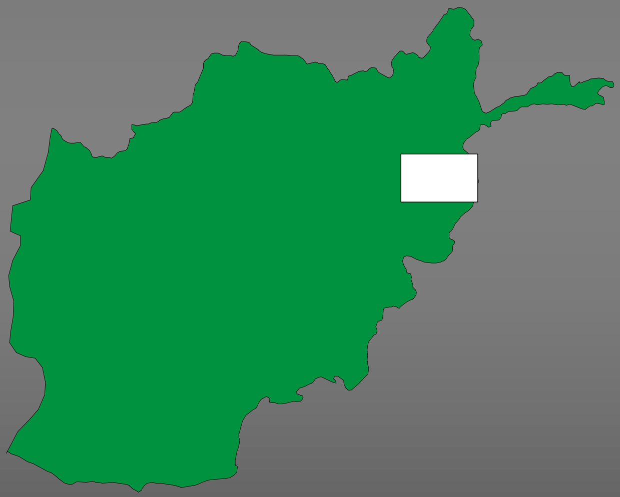
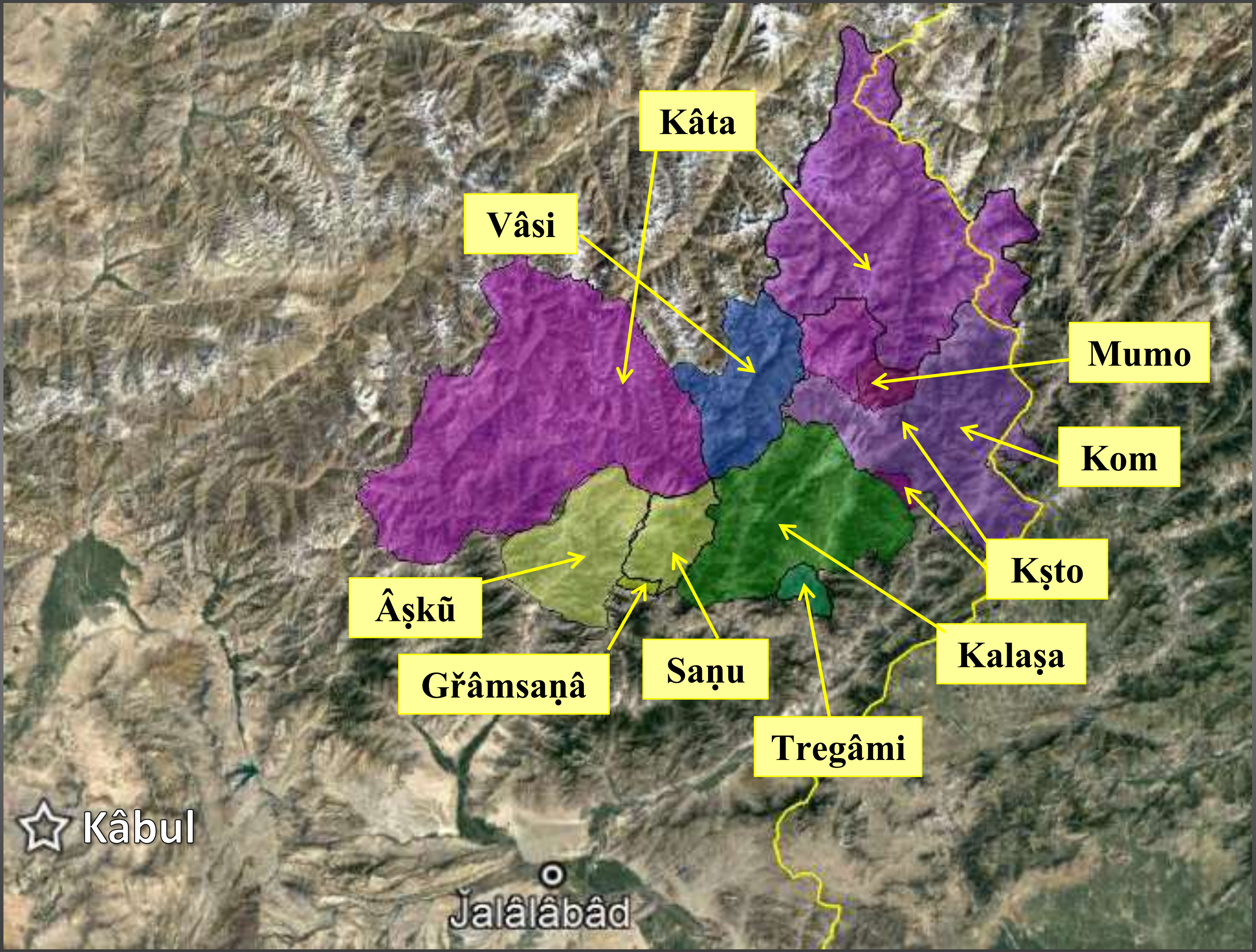
A Brief Look at the Linguistic, Cultural, and Strategic Significance of Nûristân



Who Are the Nûristânîs?

- Fifteen tribes speaking five separate but closely related Indo-Irânian languages
- They live in high, isolated valley basins (Alingar, Peč, Lanḍay Sin, and Kunaṛ) of the Hindu Kush Mountains in eastern Afghânistân
- They are culturally and linguistically distinct from their Indo-Irânian-speaking neighbors, but share common roots that diverged some 4,000 years ago into the three branches of the Indo-Irânian linguistic family: Indo-Âryan, Irânian, and Nûristânî
- They are the last of Afghânistân's inhabitants to be converted from a form of ancient Hinduism to Islâm (in 1896)

Nûristân


Kâta
Vâsi
Mumo
Kom
Kṣto
Âṣkũ
Kalaṣa
Gřâmsaṇâ
Saṇu
Tregâmi
Kâbul
Jalâlâbâd

Languages and Peoples of Nûristân (1)

- **Northern Nûristânî Languages**
  - ***Vâs'i-vari*** (“Prasun”), spoken by the ***Vâs'i*** people of the Pârun Valley in the uppermost Peč Basin, in three dialects:
    - Upper, Middle, and Lower ***Vâs'i-vari***.

    Vâs'i-vari shows many divergences from the other Nûristânî languages, notably a lack of split-ergativity
  - ***Kâmk'ata-mumkṣt'a-vari***, or ***Kâmk'ata-vari*** for short (“Kati”), spoken primarily by the ***Kât'a***, ***K'om, Mum'o***, and ***Kṣt'o*** peoples, in four dialects:
    - **Western *Kât'avari***, spoken by the ***Kât'a*** in the upper ***Řâmg'al*** portion of the Alingar Basin, in the ***Kt'ivi*** Valley off the upper Peč, and in the ***P'eřuk*** Valley off the upper Lanḍay Sin. Each of these regions has its own subdialect.
    - **Eastern *Kât'avari***, spoken by the ***Kât'a*** in the upper Lanḍay Sin and in a few villages across the border in Pakistan’s Čitral District.
    - ***Kâmv'iri*** (“Kamdeshi”) or ***Kṣt'aviri*** (“Kushtozi”), spoken by the ***K'om***, ***Kṣt'o***, ***J̌âš'a***, ***Bini'o***, and ***J̌âmč'o*** peoples in the lower Lanḍay Sin and upper Kunar basins, including a small portion of southern Čitral.
    - ***Mumv'ari***, spoken by the ***Mum'o*** in a portion of the Lanḍay Sin Valley between the Kom and Eastern Kâta.

Languages and Peoples of Nûristân (2)

- **Southern Nûristânî Languages, spoken by people who all call themselves *Kalaṣa***, in addition to their other tribal names.
  - ***Âṣkuṇu-Saṇu-viri*** (“Ashkun”); dialects include:
    - ***Âṣkuṇu viri***, spoken by the ***Âṣkũ*** people in the Bâźâigal, Mâsegal, and Titin Valleys off the middle Alingar Valley,
    - ***Saṇu-viri***, spoken by the ***Saṇu*** people of the middle Peč Valley,
    - ***Gřâmsaṇâ-viri***, spoken by the ***Gřâmsaṇâ*** people of the middle Peč Valley.
  - ***Kalaṣa-alâ*** (“Waigali”), spoken by the ***Kalaṣa*** people of the Waigal Valley off the lower Peč
    - ***Varǰan-alâ***, spoken by the ***Varǰan*** people of the upper Waigal Valley and to the east in the Veligal and Ćüki Valleys, and by the ***Kṣto*** inhabitants of the D'ũgul Valley off the middle Kunar. Minor dialect divisions separate each village, where the chief subdialect, ***Vä-alâ***, is that of the ***Väi*** (also called ***Vä*** or ***Vai***) people of the village of ***Väigal***.
    - ***Čima-Nišei-alâ***, spoken by the ***Čima-Nišei*** people of the lower Waigal Valley. Among the minor village-variant dialects is ***Nišei-alâ***, spoken by the ***Nišei*** in Nišeigrâm and by another ethnic group, the ***Vãtä***, in a hamlet in the lower Waigal Valley
    - A separate Kalaṣa-ala-speaking colony also lives in the village of ***Zamiâ*** in the ***Čapadara*** Valley, a southern tributary of the lower Peč River.
  - ***Tregâmi*** (native name unrecorded) is spoken in the three villages in the Tregâm Valley off the lower Peč.

Places

- Village communities, surrounded by agricultural fields
- Conifer forests, lying above the villages; holly-oak forests lie lower down
- Mountaintop summer pastures
- Winter grazing areas in the lower valleys

Kombřom (Kâmdeš), center of the Kom Nation

The Lower Part of Kombřom

Nišeigrâm, center of the Nišei Kalaṣa

Ṣupu, uppermost village of the Vâsi

People

Kalaṣa Males

Kalaṣa Woman

Kom Males

Kom Women

Subsistence

- Strict division of labor by gender
- Women supply bread; men supply “mixings” (dairy products or meat) eaten with bread
- Women grow maize, wheat, millet, barley, sorghum, beans, and squash
- Men raise cattle, goats, and a few sheep
- Extensive arboriculture, including walnuts, mulberries, grapes, apricots, and other fruit

Women’s Work

Women provide the bread...

...starting with the plowing

...and all the rest of the agricultural work

...including irrigating

... fertilizing

... harvesting

... and winnowing

Don't forget the firewood for cooking

… which must be carried all the way from the forest

Men harvest walnuts

...which the women gather and husk.

Men’s Work

Men provide the "mixings," which include the dairy products

...as well as the meat

Men milk the animals

...boil it and add rennet

...to make cheese,

...or let it turn to yoghurt and put it in goatskin churns

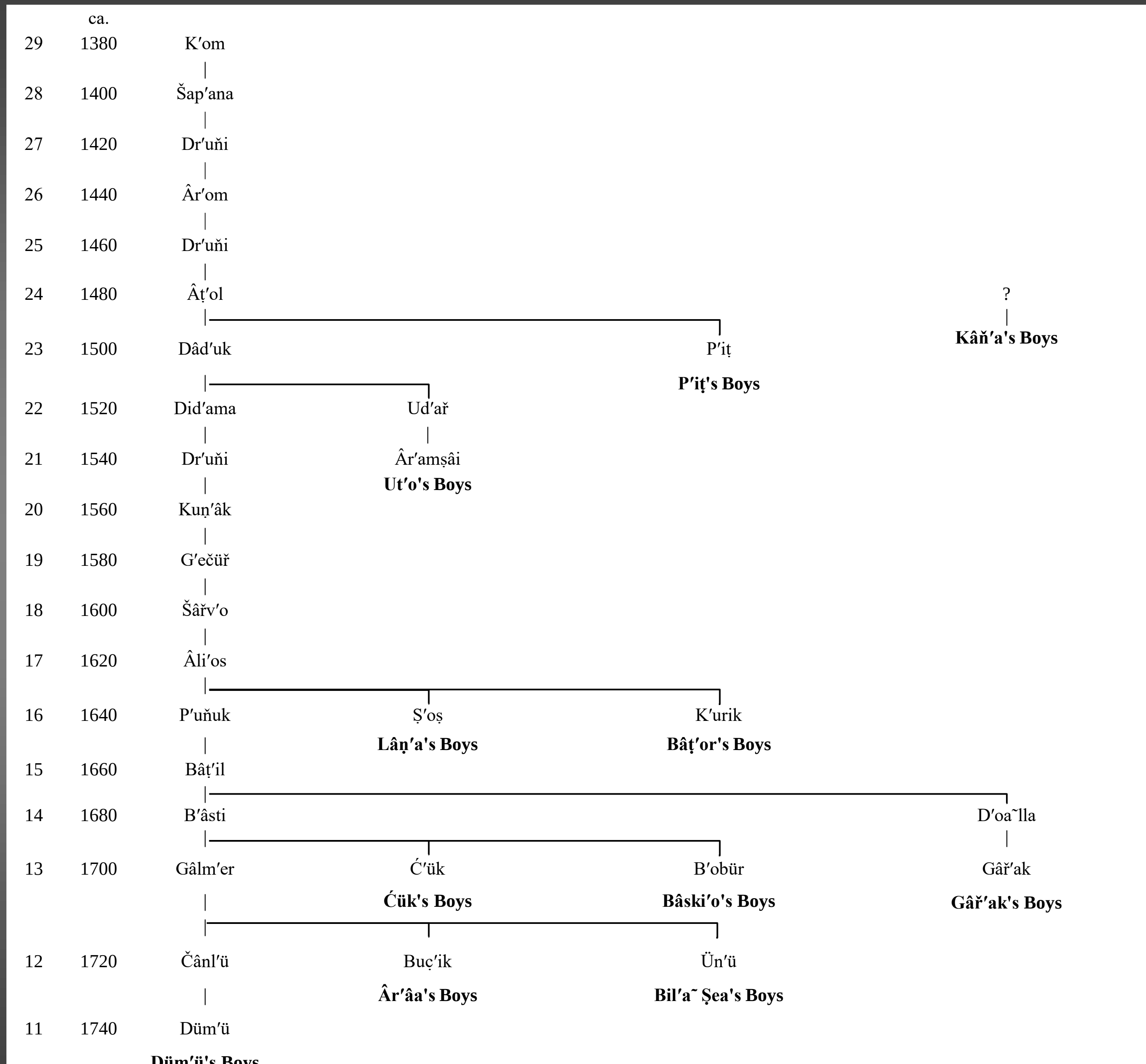
...which they rock side to side

...to make butter, which they clarify to make ghee.

Social Structure

- Tribes consisting of pasture-holding patrilineages of freemen and low-caste, disenfranchised artisans
- Kinship systems are generational, distinguishing seniority among siblings of parents and Ego’s generations, and distinguishing members of female ancestors’ lineages
- Marriage alliances between men of differing lineages; brides move to their husbands’ homes after the brideprice is paid off
- Governance is at the villages level, under authority of representative councils and policemen

The Kom Genealogy



Men make alliances through the marriages of their children

Nuristânis govern themselves through community councils …

… where the debate is usually heated.

Social Status

Pre-Islamic rank was determined by:

- Freeman (*âź'o*) vs. slave (*bâr'i*)
- Merit (*m'ü*) feasts for the whole commuity
- Prowess as a killer warrior (*l'eamoč*)

The modern Islamic clergy has interdicted these institutions

Feasting

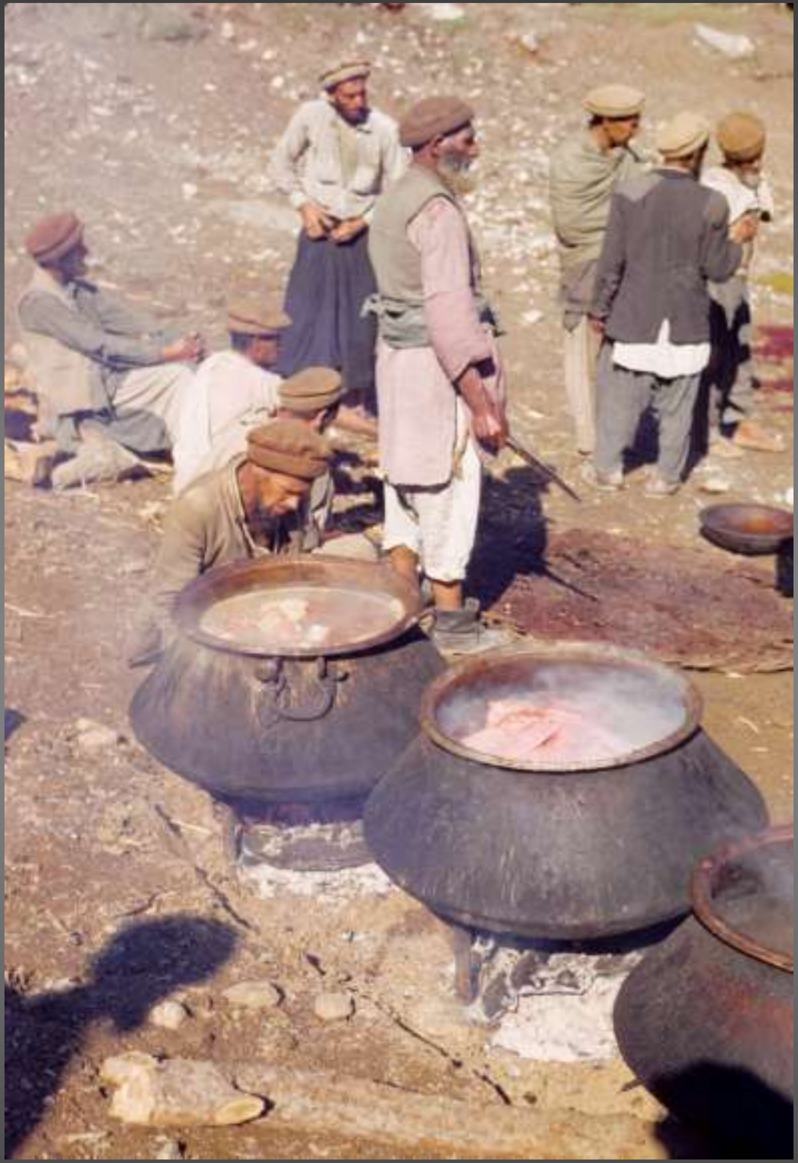
- The ability to feed the entire community enhances one’s social status
- Pre-Islamic merit feasts are now defunct
- Commemorative funeral feasts still occur but are under threat from the clergy

Goats or cattle are slaughtered, skinned,

...butchered,

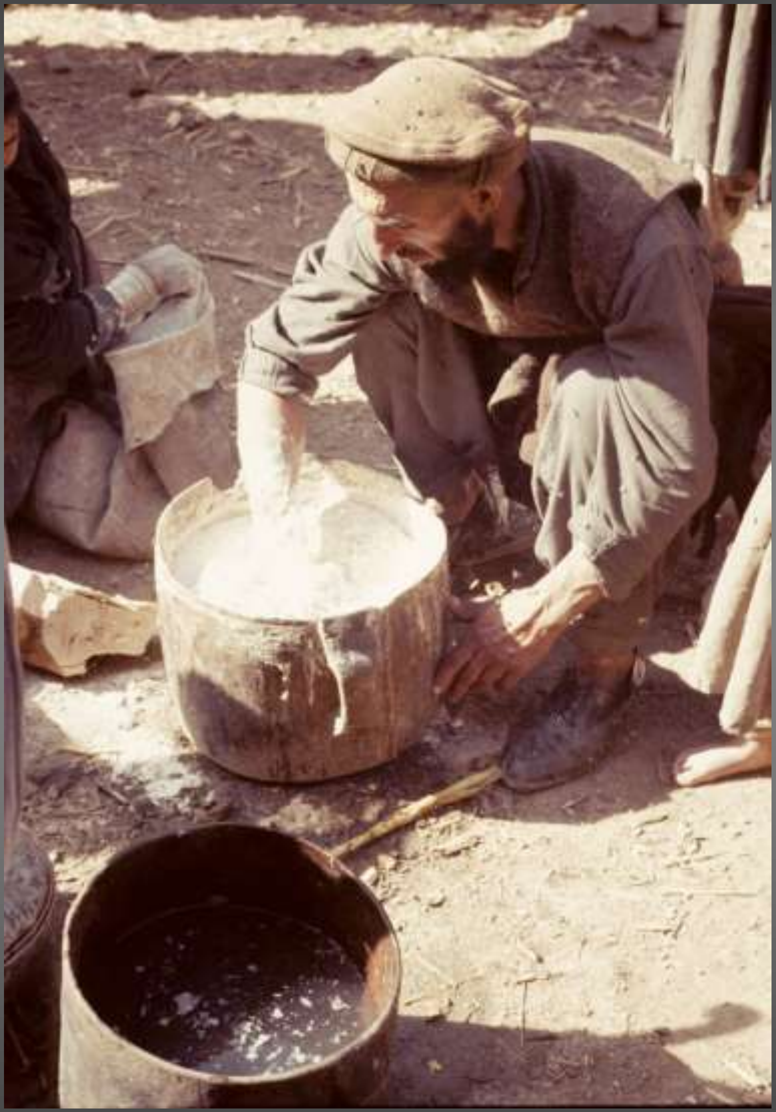
...and chopped up.

