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TOPICS IN THE DESCRIPTION OF KIRIWINA

Ralph Lawton

Edited by Malcolm Ross and Janet Ezard



Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
The Australian National University
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PREFACE

Ralph Lawton first went to Papua New Guinea as a missionary of the Methodist Church of South Australia in 1957, moving to the Trobriand Islands in 1961, where he remained with his family until 1973. During this time he learned Kiriwina (also known in the linguistic literature as 'Kilivila'), the language of the Trobriand people, and started his translation of the New Testament into the Kiriwina language. Translating continued after his return to Australia, with Lawton making eight three-month visits to the Trobriands during the decade 1976 - 1986 and Trobriand co-translators travelling to Canberra and working with him there. The resulting translation was published in 1984. From 1973 to 1979, Ralph Lawton studied Linguistics at the Australian National University in Canberra, receiving the Master of Arts degree in 1980. His dissertation described the Kiriwina classifier system. When the New Testament translation was complete, he started work on the Old Testament, and this is nearing completion at the time of writing and should be published in 1993.

The present volume contains an edited version of Lawton's dissertation and of other work which he did in the course of his studies. It would, of course, have been preferable for this work to be published shortly after its completion, but the author's commitment to the work of translation prevented him from editing his work for publication. Although this work has been read by a number of scholars working on Oceanic Austronesian languages, and especially by those investigating the languages of the Papuan Tip region of Papua New Guinea, it deserves to be available to a wider audience. On the one hand, Lawton's long-term residence in the Trobriands and continued involvement with the Kiriwina language, combined with his formal studies, have ensured an outstanding command of the language. On the other, the Kiriwina language, and especially its classifier system, have attracted linguistic attention since the publication of Malinowski's paper 'Classificatory particles in the language of Kiriwina' in 1920. For these reasons, the editors of *Pacific Linguistics* have long hoped to publish Lawton's work. The publication in 1986 of Senft's *Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand islanders* at long last provided a published description, albeit a brief one, of the Kiriwina language. Senft's work is indebted at various points to Lawton's, whilst Lawton's study provides a more detailed description of certain parts of Kiriwina grammar than Senft's does. It therefore seemed high time to publish Lawton's work, and arrangements were made in consultation with him to edit it for publication. Malcolm Ross discussed the editorial issues with Ralph Lawton and drew up an editorial plan and a proposed structure for the present work, whilst Janet Ezard, formerly a copy editor with *Pacific Linguistics* (as well as having been involved in Bible translation work in Iamalele and Tawala, Papuan Tip languages quite closely related to Kiriwina), did most of the work of executing the editorial plan. The resulting manuscript was then checked and amended by Lawton.

One result of the delay in publication is that the theories current when Lawton did his formal studies and wrote the present work would now be considered rather dated by many linguists. However, to update the theoretical base of this work would entail a complete re-writing, which circumstances prohibit. In order to ensure publication of Lawton's description, the editors of *Pacific Linguistics* have therefore decided to publish it in Series D, one of the functions of which is to provide an outlet for 'archival' publications.

Topics covered by the present work are the phonology of Kiriwina, a detailed account of the verb phrase, Kiriwina clause structure and its variations and their functions, and an extensive description of the system of classifiers (Malinowski's 'classificatory particles') which first attracted linguists' attention to the language. Although at first sight this might seem a somewhat patchy coverage of the language, it in fact includes most of its problematic (and interesting) areas and almost all of its bound morphology. Lawton's detailed recording of the classifier system will interest a wide range of linguists. His description of 'Foregrounding' in Kiriwina is also of special interest, as he makes the claim that Kiriwina clause structure is basically subject-verb-object, whereas Senft describes it as verb-subject-object, a description which Lithgow (1988) suggests is controversial. The publication of the texts in Appendix 1 of the present work will hopefully contribute to a resolution of this controversy.

Another controversy involving Kiriwina concerns its place among the languages of the Papuan Tip region. Kiriwina is closely related to Muyuw, spoken on Woodlark Island, but Kiriwina and Muyuw – both dominated structurally by their classifier system – are structurally rather less similar to the fifty or so other Oceanic Austronesian of the region than the latter are to each other. Ross (1988 and forthcoming) has argued that, in spite of these differences, Kiriwina and Muyuw belong with these other languages to a single Papuan Tip subgroup of the Western Oceanic group, whilst Chowning (1989) suggests that Kiriwina and Muyuw may represent a separate incursion into the region. Hopefully, the data and description in the present work will also lead to an increase in our knowledge of the region's linguistic prehistory.

Malcolm Ross
Canberra, February 1992

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My Kiriwina friends early sensed the interest I had in their language, and over the years they have been eager to teach me. My first teacher was Inose Ugwalubu, an old man at the time of my first arrival in Kiriwina (1961), who had been a *tokubukwabuya* 'unmarried young man' when the first resident missionary, Rev. Samuel Fellows, arrived in Kiriwina in 1894. Another early associate, still a close friend, was Lepani Gumagawa who, after several years as Principal of the Vernacular Theological Training Institute of the United Church at Bwaruada, was appointed to the post I originally held as Superintendent Minister on Oyabia mission station. The Kiriwina friend with whom I have spent most of my time, however, is Pastor Antonio Lubisa Bunaimata, a high-ranking *Tabalu* and a humble Christian. To his quick wit and ready comprehension of my curiosity I owe a great number of the insights I have gained into the Kiriwina language. To these friends, and to many others, I acknowledge my indebtedness and express my thanks.

The United Church in Papua New Guinea released me for a year of linguistic study in 1973, then the subsequent award of an Australian National University scholarship enabled me to undertake a Master's degree course in the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts. When that scholarship terminated I was enabled to continue as a part-time student through my wife's willing assumption of the role of breadwinner. The Mission Board of the (then) Methodist Church gave financial assistance for three years towards housing costs. I make grateful acknowledgement to all these.

I must also acknowledge help from my friends and the members of my family, who played their part in making possible our continued stay in Canberra and my continuation as a student.

I am deeply indebted to Drs K. Rensch and William A. Foley, and also to Professor R.M.W. Dixon, who gave me discerning and sympathetic guidance whenever I sought it, and I here express my thanks to them.

A special word of thanks goes to my daughter, Mrs Jenny Borck, who willingly and ably undertook the typing of the original manuscripts. *Ve, latugu nambwailigu, kagutoki! Ina nakabitamyoku.*

My colleagues of the Linguistics Department in the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, have always been helpful, but I must here acknowledge a special debt of gratitude to Dr Malcolm Ross, who has consistently urged me to publish my work on the Kiriwina language. Seeing that I was unable to spend the necessary time on preparation of the texts for publication, he generously offered to serve as editor, and with the help of Mrs Janet Ezard as co-editor the texts have been prepared for publication.

I want to record here my gratitude for the penetrating questions and comments appended to early drafts of the edited text by Janet, so that the whole text is being presented in a much tidier and more coherent form than that I would have been able to produce.

Malcolm has been my main encouragement in preparing this work, largely because of his interest in the subject matter and his enthusiasm for its publication; he has attended me through the mazes of my own arguments of description and analysis, and by his quiet comments and suggestions on arrangement of data has brought the whole work to a publishable condition. Janet and Malcolm, my thanks.

I acknowledge that many parts of this descriptive work are not nearly as good as they should be. (This is of course totally attributable to me, and in no slightest way bears on the excellent editorial service extended to me!) I hope however that other linguists will be caught up by the fascination this language has for me, and may possibly be encouraged to examine it with clearer minds and do better justice to its description.

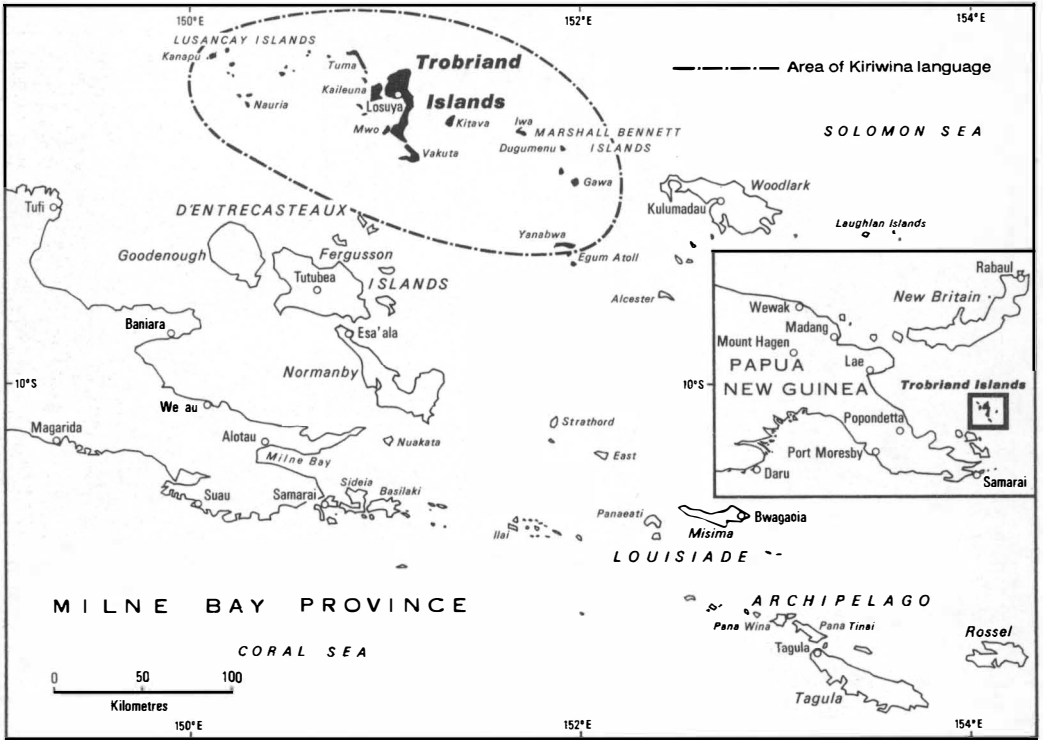
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Adj	adjective word
adj	adjective morpheme
adj ₁	class (1) adjective
adv	adverb morpheme
Adv	adverb word
alt	alternative morpheme
ant	anterior (distinctive feature)
assim	assimilation
C	consonant
c	consonant (in reduplicated pattern)
Cl	classifier morpheme
comp	completive prefix
conj	conjunction
cor	coronal (distinctive feature)
deg	degree
deic	deictic
diph	diphthong
du	dual
emph	emphatic
excl	exclusive
fut	future
gen	genitive
hab	habitual prefix
hn	head noun
hw	head word within a constituent
incl	inclusive
incomp	incompletive prefix
interrog	interrogative morpheme
loc	location
Mal	form cited by Malinowski
Md/md	mode word
Mode	mode-indicating constituent
MR	morphophonemic juncture rule
n ₁	class (1) noun
neg	negative
NP	noun phrase
num	numeral morpheme
obj	object
o.f	object focus
ord	ordinal

pl	plural
PNP	predicate noun phrase
poss	possessive
PP	predicate phrase
p.pron	personal pronoun
pred	predicate
prep	preposition
PrepP	prepositional phrase
prohib	prohibition
R	phrase structure rule
redup	reduplication
Sa	sentence adverbial
S.conj	sentence conjunction
Sent	sentence
sg	singular
s.o.	someone
SR	stress rule
S.stress	sentence stress
s.th.	something
subj	subject
sup	superlative
SVO	subject-verb-object (in various orders)
temp	temporal
V	vowel
v	vowel (in reduplicated pattern)
v	verb root (in wordlist)
v.adv	verb root adverbial
v.dat	verb root dative suffix
Vb	verb word
vb ₁	class (1) verb root
vb ₂	class (2) verb root
vb ₃	class (3) verb root
vb.modal	mode-indicating verb
vb.obj	object marker suffix
vb.subj	subject marker prefix
vb.ref	verb referent prefixes
v.f	verb focus
VP	verb phrase
VR	verb root
Vs	verb stem
#	indicates word boundary

In the translating of Kiriwian text, two translations are given: formal and free. The formal translation is written first, each word being written directly below the segment it translated; hyphens are used in an attempt to make the word-groups of the formal English translation conform to the Kiriwian words (although this is not always possible, as in the case of discontinuous morphemes). The free translation does not seek to conform to the formal shape of the Kiriwian segments.

Where rules occur in text, they are first verbalised then expressed in abbreviated form, with the abbreviations used being identified as they are employed. In Appendix 2 however all rules are given in close sequence without verbalisation.



MAP 1: MILNE BAY PROVINCE



A KIRIWINA VILLAGE IN HARVEST MONTH

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 KIRIWINAN SOCIETY

Kiriwinan society is divided in two different ways, which it is convenient to regard as vertical and horizontal divisions.

The vertical dimension is the membership of all Kiriwinans in one of four *kumila* 'clans'. These are the *Malasi*, *Lukosisiga*, *Lukulobuta* and *Lukuba* clans. A clan has mythological association with one animal and one bird. Each clan is itself divided into a large number of *dala* 'family lines'. Marriage is exogamous, so that a *toMalasi* 'member of the Malasi clan' has to choose his bride or brides from the other three clans. As descent is matrilineal, every newborn baby has his *kumila* membership as his birthright. By the same token, no outsider from any other culture may gain admission to any clan within Kiriwinan society, but remains all his or her life a *tomitawasi* 'stranger' or a *togilagala* 'migrant'. If however an outsider marries a Kiriwinan woman, his children are automatically clan members within Kiriwinan society.

The horizontal division of Kiriwinan society forms two groups, cutting across all clans. The upper, numerically smaller, group is the *gweguya* 'chiefs', and the lower majority is the *tokai* 'commoners'. Thus each *kumila* has at the 'top' about three of its *dala* with chiefly rank, and some twenty or more *dala* who are commoners. The chiefly *dala* have cultural connections with one another across clan boundaries, giving chiefs as a group more in common than the vertical connections within one *kumila* may give. There are however many clan obligations which can never be over-ridden in any way by chiefly privilege, such as the obligations devolving on every clan member on the death of a member of that clan within the village. The horizontal division of society has the effect of clearly dividing *gweguya* and *tokai*. For example, marriage is never effected between a chief and a commoner.

The membership of the chiefly *dala* is hierarchical, one's place in a chiefly *dala* being determined by one's mother's status in the genealogical tree of that *dala*, which goes back into mythological association with clan beginnings. This hierarchical, chiefly order is probably unique among Papua New Guinean societies, having more in common with Polynesian social structures in Tonga and Samoa.

A chief has two characteristics: his *karaiwaga* 'chiefly power' and his *koni* 'chiefly privilege'. His *karaiwaga* is connected for the most part with his magical powers or skills. Thus the family line having highest rank within the *Malasi* clan, the *Tabalu*, are traditionally responsible for "rising and setting of the sun, and movements of the moon and stars...wind, and tide, both foul and fair weather, rain and dry spells" (Lawton 1968:5f.). So the whole gardening cycle is considered to be under the control of the *Tabalu* chief, which gives him immense power.

His *koni* may be marked by the ornamentation he is traditionally permitted to wear on his person or display on his houses, or by the number of wives he may take. Apart from polygamy at this level, Kiriwinan society is monogamous.

The Kiriwinan people are subsistence gardeners, and there is no land to spare for any significant amount of cash crops or plantations. Yams are the staple food and, as these are planted and harvested only once within a year's cycle of seasons, the culture is inextricably bound up with each year's cycle of clearing, planting, weeding, harvesting and storing of the yam crop. The men are the gardeners, though the women are traditionally responsible for the weeding and share some other tasks.

The main food-yam is the *taitu*, of which there are some fifteen varieties. The yam most highly valued for ceremonial purposes is the *kuvi*, of which some 20 varieties are named by the Kiriwinan gardeners. One other vegetable, *uri* 'taro', is also an important crop, both for food and in ceremonial usage, and some 30 varieties are recognised within the Kiriwinan taxonomy.

Magic holds a strong place in Kiriwinan culture, being employed at all stages of the gardening cycle to promote garden fertility and reduce theft, and also in connection with sickness and its cure, success of fishing and trading expeditions, and in the daily concerns of birth, community relationships and death. Its hold is not as strong today, and in some places the village pastor has taken the place of the *towosi* 'garden magician', holding a ritual Christian act of worship in the garden at the beginning of clearing activity. There are some interesting instances of syncretism between the old and new ways. Black magic, or death sorcery, still holds considerable power and is concerned with manipulating the dreaded *bogau* spirits and the *mlukwausi* 'flying witches'; supreme power in this area is the traditional preserve of the *Tabalu* chiefs.

Kiriwinans are artists, as their carvings of canoe prows, chiefly houseboards, and other *objets d'art* testify, holding as they do pride of place in ethnological collections all over the world. Their long association with *kula* (Malinowski 1922), with its finely crafted stone axe blades and shell ornaments; their skill in dancing and drumming, with the associated chants and personal adornment; their love of song, both traditional and modern – these are some of the areas that show the extent to which a love of symmetry, grace, rhythm and harmony is a part of every Kiriwinan.

Specialisation in certain areas of effort towards items of material culture is a part of Kiriwinan life, and is also part of the reason why the Kiriwinan people as a whole have resisted social change. Traditionally one group of villages is responsible for, or has a monopoly over, the carving of large wooden bowls; another group alone does the finely decorated lime gourds; another group traditionally fishes for the *kaloumwa* shell which is the basis of the *kula* necklace, and processes it as well; another group is the specialist group of shark fishermen; and so on. The same tendency towards specialisation has made itself evident in modern times, as the carving skills of the Kiriwinans have become adapted to the cash opportunities of the tourist traffic. Thus large flat wooden dishes come mainly from one village, fish-shaped bowls from another, the best ebony walking sticks from yet another.

The origins of the Kiriwinan people are unknown. By the accounts of the *liliu* 'myths' they issued from the earth of Kiriwina and its nearby islands; each *dala* is able to point to some cave or orifice in soil or rock from which, mythical account states, that *dala* originated. The issuing-forth place is called the *bwala* 'house' of that *dala*.

