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An Arabic creole in Africa

The Nubi language of Uganda

een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de Letteren

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus Prof. Dr. C.W.P.M. Blom, volgens besluit
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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.

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

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, Muhammad Âli, Viceroy of Egypt, began sending troops in a southerly direction to conquer the Sudan. He aimed at the submission of the Shâ?iqîya, an Arabic-speaking tribe dwelling between ad-Dabba on the Nile and the fourth Cataract, and the annihilation of the town of...
The Sudan in the nineteenth century (from Hill 1959)
al-^Urdî near the town of Dunqula, refuge of the rebellious Mamluks. Muḥammad ʿAlî 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 ʿAlî'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 ʿAlî 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 Mağâriba from north-west Africa under the command of the Viceroy's son İsmâîl, 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 Shâ?iqiya, however, showed more resistance. Eventually subjected, their military worth was praised and rewarded by their enlistment as irregular cavalry, known as bâshî-buzûq 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 ʿAlî'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 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 ʿAlî 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),
by 1823 the total regiment contained about 3,000 men, 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 Jihâdiya, 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 Niżâm al-Jadîd was still far from sufficient, from 1824 onwards, Muhammad ʿAli 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). Muhammad ʿAli, 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. (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 Bakkarâ and bought by the Dجلâbi." 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 Niżâm 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 ʿAlî, 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 Khartûm, military barracks and a storehouse were constructed for the Jihâdiya 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 Shâʾiqiya had replaced the former foreign irregulars who had assisted in the conquest of the Sudan (Holt 1958: 15). They were mainly responsible for tax-cololecting and slave-raiding (Hill 1959: 27).

"Henceforward the military strength of the Turco-Egyptian regime was mainly derived from two sources, the regular Jihâdiyya, 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 men 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 Bakkarâ, or Baqqâra are Arabic-speaking cattle keepers. Their homeland reaches from a little beyond Lake Chad in the west to the White Nile. Dجلâbi 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 Moghrabin, 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, bāshī-buzzāq, Shā'iqiya 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 ʿAlī 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 Khartūm, had not yet entered the White Nile Basin. Jallāba (mainly Danâqla and Jaʿāliyin 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 jallāba, 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 ʿAlī 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 Khartūm companies sent their Arab agents (among others Turkish, Egyptian and Egyptian Sudanese) to the southern Sudan, where they established zarības, fortified thorn-fenced encampments, which were called daim or 'camp' followed by the name of the owner or agent (Holt 1958: 11). The zarības were protected by a private army (mainly consisting of mercenary Danâqla and Jaʿāliyin, who were called ʿaskar (pl.: ʿasākir) 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 zarība 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 Khartūm to be sold on the slave market, or were taken as concubines in the zarība. The men were needed as porters and armed servants (bazingir, narkuk- (pl.: narākik), 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 Khartūm. 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 ʿasākir who obtained part of their payment in merchandise, whether goods or slaves. The slaves were either

12 Also bazingir, baziney, bazingar. "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 Kharqûm 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 ʿAli. 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 Kharqûm, 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 Bahr al-Ghazâl was entered by traders from around halfway the 1850s, when the region still lay outside the Turco-Egyptian territory (Gray 1961: 58; Holt 1961: 64). As in the White Nile Basin where the Egyptian merchant al-ʿAqqâd was in control of nearly all the trade, the Bahr al-Ghazâl was actually held by a number of 'merchant princes' among whom were Idrîs wad Daftar (Gray 1961: 67-68) and az-Zubair Raḥma Manṣûr. The latter was a Jaʿali-Arab who built his huge zarîba, called Daim az-Zubair in the Bahr 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 Kharqûm zarîbas in the Bahr al-Ghazâl. Schweinfurth (1922: 507) gives the following figures for the area of the Kharqûm zarîbas in the Bahr 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 Bahr al-Ghazâl was officially annexed in 1873 (Holt 1961: 67).
* in the zarîba:

| soldiers recruited from Dunqula, Shâ?iqiya, Sinnâr, Kordofân, several Bedouin tribes, etc. (’asâkir) | 5,000 |
| black slave soldiers (bazîngir, farukh or narkuk) | 5,000 |
| idlers looking for free food and accommodation | 1,000 |
| jallâba, Muslim teachers (fuqahâ7), agents residing in the zariba | 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' ’asâkir, who were mainly Danâqla and Shâ?iqiya, 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 Dunqulâwi 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 bazîngir, 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 ’asâkir, 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 bazîngir
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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. 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). 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 Bahr al-Ghazâl, az-Zubair in particular, became a real threat to the Egyptian government. After an unsuccessful attempt to defeat him, the Khedive Ismâ’il was compelled in 1873 to accept az-Zubair’s authority and to offer him the governorship of the Bahr 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-^Aqqâd and his son-in-law Abû Su^ûd, 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 Ismâ’il 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 Su^ûd, 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. 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.
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. 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 Bahr 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 Rabih, 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 Bah\textsuperscript{r} al-Ghaz\textsuperscript{a}l (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 Khart\textsuperscript{u}m (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 Dan\textsuperscript{a}qla 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 *id\textsuperscript{a}ra*, 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 *baz\textsuperscript{a}inqir* (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>district</th>
<th>stations</th>
<th>regular jih\textsuperscript{a}diya</th>
<th>irregular hotteria</th>
<th>dragomen targ\textsuperscript{a}ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bor</td>
<td>Bor</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lado</td>
<td>Lado, ar-Rajj\textsuperscript{a}, Bedden</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiri</td>
<td>Kiri, Chor Aju, Labore, Muggi</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dufile</td>
<td>Dufile, Fabbo, Fatiko, Wadelai</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foweira</td>
<td>Foweira, Fodda</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lattuka</td>
<td>Okello, Tarangole, Obure, Obbo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fadibek</td>
<td>Labor, Galli, Fadibek</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rol</td>
<td>Ajak, Bu\textsuperscript{i}, Ssajadin, Lessi, Affard, el-Gok-Muchtar</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makraka</td>
<td>Kabadjendi, Wandi, Makraka-sughaira, Gosa, Kalliwa, Watako, Kuduruma, ?Umm-dirfi, Rimo, Korobek, Anda, Umbimba, Nuguma, Dango, Dango-kebir</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurguru</td>
<td>Tangasi, Kobbi, Uniboron, Mperia, Rensi, etc.</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>1,930 =</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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

\(^{19}\) According to Tosco & Owens (1993: 181-185), Rabih 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 awt\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{u}}r\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{i}}\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}}, corrupted in turn from the Turkish ot\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{u}}r\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}}q, 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.

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 Kharţûm, 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 Mahdist 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 Bahr 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 enthusiastic 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 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 Ürâbî-revolt in the early 1880s.

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 Ürâbists, called after their leader, Ürâbî 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.
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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 Muhammad (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 Selim had always remained loyal, and of their enlistment as irregular troops under Lugard's command. Selim 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 territory25. 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 (imdir Khâṭṭ al-Istiwâ’d)." (Holt 1958: 200) The Mahdists under ‘Arabî Dafa’llâh, 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

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 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 Khartûm. 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 ʿAlī'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 ʿasâkir 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 Khartûm 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). 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. 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 Wadai and Eastern Chad), Trenga (1947, on the Bura-mabang of Wadai), 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. 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. 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 Arabization 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); Mühlhäuser (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 there any direct evidence for the use of a pidgin Arabic in the training camps of the Nizām al-jadīd in Aswān 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 not know for certain that a simplified form of Arabic was common in the military camps and in the zarība in Equatoria and the Bahr al-Ghazāl 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 Khartûm zarības in the Bahr al-Ghazāl 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 jallāba and ʻasākir. There were Arabic-speaking Shā‘iqiya and Bedouins among the ʻasākir. The jallāba 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 jallāba and the ʻasākir, 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 zarība 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 Shā‘iqiya, 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 Bahr al-Ghazāl 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

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 Anuok, 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>121</th>
<th>residents:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>dragomen:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appr. 100</td>
<td>itinerant jallâba from the Baḥr al-Ghazâl and Khartûm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>traders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Niamniam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Jur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Agar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appr. 1,200</td>
<td>slaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appr. 1,500</td>
<td>grand total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ḥasâkir 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

\(^{32}\)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.
Historical and linguistic background

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. 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. 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 Selim Bey and Fadl 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:

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. 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 (Emin III 1922: 227; Emin IV 1922: 126; Jephson 1890: 51-52, 66, 76, 83). Emin speaks of Sheik Muijân, 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.

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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 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 coexisted 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
Historical and linguistic background

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).

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 tabaq 'cover', 'lid', in Sudanese Arabic tabaq '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 sîg '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 g [y] - t - w. Did Meldon wish to differentiate g < g [y] 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 rahat with the same meaning. Instead of taking f 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 f (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 moweleedu. 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 li^s b 'play', 'game'. Has there been an intermediate stage with i > e? 

Meldon's words contain typical pidgin elements, such as O < s, as in azib (135) from EA/SA azab 'unmarried', 'single', ajin 'dough' (139) from EA/SA a^jin 'dough', h < h, as in hizam 'cloth' (131) from EA/SA hizam 'belt', 'girdle', hakim 'doctor' from EA/SA hal^im 'physician', t < j in tabakh 'plate' from EA/SA tabaq '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 shayib 'old man'. The author again shows a tendency towards Classical Arabic, as shown by the retention of the diphthong ai.

Morphology: The use of the definite article is the most conspicuous classicizing feature. For instance in Shaiton 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. alhaguni is an Arabic plural imperative form to which the first person pronoun object suffix -ni is attached. The verb is SA li^hiq (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 mauta '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 ya, 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. 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, 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.),

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-Maulā. 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. Selim Bey and Fadl al-Maula 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 Aswan, 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 Bahar al-Ghazal. 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 Khartoum. 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 Qur'anic 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 decréolization, 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.  

2.1. Phonological segments

2.1.1. Consonants and semi-vowels

2.1.1.1. Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labio dental</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>post alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
<th>pharyngeal</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td>(q)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m (ŋ)</td>
<td>n p</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>(ŋ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f v</td>
<td>(θ) (ð)</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>f dʒ</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Nubi consonant inventory

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.

2.1.1.2. Consonant opposition pairs

(1.) mb in mberenge 'pop corn' < Luganda 'mberèngè 'dried head of maize'

nj in 'gonja < Luganda gónjá 'large sweet banana'

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.
### 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

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

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/asrubu '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 Ish'llam, 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' ekyal0 ['t/ja: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'bara/ kur'bara '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 -O:** '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** -：Intervocalic **r** may be realized as retroflex [ɾ], for instance in be'riya 'be at a distance', 'be innocent'. According to Heine (1982: 25), retroflex [ɾ] is the usual realization of **r** in Kenyan Nubi.

**t** - ɾ; **d** - ḋ; **g** - ġ：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'iqa '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'.

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

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[aː; aː; æː; aː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[eː; eː; æː; æː; ɔː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>[iː; iː; æ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[oː; oː; ɔː; ɔː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[uː; uː; ʊ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [ba'좌ala] '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': ['aːna] or ['æːna]. After the bilabials [b], [p], [m], and [w], **a** is pronounced as [a], for instance in ha'na [ba'ŋa] 'girls', 'lipa [li'pa] 'pay', 'ma [ma] 'with', muswa'na [muswa'naː] 'women', mas'wal [ma'swaː] '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'ara or sa'sara, consisting of three syllables of which the second is the vowel -a-. It is thus different from bisyllabic 'sara 'herd cattle'. In UN, 'ke [ke] 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/ - /e/ 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 [e] in some unstressed syllables, whether open or close, for instance in ‘mile [miːle] ‘salt’,
in prefinal stressed open syllables before non-close vowels for instance in ‘bele [be:le] ‘country’, jere [d3ere:] ‘run’;

e is [e] in prefinal stressed open syllables before close vowels, for instance in ‘ebu [ebu] ‘shame’,
’geru [’geru] ‘change’;
in final stressed syllables, as in ‘be [be] ‘house’, gen [’gen] ‘stay’, gi’bel [gi’be:l] ‘before’, and it’hen [it’hen] ‘two’. An exception is the determiner ’de [’de].

e may be realized as a schwa [a] in some unstressed syllables, e.g. in ‘leben [’leben] ‘milk’,

e may be articulated more backwards as [s] when preceded by w, as in we’ri [w3’ri] ‘show’ or we’le [w3’le] ‘boys’.

i is usually realized as the high front vowel [i], e.g. ‘tim [’tim] ‘be enough’. In unstressed short syllables it may be centralized as [a], as in ‘bediri [’bediri] ‘early’.

o is [o] in some unstressed syllables, e.g. abo’bo [ab0’bo] ‘mute’, son’du [son’du] ‘suitcase’;

o is [o] in non-final stressed syllables before close vowels, for instance in ‘doru [’doru] ‘wander about’;
in final stressed syllables, e.g. ’toh [’toh] ‘large scarf’, abo’bo [ab0’bo] ‘mute’.

u is mainly realized as a back closed vowel [u], for instance in ‘hum [’hum] ‘swim’, kasulu [’kasulu] ‘wash’, ’tokum [’tokum] ‘you (PL)’. In unstressed syllables, u is sometimes realized as [a], as in ’amsuku [’amsuku] ‘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 [’jua] ‘house’, ’nu [’nu] ‘he’, ’she’, ’it’, and tawu’rati ‘Torah’, while y is used to separate i from o and a, e.g. ’bio [’bi:ɔ] ‘buy’, bia’shara [’bia’ʃa:ra] ‘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 ba’ad ’after’, ma’a’raf ‘well-known’, ta’a’lim ‘tuition’. These lexical items are also realized as ‘ba-ad ‘bad, ma-a’raf ‘ma’raf and ta-a’lim/ta’lim respectively, resulting from an evolution a’a > 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’-isabu ‘be counting’, gi’’-uza or gu’-uza ‘be selling’, gi’’-ataku or ga’-ataku ‘be laughing’.

With word-initial vowels may optionally have a glottal onset, for instance in ’ina ‘we’.

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 gi’-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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Pair</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a - i</td>
<td>'tam 'be nauseous'</td>
<td>'tim 'be enough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - e</td>
<td>'tala 'saucepan'</td>
<td>'telja 'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - o</td>
<td>'bara 'outside'</td>
<td>'bora 'cat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - u</td>
<td>'rada 'breastfeed'</td>
<td>'rada 'agree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e [e] - e [e]</td>
<td>'ke 'thread'</td>
<td>'ke SUBJ (only instance)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e - i</td>
<td>'den 'debt'</td>
<td>'dina 'religion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e - o</td>
<td>'teri 'bird'</td>
<td>'toru 'wake up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e - u</td>
<td>'seder 'tree'</td>
<td>'sudur 'breast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i - o</td>
<td>'fi 'there is', 'there are'</td>
<td>'jo 'up', 'on top'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i - u</td>
<td>'bikra 'virgin'</td>
<td>'bukra 'tomorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o - u</td>
<td>'tobu 'large scarf'</td>
<td>'tobu 'spit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bw</td>
<td>'bwangiri 'cheek'</td>
<td>mp in English loans, e.g. 'camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>'kweis 'good'</td>
<td>nt 'bint 'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gw</td>
<td>'gwam 'quick'</td>
<td>nk [pk] in English loans, e.g. 'bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sk</td>
<td>'skul 'school'</td>
<td>kt 'okt 'sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>st</td>
<td>'stan 'thirsty'</td>
<td>rt in English loans, e.g. 'court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[jl]</td>
<td>'leil [le:jl] 'cooking oil'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[js]</td>
<td>'kweis [kw:c:js] 'good'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[wm]</td>
<td>'youm [fo:wm] 'day'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'mun '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 'bada su'mu? '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'bisho* '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'rib*. For some words, variants with different stress patterns may co-occur, without a change of meaning.

\[(5.)\]  
\[\text{\textquoteleft masgit - mas\textquoteleft gri\rquote} \text{\textquoteleft mosque}\rquote\]  
\[\text{\textquoteleft madrasa - mad\textquoteleft ras\rquote} \text{\textquoteleft Qur\textquoteleft anschool\rquote}\rquote\]  
\[\text{\textquoteleft zaman - za\textquoteleft man \textquoteleft time\rquote, \textquoteleft old days\rquote}\rquote\]  
\[\text{\textquoteleft mahal - ma\textquoteleft hal \textquoteleft place\rquote}\rquote\]  
\[\text{\textquoteleft fitna - fi\textquoteleft tina \textquoteleft mischief\rquote}\rquote\]  
\[\text{\textquoteleft dirisa - di\textquoteleft risa \textquoteleft window\rquote}\rquote\]  
\[\text{\textquoteleft fihamu - fa\textquoteleft hamu \textquoteleft understand\rquote}\rquote\]  

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

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

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\textquoteleft 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\textquoteleft a* 'house (PL), *'bagara* 'cow (SING) => *baga\textquoteleft 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.

\[^{46}\text{Heine (1982: 27) considers high tone to be the decisive factor for Kenyan Nubi: "In addition to the two tonemes there is a stress unit. It is, however, not marked here since its occurrence is predictable: stress is placed on the first high tone of a word. Thus there is only one stress unit per word." However, Heine (1982: 7) himself, partly questions his tonological approach.}\]
\[^{47}\text{In Luganda, the stress falls on the first syllable of the stem (Ashton 1954: 14).}\]
\[^{48}\text{However, in the expression \textquoteleft ita \textquoteleft saba k\textquoteleft fin\rquote? \text{\textquoteleft How are you this morning\rquote?}, the stress falls on the first syllable, unlike in \textquoteleft sa\textquoteleft ba\rquote 'morning', where stress is placed on the final syllable.}\]
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 gi- 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.

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 (syncopation) generally occurs with unstressed vowels. These vowels are often the result of diachronic processes of vowel epenthesis conducted 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'
'tokum > 'tokum (via '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'has '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(1)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?

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.'

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 > 'nbari '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 'l'mon 'they came together'
je'n(u) 'ina > je'n-'na > je'mna '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- atak(u) 'ana > 'ita g(i)- atak(u) 'ana 'you (SING) are laughing at me'
  'uo 'aju 'ana > uw(o) aj(u) 'ana 'he likes me' 52

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

(24.) 'an(a) 'ansuk(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 > fi(i) 'ustu/ fi(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 'wo > '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 'wo > 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).

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.)\[\text{anka'buti} \quad \text{ˈspider}'\]
\[\text{ˈberedu} \quad \text{ˈbath}'\]

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.)\[ˈsilu > ˈsulu \quad \text{ˈtake}'\]
\[li'go > lo'go \quad \text{ˈreceive}'\]
\[ja'nub > jo'num \quad \text{ˈsouth}'\]

On the other hand, \(a\) may change into a front vowel, influenced by a following front vowel.

(31.)\[\text{man'cil} > \text{men'cil} \quad \text{ˈhandkerchief}'\]
\[\text{ˈagif} > \text{ˈegif} \quad \text{ˈstop', 'come to a halt}'\]

In one instance, namely \[\text{bi'mara} > \text{bu'mara} \quad \text{ˈvery much}'\], \(i\) 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.)\[\text{tara'biya} > \text{tere'biya} \quad \text{ˈcustom(s)}'\]
\[\text{bia'shara} > \text{bia'shera} \quad \text{ˈbusiness}'\]
\[\text{da'lil} > \text{de'lil} \quad \text{ˈdeprivation}'\]

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.)\[\text{ta 'Nubi} > \text{to 'Nubi} \quad \text{ˈof the Nubi}'\]
\[\text{ma su'nu?} > \text{mo su'nu?} \quad \text{ˈwith what?}'\]
\[\text{ma ma'isha} > \text{mo ma'isha} \quad \text{ˈwith the life}'\]
\[\text{ˈita we'ri} > \text{ˈito we'ri} \quad \text{ˈyou showed}'\]
\[\text{ma 'kweis} > \text{mo 'kweis} \quad \text{ˈproperly}'\]

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

(34.)\[\text{ma 'gelba 'taki} > \text{me 'gelba 'taki} \quad \text{ˈwith your heart}'\]
\[\text{ˈita bi'-geni} > \text{ˈite bi'-geni} \quad \text{ˈyou will stay}'\]
\[\text{ma ya'la 'de} > \text{me ya'la 'de} \quad \text{ˈwith the children}'\]
\[\text{ma yo'wele} > \text{me yo'wele} \quad \text{ˈwith the boy}'\]
\[\text{ta 'youm ti'nen, ta 'lata} > \text{te 'youm ti'nen, ta 'lata} \quad \text{ˈof two, three days}'\]

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

(35.)\[\text{ˈbila 'tabu} > \text{ˈbile 'tabu} \quad \text{ˈwithout problem(s)}'\]
\[\text{ˈita lo'go} > \text{ˈite lo'go} \quad \text{ˈyou received}'\]
\[\text{ma lu'far} > \text{me lu'far} \quad \text{ˈwith a rat}'\]
\[\text{ˈina 'rua} > \text{ˈine 'rua} \quad \text{ˈwe went}'\]

---

\(^{53}\) 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 \quad \text{ˈbe taking}', \(bi\)- 'num \quad \text{ˈwill sleep}', etc.

\(^{54}\) One instance of progressive vowel assimilation is \(ti'nin\), derived from \(ti'nen\ \text{ˈtwo}'\).
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 'imi > 'itokum 'je 'imi '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 '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 > fi 'du '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 vicinity of \( f, b, w, \) or \( m \), as shown in (39.):

(39.) fi 'bele > fi 'bele 'in the country'
    fi 'wele 'du > fi 'wele 'du 'at birth'
    'fi min 'umon dakta' ra > 'ju min 'umon dakta' ra 'among them, there are doctors'
    'fi a'nas > fi a'nas 'there are people'

In the last example, the change from \( i \) to \( u \) is probably due to influences of initial fi 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'li yo'wele 'de > kit'i 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 > [fo 'sokol] 'in something'
    'amsuku > [a'msaku] '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, \textit{u} or \textit{i} are influenced by a following \textit{a} and become \textit{a}, as shown in (42.):

\(\text{(42.) } '\text{ina na'\text{di} a'\text{nas} } > '\text{ina na'\text{da} a'\text{nas} } \ '\text{we called the people}'\)
\(\text{gi-je'nu a'\text{ku} } > \text{gi-je'na a'\text{ku} } \ '\text{a brother is being shaved'}\)

2.2.2.2. Assimilation of voice

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

\(\text{(43.) } [dʒ] > [tʃ]: \ '\text{haj} > [\text{hətʃ}] \ '\text{pilgrimage}'\)
\(\text{[b]} > [p]: \ '\text{kalabtu} > [\text{kəla\text{pətu}}] \ '\text{mix}'\)
\(\text{[d]} > [t]: \ '\text{bada su'nu} > [\text{ba\text{də su'nu}}] \ '\text{and what else}'\)
\(\text{[z]} > [s]: \ '\text{ka'\text{tai}} > [\text{kə\text{tai}}] \ '\text{my work}'\)
\(\text{[g]} > [k]: \ '\text{fogo ka'\text{lam}} > [\text{fo\text{gə ka'\text{ləm}}}] \ '\text{in it is a problem}'\)

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.):

\(\text{(44.) } '\text{fogo ka'\text{lam}} > [\text{fo\text{kə ka'\text{ləm}}}] > [\text{fo\text{ka'\text{ləm}}}] \ '\text{in it is a problem}'\)

Before voiceless consonants \textit{l} is devoiced, as in (45.):

\(\text{(45.) } '\text{bil ta ba'\text{lala}} > [\text{bi\text{lə ta ba'\text{ləla}}}] \ '\text{the wetting of the thread}'\)

\textbf{Voicing:} Voiceless consonants may become voiced if followed by a voiced plosive:

\(\text{(46.) } [f] > [v]: \ '\text{katif'buku} > [\text{kətiv\text{ bu'ku}}] \ '\text{write a book}'\)
\(\text{[ʃ]} > [ʒ]: \ '\text{gu'rush 'de} > [\text{gu'ru\text{ʃdəe}}] \ '\text{the money}'\)

2.2.2.3. Assimilation of place

\textbf{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.):

\(\text{(47.) } [m] > [n] \text{ before } [n]: \ '\text{kele'm} '\text{neito} > [\text{kele'\text{nə\text{te}}}] \ '\text{you were told}'\)
\(\text{[m]},[n] > \text{labiodental nasal } [m] \text{ before } [l], [v]: \ '\text{memnu} > [\text{me\text{mənu}}] \ '\text{small sweet banana}'\)
\(\text{[m]},[n] > \text{velar nasal } [n] \text{ before } [k], [g]: \ '\text{minkin} > [\text{m\text{inəkín}}] \ '\text{possible}'\)
\(\text{'jengis} > [\text{d\text{ʒəŋgis}}] \ '\text{like}'\)
\(\text{[umon gi-ja} > [\text{u\text{mənə gi\text{ʤə}}}] \ '\text{they are coming}'\)
\(\text{[m]},[n] > [ŋ] \text{ before } [j]: \ '\text{idokum 'ya} > [\text{it\text{dəkum\text{ə}}}] \ '\text{you (PL) are the ones who...'}\)
\(\text{[umon 'ya} > [\text{u\text{mənæ\text{ə}}}] \ '\text{they are the ones who...'}\)
\(\text{[m] followed by a vowel may be articulated as } [n]: \ '\text{idokum 'ain} > [\text{it\text{dəkum\text{ə}}}] \ '\text{you (PL) saw}'\)

\[56\] 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:
\(\text{[du\text{lu ma'} dulu} > [\text{du\text{lu me'} dulu}] \ '\text{side by side}',\)
\(\text{'u\text{wə jo kele'm} > [\text{u\text{wə jo kele'm} } \ '\text{he came to tell}']\)
\(\text{[ita gi-tub} > [\text{ito gi-tub}] '\text{you are spitting}']\)
\(\text{[fi ti'nen} > [\text{fi ti'nen}] '\text{there are two}']\)
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.)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{la'kin} & > \text{la'yin} \ 'but' \\
\text{ke'd(e) ana} & > \text{ke'y-an} \ 'so that I' \\
\text{kol'ti} & > \text{Kay'ti} \ 'maternal uncle' \\
\text{'fahim} & > \text{'fayim} \ 'understand'
\end{align*}
\]

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.)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ke'bir} & > \text{ke'bir}i \ 'big' \\
\text{a'nas} & > \text{a'nas}i \ 'people' \\
\text{'gen} & > \text{'geni} \ 'stay', 'remain'
\end{align*}
\]

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.)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'num} & > \text{'numu} \ 'sleep' \\
\text{a'jol} & > \text{a'jolu} \ 'person' \\
\text{'Nasur} & > \text{'Nasuru NPROP}
\end{align*}
\]

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.)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{la'kata} & > \text{la'kata} \ '(fire)wood' \\
\text{ba'hati} & > \text{ba'hi} \ 'luck' \\
\text{'itokum} & > \text{'itom} \ 'you(PL)' \\
\text{'marwa'wa} & > \text{'ma'rai} \ 'at once'
\end{align*}
\]

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

(52.)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'youm} & > \text{'yom} \ 'day' \\
\text{'lel} & > \text{'lel} \ 'night' \\
\text{ba'raru} & > \text{ba'raru} \ 'alone'
\end{align*}
\]

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

(53.)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'umon aju} & > \text{[womaw a'dju]} \ 'they want'
\end{align*}
\]

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.)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'bat(na) taki} & > \text{bat- taki} \ 'your belly' \\
\text{'gil(du) tai} & > \text{'gil- tai} \ 'my body' \\
\text{'mar(ya) ba'ba} & > \text{mar- ba'ba} > \text{mar'ba} \ 'wife of father', 'stepmother'
\end{align*}
\]
2.2.3.3. Gemination/degemination

Gemination is 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 [tenna] “of us, ours”
me’dida > ‘medda [medda] “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 > [danab‘bagara] > [dana‘bagara] “a cow’s tail”
‘ina ‘gurw(a) ‘wara > [‘ina ‘guwr‘wara] > [‘ina ‘guwr‘wara] “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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>number</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>'ana ('an)</td>
<td>'ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>'ita ('ta)</td>
<td>'itokum ('itakum, 'tokum, 'tom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>'uo ('owo)</td>
<td>'umon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Independent personal pronouns in Nubi

The possessive pronouns and adjectives are given in table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>number</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>'tal / ta'yi</td>
<td>'tena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>'tak 59</td>
<td>'takum / 'tokum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>'to</td>
<td>'toumon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

---

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'.
The noun phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>na 'to'</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lento forms</td>
<td>allegro forms</td>
<td>lento forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>na- 'tana ~ 'hana</td>
<td>'to me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>na- 'tita ~ 'heta</td>
<td>'to you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>na- 'tuo ~ 'huno</td>
<td>'to him, her, it'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ma 'with'</th>
<th>first</th>
<th>second</th>
<th>third</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma- 'tana ~ 'mana</td>
<td>'with me'</td>
<td>ma- 'tina ~ 'mena</td>
<td>'with us'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma- 'tita ~ 'meta</td>
<td>'with you'</td>
<td>ma- 'titokum ~ 'metokum</td>
<td>'with you (PL)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma- 'tuo ~ 'mouo</td>
<td>'with him, her, it'</td>
<td>ma- 'tumon ~ 'moumon</td>
<td>'with them'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.  
'Asma 'to A. 'Ana 'weled(u) 62 'uo  
name PRON POSS 3SING bear-Ø PRON 1SING child boy

(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

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 /ta'i 'of me', 'mine').

64 Similar to 'neki, I heard 'neci 'with you'.

65 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'.

66 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 + 'tana ~ 'kana  
'ke + 'tina ~ 'kena

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.
An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

Hasan, ita de a'zol 'tena ka'lası.
NPROP PRON2SING DEF person PRON POSS 1PL COMPL

'in a bi- 'seb(u) 'ita 'maf. 'Be 'takum 't'wen?
PRON1PL FUT- leave PRON2SING NEG house PRON POSS 2PL Q-word

'Uo 'kelem: 'Be 'tena 'fi 'na, fi Bag'dad.
PRON3SING 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.
PRON1PL 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 ‘aruflu ‘ma.
but PRON 1PL PRON POSS 1PL EMPH know-0 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.) ‘Ladi(i) ’ase’de, kan ‘ana bi’nafsi ‘de, kan ‘rua fi ‘Anu,
until now if PRON 1SING self DEF if go-0 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-0 child GEN
a’ku, a’ku ‘de bi’zatu je’dé gi- ‘ja ‘neta, (...).
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) ‘u, 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’nafsi(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.).

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, ‘u, a’gi ‘to,
PRON 3SING PROG- reign PRON 3SING alone PRON POSS 3SING
‘He reigns alone, he alone (...).’

‘Ana ‘me ‘endi ma’ma, ‘ana ‘me ‘endi ba’ba.
PRON 1SING NEG have-0 mother PRON 1SING NEG have-0 father
‘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 'nu 'meki 'sawa.
child DEF say-0 mother PRON 1PL go-0 with + PRON 2SING together
'The child said: Mama, I go with you together.'

(72.) 'Umon 'gai ma 'marya 'to 'de.
PRON 3PL stay-0 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, 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.)  maruya 'woman', 'wife' - nus'wan
   a'ku 'brother, friend' - ok'wana
   nyere'ku 'child' - 'yal/ya'la
   a'jol 'person' - a'nas/a'ja'ma

* ablaut:

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

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

(78.)  ma'lim 'teacher' - mali'ma
   'Nubi NPROP - Nuhi'ya
   lu'far 'mouse' - lu'fara
   'seder 'tree' - se'dra
   gala'moyo 'goat' - galamo'ya

(79.)  'asker 'soldier' - askeriya
   mo'bus 'prisoner' - mobusiya

(80.)  'tajir 'rich person' - tajiri'n
   'sokol 'thing' - sokol'in

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' - nyerekuk'a

- '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' - wazuku' < SWAH m-jukuu - wa-jukuu 'grandchild'
   M'zungu 'European' - Wa'zungu < SWAH m-zungu - wa-zungu 'European'

72 a'ja'ma is essentially a vocative form, used to address a group of people: 'ya a'ja'ma. The use of a'nas is in this context incorrect: *'ya a'nas.

73 May also appear as nyere'ka. nyerekuk'a 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 / wa‘ze‘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 / aju‘siya
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’ - sokol‘in / 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'llam 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.) 
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.) 
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- receive 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 'asrâbu 'de 'kul
COLL drink-INF DEF all
'all the drinking'

(99.) 'Ita 'masa 'nas 'dikin.
PRON 2SING rub-Ø COLL oil
'It(a) 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 muran'gwa, 'tunda 'sim-'sim, 'tunda
PRON 1PL sell-Ø soap sell-Ø bean-PL sell-Ø sesame sell-Ø
'tfulu, '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'bi'ha '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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PRESUPP</th>
<th>NON-PRESUPP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>definite</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-SPEC</td>
<td>bare noun (Ø)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DEF</th>
<th>INDEF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>definite article</td>
<td>indefinite article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-REF</td>
<td>bare noun (Ø)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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. 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.

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.
'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".
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. 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-0 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 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.'

---

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).
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* 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 'wed'e 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 'lo
  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 enter-O 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

  'ab'ni(u) 'jamb 'na "nu 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 there, it was built next to us there. Thus he was going there.'
In general, the indefinite article \(^7\) \(^6\) 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.).

\[(117.) \text{I’tom ‘wonus ‘fogo a’jol} \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{PRON 2PL} & \text{talk-Ø} & \text{about} & \text{person} \\
\text{lo’go} & \text{‘owo} & \text{‘fi} & \text{‘jamb} & \text{‘itokum} & \text{‘in.} \\
\text{while PRON 3SING EXIS beside PRON 2PL here} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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:

\[(118.) \text{‘Kan ‘ina ‘waza gu’nïya ‘gwanda ‘tena ‘de.} \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{ANT PRON 1PL sell-Ø bag(s) cassava PRON POSS 1PL DEF} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘We sold our cassava-bags.’

* marking the second part in a genitive construction:

\[(119.) \text{ku’ra tu ‘ragi ‘de} \]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{leg(s) GEN man DEF} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘the legs of the man’

* marking the head noun of a relative clause:

\[(120.) \text{A’ nas al(i) gi- ‘rakab ‘de, gi- ‘rakab ‘saki.} \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{people REL PROG- cook DEF PROG- cook for free} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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

\(^7\) ‘wai may also be used as a kind of emphaser, 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.

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{Fi Za’ire ‘de, ‘bele ‘nade ‘bele ‘wai ma’tata.} \\
\text{in Zaire DEF country DEM DIS country EMPH strange} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Zaire, that country is one strange country.’

