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# COORDINATION IN CHITONIYA THARU

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**ABSTRACT**

Coordination is a clause linking device used to link two or more coordinands of the same grammatical category into a larger grammatical unit. Coordination in Chitoniya Tharu is characterized in the form of different coordinators used to coordinate different clauses with semantic variations. Chitoniya Tharu prefers asyndetic coordination and juxtaposition is the most frequently used clause linking device in this language. However, there are evidences of overt coordinators used to combine two or more clauses. Structural variations like syndetic and asyndetic coordinations and semantic variations like conjunctive, disjunctive and causal coordinative constructions are attested in this language.

Key words: conjunctive, disjunctive, juxtaposition, adversative, syndetic, asyndetic.

## 1.0    INTRODUCTION

Clause combining is basically concerned with the clausal relationship traditionally studied in terms of coordination and subordination. Lehmann defines it as a "relation of dependency or sociation between the clauses" (182). For Foley and van Valin, clause linkage is the unification of the "internal morphosyntax of the clause with the complex structures of the sentence, and ultimately, of discourse" (238). They study clause linkage in terms of the binary positions of the characteristics like [+ -] dependency and [+ -] embeddedness. According to them, complex sentences have three types of nexus as illustrated in the figure 1.

**Figure 1 Inter-clausal Relationship**

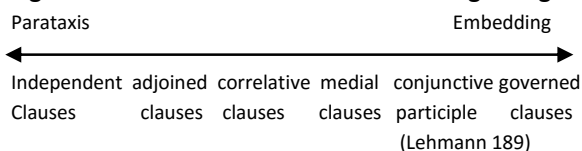| | | |
|---|---|---|
| - embedded | - dependent | = Coordination |
| + embedded | + dependent | = Subordination |
| embedded | + dependent | = Cosubordination |

(Foley and van Valin 241-2) [1]

[1] Foley and Van Valin define the term as the "two juncts which are in a dependency relation, but

However, Lehmann (189), Payne (306-7), Givón (327-8), and Cristofaro (23) assume that the relation between the clauses in a complex sentence cannot be expressed in binary terms like the concept of dependency and imbeddedness. Instead, they propose a continuum approach, "which is in principle, able to account for all the wide variety of clause linkage types that is found cross-linguistically" (Cristofaro 24). Lehmann proposes the concept of hierarchical downgrading in a continuum to show the inter-clausal relation in a complex sentence (184-5). According to him, at the starting pole of the continuum there is no hierarchical relation between the two clauses forming the complex sentence. This is the situation we call parataxis. At the end pole there is a clear hierarchical relation between them,

neither of which is emedded in the other"(257). The notion of cosubordination, according to Cristofaro, is designed especially to account for clause-linkage strategies like clause-chaining or verb serialization (23).

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the subordinate clause being downgraded to a particular well-defined constituent within the main clause. This is the situation we call embedding. Between the poles there are various constructions in which the subordinate clause is even more downgraded, as demonstrated in figure 2.

**Figure 2 Continuum of Hierarchical Downgrading**

Parataxis                                                    Embedding

Independent adjoined correlative medial conjunctive governed
Clauses         clauses     clauses   clauses participle  clauses
                                                (Lehmann 189)

Givón also opines in the same line. According to him, "an absolute binary distinction between subordinate (dependent) and coordinate (independent) clauses is woefully untenable", and "dependency, both functional and syntactic, is not an absolute discrete property but rather a matter of degree" because "no clause in connected, coherent discourse is functionally 100% independent of its local ('linear') or even global ('hierarchical') context" (327-8). His continuum of inter-clausal dependency is presented in figure 3.

**Figure 3 Continuum of Inter-clausal Dependency**

Most dependent ('semantic')

- verbal complementation
- subordinate / adverbial clauses
- coordinate / chained clauses

Least dependent ('pragmatic')

Although Foley and van Valin analyze the inter clausal relationship in terms of binary opposition, many of the linguists like Lehmann (1988), Payne (1997) Givón (2001), and Christofaro (2003) are in favour of the continuum approach. However, this paper makes an attempt to analyze the morphosyntactic patterns that are attested during the clause linkage processes of least dependent clauses in Chitoniya Tharu. Chitoniya Tharu is an Indo-Aryan language belonging to the eastern group of the family spoken by the ethnic group known as Tharu residing in Chitwan and eastern part of Nawalparasi districts of Nepal. It is the only Tharu variety that has been comprehensively documented till date. The data for the present study have been taken from the corpus prepared by the author himself in the course of his Ph. D. The figures at the end of the examples

indicate the reference of the corpus. For the grammatical description, Haspelmath (2002, 2004 & 2007) has been taken as the guidelines for the analysis.

