The notion of "adjective" in Dhao
A language spoken in eastern Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

It is cross-linguistically defined that adjective is a word category that typically denotes quality and attributes. This category basically falls into semantic properties denoting age, dimension, values, and colours. They also indicate human propensities, physical properties, and speed. Syntactically, adjective typically functions as noun modifiers. However, many adjectives also share features with verbs and/or nouns. This makes adjectives not easy to define. Therefore, morphological and syntactic accounts are required, in addition to semantics, to define the prototypical characteristics of adjectives. This paper has shown that majority of lexemes denoting adjectival properties in Dhao share features with verbs. Although the prefix *pa-* can be attached to verbs and adjectives to generate causative meaning, adjectives are confined only to the second verb in serial verb construction, instead of being the predicate heads. Further, only four adjectives can function as noun modifiers in their bare forms. These latter adjectives are considered as pure or simple adjectives, while the other nine qualifying for adjectives as "recategorized" adjectives.

KEYWORDS

Word category, adjective, modification, predication, grammatical properties, recategorization.

1. INTRODUCTION

Word categories, also known as word classes, are cross-linguistically defined on the basis of grammatical and semantic functions. Thus, nouns are defined

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as lexeme that semantically refer to entities and grammatically heads phrase referring to that entities. Verbs refer to actions, events, or states used for predication. Adjectives, on the other hand, are defined as modifiers of nouns in terms of properties. Finally, adverbs refer to verbal modification. The four categories of lexemes are cross-linguistically distinguished. Unlike the first two categories, the last two categories, in many languages, are difficult to define because their grammatical properties are not distinctive; similar either to nouns or verbs, or even expressed through idiomatic expression (see Dixon 2010b: 73–74).

This paper will focus on the notion of "adjective". Adjectives cannot be characterized in terms of a prototype because adjectives stand between nouns and verbs, evoking property concepts, rather than things or events. Some languages have no grammatically distinct category of adjectives (Payne 2006: 116). However, it is significant to investigate the properties of adjectives, whether adjectives grammatically tend to share properties with verbs or nouns. Traditionally, a word is defined as adjective when it is able to be used in a noun phrase to specify some property of the head noun of the phrase (Payne 2006: 116). As such, adjective usually falls into the semantic types, such as lexemes indicating age (see Section 2). Dixon (2010b: 63–64) divides adjective into four types based on the grammatical properties; (1) similar to verbs by which adjective is said to be subclass of verbs, (2) similar to nouns by which adjective is classified into subclass of noun, (3) combine grammatical properties of nouns and verbs by which adjective is defined as between nouns and verbs, and (4) different from both nouns and verbs which is classified as independent class. The recognition of "adjective" class of a particular language is very useful not only for the explanatory power within grammar, but also for the general typological theory.

The focus of the present study is the lexical items that are used for noun modification or referring to the properties of nouns in Dhao, an Austronesian language spoken in eastern Indonesia. Dhao itself is spoken by about 3,000 people mainly on the island of Ndao, westward of Rote in East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. Genetically, Dhao is subclassified into the Sumba-Hawu group of the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP). Thus, its phonology is mostly similar to languages of Hawu and Sumba (Grimes 2010, 2012; Walker 1982; Jonker 1903). However, its syntax is very similar to languages spoken on Rote and Timor (Balukh 2013). For instance, while Hawu language applies VS(O) type, Dhao is a SV(O). Besides having influence from Rote due to intense social contact (Balukh 2013), Dhao is also heavily influenced by local Malay, in this case Kupang Malay (Jacob 2001; Jacob and Grimes 2006; Paauw 2008).

Before describing the grammatical properties of adjectives in Dhao, it is important here to briefly introduce the basic clause structure and the distribution of lexemes in terms of nominal and predicate modification. As mentioned above that Dhao is syntactically a SV(O) type, which means that verbs are clause medial. S(ubject) and O(bject) are occupied by nominal categories. In Dhao, clausal predicate is not always occupied by verbs. Other

categories also fill in predicate position in non-verbal construction. This is not unique to Dhao, yet common to many languages that have no particular markers to link S and complement, like auxiliary in English. As such, non-verbal categories are simply juxtaposed. Therefore, predicate universally represented as V does not apply to Dhao. It is better to use P as a cover symbol. In this regard, Dhao has SPO basic word order. The examples are presented below. The sentence (1) illustrates a SPO order with the transitive verb *puu* 'pick' as the P that occurs medially, while personal pronoun *ja'a* '1SG' as S and the noun *hua* 'fruit' as O. The sentence (2) applies simply SP order with the intransitive verb *mai* 'come' as P and pronoun *ja'a* '1SG' as S. The prepositional phrase *ngèti Sahu* 'from Sawu' is a complement.

(1) *ja'a   puu   hua*
    1SG   pick   fruit
    'I picked the fruit.'

(2) *ja'a   mai   (ngèti   Sahu)*
    1SG   come   from   Sawu
    'I came from Sawu.'

Non-verbal clauses are illustrated by the examples (3) and (4) below. In (3) the two NPs are juxtaposed without any linking marker. Knowing that predicate in Dhao always follows subject NP, the construction in (3) below of course suggests that NP1 is S and NP2 is P. It is true, since the NP2 indicates the identity of NP1. In this regard, it is labelled as nominal predicate, because P position is filled with nominal phrase.

(3) [*ina   nèngu*]$_{NP1}$ [*dhèu   dedha   liru*]$_{NP2}$
    mother   3SG   person   above   sky
    'His mother is a person of the sky.'

The examples above presumably give illustrations about the typical verbs, such as *puu* 'pick' and *mai* 'come' and nouns, such as *hua* 'fruit', *Sahu* 'Sawu', and *dhèu* 'person' in Dhao. The lexemes that will have the same syntactic distribution as those typical verbs should be considered as having verbal properties. Further, those with the same distribution as typical nouns should be considered as having nominal properties.

   In (4), the S is *nèngu* '3SG' and P is *kapai* 'big'. Since no linking is indicated at all, a construction like this may be interpreted as adjectival or verbal predicate, depending on the grammatical properties of the lexeme *kapai* 'big'. This will be one of the concerns in this paper.

(4) *nèngu   kapai*
    3SG   big
    'S/he is big.'

The situation is getting more complicated when particular lexemes can occupy both predicative and non-predicative position. Observe the following examples in (5) through (7).

(5) *ji'i   usu   eele   èi   kaj'alu   ètu   dara   èèna*
    1PL.EXCL   bail   away   water   dirty   LOC   inside   DIST.SG
    'We bail the dirty water out of that (place).'

(6) *nèngu   pa-mèu   kaj'alu   ètu   kolo   dhua*
    3SG   CAUS-clean   dirt   LOC   top   palm.tree
    'S/he cleans up the dirt on the palm tree.'

(7) *èmu   èèna   kaj'alu*
    house   DIST.SG   dirty
    'That house is dirty.'

The lexeme *kaj'alu* 'dirty' can be adjectival, like (5) as the modifier of the noun *èi* 'water'. It can be nominal, like (6) when functioning as object of the predicate *pamèu* 'to clean up'. In (7), it behaves like verbal expressing the state of the subject NP *èmu èèna* 'that house'. Referring to its modifying function in (5), it should be treated as adjectival predicate in (7). Lexemes of this type of course cannot be classified into adjective as an independent category because they share properties with other categories.

This paper will examine the grammatical properties of lexemes that are expressing adjectival behaviour, especially noun modification in Dhao based on the universal semantic types proposed by Dixon (1982), among others. In addition, the size (number) of lexemes that matches the definition of "adjective" will also be highlighted. The discussion will be confined to the so-called "descriptive adjective". The description will start with the presentation of lexemes expressing the universal semantic types in Section 2, followed by morphological properties in Dhao in Section 3. The description of how the lexemes are applied for noun modification will be presented in Section 4. In Section 5, the investigation is focusing on the possibility of the lexemes to occupy predicate position. In order to support more on the analysis, a brief presentation about comparison will also be given in Section 6. The discussion and summary on the grammatical profiles will be presented in Section 7. Finally, conclusion is given in Section 8.

2. UNIVERSAL SEMANTIC TYPES

Dixon (1982: 12–13, 2010a: 53, 2010b: 73–74) proposed semantic types that are universally expressed by adjectives. There are seven universal semantic types; they are AGE, DIMENSION, VALUE, COLOUR, HUMAN PROPENSITY, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, and SPEED. Nevertheless, the lexemes applied to those semantic types are not always adjective class. It is because the class of adjective is not determined only by the semantics of the lexeme itself, but

also the syntactic distribution of the lexeme, as well as particular grammatical marker either morphological or syntactic, if any. If the language under study has no distinctive element to mark adjective different from other word categories, then the class of adjective is questionable. It may be subclass of nouns or verbs. It makes the adjective class difficult to recognize or at least not easy to put forward generalization about (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2004: 9). Before going to the grammatical analysis of adjectives in detail, firstly the Dhao lexemes based on the Dixon's universal semantic types are presented in brief in order to have a broad idea of the basic meanings of the lexemes in question.

2.1 AGE

The lexemes of AGE in this case include lexemes that denote not only the meaning of 'young' and 'old', but also a period of time. In Dhao, the lexemes, such as *uuru* 'earlier' and *limuri* 'latter' typically indicate period of time. These two lexemes, however, can also be used to modify persons. For instance, *dhèu uuru* which literally means 'people in old times' may also refer to 'old people'. There are six lexemes found in Dhao indicating age. The list is presented in (8) below.

(8)   Lexemes of AGE

hiu	'new'
dhui	'old (inanimate)'
heka	'old (animate)'
ngèru	'young'
limuri	'latter'
uuru	'earlier'
kalicu	'young, immature'
madhu'u	'mature'

   All the eight lexemes of AGE occur in antonym pairs. The first pair denotes the state of entity or situation *hiu* 'new' versus *dhui* 'old'. They are used for general nominal modifiers, such as the example *èmu dhui* 'old house' in (9) below. The second pair indicates the age *heka* 'old' versus *ngèru* 'young' as illustrated by the example in (10). While *heka* can only be used for human, *ngèru* can be used for both human and nonhuman. For non-human animate entities, such as *kahibi* 'goat' and the like, Dhao uses the lexemes of DIMENSION *iiki* 'small' and *kapai* 'big' to indicate age, instead of using 'young/old' (see Section 2.2). As indicated by its translation, the second pair *limuri* 'latter' and *uuru* 'earlier' are literally referring to period of time, instead of age as illustrated in (11). Therefore, it can also be used for other entities, such as things or non-human. The last pair is *kalicu* 'immature' versus *madhu'u* 'mature'. They originally refer to fruits or plants as illustrated by the example in (12). Those lexemes, however, can also be used figuratively for human, such as whether

someone is still young (immature) or adult (mature).