Earliest contacts with other cultures were probably with Malay and European pearlers in the period 1850-1870, with some blackbirding trips being known also during that period. Traders, both Malay and European, settled sporadically in the late 1880s. The first missionary contact was with the Methodist Church in 1892, with the first permanent staff settling there in 1894. Government patrols were made to the area in the last few years of the nineteenth century and government officers settled in Kiriwina about 1908.

The first vernacular literature was produced in the late 1890s by the Methodist Mission, which also undertook an extensive program of vernacular education – to such good effect that today the children of Kiriwina learn to read and write as part of their naturally acquired culture while growing up in the village, although for the most part vernacular schools do not presently function. Roman Catholic missions, established in 1935, place great emphasis on education and have added to the stock of vernacular literature available to Kiriwinans.

Today the Kiriwinans have a reputation for holding tenaciously to their culture in spite of the various influences (government, mission, commerce, tourist) pressing on them from all sides. There is here a greater adherence to simple forms of traditional dress than in any other group within the Milne Bay Province, and the pressure of other languages (English, Motu – both Police and Hiri – the Dobuan lingua franca, Tok Pisin and others) has made little incursion into the Kiriwinan language. The Kiriwinans use their own language with a steady pride in its suitability for all phases of life, and rather tend to scorn other languages.

Today the Kiriwinan people remain an industrious, extroverted, cheerful, honest people. They do not respond readily to casual overtures of friendship from outsiders,¹ yet those outsiders who with intelligence and tact make friends from among the Kiriwinan people find they have friends for life.

1.2 THE KIRIWINAN LANGUAGE

The general linguistic scene in the Milne Bay Province is one of great diversity. Characteristically there are small linguistic groups which average for the whole province some 2,000 speakers per language. The Kiriwina language has approximately 16,000, the largest number of speakers of one language within the Province (statistics from Lithgow 1976:448f.).² It is also biggest in terms of geographical distribution.

Kiriwinan is a member of the Oceanic subgroup, as delineated by Milke (1965:330), within Austronesian, having a place within his suggested “New Guinea Cluster” (p.331).

The word *Kiriwina* arises from an early European confusion in pronouncing *Kilivila*, as fluctuation occurs in the *r,l,n* area of phonology (see 2.1.4.1), and even now *v* is frequently confused with *w*. Many examples of the latter occur in Malinowski's text examples. *Kiriwina* is generally accepted today, even within the Trobriand Islands population, as the general name for the largest island, the people and the language of the Trobriand Islands. Other names for this language which have been used by other writers include *Kilivila*, *the Trobriand Island language* and (rarely) *Boyowa*.

When the Overseas Missions Department of the Methodist Church commenced work in the Trobriand Islands in 1894 its headquarters was established in the central area of the

¹ The modern intrusion of tourism has strained the friendliness of the Kiriwinan people as a whole more than any other area of culture contact.

² By 1991, the Kiriwina language had about 29,000 speakers.

Kavataria dialect, and it has thus been this dialect which has been the vehicle for most literature and vernacular education to date. Although the Kilivila dialect on the northern half of Kiriwina Island (politically the dominant area) has by far the greater number of speakers, yet a recent attempt to make it the official medium for all literacy work in Kiriwinan was strenuously opposed by Kiriwinans. Surprisingly, the opposition came as much from the Kilivila dialect area as elsewhere, the high-ranking *Tabalu* chief, Vanoi, of Omarakana village in the centre of Kilivila being among its opponents. The reasons are sociologically based, as the Kavataria dialect has acquired certain status; it has also acquired certain associations which make it alone acceptable to the Kiriwinan people as a whole for literature in their language.

1.3 KIRIWINAN DIALECTS

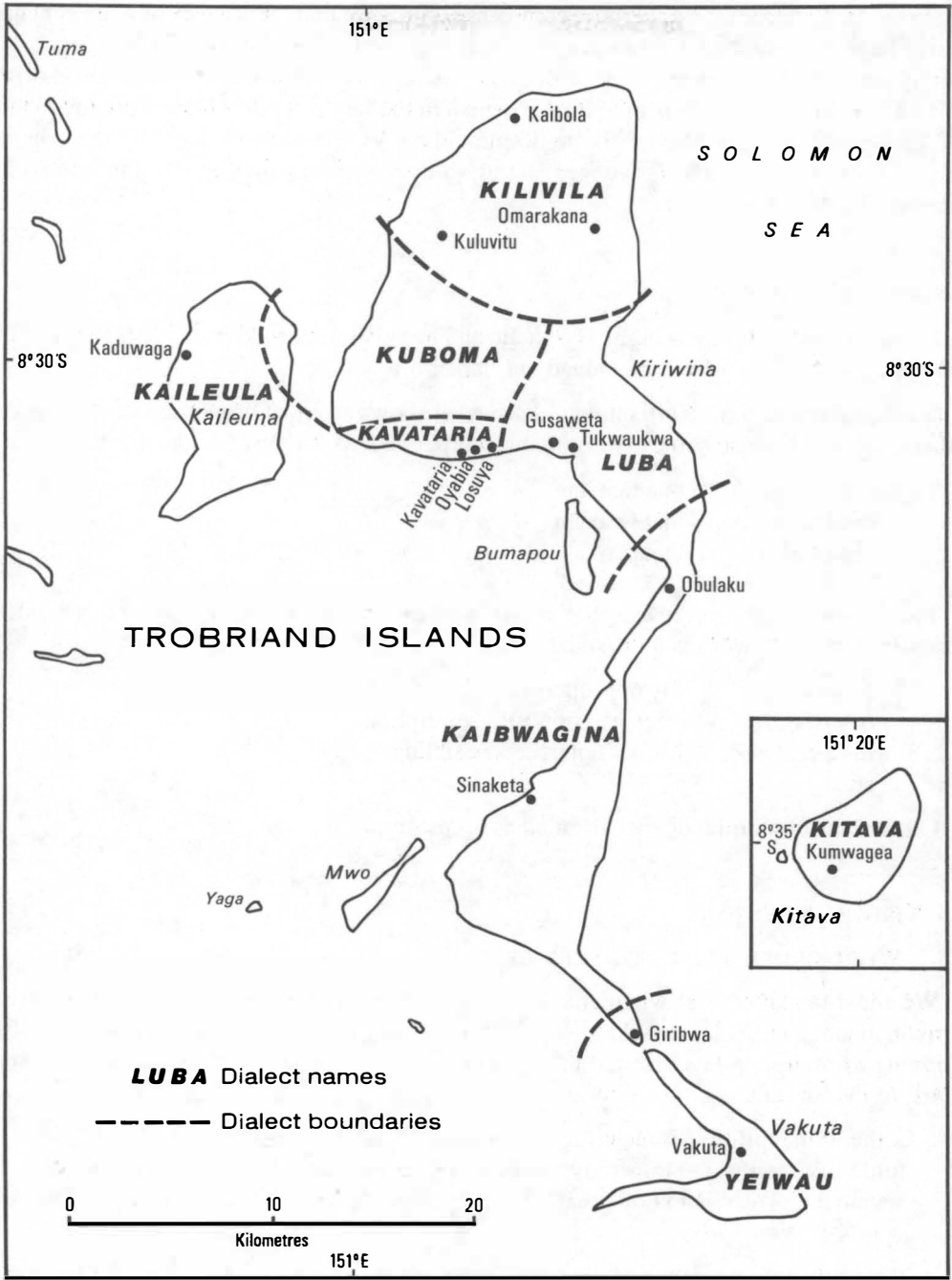
We may distinguish 11 dialects of Kiriwinan (population figures for each are approximate):

CENTRAL DIALECTS		NUMBER OF SPEAKERS
Kilivila	(northern Kiriwina I.)	5,000
Kuboma	(central western Kiriwina I.)	1,600
Luba	(central eastern Kiriwina I.)	3,000
Kavataria	(central Kiriwina I.)	1,000
Kaibwagina	(mid southern Kiriwina I.)	800
Yeiwau	(southern Trobriand Is)	600
Kaileula	(western Trobriand Is)	1,000
Kitava	(eastern Trobriand Is)	1,000
FRINGE DIALECTS		
Simsimla	(Lusancay Is)	120
Iwa	(western Marshall Bennett Is)	500
Gawa	(eastern Marshall Bennett Is and northern fringe Egum Atoll)	1,200

The exact delineation of the central dialects (see Map 2) is based on phonological criteria.³

In regard to what I term *fringe dialects*, it is worth noting that Lithgow (1976:452) states that the people of the Marshall Bennetts, with Yanabwa and also Kitava of the Trobriand Island group, speak the Muyuw language. However, using the test of mutual intelligibility rather than strict adherence to cognate percentage counts, I have determined them to be dialects of Kiriwinan. I myself had little difficulty in understanding these people, while being quite unable to follow Muyuw speakers, except in odd phrases here and there. The same is true for any Kiriwina Island resident, who is generally able to converse easily with Gawa people (extreme east of the Marshall Bennetts) but needs an interpreter to speak with Muyuw people.

³ The linguistic texts which are the basis of this study were gathered from 1962 to 1973. On occasions a text was gathered specifically for linguistic research, but the majority of the material was taken more for reasons of ethnological interest, linguistic interest being secondary. This makes the texts, I think, more valuable for general linguistic study, having a mainly descriptive bias. Also, my long period of association with the Kiriwinan people (I've continued to associate with them since 1973) makes it possible for me to gauge, to some extent, the degree of acceptability and meaningfulness of expressions. However I have tried to base all my work on Kiriwinan text coming from known reliable sources rather than on my own intuitive reactions.



MAP 2: KIRIWINA DIALECTS

However, I concur with Lithgow's comment (1976:452) that "it consists of a dialect chain from east to west which becomes progressively more similar to the Kilivila language", and would make the same point that he does in seeing the reason for the preference of the Marshall Bennett and other people for Kiriwinan in the fact that Kiriwinan is predominantly CV patterned whereas Muyuw is predominantly CVC patterned. Even if the cognate relationships are high, the languages sound so different that they prefer the one which patterns like their own.

1.4 KIRIWINAN MORPHOLOGY

Kiriwinan morphology is highly synthetic and has also some agglutinative features. (The synthetic nature of the verb is examined in Chapter 3.)

In general the pattern of affixation in Kiriwinan shows an equal proportion of prefixes and suffixes. There are also some discontinuous morphemes, as for example the deictic:

<i>ma-tau-na</i>	that human
<i>ma-kai-na</i>	that wooden
<i>ma-pila-na</i>	that part
etc.	

There is one inflecting infix – the class 1 possessive. This usually appears as a suffix, and only in this one word is it infix.

<i>lu-gu-ta</i>	my opposite-sex sibling
<i>lu-m-ta</i>	your (sg) opposite-sex sibling
<i>lu-le-ta</i>	his/her opposite-sex sibling
etc.	

Other areas of morphology are detailed as necessary.

1.5 KIRIWINAN SYNTAX

1.5.1 WORD ORDER – MALINOWSKI'S VIEW

We must consider first whether there is any order of constituents to be found in the Kiriwinan language. Malinowski (1923:307), in his supplement to Ogden and Richards *The Meaning of Meaning*, has asserted that in a primitive language which is unused to written words or the formulating of inscriptions:

...the conception of meaning as contained in an utterance is false and futile...Without some imperative stimulus of the moment, there can be no spoken statement...The context of situation is indispensable for the understanding of the words.⁴

In this and other passages Malinowski refers to the extremely free word order that is apparent and the need to look beyond any single sentence to the total context of the utterance

⁴ See also Malinowski (1935 vol.2:11): "Isolated words are in fact only linguistic figments, the products of an advanced linguistic analysis...Not even a sentence can be regarded as a full linguistic datum. To us the real linguistic fact is the full utterance within its context of situation."

before its full meaning may be appreciated, and he refers to the “complicated task”⁵ which Kiriwinan poses for the translator.

Malinowski makes much of phrases like “context of situation” (1923:312) and “context of cultural reality” (1935 vol.2:22), both of which he italicised. Two passages from the latter work suffice to show his thoughts on these:

The real difficulty of this language consists not in the complexity of the grammatical apparatus but rather in its extreme simplicity. Its structure is on the whole what might be described as telegraphic; the relation of the words, as well as the relation of the sentences, has mainly to be derived from the context. In many cases the subject remains unmentioned. (p.36)⁶

Our scholiastic operations consist in a constant manipulation of words and context. We have to compare the word with its verbal setting; we have to interpret the occasional significant gestures, and finally we have constantly to see how the situation in which the utterance is being made and the situation to which it refers influence the structure of paragraphs, sentences and expressions. (p.45)⁷

However, it must be emphasised that at no time does Malinowski go so far as some of his interpreters do in claiming as his the astonishing point of view that there is absolutely no significant order to the constituents of a sentence. Lee (1949) is an example here; she makes a number of astonishing assertions with reference to Kiriwinan culture and language:

...we find that the words are presented discretely, without elements to show the relation of one word to the other...In English we express this relationship through word order...The Trobriander, on the other hand, merely expresses act and participants; *i-woye tau* ‘it-beat man’ means either that the man is beating someone or that someone is beating the man. (p.404)

Let us be quick to do Malinowski the justice of stating that he does not make such a statement on word order. To the contrary, he does indicate that word order, or the order of constituents, is significant,⁸ and even hints that there is a basic order of sentence constituents when he speaks of “situations [in which] we have speech used in a primary, direct manner” (Malinowski 1935 II:46f.).⁹

1.5.2 KIRIWINAN – AN SVO LANGUAGE

There is in fact a basic word order in Kiriwinan. This basic word order, when speech is used in a “primary, direct” manner so that a whole statement gives information without particular emphasis being laid on any one constituent, shows Kiriwinan to be an SVO language. It is admitted that word order is very free (the extent of that freedom plus its

⁵ Malinowski (1935 vol.2:214) writes, “The grammar and structure of ordinary speech presents a complicated task for the translator...”

⁶ He is referring here, I think, to samples of text which have undergone considerable deletion.

⁷ More than mere deletion rules are referred to here. Rather, he indicates the extent to which the semantic content of words is determined by or reflected in the things to which they refer.

⁸ “In Trobriand, as in European languages, grammatical problems can be divided into that of syntax, that is, the relationship of words to one another or the structure of sentences...” (Malinowski 1935 vol.2:30)

⁹ He adds, “It is from such situations that we are most likely to learn the meaning of words.”

reasons form the main interest of Chapter 4), but the basic order of the unemphatic transitive sentence is clearly SVO.

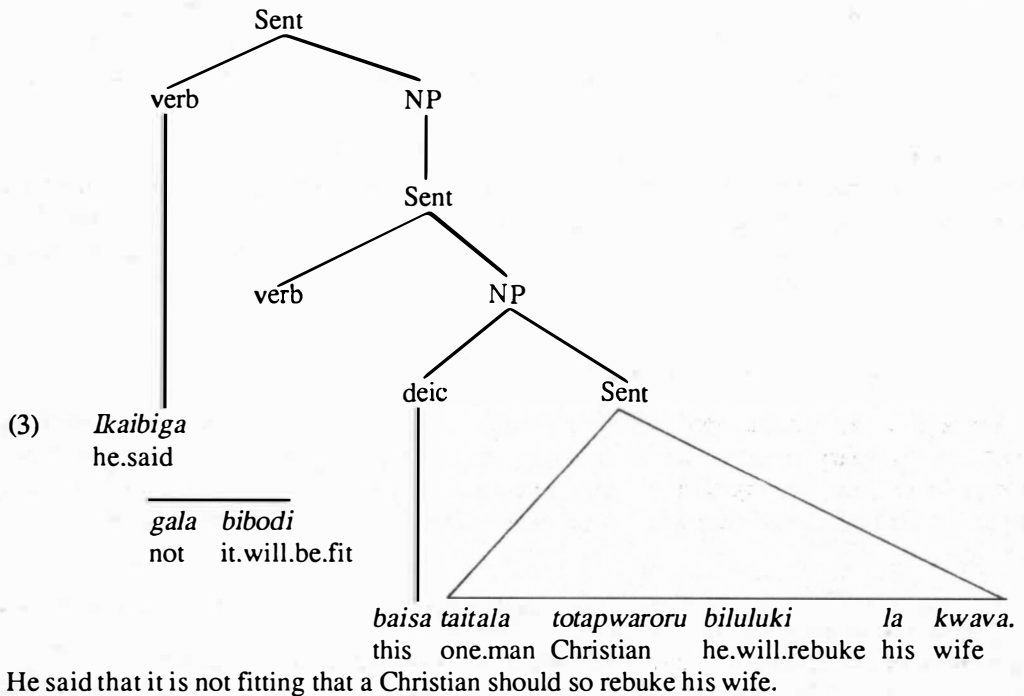
- (1) subj NP VP obj NP
Mtosina toliwaga bikauwaisi kaiyala.
 Those chiefs they.will.take spear
 The *toliwaga* chiefs will take their spears.
- (2) subj NP VP obj NP
Yaegu gala ayosi yena.
 I not I.have fish
 I don't have any fish.

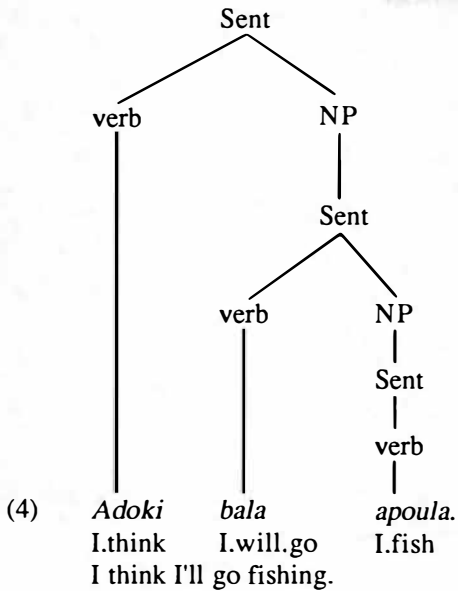
The two examples above could in fact occur with all three sentence constituents in almost any order, and each occurrence would be grammatical. Both these sentences however occurred in unsolicited text in the order given, and any variation from that order would be for the expression of some specific shade of meaning by the speaker. These variations in order and meaning are dealt with in section 4.2.

