Sabine Littig

What happens to the adjective class in Samba-Duru?
The expression of qualification in Kolbila, Duru and Beiya

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Abstract

This paper is but a summary of the state of the art of a comparative study of the expression of qualification in the Samba Duru languages exemplified by a sample of three languages from various branches. This first outlook of an upcoming larger survey concentrates on the adjective (word) class. Samba Duru is typologically complex having side by side noun class languages and languages showing various stages of transition from a class language to a stage where most traces have vanished, up to the stage where plural marking of nouns, the most obvious area where former noun classes may be identified, has largely disappeared. This of course effects the expression of qualification. This paper places attention on whether the languages have adjectives to express qualification and the nature of these.

Zusammenfassung

Der hier vorliegende Artikel ist ein Auszug einer größeren Studie zum Ausdruck von Eigenschaftskonzepten im Samba-Duru. Vorgestellt werden drei Sprachen unterschiedlicher Zweige der Sprachfamilie. Dabei wird sich hauptsächlich mit der Wortklasse der Adjektive als prototypisches Mittel zum Ausdruck von Eigenschaftskonzepten sowie ihr Vorhandensein oder nicht-Vorhandensein in den entsprechenden Sprachen beschäftigt. Samba Duru typologisch komplex, da es innerhalb dieser Sprachfamilie synchron Nominalklassensprachen, von im Abbau begriffene Nominalklassensprachen und Sprachen ohne Nominalklassensystem gibt. Ein Phänomen, das natürlich auch Einfluss auf den Ausdruck von Eigenschaftskonzepten hat.

Die Autorin

Die promovierte Afrikalinguistin Sabine Littig arbeitet als wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin am Institut für Ethnologie und Afrikastudien an der Universität Mainz und forscht neben ihren Lehrtätigkeiten seit 2008 zu Adamawasprachen im Norden Kameruns.

Email: littig@uni-mainz.de

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1. Classification, Geography and the sample languages

We need a short introduction in classification, geography and typology of the survey languages for the purpose of this article, to show the similarities and differences between the languages affecting the main topic. Important to know and to keep in mind is weather a language has a full functioning noun class system or not as this will count for later assumptions. I consider a language as a noun class language "if the nouns of a given language are divided into classes by means of concordial agreement markers" (Heine 1982:190). Samba-Duru is a branch of Central Adamawa and consists of four branches: Vere-Gimme, Doyayo, Duru and Samba (Kleinewillinghöfer 2015). I picked three languages of different branches to show the situation of qualification in Samba-Duru languages. Kolbila of the Samba branch, Dii of the Duru branch and Beiya of the Gimme branch of Vere-Gimme[1].

Less than 6000 speakers in Northern Cameroon along the main route from Ngaoundere to Garoua, in the mountains near and around Poli in the canton of Bantadje speak Kolbila. *Map 1* shows the location of the canton of Bantadje. Kolbila's phoneme inventory consists of 18 consonants and 18 vowels. It is a tonal language with high, low and mid tone distinction. Kolbila has no noun classes and shows only traces of a former noun class system. The verbs and nouns show little morphological processes like verbal extensions, verbal nouns for grammatical expression and several clitics (e.g. particles). The constituent order is a split-constituent order VO-OV (Littig 2016).

Duru or Dii is spoken in the Northern Region and Adamawa Region of Cameroon. Mainly in Mayo-Rey Division, Tchollire Subdivision, Vina Division, Ngaoundere Subdivision und the North and East of Ngoundere along the Main Route in direction to Garoua (Bonhoff 2014). Bonhoff (2014) describes it as a tonal language with 33 consonants and 16 vowels and ±ATR vowel harmony[2]. The nominal and verbal morphology is similar to Kolbila and Samba Leeko as Dii has no overt noun class system. Its constituent order is VO but shows split-constituent order VO-OV in negation.

Beiya and its Nigerian variant Gindoo is spoken in the southern part of the Alantika Mountains and the adjacent foothills and plains in Cameroon (Northern Region) and Nigeria (Adamawa State) from Wangay (Cameroon) to Tantile (Nigeria) (Kleinewillinghöfer 2015). There are an estimated 39.000 speakers for Beiya. The phoneme inventory of this tonal language consists of 20 consonants and 15 vowels. It has a full functioning noun class system. Its constituent order is VO but shows split tendencies to OV as well. The map below gives a geographical overview of the location of the branches and the languages.

