Describing adjectives in Nkoróo (Kirika)

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Abstract

This paper provides a linguistic description of the adjective class and its functions in Nkoroo, an Eastern Ijo language. To achieve this, the Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire was employed as a data elicitation tool. The findings revealed that like many African languages in the Niger-Congo phylum, Nkoroo operates a small closed class of adjectives that consists of three lexical items, namely áyá 'new', opu 'big/great', and pápa 'bare/empty/useless/vain'. These adjectives express the basic concepts of dimension, age, and value, and can be identified by the following features; they specify the attributes of nouns, they cannot be inflected to reflect temporal, aspectual, modal, or other grammatical meanings or categories, and they only function attributively and not predicatively. To function in the predicate position, Nkoroo adjectives obligatorily need the presence of an ideophone, a noun or noun phrase. The adjective 'opu' agrees in number with plural nouns by taking a low tone plural *clitic* = a. *In addition to adjectives, stative verbs may perform the function of adjectives. When* adjectives and stative verbs that function as adjectives occur alongside other nominal modifiers such as pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, and the definite article in the noun phrase, they occur closest to the head noun as prenominal modifiers. With the aid of compounds, lexical morphemes, and suffixes, adjectives and stative verbs may be used to express the attributes of nouns in terms of equality, comparative, and superlative and to measure the quality a noun possesses in super abundance, large, or small measure.

Keywords: Adjective, Stative Verb, Nominal Modifier, Nkoroo, Ljo

Introduction

Adjectives are a recognized word class in human language. However, their description is "problematic in almost every language" and this is because "there is no semantically definable class of concepts that universally falls into a category that we would want to call adjectives; rather, adjectives stand "between" nouns and verbs ..." (Payne, 1997, p. 63). Therefore, each language must have language specific features for identifying adjectives, in addition to their universal functions.

Crystal (1997, p. 8–9), defines adjectives as a class of words whose main function is to specify the attributes of nouns. He mentions four criteria that define this class in English, namely;

- i. they function in the 'attributive' position, e.g. the **big** man;
- ii. they can occur in a post-verbal or 'predicative' position, e.g. the man is big;
- iii. they can be premodified by an intensifier, such as *very*, e.g. the **very big** man;
- iv. they can be used in a comparative and superlative form, either by inflection (e.g. *big*, *bigger*, *biggest*) or periphrastically (e.g. *interesting*, *more interesting*, *most interesting*).



Adjectives occur with the noun in the noun phrase, where they function as nominal modifiers. The distribution of adjectives within the noun phrase varies from language to language. In some languages, adjectives precede the noun and function as prenominal modifiers, while in others, they follow the noun, functioning as post nominal modifiers. What constitutes the class of adjectives varies from language to language. In some languages, such as English, adjectives form an open class to which more adjectives can be added. Hence, adjectives constitute a large class in English. In a number of languages (and many African languages belong here), adjectives form a small closed class of words that are characterized by certain internal grammatical criteria. In fact, many descriptive adjectives in English and other European languages are expressed by verbs in some African languages. As a result, African languages tend to have fewer adjectives. One striking particularity of a number of African languages, especially in the Niger-Congo phylum is that "they have a very small number of non-derived adjectives (sometimes less than ten), and no possibility of deriving adjectives from other categories at all" (Creissels, 2000, p. 249). In yet other languages, it is claimed that adjectives do not exist, and the translation equivalents of English adjectives are assigned to either the noun or verb class.

Croft (1990) observes that languages with a small closed class of adjectives tend to include words referring to a specific set of concepts. The basic concepts are dimension, age, color, and value. This notion is corroborated by Payne (1997) who affirms that these basic concepts are expressed in any language that has a morphosyntactically distinct class of adjectives. Croft exemplifies with the Igbo adjective class that includes the words for 'large', 'new', 'black/dark', 'good', 'small', 'old', 'white/light', and 'bad'. Generally, other concepts that may be expressed by adjectives include shape, physical characteristics, human property, and speed.

The present study is aimed at describing the adjective class in Nkoroo, an Eastern Ijo language that belongs to the Niger-Congo phylum and is spoken in Rivers state, Nigeria, West Africa (Williamson and Blench, 2000). The objectives are to identify the members of the adjective class, the features that characterize adjectives and examine how they function in the language. The language data presented is based on the Nkoroo orthography proposed by Obikudo (2022).

