my teachers Harekrisna Goswami was very affectionate to me.’

Here, the second appositive identifies what is referred to in the first appositive.
(A-iii) Designation:

The converse relationship of appellation and identification is designation, where the second appositive is less specific than the first. Both the appositives are commonly definite noun phrases, as in (65), though they may be indefinite also, as in (66):

65. joikan\n kolita, m\o-r mazu k\hura, guwahati-t t\hak-e 
Jaykanta Kalita, I-gen middle uncle, Guwahati-loc live-3 
Jaykanta Kalita, my middle uncle, lives in Guwahati.'

66. moi e-k\bun estim, maruti-r notun \model-\r gari kin-im 
I one-det Esteem, Maruti-gen new model-gen car buy-fut.1 
'I shall buy an Esteem, a car of new model from Maruti.'

(A-iv) Reformulation:

In reformulation the lexical content of the first appositive (defined) is reworded in the second appositive (defining). It may be of four different groups:

(a) Reformulation based on linguistic knowledge
(b) Reformulation based on factual knowledge
(c) More precise formulation
(d) Revision

a) In this group of reformulation the defining appositive is a synonymous expression, as in (67), where the second appositive is a synonymous expression:

67. nam buz\o-wa \word-b\\r\r ort\h\at bi\jesj\p\d \\word-b\\r
name indicate-part word-det that means noun word-det
\ljomija b\h\a\j-a-t rupatm\k p\d
Assamese language-loc variable word

'In Assamese the nouns are variable words.'

b) In this group reformulation is based on knowledge about the external world, as in (68):
68. mi drabir mulip bʰaʃa, mane tamil, telegu, kanara malajabm
1 Dravidian origin language. I mean Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam

'I don’t know any of the Dravidian languages, I mean Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam.'

Reformulation in this group may also be negative, where the defining appositive is not a synonymous expression, e.g.

69. ma-je ṇalvi mo-k deuta-i-he danca-digʰa kor-isil
mother-nom not l-acc father-nom-emph nourish do-dpast
'My father, not my mother, nourished me.'

70. tumi hez-tez-uk ṇalvi, daktar-uk-he bēmar-tō dekʰ-uwa
you physician-acc not, doctor-acc-emph disease-det show-2.fam
'You should take treatment for your disease from a doctor, not from a traditional physician.'

71. rajaṇitibid ṇalvi, e-zān rājanitibid-he deĵ-br
country-gen one-det economist-emph politician not, one-det economist-emph country-gen
bittmantri ist-bc lag-e
finance Minister be-part need-pass

'An economist, not a politician, should be the Finance Minister of the country.'

In (69-71) the negative noun phrases precede the positive ones, but it can be the other way about also as in (71a):

71a. e-zān rājanitibid, rajaṇitibid ṇalvi, deĵ-br .................

c) In this type of apposition, the defining appositive is a more precise reformulation or correction of the defined appositive, as in (72) and (73):
72. ami mahanagori-t thāk-ω, guwahati mahanagori-t
we city-loc stay-1, Guwahati city-loc
‘We live in the city, the Guwahati city.’

73. m-ak e-kap sah di-ja, rāja sah
I-acc one-det tea give-2.fam, red tea
‘Give me a cup of tea, red tea.’

d) Under this type of apposition the form of editing or self correction that is typical of
spoken Assamese may be included. Editing may be ‘reference editing’, as in (74),
‘nuance editing’, as in (75), ‘mistake editing’, as in (76) and ‘claim editing’, as in (77):

74. tekhet bhal ḫastrā zōn-a manuh,
he good holy book know-part man,
 ḫastrāggā pandit za-k ko-bē par-i
holy book specialist scholar who-acc say-part can-pass
‘He is an expert on books, who may be called a holy book specialist.’

75. ram-ār kako-jāk ek āqā matā paṭāl,
Ram-gen elder brother-3(n) slight head light,
 kā-bē-loi go-le pagāl-ei
say-part-dat go-part mad-emph
‘Ram’s elder brother is slightly crack, to be frank almost mad.’

76. mā-k e-kōn kitap, ne ki bole bohi di-ja
I-acc one-det book, what it is called khatā give-2.fam
‘Give me a book, or what is it called, a notebook.’

77. tōma-lōk ataj-e, mane zī-hākāl-e likāi-a nai
you-det all-nom, I mean who-det-nom write-part no
 ḫēi-hākāl-e ḫasti pa-bā
that-det-nom punishment get-fut-2.fam
‘All of you, I mean those who have not written, will be punished.’
(B) Attribution:

The semantic type attribution includes predication rather than equivalence, where the first appositive is defined and the second is defining. The second appositive is commonly indefinite and replaceable with a corresponding relative clause, as in (78) and (78a):

78. nolini bala debi-r deuta-k nobin bardaloi, e-garaki bikkh-at deljpremik
   Nalini Bala Devi-gen father-3(n) Nabin Bardoloi, one-det famous patriot
   ‘Nalini Bala Devi’s father was Nabin Chandra Bardoloi, a famous patriot.’

78a. nolini bala debi-r deuta-k nobin bardaloi, zi e-garaki bikkh-at deljpremik
   who........................................
   ‘Nalini Bala Devi’s father was Nabin Chandra Bardoloi, who was a famous patriot.’

In (78) the defining appositive is indefinite noun phrase but it may be definite also, as in (78b)

78b. nolini bala debi-r deuta-k nobin bardaloi, ljei bikkh-at deljpremik-garaki
   - - - - - - - that famous patriot-det
   ‘........................................, that famous patriot.’

(C) Inclusion:

Appositions with the relationship of inclusion are different from those of equivalence and attribution in that here the reference of the first (defined) appositive is not identical with that of the second (defining), but rather includes the latter. Inclusion relationship allows only partial apposition, since the omission of the first appositive brings about a radical semantic change. Two different types of inclusions are discussed below:

(Ci) Exemplification:

In exemplification the defining appositive exemplifies the reference of the more general term in the defined appositive. Commonly the defining appositive precedes the defined as in (79); the opposite is also possible, as in (79a), but the indicator zene is required:
79. ei tezpur-∩-e bisnu rabha, zjotiprakad agarwala, p'oni horman
this Tezpur-loc-emph Bishnu Rabha, Jyotiprasad Agarwala, Phani Sarma
adi mohan hilpi-hakal z2nm-isil, h'hiba dancr ho-isil
etc great artist-det born-dpast, or big be-dpast
'The famous artists- Bishnu Rabha, Jyotiprasad Agarwala, Phani Sarma etc were
either born or grow up in this Tezpur.'

79a. ei tezpur-∩-e mohan hilpi hakal, zen bisnu rabha, zjotiprakha agarwala, p'oni
horman adi z2nm-isil, h'hiba dancr ho-isil

(Cii) Particularization:

Particularization is the marked form of inclusion, which requires explicit indicators, like-

80. hvoru lora-sowali-e zontu, biyejkoi bandar sa-baloi h'al-pa-i
small children-nom animal, especially monkey see-part like-3
'Childrens like to see animals, especially the monkeys.'

81. mahapuruhi-r kirtan g'shita-k'c, biyejkoi ta-r rasakrira
Mahapurusa-gen Kirtanaghosa-det, especially it-gen Rasakrira
k'hnd2-to, kobitt gun-ere h'pur
section-det, poetic quality-inst full
'The Kirtanaghosa by the Mahapurusa (Sankara Deva), especially its rasakrira
section is full of the poetic essence.'

4.2.9 Strict restrictive apposition

The appositive use of proper names and their descriptions come under the subcategory of
strict restrictive apposition. Citations are also constructions to be included under strict
restrictive apposition. Strict restrictive apposition is different from nonrestrictive
apposition in Assamese especially in not having functional markers in the first appositive.
This phenomenon makes this type of apposition more like a modifier-head construction,
e.g.
In (82) and (83) the relationship between the noun phrases \textit{brāhmāputra} and \textit{nodī} and \textit{hima} and \textit{pārśva} respectively is intermediate between appositional and modifier-head.

The following geographical names can be regarded as examples of apposition rather than modifier/head, where the descriptors precede the proper names:

- \textit{mahanagari guwahati}  
  'the city of Guwahati'
- \textit{raždani sāhrā dilli}  
  'the capital city of Delhi'
- \textit{ugrāpanta oddhul)i razjol̄pam}  
  'extremist dominated state of Assam'
- \textit{tel rogori dulijazan}  
  'The oil city of Duliajan'

Personal names with similar construction as above are also appositive. Some of them are as follows:

- \textit{rani pũleswori}  
  'Queen Phuleswari'
- \textit{prādhan māntri bazpeji}  
  'Prime Minister Bajpei'
- \textit{bhāhabid banikanta kakoti}  
  'the linguist Banikanta Kakoti'

These personal names are again difficult to differentiate from institutionalized names like, \textit{raždraz bezborua}, \textit{kolaguru bisnurab'ā} etc.
Citation: Citations are, however, almost clear cases of apposition, as in (84), (85) and (86):

84. kris'n ha'sbd-tou kri' aru na mil-i got'i do ho-is-e
Krishna word-det kris and na combine-part formed be-impv-3
'The term Krishna is derived by the combination of two word- krish and na.'

85. mnuhe p'od-tou pr'ct'hma bib'akti zog ho-is-e
manuhe word-det-loc nominative marker plus be-impv-3
'The nominative affix is added to the word manuhe.'

86. mo'i Lagan sobi-k'hun so-wa nai
1 Lagan pictur-det see-part not
'I have not seen the picture Lagan.'

