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Some Syntactic Aspects of Lexical Anaphors in Select Munda Languages

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Abstract
This paper investigates several syntactic aspects of anaphors (reflexives and reciprocals) in Santali, Mundari and Ho (Munda languages). In this paper we intend to show that the verbal reflexivization strategy is an indigenous device and that the nominal reflexivization strategy is a form calqued from the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages. The verbal reflexive device performs various other functions such as a detransitivizing marker, passive marker, and self-benefactive marker. The nominal reflexive is optional when the verbal reflexive is present. However, it is obligatory when the verbal reflexive is absent. Long-Distance Binding is not permitted when the anaphor occurs in a subcategorized position. Reciprocity is achieved through the infixation of a morpheme -pV- in the main verb, where the vowel V in -pV- harmonizes with the nucleus of the first syllable of the main verb. Some verbs have a special form when the verbal anaphor occurs.

Keywords: anaphora, pronouns, language comparison
ISO 693-3 codes: sat, unr, hoc, mni, tel

0 Introduction
Reflexives and reciprocals, generally labelled as anaphors, have been a focus of study for a considerable period of time. In this paper, we discuss several syntactic aspects of anaphors in three select languages of the Munda subfamily of the Austro-Asiatic family. The languages chosen are: Santali, Mundari and Ho. Note that the use of the term ‘anaphor’ in this narrow sense is different here from the traditional use, but follows the terminology as generally used in generative grammar (Chomsky 1981).

0.1 Occurrence of anaphors in different language families
Subbarao (2012) presents an extensive study of anaphora in Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman and some Austro-Asiatic languages. He shows that South Asian languages have both nominal and verbal anaphors and that the occurrence of either of these by themselves or together in a sentence is a language specific property. We give three examples to illustrate this. Manipuri

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1 We’d like to thank our language consultants Subodh Hansda and Sanat Hansda for providing data on Santali, Thakur Munda Prasad for providing data on Mundari and Pradip Bodro providing data for on Ho. These data were collected during our fieldtrips to Shantiniketan and Ranchi in 2011 by J. Mayuri and Karumuri V. Subbarao. We are also thankful to Felix Rau and Paul Sidwell for their helpful comments.

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(Tibeto-Burman) has a complex form of nominal reflexive as in (1a), Telugu (Dravidian) has a simplex form of nominal reflexive as in (1b) and Ho has a verbal reflexive as in (1c): ²

Manipuri
1a. ai-na i-sa-na i-sa-bu t’agat-i
   l-nom l-self-nom l-self-acc praise-fut
   ‘I will praise myself.’

Telugu
   every.fellow-dat self.nom great.person appears
   ‘Every person thinks that he is great.’

Ho
1c. am aṛsi-re-m nel-ke-n-a
   you mirror-in-2s.SAM see-pst-vr-[+fin]
   ‘You saw yourself in the mirror.’

There are languages in the subcontinent that have both a complex (polymorphemic) form, as in the example (1a) above, and a simplex (monomorphemic) form of the nominal anaphor as in (1b). Both forms are permitted in a ‘subcategorized position’ (Chomsky 1965) (Subbarao 2012 for details). A verbal reflexive implies a morphosyntactic encoding of the verbal predicate itself, as illustrated by (1c). In Ho the detransitivizing marker –n- performs the function of a verbal reflexive.

A few Tibeto-Burman languages, (Ao, Tenyidie for example) have a homophonous form for a pronoun and an anaphor. Most of the Indo-Aryan languages - except Gujarati, Marathi and Sinhala - and some Tibeto-Burman languages have only the nominal form of anaphor. All Dravidian languages, except Malayalam and Toda, and many Tibeto-Burman languages and Khasi (Mon-Khmer) have both a nominal anaphor and a verbal anaphor. Most of the Munda languages have only a verbal anaphor as an indigenous device, and the nominal anaphor borrowed from the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages.

