

Approaching the Family from the South-West

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- Historical Munda verb morphology
- Propose a Proto-Munda Verb Structure
- Propose a new subgrouping for South Munda



Anderson 2008

Anderson 2004:

S= CAUS- RDL- ROOT -INC - TNS/ASP/TRANS -O

Proposal:

(*TAM NEG RECIP*) [CAUS- RDL- ROOT (-INC)]-TNS/ASP-VOICE

Gorum verb

PREFIXES	STEM	SUFFIXES	CLITICS
S- MOOD-	[CAUS- RDL: ROOT -INC]	-TNS:VOICE -O -VEN	-PL
S NEG:PST NEG:NPST IRR	CAUS RDL ROOT CF	VOICE U VEN TNS:VOICE S	3PL:S IMP:PL

PREFIXES		STEM				SUFFIXES				CL
S- MOOD- RECIP-		CAUS:	RDL:	ROOT	INC	-TNS	-VOICE	-O	-VEN	IMP:PL
GORUM	X X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SORA	(X) X X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
JUANG	X X X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)	X		X
GTA?	X X X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
GUTOB	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
REMO	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
KHARIA		X	(X)	X	X	X	(X)			
SANTALI		X	X	X		X	X	(X)		
KORKU			X	X		X	(X)	(X)		

PREFIXES		STEM				SUFFIXES				CL	
S- MOOD- RECIP-		CAUS:	RDL:	ROOT	INC	-TNS	-VOICE	-O	-VEN	IMP:PL	
GORUM	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SORA	(X)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
JUANG	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)	X	X
GTA?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)		
GUTOB		X		X	X	X	X	X	(X)		
REMO		X		X	X	X	X	X	(X)		
KHARIA				X	(X)	X	X	X	(X)		
SANTALI				X	X	X		X	X	(X)	
KORKU					X	X		X	(X)	(X)	

Person Marking

S-VERB-O – Gorum, Juang

X=S VERB-O/VERB-O=S – Kherwarian

S-VERB – Gta?

VERB-O – Sora, Korcu

VERB=S – Kharia, Gutob, Remo

Person Marking

- No person marking in Proto-Munda
- Better explained by separate cliticization processes
- Similarities can be explained by similarities between source pronouns
- No connection between Subject enclitics and Subject prefixes

Subject Prefixes

Gorum(-Sora) **S-V-O**

Juang **S-V-O**

Gtaʔ **S-V**

Subject Prefixes

Gorum: *mo-ab-so[?]t-inj*

2SS-CAUS-learn-ACT:NPST-1SO

‘You will teach me’

Juang: *m-ab-soj-e*

2SS-CAUS-learn-FUT:ACT

‘You will teach me’

Subject Prefixes

Gorum: *ne-r-ab-oŋ-u*

1SS-NEG-CAUS-ripe-ACT

‘I won’t sell it’

Gtaʔ: *n-ar-aʔ-ble*

1SS-NEG-CAUS-ripen

‘I shouldn’t cultivate it’

Subject Prefixes

	1SG	1D		1PL		2SG	2D	2PL
		INCL	EXCL	INCL	EXCL			
Juang	<i>V-/∅-</i>	<i>ba-</i>		<i>nV-</i>		<i>mV-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>V-</i>
Gtaʔ	<i>n-</i>	<i>niʔ-</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>(næʔ-)</i>	<i>næ-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pe-</i>
Gorum	<i>ne-</i>	<i>le-</i>				<i>mo-</i>	<i>bo-</i>	
Sora					<i>ə-</i>		<i>ə-</i>	

- Subject prefixes could be recent and a separate innovation of three different languages
- If subject prefixes are a single innovation they would define a subgroup Gorum/Sora, Juang, Gta?

PREFIXES		STEM						SUFFIXES				CL
	S-	MOOD-	RECIP-	CAUS:	RDL:	ROOT	INC	-TNS	-VOICE	-O	-VEN	IMP:PL
GORUM	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SORA	(X)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
JUANG	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)	X		X
GTA?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
GUTOB		X		X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
REMO		X		X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
KHARIA				X	(X)	X	X	X	(X)			
SANTALI				X	X	X		X	X	(X)		
KORKU					X	X		X	(X)	(X)		

Sora: *ə-ədɲ-əl-gə{b}roj-l-aj*
PL-NEG-RECIP-CAUS:ashame-PST-1P
‘We didn’t shame each other’

Gtaʔ: *a-ho-ba-ke*
NEG-RECIP-get-T/A
‘He did not meet him/her/it’

Juang: *a-ku-buji-ri-kia*
NEG-RECIP-LOVE-PRS-DL
‘They don’t like each other’

Reciprocal Prefixes

Sora: *əl-*

Juang: *ko-/ku-*

Gtaʔ: *ho-* (< ?**ko-* or *o-*)

Gorum: *al-paʔd* 'to mend'; *paʔd* 'to sew'

Kharia: *kol* RECIPROCAL (free form!)

