'Far, far away'

- An analysis of Tawala adjectives based on the article 'Where have all the adjectives gone?'

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1.0 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The purpose of this paper is to test the presuppositions and methods of Professor Dixon's paper, "Where have all the adjectives gone?" against a language which is like English in having an open class of adjectives, but is unlike English in morpho-syntactic structure. The language I have chosen as the test case is Tawala, an Austronesian language of the Milne Bay Province in Papua New Guinea. 

The parts of this section (1.1 - 1.3) present the salient features of Dixon's theory with an assessment of their applicability to the Tawala data (1.4).

1.1 The Priority of Semantics

Semantics is held to be prior to syntax.

We work from the assumption that the syntactic properties of a lexical item can largely be predicted from its semantic description. (p. 24)

The direct correlation between semantics and syntax is seen from the fact that once the meaning of a new word is learnt, we are able to use it in a variety of syntactic structures with a high degree of accuracy. The opposite view, in which there is no connection between syntax and semantics would require us to hear the new word in its full range of syntactic structures before we could

1 Dixon, R.M.W. 1977 "Where have all the adjectives gone?" Studies in Language 1:1 19-50.
2 I have been studying Tawala under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics since 1974.
accurately use it. Obviously, our experience accords with the former of these two points of view.

The lexical items of each language are thought of as belonging to universal semantic types. For example:

- motion - go, run, ascend.
- affect - hit, cut, knock.
- colour - black, white, red.
- objects - stone, water, tree.
- kin - uncle, son, father. etc.

Each language has the same array of types, with a similar overall semantic content; however, the morpho-syntactic properties of the various types is language specific.

1.2 Parts of Speech

While all languages have the major parts-of-speech classes, Nouns and Verbs, some languages lack the major class Adjective. It follows that the universal semantic types may belong to different parts of speech in different languages. It has been found convenient and insightful to refer to words as nouns if they belong to the same morpho-syntactic class as 'objects' and to other words as verbs if they belong to the same morpho-syntactic class as 'motion' and 'affect' etc. With nouns and verbs there is a fairly high degree of agreement among the
languages of the world as to the semantic classes
typically falling into each class. It is the purpose of
Dixon's paper to discover the universal adjective types,
and to investigate their word class affiliations in
"adjective-deficient" languages.

1.3 The Universal Adjective Types

In all, Dixon finds seven semantic types that belong
to the universal semantic class of adjectives. These are
value, age, colour, speed, dimension, physical property
and human propensity. A language may be said to have
adjectives in some or all of these semantic classes
distinguished on morpho-syntactic grounds from verbs
and nouns. Languages fall into two typological types
in their treatment of the adjective semantic types:
(a) Open class - all seven semantic types are associated
with a single part of speech, either a. an adjective
class (English, Dyirbal) or b. the verb class (Samoan).
(b) Closed class - there is a split in the list with
membership of more than one class (Hausa, Kiriwinan etc.).
The typical part-of-speech memberships are as shown in
table 7:
Dimension, Age, Value, Colour - adjective adjective
Physical property - adjective verb
Human propensity - adjective noun
Speed - adjective adverb*

*Only if physical property is verb.

table 7 - Typical part-of-speech membership

1.4 A Comparison with Tawala

The above sketch is very much the "bare bones" of Dixon's theory. I have stripped the theory of all but the barest essentials in order to keep within the bounds of a short paper dealing with Tawala adjectives rather than "a universal grammar of the adjective". Selection of items has been with two purposes in mind. Firstly, to present enough theoretical background to make the following sections (2.0 - 4.2) intelligible, and secondly, to show weaknesses in Dixon's theory in the light of Tawala data. In the remainder of this section I turn my attention to this second point.

One of the weaknesses with Dixon's paper is that it was based on only two languages with open adjective classes. He does not see this as a problem but comments:
We have insisted that each semantic type has, in a particular language, its own particular norm and extentional grammatical properties. This implies that we should be able to delimit universal semantic types on the basis of an examination of syntactic and morphological properties in just one language. (p. 30)

The problem arises if certain semantic types are handled as verbs (or nouns) in the test language, we will tend to overlook the potential adjectival nature of the type in question. This in fact seems to be the case with "partatives" (see 4.1 for details) and one would imagine that a thorough study of all the languages with open classes of adjectives would increase the inventory even more. The question arises, of course, as to whether the inclusion of a semi-descriptive semantic type in the mainstream of the adjectival morpho-syntax of a language automatically elevates the type to universal adjectival status. Dixon does not address himself to this question, although the assumption of the above quote seems to imply that this is in fact so.

