An Arabic creole in Africa

The Nubi language of Uganda

een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de Letteren

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Abbreviations

<	reflex of	EMPH	emphasizer	PL	plural
><	in comparison to	EQUAT	equative	POSS	possessive
*	unacceptable form	EXIS	existential	POSSee	possessee
Ø	zero-marking			POSSor	possessor
		FEM	feminine	PRED	predicate
1	first person	FOC	focus marker	PRED NOM	nominal predicate
1PL	first person plural	FUT	future	PRED V	verbal predicate
1SING	first person singular			PREP	preposition
		GEN	genitive particle	PREP P	prepositional phrase
2	second person	GER	gerund		
2PL	second person plural			PRES	presentative
		H	high pitch/tone	PROG	progressive aspect
2SING	second person singular	HAB	habitual	PRON	pronoun
				PROX	proximal
3	third person	IMPER	imperative	PUNCT	punctual
3PL	third person plural	IMPERF	imperfective		
3SING	third person singular	INCH	inchoative	Q-word	question word
		INDEF	indefinite article		
		INF	infinitive	RCL	relative clause
AA	Abbéché Arabic	INSTR	instrument	RD	right dislocation
ADJ	adjective	INT	interjection	RECIP	reciprocal
ADR	addressee	INTRANS	intransitive	REDUP	reduplication
ADV	adverb	IRR	irrealis	REF	referential
ADV P	adverbial phrase	ITER	iterative	REFL	reflexive
AG	agent			REL	relativizer
ANT	anterior	JA	Juba Arabic	REP	repetitive
AR	Arabic				
ART	article	KA	Khartûm Arabic	S	subject
AUG	augmentative	KN	Kenyan Nubi	SA	Sudanese Arabic
AUX	auxiliary			SENT	sentence
		L	low pitch/tone	ShA	Shukriyya Arabic
C	consonant	LD	left dislocation	SING	singular
CAUS	causative	LOC	locative	s.o.	someone
CL	clause			STAT	stative
COLL	collective	MASC	masculine	STAT P	stative passive
COM	comitative	MOD	modal	s.th.	something
COMPL	completive			SUBJ	subjunctive
COND	conditional	N	noun	SUFF	suffix
CONJ	conjunction	NEG	negative	SWAH	Swahili
CONN	connective	NON-PUNCT	non-punctual		
CONT	contingent	NON-REF	non-referential	TA	tense, aspect
COP	copula	NP	noun phrase	TMA	tense, mood, aspect
		NPROP	proper name	TRANS	transitive
DEF	definite (article)	NUM	numeral		
DEM	demonstrative			UDA	Ugandan Dialect Arabic
DEM DIS	demonstrative distal	O, OBJ	object	UN	Ugandan Nubi
DEM PROX	demonstrative proximal	P	phrase	V	vowel
DIM	diminutive	PART	participle	V	verb
DO	direct object	PART ACT	participle active	VOC	vocative
DIS	distal	PART PASS	participle passive	VP	verb phrase
DUAL	dual	PASS	passive		
		PAST	past tense	WSA	Western Sudanese Arabic
EA	Egyptian Arabic	PAT	patient		
EAN	East African Nubi	p/c	pidgin/creole		
		PERF	perfective aspect		

Introduction

'Ija ma jako. Aker ma ja lina [1]. Once upon a time, there was a people who entered Uganda from Sudan…'. This could be the introduction to a Nubi story, told during a long dark evening. The story of the Nubi, however, happened in reality, and the harsh life they endured is reflected in their stories. At present, about 25,000 Nubi live scattered over the towns of Uganda and Kenya. They are distinguished from other tribal groups in East Africa by their rather refined culture, which is characterized by their adherence to Islam, the colourful women's garments, spicy cooking, fine handcrafts, and of course by the Nubi language.

Nubi has been called an Arabic creole. Nubi is Arabic, since about 90% of its vocabulary is of Arabic nature. It is termed a creole, since many of its structural and developmental features resemble those of known creoles. I do, however, not wish to make a definite statement about the creole character of Nubi. I would rather leave this task to creolists since they are better placed to answer this most delicate question. My contribution is to give a detailed description of the Nubi variety of Uganda. Nubi is a spoken language. Written literature hardly exists. However, a few individuals, keen on preserving and establishing Nubi as a fully accepted language, have made the effort to establish an orthography, and to write down some stories.

The material used for this thesis was collected during two periods of field research in Uganda. In 1993, recordings were made in Bombo in the South of Uganda for a period of nine months. More recently in 1997-1998, recordings were made in the northern, central and southern part of Uganda, again for a period of nine months. The material consists mainly of stories, life histories, Nubi history, dialogues, role plays, etc. The material was transcribed and translated with the assistance of native speakers from North, Central and South Uganda. Elicitation was conducted with several speakers from the same areas. Native speakers from all age groups and both sexes are included.

This thesis consists of seven chapters. After a socio-linguistic introduction, sketching the history of the group of Nubi people and their language, I present a detailed language description. In the second chapter, I will treat the phonology, and in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth chapters, I will discuss the noun phrase, the verb phrase, some other word classes, and some syntactic features, respectively. In the last chapter, I go back into history, and try to reconstruct some Nubi language features through a comparative analysis with the Arabic pidgins Turku and Juba Arabic, and with the Egyptian and Sudanese Arabic dialects. However, first, I will focus on the historical background of the Nubi people and the language.

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[1] A Nubi narrator introduces his story with *'ija 'ma 'jako*. The public answers with *a'ker 'ma 'ja 'lina.* Both expressions are reflections of Arabic expressions.

'ija	'ma	'ja-	ko	-	a(l)-	'ker	'ma	'ja	'li-	na.
story	NEG	come-	PRON 2PL(?)		DEF	good	NEG	come	to	PRON 1PL

'The story did not come to you(PL).' - 'The good thing did not come to us.'

1. Historical and linguistic background

1.1. Historical framework

The Nubi language and culture are believed to have originated in the southern Sudan. The development of this Arabic creole language, however, is still largely unknown. It has been suggested that before 1820 a pidgin Arabic was already in use in the Bilâd as-Sudân (see also Owens 1996: 127, 135). The events which fostered the development of Nubi, however, began at around 1820 when northern Arabic speakers moved southward.

Before discussing possible theories on the emergence of the Arabic pidgin/creole ancestor of present-day Nubi, I will give an outline of related historical events. I shall first look briefly at the historical data on the Sudan before 1820, and then focus on the period after 1820. In the second part of this chapter, the Nubi language of present-day Uganda and its relationship with Sudanese Nubi will be discussed.

1.1.1. The Sudan before 1820 [2]

The Bilâd as-Sûdân, the 'land of the blacks', or in short the Sudan, was the name given by the Medieval Muslim geographers to Sub-Saharan Africa. This geographical description thus differs from the modern state of Sudan. From the seventh century onwards, Arab groups penetrated the Sudan, passing the Upper Nile area or crossing the Red Sea. The nomad Arab tribes went as far as Lake Chad and beyond. They intermingled with indigenous people, which led to a slow and continuing process of Arabicization and Islamization. Arabic culture and Islamic religion gradually infiltrated the Christian Nubian kingdoms from the eleventh century onwards until their subjection to Islam, and their adoption of the Arabic language and culture in the early fourteenth century. Thereafter, Arab nomads moved freely to the Sahel region of the Bilâd as-Sûdân to find grazing areas for their cattle or camels. The Kawahla, Arab camel keepers, had reached as far south as Kordofân by the nineteenth century. From the sixteenth century onwards powerful states emerged in the savanna zone. Among them were the Funj Sultanate with its capital at Sinnâr, and the Muslim Sultanate of Dâr Fûr. By the seventeenth century, the Bilâd as-Sûdân had become the scene of long-distance trade. The routes of the central Bilâd as-Sûdân were linked with North Africa via Fezzân. The routes of the eastern Bilâd as-Sûdân, which are more relevant for us, extended to Dâr Fûr. They linked Sinnâr in the south with Egypt in the north and Dâr Fûr in the west with Suâkin in the east. Shendi, which lay at the junction of both routes, had become the main centre of commerce by the early nineteenth century. Although trading activities between the eastern and central Sudan were not extensive, many Muslim pilgrims entered Dâr Fûr and continued their way eastward. By 1850, Arabic had become the lingua franca of the entire area.

1.1.2. The Sudan from 1820 onwards
1.1.2.1. *Occupation of the Sudan (1820-39) and conscription of black slaves into the army*

From 1820 onwards, Muḥammad ʕAlî, Viceroy of Egypt, began sending troops in a southerly direction to conquer the Sudan. He aimed at the submission of the Shâʔiqîya, an Arabic-speaking tribe dwelling between ad-Dabba on the Nile and the fourth Cataract, and the annihilation of the town of

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[2] For general information see Holt (1961), Adams (1977), and Braukämper (1993).
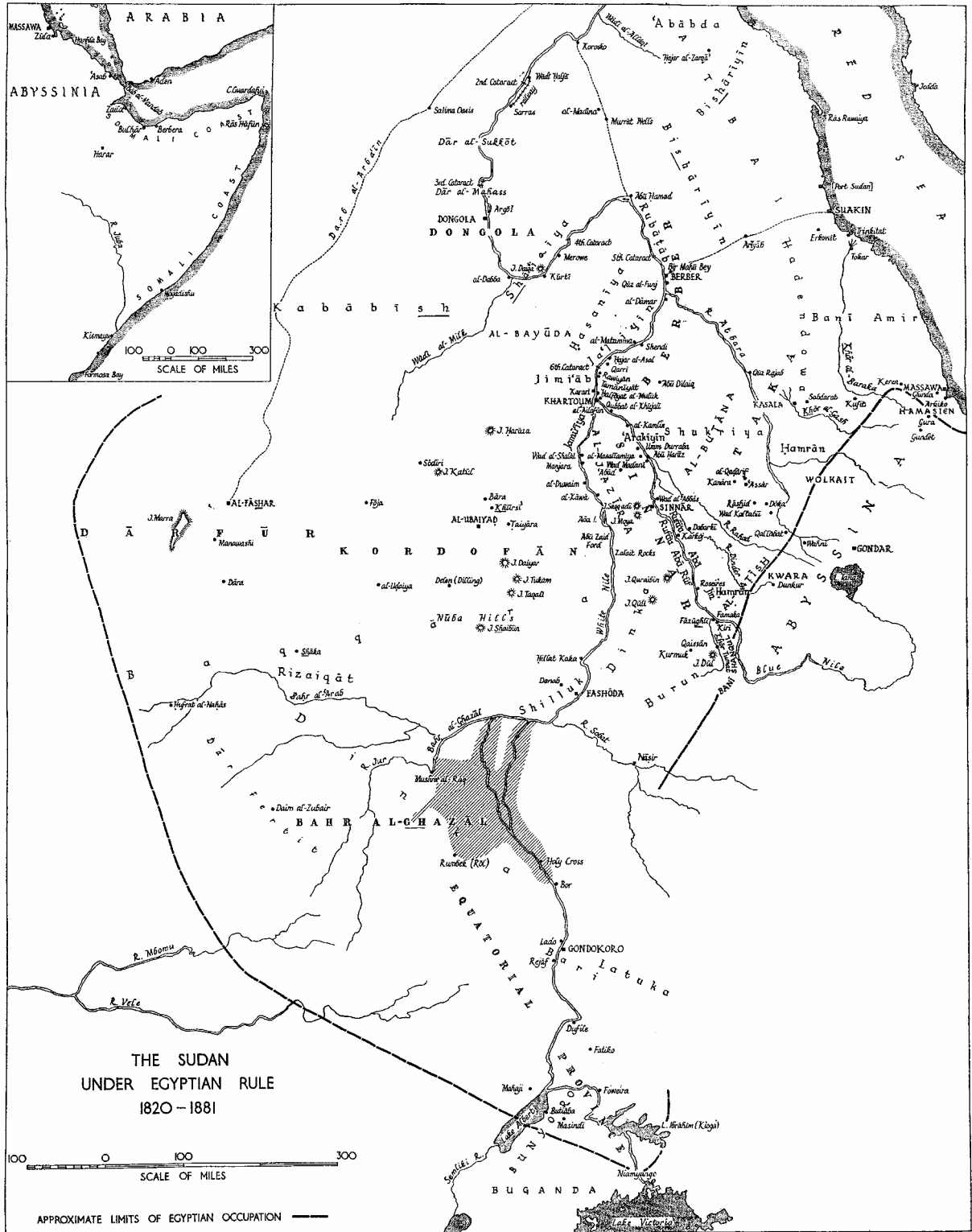
The Sudan in the nineteenth century (from Hill 1959)

al-ʕUrḍi near the town of Dunqula[3], refuge of the rebellious Mamluks[4]. Muḥammad ʕAlî was above all attracted by the supposed wealth of the country, its gold and slaves. Close to Aswân, training camps were organized for his Niẓâm al-Jadîd: Muḥammad ʕAlî's newly formed modern army, modelled on European training methods and discipline. The main problem, however, was the lack of loyal recruits. The solution opted for was the recruitment of black Sudanese men, whether by force or free will. (Gray 1961: 3; Hill 1959: 7, 24; Holt 1961: 36; MacMichael 1967: 19). Their importance for Muḥammad ʕAlî is illustrated by his words to Muḥammad Bey Khusraw, commander of his second expeditionary army (23 September 1825):

> "You are aware that the end of all our effort and this expense is to procure negroes.
> Please show zeal in carrying out our wishes in this capital matter." (Holt 1961: 33).

Therefore, a force of 4,000 men, consisting of Turkish infantry and cavalry, Arab irregulars from among the Bedouin tribes of Upper Egypt and a force of Maġâriba[5] from north-west Africa under the command of the Viceroy's son Ismâʕîl, was dispatched to Kordofân and Sinnâr (Hill 1959: 9; Holt 1961: 37). In the course of 1820-21, Kordofân and Sinnâr were conquered. Dunqula was captured without difficulty. The Mamluks were defeated. The Shâʔiqîya, however, showed more resistance. Eventually subjected, their military worth was praised and rewarded by their enlistment as irregular cavalry, known as *bâshî-buzûq* [6] under their own chiefs (Hill 1959: 9-10; Holt 1961: 39-43). The invading force and the Egyptian administration, although not only of Turkish origin, were referred to as *Turkîya* by the Sudanese during the entire period of their rule (Emin 1919: 28, 242; Gray 1961: 2-3).

After this conquest, Muḥammad ʕAlî's attention went to the main goal of the expedition: the exploitation of gold and slaves. Slaves could be obtained in two ways. Initially, the invaded regions were submitted to a very heavy taxation. Since cash was hardly available in those days, slaves owned by the local population [7] were collected instead (Holt 1961: 43-44; MacMichael 1967: 22). The slaves thus passing from Sudanese into Turco-Egyptian hands were mainly meant for conscription into the army. Secondly, the actual slave raids which were organized once or twice a year among the black pagan tribes, primarily in the Nûba mountains, in the bordering regions to the west as far as the plains of the southern Gazîra, and the area south of Kharṭûm between the Blue and the White Nile, were a more direct way of obtaining slaves (Gray 1961: 10; Hill 1959: 10, 63; MacMichael 1967: 23).

The first slave raids, however, did not have the expected results. Muḥammad ʕAlî had intended to enlist about 20,000 black recruits. The actual figure of captured slaves, however, was much lower. Even more disappointing was the fact that most of the captive slaves died while in transit to the training camps of the Niẓâm al-Jadîd near Aswân, or after arrival in the camps. Homesickness, adverse climatic circumstances and diseases to which the black Sudanese population was not immune, proved fatal (Holt 1961: 47). The slave raids of 1822-23 were more successful. Approximately 30,000 slaves are believed to have been taken (Hill 1959: 25). In the camps, the surviving recruits received clothing, were Islamized and received military training (Hill 1959: 25; Holt 1961: 47). According to Hill (1959: 26),

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[3] The town of Dunqula or Dongola lies on the Nile, a bit south of the 3rd Cataract. Its inhabitants and those of the Dunqula province are called Dunqulâwî, pl: Danâqla.

[4] The Mamluks were originally slave recruits from Turkish origin, who were trained in the army of the Abbasid Khaliefs. In 1260, they managed to take power and established the Mamluk Empire, in which Egypt and Syria were united, and which lasted for about three centuries. In 1517, they were defeated by the Ottomans, who installed the Ottoman Empire. By 1700, however, the whole ruling class of Egypt consisted again of Mamluks, who had the power, rather than the Ottoman governor. Although they aimed at taking the power officially as well, their attempts were time and again brought to a halt. After Muḥammad ʕAlî had come into power in Egypt in 1805, he massacred most of their leaders, whereafter the Mamluks sought refuge in al-ʕUrḍi.

[5] *Maġâriba* is the plural of *Maġribî*, which refers to an inhabitant of the *Maġrib* or North Africa.

[6] The Turkish word *bâshî-buzûq* actually refers to irregular cavalry recruited from among Albanians, Circassians, Kurds and Slavs. In the Sudan, however, its use was extended to irregulars of other origins as well (Hill 1959: 47, n. 2; Gray 1961: xi)

[7] Even before the Turco-Egyptian occupation, slaves from black pagan tribes were held in Islamized northern Sudan (Holt 1961: 14, 20).

by 1823 the total regiment contained about 3,000 men[8], divided into four to five battalions. The officer corps consisted of Mamluks, while the instructors were of southern European descent (Hill 1959: 24-25). In 1824, the first five regiments of infantry arrived in the Sudan. The Jihâdîya, as they were called, were the first regular troops consisting of black Sudanese slave recruits who had been trained in Aswân (Holt 1961: 47).

Since the influx of black slaves for the Niẓâm al-Jadîd was still far from sufficient, from 1824 onwards, Muḥammad ʕAlî was obliged to force conscription upon the Egyptian farmers' sons, which had devastating consequences for the agricultural and economic development of the country. The Egyptians, however, proved to be better soldiers than had been expected. Thus, Arabic-speaking soldiers joined the black Sudanese recruits in the military training camps (Baer 1969: 40; Holt 1961: 47, 52). Muḥammad ʕAlî, however, needed more and more slave recruits, partly for his military operations in Syria and Anatolia, partly to maintain peace and order in the Sudan itself (Hill 1959: 47). From 1826 on, he attempted to raid the tribes of the Upper Nile basin: Shilluk, Dinka, Ingassana, etc.[9] (Hill 1959: 63; Holt 1961: 53-54). From 1830 onwards, about 3,000 slaves were sent to Egypt yearly, a figure which may have become slightly higher in the course of years (Herzog 1957: 115-116). MacMichael (1967: 23) quotes Pallme who says: "In the year 1825, (…), the number of slaves which had been led away into captivity was estimated at forty thousand; and in the year 1839 the total number amounted at least to two hundred thousand, without reckoning the thousands stolen by the Bakkara and bought by the Djelabi."[10] Gray (1961: 6) speaks of ten to twenty thousand slaves being brought into Egypt yearly by 1838. It seems, however, that the military forces of the Niẓâm al-Jadîd were mainly deployed for the occupation of Syria and Anatolia, whereas only a smaller number of them were sent back to the Sudanese provinces. However, according to Herzog (1957: 114, 116), even before 1840, the number of captured slaves who immediately entered the forces in the Sudan itself was higher than those who passed through the Egyptian military camps. Holt (1961: 52) adds that in 1835, Muḥammad ʕAlî, forced by his need for more recruits, wished to introduce conscription of Sudanese freemen for military service. Since this policy was not accepted by Sudanese notables and administrative officials, it was agreed that a contribution of a quota of slaves belonging to the local population would be given annually. As mentioned above, from the early days, slaves for agricultural and domestic usage were obtained by the local population mainly from among the Nûba, south of Kordofân. In Kharṭûm, military barracks and a storehouse were constructed for the Jihâdîya garrison (Holt 1961: 52).

The irregular forces in the Sudan were under the control of the provincial governor in each province. There was no centralized command (Hill 1959: 27). The Shâʔiqîya had replaced the former foreign irregulars who had assisted in the conquest of the Sudan (Holt 1958: 15). They were mainly responsible for tax-collecting and slave-raiding [11] (Hill 1959: 27).

> "Henceforward the military strength of the Turco-Egyptian regime was mainly derived
> from two sources, the regular *Jihadiyya*, of slave origin, originating from what would
> now be called the southern Sudan; and the Shaiyqiyya irregulars, serving mainly as
> cavalrymen under their own chiefs." (Holt 1961: 47)

In the meantime, under the administration of Khurshid, Governor-General of the Sudan (1826-1838), some Egyptian and black Sudanese soldiers had been promoted into the officer corps. The gradual replacement of Turks by Sudanese in the lower ranks continued until the end of the Turco-Egyptian occupation (Hill 1959: 46-47, 108). In 1852, the Sudan up to the White Nile Basin was garrisoned by a force of 18,000 men (Gray 1961: 73), which by 1865 had expanded to 27,000 men, of which about

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[8] Although 30,000 man were captured, only 3,000 served in the Turko-Egyptian regiments. What happened to the other 27,000 is not clear. Many must have died. Others may have served as domestic slaves.

[9] These tribes and their languages will be discussed in 7.1.1.2.

[10] The Bakkara, or Baqqâra are Arabic-speaking cattle keepers. Their homeland reaches from a little beyond Lake Chad in the west to the White Nile. Djelabi or *jallâba* were Arabic-speaking petty traders.

[11] MacMichael (1967: 23) however, states that the "(…) force taking part in these slave hunts usually numbered 1000 to 2000 regular troops, 400 to 800 Moghrabín, and 300 to 1000 natives."

20,000 were black Sudanese (Gray 1961: 85). According to Hill (1959: 113), however, after a revolt of the Sudanese troops in the same year, the Viceroy reduced the black regiments in the Sudan to three, while the rest was sent to Egypt. Instead, a mobile force was created consisting of Egyptians, *bâshî-buzûq*, Shâʔiqîya and Albanians, with a battery of field artillery. Through the Egyptian conquest in the Sudan, security was guaranteed, which gave merchants the opportunity to establish and increase their trading activities in the area.

1.1.2.2. Commercial activities in southern Sudan: establishment of trading settlements (1840-1888)

Because of the presence of Egyptian military forces in the Sudan, commercial and other activities were greatly stimulated. Migration to the northern territories was facilitated, and the first governmental expeditions to discover the sources of the White Nile were organized from 1839 onwards (Gray 1961: 16-19; Hill 1959: 68-70). Although they did not reach the sources of the Nile, part of the White Nile valley was opened up for trading activities. Thus, small governmental trading expeditions were already proceeding to the newly discovered areas in the 1840s (Gray 1961: 34-36). Muḥammad ʕAlî had installed a trading monopoly from 1824 onwards. According to Holt (1961: 64), at the time of the government monopoly, the big traders based at Kharṭûm, had not yet entered the White Nile Basin. *Jallâba* (mainly Danâqla and Jaʕalîyîn petty traders) did so and had already managed to establish trading contacts with the Shilluk as early as 1840 (Gray 1961: 33-34). Gray (1961: 34) emphasizes the European influence in the White Nile trade and mentions that the European traders, excluded from contacts with the Shilluk by the governmental expeditions and the *jallâba*, rather concentrated on the Bari. The traders were mainly interested in ivory, gum arabic, and cattle, while in those years slaves were only occasionally taken and exported (Hill 1959: 44-45, Holt 1961: 61).

At around 1850, Muḥammad ʕAlî could no longer uphold the trading monopoly, as he was compelled by European pressure to introduce a free-market economy (Holt 1961: 61, 64). From that moment on, trade on the White Nile started booming. Large Kharṭûm companies sent their Arab agents (among others Turkish, Egyptian and Egyptian Sudanese) to the southern Sudan, where they established *zarîbas*, fortified thorn-fenced encampments, which were called *daim* or 'camp' followed by the name of the owner or agent (Holt 1958: 11). The *zarîbas* were protected by a private army (mainly consisting of mercenary Danâqla and Jaʕalîyîn, who were called ʕ*askar* (pl.: ʕ*asâkir*) and provided shelter for the traders and stores for the traded goods. Alliances were made with the surrounding tribal villages, which had to supply the *zarîba* with food and services, mainly as porters. In return, the village received the trader's support in intertribal affairs. The latter, however, was turned to the trader's advantage as well, since reprisal raids on other tribes could provide the trader with supplies of ivory and, at a later stage, slaves (Gray 1961: 59, 62; Holt 1961: 64; Schweinfurth 1922: 249-250).

The slave trade in the White Nile region until then had been conducted on a rather occasional basis. Slaves were, more accidentally than intentionally, captured during raids for ivory and cattle (Gray 1961: 45). The women were sent to Kharṭûm to be sold on the slave market, or were taken as concubines in the *zarîba*. The men were needed as porters and armed servants (*bazinqir* [12], *narkuk*- (pl: *narakik*), or *farkha*-(pl: *farukh*)) (Gray 1961: 50; Holt 1961: 64; Schweinfurth 1922: 250), while according to Gray (1961: 45) captured youths received instruction in Arabic and became employed as dragomen (or *targâma*), acting as intermediaries between the traders and the tribal chiefs. From 1860 onwards, the slave trade gained importance due to the dramatic increase of the ivory price in Kharṭûm. The cause of the increase was twofold. The ivory supplies were gradually becoming smaller. Moreover, the growing tribal animosity towards the traders forced the latter to augment their private armies, resulting in a tremendous increase of trading expenses. The traders needed slaves to sell to their ʕ*asâkir* who obtained part of their payment in merchandise, whether goods or slaves. The slaves were either

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[12] Also *bazinger, bazinjar, besinger*. "Some trace the origin of this word to the name of a negro tribe who took service in this capacity, others connect it with Marshal Bazaine, under whom the Sudanese black troops fought in Mexico." (Hill 1959: 140, n. 2). Considering the first explanation, one wonders which tribe was involved.

kept by the soldiers for their own household (the women as concubines or wives, the children as their assistants) or were sold to traders to be brought to the Kharṭûm slave markets. Thus, although the *zarîba* traders themselves were not actively involved in the export of slaves, they played a key role in the slave trade, and their survival as White Nile traders depended to a great extent on the continuation and increase of the slave trade (Gray 1961: 50-52; Schweinfurth 1922: 92). Relevant for this discussion is that many of the captured black Sudanese slaves were not transported to the north, but were retained in the White Nile Basin. They only shifted from their pagan origins to mainly Islamic surroundings.

From 1857 onwards, measures against the slave trade were taken by the successors of Muḥammad ʕAlî [13]. But because many traders and government agents threatened to lose their income (see MacMichael 1967: 32-33), the slave trade was continued as before, although a little more secretly. Moreover, the army was still in need of recruits. Hill (1959: 110) mentions that in 1863-64, the Dinka tribes were raided by opposing tribes with the assistance of regular troops to strengthen the latter's forces. A river police force, which had been installed on the White Nile, managed to take hold of 3,538 slaves in 1864, but instead of being sent back to their native villages, they were transported to Kharṭûm, where many of them were eagerly accepted as fresh recruits in the army (Holt 1961: 64-65). In 1865, the Governor-General of the Sudan himself sought to increase his army's number with black slave recruits (Gray 1961: 85).

The Baḥr al-Ghazâl was entered by traders from around halfway the 1850s, when the region still lay outside the Turco-Egyptian territory [14] (Gray 1961: 58; Holt 1961: 64). As in the White Nile Basin where the Egyptian merchant al-ʕAqqâd was in control of nearly all the trade, the Baḥr al-Ghazâl was actually held by a number of 'merchant princes' among whom were Idrîs wad Daftâr (Gray 1961: 67-68) and az-Zubair Raḥma Manṣûr. The latter was a Jaʕalî-Arab who built his huge *zarîba*, called Daim az-Zubair in the Baḥr al-Ghazâl in 1856. He had around a thousand armed men at his service, and showed great vigour in his trading activities (Gray 1961: 69). Although initially the main trading object was ivory, very soon it turned towards an extensive slave trade, largely surpassing the slave export from the White Nile Basin. For az-Zubair alone an export of 1,800 slaves p.a. was not exceptional (Gray 1961: 68-69). Part of the slaves raided by the traders were taken by the government forces, since their own capacity was too small to raid slaves successfully. The others were kept in the *zarîba* as private slaves.

Through the chain of *zarîbas*, security was highly augmented in the area, which gave the itinerant *jallâba* the opportunity to travel around freely. For 1874, Schweinfurth (1922: 507) gives an estimate of about 2,000 itinerant *jallâba*, while another 2,000 were residing on a more permanent basis in the Kharṭûm *zarîbas* in the Baḥr al-Ghazâl. Schweinfurth (1922: 507) gives the following figures for the area of the Kharṭûm *zarîbas* in the Baḥr al-Ghazâl at around 1874:

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[13] At around 1850, slave raiding was no longer tolerated as a means of gaining recruits. Slaves could however easily be bought for the purpose of recruitment. (MacMichael 1967: 31).
[14] The Baḥr al-Ghazâl was officially annexed in 1873 (Holt 1961: 67).

* in the *zarîba*:

soldiers recruited from Dunqula, Shâʔiqîya, Sinnâr, Kordofân, several Bedouin tribes, etc. (ʕasâkir)	5,000
black slave soldiers (*bazinqir, farukh* or *narkuk*)	5,000
idlers looking for free food and accommodation	1,000
jallâba, Muslim teachers (*fuqahâʔ)*, agents residing in the *zarîba*	2,000
jallâba who are only temporarily in the country in wintertime	2,000
private slaves of the residential Muslim population	40,000
total	55,000

table 1: Population of the Baḥr al-Ghazâl *zarîbas* in 1874

(after Schweinfurth 1922: 507)

* in the environment of the *zarîba*:

Bongo	100,000
Mittu (including Madi, Luba, etc.)	30,000
Jur	10,000
Golo	6,000
Ssere	4,000
Kreish	20,000
smaller tribes, e.g. Dembo, Bimberri, Manga, etc.	20,000
total	190,000

table 2: Population near the Baḥr al-Ghazâl *zarîbas* in 1874

(after Schweinfurth 1922: 507)

This means that of a grand total of 245,000 people, approximately 22,5% were living in the *zarîba*, whereas 77,5% dwelt in the neighbourhood. If we make the sum of the local population residing in and around the *zarîba* (5,000 black slave soldiers + 40,000 private slaves + 190,000 indigenous population = 235,000 of a total of 245,000), then we arrive at a percentage of 96% non-Arabic compared to 4% of the Arabic-speaking people. I will come back to this below (1.2.2.1).

At the top of the *zarîba* hierarchy were Arabic-speaking Egyptians, Sudanese and Danâqla traders followed by the 'Nubian' ʕasâkir, who were mainly Danâqla and Shâʔiqîya, but among whom could also be found Bedouins and men from Sinnâr and Kordofân. Many of these northerners settled permanently in these districts, keeping up their original cultural customs (Holt 1958: 10-11). The black slaves who were retained in the *zarîba* could be subdivided into several groups. The first group consisted of boys from seven to ten years old who were employed to carry the guns and ammunition of the (slave) troops. Every soldier, whether Dunqulâwî or slave-soldier, had at least one at his service. When reaching the age of ten years, these boys entered the second group, the so-called *bazinqir, farukh* or *narkuk*, all names referring to slave-soldiers (Schweinfurth 1890: 249-250; 504-505). Many of them had been raised in the *zarîba*. They were armed, and thus formed a kind of black force which had to accompany all forays and expeditions of the Nubian ʕasâkir, whether commercial or military. In military expeditions they were actually given the major and hardest part of the tasks (Schweinfurth 1922: 249-250; 389). The slave-soldiers could amount to half of the armed forces in the *zarîba* (see tables 1 and 2). The merchant and the slave troops were dependent on each other. The loyal *bazinqir*

proved to be valuable assets to their master, who in return treated them with affection and let them share in the profits of his raids (Holt 1958: 34-35). Many natives even voluntarily entered the slave troops, expecting that living conditions in the *zarîba* would be less harsh than in their native villages [15]. Consequently they picked up some cultural elements, and were Islamized. Every man had at least one woman slave to do the cooking, etc. Often, these women were married to the men. Schweinfurth considers them the third group, while the fourth group were the slaves, both male and female, employed for working the fields (Schweinfurth 1922: 504-506) [16]. The tribes in the environment lived in a vassalage relationship with the *zarîba*. They had to offer grain and services. In return, they received some protection and were exempted from slave and cattle raiding.

1.1.2.3. Interaction between government and trading camps

During the 1860s, the merchant princes of the Baḥr al-Ghazâl, az-Zubair in particular, became a real threat to the Egyptian government. After an unsuccessful attempt to defeat him, the Khedive Ismâʔîl was compelled in 1873 to accept az-Zubair's authority and to offer him the governorship of the Baḥr al-Ghazâl, which henceforth constituted a province. Az-Zubair received the assistance of a small force of regular troops. After some independent actions, which were not agreed on by the government, az-Zubair was detained in Cairo in 1876 (Gray 1961: 120-123; Hill 1959: 135; Holt 1961: 67). In the meantime, in the White Nile Basin, the company of the Egyptian merchant al-ʕAqqâd and his son-in-law Abû Suʕûd, had, through a strong alliance with the Bari, managed to develop a commercial stronghold controlling about all the stations in the area, the Bari being mainly employed "(..) as porters, herdsmen, and mercenary soldiers" (Gray 1961: 95). In 1869, the Khedive Ismâʔîl had engaged the British explorer, Sir Samuel Baker, to extend government control to the territories south of Gondokoro, to organize military posts in the newly acquired regions, and to put a stop to the slave trade (Gray 1961: 86-103; Hill 1959: 135-136; Holt 1961: 66-67). After a battle between Baker and Abû Suʕûd, government control was forced on the area, and the Danâqla private troops were incorporated as official garrisons. They, however, never acted as such, and instead rather weakened the government's control of the area (Gray 1961: 100). Baker managed as well to annex, at least nominally, the areas south of Gondokoro, which were called the Equatorial Province.

In 1873, the English Colonel, Charles George Gordon was appointed as governor of the Equatorial Province (1873-76). He attempted to organize the administration in the country[17]. The stations of the slave traders became military posts and administrative centres. Gordon was obliged to rely heavily on his Egyptian and Sudanese officials. Some of them, who had already proved their worth during an expedition in Mexico with the French, were indeed most reliable. Others, however, showed very little loyalty. These were mainly political exiles and criminals from Egyptian jails who had been enlisted because of a lack of recruits after the abolition of the slave trade (Hill 1959: 138). The same lack of loyalty and enthusiasm was seen with the Danâqla, whom Gordon was forced to employ in many of the civil and administrative posts, since foreign administrators were too expensive. In most of the stations, they outnumbered the regular troops. The following figures were given by Franz Stuhlmann in the introduction to Emin's diary (1916: 19) for the composition of the garrisons after a reorganization of the stations in 1874.

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[15] Schweinfurth (1922: 504) gives the Niamniam as an example. Entire troops of black people could be recruited from among them.

[16] To my understanding, the first group (slave boys), the third group (women), and the fourth group (working in the fields) together form the group of 40,000 private slaves, whereas the second group, comprising slave soldiers, amounts to 5,000 men.

[17] See Gray (1961: 104-119); Hill (1959: 138-139); Holt (1958: 12, 28); Holt (1961: 66-70).

stations	Sudanese	Egyptians	Danâqla
Sûbât, at the confluence of Sûbât and Nile,	regular 50	-	-
Nâṣir, on the Sûbât,	-	-	irregular 100
Ghaba Schambe	regular 30	-	150
Makraka	regular 20	-	irregular 150
Bor	10	-	100
Lattuka	10	-	100
Lado (headquarters)	10	-	100
ar-Rajjâf	80	.-	-
Dufile	10	-	-
Fatiko	250	regular 100	-
Foweira	100	100	-
Total: 1470	570	200	700

table 3: Composition of the garrisons in Equatoria Province in 1874

(after Franz Stuhlmann)

Table 3 mainly refers to the descent of the garrisons' population. However, it is reasonable to assume that the regular troops mainly consisted of Sudanese and Egyptians, and the irregular troops of Danâqla. This is not unlikely since there were 'regular' Sudanese, 'regular' Egyptians and 'irregular' Danâqla, and nowhere were they listed the other way round. It is also clear that Danâqla were not conscripted in the army on a regular basis. This means that, where Stuhlmann mentions that Lattuka contained 10 Sudanese and 100 Danâqla, it may be interpreted as 10 regulars and 100 irregulars. We see then that the regular troops (570 Sudanese + 200 Egyptian) outnumbered, although only by a small difference, the irregular troops, numbering 700 (i.e. of 52 to 48% respectively). As for language, the Egyptians are the only ones who must have spoken Arabic as their mother tongue. The Danâqla spoke some sort of Arabic, but it is unclear which dialect and at which level. The Sudanese troops most likely consisted of black Sudanese men recruited and trained in the army. It is possible that they had learnt a simplified form of Arabic there (see 1.2.2.1.). In this period, the results of a continuing process of increasing contact between the stations and the surrounding villages became visible, the villagers being highly attracted to the life at the stations, while the tribal structure had already been weakened through the disrupting contact with the trading communities. Gray (1961: 113) quotes Gordon who talks about "a semi-native semi-arab by contact population of lads and women".

After his return from Equatoria, Gordon was appointed Governor-General of the Sudan in 1877[18]. Immediately, he became concerned with the rebellious actions of az-Zubair's son, Sulaimân, who led a private army of 6,400 slave troops and forces of 9,000 *jallâba* and others. To cut off supplies from Sulaimân, Gordon supported the Baqqâra in harrassing the *jallâba*. The *jallâba*, who had, since the reduction of the slave trade, already lost part of their income through the slave export, were now completely deprived of a livelihood. They took refuge in Kordofân and Dâr Fûr, where the Mahdi, the leader of the revolt against the Egyptian administration in the Sudan, could easily convince them to join his army (Holt 1961: 70, 79). At the same time, the Italian administrator of the Baḥr al-Ghazâl province, Romolo Gessi was given the task of halting Sulaimân, which he was able to do in 1879 (Gray 196: 123-125), although Rabîh, one of Sulaimân's commanders had managed to flee westward and reached

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[18] In the same year, on 4 August 1877, a convention was signed between Britain and Egypt in which both parties agreed upon the complete prohibition of the public trade in slaves (MacMichael 1967: 35).

Lake Chad, where he was eventually defeated by the French (Gray 1961: 134, Slatin 1896: 25-26)[19]. In 1882, the year Great Britain succeeded in its occupation of Egypt, 40,000 troops, including many irregulars, were garrisoned in the Egyptian dependencies (Sudan, Eritrean and Somali districts), while there were approximately 3,000 armed forces in Equatoria and the Baḥr al-Ghazâl (Holt 1958: 32).

In 1877, Emin Pasha [20] became governor of the Equatorial Province. From Emin's appointment until 1880, nearly all transport and communication from the north had been blocked due to the impenetrable vegetation on the Nile, called *sudd* and the lack of resources in Kharṭûm (Collins 1971: 25; Gray 1961: 139-140). The province at that time consisted of not much more than a few small isolated stations. Emin, however, managed to extend his influence over the tribal parties. He was greatly assisted by local interpreters, who formed the link between the Danâqla and the governmental garrisons on the one hand, and the tribal chiefs on the other hand (Emin 1919: 264; Emin III 1922: 63). In his memoirs, he mentions 30 dragomen in Muggi (Emin 1919: 59). The contact between the government stations and the native villages thus increased and intensified, and Islam gradually made its way into the tribal societies. Emin reorganized the Province, and divided it into several districts, or *idâra*, in which the stations were situated. The administration was in the hands of regular and irregular forces [21] and interpreters. Besides them, there were the native slave troops, the so-called *bazinqir* (Hill 1959: 139-140; see also Emin 1919: 36). Franz Stuhlmann (in Emin 1916: 25) gives figures for the years 1881-1882, as they were written down by Vita Hassan, Emin's secretary:

district	stations	regular *jihâdîya*	irregular *hotteria*	dragomen *targâma*
Bor	Bor	120	-	40
Lado	Lado, ar-Rajjâf, Bedden	300	-	70
Kiri	Kiri, Chor Aju, Labore, Muggi	70	-	10
Dufile	Dufile, Fabbo, Fatiko, Wadelai	170	-	30
Foweira	Foweira, Fodda	60	-	20
Lattuka	Okello, Tarangole, Obure, Obbo	-	200	20
Fadibek	Labor, Galli, Fadibek	-	170	40
Rol	Ajak, Bufi, Ssajadin, Lessi, Affard, el-Gok-Muchtar	180	-	40
Makraka	Kabadjendi, Wandi, Makraka-sughaira, Gosa, Kallika, Watako, Kudurma, ʔUmm-dirfi, Rimo, Korobek, Ganda, Umbimba, Nuguma, Dango, Dango-kebir	60	100	100
Gurguru (Mangbettu)	Tangasi, Kobbi, Uniboron, Mperia, Rensi, etc.	80	70	30
total:	1,930 =	990	540	400

table 4: Composition of the stations in Equatoria Province in 1881-1882

(after Franz Stuhlmann)

I shall now relate the numbers of table 4 to those of table 3. Table 3 refers to stations, whereas the numbers in table 4 pertain to whole districts. However, more or less the same areas are involved. Irregular (540) and regular troops (990) together included 1,530 men, i.e. 35 to 65% respectively. The

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[19] According to Tosco & Owens (1993: 181-185), Rabîh and his people introduced the p/c Arabic as it was spoken in the southern Sudan, to Chad, where in the course of events it became used among soldiers and officials, under the name of Turku. See also 7.1.2.2.
[20] Emin Pasha's real name was Eduard Schnitzer, a Silesian Jew, born in 1840.
[21] "Gessi Pasha wrote of these men as *hotteria*, Emin Pasha as *hutteria* and *cotteria*, possibly a corruption of the soldiers' Arabic *awtûrîya*, corrupted in turn from the Turkish *otûrâq*, a local soldier, militiaman" (Hill 1959: 140, n. 1).

irregular troops have thus been reduced in 1882 in comparison with 1874, their percentage dropping from 48 to 35%, whereas the regular troops increased from 52 to 65%. Only the Egyptians, who were mainly regular soldiers, were supposedly native speakers of Arabic. From the 1882 figures, however, we do not know the number of Egyptians involved. Emin himself, at the end of 1880, mentioned figures of 1,400 regular soldiers and officers and approximately 200 irregulars (Emin 1916: 25), which would mean an even larger increase in the regular troops, and therefore a growth of the number of native speakers of Arabic [22].

Emin thus had managed to establish some control over the Equatorial Province, and had obtained more or less good relations with the surrounding tribal population. The Mahdi revolt, however, brought an abrupt end to Emin's achievements.

1.1.2.4. *The Mahdist revolt and its aftermath*

The Mahdist revolt, which started in 1882 and reached its climax in 1885 with the fall of Kharṭûm, changed the situation in southern Sudan completely. Except for the area around the White Nile between Lado, Wadelai and the shores of Lake Albert, which remained under Egyptian control with Emin, the whole of the Sudan was in the Mahdi's hands. Emin had been disturbed by the Mahdists once in 1884. At that time, the Mahdist, Karâm Allâh, who had the sympathy of many of Emin's Danâqla and Egyptian officials (Holt 1958: 117, 197), arrived from the Baḥr al-Ghazâl to occupy Equatoria with a force of 5,000 to 8,000 men and told Emin to surrender. Karâm Allâh, however, did not continue his conquest, since his army was needed elsewhere (Slatin 1896: 411-412). Emin and the Equatorial Province were thus left alone for the next few years. However, the Egyptian government had lost all its credibility among the local tribes, who started revolting (Emin III 1922: 3; Gray 1961: 161-162). Emin was thus forced in 1885 to shift the provincial headquarters from Lado to Wadelai, and to reduce the troops at the outlying stations of Lado, ar-Rajjâf, and Bedden (Emin III 1922: 93-113). The first battalion of around 700 armed men which had been in charge of the northernmost territories, however, refused to join the evacuation, and disobeyed the governor's orders (Emin III 1922: 237; Emin 1922 IV: 142; Jephson 1890: 43-44; Headley & Johnson 1890: 694). Several Egyptian and Sudanese officers deserted, often accompanied by their men. They started a new carrier as bandit chiefs in and around Makraka, or joined the Mahdi (Emin III 1922: 34; Gray 1961: 160; Jephson 1890: 43-44). They were replaced by the lower ranks, and by soldiers recruited from the local population (Hansen 1991: 321). This implies that the number of native Arabic speakers decreased in contrast to the number of non-native speakers. The second Battalion who were in charge of the southern territories consisted of approximately 650 armed men. They remained loyal at first sight (Headley & Johnson 1890: 695). Emin was, however, not very enthousiastic about the latter either, since most of the 56 Egyptian officers and clerks in the Province had a criminal record. While the troops in the north were reduced, Emin himself and most of the men retreated to Lake Albert, where they lived in isolation for several years (Emin 1919: 59, 61, 313; Gray 1961: 159-162; Holt 1958: 197; Jephson 1890: 43-44).

Eventually, the British-American explorer Henry Morton Stanley came with an expedition to escort Emin to the coast. They met on Lake Albert on 29 April 1888. While Stanley went to collect some of his men who had been trailing behind, A.J. Mounteney-Jephson, one of Stanley's officers [23] was left with Emin (Emin IV 1922: 96-123; Holt 1958: 197). Emin's men, however, were not at all eager to leave with him, since, for many of them, that would mean leaving their homelands, while many of the Egyptians were former criminals or former members of the ʕUrâbî-revolt in the early 1880s[24],

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[22] Hill (1959: 139-140) talks about the *idâra* of Rohl, where 455, of whom 96 were Danâqla, were employed, all of them being irregulars.

[23] A.J. Mounteney-Jephson relates the story of Emin's rescue and the struggle with Emin's troops in *Emin Pasha and the Rebellion at the Equator*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1890.

[24] The militant nationalist ʕUrâbists, called after their leader, ʕUrâbî Pasha, revolted against foreign interference in Egypt. Their actions came to an abrupt end in September 1882, when Great Britain succeeded in their occupation of Egypt.

who had no desire to go back to Egypt. Moreover, the men feared that they would have to leave their wives, children and slaves behind (Emin IV 1922: 125-126, 138, 145; Jephson 1890: 52). Thus, a mutiny broke out under the command of a Sudanese officer, Faḍl al-Maulâ Muḥammad (Jephson 1890: 102-103, 154). Jephson and Emin were held prisoner in Dufile (Jephson 1890: 162). The Mahdists in the meantime made a second approach and managed to capture ar-Rajjâf, but tough resistance from Faḍl al-Maulâ and his troops kept them from seizing Dufile (see also Slatin 1896: 468-470). Emin and Jephson in the meantime had been released and hurried southwards to meet Stanley at Lake Albert (Emin IV 1922: 155-224).

Eventually, Emin joined Stanley with a group of 570 people and went to Zanzibar on 10 April 1889 (Emin IV 1922: 251, 391). The group of mutineers remained in Dufile under the command of Faḍl al-Maulâ. Although they had become loyal to Emin again and wished to join him, another group of people led by Selîm Bey, one of Emin's officers, had been left behind. They had mainly been delayed due to the large number of women, children and slaves who proceeded only very slowly (Lugard 1968: 201-204). After they heard that Emin had left already, many rejoined Faḍl al-Maulâ's troops. The remaining group under the command of Selîm Bey settled down in Kavalli, at the south western corner of Lake Albert, and is said to have consisted of 300 women and children, and of 90 men 50 of whom were killed soon after by the 'natives' (Lugard 1968: 203). The disagreements and conflicts among Faḍl al-Maulâ's men forced several groups to leave and find their own livelihood in the province (Slatin 1896: 469-470). Others, a force of about 800 well-armed men with about 10,000 followers, are said to have left Faḍl al-Maulâ to join Selîm Bey. On their way, many people of the Lendu and Lur tribes entered the group, "some as slaves, but the majority as freemen, though servants" (Lugard 1968: 205, n.1). They eventually arrived in Kavalli in April 1891, just before Capt. Lugard, representative of the Imperial British East Africa Company, found them there (Lugard 1968: 201-205). Lugard (1968: 210) describes the scene as follows:

> " There was great joy and kissing of my hand (which they touch with their foreheads), and handshaking with Shukri and my Sudanese. Every one talked at the same time, and congratulated each other, and every one temporarily became a fool, and smiled extremely, and talked incessantly, as is right and proper on such an occasion."

Lugard had been looking for cheap replacement of his more expensive Swahili and Sudanese troops, and for extra manpower to hold the British territories of Uganda and Unyoro (Lugard 1968: 133-134, 137). He was therefore very eager to convince Selîm Bey of the close alliance of the British with the Khedive, to whom Selîm had always remained loyal, and of their enlistment as irregular troops under Lugard's command. Selîm accepted, and consequently conditions were agreed upon (Lugard 1968: 209-215). In October 1891, the group left Kavalli. Lugard (1968: 230) talks of 4,000 people, while Hansen (1991: 322) says the group consisted of about 9,000 people, of whom some 900 were armed men. Lugard (1968: 217) says of them:

> "The original soldiers had for the most part assumed the titles of ranks much superior to those which they held under the Egyptian Government. The non-commissioned officers had become commissioned officers, the privates were all non-commissioned officers, and such few private soldiers as still deigned to hold that lowest rank were "new askars" recently enlisted."

Initially, they were stationed in Western Uganda, but later they moved to Buganda territory[25]. In 1901, the King's African Rifles were founded, and the Sudanese or Nubian soldiers were incorporated into

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[25] In the meantime, in 1892, Faḍl al-Maulâ was approached by an expedition from Congo Free State, and had accepted their proposal. "The former Egyptian employees and troops entered the service of the Congo Free State and undertook to hold their posts in its name, flying its flag and obeying its laws. Faḍl al-Maulâ received the title of governor of Equatoria *(mudîr Khaṭṭ al-Istiwâ?)*." (Holt 1958: 200)   The Mahdists under ʕArabî Dafaʕallâh, however, turned again to the area south of ar-Rajjâf in 1893. In January 1894, Faḍl al-Maulâ and most of his men

them as regular forces, thus becoming part of the 4th (Uganda) Battalion (Hansen 1991: 324). Part of them were sent to Nairobi, where they settled in 1902. The other part remained in Uganda, where in 1906, the military headquarters were organized in Bombo, about 30 kilometres north of Kampala. They became the ancestors of the present-day Nubi.

1.1.3. The Nubi in the twentieth century [26]

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Nubi were active in the military forces in British East Africa, and accordingly as 'immigrant mercenaries' received certain facilities from the Protectorate Government. It was only after World War I that a small part of the Nubian community was demilitarized for the first time, and that the question of the status of the Nubi people was raised. However, the privileges of the Nubi, who were still viewed as foreign mercenaries, were retained. They were allowed to live in their own settlements, the so-called *mulkis*, and were exempted from ordinary tribal obligations. The question became, however, more pressing in the 1930s when the links with the armed forces had become weaker, and only about one sixth of the armed forces consisted of Nubi. Moreover, in 1936, the military headquarters were moved away from Bombo. It was suggested that the Nubi would refrain from their extra-tribal status, and would come under the jurisdiction of the Buganda Government. The Nubi, however, with their overwhelming feeling of distinctiveness from the Baganda, wished to retain their status as immigrants and subjects of the colonial administration, and did not want to deal with the Buganda Government. Their claims were not accepted: the Nubi had to choose either to become Buganda subjects or to leave for the West Nile province.

The Nubi survived either as small merchants, or as unskilled labourers. Their ties with the military became more and more loose. They were reluctant to join the missionary schools, afraid that the Christian religion would be forced upon them. The result was that most of the Nubi received no or only minimal education. As a consequence they were not accepted in high functions, the army, or politics. In the first decades of the twentieth century, many people originating from the local tribes of present-day Uganda had joined the Nubians, attracted by their special status and refined culture. Since they had adopted the language, religion, and customs, the process of Sudanization or Nubianization which had started in the Sudan, had continued. However, by 1930, the Nubi community had lost its attraction to outsiders. It had become a stable community, sticking to Islam, their own language, and their own cultural elements. However, being quite pragmatic and understanding that without intercourse with their non Nubi neighbours, life would be extremely difficult, they had learnt to be flexible, and learned the others' languages and customs and used them when necessary.

When Idi Amin came to power in 1971 - although in general his regime was characterized by brutality - he brought a positive change in the situation of the Nubi. Being a Kakwa from the West Nile Province, he knew many Nubi people and had some knowledge of their language. He had not forgotten their value in the military, and sought means to attract them. Since the new regime was a military one, the Nubi received the opportunity to enter politics and commerce, which they eagerly accepted. Uganda saw another wave of Nubianization, stimulated by Amin.

> "Amin deliberately used an expanded concept of the Nubian. He gave clear priority to the Muslim criterion while reducing the significance of traditional affiliation with the original immigrant group. This means that it is difficult to assess qualitatively the real Nubian impact on and advantages gained from the Amin regime." (Hansen 1991a: 339).

The days of renewed glory ended, however, in 1979 when Amin went into exile. The Nubi could not uphold their positions, and many fled to Sudan, Kenya or to present-day Congo. Only after Museveni

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were killed near Wadelai, while the women and children were taken prisoner by the Mahdists (Holt 1958: 199-210; Slatin 1896: 507-508).

[26] This information was collected from Hansen (1991 a & b), Mazrui (1977), Nasseem & Marjan (1992), Johnson (1988).

had gained power in 1986, did the Nubi dare to come back, often finding their belongings had been confiscated.

During the past fifteen years, the Nubi have been struggling to find a livelihood. Being excluded from the military, they mainly turned to petty trading or (semi-)skilled labour. While still in exile in southern Sudan, many boys were selected by the United Nations to study in Kharṭûm. They returned in the early nineties, and are now active as (Muslim) teachers, or as social workers. On the one hand, Nubi are despised by the Ugandese because of their cooperation with the Amin regime. Therefore, many Nubi claim to be of other than Nubi descent. On the other hand, the refined Nubi culture and customs still attract people from other tribes, especially outside Buganda, the territory of Uganda's largest tribe. In Buganda, more and more girls are marrying outside the Nubi group and partially give up their affinities with the Nubi language and culture.

1.1.4. Conclusion

Before 1820, travellers were using routes through the Sudan in all directions for commercial purposes and pilgrimages. After 1820, intertribal contacts increased in Egypt in Muḥammad ʕAlî's military training camps, and in the eastern Bilâd as-Sûdân through an increase in trading activities, and through an extension of military stations in the newly annexed areas: the White Nile Basin, the Baḥr al-Ghazâl and the Equatorial Province. The military forces were reinforced by black Sudanese men, directly through forced recruitment, or more indirectly through the purchase of slaves from big merchants, active in southern Sudan. In the trading camps themselves, black slaves, both male and female, were kept for domestic purposes, and to assist the ʕasâkir to defend the *zarîba*. Soon after, however, inhabitants from indigenous tribes entered the camps deliberately, attracted by (possible) advantages of the camp life. From figures of around 1874 and 1882, we learn that in the trading camps or *zarîba*, and in the military camps, a dominant (military and/or economic) minority of (near) native speakers of Arabic were facing a vast majority of indigenous people, the latter being in close contact with the first through different functions: dragomen, slave soldiers, domestic slaves, and through intermarriage. It seems that a semi-Arab population came into existence, whose members were distanced from their tribal origins by language (a simplified Arabic), religion (Islam) and customs. They could, however, not obtain the same levels as the Arabic-speaking population, as much as they wished to. The minority groups of Arabs and Danâqla, the Arabized inhabitants of Dunqula, may have continued the Arabic habit of looking down on black people (see below: 1.2.2.1), maintaining their distance from the indigenous population, even if the value of these had become evident.

When Emin and his troops became isolated in the Lake Albert area in 1885, forced by the pressure of the Mahdists, many Arabs of his officer corps joined the ranks of the Mahdists. They were replaced by former slave soldiers. At the same time, Emin's troops faced an influx of local people: men, women, and children. A process of gradual reduction of the number of Arabic speakers in comparison with an increasing amount of local Sudanese people, was thus taking place. A climax was reached after Emin, and with him many of his Egyptian and Kharṭûm officers and clerks, left for the coast in 1889, leaving the groups of Selîm Bey and Faḍl al-Maulâ behind. These were subsequently joined by a large group of, mainly Lendu and Lur people. The number of (near)native speakers of Arabic, however small, was never reduced to zero. The remaining groups lived in solitude for about three years until they were met and enlisted by Capt. Lugard, representative of the British East African Company. It is from this group of 'Sudanese', approximately 900 armed men and 8,000 to 9,000 followers, that the present-day Nubi hail.

At the time, these people were not referred to as Nubi. Lugard nowhere talks about Nubians or Nubi. He refers to the group led by Selîm Bey as Sudanese. Meldon, however, says that "the Sudanese

are sometimes spoken of as Nubis" (Meldon 1907: 139)[27]. According to Hansen (1991a: 325), it was only after World War I that these people began to be addressed as Nubians on a more regular basis. Kokole (1985: 430) tells us about his Kakwa father, who speaks Nubi as a second language, and who calls it 'Arabic' without exception. This brings us to the etymology of the term 'Nubi', for a people and a language [28]. The hypotheses are many. Heine (1982: 11) and Prokosch (1981: 30) claim that the name derives from the Nûba-people since they represented quite a large portion of the first recruits in the Turco-Egyptian army. According to Trimingham (1964: 49), however, the word Nûba, originally referring to the inhabitants of the Nûba Mountains in Kordofân, was used to refer to the Sudanese in general. Soghayroun (1981: 21), on the other hand, says that Nubian was the more common term in Egypt applying to black Sudanese troops, and Kaye (1991: 6) suggests a mixture of these elements. Kokole's explanation is less likely. He assumes that the Nubi language is related to the Arabic colloquial of southern Sudan or Junubi (from Arabic *janûb* 'south'), from which the name Nubi would be derived (Kokole 1986: 422).

According to Roth-Laly (1972: 501), who studied, among other things, the works of Carbou (1913, on the Arabic of Wadaï and Eastern Chad), Trenga (1947, on the Bura-mabang of Wadaï), and Lethem (1920, on the Arabic Shuwa dialect of Bornû, Nigeria and the Lake Chad area), the word *nubâî* is to be translated as 'nègre', 'noir' (from Trenga), and 'negro', 'also used of non-Arab Muslims; and of a particular race in Kordofân' (from Lethem), and finally as 'qui n'est pas arabe et qui n' est pas fétichiste' (from Carbou). The latter implies that *nubâî* was used for non-Arab Muslims, a status which of course applied to the Islamicized black population of the army and trading camps. Moreover, the term Nubian must have been in use as well, at least among Europeans, to refer to the Nubian *jallâba* and soldiers in the camps, who were Nile Nubians consisting of Danâqla, Mahas, and Kenzi. Herzog (1957: 170) suggests that Schweinfurth (1922: 456ff.) used the word for others and not merely for the pure Nile Nubians. Considering the above, I assume that the whole group of non-Arab Muslims and their language came to be designated by the name 'Nubi' through the association of the word for black non-Arab Muslims with the Nubian/Danâqla officer corps and soldiery, whose positions they gradually came to uphold in the administration and military forces of the Equatorial Province.

For the pidginized variety in southern Sudan, the name Bimbashi-Arabic or Mongalla-Arabic may have been used (Tucker 1934: 28). In the military camps in the southern Sudan, the officer corps had Turkish titles, *bimbashi* referring to the rank of major. Mongalla on the other hand, is a district a bit to the northwest of Juba in southern Sudan (see also Prokosch 1986: 72). However, in none of the diaries of travellers or governors in the southern Sudan, did I find these terms being used for the pidgin/creole (p/c) Arabic.

1.2. Linguistic background

It is generally believed, both on linguistic and socio-historical grounds, that present-day Nubi is an Arabic creole language, having developed from a pidginized Arabic. In this chapter, I shall first give a brief definition of pidgins and creoles and their features. In the second part, the development of Nubi will be reconstructed, using the historical data outlined in the previous section. I will follow the Nubi development chronologically, from the development of an Arabic lingua franca via a p/c Arabic to the creolized Nubi.

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[27] According to Emin, his troops were called 'Turks' (Emin 1919: 28), while he himself was referred to as 'Turk kebir' (big Turk) (Emin 1919: 242). Probably, 'Turks' was used to designate the non-Arabic Sudanese 'black' people associated with the military (Lugard 1968: 436; Tosco & Owens 1993: 183).
[28] The Bantu prefix *ki-* is sometimes attached to the name of the language: kiNubi (see also Kaye 1991: 5). I assume it is rather a Kenyan habit. In Kenya, more languages, like kiKuyu, kiSwahili, etc. are specified by the *ki-* prefix, whereas in Uganda this is less frequent.

1.2.1. Pidginization and creolization

Nubi is generally considered to be a creole language, having originated from an Arabic pidgin spoken in the southern Sudan and northern Uganda. There is much disagreement about how pidgins and creoles should be defined[29]. For the present purpose, the following definition, which compiles elements extracted from the relevant literature, will do.

Pidgins typically come into being in multilingual groups, when no common language is present to satisfy the need for communication. None of the native languages dominates in prestige or number of its speakers. Therefore, the members of the multilingual community seek recourse in another prestigious language. Pidgins are only spoken in contact situations, such as trade, and are therefore functionally restricted. Moreover, their structure and vocabulary are restricted if we compare them with the target language (lexifier or superstrate language). The structure of pidgins may go from very rudimentary and variable to stable and expanded. Heine (1982: 17) summarizes the features of the process by which pidgins arise, as follows:

" A   Explicit linguistic transmission tends to become more implicit.
  B   Linguistic items and rules which are dispensible from a communicative point of view tend to be eliminated.
  C   Inflectional-agglutinating structures are replaced by analytic-isolating structures.
  D   If there are linguistic categories involving an unmarked-marked opposition then the marked tends to be suppressed and the unmarked used for both.
  E   Context-sensitive rules (…) tend to be replaced by context-free rules."

Pidgin languages are learnt by their speakers as a second language. A pidgin language may develop into a creole when it is nativized, whether as an instantaneous or as a gradual process, when children born in mixed marriages are confronted with the pidgin input and learn it as their mother tongue. Unlike the pidginization process, which is marked by reduction of vocabulary and simplification of grammar, creolization of language is characterized by expansion and elaboration, both lexically and structurally, resulting in a fully fledged language, which meets the communicative needs of mother tongue speakers. If in later developments, the structure of the lexifier language affects the creole language, we speak of decreolization.

1.2.2. The development of the Arabic pidgin/creole from a socio-linguistic viewpoint

1.2.2.1. The Arabic pidgin/creole language in the 19th century

Even before the conquest of the Sudan, Arabic had become established as a trade language. Owens (1985: 229-230) hypothesizes that already in the early centuries of Islam a pidgin Arabic came into existence [30]. From the late seventh century onwards Arab groups migrated in several waves into eastern Sudanese Africa, and went as far as Lake Chad and beyond, taking with them their language and culture. This resulted in a slow, but continuous process of Arabicization and Islamization through intermarriage, close contacts and interrelationships (Braukämper 1993). By the fourteenth century the Christian Nubian states had evolved into Muslim states. The status of Arabic as the language of Islam gained importance, and at that time, Arabic became the official language (Rouchdy 1991: 8). Arabic became the second language for most Nile Nubians (Adams 1977: 485ff.). It is, however, not possible to verify how well they spoke Arabic (see also Owens 1996: 167, n. 9). By the seventeenth century long

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[29] For general information see Arends, Muysken & Smith (1995); Arends & Bruyn (1995); Bakker (1995); Bickerton (1975, 1977, 1981); Boretzky (1983); Crowley (1992); Hancock (1979); Heine (1982); Holm (1988); Mühlhäusler (1986); Todd (1974).
[30] Thomason & Elgibali (1986) analyse a small text excerpt, which is possibly a form of pidginized Arabic from the mid-eleventh century, and which they have called Maridi Arabic. They maintain that the town of Maridi is to be situated in the western Sahara, in present-day central Mauritania.

distance trade between Egypt, North Africa and the states of the Sudan had become common (Gray 1961: 4; Holt 1961: 12-14). Arabic made headway as a commercial language, and by 1850 had become fully established (Hill 1959: 85). It could be expected, however, that in the contact between speakers of Arabic and the indigenous population simplified registers of Arabic had arisen (see also Owens 1996: 135).

Owens (1996: 135) suggests that this Arabic trade language may have influenced the formation of pidgin and creole varieties spoken in the southern Sudan, although there is no direct evidence for this. Neither is their any direct evidence for the use of a pidgin Arabic in the training camps of the Niẓâm al-jadîd in Aswân in 1821 and just beyond. Hill (1959: 46-47) mentions that until 1863 commands were given in Turkish. We do not know, however, about the language of other instructions. It is, however, likely that a kind of Arabic, based on the pre-1820 Arabic trade language, was common among the recruits who originated from different tribes. Only Thorburn (1924: 314) suggests something of the kind when he says that the Shilluk, Dinka and Nûba recruits learned a "pidgeon" Arabic, when enlisting. We do know for certain that a simplified form of Arabic was common in the military camps and in the *zarîba* in Equatoria and the Baḥr al-Ghazâl after 1869 (see below). This pidgin Arabic must have reached this area through the movements of the Egyptian military and/or more directly through the traders, who used it as commercial language and for communication with their southern Sudanese native inferiors.

We have seen above (1.1.2.2.) that the trading camps comprised an amalgam of many different groups of people. Figures for the Kharṭûm *zarîbas* in the Baḥr al-Ghazâl Province at around 1874 were given by Schweinfurth (1922: 507)(see tables 1 and 2). From a thorough analysis by Owens (1996:138ff.) we learn:

> "Of the ca. 250,000 inhabitants of Bahr el-Ghazal in 1870, 60,000, or about one quarter belonged to the trading camps. Of those in the camps, only 9,000- 14,000 would have been native or near-native Arabic speakers." (Owens 1996: 139) [31]

Arabic speakers were mainly found among the *jallâba* and ʕ*asâkir*. There were Arabic-speaking Shâʔiqîya and Bedouins among the ʕ*asâkir*. The *jallâba* originated from Egypt, and from all over the northern and central part of what is nowadays the state of Sudan. They were mainly Arabic-speaking. The Danâqla, found both among the *jallâba* and the ʕ*asâkir*, are supposed to have spoken at least some Arabic. How well their Arabic was is, however, quite uncertain. The other part of the camp population consisted mainly of black slaves of southern Sudanese origin, who were drawn to the attractive camp life. We may assume that processes like those in the *zarîba* took place in the military camps. Among the regular troops were Egyptians and Sudanese (northern Sudanese Arabic speakers and black soldiers who had been recruited shortly after the occupation from among the Nûba, Shilluk, and Dinka (see 1.1.2.1.). Besides the irregular troops, among whom there were mainly Danâqla and Shâʔiqîya, there were interpreters who were able to translate between the local languages and Arabic, and black soldiers, recruited more recently from among the southern tribes. After the time of az-Zubair from 1873 onwards, many trading camps took up government functions. Trading and military camps gradually evolved towards one another.

Camp life thus was prestigious and attractive for the local population. The dominant group in the camps were the (near-)native Arabic-speaking soldiers and traders. Hill (1959: 140) writes about language use in Equatoria Province and Baḥr al-Ghazâl after 1874:

> "In spite of the many languages spoken in these two provinces, the government admitted no complications on that score. Among themselves the officers spoke Arabic, the language of administration. In their business with the natives they used a simplified, pidgin Arabic which became the *lingua franca* of the Southern Sudan. Native

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[31] Owens (1996: 139) expected a subsequent decrease of the Arabic-speaking population through birth within the camps and through the government policy of 1878, which led to an increase of local southern people in the camps, while northern traders were barred.

languages were officially ignored, though Emin in his spare time made careful studies
of several."

If Hill is right, the southern Sudanese variety of Arabic developed through foreigner talk of the (near)-native Arabic speakers with the southern Sudanese population: this foreigner talk served as the input for processes of imperfect language learning on the part of the Sudanese non-Arabic speakers. We understand the same from Thorburn, who speaks about a "pidgeon"-language (1924: 314). Considering the way medieval Muslim geographers looked upon the black population or Zanj, we can assume that the Arab Muslims could hardly imagine them ever becoming full Muslims, or as living at the same level as they did. Moreover, it was generally considered that these people, hailing from these backward environments, could not be taught the true faith and culture. It is therefore not difficult to imagine that the Arab officers, soldiers, and merchants in the military and trading camps would use a simplified form of Arabic when communicating to the native slaves. They were simply considered to be deprived of the necessary intelligence to understand the Arabic language properly, let alone to learn and speak it. However, since they lived in the same environment, the black Sudanese were exposed to native Arabic speech, which they may have attempted to speak. They must have heard native Arabs converse, and as such they may have picked up some notions. However, restricted access to Arabic and processes of imperfect language learning must have hindered their learning process.

The black population consisted of several groups. Besides the male slave-soldiers and domestic slaves, there were the women folk, and dragomen. Local interpreters were found both inside and outside the camps. Outside the camps, some men had managed to pick up some Arabic.

"All of them were the indispensable intermediaries between African tribal communities
and the Arab intruders with whom it was politic to form a loose, and if possible distant,
alliance against rival tribes." (Gray 1961: 100-101).

Gray refers to Gordon who seems to have found a village where many villagers had some knowledge of Arabic (Gray 1961: 113). Emin (1919: 32) tells of the son of a Schuli chief who was half 'civilized' and spoke Arabic very well. A little further, he describes Aguok, a Schuli chief, who dressed and behaved like a Dunqulâwî (Emin 1919: 126). Gray mentions Zemio, an arabicized Zande chief. Gray (1961: 101, n. 1) adds that in the camps themselves there were many native young men and women who had learnt Arabic, and became very influential in contacts between the southern Sudanese tribes and the Egyptian administrators. These had often outgrown their tribal backgrounds, and must therefore be distinguished from the *targâma*. Particularly in Emin's diaries, we see how important these *targâma* had become in his contacts with the tribal chiefs (Emin 1919: 264; Emin 1922: 63). The *targâma*, who initially must have acted merely as interpreters, could obtain high positions, and constituted quite a large group in the camps. Note the following numbers for the population of a station in the district Amadi, in September 1881 (see Emin 1919: 254-255):

96	resident Danâqla
40	employed Danâqla
319	dragomen from among the Djur, Moru, Agar, Niamniam, Mangbattu, Bongo
455	men, accompanied by women and children, who amount to appr. five times this figure.

table 5: Population of a station in the Amadi district, September 1881

(after Emin 1919: 254-255)

The dragomen here amounted to about 2.5 times as many as the Danâqla. Emin (1919: 292) gives more figures for the population of a *zarîba* in the Rohl district (October 1881):

121	residents:	7	traders
		57	unemployed
		57	farmers
73	dragomen:	30	Niamniam
		14	Jur
		10	Agar
		19	Bongo
appr. 100	itinerant *jallâba* from the Baḥr al-Ghazâl and Kharṭûm		
300	total		
appr. 1,200	slaves		
appr. 1,500	grand total		

table 6: Population of a *zarîba* in the Rohl district, October 1881

(after Emin 1919: 292)

Among 300 men with higher positions in the *zarîba*, 15% were dragomen.

Besides the interpreters, other groups in the *zarîba* also came into contact with Arabic. Many Arabic-speaking *jallâba* and ʕ*asâkir* married local women, and often more than one, if we may believe Emin (1922: 70) who complains that his men had too many wives. Marriage thus also exposed the local women to (pidgin)Arabic. That learning Arabic did not always happen rapidly, we hear again from Emin (1922: 234), who grumbles about one of the local women who had been with them for more than two years, and still only spoke a few words of Arabic. He also tells about the misunderstandings that occurred because of the 'broken negro-Arabic' (Emin 1919: 242). We may assume that in the native households the native language was still used for quite some time, or that both the native language and the pidgin Arabic were spoken. Children raised in those marriages must have been affected by the multilingual situation, and may have learnt the pidgin Arabic alongside the native language of the mother, or maybe as their mother tongue. Initial creolization of the Arabic pidgin may thus have taken place (see below). Owens (1996: 145) hypothesizes that the Arabic pidgin evolved into an "expression of social class" for its speakers. The native people living in the camps were in between their superiors of Nubian and Arabic origin, and the group of natives, whom they had left behind in their villages. They did not belong to either group, and therefore formed a new class, the "semi-native semi-arab by contact population of lads and women" Gordon talked about (see 1.1.2.3.; Gray 1961: 113). Besides the language, religion proved to be another feature of this marginal social entity. When entering the camps, the normal procedure for the local people was conversion to Islam[32].

Owens (1996: 135) suggests, probably correctly, that the formative period of the ancestor of present-day Nubi began at around 1854, when through the presence of the Egyptian army, the area had become safe enough for the traders to expand their activities. However, the few references in the literature only allude to a pidgin variety of Arabic in the times of Baker, Gordon and Emin (i.e. not earlier than 1869). Hill (1959: 139-140) for instance, refers to the simplified way of talking of the officers when approaching local people at the time of Emin. Meldon (1907: 129) talks about the Nubi soldiers in Uganda and their language which was being corrupted by many Bari, Lur, Lendu and Swahili words, but which had supposedly been much purer at the time of Emin, "(…) though even then

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[32] Outside the camp as well, the Islamic faith found its way. Emin (1919: 258) talks about Gambari, a Mangbattu-chief who prayed like Muslims do.

it was probably a patois of felaheen-Arabic, and must have been much corrupted during the decade of years when Emin governed the Nile Province." Crabtree (1913: 154-155) discusses "a modified form of Arabic known as Nubian". Its speakers were the soldiers of Baker, Gordon and Emin, or their followers [33]. The lack of allusions to language use in previous times may be due to the fact that only these three administrators kept diaries. For the preceding period we can only guess.

Most likely, the initiative in communication came from the officer corps and traders who addressed their subordinates, slaves and local wives by means of a simple, broken Arabic, which may have been similar to the pre-1820 trade language. Since no other means of communication were available in the interethnic communities of the military and trading camps, and owing to its high prestige as the language of the superiors and the language of the newly acquired religion, the p/c Arabic soon gained ground as an important means of communication. Owens (1996: 135) even suggests that it became a symbol for the newly formed class in between the villagers and the camp superiors.

1.2.2.2. At the turn of the century

Owens (1996: 136) is probably correct in stating that by 1888, the year Stanley met Emin at the shores of Lake Albert, the p/c Arabic had reached the stabilization phase, and that some initial, although limited creolization had taken place. His conclusion is based on a comparison between Nubi and Juba Arabic [34]. Juba Arabic is a pidginized variety (which recently has been creolized as well), spoken in the southern part of the present state of Sudan. The pidginized variety which evolved into present-day Juba Arabic, must have been very similar to the pidgin ancestor of Nubi. The differences between Nubi and Juba Arabic are minimal, taking the respective substrate and adstrate influences into account and the fact that Nubi was creolized whereas Juba remained a pidgin until only recently. However, unlike the ancestors of the present-day Nubi people who withdrew to the south, the Juba Arabic speakers remained in southern Sudan. The similarities between Juba Arabic and Nubi can only be explained, if at the time of their separation, they had reached a more or less stable stage. The groups of Selîm Bey and Faḏl al-Maulâ were relatively small: 40 armed men and 300 followers, and 800 armed men with 10,000 followers respectively. They were, however, joined at around 1890 by a large number of people, from mainly the Lendu and Lur tribes (see 1.1.2.4. and 1.1.3.). The pidgin Arabic managed to survive this huge non-Arab influx with minimal changes, which supports the argument that the p/c Arabic had developed into a more or less stable language by 1888. On the other hand, scholars like Kaye & Tosco (1993: 301) argue:

> "(…) the language they [the Sudanese in the Ugandan military camps] brought with them from southern Sudan was not yet stabilized at that period [1891-..], and that Arabic influence (from different superstratal dialects) was still exerting pressure on the developing pidgin. This was surely the case of those Sudanese soldiers and families who were living in the Sudan prior to their departure for Uganda, and, who in all likelihood, had come into contact with speakers of many different Arabic dialects."

Kaye & Tosco come to this conclusion after having analysed an account of the p/c Arabic in Uganda, which was written in Bombo in Buganda-area, the most important settlement of the Nubi troops in Uganda, in 1908 by a Major Jenkins. Besides a few pages on grammatical features, Jenkins wrote an English-pidgin Arabic dictionary, including some pages with short sentences. Surprisingly enough, according to Kaye & Tosco, the material contains both Arabic dialect and pidgin vocabulary and grammatical items:

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[33] Crabtree suggests that it was still in use all along the Nile Valley, as far as Cairo at the time of his writing, 1913, although it was supposedly unintelligible to speakers of the Arabic dialect of Egypt. I understand the same from Thorburn (1924). Thorburn gives several examples of songs representing post-Dervish times (the Mahdists). The language of the songs contains both dialect elements and elements of an Arabic pidgin which resembles Nubi and Juba Arabic.

[34] For a comparative analysis of Juba Arabic and Nubi, see chapter 7, Miller (1994), and Owens (1996).

"(…) we nevertheless think that two linguistic layers are found in Jenkins's book, and must be kept, wherever possible, strictly separated. They are: (1) a basilectal variety, most likely a pidgin, which we label "Ugandan Pidgin Arabic (UPA); (2) a more acrolectal variety, "Ugandan Dialectal Arabic" (UDA), probably not strictly a pidgin, although it contained some "reduced" features characteristic of a pre-pidgin continuum where languages and dialects are in contact." (Kaye & Tosco 1993: 273).

The differences lie in the field of vocabulary and phonology (such as gemination and vowel length), but are mainly found in "the presence in UDA of Arabic derivational and inflectional morphology, and also a few categories absent in UPA, such as the article and the complementizers." (Kaye & Tosco 1993: 273). Kaye & Tosco (1993: 274) consider 10 to 20% of the material in Jenkins's vocabulary to be of dialect origin. They do not give any estimates for the pidgin Arabic, which must be less than the remaining 80 to 90%, since the source forms of many items remain obscure. The above implies that even after 1900 colloquial Arabic elements would still have been present. Kaye & Tosco (1993) conclude that these elements must have continued to influence the p/c Arabic spoken in Bombo and probably in other military settlements. Owens (1993: 11), however, refutes this hypothesis by arguing that one linguistic layer may have existed next to the other without exerting any or much influence[35]. If Owens' hypothesis (see above; Owens 1996: 145) of p/c Arabic evolving into a distinctive marker of the social layer of the speakers is correct, he is right in disregarding Jenkins' material. Owens (1993: 11) adds that the nature of the relations between the social layers and the number of speakers of the socially dominant group also need attention.

For an evaluation of these social relations, it is necessary to go back to the time of Emin. At around 1888, although many Egyptian and Sudanese officers had joined the Mahdists, others remained loyal to Emin (Gray 1961: 159-62). In his and Jephson's diary, we find several references to the presence of native Egyptians, Danâqla, and Khartûm people [36] (Emin III 1922: 237; Emin IV 1922: 126; Jephson 1890: 51-52, 66, 76, 83). Emin speaks of Sheikh Murjân, a black Sudanese raised in Egypt, who performed the call for prayers (Emin IV 1922: 142). These were particularly the people who wished to join Emin on his way to Zanzibar, and consecutively to Egypt. However, not all of them, especially those joining Selîm Bey, may have managed to actually leave Uganda which implies that at least a few native speakers of colloquial Arabic remained with Selîm Bey, or left with Faḍl al-Maulâ (Holt 1958: 200). Lugard (1968: 217-218) found a few "pure Egyptians" among Selîm's officers and clerks in 1891. Figures are given nowhere, but we can imagine that they were very few in number[37].

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[35] Owens (1993: 11) criticizes Kaye & Tosco:

" As Kaye & Tosco point out and illustrate, however, Jenkins is not a very reliable document linguistically. Moreover, there are further considerations (…).

(1) Jenkins' own background. From remarks in the preface, he appears to have a knowledge of classical Arabic (" well known books on Arabic"). It could have been Jenkins himself, as well as his informants, who standardized the description in places.

(2) The presence of acrolectal speakers does not guarantee that their variety will be automatically transmitted. The nature of the social relations between the acrolectal and basilectal is also important, as well as the number of speakers of the acrolectal variety, two points requiring more careful attention.

(3) There is some evidence in Jenkins' data that the acrolectal model did not gain widespread acceptance among the Nubi. It is notable that in Kaye & Tosco's list of words with the Egyptian (acrolectal) reflex *g* of the sound "jim" (…) only 4 of 19 survive in modern day Nubi. Much of Jenkins' material could thus represent a sociolectally restricted variety which co-existed with other varieties, one which could have been the stabilized variety postulated by Owens."

[36] Proof of Emin's knowledge and use of Arabic is given as well (Emin IV 1922: 111-112; 130-131).

[37] Selîm's Sudanese were reinforced by those who had joined Lugard from the coast. Among them were men like Shukri Aga, who had left with Emin for Zanzibar, but who thereafter had been engaged by Lugard. Lugard (1968: 133) also calls them 'Sudanese', and mentions: "I had many men with me who had been through the "Emin Relief Expedition, (…)" (Lugard 1968: 200). Nothing is said about their homeland or language, but among them may have been native Arabs, since those constituted the bulk of men who had left. Also, there were the Sudanese

Many of the original officers had been killed and had been replaced by those previously holding lower ranks (see 1.1.2.4. & 1.1.3.). We may thus assume that the few remaining Egyptian and Sudanese Arabs and Danâqla held positions at the top of the military hierarchy, thus constituting a small elite group. We know very little about how they treated men from inferior ranks, or how the lower ranks treated them. Lugard (1968: 217) mentions, however, that superior and other ranks were distinguished by dress: the highest ranks were dressed in cotton material, whereas the others covered themselves with animal hides. In the following quotation from Meldon (1907: 142), we sense the same discriminatory mentality, that may have characterized the native Arabs and true Muslims towards the 'Sudanese' and Muslims-in-name.

> "They profess to be Muhammadans, but in no way do they practise the religion; only
> three of the Native Officers and here and there a private or N.C.O., can read and write a
> little. Many of them have learnt the first chapter of the Koran (Surat-el-Fâtihat or el-
> Fatha) and other well-known verses by heart, but they do not keep the Ramazan, nor do
> they by any means confine themselves to the use of water as a beverage."

We may assume that a separation was maintained between the higher and the lower ranks, and that contacts between them were infrequent. Moreover, even if the few remaining Arab superior officers still spoke a colloquial Arabic among each other, they probably used the p/c Arabic when communicating with their non-Arab wives [38], soldiers and slaves. It is not unlikely that Jenkins, who himself held the rank of major, turned wholly or partially to those to whom he felt affiliated through rank, so that he received a biased picture of the p/c Arabic. Moreover, it is extremely difficult for someone who is not familiar with a language to recognize different lects and to describe them adequately.

Around 1900, the number of native speakers of Arabic was very small, and they probably stayed separated from the p/c Arabic speakers. Therefore, even if, theoretically, the presence of native speakers of Arabic meant some continuing influence, in reality, most likely, they did not affect the speakers of p/c Arabic, as they lacked the opportunity. Both groups of speakers probably lived separately, and the group of native speakers had been reduced considerably. Jenkins' book can therefore be considered proof of the fact that native Arabic was still in use. However, it does not show whether this native Arabic had any influence on the p/c Arabic.

Another account was written in 1907 by Meldon. Like Jenkins, he had a function in the army, and like Jenkins, was not a linguist, although he may have had some knowledge of Arabic. Unlike Jenkins, Meldon's article only gives linguistic information indirectly. The article consists mainly of historical and anthropological notes on the 'Sudanese' in the Ugandan military camps, which are, however, interspersed with 'Sudanese' words and short sentences.

Vocabulary: Pure pidgin words, like *tenu* 'wait' (132) co-occur with colloquial Arabic elements, such as *shok* 'thorn bushes' (132), *gild* 'skin', 'leather' (137), and classical Arabic elements, like *rajul* 'man' (131). Other vocabulary items are of non-Arabic Sudanese origin, like the Nubian word *angarib* 'camp bed' (131), and the Mundu (?) word *rambangili* 'burial' (131).

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soldiers who had come via Egypt to Zanzibar. Of Lugard's second-in-command Captain Williams it is said that: "He spoke Turkish and French, and had acquired a colloquial knowledge of Arabic. Having enlisted the Sudanese in Egypt for the Imperial British East African Company, he naturally looked on them as his special charge, (…)" (Lugard 1968: 61). Furley (1959: 321) adds that four officers, speakers of Arabic, were appointed to command the Sudanese. However, the language of the Sudanese was probably not an Arabic dialect, but a p/c Arabic, which they learnt as they were recruited (see also Thorburn 1924: 314). We know, however, nothing of the Arabic of Williams and the four officers. Was it a colloquial type of Arabic, or the pidginized variety? Or maybe, they had knowledge of both, and used the pidginized variety in addressing the 'Sudanese'.

For April 1891, Lugard (1968: 114) gives the following figures: "With the new arrivals our force numbered some 150 Sudanese, 160 Zanzibari Levy, and 300 porters, (…)". It is possible that at least some of these Sudanese remained in Uganda to join Selîm's Sudanese troops, and it is possible that among them were native Arabic speakers. However, their numbers were probably not large, hence their influence was probably minimal.

[38] See also Kaye & Tosco (1993: 301).

Phonology: Meldon's transcription is not consistent, which makes it difficult to give a correct interpretation, e.g. *tabakh* 'plate' (142)(in Egyptian Arabic *ṭabaqa* 'cover', 'lid', in Sudanese Arabic *ṭabag* 'lid', 'tray') is in present-day Nubi *'tabaga* 'plate', 'tray', which exhibits a regular development: *q> g*. There is no reason to assume an intermediary stage with a velar fricative. Meldon's *kh* thus stands either for *q* or for *g*, or for a word-final allophone: aspirated *k*? In *yarkhu* 'they soften' (137) *kh* probably stands for the velar fricative [x], since the verb is derived from the colloquial (Egyptian and Sudanese) root *r - kh - y*. Meldon thus used *kh* for the velar fricative as well as for *q* or *g*. *sagh* (142) 'iron slab used as a frying pan' may have been derived from Egyptian *ṣâg* 'iron sheet', 'baking tin'. Meldon thus writes *gh* for plain *g*, while in *gotta* 'food cover' (142)(in Nubi *'kuta), g* also stands for plain *g*. The colloquial (Egyptian and Sudanese) Arabic source form is probably *ḡ* [ɣ] - *ṭ* - *w*. Did Meldon wish to differentiate *g < ḡ* [ɣ] from *g < g*, based on his knowledge of Classical Arabic, or did he only distinguish between word-initial and word-final *g*, which may have different pronunciations?

Meldon writes about the *rahad* 'leather loin cloth for girls' (136), from Sudanese Arabic *rahaṭ* with the same meaning. Instead of taking *ṭ* to have developed into *d*, which is quite an uncommon change, we would rather suggest that Meldon, assuming devoicing of a final consonant, (mis)interpreted *ṭ* (or *t*) as a *d*. On p. 139, children born in the Uganda Protectorate of parents of different tribes, are called *mowalat*, which must have come from Arabic *muwallad*, and which in present-day Nubi is still heard as *mo'weledu*. Note again the final dental consonants. The present-day Nubi form is similar to the original Arabic form. The final voiceless dental consonant in Meldon's article is in this case probably a reflection of what he heard. Meldon also writes about the *leb* 'dance' (128). In present-day Nubi it is *'lib,* and it obviously comes from Arabic *liʕb* 'play', 'game'. Has there been an intermediate stage with *i > e*? *e* then could have become *i* again through (early) decreolization. It could, however, just as well have been a writing mistake or an incorrect interpretation on Meldon's part. *sh* in *farash* (132) from Arabic *faraj* 'freedom from grief or sorrow' (*farag* in EA) is again an example of final devoicing.

Meldon's words contain typical pidgin elements, such as Ø < ʕ, as in *azib* (135) from EA/SA *ʕazab* 'unmarried', 'single', *ajin* 'dough' (139) from EA/SA *ʕajîn* 'dough', *h < ḥ,* as in *hizam* 'cloth' (131) from EA/SA *ḫizâm* 'belt', 'girdle', *hakim* 'doctor' from EA/SA *ḥakîm* 'physician', *t < ṭ* in *tabakh* 'plate' from EA/SA *ṭabaq* 'cover', 'lid'. The addition of final *-h* in the spelling of *maryah* 'woman' (130) and *surah* 'umbilical cord' (131) both derived from feminine Arabic words, suggests that Meldon was not unfamiliar with Arabic. The singular form of *el shayebeen* 'elders' (128), is according to Meldon *shaybah* (128, n. 1), instead of the more usual *shâyib* 'old man'. The author again shows a tendency towards Classical Arabic, as shown by the retention of the diphtong *ai*.

Morphology: The use of the definite article is the most conspicuous classicizing feature. For instance in *Shaitan fi 'l ras* 'a devil in his head' (127) , *El Shayebeen* 'elders' (128), *tenu fil farash*, which Meldon translates as 'seven days' mourning' (132), *el gild* here 'goat leather' (137), *el rahad* 'skirt of goat leather worn by unmarried girls' (136-7), *el ajin* 'mixture of flour and water' (139). *yarkhu el gild* is translated by Meldon as 'the softening of the goat leather by rubbing' (137). The verb *yarkhu* is obviously a colloquial imperfective third person plural from a stem with weak consonant III from the verb *raxa* 'loosen' (Worsley 1925: 44, 49). The expression *nas alhaguni rajul betai maut*, translated by Meldon as 'help me! my man is dead' (131), literally to be translated as 'people, help me, my husband is dead', could be interpreted as a foreigner talk-utterance. *alhagu* is an Arabic plural imperative form to which the first person pronominal object suffix *-ni* is attached. The verb is SA *liḫig (a)* 'reach', 'overtake'. The first word of the second part of the sentence *rajul* 'man' is a plain Classical Arabic word. The analytic genitive is expressed by means of the Egyptian/Sudanese *betai* 'of me'. *maut* is a Classical Arabic form of the verbal noun from the verb *mâta* 'die', which serves here as a verb. This sentence is thus a mixture of mainly Sudanese and Classical Arabic elements, and contains a grammatical mistake, namely the use of a verbal noun for a verb. The latter cannot be linked to pidgin influence, since in Nubi the verb is *'mutu* 'die'. The sentence also lacks the Arabic particle *yâ*, which links it to the Arabic p/cs.

The above could mean several things. Either, as Kaye & Tosco (1993) suggest, the p/c Arabic had not yet evolved into a stable pidgin at around 1900, and still contained more or less elements from Arabic dialect(s). Or an utterance like *nas alhaguni ...* was introduced as a fixed expression into the p/c Arabic[39]. However, since this cannot explain the other vocabulary items, it is more likely that Meldon himself or his informant(s) had some knowledge of colloquial and even of Classical Arabic. Native speakers of Arabic were still present at the time. Meldon (1907: 145-146) mentions one of them, Bimbashi Rehan Effendi Raschid who was of Tunisian origin, but who grew up in Egypt. It is possible that Meldon deployed one or more of them as informant(s)/assistant(s), which could explain the large number of colloquial words in the article. The fact that besides colloquial Arabic, also Classical Arabic elements are present, may be explained by an attempt by Meldon himself or his informant(s) to give the 'correct' Arabic forms instead of the language as it was used in reality, although their knowledge of Classical and/or colloquial Arabic was not perfect either. Some of the words and elements used can only be explained as hypercorrections, which leads us to the same conclusion, namely that Meldon described an ideal language instead of the 'corrupted', and therefore inferior language. Moreover, Meldon's transcription is not consistent, and therefore in some ways useless. This article can therefore not serve as evidence of the development of the p/c Arabic, or for evaluating the influence of Arabic colloquial(s) on the p/c Arabic.

Above I have given arguments to support Owens' hypothesis that by 1888, the p/c Arabic had evolved into a stable pidgin. Owens (1996: 136) suggests that creolization had also taken place by that time. I do not believe the pidgin variety had been creolized already on a large scale by the time Emin and his troops arrived at the shores of Lake Albert. However, creolization must have taken place soon after. As mentioned above (1.1.3.), part of the Nubi found by Lugard had settled in Nairobi by 1902. Their creolized language is virtually the same as the Nubi language in Uganda, except for some details, which could be attributed to substrate influence (see chapter 7). Creolization processes must therefore have resulted in a more or less stable language prior to the split of both groups, so that further developments on an independent basis did not result in much differentiation.

Was there any creolization before 1888? At first sight, considering Juba Arabic, it could be concluded that it had not yet occurred. Juba Arabic was only creolized recently. It remained a pidgin during the first half of the century, and it was still in a pidgin phase at the end of the 19th century when the ancestors of the Nubi people left the southern Sudan. By that time, a stable pidgin may well have developed, which was creolized later on in Uganda, while no creolization occurred in southern Sudan. Another possibility is that the ancestors of the speakers of Juba Arabic were not members of the camp population who stayed behind when Emin withdrew to the Lake Albert area, but that they were local villagers who had never entered camp life, but who had acquired some knowledge of the pidgin Arabic through extensive contacts with the camps. If so, we should differentiate between the pidgin Arabic speakers in the camps, and those outside the camps. Whereas camp-born children may have nativized the pidgin variety at a certain stage, it is not very likely that village-born children did so, since normally both parents in the village shared their tribal background and language, and since the pidgin Arabic was most likely not more than a second language in the village used for out-group communication. In the camps, the pidgin Arabic may have become a first language[40], owing to its prestige and to the fact that it was indispensable, being the only means of communication in the interethnic community. At least, some newborn children may have acquired the p/c Arabic and spoken it as their mother tongue, so that at least on a limited scale creolization may have taken place.

In the camps, besides children who were born in mixed marriages, there must have been children of couples from the same tribe, since it is hard to imagine that all marriages involved different ethnic groups. Therefore, the question arises as to whether the scale on which this process happened was large enough to speak of general creolization of the pidgin Arabic. Above (1.1.2.2. and 1.1.2.3.),

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[39] I have never heard it being used in present-day Nubi.
[40] The mother tongue is the language first acquired by a child. The first language is the language preferred in a multilingual situation. Both languages are therefore not always identical.

we have seen that people of the local tribes continued to enter the trading and military camps, looking for a better livelihood. This involved a constant input of village-born children, so that it is doubtful that the number of camp-born children was high enough to outnumber the village-born children. Arends & Bruyn (1995) suggest that creolization cannot take place until the locally born children outnumber the village-born children. According to them, creolization may extend over several generations. If we now turn to our group of 'Sudanese' in Kavalli, we see that between the years 1889 and 1891, the original group of 'Sudanese' was reinforced by a large group of local people, mainly of the Lendu and Lur tribes (Lugard 1968: 205). We have figures for the groups of 'Sudanese': approximately 350 with Selîm Bey and about 10,800 who had left with Faḍl al-Maulâ. For the Lendu and Lur, unfortunately, there are no figures.

I conclude that the number of native speakers of Arabic must have been minimal and that extensive mutual contact between the native speakers and the pidgin speakers was probably not the case, and that creolization must have taken place by the end of the 19th century, because only then had the proportion of 'Sudanese' born children become high enough for the Arabic p/c to make headway as a stable creole. By 1902, when the 'Sudanese' troops were separated geographically, the creolization process must have reached a more or less stable phase, so that, in spite of the large distance, both developments continued along the same lines, thereby resulting in two very similar varieties (Ugandan and Kenyan Nubi).

1.2.2.3. In the twentieth century

Selîm's troops became separated during Lugard's trip to the south. Several garrisons were left behind in the area west of the Nile, the present-day Ugandan West Nile Province, and in the Kingdom of Bunyoro, in the west of present-day Uganda. The remainder joined Lugard to settle in the Buganda Kingdom, extending north and west of Lake Victoria, and especially at the military headquarters in Bombo, while part of the troops went on to Nairobi, where they settled in 1902. The present-day Nubi language of the north of Uganda and that of Kenya are more alike than the Nubi language of the northern and southern part of present-day Uganda. This must be related to substrate and adstrate elements influencing the otherwise stable creole language. Of course, through intermarriages and intensive mutual contacts between the Nubi speakers of all the different areas, the differences between all three regional varieties have been levelled. After 1979, for instance, many Ugandan Nubi fled to Kenya. In the north and in Kenya, Swahili had for a long time been the language of intertribal communication, whereas in southern Uganda, the Bantu language Luganda is the main, and for many people, only language. Both languages have left their mark on the Nubi language of the respective areas. Others, also from the Buganda area, sought refuge in southern Sudan. After their return to Uganda, many chose to reside in the northern or central part of the country, instead of going back to their previous villages.

The Nubi have been living scattered over the country since their ties with the military forces were weakened, and especially after their return from 1986 onwards, after the civil war. They always constituted minorities surrounded by larger tribal populations, and were, therefore, forced to learn other languages than their own in order to communicate outside their own small group. Their language repertoire may contain as many as eight other languages. Heine (1982: 15) suggests that "(…) Nubi people probably constitute the most multilingual group of East Africa." (see also 7.1.1.1.).

In the northern part of Uganda, Nubi has become an important language for out-group communication besides Swahili. The process is probably reinforced by the high influx of Juba Arabic-speaking refugees from southern Sudan.

1.3. Conclusion

In the present chapter, I have sketched the penetration of (near) native Arabs into the southern Sudan through military operations and trading activities, in which black Sudanese were involved,

whether they were taken as slaves, or whether they entered the military and trading camps deliberately. At around 1885, both activities came to an abrupt end through the Mahdist revolt. Emin Pasha, at the time governor of Equatoria Province, withdrew to the Lake Albert area in present-day Uganda with his mixed Arab-black Sudanese troops. After a three-year period of seclusion, Stanley came to their rescue. Selîm Bey and Faḏl al-Maulâ did not join Emin and Stanley on their journey to the coast. They remained with approximately 900 armed men and 10,300 followers, and were joined by many native Lendu and Lur. The group was met in 1891 by Capt. Lugard, representative of the Imperial British East Africa Company, and later incorporated into the King's African Rifles. The group was divided into garrisons, and scattered all over present-day Uganda and Nairobi. The downfall of the Ugandan Nubi came soon after. Amin, however, brought them a period of revival which came to an end in 1979, when Amin fled and the Nubi were forced to seek exile in the surrounding countries. From 1986 onwards, under Museveni, the Nubi gradually began to return and are resettling all over Uganda.

I have given an outline of the development of p/c Arabic against its historical background. I assume that the Arabic lingua franca used mainly for commercial purposes in the Sudan before 1820 found its way initially to the training camps in and around Aswân, and later on in the southern Sudan through southward movements of the military, and through the activities of merchants in the White Nile Valley, Equatoria and the Baḥr al-Ghazâl. The high-status Arabic-speaking officers and traders probably used a simplified Arabic when communicating with their southern Sudanese subordinates. The black slaves were thus addressed directly with a foreigner talk variety of Arabic. Through contacts with the Arabic-speaking population they must have picked up some knowledge of Arabic native speech as well, however impeded by limited access to Arabic and by processes of imperfect language learning. The pidgin Arabic may have become a symbol of group membership for its speakers, differentiating them from their own tribal background, and from their Arabic-speaking superiors. By 1888, when Emin and his troops were met by Stanley at the shores of Lake Albert, the pidgin Arabic probably had already evolved into a stable pidgin. It then became confronted with a huge input from speakers of local languages from the Lake Albert area, especially Lur and Lendu. It must still have taken many years before the group of newborn children in the group was large enough to bring about structural nativization/creolization of the language. However, by the time the groups were separated, and the Nubi settlement in Nairobi was set up in 1902, creolization must have taken place on a large enough scale to explain the lack of major structural differences between the regional varieties, which were only affected marginally by substrate and adstrate influences. The extensive contacts between the Nubi people who nowadays live scattered in the larger towns of Kenya and Uganda, especially after 1979, when many Nubi went into exile, affected the Nubi regional varieties, and reduced their differences.

The Nubi people are very much aware and proud of their descent and of the Arabic origin of their language. In the past few decades, Nubi young men had the chance to acquire a proper knowledge of Arabic. During the years of Amin's government, many Ugandan Nubi, mainly men, studied in Arab countries. Through a programme sponsored by the United Nations, many young Ugandan Nubi had the opportunity to study at the Islamic University in Kharṭûm. Therefore, among male thirty/forty year old Ugandan Nubi knowledge of Arabic is considerable. These young men keep a rather strict division between their mother tongue, Nubi, and Arabic. The older generation of Sheikhs, on the contrary, who know some Arabic through Qurʔânic teaching, like to add Arabic words and non-p/c phonemes, such as the emphatic sounds, and velar and pharyngeal fricatives to their speech. However, this process cannot be called decreolization, since knowledge of Arabic is limited to a few individuals. Moreover, the younger men tend to speak Arabic only within the group of ex-Islamic university students.

2. Phonology

In this chapter, an outline of Nubi phonology will be given, beginning with a survey of the phonemic inventory. Syllable structure, stress and tone will be dealt with as well. In the second part, I will explore the phonological processes which may affect vocalic and consonantal quality, such as elision and assimilation. In Nubi, such processes have a profound impact, such that there is a considerable difference between lento and allegro forms. In the examples that will be given in this chapter, and in the following chapters, I will use a broad allophonic transcription [41].

2.1. Phonological segments

2.1.1. Consonants and semi-vowels

2.1.1.1. Phonemes

	bilabial	labio dental	dental	alveolar	post alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyn geal	glot tal
plosive	p b			t d			k g	(q)		(ʔ)
nasal	m	(ɱ)		n		ɲ	(ŋ)			
trill				r						
flap				(ɾ)						
fricative		f v	(θ) (ð)	s z	ʃ		(x)		(ħ)	h
affricate					tʃ dʒ					
approx	w					j				
lateral approx				l						

table 7: Nubi consonant inventory

[ʃ] = *sh*; [tʃ] = *ch*; [dʒ] = *j*; [ɲ] = *ny*; [w] = *w* or *u* ; [j] = *y* or *i*; [θ] = *th*; [ð] = *dh*; [x] = *kh*, [ħ] = *ḥ* [42]

The consonants in parentheses in the chart have a marginal status and occur in Arabic and English loanwords, or as the result of phonological processes. Nasal compounds may occur in loanwords from Bantu languages for example, as illustrated in (1.):

(1.)   *mb*   in *mberenge* 'pop corn' < Luganda `*mberênge* 'dried head of maize'
       nj   in *'gonja* < Luganda *gònjâ* 'large sweet banana'

2.1.1.2. Consonant opposition pairs

(2.)   **b - p**   *'basi* 'well', 'OK'   -   *'pasi* 'iron box'
       b - m   *'bal* 'attention'   -   *'mal* 'wealth'
       b - w   *'baga* 'even'   -   *'waga* 'fall'
       b - f   *bi* FUT   -   *fi* 'in'
       b - v   *'libu* 'game'   -   *'livu* 'leave'
       b - t   *'bal* 'attention'   -   *'tal* 'come! (IMPER)'
       b - d   *'abula* 'swallow'   -   *'adulu* 'prepare'

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[41] This implies that the ideal Nubi, according to its speakers, may deviate from the way the language is transcribed here. For instance, through processes of vowel assimilation, *'ina* PRON 1PL may be expressed *'ino*, which will be the form mentioned. I also illustrate this with the syllable structure. Nubi shows a tendency towards open syllables. A Nubi speaker would pronounce the word for 'early' in slow speech as *'bediri*. However, in allegro speech, whose speed resembles that of Spanish, the word is heard as *'bedri*, and this is how I will write it.
[42] With transcriptions such as *dh, th, kh*, I follow Nubi orthography (in the few instances it is written), which in turn follows Swahili orthography. In doing this, I realize that I deviate from the usual transcription of Arabic phonemes, where one phoneme represents one grapheme, as well as from IPA conventions.

p - f	*'lipa* 'pay'	-	*'lifa* 'washing cloth'
p - t	*'pima* 'measure'	-	*'tim* 'be enough'
m - n	*'ma* NEG	-	*'na* 'there'
m - w	*'masa* 'rub'	-	*'wasa* 'leave'
n - d	*'nar* 'fire'	-	*'dar* 'back'
n - l	*gi'ben* 'PROG-look like'	-	*gi'bel* 'before'
w - y	*wa'la* 'or'	-	*ya'la* 'children'
w - Ø	*'wasa* 'leave'	-	*'asa* 'now'
w - v	*'womba* 'ask (from God)'	-	*'vumbi* 'dust'
f - v	*'lifu* 'dizzy s.o.'	-	*'livu* 'leave'
f - t	*'fu* EXIS	-	*'tu* 'only'
f - s	*'faga* 'split'	-	*'saga* 'lightening'
f - z	*'furu* 'boil s.th.'	-	*'zuru* 'visit each other'
f - sh	*'fulu* 'groundnut(s)'	-	*'shulu* 'take s.th.'
v - z	*'wivu* 'jealousy'	-	*'izu* 'shake'
t - d	*'toru* 'wake up'	-	*'doru* 'wander about'
t - s	*ta'ban* 'feel bad'	-	*sa'ban* 'be satisfied'
t - sh	*'tor* 'bull'	-	*'shor* 'advice'
t - ch	*'tai* 'my', 'mine'	-	*'chai* 'tea'
d - l	*'de* 'the (DEF)'	-	*'le* 'why'
d - z	*'duru* 'harm s.o.'	-	*'zuru* 'visit each other'
d - j	*du'ban* 'fly'	-	*ju'ban* 'dirt'
r - l	*kisi'ran* 'misfortune'	-	*kisi'lan* 'laziness'
s - z	*'sidu* 'close'	-	*'zidu* 'add'
s - sh	*'sukur* 'snore'	-	*'shukuru* 'thank'
s - ch	*'sama* 'forgive'	-	*'chama* 'organisation'
ch - sh	*'chama* 'organisation'	-	*'shamba* 'field'
ch - j	*cha'ran* 'sewing machine'	-	*ja'rara* 'button'
ch - k	*cha'ran* 'sewing machine'	-	*ka'ran* 'secretary'
g - j	*'gidu* 'weave', 'come straight'	-	*'jidu* 'add'
g - h	*'gari* 'car', 'bicycle'	-	*'hari* 'hot'
k - g	*'kara* 'faeces'	-	*'gara* 'pumpkin'
k - y	*ka'la* COMPL	-	*ya'la* 'children'
k - h	*'kadi* 'Muslim judge'	-	*'hadi* 'limit'
y - Ø	*'yalla* 'OK'	-	*'alla* 'God'
y - h	*'yal* 'children'	-	*'hal* 'condition'

2.1.1.3. (Sub)phonemic variation

There are a considerable number of words with variant pronunciations in Nubi. However, variation is restricted to certain words. In chapter 7, I will show that the following types of (sub)phonemic variation are etymological in nature due to the fact that probably more than one source

dialect was involved in the developmental process of Nubi, or that they are probably linked to substrate/adstrate influences.

Phonemic variation:

d - z: Variation between these phonemes is limited to the word *'dahab/'zahab* 'gold'. *'dahab* is more common than *'zahab.*

s - sh: In many words, *s* varies with *sh*, for instance *'asrubu/'ashrubu* 'drink', the latter being particularly common in the speech of older speakers. In many words, however, *sh* is never replaced by *s*, such as in *'shida* 'problem'. Conversely, many words are expressed only with *s*, e.g. *'sana* 'year, while *'shana** is not acceptable. Some people, especially older inhabitants from Entebbe, however, may apply a kind of 'hypercorrection' when talking, for example, about a '*shabal 'bele* 'inhabitant', 'resident', which in Nubi is normally referred to as *'sabal 'bele*, or *Ishi'lam,* referring to the Islamic religion, for which the more usual expression is *Is'lam* in Arabic and Nubi. In Kigumba (central Uganda) and less frequently in the south, the sibilant in words with a *sh* origin is pronounced somewhere between *s* and *sh*, resulting in an apical, weakened, sissing *s*.

j - g: In certain Nubi words, *j* and *g* are variably used, sometimes even by one and the same speaker. These are *'jili/'gili* 'skin', 'body', *'lajer/'lager* 'stone', and *'jins/'gins* 'type', 'sort', *'ragi/'rajil* 'man'. The *j*-forms are used by people who took refuge in southern Sudan during the civil war.

z - g: *j* is often used as a variant of *z*. In the speech of northern and older speakers, *z* is more frequent than in the speech of younger speakers and speakers from the south. There may be variation in the speech of one and the same speaker, even for the same word. One of the most common examples is *a'zol* 'person', 'man', which in the Buganda-area is mainly realized as *a'jol*. However, not all words are susceptible to variation. For instance, on the one hand, *'jeba* 'pocket' will never be *'zeba**, and on the other hand, *zi'na* 'adultery' will never be *ji'na**.

n - ny - l: In the north, a formal distinction is made between '*legetu/'negetu* (1) 'pick', 'select', (2) 'gather', 'collect' and *'nigitu* 'get ripe', while in the south this distinction has been neutralized. *nigitu* and *'negetu* are used for all three meanings, while *'legetu* has disappeared from the southern vocabulary. Similarly, in southern Uganda, *'nenzil* and *'nyenzil* 'descend' are used, while in the north both forms co-exist with *'lenzil* and *'lengil* [43].

l - r: In the southern variety of Nubi spoken in the Buganda area, the distribution of *l* and *r* is partially neutralized. *l* and *r* may be variably used, e.g. *'fadur* instead of the form *'fadul* 'remain', or the Luganda word for 'village' *ekyalo* ['tʃa:lo], which may be articulated in Nubi as *'charo.*

p - f: The pair *'pasa/'fasa* 'break wind noiselessly' is distributed regionally. In the southern part of Uganda, *'pasa* is the normal form, while in the north *'fasa* is used next to *'pasa*. *'afoyo* 'rabbit' is used countrywide, while the use of *'apoyo* is limited to the north.

k - g: *g* and *k* are interchangeable in a few words, as in *gur'baba/ kur'baba* 'women's undergarment', *gala'moyo/kala'moyo* 'goat', *'goful* 'lock' (V)/*'kuful* 'lock' (N), in UN *ma'kas* and KN *ma'gas* 'scissors', etc.

w - j -Ø: *'wegifu, 'yegifu,* and *'egifu* (1) 'stop', 'come to a halt', (2) 'to stop s.th.' are in free variation.

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[43] More variant forms occur for this word , namely *'nyenzil, 'nyenjil, 'nyengil, 'lengil* 'descend'. In one instance, *'lengil* was translated as 'offload'.

Subphonemic variation:

r - ❶: Intervocalic *r* may be realized as retroflex [ɻ], for instance in *be'riya* 'be at a distance', 'be innocent'. According to Heine (1982: 25), retroflex [ɻ] is the usual realization of *r* in Kenyan Nubi.

t - tʰ; d - dʰ; g - gʰ: Plosives, and especially *t, d* and *g,* may be articulated with a slight aspiration when preceding non-round vowels, as in *'tim* 'be enough', *a'dan* 'ear(s)', *'gasi* 'difficult'.

k - q; t - th; d - dh: *q* may be used in Islamic expressions, or by speakers who have some knowledge of Arabic, e.g. *da'qiqa* 'minute', whereas *k* is normally used. Similarly, *th* [θ] and *dh* [ð] may be used in religious contexts or by educated Arabic speakers. *t* and *d* are the more usual equivalents, e.g. *ke'thir* next to *ke'tir* 'many' and *'dhahab* next to *'dahab* 'gold'.

ḥ - kh - h: The same applies to *ḥ* and *kh* [x] which are the learned variants of *h*. However, they are seldom distributed consistently. For instance, a given speaker may use *'bahar, 'baḥar*, and *'bakhar* 'sea', 'lake' from EA/SA *baḥr* in one and the same text.

2.1.2. Vowels
2.1.2.1. Phonemes

Nubi has five vowel phonemes. Vowel length is not distinctive:

i			***u***
	e	***o***	
		a	

Allophonic variants of the vowels are:

a	[a; a:; ɐ; ɐ:; ɑ; ɑ:]
e	[e; e:; ɛ; ɛ:; æ; æ:; ə; ɜ]
i	[i; i:; ə]
o	[o; o:; ɔ; ɔ:]
u	[u; u:; ə]

Vocalic quantity is not distinctive in Nubi, neither lexically nor grammatically. Heine and Owens, however, mention at least one minimal pair for Kenyan Nubi: *'bara* 'outside' (ADV) - *'baara* 'the outside' (N) (Heine 1982: 25), *'sara* 'herd cattle' - *'saara* 'bewitch' (Owens 1985: 234). In Ugandan Nubi, this distinction is not made, neither for the above words, nor for others [44]. There is, however, a general tendency for vowels to be realized as long in stressed syllables, while short vowels tend to occur in unstressed syllables, for instance in *'basala* ['bɑ·sala] 'onion(s)' and *bi'niya* [bi'ni:ja] 'girl', 'daughter' (see also 2.1.4).

a is usually realized as **[a]**, e.g. in *'aju* ['a:dʒu] 'want', or slightly higher, tending towards **[æ]** in the vicinity of *n,* e.g. in *'ana* 'I': ['a·na] or ['æ·næ]. After the bilabials [b], [p], [m], and [w], *a* is pronounced as **[ɑ]**, for instance in *ba'na* [bɑ'na·] 'girls', *'lipa* ['li·pɑ] 'pay', *ma* [mɑ] 'with', *nuswa'na* [nuswɑ'na·] 'women', *mas'wal* [mɑs'wa:l] 'question'.

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[44] In Ugandan Nubi, no distinction is made between *'bara* 'outside' and *'bara* 'the outside'. In Ugandan Nubi 'bewitch' is *sa'ara, sa'hara* or *sa'ʔara*, consisting of three syllables of which the second is the vowel *-a-*. It is thus different from bisyllabic *'sara* 'herd cattle'. In UN, *'ke* ['kɛ] SUBJ is, however, distinguished from *'ke* ['ke·] 'thread'. However, both words are not only distinguished in vowel length, but also in vowel quality. This is the only instance of an /e/ - /ɛ/ opposition.

The pronunciation of *e* much depends on the quality of the vowel in the source form. Generally the following overview can be given:

e is **[ɛ]** in some <u>unstressed</u> syllables**,** whether <u>open or close</u>, for instance in *'mile* [ˈmiːlɛ] 'salt',
ke'bir [kɛˈbiːr] 'big', *'seregu* [ˈsɛˑrɛgu] 'steal', *'lager* [ˈlaˑgɛr] 'stone', *ferte'ku* [fɛrtɛˈku] 'be split up';
in <u>prefinal stressed open</u> syllables <u>before non-close vowels</u> for instance in *'bele* [ˈbɛːlɛ] 'country', *'jere* [ˈdʒɛːrɛ] 'run';
in <u>non-final stressed closed</u> syllables, for instance in *'debba* [ˈdɛbbɑ] 'snake', *'dengir* [ˈdɛŋgir] 'bend down', *'ferteku* [ˈfɛrtɛku] 'split up'.

e is **[e]** in <u>prefinal stressed open</u> syllables <u>before close vowels</u>, for instance in *'ebu* [ˈeˑbu] 'shame', *'geru* [ˈgeːru] 'change';
in <u>final stressed</u> syllables, as in *'be* [ˈbeˑ] 'house', *'gen* [ˈgeˑn] 'stay', *gi'bel* [giˈbeːl] 'before', and *ti'nen* [tiˈneːn] 'two'. An exception is the determiner *'de* [ˈdɛˑ].

e may be realized as a schwa **[ə]** in some <u>unstressed</u> syllables, e.g. in *'leben* [ˈlɛbən] 'milk', *le'bis* [ləˈbiːs] 'dress' *, 'keregi* [ˈkɛˑrəgi] 'drawn', *'seke'-seke* [ˈsɛkəˌsɛkə] 'drizzle'.

e may be articulated more backwards as **[ɜ]** when preceded by *w*, as in *we'ri* [wɜˈriˑ] 'show' or *we'le* [wɜˈlɛˑ] 'boys'.

i is usually realized as the high front vowel **[i]**, e.g. *'tim* [ˈtiˑm] 'be enough'. In unstressed short syllables it may be centralized as **[ə]**, as in *'bediri* [ˈbɛdəri☞] 'early'.

o is **[ɔ]**in <u>unstressed syllables</u>, e.g. *abo'bo* [abɔˈboˑ] 'mute', *son'du* [sɔˑnˈduˑ] 'suitcase';
in <u>non-final stressed</u> syllables before non-close vowels or before *y*, e.g. *'okti* [ˈɔkti] 'sister', *'sokol* [ˈsɔkɔl] 'thing', *'fotom* [ˈfɔˑtɔm] 'wean', *'moyo* [ˈmoˑjɔ] 'water'.

o is **[o]** in <u>non-final stressed</u> syllables <u>before close vowels</u>, for instance in *'doru* [ˈdoːru] 'wander about';
in <u>final stressed</u> syllables, e.g. *'tob* [ˈtoˑp] 'large scarf', *abo'bo* [abɔˈboˑ] 'mute'.

u is mainly realized as a back closed vowel **[u]**, for instance in *'hum* [ˈhuˑm] 'swim', *'kasulu* [ˈkaːsulu] 'wash', *'itokum* [ˈiˑtɔkum] 'you (PL)' . In <u>unstressed</u> syllables, *u* is sometimes realized as **[ə]**, as in *'amsuku* [ˈaːmsəku] 'take'.

2.1.2.2. Insertion of glide or glottal onset between two vowels

Two adjacent vowels can be separated by a glide or a glottal stop (for an alternative solution see 2.2.1.2.). The glide *w* is normally inserted between *u* and *o/a*, e.g. *'jua* [ˈdʒuˑwɑ] 'house', *'uo* [ˈuˑwɔ] 'he', 'she', 'it', and *tawu'rati* 'Torah', while *y* is used to separate *i* from *o* and *a*, e.g. *'bio* [ˈbiˑjɔ] 'buy', *bia'shara* [biˑjaˈʃaːra] 'business', and *a'yin* 'seeing'. In learned variants, the glottal stop may be inserted between two vowels of the same quality, and is always optional, for instance *'baʔad* 'after', *maʔa'ruf* 'well-known', *taʔa'lim* 'tuition'. These lexical items are also realized as *'ba-ad/'bad, ma-a'ruf/ ma'ruf,* and *ta-a'lim/ta'lim* respectively, resulting from an evolution *aʔa > a-a > a.* With verbs, the glottal onset may be inserted between the vowel of the verbal markers *gi-* or *bi-* and the initial vowel of the verb, e.g. *gi-'ʔisabu* 'be counting', *gi-'ʔuza* or *gu-'ʔuza* 'be selling', *gi-'ʔataku* or *ga-'ʔataku* 'be laughing' [45]. Also word-initial vowels may optionally have a glottal onset, for instance in *'ʔina* 'we'.

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[45] If the glottal onset is not inserted, the vowel of the prefix is deleted in front of a verb vowel, thus becoming for instance *'g(i)-ataku* 'be laughing' (see also 2.2.1.1.). The vowel of the prefix is not elided if preceding the verb *a'yan* 'be sick', and verbs of Swahili origin like *'uza* 'sell' and *'isabu* 'count'.

2.1.2.3. Vowel opposition pairs

(3.) **a - i**   *'tam* 'be nauseous'   -   *'tim* 'be enough'
      a - e   *'lala* 'saucepan'   -   *'lela* 'night'
      a - o   *'bara* 'outside'   -   *'bora* 'cat'
      a - u   *'rada* 'breastfeed'   -   *'rudu* 'agree'

      e [e] - e [ɛ] *'ke* 'thread'   -   *'kɛ* SUBJ (only instance)
      e - i   *'den* 'debt'   -   *'din* 'religion'
      e - o   *'teri* 'bird'   -   *'toru* 'wake up'
      e - u   *'seder* 'tree'   -   *'sudur* 'breast'

      i - o   *'fi* 'there is', 'there are' -   *'fo* 'up', 'on top'
      i - u   *'bikra* 'virgin'   -   *'bukra* 'tomorrow'

      o - u   *'tobu* 'large scarf'   -   *'tubu* 'spit'

2.1.3. Syllable types

There is a tendency towards a CV-structure. However, syllables of the following types may occur in Nubi:

V	*'ju-**a*** 'house', *ju-**'a*** 'houses'
VC	*'**am**-suku* 'grab', 'take'
C	*m-'ze* 'old man', *kele-**'m*** 'it was said'
CV	*'ka-su-ru* 'build'
CVC	*li-**'fil*** 'elephant'
CVCC	*'**bint*** 'girl'
CCVC	*'**sten*** 'wait for'

The last two types of syllables are far less common than the others. Disyllabic and trisyllabic words are more frequent than monosyllables. Words with more than three syllables occur infrequently. The following Ugandan Nubi consonant clusters may occur within the syllable:

(4.) **bw**   *'bwangiri* 'cheek'   **mp**   in English loans, e.g. *'camp*
      kw   *'kweis* 'good'   **nt**   *'bint* 'girl'
      gw   *'gwam* 'quick'   **nk [ŋk]** in English loans, e.g. *'bank*
      sk   *'skul* 'school'   **kt**   *'okt* 'sister'
      st   *'stan* 'thirsty'   **rt**   in English loans, e.g. *'court*
                                          [jt] *'zeit'* [ˈzɛˑjt] 'cooking oil'
                                          [js] *'kweis* [ˈkwɛːjs] 'good'
                                          ms   *'sems* 'sun'
                                          ns   *'gins* 'type, 'like'
                                          fs   *'nafs* 'soul'
                                          [jl] *'leil* [ˈleːjl] 'night'
                                          [wm] *'youm* [ˈjoːwm] 'day'

All consonants may occur in word-initial position. The consonants *t, d, k, g, ny, v, z, ch, j,* and *h* do not normally occur in word-final position in Nubi. The only exceptions are the verb *'adaku* 'brush' which often appears without final vowel *-u* in the expression *'adak su'nun* 'brush teeth', *ta'rik* 'date' in variation with *ta'riki*, the nouns *'bit* and *'bint* both meaning 'girl', *'lak* 'hundred thousand', the adjective *je'did* 'new' in variation with *je'didi*, and the preposition *'bada* 'after' in expressions like *'bad su'nu?* 'what now?' and *'bad 'bukra* 'day after tomorrow'.

2.1.4. Stress, pitch, and tone

Stress is confined to one of the last three syllables in the word. As mentioned in 2.1.2.1., there is a relation between stress and vowel length in Nubi. Vowels in stressed syllables are mainly articulated long, whereas vowels in unstressed syllables are generally short. Stress is also marked by loudness and by high pitch[46]. Word stress in Nubi much depends on the stress patterns in the source languages of the Nubi words. In words derived from Swahili the stress is placed on the penultimate syllable as is the case in Swahili, e.g. *kari'bisha* 'welcome'. For words taken from other languages, like Luganda, e.g. *ma'wulire* 'newspaper' from *ama'wulire* 'news' (Chesswas 1954: 39) the stress pattern of the source language is maintained as well[47]. Only exceptionally are borrowings subjected to a stress shift, e.g. English *'cholera* becomes *ko'lera* in Nubi. The great majority of the vocabulary originally derives from the Arabic lexifier language. Although the words may have been subjected to phonemic changes, stress is usually retained. This can be illustrated by Nubi *ge'ri* 'near(by)' which is most likely derived from SA *ga'rîb*. For some words, variants with different stress patterns may co-occur, without a change of meaning.

(5.)   *'masgit - mas'git*i   'mosque'
        'madrasa - mad'rasa   'Qurʔanschool'
        'zaman - za'man   'time', 'old days'
        'mahal - ma'hal   'place'
        'fitna - fi'tina   'mischief'
        'dirisa - di'risa   'window'
        'fahamu - fa'hamu   'understand'

In a few cases, stress is lexically distinctive, as illustrated in (6.). The first seven pairs contrast stressed words with function words without stress.

(6.)   *'na*   'there'   - *na*   'to', 'for'
        'ja   'come'   - *ja*   'as', 'like'
        'ta   'light'   - *ta*   'of (GEN)'
        'to   'of him', 'his'   - *to*   'of (GEN)'
        'ma   NEG   - *ma*   'with (PREP)', 'and (COM)'
        'kan   'be (ANT)'   - *kan*   'if'
        'le   'why (Q-word)'   - *le*   'to (PREP)'
        'saba 'seven'   - *sa'ba* 'tomorrow'[48]
        'kede EMPH   - *ke'de* SUBJ
        'zina 'adornment', 'decoration' - *zi'na* 'adultery', 'sin'

Stress is associated with grammatical meaning in some domains of grammar. Linked to vowel length and pitch, it distinguishes the predicatively used singular demonstrative from the one in attributive position: *'wede* DEM (PRED) >< *we'de* DEM (ATTR) (see 3.3.1.2.). In plural formation as well, stress is shifted to the final syllable, for instance in: *'jua* 'house (SING) >< *ju'a* 'house (PL), *'bagara* 'cow (SING)' >< *baga'ra* 'cow (PL)'. Stress shift in verbs can be seen in table 8, where bold H/L indicate stressed syllables. The bare verb form usually has the stress on the first syllable, with the exception of verbs in (d), (e), and (f). To form a gerund, the stress is shifted to the penultimate syllable, while the passive has the stress on the last syllable. However, tonal contrasts are involved as well, as shown in table 8, where H stands for high tone and L for low tone.

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[46] Heine (1982: 27) considers high tone to be the decisive factor for Kenyan Nubi: "In addition to the two tonemes there is a stress unit. It is, however, not marked here since its occurrence is predictable: stress is placed on the first high tone of a word. Thus there is only one stress unit per word." However, Heine (1982: 7) himself, partly questions his tonological approach.

[47] In Luganda, the stress falls on the first syllable of the stem (Ashton 1954: 14).

[48] However, in the expression *'ita 'saba ke'fin?* 'How are you this morning?', the stress falls on the first syllable, unlike in *sa'ba* 'morning', where stress is placed on the final syllable.

	trisyllabic (a) *'kasulu* 'wash'	disyllabic (b) *'fata* 'open'	monosyllabic (c) *'so* 'do'
bare verb	**H** L L	**H** L	**L**
gerund	L **H** L	**H** L	**L**
infinitive	**H** H L	**H** H	**H**
passive	L L **H**	L **H**	**H**
	(d) *ni'situ* 'forget'	(e) *we'di* 'give'	
bare verb	L **H** L	L **H**	
gerund	L **H** L	L **H**	
infinitive	H **H** L	H **H**	
passive	L L **H**	L **H**	
	(f) *fata'ran* 'be tired'		
bare verb	L L **H**		
gerund	L L **H**		
infinitive	H H **H**		
passive	L L **H**		

table 8: Stress and tone in verbs (bare verb, gerund, infinitive, and passive)

(H=high tone, L= low tone, the bold characters indicate stress)

Some remarks should be added here. Firstly, the stress of the passive verb form seems heavier than that of the other verb forms, so that a difference may be heard between the bare verb and the gerund on the one hand, and the passive on the other hand, e.g. in *we'di* 'give' (e) and *fata'ran* 'be tired' (f). Secondly, when the passive verb is preceded by the progressive marker *gi-* or the future marker *bi-,* pitch -but not stress- on these markers is slightly higher than it would be on the active verb (see also Owens 1977: 197, n. 2, and 4.3.1.), as in (7.):

(7.)   A'dan   'tena   we'de,   'fogo   'ma   'bab
          ear(s)   PRON POSS 1PL   DEM PROX   in it   NEG   door
          al   **gí-**   **ka'ti**   je   'de.
          REL   PROG- cover-PASS   like   DEM PROX
          'This ear/these ears of ours, there is no door in it which can be closed like this.'

Thirdly, in monosyllabic verbs, pitch behaves independently of stress in marking verbal forms. The bare form and the gerund have low tone, but the passive and infinitive have high tone, e.g. *'so* 'do': bare form and gerund: L; passive, infinitive: H. Moreover, the high tone of the passive is in fact higher than that of the infinitive. Fourthly, although for verbs generally stress on the infinitive is in the same location as in the bare form, high tone appears before and after the stressed syllable in the infinitive, but not in the bare form [49].

2.2. Phonological processes

The application of the following rules varies from speaker to speaker. Even within one speaker's speech considerable variation may occur. It seems, however, that speakers from the northern part of Uganda apply less variation, while in the southern variety of Nubi variation is more acceptable. Vowel elision will be discussed first. I will continue with assimilation and some marginal phenomena such as addition of a final vowel, consonant deletion, and gemination/degemination.

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[49] Tone in verbs is currently the subject of further research.

2.2.1. Vowel elision

2.2.1.1. Vowel elision before consonants

Vowels are sometimes elided in allegro forms after and before all types of consonants, but most commonly between two consonants of the same place of articulation.

* Vowel elision within a word **(syncope)** generally occurs with unstressed vowels. These vowels are often the result of diachronic processes of vowel epenthesis conducted in order to obtain open syllables (see 7.2.1.2.). The CV-structure is retained in citation forms, as illustrated in (8.):

(8.)   *'gezima ~ 'gezma* 'shoe'
        'asurubu ~ 'asrubu 'drink'

In the following words, the stressed vowels seem to have been lost. This feature, however, assumes an intermediate stage in which the stress was shifted, thereby causing the formerly stressed vowel to become unstressed, as illustrated in (9.). Vowel elision is thus applied to an unstressed vowel. The intermediate stage is, however, often absent in present-day Nubi.

(9.)   *me'dida > 'medda* (via *'medida**) 'porridge'
        ka'bila > 'kabla (via *'kabila)* 'tribe', 'type'
        'itokum > 'tokum (via *i'tokum)* 'you (PL)'
        gu-'rua > 'gurwa (via *'gu- rua**) 'be going'

* Nubi words tend to end in a vowel. In allegro forms, however, this vowel is often deleted **(apocope)**. There are three exceptions. Firstly, vowels following the consonants *k, g, d, t, ch, j, z, v, ny*, and *h*, which never occur in word-final position in Nubi, are always retained (see 2.1.3.). Secondly, vowels in pre-pausal position tend to be retained as well, especially when the word would otherwise be monosyllabic, as in (10.). Round brackets indicate deleted vowels in the examples.

(10.)   (…)   a'nas   'kul(u)   'ralu   min   *'tabu.* (…)   'umon   *'kulu.*
               people   all   move-Ø   from   problem(s)   PRON 3PL   all
        '(…)   all the people move because of problems. (…) they all.'

Thirdly, monosyllables are avoided, especially if the second consonant is *r*. In those cases, there is a tendency towards the presence of a final vowel. Consider (11.):

(11.)   '(I)na   ka'las   *'geru*   'mara   ta'lata.
        PRON 1PL   COMPL   change-Ø   times   NUM
        'We had already changed three times.'

Otherwise, as mentioned above, in allegro forms a vowel may be deleted, especially between homorganic consonants. As a result, the number of syllables in the word may be reduced. Deleted vowels are marked by round brackets, as in (12.):

(12.)   'Umon   *'badul(u)*   le'bis   'tena.
        PRON 3PL   change-Ø   traditional dress   PRON POSS 1PL
        'They changed our traditional dress.'

(13.)   'Ya   *'uo*   *'asur-'asur(u)*   nyere'ku 'de.
        CONJ   PRON 3SING   massage-REDUP-Ø   child   DEF
        'Thus she massaged the child.'

Word final -*u* tends to be absorbed by a following *w*, as shown in (14.) and (15.):

(14.)   *f(u) 'wen? > f 'wen ?* [50] 'where?'

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[50] The resulting *'f-wen?* 'where?' has come to be considered one word.

(15.) Yo'wele 'de   *'kalas(u)*   wa'nasa   'to.
       boy   DEF   finish-Ø   converse-GER   PRON POSS 3SING
       'The boy finished his conversation.'

The above examples are tendencies rather than rules. It is thus possible that a word-final vowel is elided, even if the result is a monosyllabic word, as illustrated in (16.):

(16.) (…)   *'an(a)*   'sebu   re'port   fi   'headquarter.
              PRON 1SING   leave-Ø report   in   headquarter(s)
       '(…)   I left the report in the headquarters.'

