Mon-Khmer Studies
VOLUME 43.1

Papers from the 5th International Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics (Canberra, September 4-5, 2013)

The journal of Austroasiatic languages and cultures
1964—2014 50 years of MKS

Authors: J. MAYURI, Karumuri .V. SUBBARAO, Martin EVERAERT & G. Uma Maheshwar RAO
Title: *Some Syntactic Aspects of Lexical Anaphors in Select Munda Languages*
Pages: 72-83
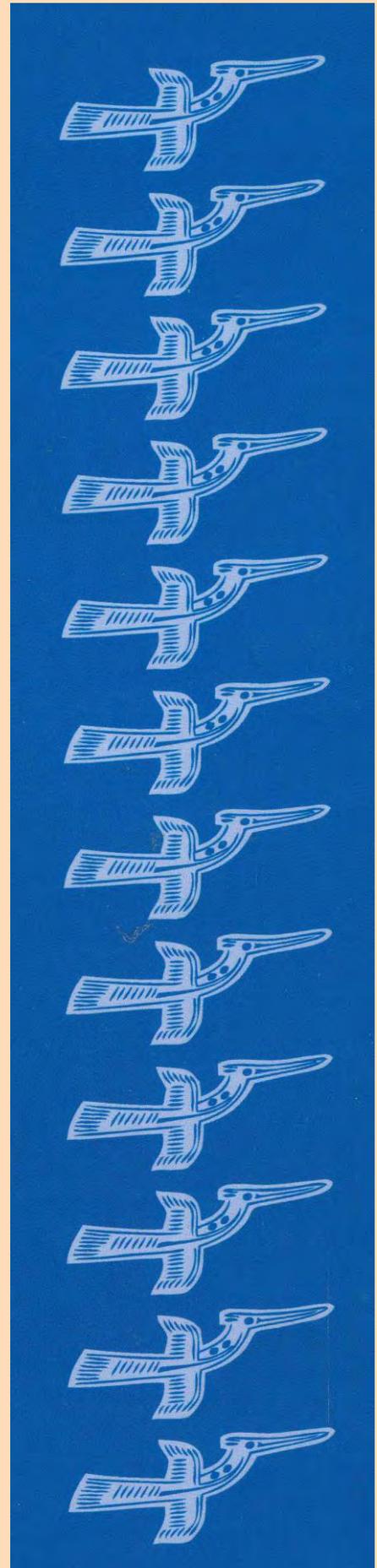
Some Syntactic Aspects of Lexical Anaphors in Select Munda Languages[1]

J. Mayuri
Indian Institute of Technology Madras
<mayuri.dilip@gmail.com>

Karumuri .V. Subbarao
University of Hyderabad
<kvs2811@gmail.com>

Martin Everaert
Utrecht University
<m.b.h.everaert@uu.nl>

G. Uma Maheshwar Rao
University of Hyderabad
<guraohyd@gmail.com>

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 an aphors, 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

---

(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**   *tʰagat-i*
    I-nom   **I-self-nom**   **I-self-acc**   praise-fut
    'I will praise myself.'

Telugu

1b. *pratiːvaːɖi-kiː*   **tanu**   *goppavaːɖigaː anipistaːɖu*
    every.fellow-dat   **self.nom**   great.person   appears
    'Every person thinks that he is great.'

Ho

1c. *am*   *aɽsi-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 -ɔk- 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. *pəţʰuə-kɔ*   **akotɛ**-*kɔ*   *sarhao-ɛ-**n**-a*
   student-pl   **themselves**-SAM   praise-pst-***vr***-[+fin]
   'The students praised themselves.'

Ho
3. *ɖobro*   **ajekʔte**   *arsi-rɛ*   *nel-ke-**n**-a*
   Dobro   **himself**   mirror-in   see-pst-***vr***-[+fin]
   'Dobro saw himself in the mirror.'

Mundari
4. *hɔn-kɔ*   **akɔte**   *arsi-re-kɔ*   *nel-ke-**n**-a*
   child-pl   **themselves**   mirror-in-SAM   see-pst-***vr***-[+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[3]:

5. *pəţʰuə-kɔ-kɔ*   *sarhao-ɛ-**n**-a*
   student-pl-SAM   praise-pst-***vr***-[+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.

---

3   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.