(9) *pa-ngad'o*   *èmu*   *ho*   *èmu*   *cee*   <u>*èmu*</u>   <u>*dhui*</u>
     RECIP-visit   house   so.that   house   who   house   old
     'Visit each other's house so that (see) whose house is the oldest house.'

(10) *ka*   <u>*mone*</u>   <u>*heka*</u>   *ne'e*   *la'e*   *asa*   *dara*
     PART   man   old   PROX.SG   go.3SG   to   inside
     'Then, the old man came into the room.'

(11) *ji'i*   <u>*ana*</u>   <u>*limuri*</u>   *se'e*   *ka*   *ji'i*   *pake…*
     1PL.EXCL   child   latter   PROX.PL   PART   we   use
     'We as current young people use (it).'

(12) *hèru*   *hua*   *aj'u*   <u>*kalicu*</u>
     moon   fruit   wood   immature
     'The time for trees to have young fruits.'

2.2 DIMENSION

There are 12 lexemes of DIMENSION in Dhao. They are presented in (13).

(13)   Lexemes of DIMENSION

marèma	'deep'
bab'a	'short, shallow'
madhera	'long, tall'
(*ana*) *iiki*	'small'
(*mone*) *aae*	'big, great'
kapai	'big, large'
dèbho	'big (wood)'
kobo	'narrow'
bhèla	'wide'
ma'aa	'thick'
manii	'thin'
tede	'flimsy'

As shown that the lexeme *baba* means 'short, shallow', as illustrated in example (14), is antonymous with both *madhera* 'long' and *marèma* 'deep'. Unlike its opposite meaning, *baba* refers to both physical and non-physical entities. The lexeme for 'small' applies two options. One is simply *iiki*, as shown in (15) and another one combines with *ana* which lexically means 'child'. *Ana* cannot stand alone to mean 'small'. Likewise, the lexeme *aae* 'big, great' can combine with *mone* which lexically means 'male'. Both *ana* and *mone* are obligatory when

iiki and *aae* occupy predicate position (see Section 5 for details). There are three lexemes to express the meaning 'big'; *aae* that can indicate physical and non-physical entities, *kapai* which only indicates physical entities, and *dèbho* which only refers to wood. The example is illustrated by *dèbho* in (16) (also considered as classifier in Walker 1982). The example of *aae* 'big' is given in (17). In addition, the lexemes for 'thin' distinguish general use, which is *manii* 'thin', and the entities that are physically very thin *tede* 'flimsy'.

(14) *deo*   *èèna*   *ja'a* *peka* *dhu*   <u>*bab'a*</u> *deo*   *sèi*
      recent   DIST.SG   1SG   say   REL   short   recent   REM.PL
      'Just now, I told (the story) that is short.'

(15) *boto*   *hèba*   <u>*iiki*</u> *èèna*
      bottle   mouth   tiny   DIST.SG
      'The bottle with small mouth'

(16) <u>*aj'u*</u> <u>*dèbho*</u> *ne'e*   *unu*   *dhèu*   *leo*
      wood   big   PROX.SG   own   person   other
      'This big wood belongs to another person.'

(17) *hèru*   *hèngu* *ne'e*   *neo*   *lolo*   *ka*   *ne'e*   *lolo*
      roll   thread   PROX.SG   want   roll.yarn   PRT   PROX.SG   roll.yarn
      <u>*sig'i*</u> <u>*aae*</u>
      sarong big
      '(I) am rolling this yarn to make big sarong.'

2.3 VALUES

There are 18 lexemes denoting values in Dhao. The list is presented in (18).

(18) Lexemes of VALUES
      karehe   'bad'
      aapa   'bad'
      be'a   'good'
      saraga   'beautiful'
      kaj'alu   'filthy; dirty'
      hera   'dirty'
      mèu   'clean'
      sala/sale   'wrong'
      pana   'hot'
      sagoro   'hot'
      pacuhi   'cold'

maho	'cold'
kateme	'intact'
golo	'loose'
ae	'many'
ciki	'little, few'
kaja	'rich'
to'a	'in need'

As shown that Dhao has two different lexemes *karehe* and *aapa* that both mean 'bad'. While *karehe* is generic, as illustrated in (19), *aapa* can only refer to non-physical entities, such as behaviour or abstract entities. The lexeme *be'a* 'good' is generic, as in example (21), in that it can be used for any entities. The lexeme denoting 'dirty' distinguishes general meaning *kaj'alu* as in (22) and unnatural or disordered things *hera*, as illustrated in (23). Another synonymy is shown by *pana* that refers to the state of materials, such as water, and *sagoro* that refers to situation, such as weather or atmospheric air, as illustrated in (24).

(19) *Abu   na   èu   tao   asa   era   <u>karehe</u>*
     Abu   PART   2SG   make   to   place   bad
     '(if I were) Abu, you bring to wrong place.'

(20) *dènge   mèdha   <u>aapa</u>   sèra   di*
     with   goods   bad   DIST.PL   only
     'Only with those bad things'

(21) *aku   nèngu   na   tèti   èu   asa   era   <u>be'a</u>*
     according to   3SG   PART   1PL.INCL.bring   2SG   to   place   good
     'He said, "bring you to the right place".'

(22) *ji'i   uusu   eele   èi   <u>kaj'alu</u>   ètu   dara   èèna*
     1PL.EXCL   bail.out   PART   water   filthy   LOC   inside   PROX.SG
     'We bail out the dirty water.'

(23) *buku   ne'e   <u>hera</u>   ae*
     book (Ind)   PROX.SG   dirty   many
     ' This book is too dirty.'

(24) *dènge   hèru   <u>sagoro</u>   hèi*
     with   moon   hot   also
     'When it is dry season.'

2.4 Colours

There are six lexemes indicating colours in Dhao as presented in (25).

(25) Lexemes of COLOURS

mèdi	'black'
pudhi	'white'
mangèru	'green'
mea	'red'
karara	'yellow'
rara	'a bit yellow'

It is obviously seen from the list of colours, that Dhao applies five basic colour systems. The lexeme *rara* 'a bit yellow' is considered as the reduced form of *karara* 'yellow'. The examples of colours are presented in (26) and (27) below. The colour *mea* 'red' modifies the head noun *nyama* 'raffia', while *pudhi* 'white' modifies the head noun *rai* 'land'.

(26) *dasar*   *nèngu*   *nyama*   <u>*mea*</u>
basic(Ind)   3sg   raffia   red
'The basic is made of red raffia strings.'

(27) *pakihu*   *rai*   <u>*pudhi*</u>   *dènge*   *j'u'u*
mixed   land   white   with   grass
'Mix the white soil with grass.'

2.5 Human propensities

There are eleven (11) lexemes indicating human propensities as presented in the list (28).

(28) Lexemes of HUMAN PROPENSITIES

kacèla	'angry'
j'èra	'sad'
karej'e	'happy'
maj'èni	'diligent'
baieeda	'lazy'
carui	'difficult'
goa	'stupid'
huj'u	'crazy'
madha'u	'afraid'
bani	'brave'
makae	'ashamed, shy'

The lexeme *carui* 'difficult' and *goa* 'stupid' do not have antonymous meaning in terms of lexical items. They are expressed with phrases, such as *carui boe* 'not difficult' or figurative expression, such as *dèlu mèu* 'smart' which literally means the inside of body is clean. Two examples (29 and 30) are given below.

(29) *èu   ne'e   dhèu   huj'u   dhèu   <u>goa</u>   na   e*
      2SG   PROX.SG   person   crazy   person   stupid   PART   EXCLA
      'Are you crazy or stupid person.'

(30) *èdhi   baku   j'èra   ae*
      1PL.INCL   PROH.NEG   suffer   many
      'We do not have to be very sad.'

2.6 PHYSICAL PROPERTIES

There are 24 lexemes indicating physical properties in Dhao, as presented in list (31).

(31) Lexemes of PHYSICAL PROPERTIES

mango	'dry'
basa	'wet'
bia	'heavy'
samaa	'light'
mako	'soft'
adhu	'hard'
kapulu	'thick (liquid)'
kabhète	'condensed, thick'
roe	'weak'
era	'strong'
tabolo	'round' (pillow)
kahore	'round' (ball)
lutu	'fine, narrow'
bhaka	'dull'
topo	'blunt'
madèka	'sharp'
mola	'straight'
koe	'bent'
motu	'leafless'
rapo	'leafy'
bhetu	'lush'
kabe'e	'moist'

kahèlu	'tangled'
tabhèli	'slippery'

Some lexemes do have synonym pairs. For example, the adjectives for 'thick' distinguishes *kapulu* 'thick' for liquid materials, such as water and milk and *kabhète* 'thick' for other materials, such as porridge and the like. The example of *kapulu* is given in (32). Dhao also distinguishes complete round shape *kahore* 'round' which refers to entities, like ball, and long round shape *tabolo* 'round', like bolster pillow, as illustrated in the example (33). Other examples of physical properties are given in (34) and (35).

(32) *èdhi*   *tao*   *èi*   <u>*kapulu*</u>   *bèi*   *nga*
     3SG.1PL   make   water   thick   grandmother   tag
     'Grandmother, we have to put the first coconut milk.'

(33) *bèke*   *ma*   *nanèlu*   <u>*tabolo*</u>
     lacerate   toward   pillow   round
     '(The tiger) lacerate the pillow.'

(34) *dhoka*   *sa-saba*   <u>*bia*</u>
     only   RED-work   heavy
     'only the difficult job'

(35) *abhu*   *rulai*   *i'a*   <u>*mola*</u>
     get   tail   fish   straight
     'Got fish which had straight tail.'