Some of the prominent features that we will discuss are the following:

1. The indigenous device for manifesting anaphora is the verbal device. The detransitivizing marker -n- performs the function of a verbal reflexive. The verbal reciprocal is formed by infixing –pV- in the stem, where the vowel V in –pV- is a variable whose value is dependent on the nucleus of the initial syllable.
2. Santali, Mundari and Ho have a simplex form of the nominal anaphor either borrowed or calqued from the neighbouring superstrate Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Sadri, and Bengali.
3. Constructions involving reflexive in a subcategorized position have a unique form of the verb stem where it occurs with a suffix -ok- in Santali and -en- in Mundari and Ho. The occurrence of such suffix is optional, while the occurrence of the verbal device (reflexive) is obligatory. Thus, it is the verbal device that functions as the primary device triggering reflexivity.
4. The verbal device does not occur in a non-subcategorized position. In such cases, the occurrence of the nominal reflexive is obligatory, when the verbal reflexive is absent.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 1 deals with the devices used for anaphoric reference. Section 2 provides the verbal morphology of anaphoric constructions. Section 3 lists the forms occurring as nominal anaphors. Section 4 discusses the multifarious nature of the verbal reflexive device. Section 5 focuses on the valence reducing function of the verbal reflexive -n-. Section 6 deals with special verb forms in reflexive constructions. Section 7 discusses the structural dependency between the nominal and the verbal reflexive. Section 8 concerns itself with interactions between reflexivity and Long-Distance Binding. Section 9 discusses Exceptional Case

² The reflexive marking elements are in bold; co-reference is encoded by italics.

Marking (ECM). Section 10 focuses on the issue of the ‘accusative marker’ and the nominal reflexive in the three Munda languages under consideration. Section 11 discusses the formation of reciprocal constructions and the special verb forms for reciprocals, a unique feature found in the Santali, Mundari and Ho. Section 12 is the conclusion.

1. Devices used for anaphoric reference

Santali, Mundari and Ho have both verbal and nominal anaphors. While, the verbal reflexive -n- and the verbal reciprocal –pV- (see section 11 for details) are the indigenous devices, used primarily for anaphoric reference, the nominal reflexive is borrowed or calqued from the neighbouring contact languages such as Sadri, some of the dialects of Hindi-Urdu or Bengali with which these languages have been in intense contact for a long period of time. By indigenous devices, we mean that, these languages had only the verbal devices genetically, and they did not possess any nominal device. It is worth mentioning that a nominal reciprocal is absent in these languages.

In (2)-(4), -n- is the verbal reflexive and the entity in the argument position indicated in bold is a nominal reflexive. The nominal anaphor is optional, while the occurrence of the verbal device is obligatory.

Santali

2. \[ pəʈʰuə-kɔ akotɛ-kɔ sarhao-ɛ-n-a \]
   student-pl themselves-SAM praise-pst-\(v\r\)-[+fin]
   ‘The students praised themselves.’

Ho

3. \[ dobro ajek'te arsi-re nel-ke-n-a \]
   Dobro himself mirror-in see-pst-\(v\r\)-[+fin]
   ‘Dobro saw himself in the mirror.’

Mundari

4. \[ hɔn-kɔ akte arsi-re-kɔ nel-ke-n-a \]
   child-pl themselves mirror-in-SAM see-pst-\(v\r\)-[+fin]
   ‘The children saw themselves in the mirror.’

2 Verb morphology of anaphoric constructions

The morphological parsing of a verb with a verbal reflexive is as follows:

main verb + tense + (verbal reflexive) + finite marker + (subject agreement marker).

A sentence having a verb with the morpheme alignment mentioned above is given in (5) from Santali:

5. \[ pəʈʰuə-kə-kɔ sarhao-ɛ-n-a \]
   student-pl-SAM praise-pst-\(v\r\)-[+fin]
   ‘The students praised themselves.’

3 Form used as a nominal anaphor

In Santali, Mundari and Ho, the nominal reflexive is scarcely used. Hence, it was not possible to find the corresponding nominal anaphor for each of the personal pronoun as these languages use the verbal reflexive as the primary device to establish anaphoric reference. We provide the forms of the pronoun and their corresponding nominal reflexive in Tables (1)-(3). X is a variable that stands for the postposition that occurs with the nominal anaphor and the nature of the postposition depends on the structural or inherent case assigned by the predicate.