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[2] Segerer (1995:81) who claimed 26 consonants and 14 vowels revised the phoneme inventory of Dii later.
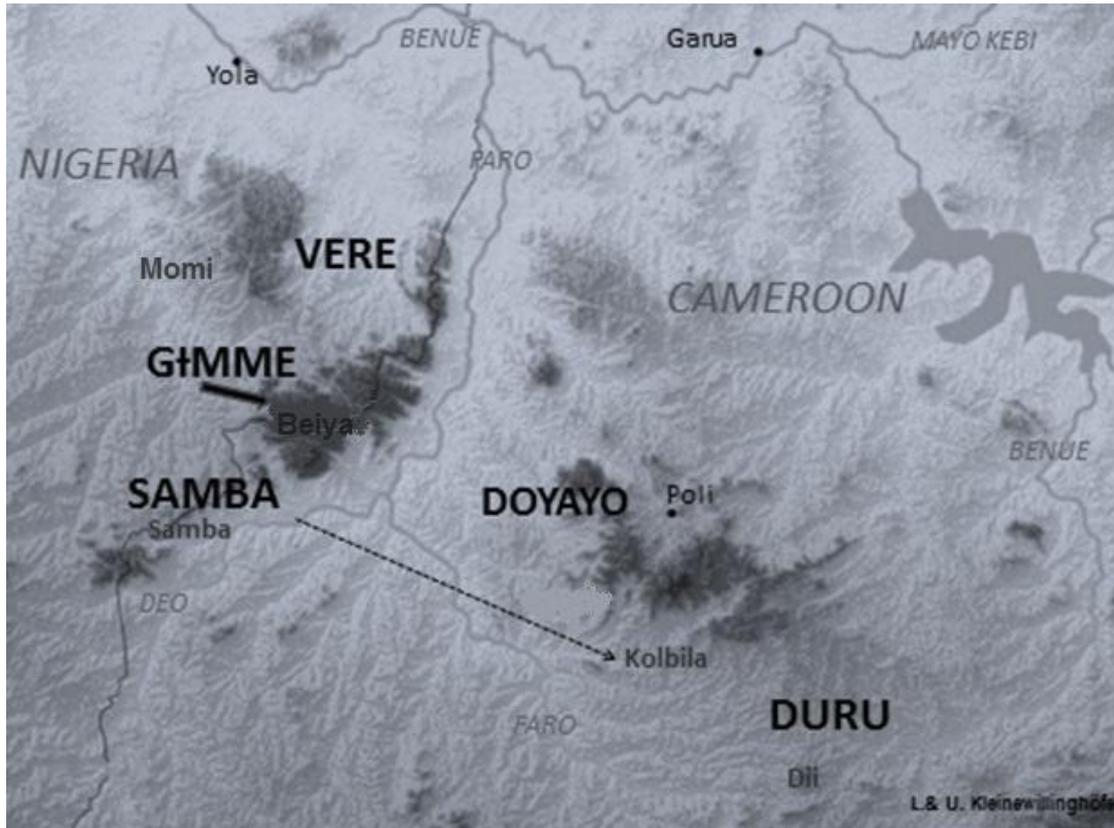
Map 1 Geographical overview of the sample languages (Copyright Luca and Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer)

2. Expression of qualification in language comparison

In general, the ongoing survey regards two main questions: What do concepts of qualification mean and how are they expressed in language?

This paper concentrates on the problem of the existence or absence of an adjective class in the sample languages. Other ways to express qualification like quality noun phrases, compositions and others are not or marginal considered.

In his memory model (Gedächtnismodell) Figge (1993) describes concepts of qualification as perception of concrete aspects of the individual's environment which are transferred cognitive or linguistically. Concepts of qualification are primarily expressed by adjectives and verbs in language.

> „Eigenschaftskonzepte bildet sich ein Individuum durch eigene Wahrnehmung, kognitiv oder sprachlich vermittelt über konkrete Aspekte seiner gegenständlichen Umwelt. Diese Aspekte können von dauerhafter Natur sein oder temporären Charakter haben, sie können statisch oder dynamisch sein. Eigenschaftskonzepte werden im sprachlichen Kontext vor allem durch die im Satz enthaltenen Adjektive und Verben vermittelt." (Job & Job 1997: 259)

According to this assumption, I first concentrated on the adjective class in my survey that I am going to present in the following pages. It is important to be clear about the definition of adjective in the sense used in this paper. Different authors discuss adjectives and their existence or absence in language controversial. Dixon (2014:12) claims an universal adjective class for all languages that is defined rather semantically than syntactically.

In the sense of Dixon the adjective class is a word class that:

> "- is grammatically distinct from noun class and verb class
> - includes words from some or all of the prototypical adjective semantic types-DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE, and COLOUR
> - and (a) functions either as intransitive predicate or as copula complement and/or (b) modifies a noun in a NP" (Dixon 2014: 44)