First appositives in citations are more stressed than second appositives, and may be expressed in writing by keeping it within inverted comma (‘ ’) as in the following:

‘kris'na’ ha'sbd’ ‘manuhe’ p'od’tou ‘Lagan’ sobik'hun

4.2.10 Weak appositions:

The appositive use of a noun phrase with a unit of different syntactic class is called weak apposition (cf §4.2.3). Finite and nonfinite clauses can be used in apposition to noun phrases. In some cases both the units can precede or follow the other, as in (87) and (87a), but in some other cases the clause in apposition precedes the NP in apposition, as shown in (88). The opposite order, as in (88a) seems to be unacceptable:

87. ei g'hONa-tou, tumi ze azi mo-k h'chai kor-il-a,
this incident-det, you that today l-acc help do-past-2.fam,
mo'i ketijao ne-pahor-o
I never neg-forget-1
'I shall never forget this incident of your help to me.'

87a. tumi ze azi mo-k h'chai kor-il-a, ei g'hONa-tou mo'i ketijao ne-pahor-o
88. sigaret kʰο-wa .jet kuobʰjaʧ-tɔ tumi etijacɔ er-a nai?
cigarette smoke-part that bad habit-det you still
leave-part not?
‘You have not stopped this bad habit of cigarette smoking even now?’

88a. *hej kuobʰjaʧ-tɔ, sigaret kʰο-wa, tumi etijacɔ er-a nai?

However, insertion of optional indicators like mane etc between the appositives can
make the (88a) acceptable, but such insertion is not possible in (87a), i.e. (87b) is
unacceptable but (88b) is acceptable:

87b. *tumi ze azi mɔ-k ɟɛhəi kor-il-a, mane ei gʰɛbɛna-tɔ mɛi ketijacɔ ne-pahɛɾ-ɔ

88b. hej kuobʰjaʧ-tɔ, mane sigaret kʰo-wa tumi etijacɔ er-a nai?

4.3 Coordination

4.3.1 Introduction

Matthews defines coordination as the ‘relation between two or more separate and
syntactically equivalent parts of a sentence’ (Matthews 1997: 76). Coordination is also
known as parataxis (equal arrangement). It is the opposite relation of subordination or
hypotaxis (underneath arrangement) and is similar to apposition. In all syntactic positions
where a noun phrase occurs (e.g. as subject, object, complement), there is also the
possibility of use of two or more noun phrases in coordinating or paratactic relation,
making up a coordinate noun phrase. For example in (89)-(94) the subject, the object, the
subject complement, the postpositional complement, adverbial and the appositional NPs
respectively are realized as coordinate noun phrases:

89. hej lora-zɔn aru sowali e-zoni gari-kʰɔn-ɔt ah-is-e
that boy-det and girl one-det car-det-loc come-impv-3
‘That boy and a girl have come by that bus.’
90. mo-k du-k'bn b'hal kitap aru du-ta k'o'm di-ja
   I-acc two-det good book and two-det pen give-2.fam
   ‘Give me two good books and two pens.’

91. h'arekrisna deka e-g'arki bikk'h at kobi aru
   Harekrisna Deka one-det famous poet and
   arokk'h i-r h'ansal'h prad'h an
   Assam Police-gen Director General
   ‘Harekrisna Deka is a famous poet and the Director General of Assam Police.’

92. mo-deuta aru b'anti-r kar'me kapeor an-is-wo
   I mother father and sister-gen for cloth bring-impv-1
   ‘I have brought clothes for mother father and sister.’

93. mo-toma-k g'hore-kte h'ulba k'lez-kte d'or-im
   I you-acc home-loc or college-loc meet-fut.1
   ‘I shall meet you either at home or college.’

94. tumi mo-k tini-k'bn kitap di-b-a - t'o'so'j-er anna karenina,
   you I-acc three-det book give-fut-2.fam Tolstoy-gen Anna Karenina
   mad'hdeb-er namg'hola aru bjali-er srimad'b'gadgita
   Madhavadeva-gen Namaghosa and Vyas-gen Srimadbhagavadgita
   ‘Give me three books- Anna Karenina by Tolstoy, Namghosa by Madhabadeva
   and Srimadbhagavadgita by Vyasa.’

   Coordination is found within a noun phrase also where two or more units may be
   used coordinatively as constituents within the noun phrase. For example in (95)-(97) the
   modifier, the determiner, and the head respectively are coordinated units in the respective
   noun phrases shown within brackets:

95. [h'ikk'hit aru giani manuh-e] ka-r-wo h'p'kar no-kar-e
   educated and wise man-nom who-gen-emph harm neg-do-3
   ‘An educated and wise man does not harm anybody.’
4.3.2 Syndetic and asyndetic coordination

In the examples (89)-(97) the coordinations are marked by an overt signal - *aru*. This type of coordination is called syndetic coordination (Quirk et al 1985: 918). Coordinations not marked by overt coordinators are called asyndetic coordination. Syndetic and asyndetic coordinations are also called linked and unlinked coordination also. In (98) and (99) the coordination of the noun phrases given within brackets are asyndatic:

98. *tumi mo-k [du-ta tamol du-pat pan ] an-i di-ja*
you I-acc two-det betel nut two-det pan leaf bring-part give-2.fam
'(You) bring two betel nut and two betel leaves for me.'

99. *kɔmɔ-we zodi ḫustɔ ni-basar-e*
nobody-nom if healthy society one-det neg-want-3
*toma-k mo-k kiقيام lag-e?*
you-acc I-acc why need-pass
'If nobody wants a healthy society why should you and I need it?'

It should be noted here that the absence of coordinators in (98) and (99) is not obligatory.

Before considering noun phrase coordination, a brief look at coordinators, also called coordinating conjunction, is necessary.
4.3.3 Coordinators

Coordinators in Assamese are of two types according to their semantic role in coordination: Conjuncts and Disjuncts. *aru* 'and' and *ti tia* 'as well as' are conjunct coordinators and *ti ti ti ba, naiba, ba, kimba, ne, notuba, nzhile* (all mean 'or' in English) and *kintu* 'but' are disjunct coordinators. This division of coordinators into conjuncts and disjuncts is illustrated in (100) and (100a):

100. ram aru hori azi ah-ib-ɔ
    Ram and Hari today come-fut-3
    'Ram and Hari (both) will come today.'

100a. ram ti tia hori azi ah-ib-ɔ
    Ram or Hari today come-fut-3
    'Either Ram or Hari will come today.'

All these coordinators are used in coordinating units of any rank besides noun phrases. Among these *aru* is the central coordinator of noun phrases because of its frequency of use while *kintu* is a borderline case, used mostly in clause conjunction and rarely in NP conjunction. In (101) *kintu* is used as clause conjunction and in (102) as NP conjunction:

101. deuta-i mo-k za-bɔ-loi di-b-ɔ; kintu ma-je ni-di-je
    father-nom I-acc go-part-dat give-fut-3; but mother-nom neg-give-3
    'Father will allow me to go; but mother will not.'

102. mɔi b'at kintu rɔndʰa b'at-he kʰa-m
    I rice but fresh rice-emph eat-fiit.1
    'I shall eat rice, fresh rice only.'

4.3.3.1 Other uses of *aru*

Besides its use as a conjunction, the coordinator *aru* can function as a determiner, modifier, adverb and interjection, as in (103)-(106):
103. mō-k aru bʰat ne-lag-e
l-acc more rice neg-need -pass
‘I do not want more rice.’

104. tumi aru kʰa ko-bha ah-is-a
you such speech tell-part come-impv-2.fam
‘You have the gall to speak any more.’

105. ami aru ija-loi n-ah-omega
we further here-dat neg-come-1
‘We shall not come here further.’

106. tumi ze e-ta lora aru!
you that one-det boy eh!
‘What a boy you are, eh!’

naiba, ba, nfhle, ne, and kintu also have uses other than as conjunction, exemplified
in (107)-(111):

107. ḫi naiba za-bɔ-i no-kʰəz-e
he may go-part-emph neg-want-3
‘Suppose he is unwilling to go.’ (adverb of suspicion)

108. tumi ba ki kʰa-i bʰal pʰo-wa?
you I don’t know what eat-part like-2.fam?
‘I wonder what you like to eat.’ (adverb of question)

109. mɔi nfhle ne-za-omega dija
I if possible neg-go-1-emph please
‘Or else let me not go.’ (adverb of request)

110. mas-tɔ ne mor-il-e?
fish-det may die-past-3?
‘Or has the fish died?’ (adverb of probability)

111. tumi kintu zene-tene ah-ib-a
you but by hook or crook come-fut-2.fam
‘But, you must come by any means.’ (adverb of strong request)
4.3.4 Correlatives

Noun phrases (as well as other units) may be coordinated by some pairs of coordinator also. Such pairs of coordinators are called correlatives. *hôi-nôhôi, hoitô-nôhôitô* (both mean ‘either or’), *ne-ba* ‘whether-or’ etc are Assamese correlatives. The use of these three correlatives is illustrated in (112)-(114):

112. hôi tumi nôhôi môi za-m
     either you or I go-fut.1
     ‘Either you or I shall go.’

113. hoitô bâ-hôit-e nôhitô pakistan-e porikkô-tô kor-is-e
     either India-nom or Pakistan-nom test-det do-impv-3
     ‘Either India or Pakistan has performed the test.’

114. mô-k ni-bô-loi deuta ah-e ne dada ah-e-ba?
     I-acc take-part-dat father come-3 or elder brother come-3-interg
     ‘Who will come to take me, father or elder brother?’

