

Ho Web Sketch

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1 Demographic information on the Ho

Ho speakers are mainly located in the East Singhbhum district of Jharkhand and the Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar districts of Orissa. According to the Census of India, the number of speakers of Ho is as follows: 949,216 in 1991; 802,434 in 1981; 648,066 in 1961; 599,876 in 1951 and 383,126 reported in the volume 4 of the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson 1906). The most recent figure is from the Ethnologue.

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2 Background on the Ho language

The designation of Ho is derived from *ho*: 'human' in the Ho language. From a linguistic point of view, Ho is quite close to Mundari, although the Mayurbhanj variety that forms the basis of this description is less similar both lexically and structurally to Mundari than the Ho of Jharkhand. While linguistically quite close, the ethnic identity of Ho speakers is, however, quite different from that of Mundari speakers—this is a common situation within the Kherwarian ethnolinguistic continuum.

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3 Ho writing

The Ho call their language *ho kadʒi* (or *ho: basa* or *ho haɾam*). Ho has been written in Romanized transcription, Hindi-based Devanagari, Oriya-script and the indigenous Warang Chiti script, devised by Lako Bodra, a Ho pandit or , in the early 1950's (Pinnow 1972, Zide 1996, 2000). Though a standard orthography for Ho has not been fully institutionalized, there are considerable efforts among the Ho intelligentsia of Mayurbhanj, Orissa to promote the Warang Chiti script in educational materials and publications. The authors have been working closely with both the Ho community in Orissa and the Unicode consortium over the past couple of years to help codify and encode the Ho script for computational and Internet purposes (see Harrison and Anderson 2007, Anderson Osada and Harrison 2008).

Oral use of the Ho language is vigorous in all speech domains and age groups. The Ho are typically bilingual or trilingual, and literate in languages of wider communication, e.g., Oriya, Hindi, English. Use of Ho writing remains limited. It has been written using multiple scripts, including Devanagari and Oriya, but these are considered by the Mayurbhanj Ho community as non-ideal, and the use of an exclusively Ho script is to be preferred. Following the rationale of other writing systems of the Indian sub-continent, the Ho orthography (called Warang Chiti) was designed by the scholar Lako Bodra to appear maximally distinctive from all other writing systems in nearly all its graphemes.

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The Ho orthography is rapidly gaining a wider user base, despite lack of representation of the language in official media and in state schools. A proposal for inclusion of Ho in the Unicode standard is currently being prepared (cf. Harrison and Anderson 2007).

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4 Ho vowel system

There is a 5-vowel system for Mundari-like Kherwarian such as Ho, Bhumij, Asuri, Birhor, and Korwa. It appears that syllable nuclei may be short (oral or nasalized) long or glottalized as in Ho; in the last mentioned case, a short echo release vowel is common following the glottal catch. Length is a secondary contrast that arose in Ho through the loss of certain intervocalic consonants, e.g. *ʔ. A few minimal pairs exist but the oppositions (length and glottalization of syllable nuclei) are too few to speak of a system, and they rather appear to be features of individual lexemes (and morphemes).

(1) Ho

	Front	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
Low	<i>a</i>	

koʔ 'egret, crane'

bal 'burn hole into'

kuʔ 'cough'

bul 'make drunk'

kaʔ 'crow'

bil 'spread mat'

<i>eɾaʔ</i> ‘throw out, get rid of’	<i>oɾa</i> ‘bathe’	
<i>lin</i> ‘press between fingers’	<i>len</i> ‘press oil’	
<i>gel</i> ‘10’	<i>gil</i> ‘strike with swinging fist (not straight)’	
<i>na:e</i> ‘after a little while’	<i>naʔe</i> ‘surely(interjection)’	
<i>ni:</i> ‘this one’	<i>ni:ʔ</i> ‘to open’	
<i>ne</i> ‘this’	<i>neʔ</i> ‘here (interjection)’	
<i>oe</i> ‘a bird’	<i>o:e</i> ‘to tear’	
<i>dʒoʔ</i> ‘to sweep’	<i>dʒo:</i> ‘fruit’	
<i>tij</i> ‘set fire to firewood’	<i>tij</i> ‘lift, hold, carry in hand’	
<i>muiʔ</i> ‘small ant’	<i>mu:iʔ</i> ‘sink down into non-liquid’	
<i>gã:</i> ‘side shoots of paddy’	<i>gaʔ</i> ‘sew’	
<i>eto</i> ‘teach, know’	<i>eto:[ʔ]</i> ‘be feasible’	
<i>-re</i> ‘in’	<i>reʔ</i> ‘to rob’	
(cf. <i>rẽ:ʔ</i> ‘joy of companionship’)		
<i>kõe</i> ‘beg[gar]’	<i>koeʔ</i> ‘gulp’	<i>koʔ</i> ‘egret, crane’
<i>heʔ</i> ~ <i>he:d</i> ‘pluck whole leaf’	<i>hẽ</i> ‘chaff’	<i>hẽʔ</i> ‘a swallow’
<i>ram</i> ‘brushwood/thorny branches used to protect tree or shut a path’		
<i>ram</i> ‘having salty taste’		