Similarly, vowels between homorganic consonants are sometimes retained, as in (17.):

(17.) aja'ma 'tena   'na'de   ><   'wakti 'ten(a)   'na'de
       people PRON POSS 1PL   DEM DIS   time   PRON POSS 1PL   DEM DIS
       'those people of us'   'that time of us'

The second form (*'ten(a) 'na'de*) is the more common one. Notice also that the vowel *i* of *'wakti* is not elided even if it stands between two *t*'s. It is also possible that a vowel in pre-pausal position is elided, unlike the more general tendency of vowel retention in that position, as in (18.):

(18.) 'Ana   gi-   'doru   fi   'basi   *'in,*   fi   'sika   *'in*.   (><   *'ini*)
       PRON 1SING   PROG-   travel in   bus   here   in   street(s) here
       'I was travelling in the bus here, in the streets here.' [51]

Vowel elision in stressed syllables occurs frequently in allegro forms of words, particularly of question words and of passive verbs whose last consonant is *m, n, l, f,* or *b* (and seldom *s)*, as shown in (19.) and (20.). The following vowel, which has high pitch (since stressed), is dropped. The consonant may be slightly lengthened. Anticipatory high pitch is heard in the preceding vowel. Elision of stressed vowels occurs also in pre-pausal position.

(19.) *su'n(u)? > su'n?* 'what?'
       kele'm(u) 'nana > kele'm 'nana 'it was said to me'
       rasu'l(u) > rasu'l 'be sent'

(20.) *Gi-   raka'b(u)*   'neta   'akili.
       PROG-   cook-PASS   for + PRON 2SING   food
       'Food is being cooked for you.'

      * Deletion of word-initial vowels **(aphaeresis)** mainly occurs when the final consonant of the preceding word and the consonant following the vowel have the same articulation place. Nasal consonants are more likely to trigger vowel elision in comparison to other consonants. Elision of word-initial vowels may occur in sentence-initial position as well. In general, as a consequence of aphaeresis, the number of syllables in the word is reduced, and changes in the stress pattern may occur, as illustrated in (21.):

 (21.) *min ('i)na > min 'na* 'from us'
        (a)m'bari > 'mbari 'yesterday'
        (a)nka'buti > nka'buti 'spider'

In a few instances, both the final vowel of the preceding syllable and the first vowel of the following syllable are elided. This, again, seems to occur most often when the consonants occurring before and

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[51] The examples are taken out of their context. Still, I will adhere to the contextual translations. Since in Nubi, one form may have more than one meaning, the English translation may be different from a morph-by-morph translation.

after the omitted vowels are realized at the same articulation place, especially with nasal consonants. Accordingly, degemination of consonants, may, but does not necessarily, take place, as shown in (22.):

(22.)   *'umon 'lim(u) ('u)mon > 'umon 'lim-'mon > 'umon 'li'mon* 'they came together'
          je'n(u) 'ina > je'n-'na > je'nna 'we were shaved'

2.2.1.2. Vowel elision before other vowels

In allegro forms, vowels, especially unstressed ones, are sometimes elided before other vowels (fusion, cf. Crystal 1992: 149). In some vowel combinations, both vowels are absorbed and emerge as a new single vowel. This may occur across word boundaries, leading to new syllabic structures. As a result, the stress pattern may change.

Before *a* and *e*, the preceding vowel is elided. No vowel shift takes place, as shown in (23.):

(23.)   *'al(i)   a'sasi* 'which is beautiful'
          a'b(u)   'ena 'to 'whose eyes'
          'ita   gi- 'ataku 'ana > ˈita ˌg(i)- atak(u) ˈana 'you (SING) are laughing at me'
          'uo 'aju 'ana > uw(o) ˌaj(u) ˈana 'he likes me' [52]

Before *i* the vowels *i* and *u* are dropped, as in (24.):

(24.)   *'an(a) 'amsuk(u) 'ita* 'I caught you'
          'ana we'r(i) 'ita 'I showed you'

a, o, and *e* are fused with a following *i* and emerge as a new vowel *e*, as illustrated in (25.):

(25.)   *'n(a) ana 'ini > n(a) an(a) 'eni* 'to me here'
          je 'ina > 'j(e) ena like us'
          'ana li'go 'ita > 'ana li'g(o) 'eta 'I met you'

There is quite some variation before *u*. *u* and *i* are dropped before *u*, as in (26.):

(26.)   *fi 'ustu/ fu 'ustu > f(i) 'ustu / f(u) 'ustu* 'in between'

o before *u* is retained. *u*, however, changes into the semi-vowel *w* before a vowel, as in (27.):

(27.)   *'ragi 'so 'uo > 'ragi 'sowo* 'a man did it'

No instances of *o* before *uC* were found. *a* and *e* are sometimes elided before *u*, or they are fused to become the vowel *o* or the diphthong *ou*, as in (28.):

(28.)   *ke'de 'uo > ke'd(e) owo / ke'd(e) uo* 'so that he'
          ja 'umon > 'j(a) omon / 'j(a) oumon 'like them'

In the few instances of word-initial *o* occurrence, no elision or fusion of this kind seems to take place. In *fi'jo* 'inside', a variant of *fi 'jua*, the vowels *u* and *a* merge into *o*. The same applies to *'rua* 'go, which is often pronounced *'ro*. There is no real difference in frequency and quality of vowel elision and/or fusion between the north and the south of Uganda. It is quite a common phenomenon in both areas.

2.2.2. Assimilation

Assimilation rules apply in rapid, casual speech. The application of some or all of the following phonological rules very much differs from area to area, and from speaker to speaker. They are, however, especially common in Buganda territory (southern Uganda).

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[52] See also Owens (1996: 148).

2.2.2.1. Vowel assimilation

Usually, front vowels do not co-occur with back vowels **morpheme internally** [53] (vowel harmony). The final vowel, however, is exempted from this general tendency. The low vowel *a* may co-occur with both groups of vowels (see also Owens 1996: 147), as illustrated in (29.):

(29.)　*anka'buti* 'spider'
　　　　'beredu 'bath'

In contemporary Nubi, regressive vowel assimilation is a common phenomenon (see also Owens 1996: 147-148), and occurs more frequently in the speech of southern Ugandans and young speakers. A back vowel may cause a preceding vowel to become *o* or *u*, as in (30.):

(30.)　*'silu > 'sulu* 'take'
　　　　li'go > lo'go 'receive'
　　　　ja'nub > jo'nub 'south'

On the other hand, *a* may change into a front vowel, influenced by a following front vowel.

(31.)　*man'dil > men'dil* 'handkerchief' [54]
　　　　'agif > 'egif 'stop', 'come to a halt'

In one instance , namely *bi'mara > bu'mara* 'very much', *i* becomes *u* in the vicinity of labial consonants. Also the consonants *r* and *l* may affect an adjacent open vowel *a*, both stressed and unstressed, and cause its change into *e*, as illustrated in (32.):

(32.)　*tara'biya > tere'biya* 'custom(s)'
　　　　bia' shara > bia'shera 'business'
　　　　da'lil > de'lil 'deprivation'

Vowel assimilation processes do optionally take place **across morpheme boundaries**. Both forms (the assimilated and non-assimilated forms) may co-occur, even intrapersonally. Short unstressed *a* may change into *o* when preceding back vowels and/or in front of labial consonants, as in (33.):

(33.)　*ta 'Nubi > to 'Nubi* 'of the Nubi'
　　　　ma su'nu? > mo su'nu? 'with what?'
　　　　ma ma'isha > mo ma'isha 'with the life'
　　　　'ita we'ri > 'ito we'ri 'you showed'
　　　　ma 'kweis > mo 'kweis 'properly'

Short unstressed *a* may become *e* when preceding front vowels, and/or the semi-vowel *y*, as in (34.):

(34.)　*ma 'gelba 'taki > me 'gelba 'taki* 'with your heart'
　　　　'ita bi-'geni > 'ite bi-'geni 'you will stay'
　　　　ma ya'la 'de > me ya'la 'de 'with the children'
　　　　ma yo'wele > me yo'wele 'with the boy'
　　　　ta 'youm ti'nen, ta'lata > te 'youm ti'nen, ta'lata 'of two, three days'

Adjacent *l*, and less frequently *r*, may also provoke a shift of *a* into *e*, as in (35.):

(35.)　*'bila 'tabu > 'bile 'tabu* 'without problem(s)'
　　　　'ita lo'go > 'ite lo'go 'you received'
　　　　ma lu'far > me lu'far 'with a rat'
　　　　'ina 'rua > 'ine 'rua 'we went'

---

[53] The vowel *i* of verbal prefixes *gi-, bi-* often assimilates to *u* before verbs containing *u. gi-* and *bi-* are, however, acceptable forms, as in *gi- 'sulu* 'be taking', *bi- 'num* 'will sleep', etc.
[54] One instance of progressive vowel assimilation is *ti'nin*, derived from *ti'nen* 'two'.

Stressed *a* changes into *e*, mainly before a fronted high vowel [55], as illustrated in (36.). This happens less frequently than with unstressed *a*.

(36.)   *'uo 'ja 'kelem > 'uo 'je 'kelem* 'he happened to say'
          'uo 'ma 'endis > 'uo 'me 'endis 'he does not have'
          'itokum 'ja 'ini > 'itokum 'je 'ini 'you(PL) came here'

In the last two examples, the stressed vowel of the word is not contracted with the first vowel of the following word, as would be the case with unstressed vowels (see 2.2.1.2.). A vowel shift from stressed *a* to *o* does occasionally occur, mainly before C + back vowel, or before *w*, as in (37.):

(37.)   *bi-'ja 'kun > bi-'jo 'kun* 'will become'
          'ana 'ja 'rua 'jowzu > 'ana 'jo 'ro 'jowzu 'I came to marry',
          'ina 'ja 'wasa > 'ina 'jo 'wasa 'we left'

i is more likely to be affected by rules of vowel harmony in the speech of Nubi speakers from Bombo than that of speakers from the north, both from Arua and Gulu. Vowel harmony may affect stressed *i* as well. This, however, occurs less frequently. *i* optionally changes into *u* when preceding *u, o*, or the semi-vowel *w*, as illustrated in (38.):

(38.)   *fi 'dul 'to > fu 'dul 'to* 'in its shade'
          gi- lo'go > gu- lo'go 'be finding'
          gi- 'weledu > gu- 'weledu 'be giving birth'

The vowel of the preposition *fi* or the existential marker *'fi* often shifts to *u*. This happens especially in the vicinitiy of *f, b, w*, or *m*, as shown in (39.):

(39.)   *fi 'bele > fu 'bele* 'in the country'
          fi we'ledu > fu we'ledu 'at birth'
          'fi min 'umon dakta'ra > 'fu min 'umon dakta'ra 'among them, there are doctors'
          'fi a'nas > 'fu a'nas 'there are people'

In the last example, the change from *i* to *u* is probably due to influences of initial *f* itself.
u preceding the palatal semi-vowel *y* may change into *i* (see also Heine 1982: 26), as in (40.):

(40.)   *su'nu 'ya > su'ni 'ya* 'what is it that'
          katu'lu yo'wele 'de > kati'li yo'wele 'de 'the boy was killed'

In other words, back vowels and/or labials may trigger the realization of *a* and *i* as *o* and *u* respectively, while on the other hand *a* and *u* may become fronted when followed by a front vowel or the glide *y*. The alveolars *l* and *r* may trigger a change from *a* into *e*.

Unstressed *i* and *u* may be realized as a centralized vowel, as in (41.):

(41.)   *fi 'sokol >* [fə 'sɔkɔl] 'in something'
          'amsuku > ['aːmsəku] 'grab', 'catch'

---

[55] The form *'je-'ja,* the reduplicated form of *'ja* 'come', although frequently occurring, is rather exceptional, since *a* changes into *e* before *a*.

Exceptionally, *u* or *i* are influenced by a following *a* and become *a*, as shown in (42.):

(42.)   *'ina na'di a'nas > 'ina na'da a'nas* 'we called the people'
        gi- *je'nu a'ku > gi-je'na a'ku* 'a brother is being shaved' [56]

2.2.2.2. Assimilation of voice

Devoicing: In Nubi, voiced consonants are generally devoiced in pre-pausal position and before voiceless consonants, whether word internally or across word boundaries:

(43.)   [dʒ] > [tʃ]:   *'haj >* ['hatʃ] 'pilgrimage'
        [b] > [p]:   *'kalabtu >* ['ka·laptu] 'mix'
        [d] > [t]:   *'bada su'nu > 'bad su'nu >* ['bɑ·t su'nu]   'and what else'
        [z] > [s]: *'kazi 'tai > 'kaz 'tai >* ['ka·s 'tai] 'my work'
        [g] > [k]:   *'fogo ka'lam > 'fog ka'lam >* ['fo·k ka'la:m] 'in it is a problem'

When the last consonant of the preceding syllable and the first consonant of the following syllable have become identical after devoicing, they may be, but are not necessarily, degeminated (see also 2.2.3.3.), as illustrated in (44.):

(44.)   *'fogo ka'lam >* ['fo·k ka'la:m] > ['fo·ka'la:m] 'in it is a problem'

Before voiceless consonants *l* is devoiced, as in (45.):

(45.)   *'bil ta ba'lala >* ['bi:l̥ ta bɑ'la·la] 'the wetting of the thread'

Voicing: Voiceless consonants may become voiced if followed by a voiced plosive:

(46.)   [f] > [v]:   *'katif 'buku >* [ka·tiv 'bu·ku] 'write a book'
        [ʃ] > [ʒ]: *gu'rush 'de >* [gu'ru·ʒ 'dɛ] 'the money'

2.2.2.3. Assimilation of place

Assimilation of nasal consonants: Nubi nasal consonants tend to change place under the influence of the articulation place of the following consonant, whether word internally or across word boundaries, as illustrated in (47.):

(47.)   [m] > [n] before [n]: *kele'm 'neita >* [kɛlɛ'n 'ne·ta] 'you were told'
        [m],[n] > labiodental nasal [ɱ] before [f], [v]: *'memvu* ['mɛ:ɱvu] 'small sweet banana'
        [m],[n] > velar nasal [ŋ] before [k], [g]:   *'mimkin >* ['miŋkin] 'possible'
                                                'jengis ['dʒɛŋgis] 'like'
                                                'umon gi-'ja > ['u·mɔŋ gi'dʒa·] 'they are coming'
        [m],[n] > [ɲ] before [j]:   *'itokum 'ya >* ['i·tɔkuɲa·] 'you (PL) are the ones who….'
                                        'umon 'ya > ['u·mɔɲa·] 'they are the ones who…'
        [m] followed by a vowel may be articulated as [n]: *'itokum 'ain >* ['i·tɔkun 'ajn] 'you (PL) saw'

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[56] There are, however, instances which cannot be explained by the above mentioned rules of regressive vowel assimilation. They were mainly recorded from speakers of southern Nubi. Among them are:
        'dula ma 'dula > 'dula me 'dula 'side by side',
        'uo 'ja 'kelem > 'uo 'jo 'kelem 'he came to tell'
        'ita gi-'tub > 'ito gi-'tub 'you are spitting'
        'fi ti'nen > 'fu ti'nen 'there are two'

Palatalization: *k, d, h, and l* may be realized as *y* in the vicinity of front vowels. The transformation of *k* and *d* into *y* is quite widespread, as in (48.):

(48.)   *la'kin > la'yin* 'but'
ke'd(e) 'ana > ke'y- ana 'so that I'
kal'ti > kay'ti 'maternal uncle'
'fahim > 'fayim 'understand'

2.2.3. Other

2.2.3.1. Addition of a final vowel

To avoid closed syllables, and particularly to avoid monosyllabic words, final vowel addition is used. It is quite common in pre-pausal position, but may also be found sentence internally. The alveolar *r*, in particular, seems to attract the addition of a vowel. If the word-final consonant is alveolar and/or the preceding vowel is a front vowel, then the attached vowel is *i*, as shown in (49.):

(49.)   *ke'bir > ke'biri* 'big'
a'nas > a'nasi 'people
'gen > 'geni 'stay', 'remain'

However, if the word-final consonant is non-alveolar and/or the preceding vowel is a back vowel, then the added vowel is *u,* as in (50.):

(50.)   *'num > 'numu* 'sleep'
a'jol > a'jolu 'person'
'Nasur > 'Nasuru NPROP

Rarely, *a* is attached, as in *'nyakam > 'nyakama* 'confiscate'. Final vowel attachment occurs more often in the southern variety of Ugandan Nubi than in the north and in Kenya.

2.2.3.2. Consonant deletion

Consonant elision does not occur frequently. It may, however, take place between two vowels, especially if they have the same tongue height. Accordingly, the two adjacent vowels may fuse and become one vowel, as illustrated in (51.):

(51.)   *la'kata > 'lata* '(fire)wood'
'bahati > 'bati 'luck'
*'itokum > i'tom (*via *i'tokum)* 'you(PL)'
'mara 'wai > ma'rai 'at once'

Glide loss from the coda may take place in allegro forms, as in (52.):

(52.)   *'youm > 'yom* 'day'
'leil > 'lel 'night'
ba'rau > ba'ra 'alone'

When intervocalic *n* is elided, the preceding vowel tends to be nasalized, as in (53.):

(53.)   *'umon 'aju >* [ˈuˑmoˑʷ ˈaˑdʒu] 'they want'

Also as a result of vowel elision, a preceding consonant may be dropped, causing the loss of one or more complete syllables, as in (54.):

(54.)   *'bat(na) 'taki > 'bat- 'taki* 'your belly'
'gil(du) 'tai > 'gil- 'tai 'my body'
'mar(ya) ba'ba > 'mar- ba'ba > mar'ba 'wife of father', 'stepmother'

2.2.3.3. Gemination/degemination

Geminates are not very common in Nubi. *'tenna* (an allomorphic variant of *'tena* 'our'), *'Allah* 'God', and *'yalla* 'well', 'OK' are the only instances I am aware of. However, consonants can become geminated after processes of vowel deletion (see 2.2.1.1.) and/ or consonant assimilation (see 2.2.2.2.). Word internally, geminated consonants are usually articulated by retaining the air slightly longer before releasing it, as in (55.):

(55.)   *'tenna* [ˈtɛnna] 'of us', 'ours'
          me'dida > 'medda [ˈmɛdda] 'porridge'

Geminated forms which have come into existence through vowel elision may be retained. The first consonant is usually articulated with a slight pause, contrary to word internal gemination where the consonant is lengthened. The syllable structure is thus retained. The doubled consonant, however, may be degeminated, and often is in allegro forms, as in (56.):

(56.)   *'danab 'bagara* > [ˈdanabˈbɑgara] > [ˈdanaˈbɑgara] 'a cow's tail'
          'ina 'gurw(a) 'wara > [ˈiˑna ˌguˑrwˈwɑˑra] > [ˈiˑna ˌguˑrˈwɑˑra] 'we are going after…'

2.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, a survey was given of the Nubi phoneme inventory. In chapter 7, the Nubi sound systems will be compared with the sounds systems of Arabic dialects, African languages, Juba Arabic and Turku. As may be expected, the Nubi sound system resembles Juba Arabic and Turku, but is reduced in comparison to Arabic in that it lacks, among other things, emphatic and pharyngeal sounds. Sounds, like *p* and *v* occur in loanwords from African languages. There is quite some phonemic variation for both consonants and vowels. For consonants, the variation is partly due to phonological processes such as assimilation of voice and place, palatalization, and gemination/degemination. The origin of phonemic variation is to be partly traced to different source forms, such as *g* and *j,* or to substrate/adstrate influences, which is the case, for instance, for the variation between *z* and *j*, and *sh* and *s*, and which is therefore linked to regional varieties (see also chapter 7). These two types of consonant variation, however, pertain only to a limited range of phonemes. Vowel variation, on the other hand, occurs much more frequently in Nubi. The vocalic and consonantal contexts are mainly responsible for the variation. As such, unstressed vowels in particular are influenced and agree in certain features, thus creating allophonic variants.

Concerning stress, on the one hand, there may be some free variation, limited to a few words, that should be linked to variation of the stress patterns in the source forms (see chapter 7). On the other hand, stress, which usually co-occurs with vowel length and high pitch, is distinctive lexically for a few words only, whereas grammatically, stress is crucial in the formation of plural forms on *-'a*, for differentiating between the singular proximal attributive and predicative demonstratives, and to draw a distinction between the zero-form of the verb, the passive and the gerund. Tone is found to be relevant only in the formation of the infinitive form, and the passive of monosyllabic verbs.

Nubi speakers tend to talk at high speed, which causes allegro forms to differ from lento forms to quite some extent. As such, the general tendency towards a CV-structure may be obscured. It is also then that the phonological processes discussed above may result in considerable variation, even within the sound system of one single speaker.

3. The noun phrase

In this chapter I will give a synchronic description of the Nubi noun phrase, to begin with the pronominal system, then the noun, followed by the determiners. Nubi distinguishes number, but not gender. This applies to nouns, demonstratives, and adjectives. The distributional pattern of zero-marked nouns, the articles *'wai* and *'de*, and the demonstratives will be elaborated on. The demonstratives may be used both anaphorically and deictically, and may denote temporal and spatial deixis. The Nubi adjective and its features will be discussed. Finally, I shall deal with the expression of possession, numeral and non-numeral quantifiers, diminution and augmentation, and relative clauses. The chapter will be concluded with a brief summary of the order of constituents, and some remarks on number agreement within the noun phrase.

3.1. Pronouns

The Nubi **prononominal system** is composed of two numbers, and three persons, while no distinction is made for gender. The independent pronouns are listed in table 9. Possible variants are given between brackets.

number person	singular		plural	
first	*'ana ('an)*	'I'	*'ina* [57]	'we'
second	*'ita ('ta)*	'you'	*'itokum ('itakum* [58]*, 'tokum, 'tom)*	'you' (PL)
third	*'uo ('owo)*	'he', 'she', 'it'	*'umon ('omon)*	'they'

table 9: Independent personal pronouns in Nubi

The possessive pronouns and adjectives are given in table 10.

number person	singular		plural	
first	*'tai / ta'yi*	'my'; 'mine'	*'tena*	'our'; 'ours'
second	*'taki* [59]	'your'; 'yours'	*'takum / 'tokum*	'your (PL)'; 'yours (PL)'
third	*'to*	'his', 'her', 'its'; 'his', 'hers'	*'toumon*	'their'; 'theirs'

table 10: Possessive pronouns and adjectives in Nubi

Nubi does not have a set of pronominal suffixes (verbal, prepositional), but uses the independent pronoun. The vowel of the prepositions *na* 'to', 'towards', 'for' and *ma* 'with' is fused with the vowel of the pronoun (see also 2.2.1.2.), as shown in table 11.

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[57] Occasionally, the first person plural pronoun is *'nina*. It is mainly used by older people.

[58] The pronoun *'itakum* which is the normal form in Kenyan Nubi is probably the older one. Through regressive vowel assimilation -*a*- must have been evolved into the back vowel -*o*-. This has become the more common form in Ugandan Nubi.

[59] I noted one instance of an expression of possession on -*ak*, namely *'dom-ak* 'your blood'.

na 'to'	**singular**			**plural**		
	lento forms	allegro forms [60]		lento forms	allegro forms	
first	na- 'ana	~	'nana	'to me'	na- 'ina	~ 'nena	'to us'
second	na- 'ita	~	'neta	'to you'	na- 'itokum	~ 'netokum	'to you (PL)'
third	na- 'uo	~	'nouo	'to him, her, it'	na- 'umon	~ 'noumon	'to them'
ma 'with' **first**	ma- 'ana	~	'mana	'with me'	ma- 'ina	~ 'mena	'with us'
second	ma- 'ita	~	'meta	'with you'	ma- 'itokum	~ 'metokum	'with you (PL)'
third	ma- 'uo	~	'mouo	'with him, her, it[61]'	ma- 'umon	~ 'moumon	'with them'

table 11: The prepositions *na* 'to' and *ma* 'with' + following pronouns

Personal pronouns can have the function of subject, object, indirect object, and prepositional object, as illustrated in (57.) and (58.):

(57.)
Nyere'ku	ta	aw'lan,	'ana	'weledu	nyere'ku	yo'wele.
child	GEN	first	PRON 1SING	bear-Ø	child	boy

'Asma	'to		'Ana		'weled(u) [62]	'uo
name	PRON POSS 3SING		NPROP PRON 1SING	bear-Ø		PRON 3SING

'wakt(i)	al(i)	'an(a)	'weled(u)	'uo,	'ana	'weled(u)
time	REL	PRON 1SING	bear-Ø	PRON 3SING	PRON 1SING	bear-Ø

'uo,	lo'go	'kan	'ana	'fi	'kweis.	'Kena [63]
PRON 3SING	while	ANT	PRON 1SING	EXIS	fine	SUBJ + PRON 1PL

'kelem:	'uo	li'go	'raha.	'Uo	li'go	'raha,
say-Ø	PRON 3SING	receive-Ø	comfort	PRON 3SING	receive-Ø	comfort

Ø	'g(i)-	asrub	'leben.	Gu'mas	al	'kweis	'kan	'fi	je'de,
Ø	PROG-	drink	milk	clothes	REL	good	ANT	EXIS	EMPH

'ana	gi-	'bio	'nouo.
PRON 1SING	PROG	buy	for + PRON 3SING

'The first child, I gave birth to a baby boy. His name is A.. I bore him, the time that I bore him, I bore him when I was in good condition. Let us say that he found comfort. He found comfort, drank milk. Good clothes were here, I bougth them for him.' [64]

(58.)
'Hasan	ka'las	'gen	'moumon	'youm	to'wil.	'Umon	'kelem:
NPROP	COMPL	stay-Ø	with + PRON 3PL	day(s)	long	PRON 3PL	say-Ø

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[60] Several speakers, mainly older Nubi, used *'neki* 'to you', from *na-ki*, analogously to *ta-ki* 'of you'. *'neki* and *'neta* may be used in the same paragraph. I also heard one instance of *'nei* 'to me' (< *na- yi*, analogously to *ta-yi* /*tai* 'of me', 'mine').

'It(a)	'aju	'k(e)	ana	'ya	'gus	*'neki*
PRON 2SING	want-Ø	SUBJ	PRON 1SING	FOC	look for-Ø	to + PRON 2SING

bi'niya (…)	wa'la	'it(a)		'aju	ke'de	gu'su	*'neta*?
girl	or	PRON 2SING		want-Ø	SUBJ	look for-PASS-Ø	to + PRON 2SING

'You want me to look for a girl for you (…) or you want (it) to be looked for for you?'

Similar to *'neki*, I heard *'meki* 'with you'.

[61] Inanimate nouns, whether singular or plural, are not necessarily referred to pronominally. In combination with the preposition *ma* 'with', inanimate, and occasionally also animate, pronominal referents may become *'ma*, *'mo* or *'me* 'with it', 'with them'.

[62] The high speed of the utterances results in the deletion of sounds, vowel assimilation and other phonological processes. I have tried to approach the spoken language as much as possible. This implies that the assimilated and not the basic sound is written. Deleted sounds are given between round brackets.

[63] The subjunctive marker *'ke* may also be fused with the pronoun:

'ke + 'ana ~ 'kana	*'ke + 'ina ~ 'kena*
'ke + 'ita ~ 'keta	*'ke + 'itokum ~ 'ketokum*
'ke + 'uo ~ 'kouo	*'ke + 'umon ~ 'komon*

[64] The examples are taken out of their context. Therefore, it is possible that information, especially on tense and aspect, which is indicated in the texts, is not found in the examples. In the translation, I will, however, adhere to the original situation, even if that involves discrepancies between the parsed and the English data.

'Hasan,	'ita	'de	a'zol	'tena		ka'lasi.
NPROP	PRON2SING	DEF	person	PRON POSS 1PL		COMPL
'Ina	bi-	'seb(u)	'ita	'maf.	'Be	'takum	'fwen?
PRON1PL	FUT-	leave	PRON2SING	NEG	house	PRON POSS 2PL	Q-word
'Uo	'kelem:	'Be	'tena		'fi	'na,	fi	Bag'dad.
PRON 3SING	say-Ø	house	PRON POSS 1PL		EXIS	there	in	NPROP

'Hasan had already stayed many days with them. They said: 'Hasan, you are already our person. We will not leave you. Where is your(PL) house?' He said: 'Our house is there, in Bagdad.'

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns: There are no specific pronouns expressing reflexivity. Reflexive pronouns are the same as the personal pronouns, and follow the verb, as in (59.):

(59.)	'It(a)	'asas(u)	*'ita.*
	PRON 2SING	make beautiful-Ø	PRON 2SING

'You made yourself beautiful.'

The reciprocal pronoun is *'badu, ba'dum* 'each other', optionally followed by the preposition *ma* 'with' and personal pronoun. *ba'dum* [65] may also mean 'together'.

(60.)	(…)	'umon	'aju	*'badu*	*'mena.*
		PRON 3PL	like-Ø	RECIP	with + PRON 1PL

'(…)   they like us / we like each other.'

(61.)	(…)	nyere'ka	'tena	ke'd(e)	'aruf	*ba'dum.*
		child-PL	PRON POSS 1PL	SUBJ	know-Ø	RECIP

'(…)   our children should know each other.'

Stressed devices: In Nubi, besides the usual pronominal system, there are stressed anaphoric devices that virtually always refer to human beings[66]. The reflexive pronoun itself can add some emphasis. For instance, in (62.), the speaker uses the reflexive pronoun to stress that the girls wash 'themselves', whereas the more common expression does not include a reflexive pronoun, as in (63.).

(62.)	'Umon	gi-	'bered(u)*'umon*	a'sas,	(…)
	PRON 3PL	PROG-	wash PRON 3PL	beautiful	

'They wash themselves [to become] beautiful, (…)'

(63.)	'Uo	'ro	'beredu.
	PRON 3SING	go-Ø	wash-Ø

He went to wash (himself).'

---

[65] The reciprocal marker *'badu* or *ba'dum* 'each other' is also used in sentences like the following to emphasize the involvement of the agent on the patient:

(…)	'umon	gi-	li'go	*'badu*	*ma*	'yal	we'le (…).
	PRON 3PL	PROG-meet	RECIP	with	child-PL	boy-PL	

'They are meeting [with] the boys [together].'

'Ina	'seb	*'badu*	*'mouo.*
PRON 1PL	leave-Ø	RECIP	with + PRON 3SING

'We left [with] her [each other].'

[66] Seldom, a non-human NP is modified by *bi'zatu*:

'Ase,	'sa	'de	*bi'zatu*	'kan	'uo	'rua.
now	hour	DEM PROX	EMPH	ANT	PRON 3SING	go-Ø

'Now, this very moment, he had gone.'

Other stressed devices actually consist of the pronoun or noun phrase followed by a reflexive emphatic marker. This marker is either the possessive pronoun (64.), *a'gi* + possessive pronoun (65.), *bi'nafsi* [67] (66.)*, bi'zatu* (67.), or *'sidu* (68.), or a combination, as is shown in (69.). They typically refer to highly pragmatic referential NPs [68].

(64.)   La'kin   *'ina*   *'tena*   ka'man   'arufu   'ma.
        but   PRON 1PL   PRON POSS 1PL   EMPH   know-Ø   NEG
        'But we ourselves do not know.'

(65.)   'Dukur   a'nas   ta   ja'man   'de   *a'gi*   *'toumon*   'kan   ke'fin   'ya?
        then   people   GEN   old days DEF   self   PRON POSS 3PLbe-ANT how   EMPH
        'Then, how were the people of the old days themselves?'

(66.)   'Lad(i)   'ase'de,   kan   'ana   *bi'nafsi*   'de,   kan   'rua   fi   'Arua,
        until   now   if   PRON 1SING   self   DEF   if   go-Ø   to   NPROP
        ana   'g(i)-   asma   hu'ruma,   (…).
        PRON 1SING   PROG-   feel   sympathy
        'Until now, when I myself, when I go to Arua, I find sympathy, (…).'

(67.)   Ta   'ase'de   'ita   kan   'gu-   rwa   'hukum   nyere'ku   ta
        GEN   now   PRON 2SING   if   PROG-   go   command-Ø   child   GEN
        a'ku,   a'ku   'de   *bi'zatu*   je'de   gi-   'ja   'neta   'hari.
        relative relative DEF   self   EMPH   PROG-   come   to + PRON 2SING   hot/angry
        'For now, if you command the child of a relative, the relative himself will come angry to you.'

(68.)   'Ana   'tai   bi-   'jowz(u)   'uo,   sul'tan   *'sidu.*
        PRON 1SING   PRON POSS 1SING   FUT-   marry   PRON 3SING   sultan   self
        'I, myself, will marry him, the sultan himself.'

(69.)   'Fatna   *bi'zatu*   *a'gi*   *'to*   'na, (…).
        NPROP   self   self   PRON POSS 3SING   there
        'Fatna herself there (…)'

a'gi + PRON POSS, and *bi'nafs(i)* are restricted to people from the north and old people. In general, the modifier immediately follows the NP. Occasionally, however, another word or phrase may come between modifier and NP, as illustrated in (70.):

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[67] *bi'nafsi* is also used in the following sense:
        After two weeks, ma'ma   'tai   te   *bi'nafsi*   a'yan.
        After two weeks mother PRON POSS 1SING   GEN   self   ill
        'After two weeks, my own mother became ill.'
[68] *a'gi* + PRON POSS in some contexts has the meaning of 'alone'. In those cases, high pragmatic referentiality is not a prerequisite for its use.
        'Uo   gu-   'hukum, 'uo   *a'gi*   *'to,*
        PRON 3SING   PROG-   reign   PRON 3SING alone   PRON POSS 3SING
        'uo   ba'rau   (…).
        PRON 3SING   alone
        'He reigns alone, he alone (…).'

        'Ana   'me   'endi   ma'ma,   'ana   'me   'endi   ba'ba.
        PRON 1SING   NEG   have-Ø   mother   PRON 1SING   NEG   have-Ø   father
        'Bes,   'ana   *a'gi*   *'tai*   je'de.
        just   PRON 1SING alone   PRON POSS 1SING   EMPH
        'I do not have a mother, I do not have a father. I am just alone.'

(70.)   *'An*   'gu-   rwa   'rasul   *'tai*
        PRON 1SING   PROG-   go   reach   PRON POSS 1SING
        fi   'sana   ta   ar'bein.
        in   year   GEN   NUM
        'I myself am going to reach the year/age of forty.'

Pragmatic use of personal pronouns: When expressing that a single person joins another person or persons in an action, the agent is optionally marked by a plural [69]. Thus the pronominal subject includes the person who joins and the one who is joined. The latter is expressed by means of the comitative marker *ma* 'with', as illustrated in (71.) and (72.):

(71.)   Nyere'ku'de   'kelem: Ma'ma *'ina*   'rua   'meki   'sawa.
        child   DEF   say-Ø   mother PRON 1PL   go-Ø   with + PRON 2SING   together
        'The child said: Mama, I go with you together.'

(72.)   *'Umon*   'gai   ma   'marya   'to   'de.
        PRON 3PL   stay-Ø   with   wife   PRON POSS 3SING   DEF
        'He stayed with his wife.'

Inanimate NPs are often not referred to by a pronoun, when the context is such that it is likely that the addressee will understand. Although inanimates in particular are suppressed in object position or after a preposition are suppressed, the same may happen to inanimates in subject position.

(73.)   'Itokum   bi-   'sten   helicopter.   Bi-   'tala   min   En'tebbe.
        PRON 2PL   FUT-   wait for helicopter   FUT-   leave   from   NPROP
        'You(PL) will be waiting for the helicopter. It (the helicopter) will leave from Entebbe.'

Occasionally, also animate NPs are not expressed overtly, as illustrated in (74.):

(74.)   'Umon   'fi   fi   'sida,   gi-   'lim   ba'dum.
        PRON 3PL   EXIS   in   problem(s)   PROG-   gather RECIP
        'They are in trouble, they are gathering (together).'

3.2. Nouns

3.2.1. Number

Form: There are many different ways to form plurals in Nubi:

* stress shift: the stress is shifted towards the last syllable from whichever syllable it was on. As a consequence of the heavy stress, the pitch on the last syllable becomes high[70], as in (75.):

(75.)   *gi'dida* 'chicken' - *gidi'da*
        si'adum 'owner' - *sia'dum*
        (yo)'wele 'boy' - *(yo)we'le* [71]
        'bele 'country' - *be'le*

---

[69] Singular expression of the agent in subject position is as well possible:
        (…)   *'ana*   'gu-   rwa   'metokum   'sawa.
                PRON 1SING   PROG-   go   with + PRON 2PL   together
        '(…) I am going with you (PL) together.'

[70] Words like *kal'ti* 'maternal uncle', *ji'di* 'grandfather' already have the stress on the last syllable, and do not change to form a plural.

[71] The prefix *yo-* is probably derived from the Arabic vocative particle *'ya*, which combines with *'walad* 'boy' as *'ya 'walad*, and through phonological changes has become *yo'wele*. In the singular, *yo'wele* is mainly used, while in the plural the most common form is *we'le*.

* suppletion:

(76.)   *marya* 'woman', 'wife' - *nus'wan*
      a'ku 'brother, friend' - *ak'wana*
      nyere'ku 'child' - *'yal/ ya'la*
      a'jol 'person' - *a'nas/ aja'ma* [72]

* ablaut:

(77.)   *ke'bir* 'director' - *ku'bar*

* suffixation: the word stress is shifted towards the suffix:

      -'(y)a:

(78.)   *ma'lim* 'teacher' - *mali'ma*
      'Nubi NPROP - *Nubi'ya*
      lu'far 'mouse' - *lufa'ra*
      'seder 'tree' - *sede'ra*
      gala'moyo 'goat' - *galamo'ya*

      -'iya:

(79.)   *'asker* 'soldier' - *aske'riya*
      mo'bus 'prisoner' - *mobu'siya*

      -'in:

(80.)   *'tajir* 'rich person' - *taji'rin*
      'sokol 'thing' - *soko'lin*

      suffixation of *-'an*; the final vowel of the singular noun form, if there is one, is replaced by the suffix:

(81.)   *'ter* 'bird' - *te'ran*
      nyere'ku 'child' - *nyere'kan*

      -'na: rather exceptional:

(82.)   *'sokol* 'thing' - *sokol'na*

      -'ka: rather exceptional

(83.)   *nyere'ku* 'child' - *nyereku'ka* [73]

      -'u: rather exceptional

(84.)   *'bab* 'door' - *ba'bu*

* replacement of (Bantu) prefix *m(u)-* by *wa-:*

(85.)   *mu'ze* 'old man' - *wa'ze* < SWAH *m-zee - wa-zee* 'old man'
      muzu'ku 'grandchild' - *wazu'ku* < SWAH *m-jukuu - wa-jukuu* 'grandchild'
      M'zungu 'European' - *Wa'zungu* < SWAH *m-zungu - wa-zungu* 'European'

---

[72] *aja'ma* is essentially a vocative form, used to address a group of people: *'ya aja'ma*. The use of *a'nas* is in this context incorrect: **'ya a'nas*.
[73] May also appear as *nyere'ka*. *nyereku'ka* should be linked to JA *nyerkukât*, the regular plural on *-ât* of JA *nyer'kuk*.

* use of a second plural marker. These plural forms always co-occur with a more regularly formed plural, as shown in (86.):

(86.)   *'marya* 'women', 'wife' - *nus'wan /nuswa'na*
          ke'bir 'director' - *ku'bar / kuba'rin/ kubari'na*
          mu'ze 'old man' - *wa'ze / wa'zeya / waze'ya*
          nyere'ku 'child' - *'yal / ya'la*

Many words have more than one plural form, as in (87.):

(87.)   *nyere'ku* 'child' - *nyereku'ka / nyere'ka / 'yal / ya'la*
          Is'lam 'Muslim' - *Isla'ma / Isla'miya*
          a'jusi 'old person' - *aju'sin / ajusi'ya*
          mas'kin 'poor person' - *maski'nin / masa'kin*
          sa'bi 'friend' - *sab(i)'yan / sabi'ya/ suhu'ban*

Occasionally, borrowings from English, Luganda, etc. follow the Nubi pattern of plural formation:

(88.)   *jerryca'na ta'lata* - 'three jerrycans'
          'buku 'book' - *bu'ka*

   Use: Nubi does not obligatorily mark number in the noun itself. This implies that, even if a plural form exists in Nubi, it is not always used in daily speech. The question is, then, in which cases plurality is marked overtly in the noun, and in which cases it is not. Nouns applying to more than one human being expressing gender, kinship or other group relations, usually use their plural forms. Nouns denoting human beings, not in their relation to kin, but as executors or performers of a task or job, often, but not obligatorily use a plural form when denoting multiplicity. Animate nouns are optionally marked for number in the noun. It appears, however, that there is a certain gradation. *'bagara, gala'moyo* and *gi'dida*, translated as 'cow', 'goat' and 'chicken' respectively, are more likely to be marked than other animals, since these types of animals, especially cows, are commonly kept by Nubi people. The Nubi thus give grammatical expression to the special position of domestic animals. This is a cultural phenomenon which the Nubi share with their Nilotic neighbours (see Spagnolo 1933: 29; Nebel 1948: 13). Non-domestic animals and inanimates are infrequently marked for number in the noun. Exceptions are words associated with the house and housekeeping, e.g. *'jua* 'house' - *ju'a* 'houses', *'san* 'dish' - *sa'na* 'dishes', and the frequently occurring and widely distributed *ka'lam* 'thing', 'problem', 'matter' - *kala'ma* and *'sokol* 'thing' - *soko'lin /sokol'na*. No plural form exists for many inanimates, e.g. *'sana* 'year(s)', while for others a plural may be given in quotation forms, which is, however, not or hardly ever used in free speech, e.g. *ka'bila* 'tribe', whose plural is given in lexical lists as *kabi'la*, while in the text material it generally appears as *ka'bila* whether used for one or for more tribes. Thus, the lower the noun is situated on the following scheme, the less likely it is to be marked overtly on the noun for plurality:

human beings: kin, tribe and/or gender terms
human beings in reference to their activities
domestic animals
non-domestic animals
inanimates, associated with the house and housekeeping / *ka'lam, 'sokol* 'thing'
other inanimates

table 12: Number marking in the noun according to type of noun

Paraphrasing of plural/quantifiers: If plurality is not marked in the noun, it is inferred from the context (89.), or expressed periphrastically by means of separate quantifiers, such as *mi'lan*, *'zaidi*, *ke'tir* 'many' (90.), by means of numerals (91.), and/or via the use of plural demonstratives (92.):

(89.) La'kini fi Za'ire 'na, (…) 'ita 'g(i)- ain(u)
 but in NPROP there PRON 2SING PROG- see
 a'nas gi- 'num fu *'jua* 'gesi.
 people PROG- sleep in house grass
 'But over there in Zaire, (…) you saw the people sleeping in grass thatched huts.'

(90.) 'Ana 'feker *ka'lam ke'tir* 'maf (…).
 PRON 1SING think-Ø thing many EXIS NEG
 'I think there are not many things (…).'

(91.) Abu'gada min 'jua 'moyo 'na gu- 'weledu *ma'yai 'ladi si'tin.*
 turtle PREP inside water there PROG- bear egg(s) until NUM
 'The turtle over there in the water even bears sixty eggs.'

(92.) fi *ma'hal 'umon 'dol'de*
 in place(s) PRON 3PL DEM PROX PL
 'in these places'

Count nouns vs. mass nouns: Whereas count nouns refer to items that can be counted, mass nouns denote substances, like water, air, wood, or groups of people etc. In Nubi, mass nouns either take the form of a singular, e.g. *'chai* 'tea', *Ingi'lis* 'the English (PL)' or of a (Bantu-)plural, e.g. *ma'tunda* 'passion fruit, *'maua* 'flora'.

(93.) (…) 'uo 'sul 'nouo *lese'ri, m'kate, 'samaga,* (…).
 PRON 3SING take-Ø for +PRON 3SING maize bread fish
 '(…) he takes for him maize, bread, fish, (…).'

The different entities are expressed by means of a numeral (94.), words like *kilo, litre*, the units of weight and volume respectively, followed by a numeral (95.), or by plural marking on the noun (96.):

(94.) *mu'la 'saba*
 sauce NUM
 'seven plates of sauce'

(95.) (…) nyere'ku 'tai 'gu- rwa 'jowju 'bes 'ya
 child PRON POSS 1SING PROG- go marry-Ø only FOC
 ma *'lam, 'kilo ti'nin*!!?
 with meat kilo NUM
 '(…) is my child going to get married with only two kilos of meat!!?'

(96.) 'Ita gi- re'ceive *sama'ga*.
 PRON 2SING PROG- receive fish-PL
 'You are receiving fishes.'

Mass nouns take singular modifiers (see also Owens 1977: 52), as in (97.):

(97.) *'moyo was'kan*
 water dirty-SING
 'dirty water'

The collective marker *'nas*: It conveys the idea of 'and company', 'and the like'. It means that there is a group of people, animals, things, abstract notions, such as infinitives, among which the one expressed is salient, such as *'nas 'abba 'tena* 'our grandmother and relatives'. The marker *'nas* is mainly followed by a singular noun, as shown in (98.) and (99.):

(98.)   *'nas   'ásrúbu   'de   'kul*
        COLL   drink-INF   DEF   all
        'all the drinking'

(99.)   'Ita   'masa   *'nas   'dikin.*
        PRON 2SING   rub-Ø   COLL   oil
        'It(a)   'adul   *'nas   'su   'ras   'taki.*
        PRON 2SING   prepare-Ø   COLL   hair   head   PRON POSS 2SING
        'You rub oil, you prepare your hair.'

'nas may also stress that the noun refers to a mass or a plural. In the latter case, the noun is often marked for plurality, as in (100.):

(100.)   *'nas godu'ru* 'pigs'
         'nas sede'ra 'trees'
         'nas Kha'mis 'group of people with the name Khamis'

Collective nouns, marked by *'nas*, are grammatically considered to be plural, as illustrated in (101.) and (102.).

(101.)   *'nas   'yembe   'dol'de*
         COLL   mango(s)   DEM PROX PL
         'these mangos'

(102.)   *'nas   'akil   ta'nin   'dol'de*
         COLL   food   other-PL   DEM PROX PL
         'these other foodstuffs'

Reduplication of nouns is not very common in Nubi. The meaning of reduplicated forms is different from that of single forms in several respects. Reduplication may convey that items are scattered, dispersed, should be situated on all sides, in all directions; that items are subjected to intensive activity; that there is a multiplicity of items; that there is a great variety of items; or that something is on the verge of becoming something else, as illustrated in (103.), (104.), and (105.): .

(103.)   'Moyo   'de,   gi-   ge'r(u)   'uo,   gi-   'kun   *'dom-'dom.*
         water   DEF   PROG-   change-PASS   PRON 3SING   PROG-   be   blood-REDUP
         'The water, it was changed, it became blood.'

(104.)   *repair-repair*   'dol'de
         repair(s)-REDUP DEM PROX PL
         'these repairs'

(105.)   'Ina   (…)   'tunda   so'bun, 'tunda   maran'gwa,   'tunda   'sim-'sim,   'tunda
         PRON 1PL   sell-Ø   soap   sell-Ø   bean-PL   sell-Ø   sesame   sell-Ø
         'fulu,   'tunda   *soko'lin-soko'lin*
         peanuts sell-Ø   things-REDUP
         'We (…) sold soap, (we) sold beans, (we) sold sesame, (we) sold peanuts, (we) sold many different things.'

3.2.2. Gender

Gender marking as such does not occur in Nubi. It is only indicated for animates which have biological gender. Persons and domestic animals have separate names for masculine and feminine.

(106.)   *bi'niya* 'girl' - *yo'wele* 'boy'
        'marya 'woman' - *'ragi* 'men'
        a'buba 'grandmother' - *ji'di* 'grandfather'
        'bagara 'cow' - *'toru* 'bull'
        gala'moyo 'goat' - *'tesi* 'he-goat'
        gi'dida 'chicken' - *'di* 'cock'

Feminine and masculine members of a pair may also be indicated by juxtaposing *'marya* or *bi'niya* and *'ragi* or *yo'wele* respectively, as shown in (107.):

(107.)   *nyere'ku bi'niya* '(baby) girl' - *nyere'ku yo'wele* '(baby) boy'
        a'ku bi'niya 'sister' - *a'ku yo'wele* 'brother'
        ko'ru 'marya 'ewe' - *ko'ru 'ragi* 'ram'

3.3. Modifiers

3.3.1. Determiners

3.3.1.1. Articles

In Nubi, we find the articles *'wai* and *'de*, which I will call the indefinite (INDEF) and the definite (DEF) article respectively. Apart from both articles, we find the bare form of the noun, which appears without any marker. I will look at the distribution of the articles and the bare form using Givón's (1984) and Bickerton's (1981) discussion of article use in creole languages as a starting point. Bickerton and Givón claim that the use of articles can be generalized to all creole languages. They postulate two articles, a definite and an indefinite one, which are in opposition to zero-marking, thus the bare noun. Bickerton (1981: 22-26, 58, 146-154, 212, 234, 248, 257-258, 306) (see also Bruyn 1995: 51) thus proposes the following division, based on the oppositions: specific (SPEC) versus non-specific (NON-SPEC), and presupposed (PRESUPP) versus non-presupposed (NON-PRESUPP), as shown in table 13.

	PRESUPP	NON-PRESUPP
SPEC	definite article	indefinite article
NON-SPEC	bare noun (Ø)	

table 13: Three-way division of article use in creole languages

(after Bickerton 1981)

'Specificity' refers to images of particular entities on particular occasions, and can be linked to 'percepts', whereas 'non-specificity' can be connected with 'concepts' or images of classes of entities (Bickerton 1981: 234). 'Presupposed' information is supposedly shared by both speaker and listener. For 'non-presupposed' information Bickerton also uses the term 'asserted' (Bickerton 1981: 248). Specific referents are marked by the definite article if they are assumed to be known by the listener. On the other hand, if specific referents are mentioned for the first time in the conversation, and therefore were previously unknown to the hearer, they are marked by the indefinite article. All other NPs are not marked, neither with an article, nor with any other marker. To these belong generic NPs (NON-SPEC + NON-PRESUPP) (Bickerton 1981: 247), " (…) NPs within the scope of negation -i.e. clearly nonspecific NPs- and cases where, while a specific referent may exist, the exact identity of that referent is either unknown to the speaker or irrelevant to the point at issue." (Bickerton 1981: 23). A problem with Bickerton's notion of specificity is that it is mostly impossible to establish whether a NP is SPEC or NON-SPEC by any other means than the presence or the absence of an article.

Like Bickerton, Givón (1984: 410-411) considers a three-way division to be prototypical for the determining system in all creole languages. Givón's system corresponds to the one postulated by Bickerton, although Givón uses another terminology: referential (REF) versus non-referential (NON-REF), and definite (DEF) versus indefinite (INDEF). Givón distinguishes between referential, indefinite-referential, and non-referential.

	DEF	INDEF
REF	definite article	indefinite article
NON-REF	bare noun (Ø)	

table 14: Three-way division of article use in creole languages

(after Givón 1984)

Definiteness according to Givón (1990: 899) pertains to NPs which are:

"(a) talked about in the preceding discourse; or

(b) assumed by the speaker as identifiable to the hearer."

Usually in the literature, 'referentiality' is used in the sense of 'semantic referentiality', in other words referring to a factive real world (related to past, present, and affirmative). Givón (1984: 423-427) argues that it is rather 'pragmatic referentiality' which plays a determining role in the choice of article in a language. 'Pragmatic referentiality' refers to the communicative importance of nouns in discourse, which is usually reflected by frequent recurrence[74]. Considering pragmatic reference, Givón distinguishes between topic continuity, which touches upon pre-existing allusions to an already mentioned topic (REF DEF), and topic persistence which is related to new information, presumably unknown to the hearer, which will be referred to in the subsequent discourse (REF INDEF). Pragmatically non-referential nouns, or more specifically nouns which will not receive any reference in subsequent discourse, appear in their bare form.

Givón (1984) and Bickerton (1981) both claim that the pattern they present is valid for all creole languages. On the assumption that Nubi is a creole language, we may ask whether the pattern can be generalized to Ugandan Nubi as well. In the following paragraphs, I will look in more detail at the Nubi articles. I will start with the indefinite article '*wai*, to continue with the definite article *'de*, and finish with the Ø-forms or bare nouns.

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[74]   According to Givón, semantically non-referential nouns in creoles and in many other languages, are only marked by an indefinite article, derived from the number 'one' (Nubi *'wai*), when they are pragmatically referential. Semantically referential nouns which are communicatively unimportant, and do not receive subsequent reference in the discourse, could be called 'pragmatically non-referential'. These are left unmarked and are expressed as bare nouns.

> 'Dukur   'umon   'amsuku 'sika.
> Thus   PRON 3PL   grab-Ø   road-Ø.
> 'Thus they took the road/left.'

Conversely, semantically non-referential NPs may be marked by the article *'wai*, on the condition that their referential identity is of importance in the subsequent discourse.

> 'Ma   gi-   si'bu   a'k(u)   'wai
> NEG   PROG- leave-PASS   friend   INDEF
> ke'd(e)   uw(o)   'mutu   'uo   ba'rau.
> SUBJ   PRON 3SING   die-Ø   PRON 3SING   alone
> 'A brother was not left behind to die alone.'

Givón (1984: 427) thus concludes that semantic non-referentiality is "(…) a special, more marked case of the more general feature of pragmatic non-referentiality" .

	DEF	INDEF
REF	*'de*	*'wai*
NON-REF	bare noun (Ø)	

table 15: Three-way division of article use in Nubi

While at first sight, the Nubi article system fits into the general pattern of Givón and Bickerton, a second, more profound look reveals several differences, the most conspicuous that the bare form can replace both the definite and indefinite article in various contexts. Givón defines his terminology in a more specific way, which leaves less chance for misunderstandings. Therefore, I will use the terms REF vs. NON-REF and DEF vs. INDEF.

3.3.1.1.1. The indefinite article *'wai*

Form: In Nubi, as in many creole and other languages, the indefinite article *'wai* (INDEF) is derived from the numeral 'one', which in Nubi is the homophonous *'wai* (see Givón 1984: 408-409). Its position in the NP is directly after the noun, before optional adjectives, the second part of a genitive construction, etc., as in (108.) and (109.):

(108.)   'Wede   'baga   *'fogur*   *'wai*   ba'tal   'ya'de.
              DEM PROX   EMPH   shame   INDEF   bad   PRES PROX
              'This is quite a shame here.'

(109.)   (…)   'kun   *ka'lam*   *'wai*   ta   'gudra.
                             be-Ø   problem   INDEF   GEN   strength
              '(…)   it is a tough problem.'

Use: As mentioned above, the indefinite article *'wai* is typically used in creole languages to mark the indefinite referential NP. From Givón's discussion on semantic and pragmatic referentiality it follows that it is the pragmatic rather than the semantic referentiality, i.e. the thematic importance of the NP, which determines whether the NP is marked by the indefinite article. The above may be illustrated for Nubi with some examples of non-factive or irrealis contexts [75] where the semantically non-referential NP which has high thematic value is marked by *'wai.* In Bickerton's terminology this is called non-presupposed specificity, which deals with the introduction of thematically important topics which were presumably unknown to the addressee:

* in the scope of non-implicative verbs (see also n. 75.), as in (110.) and (111.):

(110.)   (…)   'uw(o)   'aju   'so   *'hafla*   *'wai*   'sia. (…)
                             PRON 3SING   want-Ø   do-Ø   party   INDEF   bit
              'Bas,   'uo   tayi'risha   *'hafla*   *'de.*
              Well,   PRON 3SING   prepare-Ø   party   DEF
              '(…) he wanted to give a small party (…). Well, he prepared the party.'

(111.)   'In(a)   'aju   'ketakum   (…)   'gusu   'nena
              PRON 1PL   want-Ø   SUBJ + PRON 2PL   look for-Ø   for + PRON 1PL
              'madam 'wai   ke'de   'ro   'alim   'ina.
              madam INDEF SUBJ   go-Ø   teach-Ø PRON 1PL
              'We want you to look for a woman for us to (to go and) teach us.'

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[75] Non-factive or irrealis contexts include: the scope of negation, the scope of non-implicative verbs, such as the non-implicative modality verbs 'look for', 'want', 'dream', 'imagine', and the non-implicative manipulation verbs 'tell (to do something)', 'make', 'force (to do something)', the scope of non-factive verbs, such as 'think', imperative and interrogative speech acts, future or habitual tense, the scope of modal operators, both verbs, such as 'can', 'may', 'must', 'should', 'might', 'would' and adverbs, such as 'maybe', 'possibly', 'surely', 'likely', 'supposedly', etc., and the scope of conditional clauses, with 'like' (Bruyn 1995: 57-78, 70; Givón 1984: 393-396).

* future tense:

(112.) 'Kila   ba'kan   (…) ,   kan   'ita   'b(i)-   ajira   'fogo   'akil,
        every   place   if   PRON 2SING   FUT-   plant   on (it)   food-Ø
        'fi   *'youm*   *'wai*   *al*   *'akil*   *'wede'de*   *bi-*   *'raba, (…)*.
        EXIS   day   INDEF   REL   food   DEM PROX   FUT-   grow
        'Everywhere (…), if you will plant food (seeds) on it, there will be a day when this food will grow, (…).'

(113.) 'Bes   *ba'ba*   *'wai*   'b(i)-   ain
        well   father   INDEF   FUT-   see
        nyere'ku 'to   'tim   ka'las,   'aju   'marya.
        child   PRON POSS 3SING   be enough-Ø   COMPL   want-Ø   wife
        'A father will see that his child is old enough already, (that he) wants a wife.'

* in the scope of conditional clauses:

(114.) 'Ase,   *a'jol*   *'wai*   kan   'ja   'na,   *'uo*   'bi-   *'kelem*   'gal: (…)
        now   person   INDEF   if   come-Ø   there   PRON 3SING   FUT-   say   that
        'Now, if someone comes there, he will say that: (…)'

Once the thematically important topic has been introduced, its recurrence is expressed by the definite article *'de*, with anaphoric expression, incorporated in a verb or preposition, with an adverb, in an adverbial clause, etc., as in (115.):

(115.) 'Youm ju'ma   'wai,   *mas'kin*   *'wai*   'ro   'ja.
        Friday   INDEF   poor man   INDEF   go-Ø   come-Ø
        Kan   *mas'kin*   *'de*   'ja (…)   'bas,   *'uo*   'rasul   fi   'be.
        if   poor man   DEF   come-Ø   well   PRON 3SING   arrive-Ø at   house
        'On a Friday, a poor man came. When the poor man came (…) well, he arrived at the house.'

In the above example, the NP which is both semantically and pragmatically referential, is initially introduced by the use of *'wai*. Then, the 'poor' man is referred to by means of a NP marked by the definite article *'de,* and subsequently by means of the anaphoric pronoun *'uo* (3SING). In (116.), the 'nursery school', at its first mention, is marked by the indefinite article. In the next two sentences, it is incorporated in the passive verb, and subsequently in the preposition *'fogo*, and repeated by the adverb *'na* 'there':

(116.) 'Dukuru, 'wakati   'na'de   'kan   'fi   *nursery school*   *'wai*   'fi,
        then   time   DEM DIS   ANT   EXIS   nursery school   INDEF   EXIS
        abi'n(u)   'jamb   'ina   'na   je'de.
        build-PASS-Ø   beside   PRON 1PL   there   EMPH
        'Yo   'uo   'gu-   rwa   *'fogo*   *'na*.
        CONJ   PRON 3SING   PROG-   go   in (it)   there
        'Then at that time there was a nursery school here, it was built next to us there. Thus he was going there.'

In general, the indefinite article[76] fits nicely into the patterns introduced by Givón and Bickerton. However, it is not exceptional to find pragmatically referential NPs without an article, as illustrated in (117.). This will be discussed below (3.3.1.1.3.).

(117.)	I'tom	'wonus	'fogo	*a'jol*		
	PRON 2PL	talk-Ø	about	person		
	lo'go	*'owo*		'fi	'jamb	'itokum	'in.
	while	PRON 3SING		EXIS	beside	PRON 2PL	here

'You(PL) talk about someone while he is here beside you(PL).'

3.3.1.1.2. The definite article *'de*

The article *'de* is the definite marker for singular and plural definite nouns. The definite article predominantly takes the final position in the noun phrase. It closes the entire NP, and is not necessarily found in close position to the noun it marks. Which noun is marked should therefore be inferred from the context.

* marking the first part of a genitive construction:

(118.)	'Kan	'ina	'wuza	*gu'niya*	'gwanda	'tena	*'de.*
	ANT	PRON 1PL	sell-Ø	bag(s)	cassava	PRON POSS 1PL	DEF

'We sold our cassava-bags.'

* marking the second part in a genitive construction:

(119.)	ku'ra	ta	*'ragi*	*'de*
	leg(s)	GEN	man	DEF

'the legs of the man'

* marking the head noun of a relative clause:

(120.)	*A'nas*	al(i)	gi-	'rakab	*'de*,	gi-	'rakab	'saki.
	people	REL	PROG-	cook	DEF	PROG-	cook	for free

'The people who are cooking, are cooking for free.'

Theoretically, when a NP is or has become part of culturally shared knowledge (belonging to the permanent file or to absolute deictic availability) or of textually shared knowledge, the speaker may assume that the NP is known to the hearer, and thus may code the NP as definite. From the texts it appears, however, that NPs conveying information common to both speaker and hearer, whether culturally based or emerging from the previous discourse, are often not marked by the definite article. It is therefore essential to explain the notion of 'definiteness' and the environments in which the definite article is supposed to appear. To the permanent file belong proper names and referentially unique physical or cultural entities, such as 'the sun', 'the earth', etc. which are uniquely identifiable to all members of all human cultures. Similarly, geographic and other entities may be recognizable to all members of a limited group, such as 'the sea' is the North Sea to all Belgian and Dutch people. A

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[76] *'wai* may also be used as a kind of emphasizer, underlining a noticeable characteristic of the noun, which is sometimes expressed by a following adjective. In the following example, the speaker wants to express that Zaire is not just an ordinary country, but that it is extremely strange. He draws attention to his statement by means of *'wai*.

	Fi	Za'ire	'de,	'bele	'nade'de	*'bele*	*'wai*	*ma'tata.*
	in	Zaire	DEF	country	DEM DIS	country	EMPH	strange

'Zaire, that country is one strange country.'

	'Ana	'gum,	'rusu	bi'niya	'de	*'kof*	*'wai.*
	PRON 1SING	get up-Ø	throw-Ø	girl	DEF	slap	EMPH

'I gave the girl one slap [not to be easily forgotten].'

referent which belongs to the permanent file is culturally shared by all members of a group. A speaker addressing a member of the group may assume that the addressee can allocate unique identity to the referent, and consequently can assign definiteness to it, even if the referent has not been mentioned in previous discourse, as illustrated in (121.):

(121.) 'Besi,   ka'lam   *'dunia*   *'de*   'endisi a'bidu   'to
        well   because world   DEF   have-Ø   begin-GER   PRON POSS 3SING
        ma   ka'las   'to.
        with   finish-GER   PRON POSS 3SING
        'Well, because the world has its beginning and its end.'

Similarly, the participants in the communication 'I' and 'you' and entities which can be uniquely associated with them, such as 'my head', etc. are assumed to be identifiable by both, which is what Givón (1984: 400) calls 'absolute deictic availability'. The addressee in (122.) understands that the speaker is talking about his wives and not about someone else's.

(122.) 'K(e)   ana   'gata   'agil   na   *nus'wan*   *'de*.
        SUBJ   PRON 1SING   cut-Ø   intelligence   for   wife-PL   DEF
        'Let me deceive (my)/ the wives.'

We have already seen that one of the characteristics of pragmatic salience is frequent recurrence in discourse. A pragmatic referential NP at its initial introduction is often marked by the indefinite article. In subsequent discourse, it can be referred to by means of an anaphoric pronoun, incorporated in a verb or preposition, with and adverb, in an adverbial clause, etc., or marked by the definite article. Thus, once a referent has been introduced in discourse, it can be assumed that the hearer can identify the referent, which is the prerequisite for marking by the definite article.

(123.) Fi   za'man,   'fi   *'ragi*   *'wai*   'kan   'tajiri 'sei'sei 'de.   *'Ragi*   *'de*
        in   old time   EXIS   man   INDEF   be-ANT   rich   very   EMPH   man   DEF
        'tajir,   'tajir,   'tajir   ta   'fo   'zaidi.   'Bas,   'youm 'wai,
        rich   rich   rich   GEN   highness very much   well   day   INDEF
        'uo   'ja   lo'go   bi'niya 'wai   ka'man   a'sas.
        PRON 3SING   come-Ø   meet-Ø   girl   INDEF   EMPH   beautiful.
        'Once upon a time, there was a man who was very, very rich. The man was rich, rich, rich to a very high degree. Well, one day, he met a very beautiful girl.'

Moreover, referents which are closely associated with NPs already mentioned in the discourse, such as 'part of wholes', kinship relations, body parts, etc., are supposed to be common knowledge. Relying on the permanent file and previous discourse, a hearer is assumed to be able to understand and recognize the information as uttered by the speaker. Therefore, the referent may be coded with the definite article.

(124.) 'Uo   'jo   'weledu   *nyere'ka* *'to*   'de   ta'lata.
        PRON 3SING   come-Ø   bear-Ø   child-PL PRON POSS 3SING   DEF   NUM
        'She bore her three children.'

However, it seems that elements belonging to culturally and textually shared knowledge, as discussed above, do not obligatorily require an overt use of the definite marker in Nubi. Rather, it seems that definite marking is sometimes regarded as unnecessary or superfluous, exactly because of the high thematic centrality of the element in question, which may be inferred from the pragmatic salience (frequent recurrence) of the element, the permanent file it belongs to, or from the relationship between the element and another referent, which is uniquely identifiable, as illustrated in (125.) and (126.):

(125.) 'Wakti,   'kil(a)   a'jol   gu-   'doru   ma   *'gelba* *'to*   fi   *'ida.*
        time   every   person   PROG-   walk   with   heart   PRON POSS 3SING   in   arm
        'At [that] time, everybody was walking around with his heart under his arm/ everybody was very scared.'

(126.) 'Uw(o)   'awun(u)'ita   min   'hari   ta   *'shems*.
        PRON 3SING   help-Ø   PRON 2SING   from   heat   GEN   sun
        'He helped you to avoid the heat of the sun.'

In (127.), *bi'niya 'de* is marked by the definite article, since it is pragmatically referential, ('the girl' is actually one of the main actors in the narrative), but she is suddenly referred to with the bare form *bi'niya*. 'The girl' as a definite and referential participant has been confirmed several times, and as a result, the speaker assumes that by now the hearer should be able to identify 'this specific girl', even without any overt marking. Consider also (128.):

(127.) 'Bas,   'uo   'jowzu *bi'niya* *'de*.   Ba'kan 'uo   'jowzu *bi'niya* *'de*
        well   PRON 3SING   marry-Ø girl   DEF   when   PRON 3SING   marry-Ø girl   DEF
        'y(a)   ow(o)   'so   'jowzu   ke'bir 'zaidi.
        FOC   PRON 3SING   do-Ø   wedding-Ø   big   very
        Gedi'm(u)   *bi'niya* fi   'be.
        escort-PASS-Ø   girl-Ø   in   house
        'Well, he married the girl. When he married the girl, he organized a very big wedding. The girl was escorted to [their] house. '

(128.) Ya'la   'dol'de   'amsuku 'sika (…).   *Nyere'ku ta   aw'lan* (…)
        children   DEM PROX PL   take-Ø   road(s)   child   GEN   first
        Wu   *nyere'ku*   *ta*   *ti'nin*, ka'lam 'umon   'aju (…) nyere'ku sa'kar
        and   child-Ø   GEN   second because PRON 3PL   want-Ø child   small
        'na'de   'ma.   'Kila   'youm   *'gata 'leben*,   (…)
        DEM DIS   NEG   every   day   youngest child
        'These children took [their] way/ left (…). The first child (…). And the second child, because they did not like that small child. Every day, the youngest child, (…).'

In previous discourse, the 'three children' have been mentioned several times. No definite article appears, neither with the first child, nor with the second, the relationship of the children is clear since from the previous discourse. In the Nubi community the 'youngest' or 'last-born' child is referred to as *'gata 'leben* 'cutter of the milk', since it was the last one to drink its mother's breast milk, and after weaning, may be said to cut off its mother's milk. It seems that, since the reference is common knowledge among the Nubi, the absence of the definite article with *'gata 'leben* is intelligible. (129.) is similar to (128.). The children have been discussed, as well as their father. When 'the old man' is introduced, the association father-old man is comprehensible. There is no need for *mu'ze* to be marked by the definite article.

(129.) 'Bas,   *mu'ze*   'kelem: "'Ase'de, ya'la   'tai (…)"
        well   old man   say-Ø   now   children PRON POSS 1SING
        'Well, the old man said: "Now, my children (…)".'

Traditionally, Nubi and Africans in general own a plot where they cultivate some fruit and vegetables. It can thus be inferred that the bare form *'samba* 'field' is comprehensible for all partners in the conversation. A marker would only give redundant information, as illustrated in (130.). The same applies to *'be* 'house', 'home', which seldom occurs with a marker, as in (131.):

(130.) (…),   'ina   'ja   'amrugu   'gwanda 'tena   fi   *'samba*.
        PRON 1PL   come-Ø remove-Ø   cassava PRON POSS 1PL from   field
        '(…),   we took away our cassava from the field.'

(131.) 'Marya   'de (…) bi-   'gen   'moumon   fi   *'be*   'in.
        wife   DEF   FUT-   stay   with + PRON 3PL   in   house   here
        'My wife will stay with them here at home.'

Proper names, whether names of persons, tribes, places, etc. belong to the permanent file since unique reference can be assigned to them. They may occur without any marking, as in (132.):

(132.) 'Ya   *'Nubi*   gi-   'kelem 'gal: (…)
        CONJ   NPROP   PROG-   say   that
        'Thus the Nubi say that: (…)'

Two contradictory devices determining the use of the article *'de* have emerged in Nubi. In the first one, definite and referential NPs are marked by the definite article, whereas non-referential NPs appear in their bare form. This corresponds to the general trend in creole languages as claimed by Givón (1984) and Bickerton (1981). In the second device, however, it is possible for definite, referential NPs to appear without any overt marking, exactly because of their thematic centrality[77].

3.3.1.1.3. Bare nouns

As we have seen in the introduction to this section (3.3.1.1.), Givón (1984) proposed a three-way division between DEF NPs, INDEF REF NPs, and NON-REF NPs, which are marked by the definite article, the indefinite article, and a bare noun respectively. From Givón's considerations and from our analysis of the indefinite article, it can be inferred that pragmatic referentiality is rather a scaled phenomenon, and that referential and non-referential should not be viewed as two opposing poles, but rather as elements on a continuum. The group of non-referential NPs therefore includes those NPs which the speaker judges as having no or little thematic importance, as in (133.) and (134.):

(133.) 'Fara   'de,   'mana   'to   je   *'hafla*   *ke'bir.*
        feast   DEF   meaning PRON POSS 3SING   like   party   big
        'The feast, its meaning is that it is like a big party.'

(134.) 'Kila   a'zol   ke'd(e) 'amsuku *'sika.*
        every   person   SUBJ   take-Ø   road
        'Let everybody take the road/ leave.'

According to Mufwene (1981, 1986c) (see also Bruyn 1995: 50-51), the distinction individuation vs. non-individuation may play a role in the article use. The notion of (non-) individuation corresponds to the distinction count vs. mass. The latter should be regarded as a lexical feature. Individuation, however, is related to the usage of a noun in a certain context, and not to the noun itself. Therefore individuation should not be perceived as a clearly distinguished feature, but should be seen on a scale going from INDIV SING to INDIV PL to NON INDIV. Languages then vary with respect to the morpho-syntactic marking of the different steps of the scale (see Bruyn 1995: 262; Bruyn 1995: 50, 84). Only individuated NPs take articles and plural marking, as shown in (135.):

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[77] In a limited number of instances, the definite article occurs in contexts (a) where a bare noun would be expected, since new non-recurrent information is introduced, or (b) where the indefinite article would be more appropriate, since new recurrent information is given. Both 'chicken' and 'sesame' are commonly used ingredients for meals in general, and for special meals, such as festivities, in particular. Therefore, it is possible that both items should be regarded as belonging to the culturally shared knowledge of the Nubi, or even the group of East Africans, which explains the use of the definite article.

(a)   Gi-   raka'bu   *gi'dida*   'de,   (…)
       PROG-   cook-PASS   chicken(s)   DEF
       'The chickens are prepared.'

(b)   *'Sim-'sim*   *'de*   b(i)-   a'j(u)   aguru's(u)   'uw.
       Sesame   DEF   FUT-   need-PASS   nibble-PASS   PRON 3SING
       'The sesame will be needed to be nibbled.'

(135.) 'Ya   'jó   wele'du   ya'la   'de   'in,   (…)
        CONJ   come-PASS-Ø   bear-PASS-Ø child-PLDEF   here
        'Thus the children were born here, (…).'

Non-individuated NPs do not, as illustrated in (136.), (137.), and (138.):

(136.) 'An(a)   'arij(a) 'abidu 'kidima ta   tu'jar   ta   'túndá tolo'bun,
        PRON 1SING   return-Ø begin-Ø work   GEN   salesman   GEN   sell-INF (red) millet
        'túndá ga'ya,   'túndá 'sim-'sim,   (…)
        sell-INF millet sell-INF sesame
        'I began again the work of salesman of selling (red) millet, selling millet, selling sesame, (…).'

(137.) *Lo'bu*   'g(i)-   afuku.
        wind   PROG-   blow
        '(The) wind is blowing.'

(138.) 'Umon   (…)   gi-   'jib   *'sela*   *'toumon*.
        PRON 3PL   PROG-   bring   goods   PRON POSS 3PL
        'Umon   kan   'jib   *'sela*,   'yala   (…).
        PRON 3PL   if   bring-Ø goods   well
        'Sela *'de*   gi-   ji'bu   ka'man mo   lun'gara.
        goods   DEF   PROG-   bring-PASS   also   with drum(s)
        'They (…) are bringing their goods. If they bring goods, well (…). The goods are brought as well
        with drum-beating.'

In (138.), in the first sentence, the goods to be brought in for the dowry by the bridegroom's family are
introduced as 'their goods'. In the second sentence, a remark about 'goods' in general at 'weddings' in
general is expressed. *'sela* is plural, and refers to a type, rather than to a specific entity, and thus appears
without any definite/indefinite marking. In the third sentence, the NP is marked by the definite article
'de, which may be explained by its reference to the 'goods' brought in by the family, thus a specific
entity. It is thus possible that Nubi pragmatically referential NPs occur without the indefinite article
when the NP scores high on the scale of non-individuation, as illustrated in (139.) and (140.):

(139.) 'Fi   *'mali*   a'li   'tai.
        EXIS   wealth   REL   PRON POSS 1SING
        'There is wealth which is mine.'

(140.) Fi   Za'ire   'na   'kan   *'kidima* al   'ino   gu-   'so, …
        in   NPROP   there   ANT   work   REL   PRON 1PL   PROG- do
        'ino   gu-   'tunda fu   'su.
        PRON 1PL   PROG-   sell   in   market
        'In Zaire there, the work which we were doing, was …, we were selling on the market.'

Let us now look again at (117.). This sentence is taken from an explanation of a Nubi proverb, in which
a'jol 'person' does not especially refer to an individual. The speaker could as well have used *a'nas*
'people'. Because of the general aspect of the explanation of a proverb, which actually deals with a
fictive situation, the sense of (non)-individuation may have prevailed over the aspect of pragmatic
referentiality.

    Above we have discussed that in certain contexts, such as non-individuated ones, the bare form
may occur instead of the indefinite article *'wai* (see (117.), (139.) and (140.)). Just as the bare form can
replace the indefinite article, it can take the place of the definite article. The bare form may also occur
in contexts where at first sight, according to the definitions of referentiality and definiteness, we would
expect the NP to be marked by the definite article. Above, we have seen that definiteness stands for
common knowledge, or at least presumably common knowledge, for both speaker and hearer, either by
its previous occurrence in the conversation, by its deictic availability to the elements in the
conversation, or since it belongs to the permanent file. If the speaker assumes that the item he wishes to

mention in discourse is known to the hearer because of the above mentioned reasons, he may use the definite article. It seems, however, that some mutual information is regarded as basic to such an extent that no marking is required, as illustrated in (141.):

(141.)   'Ró   cha'p(a)   ana   la'saya *fi*   *ka'liya.*
         go-PASS-Ø   beat-PASS-Ø   PRON 1SING   stick   on   buttocks.
         'I was beaten with a stick on the (my) buttocks.'

The use of the bare noun in Nubi is therefore somewhat different from the uses claimed by Bickerton (1981) and Givón (1984), who argue that the bare noun in creole languages is marked by a zero-article which is opposed to the definite and indefinite articles. Bruyn (1995), however, contends that the bare noun in Sranan should not be understood as a unified category marking non-referentiality, non-specificity or non-individuation, but rather as neutral with respect to these notions. She derives this neutrality from the fact that bare forms in Sranan do not only appear in cases where zero-marking is expected to occur, but also in contexts where the appearance of the indefinite or definite article is anticipated. Bruyn infers this from the fact that neither the indefinite article *wan* in Sranan, derived from the English numeral 'one', nor the definite article *da*, which derives from the Sranan demonstrative *dati*, in turn derived from the English demonstrative 'that', have already been established entirely as determiners. Rather, the above mentioned developments are not yet completed, according to Bruyn, which may account for their variable usage in Sranan. Since the bare noun in Nubi can be used as an alternative for both the indefinite and the definite article, Bruyn's theory on the neutrality of the bare noun in Sranan may be generalized to Nubi as well.

3.3.1.2. Demonstratives

The variable usage of bare forms, indefinite and definite articles in Nubi shows that the Nubi article system has not yet become fixed. There are two points here which are relevant to the discussion on demonstratives. Firstly, *'de* has not yet been established fully as a definite article, since it may be replaced by the bare noun. Secondly, *'de* functions also as a demonstrative, although infrequently. It is very likely that the definite article *'de* developed diachronically from a demonstrative (see also 7.4.3.1.). However, although *'de*'s main function gradually shifts from demonstrative to definite article, its deictic meaning, denoting proximity, has not faded completely [78], as illustrated in (142.):

(142.)   'Ter   'de   kan   'b(i)- arija   'ja   'gai
         bird   DEF   if   FUT-   return   come-Ø   sit-Ø
         fi   'ras   ta   nyere'ku   *'de,*   (…)
         in   head   GEN   child   DEM PROX
         'If the bird will come back and sit on the head of this child, (…).'

Since *'de* has gradually lost its deictic value, while taking on the function of definite article, alternative demonstratives have become necessary in Nubi. A new demonstrative system thus emerges.

Form: The core element of the Nubi demonstrative is *'de*. The plural is marked by *'dol*. The distal aspect is marked by the addition of the adverb *'na* 'there'. Only the singular proximal demonstrative makes a division between attributive or predicative use.

	PROX	DIS
SING	*(ṵ)we'de* (ATTR) / (*u)'wede* (PRED)	*'na'de*
PL	*'dol'de*	*'na'de, 'na 'dol'de*

table 16: Demonstratives in Nubi

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[78] Owens (1977: 51) mentions both *'de* and *'uwede* as proximal demonstratives in Kenyan Nubi. He adds that *'de* is sometimes also used for plural.

The singular proximal demonstrative is the pair *'uwe'de* (for attributive demonstratives) and *u'wede* (for stand-alone constituents); or it is *'de* for both:

(143.)   'An(a)   'alim   ru'tan   'de   ma   'álím.
         PRON 1SING   learn-Ø language   DEM PROX   with   learn-INF
         'I learned this language with learning.'

(144.)   *'De*   'ya   ka'lam   (…)
         DEM PROX   FOC   matter
         'This is the matter (…)'

'uwe'de and *u'wede* are composed of the third person pronoun *'uo* followed by *'de*. *'uo 'de* is interpreted as one form and has been subjected to some minor phonological changes (fronting of the back vowel /o/) to become realized as *'uwe'de*.

(145.)   'rag(i) *'uwe'de* 'this man'
         ba'kan *'uwe'de* 'this place'

The independent demonstrative has been subjected to a shift of stress to the penultimate syllable to become *u'wede* [79], as in (146.):

(146.)   *U'wede*   'ya   'ase'de   'taki.
          DEM PROX   FOC   now   PRON POSS 2SING
         'This is now yours.'

In allegro forms, the first vowel *u-* tends to be dropped. Consequently, the attributive and the independent demonstrative are realized as *we'de* and *'wede* respectively [80].

(147.)   ka'lam *we'de* 'this problem'

(148.)   *'Wede*   'ya   'dabara?
         DEM PROX   FOC   wound
         'Is this a wound?'

The plural proximal demonstrative is *'dol'de*. *'dol* is the marker of plurality, while *'de* has deictic value.

(149.)   *'dol'de*   a'nas   al   'endi   'ilim
         DEM PROX PL   people   REL   have-Ø   knowledge
         'these are people who have knowledge'

(150.)   ya'la   ti'nin   *'dol'de*
         children NUM   DEM PROX PL
         'these two children'

The distal demonstrative consists of the deictic adverb *'na* 'there' + *'de*. The plural form *'na 'dol'de*, containing the marker for plurality *'dol*, does not occur frequently, although several Nubi informants

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[79] In two instances uttered by the same speaker, *u'wede* occurred attributively: *mistake u'wede* 'this mistake' and *min 'youm u'wede* 'from this day'.

[80] Occasionally, *we'de* is used in the southern variety of Ugandan Nubi as a stand-alone constituent. It hardly ever occurs in the North.

       'K(e)   'an   'amrugu   'fogo   *we'de*
       SUBJ   PRON 1SING   remove-Ø   from it   DEM PROX
       'Let me remove this from it.'

On the other hand, *'wede* occurs as an attributive demonstrative in a very limited number of instances in the northern part of the country.

       min   'youm   *'wede*
       PREP   day   DEM PROX
       'from this day'

say it is the correct plural form. Most commonly, *'na'de* stands for both the singular and plural distal demonstrative.

(151.)   *'Na'de*   'mutu   'bedir   'de .
        DEM DIS   die-Ø   early   EMPH
        'That one died early.'

(152.)   Wu   *'yal*   *'toumon*   *'na'de*   'kul   'dom   ta   Su'dan.
        and   child-PL PRON POSS 3PL   DEM DIS PL   all   blood   GEN   NPROP
        'And those children of them are all Sudanese blood/ have all Sudanese blood.'

(153.)   'bele   ta   'Arab   wa'din   *na 'dol'de*
        country(ies)   GEN   Arabic   others   DEM DIS PL
        'those other Arabic countries'

       The particle *'de*, which has the same form as the demonstrative and the definite article *'de*, is optionally attached to the demonstrative pronoun, to convey a certain emphasis. I will call it an emphasizer (EMPH). With singular proximal demonstratives, it is added to the reduced form *we'de / 'wede*. Both the attributive and the independent demonstratives become realized as *(u)'wede'de*. This implies that the syllable preceding the penultimate syllable and the last syllable of the attributive demonstrative receive the stress at the expense of the first and the penultimate syllables. The emphasizer *'de* may also be joined to the plural proximal demonstrative and the distal demonstrative, as illustrated in (154.), (155.) and (156.):

(154.)   bi'niya *'wede'de*   'this girl'
        ma'hal   *u'wede'de*   'this place'
        soko'lin *'dolde'de*   'these things'
        ak'wana *'nade'de*   'those friends'

(155.)   'Ino   'ke   'jowju   'nouo   *'wede'de.*
        PRON 1PL   SUBJ   marry   to + PRON 3SING   DEM PROX
        'Let us marry this (girl) to him.'

(156.)   *'Nade'de*   'raha.
        DEM DIS   peace
        'That is peace.'

The addition of emphasizing *'de* occurs more frequently in the northern variety of Ugandan Nubi than in the southern variety. The insertion of the emphasizer *'de* is optional, but often its occurrence increases as the demonstrative recurs more often in one sentence, or a group of sentences, as in (157.):

(157.)   (…)   'itokum   'b(i)-   arija   'kun   mo   fu'rai   al   kan
             PRON 2PL   FUT-   return   be-Ø   with   happiness   REL   if
        ji'b(u)   akili   ma   la'siya   *'de*   'mara 'wai
        bring-PASS-Ø   food   for   afternoon   DEM PROX   at once
        ma   fi 'lel   *'wede'de.*
        for   night   DEM PROX
        (…)   a'nas   'gu-   rwa   fi   'amsuk(u)   'akili
             people   PROG-   go   in   take-GER   food
        ma   fi 'lel   *we'de*   min   ji'yan.
        for   night   DEM PROX   from   hunger
        'You (PL) will again be happy if food is brought for this afternoon, [and] at once for tonight. (…) people are going to take food for tonight from hunger.'

       A personal pronoun is optionally added to demonstratives: *'uo* for singular demonstratives, and *'umon* for plural ones. The personal pronoun is used for both animate and inanimate NPs. The singular form occurs infrequently.

(158.) Wu   *'asker 'uo we'de*,   'uo   'ya   (…).
        and   guard DEM PROX   PRON 3SING   FOC
        'And this guard, he was the one who (…)'

(159.) ba'kan *'uo 'na'de* 'that place'

Northern Nubi speakers always attach the plural personal pronoun to the proximal demonstrative *'dol'de*, while in the southern variety, only few tokens of *'umon 'dol'de* were recorded. On the other hand, *'uo 'na'de* and *'umon 'na'de* are hardly ever used by speakers of the northern variety. However, they occur among the utterances of speakers from Bombo and Entebbe, among whom several resided for some time in South Sudan and in Kenya. It would be interesting to find out whether these forms are current in the two areas mentioned.

Finally, the notion of proximity, whether in time (160.) or place (161.), may be emphasized by means of the adverb *'in* 'here'. This occurs far more frequently in the northern part of Uganda than in the south.

(160.) 'Kila   'youm   min   'bedir   'na'de, (…)   soko'lin 'dol'de   'fi,
        every   day   from   previous times   DEM DIS   things   DEM PROX PL   EXIS
        la'kin   yeu'min'de   *do'lin'de*   'maf.
        but   nowadays   DEM PROX PL   EXIS NEG
        'In those previous times, these things were always there, but nowadays these/they are not.'

(161.) (…)   a'nas   al   gi-   sponsor   kala'ma   'tena
            people   REL   PROG-   sponsor   thing-PLPRON POSS 1PL
        ma   'nas   activities   'tena   *do'lin'de,*
        and   COLL   activities   PRON POSS 1PL   DEM PROX PL
        wa'din   'fi   fi   Sau'dia, wa'din   'fi   fi   'Qatar, (…)
        other-PLEXIS   in   NPROP other-PL   EXIS   in   NPROP
        '(…) the people who sponsor our things and these activities of ours, some are in Saudi Arabia, others are in Qatar, (…).'

Use: The demonstrative pronouns may occur both attributively or as stand alone constituents. The demonstrative attributive adjective stands postnominally and generally closes the noun phrase. Several demonstratives or a definite article and a demonstrative may co-occur in one NP.

(162.) ya'la   lu'far   *'dol'de*   du'ga,   du'ga,   du'ga   *'dol'de*
        children mice   DEM PROX PL   small-PL   small-PL   small-PL   DEM PROX
PL
        'these small, small, small baby mice'

(163.) Gi-   rasu'lu   ma   ma'ma   *de*   *'na'de.*
        PROG-   arrive-PASS   with   mother   DEF   DEM DIS
        'They arrived with that mother.'

All Nubi demonstratives[81] can be used both deictically and anaphorically. Demonstratives may express spatial and temporal deixis. Both types of deixis refer to the position of the speaker in his/her spatio-temporal context. The speaker points (with a gesture of his hand or (part of) his body) at a referent, whether a time referent or a referent which is locally immediately available.

(164.) 'Bambara   'toumon   'de   fi   'sikil   'bambara   *we'de.*
        stool   PRON POSS 3PL   DEF   in   manner   stool   DEM PROX
        'Their stool is like this stool.'

(165.) 'In(a)   'agder   'gusu   nyere'ku
        PRON 1PL   can-Ø   look for-Ø   child
        te   ji'ran   'tena   al   'fi   min   'fo   *na'de.*
        GEN   neighbour   PRON POSS 1PL   REL   EXIS   from   up   DEM DIS

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[81] Demonstrative adverbs and sentential particles should be excluded from this generalization.

'We can look for the child of that neighbour of ours who is from up (there).'

The attributive demonstrative plural *'umon 'dol'de* emphasizes plurality of the noun, whether animate or inanimate. Note that inanimate nouns in Nubi usually get zero-reference, which gives a rather exceptional status to NPs like those in (166.) and (167.):

(166.) fi   kala'ma   je   *'umon 'dol'de*
        in   thing-PLlike   DEM PROX PL
        'in things like these'

(167.) ma'hal   *'umon 'dol'de*
        place(s) DEM PROX PL
        'these places'

(168.) (…)   ke'd(e)   *umon 'na'de*   'liju   'motoka 'de
                  SUBJ   DEM DIS PL   push-Ø   car(s)   DEF
        '(…)   let those/them push the cars.'

'umon 'dol'de occurs nowhere in subject position. Instead, the noun phrase in question is topicalized while it is referred to in the main clause by a personal pronoun, or with zero anaphora, as in (169.):

(169.) A'nas   *'umon 'dol'de,*   'umon   li'go   govern'menti   'tan.
        people   DEM PROX PL   PRON 3PL   find-Ø   government   other
        'These people, they found another government.'

Semantics: Demonstrative pronouns, whether adjectives or stand-alone elements, can be used anaphorically, which means that they are applied to keep the hearer's attention focused on a previously mentioned item, unlike the deictic application of demonstratives by which means the speaker attempts to re-orient the hearer's attention towards a new referent. However, the meaning of demonstratives used as anaphoric pronouns approaches closely the meaning of the definite article. Conversely, *'de*, although its basic use in present-day Nubi is that of the definite article, may still occur with demonstrative meaning. The definite article marks NPs belonging to the deictically available context, culturally shared knowledge and the preceding discourse (see 3.3.1.1.2.). Both the anaphorically used demonstratives and the definite articles refer to items which are pragmatically salient in discourse. Anaphoric demonstratives, however, diverge from definite articles in that they can only refer to items which were focused on in previous discourse, whereas definite articles can also be used with newly introduced referents, which are known to both speaker and hearer because they belong to a common culture or to the common speech situation (see also Croft 1990: 219-220). Moreover, anaphoric demonstratives emphasize the pragmatic importance of the referent for the subsequent discourse unlike the article which marks less important items (see also Givón 1990: 749, 751-752). In (170.), the pragmatic salience of *'jua / 'be* 'house' is gradually advanced. The indefinite article *'wai* represents the new information, which is confirmed by means of the definite article *'de*. Subsequently, the demonstrative *'na'de* stresses its increasing importance in the ongoing discourse.

(170.) 'It(a)   'ain   du'kan   gi-   'tala   fi   'ras   'jua   'wai,   (…)
        PRON 2SING   see-Ø   smoke   PROG-   leave   in   head   house   INDEF
        'It(a)   'ain   du'kan   gi-   'tala   fi   'rasu   'jua   'de.   (…)
        PRON 2SING   see-Ø   smoke   PROG-   leave   in   head   house   DEF
        'Ita   'gal: "'ma!"   Ke'd(e)   'uo   'rua   fi   'be   *'na'de.*
        PRON 2SING   say-Ø   no   SUBJ   PRON 3SING   go-Ø   in   house   DEM DIS
        'You see smoke coming out of the roof of a house, (…). You see smoke coming out of the roof of the house. (…) You say: "No!". He should go to that/the house.'

The anaphoric demonstrative thus strongly retains the focus on a previously mentioned item. This implies that the deictic context of the anaphoric demonstrative is found in the text itself. The spatial and/or temporal characteristics of the referent are emphasized in relation to the spatio-temporal framework of the text by means of the demonstrative. The deictic and anaphoric demonstrative should,

therefore, not be opposed to each other. The values of the Nubi anaphoric demonstrative should be seen on a gliding scale, from high to low deictic value (see also Ehlich 1982). For the latter, the deictic value has almost entirely been neutralized, which, however, does not diminish the referential function of the anaphoric demonstrative. In these cases, the meaning of the Nubi demonstrative approaches the meaning of the Nubi definite article, and can be translated as such.

(171.) (…) 'ita   'ya   gi-   'ja   ma   la'kata bu'kuru,
               PRON 2SING   FOC   PROG-   come   with   wood   incense
        'ita   'ya   gi-   'gata   'na,   'yala,   'lata   du'kan *we'de*.
        PRON 2SING   FOC   PROG-   cut   there   well   wood   smoke   DEM PROX
        'Ya   'lata   du'kan 'de   gi-   'faga-fa'ga   'na, (…)
        CONJ   wood   smoke   DEF   PROG-   split-REDUP-PASS   there
        '(…) it is you who is coming with aromatic wood, it is you who is cutting it there, well, the/this aromatic wood. Thus the aromatic wood is cut into small splinters there, (…).'

(172.) Wu   ta   ti'nen 'de   ka'man fu   'ras   ta   ke'ni
        and   GEN   NUM   DEF   also   in   head   GEN   co-wife
        ma   nyere'ka   ta   'ragi   'to.
        with   child-PL   GEN   husband PRON POSS 3SING
        Ka'man 'ragi   *'nade'de*,   (…).
        also   husband DEM DIS
        'And the second [story] is also on a co-wife and the children of her husband. Also the husband, (…).'

Not only the distal demonstrative, but also the proximal demonstrative is used in this sense. This contradicts the assumption of Harris (1980: 78) that it is the remote member within a demonstrative system which serves as the unmarked form, and thus as the marker for definiteness [82]. It seems that in present-day Nubi, both the distal and proximal demonstratives may be stripped of their deictic value and function as definite articles.

(173.) 'Sente   gi-   ku'bu   ba'kan 'de   'te   te   ben'dera.
        money   PROG-   throw-PASS   place   DEM PROX   under   GEN   flag
        'Mirsidi   'ya   gi-   'sulu   'sente   *we'de*.   'Uo   gi-   'sul
        spiritual guide   FOC   PROG-   take   money   DEM PROX   PRON 3SING   PROG-   take
        'to.   'Uo   gu-   'kutu   fi   'jeba.
        PRON POSS 3SING   PRON 3SING   PROG-   put   in   pocket
        'Money is thrown here under the flag. It is the spiritual guide who takes the/this money. He takes his [share]. He puts it in [his] pocket.'

Nor does the Nubi demonstrative system support Harris' (1980) claim that the remote demonstrative, the anaphoric pronoun, the third person pronoun and the definite article are linked to one another in that both the Nubi proximal and distal demonstratives can be used as pronouns [83].

(174.) Fi   'ja   'toumon,   'umon   'ja
        in   come-GER   PRON POSS 3PL   PRON 3PL   come-Ø
        ma   'nas   'Salim 'Bey -   *'wede*   'ya   'kan   ke'bir 'toumon (…).
        with   COLL   Salim Bey   DEM PROX   FOC   ANT   leader PRON POSS 3PL
        'In their coming, they came with Salim Bey and his men - he was their leader (…).'

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[82] See also Givón (1984: 419) who comes to the same conclusion through a different reasoning. In his theory, it is the deictic meaning of the demonstratives that leads to the relation between the proximal and distal demonstratives and the indefinite and definite articles respectively.

[83] A special use of the proximal and distal demonstratives as pronouns is their use as 'the one' and 'the other'.
        A'nas   'g(i)-   akulu   'diet   to   ba'rau-ba'rau.   *'Wede*   'jibu
        people PROG-   eat   diet   GEN   difference-REDUP   DEM PROX   bring-Ø
        ko'rofo. *'Na'de*   'jibu   maran'ga.   *'Na'de*   'jibu   su'nu?
        leave(s) DEM DIS   bring   bean(s)   DEM DIS   bring-Ø what?
        'The people were eating different diets. This one brought leaves. That one/ the other one brought beans. What did that one/the other one bring?'

Nubi may thus use the proximal demonstrative as a device to bring the speech situation and the text closer to each other, whether in view of time or place. The speaker in a sense cuts the narrated event out of its original spatio-temporal context and, by means of the proximal demonstrative, brings it right in front of the hearer so that the event described becomes more vivid for the latter. Frequently, the use of the proximal demonstrative in this sense goes together with the use of the progressive marker *gi-*, which denotes duration, habit or repetition, as illustrated in (175.):

(175.) 'Ase,   'Nubi   'namba   ti'nin,   ba'kan   'umon   gi-   'ja,   'fi   a'nas   al
        now   Nubi   number   NUM   when   PRON 3PL   PROG-   come   EXIS   people   REL
        'umon   gi-   lo'go,   'umon   gu-   'sul   je   la'bi
        PRON 3PL   PROG-   find   PRON 3PL   PROG-   take   like   servant-PL
        'toumon. (…)   'Ya   'umon   'ja   mo   a'nas   *'umon   'dol'de.*
        PRON POSS 3PL   CONJ   PRON 3PL   come-Ø   with   people   DEM PROX PL
        'Now, the Nubi of the second type, when they came, there were people whom they found,
        they took them as their servants. (…) Thus they came with these people.'

3.3.1.3. Non-referring 'any'

'any' is expressed with *'ayi / 'aya, 'sambala* or more commonly with Swahili *yo'yote,* e.g. *'aya 'zaman* 'any time', *ru'jal 'sambala* 'any men', *'sa yo'yote'* 'any time'. Note that *'aya* precedes the noun, while *'sambala* and *yo'yote* follow it.

3.3.2. Adjectives and adjective phrases

Adjectives specify some property of the head noun of the phrase. Adjectives may have a predicating or a modifying function, when part of the noun phrase. Many are also used adverbially, as shown in (176.):

(176.) 'Ina   gi-   'ish   'moumon   *'kweis.*
        PRON 1PL   PROG-   live   with + PRON 3PL   good-ADV
        Ka'man 'umon   'aju   'badu   'mena   ma   'namna   *'kweis*
        also   PRON 3PL   like-Ø   RECIP   with + PRON 1PL   with   way   good-ADJ
        'We are living well with them. Also we like each other in a good way.'

All Nubi adjectives can appear as nouns, as illustrated in (177.):

(177.)   mo *'kweis* 'with goodness'

3.3.2.1. Gender and number

Form: Nubi adjectives are not marked for gender, but they may be marked for number in the following ways:

* suppletion:

(178.)   *sa'kar* 'small' *- du'ga/ duga'ga*

* ablaut:

(179.)   *ke'bir* 'big' *- ku'bar*
         to'wil 'long' *- tu'wal*

* addition of a suffix. The word stress is shifted towards the suffix:

         -'in:

(180.)   *a'sas* 'beatiful' *- asa'sin*
         je'did 'new' *- jedi'din*

- *'ya:*

(181.)   *a'jusi* 'old' *- ajusi'ya*

- *'iya:*

(182.)   *fi'lan* 'certain' *- fila'niya*

* with a combination of two of the above-mentioned ways:

(183.)   *ke'bir* 'big' *- kuba'rin*
          sa'kar 'small' *- duga'gin*

Some adjectives may be marked for plurality in more than one way, as illustrated in (184.):

(184.)   *sa'kar* 'small *- saka'rin / du'ga / duga'ga / duga'gin*
          mis'kin 'poor' *- miski'nin / masa'kin*

Other adjectives, such as *'muru* 'bitter, *'aswe* 'black', have no overt plural form.

Use: Adjectives optionally receive plural marking, whether in predicate or modifying position. Adjectives expressing properties of human beings/animates are more frequently marked for number than others.

(185.)   a'nas   al   awi'rin
          people   REL   stupid-PL
          'people who are stupid'

(186.)   'Ina,   ka'lam   'kan   du'ga (…).
          PRON 1PL   because be-ANT   small-PL
          'We, because we were small, (…).'

(187.)   'sin   'to   kubar'in 'na'de
          tooth-PL   PRON POSS 3SING   big-PL   DEM DIS PL
          'those big teeth of him'

3.3.2.2. Restrictive and non-restrictive adjectives

Nubi adjectives often modify the noun in a kind of relative clause construction. Thus besides *'ragi ke'bir*, we often find *'ragi al ke'bir*, where the noun *'ragi* 'man' and the adjective *ke'bir* 'big' are linked with relative marker which can be *'ali, a'li, al, 'abu, a'bu,* or *ab* (see 3.3.7. below). The distinction between both phrases (*'ragi ke'bir* and *'ragi al ke'bir*) is related to the distinction between non-restrictive and restrictive modifiers respectively. Givón (1990: 473) explains this distinction as follows:

> "Restrictive modifiers *restrict the domain* of the noun in terms of specific identification. They thus have the potential of being **contrastive**. Non-restrictive modifiers, on the other hand, tend to supply information that is *habitually known* as part of the normal characterization of the individual in question. They thus have the potential of forming a **compound lexical noun** together with their head noun."

Thus consider (188.) and (189.):

(188.)   'Ana   ka'man 'fu   *a'jol*   *ke'bir*.
          PRON 1SING   EMPH   EXIS   person   old
          'I am an old man.'

(189.) 'Mana   'to,   *a'nas*   *ab*   *ku'bar*,   'umon   'shinda.
        meaning PRON POSS 3SING   people   REL   old-PL   PRON 3PL   win-Ø
        'Its meaning is (that) people who are old/old people, they win.'

In (188.), *ke'bir* refers to an habitual, generic quality of the speaker. In (189.), the quality of 'being old' is used contrastively, to differentiate the group of people who exhibit this quality from those who do not. An NP marked by a restrictive adjective often refers to a generic nominal, e.g. a good man/ good men, which is different from a generic quality of a nominal, e.g. the man whose habit it is to be good. In those cases, it is not marked by an article or demonstrative. It appears, however, that once specific identification has been marked by means of the relative marker, it is not compulsory anymore. Consider (190.):

(190.) (…)   'ya   *a'jol*   *ab*   *sa'kar*   ke'de   'ma   'alis(i)   *a'jol*   *ab*   *ke'bir*.
               CONJ   person   GEN   young   SUBJ   NEG   insult-Ø   person   GEN   old
        'Fi   kala'ma   al   *a'jol*   *ke'bir*   'arufu,   a'li   *a'jol*   *sa'kar*   'arufu   'ma.
        EXIS   thing-PLREL   person   old   know-Ø   REL   person young   know-Ø   NEG
        '(…) thus a young person should not insult an old person. There are things which an old person knows, (and) which a young person does not know.'

The head noun of the restrictive relative clause can be deleted. In those cases, either the head noun stands for a person (191.), or it hints at a referent mentioned in the ongoing discourse (192.):

(191.) Ab   a'wiri   b(i)-   ali'mu.
        REL   stupid   FUT-   teach-PASS-Ø
        'The stupid one will be taught.'

(192.) Al   duga'gin   'de   mi'lan   bi'mara.
        REL   small-PL   DEF   many   very
        'The small ones were many./ There were many small ones. (boats)'

There are adjectives in Nubi which hardly ever occur non-restrictively when in modifying position. It seems that the properties they refer to are so extreme, generally in a bad sense, that they can only be mentioned as opposed to the normal qualities, which are supposedly good.

(193.) *kisi'lan* 'lazy'
        kara'ban 'ugly'
        siji'man 'ugly'
        ha'gar 'mean'
        a'wir 'stupid'

Therefore, this class of adjectives mainly occurs with marking by the relative particle:

(194.) *'marya al kara'ban* 'a woman who is ugly', 'an ugly woman'
        a'jol ab ha'gar 'a person who is mean', 'a mean person'
        a'jol ab a'wiri 'a person who is stupid', 'a stupid person'

In predicate position, however, the adjective is not preceded by the relative particle:

(195.) Bi'niya   'de   *kisi'lan,*   bi'niya   'de   *ha'gari.*
        girl   DEF   lazy   girl   DEF   mean
        'The girl is lazy, the girl is mean.'

3.3.2.3. *Verbal adjectives*

Certain concepts in Nubi, especially those concerning human mental and physical characteristics, are lexicalized as verbs. They refer to non-permanent qualities. When used as a predicate, they may take verbal morphology, and thus resemble stative verbs. These are:

(196.) *ja'lan* '(be) angry'

> *fu'rai* '(be) happy'
> *a'yan* '(be) sick'
> *sa'ban* '(be) satisfied'
> *hara'gan* '(be) sweaty, sweat'
> *ta'ban* '(be) unwell, annoyed'
> *fata'ran* '(be) tired'
> *'abis* '(be) dry'
> *'zalim* '(be) unfair'
> *'bari* '(be) cold'
> *'hari* '(be) warm'
> *'seme* '(be) good'
> *'hilu* '(be) sweet'

When marked by progressive *gi-* (see 4.2.1.1.)*,* the verbal adjective takes the meaning of an inchoative: becoming tired, sweaty, sick, etc, as in (197.):

(197.)	Ak'wana	wa'din	'de	'dukur	gi-	ja'lan.
	relative-PL	other-PLDEF	then	PROG-	be angry	

'The other relatives then are becoming angry.'

Without any marking, the verbal adjective denotes a state, as in (198.):

(198.)	Kan	'ita	'seb	bu'ja	'de	'abis, (…).
	if	PRON 2SING	leave-Ø	saliva	DEF	be dry-Ø

'If you leave the saliva (to be) dry, (…).'

These adjectives, in their bare form, can also take plural marking, as illustrated in (199.). Plural marking is a characteristic of nouns and adjectives. Therefore, these adjectives cannot be considered true verbs.

(199.)	'Umon,	a'nas	al	'zalim	ka'man (…)
	PRON 3PL	people	REL	be unfair-Ø	also
	'Umon	'kulu	*zali'min.*		
	PRON 3PL	all	unfair-PL		

'They, the people who are also unfair (…). They are all unfair.'

These adjectives, when in modifying position, are mainly used in a relative phrase with the marker *a'li/ al/ a'bu/ ab.* In predicate position, however, they appear as such.

(200.)	'Uo	'sulu	m'kate	'to	al	'abis-'abis
	PRON 3SING	take-Ø	bread	PRON POSS 3SING	REL	be dry-REDUP-Ø

'He took his bread which was dry.'

(201.)	a'zol	ab	ta'ban
	person	REL	annoyed

'someone who is annoyed'

3.3.2.4. Comparison

Equality is expressed by the prepositions *ja/je* 'like' or *'sawa(-'sawa) ma* 'the same as' [84], as illustrated in (202.) and (203.):

(202.)	'Lon	'to	'mus	gi-	'ben	*je*	'lon	'taki.
	face	PRON POSS 3SING	EMPH	PROG-	look	like	face	PRON POSS 2SING

'His face looks like your face, isn't it?!'

(203.)	A'jol	ta	'sana	kam'sin,	'uo	'ma	*'sawa*
	person	GEN	year(s)	NUM	PRON 3SING	NEG	same

---

[84] Single *'sawa* means 'together'.

> *ma*   a'jol   ta   'sana   taman'tashar.
> with   person   GEN   year(s)   NUM
> 'Someone of fifty years, he is not like someone of eighteen years.'

The English adjective 'same' is translated in Nubi by *'wai-'wai, 'sawa-'sawa,* or *'wai 'sawa.*

(204.) Fa'rash 'de   'bes   gu-   we'ri   ba'kan   'wai-'wai'de.
        horse   DEF   EMPH   PROG-   show   place   same   DEF
        'The horse is showing the same place.'

No morphological comparatives or superlatives exist in Nubi, except for *a'ker* 'better' and *'aksen* 'better' which are both suppletive comparative forms for *'kweis* 'good'. The standard or item with which the subject of the clause is compared, is introduced by the preposition *min*:

(205.) 'Uo   'aksen   min   a'jol   ta   sa'tara.
        PRON 3SING   better   than   person   GEN   dominance
        'He is better than a person of dominance/a dominant person.'

a'ker ke'de is often used in an impersonal clause 'it is better that… '.

(206.) A'ker   ke'd(e)   'uo   'mutu   'na
        it is better   SUBJ   PRON 3SING   die-Ø   there
        min   'uo   'ja   'kelem (…).
        than   PRON 3SING   come-Ø   say-Ø
        'It is better that he dies there than that he comes to say (…)'

Comparison is expressed mainly by means of the preposition *'futu* derived from the verb *'futu* 'pass' (207.), and infrequently by means of the preposition *min* (208.). The quality which is compared may be expressed by an adjective/verbal adjective, quantifier or noun and is often followed by a non-numeral quantifier, or an adverb of degree.

(207.) 'Bei   ta   lese'ri   'hari   *'futu*   'bei   ta   'gwanda.
        price   GEN   maize   high   in comparison with   price   GEN   cassava
        'The price of maize is high in comparison with the price of cassava.'

(208.) 'Ina   'fi   fi   'raha   'sia   *min*
        PRON 1PL   EXIS   in   comfort   bit   in comparison with
        al   'kan   ta   'wara   'na.
        REL   be-ANT   GEN   back   there
        'We are (living) a little bit comfortably in comparison with what was there in the past.'

One alternative is a clause with the verb *'futu/'s(h)inda* 'surpass': 'X (sur)passes Y, regarding quality Z'. Consider (209.) in which a chicken boasts to an elephant about her ability to eat a lot.

(209.) (…)   Kan   fi   'safa   ta   'akili,   'ana   'g(i)-   akulu   'akili
               if   in   side   GEN   food   PRON 1SING   PROG-   eat   food

        al   gi-   'futu   'taki.
        REL   PROG- surpass PRON POSS 2SING

        'If concerning food, I am eating [an amount of] food which surpasses yours.'

(210.) (…)   'umon   'arufu   Li'fili   bi-   'sinda Gi'dida fu   'ákúlu.
               PRON 3PL   know-Ø   ElephantFUT-   surpass Chicken in   eat-INF

        '(…)   they knew that Elephant would surpass Chicken in eating.'

Another alternative is the very simple construction: 'this thing is big, and that one is not big/is small'. Consider (211.) where the speaker introduces two brothers:

(211.) 'Wai   'ya   ke'bir,   'tan   'ya   sa'kar.
        NUM   FOC   big   other   FOC   small
        'One is big, the other one is small.'

Qualities are emphasized in relative clauses. A subgroup exhibiting this quality, may be selected from the rest of the group, that does not. In (212.) the two elder ones among three children are singled out.

(212.) nyere'ka al   kuba'rin 'de
        child-PLREL   big-PL   DEF
        'the children that are big'

As with the comparative, the superlative is not expressed in the adjective itself, but is realized with the aid of adverbs of degree following the adjective, as illustrated in (213.) and (214.):

(213.) 'bele   ke'bir   'sei-'sei 'de
        country big   very   EMPH
        'a very big country'

(214.) Ma'ish   ta   'Bombo 'kan   ba'tal   'zaidi.
        life   GEN   NPROP be-ANT   bad   very
        'Life in Bombo was very bad.'

A relative phrase may also express the meaning of a superlative, as in (215.):

(215.) 'Ana   je   ab   ke'biri (…)
        PRON 1SING   like   REL   big
        'I as the biggest one (…)'

Another possibility resembles the Shukriyya Arabic superlative *akbar wâẖid* (Reichmuth 1983: 173).

(216.) fu   'ustu   ak'wana   'taki   'de   al   ke'bir 'wai   'de
        in   middle   relative-PL   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF   REL   old   NUM   DEF
        'the eldest one among your relatives'

One of the meanings expressed by the reduplication of adjectives is that of superiority of its quality:

(217.) 'Sika   'de   'kan   ba'tal-ba'tal.
        Road(s) DEF   be-ANT   bad-REDUP
        'The roads were very bad.'

Repetition also conveys the idea of intensity.

(218.) La'ta   'ja   'hari,   'hari,   'hari   na   'Hasan.
        weather come-Ø hot   hot   hot   for   Hasan
        'It became very, very hot for Hasan.'

3.3.3. Possessive phrases

Form: Possession in Nubi is expressed by means of an analytic construction, that binds the possessee to the possessor by means of the genitive marker *ta*: POSSESSEE *ta* POSSESSOR, e.g. *'kalwa ta 'sheik Musa* 'the religious school of Sheikh Musa'. Another possibility is to juxtapose possessee and possessor, e.g. *ba'kan be'redu* 'place used for bathing', 'bathroom'. Both constructions will be discussed below. Several sequences of possessive constructions may occur, as illustrated in (219.):

(219.)	ta'biya	ta	'nas	ta	'be	'toumon
	habit(s)	GEN	people	GEN	house	PRON POSS 3PL
	'the habits of the people of their house'					

Consider a complex construction, as in (220.):

(220.)	sa'na	'tena	te	'ida
	craft(s)	PRON POSS 1PL	GEN	hand(s)
	'our handcrafts'			

Both *'tena* 'our' and *te 'ida* 'of the hands' refer to *sa'na* 'crafts', resulting in 'our crafts' and 'crafts of the hands', and combined 'our handcrafts'. The first or possessee part of the construction may be dropped if the deleted item has been mentioned in the previous discourse, as in (221.):

(221.)	(…)	'ke	it(a)	'asma	*ta*	ba'ba	'de!
		SUBJ	PRON 2SING	hear-Ø	GEN	father	DEF
	(…)	you should hear the [matter] of the father!'					

N N constructions vs. N *ta* N constructions: The factor that distinguishes noun-noun constructions and *ta*-marked constructions is not always apparent. In general, it can be said that the *ta*-marked construction marks alienable constructions, whereas noun-noun constructions express inalienable constructions. Alienable possession is associated with terminable possession, whereas inalienable possession cannot be terminated. Inalienable possession in Nubi applies to kinship terms (222.) [85], body parts (223.), some other part-whole relations (224.), and goal.

(222.)   *'marya ba'ba* 'wife of father', 'stepmother'
          a'ku ba'ba 'brother/sister of father', 'paternal uncle/aunt' [86]

(223.)   *'su 'ras* 'hair of the head'
          'batna 'ida 'inside of the hand', 'palm of the hand'
          'kab ku'ra 'heel of the foot', 'heel'

(224.)   *'ras 'jua* 'head of the house', 'roof'
          'gar 'kuta 'central part of a tray'

Many material items are produced or used for one single goal, e.g. *'guruma 'moyo* is a pot or jar meant to store water, as opposed to *'guruma 'maua* which is meant for putting plants in it. Their shapes differ, and they are used for one purpose exclusively. Their relationship with this purpose is regarded as interminable. However, the distinction terminable/interminable does not hold for all possessive constructions. For instance, an item cannot change its material. Yet within this type of possessive construction the possession constructions are marked by *ta*, as shown in (225.):

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[85] Possessive constructions in which *a'ku* 'relative', *nyere'ku* 'child', and animals are the possessed items and *yo'wele* 'boy', *bi'niya* 'girl', *'marya* 'woman', and *'ragi* 'man' are the possessors, obligatorily occur with the genitive marker which distinguishes them from NPs such as *nyere'ku bi'niya* 'girl', *'bagara 'ragi* 'bull', in which the second word serves as a gender marker.
[86] An expression such as *ma'ma 'Jenna* has a twofold meaning. In Bombo, as in Swahili, *ma'ma 'Jenna* stands for 'the mother of Jenna'. In other parts of the country, however, when using *ma'ma 'Jenna*, Nubi are talking about a woman whose name is 'Jenna'.

(225.)   *ku'baya ta 'plastic* 'cup made of plastic', 'plastic cup'
            'jua ta 'gesi 'a hut made of grass'

Terminable possessive relationships, such as typical owner-possessed relations (226.), class (227.), time (228.), and location (229.), are always expressed by means of the possessee *ta* possessor-construction.

(226.)   *'jua te ji'ran* 'the house of the neighbour'
            'shamba ta aja'ma 'de 'the field of the people'

(227.)   *ga'raya ta 'din* 'studies of the religion', 'religious studies'
            'kazi ta 'shamba 'the work of the field'

(228.)   *'zaman ta 'ase'de* 'period of now', 'nowadays'
            'sa ta do'luka 'the time of the dance'

(229.)   *'masgit ta 'Lira* 'the mosque of Lira'
            'sika ta Kampala 'the roads of Kampala'

However, the opposition definite-indefinite may intervene in possessive constructions, which apply to goal, part-whole relations, and locations where actions, expressed by means of a gerund, are usually taking place. Definiteness applies to items which have been introduced in previous discourse, which are deictically available or generally known to the hearer, because they belong to the permanent file (see also 3.3.1.1.). Alienable constructions which are indefinite, i.e. which have not yet been entered in the active discourse file, may be expressed without the genitive marker, whereas the *ta*-marked alienable construction refers to definite NPs. *ta* therefore acts more or less as a definite particle (see also Owens 1977: 57). It differs, however, from the definite article, where the notion of pragmatic salience is also taken into account. Consider (230.), where the initially mentioned *ba'kan 'jowju* refers to the location of a wedding ceremony, which is referred to in subsequent discourse: *'ba'kan ta 'jowju 'na'de* with the genitive marker and an anaphorically used demonstrative.

(230.)   (…)   'itokum   'ja   ma   ma'lim   'takum,
              PRON 2PL   come-Ø with   preacher   PRON POSS 2PL
              ma   a'nas   'takum   al   'itokum   na'di
              with   people   PRON POSS 2PL   REL   PRON 2PL   invite-Ø
              fi   *ba'kan   'jowju.*   (…)   'Ke   'ina   'kelem
              in   place   wedding   SUBJ   PRON 1PL   say-Ø
              kan   i'tom   gi-   'fi (…)   fi   *ba'kan   ta*   *'jowju*   *'na'de*, (…).
              SUBJ   PRON2PL   PROG-   EXIS   in   place   GEN   wedding   DEM DIS
              '(…) you (PL) came with your preacher, with your people whom you invited to the wedding place. (…)
              Let us say that if you (PL) were there (…) in that wedding place, (…).'

In (231.), *'jeriba 'bagara* and *'jeriba ta 'bagara* both occur, expressing 'cattle pens' in general, and the definite 'cattle pen' (which you have made) respectively.

(231.)   *'Jeriba   'bagara,* 'de   'ya   ba'kan   al   gu-   ku'tu   'fogo   'bagara.
              pen   cow(s)   DEF   FOC   place   REL   PROG-   put-PASS   in it   cow(s)
              Kan   'bagara   'fi   mi'lan   'neta,
              if   cow(s)   EXIS   many   for + PRON 2SING
              'it(a)   'adul   ba'kan   je   'de,
              PRON 2SING   prepare-Ø   place   like   DEM PROX
              'ita   'kut(u)   'umon   fi'jo   je'riba,   *'jeriba* [87] *ta*   *'bagara.*
              PRON 2SING   put-Ø   PRON 3PL   inside   pen   pen   GEN   cow(s)
              'A cattle pen, this is a place in which cows are put. If you have a lot of cows, you prepare a place like
              this, you put them inside the pen, the pen for cattle.'

---

[87] *je'riba* and *'jeriba* '(cattle) pen' co-occur in Nubi (see also 2.1.4.).

Rarely, a similar distinction is manifested with body parts, and other part-whole relations, as illustrated in (232.):

(232.) *'Zuburu hu'mar* fi'jo   'sidu.   'Mana   'to
        penis donkey inside owner   meaning   PRON POSS 3SING
        'zubur to   hu'mar 'fi   ke'bir, la'kin (…).
        penis GEN   donkey   EXIS   big   but
        'A donkey penis is inside [its] owner. The meaning of it is [that] the penis of a donkey is there [being] big, but (…)'.

Agents and patients of gerund forms are expressed in alienable-like possessive constructions with the genitive particle, as in (233.), while the patient of infinitives is related to the infinitive in a construction consisting of N N(Patient), i.e. an inalienable-like construction, as in (234.)(see 4.3.3.).

(233.) *we'ledu*   *ta*   *a'nas*   *'na'de*
        give birth-GER   GEN   people   DEM DIS PL
        'the bearing of/by those people'

(234.) 'Uo   'aba   'gum   fi   *'sídú*   *'bab.*
        PRON 3SING   refuse-Ø   get up-Ø   in   close-INF   door
        'She refused to get up to close the door.'

        Compounds: Ownership in the strict sense of the word, which means terminable ownership, is always expressed by means of the genitive marker. *'sidu 'be* 'owner of the house', and *'sidu 'kuris'* 'owner of the chair', seem to be counterexamples, apparently indicating the class of 'landlords' or 'owners of houses'. However, the meaning of the total construction is different from what both parts would suggest. *'sidu 'be'* refers to 'the one who has the authority in the household'. Similarly, *'sidu 'kuris*, without *ta*, does not apply to 'owners of chairs', but it takes the meaning of 'chairman' who presides over a meeting. *'sidu 'be'* and *'sidu 'kuris'* belong to a category of inalienable possessive constructions, or noun modifier constructions, which have yielded compounds.

        True compounds are not very common in Nubi. It is also difficult to establish whether the noun-modifier construction should still be considered an inalienable possessive construction, or whether it has evolved into a compound. An effective criterion could be the change of meaning such that the meaning of the noun modifier construction can no longer be derived directly from the fusion of the meanings of the separate entities of the construction. *ku'baya 'chai* could still be considered an inalienable possessive construction, since it is 'a cup meant for drinking tea', thus 'a teacup'. *'lam 'gaba* 'wild animals' would rather be listed among the compounds, since the literal translation 'meat of the forest' does not explain the meaning of 'animals of the forest' or 'wild animals' as opposed to domestic animals. Some other compounds of this type occurring in the text material, are given in (235.)[88]:

(235.) *gata 'leben* 'person who cuts off the milk' > 'youngest child', 'last born'
        mạrai 'ena 'mirror for the eyes' > 'glasses'
        'moyo 'ena 'water in the eye' > 'tear'
        mu'kosa ka'bila 'person who has no tribe' > 'immigrant'
        'gifir li'san 'dirt on the tongue' > 'bad language'
        'kasma 'bab 'mouth of the door' > 'doorstep'
        'kasur 'be 'breaking house' > 'compensation', 'fine for committing adultery'
        'lata 'saba 'dawn of the morning' > 'early morning'
        'gahar 'dum 'cave of blood' > 'gum'
        'labil la'ta 'rope on the floor' > 'snake'
        mar'ba < *'marya ba'ba* 'wife of the father' > 'stepmother'
        'akir 'zaman   'end of the times' > 'end of the world' [89]

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[88] Compounds are quite common in proverbs and in proverbial expressions. For instance, *'dom boro'gu* 'blood of the bedbug' refers to the English 'black sheep': a bad or worthless member of a group, whose blood smells.
[89] *'akir ta 'zaman* means 'end of a (specific) period'.

su'nun li'fil 'teeth of an elephant' > 'tusk'
'marya 'ragi 'woman of a man', 'married wife' > 'housewife'
'jua 'gesi 'hut with grass-thatched roof' > 'grass-thatched hut' [90]
'jua 'bati 'house with iron roof'
a'yan 'shar 'disease of the month' > 'menstruation'
ji'an 'be 'hunger for home' > 'homesickness' (N), 'homesick' (ADJ) [91]
sa'ba du'wan 'tomorrow in jail' > 'someone who is always in jail' [92]

Another criterion which is applicable for Nubi is that certain formerly inalienable noun noun constructions are used so often that they have become fixed in their specific meaning. As such, they can often be opposed to their *ta*-marked equivalents whose meaning differs, as illustrated in (236.):

(236.) *ba'kan 'mutu* 'place where someone died recently' >< *ba'kan ta 'mutu* 'place where people are executed'
ba'kan be'redu 'place meant for bathing', 'bathroom' ><
                ba'kan ta be'redu 'place which is occasionally used for bathing'
mu'la 'samaga 'sauce which main ingredient is fish', 'fish sauce' ><
                mu'la ta 'samaga 'sauce/food for feeding the fish'
'dar 'jua 'back of the house', 'any space at the back of the house' ><
                'dar ta 'jua 'the back wall of the house'

Considering the above, some possessive constructions remain unexplained. In (237.) there is no reason why 'sleeves of a shirt' would be treated differently from 'trouser legs'.

(237.) (…)   'ita   gi-   'somuru *'ida   ge'mis*   'taki
               PRON 2SING   PROG-   roll up arm(s)   shirt   PRON POSS 2SING
        au   *ku'ra   ta   lu'bas* 'taki.
        or   leg(s)   GEN   trouser PRON POSS 2SING
        '(…) you are rolling up the sleeves of your shirt/your sleeves or the legs of your trousers/ your trouser legs.'

I did not find many instances of plural compounds. Number is mainly indicated by external means, such as quantifiers and/or modifiers, or is understood from the context, as in (238.):

(238.) (…)   la'kin   'zaidi   *mu'kosa ka'bila*   'ya   'fi   'na.
               but   often   immigrant   FOC   EXIS   there
        '(…)   but often immigrants are there.'

Note, however, (239.):

(239.) *'jua 'bati* 'house with iron roof' - *ju'a 'bati*
        'lam 'gaba 'wild animal' - *'lam ga'ba*

In *ju'a 'bati* number is marked in the head of the compound noun. *'lam 'gaba*, however, is regarded as one noun. Consequently, its plural is marked, quite regularly, in the final syllable: *'lam ga'ba*.

---

[90] *'jua ta 'gesi* is either 'a hut which is entirely made of grass', or 'a hut which is meant to store grass'.
[91] I know of only two other instances of adjectival compounds, namely:
    ke'tir 'mesiya (ADJ+V) 'being a lot more than enough' ~ 'lavish' (ADJ)
    'stan 'chai (ADJ + N) 'thirsty for tea' (ADJ)
[92] This compound is exceptional since it is composed of an ADV + N, yielding a noun.

Modification: Some problems regarding interpretation may occur when the parts of the possessive construction are modified. In inalienable possessive constructions, the modifier comes in last position and usually refers to the head noun which occupies the left position, as in (240.), (241.), and (242.):

(240.)   ba'kan   'num   'taki
         place   sleep-GER   PRON POSS 2SING
         'your bedroom'

(241.)   ku'baya 'chai   al   'endi   'tamaga
         cup   'tea   REL   have-Ø   mark
         'a tea cup which has a mark'

(242.)   'jua   'sokol   'gaba   'dol'de
         house(s)   thing(s) forest(s) DEM PROX-PL
         'these houses of the things/animals of the forest', 'these animal holes'

In alienable possessive constructions, the pronominal possessor follows the possessee (or head noun) when modifying the possessee, as in (243.), and the possessor (or modifier noun) when modifying the possessor, as in (244.):

(243.)   ta'biya   'tena   ta   'Nubi
         custom(s)   PRON POSS 1PL   GEN   NPROP
         'our customs of the Nubi'

(244.)   fi   'dar   ta   ba'ba   'tai
         on   back   GEN   father   PRON POSS 1SING
         'on my father's back'

If the modifier in an alienable construction is other than a pronominal possessor, (an adjective, relative clause, determiner), it comes in final position, whether it modifies the possessee (or head noun) or the possessor (or modifying noun). It should be inferred from the context which of the nouns is modified. In (245.), the relative clause is related to the possessor noun, whereas in (246.) it modifies the possessee or head noun [93].

(245.)   ya'la   to   *u'ziri   al   'ase   'fi*
         child-PL GEN   minister REL   now   EXIS
         'the children of the minister who is now here/in charge'

(246.)   *'kidima* 'tai   ta   'be   'in
         work   PRON POSS 1SING   GEN   house   here
         al   'kila   'youm   'ita   gi-   'so   'de
         REL   every   day   PRON 2SING   PROG-   do   DEF
         'my work of the house here, which you are doing every day'

In (247.) the demonstrative must be determining *wa'kati* 'period, time', and not *sha'ria* 'law', since 'that law of time' is meaningless.

(247.)   sha'ria ta   *wa'kati* 'na'de
         law   GEN   time   DEM DIS
         'the law of that time'

---

[93] In the following clause, however, it is not clear whether it is the head or modifying noun, to which the subordinate clause adds information: is it 'the manner which he is with', or 'the knowledge he is with' ?
         'namna   ta   'ilim   al   'uo   'fi   'mo
         manner   GEN   knowledge   REL   PRON 3SING   EXIS   with it
         'the manner of knowledge which he is with'

In (248.) the demonstrative could be determining both the head noun and the modifying noun. However, the non-numeral quantifier *'kul* closes the phrase. It can be assumed that both modifiers refer to the same noun (although in theory it would be possible for the demonstrative *'na'de* to determine *'shamba* 'field' and *'kul* 'all' to modify *a'nas* 'people' (see also Owens 1977: 341). From the context it is clear that the speaker talks about many people from one field, and not about people from many fields. Therefore, doubtlessly *'kul* refers to *a'nas*, and most likely *'na'de* as well.

(248.) *a'nas*   ta   'shamba *'na'de*   *'kul*
        people   GEN   field   DEM DIS PL   all
        'all those people from the field'

In (249.), the demonstrative could determine both *asker'ya* 'soldiers' and *'shamba* 'field'. Neither the context nor the word order disambiguates this.

(249.) asker'ya   ta   'shamba *'na'de*
        soldier-PL   GEN   field   DEM DIS SING/ PL
        'those soldiers of the field' or 'the soldiers of that field'

From the context and from the meaning of the phrase in (250.), it can be deduced that the demonstrative *'na'de* and the definite article *'de* determine the last noun in the sequence.

(250.) ta'biya te   nyere'ku   bi'niya ta   a'ku   *'na'de*
        habit(s) GEN   child   girl   GEN   brother DEM DIS (SING/PL)

In theory, this phrase could be translated as follows:

> . 'those habits of the daughter of a (???) brother'
> . 'the habits of that daugher of a (???) brother'
> . 'the habits of the daughter of that brother'.

Only the third possibility sounds reasonable, since without any determination, it would remain obscure which brother is involved. In (251.) the adjective *sa'kar* 'small' modifies the head noun, even though head noun and genitive particle + modifying noun are separated by the emphasizer *je'de*.

(251.) 'jina   *ku'baya* je'de   ta   za'habu *sa'kar*
        smallness   cup   EMPH   GEN   gold   small
        'a small cup (filled) with gold'

3.3.4. Diminution and augmentation

In Nubi unusual sizes of nouns, such as large quantities, small size, etc. are indicated by means of nouns which are placed in front of the noun in inalienable-like expressions. By placing *'jina*[94] in front of the noun, diminution is expressed, as in (252.). The noun is often followed by an adjective conveying small size, as illustrated in (253.):

(252.) *'jina*   'meli
        smallness   boat
        'a small boat'

(253.) *'jina*   'lager   *sa'kar*
        smallness   stone   small
        'a small stone'

---

[94] *'jina* also means 'child', 'offspring', as in *'jina zi'na* 'child of sin', 'a bastard child', *'jina mes'kin* 'child of a poor man'. It is very likely that *'jina* 'smallness' is derived from *'jina* 'child'.

The non-numeral quantifier *'sia* may also convey the idea of diminution, as in (254.) and (255.):

(254.)   *'ija*   'wai   *'sia*
          fairy taleINDEF   a bit
          'a short fairy tale'

(255.)   *'jin(a)*   a'dis   'tai   *'sia*
          smallness   story   PRON POSS 1SING   a bit
          'my small story'

With plural nouns, *'yal* 'children' may be used to indicate small size, with or without the addition of *du'ga/duga'gin* 'small(PL)', as in (256.) and (257.):

(256.)   *'yal*   'gara   'dol'de
          child-PL   'pumpkin(s)   DEM PROX PL
          'these small pumpkins'

(257.)   *'yal*   'dim   *duga'gin*   'de
          child-PLlight(s) small-PL   DEF
          'the small lights'

'daya/*'dayama* is used to express the hugeness, vastness, or enormity of something. It is placed in front of the noun, which is often followed by an adjective expressing largeness or length, as illustrated in (258.) and (259.):

(258.)   *'daya*   'luguma   ke'bir
          enormity   dough paste   big
          'a large dough paste'

(259.)   'Nas   ba'ba   'de,   'itokum   'wala   *'dayama*   'nari   'de.
          COLL   father   DEF   PRON 2PL   light-Ø enormity   fire   DEF
          'The father and relatives, you (PL) are lighting the huge fire.'

