1. Introduction

Taglennaa is spoken in the northern Nuba Mountains. It is part of the Kordofan Nubian cluster comprising a group of closely related languages that are also known in the scientific literature as Hill Nubian or by the corresponding German term “Bergnubisch”; locally they are also referred to by the term “Ajang” languages. These languages are part of the Nubian family. According to Rilly’s recent genetic language classification, Nubian along with Taman of Darfur, Ama (Nyimang) of the Nuba Mountains, Nara of Eritrea, and the extinct Meroitic language forms the northern branch of Eastern Sudanic. Eastern Sudanic, in turn, is a primary branch of Nilo-Saharan.

In typological perspective, Taglennaa represents a verb-final language. While the subject noun phrase is unmarked for case (i.e. the nominative is zero-marked), the semanto-syntactic roles of other noun phrases are indicated by clitic case-markers, including =gɪ for the accusative, =kɔ for the instrumental, and =(V)r for the locative. That is, these dependent noun phrases are marked for case. Moreover, the subject is cross-referenced by person and number

* We are grateful to Gertrud Schneider-Blum and Vincent van Gerven Oei for helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

1 The term Kordofan Nubian (German “Kordofannubisch”) is already used in Meinhof’s Eine Studienfahrt nach Kordofan (chapter 10 “Die nubische Sprache”), p. 82, and in his “Sprachstudien im egyptischen Sudan,” p. 358.

2 The term “Hill Nubian” is introduced in the MacDiarmid’s article “The Languages of the Nuba Mountains.” Stevenson continues to use this term in his PhD thesis “A Survey of the Phonetics and Grammatical Structure of the Nuba Mountain Languages.” The term “Hill Nubian” is also used in Tucker & Bryan’s grammatical sketch of the Nubian languages published in Linguistic Analyses, pp. 313–328.

3 The corresponding German term “Bergnubisch” is used in Kauczor’s grammar of the Dilling dialect Die bergnubische Sprache, and Kauczor’s wordlist of the Dilling language, “Bergnubisches Wörterverzeichnis.”

4 Rilly, Le méroïtique et sa famille linguistique.
suffixes on the finite verb. The subject-verb agreement represents head-marking because the subject requires certain inflectional suffixes to appear on the head of the clause, i.e. on the finite verb.\(^5\) Thus, Taglennaa grammar is considered to be both head-marking and dependent marking on the clause level. We will come back to this point when drawing the conclusions at the end of this paper.

Taglennaa\(^6\) is named after the village Tagle. To outsiders and in previous linguistic literature this village and the language is known by the term Kururu (also spelled Kororo).\(^7\) The village is situated in the Six Mountains (Ar. jibaal as-sitta),\(^8\) in the northeastern Nuba Mountains of Southern Kordofan, Sudan. Apart from Tagle/Kururu, there are five further villages in the Six Mountains, Kurtala, Darbatna, Koldegi (also spelt Kuldeji), Kadero (Kadaru), and Kafer. The languages spoken in these villages languages are said to be mutually intelligible.

The first linguistic study of Taglennaa, a phonological sketch, was published in 2007.\(^9\) Further studies of Taglennaa comprise the comparative study “Structure of Ajang Verbs,”\(^10\) as well as “Relative Clauses in Taglennaa (Kordofan Nubian),”\(^11\) and “Converbs in Tagle (Kordofan Nubian).”\(^12\) Moreover, in the present volume there is Gumma Ibrahim Gulfan’s paper on “Possessor Ascension in Taglennaa.”

All data for the present paper were provided by the first author who is a mother-tongue speaker of Taglennaa.\(^13\)

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\(^5\) Nichols & Bickel, “Locus of Marking in the Clause.”

\(^6\) The language name Taglennaa is composed of several morphemes. Two alternative morpheme analyses are proposed. The first one suggests that [taglɛnnaa] is composed of two possessive noun phrases, /taglɛ-n-ini-n-aa/, i.e. Tagle-GEN-people-GEN-language, literally “Tagle’s people’s language.” However, this morpheme analysis, proposed by C. Ibrahim (p.c.), raises the question why /ini/ does not show any traces in the surface phonetic realization [taglɛnnaa]. The other analysis considers the fact that /taglɛnnaa/ is alternatively realized as [taglɛnmaa]. This pronunciation suggests the morpheme parsing /taglɛ-n-maa/, i.e. Tagle-GEN-language, where maa is interpreted as a reflex of Proto Kordofan Nubian *fai “language.” The labial *f is usually lost in the Tagle language but probably retained here due to the “protected” word-medial position. We presume that *f is realized as labial nasal m due to the assimilation of the nasal feature of the preceding genitive marker n. This morphological analysis of /taglɛ-n-maa/, is supported by other Kordofan Nubian language names which have the same pattern, e.g. Warki-m-bee “Dilling language,” Uɲcu-n-wee “Ghulfan language,” and Kaak-n-ʃiɛ “Karko language.”

\(^7\) Stevenson, “A Survey of the Phonetics and Grammatical Structure of the Nuba Mountain Languages,” p. 113.

\(^8\) Abbreviations used: * – unattested; adv – adverbalizer; am – attributive modifier; an – agent noun; Ar. – (Sudanese) Arabic; corr – correlation suffix; dim – diminutive; ins – instrumental; intens – intensifier; n – noun; oj – object; pl – plural; plr – verbal plural; ptcp – participle; rel – relative clause marker; sg – singular; sgl – verbal singular; sj – subject.

\(^9\) Ibrahim & Huttenga, “The Phoneme System of Tagle, a Kordofan Nubian Language.”

\(^10\) Gulfan, “Structure of Ajang Verbs.”

\(^11\) Ibrahim & Jakobi, “Relative Clauses in Taglennaa.”

\(^12\) Gulfan, “Converbs in Tagle.”

\(^13\) We wish to thank Gumma Ibrahim Gulfan and El-Kheir Hagar for checking the Taglennaa data and discussing them with us.
Our paper focuses on lexical items used as attributive modifiers (hereafter abbreviated as *ams*, singular *AM*) of noun phrases. It is concerned with *ams* that are characterized by specific syntactic, morphosyntactic, and semantic properties in Taglennaa.

