

# ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN DUMI

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*This paper outlines the distribution of adverbial clauses in Dumi, a minority indigenous language among 26 Kirati Rai languages in Nepal. It has used secondary data based on Rai (2017). The primary data include the narrative with Dumi speakers from the Makpa area of the Dumi homeland and the writer's intuition as a mother tongue speaker. This study shows that the adverbial subordinate clauses in Dumi are either marked by the subordinating morphemes attached to the verb of the dependent clause or by the presence of the non-finite verb forms. Temporal adverbial clauses include precedence, subsequence and simultaneous in Dumi.*

**Keywords:** Adverbial clause, morphosyntactic process, dependent, complement, subordinate

## 1. Introduction

This paper presents the distribution of the adverbial clauses in Dumi, an endangered language with the speakers less than 2,500 (Rai, 2017, as cited in Eppele et al., 2012) and is a minority (the Kirat speech community with a population of 8,638; census 2021) language of the Rai group. The function of adverbials as sentence modifiers or connectors has been emphasised in linguistic studies (Crystal, 2003, p.14). The description in this attempt is based on Givón (2001a), Haspelmath (2004) and Payne (2006). Dumi (ISO 639-3: dus; Glottolog: dumi1241) exhibits the adverbial clause primarily of two types depending upon finite and non-finite verbs. They are presented according to the nature of the verbs (i.e., finite and non-finite verbal forms). Ebert (1997, p. 61) mentions that the subordinate clauses are preposed and the subordinator takes the clause-final position. While observing those features of the adverbial clauses contingent upon finite and non-finite verbs, these conditions are also satisfied in Dumi. This paper is organized into four sections. In Section 1 we set a

background of the study. Section 2 deals with the methodology and framework employed in this paper. In Section 3, we look at different types of adverbial clauses in Dumi. Section 4 presents a conclusion of the paper.

## 2. Research methodology

This paper primarily focuses on the features and types of adverbial clauses and their semantic links to the main clause in Dumi. The theoretical framework employed in this paper is functional typology following Givón (2001b, p. 327). The methodology for this research is based on a mix of secondary data from Rai (2017, p. 18) and narrative with Dumi speakers, particularly from the Makpa area of the Dumi homeland. The essential data for the Dumi language were collected from the main Dumi-speaking Makpa area of the Aiselukharka RM ward No. 7, in the hilly region of northern Khotang district of eastern Nepal, during the frequent field visits (especially from 2011-015) as a PhD scholar. Some data were elicited from the writer's intuition as a mother tongue speaker and frequent discussions with the local Dumi speakers in the Dumi home villages.

## 3. Adverbial clauses

An adverbial clause is a dependent clause that modifies a verb, adjective, or adverb in a sentence and it refers to a morphosyntactic process of combining two clauses. It is also considered a grammatical process of linking linguistic units so that they have different syntactic statuses, one being dependent upon the other and usually a constituent of the other (Crystal, 1997, p.443). The adverbial clause simply adds some information to what is expressed in the other clause, and sometimes adverbial clauses have the same form as complement clauses (Payne, 2006, p.321). He further mentions that 'semantic' one means here 'local', i.e., relations between two

adjacent clauses irrespective of the wider ‘global’ discourse context.

Givón (2001b, p. 330) states that adverbial clauses also have a wider scope of discourse-pragmatic connectivity. Sometimes, a sentence needs more than an adverb to communicate what, where, why, or/and how behind its main clause. In this case, we can follow the sentence up with another as an adverbial clause, which is a dependent clause that modifies a verb, adjective, or adverb in its sentence.

Payne (2006, p. 316) states that the function of the adverbial clause is to maintain discourse perspective relative to the discourse as a whole (Thompson et al., 2007, p.33). Dumi employs two devices for making subordinate clauses: subordinating morphemes, and non-finite verb forms. Functionally, there are seven types of complex expressions categorised as adverbial clauses: time, location, manner, purpose, reason, concessive and conditional adverbial (Rai, 2017, p.246). In those languages with subject-verb agreement, the non-finite form lacks one or more agreement categories. To precisely characterise the different categories of subordinate clauses in Dumi, we discuss them as follows.