4.3.5 Multiple coordination of noun phrases

In some cases it is found that the number of conjoined or coordinated NPs in a coordination may be more than two, as in (115):

115. môi bôzar-ô pôra du-ta nôjilôw, du-ta panilôw
     I market-gen from two-det pumpkin, two-det guard
     aru ek-kezi mas an-il-ô
     and one kilo fish bring-past-1
     ‘I brought two pumpkins, two gourds and one kilogram of fish from the market.’

Asyndetic coordination of more than two noun phrases is also possible, as in (116):

116. môi mas manôhôî koni di-m, tumi baki-kînî di-b-a
     I fish meat egg give-fut.1 you rest-det give-fut-2.fam
     ‘I shall contribute fish, meat and eggs, you give the rest.’
On the other hand the coordination of noun phrases may be polysyndetic, i.e. there may be more than one coordinator, as in (117) and (118):

117. tumi sk-kezi alu ḍhba bilahi
    you one kilo potato or tomato
    aru adh-a-kezi mas an-ib-a
    and half kilogram fish bring-fut-2.fam
    ‘You bring one kilogram of potato or tomato and half kilogram of fish.’

118. mō-k ę-khōn kāgbz aru ę-ta kâl ham ḍhba pencil di-ja
    I-acc one-det paper and one-det pen or pencil give-2.fam
    ‘Give me a piece of paper and a pen or a pencil.’

4.3.6 **Combinatory and segregatory coordination of noun phrases**

Sentences with two or more coordinate noun phrases especially the ones coordinated by the coordinator *aru* may have the same meaning with sentences containing the same number of coordinate clauses. For example the meaning of (119), where the subject is a coordinate noun phrase, is same as (119a), where two clauses are coordinated:

119. ma aru deuta azi guwahati-loi go-1
    mother and father today Guwahati-dat go-past
    ‘Mother and father went to Guwahati today.’

119a. ma azi guwahati-loi go-1 aru deuta azi guwahati-loi go-1
    ‘Mother went to Guwahati today and father went to Guwahati today.’

However, there are also sentences like (119), which contains a conjunction of phrases (or phrasal conjunction) (Hudson 1970: 205) that is superficially similar to the conjunction in (120), but cannot be matched with one containing a conjunction of clauses like in (120a):

120. ram aru hori bār bondhu
    Ram and Hari very friend
    ‘Ram and Hari are intimate friends.’
120a. *ram bsr bondu aru hori bsr bondu

(120a) is semantically defective.

Quirk et al. (1985: 953) call the coordinations in (119) and (120) segregatory and
combinatory coordination respectively. There are, however, many coordinate noun
phrases, which are ambiguous between a segregatory (or sentential) and a combinatory
(or phrasal) interpretation, e.g.

121. ram aru jita-r bija ho-l
    Ram and Sita-gen marriage be-past

The meaning of the sentence in (121) may be either as in (a) or as in (b):

a) ‘Ram and Sita married each other.’
b) ‘Ram married Y and Sita married X.’

4.3.6.1 Kinds of combinatory meaning

Three kinds of combinatory meaning may be distinguished- a) joint participation, b)
mutual participation, and c) unitary participation.

a) Joint participation:

122. paban aru parashu-we mas-tu dhor-il-e
    Paban and Parashu-nom fish-det catch-past-3
    ‘Paban and parashu have caught the fish.’

123. ram aru bkhman-e ratonok bodh kor-isil
    Rama and Lakhmana-nom Ravana-acc killing do-dpast
    ‘Rama and Lakhmana killed Ravana.’

124. paes aru b'upoti suranta k'el-k'oon-kt har-il
    Paes and Bhupati final match-det-loc lost-past
    ‘Paes and Bhupati lost in the final match.’

125. sosin aru kumble-i b'arst-ak k'el-k'oon zika-l-e
    Sachin and Kumble-nom India-acc match-det make win-past-3
    ‘Sachin and Kumble won the match for India.’
The conjoined NPs in (122)-(125) are interpreted as jointly constituting a single participant in the process or relationship described by the clauses. Segregatory interpretation of them is impossible without change of meaning.

b) Mutual participation:

126. pobDn aru porolju duijowmentu
Paban and Parashu two friend
'Paban and parashu are two friends.'

127. raza aru rani dekʰ-ib-⁹loi ske
Raja and Rani see-part-dat similar
'Raja and Rani look similar.'

128. debkantʰ boruwa aru nabkantʰ boruwa kəkai-bʰai as-il
Debakanta Borua and Nabakanta Borua elder brother-brother be-past
'Debakanta Borua and Nabakanta Borua were two brothers.'

The conjoined forms in (126)-(128) are interpreted as entering into a mutual, symmetric and reciprocal relation to each other in each sentence.

c) Unitary participation:

The conjoined forms, in some cases, are so closely linked in meaning that they participate in the meaning of the clause as if they referred to a single object. For instance, a singular determinative affix or a determiner is used in required instances to cover the phrase.

Sentences (129)-(131) exemplify the unitary participation of combinatory coordination:

129. ami hotel-⁹t ruti aru təkəkari kʰa-l-w
we hotel-loc bread and vegetable eat-past-1
'We ate bread and vegetable stew in the hotel.'

130. tumi rajiz-žk e-zo ra tamol aru pan-ere ḫewa kər-a
you society-acc one-det betel nut and pan leaf-ins bow do-2.fam
'Take a bow down before the public with a pair of pan leaf and betel nut.'
131. bilahi aru mas-kh₃n bɔr hɔwad lag-is-e
   ‘The tomato and fish curry is very tasty.’

In (130) the determiner *ɛzoːra* determines the reference of both *tamul* and *pan* and in
(131) the singular determinative affix –*k₃n* is used for the whole coordinative noun
phrase *bilahi aru mas*.

4.3.6.2 Indications of segregatory and combinatory meaning

Three different processes are used to mark the combinatory and segregatory
interpretation of coordinated noun phrases: a) Using distinct words for the two
interpretations, b) Using the affix –*kɔi* with certain words for segregatory interpretation
and c) Reduplicating certain words for the same interpretation. For example, the
ambiguity in (132) can be resolved by placing the reciprocal word *pɔɔpsɔɔpɔ* ‘each other’
after the coordination, as in (132a):

132. otul aru bokul-e kazija kɔr-e
   ‘Atul and Bakul quarrel.’

132a. otul aru bokul-e pɔɔpsɔɔpɔ-e kazija kɔr-e
   ‘Atul and Bakul quarrel with each other.’

In (132a) the coordination is combinatory as in Fig-(4.2a). The same coordination is
again ambiguous, as in (132b), which can be interpreted either as in Fig-4.2b or in Fig-
4.2c:

132b. otul aru bokul-e an-ɔr ɔŋɔt kazija kɔr-e
   ‘Atul and Bakul quarrel with others.’
(132b) can be disambiguated by the use of the segregatory indicator protjek ‘each’ after the coordinate noun phrases, as in (132c):

132c. otul aru bokul protjek-e an-or lagot kazija kor-e
   Atul and Bokul each-nom other-gen with quarrel do-3
   ‘Both Atul and Bokul quarrel with others.’

On the other hand the coordination of noun phrases in sentence (133) is combinatory; but it can be segregatory coordination by the addition of affix -koi to the word eta, as in (133a). In (133b) the same coordination become segregatory by the reduplication of the eta:

133. naren aru haren-e eta puraskar pa-is-e
   Naren and Haren-nom one-det prize get-impv-3
   ‘Naren and Haren have got one prize.’

133a. naren aru haren-e eta-koi puraskar pa-is-e
   Naren and Haren-nom one-det-each prize get-impv-3
   ‘Naren and Haren have got one prize each.’

134b. naren aru haren-e eta eta puraskar pa-is-e
   Naren and Haren-nom one-det one-det prize get-impv-3
   ‘Naren and Haren have got one prize each.’
In case of a coordinate noun phrase used as a dependent to a noun head, the number of the head can determine the segregatory or combinatory interpretation of the coordination as in (135) and (135a):

135. borun aru binita-r bija-k₃₉n ei-bar pat-ibɛ lag-e
    Barun and Binita-gen marriage-det this year arrange-part need-pass
    ‘The marriage between Barun and Binita should be arranged this year.’

135a. borun aru binita-r bija-du-k₃₉n ei-bar pat-ibɛ lag-e
    Barun and Binita-gen marriage-two-det this year
    ‘The two marriages of Barun and Binita should be arranged this year.’

In (135) the singular determinative affix -₃₉n with the head noun makes the dependent coordination borun aru binita combinatory and in (135a) the plural affix duk₃₉n with the same word makes the same coordination segregatory.

The word kr₃₉m₉nje ‘respectively’ is mostly used to mark the segregatory meaning of coordination of noun phrases in a clause with two related coordinated NPs. In (136) the ambiguity of the coordination is resolved by the use of kr₃₉m₉nje in (136a), there by making the coordination segregatory:

136. m₉-r lora-tœ aru sowali-zoni-je maPHar au koni k₉a-i
    l-gen boy-det and girl-det-nom meat and egg eat-3
    ‘My boy and girl eat meat and egg’

136a. m₉-r lora-tœ aru sowali-zoni-je kr₃₉m₉nje maPHar au koni k₉a-i
    l-gen boy-det and girl-det-nom respectively meat and egg eat-3
    ‘My boy and girl eat meat and egg respectively.’

