The Uses and Orthography of the Verb “Say” in Andaandi (Nile Nubian)

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1. Introduction

The Andaandi verb *e* has a wide range of uses including the function of a lexical verb, a copula, and a grammatical morpheme combined with other lexical items. In the meta-language English the lexical verb *e* can be rendered as “say, tell,” and the copula *e* as “be.” The different uses depending on its grammatical context and other conditions make its treatment, grammatically as well as orthographically, complicated to the level that many native speakers do not realize that *e* is a verb, especially as *e* is lacking some grammatical functions that are common for other verbs, for instance, the imperative and the future form.

Andaandi (*an-da-a-n-di*) “[the language] of my/our home,” is the name applied to the language by its speakers. It is also known by two other terms, 1) the widely used term “Dongolawi,” and 2) the English term “Dongolese.” “Dongolawi” is an Arabic term based on the name of the town of Old Dongola (*tungul*) on the eastern bank of the Nile, which was the centre of Makuria, the famous Christian kingdom that flourished between the 6th and 14th century. “Dongolawi” is also the name for a native of Dongola. The English term “Dongolese” has the same meaning as “Dongolawi,” i.e. it is both the name for a native from Dongola and for the language. In this paper the term Andaandi will be used.¹

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¹ http://www.ethnologue.com/language/dgl/

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As for its genetic affiliation, Andaandi is a Nubian language, spoken in the Nile Valley of northern Sudan, roughly between the 3rd cataract south of the town Kerma upstream to the big bend of the Nile near Ed-Dabba. The language most closely related to Andaandi is Kenzi (known by the speakers as Mattokki) which is spoken in the Nile Valley of southern Egypt.

Andaandi has an sov constituent order in transitive clauses and sv in intransitive clauses, that is, the verb is in clause-final position. The words structure is agglutinative, and grammatical morphemes are suffixed to the root rather than prefixed.

Andaandi also has some dialectical variation in different areas and sometimes in the same area. However, these differences are minor and do not have any grammatical or semantical effects. The main feature of these dialectical variations is related to verb roots ending in a vowel after which, e.g. the preterite 1 marker -ko may be realized either with a voiced [g], a voiceless [k], or a glottal fricative [h], e.g. taagon – taakon – taahon “he/she has come.”

This paper is based on my competence as an Andaandi mother tongue speaker and on the late Charles H. Armbruster’s Andaandi (i.e. “Dongolese”) grammar and lexicon. Being the first scholar to devise and elucidate a detailed description of Andaandi grammar, Armbruster has explored the many uses and meanings of the verb e. He claims that e is used to “(a) express a tendency or an intention, i.e. say, (b) exhibit a tendency or quality, i.e. be, (c) behave according to a tendency or an intention, i.e. act [...].” He also claims that there are many composite verbs consisting of two parts, the inflected verb e representing the second part. As the first part is “not in independent use,” in these compounds e is used as a device to form new verbs on the basis of onomatopoeic items, e.g. gurr-e “rejoice,” lit. “say gurr.”

Abdel-Hafiz, in his Kunuzi grammar, does not consider e as a verb. Massenbach, however, recognizes e as a verb meaning “say.” She also mentions the “Kopula” (i.e. copula) function. She claims that the future and the participle cannot be formed with the verb e, however, in contrast to her findings, the participle, as we will see, can be formed with the verb e. In agreement with her findings, I can confirm that e is not used in the future tense (see ex. 25).

Interestingly, Andaandi shares the functional extension of the verb “say” to cover both its use as a copula and as a grammatical...
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morpheme with many other languages in East Africa, as Cohen et al. have shown.

The focus of this paper is limited to the following contemporary uses of the verb $e$

- as a transitive utterance verb, rendered in English as “say, tell”;
- as a copular verb, rendered as “be”;
- as a grammatical morpheme used to express modal and aspectual notions in combination with three specific verbs, dol “want,” maa “get tired,” and daa “exist, be present.”

