

# Chapter 2

## Juxtaposition and Coordination in Assamese and Mising

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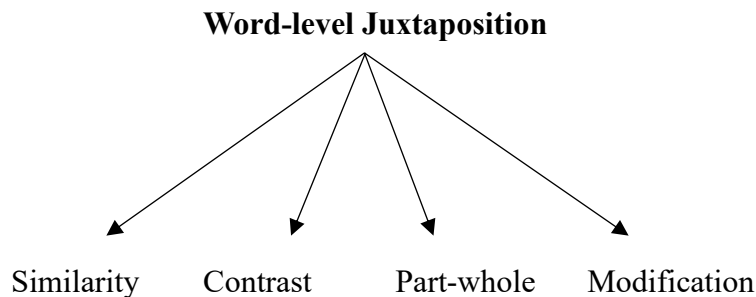
### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter is a detailed study of the semantics and grammar of juxtaposition and coordination in Assamese and Mising. The chapter has the following structure. In Section 2.1, we have discussed juxtaposition as a means of clause linking where the conceptual connection between the two clauses involved is obvious from the contextual meaning

they carry and as a result they are not grammatically connected by a coordinator. In the remainder of the section, we have presented a discussion on the juxtaposition in Assamese and Mising. In Section 2.2, we have discussed coordination as a means of clause-linking where the conceptual link is explicitly anchored with the help of a coordinator, unlike in juxtaposition. As part of this discussion, we have also tried to explain coordination vis-à-vis juxtaposition. In Section 2.3, we have discussed how juxtaposition and coordination may lend themselves to subordination.

## 2.1 Juxtaposition

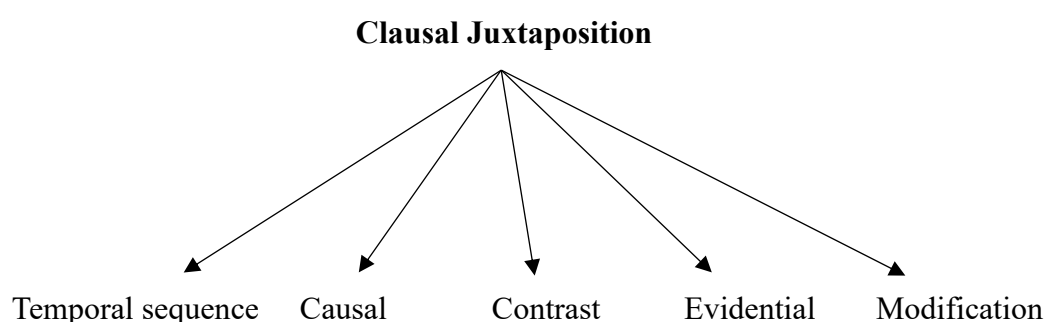
To juxtapose is to place two elements side by side. Therefore, juxtaposition may mean similarity (i.e., we juxtapose two things to focus on the similarity between them and perceive them as one conceptual unit, as in *koka-aita* ‘grandparents’, *bai-b<sup>h</sup>oni* ‘elder sister and younger sister’, in Assamese, and *ta:to-ja:jo* ‘grandparents’, *iki-mikuri* ‘dogs and cats’, *alag-l3tik* ‘hands and legs’, in Mising); to focus on the contrast between them (i.e., we may juxtapose two things to focus on their contrast as in *din-rati* ‘day-night’, *kola-boga* ‘black-white’, as in Assamese, and *loŋ3-jum3* ‘night and day’, *joka-kamp3* ‘black and white’, *tal3ŋ-k3jik* ‘up and down’, in Mising); to focus on the part-whole relationship between them as in *dex-zati* ‘country-nation’, *mati-b<sup>h</sup>eti* ‘land-house’, in Assamese and *isiŋ-iliŋ* ‘tree vines’, in Mising; to focus on the modification relationship between them as in *d<sup>h</sup>unija suali* ‘beautiful girl’, *xoru-lora* ‘young boy’, *kola-sati* ‘black umbrella’ in Assamese, and *l3:n3-appun* ‘red flower’ *kaŋkan3-galug* ‘beautiful dress’, in Mising; and so on (see Fig. 1 that follows).



**Fig. 11: Possible meanings of word-level juxtaposition**

Hence, the speaker may juxtapose two clauses, which are grammatical counterparts of real-world situations and may be realized as full sentences<sup>1</sup>, to mean a temporal sequence of two situations as in ‘I saw the bird. The bird flew away’<sup>2</sup>; a causal sequence as in ‘She had a lot of junk food yesterday. She’s got an upset stomach’; a contrast as in ‘I like tea. I don’t like coffee at all’; the speaker may juxtapose two clauses where the second clause serves as a piece of evidence to the situation expressed by the first one as in ‘The bird flew away. I saw it.’ (i.e., I saw the bird flying away), or where the second clause acts as a modifier to the nominal referent in the first clause, as in ‘I met your sister yesterday. She is incredibly beautiful.’

Thus, when two sentences are juxtaposed, then they indicate some kind of obvious conceptual relation i.e., one of those stated in the preceding paragraph, between the situations involved. In the juxtaposed sentences, e.g., ‘She had a lot of junk food yesterday. She’s got an upset stomach’ will thus be understood to have a causal relation between them although it is not explicitly stated. Our knowledge of the world informs us that taking a lot junk food usually leads to a stomach upset. We will, therefore, interpret the juxtaposed unit above as ‘Because she had a lot of junk food yesterday, she’s got an upset stomach’ where *because* has explicitly expressed the causal link between them. In Fig. 2 that follows, is presented schematically the possible meanings of clausal juxtaposition.



**Fig. 12: Possible meanings of clausal juxtaposition**

<sup>1</sup> As stated in the thesis Introduction, all sentences are clauses, though all clauses are not sentences.

<sup>2</sup> When two sentences juxtaposed, they are separated by a full stop (or, sometimes by a comma).

### 2.1.1 Juxtaposition and inference

As observed, juxtaposition does not explicitly state the conceptual relation between the clauses involved so that the link is rather inferred. Consider the following three examples.

- (1) *Do this work for me. I'll give you 100 rupees.*
- (2) *Do this work for me and I'll pay you 100 rupees.*
- (3) *If you do this work for me, I'll pay you 100 rupees.*

In (1), the two sentences are juxtaposed, separated by a full stop. According to the principle of iconicity of proximity<sup>3</sup>, this means that the situations expressed by the sentences are conceptually related; on the other hand, according to the principle of iconicity of distance, they being two independent grammatical units separated by a full stop will mean that the conceptual link between them is 'weakly' stated, unlike in (2), which is *one single* sentence with the use of an 'and' i.e., a coordinated version (1).

As the underlying conceptual relation between the two clauses is not explicitly stated in juxtaposition, the hearer may have her own inferences, e.g., in, 'I saw a bird. It flew away', the hearer, may perceive either a causal relation between the clauses, or they may interpret the juxtaposition as temporal sequence of situations. Or, the juxtaposition may felicitate a trick to the speaker in (1) above: the speaker may refuse to pay the hearer who has done the work for him, arguing that his promise has nothing to do with the work he asked the hearer to do for him. In (2), the two sentences are made one by using a coordinator (i.e., 'and'), which, according to the same principle, means that the conceptual link between the two situations is tighter so that such a trick is not possible. In the case of (3), the first clause is grammatically subordinated with a subordinator (i.e., 'if'), which, according to the same principle, means that a yet tighter or clearer conceptual link (i.e., a condition and its fulfilment) underlines the sentence. The condition as expressed by the subordinate clause 'If you do this for me' serves in clear terms as ground (G)<sup>4</sup> for the figure (F), i.e. the promised reward for fulfilling the condition as expressed by the main clause 'I'll pay you 100 rupees.'

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<sup>3</sup> For an account of the principle of proximity-distance, see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.1.1 of this thesis.

<sup>4</sup> For an account of the Figure-Ground alignment, see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.1.3 of this thesis.

## 2.1.2 Juxtaposition in Assamese and Mising

We present below some examples of clausal juxtaposition from Assamese and Mising.

### Temporal sequence:

(4a) *xi ahil, k<sup>h</sup>ale, gol.* (Assamese)

xi ah-il k<sup>h</sup>a-l-e go<sup>5</sup>-l  
he come-PRF eat-PRF-3 go-PRF  
'He came, ate, and left.'

(4b) *bi gipilaŋkul dokabo gikaŋkubo* (Mising)

bi gi-pi<sup>6</sup>-laŋ-kul do-ka-bo gi-kaŋ<sup>7</sup>-ku<sup>8</sup>-bo  
he come-PRF-as soon as-return eat-PST-PRF go-PST-again-PRF  
'He came, ate, and left.'

(4c) *k<sup>h</sup>obor pot<sup>h</sup>alu. xi pale.* (Assamese)

k<sup>h</sup>obor pot<sup>h</sup>a-l-u. xi pa-l-e  
new send-PRF-1 he get-PRF-3  
'I sent the news. He got it.'

(4d) *kobord3m m3liktobo bi pa:tobo* (Mising)

kobor-d3-m m3lik-tobo bi pa:-tobo  
news-DEF-ACC send-PRF he get-PRF  
'I sent the news. He got it.'

(4e) *xi rand<sup>h</sup>ile. moi bilalu.* (Assamese)

xi rand<sup>h</sup>-il-e. moi bila-l-u  
he cook-PRF-3 I serve-PRF-1  
'He cooked. I served.'

<sup>5</sup> *go* is derived from the root word *za* 'go.' *za* becomes *go* when it occurs in the past tense or in non-finite constructions marked by the non-finite marker *-i*.

<sup>6</sup> *pi* which means 'to arrive' is functioning as a perfective marker here, i.e., the action of arriving has just completed.

<sup>7</sup> When used with motion verbs, the past tense marker *-kaŋ* has a deictic role as well, meaning 'a movement away from the speaker.' (Taid, 2016, p. 209)

<sup>8</sup> The suffix *-ku* denotes doing something again or returning back to an earlier position. (Taid, 2016, p. 95)

- (4f) *bi apin moka ŋo orka* (Mising)  
 bi apin mo-ka ŋo or-ka  
 he rice cook-PST I serve-PST  
 ‘He cooked. I served.’

In (4a) and (4b), three clauses are juxtaposed (with ellipses<sup>9</sup>). Coming home from work, for example, and then returning to work having lunched is a recurring common experience of ours so that the temporal sequence of the three conceptually connected events is understood without overt linking of the clauses. In (4c) and (4d), we have an event of transfer where something is sent to someone, and where receiving follows sending. Because of this mental schema, we understand the conceptual link involved in the example without overt linking. Likewise, in (4e) and (4f), food is cooked to serve and serving takes place after the food is cooked. This is part of our recurring life experience so that the conceptual link in the juxtaposition is clear without overt linking of the clauses.

#### Causal:

- (5a) *dorob k<sup>h</sup>aisu. alop b<sup>h</sup>al paisu.* (Assamese)  
 dorob k<sup>h</sup>a-is-u. alop b<sup>h</sup>al pa-is-u  
 medicine eat-ING.PROG-1 little good get-ING.PROG-1  
 ‘I have taken medicines. I feel a little better now.’

- (5b) *kusere doduŋ azzouko aiduŋku* (Mising)  
 kusere do-duŋ azzou-ko ai-duŋ-ku  
 medicine eat-PROG little-IND good-PROG-return  
 ‘I have taken medicines. I feel a little better now.’

- (5c) *xi b<sup>h</sup>orit duk<sup>h</sup> pale. azi nahe* (Assamese)  
 xi b<sup>h</sup>ori-t duk<sup>h</sup> pa-l-e. azi n-ah-e  
 he leg-LOC hurt get-PRF-3 today NEG-come-3  
 ‘He hurt his leg. He won’t come today.’

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<sup>9</sup> cf. 2.2.6

- (5d) *bi l3tik l3sutsunam bi silo gimabo* (Mising)  
 bi l3tik l3sutsu-nam bi silo gi-ma-bo  
 he legs stumble-NF he today come-NEG-PRF  
 ‘He hurt his leg. He won’t come today.’

- (5e) *xi boroxunot titisil. etia zor.* (Assamese)  
 xi boroxun-ot titi-sil. etia zor  
 he rain-LOC wet-PST now fever  
 ‘He got wet in the rain. Now, he has got a fever.’

- (5f) *bi p3doŋ zisuka supak ramduŋ* (Mising)  
 bi p3doŋ zisu-ka supak ram-duŋ  
 he rain wet-PST now fever-PROG  
 ‘He got wet in the rain. Now, he has got a fever.’

In (5) above, the conceptual links are obvious as cause-effect relation so that no marker stating the link is necessary: it’s our common knowledge that when a patient takes medicines, he is gradually cured, as in (5a) and (5b); when one is injured, one takes leave, as in (5c) and (5d); when one gets wet in the rain one *may* get a fever as a result, as in (5e) and (5f). The time adverbial *etia* ‘now’ in Assamese and *supak* ‘now’ in Mising in the second sentence has, however, worked as a kind of linker in the example: he got drenched in the rain in the morning; how is he doing now as a result?