Table 1: Forms of nominal anaphors in Santali

Pronoun	gloss	reflexive	postposition (near, about, with etc.)	gloss
uni	he/she	*acʔ*	-X	himself/herself
akɔ	they	*akɔ*	-X	themselves
-	-	*a:prɛ*	-X	self's

Table 2: Forms of nominal anaphors in Ho

pronoun	gloss	reflexive	postposition (near, about, with etc.)	gloss
ae	he/she	*ajekʔ*	-X	himself/herself
aɲ	I	*aɲ*	-X	myself
aben	you	*aben*	-X	yourself
akɔ	they	*akɔ*	-X	themselves
ape	you (pl)	*ape -ape*	-X	yourselves
abu	we (incl)	*abu -abu*	-X	ourselves

Table 3: Forms of anaphors in Mundari

pronoun	gloss	reflexive	postposition (near, about, with etc.)	gloss
akɔ	they	*akɔ*	-X	themselves
ae	he/she	*ajaʔ*	-X	himself/herself
-	-	*apna*	-X	self's

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. *ophɛl   arsi-rɛ-j   ɲɛl-ɛ-**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-ɟa-**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. *proᵢ   siŋboŋa-taʔa-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.'

Psychological predicates in South Asian languages are intransitive by nature and hence, they have monadic valence.[4] 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. *ɖobro*   *aj-lɔ*   *naːraːɟoː-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*   *ɟomaːgʔ-kin*   *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_i*   *duwər-ɛ_i*   *ɟʰiːcʔ-kɛ-d-a*
     Baha   door-SAM   open-pst**-[+tr] -** [+fin]
     'Baha opened the door.'

11b. *duwər*   *ɟʰiːcʔ-ɛ-n-(j)a*
     door   open-pst- **[-tr]** -[+fin]
     'The door opened.'

Ho
12a. *sumi*   *silpin*   *kesekʔ-ke-ɖ-a*
     Sumi   door   close-pst-**[+tr]** -[+fin]
     'Sumi closed the door.'

---

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*   *ajak²-tɛ*   *kesek²-ɟe-**n**-a*
    door   self-by   close-pst-**[-tr]**-[+fin]
    'The door closed by itself.'

Mundari
13a. *(əɲ)*   *duwər*   *nik²-ke-**d**-a-**ɲ***
    (I)   door   open- pst-**[+tr]**-[+fin]-**SAM**
    'I opened the door.'

13b. *duwər*   *nijə-ka-**n**-a*
    door   open-pst-**[-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 *-ɔk²-*,[8] Mundari and Ho by *-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 *-n-* that manifests reflexivity[9]. Moreover, the unique verbal reflexive suffix *-ɔk²-/-en-* may be dropped[10] without effecting the grammaticality.

Santali
14. *iɲ*   *arsi-rɛ-ɲ*   *ɲɛl(ɔk)-**ka-n-a***
    I   mirror-in-SAM   look**(refl)**-pres-**vr**-[+fin]
    'I am looking at myself in the mirror.'

Mundari
15. *hɔn-kɔ*   *akɔ-te*   *arsi-re*   *nel**(en)-ke-n-a***
    child-pl   they-acc   mirror-in   see**(refl)**-pst-**vr**-[+fin]
    'The children saw themselves in the mirror.'

Ho
16. *ɖɔbrɔ*   *aj ajte*   *goɟen/gok²**(en)** -ɟa-n-a*
    Dobro   himself   kill**(refl)-**pst-vr-[+fin]
    'Dobro killed himself.'

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

Table 4: List of verb stems in Santali

verb	gloss	reflexive	gloss
ɲɛl	see	*ɲɛl-ɔk'*	to see oneself
ɔl	write	*ɔl-ɔk²*	to write to oneself
ɛm	give	*ɛm-ɔk²*	to give oneself
goc	kill	*guɟ-uk*	to kill oneself
(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), *-ɔk* in Santali functions both as a passive and a reflexive. *ɔk* is marked as middle voice by Neukom (2001: 64) and he also says, "the suffix *–ɔk* loses its vowel after stems ending in a vowel, eg., *idi* 'take' + *-ɔk'-> idi-k'* 'be taken'. Santali also has a verbal suffix *-ɟoŋ* indicating medio-passive (Ghosh 2008: 70. The nature of the morpheme *-ɟoŋ* requires to be investigated further.