### 3.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

The term ‘temporal’ signifies time, which is used as transitions in writing like before, meanwhile, once, during, while, finally, etc. The grammaticalised connectives can specify the temporal relation of an adverbial clause to its main clause. The temporal adverbial clauses specify the temporal relation of an adverbial clause to its main clause (Givón, 2001b, p.330).

In Dumi, two distinct temporal adverbial clauses are marked by *b<sup>hu</sup>* ‘before,’ and *ja* ‘after’ indicating the preceding and succeeding event respectively. Temporal adverbial clauses are realised in terms of precedence, subsequence and simultaneity, point of coincidence, terminal boundary, initial boundary, and intermediacy [ibid: 330]. So far as the Dumi language, by its grammatical features, does not follow these entire adverbial links.

The local link between a temporal adverbial clause and its adjacent main clause involves the temporal relation between two events as illustrated in (1a-c).

- (1) a. *tsu:tsu moŋujo*  
 tsu:tsu mo-ŋujo  
 child be-TEMP  
*tseŋkim maɣaŋa.*  
 tseŋkim ma-ɣa-ŋa  
 school NEG-be-NEG  
 ‘When I was child, there was no school.’
- b. *si dum<sup>thi</sup>jujo*  
 si dum-<sup>thi</sup>jujo  
 fruit ripe-TEMP  
*k<sup>h</sup>itsia k<sup>h</sup>ik<sup>h</sup>ati.*  
 k<sup>h</sup>itsi-a k<sup>h</sup>i-k<sup>h</sup>at-i  
 thief-ERG steal-take-3SG.PST  
 ‘When fruit was ripe, a thief stole it.’
- c. *um ŋokso*  
 um ŋok-so  
 3SG cry-TEMP  
*hutsu p<sup>h</sup>uku.*  
 hutsu p<sup>h</sup>uk-u  
 suddenly get up-3SG.PST  
 ‘She woke up suddenly crying.’

Examples (1a-c) present the temporal clause with the subordinators <-*jujo*> in (1a, b) and <-*so*> in (1c) affixed to the respective verb roots *mo* ‘be’, *dum* ‘ripe’ and *p<sup>h</sup>uk* ‘get up’ of the subordinate clauses.

#### 3.1.1 Precedence

In the temporal precedence of an adverbial clause, the time of the event encoded in the subordinate clause precedes the time of the main clause. In Dumi, temporal precedence is encoded by a temporal adverbial *b<sup>hu</sup>* ‘before’ as illustrated in (2a-c).

- (2) a. *ani hunlunna b<sup>hu</sup>*  
 ani hunlun-na b<sup>hu</sup>  
 2SG arrive-INF before  
*um ipdzɔ.*  
 um ipdzɔ-Φ  
 3SG sleep-3SG.PST

‘Before you arrive, she slept.’

- b. *um kʰana bʰu*  
 um kʰΛ-na bʰu  
 3SG go-INF before  
*hu je.*  
 hu je-Φ  
 rain fall-3SG.PST  
 ‘It rained before he left.’

- c. *dudu pilna bʰu*  
 dudu pil-na bʰu  
 milk milk-INF before  
*kʰur suro.*  
 kʰur sur-o  
 hand wash-1SG.PST  
 ‘I washed hands before milked.’

The examples (2a-c) illustrate the temporal precedence expressed by the sequential verbal complex followed by the time adverbial *bʰu* ‘before’ in Dumí.

### 3.1.2 Subsequence

In the temporal subsequence of an adverbial clause, the time of the event encoded in the subordinate clause follows the time of the event in the main clause. Temporal subsequence in Dumí is encoded by the time adverbial *ka* ‘after’ as illustrated in (3a-c).

