On the diachrony of person affixation in Munda

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Larger Context

- Diachronic relation between independent pronouns and person inflection
- Comparative-historical reconstruction of developments in selected families
 - Romance
 - Slavic
 - Iranian
 - Sulawesi (Austronesian)
 - Uto-Aztecan
 - Ngumpin (Pama-Nyungan)

Munda person marking

Differences between cognate sets of person markers

- Phonological details
- Paradigmatic details loss, addition, merger, reinterpretation of categories
- Morphological status

free pronouns, enclitics, prefixes, suffixes

• Function

subject, object, etc.

How to explain similarities

- Reconstruct for Proto-language
- Borrowing through contact
- Independent parallel developments

Survey of some similarities

| | pronoun | dual | *le > | no | *la N | *pe > |
|---------------|----------|---------|-------|-----------|--------------|-------|
| | with /a/ | present | ne(i) | clusivity | lost | pen |
| Kherwarian | + | + | _ | — | - | _ |
| Korku | + | + | — | _ | — | _ |
| Kharia | (+) | + | _ | — | - | — |
| Juang | (+) | + | + | + | + | _ |
| Gta? | _ | + | + | (+) | — | - |
| Remo/Bonda | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| Gutob | _ | _ | + | + | (+) | + |
| Parengi/Gorum | _ | _ | _ | + | + | + |
| Sora | | | _ | (+) | + | + |

Zide & Anderson

- 'Maximal' reconstruction for Proto-Munda:
 - Dual forms
 - Inclusive/exclusive opposition
 - Both subject prefixes and object suffixes
- Problems:
 - Dual forms difficult to reconstruct
 - Prefixes difficult to reconstruct
 - 'Degrammaticalisation' of prefixes into clitics

Summary of functions

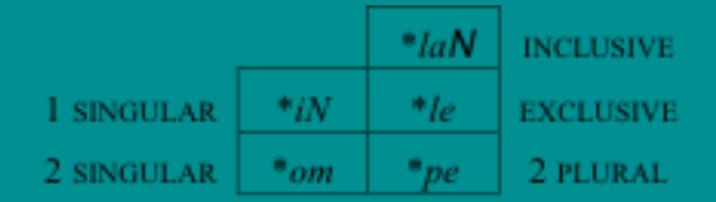
| | subject | subject | subject | object |
|---------------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | enclitics | prefixes | suffixes | suffixes |
| Kherwarian | + | — | — | + |
| Korku | _ | | | + |
| Kharia | + | _ | _ | _ |
| Juang | _ | + | — | + |
| Gta? | _ | + | — | _ |
| Remo/Bonda | — | — | + | — |
| Gutob | + | — | — | _ |
| Parengi/Gorum | _ | + | _ | + |
| Sora | | (+) | + | + |

My proposal

- 'Minimal' reconstruction for Proto-Munda:

 No dual forms
 Inclusive/exclusive opposition
 - Only one set of clitic person markers
- Problem: parallel developments needed

Proto-Munda person markers



- Proto North Munda
 - Introduction inclusive *bu
 - Introduction duals **liN* and **piN*
 - Pronouns reinforced with *a*.

- Proto South Munda: *laN > *naN
- Proto Sora-Gorum:

loss of **naN*, **le* > **len*, **pe* > **pen*

- Parengi/Gorum: pronouns reinforced with *en* (oblique) or *mi/ma* (nominative)
- Sora: pronouns reinforced with n.

- Proto South Munda: **laN* > **naN*
- Proto Gutob-Remo-Gta?:
 - **le > *nei, *iN >*niN, *om > *nom*
 - Gutob: *pe > *pen, (loss of *naN)
 - Remo-Gta?: introduction dual *pa*, inclusive/exclusive
 changes to dual/plural

• Juang:

loss of *naN, *le > *ne, *iN > *niN, *om > *nom, new dual pa, pronouns reinforced with $ni\tilde{n}$ or a.

• Kharia:

introduction inclusive niN, introduction duals with bar, pronouns reinforced with a.

Summary of functions

| | subject | subject | subject | object |
|---------------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | enclitics | prefixes | suffixes | suffixes |
| Kherwarian | + | — | — | + |
| Korku | _ | | | + |
| Kharia | + | _ | _ | _ |
| Juang | _ | + | — | + |
| Gta? | _ | + | — | _ |
| Remo/Bonda | — | — | + | — |
| Gutob | + | — | — | _ |
| Parengi/Gorum | _ | + | _ | + |
| Sora | | (+) | + | + |

The End