2.7 SPEED
There are six (6) lexemes indicating speed in Dhao, as presented in (36).

(36) Lexemes of SPEED

karohe	'fast'
mèri	'quick'
malai	'quick'
nena	'slow'
nèbhu	'slow, long'
babago	'slow'

There are three lexemes for 'slow'. They are different in terms of their semantic content. The adjective *nena* refers to action, while *nèbhu* refers to time frame. The example in (37) illustrates that the running of the boat is slow. Whereas, in (38), the phrase signals that the ship takes longer time to reach the destination,

compared to other ships. The antonymous expression is *kapa malai* 'express ship'. Another example indicating speed is illustrated by the lexeme *mèri* 'quick' in (39).

(37) *kapa   ne'e   <u>nena</u>*
    ship   PROX.SG   slow
    'This ship is (running) slow.'

(38) *kapa   <u>nèbhu</u>*
    ship   long.time
    'slow ship'

(39) *aku   meoaasu   na   mèri   ciki   ma   te   ja'a …*
    according.to   tiger   PART   quick   little   PART   because   1SG
    'The tiger said, "quickly please" because I am (hungry) ...'

3. MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES

The morphological properties presented here refer to the morphological markers that can distinguish the category of nouns and verbs. There is no morphological marker to indicate other categories, such as adjective and adverb. The morphological markers that will be discussed in this section include prefix *pa-* and (C)*a-* reduplication. Prefix *pa-* is typically used for the process of verbalization or causativization, while (C)*a-* reduplication is for the process of nominalization.

3.1 PREFIX *PA-*

Prefix *pa-* in Dhao can be attached to verbal categories, whether intransitive or transitive verbs and non-verbal categories, such as nouns. It is typically to indicate causative meaning when attached to intransitive verbs and reciprocal meaning when attached to transitive verbs. When attached to non-verbal elements, it derives the lexemes to verbal categories which also in fact have causative reading, the same as when attached to intransitive verbs. Some examples applying the prefix *pa-* are presented in the examples (41) to (44).

(40) *dhèu   sèra   <u>madhe</u>   boe*
    person   DIST.PL   die   not
    'Those people did not die.'

(41) *rèngu   <u>pa-madhe</u>   kahibi   èèna*
    3PL   CAUS-die   goat   DIST.SG
    'They kill that goat.'

(42) [*nèngu* *dènge* *ana* *èèna*] *pa-gama*
    3sg   with   child   DIST.SG RECIP-hit
    'S/he and the child hit each other.'

(43) *miu* *pa-ngara* *kabarai* *ne'e* *ne* *na* *ngaa*?
    2PL   CAUS-name   land   PROX.SG DEF PART what
    'What name do you give to this place?'

(44) *ja'a* *pa-èi* *nèngu* *ne'e*
    1SG CAUS-water 3SG   PROX.SG
    'I soldered it.'

The example (40) has the intransitive verb *madhe* 'die' which in this respect occupies predicate position with the noun phrase *dhèu sèra* 'those people' as the subject. In example (41), the prefix *pa-* is attached to the intransitive verb *madhe* 'die' which denotes causative meaning 'kill'. In this regard, the subject *rèngu* '3PL' causes the object *kahibi èèna* 'that goat' to die. Whereas in (42), the prefix *pa-* designates reciprocal meaning when attached to the transitive verb *gama* 'hit'. The examples in (43) and (44) illustrate the use of prefix *pa-* to verbalize nominal categories, such as *ngara* 'name' and *èi* 'water'. The earlier example denotes causative meaning in that causing something (*kabarai* 'land') to have name. The derived form *pa-èi* 'to solder' does not imply that something becomes water or causing something to have water, but rather executing an action that causes something to melt. It seems that the concept of "to melt' does not exist in Dhao; therefore, the analogy of water is applied. Nevertheless, as it has causative reading, *pa-* is also glossed as CAUS. In this section, the investigation is made towards lexemes that have been listed in Section 2.1 through Section 2.7 above in order to disclose the possibilities of those lexemes taking the prefix *pa-*. The syntactic function of the derived forms will be discussed in Section 5, so only briefly mentioned here when necessary.

    Most lexemes of AGE can take the prefix *pa-* to signal causative meaning. Take the example *hiu* 'new' and *dhui* 'old'. When making something to look like new or old, the prefix *pa-* is simply attached, such as *pahiu* 'make new' and *padhui* 'make old' respectively. The examples are illustrated in (45) and (46) below. Three lexemes of AGE cannot take the prefix *pa-*, they are *ngèru* 'young', *heka* 'old', and *kalicu* 'immature, young'. This is most likely due to their semantic properties in that they are natural process, and cannot undergo changes artificially.

(45) *nèngu* *pa-hiu* *mèdha* *tuku* *nèngu*
    3SG   CAUS-new thing   smith 3SG
    'He renew his smithing materials.'

(46) *ji'i*   *pa-madu'u*   *tèke*   *hua*   *lèmi*   *karo*
      1PL.EXCL   CAUS-ripe   keep   fruit   five   sack
      'We keep five sacks of fruit to become mature.'

All lexemes of DIMENSION as listed in Section 2.2 are possible to take the prefix *pa-* to denote causative meaning. The examples are illustrated as follows. The example in (47) has the prefix *pa-* attached to the lexeme *manii* 'thin' yielding the meaning 'to be thin'. Likewise, when the lexeme *baba* 'short' in (48) and *kapai* 'big' in (49) are prefixed with *pa-*, they bear causative meanings, 'make brief' and 'make big' respectively.

(47) *tuku*   *pa-manii,*   *ladhe*   *manii*   *n-are*   *ciki* …
      smith   CAUS-thin   see   thin   3SG-take   little
      'Pounded to be thin, if it is almost thin …'

(48) *t-are*   *pa-baba*   *ka*   *la*
      1PL.INCL-take   RECIP-short   PART   PART
      'Just make (it) brief.'

(49) *pa-kapai*   *èci*   *sèna*   *ka*   *saraga*
      CAUS-big   one   so.that   PART   beautiful
      'Make (it) big in order to be beautiful.'

For the lexemes of VALUES, only two lexemes, which are *pacuhi* 'cold' and *to'a* 'in need' cannot take the prefix *pa-*. The first syllable *pa* in *pacuhi* is apparently not a prefix, because there is no root *cuhi in Dhao. In addition, the impossibility of attaching the prefix *pa-* to the lexeme *to'a* 'in need' is most like because there is no concept in Dhao to cause someone to be in need, although it is still understandable. The semantic properties of 'in need' include also 'poor' or 'in difficult situation'. For this respect, Dhao can make use of the lexeme *j'èra* 'difficult/hard (life)', which belongs to human propensity. The examples of the lexemes taking the prefix *pa-* are presented as follows. The example in (50) illustrates that the lexeme *hera* 'dirty' takes the prefix *pa-*, that in turn results in the meaning 'make s.t. dirty'. In addition, the example in (51) demonstrates the use of the prefix *pa-* attached to the lexeme *mèu* 'clean' which results in the meaning 'make s.t. clean'.

(50) *nèngu*   *pa-hera*   *buku*   *ne'e*
      3SG   CAUS-dirty   book(Ind)   PROX.SG
      'S/he makes this book dirty.'

(51) *nèngu*   *pa-mèu*   *ka*   *de …*
      3SG   CAUS-clean   PART   SO
      'She clean up (her house), then …'

The same causative meaning brought by the prefix *pa-* can also apply to all
the lexemes of COLOURS. Take the example in (52) using the lexeme *pudhi*
'white'. It yields a causative meaning 'become white'.

(52) *ja'a*   *rase*   *pa-pudhi*   *ho*   *nèngu*   *j'aj'i*   *mi*   *mèdha*
      1SG   wash   CAUS-white   so.that   3SG   become   to   thing
      'I washed in order to become white and become something.'

Like most other lexemes, the prefix *pa-* attached to the lexemes of HUMAN
PROPENSITIES here also indicates causative meaning. Take the example using
the lexeme *j'èra* 'difficult'. The example in (53) illustrates that the subject *èu*
'2SG' is the actor that causes the object *ja'a* '1SG' experiencing hard life.

(53) *èu*   *ne'e*   *pa-j'èra*   *ja'a*   *sèmi*   *ngaa*
      2SG   PROX.SG   CAUS-difficult   1SG   like   what
      'You make me in trouble very much.'

For lexemes of PHYSICAL PROPERTIES in Dhao, four lexemes cannot take the
prefix *pa-*, namely *motu* 'leafless', *rapo* 'leafy', and *bhetu* 'lush'. Their semantic
properties most probably indicate natural process that cannot be changed
artificially, unless by nature. The prefix *pa-* attached to other lexemes of this
type also indicates causative meaning. The examples of *pa-* construction using
the lexemes of this type are illustrated by *palutu* 'make s.t. small/fined' in (54),
pa'adhu 'to braze (literally: to make s.o's heart hard to follow s.t)' in (55), and
pamola 'make s.t. straight' in (56).

(54) *ja'a*   *caci*   *kabhèu*   *pa-lutu*   *suu*   *ca*   *èta*
      1SG   k.o.cut.palm   beam   CAUS-fine   tip   a   piece
      'I cut a beam making its tip small'

(55) *sèna*   *ka*   *ji'i*   *baku*   *pa-adhu*   *dara*   *ji'i*
      so.that   PART   1PL.EXCL   do.not   CAUS-hard   inside   1PL.EXCL
      'in order that we do not braze our heart'

(56) *sèna*   *ka*   *baris*   *nèngu*   *pa-mola*   *ho*   *èdhi*   *kèi*
      so.that   PART   line(Ind)   3SG   CAUS-straight   so.that   1PL   dig
      'in order its line becomes straight, so we can dig'

Only two lexemes of SPEED can take the prefix *pa-*; they are *mèri* 'quick' and *nena* 'slow'. The example of this type is illustrated by the construction in (57) with the lexeme *mèri* 'quick'. Here, the attachment of the prefix *pa-* results in the meaning of causing someone or something to move more quickly. As seen below that the derived form *pa-mèri* 'CAUS-quick' co-occur with the motion verb *kako* 'to walk' forming a serial verb construction.