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The preverbal constituent is the subject itself as there is no other constituent preceding the verb. Hence, the subject agreement marker (SAM) occurs to the right of the subject itself.
Some Syntactic Aspects of Lexical Anaphors in Select Munda Languages

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Table 1: Forms of nominal anaphors in Santali

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>reflexive</th>
<th>postposition (near, about, with etc.)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uni</td>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>a:gy</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>himself/herself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akɔ</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>a:gy</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>a:pre</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>self’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Forms of nominal anaphors in Ho

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pronoun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>reflexive</th>
<th>postposition (near, about, with etc.)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ae</td>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>ajek³</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>himself/herself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ap</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ap</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aben</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>aben</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akɔ</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>akɔ</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ape</td>
<td>you (pl)</td>
<td>ape -ape</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abu</td>
<td>we (incl)</td>
<td>abu -abu</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>ourselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Forms of anaphors in Mundari

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pronoun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>reflexive</th>
<th>postposition (near, about, with etc.)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akɔ</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>akɔ</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ae</td>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>a:ja:</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>himself/herself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>a:pa:na</td>
<td>-X</td>
<td>self’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominal reflexive *apna* (Mundari) in table 3 is borrowed from neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages.

4 Multifarious nature of the verbal reflexive device

The monomorphemic verbal reflexive *-n* performs a variety of functions in the languages under discussion such as a verbal reflexive as in (6) and (8), a passive marker as in (7) and (8), an [-transitive] marker as in (9) and a self-benefactive as in (10b).

In the Santali example in (6) *-n* is playing the role of a verbal reflexive marker:

6. **ophel** | **arsi-re-j** | **pel-e-n-a**  
Ophel | mirror-in-SAM | see-pst-vr-[+fin]  
‘Ophel saw himself in the mirror.’

The Ho-example in (7) illustrates *-n* as a passive marker

7. **pulis-kɔ-te** | **kumbu** | **sap-ja-n-a**  
police-pl-by | thief | catch-pst-pass-[+fin]  
‘The thief was caught by the police.’

Note that an example as in (8) “is ambiguous between a verbal reflexive reading and a passive reading.” (Subbarao 2012:63).

Ho

8. **pro**, **siŋboŋa-taː-re-mi** | **ema-ke-n-a**  
you | God-to-in-SAM | give-pst-vr/passive-[+fin]  
‘You gave yourself to God.’/‘You were given to God.’

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Psychological predicates in South Asian languages are intransitive by nature and hence, they have monadic valence. Munda languages provide further evidence to substantiate this fact. An intransitive verb in these languages carries the morpheme -n-. In these languages it is the [-transitive] marker that occurs with psych-predicates as illustrated by the Ho-example in (9)⁵:

Ho
9. dabro aj-i łe  na:ra:jö-ka-n-a
Dobro he/she-with anger-pst-[tr]-[fin]
'Dobro is angry with him.'

There is another use for -n-, the [-transitive] marker as self-benefactive. Take the example in (10a), the verb isin ‘cook’ in Ho is [+transitive], and it takes the [+transitive] marker -ɖ-

Ho
10a. un-kin-kin isin-akaw-ɖ-a
they-dual-SAM cook-pst-[tr]-[fin]
'They (dual) cooked (something).'

In (10b), the marker -n- occurs contrary to the expected occurrence of [+transitive] marker -ɖ-.

10b. un-kin joma:g kinase isin-akaw-n-a
they-dual food-SAM cook-pst-self ben-[fin]
'They (dual) cooked food for themselves.'

However, -n- in (10b) does not function as a valence reducer, but functions as self-benefactive. Thus, (10b) is an example where the form of the verb isin ‘cook’ indicates that it is syntactically [-transitive] but is semantically [+transitive] in nature.⁶

5 -n- functioning as an anti-causative / valence reducer

The phenomenon of valence reduction is demonstrated through the syntactic minimal pairs in (11a), (11b), (12a), (12b), (13a) and (13b), respectively. Santali (11a) contains a transitive verb and thereby, it carries a transitive marker -d-. However, (11b) is detransitivized into an anti-causative/medio-passive. A similar phenomenon is also observed in Ho as in (12a) and (12b) and Mundari as in (13a) and (13b). In Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Mon-Khmer languages too, the verbal reflexive functions as a valence reducer (see Subbarao 2012: 91 for details).

Santali

11a. baha, duwәr-e, jʰi:cʰ-ke-d-a
Baha door-SAM open-pst-[tr] - [fin]
‘Baha opened the door.’

11b. duwәr jʰi:cʰ-e-n(i)ja
door open-pst- [tr] -[fin]
‘The door opened.’

Ho

12a. sumi silpin kese k-ke-d-a
Sumi door close-pst-[tr] -[fin]
‘Sumi closed the door.’