1. *ams* follow the head noun, i.e. the constituent order is *N + AM* (in English, by contrast, *ams* precede the head noun, i.e. *AM + N*, e.g. “small child”).

2. *ams* agree in number with the head noun they modify (by contrast, English *ams* - termed “adjectives” - do not agree in number with the head noun, e.g. “old tree / old trees.”)

3. *ams* render adjectival/property concepts, i.e. they denote more or less timetable properties/qualities of the referents of those head nouns. By contrast, *ams* such as “warm” or “pregnant” express transient properties which do not last for a long time.

Although the function of *ams* is commonly associated with the notion “adjective” we will apply this term only to a small subgroup of *ams* in Taglennaa whose morphological properties render this subgroup distinct from the other modifiers. We suggest to apply the cover term “attributive modifiers” to all words that share the three features listed above. In spite of these shared features, *ams* do not form a uniform class of grammatically homogeneous words but rather comprise six subsets defined by their morphological features and morphosyntactic behavior which will be described in more detail in the following sections. As briefly illustrated in table 1, these six groups include “true” adjectives, noun-like adjectives, quality verbs, participles, words designating gender and age, and agent nouns. Except for agent nouns and words denoting gender and age, *ams* do not function as heads of noun phrases or arguments.

| word class       | example         | gloss         |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| “true” adjectives| kɔ̀ráŋ ʃɪ́ŋɛ́     | pointed,sg    |
|                  | spear.sg        | spear         |
| noun-like adjectives | ʃíl-ì kɛ́n-ɛ̀  | good,pl       |
| relative clauses | kāl ʊ́ʊ́-r asìida. sg | warm asìida²⁷ |

14 Note that our paper is neither concerned with attributive demonstratives and quantifiers nor with the predicative use of the lexical items that render adjectival/property concepts. Apart from lexical items expressing more or less timetable properties of the referents of noun phrases, Taglennaa also employs diminutive suffixes which serve as morphological means expressing such properties, see section 2 and 3.

15 See section 6.

16 See section 2.1

17 Sudan Arabic term ʕasīida denotes a stiff porridge made from sorghum or pennisetum (millet) flour.
The distinction of these six groups may not be immediately apparent from the glosses in table 1, since, except for the last example, the modifiers are all rendered by English adjectives. However, some examples show that the AMS have distinct morphological features. The suffix –r on ʊ́ʊ́-r "warm," for instance, marks relative clauses, the suffix –àdʊ̀ on tì-àdʊ̀ "dead" derives participles from verbs, and the suffix –àr on kàŋŋ-àr "hunter" derives agent nouns from verbs. These suffixes provide evidence of the fact that AMS in Taglennaa are encoded in distinct word classes (also known as “parts of speech”). As indicated in the second column of table 1, we claim that some AMS have noun-like properties, whereas other AMS rather behave like verbs. In the following six sections we try to provide evidence of the semantic, phonological and morphological properties and the specific morphosyntactic behavior of each of these six types of AMS.

The fact that AMS are associated with distinct word classes – commonly either with nouns, adjectives or verbs – is well-known from typological studies. They suggest that the reason why AMS grammatically tend to behave either like nouns, adjectives or verbs is due to the difference in the prototypical meaning between these word classes. According to Wierzbicka, nouns typically indicate “a kind of (person, thing, or whatever),” i.e. a categorization, a cluster of properties, while adjectives typically indicate single properties. Colors or sizes, for example, are most likely described by adjectives, but shapes like “round” or “square” tend to be conceived of as clusters of properties and therefore tend to be expressed by nouns. Unlike nouns, adjectives may have morphological means for the expression of degree, such as “smaller,” “smallest,” “greenish.” Also adjectives express more or less permanent states of affairs. Verbs, by contrast, typically denote temporary, transient states. This may be the reason why lexical items denoting physical properties like “hot” or “heavy” are most likely expressed by verbs rather than adjectives.

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18 Dixon, “Adjective Classes in Typological Perspective,” p. 1.
19 Wierzbicka, “What’s in a Noun?,” p. 359.
20 Ibid., p. 366. The fact that Taglennaa “round, coiled” is expressed by the participle kààr-àdʊ̀ does not contradict Wierzbicka’s hypothesis since participles have noun-like characteristics, e.g. participles take singular and plural replacive suffixes. A lexical item rendering the meaning "square" is not attested in Taglennaa.
This is true for Taglennaa, too. Thus, there tends to be a correlation between the prototypical meaning of a specific word class, the lexical items that are associated with that class, and their grammatical behavior or form. However, the assignment of adjectives sharing specific semantic properties (dimension, color, etc.) to a specific word class is not predictable, as we will see.

2. Adjectives

The question of whether every language has a distinct adjective class is contested. Sasse, for instance, maintains that “a class of adjectives cannot be made out in all languages.” Dixon, by contrast, claims “that an adjective class can be recognized for every language, although sometimes the criteria for distinguishing adjectives from nouns, or adjectives from verbs, are rather subtle.” The properties of the class of adjectives are particular to each language, i.e. in some languages this class may be small, in others large, in some languages the adjective class may be open, in others closed. In Taglennaa, as we will show, there is a very small and closed class of true adjectives (see below), and a large and open class of noun-like adjectives into which even borrowings from Arabic are incorporated, see section 3.

No matter how large or small an adjective class is, according to Dixon, it is typically associated with four core semantic types, dimension (“big,” “long,” “tall,” “wide,” etc.), age (“new,” “young,” etc.), value (“good,” “bad,” etc.), and color (“black,” “white,” etc.). By contrast, peripheral semantic types expressing physical properties (“warm,” “hard,” “heavy,” etc.), human propensity (“angry,” “happy”), and speed (“slow,” “fast”) are associated with large adjective classes. Otherwise, in the absence of a large adjective class, these peripheral, these peripheral semantic types tend to be expressed by nouns or verbs rather than by adjectives.

