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**COORDINATION IN KHASI, SANTHALI AND
KHARIA: A TYPOLOGICAL STUDY**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in Partial Fulfillment
of the requirement for the award of the degree of*

Master of Philosophy

Neerja Yadav



**CENTER OF LINGUISTICS AND ENGLISH,
SCHOOL OF LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND CULTURE STUDIES,
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This dissertation titled **Coordination in Khasi, Santhal and Kharia: A Typological Study**, submitted by me to the Centre of Linguistics and English, School of Language Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or full, for any other degree of diploma of any other university/institution.

Neerja Yadav

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In Gratitude

Language can be a contrivance of covert expression of 'power' and also means of assertion of 'identity'. This situation becomes more pronounced in case of interface between 'tribal' and dominant 'civilized' world. My introduction to linguistics not only made me sensitive to the sensibility of a community towards their culture and language but also resurrected the concern in me to the cause of indigenous people of India.

I will be forever indebted to my guide prof. Anvita Abbi for stirring in me the need to understand and document the structure of indigenous languages. Her constant encouragement and criticism has inspired and shaped this study.

To my informants of the three tribes, who provided a large corpus of linguistic data and contributed generously towards making this dissertation a reality. I specially wish to thank my Khasi classmates: Dolly and Melissa, for their patient and gracious help in the data collection. Their linguistic knowledge and command over language made things easier for me. Also, I am obliged to Mrs. Sona Jharia, faculty at MCA deptt. JNU, Mr. Topo, my senior in the Hostel and Mr. Abinash Kullu of NCCERT for introducing me to their Kharria friends. I wish to convey my sincere thanks to Mrs. Lili Soren and Mr. Paul Soren for opening up the world of Santhals to me.

It seems impossible for me to express my deep love and gratitude to my family for their constant support and understanding. My Parents' hardworking, honest, and humble nature has been always been the guiding light for me. I wish to specially thank my brothers, without their efforts I wouldn't have got the opportunity to study in JNU.

I am grateful to my friends; Rajni, Tejaswini, Garima, Pema, Mamta, for making my stay in hostel delightful and unforgettable experience. I would specially like to thank Ravi, Pankaj, Parikshit, and Prashant for being there in rain or shine. Without their unwavering and unconditional support through tedious process of typing and printing, this dissertation would have found difficult to see the light of the day.

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List of Abbreviations

Acc	Accusative case
Adj P	Adjective Phrase
Adv P	Adverb Phrase
Aux	Auxiliary
Caus	Causative marker
Dat	Dative case
Def	Definitive
Du	dual
ECV	Explicator compound verb
EM	Emphatic Marker
Erg	Ergative
Fem	Feminine gender
Fut	Future tense
Gen	Genitive
Inf	Infinite
Ins	Instrumental
Loc	Locative case
Mas	Masculine gender
Neg	Negative
Nom	Nominative case
NP	Noun Phrase
O	Object
O Agrr	Object Agreement marker
Perf	Perfective tense
Plu	plural
Pre	Present tense
Prog	Progressive tense
Pst	Past tense
Redup M	Reduplication marker
Redup	Reduplication
S Agrr	Subject agreement marker
S	Subject
sg	singular
SM	Subject marker
TMA	Tense Aspect Mode
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person

PREFACE

This dissertation attempts to systematically present and compare the coordinate structures in the three Austro-Asiatic languages: Khasi, Santhali and Kharia. The primary focus of this study is the formulation of the typology of coordination of the three languages in relation to the theory of coordination. It also seeks identify the loan component along with providing an insight into the extent of Aryanisation of the Munda group of languages especially in the area of co-ordination.

I chose to work on the three languages because though the three languages belong to the same family they have marked structural differences. Most significant of the differences is the word order. This difference in the word order has been acquired by Munda languages over the centuries of contact and convergence with Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages and this difference is instigating to several other changes. It is always fascinating for a field linguist to try and record these changes. Further, while Santhali is largest Munda tribe, Khasi is the only Mon-Khmer language spoken in main-land India. Kharia on the other hand is among the language facing potential extinction. Comparison of the structure of these languages can thus provide valuable insight towards the pan- Munda structures and also provide to the clue to link between Munda and Khmer languages.

In chapter1 focus is on delineating the relationship between the theory of coordination and the typology of coordinate structures. It begins by outlining basic issues in the theory of coordination. Review of the typology of coordinate constructions points the difference between the phrasal coordination and coordination reduction.

Due to the syntactic and semantic difference between conjunction and adversative coordination, we have dealt with the two separately. In the chapter2 we discuss conjunction and disjunction. Both types of co-ordination allow multiple co-

ordination and contrastive co-ordination unlike Adversative and causal co-ordination discussed in chapter3. Chapter4 surveys the coordination reduction pattern in the two groups of languages in relation to their respective word orders.

Chapter 1`

INTRODUCTION

Coordination has always been dealt in the traditional grammar books under the titles ‘conjunction’ and ‘compound sentences’; the very definition of ‘compound sentence’ rests on the process of coordination. But it was never satisfactorily defined or given due attention by the traditional grammarians. Coordination became popular area of study only when it became the center of debate between generativists and phrase structure grammarians, as both the groups tried to use it to their advantage. But we know that the reliable and consistent linguistic theories can be built only on the integrated approach of typology and language universals, neither can be isolated from the other¹. This requires the identification of typology of coordinate structures in the languages. In this dissertation, I attempt to study systematically the typology of coordinate structures in Khasi, Santhali and Kharia. Let us begin by defining coordination.

Martin Haspelmath defines coordination as, “The term coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have same semantic relations with other surrounding elements”². The particle or the linker of the two units is called **coordinator** and the units that are conjoined are called **conjuncts**. For example in the following sentences, ‘and’, ‘or’, and ‘but’ are all linker or coordinators.

- 1.1 Indira is singing **and** dancing in the garden.
- 1.2 Will you have tea **or** coffee?
- 1.3 I like chocolates **but** he hates them.

The definition of coordination given above induces two questions; firstly, what do we mean by the ‘same type’ and secondly, what is the ‘unit’ of coordination.

¹ Bernard Comrie, 1981, “Language Typology”, *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology, Syntax and Morphology*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford. p: 31

² Martin Haspelmath, 2000, ‘Coordination’; In Timothy Shopen, *Language Typology and Linguistic Description*, 2nd ed., CUP, Cambridge. p:1

Both these questions have been fundamental issues in all the theoretical discussions on coordination. Let us look at various proposals that have been put forth to answer these questions since Chomsky made the reference to the phenomenon as a proof of constituenthood in *Syntactic Structures*.

1.1 ISSUES IN THE THEORY OF COORDINATION

The first issue, as stated above, is about the definition of 'identity'. Many linguists like Ross³ found syntactic identity of coordinands to be the only condition necessary for coordination. But Paul Schachter extended the concept by adding the criterion of semantic identity, "The constituents of coordinate construction must belong to the same syntactic category and have the same semantic function"⁴. Many linguists like Chafe have instead found only "adequate semantic component"⁵ to be the basis of all grammatical utterances. Correspondingly, Haspelmath agrees to the criteria of semantic identity, "If two expressions have different semantic roles (e.g. patient and location) it will not be possible to coordinate them" but has also called attention to the instances where mere semantic identity is not enough as in⁶.

1.4 * [Bungee jumping] and [to climb mountains] can be quite an adventure.

The above sentence, where the two conjuncts are different syntactic phrases, is not grammatically correct one, though both the coordinands have the same semantic role. Also, we can acknowledge the awkwardness of the sentence 1.6 over sentence 1.5 though both the coordinands of the two sentences are verb phrases.

1.5 I can read and write.

³ Ross, 1967, *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT

⁴ Paul Schachter, 1977, quoted by Anvita Abbi, 1979-80. "Coordination in Hindi", *Language Forum*, Vol V, No. 3-4, p:61

⁵ Chafe, 1971, quoted by Anvita Abbi, op. cit, p:61

⁶ Martin Haspelmath, op. cit, pp: 17-18

1.6 I can sing and analyze morphology.

Further, we also come across cases where a coordination construction is permissible in one language but their exact equivalent is not possible in other language. As in the sentence given below, the coordination between the two syntactically different phrases (first one is an AP; other, a Sentence) is possible in Italian but not in English.

1.7 Evitate gli accordi [poco chiari], o [che potrebbero danneggiarci gravemente]⁷

‘*Avoid insufficiently clear agreements, or which could hurt us seriously’.

Therefore, in my opinion, the semantics together with syntactic criterion should be the defining features of identity.

The debaters on the second question, question of ‘unit’ can be grouped into three: first, those who think that only the phrasal coordination is basic (Wierzbica, McCawley, Dougherty); second, those who believe that only derived coordination⁸ is basic (Gleitman, Bellert, Schane); and finally, those who argue that both are basic (Lakoff and Peters, Ross)⁹. Let us briefly discuss their cases.

Doughty¹⁰ argues that except for the non-constituent coordination that involves gapping, all the constituent coordination is phrasal in nature. He argues for this position

⁷ Scorretti, 1988, “Le Strutture Coordinate”, In Lorenzo Renzi (ed), *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*, vol. I, II, Mulino, Bologna. p: 246 as quoted in *ibid.* p:18

⁸ derived co-ordination which is also known as conjunction reduction assumes that the deep structure underlying the sentences like

a) John and Mary left.

is roughly

b) John left and Mary left.

They undergo modification to produce the surface form (a).

⁹ Paul Schachter, 1973, “conjunction”, In R.P. Stockwell, P. Schacter, B.H. Partee, *The Major Syntactic Structures of English*, Holt Rinehart and Winston Inc. p: 298

¹⁰ R.C. Doughty, 1970, “A grammar of Coordinate conjoined structures, pt. II” *Language*, vol. 46. pp:278-339

by citing parallelism between the conjoined noun-phrases in the subject position and plurals. He points that both show similar syntactic behavior (similarity in relation to words like: 'all', 'both', 'each' and 'respectively'), correspond to similar deep structures, and since plural noun phrase is not derived from conjoined sentences, conjoined structures are also not derived from conjoined sentences. Though one agrees to premise of the argument, conclusion is questionable. This contention can be contested on the lines of Gleitman's inference that there is no obvious internal structure for plural NPs that could be parallel to that of conjoined NPs¹¹. Further, the coordination of constituents which are non-continuous in deep structure also contradicts the hypothesis that only the phrasal coordination is basic¹².

1.8 John went to the party and appeared to have good time.

1.9a It appeared that John had good time.

1.9b * That john had good time appeared.

Schachter notes that the sentence 1.8 appears to be the coordination of two VPs at the surface structure, but at the deep structure 'appeared to have good time' is not a constituent. Sentence 1.8 is derived from the deep structure represented in 1.9a and not from the one represented in 1.9b.

Now, let us turn our attention to the second approach. The argument, that only derived construction is basic, was first developed by Gleitman¹³. It is based on the assumption that all the coordination is derived from an initial coordination of 'grammatical' sentences by the means of deletion, reduction, ellipsis, wiping, or whatever one may want to call this rule. She suggests two different deletion rules; one, which results in the constituent coordination and other, which results in what she calls

¹¹ Robert R. van Oirsouw, 1987, *the syntax of coordination*, Landon, Croom Helm, p: 11. This is Gleitman argument against Smith (1969), but it holds well against Dougherty also.

¹² P.Schacher, op. cit, p: 309.

¹³ L.R. Gleitman, 1965, "Coordinating conjunctions in English", *Language*, vol. 41, pp: 260-93.

‘conjoined tags’. The second rule essentially deletes identical verbs and results into non-constituent coordination. But this approach confronts the difficulty posed by the quantifiers like pair, couple, both etc. We all agree that 1.10a is not derived from 1.10b and 1.10c (both are ungrammatical).

1.10a Ram and Sita are beautiful couple.

1.10b* Ram is beautiful couple.

1.10c* Sita is beautiful couple.

Apart from quantifiers, ambiguous readings involving nominal coordination in the surface structure also appears to be challenging for her position. Take the case of nominal conjunction like in sentence below (1.11). Smith¹⁴ enunciates that such a sentence has inherent ambiguity and can be interpreted as Ram and Shyam bought one record together or as Ram and Shyam each bought one record separately.

1.11 Ram and Shyam brought the new record by Hari Prasad Chaurasia.

Both the problems cited above develop the case for phrasal conjunction (PS), though just allowing PS coordination does not answer it.

Here, I’ll like to point out that apart from the above problems; this approach has indispensable failings of traditional generative methodology. Being based on English and some European languages only, this approach does not account for use of different coordinators to conjoin different phrasal categories. In striking contrast to the European languages, African languages do not express a sentence conjunction and a noun conjunction in the same way¹⁵. Thus we can safely conclude that both the phrasal and the derived constructions are basic.

¹⁴ Smith. 1969. “Ambiguous Sentences with *and*”, In D. Reibel and S. Schane (eds.), *Modern Studies in English*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs.

¹⁵ Haspelmath, op. cit, p: 20.

With the recognition of derived construction as the basic form of coordination along with phrasal coordination another debate was affected: how is derived form arrived at? To begin with linguists recognized two different processes of coordination deletion; one, involving only verbs and is called ‘gapping’ and the other, involving other constituents which was termed as conjunction reduction¹⁶. The verb reduction is called gapping because in SVO languages (like in English) deletion of verb leaves a gap between two constituents; like in the following sentence, there is a gap between subject and object.

1.12 Ram cooked breakfast and Sita \emptyset dinner.

Likewise deletion of other constituents was often called ‘right-node rising’ or right periphery ellipsis. But these terms are inappropriate in relation to Verb-final languages as verb reduction in these languages does not cause any gap. For example the following sentence from Hindi.

1.13 ram-ne sag bōna-ya aur sita-ne roti \emptyset
 Ram-Erg vegetable cook- O. Agr and Sita-Erg Roti \emptyset
 Ram made vegetables and Sita roti.

Ross suggested two different rules for the two kinds of deletion; one for verbs and other for rest of constituents. It was first observed by Sanders that rather than two rules as proposed by Ross¹⁷; one rule serves the purpose effectively since not only gapping, but constituent reduction also follows the ‘directionality constraint’¹⁸. Koutsoudas supported this view and gave the following rule for coordination reduction:

¹⁶ Helga Harries-Delisle, 1978, “Coordination reduction”, In Greenberg, Joseph H. (ed), *Universals of Human Language, Volume4: syntax*, Stanford University Press, p: 517.

¹⁷ For further details refer to Ross, 1967, “Gapping and the Order of the Constituents”, In *Actes du Xe congress internationale de linguistics*, II, Bucarest, 1970, p:5 , as quoted in Harries-Delisle. op cit. p: 517.

¹⁸ Directionality constraint explicates dependency of deletion on the branching structure of the identical constitutions.

“Given a coordination in which each conjunct includes a constituent which is identical to the corresponding constituent of each other conjunct, the undeleted constituent being that of the first conjunct if it is a left-branching constituent”¹⁹.

The difficulty with the Koutsoudas’ rules, which is also shared by Ross’ approach, is that it does not allow the split coordination structures²⁰ and to explain such structures some ‘ad hoc’ movement rules are needed. Also, both Ross’ and Koutsoudas’ rules for coordination reduction lack in generality and to explain the coordination structures in different languages they need language specific rules. Further, their rules often generate ungrammatical sentences.

In response to the predicament of the Ross’ and Koutsoudas’ approaches where the constraint was on reduction than regrouping, Helga Harries-Delisle proposes a solution where the constraint is only on the regrouping rule that applies after the deletion rule; “The deletion rule only operates forward, i.e. out of number of identical constituents only left-most is retained, and the out put of deletion rule undergoes reordering by a regrouping rule”²¹. She defines the regrouping rule as “Chomsky-adjoin the lowest constituent that exhaustively dominates all the lexical nodes in the reduced conjunct to the corresponding node in the unreduced conjunct”²² i.e. to form A-over A structure. Since reordering rule does obligatorily or optionally not apply variety in the surface structures in languages is easily explained.

1.14 John ate greedily and John drank greedily.

¹⁹ A. Koutsoudas, 1968, “Gapping, conjunction reduction, and coordinate deletion, *foundation of language* vol. 7, No. 3, as quoted in Helga Harries-Delisle. Op. cit, p:517

²⁰ On the basis of directionality constraint we can predict the unreduced SOV+S O¹ V will always give the structure SO+O¹ V. but a lot of languages like Hindi also have the word order SOV+O¹. This second reduced order is called split object coordination. Similarly split coordination occurs for subject and verb too.

²¹ Helga Harries-Delisle. Op. cit, p: 529

²² *ibid.* P: 536

Application of deletion rule causes deletion of Subject *John* and adverb *greedily* from the second conjunct.

1.15 John ate greedily and drank

But 1.15 is not the correct paraphrase to 1.14 as adverb only modifies one verb so we apply regrouping rule, which forms A-over-A structure (two verbs conjoin to form \bar{V} which is also a verb phrase) but to handle the case such as the one of adverbial here, she modifies the reduction rule: “If after the formation of an A-over-A structure one of the constituents in the conjunct is marked [ant] and if this node is conjunct initial or conjunct final, raise that node and Chomsky adjoin it to the coordinate node immediately to the right or the left of the coordinate nodes. The constituent is adjoined to the left if it is conjunct-initial, it is adjoined to the right if it is conjunct-final”²³. So finally we have the structure of 1.16; adverbial being conjunct final, it is adjoined at the right (as is shown in Fig:1).

1.16 John [ate and drank] greedily.

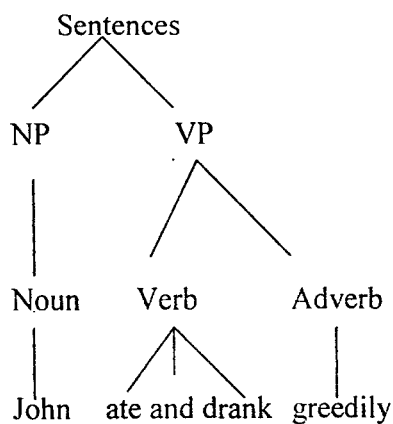


Fig:1 The tree diagram of sentence 1.16.

²³ *ibid.* p:550

This approach not only solves the problem of split coordination but also does away with ad hoc movement rules. It also scores over the other approach for being more generalized.

Now that we have recognized the main issues relating to the theory of coordination we shall look in to the typological approaches.