- (3) a. *ani aha ka*  
 ani a-hΛ-Φ ka  
 2SG 2SG-come-2SG.PST after  
*um kʰutsi.*  
 um kʰuts-i  
 3SG go-3SG.PST  
 ‘She left after you arrived.’
- b. *um pʰuku ka*  
 um pʰuk-u ka  
 3SG get up-3SG.PST after  
*aju imsum.*  
 aju ims-um  
 1SG sleep-PRFV  
 ‘I slept after he got up.’
- c. *upe kentsi ka*  
 u-pe kents-i ka  
 POSS-e. brother jump-3SG.PST after

*uwa jo kentsim.*

uwa jo kents-im  
 y. brother also jump-3SG.PRFV  
 ‘When elder brother jumped, younger brother did so.’

Examples (3a-c) present the temporal succession expressed by the sequential verbal complex followed by the time adverbial *-ka* ‘after’ in Dumí.

### 3.1.3 Simultaneity

The time of the event encoded in the subordinate clause is simultaneous to the time of the main clause. The simultaneity is an overlap that encodes underlying and at the same time relationship (Thompson et al., 2007, p.379). They are coterminous in that two actions start and stop at roughly the same time. Temporal simultaneity in Dumí is illustrated in (4a-c).

- (4) a. *uduwa maŋtʰadujo*  
 uduwa ma-ŋ-tʰadujo  
 work do-M.EXTDR-1SG.SIM  
*hu je.*  
 hu je-Φ  
 rain-PST  
 ‘While I was working, it rained.’
- b. *ani adzetʰiɟujo*  
 ani a-dze-tʰiɟujo  
 2SG 2SG-talk-2SG.SIM  
*um hala*  
 um hΛΛ-Φ  
 3SG arrive-PST  
 ‘While you were talking, he arrived.’
- c. *um bultʰiɟujo no puisi*  
 um bul-tʰiɟujo  
 3SG run-3SG.SIM  
*no puisi*  
 no puis-i-Φ  
 snow fall-PST  
 ‘While he was running, snow fell.’

Examples (4a-c) present the temporal simultaneity in Dumí, which is expressed by the temporal simultaneity marking in *maŋtʰadujo* ‘while I was doing’ in (4a), *adzetʰiɟujo* ‘while

you were talking’ in (4b) and *bul<sup>h</sup>iɲujo* ‘while he was running’ in (4c).

### 3.1.4 Point coincidence

The point coincidence adverbial clause encodes the semantics that two events occur almost at the same time. In Dumi, this situation is encoded as the temporal suffix *-<sup>h</sup>iɲujo* as illustrated in (5a-c).

- (5) a. *um ha<sup>h</sup>iɲujo*  
 um ha-<sup>h</sup>iɲujo  
 3SG come-COIN  
*aɲua doktum.*  
 aɲu-a dokt-um  
 1SG-ERG see-PRFV  
 ‘As he was coming, I saw him.’
- b. *um bul<sup>h</sup>iɲujo aɲua*  
 um bul-<sup>h</sup>iɲujo aɲu-a  
 3SG run-COIN 1SG-ERG  
*dumom.*  
 dum-om  
 meet-PRFV  
 ‘As he was running, I met him.’
- c. *ani abrust<sup>h</sup>iɲujo*  
 ani a-brus-<sup>h</sup>iɲujo  
 2SG 2SG-shout-COIN  
*aɲua ɲiɲum.*  
 aɲu-a ɲiɲ-um  
 1SG-ERG hear-PRFV  
 ‘As you were shouting, I heard it.’

Examples (5a-c) show the point coincidence adverbial clauses. This situation is encoded with the temporal suffix *-<sup>h</sup>iɲujo* ‘while’ as in *ha<sup>h</sup>iɲujo* ‘while he was coming’, *bul<sup>h</sup>iɲujo* ‘while he was running’, and *abrust<sup>h</sup>iɲujo* ‘while you were shouting’ respectively in (5a-c).

### 3.1.5 Terminal boundary

Terminal boundary encodes the temporal situation where the time expressed in the subordinate clause encodes the time reference analogous to the time encoded in the main clause. In Dumi, this situation is encoded with the marker *-jo* suffixed to the finite verbs as illustrated in (6a-c).