In (6) below, the juxtapositions mean contrasts or opposites, which are a common life experience. Thus, money comes and goes, as in (6a) and (6b); one is seen to enter and the other is seen to exit, as in (6c) and (6d); the speaker in (6e) and (6f) has taken meat, while his companion took fish.

### Contrast:

- (6a) *toka ahibo. toka zabo* (Assamese)  
 toka ah-ibo za-ibo  
 money come-FUT go-FUT  
 ‘Money comes and goes.’

- (6b) *poisaŋ a:j3 poisaŋ gi-j3* (Mising)  
 poisaŋ a:-j3 poisaŋ gi-j3  
 money come-FUT money go-FUT  
 ‘Money comes and goes.’
- (6c) *eta xumal. eta ulal.* (Assamese)  
 eta xuma-l. eta ula-l  
 one enter-PRF one exit-PRF  
 ‘One went in, the other went out.’
- (6d) *adorko aŋkaŋ adorko gilenkaŋ* (Mising)  
 ador-ko aŋ-kaŋ ador-ko gi-len-kaŋ  
 animal-one enter-PST animal-one go-outside-PST  
 ‘One animal went in, the other went out.’
- (6e) *moi niramix k<sup>h</sup>alu. xi amix k<sup>h</sup>ale.* (Assamese)  
 moi niramix k<sup>h</sup>a-l-u. xi amix k<sup>h</sup>a-l-e  
 I non-veg eat-PRF-1 he non-veg eat-PRF-3  
 ‘I ate veg, he non-veg.’
- (6f) *ŋo oŋo doka bi azin doka* (Mising)  
 ŋo oŋo do-ka bi azin do-ka  
 I fish eat-PST he meat eat-PST  
 ‘I ate fish, he meat.’

Consider the examples in (7). It is usually expected that the speaker provide evidence to the claims he has made or the information that he has provided (e.g., by mentioning the source of information). Thus, the conceptual connection in the sentences in (7) are not connected by any overt marking.

#### **Evidential:**

- (7a) *tai gari kinile. moi dek<sup>h</sup>isu.* (Assamese)  
 tai gari kin-il-e. moi dek<sup>h</sup>is-u  
 she car buy-PRF-3 I see-ING.PROG-1  
 ‘She has bought car. I have seen it.’



- (7b) *bi gari r3tag ŋo ka:to* (Mising)  
 bi gari r3-tag ŋo ka:-to  
 she car buy-PRF I see-PST  
 ‘She has bought car. I saw it.’
- (7c) *tai bor suka. moi zanu.* (Assamese)  
 tai bor suka moi zan-u.  
 she very sharp I know-1  
 ‘She is very sharp. I know it.’
- (7d) *bi aip3 aidag ŋo kindag* (Mising)  
 bi aip3 ai-dag ŋo kin-dag  
 he very good-HAB I know-HAB  
 ‘He is very good. I know it.’
- (7e) *tai b<sup>h</sup>al lik<sup>h</sup>e. moi porhisu.* (Assamese)  
 tai b<sup>h</sup>al lik<sup>h</sup>-e. moi porh-is-u.  
 she good write-3 I read-ING.PROG-1  
 ‘She writes well. I have read it.’
- (7f) *bi aip3 addag ŋo pokitag* (Mising)  
 bi aip3 ad-dag ŋo po-ki-tag  
 she well write-HAB I read-experience-PRF  
 ‘She writes well. I have read it.’

### Modification

Consider the examples in (8) below. The second clauses are in a modifying relationship with the head noun in the first clause. in (8a), the second clause ‘she is beautiful’ modifies the head noun ‘your sister’ in the first clause. In (8b), the second clause ‘he is American’ modifies the head noun ‘a man’ in the first clause. In both (8c) and (8d), the head noun ‘a dress’ is modifies by the second clauses ‘very expensive’ and ‘very beautiful’, respectively. This way of modifying the first clause with the second clause can also be called as relativization through juxtaposition. (for details see Chapter 4, Section 4.5)

- (8a) *kali tumar b<sup>h</sup>ontik log palu. tai xosai bor d<sup>h</sup>unija* (Assamese)  
 kali tumi-r b<sup>h</sup>onti-k log pa-l-u. tai xosai  
 bor d<sup>h</sup>unija  
 yesterday you-GEN sister-ACC meet get-PRF-1 she really  
 very beautiful.  
 ‘I met your sister yesterday. She is really very beautiful.’

- (8b) *azi ezon manuh log palu. teu American.* (Assamese)  
 azi e-zon<sup>10</sup> manuh log pa-l-u teu American  
 today one-CLF man meet get-PRF-1 he American  
 ‘Today I met a man. He is American.’

- (8c) *m3lo galug aborko r3ka. aip3 ar3 bozedag* (Mising)  
 m3lo galug a-bor-ko r3-ka. aip3 boze-dag  
 yesterday dress CLF-sheet-IND buy-PST very expensive-HAB  
 ‘Yesterday I bought a dress. It is very expensive.’

- (8d) *bi ηom galug aborko bika. aip3 kaŋkandag* (Mising)  
 bi ηo-m galug a-bor-ko bi-ka. aip3 kaŋkan-dag  
 he I-ACC dress CLF-sheet-IND give-PST very beautiful-HAB  
 ‘He gave me a dress yesterday. It is very beautiful.’

## 2.2 Coordination

As stated in Chapter 1 of the thesis, in coordination, the conceptual link between the two sentences involved is explicitly stated with a coordinator so that inference, unlike in juxtaposition, does not have a role to play. In other words, in coordination, the conceptual link is ‘tighter’ than it is in juxtaposition allowing inference, and hence the appearance of a grammatical linker called coordinator.

Thus, in (9), we have two coordinated sentences linked by the coordinator ‘and’ so that we know that the situations expressed by them are conceptually connected in some or

<sup>10</sup> Classifies high-ranking male humans in Assamese.

other way. Secondly, because of the order of the sentences we understand that temporally the act of chatting followed the act of his visit (cf. the principle of sequential order<sup>11</sup>). In (10), the sentences are coordinated by the coordinator ‘and’ which tells us that the result (as expressed by the second sentence) of the action (as expressed by the first one) is resultative. Note that in our ordinary perception the result of an action follows it so that in (10) the second sentence follows the first one (cf. the principle of sequential order).

(9) *He visited me this morning and we had a long chat.*

(10) *Mary fell off the bi-cycle and was badly injured.*

However, it is possible to express (9) and (10) above in the form of juxtaposition, respectively, as (9a) and (10a). When someone visit someone else the visit is usually followed by a chat. When someone falls off the bi-cycle our immediate reaction is that we want to know whether the person is hurt or not hurt. Hence, the coordinator ‘and’ in (9) and (10) can be safely dropped.

(9a) *He visited me this morning. We had a long chat.*

(10a) *Mary fell off the bi-cycle. She was badly injured.*

Now, consider (11) and (12) below. In (11a), we have a coordinated sentence coordinated by the coordinator *kintu* ‘but’: he is very sharp, but dishonest as a counter expectation. An accident and its result (i.e. cause and effect) are conceptually tightly linked (cf. (10a) above), but this is not true of expectation and counter expectation, i.e. we do not expect a counter expectation in all cases.

Thus, the coordinator *kintu* ‘but’ overtly marks our counter expectation in (11a), but as it is missing in (11b), the juxtaposition is ill-formed. The reason seems to be that being unethical goes against being sharp in our ordinary perception or expectation. Coming to (12a), the juxtaposition is a causal one and is, therefore, well-formed. On the other hand, the juxtaposition in (12b) is ill-formed because the counter expectation is not overtly marked, unlike in (12c), a well-formed coordinated sentence.

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<sup>11</sup> For an account of the principle of sequential order, see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.1.2 of this thesis.

(11a) *xi bor suka kintu axot.* (Assamese)

xi bor suka kintu axot  
 he very sharp COORD dishonest  
 ‘He is very sharp but dishonest.’

(11b) \**xi bor suka. axot*  
 he very smart dishonest

(12a) *xi bor suka. xodai prot<sup>h</sup>om hoi* (Assamese)

xi bor suka. xodai prot<sup>h</sup>om hoi  
 he very smart every time first be  
 ‘He is very smart. He always comes first in class.’

(12b) \**xi bor suka. xodai fail kor-e*  
 he very smart every time fail do-3

(12c) *xi bor suka kintu xodai fail kore* (Assamese)

xi bor suka kintu xodai fail kor-e  
 he very smart COORD every time fail do-3  
 ‘He is very smart but fails every time.’

Similarly, in Mising, in (13a), we have a coordinated sentence coordinated by the coordinator *3d3mpidaggom*, meaning ‘however’, ‘nevertheless’, etc., : he is very rich, but dishonest as a counter expectation. But since we do not expect a counter-expectation of a situation very easily, i.e., they are not very tightly conceptually linked, therefore, the juxtaposition in (13b) is ill-formed.

The coordinator *3d3mpidaggom* is composed of *3d3* meaning ‘that’, the suffix *-3mp3* ‘denoting a comparison in the positive degree’, *-i* meaning ‘to do’ *-dag*, the habitual marker in Mising and the concessive suffix *-gom*, which is also a non-finite marker in the language. (See Taid, 2016, p. 246)

- (13a) *bi miremdag 3d3mpidaggom aima* (Mising)  
           bi        mirem-dag     3d3mpidaggom        ai-ma  
           he        rich-HAB        COORD                    good-NEG  
           ‘He is very rich but dishonest.’

- (13b) \**bi        mirem-dag.                    ai-ma*  
           he        rich-HAB                    good-NEG

### 2.2.1 Three major types of coordination

As stated in Chapter 1, Section 1.4 of the thesis, on the basis of its basic semantics, coordination can be divided into three major types (as shown in Payne [1985], Langacker [1987], Haspelmath [2004], Mauri [2008a], [2013a], Croft [2022]). However, as observed above, in some cases, it may be possible to drop the coordinator (cf. our discussion on examples (9) – (13) above).

(a) **Combinative coordination:** In this type of coordination, two conceptually connected situations, are grammatically combined by a coordinator like the English ‘and’ as in ‘He went to the park and I went to the cinema’; ‘I saw the bird and it flew away.’ In the first example, ‘and’ is connecting two simultaneously happening actions (i.e., me and he headed out at the same point of time); in the case of second example, ‘and’ is connecting two coordinated clauses which are at the same time sequential and causal (i.e., the bird flew away when I saw it and as a result of me seeing it). In the example, ‘Mary searched for a traditional restaurant and found it’, the sequence of the two clauses involved means a result. Thus, under sequential coordination, we can have both causal and resultative coordination. This also shows that the coordinator ‘and’ has no meaning other than its additive meaning, i.e., it can add a variety of conceptually similar things. This type of coordination can be termed ‘and-type’ coordination and it can mean various types of conceptual relation between the two sentences coordinated.

(b) **Disjunctive coordination:** In this type of coordination, two clauses are coordinated to make a choice between them, i.e., only one of the two under focus will be considered valid at one time as in ‘He will go to the park or the cinema.’ This type of coordination can be called ‘or-type’ coordination.

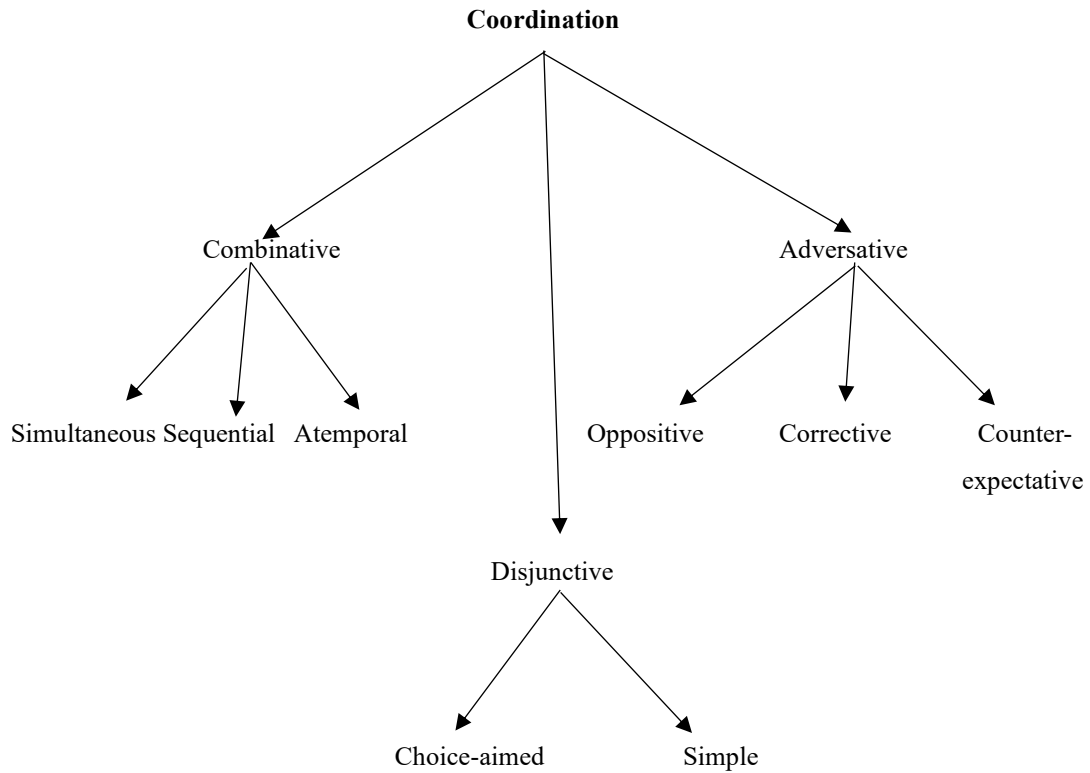
(c) *Adversative* coordination: In this type of coordination, the second clause is in opposition or counter-expectative to the first clause as in ‘He likes Mary but Mary hates him.’ This type of coordination can be called the ‘but-type’ coordination and it involves a kind of asymmetry (See Section 2.2.5 below).

