Non-verbal predication in Nuristani

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Nuristani languages

Waigali
Kati
Ashkun
Prasun
Tregami
Zemiaki

Yuri Koryakov, 2024

Overview

Ashkun	Prasun	Zemiaki	Waigali	Kati	Tregami
s-	(ə)s- w-	l-	o- or̤- ti-	as-	d- w-

Ashkun

(1) yäk ama imba **s-ei**
DEM house 1SG.POSS COP.PRS-3SG
‘This house is mine.’ [Morgenstierne 1929: 208]

(2) yäm-ba wideša **s-əm**
DEM-POSS guest COP.PRS-1SG
‘I am your guest.’ [Morgenstierne 1934: 62]

(3) paṛe tre mac imba bla **s-en**
DEM three man 1SG.POSS brother COP.PRS-3PL
‘Those three men are my brothers.’ [Morgenstierne 1934: 63]

(4) lat **s-ei**
lazy COP.PRS-3SG
‘(He) is lazy.’ [Morgenstierne 1934: 97]

(5) imə Aṣkuṇu **s-əmiš**
1PL Ashkun COP.PRS-1PL
‘We are Ashkuns.’ [Morgenstierne 1934: 62]

Ashkun

(6) ai gandal əstəm, tu adusəsta **s-əs**
1SG heavy COP.PRS-1SG, 2SG light COP.PRS-2SG
‘I am heavy, you are light.’ [Buddruss 2006: 181]

(7) yek ṣoṛ sono-a **s-ei**
DEM pot gold-GEN COP.PRS-3SG
‘This pot is golden.’ [Buddruss 2006: 179]

Kati

(8) Mamgele zvor šili=**s-i**
Mamgele.LOC winter cold-COP.PRS-3SG
‘Winter in Mamgele is cold.’ [Grjunberg 1980: 147]

(9) Vo, ni syo-ta avi **s-i**
Yes, DEM bucket-place water COP.PRS-3SG
‘Yes, there is water in this bucket.’ [Grjunberg 1980: 148]

(10) Yimo grom al **as-i**
1SG.POSS village big COP.PRS-3SG
‘Our village is big.’ [Grjunberg 1980: 151

(11) Yimo grome-tawu ali do **s-i**
1PL.POSS village-NEAR big mountain COP.PRS-3SG
‘There is a big mountain near our village.’ [Grjunberg 1980: 152]

(12) Ni go-sti kur kašir **aš-t**
DEM cow-REF leg white COP.PRS-3PL
‘This cow’s legs are white.’ [Grjunberg 1980: 146]

Zemiaki

(13) Darái Waygál=aw ami yok kam **lámiš**
valley_of Waygal=CONJ 1PL one tribe COP.1PL
‘[Tribe] of Waygal valley and us are one tribe.’ [Grjunberg 1971: 27]

(14) Aké=ba kam Nuristani=**lam**
1SG=GEN tribe nuristani=COP.1SG
‘My tribe is Nuristani.’ [Grjunberg 1971: 27]

(15) Nüwas ečú yuz=**lai**
today much cold=COP.3SG
‘It’s very cold today.’ [Grjunberg 1971: 27]

Zemiaki

(16) Ám-ba baša āsān-**lai**, Gṛangali-am-ba
1PL.OBL=GEN language easy=COP.3SG Grangali-OBL=GEN
baša grān-**lai**
language difficult=COP.3SG
‘Our language is easy, Grangali is hard.’ [Grjunberg 1971: 28]

(17) Ám=ba déš-ba Jamlám nám=**lai**
1PL=GEN village=GEN Jamlam name=COP.3SG
‘Our village is called Jamlam.’ [Grjunberg 1971: 28]

Waigali: o- VS oṛ-

o- as a basic PRS copula:

(18) čaynak=ekin au **o-y**
teapot=IN water COP.PRS-3SG
‘There is water in the teapot.’ [elicitated]

(19) ämi Nuristäni **o-mis**
1PL Nuristani COP.PRS-1PL
‘We are Nuristani.’ [Degener 1988: 282]

(20) uma sos Säri näm **o-y**
1SG.POSS sister Säri name COP.PRS-3SG
‘My sister's name is Säri.’ [Degener 1988: 276]

Waigali: o- VS oṛ-

(21) to-ba üċ uzag di … Muray-gol-iw oṛ-ay
2SG-GEN spring today CONJ Muray-gol-LOC be-PRS.3SG
‘His spring is at Muray-gol today (now).’ [Degener 1988: 116]

(22) Banimün-nisini mesi **oṛ-yay**-le
Banimun-nisini woman be-PST.F.3SG-PART
‘Banimün-nisini was a woman.’ [Degener 1988: 238]

Waigali: o- VS oṛ-

(23) yi manaṣ ṣeṛa o-y/*oṛ-oy
DEM nam blind COP.PRS-3SG/be-PRS.3SG
‘This man is blind.’ [Degener 1988: 115]