As for Taglennaa, we claim that a very small closed class of “true” adjectives can be identified due to their specific morphological features that are not found in other word classes. One common feature shared by these adjectives is that they end in -ɛ both in their singular and plural form, see table 2 and 3. So these final vowels cannot serve as a number marker distinguishing these forms. Rather, number is either solely marked by tonal contrast, as shown in table 2, or by tonal contrast combined with the alternation of the root vowel, as seen in table 3.

21 Ibid., p. 381.
22 Sasse, “Syntactic Phenomena in the World’s Languages I,” p. 661.
23 Dixon, “Adjective Classes in Typological Perspective,” p. 1.
24 Ibid, p. 3.
The alternation of root vowels is also attested on many verbs and some nouns. On nouns, however, the vowel alternations are commonly triggered by the plural suffix –ɪ (~–i), for instance, tɛ́r / tɪ̀r-ɪ̀ “girl” and ọddú (< *óg-dú) / ég-ɪ̀ “goat.” However, these alternations differ from those attested by kɛ́lɛ̀ / kɪ̀lɛ́ and tɛ́jɛ̀ / tɪ̀jɛ́ whose final vowel in the plural forms is realized as ɛ rather than ɪ. On verbs, root vowel alternations occur in several patterns associated with verbal number, for instance:

- /ɛ as in jɪ́r- / jɛ́r- “lie, lie down (sg sj/pl sj),” tíɡ-ɪ́r- / tɛ́g-ɛ́r- “wear (sg oj/pl oj)”;
- /ɛ as in tɛ́y- / tɪ̀y- “keep standing (sg sj/pl sj);”
- /ʊ / o as attested in şʊ̀g-ɪ́r- / şòg-ɛ́r- “take up, carry (sg oj/pl oj);” and
- /ʊ / o as attested in şʊ́ŋ-k- / şɔ́ŋ-k- “dry (sg sj/pl sj).”

Due to the similarity between the vowel alternations attested in these verbs and in the adjectives kɛ́lɛ̀ / kɪ̀lɛ́ and tɛ́jɛ̀ / tɪ̀jɛ́; tɪ́jɛ whose final vowel in the plural forms is realized as ɛ rather than ɪ, these items may be said to have verb-like rather than noun-like phonological features. The motivation for the vowel alternations in these adjectives and in the verbs addressed in this section is yet unclear.

In respect to the range of meanings expected to be attested in the two closed adjective subclasses illustrated in table 2 and 3, the adjectives denoting dimensions (“wide” and “deep”), value (“bad”) and color (“red” and “green”) corroborate Dixon’s claim that the adjective class is typically associated with these semantic notions. However, the fact that the small closed class of Taglennaa adjectives contains şɪ̄ŋɛ́ / şɪ́ŋɛ́ denoting the physical property “sharp, pointed” provides counter evidence to his claim that this semantic type is associated with a large adjective class.

The number agreement between the head noun and the adjective and the position of the attributive adjective after the noun are briefly illustrated in exx. 1 and 2.

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25 Two morphologically and semantically distinct plural forms are also attested on several noun-like adjectives, see table 4 and 5.

26 Due to vowel harmony determined by the ATR feature of the root vowel, syllabic Taglennaa suffixes have two allomorphs, a [+ATR] and a [−ATR] one.
As for the expression of high degree, attributive adjectives use either phonological, morphological or lexical means including the lengthening of the intervocalic consonant, as seen in ex. 3, the repetition of the adjective (ex. 4), or the combination of these two means (ex. 5). Moreover, high degree may be expressed by the intensifiers ájjè-n, ájjè-n-kɔ̀, and úggù-n-kɔ̀. These intensifiers are derived by the adverbializers –n and –n-kɔ̀ from the intensive forms of the adjectives ájjè “very wide” and úggùr “very big” (exx. 6 and 7), i.e. they are based on áms with a dimensional meaning. By contrast, the intensifiers used with participles are associated with aspectual notions, as seen in section 5. All intensifiers (glossed as INTENS) precede the adjective they modify.

- Lengthening of the intervocalic consonant
  \[\text{jáá}l \quad \text{áj}ège\]
  compound.sg very.wide.sg
  “very wide compound”

- Reduplication of the adjective
  \[\text{jáá}l \quad \text{áj}ège \quad \text{áj}ège\]
  compound.sg wide.sg wide.sg
  “very wide compounds”

- Lengthening of intervocalic consonant, repetition of adjective
  \[\text{jáá}l \quad \text{áj}ège \quad \text{áj}ège\]
  compound.sg very.wide.pl very.wide.pl
  “extremely wide compound”

- Use of adjective with intensifier
  \[\text{ké}l-ì \quad \text{áj}ège\]
  house.pl INTENS.adv wide.pl
  “very wide houses”

The suffix –kɔ̀ is the instrumental case marker which also marks some adverbial expressions. It is presently unclear whether the suffix –n on ájjè-n-kɔ̀, and úggù-n-kɔ̀ is identical to the adverbializer –n on ájjè-n, or whether it is simply a linker connecting –kɔ̀ with ájjè- and úggù-, respectively.
The diminished or reduced degree of a property attributed by an adjective is either morphologically expressed by diminutive suffixes or by lexical means using the adverbial wàttà–kɔ̀ “a little bit,” “slightly” which is derived by the adverbializer –kɔ̀ from the quantifier wàttà “little, few” which is also used in the diminutive form wàttà–nʊ́. The diminutive suffixes –ndʊ (sg), -nɪ (pl) (and their allomorphs) are attached both to the singular or plural form of the head noun and to the singular or plural form of the AM, respectively. For this reason both the head noun and the AM are doubly marked for number, as illustrated in exx. 8 and 9.

The noun “urine” in ex. 9 is inherently plural. When taking diminutive suffixes it is doubly marked for plural and – due to number agreement – the AM, too.

