

NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE IN NUBRI

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This paper is a preliminary investigation of the nominal morphology and noun phrase structures of Nubri, a Tibetan variety spoken in the northern Gorkha. Nubri shares a number of inflectional and derivational features with Tibetan languages, such as Kyirong Tibetan. Like its close Tibetan varieties, a number of modifiers such as, genitive-marked nouns, demonstratives, relative clauses etc. precede the head nouns, whereas some other modifiers, such as article, emphatic marker, numerals etc. follow them in the noun phrase.

Keywords: Nubri, noun phrase, premodification, postmodification

1. Introduction and typological features

Nubri is spoken in Tsum Nubri Village Council in the northern Gorkha. The 'Nubripas' (Nubri people) have been recorded as one of the nationalities of Nepal as 'Larke'. Although Nubri is enumerated as a distinct language in *Ethnologue* and *Glottolog*, this is not enumerated as a distinct language in 2001 census.¹ There are a few studies associated directly to the Nubri language (Webster 1992; Dhakal 2018a, Dhakal 2018b, Tamang and Rai 2018, Donohue 2018) among others. The genetic classification proposed in Bradley (1997) is given in Figure 1.

Tibeto-Burman
 Western TB
 Central Bodish/Tibetan
 Central
 gTsang
 Lho, **NUBRI**, Gyalsumdo

Figure 1: Genetic classification of Nubri (Bradley 1997: 5)

Similarly, Tournadre (2016) also mentions that Nubri is spoken along the Sino-Nepalese border, and he classifies this in 'South Western Section' based on the 'geolinguistic continuum'. Bielmeyer et al. (2008) has compared the Tibetan dialects spoken in Nepal-Tibet border and provides a phonemic inventory of Nubri words.

A recent sociolinguistic survey (Tamang and Rai 2018) reveals a number of facts related to the Nubri language. One of the features it points out is the speech variations in different villages where it is spoken. There seems to be speech variations of the Nubri language when a few selected words are compared. Table 1 shows the variations at lexical level in different villages.

¹ The ISO code of Nubri as mentioned in *Ethnologue* is (ISO 639-3), and this is listed as (nubr1241) in Glottolog. Ethnologue estimates that the number of Nubri speakers is around 2000.

Table 1: Comparison of some lexical items²

English	Namrung	Lho	Sama
hair	ʃä	ʃä	r ^h ä
face	ŋōdoŋ	honoŋ	dz ^h iŋen
nose	narki	narki	natu
elbow	rúdzuma	rúdzuma	puŋba
palm	para	para	thil
knife	djù	djù	djuku
river	tsāŋpo	tsaŋbo	luŋba

The sociolinguistic survey shows that the variety spoken in Sama is distinct compared to the varieties spoken in some other villages (Tamang and Rai 2018). This is further corroborated by the observation of Donohue (2017)³. The language bears the characteristics of 'Sinospheric' languages (Matisoff 1990; 2007: 2-3). Nubri is tonal (cf. Hildebrandt 2007), heavily monosyllabic, and makes use of less morphology. It is an SOV language. The comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are morphologically derived. The clauses can be combined with the sequence of verbs known as 'serial verbs' (see examples 21, 83). The agreement pattern of verbs loosely follows the 'conjunct' and 'disjunct' (cf. Hale 1980, Hargreaves 2005; DeLancey 2003a, 2003b). It is not apparent yet whether it distinguishes the kind of verb agreement system known as 'conjunct' vs. 'disjunct' like that in classical and Lhasa Tibetan, or has some innovations. The copulas are used to express evidentiality and other tense and aspect system (Dhakal 2018b). The detailed analysis of the finite verbs in Nubri is yet to be investigated.

2. Data and methodology

The data for this study were obtained from direct elicitation. Moreover, the sentences from a text have been examined to further confirm the nature of the noun phrases that actually occur in the texts. The data for this study mainly come from the speakers from Prok village in the northern the Gorkha. The analysis of the noun phrase in Nubri is primarily based on Dryer (2007).