(Deeney 1978a)

Diphthongs are also found in a number of common stems in Ho:

- (2) *hau* ‘a red ant’ *paiʔi* ‘work’
goe ‘wilt’ *goeʔ* ‘kill’ (cf. *godʒoʔ* ‘die’, *goeʔen* ‘commit suicide’)
(Deeney 1978a)

5 Vowel harmony in Ho

Harmonic alternation of vowels in affixes (and in at least one case, possibly stems as well) is also found in Mayurbhanj Ho. Here stems with *i* and some with *u* (i.e. most high vowel stems) require front-vocalism affixes for certain suffixes. One such affix is the progressive/present in *-tan-* ~ *-ten-*. Compare the the two sentences in (3i, 3ii) which were uttered in sequence.

- (3)
i. *ʈfimiʔ* *ho:-ko kadzi-ten-e*
how.many Ho-PL speak-PROG-FIN
‘how many Ho speak (their language)?’
[KCN]

- ii. *ʈfimiʔ* *ho:-ko dʒagar-tan-a*
how.many Ho-PL speak-PROG-FIN

‘how many Ho speak (their language)?’
[KCN]

This ‘harmony’ can take place with intervening consonants, so there need not be a vowel directly preceding the affix to trigger the alternation.

(4)

i. *atfa okoŋde=m taji-ten-e*
so where=2 stay-PROG-FIN
‘so where do you stay?’
[KCN]

ii. *ɪn dʒajpura-aʔ taji-n-ten-ɪn*
I Jaypur-GEN stay-RFLXV-PROG-FIN:1
‘I live in Jaypur’
[DH]

(5)

i. <i>tfa ka=lay juj-e</i>	ii. <i>tfa juue=lej</i>	iii. <i>tfa=lay juj-e</i>
tea NEG=1DL drink:3-IMP tea	tea drink:3:IMP=1DL	tea=1DL drink:3-IMP
‘let’s not drink the tea’	‘let’s drink the tea’	‘let’s drink the tea’
[DH]	[KCN]	[KCN]

6 Ho consonantism

(6)

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Obstruents:						
Voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>[ŋ]</i>	<i><n></i>	<i>ɲ</i>	
Flaps			<i>r</i>	<i>ɽ</i>		
Lateral		<i>l</i>				
Glides	<i>w</i>			<i>j</i>		

Note: [] marginal, allophonic, < > perhaps one segment underlyingly

The status of *ʈ* in Ho is unclear. There are sufficient numbers of contrasts to consider *ʈ* phonemically distinct from *t*, *ɽ* and *ɖ* (e.g., *tʃaʈu* ‘earthen pot’ vs. *tʃaɽu* ‘throw/fall into deep water’), but nevertheless in Ho dialects, there is variation between *ʈ* ~ *t* and *ʈ* ~ *ɽ* in various words, as in the following examples:

(7)

ʈai ~ *tai* ‘remain’

peɾe/peɾe ‘pluck twig or small branch with one or both hands’
keɾe/keɾe ‘hard’

Further, *n* and *ŋ* are in near complementary distribution in Ho, with *n* appearing after *i* and a small number of words with *e* (except in Mayurbhanj Ho where *e* arises ‘harmonically’ from *a*, e.g. *dijeŋ* for *dijan* ‘country rice liquor’) and appearing as *ŋ* after *o* and *a*, *u* being found in a small number of words with both (and in fact perhaps the only minimal pairs), again speaking to a *phonologically* front vs. back *u*. Neither sound is ever found in onset position.