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⁴ For evidence in support of this claim, see Subbarao 2012.
⁵ For further details see Mayuri et al 2014.
⁶ This construction is similar to the non-nominative subject construction in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian where the predicate is [-transitive] syntactically but is semantically [+transitive] in nature (Subbarao 2012: 177-178).
12b. *silpin ajak^2-te kesek^2-je-n-a*
door self-by close-pst-[\text{-}tr]-[+fin]

‘The door closed by itself.’

Mundari
13a. *(s)* *duwǝr nik^2-ke-d-a-n*

(I) door open- pst-[\text{-}tr]-[+fin]-SAM

‘I opened the door.’

13b. *duwǝr nijǝ-ka-n-a*
door open-pst-[\text{-}tr]-[+fin]

‘The door opened.’

6 Special verb forms in reflexive constructions

As mentioned earlier, Santali, Mundari and Ho have a special verb form,\(^7\) when the verb carries a verbal reflexive. Santali verb roots are marked by the verbal suffix `-\text{nk}^2`.\(^8\) Mundari and Ho by `-\text{en}`. Thus, it is a unique feature of these languages to have distinct verb stem to denote reflexivity as in (14), (15) and (16). A list of verbs with such verbal morphology is provided in tables (4), (5) and (6) below. However, irrespective of the presence of the special form, it is the verbal reflexive `-\text{n}` that manifests reflexivity\(^9\). Moreover, the unique verbal reflexive suffix `-\text{nk}^2/-\text{en}` may be dropped\(^10\) without effecting the grammaticality.

Santali
14. *in arsi-re-n pel(\text{nk})-ka-n-a*

I mirror-in-SAM look(refl)-pres-\text{vr}+[+fin]

‘I am looking at myself in the mirror.’

Mundari
15. *hon-kǝ ako-te arsi-re nel(\text{en})-ke-n-a*

child-pl they-acc mirror-in see(refl)-pst-\text{vr}+[+fin]

‘The children saw themselves in the mirror.’

Ho
16. *dǝbrǝ aj ajte gojen/gok(\text{en})-ja-n-a*

Dobro himself kill(refl)-pst-\text{vr}+[+fin]

‘Dobro killed himself.’

The following tables provide a list of the verbs and their special forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>reflexive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nel</em></td>
<td>see</td>
<td><em>nel-\text{nk}</em></td>
<td>to see oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>\text{al}</em></td>
<td>write</td>
<td><em>\text{al-\text{nk}}</em></td>
<td>to write to oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>\text{em}</em></td>
<td>give</td>
<td><em>\text{em-\text{nk}}</em></td>
<td>to give oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>goc</em></td>
<td>kill</td>
<td><em>guy-\text{uk}</em></td>
<td>to kill oneself</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ghosh 2008:70)

---

7 The special form of the verb occurs only when the verbal anaphor occurs. Thus, the special form of the verb does not occur when the verbal reflexive functions like a detransitivizer or as a “self benefactive marker”. A similar situation is found in Santali, Mundari and Ho.

8 According to Ghosh (2010: 88), `-\text{nk}` in Santali functions both as a passive and a reflexive. \text{nk} is marked as middle voice by Neukom (2001: 64) and he also says, ‘the suffix `-\text{nk}` loses its vowel after stems ending in a vowel, eg., *idi* ‘take’ + `-\text{nk}’ > *idi-k* ‘be taken’. Santali also has a verbal suffix `-\text{np}’ indicating medio-passive (Ghosh 2008: 70). The nature of the morpheme `-\text{np}’ requires to be investigated further.

9 `-\text{n}`- and `-\text{en}`- are used to indicate reflexivity (Burrows 1980: 73, Deeney 1975: 12) in Ho. The verbal reflexive functions as a passive marker too in Ho. (Subbarao2012).

10 Optionality is indicated by parentheses.
Table 5: List of verb stems in Mundari

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>reflexive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tusiŋ</td>
<td>to put on</td>
<td>tusiŋ-en</td>
<td>to put on oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lel</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td>lel-en</td>
<td>to see oneself</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 6: List of verb stems in Ho

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>reflexive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>em</td>
<td>to give</td>
<td>em-en</td>
<td>to give oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam</td>
<td>to strike</td>
<td>tam-en</td>
<td>to strike oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atom</td>
<td>to move</td>
<td>atom-en</td>
<td>to move oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bai</td>
<td>to make</td>
<td>bai-en</td>
<td>to make for oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abung</td>
<td>to wash</td>
<td>abung-en</td>
<td>to wash oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dul</td>
<td>to pour</td>
<td>dul-en</td>
<td>to pour over oneself</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Burrows 1980:73)

7 The structural dependency between the nominal and the verbal reflexive

In the following sections, we present evidence how the nominal reflexives occurring in a subcategorized or in a non-subcategorised position relate to presence/absence of the verbal reflexive.