Tröbs et al. (2008:10) provide a narrower definition. They analyze adjectives along the parameter of attribution, conjugation and position. Adjectives need to be distinguishable from other parts of speech by morphosyntactic criteria. Adjectives function as attributes, they are not conjugable in contrast to verbs and they cannot function as head of a clause unlike nouns. Segerer (2008) builds upon Dixons theory and differentiates closed and open class adjectives. Open class adjectives contain primary and secondary adjectives. Closed class adjectives contain only primary adjectives. He describes primary adjectives, which he considers as marked adjectives, as a class with a limited number. Language dependent phonological and morphosyntactical features like consonant mutation strategies, non-derivation and position determine primary adjectives (Segerer 2008:3). Within his survey on adjectives in 72 African languages, he (2008:7) postulates 12 prototypical concepts of qualification for African languages that are expressed by adjectives in general. At the end of this paper, I will come back to these concepts and give an overview how the languages in focus of this excerpt and beyond express these concepts. Croft (2001:97) refrains from the idea of a prototypical universal class of adjectives. He postulates general and cross-linguistic criteria for the analysis of parts of speech. He claims several prototypical parts of speech analyzing form and function and points out that adjectives are less important prototypes, as other parts of speech more likely express their function than the function of nouns and verbs. For my analysis, I build upon a combination of the existing definitions that present an agreement of semantic and morphosyntactic inquiries. On the one hand, adjectives should confirm to the semantic types after Dixon (2014) and Segerer (2008), on the other hand they should be morphosyntactically defined in a sense of Tröbs et al. (2008).

Referring to the definitions above I state the following assumption: in Samba-Duru qualification is expressed by adjectives, nouns and verbs in addition with other parts of speech like ideophones or complex structures composed of more than one part of speech. In the following, I place emphasis on the correlating questions:

- How is qualification expressed?
- Which structures uses one language to express qualification?
- Which part of speeches are involved?
- Do the languages have a closed class of adjectives?
- Are there criteria to differentiate between secondary and primary adjectives?

First, I will present Kolbila and Dii, the languages without full functioning noun class system, and sum up my results for each language in comparison to one another. In a next step, I will present the noun class language Beiya and concentrate on the differences to the non-noun class languages with focus on the adjective class. Finally, I will arrive at a conclusion taking all results into account.

2.1 Kolbila

In Kolbila nouns (quality nouns), verbs (quality verbs) and complex structures express qualification. Quality nouns do not differ from regular nouns in distributional criteria according to the definition discussed above. I call them quality nouns as they function as modifiers that express qualification only. They underlie the same morphological processes and show the typical nominal ending -á in pausa (Littig 2016: 146ff) and they bind the clitical nominal plural morpheme (see examples below). Semantically they exhibit the primary qualities of adjectives after Dixon: DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE and COLOUR. They function as modifiers and correlate in meaning with English adjectives as shown in the table below.

English adjective	Kolbila quality noun
big, loud	lūm̄-(á)
black	dīŋέ-(á)/ dìg-(á)
fine	vāār-(á)
new	pūū-(á)
old	dōō-(á)
raw	vīsè-(á)
red	yèré-(á)
ripe	kūlè-(á)
round/feminine	kéēn-(á)
short	gòlè-(á)
small (+hum)	ɠbéné-(á)
white	bírí-(á)

Table 1 Quality nouns

The following examples show the use of quality nouns in attributive modification function and in use as a predicate. Example (2) shows a noun phrase with a noun in head position followed by the modifier. As Kolbila has no overt copula in identification sentences example (1) and example (3) have two readings as presented in the translation. These examples show quality nouns with an attributive meaning or in its function as a predicate. Numerals follow the quality noun as shown in example (3). The plural marker attaches to the quality noun (4).

(1) gòg   vīsè=á
     meat   row=PFM
     Raw meat *or* the meat is raw.

(2) má   dùb-m   wāās lūm=á
     1S   cut-APL   wood big=PFM
     I cut the big trunk.

(3) kùl   dīŋέ īnnú.
     cloth black two
     Two black items of clothes *or* there are two black items of clothes.

(4) Ø   dì   vāā   kíd   pūū=bēr=á.
     3S   go away   and   car   new=PL=PFM
     She left with the new cars.

Apart from quality nouns, several verbs, which I call quality verbs, express qualification too. I present an overview in the following table. Quality verbs are marked by a low tone on the verbal noun suffix -gèl (regular –gél) which presents the citation form of verbs.

English adjective	Kolbila quality verb	English adjective	Kolbila quality verb
cold	tēb-gèl	thin	vā̰ā̰-gèl
warm	pìb-gèl	bitter	ɦú-gèl
evil	lā-gèl	fast	ɲàŋ-gèl
hard, strong	k͡pɛ̄ŋ-gèl	fat	kìm-gèl
hard, stable (rope, cord)	và-gèl	long (distance)	lōs-gèl
deep	zìì-gèl	good	nɔ̄ŋ-gèlá

Table 3 Quality verbs

Dixon (2014) indicates intransitive use and the use as a copula complement as criteria to differentiate adjectives from verbs. There are no such criteria to distinguish quality verbs from regular verbs in Kolbila. Quality verbs do not differ in position or inflection in use as a predicate. Quality verbs are used as transitive and intransitive verbs ((7) and (8)). Examples (5) and (6) show a regular verb in different syntactic contexts for comparison. In intransitive constructions (5) regular verbs are presented in a duplicated verb form, which is described as verb focus (Littig 2016: 94ff). Transitivity is generated by verbal extensions (6). As you can see in the examples below the quality verb in (8) acts in the same manner.