Methodology

Data elicitation for this study was carried out with the aid of the Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire developed for writing grammars by the Department of Linguistics, Max-Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Specifically, the study employed the qualitative research method by collecting data based on section 2.1.4 of the questionnaire that addresses adjectives and analyzing the data collected.

Adjectives in Nkoroo

Jenewari (1977, p. 341) defines the adjective in Kalaḥari (a sister Eastern Ijo dialect) as a "pronominal modifier which does not occur with a tense marker" and "denotes quality". He lists three lexical items that fall into this category as **kálá** 'small, little', **opu** 'big, great', and **pápá** 'vain, empty'. From the list, we see that the Kalaḥari adjectives express the basic concepts of dimension (small, big) and value (great, vain). In Nkoroo, adjectives belong to a small closed class that also consist of only three lexical items. They include **áyá** 'new', **opu**

'big, great', and **pápa** 'bare/empty', 'useless/vain'. Membership into the adjective class is based on the following criteria.

- i. Adjectives specify the attributes of nouns. Note that stative verbs also do the same, so this criterion alone makes it impossible to identify the true adjectives in the language.
- (1) a. áyá ókúrú new cloth 'new cloth'
 - b. pápa þu bare/empty body 'bare/naked body'
- ii. Adjectives do not take any aspectual, temporal or modal markers. Such markers only occur with verbs and not adjectives. In other words, adjectives cannot be inflected to reflect any grammatical categories or features. The examples below are all ungrammatical because they are inflected.
- (2) a. *a áyá-sī 3SG.N new-INT 'It is very new'
 - b. *tónyé opu-sí PN great-INT 'Tonye is very great'
 - c. *a pápa-suku 3SG.N useless/vain-PFV 'It has become useless/vain'
 - d. *a=nde pápa-máa3SG.N=SCL useless/vain-PRG'It is becoming useless/vain'
- iii. Alone, adjectives can only function attributively and not predicatively. Examples (3a c) show the attributive function of adjectives while examples (4a & b) show the predicative function.
- (3) a. pápa bebe bo useless/vain mouth person 'useless/vain person'
 - b. opu ígbé m kém ítángá tíe kebig box DEF EXIST bed under LOC'The big box is under the bed'

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c. áyá okuru m káan-suku
new cloth DEF tear-PFV
'The new cloth has torn'

(4) a. *a pápa 3SG.N useless/vain 'It is useless/vain'

> b. *amímī m áyá that DEF new 'That is new'

Examples (4a & b) above are ungrammatical because true adjectives in Nkoroo cannot occur alone as the predicate of a sentence. To function in the predicate position, Nkoroo adjectives obligatorily need the presence of an ideophone (example 5a & b) or a noun or noun phrase (example 6a & b). Note that the word order in Nkoroo is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV), so the object precedes the verb in the predicate.

(5) a. a áyá jéínjéín 3SG.N new ID 'It is very new'

> b. tónyé opu ígídí þóō PN great ID person 'Tonye is a very great person'

a. tộnyé opu bộ PN great person

(6)

PN great person 'Tonye is (a) great (person)'

b. amímī m pápa **y**e that DEF useless/vain thing 'That (one) is (a) useless/vain (thing)'

Based on the three criteria discussed above, **opu** 'big, great', **áyá** 'new', and **pápa** 'bare/empty', 'useless/vain' are the only true adjectives in Nkoroo. They express the basic concepts of dimension (**opu** 'big'), age (**áyá** 'new'), and value (**opu** 'great' and **pápa** 'bare/empty', 'useless/vain'). Apart from adjectives, however, stative verbs may also specify nominal attributes and thus perform the function of adjectives.

Stative verbs functioning as adjectives

The stative verbs in Nkoroo do function as adjectives by specifying the attributes of nouns. Unlike true adjectives, they can function both attributively and predicatively. Stative verbs do not obligatorily need a noun or an ideophone to function as predicates of sentences.

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Stative verbs functioning as attributive adjectives

- (7) a. duḥa ígbé mớ kệm ítángá tíe ke be.big/fat box DEF EXIST bed under LOC 'The big box is under the bed'
 - b. ólóm ókúrú m kaanbe.old cloth DEF tear.IMP.SG'Tear the old cloth!'

