1. Introduction

Most of historical-comparative studies of Nubian languages deal with sound correspondences and lexical similarities in order to reconstruct the Proto-Nubian sound system and lexicon, Proto-Nubian being the assumed ancestor of the Nubian languages.1 The present paper attempts to reconstruct the Proto-Nubian noun phrase. According to Payne, “noun phrases are traditionally thought of as consisting minimally of a head noun, together with any number of noun phrase modifiers”2 such as an adjective, numeral, quantifier, determiner, possessive adjective, genitive, and/or a relative clause. (Note that relative clauses are not included in this study). This study investigates noun phrases in the Nubian languages, that is, to find out which elements may modify noun phrases and how these modifiers are distributed within a noun phrase (hereafter np). Also number agreement between the noun and its modifiers is considered. The ultimate aim is to infer from the comparison of NP constituent order in the various modern Nubian languages what the constituent order of the Proto-Nubian NP looks like.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 gives a short background of the Nubian language classification, data sources, the aim of the study, and the method of data analysis. In addition, some typological features of modern Nubian languages are presented. Section 3 describes the internal structure of NPS including NPS represented by a personal pronoun, determiner, or quantifier, and NPS

1 Cf. Jakobi, "The Loss of Syllable-Final Proto-Nubian Consonants"; Zyhlarz, "Die Lautverschiebungen des Nubischen"; Bechhaus-Gerst, "‘Nile-Nubian’ Reconsidered"; id., The (Hi)story of Nobii; Rilly, Le Méroïtique et sa famille linguistique.
2 Payne, "Noun Phrases," p. 714.
represented by a noun with or without modifiers. It includes nominal modifiers of the head noun: possessive adjectives, determiners, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers and nouns in genitive constructions. Section 4 presents some more complex forms of Nubian NP constructions.

2. The Nubian languages

The Nubian languages are scattered over a vast area comprising eastern Darfur and the northern Nuba Mountains of Sudan, and the Nile valley of northern Sudan and southern Egypt. Nubian is part of the Eastern Sudanic branch of the Nilo-Saharan phylum. According to Rilly, Nubian – along with Taman, Nyimang, Nara and the extinct Meroitic language – belongs to the northern branch of the Eastern Sudanic family.

Nubian is a cluster of closely related languages. The Nubian language family is thought of as having three geographically defined subgroups, Nile Nubian, Kordofan Nubian, and Darfur Nubian. Nile Nubian is spoken in the Nile Valley roughly between the First and the Third Cataract. It consists of two languages, Nobiin and Kenzi-Dongolawi. Nobiin includes the dialects Halfawi, Sukkoth, and Mahas, which are all spoken in Sudan, and Fadija spoken in Egypt. Old Nubian is a Nile Nubian language, too. Bechhaus-Gerst considers Old Nubian to be ancestral to modern Nobiin. The second language of the Nile Nubian subgroup is Kenzi-Dongolawi (Dongolawi and Kenzi are two dialects of the same language, Kenzi being spoken north of Nobiin in Egypt and Dongolawi being spoken south of Nobiin in Sudan).

The second subgroup is Kordofan Nubian, spoken in the Nuba Mountains. It consists of a number of dialects. It is also referred to as Ajan language. The dialects include Ghulfan, Dilling, Karko, Tabaq, Kadaru, Al-Hugeirat, Dair, Wali, Kasha, Kujuria, Fanda, Abu Jinuk, Kudur, Kururu, Dabatna and Debri. In this paper, data are provided from Tabaq and Ghulfan. The extinct language of Jebel Haraza was not spoken in the Nuba Mountains but 300 km west of Khartoum. Despite its proximity to the Nile it is considered to be more closely related to the Kordofan Nubian languages than to the Nile Nubian languages. Haraza data are not included in this paper because they comprise only about 30 lexical items.