- (6) a. *ani tambi amaɗzaɲjo*  
 ani tambi a-ma-dzaɲjo  
 2SG here 2SG-stay-TER  
*um sulsi.*  
 um sulsi-Φ  
 3SG hide-PST  
 ‘He hid himself until you stayed here.’
- b. *suwa apattajo*  
 suwa a-pat-tajo  
 bee 2SG-hunt-TER  
*aɲulai lutso.*  
 aɲu-lai luts-o  
 1SG-DAT tell-1SG.NPST  
 ‘When you hunt bee, tell me.’
- c. *papa doktijo*  
 papa dok-tijo  
 father see-TER  
*k<sup>h</sup>uba-k<sup>h</sup>uba muisi.*  
 k<sup>h</sup>uba-k<sup>h</sup>uba mu-isi  
 steadily do-REFL  
 ‘Seeing his father, he worked steadily.’

Examples (6a-c) show the terminal boundary of the two events. The terminal boundary encodes with the suffix *-jo* as in *amaɗzaɲjo* ‘until you stayed’, *apattajo* ‘When you hunt’, and *doktijo* ‘seeing’ respectively in (6a-c).

### 3.2 Conditional adverbial clauses

The conditional adverbial clauses give the circumstances under which the action in the main clause will take place, and they are introduced by the subordinating conjunctions. The conditional adverbial clauses may be divided into two types: irrealis conditionals and counter-fact conditionals (Givón, 2001b, p.330). Thompson et al. (2007, p. 255) further define the term unreality conditionals as it is used for conditionals which refer to ‘unreal’ situations. There are two types of unreal situations: those in which we imagine what might be or what might have been, and those in which we predict what will be. Dumi makes use of two types of conditional clauses: probable and hypothetical. The root of the verb is affixed by the conditional

marker *-k<sup>h</sup>o* in the probable type of conditional clause as illustrated in (7a-c).

- (7) a. *hu jetak<sup>h</sup>o asijo hotana*  
 hu jeta-k<sup>h</sup>o  
 rain fall.NPST-COND  
*asijo hotana*  
 asijo hota-na  
 nobody present.NPST-NEG  
 ‘If it rains, nobody will present.’
- b. *um k<sup>h</sup>ustak<sup>h</sup>o*  
 um k<sup>h</sup>usta-k<sup>h</sup>o  
 3SG go.NPST-COND  
*aju jo k<sup>h</sup>usto*  
 aju jo k<sup>h</sup>ust-o  
 1SG also go-1SG.NPST  
 ‘If he goes, I shall go too.’
- c. *nam baktak<sup>h</sup>o*  
 nam bak-ta-k<sup>h</sup>o  
 sun be (late)-3SG.NPST-COND  
*um hotana*  
 um ho-ta-n  
 3SG come-3SG.NPST-NEG  
 ‘He will not come if it becomes late.’

Examples (7a-c) present the probable type of conditional clauses, expressed by suffix marker *-k<sup>h</sup>o* ‘if’ at the individual finite verbs *jetak<sup>h</sup>o* ‘if it rains’, *k<sup>h</sup>ustak<sup>h</sup>o* ‘if he goes’, *baktak<sup>h</sup>o* ‘if it becomes late’ in (7a-c) respectively.

### 3.2.1 Irrealis conditionals

Irrealis conditional clauses fall under the scope of non-fact modality, i.e., having no truth value (Givón, 2001b, p.331). Irrealis conditionals have an implied futurity; with the main clause itself marked by future, modal or some other irrealis operator. In Dumí, irrealis conditional adverbial clauses, invariably, index the morpheme *-k<sup>h</sup>o* following the bare form of the verb form of the subordinate clause whereas the main clause is marked by the non-past tense marker *-t* as illustrated in (8a-c).