7 Phonotactics of consonants in Ho

There are significant phonotactic restrictions on which of the Ho consonantal phonemes may appear in which syllabic structural position, e.g., in onset or coda position. For example, in onset position, the following consonants are not permitted in Ho: *#ŋ-, *#ɾ-, *#[ŋ] (which is non-phonemic anyway), *#w, *#n, and *#j except in recent loans). As for coda restrictions, there is no *#h# permitted, *w#* is found only minimally [possibly only? in loans] *buɾaw* ‘wipe out completely’) *j#* is rare, *#ɾ never occurs, (nor does *#ŋ# which is non-phonemic anyway). Further, there are no final voiceless stops except in the word *ma:p* ‘forgive[ness]’, and no *-s#* except in loanwords like *biswas* ‘belief’ and *asis* ‘bless[ing]’ or *bogsis* ‘reward’.

8 Ho gender system

Nouns are divided into two classes; i.e., animate and inanimate, the distinction being covert, realized only in term of the concord system between subject/object and verb. Animate nouns refer to human beings and animals. Besides these, the following nouns are classified into animate nouns in Ho: (i) Celestial bodies, e.g., *siŋgi* ‘sun’, *ipil* ‘star’, etc. (ii) Supernatural beings, e.g. *boŋga* ‘spirit’, *siŋ boŋga* ‘the supreme God’, etc. (iii) Natural phenomena, e.g., *gama* ‘rain’, *aril* ‘hail’, etc.

9 Number marking in Ho nouns

There are three numbers; singular, dual and plural. Singular is unmarked while dual and plural are marked by *-kij* and *-ko* respectively. Dual and plural marking is compulsory for animate nouns but optional for inanimate nouns. For example, animate nouns: *hon* ‘a child’, *hon-kij* ‘two children’ and *hon-ko* ‘children’; inanimate nouns: *daru* ‘tree’, *daru(-kij)* ‘two trees’, *daru(-ko)* ‘trees’.

10 The Ho case system

Grammatical case marking, i.e., that which indicates grammatical relations, e.g. nominative/ accusative or ergative, etc., is not found in Ho. The unmarked form of the noun thus appears in both subject and object functions.

(8)

i. *ale maŋɟi=le dʒom-i-a* ii. *ale dʒilu dʒom-e-a-le*

we food=1PL eat-3:t/a-FIN
 ‘we (would/used to) eat food’
 [KCN]

we meat eat-3:T/A-FIN=1PL.EX
 ‘we (do) eat meat’
 [KCN]

Genitive forms of inanimate nouns attach the genitive to a locative marked stem, animate nouns take the case directly (note that the animacy of the possessum can also be marked as well)

(9)

i. *am-a?* *nutum do* *tfikana*
 you-GEN name EMPH what:COP:FIN
 ‘your name , what is it’
 [KCN]

ii. *side munu-ri-a?* *kadzi*
 past times-LOC=INAN-GEN story
 ‘The story of past times’
 [KCN]

The case roles of benefactive, instrumental, locative, comitative, goal, on the other hand, can be expressed by a case or clitic postposition following a noun or pronoun. For instance, there is locative *-re*, benefactive *-nangen* ‘for’, source *-ete* ‘from’, instrumental *-te* ‘by’ (oblique) *-lo?* ‘with’.

(10)

ale-do *bas-te=le* *hudzu?-je-n-e*
 we.PL.EXCL-EMPH bus-ABL=1PL.EXCL come-T/A-ITR-FIN
 ‘we came by bus’
 [KCN]

11 Demonstratives in Ho

The demonstrative pronoun, which is derived from a demonstrative base, is divided into two classes, i.e., animate and inanimate and three numbers.

(11)

	Animate			Inanimate		
	Prox.	Intermed.	Remote	Proximate	Intermed.	Remote
Singular	<i>nii?</i>	<i>ini?</i>	<i>hani?</i>	<i>neja/nena</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>hana</i>
Dual	<i>ni-kij</i>	<i>in-kij</i>	<i>han-kij</i>	<i>neja/nena-kij</i>	<i>ena-kij</i>	<i>hana-kij</i>
Plural	<i>ne-ko</i>	<i>en-ko</i>	<i>han-ko</i>	<i>neja/nena-ko</i>	<i>ena-ko</i>	<i>hana-ko</i>

The demonstrative adverbials are made by the combination of demonstrative bases and postpositions. For instance, in the case of *ne/nen* ‘this’ there are 11 derivations:

(12)

i. *-taʔ* ‘exact place’
nen-taʔ ‘this exact place’

ii. *-paa* ‘vicinity’
nen-paa ‘near here’

iii. *-re* ‘in’
ne(n)-re ‘here’ *nen-taʔ-re* ‘in this exact place’ *nen-paa-re* ‘near here’

iv. *-te* ‘to’
ne(n)-te ‘hither’ *nen-taʔ-te* ‘to this exact place’ *nen-paa-te* ‘to near here’

v. *-ete* ‘from’
nen-ete ‘from here’ *nen-taʔ-ete* ‘from this exact place’
nen-paa-ete ‘from near here’

Note: *ne(n)* can be replaced by *en* ‘that’ and *han* ‘yonder’ to create a highly elaborate multi-termed demonstrative system.