4.3.7 **Coordination and person**

As in Assamese, person concord between the verb element and the subject element in a clause and between the head and determiner in a noun phrase containing nouns of relationship as heads is obligatory (cf §4.4.1.2), the use of coordinated noun phrases in
such situations is problematic when these conjunct noun phrases contain either two pronouns of different persons or one noun + one pronoun of first or second person. In such cases the first person dominates the second and third person, and the second person dominates the third person (cf §2.6.1). The following examples illustrate:

137. kailoi ram, tumi aru mdi bazar-3loi za-m tomorrow Ram, you and I market-dat go-fut.1 ‘Ram, you and I will go to the market tomorrow.’
138. ram aru tumi haju ho-i t\textsuperscript{b}ak-ib-a Ram and you ready be-part remain-fut.2.fam ‘Ram and you stay ready.’

The verb element is concordial with the first person in (137) and with the second person in (138) where the conjoins are third + second + first and third + second person respectively.

139. twoma-r aru mo-r ma ske-k\textsuperscript{b}on gaw\textsuperscript{r}-e zijori you-gen and I-gen mother same-det village-gen-emph daughter ‘Your mother and my mother are daughters of the same village.’
140. ram-\textsuperscript{Dr} aru twoma-r ma-ra eke-k\textsuperscript{b}on gaw\textsuperscript{r}-e zijori Ram-gen and you-gen mother-2.fam(n) - - - - ‘Ram’s mother and your mother are daughters of the same village.’

In (139), the head of the noun phrase is concordial with the first personal pronoun of the coordinated genitive noun phrase functioning as determiner in the superordinate noun phrase and in (140) the same is concordial with the second person.

4.3.8 Coordination of parts of noun phrases

Coordination within a single noun phrase has its own characteristics. It is often possible to postulate ellipsis from a full form in which coordination takes place between noun
phrases. For example the conjoins of the noun phrases in (141)- (143) may be expanded as in (141a), (142a) and (143a) respectively:

141. ḡikkʰitu aru giiani manu-h-e ka-r-ɔ ḡẹkẹkar ṛo-kẹr-e
educated and wise man-nom nobody-gen-emph harm neg-do-3
‘An educated and wise man never does any harm to others.’

141a. ḡikkʰitu manu-h-e aru giiani manu-h-e ka-r-ɔ ḡẹkẹkar ṛo-kẹr-e

142. toma-r aru bʰaje-ra-r swɔbʰab mɔi zan-o
you-gen. and brother-2.fam-gen nature I know-1
‘I know about your and your brother’s nature.’

142a. toma-r swɔbʰab aru bʰaje-ra-r swɔbʰab mɔi zan-o

143. tumi ei pɔsa alu aru bilahi-bɔr pela-i di-ja
you this rotten potato and tomato-det throw-part give-2.fam
‘Throw away these rotten potatoes and tomatoes.’

143a. tumi ei pɔsa alu-bɔr aru pɔsa bilahi-bɔr pela-i di-ja

There is, however, another type of coordination between parts of a single noun phrase as in (144) and (145), which cannot be expanded or paraphrased, as in (144a) and (145a):

144. e-zak bDtah aru bDrəjən ah-ibɔ zen lag-is-e
one-det violent wind and rain come-part seem feel-impv-pass
‘A gust of wind and rain seem imminent.’

≠ 144a. e-zak bDtah aru e-zak bDrəjən ah-ibɔ zen lag-is-e

145. lora aru səwəli e-zak rasta-ʁe go-i as-e
boy and girl one-det road-ins go-part be-3
‘A group of boys and girls is going along the road.’

≠ 145a. lora e-zak aru səwəli e-zak rasta-ʁe go-i as-e

The combinatory/segregatory distinction of coordination with aru is applicable in case of the coordination of parts of noun phrase also. The segregatory interpretation is
associated with elliptical coordination. While the conjuncts in (144) and (145) are combinatorial, in (141)-(143) they are segregatory.

4.3.8.1 Coordinated noun heads

When segregatorily coordinated noun heads are preceded or followed by one modifier or determiner. The usual interpretation is that the modifier or determiner is applied to each of the conjoined units, e.g.

\[
edi am-tw \ lba \ kol-tw = edi am-tw \ lba \ edkol-tw
\]
this mango-det or banana-det = this mango-det or this banana-det
‘either this mango or this banana’

\[
klez-t\ lora aru sowali-bor = klez-t lora-bor aru kalez-tr sowali-bor
college-gen boy and girl-det = college-gen boy-det and college-gen girl-det
‘the boys and girls of the college’
\]

\[
edi pasa alu aru pijaz-bor = edi pasa alu-bor aru edi pasa pijaz-bor
this rotten potato and onion-det = this rotten potato-det and this rotten onion-det
‘these rotten potatoes and onions’
\]

However, these phrases can be interpreted as coordinate noun phrases also, as in the following:

\[
\text{[edi am-tw] lba [kol-tw]}
\]
‘this mango or the banana’

\[
\text{[kalez-t l corh-a lora] aru [sowali-bor]}
\]
‘the college boys and girls’

\[
\text{[edi pasa alu-bor] aru [pijaz-bor]}
\]
‘these rotten potatoes and onions’

4.3.8.2 Coordinated modifiers

In Assamese the coordination of modifiers, especially adjective modifiers, is different from noun phrase coordination or the coordination of other NP constituents. Besides the
common coordinators, the modifiers can be coordinated by a different set of coordinators that is used in clause coordination. ֶבְּשַׁנְּשׁ ‘but’, ֶזָּדִיו ‘though’, ֶסָּטַטְּו ‘yet’, ֶקִינֶטו ‘but’ are examples of such coordinators. Their use as adjective coordinators is exemplified in the noun phrase below:

a) ֶפְּרוֹנִי ֶבְּשַׁנְּשׁ ֶמַלְוָבְּנַנְּ שֵׁי ֶקְּי לֶפַּטְּו ־ק ָּכָּנ ֶו ֶקֶנֶטו
this old, yet valuable book

b) ֶפְּרוֹנִי ֶזָּדִיו ֶמַלְוָבְּנַנְּ שֵׁי ֶקְּי לֶפַּּטְּו ־ק ָּכָּנ
this valuable even though old, book

c) ֶפְּרוֹנִי ֶסָּטַטְּו ֶמַלְוָבְּנַנְּ שֵׁי ֶקְּי לֶפַּּטְּו ־ק ָּכָּנ
this valuable, yet old book

d) ֶפְּרוֹנִי ֶקִינֶטו ֶמַלְוָבְּנַנְּ שֵׁי ֶקְּי לֶפַּּטְּו ־ק ָּכָּנ
This old but valuable book

Even though ֶקִינֶטו is used in noun phrase coordination also, such usage is awkward.

A noun phrase containing modifiers coordinated by ֶארְעָה has the combinatory interpretation if the head is a singular noun; but if the same is a plural one the coordination is ambiguous. Thus the coordination of modifiers of the NP in (e) is combinatory:

e) ֶא־זֶנָּה ֶבֶזְּוַלְוַי ֶלֶזָּה ֶבָּלָרְי ֶמַנְּו
one-det old and ill man
‘one old and ill man’

But in (e-i) the same may be interpreted both as segregatory and combinatory, as in (e-ii) and (e-iii):

e-i) ֶקַּי־זֶנָּה ֶבֶזְּוַלְוַי ֶלֶזָּה ֶבָּלָרְי ֶמַנְּו
a number of old and ill men

e-ii) ֶקַּי־זֶנָּה ֶבֶזְּוַלְוַי ֶלֶזָּה ֶבָּלָרְי ֶבָּלָרְי ֶבָּלָרְי ֶמַנְּו
‘a number of old and a number of ill men’
e-iii) bajoljijal aru bemari manuh kei-zonman
'a number of old and ill men'

On the other hand in (e-iv), though the plural affix -zak occurs with the head, the interpretation is only combinatory:

e-iv) ei bajoljijal aru bemari manuh-zak
'this group of old and ill men'

146 - 151 are some examples of noun phrases with a coordinated participle modifier or a coordinated adjective + participle modifier. Their interpretations are given within brackets (verbal adjectives or participle modifiers are glossed as a single unit):

146. ei-bcor azi mɔra ne kali-e mɔra mas
this-det today died or yesterday died fish
‘Did these fishes die today or yesterday?’ (segregatory)

147. dɔwɔa aru no-dɔwɔa kapor-bɔr belegkoi tɔo-b-a
washed and neg-washed cloth-det separately keep-fut-2.fam
‘Keep the washed and unwashed clothes separately.’ (segregatory)

148. kolez-ɔt porha kintu hostel-ɔt nɔ-tɔɔka
college-loc reading but hostel-loc neg-staying
ɔra e-ɔɔn bɔɔr-a
boy one-det search-2.fam
‘Look for a boy who is college going but not hostel boarder.’ (combinatory)

149. mɔi e-ɔɔn gan bɔal ɔwɔa kintu ga-ɔɔ nɔ-ɔɔna manuh
I one-det song loving but sing-part neg-knowing man
‘I am a man who loves music but cannot sing.’ (combinatory)

150. ʃei dɔunija, bɔal bjoɔbɔhar nɔ-ɔɔna sowalizoni ka-r?
that pretty but behavior neg-knowing girl-det who-gen?
‘Whose girl is that, who is pretty but does not know proper behavior?’ (combinatory)
4.4.8.3 Coordination of determiners and numerals

The coordination of determiners is very similar to the coordination of noun phrases and equal in frequency of use as well. The following are some examples of coordinated determiners:

152. dipika-r aru mco-r deuta-r nam eke
    Dipika-gen and I-gen father-gen name same
    ‘The names of my father and Dipika's father are the same.’ (segregatory)

153. ei-kh3n 3th3ba Ijei-kh3n kitap mco-k di-ja
    this-det or that-det book I-acc give-2.fam
    ‘Give me this book or that.’ (segregatory)

154. ram-ar naiba tona-r poisa mco ni-bisar-o
    Ram-gen or you-gen money I neg-want-1
    ‘I don’t want money from either Ram or you.’ (segregatory)

Numerals are, however, different in entering into coordination. They are never coordinated by aru: therefore numeral coordination has no combinatory interpretation.

