TECHNIUM
SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL

Vol. 11, 2020

A new decade for social changes

www.techniumscience.com

ISSN 2668-7798

9 772668 779000

Question formation strategies in Kunuz Nubian

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Abstract. This is an analytical and descriptive study that is based on a general theoretical framework which can be characterized as “basic linguistic theory”. It aims to study Kunuz Nubian interrogative pronouns and question markers. Previous studies failed to pay adequate attention to these features. It is an attempt to characterize the strategies used in question formation and to identify the question markers. I argue that the question markers in this Nubian dialect fall into three sets: (a) the set of question markers *-yaa*, *-naa*, and *-waa* are used with sentences (non-copular construction) involving the neural marker *-r-*. (b) the set of questions markers that are used if the neural marker *-r-* is in a copular construction: *-yaa*, *-re*, *-waa*. (c) another set of question markers are attached to a declarative sentence in which the verb or copular verb is accompanied with the past tense morpheme. The study has also provided a list of interrogative pronouns that can occur with or without the question markers. Moreover, it has been shown that both compound and complex sentences are turned into interrogatives via the same question strategies used in simple sentences.

Keywords. Kunuz Nubian, question formation, question markers

1. Introduction

Kunuz Nubian (henceforth KN) has declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences (cf. Abdel-Hafiz 1988). KN has two question formation strategies: the use of interrogative pronouns or adverbs and question markers.¹ A question marker, which introduces a yes-no (bipolar) question, tends to occur at sentence-final position. In contrast, an interrogative pronoun or adverb, which is often used to enquire about one of the constituents of the sentence (e.g. the subject, the object etc), is often attested at the beginning of a sentence. This paper aims to give a detailed analysis of question markers and interrogative pronouns in KN². This study reveals some neglected facts about these elements. These elements have been hastily introduced in the Nubian grammars (ABDEL-HAFIZ 1988; Armbruster 1960; Ayoub 1968; Badr 1955). Before embarking upon the previous studies that are related to question strategies in KN, we need to put KN into context by briefly referring to its habitat, which has changed since 1963.

*I would like to thank Marcus Jaeger for his generous and useful comments on several drafts of the article. Moreover, he did not hesitate to provide me with the studies of Massenbach. Marcus also sat with me for hours, reading and translating the Nubian material written in German. We met at his residence in Tingaar, a Nubian village on the Nile, where we discussed various issues in KN and had lunch with his wife and wonderful daughter.

¹ A question is also produced with the appropriate intonation.

² KN also has interrogative adverbs such as *sitaak* "when", *meerrnaay* "why", *mine* "how", *saayer* "where". It also has interrogative adjectives in which the noun occurs before the interrogative word as in *buru saay* "girl which". This study is concerned with interrogative pronouns, but reference will occasionally be made to the other types of interrogative words.

The three groups of Egyptian Nubians used to live on the two banks of the Nile in Old Nubia. Their 41 villages were established over a wide area, 350 kilometers (Abdel-Hafiz 2007). Because their lands were inundated by the High Dam water in the early 1960s, they had to desert the area and move to the north and east of Kom Ombo area. Nowadays the Kunuz live in the north of Kom Ombo, whereas the Fadicca and the Arabic-speaking group live in the east.³ Moreover, many KN speakers also live in the villages that lie to the west and south of Aswan. The last group is considered "a small section of formerly nomadic, but later settled and assimilated Arabs." (Poschke 1996:27). Each group has a different language: the Fadicca group speaks Fadicca, whereas the Arabs speak Arabic only.⁴ As for the Kunuz, they speak KN.⁵ The speakers of this language are exposed to Arabic more often than they were in the old environment. As Abdel-Hafiz (1988:98) argues, Nubian languages including KN are "restricted to informal domains: they are used with family, friends, and relatives."

1.2 Literature review

Interrogative pronouns or adverbs and question markers are not thoroughly investigated in Nile Nubian languages. Both Mahas and Fadicca have interrogative pronouns and question markers. As pointed out by Tucker and Bryan (1966:322), Fadicca has several interrogatives for "who: *nay* (SG), *naygu* (PL), *naysi* (SG), *naygule*". These forms appear as *nay*, *naaygu*, *nay le* in Werner (1978). In addition, it has *minga* "what" and *siddo* or *hiddo* "where." (Werner 1978). Ayoub (1968:12-13) gives a detailed list of interrogative pronouns in Mahas. Surprisingly, Mahas has more than four words for "who": *nay* or its plural forms *naygu* and *naygu:le*, *nay'si*; *nay'le*; *mini* or *minga* "what", *siddo* or *hiddo* "where." (Ayoub 1968:12-13). Badr (1955:103) refers to a list of Mahas interrogative sentences which involve interrogative adverbs such as *hiddo* and question markers with the verb in the present. Similarly, Werner (1987:123-125) refers to the interrogative pronouns and adverbs observed by Ayoub (1968) and Badr (1955), but adds other forms such as *mii* "why", *sikkir/hikkir* "where", *minog* "which", *naay dog* "with whom", *naay dog* "with whom", and

minkelli "how much", *siddo/hiddo* "where", and *hisoon* "when". Werner (1987:206) also refers to the copula *-le* which is used with interrogative pronouns such as *naay "who": man id naay le* which is glossed as "that man who COP."

Badr (1955:104) comes up with the following markers that are placed at the end of the sentences:

Table 1: Mahas question markers

Person/Number	SG	PL
1	-re	-ro
2	-i	-ro
3	-i	-na

However, he does not present any examples in which these markers are used with a verb that has the past tense morpheme *-s-*. Werner argues that Mahas has a number of interrogative markers used with the present tense (Werner 1987:155):

³ Kom Ombo is a city that lies 45 kilometers to the north of Aswan.

⁴ Bell (1970) uses the term 'Nobiin' to refer to the language spoken by these people, which is also used to refer to Mahas.

⁵ Jaeger (2014:93) prefers to use the term 'Kenzi' when reference is made to language, which is similar to Dongolaw.

Table 2: Mahas question markers used with the present tense

Person/Number	SG		PL	
	Type I	Type II	Type I	Type II
1	-re/le	-ree	-ro/-lo	-loo
2	-I	-naa	-ro/-lo	-loo
3	-I	-naa	-(i)nna	-(i)nnanaa

Werner (1987:155):presents examples that illustrate how these markers are used in forming yes/no questions: *tiigree?* "Are you sitting?". He also gives a different list of markers used with the past tense (Werner 1987:155):

Table 3: Mahas question markers used with the past tense

Person/Number	SG		PL	
	Type I	Type II	Type I	Type II
1	-se	-see	-so	-soo
2	-o	-onaa	-so	-soo
3	-o	-onaa	-sa(n)	-sanaa

As Wener (1987:155-156):shows, these markers are used in forming yes/no questions as in *tiigsee* "I sat?", *oossee* "I took out?" and *id dirbat-ta juu gojonaa* "The man went and killed the chicken?".

Al Faki (2014:145) provides a list of interrogative pronouns and adverbs in Mahas: *nay* "who SG", *naygu* "who PL", *mina* "what"; however, no reference is made to any question markers.