**2.0       Coordination in Chitoniya Tharu**

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 the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements" (Lehmann 182; Haspelmath 1). In coordinate constructions, no clause depends upon the other and so there is a "whole-whole equivalence" relation between the clauses, but in subordinate constructions, the subordinate junct is embedded in the superordinate junct, and they are in a "part-whole relationship" (Foley and van Valin 239). The coordinating constructions in Chitoniya Tharu are attested at both levels: phrasal level and clausal level, and are characterized in the forms of ʌ and *hɲ̃se '*and'. At the phrasal level it comprises two or more coordinands of the same syntactic category, and at the clausal level it strings two or more clauses headed by the verbs of the same morphological class together. Phrasal level coordination is exemplified in (1a-c).

(1) a.   *brʌhmaji sʌŋkʌr bʰʌgʌwan ʌ bʰag lʌksmi*
         brʌhma - ji  sʌŋkʌr bʰʌgʌwan ʌ  bʰag lʌksmi
         Brahma -HON Shankargod and Bhagya Laxmi
         *cʌlageliyʌ bisnu bʰʌgʌwanke lʌgʰina*
         cʌl -ja -l  -iyʌ bisnu bʰʌgʌwan -ke  lʌgʰina
         walk-go-PST -3SG Bishnu god -GEN    near
         'Lord Brahma, Lord Shankar, Bhagya and Laxmi went to the Lord Bishnu.'
         (BL.FM-79.039)

b.   *ek mana behan ʌ ek mana sãjʰ*
     ek mana behan  ʌ   ek mana sãjʰ
     one QUNT morning and one QUNT  evening
     'One mana for the morning and one mana for the evening.'  (BL.FM-79.058)

c.   *dusʌri din kuṭliyʌ kʰunliyʌ pugadeliyʌ*
     dusʌri   din kuṭ -l -iyʌ     kʰun -l  -iyʌ
     second day  unhusk -PST -3SG clean -PST -3SG
     puga  -de  -l  -iyʌ
      deliver -give -PST -3SG
     'Next day (she) unhusked, cleaned and delivered.'       (F.BM-78.084)

The examples (1a-c) illustrate the phrasal coordination where the nouns *brʌhmaji, sʌŋkʌr bʰʌgʌwan, bʰag* and *lʌksmi* (1a) are coordinated with the coordinative conjunct ʌ 'and'. Similarly, in (1b), two NPs *ek mana behan* and *ek mana sãjʰ* 'one mana in the morning and one mana in the evening' and in (1c), three verbs *kuʈliyʌ* 'unhusk -PST -3SG' *kʰunliyʌ* 'clean -PST -3SG' *pugadeliyʌ* 'deliver -give -PST -3SG' are coordinated with the coordinator ʌ.

Coordination can also be attested on clausal level, as illustrated in (2a-b). In the examples, two clauses *kucʰ dur geliyʌ* 'went a bit away' and *gãʈʰ parliyʌ* 'tied a knot'(2a) and *hal hal bʰat nijʰihe* 'cook food fast' and *cʌlyʌihe pugawʌ wʌhʌwã* 'come there to deliver it' (2b) are coordinated with the coordinative conjuncts *hɲ̃se* and ʌ respectively into a higher unit, a sentence.

(2) a.  *pʰir kucʰ dur geliyʌ hɲ̃se pʰir gãʈʰ parliyʌ*
   pʰir    kucʰ    dur    ja -l -iyʌ    *hɲ̃se*
   again    some    far    go -PST -3SG    and
   pʰir    gãʈʰ    par -l -iyʌ
   again    knot    make -PST -3SG
   'He went a bit away and made a knot again.'  (JF.BM-78.0412)

b.  *ri hal hal bʰat nijʰihe ʌ*
   ri    halhal    bʰat    nijʰ -ihe    ʌ
   VOC    fast    rice    cook -IMP        and
   *cʌlyʌihe pugawʌ wʌhʌwã*
   cʌl -ya -ihe        puga -ʌ    wʌhʌwã
   walk -come -IMP    deliver -PURP        there
   'Hey, cook food fast, and come there to deliver it.'    (TSP.SM-52.053)

These examples show that coordinating constructions in Chitoniya Tharu consist of two or more coordinands at different levels and of different categories. Now in the paragraphs that follow we proceed to discuss the types and processes of coordination in Chitoniya Tharu.