The expression of degree may be associated with a comparison of qualities. This is lexically expressed by the transitive verb éɲ–ɪ–kɔ̀ / éɲ–ę–kɔ̀ “surpass, exceed” appearing in the same-subject cop verb form. It takes either an –i or –e suffix reflecting the singular or plural object, respectively. The final suffix –kɔ̀ is the instrumental case marker indicating simultaneousness when attached to a verb.28

Ex. 10 shows that in comparative constructions the lexical item expressing the gradable property is no longer used as AM but rather shifted to the predicate position and marked by the copula.

28 Gulfan, “Converbs in Taglennaa,” pp. 374–75.
3. Noun-like adjectives

Noun-like adjectives share some morphological characteristics with nouns. The number-marking patterns and suffixes are similar or even identical to those of nouns. Often these suffixes are combined with tonal contrast. As illustrated in table 4 and 5, there are two basic patterns for number marking on noun-like adjectives, i) the use of plural suffixes (the singular forms being unmarked), and ii) a replacive pattern which involves singular and plural suffixes replacing each other. These two patterns are attested on nouns, too. However, singulative marking – a third pattern attested on Taglennaa nouns – is absent from noun-like adjectives in Taglennaa.29

As shown in table 4, there are five plural suffixes attested on noun-like adjectives, –ɪ, –ɛ, –V-ɲɪ́, –dú, and –íl. The suffixes –ɪ and –ɛ are attached to the unmarked consonant-final singular form of ɛms. They are also attested on nouns, e.g. kùl / kùl-ɪ “well” and bidíl / bidíl-ɛ “bat.” The –ɪ suffix is, in fact, the most frequent plural suffix on nouns. Unlike the plural suffixes –ɪ and –ɛ, the suffix –V-ɲɪ́ is attached to a marked singular form whose vowel-suffix –V is not replaced but rather retained. The resulting morphologically complex number suffix –V-ɲɪ́ suffix is therefore considered to be composed of a singular and plural morpheme.30 It is attested both on noun-like adjectives (see table 4) and nouns, e.g. ʃʊ́l-á / ʃʊ́l-á-ɲɪ́ “roof.” The suffix –V-ɲɪ́ is associated with a high tone pattern.

The high-tone plural suffix –ndú is attested on consonant-final ɛms (including a borrowing from Arabic) and also on nouns. When the root ends in the lateral ɭ the nasal of –ndú is deleted, e.g. bórʊl / bórʊl-dú “jackal” but the nasal is retained after other consonants, e.g. ɲér / ɲér-ndú “placenta.”

The high-tone plural suffix –íl is attested on consonant-final ɛms (including borrowings from Arabic), the singular form being unmarked. However, on nouns, –íl is attested as a replacive plural suffix, e.g. fál-ɛ́ / fál-íl “Acacia sp.,” bícc-ù / bícc-íl “mat,” and kát-ʊ / kát-íl “field.” The distinct distribution of –íl on nouns and ɛms is another indication of the subtle difference between these word classes.

29 According to Dimmendaal’s seminal paper “Number Marking and Noun Categorization in Nilo-Saharan Languages,” there are three basic number marking patterns, singulative marking, plural marking and a replacement pattern. They are widely attested in many Nilo-Saharan languages, including the Kordofan Nubian languages, as attested in Karko (Jakobi & Hamdan, this volume) and Taglennaa (Ibrahim & Jakobi, in preparation).

30 This analysis of the somewhat surprising morphological composition is suggested because roots are commonly monosyllabic. So the final vowel V is conceived of as a suffix rather than as a part of the root.
Some noun-like adjectives have more than one plural form. This is another feature they share with nouns, e.g. ɖùl / ɖùl-ì, ɖól-ì-pí “granary” and jål / jål-ì, jål-dì, jål-dó “compound.” In table 4, there are noun-like adjectives with two alternative plural forms, e.g. kúgúl-ì, kúgúl-dú and dátt-á-ɲí, dátt-ìl. Two plural forms are also attested on the borrowings jùhál-é, jähíl-dú and kúbár-é, kúbár-ìl. There appears to be no semantic difference between the plural forms of these items. This is, however, not true for the two plural forms of wólj-é and wōlj-é, see table 5. These forms are only distinguished by their tone patterns, high-high versus mid-high. The selection between these two plural forms appears to be semantically motivated. The form wólj-é is used as Am of count nouns, e.g. ijí wóljé “weak hands,” whereas wōlj-é is used as Am of mass nouns, e.g. njâlê wōljé “weak (type of) dough.”

| suffix | sg / pl | gloss |
|--------|---------|-------|
| -ì ~ i | ɛr / ɛr-ì | new |
| -ì ~ i | jàål / jàål-ì | transparent |
| -ì ~ i | úgùr / úgùr-ì | big, large |
| -ì ~ i | kúgúl / kúgúl-ì, kúgúl-dú | brave |
| -ɛ ~ e | nór / nór-ɛ | big, old |
| -ɛ ~ e | kên / kên-ɛ | good, fine |
| -ɛ ~ e | jähíl / jùhál-é, jähíl-dú (Ar.) | ignorant, immature |
| -ɛ ~ e | kúbár / kúbár-ɛ, kúbár-ìl, kúbárád-ɛn (Ar.) | big, important |
| -V-ɲí ~ V-ɲí | ʃɛ̀r-ɛ̀ / ʃɛ́r-ɛ́-ɲí | short |
| -V-ɲí ~ V-ɲí | dátt-à / dátt-á-ɲí, dátt-ìl | shallow |
| -V-ɲí ~ V-ɲí | ʈʊ̀r-à / ʈʊ́r-á-ɲɪ́ | old |
| -nù | jàål / jàål-dú | transparent |
| -nù | kír / kín-nù | thick, dense |
| -nù | jähíl / jähíl-dú, jähíl-dú (Ar.) | ignorant, immature |
| -l | dátt-à / dátt-ìl, dátt-á-ɲí | shallow |
| -l | kúbár / kúbár-ìl, kúbár-é (Ar.) | big, important |