12 Ho Personal Pronouns

The personal pronoun has two forms, i.e., a free form and a bound form. The free or full form appears as subject or object of sentence and head of a postpositional phrase. Full forms are used as NPs filling argument functions and may be omitted. The short forms are used for possession with a restricted set of inalienably possessed noun forms (e.g. *apu-m* ‘your father’ but *apu-te* ‘his/her father’) and as subject or object markers in the verbs, the difference being determined by their structural position within the verbal template: before the finite marker the short form pronominal encodes various kinds of object functions, while following the finite marker (or preferentially enclitic to the word immediately preceding the verb), it functions as a subject argument agreement marker.

(13) Personal Pronouns

	Full/Free form			Short/Bound form		
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 (inclusive)	<i>ən</i>	<i>alaŋ</i>	<i>abu</i>	<i>-n/-eŋ /-iŋ</i>	<i>-laŋ</i>	<i>-bu</i>
(exclusive)		<i>aliŋ</i>	<i>ale</i>		<i>-liŋ</i>	<i>-le</i>
2	<i>am</i>	<i>aben</i>	<i>ape</i>	<i>-m/-me/-em</i>	<i>-ben</i>	<i>-pe</i>
3	<i>aeʔ</i>	<i>akiŋ</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>-eʔ/-i</i>	<i>-kiŋ</i>	<i>-ko</i>

13 Ho Numerals

Numerals in Ho occur in two forms, a long form and short form. For example,

(14)

1. <i>mijaɖ</i>	<i>miɖ, mi</i>	6. <i>turuija</i>	<i>turui</i>
2. <i>barija</i>	<i>bar</i>	7. <i>aija</i>	<i>ai</i>
3. <i>apija</i>	<i>apee</i>	8. <i>irleja</i>	<i>iril</i>
4. <i>upunija</i>	<i>upun</i>	9. <i>areja</i>	<i>aree</i>

5. *mooja* *moe* 10. *geleja* *gel*

The short forms of numerals are used in counting money, for any units of measuring while the long forms of numerals are used in counting other things. For instance, *apija kantfi-ko* ‘three baskets’ but *apee tʃandʉ?* ‘three months’; *mooja oe-ko* ‘five birds’ but *moe ʃaka* ‘five rupees’; *apija daru-ko* ‘three trees’ but *apee maa* ‘three days’ and so on. The numeral classifiers *ho[:]* for counting human, *owa?* for counting house and *bo:?* for counting cattle are used in the following; e.g., *gel ho hon-ko* ‘ten children’. This classifier requirement has weakened in Mayurbhanj Ho and Bhumij.

Distributive numerals are very common in Kherwarian. The following distributive numerals are found in Ho, with both long and short forms:

(15)

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1. <i>miipija</i> | <i>mimi</i> |
| 2. <i>baa-barija</i> | <i>baa-bar</i> |
| 3. <i>aa-apija</i> | <i>aa-apee</i> |
| 4. <i>uu-upunija</i> | <i>uu-upun</i> |
| 5. <i>moo-mooja</i> | <i>moo-moe</i> |
| 6. <i>tuu-turuija</i> | <i>tuu-turui</i> |
| 7. <i>aa-aija</i> | <i>aa-ai</i> |
| 8. <i>ii-irleja</i> | <i>ii-iril</i> |
| 9. <i>aa-areja</i> | <i>aa-aree</i> |
| 10. <i>gee-geleja</i> | <i>gee-gel</i> |

The distributive numeral forms are basically made by repeating the first syllable and doubling the first vowel of cardinal numeral forms except ‘one’ which is formed by inserting the infix *-pV-*.

14 Nominal Derivation in Ho

There is no productive nominal derivation in Ho except for verbal nouns, often with instrumental semantics, marked by infixation of *-nV-*, with V representing a short copy of whatever the vowel of the initial syllable of the stem is, whether it is monosyllabic (as is typical) or bisyllabic. That is the shape of infix is seen by the lack of vowel length, nasalization, or glottalization of the vowel before the *-n-* which is always otherwise identical to the one following it.