Two examples of numeral coordination are given below in (155) and (156):

155. e-zan ba du-zan manuh-e ei kam-to kor-ib3 mowar-e
    one-det or two-det man-nom this work-det do-part cannot-3
    ‘One or two persons cannot handle this work.’

156. du-ta 3th3ba tini-ta murgi an-ib-a
    two-det or three-det chicken bring-fut-2.fam
    ‘Bring two or three chickens.’
4.4 Concord and government in Assamese

4.4.1 Concord

The terms concord and agreement are used in grammar in the same meaning to indicate the marking of one word (or phrase) for a grammatical feature of its related word(s) in the phrase or clause. To exemplify them we can cite four noun phrases from Assamese:

a) mɔ-r ma
l-gen mother

b) tɔ-r ma-r
you(inf)-gen mother-2.inf(n)

c) toma-r ma-ra
you(fam)-gen mother-2.fam(n)

d) ta-r ma-k
he-gen mother-3(n)

The lexeme ma has four different forms in the noun phrases (a)-(d) and the forms are concordial to their determiners with regard to the grammatical feature of person and status. In (a) the determiner is a first person pronoun and therefore the form of the head is absolute i.e. mə, in (b) the determiner is a second person (inferior) pronoun and therefore the form of the head is mə-r i.e. there is an affix -r with the lexeme, and in (c) the determiner is a second person (familiar) pronoun and therefore the form of the head is mə-ra containing an affix -ra. In (d), due to the presence of a third person pronoun as its determiner, the form of the head is mə-k which includes the affix -k. All these examples show that the person of the class of determiners determines the form of their head of this specific class of nouns in Assamese (called nouns of relationship). This kind of use is obligatory, and is called concordial use (Lyons 1968: 239).

In Assamese concordial use or agreement is found at three levels of construction—within a word, a phrase and a clause.

4.4.1.1 Gender concord

The noun words, which have gender distinctions (cf §1.2.2) have the concordial use with their inflectional affixes of reference. In other words, the lexeme and its inflectional affix
of reference maintain concord with regard to the grammatical feature of gender. For example, in same reference the form of masculine lora ‘boy’ is lora-\(z\)ni, but the form of feminine sowali ‘girl’ is sowali-zoni, as in (157) and (158):

157. lora-\(z\)ni \(g^h\)\(r\)-\(\text{-}\)loi go-l  
      boy-det home-dat go-past  
      ‘The boy has gone home.’

158. sowali-zoni \(g^h\)\(r\)-\(\text{-}\)loi go-l  
      girl-det home-dat go-past  
      ‘The girl has gone home.’

Here, gender concord is found within the same word, between the lexeme (stem) and its inflectional affix.

In (159) and (160) gender concord is maintained at the phrasal and clausal levels respectively i.e. between the modifier and head and between the subject noun and subject complement noun:

159. \(\text{jundori} \ nari \ \text{puruf}-\(g\) \ kmj\(\text{c}\)  
      beautiful lady gentleman-gen wanted  
      ‘A beautiful lady is the preference of a gentleman.’

160. nari-\(g\)\(r\)aki oti \(\text{jundori} \)  
      lady-det very beautiful  
      ‘The lady is very beautiful.’

The adjective will be \(\text{jundor}\) if the head in (159) and the subject complement in (160) is male as in (159a) and (160a):

159a. \(\text{jundor} \ \text{puruf} \ nari-\(g\) \ kmj\(\text{c}\)  
      handsome gentleman lady-gen wanted  
      ‘A handsome gentleman is the preference of a lady.’
Here the concord of gender is obligatory. In most cases, however, gender concord between nouns and their modifiers is not obligatory. In most cases, the adjectives themselves do not have feminine forms. (161) and (162) exemplify this point:

161. ḫita-r ḫora-tω bɔ r dʰunija
    Sita-gen boy-det very handsome
    ‘Sita’s son is very handsome.’

162. sita-r səwali-zoni bɔ r dʰunija
    Sita-gen girl-det very beautiful
    ‘Sita’s daughter is very beautiful.’

The adjectives, which have gender distinction, are generally words of Sanskrit origin; those of the native stock do not have this distinction.

4.4.1.2 Person concord

Because of its obligatory property, person concord plays an important role in Assamese. It is found to occur between a determiner and its head in a noun phrase and between a noun phrase in the subject slot and its predicator i.e. verb of the clause. The person concord between a determiner and head has been already discussed in the beginning of this section. The person concord of verb words to their subjects is indicated by some fused morphemes, which expounds more than one grammatical feature. For instance, in (163) the affix morpheme -ɔ with verb ḫa indicates the ‘simple present tense’ and ‘first person’ and in (164) the verb indicates at least four grammatical features- ‘present’ tense, ‘imperative’ mood, ‘second’ person and ‘inferior’ status- all with a zero affix i.e. without inflection of the verb:
The concord between subject and verb of a clause with regard to the feature of person is, however, obligatory, as illustrated in the following sentences:

165. mɔi bʰat kʰa-ɔ (first person)
    I      rice     eat-1
     'I eat rice.'

166. toi bʰat kʰa-ɔ (second person, inferior status)
    you   rice   eat-2.inf
    'You eat rice.'

167. tumi bʰat kʰa-ɔ (second person, familiar status)
    you   rice   eat-2.fam
    'You eat rice.'

168. hɪ/təo/tai etc bʰat kʰa-i (third person)
    he/she rice     eat-3
    'He/She eats rice.'

The same verb kʰa in all the four sentences is used with different forms in each sentence according to the person (and status) of the respective subjects. The other features in the verbs (tense, number, mood etc) are, however, not concordial to any words of the clause. For example, there is no concord between subject and verb in terms of number. The verb forms of (165)-(168) will remain the same even we change the number of the subjects i.e. if we use plural nouns(pronouns) instead of singular ones, as in (165a)-(168a):
4.4.1.3 Number concord

Number concord is very partial in Assamese. Adjective words, both in attributive and predicative position can be used concordially with their nouns in terms of number (cf §3.5.6.3) as in (170) and (171) respectively:

170. daipr daipr dakDr-bcor bidelj-Dt thak-e
   big big doctor-det. foreign-loc. live-3
   ‘Reputed doctors live in outside the country.’

171. narikal-keita bar l)oru ljoru
    coconut-det very small small
    ‘The coconuts are very small.’

The adjective *daipr in (170) and ljoru in (171) are reduplicated due to the plural number of the NPs they modify. Such reduplication of adjective is not found with a singular head. Singularisation of the head NPs in above two sentences will therefore create unacceptability to the sentences as in (170a) and (171a):

170a. *daipr daipr dakDr-bcor bidelj-Dt thak-e
171a. * narikol-tō bər hōru horia

However, the reduplication of an adjective with a plural head is not obligatory. (170) and (171) is also acceptable as in (170b) and (171b):

170b. dāŋr daktōr-bōr bidej-ō tēak-e

171b. narikol-keita bər hōru

4.4.2 Government

The word class noun can be governed in Assamese by some function words (or structural words) which are used postpositionally (cf §3.5.3, §4.1.3). dara and pəra are two important postpositions, which are even included in the list of case markers in traditional Assamese grammars (Borua 1859: 30, Bora 1847: 37). Both of these postpositions govern the preceding nouns for the genitive case, as in (169) and (170):

169. mōī ei kam-tō ram-ōr dara kēra-l-w
   I this work-det Ram-gen by perform(caus)-past-1
   ‘I got the work done through Ram.’

170. deuta azi guwahati-r pəra ah-ib-ō
   father today Guwahati-gen from come-fut-3
   ‘Father will come from Guwahati today.’

Here the nouns ram and guwahati are used in the genitive form because of their use with the postposition dara and pəra.

hotuwai ‘by’, ḫēke ‘on behalf of’, babē ‘for’, bibeqe ‘about’, karne ‘for’ etc are other postpositions or function words, which govern the form (genitive) of the words they follow, as in (171)-(174):

171. tumī zan-ōr hotuwai holē tērkari bōna-b-a
    you Jan-gen by a little vegetables bring(caus)-fut-2.fam
    ‘Get a few vegetables through Jan.’
172. tumi azi mow-r hoke du-hlar-man ko-bh lag-ib-c
you today 1-gen on behalf of. a few words say-part need-fut-pass
'Today you will have to say a few words in my favour.'

173. deuta-r babe/karone tumi sinta kor-ibc ne-lag-e
father-gen for you worry do-part neg-need-pass
'You need not be worried about father.'

174. ei kitap-kbun-xr biltje tumi ki zan-a
this book-det-gen about you what know-2.fam
'What do you know about this book?'

4.5 Nominalization

4.5.1 Introduction

Nominalization is 'any process by which either a noun or a syntactic unit functioning as a noun phrase is derived from any other kind of unit' (Matthews 1997: 244). The syntactic units functioning as noun phrase are called nominals. In traditional grammar the derivation of noun words (or lexemes) and the nominals are somewhat cursorily discussed under the different heads of 'word-formation' and 'clause analysis' respectively. Modern grammarians, however, have discussed these two aspects of language with greater seriousness. In particular TG grammarians are more interested in these two aspects of languages. The workss of Noam Chomsky (A Few Remarks on Nominalization) and Robert B Lees (The Grammar of English Nominalization), etc may be cited as examples.