(5)   yɛ́   ùùr   úúrā
        2P   follow VD
        You were following.

(6)   Ø   ùùr-ōs   zāāmdigɲ̀=bōr=á
        3S   follow-CAUS   donkey-PL-PFM
        She made the donkeys follow (her).

(7)   wūl   tɛ̄b   tɛ́bā
        water   cold   VD
        The water is cold.

(8)   Ø   tēbōs   wūl=á
        3S   cool   water=PFM
        She cools the water.

In attributive use as modifier of a noun within a noun phrase the verb nominal suffix -*gèl* is added to the quality verb and it follows the head noun as shown in (9).

(9)   Ø   dì=ɔ́d   nɛ́d   lā-gèl   à̰ā̰   kɛ̄r-òó.
        3P   AUX=PL   person   evil-VNS   DEM   kill-VNS
        They will kill this evil person.

Some parts of speech, which express quality, belong to both categories of nouns and verbs e.g. *nɔ̄ŋ (good)*. Like quality verbs, they function as verbal predicates ((10) and (11)). In use as an attributive I would expect derived nouns with the suffix -*gèl*- then. In addition to the derivation of -*gèl*- there is a specific nominal form derived with -*ɛ̄/ē* from quality verbs.

I consider these derived nouns as quality nouns (examples (12) and (13)). Example (10) shows the quality verb in its use as verbal predicate followed by the evidence particle *ténā*.

(10) Ø   nɔ̄ŋ   ténā
     3S   good   EVD
     She/he is nice.

In (11) the quality verb is the predicate of the clause in adverbial use.

(11) yɛ́   lɛ́b   nɔ̄ŋ   nɔ́ŋá
     2P   sell   good   VD
     You sell cheap! (You sell good.)

The following examples show the derived nouns within a noun phrase.

(12) dɔ̄d   nɛ́d   nɔ̄ŋ-ɛ̄=á
     stay   person   good-NOM=PFM
     Be nice! (Stay good!)

(13) yɛ́   màā   māād   nɔ̄ŋ-ɛ̄=á
     2P   do   work   good-NOM=PFM
     Good work (for you)!

Emotions and feelings like anger, happiness, warmth etc. are expressed metaphorically in complex structures. The language treats emotions as colors that color the heart of the experiencer. Anger reddens the heart; sadness blackens the heart and happiness whitens the heart (Littig 2011:176).

(14) àrkéēn   tɛ́m   yɛ̀r=ō   yèréā
     woman   heart   red=3S:OBJ   VD
     The woman is angry. (The heart of the woman is red)

(15) àrkéēn-à   tɛ́m   dìg=ò   bùù   līmlīm
     woman-DIM   heart   black=3S:OBJ cry   whole night
     The sad girl cried the whole night. (The black hearted girl cried the whole night.)

The syntactical structure for body feelings as 'to be cold', 'to be warm', 'to be hungry' etc. is comparable. There must be a source of the feeling. This source can be the environment, the sun, the wind, the cold, thirst or hunger that influences the experiencer. The source takes the position of the grammatical subject; the experiencer is in position of the grammatical object as shown in the following example.

(16) zùŋ   pìb=ò   píbā
     place   warm=3S:OBJ   VD
     She's warm. (The place heats her)

I conclude therefore that quality nouns, quality verbs and complex structures express qualification and the prototypical properties of adjectives. Quality nouns and quality verbs do not differ from regular nouns and verbs morphosyntactically. They are used attributive and predicative. Thus, Kolbila has neither an overt closed class of adjectives nor primary adjectives. Nevertheless, if we look at other languages in the Samba-Duru family we will get a different picture. Indeed, there are a distinguishable class of adjectives in other languages.

The loss of the adjective class depends on the advanced state of the loss of the noun class system in Kolbila. I will come back to this idea in the end of this paper.

2.2 Dii

Dii expresses quality concepts with verbs, nouns, adjectives and complex structures (Altebockwinkel 2014: 80). Adjectives are used as predicates or attributes. The copula is facultative ((17a-b) and (18)). Altebockwinkel (2014: 59) defines adjectives morphologically and syntactically. Primary adjectives are not derived from other word classes, they cannot be in sentence initial position and they cannot be head of the NP.

(17a) gòʔòy dìiː   ɨ̀
     horse black FOC
     It's a black horse/The horse is black.   (Q1, 100009)

(17b) gòʔòy dìiː   pɛ́   lɨ̀
     horse black NEG:existent FOC
     It's not a black horse. /The horse isn't black.   (Q1, 101007)

(18) mó:tà mbàː sèè è
    car   COP   old FOC
    It's an old car/ the car is old.   (Q1, 100145)
                              (Altebockwinkel 2014: 59f.)