By providing a set of examples, for each of the above uses, the paper will show that in Andaandi $e$ is used both as a lexical verb and as a copular verb. Both verbs would require a separate entry in the lexicon.

2. The use of $e$ as a transitive verb of utterance

This section shows that $e$ is inflected like a “normal” lexical verb. That is, $e$ takes inflectional endings of the neuter in exx. 1 and 2, of the preterite 1 as in exx. 3 and 4, of the preterite 2 as in ex. 5 and the completive aspect marker -os, as seen in ex. 6.

Moreover, it shows that $e$ is used as an utterance verb introducing direct speech, that is, the speech in the form said by the original speaker. This is illustrated in ex. 8 and also in previous exx. such as 2 and 4.

9 Cohen et al., “The grammaticalization of ‘say’ and ‘do.’”

10 Abbreviations used in this paper: 1, 2, 3 - 1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person; acc - accusative; appl1 - applicative cross-referencing 1st person; appl2/3 - applicative cross-referencing 2nd and 3rd person; caus - causative; cond - conditional; emph - emphasis; fut - future; gen - genitive; ins - instrumental; loc - locative; neut - neutral (tense/aspect marker -r); pf - perfective; pl - plural; pp - personal pronoun; pl.obj - plural object; pred - predication marker; pti - preterite 1 (-ko-r); pt2 - preterite 2 (-s); ptc - participle; q - question/interrogative; sg - singular.

11 In Abdel-Hafiz, A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian, p. 130, the verbal suffix -r is termed “neutral tense,” since it “may refer to present, past or future.” This term is adopted here and abbreviated as neut.

12 According to Rilly, Jakobi, and Jaeger (p.c.), the verb taar “come” preserves the final consonant $r$ in certain environments, for example, when it is followed by the verb $e$. In other environments this consonant is deleted, as seen in exx. 3 and 4.
Ahmed er-ki imbel bood taar e-n
Ahmed 2SG-ACC stand run come say-3SG13
“Ahmed tells you: Get up come running! / Come quickly.”

3 āl ūwādkī tokkon tāmen ēgorī.
ay awadki tokkon taamen egori.14

ay awad-ki tokkon taa-men e-go-r-i
1SG Awad-ACC neg.imp come-neg.imp.2SG say-pt1-neut-1SG
“I have told Awad: Do not come”

4 āwād ērī tāwe ēgon.
awad irgi taa-we e-go-n
Awad 2PL-ACC come-imp.2PL say-pt1-2SG
“Awad have said to you: Come!”

5 āl ūfāizāgī awādī āw ēsino ēp ē tôgōmoin.
ay faayzagi ashagi aaw esindo er daagomun.

ay faayza-gi asha-gi aaw e-s-i-n-do
1SG Faiza-ACC dinner-ACC make say-pt2-1SG-gen-loc er daa-go-mun
2SG exist-pt1-NEG
“When I told Faiza to prepare the dinner you were absent”

6 āwād cōyṭe bī wīde tāpī ēpōc nōgkon.
awad sutte bi wide taari eros nogkon.

awad sutte bi wide taa-r-i er-os nog-ko-n
Awad quickly fut back come-neut-1SG say-cpl2 go-pt1-3SG
“Awad said: I will come back quickly [and] he has gone”

It is worth mentioning that when the suffix -os follows the verb e the original root-final consonant -r reappears. (That is, the same rule, as in the case of taar “come,” is applied, see fn. 4).

As mentioned above the verb e introduces direct speech. This is illustrated in ex. 8 which answers the question in ex. 7.