3. Nouns: introduction

Nubri contains plain and honorific nouns, like in other Tibetan varieties (cf. DeLancey 1998). While the plain nouns are used to refer to ordinary people and items, the honorific nouns are particularly employed to refer to the monks and monasteries. In addition to religious contexts, honorific vocabularies (nouns) are intended "respect is intended according to social and according to the rules of social behaviour" (Koshal 1979: 79). Examples (1) present sets of nouns that contrast between plain and honorific forms.

² The table is based on the data presented in Tamang and Rai (2018).

³ Donohue (March 9, 2018, personal communication) points out that there might be as much as five different variations of Nubri.

(1)	Plain	Honrific
'leg'	<i>kaŋba</i>	<i>ʃap</i>
'water'	<i>tʃhu</i>	<i>tʃhap</i>
'speech'	<i>kē</i>	<i>suŋké</i>
'hair'	<i>ʈa</i>	<i>uʈa</i>
'cap'	<i>ʃamu</i>	<i>uʃa</i>
'face'	<i>ŋonoŋ</i>	<i>ʃaldon</i>
'liquor'	<i>arak</i>	<i>phy</i>
'spoon'	<i>khjumuk</i>	<i>solkhim</i>
'plate'	<i>thaliŋ</i>	<i>solther</i>
'shoes'	<i>kaptʃa</i>	<i>ʃaplam</i>
'shirt'	<i>totaŋ</i>	<i>naŋmsa</i>

Although we can get a number of monosyllabic nouns in Nubri, there are polysyllabic nouns as well. Some polysyllabic nouns in Nubri are given in (2).

- (2) *phakpa* 'pig'
ghuri 'cat'
bale 'bread'
balba 'frog'

3.1 Formation of nouns

Nouns are derived by using the diminutive suffix *-tuk*, and *-ruk*. These suffixes are conditioned by phonological environments. The derivation of diminutive noun is rather limited, and applies only to a small set of nouns (3).

- (3) *ki* 'dog' *kiptuk* 'puppy'
phakpa 'pig' *phaktuk* 'piglet'
ghuri 'cat' *ghutuk* 'kitten'
dzhō 'hen' *dzhiptuk* 'chicken'

In addition, there is a diminutive form of the noun that ends in *-ui*, such as *ra* 'goat', *ru* 'small/young goat'⁴. The derivational suffix might be linked to derivational suffix *-tuku* in some Tibetan languages⁵. Heine and Kuteva (2004: 640) note that 'the diminutive suffix denotes the young of an animal or small token denoted by the base noun.

Some place nouns are derived by using the nominalizing suffix *-sa*. Although this suffix is fairly productive in deriving nouns in some other languages (DeLancey 1999), it is not very productive in Nubri. Examples are given in (4).

- (4) *ʃe* 'eat' *ʃesa* 'pot for eating'
kol 'boil' *kolsa* 'pot for boiling'
tse: 'play' *tse:sa* 'playground'

⁴The suffix *-u* may be related to the noun *bu* 'son' as noted in Huber (2002: 68).

⁵ The suffix *-tuk* as a diminutive suffix is also found in Gyalsumdo (Dhakal 2015: 9), in which this is derived from the word *tuku* 'child'.

The suffix *-sa* is also used in relative clause formation. The derivational suffix *-sa* has its connection to the word 'earth' in Tibetan languages (DeLancey 1999), and this is true in Nubri as well.

Some nouns are derived by using the nominalizing suffix *-pa*. The nouns derived by using the suffix *-pa* refer to the inhabitant nouns in Nubri (5-6).