Quality nouns do not differ from regular nouns as shown in the following examples.

(19) yə̰m   (mbàː) gɨ́ṅ   ɨ̀
    blind (COP) poverty   FOC
    The blind (person) is poor. /It's a poor blind (person).   (Q1, 101635)

(20) yaúud dɨ̀m   ɨ̀
    room   darkness   FOC
    The room is dark. /It's a dark room.   (Q1, 101490)
                              (Altebockwinkel 2014:55)

There is a group of adjectives, which are derived from verbs with the suffixes -b, -d, -g, -m and -Ø or tonal change. The number of secondary adjectives derived from verbs is limited (Bohnhoff 2010: 84). Derived adjectives are used attributive, they do not show the same properties like regular verbs when used as predicates. They are linked with the copula *mbàː* or juxtaposed to the subject. They cannot be head of the NP.

(21) sà̰ːm   ʔwɔ́   ú
    laundry dry   FOC
    The laundry dries.   (Q1, 101562)

(22) sà̰ːm   mbàː ʔwɔ́-g   ɨ̀
    laundry   COP   dry-ADJR   FOC
    The laundry is dry.   (Q1, 101562)

(23) mɛm   yḛ̀ː   ó̰
    blood to be red FOC
    Blood is red.   (Q1, 101940)

(24)   **mɛm**   **mbàː**   **yɛ́ː-Ø**
       blood   COP   rot-ADJR
       Blood is red.   (Q1, 101004)
                                     (Altebockwinkel 2014: 45f.)

Similar to Kolbila complex structures in Dii express emotions. The heart of the experiencer is modified to express the feeling as shown below.

(25)   **wakɛ́ː**   **zɔ́ː**   **dḛʔḛ́**   **ḛ**
       woman   heart   to be clean   FOC
       The woman is happy.   (Q1, 100611)

(26)   **tàʔkpàː**   **zɔ́ː**   **zḭ̀ː-lɨ́**   **ɨ̀**
       hunter   heart   to be strong-VNS   FOC
       The hunter is brave.   (Q3, 100303)
                                       (Altebockwinkel 2014: 62)

Referring to the main questions of this survey, I conclude that Dii and Kolbila show many similarities. Quality nouns, quality verbs and complex structures express qualification. In difference to Kolbila, Dii shows a small class of adjectives. In Dii and Kolbila quality nouns do not differ from N+ N structures with a noun as modifier. The Dii adjectives differ in use as a predicate and an attribute as the use of the copula is facultative. Quality verbs function as adjectives but differ morphologically as they show derivational morphemes. Dii has a closed class of adjectives and a small class of primary adjectives but a larger class of secondary adjectives derived from verbs.

I will now look in detail into Beiya as a representative of the languages of Samba-Duru that show functioning noun class systems.

2.3 Beiya

Beiya has a full functioning noun class system, which I present below (Dieu 2016, Kleinewillinghöfer n.d.).

CONC	Singular Class Marker	Example		Plural Class Marker	Example	
I/P	-i	waai	'man, husband'	-p	waap	'men'
	-a	bína	'granary'	-bə	bínbə	'granaries'
	Ø	bàá	'father'	-yii	bàáyíí	'fathers'
L/N	-l	sèbèl	'charcoal'	-i	sèbìì	'charcoals'
	-lə	núŋlə	'tooth'	-Ø	núŋ	'teeth'
	-lə	tɨ́ŋlə		-nə	tɨ́ŋnə	'kidneys'
L/R	-l	ful	'belly'	-tə	fuutə	'bellies'
		tól	'sorgho, millet (gen.)'	-r	tór	'millet'
K/N	--kə	gəkə	'mountain'	-nə	gəŋnə	'mountains'
	-gə	dərgə	'pot (gen.)'	-nə	dərnə	'pots (gen.)'
	-k	gbɔ́ɔ́k	'meat'	-n	gbɔ́ɔ́n	'meats'
	-k	lɨk	'room, house'	-(ŋ)tə	lɨŋtə	'rooms, houses'

K/R	-ˀ	teeˀ	'tree; medicine'	-tə	teetə	'trees; medicine'
	-ø	sɛ́ɛ́	'moon'	tə	sɛ́ɛ́tə	'moons'
	-r	kpáár	'place'	-tə	kpátə	'places'
	-p	lɪ́p	'locust-bean tree'	-nə	lɪ́mnə́	'locust-bean trees'
	-bə	émbə	'canoe'	-nə	lémnə	'canoes'
	-b	kóób	'meal of cereal'	-r	kóór	'meals of cereal'
	-b	láb	'wood'	-tər	látə́r	'woods'
S/R	-sə	dúksə	'fish'	-tə́	dúktə́	'fish'
	sə	kúˀsə	'bush; grass'	tə́	kútə́r	'bush; grass, weed'
	-s	basə̀	'iron; money'	-r	baar	'iron; money'
	-s	bis	'sauce, soup'	tər	bitər	'sauce, soup'
K/S	-gə	nɛ́ngə	'bone'	-zə	nɛ́nzə (nɛ́nnə)	'bones'
R				-tə	yɛ́ptə	'earth, soil'
				-r	dóór	'seed(s)'
M/I	-m-Ø	zum	'flour'	-tə	zumtə	'flours'
N/I	?/?	yen	'thing'		lááˀ	'things'