3 Jakobi, “The Loss of Syllable-Final Proto-Nubian Consonants.”
4 Greenberg, The Languages of Africa.
5 Rilly, Le Méroïtique et sa famille linguistique, p. 401.
6 Bechhaus-Gerst, The (Hi)story of Nobiin.
7 Thelwall, “The Linguistic Settlement of the Nuba Mountains,” p. 221.
8 Jakobi, Kordofan Nubian.
The third subgroup is Darfur Nubian spoken in the Darfur region. It comprises Midob and Birgid. Birgid is considered to be a nearly extinct language and is poorly documented. In fact, the only published studies are MacMichael’s and Thelwall’s Birgid vocabulary of 1918 and 1977, respectively. So this is the reason why examples of Birgid NPs are mostly unavailable.

2.1 Data sources
All examples and data used in this comparative study have been taken from published and unpublished sources. The Dongolawi data are taken from Armbruster9 and Satti,10 the Nubian data are from Ayoub,11 the Nobiin data are from Werner,12 and Mohamoud,13 the Midob data are from Werner,14 Alamin,15 Thelwall,16 and an unpublished manuscript prepared by Werner on Midob sentences.17 The Kenzi data is from Abdel-Hafiz.18 In addition, the Kordofan data are taken from unpublished sources and ongoing research from Williams and Comfort (Ghulfan documentation project), and Hellwig and Schneider-Blum (a documentation project on Tabaq). The paper focuses on NPs in the modern Nubian languages. Thus, Old Nubian NP constructions are not considered.

2.2 The aim of this study
The study aims at moving a step ahead in the description and the analysis of the internal structure of the NPs in the Nubian languages. The main research questions of this study are: 1) how are the modifiers distributed in relation to the head noun and in relation to each other and 2) is there number agreement between the head noun and its modifiers? The outcome is to set out rules for Nubian NP constructions from a synchronic point of view as well as setting rules for Proto-Nubian NP constructions. The outcome of this paper is a reconstruction of the Proto-Nubian NP constituent order at a syntactic level.

2.3 Method of data analysis
The NP constructions are compared throughout the paper in the various Nubian languages in respect to the order of constituents in a NP. This method helps to find out about common constituent or-

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9 Armbruster, Dongolese Nubian: A Grammar.
10 Satti, Grammatical Analysis of Dongolese Phrases and Clauses.
11 Ayoub, The Verbal System in a Dialect of Nubian.
12 Werner, Grammatik des Nobiin.
13 Mohamoud, “Grammatical Properties of Nouns and Adjectives in Nobiin.”
14 Werner, Tidn-aal.
15 Alamin, “Midob Nominal Structure.”
16 Thelwall, “Midob Nubian.”
17 Werner, ms.
18 Abdel-Hafiz, A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian.
der patterns and about deviations from these common patterns. The findings from this simple comparison allows us to assume that the common constituent order patterns attested in all Nubian can be of great help in reconstruction of the Proto-Nubian language.

2.4 Some typological features of the modern Nubian Languages

This paragraph shows some common typological characteristics of the modern Nubian languages. sov is the basic word order in all Nubian languages. A tonal system has been found in Mahas,29 Dongolese,20 Kordofan Nubian,21 and in Midob,22 whereas stress is found in Kenzi.23 As for number marking on nouns, the Nubian languages have different systems. While the Nile Nubian languages and Midob employ plural suffixes, Birgid and Kordofan Nubian have a more complex number marking system, involving singular and/or plural suffixes. There is no grammatical gender distinction. The Nubian languages are characterized by postpositions rather than prepositions. The case markers, for example, are postpositions that are placed at the end of the NP, as can be seen in the examples below.