Largeness and large quantities are expressed by means of *'dinya*. Unlike *'daya* and *'jina*, *'dinya* + N is infrequently followed by an adjective conveying the same quality.

(260.)   *'dinya 'sana* 'many years'
          'dinya ki'lele 'much noise'

One instance was found with *to'wil* 'long', 'length', expressing length (of time):

(261.)   *to'wil 'bala* 'long attention'

And one instance with *'tor*, apparently expressing largeness. *'tor* usually means 'bull', a large animal, which may have led to its use in this context.

(262.)   *'tor*   'lager   *ke'bir*
          bigness   stone   big
          'a big stone'

The adjectives following the noun, which actually convey the same meaning as the diminutive/augmentative noun in front of the noun, may add to the quality or quantity expressed. Augmentation and diminuation may also be indicated by means of non-numeral quantifiers.

3.3.5. Non-numeral quantifiers

In Nubi, the class of non-numeral quantifiers is small and includes:

(263.)   *mi'lan* 'many', 'a lot of'
        ke'tir 'many', 'a lot of'
        'sia [95] 'few', 'some'
        'kulu [96] 'all of'
        'kila 'every'

mi'lan often occurs, unlike *ke'tir* which is not commonly used. *mi'lan, ke'tir, 'sia, and 'kulu* belong morphologically and syntactically to the class of adjectives, which implies that they can be used in attributive and predicative position. *'kila* 'every' is only used attributively and precedes the noun. Except for *'kulu* 'all', all quantifiers typically modify indefinite, often non-referential nouns, as illustrated in (264.), (265.), and (266.):

(264.)   'Sana   'de   *mi'lan*   'zaidi.
        year(s)   DEF   many   very
        'The years are very many.'

(265.)   ka'lam   'toumon   *'kul* [97]
        thing   PRON POSS 3PL   all
        'all their things'

(266.)   *'kila 'sana* 'every year'

'kul and *'sia* often occur reduplicated, as in (267.):

(267.)   *'Nubi 'kulu-'kulu* 'all the Nubi'
        ta'biya 'sia-'sia 'few habits'

'kila is often found in combination with *'kulu*, as illustrated in (268.):

(268.)   *'kila*   'bab   'dol'de   *'kulu*
        every   door   DEM PROX PL all
        'all these doors'

Infrequently, the Nubi non-numeral quantifier is used in a partitive construction, followed by the genitive particle + noun, as shown in (269.):

(269.)   *mi'lan*   ta   a'nas
        many   GEN   people
        'many of the people'

---

[95] *'sia* is often used as an adverb: 'An(a)   'agara   *'sia.*
                                   PRON 1SING   study-Ø a little bit
                                   'I studied a little bit'.
[96] *'kulu* also means 'whole', as in: fi   Afri'k(a) 'en   'kulu
                                    in   NPROP   here   whole
                                    'in the whole of Africa here'
[97] Exceptionally, *'kulu* is placed in front of the noun it modifies, *'kulu 'youm* 'all the days'. This resembles its position in Arabic.

3.3.6. Numerals

Cardinals: The Nubi numeral system is a decimal one. Cardinals are given in (270.):

(270.)

'wai 'one' [98]	*i'dashar* 'eleven'	*tele'tin* 'thirty'
ti'nin/ti'nen 'two'	*it'nashar* 'twelve'	*ar'bein/arbe'yin* 'forty'
ta'lata 'three'	*tala'tashar* 'thirteen'	*kam'sin* 'fifty'
'arba/'aruba 'four'	*arba'tashar* 'fourteen'	*si'tin* 'sixty'
'kamsa 'five'	*kam(i)s'tashar* 'fifteen'	*se'bein/sebe'yin* 'seventy'
'sita 'six'	*si'tashar* 'sixteen'	*tama'nin/tema'nin* 'eighty'
'saba 'seven'	*saba'tashar* 'seventeen'	*ti'sein/tise'yin* 'ninety'
ta'maniya 'eight'	*taman'tashar* 'eighteen'	*'mia* 'hundred'
'tisa 'nine'	*tisa'tashar* 'nineteen'	
'ashara 'ten'	*ishi'rin* 'twenty'	

After twenty, the cardinal numerals are composed of the numeral followed by the tens and optionally linked together by *u, wu,* or *wa* 'and', whose vowel is fused with the vowel of *ishi'rin* 'twenty' and *ar'bein* 'forty'. An exception is *'wai* 'one', which is realized as *'waid*. It is joined with *ishi'rin* by *u*, which is generally assimilated to *i*.

(271.)

'waid (i) ishi'rin 'twenty one'	*'waid i tele'tin* 'thirty one'
ti'nin w(u) ishi'rin 'twenty two'	*ti'nin w(u) tele'tin* 'thirty two'
ta'lata w(u) ishi'rin 'twenty three'	*ta'lata w(u) ar'bein* 'forty three'
'arba w(u) ishi'rin 'twenty four'	*'arba w(u) kam'sin* 'fifty four'
'kamsa w(u) ishi'rin 'twenty five'	*'kamsa w(u) si'tin* 'sixty five'
'sita w(u) ishi'rin twenty six'	*'sita w(u) se'bein* 'seventy six'
'saba w(u) ishi'rin 'twenty seven'	*'saba w(u) tama'nin* 'eighty seven'
ta'maniya w(u) ishi'rin 'twenty eight'	*ta'maniya w(u) ti'sein* 'ninety eight'
'tisa w(u) ishi'rin 'twenty nine'	*'tisa w(u) ti'sein* 'ninety nine'

Hundreds and tens may as well be linked by *u, wu* or *wa*, as in (272.):

(272.)

'mia 'hundred'	*'mia u ishi'rin* 'hundred and twenty'
mi'ten 'two hundred'	*'kamsa 'mia wu 'sita se'bein* 'five hundred and seventy six'
'arba 'mia 'four hundred'	

The order of numerals when counting the thousands is *'elf* 'thousand' + NUM, and is therefore different from the hundreds where the numeral precedes *'mia* 'hundred', as illustrated in (273.):

(273.)   *'elf 'wai* 'one thousand'
'elf ti'nin 'two thousand'
'elf ta'lata 'three thousand'
'elf 'arba 'kamsa 'mia 'sita wu ti'sein 'four thousand five hundred and ninety six'

The Nubi numeral follows the noun it modifies [99]. Nubi numerals do not agree with their head nouns. Similarly, Nubi head nouns do not compulsory agree with numerals. If a numeral modifies the head noun, the head noun optionally occurs with plural marking, as shown in (274.):

(274.)   *ku'baya ti'nin* 'two cups'
'yal ba'na ta'lata 'three girls'

---

[98] *'wa*i 'one' also occurs as an adverb, meaning 'together', or in adverbial phrases, such as *'mara 'wai* 'at once', 'all of a sudden'.

'Umon	gu-	'robutu	ka'lam	'toumon	*'wai*	me	Ingi'lis.
PRON 3PL	PROG-	tie	problem	PRON POSS 3PL	together	with	NPROP

'They are tying their problem together with [that of] the English.'

[99] One elder speaker from the North placed *'wai* (and *'wakhid* from Arabic *wâḥid)* 'one' in front of its head noun:

'wai a'zol 'one person'
'wakhid 'zol 'one person'

Ordinals: They are formed by the head noun followed by the numeral and linked by the genitive particle *ta*: N *ta* NUM. This resembles an alienable possessive construction. The ordinal 'first' is either expressed by *aw'lan*, or by *'wai,* the Nubi cardinal number 'one'.

(275.)   *ta aw'lan, ta 'wai* 'first'
          ta ti'nin 'second'
          ta ta'lata 'third'

(276.)   'Asker   *ta*   *'arba*   'futu.   *Ta*   *'kamsa* gi-   'ja.
          soldier   GEN   four   pass-Ø   GEN   five   PROG-   come
          'The fourth soldier passes. The fifth one is coming.'

Time: Years are produced in English or in Nubi. When produced in Nubi, *'elf 'wai 'tisa 'mia* 'nineteen hundred' is mainly deleted when speaking about the 20th century. The year follows *'sana* 'year' in an alienable-like construction containing the genitive exponent *ta*, as in (277.). It may also appear alone, as in (278.):

(277.)   fi   *'sana*   *ta*   *'arba*   *ar'bein*
          PREP   year   GEN   four   forty
          'in the year forty four'

(278.)   'Ana   'ja   'tala   fi   *'tisa*   *wu*   *ar'bein*.
          PRON 1SING   come-Ø   leave-Ø   in   nine   and   forty
          'I left in forty nine'.

The months (*'shar, 'sar*) of the solar year, which is the official system in Uganda, are expressed with ordinal numerals [100].

(279.)   *'shar ta 'wai* 'the first month', 'January'
          'shar ta ti'nin 'the second month', 'February'
          'shar ta ta'lata 'the third month', 'March'

However, since all Nubi are Muslims, the months of the Islamic year are important in daily life. The Nubi names for the Islamic months are derived from the Arabic names, and may be preceded by *'shar* 'month', as illustrated in (280.):

(280.)   *('shar) Rama'dan* 'the month of Ramaḍân'

ta'rik 'date' is used to express dates. It precedes the cardinal numeral, and usually follows the indication of the month, as in (281.):

(281.)   fi   'shar   te   i'dashar, *ta'rik*   *arba'tashar*
          in   month   GEN   eleven   date   fourteen
          'on the fourteenth of November'

The days of the week are adopted from Arabic.

(282.)   *'youm la'ha* 'Sunday'
          'youm le ti'nin 'Monday'
          'youm tala'ta 'Tuesday'
          'youm lar'ba 'Wednesday'
          'youm ka'mis 'Thursday'
          'youm ju'ma 'Friday'
          'youm 'sebi 'Saturday'

---

[100] The English names of the months are used as an alternative: *'Januar, 'Februar, 'March, 'April, 'May, 'June, 'July, 'August, Sep'temba/Sep'tember, Oc'toba/Oc'tober, No'vemba/No'vember, De'cemba/De'cember.* The forms in -*a* of the last four months resemble the Swahili months (see Ashton 1947: 321).

Time indications follow the Bantu-system, which means that the day is divided in two parts, the night and the day. The day starts at six o' clock in the morning according to Western reckoning. This is approximately the time the sun raises, and is for the Nubi and others *'sa it'nashar ta min 'subu'* 'hour twelve'. Similarly, the night starts six hours before our time reckoning, when the sun is about to set, e.g. *'sa 'kamsa* 'hour five'. For reasons of clarity, time adverbs, given in (283.), referring to different parts of the day and night, resembling the time adverbs in Arabic, may accompany the Nubi time indications in an alienable like-construction with the genitive marker *ta* followed by the adverbs of time, as in (284.):

(283.)   *min 'sub(u)* 'morning'
          'kabla 'zuhur 'before noon'
          'bada 'zuhur 'afternoon'
          la'siya 'late afternoon, (early) evening'
          fi'lel 'night'

(284.)   min   *'sa   'wai   ta   la'siya* 'ladi   *'sa   ta'lata   ta   min 'sub*
          from hour one   GEN evening until   hour three   GEN morning.
          'from seven o'clock in the evening until nine o'clock in the morning'

Thus, a complete time and date may be indicated as in (285.):

(285.)   'Ana   'jowzu 'Hawa *fi*   'sana   ta   'waid   i   tama'nin
          PRON 1SING   marry-Ø NPROP in   year   GEN   one   and   eighty
          fi   'sar   ta   'saba,   ta'rik   tala'tashar   *fi*   'youm 'sebi.
          in   month   GEN   seven   date   thirteen   in   Saturday
          Fi   'sa   'arba   'ya   'ana   'so   ni'ka   fi   Bi'yago.
          in   hour   four   FOC   PRON 1SING   do-Ø   wedding in   NPROP
          'I married Hawa in the year of eigthy one in July, the thirteenth, on (a) Saturday. At ten o 'clock it was that I did the wedding at Biyago.'

3.3.7. Relative clauses

Nubi relative clauses consist of the relative marker, which can be *'ali, a'li, al, 'abu, a'bu,* or *ab,* and the subordinate clause. Usually, relative clauses are placed directly after their head noun. Sometimes the subordinate clause and the head noun are separated by a word or phrase, as in (286.):

(286.)   Kala'ma   'tai   mi'lan   al   'an(a)   'aju.
          thing-PLPRON POSS 1SING   many   REL   PRON 1SING   want-Ø
          'My things are many which I want'

Restrictive vs. non-restrictive relative clauses: Above (3.3.2.2.), we have seen that a phrase like *'ragi al ke'bir'* differs from *'ragi ke'bir'* in that the relative pronoun marks the quality 'bigness' as outstanding, and thus as the quality which exemplifies the man and which distinguishes him from others who do not display this characteristic. Nubi also distinguishes morphologically between non-restrictive relative clauses and restrictive relative clauses. A restrictive relative clause adds information to the noun which is essential for its understanding, and thus distinguishes the noun from any other noun. The head noun may be definite or indefinite. A non-restrictive relative clause on the other hand, adds inessential information, which is not distinctive but may have some value for the hearer. The head noun is referentially unique, which implies that it belongs to the culturally or textually shared information, or that it is deictically available. In Nubi, items belonging to the culturally- or textually information are optionally determined by a definite article. Deictic availability is expressed with the deictic first and second personal and deictic demonstratives, and in uniquely identifying possessive constructions, such as kin terms, body parts, and parts of wholes. Very often, non-restrictive relative clauses (head + relative modifier) are modified by the definite article, or a demonstrative, as illustrated in (287.), (288.), (289.), and (290.):

(287.) *fu*   *workshop*   *'tena*   *al*   *'ina*   *'g(i)-*   *alim*   *'fogo*   *'de.*
       in   workshop   PRON POSS 1PL REL PRON 1PL   PROG-   learn   in it   DEF
       'in our workshop, in which we are learning'

(288.) *'ahadi*   *'na'de*   *al*   *ku'tu*   *'nena*   *'na'de*
       agreement   DEM DIS   REL   put-PASS-Ø   for + PRON 1PL   DEM DIS
       'that agreement, which was made for us'

(289.) (…)   'uo   'dakal   fi   'be.
                PRON 3SING   enter-Ø   in   house
       'Be   *al*   *'uo*   *'dakal*   *'fogo*   *'de*   (…)
       house   REL   PRON 3SING   enter-Ø   in it   DEF
       '(…) he entered the house. The house, which he entered (in it), (…)'

(290.) *'Ana*   *al*   *gu-*   *'wonus*   *we'de,*   (…)
       PRON 1SING   REL   PROG-   talk   DEM PROX
       'I, (this one) who is talking, (…)'

The definite article *'de* in the non-restrictive relative clause in (291.) modifies *ka'lam* 'thing' instead of determining the relative clause. It seems then that if two elements (definite article and/or demonstrative) co-occur, the one determining the relative clause is dropped. The slot is filled by an article or demonstrative. The addition of another element would only cause confusion.

(291.) M'ze   'tai   'na'de
       old man   PRON POSS 1SING   DEM DIS
       al   we'ri   'nana   ka'lam   'de,   (…)
       REL   show-Ø   to + PRON 1SING   thing   DEF
       'That old man of mine, who showed me the thing, (…).'

Restrictive relative clauses are normally not marked by a determining element [101]. Consider (292.) and (293.):

(292.) *'San(a)*   *al*   *ma'ma*   *'mutu*   *'fogo,*   *'an(a)*   *'arufu*   *'ma.*
       year   REL   mother   die-Ø   in it   PRON 1SING   know-Ø   NEG
       'The year that my mother died (in it), I do not know [it].'

(293.) 'Ita   bi-   'sibu   *'sika*   *ta*   *ba'ba*   *'taki*
       PRON 2SING   FUT-   leave   way(s)   GEN   father   PRON POSS 2SING
       ab   *'uo*   *'rasul(u)*   *'ita*   *'fogo.*
       REL   PRON 3SING   send-Ø   PRON 2SING   in it
       'You will leave the ways of your father on which he sent you/You will abandon the ways of your father, which he aimed at for you.'

Marking of the restrictive relative clauses, however, optionally occurs, when the referent is important for the subsequent discourse, thus when it is pragmatically referential [102], as in (294.) and (295.):

---

[101] Relative clauses may follow gerunds. The information thus conveyed may be crucial, as (a) (with the English), or it may be redundant, as is the case in (b). In (a), the relative clause can be considered to be restrictive, which does not require determination of the relative clause by a determiner. The relative clause in (b) should, however, be regarded as non-restrictive, and is marked by the demonstrative *'na'de*.

(a)   (…)   'ja   to   'Nubi
                come-GER   GEN   Nubi-PL
       al   'umon   'je   'ini   me   Ingi'lish
       REL   PRON 3PL   come-Ø   here   with   NPROP
       '(…) the coming of the Nubi that they came [with] here together with the English.'

(b)   Da'kal   al   'uo   'ro   'dakal   'na'de   (…)
       enter-GER   REL   PRON 3SING   go-Ø   enter-Ø   DEM DIS
       'That entrance, which he went and entered [with], (…)',/ 'That occasion on which he entered (…).'

(294.) *ka'lam   al   'it(a)   'aju   'na'de* (…)
thing   REL   PRON 2SING   want-Ø   DEM DIS
'that thing that you want'

(295.) *Ab   'ito   'gu-   rwa   'gusu   'nouo   'de,*
REL   PRON 2SING   PROG-   go   seek-Ø   for + PRON 3SING   DEF
'uo   'gu-   rw(a)   'aju   'ma.
PRON 3SING   PROG-   go   want-Ø   NEG
'The one [girl] you are going to seek for him, he is not going to want her.'

Reference in the relative clause: In Nubi relative clauses, reference in the subordinate clause is effected by means of a resumptive pronoun, or *'fogo* 'in it', or else it is not referred to. If the head noun, or its co-referent, takes the subject position in the subordinate clause, nominal or pronominal reference is concealed, as in (296.):

(296.) *'Uw(o)   'endi   'hikma, a'jol   ab   'endis   'sana   mi'lan.*
PRON 3SING   have-Ø   wisdom person   REL   have-Ø   year(s) many
'He has wisdom, someone who has many years/ who is old.'

It is, however, optionally marked if the verb is passive. For instance, in (297.) the object position is marked, while it is not marked in (298.):

(297.) *kala'ma   al   gu-   wonu's(u)   uo*
thing-PLREL   PROG-   talk-PASS   PRON 3SING
'the things that are being talked about (them)'

(298.) *'Fi   nus'wan   ab   gi-   jow'zu   fi   'sabab   fila'niya.*
EXIS   woman-PL   REL   PROG-   marry-PASS   in   reason(s)   certain-PL
'There are women who are being married for certain reasons.'

The object position in the subordinate clause is generally not marked overtly, as in (299.):

(299.) *me   'namn(a)   ab   it(a)   'ain*
with   way   REL   PRON 2SING   see-Ø
'with the way you see (it)'

When the head noun is referred to in the relative clause by means of a prepositional or possessive phrase, a resumptive pronoun is compulsory, as illustrated in (300.) and (301.):

(300.) (…)   *'ina   'kan   'indu   'nas   ma'ma fi   'jua   'motoka 'de*
PRON 1PL   ANT   have   COLL   woman in   inside   car   DEF
al   'ina   gi-   'ja   'moumon.
REL   PRON 1PL   PROG-   come   with + PRON 3PL
'(…) we had women, whom we came with (them), inside the car.'

(301.) *'marya ab   'ragi   'to   'mutu*
woman   REL   husband PRON POSS 3SING   die-Ø
'the woman whose husband died'

If the adverbial phrase expressed in the subordinate clause is one of manner, reference is indicated by *'fogo* 'in it', as shown in (302.):

---

[102] In the following restrictive clause, the demonstrative *'nade'de* modifies the proper noun *Zaire*, and not the head noun of the relative clause.
A'nas   ab   'an   'rua   'mo   fi   *Za'ire 'nade'de,*
people   REL   PRON 1SING   go-Ø   with + PRON 3SING   in   NPROP DEM DIS
'umon   'kan   family   ta   'awa   'tai.
PRON 3PL   be-ANT   family   GEN   aunt   PRON POSS 1SING
'The people whom I went with to (that) Zaire, they were the family of my aunt.'

(302.)   *ta'biya*   *a'l(i)*   *'ina*   *'raba*   *'fogo*
       custom(s)   REL   PRON 1PL   grow up-Ø   in it
       'the customs that we grew up in [them]'/ 'the customs that we grew up with'

The locative is generally marked by *'fogo* 'in it' in the subordinate clause, as in (303.), as are adverbial phrases denoting purpose, as in (304.):

(303.)   *ma'hal al   nyere'ku   'de   ku'tu   'fogo*
       place   REL   child   DEF   put-PASS-Ø   in it
       'the place where the child was put in'

(304.)   (…)   'sokol   'tai   'de   (…)   'Ita   'ro   'bio
           thing   PRON POSS 1SING   DEF   PRON 2SING   go-Ø   buy-Ø
       'sokol   al   ba'ba   'taki   'rasul   'ita   'fogo   'de.
       thing   REL   father   PRON POSS 2SING   send-Ø   PRON 2SING   in it   DEF
       '(…) my thing (…). You went to buy the thing which your father sent you for.'

Time is either marked by *'fogo* 'in it' (305.), or with zero pronominalization (306.):

(305.)   *'sa   a'l(i)   'ina   gi-   'rasul   'fogo, (…)*
       hour   REL   PRON 1PL   PROG-   arrive   in it
       'the time when we are arriving (in it), (…)'

(306.)   *'sa   al   'ita   'ja, (…)*
       hour   REL   PRON 2SING   come-Ø
       'the time when you came, (…)'

Thus the coreferent of relative clauses related to place, time, manner and purpose is indicated by *'fogo*, either compulsory (place, purpose) or optionally (time, manner).

      Reference to the head noun is often absent in the subordinate clause in constructions like the following where the subordinate clause consists of a subjunctive clause. *al ke'de* acts more or less like a conjunction 'so that'. However, the notion of relativization remains present, as illustrated in (307.):

(307.)   'Ya   bi'niy(a) 'abidu   'wonusu ma   'luga
       CONJ   girl   begin-Ø talk-Ø   with   language
       al   ke'de   'ragi   'd(e)   'aruf(u) 'asma   'ma.
       REL   SUBJ   man   DEF   know-Ø   understand-Ø   NEG
       'Thus the girl began to talk in a language (which was such) so that the man could not understand.'

      Asyndetic relative clauses: In case of an indefinite antecedent, the relative marker may be omitted. The two propositions then occur juxtaposed, and may or may not be linked by a resumptive pronoun or *'fogo*, as shown in (308.) and (309.):

(308.)   Ka'rib-   'tokum   'chai   'ana   'rakabu.
       be welcome-Ø   ADR-PL   tea   PRON 1SING   cook-Ø
       'Be(PL) welcome for tea [which] I prepared.'

(309.)   A'jol   'ainu   *'sokol   'gelba   'to   'dugu   'fogo.*
       person see-Ø   thing   heart   PRON POSS 3SING   beat-Ø   in it
       'Someone sees something [that] his heart beats for / [that] his heart desires.'

      Embedding: Several relative clauses may occur in one sentence, either in complex multiple embeddings, where two or more relative clause each modify a distinct head noun (310.), or conjoined, all relative clauses referring to the same head noun (311.):

(310.)   *Wa'din al   'endisi 'gelba   al   ne'siya* 'gal: (…)
       others   REL   have-Ø   heart   REL   good   say-Ø
       'Others who have a heart that is good, say: (…)'

(311.) fi   'dar   *'gala*   'wai   *'na'de*   al   ke'bir   'de,
        in   back   hill   NUM   DEM DIS SING   REL   big   DEF
        al   *gi-*   *na'di*   *N'samishi.*
        REL   PROG-   call-PASS   NPROP
        'at the back of that one hill, which is big, which is called Nsamishi.'

The relative pronoun may occur in a possessive-like construction. The possessee or head noun is
separated from the genitive particle *ta* and the possessor or modifier by the relative pronoun. The whole
phrase conveys the meaning of being part of the total class of possessors or modifiers, as illustrated in
(312.) and (313.):

(312.) *'sokol*   *ab*   *ta*   *a'dil*
        thing   REL   GEN   justice
        'something which takes part in justice'

(313.) Ka'man 'umon   'ya   *a'nas*   *al*   *to*   *'Nubi.*
        also   PRON 3PL   FOC   people   REL   GEN   NPROP
        'Also they are the people who are from among the Nubi (peoples).'

Headless relative clauses: A relative clause may be headless, when it modifies a pronoun (i.e.
a person), or when it refers to an item which is known to the hearer because it has been mentioned in
previous discourse, as illustrated in (314.) and (315.):

(314.) *Al*   *'ja*   *'moumon*   'ya   'dukuru
        REL   come-Ø   with + PRON 3PL   CONJ   then
        'já   amru'g(u)   'umon   fi'lel.
        come-PASS-Ø   remove-PASS-Ø   PRON 3PL   at night
        'Those who came with them were removed at night.'

(315.) 'Fi   'yal   we'le   ti'nen.   (…)   Yo'wele 'wai   'de   ke'bir,
        EXIS   child-PL boy-PL   NUM   boy   NUM   DEF   big
        'wai   'de   sa'kar.   (…)   *Ab*   *ke'bir*   *'de*   'kelem: (…)
        NUM   DEF   small   REL   big   DEF   say-Ø
        'There were two boys. (…) The one boy was the big one, the one was small. (…) [The one] who was
        big/ the big one said: (…).'

Also time may be indicated by a headless relative clauses. The head, which is *'wakti* 'time', *'sa* 'hour',
etc. is omitted.

(316.) *Al*   *'umon*   *'gen*   ba'kan   'de,   aja'ma   te   min   'na
        REL   PRON 3PL   stay   place   DEF   people   GEN   from   there
        gi-   'jibu   'noumon   'memvu.
        PROG-   bring   for + PRON 3PL   bananas
        '[The time that /when] they stayed there, the people from around there were bringing them bananas.'

In some cases, *'ab* should be interpreted as 'possessor of a particular characteristic', when
followed by a noun expressing a quality. These quasi-adjectives are infrequently placed after a head
noun. In general, however, they are used as such. *ab* + N is only partly productive in Nubi. Most forms
of this type of compound are derived directly from Arabic source forms. I assume that the forms in
(317.) are among the few Nubi innovations.

 (317.) *ab 'guwa* 'possessor of power', 'someone who is powerful'
        ab lan'gaba 'possessor of a mentality of walking around idly', 'an idler'

3.4. Constituent order and agreement within NP

3.4.1. Constituent order within NP

Postmodification: The head noun comes first, immediately followed by either the indefinite article *'wai* (318.) or a pronominal possessor (319.). The next position is occupied by the adjective (318.) and/or the numeral (319.). The latter two may exchange positions (311.). The relative clause follows next (321.). The definite article or a demonstrative, if present, comes in final position. It may, however, be followed by *'kul* 'all' (322.):

(318.) 'marya   'wai   'kweisi
        woman   INDEF   good
        'a good woman'

(319.) wa'ze   'taki   ti'nin
        parent-PL   PRON POSS 2SING   NUM
        'your two parents'

(320.) a'ku   'to   'wai   ke'bir   'de
        brother   PRON POSS 3SING   NUM   big   DEF
        'his one eldest brother'

(321.) 'keya   ke'bir   al   'jibu   Nubi'ya   min   Su'dan
        army   big   REL   bring-Ø   NPROP   from   NPROP
        'the big army that brought the Nubi from Sudan'

(322.) ka'bila   wa'din-wa'din   'dol'de   'kulu
        tribe   other-PL-REDUP   DEM PROX PL   all
        'all these other tribes'

Premodification: *'kila* 'every', *'aya* 'any', the collective marker *'nas* and the markers for diminution and augmentation immediately precede the head noun, as illustrated in (323.) and (324.):

(323.) 'kas   'to   te   'kila   'youm
        work   PRON POSS 3SING   GEN   every   day
        'his work of every day'

(324.) 'nas   baga'ra   ta   ba'ba
        COLL   cow-PL   GEN   father
        'father's cows'

Constituent order in possessive phrases: See 3.3.3.

Unusual word orders: Occasionally, the noun phrase is split up by short adverbs or interjections, as illustrated in (325.) and (326.):

(325.) 'Uo   'weledu   ya'la   'na   ta'lata.
        PRON 3SING   bear-Ø   child-PL   there   NUM
        'She bore three children (there)'

(326.) 'Jina   'jua   'bes   'to   'fi   sa'kar   je'de.
        smallness   house   just   PRON POSS 3SING   EXIS   small   EMPH
        'His small house exists (just) small.'

Coordination within the NP: See 6.6.1.

3.4.2. Agreement within the NP

As mentioned in 3.2.1. and 3.3.2.1. human beings, domestic animals and household equipment are more likely to attract number agreement than other non-domesticated animals and things. Yet, agreement is optional. It may occur as in (327.) and (328.):

(327.)   'wele   wa'din   'dol'de
          boy-PL   other-PLDEM PROX PL
          'these other boys'

(328.)   kala'ma   ta'nin
          thing-PLother-PL
          'other things'

And contrary to Owens' findings (1977: 52, 84-85) on Kenyan Nubi, agreement may be lacking, as illustrated in (329.) and (330.):

(329.)   a'nas   'tan
          people-PL   other-SING
          'other people'

(330.)   kala'ma   we'de
          thing-PLDEM PROX SING
          'these things'

A noun may remain singular when from the context, or by any other device, such as plural demonstrative, (non)-numeral quantifier, it is clear that a plural form is denoted.

3.5. Conclusion

Nubi pronouns are part of quite a fixed set, and indicate number, but not gender. This corresponds to most creoles (Holm 1988: 201). Reflexives are generally expressed by the pronoun and follow the verb. Variation only occurs within the group of emphatic reflexive pronouns. Most of them, except for *a'gi* [103]+ PRON POSS have equivalents in other creole languages (Muysken & Smith 1995: 272-273). It seems that *a'gi* followed by the possessive pronoun and *bi'nafsi* are gradually being replaced by the other forms, considering that their use is restricted to northern areas and some old speakers.

Whereas nouns in most pidgin/creole languages are not inflected for number (see Holm 1988: 193), plural marking exists in Nubi and is optionally applied. According to Owens (1977), agreement is even common in Kenyan Nubi. Nhial (1975: 84), however, denies that there is any agreement between noun and adjective in Nubi. In fact, he even claims that, except for a few words, there are no plural forms of nouns and adjectives. Plurals of nouns and adjectives definitely exist in Nubi, although they are more frequent in lexical listing than in free speech. Plural formation also pertains more frequently to words referring to human beings and animates than to the other word classes. Holm (1988: 193) and Bruyn (1995: 260) mention a free morpheme that acts as a pluralizer and that is homophonous with PRON 3PL for the Atlantic and other creoles. In Nubi, no such marker occurs. Number may, however, be indicated by means of numeral and non-numeral quantifiers.

Creole definite articles - and the Nubi definite article shares this feature - are generally not derived from the definite article in the source languages, but they are based on demonstratives or other particles. However, while in most creole and other languages, the definite article derives from a distal

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[103] UN *'agi ta* is probably a reflex of Sudanese Arabic *ḥagg*, which on the one hand is a particle expressing possession, as in *el bêt da ḥaggî* 'this house belongs to me', *da ḥagg minu? / ḥagg yâtu?* 'whose is this?', while on the other hand it is an adjective or noun, expressing truth or reality (see Roth 1969: 121), functioning as a kind of confirmation of the previous phrase.

demonstrative (Givón 1984: 226-227, 418-419; Bruyn 1995: 265; Holm 1991: 191-192), in Nubi it developed from the proximal demonstrative. The distribution of the articles (definite, indefinite) as opposed to the bare noun, corresponds in rough lines to the use of the article that Bickerton (1981) and Givón (1984) sketch for creole languages, namely definite referential and indefinite referential NPs are marked by the definite and indefinite article respectively, whereas non-referential NPs receive zero marking (bare noun). However, the use of the Nubi bare noun is not restricted to the category of non-referential NPs. It may also occur instead of the definite article in cases of high thematic centrality of the NP, and instead of the indefinite article when the NP scores high considering non-individuation.

'de, whose main use is that of definite article, may also act as a demonstrative. On the other hand demonstratives may function anaphorically, besides coding temporal and spatial deixis. The deictic adverb denoting proximity, which is added to the proximal, plural demonstrative is associated with a sense of nearness, a feature which occurs in other pidgins and creoles as well (Holm 1988: 192).

Alienable possessive relations are generally expressed by means of the genitive marker *ta* linking possessee and possessor, whereas inalienable possessive relations do not. Both types maintain the order possessee possessor, and both types have equivalents in many creole languages (Holm 1988: 195-201; Bruyn 1995: 266-269). Some inalienable possessive constructions have evolved into compounds, and have become fixed semantically. Alienable possessive constructions refer to terminable possession, which applies to owner-possessed relations, class, time, location, and also material. Inalienable possessive constructions are associated with interminable relations, and apply to kin terms, body parts, other part-whole relations, and goal. For some possessive constructions, such as goal, some part-whole relations, and locations where a certain action (in gerund) takes place, there is variation which most likely correlates with the degree of definiteness.

Non-restrictive relative clauses are virtually always marked by a determiner, whereas restrictive relative clauses are not. However, high pragmatic referentiality seems to interfere in such a way that restrictive relative clauses of topical persistent NPs are optionally marked by a determiner. Optional coding of pragmatically salient NPs marked by a restrictive relative clause, may thus be a feature of an evolution which involves the definite article or anaphorically used demonstrative to emphasize pragmatic referentiality, more than 'definiteness', i.e. identifiability to the hearer.

In chapter 7, the above mentioned nominal, adjectival and other forms, and their distribution and features will be viewed from a diachronic perspective, and will be related to the Arabic dialects of the Sudan, the Arabic pidgins Juba Arabic and Turku, and to the substrate and adstrate languages.

4. The verb phrase

In prototypical creoles, the verbal system is based on characteristic semantic distinctions. Nubi is no different in this respect. However, if at first sight the Nubi verbal system seems to be a simple one involving a direct relation between form and meaning, a second look teaches us that there is a wide variation of forms that express sometimes only slight semantic nuances. On the other hand, there may be quite some overlap, different forms pointing to the same meaning. I will start this chapter with a discussion of the verb final vowel *-u*. In the second part, the zero-marked verb and the core markers and auxiliaries as formal manifestations of tense, mood, and aspect will be dealt with. In the third section, I will treat the morphological verbal derivatives, such as the passive, the stative passive, gerunds and infinitives, and reduplicated forms. Equative and locative/existential 'be', which are expressed by *'kun, 'kan, Ø* and the existential marker *'fi*, the inchoative copula *'ja* 'become', and the verb *'endi* 'have' will be treated next, followed by a discussion of asyndetic verb chains.

4.1. Final *-u*: verbal particle or transitivity marker?

Most Nubi verbs end in a vowel, whether *-i, -e, -a, -o,* or *-u,* a feature which corresponds to the Nubi tendency towards CV-syllables. In Ugandan Nubi, about 57 % of the verbs end in the vowel *-u* [104]. For Kenyan Nubi, Owens (1985a: 253-257) gives a figure of approximately 45% of the verbs which occur with final *-u*. This percentage is too high to be coincidental. Moreover, in some instances verbs are found with the *-u* ending, while in other cases they occur without it, e.g. *'awunu* or *'awun* 'help', 'assist'. In this connection I would like to point out that verbs ending in *-i, -e, -a, -o* hardly ever drop the final vowel, so that the variation of *-u* requires an explanation. It has been suggested that *-u* is a verbal particle (Owens 1985a) or alternatively that it is a transitivity marker (Versteegh 1984). The problem will be discussed from a synchronic perspective in this section, while in (7.5.1.) the diachronic aspect will be dealt with.

According to Owens, *-u* is predominantly present in verbs, as compared to other vowels and as opposed to nouns and adjectives which mainly end in a final consonant, and less frequently in the vowel *-i*.

> "To some extent, then, -i would have become identified as the vowel of nominals and -u
> the vowel of verbs, with C-final forms being neutral between the two." (Owens 1985a:
> 258)

However, in the Ugandan Nubi material final *-i* being part of the root, whether nominal or verbal, is rather uncommon. More frequently, *-i* is attached as a binding vowel to a consonant final root, whether verbal or nominal (see also Owens 1985a: 258). If the final consonant is an alveolar and/or if it is preceded by a front vowel, paragogic *-i* may occur, e.g. *'kuris(i)* 'chair', *'feker(i)* 'think', *'visit(i)* 'visit'. Similarly, in certain cases *-u* should be analysed as a paragogic vowel if attached to nominals and verbs ending in a non-alveolar consonant and/or after a back vowel, e.g. *'tab(u)* 'problem', *'num(u)* 'sleep' (see 2.2.3.1.). *-i* and *-u* as binding vowels after nominals and verbs occur far less frequently in the variety of Nubi spoken in northern Uganda. Owens himself mentions that *-i* occurs more frequently in the Ugandan variety than in Kenyan Nubi [105]. In view of this, Owens' suggestion of identifying *-i* as the marking vowel for nominals may be too strong. More likely, final *-i* should be treated as a paragogic vowel both for verbs and nominals whose specific quality (high front) depends on the vowel and/or the final consonant of

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[104] The Nubi lexicon includes a lot of Swahili verbs which mostly end in *-a*. For the above mentioned percentage only those Swahili verbs were counted which are used in Nubi but do not have a Nubi synonym. Other Swahili verbs, which can be used beside a Nubi equivalent, were not added to the count.

[105] As far as I know, Owens' material does not include the Nubi variety of northern Uganda.

the root it is attached to[106]. Although Owens does not completely ignore the variable occurrence of *-u* in texts - he refers to Heine who says that vowels may be deleted when occurring between two consonants, especially when these vowels are not stressed and in fast speech (Heine 1982: 26) - he does not seek a pattern in the usage of *-u* [107].

Regarding this variation, it has been suggested (Versteegh 1984) that *-u* should be regarded as a marker of transitivity, rather than as a verbal marker. The correlation between the occurrence of *-u* and the inherent transitive meaning of a verb is indeed undeniable in Heine's lexical list, and in the information I elicited from native speakers (see also table 19, in which Nubi transitive/intransitive verbs are listed). Nubi speakers give different citation forms for the same verb stem, depending on whether it is used in its transitive or in its intransitive sense, as illustrated in (331.) and (332.).

(331.)   *'num* 'sleep'
          'gum 'get up'
          'hum 'swim'

(332.)   *'kasuru* 'break s.th.' >< *'kasur* 'break'
          'karabu 'spoil s.th.' >< *'karab* 'spoil', 'be spoilt'
          'woduru 'loose s.th.' >< *'wodur* 'be lost'
          etc. [108]

I will now investigate whether the occurrence of *-u* correlates also with high transitivity at clause level. Hopper & Thompson (1980) regard transitivity as a global property of a clause that includes many separate components [109]. Each component or transitivity parameter contributes to the effective transfer of an action from one participant to the other, and must be understood as a manifestation on a gliding scale or continuum, rather than as a fixed reference point. The transitivity notion is expressed grammatically in its entirety, rather than one single aspect. In Ugandan Nubi, a

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[106] Parallels are found in Swahili. Tucker, in investigating the Swahili verb, argues that the imperative state of the Arabic verb is the basis of the Swahili verb form, through metathesis of the first vowel and consonant (Tucker 1947: 215). However, the quality of the vowel, suffixed to the verb stem is linked to the vowels of the verb stem itself (if fronted, it becomes *-i*; if a back vowel, it will be *-u*), and to the quality of the final consonant (if labial, the final vowel is *-u*) (Tucker 1947: 215).

[107] Tosco (1995: 455, n. 1) mentions that verb final *-u* is often deleted, especially before a vowel or glide.

[108] The verbs *'abidu* 'begin', 'begin s.th.', *'ataku* 'laugh', 'ridicule s.o.', *'beredu* 'take a bath', 'wash s.o.', *'ferteku* 'be separated', 'separate s.th.', *'furu* 'boil', 'boil s.th.', *'futu* 'pass by', 'pass s.th.', *'geru* 'change', 'change s.th.', *'haragu* 'burn', 'burn s.th.', *'lesegu* 'be sticky', 'stick s.th.', *'nigitu* 'get ripe', 'pick s.th.', *'rudu* 'agree', 'accept s.th.', 'setetu 'be scattered', 'scatter s.th.', *'zidu* 'increase', 'increase s.th.' are both transitive and intransitive and have a fixed form, owing to phonological constraints (see 2.2.1.1.). Similarly, the verbs *'agider* 'be able to', *'feker* 'think s.th.', *lebis* 'get dressed', 'dress s.o.', *'gisir* 'loose skin', 'peel s.th.', *fata'ran* 'be tired', 'tire s.o.', *sa'ban* 'be satisfied', 'satisfy s.o.', *ta'ban* 'be worried', 'worry s.o.', and *was'kan* 'be dirty', 'make s.th. dirty' have a C-final ending, although a paragogic vowel *-i* may be added in allegro forms.

[109] Hopper & Thompson (1980: 252) present the following parameters:

"	HIGH	LOW
A. PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, A and O	1 participant
B. KINESIS	action	non-action
C. ASPECT	telic	atelic
D. PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
E. VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
F. AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
G. MODE	realis	irrealis
H. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated."

The merger of these different parameters - each varying on a gliding scale - defines the position of the entire clause on the transitivity scale, ranging from more to less transitive.

correlation between the occurrence or non-occurrence of -*u* and the transitivity of the clause seems to exist, where transitivity is interpreted as the effective transfer of an action from an agent to a patient. Thus the number of participants involved in the verbal action can be considered one of the most if not the most decisive factor causing the occurrence of the verbal vowel -*u*. In a significant number of cases in the text material from Ugandan Nubi, verbs with only one participant occur without the suffix -*u*, as illustrated in (333.):

(333.) 'Uo   *'meles* fu   'lufra 'de.
        PRON 3SING   slip-Ø   in   hole   DEF
        'He slipped into the hole.'

(334.) 'Ita   'ma   'aju   'sokol 'taki   'de
        PRON 2SING   NEG   want-Ø   thing   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF
        ke'de   *'karab.*
        SUBJ   be spoilt-Ø
        'You do not want the thing of you to get spoilt.'

Inherently transitive verbs that do not take a second participant in the clause, more often occur without -*u*, than with it, as shown in (335.):

(335.) 'Ya   nyere'ku 'de   *'g(i)-*   *akul.*
        CONJ   child   DEF   PROG-   eat
        'Thus the child was eating.'

The converse situation, however, where two or more participants are available, is less evident. It is not the mere presence of an agent and an object which is relevant, but also the strength of the features which are related to them, like potency of the agent, affectedness and individuation of the object. Individuation of the object indicates the degree to which the object is distinguished from the agent and from its own background. This notion itself includes several features:

INDIVIDUATED	NON-INDIVIDUATED
proper	common
human, animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
singular	plural
count	mass
referential, definite	non-referential

table 17: Features of (non-) individuation of the object

(after Hopper & Thompson 1980: 253)

According to Hopper & Thompson (1980: 253) the transfer of an action to an individuated patient is effected more successfully than to a non-individuated patient.

Since so many features are involved, an object cannot simply be categorized as individuated or not, but must be evaluated according to its position on a gliding scale. The Nubi material conforms to the above, since non-individuated or only slightly individuated objects are mainly found with verbs to which -*u* is not attached, as illustrated in (336.):

(336.) *'rakab 'chai* 'cook tea'   common, inanimate, mass, non-referential
        'kasul sa'na 'do the dishes'   common, inanimate, mass, non-referential
        'selim 'badu 'greet each other'   common, plural, non-referential
        'kasur la'kata 'chop wood'   common, inanimate, mass, non-referential
        'akul ka'sara 'eat at a loss', 'eat for free'   abstract, non-referential.

On the contrary, individuated objects, rating higher on the gliding scale because of the features 'referential' or 'human, animate' seem to co-occur with verbs ending in -*u,* as in (337.), (338.), (339.), and (340.):

(337.)   'Rabana *'jibu   fruits   ta   'yembe.*   referential
God   bring-Ø fruits   GEN   mango
'God brought the fruits of the mango.'

(338.)   'Ita   *'kubu   la'kata 'de.*   definite
PRON 2SING   throw-Ø wood   DEF
'You threw the wood.'

(339.)   'Itokum   *'sulu   nyere'ku 'de.*   human, definite
PRON 2PL   take-Ø   child   DEF
'You took the child.'

(340.)   Su'nun li'fil   'ma   *gi-*   *'gelibu 'sidu.*   animate, referential
tusk(s)   elephant NEG   PROG-   trouble owner:
'The tusks of an elephant do not trouble the owner.'

When the object is topicalized, or has been mentioned in a previous sentence, the same applies. The more individuated, the higher the chance that the verb occurs with the verbal vowel -*u.* In (341.) the object, even if inanimate, is referential, definite and concrete. The verb occurs with -*u.*

(341.)   *Ko'rofo 'libya   'de   'aswe   je'de*   'ya   'itokum   *'g(i)-   asrubu.*
leaves   peas   DEF   black   EMPH   FOC   PRON 2PL   PROG- drink
'It is [the sauce of] the very black leaves of the cowpea which you are drinking.'

For the above mentioned features (two or more participants, the individuation of the patient) a correlation could be ascertained with the (non-)occurrence of -*u.* These features are particularly relevant for the essence of transitivity: one participant acts effectively upon another. From the above it follows that stative verbs, even if occurring with a second participant, can be considered rather low in transitivity. Such clauses can be encoded as intransitive in Nubi, for instance 'like someone' may be expressed as 'be pleasant to someone'. A clause with two participants whose second participant is not very much affected as the result of a voluntary action by the first participant can then be encoded as a single participant clause with an intransitive verb (see also Hopper & Thompson 1980: 254), as shown in (342.):

(342.)   (...)   ka'man *'je   'nana   'hilu.*
EMPH   become-Ø   to + PRON 1SING   nice
'(...)   it became nice to me / I began to like it.'

From the Ugandan Nubi text material it appears that Nubi stative and involuntary verbs, even with two participants present, tend to occur without the final vowel -*u,* as in (343.) and (344.):

(343.)   'Uw(o)   *'aruf*   te'gil   al   'fi   fi   'batna   'jua.
PRON 3SING   know-Ø hardship(s)   REL   EXIS   in   inside   house
'She knows the hardships that are inside the house.'

(344.)   'An   je'de   *'ain*   ka'las   nyere'ku   'tai,
PRON 1SING   EMPH   see-Ø   COMPL   child   PRON POSS 1SING
bi'niya 'de   *'tim*   'marya.
girl   DEF   be enough-Ø   woman
I see that my child, the girl, has already become a woman.'

Since transitivity should be regarded as a continuum, and therefore cannot be explained in terms of transitive/intransitive, the consequence for the verbal vowel -*u* is that its occurrence or non-

occurrence cannot be described in one simple rule. Even so, there are clauses where the attachment of -*u* to the verb cannot be justified by the transitivity of the clause, since the properties of transitivity in the clause are very low, as in (345.) and (346.):

(345.) Mali'ma   'de   'g(i)-   aruf,   ma   'umon   *gi-*   *'doru.*
        teacher-PL   DEF   PROG-   know   and   PRON 3PL   PROG-   wander about
        'The teachers know, and they are wandering about.'

(346.) Ba'na   'de   *'ataku*   'sei-'sei.
        girl-PL DEF   laugh-Ø   very much-REDUP
        'The girls laughed a lot.'

Similarly, there are examples of verbs occurring without -*u*, where final -*u* would be expected on the basis of the transitivity of the clause, as in (347.) and (348.):

(347.) 'Uo   *'jib   bi'niya* 'de   fi   'batna   'be   'in.
        PRON 3SING   bring-Ø girl   'DEF   in   belly   home   here
        'He brought the girl into our home here.'

(348.) (…)   'ina   *gi-*   *'sul*   ya'la   'de.
                PRON1PL   PROG-   take   child-PL DEF
        '(…)   we are taking the children.'

It appears that in such cases phonological conditions are to be taken into account as well (see especially 2.2.1. and 2.2.3.1.). Since these phonological rules have an impact regardless of the transitivity of the clause, they could conceivably be assumed to weaken the above mentioned arguments that verbal -*u* correlates with high transitivity. However, these phonological rules are general and apply to all grammatical categories. Therefore, they should be treated as an explanation for the (unexpected) absence of -*u* in verbs, rather than as an argument undermining the evaluation of -*u* as a transitivity marker.

Above, the analysis of -*u* as a verbal marker was contrasted with the theory of -*u* as a transitive marker. Owens took the high correlation of the occurrence of -*u* with verbs as evidence to consider -*u* a verbal marker as opposed to the vowel -*i*, which he relates to Nubi nouns. He believes that the verb form to which -*u* is suffixed is the base form, from which, in rapid speech, -*u* can be omitted. It is true that -*u* is found relatively more often with verbs than with nouns, and similarly that the final -*i* occurs more frequently with nouns than with verbs.

I would rather agree with Versteegh (1984) who considers -*u* to mark transitivity. Transitivity can be defined as an effective transfer of an action from an agent to a patient. This implies that there is more than one participant (an active agent and at least one patient) available and that the action is transferred by a kinetic/volitional verb to an individuated object, which is involved in receiving the action. Transitivity should therefore be considered a continuum, going from lower to higher transitivity. Evidence for Versteegh's approach was obtained from the Ugandan Nubi material. Citation verb forms in lexical lists and elicitation exhibit a variable form. Transitive verbs tend to occur with the vowel -*u,* whereas verbs with only one participant tend to appear without it. Moreover, a study of the Ugandan Nubi text material shows that there is a relation between the occurrence of the -*u* ending and the notion of transitivity. In clauses which are higher on the scale of transitivity, the verb tends to occur with the vowel -*u*, while in clauses which are low in transitivity, the verb is more likely to occur without -*u*. In discourse, however, the relation between transitivity and occurrence of -*u* may be obscured by phonological processes.

In the case of some other pidgin languages, a similar assumption is based on clear evidence. In New Guinea Pidgin, for example, in the stabilizing phase, the transitive marker -*im* is used in the formation of transitive verbs from nouns and intransitive verbs. Attached to intransitive verbs,

adjectives, and even to transitive verbs, it adds a transitive or a causative meaning (Mühlhäusler 1979: 353-360, 371-373). Mühlhäusler (1979: 374) mentions:

> " The number of genuine transitive bases in NGP is relatively small and many of the forms traditionally listed as transitive verbs by virtue of the fact that they are never found without **-im** are transitive verbals derived from noun bases or causative verbals derived from adjective or intransitive verb bases."

The hypothesis of the transitive function of *-u* does not contradict the high frequency, mentioned by Owens, of the occurrence of *-u* in verbs, but it does specify its meaning.

4.2. TMA-marking

The core element of the Nubi verbal system is the unmarked verb form, to which I also refer as 'bare' or 'simple verb form'. Verbs are not inflected morphologically, except for the passive and gerundival verb forms. TMA is marked by markers and/or auxiliaries, or may be left unexpressed if time references are indicated by lexical means, such as adverbs and adverbial phrases, or by the context or situation.

4.2.1. TA-marking

4.2.1.1. The simple verb form (Ø) and the progressive marker **gi-**

In the following paragraphs, the functions of the unmarked verb form and the progressive marker *gi-* will be discussed. Common to both is that they are neutral with regard to tense. The unmarked or simple verb form typically expresses punctual aspect, whereas with the progressive marker *gi-* non-punctual aspect is denoted. Stative verbs will be discussed as a special group whose use of both aspect markers (Ø and *gi-*) differs from non-stative verbs. Moreover, the unmarked verb form is in some cases neutral as regards aspect and/or tense. The *gi-* marked verb may be neutral with respect to tense, but not to aspect. In those cases, the hearer is informed about tense and aspect by marking in other verbs, adverbs and/or the context.

Stative versus non-stative verbs: Nubi distinguishes between stative and non-stative or dynamic verbs. Stative verbs semantically denote a state and therefore do not involve a dynamic process ultimately leading to change (see also Bickerton 1975: 34). Stative verbs include:

* verbs expressing feeling and emotions (see also Owens 1977: 109), as illustrated in (349.):

(349.) *'asma* 'feel'
        'aju 'wish', 'want', 'like', 'need'
        'hibu 'love', 'like'
        'kariha 'hate'
        fu'rai 'be happy'
        ja'lan 'be happy'
        etc.

* verbs reflecting a mental activity (see also Owens 1977: 109), such as:

(350.) *'rudu* 'agree', 'accept', 'allow'
        'aba 'refuse', 'deny'
        'ainu 'understand', 'feel', 'mean'
        'kelemu 'mean'
        'sulu 'consider'
        'fahamu 'understand'
        'feker 'think'
        'arufu 'know'
        'alimu 'be used to'
        'aminu 'believe', 'trust'
        tuma'ini/tege'mea 'rely on', 'expect', 'trust'

ni'situ 'forget'
'sama 'forgive'
siki'tika 'regret', 'feel sorry'
kum'buka 'remember'
etc.

* verbs semantically pertaining to state:

(351.)   *'gen* 'stay', 'sit', 'reside', 'remain'
'gai 'stay, 'sit', 'reside', 'remain' [110]
'fi EXIS
'fadul 'remain'
'ben 'look like', 'seem'
'tim 'be enough', 'be sufficient', 'be present', 'be completed'
'tosha 'be enough', 'be sufficient'
'weza 'be able to'
'agider 'be able to'
etc.

* verbs of (non-)possession, such as:

(352.)   *'endi(s)(i)* 'have'
'kosa 'lack', 'be lacking'
etc.

Non-stative verbs express a dynamic event, and include all other verbs.

The bare verb form versus the *gi-* marked verb: The unmarked verb form of non-stative verbs marks punctual aspect and realis, and thus essentially refers to past events. It often occurs in narratives referring to in-sequence events.

(353.)   'Ina   *'weledu,*   'ina   *'sul*   ya'la,
PRON 1PL   give birth-Ø   PRON 1PL   take-Ø   child-PL
'ino   *we'di*   fi   'school.
PRON 1PL   bring-Ø to   school
'We gave birth, we took the children, we brought [them] to school.'

(354.)   'Ita   *'kalas*   ku'ruju,   'ita   *'nedif(u)* 'ita,
PRON 2SING   finish-Ø work the field-GER   PRON 2SING   clean-Ø PRON 2SING
'ita   *'ja.*
PRON 2SING   come-Ø
'You finished working the field, you cleaned yourself, you came.'

The progressive marker indicates non-punctual aspect. The situation is taken as an ongoing process, and is viewed from within. Essentially, it refers to present time. Subtypes of the non-punctual aspect, marked by Nubi *gi-*, are:

* continuation of actions/events, expressing duration, non-punctuality, as in (355.):

(355.)   'Mutu   ke'tiri 'fara." 'Wede   wa'nasa
die-GER   many   party   DEM PROX   talk-GER
ta   wa'ze   za'man   al   *gu-*   *we'di*   'guwa   'noumon.
GEN   old person-PL old days REL   PROG-   give   strength to + PRON 3PL
'Dying with many is a party." This is talking/an expression of the old people in the old days, which gave them strength.'

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[110] *'gen* and *'gai* are absolute synonyms. Their distribution depends on the region. *'gen* is mainly used in the northern part of Uganda, while *'gai* is the form used by southern Nubi speakers. If there are exceptions, they are mainly among northern speakers who may use *'gai* besides *'gen*, or as an alternative of *'gen*.

* iterativity, as illustrated in (356.):

(356.) A'ta   at 'times kan   'ana   *gu-*   *'wonus,* (…).
       no   at times   when   PRON 1SING   PROG- talk
       'No, at times when I am talking, (…).'

* the habitual aspect which gives a rather general statement about events occurring from time to time, as illustrated in (357.). Habitual and generic aspect are closely related and will not be treated separately here.

(357.) (…)   'ija   (…)   Kan   'ita   *'gu-*   *rw(a)* *'abidu* je'de,
                fairy tail   if   PRON 2SING   PROG- go   begin-Ø EMPH
       'ita   *gi-*   *'kelem* 'gal: " 'ijama'jako".   .
       PRON 2SING   PROG- say   that   ijamajako
       'Dukuru 'ita   *'g(i)-* *abidu.*
       then   PRON 2SING   PROG- begin
       ' (…) a fairy tail (…). When you are going to begin [it], you say that: " ijamajako ". Then you begin.'

Whereas the unmarked verb form in narratives relates to the backbone of the story or the foregrounded information, verbs with the progressive marker give additional information, referring to the backgrounded portion of a text, as illustrated in (358.):

(358.) 'Ya   'ini   sul'tan, 'sa   al   'ita   *'rua,*
       CONJ   here   sultan   moment REL   PRON 2SING   go-Ø
       'ite   *'sebu*   kala'ma   ta   'be   'de   ka'waida
       PRON 2SING   leave-Ø   thing-PLGEN   house   DEF   like usual
       ja   'kila   'youm   'ana   *gu-*   *'so*   'de.
       like   every   day   PRON 1SING   PROG- do   DEF
       'Thus here, sultan, the moment you went, you left the matters of the house as usual, like I am doing [them] daily. '

Both the bare form marking punctuality and the verb with the *gi-* prefix may express a subjunctive, a condition, an imperative, or the complement of a main verb. The bare form is used when completion of the action or event is suggested, and the *gi-* marker is used to convey duration or repetition of the action (see below).

    Stative verbs, which are found at the extreme end of the punctual /non-punctual axis, do not normally take the progressive marker. For most verbs the unmarked form of the stative verb indicates a state that was initiated some time back and that continues, and will continue up to an unmarked future. For instance, the verb *kum'buka* 'remember' refers to an act of remembering which took place in the recent past. Consequently, the agent still remembers, and will continue to remember. Consider also (359.):

(359.) 'Uw(o)   *'aju*   'keta   'wonus 'fogo nyere'ku 'to
       PRON 3SING   want-Ø SUBJ + PRON 2SING   talk-Ø on   child   PRON POSS 3SING
       'ma.   'It(a)   *'ain*   'sa   al   'ase'de 'ya'de.
       NEG   PRON 2SING   see-Ø   time   REL   now   PRES PROX
       'She does not want you to talk about her child. You see that current times are as such.'

Stative verbs may, however, take the *gi*-marker in three cases. Firstly, the progressive marker can precede stative verbs and express that the state has only come into being at the very moment of speaking, or that the action resulting in a state is only taking place now. It thus involves inchoative meaning, as illustrated in (360.):

(360.) Fi   'mwisho wa'ze   'bes   *gu-*   *'rudu* *'so*   'jowzu   'de.
       in   end   parent-PL   simply PROG- agree   do-Ø   wedding   DEF
       'In the end, the parents simply agree to do the wedding.'

It is often preceded by the auxiliary *'ja* 'come' which also marks inchoativeness (see below):

(361.)   'Ana   *'je-'ja*   gi-   ni'situ   'tan   ka'man.
          PRON 1SING   come-REDUP-Ø   PROG-   forget   other(s)   also
          'I also began to forget others.'

The same applies to the group of Nubi adjectives which are lexicalized as verbs. These refer to non-permanent qualities, such as human mental and physical characteristics (see also 3.3.2.3.). Left unmarked, this type of adjectives expresses a state, as illustrated in (362.):

(362.)   Ka'lam 'taki   'de   *'hilu*   'nana   'ma.
          problem PRON POSS 2SING   DEF   sweet   to + PRON 1SING   NEG
          'Your problem is not sweet/pleasant to me.'

When marked by the progressive prefix, however, a process is indicated referring to the inception of the state, to its creation (see also Bickerton 1975: 34), as in (363.):

(363.)   'Sa   ab   'guna   'de   *gi-*   *'hilu*   'nana,   (…)
          moment   REL   song   DEF   PROG-   be sweet   to + PRON 1SING
          'The moment the song becomes sweet to me, (…).'

Secondly, habitually recurring states are often, but not obligatorily, marked by preverbal *gi-*. Adverbs, like *'kila 'youm* 'everyday', 'always', *'zaidi* 'often', may co-occur with *gi-* marking, as shown in (364.) and (365.):

(364.)   'Gal: 'ahah,   'gari   'taki,   kan   a'nas   *'g(i)-*   *aj(u)*   *'alim(u),*
          that   INT   bicycle PRON POSS 2SING   if   people   PROG-   want   learn-Ø
          'ita   *'g(i)-*   *aba*   na   a'nas   'gal   ka'lam su'nu?
          PRON 2SING   PROG-   refuse   to   people   that(EMPH)   why?
          'That: ahah, your bicycle, if/every time people want to learn [to drive] it, why do you refuse the people?'

(365.)   Nyere'ku kan   'ita   *'g(i)-*   *alim(u),*   'aju   'dugu   gi-   *'fi*   'sia.
          child   if   PRON 2SING   PROG-   teach   need-Ø   beat-GER   PROG-   EXIS   bit
          'If you teach a child, there should be a bit of beating.'

Thirdly, some speakers apparently treat the verbs *'gen* and *'gai* 'stay', 'sit', 'live', 'remain', and *'ben* 'look like', 'resemble', grammatically as non-stative verbs, which means that in their speech these verbs mainly occur with the progressive marker *gi-*, even when not conveying habitual or inchoative meaning. Several of these speakers have stayed for a longer or shorter time in southern Sudan, and may thus have been influenced by Juba Arabic, where, according to Mahmud (1979: 86-87) the marker *gi-* and verbs like 'stay', 'stay silent', 'live' regularly co-occur. Although other verbs are affected as well - be it rather infrequently and irregularly (for instance *'arufu* in (368.))- the main verbs that take the progressive marker are *'gen*, *'gai* 'sit', 'remain', and *'ben* 'seem', 'look like', as illustrated in (366.) and (367.):

(366.)   La'kin   'nas   ma'ma   'tena   *gi-*   *'gai*   bo'yi   min   'na.
          but   COLL   mother   PRON POSS 1PL   PROG-   stay   far   from   there
          'But my mother and her family stay far from there.'

(367.)   *Gi-*   *'ben*   'j(e)   ina   'ya   'katul(u) nyere'ku 'toumon   'de.
          PROG-   seem   like   PRON 1PL   FOC   kill-Ø   child   PRON POSS 3PL   DEF
          'It looks as if we are the ones who killed their child.'

(368.) nyere'ku   (…)   ke'd(e) uo   'alim   ta'biya ta   'gai
        child   SUBJ   PRON 3SING learn-Ø habit   GEN   stay-GER
        ma   a'nas   'kweis, ke'd(e) uo   *'g(i)-*   *aruf*   'selem   difa'na (…)
        COM   people   well   SUBJ   PRON 3SING PROG-   know   greet-Ø guest-PL
        'a child (…) it should learn the habit to stay well with the people, it should know [how] to greet guests
        (…).'

Summarizing the above, the unmarked simple verb form can be linked to punctual aspect, whereas the progressive marker *gi-* is the marker for non-punctual aspect. As long as no other time marking is available, the bare form of non-stative verbs refers to the past, whereas the non-stative verb preceded by the *gi-* marker refers to a present event. Stative verbs do not normally take the progressive marker, except when indicating the inchoative of stative verbs and verbal adjectives, when denoting habitual or generic aspect, and with the verbs *'gen, 'gai* 'sit', 'stay', and *'ben* 'look like', 'seem' in the speech of a limited group.

However, besides its use expressing punctual aspect, the simple verb form can be used in all other contexts and may therefore refer to all other aspects and tenses, like durative, habitual, iterative, past, present, future. The context, other marked verbs, and/or adverbs give information about the time and aspectual framework in which to situate the action or situation expressed by the unmarked verb form:

* future, as in (369.):

(369.) 'Itokum   bi-   'arija,   .
        PRON 2PL   FUT-   return
        'itokum   *'rua*   'gai   fi   'be   'takum
        PRON 2PL   go-Ø   stay-Ø   in   house   PRON POSS 2PL
        'You(PL) will come back, you will go to stay at your(PL) place.'

* durative:

(370.) 'Dinya   ki'lele   'de   'kul,   'ita   *'gus*   'wélédu?!!
        enormity   noise   DEM PROX   all   PRON 2SING   look for-Ø   bear-INF
        'All this noise, you are attempting to give birth/ you are mating?!! '

* habitual, as illustrated in (371.):

(371.) Yo'wele,'kila   min   'sub,   'uo   *'kub*   'moyo   'te   te   'maua.
        boy   every   in   morning   PRON 3SING pour-Ø   water   under   GEN   flowers
        'The boy, every morning, he pours water under the flowers.'

The progressive marker *gi-* is equally neutral as regards tense. It is, however, not neutral with respect to aspect. Events expressed by non-stative verbs with the progressive marker *gi-* can be situated in past, present or future, as long as tense is marked by other means, such as adverbs, tense marking on other verbs, or the context:

* the progressive marker in the past: In (372.), tense is marked in the introductory sentence, and again in the second sentence, both times by *'kan. 'kan* is, however, not repeated in the following sentences.

(372.) 'Ana,   fi   wa'kati   al   *'kan*   *'ana*   *'fi*   *gi-*   *'raba*,
        PRON 1SING   in   time   REL   ANT   PRON 1SING   EXIS   PROG-   grow up
        ma'ma   'tai   'me   'endi   'hukum   'fog(o)   'ana.
        mother PRON POSS 1SING   NEG   have-Ø   authority   on   PRON 1SING
        'Kan   ma'ma   'de,   ma'ma   'wai,   ji'ran   'bes   je'de   'ya
        ANT   mother DEF   mother INDEF   neighbour   EMPH   EMPH   FOC
        gu-   'hukum(u)   'ita   fi   'batna   'be   'takum.
        PROG-   have authority over   PRON 2SING   on   inside   house   PRON POSS 2PL
        Gi-   'ben   je   'uo   'ya   ma'ma   'taki.
        PROG-   look   like   PRON 3SING   FOC   mother PRON POSS 2SING
        'I, at the time when I was growing up, my mother did not have authority over me. It was the mother, a
        mother, the neighbour who had authority over you inside your (PL) house. It looked as if she were your
        mother.'

* the progressive marker in the future:

(373.) 'Itokum   bi-   'arija   'gai   fi   line,
        PRON 2PL   FUT-   return   stay   in   line
        'itokum   *gi-*   *'juru*   'youm.
        PRON 2PL   PROG-   pull   day(s)
        'You (PL) will stay together again, you will pull/ increase the days.'

        Essentially, the simple verb form and the *gi-* marker refer to punctual and non-punctual aspect
respectively. Moreover, the simple verb form can express any tense or aspect, including continuation
and repetition, on the condition that these are marked by other means, such as adverbs and adverbial
phrases, the context, etc. The progressive marker is neutral with respect to time, and always denotes
non-punctuality.

4.2.1.2. *The future marker* **bi-**

        The verbal prefix *bi-* marks unrealized future events and is commonly found in conditional
sentences. Besides marking future events, it can also mark habitual actions irrespective of time. We will
first take a look at the use of *bi-* to mark future events. Rather than expressing strict futurity, the prefix
bi- adds a modal meaning signifying volition or strong expectation of future events. No clear time
indication is given, as illustrated in (374.) and (375.):

(374.) 'Ina   'bes   gi-   'doru,   (…),   ba'kan   al   ya'tu?
        PRON 1PL   just   PROG-   wander around   place   REL   what?
        'Ana   *bi-*   *lo'go*   'fogo   'be.
        PRON 1SING   FUT-   find   in it   home
        'We are just wandering around, (…), [to] which place? I will find a home in it.'

(375.) 'Kweis, 'ana   ka'man *bi-*   *'wonusu*   'sia   (…).
        good   PRON 1SING   also   FUT-   talk   a little bit
        'Good, I will also talk a little bit (…).'

The above sentences are examples of the absolute future, future events as seen from the present
moment. Relative future events, seen from a reference point in the past, are also expressed with the
future marker *bi-,* as illustrated in (376.):

(376.) DMO,   medical districti ta   'Toro   we'di   'nena   'sente   'sia
        DMO   medical district   GEN   Toro   give-Ø   to + PRON 1PL   money   bit
        al   *'b(i)-* *awun(u)* 'ina   fu   'akil   'tena.
        REL   FUT-   help   PRON 1PL   in   food   PRON POSS 1PL
        'The DMO, the medical district of Toro gave us a little money which would help us for [buying] our
        food.'

The future marker *bi-* may also express a present or future possibility or potentiality. When occurring with the negative marker *'ma,* it may indicate non-possibility or non-potentiality, as shown in (377.) and (378.):

(377.) A'jol   ab   a'wiri   *bi-*   *ali'm(u)*   uo   ke'fin?
        person   REL   stupid   FUT-   train-PASS   PRON 3SING   how?
        'How can a stupid person be trained?'

(378.) 'Bele   *bi-*   *'raba*   *'ma*   u   'Nubi   *bi-*   *'raba*   *'ma*!
        country FUT-   develop   NEG   CONJ   Nubi   FUT-   develop NEG
        'The country won't develop and the Nubi won't develop!'

The future marker *bi-* is common in conditional clauses, as in (379.) and (380.):

(379.) Kan   'sa   'to   'lisa,   (…),
        if   time   PRON POSS 3SING   still
        'ite   *bu-*   'endi   'kutu   'nouo   'moyo.
        PRON 2SING   FUT-   have   put-Ø   for + PRON 3SING   water
        'If his time is still [continuing], you will have to put water for him.'

(380.) Ma'isha 'de   'ya   kan   bi-   'gai   jo   'wede'de,
        life   DEM PROX   FOC   if   FUT-   stay   like   DEM PROX
        bu-   *'kun*   ke'fini?
        FUT-   be   how?
        'If this life will stay like this, how will it be?'

Besides future marking, *bi-* may as well indicate a habitual action or event, irrespective of time, as illustrated in in (381.) and (382.). In this respect, it is interchangeable with the marker *gi-*. Below, I will attribute this interchangeability to an ongoing process in which *bi-* is gradually being replaced by *gi-* in marking the habitual.

(381.) Ya'la   ta   'ina   te   you'min'de,   ta'fauti   'fi   'fogo.
        child-PL   GEN   here   GEN   nowadays   difference(s) EXIS   in it
        Ka'lam 'uo   *'b(i)-*   *aj(u)*   'ainu   ma'ma 'taki   'ma.
        because PRON 3SING   FUT-   want   consider-Ø   mother PRON POSS 2SING   NEG
        'The children of here and of current times are different. Because he/they do not want to consider your mother.'

(382.) La'kini 'ma   'ya   je   ta   'ase'de. 'Sente   'ma'fi.
        but   NEG   FOC   like   GEN   now   money   EXIS NEG
        Gi-   'só   'saki.   'Itokum   *bi-*   *'zikiri*
        PROG-   do-PASS   for free PRON 2PL   PROG-   recite (for)
        a'nas   ta   ra'kabu,   (…)
        people GEN   cook-GER
        'But it is not like (of) now. There is no money. It is done for free. You(PL) recite for the cooks, (…).'

Let us consider the use of *bi-* and/or *gi-* in marking habituality in Nubi. For Kenyan Nubi, neither Heine (1982) nor Owens (1977) mention the use of *bi-* to mark the habitual. However, if we take a look at Heine's text on wedding customs (Heine 1982: 53-55), it seems that, as in Ugandan Nubi, both *bi-* and *gi-* are used to indicate the habitual. The text material is, however, not extensive enough to see whether there are any developments. In Ugandan Nubi, *bi-* marks the future and the habitual, whereas *gi-* is obviously a marker of non-punctuality, including among its functions the marking of duration and iterativity/habituality. In one text portion and even in one sentence, speakers, whether from the north or the south, whether old or young, may use both *gi-* and *bi-* to express habituality. Generally, *gi-* marks the habitual more frequently than *bi-*, as is the case in the Kenyan Nubi text on wedding customs (21 times *gi-* compared to 8 times *bi-*). Moreover, in Heine's texts, *gi-* is used instead

of *bi-,* with the stative verbs *'gen* 'sit, stay', *'gai* 'sit, remain', and *'ben* 'look like', and with all other stative verbs to mark habituality. Generally in Nubi, a distinction is made for stative vs. non-stative verbs. On the other hand, some stative verbs, the most outstanding being *'gen* and *'gai*, may appear with the marker *gi-.* Moreover, in general, stative verbs use the progressive marker *gi-* to denote habituality or inchoativeness. The above implies that a process in which the stative/non-stative distinction is gradually smoothened, seems to be taking place, both in Ugandan and in Kenyan Nubi. However, *gi-* rather than *bi-* marks stative verbs. Therefore, I have the impression that an evolution is taking place in which *gi-* is gradually taking over the function of *bi-* in expressing habituality. Since *gi-* and *bi-* are used in Nubi to refer to habitual events, and because at the same time the bare verb form is neutral as regards aspect and time on condition that tense and aspect are clearly set in the text, the simple verb form and the *bi-* and *gi-* markers may co-occur in one text portion to express habituality, as illustrated in (383.):

(383.) *Gi-   ji'bu   'waraga.   'Waraga,'ragi   'de   bi-   'katif*
        PROG- bring-PASS   letter   letter   man   DEF   FUT-   write
        'waraga.   'Uo   'rasul.
        letter   PRON 3SING   send-Ø
        '[Usually], a letter is brought. A letter, the man writes a letter. He sends [it]. (wedding custom)'

bi-gi-V: Although only attested in a limited amount of instances, *bi-* and *gi-* may co-occur in Nubi in the order *bi-gi-V* to mark a future progressive. Its users are mainly from the southern part of Uganda. In this combination, *bi-* mainly marks futurity, whereas *gi-* marks the non-punctual.

(384.) Ka'man   mo   du'a   al   wa'ze   'de   *bu-   gu-   'womba*
        EMPH   with   plea   REL   parent(s)DEF   FUT-   PROG- ask
        'nouo,   'ya   bu-   'kun   'nouo   ja   'heiri.
        for + PRON 3SING   CONJ   FUT-   be   for + PRON 3SING   like   good thing
        'With the plea to God which the parents will be asking for him, it will be for him like a good thing.'

However, in two instances (out of 8) uttered by the same speaker, *bi-* does not refer to a future, but seems to confirm the habitual aspect already conveyed by the marker *gi-*:

(385.) 'Bes   'libu   gu-   'nutu-nu'tu.   'Bes   gi-   'ben
        EMPH   dance   PROG-   jump-REDUP-PASS   EMPH   PROG-   seem
        ka'lam   ta   fu'rai   'tu   na   a'nas   al   *bi-   'g(i)-   ainu.*
        thing   GEN   fun   EMPH   to   people   REL   FUT-   PROG-   watch
        The dance is being jumped. It seems to be a funny thing to the people who are watching.'

(386.) Ka'man   'yo   'uo   gu-   'sulu,   'uo   *bi-   'gu-   rwa,*
        also   CONJ   PRON 3SING   PROG-   take   PRON 3SING   FUT-   PROG- go
        'uo   gi-   'raba   me   ta'biya   we'de.
        PRON 3SING   PROG-   grow up   with   custom   DEM PROX
        'Thus he also takes [it], he goes [with it], he grows up with this custom.'

4.2.1.3. The anterior marker 'kan

Nubi *'kan* [111] is the past tense of the verb 'be'. On the other hand, it functions to mark anteriority. *'kan* indicates that the event or state, expressed by the verb, took place before the time in focus, and is not in existence anymore. The anterior marker may thus mark a past-before-past, as illustrated in (387.) and (388.):

(387.) Ka'lam   al   gi'bel   *'kan   rasu'l(u)*   'nana,
        thing   REL   before   ANT   send-PASS-Ø   to + PRON 1SING
        'ana   'so   ka'la.
        PRON 1SING   do-Ø   COMPL

---

[111] Anterior *'kan* differs from conditional *kan* in Nubi in that the first one is stressed, and accordingly has high pitch, while conditional *kan* does not.

'The thing which was sent to me before, I have done [it].'

(388.) 'It(a)   'arija   'adul(u) ba'kan 'de
        PRON 2SING   return-Ø   repair-Ø place   DEF
        ja   ba'kan   al   *'kan   afu'ta*   'ma.
        like   place   REL   ANT   dig-PASS-Ø   NEG
        'You repaired the place again like a place which had not been dug.

With stative verbs, the anterior marker may denote a remote past state, as in (389.):

(389.) *'Kan   'fi*   'ragi   'wai   fi   Riya'ga 'na.
        ANT   EXIS   man   INDEF   in   Riyaga   there.
        'There was a man in Riyaga there.'

or it expresses a past-before-past, as shown in (390.):

(390.) 'Kabla   'ita   'sulu   'badu   ma   'sheik,
        before   PRON 2SING   take   RECIP   with   sheikh
        'kan   'ita   *'fi*   fi   ba'kan ya'tu?
        ANT   PRON 2SING   EXIS   in   place   what?
        'Before you lived together with the sheikh, at which place had you been?

However, *'kan* followed by a non-stative verb may denote perfective aspect. In this context, it may co-occur with the completive marker *ka'las* (see also below), as illustrated in (391.) and (392.):

(391.) 'Na're,   'lam   'gaba   *'kan*   *'akul(u)* nyere'ku 'tai.
        today   meat   forest   ANT   eat-Ø   child   PRON POSS 1SING
        'Today, a wild animal has eaten my child. (and now my child is gone)'

(392.) 'Wede   *'kan*   'ina   *'wonus*   'fogo   ka'las.
        DEM PROX   ANT   PRON 1PL   talk-Ø   on it   COMPL
        'This, we have talked about it already. [and now we know it]'

The marker *'kan* may come between the subject and the main verb. More often, however, it precedes the subject, as in (393.):

(393.) 'Taki,   *'kan*   'ita   *'feker* ya'tu?
        PRON POSS 2SING   ANT   PRON 2SING   think-Ø   what?
        'Yours, what did you think of?'

     In several clauses, given the context and its temporal structure, the function of the marker *'kan* cannot be one of marking anteriority. Consider (394.), where the distribution of money occurred before 'going and doing' something with it. Yet the marker *'kan* stands with the second consecutive verb. It seems that, rather than simply asking what the son did with the money, the question is what he could have done with it. In other words, a certain vagueness and contingency is conveyed and in conditional clauses conditionality. It thus appears that in this and other related sentences, *'kan,* rather than being a marker of anteriority, is a marker of modality.

(394.) 'Sente   ta   ba'ba   'tena,   al   we'di   'nena,
        money   GEN   father   PRON POSS 1PL   REL   give-PASS-Ø   to + PRON 1PL
        'uo   *'kan*   *'ro*   *'so*   'mo   su'nu?
        PRON 3SING   ANT   go-Ø   do-Ø   with+ PRON 3SING   what?
        'The money of our father, which was given to us, what could he have gone to do with it?'

The anterior marker *'kan,* marking modality, occurs most frequently with stative verbs. *'kan* followed by the verb *'aju* 'want', 'like' is very common among Nubi speakers, and conveys a polite request or a modest wish, as in (395.) and (396.):

(395.) 'Sokol   ab   *'kan*   'it(a)   *'aju,*   'bes   'kelem   'nana.
        thing   REL   ANT   PRON 2SING   want-Ø   just   tell-IMPER   to + PRON 1SING
        'Anything that you would like, just tell me.'

(396.) A'sa,   *'kan*   'in(a)   *'aba*   'ma.
        now   ANT   PRON 1PL   refuse-Ø   NEG
        'Now, we would not refuse/ we cannot refuse.'

I found only a few instances of *'kan*, marking modality, being used with non-stative verbs, as illustrated in (394.) and (397.):

(397.) A'ta,   *'kan*   'ino   *'so*   sa'fari.   'In(a)   'aju   'ro
        no   ANT   PRON 1PL   do-Ø   trip   PRON 1PL   want-Ø   go-Ø
        'mou(o)   'sawa.   'Ja   'kun   'bakti   ba'tali.
        with + PRON 3SING   together   come-Ø   be-Ø   luck   bad
        'Uo   'jo   'mutu   'gaflan.
        PRON 3SING   come-Ø   die-Ø   suddenly
        'No, we would make a trip. We wanted to go together with him. Bad luck came. He died suddenly.'

Combinations of the core markers *gi-*, *bi-*, and *'kan*: *'kan* may be combined with the marker *gi-* to express a past progressive, and with the marker *bi-* to express counterfactuality. In theory, it can co-occur with both markers *gi-* and *bi-* to express a non-punctual counterfactual. However, in practice, this combination occurs only seldom.

  'kan gi- **V***:* The combination of the anterior marker and the progressive marker denotes non-punctual states or events which have come to an end before the time of speaking.

(398.) Gu'mas   'to   al   *'kan*   'uo   *gu-*   *'so*
        cloth   PRON POSS 3SING   REL   ANT   PRON 3SING   PROG-   do
        te   'sélís(i)   a'nas   'de,   'uw(o)   'amrug(u),
        GEN   preach-INF   people   DEF   PRON 3SING   take off-Ø
        'uo   'kutu   'na.
        PRON 3SING   put-Ø   there
        'His cloth which he was using for preaching to the people, he took it off, he put it there.'

If time reference is indicated by other means, non-punctuality in the past can be expressed by simply using the progressive marker (cf. above 4.2.1.1.). In (399.) initially the past time is referred to by means of an adverb. In the next sentence, however, the anterior marker is used.

(399.) Za'mani,   'ana   *gi-*   *'gen*   fi   En'teb(be).   'Ase,   'gen
        in the past   PRON 1SING   PROG-   stay   in   NPROP   now   stay-GER
        al   'ana   'gen   fi   En'tebbe   'na'de,
        REL   PRON 1SING   stay-Ø   in   NPROP   DEM DIS
        je   'ragi   'tai   al   *'kan*   *'jowj(u)* 'ana   ta
        like   husband PRON POSS 1SING   REL   ANT   marry-Ø PRON 1SING   GEN
        aw'lani 'umon   *'kan*   *gu-*   *'so*   'kidima ta   aja'ma ta   'moyo.
        NUM   PRON 3PL   ANT   PROG-   do   work   GEN   people GEN   water
        'In the past, I stayed in Entebbe. Now, that staying which I stayed in Entebbe, like my husband who had married me first, they were doing the work of fishermen.'

  'kan bi- V: The combination of the anterior marker *'kan* and the future marker *bi-* may denote a perfect action in a future as seen from a time in focus, as illustrated in (400.):

(400.)   'Sa   al   *'kan*   'uo   *bi-*   *'ja*   fogo,
          moment REL   ANT   PRON 3SING   FUT-   come   in it
          'uo   gi-   'ja-'ja   'gai   fi   'ras   ta   a'jol   al (…).
          PRON 3SING   PROG-   come-REDUP   sit-Ø   in   head   GEN   person   REL
          'The moment that it will have come, it comes and sits on the head of the person who (…)'

The combination of the marker *'kan* and the future marker, however, mainly expresses
counterfactuality. The agent had a strong intention to conduct an action, or there was a strong
expectation for an event to occur, but the action or the event did not take place:

(401.)   'Dukur ka'lam   'to   'de   gi-   'ja   ke'fifu
          then   problem PRON POSS 3SING   DEF   PROG-   become   light
          min   *'kan*   *bu-*   *'kuwa*   te'gili.
          instead ANT   FUT-   be   tough
          'Then his problem becomes light instead that it would have been tough.'

(402.)   'Moyo   al   ka'las   ke'bir   'ya   *'kan*   al   'uo   *'b(i)-*   *agider*
          water   REL   EMPH   big   CONJ   ANT   REL   PRON 3SING   FUT-   be able
          'adi   'ma   'de,   'yal(a) a'nasi   'de   'gata   'mo   'seri (…).
          cross-Ø NEG   DEF   well   people   DEF   cut-Ø   with+ PRON 3SING   shore
          'The water which was very big, thus which he would not have been able to cross, well the people
          crossed it with him.'

'kan bi-V frequently occurs in the main clause of conditional clauses and expresses an hypothesis or
counterfactuality, as illustrated in (403.):

(403.)   Kan   'kan   'it(a)   'arufu   a'nas   'to,
          if   ANT   PRON 2SING   know-Ø   people   PRON POSS 3SING
          'kan   'ina   *'b(i)-*   aburu   'so   su'nu?
          ANT   PRON 1PL   FUT-   try   do-Ø   what?
          'If you had known his people, what could we have tried to do?'

The same meaning of contingency, vagueness, conditionality, and/or counterfactuality may also be
expressed by means of modal *'kan* + verb (see above). However, the latter combination only occurs in
the northern part of Uganda, and its use is restricted to elder people, whereas modal *'kan bi-* V is
common in the south and among younger speakers of Nubi. This may be an indication for the gradual
loss of the modal *'kan* V-construction in favour of *'kan bi-* V. Modal *'kan* + *bi*-V may as well convey
strong obligation, as in (404.):

(404.)   *'Kan*   'ita   *bi-*   *'kelem*   'nena.
          ANT   PRON 2SING   FUT-   tell   to + PRON 1PL
          'You should have told us!'

'kan bi- gi- V: Although considered to be correct by my informants, this combination does not
occur in the text material. From elicitation, I give the following (context neutral) example with *'kan*,
expressing an unrealized event in the past of an habitual nature.

(405.)   Kan   'kan   'ana   'endi   'gudra   mi'lan,
          if   ANT   PRON 1SING   have-Ø   energy   much
          'kan   'ana   *bi-*   *gi-*   *'kasul*   'kila   'youm.
          ANT   PRON 1SING   FUT-   PROG-   wash   every   day
          'If I had had a lot of energy, I would have been washing daily.'

4.2.1.4. Auxiliaries and other markers

Besides the core verbal markers of Nubi, which were discussed above, Nubi uses the non-core verbal markers *ka'las* and *'lisa* for completion and non-completion respectively, and the auxiliaries *'rua* 'go', *'ja* 'come', *'gum* 'get up', *'arija* 'return' and *'gen/'gai* 'sit', 'stay', and the existential marker *'fi*. These verbs may occur as free verbs. However, they can be considered auxiliaries as well since their original meanings have been lost, and later reinterpreted and grammaticalized as markers of intention, future, inception, duration, iterativity, etc. The above verbs have all been subjected to semantic depletion and as such have been reanalysed as auxiliaries. In every single instance, however, the rate of depletion varies. Even if *gi- 'rua* V particularly marks an immediate future, the idea of motion towards may still be relevant. Similar considerations apply to the other auxiliary verbs. For instance, in (406.), the verb construction *gi- 'ja 'masi* refers especially to the beginning of the action of walking which is repeated daily from today onwards till the day the other man comes back. The verb *'ja* thus marks the inception of the action. Yet the verb *'masi* 'walk' implies motion, and from the context we know that it is a motion towards the speaker, which is implicit in the verb *'ja* 'come'.

(406.)	'Ase	ba'ba	*gi-*	*'ja*	*'masi*	min	fi	ta'riki	we'de (…)
	now	father X	PROG-	come	walk-Ø	form	in	date	DEM PROX
	'ladi	fi	ta'rik	al	ba'ba	'de	'b(i)-	arija	'fogo.
	until	in	date	REL	father Y	DEF	FUT-	return	in it
	'Now, the father X starts walking from this date (…) until the date when father Y will return.'

In other instances, however, the original meaning of the auxiliary verb has been totally lost, as in most of the above mentioned sentences.

4.2.1.4.1. The auxiliary *'rua*

***'rua* V marking intention**: The auxiliary *'rua* takes a simple verb. No instances were found of *'rua gi-V*. It does not occur frequently and seems to indicate a movement on the part of the agent which is more or less strongly intended, and does not accidentally come about, as illustrated in (407.):

(407.)	'Umon	*'ro*	*'agif*	'in	'ladi	'na're.
	PRON 3PL	go-Ø	stop-Ø	here	until	today
	'They stopped here until today.'

***gi- 'rua* V marking an immediate future:** The progressive marker *gi-* followed by *'rua* V, generally realized as *'gurwa* V, expresses that the event referred to by the main verb is expected to take place at any instant. *gi- 'rua* V thus differs from *bi-*V in that the former denotes an imminent future, whereas the latter refers to a general future. Both transmit the idea of strong intention and/or definiteness, *gi- 'rua* V because of the immediacy of the event, and *bi-* V because of the strong volition on the part of the subject (see also Owens 1977: 233).

(408.)	'Ase'de	ka'las	'ja	la'siya .	*'Gu-*	*rwa*	*'ja*	'sa	ta	'num.
	now	COMPL	come-Ø	evening	PROG-	go	come-Ø	hour	GEN	sleep-GER
	'Now, it has already become evening. It is going to become the time of sleeping.'

(409.)	Mo'hammed		*gi-*	'gai-'gai		'bara		
	NPROP		PROG-	stay-REDUP		outside		
	'ladi	*gu-*	*ru'a*	*ji'b(u)*		uo	ma	'jibu.
	until	PROG-	go-PASS	bring-PASS-Ø		PRON 3SING	with	bring-GER
	'Mohammed stays outside until he is going to be brought (with bringing).'

***'kan 'gurwa* V:** It refers either to a future event of which the speaker is certain that it is not going to be realized, as in (410.), or to an unrealized event which was going to take place in the past, as in (411.), (cf. *'kan bi-* V).

(410.)

'Sa	'na'de	kan	*'kan*	*gu-*	*ru'wa*	*raka'b(u)*	akili	'ma,
moment	DEM DIS	if	ANT	PROG-	go-PASS	cook-PASS-Ø	food	NEG
'uo		'ja	ma	'samaga. (…).				
PRON 3SING		come-Ø	with	fish				
'Akil	'to			'de	'ya	gu-	su'lu.	
food	PRON POSS 3SING			DEF	FOC	PROG-	take-PASS	

'If food will not have been prepared by that moment, he comes with fish, (…). His food is being   taken.'

(411.)

'Bas,	'ana	gi-	'dakal	'motoka.	Gu-	'gum.	*'Kan*	'an
well	PRON 1SING	PROG-	enter	car	PROG-	get off	ANT	PRON 1SING
'gu-	*rwa*	*'fadul*	fu	ba'kan	'na'de.			
PROG-	go	remain-Ø	in	place	DEM DIS			

'Well, I was going in the car. It was setting off. I was going to be left in that place.'

'gurwa **V** *bi-***V**: In my recordings I found one instance of *'gurwa* V followed by the marker *bi-* + verb. It seems to mark an habitual. According to my main informant this is not a correct form.

(412.)

A'zol	*'gu-*	*rwa*	*bi-*	*'dakal*	fi	'din	te	Is'lam	je'didi,
person	PROG-	go	FUT-	enter	in	religion	GEN	Islam	newly
kan	'ita		bi-	'jib	sha'hada		'mafi,		
if	PRON 2SING		FUT-	bring	testimony		NEG		
Is'lam	'taki			'de	'gi-	'tim		'mafi (…).	
Islam	PRON POSS 2SING			DEF	PROG-	be sufficient		NEG	

'Someone who is going to convert newly to the religion of Islam, if you do not bring [your] testimony, your Islam is not sufficient (…).'

*gi- 'rua gi-***V marking gradualness:** Contrary to *'gurwa* V, *'gurwa gi-*V may refer to a present, as well as to a future time. More important than the temporal reference is the indication of the gradual nature of the event or state. The idea is conveyed that either the continuous process is developing step by step, or that the iterative action is repeated incessantly, as in (413.) and (414.):

(413.)

Ru'tan	*'gu-*	*rwa*	*gi-*	*'so*	su'nu?	Gu-	'wodur	ma'rai.
language	PROG-	go	PROG-	do	what?	PROG-	disappear	at once
'Ana		gu-	'wonus(u)	ru'tan	Mu'ganda	'fogo,	(…).	
PRON 1SING		PROG-	talk	language	NPROP	in it		

'What is the [Nubi] language doing gradually? It is disappearing altogether. I am talking the Luganda language in it, (…).'

(414.)

Ju'a	to	'nus	'umon	al	'umon	'sebu	'na'de,
house-PL	GEN	among	PRON 3PL	REL	PRON 3PL	leave-Ø	DEM DIS
'kulu	*gu-*	*ru'o*		*gi-*	*hara'gu,*	*gi-*	*hara'gu.*
all	PROG-	go-PASS		PROG-	burn-PASS	PROG-	burn-PASS

'Those houses from among those which they left, are all being burnt down one by one.'

bi- 'rua **V marking an uncertain future:** *bi- 'rua* V or *'burwa* V refers to a very vague, remote, uncertain future, as illustrated in (415.) and (416.):

(415.)

(…)	kan	sa'ba (…)	'ita	'ja	a'yan,	mu'nu	'ya
	if	tomorrow	PRON 2SING	become-Ø	ill	who	FOC
bi-	'jo	'gum,	*'bu-*	*rwa*	*'so*	'badul	'ita	'na?
FUT-	come	get up-Ø	FUT-	go	do-Ø	instead of	PRON 2SING	there

'(…) if tomorrow (…) you will become ill, who is it who will get up, [who] will do [it] instead of you there?'

(416.) 'Rabana *'bu-*   *rw(a)*   *'asad(u)*   'ita   fi   'rizigi
        God   FUT-   go   question-Ø   PRON 2SING   in   wealth
        al   'ita   gi-   lo'go.
        REL   PRON 2SING PROG-   receive
        'God will question you about the wealth that you are receiving.'

4.2.1.4.2. The auxiliary *'ja*

'ja **V marking inchoativeness:** The auxiliary *'ja* frequently denotes inchoativeness.

(417.) 'Ya   'ragi   'to   *'jo*   *'rua*   fi   'kátúl   'lam   'gaba.
        CONJ   husband PRON POSS 3SING   come-Ø   go-Ø   in   kill-INF   meat   forest
        'Thus her husband left to kill wild animals/hunting.'

It is often reduplicated, however without a change of meaning, as illustrated in (418.):

(418.) (…)   kan   'kan   ma'ma   'de,
                 if   be-ANT   mother   DEF
        school fees   'je-'já   ga'ta   'ma.
        school fees   come-REDUP-PASS-Ø   cut-PASS-Ø   NEG
        '(…), if the mother had been there, the school fees would not have been cut.'

The auxiliary *'ja*, expressing inchoativeness, often co-occurs with the verb *'abidu* 'begin':

(419.) 'Ya   min   'na   'ina   'ja   'abidu   'arij(a)-'arija
        CONJ   from   there   PRON 1PL   come-Ø   begin-Ø   return-REDUP-Ø
        fi   ga'raya.
        in   study-GER
        'Thus from there we began to return to studying/we began to study again.'

The auxiliary *'ja* with a *gi*-prefix may, like the bare form *'ja*, denote inchoativeness in the past, present or future in verbal and nominal sentences. *gi-* adds the notion of non-punctuality, as in (420.):

(420.) 'Ase'de, fi   'sana   ta   'tisa wu se'bein
        now   in   year   GEN   NUM
        'ya   'ina   *gi-*   *'ja*   'jere   'wen?   Fi   Su'dan.
        FOC   PRON 1PL   PROG-   come   run-Ø   where? in   NPROP
        'Now, in the year seventy nine it was that we were setting off to run off where? To Sudan.'

gi- 'ja V may also refer to the inception of any action that is part of a series of iterative and/or habitual actions, as illustrated in (421.):

(421.) Ba'kan 'na'de   'fogo   'ges   to'wil…
        place   DEM DIS   in it   grass   long
        'An(a)   'aju   keta   *gi-*   *'ja*   'rua   fogo   'ma.
        PRON 1SING   want-Ø   SUBJ + PRON 2SING   PROG-   come   go-Ø   in it   NEG
        'That place, there is long grass in it…. I don't want you to go repeatedly into it.'

With the future prefix *bi-*, *'ja* marks a future inceptive, as shown in (422.):

(422.) 'Nuru   'g(i)-   abidu   'ben
        light   PROG-   begin   look like-Ø
        je   'semsi   ka'la   ge'ri   *bi-*   *'ja*   'tala.
        like   sun   COMPL   nearly   FUT-   come   come out-Ø
        'The light begins to look as if the sun nearly will already rise/as if the sun is already about to rise.'

The auxiliary *'ja* can be marked by the marker *'kan*. As such, it expresses a perfect state that is the result of a change of situation, as illustrated in (423.):

(423.) 'Bada   'leavu,   gi-   ji'b(u)   umon
        after   leave   PROG-   bring-PASS   PRON 3PL
        'ladi   'namna   'toumon   'kan   'jo   'wegif.
        until/unless   way   PRON POSS 3PL   ANT   come-Ø   stop-Ø
        'After leave, they are brought unless their way/trip has come to stop.'

In the above sentences, the main verb occurred in its bare form. Less frequently, *'ja* (or *gi- 'ja*) is followed by a verb with the progressive marker *gi-*. It refers to the inception of an action that takes place continuously or iteratively, as illustrated in (424.):

(424.) 'Ana   'je-'ja   gi-   ni'situ   'tan   ka'man.
        PRON 1SING   come-REDUP-Ø PROG- forget   other   EMPH
        'I began to forget others.'

gi-'ja **V marking a future:** *gi- 'ja* V refers to a future. Time reference is vaguer than with *gi-'rua* V. A less strong intention is involved, as shown in (425.):

(425.) *Gi-*   *'ja*   *'waja*   'zaidi   kan   'itokum   'fiku.
        PROG-come   hurt-Ø   a lot   when   PRON 2PL   untie-Ø
        'It will hurt a lot when you(PL) untie [it].'

bi-'ja **V marking a remote future:** The combination of the future marker and the verb *'ja* 'come', followed by the main verb, expresses confidence that a future event will happen, based on what is taking place now or on what is expected to take place in the future. However, since we are relying on other unrealized events, we cannot be too certain that the event will really take place.

(426.) Kele'm(u)   'keta   gi-   'gen   'in.
        tell-PASS-Ø   SUBJ + PRON 2SING   PROG-   stay   here
        'Yeta   bi-   'ja   'gen   ma   'sudur.
        CONJ + PRON 2SING   FUT-   come   stay-Ø   with   breast(s)
        'It is told that you should stay here. Then you will be with/have breasts.'

The future marker *bi- 'ja* V closely resembles the future inchoative *bi- 'ja* V. Both, indeed, refer to a future event or a future change of state. Inchoative *bi- 'ja* V, however, expresses a change of situation, while future *bi- 'ja* V emphasizes in particular that the event cannot take place without another action/event occurring first.

As seen above, Nubi has several means to mark a future event/state, which, however, all express subtle differences relating to intention and remoteness in the future. They are summarized in table 18.

speakers' certainty time	strong →	→	→	→ less strong
immediate future	*'gurwa* V			
indefinite future	*bi-* V	*gi- 'ja* V		
remote future			*bi- 'ja* V	*'burwa* V

table 18: Future expressions

4.2.1.4.3. The auxiliary *'gum*

The verb *'gum* means 'get up', 'wake up', 'stand'. *'gum (gi-)* V may, however, function as an auxiliary marking inchoativeness, as illustrated in (427.) and (428.). It occurs less frequently than *'ja (gi-)* V.

(427.)	'Ya	ma'ma	'baga	*'gum*		gi-	*'kore.*
	CONJ	mother	even	get up-Ø		PROG-	cry

'Thus even mother began to cry.'

(428.)	'Sa	al	'ina	*'gum*	*'jere*	fi	Su'dan, (…).
	hour	REL	PRON 1PL	get up-Ø	run-Ø	in	NPROP

'The moment that we started running off to Sudan, (…).'

4.2.1.4.4. The auxiliary *'arija*

The zero-marked form of the verb *'arija* 'come back', 'return' can be reanalysed as an auxiliary used to mark repetition. In (429.), we see that the repeated actions may be conducted by different agents. The adverb *'mara 'tan* 'another time', 'again' optionally emphasizes the meaning of *'arija*, as illustrated in (430.):

(429.)	'Lam	'gaba	'tan	*'arija 'ja.*	*Ari'ja*	*asa'd(u)*	uo.
	meat	forest	other	return-Ø come-Ø	return-PASS-Ø	ask-PASS-Ø	PRON 3SING
	'Uw(o)			*'arija*	*'kelem:* (…).		
	PRON 3SING			return-Ø say-Ø			

'Another wild animal came. It was again/also asked. It again/also said: (…)'

(430.)	'It(a)		*'arija*	*'ja*	*'gai*	fi	'ras	ta	Mo'hamed	'mara	'tan.
	PRON 2SING		return-Ø come-Ø		sit-Ø	on	head	GEN	NPROP	time	other

'You came again to sit on Mohamed's head.'

When the main verb is marked by the progressive marker *gi-*, the construction expresses that the event/action is repeated continuously, as in (431.).

(431.)	(…)	wu	ka'man	'uw(o)		*'arija*	gi-	*'sulu*	*'wai-'wai*
		and	EMPH	PRON 3SING		return	PROG-	take	NUM-REDUP
	'ladi	al	'ase'de	'fadulu.					
	until	REL	now	remain-Ø					

'(…) and he keeps on taking one by one until/leaving [those] who remain [by] now.'

The auxiliary *'arija* may also convey that a something is restored to its original condition.

(432.)	'It(a)		*'arija*		*'adul(u)*	ba'kan	'de
	PRON 2SING		return-Ø		repair-Ø	place	DEf
	ja	ba'kan	al	'kan	afu'ta		'ma.
	like	place	REL	ANT	dig-PASS-Ø		NEG

'You repaired the place again like a place which had not been dug.'

4.2.1.4.5. The auxiliaries *'gen/ 'gai*

The auxiliaries *'gen/'gai* 'sit', 'remain' are mainly followed by *gi-* verbs. *'gen/'gai gi-V* typically marks duration of an action or state, as illustrated in (433.):

(433.)	'Ase	ka'man	'ter	*'gen*	*gi-*	*'guna*	je'de.
	now	EMPH	bird	stay-Ø	PROG-	sing	EMPH

'Now, the bird keeps singing.'

The auxiliary can be marked by any of the core markers, as illustrated in (434.) and (435.):

(434.) 'Kan   'ita   'feker   mu'nu
        ANT   PRON 2SING   think-Ø   who
        'ya   *bi-*   *'gen*   *gu-*   *'so*   'nouo?
        FOC   FUT-   stay   PROG-   do   for + PRON 3SING
        'Who do you think it is who will go on doing [it] for him?'

(435.) (…)   'ya   'sokol   'de   gi-   'ja   'kila   fi'lel-fi'lel,
                 CONJ   thing   DEF   PROG-   come   every   night-REDUP
        (…)   *gi-*   *'gai*   *gi-*   *'izab(u)* bi'niya 'de,   (…)
                 PROG-   stay   PROG-   punish   girl   DEF
        '(…) thus the thing comes every night, (…) it keeps punishing the girl again and again, (…).'

4.2.1.4.6. The auxiliary *'fi*

The auxiliary *'fi* is generally followed by a verb marked by the progressive marker *gi-*. Although *'fi (gi-)* V refers to a temporary state just as *'gai/'gen gi-* V does, the period under consideration is generally longer, as illustrated in (436.):

(436.) 'Umon   'endi   'jua   'toumon   *'fi*   *gi-*   *pangi'sa.*
        PRON 3PL   have-Ø   house   PRON POSS 3PL   EXIS   PROG-   rent out-PASS
        'They have their house being rented out.'

4.2.1.4.7. The non-core marker *ka'la(s)(i)*

The marker for completion *ka'las* [112] is frequently reduced to *ka'la*, or enlarged through the addition of word-final *-i,* becoming *ka'lasi. ka'la(s)(i)* signals in particular completion of the action or event, and should be translated as 'already'. In some contexts, it closely approaches perfective aspect in that it may describe a currently relevant state resulting from the situation expressed by the verb. *ka'las* may occupy any position in the clause.

(437.) Fi   'bele   wa'din   'de   'kulu,
        in   district(s)   other-PLDEF   all
        fa'ta   'kazi   *ka'las*   na   a'nas.
        open-PASS-Ø   work   COMPL   to   people
        'In all the other districts, the work has already been opened to the people.'

(438.) Kan   'ina   'ro   fi   'ámsúku   du'ban,....
        if   PRON 1PL   go-Ø   in   catch-INF   white ant(s)
        'yala,   'in(a)   'amsuku du'ban   ka'la,
        well   PRON 1PL   catch-Ø   white ant(s)   COMPL
        'dukuru 'yena   bi-   'je   'gen   'seme.
        then   CONJ + PRON 1PL   FUT-   come   stay-Ø   fine
        'If we go to catch white ants, once we have caught the white ants, then we will live fine.'

The completion of the action is referred to a past time by means of the anterior marker *'kan*.

(439.) 'Fi   yowe'le fi   'wakti   al   ka'las   'kan   'ana   lo'go   'kazi
        EXIS   boy   in   time   REL   COMPL   ANT   PRON 1SING find-Ø   work
        'mara   ti'nin, (…).
        time   two
        'There was a boy/son at the time that I had found two jobs, (…).'

---

[112] Besides functioning as a verbal marker, *ka'las* is sometimes interpreted as an emphasizer (see below).

With *gi-* marked verbs, and stative verbs, *ka'la*s emphasizes the current relevance of states or processes[113], as illustrated in (440.) and (441.):

(440.) 'Namn(a) al   *ka'las*   'uw(o)   *'aruf*   abu'su   'nouo
        way   REL   COMPL   PRON 3SING   know-Ø   forbid-PASS-Ø   for + PRON 3SING
        'bab   ta   'saba   'de, (…).
        door   GEN   seven   DEF
        'The way he now knows that the seventh door is forbidden for him, (…)'

(441.) 'Ita   'dakal   fi   'jua   'bes   ma   bi'ses
        PRON 2SING   enter-Ø   in   house   just   with   slowness
        ja   'num   *ka'la*   *gi-*   *'seregu* ba'na   'de.
        as   sleep-GER   COMPL   PROG-   steal   girl-PL   DEF
        'You entered the house just slowly as the sleep was taking the girls.'

When the main verb is marked by the future/irrealis marker *bi-, ka'las* signals that the action eventually occurs, after some discussion or after a long period of non-action, as in (442.):

(442.) 'Rabana 'jib   'nouo   bi'nadum
        God   bring-Ø   to + PRON 3SING   human being
        al   *ka'las*   *'b(i)*   awun(u)   'uo.
        REL   COMPL   FUT-   help   PRON 3SING
        'God brought him a human being who will help him eventually.'

In combination with the negative marker *ka'las* means 'not anymore', 'no longer', as in (443.):

(443.) *Ka'las*   'tokum   *'selim*   'badu   *'ma.*
        COMPL   PRON 2PL   greet-Ø   RECIP   NEG
        'You(PL) do not anymore greet each other.'

ka'las in combination with *kan* 'if' and *ba'kan/kan* 'when' can be interpreted as 'after', 'once'.

(444.) *Kan*   *ka'las*   ma'lim 'adibu   nyere'ku   'de   fi   ma'kosa
        when   COMPL teacher   punish-Ø   child   DEF   in   mistake(s)
        al   'uo   'so,   'uo   'dugu   nyere'ku   'de,
        REL   PRON 3SING   do-Ø   PRON 3SING   beat-Ø   child   DEF
        nyere'ku   *gi-*   'jere   'neta.
        child   PROG-   run   to + PRON 2SING
        'When the teacher has already punished the child/ after the teacher has punished the child for the mistakes which he made, [if] he has (already) beaten the child/ after he has beaten the child, the child runs to you.'

(445.) *Kan*   *ka'las*   'uo   za'lan 'mena,   ma'rai   ta   'kulu-'kulu.
        if   COMPL PRON 3SING   annoyed with + PRON 1PL   at once   GEN   ever-REDUP
        'Once he is annoyed with us, at once, it is forever.'

       Completion is also expressed by the verb **'kalasu** 'finish' followed by the verb expressing the action that is finished, as illustrated in (446.):

(446.) 'Ina   'ma   *gi-*   *'kalas*   'karab ka'lam 'tena   te   'Nubi.
        PRON 1PL   NEG   PROG-   finish   spoil-Ø   matter   PRON POSS 1PL GEN   Nubi
        'We do not stop spoiling matter of us, of the Nubi.'

---

[113] An idiomatic expression in Nubi to announce that one is leaving is:
     'ana   *ka'la*   *'gu-*   rwa.
     PRON 1SING   COMPL   PROG-   go
     'I am already going.'

There is, however, a difference between the verb *'kalasu* 'finish' + other verb and the construction with the verbal marker *ka'las*. The verb *'kalasu* 'finish' followed by another verb clearly marks the end point of the action. The action is seen as a whole, without an explicit starting point, and is therefore a punctual action. The verbal marker *ka'las* in combination with a simple verb also refers to the fact that the action is finished, but ignores its end point. *ka'las* with a *gi-* verb refers to the starting point of the event or state, but ignores its end point. Its function corresponds more or less to that of the verb *'kala* 'end up' + other verb [114] which also signals that an event or state has begun, while nothing is mentioned about its end point. *'kala* + verb also differs from *'kalasu* V in that the subject of the following verb is different as in (448.) (or the same subject repeated, as in (447.)), while the subject of the verb *'kalasu* is the same as the subject of the following verb.

(447.)   Ak'wana   lu'far   'tan   *'gu-*   *rwa*   *'kala*
          brother-PL   mouse(mice)   other(s)   PROG-   go   end up-Ø
          'umon   'fadulu   'sita   'bes.
          PRON 3PL   remain-Ø   NUM   only
          'The other mice brothers were going to end up being only six.'

(448.)   'Ya   bi'niya   'de   *'gu-*   *rwa*   *'kala*
          CONJ   girl   DEF   PROG-   go   end up-Ø
          'lam   'gaba   'de   'abul(u)   'uo.
          meat   forest   DEF   swallow-Ø   PRON 3SING
          'Thus the girl was going to end up the wild animal having swallowed her/being swallowed by the wild animal.'

Heine (1982: 38) describes *ka'las* as a perfect marker in Kenyan Nubi. Owens does not regard *ka'las* as a verbal marker, but refers to it as a current relevance relater, emphasizing that "(…) some state or action is still relevant, relative to another activity or state." (Owens 1977: 210). According to Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 125-126, 130), Nubi *ka'las* marks completion of the action. They discuss whether *ka'las* should be considered a matrix verb or a grammaticalized tense/aspect marker, and conclude that *ka'las* is a verb that marks the completion of the action expressed by the dependent verb. In my view, *ka'las* is a verbal marker, although it is a non-core marker. It may co-occur with all other markers, and its position in the sentence is absolutely free.

4.2.1.4.8. The non-core marker *'lisa*

Nubi *'lisa* 'still' marks an action or state that is still in progress. However, when it is used as a free constituent, it means 'not yet', as illustrated in (449.):

(449.)   'Jina   mis'kin   we'de (…),   bi-   'sul(u)   bi'niya   'to
          child   poor man   DEM PROX   FUT-   take   daughter PRON POSS 3SING
          ke'fin?   A'ta,   *'lisa.*
          how?   no   not yet.
          'This poor man's child, how will he take his daughter? No, not yet.'

'lisa normally appears in non-punctual contexts, namely nominal contexts with an adjectival or nominal predicate, with non-stative verbs marked by the *gi-* prefix, or stative verbs in their bare form, referring to actions or states which have not yet come to an end, and therefore are still in progress. The position of *'lisa* is not fixed in the sentence, as shown in (450.) and (451.):

(450.)   Ba'kan   *'lisa*   bo'yi.
          Place   still   far
          'The place is still far.'

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[114] In a simple clause *'kala* expresses that one is astonished or shocked. In a complement clause, the idea is

(451.) 'Ya   a'buba   'de,   'youm   ta'lata
        CONJ   grandmother   DEF   day   NUM
        'lis(a)   'uo   *'g(i)-*   *asuru*   nyere'ku   'de.
        still   PRON 3SING   PROG-   massage child   DEF
        'Thus the grandmother, [after] three days, she was still massaging the child.'

'lisa followed by the bare form of non-stative verbs, expresses that something eventually happens, after one or more other events or states, as illustrated in (452.):

(452.) 'Wede   ka'man 'ana   'dug(u) 'uo   'fogo
        DEM PROX   also   PRON 1SING   beat-Ø PRON 3SING   for it
        'ladi   *'lis(a)*   'uo   *'sib.*
        until   still   PRON 3SING   leave
        'This also, I beat him for it until eventually he left.'

'lisa may occur with all verbal core markers. *'lisa* in combination with the anterior marker *'kan* implies that the action had not yet come to an end at a certain time in the past.

 (453.) *'Lisa*   *'kan*   *'an*   *gi-*   *'feker*   'ruo
         still   ANT   PRON 1SING   PROG- think   go-Ø
         fi   'senior   ta   'arba,   'dukur 'jowju   'ja.
         to   senior class   GEN   NUM   then   marriage come-Ø
         'I was still thinking of going to senior 4, when marriage came.'

'lisa + 'gurwa V is used in contexts where the speaker indicates that the agent is first going to conduct the action marked by *'lisa*, before moving to another (requested) action, as in (454.):

(454.) A'santi,   la'kin   *'lis(a)*   'ana   *'gu-*   *rw(a)*   *'asadu*
        thank you   but   still   PRON 1SING   PROG- go   ask-Ø
        ak'wana   'tai   (…).
        sister-PL PRON 1SING
        'Thank you, but still/first I am going to ask my sisters (…).'

The meaning of *'lisa* in combination with *'gurwa* V is similar to *'lisa bi- V*. The only difference is that *'gurwa V* refers to an action in the immediate future, whereas *bi- V*, even though it marks strong volition, does not give a clear time indication, as in (455.):

 (455.) 'Gasab   'de   *'lisa*   *b(i)-*   *a'j(u)*   *aku'lu*   gi'dam.
         sugarcane   DEF   still   FUT-   want-PASS   eat-PASS-Ø   first
         'The sugarcane will have to be eaten first.'

I also found that *'lisa* can mark an infinitive form, as illustrated in (456.):

(456.) 'Ase,   'ragi   ka'la   'jib   ka'lam al   'gow,
        now   man   COMPL bring-Ø matter   REL   tough
        te   *'lis(a)*   *'ásrúbu*   'chai.
        GEN   still   drink-INF   tea
        'Now, the man has brought a tough matter, of still drinking tea.'

'lisa in combination with the negative marker *'ma* signals that the action has not yet taken place. It typically co-occurs with simple verb forms or verbs marked by *gi-*:

(457.) La'yin   min   'ana   'gai
        but   since   PRON 1SING   be alive-Ø
        'lis(a)   'an(a)   'ainu   jahi'liya   je   'na'de   *'ma.*
        still   PRON 1SING   see-Ø   state of ignorance like   DEM DIS   NEG
        'But since I am alive, I have not yet seen a state of ignorance like that one.'

---

conveyed that the subject is shocked finding himself in an unexpected situation; this is rendered here as 'end up'.

(458.) 'Yani   'shida   'tena   *'lisa gi-   'kalas 'mafi.*
        that is problem(s)   PRON POSS 1PL   still PROG- finish NEG
        'That is, our problems have not yet come to an end.'

Both *'lisa* and the negator *'ma* can take any position in the sentence, except with the existential marker *'fi* which is obligatorily preceded by *'ma*, as illustrated in (459.):

(459.) La'kin *'lisa* *'ma-* *'fi*   'youm 'wai je   'de, (…)
        but   still   NEG-   EXIS   day   NUM   like DEM PROX
        'But there has not yet been one day like this, (…)'

When *'kabla* 'before' precedes *'lisa 'ma*, the meaning of *'kabla* prevails and both meanings merge to 'before', as in (460.):

(460.) *'Kabla 'lisa* 'tim   'deka   'kamsa 'na'de   *'ma,*
        before still   be over-Ø   minute(s)   NUM   DEM DIS   NEG
        'lufra   ka'las   afu'ta.
        hole   COMPL   dig-PASS-Ø
        'Before those five minutes were over, the hole had been dug.'

'lisa 'ma + future verb, marked by *bi-,* refers to an action/state which is supposed never to happen, as illustrated in (461.):

(461.) Ka'lam we'de   'umon   *'lisa 'b(i)-   aruf   'ma.*
        thing   DEM PROX   PRON 3PL   still FUT-   know   NEG
        'This thing, they will never know.'

4.2.2. Mood

4.2.2.1. The imperative

The singular imperative consists of the bare verb form, e.g. *'jib* 'bring'. The imperative of *'rua* 'go' is *'rua* or *'ro*. The verb *'ja* 'come' forms its imperative with regular *'ja'* or irregular *'tal*. One final exception is the verb *'alabu* 'play', which takes *'lib'* for the singular imperative. To form the plural imperative, the subject suffixes *-kum, -'tokum or -'takum* are fixed to the bare form, e.g. *'gum- 'kum* 'wake (PL) up!', *'lebis-'takum* 'get dressed (PL)!', and *'aruf-'tokum* 'know(PL)!' respectively. To form the negative imperative, the bare form is preceded by *'mata* for the negative singular imperative and by *'matakum* for the plural imperative, e.g. *'mata 'fata* 'do not open! and *'matakum 'wonus* 'do(PL) not talk!' respectively. Occasionally, the negative imperative consists of the positive imperative form followed by the negative marker *'ma,* e.g. *'sul 'ma* 'do not take [it]!' and *'wonus- 'tokum 'ma* 'do (PL) not talk!'.

In the imperative, the subject is usually not expressed. In verb chains all verbs take the imperative form. For the plural imperative, only one verb takes the plural particle *-'kum, -'takum or -'tokum*, marking the addressee.

(462.) *'Abur*   *'tal*   *'gai*   fala'ta !!
        try-IMPER   come-IMPER   sit-IMPER   down
        'Try to come and sit down!!!'

(463.) *'Arija*   *'rua-*   *'takum* !!
        return-IMPER   go-IMPER-   ADR-PL
        'Return (PL) and go(PL)!'

Occasionally, the second person pronoun is used. The imperative clause thus resembles an affirmative sentence with a bare verb form, as illustrated in (464.):

(464.)   *'Turuju*   'wai   'lad(i)   'ita   'kalas,
         send away-IMPER   NUM   until   PRON 2SING   finish-Ø
         'it(a)   *'arij(a)*   *'abidu*   'tan.
         PRON 2SING   return-Ø   begin-Ø another.
         'Send one away until you finish [this one], [then] begin another one (again)!'

A similar construction is used with the first person plural to express the hortative 'let us…'.

(465.)   *'Ino*   *'kutu*   'moyo.
         PRON 1PL   put-Ø   water
         'Let us put water.'

(466.)   *'Ino*   *'rua.*
         PRON 1PL   go-Ø
         'Let us go.'

The latter is often shortened to *'norwa* 'let us go'. Theoretically, the progressive marker *gi-* could be used to express the imperative of a continuous or iterative action,. Yet, no instances of positive imperatives marked by *gi-* occur in my data. The negative imperative, however, may take the progressive marker *gi-* so as to indicate that the addressee should not conduct a continuous action or that he should never conduct an action, as illustrated in (467.) and (468.):

(467.)   *'Ma-   ta*   *gi-*   *'fadul*   'wara   ma   'haya.
         NEG-   ADR SING   PROG-   remain   behind   with   shame
         'Do not stay behind with shame!'

(468.)   'Itokum,   *'ma-   takum*   *'g(i)-*   alab   'na.
         PRON 2PL   NEG-   ADR-PL   PROG-   play   there
         'You (PL), never play (PL) there!'

I found several instances of imperative forms consisting of an auxiliary verb followed by a main verb. In (469.) the combination of the verb *'rua* 'go' marked by the auxiliary *'gen* + progressive marker *gi-,* expresses duration. In (470.) *'gurwa* + V marks an immediate future. Although the idea of motion is relevant as well, the speaker wants to emphasize an (immediate) future time.

(469.)   'Bes   *'gen*   *'gu-   rwa*   'tu.
         simply stay-IMPER   PROG-   go-Ø   only
         'Simply, keep on going!'

(470.)   *'Ma-   ta*   *'gu-   rwa*   *'kelem.*
         NEG-   ADR-SING   PROG-   go   tell-Ø
         'Don 't go to tell.'

'gidam 'first' added to the negative imperative construction expresses that the addressee should not yet do something, as in (471.):

(471.)   *'Ma-   ta*   *'rua*   gi'dam.
         NEG-   ADR-SING   go-IMPER   first
         'Do not go yet!'

The position of the negative marker may be important for the meaning of the imperative clause. Consider (472.), (473.), and (474.):

(472.)   *'Ma-*   *t(a)*   *'abur*   *'tolu.*
           NEG-   ADR-SING   try-IMPER   delay-Ø
           'Do not try to delay!'.

(473.)   *'Abur*   *'ma-*   *ta*   *'tolu.*
           try-IMPER   NEG-   ADR-SING   delay-IMPER
           'Try not to delay!'.

(474.)   *'Abur*   *'tolu*   *'ma.*
           try-IMPER   delay-Ø   NEG
           'Try not to delay!

(472.), although grammatically correct, does not make much sense. It was indeed not taken from my recordings, but obtained in a discussion on negative imperatives. (474.) is rather neutral as to the scope of negation. However, it is logical that *'ma* negates the act of delaying. The imperative meaning may be intensified by means of the suffix *-'ke,* as in (475.):

(475.)   'Nasur,   *'tala-*   *'ke*!   'Nasur,   *'tala-*   *'ke*!
           NPROP   come out-IMPER   EMPH   NPROP   come out-IMPER   EMPH
           'Nasur, come out!   Nasur, come out!'

4.2.2.2. The subjunctive mood

The subjunctive mood is expressed by means of the modal marker *ke'de*, or its short form *'ke*, followed by a verbal clause, generally with a bare verb form, as illustrated in (476.):

(476.)   *'Kena*   *ni'situ*   'ma   'gal   (…).
           SUBJ + PRON 1PL   forget-Ø   NEG   that
           'We should not forget that (…).'

If the speaker insists on the durative or recurring character of an event, he may use the non-punctual verb form marked by *gi-,* or alternative verb forms, such as *'gai gi-* V/ *'gen gi-* V.

(477.)   'Uo   'kutu   fi   'be   'na   *ke'de*   *'gai*   *gi-*   *'chunga*
           PRON 3SING   put-Ø   in   house   there   SUBJ   stay-Ø   PROG-   look after
           kala'ma   'to   ta   'be   'na.'
           thing-PLPRON POSS 3SING   GEN   house   there
           'He put [him] in the house there in order to keep on looking after his things of the house there.'

However, *gi-* marking is not compulsory in subjunctive clauses. The bare verb form may alternate with or take the place of the *gi-* verb form if the context is clear about the non-punctual character of the state or event, as illustrated in (478.):

(478.)   Ak'wana   ta   'ragi   taki   'aju   *'keta*
           relative-PL   GEN   husband PRON POSS 2SING   have to-Ø   SUBJ + PRON 2SING
           'g(i)-   *ain(u)*   'umon   'seme.   'Ragi   'taki   ka'man
           PROG-   treat   PRON 3PL   well   husband PRON POSS 2SING   also
           ke'de   *'ainu*   a'nas   'taki   'seme.
           SUBJ   treat-Ø   people   PRON POSS 2SING   well
           'The relatives of your husband, you have to treat them well. Your husband should also treat your people well.'

Other verb forms, such as with future marker *bi-* (479.), with anterior marker *'kan* (480.), and the imperative (481.) occur infrequently after the subjunctive marker in the text corpus, although some of my informants disapprove of them.

(479.) 'Ana   'feker   *'k(e)*   an   *bu-*   *lo'go*   'batna   'tan   'gwam   'ma.
        PRON 1SING   think-Ø   SUBJ   PRON 1SING   FUT-   receive   belly   other   fast   NEG
        'I thought that I should not get another pregnancy fast.'

(480.) A'ju   *ke'de*   *'kan*   hara'gan   'kulu   *gi-*   *kunu's(u)*
        must-PASS-Ø   SUBJ   ANT   sweat   all   PROG-   sweep-PASS
        'neta   mo   ku'nus.
        to + PRON 2SING   with   sweep-GER
        'It is necessary that all the sweat has been swept to you with sweeping./ All the sweat must have been
        swept to you…'

(481.) 'Ah,   aja'ma,   *'kena*   *'gata-*   *'kum*   'tumur.
        INT   people   SUBJ + PRON 1PL   cut-IMPER-   ADR-PL   date(s)
        'Ah, people, let us cut the dates.'

The two instances in the text material of *ke'de* + imperative were both from old people. Possibly it is an old form which is about to disappear from present-day Nubi.

4.3. Verbal derivations

4.3.1. The passive

     Form: The Nubi passive is formed by changing the stress pattern of the verb. Verbs generally take the stress on the first syllable, e.g. *'kasulu* 'wash'. A limited group of verbs, like the verb *ni'situ* 'forget', verbs of Swahili origin, such as *ja'ribu* 'try', and some Nubi disyllabic verbs, e.g. *we'ri* 'show' usually take the stress on the second syllable. An even smaller group of verbs takes the stress on the last syllable, e.g. *fata'ran* 'be tired', *kisi'lan* 'be lazy'. In the passive the stress is shifted to the last syllable [115]. The vowel in the final syllable may be slightly lengthened. This is not obligatory, but follows from the stress on that syllable. Likewise, Nubi stress generally co-occurs with high pitch. Therefore, we find high pitch on the final syllable. With regard to Kenyan Nubi, Heine (1982: 42) mentions a movement of "(…) stressed high tone from the first to the last syllable of the verb."

(482.) *Ada'ku*   'nas   ku'ra   'to   'de   'kweis.
        brush-PASS-Ø   COLL   foot/feet   PRON POSS 3SING   DEF   good.
        'His feet were brushed properly.'

As we have seen above, some Nubi verbs already have the stress on the last syllable in the active voice. These are monosyllabic verbs, like *'ja* 'come' and *'so* 'do', and some disyllabic verbs which take the stress on the second syllable, e.g. *we'ri* 'show', *li'go* 'find' [116]. In the formation of the passive, the stress which can no longer be shifted backwards, becomes stronger. The length of the vowel may thus be extended. Passive monosyllabic verbs are marked by a high tone (see also 2.1.4.):

(483.) *'ja* 'come' > *'já* 'there is coming'
        'so 'do' > *'só* 'be done'
        we'ri 'show' > *we'ri* 'be shown'
        li'go 'find' > *li'go* 'be met'

Approximately one eighth of the Nubi verbs[117] end in a consonant. Different devices may be used in the formation of the passive of these verbs. Most frequently, the stress is put on the last syllable, if this was not yet the case, e.g. *'gowgow* 'strengthen' becomes *gow'gow* 'be strengthened', as in (484.):

(484.) *Gi-*   *gow-'gow*   'gelba   ta   a'nas.

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[115] According to Owens (1977: 153), Swahili verbs are excluded from the stress shift.

[116] Verbs with stress on the final syllable, which end in a consonant, such as *ta'ban* 'bother', will be discussed below.

[117] These are mainly intransitive verbs that can also be used with the passive voice, albeit infrequently.

PROG- strengthen-PASS heart   GEN   people
'The heart of the people is strengthened.'

Secondly, a vowel may be attached to the last consonant, in accordance with the passivization of verbs ending in a vowel, thus creating a new syllable, which receives stress and high pitch. The quality of the vowel depends mainly on the vowel of the verb stem, as illustrated in (485.) and (486.):

(485.)   *'zikir* 'recite as to praise God' > *ziki'ri* 'be recited'
          'chek 'check' > *che'ki* 'be checked'
          'nyakam 'confiscate', 'capture' > *nyaka'ma* 'be confiscated', 'capture'

(486.)   *Gi-   nyaka'ma   a'nasi.*
          PROG-capture-PASS   people
          'The people were captured.'

Speakers of the northern variety of Nubi and educated speakers in general use the passive form of the auxiliary when the main verb is passive, as illustrated in (487.):

(487.) (…),   *ari'ja   se'b(u)   uo   fi   'torof   'bahar.*
                return-PASS-Ø   leave-PASS-Ø   PRON 3SING   in   side   lake
          '(…)   he was left again at the side of the lake.'

In the southern part of Uganda, however, only the main verb takes the passive form, while the auxiliary retains the active form, as in (488.):

(488.)   *'Arija   fu't(u)   uo   (…).*
          return-Ø   pass-PASS-Ø   PRON 3SING
          'He was passed again (…).'

          Use: The non-agent participant or patient generally retains its object position after the verb, as in (489.):

(489.)   *Fa'ga   'ena   'to.   Ga'ta   'kasma, a'dan.*
          split-PASS-Ø   eye(s)   PRON POSS 3SING   cut-PASS-Ø   mouth   ear(s)
          'His eyes were split. His mouth and ears were cut.'

As a rule pronouns occur postverbally in passive clauses[118], as in (490.):

(490.)   *Daka'l(u)   'ita   fi   tu'ra.*
          enter-PASS-Ø   PRON 2SING   in   earth
          'You were entered in the earth/ you were buried.'

For focus, however, the object may be moved to sentence-initial position [119], as in (491.):

(491.)   *'Sura   'tena   'kul   ga'ta   fi   U'ganda 'in.*
          umbilical cord(s) PRON POSS 1PL   all   cut-PASS-Ø   in   NPROP here.
          'All our umbilical cords were cut here in Uganda.'

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[118] The following sentence is exceptional:
          'Ita   'bes   lese'gu   'ya   'de.
          PRON 2SING   only   stick-PASS-Ø   FOC   DEM PROX
          'You were just stuck here.'
[119] In Owens' examples from Kenyan Nubi, the patient usually retains its object position after the verb (Owens 1977), whereas Heine (1982: 42) mentions both preverbal and postverbal patient position.

Animate patients that are placed in sentence-initial position are often referred to by a pronoun following the verb, as illustrated in (492.):

(492.) 'Ita   'aju   *nyere'ku 'taki*   'de   ke'de   *ali'm(u)*   *'uo.*
       You   want-Ø child   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF   SUBJ   teach-PASS-Ø   PRON 3SING
       'You want your child to be educated.'

Agent expression in passive clauses occurs neither in my material, nor in Owens' examples (1977; 1996) nor in Heine's texts (1982).

Both the agent and the patient remain unspecified in impersonal passives. The main goal of the speaker is to emphasize the action, and not the participants, as illustrated in (493.):

(493.) *Aku'lu*   ka'la.
       eat-PASS-Ø   COMPL
       'There has already been eaten.'

Intransitive verbs, like *'ja* 'come', *'tiri* 'fly' and *'jere* 'run' may also occur in the (impersonal) passive form. Since they do not have a patient, the emphasis is fully on the action of the verb[120], as illustrated in (494.):

(494.) Fi   'be   ta   a'nas   sati'rin,   *gi-*   *ko're.*
       in   house   GEN   people   dominant-PL,   PROG-   cry-PASS
       Fu   'be   ta   a'nas   ab   da'bara,   *g(i)-*   *ata'ku.*
       in   house   GEN   people   REL   diplomacy   PROG-   laugh-PASS
       'In the house of dominant people, there is being cried/they cry. In the house of diplomatic people, there is being laughed/ they laugh.'

Transitive/intransitive verbs: Nubi has several verbs which can have both transitive and intransitive meaning without a change of form. In the intransitive sense, it is the patient that becomes central in the communication, while the role of the agent is ignored. The situation is thought of as a state rather than as an action, unlike in the passive, which focuses on the action, as illustrated in (495.) and (496.):

(495.)
(a.)   'Uo   *'kasur*   *'lata.*
        PRON 3SING   break -Ø   firewood
        'He broke firewood.'

(b.)   *Kasu'ru*   *'bab.*
        break-PASS-Ø   door
        'The door was broken.'

(c.)   *La'saya 'kasur.*
        stick   break -Ø
        'The stick was broken.'

(496.)   *Li'mu*   *a'nasi. A'nas*   *'limu.*
          gather-PASS-Ø   people   people   gather-Ø
          The people were gathered. The people were together.'

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[120] Owens (1996: 150) translates similar clauses with 'someone is running', which according to me does not convey the correct sense of the expression. It is the fact that there is 'running', not necessarily by one individual, but possibly by more people, which is central.