Then they’re boiled up in “community pots,”



...which sit on tripod stands over the fires.

Meanwhile, the women are busy making pancakes on their griddles.



Flour and water are mixed and added to the meat pots to make gravy.

Ghee, an essential feast ingredient, is melted down

…and ladled into “measuring pots.”

The boiled meat is removed and cut up into handful-sized pieces.

The gravy is ladled into small clay pots,

...each of which gets a measure of ghee on top.

The gravy pots are placed on wicker tables with the pancakes.

The meat is brought in on wicker platters

…and distributed to each person.

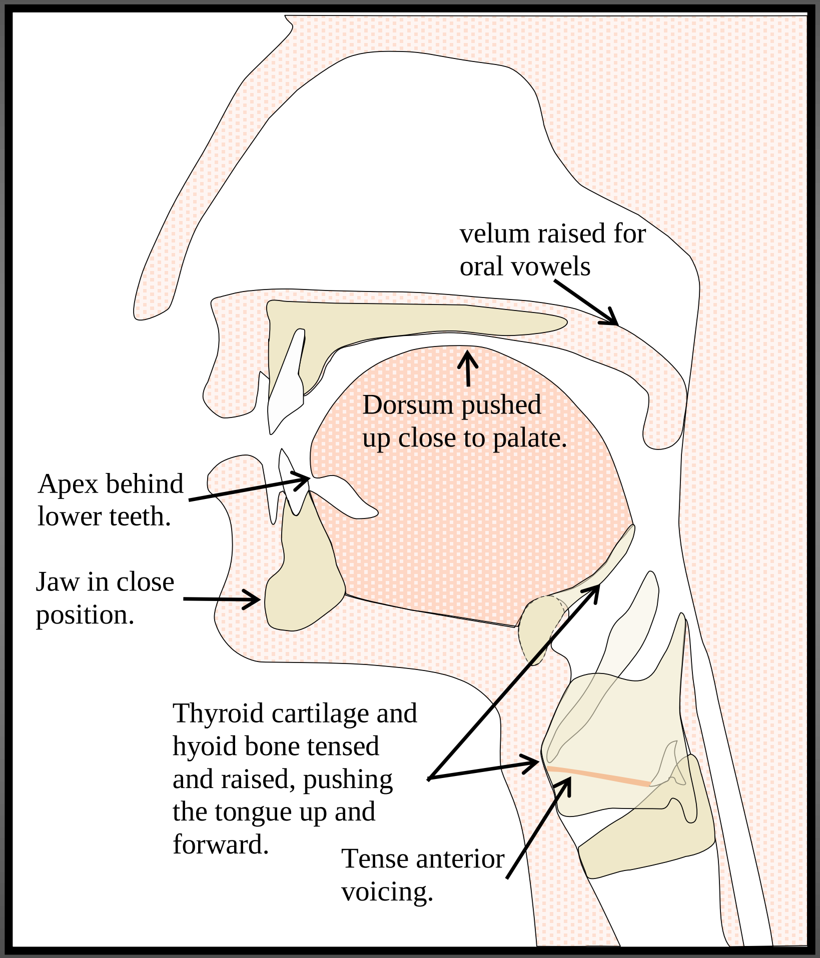
Everyone dips their pancakes into the gravy and eats.

Language

Phonology

- Vowels
  - Close-open contrasts in K-K. and A-S.; close-mid-open contrasts in others; front rounded vs. unrounded in Kmv., V., and Kal. ***a*** is close [ɨ] in K-K., V. and A-S. Phonemically lengthened vowels in Kmv. (V*a*) and maybe A-S; questionable in V. Nasalized vowels in all but WKt.; waning in V.
- Consonants
  - 3-way tongue-end contrasts: Apico- or lamino-dental vs. apico-alveolar vs. lamino-alveolar; Southern Nûristânî languages have strong "prognathizing," producing lamino-dental obstruents. All but V. have alveolar approximants ***ř*** and ***ň***, but they are sub-phonemic in the Southern group
- Accent
  - Phonemically contrastive positions in Northern group; stem-final in Southerm group.
- Syncope in Northern group, producing complex syllable onsets; *e.g.*, Kmv. ***pštr'a*** 'broken', ***kṭ'a*** 'heel', ***âkřč'a*** 'under-broiled'
- Emphatic "freezing" noted in K-K. and Kal.

Kâmviri Default Speech Posture



Kâmv′iri Phonemes

Stricture Type			Lip	Tongue: front, tip up: apico-dental	Tongue: front, tip down: lamino-alveolar	Tongue: back, tip up: apico-alveolar	Tongue: back, tip down: dorso-velar	Tongue: retracted, tip down: dorso-postvelar	Nasal	Pharynx	Larynx	Glottis
Consonants	Obstruents	Affricates		ć	č	c̣						
				ź	ǰ	ȷ̣						[vcd]
		Stops	p	t		ṭ	k	(q)				(ʾ)
			b	d		ḍ	g					[vcd]
		Spirants	(f)	s	š	ṣ	(x)			(ḥ)		(h)
			v	(z)	(ž)	ẓ	(ğ)			(ʿ)		[vcd]
	Sonorants	Flaps: upward				r						
		Flaps: forward				(ṛ)						
		Lateral		l								
		Approximants				ř						
						ň			[nas]			
		Nasal Stops	m	n		ṇ	ŋ		[nas]			
Vowels	Close		u		i		a		~			
			ü		[frn]							
	Open		o		e		â	(å)				
Pitch	Accent										ʹ	
	Terminal Contours	full drop									.	
		rising									?	
		steady									;	
		half drop									!?	
	Register Shift										↑	

Kalaṣa-alâ Phonemes

				Articulatory Location										
				Lip	Tongue						Nasal	Pharynx	Larynx	Glottis
					front			back		retracted				
					tip up	tip down		tip up	tip down					
Stricture Type					apico-dental	lamino-dental	lamino-alveolar	apico-alveolar	dorso-velar	dorso-postvelar				
Con-son-ants	Ob-stru-ents	Affricates				ć	čǰ	ç						
							ǰ	J̣						[vcd]
		Stops		p	t			ṭ	k	(q)				(ʾ)
				b	d			ḍ	g					[vcd]
		Spirants		(f)		s	š	ṣ	(x)			(ḥ)		(h)
				v		z	(ž)	ẓ	(ğ)			(ʿ)		[vcd]
	Sono-rants	Flaps	upward					r						
			forward					ṛ						
		Lateral			l									
		[Approximant]						[ř]						
		Nasal Stops		m	n			ṇ	ŋ		[nas]			
Vowels	Close			u			i				~			
				ü			[frn]							
	Mid			o			e		a					
				ö			[frn]							
	Open						ä		â					
Pitch	Accent												'	
	Terminal Contours		full drop										.	
			rising										?	
			steady										;	
			half drop										!?	
	Register Shift												↑	

Saṇu-viri Phonemes

				Articulatory Location									
				Lip	Tongue					Nasal	Pharynx	Larynx	Glottis
					front		back		retracted				
					tip up	tip down	tip up	tip down					
Stricture Type					apico-dental	lamino-alveolar	apico-alveolar	dorso-velar	dorso-postvelar				
Con-son-ants	Ob-stru-ents	Affricates			ć	c	ç						
					ź	j	j̣						[vcd]
		Stops		p	t		ṭ	k	(q)				(ʾ)
				b	d		ḍ	g					[vcd]
		Spirants		(f)	s	š	ṣ	(x)			(ḥ)		(h)
				v	z	ž	ẓ	(ğ)			(ʕ)		[vcd]
	Sono-rants	Flaps	upward				r						
			forward				ṛ						
		Lateral			l								
		[Approximant]					[ř]						
		Nasal Stops		m	n		ṇ	ŋ		[nas]			
Vowels	Close			u		i		a		~			:
	Open			o		e		â					
Pitch	Accent											'	
	Terminal Contours		<u>full drop</u>									.	
			rising									?	
			steady									;	
			half drop									!?	
	Register Shift											↑	

Grammar

Many structural similarities between languages, with Vâsi-vari being exceptional:

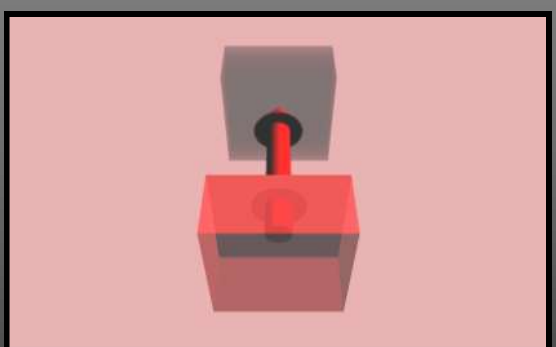
- 3-4 noun cases; plural and feminine gender indicated inflectionally only in oblique cases or by verbal subject suffixes
- Possessive suffixes on kinship nouns
- Systems of directional pointers with locational suffixes
- Finite verbs based on participles, with gender-showing feminine-singular forms
- Split-ergative system based on retrospective prospective
- Vivid (directly perceived) vs. evidential modes; “mirativity”
- Verb-final sentences
- Speaker-hearer status particles after verbs

Depictive Grammar

e ***`ǰukuř*** ***e ˆmânšea*** ***`viana.***

Frames of a Computer-Generated Depiction of
e `ǰukuř e ˆmânšea `viana. **‘A woman is hitting a man.’**
(not all frames are shown)

Realistic Depiction.

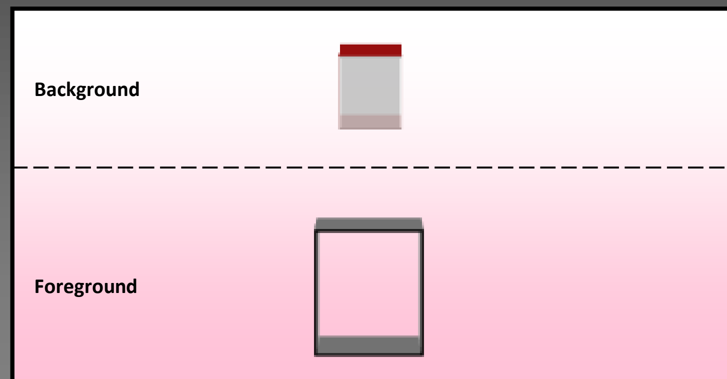


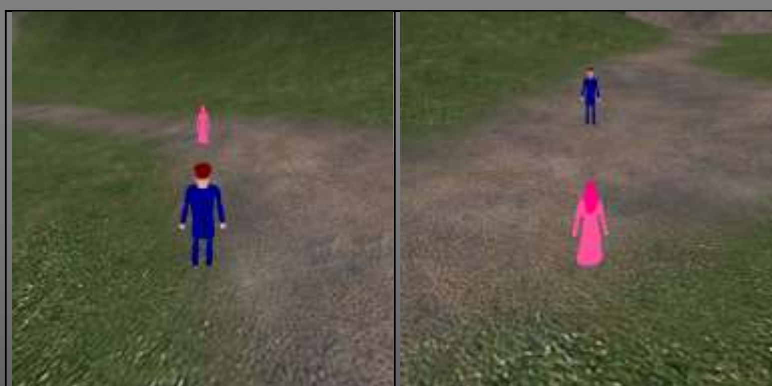
Schematic Depiction.

Kâmviri Nouns

- Case
  - Nominative
  - Locative (with ***a*** stems)
  - Oblique
  - Instrumental (with ***a*** stems)
- Number
  - Plural forms only with oblique case
- Gender
  - Unmarked vs. Feminine

Foreground and Background





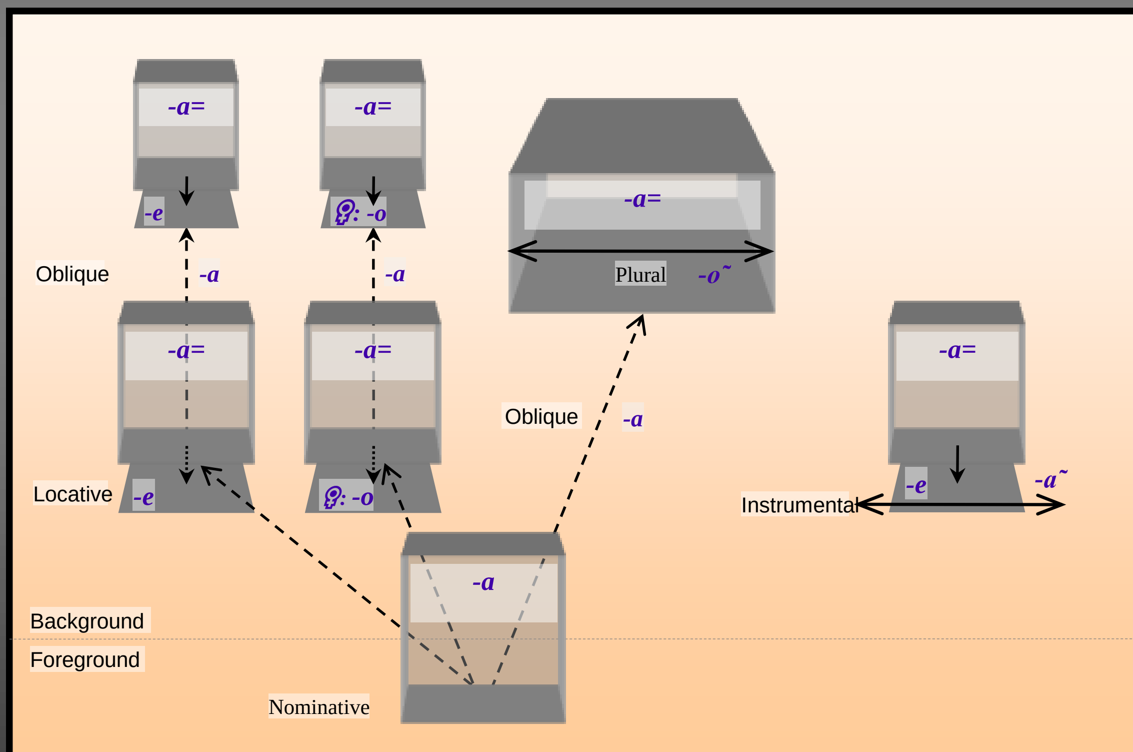
e ˆmânša e ˋǰukuřoa	*e ˋǰukuř e ˆmânšea*

Foreground and Background Objects.

Nominal Case Forms

	ˆ***břâźa*** ‘illness’		\`***ušpa*** ‘horse’		\`***ušpa*** ‘mare’	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
Instrumental	ˆ***břâźea˜***		–			–
Oblique	ˆ***břâźea***	ˆ***břâźoa˜***	\`***ušpea***	\`***ušpoa˜***	\`***ušpoa***	\`***ušpoa˜***
Locative	ˆ***břâźe***		\`***ušpe***		\`***ušpo***	
Nominative	ˆ***břâźa***		\`***ušpa***		\`***ušpa***	

Nominal Regular *a* Stems.

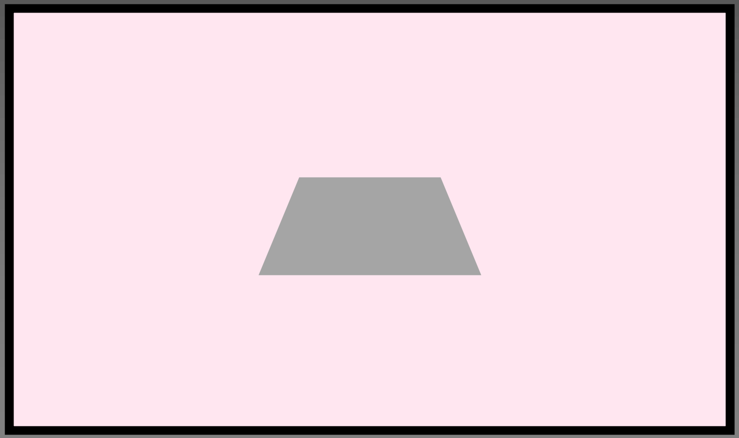


Depiction 5.5. Noun Cases: Regular *a*-Stems.

Space

- An object's location in space is defined through *gestures*, *relative locations*, and *connectors* that link it to some known location, or *place*, in space.
- Places themselves are a class of objects that have inherent locations and that may act as destinations for other objects.