1.5.3 KIRIWINAN – A RIGHT-BRANCHING LANGUAGE

That Kiriwinan is a right-branching language may be seen from the shapes of sentences and noun phrases (NPs).

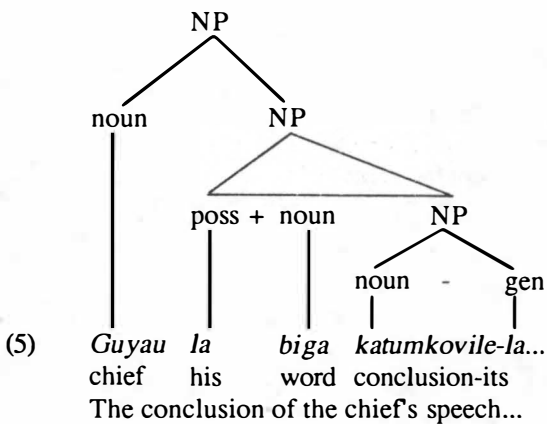
(a) Right-branching sentences

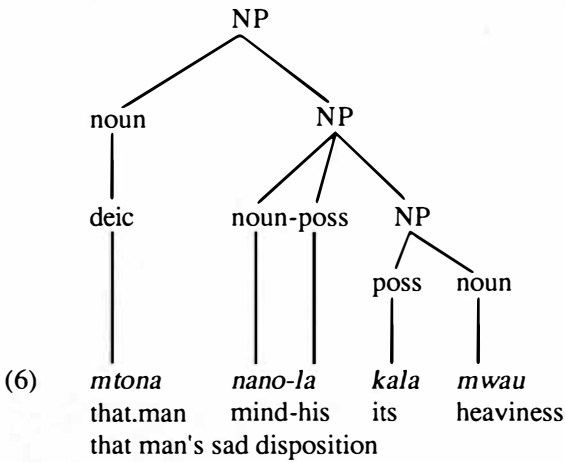




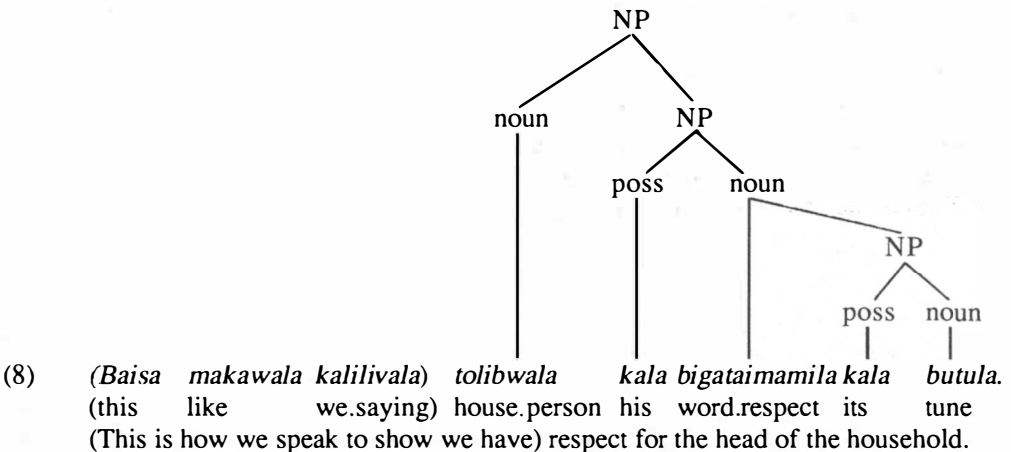
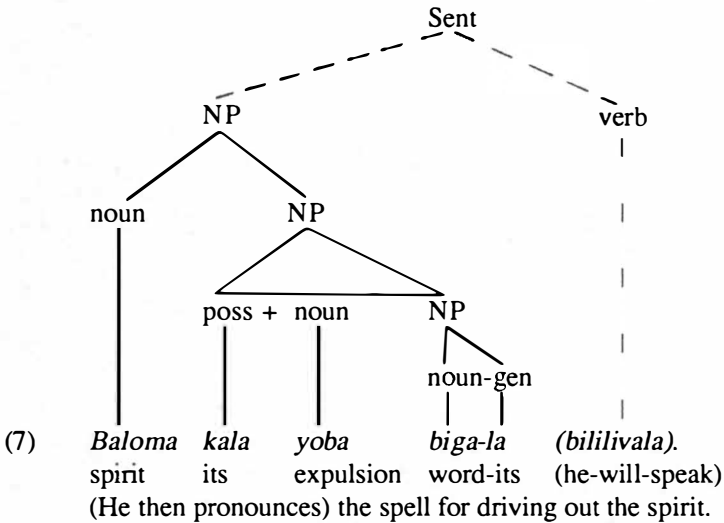
(b) Right-branching noun phrases

Within some NPs the same right-branching pattern is to be seen; in compound NPs, for example, a number of nouns are joined by a possessive relationship or by a genitive relationship. The pattern within such NPs may be 'whole to part', when the part which is finally expressed is the topic of the NP.





Another succession within the NP in which the right-branching tendency may be seen is from general to specific, when the final specific item is the topic of the NP.





Iligalegasi! 'They are listening!'

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to give a full statement on the phonology of the Kavataria dialect¹⁰ of the Kiriwina language.

The phoneme inventory is listed first, followed by a statement of the phonetic attributes of each phoneme and a list of the minimal pairs which establish each as having phonemic standing. This is followed by some extended notes on some of the phonemes, and a distinctive feature analysis.

The second concern is a study of the Kiriwinan syllable, which includes a consideration of acceptable phoneme sequences within the syllable and across syllable boundaries.

The third part of the chapter is taken up with a study of the phonological word. The major concern of that section is the stating and justifying of the rules of stress for Kiriwinan.

2.1 THE PHONEMES

2.1.1 THE FULL INVENTORY

The phoneme inventory includes nineteen consonants *p,b,t,d,k,g,m,n,pw,bw,kw,gw,mw,r,s,v,l,w,y*, five vowels *i,u,e,o,a* and six diphthongs *ai,au,ei,eu,oi,ou*. Stress has phonemic status; this is examined in the study of the phonological word (2.3.4.2), where contrastive stress pairs are listed.

The phonemes are tabulated in Tables 1, 2 and 3 according to their points and manners of articulation.

¹⁰ For the background of the choice of Kavataria dialect, see section 1.3.

TABLE 1: CONSONANTS			
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar
Stops	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>	<i>t</i> <i>d</i>	<i>k</i> <i>g</i>
Rounded stops	<i>pw</i> <i>bw</i>		<i>kw</i> <i>gw</i>
Nasals Rounded nasal	<i>m</i> <i>mw</i>	<i>n</i>	
Flap		<i>r</i>	
Fricatives	<i>v</i>	<i>s</i>	
Lateral		<i>l</i>	
Semivowels	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>

TABLE 2: VOWELS			
	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

The diphthongs' positions on the chart are dictated by the point and manner of articulation of the initial margin of the diphthong.

TABLE 3: DIPHTHONGS			
	Front	Central	Back
High			
Mid-close	<i>ei</i>		<i>ou</i>
Mid-open	<i>eu</i>		<i>oi</i>
Low		<i>ai au</i>	

2.1.2 THE PHONETIC ATTRIBUTES OF KIRIWINAN PHONEMES

CONSONANTS

<i>p</i>	[p]	voiceless bilabial stop
<i>b</i>	[b]	voiced bilabial stop
<i>t</i>	[t]	voiceless alveolar stop
<i>d</i>	[d]	voiced alveolar stop
<i>k</i>		voiceless velar obstruent occurs as:
	[k]	voiceless backed velar stop and
	[x]	voiceless backed velar fricative in free fluctuation preceding <i>a</i> ;
	[k]	voiceless velar stop and
	[x]	voiceless velar fricative in free fluctuation elsewhere
<i>g</i>	[g]	voiced velar stop
<i>m</i>		voiced bilabial nasal occurs as:
	[ṁ]	syllabic nasal, occupying syllable nucleus;
	[m]	consonantal nasal elsewhere
<i>n</i>	[n]	voiced alveolar nasal – fluctuates with <i>l</i>
<i>pw</i>	[pw]	voiceless bilabial rounded stop
<i>bw</i>	[bw]	voiced bilabial rounded stop
<i>kw</i>		voiceless velar rounded stop occurs as:
	[k̠w]	voiceless back velar rounded stop preceding <i>a</i> ;
	[kw]	voiceless velar rounded stop elsewhere ¹¹
<i>gw</i>	[gw]	voiced velar rounded stop
<i>mw</i>	[mw]	voiced bilabial rounded nasal
<i>r</i>	[r]	voiced alveolar flap – fluctuates with <i>l</i> mostly preceding <i>i</i>
<i>s</i>	[s]	voiceless alveolar grooved fricative
<i>v</i>	[β]	voiced bilabial fricative – has a relaxed or lenis quality causing it to figure in a sandhi reduction across word boundaries
<i>l</i>	[l]	voiced alveolar lateral – fluctuates with <i>n</i> and <i>r</i> ¹²
<i>w</i>	[u]	voiced high close back rounded semivowel having the
	+tense	quality of tenseness
<i>y</i>	[i]	voiced high close front unrounded semivowel having the
	+tense	quality of tenseness

¹¹ Note also that $k \rightarrow kw / \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} u \\ m \end{smallmatrix} \right\} _$. The influence of *u* or *m* is evident both on phonetic junction within a word and across word boundaries.

¹² The conditions of the fluctuation are complicated by several features dealt with in section 2.1.4.1.

VOWELS

- i* voiced high front unrounded vocoid occurs as:
- [i] voiced high close front unrounded vocoid in syllables carrying stress;
- [i] voiced high open front unrounded vocoid elsewhere
- u* voiced high back rounded vocoid occurs as:
- [u] voiced high close back rounded vocoid in syllables carrying stress;
- [u] voiced high open back rounded vocoid elsewhere
- e* [ɛ] voiced mid front unrounded vocoid – fluctuates with *ai* in emphatic speech¹³
- o* voiced mid low back rounded vocoid occurs as:
- [ɔ] voiced low back rounded vocoid in emphatic speech;
- [ɔ] voiced mid low back rounded vocoid elsewhere
- a* voiced central vocoid occurs as:
- [ə] voiced mid central vocoid in word-final positions;
- [a] voiced low open central vocoid in syllables carrying stress;
- [ʌ] voiced low close central vocoid elsewhere
- ai* vocoid diphthong whose point of articulation on the initial margin is at or near the point of articulation of *a*, and on the final margin terminates towards the point of articulation of *i*.¹⁴ Within the Kavataria dialect the main allophones are:
- [ɛ] in short words in positions distant from points of prosodic prominence;
- [ai] in strongly stressed words (e.g. emotional speech), associated also with precise careful enunciation;
- [ɛi] elsewhere – statistically the highest occurrence;
- allophones in other dialects are:
- [ɛ],[ɛi] Kilivila dialect regularly uses these two forms. The tendency for the final margin of the diphthong to assimilate towards the point of articulation of *i* is less marked here;¹⁵
- [ɔi] in Yeiwau dialect, and also to a lesser extent in Kaibwagina and Kitava dialects
- au* [au] vocoid diphthong whose point of articulation on the initial margin is at the point of articulation of *a* and on the final margin terminates close to the point of articulation of *u*

¹³ This fluctuation is also evident as a distinction between some of the central dialects, in particular between the Kavataria dialect in which *ai* predominates and the Kilivila dialect in which *e* predominates.

¹⁴ There is a wide area of fluctuation in the point at which this diphthong is initiated. This is true within the boundaries of the Kavataria dialect and also across dialect boundaries. We find in the variations of this diphthong one of the main distinguishing features of different dialects.

¹⁵ The point of initiation of the diphthongal form is different from the Kavataria allophone, being more fronted and mid close than mid open (see Table 3). However Twomey, in a verbal report, stated that even in the area of this phoneme he has on occasions heard Kilivila speakers use strongly emphatic forms with the *ai* enunciation.

- ei* [ei] vocoid diphthong whose point of articulation on the initial margin is at the point of articulation of the mid close front unrounded vocoid [e] (not a separate pure vowel phoneme in Kiriwinan); on the final margin it terminates at the point of articulation of *i*¹⁶
- eu* [ɛu] vocoid diphthong whose point of articulation on the initial margin is at the point of articulation of [ɛ] and on the final margin terminates at the point of articulation of *u*
- oi* [ɔi] vocoid diphthong whose point of articulation on the initial margin is at the point of articulation of [ɔ] and on the final margin terminates at the point of articulation of *i*
- ou* [ou] vocoid diphthong whose point of articulation on the initial margin is at the point of articulation of the mid close back rounded vocoid [o] (not a separate pure vowel phoneme in Kiriwinan); on the final margin it terminates at the point of articulation of *u*.

2.1.3 MEANING CONTRAST IN MINIMAL PAIRS

The following list shows a number of minimal pairs of words which contrast similar phonemes and supports the phonemic status of each within the phoneme inventory.

<i>b,v</i>	<i>biga</i>	word	<i>viga</i>	cup
	<i>bala</i>	I will go	<i>vala</i>	handle
	<i>Labai</i>	village name	<i>lavai</i>	I have married
<i>b,bw</i>	<i>bala</i>	I will go	<i>bwala</i>	house
	<i>bita-</i>	we will...	<i>bwita</i>	octopus
	<i>Bau</i>	place name	<i>-bwau</i>	drift (smoke)
<i>b,p</i>	<i>bogi</i>	night	<i>pogi</i>	jealousy
	<i>tabu</i>	do not	<i>-tapu</i>	bruise, crush
	<i>bobu</i>	cut	<i>popu</i>	excreta
<i>p,pw</i>	<i>paka</i>	celebration	<i>pwaka</i>	lime
	<i>pasa</i>	swamp	<i>pwasa</i>	rottenness
	<i>mapana</i>	that piece	<i>mapwana</i>	that filth
<i>d,t</i>	<i>-simada</i>	sit here	<i>-simata</i>	sharpen
	<i>dubumi</i>	faith	<i>tubumi</i>	your grandchild
	<i>-dau</i>	call	<i>tau</i>	man
<i>g,gw</i>	<i>gadi</i>	bite	<i>gwadi</i>	child
	<i>inaga</i>	he chooses	<i>inagwa</i>	my mothers

¹⁶ Words manifesting this diphthong do not fluctuate as do those using the diphthong *ai*. This has the consequence that in certain dialect areas (especially Kilivila) *ei* and *ai* are practically homophonous, while in other areas (e.g. Yeiwau) they are easily differentiated.

<i>g,k</i>	<i>-gisi</i> <i>gala</i> <i>-vageda</i>	see no make burn	<i>-kisi</i> <i>kala</i> <i>-vakeda</i>	tear (it) his food teach
<i>k,kw</i>	<i>-kau</i> <i>makaina</i> <i>kai</i>	take that wooden tree	<i>kwau</i> <i>makwaina</i> <i>kwai</i>	shark that thing foot
<i>m,mw</i>	<i>ma</i> <i>masawa</i> <i>tamama</i>	our (excl) canoe our (du.excl) father	<i>mwa</i> <i>mwasawa</i> <i>tamamwa</i>	hey man! fun, game your (pl) father
<i>v,w</i>	<i>vai</i> <i>vava</i> <i>vala</i>	stingray fish exchange handle	<i>-wai</i> <i>wawa</i> <i>wala</i>	slap rubbish only
<i>l,n</i>	<i>-kavikavila</i> <i>momola</i> <i>kilili</i>	criticise fat a cricket	<i>-kavikavina</i> <i>momona</i> <i>-kinini</i>	lament semen pull apart
<i>l,r</i>	<i>kalaga</i> <i>bonala</i> <i>wolu</i>	snack his language turtle	<i>karaga</i> <i>bonara</i> <i>woru</i>	a parrot house shelf toilet hole (Eng. hole)
<i>s,t</i>	<i>sala</i> <i>-sau</i> <i>sova</i>	his friends learn incest	<i>tala</i> <i>-tau</i> <i>-tova</i>	one finish squeeze
<i>ei,e</i>	<i>keiwala</i> <i>peim</i>	decide for you	<i>keiwala</i> <i>pem</i>	its journey lameness
<i>ei,ai</i>	<i>gei</i>	forked stick	<i>gai</i>	a timber
<i>ou,o</i>	<i>woula</i> <i>-toula</i>	the body stand surrounding	<i>wola</i> <i>-tola</i>	good advice spear (s.th.)
<i>ou,au</i>	<i>-lou</i> <i>tou</i>	to suicide sugarcane	<i>-lau</i> <i>tau</i>	go taking man

2.1.4 DETAILED EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN PHONEMES

Three aspects of the phonemes need to be looked at: 1. the fluctuation between *l*, *n* and *r*, 2. the phoneme *m*; and 3. the question of whether diphthongs are to be interpreted as vowel clusters or single phonemes.

2.1.4.1 FLUCTUATION OF *l,n,r*

The areas of fluctuation between *l* and *r*, and between *l* and *n* have been noted above. There is no fluctuation between *r* and *n*. Some examples of the words in which fluctuation is acceptable to native speakers are given here.

<i>l</i> and <i>n</i> :	
<i>natala, natana</i>	one woman
<i>kalitavila, kalitavina</i>	look about
<i>bulukwa, bunukwa</i>	pig
<i>koli, koni</i>	burden
<i>uluulu, unuunu</i>	body hair
<i>luya, nuya</i> ¹⁷	coconut
<i>l</i> and <i>r</i> :	
<i>uli, uri</i>	taro
<i>uligova, urigova</i>	crocodile
<i>duliduli, duriduri</i>	woven belt
<i>-duduli, duduri</i>	testicles moving (pig)
<i>doli, dori</i>	an insect
<i>kapali, kapari</i>	a spider

However, a general fluctuation was not acceptable, as a large number of examples with *l, n, r* in identical phonetic environments to the above were submitted to informants and rejected by them.

