7 Clausal Constructions

7.0 Preview

So far we have discussed the internal structure of the verb complex in terms of its morphology and other constituency. We have talked about the formation of complex stems (Chapter 4), their inflectional coding (Chapter 5), and verbal forms that consist of more than one grammatical word (Chapter 6). The present chapter will take up the syntactic distribution and function of the simple and complex verb forms in different clausal constructions – both single and multi-clausal constructions. We will start by looking at the single clause constructions, traditionally called the simple sentence, in Section 7.1. Different speech-act types will be discussed with reference to simple sentences, namely, declarative sentences (Section 7.1.1), imperative sentences (7.1.2), and interrogative sentences (Section 7.1.3). Subsequently, multi-clausal constructions will be examined (Section 7.2), in terms of complex sentences (Section 7.2.1), coordinated sentences (Section 7.2.2), chained clauses (Section 7.2.3) and relative clause constructions (Section 7.2.4).

7.1 The simple sentence

A simple sentence consists of a single independent clause. A clause is defined as consisting of a single predicative which takes one or more arguments. An independent clause is defined as a clause capable of being used on its own in a discourse, as the following examples illustrate.

7-1 \( bi \quad skul\text{-}ao \quad t^h ay\text{-}duug. \)

3SG school-LOC go-REAL

‘S/he went to school.’

7-2 \( *bi \quad skul\text{-}au \quad t^h ay\text{-}na. \)

3SG school-LOC go-NF
While the clause in (7-1) can be used on its own in a discourse, the clause in (7-2) cannot be used on its own. We will describe the simple sentence with the help of various speech-act types, such as declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives, and so on.

### 7.1.1 Declarative sentences

The simplest or most basic kind of sentence, namely the declarative sentence, is used to make statements. A statement usually asserts a proposition, i.e. a claim that a certain state of affair does or does not exist. Normally, a statement is made about something or someone, or more generally, about some states of affair. The element of meaning which identifies different properties claimed by the statement is grammatically identified as the predicate. Different predicates require different numbers of arguments. When a predicate is asserted to be true of the right number of arguments, the result is a well-formed proposition: a ‘complete thought’. The following examples illustrate.

7-3 (a) \( a\,b^a-a\,ja \quad h\,b^a\,ai\,-\,jao \quad t\,b^a\,n\,-\,dw\,n \).

father-SUB market go-REAL

‘(My) father went to the market.’

(b) \( lo\,a\,g\,a\,-\,ja \quad h\,a\,b\,a \quad za\,-\,bai \).

PN-SUB marriage be-PERF

‘Laoga has got married.’

(c) \( a\,\ y \quad w\,n\,k\,b\,a\,m \quad za\,-\,gun \).

1SG rice eat-FUT

‘I will eat rice.’

In a declarative sentence, the predicator is inflected with one or multiple (i.e. concatenations) inflectional suffixes described in Chapter 5. The arguments of the predicator are either overtly mentioned or dropped if they are recoverable from the previous discourse or the speech context. The basic order of the phrasal constituents of a simple clause is SOV, although order frequently varies in response to pragmatic effects.
Besides making statements, a declarative simple sentence is used for other speech-act types, such as a polar question with a rising intonation.

7-4  (a)  bi-sur tʰaj-bai. [with falling intonation]

‘They’ve left.’

(b)  bi-sur tʰaj-bai? [with rising intonation]

‘Have they left?’

Statements can be negative or positive. We have talked about negative morphology in Chapter 5. Certain declarative sentences also involve negative forms of indefinite pronouns besides the negative morphology on the verb when we express negative statements. These negative pronouns are found only in a negative sentence, as illustrated by the following examples.

7-5  (a)  aŋ  maba  za-gun. (Affirmative)

1SG  something  eat-FUT

‘I will eat something.’

(b)  aŋ  zebu  za-ja. (Negative)

1SG  anything  eat-NEG

‘I will not eat anything.’

(c)  *aŋ  zebu  za-gun.

The form maba ‘something’ in 7-5(a) is not particularly an affirmative form in that it can be found in negative sentences. The forms of pronouns that we are going to call ‘affirmative’ interact in a complex manner with various speech act types (such as interrogative), mode (such as uncertainty). We are going to present a rather simplified account of these pronouns in declarative sentences. Further investigations are required to fully explore such interactions. A negative form such as zebu ‘anything’, on the other hand, is restricted to negative expressions only.

Table 7.1 presents the so-called affirmative forms and their negative counterparts.
Table 7.1

Affirmative and negative indefinite pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmative indefinite pronouns</th>
<th>Negative indefinite pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ma</em>-<em>ba</em> ‘something’</td>
<td>*ze-<em>b</em>ur ‘anything’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sura</em>-ba ‘someone’</td>
<td><em>rau</em>-b*ur ‘no one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sura</em>-k’ou-<em>ba</em> ‘someone (ACC)’</td>
<td><em>rau</em>-k’ou-<em>b</em>ur ‘no one (ACC)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sura</em>-ni-<em>ba</em> ‘someone’s’</td>
<td><em>rau</em>-ni-<em>b</em>ur ‘no one’s’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sura</em>-nu-<em>ba</em> ‘to someone’</td>
<td><em>rau</em>-nu-<em>b</em>ur ‘to no one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sura</em>-ni-*au-<em>ba</em> ‘be at/with someone’</td>
<td><em>rau</em>-ni-*ou-<em>b</em>ur ‘be at/with no one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sura</em>-zua-<em>b</em>ur ‘with someone’ (COM/INSTR)</td>
<td><em>rau</em>-zua-<em>b</em>ur ‘with no one’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form *maba* ‘something’ is derived from the combination of the interrogative pronoun *ma* ‘what’ and the suffix -*ba*. Similarly, the form *sura*-*ba* ‘someone’ is derived from the combination of the interrogative pronoun *sura* ‘who’ and the suffix -*ba*. The case markers on the indefinite pronouns, such as object -k’ou, genitive -ni, genitive locative -ni-*ao*, dative -*nu*, instrumental -zua-*j*, etc. occur between the pronouns and the suffix -*ba*. The negative indefinite pronoun *zebu* ‘anything’ consists of a bound morpheme *ze* and the suffix -*b*ur, which is similar to the additive morpheme -*b*ur ‘also, too’. Similarly, the form *raou*-*b*ur is derived from the combination of the bound morpheme *rao* and the suffix -*b*ur. It should be noted that all case markers occur between the bound root and the suffix.

Some of the negative indefinite pronouns mentioned in Table 7.1 are exemplified in (7-6 to 7-8).
7-6 (a) \textit{nuŋ \textipa{bat}ra-k\textipa{bu}ou sur-nu\textipa{-bu}a buŋ.}  
2SG matter-OBJ who-DAT-IND tell  
‘You tell about this matter to someone.’

(b) \textit{nuŋ \textipa{bat}ra-k\textipa{bu}ou rao-nu\textipa{-bu}u buŋ-nan-a.}  
2SG matter-OBJ anybody-DAT-IND tell-need-NEG  
‘You do not tell this matter to anyone.’

7-7 (a) \textit{no síŋ-a\textipa{o} sur-ba døŋ.}  
house inside-LOC who-IND exist  
‘There is someone inside the house.’

(b) \textit{no síŋ-a\textipa{o} rao-bu guĩ-ja.}  
house inside-LOC anybody-IND exist-NEG  
‘There is no one inside the house.’

7-8 (a) \textit{bi sur-zuŋ-ba rai\textipa{l}ai-duŋ-mun.}  
3SG who-COM-IND talk-REAL-PAST  
‘She talked to someone.’

(b) \textit{bi rao-zuŋ-bu rai\textipa{l}ai-jak\textipa{bu}i-mun.}  
3SG anybody-COM-IND talk-NEG.PERF-PAST  
‘She did not talk to anyone.’

7.1.2 Imperative sentences

An imperative clause is used to issue directives that cover commands, requests, instructions, prohibitions and the like. The main characteristic of an imperative clause is that the verb is in the base form (i.e. uninflected) and the 2\textsuperscript{nd} person subject is omissible, as illustrated in the following examples.

7-9 (a) \textit{nuŋ t\textipa{b}aŋ.}  
2SG go  
‘You go.’
(b) tʰaŋ.
go
‘(You) go.’

7.1.3 Interrogative sentences

Polar interrogative sentences are formed by adding the question particles na or nama at the clause final position. The form nama transparently consists of the question particle na and the question word ma ‘what’. The verb occurs in a fully finite form. Consider the following examples.

7-10 (a) alasi-ja pʰui-bai na ?
guest-SUB come-PERF Q
‘Has the guest arrived?’