Other verbs which can be both transitive and intransitive are listed in table 19:

transitive		intransitive	
'abidu	'begin s.th.'	*'abidu*	'begin'
'ainu	'see s.th.'	*'ain fi*	'see into'
'alagu	'hasten s.o.'	*'alagu*	'hurry'
'aminu	'trust s.o.', 'believe s.th.'	*'amin ma*	'believe in'
'amula	'fill s.th.'	*'amula*	'be full'
'arija	'send back s.th.'	*'arija*	'return'
'ataku	'ridicule s.o.'	*'ataku ma*	'laugh with'
'badulu	'change s.th.'	*'badul*	'change'
'beredu	'wash s.o.'	*'beredu*	'take a bath'
'bilu	'wet s.th', 'moisten s.th.'	*'bil*	'get wet'
'dakalu	'enter s.th.'	*'dakal fi*	'enter into'
'egifu	'stop s.th.'	*'egif*	'stop', 'stand up'
'faga	'split s.th.	*'faga*	'split'
'fata	'open s.th.'	*'fata*	'open'
fata'ran	'tire s.o.', 'exhaust s.o.'	*fata'ran*	'be tired', 'become tired'
'ferteku	'separate s.th.'	*'ferteku*	'be separated'
'furu	'boil s.th.'	*'furu*	'boil'
'futu	'pass s.th.'	*'futu fi*	'pass by'
'gelebu	'defeat s.o.'	*'geleb*	'be difficult'
'genu	'inhabit'	*'gen*	'sit', 'remain'
'geru	'change s.th.'	*'geru*	'change'
'gesimu	'divide s.th.'	*'gesim*	'be divided'
'gisir	'peel s.th.'	*'gisir*	'loose skin'
'haragu	'burn s.th.'	*'haragu*	'burn'
'hukumu	'govern s.th.'	*'hukum*	'be an authority'
'kabasu	'cheat s.o.'	*'kabas*	'play a game'
'kalasu	'finish s.th.'	*'kalas*	'be finished'
'kasuru	'break s.th.'	*'kasur*	'be broken'
'karabu	'spoil s.th.'	*'karab*	'be spoilt'
'kati	'cover s.th.', 'shut s.th.'	*'kati*	'be covered', 'be shut'
'kore	'mourn over s.th.'	*'kore*	'cry'
'kosa	'lack s.th.'	*'kosa*	'be lacking'
'kubu	'pour s.th.'	*'kub*	'flow'
'lebis	'dress s.o.', 'wear s.th.'	*'lebis*	'get dressed'
'lesegu	'stick s.th.'	*'lesegu*	'be sticky'
'nigitu	'pick s.th.'	*'nigitu*	'ripen'
'nongusu	'reduce s.th.'	*'nongus*	'decrease'
'raba	'raise s.o.'	*'raba*	'mature'
'rada	'breast-feed s.o.'	*'rada*	'be breast-fed'
'rasulu	'send s.th.'	*'rasul*	'arrive'
'rudu	'accept s.th.'	*'rudu fi*	'agree on'
sa'ban	'satisfy s.o.'	*sa'ban*	'be satisfied'
'setetu	'separate s.o.', 'scatter s.th.'	*'setetu*	'be separated', 'be scattered'
'stenu	'await s.th.'	*'sten*	'wait'
ta'ban	'worry s.o.'	*ta'ban*	'be worried', 'be overworked'
'waja	hurt s.o.'	*'waja*	'be hurt'
'wala	'light s.th.'	*'wala*	'burn'
was'kan	'make s.th. dirty'	*was'kan*	'be dirty'
'woduru	'lose s.th.'	*'wodur*	'be lost'
'wonusu	'discuss'	*'wonus fi*	'talk about'
'zidu	'increase s.th.'	*'zidu*	'increase'

table 19: List of Nubi transitive/intransitive verbs

4.3.2. The stative passive

Form: The stative passive verb form is expressed by the simple verb form to which *ma-* is prefixed, as in (497.):

(497.)   *'kati* 'cover' > *ma-'kati* '(be) covered'
          'kasuru 'break' > *ma- 'kasuru* '(be) broken'
          'agilibu 'mix' > *ma-'agilibu* '(be) mixed'

There are a few exceptional forms, as in (498.):

(498.)   *'arufu* 'know' > *ma-a'ruf* '(be) known', 'be well known'
          'kalagu 'create' > *ma'klug* '(be) created'

The stative passive is generally derived from transitive verbs. An exception is the form *mo-'mutu* 'dead' from the intransitive *'mutu* 'die', as in (499.):

(499.)   'Wede,   'ena   'to   *mo-*   *'mutu*   'de,   (…).
          DEM PROX   eye(s)   PRON POSS 3SING   STAT P-die   DEF
          'This one, [the old woman with] her dead eyes, (…).'

Use: The stative passive verb behaves like a predicative adjective, and expresses a state resulting from a completed action. The agent is not expressed overtly:

(500.)   La'yin   ka'lam   'baga   se'b(u)   'omon   *ma-*   *'setetu,* (…).
          but   because EMPH   leave-PASS-Ø   PRON 3PL   STAT P-scatter
          'But because they were even left scattered, (…).'

(501.)   'Ina   'g(i)-   akul   'lam
          PRON 1PL   PROG-   eat   meat
          al   *ma-*   *'haragu* je   'de   'ma.
          REL   STAT P- burn   like   DEM PROX   NEG
          'We are not eating meat which is grilled like this.'

On a total of 32 instances of stative passive forms, only two functioned as attributive adjectives, as illustrated in (502.) and (503.):

(502.)   'Ana,   Ibra'him A.,   nyere'ku *mo-*   *'weledu*   to   'Bombo.
          PRON 1SING   NPROP   child   STAT P-give birth   GEN   NPROP
          'I, Ibrahim A., am a child born in Bombo.'

(503.)   'Yala   'ina   gi-   'nigitu   me   'ena   *mo-*   *'robutu.*
          well   PRON 1PL   PROG-   pick   with   eye(s) STAT P-tie
          'Well, we are picking [fruit] with tied/blindfolded eyes.'

According to Owens, the stative passive cannot co-occur with the subjunctive marker *ke'de* (1977: 175-176), the future marker *bi-* (1977: 213), but it may co-occur with *ka'las,* the marker of completion, the negative marker *'ma,* or *'lisa* (1977: 337). I found similar results. However, in the text corpus there is one instance of a stative passive which is apparently interpreted as a verb after the auxiliary *'gurwa,* denoting immediate future.

(504.)   Kan   'it(a)   'ajin(u)   'ita,   ka'lam 'taki   'kul
          if   PRON 2SING   harp on-Ø   PRON 2SING   problem PRON POSS 2SING   all
          'gu-   *rwa*   *ma-*   *'ajin.*
          PROG-   go   STAT P-harp on
          'If you harp on yourself, your entire problem is going [to be] brought up time and again.'

4.3.3. The gerund and the infinitive

Form: There are two types of verb nominalization in Ugandan Nubi. The stress pattern of the **infinitive (INF)** corresponds to the stress pattern of the simple verb form. However, tone on the first and second syllable is high irrespective of stress[121] (see also 2.1.4.). In (505.) high tone is marked by ʹ, low tone is unmarked.

(505.)   *'kuruju* 'work the soil' > *'kúrúju* 'working the soil'
   'ataku 'laugh' > *'átáku* 'laughing'
   we'ri 'show' > *wé'rí* 'showing'
   ni'situ 'forget' > *ní'sítu* 'forgetting'
   ja'ribu 'try' > *já'ríbu* 'trying'

The second type which I would like to call the **gerund (GER)** has been discussed before by Owens (1977: 69-71, 91, 118, 125-126, 128, 171, 173-174, 232-233, 238, 297-298, 301), Heine (1982: 41), and Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 128-129). With the regular tri- and disyllabic verbs, which take the stress on the first syllable in the simple verb form, the gerund is formed by shifting the stress to the syllable preceding the last consonant, which is usually the penultimate syllable. The stressed syllable has higher pitch than the unstressed syllables.

(506.)   *'asrubu* 'drink' > *as'rubu* 'drinking'
   'atanu grind' > *a'tanu* 'grinding'
   'kati 'cover' > *'kati* 'covering'

The verb *ni'situ* 'forget' and trisyllabic verbs of Swahili origin, which as a rule take stress on the penultimate syllable, do not change their stress pattern, as illustrated in (507.):

(507.)   *ni'situ* 'forget' > *ni'situ* 'forgetting'
   cha'gua 'choose' > *cha'gua* 'choosing'

With four syllable verbs we find interpersonal variation regarding the position of the stress. This depends on whether the vowel preceding the last consonant is analysed as a full vowel or rather as an epenthetic vowel. The latter is ignored when forming the gerund, as illustrated in (508.):

(508.)   *jaka'ratu & ja'kartu/ ja'karatu* 'crying in shrill, high voice' > *ja'kar(a)tu* 'cry in shrill, high voice'

In the Nubi text material there are a few verbs where final *-u* is turned into *-a* in the gerund form, besides the usual stress changes, as in (509.):

(509.)   *'lesegu* 'glue' > *le'sega* 'glueing', 'glue'
   'aburu 'try', 'imitate' > *a'bura* 'trying', 'imitating', 'imitation'
   'karabu 'destroy' > *ka'raba* 'destroying', 'destruction'

Some verbs have both gerund forms, as in (510.):

(510.)   *'seregu* 'steal' > *se'rega* 'stealing', 'robbery' & *se'regu* 'stealing', 'robbery'

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[121] I assume that high pitch on the second syllable should be linked to the phrase structure. Below I will discuss how an infinitive is always followed by its patient in an inalienable-like construction. The tone of the infinitival phrase is similar to that of genuine inalienable possessive constructions, which in turn is different from that of alienable possessive constructions, as in:

   'jéréba 'bágara 'a cows' kraal'   ><   *'jéreba ta 'bágara* 'a kraal for cows'
   'móyó 'éna 'tear(s)'   ><   *'móyo ta 'éna* 'water for the eyes'
   'kúrúju (INF) *'sámba* 'working the field' ><   *ku'rúju* (GER) *ta 'sámba* 'working the field'

The difference can probably be explained by the fact that inalienable constructions are considered as a whole, whereas alienable constructions or verb phrases are not.

These forms in -*a* were mainly used by speakers who had been staying in the southern Sudan for some time, having fled the civil war in Uganda. Some verbs have an irregular nominalized form. However, these irregular forms may co-occur with regular gerund forms:

'agara 'read'	>	*ga'raya* 'study (N)'	&	*a'gara* 'studying', 'study'
'alabu 'play'	>	*'libu* 'game'	&	*a'labu* 'playing', 'play'
'arufu 'know'	>	*ma'arifa / ma'rifa* 'knowledge'		
'alim 'learn'	>	*'ilim* 'knowledge', 'information'	&	*a'lim* 'learning'
'alimu 'teach'	>	*ta'lim* 'training', 'teaching', 'instruction'	&	*a'limu* 'teaching'
'aminu 'trust'	>	*a'man(i)* 'trust (N)'	&	*a'min* 'trusting', 'trust'
'amuru 'build'	>	*a'mara* 'building', 'construction'		
'doru 'travel'	>	*do'riya* 'travel (N)'	&	*doru* 'travelling', 'travel'
'hibu 'love'	>	*ma'haba* 'love (N)'	&	*'hibu* 'loving'
'ishi 'live'	>	*ma'isha* 'life'	&	*'ishi* 'living', 'life'
'kafu 'be afraid'	>	*k(u)'wafu* 'fear (N)'		
'kasuru 'break', 'damage'	>	*ko'sur* 'damage (N)'		
'kelemu 'say'	>	*ka'lam* 'word', 'matter'	&	*ke'lem* 'saying'
'lebisi 'dress'	>	*la'basa* 'dressing', 'dress', 'clothes'	&	*le'bis* 'dressing', 'clothes'
'nedifu 'clean'	>	*na'dafa* 'cleanliness'	&	*ne'difu* 'cleaning'
'sadu 'help', 'assist'	>	*mu'sada* 'assistance'		
'sama 'forgive'	>	*mu'sama/ musa'ma* 'forgiveness'		
'raba 'raise'	>	*i'raba* 'upbringing', 'education'	&	*'raba* 'education'
'selemu 'greet'	>	*sa'lam / sa'lama* 'greeting'		
'wonusu 'talk'	>	*wa'nasa* 'conversation'	&	*wo'nusu* 'talking'
'wafiki 'agree'	>	*wa'faka* 'agreement'		
'zuru 'meet'	>	*zi'yara* 'meeting'		

table 20: Regular/irregular gerund forms

Use: Gerund forms may express action nominalizations. In that case, the gerund either refers to the action in its abstract sense, or it refers to a specific instance of the verbal action (event noun). Besides action nominalizations, the gerund may express product nominalizations referring to the result of the event described by the verb (result noun), and infrequently patient and agent nominalizations. One form may thus have several meanings. Which one is meant should be inferred from the context, as illustrated in (511.) and (512.):

(511.)   *Wo'nusu*   'gilib(u)   'itokum
          discuss-GER   be difficult-Ø   PRON 2PL
          'Discussing is difficult for you.'

(512.)   fi   'safa   ta   *wo'nus*   'wede'de
          at   side   GEN   discussion-GER   DEM PROX
          'on this side of the discussion'

However, we can roughly derive a distributional pattern. The irregular gerund forms listed in table 20 often express product/result, patient and agent nominalizations, e.g. *ko'sur* 'damage (N)', *ga'raya* 'study (N)', and *le'sega* 'glue (N)' respectively, or they refer to concrete instances of the verbal action (event noun), such as *a'mara* 'construction', unlike the gerund forms of the same verbs which are in agreement with the regular productive pattern of Nubi gerund formation and tend to refer either to the verbal action in its abstract sense, e.g. *ne'difu* 'cleaning', or to event nouns, as in (513.) and (514.):

(513.)   *'alabu* 'play'
(a)   *'Libu*   'ja   'hilu.
          play-GER: game   become-Ø   nice
          'The game became nice.'

(b)   'Ina   'gen   fi   *a'labu.*
       PRON 1PL   stay-Ø in   play-GER
       'We continued playing.'

(514.)   *'lebisi* 'dress', 'get dressed'
(a)   *La'basa*   'toumon   'de,   (…)   'umon   'lebis(i) 'uo.
       dress-GER: dress PRON POSS 3PL   DEF   PRON 3PL   wear-Ø PRON 3SING
       'Their [typical] dress, (…) they wore it.'

(b)   'Umon   gi-   'lebis   *le'bis*   'tena   'de.
       PRON 3PL   PROG-   wear   dress-GER: dress PRON POSS 1PL   DEF
       'They are wearing our clothes.'

(c)   Ba'na   'aba   *le'bis*   fi   'ajal   ta   ru'jal.
       girl-PL refuse-Ø   get dressed-GER in   sake   GEN   man-PL
       'The girls refused to get dressed for the sake of the men.'

Infinitives on the other hand, always refer to concrete instances of verbal actions, as in (515.):

(515.)   'Uo   'ya   fi   *'ízábu*   ba'na   'de.
          PRON 3SING   FOC   in   punish-INF   girl-PL DEF
          'He is punishing the girls.'

The gerund and the infinitive are distributed differently. The gerund may occur in the following contexts. Firstly, in intransitive verbs, the gerund is the only possible nominalized form. The agent is optionally expressed with the genitive particle *ta*. The gerundival expression thus acquires the appearance of an alienable possessive construction, the gerund taking the position of the possessed item, while the agent takes the possessor's place.

(516.)   'Umon   fu   'moyo.   Eh,   *a'rija*   'wara   'ma,
          PRON 3PL   in   water   INT   return-GER   back   EXIS NEG
          'rua   gi'dam   'ma.
          go-GER forward   EXIS NEG
          'They were in the water. Eh, there was no [chance to] return back, there was no [chance to] go forward.'

(517.)   Wu   *da'kul*   *'to,*   'uo   'dakul   min   'in,   (…).
          and   enter-GER   PRON POSS 3SING   PRON 3SING   enter-Ø   around here
          'And his entering, he entered around here, (…).'

Secondly, the gerund may be formed from transitive verbs whose object is not expressed. The agent may be expressed with the genitive particle *ta*, as in (518.) and (519.):

(518.)   'Ina   lo'go   *i'zabu*   'sei-'sei-'sei-'sei   'de.
          PRON 1PL   get-Ø   punish-GER   much-REP   EMPH
          'We got much, much, much, much punishment.'

(519.)   (…)   'namna   al   'kan   'uw(o)   'abidu   fu   *a'kulu*   *'to,*   (…)
                 way   REL   ANT   PRON 3SING   begin-Ø   in   eat-GER PRON POSS 3SING
          '(…)   the way in which he had begun his eating, (…).'

Thirdly, transitive verbs whose object is explicitly present can either form a gerund, or an infinitive[122]. In those cases, the gerund obligatorily expresses product/result nominalizations, whereas the infinitive expresses action/event nominalizations. The patient of a gerund verb form is introduced by the genitive particle *ta*, whereas the patient of an infinitive is not [123]. The gerundival expression thus resembles an alienable possessive construction (520) and (522.), whereas the infinitival expression corresponds to inalienable possessive expressions (521.) and (523.):

(520.) *A'bidu*   *ta*   *ka'lam* au   *a'bidu*   *ta*   *'sokol*, 'yena (…).
        begin-GER   GEN   problem or   begin-GER   GEN   thing   FOC + PRON 1PL
        'The beginning of a problem or the beginning of something, we (…).'

(521.) Ya'la du'ga ta   'war(a) 'ana   'je   'gusu
        child-PL small-PL   GEN   after   PRON 1SING   come-Ø look for-Ø
        'namna to   mu'n(u)? Ta   *'ábídu*   *ga'raya.*
        way   GEN   who/what?   GEN   begin-INF   study-GER
        'The small children (of) after me [my younger brothers and sisters] began to look for a way of what? Of beginning studies.'

(522.) (…)   'in(a)   'aju   'rua fi   *ga'raya*   *ta*   *'dini* 'ma.
        PRON 1PL   want-Ø go-Ø   in   study-GER   GEN   religion NEG
        '(…)   we do not want to go to religious studies.'

(523.) Fu   *'ágára*   *Grand Party*   *'de*,   'ino   lo'go-lo'go   'fogo
        in   study-INF   NPROP   DEF   PRON 1PL   find-REDUP-Ø in it
        'shida ta   'doru   fi'lel.
        problem GEN   travel-GER   at night
        'To study the Grand Party, we found problems (in it) in respect of travelling at night.'

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[122]   Older speakers of the northern variety of Nubi occasionally use the infinitive when no patient is present:
        'In(a)   'aju   'gus(u)   'agili   te   *'wénús* ma   bi'niya 'de.
        PRON 1PL   want-Ø look for-Ø   intelligence   GEN   talk-INF with   girl   DEF
        'We want to look for means [by using our intelligence] to talk with the girl'.

        'Umon   'kabas(u)   'uo   ma   'kila   'namna *'kábásu.*
        PRON 3PL   cheat-Ø   PRON 3SING   INSTR   every   way   cheat-INF
        'They cheated him in every [possible] way of cheating.'

[123] Some of Owens' examples (1977) on the gerund were considered incorrect by my informants since the patient is not introduced by *ta*:
        "ra'kabu 'lam   ta   'mariya ma   'din   'de   (…)
        your wife's cooking meat with this oil. " (Owens 1977: 70)

However, in Ugandan Nubi as well, the gerund form exceptionally occurs in an inalienable-like construction:
        'Toro 'de   'ya   *a'bidu*   a'bin   to   U'ganda,   (…).
        NPROP DEF   FOC   begin-GER   construct-Ø   GEN   NPROP
        'Toro [name of district] is the beginning of the construction of Uganda, (…).'

Otherwise, the few examples from Kenyan Nubi in Owens (1996) seem to confirm the above:
        'Uo   'fi   fi   *ash'rubu.*
        PRON 3SING   EXIS   in   drink-GER
        'He is drinking [right now].' (after Owens 1996: 150: 13 c.)

        'Katifu   *'waraga* 'ya   'mariya 'de   'so.
        write-INF   letter   FOC   wife   DEF   do-Ø
        'Write a letter is what my wife did.' (after Owens 1996: 151: 17 a.)

The above is summarized in table 21:

intransitive verbs & transitive verbs (no object present)	GER (*ta* AG): abstract actions, event nouns (regular), and product/result noun, event noun, agent and patient nominalizations (irregular)
transitive verbs (overt object)	GER *ta* OBJ: product/result noun INF OBJ: event noun

table 21: Distribution and use of the gerund and infinitive forms

The genitive exponent *ta* does not occur with an infinitive, but it is used with a gerund to mark either the agent or the patient [124]. The infinitive and the gerund may be combined in one single construction, as in (524.):

(524.)   *ra'kab*   *ta*   *'ifáde*[125]   *'akili*
         cook-GER   GEN   preserve-INF   food
         'the [way of] cooking of preserving food'

Since the gerund forms are used as nominals, they can be modified by adjectives, demonstratives, adverbs, and/or the definer *'de,* or behave as the object of a preposition so as to form a noun phrase, as illustrated in (525.), (526.), and (527.):

(525.)   *a'bidu*   *je'didi*
         begin-GER   new
         'a new beginning'

(526.)   *a'jol*   *ta*   *'ja*   *'leti*
         person   GEN   come-GER   late
         'a person of coming late/ someone who comes late habitually'

(527.)   *de'retu*   *'de*
         break wind-GER DEF
         'the breaking of wind'

Adjectives cannot be attributed to an infinitive form, but an infinitive clause can be modified by a demonstrative or the definer *'de*. In such a case, the entire clause receives the specification, and not just the infinitive, as illustrated in (528.):

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[124] According to Owens (1977: 70), both the agent and patient of the gerund form can be expressed in Kenyan Nubi. The agent position is then marked by the relaters *ta* or *ma*:

" (…)   a.   *ka'tulu*   (*ta*)   *li'fili*   *ta*   *'juma*
                 killing   (of)   elephants   of   Juma   Juma's killing the elephant
         b.   *ka'tulu*   (*ta*)   *li'fili*   *ma*   *'juma*   (same meaning)

(…)   The ta that marks the transitive position is optional. If it does not occur the position without it will be unambiguously interpreted as transitive. If it does occur then the position can be interpreted as the actor or the transitive position, since either sequence, transitive-actor or actor-transitive is allowed. (…) If ma marks the actor (…) the actor interpretation is unambiguous." (Owens 1977: 70-71).
In Ugandan Nubi, the co-occurrence of agent and patient does not exist in nominalized constructions. *ma* may occur ; but it does not mark the agent position, but rather the instrument or comitative position.

[125] The verb *'ifade* 'preserve' probably reached Nubi via the Swahili verb *hi'fadhi* 'preserve', 'keep', 'protect', 'save'. The stress which as a rule lies on the penultimate syllable in Swahili, and which is usually retained when the verb is used in Nubi, has been shifted exceptionally to the first syllable so that it agrees with the more usual stress pattern of Nubi verbs. Swahili *hi'fadhi* in turn may have been derived from Arabic *ḥifâẓ* 'preservation' where the stress also lies on the same syllable.

(528.)   *'áláb   do'luka   'de*
          play-INF   doluka   DEF
          'the doluka dancing'

or, as in (529.) the demonstrative or definer specifies only the noun following the infinitive.

(529.)   'fikra   ta   'gérú   *bia'shara*   *we'de*
          idea(s)   GEN   change-INF   business   DEM PROX
          'ideas for changing this business'

Both gerunds and infinitives may take the subject position (530.) and (531.), and the object position (532.) and (533.) in a sentence.

(530.)   *'Hishma   'de*   'ya   'adab.
          respect-GER   DEF   FOC   good behaviour
          'Respect is good behaviour.'

(531.)   *'Áríja   ma'jib   na   nyere'ku   'taki   'de*
          return-INF   answer   to   child   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF
          gi-   'geleb   'ita.
          PROG- bother   PRON 2SING
          'To return an answer to your child is bothering you/It bothers you to answer your child.'

(532.)   To'wil   'bala   'jib   *ko'sur.*
          length   attention bring-Ø damage-GER
          'Long attention brings damage.'

(533.)   Nyere'ku   'tim   *'ámsúku*   mu'lodo.
          child   be old enough-Ø hold-INF   hoe
          'The child is old enough to hold the hoe [to work on the field].'

The gerund and infinitive may occur in possessive constructions (534.), (535.) and (536.):

(534.)   *ba'kan   be'redu*
          place   wash-GER
          'a bathroom'

(535.)   *ka'lam   ta   ke'lem*
          thing   GEN   say-GER
          'something to say'

(536.)   'nia   ta   *'áríja*   *'zídú*   ga'raya
          intentionGEN   return-INF   increase-INF   study-GER
          'the intention of going back to increase studying.'

As the object of a preposition both the infinitive and the gerund may occur in expressions such as (537.) and (538.):

(537.)   'Marya 'de   *fi*   *ku'ruju   'to.*
          woman DEF   in   till-GER PRON POSS 3SING
          'The woman is busy working on the field.'

(538.)   'Ita   'gum   *fi*   *'kúrúju ku'ruju ta*   so'bun
          PRON 2SING   get up-Ø   in   till-INF till-GER GEN   soap
          'You got up for tilling (the field) the working for soap [to get money to buy soap].'

This type of construction appears after the verbs *'gen /'gai* 'stay', 'remain', *'gum* 'get up', *'rua* 'go', *'ja* 'come', *'kun/'kan* 'be', and after the existential marker *'fi*. It emphasizes the purpose of the action expressed by the first verb[126], as illustrated in (539.) and (540.):

(539.) 'Uw(o)   *'aba   'gum   fi   'sídú   'bab.
        PRON 3SING   refuse-Ø get up-Ø   in   close-INF   door
        'She refused to get up to close the door.'

(540.) 'Umon   *'rua   fi   'gaba   *fi   'gátá*   la'kata.
        PRON 3PL   go-Ø   to   forest   in   cut-INF wood
        'They went to the forest to cut wood.'

Gerunds and infinitives may occur in many other idiomatic expressions:

(541.) 'Ana   *gu-   'wonusu wo'nus   'tai.
        PRON 1SING   PROG-   discuss discuss-GER   PRON POSS 1SING
        'I am discussing my things.'

(542.) La'kin   fi   'shir   we'de,   'fi   a'jol   ji'ran   'g(i)-   ain.
        but   in   secret   DEM PROX   EXIS   person   neighbour   PROG-   see
        'Fi   *a'yin   al   'uo   'g(i)-   ain   'de.
        EXIS   see-GER   REL   PRON 3SING   PROG-   see   DEF
        'But (in) this secret, a neighbour was there seeing [it]. There was the view which he saw [what he saw
        was unmistakably true].'

(543.) 'Ita   'endis   *ta   'ámsúku   'ida   'to.
        PRON 2SING   have-Ø   to   hold-INF   hand(s) PRON POSS 3SING
        'You have to hold his hands.'

(544.) *'Pole   ma   ka'sul !*
        sorry   PREP   wash-GER
        'Sorry for washing (clothes)! [to express sympathy with a person occupied in hard labour].'

(545.) G(i)-   amru'g(u)   ena   *me   'jere.
        PROG-   remove-PASS   PRON 1PL   PREP   run-GER
        'We were taken away by running. '

(546.) La'kin   ka'lam   'de,   a'nas   'de   *gi-   ni'situ   ma   ni'situ?
        but   matter   DEF   people   DEF   PROG- forget   INSTR   forget-GER
        'But this matter, can people simply forget it?'

4.3.4. Reduplication

        Form: Reduplicated verbs behave like one verb, and are generally marked for TMA and voice as such, as illustrated in (547.), (548.), and (549.):

(547.) 'Ina   *gi-   'kuruju-'kuruju   'sia.
        PRON 1PL   PROG-   till the field-REDUP   bit
        'We are tilling the field a bit.'

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[126] A sentence like the following, on the other hand, should be interpreted as different actions which follow each other subsequently, or which occur at the same time (see 4.5.).
        'Uw(o)   'aba   'gum   'sidu   'bab.
        PRON 3SING   refuse-Ø   get up-Øclose-Ø   door
        'She refused to get up and close the door.'

(548.)   Gi-   'ja   li'go   'ras   ta   ba'na   'kul   *ma-   'gata-'gata.*
         PROG- come   find-PASS-Ø   head   GEN   girl-PL   all   STAT P-cut off-REDUP
         'The heads of all the girls will be found being cut off.'

(549.)   fi   *'ágílib(u)-'ágílibu*   soko'lin   'dol'de
         in   mix-REDUP-INF   thing-PLDEM PROX PL
         'in mixing these things'

Reduplicated verbs may be passivized in two ways. Either, only the second verb takes the passive form, as in (550.), or both verbs are subjected to the stress shift, as in (551.). The latter occurs more often in the southern than in the northern part of Uganda.

(550.)   'Dukur gi-   'ja   *'isab(u)-isa'bu*   ya'la   'de.
         then   PROG- come   count-REDUP-PASS-Ø   child-PLDEF
         'Then the children will be counted.'

(551.)   fi   ju'a   al   *kasu'ru-kasu'ru*   'na   je'de.
         in   house-PL   REL   break-REDUP-PASS-Ø   there   EMPH
         'in the houses that were broken on all sides there.'

They may also form the gerund in two ways, either by reduplicating the gerund form of the single verb, as in (552.), or by only forming a gerund of the second verb, as in (553.):

(552.)   *Bu'kuru-bu'kuru*   'ita   ka'man …
         expose to aromatic smoke-REDUP-GER   PRON 2SING   EMPH
         'ita   'ya   gi-   'ja   ma   la'kata   bu'kuru.
         PRON 2SING   FOC   PROG- come   with   wood   expose to aromatic smoke-GER
         'The exposure to aromatic smoke, you … you come with perfumed wood.'

(553.)   (…)   'kidima 'taki   'ya   *'abur-a'bura* .
                 job   PRON POSS 2SING   FOC   imitate-REDUP-GER
         '(…)   your job is imitation.'

Auxiliaries and the anterior marker *'kan* may also be reduplicated, as in (554.) and (555.):

(554.)   'Motoka 'dol'de   *'kan-'kan*   gi-   na'di   DMC.
         car(s)   DEM PROX PL ANT-REDUP   PROG- call-PASS   NPROP
         'These cars had been called DMC.'

(555.)   'Youm   'wai,   ka'lam 'wai   *gi-   'ja-'ja*   *we'ri*
         day   INDEF thing   INDEF PROG- come-REDUP   show-Ø
         ja   kala'ma   'de   'kul   a'ta   '(i)t(a)   'endi   'ma.
         as   problem-PL DEF   all   EMPH NEG   PRON 2SING   have-Ø NEG
         'One day, something will show as if [that] you do not have all the problems.'

Meaning: Reduplicated verbs express a sense of plurality, as in (556.), or diffuseness as in (557.) (see also Owens 1977: 42):

(556.)   La'yin,   'it(a)   'ain,   jira'na   'tai   'in   'kul
         but   PRON 2SING   see-Ø   neighbour   PRON POSS 1SING   here   all
         'ana   *'kelem-'kelem*   'noumon   ka'la.
         PRON 1SING   say-REDUP-Ø   to + PRON 3PL   COMPL
         'But, you see, all my neighbours here, I already told them.'

(557.) Tu'ra   al   *'kubu-ku'b(u)*   'uo   ma   'namn(a)
        soil   REL   pour-REDUP-PASS-Ø   PRON 3SING   with   manner
        ta   dus'man   'de,   'itokum   *'kum-'kum*   tu'ra.
        GEN   fight-GER   DEF   PRON 2PL   collect-REDUP-Ø   soil
        'The soil which was strewn by means of/because of the war, you(PL) collected (the soil).'

4.4. The copulas Ø, *'kan/'kun* 'be', *'ja* 'become', the verb *'endisi* 'have', and the existential marker *'fi*.

4.4.1. The copulas Ø, *'kan* '(permanent) be' and *'kun* '(temporary) be'

Form: Generally, the **permanent copula Ø, *'kan*** stands for (quasi-) permanent states, with an emphasis on the real, factual character of the states. Normally, permanent 'be' does not have any surface realization when it indicates present or past states, as illustrated in (558.). To mark a past state before a time in focus, *'kan* may be used, as in (559.):

(558.) 'Umon   Ø   'wai   min   a'nasi   al   to   'jo   'bele   we'de.
        PRON 3PL   Ø   NUM   from   people   REL   GEN   inside   country DEM PROX
        They are one of the people who are from within this country.'

(559.) Za'man   *'kan*   'uo   mis'kin, (…)
        in the old days   be-ANT   PRON 3SING   poor
        'In the old days he was poor, (…)' (This person has always been poor, until recently.)

The **temporary copula *'kun*** in general expresses temporary states. It may add a sense of inchoativeness and/or possibility or contingency for present and future [127]. This implies that all references to the being of someone or something which is not (yet) real or factual, such as an imperative, subjunctive, etc. is expressed by means of temporary 'be' in Nubi. *'kun* acts like any other non-stative Nubi bare verb form to which all types of marking is added, e.g. *gu- 'kun, bu-'kun, 'kan 'kun, 'kun*-IMPER, *'kun*-GER, etc.

(560.) 'Umon   *'kun*   a'nas   al   'hak .
        PRON 3PL   be-Ø   people   REL   righteous
        'They became righteous people.'

(561.) 'Ase,   'moyo   kan   'marya 'amili   (…)   'ya   'moyo   'de
        now   water   when   woman   be pregnant-Ø   CONJ   water   DEF
        gi-   'ger(u) 'uo,   *gi-*   *'kun*   'dom.
        PROG-   change   PRON 3SING   PROG-   be   blood
        'Now, the water, when the woman is pregnant (…), then the water changes itself, it becomes blood.'

(562.) *'Kan*   *'kun*   'kweis.
        ANT   be-Ø   good
        'It was good.'

(563.) *'Ma-*   ta   *'kun*   Is'lam   ka'man
        NEG-   ADR SING   be-IMPER   Muslim   EMPH
        al   ta   'ábúdu   ka'lam   'tan.
        REL   GEN   worship-INF   thing   other
        'Do not be a Muslim who has [the practice] of worshipping something else.'

(564.) 'Uo   'gal: eh,   *'kun*   ma   'marya   Ø   'seme.
        PRON 3SING   say-Ø   eh   be-GER   with   wife   Ø   good
        'He [said] that: eh, being with [having] a wife is nice.'

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[127] Owens (1977: 267) talks about contingent 'be' (my temporary 'be') and stative 'be' (my permanent 'be'). I prefer to use "temporary 'be' ", since its span reaches further than just contingency.

Some Nubi speakers from Buganda-area use the Swahili verb *'kuwa* as an alternative form to temporary *'kun*, as illustrated in (565.):

(565.)	(…)	'sela	we'de,	'uo		'g(i)-	arufa,
		luggage	DEM PROX	PRON 3SING		PROG-	lift
	gi-	*'kuwa*	'nouo		ke'fifu.		
	PROG-	be	to + PRON 3SING		light		
	'(…) this luggage, he lifts it, it is light for him.'						

There is optional number agreement between subject and predicate. Human beings/animates are more frequently marked for number than others, as illustrated in (566.) and (567.):

(566.)	*'Ina,*	ka'lam	*'kan*	*du'ga* (…).
	PRON 1PL	because	be-ANT	small-PL
	'We, because we were small, (…).'			

(567.)	*A'nas*	*'kun*	*kwei'sin.*
	people	be-Ø	good-PL
	'The people were good.'		

Use: Besides the equative predicate[128], Ø, *'kan, 'kun, 'kuwa* may express the location of the subject, either spatially or temporally, as shown in (568.) and (569.):

(568.)	'Zaidi	ta	a'nas	*'kan*	fi	'area	'na'de
	many	GEN	people	be-ANT	in	area	DEM DIS
	gi-	na'd(i)	'uo		ma'lim	M'puta.	
	PROG-	call	PRON 3SING		teacher	NPROP	
	'Many people [who] were in that area, called him teacher Mputa (Nile perch).'						

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[128] *'kan* may follow another verb, and introduce an object, a prepositional phrase, a subjunctive phrase, etc. In those cases, the construction expresses that the verbal action took place, but that the object is no longer available, that the conditions as expressed in the prepositional phrase are not anymore in existence, or that the expected result as expressed in the subjunctive clause, was never obtained, and thus belongs to the past. In the following sentences, (a) is taken from the text material, whereas (b) was provided during interviews.

(a)	'Ana	*we'di*	'neta		*'kan*	'agil	al	(…)
	PRON 1SING	give-Ø	to + PRON 2SING		be-ANT	knowledge	REL	
	'I gave you the knowledge which (…). [the knowledge was given. However, 'you' lost it.]'							

(b)	'Ana	*'kan*	*we'di*	'neta		'agil	al	(…)
	PRON 1SING	ANT	give-Ø	to + PRON 2SING		knowledge	REL	
	'I had given you the knowledge which (…).'							

In (a), the knowledge was given, but since then it has been lost. If *'kan* precedes the main verb, in which case it should be interpreted as the anterior marker, as in (b) the speaker intends to say that the action of giving has come to an end before the time in focus, whether clearly referred to or not, without giving any additional information about the state of the knowledge. With the copula *'kan* in postverbal position we know that the transfer of knowledge took place, and that subsequently before the time in focus, the receiver lost it. The following two sentences differ in that in (a), the house is still demolished, but the war which caused the house to be ruined, is over. In (b) with the preverbal anterior marker, however, the war is over, and the house which was demolished during the war, has been rebuilt.

(a)	'Itokum	'gen	fi	'jua	al	*'kasur-'kasur*	*'kan*	te	'vita.
	PRON 2PL	stay-Ø	in	house	REL	break-REDUP-Ø	be-ANT	GEN	war
	'You (PL) stay in a house that is demolished because of the war [which is finished].'								

(b)	'Itokum	'gen	fi	'jua	al	*'kan*	*'kasur-'kasur*	te	'vita.
	PRON 2PL	stay-Ø	in	house	REL	ANT	break-REDUP-Ø	GEN	war
	'You (PL) stay in a house that had been demolished because of the war [but that has been rebuilt].								

(569.) 'Youm ta   ni'ka   *'g(i)- arija   'kuwa* fi   'youm 'sebi   'tan.
        day   GEN   wedding PROG- return be-Ø   in   Saturday another
        'The day of the wedding is again on another Saturday.'

Ø, 'kan, *'kun*, *'kuwa* plus preposition *ma* 'with' may denote possession. The possessor takes the subject position, the possessee the object position, as illustrated in (570.) and (571.):

(570.) 'yal   ba'na   ka'man Ø   *mo*   'namna 'toumon   ta   a'sili.
        child-PL girl-PL EMPH   Ø   with   manner PRON POSS 3PL   GEN   genuineness
        'the girls are with/ have their genuine manner.'

(571.) 'Yeta   *bi-   'ja*   *'kun*   *ma*   'suduru ti'nen.
        CONJ + PRON 2SING   FUT-   come   be-Ø   with   breast(s) NUM
        'Then you will be with/ will have two breasts.'

Another type of possessive construction may be expressed by 'be', whether *Ø / 'kan*, *'kun*, or *'kuwa* and the prepositions *ma* 'with' or *na* 'to', in which the possessor is complement of the preposition, while the possessed item takes the subject position, as shown in (572.) and (573.):

(572.) 'Bal   'taki   ke'de   *'kun   'nana.*
        attention PRON POSS 2SING   SUBJ   be-Ø   to + PRON 1SING
        'Your attention should be to me. / I should have your attention.'

(573.) *'Sente Ø   'mana*   'ma.
        money Ø   with + PRON 1SING   NEG
        'Money is not with me. / I do not have money.'

Ø, 'kan, *'kun*, *'kuwa* may also express existential 'be', as in (574.) and (575.):

(574.) Do'luka,   fi   do'luka 'na,   'umon   Ø   *ma*   ba'na.
        dance party   in   dance party there PRON 3PL   Ø   with   girl-PL
        'The dance party, on the dance party there, they are [there] with the girls.'

(575.) La'yin 'besi   school fees   'ya   *'je-'ja*   *'kuwa* 'ma.
        but   only   school fees   FOC   come-REDUP-Ø   be-Ø   NEG
        'But only the school fees did not happen to be there.'

'kun with future marker *bi-,* or preceded by the verbs *'agider* or *'weza* 'be able' with future prefix *bi-,* often expresses modality[129]. The expression is mainly impersonal[130].

(576.) Kan   'fi   'sokol ba'tal al   bi-   'só   na   ji'ran
        if   EXIS   thing   bad   REL   FUT-   do-PASS   to   neighbour
        'taki   (…),   a'j(u)   ita (…)   'kun   'ready.
        PRON POSS 2SING   need-PASS-Ø   PRON 2SING   be-Ø   ready
        Sa'ba   ka'man *bu-   'kun*   'dor   'taki.
        tomorrow   also   FUT-   be   turn   PRON POSS 2SING
        'If there is a bad thing that is done to your neighbour (…), you should (…) be ready. Tomorrow, it may also be your turn.'

(577.) Au   *'b(i)- agder   'kun*   fu   'Kenya.
        or   FUT-   be able be-Ø   in   NPROP

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[129] The adverbs *'lab(u)da, min 'aruf, 'sa 'tan* 'maybe', 'perhaps', 'possibly' express approximately the same meaning:

>   *Min 'aruf*   'uo   'b(i)- awun(u) 'ina
>   maybe   PRON 3SING   FUT-   help   PRON 1PL
>   fi   'shida 'tena   al   'ina   'fogo   'wede'de.
>   in   problem PRON POSS 1PL   REL   PRON 1PL   in it   DEM PROX
>   'Maybe he will help us in (this) our problem which we are in.

[130] Owens (1977: 269-273) talks in this respect about the 'modal contingent'.

'Or it might be in Kenya.'

4.4.2. The copula *'ja* 'become'

The copula *'ja* may express an alteration of state[131], as illustrated in (578.) and (579.):

(578.) (…)   bi'niya, ka'la   'ras   'to   *gi-*   *'ja*   'gow-'gow.
               girl   COMPL head   PRON POSS 3SING   PROG- become hard-REDUP.
        '(…)   the girl, her head already became hard.'

(579.) 'Ana   *bi-*   *'ja*   'tajir.
        PRON 1SING   FUT-   become   rich
        'I will become rich.'

Infrequently, the copula *bi'ja* 'become' is used (see also Heine (1982: 40) on Kenyan Nubi). In these cases *bi-* does not carry future meaning, but is part of the verb stem, as in (582.):

(580.) 'Ina   'gai   ma   'ragi   'tai,   'sana   *bi'ja*
        PRON 1PL   stay-Ø   with   husband PRON POSS 1SING   year   become-Ø
        ka'lasi 'ashara   wu   'sokol.
        COMPL ten   and   thing
        'I stay with my husband, the years become already ten and something.'

4.4.3. The existential marker *'fi*

Form: The existential marker *'fi* may be analyzed as a stative verb denoting a temporary state, even though it has a reduced tense/aspect system. It may take the progressive marker *gi-,* the future marker *bi-,* and the anterior marker *'kan*. However, in subjunctive and imperative clauses, the auxiliary verb *'kun* must be added: *ke'de 'kun 'fi,* and *'kun 'fi* respectively. The negative marker *'ma* is prefixed to negate the existential marker. It becomes *'ma'fi*, but may be produced as *'mafi, 'maf,* or even *'ma*.

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[131] Other verbs that may function as equative verbs are *'fadul* 'remain', *'raba* 'grow', *'gai/ 'gen* 'stay', *'tim* 'be (old) enough', and *'fi* 'be' (EXIS) (see 4.4.3. The existential marker *'fi*):

    'Umon   *'gai*   a'nas   asa'sin   'sei-'sei   'de.
    PRON 3PL   remain-Ø   people beautiful-PL   very-REDUP   EMPH
    'They remain to be/are very pretty people.'

    'Batna   'jua   *'fadulu*   ne'dif.
    inside   house   remain-Ø   clean
    'The inside of the house remains clean.'

Owens (1977: 110) also includes transitive verbs like *'kutu* 'make', *'so* 'make', *'adulu* 'prepare', *'alimu* 'teach'. However, a sentence like:

    'ina   'so   <u>'uwo</u>   <u>'asker</u>
    we   make   him   soldier
    'we made him into a soldier'   (see Owens 1977: 110)

would take the verb *'kun* 'be' , with or without a subjunctive clause, in Ugandan Nubi:

    'ina   *'so   ke'de   uo*   *'kun*   *'asker*
    PRON 1PL   make-Ø SUBJ   PRON 3SING   be-Ø   soldier
    'we made so that he became a soldier.'

    'ina   *'kut(u) 'uo*   *'kun*   *'asker*
    PRON 1PL   make-Ø PRON 3SING   be-Ø   soldier
    'we made him into a soldier.'

This fact delimits the discussion on equative verbs in Ugandan Nubi to *'kun/'kan* 'be', *'ja* 'become', *'raba* 'grow', *'fadul* 'remain', *'gai/ 'gen* 'remain', 'stay', *'tim* 'be (old) enough', and the existential marker *'fi*.

(581.) *'Fi*   'warag(a)   al   'uw(o)   'aktib? 'Gali: *ma'fi.*
        EXIS   letter   REL   PRON 3SING   write-Ø that   EXIS NEG
        'Is there a letter which he wrote?' (He said) that: there is not.'

(582.) Kan   'ana   'gu-   rwa   fi   sa'fari,   'ragi   we'de   'ya
        when   PRON 1SING   PROG-   go   in   trip   man   DEM PROX   FOC
        gi-   *'fi*   fi   'be   'tai   'ini   (…).
        PROG-   EXIS   in   house   PRON POSS 1SING   here
        '[Every time] when I go on a trip, this man stays in my house here (…).'

(583.) Ka'man 'aju   'abba   'to   'de   *ke'de*   'kun   *'fi*   (…)
        also   have to-Ø   granny PRON POSS 3SING   DEF   SUBJ   be-Ø   EXIS
        'Also his grandmother should be there (…).'

Use: *'fi* expressing existence: *'fi* essentially denotes existence. In that case, definite subjects, either determined by means of the definite article *'de*, a demonstrative, or a possessive construction generally precede the existential marker, as in (584.):

(584.) *'Abba*   *'tai*   *'kan*   *'fi.*
        granny   PRON POSS 1SING   ANT   EXIS
        'My granny was there/alive."

Indefinite subjects follow it, as illustrated in (585.):

(585.) Za'man   bu'mara   *'fi*   *'fi*   'rag(i)   'wai.
        previously   very much   ANT   EXIS   man   INDEF
        'A long time ago, there was a man.'

When the existential marker is negated, the definite subject generally precedes it, as in (586.):

(586.) 'Yal   ta'lata 'de,   'yal   'de,   ma'ma 'toumon   ka'man 'ma'fi.
        child-PL NUM   DEF   child-PL DEF   mother PRON POSS 3PL   EMPH   EXIS NEG
        'The three children, the children, their mother was not there/was dead.'

The indefinite subject either precedes or follows the negated existential marker:

(587.) (…),   la'kini   *'sente*   *ma'fi.*
                but   money   EXIS NEG
        '(…),   but there is no money.'

(588.) 'Ase'de *ma'fi*   ka'lam.
        now   EXIS NEG   problem
        'Now, there is no problem.'

***'fi* expressing equation:** Existential *'fi* may function as an equative verb, which takes an equative complement. Number agreement is optional, as in (590.). *'fi* then refers to a temporary state 'as for now', contrary to permanent *'kan* 'be', which marks a more permanent state. *'fi*, however, differs from *'kun* 'temporary be' in that the latter conveys the idea of inchoativeness and/or contingency, whereas *'fi* lacks any reference of this kind[132].

(589.) (…)   ta'ra   nyere'ku to   m'ze   'de   ta a'sil   *'fi*   'king.
               EMPH   child   GEN   old man DEF   in reality EXIS   king
        '(…)   you see, the child of the old man is in reality a king.'

(590.) A'nas   *'fi*   gishe'rin.

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[132] *Pace* Owens (1977: 148, 213-214) who speaks in this respect of a contingent equational sentence, expressing a state whose inception took place only recently.

people EXIS   short-PL
'The people are short.'

***'fi* expressing continuation:** The existential marker *'fi* + preposition *fi* followed by a gerund or infinitive construction [133] conveys that the subject is in the process of conducting an action. Its meaning thus closely resembles that of the progressive marker *gi-*. Unlike the progressive marker, its function is restricted to expressing continuous action, and excludes the expression of habitual or repeated action (see also Owens 1977: 171-172). A sentence, like (591.) would be ungrammatical, since the stative verb *'fi* preceded by the progressive marker implies habituality [134].

(591.)   * 'Ana   *gi-*   *'fi*   *fi*   *'kátífu*   *'buku.*
         PRON 1SING   PROG-   EXIS   in   write-INF   book
         'I am [habitually] writing a book.'

More than the progressive marker, *'fi fi* + GER/INF emphasizes the fact that the subject is participating in the action at the time in focus. (592.)(a) indicates that the people are busy making preparations for the wedding at the time in focus. The fictitious sentence (b) would also mean that the people are in the process of preparing the wedding, but not necessarily right now.

(592.)
(a)   'Ase'de, 'youm ju'ma,   'youm   we'de,
         now,   Friday,   day   DEM PROX
         a'nas   *'fi*   *fi*   *'ádúlu*   *'namna ta*   *'jowju*   'youm 'sebi.
         people   EXIS   in   prepare-INF   way   GEN   marry-GER   Saturday
         'Now, on Friday, this day, the people are busy preparing (the way of) the marriage of Saturday.'

(b)   (…)   a'nas   gi-   'adulu 'namna ta   'jowju   'youm 'sebi.
                   people   PROG-   prepare way   GEN   marry-GER   Saturday
         '(…)   the people are preparing (the way of) the marriage of Saturday.'

***'fi* denoting location:** When followed by an adverbial phrase of location, the existential marker *'fi* expresses the temporary location of the subject, as in (593.) and (594.):

(593.)   Li'fili   *'fu*   *'wen?*
         elephant   EXIS   where?
         'Where is the elephant?

(594.)   *'Gesi   'de*   'debba *'fi*   *'fogo.*
         grass   DEF   snake   EXIS   in it
         'The grass, there is a snake in it.'

***'fi* expressing possession:** Nubi may use *'fi* + the prepositions *na* 'to' or *ma* 'with'. *na* denotes that someone or something is close to something or someone else (locative possessive). *ma* is the comitative marker. There are two types of construction. Either the subject marks the possessed item, while the prepositional phrase refers to the possessor (with-possessive), as illustrated in (595.):

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[133] The verbal position is not restricted to *'fi*. The verbs *'gai/'gen* 'stay', *'gum* 'get up', etc. can as well occur (see 4.3.3.)
[134] The aspect of inchoativeness is also barred from the *'fi fi* + GER/INF construction (cf. Owens 1977: 171).

(595.) 'uo   ke'de   'ain   kan   *'fire ex'tinguisher*   *'fi*   *'nouo.*
        PRON 3SING   SUBJ   see-Ø   if   fire extinghuisher   EXIS   to + PRON 3SING
        'he should see whether he has a fire extinguisher.'

or the subject is the possessor, while the preposition *ma* 'with' introduces the possessee, as in (596.):

(596.) 'Youm   'tan   'ina   gi-   'ja   li'go   nyere'ku 'tena   'de
        day   other   PRON 1PL   PROG-   come   find   child   PRON POSS 1PL   DEF
        'fi   *ma*   'sudur   ti'nin.
        EXIS   with   breast(s)   NUM
        'Another day, we will find our child being with/having two breasts.'

The possessee is mainly non-human, with the exception of children and personnel, who can be 'possessed'. When the subject is human, *'fi na* and *'fi ma* indicates that the subject is living together with (an)other person(s)[135].

(597.) 'Bes,   'ina   *'kan*   *'fi*   *ma*   kal'ti   'tena.
        well   PRON 1PL   ANT   EXIS   with   maternal uncle   PRON POSS 1PL
        'Well, we were there with our maternal uncle.'

(598.) Ja'lila   *'fi*   *na*   'ragi   'wai.
        NPROP   EXIS   with   man   INDEF
        'Jalila is there with a [certain] man.'

4.4.4. The verb *'endi* 'have'

   Form: Unlike other transitive verbs, *'endi*, and its alternative *forms 'endis, 'endisi, 'indi, 'endu, 'andi, 'andis, 'andisi*, does not have a passive, nor a stative passive verb form (see also Owens 1977: 320). Otherwise, it behaves like any other stative verb. This means that it can take the progressive marker *gi-* when expressing a habit or inchoativeness, the future marker *bi-* and the anterior marker *'kan*, as illustrated in (599.), and (600.). In interviews, my informants mentioned the possibility of using the verb *'endi* preceded by auxiliaries like *'gurwa* 'be going to' to express a near and definite future, or *'ja* 'come' to express inchoativeness. In the text material, however, *'gurwa 'endi* was not used, *'ja 'endi* was apparently replaced by *'(ja) 'kun ma* 'be with'.

(599.) 'Ana   'fekeri   'an(a)   *'endu*   'sana   'ashara au   i'dashar.
        PRON 1SING   think-Ø   PRON 1SING   have-Ø   year(s) NUM   or   NUM
        'I think I had ten or eleven years/ I was ten or eleven years old.'

(600.) Kan   ji'yan   'be   'toumon   gi-   'so   'uo,
        when   hunger   home   PRON POSS 3PL   PROG-   do   PRON 3SING
        'dukuru   'uo   *'g(i)-*   *endisi*   'namna   'ma.
        then   PRON 3SING   PROG-   have   means   NEG
        'When homesickness is doing her [when she is homesick], then she doesn 't have means [to go there].'

---

[135] *'fi na* also has the idiomatic meaning of 'be under the care of...':
       'Marya   'de,   (…) 'ya
       woman   DEF   FOC
       'ala   'kan   'uo   *'fi*   *'nouo,*   'Aisa.
       REL   ANT   PRON 3SING   EXIS   to +PRON 3SING   NPROP
       'The woman, (…) under whose care she was, Aisa.'

Use: *'endi* expressing possession: *'endi* essentially expresses possession. Above, I discussed the expression of possession by means of *'kun/'kan* 'be' or the existential marker *'fi* followed by either the comitative preposition *ma* or the locative preposition *na*[136]. Although Owens (1977: 322-323) and Heine (1982: 41) doubt whether a distinction can be made as to the distribution of the different forms, such a distinction does seem to exist. If we make a division between legal possession, inalienable possession (like part-whole relations, body parts, characteristics, kinship relations), and temporary possession, we see that all three can be expressed by the Nubi verb *'endi*:

* legal, as illustrated in (601.):

(601.) 'An(a)   *'endis   'bicycle   'tai.*
        PRON 1SING   have-Ø   bicycle   PRON POSS 1SING
        'I have my bicycle.'

* inalienable: part-whole relations (602), body parts (603.), kin terms (604.), and characteristics (605.):

(602.) 'Gus(u)   'nana   ku'baya 'chai   al   *'endi   'tamaga,*(…)
        find-IMPER   for + PRON 1SING   cup   tea   REL   have-Ø   saucer
        'Find for me a tea cup that has a saucer, (…)'

(603.) 'Uo   *'kan   'indi   'gisim.   'Uo   se'min.
        PRON 3SING   ANT   have-Ø   body   PRON 3SING   fat.
        'He had a body. He was fat.'

(604.) 'Ana   'me   *'endi   ma'ma,* 'ana   'me   *'endi   ba'ba.*
        PRON 1SING   NEG   have-Ø   mother   PRON 1SING   NEG   have-Ø   father
        'I do not have a mother, I do not have a father.'

(605.) 'Uw(o)   *'endi   'adab.*
        PRON 3SING   have-Ø   good manners
        'She has good manners.'

* temporary: objects (referring to temporary use), as in (606.), and emotions, as in (607.):

(606.) 'Uw(o)   *'endis   si'la   'to*   'in,   (…)
        PRON 3SING   have-Ø   gun   PRON POSS 3SING   here
        'He has his gun here, (…)'

(607.) 'Ya   mar'ba   'de,   'uw(o)   *'endis   fu'raha*
        CONJ   stepmother   DEF   PRON 3SING   have-Ø   happiness
        fi   'gelba   'to   'ma   (…)
        in   heart   PRON POSS 3SING   NEG
        'Thus the stepmother, she does not have happiness in her heart [is not happy] (…).'

The possessive expression POSSESSOR *'fi ma* POSSESSEE is used in the first two domains.

* legal, as in (608.):

(608.) A'nas   te   U'gand(a)   'en   'kul,
        people   GEN   NPROP   here   all
        'kil(a)   a'zol   'fi   ma   ma'hal   'to   ka'las.
        every   person   EXIS   with   place   PRON POSS 3SING   EMPH
        'All the people from Uganda here, everybody has his place.'

---

[136] The following construction including *'endi* and *'fi* is not uncommon in Nubi:
        'Umon   *'endi   'kila   'sokol   'toumon*   *'fi.*
        PRON 3PL   have-Ø   every   thing   PRON POSS 3PL   EXIS
        'They have everything of them (being here).'

* inalienable possession: part-whole relations, body parts (609.), kinship terms, characteristics (610.):

(609.) 'Youm   'tan   'ina   gi-   'ja   li'go   nyere'ku 'tena   'de
        day   other   PRON 1PL   PROG-   come   find   child   PRON POSS 1PL   DEF
        'fi   ma   'sudur   ti'nin.
        EXIS   with   breast(s) NUM
        'Another day we will find our child having two breasts.'

(610.) 'Kena   ende'lea   mo   utama'duni   'tena
        SUBJ + PRON 1PL   continue-Ø   with   civilization   PRON POSS 1PL
        ta   za'man   al   'kan   'ina   'fi   'mouo.
        GEN   old days REL   ANT   PRON 1PL   EXIS   with + PRON 3SING
        'Let us continue with our civilization of the old days which we had.'

Temporary possession (objects or emotions), however, is generally not expressed by means of a POSSESSOR *'fi ma* POSSESSEE- construction, most likely because *'fi* refers to a permanent state which would conflict with the temporary character of the possession. Instead, *'kun ma* (and also *'gen/'gai ma* [137]) are found with this type of possession. *'kun ma* adds the idea of inchoativeness or possibility, and as such often refers to (temporary) emotions[138].

(611.) (…)   'itokum   'b(i)-   arija   'kun   mo   fu'rai.
               PRON 2PL   FUT-   return be-Ø   with   happiness
        '(…)   you(PL) will again be (with) / have happiness.'

The possessive locative constructions POSSESSEE *'fi na/ma* POSSESSOR, cover slightly different domains:

* legal, as illustrated in (612.):

(612.) 'Sente   'kan   'fi   'nana.
        money   ANT   EXIS   to + PRON 1SING
        'I had money.'

* inalienable: characteristics, as shown in (613.):

(613.) 'Adab   te   'súlú-'súlú   soko'lin ta   a'nasi   'fi   'nouo.
        habit   GEN   take-REDUP-INF   thing-PL GEN   people   EXIS   with+PRON 3SING
        'He has the habit of taking things from people/stealing.'

POSSESSEE *'fi na* POSSESSOR may, besides characteristics, also express temporary possession, either of objects or emotions, as in (614.) and (615.) respectively:

(614.) 'Baisikil 'fi   'nana.
        bicycle   EXIS   to + PRON 1SING
        'I had [the use of] a bicycle.'

---

[137] Possession may also be rendered by means of the verbs *'gen/'gai* 'stay', 'remain' in combination with the comitative preposition *ma*:

        Min   'ita   'gen   ma   'fikra   mi'lan,
        from   PRON 2SING   stay-Ø   with   thought(s)   many
        'to   'num   'seme   'ma,   (…)
        PRON 2SING   sleep-Ø   good   NEG
        'From the moment that/ because you have many thoughts, you do not sleep well, (…)'

[138]   Although a breast is actually a body part and therefore inalienable, in this specific context of a girl receiving a missing breast, *'kun* 'be', even though denoting temporary states, is not out of place.

        'Yeta   bi-   'ja   'kun   ma   'suduru ti'nen.
        CONJ + PRON 2SING   FUT-   come   be-Ø   with   breast(s) NUM
        'Thus you will have two breasts.'

(615.) 'Bas   'ini   *'fi*   *'nena*   *'ebu*   'zaidi.
        well   here   EXIS   to + PRON 1PL   shame   a lot of
        'Well here we have a lot of shame [are very much ashamed].'

It thus appears that, when expressing legal possession, *'endi* and the locative *'fi ma*/*na* constructions are interchangeable, except that with *'endi* the focus is more on the possessee, whereas with the *'fi ma/na* constructions the focus is on the possessor. Consider (616.):

(616.) *Ba'ba*   *'tai*   *'kan*   *'endi*   *baga'ra* fi   Gu'lu.   *Baga'ra*
        father   PRON POSS 1SING   ANT   have-Ø   cow-PL   in   NPROP   cow-PL
        'kan   *'fi*   *'mouo.*
        ANT   EXIS   with + PRON 3SING
        'My father had cows in Gulu. He had cows.'

In expressing inalienable and temporary possession, *'endi* , and the locative possessive constructions, however, have a different distribution, which is summarized in table 22.

		'endi	*'fi ma* POSSee	*'fi ma* POSSor	*'fi na* POSSor
legal possession		x	x	x	x
inalienable possession:	part-whole	x	x		
	body parts	x	x		
	kin relations	x	x		
	characteristics	x	x	x	x
temporary possession:	objects	x			x
	emotions	x			x

table 22: Nubi expressions of possession

For the locative *'fi ma /na* construction one might expect variants with the verbs *Ø/'kan* '(permanent) be', *'kun* '(temporary) be', and *'gen/'gai* 'stay', each with its specific meaning, since these verbs are related to each other on a kind of continuum, ranging from permanent *Ø/'kan*, to *'fi* and *'gen/'gai* to temporary *'kun*. However, since the locative possessive construction generally refers to legal and inalienable characteristics, instances of the verbs *'gen/ 'gai* 'stay' and *'kun* '(temporary) be' with this type of construction are almost non-existent. An exception is (572.)[139].

Expressing obligation with *'endi (ta)*: A few speakers use *'endi* (+ an optional element which is homophonous with the genitive particle *ta*) to express obligation, as illustrated in (617.) and (618.). The utterances were limited to younger speakers (approximately 35 years), both from the southern and from the northern part of the country.

(617.) Kan   'ragi   'de   'ma'fi,   'it(a)   'endi   *'ja*   'nana,   (…)
        if   husband DEF   EXIS-NEG   PRON 2SING   have-Ø   come-Ø   to + PRON 1SING
        'If [your] husband is not there, you have to come to me, (…).'

---

[139] Another type of possession whose number of occurrences is limited consists of permanent 'be', expressed by *Ø/'kan* followed by the genitive particle *ta* + possessor. The relative marker *al* optionally precedes 'be'. This type of construction only refers to inalienable possession:

    Nyere'ku   'ya   *ta*   *ke'ni*   'na'de.
    child   FOC   GEN   co-wife   DEM DIS
    'The child is of that wife [is that wife's].'

    'Umon   'sulu   das'turi
    PRON 3PL   take-Ø   habit(s)
    al   *'kan*   ta   'nas   ji'di   'toumon.
    REL   be-ANT   GEN   COLL   grandfather   PRON POSS 3PL
    'They took the habits (which were) of their grandparents.'

(618.) 'Ita   *bi-*   *'endi*   *to*   *'rua*   na   'awa   'to.
        PRON 2SING FUT-   have   GEN   go-Ø   to   aunt   PRON POSS 3SING
        'You will have to go to her aunt.'

4.5. Asyndetic verb chains

In a previous section (4.2.1.4.), we have discussed the auxiliary verbs. However, what I considered to be 'auxiliary verbs' may also occur as free verbs. Moreover, these verbs may occur in asyndetic verb chains, preceding another verb or other verbs (as the auxiliaries do). Unlike the auxiliary verbs, their meaning cannot be combined with tense and/or aspect, such as future, duration, iterativity. The meaning of the free verb is retained. They express different actions following each other, or occurring at the same time.

Only a few Nubi verbs occur in an asyndetic verb chain. These are locational-directional verbs, namely:

* verbs of directed motion *'rua* 'go', expressing motion away from, and *'ja* 'come', expressing motion towards, as illustrated in (619.) and (620.):

(619.) 'Ya   umon   bu-   'rua.   'Umon   *'bu-*   *rwa*   *'kuruju* (…).
        CONJ   PRON 3PL   FUT-   go   PRON 3PL   FUT-   go   till the soil-Ø
        'Thus they will go. They will go to till the soil (…).'

(620.) 'Kel(i) al   'ingis …,   al   gi-   'doru   'zaman   te   'segete,
        dog   REL   like   REL   PROG-   wander about   period   GEN   coldness
        'uo   *gi-*   *'ja*   *'num*   fi   lu'daya.
        PRON 3SING   PROG-   come   sleep-Ø   in   hearth
        'A dog which is like…, which is wandering about for some time from the cold, he comes to sleep in the hearth.'

* manner direction verbs *'arija* 'return' [140] and *'gum* 'get up', as shown in (621.) and (622.):

(621.) Asker'ya   'kul   *'arija*   *'jere.*
        guard-PL   all   return-Ø   run-Ø
        'All the guards ran back.'

(622.) 'Lam   'gaba   *'gum*   *'rua*   na   ku'juru.
        meat   forest   get up-Ø go-Ø   to   witchdoctor.
        'The wild animal got up and went to the witchdoctor.'

---

[140] *'rua* 'go', *'ja* 'come', and *'arija* 'return' may also convey the notion of accidentalness:
        'Umon   *'ro*   *'ain*   ta'gia.
        PRON 3PL   go-Ø   see-Ø   cap
        'They happened to see a head cap.'

        'Gelba   'to   *'kan*   *'je*   *'kuwa*   'tan.
        heart   PRON POSS 3SING   ANT   come-Ø be-Ø   other
        'His heart happened to be different.'

        Kan   'it(a)   'aju   ke'd(e)   'ow(o)   'rua   fi   'jela,
        if   PRON 2SING   want-Ø   SUBJ   PRON 3SING   go-Ø   to   jail
        'ita   'sidu   bi'zatu   'ya   'so   su'nu?   'Arija   'rua   fi   'jela.
        PRON 2SING   REFL   REFL   FOC   do-Ø   Q-word   return-Ø go-Ø   to   jail
        'If you wish that he goes to jail, you yourself will do what? (Happen to) go to jail.'

* the verbs *'gen/'gai* 'sit', 'remain' and the existential marker *'fi* 'be (there)', as in (623.) and (624.):

(623.)   Wu   fa'rash 'de   *'gai*   *'fi*   *'g(i)-*   *ain*   ka'lam
          and   horse   DEF   sit-Ø   EXIS   PROG-   see   thing
          al   gi-   'só.
          REL   PROG-   do-PASS
          'And the horse sat there and watched the thing that was being done.'

(624.)   'Marya, mu'ze   al   *'fi*   gi-   *'chunga*
          woman   old person   REL   EXIS   PROG-   take care of
          'samba   'to   ta   'mwisho 'nade'de   'lisa   'ma   'weledu.
          field   PRON POSS 3SING   GEN   end   DEM DIS   still   NEG   bear-Ø
          'The woman, the old [woman] who is there and takes care of her field of that [plot] at the end, did not yet
          give birth.'

Also the degree verbs *'zidu/ 'jidu* 'increase' and *'tim* 'be enough', 'suffice' [141] may occur in an asyndetic
verb chain, as illustrated in (625.) and (626.):

(625.)   'Umon[1]   ka'man *gi-*   *'jidu*   *gu-*   *we'di*   'noumon[2]
          PRON 3PL   also   PROG-   increase   PROG-   give   to + PRON 3PL
          soko'lin   al   'umon[1]   'fi   'mouo   'de.
          thing-PLREL   PRON 3PL   EXIS   with + PRON 3SING   DEF
          'They[1] were also increasingly giving them[2] things which they[1] had.'

---

[141] Some instances of uncommon verb chains only occurred once. Four of them were uttered by people from the
northern part of the country. Two of these people were older than sixty. It may be that in early Nubi, verbs were
combined more freely. In contemporary Nubi, such clauses would normally be expressed by means of the
subjunctive marker *ke'de*, the preposition *fi,* or a coordinating conjunction.

    'Ma'f(i)   a'jol   al   ke'de   *'jer(e)*   *'arija*   'wara.
    EXIS NEG   person   REL   SUBJ   run-Ø   return-Ø back
    'No one should run back/flee.'

    Ta   'youm 'da   'na'de,   'fi   gu'masi *gi-*   *kei'tu*   *gi-*   *'kubu*
    GEN   a bygone past DEM DIS   EXIS   cloth(s) PROG-   sew-PASS   PROG-   pour
    'yele-'yele   je   gu'mas 'tai   'yele-'yele   we'de.
    fringe(s)   like   cloth   PRON POSS 1SING   fringe(s)   DEM
    'From that bygone past, there were clothes [which were] sewn to fall in fringes like this fringed cloth of
    mine.'

    'Ita   *'gata*   *'amrugu*   'nas   'kilwa.
    PRON 2SING   cut-Ø   remove-Ø   COLL   kidney(s)
    'You cut and removed the kidneys.'

    Di'fan   *'rasulu li'go*   'nas   'afoyo   'fi   *'g(i)-*   akulu
    guest   arrive-Ø meet-Ø   COLL   rabbit   EXIS   PROG-   eat
    ma   ya'la   'to   ma   'marya   'kulu   ba'kan   'wai
    with   child-PL PRON POSS 3SING   with   wife   all   place   NUM
    'The guest arrived to meet the rabbit being there and eating with his children and [his] wife all in one
    place.'

    (…),   'uo   'ja   'asuma mu'ze   'wai   *gi-*   *'wonus* gi-   *'dugu*   a'dis.
              PRON 3SING   came-Ø   hear-Ø old man INDEF PROG-   talk   PROG-   beat   story
    '(…),   he happened to hear an old man talking and telling a story.'

    ke'de   ka'lam we'de   'ma   *'kun*   *'waga*   'nana.
    SUBJ   problem DEM PROX   NEG   be-Ø   fall-Ø   to + PRON 1SING
    'let this problem not fall on me.'

(626.) (…)   kan   a'nas   *bi-*   *'tim*   *'fikir* au   'kil(a) a'zol   'wai-'wai
                if   people FUT-   suffice think-Ø or   every   person NUM-REDUP
        bi-   'feker ma'isha ta..   'to   ma   'family 'to,   (…)
        FUT-   think   life   GEN   PRON POSS 3SING   with   family PRON POSS 3SING
        '(…) if people were[reasonable] enough to think or every single person thought about his life and [that]
        of his family (…).'

A chain of asyndetic verbs may contain up to three verbs in Nubi, as in (627.):

(627.) 'Abba, 'abba   al   'fadul   fi'jo   'ju(a)   'en   'de,
        granny granny REL   remain-Ø   inside   house   here   DEF
        na'fas   to   *'gúm*   *'ró*   *'sídú*   'bab   we'de,
        opportunity   GEN   get up-INF   go-INF   close-INF   door   DEM PROX
        'uo   'aba.
        PRON 3SING   refuse-Ø
        'The granny, the granny who remained inside the house here, the opportunity to get up and go and close
        this door, she refused [it].'

The first verb of a verb chain generally takes aspect and tense marking by means of prefixes or
auxiliaries, as illustrated in (628.):

(628.) 'Ya   li'wali   to   'nus   'umon   *'jo*   *'gum*   *'rua*
        CONJ   responsible   GEN   among   PRON 3PL come-AUX get up-Ø   go-Ø
        na   'sidu   tu'ro   we'de   'ase'de al(i)   'ina   'fogo   'de.
        to   owner   soil   DEM PROX   now   REL   PRON 1PL in it   DEF
        'Thus the [person]responsible from among them got up to go to the owner of this soil (now) which we
        were on.'

Non-punctual aspect marking by means of the progressive marker *gi-* or any variant form, can,
however, occur in both verbs, as shown in (629.):

(629.) 'An   'g(i)-   ain   'fi   a'jol
        PRON 1SING   PROG-   see   EXIS   person
        al   *gi-*   *'ja*   gi-   *'dakal*   'in   'kila   'sa   ti'nin te   fi'lel.
        REL   PROG-   come   PROG-   enter   here   every   hour   NUM   GEN   at night
        'I see that there is a person who comes and enters here every [time at] two o'clock at night.'

Or it appears only in the last verb on condition that the first verb of the chain is a stative verb, and
therefore does not need *gi-* marking to express non-punctual aspect, as in (630.):

(630.) Wu   'ter   'de   *'fi*   *'gen*   gu-   *'wonusu.*
        and   bird   DEF   EXIS   sit-AUX   PROG-   talk
        'And the bird is there talking continuously.'

All juxtaposed verbs are usually marked for mood, voice, or nominalization. Consider (627.), (631.),
and (632.):

(631.) *'Gum*   *'ro*   *'tor(u)*   'umon
        get up-IMPER   go-IMPER   wake up-IMPER   PRON 3PL
        'k(e)   omon   ja.
        SUBJ   PRON 3PL   come-Ø
        'Get up to go and wake them up so that they come.'

(632.) 'Ya   ka'man *já*   *paki'y(a)*   ena,   su'l(u)   ina,
        CONJ   also   come-PASS-Ø pick up-PASS-Ø PRON 1PL   take-PASS-Ø   PRON 1PL
        'ró   *ku't(u)*   ina   fi   'India.
        go-PASS-Ø put-PASS-Ø   PRON 1PL   in   NPROP
        'Thus we were also (come to be) picked up, we were taken, we were (gone to be) put in India.'

Only one object is possible in Nubi verb chains, as illustrated in (623.). Similarly, there is only one negator, whose place is, however, not fixed (see also 6.3.), as illustrated in (633.):

(633.) Bi-   ku't(u)   ('i)ta   *'gum*   *'ma*   *'ro*   fi   'ákúl   mai'rungi.
        FUT-   cause   PRON 2SING   get up-Ø   NEG   go-Ø   in   eat-INF   qat
        'You will not be forced to get up and go to eat qat.'

With imperative forms, the addressee is attached to either the first or to the second verb.

(634.) 'Ro-   'tokum   'alabu.
        go-IMPER-   ADR-PL   play-IMPER
        'Go playing (PL)!'.

(635.) *'Arija*   *'rua-*   *'takum.*
        return-IMPER   go-IMPER-   ADR-PL
        'Return and go (PL)!.'

4.6. Conclusion

I will make an preliminary comparison between Nubi and the characteristics of creole grammar, pointing out the most striking correspondences and differences. Bickerton (1977, 1981) posits three verbal core markers that are essential in creole grammars: an anterior tense marker, an irrealis mood marker, and a non-punctual aspect marker. All markers occur in preverbal position, and always in the invariant order TMA: ANT, IRR, NON-PUNCT. Moreover, Bickerton postulates a distinction between stative and non-stative verbs. Based on the above, the following paradigm may be set up (see also Bakker, Post & van der Voort (1995: 250-253):

	STATIVE	NON-STATIVE
Ø or zero-marked verb	non-past	past
NON-PUNCTUAL	temporary states	durative, habitual or iterative aspect
IRREALIS	unreal time (= future, conditional, subjunctive, modal, etc.)	
ANTERIOR	past	past-before-past/ or (remote) past
IRR + NON-PUNCT	future progressive	
ANT + NON-PUNCT	non-punctual event in a past-before-past, or during a completed period of time	
ANT + IRR	unrealized event in the past	
ANT + IRR + NON-PUNCT	unrealized non-punctual event in the past	

table 23: Creole TMA-markers and their functions

(after Bickerton 1977, 1981)

The zero-marked or simple verb in Nubi marks punctual aspect, which essentially, if no marking for tense is present, refers to the past for non-stative verbs and non-past (present resulting states of past events) for stative verbs. However, the simple verb is neutral with respect to tense (past, present, future) and aspect (punctual/non-punctual), when tense and aspect are clearly marked otherwise, for instance in previous verbs, with adverbs, the context, or situation. Holm (1988: 150) states that the normal procedure in creole languages is one where the simple verb form can refer to any

time, on condition that it has clear references in the context. This neutrality is, however, limited to tense, and moreover only to past and present tense (see also Boretzky 1983: 113). Neutrality with respect to tense is thus, according to Holm, common in creoles (see also Givón 1984: 291-292). The use of the simple verb form in non-punctual environments, however, seems to occur only in Nubi and Juba Arabic (see Mahmud 1979: 45-46). The progressive marker *gi-* in Nubi refers to non-punctual aspect, involving continuative, habitual and/or iterative aspect, and is used mainly with non-stative verbs, in which it indicates present states/events. However, when marking for tense by other means is available, any time may be denoted. *gi-* may mark stative verbs when indicating the inception of the state, when marking states recurring on a regular basis, and with some speakers with the verbs *'ben* 'look like', *'gen/'gai* 'sit', 'remain'. This may correspond to Bickerton's locative and other stative verbs marked by the non-punctual marker when indicating temporary states (Bickerton 1977: 34, 48). However, a sentence like (366.) does not really refer to a temporary state. Besides *gi-*, Nubi has several other expressions to mark continuation, such as *'fi fi* + GER/INF, *'gen/ 'gai fi* + GER/INF, and *'fi (gi-)* V, *'gen/ 'gai (gi-)* V, which are barred from expressing habituality or iterativity. Expressions with the existential marker *'fi* generally refer to a longer state than those referred to by the verb *'gen/ 'gai* 'stay'. The expressions with *fi* GER/INF may also contain the element of purposefulness.

Nubi does not have an irrealis marker in the sense meant by Bickerton. The marker *bi-* indicates strong volition about future events. It is excluded from subjunctive clauses. It may, however, mark verbs in conditional clauses, and may be involved in the expression of modality, e.g. *bi-'kun* 'it is possible that', in the counterfactual *'kan bi-* V, etc. *bi-* also marks habituals of non-stative verbs. Apparently, it is in the process of being replaced by *gi-* with which it shares this function. Besides *bi-V, gi- 'rua* V indicates future marking. Whereas *bi-* V expresses volition on the part of the subject about a rather general future, *gi- 'rua* V is used when one is sure that the event will take place more or less instantaneously. Several other creoles, such as Negerhollands, Principe Creole Portuguese, etc. have distinct markers for expressing general vs. immediate future (see also Boretzky 1983: 121; Holm 1988: 165). The latter, as in Nubi, may be formed by prefixing the marker for non-punctuality to a verb with the meaning 'go' and/or 'come'. Nubi has, besides *bi-* V and *'gi- 'rua* V, several additional means of expressing future events by combining the progressive or the future marker with the verb *'rua* 'go' or the verb *'ja* 'come'. Every combination conveys a slightly different meaning. The future marker *bi-* co-occurs only infrequently with the progressive marker *gi-* to mark a non-punctual future event.

The Nubi anterior marker *'kan* indicates a past-before-past, a (remote) past, or perfect aspect both with stative and non-stative verbs,. The combination of the anterior marker + the progressive marker *gi-* refers to an event of a non-punctual nature that has come to an end before the time of speaking. The anterior marker *'kan* followed by the future marker *bi-* expresses in particular counterfactuality. The combination of the anterior marker *'kan* + future marker *bi-* + progressive marker *gi-* did not occur in the text material. However, according to Nubi informants its function corresponds to that of ANT IRR NON-PUNCT, as in Bickerton's paradigm.

The order of the Nubi core verbal markers conforms with the order in other creole languages. Bickerton (1981: 281 ff. & 1977: 59) asserts that the most meaningful elements are closest to the verb. He claims, on the basis of research in neurological processes and children's language acquisition, that the punctual/ non-punctual distinction is the most basic one [142], followed by the realis/ irrealis distinction. The distinction past/ non-past comes last. The importance of the above distinctions is reflected in the

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[142] In Nubi, the fact that the bare verb form and the verb with progressive marking express the punctual/ non-punctual distinction neutral as regards tense, yields more evidence for this.

order of verbal elements, which in Nubi thus becomes *'kan bi- gi- V.* Givón treats the problem as a matter of scope of application:

> " The significance of the rigid order (…) of the Creole TAM markers may be explained in reference to their scope of application:
>
> (a)   The durative/non-punctual has the narrowest, verbal scope;
> (b)   The irrealis/modal has a wider, propositional scope;
> (c)   The perfect/anterior has the widest, discourse scope." (Givón 1984: 294-295)

The wider the scope, the farther away the marker will be placed from the verb.

The marker *ka'las*, whose position in the sentence is entirely free, indicates completion of an action or event. It may co-occur with all of the above mentioned verbal markers, as is the case in a limited number of creoles, such as Papiamentu (PROG + COMPL) and Negerhollands (FUT + COMPL) (see Boretzky 1983: 133), unlike many other creoles, in which combinations of the completive marker and other markers are ungrammatical or restricted to the anterior marker (see Holm 1988: 162). The verbs *'kalasu* 'finish' and *'kala* 'end up' convey about the same meaning as the marker *ka'las,* but provide nuances as to the starting and end point.

The Nubi verbal system also includes the non-core marker *'lisa* '(not) yet', the auxiliary *'arija* to express 'repetition', and *'ja/'gum* V referring to the ingression of the event, among other functions. These and other auxiliaries are reflexes of independent verbs, which may occur as the first element in verbal constructions, having been subjected to semantic bleaching as in many other creoles. The singular imperative is formed by the simple verb form, which is a rather universal phenomenon and therefore not restricted to creoles (see also Boretzky 1983: 139). To express a subjunctive the clause is introduced by a marker *ke'de*, unlike in many other creoles which use the irrealis marker, The verb form is either zero-marked or takes the prefix *gi-* to indicate punctual or non-punctual actions respectively.

Productive passive formation as in Nubi, does not seem to exist in most other creole languages, and if it does it is treated as a marginal phenomenon (see Bickerton 1981: 71-72). An alternative construction, in which transitive verbs take the meaning of passive/ intransitive verbs, is, however, common in Nubi and in many other creoles, e.g. in Haitian Creole French and Papiamentu Creole Spanish (see Holm 1988: 83). In such a construction, the patient is in subject position. Stative passives are also found in Nubi and other creoles (see Holm1988: 96; Boretzky 1983: 141). Nubi has two types of nominalizations, infinitives and gerunds, which are formed by means of a stress shift, and in the case of infinitives by tone; a rather unique phenomenon among creole languages. Their form may, however, be related to Arabic source forms, which will be discussed in chapter 7.

 Nubi distinguishes between equative 'be' and locative, existential 'be', expressed by *'kun* (temporary 'be') and *'kan, Ø* (permanent 'be'), and *'fi* respectively. However, *'kun/ 'kan/ Ø* may also indicate location and/or existence, although on a rather occasional basis, whereas *'fi* may infrequently denote equation. Even if a similar distribution may occur in other creoles, it is definitely not common. Some creoles make no distinction between equative 'be' and locative, existential 'be'. Others do, but then there is no overlap (Holm 1988: 174 ff.; Boretzky 1983: 157 ff.). Existential *'fi* occurs as well in expressions of possession in combination with the prepositions *na* 'to' or *ma* 'with'. However, Nubi also developed a verb *'endi* 'have', which behaves like other transitive verbs, except that it lacks a passive form. *'endi* may be used for all types of possession, while other possessive expressions have a limited distribution.

I also discussed verb final *-u*. The correlation between the transitivity of the sentence and the (non-)occurrence of *-u* was investigated and it was concluded that *-u* functions as a transitivity marker and therefore corresponds to Tok Pisin *-im*.

5. Other word classes

In this chapter I will deal with some word classes that fall outside the categories of nouns, adjectives, and verbs. I will discuss these in the following order: prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions, question words, focus markers, and morphemes of denial.

5.1. Prepositions

The Nubi prepositions with their meaning are listed in table 24:

fi [143]	spatial (definite): 'in', 'at' movement towards or away from, the direction is implied in the verb. temporal (definite) temporal (indefinite) goal, purpose: 'to' manner 'on', 'about' partitive 'among'	*min*	indefinite location (see also Owens 1977: 49): 'in', 'at', 'around' movement away from temporal (indefinite): 'in', 'at' temporal 'since', 'from' source, as in *'abidu min* 'begin from', *'gum min* 'begin from', *'asadu min* 'ask from', *'kalagu min* 'create from' partitive 'among' reason, 'because of', 'from' *min* is common in comparative constructions. It indicates the item against which the subject of the clause is compared (see 3.3.2.4. Comparison).
'ladi	temporal 'until' spatial 'up to'	*jamb*	spatial 'beside'
'fogo [144]	temporal spatial 'on', 'about'	*ben*	spatial 'near', 'around' temporal 'around' relational 'between'
gi'dam	spatial 'in front of'	*'wara*	spatial 'in front of' temporal 'after' goal 'after', looking for'
'kabla	temporal 'before'	*'bada*	temporal 'after' goal 'after', 'looking for'

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[143] Older speakers sometimes omit the preposition, as in:

(…)	'uo	'ja	fata'ran	ka'la	*ku'ruju.*
	PRON 3SING	come-Ø	tired	COMPL	work the field-GER

'(…) he had become tired [from] working on the field.'

Compare also the following two sentences, uttered by the same speaker, and referring to the same boy.

Yo'wele	'ja		ka'la	*'rasu*	*'saba.*
boy	become-Ø		EMPH	head(s)	NUM

'The boy had become [with] seven heads.'

A'jol	'mara 'wai	bi-	'gen	*ma*	*'rasu*	*'saba.*
person	at once	FUT-	stay	PREP	head(s)	NUM

'The person will at once stay with seven heads.'

[144] *'fogo* is normally used as an adverb (temporal or spatial). Three speakers, all of whom had stayed in Southern Sudan, however, used it as a preposition.

ma	comitative 'with'	*'bila*	'without'
	instrumental 'with' [145]		
	ma is also used in certain verbal expressions with gerunds/ infinitives (see 4.3.3.)		
na	benefactive 'to'	*le* [146]	benefactive 'to'
	multi-purpose (only persons), as in:		spatial/directional 'to', 'towards'
	'asadu na a'jol (also *'asadu a'jol*) 'ask from s.o.'		
	'kelemu na a'jol 'tell s.o.'		
	'abusu na a'jol (also *'abusu a'jol*) 'forbid s.o.'		
	'jere na a'jol 'run to s.o.'		
	'kore na a'jol 'beg s.o.', 'complain to s.o.'		
	'gesimu na a'jol 'divide for s.o.'		
	'bio na 'buy from'		
	etc.		
'ila	'except (for)'	*'badul*	'instead of'
za/ja *ze/je*	expressing equality: 'similar to', 'as', 'like'	*'sawa-('sawa) ma*	expressing equality 'similar to'
ja (kan)	'as'	*'jengis*	'as', 'like'
'ingis	'as', 'like'	*gins*	'as', 'like'

table 24: Nubi prepositions

(636.) (…),   'ana   'tala   *fi*   'samba, (…)
        PRON 1SING   leave-Ø PREP   field
        '(…),   I left (from) the field, (…).'

(637.) (…)   'ita   gi- …,   gu-   'so   *min*   'sa   'wai
        PRON 2SING   PROG- PROG- do   PREP   hour   NUM
        'ladi   'sa   ti'nen,   ta'lata,   (…)
        PREP   hour   NUM   NUM
        '(…) you are doing [it] from one o'clock until two, three o'clock, (…).'

(638.) 'Ine   gi-   'jere   *'ben*   'mutu   wu   'hai.
        PRON 1PL   PROG- run   PREP   death   CONJ   life
        'We are running between life and death.'

(639.) (…)   'uo   'rua   *'wara*   ba'ba.
        PRON 3SING   go-Ø   PREP   father
        '(…)   he went looking for father.'

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[145] In Africa, goods are often transported on the head. The head then both refers to the instrument and the place of the transported goods. Both the instrumental preposition *ma* and the spatial preposition *fi* occur:

    (…)   ka'las   a'nas   'arufa   'sela   *ma*   'ras.
    EMPH   people   lift-Ø   goods   with   head
    '(…)   the people lifted the goods on [their] head.'

    'sela   (…)   'ita   'kutu   *fi*   'ras.
    goods   PRON 2SING   put-Ø   on   head
    'The goods, (…), you put it on [your] head.'

[146] *le* is generally used only by old people and by people from the north.

(640.)   'Dukur 'ana   *ja*   ma'ma   'to,   'an   'feker
         then   PRON 1SING as   mother PRON POSS 3SING   PRON 1SING   think-Ø
         'gudra 'tai   'sia   *'fogo* nyere'ku   *jo*   'wede.
         power   PRON POSS 1SING   little on   child   like   DEM PROX
         'Then I as its mother, I think that my power is little on a child like this.'

Table 25 shows possible combinations of prepositions:

min fi	spatial/directional 'from'
	temporal 'since'
'ladi fi	spatial 'up to'
	temporal 'until'
'ladi min	spatial 'up to'
le min	directional: towards indefinite location
fi gi'dam	spatial 'in front of'

table 25: Prepositional combinations

(641.)   (…)   'ino   'gum   *min*   *fi*   'Mirya, (…).
                PRON 1PL   get up-Ø   PREP   PREP   NPROP
         '(…)   we left (from) Mirya, (…).'

(642.)   'Yena   'ja   lo'go   'raha   *'ladi* *fi*   'sa   we'de (…)
         FOC + PRON 1PL   come-Ø   find-Ø   comfort   PREP   PREP   moment   DEM PROX
         'Then we began to find comfort until this moment, (…).'

(643.)   (…)   'ita   gi-   'tala   min   'in,   'ita   gu-   'futu
                PRON 2SING   PROG-   leave   PREP   here   PRON 2SING   PROG-   pass
         fu   'sika,   'ita   'rua   *le*   *min*   'na.'
         PREP   street   PRON 2SING   go-Ø   PREP   PREP   there
         '(…) you are leaving from here, you are passing the street, you are going (to) over there.'

Constructions such as *fi 'batna 'jua* 'inside the house' consist of a preposition *fi* or *min*, followed by a locative noun which stands in an (in)alienable-like possessive construction. Their meaning resembles that of English prepositions, as illustrated in (644.), (645.), and (646.):

(644.)   *fi 'batna (ta)* 'in belly of', 'in inside of' > 'inside'
         ta/fi 'jua/ 'jo (ta) 'in house of', 'in inside of' > 'inside'
         min 'wara (ta) 'at the back of' > 'behind'
         fi 'te (ta) 'at the bottom of' > 'under'
         fi 'ras (ta) 'on top of', 'about'
         fi 'fo (ta) 'on top of'
         fi 'torof (ta) 'at the side of' > 'beside'
         fi 'safa (ta) 'at the side of' > 'about'
         fi 'ustu (ta) 'in the middle of' > 'among'

(645.)   Tom'sa   gi-   'gen   *fi 'batna* 'bahar.
         crocodile   PROG-   stay   inside   sea
         'Yala 'Kako   gi-   'gen   *fi 'ras*   'seder.
         well   monkey PROG-   stay   on top of   tree
         'Crocodile stays inside the sea. Well, Monkey stays on top of the tree.'

(646.)   'Na're, 'ana   'gu-   rwa   'wonus ka'lam *fi 'ras*   *'tena*
         today   PRON 1SING   PROG-   go   tell-Ø thing   on top of   PRON POSS 1PL
         ta   'Nubi, (…).
         GEN   NPROP
         'Today, I am going to tell something about us, [about] the Nubi, (…).'

In the following cases, listed in (647.), the preposition is interpreted as a noun, and is followed by *ta*. The prepositional meaning is retained, as illustrated in (648.) and (649.):

(647.)   *gi'dam ta* 'ahead of'
       'kabla ta 'before'
       'bada ta 'after'
       ba'dala ta 'instead of'
       (*fi*) *'ben/ 'baina (ta)* 'among', 'between'

(648.)   Je   'de   'umon   'g(i)-   arufu   *'ben*   *'toumon*
       like   DEM PROX   PRON 3PL   PROG- know   between PRON POSS 3PL
       fi   'kila   'wiki.
       PREP   every   week
       'Like this they get to know (among) each other on a weekly basis.'

(649.)   'Y(a)   'ana   'jo   'rua   fi   En'tebbe.   *'Kabla*   *to*
       FOC   PRON 1SING   come-Ø go-Ø PREP NPROP   before   GEN
       'rua   fi   En'tebbe   'wede'de,   (…).
       go-GER PREP   NPROP   DEM PROX
       'So I set off to go to Entebbe. Before this going to Entebbe, (…).'

The noun *ka'bila, 'kabla* 'type', 'tribe', which is common in inalienable-like constructions, is on the verge of being reanalysed as a preposition. Consider (650.) and (651.). In (650.), *'kabla* is best interpreted as a noun.

(650.)   *'Kabla* *ka'lam* *'wede'de,*   'ita   'g(i)-   alim   'fogo
       type   thing   DEM PROX   PRON 2SING   PROG- teach   in it
       ma   ya'la   fu   'be?
       PREP child-PL PREP   house
       'This type of thing, are you teaching it to your children at home?'

In (651.) *ka'bila*, modified by the proximal demonstrative, is preceded by a noun in an inalienable-like construction. It can be interpreted as a preposition meaning 'like', 'similar to'.

(651.)   'Adab   *ka'bila* 'wede'de,   'aju   'ita   'seb.
       manners type   DEM PROX   have to-Ø   PRON 2SING leave-Ø
       'Manners of this type/ manners like this, you have to leave [them].'

5.2. Adverbs

Nubi adverbs often consist of a preposition or the genitive marker *ta* followed by a noun. Often, the emphasizing element *'de* is attached to the adverb, e.g. *'ase'de* 'now', sometimes even in reduplicated form, e.g. *'ase'de'de* 'now'. Most adverbs are sentential modifiers. Some, such as the adverbs of degree, modify one constituent. Nubi adverbs include the following categories:

Adverbs of manner:

(652.)   *fu ra'isi* 'easily'   *ma'rai* 'straightaway', 'at once'
       'gwam(-'gwam) 'quickly'   *ta 'gafla* 'by surprise', 'surprisingly'
       ma 'gwam 'quickly'   *ta 'tab* 'problematically'
       bi'ses 'slowly'   *'sambala* 'anyhow', 'by any means'
       ba'rau 'alone'   etc.

Adverbs of manner are generally put in sentence-final position, as illustrated in (653.):

(653.)   'Umon   'kan   'aju   ka'lam   te'gil   'maf,
         PRON 3PL   ANT   want-Ø   problem tough   NEG
         'umon   'sul   ka'lam   *fu ra'isi.*
         PRON 3PL   take-Ø   thing   easily
         'They did not want a tough problem, they took thing[s] easy.'

Adverbs of location/direction:

(654.)   *'in(i)* 'here'   *fi/min gi'dam* 'in front'
         ba'kan 'de 'here'   *fi/min 'wara* 'in the back'
         (i)'na 'there'   *fi 'safa 'tan* 'at the other side'
         fi ('ida) you'min 'on the right hand side'   *fala'ta* 'down(wards)'
         fi ('ida) sho'mal 'on the left hand side'   *ge'ri* 'nearby'
         fi/min 'te 'underneath'   *bo'yi* 'far'
         fi/ min 'fo 'on top'   *'sambala* 'anywhere', 'any place'
                                              etc.

Adverbs of location/direction are mainly placed in the beginning of the sentence or at the end. However, they can also be found in any other position in the sentence, as illustrated in (655.):

(655.)   (…)   'keli   'rasul.   Ka'rama 'fi   *fi sho'mal,*   ka'rama 'fi   *fi you'min.*
                 dog   arrive-Ø funeral EXIS   on the left   funeral EXIS   on the right
         'Uo   'sum   *min 'in*   'hilu,   'uo   'sum   *min 'na*   'hilu.
         PRON 3SING smell-Ø around here nice   PRON 3SING   smell-Ø around there   nice.
         '(…) a dog arrives. There is a funeral on the left, there is a funeral on the right He smells a nice [smell] around here, he smells a nice [smell] over there.'

Adverbs of time:

(656.)   *'ase , 'asa, a'sa* ' now'   *gu'bel* '(just) before'
         'ase'de('de) 'now'   *fi'lel* 'at night'
         ba'kan 'de 'now'   *(ta) min 'subu* 'in the morning'
         fi m'wisho 'finally', 'at last'   *gi'dam* 'first'
         na're 'today'   *fi gi'dam ('na)* 'in the future'
         you'min'de, yeu'min'de 'nowadays' *(fi) za'man* 'long ago'
         'bukra 'tomorrow'   *wa'kati 'tan* 'another time'
         sa'ba 'tomorrow'   *'sambala* 'anytime'
         'bad 'bukra 'the day after tomorrow'   *'in* 'now'
         m'bari 'yesterday'   *'na* 'then'
         waltum'bari 'the day before yesterday'   etc.
         ba'den 'later on'

Adverbs of time may take any position in the sentence, but generally occur in sentence-initial or sentence-final position, as illustrated in (657.) and (658.):

(657.)   *Za'man*   bu'mara   'kan   'fi   'rag(i)   'wai.
         in the past   very much   ANT   EXIS   man   INDEF
         'A very long time ago, there was a man.'

(658.)   'Bes   'umon   'abidu   'robutu 'ena   'toumon   *gi'dam, gi'dam,*
         EMPH   PRON 3PL   begin-Ø tie-Ø   eye(s)   PRON POSS 3PL   first   first
         gi'dam, gi'dam ke'de   bi'niya 'de   'ain   ta a'sil   gi-   robu't(u)   'ena.
         first   first   SUBJ   girl   DEF   see-Ø   truly   PROG-   tie-PASS   eye(s)
         'Well they started to blindfold their eyes first, first, first, first so that the girl would see that [their] eyes are truly blindfolded.'

Epistemic adverbs:

(659.)   *min'aruf* 'maybe'
        'sa 'tan 'maybe'
        ta a'sil 'truly'
        'mumkin 'possibly'
        bi'haki 'truly', 'really'
        'hassa 'especially'
        ma'rai 'clearly'
        'ladi 'even'
        etc.

'mumkin always occurs in sentence-initial position and modifies the whole clause. *min'aruf* and *'sa 'tan* 'maybe' either modify the whole sentence, or modify one phrase. In the latter case, they precede or follow the phrase in question, as in (661.). When they modify a sentence, they are generally placed in sentence-initial position, as illustrated in (660.). *ta a'sil* 'truly' refers to the whole sentence. It may take any position.

(660.) | *'Sa 'tan* | 'fi | 'to | | al | 'uw(o) | 'aju. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| maybe | EXIS | PRON POSS 3SING | | REL | PRON 3SING | want-Ø |

'Maybe there is his [girl] whom he wants.'

(661.) | La'kin | lo'g(o) | 'ita | 'lipa | ka'las | 'kasur 'be, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| but | while | PRON 2SING | pay-Ø | COMPL | fine for committing adultery |

'lak 'wai	*min'aruf.*
NUM	maybe

'But while they had already paid the fine for committing adultery, maybe one hundred thousand.'

Adverbs of frequency:

(662.)   *(le) gi'dam* 'continually' [147]
        'sa 'tan 'sometimes'
        ta ka'waida 'usually'
        'zaidi 'often', 'generally'
        ba'rau 'only'
        'sia 'few'
        etc.

The position of adverbs of frequency is not fixed. They may occupy any position in the sentence, as shown in (663.) and (664.):

(663.) | 'Kas | 'tai | | 'de, | 'office | 'tena | | 'de, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| work | PRON POSS 1SING | | DEF | office | PRON POSS 1PL | | DEF |

'uo	*'zaidi*	g(i)-	'ainu	au	gi-	'chunga	ya'la
PRON 3SING	often	PROG-	watch	or	PROG-	takes care of	child-PL

al	ba'ba	'toumon		'mutu,	ati'ma.
REL	father	PRON POSS 3PL		die-Ø	orphan-PL

'My work, our office, it often watches or takes care of children whose father died, orphans.'

(664.) | *'Zaidi* | fi | ka'bila | 'tena | | ta | 'Nubi, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| generally | PREP | tribe | PRON POSS 1PL | | GEN | NPROP |

soko'lin	dol'de	gu-	we'di	'youm 'sebi,	(…).
Thing-PL	DEM PROX PL	PROG-	give-PASS	Saturday	

'Generally, in our tribe of the Nubi, these things are given on Saturday, (…).'

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[147] Note that *gi'dam* means 'first' or 'continually', *fi/ min gi'dam* 'in front', *fi gi'dam* 'in the future', and *le gi'dam* 'continually'.

Adverbs of degree:

(665.)   *'bi'mara/ bu'mara* 'much'
        'sei ('sei) ('de) 'much'
        'zaidi 'very', 'much'
        ka'bisa 'completely'
        ba'rau 'alone'
        'sia 'little (bit)'
        etc.

Adverbs of degree modify an adjective or another adverb, and follow the word they modify.

(666.)   (…),   ma'isha   ta   dus'man fi 'batna   'Bombo 'kan   ba'tal   *'zaidi.*
               life   GEN   war   inside   NPROP be-ANT   bad   very much'
        '(…),   the life [during] the war in(side) Bombo was very bad.'

'sia 'little (bit)' may also modify a verb, as illustrated in (667.):

(667.)   'Moyo   'de,   'moyo   'na'de   gi-   'bari-'bari   *'sia,*   (…)
        water   DEF   water   DEM DIS   PROG- become cold-REDUP   little
        'The water, that water becomes a little cold, (…).'

zi'yada 'much' may refer to the entire sentence, as shown in (668.):

(668.)   Mana 'to,   ke'd(e)   'eta   'feker   *zi'yada*
        that is to say   SUBJ   PRON 2SING   think-Ø   much
        'kabla   'lisa   'ita   'gata   ka'lam   'ma.
        before   still   PRON 2SING   decide-Ø   problem NEG
        'That is to say, you should think much before(still) you decide on the problem.'

Two (or more) adverbs of degree may co-occur, as in (669.):

(669.)   (…)   afo'yo   'endis   'agil   *'zaidi*   *'sei'sei 'de.*
          rabbit   have-Ø   brain   very much   very much
        '(…)   the rabbit has a lot, a lot of brains.'

      The **demonstrative adverbs** *'ya'de, 'ya'da*, and *'yaw* are used in particular by elderly people from the northern part of the country. *'ya'de/'ya'da* consists of the focusing particle *'ya*, followed by *'de* when denoting proximity, and by *'da* when conveying a sense of distance.

(670.)   Bi'niya   'fi   *'ya'de.*
        girl   EXIS   DEM ADV PROX
        'The girl is right here.'

(671.)   As'kari ta   ba'ba   gi-   'ja   *'ya'da.*
        guard   GEN   father   PROG- come   DEM ADV DIS
        'There comes my father's guard [you see him coming].'

'ya'de/ 'ya'da may occur more than once in a clause, as illustrated in (672.) [148]:

(672.)   'Ana   'je   'neta   *'ya'de*
        PRON 1SING   come-Ø   to + PRON 2SING   DEM ADV PROX
        ma   ma'yai   *'ya'de.*
        with   egg(s)   DEM ADV PROX
        'I have come to you right here with the eggs (which are) right here/ these eggs.'

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[148] This contradicts Owens' observations that the spatial demonstratives *'ya'de/'ya'da*, as he calls them, can only appear once per clause (Owens 1977: 183).

The demonstrative adverbs '*ya'de/'ya'da* [149] in a sense verify and emphasize that a referent is at a certain place (or time) or is about to reach that place (or time). They may best be translated by the French 'voici' and 'voilà' respectively. Expressing location, the demonstrative adverbs optionally co-occur with the existential marker *'fi*, as in (673.). In that case, the adverbs *'in* or *'na,* 'here' and 'there' [150] respectively, may occur as well, as in (674.):

(673.)   Mu'kati   'tai   *'fi*   *'ya'de*   al   'abis.
          bread   PRON POSS 1SING   EXIS   DEM ADV PROX   REL   be dry-Ø
          'My bread which is dry, is right here.'

(674.)   Wa'zeya   'de   *'fi*   *'ya'da*   *'na.*
          parent-PL   DEF   EXIS   DEM ADV DIS   there
          'The parents are over there.'

The demonstrative adverbs of location appear in approximately half of the cases in verbal sentences, as illustrated in (675.):

(675.)   'Ana   gu-   'tub   bu'ja   fala'ta   *'ya'de.*
          PRON 1SING   PROG-   spit   saliva   down   DEM ADV PROX
          'I am spitting saliva right down here.'

The demonstrative adverb mainly occurs with a non-past tense. In the few instances in which it does co-occur with a past tense, it actually denotes the state which the NP is now in as a result of the past action. In that case, it often occurs with the marker of completion *ka'la*.

(676.)   Ba'na   'de   ka'la   'nesit(u)   'uo   'ya'de.
          girl-PL   DEF   COMPL forget-Ø   PRON 3SING   DEM ADV PROX
          'The girls had already forgotten her.'

      'yaw consists of the focusing element *'ya* and the third person pronoun *'uo*. That *'yaw* has a function which is different from that of its source form, may be deduced from (677.), where *'yaw* co-occurs with the focus marker *'ya*. The occurrence of *'ya* proves that *'yaw* is no longer related to its origin.

(677.)   'Sente   al (…), *'ya*   *'yaw.*
          money   REL   FOC   DEM ADV
          'The money which (…), it is here.'

'yaw does not have the same restrictions as *'ya'de/'ya'da* on tense, since it can co-occur with all tenses. *'yaw* refers to location or time. However, while *'ya'de/'ya'da* refers to a specific place (or time), with *'yaw* the location or time setting is rather vague: the referent is around, but it does not really matter where or when exactly, as illustrated in (678.):

(678.)   'Gelba   'de   gi-   'ja   *'yaw.*
          heart   DEF   PROG- come   DEM ADV
          'The heart is coming about now.'

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[149] In elicitation, the following imperative-like forms were mentioned: *'Ya'de!* 'Have it!' -*'Ya'dekum!* 'Have (PL) it!', 'Here it is for you!'.
[150] The adverbs *'in* 'here' or *'na* 'there' do not co-occur with the demonstrative adverbs in case of a zero-copula, or when the demonstrative adverb denotes time.

5.3. Conjunctions

The following words join two or more sentences or two or more sentence constituents together.

Coordinating conjunctions:

(679.)   *ma* 'with', 'and'   *'yani* 'that is to say'
         wu, wa, u 'and'   *'mana 'to* 'that is to say', 'it means that'
         'wala, wa'la 'or'   *'yala* 'OK', 'well'
         au 'or'   *'yala, 'ya* 'thus' (causal), 'then' (temporal)
         'ama, a'ma 'or'   *'dukuru* 'thus (causal), 'then' (temporal)
         la'kin 'but'   *'ase('de)* 'well'
         'ila 'except', 'inevitably'

ma 'with', 'and' is homophonous with the comitative marker. It generally joins together two noun phrases with similar functions. Occasionally, it joins together two sentences. *wu, wa, u* 'and', on the other hand, generally join together sentences, and only occasionally noun phrases.

(680.)   'Ita   'kan fi   'batna 'be   ma   'nas   ma'ma 'taki
         PRON 2SING be-ANT PREP   inside house   PREP   COLL   mother PRON POSS 2SING
         ma   ba'ba   'taki.   *Wu*   ba'ba   'taki   'endis (…)
         CONJ   father PRON POSS 2SING   CONJ   father PRON POSS 2SING   have-Ø
         'You were at home with (the family of) your mother and your father. And your father had (…).'

In the expression 'either… or', a morpheme meaning 'or' is placed between both constituents as in (681.). Occasionally it precedes the constituent, as illustrated in (682.):

(681.)   (…)   'ja   'kun   'bakti ba'tal *wa'la* 'bakti 'kweis, (…)
               come-Ø   be-Ø   luck   bad   or   luck   good
         '(…)   it happened to be bad luck or good luck.'

(682.)   Kan   'ita   gi-   'wonus, 'ita   gi-   'kutu
         if   PRON 2SING PROG-   talk   PRON 2SING PROG-   put
         'fogo ru'tan: *au*   ru'tan   Ing'lisi *a'ma* ru'tan   Mu'ganda.
         in it language   or   language   English   or   language   Luganda
         'If you are talking, you are putting a language in it [Nubi]: either the English language, or the Luganda language.'

The normal position of coordinating conjunctions is at the beginning of the sentence. *la'kin* 'but', however, is occasionally placed in sentence-final position, as shown in (683.):

(683.)   Ka'lam ki'yas   'to   'na'de   'kan   'lisa   sa'kar 'zaidi.
         because size   PRON POSS 3SING   DEM DIS   be-ANT still   small   very
         'Uw(o)   'agara *la'kin.*
         PRON 3SING   study-Ø but
         'Because that size of his was still very small. But he studied.'

'yani 'that is to say' and *'mana 'to* 'that is to say' (literally: 'its meaning') generally introduce sentences which elaborate on previously given information. *'yani* and *'mana 'to* occasionally co-occur, as illustrated in (684.):

(684.)   'Ladum 'de   'ya   'to.   *'Yan(i)*   *'mana   'to*
         bone(s) DEF   FOC   PRON POSS 3SING   that is to say   that is to say
         kan   'mutu, 'uo   bi-   'dofun 'ladum 'de.
         if   die-Ø   PRON 3SING   FUT-   bury   bone(s) DEF
         'The bones are his. That is to say, if [it (the child)] dies, he will bury the bones.'

The conjunction *'ila* generally expresses that the action expressed in the clause following *'ila* inevitably will take place with reference to the action/ event of the first clause, as in (685.):

(685.) 'Ase   kan   'ita   'b(i)-   aj(u)   'jowz(u) 'ana,
        now   if   PRON 2SING   FUT-   want   marry-Ø PRON 1SING
        'ila   'lad(i) 'it(a)   'asadu   a'ku   ba'ba   'tai   'de.
        inevitably   until   PRON 2SING   ask-Ø   brother father   PRON POSS 1SING   DEF
        'Now, if you want to marry me, there is no way until you [will have] asked my paternal uncle.'

Less frequently*, 'ila* is used to exclude events/ actions, and should be translated as 'except':

(686.) (…)   ga'raya   te   'din   'de,   ki'boko 'fogo   'na   'zaidi.
                 study-GER   GEN   religion   DEF   beating in it   there   much
        La'kin   ga'raya   te   Inge'reza,   ki'boko 'to   'sia.
        but   study-GER   GEN   NPROP   beating PRON POSS 3SING   little
        'Ila   kan   'ita   'so   'nas   'homework   'mafi, (…).
        except   if   PRON 2SING   do-Ø   COLL   homework   NEG
        '(…) the study of religion, there is a lot of beating in it. But the study of the Brits, its beating is
        little. Except if you did not do your homework, (…).'

Subordinating conjunctions:

(687.) *ke'de, 'ke* SUBJUNCTIVE MARKER ,   *min* 'since' (temporal); 'because', 'since'; 'instead
        'in order to', 'so that'   of'
        kan, ('gal) 'if' (see also 6.7.3.)   *'kila kan, kan 'kila* 'whenever'
        ja, je 'as if', 'as'   *'ladi* 'until'
        'sala (kan) 'although', 'even if' [151] *la'man, na'man* 'until'
        wa'kati 'while', 'when'   *ka'lam* 'because'
        ba'kan, kan 'while', 'when'   *mi'san, mi'sen* 'because'
        li'go, lo'go 'while' (temporal, absolutive);   *ala'shan, ala'san* 'because'
        'because'   *fi a'jil ta* 'because'
        'kabla 'before'   *'gal* introduction to (in)direct speech (see 6.7.4.3.)
        'bada 'after'

(688.) A'jol   'de   gi-   'rasul   'sa   ti'nin.
        person   DEF   PROG-   arrive   hour   NUM
        'Ase,   *kan*   'ita   bi-   'dus(u) 'ita,
        now   if   PRON 2SING   FUT-   hide   PRON 2SING
        wu   *kan*   'uo   'ja   ka'las, 'ana   bi-   'kelem
        and   if   PRON 3SING   come-Ø   COMPL   PRON 1SING   FUT-   say
        'neta.   La'kin   'ma-   ta   'so   a'raka,
        to + PRON 2SING   but   NEG-   ADR SING   do-Ø   hurriedly
        'gal   *'ke*ta   'so   su'nu?   *'Ke*ta   'tala
        that   SUBJ + PRON 2SING   do-Ø   Q-word   SUBJ + PRON 2SING   leave-Ø
        ma 'gwam,   *'kabla* 'lis(a) 'owo   'beredu   'ma,
        quickly   before   still   PRON 3SING   take a bath-Ø   NEG
        wa'la 'lis(a)   'uo   'ma   'akul.
        or   still   PRON 3SING   NEG   eat-Ø
        'The person arrives at two (=eight) o'clock. Now, if you hide yourself, and if he has come, I will tell you.
        But do not do [it] hurriedly in order to do what? In order to leave quickly before he has taken his bath
        or before he has eaten.'

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[151] *'sala* was in one instance used in the expression 'either… or',
        (…)   'ina   'ma   gu-   'wonus kala'ma 'kulu   'fadi,
                 PRON 1PL   NEG   PROG-   discuss thing-PLall   openly
        'sal(a) al   ba'tal   wa'la   'seme.
        even if   REL   bad   or   good
        '(…) we are not discussing all things openly, whether bad or good.'

wa'kati and *ba'kan* may express two actions or events which occur at the same time, or they may express the fact that two actions or events immediately follow each other. *li'go* refers exclusively to two simultaneous actions or events. The time clause with *wa'kati* and *ba'kan* comes in sentence-initial position, whereas the clause with *li'go* takes the second position.

(689.) | 'Umon | *ba'kan* | sa'kari, | ba'ba | 'de | 'ja | a'yan, |
| PRON 3PL | when | small | father | DEF | become-Ø | ill |

| ba'ba | 'de | 'mutu. | *Ba'kan* | ba'ba | 'de | 'mutu, | 'sokol | al | ba'ba | 'de |
| father | DEF | die-Ø | when | father | DEF | die-Ø | thing | REL | father | DEF |

| 'sibu | fi | 'jua | 'noumon, | ri'yal | 'tisa. |
| leave-Ø | in | house | for + PRON 3PL | riyal(s) | NUM |

'When they were small, [their] father became ill, [their] father died. When [their] father died, the thing which [their] father left in the house for them, was nine riyals.'

(690.) | (…), | 'ana | 'gu- | rwa | fi | Kam'pala | *lo'go* | we'd(i) |
| | PRON 1SING | PROG- | go | to | NPROP | when | give-PASS-Ø |

| 'ina | fi | 'kas | ta | 'asker, | 'jesh | ta | King African Rifle. |
| PRON 1PL | in | work | GEN | soldier | army | GEN | NPROP |

'(…), I went to Kampala, when we were recruited into the soldier's job, [in] the army of the King African Rifles.'

min, li'go, and *ja* mainly express temporal 'since', 'while', and 'as (if)' (manner) respectively and less frequently 'because'. For the latter purpose, conjunctions such as *ka'lam, mi'sen, ala'shan* are mainly used. *fi a'jil ta* 'because' is a rather infrequent form.

(691.) | Ah'ah, | *min* | nyere'ku | bu- | 'rua | na | 'ragi | ma'rai | al | 'me | Isi'lam, |
| INT | since | child | FUT- | go | to | man | clearly | REL | NEG | Muslim |

| 'k(e) | 'an(a) | 'ain | | 'bes | a'ku | 'wai | al | Isi'lam, (…) |
| SUBJ | PRON 1SING | look for-Ø | | EMPH | relative | INDEF | REL | Muslim |

'Ohoh, because [my] child goes to a man who is clearly not a Muslim, I should look for a relative who is a Muslim, (…).'

The expression of cause/reason by *min, li'go*, and *ja* is probably a semantic extension of the temporal meaning of these conjunctions (temporal 'since', 'while', and 'as (if)' (manner) respectively). For instance, the conjunction *min* in (692.) may be translated in two ways, as temporal 'since', or as 'because'.

(692.) | (…) | 'ras | 'to | | te'gil. | 'Kan | ke'fif, | la'kin | 'ase'de, | min |
| | head | PRON POSS 3SING | | heavy | be-ANT | llight | but | now | since/because |

| 'uo | lo'go | 'haya, | 'ras | 'to | | 'ja | te'gil. |
| PRON 3SING | find-Ø | shame | head | PRON POSS 3SING | | become-Ø | heavy |

'(…) his head is heavy. It was light, but now, (temporal) since/ because he found shame, his head became heavy.'

The expression of cause/reason with *min* derives directly from *min'*s more common and original meaning of '(temporal) since'. From the moment the person became ashamed, his head became heavy as well. Therefore, the heavy weight of the person's head can be interpreted as the direct result of his shame. The conjunction *li'go*, which in the first place expresses simultaneity, was probably subjected to a similar process of extension of meaning, because when an action consistently takes place simultaneously with another action, the meaning of the conjunction may be reanalysed as cause and result. For *ja* a similar derivation may be postulated: in similar actions one may be seen as the cause, and the other as the result (cf. English 'as' used both in comparisons with finite verbs, e.g. 'Do as he does', and in adverbial clauses of reason and cause.).

'yala/'ya and *'dukuru* often occur in sentence-initial position, referring to the previous sentence or sentences, and are best interpreted as 'thus', 'therefore', 'so', establishing a causal relation between the previous sentence and the sentence introduced by *'ya(la)* or *'dukuru*. What the speaker is about to relate

in the *'ya(la)/ 'dukuru-* initial sentence is the consequence or result of what has just been mentioned, as illustrated in (693.) and (694.):

(693.)   'Ita   'ma   'aju   'sokol   'taki   'de   ke'de   'karab.
          PRON 2SING   NEG   want-Ø   thing   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF   SUBJ   be spoilt-Ø
          'Yena   gi-   'kelem: ne'gi   fi   'hagu.
          CONJ + PRON 1PL   PROG-   say   keen   on   his thing
          'You do not want your thing to be spoilt. Thus we are saying: keen on his thing.'

(694.)   'Bes,   'an(a)   'ain.   'Ya   'an(a)   'aba   'mafi.
          well   PRON 1SING   understand-Ø   CONJ   PRON 1SING   refuse-Ø NEG
          Well, I understood. Therefore I did not refuse.'

A similar causal relation can be found in conditional clauses, where *'ya* (but not *'yala*, nor *'dukuru*), optionally introduces the apodosis, as in (695.):

(695.)   Kan   'ino   lo'go   'sente
          if   PRON 1PL   receive-Ø   money
          'ya   'ina   'b(i)-   arija   fi   'kidima.
          CONJ   PRON 1PL   FUT-   return in   job
          'If we receive money, then we will return to the job.'

'ya(la) and *'dukuru* may also have a temporal meaning, such as 'then', rather than express a logical consequence. In (696.) the speaker mentions a list of problems delaying his departure, and he ends by saying:

(696.)   *'Ya*   'ina   'rua,   (…)
          then   PRON 1PL   go-Ø
          'And then we went, (…).'

(697.)   Ra'd(a)   'uo,   ada'd(a)   a'yan   'to,
          breast-feed-PASS-Ø   PRON 3SING   nurse-PASS-Ø   illness   PRON POSS 3SING
          bere'd(u)'uo.   Je   'de   'lad(i) 'uo   bi-   'tim
          wash-PASS-Ø   PRON 3SING   like   DEM PROX   until   PRON 3SING   FUT-   reach
          bi'nadum   ta'mam, 'lad(i) 'uo   bi-   'tim   'sana   ti'nin.
          human being   full   until   PRON 3SING   FUT-   reach   year   NUM
          'Yala wa's(a)   'uo   min   'leben   'de.
          then   take away-PASS-Ø   PRON 3SING   from   milk   DEF
          'He was breast-fed, his illness was nursed, he was washed. Like this until he became a full human being, until he became two years. Then he was taken off the milk.'

'ya and *'dukuru* often introduce a main clause after an adverbial clause of time, as illustrated in (698.) and (699.):

(698.)   Ba'kan   'uo   'ja   'seb   'kidima, *'dukuru* na'fas   ta   ka'ran   'de
          when   PRON 3SING   come-Ø   leave-Ø   work   then   chance   GEN   secretary   DEF
          ari'jo   we'di   'nana.
          return-PASS-Ø   give-PASS-Ø   to + PRON 1SING
          'When he happened to leave the job, then the chance of [the job of] secretary was given again to me.'

(699.)   'Dukur ba'kan mas'kin   'je-'ja,   'youo   'kelem: (…)
          then   when   poor man   come-REDUP-Ø CONJ + PRON 3SING   say-Ø
          'Then when the poor man came, he said: (….).'

'yala, and occasionally also '*ya,* may introduce a new (sub)paragraph, and therefore also new information, as in (700.):

(700.)
'Nubi,	wa'ze	za'man,	'umon	'g(i)-	akul	'luguma	la'jin.	(…)
NPROP	elderly	long ago	PRON 3PL	PROG-	eat	thick porridge	which is kneaded	
Gu-	su'tu		'ladi	bi'jo		'luguma	mar'dadi	bi'mara.
PROG-	mingle-PASS		until	become-Ø		thick porrdige	beautiful	very much
'Yala,	mu'la	'toumon,		'zaidi	'umon	'g(i)-	'adaku	mulu'kiya
well	sauce	PRON POSS 3PL		often	PRON 3PL	PROG-	grind	kind of herb
ma	mu'la	firin'da,	marang'wa	al	amru'gu	'girifa	'to	
with	sauce	firinda	beans	REL	remove-PASS-Ø	peel	PRON POSS 3SING	
'bara.								
outside.								

'Nubi, the old people, long ago, they ate a thick, kneaded porridge. (…). It was mixed until it became a very beautiful substance.
Well, their sauce, often they ground 'mulukiya' with 'firinda'-sauce, beans whose peel is removed [away].'

'yala may also just mean 'well', 'OK', and as such often introduces direct speech, as in (701.):

(701.)
'Gal:	*'yala,*	'rua.
that	OK	go-IMPER

'[He said] that: OK, go.'

The subjunctive marker *ke'de* or *'ke* may combine with the conjunctions *'ladi* 'until' and *ka'lam* 'because', *'gal* 'that, and the relative marker. *'ladi ke'de/'ke* consists of the conjunction *'ladi* 'until', 'to the extent that' and the subjunctive marker. Two interpretations are possible, depending on the meaning of *'ladi*. Firstly, *'ladi* may indicate the moment or period it takes for an action or state to be performed. In combination with *ke'de,* it denotes a sense of obligation, as illustrated in (702.):

(702.)
'Ita	bu-	'rua	je	'de	ka'man	- sha'ria	'kelem -
PRON 2SING	FUT-	go	like	DEM PROX	EMPH	Islamic law	say-Ø
'ladi	*ke'de*	'rasul	fi	'sana	'saba.		
until	SUBJ	reach-Ø	in	year(s)	NUM		

'You will go/continue like this -the Islamic law says/orders - until [he] becomes seven years of age. '

Secondly, *'ladi* carries the meaning of 'to the extent of'. The combination of *'ladi* and *ke'de* should be interpreted as 'in order to', 'so that'. A time factor is not relevant, as in (703.):

(703.)
Bia'shara	we'de,	'ina	bi-	ende'lea 'mo	ke'fin
business	DEM PROX	PRON 1PL	FUT-	continue with it	how
'ladi	*ke'd(e)*	awun(u) 'ina	(…)		
to the extent of	SUBJ	help-Ø PRON 1PL			

'This business, we will continue with it how so that it will help us (…).'

ka'lam ke'de combines the conjunction *ka'lam* 'because' and the subjunctive marker *ke'de*. *ka'lam* seems to be redundant. *ka'lam ke'de* translates as 'in order to', 'so that', expressing an intention, as shown in (704.):

(704.)
'Dukur	'uo	'kutu	'nas	'Fatna	'ke	gi-	'chunga
then	PRON 3SING	order-Ø	COLL	NPROP	SUBJ	PROG-	look after
ga'ya	'to		'de	*ka'lam*	*ke'de*	'ma	sere'gu
millet	PRON POSS 3SING		DEF	because	SUBJ	NEG	steal-PASS-Ø

'Then he ordered Fatna (and her brother) to look after his millet so that it would not be stolen.'

Similarly, *'gal* in the expression *'gal ke'de* is more or less superfluous, as in (705.):

(705.) (…)   mi'san   'fi   ma'ma   al   bu-   'so
                 because EXIS   mother   REL   FUT-   do
        'gal   *ke'd(e)* 'uw(o)   'alim(u) nyere'ku 'to   (…).
        that   SUBJ   PRON 3SING   teach-Ø   child   PRON POSS 3SING
        '(…) because there is a mother who will do [so] in order to teach her child (…).'

In *al ke'de*, the subjunctive marker *ke'de* is preceded by the relative marker *al*. It marks a relative clause involving potentiality, as illustrated in (706.):

(706.) Wu   ma'hal   *al*   *'kena*   'ro   'fogo,   'ma'fi.
        CONJ   place   REL   SUBJ + PRON 1PL   go-Ø   to it   EXIS NEG
        'And there is no place where we could go to.'

5.4. Question words

Nubi question words are listed in table 26:

question word	meaning	in-dependent	position of independent Q-word	attributive
mu'nu? 'who?'	human, (non-) subject [152]	+	in situ	+
su'nu? 'what?' [153]	non-human, (non-) subject	+	in situ	+
(f)(u)'wen? / we'nu? 'where?'	location	+	final, occasionally initial	-
mi'ten? 'when?'	time	+	in situ	-
ke'fin? / 'kef? 'how?'	manner	+	in situ	-
'le? 'why?'	reason	+	initial, final	-
ma'lu? 'why?'	reason	+	initial, medial, final	-
ya'tu? 'which?', 'what?'	generic	+	in situ	+
'kam? 'how many?'	generic	+	in situ	+

table 26: Nubi question words

(707.) (…)   'in(a)   'agara   mad'ras   na   *ma'lim* *mu'nu?*
                 PRON 1PL   study-Ø   Qurʔanic school to   teacher   who?
        '(…)   with which teacher did we study [at] the Qurʔanic school?'

(708.) *Su'nu* 'ya   fu   'batna   'to?
        what?   FOC   in   belly   PRON POSS 3SING
        'What is it that is in his belly?'

(709.) 'Umon   gi-   'num   *'wen?*
        PRON 3PL   PROG-   sleep   where?
        'Where do they sleep?'

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[152] Occasionally, *mu'nu?* 'who?' refers to a non-human entity:
        'Ama   'tom   gi-   'pima   'samaga 'kilos   *mu'nu-mu'nu,*   ya'tu?
        or   PRON 2PL   PROG-   measure fish   kilo-PL who?-REDUP   which?
        'Or you(PL) are measuring how many kilos?'
[153] *su'nu?* 'what?' preceded by the noun *ka'lam* 'matter', thing', 'problem' is sometimes interpreted as 'why?':
        'Ita   gu-   'wonus   ma   a'nas   ba'tal   je'de   *ka'lam* *su'nu?*
        PRON 2SING   PROG-   talk   with   people   badly   EMPH   matter   what?
        'Why are you talking badly with the people?'

(710.)   'It(a)   'aba   'kut(u) 'umon   'g(i)-   akul   'kweis *le?*
          PRON 2SING   refuse-Ø make-Ø PRON 3PL   PROG-   eat   well   why?
          'Why did you refuse to make them eat well?'

(711.)   'It(a)   'endis   *'sente*   *'kam?*
          PRON 2SING   have-Ø   money   how much?
          'How much money do you have?'

(712.)   'Kan   'ita   'baga   nyere'ku   'ingis   *ya'tu?*
          be-ANT PRON 2SING   EMPH   child   like   what?
          'You were a child like what? / What kind of child were you?'

Question words are often preceded by prepositions that modify the question word[154].

(713.)   'Ase'de, ma'isa   jo   'wede   a'zol   bi-   'gai   'fogo   *'ladi*   *mi'ten?*
          now   life   like   DEM PROX   person FUT-   stay   in it   until   when?
          'Now, a life like this one, until when /how long may someone stay in it?'

(714.)   (…)   ak'wana   'tai   'de   'futu   *min*   *'wen?*
                relative-PL   PRON POSS 1SING   DEF   pass-Ø   around   where?
          '(…)   where about did my relatives pass?'

The question word may have the meaning of a non-referring adjective, for instance 'any mama', 'any way', 'anything', 'anywhere', 'in one way or another', etc., as in (715.):

(715.)   Ha,   bi'niya   we'de,   kan   'ana   bu-   lo'g(o)   'owo
          INT   girl   DEM PROX   if   PRON 1SING   FUT-   find   PRON 3SING
          ke'fin,   'ya   'kan   'an(a)   'aju   'jowj(u) 'uo.
          in one way or another   CONJ   ANT   PRON 1SING   want-Ø   marry-Ø PRON 3SING
          'Oh, this girl, if I find her in one way or another, I would like to marry her.'

Occasionally, the question word functions as an emphasizer, as illustrated in (716.):

(716.)   'Ya   aja'ma, 'ana   'nutu   'de   'baga   'namna 'nutu   *ya'tu!!*
          VOC   people PRON 1SING   jump-Ø   EMPH   EMPH   manner jump-GER   EMPH
          'Oh people, I jumped in a way of jumping [and what kind of!!!].'

5.5. Focus markers

5.5.1. *'ya*

The focus marker *'ya*[155] functions as a contrastive device, ranging from strongly to weakly contrastive. A secondary function of *'ya,* associated with the contrastive focus, is that of highlighting new or asserted information (see also Givón 1990: 699). *'ya* precedes the sentence constituent it focuses on. However, when *'ya* refers to the subject of the sentence, it comes in second position following the subject[156]. As such, it may be distinguished from the conjunction *'ya,* which comes before the subject in sentence-initial position.

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[154] Sometimes, the preposition does not add anything to the meaning of the question word, for instance *Fi ke'fini?* 'How?'

[155] *'ya* is also the marker for the vocative position:
     'Ya   aja'ma, 'ase'de, 'kena   'jere   ka'man.
     VOC   people now   SUBJ + PRON 1PL   run-Ø   also
     'Oh people, now, let us also run.'

[156] Likewise, if a sentence constituent has been fronted through Y-movement then the focus marker follows the fronted constituent (see 6.4.2.).

(717.)

'Ana,	fi	wa'kati	al	'kan	'ana		'fi	gi-	'raba,
PRON 1SING	in	time	REL	ANT	PRON 1SING		EXIS	PROG-	grow up
ma'ma	'tai		'me	'endi	'hukum		'fog(o)	'ana.	
mother	PRON POSS 1SING		NEG	have-Ø	authority		on	PRON 1SING	
'Kan	*ma'ma*	*'de,*	*ma'ma*	*'wai,*	*ji'ran,*		*'bes*	*je'de*	*'ya*
ANT	mother	DEF	mother	INDEF	neighbour		EMPH	EMPH	FOC
gu-	'hukum(u)			'ita		fi	'batna	'be	'takum.
PROG-	have authority over			PRON 2SING		in	inside	house	PRON POSS 2PL
Gi-	'ben	je	*'uo*		'ya	ma'ma	'taki.		
PROG-	seem	like	PRON 3SING		FOC	mother	PRON POSS 2SING		
'Ita		bi-	'so	ma'kosa	'ini.				
PRON 2SING		FUT-	do	mistake(s)	here				
Ma'ma	*'taki*		'ya	'ma	gi-	'dug(u)	'ita.		
mother	PRON POSS 2SING		FOC	NEG	PROG-	beat	PRON 2SING		
Ma'ma	*te*	*ji'ran*	'ya	gi-	'ja	'dug(u)	'ita.		
mother	GEN	neighbour	FOC	PROG-	come	beat-Ø	PRON 2SING		

'I, at the time when I was growing up, my mama did not have authority over me. **It was the mama, a mama, the neighbour** who had authority over you inside your (PL) house. It looked as if **she** were your mother. [If] you made a mistake here, [then] **it was not your mama** who beat you. **It was the mama of the neighbour** who came to beat you.'

The focus marker may refer to any sentence constituent, except the verb[157]. It may, however, focus on the verbal predicate. In the examples, a verbal predicate (718.), an object (719.), a prepositional phrase (720.), a nominal predicate (721.), a relative clause (722.), and a subjunctive clause (723.) are focused on respectively.

(718.)

Ta'ra	'fi	'marya	'wai	*'ya*	*'seregu*	*su'nu?*	*'Ya*	*'seregu*
you see	EXIS	woman	INDEF	FOC	steal-Ø	what?	FOC	steal-Ø
nyere'ku	*ta*		'marya	'wede.				
child	GEN		woman	DEM PROX				

'You see, there is a woman **[who] stole what? [Who] stole the child of this woman.**'

(719.)

