NubiaFEST 2020 Old Nubian Crash Course Day 3 – Quantification, Predication, Person

Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei

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Table of Contents

Quantification

Predication

Person

Thank You!

Quantifiers

- Predicative quantifiers, taking a predicate with **-ⲁ**: ⲙⲟⲩ̄ⲱ̄ⲁⲛ 'all'; ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲉ 'all'; ⲥⲉⲅⲉ̄ 'other'; ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲧⲣ̄ 'any'

- Nominal quantifiers, governing genitive **-ⲛ**: ⲇⲟⲩⲣⲧⲁⲗ 'each, every'

- Adjectival quantifiers: ⲟⲩⲉⲗ 'a, some'; ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲧⲟ 'entire, whole'; ⲉⲓⲥ 'another'; ⲟ̄ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲗ̄ 'all'

- Independent quantifiers: ⲟ̄ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲗ̄-ⲅⲟⲩ 'everyone'; ⲱⲟⲉⲓ-ⲅⲟⲩ 'some'; ⲟⲩⲉⲗ 'anyone, someone'; ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲟ 'all'

Quantifiers

(1) ⲧⲁⲩⲕⲁ ⲙⲟ̄ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲛⲛⲟ 'in all time'

(2) ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲟⲩⲣⲧⲁⲗ 'each day'

(3) ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲉⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲛⲉ 'another kingdom'

(4) ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲧⲟⲗⲁ 'in the entire world'

(5) ϣⲟⲉⲓⲅⲟⲩⲗ 'some people'

Predicative Quantifiers

Predicative Quantifiers can also mark an entire relative clause. They follow the relative clause.

(6) L 107.7–9 ⲉⲗⲗⲱ [ⲉⲓ]ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲛⲁ ⲁⲓ̈ⲕⲁ ⲇⲉⲛⲇⲓⲥⲛⲁ̄ ⲙⲟ̄ⲩ̄ⲱ[ⲁ]ⲛⲕⲁ⫽
ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲱⲕⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲁ ⲧⲓⲇⳝⲉⲥⲓⲕ̣[ⲁ⫽

> *el-lō*   *ei-as-s-an-a*   *ai-ka*
> now-LOC   know-TR-PST2-3PL-PRED   1SG-ACC
>
> *den-j-is-in-a*   *miššan-ka* *kellō-ka tek-ka*
> give>1-PLACT-PST2-2/3SG-PRED all-ACC   all-ACC 3PL-ACC
>
> *tij-j-es-i-ka*
> give>2/3-PLACT-PFV.PST2-1SG-ACC
>
> 'Now they know that everything you gave me I gave all to them.'
> (Jn 17:7–8)

N.B. the embedded verb will look like a main verb!

Universal Quantifiers

Universal quantifiers ('all,' 'every') can move to the beginning of the sentence, leaving the relative clause behind, while receiving the emphasis marker **-ⲥⲓⲛ**:

(7) P.QI 1 4.i.12–14 ⲁ̄ⲫⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲟ̄ϣ̄ϣⲁⲛⲁ{ⲁ̄}ⲥⲓⲛ̄· ⲁⲓⲁ̄ⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲗⲟⲛ
ⲁⲓⲙⲉⲛⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲉⲗⲗⲉⲛⲅⲟⲩⲗⲟ ⲕⲓⲥⲕⲓⲗⲗⲟ·

añ-ir-a   *miššan-a-sin*   *ai-a-gille*
live-PRS-PRED   all-PRED-EMP   1SG-DAT-ALL
pisteu-l-∅-on   *di-men-ta-lo*   *ellen-gou-lo*
believe-PRS.DET-NOM-TOP   die-NEG-NEG-FOC   eternity-PL-LOC
kiskillo
until.LOC

'All living beings who believe in me do not die until eternity.' (Jn 11:26)

Table of Contents

Verbal Predicates

Verbal predicates in a main clause are marked with predicate marker **-ⲁ**, which functions as the main distinctive feature between **main clauses** and **subordinate clauses**:

(8) ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅⳟⲗⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁ̄·

     apogg-il-∅-lon   *pes-in-a*
     boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP speak-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

     'The boatsman speaks.'

(9) ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅⳟⲗⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲛ̄·

     apogg-il-∅-lon   *pes-in*
     boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP speak-PRS.2/3SG

     'While the boatsman speaks, . . . '

Nominal Predicates

Nominal predicates are marked with a predicate marker **-ⲁ**, but in a subordinate clause they feature an auxiliary:

(10) ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅⳟⲗⲟⲛ ⲟ̄ⲅ̅ⳝⲁⲗⲟ·

    apogg-il-∅-lon   *ogj-a-lo*
    boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP man-PRED-FOC

    'The boatsman is a man.'