3. The internal structure of the NP

It is worth mentioning here that there are basically two types of NPs in Nubian: a) NPs consisting of a noun with or without nominal modifiers, as shown in section 3.2 and b) NPs consisting of a single person pronoun, determiner or even a single quantifier which cannot take any nominal modifiers, as illustrated in section 3.1.24

3.1 NPs represented by a person pronoun, determiner or quantifier

| 1 | Midob | əy | na | say-re | kəl-m |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1sg | 3sg | morning-LOC | see-pst.3sg |
| | I saw him in the morning"25 |

| 2 | Dongolawi | suttee | tek-ki | wart-a |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | quickly | 3sg-ACC | cut-let |
| | ‘let him cut (it) quickly’26 |

19 Bell, “The Tone System of Mahas Nubian.”
20 SATTI, Grammatical Analysis of Dongolese Phrases and Clauses.
21 JAKOBI, Kordofan Nubian.
22 Werner, Tidn-aal.
23 Abdel-Hafiz, A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian, p. 21.
24 Abbreviations: 1 – first person; 2 – second person; 3 – third person; ACC – accusative; CAUS – causative; DET – determiner; GEN – genitive; IMP – imperative; INS – instrumental; LOC – locative; NP – noun phrase; PL – plural; PN – Proto-Nubian; PRED – predicate; PROSP – prospective; PRS – present; PST – past; SG – singular.
25 Werner, ms.
26 SATTI, Grammatical Analysis of Dongolese Phrases and Clauses. p. 91.
Examples 1 and 2 represent a type of NP that presents personal pronouns (1sg and 3sg) only without any modifiers. This type of NP is referred to as a minimal NP, i.e. a simple NP. It fills the slot and takes the place of the NP that contains a noun plus other modifiers. Other examples of the single NP in Nubian languages are shown in examples 3–5, where the determiners can fill the slot of an NP by themselves without any modifiers. This case occurs when the determiners are used elliptically.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in} & \quad \text{nal-s-u} \\
\text{DET} & \quad \text{see-PST-3SG} \\
& \quad \text{‘this (one) did see [him/her]’}^{27}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in-gi} & \quad \text{sunde} \\
\text{DET-ACC} & \quad \text{smell.IMP.2SG} \\
& \quad \text{‘smell this’}^{28}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
an-e & \\
\text{DET-bound morpheme} & \\
& \quad \text{‘that one’}^{29}
\end{align*}
\]

The bound morpheme -e in example 5 above is added to the determiners when it is used independently.\(^{30}\)

Quantifiers can be used independently and in this case, they can represent a simple NP, as shown in (6) and (7).

\[
\begin{align*}
malle & \quad \text{taa-s-a} \\
\text{all} & \quad \text{come-PST-3PL} \\
& \quad \text{‘all came’}^{31}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{weeri} & \quad \text{taa-s-a} \\
\text{some} & \quad \text{come-PST-3PL} \\
& \quad \text{‘some came’}^{32}
\end{align*}
\]

3.2 \textit{NPs represented by a noun with or without modifiers}

The second type of Nubian NP involves a noun with or without nominal modifiers. These modifiers can involve possessive adjectives, determiners, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers and another noun in a genitive construction.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Abdel-Hafiz}, \textit{A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian}, p. 206.
\item \textit{Jakobi & El-Guzuuli}, “Perception Verbs and their Semantics in Dongolawi,” p. 208.
\item \textit{Werner}, \textit{Tidn-aal}, p. 38.
\item \textit{Werner}, \textit{Tidn-aal}.
\item \textit{Abdel-Hafiz}, \textit{A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian}, p. 210.
\item Ibid.
\end{itemize}
The following examples show the NPs that appear as a single noun without modifiers, irrespective of their syntactic function as a subject or an object. The single NPs below are underlined.

| 8  | elum essi-r da     | Crocodile river-LOC exist:3SG |
|----|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Kenzi | ‘the crocodile is at the river’ |

| 9  | aru man katre-gi boor-kir-edol-in |
| Dongolawi | rain DET wall-ACC fall-CAUS-PROSP-3SG |
| ‘rain is about to cause that wall fall down’ |

| 10 | Nura taar-ka nall-o(n) |
| Nobiin | Nura drum-ACC hit-PST-3SG |
| ‘Nura hit the drum’ |

| 11  | tono or-gi lil-in |
| Ghulfan | boy wood-ACC burn-PRS:3SG |
| ‘the boy is burning the wood’ |

| 12  | ai aaci tiiwa |
| Midob | 1SG water drink:1SG |
| ‘I drink water’ |

3.2.1 Possessive adjective + noun

Nubian possessive adjectives are derived from the personal pronouns by adding the genitive linker –n, as shown in table 1.