Clause analysis or derivation of nominals etc and word formation are seen as the different steps of same process in modern grammar. There is, in fact, a gradation from clause construction to word formation. Rather than considering this gradation, traditional grammarians have tended to discuss the two under different heads. Under clause analysis it (traditional grammar) discusses the functioning of clauses as three different word
classes i.e. noun, adjective and adverb within a larger clause. These three types of clauses functioning as nouns, adjectives and adverbs are called subordinate noun clause, subordinate adjective clause, and subordinate adverb clause. The clause in which one or more of such clauses are included has been called the principal clause, as opposed to subordinate clauses. Principal clauses are also called complex clause as opposed to simple or compound clause in terms of their syntactic complexity. The three sentences of Assamese in (175)-(177), which are complex in nature, exemplify the three types of subordinate clauses (i.e. noun, adjective and adverb clauses):

175. tumi ija-loi ḫh-a-tw mɔi bʰal ne-pa-ɔ
    you here-dat come-part-det I like neg-feel-1
    ‘I don’t like your coming here.,

176. mɔi bʰat kʰw-wa kahi-kʰɔn kah-ɔr nɔli
    I rice eat-part dish-det bell metal-gen not
    ‘The dish that I used to eat rice on is not made of bell metal.’

177. mɔi bʰat kʰa-i kaleza-loi zɑ-m
    I rice eat-part college-dat go-fut.1
    ‘I shall go to college after having my meal.’

In (175) tumi ija-loi ḫh-a-tw is the clause which is used within the principal clause tumi ija-loi ḫh-a-tw mɔi bʰal ne-pa-ɔ as a nominal i.e. in place of a noun in subject function and therefore a nominal clause. In (176) mɔi bʰat kʰw-wa is the clause, which is used as a modifier to the noun kahi-kʰɔn within the principal clause mɔi bʰat kʰw-wa kahi-kʰɔn kah-ɔr nɔ-hɔ-i. In (177) mɔi bʰat kʰa-i is a clause that modifies the verb of the principal clause mɔi bʰat kʰa-i kaleza-loi zɑ-m and therefore a subordinate adverb clause.
Instead of principal clause, modern grammarians use the term superordinate clause (Quirk et al 1985: 310). On the other hand a superordinate clause may in turn be used as subordinate clause under another superordinate clause, e.g.

178. \( XYZ \overset{\text{moi}}{\overset{\text{bhat}}{\overset{\text{kai}}{\overset{\text{kolezloiz}}{\overset{\text{zam}}{\text{buli deutak koba X}}}}}} \)

In the sentence in (178) the clause \( Z - Z \) is the subordinate clause of \( Y - Y \) superordinate clause, which is in turn a subordinate clause in the \( X - X \) superordinate clause.

The four examples above show that sentences or clauses are not all that simple in construction. They are not simply a combination of simple words (or phrases); rather they may contain other clause or clauses as their constituent. Every language has specific rules that govern the use of clauses as particular constituents of a superordinate clause.

In Assamese, there are broadly two types of rules for forming subordinating clauses—
(1) by using nonfinite forms of the clauses and (2) by using some particles or subordinators, as they are sometimes called, such as \textit{buli, ze, ne, neki etc.}

The characteristics of nonfinite clauses have been dealt with earlier in §3.5.2. Here their use and other some aspects will be discussed. Moreover, subordinators, which were dealt with briefly in Chapter One, will be considered here in detail.

The formatting and use of nonfinite clauses are most important for the grammar of a language. This is especially true for nominal clauses. As we have stated above, there is a gradation from the formation of nonfinite clauses to the formation of noun words. The noun is the most important word class in a language not only because of the frequency of use of its members, but also for the complexity of construction of nouns and the almost limitless number of nominalizations.
The first step of nominalization i.e. use of different shapes of clauses in nominal function is taken up for discussion in the present chapter. The final step of nominalization, namely word formation is discussed in Chapter Five.

4.5.2 Different types of nominals in Assamese

4.5.2.1 Factive nominal

In Assamese factive nominals are formed by using the subordinators- ze, buli and k-question words with finite declarative clauses, as in (179)-(181):

179. tumi porikkšt urtirnə hoba ...... → tumi ze porikkšt urtirnə hoba moi zanə
   ‘You will be successful in examination.’ ...... → ‘I know that you will be successful in examination.’

180. moi rozoni kolitar lora ........ → moi rozoni kolitar lora buli apuni nezane?
   ‘I am Rajani Kalita’s son.’ ...... → ‘Do not you know that I am Rajani Kalita’s son?’

181. moi mođ khao> ........... → moi kijo mođ kʰəə moći he zanco
   ‘I drink wine.’ .............→ ‘Why I drink wine is known to me only.’

Clauses with K-question words can be used as independent clauses also, which is not the case with ze and buli clause. (179a), (180a) and (181a) exemplify these observations:

179a. *tumi ze porikkšt urtirnə hoba

180a. *moi rozoni kolitar lora buli

181a. moi kijo mođ kʰəə?

The particle ze is used either in the middle or at end of the clause but not in the initial position. However, the particle buli is used only at the end of the clause. K-question words are freely used in any positions. The following examples illustrate:

179b. tumi porikkšt urtirnə hoba ze moi zanə
and (171) is also acceptable as in (170b) and (171b):

170b. dan bakte-bkor bidel-t t'ak-e

171b. narikal-keita bkor horu

4.4.2 Government

The word class noun can be governed in Assamese by some function words (or structural words) which are used postpositionally (cf §3.5.3, §4.1.3). *dara* and *para* are two important postpositions, which are even included in the list of case markers in traditional Assamese grammars (Borua 1859: 30, Bora 1847: 37). Both of these postpositions govern the preceding nouns for the genitive case, as in (169) and (170):

169. moi ei kam-2 ram-dr dara kora-l-2

   I this work-det Ram-gen by perform(caus)-past-1

   'I got the work done through Ram.'

170. deuta azi guwahati-r para ah-ib-3

   father today Guwahati-gen from come-fut-3

   'Father will come from Guwahati today.'

Here the nouns *ram* and *guwahati* are used in the genitive form because of their use with the postposition *dara* and *para*.

*hotuwai* 'by', *hake* 'on behalf of', *babe* 'for', *bije* 'about', *karane* 'for' etc are other postpositions or function words, which govern the form (genitive) of the words they follow, as in (171)-(174):

171. tumi zan-dr hotuwai halp tarkari bna-b-a

   you Jan-gen by a little vegetables bring(caus)-fut-2.fam

   'Get a few vegetables through Jan.'
Appositive:

187. mò-r ze poisa nai ei kòtʰa-tʰo tɔma-k ko-isil-ω
   I-gen that money no this fact-det you-acc tell-dpast-1
   ‘I told you that I have no money.’

Adjectival complement:

188. mći nissiɔ ze tso dʰuka-is-e
    I sure that he die-impv-3
    ‘I am sure that he has died.’

The particle ze in a ze clause may be elliptic in some cases, as in (186a) and (187a):

186a. mò-r dukʰ-tʰo ho-1, tumi ah-ibɔ nowar-ib-a
187a. mò-r poisa nai, ei kòtʰa-tʰo tɔma-k ko-isil-ω

b) buli clause:

Subject:

189. deuta azi ah-ib-ɔ buli mò-r aḥa
    father today come-fut-3 that I-gen expectation
    ‘It is my hope that father will come today.’

Direct object:

190. tumi kitap-kʰɔm porh-is-a buli mɔi bʰab-isil-ω
    you book-det read-impv-2.fam that I think-dpast-ω
    ‘I thought that you have read the book.’

Indirect object:

191. ram-e mɔ-k tumi gʰɔr-ɔt-ɛ as-a buli ko-isil
    Ram I-acc you home-loc-emph stay-part that tell-dpast
    ‘Ram told me that you are staying at home.’

Subject complement:

192. mò-r dʰarɔna as-il tumi bɔr bʰal manuḥ buli
    I-gen idea be-past you very good man that
    ‘My idea was that you are very good person.’
Adjective complement:
193. mɔi nisstɔ tumi ah-ib-a buli
   I sure you come-fut-2.fam that
   'I am sure that you will come.'

In informal use buli is followed by one post position pelai which cannot effect the meaning of buli but used as a stylistic form by some peoples of some particular area.

(190a) illustrate the use:
190a. tumi kitap-kɔn porh-is-a buli pelai mɔi bɔb-ab-ιsil-ɔ
   you book-det read-impv-2.fam that PP I think-dpast-ɔ
   'I thought that you have read the book'

c) K-clause:

Subject:
194. tumi kenekoi ijaloi ah-a bɔb-ab-ibclogija kɔtɔ
   you how here come-2.fam think-part matter
   'How you come here is a matter of thought.'

Object:
195. ram ketija gɔbɛr-ɔloi go-1 mɔi ne-zan-ɔ
   Ram when home-dat go-past I neg-know-1
   'I don't know when Ram went home.'

Subject complement:
196. mɔɔ-r prɔsɔr-ɔ ho-1 ram-e kijɔ bali-k bɔdɔb kor-il-ɛ
   I-gen question-det be-past Ram-nom why Bali-acc killing do-past-3
   'My question is why did Rama kill Bali.'

Appositive:
197. tumi ka-k bɔal po-wa ei prɔsɔr-ɔ bɔbotɔ
   you who-acc love-2.fam this question-det irrelevant
   'The question as to whom you love is irrelevant.'
It was mentioned earlier that K-clauses in Assamese are eligible to be used as independent clauses also. In such use the sign of interrogation (=?) in writing is compulsory as it reflects the interrogative pitch in speaking of such a clause. However, this pitch is not found when the same clause is used as a subordinate clause. Therefore any of the clauses in this section with interrogative meaning is not marked with the interrogative sign.