The replacive pattern is illustrated in table 5. The singular/plural suffixes -i / -e are solely attested on noun-like adjectives and thus provide evidence of the morphologically very subtle difference between adjectives and nouns. By contrast, the singular/plural suffixes -ʊ / -ɪ and the diminutive suffixes -ndù / -nì, are attested both on

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31 In the following examples, singular and plural forms are separated by a slash. Alternative plural forms are separated by a comma.
32 Apart from having different plural suffixes, the borrowings jùhál-é and jähíl-dú additionally reflect the vowel patterns of the donor language, Sudanese Arabic.
33 The Arabic female plural form kubaraat represents the source for the Taglennaa plural form kúbárád-é. It is used for both genders, male and female.
nouns, e.g. kʊ̀gg-ʊ́ / kʊ̀gg-ɪ́ “crow” and ṏnʊ-ŋû / ṕnû-ɲî-ɲî “small donkey,” and also on noun-like adjectives, see table 5.

| suffix | SG/PL | gloss            |
|--------|-------|------------------|
| -ɪ / -ɛ | úr-ì / úr-é | black           |
| -ɪ / -ɛ | ër-ì / ër-é  | white           |
| -ɪ / -ɛ | fîr-ì / fîr-é | dirty, grey     |
| -ɪ / -ɛ | dêj-ì / dêj-é | long, tall, high|
| -ɪ / -ɛ | ñêñ-ì / ñêñ-é | fat, thick      |
| -ɪ / -ɛ | ëtt-ì / ëtt-é | wet, soft       |
| -ɪ / -ɛ | kën-ì / kën-é | coarse, harsh, rough|
| -ɪ / -ɛ | têñ-ì / têñ-é | thick, stiff, heavy |
| -ɪ / -ɛ | wölj-ì / wölj-é, wölj-é | loose, bland, weak |
| -ɪ / -ɛ | dûrk-ì / dûrk-é | fine, smooth |
| -u / -i | dûkk-ù / dûkk-ì | blunt, not pointed, hornless |
| -u / -i | ñôcc-ù / ñôcc-ì | old [only used for women] |
| -u / -i | tûn-ù / tûn-ù; tûn-ì | blind; blind, new, unopened |
| -u / -i | tôgg-ù / tôgg-ì | deaf |
| -ndù / -ñì | ñûl-ìù / ñûl-ì | big, old |
| -ndù / -ñì | dîyâá-ìù / dîyâá-ì | small |

The noun-like adjectives listed in table 4 and 5 are not restricted to the four core semantic types, dimension (“big, large,” “short,” “shallow,” “long, tall, high”), age (“new,” “old,” “old (woman),” “big, old”), color (“white,” “black”), and value (“good, fine”). As expected, the group of noun-like adjectives also comprises several lexical items denoting physical properties which are usually considered to represent peripheral semantic types (“fat, thick,” “stiff, heavy,” “wet, soft,” “coarse, harsh, rough,” “fine, smooth,” “loose, bland, weak”).

There is number agreement between head nouns and noun-like adjectives. Also the head noun precedes the modifier, as briefly illustrated in exx. 11 and 12 using just one noun-like adjective from table 4 and 5, respectively.

kēl  ēr
house.sg  new.sg
“new house”
Like the true adjectives discussed in section 2, noun-like adjectives express a high degree of the property either by phonological, morphological or lexical means, i.e. by lengthening the intervocalic or even syllable-final consonant, as seen in exx. 13 and 14, lengthening the root vowel (ex. 15), reduplication of the lexical item (ex. 16), or by using an adverbial intensifier (exx. 17 to 19). Some noun-like adjectives can express intensity in two ways, either by lengthening the root vowel or by lengthening the first intervocalic consonant, e.g. fiiri or firri “very dirty (SG),” éeri / èèré or érré “very white (SG/PL),” and kôôr–âdû / kôôr–ânì, kôrr–âdû / kôrr–ânì “very yellow (SG/PL).”

- Lengthening of the intervocalic consonant
  13 kôl dâtta
  well.sg very.shallow.sg
  “very shallow well”

- Lengthening the syllable-final consonant
  14 kél–i nôôl–di
  house–pl very.big–pl–dim–pl
  “very big houses”

- Lengthening the vowel of the root
  15 kàr–è dûûr–è
  flour–pl very.fine–pl
  “very fine flour”

- Reduplication of the noun-like adjective
  16 inì fèr–è–nî fèr–è–nî
  person–pl short–sg–pl short–sg–pl
  “very short people”

- The adverbial intensifier plus noun-like adjective
  17 kél–i âjjèn nôôl–di
  house–pl INTENS.ADV big–pl–dim–pl
  “very big houses”

35 This item originates in the CVCCV-shaped AM dâtta. Due to assimilation of rt to tt and the lengthening of these consonants, the intensified form is realized by an extra long t as [datta].
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íyà  ajjènkò  đéj-i
neck.sg intens.ins long-sg
“very long neck”

kél  ùggùnkò  ṇòl-dù
house.sg intens.ins big.sg-dim.sg
“very big house”

Some noun-like adjectives are always used in their intensive form marked by the lengthened intervocalic consonant, e.g. ét-t-i / ét-t-é “wet, soft.” (However, the geminate kk in dük-k-ù / dük-k-î “blunt, not pointed, hornless” is a realization of rk in dük-r-ù / dük-r-î, as attested in Dabatna, a neighboring Kordofan Nubian language.) Some noun-like adjectives always appear with the diminutive suffix, e.g. ṇòl-dù / ṇòl-di “big”36 and diyáá-nù / diyáá-nì “small.” The basic form of diyáá-nù / diyáá-nì without the diminutive suffix is not attested. The diminutive suffixes on these noun-like adjectives appear to be lexicalized, they do not co-occur with diminutive suffixes on the head noun of a noun phrase, as seen in exx. 17 and 19.

The reduced degree of the property denoted by noun-like adjectives is either expressed by diminutive suffixes – additionally intensified by lengthening the syllable-final consonant – as seen in ex. 20, or by the intensifier wàttà-k-ò, as in ex. 21. These means are the same as those employed for true adjectives.