Negative Prefixes

Gorum: *ar-*, *or-*, *r-*, (*aj-* IRREALIS)

Sora: *əd-* (*əʔ-*, *ər-*, *ən-*, ...)

Gtaʔ: *ar-*, *r-*

Gutob: *ar-*

Remo: *ar-*, *a-*

Juang: *ara-*, *a-*, *ama-*

**əd-*

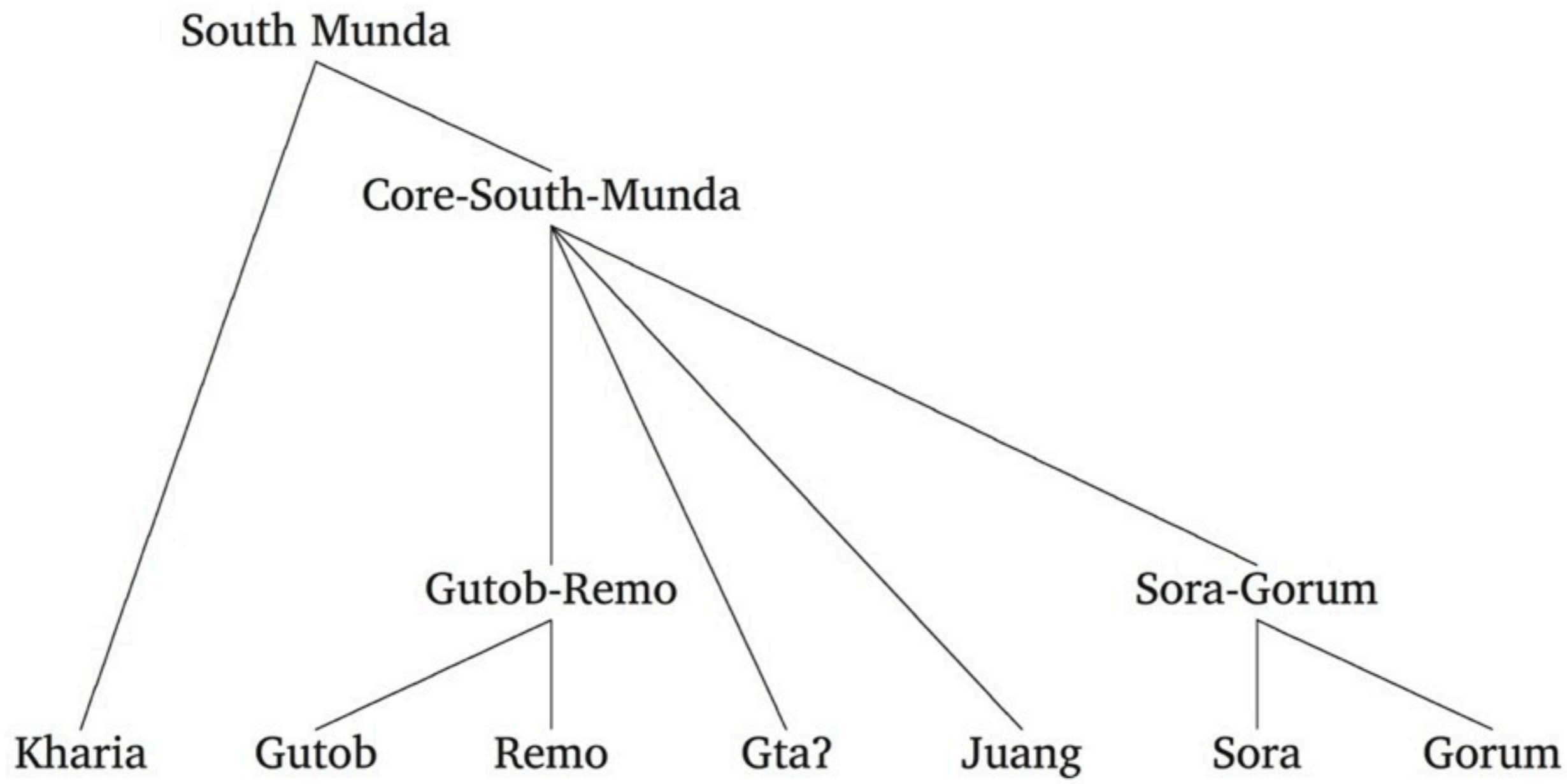
AA: **ət*

Donegan & Stampe (2004)