4.5.2.2 Action nominal

Action nominals are formed by affixing -a to the verbs of the clauses. This -a affix replaces all the categorial affixes from the verb, and therefore these clauses may be called -a clauses. Before discussing action nominals, some general observations need to be made about -a clauses. Assamese -a clauses are very important from both the syntactic and morphological points of view. They can be used as substitute to two categories of words-nouns and adjectives. In other words they can be used both as nominals (gerund) and adjectivals (participle), as in (198) and (199) respectively:

198. tumi bhat kʰo-wa mzi dekʰ-is-ω
    you rice eat-part I see-impv-1
    'I saw your eating rice'

199. tumi bhat kʰo-wa kahi-kʰɔn bɔr dʰunija
    you rice eat-part dish-det very beautiful
    'The dish where you eat rice is very pretty.'

-a clauses in nominal functions are again of two types, called action nominals and gerundive nominals, as in (200) and (201) respectively:

200. tcoma-r sobi ɔk-a mɔi dekʰ-is-ɔ
    you-gen picture draw-part I see-impv-1
    'I saw your drawing.'
The nominal clauses in (200) and (201) are similar but not identical. They are two transformationally related clauses such that (200) is derived from (201). In the gradation (200) is nearer to word-formation than (201). (201) permits an adverb to be used with it as in (201a), but (200) does not permit the use of such an adverb, as in (200a):

(200a) *toma-r bhalkoi sobi dka māi dekhy-is-ō

(201a) tumi bhalkoi sobi dka māi dekhy-is-ō

‘I saw you drawing expertly.’

Gerundive nominals are used in large scale in Assamese and their use is spontaneous. But the use of action nominals is limited. Quite often, in the written language, some deverbal nouns of Sanskrit origin are used in place of gerundive nominals, as in (200a) and (202):

(200a) toma-r sobi dka māi dekhy-is-ō ~ toma-r sitraŋkōn māi dekhy-is-ō

(202) toma-r mā bhy-wa-i toma-r kal ho-b-ō ~

you-gen wine drink-part-nom you-gen killer be-fut-3

toma-r mādjo-pan-e toma-r kal ho-b-ō

wine-drinking-nom

‘Your wine drinking will be your nemesis.’

However, action nominals are found to be replaced by some deverbal nouns also, as in (203) and (204):

(203) toma-r nās-a bhyāl ho-is-e ~ toma-r nasōn bhyāl

you-gen dance-part good be-impv-3 dancing

‘Your dancing is good.’
The syntactic roles of action nominals are shown below:

**Subject:**
- As in (202)-(204).

**Object:**
- As in (200).

**Subject complement:**
- 205. eija-i mɔ-r sobiɔk-a
  - this-emph I-gen picture draw-part
  - This indeed is my drawing

**Appositive:**
- 206. toɔm-a-r sigaret kʰω-wa-tɔo, hɛi-tɔo tumi er-ibɔ lag-ib-ɔ
  - you-gen cigarette smoke-part-det that-det you leave-part need-fut-pass
  - 'This cigarette smoking of yours, you will have to give it up.'

**Postpositional complement:**
- 207. tɔm-i pɔrh-a-r pɔra utʰ-i n-ah-ib-a
  - you read-part-gen from stand-part neg-come-fut-2.fam
  - 'Do not get up from your studying.'

In Assamese Vaisnavite society, there is a special type of clause construction, which is used to express egolessness. In such a construction the clause is transformed to an action nominal and then placed under a superordinate clause whose constituents are action nominal + verb as in (208) and (209):

- 208. ami bʰat kʰa-l-ɔ ....→ ama-r bʰat kʰω-wa ho-1
  - we rice eat-past-1 we-gen rice eat-part be-past
  - 'We have eaten rice.'  
  - 'Our rice eating has been completed.'
Appositive:

187. mω-ρ ze poisa nai ei kɔt₃a-to tɔma-k ko-isil-ω
    I-gen that money no this fact-det you-acc tell-dpast-1
    ‘I told you that I have no money.’

Adjectival complement:

188. mɔi nissiɔ ze tɛω dũka-is-e
    I sure that he die-impv-3
    ‘I am sure that he has died.’

The particle ze in a ze clause may be elliptic in some cases, as in (186a) and (187a):

186a. mω-ρ duk₃-tω ho-l, tumi ah-ibɔ nowar-ib-a
187a. mω-ρ poisa nai, ei kɔt₃a-to tɔma-k ko-isil-ω

b) buli clause:

Subject:

189. deuta azi ah-ib-ɔ buli mω-ρ aʃa
    father today come-fut-3 that I-gen expectation
    ‘It is my hope that father will come today.’

Direct object:

190. tumi kitap-κ̣n porh-is-a buli mɔi bɔab-isil-ω
    you book-det read-impv-2.fam that I think-dpast-ω
    ‘I thought that you have read the book.’

Indirect object:

191. ram-e mω-k tumi gɔr-ɔ-e as-a buli ko-isil
    Ram I-acc you home-loc-emph stay-part that tell-dpast
    ‘Ram told me that you are staying at home.’

Subject complement:

192. mω-ρ dũraŋa as-il tumi bɔr bɔal manuh buli
    I-gen idea be-past you very good man that
    ‘My idea was that you are very good person.’
Adjective complement:

193. mɔi nisse tumi ah-ib-a buli
I sure you come-fut-2.fam that
'I am sure that you will come.'

In informal use buli is followed by one post position pelai which cannot effect the meaning of buli but used as a stylistic form by some peoples of some particular area.

(190a) illustrate the use:

190a. tumi kitap-khɔn porh-is-a buli pelai mɔi bʰab-isil-əo
you book-det read-impv-2.fam that PP I think-dpast-əo
'I thought that you have read the book'

c) K-clause:

Subject:

194. tumi kenekoi ijalo ah-a bʰab-iblogija kɔtʰa
you how here come-2.fam think-part matter
'How you come here is a matter of thought.'

Object:

195. ram ketija gʰɔr-ɔlɔi go-l mɔi ne-zan-əo
Ram when home-dat go-past I neg-know-1
'I don't know when Ram went home.'

Subject complement:

196. mɔo-r prɔsɔn-tɔ ho-l ram-e kijɔ bali-k bɔɔbʰ kor-il-e
I-gen question-det be-past Ram-nom why Bali-acc killing do-past-3
'My question is why did Rama kill Bali.'

Appositive:

197. tumi ka-k bʰal pɔ-wa ei prɔsɔn-tɔ ɔbantɔr
you who-acc love-2.fam this question-det irrelevant
'The question as to whom you love is irrelevant.'
It was mentioned earlier that \(k\)-clauses in Assamese are eligible to be used as independent clauses also. In such use the sign of interrogation (=?) in writing is compulsory as it reflects the interrogative pitch in speaking of such a clause. However, this pitch is not found when the same clause is used as a subordinate clause. Therefore any of the clauses in this section with interrogative meaning is not marked with the interrogative sign.

4.5.2.2 Action nominal

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198. tumi bhat k\(b\)wa m\(bi\) dekb-is-\(\omega\)
   you rice eat-part I see-impv-1
   'I saw your eating rice'

199. tumi bhat k\(b\)wa kahi-k\(b\)n b\(r\) d\(b\)unija
   you rice eat-part dish-det very beautiful
   'The dish where you eat rice is very pretty.'

\(-a\) clauses in nominal functions are again of two types, called action nominals and gerundive nominals, as in (200) and (201) respectively:

200. toma-r sobi \(\dot{b}\)k-a m\(bi\) dekb-is-\(\omega\)
   you-gen picture draw-part I see-impv-1
   'I saw your drawing.'
The nominal clauses in (200) and (201) are similar but not identical. They are two transformationally related clauses such that (200) is derived from (201). In the gradation (200) is nearer to word-formation than (201). (201) permits an adverb to be used with it as in (201a), but (200) does not permit the use of such an adverb, as in (200a):

200a. *toma-r bhaalkoi sobi jk-a moj dek-h-is-o

201a. tumi bhaalkoi sobi jk-a moj dek-h-is-o

'I saw you drawing expertly.'

Gerundive nominals are used in large scale in Assamese and their use is spontaneous. But the use of action nominals is limited. Quite often, in the written language, some deverbal nouns of Sanskrit origin are used in place of gerundive nominals, as in (200a) and (202):

200a. toma-r sobi jk-a moj dek-h-is-o ~ toma-r sitraṅkōn moj dek-h-is-o

202. toma-r mɔd kha-wa-i toma-r kal ho-b-ɔ ~
you-gen wine drink-part-nom you-gen killer be-fut-3
toma-r mɔdɔ-pan-e toma-r kal ho-b-ɔ

'Your wine drinking will be your nemesis.'

However, action nominals are found to be replaced by some deverbal nouns also, as in (203) and (204):

203. toma-r mɔs-a bhaal ho-is-e ~ toma-r mason bhaal......
you-gen dance-part good be-impv-3 dancing ............

'Your dancing is good.'
The syntactic roles of action nominals are shown below:

Subject:
As in (202)-(204).

Object:
As in (200).

Subject complement:
205. eija-i mɔ-r sobiɔk-a
this-emph 1-gen picture draw-part
This indeed is my drawing'

Appositive:
206. toma-r sigaret kʰɔ-wa-tɔ, ḥai-tɔ tumi er-ibɔ lag-ib-ɔ
you-gen cigarette smoke-part-det that-det you leave-part need-fut-pass
‘This cigarette smoking of yours, you will have to give it up.’