13 According to Abdel-Hafiz, A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian, p. 131, the 2SG and 3SG neutral tense marker -r is zero.
14 Dialectical variant: ekori.
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\[ \text{awad mingi en?} \]

\[ \text{awad min-qi } \text{e-n} \]
Awad what-ACC say-3SG
“What does Awad say?”

\[ \text{ay bi nogiri en.} \]

\[ \text{ay bi nog-ir-i } \text{e-n} \]
1SG fut go-neut-1SG say-3SG
“He says: I will go”

The verb \text{e} in a multi-verb construction illustrated in ex. 9.

\[ \text{awadki ali bi nogmun e wee tir.} \]

\[ \text{awad-ki ali bi nog-mun e wee tir} \]
Awad-ACC Ali fut go-NEG say tell appl3.imp.2sg
“Tell Awad, say: Ali will not go”

In ex. 9, \text{e} is part of a multi-verb construction with the semantically similar utterance verb \text{wee} “tell.” The verbs \text{e} and \text{wee} are followed by \text{tir} “give (to 3rd person)” which in such a construction is interpreted as a grammatical morpheme marking the applicative. Armbruster considers \text{e wee tir} as a compound verb \text{eweetir}.\textsuperscript{15} However, if we turn the statement in ex. 9 into a question as in ex. 10, we realize that the interrogative predication marker \text{te} will be inserted between the verbs \text{e} and \text{wee} which shows that they represent separable entities rather than a compound.

\[ \text{awadki Ali bi nogmun e te wee tiddi?} \]

\[ \text{awad-ki ali bi nog-mun e te wee tir-r-i} \]
Awad-ACC Ali fut go-NEG say pred.Q tell appl3-neut-1SG
“Do I tell Awad, Ali will not go?”

The verb \text{e} also takes the negation suffix -\text{mun} as illustrated in ex. 11.

\textsuperscript{15} \text{Armbruster, Dongolese Nubian: A Grammar, §3847.}
In contrast to Massenbach’s findings, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the verb $e$ takes the past participle suffix -el as illustrated in ex. 12.

**In te ogij ay awadki unyurmun erel?**

*Is this the man who said: I do not know Awad?*

The verb $e$ also takes the conditional suffix -gi-r (var. -ki-r) as in ex. 13.

**Al on awalaki nog erogi bi monkon.**

*If I had told Awad to go, he would have refused*

The verb $e$ also takes the temporal clause marker -gaal, as illustrated in ex. 14.

**Al bi nogiri erigaal ambab algi mirkon.**

*When I said: I will go, my father prevented me*
We can conclude from this section that the transitive verb *e*, rendered as “say, tell,” can be inflected for all persons in the neuter tense and the past tense in the preterite 1 and preterite 2 forms. It can also take modality markers, such as the negation suffix -mun, the aspectual suffix -os and the conditional suffix -gi-r. It can be used in various contexts with its full lexical meaning and behaves mostly like other ordinary verbs, as we have seen in exx. 1–14.

3. The use of *e* as a copular verb, rendered as “be”

According to Payne, a copula “is any morpheme (affix, particle, or verb) that joins, or ‘couples’ two nominal elements in a predicate nominal construction.” Before discussing the properties of the copular verb *e*, I provide first the following table 1 illustrating the use of the copular verb *e* with the nouns *kedegir* “assistant farmer,” being a noun ending in a consonant, and *ewratti* “water wheel driver” being a noun ending in a vowel.

| pers. pron. | meaning     | meaning     |
|------------|-------------|-------------|
| ay         | kedegir eri | I’m an ass. farmer |
|            |             | ewratti eri  | I’m a w.w. driver |
| er         | kedegir-un  | you’re an ass. farmer |
|            |             | ewratti-n    | you’re a w.w. driver |
| ter        | kedegir-un  | he’s an ass. farmer |
|            |             | ewratti-n    | he’s a w.w. driver |
| ar         | kedegir-i-n | we’re ass. farmers |
|            |             | ewratti-nci-n | we’re w.w. drivers |
| ir         | kedegir-i-n | you’re ass. farmers |
|            |             | ewratti-nci-n | you’re w.w. drivers |
| tir        | kedegir-i-n | they’re ass. farmers |
|            |             | ewratti-nci-n | they’re w.w. drivers |

The copular verb *e* is glossed as “be” in all its forms.