In addition to the three main types, Mauri (2013, pp. 296-297) has made the following multiple finer-grained distinctions between them. Combinative coordination can be further divided into the following sub-types: ‘Simultaneous’, ‘Sequential’, and ‘Atemporal’ (e.g., Simultaneous: ‘I went to the park and he to the market’; Sequential: ‘I cut the vegetables and he fried them/He ate a lot and is now throwing up/Mary searched for the book and found it’; Atemporal: ‘I prefer oats for breakfast and rice for lunch’).

Disjunctive coordination can be further divided into: ‘Simple alternative’ (e.g., ‘I can have oats or dalia’) and ‘Choice-aimed alternative’ (e.g., ‘Will you come with me or him?’)

Adversative coordination can be divided into: ‘Oppositive’, ‘Corrective’, and ‘Counter-expectative.’ (e.g., Oppositive: ‘Rahim is tall but Mira is short’; Corrective: ‘John doesn’t like football but cricket’; Counter-expectative: ‘I played Cupid in their love story but they didn’t even invite me to their wedding.’)

In Fig. 13 that follows, we have presented a schematic diagram of the three major semantic types of coordination and their sub-types.



**Fig. 13: Semantic types of Coordination**

## **2.2.2 Coordination in Assamese and Mising**

### **2.2.2.1 Combinative coordination in Assamese and Mising**

One of the combinative coordinators in Assamese is *aru* ‘and’ and in Mising is *oddokk3* ‘and then’, both of which are free lexical entities. Both *aru* and *oddokk3* can combine words, phrases and clauses alike. Mising has another combinative coordinator, which is a bound morpheme called *-lan/la*. *-lan/la* can only combine words and phrases, and not clauses (e.g., *no:lan/la ŋo* ‘you-and I’ = ‘you and I’, *ŋohulan/la bi* ‘us and he’ = ‘us and he’). However, unlike *aru* ‘and’ which has no semantics of its own other than coordinating, *oddokk3* ‘and then’ is composed of *-odo* meaning ‘there/then’ in temporal situations (e.g., *bi jub-la-duŋai odo ŋo bi-m ka-la-duŋai* ‘he sleep-NF-PST.PROG then I he-ACC see-NF PST.PROG’ = ‘He was sleeping, then I was watching him’), and the genitive case marker *-kk3*, i.e., ‘and then’. (See Taid, 2016, p. 328).

The *aru*-type coordination can be simultaneous as in (14a) - (14c); sequential as in (15a) and (15c); and atemporal as in (16a) and (16c) below. While, the *oddokk3*-type coordination can only be simultaneous as in (14b) and (14d); and sequential as in (15b)

and (15d); but not atemporal as in (16b) and (16d). Atemporal combinative clauses in Mising are juxtaposed next to each other without any coordinating connector. This is because *oddokk3* ‘and then’ with its temporal connotation, cannot be used to connect two atemporal clauses as in (16b) and (16d). Instead, juxtaposing them side by side emphasizes their similarity (refer to our discussion on juxtaposition in Section 2.1).

### 2.2.2.2 Simultaneous combinative coordination

(14a) *Rahim bozaroloi gol aru Ram pot<sup>h</sup>aroloi gol* (Assamese)

Rahim	bozar-oloi	go-l	aru	Ram	pot <sup>h</sup> ar-oloi	go-l
Rahim	market-ALL	go-PRF	COORD	Ram	field-ALL	go-PRF

‘Rahim has gone to the market and Ram has gone to the field.’

(14b) *Rahimbi bozarp3 gi-ka oddokk3 Rambi arig gi-ka* (Mising)

Rahim-bi	bozar-p3	gi-ka	oddokk3	Ram-bi	arig
Rahim-he	market-ALL	go-PST	COORD	Ram-he	field

go-PST

‘Rahim has gone to the market and then Ram has gone to the field.’

(14c) *moi b<sup>h</sup>at rand<sup>h</sup>isu aru xi mas rand<sup>h</sup>ise* (Assamese)

moi	b <sup>h</sup> at	rand <sup>h</sup> -is-u	aru	xi	mas	rand <sup>h</sup> -is-e
I	rice	cook-ING.PROG-1	coord	he	fish	cook-ING.PROG-3

‘I’m cooking rice and he fish.’

(14d) *no apin modun oddokk3 bi oño k3dun* (Mising)

no	apin	mo-dun	oddokk3	bi	oño	k3-dun
I	rice	cook-PROG	COORD	he	fish	cook-PROG

‘I’m cooking rice and he is cooking fish.’

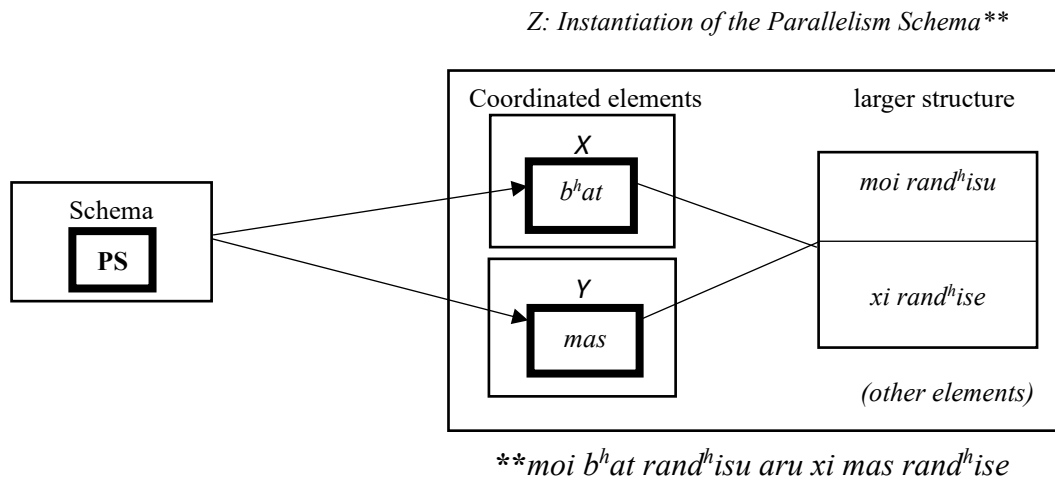
In Fig. 14 that follows, we have presented a schematic diagram of combinative coordination by the Assamese coordinator *aru*. *X* and *Y* represent two coordinated elements that are linked by the coordinator *aru*. These elements are co-conceived<sup>12</sup>, that

<sup>12</sup> For a fuller account of mental juxtaposition of co-equal elements, see Chapter 1, Section 1.4 of the thesis.



is, mentally juxtaposed, and they behave in parallel with other elements i.e., *moi rand<sup>h</sup>isu* and *xi rand<sup>h</sup>ise*, within the larger structure.

The outer box, *Z* represents the whole sentence, while the smaller boxes i.e., *X* and *Y* containing *b<sup>h</sup>at* and *mas* respectively, behave in parallel with other elements within the larger structure and together represent a schema or a shared pattern. The shared schema here is the act of cooking here, by two people in parallel. The same explanation holds for all other diagrams of coordination below.



**Fig.14: Combinative coordination by *aru***

### 2.2.2.3 Sequential combinative coordination

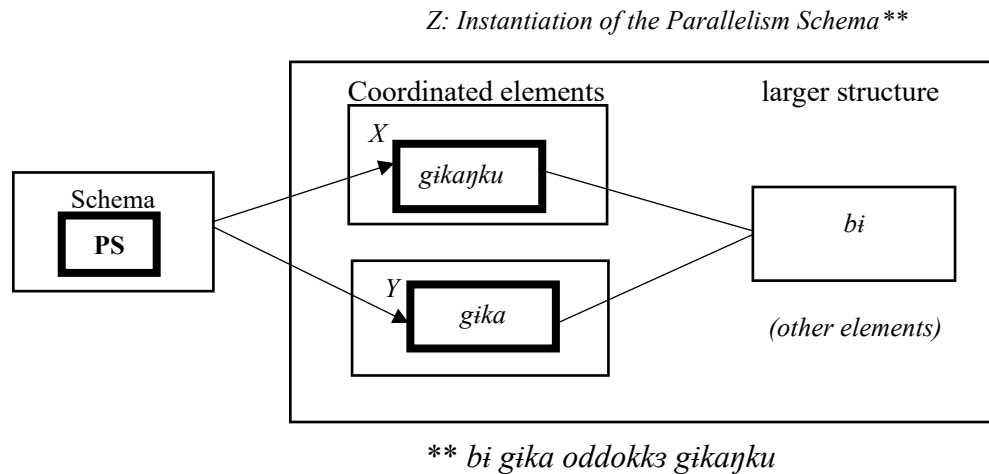
- (15a) *xi ahil aru gol* (Assamese)  
 xi ah-il aru go-l  
 he come-PRF COORD go-PRF  
 ‘He came and left.’

- (15b) *bi gikaku oddokk3 gikan̄ku* (Mising)  
 bi gi-ka-ku oddokk3 gi-kaṅ-ku  
 he come-PST-return COORD go-PST-again  
 ‘He came and left.’

- (15c) *xi kali bohut k<sup>h</sup>ale aru etia botiaise* (Assamese)  
 xi kali bohut k<sup>h</sup>a-l-e aru etia botia-is-e  
 he yesterday very much eat-PRF-3 COORD now puke-ING.PROG-3  
 ‘He ate too much yesterday and is puking now.’

- (15d) *bi m3lo aip3 doto oddokk3 su:pag badduŋ* (Mising)  
 bi m3lo aip3 do-to oddokk3 su:pag bad-  
 duŋ  
 He yesterday very eat-PST COORD now puke-  
 PROG  
 ‘He ate too much yesterday and is sick now.’

Fig. 15 presents the schematization of combinative coordination by Mising *oddokk3* in (15d) ‘*bi gika oddokk3 gikaŋku*.’ The shared schema here, is the act of going coming and going by the same person.



**Fig. 15: Combinative Coordination by *oddokk3***

#### 2.2.2.4 Atemporal combinative coordination

- (16a) *bag<sup>h</sup> habit t<sup>h</sup>ake aru mas panit t<sup>h</sup>ake* (Assamese)  
 bag<sup>h</sup> habi-t t<sup>h</sup>ak-e aru mas pani-t t<sup>h</sup>ak-e  
 tiger jungle-LOC stay-3 COORD fish water-LOC stay-3  
 ‘Tigers live in the jungle and fishes live in water.’

- (16b) *sumnjo jumral dudag oŋo asil du:-dag* (Mising)  
 sumnjo jumral du-dag oŋo asil du:-dag  
 tiger forest stay-HAB fish water stay-HAB  
 ‘Tigers live in the jungle. Fishes live in water.’

- (16c) *moi k<sup>h</sup>ub pani k<sup>h</sup>au aru p<sup>h</sup>olor rox k<sup>h</sup>au* (Assamese)  
 moi k<sup>h</sup>ub pani k<sup>h</sup>a-u aru p<sup>h</sup>ol-or rox k<sup>h</sup>a-u  
 I very much water eat-1 COORD fruit-GEN juice eat-1  
 ‘I drink a lot of water and fruit juice.’
- (16d) *ŋo aip3 asi3m ti:dag, a:j3 alaŋ3m ti:dag* (Mising)  
 ŋo aip3 asi-3m ti:-dag, a:j3 alaŋ-3m ti:dag  
 I very water-ACC drink-HAB fruit juice-ACC drink-HAB  
 ‘I drink a lot of water, fruit juice.’

In simultaneous combination, the temporal profiles of the clauses coincide, while in sequential combination, the temporal profiles of the coordinated clauses occupy a sequential position on a time axis. On the other hand, when the location of the two coordinated clauses on the time axis is not at all relevant, we have an atemporal combinative coordination. Such coordinations are mostly stative actions making generic or habitual statements (see Mauri 2013: 296). In (14a) and (14b) above, where we have simultaneous combination, both subjects of the two clauses were probably in the same place before heading out to two different destinations at the same point of time. Likewise, in (14c) and (14d), both subjects are cooking separately two different items, but at the same time, probably at the same place either. In (15), we have four sequential combinations. The linear order of the clauses in each of the four sentences reflects the temporal order in which the situations involved have occurred or going to occur, i.e. in (15c) and (15d), the throwing up as a result of drinking too much yesterday; in (15a) and (15b), his coming happened first and then happened his leaving.

In (16), we find atemporal combinations. This means that the sentences express generic statements in (16a) and (16b), and habitual actions in (16c) and (16d). However, in Mising, atemporal combinations are not linked by any coordinator. Instead, they are juxtaposed next to each other, as shown in (16b) and (16c). Note further, that in all these examples above the coordinator can be dropped (cf. our discussion on (9-13) above).