A'ta,		wa'ze	wa'din,				
EMPH NEG		old person-PL	other-PL				
ka'lam		'wede'de,	'kutu	*'ya*	*ga'raya*	*te*	*'din*
because of		DEM PROX	make-Ø	FOC	study-GER	GEN	religion
euh,	*ta*	*Inge'reza*	je'de	'nena		'sia.	
INT	GEN	NPROP	EMPH	to + PRON 1PL		little	

'No, other old people, because of this, made **the British study of religion** to be infrequent for us.'

(720.)

'In(a)	'amin	'ma	*'ya*	*'lad(i)*	*'ina*	*'ja.*
PRON 1PL	believe-Ø	NEG	FOC	until	PRON 1PL	come-Ø

'We did not believe **until we came**.'

(721.)

'Yembe	gi-	'ben	'akil	'takum,		ta	'nasi	'kako	(…).
Mango(s)	PROG-	seem	food	PRON POSS 2PL		GEN	COLL	monkey(s)	
La'kin	'ana,		'samaga,	gu'luba..,		'ina,	a'nas	ta	'jo
but	PRON 1SING		fish	hippopotamus(es)	PRON 1PL		people	GEN	inside
'moyo,	(…).	'Akil	'tena		*'ya*	*'ma*	*'yembe.*		
water		food	PRON POSS 1PL		FOC	NEG	mango(s)		

'Mangos seem to be your(PL) food, of the monkeys (…). But I, the fish, hippopotamuses, …, we, the people from inside the water (…). Our food **is not mangos.**'[158]

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[157] According to Owens (1977: 283, 287, 290 ; 1996: 151), *'ya* may operate as focus marker on the fronted verb.

[158] Contrasting with Owens' findings on Kenyan Nubi (1977: 281), in Ugandan Nubi *'ya* may focus on the equative complement, as it may focus on the contingent complement:

'Umon	'kun	*'ya*	*ka'lasi*	*kadi'ma*	*fi*	*'jua.*
PRON 3PL	be-Ø	FOC	EMPH	servant-PL	in	house

'They became **house servants**."

(722.)   'Ita   'toru   bi'niya   ta   'kabur
         PRON 2SING   wake up-Ø   girl   GEN   grave
         'ya¹   [*al*   *'youm*   *'na'de*   *gi-*   *'dugu*   *'ya²*   *a'disi²*]¹.
         FOC   REL   day   DEM DIS   PROG-   beat   FOC   story
         'You woke up the girl of the grave **who that day told a/the story**.'

(723.)   'Ase,   'jó   ku'tu   'asker   'wai   *'ya*   *ke'd(e)*   *'ain*   *ka'lam*   *'de*
         now   come-PASS-Ø   put-PASS-Ø   soldier   INDEF   FOC   SUBJ   see-Ø   matter   DEF
         'Now, a soldier was put **to watch the matter**.'

When the second part of a possessive construction is focused on, the focus marker *'ya*, comes between the possessed item and the genitive marker, as in (724.), and exceptionally between the genitive marker and the possessor item, as in (725.):

(724.)   (…)   'uo   'rua   'lad(i)   'uo   'rasul
                PRON 3SING   go-Ø   until   PRON 3SING   arrive-Ø
         fi   'bele   'na'de   *'ya*   *ta*   *'nas*   *bi'niya*   *'de.*
         in   country DEM DIS   REL   GEN   COLL   girl   DEF
         '(…) he travelled until he arrived in that country of the family of the girl.'

(725.)   'Umon   we'di   'akili   fi   'be   ta   *'ya*   *a'rusu 'ragi*   al (…)
         PRON 3PL   give-Ø   food   in   house   GEN   FOC   bridegroom   REL
         'They brought food to the house of the bridegroom who (…).'

5.5.2. Sentence final *'ya, 'yaw, 'ya'de*

   'ya, 'yaw and *'ya'de* in clause-final position may emphasize the whole sentence or question. It is typical for the Nubi variety the of the West Nile District of northern Uganda.

(726.)   'Ita   'na're   'katul(u) 'ana   *'ya'de!*
         PRON 2SING   today   kill-Ø   PRON 1SING   EMPH
         'Today, you definitely killed me!'

(727.)   'Jowz(u)   'amur   *'yaw.*
         marriageprosper-Ø   EMPH
         'Married life gives prosperity, it really does.'

(728.)   Ma'ma,   'jere   'ma   *'ya!'*
         mama   run-IMPER   NEG   EMPH
         'Mama, definitely do not run!'

5.5.3. The emphasizer *'ke/'kede*

   The use of the emphasizer *'ke* is restricted to people from the northern part of Uganda. *'ke* always comes in sentence-final position. It is mainly used in imperative sentences, or in direct/indirect speech acts, as illustrated in (729.) and (730.):

(729.)   'Nasur,   'tala   *'ke!*
         NPROP   leave-IMPER   EMPH
         'Nasur, leave!'

(730.)   Ma'ma 'de   'gal   Mo'hamed   'fi   fi   'madrasa'na   *'ke.*
         mother DEF   that   NPROP   EXIS   in   school   there   EMPH
         'The mother said that Mohamed is there at school.'

'kede, too, seems to be a feature of northern Ugandan Nubi. I also heard it in the dialect of three elderly people from Entebbe. *'kede* generally highlights the preceding sentence constituent, as in (731.), and sometimes the whole sentence, as in (732.). It is often found in the expression *'sia 'kede* 'a little bit', as illustrated in (733.):

(731.) Bi'niya 'toumon   'ja-'ja   'geni
        girl   PRON POSS 3PL   come-REDUP-Ø   stay-Ø
        fi   'be   'toumon   *'seme* *'kede.*
        in   house PRON POSS 3PL   good   EMPH
        'Their girl came to live in their house in a very good way.'

(732.) Mu'nu 'b(i)-   aruf(u) 'ana   *'kede?!*
        Q-word FUT-   know   PRON 1SING   EMPH
        'Who knows me?'

(733.) Kan   'umon   'panda *'sia*   *'kede,* Al'gul 'gidu.
        when   PRON 3PL   climb-Ø bit   EMPH   NPROP   turn up unexpectedly-Ø
        'When they had climbed a little bit, Algul turned up unexpectedly.'

5.5.4. Other (contrastive) focus markers

This type of emphasizers adds a weak contrastive focus to a sentence or sentence constituent (see Givón 1990: 715-716).

'bes has several functions. It may modify a noun phrase and stress the limits of the NP, or its insignificance in size, number or importance, as illustrated in (734.). It mainly precedes the noun phrase, but may come after it as well.

(734.) Ma'isha 'tai   'zaidi   *'bes*   *fi*   *'batna* *'Bombo.*
        life   PRON POSS 1SING   very much   EMPH   in   belly   NPROP
        'My life is very much only inside Bombo.'

Or, *'bes* operates at sentence level and expresses the truth of the event or situation:

(735.) Fi   'mwisho, wa'ze   *'bes*   gu-   'rudu   'so   'jowzu   'de,
        in   end   parent-PL   EMPH   PROG-   agree   do-Ø   wedding   DEF
        la'kin lo'g(o) umon   'ma   fu'rai   ma   ka'lam we'de.
        but   while   PRON 3PL   NEG   be happy-Ø   with   matter DEM PROX
        'In the end, the parents do agree to do the wedding, although they are not happy with this matter.'

'tu 'only' is used infrequently, and always co-occurs with *'bes*, with which it shares its function. Either *'bes* + *'tu* operate at phrase level, as in (736.), or they reinforce the contents of the whole sentence, as in (737.):

(736.) Ru'tan   'tan   'ma.   (…)   *'bes* ka'lam   'Nubi   *'tu.*
        language   other   EXIS NEG   EMPH   language   NPROP EMPH
        'There is no other language. (…) only the Nubi language.'

(737.) 'Mat(a) 'ain   'wara. *'Bes* 'gen   'gu-   rwa   *'tu.*
        NEG   see-IMPER   behind EMPH   stay-Ø PROG- go   EMPH
        'Do not look back. Just keep on going.'

ta'ra has two functions. Firstly, it draws attention to an item or event which comes unexpectedly, considering the preceding events. In this function, it often co-occurs with *la'kin* 'but', and comes in sentence-initial position, as illustrated in (738.):

(738.) 'Wakti na'de,   'an(a)   'ain   je   kan   kala'ma   'de
        time   DEM DIS   PRON 1SING   see-Ø as   if   problem-PL   DEF
        'ben   je   'gu-   rwa   'kalas,
        look like-Ø   like   PROG- go   end-Ø
        la'kin *ta'ra* gi-   'kalas 'ma, (…).
        but   EMPH   PROG- finish NEG
        'At that time, (I saw as if) the problems looked like they were going to end, but on the contrary, they do not finish, (…)'

Secondly, the speaker, using *ta'ra*, draws attention to a particular event, and says that it takes place without any doubt. The position of *ta'ra* is not fixed, as in (739.):

(739.) Aja'ma,   ka'lam 'de   *ta'ra* je   'de?
        person-PL   problem DEF   EMPH   like   DEM PROX
        'People, is the problem really like this?'

The emphasizer **'baga** has several meanings with sometimes only small differences. Firstly, in questions, *'baga* comes in sentence-initial position, and stresses the supposed impossibility or insignificance of the request. These must be interpreted as rhetorical questions.

(740.) La'kin *'baga* bi'nadum   bi-   'so   su'nu?
        but   EMPH   human being   FUT-   do   Q-word
        'But what can a human being do anyway?'

'baga may have the same function as *'bes* 'only' or *'tu* 'only', and delimits the given information as being unique. It may co-occur with *'bes*, as illustrated in (741.):

(741.) 'Wedede,   *'baga* 'kidima 'to   a'sada   'bes.
        DEM PROX   EMPH   job   PRON POSS 3SING   beg-GER   EMPH
        'This one [person], his job is only begging.'
.

Thirdly, *'baga* strengthens the contents of the sentence or part of the sentence. In this function, it comes close to the focused constituent, as shown in (742.):

(742.) Ma'ma, mali'ma   'de   *'baga* ba'tal bi'mara.
        mother teacher-PL   DEF   EMPH   bad   very much
        'Mother, the teachers are indeed very bad.'

Fourthly, with *'baga*, the speaker may express an event which more or less concludes the preceding events, as illustrated in (743.):

(743.) Kan   ka'las,   a'nas 'de   bi-   'ja   'wasa, bu-   'rua.
        when   COMPL   people DEF   FUT-   come   leave   FUT-   go
        'Yala, si'b(u)   'uo   'baga   ma   a'rus   'to.
        well   leave-Ø-PASS   PRON 3SING   EMPH   with   bride   PRON POSS 3SING
        'When finished, the people set off to leave, they go. Well then, he is left with his wife.'

With an imperative, *'baga* may intensify the meaning of the command, as in (744.):

(744.) 'Ase,   *'baga*, 'ita,   'ro   'jib   'taki   'de!
        now   EMPH   PRON 2SING   go-IMPER   bring-IMPER   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF
        'Now, well, you, go and get yours!'

ma'lu/ 'mal was originally a question word, meaning 'what is wrong?', 'why?' (see 5.4.). It is also used in rhetorical questions, in which it could be translated as 'why?!', expressing the intensity of the meaning of the clause, as in (745.). With the latter meaning, it is mainly used in affirmative sentences, as illustrated in (746.).

(745.) A'jus   we'de   *ma'lu*   la'dum 'de   'gow   je'de?!!
        granny   DEM PROX   why/EMPH   bone(s) DEF   hard   EMPH
        'This granny, why are [her] bones so hard?/ [her] bones are so very hard!'

(746.) 'Ei,,   'akil   'de   ma'lu   'hilu!
        INT   food   DEF   EMPH   nice
        'Ei, the food is so good!.

'mus is used, like *ma'lu*, in rhetorical questions, as in (747.), and in affirmative sentences emphasizing the contents of the sentence, and including a sense of contrast, as illustrated in (748.). In questions, it comes either in sentence-initial or sentence-final position, or it is inserted into the question, and then comes in preverbal position. *'mus* normally precedes the verb in affirmative sentences.

(747.) 'Lon   'to   *'mus*   gi-   'ben
        face   PRON POSS 3SING   EMPH   PROG-   look
        je   'lon   'taki   'yaw?
        like   face   PRON POSS 2SING   EMPH
        'His face looks like your face, isn't it?'

(748.) Nyere'ku   *'mus*   gu-   wele'du   me   ma'ma   me   ba'ba!!
        child   EMPH   PROG-   conceive-PASS   with   mother   with   father
        'A child is indeed conceived by a mother and a father!'

'sei or ***se'yi*** as well appears in questions as a question word asking for the truth of the aforementioned, as in (749.):

(749.) 'Uo   *'sei*   'ja   'amrugu,'uo   'tor?
        PRON 3SING   EMPH   come-Ø   remove-Ø   PRON 3SING   drive-Ø
        'Did he really come to remove [the bicycle], did he cycle [on it]?'

'sei is also common in rhetorical questions, as shown in (750.):

(750.) A'ku   yo'wele *'sei*   gu-   'num   ma   a'ku   'to   bi'niya?!!
        relative boy   EMPH   PROG-   sleep   with   relative PRON POSS 3SING   girl
        'Does a brother really sleep with/make love to his sister?!!'

Besides this, it occurs in affirmative sentences, emphasizing the authenticity of the sentence.

(751.) 'Ya   aja'ma,   ku'juru   *'sei*   gi-   'kabas   'ana   'ma.
        VOC   person-PL   witch doctor   EMPH   PROG-   cheat   PRON 1SING   NEG
        'Oh people, the witch doctor definitely does not cheat on me.'

bi'zatu has a double function in Nubi. Firstly, like *a'gi*, *'sidu*, and *bi'nafsi*, it adds emphasis to the pronoun (see 3.1.). Secondly, *bi'zatu* functions at sentence level and strengthens the meaning of the sentence, as illustrated in (752.):

(752.) 'Ita   'ja   *bi'zatu* lo'g(o) 'ina   ka'las   'so   ka'lam   'de.
        PRON 2SING   come-Ø   EMPH   while   PRON 1PL   COMPL do-Ø   thing   DEF
        'You came of course after we had already done the thing.'

ka'las, which normally operates as the completive marker (see 4.2.1.4.7.) functions also as an adverbial emphasizer, as in (753.):

(753.) 'It(a)   'arufu   ko'rofo 'gara   'mus?
        PRON 2SING   know-Ø   leave(s) pumpkin EMPH
        Ka'las   'it(a)   arufu   ko'rofo 'gara.
        EMPH   PRON 2SING   know-Ø   leave(s) pumpkin
        'You know pumpkin leaves, don't you? Of course, you know pumpkin leaves.'

In nominal clauses, *ka'las* emphasizes the meaning of the adjective, as illustrated in (754.):

(754.) 'Moyo   al   *ka'las*   ke'bir   'ya   'kan   al   'uo   'b(i)-   agider
        water   REL   EMPH   big   FOC   ANT   REL   PRON 3SING   FUT-   be able
        'adi   'ma   'de,   'yal(a)   a'nasi 'de   'gata   'mo   'seri (…).
        cross-Ø NEG   DEF   well   people DEF   cut-Ø   with+ PRON 3SING   shore
        'The water which is very wide, and which he therefore would not have been able to cross, well the
        people crossed it with him.'

ka'man, besides its usual meaning of 'also', may be interpreted as a kind of emphasizer. It may
modify the sentence, as in (755.) or a noun phrase, as in (756.):

(755.) Eh,   'uo   'gai   fu   'fom   je'de   fu   'torofu   'jua   je'de.
        INT   PRON 3SING   stay-Ø in   opening EMPH   in   side   house   EMPH
        'Uo   'gai   *ka'man* fu   'fom   'de.
        PRON 3SING   stay-Ø EMPH   in   opening DEF
        'Eh, he stayed in the opening at the side of the house. He, indeed, stayed in the opening.'

(756.) 'Bas,   'youm   'wai,   'uo   'ja   lo'go   bi'niya 'wai   *ka'man* a'sas.
        well   day   INDEF   PRON 3SING   come-Ø meet-Ø girl   INDEF EMPH   beautiful
        'Well, one day, he happened to meet a very beautiful girl.'

'ladi 'even' suggests that what follows is rather surprising, as in (757.):

(757.) Wu   'Salim 'Bey   'de   bi'zatu, 'uo   'mutu   'na.
        CONJ   NPROP   DEF   self   PRON 3SING   die-Ø   there
        'Lad(i) dofu'n(u)   'uo   'na.
        EMPH   bury-PASS-Ø   PRON 3SING   there
        'And Salim Bey himself, he died there. He was even buried there.'

'de, which is homophonous to the definite article and the proximal demonstrative, may act as an
emphasizer adding some extra stress to adverbs and demonstratives. It follows the word it modifies, as
in *'sei 'sei 'de* 'very', *'asede 'de* 'now', *'wede 'de* DEM PROX.

a'ta, which normally acts as a morpheme of negation (see 5.6.) may also function to
emphasize the negation. In general, *a'ta* accompanies a negative particle, as in (758.):

(758.) Mi'sen gi-   'ben   'nana   je   *a'ta*   bi-   'ja   'ma.
        because PROG-   seem   to + PRON 1SING   as   EMPH NEG   FUT-   come   NEG
        'Because it seems to me as if it will not come.'

Exceptionally, *a'ta* does not imply any sense of negation, but rather strenghtens the affirmative context,
as illustrated in (759.):

(759.) Min   'na,   ka'man 'umon   'arija   'doru   'wiki   ge'ri   ti'nin,
        from   there   also   PRON 3PL   return-Ø walk-Ø week   nearly   NUM
        'gu-   rwa   a'ta   fi   'shar.
        PROG-   go   EMPH   to   month
        'From there, also they walked again nearly two weeks, it was even going to be a month.'

je'de, which is a combination of *ja* 'like', 'as' and the proximal demonstrative *'de,* has a slighly
emphatic effect on the clause. It often reinforces the function of other emphasizers.

(760.) Kan   'itokum   'ja,   'bes   'itokum   'rasul   *je'de*
        when   PRON 2PL   come-Ø EMPH   PRON 2PL   send-Ø   EMPH
        'shef   to   Mu'hammad.
        sword   GEN   NPROP
        'When you(PL) come, you(PL) [will] indeed send the sword of Muhammad.'

Finally, **'kan** in sentence-final position may be used as an emphasizer, as in (761.):

(761.) 'Ita,   (…)   mu'nu   'ya   'akul   nyere'ku 'tai   *'kan*?
        PRON 2SING   who   FOC   eat-Ø   child   PRON POSS 1SING   EMPH
        'You, (…), who is it who has eaten my child?'

5.6. Morphemes of denial

'ma and *'mafi/'maf* serve as 'no', as illustrated in (762.) and (763.). *a'ta,* besides functioning as an emphasizer, may do the same, as in (764.):

(762.) 'Umon   'kelem: *Ma,*   'akil   al   'in(a)   'aju   'de,
        PRON 3PL   say-Ø   no   food   REL   PRON 1PL   want-Ø   DEF
        ke'd(e) aku'l(u) 'taki   'de   gi'dam.
        SUBJ   eat   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF   first
        'They said: No, the food that we want, let yours be eaten first.'

(763.) 'Bas,   'uo   'kelem 'gal: *Mafi,* 'awun(u)   'ana.
        well   PRON 3SING   say-Ø   that   no,   help-IMPER   PRON 1SING
        'Well, he said that: No, help me.'

(764.) *A'ta*,   'marya je   'na'de   'in   'ma'fi.
        no   woman   like   PRON DIS   here   EXIS NEG
        'No, a woman like that is not here.'

5.7. Conclusion

Some of the above mentioned elements have been discussed in creole linguistics. Most creoles have two types of prepositions (Holm 1988: 209; Boretzky 1983: 194-205). The first type is direct derivations of superstrate prepositions. The others are more complex constructions resembling possessive phrases, such as Sranan Creole English *na baka* 'behind' from English 'back', Príncipe Creole Portuguese *ubásu sé* 'under him'. The Nubi prepositions include both the simple prepositions derived directly from especially Arabic and the more complex structures consisting of a preposition + noun (+ genitive exponent *ta*) or of a preposition + genitive exponent.

Holm (1988: 207) and Boretzky (1983: 195) discuss the general locative preposition *na* and its equivalents, which occur in several Atlantic creoles. Their translation depends on the context and is closely related to the meaning of the verb. It is the verb that determines whether location, motion toward or from is meant. Similarly, Nubi *fi* (as spatial preposition) is neutral as regards location or movement (toward or from), and depends much on the meaning of the accompanying verb.

In Nubi, the coordinating conjunction for joining together two noun phrases is homophonous to the comitative preposition *ma.* There is another word *wa, wu*, or *u* which links sentences. Holm (1988: 206) and Boretzky 1983: 216) discuss a similar feature in some of the Atlantic creoles.

6. Clause structure

6.1. Constituent order

6.1.1. Constituent order in main clauses

Nubi is essentially an SVO-language, as illustrated in (765.):

(765.) Fi'lel,   <u>'it(a)</u>   'afuta   'lufra   ke'biri.   'Ito   'kubu   la'kata   'de   'kulu
        ADV   S   V   DO   S   V   DO
        at night PRON 2SING   dig-Ø   hole   big   PRON 2SING   throw-Ø firewood DEF   all
        fi   'lufura 'de   'na.   <u>'Ito</u>   'kub   'fogo   dikin'ta   ti'yari.
        ADV CL   S   V   DO
        in   hole   DEF   there   PRON 2SING   pour-Ø   in it   kerosine   ready
        'At night, you dug a big hole. You threw all the firewood in the hole there. You poured kerosine in it
        [so that it was] ready.'

Several other constituents take postverbal position:

* oblique, as in (766.):

(766.) La'siy(a)'youm   'wai   a'ku   'de   'rua   *fi*   *'samba.*
        evening day   INDEF   brother DEF   go-Ø   to   field
        'Uo   'tala   *min*   *'samba.*
        PRON 3SING   leave-Ø from   field
        'The evening of one day, the brother went to the field. He left (from) the field.'

* object complement: complement clause, as in (767.):

(767.) (…)   'bag(a)   'etokum   'aruf   *'gal   Mo'hamadi   'mutu   ka'las.*
               EMPH   PRON 2PL   know-Ø   that   NPROP   die-Ø   COMPL
        '(…)   you(PL) do know that Muhammad has died already.'

* object complement: complement clause, as in (768.):

(768.) (…)   'in(a)   'aju   *'ro   'gata   ma'tunda   'fo.*
               PRON 1PL   want-Ø   go-Ø   pick-Ø   passion fruit(s)   up
        '(…)   we want to go and pick passion fruit up [there].'

* object complement: subjunctive, as shown in (769.):

(769.) 'Bas,   'uo   gi-   'kelem   na   Al'gul   *ke'de   'sten(u)   'uo   'in.*
        well   PRON 3SING   PROG-   say   to   NPROP   SUBJ   await-Ø   PRON 3SING   here
        'Well, he says to Algul that he should wait for him here.'

* adjectival predicate, as in (770.):

(770.) Wu   fi   'hali   bi'niya 'de   'kan   *a'sasi*   *'zaidi.*
        and   in   situation girl   DEF   be-ANT   beautiful   very
        'And with [her] situation the girl was very beautiful.'

* nominal predicate, as in (771.):

(771.) Bi'niya we'de   al   'ita   gi-   'kelem   'wede'de,
        girl   DEM PROX   REL   PRON 2SING   PROG-   say   DEM PROX
        'wede   *nyere'ku ta*   *sul'tan ta*   *sulta'na*   *ta*   *ba'kan 'na'de.*
        DEM PROX child   GEN   sultan GEN   sultan-PL   GEN   place   DEM DIS
        'This girl that you are talking [about], this is a child of one of the sultans of that place.'

The beneficiary or indirect object, introduced by the preposition *na*, is normally placed after the direct object, as illustrated in (772.):

(772.) (…), 'ina   'ya   'sa 'tan   gu-   we'di   *'kabar*
           PRON 1PL   FOC   sometimes   PROG-   give   news
        na   akwa'na   'tena.
        to   brother(PL)   PRON POSS 1PL
        '(…), we sometimes give the news to our brothers.'

(773.) 'Bes,   'umon   'kutu   *'sum   na   Mo'hamadi.*
        well   PRON 3PL   put-Ø   poison   to   NPROP
        'Well, they put poison for Mohamad.'

(774.) 'Ito   we'd(i)   *'ana   'nouo.*
        PRON 2SING   give-Ø   PRON 1SING   to + PRON 3SING
        'You gave me to him.'

However, when the indirect object is expressed pronominally, and the direct object is not, then the indirect object precedes the direct object, as shown in (775.):

(775.) (…)   ma'ma 'de   we'di   'nouo   'dawa   fu   'akili.
               mother DEF   give-Ø   to + PRON 3SING   medication   in   food
        '(…)   the mother gave him medication in [his] food.'

Adverbial clauses, especially adverbial clauses of time, may take any position in the sentence. The most frequent position is, however, after the verb, as illustrated in (776.):

(776.) *'Youm   'wai,*   'umon   'ja   'amsuku 'sika.   'Umon   'rua
         day   INDEF   PRON 3PL   come-Ø   catch-Ø road   PRON 3PL   go-Ø
        fi   'gaba   fi   'gata   la'kata.
        to   forest   to   cut-Ø   firewood
        'One day, they happened to catch the road/ to go out. They went to the forest to cut firewood.'

The word order may be reversed with passive verbs (4.3.1.), in conditional clauses (see below), and with focus attracting devices, such as left dislocation, Y-movement and strategies for introducing new information (see below). Questions do not normally have a deviant word order (see below). The position of the non-core markers *ka'las* and *'lisa* 'still', and of the negative marker, is not fixed. Their presence, however, does not result in a change of word order (see 4.2.1.4.7, 4.2.1.4.8., and 6.3. respectively). There are, however, numerous examples of sentences that do not sound acceptable. Generally, they are not to be considered incorrect, since the basic word order SVO is retained. In these cases, basically, too many words have been inserted between either the subject and the verb, as in (777.), or the verb and the object, as in (778.), or the anterior marker *'kan* and the verb, as in (779.), and as a consequence, the sentence becomes rather unclear.

(777.) 'Ija   'de   ka'man   'in   je'de   'koma.
        story   DEF   EMPH   here   EMPH   finish-Ø
        'The story indeed finishes here.'

(778.) 'Yal(a) 'an(a)   'aj(u)   'asrub   'de   gi'dam 'chai,   (…).
        well   PRON 1SING   want-Ø   drink-Ø   EMPH   first   tea
        'Well, first I want to drink tea, (…).'

(779.) La'kin   'kan   'haki   za'man   gi-   'só   je   'de.
        but   ANT   EMPH   a long time ago PROG-   do-PASS   like   DEM PROX
        'But truly, a long time ago, it was done like this.'

Most of them are unique in their composition, and are probably due to rapidity of speech, since all texts were transmitted orally.

6.1.2. Constituent order in subordinate clauses

The order of constituents in subordinate clauses is virtually the same as that in main clauses (see below), except that in the subjunctive clause the subjunctive marker *ke'de* may stand between the subject and the verb (see 6.7.2.).

6.2. Subject-predicate agreement

Similar to number agreement within the noun phrase (see 3.4.2.), agreement across the predicate is optional, as illustrated in (780.) and (781.):

(780.) A'nas   'kun   kwei'sin.
       people-PL   be-Ø   good-PL
       'People are good'

(781.) 'Umon   mis'kin
       PRON 3PL   poor-SING
       'They are poor'.

6.3. Negation

6.3.1. Negation with *'ma* or *'mafi,'maf*

Nubi employs two different elements for negating sentences or clauses: the marker *'ma,* which may take any place in the sentence, and *'mafi* or *'maf.* The markers *'mafi* and *'maf* mainly occur in sentence-final position, as illustrated in (782.). If not, they follow the verb and may precede a prepositional phrase, as in (783.):

(782.) A'ta,   'ina   gi-   'dusman *'mafi.*
       no   PRON 1PL   PROG-   fight   NEG
       'No, we are not fighting.'

(783.) 'De   li'go   'lisa   Ingi'lis 'lisa   'rasul   *'mafi*
       DEF   when   still   English still   arrive   NEG
       mo   'ukum   'to.
       with   government   PRON POSS 3SING
       'This was when the English had not yet arrived with his[their] government.'

Sentences like (784.), in which the negative marker *'mafi* , *'maf* precedes an object, are exceptional, except when the object is expanded, such as by a relative clause. Consider for instance (785.):

(784.) 'Umon   'agara   *'mafi* *ga'raya* *te*   *Ingi'lis.*
       PRON 3PL   study-Ø NEG   studies   GEN   English
       'They did not study the studies of the English.'

(785.) 'Ina   'lisa   li'go   *'maf(i)* *a'zol*
       PRON 1PL   still   meet-Ø   NEG   person
       al   *'agder*   *'so*   *re'search*   *a'dil*   (…).
       REL   be able-Ø   do-Ø   research   straightforward
       'We did not yet meet a person who can do straightforward research (…).'

The negator *'ma* may take any position in the sentence, although the sentence-final position is the most frequent one. The varying positions are generally to be ascribed to sentence rhythm, and not to differences in scope. Instead, it is the context which distinguishes the difference in scope. In (786.), the

people did come, albeit not like slaves. The negative marker, however, precedes the verb and not the prepositional phrase 'like slaves'.

(786.)   'Umon   *'ma*   'ja   ja   la'bi.
         PRON 3PL   NEG   come-Ø   like   slave(s)
         'They did not come like slaves.'

The same applies to the negative marker in equational sentences, as shown in (787.) and (788.):

(787.)   'Be   'toumon   'kweis   *'ma.*
         house   PRON POSS 3PL   good   NEG
         'Their house is not good.'

(788.)   Ka'lam 'de   *'ma*   'gow.
         problem DEF   NEG   tough
         'The problem is not tough.'

Differences in scope, however, do exist in more complex sentences consisting of more than one clause. The negative marker only affects one part of the clause. Consider the difference between (789.) and (790.):

(789.)   'An(a)   *'aju*   *'ma*   'keta   che'lewa   'na.
         PRON 1SING   want-Ø   NEG   SUBJ + PRON 2SING   delay-Ø   there
         'I do not wish you to delay there.'

(790.)   'Uw(o)   'aju
         PRON 3SING   want-Ø
         'keta   *'wonus*   'fogo   nyere'ku 'to   *'ma.*
         SUBJ + PRON 2SING   talk-Ø   about   child   PRON POSS 3SING   NEG
         'He wishes you not to talk about his child.'

In some cases, it is not possible to formally assess which clause falls under the scope of the negator, as in (791.). The negative marker *'ma* is in between the main clause and the complement clause. Sentence-final position is the most common one. From this, we could derive that *'ma* refers to the verb *'ain* 'see'. However, from the context it can be inferred that the man was not working the field properly, at least not like he used to do daily.

(791.)   'Uw(o)   'ain   'ma   'uo   'kuruju
         PRON 3SING   see-Ø   NEG   PRON 3SING   work the field-Ø
         je   te   'kila   'youm   'de   (…).
         like   GEN   every   day   DEF
         'He saw that he did not work the field like every day (…).'

A sentence-initial negative marker normally focuses on the initial phrase, which is usually the subject, as illustrated in (792.):

(792.)   *'Ma*   *'marya* bi-   'wasa.
         NEG   wife   FUT-   leave
         'Not the wife will leave [but somebody else].'

As was mentioned in 4.4.3., the negative existential marker is *'ma'fi*, which may be realized as *'mafi, 'maf*, and even *'ma*.

(793.)   *'Ma'fi*   'sokol   al   gu-   'rud(u)   'ase'de.
         EXIS NEG   thing   REL   PROG-   answer   now
         'There is no one who answers now.'

(794.) 'Uw(o)   'endis   'marya 'to   'wai.
        PRON 3SING   have-Ø   wife   PRON POSS 3SING   NUM
        'Marya, …   nuswa'na   'to   'de   ti'nin   *'ma.*
        wife   wife-PL   PRON POSS 3SING   DEF   NUM   EXIS NEG
        'He has his one wife. Wife…, his two wives are not there.'

It could be argued that the latter *'ma* is not the negated existential marker, but rather the negative particle of a Ø-copula, meaning permanent 'be', and denoting existence (see 4.4.1.). Ø, *'kan* 'be' is, however, used infrequently for expressing existence, whereas *'ma* referring to existence is not uncommon at all. In (795.), non-existence of the field is expressed by means of the existential marker *'fi* and sentence-final negator *'ma*. This is one of the exceptional cases where the negator *'ma* and the existential marker *'fi* have been separated.

(795.) (…)   'plot   *'fi*   'fogo   'shamba *'ma.*
                plot   EXIS   in it   field   NEG
        '(…)   the plot, there is no field in it/it has no field.'

6.3.2. Double negation

A few instances of double negation were recorded. The verb and both definite subjects are negated, as in (796.), or the verb and both nondefinite subjects, as in (797.):

(796.) (…)   'dunia   ta   you'min'de   'ma   je
                world   GEN   nowadays   NEG   like
        'dunia   ta   za'man   ta   wa'ze   'tena   'de   'ma.
        world   GEN   bygone days   GEN   parent-PL   PRON POSS 1PL   DEF   NEG
        '(…) the world (of) today is not like the world of the bygone days of our parents.'

(797.) 'Bad(a)   'uo   ne'bi   'tan   'ma'fi
        after   PRON 3SING   prophet other   EXIS NEG
        al   'gal   bi-   'ja   rasu'lu   ke'de   'ja   me   'dini   'tan
        REL   that   FUT-   come   send-PASS-Ø   SUBJ   come-Ø with   religion other
        au   'je   'zidu   fi   ka'lam   fi   'dini   te   Is'lam   'mafi.
        or   come-Ø increase-Ø   in   matter   in   religion GEN   NPROP   NEG
        'After him, there is no other prophet of whom it is said that he will be sent so that he comes with another religion or [so that he] will add to the matter of the religion of Islam.'

6.3.3. Expressions with negative marker

Nubi has some idiomatic expressions containing the negative marker.

(798.) 'Nade'de   'dugu   'ma.
        DEM DIS   beat-GER   NEG
        'That is not beating. [It is much worse than that].'

(799.) 'Dunia 'de   'dunia 'mafi.
        world   DEF   world   NEG
        'The world is not a world/ is no world. [to express that the situation is extremely chaotic].'

(800.) 'Tan   'só   'kidima 'ma.
        other   do-PASS-Ø   work   NEG
        'No other work was done.'

In clauses introduced by *'bila* 'without', the negative particle optionally adds some emphatic force, as illustrated in (801.):

(801.)   Za'man,   'umon   gi-   'seregu ba'na   min   'batna   'be.
         in times past PRON 3PL   PROG-   abduct girl-PL from   inside   house
         'Uo   'sulu   bi'niya je'de, (…)   *'bila* wa'ze   'arufu   *'ma.*
         PRON 3SING   take-Ø girl   EMPH   without parent-PL   know-Ø   NEG
         'In times past, they were abducting the girls from inside the house. He took the girl, (…) without the parents knowing.'

After verbs of prohibition, the subjunctive clause is optionally negated in Ugandan Nubi. Compare the following two examples which have the same meaning, even if (802.) has the negative marker, and (803.) does not.

(802.)   Kuba'rin   *'g(i)-   ab(a)*   'ana   *ke'd(e)* ana   'rua   *'ma.*
         elder-PL   PROG-   forbid   PRON 1SING   SUBJ   PRON 1SING go-Ø   NEG
         'The elder people forbid me to go.'

(803.)   'Uw(o)   *'ab(a)* a'nas   'de   *ke'de*   'sulu   'meiti   ta   'marya 'de.
         PRON 3SING   forbid-Ø people DEF   SUBJ   take-Ø   body   GEN   woman   DEF
         'He forbade the people to take the body of the woman.'

6.4. Focus and topicalization

6.4.1. Existential marker *'fi* + indefinite subject

In 3.3.1.1.1. I discussed how the indefinite article *'wai* typically introduces new information which is pragmatically referential. Another syntactic device, which serves this purpose, is the existential marker *'fi* followed by a zero-marked noun, or a noun marked by the indefinite article. The normal SVO-order is thus reversed, as shown in (804.) and (805.):

(804.)   *'Fi   'marya* 'dofuru   'biris   'to   'seme.
         EXIS   woman   weave-Ø   mat(s) PRON POSS 3SING good
         'There is a woman who weaves her mats well.'

(805.)   'Ase'de, *'fi   'sultan   'wai.*
         now   EXIS   sultan   INDEF
         'Now, there was a sultan.'

Verbs which operate similarly to the existential marker *'fi* are *'gen,'gai* 'stay', 'remain', *'fadul* 'remain', *'ja* 'come', etc., as illustrated in (806.):

(806.)   Ba'kan *'ja*   'nouo   *te'lim,* (…)
         when   come-Ø   to + PRON 3SING   dream
         'When there came to her a dream/When a dream came to her, (…).'

6.4.2. Y-movement

Y-movement or contrastive topicalization (see also Givón 1990: 705-706; 752-757) involves movement of a sentence constituent to sentence-initial position, which has a contrastive effect, albeit a weak one on the sentence constituent in question. Y-movement in Nubi in general does not apply to new or asserted information, but operates on referents that have been cited in previous discourse. With Y-movement the referent is brought to sentence-initial position. All sentence constituents as well as the second part of the possessive phrase can be subjected to this type of movement. However, it operates primarily on the direct object. The focus marker *'ya* comes between the moved constituent and the main clause. A resumptive pronoun can be placed optionally in object position and is obligatory in the prepositional and/or possessive phrase. *'fogo* 'in it' is an obligatory reference to the adverbial phrase of

location or purpose. It optionally refers to the adverbial phrase of time and manner. Similar patterns of co-reference are found in the formation of the relative clause (see 3.3.7.).

(807.) | *Ya'la* | *lu'far* | | *'dol'de* | | *du'ga-du'ga-du'ga* | | *'dol'de* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| child-PL | mouse/mice | | DEM PROX PL | | small-PL-REP | | DEM PROX PL | |
| *'ya* | 'yal | 'bura | 'g(i)- | akul(u) | 'lad(i) | 'umon | gi- | 'so | su'nu? |
| FOC | child-PL | cat(s) | PROG- | eat | until | PRON 3PL | PROG- | do | Q-word |

'It is these small, small, small baby mice which baby cats eat until they do what?'

(808.) | *Nyere'ku* | | *'ya* | a'dan | *'to* | | 'ma. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| child | | FOC | ear(s) | PRON POSS 3SING | | EXIS NEG |

'The child, its ears are not there.'

(809.) | *'Ma* | *'ye* | 'uw(o) | 'aju | 'jowju | bi'niya. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEG | FOC | PRON 3SING | want-Ø | marry-Ø | girl |

'It is not that he wants to marry a [specific] girl.'

(810.) | *Min* | *fu* | *wa'kati* | *ta* | *A'min* | *'de,* | *te* | *O'bote* | *ja* | *ta* | *A'min* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| from | in | time | GEN | NPROP | DEF | GEN | NPROP | like | GEN | NPROP |
| *'ye*na | | | *'ja* | *'ral(u)* | *'in.* | | | | | |
| FOC + PRON 1PL | | | come-Ø | move-Ø | here | | | | | |

'From [in] the time of Amin, of Obote, like [that] of Amin, we came to move here.'

When a subject is fronted, it is generally repeated pronominally. The focus marker follows the pronoun, as illustrated in (811.):

(811.) | A'nas | al | 'jowju-jow'ju | | 'de |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| people | REL | marry-REDUP-PASS-Ø | | DEF |
| 'umon | | 'ya | gi- | 'so | kun'gu | we'de. |
| PRON 3PL | | FOC | PROG- | do | song | DEM PROX |

'The people who got married, they do this song.'

I have no data on the fronting of verbs in a Y-movement-like type of device. Owens (1977: 283, 287, 290; 1996: 151), however, gives the following examples. The verb is replaced by the verb *'so* 'do' in the original position.

" 'gata	'laam	ma	se'kin	'de	'ya	a'zol	'nade	'arija	'so
cut	meat	with	knife	this	ph emph	person	that	return	do

it was cut meat with this knife that that person did again " (Owens 1977: 283)

" **Kátifu wáraga**	yá	máriya	dé	só.
Write letter	FOCUS	wife	the	did

" Write a letter is what the wife did." " (Owens 1996: 151)

6.4.3. Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation, unlike Y-movement, does not have a contrastive function. Its function is to re-introduce a referent in discourse after a considerable gap [159] (see also Givón 1990: 757-760). As with Y-movement, the sentence constituent in question is fronted. Unlike Y-movement, this sentence constituent is not followed by the focus marker *'ya*, but by an optional pause. The same rules on co-referentiality in

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[159] A fronted verb that is repeated in its original position rather than re-introducing old information functions as a mere emphasizer, strenghtening the meaning of the verb.

'Gus,		'ito	*bi-*	*'gusu*	'wen?
look for-GER		PRON 2SING	FUT-	look for	where

'To look for (it), where will you look for (it)?'

the clause apply, as with Y-movement [160]. In (812.), (813.), and (814.) the referents have been mentioned in previous discourse, sometimes leaving quite some distance between both occurrences. In this respect, left-dislocation also differs from Y-movement in that in the latter the referents usually occur within a span of two or three clauses.

(812.) *'Kidima ta   'hatar je   'de,*
        job   GEN   danger like   DEM PROX
        'aju   'ket(a)   'aba   'maf.
        must-Ø SUBJ + PRON 2SING   refuse-Ø   NEG
        'A dangerous job like this, you should not refuse it.'

(813.) *A'nas   'na'de,   ru'tan   'toumon   'kul   ba'rau.*
        people   DEM DIS PL   language(s)   PRON POSS 3PL   all   different
        'Those people, their languages are all different.'

(814.) *Ba'kan 'de   'kulu,   ku'tu   'fogo   aya'nin.*
        place(s) DEF   all   put-PASS-Ø in it   sick people
        'All the places, sick people are put in it.'

During the dislocation sequence, the involved sentence constituent may be neutralized. The result may be that a prepositional phrase loses its preposition, as illustrated in (815.):

(815.) *'Sente   'de,   'fadul   'asa   'shiling 'mia.   <   min 'sente 'de*
        money   DEF   remain-Ø   now   shiling NUM
        'From the money, there remain now hundred shilings.'

Occasionally, the resumptive pronoun is omitted in the main clause, as shown in (816.):

(816.) 'Gari   'takum,   'tammam-   kum   'moyo.
        vehicle PRON POSS 2PL   check-IMPER- ADR PL water
        'Your vehicle, check(PL) [its] water.'

6.4.4. Cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions

    Pseudo-clefts consist of a noun phrase followed by the focus marker *'ya* and a headless relative clause, as illustrated in (817.) and (818.). They function contrastively. In Nubi, the copula is often not marked overtly (cf. 4.4.1.).

* NP   'ya   Ø   REL   headless RC

(817.) Wu   'asker 'uo   'na'de,
        and   soldier PRON 3SING   DEM DIS
        'uo   'ya   al   'youm 'na'de, (…),   li'go   fi   'bab   gate.
        PRON 3SING   FOC   REL   day   DEM DIS   find-PASS-Ø in   door   gate
        'And that soldier, he is [the one] who on that day (…) was found at the gate./ it is him who on that day'

(818.) 'Ana   'ya   ab   'asuru ku'ra   'tai   'de.
        PRON 1SING   FOC   REL   tie up-Ø leg   PRON POSS 1SING   DEF
        'I am [the one] who tied up my leg./ It is me who tied up my leg.'

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[160] Left dislocated noun phrases are occasionally repeated in full:
    Fu   'volunteer 'work, 'ina   'kul   'dakul 'moumon   'sawa
    in   volunteer work   PRON 1PL   all   enter-Ø with + PRON 3PL   together
    fì   'kas   ta   'volunteer.
    in   work   GEN   volunteer
    'In the volunteer work, we all entered together with them in the volunteer work.'

Nubi cleft constructions have much contrastive strength. They are introduced by *'de*, and consist of the following three subtypes. The focus marker *'ya* is optional.

* 'de **('ya)** **Ø** **REL** **RC**

(819.)

'De	'ya	ka'las	'sabab					
DEF	FOC	EMPH	reason					
al	'kutu	'ana	'lim(u)	'etokum	fi	'be	'in	'de.
REL	make-Ø	PRON 1SING	gather-ØPRON 2PL	in	house	here	DEF	

'It is the reason which made me gather you(PL) in the house here.'

* 'de **('ya¹)** **Ø** **NP** **('ya²)** **no REL** **RC**

(820.)

'De	wa'zeya	gi-	'j(a)	'aki
DEF	old person-PL	PROG-	come	tell-Ø
'nena		kala'ma	'dolde'de.	
to + PRON 1PL		thing-PL DEM PROX PL		

'It is the old people who happen to tell us these things.'

(821.)

'De	'ya¹	'Ahmed	'ya [161]	omon	'atan.
DEF	FOC	NPROP	FOC	PRON 2PL	wear down-Ø

'It is Ahmed who is the one whom they wore down.'

(822.)

'De	'Rabana	'ya	'kutu	je	'de.
DEF	God	FOC	put-Ø	like	DEM PROX

'It is God who is the one putting it like this.'

The following subtype which involves *'de* is a bit dubious. It consists of *'de* + *'ya* + clause. At surface-level, there is no relative clause. The presence of introductory *'de* and optionally the focus marker *'ya*, however, makes me list them among the cleft constructions. Moreover, their only possible interpretation is that of a cleft construction, since there are two verbs, a hidden copula joining *'de* and the main clause, and the verb of the clause. However, relativizer and relativized noun phrase are absent [162].

* 'de **'ya** **Ø** **clause**

(823.)

La'yin	kan	'ita	'bu-	rwa	we'ri	'nouo,
but	if	PRON 2SING	FUT-	go	show-Ø	to + PRON 3SING
'de	'ya	ka'las	'ita	bi-	'kosa	'marya	'de.
DEF	FOC	EMPH	PRON 2SING	FUT-	lose	wife	DEF

'But if you are going to show [it] to her, it is [then that] you will lose [your] wife.'

(824.)

'De	'ya	nyere'ku	ab	'kweis	gi-	'raba	'ingis	we'de	je'de
DEF	FOC	child	REL	good	PROG-	grow	like	DEM PROX	EMPH

'It is [the way that] a good child grows so.'

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[161] The focus marker *'ya* which is between *'Ahmed* and *'omon 'atan* marks the object after it has been fronted (Y-movement, see above).

[162] Occasionally, similar sentences occur without the focus marker *'ya*, for instance:

'De	'uo	gu-	'rua	'dakal	'sumuku	fi	'dongo	'in.
DEF	PRON 3SING	PROG-	go	enter-Ø	hair slide	in	hairdo	here

'It is [the moment that] he is going to place the hair slide in the hairdo here.' (wedding custom).

Instead of being regarded as a cleft, this type of sentence may be considered to be merely introduced by *'de*, a construction which is reminiscent of sentences introduced by the sentence-introduction particle *dâ or dî*, for instance in Egyptian. However, if we take a look at some examples from the Egyptian Arabic dialect, such as those in Fischer (1959: 182), we note that they also have a contrastive meaning. This type of Nubi sentence may be related to the Egyptian sentence, or to similar sentences in other Arabic dialects. The occurrence of *'ya* in similar sentences is most likely a Nubi innovation, since Nubi *'ya* typically expresses contrast. The above Nubi sentence is taken from a text of my oldest informant, a woman who is close to eighty years of age. Her speech is definitely closer to the Arabic source language.

6.4.5. Relative complements

Nubi speakers often use the following construction: a verb in its gerund or infinitive form is followed by a relative clause whose verb is a repetition in the finite form, of the verbal head noun. There are two types. In the first type, the verbal noun, whether gerund or infinitive (see 4.3.3.), is repeated in the relative clause as a finite verb. No other information is added. This type of clause merely serves to strengthen the meaning of the verb[163].

(825.) 'Ase'de, 'ja   al   'ana   'ja   'de,   .
        now   come-GER   REL   PRON 1SING   come-Ø DEF
        'ana   'kan   'aju   'jowj(u) 'ita.
        PRON 1SING   ANT   want-Ø marry-Ø PRON 2SING
        'Now, the coming which I came/the reason why I came, [its purpose is that I want to tell you that] I would like to marry you.'

In the second type, extra information is added to the verb in the relative clause, whether by means of an object, a quantifier, adverbial clauses, etc. , which specifies and restricts the meaning of the verb, as illustrated in (826.):

(826.) Ba'kan 'ja   'nouo   te'lim, te'lim 'na'de   'kelem ja
        when   come-Ø to + PRON 3SING   dream   dream DEM DIS   tell-Ø as
        kan   *'kore   'to   al   'uo   'kore 'zaidi 'de,*
        if   cry-GER   PRON POSS 3SING   REL   PRON 3SING cry-Ø a lot   DEF
        'Raban(a)'asma *'zulum al   zulu'm(u)*   'uo   'fogo   'nade'de
        God   hear-Ø injustice REL   treat unjustly-PASS-Ø   PRON3SING in it   DEM DIS
        'When a dream came to her, that dream told as if (through) her cry which she cried very much, God heard that injustice with which she was treated unjustly.'

6.4.6. Question-answer

The question-answer device which is used to focus on asserted information is common in Uganda, the rest of Eastern Africa and the Arabic world. The speakers formulate their assertion as a question, which asks for the information to be focused on, and subsequently answer it, as illustrated in (827.) and (828.):

(827.) 'Youm ta   maski'nin   'je   'tim
        day   GEN   poor man-PL   come-Ø be present-Ø
        lo'go 'ragi   'de   ka'man *'so   su'nu? 'Safir.*
        when   man   DEF   also   do-Ø   Q-word travel-Ø
        'The day of the poor people came to be there when the man also *did what? Travelling.*'

(828.) 'Kulu   'sawa,   'itokum   gi-   'sten   sa'uti *ta   mu'nu?*
        all   same   PRON 2PL   PROG-   wait for sound GEN   Q-word
        Ta   lun'gara   'na'de.
        GEN   drum   DEM DIS
        'All together, you(PL) are waiting for the sound *of what? Of that drum.*'

6.4.7. Changes in word order

Attention is drawn to a sentence constituent, referring to new or given information, by either putting it in sentence-initial, or less frequently in sentence-final position. It is only the word order which is reversed. There is no pause nor any other marking in the dislocated constituent, and no co-referential pronouns occur. In (829.), the adverbial clause of time is fronted. This is a very common

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[163] A similar strenghtening of the meaning of the verb is established by repeating the verb in its gerund or infinitive form after the preposition *ma*:
        'keta   *'g(i)-   'angulu* 'nouo   'akili *ma   a'ngulu*
        SUBJ + PRON 2SING   PROG- carry   to + PRON 3SING   food   with   carry-GER
        'you must carry food to her.'

device. In (830.), the subject is placed in final position. Moreover, part of the subject is subjected to left-dislocation. The second part of the genitive construction is fronted, and is repeated pronominally in the main clause.

(829.)   *Za'man*   *bu'mara* 'kan   'fi   'rag(i)   'wai.
        long ago   very   ANT   EXIS   man   INDEF
        'A very long time ago, there was a man.'

(830.)   'Ragi   'taki,   'gelib(u) 'ita   *'chunga*   *'to*
        husband PRON POSS 2SING   worry-Ø PRON 2SING   take care-GER   PRON POSS 3SING
        'Marya   'taki,   'gelib   'ita   *'chunga*   *'to.*
        wife   PRON POSS 2SING   worry-Ø PRON 2SING   take care-GER   PRON POSS 3SING
        'Your husband, taking care of him worries you. Your wife, taking care of her worries you.'

6.5. Questions

6.5.1. Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are formed by raising the intonation. There is no change in word order. Answers are given in full, or are introduced by *'ai* or *'aiwa* (for an affirmative answer), and by *'ma(f)(i)* or *a'ta* (for negative answers), as illustrated in (831.) and (832.):

(831.)   (…)   'gal: Eh,   ba'ba   'taki   'de,   'uo   'ja
                   that   INT   father   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF   PRON 3SING   come-Ø
        'in   'de.   'Sei   'ita   'rakab   'nouo   'nas   'chai?
        here   DEF   EMPH   PRON 2SING   cook-Ø   for + PRON 3SING   COLL   tea
        'Gal: 'Ai,   ma'ma.
        that   yes   mama
        'Uo   'beredu?   'Gal: 'Uo   'beredu.
        PRON 3SING   take a bath-Ø   that   PRON 3SING   take a bath-Ø
        'Uw(o)   'akulu?   'Gal: 'Ai.
        PRON 3SING   eat-Ø   that   yes
        '(…) [she said] that: Eh, your father, he came here. You really cooked tea for him? [You said] that: Yes, mama. He took a bath? [You said] that: He took a bath. He ate? [You said] that: Yes. '

(832.)   'K(e)   'ana   'ro   'metokum?
        SUBJ   PRON 1SING   go-Ø   with + PRON 2PL
        'Gal: 'Ma,   'ito   was'kan.   'Gen   'in.
        that   NEG   PRON 2SING   be dirty-Ø   stay-IMPER   here
        'Shall I go with you(PL)? [They said] that: 'No, you are dirty. Stay here.'

The answer to negative questions is usually in full in order to avoid misunderstandings.

(833.)   Tom'sa   'ataku 'gal: 'Akil   'tai   'de,
        crocodile   laugh-Ø that   food   PRON POSS 1SING   DEF
        'it(a)   'arufu   'ma?   'Gal: 'An(a)   'arufu   'ma.
        PRON 1SING   know-Ø NEG   that   PRON 1SING   know-Ø NEG
        'Crocodile laughingly [said] that: My food, you don't know [it]? [He said] that: I don't know [it].'

(834.)   Wu   'ragi   'taki   'ya   'g(i)-   aju   'sokole 'ma?
        and   husband PRON POSS 2SING   FOC   PROG-   want   thing   NEG
        'G(i)-   aju   'marya   'bara   'mafi?
        PROG-   want   woman   outside NEG
        'Gal: Ah,   'baga,   'uo   'to   'g(i)-   aju.
        that   INT   EMPH   PRON 3SING   PRON POSS 3SING   PROG-   want
        'And doesn't your husband want something? Doesn't [he] want a woman outside? [She said] that: Ah, he wants.'

The tag *'mus(u)* in sentence-initial or sentence-final position converts a sentence into a question, as illustrated in (835.):

(835.)　'Yal　　ba'na　　'fi　　ta'lata.　Ta'lata,　'musu?
　　　　　child-PL　girl-PL　EXIS　NUM　　NUM　　isn't it?
　　　　　'The daughters, there are three [of them]. Three, isn't it?'

6.5.2. Q-word questions

Question words and their position in the sentence have been mentioned above (5.4.). Generally, questions retain the word order of declarative sentences, which is SVO. The question words *mu'nu?* 'who?', *su'nu?* 'what?', *ya'tu?* 'which?', *'kam?* 'how many?', *ke'fin?, 'kef?* 'how?', and *mi'ten?* 'when?' remain in situ depending on whether they function as subject, object, or part of a prepositional phrase, etc., as illustrated in (836.), (837.), and (838.). *(f)(u)'wen?, we'nu?* 'where?' usually takes sentence-final position, but may be found in other positions in an interrogative sentence. *'le?* and *ma'lu?* 'why?' may take any position, as shown in (839.). The tone is raised towards the end of the sentence.

(836.)　'Marya　'de　　ka'man　gi-　　'kafu　　　　　'marya　*to*　　*mu'nu?*
　　　　　woman　DEF　　EMPH　PROG-　be afraid of　　wife　　GEN　　who
　　　　　'The woman is afraid of whose wife?'

(837.)　Ta'ra,　ta'r(a),　'ragi　'endis　*su'nu?*
　　　　　EMPH　EMPH　　man　　have-Ø　what?
　　　　　'You see, you see, what does the man have?'

(838.)　Ma'ma　ta　　　Fai'za,　difa'na　　　　kan　　gi-　　'ja
　　　　　mother　GEN　　NPROP　guest-PL　　　if　　　PROG-　come
　　　　　fi　　'be　　'taki　　　　　　　　'de,　　karibi'sh(a)　'omon　　　*ke'fin?*
　　　　　in　　house　PRON POSS 2SING　　DEF　　welcome-PASS-ØPRON 3PL　　how?
　　　　　'Mama of Faiza, guests, if [they] come to your house, how are they welcomed?'

(839.)　Bi'niya　'de　　　　　*ma'lu*　gi-　　'gen　　fi　　sa'raya　　　　'fo?
　　　　　girl　　DEM PROX　why?　　PROG-　stay　in　　appartment　high
　　　　　Ma'lu　'uo　　　　　'ma　　gi-　　'doru　　　　mo　　ak'wana?
　　　　　why?　　PRON 3SING　NEG　　PROG-　walk around　with　friend-PL
　　　　　'This girl, why is she staying high in [her] appartment?　Why isn't she walking around with friends?'

In 4.2.1.3. the anterior marker *'kan* was discussed. It often occurs in questions, where it may function as a kind of highlighter or emphasizer, as illustrated in (840.):

(840.)　'Jé　　　　　rasu'l(u)　　　　'ita　　　　　ge'ri　　*'kan*　　'sa　　'kam?
　　　　　come-PASS-Ø　send-PASS-Ø　PRON 2SING　nearly　ANT　　hour　how many?
　　　　　'You were sent at nearly, it was at what time?'

'kan usually comes right in front of the question word. Occasionally, however, it occurs in sentence-initial position, and is thus separated from the question word [164].

(841.)　Gi-　　ziki'ri　　　　*'kan*　*ke'fin-ke'fini?*　*'Kan*　ko'ru
　　　　　PROG-　recite-PASS　　ANT　　how?-REDUP　　ANT　　sheep
　　　　　'to　　　　　　　　　　gi-　　da'ba　　　　　*ke'fin-ke'fini?*
　　　　　PRON POSS 3SING　　PROG-　slaughter-PASS　how?-REDUP
　　　　　'There was being recited, it was how?　His sheep was being slaughtered, it was how?'

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[164] Occasionally, *'kan* seems to serve as a question marker in questions which lack a question word. This use of *'kan* is restricted to the language of old people.
　　　'Kan　gi-　　da'ba　　　　　fu　　'gaba?
　　　ANT　　PROG-　slaughter-PASS　in　　forest
　　　'Was it [the sheep] slaughtered in the forest?'

6.6. Coordination

6.6.1. Coordination at phrase level

Two NPs may be joined together to become one noun phrase by means of the conjunctions *ma* with', 'and', *au* 'or', *'wala, wa'la* 'or', *'ama, a'ma* 'or', and occasionally *wu, wa, u* 'and', or by simple juxtaposition, but divided by pauses and/or intonational separation. The joined constituents participate in the same event or share the same function in the event.

(842.) 'Ija   'de   *fu 'ras   ta*   sul'tan   ma   *nuswa'na 'to*   ti'nin.
        story   DEF   about   GEN   sultan   and   wife-PL PRON POSS 3SING   NUM
        'The story is about a sultan and his two wives.'

(843.) 'Umon   a'nas   al   a'ta…,   'umon   a'nas
        PRON 3PL   people   REL   EMPH NEG   PRON 3PL   people
        al   a't(a)   'arufu   *'dini*   'ma   *wa'la*   su'nu   'ma.
        REL   EMPH NEG   know-Ø religion NEG   or   what   NEG
        'They are people who, no…, they are people who do not know religion nor anything else.'

6.6.2. Coordination at sentence level

wu, wa, u 'and', *au* 'or', *wa'la,'wala* 'or', *'ama, a'ma* 'or', *'ila* [165] 'except', 'inevitably', and *la'kin* 'but' join together two or more sentences, as illustrated in (844.) and (845.):

(844.) (…)   'uw(o)   'endis   kuba'niya   'ma
              PRON 3SING   have-Ø friend(s)   NEG
        wu   fu'raha   'to   'sia.
        and   happiness   PRON POSS 3SING   little
        '(…) he does not have friends and his happiness is low.'

(845.) We'le   'g(i)-   agara,   *la'kin*   'itokum,   ba'na,   'yal   ba'na   'g(i)-   agara
        boy-PL PROG-   study   but   PRON 2PL   girl-PL child-PL girl-PL PROG-   study
        su'kulu   'ma.
        school   NEG
        'The boys studied, but you(PL), the girls, the girl children did not study [at] school.'

(846.) 'It(a)   'aju   'k(e)   ana   'ya   'gus   'neki
        PRON 2SING   want-Ø SUBJ   PRON 1SING FOC   look for-Ø   for + PRON 2SING
        bi'niya   *wa'la*   'fi   'tak(i)   al   'it(a)   'ain   ka'la?
        girl   or   EXIS   PRON POSS 2SING   REL   PRON 2SING   see-Ø   COMPL
        'Do you want me to look for a girl for you or is there yours which you have already seen?'

6.7. Subordination

6.7.1. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses of time: To express that one event precedes another event, Nubi uses the temporal conjunction *'kabla 'lisa ('ma)* 'before' or *'kabla* 'before'. The verb in the adverbial clause generally takes the zero-form. When the verb in the main clause is marked by the anterior marker *'kan*, the entire sentence refers to consecutive events in the past, as illustrated in (847.). When it takes another marker than the anterior marker, then the sentence refers to present or near future events, as in (848.):

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[165] Occasionally, *'ila* 'except', 'inevitably' refers to words instead of sentences:

(…),   *'ila*   'bes   'shida,   *'ile*   fi   'tabu,
        inevitably   only   problem(s)   inevitably   in   trouble
'ita   bi-   'kun   'mo.
PRON 2SING   FUT-   be   with + PRON 3SING
'(…), only problems, in trouble, inevitably, you will be with them.'

(847.)   (…)   *'kabla*   'ita   'sulu   'badu   ma   'sheik,
              before   PRON 2SING   take-Ø   RECIP   with   sheikh
         'kan   'ita   'fi   fi   ba'kan   ya'tu?
         ANT   PRON 2SING   EXIS   in   place   Q-word
         '(…) before you came together with the sheikh, in which place were you?'

(848.)   La'yin   *'kabla*   *'lisa*   'ina   'gata   'youm   'ma,
         but   before   still   PRON 1PL   decide-Ø   day   NEG
         'k(e)   'ena   'lim(u)   akwa'na   'tena   'de.
         SUBJ   PRON 1PL   bring together-Ø   relative-PL   PRON POSS 1PL   DEF
         'But before we decide on a day, we should gather our relatives.'

   'bada 'after' expresses the fact that an event follows another event. The verb in the adverbial clause is either the simple verb form, a verb marked by the anterior marker *'kan,* or a verb marked by *ka'las*. The verb in the main clause may be marked by any TMA marker.

(849.)   'Gari   'takum,   'tamam- kum   'moyo.   'Bad(a)   'itokum
         car   PRON POSS 2PL   check-Ø ADR-PL   water   after   PRON 2PL
         'tamam   'moyo   ka'las,   'aju   'k(e)   'etokum   'tamam   'oil.
         check-Ø water   COMPL   have to-Ø   SUBJ   PRON 2PL   check-Ø oil
         'Your(PL) car, check(PL) [its] water. After you(PL) have checked the water, you(PL) have to check the oil.'

There are no restrictions on tense and aspect marking in time clauses with the conjunctions *'ladi* 'until, *la'man* 'until', *na'man* 'until', *ba'kan (kan)* 'when', 'while', *wa'kati* 'when', 'while', and *li'go* 'while', as illustrated in (850.) and (851.).

(850.)   'Bes,   'itokum   gu-   'futu   *la'man*   'itokum   bi-   'rasul
         EMPH   PRON 2PL   PROG-   continue   until   PRON 2PL   FUT-   arrive
         ka'man   'fogo   'takum.
         EMPH   in   PRON POSS 2PL
         'Well, you(PL) continue until you(PL) arrive in yours(PL)/(your rooms).'

(851.)   *Wa'kat(i)*   'uo   ma'lim   'tena,   'g(i)-   alim(u)   'ina,
         while   PRON 3SING   teacher PRON POSS 1PL   PROG-   teach   PRON 1PL
         'uo   'kan   tiki'yan   'zaidi.
         PRON 3SING   be-ANT   irritated much
         'While he was our teacher, [while he] taught us, he was much irritated.'

li'go 'while' often co-occurs with *'lisa 'ma* 'not yet' in expressing that an action/event is taking place while at the same time another event did not yet occur, even if it was expected.

(852.)   (…)   'ita   'je   *li'go*   'lisa   m'ze   'de   'ja   *'ma*.
               PRON 2SING   come-Ø   while   still   old man   DEF   come-Ø   NEG
         '(…)   you came while the old man had not yet come.'

min 'since' generally co-occurs with a simple verb. The main clause often contains *'lisa 'ma* 'not yet', and expresses that from a certain moment on, an action or event has not yet taken place, as illustrated in (853.):

(853.)   La'yin   *min*   'ana   'gai,   *'lis(a)*   'an(a)   'ainu
         but   since   PRON 1SING   stay-Ø   still   PRON 1SING   see-Ø
         jahi'liya   je   'na'de   *'ma*.
         state of ignorance like   DEM DIS   NEG
         'But since I am staying/ since I am alive, I did not yet see a state of ignorance like that one.'

The verb in the time clause with *'kila kan, kan 'kila* 'whenever' either takes the bare verb form or the progressive marker *gi-*. The verb in the main clause normally takes the simple verb or a verbal prefix expressing habit or repetition, as illustrated in (854.):

(854.) | *'Kila kan* | 'ino | 'gu- | rwa | fi'lel, |
whenever | PRON 1PL | PROG- | go | at night |

| 'yal(a) | 'uo | bi- | 'ja | 'turuj(u) | 'ina | je'de-je'de. |
well | PRON 3SING | FUT- | come | send away | PRON 1PL | EMPH-REDUP |

'Whenever we go at night, well he comes to send us away.'

Adverbial clauses of location: These are expressed with *ba'kan* 'where', as in (855.):

(855.) | 'Ya | *ba'kan* | 'ina | 'gai, | 'lis(a) | 'ina | 'gai | 'ladi | 'na're, (…). |
CONJ | where | PRON 1PL | stay-Ø | still | PRON 1PL | stay | until | today |

Thus where we stay (the place that we stay in), we have stayed [there] until today, (…).'

Adverbial clauses of manner: These are introduced by *ja* 'as', *ja (kan)* 'as if'.

(856.) | 'Ita | 'g(i)- | asma | fi | 'muku | 'taki | 'na |
PRON 2SING | PROG- | feel | in | brain | PRON POSS 2SING | there |

| *je* | 'it(a) | 'aju | 'mutu. |
as if | PRON 2SING | want-Ø | die-Ø |

'You felt in your brain there as if you were about to die.' [166]

(857.) | 'So- | 'takum | *je* | 'ana | gi- | 'so, | (…). |
do- | ADR PL | as | PRON 1SING | PROG- | do | |

'Do(PL) as I am doing, (…).'

Adverbial clauses of reason: The conjunctions *ka'lam, mi'sen, ala'shan, min, li'go, ja, fi a'jil ta* 'because', 'since', 'as' introduce adverbial clauses of reason, as in (858.) and (859.):

(858.) | La'kin | 'fijo | 'chalo | 'na, | 'ana | 'kafu | a'kul | 'na, |
but | inside | village | there | PRON 1SING | be afraid of-Ø | eat-GER | there |

| mi'sen | a'nas | 'na'de | jahi'liya. |
because | people | DEM DIS PL | ignorant |

'But inside the village there, I was afraid of eating there, because those people were ignorant.'

(859.) | 'Uo | 'kelem | 'gal | nyere'ku | 'de | wele'du |
PRON 3SING | say-Ø | that | child | DEF | give birth to-PASS-Ø |

| fu | ni'ka | | 'to, | | fu 'ras | si'da | 'to, |
in | marriage | PRON POSS 3SING | | on top of | | bed | PRON POSS 3SING |

| *lo'go* | 'marya | 'de | 'to, | (…). |
since | woman | DEF | PRON POSS 3SING | |

'He says that the child is born in his marriage, on his bed, since the woman is his, (…).'

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[166] Nubi use the expression *'aju* 'want + verb to express that someone is on the verge of doing or undergoing an action or event. Thus, when someone is about to fall, Nubi say: | 'It(a) | 'aju | 'waga. |
PRON 2SING | want-Ø | fall-Ø |

'You are about to fall.'

In this particular case, it is also implied that the speaker feels sorry for the hearer. It is therefore rude not to say it.

Substitution: It is expressed by *min* 'instead of' followed by a clause with a finite verb. The clause following the substitutive clause is often introduced by the subjunctive marker *ke'de*, as in (860.):

(860.) 'Sa   we'de   ka'las   'sa   'ashara. Ka'las   *min*   'ita
       moment DEM PROX   COMPL hour   NUM   EMPH instead of   PRON 2SING
       li'go   'badu   ma   a'ku   bi'nadum   fi   'sika,   a'ker   ke'de
       meet-Ø RECIP   with   brother human   in   street   it is better   SUBJ
       ita   li'go   'badu   ma   'lam   'gaba,   (…).
       PRON 2SING   meet-Ø RECIP   with   meat   forest
       'At this moment it is already 4 o'clock. Instead of you meeting a human being in the street, it is better that you meet a wild animal, (…).'

6.7.2. Subjunctive clauses

The subjunctive clause is introduced by the marker *ke'de* or *'ke* (see also 4.2.2.2. and 5.3.). It "(…) codes the target event performed - or to be performed - by the manipulee." (Givón 1990: 518). When an argument of the subjunctive clause is extracted, it is referred to in the subjunctive clause by means of a referential pronoun or *'fogo*. Formal co-reference is compulsory with possessive and prepositional phrases and in adverbial phrases of location and purpose, as illustrated in (861.):

(861.) 'Marya,   *'sente   we'de*,   'kena   'jowju   *'mo*   'marya.
       wife   money   DEM PROX   SUBJ + PRON 1PL   marry-Ø with it   woman
       'Wife, this money, let us marry with it [another] woman.'

On the other hand, co-reference is optional in objects and adverbial phrases of manner and time (see also 6.4.2. and 3.3.7.), as shown in (862.):

(862.) *Bi'nadum   'tan*   kan   'Rabana 'ke   'jib   'nana   'in,   (…)
       human being   other   if   God   SUBJ   bring-Ø to + PRON 1SING   here
       'Another human being, if God could only bring me [one] here, (…)'

The subjunctive marker has three functions. The subjunctive clause may occur after verbs of manipulation. It may express a hortative, or it may express goal or intention.

6.7.2.1. Subjunctive clauses after verbs of manipulation

Firstly, a subjunctive clause may follow a manipulative verb. With manipulative verbs the object or indirect object of the main clause is identical to the subject of the subjunctive clause, and can be referred to as the manipulee. The complement clause expresses the event to be performed by the manipulee (see also Givón 1990: 518). The manipulation act itself is expressed in the main clause. Nubi verbs of manipulation are listed in table 27:

implicative		non-implicative	
'kutu	'cause'	*'aju*	'want'
'so	'make', 'cause'	*'aba*	'forbid'
'dugu	'make', 'cause'	*'kelemu*	'tell', 'order'
'awunu	'help'	*'gal*	'tell', 'order'
'sadu	'help', 'assist'	*am'risha*	'order'
sai'dia	'help', 'assist'	*'asadu*	'ask', 'beg'
'sebu	'let'	*'kore*	'beg'
'abusu	'stop', 'prevent'	*'gata*	'decide', 'order'
'kabasu	'deceive into doing s.th.'	*'rudu*	'allow', 'permit'
		'rasulu	'send'

table 27: Nubi verbs of manipulation

The first group consists of implicative verbs, implying that if the manipulative verb is a fact, the complement is also a fact (see Givón 1984: 123). The subjunctive marker is optionally present. The use of the subjunctive marker is compulsory with the other verbs. These are non-implicative verbs: "(…) neither success nor failure of the manipulation is strictly implied by the truth of the main verb/ clause" (Givón 1984: 124). The verb *'aju* 'want', 'wish', although it belongs to the group of non-implicative verbs, may occur with or without the subjunctive marker.

Let us first consider the **non-implicative verbs.** The subject of the subjunctive clause either follows or precedes the subjunctive marker *ke'de* . Therefore, if the (in)direct object position of the main clause is the subject of the subjunctive clause, it appears either in the main clause and not in the subjunctive clause, or it does not appear in the main clause, but is present in the subjunctive clause, or it is realized in both clauses. In the first scenario, the manipulee precedes the subjunctive marker *ke'de*. It thus appears as object of the main clause, while it does not occur overtly in the subjunctive clause, as illustrated in (863.):

(863.) 'Dukur 'uo 'rudu *bi'niya* 'wai 'de ke'de 'nyenjili.
then PRON 3SING allow-Ø girl NUM DEM PROX SUBJ descend-Ø
'Then he allowed this one girl to descend.'

In the second case, the manipulee is not mentioned in the main clause. It follows the subjunctive marker, and is therefore part of the subjunctive clause, as in (864.):

(864.) Ba'kan sul'tan 'asma ka'lam 'de, 'uo 'kelem
when sultan hear-Ø problem DEM PROX PRON 3SING tell-Ø
ke'de *wa'zir* *'to* 'de *'sulu..,* *'amsuku* ka'lam 'de 'kweis.
SUBJ minister PRON POSS 3SING DEF take-Ø take-Ø matter DEF well
'When the sultan heard this problem, he suggested that his minister would take, treat the problem well.'

The difference between the two types of sentence is that in the former type, where the manipulee is object of the main clause, the manipulator has more impact on the manipulee than in the second type. The chances that the act to be performed will take place are thus more realistic in the first type. In the latter type, the chance that the manipulative act is successful, is reduced. In a third type of sentence with non-implicative manipulative verbs, which occurs only infrequently, the manipulee is expressed both in the main clause and in the subjunctive clause. In the few examples from the text corpus, the manipulee is the indirect object of the main clause. This type of sentence seems to be a variant of the first type.

(865.) (…) 'an(a) 'arija 'kore *na* *'Rabana*
PRON 1SING return-Ø beg-Ø to God
ke'd(e) *uw(o)* 'awun(u)'ana (…).
SUBJ PRON 3SING help-Ø PRON 1SING
'I again begged God to help me (…).'

With the **implicative verbs,** a similar difference in scope is shown between clauses where the manipulee precedes or follows the subjunctive marker. The third type, a variant of the first type, however, occurs more frequently than with the non-implicative verbs. Whether as direct or indirect object of the main clause, we find a co-referent for the manipulee in the subjunctive clause.

(866.) (…) ke'd(e) ow(o) 'awun(u) *'ana*
SUBJ PRON 3SING help-Ø PRON 1SING
'k(e) *ana* *'raba* 'dol'de gi'dam.
SUBJ PRON 1SING raise-Ø DEM PROX PL first
'(…) he should help me to raise these [children] first.'

However, with implicative verbs the problem of the (non)-occurrence of the subjunctive marker surfaces and has possible consequences for meaning. When the subjunctive clause of implicative

manipulative verbs is introduced by *ke'de*, there is not necessarily co-temporality between the manipulative act and the action to be performed, as illustrated in (867.):

(867.) 'Dukur 'an   *gi-*   *'seb(u)* 'uo   ke'de   'rua.
        then   PRON 1SING   PROG-   let   PRON 3SING   SUBJ   go-Ø
        'Then, I let him go [any time].'

This co-temporality, is, however, assured when no subjunctive marker occurs, as in (868.):

(868.) 'Ana   *seb(u)* ak'wana   wa'din
        PRON 1SING   leave-Ø relative-PL   other-PL
        gi-   *'so*   bia'shera 'toumon,   (…).
        PROG-   do   business   PRON POSS 3PL
        'I let the other relatives continue doing their business, (…) [now].'

The non-implicative verb *'aju* 'want', 'wish' may occur both with and without the subjunctive marker *ke'de*, similar to the implicative verbs. From the presence of *ke'de* in (869.), it is inferred that the crocodile wants his friend Kako to come over to his place. The agent exerts quite some manipulative force so that the action is performed, but not necessarily at this very moment. The crocodile and Kako still have to arrange a day for the visit. In (870.), the agent wants the act of shaving to be performed immediately.

(869.) Ak'we,   'Kako, 'an(a)   *'aj(u)*   'ita
        my brother   NPROP PRON 1SING   want-Ø   PRON 2SING
        ke'de   'ja   'ro   'ainu   'be   ta'yi.
        SUBJ   come-Ø go-Ø   see-Ø   house   PRON POSS 1SING
        'My brother, 'Kako, I wish that you would come and see my house [one day].'

(870.) (…)   'ana   *'aj(u)* 'ita   'jenu   'ras   'tai.
                   PRON 1SING   want-Ø PRON 2SING shave-Ø head   PRON POSS 1SING
        '(…)   I want you to shave my head [now].'

To negate manipulative sentences, Nubi has the following patterns. In all cases, they are aimed at the non-performance of a certain action. However, there is a difference in scope. When the negator occurs in the main clause, the manipulative act is negated. The manipulator does not want or does not agree on the action to be performed, as shown in (871.):

(871.) Ka'lam mi'san 'uw(o)   *'aju*   'ma   ke'd(e) 'asma   'to
        because because PRON 3SING   wish-Ø NEG   SUBJ   name   PRON POSS 3SING
        'ben   je   'Nubi.
        resemble   like   Nubian
        'Because he does not wish his name to resemble a Nubi [name].'

When the subjunctive clause contains the negative marker, the speaker expresses his wish or his intention that the action should not be performed, as illustrated in (872.):

(872.) 'Uw(o)   *'aju* *'keta*   'wonus   'fogo   nyere'ku 'to
        PRON 3SING   wish-Ø SUBJ + PRON 2SING   talk-Ø   about   child   PRON POSS 3SING
        'ma.
        NEG
        'He wishes you not to talk about his child.'

(873.) is rather exceptional, since the most logical interpretation would be the negation of the main clause, even if it is the subjunctive clause that is negated.

(873.) Wu   ka'man   'uo   *bu-*   *'rudu*   *ke'de*   a'ku   'na'de   'zulum
        CONJ   also   PRON 3SING   FUT-   agree   SUBJ   brother   DEM DIS   harm-Ø
        nyere'ku   fi'lan   *'ma.*
        child   certain   NEG
        'And also she does not accept that that brother harms a certain child.'

Infrequently, double negation may occur, as in (874.):

(874.) 'It(a)   'aju   *'ma*
        PRON 2SING   wish-Ø   NEG
        'ke   a'ku   'taki   'de   abu'su   *'ma.*
        SUBJ   brother   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF   arrest-PASS-Ø   NEG
        'You wish that your brother would not be arrested.'

The complement verb may be passive unlike the manipulative verb, as illustrated in (875.):

(875.) 'Simba   'kutu   turu'ju   'ragi.
        lion   cause-Ø   chase off-PASS-Ø   man
        'The lion caused the man to be chased off.'

6.7.2.2. Subjunctive clauses expressing a hortative

The subjunctive marker may express a hortative. This is done either by means of a subjunctive marker + subjunctive clause, without a main clause, or else the subjunctive clause is preceded by *afa'zal* 'it is better' , *a'ker* 'it is better', impersonal *'aju* 'need', 'have to' expressing external obligation, or the impersonal passive form *a'ju* 'be needed', 'must', expressing obligation as imposed by the speaker. With *afa'zal* and *a'ker* meaning 'it is better' the subjunctive marker is always present[167], as shown in (876.) and (877.):

(876.) (…)   *a'ker*   *ke'd(e)*   'uo   'mutu   'na   min
              it is better   SUBJ   PRON 3SING   die-Ø   there   than
        'uo   'ja   'kelem   fi   'be   'in   'gal
        PRON 3SING   come-Ø   say-Ø   in   house   here   that
        sin'g(a)   'owo,   au   turu'j(u)   'owo.
        defeat-PASS-Ø   PRON 3SING   or   send back-PASS-Ø   PRON 3SING
        '(…) it is better that he dies there than that he comes and tells here at home that he was defeated or that he was sent back.'

(877.) *Afa'zal*   *'ke*   ja'da   a'nas   wa'din   'de   'kulu.
        it is better   SUBJ   throw-PASS-Ø   people   other-PLDEF   all
        'It is better that all the other people are thrown [aside].'

The impersonal verb *'aju (ke'de)* expresses external and moral authority, whereas its passive form *a'ju (ke'de)* is used when authority is imposed by the speaker. The use of the subjunctive marker is not compulsory. *ke'de* is generally omitted when addressing the hearer.

(878.) A'ju   ke'd(e)   ow(o)   'arija   'wara   ma   nyere'ku 'de.
        must-PASS-Ø   SUBJ   PRON 3SING   return-Ø   backwards   with   child   DEF
        'He must go back with the child.'

---

[167] One speaker used *'lazima* 'it is necessary' followed by the subjunctive marker. Normally it occurs without.
        'ana   'lazima   ke'de   'nigitu   'sokol   al   'nigitu   (…)
        PRON 1SING   it is necessary   SUBJ   select-Ø   thing   REL   be ripe-Ø
        'It is necessary that I pick the thing that is ripe (…)'

(879.) 'Kil(a) a'jol 'aju   ke'd(e) 'amsu(ku)   'sika   'to.
       every   person have to -Ø   SUBJ   take-Ø   way   PRON POSS 3SING
       'Every person has to take his way/ has to make his [own] way.'

The subjunctive marker is, however, present when talking about a third person. Apparently, there is no correlation between the presence/absence of *ke'de* and the temporal settings.

(880.) La'kin fi   'be   'tai   'na,   kan   'ito   'gu-   rwa,
       but   in   house PRON POSS 1SING   there if   PRON 2SING PROG- go
       a'j(u)   *'ita*   'ro   ma   'akil 'taki,   ka'lam
       must-PASS-Ø   PRON 2SING   go-Ø   with food   PRON POSS 2SING   because
       'akil   al   te   'be   'tai   'de   'ma   gi-   'tim.
       food   REL   GEN   house PRON POSS 1SING   DEF   NEG   PROG- be enough
       'But at my place there, when you are going, you must go with your food, because the food that [is] of
       my house is not enough.'

(881.) Ka'lam nyere'ka,   kan   'ita   fi   'be   ta   ba'ba   'taki,
       because child-PL if   PRON 2SING in   house GEN   father PRON POSS 2SING
       ma'ma   'taki,   min   'subu,   'lata   gi-   'saba,
       mother PRON POSS 2SING   at around   morning weather PROG- become morning
       'aj(u)   'ita,   nyere'ku,'ita   'ya   'gum   gi'dam.
       have to-Ø   PRON 2SING   child   PRON 2SING   FOC   wake up-Ø   first
       'Because, children, if you are in the house of your father, your mother, in the morning, [when] it is
       becoming morning, you have to, child, you [have to] wake up first.'

The advice may as well consist of the subjunctive marker + subjunctive clause without a main clause. The subject of the subjunctive clause precedes or follows the subjunctive marker. It seems that when the subject of the subjunctive clause precedes the subjunctive marker, there is more pressure (moral or external) on it than when it follows the subjunctive marker.

(882.) 'Gal: 'Ai,   *'k(e)*   *ana*   'kalas   kala'ma   to   jo'kon 'de
       that   yes   SUBJ   PRON 1SING   finish-Ø thing-PLGEN kitchen DEF
       gi'dam. *'Ana*   *ke'de*   'ja.
       first   PRON 1SING   SUBJ   come-Ø
       '[She said] that: Yes, let me finish the things of the kitchen first. [Then] I should come.'

However, in (883.), it is possible that the length of the subject, which consists of several elements, is the reason why the subject has moved to sentence-initial position.

(883.) *A'yan* *'to*   *al*   *'fi*   ke'de   'pona.
       illness PRON POSS 3SING   REL   EXIS   SUBJ   get better-Ø
       'Let his illness which is there, get better.'

6.7.2.3. Subjunctive clauses expressing goal or intention

ke'de followed by a subjunctive clause can be used after any verb to express the goal or intention of the action conveyed in the first verb, as illustrated in (884.) and (885.):

(884.) A'ku   ba'ba   'de   'ja   'fata   du'kan 'sia   je'de
       brother father DEF   come-Ø open-Ø shop   small   EMPH
       ke'de bi'niya 'de   *'gen*   gu-   *'uza*.
       SUBJ   girl   DEF   stay-Ø   PROG- sell
       'The paternal uncle opened a small shop so that the girl could (continuously) sell.'

(885.) 'Fi   a'nas   al   gi-   rasu'l(u)
       EXIS   people REL   PROG- send-PASS
       ke'd(e) abur   *'rua*   *'ain*   ta'biya   ta   bi'niya 'de.
       SUBJ   try-Ø go-Ø   see-Ø   habit(s) GEN   girl   DEF
       'There are people who are being sent in order to try to find out about the habits of the girl.'

6.7.3. Conditional clauses

Conditional sentences in Nubi basically consist of two types: the simple or probable conditional sentences, and the counterfactual ones. In the former type, the chance that the event/state expressed in the main clause will happen, is real, since the condition, posed in the if-clause, is not unlikely to occur. The latter type, however, refers to a supposition which is contrary to known or expected facts, and which is therefore not true. This implies that the state or event expressed in the main clause cannot be true either. An additional third type, which formally[168] resembles the counterfactual type, involves the hypothetical conditional sentences. The if-clause expresses a state or event which could be possible, but whose realization is judged to be improbable.

In all types, the if-clause is introduced by *kan* 'if' [169]. The conditional marker *kan* [170] differs from the anterior and/or modal marker *'kan* in that it is not stressed. The main clause is optionally introduced by the conjunction *'ya,* and infrequently by the conjunction *'dukuru* 'then', as illustrated in (886.):

(886.) Kan   'uo   'kutu   ku'ra   'to   je   'de,
        if   PRON 3SING   put-Ø   foot(feet)   PRON POSS 3SING   like   DEM PROX
        'yo   'uo   'g(i)-   arija   je   'de,   (…)
        CONJ   PRON 3SING   PROG-   return like   DEM PROX
        'If he puts his feet like this, he returns like that, (…).'

The if-clause generally comes first. However, this is a matter of frequency rather than a strict rule, since the if-clause may also follow, as illustrated in (887.):

(887.) (…)   'umon   'kun   'wara   'sei-'sei   'de
                 PRON 3PL   be-Ø   behind   very-REDUP   EMPH
        kan   'ita   com'pare   me   'ini   fi   U'gand(a)   'en.
        if   PRON 2SING   compare-Ø   with   here   in   NPROP   here
        '(…) they are very much behind, if you compare [it] with here, in Uganda here.'

6.7.3.1. Simple or probable conditional clauses

The verb in the protasis of the simple conditional sentence is either unmarked, or marked by progressive *gi-* or future *bi-,* or a variation on these forms. The verb in the apodosis generally belongs to one of the irrealis categories, whether future, as in (888.), subjunctive, imperative, as in (889.), modal, verbs expressing intent, ability or disposition, as in (890.), or verbs of certainty, as in (891.) (see also Givón 1990: 122, 829):

(888.) (…)   kan   'it(a)   'aju   'ke   ana   'sul(u) 'ita,
                 if   PRON 2SING   want-Ø   SUBJ   PRON 1SING   take-Ø   PRON 2SING
        'ana   *bi-*   *'ja-'ja.*
        PRON 1SING   FUT-   come-REDUP.
        '(…) if you wish me to take you, I will come.'

(889.) Kan   'itokum   'b(i)-   atan   'shef   'de,   'shef   'de   'lesegu,

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[168] Givón (1990: 832) mentions in this respect: "Quite often the very same markers (*perfective* and *irrealis)* used to code counter-fact conditionals are also used to code low-likelihood conditionals."

[169] *'ja/je kan* and *kan ja/je* whose original meaning is 'as if', 'like if' are occasionally used to express conditionality

> A'rus¹   'de   je   kan   gi-   daka'l(u)'uo¹
> bride   DEF   as   if   PROG-   enter-PASS   PRON 3SING
> 'fijo   'jua   je'de,   'uo²   'ya   'g(i)-   arufa.
> inside   house   EMPH   PRON 3SING   FOC   PROG-   lift
> 'The bride, (as) if she is brought in inside the house, he is the one who carries [her].'

[170] *kan* may function as a temporal conjunction, corresponding to the more usual temporal conjunction *ba'kan*:

> Kan   'marya   'wai   'de   'jo   'weledu
> when   woman   NUM   DEF   come-Ø   bear-Ø
> nyere'ku 'to   'wai,   'asma   to   nyere'ku 'de   Ma'nara.
> child   PRON POSS 3SING   NUM   name   GEN   child   DEF   NPROP
> 'When the one woman happened to bear her one child, the name of the child was Manara.'

	if	PRON 2PL	FUT-	draw	sword	DEF	DEF	DEF	stick-Ø
'aruf-'tokum			ja	a'ku	'de	'mutu.			
know-IMPER-PL			as	brother	DEF	die-Ø			

'If you(PL) draw the sword, [and] the sword sticks, know(PL) that [your] brother died.'

(890.)
Kan	'gelba	'to		'ja	'ain	'gai	'tena
if	heart	PRON POSS 3SING		come-Ø	see-Ø	stay-GER	PRON POSS 1PL
'gai		'kweis,	'uw(o)	*'aju*	'ja.		
stay-GER		good	PRON 3SING	want-Ø	come-Ø		

'If his heart happens to see that our stay/[way of living] is a good way of living, he will like to come.'

(891.)
'Uo	'gal:	Kan	'an	bi-	'jib(u)	'fogo	'marya,
PRON 3SING	that	if	PRON 1SING	FUT-	bring	in it	wife
'ben	je	'b(i)-	awun(u)	'ana.			
seem-Ø	as	FUT-	help	PRON 1SING			

'He [said] that: If I will bring a wife in it, it seems that it will help me.'

Occasionally, a simple verb form or a zero-form is attested in the main clause. This is not so exceptional, considering the neutral character of the unmarked forms (see 4.2.1.1.).

(892.)
'Ter	'de	kan	'b(i)-	arija	'ja	'gai	fi	'ras	ta	nyere'ku	'de,
bird	DEF	if	FUT-	return	come-Ø	sit-Ø	on	head	GEN	child	DEF
'kuris	'de	ta	nyere'ku	'de.							
chair	DEF	GEN	child	DEF							

'The bird, if it will come back and sit on the head of the child, the chair/throne will be of the child.'

The progressive marker *gi-*, though it has not been mentioned above as one of the categories of the apodosis, may be used to emphasize the habitual character of the entire sentence. Progressive *gi-* usually, but not obligatorily, occurs both in the if and in the main clause.

(893.)
'Kila	'ragi		'to		kan	*'gu-*	*rwa*	fi	sa'fari,
every	husband		PRON POSS 3SING		if	PROG-	go	on	trip
'uo		*'g(i)-*	*amrugu*	'tím-'tím		'resin			
PRON 3SING		PROG-	take out	be enough-	REDUP-INF	ration			
al	g(i)-	usi'ana		ma	'youm				
REL	PROG-	corresponds		with	day(s)				
al	'uo		'gu-	rwa	'gen		'fogo.		
REL	PRON 3SING		PROG-	go	remain-Ø		in it		

'Every husband [of theirs], if he is going on a trip, he will take out enough rations which correspond to the days he is going to remain [out].'

6.7.3.2. Counterfactual and hypothetical conditional clauses

In the counterfactual and hypothetical type of conditional clauses, the verb in the protasis always contains the anterior marker *'kan* in one of the following combinations: *'kan* V, *'kan gi*-V, or *'kan bi*-V. The verbs in the apodosis in my data are one of the following:

. *'kan* V, as in (894.)
. *'kan bi*-V, typically encoding counterfactuality, as in (895.)
. a future tense, either *bi-* V, or *'gurwa* V, as in (896.)
. a subjunctive
. a non-finite verb, either gerund or infinitive, as in (897.)
. a verb expressing intention, ability, disposition
. a cognition-utterance verb, e.g. *'feker* 'think'

(894.) | Kan | 'kan | 'ana | | ba'ra, | 'kan | ba'kan | 'de | 'sia.
| if | be-Ø | PRON 1SING | | alone | be-ANT | place | DEF | small

'If I had been alone, the plot would have been small [but now I am not alone]' (counterfactual)

(895.) | Kan | 'kan | 'an | | bi- | lo'go | a'jol | 'de | 'na're,
| if | ANT | PRON 1SING | | FUT- | meet | person | DEF | today

'kan | 'ana | | bi- | 'katul(u) | 'uo.
ANT | PRON 1SING | | FUT- | kill | PRON 3SING

'If I were meeting this person today, I would kill him.' (hypothetical)

(896.) | Kan | 'kan | 'ita | | gi- | saka'ran | | fi | 'sir, | 'youm | 'tan,
| if | ANT | PRON 2SING | | PROG- | be drunk | in | secret | day | other

'ita | 'gu- | rwa | 'kal(a) | | 'ita | | saka'ran
PRON 2SING | PROG- | go | end up-Ø | | PRON 2SING | | be drunk-Ø

gi'dam | a'nas.
in front of | people

'If you were getting drunk secretly, another/one day, you would end up being drunk in front of [other] people.' (hypothetical)

(897.) | Kan | 'kan | 'youm | 'de | 'uo | | 'ro | 'rudu | | 'ragi
| if | ANT | day | DEF | PRON 3SING | | go-Ø | accept-Ø | | husband

ka'bila | jo | 'wede | | 'ma, | eh, | 'kore-'kore-'kore-'kore.
type | like | DEM PROX | | NEG | INT | cry-GER-REPET

'If the other day, she had not accepted a husband of this type, eh, [it would have been] crying, crying, crying, crying.' (counterfactual)

6.7.3.3. Concessive conditional clauses

Concessive conditional clauses are introduced by *'sala (kan)'* 'even if'. The verbs in the protasis and apodosis behave like verbs in simple/probable conditional clauses.

(898.) | 'Sala | kan | nyere'ku | 'taki | | 'so | ma'kosa,
| even | if | child | PRON POSS 2SING | | make-Ø | mistake(s)

'bes | 'ita | | 'ya | 'aruf | 'uo | | 'so | ma'kosa | | 'ma, (…)
only | PRON 2SING | | FOC | know-Ø | PRON 3SING | | do-Ø | mistake(s) | | NEG

'Even if your child makes a mistake, you just know that he did not make a mistake, (…)'

(899.) | 'Marya | 'de, | 'sala | 'ana | | bi- | 'seb(u), | bi- | 'gen | 'moumon.
| woman | DEF | even if | PRON 1SING | | FUT- | leave, | FUT- | stay | with + PRON 3PL

'Even if I will leave, the woman will stay with them.'

6.7.3.4. Disjunctive conditional clauses

'whether…, or…'-clauses are expressed by repeating *kan* 'if' or *'sala kan* 'even if' before every new proposition, as illustrated in (900.) and (901.):

(900.) | Kan | 'laki 'wai, | kan | 'elf tama'nini, | kan | 'elf kam'sin,
| if | NUM | if | NUM | if | NUM

bi- | 'kuwa | fi | 'kweis | | ta | a'nas | 'na'de.
FUT- | be | in | goodness | | GEN | people | DEM DIS PL

Whether one hundred thousand, or eighty thousand, or fifty thousand, it will be good for those people.'

(901.) | 'Kila | 'sokol | al | 'kan | 'ita | | 'hibu | bi'mara, | 'sala | kan | 'marya
| every | thing | REL | ANT | PRON 2SING | | love-Ø | very | even | if | wife

'sala | kan | 'pesa, | 'sala | kan | 'jua, (…)
even | if | money | even | if | house

'Every thing which you would like very much, whether a wife, or money, or a house, (…).'

The second proposition may be introduced by *'wala* 'or', as shown in (902.):

(902.)	'An(a)		'aruf	'ma	'de	i'raba	kan	al	'ja	je'didi,
	PRON 1SING		know-Ø	NEG	DEF	raise-GER	if	REL	come-Ø	new

  wa'la ke'fin?
  or   Q-word
  'I do not know whether this is an upbringing that developed recently, or how?'

Alternatively, and less frequently, *'sala…, 'wala…,* can be interpreted as 'whether…. , or…'.

(903.)	'Ina		'ma	gu-	'wonus	kala'ma	'kulu	'fadi,	'sal(a)	al	ba'tal
	PRON 1PL		NEG	PROG-	discuss	matter-PL	all	openly	even	REL	bad

  wa'la 'seme.
  or   good
  'We are not discussing all matters openly, whether bad or good.'

6.7.3.5. Negative conditional clauses

  The negative conditional is expressed by means of *kan* + negative marker or by means of *'ila kan* 'except if', 'unless', as illustrated in (904.) and (905.):

(904.)	Mo'hamed	'de,	kan	ba'ba	'de	'ma'fi	je'de,
	NPROP	DEF	if	father	DEF	EXIS NEG	EMPH

  gi- 'gai fi 'be, 'g(i)- agara 'ma.
  PROG- stay in house PROG- study NEG
  'Unless father is there, Mohammaed stays at home, he does not study.'

(905.)	La'kin	ga'raya	te	Inge'reza,	ki'boko	'to			'sia.
	but	schooling	GEN	NPROP	punishment	PRON POSS 3SING			few
	'Ila	*kan*	'ita		'so	'nas	'homework	'mafi,	(…).
	except	if	PRON 2SING		do-Ø	COLL	homework	NEG	

  'But the schooling of the English, its punishment is little. Unless you did not do homework, (…).'

6.7.4. Complement clauses

  Complement clauses are a type of clause combination, in which a sentence contains two verbs or more, that either share the same subject, or take different ones. Complement clauses function as an argument (whether subject of object) of another clause. Syntactically, the sentence consists of two separate clauses, the first referring to the act expressed by the first verb, and the second referring to the contents of the second verb.

  Many Nubi verbs are part of a matrix clause which has another clause that functions as one of the matrix clause's arguments (subject or object). A complement clause functioning as a subject is very rare in Nubi, unlike object complement clauses which are common. The matrix verbs of complement clauses fall into three categories: modality verbs such as 'begin', 'try', 'be able to', etc… , cognition-utterance verbs such as 'know', 'say', 'think', etc… and verbs of manipulation, such as 'cause', 'allow', 'want', etc. Only modality verbs show constraints on the subject: the subject of the main clause and of the complement clause are obligatorily the same (see also Givón 1990: 533).

6.7.4.1. Complement clauses after verbs of modality

  This type of verb codes "(…) inception, termination, persistence, success, failure, attempt, intent, obligation or ability -- vis-à-vis the complement state/event." (Givón 1990: 533). In Nubi, this group includes *'abidu* 'begin', *'kalasu* 'finish', 'stop', *ni'situ* 'forget', *'alimu* 'get used to', *'aju* 'intend to', *'aburu* 'try', *ja'ribu* 'try', *'rudu* 'agree', *'weza* 'be able', *'agider* 'be able', *'arufu* 'be able', 'have the knowledge to', *'tim* 'be old enough to', *'aba* 'refuse', *'kafu* 'be reluctant to', *'fadul* 'remain', 'continue'. As mentioned above, the subject of the complement verb has to be identical to that of the main verb. The

complement verb is finite. Its tense, aspect and mode are more constrained here than with the manipulative and cognition-utterance verbs.

(906.)   'Ana   ni'situ   'bio   'nena   mu'kati fi   'sika   'na.
         PRON 1SING   forget-Ø buy-Ø   for + PRON 1PL bread   on   road   there
         'I forgot to buy bread for us on the road there.'

(907.)   (…)   kan   'ita   'ja   'alim   gi-   'doru   fi   'madrasa,
                if   PRON 2SING   come-Ø   get used to-Ø   PROG-   go   to   Qurʔan school
         'skul   'je   'neta   ra'isi   fi   'din.
         school become-Ø   for + PRON 2SING   easy   in   religion
         '(…) if you begin to get used to going to the Qurʔanic school, then [day] school becomes easy for you concerning religion.'

If the modality verb is passive, the complement verb is passive as well, as in (908.):

(908.)   Abi'du   tayiri'sha.
         begin-PASS-Ø   prepare-PASS-Ø
         'It was begun to be prepared.'

Instead of a finite verbal complement, modality verbs can take a gerundival complement. There is, however, a pragmatic difference. With gerundival complements, the information is presupposed, rather than asserted new information. There is usually a reference to previously-mentioned information, for instance *a'kulu 'to* 'his eating' and not just 'eating', *be'redu 'to* 'his bath' and not just 'a bath'. A complement verb, on the contrary, gives new information. Moreover, with gerundival complements, it is more likely that the complement event has been carried out successfully, than with a verbal complement. It is not surprising therefore that a gerundival complement often occurs after implicative verbs, like *'abidu* 'begin' and especially after *'kalasu* 'finish' [171].

(909.)   'Uo   'beredu.   'Uo   *'kalas   be'redu   'to.*
         PRON 3SING   take bath-Ø.   PRON 3SING   finish-Ø take bath-GER   PRON POSS 3SING
         'He took a bath. He finished (taking) his bath.'

6.7.4.2. Complement clauses after verbs of manipulation

This has been discussed extensively above (see 6.7.2. Subjunctive clauses)

6.7.4.3. Complement clauses after cognition-utterance verbs

The complement clause of cognition-utterance verbs behaves entirely independently. The subjects are different, and there are no constraints on the verb as to tense, aspect, mode, voice, etc… Nubi cognition-utterance verbs are *'arufu* 'know', *'ainu* 'understand', 'perceive', 'see', 'understand', *'alimu* 'learn', *li'go* 'find', 'meet', *'kala* 'find out (shockingly)', *'stenu* 'expect, *kum'buka* 'remember', *ni'situ* 'forget', *'kabas* 'lie', *'feker* 'think', 'believe', 'assume', 'suppose', *'zan* 'think', *'aminu* 'believe', *'kelemu,* 'say', 'claim',

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[171] We see a correspondence with English where verbs like 'finish' and 'stop' can only take the nominal -*ing* form of the verb (see Givón 1990: 534).

'disclose', 'propose', *we'ri* 'show', 'disclose', *'alimu* 'teach', 'disclose', *'asadu* 'ask', *'kafu* 'be afraid of' [172]. The complement clause is either a direct quote complement, an indirect quote complement, or an embedded question complement. Direct quote complements may be introduced by *'gal* 'that' [173], as in (910.):

(910.) A'jol   'de   'kelem 'gal: 'Ai,   kan   'it(a)   'aju,
        man   DEF   say-Ø   that   yes,   if   PRON 2SING   want-Ø
        'ana   bi-   'kelem 'neta.
        PRON 1SING   FUT-   say   to + PRON 2SING
        'The person said that: Yes, if you want [it], I will tell you.'

An indirect quote complement is either introduced by *'gal* 'that', as in (911.), *ja* 'as' or *ja kan, kan ja* 'as if', 'that' [174], or by zero-marking, as in (912.):

(911.) (…)   ke'd(e)   'umon   'aruf   *'gal* 'fi   difa'na   al   gi-   'ja.
               SUBJ   PRON 3PL   know-Ø that   EXIS   guest-PL   REL   PROG-   come
        '(…)   so that they know that there are guests who are coming.'

(912.) 'Uo   'ro   lo'go   aku'lu   ga'ya   'de   'safa   'wai.
        PRON 3SING   go-Ø   find-Ø   eat-PASS-Ø   millet   DEF   side   NUM
        'He happened to find the millet having been eaten at one side.'

Embedded question complements are introduced by a question word, as in (913.), or by kan 'if', 'whether', if the verb is one of negative certainty, as illustrated in (914.):

(913.) We'ri   'nena
        show-PASS-Ø   to + PRON 1PL
        'nas   ma'ma   ta   'marya 'tai   'de   'ya   mu'nu.
        COLL   mother   GEN   wife   PRON POSS 1SING   DEF   FOC   Q-word
        'We were shown who the mother of my wife and her relatives were.'

(914.) 'An(a)   'arufu   'mafi   kan   'uo   bu-   'rudu.
        PRON 1SING   know-Ø NEG   if   PRON 3SING   FUT-   agree
        'I don't know whether he will agree.'

---

[172] There are several Nubi verbs which may belong to more than one category:

	modality verbs	manipulative verbs	cognition-utterance verbs
'aba	'refuse'	'forbid'	
'aju	'intend'	'want'	
'alimu	'get used to'		'learn; 'teach', 'disclose'
'asadu		'ask'	'ask'
'kabas		'deceive into'	'lie'
'kafu	'be reluctant to'		'be afraid of'
'kelemu		'tell', 'order'	'say', 'claim', 'disclose'
ni'situ	'forget'		'forget'
'rudu	'agree'	'allow', 'permit'	

[173] '*gal* 'that' may also introduce a direct quote and may occur without a preceding verb:
        'Gal: 'Ai,   sa'ba   min   'sub,   'umon   'b(i)-   arija   'rua.
        that   yes   tomorrow   from   morning PRON 3PL   FUT-   return   go-Ø
        '[He said] that: Yes, tomorrow morning, they will go again.'

[174] In the Ugandan Nubi text material, *je kan* only occurs after the verbs *'aminu* 'believe', *'arufu* 'know', *'kelemu* 'say', 'disclose', *'fahamu* 'understand', *we'ri* 'show', 'disclose', *'ainu* 'understand', 'perceive', 'see'.

6.8. Conclusion

SVO is the normal word order, both in Nubi and in most creoles. Interrogative clauses are distinguished from declarative clauses by intonation, rather than by a change in the word order. This applies also to Nubi and most creoles. Nubi question words remain generally in situ, except for *'wen, we'nu?* 'where? and *'le, ma'lu?* 'why? which take sentence-final and any position respectively. In many other creoles, fronting of the Q-word is common.

As in most creoles, the Nubi negative marker is identical with the morpheme of denial. In many creoles, the negator takes position between subject and negated verb phrase (generally preverbal position) (Bickerton 1977: 43; Bickerton 1981: 192; Holm 1988: 171). In other creoles, the negator comes in sentence-final position (Boretzky 1983: 102, Holm 1988: 173). In Nubi, the negator *'ma(f)(i)* can take any position in the sentence, although the final position is dominant. Double negation is not a common phenomenon in Nubi. In this respect, Bickerton (1981: 65) argues: " In creoles generally, nondefinite subjects as well as nondefinite VP constituents must be negated, as well as the verb, in negative sentences." In Nubi this is rather an exception. Moreover, not only nondefinite constituents are negated, Nubi definite subjects may also be treated as such.

In most creoles focusing is achieved by fronting the sentence constituent in question. It is often preceded by a highlighting particle (see Holm 1988: 179-180; Boretzky 1983: 220-224; Veenstra & den Besten 1995: 304-305; Byrne, Caskey, Winford 1993: ix-xvi). This particle is generally homophonous with the copula, for instance Krio *na*, or a with a demonstrative, such as Negerhollands *da* (Boretzky 1983: 221-222). Nubi cleft-constructions introduced by the determining element *'de*, share most common features with this type of focusing device. In other creole languages, the fronted sentence constituent is attached to the rest of the sentence by a relativizing element, for instance *ki* in Principe. In Nubi, fronting can be used as a focusing device. The fronted sentence constituent is attached to the sentence by means of *'ya,* which is, however, neither a copula, nor a demonstrative, nor a relative particle. In that sense, Nubi is unique. Nubi also seems to be unique in that a pro-copy is left in the main clause, unlike in most creoles.

7. Nubi, from a diachronic and comparative perspective

7.1. Introduction

This chapter will deal with two issues: the reconstruction of some Nubi features, and the matter of the source language: which Arabic dialect or dialects are involved in Nubi's development? Both issues are of course related. Any comparison between Nubi and Arabic should take Kaye's remark (Tosco & Owens 1993: 220) into account.

> "(…) a comparison between Nubi and WSA (Owens 1985a) (…), ignores the fact that the origin of EAN could not be WSA directly, but rather an older Sudanese pidgin or creole Arabic."

Like Kaye, I assume that even before 1820 a pidginized Arabic was used in the Sudanese belt, especially as a trade language. Probably, this pidgin, which was far from stable, was characterized by many regional varieties, that have been subjected to a certain degree of levelling through mutual contacts of the speakers. Several authors writing on the origins of p/c Arabic in East Africa, such as Owens (1985a, 1996), and Kaye (1985), propose a proto-p/c, for which they take WSA as the main source, considering the many similarities between both groups of languages. An alternative possibility is, however, that the similarities between Nubi, Turku, and WSA are to be attributed to parallel developments, on an independent basis.

I will link the information from the first chapter, where the socio-historical background of Nubi and its speakers has been discussed, to the problem of the source/lexifier language of Nubi. Other possible language influences (adstrate, substrate), and the other two Arabic p/cs of the area, Juba Arabic and Turku will also be mentioned briefly. Then, I will examine a selection of aspects of Nubi phonology, vocabulary, morphology, and syntax. These will be compared with available material on the possible source dialects, whether EA, SA, or WSA. Similarities between Nubi and these dialects will be evaluated as to their possible impact. I will also compare Nubi (and Juba Arabic) with Turku. Differences between Turku and Nubi (and Juba Arabic) may point to different evolutions and to different language inputs. The information provided on the Arabic dialects, the African languages of the area, and Turku (and Juba Arabic) features will be used to reconstruct the evolution of some Nubi features, which is the second aim of this chapter. A certain circularity can, however, not be avoided. A valid reconstruction can only take place when we are certain about the nature of the source language(s). However, the source language(s) cannot be traced unless a valid reconstruction is made.

7.1.1. Language influences

7.1.1.1. Adstrate influences

All Nubi are multilingual. The second language for most of the Nubi, in both Kenya and Uganda, is doubtlessly Swahili (see also Heine 1982: 16). Heine adds that "(…) among the Nubi, the number of Swahili speakers is roughly identical within the male and female population and within different age groups. It is only Nubi children of pre-school age who have a relatively low percentage of Swahili speakers." (Heine 1982: 16). Khamis (1994), who did research on multilingualism among pre-school children in Bombo, comes to approximately the same conclusion. In northern Uganda and in Kenya, Swahili is the main lingua franca. Nubi from southern Uganda may learn it during visits to relatives living in those areas. English is the official language in Uganda and Kenya, and the language of education. Knowledge of it is limited to people who had the chance to go to school. Women are therefore often barred from this knowledge. In the south of Uganda, the Baganda often have knowledge only of their own mother tongue Luganda. Nubi in the Buganda area are generally fluent in this language. Knowledge of other languages varies according to the area the Nubi are residing in, and their tribal areas, for instance Lugbara, Kakwa, Alur in West Nile Province, Acholi in and around Gulu, Lango in the neighbourhood of Lira. The influence of these languages is mainly restricted to vocabulary

and phonology. The surrounding languages may affect the accent of the Nubi speakers, for instance the articulation of *r* is extremely close to *l* in the Luganda area, etc.

7.1.1.2. Substrate influences

The tribes the recruits and women were accepted from were many: Nuba, Shilluk, Nuer, Acholi, Luo, Ndogo, Shuli, Yangwara, Dinka, Madi, Bari, Shefalu, Fajulu, Baka, Avukaya, Mundu, Niamniam, Bongo, Kreish, Makraka, Monbuttu, Lur, Lendu, Lugbara, Kakwa, and Moru (see Jephson 1890: 52; Meldon 1907: 140; Nasseem & Marjan 1992: 197; Gray 1961: 129-30). These languages belong to the group of African languages (according to Greenberg 1966; Kaye 1991: 6). They can be divided into the Niger-Kongo-Kordofan group and the Nilo-Saharic group. Most of the above mentioned languages belong to the second group (see table 28).

I. Niger-Congo-Kordofan group:			
Niger-Congo languages:	Adamawa-Eastern:	Eastern:	*Mundu*
Kordofanian:	Koalib-group:		*Nuba*
II. Nilo-Saharic language group:			
Chari-Nile:	Eastern Sudanic:		*Nubian*
		Nilotic: Western:	*Shilluk, Acholi, Lur, Luo, Dinka, Nuer*
		Eastern:	*Bari, Fajulu, Kakwa*
	Central Sudanic:		*Bongo, Baka Kreish Moru, Avukaya, Lugbara, Madi Mamvu Lendu*

table 28: Classification of the substrate languages of Nubi

(italics: *languages*) (after Greenberg)

Substrate and adstrate influences are mainly apparent in the fields of vocabulary and phonology (see below, and for instance Meldon 1907; Kaye & Tosco 1993; Kaye 1987; Pasch & Thelwall 1987). Whether Nubi morphology and syntax are also affected by substrate and adstrate grammars will be analysed below.

7.1.1.3. Lexifier influences

Several authors have discussed the question of the Arabic colloquial from which the Arabic pidgin evolved. Heine (1982: 17) suggests that the ancestor of Nubi "was a dialect closely linked to modern Egyptian and modern Khartoum Arabic". In this respect, I refer to the military training camps in Aswân, the Egyptian and Kharṭûm merchants in the *zarîba,* and the Egyptian recruits and officers among Emin Pasha's men. Owens (1985a: 231) argues that Nubi's ancestor essentially was a Sudanese Arabic

dialect, and more specifically a Western Sudanese Arabic one[175] that had some features of Egyptian and Khartûm Arabic. Owens finds evidence in the vocabulary, for instance the presence of words of Sudanese Arabic origin; in phonology, for instance the lack of pharyngealization, which Nubi shares with Western Sudanese Arabic; and to a much lesser extent in morphology and syntax, for instance Nubi word order, which corresponds to WSA word order (Owens 1985a: 259). These will be discussed below.

From an historical viewpoint, there were probably contacts between the Mediterranean, the eastern and the western Sudan. Gray (1961: 4-5) writes:

> "These caravan routes, leading west and east to Kordofan, Sennar and the Red Sea, and
> northwards to Egypt across either the Bayuda steppe or the Nubian desert, were but the
> eastern extension of the ancient network of trade-routes linking the coast lands of the
> Mediterranean with Africa south of the Sahara. Islam had given this network both unity
> and exclusiveness, so that it was possible, though sometimes dangerous, for a Muslim
> to travel throughout its length and breadth for trade and the pilgrimage."

Nachtigal (1967 II: 234; 1967 III: 457, 496ff.) alludes to commercial contacts between Bornû, Wadaï on the one hand, and Dâr Fûr and Egypt on the other hand. Schweinfurth (1922: 91) lists Dâr Fûrians among the *jallâba* of the Ghattas *zarîba* on the river Jur in Baḥr al-Ḡazâl. It is therefore possible that elements of Western Sudanese Arabic were relevant in the establishment of the Arabic pidgin(s) of the area. Kaye (1991:7) emphasizes the importance of the Western Sudanese Arabic dialects for the development of Nubi. But he also illustrates the influences of Egypt in the trade and cultural life of Dâr Fûr with the *Darb al-arbaʕîn*, i.e. the forty-days path running from Upper Egypt to al-Fashâr, passing west of Dunqula.

7.1.2. Other Arabic pidgins in the 20th century

Apart from Nubi, there are two other Arabic p/cs in the Sudan [176]. In the southern Sudan, a pidgin Arabic, called Juba Arabic, is still spoken as a lingua franca. It has recently been creolized. Near Lake Chad, another pidgin Arabic was used, namely Turku, which, by now, however, has become extinct. Both Juba Arabic and Turku will be discussed briefly below.

7.1.2.1. Juba Arabic

Juba Arabic, whose name derives from the name of the capital of the southern Sudan, is used in the entire area (see Miller 1985-1986: 155; Owens 1996: 133-134). Its speakers may be the descendants of people who stayed behind when Emin and his troops left for the Lake Albert area. Alternatively, their ancestors may have deserted from Emin's troops to join the Mahdists. The similarities between Nubi and Juba Arabic suggest that they shared the same ancestor. It has for a long time been a second language for its speakers, as the lingua franca of the area. Only in the last two decades, owing to the growing number of interethnic marriages, has Juba Arabic partly been nativized. Whereas in rural environments Juba Arabic remains predominantly a pidginized variety, according to Miller (1985-1986: 155), it has become the mother tongue of about 40% of the inhabitants of the town of Juba. At the same time, increasing contacts mainly with the Khartûm Arabic colloquial have caused decreolization

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[175] There are some remarks on the Western Sudanese Arabic dialects that are relevant here:
". the Arabic dialects of the western sudanic region- Nigeria, N. Cameroun, Chad and the W. Sudan are more notable for their similarities than for their differences, and sharp dialectical boundaries are rare (…)
. comparative data indicate that some structures exist in Chadian Arabic, and in some ways in a dialect of the north-central Sudan, further underscoring the point that one is dealing with a pan-sudanic Arabic structure, an areal feature." (Owens 1991b: 1172)
[176] Thomason & Elgibali (1986) describe a small text of pidginized Arabic of the eleventh century A.D. They call it Maridi Arabic and locate it in present-day central Mauritania. Some small pidginized varieties probably remain in other small towns in southern Sudan, for instance Wau Arabic, Amadi Arabic.

processes (Mahmud 1979; Miller 1986, 1987; Versteegh 1984: 117, 121-127; Versteegh 1990: 15-19). The result is a continuum going from basilectal to acrolectal varieties. It is therefore not possible to characterize Juba Arabic as a static entity. Several features of the development and variation in Juba Arabic have been described by Miller (1985-1986; 1986; 1987; 1994), Mahmud (1979), and Tosco (1995).

7.1.2.2. Turku

We have seen above (1.1.2.3.) how Rabîh, one of Sulaimân's commanders, after the latter's defeat in 1879, managed to flee with his troops and followers to the Chari-Logone River Basin to the south east of Lake Chad. Estimates of the number of people following Rabîh range from 700 slave-soldiers to 7,500 people in total (Tosco & Owens 1993: 182). The group introduced their pidgin Arabic in the area, which subsequently was heavily influenced by the Chadian Arabic dialects. The name Turku is probably derived from the term *Turk* or *Turuk*, which in the southern Sudan was used to refer to the non-Arab Sudanese black population which was involved in the military. Emin and his troops were often called Turks (see 1.1.4., n. 27). The only written account of Turku is by Muraz (1926), a physician in the French colonial troups. According to Prokosch (1986) and Tosco & Owens (1993), Turku was a stable pidgin. Turku does not exist anymore, but it may have influenced present-day Arabic-based Chadian pidgins.

In the following sections, I will discuss Nubi from a diachronic perspective, linking Nubi to the regional varieties of Arabic. Where possible, I will compare Nubi features, especially with Turku.

7.2. Phonology

7.2.1. Phonological segments

7.2.1.1. Consonants

bilabials

b < b	UN *'bele* 'country' < EA *balad* 'town' / SA *balad* 'town', 'country'
	UN *ba'kan* 'place' < EA (Asyûṭ and Aswân)/ SA *bakân* 'place'
m < m	UN *'matara* 'rain' < EA *maṭar* 'rain' / SA *matar* 'rain'
	UN *'zambi* 'offence' < EA/SA *zamb* 'offence'
w < w	UN *'waraga* 'paper' < EA *waraq* /SA *warag* 'paper'
	UN *'sawa* 'together' < EA/SA *sawa* 'together'

labiodentals

f < f	UN *'fata* 'open' < EA /SA *fataḥ* 'open'

alveolars

t < t	UN *tu'ra* 'soil' < EA/ SA *turâb* 'soil'
	UN *'tani* 'other' < EA/SA *tânî* 'other'
t < ṭ	UN *ta'ma* 'greedy' < EA/SA *ṭammâʕ* 'greedy'

Velarized/emphatic consonants, like *ṭ, ḍ, ṣ,* and *ẓ*, are absent in Nubi. Owens (1985a: 234-235) reports that these consonants are also absent in certain Western Arabic dialects, such as Bagirmi and Ndjamena Arabic (Tosco & Owens 1993: 232). Emphatic sounds do not seem to occur in Abbéché Arabic (Roth 1979) either. I assume that emphasis, which is a highly marked feature, was lost during the development of the Arabic p/cs, parallel to processes in these dialects.

t < d   UN *'aseti* 'lion' < EA/SA *asad* 'lion'

d has been devoiced to *t*. According to Owens (1985a: 236), this fits into a more general trend of devoicing final obstruents in the Western Sudanese Arabic dialects, and even in the whole Sudanic belt. It may be a universal tendency in languages (Aitchison 1991: 127; Tosco & Owens 1993: 230). In this example, devoicing of the last consonant must have taken place before the final vowel was attached.

d < d   UN *de'biba* 'snake' < EA/SA *de'bib, da'bib* 'snake'
                                          UN *'danab* 'tail' < EA/SA *danab* 'tail'

Reflexes of the Old Arabic interdental fricative *dh* [ð] are *d* in the dialects, and *z* in Classical Arabic loans. Generally, those words which have *d* in SA (Hillelson's list) have *d* in Nubi, whereas those which have *z* in SA take *z* in Nubi, e.g. UN *'zikir* < SA *zikr* < OA *dhikr* 'devotional exercise' (see below) [177].

d < ḍ   UN *'ardi* 'land', 'soil' < EA/SA *arḍ* 'land', 'soil'

See remark above on the loss of emphatic sounds.

n < n   UN *ni'ka* 'marriage' < EA *nikâḫ* / SA *nikâh* 'marriage'

r < r   UN *ma'raya* 'mirror' < EA/SA *mirâya* 'mirror'
                                          UN *'rada* 'breast-feed' < EA 'suckle'/ SA *raḍaʕ* 'suck (of infant)', 'breast-feed'

s < s   UN *'sabab* 'cause', 'reason' < EA/SA *sabab* 'cause', 'reason'

s < sh   UN *sa'ban* 'be satisfied' < EA/SA *shabʕân* 'be satisfied'

s < ṣ   UN *'asli* 'origin' < EA/SA *aṣl* 'origin'

See remark above on emphatic sounds.

z < z   UN *'zaman, za'man* 'old days' < EA/SA *zaman, zamân* 'old days'
                                          UN *bi'zatu* 'himself' < EA *bizât(u)/*SA *be zâto* 'himself'

z < ẓ   UN *'zuluma* 'injustice' < EA *ẓulm* /SA *ẓulum* 'injustice'

This fits into the general tendency of the loss of emphatic sounds.

l < l   UN *'leben* 'milk' < EA *laban/*SA *leben* 'milk'

postalveolars
sh < sh   UN *'shukuru* 'thank' < EA/SA *shakar (u)* 'thank'

j < j   UN *'jebel* 'hill', 'mountain' < SA *jebel, jabal* 'hill', 'mountain'

j < z   UN *a'zol/ a'jol* 'man', 'person' < EA/SA *zôl* 'man', 'person'

palatals
y < y   UN *'yom* 'day' < EA/SA *'yôm* 'day'

y < ʕ   UN *bo'yi* 'far' < EA/ SA *baʕîd* 'far'
                                          UN *ji'yan* 'hungry' < EA/SA *jiʕân* 'hungry'

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[177] An exception is Nubi *'dahab/'zahab* from OA *dhahab* 'gold'. EA/SA *dahab* is most likely the source form of *'dahab,* whereas the varieties of *zahab* may have to be linked to Qurʔanic influence (one speaker: *'zahab)*, or to influence from Luganda (another speaker: *za'habu* from Luganda *zaabù).*

Owens (1985a: 238) mentions that /ʕ/ "(…) frequently corresponds to /y/, e.g. NA gaayid ~ gaaʕid *seated*, Abbeche (Roth: 53) gaid *seated*, so for many words the /y/ forms were probably taken intact by Nubi and are not innovative." Parallel developments may, however, also be responsible for the correspondence.

velars

k < k	UN *'kulu* 'every', 'all' < EA/SA *kull* 'every', 'all'
	UN *'katulu* 'kill' < EA(between Suhâj and Idfu)/SA *katal* 'kill'
k < g	UN *'kabri* 'grave' < SA *gabr* 'grave'
	UN *'kidif* 'vomit' < SA *gadhaf, gidhif* 'vomit'
	UN *kur'baba, gur'baba* 'nether garment' < SA *gurbâb* 'nether garment'

It is possible that the above words were derived from Arabic words with *k* instead of *g*. However, I could not find a dialect where these specific words occur with *k*. Swahili-influences may perhaps be responsible for the *k < g* change.

***k < kh* [x]**	UN *'kabar* 'information', 'news' < EA/SA *khabar* 'tale', 'information', 'news'
***k < ḥ* [ħ]**	UN *luku'mar* 'donkey' < EA/SA *al-ḥumâr* 'the donkey'
	UN *'aksen* 'better', 'best' < EA/SA *aḥsan* 'better', 'best'

According to Owens (1985a: 236), *ḥ* does not occur in Western Sudanese dialects and is replaced by *kh*, which results in a regular Arabic-Nubi correspondence *kh-k*. It is, however, also possible that the Nubi development is a parallel one.

***k < ḡ* [ɣ]**	UN *'sokol* 'thing' < EA *shuḡl* 'occupation', 'work'/ SA *shoḡol* 'thing', 'matter'
	UN *'kasulu* 'wash' < EA/SA *ḡasal, ḡassal* 'wash'
	UN *ke'sim* 'stupid' < SA *ḡashîm* 'clumsy', 'crude'
	UN *'kati* 'cover' < EA/ SA *ḡaṭṭâ* 'cover'
	UN *'kettis* 'sink' < SA *ḡaṭas* 'sink'
	UN *'kafir* 'watch', 'guard' < SA *ḡafar (i)* 'watch', 'guard'

Owens (1985a: 236) states that "(…) in Chad there are two main areas where Arabic /ḡ/ is /x/, Ndjamena (…) and the area around Abbeche, e.g. (…) xarb *west* rather than ḡarb, shuxul rather than shuḡul. Assuming the Nubi forms derive from the /x/ WSA dialects there is no need to assume a /k/ -/ḡ/ correspondence." However, Owens (1985a: 268, n. 13) adds that there are also *g - ḡ* correspondences, which is why he assumes that WSA dialects which have *ḡ* are also involved. I would rather suggest that both the *ḡ - g* and the *g - k* correspondences occur in Nubi, given a word like SA *ḡanamaya* 'goat', which is either realized *gala'moyo* or *kala'moyo* in Nubi, the former being the more usual (see also below). Also in Turku, we find that *ḡ* has *g* and *k* reflexes, for instance in Turku *gazal* 'gazelle' < SA *ḡazâl* 'gazelle' and Turku *kalbann* 'pregnant' [178] < SA *ḡalbâna* 'pregnant' respectively.

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[178] I adhere to the orthography of Muraz (1926), the only written account of Turku. Tosco & Owens (1993: 188) write: "(…) Muraz's orthography . While it appears to be largely phonetically based, there are a number of conventions and variations which render a straightforward interpretation impossible." Beside the fact that Muraz' orthography is quite inconsistent, one of the main problems is that of the double consonants, which do not seem to indicate geminates, but which may have to be interpreted as markers of stress. Double *nn* may have served to keep the French reader from reading a V*n*-sequence as a nasalized vowel, as is usual in French. The reader should keep in mind that *di, dj*, and *dji* probably correspond to /ɟ/; *tch* and *ti* to /c/; *ch, chi*, and *sh* to /ʃ/; *ni* to /ɲ/; *ou* to /w/ or /u/; and *eu* to /ə/ (see also Tosco & Owens 1993: 188-193).

g < g	UN *'gasab* 'sugar cane' < EA (Upper Egypt)/SA *gaşab* 'cane' (< OA *q*)
	UN *'gelba* 'heart' < EA (Upper Egypt)/SA *galb, gelb* 'heart' (< OA *q*)
	UN *'gifir* 'bad talking' < EA *gafr* 'fortune telling' (< OA *j*)
	UN *'ragi* 'man' < EA *râgil* 'man' (< OA *j*)
	UN *'masgit* 'mosque' < EA *masgid* 'mosque' (< OA *j*)
	UN *'gism* 'body' < EA *gism* 'body' (< OA *j*)
	UN *'gesma* 'shoe' < EA *gazma* 'shoe', 'pair of shoes' (< OA *j*)
	UN *'giriba* 'deep leather bag' < EA *agriba* (PL of *girâb* 'small bag', 'pouch')

About one quarter of the Nubi words whose ultimate OA source form is with *jîm* contain *g* as a reflex of OA *jîm,* which implies that the source forms of these words must be Egyptian, since in Egyptian Arabic: OA *jîm > g.* However, above it was suggested that the source forms of Nubi words with *j* should be sought in a dialect where OA *jîm > j,* which is true for the Sudanese Arabic dialects [179].

g < ḡ	UN *gala'moyo* (also *kala'moyo)* 'goat' < SA *ḡanamâya* 'goat'
	UN *'gaba* 'forest' < SA *ḡâba* 'forest'
	UN *'gar* 'cave', 'cavity', 'depth' < EA/SA *ḡâr* 'cave'
glottals	
h < h	UN *mu'him* 'important' < EA/SA *muhimm* 'important'
h < ḥ	UN *'bahar* 'sea', 'lake' < EA/SA *baḥr* 'river', 'sea'

According to Owens (1985a: 237), pharyngeal *ḥ* and glottal *h* have merged into *h* in several WSA dialects. Hillelson (1930: xxiii) mentions that *ḥ* has been substituted by *h* in the dialects of the sedentary tribes of Kordofân. Therefore, Owens assumes Nubi to have been derived from such a dialect. I tend to attribute the lack of pharyngeal *ḥ* to parallel developments in those WSA dialects and in Nubi, rather than positing a direct link between both.

Ø < h	UN *'uo* PRON 3SING < EA/SA *huwa* PRON 3SING
	UN *'na're* 'today' < EA/SA *an-nahâr-dâ* 'today'

Except for the deletion of word initial *h*, which is probably a Nubi innovation, similar developments took place in WSA. I assume these developments to have taken place independently, rather than consider the WSA words to be the source forms of the Nubi forms.

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[179] A few words have both alternatives *g* and *j* in Nubi. These are:
UN *'gili ~ 'jili* 'skin', 'hide'
UN *'lager ~ 'lajer* 'stone'
UN *'gins ~ 'jins* 'sort', 'kind'
UN *'ragi ~ 'rajil* 'man'

Among these words, with known variation, the *g*-forms are the ones used most. The pair *'gili/'jili* 'hide', 'skin', 'body' was uttered 8 to 1 times respectively. *'jili* was used in variation with *'gili* by an old woman residing in Kigumba, a town in the central part of Uganda. She was born in the north, and stayed for some time in exile in southern Sudan. In the pair *'lager/'lajer* 'stone', *'lajer* is used only once, whereas *'lager* is the common form. The man who used *'lajer* in co-variation with *'lager*, is well-educated. He knows, among other languages, Swahili, Juba Arabic, and has some passive knowledge of (Qurʔanic) Arabic. The pair *'gins/'jins* 'class' is uttered by one and the same speaker. He knows Swahili, Juba Arabic and has some passive knowledge of (Qurʔanic) Arabic. He stayed in Kenya and Tanzania for quite some time. Of the pair *'ragi/'rajil* 'man' the first is the common one, whereas *'rajil* was used only in one instance by a 40-year old man. He is married with two Sudanese wives, one of Madi and one of Kuku descent, who speak basilectal Juba Arabic, which may explain the form *'rajil*. In all the above cases, the *g*-form is the basic one, and the *j*-word an alternative form. As Kaye (1991: 9-10) suggested, the variation has to be attributed to decreolization, either through knowledge of the *Qurʔân,* or through knowledge of a variety of Arabic which takes *j* for OA *jîm*, such as the Sudanese Arabic dialects, or Juba Arabic.

Ø < ḥ   UN *a'buba* 'grandmother' < SA *ḥabôba* 'grandmother'
                    UN *'amer* 'red' < EA/SA *aḥmar* 'red'
                    UN *'fata* 'open' < EA/SA *fataḥ* 'he opened'

Ø < y   UN *a'tim* 'orphan' < EA/SA *yatîm, atîm* 'orphan'

y > Ø is attested in some Sudanese Arabic dialects.