- (8) a. Modal  
*hi: k<sup>h</sup>antak<sup>h</sup>o*  
 hi: k<sup>h</sup>anta-k<sup>h</sup>o  
 wind be fresh.NPST-COND  
*dumo lekti*  
 dumo lek-ti  
 more survive-1PL.INCL.NPST  
 ‘If wind is fresh, we survive more.’
- b. Future  
*um holotak<sup>h</sup>o*  
 um holo-ta-k<sup>h</sup>o  
 3SG arrive-NPST-COND  
*untsu dumtu*  
 untsu dum-tu  
 1DU.EXCL meet-1DU.EXCL.NPST  
 ‘If he arrives, we shall meet.’
- c. Imperative  
*umlai atittak<sup>h</sup>o*  
 um-lai atit-ta-k<sup>h</sup>o  
 3SG-DAT meet-NPST-COND  
*lisi luda*  
 lisi lud-a  
 return tell-2SG.NPST  
 ‘If you meet her, tell her to return.’

Examples (8a-c) present the irrealis conditional clauses expressed by the morpheme *-k<sup>h</sup>o* ‘If’ following the bare form of the verb form of the subordinate clause, whereas the main clause is marked by the non-past tense marker *-t*.

### 3.2.2 Counter-fact (hypothetical) conditionals

Unlike irrealis conditionals, whose truth value is pending, counter-fact conditionals fall under the firmer, negative epistemic scope of non-fact. This conditional type involves propositions that could, would or should have been true if other propositions were also true. But since the other propositions turned out to be false, the conditionally marked proposition is also false (Givón, 2001b, p.332). The counter-fact conditional in Dumí is encoded with the suffix *-wak<sup>h</sup>o* in the main clause, and the subordinate clause is marked by *-wa* in the irrealis conditional as illustrated in (9a-c).

- (9) a. *um.a kuk<sup>h</sup>uwak<sup>h</sup>o*  
 um-a ku-k<sup>h</sup>u-wak<sup>h</sup>o  
 3SG-ERG know-HYP  
*mam muwa.*  
 mam mu-wa  
 that do- COND  
 ‘If he had known, he would have done that.’
- b. *um.a ŋiwak<sup>h</sup>o*  
 um-a ŋi-wak<sup>h</sup>o  
 3SG-ERG hear-HYP  
*tejo hɔɔɔwa.*  
 tejo hɔɔɔ-wa  
 at this time arrive.PST-COND  
 ‘If she had heard, she would have arrived now.’
- c. *aŋu parubi moŋuwak<sup>h</sup>o*  
 aŋu paru-bi moŋu-wak<sup>h</sup>o  
 1SG sky-LOC stay-HYP  
*nam lup<sup>h</sup>owa.*  
 nam lup<sup>h</sup>-o-wa  
 sun catch-1SG.PST-COND  
 ‘If I were in the sky, I would have caught the sun.’
- 3SG-ERG 2SG-call-NEG-COND  
*ipdzunna nirim*  
 ipdzun-na nir-im  
 sleep-INF end-3SG.PRFV  
 ‘If she didn't call him, he would have slept.’
- c. *dzuna madoknɔɔwak<sup>h</sup>o*  
 dzu-na ma-dok-nɔɔ-wak<sup>h</sup>o  
 eat-INF NEG-get-NEG-COND  
*mina nirim*  
 mi-na nir-im  
 die-INF end-3SG.PRFV  
 ‘If it didn't get to eat, it would have died.’

In examples (10a-c), *adu:k<sup>h</sup>onowak<sup>h</sup>o* ‘If you didn't see me’, *madze:tnɔɔwak<sup>h</sup>o* ‘If she didn't call him’, and *madoknɔɔwak<sup>h</sup>o* ‘If it didn't get’, express both the conditional clause and the finite (main) clauses, which are negated by the prefix *a-* in (10a) and *ma-* in (10b, c) in Dumli.

### 3.3 Cause and reason adverbial clauses

Givón (2001b, p. 335) states taking the issue of most languages that no morpho-syntax distinction is made between ‘cause’ and ‘reason’ clauses. He expresses that ‘cause’ prototypically involves external motivation. On the other hand, ‘reason’ involve various internal motivations. Both the causal and reason propositions in Dumli are marked by the complex subordinator *-a* as illustrated in (11a-f).

