'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?"[1] 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.[2]

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 <u>The Priority of Semantics</u>

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?"
    <u>Studies in Language</u> 1:1 19-80.

[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:

	a.	b.
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 <u>should</u> 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 main-
stream 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 Yidin^y, 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 Yidin^y has some HUMAN PROPENSITY nouns - e.g. birmbir 'jealousy'- from which adjectival forms can be derived by the comitative suffix -d^{y}i '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 Yidin^y 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)[1]. 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 sub-
headings of this section follow the columns of the table.

Of the seven universal adjectival classes proposed
by Dixon (1977)[2], all but human propensity "adjectives"

1 Ezard 1980 'Tawala Parts of speech' - Typescript.

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' waipoyana 'hot', dumadumaluna 'straight' etc.

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

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

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

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

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

SEMANTIC TYPES	2.1 Basic data				2.2 Semantic Opposition		2.3 Morphological Modification				2.4 Causative derivation			
	a) Follow the noun	b) Person-number suffix	c) Topic-comment clauses	d) Reduplicated form	a) antonym pairs	b) complement sets	a) plural	b) use with wai-	c) use with duma	d) use with hota	a) wi-	b) li-	c) lu-	d) wo-
DIMENSION	+	+	+	±	+	−	±	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
PHYSICAL PROPERTY	+	+	+	±	±	∓	−	∓	*	∓	∓	∓	∓	∓
COLOUR	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	∓	∓	∓	∓
AGE	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	±	±	−	−
VALUE	+	+	+	±	+	−	−	−	∓	−	±	−	−	+
SPEED	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	∓	+	+	+	+	−

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 <u>Basic Data</u>

a) <u>Word order</u>

Adjectives always follow the noun they modify.

DIMENSION: <u>wam baneina</u>   'a large boat.'

PHYSICAL PROPERTY: <u>wam dumadumaluna</u> 'a straight boat'
                                        (not crooked)

COLOR: <u>wam wakewakekena</u>   'a white boat'

AGE: <u>wam odubona</u>   'an old boat'

VALUE: <u>wam dewadewana</u>   'a good boat'

SPEED: <u>wam sagesagena</u>   'a fast boat'

b) <u>Person-number suffixes</u>

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

Person	Singular	Plural	
1	-<u>u</u>	-<u>ta</u>	incl
		-<u>hiyai</u>	excl
2	-<u>m</u>	-<u>mi</u>	
3	-<u>na</u>	-<u>hi</u>	

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) Bada   dewadewa-m.   'You are a great man.'
    man   good-your

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

(3) Keyalu   banei-hi.   'They are large casuarinas.'
    casuarina big-their

(4) Ti   gugou-na.   'It is sweet tea.'
    tea sweet-its

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) Keyalu   banei-hi he   ma-mae.   u   niha.
    casuarina big-their 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:

Person	Singular	Plural	
1	<u>a</u>	<u>ta</u>	incl
		<u>to</u>	excl
2	<u>u</u>	<u>o</u>	
3	<u>i</u>	<u>hi</u>	

Table 3 - Subject markers

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

    (6) <u>Bada u   dewadewa.</u>   'Man, you are great.'
        man   you good

    (7) <u>Ti i gugau.</u>   '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) <u>Tahaya i bigabiga.</u>——— <u>Tahaya bigabigana.</u>
       'The path is muddy.'   'It's a muddy path.'

    (9) <u>Numa dewadewana.</u>   ———<u>Numa i dewadewa.</u>
       'It's a good house.'   'The house is good.'

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

    (10) <u>Wam bambamna.</u>   'It's a slow boat.'

    (11) <u>Wam i bam.</u>   'The boat is slow.'

d) <u>Reduplicated forms</u>

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.

<u>sagesagena</u>	'fast'
<u>wakewakekena</u>	'white'
<u>bambamna</u>	'slow'
<u>kamkamna</u>	'sharp'

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

<u>alalahina</u>	'flaming'
<u>apapoena</u>	'bad'
<u>awawana</u>	'thin'

However, a counter example does exist.

<u>wai-idaidagana</u> 'green'

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

<u>gegena</u>·	'high'
<u>hahanana</u>	'fat' (person)

Many adjectives are synchronically still derived from unreduplicated stems.