(16)

- sunutu?* ‘follow after’ < *sutu?* ‘next one in birth’
tanagoe? ‘jaw’ < *tagoe?* ‘chew’
tonol ‘bond, strap’ < *tol* ‘tie’
enem ‘gift’ < *em* ‘give’
anasi ‘petition’ < *asi* ‘ask for’

anatfu ‘a command to do some work’ < *atfu* ‘command to do some work’

There is also evidence of nouns derived via a *-p-* infix, found in both its verbal reciprocal meaning and in certain kin terms.

(17)

sopola ‘reconciliation’

sepe:d ‘young man’ (cf. *honse:d* ‘older sister’s nephew’)

hapanum ‘young woman’

epeser ‘counter claims of possession’

gopoe? ‘a fight, battle’

kupusur ‘mutual enmity’

There is a semi-productive means of deriving adjectival forms via either full reduplication (CVCVC-CVCVC) or stem reduplication (CV[C]-CVC), often (though far from obligatorily) verbal in nature. Note that C₂ can be *r* in the reduplication pattern and contain a homo-organic nasal/stop cluster in the duplication pattern. In addition to reduplication and duplication, an ‘expressive’ (derivational) use of lengthening of a verb stem vowel can show the same function: *dzilad* ‘slip’ > *dzi:lad* ‘slippery’.

(18)

tajga ‘separate (vb)’ > *tajga-tajga* ‘separate (adj)’

dzi:ʔl ‘slip’ > *dzi:dzi:ʔl* ‘slippery’

dzuwa ‘to stick’ > *dzudzuwa* ‘sticky’

i. *nimij tfe:ra dz^harna-ko taiken-a*
very beautiful spring-PL PST.COP-FIN
‘there were very beautiful springs’
[KCN]

15 Overview of Ho Verb Morphology

The verbal morphology in Ho is very complex. It involves the following grammatical categories; TAM(=Tense, Aspect, Mood), Voice, Transitivity, Finiteness, as well as subject, object and possessor markers. The verbal base is formed by the verbal root and (additionally, if motivated) a derivational affix. Serial verb and auxiliary verb constructions frequently occur.

16 Subject and object marking in Ho

The expression of subject takes one of two basic patterns in the Ho verb. The most common pattern is for the short form of the pronominal to appear enclitic to the word immediately preceding the (finite) verb, regardless of what kind of word that preverbal word is. It can be a negative particle, a verbal complement in a complex predicate or complement structure, an interrogative pronoun, case-marked oblique or

complement phrases, argument noun phrases, or even subject pronoun elements themselves (19vi)!

(19)

i. *ka=m samao-tan-a*
NEG-2 understand:ITR-PROG-FIN
'you don't understand'
[KCN]

ii. *aliḡ baro tfa ju-te-liḡ sanaḡ-tan-a*
we.DL two tea drink-ABL-1DL desire-PROG-FIN
'we two wish to drink tea'
[CMH]

iii. *okonde=m dʒonom-le-n-a*
where=2 born-T/A-ITR-FIN
'where were you born?'
[KCN]

iv. *ij dʒajpura hatu-r=ij dʒonom-le-n-a*
I Jaypur village-LOC=1 born-T/A-ITR-FIN
'I was born in Jaypur(a) village'
[DH]

v. *aiḡ ho:-ko=j nel-ko-a*
I person-PL=1 see-3PL-FIN
'I will see them'
[KCN]

vi. *neʔene-ja abu-do=bu mene-tan-a tʃimitaḡ*
this.one-FOC we-EMPH=1PL.INC say-PROG-FIN when

abu=bu boḡga-e-tan-a
we=1PL.INC worship-3-PROG-FIN
'this one here, we say it when we are worshipping'
[KCN]

(20)

maḡdi dʒom-ke-ḡ-a-m am andi-ka-n-a=m
rice/food eat-T/A-TR-FIN-2 you marry-T/A-ITR-FIN=2
'you ate rice/food' 'are you married'
[CMH] [KCN]

A range of different object types may be encoded in the Ho verb. This includes patient and recipient arguments as well as possessor of object. The last two are preceded

by the benefactive and possessive affixes, respectively. Only grammatically animate arguments trigger object agreement. Object, encoded by short form pronominal elements, follows the transitivity marker in the Ho verb template before the finitizer. Nouns that fill patient or recipient argument roles themselves usually appear unmarked, although recipients may optionally take *-te* as well.

(21)

i. *merom dzilu bugine bugi=le dzom-i-a*
 goat meat well well=1PL eat-T/A:3-FIN
 ‘we like to eat goat meat’
 [KCN]

ii. *ain ho:ko=n nel-ko-a*
 I person-PL=1 see-3PL-FIN
 ‘I will see them’
 [KCN]

Ho treats recipients as morphosyntactically distinct from patient-type object arguments, and this is encoded by the use of the benefactive 'aspect' marker *-a-*. Thus, recipient marking in Ho consists of the object markers preceded by *-a-*.