A second weakness of Dixon's paper also arises from the shortage of languages with an open class of adjectives in his sample. There appears to be no a priori reason why all such languages should follow English and Dyirbal in assigning all seven (or however many there may prove to be) semantic types to the adjective syntactic class. (For details of Dixon's typology see 1.3(a) above.)
Tawala (and other languages of Milne Bay) assign human propensity (cf. section 3) to a special class of verbs (or perhaps even a separate open part of speech of its own). A study of the properties of the human propensity class in English (for summary see Table 1 of Dixon's paper) reveals that this class differs from the other classes in a number of important ways:

1) Unlike all other semantic classes, human propensity does not typically form antonym pairs or complement sets.

2) Derivation with un- is highly productive only with the human propensity set.

3) The use of the -ish suffix is rare with the human propensity class, but productive elsewhere.

There are other distinct differences presented in Dixon's paper, but sufficient has been said to show that we may be dealing with a distinct sub class of adjectives in English.

In a footnote (51) Dixon makes reference to YidinY, a northerly neighbour of Dyirbal:

this language has an open class of adjectives, covering almost exactly the same semantic ground as the Dyirbal class. But YidinY has some HUMAN PROPENSITY nouns - e.g. birmbir 'jealousy' - from which adjectival forms can be derived by the comitative suffix -dVi 'with'.

Again we find a language giving special treatment to the human propensity class.
The Tawala data may thus point us in the right direction to correctly interpret the English and YidinY data. It is possible that the human propensity class may prove to be a distinctive subclass distinguished from other semantic subclasses, and that this may even result in a separate part of speech in some languages.

Having made these comments, I now hasten to add that I think "Where have all the adjectives gone?" is a fine paper, that has greatly increased our understanding of the world of adjectives. In the analysis of Tawala adjectives that follows, I acknowledge a great debt to the pathfinding work of Dixon. While the last word has not been said on adjectives, at least a scientific start to the subject has been made.

2.0 TAWALA ADJECTIVES

Adjectives, along with nouns and verbs, form an open class in Tawala (Ezard 1980). This section discusses the more important semantic, syntactic and morphological features of Tawala adjectives. It is these features which distinguish adjectives from other classes. A summary of this data is presented in table 1. The subheadings of this section follow the columns of the table.

Of the seven universal adjectival classes proposed by Dixon (1977), all but human propensity "adjectives"

1 Ezard 1980 'Tawala Parts of speech'. Typo.

2 For details see p. 1 above.
(cf. section 2.) function in Tawala as clear adjectives, and are discussed in turn in this section. There is no sharp distinction between adjectives and nouns in Tawala and candidates for further adjectival classes are discussed in section 3. The analysis in this section is based on the model set out by Dixon in his article "Where have all the Adjectives gone?".

The six semantic types of adjective in Tawala are:

1. DIMENSION - baneina 'big', habuluna 'small', awawana 'thin', kukuna 'short' etc.

2. PHYSICAL PROPERTY - kapakapalana 'hard', teyateyana 'light' waipovana 'hot', dumadumaluna 'straight' etc.

3. COLOUR - wakewakekena 'white', waididibalena 'black', kayakavana 'red', waiidaidagana 'green' etc.

4. AGE - wouna 'new', odubona 'old'

5. VALUE - apapoena 'bad', dewadewana 'good', *

6. SPEED - bambamana 'slow', sagesagena 'fast'

*Note - Certain physical property adjectives operate metaphorically as value adjectives, e.g. gobugobuna 'dirty' —> 'uncultural conduct', dumadumaluna 'straight' —> 'acceptable conduct'.

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<td>d) use with hota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIMENSION</td>
<td>+ + + +</td>
<td>+ + -</td>
<td>+ - - -</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHYSICAL PROPERTY</td>
<td>+ + + +</td>
<td>+ + -</td>
<td>+ - + +</td>
<td>+ + + +</td>
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<tr>
<td>COLOUR</td>
<td>+ + + +</td>
<td>- +</td>
<td>+ + + -</td>
<td>+ + + +</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>+ + + -</td>
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<td>- + + -</td>
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<tr>
<td>VALUE</td>
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<td>SPEED</td>
<td>+ + + +</td>
<td>+ -</td>
<td>- - + +</td>
<td>+ + + +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key**
- all
- most, or one of the pair
- few
- none

Table 1 - Summary of some semantic, syntactic and morphological features of Tawala adjectives.
2.1 Basic Data

a) Word order

Adjectives always follow the noun they modify.