1.2 TYPOLOGY OF COORDINATION

Broadly, typology of coordination can be split in two; syntactic typology and semantic typology. By Syntactic typology of coordination we understand, the types that result due to various positions and number of coordinators used with respect to the various sets of coordinands undergoing coordination. At the same time semantic typology of coordination we mean various semantic representations that are achieved by the process of coordination. Now let us look at them more closely.

1.2.1 Semantic Sub-Type of Coordination

Linguists identify the four fold semantic distinction, namely: Conjunction, Disjunction, Adversative, and Contrastive Coordination. But languages do show more fine-grained distinctions, we will examine them one after other.

1.2.1.1 Conjunction

Conjunction, as the name suggests, is of form *P and Q*, where P and Q are any two conjuncts. Conjunctive relation can occur between multiple coordinands. Dichotomy between '**natural**' and '**accidental**' coordination is commonly identified. Accidental coordination results from the coordination of the coordinands that don't form a unit in the natural circumstances, while the natural coordination results in compound nouns. As in the following examples below, 1.17a represents natural conjunction while 1.17b represents accidental conjunction.

1.17a) Khel-kud	b) pəɾ ^h na	aur	sona
Sports- jump		to study and	to sleep
‘Sports etc.’		‘to study and	to sleep’

Compounds resulting from natural conjunction are called *coordinative compound*. The difference between the two also lies in the scope of coordination such as the negative markings, while only one marker is enough in case of natural conjunction, accidental requires separate one for each coordinand.

Another type of conjunction is **augmentative conjunction**. This involves the conjunction between the elements grammatically identical to express the higher degree of the item that are coordinated. Often this construction also marks the continuity of the action over a long duration. Like for example:

1.18 She ran and ran

1.19 The farms got smaller and smaller.

In the former sentence (1.18), the conjunction of verb ‘ran and ran’ implies the higher intensity of action of running and also continuity of the action over a long period of time; and in latter, conjunction takes place between the adjectives implying higher degree of the property (small in this case). Notice that these coordinate constructions are phrasal in nature and not sentential (where grammatically identical elements are deleted).

Apart from these there are two strategies of conjunction that are specific to NPs namely, Comitative conjunction and Summary conjunction. When the conjunction marker of NP is identical to the marker of accompaniment, then such coordination is termed as **Comitative conjunction**. There is obvious semantic relation between conjunction and comitative construction as we can see in the following sentences.

1.20 Ram and Sita went.

1.21 Ram went with Sita.

1.22 Ram went and Sita too.

The sentence 1.21 entails the sentence 1.20. But 1.20 can also represent 1.22 which reads as ‘both went separately’ and thus is not entailed by 1.21.

Unlike the conjunction mentioned above, there is conjunction strategy that strays from the main course labeled as **summary conjunction**. Summary conjunction is one in which the coordination is indicated by the quantifiers (like numerals, all). It occurs after all the conjuncts and thereby sums or counts them up to show that ‘they complete the list’.

1.2.1.2 Disjunction

Disjunction is the relation represented by the form *P or Q* where both P and Q are coordinands. Like conjunctive relation, disjunction can also conjoin multiple coordinands. Dichotomy between standard and interrogative disjunction is one of the chief distinction in disjunction. Interrogative disjunction occurs where one of the two alternatives are chosen. While in standard disjunction there is no alternative choice and when it is in question form, it is a polar question answering in ‘yes’ or ‘no’ suffices). For example 1.23 can have two readings, if it means 1.24 than it is interrogative disjunction but if it means 1.25 than it is standard disjunction. Unlike Hindi, some languages do maintain the distinction between these two and use separate coordinators for interrogative and standard disjunction.

1.23 You want tea or coffee?

1.24 You want either tea or coffee?

1.25 You want any drink?

Another semantic type of disjunction is **Metalinguistic disjunction**. Here the two coordinands that occur in disjunctive relation are alternative ‘names of the same thing’. Take for example the sentence 1.26 both the coordinands ‘land of rising sun’ and ‘Nippon’ are the names of Japan. Both the coordinands are two different terms (Nippon means land of rising sun in Japanese) denoting the same thing.

1.26 Japan is called the country of rising Sun or Nippon.

1.2.1.3 Adversative coordination

Adversative coordination is represented by the form *P but Q* where P and Q are two coordinands. Unlike Haspelmath, Payne²⁴ considers adversative as only a feature marked by its absence and presence (in Pragmian sense) and not distinctive type. But I believe it must be recognized as a distinctive type as it differs remarkably from conjunction 'and' both semantically and syntactically. 'But' can not conjoin more than two coordinands, in other words it is binary and disallows n-ary coordination.

1.27 *John ran but fell but hurt himself.

Also, as Gleitman²⁵ observed, coordinands undergoing adversative coordination require some contrasting relationship between them. Though the above mentioned sentence can be joined by conjunction marker, still if we compare the two are semantically distinct. We can clearly understand the difference in semantics when we compare the pair of sentences below like 1.29a and 1.29b (also notice commonly unacceptable 1.30b). Payne identifies the three varieties of adversative: semantic opposition, denial of expectation, and preventive²⁶. Semantic opposition is a type of adversative coordination where the two coordinands are marked by simple opposition. Take for example 1.28, here the comparison is made on the account of beauty (either beautiful or ugly) and both the conjunct differ simply on this.

1.28 Sita is beautiful but Geeta is ugly.

1.29a Ram is a miser but he gave the party.

²⁴ John R. Payne. 1985. "Complex phrases and complex sentences", In Timothy Shopen (ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. II*, Cambridge, CUP

²⁵ L.R. Gleitman. op cit.

²⁶ John R. Payne. 1985. op cit pp: 6-7.

1.29b Ram is a miser and he gave the party

1.30a I would be glad to accompany you to Goa but my exams start next week.

1.30b* I would be glad to accompany you to Goa and my exams start next week.

Sentence 1.29a is an example of denial of expectation, here the first coordinand is what one can anticipate but not the second coordinand, nonetheless it is true. Like in the sentence 1.29a, no one can expect Ram to give party in light of the first clause however he does. It is different from semantic opposition, as it does not require the similarity “of structure or topic”.

Third variety of adversative relation is one expressed in 1.30a. Here the first clause states what could have been the state of affairs if the second clause had not halted them.

1.2.1.4 Causal coordination

Fourth and the final semantic type of coordination is causal, expressed as *P for Q*. Like the adversative coordination, the clausal coordination is also binary in nature. Clausal coordination takes place only at the sentential level, and the relation between the two clauses is of cause and effect. This coordinating conjunction hardly features in literature on coordination because the cause-effect relationship is often expressed by subordination. Look at the two sentences below, 1.31 is an example of subordination while 1.32 expresses coordination.

1.31 John wants to sleep because he is upset.

1.32 John wants to sleep for he is upset.

We shall discuss the difference between coordination and subordination later. Now let us turn our attention to syntactic typology of coordination.

1.2.2 Syntactic typology of coordination

Coordinate construction can be divided in three types depending upon the number of coordinator vis-à-vis coordinand. The classes that so result can further be sub-differentiated according to different positions of these coordinators. In the next page we present the Syntactic typology on logical possibilities (Fig2)²⁷. The types of coordinands participating in the coordination are also the reason to differentiate. Let us briefly discuss them.

1.2.2.1 Asyndetic coordination

Coordination that does not involve any overt coordinator is called asyndetic coordination. It is seen in almost all languages of the world in a technique called ‘Juxtaposition’, mainly for the purpose of conjunction. In European languages it is especially used in case of adverbial and adjectival phrases while in Indian subcontinent it is quite popular in case of noun conjunction, where it generally expresses conjunction of nouns that habitually go together, and form a “conventionalized whole and conceptual unit”²⁸.

Compounds thus formed are called exocentric compounds or ‘**bahuvrihi**’ in Sanskrit as they are headless compounds. In other words, they do not contain the element that functions as the semantic head; the constituents do not have head modifier relationship in between themselves. Following are the example from Hindi:

- 1.33 a) /mata pIta/ ‘mother father/parents’
 b) / b^hai behen/ ‘brother sister/siblings’
 c) /tir kaman/ ‘arrow bow/ arms’

²⁷ The table in the figure1 is based on Haspelmath. 2000. op cit. p: 6

²⁸ Marianne Mithun. 1988. “The Grammaticization of Coordination”, In Haiman John& Thomson, A. Sandra (ed) *clause combining in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam, Benjamins. Quoted by Haspelmath, op cit. p:21. Also refer to the section on conjunction above.

Fig2: Syntactic Typology of Coordination

Number of Coordinator	Name of Coordination	Representation	Explanation
0	Asyndetic	A B	No overt coordinand
1	Monosyndetic	A co-B	Prepositive, on second coordinand
		A B-co	Postpositive, on second coordinand
		A-co B	Post positive, on first coordinand
		co-A B	Prepositive, on first coordinand
2	Bisyndetic	co-A co- B	Prepositive
		A-co B-co	Postpositive
		Co-A B-co	mixed
		A-co co-B	mixed
3 or more	Multi-syndetic	Co-A co-B co-C....	Prepositive
		A-co B-co C-co...	postpositive

- In the table, given above a coordinator is represented as '-co-', (this does not mean that they are identical to each other in bisyndetic coordination).
- in multi-syndetic coordination, most of the languages drop the first or the last coordinator in prepositive and postpositive respectively , it is dealt in more detail below.

But this does not mean that languages do not have asyndetic coordination as basic form of coordination. More often than not the languages with long oral tradition, i.e. those languages who have acquired the writing system quite recently in the chronology of

languages, have asyndesis as the basic form of coordination. Explanation for which is quite simple; oral form has tools like intonation at its disposal to suggest coordination, an advantage not enjoyed by the written form. So languages with long tradition of writing prefer syndesis while the oral ones quite naturally prefer asyndesis.

Coordination that involves overt coordinator is called **syndetic coordination**. If we take only binary coordination in to consideration (where only two coordinands are involved), then we have two possibilities: a single linking particle (monosyndetic) or two linking particles (bisyndetic). Let us examine these two more closely.

1.2.2.2 Monosyndetic coordination

Mono-syndetic coordination has four logical possibilities: co-A B, A-co B, A co-B, A B-co (refer to the Fig2). Haspelmath spells out the 'constituency tests' that form the basis of differentiating A co-B from A-co B, and they are; intonation, pauses, discontinuous order, and morpho-phonemic alterations. Notice that most of the devices at hand are related to oral speech. Haspelmath points out that, often postpositive coordinators are suffixed to the coordinands but pre-fixation of the coordinator in case of prepositive coordinator is not as common. This is because suffixation is universally preferred over pre-fixation. Further, out of four logical possibilities stated in the table, co-A B is found in Hindi, A-co B in Kannada, and A B-co in Sanskrit. Co-A B seems to be nonexistent.

Stassen has tried to link the typology of position of coordinator with the predominant word order²⁹. He claims that while the languages with verb final word order tend to have postpositive coordinator, prepositive coordinator is popular in languages with verb in non-final position. But this study is only based on mono-syndetic conjunction, and there are languages that show different orders of coordinators for monosyndetic and bisyndetic coordination (refer to chapter2).

²⁹ *ibid*, p:9

1.2.2.3 *Bisyndetic coordination*

There are four logical possibilities for bisyndetic coordination also. Out of these four possibilities listed in the table1 all the four are attested. Prepositive bi-syndesis and postpositive bi-syndesis are quite common but the last two (mixed pattern) are quite rare.

Also, bi-syndesis is often a contrastive variant³⁰ of mono-syndesis. The contrastive bisyndetic coordinators are also called correlative coordinators. Correlative coordinators can be identical to each other and also to the single coordinator; or they can be dissimilar to each other. When they are dissimilar with one another, often one of coordinator has the same physical shape as the single coordinator. Also, there are languages where the two coordinators of bisyndetic coordination are identical to each other but different from the single coordinator. For example³¹:

	<i>Correlative Coordinators</i>	<i>single coordinator</i>
Hungarian	mind... mind	és
Korean	-to.... -to	-hako
Hindi	aur...दोनो	aur

1.2.2.4 *Multi-syndetic coordination and multiple coordinands*

All the languages of world seem to allow multiple or n-ary coordination. To coordinate such a structure logically languages should involve n number of coordinators if bi-syndesis is primary, and n-1 number of coordinators if mono-syndesis is primary. But commonly languages use the coordinator omission so that all but the last coordinators are deleted in such cases. Generally, the pattern that emerges out of the omission is similar to the one in the binary coordination. For example, in binary

³⁰ What Haspelmath terms as contrastive coordination, Payne understands as praguian feature +separate.

³¹ Haspelmath. 2000. op cit. p :

coordination in English, coordinator is prepositive on the second coordinator; similarly all but the last coordinator are omitted in multiple-coordinand coordination, and the last coordinator is prepositive on the last coordinand. Likewise, if in a language the coordinator is postpositive on the first coordinand in the binary coordination then in multi-coordinand conjunction all but the last coordinator will be omitted and it will be postpositive on penultimate coordinand.

But this process is not so neat and often, surprising mechanisms are reported. Haspelmath, sites the example of Ponapean on one hand, an Austronesian language that does not allow coordinator deletion but for the last coordinator, while on the other hand Bantu language of Uganda omit all the coordinators, even though they prefer syndetic coordination in case of binary coordination.

But this does not mean that the coordinators are always deleted in n-ary coordination, they can be retained for the purpose of emphasis.

1.2.3 Types of coordinands

As already stated during the discussion on the theory of coordination, type of coordinand defines the coordinators that are used to conjoin them. In other words, often different types of phrases require different formal means to conjoin them. For instance the Fijian conjunction /ka/ may conjoin sentences, verb phrases, but not noun phrases; here a distinct form /kei/ is used³². Similarly, Somali has /iyo/ for NPs, /oo/ for verbs, and the suffix /-na/ for clauses³³.

Payne suggests a hierarchical model '**Sentence – Verb Phrase – Adjective Phrase – Prepositional Phrase – Noun Phrase**' which means that "a language will not use one strategy for Sentence and NP alone unless the intervening categories also permit

³²John R. Payne, Op. Cit, p :5

³³ ibid p:19

the same strategy”³⁴. But he recognizes that the constraint is not very strong. At best the sentential strategy is used for none or some phrasal categories, like VP; but often it is permitted at all the phrasal categories. We have no record of a language having one strategy for Sentence and VP; one for AP and PP; and yet another one for NP conjunction. Haspelmath adds that often the languages carrying this distinction confine it to conjunction only, i.e. do not extending it to disjunction.

Fig3: Reduction patterns

<i>verb reduction (tr.)</i>			
Input to deletion r.	VSO+VSO	SVO+SVO	SOV+SOV
Output of deletion r.	VSO+ SO	SVO+S O	SOV+SO
Output of regrp. r.	SO+ SOV
<i>Verb reduction (intr.)</i>			
Input to deletion r.	VS+ VS	SV+SV	
Output of deletion r.	VS+S	SV+S	
Output of regrp. r.	S+SV	
<i>Object reduction</i>			
Input to deletion r.	VSO+VSO	SVO+SVO	SOV+SOV
Output of deletion r.	VSO+VS	SVO+SV	SOV+S V
Output of regrp. r.	VS+VSO	SV+SVO
<i>Subject reduction</i>			
Input to deletion r.	VSO+VSO	SVO+SVO	SOV+SOV
Output of deletion r.	VSO+V O	VO+SVO	OV+ SOV
Output of regrp. r.	SVO+VO	SOV+OV

1.2.4 Typology based on coordination reduction

Haspelmath³⁵ discusses the typology of coordination reduction or ellipsis again on the criteria of position. Typology based on site of ellipsis is not relevant in case of cross-linguistic comparison.

³⁴ ibid p:6

³⁵ Haspelmath *Op Cit.* p:40

For instance if we are comparing verb reduction in Hindi and English, then for Hindi the site on which the ellipsis takes place would be 'C' while for English it is 'E'. But this information does not help us understand that these different sites in different languages having different word orders will have different sites for same grammatical category. Helga Harries-Delisle ³⁶, links coordination reduction to the word order typology.

The pattern of coordination reduction of syntactic and grammatical categories like subject, object, and verb in three groups of languages identified by Greenberg are as shown in fig3. Similarly typology of coordination reduction based on word order pattern can also be formed in relation to Adjectives, adverbs, genitives etc.

1.2.4 Subordination and coordination

Haspelmath³⁷ and van Oirsouw³⁸ discuss the criterion to distinguish coordinating particles from subordinating. Some of them are: variable position, word order (and clause internal structure), mutual exclusiveness, 'focus ability', and possibility of *wh* extraction. By variable position we mean that the subordinate clauses can come after or before the main clause. We see that 1.32 can alternatively be represented as 1.34. But coordinating particle always occurs in between the two clauses it coordinates. Secondly, while the two coordinate clauses must be "continuous and none overlapping", subordinate clauses (1.35) can be otherwise. Thirdly, two coordinating conjunctions can not occur side by side but this is not so in the case between coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (1.36).

1.34 Because he is upset. John wants to sleep.

Haspelmath takes six sites (three in each clause) of reduction and names them ABC+DEF.

³⁶ Fig3 is the partial representation of one that appears in Helga Harries-Delisle *Op Cit.*, page 553-4

³⁷ Martin Haspelmath, 1995, "The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category", In M. Haspelmath and Ekkehard König (ed), *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms – Adverbial Participles, Gerunds*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin. P:14

³⁸ Robert R. van Oirsouw, 1987, *The syntax of coordination*, Landon : Croom Helm; pp: 105-6

- 1.35 John because he is upset, wants to sleep.
 1.36 John is upset and so he wants to sleep.
 1.37 * John is upset and or/but wants to sleep.
 1.38 Only because John is upset, he wants to sleep.

Subordinating clause can be focused with the help of particles like *only* and *even* as is seen in 1.38. Also, of extraction of *wh* question is possible in subordinating clause (1.39). This type of extraction is impossible in coordinating clause (1.40).

- 1.39 Where because he is angry does John want to sleep?
 1.40 * Where does he want to sleep and he is angry.

With the help of these distinguishing features one can safely test if conjunction strategies are coordinating or not. Most significant is the case of **converbs** that are employed to express verbal conjunction. Though converbs are instrument of conjunction but the conjunction is subordinating in nature. In Hindi the most common verb used as converb is 'to do'. Notice in the sentences below that both Santhali and Kharia also use the verb 'to do' as converb. Masica observes that though all the Munda languages have converb forms but their limited variety in comparison to Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages suggests that they are borrowed³⁹. They are not reported in Khasi.

