

NubiaFEST 2020 Old Nubian Crash Course Day 4 – All about the Verb

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The Verbal Complex

The Old Nubian verbal complex always starts with a verbal root, and further encodes aspect, tense, person, pluractionality, transitivity, negation, affirmation, mood, and sentence type by means of suffixes. Old Nubian is an SOV (Subject–Object–Verb) language, so usually (but not at all always) the verb can be found at the end of a sentence.

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Analysis of Tense–Aspect Morphemes

Tense marking indicates the objective moment in time when an event took place (neutral/non-past, past) with reference to the moment of elocution.

Aspect marking shows the internal temporal constituency of a situation (perfective, imperfective, intentional, habitual).

	Neutral -λ	Past -c
Imperfective ∅	PRS -λ	PST2 -c
Perfective -ε	PFV.PRS -ελ	PFV.PST2 -εc
Past(?) -o	PST1 -oλ	—

Present Imperfective

	Subj. Clitic	Subj. Clitic + PRED
—	ΔNK-ιλ	ΔNK-ιP-Δ
1SG	ΔNK-ιP-ι	ΔNK-ιP-ε
2/3SG	ΔNK-ιN	ΔNK-ιN-Δ
1/2PL	ΔNK-ιP-οΥ	ΔNK-ιP-ο
3PL	ΔNK-ιP-ΔN	ΔNK-ιP-ΔN-Δ

Present Perfective

	Subj. Clitic	Subj. Clitic + PRED
—	ΔNK-ΕΛ	ΔNK-ΕΡ-Δ
1SG	ΔNK-ΕΡ-Ι	ΔNK-ΕΡ-Ε
2/3SG	ΔNK-ΕΝ	ΔNK-ΕΝ-Δ
1/2PL	ΔNK-ΕΡ-ΟΥ	ΔNK-ΕΡ-Ο
3PL	ΔNK-ΕΡ-ΑΝ	ΔNK-ΕΡ-ΑΝ-Δ

Disappearance of the Perfective -ε

The distinction between perfective -εC and imperfective -ιC weakened over the course of the development of Old Nubian.

- (1) SC 16.14 ἕταυροςῷ ὀδδελγοῦνα γενγρεραλοῷ

istauros-il-∅ odd-el-gou-na

CROSS-DET-NOM sick-PFV.PRS-PL-GEN

gen-grer-a-lo

good-CAUS.NMLZ-PRED-FOC

‘The cross is the healer of the sick.’

- (2) St 20.3–4 ἕταυροςῷ ὀδδλγο[γν]ῷ ἰᾶτορωσαλωῷ

istauros-il-∅ odd-il-gou-na iatoros-a-lō

CROSS-DET-NOM sick-PRS-PL-GEN doctor-PRED-FOC

‘The cross is the doctor of the sick.’

Disappearance of the Perfective -ε

But one context in which it remained frequent is ‘divine actions’, actions which by nature are ‘perfect’:

- (3) St 11.3–10 ἠϥῶνοσοῦ γοκῆΔω τικα κοσμοσ οὔαττοκα
 πεωφραΔεριλο ἔταγροσοῦ εοκκολλον αν ειῶνο ειωλο εονῶanna·
 ἰσαφατῆ παρκλα

thironosou ἠok-in-dō tik-a kosmos ouatto-ka
 throne glory-GEN-SUPE sit-PRED world whole-ACC

pešš-ad-er-i-lo istaurosou
 judge-INTEN-PFV.PRS-1SG-LOC cross

ἠok-ko-l-∅-lon an eiōno ei-ō-lo
 glory-ADJ-DET-NOM-TOP 1SG.GEN right hand-LOC-FOC

ἠonj-an-n-a iōsaphat-in park-ila
 stand-INTEN-PRS.2/3SG-PRED Josaphat-GEN valley-DAT

‘When I, sitting upon the throne of glory, judge the whole word, the glorious cross will stand at my right hand in the valley of Josaphat.’