[9] *-n-* and *–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

verb	gloss	reflexive	gloss
tusiŋ	to put on	*tusiŋ-en*	to put on oneself
lel	to see	*lel-en*	to see oneself

(Anderson: 2007: 46, Ghosh 2008: 129)

Table 6: List of verb stems in Ho

verb	gloss	reflexive	gloss
em	to give	*em-en*	to give oneself
tam	to strike	*tam-en*	to strike oneself
atom	to move	*atom-en*	to move oneself
bai	to make	*bai-n*	to make for oneself
abung	to wash	*abung-en*	to wash oneself
dul	to pour	*dul-en*	to pour over oneself

(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. *hɔn-kɔ$_i$*   ***ac'tɛ$_i$***   *arsi-rɛ*   *ɲɛl-kɛ-**d**-a-kɔ*
     child- pl   **themselves**   mirror-in   see-pst-**[+tr]** -[+fin] -SAM
      'The children saw themselves in the mirror.'

17b. *hɔn-kɔ$_i$*   (***ac'tɛ***)$_i$ *arsi-rɛ*   *ɲɛl-kɛ-**n**-a-kɔ*
     child- pl   **themselves**   mirror-in   see-pst-**vr**-[+fin]-SAM
     'The children saw themselves in the mirror.'

Mundari
18a. *hɔn-kɔ$_i$*   ***akɔte$_i$***   *arsi-re-kɔ*   *lel-ke-**ɖ**-a*
     child-pl   **themselves**   mirror-in-SAM see-pst-**[+tr]**-[+fin]
     'The children saw themselves in the mirror.'

18b. *hɔn-kɔ$_i$*   (***akɔte***)$_i$ *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. *ɖobro$_i$*   ***ajɛk'te$_i$***   *arsi-rɛ*   *nɛl-ke-**ɖ**-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.

J. MAYURI, Karumuri .V. SUBBARAO, Martin EVERAERT & G. Uma Maheshwar RAO. 2014.
Some Syntactic Aspects of Lexical Anaphors in Select Munda Languages.
Mon-Khmer Studies 43.1:72-83 (ICAAL5 special issue)

19b. *ḍobro*ᵢ   (***ajɛkʔte***)ᵢ   *arsi-rɛ*   *nɛl-ke-**n**-a-j*
      Dobro   **himself**   mirror-in   see-pst-**vr**-[+fin]-SAM
      'Dobro saw himself in the mirror.'

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-/-ḍ-* 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. *hɔpna*ᵢ   ***acʔ-so:rrɛ***   *biŋ-kin*ⱼ*-ɛ*ᵢ   *ɲɛl-kɛ-**d**-ɛ*ⱼ*-(j)a*
     Hopna   **himself-near**   snake-dual-SAM   see-pst-**[+tr]**-OAM-[+fin]
     'Hopna saw two snakes near himself.'

Mundari
21. *somri*   ***aj-akʔ***   *japa-re*   *mijan*   *biŋ*   *lel-ke-**ḍ**-a*
     Somri   **herself-gen**   near-in   one   snake   see-pst-**[+tr]**-[+fin]
     'Somri saw a snake beside herself.'

Ho
22. *asai*   ***ajɛkʔ-ɟapakʔ-re***   *mijakʔ/mɔjakʔ*   *biŋ*   *nel-ke-**ḍ**-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 (polymorphemic), 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. [*mɔntri*ᵢ   *gidrə*ⱼ   [*PRO*ⱼ   ***acʔtɛ***₍*ᵢ/ⱼ₎   *sarhawɛ] mɛtakʔ-dɛ-a*]
       minister   child   **self.acc**   praise   tell-[+tr]-[+fin]
       'The minister subscript i asked the child subscript j to praise self subscript *i/j.'

Anaphor in a *non-subcategorized position*
23b. [*baha*ᵢ   *arɛl*ⱼ   [*PRO*₍ᵢ/ⱼ₎   ***acʔ***₍ᵢ/ⱼ₎***-lagidʔ***   *ca:*   *bɛnawɛ] mɛtakʔ-dɛ-a*]
       Baha   Arel   **self-for**   tea   make   tell-[+tr]-[+fin]
       'Baha subscript i asked Arel subscript j to make some tea for self subscript i/j.'