7.1 The structural dependency between the nominal reflexive occurring in a subcategorized position and the verbal reflexive

In Santali, Mundari and Ho, the presence of a nominal reflexives is obligatory, when the verbal reflexive is absent as in (17a), (18a) and (19a). However, it is optional,11 when the verbal reflexive is present as in (17b), (18b) and (19b).

Santali

17a. ḥon-kɔ, akɔte_ɪ arsi-re nel-ke-d-a-kɔ
    child-pl themselves mirror-in see-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]-SAM
    ‘The children saw themselves in the mirror.’

17b. ḥon-kɔ, (ac^2te)_ɪ arsi-re nel-ke-n-a-kɔ
    child-pl themselves mirror-in see-pst-[vr]-[+fin]-SAM
    ‘The children saw themselves in the mirror.’

Mundari

18a. ḥɔn-kɔ, akɔte_ɪ arsi-re-kɔ lel-ke-q-a
    child-pl themselves mirror-in-SAM see-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]
    ‘The children saw themselves in the mirror.’

18b. ḥɔn-kɔ, (akɔte)_ɪ arsi-re-kɔ lel-ke-n-a
    child-pl themselves mirror-in-SAM see-pst-[vr]-[+fin]
    ‘The children saw themselves in the mirror.’

Ho

19a. doblo, ajek'te_ɪ arsi-re nel-ke-q-a-j
    Dobro himself mirror-in see-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]-SAM
    ‘Dobro saw himself in the mirror.’

11 The optionality of the nominal entity is depicted parenthetically.
7.2 The structural dependency between the nominal reflexive in a non-subcategorized position and the verbal reflexive

When the nominal reflexive occurs in a non-subcategorized position, the verbal reflexive is not permitted as is illustrated in (20)-(22). The non-occurrence of verbal reflexive is due to the fact that the transitivity of the predicate is unaltered and thus, the transitive marker –d-/ɖ- takes precedence over the verbal reflexive. Since reflexivity is not manifested in the verb, co-reference has to be encoded through the presence of a nominal reflexive (in italics).

Santali
20. ḥɔjna_i    ae^2-so:rrε  bij-kin_c_i    nel-ke-d-e-[j]a
   Hopna himself-near snake-dual-SAM see-pst+[tr]-OAM-[+fin]
   ‘Hopna saw two snakes near himself.’

Mundari
21. somri  aj-ak^'  japa-re  mian  bij  lel-ke-d-a
   Somri herself-gen near-in one snake see-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]
   ‘Somri saw a snake beside herself.’

Ho
22. asai ajk^'iʃak^'iʃ-re  mijak^'iʃөjak^'iʃ  bij  nel-ke-d-a
   Asai himself-near-in one snake see-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]
   ‘Asai saw a snake near himself.’

8 Reflexivity and Long-Distance Binding

Long-Distance Binding refers to ‘the coindexation of an anaphor in a lower clause with an antecedent in a higher clause outside its minimal clausal domain. Such coindexation is an apparent violation of Principle A of the Binding principles.’ (Subbarao 2012:75), following Chomsky (1981, 1986). Factors that, among others, influence Long-Distance Binding are the following:

1. whether an anaphor occurs in a subcategorized position or not,
2. whether the anaphor is complex nominal form (polymorphic), and
3. whether the anaphor occurs in a non-finite embedded clause or not.

Factor (i) is relevant: Long-Distance Binding is not permitted when the nominal anaphor occurs in a subcategorized position as in Santali (23a) and permitted when the nominal anaphor occurs in a non-subcategorized position as in (23b). A similar restriction is obeyed in Mundari as in (24a) and (24b), and in Ho too as in (25a) and (25b).