#### 3.2.3 Negative conditional

Many languages have a morpheme to signal a negative condition (Thompson et al., 2007, p.260). In Dumli, the negative conditional is signaled by the negative prefix attached to the conditional verb as illustrated in (10a-c).

- (10) a. *ania adu:k<sup>h</sup>onowak<sup>h</sup>o*  
 ani-a a-du:k<sup>h</sup>o-no-wak<sup>h</sup>o  
 2SG-ERG 2SG-see-NEG-COND  
*tsamna nirom*  
 tsam-na nir-om  
 lose-INF end-1SG.PRFV  
 ‘If you didn't see me, I would have lost.’
- b. *um.a madze:tnɔɔwak<sup>h</sup>o*  
 um-a ma-dzet-nɔɔ-wak<sup>h</sup>o
- (11) a. Agentive external cause for event  
*um.a atu:lom.a*  
 um-a a-tu:l-o-m-a  
 3SG-ERG 3SG-press-1SG.PST-PRFV-CAU  
*kɔŋku t<sup>h</sup>u:k<sup>h</sup>um*  
 kɔŋku t<sup>h</sup>u:k<sup>h</sup>-u-m  
 water pour out-3SG.PST-PRFV  
 ‘Because he bumped me, I poured out water.’
- b. Non-agentive external cause for event  
*dza rimum.a*  
 dza rim-u-m-a  
 rice get cold-3SG.PST-PRFV-CAU  
*dzuna tsaijum*  
 dzu-na tsai-ju-m

- eat-INF be tasteless-3SG.PST-PRFV  
 ‘Because the rice got cold, it became tasteless.’
- c. Eventive external reason for action  
*um jirim.a*  
 um jir-i-m-a  
 3SG get angry-3SG.PST-PRFV-REA  
*aŋu lam<sup>h</sup>ijom*  
 aŋu lam<sup>h</sup>i-jo-m  
 1SG move out-1SG.PST-PRFV  
 ‘Because he got angry, I moved out.’
- d. Non-eventive external reason for action  
*dzu: lam.a*  
 dzu: l<sub>A</sub>-Φ-m-a  
 cold feel-3SG.PST-PRFV-REA  
*mi d<sup>h</sup>umpom*  
 mi d<sup>h</sup> um-po-m  
 fire set-1PL.PST-PRFV  
 ‘Because it was cold, we set fire.’
- e. Eventive internal reason for action  
*miksi ŋitsim.a*  
 miksi ŋits-i-m-a  
 eyes strain-3SG.PST-PRFV-REA  
*tsu:tsu ŋuk<sup>h</sup>um*  
 tsu:tsu ŋuk<sup>h</sup>-u-m  
 child cry-3SG.PST-PRFV  
 ‘Because eyes strained, the child cried.’
- f. Non-eventive internal reason for action  
*balna lam.a*  
 balna l<sub>A</sub>-Φ-m-a  
 laziness feel-3SG.PST-PRFV-REA  
*um pak<sup>h</sup>a lantsim*  
 um pak<sup>h</sup>a lants-i-m  
 3SG outside go out-3SG.PST-PRFV  
 ‘Because he felt laziness, he went out.’

Examples (11a-f) show that both the casual and reason clauses in Dumi are marked by the same morpheme <-a> as a suffix used to a finite verb to form the dependent clause or reason clause.

### 3.4 Concessive adverbial clauses

Concessive adverbial clauses supply the unexpected or less-likely event which involves a presupposed contrast or counter-expectancy

whereas the main clause supplies less likely event or state (Givón, 2001b, p.336). In Dumi, the concessive clause is formed with the negative temporal verb followed by the emphatic particle *k<sup>h</sup>oyo* ‘but even’ as illustrated in (12a-c).