### 2.2.2.5 Emphatic combinative coordination with bi-syndetic coordinators

Assamese and Mising are basically mono-syndetic as they involve only a single coordinator and its coordinators are mostly prepositive<sup>13</sup>, i.e. the coordinator precedes the clause. However, in the case of emphatic coordination, both Assamese and Mising are bi-syndetic. One such emphatic bi-syndetic coordinator in Assamese is *-u..-u* meaning ‘too’, ‘also’, and one such emphatic bi-syndetic coordinator in Mising is *-sin..-sin* meaning ‘too’, ‘also’. These emphatic bi-syndetic coordinators are used to overtly coordinate two situations *which are of same nature* (i.e., either positive or negative) to emphatically mean that both things or situations are equally and simultaneously valid, as in (17) below. (Thus, these comes under simultaneous combinative coordination).

- (17a) *d<sup>h</sup>anu k<sup>h</sup>am sawulu k<sup>h</sup>am* (Assamese)  
 d<sup>h</sup>an-u                      k<sup>h</sup>a-m                      sawul-u                      k<sup>h</sup>a-m  
 husked rice- COORD    eat-FUT                      rice-COORD                      eat-FUT  
 ‘I will eat both husked rice and rice.’
- (17b) *saŋ3msin ti3 coffee3msin ti3* (Mising)  
 saŋ-3m-sin                      ti-j3                      coffee-3m-sin                      ti-j3  
 tea-acc- COORD                      drink-FUT                      coffee-acc-COORD                      drink-FUT  
 ‘I will drink both tea and coffee.’
- (17c) *iu b<sup>h</sup>al, xiu b<sup>h</sup>al (hoi)* (Assamese)  
 i-u                      b<sup>h</sup>al    xi-u                      b<sup>h</sup>al    (hoi)  
 he-COORD                      good    he-COORD                      good    (be)  
 ‘Both of them are good.’
- (17d) *Rambisin aidag Rahimbisin aidag* (Mising)  
 Ram-bi-sin                      ai-dag                      Rahim-bi-sin                      ai-dag  
 Ram-he-COORD                      good-HAB                      Rahim-he-COORD                      good-HAB  
 ‘Both Ram and Rahim are good.’

<sup>13</sup> According to Haspelmath (2004, p. 5), coordinating constructions are not entirely symmetrical as the coordinator always combines with one of the coordinated clauses. If the coordinator precedes the clause, it is prepositive, whereas if the coordinator follows the clause, it is post-positive (for details see Haspelmath, 2004).

A weaker version of *-u..-u* is simply *-u* and a weaker version of *-sin..-sin* is simply *-sin*, which means that the second is also equally important like the first one. Consider (18) below, where *-u* is used in (18a) and (18c) and *-sin* is used in (18b) and (18d).

- (18a) *mas k<sup>h</sup>am, maŋxou k<sup>h</sup>am* (Assamese)  
 mas k<sup>h</sup>a-m maŋxo-u k<sup>h</sup>a-m  
 fish eat-FUT meat-COORD eat-FUT  
 ‘I will eat both fish and meat.’

- (18b) *oŋo dojɜ azinsin dojɜ* (Mising)  
 oŋo do-jɜ azin-sin do-jɜ  
 fish eat-FUT meat-COORD eat-FUT  
 ‘I will eat both fish and meat.’

- (18c) *eik<sup>h</sup>on beja, xei k<sup>h</sup>onu beja* (Assamese)  
 ei-k<sup>h</sup>on<sup>14</sup> beja xei-k<sup>h</sup>on-u beja  
 this-CLF bad that-CLF-COORD bad  
 ‘Both this and that are bad.’

- (18d) *Rambi aiməŋ Rahimbisin aiməŋ* (Mising)  
 Ram-bi ai-məŋ Rahim-bi-sin ai-məŋ  
 Ram-he good-NEG Rahim-he-COORD good-NEG  
 ‘Both Ram and Rahim are bad.’

In Assamese, we can use the coordinators *tu-ei* and *-u* to connect clauses. *tu-ei* is formed by combining the classifier *-tu* and the emphatic marker *-ei* and suffixed to the first clause, while *-u* is suffixed to the second clause. In Mising, the coordinators *-ruŋ* or *-zi* and *-sin* are used, where *-ruŋ* or *-zi* suffixes to the first clause while *-sin* suffixes to the second clause. Note that, *-ruŋ*, *-zi* and *-sin* are also emphatic markers in Mising. These clauses indicate that the situation described in the first clause is valid without an iota of doubt, while the situation in the second clause is equally valid as an additional or supplementary point as in (19a) – (19d) below.

<sup>14</sup> Classifies two dimensional (flat and broad) things.

- (19a) *mastu k<sup>h</sup>amei, maŋxou k<sup>h</sup>am* (Assamese)  
 mas-tu<sup>15</sup> k<sup>h</sup>am-ei maŋxo-u k<sup>h</sup>a-m  
 fish-COORD eat-COORD meat-COORD eat-FUT  
 ‘I will not only eat fish but also meat.’
- (19b) *oŋŋom doj3ruŋ azin3msin doj3* (Mising)  
 oŋŋo-m do-j3-ruŋ azin-3m-sin do-j3  
 fish-ACC eat-FUT-COORD meat-ACC-COORD eat-FUT  
 ‘I will not only eat fish but also meat.’
- (19c) *taitu d<sup>h</sup>unia, porhatu xomane suka* (Assamese)  
 tai-tu d<sup>h</sup>unia-ei porha-tu xomane suka  
 she-COORD beautiful-COORD studies-COORD equally smart  
 ‘She is not only beautiful but also smart.’
- (19d) *bi kaŋkan3idagboŋ porinamd3sin aidag* (Mising)  
 bi kaŋkan-3i-dag-boŋ pori-nam-d3-sin ai-dag  
 she beautiful-COORD-HAB-PRF read-NF-DEF-COORD well-HAB  
 ‘She is not only beautiful but also good in studies.’

In (20a) and (20b), we find a more emphatic version of the first clause in (19a) and (19c). It has been made so by reduplicating the main verbs in their original form in (19a) and (19c). This method of emphatic coordination through verb reduplication is not permissible in Mising and would result in ungrammatical sentences.

- (20a) *mastu k<sup>h</sup>am k<sup>h</sup>amei, maŋxou k<sup>h</sup>am* (Assamese)  
 mas-tu k<sup>h</sup>a-m k<sup>h</sup>am-ei maŋxo-u k<sup>h</sup>a-m  
 fish-EMP eat-FUT eat-EMP meat-EMP eat-FUT  
 ‘I will not only eat fish but also meat.’
- (20b) *taitu d<sup>h</sup>unia hoi hoiei, porhatu xomane suka* (Assamese)  
 tai-tu d<sup>h</sup>unia hoi hoi-ei porha-tu xomane suka  
 she-EMP beautiful be be-EMP studies-EMP equally smart  
 ‘She is not only beautiful but also good in studies.’

<sup>15</sup> Classifies three dimensional things, viz. human beings (of low social rank, young people etc.), and animals.

Note that when the main verb in the first clause is *hoi* ‘be’, it may be dropped (as an existential verb, it is usually missing in the predicate in Assamese) and in such a case the remaining part of the predicate is reduplicated (i.e. *d<sup>h</sup>unia* ‘beautiful’) as in (20c) below.

- (20c) *taitu d<sup>h</sup>unia d<sup>h</sup>unia, porhatu xomane suka* (Assamese)  
 tai-tu            d<sup>h</sup>unia            d<sup>h</sup>unia-i            porha-tu            xomane            suka  
 she-EMP            beautiful            beautiful-EMP    studies-EMP    equally            sharp  
 ‘She is not only beautiful but also sharp.’

As said above, in the case of emphatic coordination the two coordinated clauses have to be of same nature (i.e., either positive or negative) so that (21) - (28) below are unacceptable. In (21a) (21b), (23a), (23b), (25a), (25b), (27a), (27b), the verb *eat* in the first clause is negated in the second clause by the negative prefix *na* in Assamese and the negative suffix *-maŋ* in Mising. In (22a) (22b), (24a), (24b), (26a), (26b), (28a), (28b), (29a), and (29b) we have opposite adjectives in the first and the second clauses.

- (21a) \**d<sup>h</sup>an-u*            *k<sup>h</sup>a-m*            *sawul-u*            *na-k<sup>h</sup>a-m*            (Assamese)  
 husked rice-COORD    eat-FUT            rice-COORD    NEG-eat-FUT

- (21b) \**saŋ-3m-sin*            *ti-j3*            *coffee-3m-sin*            *ti-j3-maŋ*            (Mising)  
 tea-ACC-COORD            drink-FUT            coffee-ACC-COORD            drink-FUT-NEG

- (22a) \**i-u*            *b<sup>h</sup>al*, *xi-u*            *beja*            (Assamese)  
 he-COORD            good    he-COORD            bad

- (22b) \**Ram-bi-sin*            *ai-dag*            *Rahim-bi-sin*            *ai-maŋ*            (Mising)  
 Ram-he-COORD            good-HAB            Rahim-he-COORD            good-NEG

- (23a) \**mas* *k<sup>h</sup>a-m*,            *maŋxo-u*            *na-k<sup>h</sup>a-m*            (Assamese)  
 fish    eat-FUT            meat-COORD    NEG-eat-FUT

- (23b) \**oŋo* *do-j3*            *azin-sin*            *do-j3-maŋ*            (Mising)  
 fish    eat-FUT            meat-COORD    eat-FUT-NEG

- (24a) \**ei-k<sup>h</sup>on*      *beja*,      *xei-k<sup>h</sup>on-u*      *b<sup>h</sup>al*      (Assamese)  
this-CLF      bad      that-CLF-COORD      good
- (24b) \**Ram-bi-sin*      *ai-man̄*      *Rahim-bi-sin*      *ai-dag*      (Mising)  
Ram-he-EMP      good-NEG      Rahim-he-COORD      good-HAB
- (25a) \**mas-tu*      *k<sup>h</sup>a-m-ei*,      *man̄xo-u*      *na-k<sup>h</sup>a-m*      (Assamese)  
fish-COORD      eat-FUT-COORD      meat-COORD      NEG-eat-FUT
- (25b) \**oŋŋo-m*      *do-jɜ-run̄*      *azin-ɜm-sin*      *do-jɜ-man̄*      (Mising)  
fish-ACC      eat-FUT-COORD      meat-ACC-COORD      eat-FUT-NEG
- (26a) \**tai-tu*      *d<sup>h</sup>unia-i*,      *porha-tu*      *xomane*      *beja*  
(Assamese)  
she-COORD      beautiful-COORD      studies-EMP      equally      bad
- (26b) *bi*      *kan̄kan-ɜi-dag-boŋ*      *pori-nam-dɜ-sin*      *ai-man̄*      (Mising)  
she      beautiful-COORD-HAB-PRF      read-NF-CLF-COORD      good-NEG
- (27a) \**mas-tu*      *k<sup>h</sup>a-m*      *k<sup>h</sup>a-m-ei*,      *man̄xo-u*      *na-k<sup>h</sup>a-m*  
(Assamese)  
Fish-COORD      eat-FUT      eat-FUT-COORD      meat-COORD      NEG-eat-FUT
- (28a) \**tai-tu*      *d<sup>h</sup>unia*      *hoi*      *hoi-ei*,      *porha-tu*      *xomane*  
(Assamese)  
She-COORD      beautiful      be      be-COORD      studies-COORD equally  
*beja*  
bad
- (29a) \**tai-tu*      *d<sup>h</sup>unia*      *d<sup>h</sup>unia-i*,      *porha-tu*      *xomane*  
(Assamese)  
she-COORD      beautiful      beautiful- COORD      studies-COORD equally  
*beja*  
bad



### 2.2.3 Disjunctive coordination in Assamese and Mising

The two sub-types of disjunctive coordination are: choice-aimed disjunctive coordination, and simple-aimed disjunctive coordination, which are discussed below. The disjunctive coordinators in Assamese are: *ne*, *ba*, *naiba*, *ot<sup>h</sup>oba*. In Mising, they are the suffixes: *-nzi*, *-manjom* and *-ma:milo*.

#### 2.2.3.1 Choice-aimed disjunction

The particle *ne* is used as a question particle in Assamese as in *zaba ne?* ‘Will you be going?’. This *ne* also serves as a coordinator in the choice-aimed disjunction, where which one between the two is chosen or aimed at is asked about. The coordinator *-nzi* is used in Mising in alternative questions. The first alternative is marked by the suffix *-nzi*. *-nzi* is composed of the question particle *-n* and the emphatic marker *-zi*. Both *ne* and *-nzi* indicate, indecisiveness, doubt, or uncertainty as in (30a) – (30f) below. Our life is shaped by the choices we make (“To be or not to be” as Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* said) and also by choices made by other agencies that control us.

(30a) *mas k<sup>h</sup>aba ne manxo k<sup>h</sup>aba?* (Assamese)

mas	k <sup>h</sup> a-b-a	ne	manxo	k <sup>h</sup> a-b-a?
fish	eat-FUT-2	COORD	meat	eat-FUT-2

‘Would you like to have fish or meat?’