Places

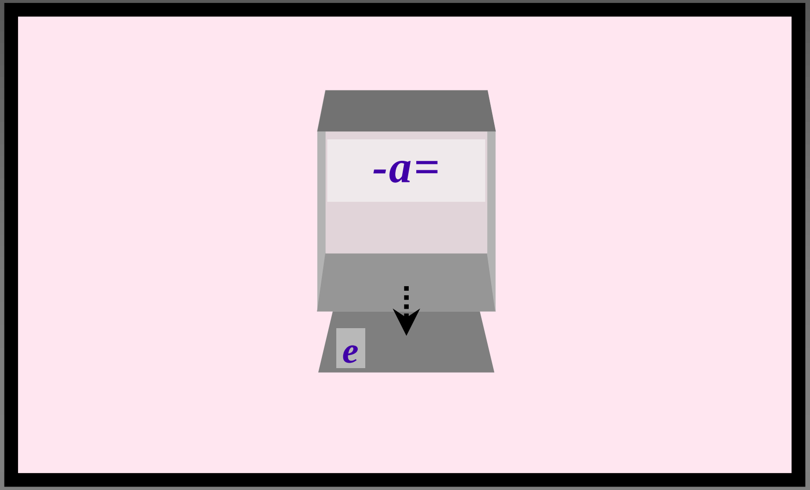


A Place.

Places may be:

- geographic locations
- the space occupied by an object
- locations relative to other places

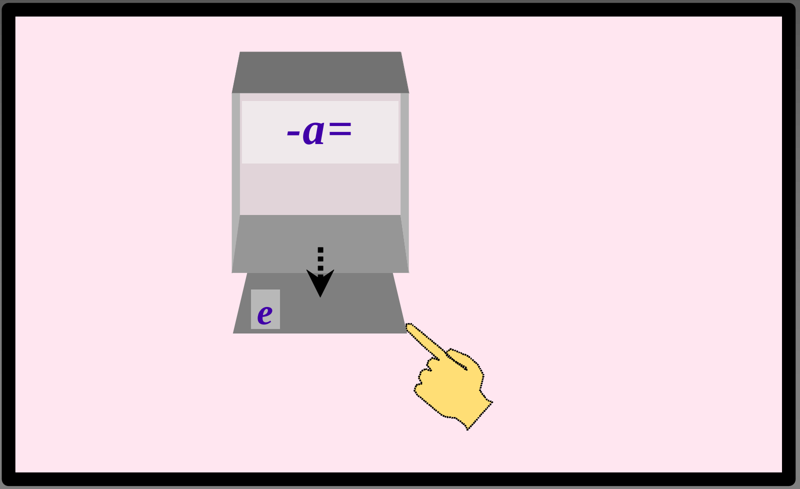
An Object's Place (Locative Case)



An Object's Place.

An object's "place" is the immediate space that encompasses it, or its "footprint."

Kâmviri Preposition ***pâ-***

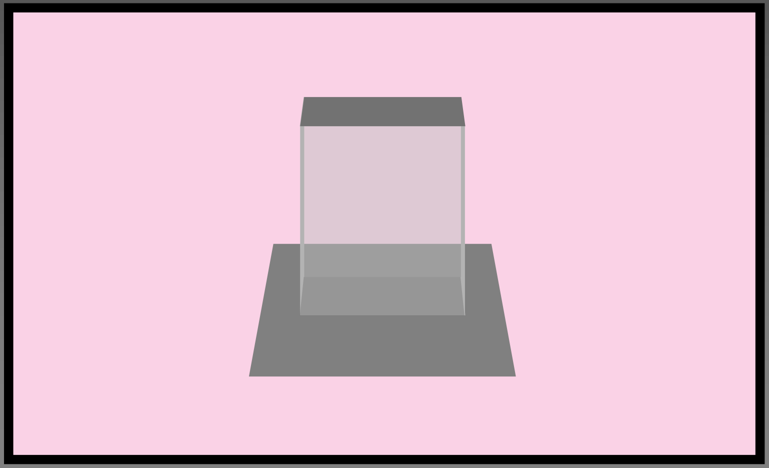


Pointer *ˆpâ-* ‘thither; to’.

The preposition ***pâ-*** (***bâ-*** before voiced stops) points to a place:

pâm'o ‘to/at the house (***âm'o***)’
pân'ile ‘to/at the lake (***nil'a***)’
břâk'om ‘to/at the community’ (< ***bâgř'om*** < ***pâ-*** + ***gř'om***)

Kâmviri Locative Postposition ***to***

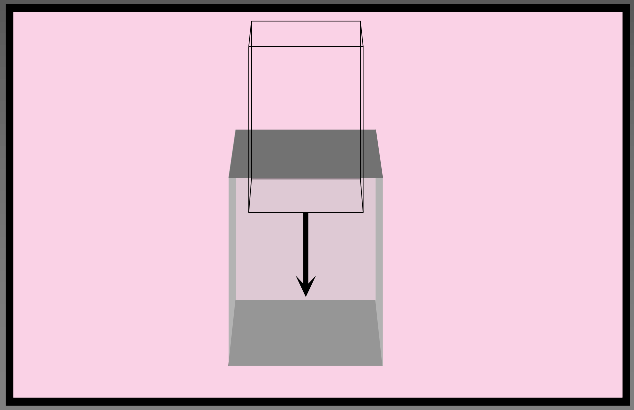


Postposition *-to* “place”; 'to'; 'at'; 'in'.

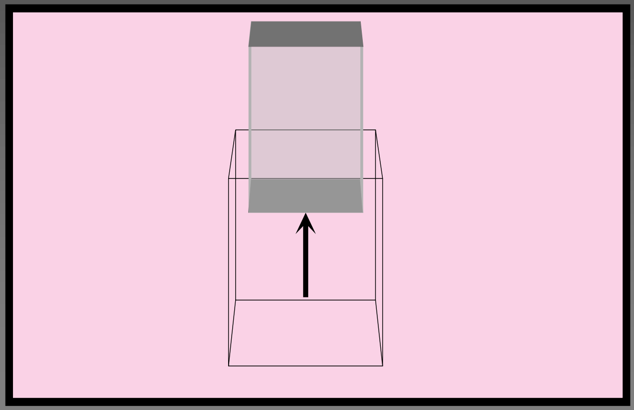
Postpositions follow a object’s place (locative-case):

âm'o to ‘at the house’
'ušpe to ‘on/at/by the horse (***'ušpa***)’
'ušpo to ‘on/at/by the mare (***'ušpa***)’

Kâmviri Directional Postpositions



Locator *-ste* 'from'.

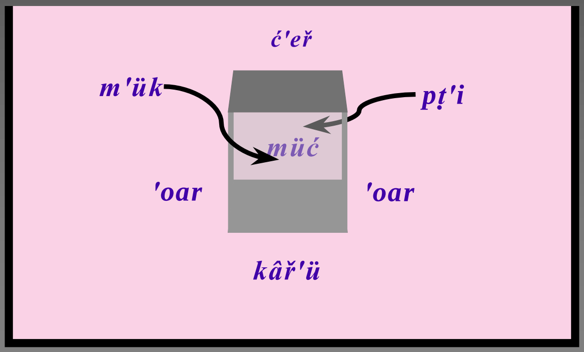


Locator *-vik* 'up to'.

Directional postpositions follow a located object (i.e, an object located with ***pâ-*** or ***to***, or a geographical place:

> ***âm'o to ste*** ‘from the house’
> ***břâk'om ste*** ‘from the community’
> ***p'itikal vik*** ‘up to Pitigal’

Kâmviri Object-Relative Locations.



Object-Relative Locations.

Preposition ***pâ-*** ‘to’ points to a conventional location on the locative-case object:

> ***bit'ale pâćeř*** ‘on the board (***bit'ala***)’ = “board’s to top”
> ***'i˜ pâmük*** ‘in front of me’ (***'i˜*** ‘my’) = “my to face”

Gestural Systems of Object Specification

- **Interrogative Gesture:** for objects: ***`kâa*** ‘what’, ***`kâča*** ‘who’, ***`ketta*** ‘which’ ***`čuk*** ‘how much’, ***`ča*** ‘how many’; for places ***`kora*** ‘where; whither’, ***`kuiu*** ‘where’; for times: ***`ku·i*** ‘when’; for purpose: ***`ke*** ‘why’; for manner: ***`kâa kti*** ‘how’; ***`kâa sta*** ‘how’. The basic interrogative meaning becomes indefinitized with a following ***bo*** or negated with a following ***nâ***.
- **Imitative Gestures:** ***gi-***: for objects: ***ˆgita*** ‘such’; ***ˆgita sta*** ‘such’; for manner: ***`gek*** ‘thus’; ***ˆgiǰa ku-*** ‘make like this’ = ‘say’; for purpose: ***`giâ˜***, ***`ge˜*** ‘without reason’
- **Pointing Gestures:**
    - Pronouns (point to objects)
    - Directional pointers (point to places)

Pronouns

- All Nûristânî languages show a division between perceptual (visible) and conceptual (unseen) 3rd-person pronouns.
- Perceptual pronouns show a deictic division of near vs. far.

- Vâsi-vari has two 1st-person plural verbal subject suffixes: speaker and hearer plus others (***-m***) and speaker and hearer only (***-mš***).

Kâmviri Pronouns

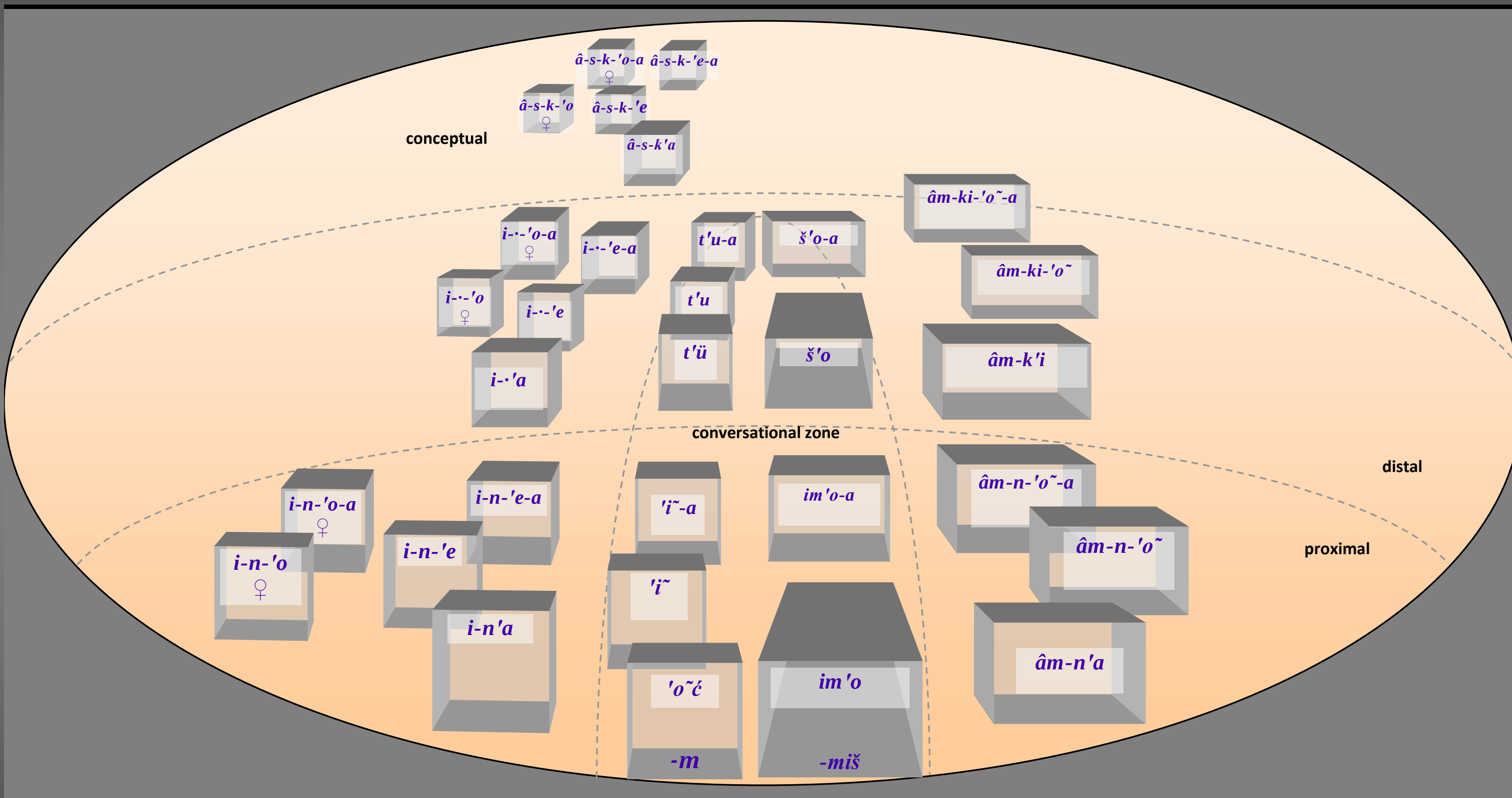
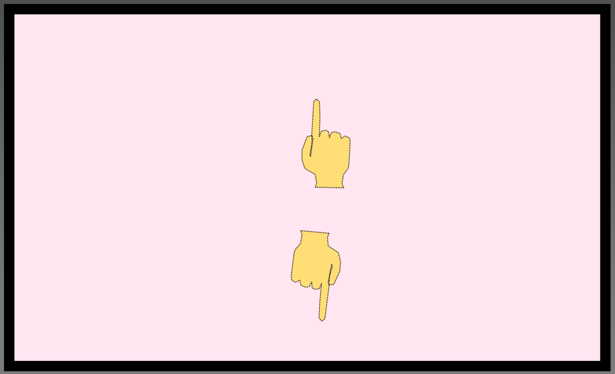


Figure 1. ***Kâmviri*** Pronouns.

Directional Systems

- Pointer + target; *e.g.*, Kâmviri, with pointer ***′u*** ‘straight up’:
  ′u-re ‘up there’
  ′u-ň ‘up there somewhere’
  ′u-ma ‘from here on up’

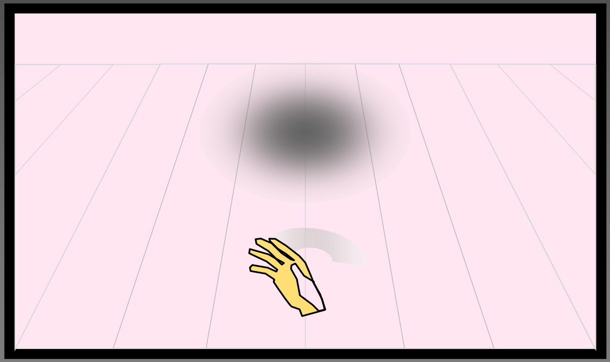
Kâmviri Directional Pointers



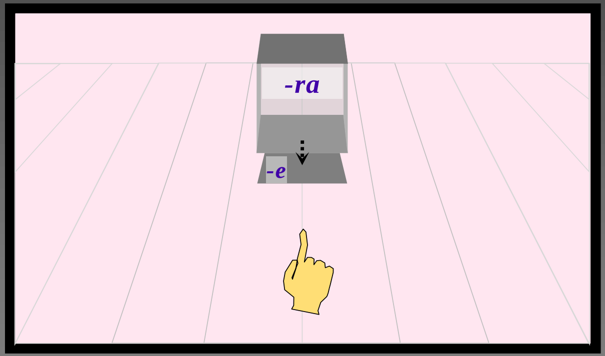
Pointers *`u* ‘up’ and *`ü* ‘down’.

- Basic:
  - Gravity: sky – earth: ***'u** – **'ü*** ‘up’ – ‘down’
  - Elevation: high – low: ***č'a** – **n'i*** ‘high(er)’ – ‘low(er)’
  - Container/Barrier: in – out: ***ât'a** – **bâr'a*** ‘in’ – ‘out’
  - pointer extension: ***-ua˜*** ‘way up (high/in)’
- Speaker-centric: ***vâ-** – **pâ-*** ‘hither – thither’
  - pointer extensions: ***-e*** ‘and across’, ***-âňu*** ‘and up’, ***-a*** ‘and down’, ***-ü*** ‘and over; around’

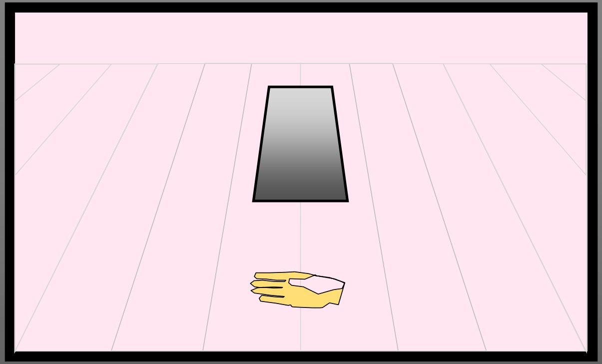
Kâmviri Directional Targets



Directional Target *-ň*. Non-Delimited Place.