(b) alasi-ja pʰui-bai nama ?
guest-SUB come-PERF Q
‘Has the guest arrived?’

7-11 (a) nɯŋ ai-kʰou nu-duŋ na ?
2SG mother-OBJ see-REAL Q
‘Did you see mother?’

(b) nɯŋ ai-kʰou nu-duŋ nama ?
2SG mother-OBJ see-REAL Q
‘Did you see mother?’

The questions with na and nama are interchangeable without losing much communicative intent. There are some pragmatic differences in the use of these two forms which seem to relate to wider discourse correlates.
An alternative question is formed simply by putting the question particle *na* between two clauses. The clauses contain fully finite verbs. Consider the following examples.

7-12  **nuw**  **ungh^am**  **za-nu**  **na**  **ruti**  **za-nu**  ?
   2SG  rice  eat-INT  Q  bread  eat-INT
‘Do you intend to eat rice or bread?’

7-13  **nuw**  **skul-ao**  **t^a^m-gun**  **na**  **t^a^m-a**  ?
   2SG  school-LOC  go-FUT  Q  go-NEG
‘Are you going to school or not?’

7-14  **bi**  **p^ora-ndung**  **na**  **undu-ndung**  ?
   3SG  study-REAL  Q  sleep-REAL
‘Is he studying or sleeping?’

Content questions are formed with the help of question words, which occur in situ. The verbs are fully finite and unmarked for any question-related marking. The question words are listed below.

*Table 7.2*

**Interrogative/question words**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ma</em></td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>surr</em></td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bob</em>e/mobe</td>
<td>‘which’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bes</em>e/besaj*</td>
<td>‘how much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bob</em>ejaw/mohou*</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mabl</em>a/mob<em>a</em></td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>manu</em></td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The content questions are illustrated with the following question-answer pairs.

7-15  (a)  \textit{nun} \textit{ma} \textit{k}^{h} \textit{alam-dun}\? \\
2SG what do-REAL \\
‘What are you doing?’ \\
(b)  \textit{ay} \textit{p}^{h} \textit{orai-dun}.
1SG study-REAL \\
‘I am studying.’

7-16  (a)  \textit{nun} \textit{sur-k}^{h} \textit{ou} \textit{naiqir-dun}\? \\
2SG who-OBJ look.for-REAL \\
‘Who are you looking for?’ \\
(b)  \textit{ay} \textit{nun-k}^{h} \textit{ou} \textit{naiqir-dun}.
1SG 2SG-OBJ look.for-REAL \\
‘I am looking for you.’

7-17  (a)  \textit{nun} \textit{mabl} \textit{a p}^{h} \textit{ai-gun}\? \\
2SG when come-FUT \\
‘When will you come?’ \\
(b)  \textit{ay} \textit{gabun} \textit{p}^{h} \textit{ai-gun}.
1SG tomorrow come-FUT \\
‘I will come tomorrow.’

7.2  \textbf{Multi-clause constructions}

A simple clause is sparsely used in natural discourse. Instead, sentences consisting of multiple connected clauses are used to expresses coherent, connected events. We will identify several types of multi-clause constructions based on (i) how the clauses are related (structurally and functionally) to each other and (ii) the morphosyntactic coding of the participant clauses. We have identified four major multi-clause constructions, namely, \textit{Complex clauses, Co-ordinated clauses,}
Relative clause constructions, and Clause chaining constructions. We will define and describe each of these multi-verb constructions in turn below.

7.2.1 Complex sentence

A complex sentence can be defined as a non-coordinated sentence that contains more than one clause or more than one verb phrase. Such a sentence consists of two or more clauses of which one outranks the other clauses which are subordinated to it. A clause which contains a subordinating conjunction such as ‘because’ or ‘while’, or some other subordinating device and which is used with a main clause, is called a subordinate clause. Therefore, a complex sentence must consist of one main clause and one or more subordinate clause(s). In such a sentence, the main clause stands by itself as a complete sentence, while the dependent or subordinate clause cannot stand by itself and is grammatically complete only when it occurs as part of the main clause.

There are several types of subordinate clauses which actively participate in the process of forming complex sentences. Based on the relation the subordinator clauses have to the main clause, we will divide them into two main classes – complement clauses and adverbial clauses. We discuss each type below.

7.2.1.1 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses do the work of a noun in a complex sentence. A complement clause may be defined as a clause that functions as a nominal group, i.e., an element which can be replaced by a noun or noun phrase. We can divide complement clauses into three types in Bodo – infinitival complements, nominalized complements, and sentence-like complement clauses.

7.2.1.1.1 Infinitival complement clauses

The infinitival clauses are defined as a type of complement clause that do not bear syntactic relations to their notional subjects. The notional subjects of infinitives are typically equi-deleted or raised (cf. Noonan 2007: 67). The complement clauses under consideration can be characterized as infinitival clauses following the above definition in that the notional subject of the complement clause is never overtly
mentioned. Moreover, the verb of the infinitival clause is found in an infinitive form in that it cannot be marked for any of TAM or Mood markers. The verb is marked with the infinitive form -nu. Consider the following examples.

7-18  \textit{ay} \quad [\textit{t}^{b}aizou \quad za-nu] \quad k^{b}ub \quad lugui-du\textit{ny}.
\begin{tabular}{ll}
1SG & mango \ eat-INF \ lot \ desire-REAL \\
\end{tabular}

‘I desire a lot to eat mango.’

7-19  \textit{bi} \quad [\textit{gabun} \quad gohati-jao \quad t^{b}an-nu] \quad san-du\textit{ny}.
\begin{tabular}{ll}
3SG & tomorrow \ PN-LOC \ go-INF \ think-REAL \\
\end{tabular}

‘He is thinking about going to Guwahati tomorrow.’

The infinitival clauses are indicated in brackets and underlined in the above examples. The infinitive verbs \textit{za} ‘eat’ and \textit{t^{b}a} ‘go’ are marked with nothing but the infinitive form -nu. It may be noted that the infinitive verbs do not have a subject separate from the subject of the matrix clause. Thus, although we have two clauses in each sentence above, we have only one subject per sentence, namely \textit{ay} ‘I’ and \textit{bi} ‘s/he’. Other than that, the verbs in the infinitive clauses have all other participants overtly expressed, such as the object ‘mango’ of eat in (7-18), and the locative and the temporal adverbial (‘Guwahati’ and ‘tomorrow’ respectively) in (7-19).

We have \textbf{same-subject complex clauses} in the above clauses. When we have a \textbf{different-subject complex clause}, the notional subject of the infinitival clause is raised to the object status of the matrix clause, as illustrated in 7-20.

7-20  \textit{ay} \quad \textit{bi-k}^{b}ou \quad [\textit{gohati-ao} \quad t^{b}an-nu] \quad mablaba-ni
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG & 3SG-OBJ & PN-LOC & go-INF & some.day-GEN \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
p^{b}rai = nu & t^{b}in-bai & t^{b}a-du\textit{ny}. \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
from=FOC & ask-PROG & AUX-REAL \\
\end{tabular}

‘I have been asking him to go to Guwahati since long time ago.’
We have two separate events expressed in the above sentence – the event of ‘going to Guwahati’ and the event of ‘asking someone to do something’. The notional subject of the second event (i.e. ask someone to do something) is \( ap \) ‘I’ which is coded as the subject of the matrix clause. The notional subject of the event of going to Guwahati is \( bi-k’ou \) ‘him’, which is coded as the object of the matrix clause.

Finally, all of the infinitival clauses above function as a core argument of the matrix verb. For instance, in (7-18) we have a transitive verb \( lugui ‘desire’ \) and the underlined infinitival clause functions as the object argument of the matrix verb. Similarly, in (7-20) we have a verb that requires two nominal participants (specifying the one who asks and the one who is asked) and a clausal participant (specifying what is being asked). The underlined infinitival clause fulfils the requirement of the third participant.

7.2.1.1.2 Nominalized Complement Clauses

A nominalized clause is a verbal clause with the internal structure of an NP. There is a set of nominalized clauses in Bodo whose internal structure varies from a very NP-like structure to a clause-like structure. At the end of NP-like structures, we have nominalized clauses with a genitive marked agent, and at the end of clause-like structures, we have a subject marked agent. All nominalized clauses contain a non-finite verb marked with the nominalizer \( -nai \). The nominalized clauses, unlike the infinitival clauses, can be case-marked. The following examples serve to illustrate.