(30b) *oŋo doj3nzi azin doj3n* (Mising)

oŋo	do-j3-nzi	azin-do-j3-n
fish	eat-FUT-COORD	meat-eat-FUT-Q

‘Will you eat fish or meat?’

(30c) *mas k<sup>h</sup>au ne manxo k<sup>h</sup>au!* (Assamese)

mas	k <sup>h</sup> a-u	ne	manxo	k <sup>h</sup> a-u
fish	eat-1	COORD	meat	eat-1

‘I don’t know if I’m going to have meat or fish!’

(30d) *oŋoŋom dodagnzi azindodag* (Mising)

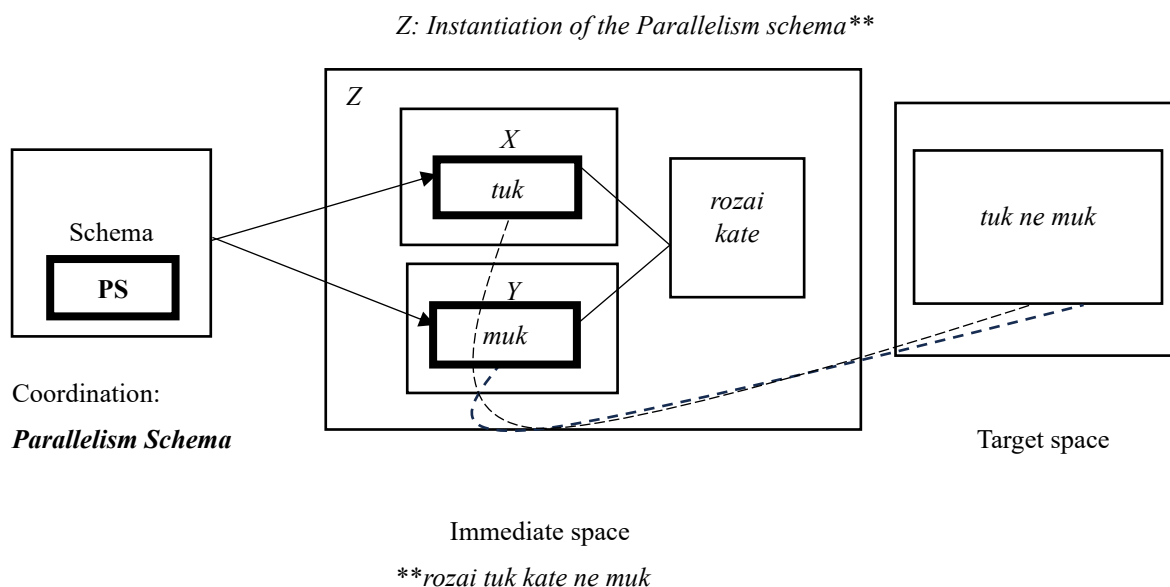
oŋo-ŋom	do-dag-nzi	azin-do-dag
fish	eat-HAB-COORD	meat-eat-HAB

‘I don’t know if I’m going to have meat or fish!’

(30e) *rozai tuk kate ne muk kate!* (Assamese)  
 roza-e toi-k kat-e ne moi-k kat-e  
 king-ERG you-DOM cut-3 COORD I-DOM cut-3  
 ‘Who knows who the King cuts - you or me!’

(30f) *no bozarp3 gij3n3i iskulp3 gij3n* (Mising)  
 no bozar-p3 gi-j3-n3i iskul-p3 gi-j3-n  
 you market-ALL go-FUT-COORD school-ALL go-FUT-Q  
 ‘Will you go to the market or to the school?’

Fig. 16 that follows, illustrates disjunctive coordination in Assamese by *ne* in (30e) *rozai tuk kate ne muk*. *Z* represents the entire sentence, and *X* and *Y* inside *Z* are the two disjunctive clauses, which has the potentiality of filling the role inside the target space represented by the box in the right.



**Fig. 16: Disjunctive coordination by *ne***

### 2.2.3.2 Simple-aimed disjunction

The disjunctive coordinators *ba*, *naiba*, *ot<sup>h</sup>oba* in Assamese have the meaning of ‘or’ ‘either or’. They are used in the case of simple-aimed disjunctive, where the speaker states a possible alternative in a situation, i.e. either the first one or the second one will do.

In Mising, the disjunctive coordinators are the suffixes *-mangom* ‘or, either or’ and *-ma:milo* ‘if not’. They are used interchangeably in Mising. The coordinator *-mangom* is composed of the negative marker *-ma/-man* and the concessive marker *-gom*. This combination negates the meaning of *-gom*.

The concessive *-gom*, which is also a non-finite marker, is used when an unexpected event occurs within the main clause. By adding the negative marker *-ma*, the meaning shifts from ‘both events happening, despite being unexpected’ to ‘if one happens, the other does not’. This indicates that choosing one option excludes the other. Therefore, *-mangom* signifies ‘or, either or.’

The coordinator *-ma:milo* in Mising, is made of the negative marker *-ma/-man* and the conditional marker *-milo*, which is also a non-finite marker in the language. The semantics of a conditional subordinator is that only when the condition in the conditional clause is fulfilled, will the main clause event take place. That is, if one event happens then the other event also happens. Meaning both events happen when it happens. But when the negative marker *-ma* is added to *-milo* it negates its semantics and it changes it from ‘if one event happens then the other event also happens’ to ‘if one event happens the other does not happen’. They become mutually exclusive. Thus, the meaning of *-ma:milo* is ‘if... not.’ That is, ‘if this happens, then the other will not happen.’ (See Taid, 2016, p. 245)

Coming to Assamese, the coordinator *ba* in Assamese gives almost equal importance to both options, i.e., none is (significantly) preferred over the other. In other words, they mean that either of the two options will do although one has been uttered first, i.e., although it came first to the speaker’s mind (recall that according to the principle of sequential order, what is conceived first will be uttered or written first).

The coordinators *naiba* and *ot<sup>h</sup>oba* seem to have the same meaning and function as *ba*, but the options coordinated by them do not seem to be entirely co-equal in terms of their importance or weightage to the speaker. It seems that the first option is given more priority or weightage. And only when the first option cannot be chosen or cannot happen, will the second option be considered. *naiba* is made of the negative marker *nai* and *ba*, thus it negates the semantics of *ba* alone. *ot<sup>h</sup>oba* comes from the Sanskrit root *at<sup>h</sup>a* meaning ‘thereafter’ and *ba*. *naiba* and *ot<sup>h</sup>oba* are stylistic variations and *ot<sup>h</sup>oba* is mostly used in formal speech.

Evidence that *ba* assigns equal importance to both options is its ability to appear in interrogative sentences where the speaker is uncertain about the correct answer. The speaker simply recognizes that multiple options exist and each has an equal likelihood of being the correct response to the question posed.

In the sentences in (31a) – (31c) below, the speaker has no idea which is the correct answer, i.e. who out of many people who has the potentiality of calling her, actually called her in (a); who out of many people who has the potentiality of doing the work, will actually do the work in (b); and where out of many places which has the possibility of her going, did she actually go to in (c). Thus, equal importance is given to all available options and the coordinator *ba* is used in such situations. However, substituting these sentences with *ot<sup>h</sup>oba/naiba* will produce odd sentences as in (31d) and (31e). the coordinator *ba* can also occur with declarative sentences as (30f), where it is evident that no option is given priority, ‘tea or coffee anything will do’.

- (31a) *taik kune ba matise* (Assamese)  
 tai-k kune ba mat-is-e  
 she-DOM who COORD call-PROG-3  
 ‘Who called her?’

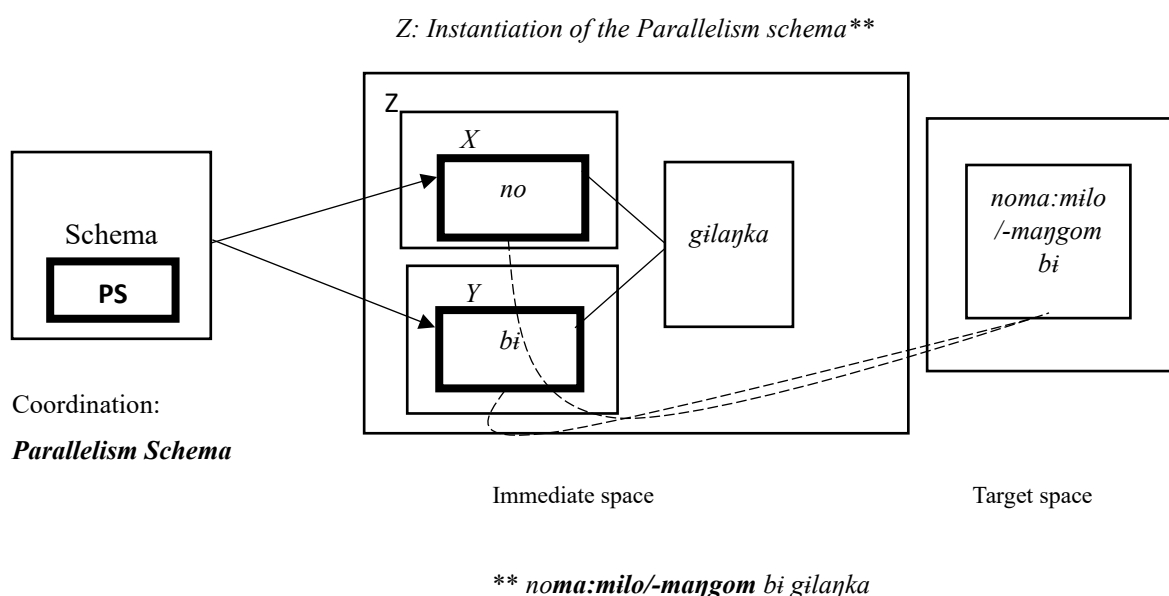
- (31b) *kamtu kune ba koribo* (Assamese)  
 kam-tu kune ba kor-ibo  
 work-CLF who COORD do-FUT  
 ‘Who will do the work?’

- (31c) *tai koloi ba gol* (Assamese)  
 tai koloi ba go-l  
 she where COORD go-PRF  
 ‘Where did she go?’
- (31d) \**tai-k kune naiba/ot<sup>h</sup>oba mat-is-e* (Assamese)  
 she-acc who COORD call-PROG-3
- (31e) \**kam-tu kune naiba/ot<sup>h</sup>oba kor-ibo* (Assamese)  
 work-CLF who COORD do-FUT
- (31f) *sah ba coffee kiba eta dilei hol* (Assamese)  
 sah ba coffee kiba eta de-l-ei ho-l  
 tea coord coffee something one give-PRF-EMP be-PRF  
 ‘Tea or coffee, anything will do.’

In (32a) and (32b) below, we have two sentences, one each in Assamese and Mising. That is, if not you, then he must come.

- (32a) *apuni ot<sup>h</sup>oba/naiba tek<sup>h</sup>et ahe zen* (Assamese)  
 apuni naiba/ot<sup>h</sup>oba tek<sup>h</sup>et ah-e zen  
 you (HON) COORD she/he (HON) come-3 MOOD  
 ‘We do hope either you or Madam will be kind enough to come.’
- (32b) *noma:milo/-maṅgom bi gi-laṅ-ka* (Mising)  
 no-ma:milo/-maṅgom bi gi-laṅ-ka  
 you-COORD/-COORD he come-IMP-PST  
 ‘We do hope if not you then he will be kind enough to come.’

Fig. 27 that follows, illustrates the schematization of disjunctive coordination by Mising *ma:milo/maṅgom* in (32b) ‘*noma:milo/maṅgom bi gi-laṅ-ka*’



**Fig. 17: Disjunctive coordination by *ma:milo* or *mangom***

### 2.2.3.3 Emphatic disjunctive coordination (with bi-syndetic coordinators)

One bi-syndetic emphatic coordinator in Assamese is: *hoi...nohoi*. This is used to assert that the action or the situation involving the two possible options will of course be realized, but with only one of them as in (33a) and (33c) below. Mising has no such bi-syndetic disjunctive coordinators. The same disjunctive coordinators *-ma:milo* and *-mangom*, used for simple-aimed disjunction, are also employed in this context, as (33b) and (33d) below.

(33a) *p<sup>h</sup>uriboloi zamei. hoi dilli nohoi Mumbai* (Assamese)

*p<sup>h</sup>ur-ibo-loi za-m-ei hoi dilli na-hoi Mumbai*  
 roam-FUT-ALL go-FUT-EMP be Delhi NEG-be Mumbai

‘I will certainly go on a vacation. Either to Delhi or to Mumbai.’

(33b) *gigonkap3 gij3run dillip3ma:milo/-mangom Mumbaip3* (Mising)

*gigon-ka-p3<sup>16</sup> gi-j3-run dilli-p3-ma:milo/-mangom Mumbai-p3*  
 vacation-NF-ALL go-FUT-EMP delhi-ALL-COORD/-COORD Mumbai-ALL

‘I will certainly go on a vacation. Either to Delhi or to Mumbai.’

<sup>16</sup> In *-kap3*, *-ka* is the non-finite and *-p3* is the allative, and together they denote ‘purpose’ or ‘intention’.