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{‘Ana ‘gum, ‘rusu bi’niya ‘de ‘kof ‘wai.} \\
\text{PRON 1SING get up-Ø throw-Ø girl DEF slap EMPH strange} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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, 'yom '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.'
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*

In (128.), *'do'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.):

(128.) *Ya'la 'dol'de 'amsuku 'sika (...). Nyere'ku ta *aw'lan* (...) children DEM PROX PL take-O road(s) child GEN first

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 (...)"

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 'amangu 'gwanda 'tena fi *'samba*. PRON 1PL come-O remove-O cassava PRON POSS 1PL from 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.

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.) 'Fama 'de, 'mana to je hafla kebir. 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-O 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.):

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

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

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'(u) aguru's(u) 'uw. Sesame DEF FUT- need-PASS nibble-PASS PRON 3SING 'The sesame will be needed to be nibbled.'
The noun phrase

(135.) ‘Ya ’jó wele’du ya’la ’de ’in, (...)
CONJ come-PASS-Ø bear-PASS-Ø child-PL.DEF 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 ’tundá tolo’bun,
PRON 1SING return-Ø begin-Ø work GEN salesman GEN sell-INF (red) millet
‘tundá ga’ya, ’tundá ’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
’dé, 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 ’ta.
EXIS wealth REL PRON POSS 1SING
'There is wealth which is mine.'

(140.) Fi Za’ire ’na ’kan ’kidima al ’no gu- ’so,...
in NPROP there ANT work REL PRON 1PL PROG- do
’ino gu- ’tundá 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'tiya.
go-PASS-0 beat-PASS-0 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-0 sit-0
fi 'ra' 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PROX</th>
<th>DIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SING</td>
<td>(mu)we'de (ATTR) / (u)wede (PRED)</td>
<td>'na'de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>'dol'de</td>
<td>'na'de, 'na 'dol'de</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Demonstratives in Nubi

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 'alim.
PRON 1SING learn-0 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-0 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

79 In two instances uttered by the same speaker, u'wede occurred attributively: mistake u'wede 'this mistake' and min 'youn 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-0 from it DEM PROX
'Let me remove this from it.'

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

min 'youn we'de
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 debi de.  
DEM DIS die-Ø EMPH  
'That one died early.'

(152.) Wu jay 'tou'mon 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 do'l de  
country(ics) 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 emphaser (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 emphaser '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 dole'de 'these things'  
ak'wana na'de'de 'those friends'

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

(156.) 'Na'de'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 emphaser '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  
jib(u) akili ma la'siya 'de 'mara' wai  
bring-PASS-Ø food for afternoon DEM PROX at once  
ma fi 'lel we'de'de.  
for night DEM PROX  
(...) a'nas gu- rwa fi 'ansuk(u) akili  
people PROG-go in take-GER food  
ma fi 'lel we'de'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.
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.

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.

All Nubi demonstratives81 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.

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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-PL like DEM PROX PL
'in things like these'

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

(168.) (...) ke'd(e) 'umon na'že li'jo motoka 'de
SUBJ DEM DIS PL push-∅ 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-0 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.) 'lt(a) 'ain du'nak gi- tala fi 'ras jua 'wai, (...)
PRON 2SING see-∅ smoke PROG- leave in head house INDEF

'lt(a) 'ain du'nak gi- tala fi 'rasu jua 'de.
PRON 2SING see-∅ smoke PROG- leave in head house 'de.

'lt(a) 'gal: "ma!" ke'd(e) 'no 'rua fi 'be 'na'de.
PRON 2SING say-∅ no SUBJ PRON 3SING go-∅ 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.) (...)

\[ \text{wu 'ita 'ya gi- 'ja ma la'kata bu'kuru,} \]

PRON 2SING FOC PROG- come with wood incense

\[ \text{wu 'ita 'ya gi- 'gata 'na. 'yala, 'lata du'kan we'de,} \]

PRON 2SING FOC PROG- cut there well wood smoke DEM PROX

\[ \text{'ya 'lata du'kan 'de gi- 'faga-fa'ga 'na, (…)} \]

CONJ wood smoke DEF PROG- split-REDUP-PASS there

\[ \text{'}(…) it is you who is coming with aromatic wood, it is you who is cutting it there, well, the/this aromatic wood. Thus the aromatic wood is cut into small splinters there, (…).'} \]

(172.)

\[ \text{Wu ta ti'nen 'de ka'man fu 'ras ta ke'ni} \]

and GEN NUM DEF also in head GEN co-wife

\[ \text{ma nyere'ka ta 'ragi 'to.} \]

with child-PL GEN husband PRON POSS 3 SING

\[ \text{Ka'man 'ragi 'nade'de,} \]

also husband DEM DIS

\[ \text{'}And the second [story] is also on a co-wife and the children of her husband. Also the husband, (…).'} \]

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. 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.)

\[ \text{'Sente gi- ku'bu ba'kan 'de 'te te ben'dera.} \]

money PROG- throw-PASS place DEM PROX under GEN flag

\[ \text{'Mirsidi 'ya gi- 'sulu 'sente we'de.} \]

PRON POSS 3 SING PROG- take money DEM PROX PRON POSS 3 SING PROG- take

\[ \text{'}Uo gi- 'sul to.} \]

PRON POSS 3 SING PROG- put in pocket

\[ \text{'}Money is thrown here under the flag. It is the spiritual guide who takes the/this money. He takes his [share]. He puts it in [his] pocket.'} \]

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.

(174.)

\[ \text{Fi 'ja 'toumon, 'umon 'ja in come-GER PRON POSS 3 PL PRON 3 PL come-O} \]

\[ \text{ma 'nas 'Salim 'Bey - 'wede 'ya 'kan ke'bir 'toumon (…).} \]

with COLL Salim Bey DEM PROX FOC ANT leader PRON POSS 3 SING

\[ \text{'}In their coming, they came with Salim Bey and his men - he was their leader (…).'} \]

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'.

\[ \text{A'nas 'g(i)- akulu 'diet to ba'rau-ba'rau.} \]

\[ \text{'Wedde 'jibu people PROG- eat diet GEN difference-REDUP DEM PROX bring-O} \]

\[ \text{ko'rofo. 'Na'de 'jibu maran'ga. 'Na'de 'jibu su'nu?} \]

\[ \text{leave(s) DEM DIS bring bean(s) DEM DIS bring-O what?} \]

\[ \text{'}The people were eating different diets. This one brought leaves. That one/the other one brought beans. What did that one/the other one bring?'} \]
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'bì
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-0 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 'nounon 'kweis.
PRON 1PL PROG- live with + PRON 3PL good-ADV
Ka'man 'nounon 'aju 'badu 'mena ma 'namna 'kweis
also PRON 3PL like-0 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 'beautiful' - asa'sin
je'did 'new' - jedi'din
The noun phrase

- 'ya:

(181.) ajusi 'old' - ajusi'ya

- 'ya:

(182.) filan 'certain' - firi

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

(183.) ke'bir 'big' - kuba'rin
sakar 'small' - duga'gin

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

(184.) sakar 'small' - saka'rin / du'ga / duga'ga / duga'gin
mis'kin 'poor' - miski' nin / msa'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.) au'mas 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'fol ke'bir.
PRON 1SING EMPH EXIS person old
'I am an old man.'
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(189.) 'Mana 'to, a'nas ab ku'har, 'umon 'shinda.
meaning PRON POSS 3SING people REL old-PL PRON 3PL win-Ø
'It's 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-PL-REL 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'wir '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'
The noun phrase

fu'rai '(be) happy'
a'yam '(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'.

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'ma a'jol ta 'sana taman'ashar.
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 min 'uo 'ja 'kelem (...).
it is better SUBJ PRON 3SING die-0 there than PRON 3 SING come-0 say-0
'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.
The noun phrase

(209.) (...) Kan fi 'safa ta 'akili, 'ana 'g(i)- akulu 'akili
if in side GEN food PRON 1SING PROG- cat 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 'akülu.
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-PL REL 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 wâljid (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 \( \text{ta} \): \text{POSSESSEE \( \text{ta} \) POSSESSOR}, e.g. 'kalwa \( \text{ta} \) sheik Musa' 'the religious school of Sheikh Musa'. Another possibility is to juxtapose possessee and possessor, e.g. ba' \( \text{kan be \( \text{redu} \) place used for bathing', 'bathroom'. Both constructions will be discussed below. Several sequences of possessive constructions may occur, as illustrated in (219.):

(219.) \text{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.) \text{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.) (... \text{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 \( \text{ta} \) N constructions:** The factor that distinguishes noun-noun constructions and \( \text{ta} \)-marked constructions is not always apparent. In general, it can be said that the \( \text{ta} \)-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.), 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'

(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 'mawu 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 \( \text{ta} \), as shown in (225.):

---

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'.
The noun phrase

(225.) *ku’baya ta ‘plastic cup made of plastic’, ‘plastic cup’

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 ajal’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’di with the genitive marker and an anaphorically used demonstrative.

(230.) (...) *itokum PRON 2PL *ja ma ma *lim PRON POSS 2PL *takum.

ma ‘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’di, (...).

SUBJ PRON 2PL 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 *ku’tu *fogo *bagara.

pen cow(s) DEF FOC place REL PRON 2SING put-PASS in it cow(s)

Kan *bagara ‘i m’ilan ‘eta, if cow(s) EXIS many for + PRON 2SING

‘it(a) ‘adul ba’kan je ‘de, PRON 2SING prepare-Ø place like DEM PROX

*i’ta *kut(u) ‘munon fi’jo je’riba, ‘jeriba ‘at *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.).
An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

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 3 SING
'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
PRON 3 SING refuse-0 get up-0 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'haya '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'
mara' ena 'mirror for the eyes' > 'glasses'
moyo 'ena 'water in the eye' > 'tear'
mukosa 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 'soba 'dawn of the morning' > 'early morning'
'gahar 'dum 'cave of blood' > 'gum'
'labil la'ta 'rope on the floor' > 'snake'
'mar'ha < 'marya ba'ba 'wife of the father' > 'stepmother'
'akir 'zaman 'end of the times' > 'end of the world'^{89}

^{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 r'agi 'woman of a man', 'married wife' > 'housewife'
'jua gesi 'hut with grass-thatched roof' > 'grass-thatched hut'
'jua bati 'house with iron roof'
a'yen shar 'disease of the month' > 'menstruation'
ji'an be 'hunger for home' > 'homesickness' (N), 'homesick' (ADJ)
sa'ba di'wan 'tomorrow in jail' > 'someone who is always in jail'

Another criterion which is applicable for Nubi is that certain formerly inalienable 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' <<
u'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 ka'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.) \( \text{ba'kan 'num 'taki} \)  
place sleep-GER PRON POSS 2SING  
'your bedroom'

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

(242.) \( \text{'jua 'sokol 'gaba 'do'l'de} \)  
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.) \( \text{ta'biya 'tena ta 'Nubi} \)  
custom(s) PRON POSS IPL GEN NPROP  
'our customs of the Nubi'

(244.) \( \text{fi 'dar ta ba'ba 'tai} \)  
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.) \( \text{ya'la to u'ziri al 'ase 'fi} \)  
child-PL GEN minister REL now EXIS  
'the children of the minister who is now here/in charge'

(246.) \( \text{'kidima 'tai ta 'be 'in} \)  
work PRON POSS 1SING GEN house here  
'al 'kila 'youn '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 \( \text{wa'kati 'period, time'} \), and not \( \text{sha'ria 'law'} \), since 'that law of time' is meaningless.

(247.) \( \text{sha'ria ta wa'kati 'na'de} \)  
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'? \( \text{'namma ta 'ilim al 'uo 'fi 'mo} \)  
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 'an'as '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 'an'as, and most likely 'na’de as well.

(248.) 'an’as 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 daughter 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 emphaser je’dé.

(251.) 'jina ku’baya je’dé 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 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.) 'iya 'wai 'sia
fairy tale INDEF 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 du'ga'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 du'ga'gin 'de
child-PL light(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.)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi’lan</td>
<td>'many', 'a lot of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke’tir</td>
<td>'many', 'a lot of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sia</td>
<td>'few', 'some'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kulu</td>
<td>'all of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kila</td>
<td>'every'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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-0 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.)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wai</td>
<td>'one'</td>
<td>i'dashar</td>
<td>'eleven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti'nin</td>
<td>ti'nen</td>
<td>t'nashar</td>
<td>'twelve'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'lata</td>
<td>'three'</td>
<td>tala'tashar</td>
<td>'thirteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'arba'</td>
<td>'arba</td>
<td>arba'tashar</td>
<td>'fourteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kamsa'</td>
<td>'five'</td>
<td>kam(is)tashar</td>
<td>'fifteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sita'</td>
<td>'six'</td>
<td>si'tashar</td>
<td>'sixteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'saba'</td>
<td>'seven'</td>
<td>saba'tashar</td>
<td>'seventeen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'maniya</td>
<td>'eight'</td>
<td>taman'tashar</td>
<td>'eighteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tisa'</td>
<td>'nine'</td>
<td>tisa'tashar</td>
<td>'nineteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tashara'</td>
<td>'ten'</td>
<td>ishi'rin</td>
<td>'twenty'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'waid'</td>
<td>i'shi'rin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti'nin w(u)</td>
<td>i'shi'rin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'lata w(u)</td>
<td>i'shi'rin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'arba w(u)</td>
<td>i'shi'rin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kamsa w(u)</td>
<td>i'shi'rin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sita w(u)</td>
<td>i'shi'rin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'saba w(u)</td>
<td>i'shi'rin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'maniya w(u)</td>
<td>i'shi'rin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tisa w(u)</td>
<td>i'shi'rin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hundreds and tens may as well be linked by u, wu or wa, as in (272.):

(272.)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mia</td>
<td>'hundred'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi'ten</td>
<td>'two hundred'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arba</td>
<td>'hundred and twenty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mia</td>
<td>'four hundred'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>elf</td>
<td>'one thousand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elf ti'nin</td>
<td>'two thousand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elf ta'lata</td>
<td>'three thousand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elf 'arba'</td>
<td>'four thousand five hundred and ninety six'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nubi numeral follows the noun it modifies. 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.)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku'haya ti'nin</td>
<td>'two cups'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yal ba'na ta'lata</td>
<td>'three girls'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88 'wai 'one' also occurs as an adverb, meaning 'together', or in adverbial phrases, such as 'mara 'wai 'at once', 'all of a sudden'.

99 One elder speaker from the North placed 'wai 'one' from Arabic wâhid) 'one' in front of its head noun: 'wai a'zol | 'one person' |

99 One elder speaker from the North placed 'wai 'one' in front of its head noun: 'wai a'zol | 'one person' | 'wakhid | '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.) \( ta\ 'wai \), \( ta\ 'wai \) 'first'
\( ta\ 't\'nin \) 'second'
\( ta\ 't\'lata \) '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 'mio
'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

(279.) '\( shar\ ta\ 'wai \) 'the first month', 'January'
'\( shar\ ta\ 't\'nin \) 'the second month', 'February'
'\( shar\ ta\ 't\'lata \) '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 Rama\'dan'
\( ta\'rik \) '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\'ashar
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'tember, 'Sep'tember, Oc'tober, Oc'tober, Nov'ember, Nov'ember, De'cember, 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 'let '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 PRON 1SING 'jowzu 'Hawa marry-Ø NPROP in
     fi 'sara ta 'saha, ta'trik tala'tashar fi 'youm sehi,
     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 eighty 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 thing-PL.PRON POSS 1SING mi'lan al 'an(a) al 'aj.'u.
'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.).
The noun phrase (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  
'(...) 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 'ni '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  
'ba'ba  
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  
PRON 3PL come-GER GEN Nubi-PL  
al 'umon je 'ini me Ingl'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 (…).'
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(294.) *ka'tam 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-womu's(u) uo*
thing-PL REL 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 'ma 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.):

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
'unon '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.'
The noun phrase

(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.

(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 'rokabu.
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: (...)'
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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
ingthing REL GEN justice
'something which takes part in justice'

(313.) K'am'an '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- with + PRON 3PL CONJ then
'jâ amru'g(u) 'umon fi'lel.
come-PASS-0 remove-PASS-0 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-0
'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 ha'kan 'de, aja'ma te min 'na
REL PRON 3PL stay place DEF people GEN from there
gi- 'jibu 'noumon 'nemvu.
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-adjjectives 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 ‘do’de
boy-PL other-PLDEM PROX PL
‘these other boys’

(328.) kala’ma ta’nin
thing-PL other-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’dë
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 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 minû? / ḥagg yâtû? ‘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. Inalienable possessive constructions refer to terminable possession, which applies to owner-possessed relations, class, time, location, and also material. Inalienable possessive constructions are associated with terminable 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. 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. 'lab(u) 'problem', 'num(i) '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. 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\textsuperscript{106}. Although Owens does not completely ignore the variable occurrence of \textit{-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 \textit{-u}\textsuperscript{107}.

Regarding this variation, it has been suggested (Versteegh 1984) that \textit{-u} should be regarded as a marker of transitivity, rather than as a verbal marker. The correlation between the occurrence of \textit{-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 spoil'
   'woduru 'loose s.th.' >> 'wodur 'be lost'
   etc.\textsuperscript{108}

I will now investigate whether the occurrence of \textit{-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\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{107}Tosco (1995: 455, n. 1) mentions that verb final -u is often deleted, especially before a vowel or glide.

\textsuperscript{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.', 'furu 'pass by', 'pass s.th.', 'geru 'change', 'change s.th.', 'harogu 'burn', 'burn s.th.', 'hesegu 'be sticky', 'stick s.th.', 'igenu 'get ripe', 'pick s.th.', 'rudu 'agree', 'accept s.th.', 'setetu 'be scattered', 'scatter s.th.', 'sidi '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', 'fekku 'think s.th.', 'lebis 'get dressed', 'dress s.o.', 'gisir 'loose skin', 'peel s.th.', 'fatara 'be tired', 'tire s.o.', 'sabu 'be satisfied', 'satisfy s.o.', 'ta'ben '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.

\textsuperscript{109}Hopper & Thompson (1980: 252) present the following parameters:

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
A. PARTICIPANTS & HIGH & LOW \\
\hline
B. KINESIS & action & non-action \\
\hline
C. ASPECT & telic & atelic \\
\hline
D. PUNCTUALITY & punctual & non-punctual \\
\hline
E. VOLITIONAILITY & volitional & non-volitional \\
\hline
F. AFFIRMATION & affirmative & negative \\
\hline
G. MODE & realsis & irrealis \\
\hline
H. AGENCY & A high in potency & A low in potency \\
\hline
I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O & O totally affected & O not affected \\
\hline
J. INDIVIDUATION OF O & O highly individuated & O non-individuated. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

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 'metes fu 'lufra 'de.
PRON 3SING slip-O in hole DEF
'He slipped into the hole.'

(334.) 'Ita 'ma 'aju 'sokol 'taki 'de ke'de 'karab.
PRON 2SING NEG want-O thing PRON POSS 2SING DEF be spoilt-O
'Subject be spoilt-O
'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDIVIDUATED</th>
<th>NON-INDIVIDUATED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proper</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human, animate</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concrete</td>
<td>abstract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>count</td>
<td>mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referential, definite</td>
<td>non-referential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'
'kasul sa'na 'do the dishes'
'selim 'badu 'greet each other'
'kasur la'kata 'chop wood'
'akul ka'sara 'eat at a loss', 'eat for free'
common, inanimate, mass, non-referential
common, inanimate, mass, non-referential
common, plural, non-referential
common, inanimate, mass, non-referential
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 sec-Ø COMPL. child PRON POSS 1SING
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-0 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,
The verb phrase

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 verbalss derived from noun bases or causative verbalss 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 (O) 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 (O 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'
   'ju'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'
   'acha 'refuse', 'deny'
   'aimu 'understand', 'feel', 'mean'
   'kelemu 'mean'
   'sulu 'consider'
   'fahamu 'understand'
   'feker 'think'
   'aruju 'know'
   'alimu 'be used to'
   'aminu 'believe', 'trust'
   'tumadini/toge'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'  
'fi EXIS
'fadhul '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'
e tc.

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 'fa.
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'hasa
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.'

*10 '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.
The verb phrase

* 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-0 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 sultan, '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-O 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-O
'ita 'g(i)- aba na a'has '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- 'ji 'sia.
child if PRON 2SING PROG- teach need-O 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.'
The verb phrase

(368.) nyere'ku (...) ke'd(c) uo 'alim ta'biya ta 'gai
child SUBJ PRON3SING learn-Ø habit GEN stay-GER
ma a'nas kweis, ke'd(c) uo 'g(i)- aruf 'selem difa'na (...) COM people well SUBJ PRON3SING 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, PRON2PL FUT-return
'itokum 'rua 'gai fi 'be 'takum PRON2PL go-Ø stay-Ø in house PRON POSS2PL
'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 PRON2SING 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 PRON3SING 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.
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(372.) 'Ana, fi wa'kati al 'kan 'ana 'fi gi- 'raha,
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
go 'hukum(u) 'tia fi 'batna 'be 'takum.
PROG- have authority over PRON 2SING on inside house PRON POSS 2PL
'Gi- 'ben je 'u0 '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
'I 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'lu?
PRON 1PL just PROG- wander around place REL what?
'Ana bi- 'lo'go 'fogo 'be.
PRON 1SING FUT- look 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 
'tie bu- 'endi 'kutu 'nouo 'moyo. 
PRON 2SING FUT- have put-0 for + PRON 3SING water 
"If his time is still [continuing], you will have to put water for him."

(380.) Ma'isha 'de 'ya ka 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- 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 'bi- 'a(j)(u) 'ainu ma'na '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 m'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. 'Lo '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-nitu. 'Bes *gi-* 'ben EMPH dance PROG- jump-REDUP-PASS EMPH PROG- seem ka'lam tu tu'nii 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* 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(i) 'nana, thing REL before ANT send-PASS-Ø to + PRON 1SING 'ana 'so ka'ta. PRON 1SING do-Ø COMPL

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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 verb phrase

"The thing which was sent to me before, I have done [it]."

(388.)

'tita' ajja ile
PRON 2SING return-O repair-O place DEF

ja ba'kan al 'kan auff'a ma.
like place REL ANT dig-PASS-O 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 Riy'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-O 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-O 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-O 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-O to + PRON 1PL

'u o 'kan ro so lno su'mu?
PRON 3SING ANT go-O do-O with+ PRON 3SING what?

*The money of our father, which was given to us, what could he have done 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.):
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(395.) 'Sokol ab 'kan 'it(a) 'aju, 'bes 'kelem 'nana.
thing REL ANT PRON 2SING want-0 just tell-IMPER to + PRON 1SING
'Anything that you would like, just tell me.'

(396.) A'sa, 'kan 'in(a) 'aba 'na.
now ANT PRON 1PL refuse-0 NEG
'Now, we would not refuse/ we cannot refuse.'

I found only a few instances of 'kan, marking modality, being used with non-static verbs, as illustrated in (394.) and (397.):

(397.) A'ta, 'kan 'ino 'so sa'fari. 'In(a) 'aju 'ro
no ANT PRON 1PL do-0 trip PRON 1PL want-0 go-0
'mou(o) 'sawa. 'Ja 'kun 'bakti ba'tali.
with + PRON 3SING together come-0 be-0 luck bad
'Uo 'jo 'mutu 'gafian.
PRON 3SING come-0 die-0 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 'sélis(i) a'nas 'de, 'uw(o) 'amrug(u),
GEN preach-INF people DEF PRON 3SING take off-0
'uo 'kutu 'na.
PRON 3SING put-0 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-0 in NPROP DEM DIS
je 'ragi 'uai al 'kan 'jow(jù) 'ana ta
like husband PRON POSS 1SING REL ANT marry-0 PRON 1SING GEN
aw'ani 'umon 'kan gu- 'so 'kidima ta aja'na 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.):
The verb phrase

(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- 'kana 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
'adl 'ma 'de, 'yal(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) 'anufu 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'l'an,
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 (‘b(i)-) 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).
'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
u o ja ma 'sumaga. (...).
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
'gurwa V bi-V: In my recordings I found one instance of 'gurwa V followed by the marker bi-+
food PRON POSS 3SING DEF FOC PROG- take-PASS

'Well, I was going in the car. It was setting off. I was going to be left in that place.'

gi- 'rua gi-V marking gradualness: Contrary to 'gurwa V, 'gurwa gi-V may refer to a present,
gu-su'lu. PROG- take-PASS
as well as to a future time. More important than the temporal reference is the indication of the gradual

'someone who is going to convert newly to the religion of Islam, if you do not bring [your] testimony,
age-rua gi-V marking gradualness: Contrary to 'gurwa V, 'gurwa gi-V may refer to a present,
gum. get off
your Islam is not sufficient (...).'

'real time. More important than the temporal reference is the indication of the gradual
gi- 'rua gi-V marking gradualness: Contrary to 'gurwa V, 'gurwa gi-V may refer to a present,

What is the [Nubi] language doing gradually? It is disappearing altogether. I am talking the Luganda

'What is the [Nubi] language doing gradually? It is disappearing altogether. I am talking the Luganda
language in it, (...).'

bi- 'rua V marking an uncertain future: bi- 'rua V or 'burwa V refers to a very vague,

Those houses from among those which they left, are all being burnt down one by one.'

remote, uncertain future, as illustrated in (415.) and (416.):

bi- 'rua V marking an uncertain future: bi- 'rua V or 'burwa V refers to a very vague,

'(...) if tomorrow (...) you will become ill, who is it who will get up, [who] will do [it] instead of you

(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 (...).'

(413.) Ru'tan language PROG- go FUT- do what? PROG- disappear at once
'Ana gu- 'wonus(u) ru'tan Mu'ganda togo, (...).
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.'

(415.) (...)

'(...) if tomorrow PRON 2SING become-Ø ill who FOC
bi- 'jo 'gum, 'bu- rwa 'so 'badul 'ita 'na?
FUT- 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?'
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(416.) 'Rabana 'bu- rw(a) 'asad(u) 'ita fi 'rizigi
God FUT- go question-∅ 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 'katül 'lam 'gaba.
CONJ husband PRON POSS 3SING come-∅ go-∅ 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-∅ cut-PASS-∅ 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-0 begin-0 return-REDUP-0
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-∅ 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-∅ SUBJ + PRON 2SING PROG- come go-∅ 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-∅
je 'sensi ka'la ge'ri bi- 'ja 'tala.
like sun COMPL nearly FUT- come come out-∅

'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- jib(u) umon
after leave PROG- bring-PASS PRON 3PL
'ladi 'namuna 'toumon 'kan 'jo 'wegif.
until/unless way PRON POSS 3PL ANT come-0 stop-0
'

"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-0 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-0 a lot when PRON 2PL untie-0
'

"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-0 SUBJ + PRON 2SING PROG- stay here
'

"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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>time</th>
<th>speakers' certainty</th>
<th>strong</th>
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<th></th>
<th>less strong</th>
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<tr>
<td>immediate future</td>
<td>'gurwa V</td>
<td></td>
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<td>indefinite future</td>
<td>*bi- V</td>
<td></td>
<td>*gi- 'ja V</td>
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<tr>
<td>remote future</td>
<td>*bi- 'ja V</td>
<td></td>
<td>*burwa V</td>
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*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 'ns 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 PROG- take NUM-REDUP
'ladi al 'ase'de 'fadulu.
like place 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 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 'nou?
   FOC FUT- stay PROG- do + 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) b'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'lasì. 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 'kuhul, 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 'amsuku 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
   'duku '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'lè fi 'wakti al ka'las 'kan 'ana lo'go 'kazi
   EXIS boy in time REL COMPL ANT PRON 1SING find-Ø work
   'mam ti'nin, (...).
   time two
   'There was a boy/son at the time that I had found two jobs, (...).'
With *gi*-marked verbs, and stative verbs, *ka’las* emphasizes the current relevance of states or processes\(^{113}\), as illustrated in (440.) and (441.).

(440.) \(\text{'Namn(a) al ka'las 'unv(o) 'aruf abu'su 'nouo} \)
\(\text{way REL COMPL PRON 3SING know-Ø forbid-PASS-Ø for + PRON 3SING} \)
\(\text{bab ta 'saba 'de, (…).} \)
\(\text{door GEN seven DEF} \)
\(\text{The way he now knows that the seventh door is forbidden for him, (…)’} \)

(441.) \(\text{'Ita 'dakal fi 'jua 'bes ma bi'ses} \)
\(\text{PRON 2SING enter-Ø in house just with slowness} \)
\(\text{ja 'num ka'la gi- 'seregu ba'na 'de.} \)
\(\text{as sleep-GER COMPL PROG- steal girl-PL DEF} \)
\(\text{’You entered the house just slowly as the sleep was taking the girls.’} \)

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.) \(\text{'Rabana 'jib 'nouo b'i nadum} \)
\(\text{God bring-Ø to + PRON 3SING human being} \)
\(\text{al ka'las 'b(i) awun(u) 'uo.} \)
\(\text{REL COMPL FUT- help PRON 3SING} \)
\(\text{‘God brought him a human being who will help him eventually.’} \)

In combination with the negative marker *ka’las* means 'not anymore', 'no longer', as in (443.).

(443.) \(\text{ Ka’las ‘tokum ‘selim ‘badu ‘ma.} \)
\(\text{COMPL PRON 2PL greet-Ø RECIP NEG} \)
\(\text{’You(PL) do not anymore greet each other.’} \)

*ka’las* in combination with *kan ‘if* and *ba’kan/kan ‘when* can be interpreted as 'after', 'once'.

(444.) \(\text{ Kan ka’las ma’lim ‘adibu nyere’ku ‘de fi ma’kosa} \)
\(\text{when COMPL teacher punish-Ø child DEF in mistake(s)} \)
\(\text{al ‘uo ‘so, ‘uo ‘dugu nyere’ku ‘de,} \)
\(\text{REL PRON 3SING do-Ø PRON 3SING beat-Ø child DEF} \)
\(\text{nyere’ku gi- ‘jere ‘neta.} \)
\(\text{child PROG- run to + PRON 2SING} \)
\(\text{‘When the teacher has already punished the child/ after the teacher has punished the child for the} \)
\(\text{mistakes which he made, [if] he has (already) beaten the child/ after he has beaten the child, the child} \)
\(\text{runs to you.’} \)

(445.) \(\text{ Kan ka’las ‘uo za’lan ‘mena, ma’rai ta ‘kulu-’kulu.} \)
\(\text{if COMPL PRON 3SING annoyed with + PRON 1PL at once GEN ever-REDUP} \)
\(\text{‘Once he is annoyed with us, at once, it is forever.’} \)

Completion is also expressed by the verb *'kalasu ‘finish* followed by the verb expressing the action that is finished, as illustrated in (446.).

(446.) \(\text{ ‘Ina ‘ma gi- ‘kalas ‘karab ka’lam ‘tena te ‘Nubi.} \)
\(\text{PRON 1PL NEG PROG- finish spoil-Ø matter PRON POSS 1PL GEN Nubi} \)
\(\text{‘We do not stop spoiling matter of us, of the Nubi.’} \)

---

\(^{113}\) An idiomatic expression in Nubi to announce that one is leaving is:

\(\text{'ana ka’la ‘gu- rwa.} \)
\(\text{PRON 1SING COMPL PROG- go} \)
\(\text{‘I am already going.’} \)
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, 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
'tumon '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  'lo
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.'

114 In a simple clause 'kala expresses that one is astonished or shocked. In a complement clause, the idea is
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(451.) 'Ya a'buba 'de, 'youm ta'lata
CONJ grandmother DEF day NUM
lis(a) 'uo 'go(-) asuru nyere'ku 'de.
still PRON 3SING PROG- massage child DEF
'Thus the grandmother, [after] three days, she was still massaging the child.'

'lis(a) 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.'

'lis(a) may occur with all verbal core markers. 'lis(a) 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 marriagecome-Ø
'I was still thinking of going to senior 4, when marriage came.'

'lis(a) + 'gurwa V is used in contexts where the speaker indicates that the agent is first going to conduct the action marked by 'lis(a), 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-PLPRON 1SING
'Thank you, but still first I am going to ask my sisters (...).'

The meaning of 'lis(a) in combination with 'gurwa V is similar to 'lis(a) 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 'lis(a) b(i)- aj(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 'lis(a) can mark an infinitive form, as illustrated in (456.):

(456.) 'Asc, 'ragi ka'la 'jib ka'lam al 'gow,
now man COMPL bring-Ø matter REL tough
te 'lis(a) 'āsirābu 'chai.
GEN still drink-INF tea
'Now, the man has brought a tough matter, of still drinking tea.'

'lis(a) 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) 'āinu jah'ilva je 'na'de 'ma.
still PRON 1SING see-Ø state of ignorancelike 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'.
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 'youn 'wai je 'de, (...) but still NEG- EXIS day NUM like DEM PROX

'But there has not yet been one day like this, (...)'

When 'kabra 'before' precedes 'lisa 'ma, the meaning of 'kabra prevails and both meanings merge to 'before', as in (460.):

(460.) 'Kabra 'lisa 'tim 'deka 'kansa '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- 'tokum !! 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.) 'Turiju 'wai 'lad(i) 'ita 'kalas,
send away-IMP NUM until PRON 2SING finish-Ø
'tit(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!
   NPROP come out-IMPER EMPH
   '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-0 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 '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 ke'de 'ainu a'nas 'taki 'seme.
   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.
An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

(479.) 'Ana 'feker 'k(e) an bu- la'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 han'gan kulu gi- kumu's(u)
must-PASS-Ø SUBJ ANT sweat all PROG- sweep-PASS
'nacta 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. 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'. 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' > ja 'there is coming'
so 'do' > so 'be done'
we'ri 'show' > we'ri 'be shown'
li'go 'find' > li'go 'be met'

Approximately one eighth of the Nubi verbs 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.
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.
The verb phrase

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.) (...), ar'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.) 'Arjja 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 clauses118, 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 position119, 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.'

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, gi(t)- 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.'

