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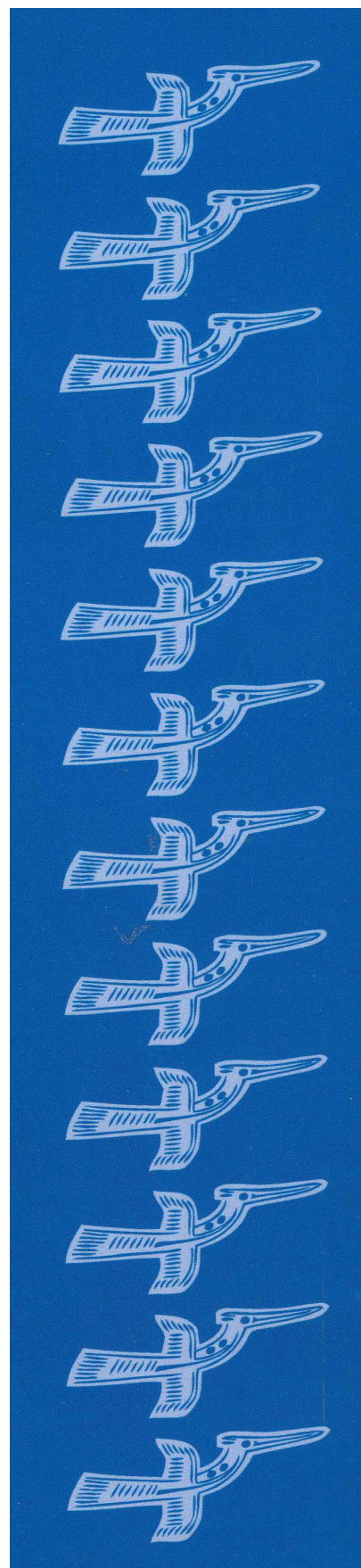
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Clause Structure of Ho

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Abstract

It has generally been assumed within generative approaches that the clause should be interpreted as an AgrP. The TP projection being the complement of Agr with Subject NP filling the position of Spec-AgrP and the first lexical projections are being the VP, complement of T. In languages like Ho, where the occurrence of Agr are not constant throughout, it is difficult to determine the clause structure as it varies in different types of structures. In this paper, I have tried to explain clause structure of Ho where inconsistency of occurrence of constituents plays major role in determining its structure.

Key words: Clause, Agreement, Syntax.

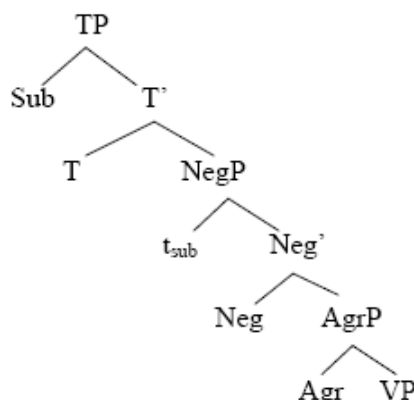
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1. Introduction

Study of Clause Structure begun within a new paradigm with the advent of Chomsky's (1957) *Syntactic Structures*. In this model, a position is generated between the Subject (NP) and Predicate (VP) to accommodate models, auxiliaries and verbal affixes. In 1960s and 1970s the common practice of representing Clause Structure was Subject-Predicate as in the standard re-writing rule $S \rightarrow NP VP$. In Principle and Parameter (P&P) theory the assumption was taken to the Universal Grammar (UG). According to UG approach, models may be visible in one language and may not be visible in other. In Government and Binding (GB) theory Subject-Predicate relation is systematically mediated by a functional node labeled as Inflection (Infl), assumed to collect grammatical information normally associated with the verb such as tense, mood and agreement features.