## 2.1    Types of Coordination

On the structural level, coordinate constructions are of two types: syndetic and asyndetic. In syndetic coordination, two or more coordinands are linked with one or more overt coordinators, whereas in asyndetic coordination the coordinands are simply juxtaposed without any overt linking device.[2] Although both the types of coordination are attested in Chitoniya Tharu, the evidences in our corpus assure that Chitoniya Tharu prefers the asyndetic coordination. Only a few evidences of syndetic coordination are attested in the whole corpus. However, we can find the evidences of both monodyndetic and bisyndetic coordination in this language. Bisyndetic coordination is attested in the emphatic and emphatic negative coordination where correlative coordinators are used. Emphatic coordination is discussed under conjunctive coordination below.

On the semantic level, Chitoniya Tharu exhibits all the four types of coordinate constructions that Haspelmath (Coordination 2) discusses: conjunctive coordination, disjunctive coordination, adversative coordination and causal coordination. We proceed to discuss all these types of coordination in Chitoniya Tharu following Haspelmath (2004, 2007) in the paragraphs to come.

## 2.2    Conjunctive Coordination

Conjunctive coordination is also known as 'and coordination' in which two or more semantically and syntactically symmetrical constituents are linked by a coordinator like 'and' in English. It can be attested at both the levels- phrasal and clausal. Haspelmath points out that there are languages that have different conjunction strategies for NPs, VPs, and clauses (Coordinating Constructions 11). But Chitoniya Tharu does not make any distinction between the NP and event coordination. The conjunctive coordinators in Chitoniya Tharu are ʌ and *hɲ̃se* at both the levels, though *hɲ̃se* is preferred in clause level coordination. The examples (1a-c) and (2a-b) above can be taken as the examples of syndetic conjunctive coordination as they use the conjunctive particles ʌ and *hɲ̃se*. The examples in (3a-b) exemplify the asyndetic conjunctive coordination.

(3) a.  *beskʰa woskʰa deli pani wani*
   beskʰa    woskʰa    de -l -i        pani    wani
    cushion    REDUP    give -PST -3SG    water    REDUP
   *deli  kʰae pie pucʰʌli*

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[2]Haspelmath further classifies the syndetic coordination into two types: monosyndetic and bisyndetic based on the number of present coordinands (Coordinating Constructions 4).

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| de | -l | -i | kʰa | -e | pi | -e | pucʰ | -l | -i |
|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|------|----|----|
| give | -PST | -3SG | eat | -INF | drink | -INF | ask | -PST | -3SG |

'She offered a cushion, water and food.'
(JF.BM-78.0561)

b. *u bʌiṭʰdeli cʌd̪ʰʌli*

| u | bʌiṭʰ | -de | -l | -i | cʌd̪ʰ | -l | -i |
|---|-------|-----|----|----|-------|----|----|
| that | sit | -give | -PST | -3SG | climb up | -PST | -3SG |

*tino jʌna jʌnyãwã mʌrdawa*

| tin | -o | jʌna | jʌnyãwã | mʌrdawa |
|-----|----|------|---------|---------|
| three | -EMPH | NCLF | wife | husband |

'(The elephant) sat down, and these three, the women and the man, got on its back.'
(JF.BM-78.0708)

Haspelmath also discusses natural coordination in which the conjuncts "habitually go together and can be said to form some conventionalized whole" or "conceptual unit" (Coordination 23). Our corpus consists of some evidences of 'tight' or 'natural coordination', which are mostly asyndetic, in Chitoniya Tharu. The coordinands in such coordinations are semantically so close to each other that no coordinator is required to link them together. Instead, they are simply juxtaposed and are referred to as "coordinative compounds" (Coordinating Constructions 13). The examples of natural coordination are given in (4).