(11) ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅⳟⲗⲟⲛ ⲟ̄ⲅ̅ⳝⲁ ⲉⲓⲛⲛ̄·

    apogg-il-∅-lon   *ogj-a*   *ein-in*
    boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP man-PRED be-PRS.2/3SG

    'While the boatsman is a man, . . . '

Distributivity of Predicate Marker

The predicate marker is the only distributive morpheme in Old Nubian:

(12) ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅ̅ⲗⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁ̄·

apogg-il-∅-lon   *oulgr-a*   *pes-in-a*
boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP   hear-PRED   speak-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

'The boatsman listens and speaks.'

(13) ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅ̅ⲗⲟⲛ ⲭ̅ⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁ̄ⲛⲟⲥⲁ ⲟ̄ⲅ̄ⲇⲁⲗⲟ·

apogg-il-∅-lon   *khiristianos-a*   *ogj-a-lo*
boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP   Christian-PRED   man-PRED-FOC

'The boatsman is a Christian man.'

Converbs

A converb is a verb without person or tense marking, but with a predicate marker. Its interpretation always depends on the tense/person/aspect of the main verb.

(14) ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅⲗ̄ⲗⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲅⲣⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁ̄·

    apogg-il-∅-lon   *oulgr-a*   *pes-in-a*
    boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP hear-PRED speak-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

    'The boatsman listens and speaks.'

Converbs

In storytelling, converbs are used to convey a sequence of actions:

(15) M 11.2–6 ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲗⲉⲛ ⲧⲓ̄ⲗⲕ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲟⲗ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲅⲟⲛⲅ̄ⲗⲉ ⲅⲟⲩⲇⲁⲗⲁ ⲕⲓⲁ̄ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲛⲁ·

> *tar-∅-on*   *ŋal-en*   *till-ik*   *ounn-ol*
> 3SG-NOM-TOP see-PFV.PRS.2/3SG God-ACC   bear-PST1
>
> *maria-n*   *eigon-gille* *goudal-a* *ki-a*   *ouou-a*
> Mary-GEN icon-ALL   run-PRED   come-PRED shout-PRED
>
> *pes-s-n-a*
> speak-PST2-2/3SG-PRED

'When he saw it, he ran to the image of Mary Theotokos and shouted.'

Converbs

(16) M 12.13–16 ⲅ̄ⲥ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲛⲁⲉⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲧ̄ⲧⲛ̄ ⲅⲟⲅⲗⲟ ⲇ̄ⲟⲣⲁ ⲕⲓⲁ̄ ϣⲁⲁⲕⲕⲁ
ⲕⲙ̄ⲙⲁ` ⲟ̄ⲟ̄ⲕⲣ̄ⲥⲛⲁ·

ŋissou	*mēna-∅-eion*	*man*	*eitt-in*	*ŋog-lo*
holy	Menas-NOM-TOP	DEM.DIST	woman-GEN	house-LOC

jor-a	*ki-a*	*šaak-ka*	*kimm-a*
go-PRED	come-PRED	door-ACC	hit-PRED

ook-ir-s-n-a
call-TR-PST2-2/3SG-PRED

'Saint Menas went to the house of that woman, knocked on the door, and called her.'

Applicatives

There are two special converb construction with the donative verbs ⲇⲉⲛ
'to give to me/us' and ⲧⲣ̄ 'to give to someone else'. Together with a
converb, they create an applicative construction.

(17) ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅ︥ⲗⲟⲛ ⲅⲟⲕⲕⲁ ⲉⲓⲧⲕⲁ ⲅⲟⲩⲫⲁ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁ·

    apogg-il-∅-lon   *ŋok-ka*   *eit-ka*   *gouñ-a*
    boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP house-ACC woman-ACC build-PRED

    tin-n-a
    give>2/3-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

    'The boatsman builds a house for the woman.'

(18) ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅ︥ⲗⲟⲛ ⲅⲟⲕⲕⲁ (ⲁ̈ⲓⲕⲁ) ⲅⲟⲩⲫⲁ ⲇⲉⲛⲛⲁ·

    apogg-il-∅-lon   *ŋok-ka*   *ai-ka*   *gouñ-a*
    boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP house-ACC 1SG-ACC build-PRED

    den-n-a
    give>1-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

    'The boatsman builds a house for me.'

Table of Contents

Personal Pronouns and Clitics

There are several ways to mark person in a clause: independent personal pronouns, possessor prefixes, and subject clitics.