DIMENSION:  \textit{wam baneina} 'a large boat.'

PHYSICAL PROPERTY: \textit{wam dumadumaluna} 'a straight boat'
                 (not crooked)

COLOR:       \textit{wam wakewakekena} 'a white boat'

AGE:         \textit{wam odubona} 'an old boat'

VALUE:       \textit{wam dewadewana} 'a good boat'

SPEED:       \textit{wam sagesagen} 'a fast boat'

b) Person-number suffixes

Adjectives are always marked for person and number
agreement with the head noun, with a suffix from the
following paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-\textit{u}</td>
<td>-\textit{ta} incl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-\textit{m}</td>
<td>-\textit{mi}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-\textit{na}</td>
<td>-\textit{hi}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 2 - Adjectival suffixes.

The unmarked form is the third person singular. Examples
throughout this paper in the unmarked form will be given
without a person-number gloss, unless special attention
is being drawn to it. Usage of the first and second
person referent in texts is quite rare (about 3% in texts used as the basis for this paper).

The following examples show something of the range of possibilities:

(1) \underline{Bada} \underline{dewadewa-m.} \underline{man} \underline{good-your} 'You are a great man.'

(2) \underline{Lawa} \underline{moina-u.} \underline{person} \underline{true-my} 'I am a truthful person.'

(3) \underline{Kevalu} \underline{banei-hi.} \underline{casuarina} \underline{big-their} 'They are large casuarinas.'

(4) \underline{Ti} \underline{gugou-na.} \underline{tea} \underline{sweet-its} 'It is sweet tea.'

c) Topic-comment clauses

It will be noted that the verb 'to be' has been supplied with the English glosses, making the examples into clauses. In Tawala, noun phrases function as Topic-comment clauses, whenever they occur in isolation. When they are employed as the arguments of a predicate they are then glossed as noun phrases, e.g.

(5) \underline{Kevalu} \underline{banei-hi} \underline{he ma-mac. u niha.} \underline{casuarina} \underline{big-their} \underline{they prog-stay at beach}

Big casuarinas are standing at the beach.'

Most noun phrases have a stative clause transformation equivalent. The adjectival element loses its suffix (and often its reduplicated form) and is replaced by a prefixed person-number subject marker with the following forms:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ta incl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to excl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>hi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 - Subject markers

Thus sentences (1) and (4) become (6) and (7) respectively.

(6) Bada _u_ dewadewa.  'Man, you are great.'
   man you good

(7) Ti _i_ gugau.     'The tea is sweet.'
   tea it sweet

In practice however, one form is usually the preferred form. Thus in (8) and (9) the first form is preferred.

(8) Tahaya _i_ bigabiga. —— Tahaya bigabigana.
   'The path is muddy.'     'It's a muddy path.'

(9) Numa dewadewana.    —— Numa _i_ dewadewa.
   'It's a good house.'     'The house is good.'

In the process of forming the stative clause, reduplication is often omitted:

(10) Wam _bambamna_.    'It's a slow boat.'

(11) Wam _i_ bam.       'The boat is slow.'

d) Reduplicated forms

By far the majority of adjectives are reduplicated. With the syllable patterns CV.CV and CV.C reduplication consists of the repetition of the first two syllables.
sagesagena 'fast'
wakewakekena 'white'
bambambana 'slow'
kamkamna 'sharp'

With the syllable pattern V.CV reduplication is normally of the initial VC.

alalahina 'flaming'
apapoenaa 'bad'
awawana 'thin'

However, a counter example does exist.

wai-idadeagana 'green'

There is no reduplication when the basic form of the root consists of the pattern (CV)².*

gegena' 'high'
hahanana 'fat' (person)

Many adjectives are synchronically still derived from unreduplicated stems.

dewa 'custom'------ dewadewana 'good'
tahaya 'path' ------- tahatahavana 'first'(lead)
hogoya 'to be full'------ hogohogona 'full'

The fact that the 'Age' class of adjective and also certain other adjectives do not have a reduplicated form is not accidental and is discussed further in section 4.1

*Note - these are not considered reduplicated forms as there are no single syllable roots in Tawai.
where we look at partitives and their relationship to nouns and adjectives.