íd  ʃɛ̀rɛ̀-nndù
person.sg short-intens.dim.sg
“very short person”

éénà  wàttàkò  kéñ-i
soil.sg little.ins rough-sg
“slightly rough soil”

When a property denoted by a noun-like adjective is associated with a comparison of degree it is expressed by the converb éñ-ì-k-ò / éñ-é-k-ò which precedes the noun-like adjective, see ex. 22.

ʃíl  ànná  ùnná-gí  éñ-ì-kò  kéñ-ndî
leader.sg our your.pl-acc exceed-ssc.sgl-INS good.sg-cop
“Our leader is better than yours”

36 The noun-like adjective, ṇòl-dù / ṇòl-di “big” is derived by diminutive suffixes from ṇùr / ṇùr-è.
4. AMS expressed by relative clauses

Relative clauses based on “quality verbs” offer another possibility to express AMS. We prefer the term quality verbs to “stative verbs” because quality verbs often denote physical properties, human propensities, or speed. These properties may be conceived of as changing over time, rather than being static. This is probably the reason why such transient properties are expressed by verbs rather than by adjectives or nouns.

When quality verbs are employed as AMS they are inflected for present tense, number, and 3rd person. Additionally they are marked by the relative clause marker –r. Some verbs take the inflectional suffix –(u)n both in the 3rd person singular and plural form, others take –(e)n in the singular form and –(e)n in the plural form. The vowel of –un or –en is required when preceded by a consonant, e.g. kɔ̀yɛ̀ íɲɲ-ùn “the meat is delicious.” The vowel of –un or –en is deleted when it is preceded by a vowel, e.g. ótù ɔ́ɔ́-n “the water is warm.” The final nasal of the inflectional suffixes –(u)n and –(e)n is deleted when the relative clause marker –r is attached.

Relative clauses based on quality verbs follow the noun they modify and agree in number with it. The singular and plural forms of these relative clauses are often distinguished by tonal contrast, as seen when comparing exx. 23 to 24 and exx. 25 to 26, but vowel alternation with verbal number marking function is attested in these relative clauses, too, as seen in exx. 27 and 28, and in ŋáár / ŋɛ́ɛ́r in table 6.

23 kɔ̀yɛ̀ íɲɲ-ù-r  
meat.sg be.sweet-3SG-REL  
“delicious meat”

24 ótù íɲɲ-ù-r  
water.pl be.sweet-3PL-REL  
“sweet water”

25 tʊ̀ʊ̀-nʊ́ ʈílɖ-ù-r  
child.sg-dim.sg be.heavy-3SG-REL  
“heavy child”

37 The term “quality verb” is adopted from Elders, Tröbs & Mettouchi’s “Questionnaire for quality verbs in African languages.”
38 See the discussion of prototypical verbs in Section 1.
39 “Present tense” is a preliminary term for a suffix which may turn out as imperfective aspect marker.
40 Ibrahim & Jakobi, “The relative clause in Taglennaa.”
41 The choice between -un and -en needs further research.
Nouns denoting substances are often not overtly marked for number. They are inherently either singular or plural, as can be seen from their modifiers which take a singular or plural form, see exx. 23, 24, 27, and 28.

Further examples of quality verbs quoted in their 3rd person singular and plural relative clause form are provided in table 6. They share one semantic feature: They do not express properties associated with Dixon’s four core semantic types, dimension, age, value, and color. Rather, with the exception of “different” and “sad,” most of the quality verbs denote physical characteristics being conceived of as transient states. They confirm Wierzbicka’s view that such properties tend to be expressed by verbs rather than nouns.

| 3SG       | 3PL       | gloss                  |
|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| āŋ-ū-r    | āŋ-ū-r    | alive                  |
| īŋ-ū-r    | īŋ-ū-r    | different              |
| ījj-ū-r   | ījj-ē-r   | nasty smelling         |
| ŭgg-ū-r   | ŭgg-ē-r   | cold                   |
| tīld-ū-r  | tīld-ē-r  | heavy, slow            |
| búūr < *būr-ū-r | búūr < *būr-ē-r | hard, strong, difficult |
| Ńāā-r < *nāār-ū-r | Ńāā-r < *nāār-ē-r | salty, bitter, sour |
| Ńāā-r     | Ńēē-ē-r   | fast                   |
| Ŧīgg-ū-r   | Ŧīgg-ē-r  | unpleasantly smelling  |
| Tēēnīk-ū-r | Tēēnīk-ē-r | viscous                |
| Kōlf-ū-r  | Kōlf-ē-r  | flexible, bending      |

| Table 6. Some quality verbs in relative clause form |
AMs encoded in relative clauses can express a high degree of a certain property either by repetition, see exx. 30 and 31, or by using an intensifier preceding the relative clause, see exx. 32 and 33.

30  iʃí  sígɡ-é-r  sígɡ-é-r  
    hand.pl unpleasant.smell-plr-rel  unpleasant.smell-plr-rel  
    “very unpleasantly smelling hands”

31  òtù  ɔ́ɔ́-r  ɔ́ɔ́-r  
    water.pl  hot.plr-rel  hot.plr-rel  
    “very hot water”

32  kèèdá  ájjẹnkọ  búù-r  
    bone.sg  intens.ins  hard.sgl-rel  
    “very hard bone”

33  ìnì  úggùnkọ  ɪ̀ŋ-ʊ̂-r  
    people  intens.ins  different-plr-rel  
    “very different people”

The reduced or diminished degree of a property is expressed by adding the adverbial intensifier wàttà-kọ which precedes the relative clause.

34  kàl  wàttàkọ  ú-ọ-r  
    asiida.sg  little.ins  be.warm.sgl-rel  
    “slightly warm asiida”

AMs expressed by quality verbs and encoded in relative clause forms may be employed to compare degrees of properties, as seen in exx. 35 and 36. Like exx. 10 and 22, these constructions involve the same-subject converb form of the verb “exceed, surpass.”