Pollock (1989) proposed the 'Split-Infl' hypothesis. The basic line of the Pollock's argument was to differentiate between languages with rich morphology like French and languages with poor morphology like English. In a finite tensed clause the verb moves out of VP in French but not in English due to Agr which is transparent in French but opaque in English. As far as non-finite tense is concerned that is opaque universally. Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) have modified Pollock's work suggesting that structural Nominative case is licensed in the Spec-head relation with AgrSP of finite tensed clause under the agreement relation so that Accusative is licensed with Spec-head relation with AgroP of a clause containing a transitive verb.

1. Structure assumed by Pollock



2. Structure assumed by Chomsky and Lasnik

$$[Agrs_{+Ti} [TP t_i [Agr_{+vj}] [Agr_{OP} t_j [VP t_j]]]]$$

Kayne (1989) has proposed that the phi-feature of gender and number appearing on the past-participial should be considered as an established agreement relation between the past-participial

and the moved noun phrase. On this basis the assumption was made that an Agr projection is among the functional projection which surrounds the past participial, and the moved constituent triggers agreement in passing through its Spec. Thus, an additional Agr projection is present in the clause structure which can be labeled as Agr pst prtP. In Chomsky (1995) the idea is generalized that the phi-features case is checked within an agreement configuration of an Agr head.

Clause structure has thus been enriched with three Agr-type projections: AgrS, AgrO and Agr pst prt. All three Agr-heads have phi-features as common property which undergoes checking with an NP filling the Spec of the relevant Agr-head at LF. There are other AgrPs which are present in a language as Agr heads: AspP, ModP, NegP and AuxP; as per the morphology of the concerned language.

In this paper, we will discuss these Agr projections and their functions in different types of sentences in *Ho*. I have used the Minimalist model as it is a good, explanatory theory. Notice that generative linguistic theories (thus, the Minimalist model too) have always been concerned with the questions of specifying both what is universal and what is language specific about language structure. It describes languages and relates it with theory. If some theory is not working in the data of a particular language then we may try to come up with alternate. This study is part of my PhD. For this I have collected data from Mr. Kaira Singh 'Bandia' of Mayurbhanj, Orissa. Along with this several other topics of syntax has been covered in the thesis. Data for the same can be traced in the thesis.

2. Simple sentences of Ho

A simple sentence of *Ho* consists of a subject NP, a verb, an aspect, a finite marker and a subject agreement marker. If we consider the constituents of the sentence (3) and draw a tree for that it will be like presented at 4 (below):

3. (am) *seno-tan-a-m*
you go-prog-fm-2sg
 'you are going'

In the tree at (4), there are two aspects¹ one is progressive aspect *-tan* and another is finite marker *-a*. *Ho* does not have tense² marker as such but we can draw it from progressive aspect in the case above. Below we will check the structure of transitive verb construction which has subject as well as object.

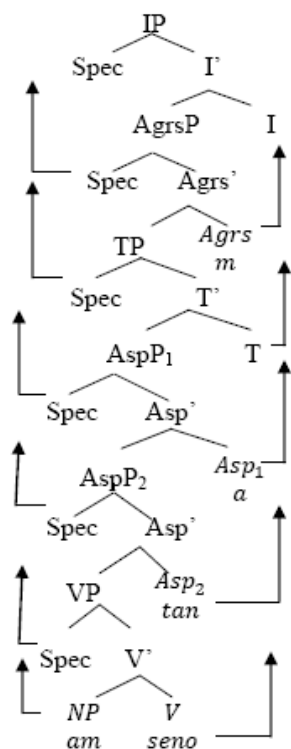
5. *añ am-ke uli-ñ ama-mi-a*
I you-acc mango-1sg give-pst/2sg-fm
 'I gave a mango to you'.
6. *sītā tebal-re puti-i ema-kaD-a*
Sita table-pp book-3sg put-pst-fm
 'Sita put the book on the table'.

A negative sentence has NegP as head of negation. It generally occurs at post-subject/pre-verbal position and hostS subject agreement in Munda languages. Below we will see the case of a negative sentence. In such scenario it will be obligatory to have different tree structure as negation has to collect THE subject agreement marker when subject NPs move up for case checking.