| Kenzi/Dongolawi | Nobiin | Kordofan Nubian/Tabaq | Darfur Nubian/Tabaq |
|------------------|--------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1SG an/ann       | ayiin  | an                     | an                  |
| 2SG en/enn       | iriin  | un                     | nan                 |
| 3SG ten/tenn     | tariin | un/Ďan                 | nan                 |
| 1PL an/ann       | uuiin  | un                     | aŋan (incl.)/adin (excl.) |
| 2PL in/inn       | uriiin | wun                    | ŋun                 |
| 3PL tin/tinn     | teriin | Ťin                    | aŋŋan               |

33 Abdel-Hafiz, *A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian*, p. 204.
34 Jakoi & El-Guzuull, “Perception Verbs and their Semantics in Dongolawi,” p. 196.
35 Mohamoud, “Grammatical Properties of Nouns and Adjectives in Nobiin,” p. 175.
36 Williams & Comfort, p.c.
37 Thelwall, “Midob Nubian.” p. 109.
38 Kenzi data are from Abdel-Hafiz, *A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian*, p. 82; Dongolawi data are from Armbruster, *Dongolese Nubian: A Grammar*, p. 172; Nobiin data are from Werner 1978, p. 118; Tabaq data are from Hellwig and Schneider-Blum, p.c.; and Midob data are from Thelwall 1983, p. 107.
In table 1, the possessive adjectives in Kenzi and Dongolawi seem to have two forms in each case. This is phonologically conditioned. The possessive adjectives with a single \( n \) are used when the following noun starts with a consonant as in examples 13–15 below, whereas the other possessive adjectives with double \( nn \) are used when the following noun starts with a vowel as in 16–18. Notice that the nasal \( n \) of the possessive adjective in example 13 is assimilated to the labial stop /b/ of the following noun, and then the nasal is realized as labial m.\(^{39}\)

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{am} & \text{bes} & 13 \\
1\text{SG.}	ext{GEN} & \text{brother} & \text{Kenzi} \\
\hline
\text{ten} & \text{dun(i)} & 14 \\
3\text{SG.}	ext{GEN} & \text{money} & \text{Dongolawi} \\
\hline
\text{an} & \text{daa-n-di} & 15 \\
1\text{SG.}	ext{GEN} & \text{home-GEN-appertaining.to} & \text{Dongolawi} \\
\hline
\text{ann} & \text{id} & 16 \\
1\text{SG.}	ext{GEN} & \text{husband} & \text{Kenzi} \\
\hline
\text{ann} & \text{ossi} & 17 \\
1\text{SG.}	ext{GEN} & \text{leg} & \text{Dongolawi} \\
\hline
\text{ten} & \text{ed} & 18 \\
3\text{SG.}	ext{GEN} & \text{tongue} & \text{Dongolawi} \\
\end{array}
\]

Midob in table 1 has a distinction with regard to the 1PL. On the one hand, it has an inclusive possessive adjective \( a\text{na}n \) which includes both the speaker and the listener. On the other hand, it has an exclusive possessive adjective \( a\text{din} \), which excludes the listener. Midob is the only Nubian language that has this distinction for 1PL.

\(^{39}\) \text{Abdel-Hafiz, A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian,} \text{p. 35.} \\
\(^{40}\) \text{Ibid., p. 83} \\
\(^{41}\) \text{Armbruster, Dongolese Nubian: A Grammar,} \text{p. 172.} \\
\(^{42}\) \text{Jakobi & El-Guzuuli, } \text{"Perception Verbs and their Semantics in Dongolawi,}\text{"} \text{p. 193.} \\
\(^{43}\) \text{Abdel-Hafiz, A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian,} \text{p. 83.} \\
\(^{44}\) \text{Armbruster, Dongolese Nubian: A Grammar,} \text{p. 172.} \\
\(^{45}\) \text{Satti, Grammatical Analysis of Dongolese Phrases and Clauses,} \text{p. 74.}
Alamin

The examples above show the position of possessive adjectives in the NP. They are always placed before the head noun. Other Nubian languages also display the same constituents order for possessive adjectives that precede the head nouns in the NP as shown in 19–21.