Santhali

1.41a) ram dɔ dakaʔ jɔm-kəte giti ina
 Ram SM food eat-do sleep Aux
 Having eaten his food, Ram slept.

1.41b) ram dɔ dakaʔ jɔm a:r giti ina
 Ram SM food eat and sleep Aux

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³⁹ Colin Masica, 1976, "Conjunctive participles", *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia*, Chicago University Press, Chicago p: 124

Having eaten his food, Ram slept.

Kharia

1.42a) sita pe gōngō-o ɔ:dɔ sita saju guje-o

Sita food cook-Pst and Sita utensils wash-Pst

Sita cooked food and sita washed utensils.

1.43b) sita pe gōn-kʰɔn sita saju guje-o

Sita food cook-do Sita utensils wash-Pst

Sita having cooked food, washed utensils.

Another kind of serial verb structure is found in case of **explicator compound verbs**, but they do not pose the problem to us because they are not conjunctive in nature. They are but adverbial instead. Therefore though both the cases involve serial verbs structure, they are not the part of our discussion of coordination in the three Austro-Asiatic languages.

1.3 Introduction to the languages

All the three languages, Santhali, Kharia and Khasi belong to the list of tribal languages in our Constitution. While Santhali and Kharia are Munda languages, Khasi is a Mon-Khmer language.

1.3.1 Geographic spread

Both the Munda languages are spoken primarily in Jharkhand, West Bengal and Orissa (refer to the maps in Appendix). Santhali a language spoken by Santhals who are arguably the earliest living humans in India before Aryans came and swept them to the small pockets. The tribal population of the Jharkhand is running a campaign to get the status of the official language of the state. It is mainly spoken in

Santhal Pargna, the district of Dumka in Jharkhand, parts of north-west Orissa and West Bengal. In case of Kharias, it is believed that they have migrated from Central provinces (Madhya Pradesh) to their current habitat; an argument supported by the large body of folk lore, apart from linguistic evidence (similarities with Kurku and Juang) ⁴⁰. Today the main concentration of Kharia Singhbhum tribe is in the districts of Ranchi, Gumla, Lohardaga, West and East and Hazaribagh of Jharkhand state; and in the forests of Mayurbhanj, and Sundargarh districts of Orissa.

Khasis, on the other hand inhabit the south-central section of the Khasi and Jaintia hills of Meghalaya and also north of Bangladesh (refer to the map in Appendix). Khasi population is like an island surrounded by the speakers of other language families as they are supposed to have migrated from the southeast⁴¹.

1.3.2 Social practices

Santhali and Kharia tribe represent one group in terms of their social setup and practices because they belong to the same area and sub-group of the Austro-Asiatic family. The Kharias are divided into three groups namely, Dudh, Dhelki and Hill Kharia⁴². The Hill Kharias are a most primitive community of the three. They depend solely upon forest resources. Others Kharias and Santhals are now primarily agricultural society, though hunting is still very popular. Both the tribes follow the tribal religion, which involves worshipping the spirits both good and evil, and also village and family ancestors. But today Christianity has made inroads into the two tribes due to the efforts of missionaries from the colonial times.

⁴⁰ S.C.Roy, and Ramesh Chandra Roy, 1937, *The Kharias*, Catholic Press, Ranchi

⁴¹ K.S.Nagaraja, *KHASI, A descriptive analysis*, Deccan college Post-Graduate & Research Institute, Pune, 1985, p:1

⁴² H.S.Biligiri, 1965, *Kharia Phonology, Grammar and Vocabulary*, Building centenary and Silver Jubilee Series:3, Deccan Collage, Poona. And D.Dasgupta, 1978 *Linguistic studies in Juang, Kharia Thar, Lodha, Mal-Pahariya, Ghataoli*, Anthropological survey of India, Calcutta.

The Calvinistic Methodist missionaries were the first to establish Christianity among the Khasi around 1832, and almost all the Khasis are Christians today. The Welsh and Baptist missionaries have helped Khasi people to adopt roman script for their language. But still the original animistic religion based on praying to the spirits and village ancestors remains alive in the little festivals like the 'Nongkrem' dance.

Munda family structure is patriarchal. Social structure of these tribes over the years has shifted more and more towards the Indo-Aryan. This is due to movement of tribal population towards urban centers for employment, and thereby more and more interaction of the tribe to the more dominant culture.

In contrast, Khasi society has matriarchal structure and this colors their language in most interesting ways, like in the assignment of gender to things. Most of the hunting tools and most of the fruits have the feminine marking. Generally the youngest daughter inherits the property and her husband comes to live in their house. Khasi people do not have dowry system.

1.3.3 Census report

According to the Census of India 1991 report, Santhali is second only to Bhili in number of speakers⁴³. Among the speakers of Munda languages, Santhali speakers constitute the majority, i.e. 57% of the total Munda population. Santhali has 5,216,325 speakers returning it as mother tongue (refer to census data in the appendix) out of which 40.02% speak two or more languages. Kharia has 225,556 speakers returning it as the mother tongue. Out of these more than half the number, about 56.77% are bilingual and another 10% speak three or more than three languages. Number of the Kharia monolinguals is scarce. Sadani is the lingua franca in Chotanagpur region with other regional languages like Oriya, Mundari, Bengali and other local languages like Ho (in Dhalbhum and Singhbhum) and Kandi (in Kalahandi, and Orissa)⁴⁴.

⁴³ Census of India 1991, Govt. of India Publication, New Delhi

⁴⁴ Veena Malhotra, 1982, *The structure of Kharia : A Study of Linguistic Typology and Language Change*, Phd. Thesis, JNU, unpublished, P 9

The property that is specific to the Austro-Asiatic languages is that of **vowel harmony**; the feature in which the affix acquires the properties of the stem vowel. It is suitably observed in both Munda as well as Khmer languages.

Kharia

1.52

Verb	noun
/jib/ 'touch'	/ji-ni-b/ 'touch'
/juŋ/ 'ask'	/ju-nu-ŋ/ 'question'
/job/ 'suck'	/jo-no-b/ 'sucking'
/joʔ/ 'sweep'	/joʔ-noʔ/ 'broom'
/kol/ 'count'	/ko-no-l/ 'counting'
/deb/ 'climb'	/de-ne-b/ 'ascent'

In the above data⁵⁰ infix, -N+vowel- is used to form noun from the corresponding verbs and the vowel in the infix changes according to the vowel of the first syllable of the verb.

Lexicon of the Austro-Asiatic languages is built thriving upon the word reduplication, expressive morphology (echo formation), borrowing and ambivalency. Following are the examples from Kharia.

Derivation of action nouns from verb bases⁵¹:

1.53	/suʔ/ 'stich'	/suʔ-suʔ/ 'stiching'
	/col/ 'go'	/col-col/ 'departure'

⁵⁰ Veena Malhotra, *Op. Cit.*, P:68

⁵¹ *ibid*, p:70

Derivation of present participles

1.54	/geb/ 'burn'	/geb-geb/ 'burning'
		/geb-geb ompay/ 'burning river'
	/gim/ 'fall'	/gim-gim/ 'falling'
		/gim-gim daʔ/ 'falling rain'

Also, Partial reduplication is used to express the general semantic domain specified by its constituent word

1.55	/bokob/ 'head'	/bokob-tokob/ 'head etc. /body'
	/laro/ 'palm'	/laro-taro/ 'palm ect. /palm and other trees'

There is no paucity of such examples in Khasi. Reduplicated words in Khasi can be divided in two types: stem that can't be used without reduplication, in other words onomatopoeic words; and those in which stem can be used without reduplication, in other words the stem is already part of the lexicon. As in. -

1.56a) hiu-hiu
STEM-Redup
'Murmur'

b) tani-tana
STEM-Redup
'Pathetically/ badly'

1.57a) jrañ-rañ-rañ
With sound-Pr. Redup- Pr. Redup
'Resoundingly'

- b) jlyan-lyan-lyan
 Deeply- Redup- Redup
 ‘Deeper and deeper’

The examples in 1.56 are the example of expressive morphology while the 1.57 example is of partial reduplication where stem is a lexical item. Also, later example shows that stem can be triplicate in Khasi. Interestingly, it is reported that Khasi employs the strategy of reduplication to arrive at 59 different adverbs of ‘crying’⁵².

Other interesting phenomenon that is emblematic of Austro-Asiatic languages is **ambivalency** of word-class. As already stated this tool helps these languages to put their limited resources to maximum use. By Ambivalency of the word-class we mean the operation of the same lexical base as noun as well as verb, or in other words no distinction between noun or verb class⁵³. In the examples below a noun takes a verb affix to act as a verb.

Santhali

1.58 /jɔm/ ‘food’ /ajɔm/ ‘eat’

Kharia

1.59 /lebu/ ‘man’ /lebu-ki/ ‘became man’

In Khasi agentive nouns are obtained by prefixing /noŋ-/ to the verb roots. These nouns are neuter nouns and could take any gender markings but nouns obtained by prefixing /jiŋ-/ to verb roots are feminine.

1.60 /sa:r/ ‘to sweep’; /noŋsa:r/ ‘sweeper’; /jiŋsa:r/ ‘sweeping’

⁵² Anvita Abbi, 2001, *A Manual of Fieldwork and Structures of Indian Languages*, Lincome Europa, P.38

⁵³ for further details ref. to D.N.S Bhatt, 1997, “Noun-Verb Distinction in Munda Languages”, In A. Abbi (ed.) *Languages of the Tribal and indigenous People of India The Ethnic Space*, Motilal Benarsidass Publishers, Delhi

A striking feature of Munda language is great number and variety of personal pronouns. With the distinction of animate/ inanimate, proximate/remote, inclusive/exclusive; a good range of pronouns is found in the language. A typical feature of Kharia is the three way number distinction. The singular number is unmarked; the dual and plural agreement markers are /-kiyar/ and /-ki/ respectively. Santhali on the other hand has only two-way distinction; singular which is unmarked and plural marked by /-ku/. Gender is not grammatical in both the languages and lexical marker is used in the case of kinship terms and other noun forms, like Kharia suffix /-dei/, is to specify the female counterpart.

Kharia

1.61 /kulum/ 'brother'

/kulum-dei/ 'sister'

Concurrently Khasi utilizes the distinctions on the basis of gender (in second as well as the third person), number (only singular and plural two part division is made), distance between addresser and the referent and the person addresser component to construct an elaborate pronominal system. Gender is grammatical in Khasi so all the things are either classified as masculine or feminine in singular. In plural number no gender distinction is maintained.

The line between morphology and syntax is blurred in Munda languages as they are mono-word languages banking heavily on affixing on verb to carry the information.

As in:

Santhali

1.62 ϵ ge:r-ked-ij-a

Scold-pst-OM 1ps sg-def

'X scolded me'

1.63 η el-ked-e -a-ij

See-pst-OM-def-SM 1ps sg

'I saw him'

The above examples show Santhali to be an Incorporating or Polysynthetic language. But it has gradually changed into an agglutinating language under the influence of Indo-Aryan languages that is spoken by the population around Santhals. This change has resulted in the redundancy feature in these languages, apart from changing the basic word order pattern in the language (compare the order in 1.63 and 1.64).

1.64 iŋ dɔ siriŋ-iŋ eiʔ lid-a
 1sg EM sing-1sg learn Aux-def.
 I learnt singing.

In the sentence above the verb is in the sentence final position. Also, verb carries the subject information like a mono-word language; making pronominal subject in the beginning of the sentence redundant. But Khasi has still maintained the SVO word order as seen in the following sentence.

1.65 ka k^hinnaʔ ka-la- ha:p na kane ka-dien
 FEM-sg Girl FEM-PST-fall ABB this Fem- tree
 She fell from this tree

Now let us examine the other features of the two sets of languages in the light of the Greenbergian Universals⁵⁴. One of the many implicational universals for the verb-final languages is the use of postpositional adposition. Kharia and Santhali are postpositional language. But Khasi, being the verb medial language, shows the mark of prepositional language as can be seen from the example 1.65 above

⁵⁴ Joseph H. Greenberg, 1963, "Some Universals of Grammar With Particular Reference To The Order of meaningful Elements", Joseph Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of Language*, MIT press, Cambridge.

The endocentric construction like noun phrase shows left branching in keeping with the convergent word order, i.e. the ordering of the constituents in the construction is: Demonstrative+ Numerals +Adjective +Noun⁵⁵. In other words, modifier precedes the noun that it is modifying as in.

Kharia

- 1.66 ip-te ho ubar-t^hoŋ borol kayar oi-e-m
 Ips-to those two-Bef. raw mango bring-fut-2sg
 Bring me those two raw mangoes.

Santhali

- 1.67 čanbol gəi? gəni
 tail cut monkey
 ‘Monkey whose tail is cut’

- 1.68 siddho giddrə
 Innocent child

In Khasi the order is reversed; modifier follows the modified i.e. adjectives follow the governing noun, and adverbs follow the verbs, as it is a verb medial language.

1.69 Adverbs⁵⁶:-

- /ʔiw/ ‘to smell’
 /ʔiw biiʔ/ ‘to smell sweet’
 /ʔiw k^hoŋ/ ‘to smell unpleasant’
 /ʔiw jlii/ ‘to smell of rotten fish’

Khasi has 15 adverbs ‘to smell’; 66 adverbs ‘to go’; and 77 adverbs ‘to speak’.

⁵⁵Joseph Greenberg, 1966, “Language Universals”, In *Current trends in Linguistics, Vol. 3, Theoretical Foundations*. The Hague: Mouton. Universal 20, p:111

⁵⁶Lilli Rabel, *Op. Cit*, P:64

1.70 Adjectives:-

ka kseʔ sa:w

FEM pine wood red

'red pine wood'

Again, in concordance to SOV language, Kharia shows the constructions in which possessor is followed by the noun possessed (GN) in case of alienable possession. The possessor is marked by suffix /-aʔ/ or its morpho-phonemic variant.

1.71 iŋ-aʔ put^hi

1sg-Poss book

my book

1.72 ram-ya pəgdʒi

Ram-Poss cap

Ram's cap

But the order is reversed in case of inalienable possession. Here contracted pronominal suffixes denoting the possessor nouns are suffixed to possessed noun, giving rise to NG ordering. This is obviously anomalous to the SOV typology.

1.73 aba-iŋ

Father-Poss. 1ps

my father

1.74 bəkəb-dəm

head-Poss. 3ps

his head

Further, when the possessor is not a pronoun (in case of inalienable possession), double possessive marking is used.

- 1.75 jɔn-aʔ biʃi-dɔm
John-Poss. daughter-Poss.3ps
John's daughter

In case of Santhali /-ra/ is suffixed to the governing noun in animate and /-ak'/ or /-reak'/ in case of inanimate and order remains the same for both.

- 1.76 oɾak'-ra kisā
Master GEN house
'Master of the house'

- 1.77 pa māhā-reak' kəmi
Three day-GEN work
'Work of three days'

The probable explanation for possessed- possessor ordering in Kharia is proto-Munda SVO word order⁵⁷, and the redundancy by the virtue of double possessive marker 'perhaps denote(s) a transitional stage in the shift towards the preferred possessor-possessed ordering characteristic of the rigid SOV typology'⁵⁸. This gives strength to the view that Kharia and Santhali show remarkable convergence of surface word order traits⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ Pinnow, 1966, "A Comparative Study of the Verb in the Munda Language", In N. H. Zide (ed.) *Studies in Comparative Austro-Asiatic Linguistics*, The Hague, Mouton,

⁵⁸ Veena Malhotra, *Op. Cit.*, P:275

⁵⁹ Colin Masica, 1976, *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, P:13

In Khasi, the order of the constituents is; possessed Noun + marker of possession + Possessor, Which conforms to the SVO structure.

1.78 ka- tu:piya jon u-briew
Fem-cap Gen Mas-man
Cap of man

On the basis of above discussion we can safely conclude that Santhali and Kharia are fast losing their original characteristics but not Khasi.

1.4 Scope of the study

The discussion on the issues of theories of coordination has established that coordination theories are not supported adequately by the cross linguistic data (generally centering only on English and other European languages). Also, the link between typology of coordination and word order has not been successful established. Such a position clearly necessitates recording of coordinate structure of languages, specially these three languages because though they belong to the same stock (Austro-Asian), they have two different word orders. Traditional grammars of these languages record the coordinating particles, but they hardly address the typological concern. In this dissertation an attempt has been made to present the data systematically in terms of typology of coordination. Also, in the process, the established typology tested; whether it is equipped enough to handle the structure of these languages.

Further, an attempt has been made to look into the socio-linguist aspect involving the three languages. We know that Khasi represents strongest form of language retention but in comparison Santhali and Kharia are fast changing due to contact and convergence and that it is so because of geographical distribution of languages. Therefore an attempt must be made to not only preserve the indigenous structures of these languages but also ascertain the extent of conversion. The study tries to indicate these changes in the area of coordination.

1.5 Methodology

Sources of the data have been both primary and secondary. I have collected the sentences from the native speakers of the languages and also have made use of published and unpublished grammars of these languages. Working with Santhali was not new and I am well acquainted with the informants and their language (we worked on Santhali for our MA course). For Khasi my main informants are my classmates. Their understanding of linguistics and command over language were of great advantage. For Kharia in contrast, I have no informant of my age group, as the present generation has little or no fluency in the language. This is because they hardly use the language even at home. Hence Kharia data has been drawn primarily from published source.

For elicitation of data, I began by collecting simple sentences and then forming the compounds by adding the coordinating particles. For coordination reduction, first simple conjoined sentences without any reduction and then each category was reduced to check if such structures were felicitous in the three languages. For Santhali and Kharia the contact language was Hindi while for Khasi it was English.

CHAPTER: 2

CONJUNCTION AND DISJUNCTION

Conjunction and disjunction are the two semantic types of coordination of the form **A and B**, and **A or B** respectively, where 'A' and 'B' are the two different coordinands that fulfill the syntactic and semantic identity criterion.

In this chapter, I will study the syntactic typology of conjunction and disjunction that results due to number and position of coordinands and coordinators along with several semantic sub-types of conjunction and disjunction found in the three languages. I will also take a look at the use of negative particle in conjunction and disjunction.

2.1 CONJUNCTION

The most basic form of conjunction is the one involving 'juxtaposition'. It is known as the **asyndetic** conjunction because it doesn't involve any overt coordination marker. This addresses the dichotomy between natural conjunction and accidental conjunction¹. While natural conjunction results exocentric compounds, accidental conjunction necessitates the use of conjunction. Let us look at the examples from the three languages. Notice that juxtaposition of phrasal categories is preferred over sentential juxtaposition. But Veena Malhotra² brings to our notice very productive use of juxtaposition of sentences employed by the riddles in Kharia.