- (33c) *ijat ezonei t<sup>h</sup>akibo. hoi toi nohoi moi* (Assamese)  
 ijat ezon-ei t<sup>h</sup>ak-ibo. hoi toi no-hoi moi  
 here one person-EMP stay-FUT be you NEG-be I  
 ‘Only one person will stay here. Either you or me.’

- (33d) *so akkoŋko duj3 ŋoma:milo/-maŋgom no* (Mising)  
 so akkoŋ-ko du-j3 ŋo-ma:milo/-maŋgom no  
 here only-one stay-FUT I-COORD/-COORD you  
 ‘Only one person will stay here. Either you or me.’

#### 2.2.4 Adversative coordination in Assamese and Mising

In adversative coordination, the second clause adds an additional piece of information that is in contrast with whatever is stated in the first clause. Thus, as observed, adversative coordination can have multiple meanings: oppositive, corrective and counter-expectative.

Adversative coordinators in Assamese are *kintu* ‘but’, *pase* ‘but then’, *tot<sup>h</sup>api/tottswotteu/tobu* ‘even then’. Adversative coordinators in Mising are: *3d3mpidaggom* meaning ‘however’, ‘nevertheless’, ‘anyway’, etc., and *3d3mpige:la* meaning ‘but then’ and its condensed forms *-3mpigel*, *-3mpil*. As discussed above, *3d3mpidaggom* is composed of the concessive marker *-gom*, therefore, when two events are connected by it, they are first compared, and one action provides additional information that contradicts what is expected in the other action. For example, in the sentence (35b), ‘even though it precludes that I won’t go, I will go’, the two actions are compared, and the second action contradicts the expectation implied by the first.

While the other adversative coordinator *3d3mpige:la*, is composed of *3d3* meaning ‘that’, *3mp3* meaning ‘comparison in the positive degree’, *-i* meaning ‘to do’, *-ge:* meaning ‘the opening of something’, and the non-finite marker *-la* signifying ‘a result’. (See Taid, 2016, p. 246) The coordinator *3d3mpige:la*, links two situations, establishing a resultative relationship where the second action is expected to follow the first one i.e., after the first one happens, but instead an unexpected contradiction emerges.

### 2.2.4.1 Oppositive coordination

In oppositive disjunction, the two clauses indicate completely opposite properties as in (34). This type of coordination is not purely counter-expectative. It only expresses facts that are opposite in meaning. Note, however, the coordinator *kintu* in Assamese used in (34a) and (34c), which usually implies counter expectation (cf. 3.2.3.2 below), but it seems *kintu* has a weaker version so that it can be used in oppositive coordination as well. However, Mising lacks a coordinator capable of connecting opposing adversative clauses. The coordinators *3d3mpidaggom* and *3d3mpige:la* are exclusively counter-expectative in nature. They cannot be used to join opposing adversative clauses. Instead, such clauses are juxtaposed side by side to convey their contrasting meanings. (refer to the discussion on juxtaposition in section 2.1 of this chapter).

- (34a) *mas panit t<sup>h</sup>ake kintu bag<sup>h</sup> matit t<sup>h</sup>ake* (Assamese)  
 mas    pani-t            t<sup>h</sup>ak-e    kintu    bag<sup>h</sup>    mati-t            t<sup>h</sup>ak-e  
 fish    water-LOC        stay-3    but     tiger    land-LOC        stay-3  
 ‘Fishes live in water but tigers live in land.’

- (34b) *oŋo asil dudagsumjo amolo* (Mising)  
 oŋo    asil    du-dag            sumjo            amo-lo  
 fish    water   stay-HAB        tiger            land-LOC  
 ‘Fishes live in water but tigers live in land.’

- (34c) *beli dinot ulai kintu zun rati ulai* (Assamese)  
 beli    din-ot            ula-i            kintu    zun    rati    ula-i  
 sun    day-LOC        come out-3    but    moon    night    come out-3  
 ‘The sun come out in the day but the moon comes out in the night.’

- (34d) *do:nj3 long3m sa:dag po:lo jum3m kardag* (Mising)  
 do:nj3    long-3m            sa:-dag            po:lo    jum3m-3m        kar-dag  
 day    suna-ACC        rise-HAB        night    moon-ACC        rise-HAB  
 ‘The sun rises in the day. The moon rises in the night.’



### 2.2.4.2 Corrective coordination

In corrective adversative, the first clause says negatively about something, but it is ‘corrected’ in the second clause in the sense that it says positively about an aspect related to it as in (35). In Assamese the coordinator *kintu* is used, while in Mising the coordinator *3d3mpidaggom* is used.

In (35a) and (35b), the speaker says that even though he did not get an invitation, he would like to come. In (35c) and (35d), the speaker says that he does not like to cook, but enjoys eating, i.e., what is cooked.

- (35a) *nimontron napalu kintu zam* (Assamese)  
 nimontron na-pa-l-u kintu za-m  
 invitation NEG-get-PRF-1 COORD go-FUT  
 ‘Even though I didn’t get an invitation, I’d like to come.’

- (35b) *gogmaŋ 3d3mpidaggom giʒ* (Mising)  
 gog-maŋ 3d3mpidaggom gi-jʒ  
 call-NEG COORD go-FUT  
 ‘Even though I haven’t been called, I will go.’

- (35c) *rand<sup>h</sup>i beja pau kintu k<sup>h</sup>ai b<sup>h</sup>al pau* (Assamese)  
 rand<sup>h</sup>-i beja pa-u kintu k<sup>h</sup>a-i b<sup>h</sup>al pa-u  
 cook-INF bad get-1 COORD eat-NF good get-1  
 ‘Even though I don’t like to cook, I like to eat.’

- (35d) *ŋo apin monam m3:bomaŋ, 3d3mpidaggom apin3m donam m3:bodag* (Mising)  
 ŋo apin mo-nam m3:-bo-maŋ 3d3mpidaggom apin-3m  
 do-nam m3:-bo-dag  
 I rice cook-NF like-PRF-NEG COORD rice-acc  
 eat-NF like-PRF.HAB  
 ‘I don’t like to cook rice but I like to eat it.’

### 2.2.4.3 Counter-expectative coordination

Counter expectative coordination is opposite to corrective coordination. Thus, in this type of coordination, what is stated in the second clause runs counter-expectative to what is stated in the first clause. The counter-expectative adversative coordinators in Assamese are: *kintu* ‘but’; *ot<sup>h</sup>oso* ‘yet’; *pase* ‘but then’; *tot<sup>h</sup>api/tottswotteu/tobu* ‘even then’. Among these *kintu* ‘but’ is most commonly used for all situations of counter expectative coordination, while others have restricted use. Thus, *ot<sup>h</sup>oso* ‘yet’ special meaning. The coordinator *pase* ‘but then’ was widely used in old Assamese. Mising employs the two adversative coordinators: *3d3mpige:la* and *3d3mpidaggom* for this purpose.

At this point, it is important to note that counter-expectative adversative coordination and concessive condition, a subtype of adverbial subordination, share similar semantics. In both cases, the subordinate clause presents a situation that goes against the expectations outlined in the main clause.

The distinction between counter-expectative coordinators and concessive subordinators is subtle, as evidenced by the use of the same suffixes *-gom* in *3d3mpidaggom*, and *-ge:la* in *3d3mpige:la*, to form both types of constructions in Mising. Note that, *-gom* and *-ge:lasin* are two concessive subordinators in Mising. The coordinator *3d3mpige:la* is used in situations where an action occurs, but its usual consequence action does not follow.

Consider the following examples of counter-expectative adversative coordination in Assamese and Mising.

- (36a) *tai tezpuroloi ahil kintu amar g<sup>h</sup>oroloi nahil* (Assamese)  
 tai tezpur-oloi ah-il kintu ami-r g<sup>h</sup>or-oloi  
 n-ah-il  
 she tezpur-ALL come-PRF COORD we-GEN house-ALL  
 NEG-come-PRF  
 ‘She came to Tezpur but did not come to our house.’

Fig. 18 that follows, presents the schematization of adversative coordination by the Assamese coordinator *kintu* in (36a) ‘*tai tezpuroloi ahil kintu amar g<sup>h</sup>oroloi nahil*’

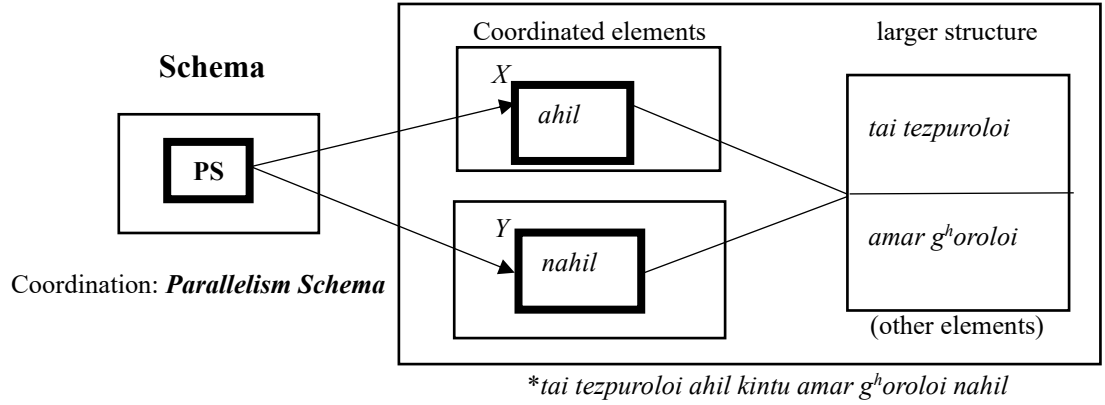


Fig. 18: Adversative coordination by *kintu*

- (36b) *bi Tezpur gika 3d3mpige:la ηoluk ukump3 gitomaŋ* (Mising)  
 bi Tezpur gi-ka 3d3mpige:la ηo-luk ukum-p3 gi-to-maŋ  
 she Tezpur go-PST COORD I-GEN house-ALL go-PRF-NEG  
 ‘She came to Tezpur but did not visit us.’
- (36c) *tak matim hoi kintu xi ahibo zanu?* (Assamese)  
 xi-k mat-im hoi kintu xi ah-ibo zanu  
 he-ACC call-FUT no doubt COORD he come-FUT not sure  
 ‘I will invite him no doubt, but I doubt that he will come.’
- (36d) *bim gogj3 3mpige:l bi gi3laŋ* (Mising)  
 bi-m gog-j3 3mpige:l bi gi-j3-laŋ  
 he-ACC call-FUT COORD he come-FUT-MOD  
 ‘I will invite him no doubt, but I doubt that he will come.’
- (36e) *tak iman xohai korilu ot<sup>h</sup>oso xexot t<sup>h</sup>ogile* (Assamese)  
 xi-k iman xohai kor-il-u ot<sup>h</sup>oso xexot t<sup>h</sup>og-il-e  
 he-GEN so much help do-PRF-1 COORD finally betrayed-PRF-3  
 ‘I helped him so much but finally he betrayed me.’

(36f) *bim 3ddiko gerdumsuto 3mpige:l bi jatto* (Mising)  
 bi-m 3ddi-ko ger-dumsu-to 3mpige:l bi jat-to  
 he-ACC so much-IND do-help-PRF COORD he cheat-PRF  
 ‘I helped him so much but he betrayed me.’

(36g) *xi iman porhile ot<sup>h</sup>oso fail korile* (Assamese)  
 xi iman porh-il-e ot<sup>h</sup>oso fail kor-il-e  
 he so much read-PRF-3 COORD fail do-PRF-3  
 ‘He studied so hard but still failed.’

(36h) *bi 3ddik porika 3d3mpidaggom failkan* (Mising)  
 bi-m 3ddi-ko pori-ka 3d3mpidaggom fail-kan  
 he-ACC so much-IND read-PST COORD fail-PST  
 ‘He studied so hard but still failed.’