No pattern was observed in the phonetic environments of those words in which *l-n* fluctuation was acceptable, nor was there any other phonetic reason found for the fluctuation. However with the examples of *l-r* fluctuation, the words in which fluctuation was acceptable showed that there was fluctuation when the phoneme occurred before *i*. But this was not fluctuation because of the phonetic environment, as an equal number of examples with *l* and *r* preceding *i* were not accepted as words which could fluctuate.

Thus we are faced here with an area of fluctuation which does not seem to be phonetically conditioned, except that in the *l-r* case the fluctuation does seem to favour one phonetic environment.

One other fact was elicited, which may point to the real reason for the fluctuation. An informant stated that in all cases where *l-n* fluctuation was approved, the younger generation preferred the *n* forms, while the old people consistently used the *l* forms. Also, with *l-r* a similar statement was elicited, except that the preference for the *l* forms was not so strongly asserted by the older people. Generally, however, the pattern of fluctuation is away from the old people's *l* forms to the modern preference for either *n* or *r*.

It would seem then that here there is a modern manifestation of language change, only partly conditioned by phonetic environment. Further study of the examples which will accept fluctuation may yield other reasons or indicate possible influences for change, which may

¹⁷ However, **Nuya* is not accepted as fluctuation of the village name *Luya*.

indicate sociological causes or dialect boundary fluctuations, or some other reason, which may be working towards changing speech in this general coronal area of phoneme articulation.

2.1.4.2 CONSONANTAL AND SYLLABIC *m*

The second concern is the bilabial nasal *m*. A full statement on the role played by this phoneme is needed because of the unique role it plays among the consonants; also some foundation is to be found in this role for later discussion of acceptable syllable patterns in Kiriwina.

There are four distinct ways in which *m* functions. Firstly, it is a consonant which behaves in the same way as all other consonants; that is, it may appear in the prenuclear position in any CV syllable. This is its regular and most frequent use.

Secondly, it is the only consonant which functions as a syllabic. In this form the phoneme *m* is the whole syllable. This is most clearly seen in word-initial position, for example, *m.'lo.pu* 'cave'.

Thirdly, a similar syllabic role is seen in a number of words where it occurs in certain reduplicative forms, so that it seems fairly certain that it is the synchronic manifestation of a diachronic sequence **mu*, for example, *mo.si.la* 'shame', *m.mo.si.la* 'being ashamed', compare *-bo.bu.ta* 'level', *-bu.bo.bu.ta* 'being levelled'.

Fourthly, it occurs in the final margin of a syllable, thus forming the only closed syllable to be found in the Kiriwina language, for example, *sim.sim.wai* 'sweet potato', *ka.bi.tam* 'wisdom'.

Each of these four is now considered in detail.

2.1.4.2.1 CONSONANTAL *m*

There is little need to comment on the regular consonantal use of this phoneme. Here it functions as the other consonants, on the initial margin of CV syllables which occur in initial, medial and final positions in the word. One small distinction is that it exercises a lengthening influence over the syllable it functions in as the prenuclear element.¹⁸ This consistent feature has to be borne in mind when stress is being studied; since *mV* syllables are by nature long, the stressed syllables in a word may be made less dominant by contrast. (Greater length is also a feature of CVC syllables, which I comment on in 2.1.4.2.4.)

¹⁸ In a sample of text which was studied closely by means of sonagrams, a total of 394 CV syllables showed an average length of 111 milliseconds. The 26 of these which featured *m* in the prenuclear position showed themselves to be consistently longer, averaging 160 milliseconds.

2.1.4.2.2 SYLLABIC *m* – WORD INITIAL

The syllabic *m* seems to be most clearly manifested in its occurrence as the first syllable of a phonological word.

<i>m.</i> 'pa.na	that (piece)
<i>m.</i> bwai.'li.la	his loved item
<i>m.</i> do.'wa.li	housefly
<i>m.</i> ki.'u.ta	a fish type
<i>m.</i> 'lo.pu	cave
' <i>m.</i> na	er... (hesitation in speech)
' <i>m.</i> wo	island name
<i>m.</i> 'seu	smoke

The examples show *m* clearly functioning as a full syllable on equal status with other syllables. The physical requirement of a syllable is that it be sustained through the duration of a single chest pulse and that it be a potential bearer of stress for the word. The consonantal sequences of most of the above examples dictate the independent status of the syllabic *m*, and in two of the examples given the syllabic consonant is marked as bearing stress.

2.1.4.2.3 SYLLABIC *m* AND DIACHRONIC **mu*

A physical accompaniment to the enunciation of the syllabic *m* needs to be noted. When the speaker enunciates it, especially in the circumstance of its bearing stress, the lips are projected forwards, and on occasions released so that the syllable is pronounced [mu]; this is especially so in shouted communications or emotional speech. So we look now at the connection of syllabic *m* with diachronic **mu*.

A number of examples may be listed which show *m* occurring as an initial syllable because of reduplication processes within the word. By analogy with other words manifesting the same reduplication processes, we see that the conjecture of a diachronic **mu* is well supported. The examples given below list simple and reduplicated forms and compare them with words having closely analogous phonetic environments. (Only the reduplicated forms are glossed.)

Basic verb	Reduplicated form	
- <i>mwe.li</i>	- <i>m.li.mwe.li</i>	practising
cf. - <i>be.ku</i>	- <i>bu.ku.be.ku</i>	sinking
- <i>m.tu</i>	- <i>m.tu.m.tu</i>	rubbing
cf. - <i>su.lu</i>	- <i>su.lu.su.lu</i>	cooking
- <i>ku.li</i>	- <i>ku.li.ku.li</i>	chewing and sucking
- <i>bu.tu</i>	- <i>bu.tu.bu.tu</i>	scattering
- <i>ma.si.si</i>	- <i>m.ma.si.si</i>	sleeping
- <i>ma.num</i>	- <i>m.ma.num</i>	being gentle

-ma.to.wa	-m.ma.to.wa	swearing
cf. -ba.ni	-bu.ba.ni	finding
-mo.si.la	-m.mo.si.la	being ashamed
cf. -bo.la.si	-bu.bo.la.si	sneezing

In these examples the reduplicated syllable *m* compares with other reduplicated syllables *bu-*, *su-* and *ku-* to support a proto-form **mu*. In addition to the above examples, a number are cited below to show that while diachronic processes have been taking place which have produced certain words by means of reduplication, yet today they do not occur in the simple (that is, unreduplicated) form; so a diachronic simple form for them must be conjectured. They give further support to the **mu* form.

<i>m.lo.'mwa.lu.va</i>	a red soil	<i>*mulomwaluva</i>	from <i>*mwaluva</i> ¹⁹
<i>m.nu.'mo.nu</i>	grass	<i>*munumonu</i>	from <i>*monu</i>
<i>m.si.'mwe.si</i>	grass type	<i>*musimwesi</i>	from <i>*mwesi</i>
<i>m.so.'m.sa</i>	rubbish	<i>*musomusa</i>	from <i>*musa</i>
<i>m.tu.'mwa.tu</i>	shaggy	<i>*mutumwatu</i>	from <i>*mwatu</i>

The syllabic *m* does not only occur word initially. In the first set of examples in this section the word-initial hyphen indicates that the syllabic nasal is at the beginning of the verb stem. Since the phonological word includes pronominal prefixes, the syllabic form features in medial position. This then involves us in a discussion, in some cases, as to whether the verb thus used is manifesting a CVC-type syllable (see below); but some of the examples show the syllabic *m* in medial position bearing stress (e.g. *ku.'m.tu* 'you rub (it)'). The following examples shows a morpheme prefixed by different classifiers, leaving the syllabic *m* in medial position (morpheme boundaries shown by hyphen).

<i>mbwaili-</i>	loved thing
<i>to-mbwaili-la</i>	his loved person, the one he loves
<i>pila-mbwai'li-m</i>	the part you love
<i>gugulo-mbwai'li-gu</i>	the meeting I love
<i>bulukwa na-mbwai'li-si</i>	the pig they love best
<i>mtomota</i>	dumb ²⁰
<i>to-mto'mota</i>	a dumb person
<i>la-mto'mota</i>	I have been dumb

While the medial occurrences of the syllabic nasal frequently seem to support the existence of a CVC syllable in Kiriwinan, yet it must be noted that where, according to the stress rules, stress should be on the *m* if it was a separate syllable, then it is so stressed. The CVC sequence is extremely long if it is to be regarded as a single syllable,²¹ so that from the point of view of average syllable length it is reasonable to suggest that such CVC sequences may be two syllables – that is, CV followed by syllabic *m*. Thus the evidence of stress placement and syllable length both argue in favour of medial occurrences of syllabic *m*.

¹⁹ The word *mwaluva* 'a bad kind of betel-nut' does however occur.

²⁰ cf. *-mota* 'gasp and groan instead of speaking', also *agu mota* 'my hiccups'.

²¹ Some are in excess of 300 milliseconds. See section 2.3.2 for discussion of average syllable length.

In summary at this stage it may be said that *m* occurs as a syllabic nasal in the initial syllable position of some phonological words and that there is strong evidence in favour of medial occurrences as well. Also, the evidence of reduplicative patterns gives a basis for postulating the diachronic form **mu* which has as its synchronic manifestation the syllabic *m*.

2.1.4.2.4 THE POSTNUCLEAR SYLLABLE MARGIN

We now discuss whether there is a syllabic *m* occurring in the final position of some words, as we look at the CVC syllable in Kiriwinan.

The CVC syllable is a not uncommon feature, *m* being the only consonant to fill the postnuclear position (with the exception of certain other syllables which become phonetically closed through the operation of prosodic processes).

The most effective means of examining this syllable is to look at it in some examples of verbs, where it is displayed first as a word-final feature and then, by the addition of suffixes, as a phonological word-medial feature. Two lists of examples are given, because different things are seen to happen on the addition of verbal suffixes, according to the class of the verb stem. Verbs having class one stems (3.6.2) or class two verb focus forms (3.6.5.1) are included in list I and other verbs, including class two object focus forms, are given in list II.

LIST I

Verb stem	Verb word		
- <i>kabitam</i>	<i>ikabitamsi</i>	vb ₁	they are wise
- <i>kam</i>	<i>ikamsi</i>	vb ₂	they eat
- <i>kasilam</i>	<i>ikasilamsi</i>	vb ₂	they whisper
- <i>kium</i>	<i>ikiums</i>	vb ₂	they are in secret
- <i>manum</i>	<i>imanumsi</i>	vb ₁	they are gentle
- <i>mom</i>	<i>imomsi</i>	vb ₂	they drink
- <i>tam</i>	<i>itamsi</i>	vb ₁	they shoot, sprout
- <i>vakam</i>	<i>ivakamsi</i>	vb ₂	they feed, graze
- <i>valam</i>	<i>ivalamsi</i>	vb ₁	they weep
- <i>vasilam</i>	<i>ivasilamsi</i>	vb ₂	they walk quietly

LIST II

Verb stem	Verb word		
- <i>kitom</i>	<i>ikitomwaisi</i>	vb ₂	they make it stand still
- <i>ligaim</i>	<i>iligaimwaisi</i>	vb ₂	they abandon it
- <i>kimum</i>	<i>ikimumwaisi</i>	vb ₂	they handle it gently
- <i>ulaim</i>	<i>iulaimwaisi</i>	vb ₂	they open it
- <i>vimom</i>	<i>ivimomwaisi</i>	vb ₂	they give it a drink
- <i>kasilam</i>	<i>ikasilamwaisi</i>	vb ₂	they whisper about it
- <i>kium</i>	<i>ikiumwaisi</i>	vb ₂	they are secretive about it
- <i>mom</i>	<i>imomwaisi</i>	vb ₂	they drink it

<i>-sim</i> ²²	<i>isimwaisi</i>	they sit still
<i>-tom</i> ²²	<i>itomwaisi</i>	they stand still

It is clear that different features are buried in the apparently identical endings of list I and list II verbs above, such that in list I the suffix *-si* is added without juncture modification while in list II the morphophonemic phenomenon accompanying suffixation suggests there is some hidden feature which is not phonetically manifested in the unsuffixed form. This is especially noteworthy in homophonous forms, as *-kium* which may be either subject or object focus.

I suggest that in list I we have verbs terminating with true closed syllables, so that in those examples we are not looking at syllabic *m* with the diachronic form **mu* but at a syllable having the ordinary consonantal *m* functioning uniquely (in contrast with other Kiriwinan consonants) as the only consonant able to close Kiriwinan syllables. The *m* in list II, on the other hand, is the syllabic, the synchronic manifestation of **mu* (see below, four paragraphs on).

There are some features of reduplication which support this suggestion. Where reduplication of two syllables of a stem does occur (see 3.5.2.3) it is confined to the same verbs as are included in list I, and single-syllable reduplication patterns are typical of the type of verbs included in list II. While single-syllable reduplication may occur in verbs of list I, two-syllable reduplication is rarely if ever found in list II verbs. Let us see then the evidence of reduplication patterns as it applies to the CVC syllable.

In the case of *-kam* (vb₂) 'eat', we find that the reduplication patterns which occur in its verb focus and object focus forms are *ikamkwamsi* 'they eat' and *ikamkomasi* 'they eat s.th.'. Single-syllable reduplication would seem to have been applied in each case, and in this verb we have a CVC syllable. In the case of *-mom* (vb₂) 'drink' however we find a difference. The verb focus and object focus forms respectively are *imomomsi* 'they are drinking' and *immomwaisi* 'they are drinking (s.th.)'. The reduplication and juncture differences here reflect, in my opinion, different diachronic forms for each, namely a verb focus form *-mom* 'drink' which is identical with the synchronic form, and an object focus form **-momu* 'drink (s.th.)' which manifests synchronically with the different juncture phenomena, and single syllable reduplication patterns in each case.

These two words thus give support to the existence of a CVC syllable in both synchronic and diachronic forms, and this in turn supports the occurrence of consonantal *m* in syllable-final position.

The difference in the list II verbs has already been suggested in the discussion of *-mom*. It would seem to be generally true of all of these that some quality or phonetic influence is latent in the final syllable which causes the morphophonemic difference in junction between stem and suffix. If the **mu* postulated for the above verb is postulated also for these list II verbs, then the same satisfactory explanation of the synchronic *-mwaisi* termination being a realisation of the diachronic **-musi* is reached. All the verbs are either object focus class two verbs or else class three verbs (with the exception of the last two), and the suggestion that

²² These are verb focus forms; they receive separate comment in 2.1.4.2.6.

they have a different complement of vowels from verb focus verb stems is consistent with the discussion elsewhere on these verb forms (3.7.5 and 3.7.6).

There is, however, another possibility to be considered. This is that verbs in list II terminate not with syllabic *m* but with the phoneme *mw*. This would give a closed syllable in each case but with different juncture manifestations. Two facts give some support to this. The first is that in other dialects (notably Kilivila) the words in list II have different forms, for example, *-ligaimwa*, *-kitomwa*, *-simwa*. The second point is an argument by analogy with a closely cognate language. The Muyuw language (Woodlark Island) has word-final *mw*, and as I have found many points in common between the two languages this, to me, is evidence in support of the suggestion of word-final *mw* in Kiriwinan. I have found some physical similarity between *m* and *mw* in certain phonetic environments,²³ so this may be an area in which there is some overlap between the two phonemes.

It is pertinent at this point to direct attention to the two verbs at the end of list II. They do not fit into the general pattern, as they are verb focus forms of the class two verbs, which exhibit in both verb focus and object focus forms the *-mwaisi* termination. There is a simple explanation for these forms. Each of them is a compound verb stem which is made up of *-si* and *-to* from *-sisu* 'stay' and *-totu* 'stand', which are then prefixed to the simple verb stem *-m* 'move somewhere'. It is my conjecture that this very basic verb stem is a modern realisation of the diachronic **-mu*, so that in this case both the verb focus forms *-sim* 'sit there' and *-tom* 'stand there', and the object focus forms *-saim* 'put it there' and *-tom*²⁴ 'stand it there' have the syllabic *m* as their final syllable. This conjecture is supported by the Kilivila dialect forms of these two verb stems: *-simwa* and *-tomwa*. If however the comment relative to the syllable-final *mw* is valid, then these two verbs may give further support to this function of *mw*.

Although the above evidence is in favour of final *mw*, I feel that the first possibility (i.e. that some word-final occurrences of *m* are occurrences of the syllabic nasal) is the better solution, as it answers the problem within the framework of the existing phonological functions, and introduces no new phoneme function to complicate the total pattern of the phonology. However an in-depth diachronic study of Kiriwinan would be needed to test the possibility of a word-final *mw* in the light of a wider swathe of data. It must be noted, of course, that a modern word-final *mw* does not necessarily negate the proto-syllable **-mu*, as both word-final syllabic *m* and word-final *mw* could be modern realisations of the same diachronic form, with movement away from **-mu* operating in two stages or periods.

The interpretation of word-final CVC as being in some cases closed syllables and in others sequences of the two syllables CV.*m* is consistent with the same phenomena in word medial positions, where sometimes morphemic structure of stress placement rules dictate the CV.*m* sequence, and sometimes reduplicative patterns dictate the closed syllable CVC with the consonant *m* on the postnuclear margin of the syllable.

²³ This similarity was seen in a study of the formants of both.

²⁴ Note that *-tom* serves as both verb focus and object focus.

The presence of a closed syllable is an anomalous item within an otherwise consistent pattern of open syllables. We see that there is good evidence that in some circumstances the CVC sequence represents what must historically have been a succession of two open syllables, which is more consistent with the pattern pressure of the total syllable structure. However, to suggest that therefore all occurrences of syllable-final *m* represent a diachronic **mu* seems to me to be placing too heavy a reliance on the validity of arguments based on pattern, and the temptation to make a language look too tidy may easily override the harsh realities of kinks in a pattern and asymmetries in an otherwise even display of facts. Therefore I do not wish to make this suggestion on the basis of pattern pressure.