āī KĒDĒGIR ĖPRI.
ay kedegir eri.

ay kedegir e-r-i
1sg ass.farmer be-neut-1sg
“I’m an assistant farmer”

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16 Payne, Describing Morphosyntax, p. 114.
17 Less common: ar kedegiri eru.
The above table and examples clearly show that e functions as a copula connecting a subject pronoun with a predicate nominal. In Arabic (the national language of the Sudan), for example, a zero copula is used in such constructions, e.g. anā sowwāg “I am a driver.”

The copular verb e can be inflected for tense/person and number. In table 1 e is inflected for the neutral tense. However, only the 1st person singular form eri (and with some speakers the 1st person plural form eru) have the characteristics of a lexical verb, that is, e is inflected for tense/aspect, person and number and it is independent, rather than a suffix. The 2nd and 3rd person singular, by contrast, are marked by the invariable suffix -un when following a consonant or -n when following a vowel. All plural forms are marked by the suffix -n. The irregularity of the inflection forms of the copular verbs is not surprising. According to Payne “[c]opular verbs tend to be very irregular. That is, they often exhibit unusual conjugational patterns as compared to the more ‘normal’ verbs in the language.”

The irregularity we see changes to the normal paradigm when the predicate nominal clause is subordinated. This is illustrated in ex. 17 by e-n, in exx. 18 and 19 by e-r-u and in ex. 20 by e-r-an, which are identical to the corresponding forms e-n, e-r-u, and e-r-an of the verb e “say, tell.”
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They gave us the seed because we are assistant farmers

“They gave you the seed because you are water wheel drivers”

“They gave them the seed because they are water wheel drivers”

In the past tense (both preterite 1 and preterite 2), too, the inflected forms of the copular verb *e* are identical to the corresponding forms of the verb *e* “say, tell” as in exx. 21–4.

“I was an assistant farmer”

It goes by the same token for the other persons:

“Ahmed was an assistant farmer”
In a dependent clause e appears in the preterite 2 form, just like a “normal” verb, see ex. 24.

When Ahmed was an assistant farmer he was staying on the island

However, as Massenbach already points out, the copular verb e is not used to express the future tense; rather, another verb is used. This is the verb an “become, say” which is illustrated in ex. 25.

I will become a farmer / I’m going to be a farmer

Predicate adjectives (in attributive clauses) behave similar like predicate nominals. In fact, as Payne writes, “[p]redicate adjectives are seldom distinct structurally from predicate nominals.”

The following table 2 shows that the copula behaves in attributive clauses in the same way as in the predicate nominal clauses. The copula is represented by the suffix -n in all forms, except for the 1st person singular, eri, where it is identical with the corresponding form of the verb e “say, tell.” The copula -n after vowels, is realized as -un after consonants, e.g. jagad-un.

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22 When the plural marker -gu (after a sonorant, -ku after other consonants) is attached to person names it expresses an associative plural, e.g. Ahmed-ku “Ahmed and his companions.”

23 Payne, Describing Morphosyntax, p. 120.
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| pers. pron. | meaning     | meaning     |
|------------|-------------|-------------|
|          | ay jagad eri | I’m weak    | kombo eri | I’m strong    |
| er        | jagad-un     | you’re weak | kombo-n   | you’re strong |
| ter       | jagad-un     | he’s weak   | kombo-n   | he’s strong   |
| ar²⁴      | jagad-i-n²⁷ | we’re weak  | kombo-ri-n| we’re strong  |
| ir        | jagad-i-n    | you’re weak | kombo-ri-n| you’re strong |
| tir       | jagad-i-n    | they’re weak| kombo-ri-n| they’re strong|

In subordinate attributive clauses, as in the nominal clauses, the regular forms of the verb e are used.

\[\text{ahmed jagad enn illar wakkekoran.}\]
\[\text{ahmed jagad e-n-n illar wakke-ko-r-an}\]
Ahmed weak be-neut-3sg-gen because exclude-pt1-neut-3pl “They have excluded Ahmed because he is weak”

Also, the copular verb e is used for predicate locatives, i.e. locational clauses.