7-21 \[ bi \quad [ap-ni \quad on-nai-k’ou] \quad lugui-ja. \]

3SG 1SG-GEN love-NMLZ-OBJ desire-NEG

‘She does not want my love.’
7-22  /[bi-ni  san-nai-ja]  bara  kʰama-ni-ja-o  
3SG-GEN  think-NMLZ-SUB  much  work-GEN-LOC  
pʰuir-ja-su.i.  
  come-NEG-CS  
  ‘His ideas did not get realized.’  
The underlined nominalized clause in (7-21) functions as an object marked clause 
with the object marker -kʰou, and the one in (7-22) functions as a subject marked 
clause with the subject marker -a/ja . The verbs on ‘to love’ and san ‘think’ are 
marked with the nominalizer -nai, which allows the marking of the case markers. It 
is noteworthy that the notional subjects of the nominalized verbs, aŋ ‘I’ and bi  
‘s/he’ are coded as a genitive modifier. Other participants are coded the same way 
as in a clause. Thus, we can add an object argument to the nominalized clause in 
(7-22) which would result in the following example.  
7-23  /[bi-ni  be  batʰra-kʰou  san-nai-ja]  
3SG-GEN  this  matter-OBJ  think-NMLZ-SUB  
bara  kʰama-ni-ao  pʰuir-a-su.i.  
much  work-GEN-LOC  come-NEG-CS  
  ‘His ideas about this matter did not get realized.’  
The following examples illustrate the clause-like structure of the nominalized 
complements.  
PN-SUB  come-NMLZ-OBJ  3SG  tolerate-NEG  
  ‘S/he does not tolerate Nono’s visits.’  
7-25  /[bi-suur-u  no  lu-nai-ja]  za-tʰar-akʰui.  
3-PL-SUB  house  build-NMLZ-SUB  be_right-for.real-NEG.PERF  
  ‘They are not building the house right.’  
  (lit. Their building of the house is not right.)
The notional subjects of the nominalized verbs in the above nominalized clauses are marked with subject marker -a/-u. Thus, all arguments are coded just like clausal arguments, instead of as nominal modifiers in the above two nominalized clauses.

7.2.1.1.3 Sentence-like complement clauses

There are two types of sentence-like complement clauses in Bodo. Such clauses are complement clauses that are fully finite. The first type of complement clauses are (i) marked with case markers, and (ii) do not take any complementizer. The second type of sentence-like complement clause does not take any case marking. The clause in question is linked to the matrix clause with a complementizer, namely "huunna" ‘that’. Each clause type is discussed below.

7.2.1.1.3.1 Case marked sentence-like complement clauses

The complement clauses we have discussed so far are all non-finite in the sense the main verbs lack inflectional marking. We also find fully finite clauses functioning as complements. The finite complement clauses under consideration take case markers just like the nominalized clauses discussed above. The finite complement clauses under consideration are found mostly with speech and cognition verbs. The following example may be considered.

7-26  [railai-noi-ni    sigan  za-gun-k'Ou = nu]  
talk-NMLZ-GEN    before  happen-FUT-OBJ=FOC  

  bug-hor-k'au-bau-duug.

tell-send-sure-more-REAL

  ‘(He) assured that (the work) will be done before (we) talk.’

  [221:24.3]

The matrix verb in the above clause is bug ‘tell somebody something’. The speaker (also the subject) is not overtly mentioned in the above sentence. The object of the verb ‘tell’, i.e. the thing being told, is what within the bracket, which is ‘something will happen before there is a talk’. It may be noticed that the predicat of the
subordinate clause, namely, the verb za ‘happen’ is marked with the future marker -\textit{gun}, and thus is in a finite form. Since the subordinate clause is functioning as the object of the matrix clause, it is marked with the object marker -\textit{k\textit{ou}. A few more examples are provided below.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{7-27} \textit{[sengra] mansi-\textit{n}i gusu hom-\textit{t\textit{a-nanui} dum-nu\textit{u}}}
\begin{itemize}
\item young.man
\item person-\textit{GEN}
\item heart
\item hold-stay-\textit{NF}
\item keep-\textit{INF}
\end{itemize}
\textit{ha-bai t\textit{\textit{a-gun-k\textit{ou}}} nu-hur-\textit{a}}.
\begin{itemize}
\item can-\textit{PROG}
\item AUX-FUT-\textit{OBJ}
\item see-DIST-\textit{NEG}
\end{itemize}
\textit{‘(We) do not see that a young man can keep his heart under control.’} [214:19.6]
\item \textbf{7-28} \textit{[raja-k\textit{ou} [za\textit{ulia za-du\textit{n-k\textit{ou}} = nu}]}]
\begin{itemize}
\item queen-\textit{SUB}
\item king-\textit{OBJ}
\item mad
\item become-REAL-\textit{OBJ}=\textit{FOC}
\end{itemize}
\textit{san-bai.}
\begin{itemize}
\item think-PERF
\end{itemize}
\textit{‘The queen really thought that the king has gone mad.’} [961:2.128]
\item \textbf{7-29} \textit{[p\textit{\textit{alangi aru su\textit{ulu\textit{u}} t\textit{\textit{a-nai-k\textit{ou}} dabu}}]}
\begin{itemize}
\item commerce
\item and
\item education
\item say-NMLZ-\textit{OBJ}
\item still
\end{itemize}
\textit{sinai run\textit{\textit{\textit{u}}-ak\textit{\textit{\textit{u}}-k\textit{\textit{ou}} = nu} hum-za-\textit{jiu}.}
\begin{itemize}
\item recognize
\item know-\textit{NEG.PERF-OBJ}=\textit{FOC}
\item say-FAC-HAB
\end{itemize}
\textit{‘It may be said that (they) haven’t yet known the importance of commerce and education.’} [424: 2.46]
\end{itemize}

In Example (7-27), the matrix verb is \textit{nu} ‘see’ and the subordinate clause headed by the verb \textit{ha} ‘can, succeed’ is functioning as the object of the matrix verb. We have a finite auxiliary construction as the predicator, \textit{ha-bai t\textit{\textit{a-gun}} ‘can-\textit{PROG AUX-FUT’}. In Example (7-28), the matrix verb is \textit{san} ‘think’ and we have a finite
clause marked with the realis -duŋ functioning as the object of the matrix verb. It
may be noted that the notional subject of ‘becoming mad’, i.e. ‘the king’, is raised
to the object position of the matrix verb. Example (7-29) illustrates a finite
subordinate clause marked with -ak²ui functioning as an object complement
clause.

The use of perfect -bai in the above complement type is rare, although not
unattested.

7-30 dinui-sim gubaŋ gurrunguра za-bai-kʰou = nuŋ buŋ-za-swui.
today-until many literate happen-PERF-OBJ=FOC say-FAC-CS
‘It is possible to say that there are many literate people by now.’
[423:2.25]

7.2.1.1.3.2 S-like complement with humna ‘that’

The complement clauses connected with the subordinator humna are the most
sentence-like complement clauses. They are fully finite and not marked with any
kind of case markers. This type of S-like clauses is also found with speech and
cognition verbs. The subordinator humna ‘that’ transparently consists of the verb
hun ‘say’ and the non-final marker -na. The following examples illustrate the
complement clause type under consideration.

7-31 baglari-ja kʰotʰa siŋ-au hab-laŋ-nanuĩ
PN-SUB room inside-LOC enter-DIST-NF
[ma za-kʰu] humna sunŋ-bai.
what happen-INTER.PERF that ask-PERF
‘Entering into the room, Baglari asked what happened.’
[618: 23.23]
7-32  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[bitˤan-mun-a}  \quad \text{be}  \quad kˤurˤa-kˤou  \quad \text{rukˤa-ui}  \quad \text{mitˤi-nan-gou]}  \\
3.\text{HON-PL-SUB}  \quad \text{this matter-OBJ}  \quad \text{clear-ADVZ}  \quad \text{know-need-AFF}  \\
\text{huunna}  \quad \text{zauj}  \quad \text{san-uu.}  \\
\text{that}  \quad 1\text{PL}  \quad \text{think-HAB}  \\
\text{‘We think that they should know about this matter in detail.’}  \\
[540: 7.1]
\end{array}
\]

The complement clauses are bracketed and underlined. It will be observed that the verbs of the complement clauses are fully finite. The subordinator occurs following the subordinate clauses.

7.2.1.2  \textit{Adverbial clauses}

Adverbial clauses function as adverbs. They serve to modify the verb phrase of the main/matrix clause. The subordinate adverbial clauses are marked in various ways, for instance via – (i) suffix on the verb (which is clause final), (ii) single subordinators, (iii) correlative subordinators, and (iv) relator nouns. Each of these marking types is illustrated below.