(57) *na*   *kako*   *pa-mèri*   *ka* …
      3SG.CL   walk   CAUS-quick   PART
      'He walked quickly then …'

Abundance of evidence has been presented in this section that the prefix *pa-* brings causative meaning to all possible lexemes. This indicates that those lexemes undoubtedly behave the same as intransitive verbs, as illustrated in the example (41). In contrast, none of the lexemes show characteristics similar to the example (42) that denote reciprocal meaning. Thus, none of the lexemes behave like transitive verbs. Similarly, none of the lexemes demonstrate an example, such as the causativization of the nominal categories *pa-ngara* 'cause to have name'. For this respect, the prefix *pa-* provides evidence that most lexemes behave the same as intransitive verbs. A few lexemes which are impossible with *pa-*, such as lexeme of AGE *kalicu* 'immature', lexeme of DIMENSION *iiki* 'small', and lexeme of HUMAN PROPENSITIES *to'a* 'in need' need further detailed analysis (see Section 7).

3.2 (C)*A-* REDUPLICATION

The partial reduplication in Dhao is attested as (C)*a-* reduplication in that it copies the initial consonant of the first syllable and add the phoneme /a/ to the given lexeme. Initial consonant is absent whenever the lexeme to be reduplicated is vowel initial, such as the long vowel initial lexeme *aapa* 'bad'. Thus, the phoneme /a/ is fixed in this regard. Such (C)*a-* reduplication is the only overt morphological marker in Dhao for nominalization process. The base of reduplication is the categories other than nouns. Lexemes which are identified as verbal categories are undergoing (C)*a-* reduplication to become nominal categories. As a result, the reduplicated lexemes are of course able to occupy nominal positions, such as the clausal arguments.

The typical (C)*a-* reduplication in Dhao is illustrated in the following examples. In (58), the verb *goe* 'lock' occupies the predicate position with the subject *nèngu* '3SG' and the object *boraka èèna* 'that box'. The verb *goe* is in turn partially reduplicated as *ga-goe* that refers to an instrument, which is 'key', as demonstrated by the example in (59). As such, it occupies argument position, which in this case, as object of the verb *ladhe* 'see'. Another example is using the verb *ngee* 'think' in (60). The reduplicated form *nga-ngee* 'thought' in (61) functions as possessed noun of *nèngu* '3SG'.

(58) *nèngu*   *goe*   *boraka*   *èèna*   *ka* …
    3SG   lock   cloth.box   DIST.SG   PART
    'He locked that box then …'

(59) *hèia*   *aku*   *nèngu*   *na*   *ladhe*   *ga-goe*
    then   according.to   3SG   PART   see   RED-lock
    'Then he said, "look for the key".'

(60) *ja'a*   *ngee*   *na*   *rèngu*   *dua*   *ra*   *mahu*
    1SG   think   PART   3PL   two   3PL.CL   drunk
    'I think they both are drunk'

(61) *dhoka*   *nga-ngee*   *nèngu*   *ne'e*   *la-'e*   *asa*   *karehe*
    only   RED-think   3SG   PROX.SG   go-3SG   to   bad
    'but her thought refers the negative thing.'

Regarding the lexemes indicated in the universal semantic types in Section 2, none of the lexemes of AGE can be reduplicated. The lexeme *hiu* 'new' can in fact be reduplicated into *hahiu*. However, the reduplication results in an expression referring to an abstract concept related to time, instead of nominal entity, as demonstrated by the typical examples previously. In example (62), the reduplicated form *ha-hiu* covers the entity that has been made clear in the previous context and the time related to it. It can be freely translated as 'something new'. Consequently, it cannot occupy the core argument position, such as subject or object. It appears like adverbial function or topic in such construction. No other construction is possible for *hahiu*.

(62) *heka*   *ha-hiu*   *kèna*   *aa*   *èdhi*   *te'a*   *mèka*
    just   RED-new   DEF   and   1PL.INCL   1PL.INCL-know   not.yet
    'As it (the work) is still new, so we do not know yet.'

Only two lexemes of DIMENSION can be reduplicated; they are *baba* 'short' and *bhèla* 'thick'. The examples are illustrated below. The reduplication of *bhèla* 'thick' results in *bha-bhèla* which is here translated as 'the thick part' or 'thickness'. The example (64) shows that the lexeme *baba* 'short' is reduplicated into *ba-baba* that again indicate the part of the entity it refers to. In this case, it is translated as 'the shallow part'.

(63) *ènyu*   *pertama*   *èdhi*   *tari*   *bha-bhèla*   *nèngu*
    weave   first(Ind)   1PL   plait   RED-thick   3SG
    'Firstly, we plait the thick part (of the leaves).'

(64) *ji'I   la-'a asa   ba-baba*
     1PL.EXCL   go-1PL.EXCL to   RED-short
     'We go to the shallow part (of sea).'

As shown that reduplicating the only two lexemes of DIMENSION denotes part-whole reading, not creating a complete entity, as illustrated in (59) and (61).

For lexemes of VALUES, nine of them can be reduplicated, while 11 of them cannot. The examples of well-formed reduplicated lexemes are presented as follows. The lexeme *be'a* 'good' is reduplicated into *ba-be'a* which means 'goodness' which in example (65) refers to prosperity when combined with *ka-kee* 'sweetness'. Meanwhile in (66), the lexeme *sala* 'wrong' is reduplicated into *sa-sala* 'wrongness, sin'.

(65) <u>*ba-be'a*</u>   *ka-kee*   *hia*   *ana*   *èdhi*   *dhèu*   *dua*   *se'e*
     RED-good   RED-sweet   give   child   1PL.INCL   person   two   PROX.PL
     'The prosperity for both of our children'

(66) *… dhu   pa-èle*   *ji'i*   *ngèti*   <u>*sa-sala*</u>   *ne'e*
     … REL   CAUS-finished   1PL.EXCL   from   RED-wrong   PROX.SG
     '… (only God) that can forgive us from our sins.'

The other seven lexemes which are also possible to undergo reduplication are listed in (67) below.

(67) Lexemes of VALUES reduplicated
      aapa   'bad'   >   <u>*a-aapa*</u>   'badness'
      hera   'dirty'   >   <u>*ha-hera*</u>   'dirt'
      mèu   'clean'   >   <u>*ma-mèu*</u>   'cleanness'
      lèke   'right'   >   <u>*la-lèke*</u>   'the right one'
      kaja   'rich'   >   <u>*ka-kaja*</u>   'wealth'
      maho   'cold'   >   <u>*ma-maho*</u>   'shade'
      to'a   'in need' >   <u>*ta-to'a*</u>   'difficulty'

The reduplication of lexemes of COLOURS is confined to *mea* 'red' and *mèdi* 'black'. Similar to the lexemes of DIMENSION, the reduplication of these lexemes denotes part-whole reading in that the colour of the entity represents the entity as a whole.

(68) *heo*   *èle*   *ma-mea,*   *èki*   *pa-èci*   *ma-mea*   *dènge …*
      enlace   finish   RED-red   tie   CAUS-one   RED-red   with

      'After wrapping the red part, join the red part with …'

(69) *tao*   *pabeʾa*   *ma-mea*   *dènge*   *karara*   *sera*
      make   CAUS-good   RED-red   with   yellow   DIST.PL

      'to make the red and yellow parts better.'

The only two lexemes of HUMAN PROPENSITIES that undergo reduplication are *j'èra* 'difficult' and *goa* 'stupid'. The example (70) illustrates it. The lexeme *j'èra* is reduplicated into *j'a-j'èra* 'difficulty' which indicates mental situation.

(70) *j'a-j'èra*   *sèmi*   *ja'a*   *ne'e*
      RED-difficult   like   1SG   PROX.SG

      'The difficulty like (what) I (experience) here.'

For the lexemes of PHYSICAL PROPERTIES, reduplication is confined to five lexemes. Two examples are presented in (71) and (72) as illustration. The reduplicated form *ba-bia* 'heaviness' indicates the weight of the material mentioned in the previous discourse, which is a roll of yarn. The form *a-'èra* that is derived from *èra* 'strong' designates the meaning 'power' in this case. The other three lexemes with reduplication are *mola* 'straight', *bhetu* 'lush', and *roe* 'weak', which become *ma-mola* 'the straight', *bha-bhetu* 'the lush', and *ra-roe* 'weakness' respectively.

(71) *ca*   *kaloos*   *ba-bia*   *nèngu …*
      a   bale(Mal)   RED-heavy   3SG

      'the weight of one bale is …'

(72) *padelo*   *uuru*   *a-'èra*   *èu*
      reveal   earlier   RED-strong   2SG

      'Show your power first.'

The only lexeme of SPEED that can be reduplicated is *mèri* 'quick'. No example is indicated in the corpus. However, elicitation proves that this lexeme can be reduplicated into *ma-mèri* that denotes the meaning 'the speed'. It can be evinced by the fact that it is possible to occur as possessed noun within NP, such as *mamèri nèngu* 'its speed'.

4. Noun Phrases

The head of noun phrases (NP) in Dhao can be a noun, a personal pronoun, a demonstrative, or an interrogative. The NP modifiers typically follow the head nouns. In this section, the possibility of the lexemes indicatedin Section

2 above to occur as NP heads and NP modifiers are examined. Besides that, the discussion will also touch on their occurrence within NP either as direct modifiers or indirect modifiers through relative clauses and in possessive phrases.

4.1 NP HEADS AND MODIFIERS

The lexemes that are able to occupy NP heads are said to bear nominal properties, whereas those that are able to modify NP are referring to adjectival properties. Modification in Dhao is expressed in two ways. The first is direct modification, where the modifying lexeme typically juxtaposed follows the head noun. Another way is indirect modification in that the modifying lexeme can modify the head noun through relative clause, which in Dhao is marked with *dhu* 'REL'. In the example (73) below, the noun *dhèu* 'person' is the head NP which is modified by the demonstrative *èèna* 'DIST.SG'. In such construction, the NP *dhèu èèna* 'that person' syntactically occupies clausal subject position. Furthermore, the object position is filled with a complex NP *sasadhu kalai kare cue* 'a sasando made of kare wood'. The NP head is *sasadhu* 'k.o. musical instrument', while the modifiers are the other NP *kalai* 'branch' and *kare* 'k.o. tree'. The numeral *cue* 'one' modifies the whole object NPs. The example (74) shows that the modification is expressed through relative clause marked with *dhu* 'REL'. The head NP is the compound word *lii lolo* 'story', modified by the relative clause *dhu baba ne'e* 'which is short'. The relative clause expresses the attribute of the story which is short in length.