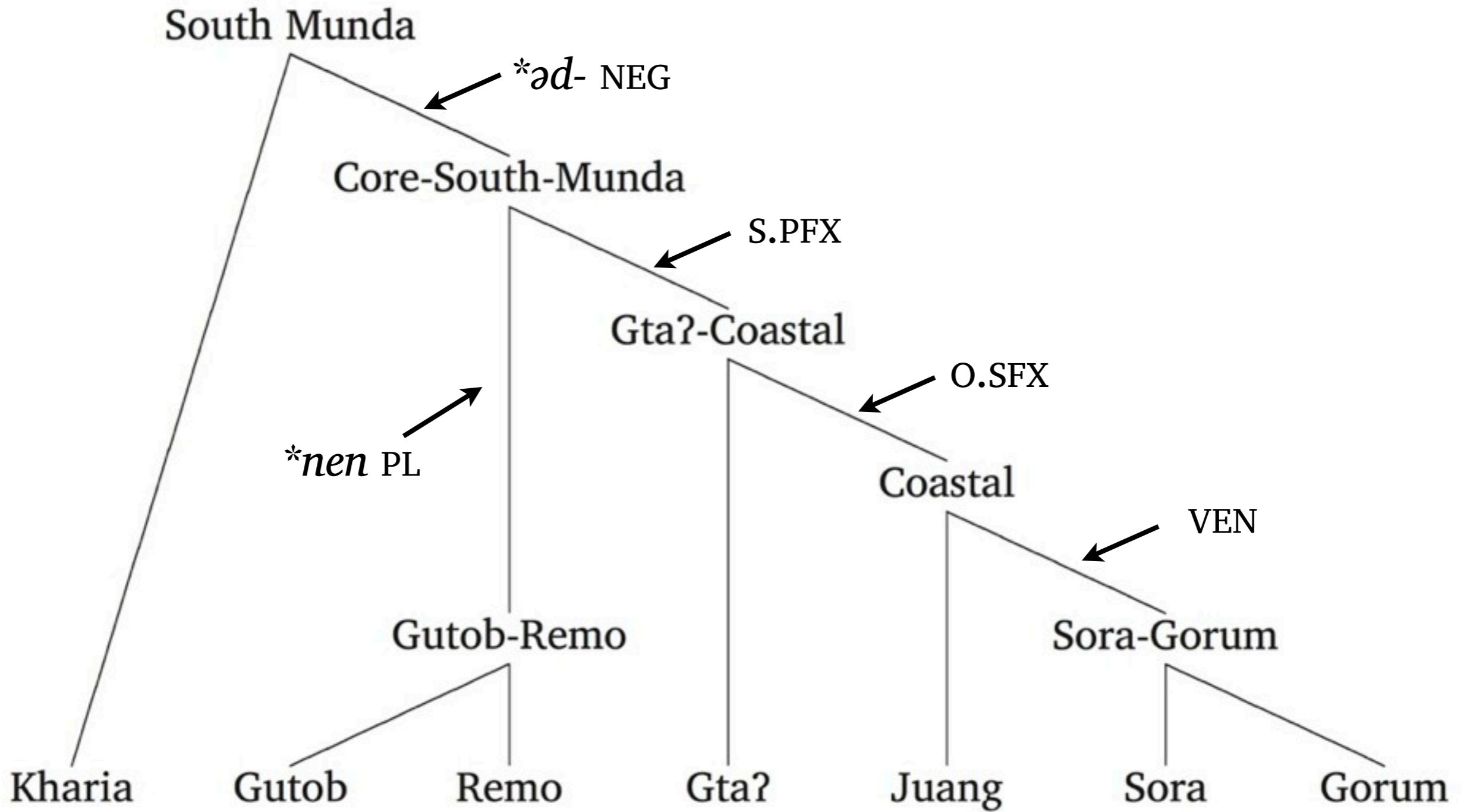
Gorum Negative

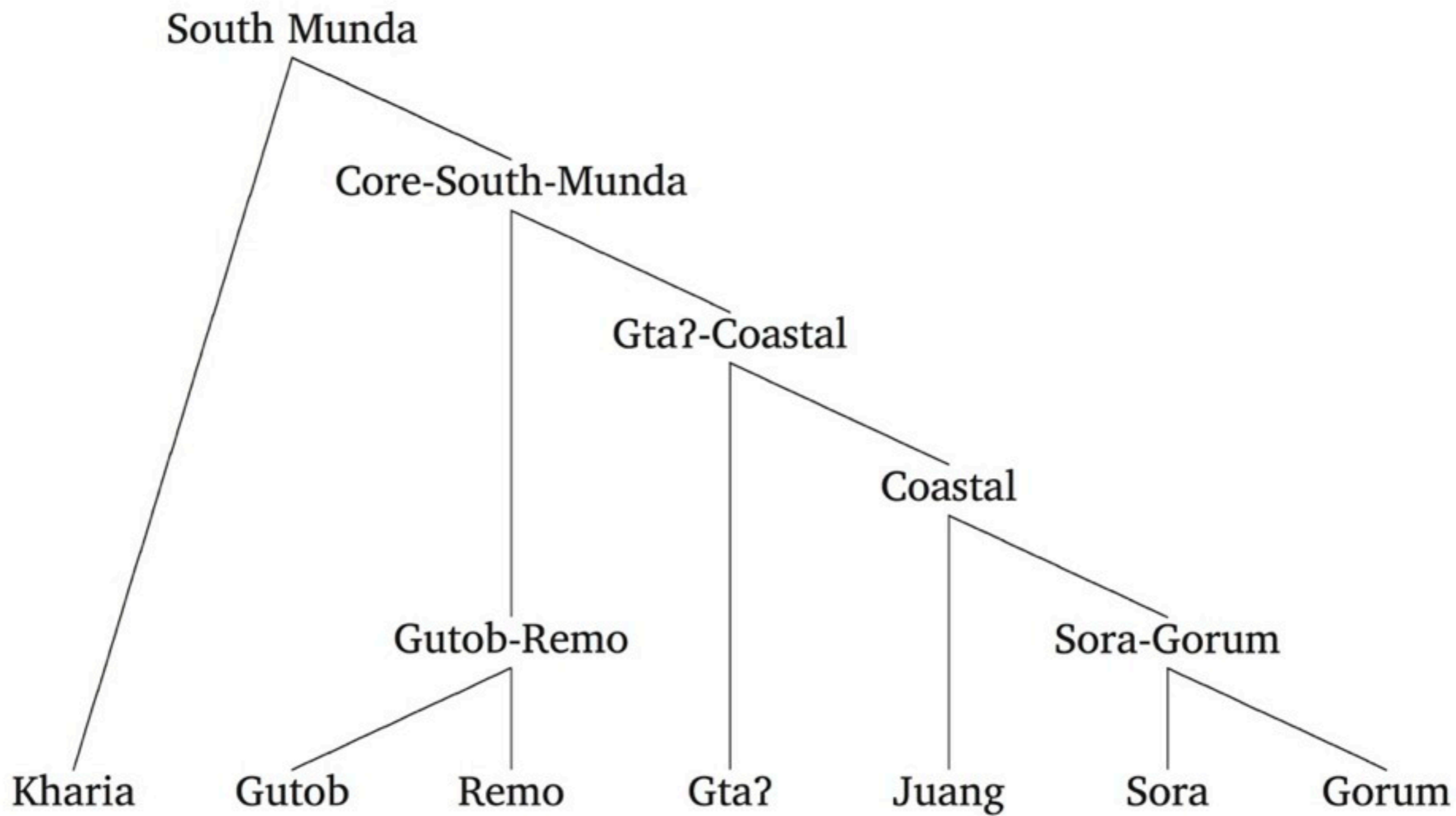
- *or-* NEG:NPST
- *ar-* NEG:PST / NEG:IRREALIS
- *in̄ko?* NEG.COPULA REALIS/INDICATIVE
- *in̄ka?* NEG.COPULA IRREALIS

PREFIXES		STEM						SUFFIXES				CL
	S-	MOOD-	RECIP-	CAUS:	RDL:	ROOT	INC	-TNS	-VOICE	-O	-VEN	IMP:PL
GORUM	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SORA	(X)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
JUANG	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)	X		X
GTA?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
GUTOB		X		X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
REMO		X		X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
KHARIA				X	(X)	X	X	X	(X)			
SANTALI				X	X	X		X	X			
KORKU					X	X		X	(X)			



	PREFIXES			STEM				SUFFIXES				CL
	S-	MOOD-	RECIP-	CAUS:	RDL:	ROOT	INC	-TNS	-VOICE	-O	-VEN	IMP:PL
GORUM	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SORA	(X)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
JUANG	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)	X		X
GTA?	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
GUTOB		X		X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
REMO		X		X	X	X	X	X	(X)			
KHARIA				X	(X)	X	X	X	(X)			
SANTALI				X	X	X		X	X			
KORKU					X	X		X	(X)			





Proto-Munda Verb

(TAM NEG RECIP)			[DERIV: RDL: ROOT -INC]				-ASP	-VOICE
?			CAUS			-CF	PERF IMPF	MID
?	*ə <i>d</i>	* <i>kol</i>	*V ^ʔ <i>b-</i> * ^{-ʔ} <i>b-</i>				* <i>-l</i> PRF * <i>-t</i> IMPF ...	* <i>-n</i> MID

Thank you!

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