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| (5) | <i>bø</i> 'Tibet' | <i>bøpa</i> 'Tibetan' |
| | <i>tsum</i> 'Tsum' | <i>tsumpa</i> 'inhabitant of Tsum' |
| | <i>jul</i> 'village' | <i>julpa</i> 'villagers' |
| | <i>roj</i> 'low land' | <i>rojpa</i> 'man from lowland' |

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|--------------|------------|-----------|
| (6) | <i>tsum-ba-gja</i> | <i>gompa</i> | <i>ʃaŋ</i> | <i>re</i> |
| | Tsum-NMLZ-PL | monastery | build | COP |
| | 'The Tsum people built the monastery.' | | | |

The nouns mentioned in (5-6) are derived from nouns. In addition, the derivational suffix *-pa* is also suffixed to verbs to derive nouns. We obtained only a few nouns derived by using the derivational suffix *-pa* in Nubri. However, this is reported as a common process in other Tibetan varieties, such as Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2002: 64).

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (7) | <i>tshoŋ</i> 'sell' | <i>tshoŋpa</i> 'seller' |
| | <i>khur</i> 'carry' | <i>khurpa</i> 'porter' |

A more productive derivational suffix in Nubri is *-tsi*, or *-tse* which is used to derive nouns of various sorts. Some derived nouns are given in (8).

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| (8) | <i>jul</i> 'village' | <i>jultse</i> 'villager' |
| | <i>par</i> 'photo' | <i>partse</i> 'camera' |
| | <i>ghon</i> 'to wear' | <i>ghontsi</i> 'clothes' |
| | <i>thunŋ</i> 'to drink' | <i>thunŋtsi</i> 'drink' |
| | <i>ʃe</i> 'to eat' | <i>ʃetsi</i> 'food stuff' |

In addition to derivation of nouns, nouns are also formed by compounding in Nubri. Most of them are coordinate nouns in which both of the nouns act as heads. We see that *jul* 'village', and *mi* 'man' both occur to refer to 'villager' (9).

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| (9) | <i>jul</i> 'village' | <i>mi</i> 'man' | <i>julmi</i> 'villager' |
| | <i>ʃa</i> 'god' | <i>khay</i> 'house' | <i>ʃakhay</i> 'heaven' |
| | <i>ʃa</i> 'god' | <i>mu</i> 'daughter' | <i>ʃamu</i> 'god daughter' |
| | <i>mik</i> 'eye' | <i>ʃhul</i> 'deceive' | <i>mikʃhul</i> 'magic' |
| | <i>mik</i> 'eye' | <i>pu</i> 'hair' | <i>mikpu</i> 'eyebrow' |
| | <i>sa</i> 'earth' | <i>num</i> 'oil' | <i>sanum</i> 'kerosene' |
| | <i>narki</i> 'nose' | <i>ʃuk</i> 'dragon' | <i>namʃuk</i> 'mucous' |
| | <i>mik</i> 'eye' | <i>ʃhu</i> 'water' | <i>mikʃhu</i> 'tear' |
| | <i>lanpo</i> 'bull' | <i>tshembo</i> 'big' | <i>lanpotshe</i> 'elephant' |
| | <i>ʃiŋ</i> 'wood' | <i>pu</i> 'insect' | <i>ʃiŋpu</i> 'termite' |
| | <i>sa</i> 'earth' | <i>gul</i> 'shake' | <i>sangul</i> 'earthquake' |

It is relevant to mention that Nubri does not have a grammatical gender. However, there are some masculine nouns that begin with *p-*, and some feminine nouns that begin with *m-*. Some examples follow (10).

- (10) *magen* 'old woman' *pagen* 'old man'
matshap 'substitute mother' *phatshap* 'substitute father'
t/hau 'grand son' *t/höu* 'grand daughter'

3.2 Nominal inflections

The nouns in Nubri inflect for emphasis, number, and case⁶. The emphasis suffix *-kar* is attached to the nouns as shown in (11-12).

- (11) *palten* *daŋ* *nima* *ni-kar* *khim-la* *bu-soŋ*
Palten and Nima two-EMPH house-LOC go-PST.DJ
‘Both Palten and Nima went home.’
- (12) *ŋa* *bhō* *dzupa* *ni-kar-la* *arak* *tē-hin*
1SG girl thin two-EMPH-DAT liquor give-PST.CJ
‘I gave liquor to both of the girls.’