35  tùù-nù  úŋù  íntàŋ-gì  
    boy.sg-dim.sg  this brother.sg-acc  
    exceed-ssc.sgl-ins  heavy-3sg-rel  
    “this child who is heavier than his brother …”
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These donkeys which are not faster than those ...

Thus, when AMS are encoded by relative clauses and when they are employed to express a high(er) or low(er) degree of a certain property they grammatically behave like true adjectives and noun-like adjectives.

5. Participles

AMS are also often encoded in participles. Participles have both verb-like and noun-like properties. They resemble nouns as they mark number by replacive suffixes involving the low tone singular suffix -àdù and the low tone plural suffix -ànì. Participles are based on verb stems but they do not take inflectional morphemes reflecting person, number, and tense. However, they often take derivational suffixes, e.g. the causative morpheme with its various allomorphs -ìg, -k, -ŋk, -c, as attested in exx. 38, 39, 40, and 41, respectively.

íkà ʒì-àdù 37
fire.sg die-PTCP.sg
“extinct fire”

íkà ʒì-ig-àdù 38
fire.sg die-CAUS-PTCP.sg
“extinguished fire”

ór ʃʊ́ŋ-k-ádù 39
wood.sg be.dry-CAUS-PTCP.sg
“dried wood”

kí-tú ɛ̀ɲ-ìŋk-àdù 40
door.sg close-CAUS-PTCP.sg
“closed door”

túr-í-ɲí ɛ̀ɲ-c-ànì 41
pot.sg-pl be.filled-CAUS-PTCP.pl
“filled pots”

The high degree of a property encoded in a participle is expressed by adverbial intensifiers preceding the participle. They are marked
by the low tone adverbializer suffix -ɔ̀n, as attested in bàll-ɔ̀n (ex. 42), ɖɪ̀bɪ̀ll-ɔ̀n (ex. 43), and ŋɛ̀cc-ɔ̀n (ex. 44). This suffix is obviously associated with aspectual notions. The selection of one of the various intensifiers appears to be lexically determined by the participle.

The low degree of a property encoded in a participle may be expressed by adding a relative clause based on the negated copula, compare ex. 45 to 42.

6. Nouns denoting gender and age

Taglennaa has two nouns denoting gender, kʊ̀t-tʊ̀ / kʊ̀r-ʊ̀ “man, male” and ɪ́dʊ́ / ɪ́lɪ́ “woman, female.” Furthermore there are a number of nouns denoting both gender and age, such as tɛ̂r / tɪ̀r-ɪ̀ “girl, young female,” tʊ̀ʊ̀-nʊ̂ / tɪ́ɪ́-nɪ̀ “young boy, child,” kɛ̀jɪ́r / kɛ̀jɪ́r-ì “young man” and kɔ̀ʃɪ̀r / kɔ̀ʃɪ̀r-ɪ̀ “old man.” All these nouns can be used either as ams, see exx. 46, 48, 50, and 52, or as heads of noun phrases, see exx. 47, 49, and 51. As ams they follow their head noun and agree in number with that head noun. Some of these nouns exhibit number markers typical of nouns, such as the singular marker -tʊ̀ in kʊ̀t-tʊ̀ (ex. 46). As this suffix, which may also be employed as singulative suffix, is not attested on noun-like adjectives it suggests that ams denoting gender and age are nouns rather than noun-like adjectives.

See section 3.
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kūt-tū kēn
man-sg good.sg
“good man”

tūd-àn45 tēr
child-corr.sg girl.sg
“daughter”

tēr kōnē kōnē
girl.sg beautiful.sg beautiful.sg
“very beautiful girl”

Int-àn tūū-nū
sibling-corr.sg boy.sg-dim.sg
“little brother”

tūū-nū kūt-tū-nū
child.sg-dim.sg man-sg-dim.sg
“young boy”

As seen in ex. 52 and 53, nouns denoting gender can take an Am denoting gender and age. So in these noun phrases gender is doubly expressed by lexical means.

Kūr-ū kōfīr-y
man-pl old.man-pl
“old men”

ī-dū tēr
woman-sg girl.sg
“young woman”

Nouns expressing gender (kūt-tū “man, male,” ī-dū “woman, female”) are conceived of as expressing timeless rather than transient properties. Therefore, when employed as Am, they are not used with intensifiers such as ājjēn or wāttā-kō. However, nouns expressing both gender and age (tēr “girl,” kōfīr “old man,” tūū-nū “boy”) have two semantic components, i) gender, which represents a timeless property, and ii) age representing a property which is conceived of as changing over time. For this reason, only this

45 The suffix –an (sg), - aan (pl) is attested on many terms of social relationship (including kinship terms). As shown in Jakobi, “Nubian Kinship Terms,” this suffix has cognates in other Nubian languages, such as Birgid and Midob. Following Kauczor, Die bergnubische Sprache, who coined the German term “Korrelationsendung,” we suggest the term “correlation suffix,” abbreviated corr.
changeable property is gradable, being modified by adverbials expressing aspectual notions, such as bàll-ゐn “almost completely” and ėl-tūr-н “still,” “not yet.”

Note that noun phrases constructed of noun plus noun are admitted only when the second (modifying) noun either designates gender and age or when it represents an agent noun. Such noun phrases differ from noun plus noun constructions representing possessive noun phrases in which the possessor (dependent) being marked by the genitive clitic =n precedes the possessed (head), as attested in àccɛ̀=n ěn “mother of twins,” lit. “twins’ mother.”

7. Agent nouns

Apart from words denoting gender or age, agent nouns can be used both as ams of noun phrases but also as heads of noun phrases. Agent nouns are derived from verbs by the suffix –àr and by assigning a low tone pattern to the agent noun, e.g. tir-ār “farmer,” ān-ār “dancer,” itåg-ār “quarreler.” They are inherently singular and take the low tone plural suffix –ɪ. When used as ams they agree in number with the preceding head noun.