Santhali

2.1 **juri pəri**

husband wife

husband wife

¹ For more details look at chapter1 section 1.2.1.1 and 1.2.2.1

² Veena Malhotra, 1982, op cit, p: 293

2.2 ram dɔ pəd^haw ɔl-hoʔ dari- e

Ran SM read write Aux

Ram could already read and write.

Kharia

2.3 beta beti

boy girl

Children.

2.4 hanti uti

there here

all around

2.5 so so-tay

husband wife

husband wife

Khasi

2.6 u-briew ka-briew

Mas- human Fem-human

Man (and) women

2.7 ka- kseʔ ba i:tinna-bha ba khirwytʔ

Fem- pine wood fine-Intensifier costly

Very fine and costly pine wood.

2.8 ŋi leyt- ban ba:m- ban diʔ-ban

1pl go-Inf eat-Inf drink-Inf

We go to eat, to drink.

Such instances of asyndetic constructions are limited in the given three languages. In other words asyndetic constructions are not basic in these languages and to achieve the multiplicity of semantic distinctions, syndetic coordination is used instead.

In the **mono-syndetic** constructions each of the three languages uses a single coordinator to conjoin all the phrases, clauses and also the sentences. In other words, the same coordinator encircles whole of the ‘implicational hierarchy’³.

Santhali uses the coordinator /a:r/ for monosyndetic coordination. This might be a borrowed word from the Indo-Aryan languages, spoken in the area (like Maithali and Bengali use ‘a: r’ for the same).

Noun phrase

2.9 bōhia a:r misera

ladies and Gentlemen

Ladies and gentleman.

2.10 iŋ dɔ kɔihɔr jɔma a:r kicriŋ ima dia

1sg SM beggar food and cloth give Aux (TMA)

I gave the beggar food and cloths.

Adjectival phrase

2.11 nil a:r səsəŋ bəha əgu ime

Blue and red flower bring Aux (TMA)

Bring blue and red flower.

³ John R. Pyne, 1985, op. cit, P: 5

By Implicational hierarchy, he implies the implicational universal followed in the order of S-VP-PP-AP-NP. For further details refer to chapter 1.

Adverbial phrase

- 2.12 gədi dɔ bæi- bæi- te a:r sɔntɔr te cəlaɔ me
car SM slow-Redup- Ins and careful-Ins drive Aux (TMA)
Drive the car slowly and carefully.

Verb phrase

- 2.13 sita dɔ eneʔ a:r siriŋ kida
Sita SM dance and sing Aux (TMA)
Sita danced and sang

Sentences

- 2.14 iŋ t^hen hɔiɔr kəmiŋ a:r uni t^hen ara kəmiŋ
1sg have green shirt and 2sg have red shirt
I have green shirt and he has red shirt.

Kharia has two native particles /rɔ/ and /ɔ:dɔ/ for monosyndetic coordination. Today both these particles are often used interchangeably. In fact present Kharia speaking generation doesn't distinguish between the two at all, but the generation older to them shows a pattern of syntactic constrains and semantic differences between the two.

Noun Phrase:

- 2.15 kulum rɔ kulumdei
sibling and sibling-Fem
Brother and sister
- 2.16 ram rɔ sita bɔgica-te ebo-tej-kiar
Ram and Sita Garden-Loc play-Prog.-Du.
Ram and Sita are playing in the garden.

Adjectival Phrase:

2.17 u rɔ hɔ hɔo-te yɔe
 this and that house-Acc see
 Look at this and that house.

Adverbial Phrase⁴

2.18 hɔ-te- lebu-ki k^haɽja- baru rɔ ethed- bɔrɔl- umei terɔ
 gaʔ ki-te bɔʔ goʔ-
 na
 there-of man- Kharia- well and peacefully live- Neg ECV(give)
 Plu Pst- eat-
 3Plu Fut
 That people of that place did not let the Kharias to live well and peacefully

Verb Phrase

2.19 sita kuiʔ tei rɔ lɔŋ tei
 Sita sing Aux and dance Aux
 Sita sang and danced

‘In formal, religious text /ɔ:dɔ/ has very high frequency of occurrence, where it displaces /rɔ/ almost completely’⁵. Occurrence of /ɔ:dɔ/ is very limited otherwise. Long sentences and narratives in colloquial speech are coordinated with /rɔ/. . Also, /ɔ:dɔ/ is used only in case of binary lexical coordination, while /rɔ/ is used for the multi-coordinand coordination too. Further, when /ɔ:dɔ/ functions as an sentence coordinator it connects two sentences that do not have the identical subject nouns, but /rɔ/ connects the

⁴ Veena Malhotra. op. cit, p: 296

⁵ *ibid*, p: 297

sentences irrespective of identity of subject. Hence the noun ellipsis is not congeal to /ɔ:dɔ/ (also refer to chapter4).

In Khasi the mono-syntactic conjunction is /bad/. It coordinates all the phrases and all types of clauses.

Noun phrase

- 2.20 ɲga ay ia-u-noŋk^hɔŋ u-rɔʈi **bad** ka-jain
1sg give Acc -Mas-begger Mas-bread and Fem-cloth
I gave the beggar bread and cloth.

Adjective phrase⁶

- 2.21 ka- miej ba-rim ba yon **bad** ba he?
Fem.- Table old black and big
Old black and big table.

Adverbial Phrase

- 2.22 niah ia-ka-kali suki **bad** du sumar-bha
Drive Acc- Mas-car slow and care –intensifier
Drive the car slowly and carefully.

Verb Phrase⁷

- 2.23 u-khla un-wan **bad** u-pinyp ia-ki mra:d
Mas.- tiger Fut-come and Mas.-kill Acc-Plu animals
Tiger will come and kill the animals.

⁶ K.S. Nagaraja, 1985, op. cit, p: 20

⁷ ibid, p: 99

Sentence

- 2.24 ŋa-n šim sam **bad** phi šin sa:w
1sg-Fut take five and 2sg take four
I will take five and you take four.

One of the most interesting facets of the Khasi conjunction marker /bad/ is that it is also the **comitative marker**, i.e. the marker of accompaniment. Look at the two sentences below.

- 2.25 u-ram u-la-leit **bad** ka-sita
Mas-Ram Mas-go with Fem sita
Ram_♂ went with Sita.

- 2.26 u-ram **bad** ka-sita ki-lah-ia-leit
Mas-ram and Fem-Sita Plu-Pst-Acc-go
Ram and Sita went.

In the sentences 2.25 and 2.26 the gender and number agreement marker on verbs are different. This shows the difference in conjunction and ‘with’ construction. In former sentence verb agrees with ‘Ram’ hence the masculine singular marker ‘u-’, but in the latter sentence verb is marked by plural marker ‘ki-’. The explanation is simple, when the subject participates in conjunctive coordination, the verb agrees with its plural argument. But such is not the case in the comitative coordination⁸.

Santhali and Kharia however, have comitative words which are not identical to coordinator of conjunction. Comitative marker in Santhali are /sele/ and /sɔŋge/, which is another instance of lexical borrowing from Indo Aryan languages. Kharia uses /sɔri/ to mark accompaniment.

⁸ For difference in the coordination reduction in the two constructions refer to chapter4 section 4.1.2.

Santhali

- 2.27 *ij̥ boya airen gatti-ku sele/soŋge sinema nyəl-e cəla*
Isg sister own friend-Plu with cinema see go
My sister will go for movie with her own friends.

Kharia

- 2.28 *ram sita-ya sori cəl-ki*
Ram Sita-Acc With go-Pst
Ram went with Sita.

- 2.29 *ram ɔdɔ sita cəl-ki-mei*
Ram and Sita go-Pst-Du
Ram and Sita went

By looking at the set of sentences (one with ‘and’ and other with ‘with’) one can understand the fine grained distinctions maintained in Kharia and Santhali but absent in Khasi.

Another use of the conjunctive coordinator is the **augmentative conjunction** Khasi and Santhali do not allow the augmentative conjunction. In Khasi several identical elements are not conjoined through the conjunction to express intensity of action or property. Because of the profound use of reduplication in the language, especially in case of adverbs, reduplication is preferred over conjunction to serve the purpose in Khasi.

- 2.30 *ka-ʃnoŋ ka-la- naŋ heʔ ši naŋ heʔ*
Fem-city Fem-Pst-become big Redup.M become big
The city grew bigger and bigger.

2.31 ka-jaka ka-la-naŋ rit ši naŋ rit
 Fem farm Fem-Pst become small Redup.M become small
 The farm become smaller and smaller.

In contrast, Santhali does not employ the technique of reduplication to achieve the desired effect. Notice that emphatic marker is used in the sentence 2.32.

2.32 ŋeher do a:r hɔ̃ ləto idi-na
 City SM more EM big happen-Perf
 City became even bigger

Kharia, on the other hand does show augmentative constructions, as in the sentence 2.33.

2.33 goʔlo kənon rə kənon hoi-təi
 farms small and small happen
 Farms got smaller and smaller.

Another type of monosyndetic construction is called **Summary construction**. Here a quantifier or numerical is used after listing the noun coordinands. Such a coordinator binds the coordinand by counting them together. It is found in all the languages and so also in all the three Austro-Asiatic languages under consideration. The examples given below show the use of quantifier (in Khasi) as well as numeral (in Kharia) to sum the nouns up and designate them as one set and thereby causing plural agreement markers on the verb.

Khasi

2.34 ka-tina ka-sita ka-po:ja baroʔ ŋipra ki-la-wan
 Fem-Tina Fem-Sita Fem-Pooja all sister Pst-Plu-come
 Tina, Sita and Pooja all the sisters came.

Kharia

2.35 sita tina poja **up^he** bohini del-ki-mei

Sita Tina Pooja three sister come-Pst-Plu

Sita, Tina, Pooja all three sisters came.

Now, let us move on to examine the bisyndetic constructions. As is stated in chapter 1, the languages generally have the contrastive variant of their mono-syndetic forms in the bisyndetic counterpart and in such a circumstance, often one of the two coordinators is identical to the one used in mono-syndetic constructions. Same is the case with all the three languages. Let us examine if the position of coordinators with respect to the coordinands remains same to the ones in monosyndetic constructions in the given three languages.

Khasi employs the form co-A co-B (prepositive), for the bisyndetic coordination, similar to what it employs for monosyndetic coordination (A co-B, prepositive on second coordinand).

2.36 u-ram **bad** ka-sita ki-lah-yat^ho?

Mas-Ram and Fem-Sita Plu-Pst-marry

Ram and Sita married.

2.37 **baro?** ar-ujut ram **bad** sita ki-la-yt^ho?

all two +Animate Ram and Sita Plu-Pst-marry

Both Ram and Sita married.

The difference between 2.36 and 2.37 is **contrastive**; by the former sentence one would naturally deduce that Ram and Sita married each other while from latter, one would naturally construe that both married different people, and in the process disallow

the ambiguous interpretation possible in the former sentence. Also, note the order of coordinator remains the same, and that the second coordinator of the bisyndetic construction is identical to the single coordinator and both the coordinator precedes the conjuncts.

On the other hand, Santhali and Kharia have prepositive coordinator on the second coordinand in monosyndetic coordination (A co-B form), but employ postpositive coordinators in bisyndetic coordination, A-co B-co. Also in these two languages the first of the two conjunction markers is identical to the mono-syndetic coordinator.

Santhali

2.38 iŋ dɔ kɔihɔr jɔma a:r kichri banar-iŋ ima dia
 1sg SM begger food and cloth both-1sg give Aux
 I gave the begger both food and cloth.

2.39 nil a:r saʂaŋ banar bəha əju ime
 blue and red both flower bring Aux
 Bring both blue and red flower.

Analogous to the Khasi sentence 2.37, the sentence 2.39 requires the reading that two different flowers; one red and other yellow are brought, unlike its monosyndetic counterpart, which would be, ambiguous in this respect (either two flowers of two different colors or only single flower having two colors).

Kharia

2.40 ram ɔ:dɔ sita-ya kersɔŋ hɔi-ki
 Ram and Sita-Nom. marriage happen-Plu
 Ram and Sita got married.

2.41 ram ɔ:ɔ sita **beriya-a** kersɔŋ hɔi-ki
 Ram and Sita both-Nom. marriage happen
 Ram and Sita both got married.

2.42 ram rɔ ʃyam **bɔria-ga** bɔgica-te ebo:-tei-kiyar
 Ram and Shyam both-Nom garden- Loc play- Prog-Du
 Both Ram and Shyam are playing in the garden.

Notice in the sentence 2.40 (a monosyndetic construction) nominative marker is suffixed to Sita (one of the conjuncts) but in sentence 2.41 (a bisyndetic construction), it is suffixed to second coordinator. Similarly in Santhali (2.38), subject marker, which is suffixed to object in monosyndetic constructions, is suffixed to the second coordinator.

When one needs to put emphasis at each coordinand then **emphatic marker** is used along with the conjunction. Khasi uses the emphatic marker /ru?/ along with regular conjunction to achieve it.

2.43 ka-sita ka-loŋ ba meŋ **bad** ba buitu? **ru?**
 Fem-Sita Fem-is haughty and sharp EM
 Sita is haughty and sharp too.

2.44 ka sita ka-ʃet jiŋʃet **bad** ka-sait jain **ru?**
 Fem-Sita Fem-cook food and Fem-wash cloth EM
 Sita cooked food and also washed clothes.

Semantic nuances are noticed when the sentences with the emphatic marker are placed against the sentences without such emphatic markers. Consider the sentence 2.44; if the sentence had been uttered without the element 'too' the astonishment/disapproval

of the speaker would not have been so obvious. The marker is compatible with all the phrases and as well as with the sentences.

Similar is the case of Santhali and Kharia. Santhali has the emphatic particle /hō/ while Kharia has the marker /jɔ/

Santhali

- 2.45 uni t^hen gulabi baha a:r ara hō ina
 3sg have pink flower and red EM to be
 He has pink flower and red one too.

Kharia

- 2.46 sita bəɽwari ae-i rɔ/ɔ:dɔ hɔʃiyar jɔ
 Sita haughty is and clever EM
 Sita is haughty and clever too.

The emphatic particle can be used with all the phrases (NP, AdjP, AdvP, and VP). Also, it can be moved around the sentence and can be used more than once. Apart from conferring emphasis, it also lends greater acceptability to ellipsis (discussed in chapter 4).

Santhali

- 2.47 ram dɔ jɔnga hō jɔte ket-iyā a:r ikɔi hō kɔi kida
 Ram SM feet EM touch do-Aux and forgiveness EM ask Aux
 Ram touched my feet also and begged for forgiveness also.

Kharia

- 2.48 sita kuiʔ-ki jɔ rɔ lɔŋ-ki jɔ
 Sita sing-Pst EM and dance-Pst EM
 Sita sang too and dance too.

Khasi

- 2.49 ka-sita ka-rwai ruʔ bad ka-ʃad ruʔ ha ka-sngi k^ha jɔŋ-ka
 Fem-Sita Fem-sing EM and Fem-dance EM on-Fem- birthday- 3sg

Sita sang too and danced too on her birthday.

Before closing the discussion on conjunction we must look at the **multi-coordinand conjunction**. Coordinands can be coordinated by using coordinator again and again or also by coordinator reduction of all but the last one. Of the two the preferred construction is one where the coordinator reduction takes place in all but the last occurrence.

Khasi

- 2.50 \int inraŋ **bad** kint^hei **bad** ki-kanie-kpa **ru?** ki- ishimbint ha-ka-fuŋŋon
Boys and girls and Plu-mother- EM Plu- Loc-Fem-
father participate function
Boys and girls and parents too participated in the function.

- 2.51 ka-tina ka-sita **bad** ka-puja ki-la-wan
Fem-Tina Fem-Sita and Fem-Pooja Pst-Plu-come
Tina, Sita and Pooja came.

Santhali

- 2.52 a:m t^hen ara hōriōr səsəŋ **a:r** nil rōŋ-ria kicri mina
2sg have red green yellow and blue color-Gen. cloth Aux
You have red green yellow and blue colored cloth.

- 2.53 kuṛi kuṛa **a:r** unko-ren gōgō-baba-ku he ina
Girl boy and 3Plu-Gen. mother-father- Plu come Aux
Girls, boys and their parents came.

Kharia

- 2.54 \int oɓo bedi rō merōn yaro-mei

dog goat and horse run-Plu

Dog, goat, and horse ran away.

2.55 iŋ peŋja-te mək^hən biliŋ rɔ pav kɔlɔŋ sɔd-ŋ

1sg market-from butter salt and bread buy bring-1sg

I brought butter, salt, bread from the market.

In Kharia examples we notice the absence of alternative conjunction /ɔ:dɔ/ in multi-coordinand constructions. Now we will begin our discussion of disjunction in these languages

2.2 DISJUNCTION

All the three languages, like almost all the Indian languages, have disjunctive coordinator. Again, like in case of conjunction, the same coordinator is used throughout the hierarchy. Khasi uses two coordinators for monosyndetic disjunctive coordination; /ne/ and /lane/ (the difference between the two is articulated in the discussion about interrogative disjunction).

2.56 ka sakri kinthey ne u ŋinraŋ

Fem servant girl or Mas boy

The servant girl or the boy.

2.57 phi itynad kane ne kathei ka buldiŋ

2sg like this or that Fem building

You like this or that building.

2.58 Nga lan ban iaïd lynba ka -lynti stet lane bha

1sg can walk across Fem- road fast or carefully
 I can cross the road fast or carefully.

Santhali coordinator for disjunction in monosyndetic constructions is /se/. But a lot of speakers due to overbearing influence of Hindi also use /ya/. What is an interesting schema of things is the fact that some speakers tend to use /ya-se/. This is obviously using Hindi and Santhali disjunctive coordinator together. Munda languages have over the centuries come to acquire such redundancy features.⁹

2.59 ram ya/se ravi a:m songe cəla a:

Ram or Ravi 2sg with go-Def

Ram or Ravi will go with you.

2.60 a:m dɔ juə se həna uia-em kusia kəna

2 sg SM this or that house-2sg like Aux

You like this or that house.

2.61 ca:-ŋ agu ya/se kɔfi

Tea-S Agr. (1 sg) bring or coffee

Bring me tea or coffee.