Like Fadicca and Mahas, both Dongolawi and KN have interrogative pronouns or adverbs and question markers. Massenbach gives a number of interrogative words such as *ni* "what", *nigu* "who PL", *min* "what", *sai* "where/which" (Massenbach 1961:229-323). Tucker and Bryan (1966:323) refer to some "interrogatives that have been recorded in Dongolawi: *nii* "who SG", *niigu* "who PL", *mina* "what" and *isai* "which.". They show that a Nile Nubian interrogative "is formed by means of a prepositional particle." (Tucker and Bryan 1966:323). They also give us a number of these elements in Dongolawi: *-a*, *-de*, *-re* as being used immediately after interrogative pronouns: *nii-ri-a* 'Do I drink'; *jom-ki-ri-o* "if, when, I strike?"; *nii-ran-de* "drink?", *kaa-re* "is it a house?"; *wel-le* "is it a dog?" ((Tucker and Bryan 1966:327). However, they do not discuss the possibility of using these markers without interrogative pronouns. Massenbach (1961:229-323) gives examples in which the interrogative pronouns or adverbs are used with the question marker or particle *-re* as in *Muhammed ni-n tod-re?* "Whose son is Muhammed?". Armbruster (1960:298) gives us some examples in which the question markers are used in Dongolawi: *er toskin-a* "Do you cough?"; *ter awen-a* "Does (s)he call?" *er naln-a?* "Do you see?" *ir taru-a* "Do you come?". He argues that Dongolawi has the question suffix *-a* that is used with all persons except the 3rd PL if the verb is present indicative: *ni-ri-a?* Do I drink? The suffix used with the 3rd PL is *-de*: *ni-ran-de?* 'Do they drink?' (Armbruster 1960:204). He also shows how the marker *-re* or *-de* is optionally or redundantly attached to such interrogative pronouns/words as *nii* "who", *minkotti* "how much", *min* "what." Armbruster (1960:298). Massenbach (1961:128) provides us with two question markers that are used if the verb is in the present tense: *a* and *-re(de)* as in the following sentences:

ai tegria?/tegiy 'Do I sit? *ar tegrwa?/tegiywa* 'Do we sit?
er tegna? Do you sit? *ir tegrwa?/tegiywa* 'Do you sit?

ter tegna? Does s/he sit? tir tegrana?/tegrande 'Do they sit?

These markers are said to be used in the absence of interrogative pronouns or adverbs Massenbach (1961:128). Moreover, Massenbach (1961:128) shows that a different set of question markers are used in the past tense, depending on the presence or absence of interrogative pronouns or adverbs. If these interrogative pronouns or adverbs are absent in the sentence, the markers are *a* and *re (de)* as in *er tegma?* 'Did you sit?'; *ar tegsure?* 'Did we sit?'; *tir tegsande?* 'Did they sit?' (Massenbach 1961:129). If an interrogative pronoun or adverb is present in the sentence, the marker (*u*)*m* is used with the 2nd and 3rd SG as in *minder unduruma* (Massenbach 1961:129).

Abdel-Hafiz (1988:88) refers only to two interrogative pronouns in KN: *nii* "who" and *saay* "which.". He also gives the phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the question marker *-re* (Abdel-Hafiz 1988:43).

It is worth noting that the following questions need to be addressed in KN⁶:

- (1) Do these question markers co-occur with all tenses (i.e. past, neutral, future)?
- (2) Are the same question markers used with all constructions (e.g. the copula construction)?
- (3) Do interrogative pronouns co-occur with question markers or not?
- (4) Does KN have indirect questions?
- (5) Can question markers and/or interrogative pronouns be used in compound and complex sentences?

The contribution of this study lies in its attempt to provide answers to these questions.

1.3 Data and methodology

This analytical and descriptive study is based on a general theoretical framework which can be characterized as "basic linguistic theory". As Romero-Méndez (2008:30) states, this framework "is used regularly in writing grammars or in linguistic typology, except that it is rarely acknowledged as a theoretical framework.". This framework draws on all linguistic approaches including linguistic typology and generative grammar to describe languages as they are used by native speakers. In the words of Romero-Méndez, "this cumulative theoretical framework... has been successfully used and refined for many years, mainly in describing languages and in linguistic typology." (Romero-Méndez 2008:32). The elicited sentences aimed to identify question formation strategies.

Most of the data used in this paper are collected from native speakers living in the Kunuz area, especially at Dahmit, which is one of the 41 Nubian villages in Egypt.⁷ These informants are fluent in the language under study. In fact their knowledge of KN was kindled in the pre-relocation era. The researcher, being a native speaker of this language, has also relied on himself as an informant. However, his sentences are often verified through discussions with other native speakers. For the purposes of this research, special attention is given to the elicitation of various interrogative sentences: (a) sentences involving the copula with past and non-past tenses, (b)

⁶ Armbruster (1960:298) shows that Dongolese has a set of markers used with certain tenses; for example *-a* with the first and second person singular.

⁷ I would like to thank the people who helped me with the data employed in this paper: Abdel-Raziq Hamoula, Mohamed Naguib, and Aida Fathy.

sentences with verbs in the past and non-past and (c) questions with and without interrogative pronouns.

2. KN question formation strategies

In this section, the two KN question formation strategies are discussed: question markers (section 2.1) and interrogative pronouns (section 2.2). The question markers, which appear at the end of sentences, can be divided into three sets. The circumstances under which each set is used will be illustrated. As for the interrogative pronouns, they occupy the sentence-initial position and they are shown to co-occur with the question markers in certain contexts. However, there are situations where they cannot exist in the same sentence. In addition, reference will be made to the form *-baa* that indicates that the question is indirect (cf. section 2.3). This marker of indirectness is argued to be used with all types of interrogative sentences. Moreover, the same question formation strategies are shown (section 2.4) to be used with compound and complex sentences.

2.1 KN question markers

Consider the following pairs of sentences in which 1a, 2a, and 3a represent declarative sentences and 1b, 2b and 3b stand for their interrogative analogues with a question marker at the sentence-final position. In the declarative sentences, the copula construction, in which reference is made to a present state, is introduced by *-ma* if the subject is second person singular or third person singular/plural as in 1a, 2a and 3a.⁸

In such cases, the question is formed by adding *-re* or one its phonologically conditioned allomorphs at the end of the sentence as in 1b, 2b and 3b:⁹

1. a. *er ašir-ma*
 2SG beautiful-COP.PRS
 "You are beautiful."

 b. *er ašir-re ?*
 2SG beautiful-Q.COP.PRS
 "Are you beautiful?"
2. a. *ter adel-ma*
 3SG good-COP.PRS
 "S/he is good."

 b. *ter adel-re ?*
 3SG good-Q.COP.PRS
 "Is S/he good?"
3. a. *tir adel-ii-ma*
 3PL good-PL-COP.PRS

⁸ The copula in KN is *-e-* which occurs in the past tense and non-past tense. The same thing can be said about existential constructions: such a construction involves the form *-da* which is used in the past and non-past tenses: *essi kaa-r da* "water-house-LOC COP"; *essi kaa-r da-s-u* "water house-LOC COP-PST-3SG". The allomorphs of *-re/* are *[-le]* after */l/*; *[-de]* after */n/* as in: */wel-re/* "dog-Q" becomes *[wel-le]* "dog-Q"; */een-re/* "woman-Q" becomes *[een-de]* "woman-Q".

⁹ Abbreviations: * – ungrammatical; 1, 2, 3 – 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; ACC – accusative; CF-contrastive focus; FOC – focus; COP – copula; DEF – definite; GEN – genitive; INDI – indirect; KN – Kunuz Nubian; LOC – locative; NEG – negative; NEU—neutral; NOM – nominative; OBJ – object; PL – plural; PLOBJ – plural object; PST – past; PRF—perfect; Q – question; REL – relative.

"They are good."

- b. *tir adel-ii-re ?*
3SG good-PL-Q.COP.PRS
"Are they good?"

However, the adjective or noun in the sentences with first person singular or plural subject or second person plural subject is followed by a copula *-(y)e-* that is inflected like verbs in the main clause: it has tense as well as person markers.¹⁰ The question marker, which appears at the end of the sentence in such cases, is *-yaa* (if subject is first person singular) or *-waa* (if subject is first person plural or second person plural):¹¹

4. a. *ay ašr-e-r-i*
1SG beautiful-COP-NEU-1SG
"I am beautiful."

b. *ay ašr-e-r-yaa ?*
1SG beautiful-COP-NEU-Q.1SG
"Am I beautiful?"
5. a. *ar adel-e-r-u*
1PL good-COP-NEU-1PL
"We are good."

b. *ar adel-e-r-waa/*-re ?*
1PL good-COP-NEU-Q.1PL
"Are we good?"

6. a. *ir adel-ii-ye-r-u*
2SG good-PL-COP-NEU-Q.2PL
"You are good."

b. *ir adel-ii-ye-r-waa/*-re ?*
2SG good-PL-COP-NEU-Q.2PL
"Are you good?"