<u>dewa</u>	'custom'————	<u>dewadewana</u>	'good'
<u>tahaya</u>	'path' ————	<u>tahatahayana</u>	'first'(lead)
<u>hogoya</u>	'to be full'——	<u>hogohogona</u>	'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 Tawala.

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

bigabigana	'muddy'	gigeimana	'stony'
ebalana	'flaming'	bohona	'quenched'
gobugobuna	'dirty'	yeuyeuna	'clean'
gouna	'ripe'	idagana	'green'
hahanana	'fat'	bokobokona	'skinny'
hegohegoyana	'smooth'	kapakapalana	'hard'
hogohogona	'full'	kwakwawina	'empty
kahakahana	'separate'	emoemotana	'united/capable'
kowakowana	'naked'	lanalanana	'clothed'
koyakoyana	'flat'	bibituna	'spherical'
teyateyana	'easy/light'	witewiteina	'difficult/heavy' etc.

AGE

odubona   'old'   wouna   'new'

VALUE

dewadewana   'good'   apapoena   'bad'

SPEED

sagesagena   '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 ellicit.

COLOUR

waididibalena 'black'; waiuguguwana 'dark;

kayakayana 'red'; waidaidagana 'green';

waikanikaniyogana 'yellow'; waikulikulina 'mottled'

wakewakekena '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 amoung 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.

<u>banei-na</u>	'big'	<u>habulu-na</u>	'small'
big-3ps		small-3ps	
<u>balubalu-hi</u>		<u>muhomuho-hi</u>	
big -3pp		small - 3pp	

b) Adjectives with wai-

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

 1. Obligatory use of <u>wai-</u>

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

[*] Reduplication in Tawala and Mota — paper to be published in KIVUNG Previously presented to the 12th Congress of LSPNG Sept 1978.

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:

<u>I hogoya duma.</u> it full true	'It was really full.'
<u>I meyagai dumana.</u> our village true	'It was our real village.'
<u>Toleha banei dumana.</u> feast big true	'It was a really big feast.'

All adjectives can be intensified though in practice __duma__ is usually restricted to use with <u>baneina</u> '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 <u>hota</u>

 <u>hota</u> 'only' occurs only with speed adjectives and a few physical property adjectives.

SPEED

<u>Wam sagesage hotana.</u> boat fast only	'It is just a fast boat!'
<u>Wam bambam hotana.</u> boat slow only	'It's a rotten slow boat.'

PHYSICAL PROPERTY

<u>Hewali meyameya hotana.</u> youth child only	'he is an awfully babyish teenager.'

There is a negative connotation with <u>hota</u> 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 <u>duma</u>:

<u>U   bolobolou hota</u>.   'You're a real invalid'(ridicule)
you invalid   only

<u>U   bolobolou duma</u>.   'You're very feeble' (empathy)
you invalid   true

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 hilahilagena '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

| odubona | 'old' | wi-odubona | 'to become like an original villager' |
| wouna | 'new' | li-wouna | 'to renew' |

PHYSICAL PROPERTY

| dumadumaluna | 'straight' | li-dumalu | 'to straighten' |
| hahana | 'fat' | li-hahana | 'to make something grow' |

COLOUR

| kayakayana | 'red' | li-kayaya | 'to redden' |

SPEED

| sagesagena | 'fast' | li-sagena | 'to make something go fast' |

c) The <u>lu- causatives</u> show the greatest innovation of
any of the causatives with meaning as varied as 'to go'
(<u>lu-liyaliyani</u> ' to go near'),'to collect'(<u>lu-mayau</u>
'to collect firewood'), 'to act' (<u>lu-hewahewali</u> 'to act
like a teenager'), 'to make' (<u>lu-haba</u> 'to make red' (in
chewing betelnut))and 'to go and get' (<u>lu-wawine</u> 'to go
and get a woman'). Meanings are just as unpredictable with: adjectives

PHYSICAL PROPERTY

<u>nohanohana</u>   'scattered' <u>lu-nohanoha</u> 'to scatter'

<u>hayahayana</u>   'dried'   <u>lu-hayahaya</u> 'to be dry'(Protein
food without proper
greens or meat)