The plural suffix is *-kja/-gja* in Nubri as shown in (13).

- (13) *ŋa* *bhitsa-kja* *fi* *siŋ* *joŋo*
1SG child-PL die finish COP.POSSIBILITY
‘My children might have died.’

Nubri is an ergative absolutive language, but the ergative marker occurs rarely with the agent of the transitive verbs. The ergative, instrumental, and genitive case marker is *-ki*, and the locative, absolutive is *-la*. These case markers are also common in other Tibetan varieties spoken in the same geographical region, such as Lowa and Gyalsumdo (cf. Dhakal 2015, 2018b). The ablative marker is *-ni*, and the allative is *-thu*. Despite the fact that the numeral classifier occurs in (14b), this is not present in (14a).

The numeral classifier optionally occurs with the numerals. In other words, while some numerals take the classifier, others do not. First of all, let's consider the following examples in which we see the presence and absence of classifier. The classifier follows the noun in (14b) but is absent in (14a).

- (14) a. *tā* *ni* *lep-dzoŋ*
horse two come-PST.DJ
‘Two horses came.’
- b. *bhō* *sum-bo* *lep-dzoŋ*
girls three-CLF come-PST.DJ
‘Three girls came.’

⁶ Although the purpose of this article is to explore the noun phrase structure in Nubri, only a brief discussion of the nominal inflection is given here aiming to provide some background information.

4. Noun phrase

The noun phrase taken in this article 'a syntactic constituent' (Dryer 2007: 151), and is mainly based on typological frame. Both the premodifiers, and postmodifiers take part in the noun phrase in Nubri. While discussing the noun phrase structure, we discuss the noun phrase head, and then different constituents that occur as pre-modifiers, and postmodifiers.

The pronouns, noun alone, or the noun with modifiers form the noun phrases in Nubri. Example (15) has a pronoun as an NP, example (16) has a noun without any modifiers, and examples (17,18) contain the NPs with numerals, and adjective as a modifier respectively. Additionally, the example in (19) contains the NP without any noun as head, and is thus 'headless'.

(15) kho bu-soŋ
3SG go-PST.DJ
'He went.'

(16) balan ra nanla duk
cow animal.shed inside COP
'The cow is in an animal shed.'

(17) ŋa tā ni-di thik khor-hin
1SG horse two-DEF pull ake-PST.CJ
'I led two horses.'

(18) ŋa ra ghjawa tʃik ɲo-hin
1SG goat fat one buy-PST.CJ
'I bought the fat goats.'

(19) ŋa ghjawa tʃikpe ɲo-hin dzupa di me-ɲo
1SG fat only buy-PST.CJ thin DEF NEG-buy
'I only bought the fat one, not the thin one.'

There are a number of elements which form the noun phrases. Givón (2001: 2) mentions that both the bound forms and independent lexical items occur in noun phrase structures. The bound morphemes include (such as classifiers, number, case markers, and demonstratives/articles). In addition, the independent lexical items include lexical words, such as demonstratives, adjectives, compounding nouns, numerals and quantifiers and prepositional phrases and relative clauses. These different constituents will be considered while analyzing the noun phrase structure in Nubri. For the sake of convenience, we will broadly divide the noun phrases that contain elements with premodifiers, and postmodifiers⁷.

⁷ LaPolla (2015) points out the internal structure of the noun phrase in Tibeto-Burman. He notes that proto Tibeto-Burman (noun) phrase structure follows the constituents in the following order: (Demonstrative-head; Head-Attributive; Relative clause-Head, Head-Number; Genitive-Head). Nubri is fairly consistent with the order of the constituents in noun phrase as mentioned in LaPolla (2015).