7-33  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[nun}  \quad pˤui-ba]  \quad \text{ag}  \quad tˤan-\text{gun.}  \\
2\text{SG}  \quad \text{come-when}  \quad 1\text{SG}  \quad \text{go-FUT}  \\
\text{‘When you come, I will leave.’}
\end{array}
\]

7-34  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[ag}  \quad \text{zela/zebla}  \quad \text{nunˤ-kˤou}  \quad \text{luguw}  \quad \text{mun-uu]}  \\
1\text{SG}  \quad \text{when}  \quad 2\text{SG-OBJ}  \quad \text{friend get-HAB}  \\
\text{nun}  \quad \text{undui-tˤar-mun.}  \\
2\text{SG}  \quad \text{young-really-PAST}  \\
\text{‘When I met you, you were just a small kid.’}
\end{array}
\]

7-35  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[nun}  \quad \text{zebla}  \quad \text{bun-\text{gun}]}  \quad \text{obla}{^9}  \quad \text{ag}  \quad \text{mitˤi-gun.}  \\
2\text{SG}  \quad \text{when}  \quad \text{say-FUT}  \quad \text{then}  \quad 1\text{SG}  \quad \text{know-FUT}  \\
\text{‘When you say then I will come to know.’}
\end{array}
\]

\footnote{\text{Prosodically, the second part of the correlative subordinator belongs to the matrix clause.}}
7-36  an bi pʰui-nai-(ni) sigan-ao mun-pʰui-dun.  
1SG 3SG  come-NMLZ-GEN  front-LOC  get-come-REAL  
‘I reached before he came.’

We have temporal/conditional suffix  -ba in (7-33), temporal subordinator  
zela/zebla in (7-34), temporal correlative subordinator  zela/zebla… obla in (7-35), and the relator noun  sigan-ao marking the subordination of the adverbial clauses in 
(7-36). The locative case marker also functions as a subordinating suffix, as illustrated in 7-37 below.

7-37  gotʰosa-ja pʰui-nai-jao, bibou-wa muzan mun-bai.  
child-SUB  come-NMLZ-LOC  grandfather-SUB  good  get-PERF  
‘When the child comes (home), the grandfather feels very happy.’

While the subordinating suffix is fixed in its distribution, the lexical  
subordinators are variable in their distribution. The single subordinator can occur  
almost anywhere (between any major phrases – NP, VP, etc.) including the clause-  
initial and clause-final positions of the adverbial clause. We could restate (7-34) above alternatively as 7-38

7-38  [zela/zebla an nun-kenou luquu mun-wi] nun  
when 1SG 2SG-OBJ  friend  get-HAB  2SG  
undui-tʰar-mun.  
young-really-PAST  
‘When I met you, you were just a small kid.’

Or as 7-39

7-39  [an nun-kenou zela/zebla luquu mun-wi]  
1SG 2SG-OBJ when  friend  get-HAB  
nun  undui-tʰar-mun.  
2SG  young-really-PAST
‘When I met you, you were just a small kid.’

Or indeed, as 7-40

7-40  \[ aŋ \quad nuŋ-k^{h}ou \quad luqū \quad mun-u \quad zela/zebla \]

1SG  2SG-OBJ  friend  get-HAB  when

\[ nuŋ \quad undui-t^{h}ar-mun. \]

2SG  young-really-PAST

‘When I met you, you were just a small kid.’

We cannot use \( zela/zebla \) between \( luqū \) ‘friend’ and \( mun \) ‘get’, since they form a single phrasal unit (i.e. a conjunct verb construction).

The first element of the correlative subordinator within the adverbiacl clause
(including clause-initial and clause-final) can be moved around, just like the single subordinator. However, the second element of the correlative subordinator is preferred in front of the matrix clause, instead of inside the matrix clause.

A list of all subordinating morphemes (suffix and lexical) found in Bodo along with their basic function are presented below in Table 7.3. It may be noted that certain subordinating morphemes have alternative forms, such as -\( ba/-bla \). There is no semantic difference between these forms. The difference is mostly dialectal. The Kamrupian dialect uses only -\( ba \), while -\( bla \) is preferred in the standard dialect.

\textit{Table 7.3}

\textit{Subordinators in Bodo}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subordinating suffixes</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Subordinators (single and correlative)</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-( ba/-bu/a/ba/bla )</td>
<td>when, if</td>
<td>( zela/zebla )</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-( k^{h}ai )</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>( baidi )</td>
<td>like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinating suffixes</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Subordinators (single and correlative)</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lai</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>halaiui</td>
<td>to the extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ao/jao</td>
<td>when, where</td>
<td>zahate</td>
<td>so that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kʰali</td>
<td>on the day</td>
<td>natʰai</td>
<td>but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-se-jao-bu</td>
<td>even then</td>
<td>nojaba</td>
<td>otherwise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ba/bla-bu</td>
<td>even if</td>
<td>nagarui</td>
<td>without</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>because of</td>
<td>humba</td>
<td>then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nuu</td>
<td>purpose</td>
<td>humbabu</td>
<td>even then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sandī</td>
<td>until, as long as</td>
<td>onga/ongauui</td>
<td>in addition to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mani</td>
<td>as much as, as long as</td>
<td>lugu lugu</td>
<td>instantly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nui</td>
<td>in the manner</td>
<td>za za-ju</td>
<td>whatever happens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-za-sim</td>
<td>till, to the extent</td>
<td>VERB- lagí da-VERB</td>
<td>whether or not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-za-se</td>
<td>to the extent</td>
<td>zela/zebla…obla</td>
<td>when…then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-laba/lapʰa</td>
<td>without</td>
<td>zerui…erui</td>
<td>as…so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lasui</td>
<td>without</td>
<td>zeruo…bao</td>
<td>as is wherever is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nalai</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>-gun-kʰi…-a</td>
<td>whether or not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni-kʰrui…-uui</td>
<td>instead of</td>
<td>-babu…-abahu</td>
<td>either…or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-halagui</td>
<td>till</td>
<td>zikʰi -amanii</td>
<td>whatever may be the case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mar-nui</td>
<td>just as soon as</td>
<td>zeruikʰi za-ja</td>
<td>whatever may be the result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uui…-uui</td>
<td>continuously</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-grum…-gra</td>
<td>instantly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-si…si</td>
<td>impending,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinating suffixes</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Subordinators (single and correlative)</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni  $t^{b}ak^{b}ai$</td>
<td>for that reason</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-badi/baidi</td>
<td>like</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gara</td>
<td>without</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-manu</td>
<td>to whatever extent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sara</td>
<td>without</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-$k^{b}ru...ui$</td>
<td>rather than</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lo</td>
<td>just, only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-malai</td>
<td>even if</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-balai</td>
<td>if already</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lai-nai / -gu-lai-nai</td>
<td>to the extreme</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sur-lai-nu</td>
<td>contrary to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gru-muna</td>
<td>instantly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-so...-so</td>
<td>forever</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-se ...-nanui</td>
<td>in addition to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb morphology of the adverbial clauses also varies a great deal. We find bare stem in some adverbial clauses, while in others we find inflected verbal forms. The range of verbal forms found in the adverbial clauses is listed and illustrated below.
(a) Bare stems

7-41  [nuaŋ pʰuí-ba]  aŋ  tʰaŋ-gun.

2SG  come-when  1SG  go-FUT
‘When you come, I will leave.’

(b) Nominalized stems

7-42  bi  liŋ-hor-naikʰai  aŋ  pʰuí-diŋ.

3SG  call-DIST-NMLZ-because  1SG  come-REAL
‘I came because he invited me.’

(c) Inflected stems

7-43  aŋ  zela  nuaŋ-kʰou  luquu  mun-wu

1SG  when  2SG-OBJ  friend  get-HAB

[nuaŋ  undtai-tʰar-mun.]
2SG  young-really-PAST
‘When I met you, you were just a small kid.’

On the basis of their semantics, adverbial clauses have been classified into the following types in Bodo.

(1) Time clause
(2) Place clause
(3) Purpose clause
(4) Cause/reason clause
(5) Conditional clause
(6) Result clause
(7) Supposition or concessive clause
(8) Comparison clause (clause of degree and clause of manner)

In the following section we will characterize each of the above types.
7.2.1.2.1 Time adverbial clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses have a temporal sequential relationship with the main clause. There are multiple ways in which a temporal adverbial clause indicates temporal relation – subordinating suffixation, subordinator, and correlative subordinators in Bodo.

**Suffix -ba/-bla:**

This suffix occurs with a bare stem when it codes a temporal relation between two clauses. The event of the matrix clause takes place during the event expressed by the adverbial clause. This suffix has a conditional interpretation when it occurs with an inflected stem.

7-44 [nuŋ pʰui-bla] zaŋ wŋkʰam za-gasimun doŋ-mun.

2SG come-when 1PL rice eat-PROG AUX-PAST

‘We were taking meal, when you came.’