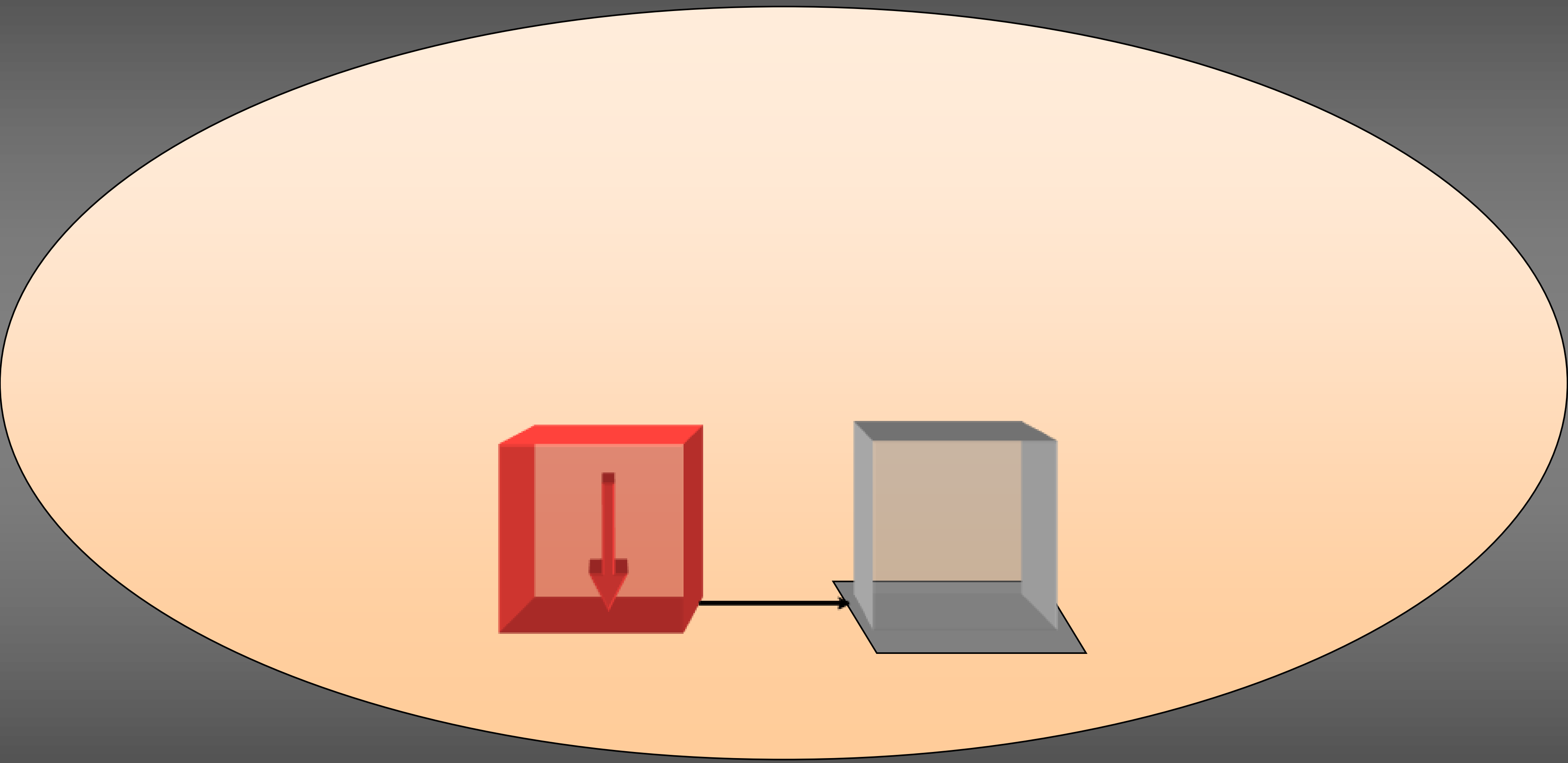
Extended Directional Target *-re*. Delimited Place.



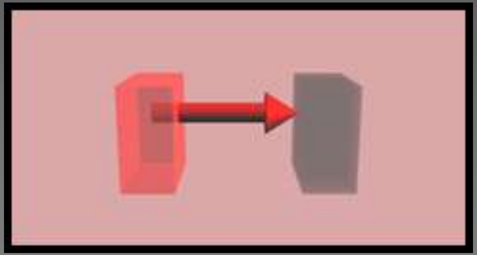
Directional Target *-ma*. Extensive Place.

Verbs

Motion to Destination



Perspective on Action



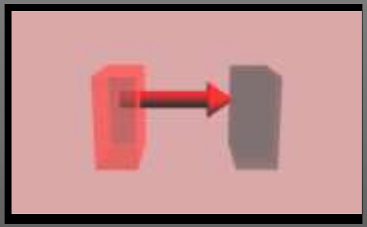
2-Dimensional

3-Dimensional,
Prospective

3-Dimensional,
Retrospective

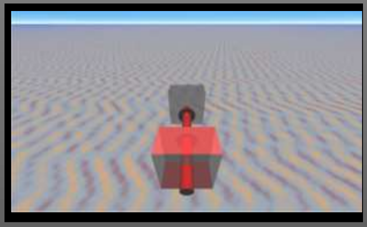
Mode

Modal Participles



Prototypical Mode.

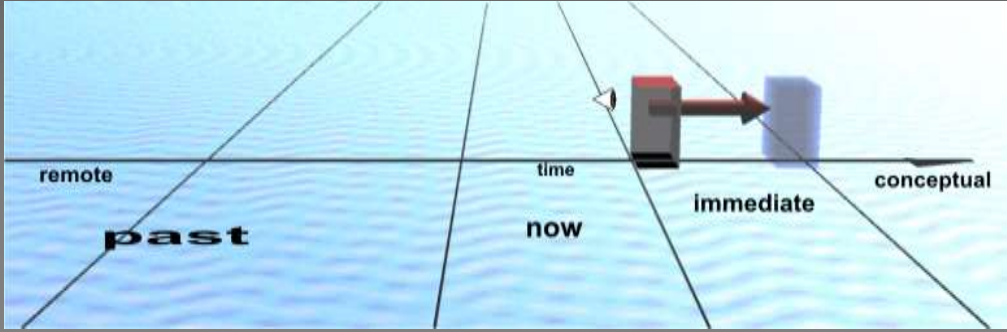
Conceptual Mode –*la*.



Progressive/ Perceptual Mode -*na-*.

Recollective Mode -*i*, etc.

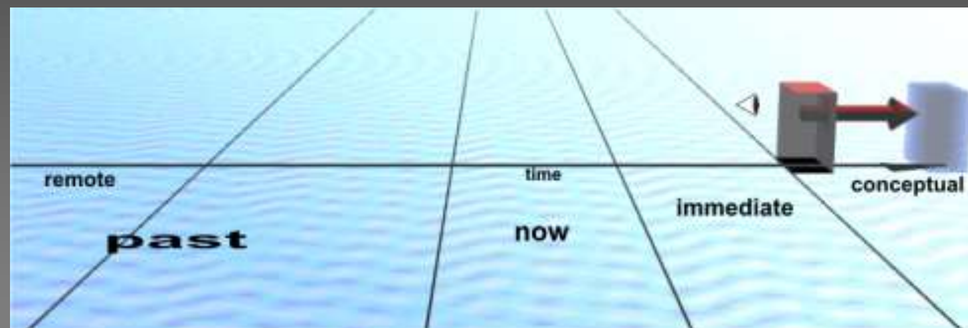
Prototypical:
Immediate or Command



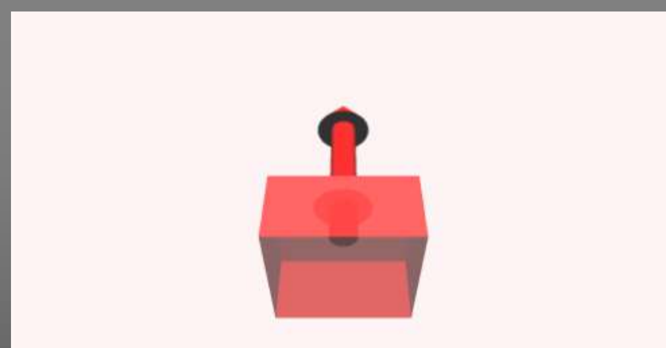
Interacting Objects in the Immediate Zone.

`viam** '[shall] I hit' [prototypical, < **`via-m]

Conceptual



Interacting Objects in the Conceptual Zone.

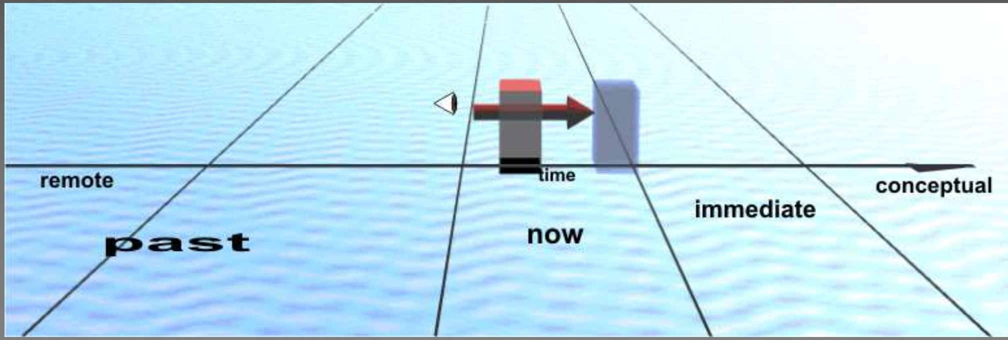


Conceptual Participle *-la*

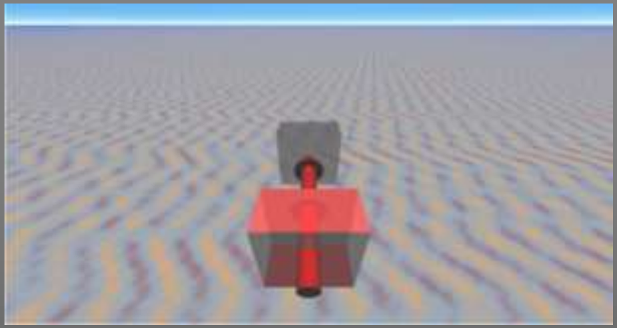
`vialam** 'I will hit' [prototypical conceptual, < **`via-la-m]

`vialom** 'I [masc.] should hit‘ [vivid conceptual, < **`via-la-o-m]

Progressive



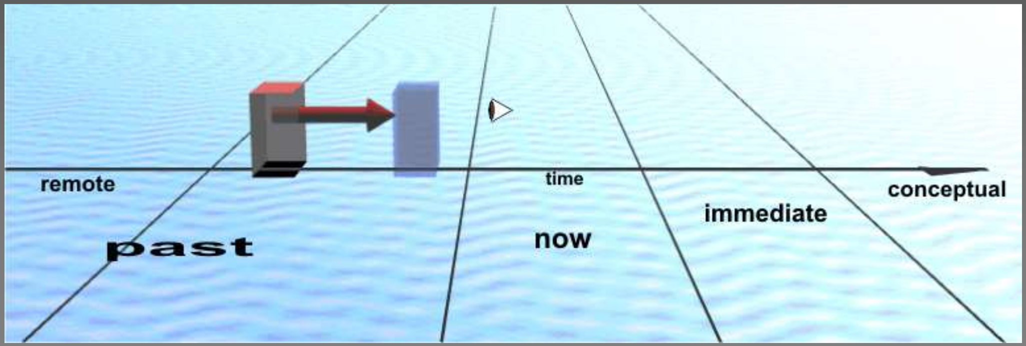
Interacting Objects in the Progressive Zone.



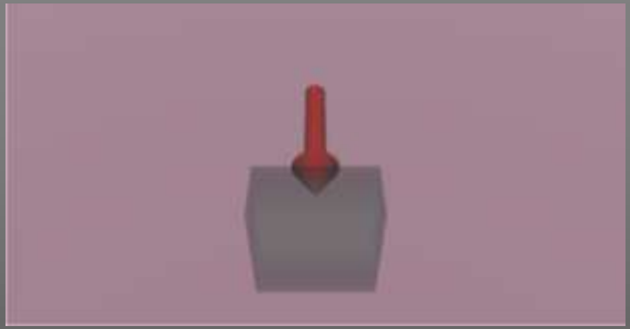
Progressive Participle *-na-*
(the object in the foreground)

`vianam** 'I am hitting’ [progressive, < **`via-na-m]

Past/Retrospective



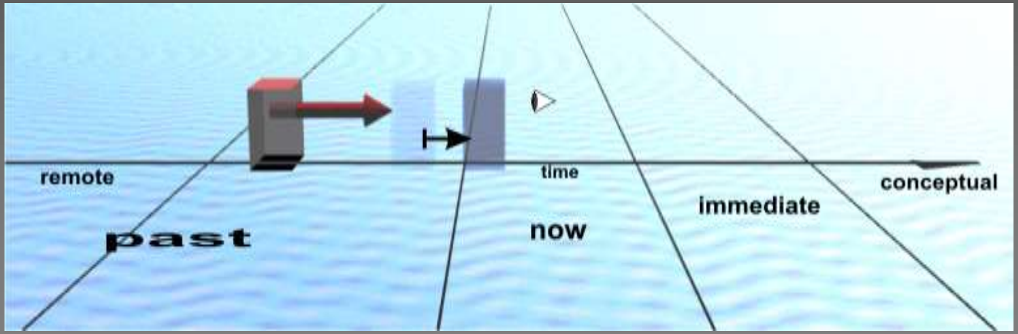
Retrospectively Viewed Interacting Objects in the Past Zone.



Retrospective Participle *-i* …

^**vinam** '[were] I beaten' [prototypical retrospective, < ^**vina-m**].
^**vinim** '[were] I [f.] beaten' [prototypical retrospective, < ^**vina-i-m**]
^**vinom** 'I [m.] was hit' [vivid retrospective, < ^**vina-o-m**].

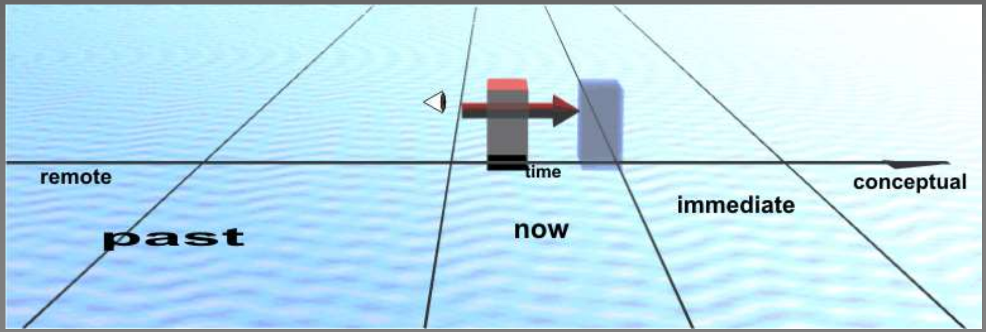
Evidential



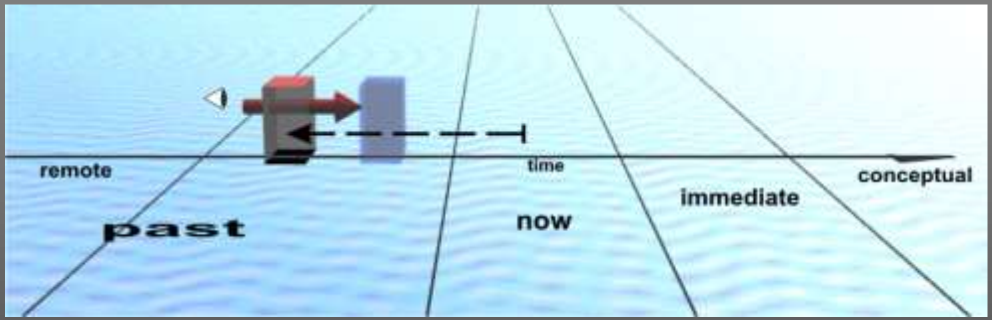
Retrospectively Viewed Interacting Objects in Evidential Mode.

^**vina-sta** ‘hit; beaten’
^**vini-sta** ‘hit; beaten’ [f.]

Progressive Projection



Interacting Objects in the Progressive Zone.



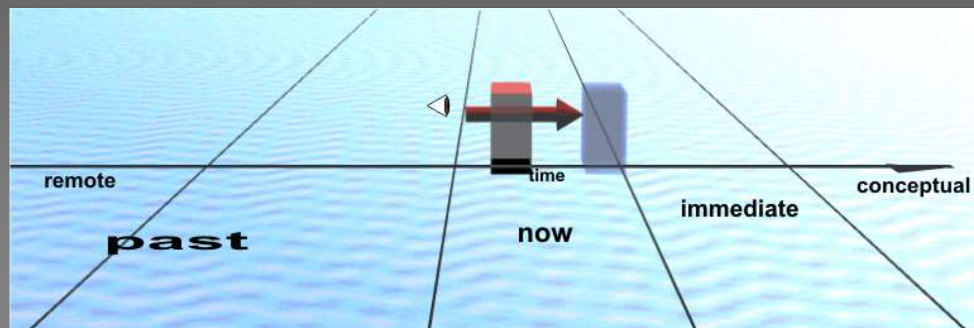
Progressive-Mode Objects Projected into the Past.

`vianâsam** I [m.] was hitting', [past progressive, < **`via-na=âsa-m]

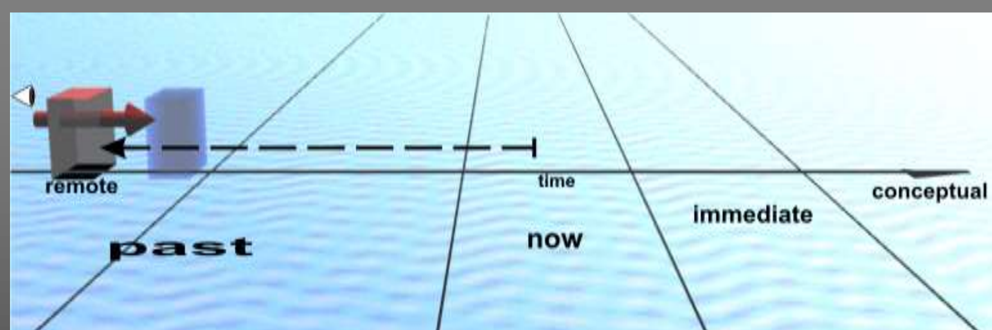
`viansam** I [f.] was hitting', [past progressive, < **`via-na-i=âsa-m]

`vianâsom** '[I realize that] I [m.] was hitting', [vivid past progressive, < **`via-na=âsa-o-m]

Progressive Projection



Interacting Objects in the Progressive Zone.

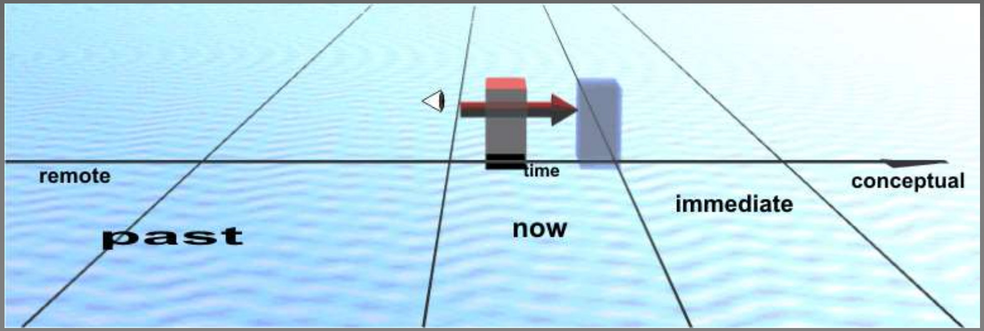


Progressive-Mode Objects Projected into the Remote Past.