Dimension adjectives form a separate class in that they do not have lexical reduplication in the singular, but do have reduplicated forms for plural marking. The situation is somewhat complicated by the use of suppletive forms which make it impossible to say whether we are dealing with lexical or morphological reduplication.

habulu-na 'small' (sg)  muhomuho-hi 'small' (pl)
banei-na 'big' (sg)  balubalu-hi 'big' (pl)
2.2 Semantic Opposition

a) Antonyms

The denial of one term implies the assertion of its opposite. The following antonym pairs are typical and not exhaustive. It will be noted that the opposites are not parallel to English antonym pairs (e.g. muddy-stony, smooth-hard).

DIMENSION

awawana 'thin' potopotona 'thick'
baneina 'big' habuluna 'small' (cf. kikeina 'small')
daodaona 'long' kukuna 'short'
gegena 'high' hopuhopuna 'low'

PHYSICAL PROPERTY

bigabilana 'muddy' pigeimana 'stony'
ebalana 'flaming' bohona 'quenched'
gobugobuna 'dirty' yeuyeuna 'clean'
gouna 'ripe' idagana 'green'
hahanana 'fat' bokobokona 'skinny'
hegohegoysana 'smooth' kapakapalana 'hard'
hogohogona 'full' kwakwawina 'empty'
kahakahana 'separate' emoemotana 'united/capable'
kowakowana 'naked' lanalanana 'clothed'
koyakoyana 'flat' bigituna 'spherical'
teyateyana 'easy/light' witewiteina 'difficult/heavy' etc.
AGE
  odubona  'old'  wouna  'new'

VALUE
  dewadewana  'good'  apapoena  'bad'

SPEED
  sagesageno  'fast'  bambamna  'slow'

Antonym pairs can also be formed by negativizing the topic-comment clause, but this falls outside the realm of this paper.

b) Complementary sets

Here we have a set of words forming a contrastive set. Only two sets are presented here, but others would not be difficult to elicit.

COLOUR
  waididibalena  'black'; waiuguguwana 'dark;
  kayakayana 'red'; waidaidageno 'green';
  waikanikaniyoga 'yellow'; waikulikulina 'mottled'
  wakewakeke 'white'.

TASTE
  gugouna 'sweet'; tululuwana 'tart/sour';
  tomatomana 'tasteless'; waigolana 'bitter/salty'(excessive)
  wainihana 'salty/tasty'
Dixon (1977:31) remarks:

...complements provide absolute descriptions, antonym pairs...are always 'relative' to some implicit norm.

While there is truth in this comment, the word 'absolute' is perhaps a little strong to describe the amount of salt in a particular bowl of soup.

2.3 Morphological modification

a) Plural adjectives

Two adjectives only have forms for plural. They are the most basic antonym pair of the Dimension subclass. The plural forms are suppletive. As with nouns (Ezard:1978)* plural forms are reduplicated.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{banei-na} & \quad \text{'big'} \\
\text{big-3ps} & \\
\text{balubalu-hi} & \quad \text{small-3ps} \\
\text{big} & \quad \text{small - 3pp} \\
\text{habulu-na} & \quad \text{'small'} \\
\text{small-3ps} & \\
\text{muomhuho-hi} & \quad \text{small-3pp} \\
\end{align*}
\]

b) Adjectives with wai-

wai- has the general meaning 'to be in the condition of...'. Two usages need to be distinguished:

1. Obligatory use of wai-

Colour and certain physical condition adjectives have the prefix as an adjectevizer. The following examples have been noted:

*Reduplication in Tama and Mua - paper to be published in KINUG.
PHYSICAL PROPERTY

wai-bohina 'thick-fleshed' (of coconut)
wai-dubudubuna 'sandy'  (dubu 'dust')
wai-goigoilana 'watery'  (goila 'water')
wai-pelopelona 'streamers' (pelopelo 'decoration on grass skirt or boat
wai-tupitupina 'undulating' (tupi 'summit')
wai-wawiwawinena 'effeminate' (wawine 'female')
wai-yagana 'insane'  (yaga 'scrape')
wai-donadonana 'horny/thorny' (dona 'tusk/horn')

COLOUR

wai-didibalena 'black'  (didibala 'night')
wai-uguguwana 'dark(colour) (uguwa 'dark (night)'
wai-idaidagana 'green'  (idagana 'unripe')
wai-gomigomidana 'green'  (gomidana 'uncooked')
wai-kanikaniyogana 'yellow' (kaniyogana 'ginger type used for yellow dye)
wai-kulikulina 'mottled'  (kulikuli 'mottled colours')

2) Optional use of wai-

Certain adjectives take wai- as an intensifier
with the implication "to be in a more permanent
condition of..." or "to have the intrinsic nature of..."
c) The intensifier duma

_duma_ 'true' can be used to modify verbs, nouns and adjectives as the following examples illustrate:

_It hogoya duma._ 'It was really full.'