Note that sentences like 4b, 5b and 6b are different from their declarative analogues in that person- number facts disappear from the end of the sentence. Furthermore, the plurality of the subject is expressed by a separate suffix *-ii-* before the copula. Similarly, in sentences like 7b,

¹⁰ Ayoub 1968:13 argues that in Mahas "[t]he nominal root *'ogoj'* [takes] the prefix *'fa'* and the suffix *'ir'* in the same way as a verbal root." /y/ is inserted if the copula *-e-* is preceded by the plural marker *-ii-*.

¹¹ Note that *-yaa*, which is glossed as Q.1SG, appears in different sentences like 4b, 5b, and 6b where number facts disappear from the sentence. They seem to disappear because the sentences are no longer declarative. The suffixes that are used with declaratives should not necessarily be used with non-declaratives. Thus in Imperative sentences, the plurality of the subject is expressed by *-we* if the subject is second person plural and by *-wa* if the subject is third person plural: *teeg* 'sit down', *teeg-we* 'sit down-2PL', *teeg-wan* 'sit down-3PL' "Let them sit down". Thus the suffix *-yaa* is a Q marker that appears if the subject is 1SG.

the plurality of the third person subject is expressed by *-ii*, which appears between the adjective and the copula:¹²

7. a. *buru adel-ma*
girl good-COP.PRS
"The girl is good."
b. *buru-ii adel-ii-ma*
girl-PL good-PL-COP.PRS
"The girls are good."

Note that KN has a question marker *-re* or one of its allomorphs that is exclusively used with a noun or noun phrase.¹³ This can be analyzed as an interrogative copulative marker:¹⁴

8. a. *Kam-ma* b. *kam-re ?*
camel-COP camel-Q.COP.PRS
"It is a camel." "Is it a camel?"
9. a. *essi-ma* b. *essi-re?*
water-COP water-Q.COP.PRS
"It is water." "Is it water?"
10. a. *buru-ma* b. *buru-re?*
girl-COP girl-Q.COP.PRS
"It is a girl." "Is it a girl?"
11. a. *een-ma* b. *een-re?*
woman-COP woman-Q.COP.PRS
"It is a woman." "Is it a woman?"

All the examples discussed so far refer to a present state. If the copula sentence refers to a past state, the adjective or noun is followed by the copula *-e-* which is accompanied by tense and person markers. In such cases, a different set of question markers is used: *-re*, *-maa* or *-nde*, depending on the subject.¹⁵ Thus *-re* is used if the subject is first person as in 12b and 13b or second person plural as in 14b:

12. a. *ay adel-e-s-i*
1SG good-COP-PST-1SG
"I was good."
b. *ay adel-e-s-i-re ?*
1SG good-COP-PST-1SG-Q.1SG
"Was I good?"
13. a. *ar adel-e-s-u*
1PL good-COP-PST-1PL
"We were good."
b. *ar adel-e-s-u-re ?*
1PL good-COP-PST-1PL-Q.1PL

¹² The /u/ before the suffix *-ii* is turned into [w]: thus /*buru-ii*/ in sentences like 7b becomes [burwii].

¹³ Note that KN has a question marker *-se* that is exclusively used with a noun or noun phrase: it is used to inquire about 'place': *kam-se ?* "camel-where"; *dugu-se ?* "money-where"; *kam-li-se ?* "camel-PL-where". Also KN has echo question markers such as *-ga* as in *asal-ga ?* "tomorrow?" and *wiil-ga ?* "yesterday?".

¹⁴ The out-of-focus clause is often a relative clause as in: *id-re buru-gi jom-el ?*, which is glossed as man-Q.COP girl-ACC hit-REL "Is it a man that hit the girl."

- "Were we good?"
14. a. *ir adel-e-s-u*
2PL good-COP-PST-2PL
"You were good."
- b. *ir adel-e-s-u-re ?*
2PL good-COP-PST-2PL-Q.2PL
"Were you good?"

Note that the question marker *-maa* cannot replace *-re* in sentences like 12b, 13b, and 14b as shown by the ungrammaticality of 15a-c:

15. a. * *ay adel-e-s-i-maa ?*
1SG good-COP-PST-1SG-Q
"I was good."
- b. * *ar adel-e-s-u-maa ?*
1PL good-COP-PST-1PL-Q
"We were good."
- c. * *ir adel-e-s-u-maa ?*
2PL good-COP-PST-2PL-Q
"You were good."

Sentences like 16b and 17b show that the marker *-re* does not appear. The subject of these sentences is second person singular as in 16b or third person singular as in 17b; therefore *-maa* is used instead of *-re*:

16. a. *er adel-e-s-u*
2SG good-COP-PST-2SG
"You were good."
- b. *er adel-e-maa/* era del-e-re*
2SG good-COP-Q.PST
"Were you good?"
17. a. *ter adel-e-s-u*
3SG good-COP-PST-3SG
"S/he was good."
- b. *ter adel-e-maa/* ter adel-e-re*
3SG good-COP-Q.PST
"Was s/he good?"

Neither *-re* nor *-maa* is used if the subject is third person plural. In such cases, *-nde* is the question marker as in 18b and 19b:

18. a. *tir adel-e-s-a*
3PL good-COP-PST-3PL
"They were good."
- b. *tir adel-e-s-a-nde/*-re/*-maa*

3PL good-COP-PST-3PL- Q.PST.3PL
"Were they good?"

19. a. *ogj-i adel-e-s-a*
Man-PL good- COP-PST-3PL
"The men are good."
- b. *ogj-i adel-e-s-a-nde? /*-re/*-maa*
man-PL good-COP-PST-3PL-Q.PST.3PL
"Were the men good?"

It is interesting to note that sentences like 18-19 involve an adjective followed by the copula – *e-* referring to a past state. Are the same markers used with non-copular verbs referring to past events? The following sentences show that the same set of question markers is used if the verb is non-copular. Also facts concerning the person/number of the subject affect the choice of question markers. Thus –*re* is the question marker if the subject is first person singular as in 20b or plural as in 21b or second person plural as in 22b:

20. a. *ay mando aag-s-i*
1SG there sit-PST-1SG
"I was sitting there."
- b. *ay mando aag-s-i-re ?*
1SG there sit-PST-1SG-Q
"Was I sitting there?"
21. a. *ar mando aag-s-u*
1PL there sit-PST-1PL
"We were sitting there."
- b. *ar mando aag-s-u-re ?*
1PL there sit-PST-1PL-Q
"Was s/he sitting there?"
22. a. *ir mando aag-s-u*
2PL there sit-PST-2PL
"You were sitting there."
- b. *ir mando aag-s-u-re ?*
2PL there sit-PST-2PL-Q
"Were you sitting there?"

If the subject is second person singular as in 23b or third person singular as in 24b, the question marker is –*maa*. If, however, the subject is third person plural, the question marker is –*nde* as in 25b:¹⁶

¹⁶ –*nde* is used as an alternative 3PL marker in Dongoawi: tir tegrande "did they sit?", MASSENBAACH, Wörterbuch des nubischen Kunuzi-Dialektes mit einer grammatischen Einleitung, p.128.

23. a. *er mando aag-s-u*
2SG there sit-PST-2SG
"You were sitting there."
- b. *er mando aag-maa ?*
2SG there sit-PST-Q.PST
"Were you sitting there?"
24. a. *ter mando aag-s-u*
3SG there sit-PST-3SG
"S/he was sitting there."
- b. *ter mando aag-maa ?*
3SG there sit-PST-Q.PST
"Was s/he sitting there?"
25. a. *tir mando aag-s-a*
3PL there sit-PST-3PL
"You were sitting there."
- b. *tir mando aag-s-a-nde ?*
3PL there sit-PST-3PL-Q.PST.3PL
"Were you sitting there?"