	Long pronoun	Short pronoun	Kinship poss.	Subject clitic	Subject clitic (IMP)	'Old' Subject clitic
1SG	ⲁ̈ⲉ̈ⲓ, ⲁ̈ⲟ̈ⲩ	ⲁ̈	ⲁ-	-ⲓ	–	–
2SG	ⲉⲓ̈ⲡⲓ, ⲉⲓⲡⲟⲩ	ⲉⲓⲡ	ⲓ-	-ⲛ	-ⲓ	-ⲏ/ⲓ
3SG	ⲧⲁⲡⲓ, ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲩ	ⲧⲁⲡ	ⲧⲁ(ⲣ)-	-ⲛ	-ⲓ	–
1PL.INCL	ⲉⲡⲓ, ⲉⲣⲟⲩ(?)	ⲉⲡ	–	-ⲟⲩ	-ⲁⲙ	–
1PL.EXCL	ⲟⲩⲉⲓ, ⲟⲩⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	–	-ⲟⲩ	-ⲁⲙ	–
2PL	ⲟⲩⲣⲓ, ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩⲣ	–	-ⲟⲩ	-(ⲁ)ⲛ	-ⲕⲉ
3PL	ⲧⲉⲣⲓ, ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ	ⲧⲉⲣ	–	-ⲁⲛ	-(ⲁ)ⲛ	–

Subject Clitics

Subject clitics developed from independent pronouns and got incorporated into the verbal complex. This is a common process throughout Nilo-Saharan languages:

1SG -ι < ⲁⲓ

2/3SG -ⲛ, cf. Midob 2SG pronoun *íin*, 3SG pronoun *òon*

1/2PL -ⲟⲩ < ⲟⲩ(ⲡ)

3PL -ⲁⲛ, cf. Midob 3PL pronoun *ànngá*

Subject Clitics

Old Nubian is a **pro-drop** language, which means that the subject does not need to be expressed explicitly by a noun phrase.

Subject clitics appear when there is a **subject gap**, either because the subject has been dropped or because it has been topicalized:

(19) ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅ̅ⲗⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁ̅·

apogg-il-∅-lon   *GAP pes-in-a*
boatsman-DET-NOM-TOP   speak-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

'The boatsman speaks.'

(20) ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲁ̅·

GAP pes-in-a
      speak-PRS.2/3SG-PRED

'He/she/it speaks.'

Imperatives always have a subject clitic.

Subject Clitics

When the subject is overt, person is usually not marked on the verb:

(21) ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲅ̄ⲗ ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁ̄·

    apogg-il-∅   *pes-ir-a*
    boatsman-DET-NOM speak-PRS-PRED

    'The boatsman speaks.'

'Old' Subject Clitics

Remnants of an older person marking system, only survives for second singular and plural persons. This shows that Northern East Sudanic languages went through successive cycles of pronoun incorporation:

(22) a. Appeals: ⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕⲣⲁⲅⲟⲩⲉ̄-ⲕⲉ 'Beloved!'

   b. Questions: ⲇⲁⲅⲉⲓⲛⲁ-ⲓ/ⲕⲉ 'Are you (sg/pl) great?'

   c. Affirmatives: ⲉⲛ̄ⲛⲁ-ⲗⲏ/ⲗⲕⲉ 'You (sg/pl) are.'

   d. Jussives: ⲁⲛⲕⲁ-ⲙⲏ/ⲛⲕⲉ 'May you (sg/pl) remember!'

   e. Vetitives: ⲁⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ-ⲙⲏ/ⲛⲕⲉ 'Don't (sg/pl) remember!'

'Old' Subject Clitics

(23)   P.QI 1 7.i.7–9 ⲉⲛ̄ ⲧⲣ̈ⲓⲧⲗⲱ· ⲉⲅⲅⲁⲉ[ⲅ]ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲉ· ⲉⲕ̄ⲕ̄ⲇ̄ⲇ̄ⲣ̈ⲓⲕⲁ
ⲉⲓⲇⲉⲇ̄ⲇ̄ⲁⲛⲛⲁⲥⲱ· ⲧⲁⲙ[ⲉⲗ]ⲟ ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲕⲕⲟⲛ ⲧⲓⲇ̄ⲇ̄ⲁⲛⲧⲁⲛⲕⲉ·

ein   trit-lō   eŋŋae-goue-ke
DEM.PROX manner-LOC brother.PL.PRED-PL.PRED-2PL

eikkidd-ri-ka   eijejj-ann-a-sō   tame-lo
prophesy-PL-ACC zealous-IMP.2/3PL-PRED-COMM tongue-LOC

pes-ok-k-on   tijjan-ta-nke
speak-PST1-ACC-TOP forbid-NEG-JUS.PL

'Thus, brothers, be zealous in prophesies, and do not forbid the
one who has spoken in tongues!' (1 Cor 14:39)

