

# 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