\[\text{ay indo eri.}\]
\[\text{ay indo e-r-i}\]
1sg here be-neut-1sg “I’m here”

\[\text{awad indon.}\]
\[\text{awad indo-n}\]
Awad here-be.3sg “Awad is here”

\[\text{torbal-i mandoncin.}\]
\[\text{torbal-i mando-nci-n}\]
farmer-pl there-pl-be.3pl “The farmers are there”

²⁴ The 1pl form eru is less common: ar jagadi eru “we are weak,” ar kombori eru “we are strong.”
We conclude from this section that the intransitive verb $e$, which is rendered in English by “be” is a copular verb that is used with predicate nominals, predicate adjectives, and predicate locatives. Only in the neuter tense the copula of the 1st person singular (and with some speakers also the 1st person plural) is inflected for tense, person, and number, the other forms of the copula are realized by the invariable suffixes, -$n$ after vowels, -$un$ after consonants.

4. The verb $e$ in combination with dol, maa, or daa

When a lexical verb is followed by $e$ plus dol “want,” $e$ plus maa “get tired,” or $e$ plus daa “exist, be present,” these constructions express distinct modal and aspectual notions as I will show below. In these constructions, $e$, dol, maa, and daa lose some of their functional and semantic properties as lexical verbs. But they also acquire new functions and meanings as complex grammatical constructions. This process is known as grammaticalization. In all these constructions $e$ will be glossed as “say.”

In contrast to Armbruster, who considers -$e$ dol, -$e$ maa, and $e$ daa as compound verbs, I rather conceive them as separate verbs comparable to multi-verb constructions, because these morphemes can be separated by the interrogative predication marker te, as illustrated in exx. 33, 39, 41, 46, and 47. So -$e$ dol, -$e$ maa, and $e$ daa are discontinuous morphemes.

4.1. The complex morpheme -$e$ dol

When the verb $e$ is suffixed to an uninflected verb and followed by the inflected verb dol “want” this complex construction expresses an immediate or imminent future, which can be rendered by “to be about to do something.” This is illustrated in the exx. 31 to 37.

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25 See Jakobi & El-Guzuuli, “Semantic Change and Heterosemy of Dongolawi ed.”
26 Armbruster, Dongolese Nubian: A Grammar, §4021.
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\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\`ai noge dolli.} & \\
ay nog-e dol-l-i & \\
1sg go-say want-neut-1sg & \\
\text{“I’m about to be going/I’m about to go/I’m going”} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\`ai i`mbe\`a noge dolli.} & \\
ay imbel nog-e dol-l-i & \\
1sg stand go-say want-neut-1sg & \\
\text{“I’m about to go.” Lit: “I’m about to stand and be going”} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\`er noge t\`e dolin?} & \\
\text{er nog-e te dol-in} & \\
2sg go-say pred.q want-2sg & \\
\text{“Are you about to go?”} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\`ai noge dolkori.} & \\
ay nog-e dol-ko-r-i & \\
1sg go-say want-pt1-neut-1sg & \\
\text{“I have been about to go/I was about to go”} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\`aro\`u man katre\`gi boorkire dolkon.} & \\
aru man katre-gi boor-kir-e dol-ko-n & \\
\text{rain dem wall-acc fall-caus-say want-pt1-3sg} & \\
\text{“Rain was about to cause that wall fall down”} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\`in t\`e katre \`aro\`u boorkire dolcin?} & \\
in te katre aru boorkire dolsin? & \\
\text{this pred.q wall rain fall-caus-say want-pt2-3sg} & \\
\text{“Is this the wall that the rain was about to cause fall down?”} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
4.2. The complex morpheme -e maa
When the verb e is suffixed to an uninflected verb and followed by the inflected verb maa, the complex morpheme -e maa expresses the failure to do something or to be unable to do something, as illustrated in exx. 38–43.

38  شكره ماري.
say no-go-1sg

ay nog-e maa-r-i
1sg go-say get.tired-neut-1sg
“I become unable to go/to walk/I fail to walk”

39  هل تعرف مان؟
Are you able to go?

er nog-e te maa-n
1sg go-say pred.q get.tired-2sg
“Are you unable to go/to walk?”