<u>dumadumaluna</u> 'straight' <u>lu-dumaluya</u> to correct it'

COLOUR

<u>wakewakekena</u> 'white'   <u>lu-wakewakeke</u> 'to be dressed in
white'(as cricket
team)

SPEED

<u>sagesagena</u>   'fast'   <u>lu-sagesagena</u> 'to increase speed'

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

PHYSICAL PROPERTY

<u>dumadumaluna</u> 'straight' <u>wo-dumaluya</u> 'to hold it straight'

<u>gugouna</u>   'sweet'   <u>wo-gugua</u>   'to remain sweet'

VALUE

<u>dewadewana</u>   'good'   <u>wo-dewadewaya</u> '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 <u>nugo-apapoe</u> 'angry' when he meant <u>nugo-dubu</u> 'sad'. I later discovered that the equivalent idiom in his language did in fact mean 'sad'.

There are only about 10 words connected with <u>hini</u> 'skin' e.g.

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

There is an even smaller number of words connected with <u>mata</u> 'eye':

<u>mata-kaya</u>	(eye-red)	'to be fighting sleep'
<u>mata-maga</u>	(eye-many)	'to be promiscuous'
<u>mata-pota</u>	(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.

(<u>Tau</u>) a nugogului.	'I forgot.'
(<u>Lawa</u>) hi nugoapapoe.	'(The people)were angry.'
<u>U matamaga (hota)</u>.	'You are (completely) promiscuous.'
<u>I hinimaya (duma)</u>.	'She is (very) ashamed.'

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

Person	Singular	Plural
1	u	ita (incl)
		i (excl)
2	om	omi
3	a	hai

Table 4 - Possession markers

Examples:

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

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

<u>Hai nugoapapoe ega ita dewadewa</u>.
their anger   not it good
     'Their anger is not good.'

<u>A matamaga i lata</u>.   '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:

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

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

<u>Mata-m   hi   maga (hota)</u>. 'You are completely
eye-your they many only   promiscuous.'

*<u>Hini-na i maya</u>.   'She is ashamed.'
 skin-her it feel(?)

This clause is unacceptable but the following is all right.

<u>Hini-na i dagiha</u>.   '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:

<u>Puwaka nugonugo-na i boho</u>. '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 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:

Lawa   wai-nugogului-hi.   'They are a forgetful people.'
person condition-forget-their or "Those people always forget.'

Wawine wai-hinimaya-duma-na. 'She is a woman in great shame.'
female cond.-shame-true-its   (a disreputable woman)

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. kaoha 'to be happy' and 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 sub-classes of lexemes need to be looked at: partatives 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:

Bada natu-na.   'It is the man's child.'
man child-his

Puwaka ae-na.   'It is a pig's leg.'
pig   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:

<u>Bada dewadewa-na.</u>　　　'He is a good man.'
man　good-his

<u>Puwaka banei-na.</u>　　　'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.

Basic data	NOUNS		'Questionable status'		ADJECTIVES		
	relations	body parts	4.1 Statives	4.2 Quantifiers	Age	Dimension	Value
a) Follow the noun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
b) Person/number suffix	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
c) Topic-comment clause	−	−	−/+	±	+	+	+
d) Reduplication	−	−	−/+	−/+	−	±	+

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.

NOUNS		PARTATIVES	ADJECTIVES		
relations	body parts		Age	Dimension	Value
hinana mother	nimana hand	kamnana disposition	odubona old	baneina big	dewadewana good
matuna child	niwona tooth	gahina stature	wouna new	habuluna small	apapoena bad

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' (li'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 apo 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

    'We 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

                                  are
adjectives (cf. 2.1.c)) but deictic in nature (cf. 4.0).

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

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

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

Keduluma 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 as nouns.

d) Adjectives are typically reduplicated in form and two

of the partatives (nugonugona 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 <u>Topic-comment Clauses</u>

   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:

<u>Ginouli i gehouna</u>.* "Another thing."
thing   it another

<u>Puwaka hi maga</u>.   'There are many pigs.'
pig   they many

cf. <u>Lawa   hi   libolu</u>.   'The people were meeting.'
     person they meeting

d) Only one lexeme is <u>Reduplicated</u> 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 adjectival 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.