- (12) a. *um.a alustok<sup>h</sup>oyo*  
 um-a a-lust-o-k<sup>h</sup>oyo  
 3SG-ERG 2SG-tell-1SG.NPST-COND  
*aŋu maŋtono*  
 aŋu maŋ-to-no  
 1SG do-1SG.NPST-NEG  
 ‘But even he tells me, I won’t do it.’
- b. *um.a p<sup>h</sup>itak<sup>h</sup>oyo*  
 um-a p<sup>h</sup>i-ta-k<sup>h</sup>oyo  
 3SG-ERG ask-3SG.NPST-COND  
*aŋu biŋtono*  
 aŋu biŋ-to-no  
 1SG give-1SG.NPST-NEG  
 But even he asks me, I won’t give it.
- c. *nam hito*  
 nam hito  
 sun whatever  
*mutak<sup>h</sup>ojkawa*  
 mu-ta-k<sup>h</sup>oyo kawa  
 be-3SG.NPST-COND river  
*haŋtana*  
 haŋ-ta-na  
 dry-3SG.NPST-NEG  
 ‘Whatever the sun shines, the river never dries.’

In examples (12a-c), the concessive clause is formed with the negative temporal verb followed by the emphatic particle *-k<sup>h</sup>oyo* ‘but even’ suffixed in the finite verbs *alustok<sup>h</sup>oyo* ‘he tells me’, *p<sup>h</sup>itak<sup>h</sup>oyo* ‘he asks me’, *mutak<sup>h</sup>ojkawa* ‘sun shines’ respectively in (12a-c) in Dumi.

### 3.5 Purpose adverbial clauses

Purpose adverbial clauses signal the purpose of the agent for acting as they did in the event coded by the main clause. The subject of the purpose clause is mostly co-referential with that of the main clause (Givón, 2001b, p.337). Purpose

clauses express a motivating event which must be unrealised at the time of the main event.

In Dumii, purpose adverbial clauses are coded by the infinitival *-kubi* attached to the verb stem in the dependent clause as illustrated in (13a-c).

- (13) a. *um bostu dzakubi k<sup>h</sup>utsi.*  
 um bostu dzΛ-kubi  
 3SG cattle graze-PUR  
*k<sup>h</sup>utsi*  
 k<sup>h</sup>uts-i  
 go-3SG.PST  
 ‘He went to graze the cattle.’
- b. *um p<sup>h</sup>lak<sup>h</sup>alukubi*  
 um p<sup>h</sup>lak<sup>h</sup>alu-kubi  
 3SG get help-PUR  
*ham*  
 hΛ-Φ-m  
 come-PST-PRFV  
 ‘She came to get help.’
- c. *nana lalΛ kikubi*  
 nana lalΛ ki-kubi  
 e.sister ornaments buy-PUR  
*d<sup>h</sup>Λ hamk<sup>h</sup>utsi*  
 d<sup>h</sup>Λ ham-k<sup>h</sup>uts-i  
 market HON-go-3SG.PST  
 ‘Elder sister went to the market to buy ornaments.’

In examples (13a-c), the verbal affix *-kubi* is employed to encode the purposive relation of the subordinate clause to the main clause in Dumii. Non-finite verbs of two types of subordinators form purpose adverbial clauses, which are affixed to the verb roots as illustrated in (14a-c).

- (14) a. *bulumi.a nu: tuna*  
 bulumi-a nu: tu-na  
 rich man-ERG name keep-PUR  
*sodza juktam*  
 sodza jukt-a-m  
 money distribute-3SG.NPST-PRFV  
 Richman distributes money to be famous.’
- b. *kimnam dumkubi*  
 kimnam dum-kubi  
 family meet-PUR

*nini hamham*  
 nini ham-hΛ-m  
 aunt HON-arrive-PRFV  
 ‘Aunt arrived to meet the family.’

- c. *uŋku ani*  
 uŋku ani  
 1PL.EXCL 2SG  
*lukubi hukkum*  
 lu-kubi huk-kum  
 take-PUR come-1PL.EXCL-PRFV  
 ‘We came to take you.’