Santali
Anaphor in a subcategorized position
23a. [mọntr_i  gidɾɔj]    [PRO_j  ae′te*_iʃ]    sarhawε]  metak^'de-َا]
   minister child self.acc praise tell-[+tr]-[+fin]
   ‘The minister, asked the child to praise self.*j.’

Anaphor in a non-subcategorized position
23b. [baha_i  arel_j]    [PRO_j  ae′t̩-lag̩id^']  ca:  benawε]  metak^'de-َا]
   Baha Arel self-for tea make tell-[+tr]-[+fin]
   ‘Baha, asked Arel to make some tea for self,.*j.’

Mundari
Anaphor in a subcategorized position

Anaphor in a non-subcategorized position

Ho
Anaphor in a subcategorized position
25a. [m̩ontrii h\_n-k\_a-tej] [PROj ajak^te -suij] sahra:o]-ici-ke-d-a] Minister child-pl- by self praise-caus-pst-[+tr]-[+fin] ‘The minister, made the children, praise themselves,\_\_ɪ.)’

Anaphor in a non-subcategorized position

These examples underscore the fact it is the subcategorized position of the anaphor that is significant and not the morphological complexity of the predicate.

9 Exceptional Case Marking (ECM)

ECM (Exceptional Case Marking) is a phenomenon that involves the case marking of the subject of the embedded clause by the verb of the matrix clause. This phenomenon is observed in all the South Asian languages, except optionally in Telugu (Dravidian), Dumi (Tibeto-Burman), Kashmiri (Indo-Aryan) (Subbarao 2012: 144-146).

The following examples are illustrative.

Santali

Mundari

Ho

In (26a) in Santali, the form ac^i-ac^i-te occurs in a case-marked position where the matrix verb exceptionally case marks the derived object. If the postposition -te in ac^i-ac^i-te is treated as an emphatic, a [+transitive] verb such as monek^ig ‘consider’ would lack a direct object in the derived structure, which is a clear violation of the Theta Criterion (Chomsky 1981). Hence, ac^i-ac^i has to be treated as a reflexive and the postposition -te has to be treated as an accusative case marker. A similar structure can also be found in Mundari (26b) and (26c) above.
10 A note on the ‘accusative marker’ and the nominal reflexive in Santali, Mundari and Ho

The nominal reflexive ac in Santali, aj in Mundari and ajak in Ho are calqued on the pattern of the nominal anaphor in contact Indo-Aryan languages. The postposition -te in Santali and -te in Mundari and Ho performs several functions.

1. It functions like the instrumental postposition ‘with, by’ when it occurs with a noun such as ca:ka ‘knife’ (Santali).
2. When the postposition -te/te follows the reflexive in a subcategorized position such as the direct object, it functions like an accusative marker. In ECM constructions too, it functions like an accusative marker as in (26).

Our analysis of treating the marker -te/te is in contrast to the normally-held view that Santali, Mundari and Ho do not have an accusative marker. Evidence for our claim comes from the following fact. In the ECM construction, if -te/te is treated as an emphatic marker, it is difficult to explain why either a reduplicated or a simplex form of the nominal anaphor which functions like an emphatic occurs in a position that is case-marked by the matrix verb.

Some supporting evidence comes from Psych (psychological)-predicates:

With Psych (psychological)-predicates, when the argument is coindexed with the subject, an anaphor (reflexive) occurs in a subcategorized position, it is locative case-marked in Santali (27), instrumental case-marked in Mundari (28) and Ho (29). In Mundari and Ho, it is the postposition -te that imparts the interpretation of ‘with’.

Santali
27. upol a:pre-ceta:nre beja:r-aka-n-a-e
   Upol self-on angry-pst-[tr]-[+fin] -SAM
   ‘Upol was angry/upset with herself.’

Mundari
28. somra apna-te-ge naraj-men-a-e
    Somra herself-with-emph anger-is-[+fin] -SAM
    ‘Somro is angry with herself.’

Ho
29. sumi ajek-te kurkure/ra:gu:k-ka-n-a
    Sumi herself-with anger-pst-[tr]-[+fin]
    ‘Sumi was angry with herself.’

11 Reciprocals

The languages under discussion (and this holds more generally for the Munda languages) do not have nominal reciprocals. It is a special feature of these languages to have the verb stem itself manifesting reciprocity through verbal reciprocal inflexion. The verb also carries -n- in it which indicates that the marker -n- in (30) functions as a detransitivizer/valence reducer, as illustrated in the Santali example (30) from Minegishi and Murmu (2001: 104):

Santali
30. unkin -kin φ da: -pa: -l-ka:-n-a
    they.dual-dual hit.1-vrec-hit.2-pst-[tr]-[+fin]
    ‘They (two of them) were hitting each other.’