Long Personal Pronouns

Long personal pronouns are used for:

(24)   a. Emphasis

         b. Address

         c. Qualification

         d. Basis for locative and dative

         e. Basis for long genitive

Long Personal Pronouns

Emphasis (clitic doubling):

(25) K 26.10–12 ⲙⲛⲁ ⲉⲓⲣⲟⲩ ⲧⲁ̅ⲗⲓⲗⲟ ⲅⲟⲉⲓⲁ{ⲛ} ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲁ̈ⲓ:/

      mn-a   *eirou-∅*   *till-ilo*   *goeian*
      what-PRED 2SG-NOM God-LOC than

      dauei-n-a-i
      great-PRS.2/3SG-PRED-2SG

      'Are *you* greater than God?'

Long Personal Pronouns

Address (questions, commands, direct appeals):

(26) P.QI 1 4.i.2–3 ⲅⲟⲇⲁ ⲉⲓⲣⲓ ⲉⲛ̄ⲛⲟ ⲇⲟⲩⲁⲣ[ⲁ] ⲉⲛⲕⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲅⲅⲁⲗ
      ⲇⲓⲙⲉⲇⲣⲁⲗⲟ·

ŋod-a	*eiri-∅*	*ein-no*		*dou-ar-a*
lord-PRED	2SG-NOM	DEM.PROX-LOC		exist-PST1-PRED

en-ka-n		*an*	*eŋŋal-∅*
be-SUBORD-2/3SG		1SG.GEN	brother-NOM

di-me-d-r-a-lo
die-NEG-INTEN-PRS-PRED-FOC

'Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died.' (Jn
11:21)

Long Personal Pronouns

With qualifiers:

(27) P.QI 2 24.13–14 ειρογ κολλο γεννα ενκαιō κοϲα ενκαιō ϭαϫϫρα κρεν ταγκιλο:

eirou *kol-∅-lo*   *genn-a*   *en-ka-i-o*
2SG alone-NOM-FOC good-PRED be-SUBORD-1SG-LOC
kos-a   *en-ka-i-o*   *ŋad-d-r-a*
bad-PRED be-SUBORD-1SG-LOC see-INTEN-PRS-PRED
kr-en   *tauk-ilo*
come-PFV.PRS.2/3SG time-LOC

'You alone, whether I am good or bad, will see when you come.'

Short Personal Pronouns

Short personal pronouns are used for:

(28)   a. Topicalized subject

         b. Focus-marked subject

         c. Subject of nominal predicate

         d. Basis for other cases than locative, dative, and long genitive

Short Personal Pronouns

Topicalized subjects:

(29) L 107.12–13 ⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲛ ⲇ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁ̄ⲗⲟ ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲉ⳹

ai-∅-on　　　*ten*　　*jouri-a-lo*　　*sen-n-e*
1SG-NOM-TOP 3PL.GEN cause-DAT-FOC ask-PRS-1SG.PRED

'I ask about them.' (Jn 17:9)

Short Personal Pronouns

Focus-marked subjects:

(30)   P.Attiri 2.ii.2–3 ⲧⲁⲗⲗⲟ ⲥⲕ̅ⲇⲉⲥⲣ̅ⲣⲁ ⲕⲟⲉⲟⲩⲣⲕⲕⲟⲗⲕⲁ

tal-∅-lo   *(i)sik-des-ir-r-a*
3SG-NOM-FOC conquer-free-TR-PRS-PRED

ko-e-ourk-kol-ka
have-NMLZ-hungry-ADJ-ACC

'*He* overcomes the power-hungry.'

Short Personal Pronouns

Subject of a nominal predicate:

(31) P.QI 1 2.i.1–2 ⲧⲉⲇ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲕⲕⲇⲉ[ⲣ]ⲁⲅⲟⲩⲉⲙ` ⲟⲛⲟⲛⲕⲁⲛⲉⲅⲟⲩⲗⲱ

     ted *oualou-a*   *okkider-a-goue-m*
     3PL altogether(?)-PRED unjust.NMLZ-PRED-PL.PRED-AFF
     onon-kane-gou-lō
     vain-NMLZ-PL-LOC

     'They are altogether unjust from vanities.' (Ps 61:10)

Kinship Possessors

Possessive prefixes that are obligatory on kinship terms in many Nubian languages. Only attested on ⲡⲟ/ⲡⲁ(ⲡ) 'father': ⲁ̄-ⲡⲟ 'my father'; ⲉⲓ-ⲡⲟ 'your father'; ⲧⲁⲡ-ⲡⲁ(ⲡ) 'his father'.

Table of Contents

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Email
vincent@vangervenoei.com

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