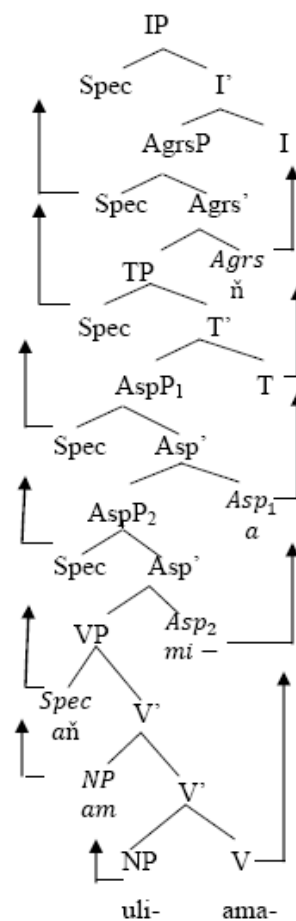
8. *am kiteb ka-m paRaw-tan-a*
You book not-2sg read-prog-fm
 'You are not reading a book'.

1 There is option between FinP and AspP for Finite marker. I have gone in favour of second because I do not know any other language having finite marker of same type. Moreover, its place of occurrence is either before Agr or after Agr.

2 *Ho* has several Aspects; it does not have tense marker for details see Choudhary, P.K. 2012, ms, paper presented at 1st International Conference on TAM, February, 3-5, CIIL, Mysore.

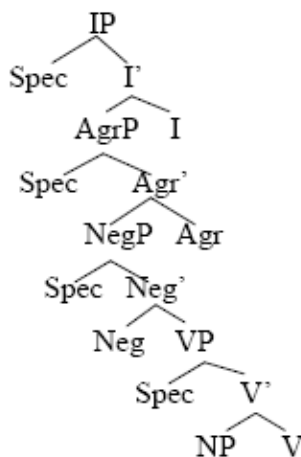


4. Clause structure of Example 3



7. Clause structure of Example 5

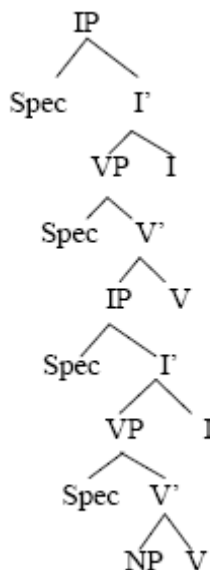
9. Clause structure of negatives



3. Small clauses

These types of sentences have two clauses; one is matrix clause which has a verb and that verb needs an embedded clause which may or may not have a verb. As in the case of examples (11&12), the embedded clause has an adjective.

10. Biclausal structure



11. [añ [ini seyā-ñ] manatiñ -tai-^y e -a]
 I he intelligent-1sg believe pres 3sg fm
 ‘[I believe [him to be intelligent]]’.
12. [añ [am na-joŋ muRku-mente] ka-ñ manatiñ-te-m-tan-a]
 I you yet stupid-pp not-1sg believe-pp-2sg-prog-fm
 ‘[I do not believe [you stupid yet]]’.

In the tree above we can have one Adjective phrase instead of two VPs to accommodate embedded adjective in the Small clause above. Since the adjective *seyāñ* ‘intelligent’ has been used here as a verb forming VP rather than AdjP even though it has adjectival meaning, we are using here VP instead of AdjP.

4.Coordinating Conjunctions

The coordinating construction has three ways coordination as shown below. In example (13), we have NP coordination; two NPs are conjoined with a conjuncture in a sentence with one VP. In example (15), we have coordinated VP with a single subject. And in example (17), we have an example of sentence coordination.