_It full true_

_It meyagai dumana._ 'It was our real village.'

_It our village true_

_Toleha banei dumana._ 'It was a really big feast.'

_Toleha feast big true_

All adjectives can be intensified though in practice _duma_ is usually restricted to use with _baneina_ 'big' and occasional use with other adjectives for very strong emphasis. On the other hand the use with verbs is relatively common.

d) The limiter _hota_

_hota_ 'only' occurs only with speed adjectives and a few physical property adjectives.

**SPEED**

_Wam sagesage hotana._ 'It is just a fast boat!'

_Wam boat fast only sagesage hotana._

_Wam bambam hotana._ 'It's a rotten slow boat.'

_Wam boat slow only bambam hotana._

**PHYSICAL PROPERTY**

_Hewali meyameya hotana._ 'he is an awfully babyish teenager.'

_Hewali youth child only meyameya hotana._
There is a negative connotation with *hota* implying that the speaker does not approve of the quality. I have tried to capture this force in the English glosses. This negative aspect is also seen in contrast with *duma*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{U bolabolou hota.} & \quad \text{'You're a real invalid' (ridicule)} \\
\text{you invalid only} & \\
\text{U bolabolou duma.} & \quad \text{'You're very feeble' (empathy)} \\
\text{you invalid true} &
\end{align*}
\]
2.4 Causative Derivation

Tawala causatives present an exceedingly rich field of study. I presented a brief analysis of them in a previous paper (Ezard 1978) but made only fleeting reference to adjectives at that time. The subject of causative derivation and changing word classes is vast and important enough to require a major study of its own. The findings presented below are sufficiently decisive to show that we are in fact dealing with separate adjectival classes, but often questions are left hanging (e.g. Is the derived verb causative or stative in nature? Is the prefix changing adjectives into verbs or is there a basic root form which is not adjectival in nature at all?) The productive nature of the causative prefixes can be illustrated by their use with a single root, e.g. hilage 'to be finished' (a euphemism for 'to be dead'; the adjectival form is hilahilagen 'dead') occurs with all four causatives:

wi-hilage      'to kill with sorcery'
li-hilage      'to kill by physical means'
lu-hilage      'to be tired'
wo-hilage      'to work oneself to exhaustion/death'

* Tawala Classificatory Prefixes: SICAL Proceedings PL. C61: 1159-1180
a) The wi- causative does not occur with Dimension adjectives. In fact there is a general avoidance of the use of causatives with adjectives in favour of related lexical forms. (E.g. lata 'grow' rather than *wi-banei 'to make big'.)

With colour it is only the wai- forms which can turn to wi-. There is in fact a direct relationship between the two morphemes.

**PHYSICAL PROPERTY**

waigolana 'bitter'  wi-gola  'to be bitter' (rejected by someone of opposite sex)

hahana 'fat'  wi-hahana  'to fatten by feeding well'

**COLOUR**

waiuguguwana 'black'  wi-uguwi  'to get dark' (uguwi 'to be dark')

**AGE**

odubona 'old'  wi-odubo  'to become like original villagers'

**VALUE**

apapoena 'bad'  wi-apapoe 'to destroy'
b) The li-causative

While li- and wi- have different meanings with some roots, they also have complementary distribution with wi- as the basic prefix. li- occurs before labial consonants, wi- elsewhere. Thus, if asked whether the there is a word*wi-moina (cause-true) the informant replies, "That is heavy for our tongues so we say li-moina 'to confirm, verify'. Thus with Age there are only two causative constructions:

AGE

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{odubona} & \text{old'}
\\
\text{wouna} & \text{new'}
\\
\text{wi-odubona} & \text{to become like an original villager'}
\\
\text{li-wouna} & \text{to renew'}
\end{array}
\]