Fig. 19 that follows, presents the schematization of adversative coordination by *3d3mpidaggom* in (36h) ‘*bi 3ddik porika 3d3mpidaggom failkan*’

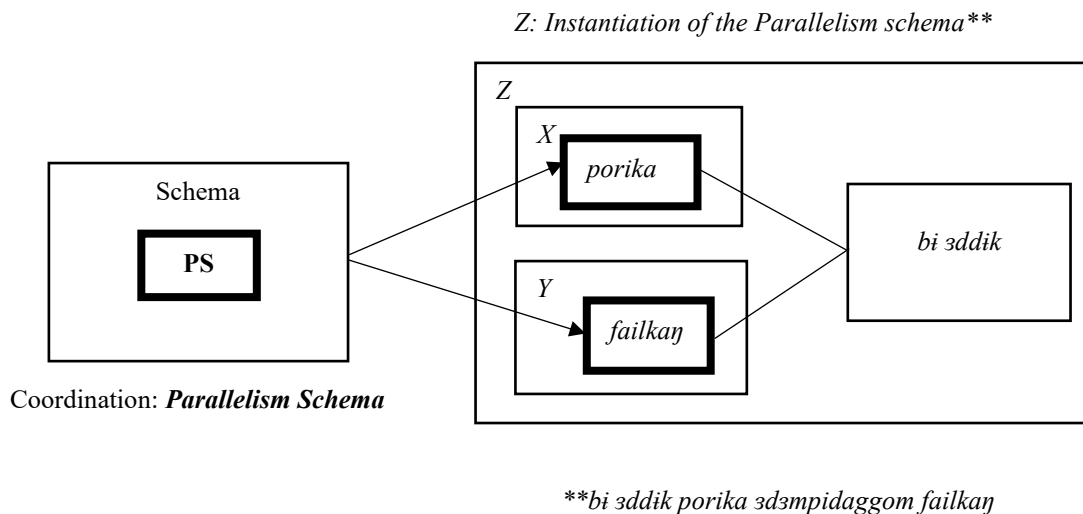


Fig. 19: Disjunctive coordination by *3d3mpidaggom*

- (36i) *moi golu pase xi nahil* (Assamese)  
 moi go-l-u pase xi na-ah-il  
 I go-PRF-1 COORD he neg-COME-PRF  
 ‘I went but he did not come.’
- (36j) *ŋo gika ɜmpige:l bi:pag gitoma* (Mising)  
 ŋo gi-ka ɜmpige:l bi:pag gi-to-ma  
 I go-PST COORD he-EMP come-PRF-NEG  
 ‘I went but he did not come.’
- (36k) *xi iman porhile tot<sup>h</sup>api/tottswotteu/tobu dekh<sup>h</sup>un paas koribo nuarile* (Assamese)  
 xi iman porh-e tot<sup>h</sup>api/tottswotteu/tobu dekh<sup>h</sup>un paas  
 kor-ibo na-par-e  
 he so much read-3 COORD I see pass  
 do-FUT NEG-can-3  
 ‘He studies so hard. But still cannot pass his exams.’
- (36l) *tak iman matilu tot<sup>h</sup>api/tottswotteu/tobu dekhun xi nahile* (Assamese)  
 xi-k iman mat-il-u tot<sup>h</sup>api/tottswotteu/tobu xi  
 na-ah-il-e  
 he-acc so much call-PRF-1 COORD he  
 NEG-come-PRF-3  
 ‘I called him so much, even then he did not listen to me.’
- (36m) *bim ɜddiko gokka ɜmpige:l bi gitoma* (Mising)  
 bi-m ɜddi-ko gok-ka ɜmpige:l bi gi-to-ma  
 he-acc so much-IND call-PST COORD he come-PRF-NEG  
 ‘I called him so much, but still he did not come.’

### 2.2.5 Elliptic coordination in Assamese

In clause coordination, some components of the clause may be omitted by ellipsis (see Haspelmath [2004, p. 31], Broekhuis & Corver [2019, p. 248]). Two major types of such elliptical omissions are: *conjunction reduction* and *gapping*. Ellipses follow the principle

of economy; they rely on the speaker and listener having a common understanding of the context. This reduces the need to explicitly express everything.

In conjunction reduction, one non-verbal element is ellipted from one co-ordinant, e.g. *John* is ellipted in *John met Marry and gave her the news*<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, in gapping, the verb group in one clause is ellipted, as *had gone* is ellipted in *I had gone to London and he to Beijing*.

In (37a) – (37b) below, we have examples of conjunction reduction from Assamese and Mising, where *taik* ‘to her’ in Assamese and *bim* ‘to her’ in Mising is ellipted in the second clause.<sup>18</sup> Its antecedent is *Mary-k* ‘Mary-DOM’ in Assamese and *Mary-m3* ‘Mary-ACC’ in Mising, are indirect objects in the first clause.

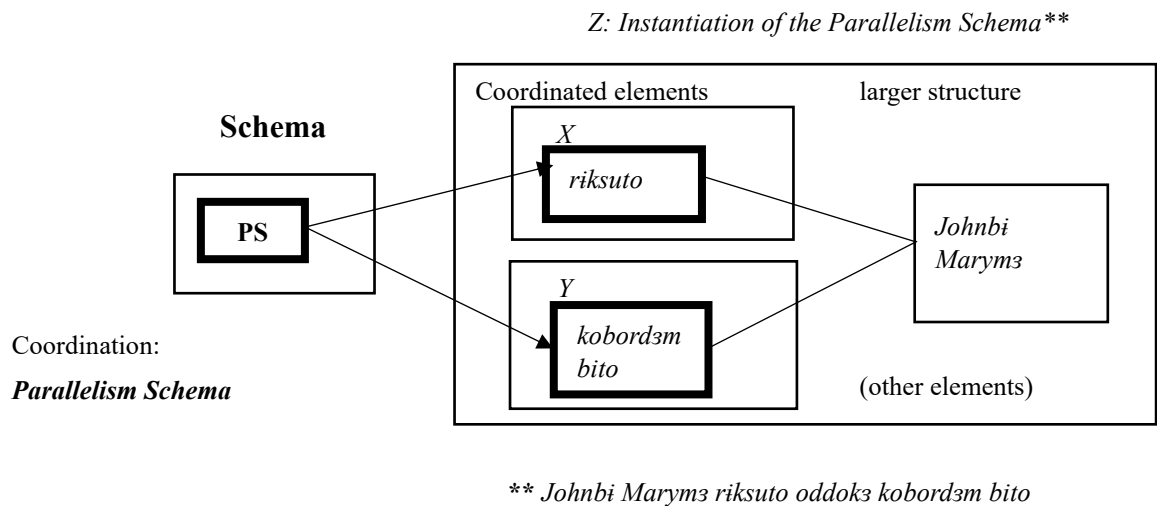
- (37a) *John-e Mary-k log d<sup>h</sup>orile aru k<sup>h</sup>obortu dile* (Assamese) [analipsis]  
 John-e Mary-k log d<sup>h</sup>or-il-e aru k<sup>h</sup>obor-tu de-il-e  
 John-ERG Mary-DOM meet-PRF-3 COORD news-CLF give-PRF-3  
 ‘John met Mary and gave her the news.’

- (37b) *Johnbi Marym3 riksu to oddok3 kobord3m bito* (Mising) [analipsis]  
 John-bi Mary-m3 riksu-to oddok3 kobor-d3-m  
 bi-to  
 John-he Mary-ACC meet-PRF COORD news-DEF-ACC  
 give-PRF  
 ‘John met Mary and gave her the news.’

Fig. 20 that follows, illustrates the schematization of elliptic combinative coordination by *oddok3* in (37b) ‘*Johnbi Marym3 riksu to oddok3 kobord3m bito*’

<sup>17</sup> This is *analepsis* ellipsis in the terminology of Ross (1967): in this type, the target follows its antecedent.

<sup>18</sup> This is *analepsis* (cf. fn. 6).



**Fig. 20: Elliptic combinative coordination by *oddok3***

In (38a) and (38b) below, *zabo* ‘will go’ is the ellipped element in the first clause and thus it precedes the antecedent, *zabo* ‘will go’ in the second clause<sup>19</sup>. This is also a case of gapping as the ellipped elements are the verb group.

(38a) *John Mary-r g<sup>h</sup>oroloi naiba pujar g<sup>h</sup>oroloi zabo* (Assamese) [catalipsis]

John Mary-r g<sup>h</sup>or-loi naiba puja-r g<sup>h</sup>or-loi  
 John Mary-GEN house-ALL COORD Puja-GEN house-ALL  
 za-b-o  
 go-FUT-3  
 ‘John will go either to Mary’s or Puja’s place.’

(38b) *Johnbi Mary-k3 ukump3mamilo/-mangom pujak ukump3 gij3* (Mising)

[catalipsis]  
 John-bi Mary-k3 ukum-p3-mamilo/-mangom puja-k  
 John-he Mary-GEN home-ALL-COORD/-COORD puja-GEN  
 ukum-p3 gi-j3  
 home-ALL go-FUT  
 ‘John will go either to Mary’s or Puja’s place.’

<sup>19</sup> This is *catalipsis*, where the ellipped element precedes the antecedent (cf. fn. 9).

### 2.3 (A)symmetrical coordination and Subordination

Let us recall that the first major type of coordination is combinative coordination and its first sub-type is simultaneous combination as in (39) below, where both situations (start to) happen at the same moment of time. Thus, the two combined clauses occupy the same position on a time line, while in the second sub-type of combinational coordination, i.e., sequential combination, the two clauses occupy positions at successive points on it. Thus, while (39) can be interpreted as symmetrical, (40) is clearly asymmetrical in the sense that ‘him playing in the rain’ happened first and then happened ‘him getting sick’ as a result of the first situation. That (39) is symmetrical coordination is evidence by the fact that if the order of the clauses is reversed, the meaning of the sentence remains the same as in (41). On the other hand, (40) expresses a causal situation: because he played in the rain, he fell sick. As observed, according to our knowledge of the world, a result or effect follows an action or cause (e.g. if someone allows his body to be exposed to rain for long, he, as a result, may get sick) so that according to the principle of sequential order, the result-clause follows the action-clause. A reversal of the order thus may result in a semantically odd sentence as in (42), order-wise a reversed version of (40).

(39) *I went to the market and he to the mall.*

(40) *He played in the rain and got sick.*

(41) *He went to the mall and me to the market.*

(42) (!) *He got sick and played in the rain.*

Asymmetrical coordination is also evident in cases where the situations have a conditional meaning as in (43) below. Like the effect of a cause, a reward as well, according to our knowledge of the world, follows the fulfilling of the condition so that in such a coordination, reversal of the order is not possible as can be seen from (44), order-wise a reversed version of (43).

(43) *Study hard and you will be rewarded.*

(44) (?) *You will be rewarded and study hard.*

As is observed in Tanese-Dogaru (2021, p. 6), “asymmetric coordination, unlike symmetric coordination, has a meaning that is paraphrasable by subordination.” The



sentence in (43) can thus be written as (45) below, where the condition-clause is realized as a subordinate clause, where *if* is the subordinator.

(45) *If you study hard, you'll be rewarded.*

It is clear from the discussion above that the linear order of the clauses generally reflects, following the principle of sequential order, the temporal order in which the situations occur in the real world. Thus, as observed, the situation expressed in the second clause may occur also as a consequence of the first one.

Among the three main types of semantic coordination (i.e., combinative, disjunctive, adversative), adversative coordination is the most asymmetrical in nature. In it, the meaning of the second coordination is clearly dependent on the meaning of the first clause. As already noted, its semantics is very similar to that of concessive subordination. In other words, the two clauses have a clear figure-ground relationship, where the first clause is the ground, the second the figure<sup>20</sup>. Thus, two of its sub-types viz., corrective and counter-expectative, are paraphrasable into a subordinate construction. Examples of corrective adversative as in (35a), (35b), (35c) and (35d) above are paraphrasable as (46a), (46b), (46c), (46d) below respectively. Note that *zodiu* in Assamese and the suffixes *-gom* and *-ge:lasin* in Mising are concessive subordinators in their respective languages. (For a description of these concessive subordinators, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.4 of this thesis.) Consider the following sentences:

(46a) *nimontron napalu **zodiu** zam* (Assamese)

nimontron	na-pa-l-u	zodiu	za-m
invitation	NEG-get-PRF-1	SUB	go-FUT

‘Even though I didn’t get an invitation, I’d like to come.’

(46b) *gogmaṇ**gom** giʒ* (Mising)

gog-maṇ-gom	gi-jʒ
call-NEG-SUB	go-FUT

‘Even though I haven’t been called, I will go.’

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<sup>20</sup> In the case of symmetrical coordination, the coordinated clauses are figures to a common ground, e.g., in the case of (44) above, the ground may be the covert subordinate clause, *As our office ended* (I went to the market and he the mall).

(46c) *rand<sup>h</sup>i beja pau zodiac<sup>h</sup>ai b<sup>h</sup>al pau* (Assamese)

rand<sup>h</sup>-i beja pa-u zodiac<sup>h</sup>-i b<sup>h</sup>al pa-u  
 cook-INF bad get-1 SUB eat-INF good get-1

‘Even though I don’t like to cook, I like to eat.’

(46d) *apin monam aip3 m3:bomanjom donam3m aip3 m3:dag* (Mising)

apin mo-nam aip3 m3:-bo-man-jom do-nam-3m aip3  
 rice cook-NF good feel-PRF-NEG-SUB eat-NF-ACC good  
 m3:-dag  
 feel-HAB

‘Even though I don’t like to cook, I love to eat.’

Examples of counter-expectative adversative like (36a), (36b), (36e), (36f), (36i), (36j) above are paraphrased as (47a), (47b), (47c), (47d), (47e), (47f), respectively, as shown below.

(47a) *tai tezpuroloi ahil zodiac<sup>h</sup>amar g<sup>h</sup>oroloi nahil* (Assamese)

tai tezpur-oloi ah-il zodiac<sup>h</sup> ami-r g<sup>h</sup>or-oloi  
 she tezpur-ALL come-PRF SUB we-GEN house-ALL  
 n-ah-il  
 NEG-come-PRF

‘Even though she came to Tezpur, she did not come to our house.’

(47b) *bi Tezpurp3 gige:lasin noluk ukump3 gitoma* (Mising)

bi Tezpur-p3 gi-ge:lasin no-luk ukum-p3 gi-to-ma  
 he Tezpur-ALL go-SUB I-PL home-ALL go-PRF-NEG

‘Even though she came to Tezpur, she did not come to our house.’