J. MAYURI, Karumuri .V. SUBBARAO, Martin EVERAERT & G. Uma Maheshwar RAO. 2014.
Some Syntactic Aspects of Lexical Anaphors in Select Munda Languages.
Mon-Khmer Studies 43.1:72-83 (ICAAL5 special issue)

Mundari

Anaphor in a *subcategorized position*

24a. [*somra$_i$ suga$ɽ_j$-ke   [*PRO$_j$ **ajak$^ʔ_{*i/j}$-ba:re-re**   ba$ɽ$ai-mente]   ka$ɟ$ej-tan-a]
     Somra   Sugad-acc   **self-about-in**   praise-comp   tell-pres-[+fin]
     'Somra$_i$ asks Sugad$_j$ to praise self$_{*i/j}$.'

Anaphor in a *non-subcategorized position*

24b. [*somra$_i$ suga$ɖ$-ke$_j$ [*PRO$_{i/j}$ **aj-lagid$_{i/j}$**   ca:ha   baj-mente]   ka$ɟ$ije-kan-a]
     Somra   Sugad-acc   **self-for**   tea   make-comp   tell-pres-[+fin]
     'Somra$_i$ asks Sugad$_j$ to make tea for self$_{i/j}$.'

Ho

Anaphor in a *subcategorized position*

25a. [*mɔntrii   hɔn-kɔ-tej   [*PROj   **ajak^{ʔ}te** $_{*i/j}$ sahra:o]-ici-ke-ɖ-a]
     Minister   child-pl- by   **self**   praise-caus-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]
     'The minister$_i$ made the children$_j$ praise themselves$_{*i/j}$.'

Anaphor in a *non-subcategorized position*

25b. [*ɖɔbrɔ$_i$ sumi-ke$_j$ mita-ɖi-(j)a   [*PRO$_{i/j}$ **aj$_{i/j}$-lagiɖ^ʔ**   ca:j   bajimɛ]]
     Dobro   Sumi-dat   tell-[+tr]-[+fin]   **self-for**   tea   make
     'Dobro$_i$ asked Sumi$_j$ to make tea for self$_{i/j}$.'

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

26a. [*baha$_i$ [(ac^ʔ)-ac^ʔ-**tɛ**$_i$ aɖi   cɛhra:-e]   monɛk^ʔ-a]
     Baha   self-self-**acc**   a lot   pretty-SAM   considers-[+fin]
     'Baha considers herself pretty.'

Mundari

26b. [*somri$_i$ [(aj^ʔ)-aj^ʔ-**tɛ**$_i$ ʈi:.vi:-rɛ   duraŋ-tante]   ajum-ke-ɖ-a]
      Somri   self-self-**acc**   T.V-in   singing-while   see-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]
     'Somri saw herself singing on T.V.'

Ho

26c. [*asai$_i$ [(ajak^ʔ)-ajak^ʔ-**tɛ**$_i$ hosijər-ɛ]   manati/baintana-tan-a]
     Asai   self-self-**acc**   clever-SAM   consider-pres-[+fin]
     'Asai considers herself clever.'

In (26a) in Santali, the form *ac^ʔ-ac^ʔ-te* occurs in a case-marked position where the matrix verb exceptionally case marks the derived object. If the postposition *-te* in *ac^ʔ-ac^ʔ-te* is treated as an emphatic, a [+transitive] verb such as *monek^ʔ* 'consider' would lack a direct object in the derived structure, which is a clear violation of the Theta Criterion (Chomsky 1981). Hence, *ac^ʔ-ac^ʔ* 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 * acʔ* 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 *-tɛ* 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:ku* 'knife' (Santali).
2. When the postposition *-te/-tɛ* 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/-tɛ* 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/-tɛ* 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. *upəl   a:prɛ-ceta:nrɛ   beɟa:r-aka-n-a-ɛ*
    Upəl   self-on   angry-pst-[-tr] -[+fin] -SAM
    'Upel was angry/ upset with herself.'

Mundari
28. *somra   apna-te-gɛ   naraɟ-men-a-e*
    Somra   herself-with-emph   anger-is-[+fin] -SAM
    'Somro is angry with herself.'