(73) <u>dhèu</u> <u>èèna</u> hia ja'a <u>sasadhu</u> <u>kalai</u> <u>kare</u> <u>cue</u>

person DIST.SG give 1SG k.o.music.instr branch k.o.tree one

'That person gave me a sasando made of kare wood.'

(74) *sange* *eena* *ka* *lii* *lolo* <u>*dhu*</u> <u>*baba*</u> *ne'e*

put DIST.SG PART voice tell REL short PROX.SG

'That's all this short story.'

All lexemes of AGE and COLOURS can modify NPs which indicate that they have adjectival functions. For example, in (75), the noun *mone* 'male' is modified by the lexeme *heka* 'old' to form the NP *mone heka* 'the old man'. The NP is in turn modified by the numeral *èci* 'one' to express quantity. The example in (76) illustrates that the lexeme *hiu* 'new' modifies the noun *rai* 'land'. The modification using lexemes of COLOURS is illustrated in (77) in which the lexeme *mea* 'red' modifies the head noun *nyama* 'raffia'.

(75) *calaa* <u>*mone*</u> <u>*heka*</u> *èci* *kako* *re* *èèna*

not.long male old one walk through DIST.SG

'Suddenly, an old man passed through that (place).'

(76) *aku*   *nèngu*   *ka*   *hèu*   <u>*rai*</u>   <u>*hiu*</u>
      say   3SG   PART   smell   land   new
      'She said, so it was the smell of new land.'

(77) *dasar*   *nèngu*   <u>*nyama*</u>   <u>*mea*</u>
      base (Ind)   3SG   raffia   red
      'The basic of it made of red rope.'

While all lexemes of AGE can function as NP modifiers, only two of them can function as the NP heads, namely *limuri* 'latter' and *uuru* 'earlier'. The example (78) illustrates that the lexeme *limuri* 'latter' functions as modifier in the NP *ana limuri* 'the current young people' with the head noun is *ana* 'child', while the example (79) shows that the same *limuri* 'latter' functions as the head of the NP *limuri ne'e* 'nowadays' indicating time.[1] Its function as NP head is evinced by the occurrence of the modifying demonstrative *ne'e* 'PROX.SG' which in this regard demonstrates the similar NP construction as shown in (74) and (75) above. Likewise, the lexeme *uuru* 'earlier' alone in example (79) also functions as NP head.

(78) *ji'i*   <u>*ana*</u>   <u>*limuri*</u>   *se'e*   *ka*   *ji'i*   *pake*
      1PL.EXCL   child   latter   PROX.PL   PART   1PL.EXCL   use
      'We as current young people use (it)'

(79) *ngèti*   <u>*uuru*</u>   *toke*   *dai*   <u>*limuri*</u> *ne'e*   *ne*
      from   earlier   until   reach   latter   PROX.SG   DEF
      'from the past until nowadays.'

Not all lexemes of AGE can modify head nouns through relative clauses. As indicated in (75) above that *heka* 'old' can directly modify the head noun, but it cannot occur in relative clause. Thus, it is unacceptable to have the sentence as shown (80) below. This also holds for its antonym *ngèru* 'young'.

(80) **calaa*   <u>*mone*</u>   <u>*dhu*</u>   <u>*heka*</u>   *èèna*   *kako*   *re*   *èèna*
      not.long   male   REL   old   DIST.SG   walk   through   DIST.SG
      'Suddenly a man who is old passed through the place.'

The lexemes of AGE demonstrated above give strong evidence that lexemes directly modifying nouns do not always occur in relative clauses in terms of modification. In other words, direct and indirect modifications are not always

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[1]   The lexemes *uuru* 'earlier' and *limuri* 'latter' behave the same as other temporal nouns, such as *lodo* 'day', *madae* 'morning', and *bèli* 'tomorrow'.

symmetrical. This is also true for the lexemes of VALUES. The lexemes *ciki* 'a little, few' and *sagoro* 'hot' can directly modify head nouns, but cannot occur in relative clauses. For example, the lexeme *ciki* 'little' in (81) below illustrates its function as NP modifier but it cannot appear like the example in (82).

(81)   *ja'a*   *abhu*   <u>*doi*</u>   <u>*ciki*</u>,   *ama*   *e*
       1SG   get   money   little   father   PART
       'I had some money, sir.'

(82)   *<u>doi</u>   <u>dhu</u>   <u>ciki</u>   ne'e …*
       money   REL   little   PROX.SG
       'The very little money …'

For the lexemes of DIMENSION, only one lexeme cannot function as NP modifier which is *kobo* 'narrow'. Thus, it is wrong in (83) below. The lexeme *kobo* 'narrow' can only modify noun through relative clause, as given in (84).

(83)   *<u>boto</u>   <u>hèba</u>   <u>kobo</u>   èèna   ana   iiki   ae*
       bottle   mouth   narrow   DIST.SG   child   small   many
       'The bottle with narrow mouth is very small.'

(84)   *<u>èmu</u>   <u>dhu</u>   <u>kobo</u>   èèna   unu   ce?*
       house   REL   narrow   DIST.SG   own   who
       'The house that is narrow belongs to who?'

Six lexemes of DIMENSION can function as NP heads; they are *madhera* 'long', *bhèla* 'wide', *kapai* 'big', *marèma* 'deep', *ma'aa* 'thick', and *manii* 'thin'. For instance, the lexeme *madhera* 'long' in (85) functions as modifier within the NP *aj'u madhera* 'long wood'. Whereas, in (86), *madhera* 'long' functions as the NP head.

(85)   *dhèu   leo   abhu   <u>aj'u</u>   <u>madhera</u>   sèra*
       person   other   get   wood   long   DIST.PL
       'Other people get those long woods.'

(86)   *<u>mahera</u>   sèra   unu   ce?*
       long   DIST.PL   own   who
       'Those long ones belong to who?'

The lexeme *iiki* 'small' and *aae* 'big, great' cannot function as NP heads, except combine with the nouns, *ana* and *mone* respectively. For instance, the sentence (87) indicates that the lexeme *iiki* 'small' modifies the head noun *sabha* 'k.o.

container'. The noun *ana* 'child' is optional in that construction. The context does not indicate any meaning in connection with human 'child'. Meanwhile, *ana iiki* 'small child' in (88) confirms its function as NP head. When *ana iiki* 'small (child)' occurs alone, it may have two interpretations. One is 'small child', and the other is 'the small one'. In this respect, the context of the discourse plays an important role here. If the discourse involves persons, it may indicate 'small child', but if not, then it refers to the non-human entity.

(87) *sabha* (*ana*) *iiki* *èci* *tempel* *ètu* *karasa* *na*
k.o. container (child) small one patch(Ind) LOC side 3SG.CL
'A small container was on its side.'

(88) *ana* *iiki* *èèna* *babago* *ae*
child small DIST.SG slow many
'The small child is very slow.'
'The small one is very slow.'

As mentioned above that the lexemes of VALUES *ciki* 'a little, few' and *sagoro* 'hot' can only occur in direct modification. While the majority can function this way, the lexemes *mèu* 'clean', *lèke* 'right', and *maho* 'cold' cannot directly modify head nouns. Thus, the modification illustrated by NP, such as *èi pana* 'hot water' in (89), is acceptable but **èi maho* 'cold water' in (90) is not, unless it is in relative clause, such as (91). In order to express such an intended meaning, the lexeme *pacuhi* 'cold' is most preferably used, as in (92).

(89) *pai* *èi* *pana* *se'e* *hia* *ne* *hèi*
cook water hot PROX.PL give 3SG.O also
'Boil much water for her, too.'

(90) **hia* *ja'a* *èi* *maho*
give 1SG water cold
'Give me cold water.'

(91) *hia* *ja'a* *èi* *dhu* *maho* *èèna*
give 1SG water REL cold DIST.SG
'Give me the water which is cold.'

(92) *hia* *ja'a* *èi* *pacuhi*
give 1SG water cold
'Give me cold water.'

Only two lexemes of VALUES can function as the NP heads, namely *karehe* and *kaj'alu*. For instance, in (93) below, the occurrence of *karehe* 'bad' after the

preposition *asa* 'to' signals a position very similar to physical entities, like places. The example is telling about an opinion that is driven to a bad thing.

(93) | *dhoka* | *nga-ngee* | *nèngu* | *ne'e* | *la-'e* | *asa* | <u>*karehe*</u> | *ka* | *ne* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| only | RED-think | 3SG | PROX.SG | go-3SG | to | bad | PART | PROX.SG |

'But she began to think about the negative thing.'

While all other lexemes of COLOURS can function as NP head, the lexeme *rara* 'a bit yellow' cannot be NP head. It is most probably because its phonological reduction from *karara* 'yellow' with the semantic shift in this respect. In example (94) and (95), the colours *mea* 'red' and *karara* 'yellow' can occupy NP head position, but *rara* 'a bit yellow' cannot.

(94) | *ja'a* | *sanèpu* | <u>*mea*</u> | *deo* | *èèna* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tying | red | recent | DIST.SG |

'I used to tie the red.'

(95) | ja'a | sanèpu | <u>*karara*</u>/*<u>*rara*</u> | deo | èèna |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | tying | yellow | recent | DIST.SG |

Of eleven lexemes of HUMAN PROPENSITIES, six of them cannot directly modify head nouns, they are *kacèla* 'angry', *jèra* 'sad', *carui* 'difficult', *maj'èni* 'dilligent', *baieeda* 'lazy', and *karej'e* 'happy'. This signals that they can only modify nouns through relative clause, as illustrated by the example in (98). The lexemes *huj'u* 'crazy' and *goa* 'stupid' respectively modify the noun *dhèu* in(96). In contrast, it is ill- formed when using lexeme, such as *kacèla* 'angry' to directly modify NP *dhèu kacèla* in (97). None of them can function as NP heads.

(96) | *èu* | *ne'e* | <u>*dhèu*</u> | <u>*huj'u*</u>, | <u>*dhèu*</u> | <u>*goa*</u> | *na* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG | PROX.SG | person | crazy | person | stupid | PART | PART |

'Are you crazy or stupid,'

(97) | *<u>*dhèu*</u> | <u>*kacèla*</u> | *èèna* | *mai* | *le* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| person | angry | DIST.SG | come | already |

'The angry person already comes.'