(4) *bap mʌhatari* 'father and mother'
*dao baba* 'mother and father'
*bidao bub* 'grandmother grandfather'
*jʌni mʌrʌd* 'wife and husband'
*beṭi dʌmad* 'daughter and son in law
*tir dʰʌnʌhi* 'arrow and bow'
*cʰʌũd̪ cʰʌũd̪i* 'boys and girls'
*bʌyar pani* 'wind and rain'

The emphatic coordination in Chitoniya Tharu consists of the structure 'A and B' plus the numeral *du* 'two' with emphatic clitic *nõ* and numeral classifier *jʌna*.[3] The coordinated arguments in the subject positions can also be extraposed to the end position in such constructions, as in (5a-b).

(5) a. *kisuniyã ʌ bisuniyã dunõ jʌna iskul gelʌyi*

| kisuniyã | ʌ | bisuniyã | du | -nõ | jʌna |
|----------|---|----------|----|----|------|
| Kisuniya | and | Bisuniya | two | -EMPH | NCLF |

| iskul | ja | -l | -ʌyi |
|-------|----|----|------|
| school | go | -PST | -3PL |

'Both Kisuniya and Bisuniya went to school.'

b. *dunõ jʌna iskul gelʌyi kisuniyã ʌ bisuniyã*

| du | -nõ | jʌna | iskul | ja | -l | -ʌyi |
|----|----|------|-------|----|----|------|
| two | -EMPH | NCLF | school | go | -PST | -3PL |

| kisuniyã | ʌ | bisuniyã |
|----------|---|----------|
| Kisuniya | and | Bisuniya |

'Both Kisuniya and Bisuniya went to school.'

## 2.3 Disjunctive Coordination

Disjunctive coordination is also known as alternative coordination or 'or' coordination. Usually the 'or' coordination 'is exclusive, expressing the idea that only one of the possiblities can be realized' (Quirk and Greenbaum 258). Such constructions may comprise any number of coordinands. Haspelmath distinguishes between the standard disjunction and inrerrogative disjunction (Coordination 25). Interrogative disjunction occurs in alternative questions. However, Chitoniya Tharu employs a single disjunctive coordinator *ki* 'or' in both the types of coordination. Sometimes, a loan word *ʌtʰʌwa* 'or' is used as a disjunctive coordinator. The disjunctive particle always precedes the subsequent coordinand in the sentence, as in (6a-c).

(6) a. *h̃se kukurake bʌd̪ʌhi dekʰʌyi ki beŋikʌ*

| h̃se | kukura | -ke | bʌd̪ | -hi |
|------|--------|-----|------|-----|
| PRT | dog | -ACC | be.PRS | -2SG |

| dekʰ | -yi | ki | beŋi | -kʌ |
|------|-----|----|------|-----|
| see | -PROG | or | frog | -ACC |

'Can you see the dog or the frog?'
(FS_DR&RM.003)

b. *yi git gʌwʌyi bʌd̪iyʌ ki*

| yi | git | ga | -yi | bʌd̪ | -iyʌ | ki |
|----|-----|----|-----|------|------|----|
| this | song | sing | -PROG | be.PRS | -3SG | or |

*kʌkʌrʌhũ bʌloyi bʌd̪iyʌ?*

| kʌkʌrʌhũ | bʌla | -yi | bʌd̪ | -iy |
|----------|------|-----|------|-----|
| somebody | call | –PROG | be.PRS | -3SG |

'Is the baby singing a song or calling someone?' (FS_DR&RM.073)

Chitoniya Tharu also employs bisyndetic coordination in the emphatic coordinative constructions. It is expressed through the correlative coordinators *ki...ki* 'either ...or' and *nʌ ...nʌ* 'neither... nor'.[4] The first coordinative particle precedes the first coordinand and the second particle precedes the second one. For instance:

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[3] See Haspelmath (Coordination 15).

[4] Abbi calls the *nʌ...nʌ* construction as 'Negative coordination' (214).

(7) a.  *ki uwʌ jebihe ki muĩ jebʌhĩ*

| Ki | uwʌ | ja -b -ihe |
|---|---|---|
| either | 3SG | go -FUT -3SG |
| ki | muĩ | ja -b -hĩ |
| or | 1SG | go -FUT -1SG |

'Either he or I will go.'      (ELCTD_BM.320)

b.   *nʌ yãkʰim nin nʌ peṭʌm bʰukʰ*

| nʌ | yãkʰi -m | nin | nʌ | peṭ -m | bʰukʰ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEG | eye -LOC | sleep | NEG | belly -LOC | hunger |

'(He had) neither sleep in the eyes, nor hunger in the stomach.' (JF.BM-78.183)

In the example (7a) two coordinands *uwʌ jebihe* and *muĩ jebʌhĩ* are coordinated by the conjunctive particles *ki...ki*, whereas in (7b), the coordinands *yãkʰim nin* and *peṭʌm bʰukʰ* are linked with the negative coordinators *nʌ....nʌ.* In the emphatic negative coordination, the first coordinator *nʌ* may be optionally deleted, as in (8a).