\(^{120}\) 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'abidu 'begin s.th.'</td>
<td>'abidu 'begin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ainu 'sec s.th.'</td>
<td>'ain fi 'see into'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'alogu 'hasten s.o.'</td>
<td>'alogu 'hurry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aminu 'trust s.o.', 'believe s.th.'</td>
<td>'amin ma 'believe in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'amula 'fill s.th.'</td>
<td>'amula 'be full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'arija 'send back s.th.'</td>
<td>'arija 'return'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ataku 'ridicule s.o.'</td>
<td>'ataku ma 'laugh with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'badulu 'change s.th.'</td>
<td>'badulu 'change'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'beredu 'wash s.o.'</td>
<td>'beredu 'take a bath'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bilu 'wet s.th.', 'moisten s.th.'</td>
<td>'bil 'get wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dakalu 'enter s.th.'</td>
<td>'dakal fi 'enter into'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'egifu 'stop s.th.'</td>
<td>'egif 'stop', 'stand up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'faga 'split s.th.'</td>
<td>'faga 'split'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fata 'open s.th.'</td>
<td>'fata 'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fata ran 'tire s.o.', 'exhaust s.o.'</td>
<td>'fata ran 'be tired', 'become tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ferteku 'separate s.th.'</td>
<td>'ferteku 'be separated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'furu 'boil s.th.'</td>
<td>'furu 'boil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'futu 'pass s.th.'</td>
<td>'futu fi 'pass by'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gelebu 'defeat s.o.'</td>
<td>'gelebu 'be difficult'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gen 'inhabit'</td>
<td>'gen 'sit', 'remain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'geru 'change s.th.'</td>
<td>'geru 'change'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gesimu 'divide s.th.'</td>
<td>'gesim 'be divided'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gisir 'peel s.th.'</td>
<td>'gisir 'be loose skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'haragu 'burn s.th.'</td>
<td>'haragu 'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hukumu 'govern s.th.'</td>
<td>'hukum 'be an authority'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kabasu 'cheat s.o.'</td>
<td>'kabas 'play a game'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kalasu 'finish s.th.'</td>
<td>'kalas 'be finished'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kasuru 'break s.th.'</td>
<td>'kasur 'be broken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'karabu 'spoil s.th.'</td>
<td>'karab 'be spoiled'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kati 'cover s.th.', 'shut s.th.'</td>
<td>'kati 'be covered', 'be shut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kore 'mourn over s.th.'</td>
<td>'kore 'cry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kosa 'lack s.th.'</td>
<td>'kosa 'be lacking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kubu 'pour s.th.'</td>
<td>'kub 'flow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lebis 'dress s.o.', 'wear s.th.'</td>
<td>'lebis 'get dressed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lesegu 'stick s.th.'</td>
<td>'lesegu 'be sticky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'migitu 'pick s.th.'</td>
<td>'migitu 'ripen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mongsu 'reduce s.th.'</td>
<td>'mongsu 'decrease'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'raba 'raise s.o.'</td>
<td>'raba 'mature'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rada 'breast-feed s.o.'</td>
<td>'rada 'be breast-fed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rasulu 'send s.th.'</td>
<td>'rasul 'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rudu 'accept s.th.'</td>
<td>'rudu fi 'agree on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sabani 'satisfy s.o.'</td>
<td>'sabani 'be satisfied'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'setetu 'separate s.o.', 'scatter s.th.'</td>
<td>'setetu 'be separated', 'be scattered'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stenu 'await s.th.'</td>
<td>'stenu 'wait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ta'ban 'worry s.o.'</td>
<td>'ta'ban 'be worried', 'be overworked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'waja 'hurt s.o.'</td>
<td>'waja 'be hurt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wala 'light s.th.'</td>
<td>'wala 'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'was'kan 'make s.th. dirty'</td>
<td>'was'kan 'be dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'woduru 'lose s.th.'</td>
<td>'wodur 'be lost'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wonusu 'discuss'</td>
<td>'wonus fi 'talk about'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'zidu 'increase s.th.'</td>
<td>'zidu 'increase'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-'aruf '(be) known', 'be well known'
'kalagu 'create' > ma-'kalag '(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'(u) 'omon ma- 'setetu, (...).
but because EMPH leave-PASS-0 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
'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 kalas, 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 'ita 'ajin(u) 'ita, ka'lam 'taki 'kul
if PRON 2SING harp on-O 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 ‘, low tone is unmarked.

(505.) '\(\text{kuruju}\) work the soil' > '\(\text{kâruruju}\) working the soil'
  '\(\text{ataku}\) laugh' > '\(\text{\'atâk\'u}\) laughing'
  '\(\text{we\'r\'i}\) show' > '\(\text{we\'r\'i}\) showing'
  '\(\text{ni\'situ}\) forget' > '\(\text{ni\'situ}\) forgetting'
  '\(\text{ja\'ribu}\) try' > '\(\text{ja\'ribu}\) 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.) '\(\text{asrubu}\) drink' > '\(\text{a\'srubu}\) drinking'
  '\(\text{ata\'nu}\) grind' > '\(\text{a\'ta\'nu}\) grinding'
  '\(\text{kati}\) cover' > '\(\text{kati}\) covering'

The verb '\(\text{ni\'situ}\) 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.) '\(\text{ni\'situ}\) forget' > '\(\text{ni\'situ}\) forgetting'
  '\(\text{cha\'gua}\) choose' > '\(\text{cha\'gua}\) 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.) '\(\text{ja\'kar\'atu}\) & '\(\text{ja\'kar\(\prime\)atu}\) 'cry in shrill, high voice' > '\(\text{ja\'kar\(\prime\)atu}\) 'cry in shrill, high voice'

In the Nubi text material there are a few verbs where final -\(\text{u}\) is turned into -\(\alpha\) in the gerund form, besides the usual stress changes, as in (509.).

(509.) '\(\text{le\'segu}\) glue' > '\(\text{le\'seg\a\a}\) glueing', 'glue'
  '\(\text{a\'b\'uru}\) try', 'imitate' > '\(\text{a\'b\'uru}\) trying', 'imitating', 'imitation'
  '\(\text{kara\'bu}\) destroy' > '\(\text{ka\'ara\'bu}\) destroying', 'destruction'

Some verbs have both gerund forms, as in (510.).

(510.) '\(\text{se\'reg\a}\) steal' > '\(\text{se\'reg\a}\) stealing', 'robbery' & '\(\text{se\'regu}\) stealing', 'robbery'

\(^{121}\) 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:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{'\(\text{j\'ereba'b\'aga'}\) a cows' kraal'} & \geq & \text{'\(\text{j\'ereba ta b\'aga'}\) a kraal for cows'} \\
\text{'\(\text{m\'oy\'e\'e\'na'}\) tear(s)'} & \geq & \text{'\(\text{m\'oy\'e ta e\'ena'}\) water for the eyes'} \\
\text{'\(\text{k\'aruju}\) (INF) s\'amba'} & \geq & \text{'\(\text{k\'aruju}\) (GER) ta s\'amba} working the field' \\
\end{array}
\]

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' |
| 'artifu 'know' | > | ma'artifa / ma'rif 'knowledge' |
| 'alim 'learn' | > | 'alim 'knowledge', 'information' | & | a'lim 'learning' |
| 'alimu 'teach' | > | ta'lim 'training', 'teaching', 'instruction' | & | a'limu 'teaching' |
| 'amimu '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' |
| 'medifu 'clean' | > | na'dafa 'cleanliness' | & | ne'difu 'cleaning' |
| 'sada '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'hasa 'conversation' | & | wonusu 'talking' |
| 'wajiki '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'nu'su 'discuss-GER' gilib(u) 'be difficult-Ø' PRON 2PL
'Discussing is difficult for you.'

(512.) fi 'safa ta wo'nis 'at side GEN' wo'nu'su 'talking'
'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'reya '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 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 hiliu.
play-GER: game become-Ø nice
'The game became nice.'
The verb phrase

(b) 'Ina 'gen fi a'labu.
PRON 1PL stay-Ø in play-GER
'We continued playing.'

(514.) 'lebisi 'dress', 'get dressed'
(a) La'bas'a toumon de, (...) 'umon 'lebis(i) 'u'o.
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 ni'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 'izâbu 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'rijo wa na '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, (...).'"
Thirdly, transitive verbs whose object is explicitly present can either form a gerund, or an infinitive\textsuperscript{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 \textit{ta}, whereas the patient of an infinitive is not \textsuperscript{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.):

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(520.)] \begin{tabular}{ll}
A'bidu & ta \ 
ka'llam & au
\end{tabular} A'bidu ta 'sokol, 'yena (…).
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\small begin-GER & GEN problem or 
\small begin-GER & GEN thing FOC + PRON 1PL
\end{tabular}'The beginning of a problem or the beginning of something, we (…)'.
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(521.)] \begin{tabular}{ll}
Ya'la & du'ga ta 'war(a) 'ana je 'gusu
\end{tabular} 'nanna to mu'n(u)? Ta 'âbidu ga'raya.
\begin{tabular}{ll}
child-PL & GEN after PRON 1SING come-O look for-0 
way & GEN who/what? GEN begin-INF study-GER
\end{tabular}'The small children (of) after me [my younger brothers and sisters] began to look for a way of what? Of 
beginning studies.'
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(522.)] \begin{tabular}{ll}
(…) & 'in(a) 'aju 'rua fi ga'raya ta 'dini 'ma.
\end{tabular} (…) we do not want to go to religious studies.'
\item[(523.)] \begin{tabular}{ll}
Fu & 'âgâra Grand Party 'de, 'ino lo'go-lo'go 'fogo
\end{tabular} in study-INF NPROP DEF PRON 1PL find-REDUP-O in it
\begin{tabular}{ll}
'âbidu & 'doru fi'lel.
\end{tabular}'To study the Grand Party, we found problems (in it) in respect of travelling at night.'
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{122} Older speakers of the northern variety of Nubi occasionally use the infinitive when no patient is present:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
'in(a) & 'aju 'gus(u) 'agili te 'wénüs ma b'niya 'de.
\end{tabular}'We want to look for means [by using our intelligence] to talk with the girl'.
\begin{tabular}{ll}
'Umon & 'kabas(u) 'uo ma 'kila 'namna 'kâbâsu.
\end{tabular}'They cheated him in every [possible] way of cheating.'

\textsuperscript{123} Some of Owens' examples (1977) on the gerund were considered incorrect by my informants since the patient is not introduced by \textit{ta}:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
'ra'kabu 'lam ta 'mariya ma 'din 'de (…).
\end{tabular}'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:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Toro [name of district] is the beginning of the construction of Uganda, (…).
\end{tabular}'

Otherwise, the few examples from Kenyan Nubi in Owens (1996) seem to confirm the above:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
'Uo & 'fi fi ash'rubu.
\end{tabular}'He is drinking [right now].' (after Owens 1996: 150: 13 c.)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
'Katifu & 'waraga 'ya 'mariya 'de 'so.
\end{tabular}'Write a letter is what my wife did.' (after Owens 1996: 151: 17 a.)
The above is summarized in table 21:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Forms and Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intransitive verbs &amp; transitive verbs (no object present)</td>
<td>GER (ta AG): abstract actions, event nouns (regular), and product/result noun, event noun, agent and patient nominalizations (irregular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive verbs (overt object)</td>
<td>GER ta OBJ: product/result noun INF OBJ: event noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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. The infinitive and the gerund may be combined in one single construction, as in (524.).

(524.) *ra'kab ta 'ifâde125 '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.):

---

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
ekilling (of) elephants of Juma Juma's killing the elephant

b. ka'tulu (ta) li'fili ma 'juma
  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 *'ifâde* 'preserve' probably reached Nubi via the Swahili verb *hifadhi* '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 *hifadhi* in turn may have been derived from Arabic *hifâz* 'preservation' where the stress also lies on the same syllable.
or, as in (529.), the demonstrative or definer specifies only the noun following the infinitive.

(529.) 'âlāb do' luka 'de
play-INF doluka DEF
'the doluka dancing'

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.) 'Arija 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 attentionbring-Ø damage-GER
'Long attention brings damage.'

(533.) Nyere'ku 'tim 'âmsûku mu'lodo.
child be old enough-Ø hold-INF hoe
'The child is old enough to hold the hoe [to work on the field].'
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, as illustrated in (539.) and (540.):

(539.) 'Uw(o) 'aba 'gum fi 'sidu '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 'gità 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, 'ti a'jol ji'ran 'g(i)- ain.
but in secret DEM PROX EXIS person neighbour PROG- see
'Fi a'jin 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 'âmsûku '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.'

---

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-Ø close-Ø door
'She refused to get up and close the door.'
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(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 'agilib(u)-'agilibu soko'lin 'do'lde
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)-i sa'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'r-ru-'kasu'r-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 'do'lde '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 ka'la'na 'de 'kul a'ta '(i)(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
'a na 'kelem-'kelem 'noum on ka'la.
PRON 1SING say-REDUP-Ø to + PRON 3PL COMPL
'But, you see, all my neighbours here, I already told them.'
The verb phrase

(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 Θ, 'kan/'kun 'be', 'ja 'become', the verb 'endisi 'have', and the existential marker 'fi'.

4.4.1. The copulas Θ, 'kan (permanent) be' and 'kun (temporary) be'

Form: Generally, the permanent copula Θ, '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 Θ 'wai min a'nasi al to 'jo 'bele we'de. PRON 3PL Θ NUM from people REL GEN inside country DEM PROX
'They are one of the people who are from within this country.'

4.4.2. (559.) Za'man 'kan 'uo mis'kin, (...) 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 'abüdu 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 'sene. PRON 3SING say-Ø eh be-GER with wife Ø good
'He [said] that: eh, being with [having] a wife is nice.'

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'go (...). 
    PRON 1PL because be-ANT small-PL 
    'We, because we were small, (...).'

(567.) A'nas 'kun kwei'sin. 
    people be-O good-PL 
    'The people were good.'

Use: Besides the equative predicate, '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 3 SING teacher NPROP 
    'Many people [who] were in that area, called him teacher Mputa (Nile perch).'

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-O 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-O 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-O in house REL break-REDUP-O 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-O in house REL ANT break-REDUP-O GEN war 
    'You (PL) stay in a house that had been demolished because of the war [but that has been rebuilt].
143 The verb phrase

(569.) 'Youm ta ni'ka 'g(i)- arja 'kawa fi 'youm 'sebi 'tan.
   day GEN wedding PROG- return be-O in Saturday another
'The day of the wedding is again on another Saturday.'

Ø, 'kan, 'kun, 'kawa 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 'namma '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-O 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-O 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, 'kawa 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 'kawa 'ma.
   but only school fees FOC come-REDUP-O be-O 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. The expression is mainly impersonal.

(576.) Kan 'fi 'sokol ba'ya al bi- 'sò na ji'ran
   if EXIS thing bad REL FUT- do-PASS to neighbour
'taki (…), a(j(u))'ta (…) 'kun 'ready.
   PRON POSS 2SING need-PASS-O PRON 2SING be-O 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-O in NPROP
'Maybe he will help us in (this) our problem which we are in.

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 IPL
fi 'shida 'tena al 'ina 'fogo 'wede'de.
   in problem PRON POSS IPL 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'. 
4.4.2. The copula 'ja 'become'

The copula 'ja' may express an alteration of state\textsuperscript{131}, as illustrated in (578.) and (579.):

(578.) (...) bi'nija, ka'la 'ras to gi- 'ja 'gow-'gow.

'(...) the girl, her head already became hard.'

(579.) 'Ana bi- 'ja 'tajir.

'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-0 with husband PRON POSS 1SING year become-0

ka'lati '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 'məfi, 'məf, or even 'mə.

\textsuperscript{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-0 people beautiful-PL very-REDUP EMPH

'They remain to be/are very pretty people.'

'Batna 'jua 'fadulu ne'dif.

inside house remain-0 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 'uwo 'asker

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-0 SUBJ PRON 3SING be-0 soldier

'we made so that he became a soldier.'

'ina 'kut(u) uo 'kun 'asker

PRON 1PL make-0 PRON 3SING be-0 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.
The verb phrase

(581.) 'Fi 'wang(a) al 'uw(o) 'aktib? 'Gali: 'na'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 'mi (...).
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 'kan '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.

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 'kätifu '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 'adulu '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 'debbu 'fi 'jogo.
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.):

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).
The verb phrase

(595.) 'uo ke'de 'ain kan 'fire extinguisher 'fi 'nouo.
PRON 3SING SUBJ see-Ø if fire extinguisher 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 t'lin.
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) 'endi '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
'al a '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. 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) 'endi '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 'endi '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) 'endi 'si'la 'to 'in, (...) PRON 3SING have-Ø gun PRON POSS 3SING here 'He has his gun here, (...')

(607.) 'Ya mar'ba 'dc, 'uw(o) 'endi 'furaha fi 'gelba 'to 'na (...) CONJ stepmother DEF PRON 3SING have-Ø happiness 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 en all 'kil(a) a'zol 'fi ma ma'hal 'to ka'las.
'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).'
The verb phrase

* 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.) *'Ken a 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) emotions138.

(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 'sülü-sülü soko'lin ta a'nesi 'fi 'mouo.
habit GEN take-REDUP-INF thing-PL GEN people EXIS with+PRON 3SING
'He has the habit of taking things from people/stealing.'

POSSESSOR '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 'likra mi'lan,
from PRON 2SING stay-Ø with thought(s) many
'to 'num 'sene '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 'sudur ti'nin.
CONJ + PRON 2SING FUT- come be-Ø with breast(s) NUM
'Thus you will have two breasts.'
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(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 'ta'k 'kan 'endi baga'ra 'fi Gu'lu. Baga'ra
father PRON POSS 1SING ANT have-0 cow-PL in NPROP cow-PL
'kan 'fi 'moto.
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.

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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-0 come-0 to + PRON 1SING
'If [your] husband is not there, you have to come to me, (...).'

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.'
'Ita bi- 'endi to 'rua na 'awa 'to.
PRON 2SING FUT- have GEN go-∅ 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 'kuruya (...).  
CONJ PRON 3PL FUT- go PRON 3PL FUT- go till the soil-∅
'Thus they will go. They will go to till the soil (...).'

(620.) 'Kel(i) al 'ingis ..., al gi- 'donu '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-∅ 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-∅ run-∅
'All the guards ran back.'

(622.) 'Lam 'gaba 'gum 'rua na ku'juru.  
meat forest get up-∅ go-∅ 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-∅ see-∅ cap
'They happened to see a head cap.'

'Gelba 'to 'kan 'je 'kuwa 'tan.  
heart PRON POSS 3SING ANT come-∅ be-∅ other
'His heart happened to be different.'

Kan 'it(a) 'aju ke'd(e) 'ow(o) 'rua fi 'jela,  
if PRON 2SING want-∅ SUBJ PRON 3SING go-∅ to jail
'ita 'sidu bi'zatu 'ya 'so su'nu? 'Arija 'rua fi 'jela.  
PRON 2SING REFL REFL FOC do-∅ Q-word return-∅ go-∅ 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- 'sò. 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 'sàniba to ta 'màwisho 'nade'de li'sa '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 'im 'be enough', 'suffice'\(^4\) may occur in an asyndetic verb chain, as illustrated in (625.) and (626.):

(625.) 'Umón1 ka'man gi- 'jídu gu- we'di 'noumon2 PRON 3PL also PROG- increase PROG- give to + PRON 3PL soko'lin al 'umón1 'fi 'mouo 'de. thing-PL REL PRON 3PL EXIS with + PRON 3SING DEF 'They1 were also increasingly giving them2 things which they1 had.'

---

\(^4\) 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-0 return-0 back 'No one should run back/flee.'

ta 'youm 'da 'na'de, 'fi gu'masi gi- ke'i'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 ISING fringe(s) DEM

'The man of that bygone past, there were the 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 'ti 'g(i)- akulu guest arrive-Ø meet-Ø COLL rabbit EXIS PROG- eat ma ya'la 'to nu 'marya 'kulu mà'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.'

'(...), 'üo 'ja 'asuma mu'ze 'wai gi- 'womus 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 'kum 'waga 'nana. SUBJ problem DEM PROX NEG be-Ø fall-Ø to + PRON ISING 'let this problem not fall on me.'
The verb phrase

(626.) (…) kan a'nas bi-'tim 'fikir au 'ki(a) a'zol 'wai-'wai
if people FUT- suffice think-Ø or every person NUM-REDUP
bi-'teker ma'tsha ta. 'to ma Tamily '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,
grammy granny REL remain-Ø inside house here DEF
na'fas to 'gum 'ro 'sidi '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
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 'asè'de ali(i) 'ina 'logo '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 'ja pak'i(y(a) cna, 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 'Indya.
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'(u) ('i)ta 'gum 'ma 'ro fi 'ikul mai'rngi.
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 a 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATIVE</th>
<th>NON-STATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø or zero-marked verb</td>
<td>non-past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-PUNCTUAL</td>
<td>temporary states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREALIS</td>
<td>unreal time ( = future, conditional, subjunctive, modal, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTERIOR</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR + NON-PUNCT</td>
<td>future progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANT + NON-PUNCT</td>
<td>non-punctual event in a past-before-past, or during a completed period of time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANT + IRR</td>
<td>unrealized event in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANT + IRR + NON-PUNCT</td>
<td>unrealized non-punctual event in the past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
The verb phrase

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 continuous, 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 + 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 '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, 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 ingress 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 Holm 1988: 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, Ω (permanent 'be'), and 'fi respectively. However, 'kun/ 'kan/ Ω 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fit</td>
<td>spatial (definite): 'in', 'at' movement towards or away from, the direction is implied in the verb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temporal (definite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temporal (indefinite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goal, purpose: 'to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'ot', 'about'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>partitive 'among'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ladi</td>
<td>temporal 'until'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spatial 'up to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fogo</td>
<td>temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spatial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'on', 'about'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi'dam</td>
<td>spatial 'in front of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabra</td>
<td>temporal 'before'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>min</td>
<td>indefinite location (see also Owens 1977: 49): 'in', 'at', 'around'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>movement away from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temporal (indefinite): 'in', 'at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temporal 'since', 'from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>source, as in 'abidu min 'begin front',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'gum min 'begin from', 'asadu min 'ask from', 'kalegu min 'create from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>partitive 'among'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reason, 'because of', 'from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>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).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jamb</td>
<td>spatial 'beside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ben</td>
<td>spatial 'near', 'around'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temporal 'around'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>relational 'between'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wara</td>
<td>spatial 'in front of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temporal 'after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goal 'after', looking for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bada</td>
<td>temporal 'after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goal 'after', looking for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 Older speakers sometimes omit the preposition, as in:

(...)
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'ta '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.'

'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.
An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

Table 24: Nubi prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nubi Prepositions</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ma</em></td>
<td>comitative 'with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instrumental 'with'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma</em> is also used in certain verbal expressions with gerunds/infinitives (see 4.3.3.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>na</em></td>
<td>benefactive 'to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>multi-purpose (only persons), as in:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'asadu <em>na a'jol</em> (also <em>'asadu a'jol</em>)</td>
<td>ask from s.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kelemu <em>na a'jol</em></td>
<td>tell s.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'abusu <em>na a'jol</em> (also <em>'abusu a'jol</em>)</td>
<td>forbid s.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'jere <em>na a'jol</em></td>
<td>run to s.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kore <em>na a'jol</em></td>
<td>beg s.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'complain to s.o.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gesimu <em>na a'jol</em></td>
<td>divide for s.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bio <em>na buy from</em> etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'ila</em></td>
<td>'except (for)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>za/ja</em></td>
<td>expressing equality: 'similar to', 'as', 'like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ze/je</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ja (kan)</em></td>
<td>'as', 'like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'ingis</em></td>
<td>'as', 'like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bila'</td>
<td>'without'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>le</em></td>
<td>benefactive 'to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial/directional 'to', 'towards'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'badul</em></td>
<td>'instead of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'sawa</em></td>
<td>expressing equality 'similar to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sawa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'jengis</em></td>
<td>'as', 'like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gins</em></td>
<td>'as', 'like'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(636.) (...), *'ana* *'tala* *fi* *'samba*, (...) |

PRON 1SING leave-Ø PREP field |

'(...), I left (from) the field, (...).'

(637.) (...), *'ita* *gi-...* *gu-* *'so* *mìn* *'sa* *'wai* |

PRON 2SING PROG- PROG- do PREP hour NUM |

'ladi *'sa* *t'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* *'muntu wu* *'hai* |

PRON 1PL PROG- run PREP death CONJ life |

'We are running between life and death.'

(639.) (...), *'uo* *'na* *'wara* ba'ba. |

PRON 3SING go-Ø PREP father |

'(...) he went looking for father.'

---

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.
'Dukur 'ana ja ma'na 'to. 'an 'feker then PRON 1SING as mother PRON POSS 3SING PRON 1SING think-Ø
'gudra 'tai 'sia j'go 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>min fi</td>
<td>spatial/directional 'from'</td>
<td>'Mirya, (...)'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ladi fi</td>
<td>spatial 'up to'</td>
<td>'comfort PREP PREP moment DEM PROX'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ladi min</td>
<td>spatial 'up to'</td>
<td>'PRON 2SING PREP there'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le min</td>
<td>directional: towards indefinite location</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fi gi'dam</td>
<td>spatial 'in front of'</td>
<td>'PRON 2SING PREP PREP'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'

(645.) Tom'sa gi- 'gen fi 'batna 'bahar. crocodile PROG- stay inside sea

(646.) 'Na're, 'ana 'gu- rwa 'wonus ka'lam fi 'ras t'en. today PRON 1SING PROG- go tell-Ø thing on top of PRON POSS 1PL

'ten'
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,
  type DEM PROX have to-Ø 2SING leave-Ø
  ma ya'l'a 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,
  manners type DEM PROX have to-Ø 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'
  'gwam(-' gwam) 'quickly'
  ma 'gwam 'quickly'
  bi'ses 'slowly'
  ba'rau 'alone'
  ma'rai 'straightaway', 'at once'
  ta 'gafa by surprise', 'surprisingly'
  ta 'tab 'problematically'
  'sambala 'anyhow', 'by any means'
  etc.
Adverbs of manner are generally put in sentence-final position, as illustrated in (653.):

(653.) 161
a. ‘Umon ‘kan ‘aju ka’lam te’gil ‘maf.
   PRON 3PL ANT want-Ø problem tough NEG
   ‘They did not want a tough problem, they took thing[s] easy.’

Adverbs of location/direction:

(654.) ‘in(i) ‘here’
   fi/min ‘war’ ‘in the back’
   ba’kan ‘de ‘here’
   fi/min ‘wa’ ‘at the other side’
   (i)’na ‘there’
   fi/ ‘underneath’
   fi/ ‘top’
   fi/’na ‘there’
   fi/’de ‘here’
   fi/’da ‘thing easily
   fi/min ‘in’
   fi/’na ‘then’
   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/’na, ka’rama ‘fi fi you’min.
   dog arrive-Ø funeral EXIS on the left funeral EXIS on the right
   ‘(...) 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’
   ‘ase de(‘de) ‘now’
   ba’kan ‘de ‘now’
   fi m’wisho ‘finally’, ‘at last’
   na’re ‘today’
   you’min’d’re,you’min’d’re ‘nowadays’
   ‘bukra ‘tomorrow’
   sa’ba ‘tomorrow’
   ‘bad ‘bukra ‘the day after tomorrow’
   m’bari ‘yesterday’
   wa’tum’bari ‘the day before yesterday’
   ba’den ‘later on’
   gu’bel ‘(just) before’
   fi’lel ‘at night’
   fi fi/’na ‘in the future’
   wa’kati ‘an’other time’
   ‘na ‘then’
   etc.

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’mar ‘kan ‘fi ‘r(a)q(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 ‘as’il gi- robustu’(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 so that the girl would see that [their] eyes are truly blindfolded.’

Epistemic adverbs:
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(659.) min’aruf ‘maybe’
’sa‘tan ‘maybe’
ta‘asil ‘truly’
’mumkin ‘possibly’
bihaki ‘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‘asil ‘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-0
‘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-0 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‘k’a‘waida ‘usually’
‘zaidi ‘often’, ‘generally’
b’aray ‘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 ‘ti ‘de, ‘office ‘tena ‘de,
work PRON POSS 1SING DEF office PRON POSS 1PL DEF
‘uo ‘zaidi gi(i)- ‘ainu au gi- ‘chunga ya‘la
PRON 3SING often PROG- watch or PROG- takes care of
al ba‘ba ‘toumon ‘mutu, ati‘ma.
REL father PRON POSS 3PL die-0 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’del ‘gwi ‘we’di ‘youn ‘sebi, (...).
Thing-PL DEM PROX PL PROG- give-PASS Saturday
‘Generally, in our tribe of the Nubi, these things are given on Saturday, (...).’

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)’

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-0 much
’kabla ‘lisa ‘ita ‘gata ka’lam ‘ma.
before still PRON 2SING decide-0 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.):

rabbit have-0 brain very much very much
‘(...), the rabbit has a lot, a lot of brains.’

The demonstrative adverbs ‘ya’de, ‘ya’da, and ‘ya’ru 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.) 1-8.

(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.’

---

1-8 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 bc 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.'

\(^{149}\) 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'
wu, wa, u 'and'
'wala, wa'la 'or'
au 'or'
'am, a'ma 'or'
la'kin 'but'
'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 'kun 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.
CONJ father PRON POSS 2SING
'You were at home with (the family of) your mother and your father.'

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
come-0 be-0 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 n'tan Ing'isi a'ma n'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
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.
bone(s) DEF FOC PRON POSS 3SING
'Yank(î) 'mana 'to
that is to say that is to say
kan 'mutu, 'u bi- 'dofun 'ladum 'de.
kan 'mutu, 'u 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.):
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Ase kan 'ita 'b(i)- aj(u) 'jowz(u) 'ana,
now if PRON 2SING FUT- want marry-Ø PRON 1SING
'il(a) 'ladi(i) 'it(a) 'asadu a'ku ba'ba 'tai de.
invariably 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
'il(a) 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:

'ke de, ke SUBJUNCTIVE MARKER, 'min 'since' (temporal), 'because', 'since', 'instead
'in order to', 'so that'
kan, ('gal) 'if' (see also 6.7.3.) 'kila kan, kan 'kila 'whenever
ja, je 'as if, 'as'
'sala (kan) 'although', 'even if' 'la'man, na'man 'until
'wakati 'while', 'when'
ba'kan, kan 'while', 'when'
li'go, to'go 'while' (temporal, absolutive);
'because'
'sala 'before'
'gal introduction to (in)direct speech (see 6.7.4.3.)
'bada 'after'

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'ra, to + PRON 2SING but NEG- ADR SING do-Ø hurriedly
'gal 'keta 'so su'nu? 'Keta '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.'

'sala was in one instance used in the expression 'either... or',

'(...) 'ima 'ma gu- 'wonus kala'ma 'kulu 'fadi,
PRON 1PL NEG PROG- discuss thing-PL all openly
'sal(a) al ba'tal wa'la 'sene.
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 nownun, 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 kal'am, 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 Is'ilam, INT since child FUT- go to man clearly REL NEG Muslim 'k(e) 'un(a) 'ain 'bes a'ku 'wai al Is'ilam, (...) 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 te'gil. 'Can be-ANT light 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 adverbal 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 'kel 'em: ne'gi fi 'hagu.
CONJ + PRON IPL 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-ØNEG
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 'lo, 
breast-feed-PASS-Ø PRON 3SING nurse-PASS-Ø ill 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'nam, 'lad(i) 'uo bi- 'tim 'sana t'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'an '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, 'yuo 'kel 'em: (...) 
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-O thick porridge 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 ann'gu 'girifa 'to  
with sauce firinda beans REL remove-PASS-O 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-O
'ladi ke'de 'rasul fi 'sana 'saba.  
until SUBJ reach-0 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.) Bi'nshara we'de, 'ina bi- ende'lea 'mo ke'fin  
business DEM PROX PRON 1PL FUT- continue with it how
'ladi ke'd(e) avun(u) 'ina (...)  
to the extent of SUBJ help-O 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-O COLL NPROP SUBJ PROG- look after
ga'ya 'to 'de ka'lam ke'de 'na sere'gu  
millet PRON POSS 3SING DEF because SUBJ NEG steal-PASS-O
'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'de(e) 'tw(u) 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'tal al 'kena 'ro 'fogo, 'ma'ti.
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:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>question word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>independent</th>
<th>position of independent Q-word</th>
<th>attributive</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu'nu? 'who?'</td>
<td>human, (non-) subject</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>in situ</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su'nu? 'what?'</td>
<td>non-human, (non-) subject</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>in situ</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)(u) 'wen? / we'nu? 'where?'</td>
<td>location</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>final</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi'ten? 'when?'</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>occasionally</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'fin? / 'kef? 'how?'</td>
<td>manner</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>initially</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'le? 'why?'</td>
<td>reason</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>initial, finally</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'lu? 'why?'</td>
<td>reason</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>initial, finally</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'tu? 'which?', 'what?'</td>
<td>generic</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>in situ</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kam? 'how many?'; 'what?'</td>
<td>generic</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>in situ</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**table 26: Nubi question words**

(707.) (...) 'in(a) 'agara mad'nas na ma'lim mu'nu?
PRON 1PL study-Ø Qur'anic school to teacher who?
'(…) with which teacher did we study [at] the Qur'anic 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?'

152 Occasionally, mu'nu? 'who?' refers to a non-human entity:
'Amu 'tom gi- 'pima 'samaga 'kilos mu'nu-mu'nu, ya'nu?
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?'
Other word classes

(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 'ant(a) 'aju 'jowj(u) 'u'o.

in one way or another CONJ ANT PRON ISING 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 emphaser, as illustrated in (716.):

(716.) 'Ya aja'ma, 'ana 'nutu 'de 'baga 'namna 'nutu ya'tu!!

VOC people PRON ISING 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.

\(^{154}\) 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, 'kana 'jere ka'man.

VOC people now SUBJ + PRON IPL 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.).
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(717.) 'Ana, fi wa'kati al 'kan 'ana ti 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-0 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-0 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. 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-0 what? FOC steal-0
nyere'ka 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 go'raya te 'din
because of DEM PROX make-0 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) 'ma 'ja.
PRON 1PL believe-0 NEG FOC until PRON 1PL come-0
'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'huba..., 'ma, '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.'

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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'lası ka'di'ma fi 'juu.
PRON 3PL be-0 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
'ya' [al 'youm 'na'de gi- 'dugu 'ya' a'disi']
FOC REL day DEM DIS PROG- beat FOC story
'You woke up the girl of the grave who told 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 3 SING go-Ø until PRON 3 SING 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 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 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.
marriage prosper-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.):
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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 f 'batna 'Bombo.

*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 the end, the parents do agree to do the wedding, although they are not happy with this matter.*

*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'nu 'de.

*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.) Az'am, ka'tlam 'de ta'ra je 'de?
person-PL problem DEF EMPH like DEM PROX
'People, is the problem really like this?'

The emphizer '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'mu?
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'n, ma'lilam '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.) Kana ka'tlas, a'nus 'de bi- 'ja 'wasa, bu-'rux.
when COMPL people DEF FUT-come leave FUT-go
'Yala, si'b(u) 'uo 'baga ma a'nus 'to.
well leave-O-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 'amru, 'uo 'tor?
PRON 3SING EMPH come-O remove-O PRON 3SING drive-O
'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'vele 'sei gu- 'num mu 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 aj'a, ku'juu '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-O EMPH while PRON IPL COMPL do-O 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 emphasize, as in (753.).