PHYSICAL PROPERTY

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{dumadumaluna} & \text{straight'}
\\
\text{li-dumalul} & \text{to straighten'}
\\
\text{hahana} & \text{fat'}
\\
\text{li-hahana} & \text{to make something grow'}
\end{array}
\]

COLOUR

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kayakayana} & \text{red'}
\\
\text{li-kayaya} & \text{to redden'}
\end{array}
\]

SPEED

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{sagesagen} & \text{fast'}
\\
\text{li-sagen} & \text{to make something go fast'}
\end{array}
\]
c) The lu- causatives show the greatest innovation of any of the causatives with meaning as varied as 'to go' (lu-liyaliyani 'to go near'), 'to collect' (lu-mayau 'to collect firewood'), 'to act' (lu-hewahewali 'to act like a teenager'), 'to make' (lu-haba 'to make red' (in chewing betelnut)) and 'to go and get' (lu-wawine 'to go and get a woman'). Meanings are just as unpredictable with:  

**PHYSICAL PROPERTY**

nohano(hana) 'scattered' lu-nohanoha 'to scatter'  
hayahayana 'dried' lu-hayahaya 'to be dry' (Protein food without proper greens or meat)  
dumadumaluna 'straight' lu-dumaluya 'to correct it'  

**COLOUR**

wakewakekena 'white' lu-wakewakeke 'to be dressed in white' (as cricket team)  

**SPEED**

sagesagen(a) 'fast' lu-sagesagen(a) 'to increase speed'

d) The wo- causative often has a meaning associated with the hands (wo-domodomo 'to feel in a hole')

**PHYSICAL PROPERTY**

dumadumaluna 'straight' wo-dumaluya 'to hold it straight'  
gouguna 'sweet' wo-gougua 'to remain sweet'

**VALUE**

dewadewana 'good' wo-dewadewana 'to fix it'
3.0 THE HUMAN PROPENSITY CLASS

Dixon (1977) treats Human Propensity as one of seven universal classes of adjective. In the previous section we saw that six of these semantic classes form the Tawala adjective class. We now turn to the remaining semantic type, Human Propensity, and examine its treatment in Tawala.

Human Propensity is expressed in Tawala by a unique class of idiomatic verbs. Each lexical item is composed of a compound stem in which the first element is a body part and the second is a descriptive root. There are over 70 lexical items connected with nugo 'heart'

- nugo-gului (heart-bury) 'to forget'
- nugo-dubu (heart-dust) 'to be sad'
- nugo-dumoli (heart-calm) 'to be tranquil in oneself'
- nugo-hegohegoya (heart-smooth) 'to be unruffled by others'
- nugo-apapoe (heart-bad) 'to be angry'
- nugo-kadidili (heart-hard) 'to have strong conviction'

Caution is needed in translating such idioms. It would be all too easy to think (as early missionaries did) of nugo-kadidili (heart-hard) as '*lacking in pity' and as thus being an undesirable quality, whereas just the opposite is the case. Once, at a funeral, I heard a man from a neighbouring language saying over and over again
that he was nugo-apapoe 'angry' when he meant nugo-dubu 'sad'. I later discovered that the equivalent idiom in his language did in fact mean 'sad'.

There are only about 10 words connected with hini 'skin' e.g.

hini-dagihana (skin-tasty) 'to have sexual desire'
hini-doodola (skin-touchy?) 'to be promiscuous'
hini-maya (skin-feel?) 'to be ashamed'

There is an even smaller number of words connected with mata 'eye':
mata-kaya (eye-red) 'to be fighting sleep'
mata-maga (eye-many) 'to be promiscuous'
mata-pota (eye-shut) 'to be sleepy'

These words should probably be considered a formal class in their own right, similar to adjectives, as they are unique in semantics, form and morpho-syntactic structure. We have demonstrated the first of these two features in this introductory section and we now turn to their morphosyntactic features.

3.1 The Human Propensity Class as Verbs and Nouns

The Human Propensity class functions as stative verbs simply by prefixing a person/number 'subject' marker (see Chart 3). The same range of grammatical
functions as for an intransitive verb applies.

(Tau) a nugogului. 'I forgot'
(Lawa) hi nu guapa poe. '(The people) were angry'
U matamaga (hota). 'You are (completely) promiscuous.'
I hinimaya (duma). 'She is (very) ashamed.'