Kharia has the particle /nɔ/ for monosyndetic disjunction. But more commonly Indo-Aryan /ya/ and /cahe/ are put to use, as is seen in the following examples:-

2.62 Ram nɔ ravi a:m-a sɔri cɔ-na

Ram or Ravi 2sg-S Agr with go-Fut

Ram or Ravi will go with you.

⁹ Redundancy is common feature of language in contact. For further details look at Anvita Abbi. 1994. *Semantic Universals in Indian Languages*, Indian Institute of advanced study, Shimla. (chapter 1)

2.63 ighay borol-na kathlik-guḍ nɔ protestant- guḍ
 how live-to catholic-like or protestant-like
 How should we live like catholic or protestant?

2.64 a:m-te u oʔ bəi bəi ai-e nɔ hō
 2sg-Dat that house like is or this
 You like that house or this.

2.65 hɔkaɾ pet^hia-te gay ya orej mās sɔŋgo pal-e-m
 man market-from cow or buffalo meat buy bring-Pre-3sg
 He brought cow or buffalo from the market?

If we compare the Santhali and Kharia sentences to their counterparts in Indo-Aryan languages spoken in vicinity, we find them to be exact translation.

Also, the construction requiring simple juxtaposition to mean disjunction is usually not found in the three languages. This is explainable because such a strategy is reserved for conjunction. But such constructions are present in disjunction of numerals, as in the Khasi example below: -

Khasi

2.66 la:y (ne) sa:w
 three (or) four
 three or four

K.S. Nagaraja points out that this indicates the boundary¹⁰. But in my opinion it can also indicate that speaker is approximating. In the parallel structures with overt disjunction, the speaker sets the boundary and is more exacting.

¹⁰ K. S. Nagaraja , op. cit, p: 82

Santhali

2.67 sita do **pe-pun** din-e tahe-na

Sita SM two-three days stay
Sita will stay for two (or) three days

2.68 sita do **pe ya pun** din-e tahe-na

Sita SM two or three days stay
Sita will stay for two or three days

The sentences given above show that, both kinds of constructions are attested in these languages. But what is noteworthy is the fact that both the constructions are not the same in their semantic space. While in the sentence without the disjunction, speaker wants to convey simply that Sita is coming for few days, which could be more than three days. But in the second sentence speaker is setting the boundary.

As already pointed out in chapter 1, like conjunction, disjunction also has a contrastive variant. The contrastive variant of disjunction in Santhali is not a bisyndetic construction. The physical form of the contrastive coordinator is not identical to single disjunctive as well. It is actually the 'negative element-emphatic element' kind of coordinator, which is also found in Hindi.

2.69 a:m do ente?-me **baŋ-k^han** siriŋ-me

2sg SM dance-do Neg-then sing-do
Either you sing or dance.

2.70 ram-e cōla-a **baŋ-k^han** rəvi

ram go-def Neg-then ravi
Either Ram will go or Ravi

For the construction of the form ‘A otherwise B’, which is quite typical to Indian subcontinent, Santhali uses the sequence of ‘and+ negative particle-+ emphatic particle’.

- 2.71 **cah a:r bəŋ-k^han an riəɾa agu me**
 tea and Neg-then cold drink bring Aux
 Bring either tea or cold drink

It is interesting to note that apart from the native monosyndetic contrastive construction some Santhali speakers also employ a bisyndetic construction which uses Hindi /yatə/ structure for the same. As in the example below:-

- 2.72 **ijŋ də yato usra sɔdɔk-ijŋ parəm dri-a: Yato səntɔr te**
 1sg SM or-then fast road-SM cross do-fut or-then carefully
 Either I can cross the road fast or carefully.

Furthermore, Kharia truly copies the Aryan structure for the contrastive disjunction. The particle in use for monosyndetic construction is used twice, in other words like conjunction the contrastive variant of monosyndetic disjunction is also bisyndetic. This shows remarkable change towards Hindi.

- 2.73 **cahe a:m a:lɔg-na cahe kuiŋ-na**
 or 2sg dance- or sing-
 Either you dance or sing.

- 2.74 **nɔ ram nɔ ravi ijŋ-a sɔri ɔl-ki**
 or Ram or Ravi 1sg- with go-Pst
 Either Ram or Ravi will go with me.

Like native construction in Santhali, Khasi also has monosyndetic construction for +separate disjunction. To stress each of coordinands Khasi uses the interrogative coordinator (discussed below) and therefore there is no need to use the bisyndetic form.

2.75 u-ram **lane** u-ravi un-leit bad phi
 Mas-Ram or Mas-Ravi Fut go with 2sg
 (Either) Ram or Ravi will go with you.

2.76 ka bhabriew ka meri **lane** ka bhabriew ka cat^hərin
 Fem beautiful Fem Mary or Fem beautiful Fem Catherine
 (either) Mary is beautiful or Catherine is beautiful.

Interrogative disjunction as against **standard disjunction** is another semantic variety of disjunction. Both the constructions could be question, only when hearer is not forced to answer in one of the two coordinands, it is interrogative disjunction. But if it suffices to give answer in ‘Yes’ or ‘no’, then it is an incident of polar question or standard disjunction. Santhali and Kharia do not distinguish between the two, i.e. they do not have different markers to separate them.

Santhali

2.77 singra jəm-a se lado
 samosa eat-def or ladoo
 You will eat samosa or ladoo?

2.78 a:m ɛnɛ? se baŋ
 2sg dance or Neg
 You will dance or not?

But Khasi maintains the distinction between the two; /lane/ is used for interrogative disjunction while /ne/ for standard disjunction.

2.79 Phi la-iɔhi ne -em ka-film peʃən ɔf krist
 2sg Pst-see or -Neg FEM-film Passion of Christ
 you saw the film Passion of Christ or not?

2.80 u-wan haŋne lane u-leyt šatay
 3sg -come here or 3sg go there
 He comes here or he goes there.

Further, **meta-linguistic** disjunction is also represented by the same coordinator '**lane**' in Khasi.

2.81 la-khot ia- ka- Japan ka-jaka ka-ba ka-sngi ka-mih lane nipon
 Pst- Acc-Fem- Fem Fem- Fem- Fem- or nipon
 call Japan land that Sun rise
 Japan is called the land of Rising Sun or Nippon.

In Santhali /se/ and /a:r baŋk^han/ are used to perform this function as in the following sentence.

2.82 japan dɔ candu rakabɔ disam mita-a a:r baŋk^han/se nipon
 Japan SM Sun rising country call-def and not then/or Nippon
 Japan is called country of rising Sun otherwise/or Nippon

Again, like in case of conjunction, in **multi coordinand disjunction** also, all but the last coordinator can be reduced or deleted in all the three languages.

Kharia

- 2.83 hɔ lebu merɔm beʃi nɔ sɔlɔʃ sɔgna lamt-e
that man horse goat or dog buy want-fut
That man wants to buy horse goat or dog.

2.3 NEGATIVE IN CONJUNCTION AND DISJUNCTION

Conjunction and disjunction constructions can contain the negative particles. The negative particle in such construction can occur with (2.84) or without (2.86) the emphatic marker. /ba/ is the negative particle in Santhali.

Santhali

- 2.84 ram hɔ bai cəla a:r rəvi hɔ bai cala
Ram EM Neg go and Ravi EM Neg go
Ram didn't go also, and Ravi didn't go also

Negative marker in Khasi is /im/ which is phonologically conditioned. /-m/ occurs after a vowel and /im/ occurs after a consonant (sentence 2.92). Also, former always occurs as the part of preceding word. In the following sentences it occurs suffixed to gender-number markers.

Khasi

- 2.85 u-jɔn u-m riɛwspaʔ bad u-m duʔ ruʔ
Mas-John Mas-neg rich and Mas-neg poor EM
John is not rich and not even poor.
- 2.86 bun ki briew ki ŋeit ia-u-blei bad ki-m leit iŋmane
Many Plu man Plu believe Acc-Gen-God and Plu-Neg go church
Many people believe in God and not go to church.

In Kharia /um/ can function as the negative particle. In the negative constructions the person agreement marker on the verb moves from verb-suffix position to negative marker-suffix position. There is another form of sentential negative particle /umbo/ which is morphologically free form and can occur in sentence-initial position, clause final position and sentence final position (in alternative yes-no question).

Kharia

2.87 hɔ̃ konseldʊ nɔ̃ kunʃu-ki poʔda um-ay col-ki

those woman and child-Plu village Neg.-3Plu go-PST

Those woman and the children did not go to the village.

2.88 musa peʃ^hiya cɔ̃-am n-umb

today market go-2sg or-Neg

Will you go to the market today or not?

Negative contrastive coordination is special use of negation employed in every language and in Santhali ‘negative element-emphatic marker’ of form ‘co-A co-B’ is utilized which very much like one used in Hindi. The different semantic nuances are better understood when we compare the two sentences below. In Kharia such constructions use borrowed coordinators from Aryan languages.

Santhali

2.89 ram a:r rahul ba-kin heʔ lina

Ram and Rahul Neg-SM.Plur come Aux

Ram and Rahul did not come.

2.90 baŋ-dɔ̃ ram baŋ-dɔ̃ Rahul iŋ ʃel- legi-kin heʔ lina

neg-EM Ram Neg-EM Rahul 1sg see- Dat-S Agrr come Aux

Neither Ram nor Rahul Came to see me.

Kharia

- 2.91 kulam-ɖay-nom **na** iɖa ɖel-ki **na** musa
Sibling-Fem-2sg. Gen Neg. yesterday come Neg. today
your sister came neither yesterday nor today.

In Khasi, the contrastive negative coordination shows interesting pattern, though strategy that requires only single use of negative particle along with the interrogative disjunction is present still often ‘neg.....or-neg’ is also employed.

- 2.92 u jɔn **em** riwspaʔ **lane** **em** duʔ
Mas John Neg rich or NegꞤ poor
John is neither rich nor poor.

- 2.93 u jɔn **lane** ka meri ki-k^hlem –la-wan bad nga
Gen John or Gen-Mary Plu-Neg-Pst-come with 1sg
John or Mary not went with me.

What needs to be highlighted here is the facts that for negative contrastive construction, like Hindi constructions, the two Munda languages use the negative particles alone (no other coordinator is required) but Khasi requires the use of single disjunction along with the negative particle.

To summarize, all the three languages have conjunction and disjunction markers which encircle whole implicational hierarchy. Santhali and Kharia apart from using their own coordinators, also use borrowed coordinators from Indo-Aryan languages, especially in the case of Kharia where the present generation almost always uses the Aryan loan coordinators. The table below summarizes all the conjunctive and disjunctive markers in all the three languages.

Fig4: CORDINATORS FOR CONJUNCTION AND DISJUNCTION

	conjunction		disjunction	
Languages	<i>monosyndetic</i>	<i>bisyndetic</i>	<i>monosyndetic</i>	<i>bisyndetic</i>
Santhali	a:r (A coB)	a:r....banar (Aco Bco)	se, ya, yase, bəŋk ^h an (A coB)	ya...ya (coA coB)
Kharia	rɔ, ɔ:dɔ (A coB)	rɔbɔria (Aco Bco)	nɔ, ya, cahe (A coB)	nɔ....nɔ cahe...cahe (coA coB)
Khasi	bad (A coB)	baro?...bad (coA coB)	ne, lane (A coB)	-

Khasi has various features that distinguish it from the two language of Munda group: One, Where the two Munda languages have postposition order of coordinators in bisyndetic conjunction, Khasi has prepositive order; Second, unlike the two Munda languages the conjunction and the comitative marker are identical in Khasi; thirdly, Khasi distinguishes between simple and interrogative disjunction and uses the interrogative disjunction as the coordinator for contrastive construction but other two languages favor the use of bisyndetic form.

Chapter 3

ADVERSATIVE AND CAUSAL COORDINATION

Unlike conjunction and disjunction, adversative and causal coordination involves only two coordinands, in other words they are always binary. Multi-coordinand coordination is incompatible to adversative and causal coordination. Adversative coordination is of the form **A but B**, and Causal coordination is of form **A for B**, where 'A' and 'B' are two coordinands fulfilling the identity criterion.

Now let us examine closely these two coordination types in Khasi, Kharia and Santhali.

3.1 ADVERSATIVE COORDINATION

Khasi has three adversative markers: /**taŋba**/, /**hynrei**/, and /**pynban**/. Out of these three markers /**pynban**/ is never used in colloquial speech; it is used in educated circles. The other two can be often used interchangeably though /**hynrei**/ is preferably used in case of the coordination involving the use of negatives.

3.1 u-ram upeit-tu? **taŋba** ka-ʃa? puniʃment ka-sita
 Mas-Ram look-steal but Fem.-bear punishment Fem.-Sita
 Ram cheated but Sita bore the punishment.

3.2 a:r **hynrei** e:m sa:w ki-soh-pieŋ
 two but Neg four Plu-fruit mango
 Two but not four mangoes.

3.3 nga pule ha- deli **taŋba** phi pule hapoh-bombey
 1sg study Loc-Delhi but 2sg study Loc-Bombay
 I study in Delhi but he studies in Bombay.

Santhali uses /**men-k^han**/ as the adversative coordinator, as is seen in the following sentences.

3.4 jɔn dɔ kissən giya **menk^han** ɪn dɔ rəŋge giya
 John SM rich is but 1sg SM poor is
 John is rich but I am poor.

3.5 meri məj giya **menk^han** baɖai giya
 Mary beautiful is but haughty is
 Mary is beautiful but haughty.

Veena Malhotra points out in her thesis¹ that Kharia has adversative particle /muda/ but it also uses /məgər/ and /ləkin/. The lexical particle /muda/ is almost lost to the present day Kharia. Informants acknowledge that their parents did use the coordinator but they themselves preferably use other Aryan coordinators. Interestingly other languages in the area make use of this particle. This might be the case of a conscious attempt of these people towards language identity, separating themselves from other language groups.

3.6 **muda** ub^hə-roŋ kuŋɕu-ku sugi-te kɔŋ-jo-umay kɔŋ-te
 but these-day child-Plu parrot-Dat know-even-Neg. know
 ‘But these days the children do not even know the parrot.’

3.7 sita sunder ai-j **məgər** bəɖwəɖj ai-j
 Sita beautiful is-Perf but haughty is-Perf
 Sita is beautiful but haughty.

¹ Veena Malhotra, 1982, op. cit, p: 300

Apart from employing the technique of coordination, same idea can also be expressed by the means of a concessive subordinate clause. Sentence 3.8 is an example of coordination while 3.9 expresses the same idea in the subordinate construction.

Khasi

3.8 u la leʔ ʃitɔm **hynrei** u-k^ham job
 Mas-Pst- do hard but Mas-Neg succeed
 He tried hard but he could not succeed.

3.9 **watla** u-la-leʔ ʃitɔm ruʔ u-k^ham-job
 Although Mas-Pst-do hard EM Mas- Neg- Succeed
 Though he worked hard also, he did not succeed

Adversative coordination characterizes multiple semantic functions. Payne identifies three: semantic opposition, denial of expectation, and preventive. Let us look at them more closely through the examples from the languages.

3.1.1 Semantic opposition

Here the two coordinands are such that there is common thread of comparison and they are in direct opposition. In other words similarity in topic and structure of coordinand are necessary ingredient to this recipe.

In the Khasi sentence below coordinates are antonyms (intelligent and fool). The second sentence is about two people having two different drinks.

Khasi

3.10 u-ba- stad **tangba** ka-ba bieit
 Mas- intelligent but Fem- fool
 He is intelligent but she is fool

3.11 nga din kɔfi **taŋba** u din ʃa
 1sg. drink coffee but Mas-sig. drink tea
 I drank coffee but he drank tea.

3.12 kine ki-soh-pieŋ ki-t^hiaŋ **taŋba** kito ki-wei ki-jiw
 These Plu-fruit mango Plu-sweet but those Plu-others Plu-sour
 These mangoes are sweet but those ones are sour.

Similarly, in Santhali sentence below the weather condition of two different places is contrasted. And in Kharia sentence taste of the one set of mangoes is judged against the other.

Santhali

3.13 jəmu- re bərf ɲurh kəna **menk^han** ʃimla- re dɔbən
 Jammu-Loc ice fall is but Shimla- Loc SM-Neg
 It is snowing in Jammu but not in Shimla.

3.14 jɔn kisiɽ gia **menk^han** iɲ dɔ range gia
 John rich is but 1sg SM poor is
 John is rich but I am poor.

Kharia

3.15 u kəyar rɔjɔɽ ae-i **lekin** hɔ kəyar jɔŋgem ae-i
 this mango sweet is but that mango sour is
 this mango is sweet but that is sour

3.16 ram kisiɽɔ aei **məgər/ lekin** iɲ gɔrib
 Ram wealthy is but 1sg poor

Ram is wealthy but I m poor.

- 3.17 beṭa-dɔm-te adiko um-kɔŋg-o **muda** beṭa-ko ma-dɔm-te kɔŋg-o
 son-Gen.- herself Neg.- but son- mother- know-
 Acc. recognize Erg. Gen Pst
 ‘She did not recognize her son but the son recognized his mother.’

3.1.2 Denial expectation

In denial expectation, the first clause presents an idea that is negated in the second. This variety does not require the similarity of topic or structure and the contrast is pragmatic. Like for example in Santhali sentences below. If one tries hard, people expect him to succeed but the second sentence reports of his failure. Likewise take the case of 3.19 in the ordinary circumstances one assumes that an individual will find it difficult to party if his financial situation is not favorable but the second clause takes us by surprise.

Santhali

- 3.18 uni dɔ kurumutɔ leʔ gia **menk^han** bai-daʔi ida
 2sg SM hard try Aux but Neg-success Aux
 He tried his best but he could not succeed.

- 3.19 jɔn range gia **menk^han** parti huʔu gia
 John poor is but Party happen Aux
 John is poor but party will take place.

Khasi

- 3.20 u-jɔn u-duk **taŋba** ka-parti kan-long
 Mas-John Mas-poor but Fem-party Fut- happen
 John is poor but party will take place.

Kharia

3.21 həkəɽ remak^hɔ məgər iɲ um-iɲ cole-ki
2sg call but 1sg Neg-1sg go-Pst
He called but I didn't go

3.22 ram kamu mehnət ɔɔɔ besbu kər- **lekin** buji um- gət
i am
Ram work hard and sincerity do- but successful Neg- happen
work Pst 3sg
Ram worked hard and sincerely but was unsuccessful.

