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	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

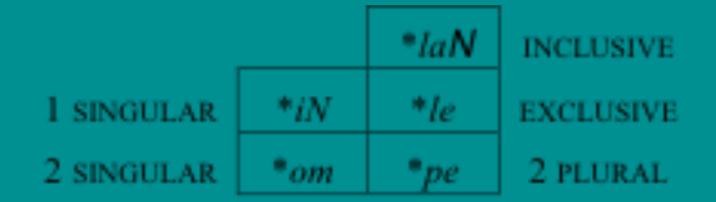
	subject	subject	subject	object
	enclitics	prefixes	suffixes	suffixes
Kherwarian	+	—	—	+
Korku	_			+
Kharia	+	_	_	_
Juang	_	+	—	+
Gta?	_	+	—	_
Remo/Bonda	—	—	+	—
Gutob	+	—	—	_
Parengi/Gorum	_	+	_	+
Sora		(+)	+	+

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