`vianâsim** I [m.] previously was hitting' [remote past progressive, < **`via-na=âsa-i-m]

`viansim** I [f.] previously was hitting' [remote past progressive, < **`via-na-i=âsa-i-m]

Progressive Projection



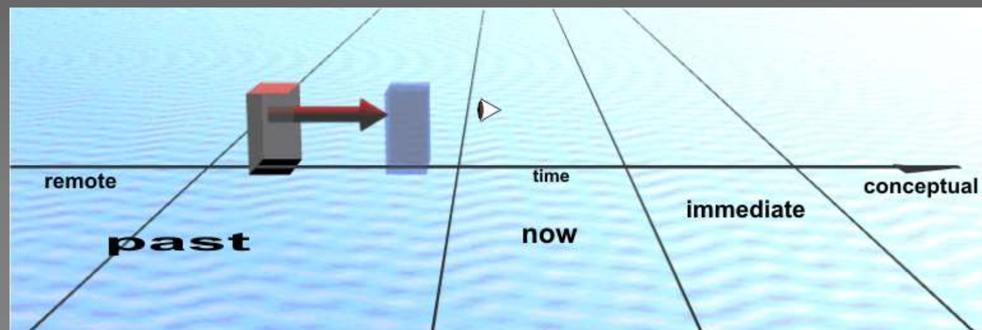
Interacting Objects in the Progressive Zone.

Progressive-Mode Objects Projected into the Conceptual Zone.

`vianâllam** I [m.] may be hitting' [conceptual progressive, < **`via-na=âsa-la-m]

`viansalim** I [f.] may be hitting' [conceptual progressive, < **`via-na-i=âsa-la-i-m]

Retrospective Projection

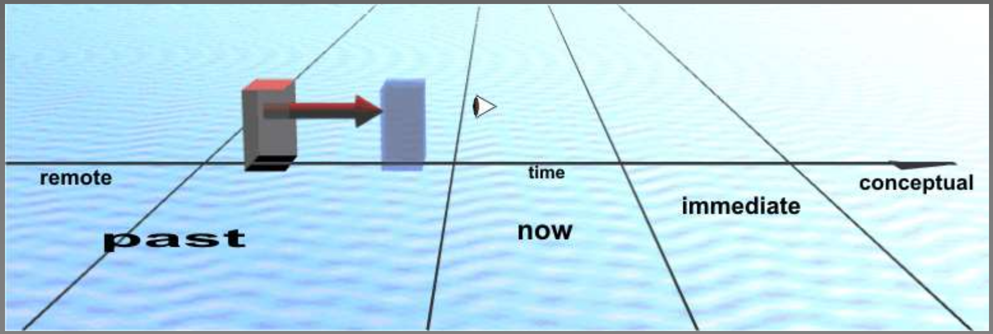


Retrospectively Viewed Interacting Objects in the Past Zone.

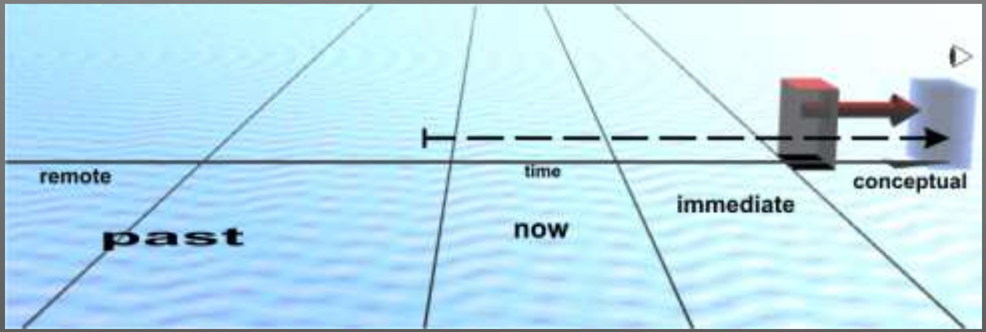
Retrospective-Mode Objects Projected into the Remote Past.

^vinâsim 'I [m.] barely recall that I was hit' [remote retrospective, < **^vina=âsa-i-m**].
^vinisim 'I [f.] barely recall that I was hit' [remote retrospective, < **^vina-i=âsa-i-m**].

Retrospective Projection



Retrospectively Viewed Interacting Objects in the Past Zone.

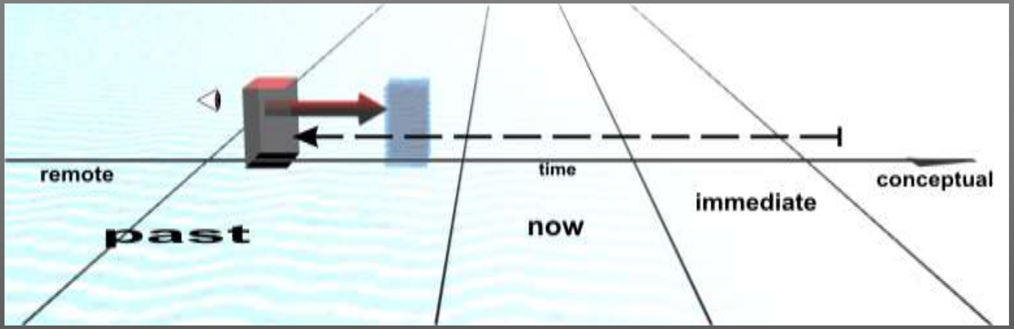


Retrospective-Mode Objects Projected into the Conceptual Zone.

^**vinâllam** 'I [m.] probably was hit' [conceptual retrospective, < ^**vina=âsa-la-m**].
^**vinillim** 'I [f.] probably was hit' [conceptual retrospective, < ^**vina-i=âsa-la-i-m**].

Conceptual Projection

Interacting Objects in the Conceptual Zone.



Conceptual-Mode Objects Projected into the Past.

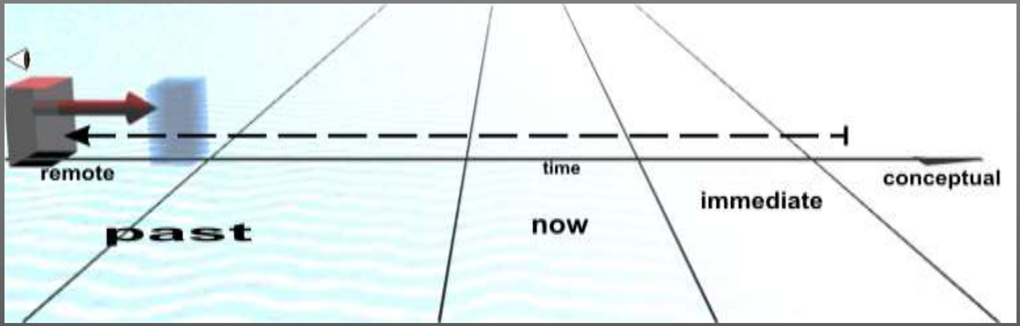
`vialâsam** I [m.] would have hit' [conceptual past, < **`via-la=âsa-m]

`vialsam** I [f.] would have hit' [conceptual past, < **`via-la-i=âsa-m]

`vialâsom '[I realize that] I [m.] would have hit' [vivid conceptual past]

Conceptual Projection

Interacting Objects in the Conceptual Zone.

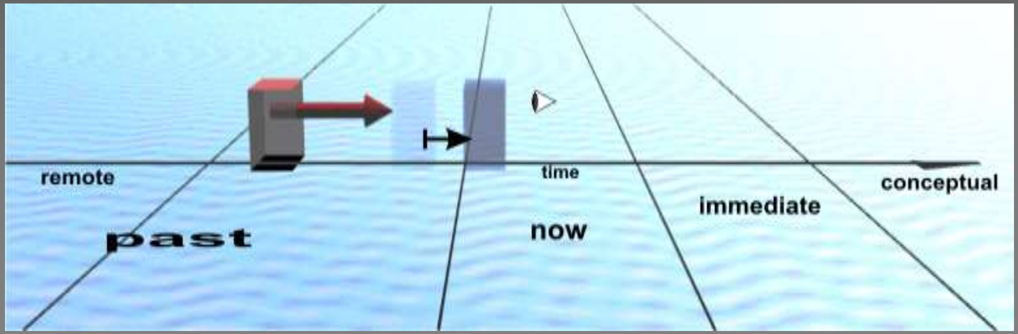


Timeline Error! No text of specified style in document.**.1. Conceptual-Mode Objects Projected into the Remote Past.**

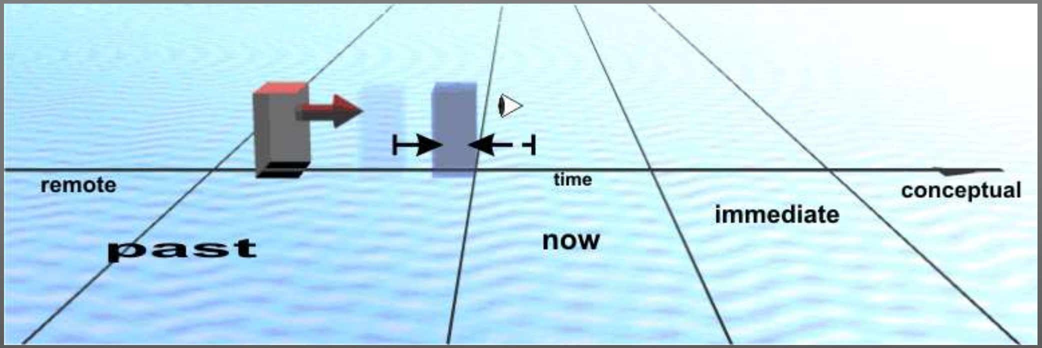
`vialâsim** I [m.] would have previously hit' [conceptual remote past, < **`via-la=âsa-i-m]

`vialsim** I [f.] would have previously hit' [conceptual remote past, < **`via-la-i=âsa-i-m]

Evidential Projection



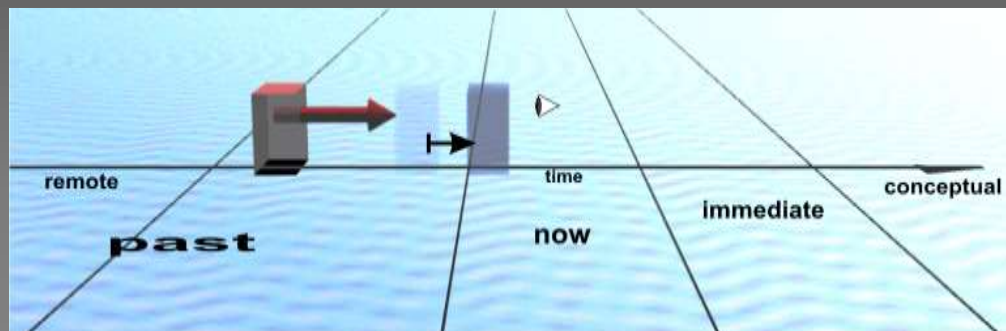
Retrospectively Viewed Interacting Objects in Evidential Mode.



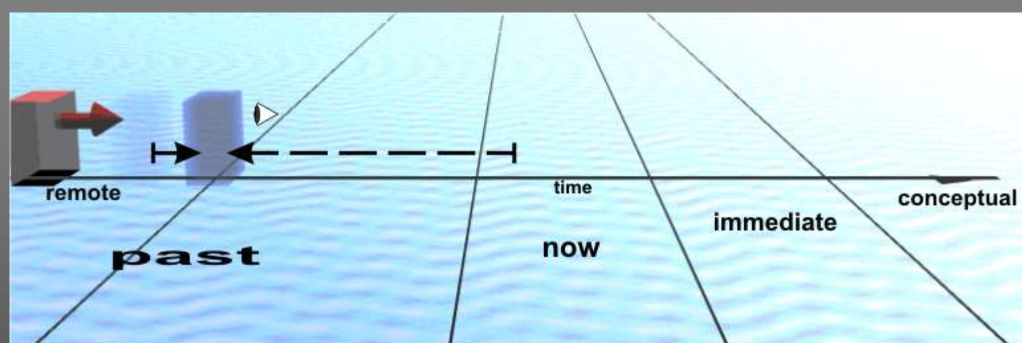
Evidential-Mode Objects Projected into the Past.

^**vina·sam** I [m.] have been hit' [conceptual remote past, < ^**vina-sta=âsa-m**]
^**vini·sam** I [f.] have been hit' [conceptual remote past, < ^**vina-i-sta=âsa-m**]
^**vina·som** [I realize that] I [m.] have been hit' [vivid conceptual remote past]

Evidential Projection



Retrospectively Viewed Interacting Objects in Evidential Mode.



Evidential-Mode Objects Projected into the Remote Past.

^**vina·sim** I [m.] had been hit’ [conceptual remote past, < ^**vina-sta=âsa-i-m**]
^**vini·sim** I [f.] had been hit’ [conceptual remote past, < ^**vina-i-sta=âsa-i-m**]

Nonfinite Verb Forms

In addition to the Retrospective and Conceptual Participles, other **nonfinite** verbal forms are formed with suffixes to the Prototypical form:

- a **precedential participle (“absolutive”)**, marked with **-ti**, indicating a change in an actor that precedes or leads up to the change represented by a second verb; *e.g.*, **`viati** 'having hit';
- an **infinitive**, marked with **-˜**, indicating the completed state of a change as a goal of action;
- a **gerund**, marked with **- ˜ -sta**, indicating a change as an object;
- a **retrospective infinitive**, marked with **-o˜** added to the retrospective stem, indicating the time preceding the completion of a change, expressed negatively (with **`nâ** 'not') as the time during which the change did <u>not</u> occur;
- a **destination noun**, marked with **-ň**, indicating a change as a goal of motion;
- a **location noun**, marked with **-to˜** 'place', indicating the location at which a change occurs;
- an **impulse noun**, marked with **-ik**, indicating an uncontrollable internal impulse;
- an **adverb of motion**, marked with **-m**, indicating a change concomitant with motion.

My Favorite Nonfinite Verb Form: The Impulse Noun in -*ik*

- With oblique-case experiencer:

  'i˜a 'oa pik bo. ‘I’m thirsty.’ (“In me water-drink impulse happened.”)

- Reduplicated:

  âmgi 'âaṭi v'ik vik guâ. ‘Those boys beat each other.’ (“Those boys beat beat went.”)

History

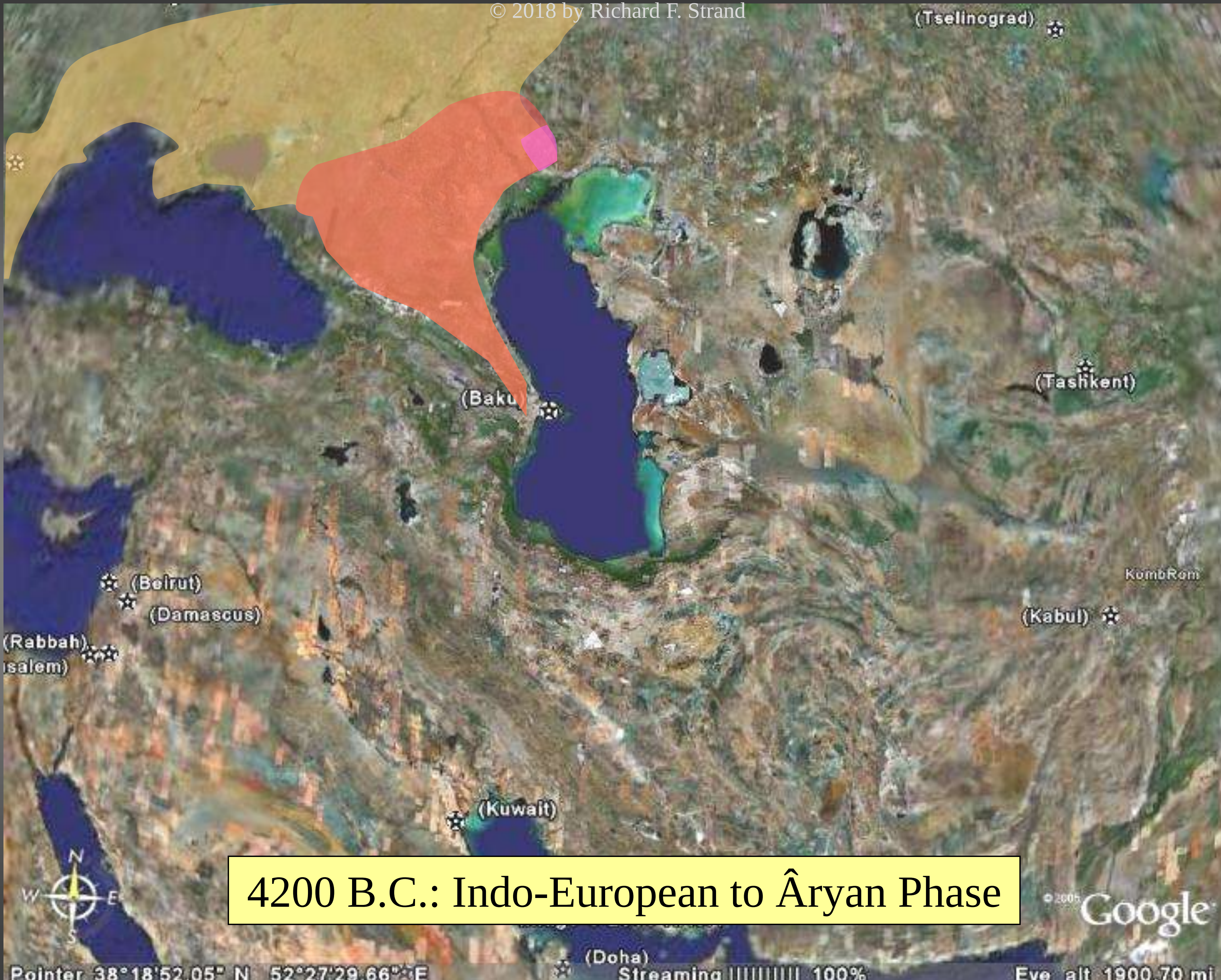
- According to their oral traditions, before they settled in Nûristân, the Nûristânîs migrated from Khorasân to Kandahâr to Kâbul to Kâpisâ to Kâma, at the confluence of the Kunar and Kâbul Rivers. Kâma at that time was solidly within the Indo-Âryan-speaking world; even today speakers of the Indo-Âryan language Pašaî border the district, which is now Pashto-speaking.
- We have no direct historical attestations of the Nûristânîs before the 19th century.