2.1.4.2.5 CONCLUSION – CONSONANTAL *m* AND SYLLABIC *m*

This somewhat extended study of the phoneme *m* has of necessity anticipated some of the later stages in this phonological study, including some of the areas of prosodic properties of syllables and words, and has also had to take into account considerations based on diachronic language development. It has been necessary, however, to do this, as helpful conclusions have been reached. They are that consonantal *m* and syllabic *m* both occur regularly in all parts of phonological words in Kiriwinan – in initial, medial and final positions – and that the occurrences of consonantal *m* on the final margin of the syllable constitutes an irregularity in the syllable pattern of the language. In the statement of the phonetic attributes of the phonemes, the statement on *m* (2.1.2.1) lists both consonantal and syllabic *m* as allophonic manifestations of the one phoneme rather than as two separate phonemes. This is consistent with Trubetskoy's suggestions on the polyphonematic evaluation of a single sound, such that both the single sound of consonantal *m* and the sound combination of *m* plus a latent or 'unrealised' vowel "stand in a relation of optional or combinatory variance" (Trubetskoy 1969:60), and so both must be considered realisations of the phoneme *m*.

2.1.4.3 THE DIPHTHONGS

2.1.4.3.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

The question under consideration here is the nature of diphthongs in Kiriwinan: whether they may be properly regarded as phoneme sequences or whether they have independent status as individual phonemes written with a digraph symbol.

I give below some evidence which shows that in some ways the constituents which make up a diphthong are regarded by native speakers as separable, and for reduplication purposes they are sometimes considered as representing two syllables; but this evidence notwithstanding I then show that each diphthong has a role to play in its own phonetic shape, and it is that role which I examine in this study of the diphthong.

2.1.4.3.2 TRUBETSKOY AND THE DIPHTHONG

First of all we must determine what is acceptably termed a 'diphthong'. Trubetskoj (1969:56-59) in his *Principles of Phonology* sets out a series of six rules which state the conditions under which a combination of sounds can be interpreted as monophonematic. The first five of these may be aptly applied to the Kiriwinan diphthongs and so I use them as the basis for the study which follows.

In his comments on diphthongs in English, Trubetskoj suggests that the unchecked vowel phonemes (i.e. those which are not interrupted by the beginning of the following consonant) have "variants that are characterised by a movable degree of aperture". On this basis he establishes a classification based on "the direction of articulatory movement" involved in the movable degree of aperture, which may be either centripetal – "moving back to a (neutral) centre position" – or centrifugal – "in the direction of the extreme representative of the specific class of timbre" (p.117).

While in Kiriwinan there may be some phonetic evidence to support variants based on such centripetal motion, by far the most numerous and consistent group is that which is characterised by the centrifugal motion, where the vowel phoneme is initiated in or near the centre of the oral cavity and moves in the direction of two extremes: to the point and manner of articulation of the front unrounded or the back rounded vowels.

Pattern of articulations	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid-close	[e]		[o]
Mid-open	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Each of the diphthongs of Kiriwinan moves from a central position (*a*, *e* or *o*) to the extreme of *i* or *u*. This is a completely symmetrical system, as seen in Table 4. This direction of articulatory movement is that which Trubetskoj describes as centrifugal, and may be taken as typical of the Kiriwinan diphthong.

2.1.4.3.3 TRUBETSKOY'S FIRST RULE

Trubetskoj's first rule (1969:56) on the monophonematic evaluation of sound combinations states:

Only those combinations of sound whose constituent parts in a given language are not distributed over two syllables are to be regarded as the realisation of a single phoneme.

Although there may be some basis for stating that the diphthongs may be vowel sequences forming two syllables or else may originate from proto-forms of this type, the weight of evidence attests that they are single units which function as single phonemes operating, as do all vowels, as the nucleus of a single syllable.

The evidence of stress placement is that where diphthongs are potential bearers of stress for a word, such stress is always borne on the first part of the diphthong; the homogeneity of the articulation is never broken by any stress inconformity applied to the second part of the diphthong.

Morphemic processes clearly treat the two parts (onset and termination) of a diphthong as divisible, which indicates that for purposes of morpheme alternation a potential of two syllables is in one diphthong. Examples of the alternations of the verb stem for verb focus and object focus show this.

<i>i.ya.'kau.la</i>	he praised
<i>i.ya.ka.'wo.li</i>	he praised it
<i>i.to.ma.'lau.la</i>	he stood erect
<i>i.to.mi.li.'wo.li</i>	he stood it up
<i>i.'do.ya</i>	it drifts
<i>i.'doi</i>	(a boat) brings s.th.

However, all such changes involve changing the constituent parts (if they may be said to exist as *parts*) of the diphthong. The diphthong itself is not dissolved into two separate parts at any time; we do not find any instance when the two parts separate and retain their phonetic qualities and thus become the separate nuclei of two different syllables. Thus focus changes when diphthongs are involved support the status of the diphthong as an indivisible unit within its own syllable.

Further evidence for diphthongs as single units is found in the working of reduplication processes. Here we find examples where diphthongs are plainly being treated in the same way as pure vowels. Thus when verb stems reduplicate the first two syllables to indicate continuity of action:

<i>-ya.da</i>	rub	<i>-i.da.ya.da</i>	rubbing
<i>so.pu</i>	yam plant	<i>su.pu.so.pu</i>	yam planting

we find that words with diphthongs are reduplicated similarly:

<i>vau.la</i>	plant others	<i>vi.lu.vau.la</i>	planting others
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Other words reduplicate only one syllable:

<i>ka.mi.tu.li</i>	report	<i>ki.ka.mi.tu.li</i>	reporting
<i>ta.loi</i>	farewell	<i>ti.ta.loi</i>	farewelling

These furnish us with examples of diphthong-nucleus syllables with the reduplicative forms:

<i>leu.sa</i>	jump	<i>leu.leu.sa</i>	jumping
<i>vai</i>	marriage	<i>vei.'vai</i>	getting married

These reduplicative forms thus give additional support to the syllabicity of syllables with diphthongal nuclei.

While many examples could be quoted to give further instances of syllables containing diphthongs which under the pressure of morpheme changes do divide into two syllables, this is not evidence against the status of the diphthong as a unit. The fact that we find examples of syllables having a pure vowel as nucleus undergoing change, where the syllable is reduplicated with a diphthongal nucleus, is not evidence against the phonemic status of that pure vowel. The above comments show us syllables having diphthongs as nuclei, whose syllabicity is on the same status as any other syllables.

An additional mode of proof is to contrast identical or closely analogous phonetic environments, where identical sequences of phones may be seen in some cases to be diphthongal and in others sequences of vowels having independent phonemic status. There are many such examples, as vowel clustering is a feature of the Kiriwinan language, such sequences being sometimes pure vowels only and at other times sequences of diphthongs. As some of these sequences occur across morpheme boundaries within words, both morpheme and syllable boundaries are shown in the examples which follow.

Comparison of the diphthong *ai* and the vowel sequence *a.i*:

<i>'bwai.na</i>	good	<i>bwa.'i.na</i>	man's name
<i>tai-lu.wo-ta.la</i>	ten (men)	<i>mi.ta-i.la.ya.la</i>	look about (only eyes turning)
<i>'wai</i>	slap	<i>'wa.i(also 'wa.vi)</i>	centipede

Comparison of the diphthong *ei* and the vowel sequence *e.i*:

<i>mwei.'u.ya</i>	place name	<i>me-'i.ku</i>	it has been shaking
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Comparison of the diphthong *oi* and the vowel sequence *o.i*:

<i>i-ta.loi-'ai-mi</i>	he farewells you	<i>to-i.ya.kau.la</i>	flatterer
<i>i-poi.'ai-si</i>	they impale it	<i>i-ko.i.'su.vi</i> (from <i>-kovisuvi</i>)	he puts in
<i>i-'woi.ki</i>	he takes it to s.o.	<i>to-i.ki.'e.ki</i>	thin person

Comparison of the diphthong *au* and the vowel sequence *a.u*:

<i>-lau</i>	take	<i>na-'ula</i>	adopted female
<i>'kau.la</i>	food	<i>ka.'ula</i>	we sit surrounding
<i>ma-'tau-na</i>	that (man)	<i>ka.da-u.'u.la</i>	true path
<i>'mau.na</i>	animal	<i>ma-u.'u.la</i>	for this reason

Comparison of the diphthong *eu* and the vowel sequence *e.u*:

<i>'peu.la</i>	strong	<i>me-'u.u</i>	(wind) has been blowing
<i>ku.'meu</i>	frog	<i>me-'u.wa</i>	it has always borne fruit

Comparison of the diphthong *ou* and the vowel sequence *o.u*:

<i>-tou.la</i>	stand surrounding	<i>to.u.'la.ti.la</i>	young man
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The syllabicity of syllables with diphthongal nuclei is confirmed by the above examples, where the stress-bearing potential of the diphthongs is seen to be unaffected by frequent occurrences of analogous sequences of phonemes bearing stress on either of the two elements being contrasted.

2.1.4.3.4 TRUBETSKOY'S SECOND RULE

The second rule given by Trubetskoj (1969:56) concerns the articulatory features of the diphthong:

A combination of sounds can be interpreted as the realisation of a single phoneme only if it is produced by a homogeneous articulatory movement or by the progressive dissolution of an articulatory complex.

The homogeneity involved in articulation of the Kiriwinan diphthong has been noted (2.1.4.3.2), as it has been seen that one form of articulation – from the centre to the extremes of the oral cavity – is the consistent means employed for these phonemes. That it may also be seen as the “progressive dissolution of an articulatory complex” is also the conclusion reached as a result of careful instrumental study of the diphthongs.²⁵ In that study I noted that the regular behaviour of the formants supported this requirement of Trubetskoj's for the “progressive dissolution of an articulatory complex” away from the physical concomitants of the vowel used to initiate the diphthong, and that this consistent pattern was a strong argument in support of the realisation of a single phoneme from the polyphonic complex of the articulated diphthong.

2.1.4.3.5 TRUBETSKOY'S THIRD RULE

Trubetskoj's third rule (1969:58) is, by his own comment, less important than the previous two:

²⁵ An instrumental study of these segments was made by means of sonagrams printed on a sound spectograph. These enabled a close study of the patterns of vowel movements involved in articulation of a number of different examples of the six diphthong phonemes, by studying the physical properties of sound from one segment of tape-recorded text. As the diphthongs in this text do not carry a large functional load, the data are necessarily limited, for this text was not an artificial creation of sequences in which the desired phoneme sequences occurred but a natural, conversational-level explanation of a social gathering, in which, fortunately, all six diphthongs are found to occur.

A combination of sounds can be considered the realisation of a single phoneme only if its duration does not exceed the duration of realisation of the other phonemes that occur.

I found that the diphthongs in one text had an average length of 246 milliseconds. This is somewhat longer than the average length of 170 milliseconds suggested to apply for slow speech, but is well within the range of lengths recorded (see 2.3.2.1). In fact, syllables containing diphthongal nuclei are often stressed and thus lengthened, and the diphthongs whose lengths were measured consisted of twelve with word stress and six unstressed. Thus these syllables with diphthongal nuclei are not unduly long. This may be taken as confirmation that the Kiriwinan diphthong complies with Trubetskoj's third rule for the monophonematic interpretation of these phonemes.

2.1.4.3.6 TRUBETSKOJ'S FOURTH RULE

Trubetskoj's fourth rule (1969:58) states (as do the fifth and sixth) the conditions under which "articulatory complexes that are potentially monophonematic" must necessarily be evaluated as monophonematic:

A potentially monophonematic combination of sounds, that is, a combination of sounds corresponding to the conditions of Rules I to III, must be evaluated as the realisation of a single phoneme, if it is treated as a single phoneme; that is, if it occurs in those positions in which phoneme clusters are not permitted in the corresponding language.

Little needs to be said on this, as the foregoing has made it clear that the diphthong is treated as other vocalic phonemes. They occupy the nucleus of a syllable and may occur as a basic whole syllable; they are therefore potential bearers of stress, and they may occur in clusters with other vocalic phonemes. All three of these features are seen to be true for the Kiriwinan diphthongs (see examples in 2.1.4.3.3).

2.1.4.3.7 TRUBETSKOJ'S FIFTH RULE

Trubetskoj's fifth rule (1969:59) is the only other rule that is applicable to the Kiriwinan diphthongs. It consists of the argument from symmetry:

A combination of sounds fulfilling the conditions of Rules I to III must be considered the realisation of a single phoneme, if this produces symmetry in the phoneme inventory.

The vocalic phoneme inventory is seen to consist of two symmetrical systems, the basic one being a five-vowel system (Tables 2 and 3) and the second being a phonetic system (Table 4) which may be considered to overlie it and not to deviate markedly from its symmetry. There is a comment that needs to be made on the small variation in pattern that can be observed between the two systems. Table 4 shows two phones which do not appear in the inventory of pure vowels, and thus the symmetry of the five-vowel system would seem to be under threat by the recognition of *ei* and *ou* as phonemic.

However, the instrumental study established that the limits of the movement of diphthong formants was not significant, but that the direction of movement was important. Therefore it is suggested that it would be acceptable to regard these two as being potentially initiated at the points of articulation of the mid open vowel phonemes *e* and *o*. This being the case, it would therefore be possible to restate the diphthong patterns as in Table 5, and it would then be seen that in fact the diphthong system consists of a symmetrical phonetic system which overlies and uses all the elements in the symmetrical five-vowel system.

For the purposes of this phonemic statement, however, I do not wish to replace Table 4 with Table 5 because of the need to keep clear the extent of phonetic fluctuation which occurs in the *ai* diphthong (noted in 2.1.2.2). In particular, the realisation of phoneme *ai* as either [ai] or [ei] on the one hand, and the separate existence of *ei* which is generally realised phonetically as [ei], need to be made clear. This distinction, however, does not affect the comments made here on symmetry, as the instrument study has made the point that such an interpretation as suggested in Table 5 is feasible. Thus Trubetskoj's fifth rule on monophonematic interpretation of these sound combinations has been shown to be applicable to the Kiriwinan diphthongs.

TABLE 5: POSSIBLE RESTATEMENT OF DIPHTHONG PATTERNS

Pattern of diphthong	Front	Central	Back
High			
Mid-open			
Low			

2.1.4.3.8 CONCLUSION

In summary then it may be said that there is little doubt of the full phonemic status of the six Kiriwinan diphthongs. They act in syllables as do any other vocalic phonemes; they are produced by one "homogeneous articulatory movement"; their duration is comparable to that of any other vocalic phoneme; they are treated as single phonemes; and they exhibit a fully symmetrical pattern which may be closely related to the symmetry of the five Kiriwinan vowel phonemes.

2.1.5 DISTINCTIVE FEATURE ANALYSIS

The last concern of this section of the study of Kiriwinan phonology is an analysis of the distinctive features of the Kiriwinan phonemes. This analysis is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6: DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE KIRIWINAN PHONEMES, EXCLUDING DIPHTHONGS

	syllabic	consonantal	voiced	sonorant	nasal	round	anterior	coronal	strident
<i>p</i>	-	+	-	-	-		+	-	-
<i>b</i>	-	+	+	-	-		+	-	-
<i>t</i>	-	+	-	-	-		-	+	-
<i>d</i>	-	+	+	-	-		-	+	-
<i>k</i>	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	-
<i>g</i>	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	-
<i>s</i>	-	+	-	-	-		-	+	+
<i>v</i>	-	+	+	-	-		+	-	+
<i>m</i>	+/-	+	+	+	+		+	-	-
<i>n</i>	-	+	+	+	+		-	+	-
<i>l</i>	-	+	+	+	-		-	+	-
<i>r</i>	-	+	+	-	-		-	+	
<i>w</i>	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
<i>y</i>	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>pw</i>	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
<i>bw</i>	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
<i>kw</i>	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
<i>gw</i>	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<i>mw</i>	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
							back	high	low
<i>i</i>	+	-	+	+		-	-	+	-
<i>u</i>	+	-	+	+		+	+	+	-
<i>e</i>	+	-	+	+		-	-	-	-
<i>o</i>	+	-	+	+		+	+	-	-
<i>a</i>	+	-	+	+		-	-	-	+

The distinctive feature analysis is of use in discussing certain morphophonemic alternations which are formulated in Chapter 3. Also the discussion of the constituents of the diphthongs is helped by the delineation of certain distinctive features of the vowels marking the initiation and termination of articulation of these combinations.

Diphthongs are not included in this analysis, as these are made up of combinations of features; distinctive features of their points of initiation or termination may be extracted from the table.

Each pure phoneme is uniquely stated in Table 6. When in the course of this analysis one phoneme is distinguished from another by means of the distinctive feature oppositions, only those features relevant to the particular rule are used. Diphthongs are marked in formulae by the feature 'V (+diph)'.

2.2 THE SYLLABLE

The smallest prosodic unit in Kiriwinan is the syllable. How may a syllable be described?

2.2.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SYLLABLE

A syllable has two characteristic features. The first is a physical means of production, being a "unit of one or more segments during which there is a single chest pulse and a single peak of sonority or prominence" (Pike 1959:60). Three parts of the syllable may be distinguished: the prenuclear or initial margin, the syllable nucleus, and the postnuclear or final margin. The syllable nucleus is that part of the syllable which carries the "peak of sonority or prominence".

The second characteristic of the syllable is its potential for bearing a particular phonetic prominence within a sequence of syllables in a phonetic word. A phonetic word always contains one syllable marked by a peak of "culminative prominence...Phonetically the prominence can be realised in different ways: by expiratory increase in force, rise in pitch, lengthening, or more precise and more emphatic articulation of the vowels or consonants involved" (Trubetsky 1969:188). The nucleus of a syllable is typically the bearer of such prominence, which is termed *word stress* or simply *stress*, so that "the syllable nucleus is the smallest prosodic unit" (p.182) in languages where the syllables are so marked.

Both these characteristic features of the syllable - the physical production by means of a single articulatory thrust or pulse of the chest wall and the possession of a nucleus which is the potential bearer of word stress prominence - are characteristic of the Kiriwinan syllable.

The range of physical length of the syllable is discussed below in the study of the phonological word and stress rules (section 2.3) and need not be further mentioned here.