(753.) 'It(a) 'arufu ko'rofo 'gara 'mus?
PRON 2SING know-O leave(s) pumpkin EMPH
Ka'las 'it(a) 'arufu ko'rofo 'gara
EMPH PRON 2SING know-O 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 'u**o** 'b(i)- agider
water REL EMPH big FOC ANT REL PRON 3SING FUT- be able
'adi 'ma 'de, *yal(a) a'nisu* '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 emphizer. It may modify the sentence, as in (755.) or a noun phrase, as in (756.):

(755.) Eh, 'u**o** 'gai fu 'fom je'**d**e fu 't**o**rufu 'jua je'**d**e.
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, 'u**o** 'ja lo'go bi'niya 'wai *ka'man* a'sas.
well day INDEF PRON 3 SING come-0 meet-0 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, 'u**o** 'mutu 'na.
CONJ NPROP DEF self PRON 3 SING die-0 there
'Lad(i) dofu'n(u) 'u**o** 'na.
EMPH bury-PASS-Ø PRON 3 SING 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 emphizer 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 strengthens the affirmative context, as illustrated in (759.):

(759.) Min 'na, *ka'man* 'umon 'arija 'duro 'wiki ge'ri ti'hin,
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'**d**e*, which is a combination of *ja* 'like', 'as' and the proximal demonstrative *de*, has a slightly emphatic effect on the clause. It often reinforces the function of other emphizers.

(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 emphizer, as in (761.):

(761.) 'Ita, (...) mu'mu 'ya 'akul nyere'ku 'tai 'kan?
PRON 2SING who FOC eat-0 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'la, besides functioning as an emphizer, may do the same, as in (764.):

(762.) 'Umon 'kelem: 'Ma, 'akil al 'in(a) 'aju 'de,
PRON 3PL say-0 no food REL PRON 1PL want-0 DEF
ke'd(e) akul(u) 'taki SUBJ eat PRON POSS 2SING DEF first
'al 'in(a)
REL PRON 1PL
dei dam.
'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-0 that no, help-IMPER PRON 1SING
'Mafi, awun(u)
no, help-IMPER PRON POSS 2SING DEF first
'ju 'de,
want-0 DEF
ana.
PRON 1SING
'Their said: No, help me.'

(764.) A'la, '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', Principe Creole Portuguese no baka '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): 

Fi'lel, 'afuta 'lufra ke'biri, 'lto '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. 'lto 'kub 'fogo dikin'na 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):

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 3 SING 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):

(...)'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):

(...)'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):

'Bas, 'uo gi- 'kelem na Al'gul ke'de 'sten(u) 'uo 'in.
well PRON 3 SING PROG- say to NPROP SUBJ await-Ø PRON 3 SING here
'Well, he says to Algul that he should wait for him here.'

* adjectival predicate, as in (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):

Bi'niya we'de al 'ita gi- 'kelem 'wede'de.
girl DEM PROX REL PRON 2 SING PROG- say DEM PROX
'wede nyere'ku ta sultan 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.) (. ),

na
PRON 1PL

'ia
FOC

'sa	 tan
gu-
PROG-

'kabar
news

na
PRON POSS 1PL

'tena.

('...), we sometimes give the news to our brothers.'

(773.) 'Bes,

'umon
well

'kutu
brother(PL)

'sum
PRON POSS 1PL

na
PRON 3PL

Mo'hamadi.

Well, they put poison for Mohamad.'

(774.) 'Ito

we'd(i)
PRON 2SING

'ana
PRON 1SING

'nuo.
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
mother

'de
DEF

we'di
give-0

'nuo
PRON 3SING

'dawa
medication

fu
in

'akili.
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

day

'wai,
INDEF

'umon
PRON 3PL

'ja
come-0

'amsuku
catch-0

'sika.
road

'Umom
PRON 3PL

'nu
go-0

'fi
gaba

gata
la'kato.

to

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.) 'ja
story

de
DEMPH

'ka'man
here

'ina
EMPH

'koma.

'The story indeed finishes here.'

(778.) 'Yal(a)
well

'an(a)
PRON 1SING

'aj(u)
want-0

'asrub
drink-0

'gi'dam
EMPH

'chai, (...).

'Well, first I want to drink tea, (...).'

(779.) La'kin
but

'kan
ANT

'haki
EMPH

'za'man
a long time ago

'gi-
do-PASS

'só
like

je
DEM PROX

'de.

'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  Ingil'is  '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  Ingil'is.
     PRON 3PL  study-Ø  NEG  studies  GEN  English
'They did not study the studies of the English.'

(785.) 'Ina  'lisa  li'go  *'mafi(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 (...).'
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 'labi.  
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.'
Clause structure

'(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
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’dé ‘dugu ‘ma.
DEM DIS beat-GER NEG
'That is not beating. [It is much worse than that].'

(799.) ‘Dunia ‘de ‘dunia ‘ma’fi.
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.

[81x746]in times past PRON 3PL PROG- abduct girl-PL from inside house

'Uo 'sulu bi'niiya 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 3 SING forbid-0 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. 'jogo '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 'yul 'bura 'g(i)- akul(u) 'lad(i) 'unon gi- 'so su'mu?  
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  
'ya 'rema 'ju 'rak(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  
'unon '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)

" Kátilú 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 (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

\[159\] A fronted verb that is repeated in its original position rather than re-introducing old information functions as a mere emphasizer, strengthening 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. 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 'mafl.
must-O SUBJ + PRON 2SING refuse-O NEG
'A dangerous job like this, you should not refuse it.'

(813.) A'nas 'na'de, n'fan '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-O 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-O 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 O REL headless RC

(817.) Wu 'asker 'uo 'na'de, and soldier PRON 3SING DEM DIS
'uo ya al 'youn 'n'nde, (...), li'go fi 'bab gate.
PRON 3SING FOC REL day DEM DIS find-PASS-O 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 'asaru ku'ra 'tai 'de.
PRON 1SING FOC REL tie up-O leg PRON POSS 1SING DEF
'I am [the one] who tied up my leg./ It is me who tied up my leg.'

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-O with PRON 3PL together
fi '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 ISING gather-ØPRON 2PL in house here DEF
'it is the reason which made me gather you(PL) in the house here.'

* ‘de (‘ya) Ø NP (‘ya) no REL RC

(820.) ‘De wa’zeya gi- ‘j(a) ‘aki
DEF old person-PL PROG- come tell-Ø
’nena kala’mu dolde’d-e.
to + PRON 1PL thing-PL DEM PROX PL
'it is the old people who happen to tell us these things.'

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 ‘maya ‘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’d-e je’d-e
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:
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 regarded as being 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-0 DEF
'ana 'kan 'aju 'jowj(u) 'tia.
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)
God hear-0 injustice REL treat unjustly-P^ God
'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-0 be present-Ø
lo'go 'ragi 'de ka'man 'so su'nu? 'Safir.
when man DEF also do-0 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

\(^{163}\) A similar strengthening 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 ’ragi ’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
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, mmm. He took a bath? [You said] that: He took a bath. He ate? [You said] that: Yes. '

(832.) ’K(e) ’ana ’ro ’metokumi?
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].'
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? '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.). (j)(u)wen? 'where?') usually takes sentence-final position, but may be found in other positions in an interrogative sentence. 'le?' and ma'l(u? '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'mu?
woman DEF EMPH PROG- be afraid of wife GEN who
'The woman is afraid of whose wife?'

(837.) Ta'n, ta'(n), 'ragi 'endis su'nu?
EMPH EMPH man have-O 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 'tiki 'de, karibi'sh(a) 'omon ke'fin?
in house PRON POSS 2SING DEF welcome-PASS-O-PRON 3PL how?
'Mama of Faiza, guests, if [they] come to your house, how are they welcomed?'

(839.) Bi'niya 'de ma'l(u) gi- 'gen fi sa'raya 'fo?
girl DEM PROX why? PROG- stay in appartment high
Ma'l(u) 'no '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 emphazier, as illustrated in (840.):

(840.) 'Jé rasu'l(u) 'ita ge'r(i) 'kan 'sa 'kan?
come-PASS-O send-PASS-O 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'nu
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?'

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*, *wala* 'or', *ama*, *ama* '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* *nusw* 'na* 'to* *ti'nin.*

'The story is about a sultan and his two wives.'

(843.) *'imon* a*na*s al a*ta*... *'imon* a*na*s

'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', *wala*, *wala* 'or', *ama*, *ama* 'or', *ila* '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* 

'Happiness PRON POSS 3SING little'

(845.) *We*’*le* 'g(i)- agara, *la'kin* 'itokum, ba*na*, 'yal* ba*na* 'g(i)- agara

'The boys studied, but you(PL), the girls, the girl children did not study [at] school.'

(846.) *'it(a)* *a*ju* 'k(e)* ana 'ya* 'gus* 'neki

'(...), only problems, in trouble, inevitably, you will be with them.'

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.).

165 Occasionally, *'ila* 'except', 'inevitably' refers to words instead of sentences:

(847.) *'ita bio* 'kun* 'mo.*

'(...),+FUT- be with + PRON POSS 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 'yogo '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 'turnj(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-0 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 marriagePRON 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, (...).'

---

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*ˈde*, 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*ˈde* 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-Øwith 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>implicative</th>
<th>non-implicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'kutu</td>
<td>'cause'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'so</td>
<td>'cause'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dugu</td>
<td>'cause'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'awumu</td>
<td>'help'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sadu</td>
<td>'help', 'assist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sa'ldi</td>
<td>'help', 'assist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sebu</td>
<td>'let'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'abasu</td>
<td>'stop', 'prevent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kabasu</td>
<td>'deceive into doing s.th.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'aju'</td>
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<td>'abu'</td>
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<td>'kelemu'</td>
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<td>'am'risha</td>
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<td>'rudi'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>'rasulu'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**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 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) ow(o) 'awun(u)'ana
SUBJ PRON 3SING help-Ø PRON 1SING
'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 do'fde 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.):


then PRON 1SING PROG- let PRON 3SING SUBJ go-0

‘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-0 relative-PL other-PL

gi- ‘so bi’a’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-0 PRON 2SING

ke‘de ‘ja ‘ro ‘aimu be ta’yi.

SUBJ come-0 go-0 see-0 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-0 PRON 2SING shave-0 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-0 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-0 SUBJ + PRON 2SING talk-0 about child PRON POSS 3SING

‘na.

NEG

‘He wishes you not to talk about his child.’
Clause structure

(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 nyere'ku fi'lan 'ma.
CONJ also PRON 3SING FUT- agree SUBJ brother DEM DIS harm-Ø 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 'ke a'ku 'taki 'de abu'su 'ma.
PRON 2SING wish-Ø NEG 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 'ju 'kelem fi 'be 'in 'gal
PRON 3SING come-Ø say-Ø in house here that
sin'g(a) 'owo, au tunu'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 'waru 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.

'aana '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 (…)'
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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.

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.

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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.):

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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 formally168 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 \textit{kan} 'if' 169. The conditional marker \textit{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 \textit{ya,} and infrequently by the conjunction \textit{dukuru} 'then', as illustrated in (886.).

(886.) Kan 'uo 'kutu ku'ra 'to je 'de,
\hspace{1cm} if PRON 3SING put-0 foot(feet) PRON POSS 3SING like DEM PROX
'yo 'uo 'g(i)- arija je 'de, (…)
\hspace{1cm} 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
\hspace{1cm} PRON 3PL be-0 behind very-REDUP EMPH
kan 'ita com'pare me 'ini fi U'gand(a) 'en.
\hspace{1cm} if PRON 2SING compare-0 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 \textit{gi-} or future \textit{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,
\hspace{1cm} if PRON 2SING want-0 SUBJ PRON 1SING take-0 PRON 2SING
'ana
\hspace{1cm} 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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if PRON 2PL FUT- draw sword DEF DEF DEF stick-Ø

'aru-‘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 ‘tta

if heart PRON POSS 3SING come-Ø see-Ø stay-GER PRON POSS 1PL


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

‘u ‘g(i)- ‘amrugu ‘tim-‘tim ‘resin

PRON 3SING PROG- take out be enough- REDUP-INF ration

al g(i)- ust’ana ma ‘yoom

REL PROG- corresponds with day(s)

al ‘u ‘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'
Clause structure

(894.) Kan 'kan 'ana ba'ra, 'kan ba'kan 'de 'sia
if be-Ø PRON SING 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 'ma're,
if ANT PRON SING FUT- meet person DEF today
'If I were meeting this person today, I would kill him.' (hypothetical)

(896.) Kan 'kan 'ita gi- saka'ran fi 'sir, 'yoom 'tan,
if ANT PRON 2SING PROG- be drunkin secret day other
'If you were getting drunk secretly, another/one day, you would end up being drunk in front of [other] people.' (hypothetical)

(897.) Kan 'kan 'yoom 'de 'uo 'ro 'rudu 'ragi
if ANT day DEF PRON 3SING go-Ø accept-Ø husband
'Even if your child makes a mistake, you just know that he did not make a mistake, (...)'

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 SING 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
everything REL ANT PRON SING 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-0 NEG DEF raise-GER if REL come-0 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, Mo'hammed stays at home, he does not study.'

(905.) La'kin ga'raya te Inge'reza, ki'boko 'ila kan 'ita 'so 'nas 'homework 'mafi, (.). except if PRON 2SING do-0 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', 'ruhu '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- 'donu fi 'madrasa.
if PRON 2SING come-Ø get used to-Ø PROG- go to Qur?an 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 Qur?anic 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 tayin'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 be'redu. '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', 'aimu 'understand', 'perceive', 'see', 'understand', 'alimu 'learn', li'go 'find', 'meet', 'kalu 'find out (shockingly)', 'stemu 'expect, kun'buka 'remember', nisitu 'forget', 'kabas 'lie', 'feker 'think', 'believe', 'assume', 'suppose', 'zan 'think', kominu 'believe', 'kelemu, 'say', 'claim',

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).
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'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-O that yes, if PRON 2SING want-O
'an 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-O 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-O find-O eat-PASS-0 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-O to + PRON 1PL
nas ma'na 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-O 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>modality verbs</th>
<th>manipulative verbs</th>
<th>cognition-utterance verbs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'aba</td>
<td>'refuse'</td>
<td>'forbid'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ajju</td>
<td>'intend'</td>
<td>'want'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'alimu</td>
<td>'get used to'</td>
<td>'ask'</td>
<td>'learn; 'teach', 'disclose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'asadu</td>
<td>'ask'</td>
<td>'lie'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'kabas</td>
<td>'deceive into'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'kafu</td>
<td>'be reluctant to'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'be afraid of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kelemu</td>
<td>'tell', 'order'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'say', 'claim', 'disclose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni'situ</td>
<td>'forget'</td>
<td>'agree'</td>
<td>'allow', 'permit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{173}\) '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-O
'[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 preschool 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-Saharan group. Most of the above mentioned languages belong to the second group (see table 28).

|---|---|---|---|

**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 Aswān, the Egyptian and Kharṭūm merchants in the zarība, and the Egyptian recruits and officers among Emin Pasha's men. Owens (1985a: 231) argues that Nubi's ancestor essentially was a Sudanese Arabic
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dialect, and more specifically a Western Sudanese Arabic one\(^{175}\) that had some features of Egyptian and Khaʁtûm 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 Bahîr al-Gazâl. 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-arba^în, 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/c/s 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

\(^{175}\) 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.
Nubi, from a diachronic and comparative perspective

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 troops. 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 (Asyût and Aswân)/SA bakân 'place'

- **m** < **m**
  - UN 'matarÏ«'rain' < EA mator 'rain'/SA mator '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 fatah 'open'

**alveolars**

- **t** < **t**
  - UN tuï«ra 'soil' < EA/SA turâb 'soil'
  - UN 'tani 'other' < EA/SA tânî 'other'

- **t̚** < **t**
  - UN taï«ma 'greedy' < EA/SA tammâ 'greedy'

Velarized/emphatic consonants, like ß, ß, and ß, 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 ̃/es, parallel to processes in these dialects.
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$t < d$
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'biha 'snake' < EA/SA de'bih, 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 (Hilleolson'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

$d < d$
UN 'ardi 'land', 'soil' < EA/SA arjd 'land', 'soil'

See remark above on the loss of emphatic sounds.

$n < n$
UN ni'ka 'marriage' < EA nikah / SA nikáh 'marriage'

$r < r$
UN ma'raya 'mirror' < EA/SA miriya 'mirror'
UN 'rada breast-feed' < EA 'suckle'/ SA raqâ '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 shabxân 'be satisfied'

$s < s$
UN 'asli 'origin' < EA/SA ašl '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 bizatu(SA) be zâto 'himself'

$z < z$
UN 'zuluma 'injustice' < EA zuulum /SA zulum '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 zol 'man', 'person'

palatals

$y < y$
UN 'yom 'day' < EA/SA 'yóm 'day'

$y < ŋ$
UN bo'yi 'far' < EA/SA baśid 'far'
UN ji'yân 'hungry' < EA/SA jiśân 'hungry'

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 Qur'anic influence (one speaker: 'zahab), or to influence from Luganda (another speaker: za'habu from Luganda zaabü).
Owens (1985a: 238) mentions that /s/ "(...) frequently corresponds to /y/, e.g. NA gaayid ~ gaaßid '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 'kidyf' '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'

$k < h [h]$

UN luku'mar 'donkey' < EA/SA al-humâr 'the donkey'

UN 'aksen' 'better', 'best' < EA/SA ahșan 'better', 'best'

According to Owens (1985a: 236), $h$ 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.

$k < g [y]$

UN 'sokol' 'thing' < EA shugl 'occupation', 'work! SA shogol 'thing', 'matter'

UN 'kasulu' 'wash' < EA/SA ġasal, ġassal 'wash'

UN ke'sim 'stupid' < SA ġashim 'clumsy', 'crude'

UN 'kati' 'cover' < EA/SA ġattâ 'cover'

UN 'kettis' 'sink' < SA ġatas 'sink'

UN 'kafir 'watch', 'guard' < SA ġafar (i) 'watch', 'guard'

Owens (1985a: 236) states that "(...) in Chad there are two main areas where Arabic /g/ is /x/, Ndjamen (…) and the area around Abbeche, e.g. (…) xarb west rather than garb, shuxul rather than shugul. Assuming the Nubi forms derive from the /x/ WSA dialects there is no need to assume a /k/ - /g/ correspondence." However, Owens (1985a: 268, n. 13) adds that there are also $g - g$ correspondences, which is why he assumes that WSA dialects which have $g$ are also involved. I would rather suggest that both the $g - g$ and the $g - k$ correspondences occur in Nubi, given a word like SA ġanamayo 'goat', which is either realized ggal'moyo or kala'moyo in Nubi, the former being the more usual (see also below). Also in Turku, we find that $g$ has $g$ and $k$ reflexes, for instance in Turku ġazal 'gazelle' < SA ġazâl 'gazelle' and Turku kalbann 'pregnant' $^{178}$ < SA ġalbâãna 'pregnant' respectively.

$^{178}$ 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 $m$ may have served to keep the French reader from reading a $Vn$-sequence as a nasalized vowel, as is usual in French. The reader should keep in mind that $di$, $dj$, and $dji$ probably correspond to $½i$; $tech$ and $iti$ to $ic$; $ch$, $chi$, and $sh$ to $½i$; $ni$ to $½u$; $ou$ to $½i$ or $½u$; and $eu$ to $½o$ (see also Tosco & Owens 1993: 188-193).
$g < g$

UN 'gasab 'sugar cane' < EA (Upper Egypt)/SA gašab 'cane' (< OA q)
UN 'gelba 'heart' < EA (Upper Egypt)/SA galb, gelb 'heart' (< OA q)
UN 'gafir 'bad talking' < EA gafr 'fortune telling' (< OA j)
UN 'ragi 'man' < EA rāgil 'man' (< OA j)
UN 'masgīt 'mosque' < EA masqīl 'mosque' (< OA j)
UN 'gesma 'shoe' < EA gism 'body' (< OA j)
UN 'gishma 'shoe', 'pair of shoes' (< OA j)
UN 'giriba 'deep leather bag' < EA agriba (PL of girāb 'small bag', 'pouch')

About one quarter of the Nubi words whose ultimate OA source form is with jīm contain g as a reflex of OA jīm, which implies that the source forms of these words must be Egyptian, since in Egyptian Arabic: OA jīm > g. However, above it was suggested that the source forms of Nubi words with j should be sought in a dialect where OA jīm > j, which is true for the Sudanese Arabic dialects.

$g < \tilde{g}$

UN gala'moyo (also kala'moyo) 'goat' < SA ġanamāya 'goat'
UN 'gaba 'forest' < SA gāba 'forest'
UN 'gar 'cave', 'cavity', 'depth' < EA/SA gār 'cave'

_glottals_

$h < h$

UN mu'him 'important' < EA/SA muhimm 'important'

$h < \tilde{h}$

UN 'bahar 'sea', 'lake' < EA/SA bahr 'river', 'sea'

According to Owens (1985a: 237), pharyngeal h and glottal h have merged into h in several WSA dialects. Hillelson (1930: xxiii) mentions that h has been substituted by h in the dialects of the sedentary tribes of Kordofān. Therefore, Owens assumes Nubi to have been derived from such a dialect. I tend to attribute the lack of pharyngeal h to parallel developments in those WSA dialects and in Nubi, rather than positing a direct link between both.

$\emptyset < h$

UN 'uo PRON 3SING < EA/SA huwa PRON 3SING
UN 'na're 'today' < EA/SA an-nahdr-dā '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 (Qur'ānic) 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 (Qur'ānic) 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 Qur'ān, or through knowledge of a variety of Arabic which takes j for OA jīm, such as the Sudanese Arabic dialects, or Juba Arabic.
\( \theta < h \)  
- UN a'haba 'grandmother' < SA ǧa'baba 'grandmother'
- UN 'amer 'red' < EA/SA ǧkm ˈred'
- UN 'fata 'open' < EA/SA ǧata ˈhe opened'

\( \theta < y \)  
- UN a'tim 'orphan' < EA/SA yatim, atim 'orphan'

\( y > \theta \) is attested in some Sudanese Arabic dialects.

\( \theta < s \)  
- UN 'libu 'play', 'dance' < EA/SA lišib/šib 'play', 'dance'

The consonants \( p, v, ch \) and \( ng \) 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 'menyvu 'banana' (from Luganda amacao ( PL) 'bananas', and in 'yellow 'fever (from English)
\( ch \) in 'chak 'tea', cha'ran 'sewing machine' (both from Swahili)
\( ng \) in 'bang-bang 'mentally deprived', 'fool' (from Acholi abanbay), in 'runu-runu '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 nyeríku 'child' from Dinka nyáríkuk (Yok 1985: 328)/ Bari nyeríku 'child' (Owens 1985a: 238) (possibly via nyáríkuk 'child' (known in Khartum Arabic (Nhial 1975: 89))/ Shuwa nyírku 'child')
- UN nyëkem 'chin' (from Bari)
- UN nyanyá '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 bašid 'far'
- UN gaflan 'suddenly' / Turku kaffalán 'surprised' < SA gaflan 'suddenly'
- UN kamsa / Turku kamza 'five' < SA kamsa 'five'
- UN 'ena / Turku henn 'eye' < SA ęn 'eye'

Most exceptions are linked to rare cases of consonant changes, as illustrated in (918.):

(918.) UN tura'ý / Turku tourdou 'chase' < SA a'ruđu 'chase him!'
- UN lišil / Turku pšil 'elephant' < SA šil 'elephant'
- UN gusu / Turku koussou 'look for' < SA kús-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: zamam 'long ago' vs. diamam '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 niyniy 'how?' (Kitching n.d.: 55). Wu 'ita gi-ning-ning su'mu? could be interpreted as 'And what are you asking 'how? how?' Cf. also nêyney '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.):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(919.) UN}'wakti' & \text{ 'time' < SA } wakt \text{ 'time'} & \text{Turku 'ouaguit}' & \text{ 'time' < SA } wagt \text{ 'time'} \\
\text{UN}'raqi' & \text{ 'man' < EA } raqil \text{ 'man'} & \text{Turku } & \text{radjel, radjiel 'man' < SA } râjil \text{ 'man'} \\
\text{UN} & \text{mal'yan 'full' < SA malyân } & \text{Turku } & \text{malann 'full' < SA malân 'full'}
\end{align*}
\]

Substrate and adstrate influences may have interfered in the following Nubi sound changes:

- \( n < d \) UN \( ru' \text{man 'ashes', 'grey' < EA/SA rumâd 'ashes' } \)
- \( r < l \) UN \( bra' \text{ngiti 'blanket' < English blanket, Luganda bulangiti 'blanket' } \)
- \( l < r \) UN \( 'leja-' \text{leja 'work on a free-lance basis' < SWAH rejareja 'returnable' } \)
- \( l < n \) UN \( 'lengil ' \text{offload', 'descend' < SA nangil 'we remove' } \)

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 \( 'jebel ' \text{'mountain', 'chalo 'village' (from Luganda ekyalo) } \)). 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.):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(920.) UN} & \text{ soro'muta 'prostitute' < SA shermûta 'prostitute'} \\
\text{UN} & \text{ 'sela 'luggage', 'burden' < SA shêl 'burden'} \\
\text{UN} & \text{ 'sia 'a little' < SA shwiyya 'a bit'} \\
\text{UN} & \text{ bi'ses 'slowly' < SA bi shesh 'slowly'^182}
\end{align*}
\]

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.):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(921.) UN} & \text{ shan'ga/ san'ga '(be) surprised' - SWAH shangaa 'surprised'} \\
\text{UN} & \text{ 'ashara/ 'asara 'ten' - SWAH ashara 'ten'} \\
\text{UN} & \text{ 'ishma/ 'isma 'respect' - SWAH heshima 'respect'}
\end{align*}
\]

^182 Those Ugandan Nubi words, which Owens (1985a: 237) lists as exclusive \( s \)-words, namely \( 'sensi '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'wisha 'at last', kari'bish'a 'welcome' 183.

\[ j < z \]
UN za'lan/ja'lan 'angry' < EA/SA za^lân 'angry'
UN bi'zatu/bi'zatu '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).

\[ k < kh \]
\[ g < g \]
Most Nubi words that are reflexes of Arabic g-words, have equivalents in Swahili in gh. It is possible that in the creolization phase of Nubi, both forms in g and k (g < g, k < g) 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 gaflân '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 ghala'ti 'error' < SA ̅gala'qi 'error'
UN 'geru 'change' - SWAH ghairi 'change' < SA ̅gayar 'change'
UN getebu 'defeat' - SWAH ghala'bu 'defeat' < SA ̅galab (i) 'defeat'
UN 'gali 'expensive' - SWAH ghali 'scarse', 'expensive' < SA ̅gâli 'rare', 'scarse'

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). g 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 'ka'sudi 'intention' from Arabic qasdi 'intention' (EA/SA gašâl) 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 gohha, where g may have changed into k influenced by SWAH koho/a 'cough'. For others, Swahili influence cannot be assumed, since there is no Swahili equivalent. Consider also the forms in table 29:

183 An exception is bia'shara 'business', which in Nubi may be realized bia'sara.
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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA</th>
<th>UN</th>
<th>KN</th>
<th>Turku</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gah/ 'before'</td>
<td>'kabra 'before'</td>
<td>gobel</td>
<td>'kabra'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gahr 'grave'</td>
<td><em>kabri</em> 'grave'</td>
<td>ka'buri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabila 'tribe'</td>
<td><em>ka'bi</em> 'tribe'</td>
<td>gabila/kabila</td>
<td>ka'bi</td>
<td>ka'bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurtas 'paper'</td>
<td><em>ka'tas</em> 'paper'</td>
<td>ka'tasi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gissa 'tale', 'story'</td>
<td><em>kisa</em> 'tale', 'story'</td>
<td>kisa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magass 'scissors'</td>
<td><em>ma'kas</em> 'scissors'</td>
<td>ma'kasi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gifik 'lock'</td>
<td><em>kuful</em> 'lock'</td>
<td>kufuli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gahwa 'coffee'</td>
<td><em>gahwa</em></td>
<td>gaoua</td>
<td>ka'hawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>givas 'measure'</td>
<td><em>ki'yas</em> 'measure'</td>
<td>ki'asi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawasid 'base'</td>
<td><em>ka'waida</em> 'habit'</td>
<td>ka'waida</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29: UN, Swahili words in k

In the vicinity of velars and bilabials, With bilabials, often in free variation with *o*:

- UN *ka'lam* 'word', 'matter', 'problem' < EA/SA *ka'lam* 'word'
- UN *'wakti/'wokti* 'time', 'period' < SA *wakt* 'time'
- UN *batna* 'belly' < EA/SA *ba'fn* 'belly'

- *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'lam* 'word'
  - UN *'wakti/'wokti* 'time', 'period' < SA *wakt* 'time'
  - UN *batna* 'belly' < EA/SA *ba'fn* 'belly'

- *a* < *a*
  - UN *'dakal* (via old UN *'dakul*) 'enter' < SA *adkhal* 'enter!'

- *e* < *e*
  - UN *'kef?/ke'fin?* 'how?' < EA/SA *kêf? kefin?* 'how?'
  - UN *'ges* 'grass', 'weeds' < SA *'geshsh* 'grass', 'weeds'

- *e* < *i*
  - UN *gelebu in free variation with *gilibu, 'gelibu* (via UN *agilibu* 'win* in SA *agilibu* 'win it!'
  - UN *werim* 'swell' < SA *wirim* 'it swelled'

- *e* < *a*
  - before stressed syllable C, except initially or after *h* or *ʕ* (then *a* < *a*), also attested in SA dialects:
    - UN *ne'dif* 'clean' < SA *nadif* 'nadif' 'clean'
    - UN *je'did* 'new' < SA *jadid* 'je'did* 'new'

  - but: UN *to'wil* 'long' (influenced by bilabial *w*) < SA *jawil* 'long'
in the vicinity of alveolars. Also attested in SA dialects, especially with / or r:
UN 'sensı 'sun'< SA shams/shems 'sun'
UN 'jebel 'mountain' < SA jabal / jebel 'mountain'
UN 'beredu 'wash' < SA barrad/berred 'wash'

However, in the vicinity of / or r, if in initial position or after / or ^:
UN 'arnam 'rabbit' < SA arnob 'rabbit'

however: UN 'elfu 'one thousand' < SA alef 'one thousand'

And other exceptions, such as:
UN 'ta'lata 'three' < SA ta'-latà/ telàta 'three'
UN 'fikIR in free variation with 'teker 'think' < SA feker 'think'
UN 'moyo 'water' < SA moya 'water'
UN 'kore 'shout' < SA kòrak 'shout'

also attested in some SA dialects:
UN 'sokol 'thing' < SA shugol 'thing'
UN 'tom'sa 'crocodile' < SA tumsa (also timsâh) 'crocodile'

in the vicinity of bilabials, especially w:
UN 'yo'wele 'boy' < SA yo' wálad 'oh boy'
UN 'gala'moyo 'goat' < SA ganamaye 'goat'

in the vicinity of / or o (vowel assimilation), and especially when close to velars and bilabials, but seldom in the vicinity of emphatic/pharyngeal consonants or /, or in word-initial position.
UN 'doluka 'dance' < SA dallâka 'drum', 'dancing drum', 'dance'
UN 'dofunu 'bury' (via 'dafunu) < SA adjofunu 'bury it'

in the vicinity of /, (and bilabials?):
UN 'wenesu/ wonesu (via 'wenesu (a ~ e near alveolars)) 'talk' < SA wanasu 'they talked'
UN 'soro'muta 'prostitute' < SA shermûta 'prostitute'

in the vicinity of labials:
UN 'tom'sa 'crocodile' < EA/SA timsâh 'crocodile'
UN 'sho'mal 'left' < EA/SA shimâl 'left'

'dufur 'finger nail' < SA qdufur 'finger nail'
'kura 'ball' < SA kûra 'ball'

'rua 'go' < SA ra(u)wah 'go'
'so 'do' < SA sau, sow 'do'

in the vicinity of alveolars (and labials):
UN 'awunu 'help', 'assist' < SA awunnû 'help him'
UN 'badal 'instead of' < SA badal 'instead of'

also a synchronic feature in UN:
UN 'kaful 'pad)lock' < SA 'gifl (pad)lock'
UN 'shtl-hu, in free variation with 'shil 'take' < SA shil-hu 'take it!'

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 'bana' 'belly' / Turku 'boton' 'belly' < EA/SA 'baqi' 'belly'  
UN 'ai' 'what?' / Turku 'chenou?' 'what?'  
UN 'ashrubu' 'drink' / Turku 'cherbou' 'drink', 'smoke' < SA 'sharab' 'drink'  
UN 'ferteku' 'be scattered', 'scatter' / Turku 'fartakou', 'fartaka' 'be scattered', 'scatter' < SA 'fartak' 'scatter'  
UN 'wodour/wedouru' (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/c's. 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' [a:rofu].

(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 'agl' 'intelligence'  
UN 'arija' 'return' < SA 'arja' 'return'  
UN 'ahida' 'begin' < SA 'ahda' 'begin!'  
UN 'aruba' 'four' < SA 'arba' 'four'  
UN 'asuma' 'hear' < SA 'asma' 'hear' 

Some exceptions are listed in (927.) 184:

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
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 'gu'dura /  'gu'dra 'power'
UN dul'gan / dul'gon 'rag'
UN sul'uba / 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 giizma, géézmalS5. 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 'bahr - Turku bahr 'sea'
        UN 'birss, birch 'mat'
        UN 'moutfa - 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 timsâh 'crocodile'
        Turku botonn < SA ba'nh 'stomach', 'belly'
        Turku koussou 'look for' < SA kâs-u 'look for it!'
Word-medially, especially ?, ꜟ, 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-ḥagar 'the stone'
UN la'bi 'slave' < EA/SA al-ʿabīd '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 (yi) 'wele - Turku ouled 'boy'
UN de'gi - Turku daguig 'dough'
UN 'di - Turku dik 'cock'
UN ge'ri - Turku guērib 'nearby'
UN a'ra - Turku tirap, trap 'soil', 'earth'
UN ragi - Turku radjel, radjel '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 mukhh 'brain'
UN 'rizigi 'wealth', 'livelihood' < SA rizg 'livelihood'
UN 'hadi 'extent', 'border' < EA/SA ḥadd 'border'
UN 'waji 'face' < SA waḥ 'face'
UN 'roho 'spirit', 'soul', 'breath' < EA ṭuḥ /SA ṭuḥ '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 nangus-u 'we reduce it'
UN noun < Arabic N (generally body parts and kin terms) + pronominal suffix:
UN 'gildu 'skin' < EA gild-ha 'his skin'
UN sa'bi 'my friend' < SA saḥib-ī '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 $t^a$jîr 'trader', 'merchant'
UN 'fekeri(i) 'think' < EA/SA $f^a$kkîr 'think!' IMPER
UN 'rîsu 'bride' < EA/SA $c^a$rûs 'bride'
UN 'nasi 'people' < EA/SA ar-$n$âs 'the people'
UN 'tabu 'problem', 'trouble' < SA ta$h$ 'trouble', 'discomfort'

In Turku, the consonants $k$, $g$, $t$, $j$, $ch$, $z$, $ny$ 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, azreg 'deep blue', black'
    bëhid '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 $f$ok 'above' 'on top of'
    UN 'libu - Turku lip 'play', 'dance'
    UN 'nusú - Turku nouss 'half'
    UN 'muku - Turku mousk '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).