The rule for the above examples is **personal pronoun + genitive linker -n + noun.** Across the Nubian languages, the possessor is consistently marked by the genitive linker and it precedes the possessed. Therefore, we can assume that the same is true for Proto-Nubian: **“personal pronoun + genitive linker -n + noun.**

It has been found in the Nobiin data that it is also possible for the possessive adjective to follow the head noun in the NP, as shown in example 22.

Moreover, in Nobiin there is number agreement between the possessive adjective and the head noun. Compare example 22 above with example 23 below.

### 3.2.2 Determiner + noun

#### 3.2.2a Determiners in the Nubian languages

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46 Werner, Grammatik des Nobiin, p. 118.
47 Hellwig & Schneider-Blum, p.c.
48 Werner, Tidn-aal, p. 37.
49 Mohamoud, “Grammatical Properties of Nouns and Adjectives in Nobiin,” p. 180.
50 Ibid.
In Nubian, determiners precede the head noun in an NP, as seen in the following examples.

|        | Kenzi/ Dongolawi | Nobiin | Kordofan Nubian/ Tabaq | Darfur Nubian/ Midob |
|--------|------------------|--------|------------------------|----------------------|
| this   | in               | in     | iŋ                     | nen                  |
| these  | in-gu            | in-gu  | ɛnɛ                   | neen                 |
| that   | man              | man    | wanɛ                  | an                   |
| those  | man-gu           | man-gu | wanɛ                  | aan                  |

The rule is $\text{NP} \rightarrow \text{determiner} + \text{noun}$. This rule suggests a similar syntactic pattern in Proto-Nubian: $^{*}\text{NP} \rightarrow \text{determiner} + \text{noun}$.

3.2.2b Noun + determiner

It is noticeable that there is no number agreement between the head noun and the determiner in Nubian as shown in examples 29–31. However, the Nubian determiner can be inflected for number when it is used elliptically or in a predicate position only as in example 32.

51 Abdel-Hafiz, A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian, p. 206.
52 Satti, Grammatical Analysis of Dongolese Phrases and Clauses, p. 74.
53 Mohamoud, “Grammatical Properties of Nouns and Adjectives in Nobiin,” p. 180.
54 Hellwig & Schneider-Blum, p.c.
55 Williams & Comfort, p.c.
3.2.3 Noun + adjective

In Nubian, adjectives always occur after the head noun they modify. Examples are:

| Nubian | Midob | Kenzi | Ghulfan | Midob |
|--------|-------|-------|---------|-------|
| 30     | in    | det.sg | girl-pl | nen   | DET.sg | man-pl |
|        | wel-i | dog-pl | 'these ugly dogs' | burw-i | 'these girls' | ir-eti | man-pl | 'these people' |
| 32     | in-gu | Nuba  | amena   | nen   | DET-pl | Nubians | Nubians | PRED.3PL | 'these are Nubians' |

The rule is \( \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{noun + adjective} \). Accordingly, we can assume that this was also the case in PN: \( \text{*NP} \rightarrow \text{noun + adjective} \).
It has been found in the data that this rule does not apply in Midob. The adjective in Midob precedes the head noun. The rule is \textbf{NP} $\rightarrow$ \textbf{determiner + adjective + noun}. This order of \textbf{NP} as consisting of determiner + adjective + noun in Midob is unusual in comparison to the common noun + adjective order but it has been found in Midob in a number of examples; compare example 65 below.