(98) | <u>*dhèu*</u> | <u>*dhu*</u> | <u>*kacèla*</u> | *èèna* | *mai* | *le* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| person | REL | angry | DIST.SG | come | already |

'The person who is angry already comes.'

Most lexemes of PHYSICAL PROPERTIES can function as NP modifiers, except seven lexemes. They include *madèka* 'sharp', *mola* 'straight', *koe* 'bent',

motu 'leafless', *rapo* 'leafy', *bhetu* 'leafy', and *kadhii* 'strong'. Thus, an NP, such as *kapoke topo* 'blunt arrow' is well-formed, while the phrase *aj'u koe* for the intended meaning 'bent wood' is wrong. Similar to other indirect modifying lexemes, these also can only modify noun through relative clauses. None of lexemes indicating physical properties can function as NP heads.

(99) | <u>*kapoke*</u> | <u>*topo*</u> | *èèena* | *bisa* | *boe* | *pake* |
      |-----------------|---------------|---------|--------|-------|--------|
      | arrow | blunt | DIST.SG | be.able| not | use |

'The blunt arrow cannot be used.'

(100) | **ja'a* | *abhu* | <u>*aj'u*</u> | <u>*koe*</u> |
      |----------|--------|----------------|----------------|
      | 1SG | get | wood | bent |

'I get a bent wood.'

For the lexemes of SPEED, only *malai* 'fast' and *nèbhu* 'long' can directly modify nouns, for instance, in the NP *kapa malai* 'fast boat' and *kapa nèbhu* 'slow boat'. None of them can occur as modifier through relative clauses and function as NP heads.

In terms of noun modification in Dhao, lexemes attested as verbal categories can also modify head nouns. For instance, the verb *paredha* 'govern' in (101) and *madhe* 'die' in (102) are typically expressing action and state respectively. Thus, they typically occur predicatively. However, in these two examples, they function as noun modifiers. The verb *paredha* 'govern' denotes the activity the head noun bears and the verb *madhe* 'die' signals the state of the head noun.

(101) | *lii* | *mai* | *ngèti* | <u>*dhèu*</u> | <u>*paredha*</u> | *dedha* | *sèi* |
      |-------|-------|---------|----------------|-------------------|---------|--------|
      | voice | come | from | person | govern | above | REM.PL |

'There was a message from government.'

(102) | *biasa* | *dhèu* | *Dhao* | *ladhe* | *dhèu* | *madhe* | *na* | *ra* | *hèle* |
      |---------|--------|--------|---------|--------|---------|------|------|--------|
      | usual(Ind) | person | Ndao | see | person | die | PART | 3PL.CL | open |

dhèpi
woven.mat

'If there is dead person on Ndao, Ndaonese usually use mat.'

4.2 Possession

Dhao has two strategies of expressing possession. One is through NP structure which is so-called NP-internal possession (Dixon 2010b). The other strategy is lexical, using the lexeme *unu* 'own' and *dènge* 'with', which in turn occur as predicative possession. In this section, the discussion is confined to the earlier strategy, which is NP-internal possession. In Dhao, the possessor NP and possessed NP are simply juxtaposed without any overt marking. The possessor follows the possessed NP. The example (103) below demonstrates

that the NP *èmu* 'house' functions as the possessed, whereas *ja'a* '1sg' as the possessor.

(103) *ja'a*   *pua*   *nèngu*   *dame*   *dara*   <u>*èmu*</u>   <u>*ja'a*</u>
      1SG   ask   3SG   paint   inside   house   1SG
      'I aksed him to paint the inside part of my house.'

It seems that the lexemes that can independently function as NP heads, as presented in Section 4.1 above, may not always be well-formed as possessed NP. Only those that refer to physical entities can be possessed nouns. Lexemes indicating temporal nouns, such as *limuri* 'latter' and *uuru* 'earlier', cannot be possessed NP in this regard despite being NP heads. The example in (104) illustrates the use of the lexemes of DIMENSION as possessed nouns. The lexemes, such as *kapai* 'big' and *madhera* 'long' are compatible as possessed nouns since they are able to function as NP heads independently and refer to physical properties. Unfortunately, the possessor of these lexemes cannot be full NPs, but rather confined to pronouns. For instance, in (104) and (105), the lexeme *kapai* 'big' and *madhera* 'long' occur before the personal pronoun *nèngu* '3SG' as the possessor. The two possessed nouns refer to entities that are already made clear in the previous contexts. Whenever, the possessor is a full NP, the construction is unacceptable, as shown in example (106) using the lexeme of COLOURS.

(104) *uku*   <u>*kapai*</u>   <u>*nèngu*</u>   *dènge* …
      measure   big   3SG   with
      'measure its bigness (size) with …'

(105) <u>*madhera*</u>   <u>*nèngu*</u>   *dènge*   *ba-bhèla*
      long   3SG   with   RED-wide
      'its length and width'

(106) *<u>karara</u>*   *kodho*   *èèna*   *be'a*   *bia*
      yellow   shirt   DIST.SG   good   heavy
      'Its yellow colour of the shirt is very good.'

As such, only a few lexemes can occupy the position of possessed NP. Lexemes of DIMENSION can function as possessed NP, except *baba* 'short' and *bhèla* 'wide' that need to be reduplicated. Only *kaj'alu* 'dirty' from VALUES can be possessed NP by reason that it can also occur independently to express property or attribute of physical entities. All lexemes of COLOURS are compatible as possessed NP, except *rara* 'a bit yellow'. On the other hand, no lexeme of PHYSICAL PROPERTIES is acceptable in this slot, simply because they mostly indicate the physical state, instead of the physical entities. This is also evinced by the fact that they also cannot appear alone in nominal position.

They can only function as NP modifiers or clausal predicates. Similarly, lexemes of HUMAN PROPENSITIES and SPEED cannot fill such a possessed NP slot, except *nèbhu* 'long, slow', as illustrated in (107). The possessor *nèngu* '3SG' refers to a context in which the action in the clause requires some duration of time for completion.

(107) *ja'a*   *rasa*   <u>*nèbhu*</u>   <u>*nèngu*</u> …
      1SG   feel(Ind)   long   3SG
      'I think, it spent …' (Literally: its length of time)

5. PREDICATE PHRASES

This type of construction is labelled as predicate phrases, instead of verb phrases simply because the predicate position in Dhao is occupied not only by verbal categories, but also by non-verbal categories, as explained in Section 1.

Most of the lexemes listed in the universal semantic types preciously can function as clausal predicate. Whenever they do, they are intransitive verbs in that they express statement of a property (Dixon 2010b: 71). Many of them can occur both as NP modifier and intransitive clausal predicate (Dixon, 2010a: 63–100). This phenomenon should be considered as lexemes used in two different functions, instead of conversion or zero derivation (this will be highlighted later in Section 7 below). Take the lexeme of AGE *heka* 'old' that functions as NP modifier, as in (75) above, *heka* can also function as clausal predicate to denote age of the subject. In the example (108), *heka* is in predicate position modified by *ae* 'many' which in this respect functions as an adverb and *le* indicating perfective context. Likewise, the lexeme *dhui* 'old' indicates the state of *èmu* 'house' - the subject of the clause.

(108) *dhe'u*   *èèna*   <u>*heka*</u>   *ae*   *le*
      person   DIST.SG   old   many   already
      'The man is already too old.'

(109) *èmu*   *ne'e*   <u>*dhui*</u>   *le*
      house   PROX.SG   old   already
      'The house is already old.'

The same also holds for other lexemes. The lexemes of DIMENSION functioning as predicate are illustrated by the examples in (110) and (111). *Madhera* 'long' and *kapai* 'big' indicate the state of the respective subjects, *aj'u* 'wood' and *èmu* 'house'.

(110) *aj'u*   *èèna*   <u>*madhera*</u>   *ae*
      wood   DIST.SG   long   many
      'The wood is very long.'

(111) *èmu*   *ne'e*   <u>*kapai*</u>   *te*   *dhèu*   *pea*   *boe*   *ètu*   *dara*
   house PROX.SG big   but person live not LOC inside
   'That house is big but people do not live in it.'

Unlike those other lexemes of DIMENSION, *iiki* 'small' and *aae* 'big, great' can never function as predicate, except combined with their noun counterpart *ana* 'child' and *mone* 'male' respectively. The unacceptable example in (113) provides evidence of such argumentation.

(112) *èmu*   *èèna*   <u>*mone*</u>   <u>*aae*/*ana*</u>   <u>*iiki*</u>
   house DIST.SG male big/child small
   'That house is big/small.'

(113) **èmu*   *èèna*   <u>*aae*/*iiki*</u>
   house DIST.SG big/small

All lexemes of VALUES can function as predicate, except *to'a* 'in need'. As mentioned above that this lexeme can function as NP modifier, especially for human, such as *dhèu* 'person' in order to denote the meaning 'poor person/people'. However, there is no way to verbalize it. The prefix *pa-* can be attached to it in order to indicate the causative meaning; *pa-to'a* 'to make poor'. The atachement of the prefix *pa-* is understandable but pragmatically not acceptable. Making some one poor implies that someone makes someone else suffer. In such as context, the lexeme *j'èra* 'suffer, sad' is preferably employed with prefix *pa-*. For example, as illustrated in (114), someone does not want to make other people suffer, the prefix *pa-* is attached to the lexeme *j'èra* 'suffer, sad'. The lexeme *j'èra* 'suffer' itself is a lexeme of HUMAN PROPENSITIES that cannot be used as NP modifier. It can only function as predicate. It indicates that it is an intransitive verb, rather than a lexeme that can be used for noun modification.

(114) *ja'a*   *dèi*   *boe*   <u>*pa-j'èra*</u>   *dhèu*
   1SG want not CAUS-suffer person
   'I do not want to make people suffer.'

Besides the lexeme *j'èra* 'suffer', three more lexemes, namely *kacèla* 'angry', *carui* 'difficult', and *karej'e* 'happy' can only be predicates, and never be used as NP modifiers, as stated previously. Some lexemes are really expressing the attributes of the head nouns, nevertheless impossibly occur directly in NP structure. Those are, for example, adjectives of VALUE *mèu* 'clean', PHYSICAL PROPERTY *mola* 'straight' and HUMAN PROPENSITY *maj'èni* 'diligent'. Therefore, their occurrence following the NP head is a predicative function, instead of modification. For instance, the lexeme *mèu* 'clean' follows the NP in (115). It is, however, not modifier, but rather predicate. It is evinced by the

fact that the example (116) is ill-formed. The modification is acceptable only through relative clause, as in (117).