4.1 Premodification

There are a number of constituents that premodify the nouns in Nubri. They include genitive marked nouns, demonstratives, and relative clauses.

4.1.1 Genitive nouns

The possessive relation is expressed in two ways in Nubri. Firstly, it is shown simply by juxtaposing the possessor and the possessed items in that order. Although there is no overt genitive marking in this construction, the nouns in the first position is realized as genitive marked nouns. A couple of examples follow.

(20) *ŋa* *awa* *thajbo* *jø*
 1SG father good COP
 ‘My father is well.’

(21) *dhonpo* *hjanlak* *dzar-sorj*
 tree branch fall-PST.DJ
 ‘The branch of the tree fell down.’

In addition to the genitive structure illustrated in (20-21), the genitive marker *-ki*, *-gi*, *-i* are suffixed to the possessor nouns in genitive phrases. Examples follow.

(22) *ŋa-ki* *khim*
 1SG-GEN house
 ‘My house’

(23) *ŋotso-gi* *khim*
 all-GEN house
 ‘All’s house’

It is obvious from these examples that the genitive relation is shown by the genitive-marked nouns (or pronouns) followed by the head nouns, or the juxtaposed nouns.

In addition to the genitive-marked nouns, the adverb takes the genitive case marker. There are adverbs that show the direction, such as *ho*, *hau* ('that side/ thither'). They immediately precede the head nouns. Interestingly, such adverbial showing the directional can also be genitive case-marked (25). Such expressions are often accompanied by gestures in actual speech.

(24) *hau* *ŋa* *khim*
 that up house
 ‘The house of above (there)’

(25) *hau* *wa-gi* *magen*
 that below-GEN woman
 ‘The woman below (there)’

(26) *hau* *ŋa* *reka*
 that up hill
 ‘The hill over (there)’

In each of these examples (24-26), the expression to show the direction precedes the nouns. Cross-linguistically, the adverbs modify the verbs, but there are cases where they also modify the nouns' (Dryer 2003: 175). Like nouns, the adverbs in these noun phrases optionally take the genitive marked nouns.

4.1.2 Demonstratives

Nubri makes a two-way distinction of demonstratives, viz. proximal and distal (27-28). Demonstratives precede the head nouns in Nubri.

(27) di kapʃa
this shoe
'This shoe'

(28) hau khim
that house
'That house'

(29) ŋa-ki di kapʃa ale ŋā-la pø-hĩ
1SG this shoe rupee five-LOC buy-PST.CJ
'I bought this shoe for five rupees.'

As mentioned in Dryer (2003: 47), the demonstratives preceding the nouns are more common than the demonstratives following the nouns in TB languages.

4.1.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are generally marked either by *-sa*, or by *-ken*. The clause marked with *-sa* appears with place relativization (30-32).

(30) nubri dɔ-sa lamgja
Nubri go-NMLZ road
'The road to go to Nubri'

(31) di ŋa de-sa jul re
this 1SG sit-NMLZ village COP
'This is the village where I lived.'

(32) di ra tshoe-sa naguŋ re
this goat graze-NMLZ forest COP
'This is the forest where (we) graze goats.'

And the relative clause marked with *-ke* appears in the relative clause to modify the nouns with different semantic categories.

(33) kho-gi tshø-ken jɔpa -di simpu duk
3SG-ERG prepare-REL food-DEF tasty COP
'The food that he has prepared is tasty.'

(34) ŋa thu-ken mi
1SG meet-NMLZ man
'The man I had met'

Here are some examples in which nouns are modified by relative clauses. The relativizing suffix *-ken* is attached to the verbs. Since the clause appears as a modifier of the noun when a relative clause modifies it, it is a more complex kind of modification (Dryer 2007: 192).

4.2 Postmodification

As discussed before, there are a number of constituents follow the nouns in noun phrases in Nubri. Such post-nominal constituents include the articles (definite and indefinite), numerals, adjectives of various semantic categories including quantifiers, expression of approximation, and emphatic expression.