It is obvious that interrogative sentences in 20-25 are all affirmative. Note that if the question marker is removed, we obtain a declarative sentence. The question is: what happens to the question markers if the interrogative sentences in 20-25 are negated? In KN, if a verb morpheme *-min-*, *-s-* is immediately replaced with *-ko-(r)-*.¹⁷ Thus the declarative sentences in 20-25 are negated as follows:¹⁸ carrying the tense marker *-s-* is negated by using the negative:

26. a. *ay mando aag-ko-min-i*
1SG there sit-PRF-NEG -1SG
"I didn't sit there."
- b. **ay mando aag-s-min-i*
1SG there sit-PST-NEG -1SG
"I didn't sit there."
27. a. *er mando aag-ko-min-u*
2SG there sit-PRF-NEG-2SG

¹⁷ Note that these two suffixes have different shades of meaning. Both suffixes refer to the past in such sentences like

<i>ter kaa-gi jaan-s-u</i>	<i>ter kaa-gi jaan-ko</i>
3sg house-ACC buy-PRF-3sg	3sg house-ACC buy-PRF
"S/he bought the house" and <i>ter kaa</i>	"S/he bought the house."

In the sentence with the neutral *-r-*, and the speaker is certain about the truth of the statement. In the sentence with *-ko* indicates that the speaker is surprised because it did not expect that the event described by the verb occurred. Delancey (1997) uses the term "mirativity" which refers to unexpected information. Note that Tucker and Bryan (1966:324) describe this suffix in Dongolawi as 'perfect'.

¹⁸ According to Armbruster (1960:298), "a negative particle **munun** or **munan** is used in the formation of negative conjugation of the verb."

"You didn't sit there."

- b. * *er mando aag-s-min-u*
2SG there sit-PST-NEG-2SG
"You didn't sit there."

28. a. *ter mando aag-ko-min-u*
3SG there sit-PRF-NEG-3SG
"S/he didn't sit there."

- b. * *ter mando aag-s-min-u*
3SG there sit-PST-NEG-3SG
"S/he didn't sit there."

29. a. *ar mando aag-ko-min-u*
1PL there sit-PRF-NEG-1PL
"We didn't sit there."

- b. * *ar mando aag-s-min-u*
1PL there sit-PST-NEG-1PL
"We didn't sit there."

30. a. *ir mando aag-ko-min-u*
2PL there sit-PRF-NEG-2PL
"You didn't sit there."

- b. * *ir mando aag-s-min-u*
2PL there sit-PST-NEG-2PL
"You didn't sit there."

31. a. *tir mando aag-ko-min-a*
3PL there sit-PRF-NEG-3PL
"They didn't sit there."

- b. * *tir mando aag-s-min-a*
3PL there sit-PST-neg-3PL
"They didn't sit there."

It is evident that the replacement of *-s* with *-ko* is obligatory under negation. The question that needs an answer is: Is it possible to turn the negative sentences into interrogative by attaching the set of question markers used in the interrogative sentences in 20-25.¹⁹ The ungrammaticality of sentences like 32-37 shows that it is not possible to use question markers with a negation morpheme:²⁰

¹⁹ Armbruster (1960:298) argues that in Dongolawi "the negative interrogative particle- **men** forms part of the negative interrogative sign of predication".

²⁰ Note Massenbach (1961) gives some Dongolawi examples involving the negative morpheme *-men* that is used with the past tense as *ai tegmessi*? "didn't I sit?", *tir tegmessa*? "didn't they sit?". These sentences do not involve any question markers; the final elements are person markers. It is tone that indicates that the sentence is interrogative. Massenbach (1933) goes on to deal

32. * *ay mando aag-ko-min-i-re ?*
1SG there sit-PRF-NEG-1SG-Q
"Didn't I sit there?"
33. * *er mando aag-ko-min-u-maa ?*
2SG there sit-PRF-NEG-2SG-Q
"Didn't you sit there?"
34. * *ter mando aag-ko-min-u-maa ?*
3SG there sit-PRF-NEG-3SG-Q
"Didn't s/he sit there?"
35. * *ar mando aag-ko-min-i-re ?*
1PL there sit-PRF-NEG-1PL-Q
" Didn't we sit there?"
36. * *ir mando aag-ko-min-u-re ?*
2PL there sit-PRF-NEG-2PL-Q
"Didn't you sit there?"
37. * *tir mando aag-ko-min-a-nde ?*
3PL there sit-PRF- NEG-3PL-Q
"Didn't they sit there?"

These negative sentences can be turned into interrogative by way of using a rising tone without attaching any question markers. If the negative morpheme is removed from sentences like 32-37, they will be able to take question markers:

38. *ay mando aag-ko-r-yaa ?*
1SG there sit-PRF-NEU-Q
"Did I sit there?"
39. *er mando aag-ko-naa ?*
2SG there sit-PRF-NEU-Q
"Did you sit there?"
40. *ter mando aag-ko-naa ?*
3SG there sit-PRF-NEU-Q
"Did s/he sit there?"
41. *ar mando aag-ko-r-waa ?*
1PL there sit-PRF-NEU-Q
"Did we sit there?"
42. *ir mando aag-ko-r-waa ?*
2PL there sit-PRF-NEU-Q
"Did you sit there?"

with sentences involving what he calls "Present tense" such as *tir tegmina?* "Don't they sit?" as interrogatives. Note that they contain no question markers. Note how a similar sentence produced with a low tone is glossed in KN: *tir aagmina* "they are not there."; it can be turned in a question if produced with a rising tone: *tir aagmina?* 'Aren't they there?'

43. *tir mando aag-ko-r-naa ?*
3PL there sit-PRF-NEU-Q
"Did they sit there?"

Note that although the sentences with *-ko* refer to a completed past event, they are not associated with the question markers that co-occur with the past tense morpheme *-s*. Rather, they depend on the same set that occurs with the neutral and future tense. This probably substantiates the claim that the morpheme *-r* that occurs after *-ko-* must be a neutral morpheme. It should also be pointed out that in the second person singular, the question marker *-maa* can optionally be used instead of *-naa*:

44. *er mando aag-ko-maa ?*
2SG there sit-PRF-Q
"Did you sit there?"

45. *ter mando aag-ko-maa ?*
3SG there sit-PRF-Q
"Did s/he sit there?"

The difference between these markers is that *-maa* refers to a remote past event, whereas *-naa* refers to a recent event.

It has been shown that non-copular sentences involving the past tense morpheme *-s-* are turned into interrogative by way of attaching the same set of question markers associated with copular construction. The question is: is this also true of non-copular sentences involving the neutral morpheme *-r-*? It seems that the non-copular sentences of which the verb contains the neutral morpheme do not depend on the question markers associated with copular sentences as in 1-6. Rather, a different set of question markers is used: *-yaa*, *-naa*, and *-waa*. Thus if a verb to which the neutral morpheme is attached and has a first person singular subject, the question marker is *-yaa*, as in:

46. a. *ay mando aag-r-i*
1SG there sit-1SG
"I live there."

b. *ay mando aag-r-i-yaa ?*
1SG there sit-1SG-Q
"Do I live there?"

If the subject is second person singular as in 47b, third person singular as in 48b or third person plural as in 49b, the question marker is *-naa*:²¹

47. a. *er mando aag-i*
2SG there sit-NEU-1SG
"You live there."

²¹ In copular sentences involving the neutral morpheme *-r-*, the question marker *-re* is used with second person singular or third person singular/plural subject.

b. *er mando aag-naa ?*
2SG there sit-NEU-2SG-Q
"Do you live there?"

48. a. *ter mando aagi-i*
3SG there sit-NEU-3SG
"S/he live there."

b. *ter mando aag-naa ?*
3SG there sit-NEU-3SG-Q
"Does s/he live there?"

49. a. *tir mando aag-r-a*
3PL there sit-NEU-3PL
"They live there."

b. *tir mando aag-r-a-naa ?*
3PL there sit-NEU-3PL-Q
"Do they live there?"

If the subject is first person plural as in 50b or second person plural 51b, the question marker – *waa* appears at the end of the sentence:

50. a. *ar mando aag-r-u*
1PL there sit-NEU-1PL
"We live there."

b. *ar mando aag-r-u-waa*
1PL there sit-NEU-1PL-Q
"Do we live there?"

51. a. *ir mando aag-r-u*
2PL there sit-NEU-2PL
"You live there."

b. *ir mando aag-r-u-waa*
2PL there sit-NEU-2PL-Q
"Do you live there?"