(115) [*èmu   dhèu*]_{NP}   <u>*mèu*</u>
      house   person   clean
      'The house of the person was clean.'

(116) **èmu   <u>*mèu*</u>   *ne'e*
      house   clean   PROX.SG
      'This clean house'

(117) [*èmu   dhèu*]_{NP}   <u>*dhu*</u>   <u>*mèu*</u>
      house   person   REL   clean
      'The house of the person was clean.'

The same also holds for the lexeme *mola* 'straight'. In (118), it comes immediately after the NP. Nevertheless, it does not indicate a modification, but a predicative function. The ill-formed construction in (119) in contrast with the well-formed one in (120) implies that *mola* is not compatible for direct modification of the NP head.

(118) *abhu*   [*rulai   i'a*]_{NP}   <u>*mola*</u>
      get   tail   fish   staight
      '(We) got fish which had straight tail.'

(119) **<u>rulai</u>   i'a   <u>mola</u>   ka   ne'e*
      tail   fish   straight   PART   PROX.SG
      'The straight fish tail is here.'

(120) [*rulai   i'a*]_{NP}   <u>*dhu*</u>   <u>*mola*</u>   *ka   ne'e*
      ail   fish   REL   straight   PART   PROX.SG
      'The straight fish tail is here.'

The example using the lexeme *maj'èni* 'dilligent' is given below.

(121) *aku   nèngu   na   ho   <u>maj'èni</u>   na*
      according.to   3SG   PART   so.that   diligent   PART
      'He (the king) said, if you were diligent then …'

For the lexemes of SPEED, three of them can be heads of predicates, they are *babago* 'slow', *nena* 'late, slow', *malai* 'quick', whereas the others cannot. The example (122) with the lexeme *nena* 'slow' below illustrates the lexeme of

SPEED in predicate position.

(122) *karena   ma-mai   ji'i   doe   ne'e   ako   <u>nena</u>*
      because(Ind) RED-come 1PL.EXCL today PROX.SG rather slow
      'because our coming is a little bit late.'

Other lexemes of SPEED *karohe* 'fast', *mèri* 'quickly', and *lai-lai* 'quickly' cannot function as both predicates and NP modifiers. They can only occur in the position in which they modify the predicate. The example (123) illustrates that the lexeme *mèri* 'quickly' occurs after the clausal predicate which is *rai* 'run'. It modifies the predicate in that it describes the speed of the running done by the subject *ana èèna* 'that child'. As such, *mèri* is in adverbial function.

(123) *ana   èèna   <u>rai</u>   <u>mèri</u>   asa   nèi*
      child DIST.SG run quickly to REM.SG
      'The child runs quickly over there.'

Lexemes of other semantic types can also function as adverbial. For example, the lexeme *bia* 'heavy' which is of PHYSICAL PROPERTIES is used as the predicate modifier for *be'a* 'good' as shown in (124). Likewise, the lexeme *kapai* 'big' of DIMENSION is used as modifier of the predicate *saba* 'work' in (125).

(124) *èpu   mola   <u>be'a</u>   <u>bia</u>   nga*
      grandchild straight very good tag
      '(my) grandchild is very good (too straight).'

(125) *tèke   uuru   ku   rai   èèna   te   <u>saba</u>   <u>kapai</u>*
      leave earlier tag land DIST.SG because work big
      'Just keep the land because there are still many things to do. (Literally: big work)'

Some lexemes of VALUES also play the same role in that they can be used in adverbial function. For example, the lexeme *kateme* 'intact' is used to modify the predicate which is in the form of serial verbs *tao nare* 'manage.' In this respect, it denotes the completeness of the action or events stated by the predicate.

(126) *nèngu   <u>tao</u>   <u>nare</u>   <u>kateme</u>   ngaa-ngaa   asa   li'u   ka*
      3SG make 3SG.take intact RED-what to outside PART
      'She managed all things completely outside.'

6. COMPARISON
In addition to stating a property and specifying the referent of a noun,

the notion "adjective" may also serve as the parameter in comparative constructions (Dixon 2010b: 70; Bhat and Pustet 2000). It means that comparative construction is among other things one way of distinguishing adjective from other categories. This section briefly describes the use of the lexemes already indicated in Section 2 in comparative constructions. Dhao uses the lexeme *risi* 'more, exceed' to mark comparative constructions. Another synonymous lexeme *lènge* 'exceed' is also used, as illustrated by the example in (127). The lexeme *lènge* is used to compare the height of person with the bud of plants. However, since it is less used in the corpus, this section is focusing on the use of *risi*. Since the marker *risi* in fact can also be used to indicate both comparative and superlative degree, it is simply glossed as 'COMPA'.

(127)   *subhu*   *taruu*   *mola*   *asa*   *dedha*   *la-'e*   *ho*   *baka*
       shoot   continue   straight to   above   go-3SG   so that like
       <u>*lènge*</u>   *èdhi*
       pass   1PL
       '(Its bud) is straight up, taller than us.'

In Dhao, the marker *risi* 'COMPA' is used for all comparison, regardless of nominal, adjectival, or verbal. For example, in (128), the marker *risi* 'COMPA' follows the lexeme of DIMENSION *kapai* 'big'. In this sentence, the subject *ana èèna* 'that kid' is compared to the object *ana ja'a* 'my kid'. The lexeme *kapai* 'big' here semantically indicates the property of kids in the comparison. Syntactically, *kapai* occupies the predicate position, as explained previously. In (129), *risi* 'COMPA' follows the verb *ne'a* '3SG-know'. It compares the knowledge of the subject *ama* 'father' with individual(s) who are implicit in this context about the situation of the adjunct *rèngu* '3PL'.

(128)   *ana*   *èèna*   <u>*kapai*</u>   <u>*risi*</u>   *ngèti*   *ana*   *ja'a*
       child   DIST.SG   big   COMPA   from   child   1SG
       'That kid is bigger than my kid.'

(129)   *Ama*   <u>*n-e'a*</u>   <u>*risi*</u>   *eele*   *keadaan*   *rèngu*
       father   3SG-know   COMPA   PART   situation(Ind)   3PL
       'Father, (you) know more their situation.'

Another example comes from the lexeme of COLOURS *mea* 'red' in (130). The marker *risi* 'COMPA' follows the colour *mea* 'red' which compares the colour of the subject *kodho èèna* 'that shirt' and the prepositional object *kodho ja'a* 'my shirt'. In addition, the example (131) illustrates the use of *risi* after the numeral *juta* 'million'. In this case, it does not compare the entities involved in the discourse, but rather states the exceeding quantity. The same also holds for the example in (132). The marker *risi* here signals the exceeding quantity of entity

that is implied in this context. Thus, it is glossed as 'exceed' in this respect.

(130) *kodho   èèna   <u>mea</u>   <u>risi</u>   ngèti   kodho   ja'a*
      shirt   DIST.SG   red   COMPA   from   shirt   1SG
      'The shirt is more red than my shirt.'

(131) *nèngu   abhu   dai   <u>ca</u>   <u>juta</u>   <u>risi</u>   sèra*
      3SG   get   until   a   million   exceed   DIST.PL
      'S/he gets more than one million.'

(132) *sabha.tanae   èna   èta   la   <u>pènu</u>   <u>risi</u>*
      small.container   six   TAP   PART   full   exceed
      'six palm juice container but full, even more'

The use of the comparative marker *risi* 'COMPA' demonstrated above suggests that the marker *risi* 'COMPA' occur post-predicatively. The predicate can be adjectival, such as *kapai* 'big' and *mea* 'red', verbal, such as *ne'a* '3SG-know' and *pènu* 'full' and numeral, such as *juta* 'million'.

The superlative reading is illustrated in the example (133) below. The marker *risi* follows the lexeme of SPEED *nèbhu* that in this case means 'long'. It denotes that the house already exists in Dhao for a long time, compared to all other houses. The length of time in this regard is interpreted as the 'oldest'.

(133) *èmu   èèna   <u>nèbhu</u>   <u>risi</u>   ètu   Dhao*
      house   DIST.SG   long   COMPA   LOC   Dhao
      'That house is the oldest one in Dhao.'

As demonstrated above, both comparative and superlative degrees are marked syntactically with *risi* 'COMPA', regardless of the word category. In this regard, it is not only designates comparison, but also quantity and intensity.

7. DISCUSSION ON GRAMMATICAL PROFILES

The description in the previous sections presumably indicates the characteristics of the lexemes, either morphologically or syntactically. Bhat and Pustet (2000) point out that the primary, categorial function of adjectives is the modification of nouns in an NP. Dixon (2010b: 80) also argues that only adjective can directly modify a noun, not a verb. However, Dixon does not deny that, in some languages, both verb and adjective can modify a noun. If the verbs do, then there must be a distinction between them, either morphologically, syntactically, or semantically. Under this view, the interpretation is that adjectives have restricted compatibility for verbal categorial function, such as predication. Similarly, verbs must have constraints when functioning as modifiers; for instance they modify noun only through relative clause. Summarizing the

size of the lexemes described above, the number of occurrences based on the semantic types is presented in Table 1.

Semantic types	Number of lexemes	Pref. *pa-*	RED	MOD	P/MOD	P	N	ADV
AGE	8	5	1	-	8	-	2	2
DIMENSION	12	12	2	2	9	1	5	1
VALUE	18	16	8	2	14	2	2	6
COLOURS	6	6	1	-	6	-	5	-
HUMAN PROPENSITIES	11	9	2	-	5	6	2	2
PHYSICAL PROPERTIES	24	16	7	-	18	6	2	2
SPEED	6	2	1	-	2	2	-	6
TOTAL	85	66	22	4	62	17	18	19
%	100	77.65	25.88	4.71	72.94	20.00	21.18	22.35

Table 1. Number of occurrence based on semantic types.