2.2.2 SYLLABLE PATTERNS

The characteristic syllable pattern in Kiriwinan speech which is functionally most frequent is the open syllable, CV, where the prenuclear margin C is any consonant within the phoneme inventory and the syllable nucleus V is any vowel or vocalic diphthong. The second most common syllable type is the syllable nucleus V alone without any consonant onset. These two forms of the syllable represent statistically the most frequent occurrences of syllables. In a sample of text containing over 1,300 syllables, 94% were CV and nearly 5% were V pattern syllables.

Apart from these two syllable patterns, the CVC pattern (see 2.1.4.2) and more rarely the VC pattern also occur. Least commonly we find the type of syllable which has as its nucleus the consonant *m* functioning as a syllable nucleus; the syllabic *m* can only occur as an entire syllable, having no prenuclear or postnuclear consonant.

Thus we may arrive at a composite formula for the Kiriwinan syllable in which C represents any consonantal phoneme and V represents any vowel phoneme.

Syllable → $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} (C) V (m) \\ m \end{array} \right\}$

There is no need to supply examples of CV pattern syllables, as every text example abounds in them. However, examples of the other possible realisations of the syllable are given in Table 7 (where stress and syllable margins are also shown).

Syllable pattern	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
V	<i>i'va.gi</i> he did (it)	<i>m.tu.e'tu.wa</i> an ornament	<i>'ku.li.a</i> cooking pot
CVm	<i>dum.da'bo.gi</i> early dawn	<i>i.mom'ko.li</i> he tasted (it)	<i>i.va.bo.da'nim</i> he came last (walking)
Vm	<i>am'bai.sa</i> where?	<i>i.ka.tu.poi'aim.si</i> they.asked.you(pl)	<i>i.ki'um</i> he did secretly
m	<i>m'seu</i> smoke	<i>i'm.tu</i> he rubs (it)	<i>bi.ka'na.m</i> it will lie there

2.2.3 PHONOTACTICS

We pass on now to a study of phonotactic phenomena, in order to examine the limitations on phoneme sequences within syllables and across syllable boundaries.

No limitations exist on the syllable sequences that can occur across word boundaries. The phonological word itself however is affected by some distributional limitations within its own boundaries. I comment on the limitations to be found in phoneme distribution within the syllable, on possible vowel clusters in syllable sequences, and on the features which may mark the beginnings and ends of phonological words.

2.2.3.1 PHONEME SEQUENCES WITHIN THE SYLLABLE

Within the commonest form of syllable, represented by CV, any consonant may occupy the prenuclear margin position, but there are some co-occurrence restrictions on vowels in the syllable. Table 8 sets out the possible combinations that exist within the syllable. The pattern seen there speaks for itself; the homogeneity of the rounded consonants is clear and *v* shares with them the non-acceptance of rounded vowels and of diphthongs initiated in the manner of articulation of *o*. The semivowels cannot be followed by the high close vowel nearest to them in manner of articulation; a similar limitation exists on *m*. Where sequences are established in Table 8 on the basis of borrowings from other languages, this is acceptable data; such words are generally only accepted within the phonetic framework acceptable to the Kiriwina speaker.

Within the closed syllable CVm , the prenuclear margin may be filled by any consonant, and the syllable nucleus by any pure vowel and the diphthongs *ai* and *ei*. The postnuclear position may of course only be *m*.

TABLE 8: ACCEPTABLE PHONEME SEQUENCES WITHIN THE CV SYLLABLE

	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>ou</i>
<i>p</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	b	+	+	+	+
<i>b</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>t</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>d</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>k</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>g</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>s</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>m</i>	+	+	+	+		+	+	r	+	+	+
<i>n</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>l</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>r</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+
<i>w</i>	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	r	+	+
<i>y</i>		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		r
<i>v</i>	+	+	+			+	+	+			
<i>pw</i>	+	+	+			+	b	+	r		
<i>bw</i>	+	+	+			+	+	+	r		
<i>kw</i>	+	+	+			+	+	+			
<i>gw</i>	+	+	+			+	+	+			
<i>mw</i>	r	+	+			+	+	r			

b = found in borrowings only

r = rare, established by one sequence only

Within the syllable having the pattern Vm we find a very limited set of phonemes, where V may be filled by *a*, *ai* and *o*.

The syllable having the pattern V may be realised by any vocalic phoneme except *eu* or *ou*.

2.2.3.2 SEQUENCES ACROSS SYLLABLE BOUNDARIES

There are some limitations on the co-occurrence of the various syllable patterns.

All syllable types (CV , CVm , Vm and m) may occur in initial, medial and final positions within the phonological word (examples in Table 7). The CV , CVm and V pattern syllables may occur in any sequence within a phonological word. However although words having eight or more CV syllables in sequence are common, there are no words with more than two CVm syllables in sequence.

The syllabic m usually only occurs once in a phonological word. An exception is the deictic form occurring with the specifier *mmo*- 'bundle', which has the two forms *ma-m.mo-na* and *m-m.mo-na* 'that (bundle)'. The syllable pattern Vm only occurs once in any

phonological word, which is not surprising – its occurrence on the initial margin of a word is limited to the interrogative morpheme *am-*, and its occurrence in word-final position is limited to those verbs which accept the second person singular object suffix *-aim*; consequently its co-occurrence in any one word is morphologically unlikely.

2.2.3.3 VV AND CC SEQUENCES

Another set of co-occurrence restrictions is found in the VV sequences which are permissible in any sequence of CV and V syllables. Such vocalic clusters are a common feature of Kiriwinan phonology and Table 9 indicates the sequences that are found.

second V	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>ou</i>
first V											
<i>a</i>	+	+		+	+			+		+	+
<i>e</i>	+		+	+	+						
<i>i</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	
<i>o</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+					
<i>u</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+					
<i>ai</i>	+		+			+					
<i>au</i>	+					+	+				
<i>ei</i>	+	+	+	+	+						
<i>eu</i>							+				
<i>oi</i>	+						+				
<i>ou</i>			+		+		+				

As a general comment, pure vowels cluster frequently and easily, the diphthongs more rarely. Within the diphthongs a comparatively high frequency of clustering is due to a regular phenomenon of morphophonemic juncturing between verb stems and suffixes (rules stating the conditions that operate are included in Chapter 3).

Below are some examples of VV sequences. The initial V of the cluster being demonstrated is given in the lefthand column. Morpheme and syllable boundaries and stress are marked as in previous examples. Certain practical orthographical features (see 2.2.3.4) are not used here, so as to demonstrate more clearly the VV sequences. The sequences being compared are in bold.

<i>a</i>	<i>a-u'laim</i> <i>la'o.di.la</i> <i>ma-u'u.la</i>	I open (it) jungle for this reason
<i>e</i>	<i>ve'a.la</i> <i>me-'u.u</i>	his parents it has blown unceasingly (wind)
<i>i</i>	<i>i-si'si.a</i> <i>i-si.u-'wa.la</i>	he stays in a place he sits in the middle

	<i>i-bi-'ai.gu</i>	he pulled me
	<i>i-mi'si.i</i>	he sleeps with (her)
<i>o</i>	<i>to-u'la.ti.la</i>	unmarried man
	<i>mo'ai</i>	crowd talking
	<i>o-u.u'le-la</i>	at its root
	<i>to-o.ko'o.ko</i>	trader
<i>u</i>	<i>u'u.la</i>	root, reason
	<i>tu'a.-la</i>	his elder brother
	<i>ku-lu.lu'ai</i>	you remember
	<i>i-gi.bu'lu.i</i>	he is angry at (s.o.)
<i>ai</i>	<i>i-wai-'ai.gu</i>	he hit me
	<i>mwai'i.si.ga</i>	man's name
<i>ei</i>	<i>'kei.u.na</i>	snake
	<i>bu.nei'o.va</i>	chief's council house
<i>oi</i>	<i>i-ta.loi-'i.si</i>	they farewelled (s.o.)
	<i>i-ka.tu.poi-ai'da.si</i>	he asked us
<i>au</i>	<i>tau'au</i>	men!
	<i>i-li.vi.li-vau-'ai.si</i>	they say (it) again
<i>eu</i>	<i>i-katu-mi.gi.leu-'ai.gu</i>	it made me clean
<i>ou</i>	<i>i-vi.tou'ula</i>	it began
	<i>i-dou-'aim</i>	he called you
	<i>ka.la'ou.a</i>	act of despising

The CC clusters that occur across syllable boundaries have only two limitations; the first can only be *m* and any consonant may occur in the second position, except *v*. When the sequence **mv* would occur as a result of morphological juncture, *v* is replaced by *m*. The morphophonemic condition $v \rightarrow m / m_$ also applies across word boundaries.

2.2.3.4 HOW PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY TREATS VOWEL SEQUENCES

In the practical orthography certain formalities in spelling are observed; all diphthong clusters are broken up by the insertion of the semivowel closer in manner of articulation to the postnuclear margin of the first diphthong; this is for reader assistance only and does not alter the fact that we have here a VV cluster. Secondly, the sequences *ea*, *ua*, *uo*, *eo* and *oa* have inserted between them the semivowel closer in manner of articulation to the first vowel of the sequence, with the exception of *eo*, which becomes *ewo*. The reason for these orthographic insertions is in certain phonetic changes which occur across dialect boundaries. As the practical orthography was designed to represent one dialect which could be read and adapted to the pronunciations of other dialects, the semivowels have been added, but they do not indicate any phonetic difference. For speakers of the dialect we are dealing with here, Kavataria, these are still vocalic clusters.

2.2.3.5 WORD BOUNDARIES

Finally, we take the distribution features that mark the beginnings and ends of the phonological words. There are no limitations on consonants above those stated in the restrictions on syllables types. As to vowels, in word-initial position all pure vowels and the diphthong *ei* may occur; in word-final position all vowels occur, although *e* and *o* are rarely met with, their occurrence being largely in poetry and certain emphatic forms.

2.3 THE WORD

Words may be understood either as units containing meaning²⁶ or as units characterised by certain phonological features. My concern here is the phonological phenomenon, so that in referring to *the word* in Kiriwinan I am dealing with the phonological word.

2.3.1 THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

In dealing with the phonological word, however, we find that it is not possible to ignore morphological considerations. A certain pressure effected by morpheme boundaries has an influence on the phonetic shape of the phonological word, and emphasis and topicalisation also play their part in influencing the phonetic phenomena.

However my interest at this stage is in the physical phenomena of speed of speech, stress patterns and some other attributes of the phonological word.

The Kiriwinan word consists of groups of syllables (see 2.2), one of which is given a certain prominence over the other syllables grouped with it. This prominence or stress is the phonetic feature which makes a word isolable from another word, as each phonological word may carry only one syllable with major stress.

Longer words may also have one or more syllables with weaker prominence, termed *secondary* stress. This feature of smaller prominences manifests itself as a certain rhythm in the total prosody of an utterance, but never overrides the major prominence given one syllable in each phonological word.

Major stress is easily discerned aurally, but an instrumental analysis helped disclose the precise physical nature of the prominence. Secondary stress however, while apparent to the listener, was not so helpfully indicated, as other prosodic features such as intonation patterns and special areas of emphasis complicated the scene. Thus I could only employ instrumental analysis in elucidating major stress, not on the less important feature of secondary stress.

The smallest word is monosyllabic:

<i>e</i>	well, yes
<i>mwam</i>	conical bundle
<i>tau</i>	man

²⁶ One word may enclose part of a single unit of meaning, or it may be made up of several meaningful segments.

The longest seldom exceeds ten syllables:

<i>bikatululuwaida'sila</i>	he will indeed remind us
<i>bikanakakata'kila</i>	it will lie there pressed together
<i>minapulila'vakuya</i>	people who are reluctant to exert themselves
<i>lokukwatusunupuloiyai'masi</i>	you have caused us to be expelled

2.3.2 WORD BOUNDARIES AND SPEED OF SPEECH

The task of deciding where divisions occur between phonological words is fairly simple in slow speech and at times extremely difficult in fast or emphatic speech. Words must be considered in several environments before a decision is made as to where word boundaries exist, as certain environments encourage devoicing of syllables, elision, change of regular stress patterns, and other features. Thus my comment on instrumental analysis has reference to the possible extremes of speed of speech as shown in two of the text sequences in Appendix 1.

Sequence 1, *Tokwaibwaga*, is a public speech delivered at a time of tension at the end of a mortuary exchange of traditional items of wealth. It is rapid speech delivered with emotional force, which is usual during such public exchanges when a man wishes to make clear his own or his clan's position in relation to a particular exchange, so as to ensure their fair treatment at some subsequent exchange. The total narrative occupies 48 seconds, and 34 seconds of this is actual speech. The speech is made up of 312 syllables, which gives an average syllable length of 111 milliseconds (between the extremes of 40 and 210 milliseconds).

Sequence 2, *Pesiana*, is a slow, unemotional and thoughtful statement given in answer to a query, to explain the rules and customs associated with the local sport of *girikiti* cricket. While the sample is very slow, it is not unnatural speech, being delivered by a man whose idiolect is just this type of speech. The total narrative time of 316 seconds has 67 seconds of actual speech. The speech is made up of 394 syllables, which gives an average syllable length of 170 milliseconds (between the extremes of 60 and 370 milliseconds).

The main contrast between slow and fast speech is seen here to be the length of pauses between words, rather than the syllable lengths themselves, as the above samples show that in fast speech roughly 30% of the time is taken up in pauses, whereas in slow speech about 80% consists of pauses between words. The average syllable lengths of 111 milliseconds for fast and 170 for slow speech do not show as great a difference as might be expected after listening to the samples themselves. Because of the much clearer separation of phonological words in the slow speech it is clearly the best environment in which to study and determine word boundaries.

2.3.3 THE NATURE OF STRESS

Three physical attributes of prominence are considered here: length, sound intensity or loudness, and musical pitch.²⁷ To the listener the constant manifestation of stress appears to be a lengthening of the syllable which is perceived to bear the stress for that word. Close examination of the instrumental evidence however shows that the evidence is not unequivocally in favour of length as the only manifestation of stress.

2.3.3.1 SYLLABLE LENGTH

There are 61 phonological words in the segment *Pesiana*. Stress is marked on them in accordance with the rules for stress placement (see 2.3.4). Thirty-eight of the stressed syllables clearly share the general characteristic of predominant length. Seven others, all having final syllable *si*, share that same characteristic by a narrow margin.

Fourteen of the remaining 16 words also conclude with the syllable *si*. When the final syllable of any word has a voiceless consonant on the prenuclear margin, the final vowel is frequently devoiced. This has the effect of weakening the syllable(s) which occur after the stressed syllable of such words and causing poor detail in the instrumental study; for this reason such words may be considered unsuitable for any data involving syllable length.

In most of the seven words which narrowly fulfil the characteristic of lengthened stressed syllable, and in most of the 14 other words, if the syllable length of the stressed syllable in environment 'CV*si*# is measured to the point where the phoneme *s* achieves the peak of its intensity on the sonagram, then the stressed syllable clearly predominates as to length, and the characteristic quality of stress marked by length is found in 59 of the 61 words.

Thus we may say that stress is manifested by a lengthening of the stressed syllable; but it is weakened in the case of a following *si* syllable, in which case the length occasioned by stress is partly absorbed by the early onset of the phoneme *s*. This could be seen as a morphophonemic juncture phenomenon, the prosody being affected by an assimilative feature.

2.3.3.2 THE PLACE OF PITCH AND INTENSITY

What place do pitch and intensity play in the prominence which marks the stressed syllable of a word? Instrumental data on 56 of the words from *Pesiana* are summarised in Table 10, showing how pitch and intensity function in them. (The five others are monosyllabic and so cannot show a contrastive environment.)

²⁷ I studied the points of phonetic prominence in phonological words initially by listening and marking wherever such points of prominence occurred, which was easy. But it is not easy to state conclusively just what that prominence is. Therefore I supported my aural response to stress by using sonagrams to study the duration of syllables, and mingograph readings to give an indication of pitch and intensity. The sonagrams of slow speech were manifestly easier to follow than those of fast speech; the contrast in quality of mingograph printoffs was even more marked.

In almost every case where the intensity change is high enough to be significant it shows up either just before or coincidental with the stressed syllable.

TABLE 10: CORRELATION OF INTENSITY AND PITCH WITH WORD STRESS

	Maximum intensity and pitch on:			Words with no significant peak	Total
	prestressed syllable	stressed syllable	poststressed syllable		
Intensity	18	20	2	16	56
Pitch	15	10	6	26	56

As to pitch, while 25 words show highest pitch on either the prestressed or stressed syllables, 31 words either show highest pitch elsewhere or no appreciable pitch variation. Thus the behaviour of pitch phenomena shows no significant correlation with the phonological stress patterns, within these words.

When pitch phenomena here are examined on a wider segment than the word it is clear that we are dealing not with a word-level phenomenon but with a manifestation of larger prosodic units. We see one high peak of musical pitch coming early in some utterances, whenever a new topic is introduced; another high peak is seen at a mid-sentence pause, and a sharply falling pitch contour is seen at the sentence termination. Pitch, then, is not significant at the level of the phonological word but needs to be considered at sentence or phrase level.

Thus the information displayed in Table 10 shows that where intensity is manifested there is a fairly constant relationship between intensity and word stress, but there is little significant correlation between word stress and pitch.

2.3.4 THE RULES OF STRESS

Regular stress in Kiriwinan is on the penultimate syllable of the phonological word. About 95% of words follow this as the regular pattern. However, there are special circumstances to be found which place the stress in some cases on the final syllable and in other cases on the antepenultimate syllable of the word. Also, emphatic speech may change some stress patterns; the features of this are stated as a condition applying to each of the three stress rules below. It should also be noted that movement of stress placement is one of the features of some object focus forms (see 3.7.5.2 and 3.7.5.3). The conditions which govern these stress patterns may be stated in an ordered series of rules, which must be applied in order, as follows.