4.2.1 Articles

Both the definite and indefinite articles are used in Nubri.

(i) Definite article

The definiteness is expressed with the article *-di* in Nubri. The definite article occurs at the end of the noun phrase. We see that the definite article *-di* is attached directly to the noun in (35), but it is attached to the adjective in (36).

(35) *betsa-di lep-soŋ*
 child-DEF come-PST.DJ
 'The child came.'

(36) *betsa ghjaba-di lep-soŋ*
 child fat-DEF come-PST.DJ
 'The fat child came.'

The definite article is attached to the last constituent of the noun phrase in (79).

(ii) Indefinite article

The indefiniteness is expressed by the article *-ra* in Nubri as shown in (37-40).

(37) *ʈã-ra*
 money-INDEF
 'Some money'

(38) *sangul-la mi-ra ʃĩ-soŋ*
 earthquake-LOC man-INDEF die-PST.DJ
 'Some people died in the earthquake.'

The expression of indefiniteness is uttered in response to a question 'Who came?' (39). The speaker does not clearly state the person to come, but replies that 'somebody came' (40).

(39) *su lep-soŋ*
 who come-PST.DJ
 'Who came.'

- (40) mi-ra lep-soŋ
man-INDEF come-PST.DJ
'Some men came.'

The indefiniteness is also expressed by the lexical word *tʃikra* alone. Example (42) can be taken as an answer to (41).

- (41) tʃi dzhe-soŋ
which happen-PST.DJ
'What happened?'

- (42) tʃik-ra dzhe-soŋ
one-INDEF happen-PST
'Something happened.'

- (43) ŋa tʃik-ra ɲø-hin
1SG one-INDEF buy-PST.DJ
'I bought something.'

The indefiniteness is also expressed by the numeral alone. Examples (44-45) can be taken as a question and answer pair.

- (44) khø ghana phĩ
2SG where go (PST)
'Where did you go?'

- (45) ŋa tʃik-la phĩ
1SG one-LOC go (PST)
'I went somewhere.'

4.2.2 Emphasis

There are some lexical items used to show the emphasis, such as *raŋ* 'only', *tale* 'only', or *a* 'also'. The emphatic word also follows the definiteness article if they co-occur.

- (46) ho-di raŋ lep-soŋ
that-DEF only come-PST.DJ
'That very one came.'
- (47) ŋa di khim naŋ raŋ di hĩ
1SG this house inside EMPH DEF COP
'(I) was inside this (very) house.' [Nubri3.26]
- (48) khunɡja ɲi raŋ tale dʒho-dzoŋ
they two EMPH only run-PST.DJ
'Only two of them ran.'

4.2.3 Numerals

The numerals of all sorts (viz. cardinals, ordinals, fractionals, including quantifiers, and expressions that expresses approximative number) follow the head nouns in Nubri. This is an areal feature of central Bodish languages (cf. Dryer 2003: 47). We present below the discussion of different numerals that can occur with the nouns.

(a) Cardinals

The cardinal numerals follow the nouns. Examples follow.

(49) *tolmo ni*
 cow two
 'Two cows'

(50) *bhō sum*
 daughter three
 'Three daughters'

The numerals can also occur with the pronouns. When the numerals follow the pronouns, it shows the actual number of participants (51-52).

(51) *ni ni khim-la raj nal-hin*
 IPL two house-LOC EMPH sleep-PST.CJ
 'Two of us (we two) slept right in the house.'

(52) *khø sum-gi tʃi tʃi ʃɛ-hin*
 2SG three-ERG what what eat-PST.CJ
 'What did you three of you eat?'

(53) *khim-la ni għaɲuɲ tale*
 house-LOC we aged couple only
 'There are only two (of our spouses) in my house.'

(b) Ordinals

The ordinal numerals terminate in *-wa* although the term for 'first' ends in *-ʃo*. There are expressions, such as *ɲama* 'first', *ni-wa* 'second', *sumwa* 'third' etc. Examples follow.