Past 1

	Subj. Clitic	Subj. Clitic + PRED
—	ΔNK-Oλ	ΔNK-ΔP-Δ
1SG	ΔNK-ΔP-I	ΔNK-ΔP-ϵ
2/3SG	ΔNK-ON	ΔNK-ON-Δ
1/2PL	ΔNK-ΔP-OY	ΔNK-ΔP-O
3PL	ΔNK-OY-ΔN	ΔNK-OY-ΔN-Δ

Past 2

	Subj. Clitic	Subj. Clitic + PRED
—	ΔNK-IC-Ιλ	ΔNK-IC-Δ
1SG	ΔNK-IC-ι	ΔNK-IC-Ε
2/3SG	ΔNK-IC-ΙN	ΔNK-IC-ΙN-Δ
1/2PL	ΔNK-IC-ΟΥ	ΔNK-IC-Ο
3PL	ΔNK-IC-ΔN	ΔNK-IC-ΔN-Δ

Syntactic Distribution between Past 1 and 2

A semantic distinction between past 1 and past 2 cannot be recovered. However, there is a distinction in terms of syntactic distribution.

- Only past 2 is used in negative contexts;
- Only past 2 is used with the intentional suffix;
- Past 1 is restricted to coreferential attributive relative clauses, past 2 in non-coreferential ones;
- Past 2 is always found with a subject clitic;

Innovative Perfective

The distinction between imperfective and perfective disappeared over time, with perfectives being reanalyzed as allomorphs of imperfectives. As a result, the innovative perfective suffixes -oc and -ετ were introduced.

Innovative Perfective

- (5) gr 2.8–9 αι μευδα εοδκα τοπαειαρα εοδ αν̄κ ουλγοοῡϊλα αν̄
μαικτου ο̄ν̄μ̄λλο ᾱγλοενα αῑκα

ai meud-a ηod-ka topaei-ar-a ηod
1SG beg-PRED Lord-ACC rise.up(?) -PST1-PRED Lord
an-ik oulgou-j-il-a an maiktou
1SG.GEN-ACC ear-PLACT-PRS-PRED 1SG.GEN affliction
jimmil-lo aul-os-en-a ai-ka
all-LOC save-PFV-PFV.PRS.2/3SG-PRED 1SG-ACC

'I rose up, begging to the Lord, the Lord heard my (prayer) and he saved me from all my affliction.' (Ps 33:5)

Innovative Perfective

The selection of **-OC** or **-CT** appears to be lexically determined. In one case, with the verb **ὄαν** ‘to exchange (for money)’, there is also a semantic distinction:

- (7) P.QI 3 46.1–2 **ειῖτι μιριεκαδε πιεεσο λζ ταν παρικον ὄανοσανασω**

eiwi miri-eika-de pi-e-e-so 47 tan par-ik-on
 grain new-ACC-CONJ remain-TR(?)-IMP.2/3SG.PRED-COMM 47 3SG.GEN old-ACC-TOP
jan-os-an-a-so
 exchange-PFV-IMP.2/3SG-PRED-COMM

‘Keep the new grain but let them sell 47 (artabs of) his old (grain)!’

- (8) P.QI 3 44.2–4 **πακκαττι ταννικα σεῖραι ταννιγοϋλ ὄανεῖσαναλο**

pakk-atti tann-ika sewaei tann-igou-l-∅
 share-NMLZ 3SG.GEN-ACC heir.PL 3SG.GEN-PL-DET-NOM
jan-eis-s-an-a-lo
 exchange-PFV-PST2-3PL-PRED-FOC

‘Her heirs bought her share.’

Perfective Particle

Old Nubian furthermore has a rare perfective particle $\tau\alpha$, perhaps archaic. It only appears in translations where the Greek has an aorist/perfect tense verb:

(9) DP 2.7 $\alpha\ddot{i}$ $\tau\alpha$ $\epsilon\lambda\dot{\iota}\epsilon$ $\delta[*n*]$ $\epsilon\psi\tau\tau\iota\lambda\alpha$

ai-∅ *ta* *eil-is-e* *an*
 1SG-NOM PTC.PFV say-PST2-1SG.PRED 1SG.GEN
eñ(i)tt-ila
 wealth.NMLZ-DAT

'I said in my prosperity.' (Ps 29:7)

Intentional

The intentional - $\Delta\Delta$ indicates an action in the future.