---

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 bwangi ri 'cheek' from Bari gwangi ri 'cheek'
. ending in -$i$ in the Arabic source form, as in: UN 'dâfi 'lukwarm' < SA dâfi 'warm'
    UN sa$bi 'friend' < SA şâfîb-i 'my friend, companion'
. final -$i$ resulting from final consonant deletion, as in: UN 'râgi 'man' < EA râqîl 'man'
    UN bo$q$î 'far' < SA ba$q$îd '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 $g$atti 'cover!' from SA $g$atta (II) 'cover'
UN we$ri 'show' < SA warri-hi 'show!' 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 Kharjum 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 'madresa 'Qur'an 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 fi'tina 'mischief' is derived from EA/SA fi'tina '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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>common features in p/cs and (certain) Arabic dialects</th>
<th>features unique to Arabic p/cs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>assimilation and vowel harmony in several dialects, especially in WSA, however limited by grammatical criteria</td>
<td>qualitative 5-vowel system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Arabic ( \text{jim} ): ( g ) in EA, ( j ) in SA, both in p/cs, especially in Nubi</td>
<td>vowel length: non-distinctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loss of emphatics, especially in WSA: variably attested, no emphasis in Bagirmi, Njamena</td>
<td>vowel harmony/vowel assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loss of pharyngeals: ( h &gt; h/\theta/kh, \theta &gt; \theta/j ) (especially in WSA, however variably attested; no pharyngeals in Nigeria and Chad)</td>
<td>( a &lt; a ) in context of allophonic, especially ( l ) and ( r )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( h &gt; \theta ), especially in WSA, e.g. NA, while variably attested in AA.</td>
<td>tendency to replace ( sh ) by ( s ) (free variation; ( sh-s ))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( kh &lt; g ), in WSA</td>
<td>tendency to replace ( z ) by ( j ) (free variation; ( j &lt; z ), especially in southern UN (substrate influences?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epenthesis (in most SA dialects)</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final devoicing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nubi</th>
<th>Turku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egyptianisms: ( g ) pronunciation in OA ( j- ) words</td>
<td>no Egyptianisms, no ( g ) in OA ( j- ) words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( j &lt; z ): especially in southern UN</td>
<td>( j &lt; z ): not in Turku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowel assimilation: common</td>
<td>vowel assimilation: less applied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense is relevant in infinitives and monosyllabic passive verbs</td>
<td>tone: most likely absent in Turku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 31: Nubi-Turku distinctions in phonology**

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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 jin), and some adverbs of time, such as 'ma're 'today' (from EA an-nahdr 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 'shedér 'tree' < SA shadar 'tree' (Hillelson 1930: 311)
UN a'buba 'grandmother' < SA ġabōba 'grandmother' (Hillelson 1930: 131)
UN 'kôre 'cry' < SA kôrak 'cry' (Hillelson 1930: 73)
UN 'dengir 'bend down' < SA dângar 'bend down' (Hillelson 1930: 31)
UN sin'gi 'hunchback' < SA sinkit 'hump' (Hillelson 1930: 148)
UN dâlu'gan 'rag' < SA dâl'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 homa (as opposed to Sudanese humma), 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 faltâ. 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 ibrê 'needle"
UN me'dîda - Turku madidé 'porridge'
UN me'risa - Turku mérissé 'alcoholic beverage'
UN 'sana - Turku sané 'year'
UN 'tisâ - 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 dîfan 'guest' < SA dêfân 'guest(PL)
UN sa'mun, 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 'ammât-i 'my paternal aunt'
UN sa'bi 'friend' < SA šâbih-i 'my friend'
UN gildu 'skin' < EA gild-u 'his skin'
UN 'batnâ 'stomach' < SA batn-a 'his stomach'
UN zam'bi 'offense', 'sin' < SA zam-bî 'my offense'
UN 'ebu 'shame' < SA 'eb-u 'his shame'

191 POSS SUFF 1SING: -i 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 Asyût and Gina, and around Luxor (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985: 154-156), -a 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 Asyût 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 *at(t) which is only present in possessive forms. I found only two instances of possessive suffix incorporation in Turku, namely *sabi ‘friend’ (from SA *sâhib-t ‘my friend’), and *nassipti ‘mother-in-law’ (from SA *nasibait-t ‘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 *tildu ‘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 ‘termite’ < SA *al-arda ‘the termite’
UN *lukumur ‘donkey’ < SA *al-humur ‘the donkey’
UN *libira ‘needle’, ‘injection’ < SA *al-libra ‘the needle’
UN *la’tris ‘bridegroom’ < SA *al-saris ‘the bridegroom’
UN *Al’gul < EA/SA *al-gul ‘the demon’, ‘the vampire’
UN *lar’ba/larba ‘spear’ (lakarba in JA) < SA *al-harba ‘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)
letinnenn ‘Monday’ (cf. UN *yom lettinun)

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 *la’far - Turku far ‘mouse’
UN *lungara - 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 *luka’mar - Turku oumar ‘donkey’
UN *li’fil - Turku *phil ‘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-râha ‘house of comfort’
UN *sabal’hikma ‘expert’, ‘specialist’ < *sâhib al-hikma ‘companion of wisdom’
UN *sabal’bele ‘native’ < *sâhib 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 flel 'night' (cf. Turku fillel 'night') < SA fl lël '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 igâ zuzil(zil)… 'when the earth is shaken (…)’ (first line of the Qur’anic sûra 99 (Zilzâl))
UN jengis 'like' < EA zayy gins 'like the type' (via metathesis, j < z, and e < a )
UN binadu’niya '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nubi</th>
<th>Turku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egyptianisms, such as:</td>
<td>Egyptianisms: rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN ‘na’re ‘today’ &lt; EA an-nahâr dâ ‘today’</td>
<td>Turku alyoum ‘today’ &lt; SA el yöm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bukra ‘tomorrow’ &lt; EA ‘bukra ‘tomorrow’</td>
<td>am bakr ‘tomorrow’ &lt; SA bâkir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>words of WSA-origin: rare</td>
<td>words of WSA-origin, for instance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incorporation of vocative particle</td>
<td>feminine words in -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduplication: productive process</td>
<td>no instances</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| table 32: Nubi-Turku distinctions in the lexicon |
7.4. The noun phrase

7.4.1. Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UN 192</th>
<th>KN (Mahmud)</th>
<th>JA (Tosco)</th>
<th>JA (Nhial)</th>
<th>Turku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SING 1</td>
<td>'ana</td>
<td>'ana</td>
<td>'ana</td>
<td>'ana</td>
<td>ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>'ita</td>
<td>'ita</td>
<td>'ita</td>
<td>'inta ('ita)</td>
<td>inta, tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>'u'oo</td>
<td>'u'oo</td>
<td>'u'oo</td>
<td>'u'wa</td>
<td>hou, ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1</td>
<td>'inna</td>
<td>'inna</td>
<td>'inna</td>
<td>'inna</td>
<td>anina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>'itakum 'ita-kum</td>
<td>'itakum</td>
<td>'ina 'inna</td>
<td>'inntakum</td>
<td>inntoukoum, inntoukoum, inntoukoum, inntoukoum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>'umon</td>
<td>'umon</td>
<td>'umon</td>
<td>'umon</td>
<td>'umon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 33: Pronouns in Arabic p/cs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UDA</th>
<th>EA</th>
<th>KA (Trimingham)</th>
<th>SA (Worsley)</th>
<th>AA (Hillelson)</th>
<th>Shuwa 193</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SING 1</td>
<td>'ana</td>
<td>'ana</td>
<td>'ana</td>
<td>'ana</td>
<td>'ana</td>
<td>anina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>inta</td>
<td>anta, inta</td>
<td>inta, inta, itta, anta, enta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>anti</td>
<td>inti</td>
<td>inti, inti, itti, inti, enti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>'hua</td>
<td>huwwa, hi, huwwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>'hia</td>
<td>hiyya, hi, hiyya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1</td>
<td>'inna</td>
<td>'nhna, nhna</td>
<td>'nhna, nhna, nhna, nhna</td>
<td>anina, anina, anina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>entu</td>
<td>antu, intu</td>
<td>intu, intu, ittu, antu, entu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>'intan</td>
<td>intan, intan / intan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>'huma</td>
<td>humma, humma, humma, humma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>'hin</td>
<td>hin, hun, hun / hunna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 'ihna (Upper Egypt, SA) through the loss of h. The other possibility that 'ina developed out of Arabic (SA) arina via a'nina → 'ina → '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 (Khartûm 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 Behnsstedt & 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.

### table 35: Possessive pronouns in Arabic p/cs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UN 195</th>
<th>KN (Heine)</th>
<th>JA (Tosco)</th>
<th>JA (Mahmud)</th>
<th>JA (Nhial)</th>
<th>Turku 196</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SING</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>'tai, ta'yi</td>
<td><em>ta'i</em></td>
<td><em>bi'ta'ai</em></td>
<td>tai, <em>bita-i</em></td>
<td>tai</td>
<td>anai, anahi 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td><em>taki</em></td>
<td><em>taki</em></td>
<td><em>bi'lak</em></td>
<td>taki</td>
<td><em>taki</em></td>
<td>anaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td><em>to</em></td>
<td><em>to</em></td>
<td><em>bi'to</em></td>
<td>to, <em>bitau</em></td>
<td><em>to</em></td>
<td>anahou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>tana</em></td>
<td><em>tenna</em></td>
<td><em>bi'tanna</em></td>
<td><em>ta'i-na</em></td>
<td>bitana</td>
<td>anina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>takum</em></td>
<td><em>takum</em></td>
<td><em>bi'takum</em></td>
<td><em>ta'i-na</em></td>
<td>anani</td>
<td>anakoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>to'umon</em></td>
<td><em>to'umon</em></td>
<td><em>bi'to'umon</em></td>
<td><em>to-un</em></td>
<td>bitauman</td>
<td>anahoumann, anahoum, anam 198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### table 36: Possessive pronouns in Arabic dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UDA 199</th>
<th>EA</th>
<th>KA</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>Shuwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SING</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>bitai</em></td>
<td><em>bitaš-i</em></td>
<td><em>bi'taš-i</em></td>
<td><em>hagg-i, hana-i, hanāyi</em></td>
<td>hanai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td><em>bitak</em></td>
<td><em>bitaš-ak</em></td>
<td><em>bi'taš-ak</em></td>
<td><em>hana- / betaš-ak, hanaki</em></td>
<td>hanak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td><em>bitaš-ik, -ak</em></td>
<td><em>bi'taš-ik</em></td>
<td><em>hana- / betaš-?</em></td>
<td>hanaki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td><em>bitau</em></td>
<td><em>bitaš-u</em></td>
<td><em>bi'taš-u</em></td>
<td><em>hana- / betaš-ho</em></td>
<td>hanahu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td><em>bitatina</em></td>
<td><em>bitaš-na</em></td>
<td><em>bi'taš-na</em></td>
<td><em>hana- / betaš-?</em></td>
<td>hanaha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>bitatina</em></td>
<td><em>bitaš-na</em></td>
<td><em>bi'taš-na</em></td>
<td><em>hana- / betaš-?</em></td>
<td>hanana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td><em>bitakom</em></td>
<td><em>bitaš-kum, -ku</em></td>
<td><em>bi'taš-kum</em></td>
<td><em>hana- / betaš-kum, hanaku</em></td>
<td>hanaku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td><em>bitaš-kun</em></td>
<td><em>bi'taš-kun</em></td>
<td><em>hana- / betaš-kun</em></td>
<td>hanakan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td><em>bitahom</em></td>
<td><em>bitaš-hum</em></td>
<td><em>bi'taš-hum</em></td>
<td><em>hana- / betaš-hum, hanahum</em></td>
<td>hanahum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td><em>bitaš-hin</em></td>
<td><em>hana- / betaš-hin</em></td>
<td><em>hana- / betaš-hin</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>hanahin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


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 i (as in WSA hanaayi ‘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.

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 \( \text{bi}t\)\(\text{a} \) in Nubi and JA, and \( \text{ana} \) 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/c/s. 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/c/s, which links the p/c/s 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 \(\text{ta'yi}\) should be attributed to the influence of certain WSA dialects. However, a similar stress pattern occurs in certain Egyptian Arabic dialects and in Khartûm Arabic as well (see Behnstedt & Woidich 1985: 150; Tosco & Owens 1993: 239).

### 7.4.2. Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UN (^{201})</th>
<th>KN</th>
<th>JA</th>
<th>Turku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>internal (suppletion, ablaut)</td>
<td>fossilized forms</td>
<td>fossilized forms</td>
<td>fossilized forms</td>
<td>fossilized forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stress shift suffixation:</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(\text{in})</td>
<td>-(\text{in})</td>
<td>-(\text{in})</td>
<td>-(\text{in})</td>
<td>-(\text{in})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(\text{\textquoteleft a})</td>
<td>-(\text{\textquoteleft a})</td>
<td>-(\text{\textquoteleft at})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(\text{\textquoteleft iy\textquoteleft a})</td>
<td>-(\text{\textquoteleft an})</td>
<td>-(\text{\textquoteleft ti})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(\text{\textquoteleft an\textquoteleft a})</td>
<td>-(\text{\textquoteleft ka} ) (^{202})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prefixation</td>
<td>Bantu loans</td>
<td>Bantu loans</td>
<td>-(\text{\textquoteleft jin})</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixed forms</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other means</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number agreement</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td>regular (not systematic)</td>
<td>minimal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 37: Number in Arabic p/c/s**

\(^{201}\) It is difficult to say at which stage \(\text{bi}\)- in Nubi/Juba Arabic \(\text{bita-}\) was lost. Considering the JA data where \(\text{bita-}\) co-occurs with \(\text{ta-}\), it could be suggested that the loss occurred at a rather recent stage. However, Kaye & Tosco (1993: 283) believe that \(\text{bi-}\) was reintroduced via recent decreolization, rather than being a remnant of a previous stage. Concerning the loss of \(\text{bi-}\), Kaye & Tosco (1993: 283) suggest either the evolution \(\text{bi-} \rightarrow \text{\textquoteleft p\textquoteleft i\textquoteleft a}\rightarrow \text{\textquoteleft p\textquoteleft e}\rightarrow \emptyset\), or the interpretation of \(\text{bi-}\) as a separate morpheme, which has been deleted. Devoicing \(\text{bi-}\) into \(\text{pi-}\) seems to be a feature of present-day JA as well.

\(^{204}\) 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 -\(\text{\textquoteleft ka}\) is \text{nyere\'ku-nyere\'ku-\textquoteleft ka} 'children'. However, I think that \text{nyere\'ku-\textquoteleft ka} is a more regular plural in -\(\text{\textquoteleft a}\) of the word \text{nyer\'kuk 'child'}, which occurs as such in JA.
An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UDA 203</th>
<th>EA</th>
<th>KA</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Shuwa</th>
<th>AA 204</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes, but</td>
<td>yes, but</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>only fixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjectives:</td>
<td></td>
<td>adjectives:</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broken/internal</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internal + -âin suffixation</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixed forms</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other means</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number agreement</td>
<td>no?,</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optional?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/c. 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 ouàdînn ana pokteur anima. '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 -â 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 -â as well (see also Owens 1985: 252). Plural marking by means of a stress shift of Nubi nouns ending in other than -â may have originated by analogy with those in -â. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stress shift</th>
<th>fossilized forms</th>
<th>Nubi innovations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la’bi</td>
<td>UN la’bi ‘slaves’</td>
<td>SA al-âbid ‘things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aya’nin</td>
<td>UN aya’nin ‘sick people’</td>
<td>SA ʕaiyân ‘things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rата’na</td>
<td>UN rата’na ‘languages’</td>
<td>diʃa’nà ‘guests’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hara’miya</td>
<td>UN hara’miya ‘thieves’</td>
<td>bina’dhi miya ‘human beings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sab(i)’yan</td>
<td>sab(i)’yan ‘friends’</td>
<td>AA subiyàn ‘dogs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>kubä’na ‘directors’, ‘leaders’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 39: Fossilized forms vs. Nubi innovations of plural marking

204 The suffix -in 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. -in 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, -in is especially favoured for marking plural adjectives.
205 mahlu’katî ‘creature(s)’ is probably the only noun in Nubi where the Arabic plural morpheme -ât 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’ - molödat ‘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 nās '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 'dhīfir '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 nās 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UN 206</th>
<th>KN</th>
<th>JA</th>
<th>Turku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>'wai</td>
<td>'wai</td>
<td>'wahid (ouâid)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>'de</td>
<td>'de</td>
<td>da, da, da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero-marking</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM PROX SING</td>
<td>'de, ('u)we'de (ATTR), ('u)we'de (PRED)</td>
<td>'de, 'we'de</td>
<td>da, da, di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM PROX PL</td>
<td>'dol'de</td>
<td>'dol'de</td>
<td>del, del</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM DIS SING</td>
<td>'na'de</td>
<td>'na'de</td>
<td>del</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM DIS PL</td>
<td>'na'de, 'na 'dol'de</td>
<td>'na'de</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N DEM or DEM N?</td>
<td>N DEM</td>
<td>N DEM</td>
<td>N DEM, but</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

table 40: Articles and demonstratives in the Arabic p/cs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UDA 207</th>
<th>EA</th>
<th>KA</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Shuwa</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>wâhid N</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>wâhid</td>
<td>N wâhid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>el (al, ul, i)</td>
<td>al-, el-</td>
<td>al-, el-</td>
<td>al-, el-</td>
<td>al-, (da)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM PROX SING m</td>
<td>dei</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM PROX SING f</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>(da)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM PROX PL m</td>
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<td>dâl</td>
<td>dêl</td>
<td>dîl</td>
<td>dôl(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM PROX PL f</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>dél(a)</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM DIS SING m</td>
<td>dak</td>
<td>dak(ha)</td>
<td>dak ('dâka)</td>
<td>dâk</td>
<td>dâk(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM DIS SING f</td>
<td>dik(ha)</td>
<td>dik</td>
<td>dik</td>
<td>dîke</td>
<td>dîk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM DIS PL m</td>
<td>dâl</td>
<td>dâl</td>
<td>de'lâk</td>
<td>de'lâk</td>
<td>dôl(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM DIS PL f</td>
<td>dâl dîl</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>dêka</td>
<td>dêl(a)</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N DEM or DEM N?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N DEM</td>
<td>N DEM</td>
<td>N DEM</td>
<td>N DEM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

table 41: The definite article and demonstratives in the Arabic dialects

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.) "wâhid râjil gum tûruju jemûs 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-O '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-guidadma 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, wâhid 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 Abbeché 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 Abbeché 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. 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.

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. dol'de 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 decanalization.

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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: yom da referring to a day in the past and 'ya'da be overthere'. We find al yom da 'today' in the Shuva dialect (Lethem 1920: 296) and al yom 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 youm men da 'nowadays' and 'ya'de be here' respectively, which convey a sense of proximity. Tosco & Owens include inel 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', mál-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.) aouâm 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 Kharjum Arabic, the synthetic ?idâfa 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 ?idâfa 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', sßhib '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turku</th>
<th>JA/Nubi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>achara ouai</td>
<td>'11' (10 + 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>achara tanen</td>
<td>'12' (10 + 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>issiirin ouaid</td>
<td>'21' (20 + 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mihia kamza</td>
<td>'500' (100, 5 times)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>'1' (1 + 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'12' (2 + 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'21' (1 + 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'500' (5 times 100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'3,000' (thousand 3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table 42: Numeral formation in Turku and JA/Nubi

The JA/Nubi (no data for Turku) thousands are expressed 'elf ta'lata', etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KA</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Shuwa Arabic</th>
<th>AA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ḫaddās hār (1 + 10)</td>
<td>ḫaddās hār (1 + 10)</td>
<td>'ashara wāḥid (10 + 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ināshār (2 + 10)</td>
<td>ināshār (2 + 10)</td>
<td>'ashara tanin (10 + 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>wāḥid wā ḫashrīn (1 + 20)</td>
<td>wāḥid wā ḫashrīn (1 + 20)</td>
<td>'ashrīn (1 + 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>khamsa miyya (5 times 100)</td>
<td>khamsa miyya (5 times 100)</td>
<td>khamsa miyya (5 times 100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>talat alaf (3 times 1,000)</td>
<td>talat alaf (3 times 1,000)</td>
<td>talat alaf (3 times 1,000)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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 neighboring 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 Sudanic 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features common to (some) Arabic dialects and p/c's</th>
<th>Features unique to Arabic p/c's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRON POSS 2PL: -kum in eastern SA (KA, EA)</td>
<td>pronouns: no gender and number distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON 3PL: hngajaran (Upper Egypt)</td>
<td>subject/object pronouns: no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collectivity marked by nas (WSA)</td>
<td>however distinguished from pronominal possessors (fossilized forms of Arabic genitive exponent + suffix pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative da used as definite article, beside el (AA, NA)</td>
<td>subject and object, when expressed pronominally: independent pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM PROX: least marked form (AA, EA)</td>
<td>PRON POSS 2SING in -k: ta-ki (Nubi), /bi-ta-ki (JA), ana-ki (Turku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numeral wâhid used as indefinite article in some dialects (Shuwa/AA: N wâhid)</td>
<td>PRON 2PL: in -kum; intokum, intokum, intokum, intokum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite marking: optional</td>
<td>PRON POSS 2PL: ta-kum (Nubi), /bi-ta-kum (JA), ana-kum (Turku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA DEM PROX: PRON + da (Shuwa/AA: Henegon, Nubi)</td>
<td>PRON (POSS) 3PL in final -n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reinterpolation of Arabic PL DEM dol as plural marker: in AA, (and NA?) (Nubi, Turku)</td>
<td>loss of dual, however (limited) plural marking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comparison: ADJ + futu + complement: NA, Bagirmi</td>
<td>only fossilized forms of broken plurals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other means of number marking: context, adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>optional/minimal number agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>number marking through stress shift (UN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>collectivity marked by nas (Nubi, JA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>three-way division of articles: DEF: definite, pragmatically referential NPs; INDEF: indefinite, pragmatically referential NPs; O-marking: non-referential NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>definite article: de/da &lt; Arabic DEM PROX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>order: N + DEF (&lt; Arabische DEF + N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indefinite article: waâ, wahid (Nubi, JA) from numeral 'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indefinite marking: not compulsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>definite marking: not compulsory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>core part of demonstrative: de/da (Nubi, Turku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nubi DEM PROX: PRON + 'de'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>comparison: ADJ + futu + complement (futu &lt; verb with meaning)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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, Nubi comparative/superlative
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)

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. Moreover, Muraz's 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).

### Table 44: Nubi-Turku differences in NP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nubi</th>
<th>Turku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRON 1PL</td>
<td>'ina (&lt; EA/SA ihna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON</td>
<td>'ita / 'itokum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SING/PL</td>
<td>'de, ('u)we'de, (u)'wede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM PROX</td>
<td>ta (&lt; EA/SA bitô/bêta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>'idashar, it'nashar (cf. EA, SA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM 11-99</td>
<td>ta + NUM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ordinals</td>
<td>ta + NUM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 conclusion as to some formal peculiarities, 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nubi</th>
<th>Turk</th>
<th>Shuwa (Lethem 1920)</th>
<th>SA (Hillelson 1930)</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'adi</td>
<td>addou</td>
<td>'adđ (u)</td>
<td>'udđ-u</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'akulu</td>
<td>akoul</td>
<td>akal (u)</td>
<td>akul-u</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'alasu</td>
<td>alass/assou</td>
<td>lâhas, lihís (a)</td>
<td>aîhas-u</td>
<td>'lick'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'askutu</td>
<td>askkoutt</td>
<td>sakat</td>
<td>askut</td>
<td>'be quiet'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'asuru</td>
<td>asserou</td>
<td>'aṣargon</td>
<td>aṣasur-u</td>
<td>'massage'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mofuku</td>
<td>amfoukou</td>
<td>nafakh</td>
<td>anfukh-u</td>
<td>'blow up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'robutu</td>
<td>arbotton</td>
<td>rabaç</td>
<td>arbaç-u</td>
<td>'tie'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'talá</td>
<td>atala</td>
<td>'tała (a)</td>
<td>'aṭla (a)</td>
<td>'ascend'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dsafru</td>
<td>dafoumou, dafiona</td>
<td>dafan</td>
<td>aṭfan-u, aṭfun-u</td>
<td>'bury'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dsafar</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>ḡafar</td>
<td>ḡafar-u</td>
<td>'plait', 'weave'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'żalbu,</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>gâlab</td>
<td>aṭlib-u</td>
<td>'win', 'defeat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'żalbu,</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>gâlab</td>
<td>aṭlib-u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Old UN:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'azâlbu</td>
<td>agilibu</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'azâlbu</td>
<td>agilibu</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kitebu</td>
<td>kétéfou</td>
<td>katab</td>
<td>aktub-u</td>
<td>'write'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lebist, KN:</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>libis, labas</td>
<td>albas, abis</td>
<td>'wear', 'get dressed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also albis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lim(u)</td>
<td>loumou</td>
<td>lamm</td>
<td>limm-u</td>
<td>'gather',</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dugu</td>
<td>dougou</td>
<td>dagg</td>
<td>dugg-u</td>
<td>'collect'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rudu</td>
<td>ridi</td>
<td>radd</td>
<td>rudd-u</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'midu</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>madd</td>
<td>midd-u</td>
<td>'answer',</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sidu</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>sadd</td>
<td>sidd-u</td>
<td>'accept'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gum</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>gôm</td>
<td>gum</td>
<td>'extend'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kattu</td>
<td>koutou</td>
<td>ḡâq</td>
<td>ḡuṭ-u</td>
<td>'close'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sulâ,</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>sîlî, chilli,</td>
<td>shîl</td>
<td>'get up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sulâ,</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>sîlî, chilli,</td>
<td>shîl</td>
<td>'put'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sulâ,</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>sîlî, chilli,</td>
<td>shîl</td>
<td>'take'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'futu</td>
<td>foutu</td>
<td>fât</td>
<td>fât(-u)</td>
<td>'pass'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hum</td>
<td>houm</td>
<td>ʾām</td>
<td>ʾām-u</td>
<td>'swim'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'zidu</td>
<td>zidi</td>
<td>zâd</td>
<td>zâd</td>
<td>'increase'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sten(u)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>istanna (X)</td>
<td>istanna</td>
<td>'wait'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kâti</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>'cover'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'alâmu</td>
<td>alloumou</td>
<td>ʾalâm (II)</td>
<td>ʾalâm-u</td>
<td>'teach', 'show'</td>
<td>'change'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'badil(u)</td>
<td>badelou,  badilou, bodolou, bodolou</td>
<td>ʾbadal (II)</td>
<td>ʾbadal-u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'awunu</td>
<td>aoumou</td>
<td>ʾawwan (II)</td>
<td>ʾawwan (III)</td>
<td>'help', 'assist'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'so</td>
<td>sao, so</td>
<td>sawwa (II)</td>
<td>saw (III)</td>
<td>'do'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Table 46: Nubi/Turku verbs deriving from imperatives |

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' < 'adofuru'/adofuru < SA adfur-u IMPER + OBJ SUFF 'plait it'
UN 'turaju 'chase' < 'aturuju < SA ajrud-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 alloumon 'teach' < SA ^allim-u, Nubi/Turku auunu/aounou 'help' < SA ^awwin-u, ^âwin-u.

The second most important group of source forms for the Nubi/Turku verbs consists of Arabic perfects. See table 47:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nubi</th>
<th>Turku</th>
<th>Shuwa</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'fadul</td>
<td>fadal, fadel</td>
<td>fašal</td>
<td>fašal (a)</td>
<td>fašal (3SING)</td>
<td>'remain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'negetu</td>
<td>néguit</td>
<td>najaq</td>
<td>nijiq (a)</td>
<td>nijiq (3SING)</td>
<td>'get ripe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'talaçu</td>
<td>tallak</td>
<td>tallag</td>
<td>tallag</td>
<td>tallag-û (3PL)</td>
<td>'divorce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'waga'</td>
<td>ouaka, ouaga</td>
<td>waga5</td>
<td>waga5</td>
<td>waga5 (3SING)</td>
<td>'fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'waja'</td>
<td>ouodjia</td>
<td>waja5</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>waja5 (3SING)</td>
<td>'hurt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>simitt</td>
<td>samit</td>
<td>simit (a)</td>
<td>samit (1SING)</td>
<td>'understand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>niss</td>
<td>niss/ nasi</td>
<td>nisa, nisi (a)</td>
<td>nist (1SING)</td>
<td>'forget'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>niss</td>
<td>niss/ nasi</td>
<td>nisa, nisi (a)</td>
<td>nist, nisa (3SING)</td>
<td>'forget'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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 alloumon 'teach' < SA ^allim-u, Nubi/Turku auunu/aounou 'help' < SA ^awwin-u, ^âwin-u.

The second most important group of source forms for the Nubi/Turku verbs consists of Arabic perfects. See table 47:

Table 47: Nubi and Turku verbs derived from Arabic imperfects

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/c.s.

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 njiq 'it got ripe', which developed into 'negetu 'get ripe' in Nubi.
Nubi and Turku verbs which derive from an Arabic imperfect are less frequent:

(961.) UN 'nangusu 'reduce' < Shuwa nangus-hu 'we reduce it' IMPERF 1PL + OBJ SUFF from nagaš 'reduce'
UN 'telim 'dream' < Shuwa tahlim 'you dream' IMPERF 2SING MASC from hilim 'dream'
UN 'aba 'refuse' < Shuwa âba 'I refuse' from aba 'refuse'/ SA âbâ 'I refuse' from abâ 'refuse'
UN 'agem' 'be able' < Shuwa/SA agdar 'I can' from gadar 'be able'

(962.) Turku baba 'refuse' < Shuwa be7âba '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 basma'can 'they(FEM) understand'
b-IMPERF 3PL FEM from sami' 'understand', 'hear'
Turku batak 'laugh' < Shuwa baďêk 'I laugh', 'he laughs' b-IMPERF 1/3SING from dâhik '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 mâshâ (i) 'walk'
UN 'azu/'aju < EA 9âwiz-u 'wanting it' PART ACT + OBJ SUFF from 9az 'want' 218
UN 'arufu/Turku arfou 'know' < 9ârif-u 'knowing it' PART ACT + OBJ SUFF from SA 9araf (i) 'know'
Turku zoutou '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 O-form, they indicate a state, while when marked by the progressive marker, they express inchoativeness:

(964.) UN za'lan/ja'lan 'be angry' < SA za9lân 'angry' ADJ
UN hara'gan 'be sweating' < SA 9argân 'sweating' ADJ
UN ji'ân/Turku diânn 'be hungry' < SA ji9ân 'hungry' ADJ

There are only very few instances of Nubi verbs deriving from a noun.

(965.) UN tombaru 'do the man's part at the dolûka-dance' < SA tâmhîr 'vocal accompaniment to dance', 'long-necked stringed instrument', 'drum' (Turku: sao tambour 'a military exercise')
UN 'saba 'become morning' in 'lata 'saba/ 'lata gi-'saba 'it is morning' < UN sa'ba 'tomorrow'
cf. SA el-wata asbahat 'it is morning' (Hillelson 1930: 195)
UN 'rutu 'speak' < SA ruţâna 'foreign language'/UN ru'tan 'language' 220
UN 'isabu 'count' < SA hisâb 'calculation'/ UN i'sab

217 Tosco & Owens (1993: 233) link the p/c imperfect forms to WSA verb sources, since, according to them, both lack the prefix bi-, he-, 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 dår, 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 9ârân 'sweating' in Sudanese Arabic.

220 Owens (1985a: 574) states that 'rutu 'speak' originates from the noun ru'tan 'language'. Hillelson (1930: 119) lists the verb raţân '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 'rutu. However, Owens is probably correct in deriving verbal 'rutu from nominal ru'tan since the sequence of the verbal vowels, if derived from the verb raţân, 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 i'sabu 'count' is probably derived from Nubi i'sab/SA hisâb 'calculation' and not from the verb hisâb (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UN grammatical source form</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>Turku grammatical source form</th>
<th>from Shuwa/SA</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'aba</td>
<td>IMPER 1SING vs.</td>
<td>baba</td>
<td>b-IMPERF</td>
<td>abā, abā 'refuse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ashrubu</td>
<td>IMPER vs.</td>
<td>cherbou</td>
<td>PERF sharab</td>
<td>'drink', 'smoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'asma</td>
<td>IMPER vs.</td>
<td>simitt</td>
<td>PERF sami5</td>
<td>'understand', 'hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ataku</td>
<td>IMPER vs.</td>
<td>batak</td>
<td>b-IMPERF</td>
<td>dāhilik 'laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'agider</td>
<td>IMPER 1SING vs.</td>
<td>bagdeur</td>
<td>b-IMPERF</td>
<td>gadar 'be able'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'telim</td>
<td>IMPER 2SING vs.</td>
<td>hilim</td>
<td>PERF 3SING hlim</td>
<td>'dream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni'situ</td>
<td>PERF 1SING vs.</td>
<td>niss</td>
<td>PERF 3SING nisi</td>
<td>'forget'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'i'go</td>
<td>PERF 3PL vs.</td>
<td>légui</td>
<td>PERF 3SING līgi</td>
<td>'get', 'obtain', 'find'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we'ri</td>
<td>IMPER vs.</td>
<td>ouorou</td>
<td>PERF 3SING warra</td>
<td>'show', 'explain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ja</td>
<td>PERF 3SING vs.</td>
<td>bedji</td>
<td>b-IMPERF já2</td>
<td>'come', 'become'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 48: UN and Turku verbs derived from different source forms

Forms that probably derive from imperative source forms are fairly frequent in Nubi, 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 inflicted 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

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 Ö 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 agata(-ah) 'cut it' IMPER SING (+ OBJ SUFF) or gata(-ah) 'he cut (it)' PERF 3SING (+ OBJ SUFF) from gata 'cut'
UN 'gum 'wake up', 'get up' < SA gâm 'rise!' IMPER SING from gâm 'rise'
UN 'num 'sleep' < SA núm 'sleep!' IMPER SING from núm 'sleep'
The above SA verb forms, if plural imperative or perfect, would be agra(-ah)'read(PL)!', agata(-ah)'cut(PL)!'
and gata(-ah)'they cut', gâm(-ah)'rise(PL)!', and núm(-ah)'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 nàd-î 'call him' IMPER + OBJ SUFF from nàda (III) 'call'

222 The object suffixes 3SING are -hu after V, -u after C in Kharjûm 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 Ö 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 á before the pronominal suffixes in PERF 3SING, e.g. dagdágho '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. The masculine object suffix -u may also explain final -u in forms derived from active participles, as in UN 'aruifu/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 -û and not -u. Owens (1985a: 256) tackles the problem himself by assuming that in spite of a Western Sudanese Arabic origin of the Arabic p/es, there was Egyptian and Khartûm 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) askat-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 'awa' 'help' < SA 'âwin 'help!' IMPER from 'âwan (III) 'help'
         (after Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 154-155)

Pasch & Thelwall use Heine's data which are insufficient to draw proper conclusions. 'rasulu and 'awa with final -u occur frequently in Ugandan Nubi with the meanings 'send' and 'help', respectively. Moreover, there is no reason why rassal 'send' and 'âwan (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 'wonusu 'talk', 'converse' respectively.