Stative verbs functioning as predicative adjectives

- (8) a. ígbé mí duḥa box DEF be.big 'The box is big'
 - b. ókúrú m ólóm cloth DEF be.old 'The cloth is old'
 - c. tórú m kókóró river DEF be.deep 'The river is deep'

Stative verbs can also be inflected to reflect such grammatical meanings as degree (9a & b), tense

(10a & b), aspect (11a & b), and negation (12a & b).

- (9) a. mindi mé bókū-sí water DEF be.cold-INT 'The water is very cold'
 - b. otió m kórókóró-sī road/path DEF be.narrow-INT 'The road/path is very narrow'
- (10) a. awo má duḥa-ḿ children PL be.big/fat-FUT 'The children will be fat'
 - b. kíngí m=ndē ikpuru-m knife DEF=SCL be.blunt-FUT 'The knife will be blunt'
- (11) a. o=nde ólóm-máa
 3SG.M=SCL be.old-PROG
 'He is getting old'

b. tórú m pękele-suku

river DEF be.wide-PFV

'The river has become wide'

(12) a. a iþi=ka

3SG.N be.good=NCL

'It is not good'

b. á gboli=ka

3SG.F be.short=NCL

'She is not short'

Adjectives and agreement with nouns

This section discusses how adjectives and stative verbs agree in number and definiteness with the nouns they modify.

Agreement in number

The adjectives in Nkoroo exhibit different behaviours when modifying plural nouns. The adjective **opu** takes the low tone plural clitic = \mathbf{a} when modifying plural nouns (that may or may not take the plural marker). This clitic is also attached to modifying numerals. On the other hand, the plural marker, $\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\acute{a}}$, follows the noun when it is being modified by either $\mathbf{\acute{a}y\acute{a}}$, $\mathbf{p\acute{a}pa}$ or a stative verb. For those specific human nouns in which plurality is marked in the noun itself such as \mathbf{awo} 'children', the choice of the plural marker is optional.

Adjective + [- HUMAN] noun

(13) a. opu=a ígbé (má) big=PCL box PL 'big boxes'

b. duḥa ígbé má
be.big box PL
'big boxes'

Adjective + [+ HUMAN] noun

(14) a. pápa tokú useless/vain child 'useless/vain child'

b. pápa awo (má) useless/vain children PL 'useless/vain children'

c. nángúō íríára be.tall woman 'tall woman'

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d. nángúō íríápu (má) be.tall women PL 'tall women'

Agreement in definiteness/indefiniteness

Indefinite reference is not overtly marked in Nkoroo. Definiteness is marked only on singular nouns with the definite article $\mathbf{m}\hat{\mathbf{u}}/\hat{\mathbf{m}}$. There is no definite marker in plural nouns rather, the plural marker $\mathbf{m}\hat{\mathbf{a}}$ is used with plural nouns whether the reference is definite or indefinite. In other words, $\mathbf{m}\hat{\mathbf{a}}$ has a generic reference. This applies to both non-human and human nouns.

Adjective + [- HUMAN] nouns a. áyá kura m (15)new year DEF 'the new year' b. opu ígbé m big box DEF 'the big box' c. duba ígbé m be.big box DEF 'the big box' Adjectives + [+ HUMAN] nouns (16)a. opu kiní ḿ great person DEF 'the great person' b. duba amaowei ḿ be.big/fat male.man **DEF** 'the big/fat man'

Agreement with coordinated nouns which belong to different classes

Nkoroo is a non-noun class language. However, it reflects a human versus non-human gender distinction (in addition to sex-based gender) in its nominal morphology (Obikudo, forthcoming). In this section, we shall look at agreement between adjectives and singular human and non-human nouns and between adjectives and plural human and non-human nouns.

Adjectives and singular nouns

The adjective is phrase-initial when conjoining both human and non-human nouns. The conjunction **na** ... **na** 'and' that is used in linking both nouns being modified by the adjective surrounds the second noun whether human or non-human.