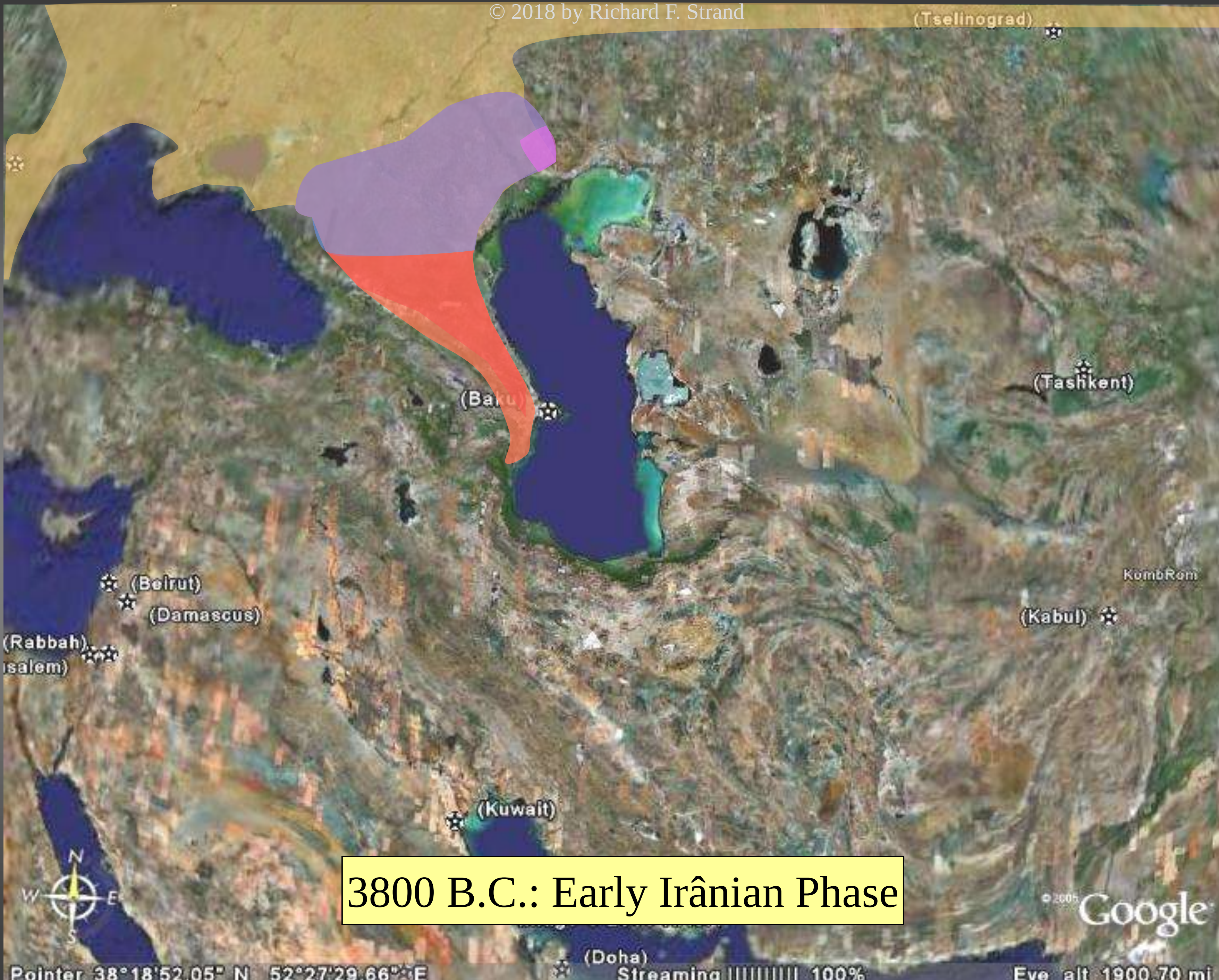
History (2)

- However, there is evidence to indicate that the Kom are modern descendants of the Kambojas, an ancient tribe of mounted Âryan warriors who ranged across southern Asia from the 7th century BCE to the 10th century CE.
- The Koms' tribal name in Persian and Pashto is ***Kamôzî***, regularly reconstructable to "Kamboja."
- The pre-Islamic Nûristânîs raised wooden statues to commemorate their dead. The Kom statues often were of men seated on horses. The ancient Kambojas were famous as horse breeders.
- Modern Nûristânîs have no recollection or knowledge of the Kambojas.

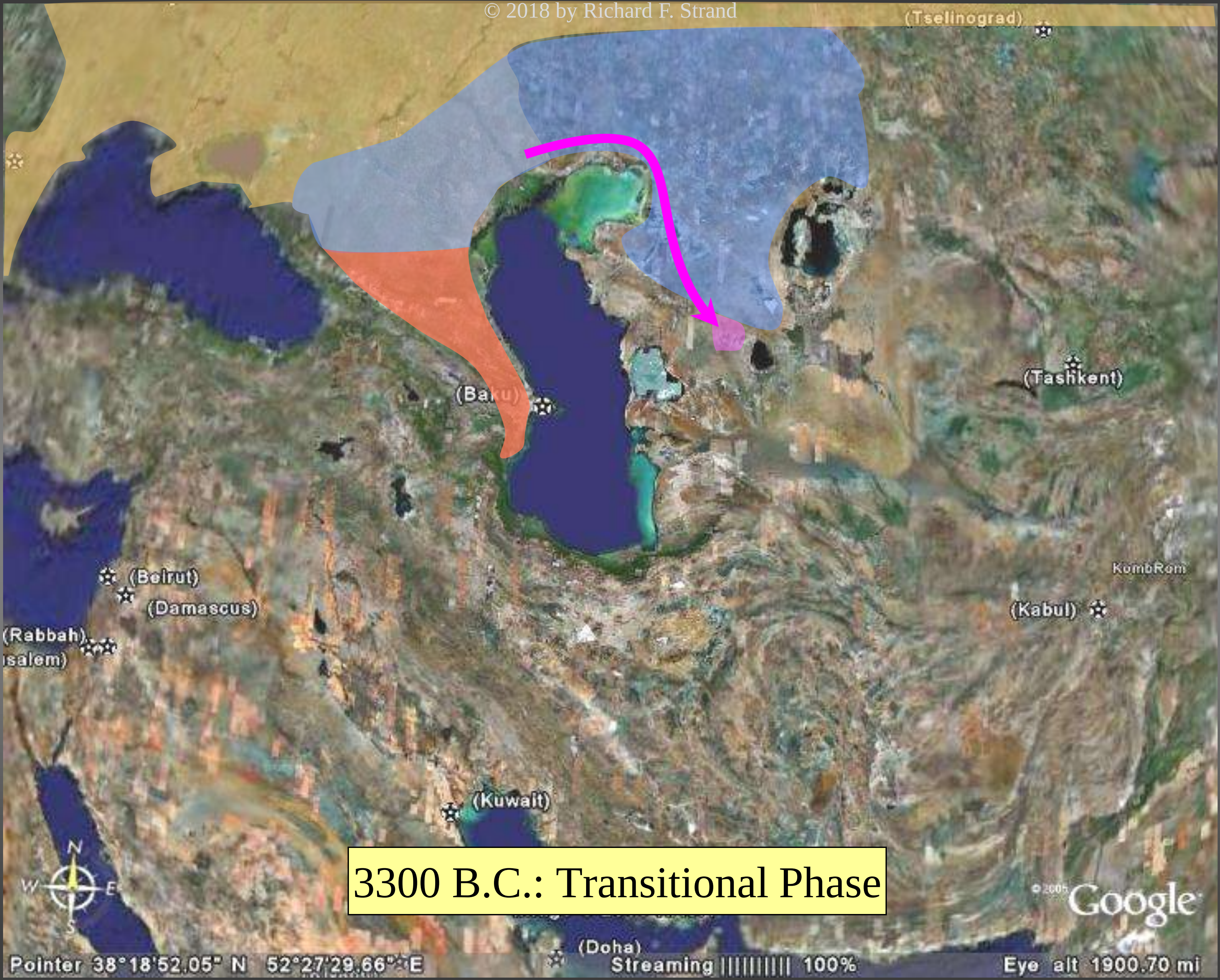
History (3)

- According to local traditions, the Nûristânîs were expelled from the Kâma region during the Ghaznavid invasion of Nangarhâr in the early 11th century A.D, ending up as refugees in the middle reaches of the Kunar, Pech and Laghmân Valleys before dispersing to their current abodes in the isolated valleys of the Hindu Kush.


(Tselinograd)
(Baku)
(Tashkent)
(Beirut)
(Damascus)
(Rabbah)
salem)
(Kabul)
(Kuwait)
(Doha)
4200 B.C.: Indo-European to Âryan Phase
Google
Pointer 38°18'52.05" N 52°27'29.66" E
Streaming 100%
Eye alt 1900.70 mi

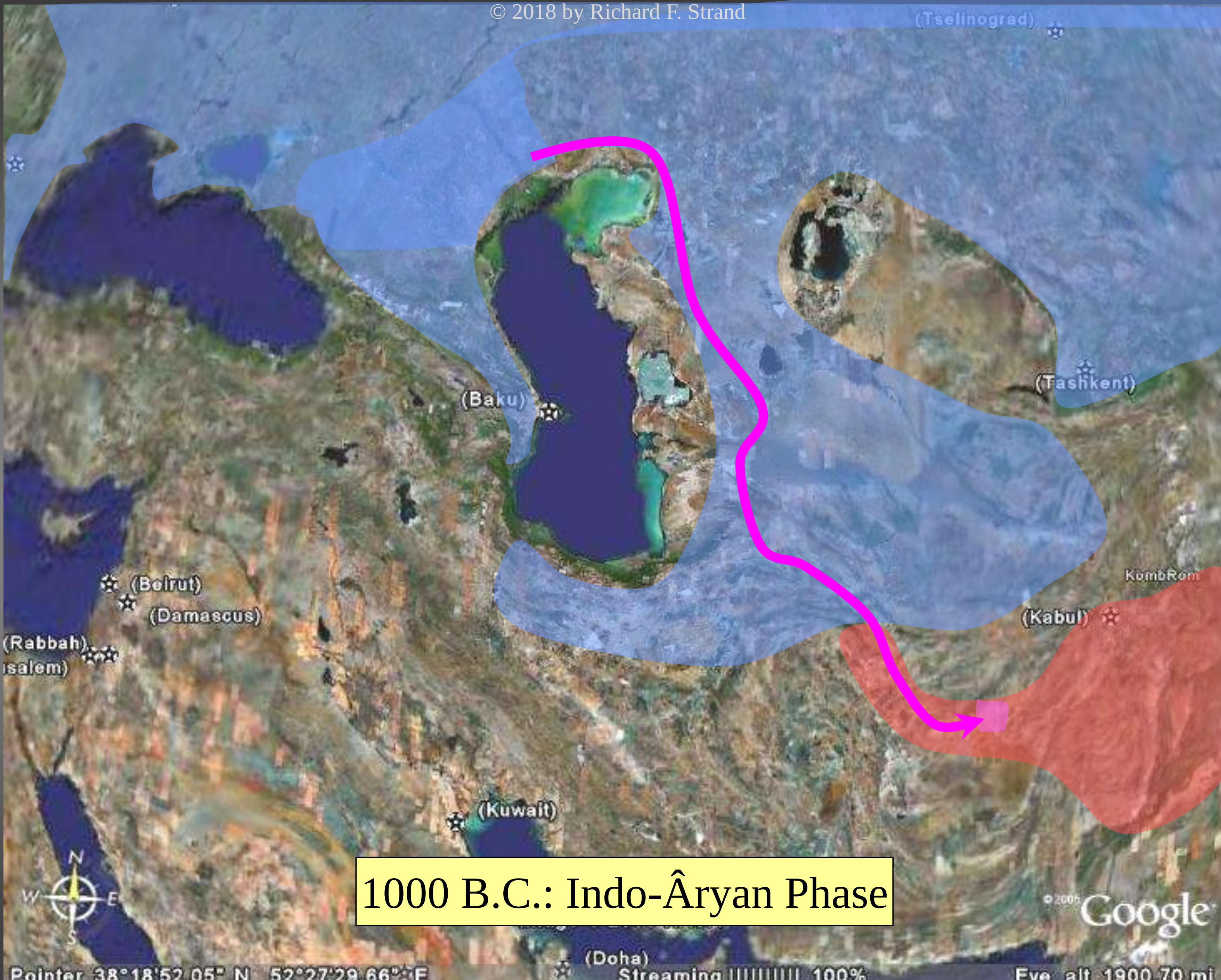


3800 B.C.: Early Irânian Phase



3300 B.C.: Transitional Phase

2000 B.C.: Indo-Âryan Phase

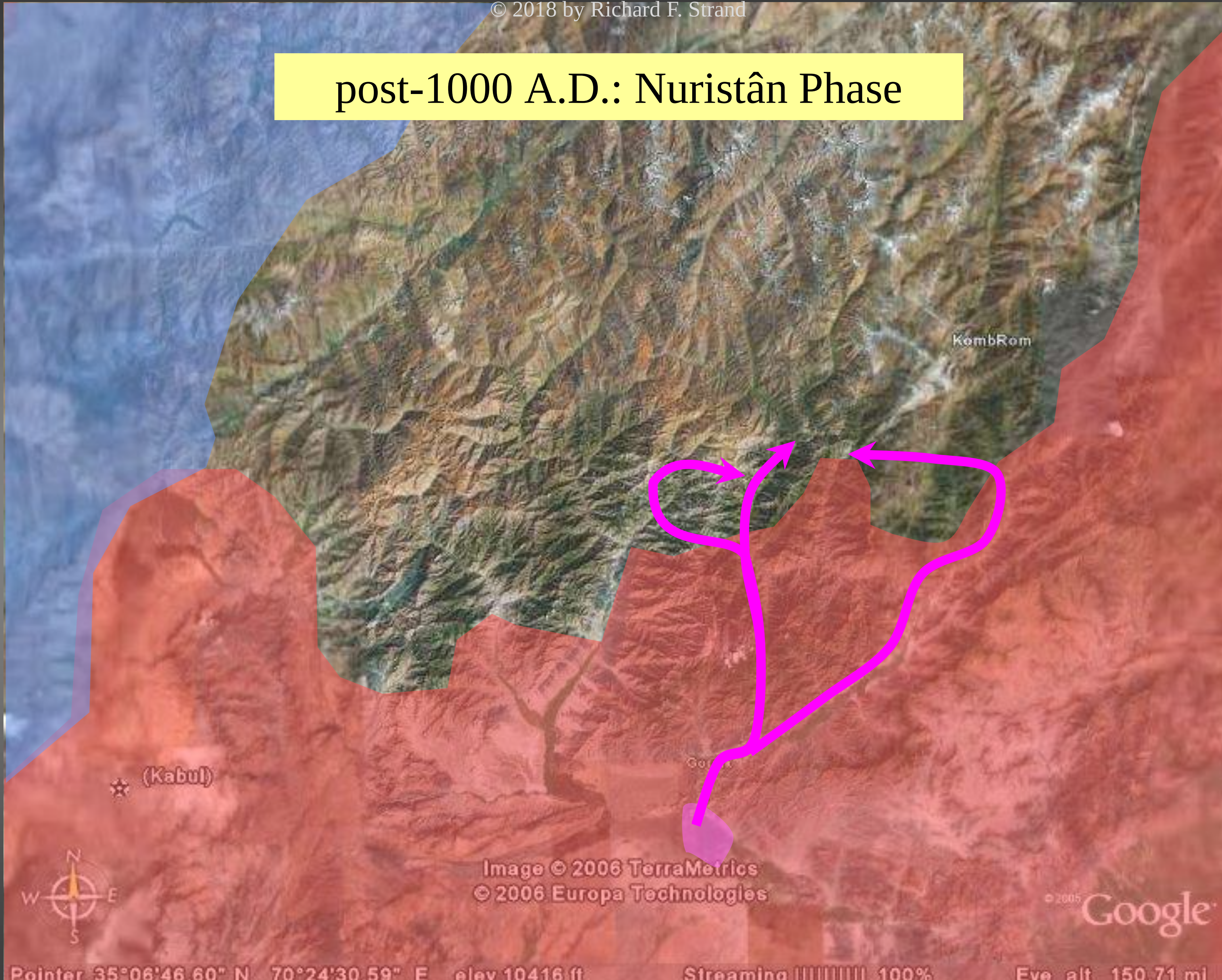


1000 B.C.: Indo-Âryan Phase

0 A.D.: Indo-Âryan Phase

1000 A.D.: Kâma Phase

post-1000 A.D.: Nuristân Phase



Evolutionary Phonetic Processes in the Nûristânî Languages

Front and Back Phonation

- Muscular tensing of the front of the vocal folds produces “anterior phonation,” which is higher pitched, while muscular tensing of the back of the vocal folds produces “posterior phonation,” which is lower pitched (Catford 1977: 102-103).
- Irânian and Nûristânî speakers tense only the front of their vocal folds during speech.
- Contrarily, most Indo-Âryan speakers of the Indo-Iranian Frontier region tense the back of their vocal folds to produce unaccented phonation and the front of their vocal folds to produce accented phonation. Extreme back tensing produces the “voiced aspirates” in those languages that have them.

Lingual Fronting and Backing

- The level of vocal-fold tension may be increased to encompass muscles of the larynx and those connecting the larynx to the base of the tongue. If such tension is from anterior phonation, the tongue is pushed forward. Contrarily, increased tension from posterior phonation pulls down on the base of the tongue, causing it to retract, and it may further cause the jaw to be pulled back and open
- The fronting of the tongue, moving its end from contact with the alveolar ridge to the teeth, is characteristic of the evolution of the Irânian and Nûristânî languages. Contrarily, the backing of the tongue is characteristic of the Indo-Âryan languages. But underlying the front or back motion of the tongue is the front or back tensing of the vocal folds.

Prognathizing

- An extreme type of lingual fronting occurs with “prognathizing,” which is a jutting out of the lower jaw while keeping the tongue's tip pressed firmly against the back of the lower teeth.
- This posture places the tongue’s blade against the back of the upper teeth during the production of dental consonants.
- Prognathizing occurs in the Southern Nûristânî languages and in other languages spoken near the Pech-Kunaṛ confluence, including Sâfî Pashto and some Pashaî dialects, as well as in other languages across the Indo-Irânian-speaking region.