2.3.4.1 STRESS ON THE FINAL SYLLABLE

The first stress rule is concerned with the conditions under which the final syllable of the phonological word receives stress. The conditioning here is phonetic. When a phonological

word has as its final syllable either a CVm syllable or a syllable with a diphthongal nucleus, then stress for that word is on the final syllable.²⁸

<i>ivaboda'nim</i>	he came last walking
<i>ba'kam</i>	I will eat
<i>tau'au</i>	hey, men!
<i>lakatu'poi</i>	I have asked

These conditions may be stated in Stress Rule 1:

$$\text{SR1} \quad V \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ +\text{stress} \end{array} \right] / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C_m\# \\ _ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

Conditions:

1. Where V is word final it must be a diphthong.
2. Word emphasis may move this stress placement back one syllable (see 2.3.4.4).

2.3.4.2 ANTEPENULTIMATE STRESS

We now consider the more complex set of conditions which bring about the occurrences of antepenultimate stress.

We find antepenultimate stress is in part determined phonetically, as a number of words which terminate with $'CVC\left\{ \begin{array}{c} i \\ u \end{array} \right\} (C)a\#$ carry this placement. However the phenomenon is not governed purely by phonetic conditions, as every example of an antepenultimately stressed word may be contrasted with examples of identical or closely analogous phonetic environments which manifest the regular penultimate stress placement. Also it is in this area of language that we find examples of minimal pairs manifesting stress as their one contrastive feature, suggesting that stress has phonemic status. The examples which follow show contrast in either identical or analogous phonetic environments and manifest either antepenultimate or penultimate stress. Since morpheme boundaries will be seen to have relevance to the discussion these are included.

Antepenultimate stress	Penultimate stress
<i>to-m-'meikita</i> selfish person	<i>bobwai'li-la</i> gift
<i>'lamila</i> outrigger log	<i>la-'mila</i> I have become (s.th.)
<i>katu-sa'wasila</i> clear throat	<i>wa'si-la</i> its obligation

²⁸ The evidence of regular penultimate stress helps to establish the true diachronic nature of the $-m\#$ as $*-mu$ and of final diphthongs as vowel sequences of two VV syllables. However this is not synchronically the case.

<i>'migila</i> the face	<i>mi'gi-la</i> his face
<i>-'vivila</i> to appear	<i>vi-'vila</i> woman
<i>luko-'sisiga</i> clan name	<i>sɪ'si-la</i> its branch
<i>vigim-'kovila</i> to complete	<i>ma-ko'vi-na</i> that cup
<i>'pakula</i> blame	<i>ba-'kula</i> I will trade
<i>'meguva</i> white magic	<i>me-'gula</i> it originated (there)
<i>la'sikula</i> pull canoe	<i>si-'kula</i> their trading trip
<i>'buluva</i> thong tying door	<i>gibu-'luwa</i> anger
<i>'bukula</i> bear fruit clusters	<i>bu-'ku-la</i> you will go
<i>'luguta</i> yam type	<i>lu-'gu-ta</i> my sister (male speaking)
<i>vila-ka'pugula</i> marriageable girl	<i>loku-'gula</i> you have established (s.th.)

As the phonological environments are either closely analogous or else identical apart from the stress pattern we cannot deduce a phonetic justification for the words with antepenultimate stress.

The conditioning factor is the presence or absence of morpheme boundaries within the last three syllables of words having the specified phonetic shape. Where there is no boundary the stress placement is antepenultimate. If any of these words with antepenultimate stress have a morpheme suffixed, then stress placement is in accordance with some other stress rule.

<i>'yamila</i> a hand	<i>yami'la-gwa</i> a hand!
<i>i-'bukula</i> it bore in clusters	<i>i-bukula-'vau</i> it bore clusters again

In these two pairs the condition of a morpheme boundary within the last three syllables is seen to apply the stress placement according to stress rules 3 and 1 (in 2.3.4.3 and 2.3.4.1 respectively).

Some of the words with penultimate stress do not in fact divide synchronically into separate morphemes but are formed from constituents which function meaningfully as parts

of other words and yet have no morphemic status as separate and independent units. This morpheme constraint therefore must be seen to be one which applies to word constituents which have functioned diachronically in word formation processes but which do not synchronically represent separate morphemes. Thus the reduplicative element in *vivila* 'woman' has caused this morpheme constraint to effect regular penultimate stress. But **vila* does not have synchronic independent morphemic status meaning 'woman'; rather it is seen to function as a word constituent in words like *vila-kapugula* 'marriageable girl' and in the phrase *vile-la Kavataria* (woman-its Kavataria) 'a Kavataria woman'.

On the other hand, some words that currently have antepenultimate stress seem easily separable into parts within the last three syllables. As there are a number of these we thus have built into the language an indication of words that may be divisible diachronically into proto-morphs (those with the $CVC\{\frac{i}{u}\}(C)a\#$ pattern which are stressed on the penultimate syllable) and words that are not so divisible in this fashion (those of the same pattern that are stressed on the antepenultimate syllable).

Another small group of words with antepenultimate stress must be listed which function under the same morphemic constraint but which are more limited as to phonetic shape. These are words which terminate in $CVka\{\frac{l}{n}\}a\#$. Examples which show both antepenultimate and penultimate stress with this form show that the morphemic constraint does not apply.

Antepenultimate stress	Penultimate stress
<i>ma'arakana</i> red colour	<i>ma'ka-na</i> like
<i>to'bakana</i> bald-headed person	<i>nama'kala</i> ²⁹ man's name
<i>'pakala</i> dry (throat)	<i>pa'ka-la</i> its feast
<i>'yakala</i> make judgement	<i>da'ka-la</i> its dryness
<i>yo'sokana</i> make joke	<i>kio'ka-la</i> net for (s.th.)
<i>'pokala</i> tax	<i>agupo'ka-la</i> my deception

Note that other words not having a morpheme boundary in the last three syllables, but which do not have this precise phonetic shape, conform to the standard pattern of penultimate stress.

<i>ka'wala</i>	canoe pole
<i>m-mwa'gawa</i>	loose (tooth)
<i>ge'nata</i>	cookable (vegetable)
<i>bo'nara</i>	shelf (in house)

²⁹ The etymology of this name would involve a morpheme break, thus ensuring regular penultimate stress.

Thus Stress Rule 2 as set out below satisfies the conditions which apply in the two sequences $CVC\left\{\begin{smallmatrix} i \\ u \end{smallmatrix}\right\}(C)a\#$ and $CVka\left\{\begin{smallmatrix} i \\ n \end{smallmatrix}\right\}a\#$.

SR2 $V_1 \rightarrow \quad V \ / C_ CV_2(C)a\#$
 [+stress]

Conditions:

1. No morpheme boundary occurs within the environment of the rule.
2. If V_2 is a then the shape of the rule must be $CVka\left\{\begin{smallmatrix} i \\ n \end{smallmatrix}\right\}a\#$; otherwise V_2 is *i* or *u*.
3. Word emphasis may move this stress placement forward one syllable (see 2.3.4.4).

2.3.4.3 REGULAR PENULTIMATE STRESS

The third condition of stress is the regular condition of penultimate stress, which applies to any word which does not fit into the phonological or morphemic conditions which apply for rules one and two. Thus we have Stress Rule 3:

SR3 $V_1 \rightarrow \quad V \ / (C)_(C)V_2\#$
 [+stress]

Condition:

Word emphasis may move this stress placement back one syllable (see next section).

2.3.4.4 EMPHATIC STRESS

One final limitation on stress is the condition of emphatic usage. This is written into the rules as a condition under which each rule operates. Under the condition of emphasis any word bearing stress on the final or penultimate syllable may have the stress placement moved back one syllable. Words with antepenultimate stress do not often undergo any stress displacement, however some instances of forward displacement to the penultimate syllable are known to me (see Appendix 1, sequence III), usually in words having the pattern $CVka\left\{\begin{smallmatrix} i \\ n \end{smallmatrix}\right\}a\#$.

2.3.5 SECONDARY STRESS

Any word with two or more syllables before the stressed syllable features other points of prominence, which are referred to as secondary stress.

There is no regular phonetic principle manifested in secondary stress patterns. Rather, the morpheme condition which affects some stress patterns as stated in Stress Rule 2 above seems to be operating in words having secondary stress, but without the requirement of certain phonetic preconditions. Secondary stress therefore seems to function as a means of picking out morphemes from within larger words or as a means of highlighting reduplicative patterns within words. The examples which follow have secondary stress marked with a

double bar. They show that wherever the morphemic structure permits, and sometimes even when it does not, the pattern of secondary stress prefers a space of two unstressed syllables between itself and the next stressed syllable.

"dubili-"kita-'kita
intense darkness

bi-"gisi-"vau-ai'dasi
he will see us again

"guli-"tini-'desi
crowd-one-only
a unanimous assembly

"kaduyo-"mana-'bwaita
beautiful (entrance)

i-"katu-"migileu-'aigu
he-cause-clean-me
he makes me clean using s.th.

"nini-"tini-'desi
mind-one-only
being of one mind

On occasions certain phonetic considerations override this otherwise regular influence of morpheme boundaries or reduplicative patterns. One such influence is the weakening effect of a vowel placed between two voiceless consonants. The vowel in such an environment is frequently devoiced, and if this devoiced or weakened vowel would by morphological influence have become the bearer of secondary stress, then the syllable before the devoiced vowel becomes the stress-bearer. An example of this is seen in the pronouncing of two village names, identical in morphemic shape but one having a vowel weakened by partial or total devoicing:

O-"yuve-'yova
"O-kupu-'kopu

The pronouncing of the second name, while handled smoothly by any Kiriwinan, is a frequent stumbling block to a non-Kiriwinan until one grasps that the segment *-kupu-* is greatly weakened or entirely devoiced and that the pattern of secondary stress is affected in consequence.

It is noted in section 3.6.2.3 that secondary stress may be borne in some cases on a syllable immediately prior to the syllable carrying major stress, notably in verb focus forms of class two verbs which only have single-syllable reduplicative forms.

i-"ya-'yosa he is holding on
i-"dou-'dou he is calling



Ivavasi yena. 'They are bartering yams for fish.'

CHAPTER 3

THE VERB

3.1 PLAN OF STUDY

Because of the highly synthetic nature of the Kiriwinan verb, and because of its adequacy for the presentation of a well-formed total utterance without the addition of nominal elements, it is necessary to see the verb in relation to the whole speech act. Therefore we begin by considering the whole sentence and proceed from there to an examination of its constituent parts.

We then consider the whole verb phrase, as certain features of tense and modality depend on the relationship between the peripheral words of the verb phrase and the affixed constituents and modified stem forms of the verb word.

From the verb phrase we proceed to an examination of the verbal affixes, which serve to give a relational system between the verb and other sentence constituents, making the verb able to stand alone if such other constituents do not appear or have been deleted.

Finally we examine the structures of the verb stem and the verb root with such modifications and affixation as may occur there. At this level we are able to see the formal devices or functional characteristics which make it possible to divide the verb roots of Kiriwinan into three separate verb classes.

3.1.1 USE OF PHRASE STRUCTURE RULES

In order to provide a framework on which to hang this description, a series of ordered phrase structure rules is provided. These are given from the level of the sentence, but the examination of the syntax above the level of the verb phrase is only cursory. A full and descriptive approach is given from the point at which verb phrase realisations begin.

I have admired, and find clear and helpful, the approach made to the use of phrase structure rules by Kay Williamson (1969:32ff.) in her grammar of the Kokoluma dialect of Ijo. I therefore follow in part her method of description. For each phrase structure rule I first verbalise the rule (the abbreviations used being clearly identified), then the rule is stated and some examples given. Next I depart from Williamson's methodology, as I examine each part more fully; I provide a lexicon and give some consideration to meaning content and referential connection with other parts of the sentence. If diagrammatic trees help to elucidate the structure of a rule in the case of complex relational features then I make use of them as I state examples of a particular rule.

3.1.2 SYMBOLS USED

The symbol conventions used in my phrase structure rules follow Williamson (1969).

$A \rightarrow B$	A is rewritten as B
$A(B)$	A is obligatorily present and B is optionally present
$(A)(B)(C)$	Any combination of A, B and C may be present, but one of them is obligatorily present
$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} A \\ B \\ C \end{array} \right\}$	One of A, B or C occurs in this position
$A_1 \dots A_n$	A sequence of the constituent A occurs in this position, the number in the sequence being unspecified.
$A \rightarrow B / _ C$	A is rewritten as B only in the phonetic environment preceding C
$A + B$	A and B occur within the one phonological word
$A \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow \{B\} \\ \rightarrow \{C\} \\ \rightarrow D \\ \rightarrow \{E\} \\ \rightarrow \{F\} \end{array} \right.$	A is cross-classified so that the possible classes of these will be BDE, BDF, CDE, CDF or any reduction of these in the co-occurrence group of constituents
$(B)(C)$	Either B or C, or both B and C may occur
$A_1 A_2 A_3$	The constituent A occurs in three classes
$[A]$	The constituent A does not properly belong to this rule, but is placed here for reasons stated
<i>emph</i>	When a rule constituent occurs in lower case, the next rewrite of that constituent will be in the form of lexical items
<i>goli</i>	Where a lexical item is included in a rule, it is the only such item able to function in that position in the rule.

Other abbreviations used in the rules are identified as they occur.

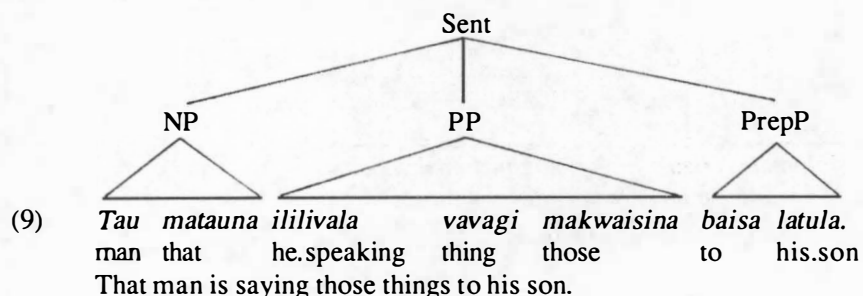
The position of a constituent within a rule is generally as shown in relation to other constituents; where its position is not rigid this is indicated in the verbalisation.

3.2 THE SENTENCE

The sentence (Sent) is rewritten as a noun phrase (NP) followed by a predicate phrase (PP). An optional prepositional phrase (PrepP) may also occur, and it may occupy any position in the sentence, except that it may not be placed within another phrase. (Sentence adverbials (Sa) and emphatics (*emph*) function on a sentence level, but as the examination at this level is not exhaustive some space is given to the place of these sentence-level constituents in the VP when considering rule 4.)

R1 Sent \rightarrow NP PP (PrepP) (Sa) (*emph*)

For example:

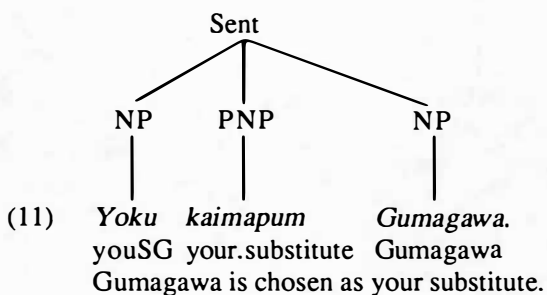
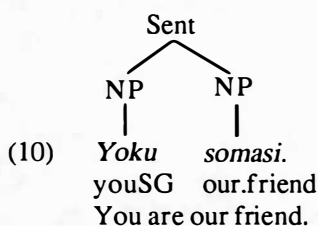


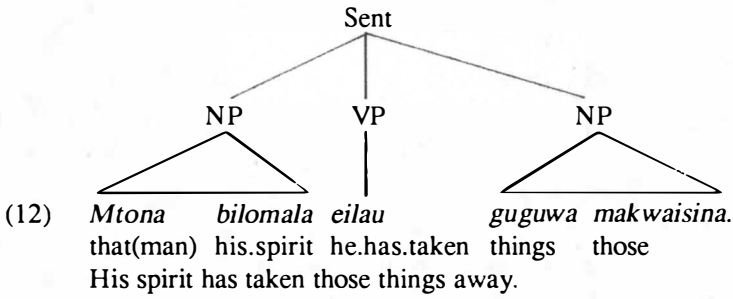
3.3 THE PREDICATE PHRASE

The predicate phrase (PP) is rewritten as a noun phrase (NP) or as a predicate noun phrase (PNP) followed by an NP or as a verb phrase (VP) optionally followed by an NP. The first two of these are the two-constituent and three-constituent non-verbal sentences which are studied in Chapter 4. The two-constituent non-verbal sentences are of the equational and attributive types. The three-constituent sentence has a PNP which has a relationship to the subject NP like the relationship between the elements of the compound NP (see 5.2.1). Such sentences are very like verbal sentences and the PNP may usually be replaced by a VP.

$$R2 \quad PP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ PNP \ NP \\ VP \ (NP) \end{array} \right\}$$

For example:





3.4 THE VERB PHRASE

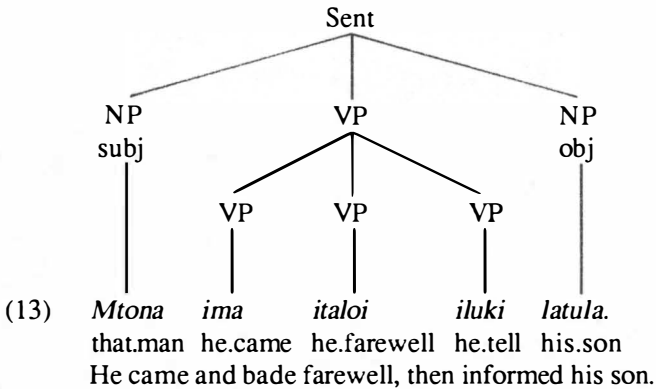
The verb phrase may occur as a sequence of verb phrases forming one complex VP or as a phrase with one verb word only as the head word of the phrase.