**Noun plus noun constructions are frequently used in kinship terms. This is also attested in Ismail’s paper in this volume.**

"Carpenter” may also be expressed by īd-ār / īd-ār-ɪ́.
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Interestingly, by means of a tonal alternation on the last syllable it is possible for agent nouns to attribute an intensified or habitual quality ("very good," "quarrelsome") to their referent.

íd       tîr-âr
person.sg sow-an.sg.intens
"very good farmer"

ból-ì   kàŋŋàr-ì
dog-pl hunter-an-pl.intens
"very good hunting dogs"

ín-í      ìtìg-âr-ì
person-pl quarrel-an-pl.intens
"quarrelsome people"

8. Conclusions

In our paper we have been concerned with ams, i.e. attributive modifiers of nouns. Such ams render adjectival meanings and are therefore often indiscriminatively referred to as "adjectives." In Taglennaa, however, ams do not form a uniform word class. Rather they comprise six distinct word classes ("parts of speech").
1. a very small and closed class of five "true" adjectives,
2. a class of noun-like adjectives which is open for borrowings,
3. relative clauses based on quality verbs,
4. participles,
5. nouns denoting age and gender, and
6. agent nouns.

Although ams may be assigned to six word classes and differ in respect to their morphological structure, they share the following syntactic, morphosyntactic, and semantic features: they follow the head noun, they agree in number with the head noun, and they render more or less timeless semantic properties to the referent of a noun phrase.

As for their morphological features, true adjectives all end in -ɛ, their singular and plural forms being distinguished solely by tonal contrast or additionally by the alternation of the root vowel. By contrast, noun-like adjectives take number suffixes which are similar to those of nouns, as they occur in basically two patterns, plural marking (the singular being unmarked) or a replacive pattern in which both the singular and the plural are marked. The number marking suffixes on noun-like adjectives are often the same as those on nouns. However, there are some exceptions: First, the singular/
plural pair of suffixes, –i / –e is exclusively attested on noun-like adjectives but not on nouns. Second, the plural suffix –il is employed on Ams unmarked in their singular forms. On nouns, however, –il replaces various singular suffixes. Third, the singular or singulative suffix –tu occurs on nouns only but never on noun-like adjectives. These findings confirm Dixon stating that the distinction of adjectives and nouns (or adjectives and verbs) may be very subtle.48

Some Ams have morphological traits clearly indicating the membership in a specific word class. Thus, Ams marked by –r represent relative clauses based on quality verbs. Ams marked by –àdʊ̀ (sg) and –ànì̀ (pl) are participles. Ams marked by a low tone pattern and the suffix –àr represent agent nouns.

As for their syntactic characteristics, nouns denoting age and gender as well as agent nouns may function both as Ams and as heads of noun phrases. Thus these items are characterized by their membership in two word classes. The question whether true adjectives, noun-like adjectives, relative clauses, and participles can be employed as head nouns, too, has not been explored in our paper.

There tends to be a correlation between the prototypical meaning of a specific word class, as Wierzbicka claims.49 The Taglennaa data partly corroborate this claim: Ams conceived of as denoting transient states, for instance, physical qualities (“cold,” “hard,” “salty”) are often encoded by quality verbs – except for the physical property “pointed” which is expressed by a true adjective rather than by a quality verb. Ams denoting single properties like “wide,” “deep,” and the color terms “red” and “green” are encoded as true adjectives. However, two other color terms, “white” and “black,” do not appear in that group. Rather, their morphological composition suggests that they are part of the class of noun-like adjectives. This finding suggests that in Taglennaa the membership of an Am in a specific word class is not predictable.

The means to express the gradability of a property depends on the various classes of Ams. We have shown that degrees of properties encoded in “true” adjectives and noun-like adjectives can be expressed by i) phonological modification (e.g. lengthening of the root vowel or gemination of the syllable-final consonant), ii) morphological modification (e.g. reduplication of the Am), and iii) lexical modification (e.g. addition of an intensifier). As for Ams encoded by quality verbs, the expression of high or low degree is more limited involving either the reduplication of the Am or its lexical modification by an adverbial intensifier derived from an Am denoting dimension. Often these intensifiers are marked by –kɔ̀, e.g. high degree by ájjē–

48 Dixon, “Adjective Classes in Typological Perspective,” p. 1.
49 Wierzbicka, “What’s in a Noun?,” p. 359.
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n-kɔ̀, ãggù-n-kɔ̀, and low degree by wàttà-kɔ̀. The same intensifiers are used on true adjectives and noun-like adjectives. They are, however, not employed on participles. Rather, properties expressed by participles are gradable by means of adverbial intensifiers ending in -ɔ̀n, such as bàllɔ̀n, ìbìllɔ̀n, and ðɛccɔ̀n, which have aspectual connotations. The choice between these latter intensifiers appears to be determined by the semantics of the participle.

While properties rendered by completely time-standrelated notions such as gender are not gradable, ðm denoting age, i.e. a transient property may be rendered by adverbials associated with aspectual notions, such as éltɔ́rn “still,” “not yet,” or bàllɔ̀n “almost completely.” Agent nouns, in turn, have a specific means for expressing a high degree of the property they attribute to the head noun: They use tonal modification.

In the introductory section we have pointed out that Taglennaa grammar is both head-marking and dependent-marking. According to Dixon,50 head-marking languages and dependent-marking languages differ in respect to the characteristics with which their adjective classes are correlated. In head-marking languages the adjective class tends to be grammatically very similar to verbs, in dependent-marking languages the adjective class tends to be grammatically very similar to nouns. Since Taglennaa is both head-marking and dependent-marking, we encounter both groups, ðm that are grammatically similar to verbs, as attested by the group of quality verbs, and ðm that are similar to nouns, as attested by agent nouns and nouns expressing gender and age. If we consider verbs and nouns as representing two word classes with opposite semantic and grammatical values, the other ðm classes, i.e. participles, true adjectives, and noun-like adjectives, due to their more-or-less verb-like or noun-like features, may be conceived of as representing intermediate values between verbs and nouns.

50 Dixon, The Rise and Fall of Languages, p. 125.
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