(22)

tfa=n em-a-m-tan-a
 tea=1 give-BEN-2-PROG-FIN
 ‘I’m giving you tea’
 [KCN]

17 TAM, voice and valence categories in the Ho verb

Kherwarian tense/aspect systems (which are generally conflated) are decidedly complex. Perhaps in a strict sense, it is possible to say that tense proper is not reckoned within the Ho verbal complex, and that aspectual distinctions of some sort are superordinate to any functional temporal categories, one possible exception to this is a future element in *-e-* (~ *-i-*) found in Mayurbhanj Ho (and some varieties of Bhumij).

Anderson (2007) reckons a two-way set of oppositions in the Kherwarian verbal complex, labeled Series-A and Series-B respectively (although the primary aspectual marker in Series-A is of Series-B origin, all diachronically semi-fused ‘auxiliary’ or complex predicate structures).

Inimately connected with, but logically and formally independent of, (tense/)aspect marking in Ho verb morphology are categories of valence/transitivity, possibly derived themselves from the original tense markers of Proto-Munda. Specifically, some T/A markers in Series-B come in transitive and intransitive sets, while in other instances, one variant or another has been grammaticalized in a particular function, a system which may in fact be older, dating from Proto-North Munda. Thus in ‘aorist’ or ‘perfect’, i.e. default ‘past’ contexts, the preferred affix combination is *ke-d* for transitives or class-I verbs and *ja-n* for intransitives (detransitive) or class-II verbs; *-ke-n* occurs now mainly in a frozen form in the ‘past’ copula form *taiken* and *ja-d* is an ostensible transitive form

corresponding to intransitive *tan* in Series-I/progressive (Ramaswami 1992) but this does not occur in our field corpus. The set of these T/A-cum-transitivity elements in Ho is offered below.

(23)

Trans	<i>ke-d</i>	<i>le-d</i>	<i>aka-d</i>	<i>ke-d</i>
Intrans	<i>(e)ja-n</i>	<i>le-n</i>	<i>aka-n</i>	<i>ke-n</i>

(24)

i. <i>maŋdi</i>	<i>dʒom-ke-d-a=m</i>	ii. <i>seno-ja-n-a=m</i>
rice	eat-T/A-TR-FIN=2	go-T/A-ITR-FIN=2
‘you ate the rice’		‘you went’
[CMH]		[KCN]

Note that in the sets that have both transitive and intransitive members in Ho, a transitive stem can be semantically marked as detransitive (passive, reflexive) by using the *-n-* for the expected *-d-/-d-*: *duɖi tisiŋ rapud-ea-n-a* ‘today the bridge was broken’; cf. *duɖi-e rapud-ke-d-a* ‘he broke the bridge’ (Burrows 1915: 33).

(25)

<i>ne-ja-do=ko</i>	<i>huriŋ huriŋ-ti-a</i>	<i>marəŋ-ti-a-do</i>
this-FOC-EMPH=3PL	small small-ABL//T/A-FIN	big-ABL//T/A-FIN-EMPH
<i>marəŋ-leka-ge</i>	<i>ol-aka-n-a</i>	
big-PP-FOC	write-PLUP-ITR-FIN	
‘these ones here, they, small and large, this big have been written’		
[KCN]		

In terms of historical origin, the Series-B ‘progressive’ or present marker *tan* (~ harmonic variant in Mayurbhanj Ho *ten*) is **-ta-n* of the same formal shape as the Series-B T/A+transitivity markers. However, in Ho, it is used with intransitive and transitive verbs alike. Although historically a part of Series-B, this is no longer the case in Ho, and *-tan* is now a part of a formally different paradigmatic class, distinguished i) the use of the inflectional detransitive marker *-o[ʔ]* on verbs (since the *-n-* is found with both transitive and intransitive stems, and the functional flexibility exhibited by *-n-* seen in Series-B is not available in Series-A inflections) and ii) the pre-aspectual position of the object agreement markers (26ii).

(26)

i. <i>tʃimiŋ</i>	<i>ho:-ko kadʒi-ten-e</i>
how.many	Ho-PL speak-PROG-FIN
‘how many Ho speak (their language)?’	
[KCN]	

ii. *tʃa=n em-a-m-tan-a*
 tea=1 give-BEN-2-PROG-FIN
 ‘I’m giving you tea’
 [KCN]

As alluded to above, certain verb forms in Mayurbhanj Ho (and in Bhumij as described by Ramaswami 1992) one finds the use of a seeming future tense marker in *-e/-i-*.