40  لأنه كان مان.
Because he is able to eat

oddi-n-ged kal-e maa-n
sick-3sg-because eat-say get.tired-3sg
“Because he is sick, he is unable to eat”

41  هل تعرف مان؟
Was he able to eat?

kale te maagon?

kal -e te maa-go-n
eat-say pred.q get.tired-pt1-3sg
“Was he unable to eat?”

42  أريد أن تعرف مان.
Do you want to eat?

Awad aygi nogos e weere maagon.
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Awad ay-gi nog-os e wee-r-e maa-go-n
Awad 1SG-ACC go-ASP2 say SAY-NEUT-say get.tired-PT1-3SG
“Awad was unable to say to me: Please go”

 appréci ᐲҕሃ ᐭᠠᠭ ᓇስ ᐢስ ᐧ righteousness.
ar baaski duure maagoru.

ar baas-ki duur-e maa-go-ru
1PL bus-ACC reach-say get.tired-PT1-1PL
“We were unable to reach the bus”

4.3. The complex grammatical morpheme e daa
When an inflected verb is followed by e plus the inflected verb daa
this construction has the reading “suppose, believe, think,” as illustrated in exx. 44–7.

ᥴᎤ ᐩาคม.toFixed ᐢ(Adapter e daa-ir.
ay ahmedki bi taan e daari.

ay ahmed-ki bi taa-n e daa-r-i
1SG Ahmed-ACC FUT come-3SG say exist-NEUT-1SG
“I suppose Ahmed will come”

 Cadillac ᓴ锨 moot ᐩ(Adapter e daa-ir.
ay awadki nogoskon e daagori.

ay awad-ki nog-os-ko-n e daa-go-ri
1SG Awad-ACC go-ASP1-PT1-2SG say exist-PT1-NEUT-1SG
“I thought Awad went away”

 đẹ ᓴ锨 moot ᕮ ᐩ (e daa-ir.
er awadki nogoskon e te daagon?

er awad-ki nog-os-ko-n e te daa-go-n
1SG Awad-ACC go-ASP1-PT1-2SG say PRED.Q exist-PT1-2SG
“Did you think Awad went away?”

丐 ᓴ锨 moot ᕮ ᐩ (e daa-ir.
er kajki jagadun e te daagon?

er kaj-ki jagad-un e te daa-go-n
1SG horse-ACC weak-be.3SG say PRED.Q exist-PT1-3SG
“Did you think the horse is weak?”
When $e$ is suffixed to an uninflected verb and followed by the inflected forms of the verbs *dol* “want” and *maa* “get tired” this construction functions as a complex grammatical morpheme with the reading “to be about to do something” and “unable to do something,” respectively.

When an inflected verb is followed by $e$ and the inflected verb *daa* this construction turns into a complex grammatical construction with the reading “suppose, believe, think.”

5. Conclusion

The transitive verb $e$, rendered as “say, tell,” is used as an independent lexical verb that can be inflected for all persons in the present and past tenses. It can also take modality markers, the completive aspect marker, temporal clause marker, and the conditional. It can be used in various contexts with its full lexical meaning and in that it behaves like other lexical verbs. It should be pointed out, however, that $e$ is not attested in the imperative and future form.

The verb $e$, rendered as “be,” functions as a copular verb connecting two nominal elements in a predicate nominal construction, in a predicate adjective construction and in a predicate locative construction. The copular exhibits irregular forms of inflection in the neutral tense, where the 2nd and 3rd person forms are marked by the invariable suffix -(u)n and all the plural forms are marked by -n.

The verb $e$ proves to be very productive as a grammatical morpheme in combination with the verbs *dol* “want,” *maa* “get tired,” or *daa* “exist, be present.” These complex constructions express the notions of imminent future, failure, and supposition, respectively.

The examples discussed above are covering the described functions. However, while investigating the verb $e$ I have discovered that it may have another function. When attaching to an inflected verb it appears to be used as a purpose clause marker. This function requires an in-depth study in the future.
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