Table 3 Noun classes of Beiya

For the expression of qualification, the language uses quality nouns, adjectives, quality verbs, ideophones and complex structures. First, I will present nominal structures used for qualification simply to show how the language works in qualification structuring. Beiya distinguishes qualifying and possessive association morphologically and syntactically. In possessive constructions, the genitival modifier does not show concord and precedes the head noun (27a). As shown in (27a) the head noun is *raa-k* preceded by the genitival modifier *sin-i* that shows no concord. In (27b) the head noun is *sin-i* followed by the modifier *raag-a* agreeing to the class of the head noun. In N + N structures modifying the head noun in quality or function, the modifying noun follows the head noun and is marked with the agreeing concord marker (Kleinewillinghöfer 2011: 155).

(27a) **sin-i**   **raa-k**
       woman-CL   house-CL
       Woman's house

(27b) **sin-i**   **raag-a**
       woman-CL   house-CONC
       Landlady, woman of the house

In the sense of Tröbs et al. (2008), adjectives are distinguishable from other parts of speech. They differ syntactically in position. Morphologically they differ from other parts of speech in different ways depending on the adjective class itself as discussed in the following section. In general, I divide adjectives in different groups. Secondary (derived) adjectives, primary (underived) and non-concordant adjectives. The concord markers of the noun class of the respective head noun are suffixed to a large number of the adjectives. These adjectives are concordant with the head noun even used as a predicate ((29a) and (29b)) which distinguishes them from verbs that do not show concord.

(28) sīn-ī   sáks-í
      woman-CL   beautiful-CL
      The beautiful woman./It's a beautiful woman.

(29a) rā-k   a-k   yɔ̀ɔ̀   bɨ́   yāābɔ́-k   tèŋgá.
      house-CL   DET-CL   COP   ANT   red-CL   always:Q
      Has this house always been red?

(29b) ɔ́ò   gbɔʔ   yɔ̀ɔ̀   bɨ́   vúr-gā
      no   in the past COP   ANT   white-CL
      No, it has been white in the past.

Secondary adjectives are derived from stative verbs as shown in the examples below. They differ morphologically from primary adjectives as they show either the verbal suffix as in (30c) or keep the high tone of the suffix that is represented as a floating high. These adjectives derive quality nouns by adding a class suffix as shown in (30c).

(30a) vùr-ná (V)   →   vúdꜛ- (ADJ)
      to be white   white

(30b) kɔ́ktɔ́-ná (V) →   kɔ́kꜛ- (ADJ)
      to be dry   dry

(30c) rōō-ná (V)   →   rōō-n- →   rōō-n-ɔ́n (N)
      to be good   good   goodness

Primary adjectives can be distinguished morphologically as they show concord and derive nouns by adding a noun class suffix as shown in the following example.

(31) pāā- (new)   →   pāā-n   (something new)
                    →   pāā-nsɔ́   (newness, innovation)

Another group of adjectives, which I call non-concordant adjectives, only distinguishes between singular and plural. These adjectives do not show concordance with the head noun. They have a specific suffix -(t)ɔ́l. They might be derived from verbs too, as they all have a verbal equivalent, but I cannot retrace the derivation path by now.

Adjective		Verb	
lǎŋ-tɔ́l, pl. lǎŋ-tɔ́p	(thin, meager)	lǎŋ-ná	to lose weight
gōm-tɔ̄l pl. gōm-tɔ́p	(sick, ill)	gom-ná	to suffer of sth.
yɨ̄ɨbəl, pl. yɨ̄ɨbii	(full, filled)	yɨ̄ɨ-nā	to fill

Table 4 Non-concordant adjectives

(32) lām-ī   sīn-ī   ʔā̰n   lǎŋ   yɔ̀ɔ̀   gōmtɔ̄l
      blacksmith-CL   woman-CL   to be   thin   COP   sick
      The blacksmith's wife is thin, she is sick.

The use of the copula is facultative. Examples (33a) and (33b) show the adjective as predicate of the sentence or modifier of the head noun. I interpret the structures with copula as predicate clauses.

(33a) **nàg-i**   **sɔ́br-í**   **lá̰ŋtə́l**
       cattle-CL   female-CL   thin
       The cow is thin/The thin cow.