Further evidence that the use of question markers is associated with the neutral tense marker – *r-* can be seen in the following sentences in which the verb has a future prefix *bi-*. The distribution of the question markers here is exactly like their distribution in sentences like 46-51:

52. a. *ay kaa-r bi-teeg-r-i*
1SG house-LOC FUT-stay-NEU-1SG
"I will stay at the house."

b. *ay kaa-r bi-teeg-r-i-yaa ?*

1SG house-LOC FUT-stay-NEU-1SG-Q
"Shall I stay at the house?"

53. a. *er kaa-r bi-teeg-i*
2SG house-LOC FUT-stay-NEU-2SG
"You will stay at the house."

b. *er kaa-r bi-teeg-naa ?*
2SG house-LOC FUT-stay-NEU-2SG-Q
"Will you stay at the house?"

54. a. *ter kaa-r bi-teeg-i*
3SG house-LOC FUT-stay-3SG
"S/he will stay at the house."

b. *ter kaa-r bi-teeg-naa ?*
3SG house-LOC FUT-stay-Q
"Will s/he stay at the house?"

55. a. *ar kaa-r bi-teeg-r-u*
1PL house-LOC FUT-stay-NEU-1PL
"We will stay at the house."

b. *ar kaa-r bi-teeg-r-u-waa ?*
1PL house-LOC FUT-stay-NEU-1PL-Q
"Shall we stay at the house?"

56. a. *ir kaa-r bi-teeg-r-u*
2PL house-LOC FUT-stay-NEU-2PL
"You will stay at the house."

b. *ir kaa-r bi-teeg-r-u-waa ?*
2PL house-LOC FUT-stay-NEU-2PL-Q
"Will you stay at the house?"

57. a. *tir kaa-r bi-teeg-r-a*
3PL house-LOC FUT-stay-NEU-3PL
"They will stay at the house."

b. *tir kaa-r bi-teeg-r-a-naa ?*
3PL house-LOC FUT-stay-NEU-3PL-Q
"They will stay at the house?"

The analysis of the relationship between negation and the set of question markers used in sentences like 32-37 has shown that they cannot co-occur. Similarly, the set of question markers used in sentences like 52-57 disappear if negation is involved. Put differently, they cannot co-occur with the negative morpheme *-minu*:

58. a. *ay kaa-r bi-teeg-min-i*
1SG house-LOC FUT-stay-NEG-1SG

"I will stay at the house."

b.* *ay kaa-r bi-teeg-min-i-yaa ?*
1SG house-LOC FUT-stay-NEG-1SG-Q
"Shall I stay at the house?"

59. a. *er kaa-r bi-teeg-min-i*
2SG house-LOC FUT-stay-NEG-2SG
"You will stay at the house."

b.* *er kaa-r bi-teeg-min-naa ?*
2SG house-LOC FUT-stay-NEG-2SG-Q
"Will you stay at the house?"

60. a. *ir kaa-r bi-teeg-min-u*
2PL house-LOC FUT-stay-NEG-2PL
"You will stay at the house."

b. * *ir kaa-r bi-teeg-min-u-waa ?*
2PL house-LOC FUT-stay-NEG-2PL-Q
"Will you not stay at the house?"

61. a. *tir kaa-r bi-teeg-min-a*
3PL house-LOC FUT-stay-NEG-3PL
"They will not stay at the house?"

b. **tir kaa-r bi-teeg-min-naa ?*
3PL house-LOC FUT-stay-NEG-3PL-Q
"Will they not stay at the house?"

Sentences like 58-61 show that ungrammatical sentences become grammatical if the question markers are omitted. Thus sentences like 58a and 61a do not need question markers in order to be interrogatives; they can be turned into interrogatives with a rising tone as in 62 and 63:

62. *ir mando aag-min-u ?*
2PL there stay-NEG-2PL
"You do not stay there?"

63. *tir kaa-r bi-teeg-min-a ?*
3PL house-LOC FUT-stay-NEG-3PL
"They will not stay at the house?"

It is evident that the set of question markers *-yaa*, *-naa*, and *-waa* are used with sentences (non-copular construction) involving the neural marker *-r-*. If, however, the neural marker *-r-* is in a copular construction, a different set of question markers are used in interrogative sentences: *-yaa*, *-re*, *-waa*. Another set of question markers are attached to a declarative sentence in which the verb or copular verb is accompanied with the past tense morpheme *-s-*: *re*, *maa*, and *nde*. These facts are illustrated in table 6.

Table 4: KN sets of question markers

Number	Person	COP-r-	-s-	V-r-
SG	1	-yaa	-re	-yaa
	2	-re	-maa	-naa
	3	-re	-maa	-naa
PL	1	-waa	-re	-waa
	2	-waa	-re	-waa
	3	-re	-nde	-naa

Note that the question markers used with a verb involving a neutral morpheme *-r-* are not similar to the list provided by Armbruster (1960:204) who claims that in Dongolawi the marker *-a* is used in the present indicative with all persons except the third person plural, which takes *-de*. Nor are these markers completely compatible with the list provided by Massenbach (1961), who suggests that there are two question markers that are used if the verb is in the present tense: *-a* and *-re* (*-de*). The markers that Massenbach considers alternative forms are obligatory in KN: *-ya* (1st SG), *-wa* (2nd /3rd PL), and *-de* (3rd PL).

Similarly, the markers used with the past tense morpheme are not the same as those provided by Massenbach (1961), who shows that a different set of question markers are used in the past tense, depending on the presence or absence of interrogative pronouns or adverbs (cf. section 1.2 above). If these interrogative pronouns or adverbs are absent in the sentence, the markers are *ma* and *re* (*de*) as in *er tegma?* 'Did you sit?'; *ar tegsure?* 'Did we sit?'; *tir tegsande?* 'Did they sit?' (Massenbach 1933:129). If an interrogative pronoun or adverb is present in the presence, the marker (*u*)*m* is used with the 2nd and 3rd SG as in *minder unduruma*. except that *-re* is not possible if the subject is 1SG: thus the example given by Massenbach (*ai tegsia* "Did I sit?") is not correct in KN (Massenbach 1933:129):

2.2. KN interrogative pronouns

All the examples discussed so far involve interrogative sentences expressed by a question marker. These question markers occupy the sentence-final position. Interrogative sentences can also be introduced by interrogative pronouns, which can optionally be placed at the sentence-initial position. That is, these interrogative pronouns can occupy non-initial position.²²

These interrogative pronouns can occur with or without question markers. Table (3) shows that KN has interrogative

Table 5: KN interrogative pronouns and adverbs

Interrogative Pronouns		interrogative adverbs
SG	PL	<i>saayer</i> "where" <i>mine</i> "how" <i>minnaay</i> "why". <i>sitaaki</i> "when" <i>mukotti</i> "How many" <i>saaykotti</i> "how much"
<i>nii</i> who	<i>nii-gu</i> (who-PL)	
<i>niigi</i> whom	<i>nii-gu-gi</i> (who-PL-ACC)	
<i>saay</i> which	<i>saay-gi</i> (what-ACC)	
<i>saaygi</i>	<i>saaygugi</i> (which-PL-ACC)	
<i>meer</i> what)	<i>mingi</i> (what ACC)	
<i>mee-ki</i>	(what-ACC)	
<i>niigodon</i> with whom		

²² The word "optionally" means that the interrogative pronouns do not occupy necessarily the sentence-initial position. Thus the sentences obtained by Marcus Jaeger from Dabod, Jebel Togog and Ombarkab are not at variance with my statement.