3.23 jhaɽi-tij rajabəɽa ɖel-ki- **muda** ber- kaʔ-te beb- um-ay pal-o
mẽ jou rɔɖ-na
every- prince come- but no- bow- raise- Neg- can-
side Pst-Plu. body Acc Caus. 3sg Pst
Princes came from all the directions but nobody could raise the bow.

3.1.3 Preventive

In this semantic type the first conjunct of the coordination is hypothetical which fails to transpire due to deterrent effect of the second conjunct.

Santhali

3.24 iɲ dɔ calao gia **menk^han** paisa dɔ bil- t^he mina-a
1sg SM go Aux but money SM bill-with Aux-def
I can go but money is with Bill.

Khasi

- 3.25 nga la? ban-leit **taŋba/hynrei** ka-pisa don bad u-jon
1sg can Fut-go but Fem-money is with Mas-John
I can go but money is with John.

Kharia

- 3.26 həkəŋ mugam pəɖena lam-te **muda** paisa um aei
3sg further study want-to but money Neg is
He wants to study further but does not have money.

3.1.4 Use of negative in Adversative coordination

Use of negatives² in adversative coordination often results in what is termed as *substitutive adversative coordination*. Here negative and positive expressions contrast and can substitute the other. In other words there is no condition on the order of coordinands.

Khasi

- 3.27 u-jon u-riewspa? **taŋba/hynrei** um hun
Mas-John Mas-rich but Neg. peace
John is rich but not happy.

- 3.28 nga iohi ya-u-jon **taŋba khlem** iohi ya-u-bil
1sg see Acc-Mas-John but Neg see Acc-Mas-Bill
I saw John but did not see Bill.

- 3.29 nga **khlem-leit** sha-goa **hynrei** nga leit sha- bombey

² for the discussion on negatives in the three languages refer to the chapter2 section 2.3

1sg Neg.-go to-Goa but 1sg go to-Bombay
 I didn't go to Goa but went to Bombay.

Santhali

3.30 sita məj gia **menk^han** gita dɔ baŋ
 Sita beautiful is but Gita SM Neg.
 Sita is beautiful but not Gita.

3.31 iŋ dɔ baŋ **menk^han** rəvi dɔ cɔfi ŋu-kida
 1sg SM Neg. but Ravi SM coffee drink-Aux
 I did not but Ravi drank coffee.

Kharia

3.32 iŋ-te beɟ-nɔm-aʔ lek^he **umbo** məgər d^haŋgar lek^he une
 1sg-Dat son-Gen. like Neg. but servant like keep
 Do not treat me like your son, but like your servant.

3.2 CAUSAL COORDINATION

In causal coordination, the clauses show semantic relation of cause and effect. But in three languages this relation is commonly expressed through the means of subordination³. Look at the Kharia examples below. They are subordinating as they can occur with other coordinating particles (3.33b). Notice that not only can they be moved to the beginning of the compound sentence, they can also occur inside a coordinand too (3.35). They occur in variable position (3.34b) in contrast to coordinators which always occur in between the two coordinands it coordinated.

Kharia

³ Refer to the chapter 1, section 1.2.4

3.33a) *ij̃n gərib lebu hek- hin-aʔ- həkəɽ ij̃n-a oʔ-te um-ɬel-ki*
ij̃n tʰoŋ
 1sg poor man is- therefore 2sg 1sg- house- Neg-
 1sg Gen. Loc come-Pst
 I am poor that is why he did not come to my house.

3.33b) *ij̃n gərib lebu hek- rɔ hin-aʔ- həkəɽ ij̃n-a oʔ-te um-ɬel-ki*
ij̃n tʰoŋ
 1sg poor man is- and therefore 2sg 1sg- house- Neg-
 1sg Gen. Loc come-Pst
 I am poor that is why he did not come to my house.

3.34a) *am-a gəne lɔrɔ gɔɖki-mei i-na-no am miɬʰai muruk ju-te-m*
 2sg- teeth spoil happen- because 2sg sweet lot eat-Pst-
 Gen Plu. 2sg
 Your teeth got spoiled because you used to eat a lot of sweets.

3.34b) *i-na-no am miɬʰai muruk ju-te-m am-a gəne lɔrɔ gɔɖki-mei*
 because 2sg sweet lot eat-Pst- 2sg- teeth spoil happen-
 2sg Gen Plu.
 Because you used to eat lot of sweets your teeth got spoiled.

3.35 *data dɔ uni-te bɔri entəma adi-miteim jɔm təhikna*
 Teeth SM because spoil happen lot-sweet eat Aux
 Teeth got spoiled because you ate lot of sweets.

3.36 *data dɔ bɔri entema cidaje adi miteim jɔm təhikna*

Teeth SM spoil happen because lot-sweet eat Aux

Teeth got spoiled because you ate lot of sweet.

Though in English both the coordinators have the same gloss actually they correspond to Hindi /isliye/ and /kyōki/ respectively. Similar subordinate constructions are found in Khasi⁴ also.

3.37 ŋin sa-leyt safāy **namar-kata** kan nim wan
1pl Fut-go there because-that 3sg Neg come
We will go there, therefore she will not come.

There is another instrument at the disposal of the languages to express causal relation: case marking. Kharia, Santhali, and Khasi use the instrumental case marker to express it. Like in the sentences below Kharia uses /buŋ/ (3.37) and Khasi /te/ (3.38). This is due to the intrinsic nature of instrumental case to mark the causal arguments which are responsible, or result in a particular state.

Kharia⁵

3.37 lereʔ konsel-kong^her-ki- paɽu- goɽa biru onɽor-siʔ-na-laʔ-ki
yaʔ **buŋ**
happy woman-man-Plu- song-Ins whole mountain hear-Perf-Fut-Prog-
Gen 3ps

Due to the song of the happy men and women the whole mountain resounded.

Khasi⁶

3.38 u la-wan haŋne **te** na la-leyt ʃatay
3sg Pst-come here Ins. 1sg Pst-go there

⁴ The Khasi sentence 3.37 is from K. S. Nagaraja, op. cit, P: 110

⁵ Veena Malhotra. op. cit, p: 118

⁶ K.S. Nagarja, op. cit, p: 100

He came here so I went there.

3.39 ki-briew ki-la-šoʔ ya-u te u la-yap

Plu-man Plu-Pst-beat Acc-3sg Ins. 3sg Pst-die

The people beat him so he died.

Instrumental marker fulfills the conditions laid down for a particle to qualify as the coordinating particle. But it enjoys very restrictive use in comparison to the subordinating particles.

To summarize, both the forms of coordination do not show much typological variation in the syntactic sense due to their inherent binary nature.

Fig5:Adversative and causal coordination markers

	Adversative marker	Causal marker
Khasi	taŋba/ hynrei	te- (prepositive)
Santhali	menk ^h an	-te (postpositive)
Kharia	munda/ mægər/ lekin	-buŋ (postpositive)

The table above shows the markers of adversative and causal coordination. Present generation Kharias have completely given up /munda/ and use / mægər / and /lekin/ instead. In contrast, Khasi is exemplary in language maintenance. The tool of causal case marker is used to coordinate the clauses in cause-effect relation in all three languages. But causal coordination is not a favored technique, and subordination is preferred to express the relation instead.

Chapter4

COORDINATION REDUCTION

In a given coordinate structure, if one conjunct consists of a constituent which is ‘lexically and structurally’¹ identical to corresponding constituent of the other conjunct then all but the left most of them may be deleted, this process of constituent deletion is called coordination reduction. Typology of coordination reduction, discussed in this chapter, is based on the word order². The three languages under discussion can be grouped into two on the basis of the same: One, Khasi a Mon-Khmer language having SVO as the basic word order; and second Santhali and Kharia both belong to Munda group of languages and have SOV as the basic word order³. The two groups result in the two sets of coordination reduction pattern. The focus of this chapter would be to examine and evaluate these patterns.

4.1 VERB REDUCTION

Verb reduction should be divided into two; verb reduction of transitive verb and verb reduction of intransitive verb. In case of transitive verb, the surface structure of the sentence is such that coordination appears to be between the regular syntactic constituent and the non-constituent; while in case of intransitive verb reduction the coordination appears to be between the two regular constituents (nominals).

4.1.1 Transitive verb reduction

Khasi does not allow the reduction of the transitive verb. We can see in the following sentences that reduced counterparts are not acceptable forms irrespective of the coordinator used; sentence 4.1 is co-joined by conjunction while sentence 4.3 is co-joined

¹ Helga Harries Delisle, op. cit, p: 529 (also ref to chapter 1 Introduction section)

² Refer to chapter1 for more details.

³ Also look at chapter1 section 1.3.4 for the discussion on word order of the three languages.

by adversative. Notice that in the sentence 4.4 whole of the verb phrase is repeated, even adverb is not dropped.

4.1a ka-meri ka-ʃet u-kek bad u-jɔn u-ʃet u-biskut
 Fem Mary Fem-cook Mas-cake and Mas-John Mas-cook Mas-biscuit
 Mary baked the cake and John baked biscuit.

4.1b* Ka-meri Ka-ʃet u-kek bad u jɔn ø u-biskut
 Fem-Mary Fem-cook Mas-cake and Mas-John ø Mas-biscuit
 Mary baked the cake and John biscuit.

4.2a ka-meri ka-t^hied ka-mak^hɔn bad u-rɔbət u-t^hied ka-mluʔ
 Fem-Mary Fem-buy Fem-butter and Mas-Robert Mas-buy Fem-salt
 Mary brought butter and Robert brought salt.

4.2b* ka-meri ka-t^hied ka-mak^hɔn bad u-rɔbət ø ka-mluʔ
 Fem-Mary Fem-buy fem-butter and Mas-Robert ø Fem-salt
 Mary brought butter and Robert salt.

4.3a nga pule ha-deli tanba u-phi pule hapoʔ-bombey
 1ps sg read LOC Delhi but MAS-3ps sg read LOC Bombay
 I study in Delhi and he studies in Bombay.

4.3b* nga pule ha-deli tanba u-phi ø hapoʔ-bombey
 1ps sg read LOC Delhi but MAS-3ps sg ø LOC Bombay
 I study in Delhi and he in Bombay.

4.6 iŋ dɔ u:l-iŋ hətəo kida a:r uni dɔ angur-e ø
 1sg SM mango-1sg buy Aux and 3sg SM grapes-3sg ø
 I bought mangos and he grapes.

4.7 cah ɲu yase kɔfi ø
 tea drink or coffee ø
 (you) Will drink tea or coffee?

Kharia

4.8 iŋ cahə utʰɔ-i rɔ ram kɔfi ø
 1sg tea drink-1sg arɻl Ram coffee ø
 I drank tea and Ram coffee.

4.9 iŋ kəyar səŋgɔ̄-i rɔ ukaɽ əŋgur ø
 1sg mango buy-1sg and 3sg grapes ø
 I brought mango and he grapes.

The $S_1O_1V + S_2O_2$ structures result due to forward ellipsis or deletion rule⁸. In fact, not only verb but the other particles (adverb, auxiliary, etc.) along with the verb can also be reduced in Kharia and Santhali. Also, the system of reduction of verb remains same irrespective of the coordinator (conjunction as well as adversative).

As already stated above $S_1O_1V+S_2O_2$ order is not the only word order possible in the two languages in case of transitive verb reduction. Santhali and Kharia also show $S_1O_1 + S_2O_2V$ word order.

⁸ for further comments ref to chapter 1 Introduction

Santhali

- 4.10 iŋ dɔ cah-iŋ ø menk^han uni dɔ kɔfi ju kida
1sg sg SM tea-1sg ø but 3sg SM coffee drink Aux
I tea and he drank coffee.

Kharia

- 4.11 iŋ kɔyar ø rɔ ukaɽ əŋgur səŋgɔ
1sg mango ø and 3sg grapes buy
I mango and he brought grapes.

We know that both these languages are Verb-final languages and, therefore, though they allow the $S_1O_1V+S_2O_2$ order, resulting from the deletion of all but the left most verbs, they may also undergo the reordering to achieve the $S_1O_1+S_2O_2V$ order (a verb final word order) after application of reduction rules, thereby appearing to allow backward ellipsis.

4.1.2 Verb reduction in intransitive verb

Khasi, which does not have the transitive verb deletion, appears to allow the intransitive verb deletion, in case of the noun phrase coordination of nominal. After deletion of verb from the second clause the order is S_1V+S_2 . Though this order is permissible in the case of adversative and disjunctive coordination, the emphatic marker is necessary in case of conjunction. The felicitous order of the constituents without the emphatic marker in case of conjunction is S_1+S_2V . The reason behind this could be the fact that the comitative and conjunction marker for Khasi are the same and the use of emphatic marker distinguishes the two sentences⁹.

- 4.12 ka la wan hinrei u-m-šin ø

⁹ for more details on the comitative coordination in Khasi refer to chapter2 section 2.1.

Fem-Pst-come but Mas-Neg-do ∅

She came but he did not.

4.13a u-ram u-rk^hie ne ka-sita ∅

Mas-Ram Mas-laugh or Fem-sita ∅

Ram laughed or Sita.

4.13b u-ram ∅ ne ka-sita ka-rk^hie

Mas-Ram ∅ or Fem-sita Fem-laugh

Ram or Sita laughed.

4.14a u-ram u-rk^hie bad ka-sita ∅ ru?

Mas-Ram Mas-laugh and Fem-sita ∅ EM

Ram laughed and Sita too.

4.14b u-ram ∅ bad ka-sita ki-ia-rk^hie

Mas-Ram ∅ and Fem-sita Plu-Acc-laugh

Ram and Sita laughed.

4.15 u-ram ∅ bad ka-sita ki-lah -leit

Mas-ram ∅ and Fem-Sita Plu-Pst -go

Ram and Sita went.

In Kharia and Santhali the intransitive verb reduction produces both the orders; $S_1 + S_2V$ as well as $S_1V + S_2$. In case of conjunction S_1V+S_2 order requires the use of emphatic particle representing after thought. $S_1 + S_2V$ order being the more acceptable

Santhali

4.16 ram **cəla-a:** a:r rəvi hɔ̃ ø

Ram go-Fut. and Ravi EM ø

Ram will go and Ravi too.

4.17 ram a:r rəvi **cəla-a:**

Ram and Ravi go-Fut

Ram and Ravi will go.

In case of disjunction and adversative coordination both the orders are acceptable. Observe that in case of disjunction the two sentences 4.18a and 4.18b representing the two orders after reduction, are somewhat distinct; one is a question and the other a declarative sentence. Also note that without the negative marker the deletion is not feasible in adversative construction (4.19a and 4.19b). This is because semantically adversative coordination is used to express either of the three; semantic opposition, denial of expectation, or preventive. When we are dealing with same verbs we can only express semantic opposition, and this requires negative particle.

4.18a ram ø se rəvi **cəla-a:**

Ram ø or Ravi go-Fut

Ram or Ravi will go.

4.18b ram **cəla-a:** se rəvi ø

Ram go-Fut. or Ravi ø

Ram will go or Ravi ?

4.19a səhel **gɔrɔ kida** menk^han rezwan dɔ̃ baŋ ø

Sohail help Aux but Rizwan SM neg ∅

Sohail helped but Rizwan did not.

4.19b rezwan dɔ baŋ ∅ menk^han sohel ɡɔrɔ kida

Rizwan SM neg ∅ but Sohail help Aux

Rizwan didn't but Sohail helped.

Now that we have discussed the verb deletion with respect to subject and object, let us discuss verb reduction in case of adverb.

4.1.3 Verb reduction with respect to the Adverb

?

Adverb is a constituent of the verb phrase and often it is reduced along with the verb. But the conjunction of adverbs results in the reduction of verb. Santhali and Kharia, being verb-final languages, have adverb preceding the verb. The reduction in their case results in the **Adv₁ + Adv₂ V**.

Santhali

4.20 usra ∅ a:r sɔntɔr te tɔrɔm me

fast ∅ and carefully-Ins walk Aux

Walk fast and carefully.

Kharia

4.21 hɔ-te-gaʔ lebu-ki k^haɽja- baru ∅ rɔ ethed- bɔrɔl- umei tɔrɔ

te bɔʔ goʔ-

na

there-of man-Plu Kharia- well ∅ and peacefully live- Neg give

Acc

eat

That people of that place did not let the Kharias to live well and peacefully.

4.22 gaŋi dirəm- dirəm ø ɔ:dɔ bes cəla-e
 car slow-Redup ø and good drive

Drive the car slowly and carefully.

But the **Adv₁ V + Adv₂** Structure is also seen. In other words split coordination of adverbs is also possible.

Kharia

4.23 iŋ iɖaʔ eboʔsi-k^h-o-iŋ rɔ musa ø
 1sg yesterday play-Pst-1sg and today ø

We played yesterday and today.

Khasi, being a verb medial language has adverbs following the verb. The order of constituents is **V Adv₁ + Adv₂** (4.24 and 4.25) and does not require the reordering rule as the output of deletion rule itself produces the order necessary A-over-A structure. So the question of allowing the split conjunction of adverbs does not arise.

Khasi

4.24 niaʔ ia-ka-kali suki bad ø sumar-bha
 Drive Acc- Mas-car slow and care –intensifier
 Drive the car slowly and carefully.

4.25 ngan ša- ia-phi myntaksngi lane ngan ša- ia-phi myntaksngi lashai
 k^hɔt k^hɔt
 1sg Fut- Acc- today or 1sg Fut- Acc- Acc-2sg tommoro
 call 2sg cal 2sg
 I will call you today or tomorrow.

Before we finish our discussion on coordination reduction of verb I wish to point out the fact transitive verb reduction which is disallowed in Khasi, is some times resisted by the Munda languages for the purpose of emphasis.

4.2 NOUN REDUCTION

Noun reduction can be divided into two, on the basis the grammatical role that nominals play in the sentence, namely object reduction and the subject reduction.

4.2.1 Object reduction

Object reduction in Khasi has the order $S_1V_1O + S_2V_2$. Backward ellipsis of the object is not acceptable in Khasi. Deletion of object from the second clause is the acceptable order.

4.26a u-jɔsəf u- wanraʔ soh-pieŋ bad u-jɔn u-dei ø
 Mas-Joseph Mas-bring fruit-Mango and Mas-john Mas-sells ø
 Joseph brings mangoes and John sells.

4.26b* u-jɔsəf u- wanraʔ ø bad u-jɔn u-dei soh-pieŋ
 Mas-Joseph Mas-bring ø and Mas-john Mas-sells fruit-Mango
 Joseph brings and John sells mangoes.