(33b) **nàg-əp**   **sɔ́br-ə́p**   **lá̰ŋt-ə́p**
       cattle-CL:PL   female-CL:PL   thin-PL
       The cows are thin/The thin cows.

(33c) **nàg-i**   **sɔ́br-í**   **yɔ̀ɔ̀**   **lá̰ŋtə́l**
       cattle-CL   female-CL   COP   thin
       The cow is thin.

(33d) **nàg-əp**   **sɔ́br-ə́p**   **yɔ̀ɔ̀**   **lá̰ŋt-ə́p**
       cattle-CL:PL   female-CL:PL COP   thin-PL
       The cows are thin.

Like Dii and Kolbila, Beiya shows complex structures expressing emotions too. In constructions, expressing body feelings like hunger or thirst a source 'hurts' the experiencer.

(34) **túk-ə̄r**   **mám** **nə̄n** **wə́kə̀**   **ʔān**   **gòm-ú**
      night-LOC   water and   hunger   to be   hurt-3S
      At night he is thirsty and hungry. (At night water and hunger hurt him)

Beiya expresses quality mainly with quality verbs, quality nouns, adjectives and complex structures[3] though Beiya shows more morphological complexity according to the adjective class. Some adjectives or quality nouns are derived from quality verbs. There is a closed class of primary adjectives and a class of non-concordant adjectives.

3. Conclusion

To sum up my results so far and give a small outlook on what is coming next and to show how I worked on the data I lean on Segerer's 12 quality concepts, which he considers as prototypical adjectives. The last table shows these 12 concepts in language comparison in a quick overview. Besides Kolbila, Dii and Beiya presented above I added Momi, Lɔŋto and Samba Leeko as these languages are part of the larger survey.

As we already know Kolbila has no overt adjectives at all (nine concepts are expressed by nouns and three by verbs), Segerer's assumption does not count for this language at all. In Samba Leeko three of the 12 prototypes are adjectives, two are considered adjectives (Fabre 2004: 82) but have to be analyzed again as they all have a suspicious ending hinting to derivation, two are verbs, one is a noun, the rest are nouns which derive verbs. In Dii at least eight out of 12 are adjectives, the remaining are verbal nouns and verbs. Lɔŋto has four adjectives, one has an adjectival and a nominal

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[3]There are even more types of quality representations like ideophones that are morphologically unmarked, for example *kə́rbə́l kə́rbə́l* (round) und *kə́rwə́r* (exactly round). As I did not take ideophones into account while discussing the other language and because of the incompleteness of the data they will be presented in upcoming publications.

reading, five are verbs and two are nouns and verbs. In Momi[4] we find nine adjectives and two nouns, the expression for small and short does not differ, this phenomena is observed in Beiya too. Beiya has nine adjectival equivalents. Five out of the nine are derived from verbs or have a verbal equivalent respectively. The concepts of UNRIPE and BAD are uttered by negation of their antonym as a verbal expression (NOT RIPE, NOT GOOD).

Qualities prototypical expressed by adjectives (Segerer 2008)	Beiya	Momi	Lɔŋto	Dii	Samba Leeko	Kolbila
SMALL	bə-CL- ɔ́; pl. dɛɛ-bá (ADJ)	topaa (ADJ)	bɛ̀-yɛ́ (N,ADJ)	dəʔə fəə (ADJ)	bə̆nsə̀ (ADJ)	g͡bɛ́né-(á) (N)
BIG/ IMPORTANT	gbɔk- (ADJ,V)	gbii-(ləl) (ADJ,V)	bɛ´n-nɛ (V)	nèè, neelɛ́ (VN)	gba̋ (ADJ)	lūm´-(á) (N)
NEW	pə̄ə̄- (ADJ)	pəni (ADJ)	wɛ̀ɛ̀-nɛ (ADJ)	ʔmàŋ (ADJ)	pu̅ (ADJ)	pūu̅-(á) (N)
GOOD/NICE/ BEAUTIFUL	ro̅o̅n- (ADJ,V)	ookàpá (ADJ) beautiful go (ADJ), ɔɔmii (ADJ) =>ɔɔm (ADV)	doo´-nɛ lɔŋmə́-nɛ (ADJ)	dʊʊ (V)	pədkè (V) sɔɔnkè (V)	nɔ̄ŋgəlá (V)
BAD/EVIL/ UGLY	róóná (good:NEG) (V)	winsaa (N)	doo- yɛ́ (ADJ)	ɓĭd (ADJ)	va̅gsə́ (ADJ?)	ləgəl (V)
UNRIPE/ GREEN/ RAW	ʔóóná (ripe:NEG) (V) gaŋrə́m (green)(ADJ)	wələkí (green) (ADJ) wəni (raw) (ADJ)	vɛɛrə-nɛ (N,V)	veʔ̆ed (ADJ)	vi̅sə̀ (ADJ?)	vi̅sè-(á) (N)
HIGH/LONG/ FAR/TALL	yə'mt- (ADJ,V)	ɔ̀ryénà (ADJ) yeeka (V)	hɔɔ-nɛ (V)	dìì, dĭilĭ (VN)	bùdkè (V)	lɔ̄sgəl (V)
WHITE/LIGHT	vúr (ADJ,V)	raasa (N) (the light)	dɔ́nə́-nɛ (N,V)	hèè (ADJ)	bĭd (N,V)	bírí-(á) (N)
BLACK/DARK	wítik- (ADJ)	wiinì (ADJ) wiirká (V)	tin-nɛ (ADJ)	dìì (ADJ)	dĭŋ (N,V)	dĭŋ-(á) (N)
OLD	dəə-r (ADJ,V)	doonì (ADJ) dooga (ADJ) doorka (V)	vɔn´-nɛ (V)	sèè (ADJ)	do̅ (N)	do̅o̅-(á) (N)
SHORT	(see small)	(see small)	bín-yɛ́ (V)	dəʔə (ADJ)	kəd (N, V)	gəlè-(á) (N)
RED	yəəb-(ADJ)	bimnì (ADJ)	wɛɛ´-nɛ (V)	yeè, yéé (V)	yɛ̆l (N,V)	yèré-(á) (N)