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pronouns and adverbs: it has such interrogative pronouns as *nii* "who", *niigi* "whom", *mea* "what", *meeki* "what", and *saay* "which". Note that the interrogative subject pronoun has two forms: *nii* "who SG" and *nii-gu* "who-PL". Likewise, the interrogative object pronoun has a singular form (*nii-gi* "whom-ACC") and a plural form (*nii-gu-gi* "whom PL-ACC"). KN also has such interrogative adverbs as *saayer* "where", *mine* "how", and *minnaay* "why". In cases where these elements co-occur with question markers, the interrogative takes up the sentence-initial position and the question markers occupy the sentence-final position.²³ If reference is made to a past state or event, the question marker obligatorily co-occurs with the interrogative pronouns in accordance with the rules stated above:

64. a. *nii buru-gi nal-maa ?*
 who girl-ACC see-Q.PST
 "Who saw the girl?"
 b. *nii-gu buru-gi nal-s-a-nde ?*
 who-PL girl-ACC see-PST-3PL-Q
 "Who saw the girl?"
65. a. *nii-gi id nal-maa ?*
 who-ACC man see-Q.PST
 "Whom did the man see?"
 b. *nii-gu-gi tir nal-s-a-nde ?*
 who-PL-ACC they see-PST-3PL-Q.PST
 "Whom did they see?"

Dropping the question marker in sentences like 64-65 renders them ungrammatical, which confirms the obligatory status of these markers:

66. a. **nii buru-gi nal*
 who girl-ACC see
 b. **nii-gu buru-gi nal-s-a*
 who-PL girl-ACC see-PST-3PL
67. a. **niigi id nal*
 who-ACC man see
 b. **nii-gu-gi tir nal-s-a*
 who-PL-ACC man see-PST-3PL

²³ Note that it is possible to place the interrogative pronoun in preverbal position: *buru-gi nii nal-maa ?* (girl-ACC who see-Q.PST).

However, the removal of the interrogative pronouns from sentences like 64a-b does not render the sentences ungrammatical:

68. a. *buru-gi nal-maa ?*
girl-ACC see-Q.PST
"Did s/he see the girl?"
- b. *buru-gi nal-s-a-nde ?*
girl-ACC see-PST-3PL-Q.PST
"Did they see the girl?"

Likewise, if the interrogative pronoun is used in a copular sentence in which the adjective or noun refers to a present state, it is obligatorily accompanied with a question marker; any attempt to remove it will produce ungrammatical sentences:

69. a. *nii ašir-re/ *ašir*
who beautiful-Q/beautiful
"Who is beautiful?"
- b. *nii adel-re/ *adel*
who good-Q/good
"Who is good?"

If the interrogative pronoun occurs with a verb that has the neutral tense suffix *-r-* and/or the future prefix *bi-*, no question markers appear on the verb as in:

70. a. *nii mando aagi*
who there stay
"Who stays there?"
- b. *nii-gu mando aag-r-a*
who-PL there stay-NEU-3pl
"Who stay there?"
71. a. *nii kaa-gi bi-jaan-i*
who house-ACC FUT-buy-3sg
"Who will buy the house?"
- b. *niigu kaa-gi bi-jaan-r-a*
who house-ACC FUT-buy-NEU-3sg
"Who will buy the house?"

Note that if a question marker is attached to the verb in the sentences like 70-71, the sentences will be rendered ungrammatical:

72. a. * *nii mando aag-naa*
who there stay-Q
"Who stays there?"

b. *nii-gu mando aag-r-a-naa
who-PL there stay-NEU-3pl-Q
"Who stay there?"

73. a. *nii kaa-gi bi-jaan-i-naa
who house-ACC FUT-buy-Q
"Who Will stay there?"

b. *nii-gu kaa-gi bi-jaan-r-a-naa
who-PL house-ACC FUT-buy-NEU-3pl-Q
"Will they buy the house?"

Sentences like 72-73 can be rendered grammatical if the interrogative pronouns are omitted, which indicates that in such sentences the question markers can occur without the interrogative pronouns, but not vice versa:

74. a. mando aag-naa ?
there stay-Q
"Does he stay there?"

b. mando aag-r-a-naa ?
there stay-NEU-3pl-Q
"Do they stay there?"

75. a. kaa-gi bi-jaan-naa ?
house-ACC FUT-buy-Q
"Will s/he stay there?"

b. kaa-gi bi-jaan-r-a-naa ?
house-ACC FUT-buy-NEU-3pl-Q
"Will they buy the house?"

To recapitulate, the question markers obligatorily co-occur with the interrogative pronouns (a) if reference is made to a past state/event or (b) if the interrogative pronoun is used in a copular sentence in which reference is made to a present state. Note, however, that in such cases the question marker can be used without the interrogative pronoun, but the interrogative pronoun cannot be used without the question marker. It has also been pointed out that there are cases where these elements cannot co-occur: (a) if the interrogative pronoun occurs with a verb that has the neutral tense suffix *-r-* and/or the future prefix *bi-*; no question markers appear on the verb in such cases.

A few words concerning the other interrogative pronouns are in order. Note that the rule concerning the co-occurrence of question markers and interrogative pronouns is applicable to all interrogative pronouns; for example, the interrogative pronoun *meer* "what" is used to refer to a subject, whereas *meeki* "what" is associated with an object:

76. a. *meer in-gi toog-maa ?*

what this-ACC break-Q.PST
"What broke this?"

b. *meeki er toog-maa ?*
what 2SG break-Q.PST
"What did you break?"

In this example both the interrogative pronoun *meer* or *meeki* and the question marker *-maa* co-occur. This is because a past event is referred to.

The same thing can be said about interrogative adverbs. The following examples show when interrogative adverbs and question markers co-occur. Note that sentences like 77a-81a refer to past events and the sentences like 77b-81b to non-past events. They cannot co-occur if reference is to a non-past event:

77. a. *sitaaki id buru-gi nal-maa*
when man girl-ACC see-Q.PST
"When did the man see the girl?"

b. *sitaaki id buru-gi bil-nal-i*
when man girl-ACC FUT-see-3SG
"When did the man see the girl?"

78. a. *saayer id buru-gi nal-maa*
where man girl-ACC see-Q.PST
"Where did the man see the girl?"

b. *saayer id buru-gi bi-nal-i*
where man girl-ACC FUT-see-3SG
"Where will the man see the girl?"

79. a. *mine tood buru-gi jom-maa*
how boy girl-ACC hit-Q.PST
"How did the boy hit the girl?"

b. *mine tood buru-gi bi-jom-i*
how boy girl-ACC FUT-hit-3SG
"How will the boy hit the girl?"

80. a. *minnaay tood mando aag-maa?*
why boy there stay-Q.PST
"Why did the boy stay there?"

b. *minnaay tood mando aag-i*
why boy there stay-3SG
"Why does the boy stay there?"

81. a. *tood saay buru-gi jom-maa*
boy which girl-ACC hit-Q.PST
"Which boy hit the girl?"

- b. * *tood saay buru-gi bi-jom-i*
boy which girl-ACC FUT-hit-3SG
"Which boy will hit the girl?"

There is a situation in which a focused interrogative pronoun can be immediately followed by a question marker. In the following examples, the focused interrogative pronoun *nitterre* contains the question marker *-re*. This does not prevent the use of a question marker at the end of the sentence if the sentence refers to a past event:

82. a. *nii-terre buru-gi nal-maa ?*
who-CF girl-ACC see-Q.PST
"Who saw the girl?"

b. *nii-terre buru-gi bi-ed-il ?*
who-CF.Q girl-ACC FUT-marry-REL
"Who will marry the girl?"

Note that (81b) does not involve the question marker *-maa* because the verb refers to a future event. In contrast, the question marker *-maa* in 81a is obligatorily used: its omission will render the sentence ungrammatical:

83. **nii-terre buru-gi nal*
Who-CF girl-ACC see

2.3 Indirect questions in KN

The interrogative sentences discussed so far are all direct. In other words, these questions are directly delivered to the addressee who is expected to respond in accordance with the question type: content questions seek information concerning the element enquired about. In contrast, bipolar questions require yes or no answers. African languages are reported to have indirect questions, in which "a relative clause would be used with a generic head noun" (Watters 2000:205). KN has the morpheme *-baa*, which is used if the speaker is not delivering a direct question. This suffix is placed at the end of the sentence right after the question marker:

84. a. *tood adel-re ?*
boy good-Q.COP.PRS
"Is the boy good?"

b. *tood adel-re-baa ?*
boy good-Q.COP.PRS-INDIQ
"I was wondering whether the boy is good"

85. a. *een meew-re ?*
woman pregnant-Q.COP.PRS
"Is the woman pregnant?"

b. *een meew-re-baa ?*
woman pregnant-Q.COP.PRS INDIQ
"I was wondering if the woman is pregnant"

Note that the question in sentences like 83a and 84a is a direct yes/no question. For example, in 85a, the speaker is asking the addressee whether the woman is pregnant. The speaker expects a response from the addressee. In contrast, sentences like 83b and 84b are not direct questions. In sentences like 84b, for example, the speaker is wondering whether the woman is pregnant: s/he does not expect an answer from the addressee. When native speakers were asked about the difference between sentences like 84a and 84b, they agreed that in 84b the speaker is addressing himself and does not wait for an answer.