Kharia and Santhali also allow ellipsis order $S_1OV_1+S_2V_2$ as in the sentences given below (4.27 and 4.28). This order is the output of deletion rule.

Santhali

4.27 ram u:l-e kirɪŋ dai a:r sita ø ək^həriŋ dai
 Ram mango-3ps buy Aux and sita ø sell Aux

Ram buys mango and Sita sells.

- 4.28 iŋ dɔ **ram-iŋ** biŋɽ-ɔɔ kida a:r sita dɔ ø biri-ɔɔ kida
1sg SM Ram-1sg fall-Caus Aux and Sita SM ø sit up-Caus Aux
I made Ram fall and Sita picked up.

Kharia

- 4.29 iŋ **lutui** d^hua-o a:r sita ø kɔsɔr-o
1sg cloth wash-Pst and Sita ø dry-Pst
I washed cloths and Sita dried [cloths].

Backward ellipsis of the object was not agreeable to the informants of both the languages because there is no need of any reordering rule as the verb is already in the final position.

4.2.2 Subject reduction

Khasi has the $SV_1O_1+V_2O_2$ order for subject reduction in transitive verb and SV_1+V_2 in case of intransitive verb. In the sentence 4.30 below, both the verbs are transitive; in the sentence 4.31, one verb is an intransitive and the other is a transitive verb; and in the sentence 4.32 both the verbs are intransitive. This order does not change even in case of adversative coordination.

- 4.30 **ka sita** ka ʃet jiŋ-ʃet bad ø ka sait jain
FEM-Sita FEM-cook food and ø FEM wash cloth
Sita cooked food and washed clothes.

- 4.31 **u-khla** un wan bad ø u pinyp ia-ki-mra:d
Mas.- tiger Fut come and ø Mas. -kill Acc- Plu- animals

Tiger will come and kill the animals.

4.32 **u-john** u-bam bad ø u- noʔ-t^hiaʔ

Mas-John Mas-eat and ø Mas-Pef- sleep

John ate and slept.

Similarly, Santhali and Kharia have $SO_1V_1+O_2V_2$ and SV_1+V_2 orders in case of transitive and intransitive verbs respectively.

Santhali

4.33 **sita** dɔ eneʔ a:r ø siriŋ kida

Sita SM dance and ø sing Aux

Sita danced and sang.

4.34 **rani** dɔ daka bara kida a:r ø jɔtɔ hɔʔ-e jɔm-əču-ke -kua

Rani SM food cook Aux and ø all man- eat- Caus-Pst-Def
3sg

Rani cooked food and served all men.

Kharia

4.35 **sita** pe gɔŋgɔ-o ɔ:dɔ ø saju guje-o

Sita food cook-Pst and ø utensils wash-Pst

Sita cooked food and washed utensils.

4.36 **ram** pe ɲuk-o rɔ ø gitaʔ-gɔt-ki

Ram food eat-Pst and ø lay-ECV-Pst

Ram ate food and laid down.

- 4.37 c^hu b^hi ɟel-ki-mei rɔ ø ʈuŋ-o-mei
 six brother came-Pst.-3Plu and ø shot-Pst-3Plu
 Six brothers came and shot.

Interestingly, in Khasi, if the subject is third person singular pronoun then it may be dropped from both the clauses as Khasi allows pronominal incorporation on verb. This is so because the third person pronouns are similar in shape to the gender and number agreement marker on the verb (/u-/ in case of the sentence 4.38) and thus they can be expressed without the redundant pronominal /u/.

- 4.38 u-wan haŋne lane u-leyt šatay
 3sg come here or 3 sg go there
 He comes here or he goes there.

Now that we have looked in to noun reduction in relation to the verb let us examine it in relation to the adjective coordination, and also adjective reduction in relation to noun.

4.2.3.1 *Adjective reduction from noun phrases*

In Khasi the adjectives always follow the noun, i.e. in both predicative and attributive use. Coordination of two Noun phrases would result in to the N₁A+ N₂ order after the deletion if the emphatic marker is used in case of conjunction and in disjunction if it is an interrogative sentence.

- 4.39 u bil u ba stad bad u jɔn ø ru?
 Mas Bill Mas intelligent and Mas-John ø EM
 Bill is intelligent and John too.

4.40 ka meri ka **bhabreiw** lane ka cet^hrin ø

Fem Mary Fem beautifull or Fem Catherine ø

Mary is beautiful or Catherine?

Also because this order of constituents results in split coordination of nouns therefore the (A over A structure) reordering is effected to achieve N_1+N_2A order (an order where adjective will follow the noun).

4.41 u bil ø bad u jɔn ki **ba stad**

Mas-Bill ø and Mas-John Plu-intelligent

Intelligent Bill and John.

In Kharia and Santhali the predicative use of adjective results in N_1A+N_2 as well as N_1+N_2A . The sentences 4.42a and 4.42b below represent the two orders respectively. Notice that the use of emphatic marker signifies after thought.

Santhali

4.42a sita **mɔj** gia menk^han gita dɔ baŋ ø

Sita beautiful is but Gita SM Neg. ø

Sita is beautiful but not Gita.

4.42b sita-e **mɔj** gia a:r ø mɔj ho

Sita-3ps beautiful is and ø beautiful EM

Sita is beautiful and Gita too.

4.43 sita-e ø a:r gita **mɔj** gia

Sita-3ps ø and Gita beautiful is

Sita and Gita are beautiful.

Attributive adjective can also be reduced in Kharia and Santhali but the order in this case is AN_1+N_2 . Also, the nouns that undergo coordination in this case are the ones which undergo natural conjunction, i.e. they habitually go together.

Kharia

- 4.44 **osel** kurta rɔ ø pejama
white kurta and ø Pejama
white kurta- pejama

Santhali

- 4.45 **kuɽni** kuɽa a:r ø kuɽi
lazy boy and ø girl
lazy boy and girl

4.2.3.2 Noun deletion from the noun phrase

In Santhali and Kharia the word order in case of noun deletion is A_1+A_2N .

Santhali

- 4.46 nil ø a:r səsaŋ **bəha** əgu ime
blue ø and red flower bring Aux
Bring blue and red flower.

- 4.47 gaʔgaʔ ø rɔ sudʂud **j^hula** kosor-ta-j
torn ø and wet shirt drying-is
The torn and wet shirt is drying.

Both the languages can also have another deletion pattern A_1N+A_2 , but it involves the use of emphatic particle in case of conjunction.

Kharia

4.48 ukaʀa bɔʔ-te ɔsel raʔraʔ aei rɔ rosɔŋ ø jɔ
 3sg with-Loc white flower is and red ø EMP

He has with him white flower and red too.

Reduction of noun also takes place in case predicative adjective as in:-

Kharia

4.49 sita sunder ai-j mægər ø bəɖwadj ai-j
 Sita beautiful is-Perf but ø haughty is-Perf

Sita is beautiful but haughty.

Khasi, on the other hand has only NA_1+A_2 word order as the reordering does not require any movement of the constituents, as in the following sentences.

4.50 ka- mej ba- rim ba yon **bad** ba heʔ
 Fem.- Table old black and big
 Old black and big table

4.51 ka kseʔ ba i:tinna-bha ba khirwytʔ
 Fem pine wood fine-Intensifier costly
 Very fine and costly pine wood.

We now move to the second part of the discussion where the combination of constituents can be reduced; subject-verb, object-verb, subject-object.

4.3 Subject-verb deletion

Khasi has the SVO_1+O_2 order for the subject-verb deletion in case of conjunction and disjunction but such a deletion is not possible in case of adversative coordination, which necessitates the use of verb in both the clauses. This obviously is linked to the fact that transitive verb reduction is disallowed in Khasi.

4.52 **nga sngewtinnad** ban peit p^hlim bad \emptyset \emptyset ban leʔ-kai tenis
1sg like/enjoy to watch film and \emptyset \emptyset to play Tennis
I enjoy watching film and playing tennis.

4.53 **phi sngewtinnad** ban peit p^hlim lane \emptyset \emptyset ban leʔ-kai tenis
2sg like/enjoy to watch film or \emptyset \emptyset to play Tennis
You enjoy watching film or playing tennis?

4.54* **nga sngewtinnad** ban peit p^hlim tangba \emptyset khlem \emptyset ban leʔ- tenis
kai
1sg like/enjoy to watch film but \emptyset Neg \emptyset to play Tennis
I enjoy watching film but not playing tennis.

4.55 **nga iohi** ya-u-jon tangba \emptyset khlem **iohi** ya-u-bil
1sg see Acc-Mas-John but \emptyset Neg see Acc-Mas-Bill
I saw John but did not see Bill.

4.56 **nga khlem-leit** sha-goa hynrei **nga leit** sha- bombey
1sg Neg.-go to-Goa but 1sg go to-Bombay
I didn't go to Goa but I went to Bombay.

Santhali and Kharia have the order SO_1V+O_2 for subject-verb deletion. In other words Santhali and Kharia allow the split object conjunction as in the following sentences. But split conjunction requires addition of an emphatic particle to make them more agreeable. Another order present in the two languages is $SO_1 + O_2V$ (4.57b sentence); this is because of the reordering of the sentences to achieve A-over-A structure. Following sentences represent the two sets of orders:-

Santhali

4.57a *ij̃* *dɔ* *baba* *ciṯ^hi* *ɔl* *kida* *a:r* *∅* *dada* *hɔ̃* *∅*
 1sg SM father ciṯ^hi write Aux(Pst) and *∅* brother EM *∅*
 I wrote letter to my father and to brother.

4.57b *ij̃* *dɔ* *baba* *∅* *a:r* *∅* *dada* *ciṯ^hi* *ɔl* *kida*
 1sg SM father *∅* and *∅* brother letter write Aux(Pst)
 I wrote letter to my father and to brother.

4.58 *ij̃* *dɔ* *u:l-ij̃* *kiriŋ* *kida* *a:r* *∅* *əŋgur* *hɔ̃* *∅*
 1sg SM mango-1sg buy Aux(Pst) and *∅* grape EM *∅*
 I brought mangoes and grapes too.

4.58b *ij̃* *dɔ* *u:l* *∅* *a:r* *∅* *əŋgur-ij̃* *kiriŋ* *kida*
 1sg SM mango *∅* and *∅* grape-1sg buy Aux(Pst)
 I brought mangoes and grapes.

Kharia

4.59 *ij̃* *kəyar* *∅* *rɔ* *∅* *əŋgur* *səŋgɔ̃-i*
 1sg mangoes *∅* and *∅* grapes buy-1sg

I bought mangoes and grapes

- 4.60 **ram** kəyar ɲukɔ-ɔ? rɔ ø əŋgur jɔ ø
Ram mangoes eat-Pst and ø grapes EM ø
Ram ate mangoes and grapes too.

- 4.61a **a:m** caha dɔɾ-e-m nɔ ø kɔfi ø
2sg tea drink-Pst.-2sg or ø coffee ø
You will drink tea or coffee?

- 4.61b **a:m** caha ø nɔ ø kɔfi dɔɾ-e-m
2sg tea ø or ø coffee drink-Pst.-2sg
You will drink tea or coffee?

Consequently both the orders are also possible in the adversative and the inherent contrast between the two coordinands does not require the emphatic marker.

Santhali

- 4.62a ijɲ dɔ bɔmbey dɔ bɔŋ ø menk^han ø goa-ijɲ **calo lina**
1sg SM Bombay Neg ø but ø Goa-1sg go Aux
I didn't go to Bombay but Goa.

- 4.62b ijɲ dɔ bɔmbey-ijɲ **calo lina** menk^han ø goa dɔ bɔŋ ø
1sg SM Bombay-1sg go Aux but ø Goa Neg ø
I didn't go to Bombay but Goa.

4.4 Object-verb deletion

Khasi has the S_1+S_2VO order, i.e. it appears to have the backward ellipsis of verb and object but actually it is again to form A-over-A structures of subject phrase to avoid split coordination of subject.

4.63 ki-k^hinnaʔ ∅ ∅ bad ki-kint^hei **ki-ia-leʔ-kai** **hapoʔ** p^hillaw
 Plu-boy ∅ ∅ and Plu-girl Plu-Dat-do-play Loc garden
 Boys and girls are playing in the garden.

4.64 ki-k^hinnaʔ ∅ ∅ lane ki-kint^hei **ki-ia-leʔ-kai** **hapoʔ** p^hillaw
 Plu-boy ∅ ∅ or Plu-girl Plu-Dat-do-play Loc garden
 Boys or girls are playing in the garden.

Similarly, in Kharia and Santhali the order of the constituents is S_1+S_2OV .

Kharia

4.65 beta ∅ ∅ no beti **bogica-te** **ebo-tej**
 son ∅ ∅ or daughter gardern-Loc play-prog.
 Son or daughter is playing in the garden.

4.66 no ram ∅ ∅ no ravi **ij-a** **sori** **col-ki**
 or Ram ∅ ∅ or Ravi 1sg- with Go-Pst
 Either Ram or Ravi will go with me.

Santhali

4.67 ram ∅ ∅ ya/se rəvi **a:m** **songe** **cəla a:**
 Ram ∅ ∅ or Ravi 2sg with go-def
 Ram or Ravi will go with you.

4.68 iŋ dɔ baŋ ø ø menk^han rəvi kɔfi ŋu-kida
 1sg SM Neg. ø ø but Ravi coffee drink-Aux
 I did not but Ravi drank coffee.

Apart from this, $S_1OV + S_2$ word order is also found in Santhali and Kharia. In other words the split coordination of Subject is allowed in these languages.

Santhali

4.69 iŋ dɔ kɔfi ŋu-kida menk^han rəvi dɔ ø baŋ ø
 1sg SM coffee drink-Aux but Ravi SM ø Neg ø
 I drank coffee but Ravi did not

4.70 ram sinema ŋel-cəlaw kəna a:r sita hɔ̃ ø ø
 Ram cinema see-ECV Aux and Sita EM ø ø
 Ram went to see cinema and Sita too.

4.5 Subject-Object reduction

Khasi has the order SV_1+V_2O for the subject-object reduction which is the result of reordering rule to form A over A structure of verb phrase and in other words to avoid split coordination of verb.

4.71 ŋga sait ø bad ø t^had jain
 1sg wash ø and ø dry cloth
 I washed and dried the cloths.

Santhali and Kharia have SOV₁+V₂ word order. Reorder results in the same order because the verbs re placed next to each other and forming A-over-A structure don't require any movement. So it is obvious that no other order is possible.

Kharia¹⁰

4.72 hɔkɑɽ sɔb-jeʔ yo-yoʔ rɔ ø ø ɔndɔr-oʔ

3sg everything saw and ø ø heard-Pst

He saw and heard every thing.

Santhali

4.73 sita dɔ sag kirɪŋ-kida a:r ø ø uttui-kida

Sita SM vegetable buy-Aux(Pst) and ø ø cook-
Aux(Pst)

Sita brought vegetables and cooked.

To conclude the discussion I would like to point out that the two groups of languages can be differentiated from each other on the basis of split coordination. Khasi does not allow the split conjunction at all except for the noun conjunction in the sentences with intransitive verb. This omission to the rule can be explained as a process to differentiate between the comitative coordination and conjunction of nouns. Kharia and Santhali on the other hand, have the parallel structures with and without the split coordination structure. In other words, in the Munda languages both orders of constituents; output of deletion rule and output of reordering rule; are acceptable. But for Khasi the reordering order is acceptable if and only if the order of constituents after deletion is a split coordination structure.

¹⁰ Veena Malhotra, op. cit, p: 305

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation an attempt has been made to systematically present the typology of coordinate structures in Santhali, Kharia, and Khasi.

In chapter1 we discussed the typology of conjunction and disjunction in the three languages. We noticed that the single coordinators in these languages coordinate whole of the implicational hierarchy. While Khasi uses native coordinators for disjunction as well as for conjunction, Kharia has disjunction markers /ya/ and /cahe/ and Santhali uses both conjunction (/a:r/), and disjunction markers (/ya/) which are borrowed from the Indo-Aryan languages. Kharia has two monosyndetic conjunctors but the difference between them is getting lost. Other point of difference between the Khasi and Munda languages is the fact that the comitative marker in Khasi is identical to its conjunction marker /bad/. Schachter¹ gives example of Japanese and Hausa where the 'and' and 'with' are represented by the same word. But in case of such languages the given conjunction marker is used to conjoin primarily the nominals therefore it is argued that they must have come from the prepositional or post positional noun adjunct. But in Khasi /bad/ conjoins nominal phrase, verb phrase and even clauses of all type.

Further Khasi does not show augmentative construction and uses reduplication instead. Though Santhali also does not have these constructions but they employ other means (not reduplication) to express the same meaning. Kharia speakers however, use such construction. But this does not mean that these Munda languages do not have any similarity with the Khasi. Khasi does not have the bisyndetic disjunction and expresses the [+separate] feature by use of the disjunction marker that it employs for interrogative disjunction. Santhali and Kharia too do not have any native markers for bisyndetic construction.

In Chapter3 we looked at the adversative and causal coordinators in the three languages. The formal properties of the coordinators do not seem much different. All the languages use the instrumental case marker for coordinating clauses in causal

¹ Paul Schachter, "Parts of speech systems", In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, CUP, Australia. P:48

relation. But as in the case of disjunction, the Kharia speakers have also given up the native adversative marker in favor of borrowed one from the Aryan language.

We noticed the fact that though monosyndetic conjunctors and disjunctors in both the groups of languages are prepositive on the second coordinand, the different orders are adhered to in the bisyndetic coordination. Santhali and Kharia have postpositive coordinators for bisyndetic conjunction but prepositive in case of bisyndetic disjunction whereas Khasi has prepositive coordinators for both.

Stassen² associates the order of the conjunctors (whether postpositional or prepositional) with word-order of the languages, in other words the verb-final languages have postpositional type and the non-verb final languages have prepositional type of coordinators. If we weigh Stassen's argument in light of the data from the three languages, we find some irregularity in suggested pattern. Khasi does provide strength to his argument and fits completely to the case of pre-positive languages. But Munda languages pose problems as they do not fall into any of the two neat patterns. The reason for this difference can be genetic or areal. We know that Munda and Khmer languages are different branches of Austro-Asiatic family. But we also know that over the centuries word order of these languages has undergone a big change³. Also the presence of Indo-Aryan coordination markers and strategies⁴ insinuates in favor of areal contact convergence to be the cause of such variations. It is interesting to note that such variation is also found in Hindi. In Monosyndetic constructions, Hindi has the form postpositive on the first coordinand. For bisyndetic conjunction it is postpositive but for bisyndetic disjunction it is prepositive.