Table 5 Language comparison

In a next step, I analyzed if there are similarities across the languages as to which part of speech a language chooses to express a specific quality concept. The concepts SMALL, NEW, BAD, UNRIPE and BLACK are more likely expressed by adjectives. BIG, GOOD, and HIGH are mainly expressed by verbs. WHITE is a quality noun in four out of the six languages. The remaining concepts (OLD, SHORT, RED) draw a more heterogeneous picture. Relating to our small language survey, I could not

[4] I took the data for Momi from Blench and Adrian (1988). As their work is a draft dictionary, they do not provide information on the adjective class in detail but I will reconsider the case of Momi building upon our own data in a next step of this survey.

confirm Segerer's and Dixon's choice. Let us call Dixon's prototypic concepts DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE and COLOUR to mind once again. As they count for prototypical concepts expressed by adjectives, one would expect that the Samba-Duru languages express them as adjectives consistently but across the survey languages, they all belong to different parts of speech. Briefly, these concepts are not as prototypical as Dixon claims. In Samba-Duru, more than one part of speech is involved to express qualification. I could validate the assumption that adjectives, nouns and verbs express qualification in addition with other parts of speech like ideophones or complex structures composed of more than one part of speech. Thus, Croft (2001), who refrains from the idea of adjectives as a universal category in all languages, gives the most convenient definition. Except from the noun class languages, all languages show only a small class of primary adjectives. I could not validate whether it is always a closed class in all cases. Dii has 15 primary adjectives but according to Altebockwinkel (2014: 80) there is no closed class in Dii. I could assert the same in other Samba-Duru language too. In Samba Leeko (Fabre 2004: 83) four of the seven primary adjectives show an ending which hint to a verbal or nominal derivation. Kolbila has no overt class of adjectives at all. The noun class languages on the other hand show adjectives that I can define grammatically. In Lɔŋto for example adjectives form a subclass of nouns but can be distinguished from nouns syntactically (Kleinewillinghöfer 2011). Furthermore, I could observe an interesting feature of the language group that is the facultativity of the copula within the structures expressing quality concepts. I will come back to this feature in ongoing research. The Samba-Duru group consists of languages with defective noun class systems. The analysis of languages with functioning noun class systems like Lɔŋto and Beiya lead to explanations for the neighboring languages without noun class systems, respectively defective noun class systems. Thus, there must be an adjective class in Samba-Duru mainly consisting of adjectives derived from quality verbs. Diachronically this changes the considerations for Kolbila. For Kolbila I could not define a class of primary adjectives as such. Nevertheless, regarding the results of the survey I could consider some of the quality nouns as adjectives. The adjective class formed a subclass of nouns as presented in Beiya. With the loss of the noun class system the adjective class merged into the noun class. Diachronically the quality nouns have grammaticalized from adjectives. A presumable candidate is *puu* (new) as it does not show specific ending which lead to derivation and is one of the concepts mainly expressed by adjectives. I presume similar highly complex processes for quality verbs too.

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Abbreviations

ADJ	Adjective	EVD	Evidential marker	Q	Question marking
ADJR	Adjektivalizer	FOC	Focus marker	S	Singular
ANT	Anterior	LOC	Location	V	Verb
APL	Applicative	N	Noun	VD	Verbal duplicate
AUX	Auxilary	NEG	Negation	VN	Verbal noun
CAUS	Causative	NOM	Nominalizer	VNS	Verbal noun suffix
CL	Class marker	NP	Noun Phrase		
CONC	Concordance	OBJ	Object		
COP	Copula	PFM	Phrase Final Marker		
DET	Determinant	PL	Plural		