The form *-baa* is attested with verbs in the past, future or neutral:

86. a. *ter een-gi jom-maa-baa ?*
3SG woman-ACC hit-Q.PST.3SG-INDIQ
"I was wondering whether s/he hit the woman."
- b. *tir mando bi-juu-r-naa-baa ?*
3PL there FUT-go-NEU-Q.3PL-INDIQ
"I was wondering whether they will go there."
- c. *tir mando aag-r-a-naa-baa ?*
3PL there stay-NEU-3PL-Q.3PL-INDIQ
"I was wondering whether they stay there."

Note that *-baa* cannot be used if the subject is second person:

87. a. **er een-gi jom-maa-baa ?*
2SG woman-ACC hit-Q.PST.2SG-INDIQ
"I was wondering whether you hit the woman."
- b. **er mando bi-juu-naa-baa ?*
2SG there FUT-go-Q.2SG-INDIQ
"I was wondering whether you will go there."
- c. **er mando aag-naa-baa ?*
2SG there stay-Q.2SG-INDIQ
"I was wondering whether you stay there."

The reason why the form *-baa* cannot be used with a second person subject is because the pronouns *er* or *ir* are used to directly address a participant. In such cases a direct question is appropriate. The form *-baa* is used to talk about entities that do not take part in conversation. Thus the removal of *-baa* is expected to render sentences like 86a-c grammatical as in:

88. a. *er een-gi jom-maa ?*
2SG woman-ACC hit-Q.PST.2SG
"Did you hit the woman?"
- b. *er mando bi-juu-naa ?*
2SG there FUT-go-Q.2SG
"Will you go there?"
- c. *er mando aag-naa ?*
2SG there stay-Q.2SG
"Do you stay there?"

All the sentences with *-baa* involve interrogative pronouns. The question is: does *-baa* co-occur with such pronouns as *nii* or *nii-gi*. The following examples illustrate that they do:

89. a. *nii buru-gi nal-maa-baa ?*
Who girl-ACC see-Q.PST.3SG-INDIQ
"I wonder who hit the girl."

b. *nii-gi id jom-maa-baa?*
Who-ACC man hit-Q.PST.3SG-INDIQ
"I wonder whom the man hit."

90. a. *nii buru-gi bi-ed-naa-baa ?*
Who girl-ACC FUT-marry-Q.3SG-INDIQ
"I wonder who will marry the girl."
b. *nii mando aag-naa-baa ?*
who there stay-Q.3SG INDIQ
"I wonder who stays there."

2.4 Question formation in compound and complex sentences

All the examples discussed in the previous sections involve monoclausal or simple sentences. This section introduces KN compound and complex sentences and shows how they are turned into interrogative sentences.

2.4.1 Compound sentences

Watters (2000:217) characterizes the languages that use coordination as "those that formally indicate the linkage between two clauses by using a coordinating word such as 'and' for conjunction...". KN has compound sentences in which two clauses are coordinated.²⁴ Consider the following sentence:

91. *id-goon too taa-s-u een-goon*
man-CO enter come-PST-3SG woman-CO
bel-s-u
go-out-PST-3SG
"The man came in and the woman went out."

In sentences like 90 the coordinator *-goon* or one of its phonologically conditioned allomorphs *-toon*, *-koon*, *-coon* appears after the subject of each clause. Thus it occurs after *id* "man" in the first clause and after *een* "woman" in the second. If sentences like 90 are turned into interrogative, the question marker is attached to the end of each clause:

92. *id-goon too-maa een-goon*
man-CO enter-come-Q.PST.3SG woman-CO
bel-maa ?
go-out-Q.PST.3SG

²⁴ Fadicca is like KN in that it "has an indigenous coordinator: **-goon** or one of its phonologically conditioned allomorphs (**-toon**, **-koon**, **-coon**). In Fadicca, the coordinator appears after each coordinand," (Abdel-Hafiz 2010:4).

"Did the man come in and did the woman go out?"

If the interrogative pronoun is used, it occupies the position of the constituent it inquires about. The question marker remains unchanged in the two clauses of the sentence. Thus the subject pronoun *nii* is expected to take the position of the subject of the two clauses in 91 as in:

93. *nii-goon to taa-maa nii-goon*
who-CO enter come-Q.PST.3SG who-CO
bel-maa ?
go-out- Q.PST.3SG
"Who came in and who went out?"

2.4.2 Complex sentences

Complex sentences "involve the linking of two or more clauses in which one clause is the 'main' or 'matrix' clauses and the other is the secondary (i.e. 'subordinate', 'dependent', or 'embedded') clause." Watters 2000:217). KN has different types of complex sentences. All of them contain a subordinate and a main clause. The subordinate clause can be characterized as adverbial clause, a noun clause or a relative clause. All these types can be turned into interrogative by having the question marker attached to the end of the main rather than the subordinate clause. Consider the following complex sentences in which the subordinate clause is adverbial:²⁵

94. *ogj-i buru-gi jom-r-a-n-ga*
man-PL girl-ACC hit-NEU-3PL-SUB-because
een oyy-s-u
woman cry-PST-3SG
"Because the men hit the girl, the woman cried."

95. *tood oddi-n-go taa-s-u*
boy sick-SUB come-PST-3sg
"Although the boy was sick, he came."

Sentences like 94 show that the subordinate clause *ogj-i buru-gi jom-r-a-n-ga* provides the reason for the event referred to in the main clause. Note that *-ga* indicates that the clause refers to the reason why s/he left. As for sentences like 95, they contain a clause of concession or contrast *tood oddi-n-go* functioning as a subordinate clause. This is indicated by the form *-go*. These declarative sentences can be interrogative by having a question marker at the end of the main clause:

96. *ogj-i buru-gi jom-r-a-n-ga*
man-PL girl-ACC hit-NEU-3PL-SUB-because
een oyy-maa ?
woman cry-Q.PST.3SG
"Did the woman cry because the men hit the girl?"
97. *tood oddi-n-go taa-maa ?*
boy sick-SUB-although come-PST-Q.PST.3sg
"Did the boy come although he was sick?"

Note that the question marker in sentences like 96 and 97 is placed at the end of the main clause. If it is placed at the end of the subordinate clause, the sentences are rendered ungrammatical:

98. **ogj-i buru-gi jom-r-a-n-ga-maa*
man-PL girl-ACC hit-NEU-3PL-SUB-because-Q.PST
een oyy-s-u ?
woman cry-PST-3SG
"Did the woman cry because the men hit the girl?"

99. **tood oddi-n-go-maa taa-s-u ?*
boy sick-SUB-although-Q.PST.3sg come-PST-3SG
"Did the boy come although he was sick?"

KN also has complex sentences in which a clause functions as object as in:

100. *id buru-gi jom-s-i-n-gi nal-s-a*
man girl-ACC hit-PST-3sg-SUB-ACC see-PST-3PL
Lit. "They saw that the man hit the girl."

In sentences like 100 the clause *id buru-gi jom-s-i-n-gi* is subordinate as indicated by the suffix *-n* and the accusative *-gi*, which indicates that the whole clause functions as object. It should be noted that sentences like 98 can be interrogative by attaching the question marker to the end of the main clause:

101. *id buru-gi jom-s-i-n-gi nal-s-a-nde ?*
man girl-ACC hit-PST-3sg-SUB-ACC see-PST-3PL-Q.3PL
Lit. "Did they see that the man hit the girl?"