Ø < ʕ   UN *'libu* 'play', 'dance' < EA/SA *liʕib/ liʕb* 'play', 'dance'

The consonants *p, v, ch* and *ng* [180] only occur in words of non-Arabic origin, as in (915.):

(915.)   ***p*** in *'lipa* 'pay' (from Swahili), in *'camp* (from English)
         v in *'vita* 'war (from Swahili), in *'memvu* 'banana' (from Luganda *amaenvu* (PL) 'bananas', and in *'yellow 'fever* (from English)
         ch in *'chai* 'tea', *cha'ran* 'sewing machine' (both from Swahili)
         ng in *'bang-bang* 'mentally deprived', 'fool' (from Acholi *abaŋbaŋ*), in *'rungu-rung* 'be wrinkled' (Nubi innovation), in *'ning(i)-ning* 'complain' [181]

The consonant *ny* is found in general in words of non-Arabic origin, as illustrated in (916.):

(916.)   UN *nyere'ku* 'child' from Dinka *nyárkuk* (Yokwe 1985: 328)/ Bari *nyereku* 'child' (Owens 1985a: 238) (possibly via *nyarkúk* 'child' (known in Kharṭûm Arabic (Nhial 1975: 89))/ Shuwa *nyirku* 'child')
         UN *'nyekem* 'chin' (from Bari)
         UN *'nyanya* 'tomato' (from Swahili)

The data on **Turku** have been extracted from Tosco & Owens (1993: 221-224). In general the consonant changes in Turku are similar to those in Nubi. There are only a few exceptions, as shown in (917.), which apply to individual words and not to groups of words. These can be treated as unique cases.

(917.)   UN *bo'yi* / Turku *béhid* 'far' < SA *baʕîd* 'far'
         UN *gaf'lan* 'suddenly' / Turku *kaffalann* 'surprised' < SA *ḡaflan* 'suddenly'
         UN *'kamsa* / Turku *kamza* 'five' < SA *khamsa* 'five'
         UN *'ena* / Turku *henn* 'eye' < SA *ʕên* 'eye'

Most exceptions are linked to rare cases of consonant changes, as illustrated in (918.):

(918.)   UN *'turuju* / Turku *tourdou* 'chase' < SA *aṭrudu* 'chase him!'
         UN *li'fil* / Turku *pfil* 'elephant' < SA *fîl* 'elephant'
         UN *'gusu* / Turku *koussou* 'look for' < SA *kûs-u* 'look for it!
         UN *'arnam* / Turku *arnab* 'rabbit' < SA *arnab* 'rabbit'

Consonant changes, such as *s < sh* and *j < z*, occur less frequently in Kenyan Nubi, or in Turku, than in Ugandan Nubi. The change *s < sh* occurs in Kenyan Nubi and in Turku, on a less regular basis than in Ugandan Nubi. In Uganda itself, the change is far more widespread in the southern varieties than in the northern varieties of Nubi. The same holds for the change *j < z,* which is common in southern Uganda, while less frequent in northern Uganda and Kenya (see also Owens 1985a: 235). Turku has only one *j < z* alternation: *zamann* 'long ago' vs. *diamann* 'recently', 'in previous days' (Muraz 1926: 131, 185), which both derive from SA *zamân* 'in old times'. Other differences between

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[180] *ng* [ŋ] is also an allophone of *n* before velars, as in UN *'dengiri* 'bend', *lu'ngara* 'drum'.

[181] *'ning(i)-ning* 'complain' is possibly a reflex of the Acholi question word *niŋniŋ* 'how?' (Kitching n.d.: 55). *Wu 'ita gi-'ning-ning su'nu?* could be interpreted as 'And what are you asking 'how? how?' Cf. also *néŋneŋ* 'be a nuisance' (exists also in KA (see Nhial 1975: 90)).

Nubi and Turku may be attributed to different source forms, which may imply that they have different lexifier languages. Consider the forms in (919.):

(919.)   UN *'wakti* 'time' < SA *wakt* 'time' and   Turku *ouaguitt* 'time' < SA *wagt* 'time'
UN *'ragi* 'man' < EA *râgil* 'man'   and   Turku *radjel, radjiel* 'man' < SA *râjil* 'man'
UN *mal'yan* 'full' < SA *malyân*   and   Turku *malann* 'full' < SA *malân* 'full'

Substrate and adstrate influences may have interfered in the following Nubi sound changes:

n < d	UN *ru'man* 'ashes', 'grey' < EA/SA *rumâd* 'ashes'
r < l	UN *bra'ngiti* 'blanket' < English *blanket* , Luganda *bulangiti* 'blanket'
l < r	UN *'leja-'leja* 'work on a free-lance basis' < SWAH *rejareja* 'returnable'
l < n	UN *'lengil* 'offload', 'descend' < SA *nangil* 'we remove'

In many African languages, apicals such as *d, l, r,* and *n* are related and are used as allophones (Holm 1988: 135, 143). It may be that the presence of this phenomenon in substrate languages of Nubi influenced similar sound changes both diachronically, and synchronically (consider *'jeber < 'jebel* 'mountain', *'charo < 'chalo* 'village' (from Luganda *ekyalo))*. In Luganda and in some words in Bari, *l* and *r* are interchangeable (Chesswas 1954: 169; Spagnolo 1933: 7). In Luganda *l* and *r* are in complementary distribution: *r* is found after the vowels *e* and *i,* while in all other contexts *l* is used (Chesswas 1956: 169). However, in allegro forms, these sounds are used interchangeably by mother-tongue speakers of Luganda, as well as by non-native speakers. The variation even seems to influence the distribution of both sounds in Nubi, especially in the southern variety of Nubi spoken in the Buganda area.

s < sh	UN *'sheder/ 'seder* 'tree' < SA *shadar* 'tree'

Owens (1991: 11) attributes the change from *sh* to *s* in Ugandan Nubi to Bari influence, since in Bari, *sh* does not occur (Spagnolo 1933: 3). However, neutralization of the dichotomy *sh - s* is common in pidginization processes (see Mühlhäusler 1986: 148; Heine 1973: 160-161). Some remarks have to be added here. Firstly, Owens (1996: 160) claims that all words with *sh* in Ugandan Nubi have variants in *s*. Although many do have the double pronunciation, there are words which lack a variant in *s*, for instance *sha'ria* 'Islamic law', *'shukuru* 'thank'. For the latter, *s/sh* is even contrastive, *'sukur* meaning 'snore'. Secondly, the postalveolar fricative is not only absent in Bari, but in other substrate/adstrate languages as well, for instance in Dinka (Nebel 1948: 1), in Mamvu (Stoks 1988: 107; Owens 1991: 9), and probably, more importantly, in Luganda. It is very likely that the change from *sh* to *s* was instigated through the lack of *sh* in some of the substrate languages, which would also explain why the alternation occurs as well in Kenyan Nubi, although not on a very large scale. Moreover, Turku too has the alternation *sh/s*, for instance *shufu / sufu* 'see' (Muraz 1926: 287). However, the lack of *sh* in Luganda probably has a much greater impact, since it is especially in the Luganda speaking area that *sh* is replaced by *s*. Thirdly, a few words in Ugandan Nubi no longer have the *sh*-variant, as in (920.):

(920.)   UN *soro'muta* 'prostitute' < SA *shermûta* 'prostitute'
UN *'sela* 'luggage', 'burden' < SA *shêl* 'burden'
UN *'sia* 'a little' < SA *shwiyya* 'a bit'
UN *bi'ses* 'slowly' < SA *bi shesh* 'slowly'[182]

Fourthly, most words which retain *sh,* whether as the unique form or not, are also present in Swahili, where they invariably occur with *sh*, as illustrated in (921.):

(921.)   UN *shan'ga/ san'ga* '(be) surprised' - SWAH *shangaa* 'surprised'
UN *'ashara/ 'asara* 'ten' - SWAH *ashara* 'ten'
UN *'ishma/ 'isma* 'respect' - SWAH *heshima* 'respect'

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[182] Those Ugandan Nubi words, which Owens (1985a: 237) lists as exclusive *s*-words, namely *'semsi* 'sun', *su'nu* 'what', *'asurubu* 'drink', *'gesi* 'grass' all have *sh*-variants in my Ugandan Nubi data.

This may be an additional reason why for Kenyan Nubi, the *sh - s* alternation is less frequently attested than in UN, Swahili being much more common in Kenya than in Uganda. Finally, *sh* is retained in words of Swahili origin, such as *'shamba* 'field', *m'wisho* 'at last', *kari'bisha* 'welcome' [183].

j < z	UN *za'lan/ ja'lan* 'angry' < EA/SA *zaˤlân* 'angry'
	UN *bi'zatu/ bi'jatu* 'self' < EA *bizâtu/* SA *be zâto* 'himself'

It is not unlikely that substrate languages interfered in the change from *z* to *j* in Nubi and in Juba Arabic (Miller 1994: 229-230), since in several Nilotic languages, such as Bari, Acholi, Shilluk, Dinka, and Mamvu the phoneme *z* is infrequent, while they do have *j*. In Bari, *z* is an allophonic variant of *j* (Spagnolo 1933: 5).

k < kh
g < ḡ

Most Nubi words that are reflexes of Arabic *ḡ*-words, have equivalents in Swahili in *gh.* It is possible that in the creolization phase of Nubi, both forms in *g* and *k* (*g < ḡ, k < ḡ*) were present, but that through reinforcement by Swahili words in *gh* [gʰ], their Nubi equivalents in *g* were retained whereas the forms in *k,* which were probably the most common ones (consider also the Turku words) were preserved for the others. For instance, *gaflan* and *kaflan** 'suddenly' (from SA *ḡaflân* 'suddenly') may have co-existed in Nubi. However, owing to Swahili influence (*ghafula)* during the creolization phase, the *g*-form may have been kept. Consider the Turku form in *k,* which is *kaffalann*. See also the forms in (922.):

(922.)   UN *'galatu, ga'latu* 'error' - SWAH *ghalati* 'error' < SA *ḡalaṭ* 'error'
  UN *'geru* 'change' - SWAH *ghairi* 'change' < SA *ḡayar* 'change'
  UN *'gelebu* 'defeat' - SWAH *ghalibu* 'defeat' < SA *ḡalab (i)* 'defeat'
  UN *'gali* 'expensive' - SWAH *ghali* 'scarce', 'expensive' < SA *ḡâli* 'rare', 'scarce'

The *k < kh*-change probably took place irrespective of developments in Swahili where we find that most words of Arabic origin beginning with *kh* have now become *h*-initial words (Johnson 1989 [1939]a: 184).

(923.)   UN *'kidima* 'work', 'service' < EA/SA *khidma* 'work', 'service, 'duty' vs. SWAH *hu'duma* 'service'
  UN *'kabar* 'news' < EA/SA *khabar* 'news' vs. SWAH *ha'bari* 'news'

The change itself, which is common in pidginization processes (Tosco & Owens 1993: 251) is possibly reinforced by the fact that *kh* is non-existent in many of the substrate languages, such as Shilluk (Westermann 1912: 6), Dinka (Nebel 1948: 1), Acholi (Kitching n.d.: 1), Bari (Spagnolo 1933: 5-6), nor is it present in Swahili or Luganda (Chesswas 1954: 166). *ḡ* occurs in Dinka and Shilluk, but not in the other languages.

k < g

Many words, in which Arabic *g* has become *k* have equivalents in *k* in Swahili. It is thus likely to assume Swahili influence. Some, originally Arabic words, may have entered Nubi via Swahili, such as UN *ki'sudi* 'intention' from Arabic *qaṣd* 'intention' (EA/SA *gaṣd)* via SWAH *ku'sudi* 'intention', or, through influence of the Swahili form, original Nubi *g* changed into *k,* as in UN *'goho/'koho* 'cough' (KN *goho*, Turku *goho*) from SA *goḫḫa*, where *g* may have changed into *k* influenced by SWAH *kohoa* 'cough'. For others, Swahili influence cannot be assumed, since there is no Swahili equivalent. Consider also the forms in table 29:

SA	UN	KN	Turku	Swahili
gabl 'before'	*'kabla* 'before'		*gobel*	*'kabla*
gabr 'grave'	*kabri* 'grave'			*ka'buri*
gabîla 'tribe'	*ka'bila* 'tribe'	*gabila/kabila*		*ka'bila*
gurṭâs 'paper'	*kar'tas* 'paper'			*kara'tasi*
gissa 'tale', 'story'	*'kisa* 'tale', 'story'			*'kisa*
magâṣṣ 'scissors'	*ma'kas* 'scissors'	*ma'gas*		*ma'kasi*
gifl 'lock'	*'kuful* 'lock'			*ku'fuli*
gahwa 'coffee'	*gahwa, kahwa* 'coffee'	*gahawa*	*gaoua*	*ka'hawa*
giyâs 'measure'	*ki'yas* 'measure'			*ki'asi*
gawâˁid 'base'	*ka'waida* 'habit'			*ka'waida*

table 29: UN, Swahili words in *k*

A few words have variants with *g* and *k*, such as *gur'baba/kur'baba* 'undergarment', *'goho/'koho* 'cough', and *'gawa/'kawa* 'coffee'. The variation is interpersonal. The *g*-forms are used by old people, and by an uneducated young woman. The use of the *k*-forms cannot be explained by one single reason. The *k*-forms are used by a younger generation. For the word *'kawa*, influence from Swahili and/or Luganda may play a role. On the other hand, *kur'baba* is used mainly by speakers who have resided in southern Sudan, for which Kaye (1991: 10) mentions *korbaba*.

7.2.1.2. Vowels

My data on vowel changes reflect more or less Owens' analysis (1985a: 240-244). In Nubi the contrast between long and short vowels has been neutralized. Therefore, vowel length, which is distinctive in Arabic, will not be treated here. Moreover, since Nubi tends towards a CV-structure, epenthetic vowels may be added between two consonants. The quality of the vowel depends on the quality of the other vowels in the word. Excluding the vowel in the last syllable, front vowels co-occur with front vowels, while back vowels co-occur with back vowels. *a* is neutral to both of them. *a* tends to be inserted in the vicinity of other *a*'s, although there are many exceptions to this (see below).

a < a   in the vicinity of velars and bilabials. With bilabials, often in free variation with *o*:
                 UN *ka'lam* 'word', 'matter', 'problem' < EA/SA *ka'lâm* 'word'
                 UN *'wakti/'wokti* 'time', 'period' < SA *wakt* 'time'
                 UN *'batna* 'belly' < EA/SA *baṭn* 'belly'

a < u   UN *'dakal* (via old UN *'dakul*) 'enter' < SA *adkhul* 'enter!'

e < e   UN *'kef?/ke'fin?* 'how?' < EA/SA *kêf? kefin?* 'how?'
                 UN *'ges* 'grass', 'weeds' < SA *'geshsh* 'grass', 'weeds'

e < i   in the vicinity of alveolars, especially *l* or *r*:
                 UN *'gelebu* in free variation with *'gilibu, 'gelibu* (via UN *'agilibu*) 'win'
                         < SA *aḡlibu* 'win it!'
                 UN *'werim* 'swell' < SA *wirim* 'it swelled'

e < a   before stressed syllable *Cî*, except initially or after *h* or *ˁ* (then *a < a*), also attested in
                 SA dialects:
                 UN *ne'dif* 'clean' < SA *nadîf/ naḍîf 'clean'*
                 UN *je'did* 'new' < SA *jadîd/ je'did* 'new'

                 but: UN *to'wil* 'long' (influenced by bilabial *w*) < SA *ṭawîl* 'long'

e < a	in the vicinity of alveolars. Also attested in SA dialects, especially with *l* or *r*:

UN *'semsi* 'sun' < SA *shams/shems* 'sun'
UN *jebel* 'mountain' < SA *jabal / jebel* 'mountain'
UN *'beredu* 'wash' < SA *barrad/ berred* 'wash!'

However, in the vicinity of *l* or *r,* if in initial position or after *h* or ʕ:
UN *arnam* 'rabbit' < SA *arnab* 'rabbit'

however: UN *'elfu* 'one thousand' < SA *alif/ alf* 'one thousand'

And other exceptions, such as:
UN *ta'lata* 'three' < SA *ta'lâta/telâta* 'three'
UN *'fikir* in free variation with *'feker* 'think' < SA *fekker* 'think'

o < o
UN *'moyo* 'water' < SA *moya* 'water'
UN *'kore* 'shout' < SA *kôrak* 'shout'

o < u
also attested in some SA dialects:
UN *'sokol* 'thing' < SA *shuḡl/ shogol* 'thing'
UN *tom'sa* 'crocodile' < SA *tumsa* (also *timsâh)* 'crocodile'

o < a
in the vicinity of bilabials, especially *w*:
UN *yo'wele* 'boy' < SA *ya 'walad* 'oh boy'
UN *gala'moyo* 'goat' < SA *ḡanamaye* 'goat'

o < a
in the vicinity of *u* or *o* (vowel assimilation), and especially when close to velars and bilabials, but seldom in the vicinity of emphatic/pharyngeal consonants or *h*, or in word-initial position
UN *do'luka* 'dance' < SA *dallûka* 'drum', 'dancing drum', 'dance'
UN *'dofunu* 'bury' (via *'dafunu*) < SA *adfunu* 'bury it'

o < e
in the vicinity of *u,* (and bilabials?):
UN *'wenusu/'wonusu* (via *'wenesu* (*a ~ e* near alveolars)) 'talk' < SA *wanasu* 'they talked'
UN *soro'muta* 'prostitute' < SA *shermûta* 'prostitute'

o < i
in the vicinity of labials:
UN *tom'sa* 'crocodile' < EA/SA *timsâḥ* 'crocodile'
UN *sho'mal* 'left' < EA/SA *shimâl* 'left'

u < u
UN *'dufur* 'finger nail' < SA *ḍufur* 'finger nail'
UN *'kura* 'ball' < SA *kûra* 'ball'

u < au
UN *'rua* 'go' < SA *ra(u)waḥ* 'go'
UN *'so* 'do' < SA *sau, sow* 'do'

u < a
in the vicinity of alveolars (and labials):
UN *'awunu* 'help', 'assist' < SA ʕ*awwanu* 'help him'
UN *'badul* 'instead of' < SA *badal* 'instead of'

u < i
also a synchronic feature in UN:
UN *'kuful* '(pad)lock' < SA *'gifl* '(pad)lock'
UN *'sulu,* in free variation with *'shilu* 'take' < SA *shîl-hu* 'take it!'

i < i
UN *'kidima* 'work, 'employment' < SA *khidma* 'labour', 'work', 'employment'
UN *'biris* 'grass mat' < SA *'birish* 'grass mat'

The following data on **Turku** are given by Tosco & Owens (1993: 224-225). As for the consonants, the changes in Nubi and Turku are approximately the same. However, different words have been subjected to different changes, as illustrated in (924.):

(924.)   UN *'batna* 'belly'/ Turku *botonn* 'belly' < EA/SA *baṭn* 'belly'
        UN *su'nu?* 'what?' / Turku *chenou?/ chonou?* < SA *shinu?* 'what?'
        UN *'ashrubu* 'drink' / Turku *cherbou/cheurbou* 'drink', 'smoke' < SA *sharab* 'drink'
        UN *'ferteku* 'be scattered', 'scatter' / Turku *fartakou, fartaka* 'be scattered',
            'scatter' < SA *fartak* 'scatter'
        UN *'woduru/ weduru* (via *'wederu* (*e* < *a* near alveolars)) 'lose'/ Turku *ouodeur, ouaddar,*
            ouodourou 'forget', 'lose' < SA *waddaru/ wadderu/ wedderu* 'lose'

Turku must have been subjected to influence from WSA dialects, more than Nubi, which has its consequences for the phonology of both p/cs. Moreover, whereas Turku always remained a pidgin, Nubi was creolized.

7.2.2. Syllable types

Although syllables of the type V, CVC, VC and C, and to a lesser extent CCVC and CVCC, occur, Nubi, in general, tends towards a CV-structure (see also Owens 1985a: 248, Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 103). CV- structure is generally established in four ways: vowel insertion in consonant clusters, degemination, loss of consonant, and addition of a final vowel. The tendency towards open syllables is more common in Ugandan than in Kenyan Nubi and Turku (see also Owens 1991: 12), while it is inconsistently applied in Juba Arabic (Miller 1994: 232).

* insertion of a vowel in a consonant cluster: In fast, casual speech, these vowels are often elided, and therefore not heard. Vowel epenthesis is not unfamiliar in Sudanese Arabic dialects (see also Tosco & Owens 1993: 232-233; Roth 1979). The quality of the Nubi vowel depends on rules of vowel harmony, and is usually *u* or *i*, although other vowels can occur as well. Excluding the final vowel, a morpheme has either only front or back vowels, *a* being neutral between the two. The quality of the epenthetic vowel is partly linked to the quality of the other vowels. Back vowels and the semi-vowel *w* attract *u* or occasionally *o*. Front vowels and the semi-vowel *y* attract *i* or sometimes *e*, as illustrated in (925.). The quality of the epenthetic vowel is sometimes rather obscure in allegro forms, and resembles central schwa, as in *'arufu* 'know' ['aːrəfu].

(925.)   UN *'bikir* 'virgin', 'first born' < EA/SA *bikr* 'virgin', 'first born'
        UN *'kidima* 'work, 'employment' < EA/SA *khidma* 'work', 'employment'
        UN *'rukuba* 'knee' < EA/SA *'rukba* 'knee'
        UN *kutuba* 'sermon' < EA/SA *khutba* 'oration'
        UN *muju'nun* 'crazy' < SA *maj'nûn* 'insane', 'lunatic', 'mad'

If the vowel(s) in the word is/are *a,* the consonant context affects the quality of the epenthetic vowel. *i* tends to occur before dentals and alveolars, while *u* occurs before labial consonants (see also Owens 1985a: 248), as shown in (926.):

(926.)   UN *'agili* 'intelligence' < SA *ʕagl* 'intelligence'
        UN *'arija* 'return' < SA *arjaʕ* 'return'
        UN *'abidu* 'begin' < SA *abdaʔ* 'begin!'
        UN *'aruba* 'four' < SA *arbaʕ* 'four'
        UN *'asuma* 'hear' < SA *asmaʕ* 'hear'

Some exceptions are listed in (927.) [184]:

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[184] The vowel *u* in *mu'ze* 'old man' should be related to Bantu-morphology. The Bantu prefix *mu-* (in Swahili *m(w)-* (Ashton 1944: 28); in Luganda *(o)mu-* (Ashton 1954: 88) is used in words referring to human beings. The

(927.)   KN/ UN *'amula/ 'amla* 'fill' (*u* before alveolar *l*) < SA *amla* 'fill!'
          UN *wasa'kan* 'dirt', 'dirty' (*a*) < SA *waskhân* 'dirt'
          UN *fala'ta* 'down' (*a*) < SA *falta* 'down'
          UN *'madarasa* 'school' (*a*) < SA *'madrasa* 'school'

Vowel harmony plays a role in the choice of the epenthetic vowel in many creoles as well, which could be attributed to a universal tendency (Holm 1988: 125). Synchronically, the epenthetic vowel has become a full vowel. Consider the formation of the gerund of *'arija* 'return', which is *a'rija* 'returning' (see also Owens 1985a: 249). In nominal allegro forms, however, the epenthetic vowel is often obscured, as in (928.):

(928.)   UN *'gezima / 'gezma* 'shoe'
          UN *'gudura / 'gudra* 'power'
          UN *dulu'gan / dul'gan* 'rag'
          UN *'suluba/ 'sulba* 'waist'

Not all words with CC are affected by vowel epenthesis. Consider the words in (929.):

(929.)   *'hafla* 'feast'
          jins 'like'
          'halwa 'sweet'
          'gelba 'heart'

      Kenyan Nubi, which in more than one way seems more conservative than Ugandan Nubi, may reflect an intermediate stage between the input forms and Ugandan Nubi, which was subjected to a more drastic change. For instance, EA *'gazma* 'shoe', 'boot' is found in KN as *giízma, géézma*[185]. In UN, *i* has been inserted between the two successive consonants in order to create an open syllable structure: *'gezima* 'shoe'. Miller (1994: 232) adds that insertion of an epenthetic vowel to create open syllables in **JA** is less frequent in urban environments, whereas it seems to be a characteristic of more pidginized varieties. Vowel epenthesis is not frequent in **Turku**, as shown in (930.):

(930.)   UN *'bahar* - Turku *bahr* 'sea'
          UN *'biris* - Turku *birss, birch* 'mat'
          UN *'mutufa* - Turku *moutfa* 'canon', 'bomb'

* degemination: geminates in source forms have been degeminated, as in (931.):

(931.)   UN *'kelemu* 'say' < EA/SA *kallim* 'speak to someone'
          UN *'ita* PRON 2SING < SA *itta* PRON 2SING

It is difficult to evaluate the **Turku** data since Muraz often writes double consonants, which are most likely not geminates, considering the Arabic source forms. Consider (932.):

(932.)   Turku *toumssa* < SA *timsâ̱h* 'crocodile'
          Turku *botonn* < SA *ba̱tn* 'stomach', 'belly'
          Turku *koussou* 'look for' < SA *kûs-u* 'look for it!'

Possibly, the double consonants indicated stress, rather than gemination (see also Tosco & Owens 1993: 188-190, and see above 7.2.1.1., n. 178).

* thirdly, through the loss of a consonant, an otherwise closed syllable may become open. Final consonants are especially affected, as illustrated in (933.):

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same applies to words like *mu'chele* 'rice' and *mu'kati* 'bread' which are part of the class referring, amongst others, to living, but non-human things. In Swahili this class is marked by the prefix *m(w)-* in the singular (Ashton 1944: 21), in Luganda by *mu-* (Ashton 1954: 65). The atypical vowel is therefore to be explained by adstrate morphology.
[185] See Heine (1982: 80). The transcription is Heine's.

(933.)   UN *'keli* 'dog' < SA *kelib* 'dog'
          UN *'bele* 'country' < EA/SA *'balad* 'village'
          UN *'waja* 'ache', 'hurt' < SA *wajaʕ* 'it hurts'

Word-medially, especially *ʔ, ʕ, h, ḥ,* and *kh* are elided. In words which have incorporated the Arabic article this may result in an open syllable structure, as shown in (934.):

(934.)   UN *'lager* 'stone' < EA *al-ḫagar* 'the stone'
          UN *la'bi* 'slave' < EA/SA *al-ʕabîd* 'the slaves'

The loss of final consonants occurs far less frequently in **Turku**. Consider the pairs in (935.):

(935.)   UN *'abya* - Turku *abiett* 'white'
          UN *(yo)'wele* - Turku *ouled* 'boy'
          UN *de'gi* - Turku *daguig* 'dough'
          UN *'di* - Turku *dik* 'cock'
          UN *ge'ri* - Turku *guérib* 'nearby'
          UN *tu'ra* - Turku *tirap, trap* 'soil', 'earth'
          UN *'ragi* - Turku *radjel, radjiel* 'man'

* the addition of a final vowel [186]: An open syllable structure is also obtained by the addition of a final vowel, where the Arabic source form has a consonant ending [187]. Vowels have been attached to all types of consonants. Since *k, g, d, t, j, ch, z, ny* and *h* never occur word-finally, the addition of a vowel after these consonants is obligatory. These vowels cannot be elided in allegro forms, as illustrated in (936.), as can word-final vowels in other contexts.

(936.)   UN *'muku* 'brain' < EA/SA *mukhkh* 'brain'
          UN *'rizigi* 'wealth', 'livelihood' < SA *rizg* 'livelihood'
          UN *'hadi* 'extent', 'border' < EA/SA *ḥadd* 'border'
          UN *'waji* 'face' < SA *wajh* 'face'
          UN *'roho* 'spirit', 'soul', 'breath' < EA *rôḫ* /SA *rûḥ* 'spirit', 'soul'

The question that remains to be answered is the quality of the final vowel. Owens (1985a: 257-258) contrasts verb final *-u* with nominal final vowel *-i,* which would be a characteristic of nominals. It is true

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[186] The source forms of many Nubi words may be V-final words, such as:
UN verb < Arabic verb + object suffix:
          UN *'ashrubu* 'drink' < SA *ashrub-u* 'drink it!'
          UN *ni''situ* 'forget' < SA *nisit-u* 'I forgot it'
          UN *'nongusu* 'reduce' < SA *nanguṣ-u* 'we reduce it'
UN noun < Arabic N (generally body parts and kin terms) + pronominal suffix:
          UN *'gildu* 'skin' < EA *gild-hu* 'his skin'
          UN *sa'bi* 'my friend' < SA *ṣâḫib-î* 'my friend'
Derivation from possessive suffixes may explain the quality of the final vowel, which would otherwise not fit in the vowel and consonant context.
[187] In the following, I ignore the verbal transitive marker *-u,* which is treated below.

that final *i* is common in nominals[188], whereas final *-u* is common in verbals, since it is the marker of transitivity. But in Ugandan Nubi the quality of the paragogic vowel does not seem to be linked to the function of the word, whether nominal or verbal. Similar to the quality of the epenthetic vowel, the quality of the vowel depends on the quality of the other vowels of the word, and on the quality of the final consonant. *i* tends to occur with dentals and alveolars, while *u* occurs with labial consonants, as illustrated in (937.):

(937.) UN *'tajiri* 'rich' < SA *tâjir* 'trader', 'merchant'
UN *'feker(i)* 'think' < EA/SA *fakkir* 'think!' IMPER
UN *a'rusu* 'bride' < EA/SA ʕ*arûs* 'bride'
UN *a'nasi* 'people' < EA/SA *an-nâs* 'the people'
UN *'tabu* 'problem', 'trouble' < SA *taʕb* 'trouble', 'discomfort'

In **Turku**, the consonants *k, g, d, t, j, ch, z, ny* and *h,* may occur in word-final position. I did, however, not find a single instance of word-final *j* or *ny,* while word-final *h* only occurs in the words *Allah* 'God', *usbah* 'finger', and *sabah* 'east'. However, according to Tosco & Owens (1993: 188) final *h* is rather a sign of stress than a segmental phoneme. Other Turku examples are listed in (938.):

(938.) *ouélik* 'lightening'
azreg, azrag 'deep blue', black'
béhid 'far'
djild 'skin'
bett 'house'
siritch 'saddle for horses'
baz 'falcon'

The tendency towards a CV-structure through final vowel addition is thus more firmly established in Nubi than in Turku, and may therefore be considered a Nubi feature. Consider also the examples in (939.):

(939.) UN *'fogo* - Turku *fok* 'above' 'on top of'
UN *'libu* - Turku *lip* 'play', 'dance'
UN *'nusu* - Turku *nouss* 'half'
UN *'muku* - Turku *mouk* 'brain'

This type of paragogue may have been influenced by **substrate/adstrate languages** such as Swahili and Luganda. In Swahili [189] and Luganda, no syllable can end in a consonant (Tucker 1946: 855; Pilkington 1901: 9). In Bari words usually end in a vowel (Spagnolo 1933: 4), while in Shilluk two consecutive consonants cannot exist without an intervening vowel. When two words follow each other, the one ending in a consonant, the other beginning in one, then a paragogic vowel is inserted if the first consonant is other than a liquid or a nasal (Westermann 1912: 16).

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[188] Apart from being an additional vowel, final *-i* is part of the stem if from the following categories:
. of non-Arabic origin, as in *bwangiri* 'cheeck' from Bari *gwangiri* 'cheeck'
. ending in *-i* in the Arabic source form, as in: UN *'dafi* '(luke)warm' < SA *dâfi* 'warm'
UN *sa'bi* 'friend' < SA *ṣâḥib-î* 'my friend, companion'
. final *-i* resulting from final consonant deletion, as in: UN *'ragi* 'man' < EA *râgil* 'man'
UN *bo'yi* 'far' < SA *baʕîd* 'far', 'distant'
Next to nominals, however, there are also some verbs ending in *-i* in Nubi. They are derived from Arabic source forms whose third consonant is either *w* or *y*, or from Arabic derived stems II, with object suffix, as illustrated in:
UN *'kati* 'cover' < SA *ḡatti* 'cover!' from SA *ḡatta* (II) 'cover'
UN *we'ri* 'show' < SA *warri-hi* 'show it!' IMPER + OBJ SUFF from *warra* (II) 'show'
[189] In borrowings with a final consonant, Swahili adds a final vowel: "(…) the vowel -i is usually added, unless the consonant is a labial one, in which case the vowel -u is added." (Tucker 1946: 856).

Owens (1985a: 248) states with respect to the Nubi tendency towards a CV-structure:

"In most Arabic dialects closed syllables are very common, and there is in fact, a nearly universal tendency to shun series of open syllables. Interestingly, one of the few areas to resist the tendency is the sudanic one. (…) The Nubi affinity for open syllables can thus be seen as a continuation of a SA tendency to keep open syllables, though it carries the tendency much further."

Owens, thus, uses the disposition to open syllables in Sudanic Arabic dialects to explain the tendency for CV-structure in Nubi. However, the tendency towards open syllables is attested in language changing processes worldwide (see Aitchison 1991: 129). It is also attested in Nubi, in some pidginized varieties of JA, and to a lesser extent in Kenyan Nubi and Turku. However, in urban varieties of Juba Arabic and in rapid Ugandan Nubi, the CV-structure does not seem to be significant. In fast speech, Ugandan Nubi speakers tend to drop epenthetic and paragogic vowels so that the CV-syllable structure is partly obscured. In Juba, increasing contacts with the Arabic dialect of Khaṟtûm in particular may have influenced the urban variety of Juba Arabic so as to abandon the CV-structure wholly or partly in favour of a closed syllable structure.

7.2.3. Stress and tone

Stress in Nubi words is lexically determined, and is a reflex stemming from the stress patterns of the Arabic or other source forms, as illustrated in (940.):

(940.)   UN *'ragi* 'man' < EA *'râgil* 'man'
         UN *ru'jal* 'men' < SA *ru'jal* 'men'
         UN *kari'bisha* 'welcome' < Swahili *kari'bisha* 'welcome'

In a few instances, a slight movement of the stress has taken place during the development from Arabic to Nubi forms, especially when Arabic material, whether vowels or consonants have gone lost or have been moved, as in (941.):

(941.)   UN *'kunusu* 'sweep' (via *'akunusu)* < SA *'aknus-u* 'sweep it!'
         UN *'na're* 'today' < EA *an-na'hâr dâ* 'today'

Variants, such as *'masgit - mas'giti* 'mosque', etc. may be the result of varying stress rules in the Arabic and/or other source dialects, such as *'madrasa* 'Qurʔan school' which is similar to the Omdurman Arabic stress (Worsley 1925: 8), whereas *mad'rasa* conforms to the Cairene Arabic stress rules (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985: 60). *'zaman* and *za'man* 'time', 'period' are synonyms in Sudanese Arabic (Hillelson 1930: 306). From the pair *'masgit - mas'giti* 'mosque', the first one is common in EA. *mas'giti* may be a Nubi innovation affected by Swahili *msi'kiti* 'mosque'. UN *'fitna* 'mischief' is derived from EA/SA *fitna* 'conspiracy', 'riot', whereas *fi'tina* is the Swahili-form.

Tone is present in Nubi only in limited cases, namely in the formation of the infinitive and in monosyllabic verbs, which have high tone in the infinitive and passive verb form. Heine (1982: 26-27) analyses the KN suprasegmental stucture as based on tone rather than on stress, since he finds "(…) instances of unstressed high tone syllables which are never pronounced with a low tone" (Heine 1982: 27). According to him, the first high tone unit in a word carries stress. For Juba Arabic, Yokwe (1985: 324) reanalyses the stress pattern of the source forms, based on two elements. First, stress is replaced by tone, and subsequently, the words are subjected to the tone pattern of the native languages of JA speakers. Miller (1993; 1994) does not mention tone in JA, nor does tone seem to be of any relevance in Turku.

7.2.4. Conclusion

common features in p/cs and (certain) Arabic dialects	features unique to Arabic p/cs [190]
	qualitative 5-vowel system vowel length: non-distinctive vowel harmony/vowel assimilation
assimilation and vowel harmony in several dialects, especially in WSA, however limited by grammatical criteria	
	e < a in context of alveolars, especially *l* and *r*
Old Arabic *jîm: g* in EA, *j* in SA, both in p/cs, especially in Nubi	
	tendency to replace *sh* by *s*/free variation *sh-s* tendency to replace *z* by *j*/free variation *j < z*, especially in southern UN (substrate influences?)
loss of emphatics, especially in WSA: variably attested, no emphasis in Bagirmi, Njamena	
loss of pharyngeals: *ḥ > h/Ø/kh,* ˤ *> Ø/y* (especially in WSA, however variably attested: no pharyngeals in Nigeria and Chad)	
h > Ø, especially in WSA, e.g. NA, while variably attested in AA.	
kh < ḡ, in WSA	*k < kh* *k < (WSA kh ?) < ḡ, ḥ* tendency for open syllables: . through degemination
epenthesis (in most SA dialects)	. through insertion of epenthetic vowel (pidginized variety of JA, Turku, Nubi) . through loss of internal consonant . through loss of final plosives and dentals (although less regular in JA and KN than in UN)
	morphological role of stress in Nubi and JA (but applying only to a limited range of words, and mostly fossilized remnants of Arabic source forms, which have become productive
final devoicing	

table 30: Common features in p/cs and (certain) Arabic dialects / features unique to p/cs in phonology

Compared to Arabic, Nubi has a reduced sound system. It lacks emphatic sounds for instance. On the other hand, *p, ch,* and *v*, which do not exist in Arabic, have entered Nubi via African substrate and adstrate languages. Most of the above Arabic pidgin and creole features may be attributed to more general phenomena operating in languages worldwide or in pidginization and creolization processes. It is therefore difficult or even impossible to say whether these features should be linked to specific dialect influences, such as WSA (as is especially advocated by Owens 1985a, 1996), or to more general tendencies of language change. When we compare the etymology of phonological segments in Nubi and Turku, and look at the phonological changes which have taken place, we find many parallels, which, however, are not applied to the same words. They have the phonological processes in common, but not the individual results of these processes. On this basis, I take parallel processes to be responsible for the changes in Nubi, rather than direct influence from (W)SA. The differences between Nubi and Turku are minimal in the phonological field. Consider table 31:

Nubi	Turku
Egyptianisms: *g* pronunciation in OA *j-* words	no Egyptianisms, no *g* in OA *j-* words
j < z: especially in southern UN	*j < z:* not in Turku
vowel assimilation: common	vowel assimilation: less applied
tone is relevant in infinitives and monosyllabic passive verbs	tone: most likely absent in Turku

table 31: Nubi-Turku distinctions in phonology

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[190] See also Miller (1994: 229ff, 241); Tosco & Owens (1993: 232-233, 237, 250-251); Owens (1985a: 245); Owens (1996: 148, 155-156).

7.3. Lexicon

7.3.1. The etymology of words

Typical words of EA origin are some UN words in *g,* such as *'gildu* 'skin', *'ragi* 'man' (EA *g,* whereas OA, SA *jim*), and some adverbs of time, such as *'na're* 'today' (from EA *an-nahâr dâ),* and *'bukra* 'tomorrow' (from EA *bukra*). The bulk of UN words, however, seem to be reflexes of SA source forms, which points to a pan-Sudanese origin, as shown in (942.):

(942.)   UN *ba'kan* 'place' < SA *bakân* 'place' (Hillelson 1930: 222)
　　　　UN *'sheder/'seder* 'tree' < SA *shadar* 'tree' (Hillelson 1930: 311)
　　　　UN *a'buba* 'grandmother' < SA *ḥabôba* 'grandmother' (Hillelson 1930: 131)
　　　　UN *'kore* 'cry' < SA *kôrak* 'cry' (Hillelson 1930: 73)
　　　　UN *'dengir* 'bend down' < SA *dangar* 'bend down' (Hillelson 1930: 31)
　　　　UN *sin'gi* 'hunchback' < SA *sinkît* 'hump' (Hillelson 1930: 148)
　　　　UN *dulu'gan* 'rag' < SA *dul'gân* 'rag' (Hillelson 1930: 238)

In Turku, Egyptianisms are extremely rare (Owens 1996: 159). However, there are two words with *g,* corresponding to OA *j*-words: *guidad* 'chicken' and *guiniss* 'colour' (Muraz 1926: 142; see also Tosco & Owens 1993: 230). Words of typical WSA origin are rare in Nubi. A UN word, such as *'homa* 'fever', 'malaria', which may be linked to WSA *ḥoma* (as opposed to Sudanese *ḥumma*), may also be related to Swahili *homa* 'fever' (Johnson 1989 [1939]a: 135). A word of WSA origin is probably UN *fala'ta* 'down' resembling Shuwa *falta*. It is striking that words of WSA origin in Turku are non-existent in Nubi (Tosco & Owens 1993: 235). Moreover, Nubi reflexes of Arabic feminine words are in *-a,* whereas in WSA they are often in *-e.* In Turku, we also find instances of final *-e,* as illustrated in (943.):

(943.)   UN *'libira* - Turku *ibré* 'needle'
　　　　UN *me'dida* - Turku *madidé* 'porridge'
　　　　UN *me'risa* - Turku *mérissé* 'alcoholic beverage'
　　　　UN *'sana* - Turku *sané* 'year'
　　　　UN *'tisa* - Turku *tissé* 'nine'

7.3.2. Processes of word formation: a reanalysis of morphological material

Most noun formation processes in Nubi are common in pidginization processes (Holm 1988: 97-98):

* N(PL): A few Nubi nouns are derived from reanalysed Arabic plurals (see also Owens 1985a: 252), as shown in (944.):

(944.)   UN *di'fan* 'guest' < SA *ḍêfân* 'guest(PL)'
　　　　UN *su'nun,* in free variation with *'sin* 'tooth' < SA *sinûn* 'teeth' (in Turku: *senounn* 'tooth')

* N + POSS SUFF: incorporation of possessive suffix: in particular with kin terms and body parts, since kinship and body parts are often referred to in relation to their 'owner' [191], as illustrated in (945.):

(945.)   UN *ama'ti* 'sister of husband', 'sister-in-law' < SA *ʕammat-î* 'my paternal aunt'
　　　　UN *sa'bi* 'friend' < SA *ṣâḥib-î* 'my friend'
　　　　UN *'gildu* 'skin' < EA *'gild-u* 'his skin'
　　　　UN *'batna* 'stomach' < SA *baṭn-a* 'his stomach'
　　　　UN *zam'bi* 'offense', 'sin' < SA *zamb-î* 'my offense'
　　　　UN *'ebu* 'shame' < SA *ʕêb-u* 'his shame'

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[191] POSS SUFF 1SING: *-î* in EA, KA, Shuwa, and AA (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985: 150; Worsley 1925: 56; Lethem 1920: 19; Roth 1979: 166)
POSS SUFF 3SING: *-u* after C, *-a* after C between Asyûṭ and Gina, and around Luxor (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985: 154-156), *-u* after C in KA, (Worsley 1925: 54, 56), *-hu, -ah* in Shuwa (Lethem 1920: 19), *-a* in AA (Roth 1979: 166).

Owens links POSS 3SING *-a* to WSA dialects. However, it also occurs in EA, in the area between Asyûṯ and Gina, and around Luxor (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985: 154-156) and is not exclusively a WSA feature. The incorporation of possessive suffixes may explain *-t-* in words such as *ama'ti* sister-in-law', *-t-* being part of the feminine marker *a(t)* which is only present in possessive forms. I found only two instances of possessive suffix incorporation in Turku, namely *sabi* 'friend' (from SA *ṣâḥib-î* 'my friend'), and *nassipti* 'mother-in-law' (from SA *nasîbat-î* 'my mother-in-law'). Some words that have an incorporated possessive pronoun in UN, have equivalents without it in Turku, as in (946.):

(946.)   UN *'ebu* 'shame' - Turku *hepp* 'shame'
        UN *'batna* 'stomach' - Turku *botonn* 'stomach'
        UN *'gildu* 'skin' - Turku *djild* 'skin'

 * VOC + N: incorporation of the vocative marker: the Arabic vocative marker *ya* is included in a few cases in the Nubi noun, as shown in (947.). I found no instances in Turku.

(947.)   UN *'yaba* '(old) man' < SA *ya ab* 'oh father'
        UN *yo'wele* 'boy' < SA *ya walad* 'oh son', 'oh boy'

* DEF + N: incorporation of the definite article:

(948.)   UN *'larda* 'termites' < SA *al-arḍa* 'the termite'
        UN *luku'mar* 'donkey' < SA *al-ḥumâr* 'the donkey'
        UN *'libira* 'needle', 'injection' < SA *al-ibra* 'the needle'
        UN *la'ris* 'bridegroom' < SA *al-ʕarîs* 'the bridegroom'
        UN *Al'gul* < EA/SA *al-ḡûl* 'the demon', 'the vampire'
        UN *lar'ba/ 'larba* 'spear' (*lakarba* in JA) < SA *al-ḥarba* 'the spear'

In Turku, several words contain an incorporated article, as in (949.):

(949.)   *al-hadji* 'pilgrim' (however UN *'haji*)
        almé 'water' (however UN *'moyo)*
        larba 'Wednesday' (cf. UN *'yom lar'ba)*
        letinenn 'Monday' (cf. UN *'yom leti'nin)*

However, except for names of weekdays, those words that have an incorporated article in UN occur without this morphological material in Turku, as illustrated in (950.):

(950.)   UN *'labil* - Turku *abil, habil, hébil* 'rope'
        UN *la'siya* - Turku *achouya* 'evening'
        UN *'larda* - Turku *arda* 'termite'
        UN *lu'far* - Turku *far* 'mouse'
        UN *lun'gara* - Turku *nougar* 'drum'
        UN *a'nas* - Turku *nass* 'people'
        UN *la'bi* - Turku *habitt* 'slave'
        UN *la'didi* - Turku *hadid* 'iron'
        UN *'libira* - Turku *ibré* 'needle'
        UN *luku'mar* - Turku *oumar* 'donkey'
        UN *li'fil* - Turku *pfîl* 'elephant'

The compounds in (951.) are reflexes of Arabic genitival constructions, since the Arabic article *al-* is included in the compounded noun:

(951.)   UN *'beiti'raha* 'toilet' < *bet ir-râḫa* 'house of comfort'
        UN *'sabal'hikma* 'expert', 'specialist' < *ṣâḥib al-ḥikma* 'companion of wisdom'
        UN *'sabal'bele* 'native' < *ṣâḥib al-balad* 'companion of the country'

A similar phenomenon exists in Turku with the noun *sidal* (from SA *sîd al-* 'owner of the...') in compounds such as *sidal dérib* 'guide', *sidal djidam* 'leper', *sidal kett* 'tailor', etc.

* PREP + N: Prepositions may be incorporated in nouns to form nouns, adverbs, prepositions, etc., as illustrated in (952.):

(952.)   UN *fi'lel* 'night' (cf. Turku *fillel* 'night') < SA *fî lêl* 'at night'
          UN *bi'zatu* 'himself' < SA *be zâto* 'himself'
          UN *'ladi* 'to the extent of', 'until' < SA *li ḥadd* 'to (the) extent'

* other incorporated material:

(953.)   UN *iza'zul* 'earthquake' < OA *iḏa zul(zilat)…* 'when the earth is shaken (…)' (first line of the Qurʔânic
               sûra 99 (*Zilzâl*)
          UN *'jengis* 'like' < EA *zayy gins* 'like the type' (via metathesis, *j < z*, and *e < a*)
          UN *binadu'miya* 'humaneness', 'humanity' < SA *ibn âdam* 'human being' / *âdamiya* 'humanity'

* reduplication: In Turku, there are only a few reduplicated words, and these are generally fixed forms derived from the Arabic dialect source (Tosco & Owens 1993: 214). In Nubi and JA, however, reduplication is, at least partially, a productive process affecting nouns, adjectives, numerals, verbs, and adverbs. Miller (1993: 161-163) points to Bari, where reduplication is highly productive and functions as a grammatical device.

7.3.3. Conclusion

The Nubi lexicon contains elements from the Sudanese Arabic belt and from Egypt, whereas hardly any vocabulary items from WSA occur. On the other hand, Egyptianisms hardly occur in Turku, whereas WSA lexical items are common. Similar processes of morphological reanalysis, such as article incorporation, have operated in Nubi and in Turku. These are not productive anymore in the Arabic p/cs. Nubi and Turku are different in some respects, as shown in table 32:

Nubi	Turku
Egyptianisms, such as:	Egyptianisms: rare
UN *'na're* 'today' < EA *an-nahâr dâ* 'today'	Turku *alyoum* 'today' < SA *el yôm*
'bukra 'tomorrow' < EA *'bukra* 'tomorrow'	*am baker* 'tomorrow' < SA *bâkir*
words of WSA-origin: rare	words of WSA-origin, for instance
	feminine words in -*e*
incorporation of vocative particle	no instances
reduplication: productive process	reduplication: only fossilized forms

table 32: Nubi-Turku distinctions in the lexicon

7.4. The noun phrase

7.4.1. Pronouns

		UN [192]	KN	JA (Tosco)	JA (Mahmud)	JA (Nhial)	Turku
SING	1	*'ana*	*'aana*	*'ana*	*ana*	*'ana*	*ana*
	2	*'ita*	*'ita*	*'ita*	*ita*	*'inta ('ita)*	*innté, tou*
	3m	*'uo*	*'uo*	*'uo*	*uwa, hu, u*	*'uwa*	*hou, ou*
	3f						*hi*
PL	1	*'ina*	*'ina*	*'inna*	*nna, nina*	*a'nina*	*anina*
	2	*'itokum ('itakum) 'tokum*	*'ita-kum, 'ito-kum*	*'itakum*	*itakum*	*'in'takum ('itakum)*	*inntoukoum, inntokoum, inntékoum*
	3	*'umon*	*'umon*	*'umon*	*hum, uman*	*'umen*	*oumann*

table 33: Pronouns in Arabic p/cs

		UDA	EA	KA [194]	SA	AA	Shuwa [193]
SING	1	*ana*	*ana*	*'ana*	*ana*	*'ana, ana*	*ana*
	2m	*inta*	*anta, inta*	*'inta*	*inta, itta, itt*	*inta, itta, anta, enta*	*inta*
	2f		*anti, inti*	*'inti*	*intî, ittî*	*inti, itti, anti, enti*	*inti*
	3m	*hûa*	*huwwa, hûwa, hû*	*'huwa*	*hû, hûwa*	*hu, hûwa*	*hu*
	3f	*hîa*	*hiyya, hîya, hî*	*'hiya*	*hî, hîya*	*hi, hîya*	*hi*
PL	1	*nîna*	*ahna, ihna nahna, nihna*	*'nihna 'nahna*	*nihna, ihna, anihna*	*anîna*	*anihna*
	2m	*entû*	*antu, intu*	*'intu*	*intû, ittû*	*intu, ittu, antu, entu*	*intu*
	2f			*'intan*	*intan, ittan*	/	*intan*
	3m	*hûma*	*humma, humman*	*'hum 'hun*	*hum, hun*	*humma, huma, humman*	*hum*
	3f			*'hin*	*hin*	/	*hunna*

table 34: Pronouns in Arabic dialects

The reduction in comparison to the Arabic dialects is not restricted to Arabic p/cs. The above Arabic p/c paradigms correspond to the paradigms of many pidgins and creoles, and of other languages worldwide since no distinction is made for gender and number (see Holm 1988: 201). Probably Nubi *'ina* developed from Arabic *'iḥna* (Upper Egypt, SA) through the loss of *ḥ*. The other possibility that *'ina* developed out of Arabic (SA) *anîna* via *a'nina* → *'nina* → *'inna* → *'ina* is less likely. Second person plural *'itakum/'itokum* is probably a pidgin innovation, since it is nowhere attested in the Arabic dialects. It consists of the independent second personal pronoun followed by the Arabic pronominal suffix for the second person plural *-kum*. In Turku, we find a related form: *inntoukoum, inntokoum*, or *inntekoum* (Tosco & Owens 1993: 210).   Final *-n* of the third person plural form *'umon* is common in all three Arabic p/cs (Turku *oumann*, JA *uman, umon, umen*). It is only attested in Upper Egypt and in

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[192] UN (Ugandan Nubi): my data; KN (Kenyan Nubi): from Heine (1982); JA (Juba Arabic): Tosco's data in (Kaye & Tosco 1993: 282), Mahmud (1979), and Nhial (1975); Turku: see Tosco & Owens (1993).

[193] UDA (Ugandan Dialect Arabic): from Kaye & Tosco (1993: 282); KA (Kharṭûm Arabic): from Trimingham (1946: 32), and Worsley (1925: 53); SA (Sudanese Arabic): see Hillelson (1930: xxiv); AA (Abbéché Arabic): after Roth (1979: 157); Shuwa dialect: from Lethem (1920: 19); EA (Egyptian Arabic): see Behnstedt & Woidich (1985: 143-148), Khalafallah (1969).

[194] Stress in this and other tables is only indicated when stress is marked in the sources.

Abbéché Arabic *humman* (Roth 1979). In the latter it was elicited only in a paradigm, not in spontaneous speech. Juba Arabic *hum* is probably the result of decreolization.

Unlike the Arabic dialects where pronominal subjects are incorporated in the verb, and pronominal objects are suffixed to the verb, the Arabic p/c subject and object pronouns are always expressed as independent pronouns.

		UN [195]	KN (Heine)	JA (Tosco)	JA (Mahmud)	JA (Nhial)	Turku [196]
SING	1	*'tai, ta'yi*	*ta'i*	*(bi)ta'ai*	*tai, bita-i*	*tai*	*anaï, anahi* [197]
	2m	*'taki*	*'taki*	*(bi)'tak*	*taki*	*'taki*	*anaki*
	2f						*anaki*
	3	*'to*	*to*	*(bi)'to*	*to, bitau*	*'tou*	*anahou*
PL	1	*'tena*	*'tinna 'tenna*	*(bi)ta'anna*	*tai-na, bitana*	*?*	*anina*
	2	*'takum*	*'takum ('tokum)*	*(bi)'takum*	*?*	*?*	*anakoum*
	3	*'toumon*	*to-'umon*	*(bi)'tomon*	*to-um, bitauman*	*?*	*anahoumann, anahoum, anam* [198]

table 35: Possessive pronouns in Arabic p/cs

		UDA [199]	EA	KA	SA	AA	Shuwa
SING	1	*bitai*	*bitâ ͑-î*	*bi'tâ ͑î*	*ḫagg-i, hana-i, betâ ͑-i*	*hanâyi*	*hanai*
	2m	*bitak*	*bitâ ͑-ak*	*bi'tâ ͑ak*	*hana- /betâ ͑- ak, (-ku)*	*hanâk*	*hanâk*
	2f		*bitâ ͑-ik, -uk, -ki*	*bi'tâ ͑ik*	*hana-/ betâ ͑- ?*		*hanâki*
	3m	*bitau*	*bitâ ͑-u, bitâ ͑-a*	*bi'tâ ͑u*	*hana-/ betâ ͑-ho*	*hanâhu*	*hanahu*
	3f		*bitâ ͑-ha*	*bi'tâ ͑â*	*hana-/ betâ ͑- ?*	*hanâha*	*hanaha*
PL	1	*bitatina bitanîna*	*bitâ ͑-na*	*bi'tâ ͑na*	*hana-/ betâ ͑- ?*	*hanâna*	*hanana*
	2m	*bitakom*	*bitâ ͑- kum, -ku*	*bi'tâ ͑kum (bi'tâ ͑kun)*	*hana-/ betâ ͑-kun, -kum*	*hanâku, -ko, -kum*	*hanaku*
	2f			*bi'tâ ͑kan*	*hana-/ betâ ͑-kan*		*hanakan*
	3m	*bitahom*	*bitâ ͑-hum*	*bi'tâ ͑um (bi'tâ ͑un)*	*hana-/ betâ ͑- hun, -hum*	*hanâhum, -um, -m*	*hanahum*
	3f			*bi'tâ ͑in*	*hana-/ betâ ͑-hin*		*hanahin*

table 36: Possessive pronouns in Arabic dialects

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[195] UN: my data; KN: Heine (1982: 30); JA: Tosco's data in Kaye & Tosco (1993: 283), Mahmud (1979), Nhial (1975); Turku: Tosco & Owens (1993), Muraz (1926).

[196] Muraz (1926: 12) also gives pronominal suffixes for the singular persons: 1: *-i,* 2m: *-k, -ak,* 2f: *-ki,* 3: *-hou.*

[197] I quote Tosco & Owens (1993: 258, n. 39) on the PRON POSS 1SING:

"Muraz frequently writes the first person pronoun *anahi*. Considering the general tendency of *h* to disappear in Turku, we think the *h* could have indicated some sort of syllable break. If unstressed, *ana + i* would have yielded a form like *anay*, (…), so the *h* in *anahi* can be taken indirectly to indicate a stressed final *í* (as in WSA *hanaayí* 'mine'. "

[198] Tosco & Owens (1993: 215) mention *ana-hum/anam* for the PRON POSS 3PL in Turku. *anam* derives from *ana-hum* via *ana-um. -um* is, according to them, common in WSA-dialects as an alternative of *-hum.*

[199] UDA: from Kaye & Tosco (1993: 283); KA: from Trimingham (1946: 34), Worsley (1925: 20, 54); EA: Behnstedt & Woidich (1985: 150-156, 189), Fischer & Jastrow (1980); AA: Roth (1979: 160-161), Carbou (1913: 14); Shuwa dialect: after Lethem (1920: 42).

Considering the above forms, the possessive pronouns consisting of suffixed forms following the genitive exponent are fossilized forms of Arabic forms. The same applies to Juba Arabic and Turku. The genitive exponent, which is *(bi)ta* [200] in Nubi and JA, and *ana* for Turku clearly points to an eastern source for Nubi/JA and to a western source for Turku. With regard to the form of the pronominal suffixes, we see that the suffixes are quite similar in all three p/cs. Tosco & Owens (1993: 239) suggest that final *-i* of 2SING *-ki* is derived from the feminine pronominal suffix, which is always *-ki* in WSA. However, feminine 2SING is highly marked. Moreover, it seems that the feminine 2SING suffix is not common at all in the Sudanese dialects. Therefore, I doubt that this is the source of the pronominal part of *(bi)taki* (or Turku *hanaki*). Probably the *-i* is just a paragogic vowel after *k-*. The pronominal suffix for 2PL is invariably *-kum* in all three p/cs, which links the p/cs to eastern varieties of Arabic dialects rather than to WSA dialects, which generally have *-ku*. The final nasal *-n* in 3PL suggests a general Sudanese source. According to Owens (1985: 245), stress on the last syllable in Nubi PRON POSS 1SING *ta'yi* should be attributed to the influence of certain WSA dialects . However, a similar stress pattern occurs in certain Egyptian Arabic dialects and in Khaṛṭûm Arabic as well (see Behnstedt & Woidich 1985: 150; Tosco & Owens 1993: 239).

7.4.2. Nouns

	UN [201]	KN	JA	Turku
internal (suppletion, ablaut)	fossilized forms	fossilized forms	fossilized forms	fossilized forms
stress shift	yes	yes	no	?
suffixation:	*-'in*	*-'in*	*-'in*	*-în*
	-'a	*-'a*	*-'at*	
	-'iya			
	-'an	*-'an*		
		-ti		
		-z		
		-'ka [202]		
			-jin	
prefixation	Bantu loans	Bantu loans	?	no
mixed forms	yes	yes	yes	yes
other means	yes	yes	yes	yes
number agreement	optional	optional	regular (not systematic)	minimal

table 37: Number in Arabic p/cs

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[200] It is difficult to say at which stage *bi-* in Nubi/Juba Arabic *bita-* was lost. Considering the JA data where *bita-* co-occurs with *ta-* , it could be suggested that the loss occurred at a rather recent stage. However, Kaye & Tosco (1993: 283) believe that *bi-* was reintroduced via recent decreolization, rather than being a remnant of a previous stage. Concerning the loss of *bi-*, Kaye & Tosco (1993: 283) suggest either the evolution *bi-* → **pi-* → **p-* → Ø, or the interpretation of *bi-* as a separate morpheme, which has been deleted. Devoicing *bi-* into *pi-* seems to be a feature of present-day JA as well.

[201] Sources: UN (own data); KN: Heine (1982); JA: Miller (1993, 1994); Turku: Tosco & Owens (1993).

[202] About the only Nubi word which forms its plural in *-'ka* is *nyere'ku- nyereku-'ka* 'children'. However, I think that *nyereku'ka* is a more regular plural in *-'a* of the word *nyer'kuk* 'child', which occurs as such in JA.

	UDA [203]	EA	KA	SA	Shuwa	AA [204]
dual	no	yes, but adjectives : plural	yes, but adjectives: plural	yes	yes	only fixed forms
broken/internal	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
internal + *-ân*	?	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
suffixation	*-în*	*-în*	*-în*	*-în*	*-în*	*-în*
	(-ât)	*-ât*	*-ât*	*-ât*	*-ât*	*-ât*
				-ên		*-ên*
				-îya		*-a*
mixed forms	?	yes	?	?	?	yes
other means	yes		?	?	?	no
number agreement	no?, optional?	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

table 38: Number in Arabic dialects

Whereas nouns in most pidgin/creole languages are not inflected for number (see Holm 1988: 193), plural marking is optional in Arabic p/cs. Plural is often indicated by inference from the context, separate quantifiers, numerals, or plural demonstratives. Nubi differs in this respect from the Arabic dialects where number marking on the noun is compulsory, as is number agreement. Consider also the Turku-example in (954.):

(954.)   *Chili rangaye lâm ouaïdinn ana pokteur anina.* 'Take some pots of meat for our porters.'
          (Muraz 1926: 276)
          Nass mardaninn ma-badoroum. 'Sick people, we do not want them.' (Muraz 1926: 291)

Arabic p/c nouns may receive number marking, yet this is not a frequent feature. The Arabic p/c internal plurals (suppletion and ablaut) are generally frozen forms of Arabic plurals. The Nubi suffix *-'a* is to be traced to Arabic feminine plural *-'ât*, which lost its final consonant [205]. *-ât* takes the stress which accounts for the stress shift towards Nubi *-'a* as well (see also Owens 1985: 252). Plural marking by means of a stress shift of Nubi nouns ending in other than *-a* may have originated by analogy with those in *-a*. Nubi plural forms by stress shift or by suffixation can partly be explained by Arabic source forms, partly as the result of a productive process.

	fossilized forms	Nubi innovations
stress shift	UN *la'bi* 'slaves' < SA *al-ˁabîd*	*ju'a* 'things'
-'in	UN *aya'nin* 'sick people' < SA *ˁaiyân*	*soko'lin* 'things'
-'a	UN *ruta'na* < SA *ruṭânât* 'languages'	*difa'na* 'guests'
-'iya	UN *hara'miya* 'thieves' < SA *ḫarâmîya*	*binadu'miya* 'human beings'
-'an	*sab(i)'yan* 'friends' < AA *subiyân*	*ke'lan* 'dogs'
mixed	?	*kubari'na* 'directors', 'leaders'

table 39: Fossilized forms vs. Nubi innovations of plural marking

[203] UDA: Kaye & Tosco (1993: 281-282); EA: Fischer & Jastrow (1980); KA: Trimingham (1946: 22-27); SA Hillelson (1930); Shuwa: Lethem (1926: 67-73); Shukriyya Arabic: Reichmuth (1983: 156-184); AA (Roth 1979: 119-130).

[204] The suffix *-în* is generally used for masculine nouns, *-ât* for feminine nouns. However, in Shuwa and in Abbéché Arabic, there is a tendency to mark masculine plurals with *-ât*. *-în* and *-ât* are the main means for marking the plural of masculine and feminine adjectives respectively (beside a limited number of broken plurals). In Abbéché Arabic, however, *-în* is especially favoured for marking plural adjectives.

[205] *mahlu'kati* 'creature(s)' is probably the only noun in Nubi where the Arabic plural morpheme *-'at* is retained. In Juba Arabic, the most productive and most frequent means of plural marking is by suffixation of *-at*, including as well nouns of non-Arabic origin, such as *nyer'kuk* 'child' - *nyerku'kat* 'children', *molodo* 'hoe' - *molo'dat* 'hoes'.

Apparently, fossilized plurals are found in nouns that occur commonly or that refer to human beings. Other nouns, however, are subjected to rules of plural formation, which operate independently, but which are based on common Nubi plurals (frozen forms of Arabic plurals). These rules may be a feature of a creolization process.

The Nubi collective marker *'nas* is a reflex of the noun *nâs* 'people'. In Ugandan Nubi, and in JA (see Miller 1993: 166), *'nas* is not restricted to human beings, but may occur with all quantifiable nouns, whether human or non-human, e.g. *'nas 'dufur* 'the nails'. For Kenyan Nubi, however, Heine (1982: 29) mentions that *nas* is limited to human beings. Shuwa Arabic seems to be the only other dialect where the collective word *nâs* occurs, referring only to human beings. The development from a count noun to a pluralizer is attested in many Indian Ocean Creoles. For instance, French *bande* 'bunch', 'troop', 'group' developed into the pluralizer *ban* (Mühlhäusler 1986: 228).

7.4.3. Modifiers

7.4.3.1. Articles and demonstratives

	UN [206]	KN	JA	Turku
INDEF	*'wai*	*'wai*	*'wahid*	*(ouaïd)?*
DEF	*'de*	*'de*	*de, da*	*da*
zero-marking	yes	yes	yes	yes
DEM PROX SING	*'de, ('u)we'de*(ATTR), *(u)'wede (*PRED*)*	*'de, 'we'de*	*de, da, di*	*da*
DEM PROX PL	*'dol'de*	*'dol'de*	*de, del*	*doll da*
DEM DIS SING	*'na'de*	*'na'de*	*de, dak*	*?*
DEM DIS PL	*'na'de, 'na 'dol'de*	*'na'de*	*del*	*?*
N DEM or DEM N?	N DEM	N DEM	N DEM, but *'wahid* N	N DEM

table 40: Articles and demonstratives in the Arabic p/cs

	UDA [207]	EA	KA	SA	Shuwa	AA
INDEF	*?*	*wâḥid* N	*?*	*wâḥid*	N *wâḥid*	N *wâhid*
DEF	*el (al, ul, l)*	*al-, el-*	*al-, el-*	*al-, el-*	*al-, el-*	*al-, (da)*
DEM PROX SING m	*dei*	*dâ*	*da*	*dâ*	*dâ*	*da*
DEM PROX SING f		*dî*	*di*	*dî*	*dî*	*(di)*
DEM PROX PL m	*dôl*	*dôl*	*dêl*	*dôl, dêl*	*dôl(a)*	*dôl*
DEM PROX PL f		/	/	/	*dêl(a)*	/
DEM DIS SING m	*dak*	*dak(ha)*	*dâk ('dâka)*	*dâk*	*dâk(a)*	*dâk*
DEM DIS SING f		*dik(ha)*	*dîk*	*dîk*	*dîk(a), dîke*	*dîk*
DEM DIS PL m	*dâl*	*duk (hum) dak dôl*	*dê'lâk*	*dêlâk*	*dôlâk(a)*	*dôlak*
DEM DIS PL f		*dik dôl*	/	*dêka*	*dêlâk(a)*	/
N DEM or DEM N	*?*	N DEM	N DEM	N DEM	N DEM	N DEM

table 41: The definite article and demonstratives in the Arabic dialects

[206] Sources: UN: own data; KN: Heine (1982: 31-32); JA: Miller (1988-1989), Mahmud (1979), Tosco (1995); Turku: Muraz (1926), Tosco & Owens (1993: 206-207).

[207] Sources: UDA: Kaye & Tosco (1993: 282); EA: Behnstedt & Woidich (1985: 167-169), Fischer (1959: 213); KA: Worsley (1925: 19); SA: Hillelson (1930); Shuwa: Lethem (1920: 43); AA: Roth (1979: 168-169).

Indefinite article: The indefinite article in Nubi is homophonous with the numeral 'one', and is most likely derived from it. I found only one instance of indefinite marking in JA by means of *'wahid.* *'wahid* precedes the noun, as illustrated in (955.):

(955.)   "*wáhid rájil*   gum   túruju   jemús   de,   (…)
            one   man   *gum*   chase   buffalo   DET   (…)
            'A man set out to chase the buffalo, (…).'"   (Tosco 1995: 440)

In general, however, no marking seems to be available in Juba Arabic to express an indefinite, referential noun, as in (956.):

(956.)   fi   zól   nadi   (…)
            EXIS   person   call-PASS-Ø
            'There was someone who was called (…).' (after Miller 1979-1984: 31)

Several instances of *ouaïd* occur in Muraz's data on Turku. It is unclear whether to interpret these as the numeral 'one' or as the indefinite article, as shown in (957.). The French translation is not of much assistance, since in French the numeral 'one' and the indefinite article are also homophonous.

(957.)   *Amchi bî rass-saboun ouaïd.* 'Go and buy a/one piece of soap.' (Muraz 1926: 267)
            Soultan djibou bed-guidad ma guidad ouaïd. 'The sultan brings eggs and a/one chicken.'
            (Muraz 1926: 271)

The development of an indefinite article from the numeral 'one', in Nubi is a feature found in languages worldwide (Givón 1984: 434). A similar development is also present in some Arabic dialects, such as Syrian Arabic (Fischer & Jastrow 1980: 88, 97). In the Chadian Arabic variety, spoken by people with Maba roots, there is a tendency to omit the definite article. To mark indefiniteness, *wâhid* is postposed to the noun so as to distinguish it from the zero-marked definite (Roth 1979: 140-141). In Shuwa Arabic too, *wâḫid* following the noun may function as an indefinite article (Lethem 1920: 21).

Definite article: The definite article in the Arabic p/cs is either *da* or *de* [208]. *da/de* derives from the EA/SA demonstrative. Muraz (1926: 65) mentions that the definite article is non-existent in Turku, which is contradicted by the texts, where *da* is translated with a definite article or a demonstrative (proximal/distal?) (see also the discussion in Tosco & Owens 1993: 206-207). In JA, *de/da* functions as a definite article and as a demonstrative. The development of demonstratives into definite articles corresponds to that in creole and other languages (see also Greenberg 1978; Harris 1980: 77-79; Holm 1991: 191-192). For Arabic, this is attested in Abbéché Arabic (Roth 1979: 169), Nigerian Arabic (Owens 1985a: 260), and in Palestinian and Syrian-Lebanese dialects (Fischer 1959: 50-52). The form *da* has been subjected to a process of semantic bleaching with respect to its demonstrative meaning, while at the same time another demonstrative system has emerged (see below). Unlike in Arabic dialects where the article precedes the noun, the p/c article follows the noun it determines, a feature which corresponds to other pidgins and creoles (see Holm 1988: 190). The normal position of the EA/SA demonstrative is also after the noun.

While in most creole and other languages the definite article derives from a distal demonstrative (see Givón 1984: 226-227, 418-419; Bruyn 1995: 265; Holm 1991: 191-192), in Nubi it derives from the proximal demonstrative *da* [209]. This feature is not restricted to Nubi. Similar observations were made for several Arabic dialects. Roth (1979: 169) notices that in AA the normal form in slow, careful speech

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[208] The phonological change from *da* to *de* may be related to similar changes in other word categories, where *a* changed into *e* in the vicinity of alveolars.

[209] Harris (1980: 78, in accordance with Greenberg 1977) assumes that it is the remote member within a demonstrative system which serves as the unmarked form, and thus as the marker of definiteness. Givón (1984: 419) claims that what is close to the speaker and thus removed from the hearer, is probably less well known to the hearer and should therefore be related to 'indefiniteness'. Conversely, what is far from the speaker and thus near to the hearer, is better known to the hearer, and thus 'definite'.

is to have the noun, marked by the definite article *al-,* followed by demonstrative *da*, but in spontaneous varieties of AA , the article *al-* is omitted, so that only *da* remains. The demonstrative meaning of *da* is weakened, which is why Roth considers it a substitute for the definite article. Owens (1985a: 260) observes a parallel development in Nigerian Arabic.

None of the Arabic p/cs has obligatory marking of the noun either for definite or for indefinite reference. In some varieties of Abbéché and Nigerian Arabic too, the definite article may be omitted. In Arabic, it is common for 'indefiniteness' not to be marked by means of an article (except for some varieties of Chadian Arabic, which have N *wâhid*).

The UN **demonstrative** system is far more elaborate than that of the other Arabic p/cs. All Arabic p/cs and dialects are similar in that they distinguish between two categories of demonstratives, one proximal and one distal, which may be used attributively and predicatively. The central element of the Nubi (and Turku?) demonstrative is *da/de*. The UN proximal singular demonstrative consists of the personal pronoun 3SING + *'de*: *'uo 'de*. In creolized Nubi, *'uo 'de* has been reinterpreted as one form and subjected to a minor phonological change (fronting of *o*). The distal demonstrative in Nubi is distinguished from the proximal demonstrative by the addition of the deictic particle *'na* 'there', expressing remoteness [210]. For Turku, there is no mention of a separate demonstrative expressing distance. It is, however, possible that *da* expressed both proximity and distance, leaving it to the hearer to understand from the context whether 'near' or 'far' was meant. Consider *fi yom da* '(since) that day' (Muraz 1926: 282) clearly referring to a day, (more or less) remote in the past [211].

The plural demonstrative is *'dol'de* in Nubi and *doll da* in Turku. It is very likely that *'dol* lost its deictic force in Nubi and Turku and was reinterpreted as a mere marker of plurality. More evidence for this assumption can be inferred from the demonstratives *do'linde*, and *'na 'dol'de*. *do'linde* consists of *'dol + 'in + 'de*. *'in* 'here' is the deictic adverb denoting proximity, which is added to the proximal, plural demonstrative to assert its sense of nearness. *'na 'dol'de*, consisting of *'na* 'there' + *'dol'de*, is one of the allomorphs of the plural distal demonstrative. *'dol* is added to the distal demonstrative, otherwise neutral with respect to number, to mark it for plurality. Roth (1979: 170) records a similar development in AA. The plural demonstrative *dol* is occasionally followed by the element *da*. Likewise, in Nigerian Arabic, plural demonstratives are sometimes followed by the masculine singular form *da* (Owens 1993: 45). It is thus possible that in Nubi an evolution, similar to the one in AA and in NA, is taking place: *da*, whose function as a deictic marker has been established, became accepted as the demonstrative marker in the form *dol da* as well, while *dol* is reinterpreted as the marker for plurality (Roth 1979: 130). The latter development is also attested in some creoles. Cape Verde Creole Portuguese and Lesser Antillean Creole French use pluralizers which are derived from plural determiners of the source languages (Holm 1988: 194).

Nubi and Turku show many similarities in their demonstrative system even if the latter's data are limited. The AA and NA demonstrative systems seem to have been subjected to parallel developments. The Juba Arabic demonstratives, on the other hand, correspond to those of Sudanese Arabic dialects, which is probably the result of decreolization.

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[210] Nubi *'na'de,* which consists of the adverb '*na* 'there' + demonstrative, has parallels in Afrikaans. Versteegh (1984: 109, n. 35) mentions "the generalized use of the Dutch demonstrative *die* as definite article in Afrikaans, where an extended form of this form, *hierdie* and *daardie*, is used as a new demonstrative." Dutch *hier* and *daar* means 'here' and 'there' respectively.

[211] In Nubi, two instances of forms with *da* occur: *'youm 'da* referring to a day in the past and *'ya'da* 'be overthere'. We find *al yaum da* 'today' in the Shuwa dialect (Lethem 1920: 296) and *al yôm da* 'today' in Sudanese Arabic (Hillelson 1930: 307). This implies that in these forms, *da* which reflects proximity in Arabic colloquials, has been reinterpreted in Nubi to denote distance in space and/or time. At the same time, opposite forms developed in Nubi with *'de*, namely *you'min'de* 'nowadays' and *'ya'de* 'be here' respectively, which convey a sense of proximity. Tosco & Owens include *ine/ ine da* 'here' among the Turku adverbs, where the marker *da* is related to an adverb expressing proximity (Tosco & Owens 1993: 212). On the other hand, *fi yom-da* '(since) that day' (Muraz 1926: 282) refers to a day in the past. The notions 'distance'-'proximity' have been blurred here.

7.4.3.2. Adjectives

Like Nubi, Turku and JA express comparison with the adjective + *futu/min* (Tosco & Owens 1993: 211; Miller 1993: 166-167). The verb *'futu* 'pass' has been reanalysed as a marker of comparison. The use of the verb meaning 'pass' in a serialized construction is a typical pidgin/creole feature (Sebba 1985: 129; Muysken & Veenstra 1995: 291). A similar expression exists in Nigerian and in Bagirmi Arabic (Tosco & Owens 1993: 234). Comparison through 'X (sur)passes Y, regarding quality Z' is restricted to Nubi, and does not occur in JA or Turku. A similar use of a verb meaning 'surpass' is attested in Abbéché Arabic (Roth 1979: 133) and in Nigerian Arabic (Owens 1993: 194-195). It occurs also in Bantu languages, in Swahili for instance (Ashton 1947: 202), and in some of the substrate languages (Spagnolo 1933: 68 on Bari; Westermann 1912: 71 on Shilluk).

7.4.3.3. The possessive phrase

In Turku, possessive phrases either consist of N *ana* N/PRON, e.g. *koura ana diamouss* 'foot of the buffalo', *mâl-ana-akitt* 'money of wedding', 'dowry', *sandouk anahou* 'his box' (Muraz 1926: 272, 276, 288), or of mere juxtaposition of the possessed item and the (pro)nominal possessor, as in *mardann-noum* 'sickness of sleeping', 'sleeping sickness', *pokteur anina* 'our porters' (Muraz 1926: 281, 276). Only owner-possessed relationships are generally expressed by N *ana* N. Usually, other possessive relationships occur in a N-N form, although some of these sometimes occur with *ana*. Compare the pairs in (958.):

(958.)   *ouarga ragab* 'amulet for the neck' ><   *ouarga ana hid* 'amulet for the hand' (Muraz 1926: 165)
           ako ana hia 'maternal uncle' ><   *act hia* 'maternal aunt' (Muraz 1926: 114-115)

Many of the N-N expressions may be treated as compounds, i.e. a combination of two nouns, whose meanings differs from the meanings of the two separate elements, as shown in *ial chiadar* 'children of the tree' > 'fruit', *bourma toumbak* 'pot for tobacco' > 'pipe' (Muraz 1926: 147, 125). According to Tosco & Owens (1993: 214), some compounds consist of a noun/adjective + (negative) existential marker *(ma)fi*, such as *tchitann fi* 'possessed (by the devil)', *gassi mafi* 'difficult NEG', 'easy' (Muraz 1926: 84, 139). These forms occur, however, only in Muraz' lexical listing, and not in the text data. In Nubi, the opposite is expressed by negating the whole sentence, without marking the adjective itself. Strings of possessive phrases occur both in Nubi and in Turku, such as Turku *nass mardann ana hillé anaki* 'the sick people of your village' (Muraz 1926: 284). The position of Turku modifiers is not fixed. In the clauses in (959.), the modifier refers to the first 'possessed' noun. The modifier in the first clause immediately follows the noun, whereas in the second example, it comes in final position.

(959.)   *aouïnn katir ana hillé*   'many women of the village' (Muraz 1926: 282)
           Nassara ana France koulou   'all the Christians/white people of France' (Muraz 1926: 294)

Muraz' data contain an occasional synthetic possessive, such as *zob el-oumar* 'penis of the donkey' > 'champignon' (Muraz 1926: 185), which may, however, be a fossilized form. For JA, Miller (1993: 158-160, 163) only mentions that there are compounds, next to analytic constructions with *ta*.

In Kharṭûm Arabic, the synthetic *ʔiḍâfa* construction occurs besides the analytic Noun GEN Noun construction. The latter is the most frequent one in colloquial speech. However, it cannot be applied to body parts and kinship terms (Trimingham 1946: 46-51). In Shuwa Arabic, the basic possessive construction seems to be the *ʔiḍâfa* construction, although the analytic possessive does occur expressing, among other things, the material from which something is made. Compound nouns, often with *abu* 'father, *umm* 'mother, *sîd* 'master', *ṣâḫib* 'owner' (see also below), are very frequent; these are treated as one word (Lethem 1920: 57-59; 81-83). In Abbéché Arabic, the synthetic genitive is limited to written language, whereas in spoken language there is a tendency to use the analytic construction (Roth 1979: 142-147). So in most Arabic dialects, the synthetic and the analytic construction co-occur. It seems that there are pragmatic arguments for their use, namely their distribution in written and

spoken language, respectively, or their distribution among literate versus illiterate speakers. Moreover, Versteegh (1984: 94) postulates on the basis of a survey conducted by Harning (1980):

> "(…) wherever the analytical and the synthetic genitives are competing constructions, the analytical genitive tends to be used for concrete possession, or for qualifications (contents, material, etc.), whereas the synthetic genitive is always used - even in those dialects where the analytical genitive was highly successful - for the expression of abstract relations, such as periods of time, intimate relations of kinship, partitive relations, and for parts of the body."

Although the distributional pattern is not completely the same in Nubi, there are some striking similarities, such as the use of the analytic construction in both native Arabic and Nubi/Turku for concrete possession and qualification, whereas kinship terms, part-whole relations, and body parts are expressed by a non-analytic construction, namely by the synthetic genitive in Arabic, and by juxtaposition in Nubi and Turku. The semantic distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is a very common one worldwide, resulting in different formal strategies (Croft 1990: 35), alienable possession including at least ownership of worldly goods, while inalienable possession involves kinship terms, body parts, etc. (Payne 1997: 105).

7.4.3.4. Numerals

The Nubi numeral system is a decimal one. The cardinal numerals 1-10, the tens, 100, and 1,000 are fossilized Arabic forms, like in Turku and in Juba Arabic, with the exception of Nubi *'lak* 'hundred thousand', which is a Swahili loan. The order in the numerals above ten in Turku differs from the JA/Nubi order:

Turku (Muraz 1926: 14-15)		JA/Nubi	
achara ouaï	'11' (10 + 1)	*i'dashar*	'11' (1 + 10)
achara tinenn	'12' (10 + 2)	*it'nashar*	'12' (2 + 10)
issirinn ouaïd	'21' (20 + 1)	*'waid ishi'rin*	'21' (1 + 20)
mihia kamza	'500' (100, 5 times)	*'kamsa 'mia*	'500' (5 times 100)
?		*'elf ta'lata*	'3,000 (thousand times 3)
N NUM		N NUM	
plural marking on N:	rare	plural marking on N:	optional

table 42: Numeral formation in Turku and JA/Nubi

The JA/Nubi (no data for Turku) thousands are expressed *'elf ta'lata* '3,000', etc.

	KA [212]	SA	Shuwa Arabic	AA
11	*ḥadâʕshar* (1 + 10)	*iḥdâshar* (1 + 10)	*ʕashara wâḥid* (10 + 1)	*(w)adâsher* (1 + 10) (also *ashara wâhid*)
12	*itnâʕshar* (2 + 10)	*itnâshar* (2 + 10)	*ʕashara tanîn* (10 + 2)	*atnâsher* (2 + 10) (also *ashara tinên*)
21	*wâḥid wa ʕashrîn* (1 + 20)	*wâḥid u ʕishrîn* (1 + 20)	*ʕashrin wa wâḥid* (20 + 1) / *wâḥid wa ʕashrin* (1 + 20)	*wâhid u ishirîn* (1+ 20) (also *ishirîn (u) wâhid*)
500	*khamsa miya* (5 times 100)	*khumsumîya* (5 times 100)	*khams miʔât* (5 times 100)	*khumsumîye* (5 times 100)
3,000	*talat alâf* (3 times 1,000)	*telâta alâf* (3 times 1,000)	*talâtat alâf* (3 times 1,000)	*talâte alâf* (3 times 1,000)
order	NUM N		N NUM (NUM N)	N NUM or NUM N
plural marking?	plural marking on N from 1-10		plural marking on N	optional plural marking on N

table 43: Numerals in Arabic dialects

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[212] See Roth (1979: 151-153); Worsley (1925: 70-71); Lethem (1920: 93-95); Hillelson (1930: 345).

The Turku system resembles the one in Shuwa Arabic (Lethem 1920: 94). However, it is unique in counting the hundreds. We find correspondences in the neighbouring languages, Sara-madyinngaye and Sara-m'baye, described by Muraz, except that the two Sara languages use a particle to bind the unit and the ten, whereas Turku does not. The JA/Nubi system corresponds to the one in Sudanese Arabic, except for thousands which in Arabic are expressed as 'x times thousand'. The Nubi and Turku numerals follow the noun they modify (Muraz 1926: 265-266), contrary to KA, where the numeral precedes the head noun (Worsley 1925: 70-71). In Shuwa and Abbéché Arabic, both orders co-occur (Lethem 1920: 96; Roth 1979: 151-153). In KA, the numerals 3-10 yield plural head nouns, whereas from eleven onwards the noun is singular (Trimingham 1946: 78). In Shuwa Arabic, the noun is generally marked for plural (Lethem 1920: 96), and in Abbéché Arabic, there seems to be a tendency to weaken the rules on number agreement (see Roth 1979: 152-153). In Nubi, nouns sometimes take plural markers. On the other hand, the numeral itself is a common device for marking plurality in Nubi.

　　　The Turku ordinal numerals are homophonous with the cardinal numerals and behave like adjectives (Muraz 1926: 15). Nubi uses an analytic construction with *ta* uniting the head noun and the numeral, such as *nyere'ku ta ti'nen* 'the second child', except for *aw'lan* 'first' which is a fossilized form of Arabic. The Arabic ordinals 1-10 undergo some internal morphological changes and follow the head noun immediately. In Shuwa and Abbéché Arabic, the ordinal numerals from eleven onwards consist of the cardinal numeral preceded by the article (Lethem 1920: 97; Roth 1979: 153-154). The Arabic p/c-features of N-Num order and the formation of the ordinal numerals are present in at least the Shuwa and AA dialects, which suggests either direct influence or parallel processes.

7.4.4. Conclusion

Features common to (some) Arabic dialects and p/cs	Features unique to Arabic p/cs [213]
	pronouns: no gender and number distinction
	subject/object pronouns: no distinction
	however distinguished from pronominal possessors (fossilized forms of Arabic genitive exponent + suffix pronoun)
	subject and object, when expressed pronominally: independent pronouns
	PRON POSS 2SING in *-ki*: *ta-ki* (Nubi), *(bi)ta-ki* (JA), *ana-ki* (Turku)
PRON POSS 2PL: *-kum* in eastern SA (KA, EA)	PRON 2PL: in *-kum*: *itokum, itakum, intokum, inntoukoum*
PRON 3PL: *huṃṃan* (Upper Egypt)	PRON POSS 2PL: *ta-kum* (Nubi), *(bi)ta-kum* (JA), *ana-koum* (Turku)
	PRON (POSS) 3PL in final *-n*
	loss of dual, however (limited) plural marking
	only fossilized forms of broken plurals
	other means of number marking: context, adverbs
	optional/minimal number agreement
	number marking through stress shift (UN)
collectivity marked by *nas* (WSA)	collectivity marked by *nas* (Nubi, JA)
	three-way division of articles: DEF: definite, pragmatically referential NPs; INDEF: indefinite, pragmatically referential NPs; Ø-marking: non-referential NPs
demonstrative *da* used as definite article, beside *el* (AA, NA)	definite article: *de/da* < Arabic demonstrative
DEM PROX: least marked form (AA, EA)	DEF *de/da* < Arabic DEM PROX
	order: N + DEF (>< Arabic DEF + N)
numeral *wâḥid*: used as indefinite article in some dialects (Shuwa/AA: N *wâḥid*)	indefinite article: *wai, wahid* (Nubi, JA) from numeral 'one'
indefinite marking: optional	indefinite marking: not compulsory
	definite marking: not compulsory
	core part of demonstrative: *de/da* (Nubi, Turku)
AA DEM PROX: PRON + *da*	Nubi DEM PROX: PRON + *'de*
reinterpretation of Arabic PL DEM *dol* as plural marker: in AA, (and NA?) (Nubi, Turku)	addition of adverbs 'here', 'there'
comparison: ADJ + *fuut* + complement: NA, Bagirmi	comparison: ADJ + *futu* + complement (*futu* < verb with meaning

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[213] See also Tosco & Owens (1993: 231, 233-234, 238-239, 243-244, 250).

comparison: ADJ + *min* + complement: KA, AA, NA comparison: X surpasses Y in quality Z: in AA, NA, Shuwa comparative/superlative possession: replacement of synthetic by analytic constructions analytic possessive constructions: concrete possession, qualifications synthetic constructions: kin terms, part-whole relations word order: NUM N/ N NUM (Shuwa, AA)	'pass') comparison: ADJ + *min* comparison: X surpasses Y in quality Z (UN) possession: analytic constructions and juxtaposition analytic possessive constructions: concrete possession, qualification juxtaposition: kin terms, part-whole relations numerals: thousands: '*elf ta'lata* (Nubi, JA) word order: N NUM (Nubi, JA, Turku) numeral functions as plural marker

table 44: Features common to p/cs + certain Arabic dialects and features unique to p/cs in NP

In the above table, features unique to Nubi, JA, and Turku, are contrasted with those which result from developments in both the Arabic dialects and the p/cs. Parallel developments occurred, either in all the possible source dialects, or in the eastern dialects (EA, KA), or in the dialects of Abbéché, Nigeria, and Shuwa (WSA).

Several developments seem to have been more firmly established in Nubi than in Turku. This may have to be attributed to the fact that the only description of Turku dates from the beginning of the previous century, at around 1926, whereas Nubi has gone through several stages since then. Morever, Muraz' data are limited. There are, however, some clear distinctions between Nubi on the one hand and Turku on the other hand, which are linked to influences from regional Arabic dialects (see also Owens 1996: 157).

	Nubi	**Turku**
PRON 1PL	'*ina* (< EA/SA *iḥna*)	*anina* (< WSA *anina*)
PRON 2SING/PL	'*ita / 'itokum*	*innté/ inntoukoum*
DEM PROX	'*de, ('u)we'de, (u)'wede*	*da*
GEN	*ta* (< EA/SA *bitâˤ/ betâˤ*)	*ana* (< SA/WSA *hanâ*)
NUM 11-99	*i'dashar, it'nashar* (cf. EA, SA)	*achara ouaï, achara tinenn* (cf. Shuwa, (AA))
ordinals	*ta* + NUM	ordinals = cardinals, adjectives

table 45: Nubi-Turku differences in NP

7.5. The verb phrase

7.5.1. The Nubi verb form

In this section, an attempt will be made to link Nubi and Turku basic verbs to Arabic source forms, and to reach a conlusion as to some formal pecularities, such as the final vowel -*u*, a feature of transitive verbs in Nubi. The following tables bring together the basic forms of Ugandan Nubi and Turku verbs, their equivalents in Shuwa and Sudanese Arabic, the inflected Arabic source form, whether imperative, perfect, or imperfect, etc. I chose to refer to Shuwa verbs (and not to Sudanese Arabic) because of the explicitness of the material. Yet, I do not mean to imply that the Nubi and Turku verbs are derived from Shuwa source forms. According to Owens (1985a: 271), most of the Nubi verbs, i.e. approximately two thirds are most likely derived from Arabic imperative forms. In SA the imperative of regular and V-final verbs are formed with *a-* + verb stem, which explains verb initial *a-* in many Nubi verbs. Even if the imperative is not the most simple morphological form, it is likely to have been used frequently in direct interpersonal contact, especially in a military context where a strict hierarchy reigns (see also Owens 1985a: 255). In table 46 I try to make a reconstruction of probable inputs for the Nubi verb, based on the Shuwa and SA verb forms and on the form of the Nubi verb itself.

Nubi	Turku	Shuwa Lethem (1920)	SA Hillelson (1930)	imperative [214]	translation
a.					
'adi	*addou*	*ʕaḍḍ*	*ʕaḍḍ (u)*	*ʕuḍḍ-u, ʕaḍḍ-u*	'bite'
'akulu	*akoul*	*akal*	*akal (u)*	*akul-u*	'eat'
'alasu	*alass/alssou*	*laḥas, liḥis*	*liḥis (a)*	*alḥas-u*	'lick'
'askutu	*asskoutt*	*sakat*	/	*askut*	'be quiet'
'asuru	*asserou*	*ʕaṣar*	*ʕaṣ(ṣ)ar*	*aʕasur-u*	'massage'
b.					
'mofuku	*amfoukou*	*nafakh*	*nafakh (u)*	*anfukh-u*	'blow up'
'robutu	*arbottou*	*rabaṭ*	*rabaṭ (u)*	*arbuṭ-u*	'tie'
'tala	*atala*	*ṭalaʕ (a)*	*ṭalaʕ (a)*	*aṭlaʕ-Ø*	'ascend'
'dofunu	*dafounou, dafana*	*dafan*	*dafan (i)*	*adfin-u, adfun-u*	'bury'
'dofuru	/	*ḍafar*	*ḍafar*	*aḍfur-u*	'plait', 'weave'
'gelebu, 'gilibu, 'gelibu (Old UN: 'agilibu)	/	*ḡalab*	*ḡalab (i)*	*aḡlib-u*	'win', 'defeat'
'akitibu, 'katifu	*aktoubou, kétéfou*	*katab*	*katab (u)*	*aktub-u, (EA: aktib-u)*	'write'
'lebisi, KN: also *albis*	/	*libis, labas*	*labas (a)*	*albas, albis*	'wear', 'get dressed'
c.					
'lim(u)	*loumou*	*lamm*	*lamm (i)*	*limm-u, lumm-u*	'gather', 'collect'
'dugu	*dougou*	*dagg*	*dagg (u)*	*dugg-u*	'hit'
'rudu	*ridi*	*radd*	*radd (u)*	*rudd-u*	'answer', 'accept'
'midu	/	*madd*	*madd (i)*	*midd-u*	'extend'
'sidu	*siddi*	*sadd*	*sadd*	*sidd-u*	'close'
'gum	*goum*	*gâm*	*gâm (u)*	*gum*	'get up'
'kutu	*koutou*	*ḥaṭṭ*	*khaṭṭ, khatt (u)*	*ḥuṭṭ-u*	'put'
'sulu, 'shilu	*silli, chilli, choulou*	*shâl*	*shâl (i)*	*shîl-u*	'take'
'futu	*foutt*	*fât*	*fât (u)*	*fut(-u), fût(-u)*	'pass'
'hum	*houm*	*ʕâm*	*ʕâm (u)*	*ʕum/ ʕûm*	'swim'
'zidu	*zidi*	*zâd*	*zâd (i)*	*zîd-u*	'increase'
d.					
'sten(u)	/	*istanna* (X)	*istannâ* (X)	*istanna*	'wait'
'kati	/		*ḡatta* (II)	*ḡatti-(hi)*	'cover'
'alimu	*alloumou*	*ʕallam* (II)	*ʕallam* (II)	*ʕallim-u*	'teach', 'show'
'badul(u)	*badelou, badilou, bodolou, badolou*	*baddal*	*baddal* (II)	*baddil-u*	'change'
'awunu	*aounou*	*ʕawwan* (II)	*ʕâwan* (III)	*ʕawwin-u, ʕâwin-u*	'help', 'assist'
'so	*sao, so*	*sawwa* (II)	*sau*	*sow-u*	'do'

table 46: Nubi/Turku verbs deriving from imperatives

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[214] Lethem (1920: 105) claims that the vowel after the second consonant in the Shuwa imperfect and/or imperative is either *a, i, e,* or *u*. Except for some verbs where the vowel is fixed, the speaker is free to choose. Hillelson (1930), however, generally lists the imperfect vowel together with the verb.

Remarks:

    * The final vowel -*u* which is added will be discussed below.

    * In Turku and/or Nubi, we find verbs without initial *a*-. It is, however, possible that these verbs too were derived from Arabic imperatives. The CV-sequence may be attributed to processes of vowel epenthesis and subsequent deletion of a stressed syllable. For the Nubi verb *'kunusu* 'sweep', we also find the form *'akunusu* 'sweep' with the stress on initial *'a-*, as is the case in the SA source form *'aknus-u*. It is likely that an epenthetic vowel *u* was inserted between *k* and *n* to arrive at the Nubi CV-structure. Subsequently, the initial stressed syllable *'a-* may have been dropped. If we consider an imperative form to be the source form of Nubi verbs, this could explain the vowel sequences *o-u-u,* or *u-u-u* in several cases [215]. Consider also the forms in (960.):

(960.)   UN *'dofuru* 'weave' < *'adufuru/'adofuru* < SA *aḍfur-u* IMPER + OBJ SUFF 'plait it'
           UN *'turuju* 'chase' < *'aturuju* < SA *aṭrud-u* IMPER + OBJ SUFF 'chase him!'
           UN *'mofuku* 'blow' < *'amufuku/'amofuku* < *'amfuku* < SA *anfukh-u* IMPER + OBJ SUFF 'blow it'

    * The verbs in (c.) are most likely reflexes of imperatives of Arabic verbs where one of the consonants is the weak *y* or *w*, or of verbs with two identical consonants. These do not form their imperative with the usual initial *a*-.

    * As in (c.), the source forms of the Nubi and Turku forms in (d.) do not have an imperative in *a*-. Regressive vowel assimilation is a common phenomenon in Nubi/Turku: the vowel in the penultimate syllable changes into a back vowel*,* influenced by the final back -*u*, as in Turku *alloumou* 'teach' < SA ʕ*allim-u* , Nubi/Turku *awunu/aounou* 'help' < SA ʕ*awwin-u,* ʕ*âwin-u*.

    The second most important group of source forms for the Nubi/Turku verbs consists of Arabic perfects. See table 47:

Nubi	Turku	Shuwa	SA	perfect	translation
'fadul	*fadal, fadel*	*faḍal*	*faḍal (a)*	*faḍal* (3SING)	'remain'
'negetu	*néguitt*	*najaḍ*	*nijiḍ (a)*	*nijiḍ* (3SING)	'get ripe'
'talagu	*tallak*	*ṭallag*	*ṭallag*	*ṭallag-û* (3PL) [216]	'divorce'
'waga	*ouaka, ouaga*	*wagaʕ*	*wagaʕ*	*wagaʕ* (3SING)	'fall'
'waja	*ouodjia*	*wajaʕ*	/	*wajaʕ* (3SING)	'hurt'
/	*simitt*	*samiʕ*	*simiʕ (a)*	*samiʕt* (1SING)	'understand'
ni'situ	/	*nisi/ nasi*	*nisa, nisi (a)*	*nisît* (1SING)	'forget'
/	*niss*	*nisi/ nasi*	*nisa, nisi (a)*	*nisi, nisa* (3SING)	'forget'

   table 47: Nubi and Turku verbs derived from Arabic perfects

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[215] Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 121) also suggested a derivation of CVCVC-V verbs from Arabic imperatives, through metathesis of the first vowel/consonant. This is refuted by Tosco & Owens (1993: 258, n. 46), since vowel-consonant metathesis is not a common process in the area, neither in the Arabic dialects, nor in the Arabic p/cs.
[216] The fact that the third radical is voiced in the Nubi form suggests that the third radical in the Arabic source form did not occur in final position, but was followed by a vowel. Otherwise, it would be devoiced, as is the case in SA *nijiḍ* 'it got ripe'*,* which developed into *'negetu* 'get ripe' in Nubi.

Nubi and Turku verbs which derive from an Arabic imperfect [217] are less frequent:

(961.)   UN *'nongusu* 'reduce' < Shuwa *nanguş-hu* 'we reduce it ' IMPERF 1PL + OBJ SUFF from *nagaş*
                'reduce'
          UN *'telim* 'dream' < Shuwa *taḫlim* 'you dream' IMPERF 2SING MASC from *ḫilim* 'dream'
          UN *'aba* 'refuse' < Shuwa *âba* 'I refuse' from *aba* 'refuse'/ SA *âbâ* 'I refuse' from *abâ* 'refuse'
          UN *'agider* 'be able' < Shuwa/SA *agdar* 'I can' from *gadar* 'be able'

(962.)   Turku *baba* 'refuse' < Shuwa *beʔâba* 'I refuse' *b*-IMPERF 1SING from *aba* 'refuse'
          Turku *bagdeur* 'be able' < Shuwa *bagdar* 'I can', 'he can' *b*-IMPERF 1/3SING from *gadar* 'be able'
          Turku *bassman* 'understand', 'listen' < Shuwa *basmaʕan* 'they(FEM) understand'
                b-IMPERF 3PL FEM from *samiʕ* 'understand', 'hear'
          Turku *batak* 'laugh' < Shuwa *baḍḫak* 'I laugh', 'he laughs' *b*-IMPERF 1/3SING from *ḍaḫik* 'laugh'

A few Nubi and Turku verbs originate from Arabic participles, as illustrated in (963.):

(963.)   UN *'mashi*/ Turku *machi* 'go', 'walk' < SA *mâshî* 'walking' PART ACT from *mashâ (i)* 'walk'
          UN *'azu/'aju* < EA *ʕâwiz-u* 'wanting it' PART ACT + OBJ SUFF from *ʕaz* 'want' [218]
          UN *'arufu*/ Turku *arfou* 'know' < *ʕârif-u* 'knowing it' PART ACT + OBJ SUFF from SA *ʕaraf* (*i*)
                'know'
          Turku *zourtou* 'swallow' (through regressive vowel assimilation) < Shuwa *zarit-u* 'swallowing it'
                PART ACT + OBJ SUFF from *zarat/zarad* 'swallow'

A few verbs probably derive from adjectives, as shown in (964.). These are part of what I would call 'verbal adjectives' in Nubi. When in the Ø-form, they indicate a state, while when marked by the progressive marker, they express inchoativeness:

(964.)   UN *za'lan/ja'lan* 'be angry' < SA *zaʕlân* 'angry' ADJ
          UN *hara'gan* 'be sweating' < SA *ʕargân* 'sweating' ADJ
          UN *ji'an/* Turku *diânn* 'be hungry' < SA *jiʕân* 'hungry' ADJ

There are only very few instances of Nubi verbs deriving from a noun [219].

(965.)   UN *'tomburu* 'do the man's part at the dolûka-dance' < SA *ţambûr* 'vocal accompaniment to dance',
                'long-necked stringed instrument', 'drum' (Turku: *sao tambour* 'do a military exercise')
          UN *'saba* 'become morning' in *'lata 'saba*/ *'lata gi-'saba* 'it is morning' < UN *sa'ba* 'tomorrow'
                cf. SA *el-waţa aşbaḫat* 'it is morning' (Hillelson 1930: 195)
          UN *'rutan* 'speak' < SA *ru'ţana* 'foreign language'/UN *ru'tan* 'language' [220]
          UN *'isabu* 'count' < SA *ḫisâb* 'calculation'/ UN *i'sab*

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[217] Tosco & Owens (1993: 233) link the p/c imperfect forms to WSA verb sources, since, according to them, both lack the prefix *bi-, be-,* indicating especially habituality, but also futurity. However, both in the eastern and in the western Arabic dialects, imperfect forms are used either with, or without this prefix. Moreover, Turku (western) contains many more *b-* forms than Nubi (eastern).

[218] Turku has *doro* 'want', 'like', which is reminiscent of Sudanese Arabic *dâr, dawwar* 'want'.

[219] Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 158) also include the verbs *doluka* 'dance', 'drum', *huri* 'be civilized', and *hara'gan* 'sweat' among the verbs to derive from nouns. The two first verbs do not occur in Ugandan Nubi, whereas for *hara'gan*, there is an adjectival equivalent *ʕargân* 'sweating' in Sudanese Arabic.

[220] Owens (1985a: 254) states that *'rutan* 'speak' originates from the noun *ru'tan* 'language'. Hillelson (1930: 119) lists the verb *raţan* 'speak a foreign language'. This means that there is a verb with similar consonants and similar meaning, which at first sight is a more likely and more direct source form of the Nubi verb *'rutan*. However, Owens is probably correct in deriving verbal *'rutan* from nominal *ru'tan* since the sequence of the verbal vowels, if derived from the verb *raţan,* would be *a-a* or *a-u,* and not *u-a*. The latter vowel sequence directly leads to the SA/Nubi noun *ru'tan* '(foreign) language'. For similar reasons, Nubi *'isabu* 'count' is probably derived from Nubi *i'sab*/SA *ḫisâb* 'calculation' and not from the verb *ḫasab (a)* 'count'.

P/c verbal allomorphs may have more than one grammatical source form, as illustrated in (966.) and (967.):

(966.)   Turku *apki/ tapki* 'cry', 'weep':
>   *apki* < Shuwa *abki* 'cry!' IMPER SING from *baka* 'cry'
>   *tapki* < Shuwa *tabki* 'you cry IMPERF 2SING MASC/FEM, or 'she cries' IMPERF 3SING FEM from *baka* 'cry'

(967.)   UN *'wegif(u)/ 'yegif(u)/ 'agif(u)* 'stop s.th.', 'come to a halt':
>   UN *'wegif(u)* < Shuwa/SA *wagaf* 'he stopped' PERF 3SING from *wagaf* 'stand', 'stop'
>   UN *'yegif(u)* < Shuwa *yagif* 'he stops' IMPERF 3SING from *wagaf* 'stand', 'stop'
>   UN *'agif(u)*/Turku *aguif* < Shuwa *agif* 'stop!' IMPER from *wagaf* 'stand', 'stop'

The Nubi and Turku verbs in table 48, although derived from one Arabic lexical form, have different grammatical source forms:

UN	grammatical source form	vs.	Turku	grammatical source form	from Shuwa/SA	translation
'aba	IMPERF 1SING	vs.	*baba*	*b*-IMPERF	*aba, abâ*	'refuse'
'ashrubu	IMPER	vs.	*cherbou*	PERF	*sharab*	'drink', 'smoke'
'asma	IMPER	vs.	*simitt*	PERF	*samiʕ*	'understand', 'hear'
'ataku	IMPER	vs.	*batak*	*b*-IMPERF	*ḍaḥik*	'laugh'
'agider	IMPERF 1SING	vs.	*bagdeur*	*b*-IMPERF	*gadar*	'be able'
'telim	IMPERF 2SING	vs.	*hilim*	PERF 3SING	*ḥilim*	'dream'
ni'situ	PERF 1SING	vs.	*niss*	PERF 3SING	*nisi*	'forget'
li'go	PERF 3PL	vs.	*légui*	PERF 3SING	*ligi*	'get', 'obtain', 'find'
we'ri	IMPER	vs.	*ouorou*	PERF 3SING	*warra*	'show', 'explain'
'ja	PERF 3SING	vs.	*bedji*	*b*-IMPERF	*jâʔ*	'come', 'become'

table 48: UN and Turku verbs derived from differenct source forms

Forms that probably derive from imperative source forms are fairly frequent in Nubi [221], considering the many verbs beginning in *a-* (remnant of Sudanese Arabic imperatives), and the large number of verbs whose vocalic pattern resembles that of the sound pattern of Arabic imperatives. The question that yet needs to be tackled is why imperatives should serve as such an important input for the p/c forms. On the one hand, the input of the native speaker of the source language is relevant. He adjusts his speech level to the assumed level of the non-native speaker so as to make himself comprehensible, resulting in so-called 'foreigner talk'. One feature of importance in the present discussion is the reduction of inflections, compensated by retaining one or two 'all-purpose' forms (Ferguson & DeBose 1977: 104). The communities in the military and trade camps were hierarchic ones, in which the use of imperatives must have been frequent. Moreover, in foreigner talk registers the personal pronoun 'you' often co-occurs with the imperative (Ferguson & DeBose 1977: 106), thus facilitating the analysis of the form as an inflected verb. Besides, the non-native speaker only acquires those forms which are characterized by saliency and frequency of the utterances. Presumably commands, and therefore imperative forms, were common in the interaction between the native Arabic speaking officers and the non-native Arabic speaking subordinates, thus fulfilling the requirements of saliency, namely frequency and stress.

According to Owens, the final vowel -*u,* which is found with approximately half of the Nubi verbs, is derived in most cases from the Arabic suffix for the masculine plural, which is used in the perfect and in the plural imperative, e.g. *katabû* 'they wrote' and *uktubû* 'write(PL)' respectively. Final -*u* does not seem to follow the common vowel harmony rule in Nubi, according to which front and back

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[221] Owens (1985a: 255) assumes that about two thirds of Kenyan Nubi verbs are derived from imperatives.

vowels normally do not co-occur within morpheme boundaries (see 2.2.2.1.). This implies that historically *-u* occurred across the morpheme boundaries of verbs and therefore that it has morphemic status, instead of just being a paragogic vowel, such as *'seregu* 'steal' (Owens 1985a: 255). But why should the Nubi verb be derived from a masculine plural imperative, and not from any other form? In Owens' opinion (1985a: 255), the non-native speaker of Arabic chooses among the forms he hears, and extracts the one which fits best his internal grammar of the language. Nubi obviously tends towards a CV-structure. The Arabic masculine plural and the feminine singular imperative forms conform to this pattern. Since the latter is highly marked, predictably, the masculine plural imperative remains.

Versteegh (1984: 124-125) and Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 153-159), like Owens, try to find a system in the (non-) occurrence of *-u* with verbs and go back to the origin of the verb stem. As mentioned above, the most important group of Arabic verb forms from which Nubi verbs are derived, are imperatives. Unlike Owens, Versteegh and Pasch & Thelwall regard singular imperatives as the most likely source form. Versteegh (1984: 124) speculates:

> "In Nubi the suffix *-u* could be derived from the personal pronoun suffix of the 3rd ps masculine singular which in most dialects becomes *-u* after consonants and *Ø* after *a*.
> In accordance with the last rule we find in Nubi transitive verbs such as *'gata* "to cut", *'agara* "to read" without the *-u*.".

-u is treated as a transitive marker, by analogy with the suffix *-im* in Tok Pisin, and is thus linked to the inherent lexical transitivity of the verb. Versteegh (1984: 124) cites the existence of inherently intransitive verbs, like *'num* 'sleep', *'gum* 'get up' , etc., which lack the final *-u* or any other vowel, as additional support. I agree with Versteegh and Pasch & Thelwall in regarding the Nubi verbs as derivatives of singular imperatives with or without an object suffix [222]. Native speakers choose one or two multi-purpose forms in foreigner talk registers to compensate for the loss of inflections. Evidently, imperatives are one of these. It is difficult to believe that speakers of a foreigner talk register, aiming at paradigmatic analogy, would use singular and plural forms as co-existing forms. Still, this is what Owens posits when he regards *-u* final verbs as the remnants of plural imperatives, while forms ending in a consonant or another vowel have other sources. Consider the verbs in (968.):

(968.)   UN *'agara* 'read', 'study', 'recite' < SA *agra* 'read!' IMPER SING from SA *gara* 'read'
         UN/Turku *'gata* 'cut' < SA *agṭaˤ(-ah)* 'cut it' IMPER SING (+ OBJ SUFF) or *gaṭaˤ-ah*
               'he cut (it)' PERF 3SING (+ OBJ SUFF) from *gaṭaˤ* 'cut'
         UN *'gum* 'wake up', 'get up' < SA *gûm* 'rise!' IMPER SING from *gâm* 'rise'
         UN *'num* 'sleep' < SA *nûm* 'sleep!' IMPER SING from *nâm* 'sleep'

The above SA verb forms, if plural imperative or perfect, would be *agrû* 'read(PL)!', *agṭaˤû* 'cut(PL)!' and *gaṭaˤô* 'they cut', *gumû* 'rise(PL)!', and *numû* 'sleep(PL)!' respectively. There is no doubt that the Nubi verbs were not derived from these source forms. Apart from the more regular Nubi verbs with stress on the first syllable, some disyllabic verbs take the stress on the second or last syllable, which suggests that the stress fell on the final syllable in the input form. Owens explains these forms as imperative forms of Arabic derived verbs with an object suffix attached to it, which may pull the stress backwards (see Owens 1985a: 256), as in (969.):

(969.)   UN *we'ri* 'show' < SA *warr-î* 'show it!' IMPER + OBJ SUFF from *warra* (II) 'show' [223]
         UN *na'di*/Turku *nadi* 'call' < SA *nâd-î* 'call him' IMPER + OBJ SUFF from *nâda* (III) 'call'

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[222] The object suffixes 3SING are *-hu* after V, *-u* after C in Kharṭûm Arabic (Trimingham 1946: 40), *-hu* after V, *-u* after C in Shuwa Arabic (Lethem 1920: 19), final vowel length, attracting stress after -V in Sudanese Arabic (Owens 1985a: 256), *-u* or *-a* after C and *Ø* after a vowel in Egyptian Arabic (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985: 154-156; Khalafallah 1969: 60).

[223] According to Hillelson (1930: xxvi), however, verbs with geminated middle consonant insert *â* before the pronominal suffixes in PERF 3SING, e.g. *daggâho* 'he beat him'. PERF 3SING + OBJ SUFF for *warra* 'show' would then be *warrâho* 'he showed him', which can be the source form of Turku *woru*, but not of Nubi *we'ri*. This certainly argues in favour of Egyptian Arabic influences on Nubi.

If we assume that final -*u* is a remnant of plural imperative forms, these verbs are exceptions to a more general system of p/c verb derivation of plural imperatives. But if we accept that -*u* originates from an object suffix, the above verbs are regular examples [224]. The masculine object suffix -*u* may also explain final -*u* in forms derived from active participles, as in UN *'arufu*/Turku *arfou* 'know', UN *'azu, 'aju* 'want', Turku *zourtou* 'swallow', Turku *hartou* 'cultivate', 'clear with a hoe'. The plural active participle would end in -*în*, which is not attested in the p/c verb forms. Moreover, with plural perfect forms, another problem is encountered. In WSA dialects, such as Shuwa, the suffix is -*ô* and not -*û*. Owens (1985a: 256) tackles the problem himself by assuming that in spite of a Western Sudanese Arabic origin of the Arabic p/cs, there was Egyptian and Kharṭûm Arabic interference with respect to the perfect plural endings, or alternatively that by aiming at analogous forms only -*u* forms were yielded instead of co-occurring -*o* and -*u* forms, since the imperative -*u* forms were the most frequent ones.

Pasch & Thelwall (1987) deal with the problem of counterexamples in Kenyan Nubi, namely either intransitive verbs with the -*u* ending, or transitive verbs lacking final -*u*. With respect to the first type of verbs, Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 153) suggest that in some of these cases the plural imperative is after all the most probable source form of the Nubi verb, as illustrated in (970.):

(970.) *'askutu* 'be quiet' < (*sakat/yaskut*) *askut-u* 'be(pl) quiet!' (after Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 154)

I would suggest, however, that this verb was derived from a singular imperative, after which a paragogic vowel -*u* was attached to avoid a final plosive alveolar, which is virtually non-existent in Nubi (see 2.1.3.). Conversely, Pasch & Thelwall suggest that some Nubi transitive verbs occur mainly without -*u*, because at an earlier stage they were intransitive, or because, according to them, it is unlikely that the Arabic transitive verb was used with an object pronoun. They analyse these verbs as being derived from singular imperative forms, which were not followed by the object pronoun, and argue that this is the reason why the resulting verb in Nubi does not have final -*u* (Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 153-157), as in (971.):

(971.) KN *'rasul* 'arrive', 'send' < SA *rassil* 'send!' IMPER from *rassal* (II) 'send'
        KN *'awun* 'help' < SA ʕâwin 'help!' IMPER from ʕâwan (III) 'help'
              (after Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 154-155)

Pasch & Thelwall use Heine's data which are insufficient to draw proper conclusions. *'rasulu* and *'awunu* with final -*u* occur frequently in Ugandan Nubi with the meanings 'send' and 'help', respectively. Moreover, there is no reason why *rassal* 'send' and ʕâwan (III) 'help' should occur in native Arabic speech without an object suffix. I assume that not all verb forms (either with or without final -*u*) should be treated as deriving from the source directly, but that some verbs are the result of a productive process within the language. There are cases of Nubi verbs (from an intransitive verb in the lexifier language) with an individuated object which take -*u*. Consider, for instance (972.) with the transitive verb *'wonusu* 'tell s.th.'. To my knowledge, no Arabic dialect has a transitive verb with this root. Still, in Nubi, both a transitive and an intransitive verb occur, *'wonusu* 'tell s.th.' and *'wonus* 'talk', 'converse' respectively.

(972.) 'Ana   'gu-   rwa   *'wonusu*   *'ija.*
        PRON 1SING   PROG- go   tell-Ø   story
        'I am going to tell a story.'

In the **Turku** word list, there is an obvious correlation between intransitive verbs and absence of final -*u* on the one hand, and transitive verbs and presence of final -*u* on the other hand. In table 49 -*u*

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[224] An exception is the Nubi verb *li'go* 'find', 'meet' which probably derives from a plural perfect + object suffix. The Turku verb *leggui*, on the other hand, may originate from a singular perfect form:
    Nubi *li'go* 'find' < Shuwa *ligô(-hu)* 'they obtained (it)' PERF 3PL + OBJ SUFF from *ligi* 'obtain', 'get'
    Turku *leggui* 'meet', 'find' < Shuwa *ligi-(hi)* 'he obtained (it)' PERF 3SING + OBJ SUFF from *ligi*
        'obtain'

final verbs are contrasted with C-final verbs [225]. Verbs ending in other vowels are not taken into consideration here.

transitive		intransitive	
amfoukou	'blow up'	*batak*	'laugh'
asserou	'massage'	*hilim*	'dream'
arbottou	'tie'	*houm*	'swim'
dougou	'hit'	*asscoutt*	'be quiet'
loumou	'collect'	*bagdeur*	'be able'
kétéfou	'write'	*goum*	'get up'
addou	'bite'	*noum*	'sleep'
cherbou	'drink'	*fadel, fadal*	'remain'
ouorou	'explain', 'show'	*néguitt*	'get ripe'
arfou	'know'	*tallak*	'divorce'
dafounou	'bury'	*boul*	'urinate'
fartakou	'scatter'	*tir*	'fly'
alloumou	'teach'	*nik*	'make love'
aounou	'help'	*temtiemm*	'stammer'
koutou	'put'	*gahed*	'stay'
djibou	'bring'	*djom*	'take a rest'
foukou	'untie', 'open'	*temeuss, tameuss*	'dive'
djourou	'pull'	*nafass*	'breath'
tér(é)bou	'plant'	*kor*	'cry', 'scream'
fatéchou	'look for'	*gobel*	'come back'
choufou	'see'	*akout ma*	'marry with'
fartou	'vaccinate'	*gassar*	'lack'
dossou	'attack'	etc.	
badelou	'change'		
tourdou	'chase', 'follow'		
gobolou	'bring back'		
toussou	'put'		
etc.			

table 49: Transitive *u*-final verbs and intransitive C-final verbs in Turku

Consider also the pairs in (973.), (974.), (975.), and (976.):

(973.)   *delli* 'come down' >< *dellou* 'bring down' (Muraz 1926: 131)
    Ana doro delli fi diouad fichann pont gohoui mafi. 'I want to descend from [my] horse because the bridge is not strong.'
    Dellou kommomm titt. 'Make the convoi come down.', 'Stop the convoi.' (Muraz 1926: 270)

(974.)   *chokoleb* 'turn' >< *chokolbou* 'turn s.th.'
    Ri chokoleb [226]. 'The wind has turned.' (Muraz 1926: 275)
    Oro-lé pokteur-da chokolbou sandouk anahou. 'Tell (to) the porter to return his case.' (Muraz 1926: 272)

(975.)   *gobel* 'come back' >< *gobolou* 'give back' (Muraz 1926: 140)
    (…), inntoukoum gobel fi dar anakoum. 'You(PL) will return to your(PL) country.' (Muraz 1926: 293)
    Gobolou mâl-ana-akitt ana mara-da lé radjiéla (…) 'Return the dowry of that woman to [her] [ex-] husband (…).' (Muraz 1926: 288)

(976.)   *soub* 'fall' >< *sobou* 'pour'
    Mattra soub 'It rains' (Muraz 1926: 158)
    Sobou almé 'Pour water' (Muraz 1926: 176)

and the sentences in (977.):

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[225] See also the discussion in Tosco & Owens (1993: 241-242)
[226] Muraz (1926: 275) mentions *chokolbou* as an alternative form.

(977.)   *Pokteur anahi ouaïd mardann. Badelou*   'One of my porters is ill. Change *him*.' (Muraz 1926: 271)
         Yaoda ourar anahou. Foukou è lamoussou. 'Here are its faeces. Open *them* and touch *them*.' (Muraz 1926: 274)
         Gousou boundouk è dousou dihn katir. 'Clean the weapons and put much grease.' (Muraz 1926: 277)

In sentences, as in (978.), the verb (with no final *-u*) appears to take an object (noun phrase, no preposition). However, the phrase refers to the location where the action takes place, and may therefore be interpreted as an adverbial phrase, and the verbs as intransitive or reduced in transitivity.

(978.)   *Mata oumann bedji schreub bouta-da?* 'When did they come to drink [from] the pool?' (Muraz 1926: 275)
         Orini kann anina ouassal nouss dérib. 'Tell me when we will have reached halfway.' (Muraz 1926: 269)

Exceptions are the verbs in (979.):

(979.)   transitive, no final *-u*:   *simitt* 'understand', 'hear'
                                         niss 'forget'
                                         bassman 'listen'
                                         akoul 'eat'
                                         tar 'circumcise'
                                         dafok, dafouk 'pay'
         intransitive, final *-u:*   *ballou* 'get wet'
         transitive/intransitive,
         one form, no final *-u:*   *tamann* 'cost', 'evaluate'
         transitive, both forms: *tellef, tellfou* 'destroy'
                                         alass, alssou 'lick'

and the sentences in (980.) and (981.):

(980.)   *Kan doktor fut ine, rujal kulu, awin kulu, yal dugag kulu, inte lumu gidam anahu.* 'If the doctor passes here, all the men, all the women, all the small children, you will gather in front of him.'
         (Muraz 1926: 289)

(981.)   *Sersas nasara ana compagnie anakum baktubu le nas anakum (...).* 'The white sergeants of your regiment will write to your people, (…).' (Muraz 1926: 292)

There are also some transitive verbs with final *-i.* The Nubi equivalents have final *-u,* as shown in (982.):

(982.)   *siddi* 'close' cf. UN *'sidu*
         zidi 'increase' cf. UN *'zidu*
         ridi 'like', 'accept' cf. UN *'rudu*
         chiri 'buy'

I have no explanation for these. If we take final *-i* to be the result of progressive vowel assimilation, then these verbs are actually counterexamples for the transitivizing function of the vowel *-u.* However, there are a few verbs which Muraz lists ending in *-i,* whereas in the texts in a transitive context they end in *-i* or *-u,* which implies that these forms are not fixed, as illustrated in (983.), (984.), and (985.):

(983.)   *leggui* 'find', 'meet'
         Anina leggui abou gueurn araï gahilé 'We will find the rhino at around midday.' (Muraz 1926: 279)
         (...), inntoukoum leggou penchon kann sané achara kamza kalass. '(…), you(PL) will get leave when the fifteen years are over' (Muraz 1926: 293)

(984.) *nadi* 'call'
       Nadi soultann 'Call the sultan' (Muraz 1926: 270)
       Nadou kuznié 'Call the cook' (Muraz 1926: 266)

(985.) *shili* 'take'
       Koulioum yom achara kamza inntoukoum chili serfi. Kann tou choulou mandat ana silgui, (…)
       'Every fifteen days you take [your] payment. If you take a mandate at the post, (…)'
       (Muraz 1926: 292)

Roth discusses verb final *-a* in Abbéché Arabic, which she treats as a possible remnant from the third person singular object pronoun of Arabic. Although the contexts in which *-a* is used are rather difficult to establish, Roth concludes that *-a* has been reanalysed as a marker of transitivity and modality of the verb. As in Nubi *-u*, *-a* seems to be conditioned both phonetically and syntactically. Phonetically, *-a* is always found with CC final verbs, while with VC verbs the use of *-a* seems to depend on other factors. Regarding the perfect of VC verbs, Roth (1979: 65) says:

> "(...) -*a* ne peut s'adjoindre qu' aux verbes transitifs directs. Les verbes intransitifs
> l'excluent. *katab* et *kataba* "écrire" ; *libis* et *libisa* "revêtir"; (...), mais on ne relève que
> *lataf* "être aimable", *gidir* "pouvoir"; (...). L'élement -*a* peut donc fonctionner comme
> un morphème indice de transitivité."

Thus, *-a* does not occur with intransitive verbs, but it may occur with transitives. In the imperfect, the distribution pattern of *-a* is less transparent. When contrasting the "présent géneral" to the "présent actualisé", *-a* seems to mark the latter, however, in combination with other elements. The use of *-a* seems to be determined also by the occurrence of the particle *le* which is used to introduce an individuated direct object.

> "Il y a cumul de marques pour l'expression de la notion de procès actualisé, la présence
> de -*a* étant liée à l'usage de la particule *le* pour introduire le complément " (Roth 1979:
> 66).

The distinctions between perfect and imperfect and between the "présent géneral" (non-punctual) and "présent actualisé" (punctual), and the importance of an individuated direct object in Abbéché Arabic, can be related to the parameters which Hopper & Thompson (1980) introduce in their discussion of transitivity (see also 4.1.).

In Juba Arabic, Miller recognizes a pattern in which *-u* marks verbal trisyllabic forms and Ø /-*a* nominal trisyllabic forms (Miller 1993: 153):

> "A l'alternance vocalique interne de l'arabe se substitue donc une suffixation
> vocalique. Le suffixe *-u* n'est plus une marque de personne (3e pers. pluriel) comme
> dans la langue source mais une marque de catégorie (classe?) verbale, le suffixe *-a*
> n'est plus une marque de féminin ou de nom unité (par opposition au collectif, au nom
> d'espèce) mais une marque de catégorie (classe?) nominale." (Miller 1993: 153-154)

According to Miller, this derivational process is productive in Juba Arabic. She refers to verbs derived from nouns/adjectives through the replacement of the final *-a*/ or Ø of the noun by *-u*, as in (986.):

(986.) *se'tima* 'insult (N)'   vs.   *'setimu* 'insult (V)'
       'gisir 'peel (N)'   vs.   *'gisiru* 'peel (V)'
       ne'dif 'clean (ADJ)'   vs.   *'nedifu* 'clean (V)' (after Miller 1993: 153)

Miller mentions similar productive patterns in other creoles, as in the French creoles of the Antilles and the Indian Ocean. If her analysis is correct, this development would differ from the one in Nubi. In the decreolizing urban variety of Juba Arabic *-u* has been lost in the verbal forms (Miller 1993: 153-158).

7.5.2. TMA-marking

7.5.2.1. The bare verb form

In Nubi, the zero form of the verb may express all tenses and aspects, if tense and aspect are marked otherwise in the text. About the unmarked form in pidgins/creoles, Holm (1988: 150) notes: "The simple form of the verb without any preverbal markers refers to whatever time is in focus, which is either clear from the context or specified at the beginning of the discourse." Nubi thus resembles other p/cs, at least for tense. In discussing Turku based on Muraz' description, Tosco & Owens (1993: 215-217) note that in many sentences no verbal suffixes or adverbial elements indicating either tense or aspect are used. Whether a verb refers to past, present or future must be inferred from the context.

7.5.2.2. The progressive marker gi-

The progressive marker *gi-* is probably a JA and Nubi innovation, since it is not attested in Sudanese Arabic dialects. Turku has *gaed/ gahed*, which marks continuous or recurrent action, as in several SA dialects (Tosco & Owens 1993: 216, 240; Roth 1979: 52-53; Worsley 1925: 32; Trimingham 1946: 71). Therefore, Nhial (1975), Mahmud (1979: 48), Owens (1985a: 262) and Tosco (1995: 455, n. 4) suggest that the active participle *gaed/ gâˁid* is the source form of *ga/ge/gi*, through deletion of the last consonant. Kaye (in Kaye & Tosco 1993: 240), however, considers *ge* to be a remnant of the p/c verb *genib* 'sit' (< *gannib* 'sit down!' IMPER of SA *gannab* 'sit down') via the intermediary stage of *'gen*. The *gâˁid*-source form seems, however, more likely, since parallels occur in the Sudan. *qâˁid, gâˁid* or *jâˁid* 'sitting' may express an imperfective aspect in the Sudan (Fischer & Jastrow 1980: 75), while in Shâygiyya Arabic in northern Sudan, the verbal prefix *gaˁ-* yields the same meaning (Reichmuth 1983: 294-295). Moreover, final C-deletion and monophtongization are common processes in the Arabic p/cs, whereas the loss of a full syllable is attested less frequently. The future/irrealis marker *bi-* may have influenced the vowel of *ga-/ge-* thus making it change into *gi-* in front of front vowels, and *gu-* in front of back vowels. Both *'gai* 'sit' and *'gen* 'sit' occur in current JA and Nubi, complementing the progressive marker *gi-,* to mark continuity. Holm (1988: 155) links the fact that verbs with a semantic notion of position or location often express a progressive aspect to a language universal.

Similar to Nubi, the stative/non-stative distinction is found in JA (Tosco 1995: 425-426). In Turku, it is not possible to assess the existence of a stative/non-stative distinction since the neutral zero-form may express the past, present and future tense, and both a punctual and non-punctual aspect. In the few instances with *gahed* V, however, the verb is non-stative (*beji* 'come' and *jibu* 'bring'), as illustrated in (987.):

(987.)   *Yaoda mattra gahed bedji.* 'Here, the rain is on its way coming' (Muraz 1926: 270)
      Tchar al gahed bedji-da, ana machi rouk fi canton anaki. 'The month which will be coming, I will go to your county' (Muraz 1926: 289)
      Fi inak bodjéni katir gahed djibou mardann- noum le nass. 'Over there there are many tse-tse-flies which bring the sleeping sickness to the people' (Muraz 1926: 288)

Kaye & Tosco (1993: 280) note that the stative/non-stative distinction was probably productive in Ugandan Pidgin Arabic (see 1.2.2.2.). A similar distinction is attested in Abbéché Arabic (Roth 1979: 43). In Nubi, some stative verbs may be marked by the progressive marker *gi-* to indicate habituality, to indicate inchoativeness of stative verbs and verbal adjectives (for a similar phenomenon in Sranan Creole English and Haitian Creole French, see Holm 1988: 176). Bickerton (1975: 31-35) mentions that in Guyanese Creole the progressive marker may be used with predicate adjectives, when a process is referred to, rather than a state. In JA as well, the progressive marker may occur with stative verbs, although according to Mahmud (1979: 86-87) this is because the *gi-* marker is, more than anything else, the marker of duration, which is exactly the aspect conveyed in stative verbs. According to Tosco (1995: 425), however, stative verbs in JA conform to Bickerton's paradigm in that they convey present

meaning when no marking appears. In Kenyan Nubi as in Ugandan Nubi, stative verbs may occur with the progressive marker *gi-* when denoting habitual meaning (see texts in Heine 1982).

7.5.2.3. The future marker **bi-**

In Egyptian Arabic, the prefix *bi-* marks duration (Mitchell & al-Hassan 1994: 19), but in many SA dialects it marks future[227], and habituality (Trimingham 1946: 71, 72, 75; Worsley 1925: 31-32; Reichmuth 1983: 286-287), and in this sence it is used in JA and Nubi. In Jenkins' material on Ugandan Pidgin Arabic, there is only one instance of *bi-,* indicating a non-past: *ma bidûru* 'I don't like him' (Kaye & Tosco 1993: 280). In Turku, *bi-* marks futurity (Tosco & Owens 1993: 216-217, 240).

Functions and meaning of *bi-* and *ge-* in JA have been discussed extensively by Miller (1985-86), Mahmud (1979), and Tosco (1995). According to Miller (1985-86), the verbal prefixes *bi-* and *ge-* in Juba Arabic have different functions, when used in the countryside or in town (Juba). In the countryside, the use of *bi-* is that of futurity and iterativity/habituality. The use of *ge-* is restricted to marking continuation. In the capital Juba, however, the function of *ge-* has been expanded to that of iterativity, habituality and the generic, besides its common use as the progressive. In Juba, *bi-* retained its function of marking futurity, but has partly lost its function of marking the iterative and the generic. Miller (1985-86: 165) concludes:

> " La relation entre Fbi et Fge s' est donc totalement modifiée. Il ne s' agit plus d'une opposition entre un inaccompli général (Fbi) et un progressif (Fge), mais d' une opposition entre un modal (Fbi) et un non modal (Fge)."