13. *miDo kowa-hon onDo mieD bīlāi bābagān-re-kiñ nir-keD-a*
 One boy-child and one cat park -pp-dual run-pst-fm
 ‘The boy and the cat ran in the park’ (NP conjoined)
14. [_{IP} [[_{DP} *miDo kowa hon*][_{CP} **onDo**][_{DP} *mieD bilai*]][_{VP}[_{PP} *bābagān-re-kiñ*]
 [_v *nir-keD-a*]]]
15. *miDo kui -hon bābagān- bitur-te nir-bolo-yan-a onDo Diluen-re inuñ-yan-a*
 one girl- child park -inside-pp run-start-pst-fm and swing-pp play-pst-fm
 ‘[The girl [ran into the park] and [played on the swings]]’. (VP conjoined)
16. [_{IP} [[_{DP} *miDo kui hon bābagān bitur-te*] [_{VP} *nir-bolo-yan-a*]][_{CP} **onDo**]
 [_{VP} [_{DP} *Diluen-re*] [_v *inun-yan-a*]]]
17. *.kowa-hon paRāw-keD-a onDo kui-hon āyur-yan-a*
 boy-child read-pst-fm and girl-child swim-pst-fm
 ‘[The boy read a book] and [the girl swam]’. (Sentence conjoined)

18. [IP [DP kowa hon] [VP [V paRaw-keD-a]] [CP **onDo**] [IP [DP kui hon]
[VP [V ayur-yan-a]]]

5. Subordinating Conjunctions

This type of subordinate clause is often referred to as an adverbial clause, because its function is like an adverb modifying the main clause of the sentence. Like in examples (19) & (20), main clause is modified by adverbial clause ‘although it was raining’ in example (19) and ‘without any warning’ in (20). The function of subordinating clause is modifying the situation when something happened.

In Ho it can be formed in two ways; in one you can have separate structure like in example (19) and in other embedded like in example (20). A morpheme *-o* has been added with post-position/case marker *-re* in the subordinating verb which imparts progressive meaning and works as a linker of the two clauses. It can also be interpreted that *tan* is progressive marker in Ho and *-reo* is attached with it to form subordination.

19. [mungri honor-te seno-yan-a] [gamaya-tanreyo]
Mungari walk-pp go-pst-fm rain-although
‘[Mungari went for a walk [although it was raining]]’.
20. [mungari [jānāy-o kaʔ-e (kaji kāte) seno-yen-a]
Mungari any-emp not-3sg tell without go-pst-fm
‘Mungari left without any warning’.

6. Conditional Clauses

The term ‘conditional’ is being used in the literature to refer to constructions involving an adverbial clause merged to a particular position in a main clause. One logically possible analysis of conditional sentences is that the two clauses are combined syntactically, with *if* functioning as a conjunction.

Conditionals are formed through a variety of means across languages. They share a basic bi-clausal structure, with the antecedent adjoined to the main clause. The internal syntax of the antecedent clause involves the CP-domain, where most probably clause-typing features are lexicalized by special complementizers or they trigger verb movement. A particularly interesting question arises regarding the structure of conditionals: how, in the absence of a specialized marker, such as a conditional complementizer or conditional inflection can a clausal adjunct receive the interpretation of a conditional? Note that I to C movement in English is clearly not limited to conditionals, but also found in matrix questions and in certain focus constructions.

In *Ho*, a conditional clause is formed with the use of *jāmente* ‘if’ in the beginning of the sentence and *reDo* ‘then’ is an antecedent clause which is headed by a conditional complementizer as in the examples (21) & (22). In such cases imperative (22) and permissive³ (23) markers occur in the sentence. In example (23), there is no *jāmente* ‘if’. In *Ho*, it may be the case that *jāmente*⁴ is optional even in (21) & (22).

21. *jāmente* āye janā-ge suku **redo** kaji-eñ-me
If he any-emp like cond tell-1sg-2sg
‘If he likes anything, tell me.’
22. *jāmente* meri jāna-re-o nel-am **redo** kaji-e-bu-ke
If Mary any-pp-emp see-2sg cond tell-3sg-2pl-fut
‘If Mary saw anyone she will let us know’.
23. *añ* intai seno **reDo** añ-ge paiTi-e
I there go cond I-emp work-3sg
‘If I will come there I will do it’.