The noun clause in sentences like 98 should not be confused with the relative clause in which the subject is relativized:

102. *id buru-gi jom-el-gi nal-s-a*
man girl-ACC hit-REL-ACC see-PST-3PL
"They saw the man who hit the girl."

In sentences like 100, "they" saw the whole event as it occurred: the man hitting the girl. In contrast, sentences like 102 indicate that they saw the man who hit the girl. They may have not seen the actual hitting of the girl. Sentences like 102 can be turned into interrogative by way of attaching the question marker to the end of the main clause:

103. *id buru-gi jom-el-gi nal-s-a-nde ?*
man girl-ACC hit-REL-ACC see-PST-3PL
"Did they see the man who hit the girl?"

Note that the subordinate clauses can be associated with a negative question marker –*me* "isn't it..."²⁶ The marker –*me*, which also highlights the subordinate clause, is attached to the final element in the subordinate clause: –*ga* as in 104, –*go* as in 105, the accusative form –*gi* as in 104-105. That –*me* is a question marker is evidenced by its occurrence without any other question markers. Sentences like 104-107 show that If any other question marker is used, the sentences are rendered ungrammatical:

104. *ogj-i buru-gi jom-r-a-n-ga-me*
 man-PL girl-ACC hit-NEU-3PL-SUB-CAUS-Q.NEG.FOC
*een oyy-s-u/*maa ?*
 woman cry-PST-3SG
 Lit. "Isn't it because the men hit the girl that the woman cried?"
105. *tood oddi-n-go me taa-s-u ?*
 boy sick-SUB-although Q.NEG.FOC come-PST-3sg
 Lit. "Isn't it despite his sickness that the boy came?"
106. *id buru-gi jom-s-i-n-gi me*
 man girl-ACC hit-PST-3sg-SUB-ACC Q.NEG.FOC
*nal-s-a/*nde ?*
 see-PST-3PL
 Lit. "Isn't it that the man hit the girl that they saw?"
107. *id buru-gi jom-el-gi me*
 man girl-ACC hit-REL-ACC Q.NEG.FOC
*nal-s-a/*nde ?*
 see-PST-3PL
 Lit. "Isn't it the man who hit the girl that they saw?"

Like compound sentences, complex sentences may involve an interrogative pronoun occupying the position of the element it represents in the main clause. Note, however, that whether the main clause and the subordinate clause have the same subject or different subjects, the interrogative pronoun can optionally be placed at the beginning of either clause. Thus in sentences like 108a, 109a, 110a, and 111a the interrogative pronoun *nii* takes the position of the main clause subject. However, sentences like 108b, 109b, 110b, and 111b show that the interrogative pronoun can be placed at the beginning of a subordinate clause even if the subordinate clause has its own subject. The question markers are shown to be obligatory whenever an interrogative pronoun is used: the removal of the question marker results in ungrammaticality.²⁷

108. a *nii oyy-maa ogj-i buru-gi jom-r-*
 who cry-Q.PST.3SG man-PL girl-ACC hit-NEU-

²⁶ –*me* is probably the negative interrogative counterpart of the KN contrastive focus marker –*ma*. But note that –*ma* is used to focus an indefinite nominal *id-ma buru-gi jom-el* "man.CF.INDF girl-ACC hit-REL.PST" which means "It is a man who hit the girl". If –*me*, which is used with definite nominals, replaces –*ma* in this sentence, an interrogative negative sentence is produced: *id-me buru-gi jom-s-u ?* "man.Q.NEG.CF girl-ACC hit-PST-3SG", which means "Isn't it the man who hit the girl?".

²⁷ The asterisk outside the brackets means the sentence is ungrammatical without the bracketed element.

a-n-ga ?

3PL-SUB-CAUS

"Who cried because the men hit the girl?"

- b. *nii ogj-i buru-gi jom-r-a-n-ga*
who man-PL girl-ACC hit-NEU-3PL-SUB- CAUS
oyy-(maa)* ?
cry-Q.PST.3SG
"Who cried because the men hit the girl?"

109. a. *oddi-n-go nii taa-maa* ?
sick-SUB-although who come-PST-Q.PST.3sg
"Who came in spite of sickness?"

- b. *nii oddi-n-go taa-*(maa)* ?
who sick-SUB-although come-PST-Q.PST.3sg
"Who came in spite of sickness?"

110. a. *id buru-gi jom-s-i-n-gi nii-gu*
man girl-ACC hit-PST-3sg-SUB-ACC who-PL
nal-s-a-nde ?
see-PST-3PL-Q.3PL
Lit." Who saw that the man hit the girl?"

- b. *nii-gu id buru-gi jom-s-i-n-gi*
who-PL man girl-ACC hit-PST-3sg-SUB-ACC
nal-s-a-(nde)* ?
see-PST-3PL-Q.3PL
Lit." Who saw that the man hit the girl?"

111. a. *id buru-gi jom-el-gi nii-gu*
man girl-ACC hit-REL-ACC who-PL
nal-s-a-nde ?
see-PST-3PL-Q.3PL
"Did they see the man who hit the girl?"

- b. *nii-gu id buru-gi jom-el-gi*
who-PL man girl-ACC hit-REL-ACC
nal-s-a-(nde)* ?
see-PST-3PL Q.3PL
"Did they see the man who hit the girl?"

The examples discussed so far indicate that the interrogative pronoun *nii* stands for the main clause subject. In sentences like 94, *ogji* "man-PL" is the subject of the subordinate clause, whereas *een* "woman" is the main clause subject. In sentences like 108a *nii* stands for *ogji*, which is the subject of the main clause. The following sentence, which is the interrogative analogue of 94, the interrogative pronoun *nii-gu* represents the subordinate clause subject:

112. *nii-gu buru-gi jom-r-a-n-ga*
 who-PL girl-ACC hit-NEU-3PL-SUB-because
een oyy-maa ?
 woman cry-Q.PST.3SG
 Lit. "Because who hit the girl did the woman cry?"

The following sentences, however, illustrate the possibility of questioning the object of a subordinate clause: the object *buru-gi* "girl-ACC" is being represented by the interrogative pronoun *nii-gi* "who-ACC". Note that the interrogative pronoun can occupy the position of the nominal it stands for as in 113a or it can appear at sentence-initial position as in 111b:

- 113.a. *ogj-i nii-gi jom-r-a-n-ga*
 man-PL girl-ACC hit-NEU-3PL-SUB-because
een oyy-maa
 woman cry-Q.PST.3SG
 Lit. "Because whom the men hit the girl, did the woman cry?"
- b. *nii-gi ogj-i jom-r-a-n-ga*
 girl-ACC man-PL hit-NEU-3PL-SUB-because
een oyy-maa
 woman cry-Q.PST.3SG
 Lit. "Because whom the men hit the girl, did the woman cry?"

4. Conclusion

KN grammars lack a thorough discussion of interrogative pronouns and question markers. This study has attempted to characterize KN question formation strategies: interrogative pronouns and question markers. It has been argued that the question markers are divided into three sets. The morphosyntactic conditions for the use of these markers have been explained. The study has also provided a list of interrogative pronouns that can occur with or without the question markers. Interrogative pronouns are obligatorily accompanied by question markers if reference is made to a past event expressed by a verb to which the past morpheme *-s-* is attached. However, only question markers are used if the sentence involves the neutral morpheme *-r-* or the future morpheme *bi-*. It has also been shown that the interrogative sentences in this language can be indirect if the form *-baa* is attached to the question markers.

Moreover, it has been shown that both compound and complex sentences are turned into interrogatives via the same question strategies used in simple sentences. A question marker in compound sentences appears at the end of each coordinand or an interrogative pronoun occupying the same position of the constituent it represents in the corresponding declarative compound sentence. As for complex sentences, there are two ways to form questions: (a) a question marker appears only at the end of the main clause or a negative focus-question marker can be used at the end of the subordinate clause. (b) an interrogative pronoun occupies the same position of the constituent it represents in the corresponding declarative sentence or it can be placed at sentence-initial position.

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