**Suffix -kʰali:**

This suffix denotes ‘on the day’ and specifies that the event in the matrix clause takes place on the same day as the event of the adverbial clause. This suffix occurs with (i) a bare stem, and (ii) future gym. Consider the following examples.

7-45 nuŋ pʰui-kʰali aŋ na gur-nuŋ tʰaŋ-duŋ-mun.

2SG come-on.the.day 1SG fish fish-PURP go-REAL-PAST

‘On the day you came, I went to fish.’

7-46 nuŋ pʰui-gym-kʰali bi no-ao = nuŋ gui-ja.

2SG come-FUT-on.the.day 3SG house=FOC neg.exist-NEG

‘On the day you were to come, he was not at home.’
**Subordinator zela/zebla:**

This subordinator codes temporal relation between two clauses. The event of the matrix clause takes place during the event of the adverbial clause. The adverbial clause connected by this subordinator clause is inflected.

7-47  an zela nuŋ-kʷuo luqwu mun-u nuŋ undui-tʰar-mun.

1SG when 2SG-OBJ friend get-HAB 2SG young-really-PAST

‘When I met you, you were just a small kid.’

7-48  nuŋ zebla undu-duŋ zuŋ sinema nai-bai tʰa-duŋ.

2SG when sleep-REAL we movie watch-PROG AUX-REAL

‘When you were sleeping, we were watching movie.’

**Correlative zela/zebla … obla:**

This correlative subordinator also connects two clauses temporally in the same way as the subordinator zela/zebla. The adverbial clause connected by this correlative is also inflected for the inflectional morphemes described in Chapter 5.

7-49  zela nuŋ pʰui-ju  obla an undu-bai-mun.

when 2SG come-HAB then 1SG sleep-PERF-PAST

‘When you came in I had already slept.’

**Locative -aα:**

This suffix is used as a temporal subordinator on adverbial clauses. It occurs with a nominalized adverbial clause marked with the nominalizer -nai. Adverbial clauses marked with the locative -aα also have a cause relation with the matrix clause. This is illustrated by Examples 7-50a-b.

7-50  (a)  nuŋ tʰa-nai-jao = nu ti  be kʰaman-i-kʷou

2SG stay-NMLZ-LOC=FOC 1SG this work-OBJ
pʰur-zub-naŋ-gyun.

CAUS-end-need-FUT

‘I will have to finish this work, when you are here.’

(b) detsuŋ-a ahom raza-ni gezen za-ui-jao
PN-SUB PN king-gen low be-neg-loc

suŋəmung-a dimapur-kʰou gaghub-u.
PN-SUB PN-OBJ attack-AFF

‘Suhungmung attacked Dimapur when Detchung refused to bow down (before him).’

Relator nouns:

Several relator nouns function as temporal subordinators in Bodo. The verb of the
adverbial clause is marked with the nominalizer -nai and the genitive marker -ni
(optionally). Consider the following examples.

7-51 aŋ bi pʰui-nai-(ni) sigan-ao mun-pʰui-duŋ.
  1SG  3SG come-NMLZ-GEN front-LOC get-come-REAL
  ‘I reached before he came.’

7-52 bi aŋ pʰui-nai-(ni) un-ao tʰaj-duŋ.
  3SG  1SG come-NMLZ-GEN back-LOC go-REAL
  ‘He left after I came.’

7-53 bi mitʰiŋ za-nai-(ni) gezer-ao =nu tʰaj-duŋ.
  3SG meeting happen-NMLZ-GEN middle-LOC =FOC go-REAL
  ‘He left in the middle of the meeting.’

7.2.1.2.2 Locative Adverbial Clauses

Locative Adverbial clauses also can be coded in multiple ways in Bodo – with the
lexical item zerao ‘where’, with locative -ao, and with a relative clause structure.

Subordinator zerao:
This is a borrowed subordinator *zi* from Assamese and the Bodo locative *-ao*. The segment *r* is probably an epenthetic element of some kind. The adverbial clause linked with this subordinator specifies the place where the event of the matrix clause takes place or used as a spatial reference point. The adverbial clause is marked with inflectional morphemes.

7-54  

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{nu} & \quad \text{zero} & \quad \text{t}^h\text{a}e & & \text{y} & & \text{w}, & & \text{a} & = & \text{bu} & & \text{t}^h\text{a} & & \text{p}^h\text{a} & & \text{gu} & & \text{m}.
\end{align*}
\]

2SG where go-HAB 1SG=also go-along.with-FUT

‘Wherever you go, I will accompany you.’

**Locative** *-ao*:

The locative occurs with a nominalized verb and marks a spatial relation between the clauses. It may be noted that this structure can be interpreted as having a temporal relation (discussed in Section 7.2.1.2.2 above).

7-55  

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{nu} & & \text{t}^h\text{a} & & \text{na} & & \text{i} & & \text{a} & - & \text{ao} & & \text{bostu} & & \text{ni} & & \text{dam} & - & \text{p}^h\text{u} & & \text{a} & & \text{ma} & & \text{baidi} & ?
\end{align*}
\]

you stay-NMLZ-LOC thing-GEN price-PL-SUB what manner

‘What is the price like, where you live?’

**Relative clause structure:**

An adverbial clause with *-ao* can be turned into a relative clause by adding the noun denoting place *-zaiga* ‘place’. Thus we will have –

7-56  

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{nu} & & \text{t}^h\text{a} & & \text{na} & & \text{a} & & \text{i} & & \text{zaiga} & & \text{jao} & & \text{bostu} & & \text{ni} & & \text{dam} & - & \text{p}^h\text{u} & & \text{r} & & \text{a} & & \text{ma} & & \text{baidi} & ?
\end{align*}
\]

you stay-NMLZ place-LOC thing-GEN price-PL-SUB

ma baidi ?

what manner

‘What is the price like at the place you live?’

7.2.1.2.3  Conditional adverbial clauses
There are four different types of conditional statements expressed through adverbial clauses – all of which are marked with the suffix -ba/-bla (which we have seen as a temporal adverbial marker in Section 7.2.1.2.1). The different types of conditional interpretations are distinguished on the basis of the verb morphology. For our purpose, we have distinguished ‘real’, ‘hypothetical’, ‘counterfactual’, and ‘concessive conditionals’.

7.2.1.2.3.1 Real conditional

Real conditionals are conditionals about ‘real events’ which are either taking place now, took place in the past, or generally takes place from time to time.

7-57  da  okʰa  ha-daŋ-.ba  bi-sur  si-zə-bai.
    now  rain  rain-REAL-if  3-PL  wet-happen-PERF
    ‘If it is raining now, they got wet.’

The above sentence will be used in a situation in which the speaker has reasons to believe that it is actually raining at the time of speech (such as someone told him/her). On the basis of the knowledge that it is raining, s/he infers/claims that someone got wet. Similarly, in the following example the speaker has reason to believe that the addressee is coming (usually told by addressee himself/herself). Based on the knowledge that the addressee is coming, the speaker expresses his/her intentions to leave. Thus, the real adverbial conditional clauses express a ‘real’, not imaginary, condition, and the matrix clause expresses the probable consequence of the fulfillment of the condition.

7-58  nuŋ-suɾ  pʰui-gun-ba  zuŋ  tʰaŋ-nu-su.i.
    2-PL  come-FUT-if  1PL  go-INT-CS
    ‘If you are coming, we are going to leave.’

The following examples illustrate a perfect and a generic conditional respectively.

7-59  bi  tʰaŋ-bai-ba  nuŋ  tʰaŋ-nuŋ-la.
    3SG  go-PERF-if  2SG  go-need-DISCON
'If he has gone, you don’t have to go.'

7-60  nui-bao  ser-(u)-ba,  kompitar-a  on  za-gun.

here-LOC  press-HAB-if  computer-SUB  start  happen-FUT

‘If you press here, the computer will start.’

The following conditional has to do with intention of the addressee.

7-61  nuug  tʰa getenv-ba  mabar  tʰa getenv-du.

2SG  go-INF-if  quick  go-IMP

‘If you want to go, go quickly.’

It may be noted that the conditional adverbial clauses are all marked with inflectional morphemes.

7.2.1.2.3.2 Unreal conditionals

Unreal conditionals are conditionals that refer to events that might happen in the future, or didn’t/couldn’t happen in the past. The following examples may be considered.

7-62  aŋni-jao  ese  pʰuisa  burza  tʰa.getenv-mum-ba

1SG-GEN-LOC  little  money  more  stay-NMLZ-PAST-if

gari  gong-se  la-gou-mum.

car  CL-one  take-DESID-PAST

‘If I had at little more money, I would buy a car.’

The above sentence expresses a hypothetical situation, an alternative world, in which the speaker would buy a car provided he had money. Similarly the following example expresses a hypothetical situation in which the speaker wouldn’t live in a certain place provided he had a job.