When we look at the physical shape of the two coordinators in the bisyndetic coordination, we find that in Khasi the single coordinator is similar in shape to the second coordinator of bisyndetic constructions but in Santhali and Kharia the first coordinator is similar to the shape of the single coordinator. From this we can rationalize that if the two coordinators of bisyndetic construction are different from each other, the

² Martin Haspelmath, *op cit.* pp7

³ Ref. Chapter1 for discussion on word order in these languages

⁴ I have argued above that Austro-Asiatic languages do not have bisyndetic disjunction and it is only borrowed strategy from Aryan languages.

choice of the coordinator is guided by the order of the coordinators; when the order of coordinators is prepositive then the second coordinator is chosen, and when the order is postpositive then the first coordinator is chosen.

In chapter4 we discussed the coordination reduction. The two groups of languages differ on the account of the fact that in Khasi the output of deletion rule is the surface order except when it results in split coordination; and Santhali and Kharia, like Hindi, almost always have the output of the deletion rule as the alternate surface order. Both the Munda languages also allow the split coordination. Significantly, unlike Hindi, reduction of the object results in only one order as predicted by Helga Harries- Delisle. Object reduction in Hindi acts as an aberration to the pattern proposed by her. We must look at the other verb final languages of India to see if her proposal holds true like in case of Munda languages or not. Also, detailed study of the Munda languages to ascertain the degree and process of change due to the contact is necessary.

Such a study will not only be useful for historical linguistics but also help us to understand and build the typology of coordination that will lead us towards an integrated theory of coordination.

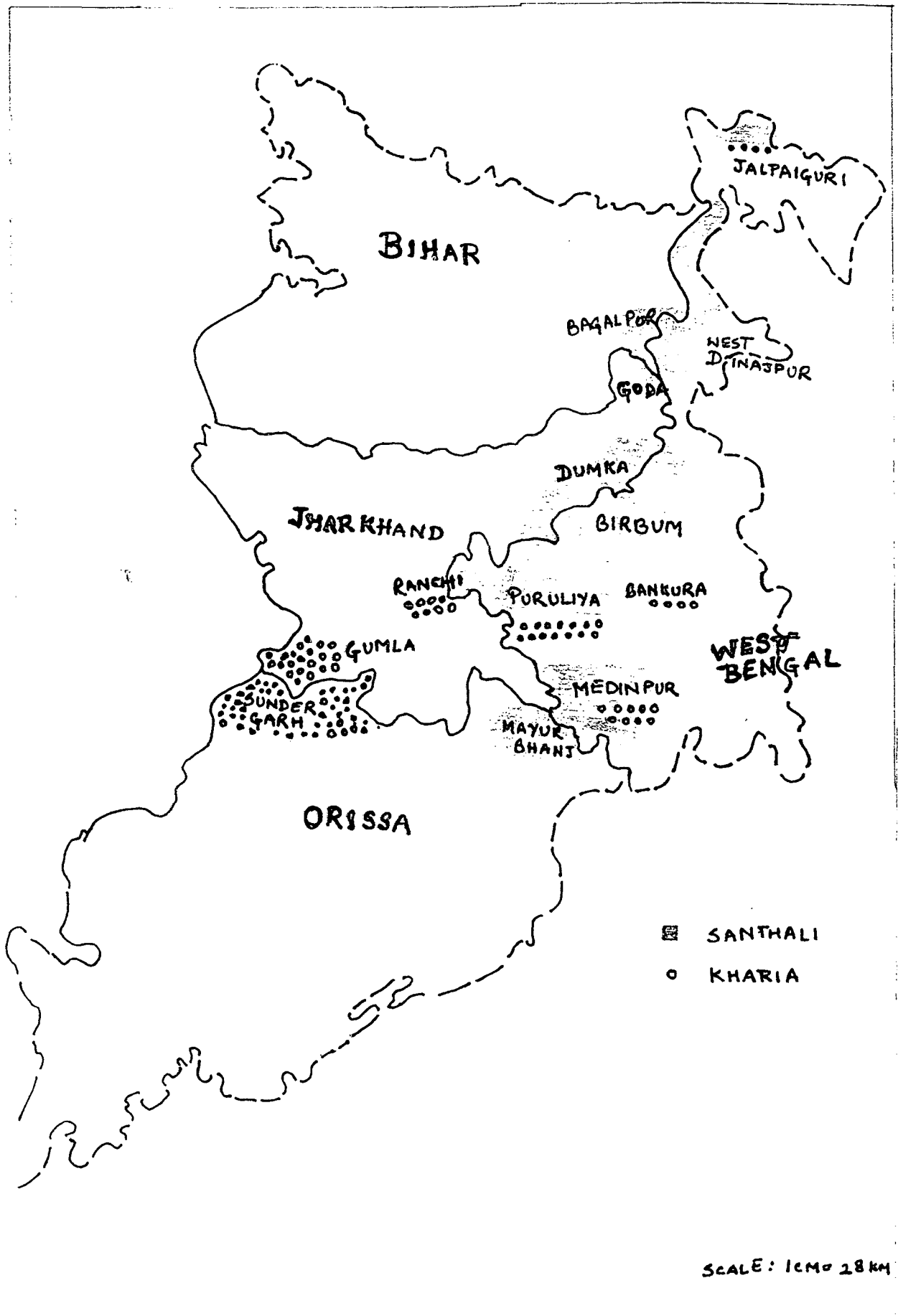
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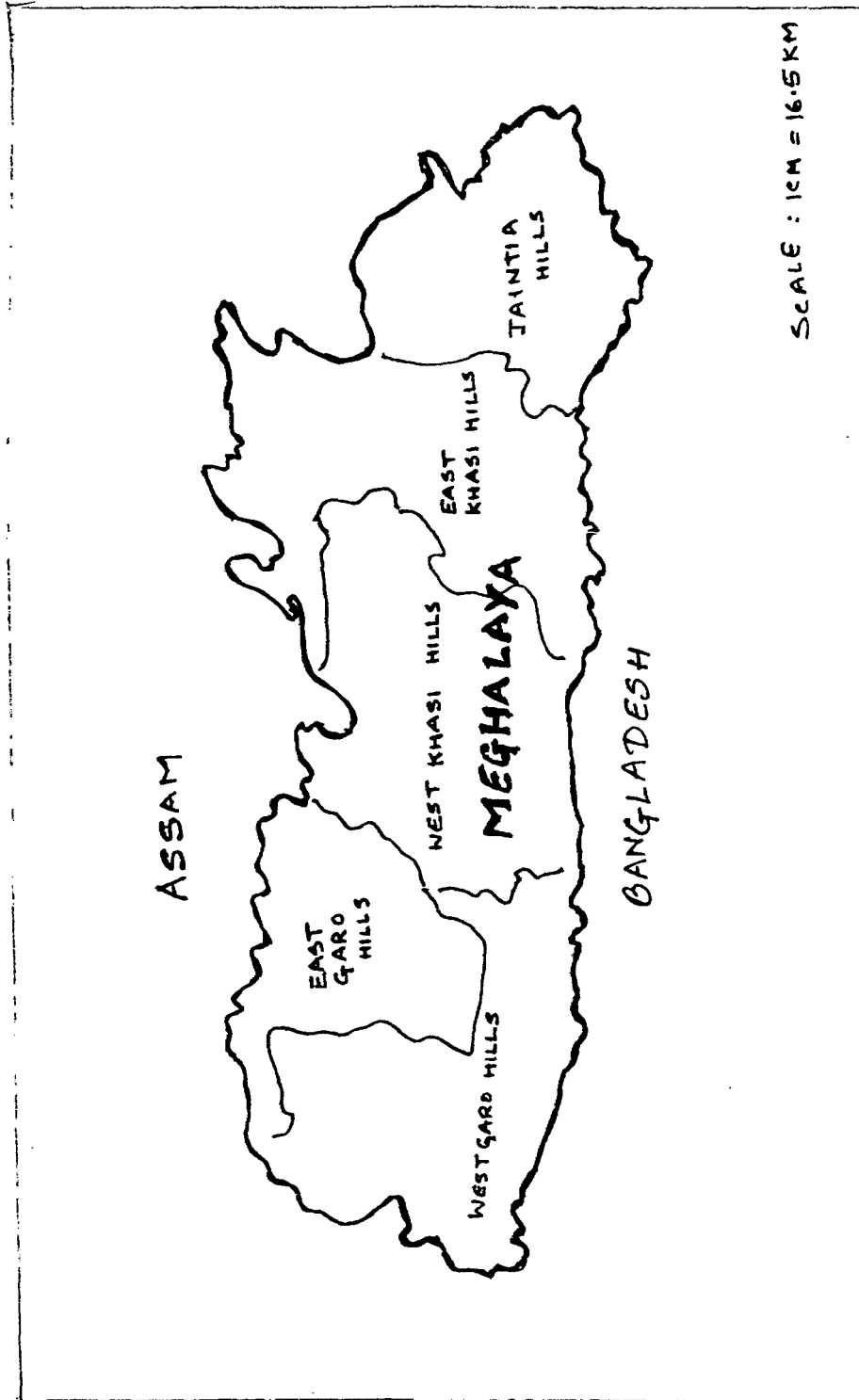
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Appendix I



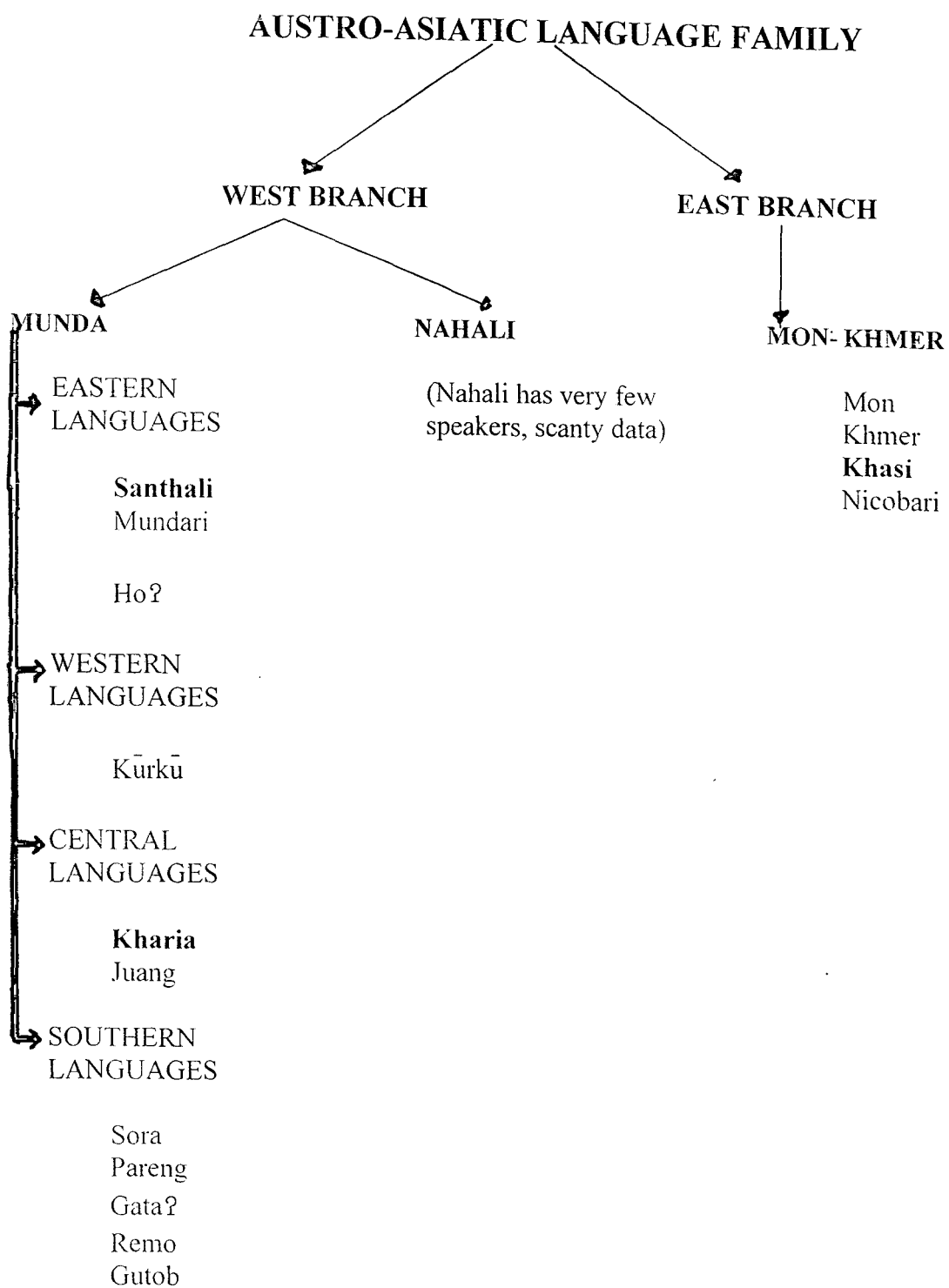
MAP:1 DISTRIBUTION OF SANTHALI AND KHARIA
IN THE THREE STATES.
(BASED ON CENSUS 1991)

Appendix II



MAP 2: MEGHALAYA, HOME OF KHASI SPEAKERS.
(BASED ON K.S. NAQRATA 1985)

Appendix III



Map 3 Austro-Asiatic Family Tree based on Pinnow (1959)

CENSUS OF INDIA-1991
POPULATION BY LANGUAGE, BILINGUALISM, TRILINGUALISM
NON - SCHEDULED LANGUAGE

Sl.No.	Name of the language	Speakers strength	% to total Population	Number of persons knowing two or more languages	% of persons knowing two or more languages	Number of persons knowing three languages	% of persons knowing three languages
1	Adi	158409	0.02	57294	36.17	33257	20.99
2	Anal	12156	0.00	7471	61.46	2601	21.40
3	Angami	97631	0.01	42995	44.04	24442	25.04
4	Ao	172449	0.02	51763	30.02	21625	12.54
5	Arabic/Arbi	21975	0.00	11737	53.41	4201	19.12
6	Bhili/Bhilodi	5572308	0.66	1075929	19.31	207298	3.72
7	Bhotia	55483	0.01	33814	60.94	12537	22.60
8	Bhumij	45302	0.01	22485	49.63	5829	12.87
9	Bishnupuriya	59233	0.01	39765	67.13	14169	23.92
10	Bodo/Boro	1221881	0.15	462686	37.87	161791	13.24
11	Chakhesang	30985	0.00	12517	40.40	6638	21.42
12	Chakru/Chokri	48207	0.01	13079	27.13	6842	14.19
13	Chang	32478	0.00	6293	19.38	2664	8.20
14	Coorgi/Kodagu	97011	0.01	83878	86.46	47535	49.00
15	Deori	17901	0.00	12322	68.83	4093	22.86
16	Dimasa	88543	0.01	41415	46.77	19904	22.48
17	Dogri	89681	0.01	46674	52.04	26695	29.77
18	English	178598	0.02	119638	66.99	49120	27.50
19	Gadaba	28158	0.00	16216	57.59	943	3.35
20	Gangte	13695	0.00	4848	35.40	1284	9.38
21	Garo	675642	0.08	123958	18.35	42896	6.35
22	Gondi	2124852	0.25	899567	42.34	134156	6.31
23	Halabi	534313	0.06	131861	24.68	22454	4.20
24	Halam	29322	0.00	12282	41.89	2867	9.78
25	Hmar	65204	0.01	19913	30.54	8380	12.85
26	Ho	949216	0.11	302176	31.83	74072	7.80
27	Jatapu	25730	0.00	16333	63.48	1025	3.98
28	Juang	16858	0.00	8673	51.45	83	0.49
29	Kabui	68925	0.01	29734	43.14	8163	11.84
30	Karbi/Mikir	366229	0.04	170939	46.68	51426	14.04
31	Khandeshi	973709	0.12	398028	40.88	153195	15.73
→ 32	Kharia	✓ 225556	✓ 0.03	✓ 128054	✓ 56.77	✓ 22287	✓ 9.88
→ 33	Khasi	✓ 912283	✓ 0.11	✓ 114920	✓ 12.60	✓ 30126	✓ 3.30
34	Khezha	13004	0.00	5127	39.43	3470	26.68
35	Khiemnungan	23544	0.00	2740	11.64	1429	6.07
36	Khond/Kondh	220783	0.03	81885	37.09	6793	3.08

Sl. No.	Name of the language	Speakers strength	% to total Population	Number of persons knowing two or more languages	% of persons knowing two or more languages	Number of persons knowing three languages	% of persons knowing three languages
76	Phom	65350	0.01	19483	29.81	10291	15.75
77	Pochury	11231	0.00	4923	43.83	2683	23.89
78	Rabha	139365	0.02	79906	57.34	17297	12.41
79	Rengma	37521	0.00	9622	25.64	6316	16.83
80	Sangtam	47461	0.01	13141	27.69	6708	14.13
✓ 81	Santali	✓ 5216325	✓ 0.62	✓ 2087805	✓ 40.02	✓ 279416	✓ 5.36
82	Savara	273168	0.03	122131	44.71	11647	4.26
83	Sema	166157	0.02	47827	28.78	27447	16.52
84	Sherpa	16105	0.00	10979	68.17	3170	19.68
85	Tangkhul	101841	0.01	41199	40.45	10742	10.55
86	Tangsa	28121	0.00	14528	51.66	8826	31.39
87	Thado	107992	0.01	40917	37.89	9772	9.05
88	Tibetan	69416	0.01	35678	51.40	19125	27.55
89	Tripuri	694940	0.08	310818	44.73	33555	4.83
90	Tulu	1552259	0.19	1069290	68.89	250181	16.12
91	Vaiphei	26185	0.00	8887	33.94	2278	8.70
92	Wancho	39600	0.00	9203	23.24	4805	12.13
93	Yimchungre	47227	0.01	9813	20.78	4057	8.59
94	Zeliang	35079	0.00	11034	31.45	4346	12.39
95	Zemi	22634	0.00	7719	34.10	2608	11.52
96	Zou	15966	0.00	4087	25.60	1211	7.58
97	Other Languages	565949	0.07	354874	62.70	128516	22.71
	Total	31126324	3.71	11872532	38.14	2577195	8.28