3.2.4 \textit{Noun + numeral}

Numerals in Nubian follow the head noun. Consider the following examples.

\begin{verbatim}
kitab  wɛr
book  one
\end{verbatim} 39

\begin{verbatim}
kaj    wee
donkey  one
\end{verbatim} 40

\begin{verbatim}
idu    bɛra
person one
\end{verbatim} 41

\begin{verbatim}
ir     parci
man/person one
\end{verbatim} 42

The rule for this \textbf{NP} construction is: \textbf{NP} $\rightarrow$ \textbf{noun + numeral}. The same constituent order can be true for \textbf{PN}: *\textbf{NP} $\rightarrow$ \textbf{noun + numeral}.

When the numeral refers to several entities the head noun is not marked for plural, as illustrated in examples 43–8.

64 Werner, \textit{Tidn-aal}, p. 72.
65 Ibid.
66 Armbruster, \textit{Dongolese Nubian: A Grammar}, p. 179.
67 Ayoub, \textit{The Verbal System in a Dialect of Nubian}, p. 37.
68 Hellwig & Schneider-Blum, p.c.
69 Werner, ms.
3.2.5 Noun + quantifier

Nubian quantifiers occur after the head noun they modify. The examples are:

- **Kenzi**
  - burw-i digri
  - girl-pl many
  - ‘many girls’

- **Tabaq**
  - urgi addi
  - shoulder two
  - ‘the two shoulders’

- **Midob**
  - nen kuud addi
  - det.sg ox two
  - ‘these two oxen’

- **Nobiin**
  - burw-i digri
  - girl-pl many
  - ‘many girls’

- **Dongolawi**
  - wel-i weer
  - dog-pl some
  - ‘some dogs’

---

70 **Abdel-Hafiz, A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian**, p. 209.
71 **Ayoub, The Verbal System in a Dialect of Nubian**, p. 37.
72 **Mohamoud, “Grammatical Properties of Nouns and Adjectives in Nobiin,”** p. 181.
73 Hellwig & Schneider-Blum, p.c.
74 **Werner, Tidn-aal**, p. 138.
75 Werner, ms.
76 **Abdel-Hafiz, A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian**, p. 210.
77 **Satti, Grammatical Analysis of Dongolese Phrases and Clauses**, p. 110.
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kiira taani kutee frindin 51
kujuur Tabaq people all tell Tabaq
‘then the kujuur would tell all the people’78

ir pocici 52
man all Midob 215
‘all men/people’79

uud poccici-r 53
day every-LOC Midob
‘every day’80

The rule is **np → noun + quantifier.** The data at hand show that the quantifiers in Nubian always follow the head noun. Therefore, we may assume that the syntactic pattern of this construction in pn is *

3.2.6 Genitive construction: noun + genitive linker + noun

Concerning the genitive, Nubian always employs the genitive linker -n. It links two nouns by -n, the first noun having the role of possessor and the second one having the role of possessed. Thus, the genitive in Nubian precedes the head noun of the np. The examples are:

een-n agil 54
woman-gen mouth Kenzi
‘the woman’s mouth’81

illee-n urti 55
wheat-gen flour Nobiin
‘wheat flour’82

afa-n ildʊ 56
father-gen wife Tabaq
‘father’s wife’ (i.e. mother’s co-wife)83

ad-n ardi 57
house-gen friend Midob
‘friend of the house’84

78 Hellwig & Schneider-Blum, p.c.
79 Alamin, “Midob Nominal Structure,” p. 53.
80 Werner, Tidn-aal, p. 117.
81 Abdel-Hafiz, A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian, p. 205.
82 Ayoub, The Verbal System in a Dialect of Nubian, p. 201.
83 Hellwig & Schneider-Blum, p.c.
84 Werner, Tidn-aal, p. 82.
The rule is $\text{NP} \to \text{possessor} + \text{genitive linker} + \text{possessed}$. The $\text{PN}$ reconstruction for this construction would be $^*\text{NP} \to \text{possessor} + \text{genitive linker} + \text{possessed}$. 

4. Complex NP constructions

The Nubian NPs can be complex when they consist of more than one modifier, as illustrated in the examples below.