Ho
29. *sumi   aɟɛk-te   kurkure/ra:gua-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 infixation. 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   ∅   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

J. MAYURI, Karumuri .V. SUBBARAO, Martin EVERAERT & G. Uma Maheshwar RAO. 2014.
Some Syntactic Aspects of Lexical Anaphors in Select Munda Languages.
Mon-Khmer Studies 43.1:72-83 (ICAAL5 special issue)

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

Ho

verb	gloss	reciprocal	gloss
capaḍa	to slap	*ca-pa-paḍa*	'slap1-vrec-slap2'
til	to pour	*ti-pi-l*	'pour1-vrec-pour2'

Table 8

Santali

verb	gloss	reciprocal	gloss
dal	'beat'	*da-pa-l*	'beat1-vrec-beat2'
ɛm	'give'	*ɛ-pɛ-m*	'give1-vrec-give2'

Table 9

Mundari

verb	gloss	reciprocal	gloss
ɔl	to write	*ɔ-pɔ-l*	'write1-vrec-write2'
nel	to see	*ne-pe-l*	'see1-vrec-see2'

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. *arɛl*   *baha-ɛ*   *ɲɛl-aka-d-ɛ-a*
     Arel   Baha-SAM   see-pst-[+tr]-OAM-[+fin]
     'Arel saw Baha.'

31b. *arɛl*   *aːr*   *baha:*   ***ɲɛ-pɛ-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-kɛ*   *cɔrɔp-ke-ḍ-a*
     Gangu   Asai-acc   kiss-pst-[+tr]-[+fin]
     'Gangu kissed Asai.'

32b. *gangu*   *ɔnḍɔ*   *asai*   ***cɔ-pɔ-rɔp**-ɟa-n-a*
     Gangu   and   Asai   **kiss.1-vrec-kiss.2**-pst-[-tr]-[+fin]
     'Gangu and Asai kissed each other.'

Ho

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

33b. *somra*   *aṛ*   *somri*   ***i-pi-ca**-ɟa-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

J. MAYURI, Karumuri .V. SUBBARAO, Martin EVERAERT & G. Uma Maheshwar RAO. 2014.
Some Syntactic Aspects of Lexical Anaphors in Select Munda Languages.
Mon-Khmer Studies 43.1:72-83 (ICAAL5 special issue)

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

[+fin] : finite
[+tr] : transitive
[-tr] : intransitive
AA: Austro-Asiatic
acc : accusative
caus: causative
dat: dative
DR : Dravidian
refl: reflexive
IA: Indo-Aryan
incl: inclusive

OAM : Object Agreement Marker
pass : passive
pl : plural
pst: past
SAM : Subject Agreement Marker
self ben: self benefactive
Sg : Singular
TB: Tibeto-Burman
vr: verbal reflexive
vrec: verbal reciprocal

References

Anderson, G. D. S. 2007. '*The Munda Verb: Typological Perspectives'*, Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ghosh, A. 2008. Santali. G. D. S. Anderson (Ed.), *The Munda Languages* (pp. 11-88). (London: Routledge).

Bodding, P.O. 1929. *Materials for a Santali grammar, II (mostly morphological)*. Dumka: Santal Mission of the Northern Churches.

Burrows, L. 1915/1980. *The Grammar of the Ho Language: An Eastern Himalayan Dialect*, New Delhi: Cosmos Publications, India.

Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Holland: Foris Publication.

Chomsky, N. 1986. Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origins and Use. New York: Praeger.

Deeney, J. S. J. 1975. *Ho Grammar and Vocabulary*. Chaibasa, Bihar: Xavier Ho Publications.

Ghosh, A. 2010. *Santali: A Look into Santali Morphology.* Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.

Mayuri, J., K. V. Subbarao, G. Uma Maheshwar Rao, Sanat Hansda. 2014. 'Non-Nominative Subjects in Santali'. South Asian Language Analysis-30. University of Hyderabad.

Minegishi, M, & G. Murmu (2001) *Santali basic lexicon with grammatical notes*. Institute for the Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.Neukom, L. 2001. *Santali.* Lincom Europa: Muenchen.

Subbarao, K.V. 2012. *South Asian Languages: A Syntactic Typology*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Also, published in India by Cambridge India, Delhi.

Subbarao, K.V. 2012. *South Asian Languages: A Syntactic Typology*. Web Materail. Free download available at: www.cup.org/subbarao