The human propensity word bases can be 'prefixed' with person/number possession marker to form nouns (see table 4 below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ita (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>omi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>hai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 - Possession markers

Examples:

U nugogului ubei-na ega ata nei.
my forgot reason-its not I come

'My reason for not coming is that I forgot.'

Hai nugoapapoe ega ita dewadewa.
their anger not it good

'Their anger is not good.'

A matamaga i lata. 'His promiscuity is extensive.'
his promiscuity it grow
3.2 The Idiomatic Stative Clause Transform

Words in the human propensity class can be transformed by turning the body-part element into a possessed noun and the second element into a stative verb by 'prefixing' a person/number subject marker. Thus we derive the following clauses:

(Tau) nugo-u i gului. 'I forgot.'
       me mind-my it buried

(Lawa) nugo-hi hi apapoe. 'The people are angry.'
       person mind-their they bad

Mata-m hi maga (nota). 'You are completely promiscuous.'
       eye-your they many only

*Hini-na i mava. 'She is ashamed.'
    skin-her it feel(!)

This clause is unacceptable but the following is all right.

Hini-na i dagiha. 'He has sexual desire.'
    skin-his it sweet

These expressions are a special idiomatic usage in that the lexical form for 'heart' in Tawala is reduplicated (nugonugona) and can never be used in an unreduplicated form except in the idiomatic stative-clause transform.

Reference to a physical heart would be as follows:

Puwaka nugonugo-na i boho. 'The pig's heart is putrid.'
    pig heart-its it putrid
3.3 The Human Propensity Word Class Functioning as Adjectives

The human propensity word class can function as adjectives by the addition of the \textit{wai-} prefix (cf. 1.3b) and the adjectival suffix (cf. 1.1b). These forms are very strong and refer to a person's permanent characteristics. Some typical adjectival uses are as follows:

\begin{quote}
Lawa \textit{wai-nugogului-hi}. 'They are a forgetful people.'
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\begin{tabular}{l}
person condition-forget-their or 'Those people always forget.'
\end{tabular}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Wawina \textit{wai-hinimaya-duma-na}. 'She is a woman in great shame.'
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\begin{tabular}{l}
female cond.-shame-true-its (a disreputable woman)
\end{tabular}
\end{quote}

Not all of Dixon's 'human propensity' adjectives fall within the Tawala class set up in this section. Some are simply intransitive verbs e.g. \textit{kaoha} 'to be happy' and \textit{om-genagenalili} 'to be jealous'.

4.0 FURTHER CANDIDATES FOR THE ADJECTIVAL CLASS

The inclusion of lexemes in sections 2. and 3. was based on the assumption that semantics is prior to syntax (cf 1.1). The validity of this assumption must now be tested. In Tawala morphology there is no sharp dividing line between nouns and adjectives, and we need to examine the items which have been excluded in the previous section on semantic grounds and try to determine if this division can be supported on morpho-syntactic grounds. Two subclasses of lexemes need to be looked at: partitives and quantifiers. Each of these sub-classes shares important distinguishing features with the adjectival class (2.1 a and b)), however they mostly lack the transformation potential of adjectives (2.1 c)).

A distinction is drawn between topic-comment clauses which are purely deictic and those which impart information. Many nouns can be marked for person and number, in an identical manner to adjectival marking, and 'modify' the noun they follow, however they are merely deictic, identifying a person or thing. Syntactically, the second noun is the topic of conversation:

\[
\text{Bada} \_ \text{natu-na.} \quad \text{'It is the man's child.'}
\]

\[
\text{man} \quad \text{child-his}
\]

\[
\text{Puwaka} \_ \text{ae-na.} \quad \text{'It is a pig's leg.'}
\]

\[
\text{pig} \quad \text{leg-its}
\]
This contrasts semantically with the following where we are given descriptive information. It also contrasts semantically in that the topic is the first item:

Bada dewadewa-na.  'He is a good man.'
man  good-his

Puwaka banei-na.  'It is a big pig.'
pig  big-its

Topic-comment clauses with a deictic nature are not able to be transformed in the manner described in section 2.1 c) and it would appear that this feature is decisive in separating nouns from adjectives. Unfortunately items within the 3 classes set up in this section are not in agreement at this point. Table 5 is a summary of the data in the remainder of this section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>'Questionable status'</th>
<th>ADJECTIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>relations</td>
<td>body parts</td>
<td>4.1 Catives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic data</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Follow the noun</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Person/number suffix</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Topic-comment clause</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Reduplication</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 - The relationship of the 'questionable status' lexemes to nouns and adjectives
4.1 Partatives