(24) ami Niṣeygrāmiw om-iš/oṛ-amiš
1PL Nisheygram-LOC COP.PRS-1PL/be-PRS.1PL
‘We are in Nisheigram.’ [Degener 1988: 116]

Waigali: ti-

can be used to describe a certain state, custom, rule, location or the nature of something [Degener 1988: 117-118]

(25)	tani	di	na	tani	di	e	ṭak	**ti-say**
	relative	CONJ	NEG	relative	CONJ	one	same	be-PRS.3SG

‘Relatives and non relatives are equal.’ [Degener 1988: 118]

(26)	sa	kumra-ba	ri	e	pol	drigala-sta	nāṣ	**ti-say**
	DEM	pot-GEN	EMPH	one	CL	long-REF	spout	be-PRS.3SG

‘The pot has a spout.’ [Degener 1988: 118]

Waigali: ti- = “generic” copula?

Data from IA languages: ‘be’ PTCP.IP + COP construction

(27) Kullui (Himachali)

e	*ek*	*amb*	***sa,***
DEM.PROX.DIR	one	mango	**COP.PRS.SG**
e	*bɛɽ-a*	*mit^{h}-a*	***sa***
DEM.PROX.DIR	very-M	sweet-M	**COP.PRS.SG**

‘This is a mango, it’s very sweet.’ [kullui-corpus.info]

(28) Kullui (Himachali)

tuse	*təmaku*	*herit*		*pi-nd-e,*
2PL.DIR	tobacco	PROH.FUT.PL	drink-PTCP.P-PL	
e		*sehət-e-r-i*		*tẽje*
DEM.PROX.DIR		health-OBL-GEN-F		for
bur-a ***ho-a***		***sa***		
bad-M	be-PTCP.IP		COP.PRS.SG	

‘You shouldn’t smoke, it’s bad for your health.’ [kullui-corpus.info]

Waigali: ti- = “generic” copula? IA data (Bhatt 1997)

(29) Hindi

a. *laṛk-e* *lamb-ē* ***hai-n***
boy-M.PL tall-M.PL **COP.PRS.3-PL**
‘(Those) boys are tall.’ = **Individual level predicate**

\+ imperfectivity

b. *laṛk-e* ***lamb-ē*** ***ho-t-ē*** ***hai-n***
boy-M.PL **tall-M.PL** **be-PTCP.IP-M.PL** **COP.PRS.3-PL**
‘Boys are tall (usually).’ = **Kind Level Predicate**

Waigali: ti- = “generic” copula? IA data (Bhatt 1997)

(30) Kullui (Himachali)

teir-i	*laɽi*	*beɽ-i*	***bãk-i***	***sa,***
3SG.M.DIST.POSS-F	wife	very-F	**beautiful-F**	**COP.PRS.SG**
pər	***seɽ-i***	***sa***		
but	**lazy-F**	**COP.PRS.SG**		

‘His wife is very beautiful, but lazy.’ [kullui-corpus.info]

(31) Kullui (Himachali)

dəkʃiɳ	*bʰarət-e-r-i*	*beʈʈi-ja*	*sari la-a*		***si,***
south	India-OBL-GEN-F	woman-PL	sari wear-GER.IP		**COP.PRS.PL**
te	*beɽ-i*	***bãk-i***	***ho-a***	***si***	
3PL.DIST.DIR	very-F	**beautiful-F**	**be-GER.IP**	**COP.PRS.SG**	

‘Women in the South of India wear saris, they are very beautiful.’
[kullui-corpus.info]

Prasun: (ə)sˉ and w-

(32) unzū wərǰəmī **s-əm**, wəstī **nā-s-əm**
1SG man COP.PRS-1SG woman NEG-COP.PRS-1SG
‘I am a man, not a woman.’ [Buddruss, Degener 2017: 144]

(33) ari šiša **s-o**
DEM glass COP.PRS-3SG
‘This is glass.’ [Buddruss, Degener 2017: 144]

(34) atig ižeŋ **s-o**
there snake COP.PRS-3SG
‘There is a snake.’ [Buddruss, Degener 2017: 145]

(35) unzū əwaš **w-am**
1SG happy COP.PRS-1SG
‘I am happy.’ [Buddruss, Degener 2016: 296]

Tregami: d- VS w-

(36) Čaynak=kibar au **d-ə**
Teapot=IN water COP.PRS-3SG
‘There is water in a pot.’ [elicitated]

(37) Ye ama ništerara **d-ə**
DEM house old COP.PRS-3SG
‘This house is old.’ [elicitated]

(38) Tu watəl **w-oš**
2SG tall COP.PRS-2SG
‘You are tall.’ [elicitated]

(39) Žarə dušman **w-oš**
1SG.POSS enemy COP.PRS-2SG
‘You are my enemy.’ [Degener 2022: 94]