Adjective + singular human noun and singular non-human noun

- (17) a. ólómíríára na wó wári na be.old woman CONJ NOM house CONJ 'old woman and house'
 - b. pápa amaowei na wó námá ná useless male.man CONJ NOM animal CONJ 'useless man and animal'
- Adjective + singular non-human noun and singular human noun (18) a. ólómwári na wó íríára na

be.old house CONJ NOM woman CONJ
'old house and woman'

b. pápa námá ná wó amaowei na useless animal CONJ NOM male.man CONJ 'useless animal and man'

Adjectives and plural nouns

The only adjective that takes a plural marker when modifying plural nouns is **opu** 'big'/'great'. It takes the plural clitic = \mathbf{a} in addition to the plural marking on the nouns. Both human and non-human nouns take their own plural markers irrespective of which comes first. The plural marker $\mathbf{m}\hat{\mathbf{a}}$ is used to mark number in both non-human and human nouns, while \mathbf{apu} 'people' or - \mathbf{ani} (for kinship nouns and personal names) is used to mark number in human nouns only. Where \mathbf{apu} is used to mark a plural human noun, the use of the general plural marker $\mathbf{m}\hat{\mathbf{a}}$ is optional. As mentioned earlier, the conjunction 'and' surrounds the second noun but occurs after the plural marker $\mathbf{m}\hat{\mathbf{a}}$ (whenever it is used) that immediately follows the second noun. When this happens, a floating low tone appears between the plural marker $\mathbf{m}\hat{\mathbf{a}}$ and ... \mathbf{n} , so that we have: [- HUMAN] noun + $\mathbf{m}\hat{\mathbf{a}}$ + \mathbf{n} instead of ... \mathbf{n} as is the case with the singular non-human nouns ending with a high toned syllable (see examples 17b and 19a & b).

- Adjective + plural human noun and plural non-human noun (19) a. ólómíríápu na wó wári má nā be.old women CONJ NOM house PL CONJ
 - b. opu=a amaapu na wó námá má nā big/great=PCL men CONJ NOM animal PL CONJ 'big/great men and animals'

Adjective + plural non-human noun and plural human noun

(20) a. ólómwári má na wó íríápu na be.old house PL CONJ NOM women CONJ 'old houses and women'

'old women and houses'

b. opu=a namá na wó amaapu na big=PCL animal CONJ NOM male.people CONJ 'big/great animals and men'

Means of expressing various kinds of comparison

There are various ways in which the attributes of nouns may be compared. In this section, we shall describe how the attributes of nouns may be expressed in terms of equality, comparative, and superlative. Adjectives may be used to express the comparative but not equality or the superlative. This is because they may occur in the attributive position (for comparative) but not in the predicative position (for equality and superlative), hence, the need to use stative verbs.

Expressing Equality

Equality is expressed by a compound word consisting of \not pára 'way/manner' and a particle \mathbf{w} á. Together, they may be interpreted to mean 'equal' and function as an equality marker. The conjunction \mathbf{s} ó 'also' may be introduced after the subject to express emphasis (examples 21b & d). The formal structure of the sentence that expresses equality is: subject (noun) + \mathbf{p} árawá + Adjective/V (stative). The stative verb performing the adjectival function occurs sentence-finally (that is, in the predicate position).

- (21) a. tónyé bomá bárawá ibi
 PN PN EQL be.good
 'Tonye is as good as Boma'
 - b. tónyé só bomá bárawá ibi
 PN also PN EQL be.good
 'Tonye is also as good as Boma'
 - c. námá nji þárawá ótóm meat fish EQL be.sweet 'Meat is as tasty as fish'
 - d. námá số nji bárawá ótóm meat also fish EQL be.sweet 'Meat is also as tasty as fish'

Expressing the Comparative

A comparative construction is one "in which two items are compared according to some quality" (Payne, 1997, p.88) and this quality is expressed by either an adjective or a stative verb. The comparative in Nkoroo is marked by including the stative verb **néngī** 'exceed/surpass' after the second noun that is being compared, that is in sentence-final position. The adjective or stative verb that expresses the nominal attribute occurs between the two nouns being compared. The intensifier -sí may be attached to the stative verb. The use of -sí with the stative verb is optional while **néngī** is obligatory.