(27)

<i>en</i>	<i>gapa</i>	<i>paʃa-oʔ</i>	<i>hoba-i-redo</i>	<i>kitep-ko</i>
that	tomorrow	read-PASS/ITR	AUX-FUT-COND	book-PL

ʃfilike udub-kete en naʔ saben
 how make.understand-DS that now all

kadzɪ=liɪ udub-e-pi-a

say=1DL make.understand-FUT-2PL-FIN

‘tomorrow reading will continue and we will teach you all to understand how (to read) these books and how to say (the sounds)’

[KCN]

Imperatives have the structure of [Verb-obj-imp=subj] generally in Ho:

(28)

i. *tʃa eja juɪ-ja=bu*
 tea yes drink:3-IMP=1PL.INC
 ‘tea, yes, let’s drink it’
 [KCN]

ii. *nu-ja=bu*
 drink-IMP=1PL.INC
 ‘let’s drink’
 [KCN]

iii. *am tʃa nuj-a*
 you tea drink-IMP
 ‘drink your tea’
 [KCN]

iv. *atʃe tʃa juɪ=me*
 so tea drink:3=2
 ‘so drink your tea’
 [KCN]

The optative/subjunctive *-ka* occupies appears to occupy the same slot in the verb template as the finitizer *-a*, appearing between object marking and subject marking in Ho.

(29)

<i>enage</i>	<i>saben etoi-e-ka</i>	<i>bugi-leka-te</i>	<i>ondoʔo</i>
that-FOC	all learn-3-OPT	do.well-ADV=ABL	and

desum-re nitir-e=pe

country-LOC spread-3:FIN=2PL

‘(so that) it should all have been learned well and you will spread it out in the country’

[KCN]

18 Finite or Declarative marking in Ho

The finitizer or declarative marker in *-a* appears in all finite declarative utterances. It is often but not always or obligatorily dropped in interrogative questions. Compare the following forms in this regard.

(30)

am-aʔ ɖarie menaʔ
you-GEN beard COP
'do you have a beard?'

[KCN]

am-aʔ ɖarieʔ menaʔ-a
you-GEN beard COP-FIN
'you have a beard'

[KCN]

Some elements appear to occupy the same slot as the finitizer in the verbal template and are mutually exclusive with it, e.g. modal clause operators like the subjunctive, conditional, optative, etc.

19 Negation in Ho

Negatives are formed first and foremost by the negative particle *ka* which appears in preverbal position (and thus often with the subject marker) in finite declarative, interrogative and imperative forms.

(31)

i. *ka=m samao-tan-a*
NEG=2 understand:ITR-PROG-FIN
'you don't understand'

[KCN]

ii. *ka=lanɲ ɲuj-e*
NEG=1DL drink:3-T/A:FIN/IMP
'let's not drink it'

[KCN]

iii. *tʃa ka=lanɲ ɲuj-e*
tea NEG=1DL drink:3-IMP
'let's not drink the tea'

[DH]

Negative copular forms are made off of the stem *ban[o]*.

(32)

amaʔ upunia hon-ko ban-ko-a
you-GEN four child-PL NEG.COP-PL-FIN
'you don't have four children'

[CMH]

20 Complex Predicates in Ho

The number of such elements that appear as Verb₂ or the 'auxiliary' in auxiliary verb constructions or complex predicate subtypes in Ho is quite large.

(33)

i. =*ban-tan-a uʔi=ben-ten-e*
AUX-PROG-FIN jump-AUX-PROG-FIN
'jumping'
[CMH]

ii. *nir=ban-tan-a*
run-AUX-PROG-FIN
'running'

iii. *dʒom hoba-n-a*
eat AUX-ITR-FIN
'eating will continue/happen'
[CMH]

iv. *inuŋ hoba-n-a*
play AUX-ITR-FIN
'playing will continue/happen'
[CMH]

v. *aŋkar-dij-e-bu*
know-CAP-FUT:FIN-1PL
'we will come to know'
[CMH]

21 Expressives in Ho

A preliminary survey of the Ho lexical materials (e.g., Deeney 1978b) reveals rich use of expressive, mimetic or echo reduplication patterns of a type found across the Munda family. These include (34) full reduplication, (35) full reduplication with overwriting of one or more vowels, and (36) full reduplication with overwriting (or prothesis) of an initial consonant, typically [s], [m] or [b]. Semantically these encode a range of meanings: intensity, iterativity, continuity (esp. of sounds), rapidity, distributivity, diversity, etc.