(54) *kho bheme ɲama-di ʃi-soɲ*
 3SG wife first-DEF die-PST.DJ
 'His first (former) wife died.'

(55) *kho ɲaɲʃo khim jakpo jø*
 3SG first house nice COP
 'His first house is good.'

An example of the multiplicative adjective is given in (56).

(56) *ɲa-le thaɲ ni mi bhara*
 1SG-ABL times two man richer
 'The man twice as rich as me'

(c) Fractionals

The fractionals also participate in the noun phrase structure. Nubri has distinct terms for the words such as *phe* 'half' and *ʃapta* 'all'. Examples follow.

(57) *lɛka dzoɲ ʃiɲ-soɲ*
 work half finish-PST.DJ
 'Half of the work is finished.'

(58) *ŋa tam dzapdak gho-jon*
 I matter all hear-PST.DJ
 'I heard all the things.'

(59) *ŋa tʃi ghā gho ma-ɲuŋ*
 I anything hear hear NEG-EXP
 'I did not hear anything.'

(d) Quantifiers

There are some expressions to show the quantity. The quantifiers follow the head nouns in noun phrases.

(60) *kho-la bhetsa ghatsø jø*
 he-DAT child how many COP
 'How many children does he have?'

(61) *lā tʃhumbo reli jambu-la duk*
 monk big some Kathmandu-LOC COP
 'Some big lamas are in Kathmandu.'

The numerals follow the adjectives when they cooccur.

(62) *ra tʃøma ni ʃi-dzoŋ*
 goat small two die-DJ
 'Two small goats died.'

4.2.4 Approximative expression

The numerals follow the head nouns, and the approximative words, such as *su* 'around' *dze* 'nearly' follow the numerals.

(63) *khjoktoŋ sum dzotʃik lep-soŋ*
 boy three around come-PST.DJ
 'About three boys came.'

(64) *ŋigja ʃaŋma sum dzotʃik tsum-la de hin*
 1PL day three approximately Tsum-LOC sit COP
 'We lived in Tsum nearly three days.' [Nubri1.113]

(65) *ʃaŋma sum tsø ʃi tsø sapduŋ ma-rak*
 day three nearly four nearly food NEG-get
 '(We) did not get food for three or four days.' [Nubri3.84]

(66) *ghjami ŋa tsø lep-dzoŋ*
 foreigner five around come-PST.DJ
 'About five foreigners came.'

In order to show the approximate expressions, the numerals may appear in sequence one after another. When these numerals occur in sequence, they show the approximate number (67).

(67) *ŋigja elo-la ʃaŋma ʃi ŋātʃik nal-hĩ*
 we yard-LOC around day fifteen sleep-PST-CJ
 '(We) slept in the yard for about fifteen, or twenty days.'

4.2.5 Adjective

Adjectives follow the head nouns in Nubri. Although adjectives precede the head nouns in some Tibeto-Burman languages, the adjectives follow the noun in noun phrase in Tibetan varieties (cf. Dryer 2003: 45). A couple of examples follow.

(68) kho-gi bhō leu tʃik na: laŋ-dzoŋ
 3SG-ERG girl beautiful one marriage do-PST.DJ
 'He married a beautiful girl.'

(69) nubri-la khim tʃhomo duk
 Nubri-LOC house big COP
 'There are big houses in Nubri.'

4.2.6 Other constituents

Sometimes the proper nouns occur with the other nouns and they form a single noun (70-72). The kinship terms are followed by the proper nouns.

(70) lho-go atsu ghjatsho duk
 Lho-gen brother Ghyacho COP
 'There was brother Ghyalcho from Lho.'

(71) atʃo ʎakpa ghana soŋ hinum
 brother brother where go possibility
 'Where did the Lakpa brother go?'

(72) sonam afaŋ khim-la raŋ duk
 Sonam uncle house-LOC EMPH COP
 'Sonam uncle is right at home.'