(47c) *tak iman xohai korilu zodiac<sup>h</sup>xexot t<sup>h</sup>og-il-e* (Assamese)

xi-k iman xohai kor-il-u zodiac<sup>h</sup> xexot t<sup>h</sup>og-il-e  
 he-GEN so much help do-PRF-1 SUB finally betray-PRF-3

‘Even though I helped him so much, finally he betrayed me.’

- (47d) *bim 3ddiko gerdumsuge:lasin bi jatto* (Mising)  
 bi-m 3ddi-ko ger-dumsu-ge:lasin bi jat-to  
 he-ACC so much-IND work-help-SUB he cheat-PRF  
 ‘Even though I helped him so much in his work, he betrayed me.’

- (47e) *moi golu zodiac xi nahil* (Assamese)  
 moi go-l-u zodiac xi n-ah-il  
 I go-PRF-1 SUB he NEG-come-PRF  
 ‘Even though I went, he did not come.’

- (47f) *no gige:lasin bi gitoman* (Mising)  
 no gi-ge:lasin bi gi-to-man  
 I go-SUB he come-PRF-NEG  
 ‘Even though I went, he did not come.’

One piece of evidence suggesting that these adversative coordinators are indeed coordinators rather than concessive subordinators is their ability to function as afterthoughts. In other words, they can be used as independent thoughts.

In sentence (48a), the decision to select him is made initially, followed by the concessive condition. This implies that despite the condition, the selection will still occur.

In contrast, sentence (48b) presents the decision to select him after the initial clause is uttered. This indicates that the decision is made as an afterthought.

- (48a) *zodiac xi besi paper lik<sup>h</sup>a nai, tak select koribo pari* (Assamese)  
 zodiac xi besi paper lik<sup>h</sup>-a nai tai-k select kor-ibo  
 SUB he many paper write-NF NEG he-ACC select do-FUT  
 par-i  
 can-NF  
 ‘Even though he has not written many papers, he can be selected for the job.’

(48b) *xi besi paper lik<sup>h</sup>a nai. to<sup>h</sup>api/totswotteu/tobu tak select koribo pari* (Assamese)

xi	besi	paper	lik <sup>h</sup> -a	nai.	to <sup>h</sup> api/totswotteu/tobu	
he	many	paper	write-FUT	NEG	COORD	xi-k
select	kor-ibo	par-i				
he-ACC	select	do-FUT	can-NF			

‘He has not written many papers. But still, he can be selected for the job.’

In sentence (49a), an opinion that he likely won't come is established at the beginning.

However, in sentence (49b), the second clause ‘that I have my doubts’ is expressed as an afterthought after the initial clause is uttered and following careful consideration.

(49a) *zodiu xi bare-bare koise ahim, mur xondeh ase* (Assamese)

zodiu	xi	bare-bare	ko-is-e	ah-im	moi-r
SUB	he	repeatedly	say-ING.PROG-3	come-FUT	I-GEN
xondeh		as-e			
doubt		be-3			

‘Even though he has repeatedly said that he would come, I still have my doubts.’

(49b) *xi bare-bare koise ahim. to<sup>h</sup>api/ /tobu moi potijon zua nai* (Assamese)

xi	bare-bare	ko-is-e	ah-im	to <sup>h</sup> api/tobu	moi
he	repeatedly	say-PROG-3	come-FUT	COORD	I
potijon	za-a	nai			
convince	go-NF	NEG			

‘He has repeatedly said that he would come but still I am not convinced.’

In sentence (50a), an opinion about Mary has already been formed, leading to the introduction of the concessive condition. This implies that despite her beauty and goodness, she still does not listen to anyone.

Conversely, in sentence (50b), Mary is initially described as very beautiful and good. Subsequently, as an afterthought, a counter-expectation is expressed, stating that regardless of her beauty and goodness, she does not listen to others.

- (50a) *zodiu tai bohut d<sup>h</sup>unija aru bohut b<sup>h</sup>al, tai mut<sup>h</sup>eu kot<sup>h</sup>a nuxune, nizar mote sole*  
(Assamese)

zodiu tai bohut d<sup>h</sup>unija aru bohut b<sup>h</sup>al tai mut<sup>h</sup>eu  
SUB tai very beautiful and very good she completely  
kot<sup>h</sup>a na-xun-e niz-or mote sol-e  
speech NEG-hear-3 own-GEN will act-3

‘Although she is very beautiful and very good, she doesn’t listen to anyone and acts according to her own will.’

- (50b) *tai bohut b<sup>h</sup>al aru bohut d<sup>h</sup>unija. tot<sup>h</sup>api ki dal hobo tai mut<sup>h</sup>eu kot<sup>h</sup>a nuxune*  
(Assamese)

tai bohut b<sup>h</sup>al aru bohut d<sup>h</sup>unija tot<sup>h</sup>api ki dal  
she very good and very beautiful COORD what CLF  
ho-ibo tai mut<sup>h</sup>eu kot<sup>h</sup>a na-xun-e niz-or mote  
be-FUT she completely speech NEG-hear-3 own-GEN will  
sol-e  
act-PRF-3

‘She is very good and very beautiful, but what’s the point when she doesn’t listen to anyone at all and does whatever she pleases?’

In the Mising sentence in (51a), an opinion that he likely won’t come is established at the beginning. However, in sentence (51b), the second clause ‘that I have my doubts’ is expressed as an afterthought after the initial clause is uttered and following careful consideration.

- (51a) *bi gij3 gij3 3mti du:daggom ŋo xondehdag* (Mising)

bi gi-j3 gi-j3 3mti du:-dag-gom ŋo  
he come-FUT come-FUT say stay-HAB-SUB I  
xondeh-dag  
doubt-HAB

‘Even though he has repeatedly said that he would come, I still have my doubts.’

- (51b) *bi giʒ giʒ ʒmtiduŋ. ʒdʒmpidaggom ŋo xondehdag* (Mising)
- |            |          |          |           |              |    |
|------------|----------|----------|-----------|--------------|----|
| bi         | gi-ʒʒ    | gi-ʒʒ    | ʒmti-duŋ. | ʒdʒmpidaggom | ŋo |
| he         | come-FUT | come-FUT | say-PROG  | COORD        | I  |
| xondeh-dag |          |          |           |              |    |
| doubt-HAB  |          |          |           |              |    |
- ‘He has repeatedly said that he would come but still I am not convinced.’

From the preceding discussion, it is clear that *tot<sup>h</sup>api/tottswotteu/tobu*, *pase*, and *ʒdʒmpidaggom* are coordinators that can introduce an afterthought, an independent element not possible with subordination.

Additionally, the fact that *tot<sup>h</sup>api/tottswotteu/tobu/pase* or *ʒdʒmpidaggom* clauses can be uttered by someone other than the speaker is strong evidence that these coordinators introduce clauses that are semantically co-equal to the preceding clause. A subordinator cannot introduce an afterthought.

In sentence (52), we have a line from the Assamese song “*Sagar Sangamat*” composed and sung by Bharat Ratna Dr. Bhupen Hazarika, the legendary singer, composer, and musician from Assam. This song was his favorite composition among all his own works. (Bharat Ratna is the highest civilian award in India). In the quoted line, *tot<sup>h</sup>api* occurs twice. The *-tu* in the first *tot<sup>h</sup>api* serves as an emphatic marker.

(52)

“*xagor xongomot kotona xaturilu,*  
*tot<sup>h</sup>apitu hua nai klanto*  
*tot<sup>h</sup>api monot mur proxanto xagoror*  
*urmimala oxanto*”

xagor	xongom-ot	kotona	xatur-il-u	
sea	confluence-LOC	so much	swim-PRF-1	
tot <sup>h</sup> api-tu	ho-a nai	klanto		
COORD-EMP	be-NF NEG	tired		
tot <sup>h</sup> api	mon-ot	moi-r	proxanto	xagor-or
COORD	heart-LOC	I-GEN	calmed	sea-GEN
urmimala	axanto			
garland of waves	agitated			

“I’ve swam through countless waves in the sea, but I’m not tired. The Pacific’s turbulent waves are carved in my mind.”

In the quoted line, it is evident that *tot<sup>h</sup>api-tu* in the second line and *tot<sup>h</sup>api* in the third line are merely coordinators connecting one thought to another. They do not function as subordinators in any way.

However, the adversative oppositive type, because it is not purely counter expectative, may result in a semantically odd sentence when subjected to subordination as in (53a) and (53b) below, which are subordinated versions of (34a) and (34c) above with the subordinator *zodiu* ‘even if’ in place of the coordinator *kintu* ‘but’, the weaker version of which does not imply counter expectation (cf. 3.2.3.1). Recall that Mising simply employs juxtaposition in case of oppositive adversative coordination.

(53a) ?mas    pani-t            t<sup>h</sup>ak-e    zodiu    bag<sup>h</sup>    mati-t            t<sup>h</sup>ak-e (Assamese)  
          fish    water-LOC    stay-3    SUB    tiger    land-LOC    stay-3

(53b) ?beli    din-ot            ula-i                    zodiu                    zun    rati    ulai  
          (Assamese)  
          sun    day-LOC    come out-3    SUB                    moon    night    come out-3

Coming to disjunctive coordination, the subtype simple aimed-disjunctive coordination can be subjected to subordination as it is asymmetrical. Consider (54a) and (54b) below with the subordinators *zodi* ‘if’, and *-gom* ‘if’, respectively, which are subordinated versions of (32a) and (32b) above with the coordinators *ot<sup>h</sup>oba/naiba* ‘alternatively,’ and *ma:milo/maṅgom* ‘either or/if not.’

(54a) *apuni zodi nahe tek<sup>h</sup>et ahe zen*            (Assamese)  
          apuni                    zodi    n-ah-e                    tek<sup>h</sup>et                    ah-e    zen  
          you (HON)    if            NEG-come-3    she/he (HON)    ahe-3    MOOD  
          ‘If you’re unable to come, we do hope Madam will be kind enough to visit us.’

- (54b) *no gimangom bi gilaŋka* (Mising)  
 no gi-maŋ-gom bi gi-laŋ-ka  
 you come-NEG-SUB he come-IMP-PST  
 ‘If you’re unable to come, we do hope Madam will be kind enough to visit us.’

Turning to combinative coordination, its subtype, sequential combinative type can be subjected to subordination *only* when it implies a cause-effect relation (note that such a coordination may not imply such a relation as in (15c) and (15d) above). Thus, (55a) and (55b) below, where there is a subordinator *karone* ‘because’ in Assamese and *l3gap3/l3gaŋ* ‘because’ in Mising, is a subordinated version of (15c) and (15d) above with the coordinators *aru* ‘and’ and *oddokk3* ‘and then,’ now replaced by the subordinators mentioned above.

- (55a) *xi kali bohut k<sup>h</sup>ale karone etia botiaise* (Assamese)  
 xi kali bohut k<sup>h</sup>a-l-e karone etia botia-  
 is-e  
 he yesterday very much eat-PRF-3P because now puke-  
 ING.PROG-3  
 ‘He ate too much yesterday and is puking now.’

- (55b) *bi m3lo bozepagko donam l3gap3/l3gaŋ aki aimaŋ* (Mising)  
 bi m3lo boze-pag-ko do-nam l3gap3/l3gaŋ aki  
 he yesterday too much-EMP-IND eat-NF SUB body  
 ai-maŋ  
 good-NEG  
 ‘He ate too much yesterday and is sick now.’

But the other two subtypes of combinative coordination, viz., simultaneous and atemporal coordination cannot be subjected to subordination as they are not asymmetrical forming a figure-ground relationship (cf. 2.1).

Assamese has at least 13 coordinators which are presented in Table 1 that follows, marked according to their broad semantic functions.



**Table 1: Coordinators in Assamese**

Sl. No.	Coordinator	Combinative	Disjunctive	Adversative
1	<i>aru</i>	✓		
2	<i>-u..-u</i>	✓		
3	<i>-tu..-ei, -u</i>	✓		
4	<i>ne</i>		✓	
5	<i>ba</i>		✓	
6	<i>naiba</i>		✓	
7	<i>ot<sup>h</sup>oba</i>		✓	
8	<i>hoi..nohoi</i>		✓	
9	<i>kintu</i>			✓
10	<i>pase</i>			✓
11	<i>tot<sup>h</sup>api</i>			✓
12	<i>tottswotteu</i>			✓
13	<i>tobu</i>			✓

Mising has at least 9 coordinators which are presented in Table 2 that follows, marked according to their broad semantic functions.

**Table 2: Coordinators in Mising**

Sl. No.	Coordinators	Combinative	Disjunctive	Adversative
1	<i>oddokk3</i>	✓		
2	<i>-sin..-sin</i>	✓		
3	<i>-ruŋ..-sin</i>	✓		
4	<i>-3i..-sin</i>	✓		
5	<i>-n3i</i>		✓	
6	<i>-maŋgom</i>		✓	
7	<i>-ma:milo</i>		✓	
8	<i>3d3mpidaggom</i>			✓
9	<i>3d3mpige:la</i>			✓

In the next chapter, we will focus on the grammar and meaning of Subordination in Assamese and Mising.