(8) a.  *bina bacase muĩ yʌn kʰebʌsu nʌ pani pibʌsu*

| bina | baca -se | muĩ | yʌn | kʰa -b -su |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| without | promise -ABL | 1SG | grain | eat -FUT-1SG |

| nʌ | pani | pi -b -su |
|---|---|---|
| NEG | water | drink -FUT -1SG |

'Without promise, I will neither eat grains, nor drink water.'      (JF.BM-78.226)

It is to be noted that the coordinands in (8a) are *muĩ yʌn kʰebʌsu* and *muĩ pani pibʌsu.* As a rule, the negative coordinator precedes both the coordinands, but as the one preceding the first coordinand can be deleted, the coordinator *nʌ* precedes only the second coordinand here.

Disjunctive coordination in Chtoniya Tharu is also realized in the form of simple jusxtaposition. Such constructions normally consist of two numerals or two noun phrases with numeral attributes. As Liljegren notices in Palula (307), the juxtaposed coordinands connote approximate figures rather than an absolute one. The examples in (9a-b) clarify the case.

(9) a.  *car pãc jʌna tʌ dʰʌrelʌyi pʰeni*

| car | pãc | jʌna | tʌ | dʰʌr -e -l -ʌyi |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| pʰeni | | | | |
| four | five | NCLF | PRT | hold -PASS -PST -3P also |

'Four or five people were arrested too.'
(ELCD_PASS.012)

b.   *yʌhʌwã hĩse pʌdʰoyi rʌhʌliyʌ pãc sat bʌrʌs*

| yʌhʌwã | hĩse | pʌdʰa -yi | rʌh -l -iyʌ |
|---|---|---|---|
| here | then | teach -PROG | remain -PST -3SG |

| pãc | sat | bʌrʌs |
|---|---|---|
| five | seven | year |

'(He) taught here for five or seven years.'
(PLS.JRC-70.047)

The juxtaposed numerals in the examples do not refer to an exact number, rather indicate an approximation.

**2.4    Juxtaposition**

Juxtaposition is the syntactic process in which two or more symetrical sentential elements are coordinated simply by juxtaposing the coordinands together without using any coordinator.[5] It is a most widely used coordination process in the languages of the world. The evidences in our corpus force us to state that Chitoniya Tharu does not prefer overt marking as in conjunctive and disjunctive coordination; rather it employs juxtaposition or asyndetic coordination more frequently and conveniently. Juxtaposition can be noticed at the phrasal as well as clausal levels, as illustrated in (10a-b).

(10) a.  *yi sojʰe marliyʌ deliyʌ girayi*

| yi | sojʰ -e | mar -l -iyʌ |
|---|---|---|
| this | straight -EMPH | hit -PST -3SG |

| de -l -iyʌ | gir -a -yi |
|---|---|
| give -PST -3SG | fall -CAUS -ABS |

'This (boy) shot straight, hit the target and caused it to fall.'      (JF.BM-78.207)

b.   *bʌrkʰa yʌbiyʌ na bilʌwa pũddebiyʌ mʌrjebʌhĩ*

| bʌrkʰa | ya -b -iyʌ | na | bilʌwa |
|---|---|---|---|
| rain | come -FUT -3SG | PRT | hole |

| pũd -de -b -iyʌ | mʌr -ja -b -hĩ |
|---|---|
| cover -give -FUT -3SG | die -go-FUT -1SG |

'When it rains, it will fill up our holes, (and) I will die.'      (JF.BM-78.025)

The examples (10a-b) demonstrate how the coordinands of different levels are juxtaposed in this language. In (10a), the juxtaposition is on the phrasal level in which the verb phrases *marliyʌ* and *deliyʌ girayi* are juxtaposed. Similarly, we have the

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[5]Haspelmath (Coordination 6) calls this type of coordination as 'asyndetic coordintion' and Payne (25) regards it as the 'zero strategy' of coordination process.