Phonological Evolution

Five developmental phases:

1. Âryan Phase
2. Early Irânian Phase
3. Transitional Phase
4. Indo-Âryan Phase
5. Nûristân Phase

Changes during the Âryan Phase

1. Âryan Phase. Proto-Nûristânî speakers participated in most of the pronunciational processes that differentiated the speech of the early Âryas (proto-Indo-Irânian speakers) from that of other Indo-European speakers, notably:

a Loss of nasality of the vocalic nasal vowel ****n***, resulting in ****a***; cf. K.km. ***â-*** but English "un-."

b Fronted vocalization of the laryngeal consonant ****H*** (*ə*) to ****i***, as opposed to ****a*** in other Indo-European languages; cf. K.km. ***-i*** [past-participle suffix] < ****-i-ta-*** < ****-H-to-***.

c The First Palatalization, in which the root of the tongue was raised, pushing the body of the tongue forward. This change produced lamino-alveolar affricates from non-labialized velar stop consonants, so that ****k*** > ****č***, ****g*** > ****ǰ***, and ****gh*** > ****ǰh***.

d Subsequent loss of lip-rounding on the labiovelar stop consonants, so that ****kʷ*** > ****k***, ****gʷ*** > ****g***, and ****gʷh*** > ****gh***.

e Assimilation of ****s*** to the place of articulation of a preceding consonant or front vowel, so that ****is*** > ***iš***, ****čs*** > ****čš***, ****rs*** > ***rṣ***, ****ks*** > ***kṣ***.

However, in the earliest indication of linguistic independence, the proto-Nûristânîs did not participate with the Âryas in the subsequent backing of ****s*** after the back vowel ****u***; thus, e.g., K.km. ***mus'a***, but Fârsi ***muš***, Sanskrit ***mûṣaka-*** 'mouse'; K.km. ***ks'a-*** (< ****kus'a-***) 'become instantaneously', but Fârsi ***koš-***, Skt. ***kuṣá-*** 'strike, kill'; K.km. ***d'us*** 'yesterday, but Skt. ***doṣ'â-*** (< ****dausâ-***) 'night'.

Changes during the Early Irânian Phase

2. Early Irânian Phase. Proto-Nûristânîs partook in the basic phonological innovation that distinguished the Irânian speakers: they strengthened front-glottal tension to the exclusion of back-glottal tension. The predominance of front-glottal tension in the Irânian region had the following consequences:

a The formerly whispery-voiced consonants merged with their anterior-voiced counterparts (****bh*** > ***b***, ****dh*** > ***d***, ****ǰh*** > ****ǰ***, ****gh*** > ***g***; e.g., Old Persian. ***bumi-***, K.km. ***b'üm***, but Skt. ***bhûman-*** 'earth').

b Prognathizing pushed the tongue further forward. The effect was to change the articulation of the affricates from lamino-alveolar to lamino-dental, so that ****č*** > ****ć*** and ****ǰ*** > ****ź***. These dental affricates persist to this day in the Nûristânî languages, although ***ź*** has lost its affrication in most dialects. Examples include Kal. ***ću˜*** 'dog' vs. Skt. ***šauna-***; K.km. ***ź'o˜*** 'knee' vs. Skt. ***ǰânu-***. Meanwhile, the early Indo-Âryan speakers laxed the voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate ****c*** to a spirant ***š***, while leaving the voiced affricates ***ǰ*** and ***ǰh*** undisturbed, as in the preceding examples.

After the emergence of the affricates during the First Palatalization, there were two phonological processes that probably emanated from the Irânian region to sweep across the entire Indo-Irânian-speaking area:

c The Second Palatalization, in which speakers anticipated the fronting of a following vowel to a velar stop (from an earlier labiovelar, Step 1.d above); thus ****ketwâra-*** 'four' became Kal. ***čatâ***, Avestan ***čaθwar-***, Skt. ***čatv'âraḥ***; ****giHw'o-*** 'alive' became K.km. ***ǰ'üa-***, Av. ***ǰivya-***, Skt ***ǰîva-***.

d Loss of fronting and rounding on open vowels, resulting in the merging of earlier ****e*** and ****o*** with ***a***.

Changes during the Early Irânian Phase

At this point the proto-Nûristânîs departed from Irânian influence and did not partake in the further changes that characterize the Irânian languages. Through a series of laxing processes, Irânian speakers reduced ***s*** to ***h***, stop consonants to spirants, and, in the east, dropped the occlusion of the dental affricates, so that ****ć*** became ***s*** and ****ź*** became ***z***; in the west, as attested by Old Persian, the dentality of those affricates was strengthened, so that ****ć*** > ***θ*** and ****ź*** > ***d***.

As Morgenstierne (e.g. 1945) first demonstrated, it was the development of the affricates produced from the First Palatalization that mainly distinguishes the Nurestâni languages from the Irânian and Indo-Âryan ones. Where Nûristânî shows ***ć***, Irânian shows ***s*** or ***θ*** and Indo-Âryan shows ***š***; where Nûristânî shows ***ź***, Irânian shows ***z*** or ***d*** and Indo-Âryan shows ***ǰ*** or ***ǰh***; e.g., K.km. ***d'uć***, Av. ***dasa-***, Skt. ***daša-*** 'ten'; K.km. ***ź'o˜***, Skt. ***ǰânu-*** 'knee'; K.km. ***ź'im***, Skt. ***hima-*** (***h*** from earlier ****ǰh***) 'snow'.

Changes during the Transitional Phase

3. Transitional Phase. Perhaps between the time that the early Nûristânîs separated from the Irânians and the time that they came under Indo-Âryan influence (v. below), another distinguishing change in the Nûristânî languages took place: loss of aspiration after voiceless stops. Indo-Âryans retained the aspirated stops, while Iranians spirantized them; thus ****khand-*** 'laugh' > K.km. ***kân'a-*** but Fârsi ***xand-***; K.km. ***p'ul*** 'small spherical object' vs. Skt ***ph'ala-***. If these changes had happened later, there would be little motivation for a loss of aspiration in an Indo-Âryan-speaking milieu that maintained it.

Changes during the Indo-Âryan Phase (1)

4. Indo-Âryan Phase. Having been initially out of range of the Indo-Âryan side of the Âryan expansion, the proto-Nûristânîs subsequently entered the Indo-Âryan sphere, where they acquired many IA loanwords and participated in many of the Middle Indo-Âryan (MIA) changes that characterize the northwestern IA languages. Processes of change during this phase are revealed through comparison with Sanskrit and reconstructed Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) forms (Turner 1966); they included:

a Retroflexion of tongue-end consonants next to ***r*** or after vocalic ***r***. Examples with postconsonantal ***r*** include *****ćr*** > ***ç*** as in *****ćrâva-*** > K. ***ç'o*** 'shout', Skt. ***šrâva-***, *****aćru-*** > K. ***âç'ü*** 'tear', Skt. ***áśru-***, but initial ***tr*** and ***dr*** remain unchanged (K. ***tr'e*** 'three', ***dr'u˜*** 'bow'). With preconsonantal ***r*** there are two outcomes. With a following voiceless ***t*** the cluster ***rt*** > ***ṭṭ***, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel: ****varta-*** > ****vâṭa-*** (> ****vâṭa*** > K. ***v'oṭ*** 'stone'). With a following voiced consonant, the outcome is ***r***: ****ardu-*** > K. ***ar'u*** 'peach', ****várdha-*** > K. ***vâr'a-*** 'grow', ****parṇa-*** > ****pâra*** (> K. ***p'or*** 'leaf'). The development after vocalic ***ṛ*** is exemplified by ****bhṛt'a*** > ****bṛṭa*** > K.km. ***bâř'a*** 'taken'.

b Nasal latency, with the nasalization of a preceding ***n*** spreading across a vowel to a following stop consonant; e.g., Skt. ***nad'î-*** > ****nandî*** > K. ***nan'i*** 'river', Skt. ***nagara-*** 'town' > ****nangara*** > K. ***nâŋ'ar*** 'name of a village in Chitral'.

Changes during the Indo-Âryan Phase (2)

4. Indo-Âryan Phase (continued).

c Weakening or loss of single intervocalic stop consonants. Thus, labials become ***v***: ***n'apât-*** > K.km. ***nâv'o*** 'grandson', ****â-bhṛt'a*** > K. ***âv'ař a*** 'brought'. Dentals are lost: ***-ita*** (passive-participle ending) > K. ***-i*** (retrospective verbal suffix), ***pad'a-*** > K. ***p'u*** 'step'; ***godh'ûma-*** > A.s. ***go:m***, Kal.n., Tr., K. ***g'um*** 'wheat'; however, ***d(h)*** becomes ***l*** in V.: ***godh'ûma-*** > V. ***uly'um***. Affricates remain unchanged. Retroflexes become flapped ***ṛ*** in A. and Kal., ***r*** in V., and are further reduced to ***ř*** in K. and Tr.: ***ghoṭa-*** > A.s. ***goṛa***, Kal.n. ***guṛa*** 'horse', Tr. ***gořa***; ***mṛdâ-*** > ****mṛḍâ-*** > V. ***mira***, K.km. ***muř'i*** 'clay'. Velars are lost: ****ćâka-*** > Kal.n. ***ćâ*** 'kind of bean' K. ***ć'o*** 'greens', Skt. ***šâka-***, ****â-gasća-*** > K. ***'âća-*** 'come', Skt. ***âgaččha-***. Intervocalic ***n*** and ***ṇ*** merge to become a nasal flap in A. and Kal. and a nasal approximant in K.: Skt. ***kâṇá-*** 'one-eyed' > A. ***kâṇa***, K.km. ***kâň'a*** 'blind'; but ***n*** is retained in V.: Skt. ***stená-*** > V. ***ištn'e***, K.km. ***št'âňa*** 'thief'.

Changes during the Indo-Âryan Phase (3)

4. Indo-Âryan Phase (continued).

d Simplification of consonant clusters. Consonants in clusters assimilate to each other and reduce, in most cases, to a single consonant. In intervocalic clusters of stops, the second one predominates: ***ut-pâtaka-*** > K. ***up'a*** 'scorpion'; ***saptá*** > K. ***s'ut*** 'seven', ***čitta-*** > K. ***č'it*** 'will', ***abhukta***- > K.ktv. ***âvt'a***, ***kiṭṭâla-*** 'pot' > K.km. ***kṭ'ol***, A.s. ***čiṭâl*** 'stomach'; *****makkaṭa-*** > K.km. ***mâk'ař*** 'monkey', etc; also ***âtmán-*** > K. ***âm'u*** 'oneself'. Postconsonantal ***v*** shows various outcomes: loss, occlusion with anaptyxis (initially in A.) or assimilation (V.), or retention with anaptyxis (K.); e.g., ***čatv'âraḥ*** > A.s. ***ćâtâ:***, Kal., Tr. ***čatâ***, K.ktv. ***štav'o***, V. ***čp'u*** 'four'; similarly, in initial clusters, with occlusion and anaptyxis in A.: *****sva-ćura-*** > ***šipasu***, but loss in K.ktv. ***sć'üř*** 'father-in-law', with anaptyxis in K.: *****ćvâta-*** > K.ktv. ***ćav'o*** 'rhubarb', with loss: ***svásṛ*** > K. ***s'us*** 'sister', *****dvara-*** > Kal. ***dor***, K. ***d'u*** 'door'. Postconsonantal ***y*** palatalizes a preceding dental stop: ***satyá-*** 'true' > K. ***s'uc*** 'pre-Islamic ritual utterance' ***madhya-*** > K. ***pâ-m'üc*** 'in the middle'. An ***r*** before ***v*** drops: ***sárva-*** > A.s. ***savâ:k***, K.ktv. ***s'uv*** 'all'; before ***y*** it is reduced in K.km. and lost with retained fronting in Kal.: ***kâryà-*** > K.km. ***k'oř*** 'to be done', Kal.n. ***kö*** 'work'. Nasals are reduced in A. and lost in K. and V. before voiceless stops: ***vasanta-*** > Kal.n. ***osunt***, A.s. ***voso˜t***, K.ktv. ***vas'ut***, V. ***usti*** 'spring'. Post-nasal voiced stops are absorbed in Kal., K., and, in later final position, in A., but in V. it is the nasal that is lost: *****kanda-*** > A.s. ***kanda***, Kt. ***kan'a*** 'tree', Kal.n. ***kana*** 'twig'; *****khand-*** > K.ktv. ***kan'e-***, V. ***wyöida-*** 'laugh'; ***stamba-*** 'post' > K. ***št'um***, V. ***ištobu*** 'tree(-trunk), stem'; ***k'âṇḍa-*** > A., Kal. ***kâṇ***, K. ***k'oṇ*** 'arrow'.

Changes during the Indo-Âryan Phase (4)

4. Indo-Âryan Phase (continued).

e Anticipation of ***r***. In medial clusters of ***r*** plus non-apical consonant, the ***r*** is anticipated to the consonantal onset of the preceding syllable: ***dîrghá-*** > Kal. ***drigala***, K.km. ***draŋ'aňa***, V. ***ǰign'i*** 'long'; ***kárman-*** > A.s. ***kram*** 'work'. Sporadic anticipation of postconsonantal ***r*** in this period appears in ***támisrâ-*** 'darkness' > K.km. ***trâmš'a*** 'twilight', ****vikriṇâti*** 'sells' > K.km. ***vř'e˜č*** (with ***č*** from another source); but such anticipation is normal in K. today, as seen in forms with the locative prefix: ***pa-*** + ***gř'om*** > ****břag'om*** > K.km. ***břâk'om*** 'in the village'. (Development of ****r*** is fully treated in Morgenstierne 1947, Hamp 1968.)

f Development of vocalic ***r***. Vocalic ***r*** became ***a***, ***â***, ***i***, or ***o*** depending on environment or dialect; e.g., ***ṛṣabhá-*** > A., K.ktv. ***âṣ'a*** 'bull', ***kṛtá-*** > K.ktv. ***kař'a*** 'done', ***'ṛkṣa-*** > A., K. ***'ić***, Kal. ***oć***, Tr. ***woć*** 'bear', ***kṛṣí-*** > K., Kal. ***k'iṣ*** 'ploughing'.

g Assimilation in diphthongal sequences. The sequences ***aya***, ***ava*** are reduced to the open front or back vowels ***e*** and ***o***, respectively: ***tráyaḥ*** > K., Kal. ***tr'e*** 'three'; ***náva*** > A.s. ***no***, > K., Kal. ***n'u*** 'nine'.

h Loss of word-final syllables, as illustrated by most of the preceding examples; but final ***u*** and ***i*** in some instances may have been retained, as seen in ****aćru-*** 'tear', ****ardu-*** 'peach', and ***nad'î-*** 'river', cited above.

The many changes and borrowings of this phase have lead some linguists to erroneously classify the Nûristânî languages as belonging to the Indo-Âryan subgroup of Indo-Irânian; but as can be seen from the changes in Phases 1 to 3 above, the proto-Nûristânî speakers were well on their way to linguistic independence before they fell under Indo-Âryan influence.

Changes during the Nuristân Phase (1)

5. **Nûristân Phase.** In the millennium since the Nûristânîs entered Nûristân, their languages have undergone further changes that distinguish today's dialects. Notable among these are the progressive raising of the tongue's dorsum, with concomitant fronting and rounding of stressed vowels. Syncope of close vowels occurs in K. and V. Anticipation of fronting and rounding to vowels in preceding syllables (umlauting) is characteristic of Kal. and V. Consonants in A. have undergone changes reiterating those of Phases 1 and 2 above, while those in V. have been lost initially, resulting in virtually no comprehension of V. by speakers of other Nûristânî languages. Many developments during this phase are obscured by interdialectal borrowings, but sequences of phonological changes and their underlying processes can be reconstructed as follows:

a Assimilations and dissimilations of successive syllable onsets. Successive consonantal syllable-onsets tend to form an articulatory unit, with one feature selected to dominate both onsets. When the second onset contains an affricate or a stop, a preceding affricate may be deaffricated, or a preceding spirant may be affricated; both onsets are usually produced with the same articulator. Resulting onsets may coalesce through later syncope (Step 5.d below). Such assimilations appeared sporadically in individual dialects, some spreading over wider areas and others remaining locally confined.

Changes during the Nuristân Phase (2)

5. **Nûristân Phase (continued).**

b Dorsal raising. For vowels, progressive dorsal raising determines the following sequence:

i Dorsal raising starts in A., K., and V., where ***a*** > [ɨ] and, in A., ***o*** > [ọ] with a resulting slight fronting of ***u***. But in A. and K. an initial ***a*** is strengthened by opening to ***â***, so that no initial ***a*** appears in those languages.

ii In Kal., K., and V. further dorsal raising and fronting pushed accented ***u*** forward to ***ü*** while raising ***o*** to ***u***; e.g, ***duv'â*** > Kal., K. ***d'ü***, V. ***l'ü*** 'two', but A. ***du***; Skt. ***doṣ'â-*** 'night', Kal., K. ***d'us***, V. ***ul'us*** 'yesterday', but A. ***dos***; ***óṣ'âdhi-*** 'herb' > *****oṣ'a*** > K. ***uṣ'a*** 'medicine'.

iii In A., Kal., and K. accented ***a*** is rounded, except when it was in an ancient suffix (e.g., ***-aka***). In A. and Kal. it becomes ***o***; with further dorsal raising it becomes ***u*** in K.; e.g., ***saptá*** > *****s'at*** > A., Kal. ***s'ot***, K. ***s'ut*** 'seven'; loanword *****'ašpa*** 'horse' (cf. Skt ***ášva-***) > K.km. ***'ušpa***.

iv In K. accented ***â***, when not followed by ***i***, is rounded to a phonetically open ***o***, continuing the trend started with the rounding of ***a***, as in K.km. ***gř'om*** but A., Kal. ***grâm***, V. ***g'am*** 'community'; K.ktv. ***âz'or*** but A. ***âźâ:r***, Kal. ***âzâr*** 'four hundred'.

v In Kal. and Kâta-vari, but not in Kâmviri, nasalization is enhanced by velar and dorsal raising, so that nasalized ***o*** > ***u***; e.g., K.e. ***'u˜ć***, but K.km. ***'o˜ć*** 'I', Kal. ***punč***, but A. ***po˜č*** 'five'. In K.ktv. velar raising in all nasal environments is taken to the point where the velum is closed off to exclude vocalic nasality; e.g., ***'uze*** 'I', ***âč'e*** vs. K.km. ***âče˜*** 'eye', ***zař'a*** vs. K.km. ***źar̃̌'a*** 'red'; also next to nasal stops: ***gř'um*** 'community', ***m'uč*** vs. K.km. ***m'oč*** 'man', ***n'uṭ*** vs. K.km. ***n'oṭ*** 'dance', but not always in final open syllables: ***ân'o*** 'meat', ***âŋ'o*** 'fire'.

vi In V. raising of the tongue extends to earlier *****e***, yielding ***i***: ***m'iza*** 'urine', (cf. Skt ***meha-***), ***ištn'e*** 'thief' (cf. Skt. ***stená-***), with syncope of the resulting ***i***.