Examples (14a-c) show that ‘the purpose adverbial clauses’ are non-finite clauses. In (14a) the verbal affix *-na* ‘INF’ has been employed as a subordinator to form a purpose clause. In (14b, c), the verbal affix *-kubi* ‘for’ is used for indicating purpose. In (14b), the speaker tells a person to arrive for the purpose of meeting the family. Likewise, the speaker tells a person to come for the purpose of taking her/him in (14c).

### 3.6 Participial adverbial clauses

In this regards Givón (2001b, p. 341) argues that they are tightly integrated with their main verb, and they tend to have the same subject as their main clause. In terms of temporal coherence, participial adverbial clauses tend to exhibit rigid tense-aspect-modal restrictions regarding their main clause. Within the participial adverbial clauses, the sequential subordinate clause in Dumii is marked by the morpheme *-soka* suffixed to one or more non-finite verbs as illustrated in (15a-c).

- (15) a. *su:ru insoka*  
 su:ru in-soka  
 rice sell-SEQ  
*gu kiksa e*  
 gu kik-sa e  
 cloth buy-NMLZ hearsay  
 ‘Selling rice, (she is) buying clothes.’
- b. *del lokk<sup>h</sup>assoka*  
 del lok-k<sup>h</sup>as-soka  
 village leave-AMBL-SEQ  
*pak<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>aksa e.*  
 pak<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>ak-sa e  
 abroad go-NMLZ hearsay

‘Leaving the village, (he is) going to the abroad.’

- c. *hopulai ŋa tsamussoka*  
 hopu-lai    ŋa    tsamus-soka  
 self-DAT    FOC    forget-SEQ  
*um p<sup>h</sup>a:lim*  
 um        p<sup>h</sup>a:l-i-m  
 3SG        get worse-3SG.PST-PRFV  
 ‘Forgetting himself, he got worse.’

#### 4. Conclusion

Dumi shows cause and reason, concessive and purpose adverbial clauses. Both the causal and reason propositions are marked by the complex subordinator *-a*. Participial adverbial clauses encode the sequential and simultaneous temporal senses. The sequential adverbial clause indicates a temporal sequence in clause chains. The adverbial clauses are temporal, location, manner, purpose, cause and reason, concessive, conditional, sequential and simultaneous. Temporal adverbial clauses include precedence and subsequence signifying preceding and succeeding events marked by *b<sup>h</sup>u* ‘before’, and *ja* ‘after’ respectively. Likewise, temporal adverbial clauses include simultaneous, temporal relations with terminal boundary and point coincidence. In Dumi, counterfactual situations are encoded in the dependent clause and the main clause. The counter-fact conditional is encoded with the suffix *-wak<sup>h</sup>o* in the main clause, and the subordinate clause is marked by *-wa* in the irrealis conditional. It also shows cause and reason, concessive and purpose adverbial clauses. Both the causal and reason propositions are marked by the complex subordinator *-a*. Participial adverbial clauses encode the sequential and simultaneous temporal senses. The sequential adverbial clause marked by the morpheme *-soka* suffixed to one or more non-finite verbs indicates a temporal sequence in clause chains.

#### Abbreviations

- |   |               |
|---|---------------|
| 1 | First person  |
| 2 | Second person |
| 3 | Third person  |

ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive
CAU	Cause
COIN	Coincidence
COM	Comitative
CONC	Concessive
COND	Conditional
DAT	Dative
EMPH	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative
EXCL	Exclusive
GEN	Genitive
HON	Honorific
HYP	Hypothetical
IMP	Imperative
INCL	Inclusive
INF	Infinitive
LOC	Locative
M. EXTDR	Morpheme extender
MAN	Manner
NEG	Negative
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NPST	Non-past
PL	Plural
PRFV	Perfective
PROG	Progressive
PRT	Particle
PST	Past
PUR	Purposive
REA	Reason
RM	Rural municipality
SEQ	Sequential
SG	Singular
SIM	Simultaneous
TER	Terminal

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