- (10) M 4.6–10 $\bar{\alpha}\sigma\upsilon\lambda\bar{\alpha}$ $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\zeta\epsilon\eta\iota\tau\eta\gamma\bar{\lambda}$ $\delta\omicron\Delta\rho\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\Delta\Delta\lambda$ $\epsilon\omicron\lambda\bar{\alpha}$ $\rho\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\eta\alpha$ $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\pi\pi\iota[\lambda\alpha]\gamma\bar{\lambda}\epsilon$:

aoul philoxenitē-gil jo-d-r-a medd-(i)l

boat Philoxenite-ALL go-INTEN-PRS-PRED ready-PRS

η-ol ouek-k-on el-a

become-PST1.DET one-ACC-TOP find-PRED

pes-s-n-a eitt-il-∅

speak-PST2-2/3SG-PRED woman-DET-NOM

agopp-ila-gille

boatsman-DAT-ALL

‘The woman found a boat ready to go to Philoxenite and said to the boatsman.’

Habitual

The habitual -κ indicates a habitual action and usually occurs with the present tense.

(11) SC 8.14–15 εñ διμμλγογκαλω ογέρλΔω ακλ εκκιδκενα·

ein jimm-il-gou-ka-lō ouer-il-dō

DEM.PROX all-DET-PL-ACC-FOC mountain-DET-SUPE

ak-il ηik-k-ij-ken-a

sit-PRS.DET see-HAB-PLACT-HAB.PRS.2/3SG-PRED

‘All these things he sees sitting upon the mountain.’

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Affirmative 1st–3rd Person

Affirmative verb forms for 1st/3rd persons are formed with the suffix **-M**:

	Present
1SG	ΔNK-IM-M-ε
3SG	ΔNK-IM-M-α
1PL	ΔNK-IM-M-O
3PL	ΔNK-IM-M-ΔN-α

Affirmative 2nd Person

Affirmative verb forms for 2nd persons employ the old subject clitics. Note that their position is at the very end of the verb.

	Present	Past
2SG	ΔNK-IP-Δ-λ-H	ΔNK-ΔP-Δ-C-I
2PL	ΔNK-IP-Δ-λ-KE	ΔNK-ΔP-Δ-C-KE

Affirmative 2nd Person

(13) CE 160.B.11–13 εῖρσῖν γεῖιοϣ εἰσακκ ἀγᾶρασι

eir-sin geeiou ei-ḥak-k

2SG-EMP thing 2SG.POSS-son-ACC

au-ar-a-si

do-PST1-PRED-AFF.PST.2SG

'You have done the deed of your son!'

Negative

Negation is usually indicated with the negative suffix $-\bar{\text{m}}/\text{m}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}$:

	Subj. Clitic	Subj. Clitic + PRED
—	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIN-}\bar{\text{I}}\lambda$	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIN-N-}\bar{\Delta}$
1SG	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIN-N-}\bar{\text{I}}$	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIN-N-}\bar{\text{E}}$
2/3SG	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIN-IN}$	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIN-N-}\bar{\Delta}$
1/2PL	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIN-N-OY}$	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIN-N-O}$
3PL	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIN-N-}\bar{\Delta}\text{N}$	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIN-N-}\bar{\Delta}\text{N-}\bar{\Delta}$

The negative suffix can only co-occur with past 2:

	Subj. Clitic	Subj. Clitic + PRED
—	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIC-C-}\bar{\text{I}}\lambda$	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIC-C-}\bar{\Delta}$
1SG	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIC-C-}\bar{\text{I}}$	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIC-C-}\bar{\text{E}}$
2/3SG	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIC-C-IN}$	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIC-C-IN-}\bar{\Delta}$
1/2PL	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIC-C-OY}$	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIC-C-O}$
3PL	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIC-C-}\bar{\Delta}\text{N}$	$\Delta\text{NK-IMIC-C-}\bar{\Delta}\text{N-}\bar{\Delta}$

Constraints on Negative Suffix

- For past tense, verbs with the negative suffix -**MIN/MEN** can only co-occur with the past 2 suffix -**c**;
- In declarative main clauses, verbs with the negative suffix -**MIN/MEN** are obligatorily marked with a focus marker -**LO**;
- Verb forms with the negative suffix -**MIN/MEN** are always marked with a subject clitic.