Mahmud (1979: 42, 48, 50), however, states that *ge/gi* has all functions conceivable, including the perfective and imperfective, the progressive and habitual, and the future. Mahmud argues that *gi-* is the most basic JA marker, and that it is *bi-* which gradually takes over the functions of *ge-/gi-* in the acrolectal varieties of Juba Arabic, influenced by Kharṭûm Arabic. Tosco (1995) views the JA verbal system as a more stable entity and claims that differences in the use of *ge/gi-* and *bi-* are not sociolinguistically, but semantically determined. *bi-* and *gi-* normally express the future and non-punctuality respectively, while they share the ability to mark habituality. *gi-,* however, denotes an actual habitual, whereas *bi-* expresses a more general, and thus virtual habitual. Considering the synchronic data on Nubi, namely the higher frequency of *gi-* with habituals, and the use of *gi-,* and not *bi-*, with stative verbs for expressing habituality, I assume that there is a development in Nubi similar to the one in JA, as noted by Miller (1985-1986), in which *gi-* is partially taking over the functions of *bi-* (see 4.2.1.2.).

7.5.2.4. The anterior marker **'kan**

'kan occurs in most Arabic dialects as an auxiliary indicating past tense. As in the Arabic dialects, Nubi *'kan* is both the past tense of the verb 'be', while at the same time it is the auxiliary marking anteriority. The position of Nubi *'kan* in pre- or post- subject position could be a reflection of its position in SA dialects (see Owens 1991b: 1171). *'kan* can be combined with the markers *gi-* to express a past progressive, and with the marker *bi-* to express counterfactuality. In theory, it can co-occur with both markers *gi-* and *bi-* to express a non-punctual counterfactual. However, in practice, this combination occurs only rarely. If it does, the order of markers is *'kan bi- gi-,* thus ANT FUT/IRR PROG, which conforms to the general pattern as posited by Bickerton (1977: 59). In the Arabic dialects too, *kân* precedes the other markers and/or auxiliaries. However, since *bi-* is always attached to the verb in Arabic dialects, *gâ ͨid* naturally precedes *bi-,* as in (988.):

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[227] Lethem is not clear about the reasons for the presence or absence of *b-* + imperfect in Shuwa Arabic. He notes, however, that "Some Shuwas distinguish this use of *b* as indicating immediate present, while the ordinary form indicates future. In general, however, no such distinction is observed." (Lethem 1920: 106) *b-* is especially common with 1SING, but uncommon with 1PL in Shuwa Arabic.

(988.)   *kunta qâˁid barqûş* 'I went on dancing' (Worsley 1925: 50)

Tosco & Owens (1993: 216) make no mention of an anterior marker in Turku. Anteriority is marked by means of adverbs. According to Jenkins, *'kan* was used in order to express continuous action in the past in Ugandan Pidgin Arabic (Kaye & Tosco 1993: 281).

The Nubi marker *'kan,* apart from marking anteriority, may be interpreted as a marker of modality (cf. above 4.2.1.3.). While modal *'kan* followed by the simple verb rather seldom expresses counterfactuality, and seems to be disappearing, the use of modal *'kan* + future marker *bi-* is increasing. Bickerton (1977: 59) claims that in all creole languages the combination of anterior + irrealis occurs, referring to an unrealized condition in the past. Nubi would thus tend towards a more 'normal' creole system. Owens (1991b) wonders whether the *'kan bi-* construction in Nubi should be ascribed to universal processes, or to a source language influence. He argues that a similar construction, consisting of modal *kân* + (*bi-*) imperfect*,* occurs in some Sudanese Arabic dialects, namely Nigerian Arabic, Abbéché Arabic and possibly Shukriyya Arabic, in conditional and non-conditional contexts, conveying a rather diffuse meaning, including contingency, vagueness and conditionality (see Owens 1991b: 1174) [228]. Comparing the Sudanese Arabic data with Nubi, Owens (1991 b: 1177) concludes:

> "The Nubi counterfactual, though not itself a conditional, has an inherent meaning of conditionality in it: "would have done x (if y had not happened)." It would thus not have been a large step for Nubi **kan bi-** to have developed the very precise meaning of "counterfactuality" out of a more general meaning of **kan/kaan (bi-)** "conditionality, vagueness", etc. "

Whether or not influence of the source languages or universal processes are assumed, the fact is that in Nubi *'kan* plus the zero-form of the verb may convey contingency, vagueness, conditionality, and even counterfactuality. Both forms *'kan* V and *'kan bi-* V were possibly introduced in Nubi from native Arabic. However, *'kan bi-* V tends to survive, while *'kan* V is on the verge of disappearing. *'kan* V is far less frequent than *'kan bi-* V in expressing counterfactuality, and its users are mainly old people and people from the northern part of Uganda, which implies that the construction is not transmitted from older to younger people, and not from the north to the south. Tosco (1995: 441) does not mention the modal function of *'kan* for JA. He argues that the two functions of the *'kan bi-* combination, namely the future perfective and the counterfactual, are to be explained by the double function of *bi-* which expresses both the future and irrealis.

In Nubi, both temporal and modal *'kan* may follow the main verb. Roth (1979: 204) mentions a few examples of Abbéché Arabic conditional clauses where the protasis is introduced by conditional *kân*. A particle *kân* is repeated in the apodosis in pre or postverbal position. This particle probably marks the past or the irrealis. Roth ascribes the construction in which the particle *kân* follows the main verb to poor knowledge of Arabic.

7.5.2.5. *The auxiliary* **'gurwa** + *V*

Nubi is far from unique in deriving an auxiliary marking future from a free verb, meaning 'go' or 'come'. It shares this feature with many languages worldwide, including many pidgin and creole languages (Payne 1997: 237-238; Bickerton 1981: 79), and, at least for the verb 'go', with several Arabic dialects. Roth (1979: 56, 58-59) mentions for Abbéché Arabic the verbal combination *mâša* 'go', 'walk' + perfective/imperfective which is used to refer to an immediate future, but describes it as a serial verb (semi-auxiliaire). She also discusses *dahâba* 'go', which denotes an action taking place in either a near future or a near past, depending on the aspect of the verb it precedes. Reichmuth (1983: 298) gives one example of Shukriyya Arabic *maša* + participle without further discussion: /imši nâgiş/ "er nimmt ab (Mond)". In Egyptian Arabic, verbs of motion may indicate the same meaning, for

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[228] A similar construction (anterior + irrealis) also occurs in Egyptian Arabic, e.g. *kân ḫayiˁmil* 'he was going to do' (see Versteegh 1984: 89).

instance the active participle *râyiḥ* 'going', which has been grammaticalized into the marker *ḥa-* via *raḥ-*, indicating proximate intention (Mitchell & al-Hassan 1994: 23-24).

In the town variety of JA, *ge+ ruwa V* expresses an imminent future, alternating with *bi-V* (Miller 1985-1986: 163), while *gi- 'ja* V expresses an uncertain future (Tosco 1995: 433). Mahmud (1979: 60-62) deals with the use of *masha* 'go' as a tense/aspect marker in JA, but is not clear as to its exact use.

7.5.2.6. *The imperative*

The Nubi imperative whose form is identical to the zero-form, has parallels in Ugandan Pidgin Arabic (Kaye & Tosco 1993: 281) and in Turku (Tosco & Owens 1993: 196). This resembles imperative formation in languages worldwide (Boretzky 1983: 139). It differs, however, from the SA imperative, which is inflected. The Nubi plural imperative, which consists of the verb + *-kum*, is an Arabic p/c innovation. There has been some discussion of the structure of the Nubi negative imperative which consists of *'mata*(SING)/*'matakum*(PL) + imperative. Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 138-139) suggest two possibilities. The first one (supported by Tosco 1995: 455, n.3) is that the negative marker *'ma* conjoins with the 2nd person pronouns *'ita* for the singular, and *'itokum/'itakum* for the plural, to become *'mata* and *'matakum* respectively. However, Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 138-139) argue:

" (…) it is much more likely that the 2nd person pronoun prefix **ta-** of Arabic imperfective (and negative imperative) form has been reanalyzed as one valid only for negative imperative forms:

má	**ta**	**rúa**	**f(i)**	**tááun**	'Don't go into town (Heine 1982: 43)
NEG	ADR	go	to	town	

má	**ta**	**já**	'Don 't come.' (ibid.)
NEG	ADR	come	

cf.   SCA   **maa**   **ta-jiy**

By analogy with the formation of the plural form of the absolute pronoun of the 2nd person, the plural of the addressee is formed by suffixing -kum. The final -u, the second part of the Arabic discontinuous 2nd pl pronoun has been dropped from the verb: **má**

ta-kum	**rúa**	**f(i)**	**tááun**	'Don't (pl) go to town (ibid.)
NEG IMP-2pl	go	to	town	

má	**ta-kum**	**já**	'Don't (pl) come.' (ibid.)
NEG	IMP-2pl	come	

If our analysis is right, it would mean that Nubi, which has lost the possessive and object personal pronouns, has developed a series of addressees**, ta** (sg) and **ta-kum** (pl), just for the negative imperative."

This is a very interesting line of thought. A few considerations should be presented here. Firstly, the derivation of *'mata* from *'ma ta-V* would provide an explanation of the Nubi irregular imperatives, such as *'tal* 'come!' and *'lib*! 'play!' whose negative counterparts are *'mata 'ja*! 'don't come!', *'mata 'alab* 'don't play' respectively, which cannot derive from **'mata 'tal* and **'mata 'lib* respectively. Secondly, besides the more usual *'mata/'matakum* V- forms, Nubi has an alternative set of negative imperative forms consisting of the bare verb form (to which *-'tokum* is attached for plural forms) followed by the negative marker *'ma*, albeit infrequently. Below, I will claim that negative formation in Nubi takes place along two lines, either by a preverbal negator or by a sentence-final negator, which evolved from different inputs. Whereas in indicative clauses, the most common position of negative markers is sentence-final, in imperative clauses it is in preverbal position. Let us now assume that the negative imperative was not derived from *mâ ta-V*, and take the imperative verb as a starting point. In that case, parallel to indicative clauses, the negator is put in clause-final position, and we get a form such as *'rua 'ma* 'do not go', lacking any pronominal traces. These forms exist in Nubi, albeit rather exceptionally. This implies that

for the more common negative imperative we have to turn indeed to an input which involved at least a reflex of a pronoun. Such a reflex is present in the form which Pasch & Thelwall have suggested.

In Muraz's data on Turku, I found only one instance of a negative imperative, namely: *kalam mafi* 'do not talk' (Muraz 1926: 277) with sentence-final negator. Tosco & Owens (1993: 248) also discuss a small text excerpt quoted after Junker (1891: 472):

(989.) "hathab emsik dalwagti mafish
        wood   take   now   not "

Junker interpreted *emsik* as a verbal noun, but as Tosco & Owens point out, an imperative interpretation is much more likely and translate the sentence as 'don 't take the wood now', which makes it a p/c Arabic negative imperative with again a sentence-final negator. These two imperatives can be seen as proof of a very early existence of sentence-final negation. This implies that *mâ ta*-V was certainly the source form, but that it must have been reinterpreted as *mâ 'ita* V. One last remark deals with those p/c verbs which are not derived from Arabic imperatives. Kaye & Tosco (1993: 285) contrast the Ugandan Dialect Arabic *ma tinsash* with the Ugandan Pidgin Arabic *ma nessîtu ~ ma nassîtu*, all meaning 'do not forget'. From the occurrence of *ma nessîtu*, to be interpreted as a negative imperative, we may observe that, since the *ta*-reflex was not heard in the input, it was probably not expressed in the negative imperative until later. Again, this supports Pasch & Thelwall's suggestion about a *mâ* IMPER 2SING input.

7.5.3. Verbal derivations

7.5.3.1. Passivization

In Nubi the passive is formed by a stress shift to the last syllable of the verb (cf. above 4.3.1.). Miller (1993: 154-157) sketches a similar pattern for the formation of intransitive/passive verbs from transitive verbs in JA, and suggests that this morphological process is productive. In her opinion, the stress shift can be traced to the Arabic dialectal third person plural which ends in a long *û (-ûh)*. It seems more likely that the Nubi (and the JA?) passive evolved along the following lines. Initially, the agent was deleted, while the patient was retained. The verb itself remained unchanged. Instances of impersonal clauses with an active verb still occur infrequently in contemporary Nubi, as shown in (990.) and (991.):

(990.) 'Juru   'youm.
        pull-Ø   day
        '[It] pulled the day/ The day was pulled forward./The day proceeded.'

(991.) 'Badulu-'badulu   ru'tan   'toumon.
        change-REDUP-Ø   language   PRON POSS 3PL
        '[They] changed their language / Their language was altered.'

For reasons of emphasis, the patient is topicalized, leaving a resumptive pronoun *'uo* (PRON 3SING) at the extraction site. Consider the fictitious example in (992.):

(992.) *(…)   nyere'ku 'de   kan   'durubu uo   ka'la
               child   DEF   when   shoot-Ø it   already
        '(…)   the child when [they] had already shot it./ when it had already been shot.'

A similar construction with a topicalized patient occurs in Arabic. The patient is referred to in its former position with an object pronoun agreeing in gender and number. Subsequently, the last vowel of the verb is absorbed by the first vowel of the pronoun *'durub(u) 'uo*, and takes the main stress (and consequently high pitch) at the expense of the stress on the first syllable of the verb. (993.) is taken from my field work material.

(993.) (…)   nyere'ku 'de   kan   duru'b(u)   uo   ka'la.

| child | DEF | when | shoot-PASS-Ø | it | COMPL |

'(…)   when the child has already been shot.'

During creolization, the pronoun is reduced to stressed *-u,* while verb + attached resumptive pronoun are reinterpreted as a new verb form. The formation of the passive thus became a productive process involving a stress shift towards the last syllable (expressed with high pitch) regardless of the quality of the last vowel.

There are no passive sentences with an expressed agent in my text material. Miller's text corpus, however, contains a few examples where the agent is expressed after the preposition *ma* 'by', as illustrated in (994.):

(994.)   *a'di a'ku ta'e ma du'ban asel* 'my brother has been bitten by a bee' (Miller 1993: 157)

As far as I know, similar developments (stress shift and/or patient replacement) did not occur in any other Arabic dialect. The above may thus describe an independent development in Nubi (and in JA).

In Muraz' Turku text material, I found several instances of intransitive verbs with transitive counterparts in the lexical list. The intransitive verbs are marked by the absence of final *-u,* while stress is shifted to the second/last syllable, marked by Muraz by doubling of the final consonant (see also Tosco & Owens 1993: 190), as shown in (995.), (996.), and (997.):

(995.)   *diéboutou* 'pull', 'bring' (Muraz 1926: 131) > *djiéboutt* 'be pulled'
         Baleinière djiéboutt mafi. 'The sloop is not pulled [forward]' > 'The sloop does not proceed' (Muraz 1926: 272)

(996.)   *rabotou* 'tie' (Muraz 1926: 169) > *raboutt* 'be tied'
         Ana doro koutou fi dabra anaki daoua samé, batann raboutt ma farda. 'I want to put good medication on your wound, again tied with a piece of cloth.' (Muraz 1926: 283)

(997.)   *lobodou* 'hide' (Muraz 1926: 34) > *loboutt* 'be hidden'
         Kann ouaïdinn loboutt (…). 'If there are some which are hidden (…)' (Muraz 1926: 289)

These 'passives' are formed differently than Nubi three-consonant verbs. The stress shift is common to both. However, in Nubi, the stress is shifted towards the final syllable, which ends in *-u,* whereas in Turku, the stress lies on the penultimate syllable, while final *-u,* present in the active verb, is dropped. The Turku passive forms resemble those Turku adjectives that are derived from SA adjectives, as illustrated in (998.):

(998.)   Turku *térinn, tarinn* 'sharp', 'sharpened' < SA *ţarîn* 'sharp'
         Turku *amlass* 'polished', 'smooth' < SA *amlas* 'smooth'
         Turku *afinn* 'rotten', 'spoilt' < SA *ʕafin* 'stinking'
         Turku *néguitt* 'ripe' (ADJ), 'ripen' (V) < SA *najîḍ* 'ripe'

The equative verb 'be' is not expressed overtly in Arabic or in Turku. It is therefore possible that Sudanese Arabic/Turku adjectives, with stress on the second syllable, were reinterpreted as intransitive, passive verbs. Whereas the SA adjectives refer to the result of a process, Muraz' translations of the Turku forms refer both to the process and the result. Consequently, passivization via a stress shift to the penultimate/second syllable, with loss of the final vowel, may have become a productive process in Turku[229].

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[229] I tried to reinterpret the above sentences as gerunds, since in that case, these verbs would fit without problem into the Nubi/JA system. This is, however, only possible for (996.). *raboutt* could with some effort be interpreted as 'in an attachment with some cloth'. The nominal translation corresponds better to Muraz' translation 'un pansement'. The stress pattern, but not the vowel sequence, resembles the SA nominal *rubâţ* 'bandage'.

7.5.3.2. Nominalization

The formation of gerund forms by a stress shift to the penultimate syllable is partly productive in Nubi (cf. above 4.3.3.). Some Nubi gerunds are reflexes of Arabic nominalized forms. Although Arabic nominalized forms have different structures, many have the pattern *CvCvvC(-a)*: the vowel in the second syllable is long, which attracts stress, as in SA ʕamâra/ʕimâra 'building work'. Reinterpreting such a nominalization for Nubi, we get *Cv'CvC(-a)* with the stress on the second syllable: *a'mara* 'construction'. This must have become a productive process for the formation of gerunds by shifting the stress to the syllable preceding the third consonant. The Nubi vowels, however, were not subjected to changes. This explanation covers gerund forms of trisyllabic verbs which were derived from Arabic imperative forms, such as *'amrugu* 'remove' - *am'rugu* 'removing', 'removal'. They cannot be interpreted as being derived in one way or another from Arabic nominalized forms, since imperative verbs are not the basic forms for nominalization in Arabic. Miller (1993: 154-155) observes parallel processes in JA.

> "La place de l'accent [in nominals (I.W.)] en Juba-Arabic ou en Ki-Nubi est souvent l'indice d'une syllabe lourde étymologique (CVV ou CVVC) qui s'est abrégée. La place de l'accent semble donc reproduire les règles d'accentuation de la langue source (et cible). Mais l'accent joue également un rôle morphologique, non attesté dans la langue source: *le déplacement accentuel peut marquer une distinction verbo-nominale d'une part, et une distinction entre forme verbal transitive et intransitive-passive d'autre part.* Ainsi on relèvera les oppositions:
>
> > *ásrubu* "boire" / *asrúbu* "fait de boire" / *asrubú* "être bu"
> > *ábinu* "construire"/ *abínu* "construction" / *abinú* "être construit"
> > *rásulu* "envoyer" / *rasúlu* "fait d' envoyer" / *rasulú* "être envoyé" "

The Nubi infinitive is probably the result of a similar derivational process. At an earlier stage other Nubi nominalized forms were reflexes of Arabic nominalized forms of verbs with pattern CvCvC, CvCC, as in (999.):

(999.)   SA *zikr* 'devotional exercise' from *zakar* 'mention' (Roth-Laly 1969b: 206)
SA *kasr* 'fracture', kas(i)r 'breaking', 'fragmentation' from *kasar* 'break' (Roth-Laly 1972: 418-419; Reichmuth 1983: 224)
SA *katal* 'slay', *katl* 'murder', *kâtal* 'fight' from *katal* 'kill' (Roth-Laly 1972: 407)
ShA *libis* 'clothes' from *libis* 'dress', 'put on (garment)' (Reichmuth 1983: 227)
ShA *faham* 'understanding' from *fihim* 'understand' (Reichmuth 1983: 225)
SA *katib* 'writing' from *katab* 'write' (Lethem 1920: 79)

These nominalizations are not marked by vowel lengthening or stress shift, and are actually very similar to the Arabic citation verb form (PERF 3SING). I assume that some nominalized forms were introduced in the Arabic p/cs in this way. I chose the above examples also because of their resemblance to the Ø-form of the Nubi verb, assuming common Nubi phonological processes such as vowel assimilation and vowel epenthesis in order to obtain a CV-structure. However, exactly because of their formal similarity with the zero-form of the verb, they have become indistinguishable from verbs. I suppose that this second type of nominalization also became productive in Nubi, producing nominalized forms (which I termed infinitives, cf. 4.3.3.) which are more or less homophonous with the bare form of the verb. Both types of nominalization occur in JA as well, as becomes clear from Miller's remark that nominalization through stress shift is apparently not systematic, considering examples of the following type:

(1000.)   *kásuru ta báb* 'breaking of the door'
móya ta ásurubu 'water for drinking' (Miller 1993: 155)

I assume that, initially, both types of Nubi nominalizations were used concurrently. Above (4.3.3., n. 122, 123) I noted that, in particular, my older informants and informants from the northern

part of the country, contrary to my other observations [230], occasionally used the infinitive form in an alienable-like construction with *ta*, and in constructions in which no agent or patient was expressed, whereas they sometimes used the gerund in an inalienable-like construction. This variation could be attributed to a previous stage of the language where a distinction was still in the making. In (1001.), the speaker, an eighty-year old woman, uses first the gerund and afterwards the infinitive of the verb *'zikiri* 'recite', 'conduct a devotional exercise'.

(1001.) Fi   Li'ra,   'kan   'ina   gi-   'zikiri. *Zi'kiri*   'kan
         in   NPROP   ANT   PRON 1PL   PROG-   recite   recite-GER   ANT
         fi   'be   ta   'sheik. 'Ana   'marya   ta   'sheik.
         in   house   GEN   sheikh   PRON 1SING   woman   GEN   sheikh
         'Zíkíri   'kan   *'zíkíri.*
         recite-INF   be-ANT   recite-INF
         'In Lira, we were reciting. The recitation was in the house of the sheikh. I was the wife of the sheikh. A recitation was a recitation.'

Consider also the JA-clauses in (1000.). However, the question that yet remains to be answered is why and how the distinction was made. As for the reason, I do not see any parallels, except maybe in Bari. Bari distinguishes between a simple and an emphatic gerund with the following characteristics (after Spagnolo 1933: 115, 138).

Simple gerund GEN noun [231]	emphatic gerund GEN noun
passive meaning	active meaning
noun = patient	noun = agent or patient
emphasis on noun	emphasis on verb (emphatic gerund)
cannot stand alone	can stand alone or as object of verbs of motion, introduced by a preposistion *to, into*, or *with*

table 50: Features of gerunds in Bari

Except for the fact that both the simple and the emphatic gerund are found in constructions marked by a genitive exponent, there are some similarities between the Nubi infinitive/gerund and the Bari simple/emphatic gerund respectively. The infinitive always co-occurs with a patient, which has the emphasis. The gerund, by contrast, which may or may not co-occur with an agent or a patient, always has the emphasis itself. Unlike in Bari, both the infinitive and the gerund may be used in a prepositional phrase after a verb. The question remains as to why there is no genitive exponent with the infinitive, whereas with the gerund genitive *ta* is present. In the INF N-construction, the emphasis is on the patient which is subjected to the action expressed by the infinitive. Both may thus be regarded as impossible to

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[230] I claimed that gerund forms occur in alienable-like constructions with the agent/patient, marked by the genitive exponent *ta,* whereas infinitive forms are found in inalienable-like constructions with the patient not linked by *ta*. When neither the agent nor the patient is expressed, the gerund is used (cf. 4.3.3.).

[231] I guess that by active and passive Spagnolo means that for 'passive' the noun is passive as to the action. It is therefore patient of the action, whereas with 'active' the noun conducts the action, and is therefore agent. Consequently, for the passive meaning, the emphasis is on the patient (or noun), whereas for the active meaning, the emphasis is on the action itself, or on the verb. This would imply that the noun of a simple gerund is the patient, and that the noun of the emphatic gerund is the agent. However, in Spagnolo's examples, the noun of both the simple and the emphatic gerund may co-occur with a noun-agent and a noun-patient. For the emphatic gerund, this could more or less be explained. Since the emphasis is on the verb, possibly it does not really matter whether the patient or the agent of the verbal action is expressed. However, for the simple gerund, according to me the noun, which is the centre of the construction, cannot be other than the patient, considering Spagnolo' s remarks. There is only one example in his grammar of an agentive noun co-occurring with a simple gerund: *ta ayiŋ jama nikaŋ* 'Did you hear our speaking?'. *jama* is the simple gerund. Possibly, Spagnolo means 'our being spoken to', in which case this example does not contradict his other findings. For the discussion of the Nubi INF/GER, I assume that the Bari simple gerund can only co-occur with a patient, and not with an agent.

divide, therefore as inalienable. In this case, *ta* is not expressed. On the other hand, the central part of a gerundive construction is the gerund. The agent or patient are less relevant to the entire construction, and are therefore marked by the genitive exponent.

A similar distinction is apparently made in JA. Miller talks about a productive process of stripping the verb of its stress in order to nominalize it. In (1002.), a gerund-like form is followed by the genitive particle *ta* + noun, or it stands alone, while in (1003.) and in (1004.), a non-accentuated verb is immediately followed by its nominal patient.

(1002.) *rakábu ta laám* 'cooking of the meat'
         kurúju dé sókol ta náse jídu ta nina 'agriculture is a traditional activity'

(1003.) *dúgu* 'hit' >< *dugu* 'hitting'
         dugu báb dé sáab 'knocking on a door is difficult'

(1004.) *gáta* 'cut' >< *gata* 'cutting'
         gata gís dé sógol ta muzáre 'cutting the grass is the work of the peasants'

The infinitives (or what Miller calls 'formes désaccentuées) are presumably not without stress. Miller's examples are all bisyllabic verbs, and in combination with a following noun, their stress may be reduced but does not disappear.

For Turku, I found only one minimal pair, where verb and nominal were clearly distinguished, namely *dafounou, dafonou* 'bury' >< *dafana* 'funeral' (Muraz 1926: 48, 53). For other pairs, Muraz does not distinguish formally between verb and noun, as illustrated in (1005.) and (1006.):

(1005.) Turku *asserou* 'massage' (V) >< *asserou* 'massage' (N) < SA ʕ*aṣṣar* 'massage'
         Turku *assbour* 'forgive', 'wait' >< *assbour* 'pardon' < SA *ṣabar* 'be patient', 'wait'

(1006.) Turku *lip* 'dance' (V) >< *lip* 'dance' (N) < SA *liʕib* 'dance', 'game'
         Turku *mal* 'inherit' (V) >< *mal* 'inheritance' < SA *mâl* 'property', 'wealth'
         Turku *sidal* 'possess' (V) >< *sidal* 'possessor' (N) < SA *sîdu (a)l-..*' 'owner of the..'

In (1005.) the Turku verb is probably basic, whereas the noun is derived. In (1006.), however, the verb is derived from the noun, since no verb similar to the Turku ones exists in Sudanese Arabic. In (1007.), I assume that the phrase *zourtou daoua* is the dislocated object of the clause, which consists of the infinitive *zourtou* plus its patient *daoua*.

(1007.) (…)   fichan   *zourtou*   *daoua*   ana   niss   mafi.
                 so that swallow-INF   medication   PRON 1SING   forget-Ø NEG
         '(…)   so that I will not forget the swallowing of [my] medication/to swallow [my] medication.'
         (Muraz 1926: 280)

Consider also (1008.):

(1008.) Doktor bedji chouf inntoukoum fichann *sao daoua.* Hou bedji fichann *koutoulou inntoukoum* mafi. 'The doctor comes to see you for making medication. He does not come for killing you.' (Muraz 1926: 289)

7.5.4. The verb *'endi* 'have'

Neither in the Arabic dialects or in the substrate and adstrate languages does a verb exist expressing possession. To express 'have', Arabic dialects use an expression '(there is) with /for…'. In KA, the preposition ʕ*ind* 'with', 'by' is the commonest, e.g. in ʕ*indi marabba wa zibda* 'with-me are jam and butter/I have jam and butter' (Trimingham 1946: 54). Its use is not limited, unlike *maʕa* 'with', which can only be used to express possession of small articles on a person or in the hand, and unlike *lê* 'for', 'to', which is used to express possession of big property or for periods of time. The preposition ʕ*ind/*ʕ*and* 'with', 'by' is therefore the most logical input for the Nubi verb *'endi/'endis* 'have'. In KA, the

possessor may be placed in sentence-initial position, while being copied pronominally after the preposition to emphasize the possessor, as in (1009.):

(1009.) ana   ʕind-i   ʕênên   w-   inta   ʕind-ak   ʕênên
         PRON 1SING   with me eye-DUAL   and   PRON 2SING   with you   eye-DUAL
         'I have two eyes and you have two eyes'. (Trimingham 1946: 42-43)

Similar topicalization structures exist in EA, as is illustrated in (1010.) with the preposition ʕ*and* 'with':

(1010.) al-ʕarîs   ʕandu   ʕarabiyya
         the bridegroom   with himcart
         'The bridegroom has a cart.' (after al-Tonsi & al-Sawi 1986: 109)

From there it requires only a small step to reanalyse the erstwhile locative possessive with Ø-copula as a 'have'-possessive with SVO-order repositioning the subject properties from the possessed item to the possessor and reinterpreting the erstwhile preposition as a verb. A similar development took place in Maltese Arabic (see Comrie 1985: 224).

The Nubi form *'endis* or *'endisi* must probably be traced to the negated form of the locative possessive which occurs with the negative marker *mâ* and final *-sh* in EA: *mâ* ʕ*andîsh* 'not with me', *mâ* ʕ*andûsh* 'not with him' (al-Tonsi & al-Sawi 1986: 105; Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 158; Kaye & Tosco 1993: 285). In SA, final *-sh* often does not occur, so that it could be disconnected from its negative meaning. In present-day Nubi *'endis* and *'endisi* are used as allomorphs of *'endi*. Several forms of different dialects have served as inputs for the ultimate Nubi forms for 'have', namely, *'indi, 'endi, 'andi,* including *'indi* from ʕ*ind* (Aswân, and area above Minya, Omdurman Arabic), or *ind* (Abbéché Arabic) *'andi, 'endi* from ʕ*and* (between Minya and Aswân) (see Behnstedt & Woidich 1985b: 371; Worsley 1925: 62; Trimingham 1946: 55; Roth 1979: 190).

The introduction of a verb meaning 'have' is probably a more recent pidgin/creole innovation in which Turku does not seem to have shared. Turku has *mal* 'have money' 'inherit', and *sidal* 'possess'. Generally, however, possession is expressed by means of the existential marker, as shown in (1011.):

(1011.) kanamaye   achra   fi   bakann   ana
         goats   ten   exist   place/with   me
         'There are ten goats at my place.'   (after Muraz 1926: 16)

In JA, the normal way of expressing possession seems to be with the verb *índu* 'have'.

(1012.) *"ínna   ma   índu   múskil   ma   étakum*
         we   NEG   have   problem with   you-P
         'We have nothing against you.' " (Tosco 1995: 426)

However, Tosco (1995: 426) states that "One of my informants often used this verb with Arabic pronominal affixes (e.g. *índi* 'I have', *índana* 'we have'). Likewise, he also used *fi* 'be-there' before *índ + pronoun*, thus reproducing the colloquial Arabic construction (…)." as illustrated in (1013.):

(1013.) " *híni   de   tában   fi   índana munazzamát*
          here   DET   of-course   be-there have-we organizations
          'Of course, we have organizations here.' " (Tosco 1995: 426)

Watson (1984: 9, in Tosco & Owens 1993: 244) gives (1014.) for Juba Arabic, where existential *'fi* and the preposition *le* serve to express possession:

(1014.) fi   le   ána   míle
         exist   at   me   salt
         'I have salt'

Therefore, it seems that in JA both types of possessive constructions co-occur. It is possible that JA is still in a transitory stage in which preposition *ind* + pronoun is reinterpreted as the verb *ind* 'have'. It is, however, more likely that the verb *ind* has been established firmly in JA, and that forms with *ind* + pronoun are due to influence from the Kharṭûm Arabic dialect. From the speech of the informants in Miller (1988-1989: 41-46), we learn that the basilectal and mesolectal speakers use the verb *indu* 'have', whereas in the acrolectal speech variety we find preposition *ind* + pronominal affix. This implies that the preposition *ind* + pronoun has indeed been reintroduced through decreolization.

From the above it may be concluded that Nubi and JA follow a universal tendency in introducing a special verb 'have' by grammaticalizing an existing construction, and that this verb receives most, and in the case of Nubi, even all functions.

7.5.5. Conclusion

Common features of (some) Arabic dialects and p/cs	Arabic p/c features
	one verbal stem form: no person/number marking on the verb, no distinction perfect/imperfect
	Ø expressing all tenses and aspects, if TA is marked by other means
gâ⸱id / qâ⸱id: continuous, recurrent actions (SA)	*gi-* (Nubi, JA): progressive marker
	gaed/gahed (Turku): continuous, recurrent actions
stative/ non-stative distinction (AA, UDA)	stative/ non-stative distinction (Nubi, JA)
	gi- + stative verbs: to mark habituality, inchoativeness, verbal adjectives (Nubi, JA)
bi-/be-: future/habituality (SA)	*bi-:* future marker (Nubi, Turku), future/habituality (JA)
kân: pre-or postsubject position (SA)	
kan: temporal and modal (NA, AA, (ShA))	*kan bi-*V: counterfactuality (Nubi)
	*kan bi-gi-*V order (Nubi) , unlike SA *kân gâ⸱id bi-*V
AUX FUT from verb 'go' (EA, AA, ShA)	AUX FUT from verb 'go', 'come' (Nubi, JA, (Turku))
	AUX ingressive/resultative from verb 'come' (Nubi, JA)
AUX ingressive from verb 'get up' (AA, EA, ShA)	
AUX repetition from verb 'return' (AA, EA)	
AUX continuity/duration from verb 'sit' (AA, EA, KA)	
	completive marker *ka'las* (Nubi, JA)
	IMPER SING: Ø-form (Nubi, JA, Turku)
	IMPER PL: V-*kum* (Nubi)
	Nubi negative imperative: *'mata* V < Arabic *mâ* IMPERF 2SING
	passive formation through stress shift on last/ (third) syllable) (Nubi, JA), on second syllable (Turku)
	nominalized forms: reflexes of Arabic infinitive forms (Nubi, JA, Turku)
	Nubi: productive process, distinction gerunds/infinitives
	verb 'have' through reanalysis of Arabic preposition (Nubi, JA)

table 51: Arabic p/c features and common features of Arabic dialects and p/cs in VP

Except for the temporal/modal use of *kân*, there are no typical WSA features in both the Arabic p/cs and in some WSA dialects. Most p/c features are innovations, that are characterized by the reinterpretation of morphological material of the Arabic dialects (either of the eastern or western part). Similar developments are attested in languages worldwide. Differences between Nubi and Turku are listed in table 52.

Nubi	Turku [232]
marker *gi-*	auxiliary *gahed/gaed*
bi-gi- V	no co-occurrences *be* and *gaed* (however limited data)
negative imperative: *'mata* V	negative imperative: V *mafi*
passive: stress shift to last (mainly third syllable): reanalysis of V + OBJ PRON	stress shift to second syllable: corresponding to Arabic adjectives
verb for 'have'	no verb for 'have'

table 52: Nubi-Turku distinctions in VP

7.6. Other word classes

7.6.1. Conjunctions

The UN conjunction *yâ* has no obvious source form in SA. It seems, however, to occur in AA (see Roth 1979: 219), as in (1015.):

(1015.)   *ana gâid negeri yâ fransa jo* 'j' étais en train à lire et à écrire (quand?) les Français sont arrivés'
       fî Dambe (lieu) yâ n-nâr ôgodôha 'à Dambe où le feu a été mis'. (Roth 1979: 219)

Roth (1979: 199) also discusses the form *hîya* which occurs in sentence-initial position in both nominal and verbal sentences. Its function resembles the function of UN sentence-initial *'ya* indicating temporal modality, or introducing a sentence which more or less sums up the foregoing, as in (1016.):

(1016.)   *xalli nijibu le almi wa hîya naʔaddîki* 'allons chercher l'eau et alors (ou ensuite) je te (les) donnerai.'
       (Roth 1979: 199)

It is thus possible that AA *hîya* and *yâ* are allomorphs and that there is a link between both forms and the UN conjunction *'ya*. The Nigerian Arabic *yé* also seems to function as a conjunction, introducing the apodosis of a conditional clause, similar to UN *'ya*, as in (1017.):

(1017.)   " *kán   ad-dáwaka   jó   yé   bɔssaww-úu-a   lée-na*
        if   def-musicians   come   ye   do-pl-it   for us
     "If the musicians come, they play it for us". " (Owens 1993: 100)

A parallel is found in the substrate language Alur. Alur *ya*, which does not seem to have a fixed position, expresses a causal relation between two sentences (Vanneste 1940: 1-Y-1; Ukoko, Knappert & Van Spaandonck 1964).

The Nubi subjunctive marker *ke'de* is probably related to eastern Sudanese *kadi,* Egyptian *kide* or *kede* (dialect of Asyûṭ). In Omdurman Arabic, *kadi* means 'then', 'consequently', and ʕ*ale kadi* 'so that' , whereas *kida* means 'so', 'in this way', 'like this' (Fischer 1959: 132-134; Trimingham 1946: 29). The latter functions more or less as a demonstrative adverb, the former as a subjunctive marker.

Conditional *kan* seems to be a typical element of the Sudanic belt. It occurs also in Upper Egypt. Conditional *kan* exists in Nigerian Arabic (Owens 1991: 1172 ff.; Owens 1993: 237-241), in Abbéché Arabic (Roth 1979: 202ff.), and among other markers, in Sudanese Arabic (Trimingham 1946: 144-145; Worsley 1925: 74; Reichmuth 1983: 304-305). JA *kan*, like UN *kan,* may mean both 'if' and 'when' (Mahmud 1979: 75; Miller 1979-1984: 306; Tosco 1995: 433, 435, 436). 'if' in JA is also expressed by *lo* (Mahmud 1979: 83-84; Tosco 1995: 441), and by the Egyptianism *izakan* (Miller 1979-1984: 305). Conditional 'if' in Turku is also expressed by *kan*. In Nubi, JA, and Turku *kan,* apart from its function in conditional clauses, is also used in temporal contexts. In Abbéché Arabic as well, *kân* is used in certain contexts to express temporal value (Roth 1979: 203). Consider also Givón (1990: 830), who mentions that simple conditionals, or in his terminology irrealis conditionals, and irrealis when-clauses, are expressed similarly in many languages.

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[232] See also Owens (1996: 157-158).

The conjunction introducing (in)direct speech has been discussed extensively in the p/c literature. Typically, a reflex of a verb meaning 'say' introduces a sentential complement after verbs of speaking, telling, and other cognition-utterance verbs (Sebba 1985: 129; Versteegh 1984: 100; Holm 1988: 185-188). The Arabic verb *qâl* 'say' was reanalysed as the UN conjunction *'gal* that introduces (in)direct quotations.

7.6.2. The focus marker *'ya*

The origins of the focus marker *'ya* are quite difficult to assess. Focusing UN *'ya* [233] has parallels in contemporary Abbéché Arabic and in Nigerian Arabic. In Nigerian Arabic, according to Owens (1993: 100), NP-final *yé* marks a pre-predicate constituent, which is mainly a NP, and most commonly a subject. In some cases, the marked constituents are topics in the narrow sense.

(1018.) " *al-aǵlla*   *ye*   *biyaakǝl-úu-a*
             def-grain   ye   eat-m/pl-it
             "As for the grain, they eat it". " (Owens 1993: 100)

(1019.) " *ma*   *lammáa-k*   *fi*   *šáy,*   *ha*   *l-yóom* *ye*   *jíi-na* *fi*   *l-bírni*
             not   gather-you   in   thing   and   today   ye   came-we in   def-city
             "Nothing bothered us, yet today here we've come to the city". " (Owens 1993: 100)

(1018.) and (1019.) are examples of Y-movement in NA, where the moved constituent is marked by *yé.* In this sense, UN *'ya* functions similarly to NA *yé.* According to Roth (1979: 219) AA *yâ* is "(…) une modalité d' insistance (…). C'est en quelque sorte une marque par laquelle le locuteur souligne la véracité ou l'authenticité des propos qu'il tient ou des faits qu' il relate."

(1020.) *bahasba al-humâr yâ waga' fî bîr*
             'il pensait que l' âne était bel et bien tombé dans le puits' (Roth 1979: 219)

(1021.) *ad-dûd bu-gûl: tôrî yâ wilid; al ba'ašôm bu-gûl: bagarti yâ wildat.*
             'le lion dit: c'est mon beuf qui a mis bas; le chacal dit: c' est ma vache qui a mis bas.' (Roth 1979: 219)

However in (1020.) AA *yâ* seems to function as a focus marker or it seems to mark a cleft-like construction, as in (1021.). For Roth (1979: 218) the origin of *yâ* remains obscure. According to her, it is mainly used by the elite or by native speakers of Arabic. From this fact it could be inferred that the origins of Abbéché *yâ* and Nubi *'ya* should be looked for in Arabic dialects and not in the substrate languages. *ya/yâ* occurs in several Arabic dialects, and apart from its meaning of vocative particle[234], it has very different functions.

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[233] According to Miller (1987: 19), *yaú* is very frequent in Juba Arabic, where it functions as an emphasizer or topicalizer.

yala	baga	taab	tani	yau	ge	jibu	fi	dula	tou
voilà	devenir	fatigue	autre	TOP	ge+	apporter	dans	côte	de	lui

Il va y avoir un autre problème avec cette personne. (Miller 1985-1986: 163)

fi	karánga	yaw	ínna	kan	rúa	fi	gába, (…)
in	dry-season	TOP	we	kan	go	in	bush

'In the dry season we went into the bush (Tosco 1995: 441)'

JA *yaú* is a compulsory element in nominal predicates, functioning more and more as a copula (Miller 1987: 19):

kalam	de	yaú	batál
word	DET	COP	bad

'These are bad words.' (Miller 1987: 19)

[234] Fischer (1959: 167) links the vocative particle in Arabic dialects to the sentence-introducing particle. He writes that in the Arabic dialects in Sudan/Jezîra, besides *yâ*, *hâ* and *ʔâ* are found as vocative particles. "Demnach ist es nicht erstaunlich, daß neben *hâ* auch *ʔâ* as Satzeinleitungspartikel vorkommt." (Fischer 1959: 167). If this is

The clue to the etymology of UN *'ya* may, however, lie in the SA clause in (1022.)

(1022.) *yâ hû r râjil be zâto el ja elbârih*
'this is the same man who came yesterday' (after Hillelson 1930: 257)

It is difficult to interpret *yâ* here correctly, since the clause is taken out of its context. It is not unlikely that *yâ* serves as an adverb, meaning 'really!', 'indeed', and thus acts merely as an emphasizing particle. In allegro forms *yâ hû* is pronounced *yaw*, and interpreted as one form, which is reanalysed as a focusing particle, leaving the sentence devoid of a subject that is consequently reintroduced. The form *yaw* has been retained in JA, and in the Turku compound form *yaoda*, whereas in UN, in AA, and in Nigerian Arabic, it has been monophthongized to *'ya, yâ,* and *yé* respectively. The above may have been reinforced by substratal features. In some of the possible substrate languages *ya*-like forms function as a copula or a relativizer. Bickerton (1993: 209) states that worldwide focusing markers can generally be traced to copulas, and sometimes to relativizers. In Shilluk, *ya* is used as a copula 'be', but only if the predicate is an adverb (Westermann 1912: 89). In Bari, the so-called relative adjectives may be preceded by the copula *a* when used predicatively. A sentence like 'my daughter is small' can then be interpreted as 'my daughter is she who is small'. (Spagnolo 1933: 61). In Lango and other Luo dialects, clefts are formed by means of the relative particle *àmê* or *àyé* alternatively, which follows its head noun (Noonan 1992: 236; Crazzolara 1955: 186). Dinka *ye* functions as an interrogative auxiliary (Nebel 1948: 59).

7.6.3. Conclusion

Common features of Arabic dialects and Arabic p/cs	Features unique to Arabic p/cs
conjunction *hîyâ, yâ, yé* (NA, AA) (UN *'ya)* conditional *kân* (SA) conditional *kan* also temporal value (AA)	
UN subjunctive marker *ke'de,* cf. OA *kadi?*	Nubi complementizer from verb 'say'
ya/ ye: focusing element (AA, NA)	Nubi *'ya* focus marker (JA *yau:* copula)

table 53: Common featues of Arabic dialects and p/cs vs. unique Arabic p/c features in other word classes

7.7. Clause structure

7.7.1. Constituent order

The normal word order in Nubi, as in Turku, JA and most creole languages, is SVO, which corresponds to the normal word order in the Arabic dialects (Versteegh 1984: 21). The direct object precedes the indirect object. Consider the Turku sentence in (1023.):

(1023.) *Gobolu mâl ana akit ana mara-da lé rajiéla jaman, (...).* 'Return the dowry of this woman to her ex-husband, (…)' (Muraz 1926: 288)

However, as in Nubi, the normal word order in Turku may sometimes be altered. In (1024.), the object follows the adverbial phrase.

(1024.) *Ana doro koutou fì dabra anaki daoua samé, (...).* 'I want to put good medication on your wound, (…)' (Muraz 1926: 283)

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correct, it is not too difficult to assume an extension towards the use of vocative *yâ* as a sentence-introducing particle.

7.7.2. Subject-predicate agreement

According to Versteegh (1984: 125), agreement across the predicate in JA is the result of Arabic dialect influence, and is thus a feature of decreolization. He is, however, wrong in asserting that this type of agreement does not occur in Nubi, which would imply that Nubi preserves more archaic forms. There is optional agreement both in the Kenyan and Ugandan variety of Nubi, and I assume that in Juba Arabic and in Nubi, agreement has always been optional. It is, however, very likely that agreement in JA is more common owing to Arabic influence.

7.7.3. Negation

In Ugandan Nubi, sentences are negated either by *'ma,* which may take any position in the sentence, or by *'maf(i),* which is generally found in sentence-final position. In Kenyan Nubi, the negative particle is in preverbal position (Khamis 1994: 201; Kaye & Tosco 1993: 285; Tosco & Owens 1993: 258, n. 3). However, Heine (1982: 39) gives several examples of sentence final *ma* in Kenyan Nubi. Tosco & Owens (1993: 258 n. 53) refer to more mutual contact between the two Nubi groups (in Kenya and Uganda) after the fall of Amin in 1979, which may have led to fewer restrictions on the position of *ma* in Kenyan Nubi. In JA, negation seems to be restricted to constructions with preverbal *ma*. In Turku, three types of negation occur. Sentence-final *mafi* is most common. Occasionally, the preverbal negator *ma* occurs. The third type is only attested in Muraz's texts with the first person singular pronoun in clauses such as (1025.):

(1025.) Ma-   na-   doro   innté   koutoulou   kanamaye   mara.
         NEG-   PRON 1SING- want   PRON 2SING   kill-Ø   goat(s)   woman
         'I do not want you to kill female goats.'   (after Muraz 1926: 288)

Jenkins mentions three forms of negation for Ugandan Nubi at around the turn of the century (in Kaye & Tosco 1993: 285), namely *mâ...sh* […], *mûsh* […], and *ma* […]. These are Egyptianisms, and could be consigned to the category of Arabic dialect influence in Uganda. Only *ma* […] is also a Ugandan Pidgin form, and always occurs preverbally.

The preverbal negator *ma* is obviously a reflex of Sudanese Arabic *ma* (Lethem 1920: 20, 37; Trimingham 1956: 63; Hillelson 1930: xxviii; Owens 1993: 172; Roth 1979: 215). To explain sentence-final *'mafi*, we turn to Bickerton (1981: 191ff.) who reconstructs the development of negative constructions drawing parallels between children's acquisition of negation and creolization-decreolization. Generally, in child's language acquisition and in creoles, in the first stage, the morpheme of denial (*no,* and only occasionally *not* for children acquiring English, or English based creoles) is placed at the beginning or end of the utterance. In the Sudanese Arabic dialects, this morpheme is generally *la*. In Nigerian Arabic, it may also be *'mâfi* (Owens 1993: 183). 'not-being-there' is, however, generally expressed in the Sudanese dialects by *mâfi* (or *mâfish)* (Trimingham 1946: 58), which is placed in sentence-final position to negate the preceding sentence. Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 138) interpret *'ma'fi* as:

> "(…) an expression used to express the non-availability of something that has been requested and constitutes a clause where the subject can be deleted because it has already been mentioned before. (…) **maa fii** is to be interpreted as an expression negating the preceding clause. It is now conceivable that **ma fii** was interpreted monolexemically having the meaning 'not', (…)".

The stress on the second part of the negative existential is less strong than on the first: *'mafi*. Consequently, the vowel or even the whole syllable may have been dropped (see also Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 138). It is, however, difficult to judge whether sentence-final negator *'ma* is the result of an extreme reduction of the original sentence-final negator *'ma'fi*, or whether it is the negator *'ma*, whose position is no longer restricted to the preverbal position in present-day Ugandan Nubi. Even if sentence-final *mafi* is in competition with (preverbal) *'ma* in Ugandan Nubi, it has not yet disappeared. Tosco &

Owens (1993: 247-248) attribute this to the influence of substrate languages (Central Sudanic languages), where sentence-final negation occurs. However, Nigerian Arabic, besides the more common preverbal negator *ma,* sometimes uses sentence final *máfi* (Owens 1993: 172), while according to Tosco & Owens (1993: 243) a sentence final negator *mafi* is attested in Arabic dialects of Western Chad and Northern Cameroon as well.

In creoles, negation is generally conveyed by means of a preverbal negative element (Holm 1988: 171; Arends et al. 1995: 98; Romaine 1988: 228). Yet there are several creoles with sentence-final negation, sometimes co-occurring with preverbal negation, such as Principe Creole Portuguese, Palenquero Creole Spanish (Holm 1988: 173), Shaba Swahili (De Rooij 1995: 189), Fa d'Ambu (Post 1995: 197-198), and Berbice Dutch (Kouwenberg 1995: 237). Interestingly, these are pidgins and creoles that allow double negation, as does Nubi (see below). In the Shaba-Swahili example in (1026.) (from the Zairean copperbelt), sentence-final *apana* is a clear reflex of the Swahili morpheme of denial *hapana.*

(1026.) "*A*-i-kuwa   fura(h)a ya   famille   **apana**
        NEG-it-COP   joy   CONN   family   NEG
        'It was no joy for the family at all.' " (de Rooij 1995: 189)

Turku and Ugandan Nubi employ both types of negation. JA has only preverbal *'ma.* In the Kenyan Nubi variety, only the negator *'ma* is retained, whether in preverbal position or placed more freely. Neither Owens (1977), nor Heine (1982) mention any instances of the negator *'mafi/'maf.* The question remaining is how it is possible that *'mafi* survived in Ugandan Nubi, and not in JA, since the substrate languages which might have affected the sentence-final negative construction are more or less the same. Influence of the Arabic source language may, however, have played a role in Juba Arabic in restricting negation to the use of preverbal *'ma.* Likewise, one might ask how it is possible that sentence-final *'mafi* was lost in Kenyan Nubi, whereas it is a common method of negation in Ugandan Nubi. However, both Kenyan Nubi sentence-final *'ma* and Ugandan Nubi sentence-final *'maf(i)* are remnants of sentence-final *'ma'fi.* The difference is only that in Kenyan Nubi the second part of the negated existential marker has been dropped entirely, whereas in Ugandan Nubi its consonant *-f-* has been retained.

After verbs of prohibition, the subjunctive clause may be negated in Ugandan Nubi, while the negation is compulsory in Kenyan Nubi (Owens (1977: 249). Substrate influence may play a role. For instance in Dinka, similar negative constructions are employed with verbs expressing feelings of fear, repugnance, prohibition or impossibility (Nebel 1948: 57).

7.7.4. Conclusion

common features of Arabic dialects and p/cs	features unique to Arabic p/cs
SVO preverbal negator *ma* (SA) sentence final negator *mâfi* (NA, Western Chadian Arabic, Northern Cameroon Arabic)	agreement subject-predicate: optional, and rather rare (except for JA: decreolization)

table 54: Common features of Arabic dialects and p/cs and features unique to Arabic p/cs in clause structure

7.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I tried to link Arabic p/cs , and especially Nubi, with the Arabic dialects of the area, going from Egypt via Eastern Sudanese Arabic (KA) and the Arabic of the Sudanese belt to Western Sudanese Arabic (Abbéché Arabic, Shuwa Arabic, and Nigerian Arabic). My aim was to reconstruct the development of Nubi (and JA/Turku), and to investigate the nature of the source language(s). At first, I approached the problem from an historical point of view. I assumed that several pidgin varieties existed before 1820 in the area. Through contacts between speakers of different areal varieties some degree of levelling may have taken place. From 1820 onwards, however, the influence of varieties with an eastern Arabic input may have increased, through the Egyptian military and the impact of Egyptian and Kharṭûm traders. In travellers' diaries we also read about Western Sudanese traders in the *zarîbas*. The historical sources thus suggest a pan-Sudanese origin for the Arabic p/cs. For the purpose of investigating the linguistic sources of the Arabic p/cs, and especially Nubi, I reorganized the dialect features which parallel the Nubi features discussed above in table 55 according to their geographical distribution.

Developments in all source dialects, or in some dialects, including however eastern and western varieties	Typical for eastern Arabic dialects	Typical for western Arabic dialects
Phonology Ø < h , especially in WSA, e.g. NA, while variably attested in AA (Tosco & Owens 1993: 232-233; Roth 1979: II). epenthesis (in most SA dialects) final devoicing	EA *g* < Old Arabic *jîm*	assimilation and vowel harmony in several dialects, especially in WSA, however limited by grammatical criteria loss of emphatics, especially in WSA: variably attested, no emphasis in Bagirmi, Njamena loss of pharyngeals: ḥ > h/Ø/kh, ʕ > Ø/y (especially in WSA, however variably attested: no pharyngeals in Nigeria and Chad)
Vocabulary	Egyptianisms in Nubi, but not in Turku	WSA words in Turku, however not in Nubi
Noun phrase DEM PROX: least marked form (EA, AA) (>< generally in languages: DEM DIS: least marked) numeral 'one' used as indefinite article optional marking of indefiniteness comparison: ADJ + *min* + complement possession: analytic and synthetic constructions N GEN N-constructions: concrete possession, qualifications, while synthetic constructions: kin terms, part-whole relations	PRON 1PL: Nubi *'ina* < *iḥna* PRON POSS 2PL: *-kum* PRON 3PL final *-n: humṃan* genitive exponent: Nubi *ta,* JA *(bi)ta* < *bitâʕ-*	PRON 1PL: Turku *anina* < *anîna* collectivity marked by *nâs* (Shuwa) *da* used as definite article, beside *el* (AA, NA) DEM PROX < PRON + *da* (AA) reinterpretation of Arabic PL DEM *dol* as plural marker: in AA, (and NA?) comparison: ADJ + *fuut* + complement (NA, Bagirmi) comparison: X surpasses Y in quality Z (AA, NA, Shuwa) Turku genitive exponent *ana* < *hana* word order N NUM/NUM N (AA, Shuwa)
Verb phrase *gâʕid / qâʕid :* continuous, recurrent actions from verb 'sit', 'stand' *bi-/be-:* future/habituality in SA *kân*: pre-or postsubject position: SA		stative/non-stative distinction *kan:* temporal and modal (NA, AA (Shukriyya))
Other word classes conditional *kân* (SA)		conjunction *hîyâ, yâ, yé* (NA, AA) *ya/ ye*: focusing element (AA, NA) from SA *yâ* 'indeed' conditional *kan* also temporal value (AA)
Clause structure SVO preverbal negator *ma*		sentence-final negator *mâfî* (NA, Western Chadian Arabic, Northern Cameroon Arabic)

table 55: Areal distribution of common features of Arabic dialects and p/cs

In the above table we see that most source forms for the Arabic p/cs are common to the whole area, or that they are found at least in one dialect in the eastern Sudan and at the same time in at least one dialect in the western Sudan. If we now look at the features which occur either in the western dialects or in the eastern dialects, we see that the typically WSA features are much more frequent than the typically eastern Arabic features. According to Owens (1985a), these parallels point to the WSA origin of the Arabic p/cs. However, most, if not all, of these developments, such as the loss of emphatics and pharyngeals, the loss of gender marking/agreement, the expression of comparison with ADJ *fut(u)* complement, the verbal stative/non-stative distinction, the sentence-final negator *mâfî,* are general tendencies in languages and/or pidgins/creoles worldwide. It is therefore not possible to state whether the p/c developments are the result of direct influences from WSA, or that they result from parallel but independent developments taking place both in the WSA dialects and in the Arabic p/cs. Only the vocabulary and morphological markers, such as the genitive exponent may give some evidence as to the source of the Arabic p/cs. For Nubi and Juba Arabic, the vocabulary points to a pan-Sudanese origin, but not to WSA sources. In Turku, which lies in the WSA area, we find some words of exclusively WSA origin. Nubi, on the other hand, contains some typical Egyptian words. Their presence can easily be explained on historical grounds, since there were still native Egyptians among Emin's troops. The Nubi developments and structure may show many similarities with those in western Sudanese Arabic dialects, but the fact that the Nubi vocabulary indicates Egyptian sources, apart from its general Sudanese origin, suggests that direct influence from WSA should be excluded, and the similarities should rather be attributed to parallel developments. I therefore support Miller (1994: 227, n. 4), when she says:

> "Je suis également favorable a cette hypothese "pan-soudanaise", mais la similitude entre le nubi et les dialectes de l'ouest parlés par des non arabes ne signifie pas forcement que les seconds sont a l' origine du premier (comme le postule Owens), mais que tous ces parlers ont subi les mêmes processus de restructuration."

Several times, I mentioned similarities between Nubi and substrate and adstrate languages. As with the issue of the source language, it is not possible to see clearly whether to attribute them to direct influence or to more universal tendencies. I opt therefore for an explanation in terms of universal strategies, which may have been reinforced by substrate influence. Even if a feature is present in one substrate language, it may be absent in another, so that direct influence from that one language may not be a plausible explanation. Parallels occur especially between Nubi and Bari among the above mentioned substrate and adstrate languages. This might be the case because Bari is one of the few languages of the region that is described in detail, whereas the descriptions of the other grammars remain insufficient. However, it may also be that Arabic p/c speakers of Bari origin were frequent at one stage or another.

To conclude, in table 56, I compare the features of the different regional varieties of the Arabic p/cs, namely Ugandan Nubi, Kenyan Nubi, Juba Arabic and Turku. Only those features are mentioned in which disagreements occur between one or more of the regional varieties. Features not mentioned here are similar in all Arabic p/cs. Regarding these common features, it is again not possible to establish whether they originate from a feature present in an early pidgin stage, or whether they are the result of parallel, yet independent developments in all Arabic p/cs.

	Ugandan Nubi	Kenyan Nubi	Juba Arabic	Turku
Phonology				
s < sh	frequent, especially in southern Uganda	less frequent	less frequent	less frequent
j < z	frequent, especially in southern Uganda	less frequent	less frequent	rare
tendency towards CV-structure	common	less common	inconstant	less common
CV-structure through epenthesis, final vowel addition	frequent (however, more frequent in southern than in northern Uganda)	frequent	frequent in pidginized variety, less in urban JA	frequent
CV-structure through loss of final plosives/dentals	frequent	less frequent	less frequent	less frequent
vowel assimilation	common (however more general in southern than in northern Uganda)	common	common	less common
Vocabulary				
reduplication	productive	productive	productive	fossilized forms
Egyptianisms	yes	yes	yes	no
WSA-words	rare	rare	rare	yes, e.g. feminine words in *-e*
incorporation of vocative particle	yes	yes	?	no
Noun phrase				
PRON 2SING/PL	*'ita/ 'itokum*	*ita/ itakum*	*ita (inta)/ itakum (intakum)*	*innté/inntoukoum*
PRON 1PL	*'ina*	*'ina*	*ina/ anina*	*anina*
GEN	*ta*	*ta*	*ta*	*ana*
plural marking through stress shift	yes	yes	no	?
number agreement	optional	optional	regular	minimal
collective marker *nas*	also non-humans	only humans	also non-humans	?
DEM PROX SING	*'de, ('u)we'de, (u)'wede*	*'de, 'we'de*	*de, da, di*	*da*
DEM PROX PL	*'dol'de*	*'dol'de*	*de, del*	*doll da*
DEM DIS	*'na'de* (SING + PL)	*'na'de* (SING + PL)	*de, dak* (SING), *del* (PL)	?
comparison: X surpasses Y in Z	yes	?	no	no
numerals 11-19	1, 2, 3,… + 10	1, 2, 3,… + 10	1, 2, 3,… + 10	10 + 1, 2, 3,…
ordinals	*ta* + NUM	*ta* + NUM	?	ordinals = cardinals, adjectives
verb phrase				
verb final *-u*	transitive marker	transitive marker	verbal marker ??	transitive marker
stative/non-stative distinction	yes	yes	yes	?
gi-stative verb	aspect marker *gi*-habituality, ingression of verbal adjectives, some verbs	aspect marker *gi*-?	aspect marker *gi*-duration	auxiliary *gaed/gahed* ?
bi- marker	future, habitual	future, habitual	future, habitual	future
gi-/bi-	*gi*- replaces *bi*- for indicating habituality	?	*gi*- replaces *bi*- for indicating habituality in town, not in countryside	/
anterior marker *'kan*	yes	yes	yes	?
'kan: anterior and modal marker	yes	yes	?	?
negative imperative	*'mata* IMPER/ IMPER *'mafi*	*'mata* IMPER	*'mata* IMPER	IMPER *mafi*
passive of trisyllabic verbs	stress shift to third syllable	stress shift to third syllable	stress shift to third syllable	stress shift to second syllable, loss of third syllable
nominal forms	productive through stress shift	productive through stress shift	urban variety: productive: final vowel *-a/Ø*	fossilized forms?
verb 'have'	yes	yes	yes, (in variation with PREP *ind* + pronoun)	no verb 'have'
Other word classes				
focus marker *'ya*	yes	yes	functions more and more as a copula	?
Clause structure				
negation	preverbal *'ma,* sentence-final *'ma(f)(i)*	preverbal, sentence-final *'ma*	preverbal *'ma*	preverbal *'ma,* sentence-final *'ma(f)(i)*

table 56: Areal distribution of features of Arabic pidgins/creoles

Appendix: texts

H. M. [235]

1.

'Ija	'de		fu	'ras	ta	sul'tan
fairy tale	DEM PROX		in	head	GEN	sultan

ma	nuswa'na	'to			ti'nen.	Nuswa'na	'to
and	wife-PL	PRON POSS 3SING			two	wife-PL	PRON POSS 3SING

ti'nen,	'wai	'de	ma'ma	ta	Mu'hamad	ma	'Fatna,	u	'wai	'de
two	one	DEF	mother	GEN	NPROP	AND	NPROP	and	one	DEF

ma'ma	ta	A'li.	Ma'ma	ta	'Fatna	'ya	'mary(a)	al	ma-	'aju.
mother	GEN	NPROP	mother	GEN	NPROP	FOC	woman	REL	STAT P-	want

5.

Ma'ma	ta	'Fatna	ma	A'li,	'marya	'na'de		'jo	'mutu.
mother	GEN	NPROP	and	NPROP	woman	DEM DIS		come-Ø	die-Ø

'Sa	al	'marya	'de	'mutu,	ma'ma	ta	A'li	'ya	'fadul
hour	REL	woman	DEF	die-Ø	mother	GEN	NPROP	FOC	remain-Ø

fi	'be	'de	'na.	Wu	'Fatna	'de	a'gi	'to,
in	house	DEF	there	and	NPROP	DEF	self	PRON POSS 3SING

'uo		bi'niya	al	'ja …,		'uo		abo'bo	je'de.
PRON 3SING		girl	REL	(be)come-Ø		PRON 3SING		mute	EMPH

'Uo		ka'man	bang-'bang		je'de.	'Dukuru	Mu'hamad		'de,	'uo
PRON 3SING		also	mentally deprived		EMPH	then	NPROP		DEF	PRON 3SING

10.

'ya	yo'wele	al	fi	'batna	'be	ta	ba'ba	'to		'na
FOC	boy	REL	in	inside	house	GEN	father	PRON POSS 3SING		there

nyere'ku	al	a'sas	ka'mani.	'Uo		yo'wele	al	ka'man	ka'janja	je'de.
child	REL	beautiful	EMPH	PRON 3SING		boy	REL	also	energetic	EMPH

'Ya	mar'ba		'de,	'uw(o)		'endis	fu'raha
FOC	stepmother		DEF	PRON 3SING		have-Ø	happiness

fi	'gelba	'to		'ma	mo	nyere'ku	ta	ke'ni
in	heart	PRON POSS 3SING		NEG	with	child	GEN	co-wife

'to		'na'de.	Ba'ba	'de	ka'man	gi-	'gai
PRON POSS 3SING		DEM DIS	father	DEF	also	PROG-	stay

15.

a'gi	'to		fi	'be	'ma.	Ba'ba	'de	gi-	'gai
self	PRON POSS 3SING		in	house	NEG	father	DEF	PROG-	stay

'bara-'bara.	'Sa 'tan	fi	'wiki	'uo		gi-	'ja	fi	'be
outside-REDUP	sometimes	in	week	PRON 3SING		PROG-	come	in	house

sa'far	ti'nen	'ama	'maf-'maf	'de	'mara	ta'lata.	U	ba'ba	'de
time(s)	two	or	NEG-REDUP	DEF	time(s)	three	and	father	DEF

'endis	fa'rash	'to		fi	'be	'na	ka'man.
have-Ø	horse	PRON POSS 3SING		in	house	there	also

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[235] H. M. is a 24-year old woman, living in the northern Ugandan town of Arua. During the civil war, she stayed for some time in Congo. She studied up to Secondary 4, and works at home. Besides Nubi, she knows some English, Kiswahili, and Lugbara.

Uo   'kutu   fi   'be   na   ke'de   'gai   gi-   'chunga
PRON 3SING   put-Ø   in   house   there   SUBJ   stay-Ø   PROG-   look after

20.   kala'ma 'to   ta   'be   'na.   Fa'rash   'to   'fi.
thing-PLPRON POSS SING   GEN   house   there   horse   PRON POSS 3SING   EXIS

'Ya   yo'wele   A'li   'de,   ma'ma   'to,   'uo   'kutu
CONJ   boy   NPROP   DEF   mother   PRON POSS 3SING   PRON 3SING   cause-Ø

Mu'hamad   'de   gu-   we'di   fi   'skul   'ma.   A'li   'de   'ya   nyere'ku
NPROP   DEF   PROG-   give-PASS   in   school   NEG   NPROP   DEF   FOC   child

'to   ta a'sil   'de,   'yowo   'kutu   'g(i)-   agara.   Mu'hamad
PRON POSS 3SING   truly   EMPH   CONJ + PRON 3SING   make-Ø   PROG-   study   NPROP

'de,   kan   ba'ba   'de   'ma'fi   je'de,   gi-   'gai   fi   'be,   'g(i)-   agara
DEF   when   father   DEF   EXIS NEG   EMPH   PROG-   stay   in   house   PROG   study

25.   'ma.   A'li   'de   'ya   gu-   we'di   fi   ga'raya.   Wu   A'li   'de
NEG   NPROP   DEF   FOC   PROG-   give-PASS   in   study-GER   and   NPROP   DEF

'aju   a'ku   'to   Mu'hamad   'de   'sei-'sei'de.
like-Ø   brother   PRON POSS 3SING   NPROP   DEF   very-REDUP

'Bile   Mu'hamad,   ah,   A'li   gi-   'gai   'bile   was'was.
without   NPROP   INT   NPROP   PROG-   stay   without   doubt(s)

Kan   Mu'hamad   'fi   je'de,   A'li   'endis   was'was   tan   'ma.
when   NPROP   EXIS   EMPH   NPROP   have-Ø   doubt(s)   other   NEG

Kan   Mo'hamad   'ma'fi   je'de,   A'li   'endis   was'wasi   'zaidi.
when   NPROP   EXIS NEG   EMPH   NPROP   have-Ø   doubt(s)   a lot of

30.   'Ya   ma'ma   'de,   'ita   'ja   'kutu   asker'ya   'taki,
CONJ   mother   DEF   PRON 2SING   come-Ø   make-Ø   soldier-PL   PRON POSS 2SING

ta   sul'tan   'de   ke'de   'kasur   la'kata.   Aja'ma   we'de   'kasur   la'kata
GEN   sultan   DEF   SUBJ   cut-Ø   firewood   person-PL   DEM PROX   cut-Ø   firewood

fi   'gaba   mi'lan,   'jibu   la'kata   'in.   'Sa   al   ji'bu
in   forest   many   bring-Ø   firewood   here   hour   REL   bring-PASS-Ø

la'kata,   ma'ma   'de,   'ita   'ja   'afuta   'lufura.   Fi'lel,   'it(a)
firewood   mother   DEF   PRON 2SING   come-Ø   dig-Ø   hole   at night   PRON 2SING

'afuta   'lufra   ke'biri.   'Ito   'kubu   la'kata   'de   'kulu
dig-Ø   hole   big   PRON 2SING   throw-Ø   firewood   DEF   all

35.   fu   'lufura   'de   'na.   'Ito   'kub   'fogo   dikin'ta   ti'yari.
in   hole   DEF   there   PRON 2SING   pour-Ø   in it   kerosine   ready

'Ase'd(e)   A'li   'de   gaf'lan   a'gi   'to   'g(i)-   alabu.
now   NPROP   DEF   surprisingly   self   PRON POSS 3SING   PROG-   play

'Uo   'g(i)-   alab   ma   ak'wana   'de   a'gi   'to
PRON 3SING   PROG-   play   with   friend-Ø   DEF   self   PRON POSS 3SING

m'pira   min   'bara   'na.   Ma'ma   'de,   'ita   na'di   A'li   'de
football   from   outside there   mother   DEF   PRON 2SING   call-Ø   NPROP   DEF

lo'go   ka'las   'ita   'dugu   'nar   gu-   'wala.   'Ito   'dugu
when   COMPL   PRON 2SING   beat-Ø   fire   PROG-   burn   PRON 2SING   beat-Ø

40. ka'las   'nar   'amsuku   'te   'na.   Gu-   'wala.   La'kata   'de   gu-   'wala
COMPL   fire   catch-Ø   underneath   there   PROG-   burn   firewood   DEF   PROG-   burn

'sei-'sei   'de.   'Dukur   'ita   'kati   ma   'birisi
very much-REDUP   then   PRON 2SING   cover-Ø   with   mat(s)

lo'g(o)   eta   'dugu   ma   tu'ra   'de.   'Ita   'sidu   ba'kan   'de
while   PRON 2SING   beat-Ø   with   soil   DEF   PRON 2SING   close-Ø   place   DEF

'kweis.   'Ita   'kati   ma   'biris   'ma'rai   'kweis.   A'ta   je   ba'kan
good   PRON 2SING   cover-Ø   with   mat(s)   at once   good   no   like   place

al   'lufra   'in   je'de   'ma.   'Ito   'kutu   'kuris   'tak(i)
REL   hole   here   EMPH   EXIS NEG   PRON 2SING   put-Ø   chair   PRON POSS 2SING

45. min   'wara.   'Ita   'kutu   'biris   'en   min   gi'dam   'de.
from   behind   PRON 2SING   put-Ø   mat(s)   here   from   front   DEF

Ita   na'di   Mu'hamad   'de.   'Ita   'kelem   ke'd(e)   owo
PRON 2SING   call-Ø   NPROP   DEF   PRON 2SING   say-Ø   SUBJ   PRON 3SING

'jib   'neta   'moyo   ta   'ásrúb.   'Ya   Mu'hamad,
bring-Ø   to + PRON 2SING   water   GEN   drink-INF   CONJ   NPROP

'sa   al   'ita   'ja   mo   'moyo   'de,   'it(a)   'aju
hour   REL   PRON 2SING   come-Ø   with   water   DEF   PRON 2SING   want-Ø

'midu   'kan   fi   'dar   ta   mar'ba   'taki   'de.
pass-Ø   be-ANT   in   back   GEN   stepmother   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF

50. Mar'ba   'de   'gal: " 'Ita   gi-   'midu   'nana
stepmother   DEF   that   PRON 2SING   PROG-   pass   to + PRON 1SING

'moyo   'de   fi   'dar   'tai   ke'fin?   'Futu,
water   DEF   in   back   PRON POSS 1SING   how?   pass-IMPER

'midu   'nana   'moyo   'de   min   gi'dam   'in."   Mu'hamad
pass-IMPER   to + PRON 1SING   water   DEF   in   front   here   NPROP

gi-   'gata   'corner.   'Bes   je   'uo   'gu-   rwa   'ja
PROG-   cut   corner   EMPH   as   PRON 3SING   PROG-   go   come-Ø

gi'dam   ma'ma   'de   'jede'de,   'uo   'meles   fu   'lufra   'de.
in front of   mother   DEF   EMPH   PRON 3SING   slip-Ø   in   hole   DEF

55. 'Jowo   gi-   'meles   fu   'lufra   'de,   'ma'rai,   ma'ma   'de,
as + PRON 3SING   PROG-   slip   in   hole   DEF   at once   mother   DEF

'it(a)   'amrugu   'biris   'de.   'Ita   'kati   ba'kan   'de
PRON 2SING   remove-Ø   mat(s)   DEF   PRON 2SING   cover-Ø   place   DEF

'sa   we'de.   'Ras   ba'kan   'de   'ita   'kati   ma   tu'ra
hour   DEM PROX   head   place   DEF   PRON 2SING   cover-Ø   with   soil

'seme 'ma'rai. 'It(a) 'arija 'adul ba'kan 'de ja ba'kan
good at once PRON 2SING return-Ø prepare-Ø place DEF like place

al 'kan afu'ta 'ma. Wu fa'rash 'de 'gai 'fi 'g(i)- ain
REL ANT dig-PASS-Ø NEG and horse DEF sit-Ø EXIS PROG- watch

60. ka'lam al gi- 'só. Robu't(u) uo.
thing REL PROG- do-PASS tie-PASS-Ø PRON 3SING

La'kin 'uo 'fi 'g(i)- ain kala'ma al 'fi gi- 'só
but PRON 3SING EXIS PROG- watch thing-PL REL EXIS PROG- do-PASS

'uo. 'Uo 'g(i)- ain. 'Fatna 'de a'gi 'to
PRON 3SING PRON 3SING PROG- watch NPROP DEF self PRON POSS 3SING

a'wiri, bang-'bang je'de. Gi- turu'j(u) 'uo min 'in
stupid mentally deprived EMPH PROG- chase-PASS PRON 3SING from here

je'd(e). 'Uo 'gu- rw(a) a'gi 'to min 'na
EMPH PRON 3SING PROG- go self PRON POSS 3SING from there

65. 'ladi 'sa al bi- na'd(i) 'owo ka'man 'fo.
until hour REL FUT- call-PASS PRON 3SING EMPH upstairs

'Ya A'li 'sa al 'ja min ga'raya, A'li 'asadu:
CONJ NPROP hour REL come-Ø from study-GER NPROP ask-Ø

"Ma'ma, Mu'hamad f(u) we'ni 'ya?" Ma'ma 'de 'gal:
mother NPROP in where EMPH mother DEF that

"Mu'hamad 'fi fi 'madrasa 'na 'ke." 'Gal: "Mu'hamad
NPROP EXIS in Qurʔanic school there EMPH that NPROP

'maf. Madra'sa 'sia. Ma'ma, Mu'hamad f(u) 'wen?"
EXIS NEG Qurʔanic school-PL few mother NPROP in where

70. Ma'ma 'de 'je 'har(i). 'Uo 'turuju A'li 'd(e). 'Uo
mother DEF (be)come-Ø hot PRON 3SING chase-Ø NPROP DEF PRON 3SING

'je 'hari. A'li 'de gi- 'kaf(u) 'ase'de-'ase'de
(be)come-Ø hot NPROP DEF PROG- fear now-REDUP

ma'ma 'to ma a'ku 'de, ma'ma 'de min 'ja
mother PRON POSS 3SING with brother DEF mother DEF from come-GER

'hari. 'Ya 'futu 'fogo 'youm ta'lata. 'Gu- rwa fi 'youm ta 'arba.
hot CONJ pass-Ø in it day(s) three PROG- go in day GEN four

Sul'tan 'ja. 'Sa al sul'tan 'ja, 'uw(o) 'asadu: "'Ah, 'Mohamed
sultan come-Ø hour REL sultan come-Ø PRON 3SING ask-Ø INT NPROP

75. fu 'weni?" Ma'ma 'de 'gal: "Mu'hamad 'rua fi 'madrasa."
in where mother DEF that NPROP go-Ø in Qurʔanic school

"Mu'hamad f(u) 'wen?" "Mu'hamad 'rua fi 'madrasa."
NPROP in where NPROP go-Ø in Qurʔanic school

'Uo 'sten 'sa al ya'la ta 'madrasa gi- 'tala.
PRON 3SING wait for-Ø hour REL child-PL GEN Qurʔanic school PROG- leave

Ya'la 'tala. Mu'hamad 'fogo 'ma. "Ah, ka'lam 'de su'nu?
child-PL leave-Ø NPROP in it EXIS NEG INT matter DEF what?

Mu'hamad	f(u)	'wen?"	'Gal:	"Mu'hamad	fi	'madrasa.	Mu'hamad
NPROP	in	where?	that	NPROP	in	Qurʔanic school	NPROP

80.

you'min'de	'g(i)-	aju	'gai-'gai	fi	'be	'in	'ma.	Mu'hamad
nowadays	PROG-	want	stay-REDUP-Ø	in	in	house	here	NEG NPROP

gi-	'gai-'gai	'bara-'bara	'ladi	gu-	r'wá	ji'b(u)
PROG-	stay-REDUP	outside	until	PROG-	go-PASS	bring-PASS-Ø

'uo	ma	'jibu.	Bi-	'kun	'sa	we'de	'uo
PRON 3SING	with	bring-GER	FUT-	be	hour	DEM PROX	PRON 3SING

'fi	'g(i)-	alab	fi	ji'ran	'na. "	Ba'ba	'de	'kelem:	" 'Ma."
EXIS	PROG-	play	in	neighbourhood	there	father	DEF	say-Ø	no

'Youm	ta	aw'lan	'de	'futu.	Ah,	nyere'ku	'de	'ben	'ma.	'De	ke'fini?
day	GEN	first	DEF	pass-Ø	INT	child	DEF	appear-Ø	NEG	DEF	how?

85.

'Youm	ta	ti'nen,	ba'ba	'de,	'ito	'gum.	'Ito	'rua
day	GEN	two	father	DEF	PRON 2SING	wake up-Ø	PRON 2SING	go-Ø

na	fa'rash	'de	min	'sub(u).	'It(a)	'alab-'alab	ma	fa'rash	'de.
to	horse	DEF	in	morning	PRON 2SING	play-REDUP-Ø	with	horse	DEF

'Gal:	" Mu'hamad	f(u)	'wen?"	Fa'rash	'de	'abidu	'kore.	'Sa
that	NPROP	in	where?	horse	DEF	begin-Ø	neigh-Ø	hour

al	fa'rash	'de	'abidu	'kore,	fa'rash	'de	gu-	we'ri	ba'kan	'ya
REL	horse	DEF	begin-Ø	neigh-Ø	horse	DEF	PROG-	show	place	FOC

al	'ya…,	al	'ya	Mu'hamad	'kettis	'fogo	'de.
REL	FOC	REL	FOC	NPROP	sink-Ø	in it	DEF

90.

Ba'ba	'de	'gal:	"Ah,	ka'lam	'de	ta a'sili?"	Uw(o)	'asadu	fa'rash	'de
father	DEF	that	INT	matter	DEF	truly	PRON 3SING	ask-Ø	horse	DEF

ge'ri	'mara	ti'nen,	ta'lata.	Fa'rash	'de	'bes	gu-	we'ri	ba'kan
nearly	time(s)	two	three	horse	DEF	EMPH	PROG-	show	place

'wai-'wai'de.	Ba'ba	'de,	'ita	'rasul(u)	asker'ya	'taki
one-REDUP	DEF	father	DEF	PRON 2SING	send-Ø	soldier-PL	PRON POSS 2SING

ke'de	'ja	'gwam	'sei-'sei 'de.	Asker'ya	'ja.	'It(a)
SUBJ	come-Ø	fast	very much-REDUP	soldier-PL	come-Ø	PRON 2SING

'asadu	ma'ma	'de.	Ma'ma	'de	'aju	we'ri	'ma.	'It(a)	'asadu
ask-Ø	mother	DEF	mother	DEF	want-Ø	show-Ø	NEG	PRON 2SING	ask-Ø

95.

ma'ma	'de.	Ma'ma	'de	'aju	we'ri	'ma.	'Ita	'fiku	'labil
mother	DEF	mother	DEF	want-Ø	show-Ø	NEG	PRON 2SING	untie-Ø	rope

min	fa'rashi	'de.	'Ito	'dugu	fa'rash	'de	kur'bai	'aruba.
from	horse	DEF	PRON 2SING	hit-Ø	horse	DEF	whip(s)	four

Fa'rash	'de	'jere,	'ro	'gai	ma'rai	fi	ba'kan	al	'ya	Mu'hamad
horse	DEF	run-Ø	go-Ø	stay-Ø	at once	in	place	REL	FOC	NPROP

'kettis	'fogo.	'Ite	gi-	'dugu	fa'rash	'de.	Fa'rash	'de	'agder
sink-Ø	in it	PRON 2SING	PROG-	beat	horse	DEF	horse	DEF	be able-Ø

'gum	'ma	min	ba'kan	'de.	Fa'rash	'de	'bes	'g(i)-	adaku	'ras
get up-Ø	NEG	from	place	DEF	horse	DEF	EMPH	PROG-	press	head

100.

'to	'in	je'de.	Gi-	'kore.	Ah,	'ya	ba'ba	'de,	'ita
PRON POSS 3SING	here	EMPH	PROG-	neigh	INT	VOC	father	DEF	PRON 2SING

'arufu	'maf(i)	a'jol	al	'so	ka'lam	'de	fi	'batna	'be	'na.
know-Ø	NEG	person	REL	do-Ø	thing	DEF	in	inside	house	there

'De	'bes	'ya	bu-	'kun	mar'ba		'de	ka'lam	mar'ba		'de
DEF	EMPH	FOC	FUT-	be	stepmother		DEF	because	stepmother		DEF

'ya	a'jol	al	fi	'batna	'be	'na	mo	ya'la	'de.	'Ita	'rasul
FOC	person	REL	in	inside	house	there	with	child-PL	DEF	PRON 2SING	send-Ø

'gwam	ke'de	'ró	ji'bu		ma'ma	ta	bi'niya	'de
quickly	SUBJ	go-PASS-Ø	bring-PASS-Ø		mother	GEN	girl	DEF

105.

ma	ba'ba	'to	ma	family	'to		'tan.
with	father	PRON POSS 3SING	with	family	PRON POSS 3SING		other

'Gwam	'ró	ji'bu		a'nasi	'de.	Ka'man	'uo	na'di
quickly	go-PASS-Ø	bring-PASS-Ø		person-PL	DEF	also	PRON 3SING	call-Ø

ke'ya	'to		'ja	ti'yari	'mara 'wai.	'Kul	gi-	'sten
army	PRON POSS 3SING		come-Ø	ready	at once	all	PROG-	wait for

'kan	'nas	ma'ma	'de.	Je	'nas	ma'ma	'de	gi-	'rasul	'de,
be-ANT	COLL	mother	DEF	as	COLL	mother	DEF	PROG-	arrive	DEF

'uo		'aki	kala'ma	'de.	'Uo		'kelem	nyere'ku
PRON 3SING		tell-Ø	thing-PL	DEF	PRON 3SING		say-Ø	child

110.

'to		'de,	'marya	'de	'jada	ma	'jada		fi	'lufra.
PRON POSS 3SING		DEF	woman	DEF	throw-Ø	with	throw-GER		in	hole

Ka'lam	al	'fi,	'uw(o)		'aju	ke'd(e)	afu'ta		nyere'ku
matter	REL	EXIS	PRON 3SING		want-Ø	SUBJ	dig-PASS-Ø		child

'to		'de.	'Bada	de'kika	'kamsa	nyere'ku	'de	ke'de	'tala	'bara.
PRON POSS 3SING		DEF	after	minute(s)	five	child	DEF	SUBJ	leave-Ø	outside

'Kan	a'nas	'de	'zat(u)	'afuta	bi'sesi	A'nas	'ya	al	'g(i)-	afuta	'de,
ANT	people	DEF	EMPH	dig-Ø	slowly	people	FOC	REL	PROG-	dig	DEF

'uo		we'di	'noumon	de'kika	'kamsa.	Kan	'umon		'afuta	'ma,
PRON 3SING		give-Ø	to + PRON 3PL	minute(s)	five	if	PRON 3PL		dig-Ø	NEG

115.

ke'de	katu'l(u)	umon	'bara.	'Gái		ti'yari.	Gi-	ste'nu.
SUBJ	kill-PASS-Ø	PRON 3PL	outside	stay-PASS-Ø		ready	PROG-	wait for-PASS

Bi-	daka'l(u)'sa	ya'tu?	'Uo		bi-	'tala	'sa	ya'tu?
FUT-	enter-PASS	hour	which?		FUT-	leave	hour	which?

'Ya	abi'd(u)	afu'ta.		'Kabla	'lisa	'tim		'dekka	'kamsa
CONJ	begin-PASS-Ø	dig-PASS-Ø		before	still	be over-Ø		minute(s)	five

'na'de		'ma,	'lufra	ka'las	afu'ta.		Fa't(a)		owo,

DEM DIS PL		NEG	hole	COMPL	dig-PASS-Ø	open-PASS-Ø	PRON 3SING		

size	al	je'de	nyere'ku	gi-	'ben	min	'jua.	'Nar	'ya
size	REL	EMPH	child	PROG-	appear	from	inside	fire	FOC

120.

al	'kan	'ya	'marya	'de	'kasur	la'kata,	al	'uo	'kasur,
REL	ANT	FOC	woman	DEF	cut-Ø	firewood	REL	PRON 3SING	cut-Ø

'yo	'uo		'kub	'fogo	'dikin	'sa	al	'uo	
FOC	PRON 3SING		pour-Ø	in it	kerosine	hour	REL	PRON 3SING	

gi-	'jada	nyere'ku	'de,	'yo	'uo		'to		'feker
PROG-	throw	child	DEF	FOC	PRON 3SING		PRON POSS 3SING		think-Ø

nyere'ku	'de	'haragu	ka'las	min	'jua	'na,	ta'ra,		'sokol,
child	DEF	burn-Ø	COMPL	in	inside	there	on the contrary		thing

agili'b(u)		'uo		'bahar,	agilli'b(u)		'uo		'bahar
change-PASS-Ø		PRON 3SING		sea	change-PASS-Ø		PRON 3SING		sea

125.

min	'jua	'na.	'Dukur	'bes	'jina	stone	'lager	sa'kar	je'de	nyer'eku 'de
in	inside	there	then	EMPH	smallness		small	EMPH	child	DEF

'gai	fi	'ras	'to.			'Sokol	ta	a'kulu	'ma
stay-Ø	in	head	PRON POSS 3SING			thing	GEN	eat-GER	EXIS NEG

fi	'jua	'moyo	'ma.		La'kin	'Rabana	'jibu	'sokole	'de,
in	inside	water	EXIS NEG		but	NPROP	bring-Ø	thing	DEF

'Rabana	'jibu	fruits	ta	'yembe.	'Kan	ma-	'nigitu	'Bes,	'g(i)-	alab-'alab
NPROP	bring-Ø	fruits	GEN	mango	be-ANT	STAT P-	be ripe	EMPH	PROG-	dance-REDUP

fi	'moyo	ge'ri	ma	nyere'ku	'de.	'Ya	nyere'ku	'de	'g(i)-	akul.
in	water	near	with	child	DEF	CONJ	child	DEF	PROG-	eat

130.

'Bes,	'sa	al	g(i)-	afu'ta		'lufra	'de	'nusu	'bes,
EMPH	hour	REL	PROG-	dig-PASS		hole	DEF	half	EMPH

'sia	je'de,	ba'ba	'de	'ain(u)	nyere'ku	'to		gi-	'ben
a bit	EMPH	father	DEF	see-Ø	child	PRON POSS 3SING		PROG-	appear

min	'jua	'na.	Ba'ba	'de,	'ito		'nutu	min	'jua	'na.
in	inside	there	father	DEF	PRON 2SING		jump-Ø	in	inside	there

Ka'las,	'de	gu-	r'wá	zi'du		fa'ta		'lufra	'de	lo'g(o)
COMPL	DEF	PROG-	go-PASS	increase-PASS-Ø		open-PASS-Ø		hole	DEF	while

'owo		'sul(u),...	'uw(o)		'amuta		nyere'ku	'to		ka'las.
PRON 3SING		take-Ø	PRON 3SING		remove-Ø		child	PRON POSS 3SING		COMPL

135.

'Uo		'sul(u)	fi	'ida	fi	'jua	'moyo	'na.	A'nas		'de
PRON 3SING		take-Ø	in	arm	in	inside	water	there	person-PL		DEF

'fata.	'Dukur	'uo		'tala.	'Sa	al	'uo		'tala,
open-Ø	then	PRON 3SING		leave-Ø	hour	REL	PRON 3SING		leave-Ø

'uo		we'ri	kala'ma	'de	'ke	'nas	ba'ba	ta	bi'niya	'de
PRON 3SING		show-Ø	thing-PL	DEF	SUBJ	COLL	father	GEN	girl	DEF

'fadi	ma	family	ta	bi'niya	'de	'ain	ka'lam	al	bi'niya	'de
openly	with	family	GEN	girl	DEF	see-Ø	thing	REL	girl	DEF

'so	'fogo	nyere'ku	'to.		'Uo		'ja	ka'las
do-Ø	on	child	PRON POSS 3SING		PRON 3SING		come-Ø	COMPL

140.

'youm	ta'lata	'na're.	'Uo		'g(i)-	asadu	nyere'ku	'to
day(s)	three	today	PRON 3SING		PROG-	ask	child	PRON POSS 3SING

f(i)	'wen?	'Gal:	" Nyere'ku		'de	fi	'madrasa."
in	where	that	child		DEF	in	Qur?anic school

"Nyere'ku		'to		'f(i)	'wen?"	'Ladi	fa'rash	'de	'ya
child		PRON POSS 3SING		in	where?	until	horse	DEF	FOC

'jo	we'ri	'nouo	ma'hal	al	nyere'ku	'de	ku'tu		'fogo,
come-Ø	show-Ø	to + PRON 3SING	place	REL	child	DEF	put-PASS-Ø		inside

'ya	'ladi	'uo		'kutu	afu'ta		'ya	'ladi	nyere'ku	'de
CONJ	until	PRON 3SING		make-Ø	dig-PASS-Ø		FOC	until	child	DEF

145.

'tala	'yaw.	'Uw(o)		we'di	'dekka	'kamsa	ke'de	katu'lu		'marya	'de.
leave-Ø	EMPH	PRON 3SING		give-Ø	minute(s)	five	SUBJ	kill-PASS-Ø		woman	DEF

A'nas		ta	'marya	'de	ka'man	'wonus	'ma.	Duru'bu		'marya	'de.
person-PL		GEN	woman	DEF	EMPH	talk-Ø	NEG	shoot-PASS-Ø		woman	DEF

Katu'lu		'marya	'de.	'Lufra	al	afu'ta		'nade'de,	'ya
kill-PASS-Ø		woman	DEF	hole	REL	dig-PASS-Ø		DEM DIS	FOC

ari'ja		dofu'n(u)		'fogo.	Ari'ja		ja'da		'fogo	'marya	'de.
return-PASS-Ø		bury-PASS-Ø		in it	return-PASS-Ø		throw-PASS-Ø		in it	woman	DEF

Ka'ti.		'Uw(o)		'ab(a)	a'nas		'de	ke'de	'sulu	'meiti
cover-PASS-Ø		PRON 3SING		forbid-Ø	person-PL		DEF	SUBJ	take-Ø	body

150.

ta	'marya	'de.	'Ya	'in	je'de	'sa	al	ka'la	katu'lu
GEN	woman	DEF	CONJ	here	EMPH	hour	REL	COMPL	kill-PASS-Ø

'marya	'de	'ya	sa'fari.	'Kila	'wai	'amsuku	'sika	'to,	
woman	DEF	FOC	journey	every	one	take-Ø	road(s)	PRON POSS 3SING	

'arija	'wara.	'Nas	ba'ba	'de	'amsu(ku)		'sika	'toumon.	'Umon
return-Ø	back	COLL	father	DEF	take-Ø		road(s)	PRON POSS 3PL	PRON 3PL

'arija	fi	'be	'toumon	'wara.	Asker'ya		'to		'de
return-Ø	in	house(s)	PRON POSS 3PL	back	soldier-PL		PRON POSS 3SING		DEF

'arija	fi	'kazi	'toumon	ka'man.	'Uo		'fadul	ma	nyere'ka
return-Ø	in	work	PRON POSS 3PL	also	PRON 3SING		remain-Ø	with	child-PL

155.

'to		fi	'batna	'be	'to		'na	'baga
PRON POSS 3SING		in	inside	house	PRON POSS 3SING		there	EMPH

'bile	'marya.	'Ya	'ija	'de	ta	aw'lan	'de	'kalas	'in.
without	wife	CONJ	fairy tale	DEF	GEN	first	DEF	finish-Ø	here

Translation:

1.   This fairy tale is on (top of) a sultan and his two wives. His two wives, the one is the mother of Muhammad and Fatna, and the one [the other] is the mother of Ali. The mother of Fatna is the woman who is beloved.

5.   The mother of Fatna and (Ali) [Muhammad], that woman happens to die. The moment that the woman dies, the mother of Ali remains at the house there. And Fatna herself, she is a girl who became…, she is mute. She is also mentally deprived.

10.   Then Muhammad, he is [the] boy who inside the house of his father there, is a very beautiful child. He is also a very energetic boy. Thus the stepmother, she does not have happiness in her heart with the child of that co-wife of hers. The father also he does not stay at home himself.

15.   The father stays outside. Sometimes he comes two times in a week or [if] not three times. And the father also has his horse in the house there. He put [it] in the house there to keep on looking after his things of the house there.

20.   His horse is there. Thus the boy, Ali, his mother, she made Muhammad not to be brought to school. Ali is her child (truly)/Ali is her real child. Well she makes [him] study. Muhammad, when the father is not there, stays at home, [he] does not study.

25.   Ali is given for studies. And Ali likes his brother, Muhammad very much. With(out) Muhammad, ah, Ali stays without doubts. When Muhammad is there, Ali does not have other doubts. When Muhammad is not there, Ali has a lot of doubts.

30.   Thus the mother, you begin to make your soldiers, the sultan's, cut firewood. The people cut a lot of firewood in the forest, [they] bring the firewood here. The moment that the firewood is brought, the mother, you begin to dig a hole. At night, you dig a big hole. You throw all the firewood in the hole there.

35.   You pour kerosine ready in it. Now, (Ali) [Muhammad] surprisingly himself is playing. He himself is playing football with (the) friends outside there. The mother, you call (Ali) [Muhammad] when you have already made the fire burn.

40.   You have made the fire catch underneath there. It is burning. The firewood is burning very much. Then you cover [it] with a mat while you throw (with the) soil [on it]. You close the place well. You cover [it] at once good with a mat. No, like a place where there is no hole (here).

45.   You put your chair at the back. You put the mat here in front. You call Muhammad. You tell him to bring (to) you water for drinking. So Muhammad, the moment that you come with the water, you want to pass at the back of your stepmother.

50.   The stepmother [says] that: "How do you pass (to) me the water at my back? Pass, pass (to) me the water here in front. Muhammad cuts the corner. As he is going to come in front of the mother, he slips into the hole.

55.   As he slips into the hole, at once, the mother, you remove the mat. You cover the place this moment/instantly. The top of the place, you cover [it] at once well with soil. You prepare the place again like a place that has not been dug. And the horse sits there and watches the thing that is being done.

60.   It is tied up. But it is there watching the things that are being done. It is watching. Fatna herself is stupid, mentally deprived. She is chased from here. She goes [away] herself from there until the moment that she will be called upstairs.

65.   Thus Ali, the moment that he comes from studies/school, Ali asks: "Mama, where is Muhammad?" The mother [says] that: " Muhammad is at the Qurʔanic school there." [Ali says] that: " Muhammad is not there. Qurʔanic schools are few. Mama, where is Muhammad?"

70.   The mother becomes furious. She chases Ali off. She becomes furious. Ali now fears his mother for his brother, his mother for becoming furious. Thus there pass three days over it. It is going to the fourth day. The sultan comes. The moment/when the sultan comes, he asks: "Ah, (in) where is Muhammad?"

75.   The mother [says] that: "Muhammad went to the Qurʔanic school." "Where is Muhammad?" "Muhammad went to the Qurʔanic school."   He waits for the moment when the children of the Qurʔanic school are leaving. The children leave. Muhammad is not in it/among them. "Ah, what is the problem? Where is Muhammad?" [The mother says] that: "Muhammad is at the Qurʔanic school.

80.   Nowadays, Muhammad does not want to stay at home here. Muhammad stays outside until he is going to be brought with bringing. It is possible that at this moment he is there playing in the neighbourhood there." The father says: "No." The first day passes. Ah, the child does not turn up. How is that [possible]?

85.   The second day, the father, you get up. You go to the horse in the morning. You play with the horse. [You say] that: "Where is Muhammad?" The horse begins to neigh. When the horse begins to neigh, the horse is showing the place that Muhammad sank into.

90.   The father [says] that: "Ah, is the matter true?". He asks the horse nearly two, three times. The horse just shows the same place. The father, you send [for] your soldiers to come very quickly. The soldiers come. You ask the mother. The mother does not want to show [anything]. You ask the mother.

95.   The mother does not want to show [anything]. You untie the rope from the horse. You hit the horse [with] four whip[lashes]. The horse runs, [it] goes to stay straightaway at the place that Muhammad sank into. You

are beating the horse. The horse cannot get up from the place. The horse is only pressing [down] its head.

100.   It is neighing. Ah, the father, you do not know someone inside the house there who does the/[such a] thing. It can only be the stepmother because the stepmother is the person who is inside the house there with the children. You send quickly [for] the mother of the girl to be brought with her father and her other family.

105.   The people are brought quickly. He also calls his army to come and be ready at once. They are all waiting for the mother and her family. As the mother and her family arrive, he [the father] tells the things. He says [that]

110.   his child, the women threw [it] with throwing in the hole. The matter that is there [is that] he wants his child to be dug [out]. His child should come out in five minutes. The people (have) dug only slowly. It are the people who are digging [whom] he gives five minutes (to them). If they do not dig, they should be killed (outside)/instantly.

115.   There is stayed. There is being waited. At what time will there be entered? At what time will he come out? Thus there is begun to be dug. Before those five minutes are over, the hole has already been dug. It is opened [at a] size that the child appears inside.

120.   The fire [for] which the woman (had) cut the firewood, that she (had) cut, that she (had) poured kerosine on it the moment that she threw the child [in it], that she thinks that the child has already burnt inside, on the contrary, the thing, it [the fire] has been changed into a sea, it has been changed into a sea inside there.

125.   Then a small stone, the child sits on top of it. There is nothing to eat inside the water. But God brought the thing, God brought mango fruits. They are ripe. They are dancing on the water near (with) the child. Thus the child [can] eat.

130.   The moment that the hole is dug half[way], a bit, the father sees his child appearing inside there. The father, you jump inside there. Already, the hole is going to be opened more when he has already taken, removed his child.

135.   He takes [it] in [his] arms inside the water there. The people open [the hole]. Then he gets out. The moment that he gets out, he shows the things so that the father of the girl and his people and the family of the girl will see openly the thing that the girl did on his child.

140.   He has come already [for] the third day today. He is asking where his child is? [She says] that: "The child is at the Qur?anic school." "Where is his child?" Until it was the horse who came to show him the place in which the child was put, thus until he made [it] to be dug until the child got out.

145.   He gives five minutes for the woman to be killed. The people of the woman do not talk. The woman is shot. The woman is killed. That hole which was dug, she is (again) buried in it. The woman is (again) thrown in it. It is covered. He [the father] forbids the people to take the body of the woman.

150.   Thus here the moment that the woman has already been killed, it is [time for the] journey. Everyone takes his way, goes back. The people of the father take their ways. They go back to their houses. His [the father's] soldiers also return to their work.

155.   He [the father] remains inside his house there with his children without a wife. Well the first fairy tale finishes here.

K. & R. [236]

mother - *friend*

1.	Ma'ma	ta	'Faiza,	'an(a)		'endi	ka'lam	'tai		'je	'ase'de.
	mother	GEN	NPROP	PRON 1SING		have-Ø	problem	PRON POSS 1SING		come-Ø	now

	Nyere'ku		'tai		yo'wel(e)	'aju	'jowju.	'Wede	– 'an(a)
	child		PRON POSS 1SING		boy	want-Ø	marry-Ø	DEM PROX	PRON 1SING

	'arufu	'ma –	bu-	'só	ke'fini?
	know-Ø	NEG	FUT-	do-PASS	how?

Fi   *ke'fini?*
in   how?

5.   *'Ma*   *'ye*   *'uw(o)*   *'aju*   *'jowju*   *bi'niya.*   *'Uo*   *'gal*   *'ke*   *gu's(u)*
NEG   FOC   PRON 3SING   want-Ø   marry-Ø   girl   PRON 3SING   that   SUBJ   look for-PASS-Ø

'nouo   *bi'niya.*   *La'kin*   *'an(a)*   *'arufu*   *'ma,*   *'ana*   *'ye*   *'endi*
for + PRON 3SING girl   but   PRON 1SING   know-Ø   NEG   PRON 1SING   FOC   have-Ø

te …
GEN

'Marya   *al*   *'itokum*   *'gu-*   *rwo*   *'gusu*   *'nouo*   *'de,*   *'uo*
woman   REL   PRON 2PL   PROG-   go   search-Ø   for + PRON 3SING DEF   PRON 3SING

'gu-   *rwo...,*   *'uo*   *'gu-*   *rwo*   *'aju*   *'ma.*   *'Aju*   *wa'faka*   *ke'd(e)*
PROG-   go   PRON 3SING   PROG-   go   want-Ø   NEG   need-Ø   agree-GER   SUBJ

10.   *'owo*   *'ya*   *'gusu*   *'marya*   *'to.*   *'Umon*   *'wafiki*   *ma*
PRON 3SING   FOC   look for-Ø   wife   PRON POSS 3SING   PRON 3PL   agree-Ø   with

'marya   *'to.*   *'Yala,*   *'uo*   *'jibu*   *'kabar.*   *Mi'san*   *ab*   *'(i)to*
wife   PRON POSS 3SING   well   PRON 3SING   bring-Ø   news   because   REL   PRON 2SING

'gu-   *rwa*   *'gusu*   *'nouo*   *'de,*   *'uo*   *gu-*   *r'w(a)*   *aju*   *'ma.*
PROG-   go   search-Ø   for + PRON 3SING DEF   PRON 3SING   PROG-   go   want-Ø   NEG

'Taki,   *'(i)to*   *gu-*   *r'w(a)*   *aju*   *'adab.*   *'To,*
PRON POSS 2SING   PRON 2SING   PROG-   go   want-Ø   good manners   PRON POSS 3SING

'uo   *gu-*   *r'w(a)*   *aju*   *a'sas.*
PRON 3SING   PROG-   go   want-Ø   beauty

15.   *La'kin*   *'ja*   *'to*   *al*   *'uo*   *'ja*   *'nan(a)*
but   come-GER   PRON POSS 3SING   REL   PRON 3SING   come-Ø   to + PRON 1SING

'en,   *'ben*   *je*   *'ow(o)*   *'aju*   *'kana*   *'so*   *su'nu?*
here   seem-Ø   as if   PRON 3SING   want-Ø   SUBJ + PRON 1SING   do-Ø   what?

'Kana   *'ya*   *'gusu*   *'nouo.*   *'Il(a)*   *'ase'de*   *'j(e)*   *eta*
SUBJ + PRON 1SING   FOC   search-Ø   for + PRON 3SING except   now   like   PRON 2SING

'kelem   *'nana*   *'gali*   *ya'la*   *te*   *you'min'de*   *ma'tata,*   *'an(a)*
tell-Ø   to + PRON 1SING   that   child-PL   GEN   nowadays   weird   PRON 1SING

'endi   *to*   *'row(a)*   *'asad(u)*   *'uo*   *gi'dam.*
have-Ø   GEN   go-Ø   ask-Ø   PRON 3SING   first

20.   *Kan*   *'uo*   *'kelem*   *'neta*   *'keta*   *'ya*   *'gusu*
when   PRON 3SING   tell-Ø   to + PRON 2SING   SUBJ + PRON 2SING   FOC   search-Ø

'nouo,   *'ase*   *'ita*   *bi-*   *'endi*   *to*   *'rua*
for + PRON 3SING now   PRON 2SING   FUT-   have   GEN   go-Ø

na   *'awa*   *'to.*   *'Ito*   *'gu-*   *rwo*   *'wonus*
to   paternal aunt   PRON POSS 3SING   PRON 2SING   PROG-   go   talk-Ø

ma   *'awa*   *'to.*   *'Tokum*   *'b(i)-*   *ain*   *'nouo*   *'marya.*
with   aunt   PRON POSS 3SING   PRON 2PL   FUT-   see   to + PRON 3SING wife

Kan   *'uo*   *bu-*   *'rudu*   *'marya*   *'de*   *'ma,*   *'yal(a)*   *'uo*   *bu-*   *'gus(u)*
if   PRON 3SING   FUT-   accept   woman   DEF   NEG   well   PRON 3SING   FUT-   search

25.

ab	*'to*	*al*	*'gelba*	*'to*	*'aju.*
REL	PRON POSS 3SING	REL	heart	PRON POSS 3SING	want-Ø

mother - *son*

'Ase,	ak'we,	nyere'ku	yo'wele,	'an(a)	'g(i)-	asad(u)	'ita.	'Ita	'ja
now	my friend	child	boy	PRON 1SING	PROG-	ask	PRON 2SING	PRON 2SING	come-Ø

'nana.	'It(a)	'aju	'kana	'ya	'gus	'neki
to + PRON 1SING	PRON 2SING	want-Ø	SUBJ + PRON 1SING	FOC	search-Ø	for + PRON 2SING

bi'niya	wa'la	'fi	'tak(i)	al	'it(a)	'ain	ka'la?
girl	or	EXIS	PRON POSS 2SING	REL	PRON 2SING	see-Ø	COMPL

Ka'lam	'tokum	ma'tata.	'Ana	bi-	'jo	'ro	'gusu,
problem	PRON POSS 2PL	weird	PRON 1SING	FUT-	come	go-Ø	search-Ø

30.

'ita	'gal:	" 'Wede	a'sas	'ma.	'Wede	'kan	ke'fini?"	'Ase,
PRON 2SING	that	DEM PROX	beautiful	NEG	DEM PROX	EMPH	how?	now

'an(a)	'aju	'keta	'kelem	'nana	'fi	'tak(i)
PRON 1SING	want-Ø	SUBJ + PRON 2SING	say-Ø	to + PRON 1SING	EXIS	PRON POSS 2SING

al	'it(a)	'ain	ka'la	wa'la	'it(a)	'aju	ke'de	gu'su
REL	PRON 2SING	see-Ø	COMPL	or	PRON 2SING	want-Ø	SUBJ	search-PASS-Ø

'neta?
to + PRON 2SING

'An(a)	*'aju*	*'keto*	*'gus*	*'nana.*
PRON 1SING	want-Ø	SUBJ + PRON 2SING	search-Ø	for + PRON 1SING

35.

'Ase,	kan	'it(a)	'aju	'ke	gu's(u)	'neta,	'an(a)
now	when	PRON 2SING	want-Ø	SUBJ	search-PASS-Ø	for + PRON 2SING	PRON 1SING

'gu-	rwa	'kelem	na	'awa	'taki.
PROG-	go	tell-Ø	to	(paternal) aunt	PRON POSS 2SING

mother - *paternal aunt*

'Ase,	'awa	te	yo'wele.	A'ku	nyere'ku	'ja	'nana.	'Uw(o)	'aju
now	aunt	GEN	boy	brother	child	come-Ø	to + PRON 1SING	PRON 3SING	want-Ø

'nana…,	'uw(o)	'aju	'kana	'gus	'nouo	'marya.
to + PRON 1SING	PRON 3SING	want-Ø	SUBJ + PRON 1SING	search-Ø	to + PRON 3SING	wife

'Uw(o)	'aju	lo'go	'be.	La'yin	'ana	'kelem:	" 'An(a)	'agder
PRON 3SING	want-Ø	find-Ø	house	but	PRON 1SING	say-Ø	PRON 1SING	can-Ø

40.

'gus	'neta	'ma.	'Kana	'ja	na	'awa."	'Ase'de,	'awa,	ke'fini?
search	to + PRON 2SING	NEG	SUBJ + PRON 1SING	come-Ø	to	aunt	now	aunt	how?

'Sei	'fi	bi'niya	al	'it(a)	'agder	lo'go	no	yo'wele	'tena	'de?
EMPH	EXIS	girl	REL	PRON 2SING	can-Ø	find-Ø	to	boy	PRON POSS 1PL	DEF

'Ai,	*'in(a)*	*'agder*	*'gusu.*	*'In(a)*	*'agder*	*'gusu*	*nyere'ku*	*te*	*fi…*
well	PRON 1PL	can-Ø	look for-Ø	PRON 1PL	can-Ø	search-Ø	child	GEN	in

te	*ji'ran*	*'tena*	*al*	*'fi*	*min*	*'fo*	*'na'de.*	*'Ita*
GEN	neighbour	PRON POSS 1PL	REL	EXIS	from	up	DEM DIS	PRON 2SING

bu-	*'aburu*	*we'ri*	*'nouo,*		*kan*	*'uo*	*bu-*	*'rudu*	*nyere'ku 'na'de....*
FUT-	try	show-Ø	to + PRON 3SING		whether	PRON 3SING	FUT-	accept	child DEM DIS

45.
'Kan	*'ben*	*nyere'ku al*		*'seme.*	*'Uw(o)*	*'endi*	*'adab.*	*Kan*	*'uo*
ANT	seem-Ø	child REL		good	PRON 3SING	have-Ø	good manners	if	PRON 3SING

bu-	*'rud(u)*	*'uo,*		*'seme.*	*Ka'man*	*kan*	*'uo*	*'b(i)-*	*aba,*
FUT-	accept	PRON 3SING		good	also	if	PRON 3SING	FUT-	refuse

'ina		*'b(i)-*	*abur*	*'ain*	*ba'kan*	*'tan.*
PRON 1PL		FUT-	try	see-Ø	place	another

Ta're,	'ita		'feker	je	'ana.	'Ana,	ka'man,	bi'niya	'na'de
you see	PRON 2SING		think-Ø	like	PRON 1SING	PRON 1SING	also	girl	DEM DIS

'ya	'kan	su'nu?	'Ya	'kan	'an(a)	'ainu.	'Ase,	'kan(a)
FOC	ANT	what?	FOC	ANT	PRON 1SING	see-Ø	now	SUBJ + PRON 1SING

50.
'aburu	'kelem	'nouo	'sa	'de.	'Ana	'b(i)-	arije	'je	'neta.
try-Ø	tell-Ø	to + PRON 3SING	hour	DEF	PRON 1SING	FUT-	return	come-Ø	to + PRON2SING

'Yala.
OK

mother - *son*

Ak'we	yo'wele,	ke'fini?	Bi'niya,	'ina		lo'go	'neta	ka'las,	bi'niya fi'lan.
my friend	boy	how?	girl	PRON 1PL		find-Ø	to + PRON 2SING	already	girl X

'It(a)		'ain	ke'fini?	'Ken(a)	'adul	'neta?
PRON 2SING		see-Ø	how?	SUBJ + PRON 1PL arrange-Ø	for + PRON 2SING

Ya'tu?
which one?

55.
Al	te	ji'ran	'tena	min	'fo	'na'de,	ta	ma'ma	'Amina 'de.
REL	GEN	neighbour	PRON POSS 1PL	from	up	DEM DIS	GEN	mother	NPROP DEF

Ma'ma,		*a'ta*	*'ana*	*'ya*	*'aju*	*'na'de*	*'ma.*
mama		EMPH	PRON 1SING	FOC	want-Ø	DEM DIS	NEG

'Ase,	'it(a)		'aju	ke'fin?	'Mus,	'youm	'na'de,	'ita	'kelem
now	PRON 2SING		want-Ø	how?	EMPH	day	DEM DIS	PRON 2SING	tell-Ø

'nana		'kana		'gus	'neta?	'Mal	bi'niya	'de
to + PRON 2SING		SUBJ + PRON 1SING		search-Ø	to + PRON 2SING	EMPH	girl	DEF

'ben	je	'seme!	'Mal	bi'niya	'de	'endis	'adabu.
seem-Ø	like	good	EMPH	girl	DEF	have-Ø	good manners

60.
'Ena	*'to*		*a'sas*	*'ma.*
eye(s)	PRON POSS 3SING		beautiful	NEG

'It(a)		'aju	'de	a'sasi,	wa'la	'it(a)	'aju	'de	'adab?
PRON 2SING		want-Ø	DEF	beauty	or	PRON 2SING	want-Ø	DEF	good manners

'An(a)		*'aju*	*al*	*a'sasi,*	*mi'san*	*kan*	*'an*	*gi-*	*'ja*	*'mas*
PRON 1SING		want-Ø	REL	beautiful	because	when	PRON 1SING	PROG-	come	walk-Ø

'mouo		*fi*	*'sika*	*je'de,*	*gi-*	*kele'm(u)*	*'gal:*	*'Marya*	*te*	*fi'lan*
with + PRON 3SING		in	street(s)	EMPH	PROG-	say-PASS	that	woman	GEN	X

ya'da."
DEM ADV DIS

65. A'sasi   'bes   'ye   'it(a)   'aju   fi   'sika?   Ka'lam   'marya   te   fi'lan
     beauty   EMPH   FOC   PRON 2SING   want-Ø   in   street   because   wife   GEN   X

     lo'go   'adab   'nouo   'ma,   kan   'ite   'je   'jib
     when   good manners   to + PRON 3SING NEG   when   PRON 2SING   come-Ø   bring-Ø

     'nena   'marya   al   gi-   'lim(u)   'ina   'ma.
     to + PRON 1PL   woman   REL   PROG-   bring together   PRON 1PL   NEG

     'Ase,   *ma'ma*   *'it(a)*   *'aju*   *'kan(a)*   *'jib*   *'marya*   *al*   *kan*   *a'nas*
     now   mother   PRON 2SING   want-Ø   SUBJ+PRON 1SING   bring-Ø   woman   REL   when   people

     gi-   *'j(a)*   *ain*   *je'de,*   *'bes*   *'g(i)-*   *ain*   *'marya:"'De*   *'an*   *gi-*   *'kaf(u)*
     PROG-   come   see-Ø   EMPH   well   PROG-   see   woman   DEF   PRON 1SING   PROG-   be afraid

70. *'owo*   *'mara 'wai."?!!*   *'An(a)*   *'tai,*   *'an(a)*   *'aju*   *'marya*
     PRON 3SING   instantly   PRON 1SING   PRON POSS 1SING   PRON 1SING   want-Ø   wife

     al   *a'sas.*
     REL   beautiful

     Eeh   nyere'ku ta'yi,   a'sas   a'ta   'b(i)-   awun(u)   'ita   'ma.   A'sas
     INT   child   PRON POSS 1SING   beauty   EMPH   FUT-   help   PRON 2SING   NEG   beauty

     yeu'min'd(e)   'endis   a'yan.   A'sas   yeu'min'de   gi-   'katul(u)   a'nasi.   'Ai,
     nowadays   have-Ø   disease   beauty   nowadays   PROG-   kill   person-PL   yes

     a'sas   'de   'kan   'in(a)   'aba   'ma.   Ta a'sil   'aju   a'jol   'sulu
     beauty   DEF   ANT   PRON 1PL   refuse-Ø   NEG   really   have to-Ø person   take-Ø

75. 'marya   al   a'sasi,   la'kin   lo'go   'uw(o)   'endis   'adab.
     wife   REL   beautiful   but   when   PRON 3SING   have-Ø   good manners

     'Ase,   *'marya*   *'na'de*   *'yeta*   *ku'sima* *'nana*   *la'kin*
     now   woman   DEM DIS   FOC + PRON 2SING   admire-Ø for + PRON 1SING but

     ma'l(u)   *'uo*   *a'sas*   *'ma.*
     EMPH   PRON 3SING   beautiful   NEG

     'Ase,   'tak(i)   'kan   'ite   'feker   ya'tu?
     now   PRON POSS 2SING   ANT   PRON 2SING   think-Ø   which?

     'Ke   *gu'su*   *al*   *a'sasi.*   *Ke'd(e)* *abu'ru*   *gu'su*   *gi'dam*   .
     SUBJ   look for-PASS-Ø   REL   beautiful   SUBJ   try-PASS-Ø   look for-PASS-Ø   first

80. 'Ase'de,   'na'de   'kan   'in(a)   'ain(u)   ma   'awa   'taki.
     now   DEM DIS   ANT   PRON 1PL   see-Ø   with   aunt   PRON POSS 2SING

     'Ken(a)   'abur   'ro   'gus   'tan   je   'ite   'kelem   'de?
     SUBJ + PRON 1PL   try-Ø   go-Ø   look for-Ø   another   like   PRON 2SING   say-Ø   DEF

     'Ah.
     yes

     Ka'man   kan   'ine   bi-   'je   'kelem   'neta,   'gal   'ita   'kelem:
     EMPH   when   PRON 1PL   FUT-   come   tell-Ø   to + PRON 2SING that   PRON 2SING   say-Ø

     "A'ta   a'sas   'ma",   'ase   'bag(a)   'ita   'ro   'jib(u)   'taki   'de.
     EMPH   beautiful   NEG   now   EMPH   PRON 2SING   go-Ø   bring-Ø   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF

.85.
'Yala	'baga	'ina	bi-	'ja	'so	su'nu?	'Ina	bi-	'ja	'dakal
well	EMPH	PRON 1PL	FUT-	come	do-Ø	what?	PRON 1PL	FUT-	come	enter-Ø

'fogo?	La'kin	kan	bu-	lo'go	ka'man	al	'ita	'jibu	'de	'gal
in it	but	when	FUT-	find-PASS	also	REL	PRON 2SING	bring-Ø	DEF	that

ne'siya	'ma,	'ita	bi-	'j(a)	'afin(u)	'ito	'fogo.
good	NEG	PRON 2SING	FUT-	come	smell-Ø	PRON 2SING	in it

'Yala.
OK

mother - *(paternal) aunt*

'Ase,	'awa	te	bi'niya.	Ke'fini?	Ka'lam	al	'youm 'da	'ana	'ja
now	aunt	GEN	girl	how?	problem	REL	the other day	PRON 1SING	come-Ø

90.
'mo	'neta	'de,	'an(a)	'asadu	yo'wele	'tayi,
with + PRON 3SING	to + PRON 2SING	DEF	PRON 1SING	ask-Ø	boy	PRON POSS 1SING

'ana	'kelem	'nouo	'fogo,	la'kin	yo'wel(e)	'aba.
PRON 1SING	tell-Ø	to + PRON 3SING	on it	but	boy	refuse-Ø

'Gal	bi'niya	'de	a'sas	'ma.	'Uw(o)	'aju	a'gi	'to
that	girl	DEF	beautiful	NEG	PRON 3SING	want-Ø	self	PRON POSS 3SING

bi'niya	al	a'sasi.	'An	'kelem	'nouo:	"Bi'niya	'de	a'sasi.
girl	REL	beautiful	PRON 1SING	tell-Ø	to + PRON 3SING	girl	DEF	beautiful

Bi'niya	'de	'endis	'adab."	'Gal:	"A'ta	a'sasi	'ma."	'An(a)	'aju	'jib
girl	DEF	have-Ø	good manners	that	EMPH	beautiful	NEG	PRON 1SING	want-Ø	bring-Ø

95.
'nouo	'marya	al	a'nas	kan	gi-	'j(a)	ayin	je'de,
to + PRON 3SING	wife	REL	person-PL	when	PROG-	come	see-Ø	EMPH

gi-	'jere?	Uw(o)	'aju	a'jol	al	a'sasi,	al	kan	'uo
PROG-	run	PRON 3SING	want-Ø	person	REL	beautiful	REL	when	PRON 3SING

gi-	'mas	'mouo	fi	'sika,	'ke	kele'm(u)	'gal:	" 'Ain,
PROG-	walk	with + PRON 3SING	in	street	SUBJ	say-PASS-Ø	that	see-IMPER

'marya	te	fi'lan	'ya'da."	'Sei	'wede	'haki?	La'kin	'mal	bi'niya	'de
wife	GEN	X	DEM ADV DIS	EMPH	DEM PROX	right	but	EMPH	girl	DEF

'kan	'endis	'adabu.	Wu	a'nas	'to	'kul
ANT	have-Ø	good manners	and	person-PL	PRON POSS 3SING	all

100.
a'nas	ta	'fakhma.
person-PL	GEN	understanding

'Ase,	*'it(a)*	*'ain*	*ke'fini?*	*'Bes,*	*'kena,*	*'kena*	*'so*
now	PRON 2SING	see-Ø	how	EMPH	SUBJ + PRON 1PL	SUBJ + PRON 1PL	do-Ø

'wede'de,	*wa'la*	*'keno*	*'ro*	*'gus*	*'tan?*
DEM PROX	or	SUBJ + PRON 1PL go-Ø	look for-Ø	other	

'Uo	'kelem	'kena	'gus	'nouo	'tan.	'Ana
PRON 3SING	say-Ø	SUBJ + PRON 1PL search-Ø	for + PRON 3SING	other	PRON 1SING	

'kan	'kelem	'now(o): "	'Ase'de	ke'fin?"	Ke'de	'yal(a)	'uo	'jib(u)
ANT	say-Ø	to + PRON 3SING	now	how?	SUBJ	well	PRON 3SING	bring-Ø

105. 'to, | al | 'endis | 'adab | 'to. | 'Uo | 'gal
PRON POSS 3SING | REL | have-Ø | good manners | PRON POSS 3SING | PRON 3SING | that

ah'ah, | 'ken(a) | 'arija | 'gus | 'nouo | 'tan.
nono | SUBJ + PRON 1PL return-Ø | search-Ø | for + PRON 3SING other

'Ase'de, kan 'ino 'ro 'gus 'nouo 'tan, 'uo
now | when | PRON 1PL | go-Ø | search-Ø | for + PRON 3SING other | PRON 3SING

bu- 'rudu? Wa'la 'besi, 'kena 'seb 'nouo, ke'd(e)
FUT- | accept | or | EMPH | SUBJ + PRON 1PL leave-Ø | to + PRON 3SING | SUBJ

'uo 'ro 'gus, 'yala ke'd(e) uo 'jib(u)
PRON 3SING | go-Ø | look for-Ø | well | SUBJ | PRON 3SING | bring-Ø

110. *'nena 'marya 'to al 'gelba 'to 'aju?*
to + PRON 1PL | woman | PRON POSS 3SING | REL | heart | PRON POSS 3SING | want-Ø

Mi'san 'ase'de 'sala 'ina 'gu- rwo 'gus 'tani al
because | now | even if | PRON 1PL | PROG- | go | search-Ø | other | REL

bi- ji'bu 'nouo 'de, 'uo bu- 'rudu 'ma.
FUT- | bring-PASS | for + PRON 3SING DEF | PRON 3SING | FUT- | accept | NEG

'Sa 'tan 'fi 'to al 'uw(o) 'aju.
maybe | EXIS | PRON POSS 3SING | REL | PRON 3SING | want-Ø

'Mus | 'ya | ka'man | 'an | 'kelem | 'now(o)? | 'An | 'gal: " | 'Ase'de,
EMPH | FOC | also | PRON 1SING | say-Ø | to + PRON 3SING | PRON 1SING | that | now

115. 'it(a) | 'endi | ab | 'it(a) | 'ayin | ka'la? | 'Ito | 'gu- | rwa | 'jib
PRON 2SING | have-Ø | REL | PRON 2SING | see-Ø | COMPL | PRON 2SING | PROG- | go | bring-Ø

'kena | 'so | 'sokole | 'de? | Wa'la | 'kena | 'ro | 'gus? "
SUBJ + PRON 1PL do-Ø | thing | DEF | or | SUBJ + PRON 1PL go-Ø | look for-Ø

'Gal | 'ken(a) | 'arija | 'gus | 'nouo | 'tan. | 'Ana | 'kelem
that | SUBJ + PRON 1PL return-Ø | search-Ø | to + PRON 3SING other | PRON 1SING | say-Ø

'now(o): " | 'Ase, | kan | 'ino | bu- | 'gusu, | ka'man | kan | 'ina
to + PRON 3SING | now | when | PRON 1PL | FUT- | look for | also | when | PRON 1PL

bi- | 'jib, | 'ita | 'b(i)- | aba, | 'ite | bi- | 'so | 'sokole | 'de,
FUT- | bring | PRON 2SING | FUT- | refuse | PRON 2SING | FUT- | do | thing | DEF

120. 'ita | 'gu- | rwa | 'jib(u) | ab | 'taki. | 'Yala | 'baga | 'ina
PRON 2SING | PROG- | go | bring-Ø | REL | PRON POSS 2SING | well | EMPH | PRON 1PL

'ja | 'dakal | fu | kala'ma."
come-Ø | enter-Ø | in | matter-PL

'Ase'de, ke'd(e) abu'ru asa'du 'nouo te ma'ma 'Hawa 'de?
now | SUBJ | try-PASS-Ø | ask-PASS-Ø | to + PRON 3SING | GEN | mother | NPROP | DEF

Kan 'uo bu- 'rudu, ke'd(e) owo 'sul(u) 'uo. Ka'man kan
when | PRON 3SING | FUT- | accept | SUBJ | PRON 3SING | take-Ø | PRON 3SING | also | when

'uw(o) 'aba, ke'd(e) owo 'ro 'jib(u) ab su'nu? Ab 'to
PRON 3SING | refuse-Ø | SUBJ | PRON 3SING | go-Ø | bring-Ø | REL | what | REL | PRON POSS

3SING

125.
al	*'uw(o)*	*'aju*	*'de.*	*Mi'san*	*gi-*	*'ben*	*'nana*	*jo*	*'fi*
REL	PRON 3SING	want-Ø	DEF	because	PROG-	seem	to + PRON 1SING	as if	EXIS

'to	*al*	*'uw(o)*	*'aju,*	*la'kin*	*ke'lem*	*'to*	*'ya*
PRON POSS 3SING	REL	PRON 3SING	want-Ø	but	tell-GER	PRON POSS 3SING	FOC

'gow	*'nouo.*
tough	to + PRON 3SING

'Uo	'fi	fi	dere'b(e)	'en.	'Kan(a)	'abur	na'd(i)
PRON 3SING	EXIS	in	back of house	here	SUBJ + PRON 1SING	try-Ø	call-Ø

'owo,	'an(a)	'kelem	'now(o).
PRON 3SING	PRON 1SING	say-Ø	to + PRON 3SING

mother - *son*

130.
Ab'dallah,'abur	'tal	'ya'de.	Ak'w(e)	asa	ke'fin?	Bi'niya	'na'de
NPROP try-IMPER	come-IMPER	DEM ADV PROX	my friend	now	how?	girl	DEM DIS

ka'las	'it(a)	'aba.	'Ina	'seb	'badu	'mouo.	'Ase	'fi
COMPL	PRON 2SING	refuse-Ø	PRON 1PL	leave-Ø	together	with + PRON 3SING	now	EXIS

ta	ma'ma	'Hawa	'de.	'(I)t(a)	'ayin	ke'fin?
GEN	mother	NPROP	DEF	PRON 2SING	see-Ø	how?

Oh,	*ma'ma,*	*'ahah.*	*Bi'niya*	*'na'de*	*a'ta*	*a'sas*	*'ma.*	*A'ta*	*'ana*	*'ya*
INT	mother	nono	girl	DEM DIS	EMPH	beautiful	NEG	EMPH	PRON 1SING	FOC

'aju	*bi'niya*	*'na'de*	*'ma.*	*Bi'niya*	*'de*	*gi-*	*'sitim(u)*	*a'nas.*	*'Yala*	*ka'man*
want-Ø	girl	DEM DIS	NEG	girl	DEF	PROG-	insult	person-PL	well	also

135.
'uw(o)	*'endi*	*'fi*	*'asma*	*'to*	*al*	*'yal*	*we'le*	*'kutu*
PRON 3SING	have-Ø	EXIS	name	PRON POSS 3SING	REL	child-PL	boy-PL	put-Ø

'now(o).	*'Euh,*	*gi-*	*'já*	*saka'l(a)*	*'ana.*
for + PRON 3SING	INT	PROG-	come-PASS	tease-PASS-Ø	PRON 1SING

'Asma	'de	ka'bila	'asma	ya't(u)	al	gi-	'já	saka'l(a)	eta
name(s)	DEF	type	name(s)	which?	REL	PROG-	come-PASS	tease-PASS-Ø	PRON 2SING

'mo	'de?
with + PRON 3SING	DEF

A'ta,	*'bes*	*a'nas*	*'bes*	*'kutu-'kutu*	*'nouo*	*'asma-'asma*	*je'de.*
no	EMPH	person-PL	EMPH	put-REDUP-Ø	to + PRON 3SING	name(s)-REDUP	EMPH

140.
Ah,	*a'ta*	*'ana*	*'ya*	*'aj(u)*	*'uo*	*'ma.*
INT	EMPH	PRON 1SING	FOC	want-Ø	PRON 3SING	NEG

'Asma	'de,	'kan	'uo	'seregu?	'Uo	'so	su'nu	al	'ya
name(s)	DEF	ANT	PRON 3SING	steal-Ø	PRON 3SING	do-Ø	what?	REL	FOC

ku'tu	'nouo	'asma	al	'ita	gi-	'kaf	'gal
put-PASS-Ø	to + PRON 3SING	name(s)	REL	PRON 2SING	PROG-	be afraid	that

ka'lam	'asma	'de.	G(i)-	a'ju	a'jol	ka'lam	'asma	wa'la	'adab
because	name(s)	DEF	PROG-	want-PASS	person	because	name(s)	or	good manners

'to?	'Mus	'wede	'ya	ka'lam	al	'youm	'da	'an
PRON POSS 3SING	EMPH	DEM PROX	FOC	problem	REL	the other day	PRON 1SING

145.
gi-	'kelem	'de?
PROG-	say	DEF

'Mm,	*'ana*		*'tai*			*'an(a)*	*'aju*	*bi'niya*	*al*	*'ameri.*
INT	PRON 1SING		PRON POSS 1SING			PRON 1SING	want-Ø	girl	REL	red

Al	'amer	'ye	'it(a)	'aju?!!
REL	red	FOC	PRON 2SING	want-Ø

Mmm.
INT

Al	'aswe	'de	'it(a)	'aju	'ma?
REL	black	DEF	PRON 2SING	want-Ø	NEG

150. *Mmm.*
      INT

'It(a)	'aju	al	a'sasi?
PRON 2SING	want-Ø	REL	beautiful

'An(a)	*'aju*	*al*	*a'sas.*
PRON 1SING	want-Ø	REL	beautiful

'Yala,	'ro	'jib(u)	al	'taki	'de	'kena
well	go-IMPER	bring-IMPER	REL	PRON POSS 2SING	DEF	SUBJ + PRON 1PL

'ja	'ayin.	'Ase,	'kan	'it(a)	'ayin	mu'nu?
come-Ø	see-Ø	now	ANT	PRON 2SING	see-Ø	who?