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(22) a. tónyé opu bomá néngī PN big/great PN exceed

'Tonye is greater than Boma'

b. tónyé ibi bomá néngī PN be.good PN exceed

'Tonye is better than Boma'

c. námá ótóm-sī nji nengí meat be. sweet-INT fish exceed

'Meat is tastier than fish'

Expressing the Superlative

To express the superlative, a nominal compound consisting of a noun **þú** 'self/body' and the stative verb **néngī** 'exceed/surpass' is used. Together, **þú néngī** may be interpreted as 'exceed or surpass self'. This compound occurs after the stative verb and may be used to compare an entity to other entities. The focus marker **wo** is usually introduced after the subject in this type of construction.

Superlative when compared to other entities

(23) a. tónyé wo nángúō bú néngī

PN FOC be. tall self exceed

'Tonye is the tallest'

b. ami tọru m wo kókóró bú nệngī that river DEF FOC be.deep self exceed

'That river is the deepest'

Superlative when compared to itself at other points or times

The compound **þú néngī** may also be used to compare an entity to itself at other points or times. The intensifier -sí may be attached to the verb **néngī** (example 24b) to indicate emphasis, but this is optional. The focus marker is also optional.

(24) a. mí tọru wo kókóró bú nếngĩ míọn ke this river FOC be.deep self exceed here LOC 'This river is deepest here'

b. órúá ófiri þú néngī-sí íkiringa oku ke
 sun be.hot self exceed-INT harmattan season LOC
 'The sun is hottest during harmattan season'

Degrees of quality

This section discusses how adjectives and stative verbs (functioning as adjectives) measure the quality a noun possesses. This could be in super abundance, large, or small measure.

Expressing super abundance

As with the superlative, the compound **þú néngī** may be used to express super abundance with stative verbs only. The intensifier **-sí** may be optionally attached to this compound. With adjectives however, an ideophone is obligatory (example 25b). Again, this is due to the fact that adjectives do not occur in the predicate position.

(25) a. a bíbíé þú néngī 3SG.N be.small self exceed 'It is extremely/too small'

b. ami tíín m opu ígídí that tree DEF big ID'That tree is extremely/too big'

Expressing large measure

The intensifier -sí is obligatorily used alongside a stative verb to express large measure. In order to express large measure with adjectives, an ideophone is neccessary (example 26c).

(26) a. a iḥi-sí
3SG.N be.good-INT
'It is very good'

b. a gogori-sí 3SG.N be.red-INT 'It is very red'

c. tónyé opu ígídí PN big/great ID 'Tonye is very great'

Expressing small measure

There are three ways to express small measure with stative verbs functioning as adjectives.

- a) By the use of $\dot{\mathbf{p}}\dot{\mathbf{u}}$ 'self/body' + $\mathbf{n\acute{e}ng}\bar{\mathbf{l}}$ 'exceed/surpass' + = \mathbf{ka} 'negative clitic'.
- (27) tíín m duḥa ḥú nẹ́ngī=ka tree DEF be.big self exceed=NCL 'The tree is not too/so big'
- b) By the use of a lexical negative morpheme **opuma** after the noun in addition to V + = ka 'negative clitic'. The use of the lexical negative morpheme **opuma** in addition to the negative clitic = ka, which is attached to the stative verb, is mandatory in expressing small measure. If the negative clitic is deleted, the sentence becomes ungrammatical (example 28b). This shows that double negatives are allowed in Nkoroo.

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(28) a. tíín m opuma duḥa=ka tree DEF NEG be.big=NCL 'The tree is not too/so big'

> b. *tíín m opuma tree DEF NEG 'The tree is not too/so big'

c) by the use of **bú néngī** and the intensifier -sí alongside a stative verb that has a dimunitive meaning:

(29) a. fíye m bíbíé bú néngī-sí food DEF be. small self exceed-INT

'The food is too small'

b. amaowei m gboli/gbolu bú néngī-sí male.man DEF be. short self exceed-INT

'The man is too short'

Adjectives as nominal modifiers

Both adjectives and stative verbs functioning as adjectives precede the noun they modify within the noun phrase. In other words, they function as prenominal modifiers as seen in examples (1), (3), and (7) that express the attributive function of adjectives and stative verbs. It is possible to have more than one adjective/stative verb in this position and there is no strict order of occurrence for the adjectives/stative verbs within the noun phrase (example 30a & b).