(972.)  "Ana 'go- rwa 'wonusu 'i'ja. PRON 1SING PROG- go tell-0 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 ligi(-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. Verbs ending in other vowels are not taken into consideration here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive</th>
<th>intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amfoukou</td>
<td>'blow up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asserou</td>
<td>'massage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbotou</td>
<td>'tie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dougou</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lounou</td>
<td>'collect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kétíou</td>
<td>'write'</td>
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<tr>
<td>addou</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cherbou</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ourozou</td>
<td>'explain', 'show'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arfou</td>
<td>'know'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dafounou</td>
<td>'bury'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fartakou</td>
<td>'scatter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allournou</td>
<td>'each'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aouou</td>
<td>'help'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koutou</td>
<td>'put'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djihou</td>
<td>'bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foukou</td>
<td>'untie', 'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djourou</td>
<td>'pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tèrëbou</td>
<td>'plant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatéchou</td>
<td>'look for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choufou</td>
<td>'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fartou</td>
<td>'vaccinate'</td>
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<tr>
<td>dossou</td>
<td>'attack'</td>
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<tr>
<td>badelou</td>
<td>'change'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tourdou</td>
<td>'chase', 'follow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gobolou</td>
<td>'bring back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tousou</td>
<td>'put'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| table 49: Transitive n-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 kommonnitt titt. 'Make the convoi come down.' 'Stop the convoi.' (Muraz 1926: 270)

(974.) chokolb 'turn' >> chokolbou 'turn s.th.'
Ri chokolb 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)
(...), intoukoum gobel fi dar anakoun. 'You(PL) will return to your(PL) country.' (Muraz 1926: 293)
Gobolou màl-ana-akitt ana mara-da lè radjièla (...) '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 almè 'Pour water' (Muraz 1926: 176)

and the sentences in (977.):

225 See also the discussion in Tosco & Owens (1993: 241-242)
226 Muraz (1926: 275) mentions chokolbou as an alternative form.
Pokteur anahi ouaïd mardann. Badelou 'One of my porters is ill. Change him.' (Muraz 1926: 271)

Yaoda ourar anahou. Foukou ê lamoussou. 'Here are its faeces. Open them and touch them.' (Muraz 1926: 274)

Gousou boundouk ë doussou 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.

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.):

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: tellf, tellfou 'destroy'
allest, allssou 'lick'

and the sentences in (980.) and (981.):

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)

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.).

 Siddi 'close' cf. UN 'sidu'
zidi 'increase' cf. UN 'zidu'
ridi 'like', 'accept' cf. UN 'ridu'
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.):

leeggi 'find', 'meet'
Aina leggi abou gueurn araï gahilé 'We will find the rhino at around midday.' (Muraz 1926: 279)

(...), inniokoun leeggi penchon kann sané achara kanza 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 kaznié* '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. Phonoetically, -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 *katoba* "écrire" ; *libis* et *libisa* "revêtir" ; (...), mais on ne relève que *lataf* "être aimable", *gidir* "pouvoir"; (...). L'élément -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 général" 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 général" (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):

"À 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.):

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(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/ gâïid 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 gâïid-source form seems, however, more likely, since parallels occur in the Sudan. gâïid, gâïid or jâïid 'sitting' may express an imperfective aspect in the Sudan (Fischer & Jastrow 1980: 75), while in Shâgiyya Arabic in northern Sudan, the verbal prefix ga- 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.) Yoada mattru 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- nown 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 Abbeché 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 future227, and habituality (Trimingham 1946: 71, 72, 75; Worsley 1925: 31-32; Reichmuth 1983: 286-287), and in this sense 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 Khartûm 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 habituations, 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, gi/id naturally precedes bi-, as in (988):

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.
kunta qa'id barqûs '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 1991 b: 1174). 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 mâsha '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 mata + participle without further discussion: /imsi nâgis/ "er nimmt ab (Mond)". In Egyptian Arabic, verbs of motion may indicate the same meaning, for

228 A similar construction (anterior + irrealis) also occurs in Egyptian Arabic, e.g. kân ħavîš mil 'he was going to do' (see Versteegh 1984: 89).
instance the active participle rāyīḥ 'going', which has been grammaticalized into the marker ḥa- via rah-ı-, 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{má ta rúa f(i) tááun} & \quad \text{'Don't go into town (Heine 1982: 43)} \\
\text{NEG ADR go} & \quad \text{to town} \\
\text{má ta já} & \quad \text{'Don't come.' (ibid.)} \\
\text{NEG ADR come} \\
\text{SCA maa ta-jý} \\
\text{cf.}
\end{align*}
\]

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.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NEG IMP-2pl go} & \quad \text{to town} \\
\text{má ta-kum já} & \quad \text{'Don't (pl) come.' (ibid.)} \\
\text{NEG IMP-2pl come} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 'jol! '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 má 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 dalwagi 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 'ta 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-0 day
'[It] pulled the day/ The day was pulled forward./ The day proceeded.'

(991.) 'Badulu-'badulu ru'tan 'toumon.
change-REDUP-O 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 'dunubu uo ka'la
child DEF when shoot-0 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 'dunub(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 dun'b(u) uo ka'la.
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) > djéboutt 'be pulled'
   Baleinière djéboutt mañf. '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 kontou fi dabra anaki daoua samë, batann raboutt ma faræda. '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 ouaitdinn 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 rérinn, tarinn 'sharp', 'sharpened' < SA farìn 'sharp'
   Turku amlass 'polished', 'smooth' < SA amlas 'smooth'
   Turku afinn 'rotten', 'spoilt' < SA 'afin 'stinking'
   Turku néguitt 'ripe' (ADJ), 'ripen' (V) < SA najid '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 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 rubâq '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 \( \text{CvCvC(-a)} \): the vowel in the second syllable is long, which attracts stress, as in SA  aracı  myślara 'building work'. Reinterpreting such a nominalization for Nubi, we get \( \text{CyCyC(-a)} \) with the stress on the second syllable:  aracı '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  âmru 'remove' -  âmru  '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 verbale transitive et intransitive-passive d'autre part. Ainsi on relèvera les oppositions:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{âsrûbu} & \quad \text{"boire"} \quad / \quad \text{âsrûbu} \quad \text{"fait de boire"} \quad / \quad \text{âsrûbu} \quad \text{"être bu"} \\
\text{âbinu} & \quad \text{"construire"} \quad / \quad \text{âbinu} \quad \text{"construction"} \quad / \quad \text{âbinu} \quad \text{"être construit"} \\
\text{râsûlu} & \quad \text{"envoyer"} \quad / \quad \text{râsûlu} \quad \text{"fait d'envoyer"} \quad / \quad \text{râsûlu} \quad \text{"être envoyé"} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 \( \text{CvCvC}, \text{CvCC} \), as in (999.):

(999.) SA zikr 'devotional exercise' from zakar 'mention' (Roth-Laly 1969b: 206)
SA kasr 'fracture', kas(i)r 'breaking', 'fragmentation' from kaser 'break' (Roth-Laly 1972: 418-419; Reichmuth 1983: 224)
SA katol 'slay', kat(i)l '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 fuhim 'understand' (Reichmuth 1983: 225)
SA kâtib '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 pcs in this way. I chose the above examples also because of their resemblance to the 0-form of the Nubi verb, assuming common Nubi phonological processes such as vowel assimilation and vowel ephenthesis 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.) kâsuru ta bàb 'breaking of the door'
móya ta àsurubu '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, 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. 
Zikiri 'kan 'zikiri. 

'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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple gerund GEN noun</th>
<th>Emphatic gerund GEN noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>passive meaning</td>
<td>active meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun = patient</td>
<td>noun = agent or patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emphasis on noun</td>
<td>emphasis on verb (emphatic gerund)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cannot stand alone</td>
<td>can stand alone or as object of verbs of motion, introduced by a preposition to, into, or with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

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 ayyi jama nikay '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.) rakåbu *ta laàm* 'cooking of the meat'
kurüju dé sökol *ta nàse jidu ta nina* 'agriculture is a traditional activity'

(1003.) dugu 'hit' << dugu 'hitting'
dugu báb dé sàad 'knocking on a door is difficult'

(1004.) gáta 'cut' >> gáta 'cutting'
gáta gis dé sogol *ta muzàre* '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 *dáfounou, dáfonou* 'bury' << *dáfana* '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 'assar' 'massage'
Turku *assbour* 'forgive', 'wait' >> *assbour* 'pardon' < SA *sab* 'be patient', 'wait'

(1006.) Turku *lip* 'dance' (V) >> *lip* 'dance' (N) < SA *lisib* 'dance', 'game'
Turku *mal* 'inherit' (V) >> *mal* 'inheritance' < SA *mål* 'property', 'wealth'
Turku *sidal* 'possess' (V) >> *sidal* 'possessor' (N) < SA *sidu* (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-0 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 *fichan* *sao daoua*. Hou bedji *fichan* *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 *ind* 'with', 'by' is the commonest, e.g. in *ind* marabba wa zibda 'with-me are jam and butter/I have jam and butter' (Trimingham 1946: 54). Its use is not limited, unlike *mål* 'with', which can only be used to express possession of small articles on a person or in the hand, and unlike *lé* 'for', 'to', which is used to express possession of big property or for periods of time. The preposition *ind* 'with', 'by' is therefore the most logical input for the Nubi verb *endi/enis* '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 9ind-i 9ênên w- inta ^ind-ak 9ênên
   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 9 'with':

(1010.) al-9ans ^andu ^arabiyya
   '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 0-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 9andîsh 'not with me', mâ ^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 9 ind (Aswân, and area above Minya, Omdurman Arabic), or ind (Abbéché Arabic) 'andi, 'endi from 9and (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 indu 'have'.

(1012.) "ina ma indu 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. indi 'I have', indana 'we have'). Likewise, he also used fi 'be-there' before ind + pronoun, thus reproducing the colloquial Arabic construction (...)" as illustrated in (1013.):

(1013.) " hiní de tàban fi indana 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 mile
   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 Khartûm 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common features of (some) Arabic dialects and p/cs</th>
<th>Arabic p/c features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gâ'd id / qa'd id: continuous, recurrent actions (SA)</td>
<td>one verbal stem form: no person/number marking on the verb, no distinction perfect/imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative/ non-stative distinction (AA, UDA)</td>
<td>O expressing all tenses and aspects, if TA is marked by other means</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi–be-: future/habituality (SA)</td>
<td>gi- (Nubi, JA): progressive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kân: pre-or postsubject position (SA)</td>
<td>gaed/gahed (Turku): continuous, recurrent actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lân: temporal and modal (NA, AA, (ShA))</td>
<td>stative/ non-stative distinction (Nubi, JA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX FUT from verb 'go' (EA, AA, ShA)</td>
<td>gi- + stative verbs: to mark habituality, inchoativeness, verbal adjectives (Nubi, JA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX ingressive from verb 'get up' (AA, EA, ShA)</td>
<td>bi- future marker (Nubi, Turku), future/habituality (JA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX repetition from verb 'return' (AA, EA)</td>
<td>kan bi-V: counterfactuality (Nubi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX continuity/duration from verb 'sit' (AA, EA, KA)</td>
<td>kan bi-gi-V order (Nubi), unlike SA kân gâ'id bi-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX FUT from verb 'go', 'come' (Nubi, JA, (Turku))</td>
<td>AUX ingressive/resultative from verb 'come' (Nubi, JA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX continuity/duration from verb 'sit' (AA, EA, KA)</td>
<td>completive marker ka'las (Nubi, JA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERF SING: O-form (Nubi, JA, Turku)</td>
<td>IMPERF PL: V-kum (Nubi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERF 2SING: passive formation through stress shift on last/ (third) syllable (Nubi, JA), on second syllable (Turku)</td>
<td>Nubi negative imperative: mata V &lt; Arabic mà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>normalized forms: reflexes of Arabic infinitive forms (Nubi, JA, Turku)</td>
<td>IMPERF 2SING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nubi: productive process, distinction gerunds/infinitives</td>
<td>verb 'have' through reanalysis of Arabic preposition (Nubi, JA)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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.
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### Table 52: Nubi-Turku distinctions in VP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nubi</th>
<th>Turk 232</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marker gi-bi-gi- V</td>
<td>auxiliary gahed/gaed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative imperative: 'mata V</td>
<td>no co-occurrences be and gaed (however limited data)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passive: stress shift to last (mainly third syllable): reanalysis of V + OBJ PRON verb for 'have'</td>
<td>negative imperative: V mafi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stress shift to second syllable: corresponding to Arabic adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no verb for 'have'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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 gâidnegeri yâ fransa jo 'j'étais en train à lire et à écrire (quand?) les Français sont arrivés'*

fi 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 na?addîki *'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.) "'kàn ad-dàwaka jó yé bòssaww-ûu-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 yà, 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 Asyût). In Omdurman Arabic, kadi means 'then', 'consequently', and 'ala 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 *kân* 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 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-aqlla ye biyaakal-üu-a
def-grain ye eat-m/pl-it
"As for the grain, they eat it". " (Owens 1993: 100)

(1019.) "ma lammâa-k fi šây, ha l-yóom ye jii-na fi l-birni
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.) bahasha al-humâr yâ waga' fî bir
'il pensait que l’âne était bel et bien tombé dans le puits' (Roth 1979: 219)

(1021.) ad-dûd bu-gûl: tôrîyâ wilid; al ba'asôm 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. yâ/yâ occurs in several Arabic dialects, and apart from its meaning of vocative particle, it has very different functions.

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233 According to Miller (1987: 19), yâ is very frequent in Juba Arabic, where it functions as an emphaziser or topicalizer.

yala baga taab tani yau ge jibu fi dula tou
voilà devenir fatigue autre TOP ge+ apporter dans côté de lui
Il va y avoir un autre problème avec cette personne. (Miller 1985-1986: 163)

fi karanga yaw inna kan rua fi gaba, (...)
in dry-season TOP we can go in bush
'In the dry season we went into the bush (Tosco 1995: 441)'

JA yâ is a compulsory element in nominal predicates, functioning more and more as a copula (Miller 1987: 19):

kalam de yâi batal
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 ?â are found as vocative particles. "Demnach ist es nicht erstaunlich, daß neben hâ auch ?â as Satzeinleitspartikel 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 râjîl be zâîo el ja elbârîh
'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 yow, 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 yow 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, yê, and yé respectively. The above may have been reinforced by substratal features. In some of the possible substrate languages yâ-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, yâ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common features of Arabic dialects and Arabic p/cs</th>
<th>Features unique to Arabic p/cs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conjunction hîyê, yâ, yê (NA, AA) (UN 'ya)</td>
<td>Nubi complementizer from verb 'say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditional kân (SA)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditional kañ also temporal value (AA)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN subjunctive marker ke'de, cf. OA kadi?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâ/ye: focusing element (AA, NA)</td>
<td>Nubi 'ya focus marker (JA vai: copula)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 53: Common features 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 rajiêla 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 fi dabra anaki daoua samê, (...) 'I want to put good medication on your wound, (...)’ (Muraz 1926: 283)
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 'mafii), which is generally found in sentence-final position. In Kenyan Nubi, the negative particle is in preverbal position (Khamis 1994: 201; Kave & 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-0 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 là. 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. (...) ma 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: 'mâfi.

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'fii, 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 mafi (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 'mafi(i) are remnants of sentence-final 'mafi. 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 (Nebl 1948: 57).

7.7.4. Conclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>common features of Arabic dialects and p/cs</th>
<th>features unique to Arabic p/cs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>agreement subject-predicate: optional, and rather rare (except for JA: decreolization)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preverbal negator ma (SA)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sentence final negator mafi (NA, Western Chadian Arabic, Northern Cameroon Arabic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Khartûm 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Developments in all source dialects, or in some dialects, including however eastern and western varieties</th>
<th>Typical for eastern Arabic dialects</th>
<th>Typical for western Arabic dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonology</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O &lt; h, especially in WSA, e.g. NA, while variably attested in AA (Tosco &amp; Owens 1993: 232-233; Roth 1979: II).</td>
<td>EA g &lt; Old Arabic jîm</td>
<td>assimilation and vowel harmony in several dialects, especially in WSA, however limited by grammatical criteria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ephenthesis (in most SA dialects)</td>
<td></td>
<td>loss of emphatics, especially in WSA: variably attested, no emphasis in Bagirmi, Njamena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final devoicing</td>
<td></td>
<td>loss of pharyngeals: h &gt; 0/kh, k &gt; 0/y (especially in WSA, however variably attested: no pharyngeals in Nigeria and Chad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vocabulary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WSA words in Turku, however not in Nubia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Egyptianisms in Nubi, but not in Turku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Noun phrase</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM PROX: least marked form (EA, AA) (less 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</td>
<td>PRON 1PL: Nubi ‘ina &lt; ihna PRON POSS 2PL: -kum PRON 3PL final -n: hanyan</td>
<td>PRON 1PL: Turku amina &lt; anina</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>do used as definite article, beside el (AA, NA)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DEM PROX &lt; PRON + do (AA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>reinterpretation of Arabic PL DEM dol as plural marker: in AA, (and NA?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>comparison: ADJ + finst + complement (NA, Bagirmi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>comparison: X surpasses Y in quality Z (AA, NA, Shuwa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turku genitive exponent ana &lt; hana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>word order N NUM/NUM N (AA, Shuwa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb phrase</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gâ^id/ qâ^id : continuous, recurrent actions from verb 'sit', 'stand' bi-/be-: future/habituality in SA kân: pre-or postsubject position: SA</td>
<td></td>
<td>stative/non-stative distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kân: temporal and modal (NA, AA (Shukriyya))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>conjunction hîyâ, yâ, yé (NA, AA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ye/je: focusing element (AA, NA) from SA yé ‘indeed’ conditional kân also temporal value (AA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other word classes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditional kân (SA)</td>
<td></td>
<td>conjunction hîyâ, yâ, yé (NA, AA)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ye/je: focusing element (AA, NA) from SA yé ‘indeed’ conditional kân also temporal value (AA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clause structure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
<td></td>
<td>sentence-final negator mûfî (NA, Western Chadian Arabic, Northern Cameroonian Arabic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preverbal negator ma</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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 \textit{fut(u)} complement, the verbal stative/non-stative distinction, the sentence-final negator \textit{mâfi}, 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 à cette hypothèse "pan-soudanaise", mais la similitude entre le nubi et les dialectes de l'ouest parlés par des non arabes ne signifie pas forcément que les seconds sont à 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.
### Phonology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ugandan Nubi</th>
<th>Kenyan Nubi</th>
<th>Juha Arabic</th>
<th>Turk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s &lt; sh</td>
<td>frequent, especially in southern Uganda</td>
<td>frequent, especially in southern Uganda</td>
<td>less frequent</td>
<td>less frequent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j &lt; z</td>
<td>ancient, especially in southern Uganda</td>
<td>common</td>
<td>less common</td>
<td>less common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-structure through epanthesis, final vowel addition</td>
<td>frequent (however, more frequent in southern than in northern Uganda)</td>
<td>frequent</td>
<td>frequent in pidginized variety, less in urban JA</td>
<td>frequent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV-structure through loss of final plosives/dentals</td>
<td>common (however more general in southern than in northern Uganda)</td>
<td>less frequent</td>
<td>less frequent</td>
<td>less frequent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Juha Arabic</th>
<th>Turk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reduplication</td>
<td>productive</td>
<td>productive</td>
<td>productive</td>
<td>fossilized forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSA-words</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>yes, e.g. feminine words in -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incorporation of vocative particle</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Noun phrase

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Turk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reduplication</td>
<td>productive</td>
<td>productive</td>
<td>productive</td>
<td>fossilized forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON 2SING/PL</td>
<td>'ita/ 'itokum = 'ita</td>
<td>'ita/ itakum = 'ita</td>
<td>'ita (inta)/ itakum = 'ita</td>
<td>innti/ innton Daemon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON 1PL</td>
<td>'ina</td>
<td>'ina</td>
<td>'ina</td>
<td>ano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ugandan Nubi</th>
<th>Kenyan Nubi</th>
<th>Juha Arabic</th>
<th>Turk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRON 2SING</td>
<td>'ita/ 'itokum</td>
<td>'ita/ itakum</td>
<td>'ita (inta)/ itakum</td>
<td>innti/ innton Daemon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON 1PL</td>
<td>'ina</td>
<td>'ina</td>
<td>'ina</td>
<td>ano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>?</td>
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### Pronominal forms

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<th>Juha Arabic</th>
<th>Turk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEM PROX SING</td>
<td>'na</td>
<td>'na</td>
<td>'na</td>
<td>ano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM PROX PL</td>
<td>'na</td>
<td>'na</td>
<td>'na</td>
<td>ano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM DIS</td>
<td>'na</td>
<td>'na</td>
<td>'na</td>
<td>?</td>
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</table>

### Numerals

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Kenyan Nubi</th>
<th>Juha Arabic</th>
<th>Turk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3,... + 10</td>
<td>1, 2, 3,... + 10</td>
<td>1, 2, 3,... + 10</td>
<td>1, 2, 3,... + 10</td>
<td>10 + 1, 2, 3,...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta + NUM</td>
<td>ta + NUM</td>
<td>ta + NUM</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Juha Arabic</th>
<th>Turk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aspect marker gi-</td>
<td>future, habitual</td>
<td>future, habitual</td>
<td>future, habitual</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-stative verb</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>replaces bi-for indicating habituality</td>
<td>replaces bi-for indicating habituality</td>
<td>replaces bi-for indicating habituality</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Other word classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Turk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>focus marker 'yo</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Clause structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Kenyan Nubi</th>
<th>Juha Arabic</th>
<th>Turk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>negation</td>
<td>preverbal 'ma, sentence-final 'ma(f)i(1)</td>
<td>preverbal, sentence-final 'ma</td>
<td>preverbal 'ma</td>
<td>preverbal 'ma, sentence-final 'ma(f)i(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 56: Areal distribution of features of Arabic pidgins/creoles
**Appendix: texts**

**H. M.**

1. 'Ija 'de fu 'ras ta sul'tan
   fairy tale DEM PROX in head GEN sultan
   ma muswa'na 'to ti'nen. Nuswa'na 'to
   and wife-PL 2 wife-PL PRON POSS 3SING
   ti'nen, 'wai 'de ma'ma ta Mu'hamad ma 'Fatna, u 'wai 'de
   two and one 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 woman REL STAT P- want
   ti'nen, 'wai 'de ma'ma ta Mu'hamad ma 'Fatna, u 'wai 'de
   two and one mother GEN NPROP two wife-PL PRON POSS 3SING
   ma'ma ta A'li. Ma'ma ta 'Fatna ya 'mary(a) al ma- 'aju.
   mother GEN NPROP 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-O die-O
   'Sa al 'marya 'de 'mutu, ma'ma ta A'li. Ma'ma ta 'Fatna 'ya 'mary(a) al ma- 'aju.
   hour REL woman DEF die-O mother GEN NPROP mother GEN NPROP
   fi 'be 'de 'na. Wu 'Fatna 'de 'a'gi 'to,
   in house DEF there and NPROP NPROP DEF self PRON POSS 3SING
   fi 'be 'de 'na. Wu 'Fatna 'de 'a'gi 'to,
   in house DEF there and NPROP NPROP DEF self PRON POSS 3SING

10. 'ya yo'wele al '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

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 DEF 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 'na ka'man.
    have-O horse PRON POSS 3SING in house there also

---

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.
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20. 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 thing-PL PRON POSS SING
ta 'be na Fa'rash 'to PRON POSS 3SING EXIS

'Ya yo'wele A'li de ma'ma to. 'u0 katu
CONJ boy NPROP DEF mother PRON POSS 3SING PRON POSS 3SING cause-Ø

Mu'hamad de we'di fi 'skul ma. A'li de ya nyere'ku
NPROP DEF give-PASS in school NEG PRON POSS 3SING DEF FOC child

'to ta a'sil de, yowo 'kutu g(i)- agara. Mu'hamad
PRON POSS 3SING truly EMPH CONJ + PRON POSS 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 GEN NEG EMPH PROG- stay in house PROG study

25. 'ma. A'li de 'ya we'di fi ga'raya. Wu A'li de
NEG NPROP POSS DEF FOC give-PASS in study-GER and NPROP DEF

'a'ju a'ku to like-Ø brother PRON POSS 3SING Mu'hamad de sci-sei'de.

Bile Mu'hamad, ah, A'li gi- gai bile was'was.
without NPROP INT NPROP PROG- stay without doubt(s)

Kan Mu'hamad je'de, A'li 'endis was'was 'tan ma.
when NPROP PROG- NEG have-Ø doubt(s) other NEG

Kan Mo'hamad 'ma'fi je'de, A'li 'endis was'wasi 'zaidi.
when NPROP EXIS EMPH NPROP POSS 3SING 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. F'ilel, 'it(a)
firewood mother DEF PRON 2SING come-Ø dig-Ø hole at night PRON 2SING

'afuta 'lufira ke'biri. 'To kubu la'kata 'de kulu
dig-Ø hole big PRON 2SING throw-Ø firewood DEF all

35. fu 'lufira de 'na. 'To kub fogo dikin'uta ti'yari.
in hole DEF there PRON 2SING pour-Ø in it kerosine ready

'Ase'd(e) A'li de ga'llan a'gi 'to g(i)- alabu.
now NPROP DEF surprisingly self PRON POSS 3SING make-Ø 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-O NPROP DEF

lo'go ka'las 'ita 'dugu 'nar gu- 'wala. 'Ita 'dugu when COMPL fire PRON 2SING catch-O firewood DEF burn PRON 2SING burn

ka'las 'nar 'ansuku 'te 'ita 'dugu 'nar gu- 'wala. La'kata 'de gu- 'wala COMPL fire catch-O there firewood DEF burn firewood DEF PROG- burn

'sei-sei 'de. 'Dukur 'ita kati ma birisi very much-REDUP then PRON 2SING cover-O with mat(s)

lo'g(o) eta 'dugu ma tu'ra 'de. 'Ita 'dugu while PRON 2SING beat-O soil DEF PRON 2SING close-O place DEF

'kweis. 'Ita kati ma biris 'ma'rai 'kweis. A'ta je ba'kan good PRON 2SING cover-O with mat(s) at once good no like place

al 'lufra in je'de 'ma. 'Ita 'sidu ba'kan 'de REL hole EMPH hole here place DEF

min 'warn. 'Ita 'kutu biris 'en min gi'dam 'de. from behind PRON 2SING put-O mat(s) here from front place DEF

Ita PRON 2SING na'di Mu'hamad 'de. 'Ita 'kelem ke'd(e) owo PRON 2SING call-O NPROP DEF PRON 2SING say-0 SUBJ NPROP

'jib 'neta 'moyo ta 'asrub. 'Ya Mu'hamad, bring-O to + PRON 2SING water GEN drink-INF CONJ NPROP

'sa al 'ita 'ja mo 'moyo 'de, 'ita(a) 'aju hour REL PRON 2SING come-0 with water DEF PRON 2SING want-O

'midu 'kan fi 'dar ta mar'ba 'taki 'de. pass-O be-ANT in back GEN stepmother PRON POSS 2SING place DEF

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 pass-IMPER to + PRON 1SING 'moyo 'de min gi'dam 'in." Mu'hamad 'nana water DEF in front here NPROP

gi- 'gata 'corner. Bes je 'uo 'gu- go cut corner EMPH as PRON 3SING PROG- PROG- go come-O

gi'dam in front of mother DEF jete'de, 'uo 'meles 'tak(i) slip-O slip-IMPER hole place DEF

Jowo as + PRON 3SING PROG- 'meles fu 'lufra 'de, 'ma'rai, ma'ma 'de, 'tita 'kati ma tu'ra

'sa we'de. 'Ras ba'kan 'de 'ita 'kati ma tu'ra hour DEM PROX head place DEF PRON 2SING cover-O with soil
An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

### 60.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'seme 'ma'rai.</td>
<td>'good at once'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'arija</td>
<td>'return-O'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'adul ba'kan</td>
<td>'prepare-0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba'kan</td>
<td>'place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'de' ja</td>
<td>'DEF like place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al</td>
<td>'REL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kan</td>
<td>'dig-PASS-0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afu'ta</td>
<td>'NEG and'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ma.</td>
<td>'horse DEF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu</td>
<td>'sit-O EXIS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ra'</td>
<td>'watch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gai'</td>
<td>'PROG-0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fi'</td>
<td>'PRON 3SING'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'g(i)-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ain</td>
<td>'return-0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robu'(u)</td>
<td>'tie-PASS-0 PRON 3SING'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'uo.</td>
<td>'PROG-0'</td>
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<tr>
<td>a'wiri</td>
<td>'REL'</td>
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<tr>
<td>bang-bang</td>
<td>'PROG-0'</td>
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<tr>
<td>je'de.</td>
<td>'EMPH'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gi-</td>
<td>'PROG-0'</td>
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<tr>
<td>turnju'(u)</td>
<td>'PRON 3SING from here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'uo</td>
<td>'PROG-0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'min'</td>
<td>'PRON 3SING from there'</td>
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### 65.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'ladi 'sa al</td>
<td>'until hour REL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>'FUT-'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'd(i)</td>
<td>'call-PASS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'owo</td>
<td>'PRON 3SING EMPH upstairs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'man</td>
<td>'PROG-0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bo.'</td>
<td>'NPROP'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ya</td>
<td>'CONJ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'li</td>
<td>'NPROP hour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sa al</td>
<td>'REL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ja min</td>
<td>'come-O from study-GER'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga'raya,</td>
<td>'NPROP ask-O'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'li</td>
<td>'PRON 3SING'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'asadu:</td>
<td>'PRON POSS 3SING'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'Mu'hamad</td>
<td>'NPROP'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f(u)</td>
<td>'in where EMPH'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ya?</td>
<td>'mother DEF that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Gal: '</td>
<td>'PRON POSS 3SING'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'Mu'hamad</td>
<td>'NPROP'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'exis'</td>
<td>'in Qur?anic school'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mu'a</td>
<td>'NEG Qur?anic school-PL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sa</td>
<td>'few'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma'ma,</td>
<td>'mother NPROP'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu'hamad</td>
<td>'where EMPH'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f(u)</td>
<td>'mother DEF that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wen?'</td>
<td>'PRON POSS 3SING'</td>
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### 70.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'futu</td>
<td>'in it CONJ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fogo</td>
<td>'three PROG-0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'youm</td>
<td>'day(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'la.</td>
<td>'PRON 3SING day GEN four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Gu-</td>
<td>'GEN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rwa</td>
<td>'in it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fi</td>
<td>'from come-GER'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'youm</td>
<td>'PRON POSS 3SING'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>'mother DEF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'arba.</td>
<td>'ma'ma DEF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'de</td>
<td>'DEF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>'brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'ku</td>
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<td>'ja</td>
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<td>&quot; Mu'hamad</td>
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<td>'what?'</td>
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### 75.

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<td>'Uo</td>
<td>'PRON 3SING wait for-O'</td>
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<td>'sa al</td>
<td>'child-PL GEN'</td>
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<td>'DEF'</td>
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Mu'hamad fen "'wen?" 'Gal: "Mu'hamad fi madrasa. Mu'hamad NPROP in where? that NPROP in Qur'anic school NPROP

80. you:min'de 'g(i)- aju 'gai-gai fi be 'in 'ma. Mu'hamad PROG- want stay-REDUP-0 in house here NEG NPROP

gi-'gai-gai 'bara-barra 'ladi gu- r'wá ji'b(u) PROG- stay-REDUP outside until 'PROG- go-PASS bring-PASS-0

'uo ma 'jibu. Bi- kun 'sa we'de 'uo PRON 3SING with bring-GER FUT- be hour DEM PROX PRON 3SING

'ti 'g(i)- alab fi ji'ran 'na. " Ba'ba 'de 'kelem: " 'Ma." EXIS PROG- play in neighbourhood there father DEF say-0 NEG

'Youm ta aw'lan de futu. Ah, nyere'ku de ben 'ma. De ke'fini? day GEN first DEF INT child DEF appear-0 NEG DEF how?

85. 'Youm ta ti'nen, ba'ba de, 'ito 'gum. 'Ito 'ma na fa'rash de min 'sub(u). 'I(a) 'alab-'alab ma fa'rash de to horse DEF in morning PRON 2SING play-REDUP-0 with horse DEF

'Gal: " Mu'hamad fen 'wen?" Fa'rash de 'abidu 'kore. 'Sa that NPROP in where? horse DEF begin-0 neigh-0 hour

al fa'rash de 'abidu 'kore, fa'rash de gu- we'ri ba'kan ya REL horse DEF in it DEF

al 'ya..., al 'ya Mu'hamad kettis 'fogo de. REL FOc REL FOc NPROP sink-0 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-O horse DEF

gle'i 'tara 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 de. Fa'ra'sh de 'abu-nu asker'ya 'taki FOC

ke'de ja 'gwam 'sei-'sei de. Asker'ya ja. 'I(a) SUBJ come-O fast very much-REDUP soldier-PL come-O PRON 2SING

'asadu ma'ma de. Ma'ma de 'aju we'ri 'ma. 'I(a) ask-O mother DEF mother DEF want-O show-O NEG PRON 2SING ask-O

95. ma'ma de. Ma'ma de 'aju we'ri 'ma. 'I(a) mother DEF mother DEF want-O show-O NEG PRON 2SING untie-O rope

min fa'ra'shi de. 'Ito 'dugu fa'ra'sh 'de kur'bai 'aruba. horse DEF PRON 2SING hit-O horse DEF whip(s) four

Fa'ra'sh de 'jere, 'ro 'gai ma'r'ai fi ba'kan al 'ya Mu'hamad horse DEF run-O go-O stay-O at once in place REL FOc NPROP
An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

100. to PRON POSS 3 SING in je.de. EMPH Gi-kore. Ah, 'ya ba'ba 'de, 'ita

'arufu NEG person REL do-O 'so ka'lam 'de fi batma 'be 'na.