3 -ke is basically a mood marker in any future tense either simple or having an aspect marker. It can be translated in to English as *May* or *Let* (Deeney, 2002:103).

4 Actually ‘mente’ then is the word but it is a bound morpheme for example ‘muRku- mente’ in example (12) above where it functions like a post-position.

24. [[_{CP} jāmente [_{IP} āye [_{VP} janage suku]]] [_{CP} redo [_{IP} (añ) [_{VP} kāji-eñ-me]]]]

In the case of (23), we may have structure like below:

25. [_{IP} [_{DP} añ [_{VP} intai seno]]] [_{CP} redo [_{IP} añ-ge paiTi-e]]

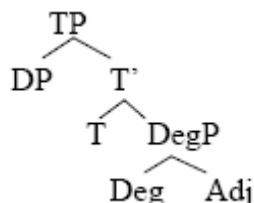
7. Comparative Clauses

Comparative clauses in Ho can be formed by suffixing *-ta*, a possessive form, before a case marker in the noun phrase with which we are comparing something. Technically, Ho does not have comparative marker like Hindi. In every case, the Standard Phrase is marked with a location/path marker (case, preposition, and postposition). Adjectives like ‘less’ or ‘more’ are optional in Ho; it has *-ete* ‘with’ a postposition as a comparing instrument. Therefore, in tree we may not have DegP as its head as of the case in English rather we can have Postpositional phrase as its head in Ho.

English

26. ‘Mohan is more beautiful’

27. Clause structure of comparatives

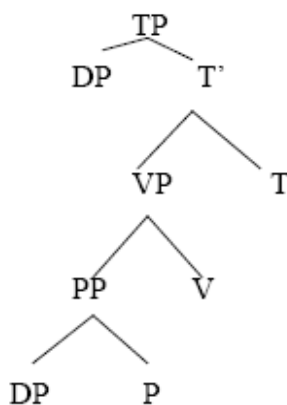


28. *pawan pradiṭp-ta-ete salañ-gi-e*
 Pawan Pradeep-pp-com tall-emp-fm
 ‘Pawan is taller than Pradeep’.

29. *mungari masuri-ta-ete sayana-a*
 Mungari Masuri-pp-comp intelligent-fm
 ‘Mungari is more intelligent than Masuri’.

30. [_{IP} [_{DP} pawan] [_{VP} [_{DP} [_{PP} pradip-ta-ete]] [_V salangi-e]]]

31. Clause structure of comparatives in Ho



8. Superlative Clauses

Superlative degree formation in Ho is not a very complex phenomena. While forming superlative degree Ho speakers put universal quantifier *saben* ‘all’ with plural marker *-ko* and attach case marker *-te* along with these *-ye* is coming between plural marker and case marker as some sort of sandhi assimilation. For example:

32. *bamie saben-ko-yete salingi-ye*
 Bamai all-pl-comp tall-fm
 ‘Bamai is taller than all in a class’.
33. *mangari saben-ko-yete cehra*
 Mangari all-pl-com beautiful
 ‘Mangari is smarter than all’.
34. [IP [DP bamie] [VP [DP [PP saben-ko-yete]] [v salingi-ye]]]

The structure of Ho superlative degree can be described syntactically as in (34) above. In superlative too we may not have DegP as its head rather we may have PP as a head of that DP.

9. Relative Clauses

There are Relative-Correlative constructions in Ho like in example (35) as well as externally headed relative clause constructions as in example (36). It has been said that Munda has externally headed relative clauses like English in the past. It had SVO word-order but due to contact and convergence its syntax converges with SOV⁵ language and it has now different word order; and relative-correlative constructions come into being. Anyway here, we are not concerned about historical changes rather we will talk about its syntactic structure. Relative pronoun is homophonous with the question words as *okon*⁶ ‘which’ has been used for question formation as well as relative pronoun.

