

On the diachrony of person affixation in Munda

Michael Cysouw

27 October 2004

Munda Meeting, MPI-EVA Leipzig

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 with /a/	dual present	* <i>le</i> > <i>ne(i)</i>	no clusivity	* <i>laN</i> lost	* <i>pe</i> > <i>pen</i>
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 enclitics	subject prefixes	subject suffixes	object 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

		<i>*laN</i>	INCLUSIVE
1 SINGULAR	<i>*iN</i>	<i>*le</i>	EXCLUSIVE
2 SINGULAR	<i>*om</i>	<i>*pe</i>	2 PLURAL

Summary of segmental changes

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

Summary of segmental changes

- 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 *ʼn*.

Summary of segmental changes

- 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

Summary of segmental changes

- Juang:

loss of **naN*, **le* > **ne*, **iN* > **niN*, **om* > **nom*, new dual *pa*, pronouns reinforced with *niñ* or *a*.

- Kharia:

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

Summary of functions

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

The End