In addition to the modifiers mentioned above, the question words also follow the head nouns in Nubri. See one more example in (73).

(73) khø-la bhetsa maŋlø jø
 you-dat child how much COP
 'How many children do you have?'

Some words that appear in the question appear in this kind of construction, such as *su* 'which', *fakpa* 'how much' etc.

4.3 Modifiers alone as NP

There is a clear reference that the speaker is referring to the 'earthquake' when he makes use of the modifiers, such as *tshimbo* 'big' in (74). However, the modifier alone functions as NP in this context (74). The discourse context tells us the kind of noun the speaker is referring to.

(74) tshumbo-di lep-soŋ
 big-DEF come-DJ
 'The big one came.'

(75) ηa tshea di $\text{ma-nu}\eta$
 I SG bigger DEF NEG-experience
 'I did not see the big one.'

(76) $\text{t}\eta\text{ik-di}$ $\text{lep-so}\eta$
 one-DEF come-PST.DJ
 'That one came.'

(77) nakpo-di $\text{bu-dzo}\eta$
 black-DEF go-PST.DJ
 'The black one went.'

The numeral alone forms a NP in (45, 76). The discussion also shows that different constituents may occur in the noun phrase structure in Nubri. Within the scope of this paper, the noun phrase in Nubri can be generalized as in (78).

(78) NP \rightarrow (DEM) (GEN) (Rel CL) N (ARTICLE) (QUAN) (EMPH) (NUM) (ADJ) (APPROX)

The relative clause immediately precedes the noun, and it is again preceded by genitive-marked noun. The demonstrative adjective occurs in the initial position if it occurs in a noun phrase. The modifiers that participate in the noun phrase are given in (78), and they occur in that order in Nubri.

After looking at the positions of the constituents of the noun phrases, let's look at the order of modifiers in (79-80).

(79) di bu-gi khim-la dhe-gen bhedza-di $\text{tshel}\emptyset$ duk
 this brother-GEN house-LOC sit-NMZ child-DEF how big (size) COP
 'How big is the child staying in the house of this brother?'

(80) halamana ra $\text{d}\eta\text{upa}$ nakpo $\eta\bar{\text{a}}$ $\text{dzot}\eta\text{ik}$ $\text{ra}\eta$ kha $\text{na}\eta$ $\text{tshu-so}\eta$
 around goat big black five that much EMPH snow inside bury-PSTDJ
 'Almost five big black goats in particular were buried in the snow.'

We see that a number of modifiers precede the head noun whereas others follow it in examples (79-80). Although the sentence with a number of modifiers preceding and following the head nouns at the same time is not common, these examples present the combinatory potentials of the Noun Phrase constituents in Nubri.

5. Conclusion

The analysis reveals that the nouns and noun phrases in Nubri resemble to Tibetan varieties in many respects. Some nominal modifiers, such as demonstrative, genitive, and relative clauses precede the head nouns. The remaining post-nominal constituents, such as articles (definite and indefinite), quantifier, emphatic expression, numeral, adjective, and approximative expression follow the head nouns. The constituents that take part in the noun phrase structure and their positions are similar to some Tibetan varieties, such as Gyalsumdo (Dhakal 2018), Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2002), Dongwang Tibetan (Bartee 2007), and Ladakhi (Koshal 1979) among others. A number of modifiers may co-occur in

elicited data (79-80), but only some kinds of noun phrases occur frequently when the texts are examined.

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Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	ART	article
COP	copula	CJ	conjunct
CLF	classifier	CVB	converb
DAT	dative	DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative	DIM	diminutive
DJ	disjunct	EMPH	emphasis
ERG	ergative	GEN	genitive
INDEF	indefinite	LOC	locative
NPST	non-past	NEG	negative
PL	plural	PST	past
REL	relativizer	REL CL	relative clause
SIM	simultaneous converb	1	first person pronoun
2	second person pronoun	3	third person pronoun.

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