Postpositional complement:
207. tumi parh-a-r para utʰ-i n-ah-ib-a
you read-part-gen from stand-part neg-come-fut-2.fam
‘Do not get up from your studying.’

In Assamese Vaisnavite society, there is a special type of clause construction, which is used to express egolessness. In such a construction the clause is transformed to an action nominal and then placed under a superordinate clause whose constituents are action nominal + verb as in (208) and (209):

208. ami bʰat kʰa-l-ɔ ....→ ama-r bʰat kʰɔ-wa ho-1
we rice eat-past-l we-gen rice eat-part be-past
‘We have eaten rice.’ ‘Our rice eating has been completed.’
In this transformation, which is like passivization in English, the meaning of the original (kernel) clause remains unchanged.

4.5.2.3 Agentive nominal

Action nominals are formed and used to signify one action, while agentive nominals are formed and used to signify the agent of an action. Agentive nominals are normally used as substitutes of concrete nouns. To form an agentive nominal from a clause, the affix -ωt-a, is added to the verb, which replaces categorical affixes of the verb as in (210) and (211):

210. ei bari-kbën kon-e pat-is-e? .........→
this garden-det who-nom eastablish-impv-3?
‘Who has set up this garden?’

........→ei bari-kbën pat-ωt-a kon?
this garden-det eastablish-part who?
‘Who is the founder of this garden?’

211. bhaskar-e ṭık-tw kor-il-e ......→bhaskar ṭık-tw kor-ωt-a
Bhaskar-nom sum-det do-past-3 Bhaskar sum-det do-part
‘Bhaskar has done the sum.’ ‘Bhaskar is the doer of the sum.’

These nominals, which may be called -ωt-a clauses based on the name of its formative affix, have almost all the functions that a concrete noun has. Further, they can function as modifiers to nouns as in (212) and (213):
212. ei bari-khan pat-ota manuh-zon etija dhuka-l
this garden-det eastablish-part man-det now die-past
'The person founding of this garden is now dead.'

213. ei োক-তো kব-ota lora-zon mo-r bôtiza
this sum-det do-part boy-det I-gen nephew
'The boy who is the doer of this sum is my nephew.'

The following are some examples of the nominal function of agentive nominals:

Subject:

214. ei kitap-khan rস-ota-n-e mok ei-khan upâhar di-sil
this book-det write-part-det-nom I-acc this-det present give-dpast
'This copy was presented to me by the writer of the book.'

215. ei kam-ta kব-ota-zon nissi pagol manuh
this work-det do-part-det sure mad man
'The doer of this work must be a mad man.'

Direct object:

216. ei gôr-ta োaz-ota-zon k tumi dek-is-a-ne?
this house-det build-part-det-acc you see-impv-2.fam-interg?
'Have you seen the builder of this house?'

Indirect object:

217. bagôr-ta mar-ota-zon k môi purâskar di-m
 tiger-det kill-part-det-acc I reward give-fut.1
'I shall give a reward to the killer of the tiger.'

Subject complement:

218. mহৃষ্ণি balmiki rম-gja nস-ota
Maharshi Balmiki Ramayana compose-part
'Maharshi Balmiki is the composer of The Ramayana.'

219. môi-je pulis-ôk kôôôôôr di-ota
I-emph police-acc information give-part
'I am the informer of the police.'
Postpositional complement:

220. bas-তা za-ওরা-ঠাকুর-জি পারা du-ওকা-কোই lo-ব-আ
bus-loc go-part-det-gen from two-rupees-each take-fut-2-fam
‘Take two rupees each from the bus traveller.’

Appositive:

221. ramাজ্ঞান রমন-পত্রা-ছন, বাল্মীকী balmiki পোষ্টে dossu-he এ-ইল
Ramayana write-part-det, that is Valmiki earlier robber-emph be-past
‘The composer of The Ramayana, i.e. Valmiki was earlier a robber.’

4.5.2.4 Gerundive nominal

The characteristics of gerundive nominals have already been stated in the discussion of action nominal. The following examples illustrate their different syntactic roles:

Subject:

222. tumি ija-loi ওরা শ-া-ও-ই কি buza-ই?
you here-dat daily come-part-det-nom what mean-3?
‘What does your coming here daily mean?’

223. sigaret kবো-ওa-i sastবা হাই kর-ই
cigarette smoke-part-nom health harm do-3
‘Cigarette smoking harms health.’

Direct object:

224. tumি mas মৃঝ-া moী dekবো-ইল-ও
you fish catch-part I see-dpast-1
‘I had seen your fishing.’

225. moী শ-া-ও ram-ওক zan-বো-লোi di-ব-আ
I come-part-det Ram-acc know-part-dat give-fut-2.fam
‘Inform Ram about my coming.’
Subject complement:

226. ta-r obhjañ ḫḍārī ratipuwa uth-a
he-gen habit always morning get up-part
‘His habit is to get up early in the morning.’

227. mco-r issa e-zān dañhə gajk ho-wa
I-gen aim one-det great singer be-part
‘My aim is to be a great singer.’

Object complement:

228. məi toma-k ḫḍārī skul-əlōi zə-wa dekh-ə-w
I you-acc daily school-dat go-part see-1
‘I see you going to school daily.’

229. tumi mō-k ḫonkələ daktər ho-wa dekh-ib-a
you I-acc soon doctor be-part see-fut-2.fam
‘Soon you will see me as a doctor.’

Appositive:

230. iman pəlməkəi uth-a, ei obhjañ-tə lər beja
so much lately rise-part this habit-det very bad
‘This habit of rising so late is very bad.’

Complement to postposition:

231. kitap nə-pərh-a karəne məi toma-k beja pa-is-w
book neg-read-part for I you-acc dislike-impv-1
‘I am unhappy with you for not studying.’

4.5.2.5 Infinitival nominal
The nonfinite clauses ended with –i and –ibə participles when used in nominal functions may be called infinitival nominals. ibəlo is the extended form of –ibə and both are used alternately. Like other nominal formatives these affixes too replace the categorical affixes of the verb they are added to.
The infinitival nominal with an -i participle is used mostly as an adverbial. As a nominal it is found in the object role, as in (232) and (233):

232. məi bʰat kʰa-ə \[→\] məi bʰat kʰa-i bʰal pa-ə
'I rice eat-1 I rice eat-part like-1
'I eat rice.' 'I like to eat rice.'

233. zan-e gan ga-i \[→\] zan-e gan ga-i bʰal pa-i
Jaan-nom song sing-3 Jaan-nom song sing-part like-3
'Jaan sings songs.' 'Jaan likes singing.'

With -ibɔ and -iboloi forms infinitival nominals can realize the subject and object roles in a clause structure as well function as adjectival complement, as in (234)–(236) respectively:

234. mesin-\[→\] kapɔr sila-i \[→\] mesin-ɔt kapɔr sila-bʰaloi jələz
machine-loc cloth sew-pass machine-loc cloth sew-part easy
'Clothes are sewn by machine.' 'It is easy to sew clothes by machine.'

235. məi gan-tɔ ɬun-im \[→\] məi gan-tɔ ɬun-ibɔ/iboloi bisar-ə
I song-det listen-fut.1 I song-det listen-part want-1
'I shall listen to the song.' 'I want to listen to the song.'

236. ami e\[→\] kəm-tɔ kər-im \[→\] ami e\[→\] kəm-tɔ kər-ibɔ/iboloi ɬazu
we this work-det do-fut.1 we this work-det do-part-dat ready
'We shall do this work.' 'We are ready to do this work.'

The -ibɔ form is not used in the function of adjectival complement, as in (236).

4.5.2.6 Relative clauses as nominal

Different aspects of relative clauses have been discussed in Chapter 3 (§3.5.1.1) in connection with noun phrase constituents. These clauses are transformed from kernal clauses by inserting a -Z particle to them and are called -Z clauses. -Z clauses can be used as nominals, adjectivals and adverbials. The first of these is relevant here.
• As nominals, -Z clauses are used in apposition to other nouns or nominals in syntactic roles of subject as in (237), direct object as in (238), indirect object as in (239) and complement as in (240):

237.  

 hi manuh-зч-к srвddhа kе-е ………→

 he man-det-acc respect do-3

‘He respects the man.’

………→ hi zi-зч manuh-зч srвddhа kе-е, тво мо-г deuta

 he which-det man-acc respect do-3, he I-gen father

‘The man whom he respects is my father.’

238.  

 мө ли тома-к kitap-kбчн di-m ………→

 I you-acc book-det give-fut.1

‘I shall give you the book.’

………→ мө ли тома-к зи-kбчн kitap di-m .fdз-кбчн uponjaх

 I you-acc which-det book give-fut.1 that-det novel

‘The book which I shall give you is a novel.’ [direct object]

239.  

 manuh-езч беc kвритогц раз………→

 man-det very ungrateful

‘The man is very ungrateful.’

………→ зи-езч manuh iman kвритогц, та-k poisa di-s-a

 who-det man so ungrateful he-acc money give-impv-2.fam

‘You are giving money to that person who is so ungrateful.’

 (Indirect object)

240.  

 ram-e љита-k бннабах di-sil ………→

 Rama-nom Sita-acc exile give-dpast

‘Rama sent Sita on exile.’

………→ љеi-езч ram zi љита-k бннабах di-sil

 that-det Rama who Sita-nom banishment give-dpast

‘That is Rama who sent Sita on exile.’

 (Complement)
4.5.2.7 Nominal compounds

Nominal compounds also involved a process of nominalization by transformation. The various aspects of this process have been discussed already in Chapter One.