7-63  aŋ  sakʰri  mun-nai-mum-ba  be  zaiga-jao  tʰa-ja-mum.
1SG job get-NMLZ-PAST-if this place-LOC live-NEG-PAST

‘If had a job, I would not live at this place.’

The following examples express situations which didn’t or couldn’t happen.

7-64 okʰa ha-nai-mun-ba aŋ berai-nu u tʰaŋ-nai nəng-a-mun.
to.rain-NMLZ-PAST-if 1SG walk-INF go-NMLZ COP-NEG-PAST

‘If it had rained, I wouldn’t have gone out.’

7-65 apʰa-ja tʰa-nai-mun-ba zuŋ tʰaŋ-nu u ha-gou-mun
father-SUB stay-AFF-PAST-reason 1PL go-INF can-AFF-PAST

‘If father had been here, we could have gone out (and enjoyed).’

It may be noted that the verbs in all the adverbial clauses above are inflected with -nai-mun, and the ones in the matrix clause are inflected with -gou-mun (in the affirmative) or -a-mun (in the negative). A hypothetical (situation that might happen) or a counterfactual (situation that couldn’t/didn’t happen) situation interpretation is dependent on the context. The following example is ambiguous between a hypothetical and counterfactual interpretation.

7-66 aŋ bi-kʰou lugu mun-nai-mun-ba batʰra-kʰou
1SG 3SG-OBJ meet-NMLZ-PAST-if matter-OBJ
bun-nu ha-gou-mun.
tell-INF can-MOD-PAST

‘If I had met him, I would have told him about the matter’

‘If I met him, I would tell him about the matter.’

A hypothetical interpretation is preferred when we have just -nai-ba (instead of -nai-mun-ba) in the adverbial clause. Consider the following examples.

money exist-NMLZ-if rice little take-happen-MOD-PAST
‘If I had some money, I would take some rice.’

We have a concessive conditional interpretation when we add the ‘addition’ marker 
-bu following the subordinator -ba/bla.

7-68 okʰa ha-bla-bu bu zuŋ hatʰai-jao tʰai-gun.
to.rain-if-even 1PL market-LOC go-FUT
‘We will go to the market even if it rains.’

7.2.1.2.4 Reason Adverbial Clauses

A reason adverbial clause expresses a reason because of which the event of the matrix clause takes place. Reason adverbial clauses are expressed with the following subordinating suffixes: -kʰai, -nalai, locative -ao, and genitive -ni.

Subordinating suffix -kʰai:

This suffix occurs with a nominalized verb marked with -nai, the future marker -gun, and the negative marker -a. The following examples illustrate.

7-69 gotʰo gab-nai-kʰai bima-ja gaikʰer dou-duŋ.
child cry-NMLZ-BECAUSE mother-SUB milk feed-REAL
‘The mother is feeding milk because the child is crying.’

7-70 bi liŋ-hor-nai-kʰai aŋ pʰui-duŋ.
3SG call-DIST-NMLZ-BECAUSE 1SG come-REAL
‘I came because he invited me.’

Suffix -nalai:

This suffix occurs with inflected verbs, as illustrated below.

7-71 [bi-sur tʰai-bai-nalai] zuŋ pʰui-bai.
3-PL go-PERF-BECAUSE 1PL come-PERF
‘Because they left, so we came.’
7-72 [pʰui-bai-nalai] hab-laŋ-kʰa-nu-sui san-nanui
come-PERF-BECAUSE enter-DIST-at.once-INT-CS think-NF
hab-laŋ-nai za-bai.
enter-DIST-NMLZ happen-PERF
‘Since (we) came (here), thinking (we) would visit (you), we visited you.’
[221:8.2]

The suffix -nalai occurs with perfect -bai in the bracketed reason adverbial clauses in the above examples.

Locative -ao:

The locative suffix is also used to code reason. It occurs with nominalized verb form marked with -nai, and the future morpheme -gun, as illustrated below.

7-73 bi pʰui-nai-jao zuŋ-ha muzaŋ za-bai.
3SG come-NMLZ-LOC 1PL-LOC good be-PER
‘It is good for us that he came.’ (lit. At his coming our good became.)

7-74 bi-ni buŋ-nai-jao zuŋ raha mun-duŋ.
3SG-GEN say-NMLZ-LOC 1PL relief get-REAL
‘We got relief because of his words.’

7-75 bi-sur tʰan-gun-ao zuŋ manu tʰan-bao-nu?
3-PL go-FUT-LOC 1PL why go-again-INT
‘Since they are going, why do we go (there) again?’

Genitive -ni:

The genitive -ni is also grammaticalized as a reason subordinating suffix. It occurs with nominalized subordinate verbs marked with -nai or negative subordinate clauses marked with negative -ui.

7-76 bisur sikʰao kʰao-nai-ni pulis-zuŋ hom-za-duŋ.
3PL thief steal-NMLZ-GEN police-INSTR catch-PASS-REAL
‘They are caught by the police for thieving.’

7-77 okʰa ha-ui-ni mansi-pʰ’r-a mai-kʰou-nu gai-nu
to.rain-NEG-GEN man-PL-SUB paddy-OBJ-FOC plant-INF
ha-ja-sui.
be.able-NEG-CS
‘People couldn’t plant rice due to lack of rain.’

7.2.1.2.5 Purpose clause

Purpose adverbial clauses express the purpose of the event of the matrix clause. Purpose clauses are marked in two ways – with suffix -nuru and by using the subordinator t\textsuperscript{b}ak\textsuperscript{b}ai.

**Suffix -nuru**

This morpheme is similar to the dative/recipient marker -nuru. This morpheme occurs with the bare stem of the adverbial clause. The following examples illustrate.

7-78 \textit{aj} be na-k\textsuperscript{b}ou za-nuru lab\textsuperscript{b}u-dum\textsuperscript{r}.
1SG this fish eat-PURP bring-REAL
‘I brought this fish to eat.’

7-79 gami-jao emp\textsuperscript{b}ou lat\textsuperscript{b}a za-nuru aj
village-LOC insect caterpillar eat-PURP 1SG
somsom t\textsuperscript{b}aj-ur-mun.
now.and.then go-HAB-PAST
‘I used to go to the village from time to time in order to eat caterpillar.’
[458: 2.74]

**Combination of suffix -nuru and the subordinator t\textsuperscript{b}ak\textsuperscript{b}ai:**

The suffix -nuru occurs on a bare stem and the subordinator t\textsuperscript{b}ak\textsuperscript{b}ai ‘in order to’, which functions as a relator noun elsewhere, occur between the two clauses. The subordinator t\textsuperscript{b}ak\textsuperscript{b}ai transparently contains the reason subordinating suffix -k\textsuperscript{b}ai. The following examples may be considered.
7-80  *an*  be  *na-kʰou*  *za-nu*  *tʰakʰai*  *labu-duŋ.*

1SG  this  fish-OBJ  eat-PURP  in.order.to  bring-REAL

‘I brought this fish in order to eat.’

7-81  *musou-musa*  *gum-nu*  *tʰakʰai*  be  *pʰurʰar-kʰou*  
cattle  tend-PURP  in.order.to  this  field-OBJ  

*lan-dan*  *duŋ-duŋ.*  
open  keep-REAL

‘(They) kept this field open for tending cattle.’  [253: 4.4]

7.2.1.2.6  Absolutive clause

Absolutive adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses linked with a more ‘general’  
subordinator, whose interpretation is dependent on the context or the clauses  
connected. In other words, the subordinator is more grammaticalized, with very  
little lexical content. The subordinator under consideration is the expression  
*hun-na*  ‘say-NF’. It is also used as a complementizer (see Section 7.2.1.1.3.2). This  
expression transparently consists of the verb *hun*  ‘say’ and the non-final marker  
-na (see Section 7.2.3 on clause chaining). However, this expression is used as a  
linker of two clauses instead of as a predicator. Moreover, there is no meaning of  
‘saying’ when it is used as a linker. This expression occurs following the adverbial  
clause and the position is fixed. The adverbial clause connected with this  
expression is marked with finite morphology. Various kinds of interpretations are  
illustrated below. We will gloss *hunna* as ‘SUBOR(dinator)’.

(a) Purpose interpretation

7-82  *[tʰab  ham-tʰaw]  *hunna]  *bima-ja  *gorʰo-kʰou*  
soon  get.well-OPT  SUBOR  mother-SUB  child-OBJ  

*oza-n-ao  *lan-dan.*  
healer-GEN-LOC  take.away-REAL

‘The mother took the child to the healer so that he gets well soon.’
(b) Reason interpretation

7-83  aŋ  suima-ja  or-guñ  hunna  tʰaŋ-a-swí.  
₁SG  dog-SUB  bite-FUT  SUBOR  go-NEG-CS
‘Thinking that the dog would bite, I did not go (inside).