On the other hand, if the marker -n- is interpreted as a detransitivizer, then, we observe that the detransitivizer and the reciprocal infix together impart reciprocity, a phenomenon not found thus far in any South Asian language that we know of.

In reciprocal verbs, the reciprocal infix –pV- is placed immediately after the first syllable of the root verb. The vowel V in –pV- indicates the position of occurrence of the vowel that harmonizes with the vowel of the first syllable of the verb stem as in tables (7)-(9) below. For
convenience, the morphological parsing of the root verb has special glossing. For example, in Ho \( ti \) is glossed as ‘pour.1’ which is the first part of the reciprocal verb, \( pi \) as ‘vrec’ and \( l \) as ‘pour.2’, the second part of the reciprocal verb.

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>reciprocal</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>capaɖa</td>
<td>to slap</td>
<td>ca-pa-paɖa</td>
<td>‘slap1-vrec-slap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>til</td>
<td>to pour</td>
<td>ti-pi-l</td>
<td>‘pour1-vrec-pour’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Santali</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>reciprocal</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dal</td>
<td>‘beat’</td>
<td>da-pa-l</td>
<td>‘beat1-vrec-beat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>e-pe-m</td>
<td>‘give1-vrec-give2’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mundari</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>reciprocal</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔl</td>
<td>to write</td>
<td>ɔ-pɔ-l</td>
<td>‘write1-vrec-write2’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nel</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td>ne-pe-l</td>
<td>‘see1-vrec-see2’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note that the detransitivizing marker \(-n\) appears in reciprocal constructions, as in the Santali (31b), and likewise in Mundari (32b), and Ho (33b).

Santali

31a. areļ baha-ɛ nel-aka-d-e-a
Arel Baha-SAM see-pst-[+tr]-OAM-[+fin]
‘Arel saw Baha.’

31b. areļ aːr baha: ne-po-l-aka-n-a-kin
Arel and Baha see.1-vrec-see.2-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]-SAM
‘Arel and Baha saw each other.’

Mundari

32a. gangu asai-ke ɔrɔp-ke-d-a
Gangu Asai-acc kiss-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]
‘Gangu kissed Asai.’

32b. gangu ɔndɔ asai ɔɔp-ɔp-pa-a-n-a
Gangu and Asai kiss.1-vrec-kiss.2-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]
‘Gangu and Asai kissed each other.’

Ho

33a. somra somri-ke ica-ke-d-a
Somra Somri-acc pinch-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]

33b. somra ap somri i-pi-ca-ja-a-n-a
Somra and Somri pinch.1-vrec-pinch.2-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]
‘Somra and Somri pinched each other.’

12 Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed some specific syntactic aspects of anaphors in Santali, Mundari and Ho. The indigenous devices for anaphora are the verbal reflexive and the verbal
reciprocal. Nominal reflexives also exist, however, they are either borrowed from neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages or they are calqued forms. It is a special feature of these languages to have the reciprocal infixed in the root verb. The languages do not possess nominal reciprocals. These languages have special forms of root verbs when a verbal reflexive occurs. The nominal reflexive and a verbal reflexive have structural dependency. Further, the Long-Distance Binding is sensitive to the subcategorized or non-subcategorized position of the nominal anaphor.

Glosses and abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+fin]</td>
<td>finite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+tr]</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-tr]</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>AA: Austro-Asiatic</td>
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<tr>
<td>acc: accusative</td>
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<td>caus: causative</td>
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<tr>
<td>dat: dative</td>
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<td>DR: Dravidian</td>
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<tr>
<td>refl: reflexive</td>
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<td>IA: Indo-Aryan</td>
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<tr>
<td>incl: inclusive</td>
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<td>OAM : Object Agreement Marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>pass : passive</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl : plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>pst: past</td>
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<td>SAM : Subject Agreement Marker</td>
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<td>self ben: self benefactive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sg : Singular</td>
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<tr>
<td>TB: Tibeto-Burman</td>
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<tr>
<td>vr: verbal reflexive</td>
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<tr>
<td>vrec: verbal reciprocal</td>
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References