(14) St 5.12–6.3 **σαλοϋ αἰκα ἐγιδισοϋ οϋεκενδε οϋροϋειῶ
δεκκιγῆμῆσελο**

salou ai-ka egid-is-ou ouek-k-ende ourou-eio
word 1SG-ACC ask-PST2-1/2PL one-ACC-NEG.CONJ 2PL-LOC
dekk-igir-mis-s-e-lo
conceal-CAUS-NEG-PST2-1SG.PRED-FOC

'I did not conceal from you any word which you asked me.'

Jussive

Jussives are usually translated with "Let's...." They use the old subject clitics.

2SG	ΔNK-Δ-M-H
2PL	ΔNK-Δ-N-K€

Vetitive

Vetitives are usually translated with "Don't..." They use the old subject clitics.

2SG	ΔNK-Δ-TΔ-M-H
2PL	ΔNK-Δ-TΔ-N-K€

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Pluractionality

The pluractional suffix $-ǝ$ has the following functions:

- On intransitive verbs: Plural subject
- On transitive verbs: Plural direct object
- On ditransitive verbs: Plural indirect object (if it is accusative-marked)
- Rarely: Plural event

Pluractionality

With a dative-marked indirect object, the pluractional suffix always refers to the accusative-marked object.

- (15) ἀπογγῶλλον ψοκκα κῆσελα τῆνα·
apogg-il-∅-lon *šok-ka* *kisse-la*
 boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP book-ACC church-DAT
tin-n-a
 give>2/3-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

‘The boatsman gives the book to the church.’

- (16) ἀπογγῶλλον ψοκ(γοῦ)κα κῆσελα τῶδινα·
apogg-il-∅-lon *šok(-gou)-ka* *kisse-la*
 boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP book-PL-ACC church-DAT
tij-j-in-a
 give>2/3-PLACT-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

‘The boatsman gives the books to the church.’ / *‘The boatsman gives the books to the churches.’

Pluractionality

- (17) ἀπογγῆλλον ψοκκα κῆσεγοῦλα τῆνα·

apogg-il-∅-lon *šok-ka* *kisse-gou-la*
 boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP book-ACC church-PL-DAT
tin-n-a
 give>2/3-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

‘The boatsman gives the book to the churches.’

- (18) ἀπογγῆλλον ψοκ(γοῦ)κα κῆσεγοῦλα τῶδῖνα·

apogg-il-∅-lon *šok(-gou)-ka* *kisse-gou-la*
 boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP book-ACC church-PL-DAT
tij-j-in-a
 give>2/3-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

‘The boatsman gives the books to the churches.’ / *‘The boatsman gives the book to the churches.’

Pluractionality

With an accusative-marked indirect object and direct object, the pluractional suffix always refers to the accusative-marked indirect object.

(19) ἀπογγῆλλον ᾠοκκα ταν πιδτιγοῦκα τῶδῶνα·

apogg-il-∅-lon *šok-ka* *tan* *pidt-igou-ka*
 boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP book-ACC 3SG.GEN friend-PL-ACC
tij-j-in-a
 give>2/3-PLACT-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

‘The boatsman gives the book to his friends.’ / *‘The boatsman gives the books to his friends.’

Valency

There are three suffixes affecting the valency of the verbal root

Transitive -(i)p/-aḥ Adds a patient;

Causative -ṛ(i)p/-ṛaḥ Adds a causee;

Passive -ṛaḥ Promotes the patient to subject.