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clausal level juxtaposition in (10b) where the clauses *bʌrʌkʰa yʌbiyʌ* 'it will rain', *bilʌwa pŭddebiyʌ* 'it will cover the hole', and *mʌrjebʌhĩ* 'I will die' are juxtaposed into a higher grammatical unit- sentence.

**2.5     Adversative Coordination**

Adversative coordination is also known as 'but coordination' as it is signalled by'but' in English. In adversative coordinate constructions,"what is said in the second conjoin is unexpeted in view of what is said in the first conjoin" (Quirk and Greenbaum 259). Unlike conjunctive and disjunctive coordination which can coordinate any number of coordinands, adversative coordination is binary in nature and works with two coordinands at the clausal level only. The adversative coordinator in Chitoniya Tharu is realized in the form of *bãki* or *bʌki* 'but' which is used before the subsequently coordinated clause. The exampes are given in (11a-b).

(11) a.    *hʌ̃se jamme jʌna gelʌyi bʌki*

hʌ̃se     jamme     jʌna     ja-l -ʌyi     bʌki
PRT     all     NCLF     go -PST -3PL     but

*u buḍʰiyakʌ beṭa nʌikʰo geliyʌ*

u     buḍʰiya -kʌ     beṭa nʌikʰo ja -l -iyʌ
that old woman -GEN son NEG     go -PST -3SG

'All the people went (to the meeting) but the old woman's son did not go.' (JF.BM-78.0734) (JF.BM-78.0735)

b.    *kʌcʌheri tʌ muĩ bʌlolʌhĩ bʌki*

kʌcʌheri tʌ     muĩ     bʌla -l -hĩ     bʌki
meeting     PRT 1SG     call -PST -1SG     but

*u buḍʰiyakʌ beṭʌwa yʌiliyʌ*

u     buḍʰiya -kʌ     beṭʌwa     ya -l -iyʌ
that old woman -GEN son     come -pst -3sg

*ki nʌikʰo yʌiliyʌ*

ki nʌikʰo ya -l -iyʌ
or NEG     come -PST -3SG

'Well, I have summoned the meetiong, but the old woman's son has come or not?' (JF.BM-78.0738)

**2.6     Causal Coordination**

The causal coordinand in Chitoniya Tharu always precedes the one expressing the effect. The cause and effect relation of the two coordinands is encoded in the form of causal adverbial *ihese*

'beaause of this' and *uhese* 'because of that' which always follow the causal coordinand. Unlike English and a number of other languages, the effect clause can never precede the causal coordinand in Chitoniya Tharu. Furthermore, the causal coordination is permitted only in the clause level coordination, as illustrated in (12a-b).

(12) a.    *uwʌ mʌniyail bʌḍiyʌ uhese*

uwʌ     mʌniyail bʌḍ -iyʌ     uhese
3SG     sick     be.PRS -3SG     therefore

*iskul jae hʌine sʌkliyʌ*

iskul     ja -e     hʌine     sʌk -l -iyʌ
school     go-INF     NEG     can -PST -3SG

'He could not go to school because he is sick.'     (ELCTD_BM.101)

b.    *bahʌra yʌnhar bʌḍʌu uhese bʌtti lele jo*

bahʌra     dark     be.PRS -3SG     therefore
bʌtti     le -le     ja -o
lamp     take -PRF     go -IMP

'Take a lamp because there is dark outside.' (ELCTD_BM.103)

The example (12a) has two clauses *uwʌ mʌniyail bʌḍiyʌ* and *iskul jae hʌine sʌkliyʌ* which are coordinated with *uhese.* In such constructions, the effect clause always follows the cause clause and the causal coordinator always precedes the effect clause. Thus here we realize that the reason behind his not going to school is his being sick. Similarly, the speaker of (12b) asks the listener to take a lamp with him because it is dark outside. The two coordinands *bahʌra yʌnhar bʌḍʌu* and *bʌtti lele jo* have the cause and effect relation and so, are coordinated with the causal coordinator *uhese.*

The coordinator *uhese* 'because of that' can also functions as a sentnence adverbial introducing a sentence as the effect of the preceding sentence. For instance:

(13) a.    *uhese wokʌr puṭʰʌwama*

u -he -se     wokʌr     puṭʰʌwa -ma
that -EMPH -ABL     3SG.GEN buṭṭock -LOC

*beṭʰʌka ciṭkʌlʌ bʌḍihe*

bʌiṭʰ -ka     ciṭk -lʌ     bʌḍ -ihe
sit -NMLZ     stick -PRF     be.PRS -3SG

'That is why, he has a cushion stuck on his buttock.'     (JF.BM-78.459)

b.   *uhese sʌbse burbʌk muĩ hʌkʰsu*

uhese   sʌb -se   burbʌk   muĩ   hʌkʰ -su
therefore   all -COMP   stupid   1SG   be.PRS -1SG
'That's why, I am the most stupid person.'
(TSP.SM-52.078)

The examples in (13a-b) are the effect clauses which follow the reason clauses in the respective narrratives.

Another causal coordinator is *kʌtʌu ki,* a combination of a question word *kʌtʌu* 'why' and the disjunctive coordinator *ki* 'or', meaning 'because of what'. In the *kʌtʌu ki* construction, the effect clause precedes the causal clause, which is preceded by the causal coordinator *kʌtʌu ki*, as demonstrated in (14a-b).

(14) a.   *uwʌ yaju iskul hʌine geliyʌ*

uwʌ   yaju   iskul   hʌine   ja –l -iyʌ
3SG   today   school   NEG   go-PST-3SG

*kʌtʌu ki uwʌ mʌniyʌil bʌɖiyʌ*

kʌtʌu ki   uwʌ   mʌniyʌil   bʌɖ-iyʌ
because   3SG   sick   be.PRS-3SG

'He did not go to school today because he is sick.' (ELCTD_BM.102)

However, the speakers of the language feel convenience to use the asyndetic coordination even to express the cause effect relationship, such as (15a) where the effect clause precedes the causal clause without any coordinator between them.

(15) a.   *muĩ nahi sʌkbʌsu bule*

muĩ   nahi   sʌk -b -su   bul -e
1SG   NEG   can -FUT -1SG   walk -INF

*mor ʈʌŋgʌwa bʌtʰʌyi bʌɖihe*

mor   ʈʌŋgʌwa   bʌtʰa -yi   bʌɖ -ihe
1SG.GEN   leg   ache -PROG   be.PRS -3SG

'I can not walk because by legs are aching.'
(ELCTD_BM.104)

## 3.0   Conclusion

Chitoniya Tharu exhibits all the types of coordination that Haspelmath discusses in his article "Coordination". We have different coordinators for different type of coordination. The conjunctive coordinators are ʌ and *hʌse*. On the phrasal level the coordinator ʌ is preferred, whereas on the clausal level, both coordinators are used with equal comfort. The disjunctive coordinator in Chitoniya Tharu is *ki* or *ʌtʰʌwa*. As *ʌtʰʌwa* is borrowed from the dominant national language Nepali, *ki* sounds much more Tharu like than *ʌtʰʌwa*. The adversative coordinator in this language is unique. No other contact languages in the neighbourhood attest the coordinator *bʌki* or *bãki,* though we have such a word in Nepali meaning 'what is left' that is different from this coordinator. The causal coordinators *ihese* 'because of this' and *uhese* 'because of that' are also attested in this language. We have another causal coordinator *kʌtʌuki* which is a combined form of a question word *kʌtʌu* 'why' and *ki* 'or' which is just like the Nepali coordinator ~~किनकि~~ 'because of what'. what'. Instead of the presence of so many coordinators in this language, this study assures that Chitoniya Tharu is preferably an asyndetic language. The speakers of this language feel much more comfortable to use asyndetic constructions rather than syndetic ones, and the asyndetic constructions sound much more Tharuish than the syndetic ones.

## SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| ~ | nasalization | 1 | First person |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Second person | 3 | Third person |
| ABL | Ablative | ACC | Accusative |
| COND | Conditional | DAT | Dative |
| EMPH | Emphatic | FUT | Future |
| Hon- | Honorific | HORT | Hortative |
| GEN | Genitive | IMP | Imperative |
| INF | Infinitive | LOC | Locative |
| NEG | Negative | NH | Non-honorific |
| NCLF | Numeral classifier | OBL | Oblique |
| PROH | Prohibitive | PRT | Particle |
| PL | Plural | PRF | Perfect |
| PRS | Present | PROG | Progressive |
| PST | Past | PTCP | Participial |
| REFL | Reflexive | SEQ | Sequential |
| SG | Singular | VOC | Vocative |

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