As shown in the Table 1, 17 lexemes or 20.00% can only occur predicatively (P) and never directly modify NP heads (MOD). For example, one lexeme of DIMENSION *kobo* 'narrow', two lexemes of VALUES *mèu* 'clean', and *maho* 'cold', six lexemes of PHYSICAL PROPERTIES *mola* 'straight', *koe* 'bent', *madèka* 'sharp', *motu* 'leafless', *rapo* 'leafy', and *bhetu* 'lush'. These lexemes can only modify nouns through relative clause. As such, the lexemes of this type are undoubtedly included in verbal class. Four lexemes can only function in direct modification of nouns and never occur as predicate heads. Two lexemes of DIMENSION *iiki* 'small' and *aae* 'big, great' and two lexemes VALUES *aapa* 'bad' and *to'a* 'in need'. These four lexemes need to be marked in order to function predicatively or nominally. While the other three can take the prefix *pa-* for verbalization, the lexeme *iiki* cannot. It can be used predicatively only when combined with the noun *ana* 'child', as explained previously. In order to function nominally, *to'a* and *aapa* undergo (C)*a-* reduplication becoming *tato'a* 'obstacle' and *aaapa* 'bad thing' respectively, whereas *iiki* and *aae* cannot be reduplicated. They simply function nominally with their compound forms *ana iiki* 'the small one' and *mone aae* 'the big one'. Of these four lexemes, *iiki* is the only one that in its bare form cannot take the prefix *pa-*, unless attached to its compound form *ana iiki* to become *pa-ana iiki* 'to make small'. This phenomenon may be explained as follows. The four lexemes may be the prototypical or "true" adjectives in Dhao that can only function as direct noun modifiers. They require prefix *pa-* to qualify for transitive predicate heads, except *iiki*. The impossibility of the lexeme *iiki* alone to take the prefix *pa-* is most probably because it loses its morphosyntactic characteristics and maintain the lexical form *ana* 'child' as its semantic counterpart. It is cross-linguistically not unusual that *ana* 'child' can denote the meaning 'small' (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 65–67).

The majority of the lexemes can be both predicate heads and noun modifiers (P/MOD), namely 62 lexemes out of 86 in total or 72.94%. Since only a few number of lexemes share features with nominal (N), that is 18 lexemes or 21.18%, it can be concluded here that the lexemes which have adjectival function share grammatical properties with verbs, instead of nouns. This finding more or less narrows down the investigation of defining the proto-typical adjectives in Dhao. The focus now is to account for the distinction between adjectives and verbs. Seeing that the semantic parameter has been done previously in which the lexemes have been classified into seven semantic types in Section 2, this section is focusing on the discussion of the morphological and syntactic properties already described in Section 3 through Section 5 above.

As seen on the Table 1 that the lexemes taking the prefix *pa-* is far higher in number, namely 66 or 77.65%, than those undergoing reduplication, namely 22 or 25.88% only. This also gives a strong indication that those lexemes tend to share morphological characteristic with verbs, rather than with nouns. The nominalization by reduplication also makes no distinction at all between verbs and those "adjectival" lexemes. Furthermore, like intransitive verbs, as illustrated in (41) above, the prefix *pa-* also signals causative meaning when attached to all possible lexemes. They can also occur as heads of intransitive predicates in their bare forms. For this, it can be said that they behave like intransitive verbs, if not saying that they are intransitive verbs. However, not all of them are able to head the transitive predicate as what intransitive verbs do when taking the prefix *pa-*. For example, the example in (47) above is using the lexeme of DIMENSION *manii* 'thin' to which the prefix *pa-* is attached. There is also a verb *tuku* 'to smith' in that construction, making the predicate a serial verb construction. The verb *tuku* 'to smith' as the first verb and *pamanii* 'to make thin' as the second verb. The second verb in this case, however, cannot be the head of transitive predicate, but combined with other verbs. This is different from other lexemes that when taking the prefix *pa-*, other verbs included in the predicate position are optional. More examples are presented below for the sake of clarity. The example (134) illustrates that the lexeme *manii* 'thin' functions as direct noun modifier, while in (135), it functions as intransitive predicate. The question mark (?) in example (137) signals that such a construction is understandable but is considered as not completely well-formed, except preceded by other verbs, such as *tao* 'make' in (136).

(134) *aj'u*   *manii*   *sèra*   *dhèu*   *leo*   *abhu*   *le*
      wood   thin   DIST.PL person   other   get   already
      'For the thin woods, other people already get them.'

(135) *aj'u*   *sèra*   *manii*
      wood   DIST.PL thin
      'Those woods are thin.'

(136)   *nèngu*   <u>*tao*</u>   <u>*pa*-*manii*</u>   *aj'u*   *sèra*
        3sg   make   caus-thin   wood   dist.pl
        'He makes the woods thinner.'

(137)   ?*nèngu*   <u>*pa*-*manii*</u>   *aj'u*   *sèra*
        3sg   caus-thin   wood   dist.pl
        'He makes the woods thinner.'

Indeed, the attachment of the prefix *pa-* results in causative reading. However, the ill-formedness of its syntactic position as transitive predicate designates that the arguments involved in such construction do not belong to *pa-manii*, but *tao*. Thus, the first verb, in this regard, *tao* is the predicate head of the transitive construction and the second verb as the predicate modifier. It is different when applying lexemes of other semantic types, such as VALUES. In example (138), it is clearly seen that attaching the prefix *pa-* to the lexeme *hera* 'dirty' results in causative meaning which is syntactically heads the transitive predicate. Inserting the verb, like *tao*, in order to make the context explicit even violates the construction.

(138)   *nèngu*   (*tao)   <u>*pa*-*hera*</u>   *èmu*   *èèna*
        3sg   (make)   caus-dirty   house   dist.sg
        'He makes the house dirty.'

To claim that the prefix *pa-* is used to causativize intransitive verbs and verbalize non-verbal categories, as illustrated in (43) and (44) above using the nouns *ngara* 'name' and *èi* 'water', then the derived form of *pa-manii* 'to make thin' in (136) should also be considered as a causative verb. Nevertheless, its ill-formedness in predicate head suggests that it cannot be included in verbs. Under this interpretation, it can be said that the prefix *pa-* in Dhao indeed denotes causative reading, yet does not always results in predicate heads. Lexemes typically behave adjectivally can take the prefix *pa-* to generate causative reading but cannot head transitive predicate. As Dixon (2010b: 82) argues that adjectives typically behave in a special way within serial verb constructions (compare Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006). The lexemes bearing this sort of morphosyntactic characteristics only come from the lexemes of DIMENSION. Other lexemes taking the prefix *pa-* behave the same as intransitive verbs. Consequently, they are included in intransitive verbs, instead of adjectives.

    In Table 1 above, it is also demonstrated that out of 85 lexemes in total, 19 lexemes or 22.35% of them share properties with adverbial functions. It is undeniable that in many languages, adjectives can also serve as predicate modifiers. Two lexemes of SPEED can only occur as predicate modifiers to express manner, instead of noun modifiers. Those lexemes are *karohe* 'fast' and *mèri* 'quickly'. These two lexemes are simply included in adverbial category,

leaving the other four lexemes mapped into intransitive verbs.

Based on the abovementioned analyses, the size of the lexemes attested as adjectives in Dhao is reanalysed as having eleven (11) adjectives denoting DIMENSION, excluding *tede* 'flimsy' as it functions only as predicate, and two adjectives denoting VALUES. These thirteen (13) adjectives may be classified into two subclasses, namely simple adjectives which has four members; two adjectives of DIMENSION *aae* 'big, great' and *iiki* 'small' and two of VALUES *to'a* 'in need' and *aapa* 'bad'. The other nine adjectives of DIMENSION can be classified as "recategorized" adjectives in that they also take on the characteristics of verbal categories. This analysis is in line with the classification of semantic properties proposed in (Dixon 1982; Dixon and Aikhenvald 2004; Dixon 2010b), followed by (Bhat and Pustet 2000) that lexical items denoting the properties of dimension and values are the most two types representing prototypical core adjectives.

8. Conclusion

The description along this paper clearly demonstrates that, semantically, lexemes denoting age, dimension, values, colours, human propensities, physical properties, and speed are not always qualify for adjectives. Morphological and syntactic parameters should also be taken into account in order to define the prototypical characteristics of adjectives. Out of 85 lexemes examined in this paper, thirteen (13) lexemes are attested as adjectives in Dhao. This finding is based on the argumentation that these thirteen adjectives have the primary function which is to modify the head nouns. Four adjectives can only be in verbal categorial function when they are marked. The adjectives denoting dimension *iiki* 'small' and *aae* 'big, great' require the lexemes of their semantic counterpart *ana* 'child' and *mone* 'male' to function as intransitive predicates, while the adjectives of values *aapa* 'bad' and *to'a* 'in need' never become intransitive predicates. Like other adjectives and intransitive verbs, they also take the prefix *pa-*, except *iiki* 'small', to generate causative meaning. However, they are restricted in use as they require other verbs in syntactic level to function as the predicate heads. The same also holds for the other nine adjectives denoting dimension. Although they can be compatible for intransitive predicates in their bare forms, simply like intransitive verbs, they differ in terms of taking the prefix *pa-*. While intransitive verbs taking prefix *pa-* can always be the heads of transitive predicates, adjectives cannot. They can only follow the predicate head as the second verb in the serial verb construction as predicate modifiers in this regard. They are eventually considered as "recategorized" adjectives, by reason that they can fill in the intransitive predicate slot without any overt marking, the same as typical intransitive verbs. Thus, adjectives in Dhao include only two semantic properties, namely dimension and values. In terms of size, there are thirteen adjectives which are morphosyntactically divided into two, namely simple and recategorized adjectives.

Abbreviations used

1	:	first person
2	:	second person
3	:	third person
C	:	consonant
CAUS	:	causative
CL	:	clitic
COMPA	:	comparison
EXCL	:	exclusive
EXCLA	:	exclamation
DEF	:	definite
DIST	:	distal
INCL	:	inclusive
Ind	:	Indonesian
k.o.	:	kind of
LOC	:	locative
Mal	:	Malay
MOD	:	modifier
N	:	noun/nominal
NEG	:	negation/negator
NP	:	noun phrase
O	:	object
P	:	predicate
PL	:	plural
Pref	:	prefix
PROH	:	prohibition
PROX	:	proximal
PART	:	particle
RECIP	:	reciprocal
RED	:	reduplication
REL	:	relative clause marker
REM	:	remote
S	:	subject
SG	:	singular
V	:	verb

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