Transitive

The transitive suffix is in fact an old causative and has a variety of uses, including adding a patient:

- (20) SC 16.8–9 ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥⲗ ⲧⲟⲛⲁⲉⲓⲓⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁⲣⲣ[ⲁⲗ]ⲟⲩ
istauros-il-∅ tonde-gou-ka ourp-ar-r-a-lo
 cross-DET-NOM altar-PL-ACC fall-TR-PRS-PRED-FOC
 ‘The cross overthrows the altars.’

Causative

The causative suffix adds a causee but also sometimes changes the interpretation of the verb to passive:

(21) K 33.2–4 τλλλλον ταν αελκαλο· εμεντελα παδειπαδιγδδνα·

till-il-∅-lon *tan* *aeil-ka-lo* *emete-la*

God-DET-NOM-TOP 3SG.GEN heart-ACC-FOC Hell-DAT

pajei~paj-igid-d-n-a

examine~INT-CAUS-INTEN-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

‘God will cause his soul to be thoroughly examined in Hell.’

Passive

The passive suffix promotes the patient into subject. The agent is usually marked as an adjunct by a postposition.

- (22) SC 19.13–15 εἰεῖν καυεῖγοῦνα διαβολοῦν μεεργτο δοῦν
εσκῖτακῖκα εαλενονν

eie-in *kauei-gou-na* *diabolos-in meert-lo*
man.PL-GEN first.born.PL-GEN devil-GEN baseness.NMLZ-LOC
joun esk-itak-sik-ka *ηal-en-non*
by conquer-PASS-PST2-ACC see-PFV.PRS.2/3SG-TOP

‘But when he saw the offspring of man conquered by the baseness of the devil ...’

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Auxiliary Verbs

The main difference between a converb and an auxiliary verb construction is that in the latter both the main verb and the auxiliary are marked for tense. In auxiliary verb constructions, the predicate marker on the main verb is often dropped. Auxiliary and main verb form a single phonological word and are often written together in text editions.

- Causative auxiliary ΓAP ‘to cause’
- Negative auxiliary MIN ‘to not be’
- Inchoative auxiliary ΔE ‘to become’
- Progressive auxiliary $\Delta\text{OY}\text{P}$ ‘to exist’
- Copular auxiliary EIN ‘to be’

Auxiliary Verbs

- (23) P.QI 1 9.ii.3–5 ● $\tau\epsilon\eta$ $\alpha\rho\mu\bar{\kappa}\kappa\Delta\epsilon\eta$ $\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\eta$ $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\eta\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda\omega$
 $\kappa\bar{\kappa}\kappa\lambda\lambda\epsilon\lambda\omicron$ $\kappa\epsilon\Delta\iota\lambda$ $\Delta\omicron\gamma\bar{\omicron}\eta\alpha$ ·

ten armis-kd-en arpae-l-Ø-lon

3PL.GEN judge-NMLZ-GEN temple-DET-NOM-TOP

ellen-gou-lō kiskillelo ked-il dou-on-a

eternity-PL-LOC until.LOC ascend-PRS exist-PST1.2/3SG-PRED

‘The temple of their judgment was ascending up to eternity.’
 (Rev 14:11)

Modal Verbs

Modal verbs either take a verbal complement ending in infinitive -ι or a complement clause marked with the accusative -κα.

- ειρ 'can'
- ΔΟΛΛ 'want'
- ΔΟΛΛΙΓΑΚ 'need'
- ΗΟ(Υ)Ν 'not want'

Modal Verbs

(24) P.QI 1 10.A.i.12–15 ειγαριγρᾶλο ουελενδε

eigarigira-lo ouel-∅-ende dir-j-ika

thus-LOC one-NOM-NEG.CONJ count-PLACT-ACC

eir-imen-ta-lo ηισσ-ε-γουε-σιν αγγελος-να

can-NEG-NEG-FOC holy-PL.PRED-PL.PRED-EMP angel-GEN

aul-os-ij-is-in-na dir-t-ika

save-PFV-PLACT-PST2-2/3SG-GEN count-NMLZ-ACC

'Thus no one can count the number of the holy ones whom the angel has saved.'

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