7.2.1.2.7  Some additional Adverbial clause types

In this section we shall deal with about some additional types of adverbial clauses very briefly.

**Suffix -ząse ‘as much as/as long as’:**

This suffix consists of the versatile verb za ‘happen’ and the suffix -se
‘about/around’. It can be glossed as ‘as much as’ and ‘so that’.

7-84  (a)  nunj-sur  tʰaŋ-nai  sigaj  [ha-ząse]  za-na  la-kʰa.  
₂-PL  go-NMLZ  before  can-as.much.as  eat-NF  take-at.once
‘(You) eat as much as (you) can before leaving.’

(b)  bi-kʰou  mansi-pʰur-a  tʰai-ząse  bu-duŋ.  
₃SG-OBJ  man-PL-SUB  die-as.much.as  beat-REAL
‘People beat him to death.’

(c)  bi-kʰou  lazi  mun-ząse  rai-naj-gou.  
₃SG-OBJ  shame  get-as.much.as  scold-need-AFF
‘We should scold him so that he is shamed.’

**Suffix -zasim ‘until/till’ (temporal/spatial):**

This suffix also consists of the verb za ‘happen, become’ and the comparative suffix -sim ‘as much as’. However, as a subordinator it means ‘until or till’.

7-85  sakʰri  mun-zasim  asrom-ao-nu  bi-ni  ziu  
job  get-until  orphanage-LOC-FOC  ₃SG-GEN  life

dahar-a  buhuiri-nu  la-duŋ-mun.  
current-SUB  flow-INF  take-REAL-PAST
‘His days were flowing in the orphanage until he got a job.’

**Suffix -k'rui ‘instead of’:**

This suffix occurs with verbs marked with the nominalizer -nai and the genitive -ni. This structure resembles the structure of a relator noun construction. However, -k’rui is now phonologically bound, unlike the following subordinator.

7-86 bui zaiga-jao t'ay-nai-ni-k’rui t’ay-uni-ja = nu
that place-LOC go-NMLZ-GEN-instead.of go-NEG-SUB-FOC sab-sin za-gun.
be.good-COMP be-FUT

‘It will be better (for us) not to go to that place instead of going.’

**Subordinator onga/ongawii ‘in addition to’:**

This subordinator behaves like a relator noun in that it takes a nominalized clause (marked with -nai) marked with the genitive morpheme -ni.

7-87 aŋ p’orai-nai-ni ongawii zebu k’amanii mao-wa.
1SG study-NMLZ-GEN besides any work do-NEG

‘I do not do anything other than studying.’

**Subordinator baidi ‘like, as if’:**

This subordinator occurs with a nominalized subordinate clause marked with -nai.

7-88 aŋ bi-k’ou lazi-nai baidi nu-duŋ.
1SG 3SG-OBJ be.shy-NMLZ like see-REAL

‘I think that s/he is being shy.’
7-89  *aŋ  buŋ-nai  baǐdi  kʰalam.*
1SG  tell-NMLZ  like  do
‘Do as I say.’

7.2.2  Coordination

Coordination refers to the combination of two or more syntactic units of the same type, such as two or more NPs, PPs, VPs, clauses and so on. Our discussion of coordination in this chapter will be confined only to clausal coordination in Bodo. Clausal coordination is generally divided into conjunction, disjunction, and adversative coordination. We discuss all coordinating devices that combine two equal clauses in Bodo in the following sections.

7.2.2.1  Conjunction

Multiple clauses of equal status (namely finite clauses, defined on the basis of verb morphology) can be simply juxtaposed to form a multi-clausal sentence. The semantic relation among the clauses may be a ‘coupling’ non-temporal relation or a sequential relation based on the nature of the connected events. The following examples may be considered.

7-90  *bi  pʰwi-bai,  uŋkʰam  za-bai,  undu-bai.*
3SG  come-PERF  rice  eat-PERF  sleep-PERF
‘He came, ate, and went to bed.’

7-91  *bi  gele-jiu,  musa-jiu,  ronza-jiu.*
3SG  play-HAB  dance-HAB  have.fun-HAB
‘S/he plays, dances, and does lots of fun.’

We have three clauses with finite verbs – marked with the perfect *-bai* in (7-90) and habitual *-u* in (7-91). All three clauses share the same subject, which is thus omitted in the last two clauses. It may be noted that there is no connecting morpheme, bound or free, between the clauses. It is possible to have a sequential
interpretation in (7-90), but we do not necessarily have to have such an interpretation. We do not have any type of sequential relation in (7-91).

Bodo has borrowed a coordinator from Assamese aru (< aru ‘and’ Assamese; our ‘and’ Hindi) and is now very commonly used. It is prepositive to the final coordinand. Consider the following examples.

7-92 ruparam-a zirai-jiu aru bug-uu.

PN-SUB sit-HAB and say-HAB

‘Ruparam sits and speaks.’

Use of the coordinator with every coordinand is not preferred, thus the following example sounds somewhat unusual.

7-93 bi gele-jiu, aru mwsa-jiu, aru roņza-jiu.

3SG play-HAB and dance-HAB and have.fun-HAB

‘S/he plays, dances, and does lots of fun.’

A transparently derived form from a more complex structure, umphrai ‘and then’, is used as a coordinator in conjunctive coordination. This form contains the lexical item pʰrai ‘from’. The use of this form is illustrated below.

7-94 golhaŋgra za-naí som-au uŋkʰam gepʰe,

disease.type happen-NMLZ time-LOC rice soft.rice
sɔŋkʰri, haizej batʰun =lo za-huu naŋ-gou,
salt ginger chutney eat-GIVE need-AFF
umpʰrai duai gudunʃu lwm-huu naŋ-gou.
and.then water hot drink-GIVE need-AFF

‘When one has a throat infection, (s/he) should be fed only soft rice, salt, and ginger chutney, and then (s/he) should be given hot water (to drink).’

(290: 45.5)
7.2.2.2 Disjunction

Disjunctive coordination is formed with a form that is transparently derived from a verbal expression. The form noṣaba/noṣabla consists of the copulative verb noṣ, the negative morpheme -a, and the temporal/conditional subordinator ba/bla.

However, the form noṣaba/noṣabla does not have any predicative function when it is used as a disjunctive connective. The following example may be noted.

7-95 nuṣ pʰwi-du noṣaba be-ao = nuu tʰa-du.

2SG come-IMP or else this-LOC=FOC stay-IMP

‘You come or stay where you are.’

7.2.2.3 Adversative coordination

Adversative coordination is formed with the coordinator naṭʰai ‘but’ which is prepositioned to the second coordinand, as illustrated below.

7-96 bi aŋ-kʰou buŋ-duŋ-mum naṭʰai aŋ mani-ja-kʰui.

3SG 1SG-OBJ say-REAL-PAST but 1SG obey-NEG-NEG.PERF

‘He indeed told me but I didn’t listen to him.’

7.2.3 Clause chaining

So far we have talked about complex clause constructions and coordinated clause constructions, which are found in most languages. A third type of multi-clause construction, namely clause chaining, is a characteristic feature of Tibeto-Burman languages. In a clause chaining structure, multiple clauses are chained together to express a sequence of connected events. In such a chained structure, only one clause is finite, and the rest are non-finite in one way or another. The non-final clauses are often called medial clauses or non-final clauses and the finite clause is called the final clause. The non-final clauses in Bodo are not marked with any of
the inflectional morphology. It takes only one of two clause linking devices called
non-final markers, namely -na and -nanui. The final clause, which is final in the
sequence, is marked with all TAM, negative, and mood inflections. All clauses
share the subject argument; a different subject is not allowed. The subject is
mentioned overtly only once, either in the initial clause or the sentence final
clause. The following examples illustrate.

7-97 (a) laogi-ja waŋk’am za-na skul-ao t’ay-bai.
PSub rice eat-NF school-LOC go-PERF
‘Having eaten rice, Laogi went to school.’

(b) ap’na-ja hat’ai-nip’rai p’ui-nanui undu-bai.
father-SUB market-ABL come-NF sleep-PERF
‘Having returned from the market father slept.’