Changes during the Nuristân Phase (3)

5. Nûristân Phase (continued).

c Initial-syllable opening ("vriddhi"). In K.km. an ***a*** in initial syllables is strengthened by opening to ***â***, K.km. ***vâs'ut***, vs. K.ktv. ***vas'ut*** 'spring', ***kâlṣ'a*** vs. K.ktv. ***kalṣ'a***, Kal. ***kalaṣa*** 'Kalasha'.

d Syncope. A characteristic of K. and V. is the syncope of pretonic close vowels between voiceless obstruents and certain other consonants, as illustrated by K.km. ***ṣup'iṣ* > *ṣp'iṣ*** 'drizzle [noun]' and ***ṣupiṣ'a-* > *ṣupṣ'a-*** 'drizzle [verb]'. In K. syncope produces many complex initial consonant clusters, e.g., K.km. ***pṭ'i*** 'back', ***ṭk'u*** 'nail', ***ćk'ara*** 'whey solids', ***kṣt'a*** 'unadulterated', ***trk'iṭ*** 'knucklebone', ***pštr'a*** 'broken'. In K.km. there is assimilation of resulting homorganic clusters: K.km. ***ć'üř*** vs. K.ktv. ***sć'üř*** 'father-in-law', K.km. ***čal'a*** vs. K.ktv. ***šč'ala*** 'soft'. In K.ktv. syncope is apparently subphonemic with rounded vowels after (velar?) stops, the rounding being retained on the stop; e.g, Kal. ***kuṭa***, K.ktv. ***kuṭ'a*** [kʷʈ'ɨ]; K.km. ***kṭ'a*** 'lame', Kal. ***küṣü***, K.ktv. ***kuṣ'i*** [kʷʂ'i], K.km. ***kṣ'ü*** 'bean'. In V. syncope occurs ubiquitously in interior syllables, less frequently in initial syllables; e.g., ***pš'ik*** 'cat', ***psn'ok*** 'thing', ***kšč'u*** 'crippled', ***kṣ'u*** 'left', ***čne-*** 'sneeze'. Notable is the treatment of ****dut'â*** 'daughter', with early internal syncope before the loss of ***t*** in V.: ****dužit'a*** > ****d'ušta*** > ****l'ušta*** > ***l'üšt***, but with spreading of ***u***, loss of ***t***, and subsequent syncope in the first syllable of the other languages: ****dut'a*** > ****duǰ'ua*** > ****đʸǰ'ua*** > Tr. ***ǰu:***, K., Kal. ***ǰ'ü***; and with intermediate dentalization in A.: ****dut'a*** > ****duǰ'ua*** > ****duź'ua*** > ***źua*** > A.s. ***zu:***.

Changes during the Nuristân Phase (4)

5. **Nûristân Phase (continued).**

e Epenthesis. Epenthesis before an earlier initial ***st*** occurred throughout Nûristân, except perhaps in Tr.; e.g, A. ***istu˜***, Kal. ***üstüm*** 'pillar', V. ***ištob'u*** 'stem'. In K. the epenthetic vowel was later lost, but left traces with the locative prefix ***pa-*** in K.km.: ***št'ü˜*** 'pillar', but ****pa-ištü˜*** > ***p'eštü˜*** 'to the pillar' (not *****pâšt'ü˜***; but cf. K.ktv. ***pšt'üřâ***). In V. epenthesis occured before all initial clusters beginning with ***s*** plus occlusive, as well as before initial continuants and clusters with subsequently lost ***r*** and ***v***: ***üšk'öp*** 'bridge', cf. Skt ***skambha-***, ***üšp'u˜*** 'flute' < K. ***ṣp'o˜***, ***ul'us*** 'yesterday', cf. Skt. ***doṣ'â-***, ***un'ü*** 'new', cf. K.km. ***nu·i˜***, ***üč'ü*** 'horn' < ****ćrû-***, ***uć'âpar*** 'rhubarb' < ****ćvâtvara-***. The basic epenthetic vowel is ***i*** in each language, with added anticipatory rounding in Kal. ***ü*** and V. ***ü*** and ***u*** (see next).

f Vocalic-component spreading. Anticipation of vocalic fronting to a preceding vowel is usual in Kal., producing the front vowels ***ä*** and ***ö***, and grammatical alternations in stem vowels with a following feminine suffix ***i***; e.g., Kal.n. ***dä*** 'beard', cf. K.km. ***dâř'i***, ***sö*** 'sun', cf. Skt. ***s'ûrya-***; ***čüväli*** 'walker' (fem.) vs. ***čüvala*** (masc.), ***ćaṭäki*** 'sharp' (fem.) vs. ***ćaṭaka*** (masc.). In V. there is anticipation of both fronting and rounding; e.g., ***iž'i˜*** 'eye', cf. K.km. ***âč'e˜***, ***üč'ü*** 'tear', cf. K.km. ***ậc̣'ü***, plus the forms cited above. In K. fronting extends through following velar consonants to produce subphonemic palatalization (e.g., K.km. ***v'âik*** [v'ak^j] 'lamb'); similarly in V., with a wider range of following consonants (***üšk'öp*** [yškj'öp] 'bridge', ***ištob'u*** [ištjob'u] 'stem', ***ütn'ok*** [ytnj'ok] 'cultivated field'), the progressive palatalization is probably non-phonemic.

Changes during the Nuristân Phase (5)

5. Nûristân Phase (continued).

g Voiced deaffrication. In all dialects except K.km. and Tr. the voiced apico-dental affricate *ź̦* laxes to *z̦*: K.km. ***ź̦'otr*** 'kinsman' but K.ktv. ***z̦'otr*** 'affine', A.s. ***z̦â:tr***, V. ***z̦'âṭ***; K.km. ***ź̦'u*** 'milk' but K.ktv. ***z̦u***, A.s. ***z̦o:***, Kal.n. ***z̦or***, K.km. ***ź̦'im*** 'snow', Tr. ***źim*** but K.ktv., Kal. ***z̦'im***, V. ***z̦'ima***.

h Developments of *r*. Initial **r* is strengthened to *z̦* in A. and V. (further to *ž̦* when palatalized in V.), *J̣* in Tr., bolstered with *v* to *vř* (phonemically *vṛ* ?) in Kal., and weakened to *ř* in K.: e.g., A. ***z̦o:-kânda***, Tr. ***J̣o***, Kal. ***vřo***, K. ***ř'u*** 'deodar', A.s. ***z̦ât-â:r***, V. ***ž̦'eṭ***, Tr. ***J̣âtr***, K. ***ř'otr***, Kal.n. ***vâtr*** (< **vřâtr*) 'night'. Postconsonantal **r* after non-apicals is reduced to *ř* in A. (phonetically) and K.; e.g., A. ***brâ*** [bɹa] 'younger brother', K. ***bř'o*** 'brother', A. ***grâm*** [gɹam], K. ***gř'om*** 'community'. It is lost in V. except after a dental stop, where its retroflexion is absorbed or subsequently palatalized before a front vowel: ***b'â*** 'Brother!', ***g'am*** 'community', ***uṭ'us***, K. ***tr'us*** 'avalanche', ***ḍui***, K ***dr'u*** 'head-hair', ***čü'u***, K.km. ***tr'üa*** 'yoghurt', ***ǰign'i***, K.km. ***draŋ'ař̃a*** 'long', ***wyâč'i***, K.km. ***v'etr*** 'fairy'; but the loss after non-dentals must have followed Step 5.j.i below. Final postvocalic **r* is lost in some cases; e.g., Kal. ***dor*** but K. ***d'u*** 'door', Kal. ***z̦or*** but A. ***z̦o:***, K.km. ***ź̦'u*** 'milk'. In K.ktv. *ř* metathesizes or drops before *i*: K.ktv. ***křu·'i***, K.km. ***kuř'i*** 'dog', ***ka·'i*** [kɨj'i], K.km. ***kâř'i*** 'made' (fem.).

Changes during the Nuristân Phase (6)

5. **Nûristân Phase (continued).**

i Consonantal development in Âṣkuṇu. As shown by examples from A.s., A. underwent developments in its lingual obstruents that in part repeat changes that occurred in the Early Iranian Phase (2) above. The data are highly obscured by interdialectal borrowings, and it is not possible to find a sequence of changes to account for all the outcomes of earlier forms. The responsible articulatory processes were primarily deaffrication, laminalization before front vowels ("palatalization"), and "prognathizing," i.e., slightly protruding the jaw while keeping the tongue's blade fixed against the back of the lower teeth, resulting in a forward shift in the point of articulation from alveolar to dental and from apico-alveolar (retroflex) to lamino-alveolar. These processes occurred perhaps in the following order:

i Deaffrication:

a of ***ć*** to ***s***: ***saṇu*** 'person from Wâmâ' vs. K.km. ***ćâň'u***; ***sâu*** 'branch' vs. K.ktv. ***ć'ov***; ***gas*** 'length of outstretched arm' vs. K.km. ***g'eć***; with further palatization ***ši:ṭ*** 'fertilizer', vs. K.km. ***ć'iṭ***, ***viši*** 'twenty', vs. K.km. ***vić'i***.

b of ***ǰ*** > ***ž*** before ***i***: ***ži*** 'sinew' vs. K.km. ***ǰ'a***; ***žirik*** 'shame' vs. K.km. ***ǰar'ik***.

Deaffrication of ***ź*** previously occurred in Step 5.g above.

Changes during the Nuristân Phase (7)

5. **Nûristân Phase (continued).**

i Consonantal development in Âṣkuṇu (continued).

ii Palatalization before ***i***:

a of ***k*** to ***č***: ***ćilâ*** 'cheese', (with further dentalization) vs. K.km. ***kil'âř***; ***čiṭâl*** 'stomach' (via ****çiṭâl***, with further palatalization) vs. K.ktv. ***kṭi'ol***, K.km. ***kṭ'ol***.

b of the apical spirants ***s*** > ***š*** and ***z*** > ***ž***: ***šikâ***: 'fat', vs. K.km. ***ski'o***; ***žim*** 'snow' vs. K.ktv. ***z'im***; also ***ši:ṭ*** and ***viši*** above.

iii Prognathizing, resulting in:

a Dentalization of the alveolars ***č*** > ***ć***, ***ǰ*** > ***ź***, and ***š*** > ***s***: ***ćâm*** 'skin' vs. K. ***č'om***; ***ćiatr*** 'carved design' vs. K.km. ***č'etr***; also ***ćilâ*** above; ***źâda*** 'other' vs. Kal.n. ***ǰâta***; ***źâl'âi*** 'duck' vs. K.ktv. ***ǰâl'âi***; ***źit*** 'body' vs. Kal.n. ***ǰit***; ***sâl*** 'stable' vs. Kal.n. ***šâl***; ***sâli*** 'rice plant' vs. K.km. ***šâl'i***; but before ***i*** the laminal spirants of Steps 5.i.i.b and 5.i.ii.b remain.

b Laminalization of retroflexed ***ç*** > ***č*** and ***ṣ*** > ***š***: ***čila*** 'abomasum' vs. K. ***çal'a***; ***šiŋ*** 'horn' vs. K., Kal. ***ṣ'iŋ***; also ***čiṭâl*** above.

However, this sequence of processes leaves unaccounted the change of ***ǰ*** > ***z*** seen in ***zu:*** 'daughter' vs. K.km. ***ǰ'ü***, ***zâliak*** 'omasum' vs. K.km. ***ǰâlik***, ***pamaz*** 'in the middle' vs. K.km. ***pâm'üč*** (< ****pa-maǰ***).

Changes during the Nuristân Phase (8)

5. Nûristân Phase (continued).

j Consonantal Development in Vâsi-vari. The most aberrant of the Nûristânî languages is V., which, in addition to the changes noted in previous steps, has undergone loss of initial consonants and various fronting and voicing assimilations. The analysis of sound changes in V. is due to Morgenstierne (1949) and includes:

i Lenition of initial occlusion, so that initial ***k***, ***g***, ***ǰ***, ***t***, and ***p*** were lost, ***b*** > ***v***, ***ć*** and ***ź*** (v. Step 5.g) > ***z***, ***č*** > ***ž***, while initial (and medial) ***d*** had earlier become ***l*** (Step 4.c above); e.g., ***ip'a*** 'Kâta' < ****kitva*** < ****kitivâ*** < ****kântivâ***, cf. K. ***kt'ivi***, Pashto ***kântiw'â*** (place name); ***uly'um*** 'wheat plant', cf. Skt. ***godh'ûma-***; ***z'o˜*** 'cow dung', cf. K.km. ***ć'u˜***; ***eštek*** 'elder', cf. Skt. ***ǰyéṣṭha-***; ***y'u*** 'thou', cf. K. ***t'ü***; ***y'â*** 'father', cf. Skt. ***pit'â*** 'father'; ***v-*** 'become', cf. Skt. ***bhû-***; ***žim'a*** 'iron', cf. K. ***čam'a***. Initial consonants before ***r*** remained, with the ***r*** subsequently lost (v. Step 5.h above).

ii Intervocalic voicing of affricates: Intervocalic voiceless affricates, otherwise unaffected by the changes in Step 4.c, become voiced: ***lez'e*** '10', cf. K. ***d'uć***; ***uz'â*** 'herding', cf. K.km. ***pâć'o***; ***ürǰ'uk*** 'light', cf. K. ***ř'uč***; but the development of ***-c-*** is ambiguous.

iii Palatalization of retroflex stops: In the environment of front vowels, retroflex stops are palatalized, so that ***ṭ*** > ***č*** and ***ḍ*** > ***ǰ***; e.g., ***ič'i*** 'bone', cf. K. ***âṭ'i***; ***müǰ'ü*** 'drum' < ****maḍü*** < ****maṇḍu***, cf. K.km. ***mâṇ'ü***. This change must follow the absorption of ***r*** after dental stops treated in Step 5.h; cf. the similar change in A., Step 5.i.iii.b.

Do Conventional Kâmviri Gestures with Certain Morphemes Give a Hint of Pre-Indo-European Depiction?

Hypothesis: Indo-European formatives arose from earlier phonological modeling of gestures. Situations were modeled with the hands and arms, then with the tongue imitating a pointing hand and closed lips indicating a flat hand.

t* – *r* – *l pointing with the tongue, with distance gradations
n nasalization indicating reciprocal motion of wagging hand
m moving flat hand
e hand moving to or fro: general motion
i index finger moving down, modeling motion towards the speaker or small objects
s animate object

Do Conventional Kâmviri Gestures with Certain Morphemes Give a Hint of Pre-Indo-European Depiction?

t – ***r*** – ***l*** pointing with the tongue, with distance gradations:

t points to objects directly in front of the speaker:

t- 'thou', ***to-***, ***-t*** '3rd person', ***–to*** 'past passive participle'

r points to distal objects:

Kâmviri directional target ***–re***, "***-re***" in "there"

l points to furthest distal objects

Kâmviri conceptual participle in ***–la***; Slavic past in ***-l***

Do Conventional Kâmviri Gestures with Certain Morphemes Give a Hint of Pre-Indo-European Depiction?

n nasalization indicating reciprocal motion of wagging hand indicating:

erasure of following object: negation: ***na*** ‘not’

dispersed objects: plurality

on-going motion: present participle in ***–n-to***

m moving flat hand:

toward speaker : “me”; verbal subject suffix ***–m***;

prohibition ***ma*** ‘don’t’

accusative case ***-m***

outward motion: Kâmviri directional target ***–ma***; Skt. ***-man***

Do Conventional Kâmviri Gestures with Certain Morphemes Give a Hint of Pre-Indo-European Depiction?

e hand moving to or fro: general motion
I-E augment ***e-*** ‘distal (past) action’; Aryan directional ***â-***

i index finger moving down, modeling motion towards the speaker:
proximal deixis; passive ***-ya***
also sound-symbolic for small or feminine objects ***-i***

s animate object: sound-symbolic for breath
nominative –***s***; ***s*** in words “is”, “sit”

A Time of Chaos

1979-Present

The Anti-Communist Resistance Ignites in Nûristân

- In April 1978 communists overthrow Afghânistân's President Muhammad Daud
- In October 1978 the tribes of eastern Nûristân unite under Muhammad Anvar Amin in the first sustained anti-communist resistance in Afghânistân
- Kâmdesh is bombed, and the fleeing Nûristânîs become the first refugees in neighboring Pâkistân
- The Nûristânis run their guerilla operations from Pâkistân, and eventually expel the communists from Nuristân and Kunar

Muhammad Anvar Amin, leader of the Nûristânî Front

The Pâkistânî Parties Persist

- Early in Anvar Amin's anti-communist campaign, the Pâkistânî military promised support to his insurgents
- But the Pâkistânîs reneged and coerced the Nuristânîs into allying with the seven jihadist parties that Pâkistân's military regime had set up to control aid to the anti-communist Afghân resistance
- Nûristânî unity was destroyed, and many of Anvar Amin's supporters defected to vie for the support of the seven parties
- Anvar was not willing to ally his group, the Nûristân Front, with the ideologically motivated fundamentalist parties, and ultimately lost out in the race to get military support
- The most radical of the parties, Gûlbuddîn Hikmatyâr’s Hizb-i Islâmî, won out in the power game, and its partisans gained control in Kâmdesh district
- Hizbîs persisted in controlling Kâmdesh after the defeat of the communists, only retreating when U.S. forces arrived in late 2002

The Forests Sustain Post-War Nûristân

- Nûristân encompasses Afghânistân's largest reserve of coniferous forest
- To recover after the war, villagers sold their forest rights to Pâkistânî timber merchants in the 1990's
- Revenue from timber sales raised living standards, but caused cultural disruptions
- The timber trade is now under moratorium, and income is stifled

A deodar cedar tree, source of Nûristân's forest wealth

Nûristânîs Rebuild on their Own

- Rather than wait for external assistance, Nûristânîs returned on their own from Pâkistân to rebuild their lives
- Using timber revenues, entrepreneurial Nûristânîs set up village electrification projects
- They supported their teachers when government officials failed to pay salaries
- Tâlibân and ISIS violence continues to prevent reconstruction and assistance projects in Nûristân

Entrepreneurial Village Electrification

Pitigal Boys' School

After Initial Optimism, the Struggle to Hold On

- Resurgent jihâdists threaten stability and progress; Why?
    - U.S. Military's initial failure to capture Bin Laden at Tora Bora
    - Failure to destroy Tâlibân leadership
    - Failure to neutralize Hizb-e Islâmi's Gûlbuddîn Hikmatyâr
- The problem lies in Pâkistân
    - The ISI continues to pursue "Strategic Depth"
    - Education is left to the jihadist parties
    - Pâkistânî officials consistently lie about their complicity

Education: the Key to Afghanistan's Future

- Modern curriculum and teaching materials are needed to compete with the *madrasas*
- Buildings are nice, but good curriculum and teachers are bottom-line necessities

Further information on Nûristân:

Richard Strand's Nûristân Site
nuristan.info

or

Google search on "Nuristan"