155. | *'An(a)* | *'aju…* | *'fi* | *bi'niya,* | *'fi* | *Mar'yam. (…)* |
      |----------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|----------------|
      | PRON 1SING | want-Ø | EXIS | girl | EXIS | NPROP |

Translation:

mother- *friend*

1. Mama of Faiza, I have my problem [that] came now. My son wants to marry. This – I do not know – how it will be done?
    How?
5. It is not that he wants to marry a [specific] girl. He [says] that a girl should be searched for him. But I don't know, it is me who has to…
    The woman whom you(PL) are going to search for him, he is not going…, he is not going to like [her]. It needs

10. *an agreement so that it is him who looks for his wife. [Let] (them)/him agree with his wife.*
    [Let] him bring the news. Because the one you are going to search for for him, he is not going to want. Yours, you are going to want good manners. His, he is going to want beauty.
15. But his coming that he came [with] here to me, it seems as if he wants that I do what? That I am the one searching for him. Except now like you tell me that the children (of) nowadays are weird, I have to go and ask him first.
20. *When he tells you that it is you to search for him, now you will have to go to his (paternal) aunt. You are going to talk to his (paternal) aunt. You(PL) will find a wife for him. If he is not going to accept the woman, well he will look for his,*
25. *whom his heart wants.*

mother - *son*

    Now, my (friend) son, I am asking you. You came to me. Do you want that I look for a girl for you or is there yours whom you have already seen? Your (PL) problem is weird. I will search, [and]
30. you [will say] that: "This [one] is not beautiful. How is this one?" Now, I want you to tell me [whether] there is yours whom you have seen already or do you want that there is searched for you?
    I want that you look for me.

35.   Now, when you want that there is searched for you, I am going to tell your aunt.

mother - *paternal aunt*

Now, aunt of the boy. [The] boy came to me. He wants for me…, he wants that I will search for him a wife. He wants to find a home. But I told him:

40.   "I cannot look for you. Let me come to auntie." Now, auntie, how? Is there really a girl whom you can find for our boy?
Yes, we can search. We can (search)/ ask the child of in…, of our neighbour who is up there. You may try to show him whether he will accept that child….

45.   *[She] seems [to be] a good child. She has good manners. If he will accept her, [then it is] good. Also if he will refuse. We will try to look for another place.*
You see, you think like me. I, also, what was that girl? [It was her] that I had seen.

50.   Now, let me try to tell him now. I will come back to you.
OK

mother - *son*

My [dear] boy, how [are you]? A girl, we have already found [one] for you, girl X. How do you see [her]? Shall we arrange [her] for you?
Which one?

55.   Of our neighbour up there, of mama Amina.
Mama, I definitely do not want that one.
Now, how do you want [it]? The other day, you told me to look for you, isn 't it? The girl seems to be good! The girl seems to have good manners!

60.   *Her eyes are not beautiful.*
Do you want (it is) beauty, or do you want (it is) good manners?
I want a beautiful one, because when I am going to walk with her in the streets, [that] there is said that: "The wife of X is over there."

65.   Beauty, you just want [it] [for] in the streets? Because the wife of X, when she does not have good manners, when you will bring a wife to us, who does not bring us together.
Now, mama, do you want me to bring a wife whom, when the people see her , well [when they] see the woman, [they will say that]: "I am afraid of her instantly"?!!

70.   *I, for me, I want a beautiful wife.*
Eeh, my child, beauty, it won't help you at all. Beauty nowadays has disease. Beauty nowadays kills people. Yes, beauty, we would not refuse [it]. Really, a person should take a wife who is beautiful,

75.   but when she has good manners.
Now, that woman whom you admire for me, but she is not beautiful.
Now, yours, whom would you think of?
A beautiful one should be looked for. Let [such one] be tried to be looked for first.

80.   Now, that one we had seen with your aunt. Shall we try to go and look for another one like you say?
Yes.
When we will come to tell you, [and] (that) you [will] say [that]: "Not beautiful", now [then] you will bring yours.

85.   Well, what will we do? We will enter into it?. But when will be found [out] that also the one whom you brought, that [she] is not good, you yourself will smell in it/you will be in for it
OK.

mother - *aunt*

Now, aunt of the (girl)/[boy]. How [are you?] The problem that the other day I came with (it) to you,

90.   I asked my boy, I told him about it, but the boy refused. [He says] that the girl is not beautiful. He himself wants a beautiful girl. I told him: "The girl is beautiful. The girl has good manners." [He said] that: "[She] is not beautiful at all."

95.   Do I want to bring him a wife whom when the people see [her], [they] will run? He wants a beautiful person about whom, when she walks with him in the street, it is said that: "Look, the wife of X is over there."
Is this right? But the girl has good manners. And all her people are understanding people.

100.   *Now, how do you see [it]? Should we just, should we do this, or should we go and look for another [one]?*
He said that we should look for another [one] for him. I have told him: "Now, how?" Well let him bring his who has (her) good manners.

105.   He [said] that, nono, we should again look for him for another [one].

Now, when we go and look for another [one] for him, will he accept [her]? Or should we just leave it to him so that he goes and searches,

110.   well so that he brings his woman to us, whom his heart wants. Because now even if we are going to look for another one, who will be brought for him, he will not accept [her]. Maybe, there is his, whom he wants. Didn 't I also told him as such? I [said] that:

115.   "Now, you have [one] whom you have seen already? Are you going to bring [her] so that we do the thing? Or should we search? " [He said] that we should look for another [one] for him. I told him: "Now, when we will look, [and] when we will bring [one], and you will refuse, [then] you will do the thing,

120.   you are going to bring yours. Well, we will enter into the matters."
Now, let the one of mama Hawa be tried and asked for him? When he will accept, let him take her. Also when he [will] refuse, let him go and bring what?

125.   *His, whom he wants. Because it seems to me as if there is his, whom he wants, but his telling/to tell is tough for him.*
He is here at the back of the house. Let me try to call him, [and] (I) tell him.

mother - *son*

130.   Abdallah, try and come here. My friend, how [are you] now? That girl, you have already refused [her]. We have left her (together). Now, there is [the one] of mama Hawa. How do you see [her]?
Oh mama, nono. That girl is not beautiful at all. I definitely do not want that girl. That girl insults people.

135.   *Well also she has her names that the boys give her. Euh, I am going to be teased.*
The names are what type of names, which you are going to be teased with?
No, people just give her names.

140.   *Ah, I definitely do not want her.*
The names, has she stolen? What did she do that names are given to her that you are scared because of the names. Is someone liked because of [his] names or [because of his] good manners? This is the thing that I said the other day, isn 't it?

145.   *Mm, I myself, I want a red/light skinned girl.*
A light skinned [one] it is that you like?!!
Mmm.
The black [ones] you do not want?

150.   *Mmm.*
You want a beautiful one?
I want a beautiful one.
Well, go and bring yours so that we see [her]. Now, whom did you see?

155.   *I want… there is a girl, there is Maryam. (…)*

M.K. [237]

1. **Wa'nasa**   **ta**   **'mana**
    talk-GER   GEN   meaning

    A'nas   ta   za'man   'kelem…   Ta   aw'lan: **ne'gi**   **fi**   **'hagu** [238].
    person-PL   GEN   old days say-Ø   GEN   NUM   keen   on   his thing

    Mana   'to,   'kil(a)   a'zol   ne'gi   fi   'sokol
    meaning   PRON POSS 3SING   every   person   keen   on   thing

    'to.   'Ite   ne'gi   fi   nyere'ku 'taki.
    PRON POSS 3SING   PRON 2SING   keen   on   child   PRON POSS 2SING

5. 'Ite   ne'gi   fi   'jua   'taki.   'Ite   ne'gi
    PRON 2SING   keen   on   house   PRON POSS 2SING   PRON 2SING   keen

    fi   'kila   'haja   'taki.   'Mana 'to,   'ita   'ma
    in   every   thing   PRON POSS 2SING   it means that   PRON 2SING   NEG

    'aju   'sokol   'taki   'de   ke'de   'karab.
    want-Ø   thing   PRON POSS 2SING   DEF   SUBJ   be spoilt-Ø

    'Yena   gi-   'kelem: ne'gi   fi   'hagu.
    CONJ + PRON 1PL   PROG-   say   keen   on   his thing'

    'Sala   kan   nyere'ku 'taki   'so   ma'kosa, 'bes   'ita
    even   if   child   PRON POSS 2SING   do-Ø   mistake   EMPH   PRON 2SING

10. 'ya   'arufu   'uo   'so   ma'kosa 'ma,   ka'lam   'ite   ne'gi
    FOC   know-Ø   PRON 3SING   do-Ø   mistake NEG   because   PRON 2SING   keen

    fu   nyere'ku 'taki.
    on   child   PRON POSS 2SING

    Te   ti'nen: **za'man** **'ma**   **li'go.**   'Mana 'to,   a'jol   al   gi-   'gem(u)
    GEN   two   old days   NEG   find-PASS-Ø   it means that   person   REL   PROG-   pride

    'uo   kan   'uo   lo'go   'mali,   'yena
    PRON 3SING   when   PRON 3SING   receive-Ø   wealth   FOC + PRON 1PL

    gi-   'kelem   'gal   za'man   'kan   'uo   mis'kin, 'uo   'me
    PROG-   say   that   old days be-ANT   PRON 3SING   poor   PRON 3SING   NEG

15. 'endu.   'Ase'de, min   'uo   lo'go,   'dukur 'bag(a)   'owo
    have-Ø   now   since   PRON 3SING   receive-Øthen EMPH   PRON 3SING

    'ja   'gem.
    come-Ø   boast-Ø

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[237] M.K. is a 54 year old male. He was born in Mbarara in the western part of Uganda from a Nubi father and mother. As an adult he lived mainly in Bombo and Kampala, and spent 8 years in exile in southern Sudan. His mother-tongue is Nubi, but he also speaks English, Swahili, Luganda, the related languages Runyankole-Rutoro-Ruchiga-Runyoro, Juba Arabic, and he has some passive knowledge of Arabic. M.K. finished high school, non-university level.

[238] Sudanese Arabic *ḥagg* functions as a particle that expresses possession. It is followed by a pronominal suffix or by a noun expressing the possessor (see Roth-Laly 1969b: 121). *ḥagg* + *-u* (Sudanese Arabic pronominal suffix for the third person singular masculine) is reinterpreted as one word in Nubi and could best be translated as 'his thing', 'his possession'.

'Namba	ta'lata	gi-	'kelem:	**ku'wafu**	**'raba**	**a'tim.**	'Mana 'to,	a'tim
number	three	PROG-	say	fear	raise-Ø	orphan	it means that	orphan

'raba	fu	'be	ta	a'zol	'tan.	'Uo	'gai
grow up-Ø	in	house	GEN	person	other	PRON 3SING	stay-Ø

ma	ku'waf(u).	'Uo	'ma	'gai	ma	ha'gar.
with	fear	PRON 3SING	NEG	stay-Ø	with	meanness

20.

Mi'sen	bi'ses-bi'ses,	'sa	al	'uo	lo'go	'tabu,
because	slowly-REDUP	hour	REL	PRON 3SING	get-Ø	trouble(s)

'uo	'bes	'gen	mo	ku'waf(u)	'to.
PRON 3SING	EMPH	stay-Ø	with	fear	PRON POSS 3SING

Je	'de.	'Lad(i)	'owo	'raba,	'uo	'ma
like	DEM PROX	until	PRON 3SING	grow up-Ø	PRON 3SING	NEG

'so	ha'gar.	'Ya	'Nubi	gi-	'kelem	'gal	ku'wafu	'raba	a'tim.	Ka'lam
do-Ø	meanness	CONJ	NPROP	PROG-	say	that	fear	raise-Ø	orphan	because

a'tim	'de	'raba	ka'las.	'Uo	'je	ke'bir
orphan	DEF	grow up-Ø	COMPL	PRON 3SING	become-Ø	big

25.

'Namba	'arba	gi-	'kelem:	**'sifa-sifa**	**je'resa.**	'Mana 'to,	a'jol
number	four	PROG-	say	praise-REDUP-GER	shame	it means that	person

al	gi-	'sifa-sifa	'nafsi	'to	fu	'sokol	fila'niya,
REL	PROG-	praise-REDUP	soul	PRON POSS 3SING	for	thing	any

kanu	ka'lam	'de,	'sokol	'na'de	'uo	'ja	'karab,
when	thing	DEF	thing	DEM DIS	PRON 3SING	come-Ø	spoil-Ø

gi-	'jibu	'nouo	'haya.	'Ya	'mana	'to	je'resa.	'Ita
PROG-	bring	to + PRON 3SING	shame	CONJ	meaning	PRON POSS 3SING	shame	PRON 2SING

gi-	'sifa-'sif(a)	'eta	'gal	'ita	'abu	'guwa,
PROG-	praise-REDUP	PRON 2SING	that	PRON 2SING	possessor of	force

30.

au	'it(a)	ab	du'ra.
or	PRON 2SING	possessor of	biceps

La'kin	'ita	'jo	lo'go	a'jol	'wai	'amsuk(u)	'ita,
but	PRON 2SING	come-Ø	meet-Ø	person	INDEF	take-Ø	PRON 2SING

'arim(u)	'ita	fala'ta.	'Dukur	'ito	lo'go	je'resa.
throw-Ø	PRON 2SING	down	then	PRON 2SING	find-Ø	shame

'Yala,	'youm	'kul	'ita	gi-	'sifa-'sif(a)	'eta
well	day(s)	all	PRON 2SING	PROG-	praise-REDUP	PRON 2SING

'gal	'ita	'ya	a'jol	to	'gudra.
that	PRON 2SING	FOC	person	GEN	strength

35.

'Namba	'kamsa	'kelem:	**'mutu**	**ke'tiri**	**'fara.**	'Wede	wa'nasa	ta
number	five	say-Ø	die-GER	many	joy	DEM PROX	talk-GER	GEN

wa'ze	za'man	al	gu-	we'di	'guwa	'noumon
old person-PL	old days	REL	PROG-	give	strength	to + PRON 3PL

ke'd(e)	'omon	'dusman	dus'man	ta	aske'riya.	'Ma

SUBJ | PRON 3PL | fight-Ø | war | GEN | soldier-PL | NEG

gi- | si'bu | a'k(u) | 'wai | ke'd(e) | 'ow | 'mutu | 'uo
PROG- | leave-PASS | brother | one | SUBJ | PRON 3SING | die-Ø | PRON 3SING

.ba'rau. | 'Umon | gi- | 'lim(u) | 'umon | 'kul | ke'd(e) | umon
alone | PRON 3PL | PROG- | gather | PRON 3PL | all | SUBJ | PRON 3PL

40. 'ro | ba'kan | 'wai. | 'Fara | 'de, | 'mana 'toje | 'hafla | ke'bir.
go-Ø | place | one | joy | DEF | it means that | like | party | big

Kan | 'uo | 'mutu | ba'kan | 'wai, | gu- | we'ri | 'gal
when | PRON 3SING | die-Ø | place | one | PROG- | show-PASS | that

'umon | 'mutu | 'sawa | 'bil(a) | 'umon | 'kaf. | 'De | 'ya
PRON 3PL | die-Ø | together | without | PRON 3PL | be afraid-Ø | DEF | FOC

wa'nasa | 'toumon | ta | za'man | al | gu- | we'di | 'gudra, | 'gal:
talk-GER | PRON POSS 3PL | GEN | old days | REL | PROG- | give | strength | that

" 'Ro- | tokum | 'na, | 'dusman- | 'itakum. | Kan | 'ina | 'mutu, | 'ina
go-IMPER- | ADR PL | there | fight-IMPER- | ADR PL | when | PRON 1PL | die-Ø | PRON 1PL

45. 'mutu | 'kul." | 'Ma'f(i) | a'jol | al | ke'de | 'jer(e) | 'arija | 'wara.
die-Ø | all | EXIS NEG | person | REL | SUBJ | run-Ø | return-Ø | back

'Namba | 'sita | gi- | 'kelem: | **ne'siba** | **'kati** | **'semsi.** | 'Mana 'to | kan
number | six | PROG- | say | relative | cover-Ø | sun | it means that | when

'it(a) | 'endi | ne'siba | 'taki, | kan | 'uw(o) | awun(u)
PRON 2SING | have-Ø | relative | PRON POSS 2SING | when | PRON 3SING | help-Ø

'ita | fi | 'shida, | 'de | 'ya | 'sems(i) | al | 'uo
PRON 2SING | in | problem(s) | DEF | FOC | sun | REL | PRON 3SING

'kati | me | sem'siya. | Kan | 'semsi | gi- | 'harag(u) | 'ita,
cover-Ø | with | parasol | when | sun | PROG- | burn | PRON 2SING

50. 'uo | 'jib | shem'shiya, | 'uo | 'kutu | fi | 'ras
PRON 3SING | bring-Ø | parasol | PRON 3SING | put-Ø | on | head

'to, | fi | 'ras | 'taki, | 'mana 'to,
PRON POSS 3SING | on | head | PRON POSS 2SING | it means that

'uw(o) | 'awun(u) | 'ita | min | 'hari | ta | 'sems.
PRON 3SING | help-Ø | PRON 2SING | from | heat | GEN | sun

Au | kan | 'shida | 'waga | 'neta, | ne'siba | 'taki
or | when | problem(s) | fall-Ø | to + PRON 2SING | relative | PRON POSS 2SING

bi- | 'jere, | 'uo | 'ja | 'awun(u) | 'ita | fi | 'shida
FUT- | run | PRON 3SING | come-Ø | help-Ø | PRON 2SING | in | problem(s)

55. 'de. | 'Yena | PRON 1PL | gi- | 'kelem | ne'siba | 'kati | 'sems.
DEF | CONJ + | | PROG- | say | relative | cover-Ø | sun

Ta | 'saba | gi- | 'kelem: | **'keli** | **'akul** | **ka'sara.** | 'Mana 'to, | kan
GEN | seven | PROG- | say | dog | eat-Ø | (at a) loss | it means that | if

'it(a)   'endi   'kel(i)   al   'ma   gi-   'kore,   wu   'keli   'ma
PRON 2SING   have-Ø   dog   REL   NEG   PROG-   bark   and   dog   NEG

'g(i)-   amrugu   'moyo,   'keli   'ma   gi-   'so   'kidima,   'yal(a)   'ito
PROG-   remove   water   dog   NEG   PROG-   do   work   well   PRON 2SING

gu-   we'di   'nouo   'akil   'kulu   'youm,   'ita
PROG-   give   to + PRON 3SING   food   all   day   PRON 2SING

60.   gi-   'kelem   'gal   'kel(i)   'de   'akul   ka'sara.   'Mana   'to   a'dil
     PROG-   say   that   dog   DEF   eat-Ø   (at a) loss   meaning   PRON POSS 3SING   real

gu-   we'ri   a'jol   al   gi-   'gai   'meta,   'uo
PROG-   show   person   REL   PROG-   stay   with + PRON 2SING   PRON 3SING

'ma   gi-   'kuruju,   'uo   'ma   gi-   'so   'kidima   'kulu-'kulu,
NEG   PROG-   till field   PRON 3SING   NEG   PROG-   do   work   all-REDUP

'bes   'kidima   'to,   'sa   'tim,   'uo   'ja
only   work   PRON POSS 3SING   hour   be there-Ø   PRON 3SING   come-Ø

'akul,   'sa   'tim,   'uo   'ja   'akul,   'wede
eat-Ø   hour   be there-Ø   PRON 3SING   come-Ø   eat-Ø   DEM PROX

65.   'ina   'kelem   'gal   a'zol   al   'g(i)-   akul   ka'sara.   Wu   nyere'ku
     PRON 1PL   say-Ø   that   person   REL   PROG-   eat   (at a) loss   and   child

ka'man   al   kan   'so   'neta   'kidima,   'uo   'ro
also   REL   when   do-Ø   for + PRON 2SING work   PRON 3SING   go-Ø

'angulu   'moyo,   'uo   'kasur   'lata,   kan   'uo   'jibu   'lata
carry-Ø   water   PRON 3SING   cut-Ø   firewood   when   PRON 3SING   bring-Ø   firewood

'de   au   'moyo   'de,   'ite   gi-   'kelem   'nouo
DEF   or   water   DEF   PRON 2SING   PROG-   say   to + PRON 3SING

'gal   'kel(i)   'akul   ka'sara.   'Mana   'to,   'ita,   nyere'ku
that   dog   eat-Ø   at a loss   it means that   PRON 2SING   child

70.   'tai,   'sala   'ita   'g(i)-   akul,   'ita
     PRON POSS 1SING   even when   PRON 2SING   PROG-   eat   PRON 2SING

'g(i)-   akul   lo'go   'ita   gi-   'so   'nana   'kidima.
PROG-   eat   while   PRON 2SING   PROG-   do   for + PRON 1SING work

Ta   ta'manya   'kelem: **'kel**   **'num**   **fi**   **lu'daya**,   au   'it(a)
GEN   eight   say-Ø   dog   sleep-Ø   in   hearth   or   PRON 2SING

'agider   'kelem: **'kel**   **'aswe**   **'num**   **fi**   **lu'daya**.   'Mana   'to
be able-Ø   say-Ø   dog   black   sleep-Ø   in   hearth   meaning   PRON POSS 3SING

min   'jua   gi-   'kelem   'youm   'na'de   fi   lu'daya   'na,
from   inside   PROG-   say   day   DEM DIS   in   hearth   there

75.   wa'la   'nari   'ma.   Wa   kan   wa'la   'fogo   'nari   'ma,
     light-PASS-Ø   fire   NEG   and   when   light-PASS-Ø   in it   fire   NEG

'kel(i)   al   'ingis…,   al   gi-   'doru-'doru   'zaman,
dog   REL   like   REL   PROG-   wander about-REDUP   for a long time

te	'segete,	'uo		gi-	'jo	'num	fi	lu'daya	-ka'lam	'nar
GEN	cold	PRON 3SING		PROG-	come	sleep-Ø	in	hearth	because	fire

'fogo	'ma-	ke'd(e)	'o(w)		lo'go	'lata	'hari.	'Mana		
in it	NEG	SUBJ	PRON 3SING		find-Ø	air	warm	meaning		

'to			'tan	gi-	'kelem	fu	'be	'de		
PRON POSS 3SING			other	PROG-	say	in	house	DEF		

80.

lo'go		aku'l(u)		'akili	'ma.	Kan	wa'la		'nari	'ma,
find-PASS-Ø		eat-PASS-Ø		food	NEG	when	light-PASS-Ø		fire	NEG

'mana	'toraka'b(u)		'akili	'ma.	Kan	raka'b(u)	'akili	'ma,		
it means that	cook-PASS-Ø		food	NEG	when	cook-PASS-Ø			food	NEG

a'nas		'num	ma	ji'an.	'Ya	a'jol	kan	'kelem	'gal	'keli
person-PL		sleep-Ø	with	hunger	CONJ	person	when	say-Ø	that	dog

'num	fi	lu'daya,	'mana	'to	a'nas		'de	fi	'be	'de
sleep-Ø	in	hearth	it means that		person-PL		DEF	in	house	DEF

'num	ma	ji'an.	'Umon		'akulu	'ma.	Wa'la		'nari	'ma.
sleep-Ø	with	hunger	PRON 3PL		eat-Ø	NEG	light-PASS-Ø		fire	NEG

85.

'De		'ya	'mana	ta	ka'lam	'de.				
DEM PROX		FOC	meaning	GEN	proverb	DEM PROX				

.

Ah,	ta	'tisa	'kelem	**'sika**	**ti'nen**	**'gelib**	**'keli**	au	'sa 'tan	
INT	GEN	nine	say-Ø	road(s)	two	defeat-Ø	dog	or	sometimes	

'umon		gi-	'kelem	'gal	ka'rama		ti'nin	'gelib	'keli.	
PRON 3PL		PROG-	say	that	funeral(s)	two	defeat-Ø	dog		

'Mana	'to	'keli	'rasul.	Ka'rama	'fi	fi	sho'mal.	Ka'rama	'fi	fi
it means that		dog	arrive-Ø	funeral	EXIS	in	left	funeral	EXIS	in

yau'min.	'Uo		'sum	min	'in	'hilu.	'Uo		'sum	min
right	PRON 3SING		smell-Ø	around	here	nice	PRON 3SING		smell-Ø	around

90.

'na	'hilu.	'Bes	'uo		'fadul	fu	'ustu.	'Sika	'ma'f(i)	
there	nice	EMPH	PRON 3SING		remain-Ø	in	middle	road(s)	EXIS NEG	

al	'uo		'bu-	rwa	'fogo	'de.	'Mana 'to		'uo	
REL	PRON 3SING		FUT-	go	in it	DEF	It means that		PRON 3SING	

gu-	we'ri	'neta,		bi'nadum:	"	'Ma-	ta			
PROG-	show	to + PRON 2SING		human being		NEG-	ADR SING			

ka'man	gi-	'turuju		soko'lin	ti'nen.	'Turuju		'wai	'lad(i)	
EMPH	PROG-	send away		thing-PL.two		send away-IMPER		one	until	

'ita		'kalas,	'it(a)		'arij(a)		'abidu	'tan,		
PRON 2SING		finish-Ø	PRON 2SING		return-Ø		begin-Ø	another.		

95.

'ita		'kalas."								
PRON 2SING		finish-Ø								

Ta	'ashara	gi-	'kelem:	**'dunia**	**'amuru,**		**'ferteku.**	'Mana 'to,		
GEN	ten	PROG-	say	world	prosper-Ø		split up-Ø	it means that		

kan	'dunia	'ḥilu,	a'nas		'gen	ba'kan	'wai	fi	'raḥa.	
when	world	nice	person-PL		stay-Ø	place	one	in	rest	

	'Umon PRON 3PL	'g(i)- PROG-	ataku. laugh	'Umon PRON 3PL	gi- PROG-	fu'rai. be happy	La'kin but	'youm day(s)	fu'rai happiness
	we'de DEM PROX		'karab, be spoilt-Ø	je like	'zaman time	ta GEN	'vita. war	'Zaman time	to GEN	dus'man, war

100.

a'nas person-PL		'ferteku split up-Ø		'wai-'wai. one by one	'Ya FOC	ba'kan place	al REL	'Nubi NPROP

gi- PROG-	'kelem say	'dunia world	'amur, prosper-Ø		'ferteku. split up-Ø	'Ina PRON 1PL		'kan be-ANT

fu in	a'mara prosperity		'tena. PRON POSS 1PL	'Ina PRON 1PL	gi- PROG-	fu'rai. be happy

'Ina PRON 1PL		'g(i)- PROG-	ataku. laugh	'Ina PRON 1PL	'g(i)- PROG-	akulu. eat	'Ase'de, now	'ino PRON 1PL

gu- PROG-	'num sleep	ma with	ji'an. hunger	'Ino PRON 1PL	gu- PROG-	'num sleep	fi in	'segete. cold

105.

'Dunia world	'amuru, prosper-Ø		'ferteku. split up-Ø

I'dashar eleven	'kelem: say-Ø	**da'bara** coax-GER		**'gelib** defeat-Ø	**sa'tara**. bravado	'Mana it means	'to that	a'jol person	al REL

gi- PROG-	'dabara coax	'wara after	'sokol, thing	'uo PRON 3SING		'g(i)- PROG-	asadu ask	bi'ses, slowly	'uo PRON 3SING

'gu- PROG-	rwa go	'war(a) after	'aw(o) PRON 3SING		ma with	'ḥikima, respect	'uw(o) PRON 3SING		'aksen better

min than	a'jol person	al REL	'gu- PROG-	rwa go	'wara after	'sokol thing	'de DEF	mo with	'guwa, power

110.

mo with	'dus. force	'Uo PRON 3SING		'gal that	'uw(o) PRON 3SING		ab possessor	of	du'ra, biceps

'uo PRON 3SING		'lazima inevitably	bi- FUT-	li'go. receive	La'kin but	a'jol person	al REL	gi- PROG-	'dabara coax

'de, DEF	'ya FOC	kele'm(u) say-PASS-Ø	'gal that	a'jol person	te GEN	'ḥikma. respect

'Uo PRON 3SING		'ya FOC	'aḥsen better	min than	a'jol person	ta GEN	sa'tara. bravado	'Ya CONJ	kele'm(u) say-PASS-Ø

'gal that	fi in	'be house	t(a) GEN	a'nas person-PL		sati'rin, daring-PL		gi- PROG-	ko're. cry-PASS

115.

Fi in	'be house	ta GEN	a'nas people	ab GEN	da'bara, coax-GER		g(i)- PROG-	ata'ku. laugh-PASS

'Tan other	gi- PROG-	'kelem: say	**'ukum** authority	**Na'sara** Christian-PL		**fi** in	**ki'tab**. book	'Mana it means	'to that

'kila every	'sokol thing	ta GEN	Na'sara, Christian-PL		'mana it means	'to that	'kila every	'sokol thing	te GEN

Ingi'lis,		'kulu	gi-	ku'tu		fala'ta,	gi-	kati'fu.

English-PL   all   PROG-   put-PASS   down   PROG-   write-PASS

'Ita   kan   gi-   'so   'ahadi   au   'ita   'so
PRON 2SING   when   PROG-   do   promise or   PRON 2SING   do-Ø

120.   'ahadi   ma   a'zol,   'ita   'jo   'sul   min   'uo
       arrangement   with   person   PRON 2SING   come-Ø   take-Ø   from   PRON 3SING

       'den,   kala'ma 'de   gi-   kati'f(u)   fala'ta. Kan   'ita   'ma
       loan   thing-PL DEF   PROG-   write-PASS   down   when   PRON 2SING   NEG

       'lipa,   sa'ba   gi-   fa'ta   'waraga. La'kin   'tena
       pay-Ø   tomorrow   PROG-   open-PASS   letter   but   PRON POSS 1PL

       'de,   'bes   'an   'gal: "   A'ku,   'we   'nan(a)
       DEF   only   PRON 1SING   that   brother give-IMPER   to + PRON 1SING

       'elf 'ashara. "   We'di   'neta.   'Ito   'rua.
       ten thousand   give-PASS-Ø   to + PRON 2SING   PRON 2SING   go-Ø

125.   Kati'fu   'ma.   'Ya   wa'ze   ta   za'man   'kelem   'gali
       write-PASS-Ø   NEG   CONJ   old person-PL   GEN   old days say-Ø   that

       'hukum Na'sara   fi   ki'tab.   'Kila   'sokol   gi-   kati'f(u)   fala'ta.
       authority Christian-PL   in   book   every   thing   PROG-   write-PASS   down

       Tala'tashar: **'átán**   **li'fili   fi**   **'dulu.** 'Mana 'to,   'wede
       thirteen   crush-INF   elephant in   shade   it means that   DEM PROX

       wa'nasa   ta   mata'na.   I'tom   'wonus   'fogo   a'jol
       talk-GER   GEN   indirect way of talking evil PRON 2PL   talk-Ø   on   person

       lo'g(o) 'owo   'fi   'jamb   'itokum   'in,   la'kin   i'tom
       while   PRON 3SING   EXIS   beside   PRON 2PL   here   but   PRON 2PL

130.   gi-   'wonus   fi   'torof-'torof-'torof-'torof.   'Mana 'to,   i'tom
       PROG-   talk   in   side-REPET   it means that   PRON 2PL

       'g(i)-   atan   'dul   ta   li'fil.   Li'fil   ya'da,   la'kin   i'tom
       PROG-   crush   shade   GEN   elephant elephant DEM ADV DIS   but   PRON 2PL

       'g(i)-   atan   'dul   'to   min   'in.   'Asa   a'zol
       PROG-   crush   shade   PRON POSS 3SING   around   here   now   person

       'na'de   'ya   gi-   na'di   li'fil. I'tom   gu-   'wonus
       DEM DIS   FOC   PROG-   call-PASS   elephant PRON 2PL   PROG-   talk

       'fog(o) 'owo   ke'd(e) 'owo   'faham   'ma.   'Mana 'to,
       on   PRON 3SING   SUBJ   PRON 3SING   understand-Ø   NEG   it means that

135.   i'tom   'g(i)-   atan   li'fil   'de   fu   'dul   'to.
       PRON 2PL   PROG-   crush   elephant DEF   in   shade   PRON POSS 3SING

       'Ya   'Nubi   ta   za'man   kelem: 'átán   li'fil   fi   'dulu.
       CONJ   NPROP   GEN   old days say-Ø   crush-INF   elephant in   shade

       A'mara   'gasi,   ka'raba   'ḫain.   'Mana   'to
       construct-GER   difficult destroy-GER   easy   meaning PRON POSS 3SING

       min   'jua   gi-   'kelem   'ábín   'sokol   gu-   'kun   'gow,
       from   inside   PROG-   say   build-INF   thing   PROG-   be   tough

je / like 'ábín / build-INF 'jua / house gi- / PROG- 'sul / take 'youm / day(s) mi'lan. / many La'yin / but kan / if

kele'm(u) / say-PASS-Ø 'gal: " / that 'Kasur- / break-IMPER- kum / ADR PL 'jua / house 'de! ", / DEF 'youm / day 'wai / one ba'ra / only

140. 'jua / house 'kasur. / be broken-Ø Je / like 'wakti / time to / GEN dus'man, / war 'bes / only 'youm / day 'wai / one

kan / when ja'da / throw-PASS-Ø 'mutufa, / bomb(s) ju'a / house-PL 'kul / all fu / in 'bele / country 'kasur. / be broken-Ø

A'nas / person-PL mi'lan / many 'mutu. / die-Ø La'kin / but we'ledu / bear-GER ta / GEN a'nas / person-PL 'na'de / DEM DIS PL

ma / and 'ábín / build-INF ju'a / house-PL 'dol'de / DEM PROX PL ma / and 'nas / COLL du'kan / shop(s) lo'go / find-PASS-Ø

'sulu / take-Ø 'youm / day(s) mi'lan. / many 'Ya / CONJ 'Nubi / NPROP 'kelem / say-Ø ta / GEN za'man / old days 'gal / that a'mara / construct-GER

145. 'gasi, / difficult 'ábínu / build-INF soko'lin / thing-PL 'dol'de / DEM PROX PL 'gow, / tough la'kin / but ka'raba / destroy-GER

'to, / PRON POSS 3SING ka'rab / destroy-GER 'hain. / easy 'Hain / easiness 'de, / DEF 'mana / meaning 'to / PRON POSS 3SING

'gwam. / quickness

Ta / GEN kamis'tashar / fifteen 'kelem: / say-Ø **ke'ni** / co-wife **'weledu** / bear-Ø **'marya.** / wife 'Mana / it means 'to, / that 'rag(i) / man 'wai / one

'endis / have-Ø nus'wan / wife-PL ti'nen. / two U / and nus'wan / wife-PL 'de / DEF 'gen / stay-Ø fi / in 'jua / house 'wai. / one

150. 'Kila / every 'marya / wife 'endis / have-Ø sabu'len / living room 'to / PRON POSS 3SING ma / and mi'dan / yard

'to. / PRON POSS 3SING 'Wai / one min / from nus'wan / wife-PL 'dol'de / DEM PROX PL 'weledu / bear-Ø nyere'ku / child bi'niya / girl

Bi'niya / girl 'de, / DEF kan / when 'gum / wake up-Ø min 'subu, / in morning 'uo / PRON 3SING kan / when

'gu- / PROG- rwa / go 'kunusu / sweep-Ø mi'dan, / yard 'uo / PRON 3SING gu- / PROG- 'kunusu / sweep mi'dan / yard ta / GEN 'safa / side

ta / GEN ma'ma / mother 'to. / PRON POSS 3SING 'Safa / side ta / GEN 'marba / stepmother

155. 'to, / PRON POSS 3SING 'uo / PRON 3SING gi- / PROG- 'kunusu / sweep 'ma. / NEG 'Ya / CONJ 'dukur / then

ma'ma / mother 'na'de / DEM DIS ab / REL 'endi / have-Ø nyere'ku / child bi'niya / girl 'ma / NEG 'de, / DEF 'uo / PRON 3SING

gi- / PROG- 'kelem / say 'gali: " / that Ke'ni / co-wife 'tai / PRON POSS 1SING 'de, / DEF 'uo / PRON 3SING 'weledu / bear-Ø

'marya / wife 'tan. / other Ase'd(e) / now 'umon / PRON 3PL 'fi / EXIS nus'wan / wife-PL ti'nen / two al / REL

gi-	'dusman	'mana.		'Mana 'to,	'umon	gi-	'so
PROG-	fight	with + PRON 1SING		it means that	PRON 3PL	PROG-	do

160.	'tyel	'fog(o)	'ana,	a'nas	ti'nen. "	'Ya	'ase'de,	kele'm(u)
	rivalry	on	PRON 1SING	person-PL	two	CONJ	now	say-PASS-Ø

'gal	ke'ni	'weledu	'marya.	'Mana 'to,	nus'wan	'de,	fu	'be
that	co-wife	bear-Ø	wife	it means that	wife-PL	DEF	in	house

'de	ta'lata.
DEF	three

Translation:

1.   **Talking of meaning/proverbs.**
The people of the old days said…   The first [one]: **keen on his thing.** Its meaning is [that]/ it means [that] every person is keen on his thing. You are keen on your child.

5.   You are keen on your house. You are keen on everything of yours. It means that you do not want your thing to be spoilt. Thus we say: keen on his thing. Even if your child made a mistake, you know that he did not make a mistake,

10.   because you are keen on your child.
The second [one]: **in the old days it was not found.** It means that it is [about] a person who prides himself when he receives wealth, then we say that he was poor before, he did not have/possess [anything].

15.   Now, since he received, (well then) he began to boast.
The third [one] says: **fear raises the orphan.** It means that an orphan grows up in the house of another person. He stays with fear. He does not stay with meanness.

20.   Because slowly-slowly, the moment that he receives problems, he just stays with his fear. Like this. Until he grows up, he does not do mean [things]. Thus the Nubi are saying that fear raises the orphan. Because the orphan has already grown up. He has become big.

25.   The fourth [one] says: **extensive praise is shame**. It means that a person who praises himself extensively for everything, when he spoils the thing, that thing, it is bringing shame to him. Thus its meaning is shame. You are praising yourself extensively that you are tough, or [that] you are strong.

30.   But you happen to meet someone [who] takes you, [who] throws you down. Then you find shame. Well, every day, you are praising yourself (extensively) that you are a person of strength.

35.   Number five says: **dying [with] many is joy**. This is a proverb of the old people of the old days that gave strength to them so that they would fight a soldiers' war. A brother was not left behind to die alone. They were all gathering (themselves) to go to one place.

40.   It means that the joy was like a big party. When he/[they] died in one place, it was shown that they died together without (them) being afraid. It was their expression of the old days that gave strength, that: "Go(PL) there, fight(PL). When we die, we all die."

45.   No one should run back/flee.
Number six says: **a relative covers/hides the sun**. It means that when you have your relative, [and] when he helps you in problems, it is the sun which he covers/hides with a parasol. When the sun is burning you, [and]

50.   he brings a parasol, he puts it on his head, on your head, [then] it means that he helps/protects you from he heat of the sun. Or when problems fall on you, your relative will run, he will come to help you in the problems.

55.   Thus we say [that] a relative hides the sun.
The seventh [one] says: **a dog eats at a loss**. It means that, if you have a dog who does not bark, and the dog does not remove water, [and] the dog does not do [any] work, well, [and] you give him food every day, [then] you say that

60.   the dog eats at a loss. Its real meaning shows [that] a person who stays with you, [and] he is not working the field, he is not doing any work, [and] his work is only [that] he comes to eat [when] the time is there, he comes to eat [when] the time is there,

65.   [for] this we say that [he is] a person who is eating at a loss. And also a child (that), when he is doing work for you, [and when] he goes to carry water, [and when] he cuts firewood, when he brings the firewood or the water, [then] you say to him that a dog eats at a loss. It means that you, my child,

70.   even when you are eating, you are eating while your are working for me.
The eigth [one] says: a dog sleeps in the hearth, or you can say: a black dog sleeps in the hearth. Its inner meaning says [that] that day, in the hearth there,

75.   no fire was lit. And when no fire was lit in it, a dog that was like…, that was wandering about for a long time

from the cold, he came to sleep in the hearth - because there was no fire in it- to find warm air. Its other meaning says [that]

80.   in the house it was found/ the situation was such that no food was eaten. When no fire is lit, it means that no food is cooked. When no food is cooked, the people sleep with hunger. Thus when a person says that a dog sleeps in the hearth, it means that the people in the house sleep with hunger. They did not eat. No fire was lit.

85.   This is the meaning of this proverb.
        Ah, the ninth [one] says [that] **two roads defeat a dog**, or sometimes, they say that **two funerals defeat a dog**. It means that a dog arrives. There is a funeral on the left. There is a funeral on the right. It smells [a] nice [smell] around here. It smells [a] nice [smell] around there.

90.   It just remains in the middle. The road is not there/there is no road that it will go into. It means that it shows to you, human being: "Do not send away two things. Send one away until you finish [this one], [then] begin another one (again),

95.   [and] (you) finish."
        The tenth [one] says: **the world prospers, [and] splits up.** It means that when the world is nice, the people stay in one place in peace. They are laughing. They are happy. But the days of this happiness are spoilt, like at the time of the war. At the time of the war,

100.   the people split up one by one. It is where the Nubi say [that] the world prospers, and splits up. We were in our prosperity. We were happy. We were laughing. We were eating. Now, we are sleeping with hunger. We are sleeping in the cold.

105.   The world prospers, [and] splits up.
        The eleventh [one] says: **diplomacy defeats bravado.** It means that a person who is coaxing after something, he is asking slowly, he is going after it with respect, [well] he is better than a person who is going after the thing with power, with force.

110.   He [says] that he is a strong one, [that] he will inevitably receive [it]. But the person who is persuading gently, it is said that [he is] a person of respect. He is better than a person of bravado. Thus it is said that in the house of daring people, there is being cried/they cry.

115.   In the house of diplomatic people, there is being laughed/they laugh.
        Another [one] says: the authority of the Christians is in the book/in writing. It means that everything of the Christians, it means that everything of the English (Europeans), everything is put down, it is written. When you are making a promise or

120.   you make an arrangement with someone, you have come to take a loan from him, [then] the things are written down. When you do not pay, tomorrow a/the letter is opened. But for us, I just [say] that: " Brother, give me ten thousand." It is given to you. You go.

125.   It is not written. Thus the old people of the old days said that the authority of the Christians is in the book. Everything is written down.
        The thirteenth: **crushing the elephant in the shade.** It means that this is a proverb of talking evil indirectly. You(PL) talk on a person while he is there beside you(PL) here,

130.   but you(PL) are talking at the side/indirectly/with hidden remarks. It means that you(PL) are crushing the shade of an elephant. The elephant is over there, but you(PL) are crushing its shade around here. Now, that person is called an elephant. You(PL) are talking on him so that he does not understand.

135.   It means that you(PL) are crushing the elephant in its shade. Thus the Nubi of the old days said: crushing an elephant in the shade.
        Construction is difficult, destruction is easy. Its inner meaning says [that] building a thing might be tough like building a house takes many days. But if there is said that: "Break(PL) the house!", in only one day, the house is broken.

140.   Like at the time of the war, when bombs were thrown, all the houses in the country were broken in only one day. Many people died. But the giving birth of those people and the building of these houses and shops were found to take many days. Thus the Nubi of the old days said that

145.   construction is difficult, building these things is tough, but its destruction, destruction is easy. The easiness, its meaning is quickness.
        The fifteenth [one] says: **the co-wife bears a wife.** It means that one man has two wives. And the wives stay in one house.
150.   Every wife has her living room and her yard. One of these wives gives birth to a baby girl. The girl, when she wakes up in the morning, when she is going to sweep the yard, she sweeps the yard on the side of her mother. The side of her stepmother,
155.   she does not sweep. Thus that mother, who does not have a daughter, she says that: "My co-wife, she gave birth to another wife. Now, they are two wives who are fighting with me.
160.   It means that they are doing rivalry on me, two people. " Thus now, it is said that the co-wife gave birth to a wife. It means that the wives in the house are three/ there are three wives in the house.

N. [239]

1. | 'Ana, | ma'ish | 'tai | | | ta'mam, | 'an | | 'kan | mu'zuluwe[240], |
      |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
      | PRON 1SING | life | PRON POSS 1SING | | | entire | PRON 1SING | | be-ANT | born person |

mo'weleda	to	Gu'lu.	Min	sa'kar	'tai,		'an	'gu-	rwa
born person	GEN	NPROP	from	childhood	PRON POSS 1SING		PRON 1SING	PROG-	go

'rasul	'tai		fi	'sana	ta	ar'bein,	'sana	ar'bein	'ma,
reach-Ø	PRON POSS 1SING		in	year(s)	GEN	forty	year(s)	forty	NEG

'an	'wosul	'sana	'kamsa wu tele'tin,		'ase,	'dukur	'an	'je	'tala.
PRON 1SING	reach-Ø	year(s)	thirty five		now	then	PRON 1SING	come-Ø	leave-Ø

5. | 'An | 'rua | fi | 'Lira. | Do'riya | ta | 'tabu | ka'bisa. | | 'Asa, |
      |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
      | PRON 1SING | go-Ø | in | NPROP | travel-GER | GEN | problem(s) | completely | | now |

'an(a)	'aju	'gum.	'An	'rua	fi	Kabara'maide.	Ma'ishe		
PRON 1SING	want-Ø	get up-Ø	PRON 1SING	go-Ø	in	NPROP	life		

'tai		'na…	'an	gi-	'so	'kazi,	'an	gi-	'so
PRON POSS 1SING		there	PRON 1SING	PROG-	do	work	PRON 1SING	PROG-	do

'kidima	ta	'carpenter,	(…)	'lad(i)	'ana	'ja	'sebu.	'An(a)	'arij(a)
work	GEN	carpenter		until	PRON 1SING	come-Ø	leave-Ø	PRON 1SING	return-Ø

'abidu	'kazi	ta….	'kidima	ta	'samaga	muchu'ruzi.	'Ana	'so,	lo'go	'tabu.
begin-Ø	work	GEN	work	GEN	fish	type of fish	PRON 1SING	do-Ø	meet-Ø	trouble

10. | 'Tega-'tega, | | 'ina | gi- | 'so | 'kazi | ta | 'tega | | me | 'himba. |
      |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
      | catch-REDUP-GER | | PRON 1PL | PROG- | do | work | GEN | catch-GER | | with | net(s) |

'Ine	'gu-	rwa	fi	'bahar	fi	je'jira.	'Ino	'gu-	rwa
PRON 1PL	PROG-	go	in	lake	in	island	PRON 1PL	PROG-	go

'gai	'na.	'Ine	gi-	'so,	'ine	gi-	'so	tu'jar	ta	ba'kan
stay-Ø	there	PRON 1PL	PROG-	do	PRON 1PL	PROG-	do	business	GEN	place

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[239] N. was born in 1930 in Gulu in northern Uganda. At the time of the interview he was 68 years old. He lived, as described in the text, in Gulu, Lira, and Kabaramaide. In 1979 he went in exile in Yei in southern Sudan. He returned to Uganda and lived for a short period in Ombachi, Arua, and subsequently in Mirya, Masindi. At last, he moved to Masindi Port. N. had Qurʔanic education and went to school up to primary 4. He worked as a carpenter and a trader. Besides his mother-tongue Nubi, he speaks Swahili, Acholi and Kuman.

[240] *mu'zuluwe* is a contraction of the words *a'zol* 'person' and *mo'weledu* STAT PASS of *'weledu* 'be born', and means 'person who is born', 'descendant'.

'uo 'na'de   'ladi   'hadi   'ana   'je   'sebu.   'An(a)   'arij(a)   'abidu
DEM DIS   until   stage   PRON 1SING   come-Ø   leave-Ø   PRON 1SING   return-Ø   begin-Ø

'kidima ta   tu'jar ta   'túndá tolo'bun,   'túndá ga'ya,   'túndá 'sim-'sim,
work GEN   business GEN   sell-INF (red) millet   sell-INF millet   sell-INF sesame

15. 'túndá 'nas 'fulu.   'Ina gi- 'sil(u) 'in.   'Ina 'gu- rwa
sell-INF COLL groundnut(s)   PRON 1PL PROG- take here   PRON 1PL PROG- go

fi So'roti. 'Ine gi- 'jibu.   'Ine gi- 'jib fi Li'r(a) 'en.
in NPROP PRON 1PL PROG- bring   PRON 1PL PROG- bring in NPROP here

'Ine gi- 'so 'kidima 'to.   'Kazi ta 'tabu. La'kin
PRON 1PL PROG- do work PRON POSS 3SING   work GEN problem(s) but

'wakhti 'ten(a) 'na'de,   'sente 'tena mi'lan, te'gili.
time PRON POSS 1PL DEM DIS   money PRON POSS 1PL many heavy

'Ite bi- 'so 'sente 'sia…. 'ite bi- 'so 'kidima 'sia,
PRON 2SING FUT- do money little PRON 2SING FUT- do work little

20. gi- 'jib 'neta 'sente ke'tiri 'ladi 'ina 'ja 'gai,
PROG- bring to + PRON 2SING money many until PRON 1PL come-Ø stay-Ø

'ine 'je li'go du'kan. 'Baga 'wakhti ta A'min, 'ine 'je
PRON 1PL come-Ø receive-Ø shop EMPH time GEN NPROP PRON 1PL come-Ø

li'go du'kan. 'Ana 'je li'go du'kan ma 'nas 'tai,
receive-Ø shop PRON 1SING come-Ø receive-Ø shop with people PRON POSS 1SING

ma 'family 'tai, ma 'nas 'tai,
with family PRON POSS 1SING with people PRON POSS 1SING

ma aja'ma 'tai. 'Ine 'ja 'dakal fi du'kan,
with people PRON POSS 1SING PRON 1PL come-Ø enter-Ø in shop

25. 'so bia'shara mo 'kweis. 'Ine gu- 'so tu'jar 'tena
do-Ø business with quality PRON 1PL PROG- do business PRON POSS 1PL

'kweis 'ladi 'ino 'wosul fu 'hadi te 'jere. 'Bas, 'ya 'ini
good until PRON 1PL reach-Ø in stage GEN run-GER well FOC here

'jé turu'j(u) ina. 'Ino 'rua. 'Ina 'tala
come-PASS-Ø chase off-PASS-Ø PRON 1PL PRON 1PL go-Ø PRON 1PL leave-Ø

min 'ini, 'dakal fi 'Lira. 'Dakal fi 'Lira. 'Ina 'jo 'ro
from here enter-Ø in NPROP enter-Ø in NPROP PRON 1PL come-Ø go-Ø

'dakal fi Gu'lu. Gu'lu, 'ahah, 'dákál, 'tálá fi 'Lira, 'ino
enter-Ø in NPROP NPROP nono enter-INF leave-INF in NPROP PRON 1PL

30. 'ro 'kun 'dukur fu 'Arua. 'Arua, 'ino 'ro 'dakal fi Su'dan,
go-Ø be-Ø then in NPROP NPROP PRON 1PL go-Ø enter-Ø in NPROP

fi 'Yei. 'Ase, 'ine 'ro 'gai 'na 'gai ta 'shida.
in NPROP now PRON 1PL go-Ø stay-Ø there stay-GER GEN problem(s)

'Bes 'ina 'gai 'gai ta 'tabu ze'de, ta 'tabu
EMPH PRON 1PL stay-Ø stay-GER GEN problem(s) EMPH GEN problem(s)

ze'de, ta 'tabu ze'de. 'Bes, 'ladi 'Rabana 'ja 'awun(u) 'ina.
EMPH GEN problem(s) EMPH well until NRPOP come-Ø help-Ø PRON 1PL

Ji'bu | 'nena | 'namna | ta | 'akili | ma- | shara'fi, | 'gal
bring-PASS-Ø | to + PRON 1PL | way | GEN | food | PART PASS- | distribute | that

35. gi- | shara'f(i)ina | 'mo. | | 'Bes, | 'ina | | ka'man | 'gai
PROG- | distribute-PASS | PRON 1PL | with + PRON 3SING | well | PRON 1PL | | EMPH | stay-Ø

'mo | | 'kweis | 'ladi | 'Rabana | 'ja | 'awun(u) | 'ina. | | 'Já
with + PRON 3SING | | well | until | NPROP | come-Ø | help-Ø | PRON 1PL | | come-PASS-Ø

ari'ja | amru'g(u) | 'ina | min | 'in. | We'd(i) | ina
return-PASS-Ø | remove-PASS-Ø | PRON 1PL | from | here | give-PASS-Ø | PRON 1PL

fi | 'kambi. | 'Ino | | 'ro | 'gai | fi | 'kambi. | 'Ina | | 'gai | ma | 'namn(a)
in | camp | PRON 1PL | | go-Ø | stay-Ø | in | camp | PRON 1PL | | stay-Ø | with | way

ab | 'kweis | fi | 'kambi | 'na. | La'kini | 'kweis | 'to | | 'ma.
REL | good | in | camp | there | but | quality | PRON POSS 3SING | | NEG

40. 'Bes | 'tabu-'tabu. | | 'Ita | | 'kan | fi | 'bele | te | 'wakhid | 'zol.
EMPH | problem(s)-REDUP | | PRON 2SING | | be-ANT | in | land | GEN | one | person

'Ila | 'bes | 'shida, | | 'ile | fi | 'tabu, | | 'ita | | bi- | 'kun
except | EMPH | problem(s) | | except | in | problem(s) | | PRON 2SING | | FUT- | be

'mo. | | 'Bas, | 'ya | 'tabu | | 'na'de, | | 'shida-'shida
with + PRON 3SING | | well | FOC | problem(s) | | DEM DIS PL | | problem(s)-REDUP

'ina | 'sidu | 'mo | | 'gelba, | 'ladi | 'ja | 'akhir | 'to.
PRON 1PL | close-Ø | with + PRON 3SING | | heart(s) | until | come-Ø | end | PRON POSS 3SING

'Já | amru'g(u) | ina | min | Su'dan. | 'Ya | 'ina | | 'ja
come-PASS-Ø | remove-PASS-Ø | PRON 1PL | from | NPROP | CONJ | PRON 1PL | | come-Ø

45. 'gum | min | 'Yei. | Ze'de | 'ina | | 'dakal | fi | 'Arua, | fi | Omba'chi.
get up-Ø | from | NPROP | EMPH | PRON 1PL | | enter-Ø | in | NPROP | in | NPROP

'Ina | 'gai | fi | Omba'chi. | 'Ine | | 'je | 'tala | min | Omba'chi.
PRON 1PL | stay-Ø | in | NPROP | PRON 1PL | | come-Ø | leave-Ø | from | NPROP

'Jé | ji'b(u) | 'ina | fi | 'kambi | 'ten(a) | | 'in
come-PASS-Ø | bring-PASS-Ø | PRON 1PL | in | camp | PRON POSS 1PL | | here

fi | 'Mirya. | 'Bes | 'ina | | 'gai | fi | 'Mirya | 'ini | ge'ri | 'sana | 'arba.
in | NPROP | EMPH | PRON 1PL | | stay-Ø | in | NPROP | here | nearly | year(s) | four

'Ya | gover'menti | ta | 'Mirya, | ta | Ma'sindi | | 'ya | 'amrug(u) | 'ina,
FOC | government | GEN | NPROP | GEN | NPROP | | FOC | remove-Ø | PRON 1PL

50. 'jib(u) | 'ine | | fi | Ma'sindi | Port. | 'Lad(i) | 'ase'de | 'ina | | 'fi | 'ini, | 'yani
bring-Ø | PRON 1PL | | in | NPROP | | until | now | PRON 1PL | | EXIS | here | i.e.

'shida | 'tena | 'lisa | gi- | 'kalas | 'mafi | min | 'ábídu | | 'jere
problem(s) | PRON POSS 1PL | still | PROG- | finish | NEG | from | begin-INF | | run-GER

'lad(i) | 'ase'de. | 'Ina | | 'ma | 'kun | fi | ista'rabu | je | 'kan | min | 'bedir
until | now | PRON 1PL | | NEG | be-Ø | in | civilization | like | be-ANT | from | before

'ine | | 'fi | 'mouo. | | 'Bes | 'ina | | 'fi | ma… | 'bes | ma
PRON 1PL | | EXIS | with + PRON 3SING | | EMPH | PRON 1PL | | EXIS | with.. | EMPH | with

gal'gal	ze'de.	Ma'ish	'te...	ah,	ma'isha	'tena	ta	'tabu.	'Ákúl
disturbance(s)	EMPH	life	..	INT	life	PRON POSS 1PL	GEN	problem(s)	eat-INF

55.

'tena	ta	'tabu.		'Num	'tena	te	'tabu.
PRON POSS 1PL	GEN	problem(s)		sleep-GER	PRON POSS 1PL	GEN	problem(s)

Bia'shera	'maf.		'Bes	tu'jar	'ma	kan	'kan	je	'ina
business	EXIS NEG		EMPH	business	EXIS NEG	when	be-ANT	like	PRON 1PL

gi-	'so	min	'youm 'da	'bedir	'ina		'fi	'mow(o).
PROG-	do	from	old days	before	PRON 1PL		EXIS	with + PRON 3SING

'Gai		'tena		'kan	'gai	'tena,		'ingis	za'man	'ina
stay-GER		PRON POSS 1PL	be-ANT	stay-GER	PRON POSS 1PL		like	old days	PRON 1PL

gi-	'gai	min	'bediri.	'Kul	'ma'fi.	'Bes	'lad(i)	'ase'de	'bes	'lis(a)	'ina
PROG-	stay	from	before	all	EXIS NEG	EMPH	until	now	EMPH	still	PRON 1PL

60.

'fi	ze	'de.		'Ya	'asa,	'ina		fi	Ma'sindi Port	'en.
EXIS	like	DEM PROX		CONJ	now	PRON 1PL		in	NPROP	here

'Ana		fi	Ma'sindi Port	'eni	ma	a'nas		'tai.		'Ina
PRON 1SING		in	NPROP	here	with	person-PL		PRON POSS 1SING		PRON 1PL

'gai.	'An(a)	gi-	'so	bia'sher(a)	'ini	ta	tu'jar	'sia-'sia:
stay-Ø	PRON 1PL	PROG-	do	business	here	GEN	business	little-REDUP

'túndá	so'bun,	'túndá	maran'gwa,		'túndá	'sim-sim,	'túndá	'fulu,		'túndá
sell-INF	soap	sell-INF	bean(s)		sell-INF	sesame	sell-INF	groundnut(s)		sell-INF

soko'lin-soko'lin.	'An	gi-		'so	bia'sher(a)				

soko'lin-soko'lin.	'An		gi-	'tunda.	'Ya	'hal	al	'ina		'fi
thing-PL-REDUP	PRON 1SING		FUT-	sell	CONJ	situation	REL	PRON 1PL		EXIS

65.

'mouo		'ini,	'namn(a)al	'ina		'fi	'mouo
with + PRON 3SING		here	way	REL	PRON 1PL	EXIS	with + PRON 3SING

'ini	'ya	'wede.		'Ase'de	'ana		fi	ka'lam.	(…)
here	FOC	DEM PROX		now	PRON 1SING		in	matter	

'Raba		'tai		al	'an		'raba	'mo
grow up-GER		PRON POSS 1SING		REL	PRON 1SING		grow up-Ø	with + PRON 3SING

fu	Gu'lu,	'wakht	al	'lis(a)	'ina		duga'gin,	ba'ba	'tai
in	NPROP	time	REL	still	PRON 1PL		small-PL	father	PRON POSS 1SING

'kan	'endi	baga'ra	fu	Gu'lu.	Baga'ra	'kan	'fi	'mouo.		Gala'moyo
ANT	have-Ø	cow-PL	in	NPROP	cow-PL	ANT	EXIS	with + PRON 3SING		goat(s)

70.

'kan	'fi	'mouo.		Wu	'kas	'to		'kan	'bes
ANT	EXIS	with + PRON 3SING		and	work	PRON POSS 3SING		be-ANT	EMPH

to	'kúrúju.	Wu	'uo		gi-	'so…	'kidima	'to		'de
GEN	work the field-INF	and	PRON 3SING		PROG-	do	work	PRON POSS 3SING		DEF

'wakhti	al	'lisa	fi	'hai	'tai		'ana		'fi	'mouo.
time	REL	still	in	life	PRON POSS 1SING		PRON 1SING		EXIS	with+ PRON 3SING

Ka'las	'ana	gi-	'faham.		'Uo		'gusu		'kidima	'to
COMPL	PRON 1SING	PROG-	understand		PRON 3SING		look for-Ø		work	PRON POSS 3SING

ta	bia'shera	'to			al	'uo		gu-	lo'go	'ma

| | GEN | business | | PRON POSS 3SING | | REL | PRON 3SING | PROG- | find | with+ PRON 3SING |

75.

| 'sente | 'to. | | La'kin | 'uw(o) | | 'endi | baga'ra | 'to. |
| money | PRON POSS 3SING | | but | PRON 3SING | | have-Ø | cow-PL | PRON POSS 3SING |

| 'Ina | | 'kan | gi- | 'sara | baga'ra. | 'Ase | 'ine | | gi- | 'sara | baga'ra. |
| PRON 1PL | | ANT | PROG- | herd | cow-PL | now | PRON 1PL | | PROG- | herd | cow-PL |

| Ase, | 'lis(a) | 'ine | | duga'gin, | gi- | 'sara | baga'ra | 'to. |
| now | still | PRON 1PL | | small-PL | PROG- | herd | cow-PL | PRON POSS 3SING |

| Baga'ra | 'tena, | 'ina | | gi- | 'sara. | La'siya | ze'de | 'ine |
| cow-PL | PRON POSS 1PL | PRON 1PL | | PROG- | herd | evening | EMPH | PRON 1PL |

| gi- | 'jib | baga'ra | fi | 'be. | 'Ana | | 'je-'ja | 'tim, | | 'tosha |
| PROG- | bring | cow-PL | in | house | PRON 1SING | | come-REDUP-Ø | be enough-Ø | | be enough-Ø |

80.

| ga'raya, | | 'kalwa. | 'Bas, | 'ya | 'ja. | 'Ina | | 'ja, | 'ana | 'ja |
| study-GER | | religious school | well | FOC | come-Ø | PRON 1PL | | come-Ø | PRON 1SING | come-Ø |

| 'rua. | We'd(i) | an | fi | 'kalwa. | 'In(a) | | 'abidu | 'g(i)- | agara | 'kalwa, |
| go-Ø | give-PASS-Ø | PRON 1SING | in | school | PRON 1PL | | begin-Ø | PROG- | study | school |

| 'kalwa | ta | 'sheik | 'Musa 'Fere. | 'In(a) | | 'agara | mo | 'kweis. | 'An(a) | | 'agara |
| school | GEN | sheik | NPROP | PRON 1PL | | learn-Ø | with | quality | PRON 1SING | | learn-Ø |

| 'lad(i) | 'ana | | 'khitma | al-Qur'ʔan. | Ak'wana | tai | | wa'din |
| until | PRON 1SING | | conclude-Ø | the Qurʔân | brother-PL | PRON POSS 1SING | | other-PL |

| 'fadul | 'sara | baga'ra. | 'Bas, | 'ya | 'ini | 'wakhti | ka'las | 'ana | | 'je | ke'biri | 'sia. |
| remain-Ø | herd-Ø | cow-PL | well | FOC | here | time | COMPL | PRON 1SING | | come-Ø | big | little |

85.

| Ari'ja | | si'l(u) | | 'an, | | ah, | daka'l(u)'an | | PRON 1SING |
| return-PASS-Ø | | take-PASS-Ø | | PRON 1SING | | INT | enter-PASS-Ø | | |

| fi | 'skulu. | 'An(a) | | 'abidu | 'g(i)- | agara | 'skul. | La'kin | 'hai | 'tena |
| in | school | PRON 1SING | | begin-Ø | PROG- | study | school | but | life | PRON POSS 1PL |

| ta'mam | je'de, | 'ine | | 'tena | 'kan | 'fi | 'kweis. |
| entire | EMPH | PRON 1PL | | PRON POSS 1PL | ANT | EXIS | good |

| 'Ina | | 'g(i)- | 'akul | 'akil | ta | 'kúrúju, | | 'kila | 'sokol | te | 'shamba.(…) |
| PRON 1PL | | PROG- | eat | food | GEN | work the field-INF | | every | thing | GEN | field |

| 'Maf | | 'sokol | al | 'ina | | gi- | 'bio, | mi'san | ba'ba | 'tai |
| EXIS NEG | | thing | REL | PRON 1PL | | PROG- | buy | because | father | PRON POSS 1SING |

90.

| 'kan | a'zol | ta | 'kúrúju. | | 'Uw(o) | | a'zol | ta | ma'isha |
| be-ANT | person | GEN | work the field-INF | | PRON 3SING | | person | GEN | life |

| to | 'kweisi. | 'Tab | | 'to | | 'ma'fi. | 'Shida | | 'nouo |
| GEN | quality | problem(s) | | PRON POSS 3SING | | EXIS NEG | problem(s) | | to + PRON 3SING |

| 'maf | | 'mara 'wai, | | 'mara 'wai, | 'gal | 'kena | | 'so | su'nu? |
| EXIS NEG | | straightaway | | straightaway | that | SUBJ + PRON 1PLdo-Ø | | what? |

| 'Kena | | 'ya | 'ro | 'bio | 'akil | wa'la | 'kena | | 'jere-'jere. |
| SUBJ + PRON 1PLFOC | | go-Ø | buy-Ø | food | or | SUBJ + PRON 1PLrun-REDUP-Ø | |

| 'Ahah, | 'maf. | 'Bas, | 'ladi | 'ana | | 'jo | 'wosul | fi | 'hadi | 'tai. |
| nono | NEG | well | until | PRON 1SING | | come-Ø | reach-Ø | in | stage | PRON POSS 1SING |

95. 'Ana   'seb   ak'wana   wa'din gi-   'so   bia'shera 'toumon,
     PRON 1SING leave-Ø   brother-PL other-PL PROG- do   business   PRON POSS 3PL

     gi-   'shara   galamo'ya   ma   'nas   baga'ra ta   ba'ba.   'Ana   'tala (....)
     PROG-   herd   goat-PL   with   COLL   cow-PL   GEN   father   PRON 1SING   leave-Ø

     'Ama   'gai   'tena   'wakht(i)al 'lis(a) 'ino   we'le,
     or   stay-GER   PRON POSS 1PL time   REL   still   PRON 1PL   boy-PL

     'ina   'gai-'gai   ta   'raha   ka'bisa. 'In(a)   'endi   'tabu   'mafi
     PRON 1PL   stay-REDUP-Ø   GEN   peace   entirely PRON 1PL   have-Ø   problem(s)   NEG

     je   'wakhti 'takum,   'wakhti ta   'ase'de, ta   we'le   ta   'ase'de,
     like   time   PRON POSS 2PL   time   GEN   now   GEN   boy-PL GEN   now

100. 'takum,   'yal   ta   'ase'de 'de.   I'tom   gi-   'ish   'ish
     PRON POSS 2PL   child-PL GEN   now   DEF   PRON 2PL   PROG-   live   live-GER

     ta   'tabu   bi'mara. 'Ish   'takum   a'ta   ta   'raha
     GEN   problem(s)   very   live-GER PRON POSS 2PL   EMPH   GEN   peace

     'saki   'de   'ma.   'Ma   je   'tena   ta   aw'lan, ta   'awal
     nothing   DEF   NEG   NEG   like   PRON POSS 1PL   GEN   first   GEN   first

     'ina   'fi   'mouo   fi   'bele   'tena   fi   Gu'lu.
     PRON 1PL   EXIS   with + PRON 3SING   in   land   PRON POSS 1PL in   NPROP

     'Ina   'kan   a'nas   ta   'raha   ka'bisa. 'Ine   gu-   'wafik   'ben
     PRON 1PL   be-ANT   person-PL   GEN   peace   entire   PRON 1PL   PROG-   agree   among

105. 'tena.   'Ine   gi-   'dor-'dor,   'ine   gi-   'dor
     PRON POSS 1PL   PRON 1PL   PROG-   travel-REDUP   PRON 1PL   PROG-   travel

     fi 'ben   'tena.   'Ina   'g(i)-   akul   'kul   ba'kan   'wai
     between   PRON POSS 1PL   PRON 1PL   PROG-   eat   all   place   one

     ma   wa'ze   'tena.   'Ina,   'ina…   'kan   ajusi'ya
     with   old person-PL PRON POSS 1PL   PRON 1PL   PRON 1PL   be-ANT   old person-PL

     'tena,   wa'ze   'tena   'dol'de,   kan   'umon
     PRON POSS 1PL old person-PL PRON POSS 1PL DEM PROX PL   when   PRON 3PL

     'fi   ze'de,   bi-   na'd(i)   ita,   'ita   bi-   'ja   'gai
     EXIS   EMPH   FUT-   call-PASS   PRON 2SING   PRON 2SING FUT-   come   stay-Ø

110. 'moumon   ba'kan 'wai. 'Umon   gu-   'wonus a'dis   'toumon
     with + PRON 3PL   place   one   PRON 3PL   PROG-   talk   story(s)   PRON POSS 3PL

     ta   za'man,   kala'ma   'toumon   ta   za'man. I'tom   'gai   fala't(a) 'en,
     of   old days   thing-PL PRON POSS 3PL GEN   old days PRON 2PL   stay-Ø   down   here

     i'tom   'g(i)-   asuma   mo   'kweisi. I'tom   gi-   'faham.
     PRON 2PL   PROG-   hear   with   quality PRON 2PL   PROG-   understand

     G(i)-   adi'b(u)   'ina   ma   a'daba   'kweisi. Wu   'ine   ka'man
     PROG-   educate-PASS PRON 1PL   with   good manners   good   and   PRON 1PL   also

     'indi   'faham.   'Ino   gu-   'rudu   ma   kala'ma   'toumon.
     have-Ø   intelligence   PRON 1PL   PROG-   agree   with   thing-PL PRON POSS 3PL

115. Kan   'gal: " 'Gai   fal'ta!", 'gái.   Kan   'gal: " Yo'wele, 'gum!
     if   that   sit-IMPER   down   sit-PASS-Ø   if   that   boy   get up-IMPER

'Ro 'jib 'nana 'sokole ba'kan…, 'ro 'bio
go-IMPER bring-IMPER to + PRON 1SING thing place go-IMPER buy-IMPER

'nana 'sokole ba'kan fi'lan", 'ite gi- 'jere fi 'sa we'de.
to + PRON 1SING thing place X PRON 2SING PROG- run in hour DEM PROX

'Ito 'gum, 'ite 'jib 'sokol 'uo 'na'de 'mara 'wai. 'Uo
PRON 2SING get up-Ø PRON 2SING bring-Ø thing DEM DIS straightaway PRON 3SING

bi- 'shukur 'neta: " 'Ana gu- 'tub bu'ja fala'ta 'ya'de.
FUT- thank to + PRON 2SING PRON 1SING PROG- spit saliva down DEM ADV PROX

120. 'Ana gu- 'tub bu'ja fala'ta 'ya'de. Kan 'ita 'seb bu'ja
PRON 1SING PROG- spit saliva down DEM ADV PROX when PRON 2SING leave-Ø saliva

'de 'abis, 'ite bi- 'je li'go la'saya." 'Ana 'ja 'ain
DEF dry-Ø PRON 2SING FUT- come meet-Ø stick PRON 1SING come-Ø see-Ø

ta 'ase'de. Wu 'haki 'ma. 'Ino gu- 'gum, 'ino
GEN now and right EXIS NEG PRON 1PL PROG- get up PRON 1PL

'gu- rwa. 'Ino 'gu- rwa fi 'sa 'uo 'na'de. 'Ita 'bio
PROG- go PRON 1PL PROG- go in hour DEM DIS PRON 2SING buy-Ø

'sokol 'taki to m'ze 'na'de. 'Ita 'ja, 'ite
thing PRON POSS 2SING GEN old man DEM DIS PRON 2SING come-Ø PRON 2SING

125. 'jo 'wosul 'now(o) 'ini, 'ite we'di 'sokol 'to
come-Ø reach-Ø to + PRON 3SING here PRON 2SING give-Ø thing PRON POSS 3SING

'de. " 'Gai fal'ta!" 'Gái. " 'Ro 'jib 'sokol fi'lan!" 'Ito
DEF stay-IMPER down stay-PASS-Ø go-Ø bring-Ø thing X PRON 2SING

'rua. "'So 'sokol fi'lan!" 'Ito 'rua.
go-Ø do-IMPER thing X PRON 2SING go-Ø

Kan 'uo 'gal: " 'Num fal'ta, 'kan(a)
when PRON 3SING that sleep-IMPER down SUBJ + PRON 1SING

'dug(u) 'ita", du'gu 'ita. Kan 'só ma'kosa,
beat-Ø PRON 2SING beat-PASS-Ø PRON 2SING if do-PASS-Ø mistake(s)

130. 'ite gi- 'jere. 'Ite 'ro na a'ku 'wai 'na. A'ku 'de
PRON 2SING PROG- run PRON 2SING go-Ø to brother one there brother DEF

ka'man 'g(i)- amsuku la'saya, gi- 'dug(u) 'ita. 'Ite gi- 'jere,
also PROG- take stick PROG- beat PRON 2SING PRON 2SING PROG- run

'it(a) 'aju 'rua na ma'ma 'na'de. Ma'ma 'jad(a) 'eta fal'ta,
PRON 2SING want-Ø go-Ø to mother DEM DIS mother throw-Ø PRON 2SING down

'agurus(u)	'ita.	'Bas,	'dukur	'kan	'wakhti	'na'de	'ino	'kun
pinch-Ø	PRON 2SING	well	then	be-ANT	time	DEM DIS	PRON 1PL	be-Ø

ma	'adab	'kweis	ka'bisa	al	'it(a)	'endis	'shaka	'wai	'kede	'ma.
with	good manners	good	entirely	REL	PRON 2SING	have-Ø	doubt(s)	one	EMPH	NEG

135.

Ka'man	kala'ma	ta	'nas	sa'ra…,	'sara	'de	'kul	'kan	'ma'fi.
also	thing-PL	GEN	COLL	witch(es)	witch(es)	DEF	all	be-ANT	NEG

'Khusu	me	'khusu	'de	'kun	'kul	'ma'fi.	A'yan	'samba-samba'la
meanness	with	meannes	DEF	be-Ø	all	EXIS NEG	disease(s)	any-REDUP

'de	ka'man	gu-	so'w(o)	ena		'mafi	'ladi	'hadi	al	'ino
DEF	also	PROG-	do	PRON 1PL		NEG	until	stage	REL	PRON 1PL

'ja	'kun	'mow(o).		La'kin	'ase'de	'hadi	al	i'tom		'fi	'fogo,
come-Ø	be-Ø	with + PRON 3SING		but	now	stage	REL	PRON 2PL		EXIS	in it

we'le	ta	'ase'de	we'de,	kala'ma	'takum	'gilibu	'ras	'tena,
boy-PL	GEN	now	DEM PROX	matter-PL	PRON POSS 2PL	defeat-Ø	head	PRON POSS 1PL

140.

'ina,	wa'ze	'de.	'Gilib(u)	'ina	ka'bisa.	Nyere'ku,	'ita
PRON 1PL	old person-PL	DEF	defeat-Ø	PRON 1PL	entirely	child	PRON 2SING

'b(i)-	aju	'rasul(u)	'uo,	'uw(o)	'aju	'mafi.	Nyere'ku,	'it(a)
FUT-	want	send	PRON 3SING	PRON 3SING	want-Ø	NEG	child	PRON 2SING

'aju	'so	'nouo		ka'lam	fi'lan	ze'd(e),	'uw(o)	'azu	'mafi.
want-Ø	do-Ø	to + PRON 3SING		matter	X	EMPH	PRON 3SING	want-Ø	NEG

'It(a)	'aju	'kelem	'nouo	'sokol	je'd(e),	'uw(o)	'aju	'mafi.
PRON 2SING	want-Ø	tell-Ø	to + PRON 3SING	thing	EMPH	PRON 3SING	want-Ø	NEG

'Dukuru	'asa	'ine	'sebu	'wede	fi	'ida	'takum.	'Bag(a)
then	now	PRON 1PL	leave-Ø	DEM PROX	in	hand(s)	PRON POSS 2PL	EMPH

145.

'itokum,	we'le	ta	'ase'de	ma	'hadi	'takum	al	'Rabana	'jibu
PRON 2PL	boy-PL	GEN	now	with	stage	PRON POSS 2PL	REL	NPROP	bring-Ø

'netokum,	al	'itokum		'fi	'mouo		fi	'zaman	'takum
to + PRON 2PL	REL	PRON 2PL		EXIS	with + PRON 3SING		in	period	PRON POSS 2PL

ta	'ase'de,	'ya	'bes,	'ina		ka'man	'seb(u)	'itokum	'mouo.
GEN	now	FOC	EMPH	PRON 1PL		EMPH	leave-Ø	PRON 2PL	with + PRON 3SING

'Ina	min	'ma	bi-	'kelem	mi'san	'gilib(u)	'ina	ka'las.
PRON 1PL	INT	NEG	FUT-	say	because	defeat-Ø	PRON 1PL	COMPL

'In(a)	'aj(u)	'adul(u)	i'tom	fi	'sik(a)	al	a'dil.	'Itokum
PRON 1PL	want-Ø	prepare-Ø	PRON 2PL	in	way(s)	REL	straight	PRON 2PL

150.

'aju	'ma.	'In(a)	'aj(u)	'adul(u)	we'le	ta	'ase'de	fi	'sik(a)	al
want-Ø	NEG	PRON 1PL	want-Ø	prepare-Ø	boy-PL	GEN	now	in	road(s)	REL

a'dil.	'Umon	gi-	'ja	'ma.	'Bas,	'ya	'zaman	ta	'ase'de	'wosul
straight	PRON 3PL	PROG-	come	NEG	well	CONJ	period	GEN	now	reach-Ø

fi	'hadi	jo	'wede.	'Ita	bi-	'kelem	ka'lam,	'ita
in	stage	like	DEM PROX	PRON 2SING	FUT-	say	thing	PRON 2SING

bi-	ta'ban.	A'yan	'sambal-samba'la	'youm 'da	'nen(a)	'en	'ma.
FUT-	become annoyed	disease(s)	any-REDUP	other day	to + PRON 1PL	here	NEG

Wu	kala'ma	ta	'nasi	ha'rami	ke'tir,	se'regu		ke'tir	'kan	'fi
and	problem-PL	GEN	COLL	thief(es)	many	steal-GER		many	ANT	EXIS

155.

'nena		'ma.	La'kin	'ase'de	ka'lam	we'de		'je	je'didi	min	'ten(a)
to + PRON 1PL		NEG	but	now	matter	DEM PROX		come-Ø	new	since	PRON POSS 1PL

al	'kan	'ine		'fi	'mo.		'Ana		'feker	ka'lam	ke'tir
REL	ANT	PRON 1PL		EXIS	with + PRON 3SING		PRON 1SING		think-Ø	thing(s)	many

'ma'f(i)	al	'an(a)	bu-	'wonusu.
EXIS NEG	REL	PRON 1SING	FUT-	talk

Translation:

1. I, my entire life, I have been a descendant, a descendant of Gulu. From my childhood, I myself was not going to reach (in) forty years., I reached thirty five years, now, then I left.

5. I went to Lira. A trip full of problems. Now, I wanted to get up. I went to Kabaramaide. My life there… I was doing the work…, I was doing the work of carpenter, (…) until I left. I again began the work of…, the work of fish. I did [it], found problems.

10. Catching, we were doing the work of catching with nets. We went into the lake on an island. We were going to stay there. We were working, we were doing business of that place until the stage that I left. I began again the work of business of selling (red) millet, selling millet, selling sesame, selling groundnuts.

15. We were taking [them] here. We were going to Soroti. We were bringing [them]. We were bringing [them] to Lira here. We were doing its work. A work of problems. But in that time of ours, our money was much, heavy. You would make a little money…, you would do a little work,

20. it brought you much money until we came to stay, we came to get a shop. Well at the time of Amin, we got a shop. I got a shop with my people, with my family, with my people, with my people. We entered the shop,

25. [we] did business with quality. We were doing our business good until we reached at the stage of running. Well, it was here that we were chased off. We went. We left here, [we] entered Lira. [We] entered Lira. We went and entered in Gulu. Gulu, nono, entering, leaving from Lira,

30. we went to be then in Arua. [From] Arua, we went and entered in Sudan, in Yei. Now, we stayed there a stay of problems. We just stayed a stay of problems, of problems, of problems. Well, until God came to help us. We were brought means of distributed food, that we were given (with) it.

35. Well, we stayed well with it until God came to help us. We were again taken away from here. We were brought to a camp. We went and stayed in a camp. We stayed with good means in the camp there. But its quality was not good.

40. Just problems. You were on the land of one person. Only with problems, only with problems we were with. Well, it were those problems, [those] troubles that we closed [our] heart with (them) until its/their end came. We were taken away from Sudan.

45. Thus we got up from Yei. We entered Arua, in Ombachi. We stayed in Ombachi. We left Ombachi. We were brought to our camp here in Mirya. We stayed in Mirya here nearly four years. Then it was the government of Mirya, of Masindi that took us away,

50. brought us to Masindi Port. Until now, we are here, it is to say, our problems have not yet finished since the beginning of [our] flee until now. We are not with civilization like before we were with. We are just here with…, just with disturbances. Life…, ah, our life is problematic.

55. Our eating is problematic. Our sleep is problematic. There is no business. There is just no business [as] when we were working before in the old days we were with. Our stay was our stay like before in the old days we were staying with. All [that] is not there. Just until now,

60. we are still here like this. Thus now, we are in Masindi Port here. I am here in Masindi Port with my people. We stay. I am doing business here of small business: selling soap, selling beans, selling sesame, selling groundnuts, selling things. I am selling.

65. Thus the situation that we are with here, the way that we are with here is this [one]. Now, I am in a matter. (…) My growing up, which I grew up with in Gulu, the time that we were still small, my father had cows in Gulu. He had cows.

70. He had goats. And his work was [that] of working the field only. And he was doing…his work, the period of my life that I was still with him. I had already understood. He looked for his work of his business, with which he got his money.

75. But he had his cows. We were herding the cows. Now, we were herding the cows. Now, we were still small, [we] were herding his cows. Our cows, we were herding [them]. In the evening, we were bringing the cows

home. I became old enough, old enough for studying, [for] religious school.

80.   Well it came. We came, I went. I was brought to religious school. We began to study [at] school, the school of sheik Musa Fere. We studied with quality/very good. I studied until I concluded the Qurʔân. My other brothers continued to herd the cows. Well, here was the time that I had already become a little big.

85.   I was again taken, ah, I was taken to school. I began to study school. But [during] our entire life, we, for us, were in good conditions. We were eating the food/products of tilling the field, everything of the field (…). There was nothing that we were buying,

90.   because my father was a person of working the field. He was a person of a life of quality. He did not have problems. He did not have any problems at all, not at all, so that we should do what? That we should go and buy food or that we should flee. Nono, not. Well, until I came to reach my stage.

95.   I left my brothers doing their business, herding the goats and the cows of [our] father. I left (…). Or our stay at the time that we were still boys, we stayed in complete peace. We did not have problems like in your (PL) time, the time of now, of the boys of now, yours (PL), the boys of now.

100.   You (PL) are very much living a life of problems. Your (PL) life is not peaceful and nothing else. [It is] not like ours that we were with first, first, in our land in Gulu. We were people of complete peace. We agreed among ourselves.

105.   We were travelling, we were travelling between ourselves/among each other. We were all eating in one place with our old men. We, we… our elderly, these old people of ours, when they were there, you would be called, you would come to stay with them in one place.

110.   They were telling their stories of the old days, their things of the old days. You(PL) stayed down here, you(PL) were listening well. You(PL) understood. We were educated with good manners. And we also had intelligence. We agreed on their things.

115.   If [there was said] that: "Sit down!", there was sat. If [there was said] that: "Boy, get up! Go and bring me something [from that] place…, go and buy me something [from] a certain place!", you ran on this moment/instantly. You got up, you brought that thing straightaway. He would thank you: "I am spitting saliva down here.

120.   I am spitting saliva down here. When you leave the saliva dry, you will get the stick." I came to see [the situation] of now. And there is no right. We were getting up, we were going. We were going on that moment/instantly. You were buying your thing of that old man. You came,

125.   you reached him here, you gave his thing. "Sit down!" There was sat. "Go and bring a certain thing!" You went. "Do a certain thing!" You went. When he [said] that: "Sleep down, so that I beat you", you were beaten. If a mistake was done,

130.   you ran. You went to a brother there. The brother also took a stick, [he] beat you. You ran, you wanted to go to that mama. The mama threw you down, pinched you. Well, then at that time, we were with very good manners, [about] which you did not have one single doubt.

135.   Also the things of the witches, all the witches were not there/none of the witches was there. Meanness with meanness was all not there. All the diseases also were not doing/threatening us up to the stage that we came to be with (them). But now, the stage that you(PL) are in, the boys of now, your(PL) matters defeat our head, us, the old people.

140.   [They] defeat us completely. A child, you want to send him, he does not want. A child, you want to do to him a certain thing, he does not want. You want to tell him a thing, he does not want. Then now, we leave this in your(PL) hands.

145.   You(PL), the boys of now with your(PL) stage which God gave you(PL), which you(PL) are with in your(PL) time of now, we just leave you(PL) with it. We will not say [anything] because it has already defeated us. We want to prepare you(PL) in a straight way. You(PL) do not want.

150.   We want to prepare the boys of now in a straight way. They do not come. Well thus the period of now reached (in) a stage like this. You will say something, you will become annoyed. We did not have all the diseases here in the old days. And we did not have problems of many thieves, of much stealing.

155.   But now this matter came new since ours, which we were with. I think that there are not many things that I will talk [about].

S. [241]

1. 'Ana (PRON 1SING) 'ja (come-Ø) fi (in) 'safa (side) ta (GEN) ha'dis. (story(s)) 'An(a) (PRON 1SING) 'endi (have-Ø) 'ija (fairy tale) 'wai (INDEF) 'sia (small) 'ali (REL) 'an(a) (PRON 1SING) 'asma (hear-Ø) 'bediri (before) na (from) mu'ze (old man) 'tai, (PRON POSS 1SING) a'ku (brother) ba'ba (father) 'tai. (PRON POSS 1SING) Ha'dis (story) 'to (PRON POSS 3SING) furayi's(a) (make happy-Ø) 'ana (PRON 1SING) 'zaidi. (very) Ha'dis (story) 'de (DEF) 'g(i)- (PROG-) amsuku (touch) 'badu (together) 'fogo (with) Tom'sa (Crocodile) ma (with) sa'bi (friend) 'to, (PRON POSS 3SING)

5. 'kan (ANT) 'fi (EXIS) Kala'maya. (Goat) Tom'sa (Crocodile) gi- (PROG-) 'gen (stay) fi (in) 'jua (inside) 'bahar. (lake) Kala'maya (Goat) gi- (PROG-) 'gen (stay) 'fo (up) fi (in) 'aridi. (earth) 'Ase (now) Tom'sa (Crocodile) fi (in) 'be (house) 'to (PRON POSS 3SING) 'na, (there) 'kila (every) 'youm, (day) 'uo (PRON 3SING) 'g(i)- (PROG-) asma (hear) Kala'maya (Goat) kan (when) 'rasul (reach-Ø) la'siya (evening) je'de (EMPH) gi- (PROG-) 'kore-'kore (cry-REDUP) 'zaidi, (very) gi- (PROG-) 'dugu (beat) ki'lele. (noise) 'Uo, (PRON 3SING) Tom'sa (Crocodile) 'kelem (say-Ø) na (to) 'marya: (wife) "Eh (INT) 'marya, (wife) ma'lu (why) ji'ran (neighbour) 'tai (PRON POSS 1SING) 'de (DEF) je (like) 'de? (DEM PROX)

10. 'Be (house) 'to (PRON POSS 3SING) 'g(i)- (PROG-) askutu (be quiet) 'ma. (NEG) Ki'lele (noise) 'kila (every) 'youm, (day) ki'lele (noise) 'kila (every) 'youm." (day) 'Ya (CONJ) 'youm (day) 'tan, (other) 'uo (PRON 3SING) 'gal: " (that) 'Marya, (wife) 'ana (PRON 1SING) ke'de (SUBJ) 'ro (go-Ø) 'abur (try-Ø) 'ainu (see-Ø) ji'ran (neighbour) 'tai (PRON POSS 1SING) 'de. (DEF) 'Sa 'tan, (maybe) 'fi (EXIS) a'nas (person-PL) al (REL) gi- (PROG-) 'taban (annoy) 'uo." (PRON 3SING) 'Ya (CONJ) 'uo (PRON 3SING) 'robutu (tie-Ø) sa'fari (trip) 'to. (PRON POSS 3SING) 'Uo (PRON 3SING) 'ro (go-Ø) 'ainu (see-Ø) sa'bi (friend) 'to, (PRON POSS 3SING) Kala'maya. (Goat) 'Uo (PRON 3SING) 'rasul (reach-Ø) na (to) Kala'maya, (Goat)

15. 'so: " (do-Ø) As-sa'lam a'leikum." (Islamic greeting) Kala'maya (Goat) 'rudu: (answer-Ø) "Wu a'leikum us-sa'lam. (Islamic greeting) It'fadal." (please [come in]) Ah, (INT) sa'bi (friend) 'to, (PRON POSS 3SING) Tom'sa (Crocodile) 'dakal. (enter-Ø) 'Ya (CONJ) 'uo (PRON 3SING) 'rakab (cook-Ø) 'chai. (tea) Tom'sa (Crocodile) 'asrubu. (drink-Ø) 'Gal: " (that) Ah, (INT) Tom'sa, (Crocodile) 'ita (PRON 2SING) 'kan (ANT) 'kila (every) 'youm (day) gi- (PROG-) 'ja (come)

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[241] S. is the son of N. He was 35 years old at the time of the interview. As a child, he lived in several towns in northern Uganda. During the war he stayed in Yei in the South of Sudan. After his return to Uganda, he lived in Kampala for some time. Currently, he lives in Kigumba in Central Uganda. He finished his O-levels (three years), secondary school. Nubi is his mother-tongue. Besides this, he speaks English, Swahili, Acholi, and Lango. He has two wives. Both of them are Nubi. At home, however, both Nubi and Lango are used.

'nana / 'ma / 'ke. / 'Nare, / ke'fin?" / 'Gal: " / 'Ai, / 'sokol / al / 'jib(u) / 'ana
to + PRON 1SING / NEG / EMPH / today / how? / that / yes / thing / REL / bring-Ø / PRON 1SING

'neta, / sa'bi / 'tai, / 'ana / 'ja / 'asad(u) / 'ita
to + PRON 2SING / friend / PRON POSS 1SING / PRON 1SING / come-Ø / ask-Ø / PRON 2SING

20. 'tab / 'taki / 'de / su'nu?" / Kala'maya / 'gal: " / 'Ana / 'ma / 'eindu
problem / PRON POSS 2SING / DEF / what? / Goat / that / PRON 1SING / NEG / have-Ø

'tabu." / 'Gal: " / Ah, / 'kila / 'youm, / 'ana / 'g(i)- / asm(a) / 'eta / gi- / 'dugu
problem / that / INT / every / day / PRON 1SING / PROG- / hear / PRON 2SING / PROG- / beat

ki'lele. / 'Kila / la'siya / 'ita / gu- / 'dugu / ki'lele." / 'Ya / Kala'maya / 'gali: " / Ki'lele
noise / every / evening / PRON 2SING / PROG- / beat / noise / CONJ / Goat / that / noise

'tai / 'de, / 'ya / sa'bi / Tom'sa, / 'de / 'gúsú / we'ledu. / 'It(a)
PRON POSS 1SING / DEF / VOC / friend / Crocodile / DEF / search-INF / give birth-GER / PRON 2SING

'aruf / 'ina, / kala'maya, / kan / 'gu- / rwo / 'weledu, / 'ino / gi- / 'dugu
know-Ø / PRON 1PL / goat(s) / when / PROG- / go / bear-Ø / PRON 1PL / PROG- / beat

25. ki'lele." / 'Ya / 'gal: " / 'Dinya / ki'lele / 'de / 'kul, / 'ito / 'gus / 'wélédu?!!
noise / CONJ / that / enormity / noise / DEF / all / PRON 2SING / look for-Ø / give birth-INF'

'Ita / gu- / 'weledu / 'kam / fi / 'sana?" / Kala'maya / 'gal: " / 'Ana,
PRON 2SING / PROG- / bear / how many? / in / year / Goat / that / PRON 1SING

fi / 'sana, / 'an / gu- / 'weledu / 'wai, / au / kan / 'ma / ti'nin." / 'Gal: " / We'ledu
in / year / PRON 1SING / PROG- / bear / one / or / if / NEG / two / that / bear-GER

'yeta / 'dugu / 'fogo / ki'lele. / 'Dukur / 'ita / 'weledu / 'wai, / ti'nin / 'bes?
FOC + PRON 2SING / beat-Ø / in it / noise / then / PRON 2SING / bear-Ø / one / two / only

'An(a) / al / gu- / 'wonus / 'meta / 'de, / 'ana / gi- / 'weledu
PRON 1SING / REL / PROG- / talk / with + PRON 2SING / DEF / PRON 1SING / PROG- / bear

30. se'bein. / La'kin / sa'uti / 'tai, / 'ita / 'g(i)- / asma / 'ma. / 'Aya, / Abu'gada
seventy / but / voice / PRON POSS 1SING / PRON 2SING / PROG- / hear / NEG / INT / Turtle

min / 'jua / 'moyo / 'na / gu- / 'weledu / ma'yai / 'ladi / si'tin. / 'Gonyo / waltum'bari
from / inside / water / there / PROG- / bear / egg(s) / until / sixty / Frog / day before yesterday

'weledu / 'yal / 'na. / 'Uo / 'faga / ge'ri / 'elf / 'wai / wu / mi'ten. / 'Ase'de,
bear-Ø / child-PL / there / PRON 3SING / split-Ø / nearly / thousand / one / and / two hundred / now

'ya / Kala'maya, / 'taki / 'de / 'ena / 'wai / ti'nin / 'yeta
VOC / Goat / PRON POSS 2SING / DEF / eye(s) / one / two / FOC+ PRON 2SING

'dugu / 'fogo / ki'lele / je / 'de?!! " / 'Ya / ha'dis / 'tai / 'de
beat-Ø / on it / noise / like / DEM PROX / CONJ / story / PRON POSS 1SING / DEF

35. 'koma / 'ini, / wu / ha'dis / 'de / 'g(i)- / alim(u) / 'ina / 'gali / 'ma / kan
end-Ø / here / and / story / DEF / PROG- / teach / PRON 1PL / that / NEG / when

'ita / 'gu- / rwa / 'so / 'sokol / ke'd(e) / 'eta / 'sif(a) / 'eta / 'fogo
PRON 2SING / PROG- / go / do-Ø / thing / SUBJ / PRON 2SING / praise-Ø / PRON 2SING / in it

gi'dam. / 'Ite / 'feker / 'gal / 'ita / 'ya / 'agider. / Ta'ra / 'fi / 'nas
first / PRON 2SING / think-Ø / that / PRON 2SING / FOC / be able-Ø / you see / EXIS / person-PL

al — REL
'fut(u) — surpass-Ø
'ita. — PRON 2SING
(…)

Ha'dis — story
'tai — PRON POSS 1SING
ta — GEN
ta'lata, — three
gi- — PROG-
wonu's(u) — talk-PASS
'uo — PRON 3SING
'fogo — on

40.
Gi'dida — Chicken
ma — and
Li'fili. — Elephant
Fi — in
'youm — day
'wai, — INDEF
Gi'dida — Chicken
gi- — PROG-
bi'sana — argue
me — with
Li'fili — Elephant
fi — in
'safa — side

ta — GEN
'ákúlu. — eat-INF
Gi'dida, — Chicken
'uo — PRON 3SING
'kan — be-ANT
ji'ran — neighbour
te — GEN
Li'fili. — Elephant
'Uo — PRON 3SING
'kelem — say-Ø

na — to
Li'fili: " — Elephant
Lifili, — Elephant
'ita — PRON 2SING
'de — DEF
ke'biri — big
'saki. — nothing
Kan — if
fi — in
'safa — side
ta — GEN
'akili, — food

'ana — PRON 1SING
'g(i)- — PROG-
akulu — eat
'akil — food
al — REL
gi- — PROG-
'futu — surpass
'taki. " — PRON POSS 2SING
Li'fili — Elephant
'gal: — that

"Ah, — INT
'ita — PRON 2SING
'sei — EMPH
'endu — have-Ø
'haya — shame
'ma? — NEG
'Ita — PRON 2SING
'g(i)- — PROG-
akulu — eat
su'nu? — what?

45.
'Ya — CONJ
'akil — food
'taki — PRON POSS 2SING
al — REL
'ita — PRON 2SING
gi- — PROG-
'legetu-'legetu-'legetu — pick-REPET

'de, — DEF
'de — DEF
'ya — FOC
'akili? — food
'Ana — PRON 1SING
kan — if
'kum — collect-Ø
'gesi — grass
au — or
'akil — food
'tai — PRON POSS 1SING

'mara 'wai — straightaway
je'de, — EMPH
'akil — food
we'd(e) — DEM PROX
'ita — PRON 2SING
'b(i)- — FUT-
akul — eat
'youm — day(s)
'kam? " — how many?

'Ya — CONJ
'Gidda — Chicken
'gal: " — that
'Ma — NEG
ba'tal. — bad
'Ase'de, — now
'sokol — thing
al — REL
'fi, — EXIS
'ina — PRON 1PL
'robutu — tie-Ø
'youm. — day

'Ina — PRON 1PL
na'da — call-Ø
a'nas — person-PL
ke'de — SUBJ
'ja — come-Ø
'ainu — see-Ø
'namna — manner
ta — GEN
o'bisi — argument

50.
'tena — PRON POSS 1PL
'de." — DEF
'Ya — CONJ
'umon — PRON 3PL
'adul — prepare-Ø
'youm — day
'toumon. — PRON POSS 3PL

Wa'kat(i) — when
a'nas — person-PL
'asuma — hear-Ø
ha'dis — story
jo — like
'wede, — DEM PROX
a'nas — person-PL
ke'tiri — many
'ja — come-Ø

'fogo, — in it
wu — and
a'nas — person-PL
ke'tir — many
'ja — come-Ø
ta — GEN
'átáku — laugh-INF
Gi'dida, — Chicken
mi'san — because
'umon — PRON 3PL
'arufu — know-Ø

Li'fili — Elephant
bi- — FUT-
'sinda — defeat
Gi'dida — Chicken
fu — in
'ákúlu. — eat-INF
'Sa — hour
al — REL
min — from
'sub — morning
'abidu, — begin-Ø
Li'fili — Elephant
'dakal — enter-Ø

fi — in
'ákúlu. — eat-INF
Gi'dida — Chicken
'abidu — begin-Ø
ka'man — also
'akil. — food
'Umon — PRON 3PL
'abid(u) — begin-Ø
akulu. — eat-Ø
Li'fil(i) — Elephant
'abid(u) — begin-Ø
'akulu — eat-Ø

55.
ma — with
ta'ma — greed
ta — GEN
we'ri — show-GER
n(a) — to
a'nas — person-PL
'gal — that
'uo — PRON 3SING
'g(i)- — PROG-
akulu — eat

'futu — in comparison with
Gi'dida. — Chicken
Li'fil(i) — Elephant
'akulu, — eat-Ø
'uw(o) — PRON 3SING
'akulu, — eat-Ø
'uw(o) — PRON 3SING
'akulu. — eat-Ø

'Gu- — PROG-
rwa — go
'rasul — reach
'sa — hour
'arba. — four
Li'fil — Elephant
'abidu… — begin-Ø
ka'las — COMPL
'speedi — speed
au — or
fi — in
'namna — way
al — REL

'kan — ANT
'uw(o) — PRON 3SING
'abidu — begin-Ø
fu — in
a'kulu — eat-GER
'to, — PRON POSS 3SING
'abidu — begin-Ø
gi- — PROG-
'nongus. — diminish

A'nas — person-PL
'ain — see-Ø
ka'la — COMPL
Li'fili — Elephant
'g(i)- — PROG-
akulu, — eat
la'kin — but
'ma — NEG
ja — like
'awel — first
'kan — ANT

60. 'uw(o) — PRON 3SING
'abidu — begin-Ø
'mo. — with + PRON 3SING
Gi'dida — Chicken
min — from
'in, — here
'uo — PRON 3SING
'fi — EXIS

'to — PRON POSS 3SING
fi — in
'tóngá — pick-INF
la'ta — air
'to — PRON POSS 3SING
'bes. — EMPH
'Uo — PRON 3SING
'bes… — EMPH

min — from
min 'subu — morning
'd(e), — DEF
a'nas — person-PL
'ain — see-Ø
'bes — EMPH
ra'gabtu — throat
'to — PRON POSS 3SING
'ya — FOC

fi — in
'bes — EMPH
'tóngá — pick-INF
la'ta. — air
'Uo — PRON 3SING
gi- — PROG-
'gusu — search
min — from
'in, — here
'uo — PRON 3SING

'gusu — search-Ø
'nas — COLL
'larda, — termite(s)
'gusu, — search-Ø
'uo — PRON 3SING
li'go, — find-Ø
'(u)w(o) — PRON 3SING
'akulu. — eat-Ø
Gi- — PROG-
'rasul — reach

65. 'sa — hour
'sita. — six
Li'fili — Elephant
ka'la — COMPL
'akul. — eat-Ø
'Uo — PRON 3SING
'rua — go-Ø
bo'yi-bo'yi. — far-REDUP
'Uo — PRON 3SING
'ro — go-Ø

'dus(u) — hide-Ø
'uo — PRON 3SING
min — from
Gi'dida. — Chicken
'Gu- — PROG-
rwa — go
'rasul — reach-Ø
'sa — hour
'saba. — seven
Li'fili — Elephant
ka'la — COMPL

ta'ban. — upset
'Uo — PRON 3SING
li'go — find-Ø
'te — underneath
ta — GEN
'lata. — wood
'Uo — PRON 3SING
'tek(a) — hide-Ø
'uo. — PRON 3SING

'Num — sleep-GER
'ja. — come-Ø
Li'fil — Elephant
'abidu — begin-Ø
'num. — sleep-Ø
'Gidda — Chicken
'bes — EMPH
'fi — EXIS
'na. — there
'Ase'de — now
a'nas — person-PL

'fi — EXIS
gi- — PROG-
'gusu. — search
Li'fili — Elephant
'rua — go-Ø
'wen? — where?
Li'fili — Elephant
'fi — EXIS
'g(i)- — PROG-
akul — eat
'de — DEF
'wen? — where?
Ta'ra — EMPH

70. Li'fili — Elephant
'waga — fall-Ø
fal'ta, — down
ka'la — COMPL
'num. — sleep-Ø
'Gidda — Chicken
'bes — EMPH
fu — in
a'kulu. — eat-GER
'Dakal — enter-Ø
'sa — hour
ta'miniya. — eight

'Gidda — Chicken
fu — in
a'kulu. — eat-GER
'Gidda — Chicken
'bes — EMPH
fu — in
a'kulu. — eat-GER
'Gu- — PROG-
rwa — go
'rasul — reach-Ø
'sa — hour
'ashara. — ten
A'nas — people

'aj(u) — want-Ø
'asadu: — ask-Ø
" Eh, — INT
'Gidda — Chicken
'fi — EXIS
'bara. — outside
Li'fili — Elephant
'f(u) — EXIS
'wen?" — where?
'Gidda — Chicken
'gal: " — that
'Sib- — leave-IMPER-

kum — ADR PL
Li'fili — Elephant
'nan(a). — to + PRON 1SING
'Ana — PRON 1SING
bi- — FUT-
li'go — find
ma'hal — place
al — REL
'uw(o) — PRON 3SING

'fogo." — in it
'Ya — CONJ
'Gidda — Chicken
'ja — come-Ø
bi'ses, — slowly
bi'ses, — slowly
bi'ses, — slowly
li'go — find-Ø
Li'fili — Elephant
'num. — sleep-Ø
'Uo… — PRON 3SING

75. 'bes, — EMPH
'ase'de — now
ka'la — EMPH
'akul — eat-INF
'to — PRON POSS 3SING
'de — DEF
ta — GEN
ka'bas — cheat-GER
ka'man. — EMPH

'Ata — EMPH
'sokol — thing
'fi, — EXIS
'sokol — thing
'ma. — EXIS NEG
'Bes, — EMPH
'uo — PRON 3SING
gi- — PROG-
'tonga — pick
la'ta. — air

'Ya — CONJ
'uo — PRON 3SING
'rasulu — reach-Ø
'jamb — beside
Li'fili. — Elephant
Li'fili — Elephant
'num. — sleep-Ø
'Uo — PRON 3SING
'tonga — pick-Ø
ka'liya — buttocks

te	Li'fili.	Li'fili	'kala	min	'na: "	Eh,	sa'bi,	ke'fin?"	'Gal: "	Ai,
GEN	Elephant	Elephant	be shocked-Ø	from	there	INT	friend	how?	that	yes

'it(a)	'ase	gi-	'num.	'Ana	'g(i)-	akul.	Na'd(i)	ita
PRON 2SING	now	PROG-	sleep	PRON 1SING	PROG-	eat	call-PASS-Ø	PRON 2SING

80.
ka'las. "	Wa'kati	Li'fil	'ain	ta a'sil	'Gidda	'lisa	min	gi'bel	fu	a'kulu,	Li'fili	'gal:
COMPL	when	Elephant	see-Ø	truly	Chicken	still	from	before	in	eat-GER	Elephant	that

"La 'ḥawla,		Gi'dida	'gu-	rwa	'akul(u)	'ana		ka'las."	Li'fili
there is no power save in God		Chicken	PROG-	go	eat-Ø	PRON 1SING	EMPH		Elephant

'gum	ma	'jere.	Li'fili	'jere.		'Sibu	Gi'dida.	Gi'dida	'sinda	Li'fili	fu	a'kulu.
get up-Ø	with	run-Ø	Elephant	run-GER		leave-Ø	Chicken	Chicken	defeat-Ø	Elephant	in	eat-GER

'Ya	ha'dis	'tai		te	ta'lata	'koma	'ini.
CONJ	story	PRON POSS 1SING		GEN	three	finish-Ø	here

Translation:

1. I came at the side of [the] stories. I have one small fairy tale which I heard before from my old man, the brother of my father. His story made me very happy. The story touches (together) upon Crocodile and his friend,

5. (there was) Goat. Crocodile stayed inside the lake. Goat stayed up on the earth. Now, Crocodile in his house there, every day, he heard Goat crying very much, making a lot of noise, when evening arrived. He, Crocodile, said to [his] wife: " Eh wife, why is my neighbour like this?

10. His house is not quiet. Noise every day, noise every day." Thus the other day, he [said] that: "Wife, let me go and try to see my neighbour. Maybe, there are people who are annoying him. " Thus he tied/arranged his trip. He went to see his friend, Goat. He reached (to) Goat,

15. [he] did: "As-salâm aleikum". Goat answered: "Wu aleikum us-salâm. Please [come in]." Ah, his friend, Crocodile, entered. So he prepared tea. Crocodile drank. [Goat said] that: "Ah, Crocodile, you did not come to me every day. How about today?". [Crocodile said] that: "Yes, the thing that brought me to you, my friend, [is that] I came to ask you

20. what your problem is? " Goat [said] that: "I do not have a problem." [Crocodile said] that: "Ah, every day, I hear you making noise. Every evening you are making noise." Thus Goat [said] that: "My noise, oh Crocodile friend, it is searching reproduction. You know [that] we, goats, when we are going to mate, we are making noise. "

25. Thus [Crocodile said] that: "All this noise, you are attempting to breed/you are mating?!! How many [young] do you bear a year? " Goat [said] that: "I, in a year, I bear one, or if not, two." [Crocodile said] that: "It is mating that you are making noise for. Then you bear one, two only? I, who is talking to you, I am bearing seventy.

30. But my voice, you do not hear [it]. Well, Turtle (from) in(side) the water there bears up to sixty eggs. The day before yesterday, Frog bore children [there]. He split nearly one thousand two hundred [eggs]. Now, oh Goat, yours, it are one or two young that you are making noise for like this?!!" Thus my story finishes here,

35. and the story teaches us that when you are going to do something, you should not first praise yourself on it. You think that you are able. But you see, there are people who surpass you. (…)
   [In] my third story, there is being talked about Chicken and Elephant.

40. One day, Chicken was arguing with Elephant about eating. Chicken, she was the neighbour of Elephant. She said to Elephant: "Elephant, you are big for nothing. If about food, I am eating [an amount of] food that surpasses yours." Elephant [said] that: "Ah, you really have no shame? What are you eating?

45. So your food, which you are picking, is it food? If I collect grass or my food straightaway, how many days will you eat [from] my food?" Thus Chicken [said] that: "Not bad. Now, the thing which is there, [let] us tie/arrange a day. [Let] us call the people to come and see the manner of our argument."

50. Thus they prepared their day. When the people heard a story like this, many people came [on it], and many people came to laugh at Chicken, because they knew [that] Elephant would defeat Chicken in eating. The moment that the morning began, Elephant entered in eating. Chicken also began [with] the food. They began to eat.

55. Elephant began to eat with a greed for showing to the people that he was eating [a lot] in comparison with Chicken. Elephant ate, he ate, he ate. It was going to reach ten a.m. Elephant began… the speed or (in) the way that he had begun his eating with, had already begun to diminish. The people saw already that Elephant was eating, but not like at first he had begun with.

60. Chicken (from) here, she was picking (her) air. She…, from the morning, the people just saw her throat

picking air. She was searching (from) here, she was looking for termites, [she] searched, she found, she ate.

65.   It was going to be twelve a.m. Elephant had already eaten. He went far. He went to hide himself from Chicken. It was going to reach 1 p.m. Elephant was already upset. He found [refuge] underneath [some] wood. He hid himself. Sleep came. Elephant began to sleep. Chicken was just there. Now, the people were searching. Where did Elephant go? Where was Elephant eating?

70.   You see, Elephant had fallen down, [he] had already fallen asleep. Chicken was just eating. It entered 2 p.m. Chicken was eating. Chicken was just eating. It was going to reach 4 p.m. People wanted to ask: "Eh, Chicken is there outside. Where is Elephant?" Chicken [said] that: "Leave(PL) Elephant to me. I will find the place that he is in." Thus Chicken came slowly, slowly, slowly, [she] found Elephant sleeping.

75.   She…, now, her eating was (of) cheating. There was something, there was nothing. She was just picking air. So she reached beside Elephant. Elephant slept. She picked the buttocks of Elephant. Elephant was shocked (from there): "Eh, friend, how?" [Chicken said] that: "Yes, now you are sleeping. I am eating. You have already been called."

80.   When Elephant saw that Chicken was truly still eating since before, Elephant [said] that: "La ḥawla (there is no power save in God), Chicken is going to eat me." Elephant got up running. Elephant ran. [He] left Chicken. Chicken defeated Elephant in eating. Thus my third story finishes here.

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Nederlandse samenvatting

Een Arabische creooltaal in Afrika: het Nubi van Uganda

Momenteel leven er in Kenia en Uganda zo'n 25.000 Nubi. In dit proefschrift komt vooral het Nubi van Uganda aan bod. Nubi wordt over het algemeen een Arabische creooltaal genoemd: Arabisch, want zo'n 90 % van de woordenschat is van Arabische oorsprong, en een creool omdat vele kenmerken van structuur, ontstaan en ontwikkeling lijken op die van bekende creooltalen.

Het proefschrift bestaat uit verschillende componenten. Enerzijds is er het geschiedkundige deel, anderzijds is er de synchrone taalbeschrijving. In een laatste hoofdstuk tracht ik na te gaan hoe de ontwikkeling van het Nubi zelf verlopen is.

In het geschiedkundige deel beschrijf ik de historische achtergronden van de Nubi, en tegen deze achtergrond de mogelijke pidginiserings- en creoliseringsprocessen. In 1820 tijdens de regering van Muḥammad ʕAlî in Egypte begon in Zuid-Sudan de penetratie van Arabischtaligen uit Egypte en Noord-Sudan via militaire operaties en handelsactiviteiten. Daarbij werd ook de niet-Arabischtalige zwart-Sudanese bevolking betrokken. Sommigen werden als slaven gevangengenomen en ingelijfd. Anderen meldden zich vrijwillig aan bij de legerkampen en handelsnederzettingen en integreerden zich in het kampleven. Rond 1885 kwam door de rebellie van de Mahdisten een eind aan alle militaire en commerciële activiteiten. Emin Pasha, die op dat moment gouverneur was van de Zuid-Sudanese Equatoria Province, trok zich met zijn manschappen en volgelingen (vrouwen en kinderen), een gemengde groep van Arabischtaligen en Zuid-Sudanezen, terug aan de oevers van Lake Albert in het huidige Uganda. Na drie jaar afzondering kwam Stanley hen te hulp. Emin en Stanley werden op hun weg naar de kust echter niet gevolgd door Selîm Bey en Faḍl al-Maulâ. Zij bleven achter met zo'n 900 gewapende manschappen en 10.300 volgelingen. De groep werd snel aangevuld met mensen uit de streek, vooral Lendu en Lur. In 1891 werden zij door Lugard, de vertegenwoordiger van de Imperial British East Africa Company, ingelijfd bij de King's African Rifles. Ze werden onderverdeeld in garnizoenen, die op hun beurt weer verdeeld werden over Uganda en Kenia. De Nubi in Uganda genoten aanvankelijk een speciale status omwille van hun capaciteiten op militair vlak. Vrij snel kwam daaraan een eind. Net omwille van die militaire achtergrond echter was Idi Amin geïnteresseerd in hen. In 1979, na de vlucht van Amin, werden de Nubi ook voor kortere of langere tijd gedwongen tot ballingschap in de buurlanden. Vanaf 1986, onder Museveni, zijn de meeste Nubi teruggekomen en hebben ze zich gevestigd in kleine gemeenschappen verspreid over heel Uganda.

Ik ga er van uit dat reeds vóór 1820 een pidgin-Arabisch in de Sudan in gebruik was als handelstaal, en dat dit ook na 1820 gold als voertaal in de kampen en nederzettingen van Zuid-Egypte tot Zuid-Sudan (White Nile Valley, Equatoria Province, en de Baḥr al-Ghazâl). De kampbevolking had immers vaak een heel verschillende taalkundige achtergrond. Vrij zeker is ook dat de officieren zich richtten tot hun niet-Arabischtalige ondergeschikten met een vereenvoudigde variant van het Arabisch. De Sudanese slaven en ondergeschikten werden dus rechtstreeks aangesproken met een 'foreigner talk'-variant van het Arabisch. Het is mogelijk dat het vereenvoudigde of pidgin-Arabisch een symbool werd voor de groep sprekers, hen differentiërend van hun eigen tribale achtergronden en van hun Arabischtalige superieuren. Rond 1888, toen Emin en zijn troepen werden aangetroffen bij Lake Albert, moet dit pidgin-Arabisch zich ontwikkeld hebben tot een stabiel pidgin, dat kort daarna werd geconfronteerd met een grote input van lokale talen, vooral Lendu en Lur. Waarschijnlijk heeft het nog enkele jaren geduurd voor de groep van nieuwgeboren kinderen groot genoeg was om van een structurele creolisering te kunnen spreken. Creolisering moet echter wel hebben plaatsgevonden op een voldoende grote schaal vóór de splitsing van de groepen en het ontstaan van de Nubi-nederzetting in Nairobi in 1902, wil men het gebrek aan grote structurele verschillen tussen de regionale varianten kunnen verklaren. De regionale varianten ondergingen wel invloeden van de substraat- en adstraattalen. Door nauwe contacten tussen de verschillende groepen, vooral na 1979 toen vele Nubi in ballingschap gingen, werden de verschillen echter weer tot een minimum herleid.

Het materiaal voor het taalkundige gedeelte van deze dissertatie werd verzameld tijdens twee periodes van veldonderzoek in Uganda, in 1993 en in 1997-1998. Aangezien het Nubi in essentie een gesproken taal is en een orthografie mist, zijn de gegevens afkomstig van opnames, die werden getranscribeerd en vertaald met de hulp van Nubi-assistenten. In een samenvatting kan aan een taalbeschrijving niet voldoende recht worden gedaan. Daarom wil ik eerder enkele typische creoolelementen aangeven en/of eventuele verschillen met andere bekende creooltalen. Zowel in het Nubi als in de meeste creooltalen is SVO de normale volgorde. Nubi interrogatieve zinnen worden gekenmerkt door een veranderende intonatie en niet door een gewijzigde woordvolgorde. Ook dit geldt voor de meeste creooltalen.

In Nubi, en in vele creooltalen, bestaan er aparte pronominale vormen voor enkelvoud en meervoud, maar niet voor mannelijk of vrouwelijk. Terwijl in de meeste pidgin- en creooltalen nomina geen meervoudsaanduiding kennen, is dit in het Ugandese Nubi wel het geval, zij het optioneel. Bepaalde lidwoorden in creooltalen - het bepaalde lidwoord in het Nubi kent ook dit kenmerk - zijn over het algemeen afgeleid van demonstrativa of andere partikels van de 'lexifier language' of brontaal. Maar waar in de meeste creooltalen het bepaalde lidwoord is afgeleid van het aanwijzende voornaamwoord dat afstand van de spreker aanduidt, heeft het zich in het Nubi ontwikkeld uit het Arabische aanwijzende voornaamwoord dat nabijheid bij de spreker aangeeft. De distributie van het bepaalde en het onbepaalde lidwoord, en het kale nomen (zonder toevoeging van een lidwoord) correspondeert in grote lijnen met het gebruik van het lidwoord in andere creooltalen. Het bepaalde lidwoord en het onbepaalde lidwoord staan namelijk respectievelijk voor 'definite referential' en 'indefinite referential' nominale zinsdelen, terwijl het niet-referentiële nominale zinsdeel zero-markering krijgt. Het gebruik van het Nubi kale nomen blijft echter niet beperkt tot de laatste categorie, maar kan ook voorkomen in plaats van het bepaalde lidwoord in geval van een sterk thematisch belang van het naamwoord, en in plaats van het onbepaalde lidwoord wanneer het nomen kenmerken heeft van 'non-individuation'. Het Nubi kent twee soorten van bezitsaanduidingen. Vervreemdbaar bezit wordt uitgedrukt door het bezit, het partikel *ta* en de bezitter. Het bezit, gevolgd door de bezitter zonder toevoeging van het partikel, geeft onvervreemdbaar bezit weer. Beide types bezitsaanduiding hebben equivalenten in vele creooltalen.

In de vervoeging van het Nubi- en het creoolwerkwoord zijn drie markers cruciaal bij de aanduiding van 'anteriority', 'irrealis' en 'non-punctuality'. De markers staan ook steeds in die volgorde. Daarnaast bestaat er in het Nubi en in creooltalen een onderscheid tussen statische en dynamische werkwoorden. Het kale werkwoord (zonder voorvoegsel) in het Nubi geeft punctualiteit weer, wat een verleden tijd inhoudt voor dynamische werkwoorden en een tegenwoordige tijd voor statische werkwoorden. Wanneer evenwel een duidelijk tijdskader is aangegeven, is het Nubi kale werkwoord neutraal wat tijd en aspect (punctueel/niet-punctueel) betreft. Het neutrale karakter van het kale werkwoord ten opzichte van tijd is ook een kenmerk van vele creooltalen. De neutraliteit ten opzichte van de aspectsaanduiding blijkt echter uniek voor het Nubi. Het Nubi *gi*-voorvoegsel duidt niet-punctualiteit aan, en komt daardoor, zoals in de meeste creooltalen, vooral voor bij dynamische werkwoorden. Er zijn enkele uitzonderingen die min of meer uniek zijn voor het Nubi. *gi-* kan voorkomen met niet-dynamische werkwoorden, wanneer het begin van een toestand wordt aangegeven, wanneer wordt verwezen naar toestanden die regelmatig weerkeren, en bij werkwoorden zoals *'ben* 'lijken op' en *'gen/'gai* 'zitten', 'blijven'. Het Nubi *bi*-voorvoegsel, net zoals het hulpwerkwoord *gi-'rua* geeft een toekomstaanduiding weer en stemt niet helemaal overeen met de creool irrealis marker. *gi-'rua* geeft, meer dan *bi-*, een zekerheid weer over de uitvoering van een handeling in de min of meer nabije toekomst. Ook enkele andere creooltalen beschikken over verschillende markers om een algemene tegenover een onmiddellijke toekomst weer te geven. En net zoals in het Nubi wordt het laatste vaak aangeduid met de punctualiteitsmarker in combinatie met het werkwoord 'komen' of 'gaan'. Het Nubi *bi*-voorvoegsel kan ook het habituele aspect van dynamische werkwoorden aangeven. Het ziet er echter naar uit dat het in die betekenis vervangen wordt door het *gi*-prefix. Nubi *'kan* geeft 'anteriority' weer, en kan een perfectum of een plusquamperfectum aanduiden. De betekenis van de

combinatie van Nubi *'kan* en *bi-* correspondeert met die in andere creooltalen, namelijk 'counterfactuality'. In tegenstelling tot de meeste andere creooltalen kent het Nubi een productief proces voor de vorming van passiva. In het Nubi, net zoals in vele andere creooltalen, bestaat daarnaast ook een alternatieve constructie waarbij transitieve werkwoorden de betekenis van passieve of intransitieve werkwoorden nemen. Daarbij kan de eindklinker *-u*, die functioneert als een partikel ter aanduiding van de overgankelijkheid van het werkwoord en van de zin, een rol spelen. Een dergelijk transitiviteitspartikel bestaat ook in onder andere Tok Pisin.

In het laatste hoofdstuk ga ik in op de ontwikkeling van het Nubi en op het Arabische dialect of de Arabische dialecten waaruit het Nubi zich heeft gevormd. Na vergelijking van de kenmerken van het Nubi met enkele Arabische dialecten uit de regio, zoals Egyptisch Arabisch, Sudanees Arabisch, en West-Sudanees Arabisch, en met kenmerken van andere pidgin- en creooltalen in de regio, zijnde Turku en Juba Arabisch, blijken de gelijkenissen tussen het Nubi en het West-Sudanees Arabisch frappant. Twee redenen komen hiervoor in aanmerking. Ofwel ligt het West-Sudanees Arabisch aan de grondslag van het Nubi, en is er sprake van een rechtstreekse relatie of derivatie. Ofwel hebben zich in beide talen parallelle ontwikkelingen voltrokken, zij het onafhankelijk van elkaar, en is de brontaal van het Nubi een ander Arabisch dialect, zoals het Egyptisch Arabisch. Ik opteer voor het laatste, aangezien de grammaticale gelijkenissen tussen het Nubi en het West-Sudanees Arabisch zo goed als allemaal kunnen worden toegeschreven aan processen die hetzij algemeen zijn in creooltalen, hetzij een universeel karakter hebben. Er kan dus niet met zekerheid een rechtstreeks verband tussen het Nubi en het West-Sudanees Arabisch worden vooropgesteld. Alleen de woordenschat en morfologische markers, zoals de genitief exponent, kunnen uitsluitsel geven. Dan blijkt dat het Nubi wel elementen van het Egyptisch Arabisch en van het Sudanees Arabisch bevat, maar niet van het West-Sudanees Arabisch. West-Sudanees Arabisch als brontaal van het Nubi kan dus worden uitgesloten.

English summary

An Arabic creole in Africa: the Nubi language of Uganda

At present, about 25,000 Nubi live scattered over the towns of Uganda and Kenya. In this thesis I discuss in particular the Nubi of Uganda. Nubi, in general, has been called an Arabic creole. Nubi is Arabic, since about 90% of its vocabulary is of Arabic nature. It is termed a creole, since many of its structural and developmental features resemble those of known creoles. This thesis consists of several parts: a description of the historical backgrounds of the Nubi, a synchronic language description, and a reconstruction of the development of the Nubi language.

In the first part, I sketch the history of the Nubi people and against this background the processes of pidginization and creolization. From 1820 onwards, under the reign of Muḥammad ʕAlî, Viceroy of Egypt, (near) native Arabs began to penetrate into the southern Sudan through military operations and trading activities, in which black Sudanese were involved, whether they were taken as slaves, or whether they entered the military and trading camps deliberately. At around 1885, both activities came to an abrupt end through the Mahdist revolt. Emin Pasha, at the time governor of Equatoria Province, withdrew to the Lake Albert area in present-day Uganda with his mixed Arab-black Sudanese troops (men, women, and children). After a three-year period of seclusion, Stanley came to their rescue. Selîm Bey and Faḍl al-Maulâ did not join Emin and Stanley on their journey to the coast. They remained with approximately 900 armed men and 10,300 followers, and were joined by many native Lendu and Lur. The group was met in 1891 by Capt. Lugard, representative of the Imperial British East Africa Company, and later incorporated into the King's African Rifles. The group was divided into garrisons, and scattered all over present-day Uganda and Nairobi. The downfall of the Ugandan Nubi came soon after. Amin, however, brought them a period of revival which came to an end in 1979, when Amin fled and the Nubi were forced to seek exile in the surrounding countries. From 1986 onwards, under Museveni, the Nubi gradually began to return and are resettling all over Uganda.

I give an outline of the development of the p/c Arabic against its historical background. I assume that the Arabic lingua franca used mainly for commercial purposes in the Sudan before 1820 found its way initially to the military training camps in southern Egypt, and later on in the southern Sudan through southward movements of the military, and through the activities of merchants in the White Nile Valley, Equatoria and the Baḥr al-Ghazâl. The high-status Arabic-speaking officers and traders probably used a simplified Arabic when communicating with their southern Sudanese subordinates. The black slaves were thus addressed directly with a foreigner talk variety of Arabic, which they picked up. The pidgin Arabic may have become a symbol of group membership for its speakers, differentiating them from their own tribal background, and from their Arabic-speaking superiors. By 1888, when Emin and his troops were met by Stanley at the shores of Lake Albert, the pidgin Arabic probably had already evolved into a stable pidgin. It then became confronted with a huge input from speakers of local languages from the Lake Albert area, especially Lur and Lendu. It must still have taken many years before the group of newborn children in the group was large enough to bring about structural nativization/creolization of the language. However, by the time the groups were separated, and the Nubi settlement in Nairobi was set up in 1902, creolization must have taken place on a large enough scale to explain the lack of major structural differences between the regional varieties, which were only affected marginally by substrate and adstrate influences. The extensive contacts between the Nubi people who nowadays live scattered in the larger towns of Kenya and Uganda, especially after 1979, when many Nubi went into exile, affected the Nubi regional varieties, and reduced their differences.

The material used for the linguistic part of this thesis was collected during two periods of field research in Uganda, in 1993 and in 1997-1998. Since Nubi is essentially an oral language lacking an orthography, the material consists of recordings, which were transcribed and translated with the assistance of Nubi native speakers. There cannot be done justice to a language description in a

summary. For this reason I would rather present some typical creole elements of the Nubi language, and possible differences with other well-known creole languages. In Nubi, as in most creole languages, SVO is the normal word order. Nubi interrogative sentences are marked by a different intonation and not by a change of word order. This corresponds to most creole languages.

In Nubi, and in many creoles, pronouns are part of quite a fixed set, and indicate number, but not gender. Whereas nouns in most pidgin/creole languages are not inflected for number, plural marking exists in Ugandan Nubi and is optionally applied. Creole definite articles - and the Nubi definite article shares this feature - are generally not derived from the definite article in the source language, but they are based on demonstratives or other particles. However, while in most creole and other languages the definite article derives from a distal demonstrative, in Nubi it developed from the proximal demonstrative. The distribution of the articles (definite, indefinite) as opposed to the bare noun, corresponds in rough lines to the use of the article in creole languages, namely definite referential and indefinite referential NPs are marked by the definite and indefinite article respectively, whereas non-referential NPs receive zero marking (bare noun). However, the use of the Nubi bare noun is not restricted to the category of non-referential NPs. It may also occur instead of the definite article in cases of high thematic centrality of the NP, and instead of the indefinite article when the NP scores high considering non-individuation. In Nubi we find two types of possessive relations. Alienable possessive relations are generally expressed by means of the genitive marker *ta* linking possessee and possessor, whereas in inalienable possessive constructions possessee and possessor are merely juxtaposed. Both types maintain the order possessee possessor, and both types have equivalents in many creole languages.

Three verbal core markers are essential in the Nubi and the creole verb: an anterior tense marker, an irrealis mood marker, and a non-punctual aspect marker. All markers occur in preverbal position, and always in the invariant order TMA: ANT, IRR, NON-PUNCT. Moreover, there is a distinction between stative and non-stative verbs. The zero-marked or simple verb in Nubi marks punctual aspect, which refers, when no marking for tense is present, essentially to the past for non-stative verbs and non-past (present resulting states of past events) for stative verbs. However, the simple verb is neutral with respect to tense (past, present, future) and aspect (punctual/non-punctual) when tense and aspect are clearly marked otherwise, such as in previous verbs, with adverbs, the context, or situation. Neutrality with respect to tense is common in creoles. The use of the simple verb form in non-punctual environments, however, seems to occur only in Nubi. The progressive marker *gi-* in Nubi, as in most creole languages, refers to non-punctual aspect, involving continuative, habitual and/or iterative aspect, and is therefore used mainly with non-stative verbs, in which it indicates present states/events. *gi-* may mark stative verbs when indicating the inception of the state, when marking states recurring on a regular basis, and with some speakers with the verbs *'ben* 'look like', *'gen/'gai* 'sit', 'remain'. The Nubi *bi-*marker does not correspond entirely to the creole irrealis marker. The marker *bi-* indicates strong volition about future events. Besides *bi-V, gi- 'rua* V indicates future marking. Whereas *bi-* V expresses volition on the part of the subject about a rather general future, *gi- 'rua* V is used when one is sure that the event will take place more or less instantaneously. Several other creoles have distinct markers for expressing general vs. immediate future. The latter, as in Nubi, may be formed by prefixing the marker for non-punctuality to a verb with the meaning 'go' and/or 'come'. *bi-* also marks habituals of non-stative verbs. It seems, however, in the process of being replaced by *gi-* with which it shares this function. The Nubi anterior marker *'kan* indicates a past-before-past, a (remote) past, or perfect aspect both with stative and non-stative verbs. The anterior marker *'kan* followed by the future marker *bi-* expresses counterfactuality, as in many creole languages. Productive passive formation as in Nubi, does not seem to exist in most other creole languages. An alternative construction, in which transitive verbs take the meaning of passive/ intransitive verbs, is, however, common in Nubi and in many other creoles. Verb final *-u* may then play a role. I investigate the correlation between the transitivity of the sentence and the (non-)occurrence of *-u*. *-u* seems to function as a transitivity marker and therefore may correspond to Tok Pisin *-im*.

In the last chapter, I try to link Nubi with the Arabic dialects of the area, going from Egypt via Eastern Sudanese Arabic and the Arabic of the Sudanese belt to Western Sudanese Arabic (Abbéché Arabic, Shuwa Arabic, and Nigerian Arabic). My aim was to reconstruct the development of Nubi (and the related Arabic pidgin/creoles Juba Arabic/Turku), and to investigate the nature of the source language(s). It turns out that typically Western Sudanese Arabic features are much more frequent than typically eastern Arabic features. However, most, if not all, of these developments can be attributed to general tendencies in languages and/or pidgins/creoles worldwide. It is therefore not possible to state whether the pidgin/creole developments are the result of direct influences from Western Sudanese Arabic, or that they result from parallel but independent developments taking place both in the Western Sudanese Arabic dialects and in the Arabic pidgin/creoles. Only the vocabulary and morphological markers, such as the genitive exponent may give some evidence as to the source of the Arabic pidgin/creoles. The Nubi vocabulary then indicates Egyptian and general Sudanese sources, while no Western Sudanese Arabic vocabulary items are present. This fact suggests that direct influence from Western Sudanese Arabic should be excluded, and that similarities should rather be attributed to parallel developments.

Curriculum Vitae

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