35. [*okon katu-te am uli-ñ geT-ken-a ana isu leser-a*]
 rel knife-pp you mango-1sg cut-pst-fm corr very sharp-fm
 ‘[The knife [with which you are cutting the mango] is very sharp].’
36. [*an sepeD [okoe kiteb paRaw-tan-a] (ini) isu murku-e*]
 that boy who book read-prog-fm he very stupid-fm
 ‘[That boy [who is reading a book] is very stupid].’

Deeney (2002) claims that when Ho properly spoken there are no relative clauses, and what we would express by the use of a relative clause in English or Hindi is expressed in Ho by the use of a participle.

37. *ho huj-tan-a*
 man come-prog-fm
 ‘The man is coming.’ (Deeney, 2002: 89)
38. *huj-tan ho (aña) apu-ŋ*
 come-prog man my father-1sg
 ‘[The man [who is coming] is my father].’ (Deeney, 2002:89)

In Ho, the use of participial is more common than in languages like English and Hindi. It is easy to form participial in Ho. We can form participial in Ho by merely dropping *-a* a finite marker from any verb. Therefore, one may say that relative clauses are not formed in Ho in the past and even now in general speech but we are merely translating sentences of English and other languages. Thus, Ho has both relative correlative constructions as well as externally headed relative clause constructions.

10. Conclusion

As we have seen in the example (5) above, second person agreement marker occurs on the verb but in example (8) agreement⁷ is occurring on Negation. When it occurs on the negation it will

5 As commented by one of the reviewer, except Munda languages all other Austro-Asiatic languages have either verb-medial or verb-initial word order which compels us to reconstruct SVO order for Proto-Munda at some stage. Khasi too has SVO word order which belongs to Asiatic family spoken in North-East India.

6 Ho makes distinction of Animate and Inanimate of relative pronoun as well as question word as if it is the case of animate noun it occurs as *okoe* and in the case of inanimate it is *okon*.

7 Worth noting that one in example (5) is IO agreement marker where as in (8) it is subject agreement marker.

be difficult to accommodate it in the tree. There is also inconsistency of agreement occurrence⁸ in the Kherwarian languages in general and Ho in particular. It has been said that the morphology of a language determines the structure of clause in a given language. The question to be asked is: is there a rule where one language has different types of structure in different sentences?

There is no degree marker in Kerwarian languages as we have seen in the case of superlative and comparative degree phrases. Therefore, Degree phrase may not be required in this language. One can say that language specific morphological elements and its order of occurrence in a sentence determine the phrase structure of a particular language. There cannot be a universal phrasal construction for languages.

In the case of Kherwarian languages in general and Ho in particular, if a subject pronominal clitic which occurs usually as an agreement marker on just following entity of the subject and the subject can be dropped i.e. (5). In such cases, where pronominal can be dropped and the place of the agreement clitic is also not constant⁹, it is difficult to determine the structure of clauses in such cases particularly if we have to go back to construct the structure.

In Ho language, an Indirect Object can be dropped if it does not contain an agreement clitic for subject or object; and at the same time agreement for IO is occurring somewhere else in the sentence. Similarly, a Direct Object can be dropped if its agreement clitic is occurring somewhere in the sentence and DO does not contain any agreement clitic either of subject or object. All pronominal clitics can occur on the verb and that is sufficient to give the intended meaning of the clause. The most problematic thing in Ho is inconsistency of place of occurrence which is not allowing us to have a particular type of clause structure rule.

Abbreviations

1sg- first person singular	pst-past tense	Q- question	dat- dative
2sg- second person singular	fm- finite marker	Agr- Agreement	fut- future tense
3sg- third person singular	pp- post position	Acc- accusative	prog- progressive
corr- correlative clause	rel – relative marker	cond – conditional	com- comparative
emp –emphatic	comp- complementizer	DP-determiner phrase	

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8 Agreement clitic for a subject can occur at following entity of the subject. If there is no following entity in the sentence it will occur on the verb; may be before aspect, after aspect or after finite marker as in example (3).

9 As in example 3, 5 and 8, in example (3) subject agreement clitic occur after finite marker whereas in (5) it occurs on IO and in (8) on Negation.

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