De bES ya bu-kun marba 'de ka'lam marba 'de

Fa'rash horse 'de def

105. ma PRON POSS 3 SING with father family to tan.

Gwam 'ro go-PASS-O ji'bu ma'ma ta bi'niya 'de

with family PRON POSS 3 SING other

110. to PRON POSS 3 SING 'de, 'marya DEF de 'jada ma 'jada fi 'lufra.

Ka'lam al 'fi, 'nwa(O) PRON POSS 3 SING a'nuasi 'de. Ka'man 'uO na'di
do-O

ke'ya to PRON POSS 3 SING come-O tiyari 'mara'wai. 'Kul gi-sten

'kan na'as ma'ma 'de. Jc 'nas ma'ma 'de gi-'rasul 'de.

be-ANT COLL mother DEF as COLL mother DEF PROG-arrive DEF

uo PRON POSS 3 SING 'aki kal'a'ma 'de. 'Uo kelem nyere'ku

tell-O thing-PL DEF PRON 3 SING say-O child

115. ke'de katu'l(u) mon PRON 3 PL umon 'bara. 'Gai ti'yari. Gi-ste'nu.

Bi-daka'l(u)'sa hour which? 'Uo bi-tala 'sa ya'tu?

Ya ab'i'd(u) CONJ afu'ta. 'Kabla lisa 'tim 'dekka 'kamsa

na'de 'ma, 'lufra ka'las afu'ta. Fa't(a) owo,
An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

'fadi openly with family ta bi'niya DEF 'ain ka'lam al bi'niya DEF

'fogo do-0 on child PRON POSS 3 SING PRON 3 SING come-0 COMPL

140. 'youm day(s) ta'lata three PRON 3 SING 'g(i)- PROG- asadu nyere'ku 'to

f(i) in where that child DEF in Qur'anic school

"Nyere'ku 'to f(i) 'wen? 'Gal: " Nyere'ku 'de fi 'madrassa."

'Uo PRON 3 SING come-0 COMPL

145. 'tala leave-0 'lew(o) EMPH PRON 3 SING give-O 'dekka 'kamsa ke'de katu'lu kill-PASS-O woman DEF

A'nas person-PL ta 'marya 'de ka'man wonus 'ma. Duru'bu shoot-PASS-O woman DEF

Katulu kill-PASS-O woman DEF Lufra al afu'ta nade'de, ya

arija return-PASS-O dofu'n(u) 'fogo. Ari'ja ja'da 'fogo 'marya 'de.

Ka'ti. cover-PASS-O 'Uw(o) 'ab(a) a'nas person-PL 'de ke'de 'sulu 'meiti body

150. ta 'marya 'de. 'Ya 'in je'de 'sa al ka'la katulu kill-PASS-O

'marya woman DEF FOC sa'fari. Kila journey every one take-O road(s) PRON 3 SING

'arija 'war. 'Nas return-O back ba'ba DEF 'amsu(ku) sika to. take-O road(s) PRON 3 SING

'arija fi 'be return-O in house(s) PRON 3 SING 'war. Asker'ya to. 'de

'arija fi 'kazi return-O in work PRON 3 SING ka'man. 'Uo 'fadal ma nyere'ka

155. 'to fi 'batna be 'to 'na 'baga without wife CONJ fairy tale DEF GEN first DEF finish-0 here

'bile 'marya. 'Ya ija 'de ta aw'lan 'de 'kalas 'in.
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. Without 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 Qur'anic school there." [Ali says] that: "Muhammad is not there. Qur'anic 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 Qur'anic school." "Where is Muhammad?" "Muhammad went to the Qur'anic school." He waits for the moment when the children of the Qur'anic 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 Qur'anic 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] 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.

110. 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.

115. 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.

120. 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.

125. 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.

130. 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.

135. 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.

140. 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.

145. He [the father] remains inside his house there with his children without a wife. Well the first fairy tale finishes here.

K. & R. 236

K. is, at the time of the interview, a 29-year old woman from Bombo. She is born there, and has always been living there, except for one year (1978) in Toro. Nubi is her mother-tongue. She also speaks some Luganda and some English. She went to school upto secondary 3, and now works as a housewife. She is married to a Nubi man, and has five children.

R. is a 33-year old woman from Bombo. She is born in Bombo, and lived there until the family went into exile in southern Sudan from 1979 onwards. They returned to Bombo in 1985. R. studied up to primary 4. She is a housewife with three children, and she is married to a Nubi man from Bombo. Her mother-tongue is Nubi, and she speaks some Swahili, some Luganda, and some Juba Arabic.
5. 'Ma 'ye 'uw(o) 'aju 'jowju 'b'uiya. 'Uo 'gal 'ke gu's(u)

'nuo for + PRON 3SINGgirl

'ke'fini?
in how?

'nuo bi'nuiya. La'kin 'an(a) 'arufu 'ma, 'ana 'ye 'endi

Ma want-0 marry-O girl PRON 1SING know-O NEG PRON 1SING FOC have-O

te ... 

GEN

Marya al 'itokum 'gu- rwo 'gusu 'nuo 'de, 'uo

woman REL PRON 2PL PROG- go search-O for + PRON 3SINGDEF PRON 3SING

'gusu 'nuo ... , 'uo 'gu- rwo 'aju 'ma. 'Aju wa'faka ke'd(e)

for + PRON 3SINGDEF PRON 3SING PROG- go want-O NEG need-O agree-GER SUBJ

10. 'owo 'ya 'gusu 'marya 'to. 'Unon 'wefiki ma

PRON 3SING FOC look for-O wife PRON POSS 3SING PRON 3PL agree-O with

'marya 'to. 'Yala, 'uo 'jibu 'kabar. Mi'san ab 'iti

wife PRON POSS 3SING well PRON 3SING bring-O news because REL PRON 2SING

'gusu 'nuo 'de, 'uo 'gu- rwo(a) aju 'ma.

search-O for + PRON 3SINGDEF PRON 3SING PROG- go want-O NEG

Taki, 'iti gu- rwo(a) aju 'adab. 'To,

PRON POSS 2SING PROG- go want-O good manners PRON POSS 3SING

'ufo gu- rwo(a) aju 'asas.

PRON 3SING PROG- go want-O beauty

15. La'kin 'ja 'to al 'uo 'ja 'nan(a)

but come-GER PRON POSS 3SING REL PRON 3SING come-O to + PRON 1SING

'enu, 'ben je 'ow(o) 'aju 'kana 'so su'nu?

here seem-O as if PRON 3SING want-O SUBJ + PRON 1SING do-O what?

Kana 'ya 'gusu 'nuo. 'll(a) 'ase'de 'j(e) eta

SUBJ + PRON 1SING FOC search-O for + PRON 3SINGexcept now like PRON 2SING

'kelem 'nana 'gali ya'la te you'min'de ma'tata, 'an(a)

tell-O to + PRON 1SING that child-PL GEN nowadays weird PRON 1SING

'endi to 'row(a) 'asad(u) 'uo 'g'idam.

have-O GEN go-O ask-O PRON 3SING first

20. Kan 'uo 'kelem 'meta 'keta 'ya 'gusu

when PRON 3SING tell-O to + PRON 2SING SUBJ + PRON 2SING FOC search-O

'nuo, 'ase 'ita bi- 'endi to 'rua

for + PRON 3SINGnow to + PRON 2SING FUT- have GEN go-O

na 'awa 'to. 'Jto 'gu- rwo 'wonus

to paternal aunt PRON POSS 3SING PRON 2SING PROG- talk-O

ma 'awa 'to. 'Uo 'Tokum 'b(t)- ain 'nuo 'marya.

with aunt PRON POSS 3SING PRON 2PL FUT- see to + PRON 3SING wife

Kan 'uo 'rudu 'marya 'de 'ma, 'yal(a) 'uo 'bu- 'gus(u)

if PRON 3SING accept woman DEF NEG well PRON 3SING FUT- search
mother - son

"Ase, ak'we, nyere'ku yo'wele, 'an(a) now my friend child boy PRON 1SING "Wede a'sas 'ma. 'Wede beautiful NEG DEM PROX that PROX beautiful DEM PROX EMPH how? now

'g(i)- ask PRON 2SING 'ita. 'Ita come-0 'ja

'gus 'neki search-0 for + PRON 2SING

'it(a) SUBJ + PRON 1SING

mother - paternal aunt

"Ase, a'wa te yo'wele. A'ku nyere'ku 'ja 'nana. 'Uw(o) 'aju come-0 to + PRON 1SING PRON 3SING want-0

'keta SUBJ + PRON 2SING

'gus 'nana. search-0 for + PRON 1SING

Search-0 PASS-0 to + PRON 2SING

Search-0 PASS-0 for + PRON 2SING PRON 1SING

Search-0 PASS-0 for + PRON 2SING PRON 1SING
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| FUT-try | show-O | to + PRON 3SING | whether | PRON 3SING | FUT-accept | child | DEM DIS |

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<th>'uo</th>
<th>bu-</th>
<th>'rud(u)</th>
<th>accept</th>
<th>PRON 3SING</th>
<th>'ndi</th>
<th>'adah.</th>
<th>Kan</th>
<th>'uo</th>
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<th>50.</th>
<th>'aburu</th>
<th>'kelem</th>
<th>'nouo</th>
<th>'sa</th>
<th>'de.</th>
<th>'Ana</th>
<th>'b(i)-</th>
<th>'arije</th>
<th>'je</th>
<th>'neta.</th>
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<tr>
<td>try-O</td>
<td>tell-O</td>
<td>to + PRON 3SING</td>
<td>hour</td>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>PRON 1SING</td>
<td>FUT-return</td>
<td>come-O</td>
<td>to + PRON 2SING</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 'ina PRON 1PL | 'b(i)- abur PRON 2SING | 'ain see-0 | ba'kan | 'tan. |
|---------------|------------------------|------------|--------|
| place         |                        |            |        |

| 'ula. |
| OK |

### Mother - Son

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ak'we</th>
<th>yo'wele,</th>
<th>ke'fini?</th>
<th>Bi'niya,</th>
<th>'ina</th>
<th>lo'go</th>
<th>'neta</th>
<th>ka'las,</th>
<th>bi'niya</th>
<th>fi'lan.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my friend boy</td>
<td>how?</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>PRON 1PL</td>
<td>find-O</td>
<td>to + PRON 2SING</td>
<td>already</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>X</td>
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<th>'lt(a)</th>
<th>'ain</th>
<th>ke'fini?</th>
<th>'Ken(a)</th>
<th>'adul</th>
<th>'neta?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRON 2SING</td>
<td>see-O</td>
<td>how?</td>
<td>SUBJ + PRON 1PL</td>
<td>arrange-O</td>
<td>for + PRON 2SING</td>
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</table>

| 'Yala. |
| OK |

### Which One?

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<tr>
<th>Al</th>
<th>te</th>
<th>ji'ran</th>
<th>'tena</th>
<th>min</th>
<th>'fo</th>
<th>'na'de,</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>ma'ma</th>
<th>'Amina</th>
<th>'de.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>neighbour</td>
<td>PRON POSS 1PL</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>up</td>
<td>DEM DIS</td>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>NPROP</td>
<td>DEF</td>
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<th>a'ta</th>
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<th>'ya</th>
<th>'aju</th>
<th>'na'de</th>
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<tr>
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<td>EMPH</td>
<td>PRON 1SING</td>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>want-O</td>
<td>DEM DIS</td>
<td>NEG</td>
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</table>

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<th>'Ase,</th>
<th>'it(a)</th>
<th>'aju</th>
<th>ke'fini?</th>
<th>Mus,</th>
<th>'youn</th>
<th>'na'de,</th>
<th>'ita</th>
<th>kelem</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>PRON 2SING</td>
<td>want-O</td>
<td>how?</td>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>DEM DIS</td>
<td>PRON 2SING</td>
<td>tell-O</td>
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<th>'kana</th>
<th>'gus</th>
<th>'neta?</th>
<th>'Mal</th>
<th>bi'niya</th>
<th>'de</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to + PRON 2SING</td>
<td>SUBJ + PRON 1SING</td>
<td>search-O</td>
<td>to + PRON 2SING</td>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>girl</td>
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<th>'neta?</th>
<th>'Mal</th>
<th>bi'niya</th>
<th>'de</th>
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<td>SUBJ + PRON 1SING</td>
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<th>je</th>
<th>'sene!</th>
<th>'Mal</th>
<th>bi'niya</th>
<th>de</th>
<th>'endis</th>
<th>'adabu.</th>
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<tr>
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<td>EMPH</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>have-O</td>
<td>good manners</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'lt(a)</th>
<th>'aju</th>
<th>'de</th>
<th>a'sasi,</th>
<th>wa'la</th>
<th>'it(a)</th>
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<th>'de</th>
<th>'adab?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRON 2SING</td>
<td>want-O</td>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>beauty</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>PRON 2SING</td>
<td>want-O</td>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>good manners</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'An(a)</th>
<th>'aju</th>
<th>al</th>
<th>a'sasi,</th>
<th>m'u'san</th>
<th>kan</th>
<th>'an</th>
<th>gi-</th>
<th>'ja</th>
<th>'mas</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRON 1SING</td>
<td>want-O</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>PRON 1SING</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>PROG-</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>walk-O</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'mouo</th>
<th>fi</th>
<th>'sika</th>
<th>je'de,</th>
<th>gi-</th>
<th>kele'm(u)</th>
<th>'gal:</th>
<th>&quot;Marya te</th>
<th>fi'lan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>with + PRON 3SING</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>street(s)</td>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>PROG-</td>
<td>say-PASS</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>GEN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

"ya'da."

DEM ADV DIS

65. A'sasi 'bes 'ye 'it(a) 'aju fi sika? Ka'lam 'marya te fi'lan
   beauty FOC 2SING want-0 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-0 bring-0

'nena
   to + PRON 1PL
   marya al
   REL
   gi-
   bring together
   lim(u)
   PRON 1PL
   'ina
   NEG

'Ase, ma'ma 'it(a) 'aju 'kan(a) 'jib
   now mother PRON 2SING want-0 SUBJ+PRON 1SING bring-0
   gi-
   come
   j(a)
   see-0
   Expr
   jib
   when
   a'nas
   people

70. 'owo
   PRON 3SING
   marya 'wai.?!?
   DEF
   an(a)
   DEF
   t'ai
   DEF
   an(a)
   DEF
   'aju
   DEF
   marya
   want-0
   DEF
   REL
   a'sas,
   beautiful
   al

Eeh nyere'ku ta'yi,
   child PRON POSS 1SING
   a'sas
   beauty
   a'ta
   EMPH
   awun(u) 'ita
   DEF
   'ma.
   A'sas
   NEG
   beauty

yeu'min'd(e)
   nowadays
   have-0
disease
   beauty
   nowadays
   gi-
   katul(u) a'nesi.
   kill
   person-PL
   yes

a'sas 'de
   DEF
   kan
   PROG
   'in(a)
   PRON 1PL
   'aba
   NEG
   'ma.
   really
   have to-0
   person
   take-0

75. marya
  wife
   al
   a'sasi,
   beautiful
   but
   lo'go
   when
   'uw(o)
   have-0
disease
   good manners

'Ase, 'marya 'na'de
   now
   woman DEM DIS
   yeta
   FOC + PRON 2SING
   ku'sima
   'nana
   DEF
   la'kin

ma'l(u)
   DEF
   PRON 3SING
   a'sas
   beautiful
   ma.
   NEG

'Ase, 'tak(i)
   now
   PRON POSS 2SING
   'kan
   PRON 2SING
   'ite
   think-0
   ya'tu?
   which?

'Ke
   SUBJ
   gu'su
   look for-PASS-0
   al
   beautiful SUBJ
   Ke'd(e)
   abu'r u
   try-PASS-0
   gu'su
   gi'dem
   look for-PASS-0
   first

80. 'Ase'de,
   now
   DEM DIS
   'kan
   PRON 1PL
   'in(a)
   see-0
   'ain(u)
   with
   'awa
   'taki.
   PRON POSS 2SING

'Ke
   SUBJ + PRON 1PL
   'abur
   try-0
   ro
   go-0
   'tan
   another
   je
   like
   'ite
   PRON 2SING
   kelem
   say-0
   DEF
   'de?

'Aha
   yes

Ka'man
   when
   PRON 1PL
   'ine
   FUT-
   bi-
   come
   kelem
   neta,
   'gal
   'ita
   kelem:
   say-0

"A'ta a'sas 'ma',
   EMPH
   beautiful
   NEG
   now
   EMPH
   PRON 2SING
   ro
   bring-0
   'taki
   PRON POSS 2SING
   'de.
Appendix texts

85. **Yala**

*Yala* well *baga* PRON 1PL *ina* PRON 2SING *bi- FUT- 'ja* come *so* do-0 *su'mu* what? *'Ina* PRON 1PL *bi- FUT- 'ja* enter-0

*fogo?* La'kin but *kan* when *bu- FUT- lo'go* also *ka'man* REL *'ita* PRON 2SING *jibu* bring-0 *'de* DEF *'gal* that

*ne'siya* NEG *'ita* PRON 2SING *bi- FUT- 'j(a)* come *afin(u)* smell-0 *'ito* PRON 2SING *'fogo* in it

*Yala.* OK

86. **mother - (paternal) aunt**

*Ase, 'awa* GEN now *te* girl *bi'niya. Ke'fini?* PRON 1PL how? *Ka'lam* problem *REL* day *'youn* REL other day *'ana* PRON 1SING *'ja* come-0

90. **mo** with + PRON 3SING *'neta* to + PRON 2SING *'de.* DEF *'an(a)* PRON 1SING *'asadu* ask-0 *yo'wele* boy *'tayi, PRON POSS 1SING* *'aba.* refuse-0

*Gala* girl *bi'niya* PRON 1SING *'de* DEF *a'asasi* beautiful *'ma.* to + PRON 2SING *'Uw(o)* PRON 3SING *'aju* boy *'agi* self *'to* self

*Ase, 'awat(e) a'sasi.* beautiful *'An* PRON 1SING *kelem* tell-0 *'nouo: "'Bi'niya 'de* DEF *a'sasi.*

95. **'nouo** to + PRON 3SING *marya* wife REL *al* person-PL *'anas* how? *kan* when *gi- FUT- 'j(a) ayin* DEF *je.de.*

*Gi- run* *'gere?* *Uw(o)* PRON 3SING *'aju* boy *'ajol* beautiful *al* person REL *a'sasi,* DEF *al* how? *'uo* when *PRON 3SING*

*Gala* girl *'endis* beautiful *'adab.* to + PRON 3SING *'Uw(o)* PRON 3SING *'aju* boy *'jib* PRON POSS 3SING

*a'nas* person-PL *'fakhma.* understanding

100. **'Ase, 'it(a) me** how *'ain* 'ke'fini?* SUBJ *'Bes, 'kena, 'kena* PRON 2SING SUBJ + PRON 1PL SUBJ + PRON 1PL do-0 *'so* *'wed'e'de, wa'la* DEM PROX *'ke'no* how *'ro* 'gus* look for-0 *tan?* other

*Uo* PRON 3SING *'kelem* say-0 *'kena* SUBJ + PRON 1PL search-0 *'gus* for + PRON 3SING other *'tan.* PRON 1SING

*'kan* say-0 *'kelem* to + PRON 3SING *'now(o): "'Ase'de ke'fin?"* Ke'de well *'yal(a)* 'uo PRON 3SING *jib(u)* bring-0
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105. An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

110. 'Ase'de, kan 'ino ro 'gus 'nouo 'tan, 'uo now when PRON 1PL go-O search-O for + PRON 3SING other PRON 3SING

115. 'Ase'de, ke'd(e) now SUBJ try-PASS-O asa'du ask-PASS-O 'nouo te to + PRON 3SING GEN ma'ma mother NPROP DEF

Kan 'uo bu- 'rudu, ke'd(e) owo 'sul(u) PRON 3SING FUT- accept SUBJ PRON 3SING take-O PRON 3SING also when

'uw(o) 'aba, ke'd(e) owo 'ro 'jib(u) ab sa'n'u? Ab 'to PRON 3SING refuse-O SUBJ PRON 3SING go-O bring-O REL what REL PRON POSS
Appendix texts

125. **REL** 'uw(o) want-Ø DEF Mi'san because gi- ben seem to + PRON 1SING as if EXIS
to PRON POSS 3SING REL PRON 3SING 'aju want-Ø la'kin ke'lem to talk-GER PRON POSS 3SING ya
'uw(o) tough to + PRON 3SING
PRON 3SING EXIS in back of house en. SUBJ + PRON 1SING try-Ø call-Ø
'aju want-0 DEF
PRON 3SING PRON POS 3SING ke'lem 'to + PRON 3SING
now(o).
PRON 3SING PRON 1SING say-Ø to + PRON 3SING

**mother - son**

130. Ab'dallah, 'abur NPROP try-IMPER 'tal come-IMPER 'ya de. Ak'w(e) asa my friend now ke'fin? girl DEM DIS
Bi'niya 'na de
PRON 3SING COMPL PRON 2SING refuse-Ø 'ina PRON 1PL leave-Ø together with + PRON 3SING now EXIS
seb badu 'mouo.
PRON 3SING

135. 'uw(o) endi have-Ø fi name to al yal we'le kutu child-PL boy-PL put-Ø
for + PRON 3SING
Euh, gi- jä come-PASS teke-PASS-Ø 'ana.
INT PROG- REL PRON 1SING
Asma 'de ka'bila 'asma ya't(u) al gi- 'jä come-PASS teke-PASS-Ø ETA
name(s) DEF type name(s) which? REL PROG-
Asma 'de, ka'bila 'asma ya't(u) al gi-
name(s) DEF type name(s) which? REL PROG-
ka'lam 'asma because name(s)
'no mo
PRON 3SING DEF
with + PRON 3SING

140. Ah, a'ta 'ana name(s)-REDUP EMPH 'ya 'a'j(u) 'wo 'ma.
INT EMPH PRON 1SING FOC want-Ø PRON 3SING NEG
Asma 'de, ka'an 'u no stealing-Ø 'u no su'nu al ya
name(s) DEF ANT PRON 3SING PRON 3SING do-Ø what? REL FOC
ku'tu put-PASS-Ø 'nouo name(s) PRON 3SING
Asma 'de, ka'bila 'asma ka'alam 'asma
name(s) DEF type name(s) REL
ku'tu put-PASS-Ø to + PRON 3SING name(s) REL
ka'lam 'asma 'de.

145. gi- kelem 'de?
PROG- say DEF
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?

2. How?

3. 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...

4. The woman whom you(PL) are going to search for him, he is not going..., he is not going to like [her]. It needs

5. 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.

6. 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.

7. 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,

8. whom his heart wants.

9. mother – son

10. 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]

11. 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?

12. I want that you look for me.
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:

"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....

[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.

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?

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!

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."

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"?!

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,

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.

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.

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,

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."

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.

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.

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]?

135. Oh mama, nono. That girl is not beautiful at all. I definitely do not want that girl. That girl insults people.

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?

140. No, people just give her names.

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?!!

150. Mmm.

The black [ones] you do not want?

Mmm.

You want a beautiful one?

155. I want a beautiful one.

Well, go and bring yours so that we see [her]. Now, whom did you see?

I want... there is a girl, there is Maryam. (...)
M.K. 237

1. Wa’nasatama’mana
   talk-GERGENmeaning
   A’nasatataza’man’kelem...Taaw’lan:ne’gifi’hagu238
   person-PLGENold dayssay-OKENUMkeenonhis thing
   Mana’to.’kil(a)a’zolne’gififi’sokol
   meaningPRONPOSSINGeverypersonkeenonthing
   ’to.PRONPOSSINGPRON2SINGkeenonchildPRONPOSS2SING
   fiki’lialahajataki.
   everythingPRONPOSS2SINGPRON2SINGkeen
   ’aju’sokoltaki.
   want-ÔthingPRONPOSS2SING’deke’dekarab.
   ’YenaCONJ+PRON1PLgi-’kelem:ne’gifi’hagu.
   PROG-saykeenonhis thing
   ’Salaikannyere’ku’taki.’so ma’kosa,bes’ita
   everyifchildPRONPOSS2SINGdo-OmistakeEMPHPRON2SING
   ya’arufu’uo’makosa’makalam’ite’ne’gi
   FOCKnow-ÔPRON3SINGdo-ÔmistakeNEGbecausePRON2SINGkeen
   fyenyere’ku’taki.
   PRONPOSS2SING
   Te’ti’ncen:za’man’ma’li’go.
   GENtwoold daysNEGfind-PASS-OitmeansthatPERSONRELPROG-pride
   ’uoPRON3SINGkan’uo’lo’go’mali’yena
   whenPRON3SINGreceive-OwealthFOC+PRON1PL
   gisaythatza’man’kan’uo’mis’kin’uo’me
   PRG-saythatPRON3SINGpoorPRON3SINGNEG
   ’endu.’Ase’demin’uo’lo’go,’dukur’bag(a)’owo
   have-ÔnowsincePRON3SINGreceive-OthenEMPHPRON3SING
   ’ja’gem.
   come-Ôboast-O

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 hagg 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). hagg + -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'.
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20.

Mi'sen bi'ses-bi'ses, hour REL PRON 3SING get-O trouble(s)

Ma 'to, a'tim

it means that orphan

25.

'Uo 'bes gen mo ku'waf(u) to.

PRON 3SING EMPH stay-O with fear

Je 'de. 'Lad(i) 'owo 'raba, 'uo 'ma

like DEM PROX until PRON 3SING grow up-O PRON 3SING NEG

Ya 'gai

fear raise-O orphan

Ka'lam because

a'tim 'de 'raba ka'las.

PRON DEF grow up-O COMPL PRON 3SING become-O big

30.

au 'ita PRON 2SING

or possessor of

biceps

L'a'kin 'ita PRON 2SING

but

'jo lo'go meet-O ajol person INDEF take-O PRON 2SING

Ya 'ansa

fear

Ya 'kajul

PRON POSS 3SING

Ya meaning PRON POSS 3SING

je'resa. 'Ita

shame

35.

'Wede wa'nasa ta

DEM PROX talk-GER GEN

Old person-PL.

Old days REL.

Strength to + PRON 3PL.

ke'd(e) 'omon 'dusman dus'man ta askeriya. 'Ma
Appendix texts

SUBJ  PRON 3PL  fight-0  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-0  PRON 3SING

.  .  .

ba'rau.  'Umon  gi-  'lim(u)  mon  '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-0  place  one  joy  DEF  it means that  like  party  big

Kan  'uo  when  PRON 3SING  'mutu  die-0  ba'kan  'wai,  gu-  we'ri  'gal

'summon  'mutu  die-0  'sawa  'bil(a)  'summon  'kaf.  'De  'ya
PRON 3PL  die-0  together  without  PRON 3PL  be afraid-0  DEF  FOC

wa'nusa  'toumon  ta  z'a'man  al  gu-  'we'di  'gudra,  'gal:
talk-GER  PRON POSS 3PL  GEN  old days  REL  give  strength  that

"  Ro-
go-IMPER-
tokum  'na,  'dusman-  'itakum.  Kan  'ina  'mutu,  'ina

'umon  'mutu  die-0  'wai.  'Fara  'de,  'mana  'toje  'hafla  ke'bir.
when  PRON 3SING  'mutu  die-0  'wai,  gu-  we'ri  'gal

45.  'mutu  'kul."
die-0  all  EXIS NEG  person  REL  SUBJ  run-0  back

'Namba  'sita  gi-  'kelem:  ne'siba  'kati  'sensi.  Mana  'to  kan
number  six  PROG-  say  relative  cover-0  sun  it means that  when

'i(ta)  'endi  ne'siba  'taki,  kan  'uw(o)  awun(u)
PRON 2SING  have-0  relative  PROG-  when  PRON 3SING  help-0

'i(ta)  fi  'shida,  'de  'ya  'sensi(i)  al  'uo
PRON 2SING  in  problem(s)  DEF  FOC  sun  REL  PRON 3SING

'kati  me  sem'siya.  Kan  'sensi  gi-
cover-0  with  parasol  when  PROG-  burn  PRON 2SING

50.  'uo  'jib  shem'shiya,  'uo  'kutu  fi  'ras
PRON 3SING  bring-0  parasol  PRON 3SING  put-0  on  head

'to,  fi  'ras  'taki,  'mana  'to,  'uo
PRON POSS 3SING  on  head  PRON POSS 2SING  it means that

'uw(o)  'awun(u)'ita  min  'hari  ta  'sens.
PRON 3SING  help-0  PRON 2SING  from  heat  GEN  sun

Au  kan  'shida  'waga  'neta,  ne'siba  'taki
or  when  problem(s)  fall-0  to  +  PRON 2SING  relative  PROG- 2SING

jiere,  'uo  'ja  'awun(u)'ita  fi  'shida
FUT-  run  PRON 3SING  come-0  help-0  PRON 2SING  in  problem(s)

55.  'de.  'Yena  DEF  CONJ  +  PRON 1PL  gi-

Ta  'saba  gi-  'kelem:  'keli  'akul  ka'sara.  Mana  'to,  kan
GEN  seven  PROG-  say  dog  eat-0  (at a) loss it means that  if
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'it(a) 'endi 'kel(i) al 'ma gi- 'kore, wu 'keli 'ma
PRON 2SING have-O dog REL NEG PROG- bark and dog NEG

'g(i)- amrugu 'moyo, 'keli 'ma gi- 'so 'kidima, 'yal(a) 'tio
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-O (at a) loss meaning PRON POSS 3SING real

gu- we're a'jol al gi- 'gai 'meta. 'uo
PROG- show person REL PROG- stay with + PRON 2SING

'ma gi- 'kuruju, 'uo 'ma gi- 'so 'kidima 'kulu-kulu,
NEG PROG- till field 'uo NEG PROG- do work all-REDUP

'bes only 'kidima 'to, 'sa 'tim, 'uo 'ja
work PRON POSS 3SING 'sa PRON 3SING hour PRON 2SING come-O

'akul, 'sa 'tim, 'uo 'ja 'akul. 'wede
eat-O hour there-O PRON POSS 2SING PRON 3SING DEM PROX

65. 'ma 'kelem 'gal a'zol al 'g(i)- akul ka'sara. Wu nyere'ku
NEG PROG- say-O that person REL PROG- eat (at a) loss and child

ka'man al kan 'so 'meta 'kidima, 'uo 'ro
also REL when do-O for + PRON 2SING work PRON 3SING go-O

'angulu 'moyo, 'uo 'kasur 'lata, kan 'uo 'jibu 'lata
carry-O water PRON 3SING cut-O firewood when PRON 3SING bring-O 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-O 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-O dog sleep-O in hearth or PRON 2SING

'tagider 'kelem: 'kel 'aswe 'num fi lu'daya. 'Mana 'to
be able-O say-O dog black sleep-O 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-O fire NEG and when light-PASS-O in it fire NEG

'kel(i) al 'ingis..., al gi- 'doru-'doru
REL like REL PROG- wander about-REDUP for a long time
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te 'segete, 'uo GEN cold PRON3 SING gi- come PROG-
jo 'num fi lu' daya hearth because
- ka'lam nar

'fo go 'ma ke'de'ke o'w(lu) SUBJ find-O air warm
(to PROG 3 SING tan other PROG-
kelem fu be de

80. 'lo go akul(lu) food NEG when
find-PASS-O akili eat-PASS-O fire NEG
'ma Kan wa'la nari , ma.

'ma 'mana 'tora k(a)lu(y) akili NEG when
in it NEG SUBJ food cook-PASS-O

it means that

a'nas
person-PL
'
u nas sleep-O with hunger

'ma 'de fi 'be 'de
sleep-O in hearth it means that person-PL DEF in house DEF

'sum fi lu'daya. 'mana 'to sleep-O in
hearth that

'num ma ji'an. 'Umon eat-0 food NEG
sleep-O with hunger PRON3PL

'umon akulu neg light-PASS-O fire NEG

85. 'De DEM PROX
'
'ya ma ta ka'lam ma shee.

Ah, ta 'tisa PROG- meaning GEN
kelem nine say-O road(s)
'sika ti'nen gelib keli au sa tan
two defeat-O dog or sometimes

'tumon PROG-

kelem gal ka'rama say that

'Ma'na to keli rasul. Ka'rama fi fi
it means that dog arrive-O funeral

yau'min. 'Uo right PRON3 SING
'sum min in h'ilu. 'Uo sum min

90. 'na h'ilu. 'Bes nice EMPH
there nice PRON3 SING
'uo bu- go in it DEF

Rel PRON3 SING

'tu go go in it DEF

'kala soko'lin ti'nen. Turuju wai lad(i)

'sika ma'f(i)

'emal

95. 'ita 'kalas." PRON2 SING finish-O

Ta 'ashara gi- say PROG-
kelem dunia world prosper-O

'amuru ferteku.