58  
\begin{align*}
\text{Birgid} & \quad \text{aale-n ur} \\
& \quad \text{rain-GEN head}
\end{align*}

‘sky’\textsuperscript{85}

The rule is $\text{NP} \to \text{possessor} + \text{genitive linker} + \text{possessed}$.

59  
\begin{align*}
\text{Kenzi} & \quad \text{id doro gele kemis} \\
& \quad \text{man fat red four}
\end{align*}

‘four fat red men’\textsuperscript{86}

The rule is $\text{NP} \to \text{noun} + \text{adjective of size} + \text{adjective of color} + \text{numeral}$.

60  
\begin{align*}
\text{Dongolawi} & \quad \text{wel mushindili owwi} \\
& \quad \text{dog ugly two}
\end{align*}

‘two ugly dogs’\textsuperscript{87}

The rule is $\text{NP} \to \text{noun} + \text{adjective} + \text{numeral}$.

61  
\begin{align*}
\text{Dongolawi} & \quad \text{in hage-gi wart-e} \\
& \quad \text{DET.SG maize-ACC cut-IMP.2SG}
\end{align*}

‘please cut this maize’\textsuperscript{88}

The rule is $\text{NP} \to \text{determiner} + \text{noun} + \text{case marker}$.

62  
\begin{align*}
\text{Dongolawi} & \quad \text{buru geele-gi nall-e} \\
& \quad \text{girl red-acc look.at-IMP.2SG}
\end{align*}

‘please look at the red girl’\textsuperscript{89}

The rule is $\text{NP} \to \text{noun} + \text{adjective} + \text{case marker}$.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{85} TheWall, “A Birgid Vocabulary List and its Links with Daju,” p. 205.
\item \textsuperscript{86} Abdel-Hafiz, A Reference Grammar of Runuz Nubian, p. 209.
\item \textsuperscript{87} Satti, Grammatical Analysis of Dongolese Phrases and Clauses, p. 110.
\item \textsuperscript{88} Ibid., p. 85.
\item \textsuperscript{89} Ibid., p. 71.
\end{itemize}
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The rule is \( \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{noun} + \text{adjective of size} + \text{adjective of quality} + \text{case marker} \).

The rule is \( \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{determiner} + \text{noun} + \text{adjective of size} + \text{number} \).

The rule is \( \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{adjective} + \text{noun} + \text{case marker} \).

According to the complex construction of nps in Nubian, there is some evidence that adjectival modifiers expressing size precede adjectival modifiers expressing quality or color; see examples 59 and 63. Moreover, numerals always occur at the end of the np as in examples 59, 63, and 64. Concerning the syntactic functions of nps, they are marked by the accusative –gi in example 62 or the instrumental –re, as in example 65. The case marker attaches at the last element of the np. It positions at the end of the whole np, i.e. at the last element of the np as shown in examples 61–3.

5. Conclusion

The paper concludes with the following findings about the Nubian np construction. Nubian nps may be simple or complex. They are simple when they are represented by a single person pronoun, determiner or quantifier. These simple nps cannot be modified. By contrast, complex nps contain a head noun that can be modified by possessive adjectives, determiners, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers and another noun in a genitive construction. The classification of Nubian nps depends on the position of the head noun in an np construction. Thus, the nps in Nubian languages are classified as having both pre-modifiers and post-modifiers; the pre-modifiers\(^{93}\) include possessive adjectives and determiners, while the post-

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\(^{90}\) Ayoub, The Verbal System in a Dialect of Nubian, p. 25.
\(^{91}\) Hellwig & Schneider-Blum, p.c.
\(^{92}\) Werner, ms.
\(^{93}\) Payne, “Noun Phrases.”
modifiers comprise adjectives, numerals and quantifiers. There are very few variations in the NP constituents’ order in the Nubian languages. The only deviation from the common constituent order is attested in Midob. In this language the adjective precedes the noun rather than having the order noun + adjective, as is common in the other Nubian languages.
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