The continuum between nouns and adjectives is demonstrated in table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>PARTATIVES</th>
<th>ADJECTIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>relations</td>
<td>body parts</td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chinana</td>
<td>nimana</td>
<td>kamnana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>disposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natuna</td>
<td>niwona</td>
<td>gahina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>stature</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 - The noun-adjective continuum

The following words appear to fit this category which can be summarized as incorporeal "body parts", and thus semantically similar to physical body parts:

- gahina 'stature'
- kamnana 'disposition'
- nugonugona 'wants, desires' (tu 'heart')
- ponana 'voice'
- gowana 'name'
- emoemotana 'ability'

Partatives have many characteristics of adjectives (2.1) They follow the same word order:

a) Bada gahina i dao. 'The important man is tall.'
   man stature it long

Lawa gowana, Dadaulo. 'The man's name is Dadaulo.'
   person name Dadaulo

Dadaulo nugonugona i nanae. 'Dadaulo wanted to go.'
   Dadaulo wants he will go
b) They are marked for person and number:

Kamna-u i apapoe. 'I am feeling sick.'
disposition-my it bad

Ega emoemota-ta ma_aro ta wileta-ya.
not ability-our and fut we try-it
'We are not able to attempt it.'

Gowa-hi ega to ta-hanapuge-hi.
name-their not we unreal-know-them
'Ve don't know their names.'

c) Some partatives, though not four words of the above
list, form topic-comment clauses. However, they are
not able to be transformed in the manner typical of
adjectives (cf. 2.1.c) but deictic in nature (cf. 4.0).

Bada gowa-na.
man name-his
'It is the man's name.'

Kiu pona-na.
bird voice-its
'It is a bird's call.'

Lawa nugenugonu-hi. 'It is the people's wish.'
person want-their

Kedulama emoemota-na. 'It is the woman's ability.'
woman ability-her (She is able to do it)
This feature I regard as the defining characteristic of adjectives. Its absence
forces us to regard partatives adverbs.

d) Adjectives are typically reduplicated in form and two
of the partatives (nugenugona and emoemotana) are also
reduplicated. An examination of Table 4 reveals that
reduplication is not a defining characteristic of adjectives
and that the adjectival subclass (Age) closest to the
nouns is in fact not reduplicated. The second subclass
(Dimension) is reduplicated in the plural forms only (cf. 2.1 d)).
Thus the presence of two reduplicated forms in this subclass is an indication of its ambivalent nature.

There are thus strong semantic and syntactic reasons for considering partatives as a subclass of nouns very similar in nature to body parts, but sharing some features of the adjective class.

4.2 Quantifiers

An examination of the items included in this list reveals that semantically they are quite close to physical property adjectives:

- **gehouna** 'another'
- **tapuna** 'different'
- **atapuna** 'all, complete'
- **magomagouna** 'all, many'
- **boluna** 'group (of people)'
- **tupona** 'part, half, segment, quadrant'

Quantifiers compare with adjectives (cf. 2.1) in the following basic features:

a) They follow the noun:

- Ginouli _gehouna_. *(It is) another thing.*
  thing another
- Anani _tupona_. *A portion of an orange.*
  orange part

b) They are marked for person and number:

- **Hewa-hewali atapu-ta.** *All of us young men.*
  pl-youth all-us
- **Puwaka magomagou-hi.** *Many of the pigs.*
  pigs many-their
c) All the quantifiers form **Topic-comment Clauses**

While these are somewhat deictic in nature, the focus is definitely on the noun they modify, and are truly descriptive.

In at least two cases a transform is acceptable:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ginouli i gehouna.}^* & \quad \text{"Another thing."} \\
\text{thing} & \quad \text{it another} \\
\text{Puwaka hi maga.} & \quad \text{'There are many pigs.'} \\
\text{pig} & \quad \text{they many} \\
\text{cf. Lawa hi libolu.} & \quad \text{'The people were meeting.'} \\
\text{person} & \quad \text{they meeting}
\end{align*}
\]

d) Only one lexeme is **Reduplicated** and it is the one which most unambiguously has the features of an adjective.

This class should be regarded as true adjectives, with the recognition that it is towards the noun end of the continuum.

*Note - the person-number suffix is retained. I am not certain of this interpretation as one informant told me that this construction is used when the item referred to is definite.*