(34)

mir-mir 'twilight'

hiti-hiti 'sensation which precedes fainting' (= English 'seeing stars')

biur-biur 'tortuous' (< *biur* 'to turn')

banka-banka 'roundabout'

dʒoroŋ-dʒoroŋ 'everlasting'

(35)

sida-sada 'frank', 'open', 'simple'

dampa-dumpu 'to stagger'

dʒaŋ-dʒuŋ 'to swing'

balu-balu ~ *bala-balu* 'mad (of animals only)'

(36)

amna-samna 'face to face'

kili-mili 'various, different' (< *kili* 'a tribe, sect')

sago-bago 'a low rumbling noise, e.g. of the breathing of a weak or dying person...or the sound of fermenting rice beer, or the sound made by a crowd of flying ants moving around in their hole before coming out.'

22 Overview of Ho Syntax: Clause and Simple Sentence

SOV is the basic clausal constituent order found in Ho. Other orders (SVO, OSV) are permitted in various circumstances, e.g. focus, topicalization, etc., but the details of this remain a subject for future research.

(37) SOV

aliŋ baro tʃa ju-te-liŋ sanaŋ-tan-a
we.DL two tea drink-ABL-1DL desire-PROG-FIN
'we two wish to drink tea'
[CMH]

(38) SVO

tʃimiŋ ho:/=ko dʒagar-tan-a ho kadʒi
how.many people-[3]PL speak-PROG-FIN Ho language
'how many people speak Ho language'
[KCN] 20:40

(39) OSV

Bhumidʒ kadʒi tʃimiŋ ho:-ko dʒagar-tan-a
Bhumij language how.many person-PL speak-PROG-FIN
'how many people speak the Bhumij language'
[KCN]

Within the noun phrase, adjectives, demonstratives, and genitives precede the noun, while numerals may precede or follow the governed noun. Adverbs precede both adjectives and verbs, while auxiliaries follow the lexical verb as is typical in Eurasian SOV languages (Anderson 2006). Within possessive sentences the order can be Gen N or N Gen (either order between possessor and possessum is permitted)

(40)

am-a? seta mena?a-koa
you-GEN dog COP-PL:FIN
'do you have any dogs?'
[KCN]

(41)

sai:dom aŋ-a? ban-kue
horse I-GEN NEG.COP-PL:FIN
'I have no horses'
[KCN]

23 Complex Sentence Structure in Ho

Attached to a participle (or T/A+transitivity)-marked stem, temporally subordinate clauses may be formed.

(42)

i. *seno-dʒa-n-te*

go-T/A-ITR-ABL

‘after going’

[CMH]

ii. *paɾa-dʒa-n-te*

read-T/A-ITR-ABL

‘after reading’

iii. *dʒome-dʒa-n-te*

eat-T/A-ITR-ABL

‘after eating’

iv. *hoba-oʔ-tan-a*

happen-PASS/ITR-PROG-FIN

tʃilike

how

lele-do

tongue-EMPH

neʔenen talu-re

this.one jaw-LOC

dʒoga-o-ka-n-te

touch-PASS/ITR-T/A-ITR-ABL

raʔa-dʒa

cry-[TA:]FIN

how

tʃilike wã wã wã

wã wã wã

‘is like this when the tongue touches the upper jaw and it cries like *wã wã wã*’

[DB]

Attaching to a T/A form (with or without the transitivity marker), the locative case marker in *-re* may form temporally subordinate clauses as well:

(43)

ena-do

that-EMPH

ne-ja-do

this-FOC-EMPH

mis-ete

throat-ABL

ule-tan-re

vomit-PROG-LOC

dʒantan-ko-re

different.places-PL-LOC

ka=bu

NEG=1PL.INC

men-ij-a

say-FUT-FIN

‘that’s not what we call that one, this is when vomit comes out all over’

[KCN]

(44)

enleka

like.that

uruʔ-i-pe

think-FUT-2PL

ondo

and

kadzi-pe

speak-FUT-2PL

‘think about it like that and say it’

[KCN]

enage

that-FOC

saben

all

etoi-e-ka

learn-3-OPT

bugi-leka-te

do.well-ADV=ABL

ondoʔo

and

desum-re

country-LOC

nitir-e=pe

spread-FUT:FIN=2PL

‘(so that) it will all have been learned well and you will spread it out in the country’

[KCN]

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