7.2.4 Relative Clause constructions

The final multi-clause construction we shall deal with is the relative clause
construction. A relative clause construction involves a clause that modifies the
head noun of an argument NP. The modifying clause is called relative clause,
which can be functionally defined as a subordinate clause which delimits the
reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation
described by the RC (Dryer 2007: 206). The NP being modified by the relative
clause will be referred to as NPmat, and the role of the NPmat within the relative
clause will be called NPrel (following Dryer 2007). For example, in the following
English example, the NPmat is The man and its role is the subject of the matrix
verb shouting. The NPmat, however, has a different role within the relative clause
– it has an object relation with the verb biting. The role/relation is called the NPrel.
NPrel is marked in English with the help of the relative pronouns. Thus, we know
that the NPrel in the following example is the subject, since who is usually the
subject form of the relative pronoun.

The man [who the dog was biting] was shouting.
The above example illustrates an object NPrel. Languages have constraints as to what kind of grammatical functions an NPrel can bear in the relative clause. According to the **Accessibility Hierarchy** introduced by E. L. Keenan and Comrie (1977), we have the following hierarchy, which states that if in a given language NPrel can bear a given grammatical function, it can also bear all functions that are higher on the hierarchy.

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object >
Oblique > Genitive > Object of comparison

In Bodo, we find NPrel only on Subject and Object relations, as illustrated in (7-98).

7-98  
\[ \text{ag} \quad [\text{muija} \quad p^{hui-nai}] \quad \text{mansi-k\text{-}ou} \quad \text{sinai-ju}. \]

1SG yesterday come-REL person-OBJ know-HAB

‘I know the person who came yesterday.’

The bracketed relative clause modifies the object argument *mansi* ‘person’ of the matrix verb *sinai* ‘know/recognize’. The role of the NPmat *mansi* ‘person’ in the relative clause is that of a subject. In other words, *mansi* ‘person’ is the notional subject of the subordinate verb *p^{hui}* ‘come’. It may be noted that unlike in English, there is no marking in Bodo that indicates the grammatical role of the NPrel.

7-99  
\[ [\text{zun}\quad \text{muija} \quad \text{labu-nai}] \quad \text{dau-a} \quad t^{hui-bai}. \]

we yesterday bring-REL bird-SUB die-PERF

‘The bird which we brought yesterday died.’

The bracketed relative clause modifies the subject argument of the verb *t^{hui}* ‘die’, namely *dau* ‘bird’. The NPmat *dau* has an object role in the relative clause. In other words, it is the notional object of the subordinate verb *labu* ‘bring’. The following example illustrates a locative NPrel.
7-100 *nuŋ* tʰa-nai  *no-a*  *birat*  *muzan̄*

2SG  stay-REL  house-SUB  very good

‘The house you live in is very beautiful.’

Bodo has borrowed relative constructions from Assamese, which can have a larger number of NPrels. The borrowed constructions have relative pronouns which code the grammatical role/relation of the NPrel. Another difference between the native and the borrowed constructions is that in the borrowed constructions the relative clause is not embedded, they are adjoined relative clauses in that they occur outside the NP. Consider the following examples.

7-101 *[muñja z̥ai/zai mansi-a pʰui-duŋ]  be mansi-ja tʰui-bai*

yesterday  RP  person-SUB  come-REAL  this  person-SUB  die-PERF

‘The person who came yesterday passed away.’

7-102 *[muñja zai-kʰou aŋ liŋ-duŋ-mun]  be mansi-ja tʰui-bai*

yesterday  RP-OBJ  1SG  call-REAL-PAST  this  person-SUB  die-PERF

‘The person whom I called yesterday died.’

7-103 *[aŋ zai-ni pʰui-wa laŋ-duŋ-mun]  be mansi-ja tʰui-bai*

1SG  RP-GEN  money  take-REAL-PAST  this  person-SUB  die-PERF

‘The person from whom I borrowed money died.’

7-104 *[zer-ao  nuŋ  tʰaŋ-nu  san-duŋ]  be zaiga-ja*

RP-LOC  2SG  go-INF  think-REAL  that  place-SUB  bi-ni pʰrai  zuubur  guzan.

this-ABL  very  far

‘The place you want to go is very far from here.’

It may be noticed that in each relative clause we have a relative pronoun z̥ai/zai, which is case marked according to the grammatical relation of the NPrel. Thus, we have a subject NPrel in (7-101), an object NPrel in (7-102), a genitive NPrel in (7-103) and a locative NPrel in (7-104). Moreover, it is further noteworthy that the
relative clause is outside the proper NP in that it is followed by the demonstrative which refers back to the relative clause.

The relative clauses we have seen so far are all headed and head-external. There are also head-internal and headless relative clauses in Bodo. The following examples may be considered.

7-105 *gao gai-nai oua-k$hou dan-hu$a bihamzu$a*

self plant-NMLZ bamboo-OBJ cut-CAUS-NEG daughter.in.law-SUB

‘The daughter-in-law does not let (one) cut the bamboo that (she) planted herself.’

(Family Treasure, Part 2, 1.35)

7-106 *[p$h$p$-a-mun-ha musou hor-nai-ja-nal]* birat

father-PL-LOC cow send-NMLZ-SUB-FOC a.lot

muzag muzag musou barai-bai.
good RED cow increase-PERF

‘The cow that (her) father’s family sent gave even better cows.’

(Family Treasure, Part 1, 1.12)

7-107 *[qaj muija guliui-nai-ja]* da=bu sa-gasinu dog.

1SG yesterday fall-NOMZ-SUB now=FOC pain-PROG AUX

‘My falling yesterday is still hurting me.’

Example (7-105) illustrates a head external relative clause, in which the bracketed nominalised clause modifies the noun *oua ‘bamboo’*. The relative clause generally precedes the head noun in Bodo. Example (7-106) illustrates a head internal relative clause, in which the head noun *musou ‘cow’* occurs within the nominalised clause. It may be noted that we are talking about the cow, not the act of sending the cow, in which case it will be simply a nominalised clause functioning as subject argument. Thus, the word for cow is the subject argument, not the nominalised clause. Example (7-107) can be analysed as a headless relative clause. It basically means ‘something is hurting’. In that case, this ‘something’ has
7.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we looked at the distribution of various verb forms (i.e., inflectional
forms in each type were illustrated. We also identified four different types of
complement clauses, each of which was shown to contain a different verb form.

Infinitival complement clauses are characterized with a verb form marked with the
infinitive suffix -nz. Nominalized complement clauses are characterized by a
nominalized verb form marked with -nz as well as with a clause structure that
varies from an NP-like structure to a clause-like structure. The sentence-like

The bracketed relative clause is referring to a woman who was left in the forest.
and that woman is the mother of the son being referred to by the subject argument.
and the woman in the entire sentence. Thus, woman is understood as head which is
being modified by the relative clause, and we have a headless relative clause.
Thus, the sense of body is implicit, not overtly mentioned. Therefore, it is a
headless relative clause which modifies an unspecified noun. A much clearer
example is the following:

7-108 zu-nunui [bui bukong buu dun-zu-nunui]
be-NN family-LOC that forest-LOC
physical learn-PERF
son-SUB smartness
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complement clauses are characterized by finite verbs marked with the inflectional morphemes discussed in Chapter 5.

Adverbial clauses were also shown to be characterized by a wide range of verb forms. We looked at a wide range of adverbial clause types – temporal, locative, conditional, reason, purpose, absolutive and others types. Some of these were shown to be more adjoined in structure with respect to the matrix clause, while others were seen as more tightly connected to the matrix clause. For instance, we saw many adverbial clause types which are connected through subordinators or other subordinating suffixes. However, there are also some adverbial clauses which are marked as participants of the verb, namely the locative marked temporal/reason and the genitive marked reason clauses. The range of verb forms was also shown to be very wide. First, we saw bare stems being used in the temporal/conditional clauses. Secondly, we saw nominalized verb forms marked with -nai in various adverbial clause types, such as the reason adverbial clauses marked with subordinating suffix -kʰai, the case marked temporal and reason adverbial clauses, and others. Finally, finite verb forms were seen in many adverbial clause types, especially the ones connected to the matrix clause with a subordinator. Co-ordinated clauses were shown as basically characterized with a finite verb. While **chained clauses** are characterized by verb forms consisting of bare stems, which are marked with the non-final markers -na and -namai, relative clauses in Bodo are structurally nominalized clauses marked with the nominalizer -nai. However, the borrowed relative clause constructions, which are more adjoined in structure, are characterized with finite verbs.

This chapter concludes the structural investigation of Bodo verb – its morphological structure and syntactic distribution. The discussion will now shift from a descriptive concern thus far to an applied perspective on the verb material of Bodo. The main question we will be concerned with in the next chapter namely, Chapter 8, is the need for meaningful literacy efforts in mother-tongue education. Within the larger context of such literacy efforts, the focus will be on some ways of refurbishing the teacher education by adopting a code-emphasis language
teaching and a general outline of pedagogic provisions for teaching the Bodo verb at the primary, middle and secondary levels of education.