'Ma'na to,

kan dunia h'ilu a'nas
when world nice person-PL

'gen ba'kan 'wai fi 'raha.

place one in rest
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100. 'Umon 'g(i)- ataku. 'Umon gi- fu'rai. La'kin 'youn fu'rai
PRON 3PL PROG- laugh PRON 3PL PROG- be happy but day(s) happiness

we'de 'karab. je 'zaman ta 'vita. 'Zaman to dus'man,
DEM PROX be spoil-O like time GEN war time GEN war

'a'nas 'terteku. 'wai'-wai. 'Ya ba'kan al 'Nubi
person-PL split up-O one by one FOC place REL NPROP

'Umon 'g(i)- ataku. 'Umon gi- fu'rai. ‘Ase'de, 'ino
PRON 3PL PROG- laugh PRON 3PL PROG- be happy

'a'mara 'tena. 'Ina gi- fu'rai. 'Ina 'g(i)- akulu. 'Ase'de, 'ino
in prosperity PRON POSS 1PL PRON 1PL PROG- eat now PRON 1PL

'Umon 'g(i)- ataku. 'Umon gi- fu'rai. 'Ina 'g(i)- akulu. 'Ase'de, 'ino
PRON 3PL PROG- laugh PRON 3PL PROG- eat now PRON 1PL

'a'nas 'terteku. 'wai'-wai. 'Ya ba'kan al 'Nubi
person-PL split up-O one by one FOC place REL NPROP

'Umon 'g(i)- ataku. 'Umon gi- fu'rai. ‘Ase'de, 'ino
PRON 3PL PROG- laugh PRON 3PL PROG- be happy

105. 'Dunia 'amuru, 'terteku. 'Dunia 'amuru, 'ferteku.
world prosper-O split up-O

I'dashar 'kelem: 'dabara 'gelib sa'tara. 'Mana 'to a'jol al
eleven say-O coax-GER defeat-O bravado it means that person REL

'dabara 'war(a) 'aw(o) 'hikima. 'Uo 'aksen
coax after thing GEN respect PRON 3SING better

'ma 'hikima. 'uw(o) 'aksen
world prosper-0 split up-0

110. mo 'dus. 'Uo 'gal 'uw(o) ab du'n, with force PRON 3SING that PRON 3SING possessor of biceps

'Uo 'lazima bi- li'go. La'kin a'jol al gi- 'dabara
PRON 3SING inevitably biceps receive but person REL PRON coax

'Uo 'gal fi 'be t(a) a'nas sati'rin, gi- ko're.
PRON 3SING better than person GEN prouder GEN respect

Gil 'be ta a'nas ab 'dabara. g(i)- ata'ku.
a house GEN people GEN coax-GER PROG- laugh PASS

115. Fi 'dabara 'ukum Na'sara fi ki'tab. 'Mana 'to
in house GEN authority Christian-PL in book it means that

Tan gi- 'kelem: 'kila 'sokol te
other say every thing GEN it means that

'kila 'sokol te Na'sara, 'mana 'to kila 'sokol te
every thing GEN Christian-PL it means that every thing GEN

Ingi'lis, 'kulu gi- ku'tu fala'ta, gi- kati'fu.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English-PL</th>
<th>all</th>
<th>PROG-</th>
<th>put-PASS</th>
<th>down</th>
<th>PROG-</th>
<th>write-PASS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'ita</td>
<td>Kan</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>'so</td>
<td>'ahadi</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>'ita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

120. 'ahadi | ma | a'zol, | person | 'ita | 'jo | 'sul | min | 'so |

'den, | kala'ma | 'de | loan | PROG- | kati'(u) | write-PASS | down | when | PROG- | 2SING | NEG |

'lipa, | sar'a | po-y-O | tomorrow | gi- | fa'ta | 'waraga | La'kin | 'tena |

'de, | 'bes | 'an | 'gal: | "A'ku, | we | 'nan(a) |

'elf 'ashara, | We'di | 'neta. | 'ito | 'na. |

ten thousand | write-PASS-O | NEG | CONJ | ta | za'man | 'kelem | 'gali |

'hukum | Na'sara | fi | ki'tab, | 'Kila | 'sokol | gi- | kati'(u) | fala'ta. |

ten thousand | authority | Christian-PL | in | book | every | thing | PROG- | write-PASS | down |

Tala'tashar: | 'atàn | fi | 'filì | fi | 'dulu. | 'Mana | 'to. | 'wede |

thirteen | crush-INF | GEN | GEN | old person-PL | GEN | old days | say-0 | that |

wa'nasa | ta | mata'na. | 'tom | 'wonus | 'fog(o) | a'jol |

talk-GER | GEN | indirect way of talking evil | PRON 2PL | talk-O | on |

lo'g(o) | 'owo | Ti | 'jamb | 'itokum | 'in. | la'kin | 'itom |

while | GEN | EXIS | beside | PRON 2PL | here | but | PRON 2PL |

130. gi- | 'wonus | fi | 'torof-|'torof-|'torof-|'torof. | 'Mana | 'to. | 'itom |

PROG- | talk | in | side-REPET | it means that | PRON 2PL |

'g(i)- | atan | 'dul | ta | li'fil, | Li'fil | ya'da, | la'kin | 'itom |

crush | shade | GEN | GEN | elephant | elephant | DEM ADV DIS | but | PRON 2PL |

'g(i)- | atan | 'dul | 'to | min | 'in. | 'Asa | a'zol |

crush | shade | PRON POSS 3SING | arround | here | now | person |

'na'de | ya | gi- | na'di | li'fil | '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-O | NEG | it means that |

135. 'itom | 'g(i)- | atan | li'fil | de | 'dul | 'to. |

PROG- | crush | elephant | DEF | in | shade | PRON POSS 3SING |

'Ya | Nubi | ta | za'man | 'atàn | li'fil | fi | 'dulu. |

CONJ | NPROP | GEN | old days | say-0 | crush-INF | PRON 3SING | elephant | in | shade |

A'mara | 'gasi, | ka'rabâ | 'jain. | 'Mana | 'to |

construct-GER | difficult | destroy-GER | easy | meaning | PRON POSS 3SING |

min | 'jua | gi- | 'kelem | 'ābin | 'sokol | gu- | 'kun | 'gow, |

from | inside | PROG- | say | build-INF | thing | PROG- | be | tough |
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je 'abin 'jua gi- 'sul 'youm mi'lan. La'yin kan
like build-INF house PROG- take day(s) many but if

kele'm(u) 'gal: " Kasur- kum 'jua 'de! ", 'youm 'wai ba'ra
say-PASS-O that break-IMPERS ADR PL house DEF day one only

140. 'jua 'kasur. Je 'wakti to dus'man, bes 'youm 'wai
house be-broken-O like time GEN war only day one

kan ja'da 'mutufa, ju'a 'kul fu bele 'kasur.
when throw-PASS-O bomb(s) house-PL all in country be broken-O

A'nas mi'lan 'mutu. La'kin kan ja'da 'mutufa, ju'a 'kul fu bele 'kasur.
person-PL many die-O but throw-PASS-O bomb(s) house-PL all in country be broken-O

145. 'gasi, 'abinu soko'lin 'dol'de ma 'nas du'kan lo'go
difficult build-INF thing-PL DEM PROX PL tough but find-PASS-O shop(s)

'sulu 'youm mi'lan. 'Ya 'Nubi 'kelem ta za'man 'gal a'mara
take-O day(s) many CONJ NPROP say-0 GEN old days that construct-GER

Ta kamis'tashar 'kelem: ke'ni 'weledu 'marya. 'Mana 'to, 'rag(i) 'wai
GEN fifteen say-O co-wife bear-0 wife it means that man one

'endis nus'wan ti'nen. U nus'wan 'de 'gen fi 'jua 'wai.
have-O wife-PL two and wife-PL DEF stay-O in house one

150. 'Kila 'marya 'endis sabu'len 'to ma mi'dan
every wife have-O living room PRON POSS 3SING and yard

'to. 'Wai min nus'wan 'dol'de 'weledu nyere'ku bi'ninya
PRON POSS 3SING one from wife-PL DEM PROX PL bear-O child girl

Bi'niya 'de, kan 'gum min 'subu, 'uo kan
girl DEF when wake up-O in morning PRON 3SING when

'gu- rwa 'kunusu mi'dan. 'uo 'kunusu mi'dan ta 'safa
PROG- go sweep-O yard GEN sweep yard GEN side

ta ma'ma 'to. 'Safa ta 'marba
GEN mother PRON POSS 3SING side GEN stepmother

155. 'to, 'uo gi- 'kunusu 'ma. 'Ya 'dukur
PRON POSS 3SING PRON 3SING PROG- sweep NEG CONJ then

mu'ma 'na'de ab 'endi nyere'ku bi'ninya 'ma 'de, 'uo
mother DEM DIS REL have-O child girl NEG DEF PRON 3SING

gi- 'kelem 'gali: " Ke'ni 'tai PRON POSS 1SING DEF PRON 3SING bear-O
say that co-wife

'marya 'tan. As'e'd(e) 'umon 'fi nus'wan ti'nen al
wife other now PRON 3PL EXIS wife-PL two REL
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] 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.

50. 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 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,

60. 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,

65. even when you are eating, you are eating while your are working for me.

The eighth [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,

70. 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
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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.

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'zuluwe240.

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 Qur'anic 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’zoj ‘person’ and mo’weledu STAT PASS of ‘weledu ‘be born’, and means ‘person who is born’, ‘descendant’. 

10. 'Tega-'tega, 'ina gi-'so,'kazi ta 'tega me 'himbha.'
An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

'uo 'na'de 'ladi 'hadi 'ana 'je 'sebu. 'An(a) 'arij(a) 'abidu
DEM DIS until stage PRON 1 SING come-0 leave-0 PRON 1 SING return-0 begin-0

'kidima ta tu'jar ta 'tundä tolo'bus. 'tundä ga'ya, 'tundä 'sim-'sim,
work GEN business GEN sell-PRON 1S sell-PRON 1S sell-PRON 1S sesame

15. 'tundä 'nas fi 'nu. 'Ina gi- 'sil(u) 'in. 'Ina 'gu-'rwa
sell-PRON 1S sell-GEN groundnut(s) PRON 1 PL take here PRON 1 PL go

'Ina gi- 'so 'kidima to. 'Kazi ta 'tabu. La'kin
work work GEN problem(s) but

'wakhti 'ten(a) 'na'de, 'sente 'lena 'mılan, 'te'gili.
time DEM DIS money PRON 1 PL many heavy

'lte bi- 'so 'sente 'ia.... 'ite bi- 'so 'kidima 'ria.
PRON 2 SING FUT- do money little PRON 2 SING FUT- do work little

20. gi- 'jib ke'tiri 'ladi 'ina 'ja 'gai,
PRON 1 PL PROG- province DEM DIS many until PRON 1 PL come-0 stay-0

'Ine je 'ja 'dakal fi 'du'kan. 'Baga 'wakhti ta A'min, 'Ine je
PRON 1 PL PROG- do in shop EMPH time GEN NPROP PRON 1 PL come-0

'uniq je 'jib 'neta 'sente 'ia.... 'ite bi- 'so 'kidima 'ria.
PRON 1 PL PROG- bring to + PRON 2 SING money many until PRON 1 PL come-0

ma 'family 'tai, ma 'nas 'tai,
with family family PRON 1 PL PROG- do with people

ma aja'ma 'tai, ma 'nas 'tai,
with people family PRON 1 PL PROG- do with people

25. 'so bia'shar a 'kweis. 'Ine ku- 'so tu'jar 'lena
do-0 business with quality PRON 1 PL PROG- do business PRON 1 PL

'kweis 'ladi 'ino 'wosul fu 'hadi te 'jere. 'Bas, 'ya 'ini
good until PRON 1 PL reach-0 in stage GEN run-GER well FOC here

'jé come-PASS-0
in. 'Ino 'ria. 'Ina 'tala
PRON 1 PL go-0 PRON 1 PL PRON 1 PL

min 'ini, 'dakal fi 'Irim. 'Dakal fi 'Irim. 'Ina 'jo 'ro
from here enter-0 in NPREP enter-0 in NPREP PRON 1 PL come-0 go-0

30. 'ro 'kun 'dukur fi 'Arua. 'Arua, 'ino 'ro 'dakal fi 'Su'dan,
go-0 be-0 then in PRON 1 PL go-0 PRON 1 PL enter-0 in NPREP PRON 1 PL

fi 'Yeci. 'Asc, 'in 'ro 'gai 'na 'gai ta 'shida.
in NPREP now PRON 1 PL stay-0 there stay-GER GEN problem(s)

'Bes 'in 'gai 'gai ta 'tabu ze'de, ta 'tabu
EMPH PRON 1 PL stay-0 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 NPREP come-0 help-0 PRON 1 PL
35. **'Bes, 'ina ka'man 'gai**

**Appendix texts**

**Ji'bu nena 'namna ta 'akili ma-shara'fi, 'gal**

**PROG-distribute-PASS**

**PRON 1PL**

**with + PRON 3SING**

**well PRON 1PL EMPH stay-O**

**'mo kweis 'ladi 'Rabana 'ja awun(u)ina**

**with + PRON 3SING**

**well until NPREF come-O help-O PRON 1PL**

**'Já come-PASS-O**

**ari'ja amru'g(u) ina min 'in. We'd(i) ina**

**return-PASS-O remove-PASS-O PRON 1PL from here give-PASS-O PRON 1PL**

**fi 'kambi. 'ino ro gai fi 'kambi. 'ina gai ma 'nann(a)**

**in camp PRON 1PL go-O stay-O in camp PRON 1PL**

**stay-O with way**

**ab kweis fi 'kambi 'na. La'kini kweis to **

**REL good in camp there but EMPH stay-0 with**

**'mo 'kweis 'ladi 'Ja 'awun(u) 'ina. 'Ja ka'man 'gai 'ina.**

**with + PRON 3SING well until NPROP come-0 help-0 PRON 1PL come-PASS-0**

**'Bes, 'ina ka'man 'gai**

**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-O with + PRON 3SING heart(s) until come-O end PRON POSS 3SING**

**' Já amru'g(u) ina min Su'dan. 'Ya 'ina 'ja**

**come-PASS-O remove-PASS-O PRON 1PL from NPROP CONJ PRON 1PL come-O**

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 'kun fi ista'rabu je 'kan min 'bedir**

**PRON 1PL NEG be-0 in civilization like be-ANT from before**

**'shida 'tena 'lisa gi-'kalas 'mafi min 'abidu 'jere**

**problem(s) still PROG-finish NEG from begin-INF run-GER**

**'lad(i) 'ase'de 'ina ma 'kun fi ista'raba je 'kan min 'bedir**

**until now PRON 1PL NEG be-O in civilization like be-ANT from before**

**'ine 'fi 'mouo.**

**PRON 1PL with + PRON 3SING EMPH PRON 1PL EXIS with...**

**Bes 'ina 'fi ma... bes ma**
An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda

55. 'tena ta 'tabu. Num 'tena ta 'tabu. 'Num 'tena ta 'tabu.
PRON POSS 1PL GEN problem(s) PRON POSS 1PL GEN problem(s) PRON POSS 1PL GEN problem(s)

60. 'fi ze 'de. 'Ya 'asa. 'ina fi Ma'sindi Port 'en.
EXIS like DEM PROX CONJ now PRON 1PL in NPROP here

65. 'mouo with + PRON 3SING here 'ini, 'namn(a) al 'ina 'fi 'mouo
with + PRON 3SING here 'ini, 'namn(a) al 'ina 'fi 'mouo

70. 'kan 'fi 'mouo. Wu 'kas 'to 'kan 'bes
ANT EXIS with + PRON 3SING and work PRON POSS 3SING be-ANT EMPH

...
75. 'sente 'to. money PRON POSS 3SING GEN business PRON POSS 3SING REL PRON 3SING PROG- find with+ PRON 3SING 76. 'la'kin 'uv(o) but PRON 3SING have-O cow-PL PRON POSS 3SING 'endi baga'ra 'to. cow-PL now PRON 1PL PROG- 77. 'sara baga'ra. 'Ase 'ine gi- 'sara baga'ra 'to. cow-PL evening EMPH PRON I PL 78. 'endi baga'ra 'to. have-0 cow-PL small-PL PRON POSS 3SING 79. 'sara baga'ra 'to. herd cow-PL 80. 'sara baga'ra fi 'be. house PRON POSS 3SING PRON 1SING 81. 'je-ja come-REDUP-0 82. 'tim, 'tosha be enough-O be enough-O 83. 'la'kin 'uw(o) but PRON 3SING 84. 'endi baga'ra 'to. have-0 cow-PL PRON POSS 3SING 85. 'sara baga'ra. 'Ase 'ine gi- 'sara baga'ra 'to. cow-PL evening EMPH PRON I PL
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95. 'Ana 'seb ak'wana wa'din gi- 'so bi'a'shera 'toumon, PRON 1SING leave-0 brother-PL other-PL PROG- do business PRON POSS 3PL

'Ana 'gai 'tena 'wakhti((AL) 'lis(a) 'ino we're, or stay-GER PROG POSS 1PL time REL still still PROG 1PL boy-PL

'ina 'gai 'gai ta 'raha 'ka'bisa. 'In(a) 'endi 'tabu 'mafi GEN PROG POSS 1PL peace entirely have-0 problem(s) NEG

je 'wakhti 'takum, 'wakhti ta 'ase'de, GEN PROG POSS 2PL time GEN now GEN GEN now, we're ta 'ase'de,

like time PROG POSS 2PL GEN GEN GEN GEN

100. 'takum, 'yal ta 'ase'de 'l'm om gi- 'ish 'ish GEN child-PL GEN now DEF PROG- live live-GER

ta 'tabu problem(s) bi'mara. 'ish 'takum a'ta ta 'raha GEN PROG POSS 2PL GEN PROG POSS 1PL GEN, we're ta 'raha

'takum, PRON POSS 2PL

'saki 'de 'ma. 'Ma je 'tena ta awlan, ta 'awal nothing DEF NEG NEG like GEN PROG POSS 1PL GEN first GEN first

'ina 'fi 'mouo fi 'bele 'tena fi Gu'lu. GEN EXIS with + PROG 3SING land GEN GEN GEN

'Ina 'kan a'nas ta 'raha 'karbisa. 'Ine gu- 'wafik 'ben GEN person-PL GEN peace entire GEN PROG- GEN

105. 'toumon, 'inde gi- 'dor-'dor, 'ine gi- 'dor between PROG POSS 1PL PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG-

'g(i)- akul 'kul ba'kan 'wai PRON POSS 1PL PROG- eat all place one

'ma wa'ze 'tena. 'Ina, 'ina... 'kan ajusi'ya with old person-PL GEN GEN PROG- old person-PL

'tena, wa'ze 'tena. 'Ina, 'ina... 'kan ajusi'ya PROG POSS 1PL PROG POSS 1PL PROG- PROG-

'g(i)- ze'de, bi- mada(i) ita. 'ita bi- 'ja 'gai PRON POSS 1PL call-PASS PRON 2SING PRON 2SING come stay-0

110. 'toumon, 'inde gu- 'wonus a'dis 'toumon with + PROG 3PL talk story(s) PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG-

'toumon, 'inde gu- 'wonus a'dis 'toumon PROG POSS 3PL

ta za'man, kala'ma 'toumon 'Umon ka'man 'inde 'gai fa'la(t)(A) 'en, of old days thing-PL GEN old days PROG POSS 3PL stay-O down here

'Ino gu- 'rudu 'kweisi. Wu 'ine 'faham. GEN PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG-

G(i)- adi'b(u) 'ina ma a'daba 'kweisi. Wu 'ine ka'man PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG-

'dindi 'faham. 'Ino gu- 'rudu ma kala'ma 'toumon. have-O intelligence PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG- PROG-

115. Kan 'gal: " 'Gai falla't", gai. Kan 'gal: " Yo'wele, 'gum! if that sit-IMPER down sit-PASS-O if that boy get up-IMPER
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120.

"Ro 'jib 'nana 'sokole ba'kan., 'ro 'bio go-IMPER bring-IMPER to + PRON 1SING thing place go-IMPER buy-IMPER

'tana 'sokole ba'kan fi'lan", 'ite gi- jere fi 'sa we'de.
to + PRON 1SING thing place X PROG- run in hour DEM PROX

'Ito 2SING 'gum, 'ite jib 'sokol 'no 'na'de DEM DIS straightaway PRON 3SING

bi- 'shukur 'leta: " 'Ana gu- 'tub bu'ja 'mara 'wai. 'Uo PROG- thank to + PRON 1SING PROG- spit down DEM ADV PROX

'ite gi- 'jere fi 'sa we'de. Kan 'ita PROG- run in hour DEM PROX when PRON 2SING 'seb bu'ja

'de 'abis. 'ite bi- 'je li'go la'saya." 'Ana PROG- dry-O PROG- come stick PRON 1SING jia 'ain

ta 'ase'de. Wu 'haki 'ma. 'Ino gu- 'gum, GEN now and right EXIS NEG now and right PROG- get up PRON 1PL

'gu- rwa. 'Ino 'gum, 'ite 'jib PROG- go PRON 1PL PROG- PRON 2SING go-0 go

'sokol 'taki to m'ze 'na'de. 'Ita thing GEN old man DEM DIS PRON 2SING come-0 PROG- be-O

jo 'wosul 'now(o) 'ini, 'ite we'di 'sokol to come-0 reach-0 to PRON 3SING here PROG- give-O thing PRON POSS 3SING

'de. " 'Gai fal'ta!" 'Gai, 'ite gi- jere. "Ro 'jib 'sokol fi'lan!" 'ite PROG- stay-IMPER down stay-PASS-O go-0 PROG- run thing X PRON 2SING

'rua. "'So 'sokol fi'lan!" 'ito PROG- do-IMPER thing X PRON 2SING go-O

Kan 'uo 'gai: " 'Num fal'ta, 'kan(a) PROG- when PRON 3SING that sleep-IMPER down SUBJ + PRON 1SING ma'kosa, mistake(s)

'dug(u) 'ita", du'gu 'ita. Kan 'só PROG- beat-0 PROG- PROG- DOWN PRON 2SING if do-PASS-O

130.

'i'te gi- jere. 'Ite PROG- run PROG- PRON 2SING go-0 to brother one there brother DEF

ka'man 'gri- amsuku la'saya, 'ite 'rua na ma'ma 'na'de. also PROG- take stick PROG- PROG- PROG- PRON 2SING to mother DEM DIS

'i'ta, PRON 2SING wan't o go-O to mother DEM DIS Ma'ma 'jad(a) 'eta DOWN PRON 2SING fall'ta, throw-O PRON 2SING fall'ta,
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135. Ka'man kala'ma ta nas sa'n a... 'sara 'de 'kul 'kan 'ma'fi. 'Khusu me 'khusu 'de 'kun 'ma'fi. A'yan 'samba-samba'la

'Gilib(u) 'ina ka'bisa. Nyere'ku, 'ita

'Gilib(u) 'ina ka'bisa. Nyere'ku, 'it(a)
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 again began 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. We entered the shop, 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.

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. We were brought 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, 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.

60. 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
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home. I became old enough, old enough for studying. [for] religious school. 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 Qur?ân. My other brothers continued to herd the cows. Well, here was the time that I had already become a little big.

80. 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.

85. 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.

90. We 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.

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 bring 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, 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,

125. 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.

130. 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.

135. [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.

140. 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.

145. 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.

150. 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 fi 'safa ta ha'dis. 'An(a) endi 'ja wai
   come-0 in side story(s) have-0 fairy tale INDEF
   'sia ali 'an(a) asma bediri na mu'ze 'tai.
   small REL PRON 1SING hear-0 before old man
   a'ku ba'ba 'tai. Ha'dis to furayi's(a) 'ana
   brother father story PRON 1SING make happy-0
   'zaidi. Ha'dis de 'g(i)-amsuku badu fogo Tom'sa ma sa'bi to,
   very story DEF PROG- touch together with Crocodile with friend
   'sia 'ali
   small REL
   'an(a)
   PRON 1SING
   'asma bediri na mu'ze 'tai.
   hear-0 before from
   mu'ze 'tai.
   old man
   a'ku ba'ba 'tai. Ha'dis to furayi's(a) 'ana
   brother father story PRON 1SING make happy-0
   'zaidi. Ha'dis de 'g(i)-amsuku badu fogo Tom'sa ma sa'bi to,
   very story DEF PROG- touch together with Crocodile with friend
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   'asma bediri na mu'ze 'tai.
   hear-0 before from
   mu'ze 'tai.
   old man
   a'ku ba'ba 'tai. Ha'dis to furayi's(a) 'ana
   brother father story PRON 1SING make happy-0
   'zaidi. Ha'dis de 'g(i)-amsuku badu fogo Tom'sa ma sa'bi to,
   very story DEF PROG- touch together with Crocodile with friend
   'sia 'ali
   small REL
   'an(a)
   PRON 1SING
   'asma bediri na mu'ze 'tai.
   hear-0 before from
   mu'ze 'tai.
   old man
   a'ku ba'ba 'tai. Ha'dis to furayi's(a) 'ana
   brother father story PRON 1SING make happy-0
   'zaidi. Ha'dis de 'g(i)-amsuku badu fogo Tom'sa ma sa'bi to,
   very story DEF PROG- touch together with Crocodile with friend
   'sia 'ali
   small REL
   'an(a)
   PRON 1SING
   'asma bediri na mu'ze 'tai.
   hear-0 before from
   mu'ze 'tai.
   old man
   a'ku ba'ba 'tai. Ha'dis to furayi's(a) 'ana
   brother father story PRON 1SING make happy-0
   'zaidi. Ha'dis de 'g(i)-amsuku badu fogo Tom'sa ma sa'bi to,
   very story DEF PROG- touch together with Crocodile with friend

5. kan fi Kala'maya. Tom'sa gi- 'gen fi 'jua 'bahar. Kala'maya
   ANT EXIS Goat Tom'sa PROG- stay in inside lake Goat
   'fo fi 'aridi. 'Ase Tom'sa fi be to 'na,
   'stop up in earth now Crocodile in house PRON POSS 3SING there
   'kila youm, 'uo 'g(i)-asna Kala'maya kan 'rasul la'siya je'de
   every day PRON 3SING PROG- hear Goat when reach-0 evening EMPH
   'go! Tom'sa kan 'rasul fi 'jua 'bahar. Kala'maya
   PROG- cry-REDUP Goat say-0
   "Lo! Tom'sa kan 'rasul fi 'jua 'bahar. Kala'maya
   "tell Tom'sa when reach-0 evening
   'kila youm, 'uo 'g(i)-asna Kala'maya kan 'rasul la'siya je'de
   every day PRON 3SING PROG- hear Goat when reach-0 evening EMPH
   'go! Tom'sa kan 'rasul fi 'jua 'bahar. Kala'maya
   "tell Tom'sa when reach-0 evening

10. 'Ye 'tai 'taj 'g(i)- asna Kala'maya. 'Uo 'ro -'abur 'aimu
    house PRON POSS 3SING PROG- be quiet NEG noise every day
    "Lo! Marya, 'ana ke'de 'ro 'abur 'aimu
    "tell wife that neighbour PRON POSS 1SING DEF maybe try-0 see-0
    'jira 'tai
    neighbour
    PROG- come-REDUP
    'de. 'Sa 'tan, 'fi a'nas al gi- 'taban
    every day SUBJ go-0 PROG- annoy
    'uo. 'Ya 'uo 'robutu sa'fari 'to. 'Yo 'ro
    PRON 3SING CONJ PRON 3SING tie-0 trip PRON POSS 3SING go-0
    'aimu 'sa'bi to.
    friend PRON POSS 3SING
    Kala'maya. 'Uo 'rasul na Kala'maya,
    see-0 friend PRON POSS 3SING Goat
    reach-0 to Goat
    'aimu 'sa'bi to.
    friend PRON POSS 3SING
    Kala'maya. 'Uo 'rasul na Kala'maya,

15. 'so: " As-sa'lam a'leikum." Kala'maya 'ndu: "Wu a'leikum us-sa'lam.
    do-O Islamic greeting Goat answer-O Islamic greeting please [come in]
    Ah, 'sa'bi to.
    INT friend PRON POSS 3SING Crocodile enter-0
    Tom'sa 'da'kal. 'Ya 'uo 'rakab 'chai.
    Crocodile PRON 2SING CONJ PRON POSS 3SING tea
    Tom'sa 'asrubu. 'Gal: " Ah, Tom'sa, 'ita 'kan 'kila 'youn gi- 'ja
    Crocodile drink-O that INT Crocodile PRON 2SING ANT every day PROG- come

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 to + PRON 1SING NEG 'ken 'Nare 'ke'fn?" 'Gal: " 'Aik 'sokol al 'jib(u) 'ana
"neta, sa'bi to + PRON 2SING friend 'tai, PRON POSS 1SING 'ana 'ja 'asad(u) 'ita
20. 'tab, 'taki problem PRON POSS 2SING DEF 'de sa'nu?" Kala'maya 'gal: " 'Ana 'ma 'eindu
'tabu." 'Gal: " Ah, kila 'youm, ana 'g(i)-asm(a) 'eta gi- 'dugu
kilele. 'Kila噪声 la'siya every evening 'ita gu- 'dugu kilele." 'Ya Kala'maya 'gali: " Kilele
'tai PRON POSS 1SING 'de, 'ya sa'bi Tom'sa, 'de 'gusu we'ledu, 'ita 't(a)
'anuf 'ma, know-O PRON 1PL kala'maya, goat(s) kan 'gu- 'gus wela'du, 'ino gi- 'dugu PRON POSS 2SING
25. kilele." 'Ya gal: "'Dinya kilele de 'kul, 'ito 'gus weledu look-for-O give-birth-INF
'ita gu- 'weledu kam in year Goat that 'sana? Kala'maya 'gal: "'Ana,
fi 'sana, 'an year PRON 1SING 'weledu 'wai, 'tai 'gus weledu 'kam fi 'sana?" Kala'maya 'gal: "'Ana,
yeta FOC + PRON 2SING 'dugu 'fogo kilele. Dukur 'ita PRON 2SING
'An(a) al gu- 'wonus 'meta in year Goat that 'de, 'ana weledu
sc'bein. La'kin seventy but voice sa'uti 'tai, PRON POSS 1SING 'ita 'g(i)-asma weledu
from inside water there gu- 'weledu ma'yai 'ladi s'tin. 'Gonyo waltum'bari
weledu 'yal 'na. 'Uo 'faga ge'rei 'elf 'wai wu miten. 'Ase'de, bear-O child-PL there PRON 3SING
'ya Kala'maya, VOC Goat 'de 'ena weledu ti'nin 'yeta
'dugu 'fogo kilele on it noise je 'de'!!!" 'Ya ha'dis 'tai 'de
'rent-O 'nak end-O here and ha'dis 'de 'g(i)-arm(u) weledu
'ita PRON POSS 1SING 'rwa 'so 'sokol ke'd(e) 'eta 'sif(a) 'eta 'fogo
35. 'koma 'ni, Story DEF 'de DEF 'g(i)-alim(u) weledu
PRON 2SING PROG- 'ina story CONJ 'gali 'ma kan
'ita PRON POSS 2SING weledu DEF 'sokol SUBJ PRON 2SING praise-O weledu
gridam. 'Ite first PRON 2SING 'feker gal that 'ita ya 'agider. Ta'mi 'fi 'nas
that PRON 2SING think-O FOC be able-O you see person-PL
Appendix texts

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40. 

"...REL surpass-0 PRON 2SING

Gi'dida ma Li'fili. Fi 'youm ta 'akulu. Gi'dida, 'uo kan ji'ran te Li'fili. 'Uo kelem

na Li'fili: "Li'fili, 'ita ta 'akili,

to Elephant PRON POSS 1SING GEN eat-INF Chicken PRON 3SING GEN be-ANT neighbour GEN Elephant PRON 3SING

'ana g(i)- akulu 'akil al gi- futu 'taki. " Li'fili 'gal:

PRON 1SING PROG- eat food REL PROG- surpass PRON POSS 2SING Elephant that

"Ah, 'ita sei 'endu 'haya 'ma? 'Ita g(i)- akulu su'nu?

INT PRON 2SING EMPH have-0 shame NEG PRON 2SING PROG- eat what?

45. 

'ya 'akil 'taki al 'ita gi- 'legetu-'legetu-'legetu

CONJ food PRON POSS 2SING REL PRON 2SING PROG- pick-REPET

'de, 'de ya 'akili? 'Ana kan 'kum 'gesi au 'akil 'tai

DEF DEF FOC food PRON 1SING if collect-0 grass or food PRON POSS

50. 

'tena ma ta'ma ta we'ri n(a) a'nas 'gal 'uo g(i)- akulu

PRON POSS 1PL DEF CONJ PRON 3PL PROG- eat PRON 3SING PROG- eat

Wa'kat(i) a'nas 'asuma ha'dis jo 'wede, a'nas ke'tiri ja

when person-PL hear-0 story like DEM PROX person-PL many come-Ø

'fogo, wu a'nas ke'tir ja ta 'ataku Gi'dida, mi'san 'umon 'arufu

in it and person-PL many come-Ø GEN laugh-INF Chicken because PRON 3PL know-Ø

Li'fili bi- 'sinda Gi'dida fu 'akulu. 'Sa al min 'sub 'abidu, Li'fili 'dakal

Elephant FUT- defeat Chicken in 'akulu. Sa al from morning 'abidu, begin-0 Elephant enter-Ø

fi 'akulu. Gi'dida 'abidu ka'man 'akil. 'Umun 'abid(u) 'akulu. Li'fili(i) 'abid(u) 'akulu

in eat-INF Chicken begin-0 also food PRON 3PL 'abid(u) eat-0 Elephant begin-Ø eat-0

55. 

ma ta'ma ta we'ri n(a) a'nas 'gal 'uo g(i)- akulu

with greed GEN show-GER to person-PL that PRON 3SING PROG- eat

'futu Gi'dida. Li'fili(i) 'aku, 'uw(o) 'aku, 'uw(o) 'aku, 'uw(o) 'aku.

in comparison with Chicken Elephant eat-Ø PRON 3SING eat-0 PRON 3SING eat-Ø
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, (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? 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, [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 friend, it is searching reproduction. You know [that] we, goats, when we are going to mate, we are making noise.

2. Thus [Crocodile said] that: "All this noise, you are attempting to breed/you are mating?!! How many [young] do you bear a year?" [Crocodile 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.

3. 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, 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. (...

4. In my third story, there is being talked about Chicken and Elephant. 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?

5. 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.

6. 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.

7. 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.

8. 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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An Arabic creole in Africa: The Nubi language of Uganda


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.


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 Bahar 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.


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 werkoorden. Het kale werkwoord (zonder voorvoegsel) in het Nubi geeft punctualiteit weer, wat een verleden tijd inhoudt voor dynamische werkoorden en een tegenwoordige tijd voor statische werkoorden. 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 de aspectaanduiding blijkt echter uniek voor het Nubi. Het Nubi gi-voorvoegsel duidt niet-punctualiteit aan, en komt daardoor, zoals in de meeste creooltalen, voor in bij dynamische werkoorden. Er zijn enkele uitzonderingen die min of meer uniek zijn voor het Nubi. gi- kan voorkomen met niet-dynamische werkoorden, wanneer het begin van een toestand wordt aangegeven, wanneer wordt verwezen naar toestanden die regulier weken, en bij werkoorden zoals 'ben' 'lijken op' en 'gen' 'gai' 'zitten', 'blijven'. Het Nubi bi-voorvoegsel, net zoals het hulpwerkwoord gi-'rua geeft een toekomstaandheid 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 werkoorden 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 overgangelijkheid van het werkwoord en van de zin, een rol spelen. Een dergelijk transitiviteitspartikel bestaat ook in onder andere Tok Pisin.

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 Muhammad 'Alî, 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 Bahr 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 continuous, 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.
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