Tregami: d- VS w-

	SG	PL
1	dam	demiš
2	woš	?
3	də	dat/wot

Tregami: d- VS w-

ḍ- for non-permanent states, w- for permanent states and locatives? [Degener 2022]

Tregami: d- VS w-

ḍ- for non-permanent states, w- for permanent states and locatives? [Degener 2022]

(40) Tu watəl **w-oš**
2SG tall COP.PRS-2SG
‘You are tall.’ [elicitated]

(41) Əge watalə **d-am**
1SG tall COP.PRS-1SG
‘I am tall.’ [elicitated]

Tregami: d- VS w-

PROX and DIST demonstratives:

(42) Sei amel **w-ot**
DEM.PROX home COP.PRS-3PL
‘They are at home.’ [elicitated]

(43) We amel **d-at**
DEM.DIST home COP.PRS-3PL
‘They are at home.’ [elicitated]

(44) A/Se amel **d-ə**
DEM.PROX/DIST home COP.PRS-3SG
‘He is at home.’ [elicitated]

Tregami: d- VS w-

Animacy and inanimacy?

(45) Watala du/yek deš w-ot/d-at
hill two/one village COP.PRS-3PL/SG
‘There are two/is one village(s) on a hill.’ [elicitated]

(46) Dar-iu ningaca **d-at/d-ə**
forest-LOC bird COP.PRS-1PL/SG
‘The bird(s) is (are) in the forest.’ [elicitated]

Tregami: d- VS w-

Animacy and inanimacy?

(47) Ye ama ništerara **d-ə**
DEM house old COP/PRS-3SG
‘This house is old.’ [elicitated]

(48) Ye ningaca mickek **d-ə**
DEM bird small COP/PRS-3SG
‘This bird is small.’ [elicitated]

(49) Tu watəl **w-oš**
2SG tall COP.PRS-2SG
‘You are tall.’ [elicitated]

Possession

Waigali	Prasun	Ashkun	Zemiaki	Tregami	Kati
GEN + ‘to be’	la-	was-	lar-	lar-	vos-
BE	HAVE	HAVE	HAVE	HAVE	HAVE

Possession

(50) Ashkun

cata	zaga	**was-tei**
four	son	have-3SG.PRS

‘(he) has four sons.’ [Morgenstierne 1929: 285]

(51) Kati

Wuze	dyu	kor	**vos-um**
1SG	two	ear	have-1SG.PRS

‘I have two ears.’ [Grjunberg 1980: 147]

(52) Zemiaki

Ake	yok	ga	**lar-asam**
1SG	one	cow	have-1SG.PRS

‘I have one cow.’ [Grjunberg: unpublished fieldnotes]

Possession

(53) Waigali
ċöw mraŋ suča-ba **o-t**
mountain-goats fairy-GEN COP.PRS-3PL
‘Mountain goats belong to the fairies.’ [Degener 1988: 201]

(54) Prasun
unzū atig īri **l-am**
1SG one horse have-1SG.PRS
‘I have a horse.’ [Buddruss, Degener 2017: 141]

(55) Tregami
A tu bra **lər-iga**
2SG two brother have-2SG.PRS
‘He has two brothers.’ [elicitated]

Word order

no copula dropping; strict final position of the copula

(56) Waigali [elicitated]

a. čaynaka=kan au *(**o-y**)
teapot.OBL=POST water COP-3SG.PRS

b. *čaynaka=kan **o-y** au
teapot.OBL=POST COP-3SG.PRS water

‘There is water in a teapot.’

Word order

(57) Kullui (Himachali) **SOV**

haũ	nɛgr-a-r-a	rɔhɳuaɭa	**sa**
1SG	Naggar-OBL-GEN-M	dweller	**COP.PRS.SG**

‘I am a resident of Naggar.’ [kullui-corpus.info]

(58) Kullui (Himachali) **SVO**

ʈʰawa	**sa**	kriʃən	bʰəgwan-a-r-a	məndər
Thawa	**COP.PRS.SG**	Krishna	god-OBL-GEN-M	temple

‘Thawa is a god Krishna's temple.’ [kullui-corpus.info]

(59) Kashmiri (Dardic) **SVO**

kãti	**cha**	ramesh-in	zanān
Kanta	**COP.PRS.SG**	Ramesh-GEN	wife

‘Kanta is Ramesh’s wife.’ [Wali, Koul 1997: 81]

Word order

(60) Palula (Dardic)

míi	nóo	laalzamaán
1SG.GEN	name	Lal.Zaman

‘My name is Lal Zaman.’ [Liljegren 2016: 304]

Conclusions and further work

- Nuristani system of non-verbal predication is quite complex
- Word order in non-verbal clauses in Nuristani is more strict than in Himachali or Dardic
- Distribution of different copulas is not obvious
- We need to analyze more elicitated material in order to make more strict and formal conclusions

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