(30) a. opu ibi olom iriara big/great be.good be.old woman 'great good old woman'

b. iḥi olom opu iriara be.good be.old big/great woman 'good old great woman'

Other nominal modifiers such as pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, and the definite article may occur alongside adjectives and stative verbs functioning as adjectives in the noun phrase. In the order of modifiers, adjectives/stative verbs always come last, immediately preceding the noun being modified. They occur closest to the head noun as seen in the examples below.

(31) Pronoun + adjective + noun
a. á gbóón díme
3SG.F be.straight hair
'her straight hair'

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b. wá opu wari 1PL big/great house 'our big/great house'

- (32) Demonstrative + adjective + noun
 - a. mí pina óbori this be.white goat 'this white goat'
 - b. ami opu bọ that big/great person 'that great person'

Both cardinal and ordinal numerals can occur with adjectives in the noun phrase. For cardinals, numerals 1-19 precede the adjective while numerals 20 and above follow the noun, thus occurring after the adjective. On the other hand, ordinals always precede adjectives.

- (33) Cardinal numeral + adjective + noun
 - a. gbộrí síe jọwộín one be.bad paddle 'one bad paddle'
 - b. gbórí ópu jowóínone big paddle'one big paddle'
- (34) Adjective + noun + cardinal numeral
 - a. sie jowóin si be.bad paddle twenty 'twenty bad paddles'
 - b. opu=a jowóin si big=PCL paddle twenty 'twenty big paddles'
- (35) Ordinal numeral + adjective + noun a. pípérí/púpérí ólom iriara first be.old woman 'first old woman'
 - b. kúnoma pápa iriara last useless/vain woman 'last useless woman'

The definite article always functions post-nominally and so occurs after the adjective and the noun in the noun phrase.

- (35) Adjective + noun + definite article
 a. olomiriara m
 be.old woman DEF
 'the old woman'
 - b. áyá kura mé new year DEF 'the new year'

Conclusion

Nkoroo, like many African languages in the Niger-Congo phylum, operates a small closed class of adjectives that includes words referring to the basic concepts of dimension (opu 'big'), age (áyá 'new'), and value (opu 'great' and pápa 'bare/empty', 'useless/vain'). This classification is based on their ability to specify the attributes of nouns and function attributively without being inflected for temporal, aspectual or modal distinctions. On their own, adjectives do not occur in the predicate position. While stative verbs may function as adjectives in the predicate position, true adjectives need a noun or an ideophone to function predicatively. On the other hand, both stative verbs and adjectives can function attributively. Both adjectives and stative verbs function as prenominal modifiers within the noun phrase. They occur closest to the head noun when they occur with other nominal modifiers. Also, there is no particular order of occurrence when more than one adjective and/or stative verb occurs modifies the noun.

In terms of number, it is only the adjective **opu** that marks plurality morphologically by taking the plural clitic =**a**. In other words, it agrees in number with the noun. With other adjectives, as well as stative verbs, number is generally marked by the use of the plural marker **má** with the noun. Definiteness is also marked on the noun and not on the adjective, however, the reference of definiteness includes the adjective.

The attributes of nouns may be expressed in terms of equality, comparative, and superlative with the aid of the compounds <code>þárawá</code> and <code>þú néngī</code>. The latter is used for both the comparative and the superlative. To measure the quality a noun possesses in super abundance and large measure, adjectives require an ideophone while stative verbs employ the compound <code>þú néngī</code> and the intensifier -sí respectively. Small measure may be expressed via stative verbs alongside the compound <code>þú néngī</code> and the negative clitic =ka or the intensifier -sí (that is either <code>bú néngīka</code> or <code>bú néngīsí</code>), or by negating the stative verb in addition to using the lexical negative morpheme, <code>opuma</code>.

Despite the fact that the description of adjectives has been termed problematic in most languages, this study has delimited the features and functions that characterize the class of adjectives in Nkoroo as the findings have revealed.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person
CONI	conjunction

DEF definite article

EQL equality F feminine FOC focus **FUT** future ID ideophone **IMP** imperative INT intensifier LOC locative masculine M

NCL negative clitic

neuter

N

NEG negative NOM nominative O object

PCL plural clitic PFV perfective

PL plural

PN personal name
PROG progressive
S subject
SCL subject clitic
SG singular

V vowel, verb

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