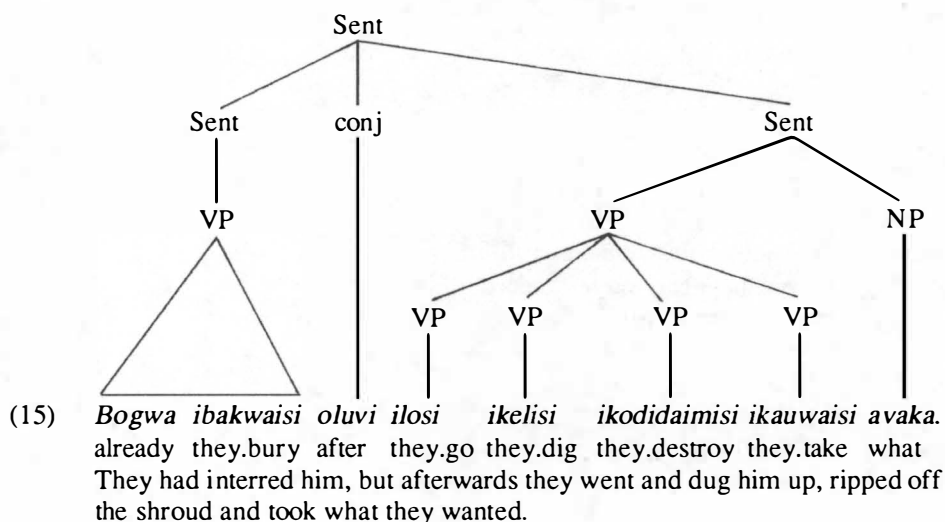
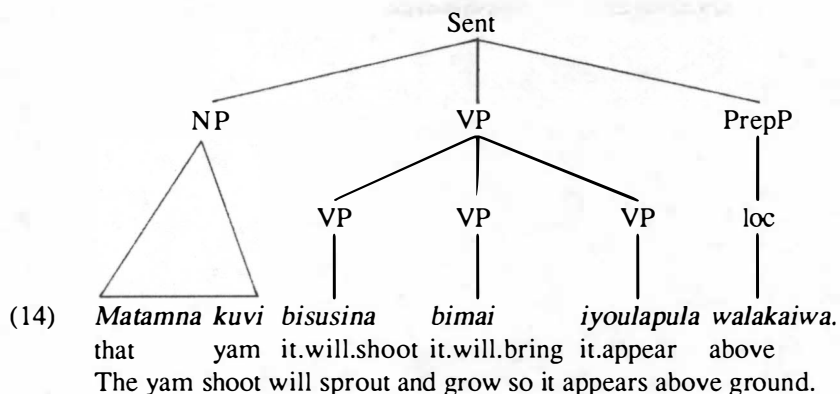
3.4.1 COMPLEX VERB PHRASE

The verb phrase which is rewritten as a sequence of VPs ($VP_1 \dots VP_n$) occurs with the condition that the subject-marking prefix of each verb in the sequence shall refer back to the same subject NP. The usual situation in which this complex VP is used is when a number of related events or actions occurring in sequence are described by a speaker who invariably places them in strict temporal sequence.

R3 $VP \rightarrow VP_1 \dots VP_n / NP \text{ ---}$
 Subj [+ Same subj agreement]

For example:





3.4.2 THE VERB PHRASE DEVELOPED

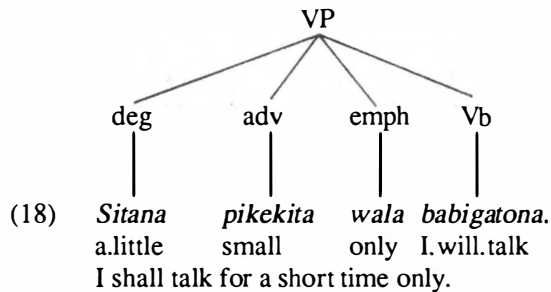
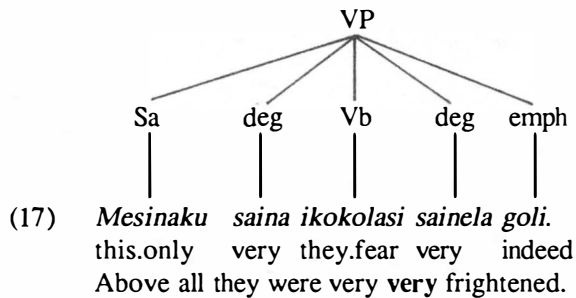
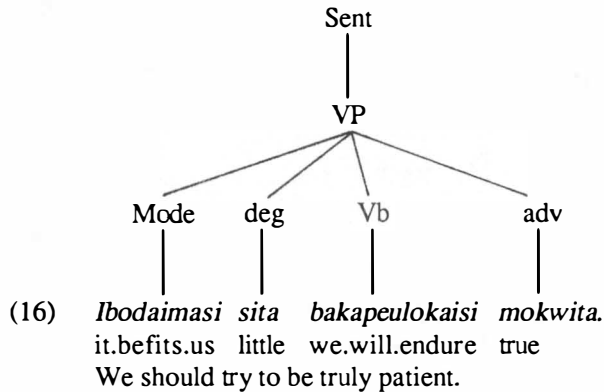
The verb phrase may be written in its simplest form as the verb word (Vb). This word is morphologically complex (see phrase structure rules R10-R15 in 3.4.5-3.7.6.1) and may stand alone as a complete well-formed utterance without the addition of any other sentence element.

The full development of the VP is by means of mode words (mode), followed by a word indicating degree (deg); both of these elements are proclitic to the verb word. Enclitic to the verb word is an adverbial element (adv), followed by a second degree-indicating word. The connection between the two positions of the degree words is established in the context-restricted rule, R9, below (see p.63).

Included in the formulation of R4 is a final section in square brackets. These items do not have a proper place in the development of the VP, being properly considered at sentence level. But we need to give a brief examination here of the way those sentence adverbials and emphatic words commonly function within the VP, as thereby a more complete picture of all that happens within the environment of the VP is gained.

R4 VP → (Mode) (deg) Vb (adv) (deg) [(Sa) (emph)]

For example:

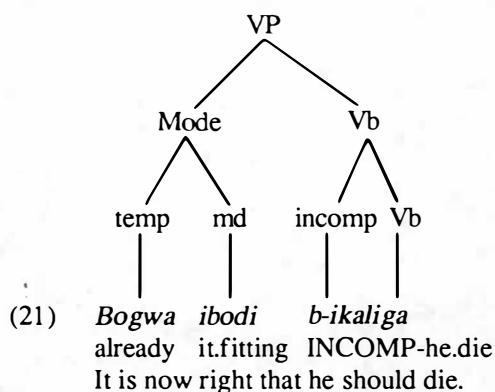
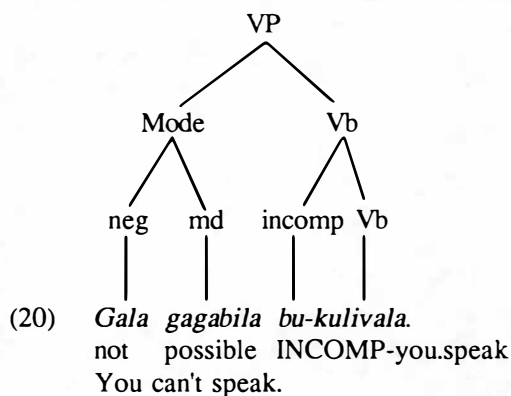
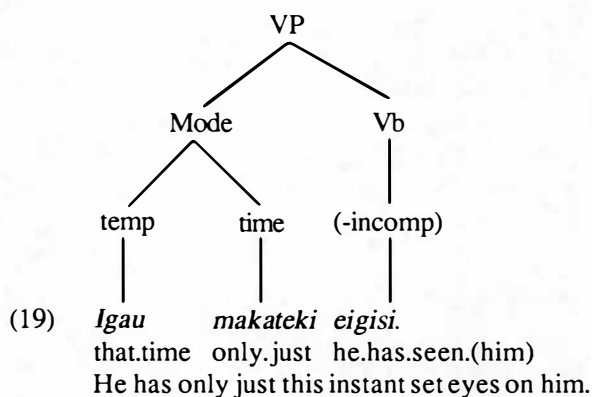


3.4.3 MODE-INDICATING CONSTITUENTS IN THE VERB PHRASE

Within the verb phrase we begin by an examination of the first constituent, mode. There is a two-way cross-classification of mode-indicating words. The first class consists of a group of negating words (neg) and a group of two temporals (temp), *bogwa* and *igau*. The second class consists of mode words (Md), indicating possibility, fitness, ease, energy of performance of the action, and a group of words with a more precise time reference (Time). The mode words in the second set are obligatorily followed by a head verb marked with the incompletive (incomp) prefix *b-*.

$$R5 \quad \text{Mode} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{neg} \\ \text{temp} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Md} / _ \text{Vb} \\ \text{Time} \quad \quad \quad +b- \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

For example:



We next deal with the four elements in R5, rewrite rules being necessary for three, and a lexical statement for one.

3.4.3.1 NEGATIVE MODE

The negative element in the rule may be rewritten as one of four lexical items, the first three of which are context restricted. The words *taga*, *tabu* and *boma-* are used only in prohibitions. These words most commonly occur with a head verb having a prefix which is second person subject reference. In addition, the verb is either unmarked for completeness

(comp) or marked with the incompletive *b-*. Rarely, other forms of the subject pronoun prefix are used.

The three prohibitions are listed in order of their force, from weak to strong: *taga* is generally used with negative commands (with a force much the same as, or a little stronger than, *gala*); *tabu* is a solemn direction, used especially against the breaking of any settled custom or any magic or religious code; *boma-* is a class I noun, and the personal inflection suffixed to it agrees with the verb's subject personal pronoun prefix – its force is similar to, or greater than, *tabu*.

The negative *gala* is not context restricted; it has a wider function that is not covered in the rule. It may also function as a sentence adverbial, and so may be attached proclitic to any sentence element which the speaker may desire to negate, within an NP or a VP. This use of the negative as a sentence adverbial has not been included in this study except by verbalisation at this point. The observation needs to be made, however, that if *gala* is used more than once in a VP it only occurs proclitic to the head verb with the force of a general negation of the VP; any other appearance in a VP is enclitic to the head verb word, with the force of a sentence adverbial.

$$R6 \quad \text{neg} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{prohib / } _ \text{ Vb} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-comp-} \\ \text{+b-} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{gala} \end{array} \right\}$$

- (22) *Taga kudokaisi!* *Gala wala bivagi.*
 not you(PL).think not only he.will.do.(it)
 Don't you think it! He won't do it.
- (23) *Taga bikanukwenula.* *Taga bikaimalisi!*
 not it.will.lying.EMPH not they.will.return
 It must not go on lying there. They must not return!
- (24) *Bomam bukuvagi makawala.*
 your.forbidden you.will.do thus
 You are absolutely forbidden to do that. [comment from angry chief]

3.4.3.2 TEMPORAL MODES

The temporals in rule 5 (temp) are two words: *bogwa* 'already, just, completely, finished', having reference to things completed or about to be, close in time to the time of the utterance; and *igau* 'another time', having reference to any other time than the time of the utterance. The reference of these two words is not one of tense (past or future), but either of imminence to the time of the speaker or vaguely at some time other than the present. These categories are examined in relation to other temporal verb phrase functions below (3.5.2).

3.4.3.3 MODAL CATEGORY

The category of mode in rule 5 may be realised either as a modal verb (vb.modal) or as an adverbial element (Adv). These mode words prepare the way for the head verb by indicating some modifying of the actor's approach to the action – that is, its suitability or fitness, its ease of performance, the manner of its introduction or the possibility of its being done.

R7 Md → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vb.modal} \\ \text{Adv} \end{array} \right\}$

vb.modal head verb

(25) *Bigabilia bitagini.*
it.will.possible we.will.write
We can write.

(26) *Ibodaimasi wala bakapeulokaisi.*
it.suits.us only we.will.endure
We should be patient. (or We must be patient.)

Compare (25) with (27).

Adv head verb

(27) *Gala wala gagabila bivagi.*
not only possible he.will.do.(it)
He just can't do it.

The class of modal verbs is small, being limited to two synonymous forms, *-bodi* and *-kwani* 'it suits/ought/must, it is fitting'. As will be seen from rule 10 (3.4.5), the adverbial element which may function here in place of the modal verb is realisable as an adverb, an NP or a VP. Examples (25) and (27) give instances of such functioning in the fluctuation of one form from a verbal to an adverbial form. However, the true modal verbs do not so fluctuate. Whether the modal is a modal verb or an adverbial element, the modal role is recognisable by the contextual restraint stated in rule 5.

The attaching of elements with adverb-like functions to this modal role within the VP constitutes a rather loose assembling of a wide variety of items.

The adverbial element functioning here is the same as that which functions enclitic to the verb as noted in rule 4 and developed in rule 10. The functional difference, however, is demonstrated by the contextual restraint, which points to a dependent relationship between the mode word and the verb, which is not present in the simple modifying function of the enclitic adverbial.

We may contrast the proclitic dependent relationship and the enclitic sequential relationship:

(28)	<i>Inakwa bilivala.</i>	<i>livala nanakwa.</i>
	he.quick he.will.speak	he.speak quick
	He hastens to speak.	He speaks quickly.

The first sentence shows the actor's approach to the act of speaking, constituting a single complex idea; the second is essentially two ideas in sequence, which could be translated 'He speaks he quicks'. This sequential relation is perhaps more clearly recognised when the adverbial in enclitic position is realised as a verb; see examples (38) to (41) below (section 3.4.5).

Note that when an adverbial occurs proclitic to a verb not marked by the incomplete *b-*, then we have simply a regular result of foregrounding movement within the verb phrase (see Chapter 4).

The following are some of the adverbials used as mode words.

<i>-gagabila</i>	easy, possible
<i>-pwapwasa</i>	easy
<i>-manum</i>	gently, carefully
<i>-peula</i>	strong
<i>-kium</i>	secret
<i>-nanakwa</i>	quickly
<i>sivavila</i>	often
<i>minimani</i>	forcefully
<i>katitaikina</i>	almost, nearly, close to
<i>mwau</i>	difficult, hard
<i>bwaina</i>	good, permissible, desirable – at times closely parallel to <i>-bodi</i>
<i>gaga</i>	bad, undesirable
<i>mesinaku</i>	this only
<i>sivabidubadu</i>	very frequently
<i>pikekita</i>	small amount
<i>kasai</i>	difficult, unsuitable

3.4.3.4 TIME REFERENCE MODES

The last category in rule 5, namely the group of words with a more precise time reference (Time), may be rewritten as a group of temporal adverbs (adv.temp) or as a temporal NP (NP.temp).

$$R8 \quad \text{Time} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{adv.temp} \\ \text{NP.temp} \end{array} \right\}$$

Temporal adverbs are:

<i>makateki, makati</i>	just about now [refers to time very close to time of speaking, either about to happen or only just past]
<i>omitibogwa</i>	long ago
<i>katubwabogwa</i>	in the distant past
<i>tokenabogwa</i>	at the beginning of things

Temporal NPs are NPs with a time word as the head word of the phrase; usually all except the time word is deleted so as to give clear time reference.

<i>kikivisiga</i>	daybreak
<i>lubulotoula</i>	midnight
<i>tuta baisa</i>	this day and age
<i>baisa tuta</i>	right now
<i>tuta bima</i>	the future generally

3.4.4 CONSTITUENTS OF DEGREE

We now turn our attention to the second constituent of the VP – the constituent of degree. Degree (deg) is an adverbial element which may modify a noun, a verb or an adjective.

3.4.5 ADVERBIAL CONSTITUENTS

The adverbial which modifies a verb in an enclitic position (Adv) may be rewritten as an adverb (adv), a noun phrase (NP) or a verb phrase (VP). This function has already been introduced in discussing the adverbial function of some words used in place of modal verbs (3.4.3.3). While the adverbial role in each position is a true modifying function, the enclitic must be seen as modifying only the action of the verb whereas the proclitic adverbial as a mode word is modifying the actor's approach to the action.

$$R10 \quad Adv \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} adv \\ NP \\ VP \end{array} \right\}$$

These three possible realisations of the verb phrase adverbials (Adv) may be seen below.

Adverbs (in bold) as possible realisations of the VP adverbial:

- (33) *Gala bakakaibigasi **mokwita**...*
not we.will.say truly
We will not say truthfully (that)...
- (34) *Kupaisewa **peula**.*
you.work strong
Work vigorously, you!
- (35) *Bikaiwosisi **saina bwaini-gaga**.*
they.will.dance very well-very
They will dance very well indeed.

NPs (in bold) as possible realisations of the VP adverbials:

- (36) *Iilivala **saina kala leiya**.*
he.talking very his hot.anger
He is speaking very angrily indeed.
- (37) *Leiwaisi **saina kaduwonau**.*
they.go very long.road
They went on a very long journey. (lit. ...very lengthily.)

VPs (in bold) as possible realisations of the VP adverbials:

- (38) *Iginigini **ituwoli**.*
he.carving it.different
He is carving it differently.
- (39) *Eivagi **sitana iggedu**.*
he.has.done a.little it.clumsy
He has done it rather poorly.
- (40) *Kanikolaisi **sitana imigileu**.*
we.know a.little it.clean
We know fairly clearly.

- (41) *Bogwa ikugwa³¹ ivagaisi.*
 already it.first they.do
 They have done it first.

3.4.6 SENTENCE-LEVEL CONSTITUENTS

Before leaving consideration of the VP, it will contribute to a better appreciation of the whole phrase to examine those elements included in square brackets at the end of rule 4: sentence adverbials and emphatic words. These are not true parts of the VP, as they function in all parts of the sentence; but as they are seen frequently within the VP, with roles similar to those modal or adverbial or degree elements already observed as exclusively VP constituents, some mention is now made of them.

What I have defined as *sentence adverbials* and *emphatics* modify or qualify not only phrases but also units as large as complex sentences or as small as sentence conjunctions. Even the negative itself may be modified by these words.

The most frequent sentence adverbials are:

<i>tuvaila</i>	also, again, as well
<i>deli</i>	with, in company with
<i>kaina</i>	or, maybe
<i>ilagoli</i>	however
<i>kalubikoya</i>	in the event that
<i>kileta</i>	almost but not quite

- (42) *Gala tuvaila bisusina.*
 not again it.will.sprout
 Never again will it sprout.
- (43) *Bogwa deli eilau.*
 finished with he.has.taken
 He has also completed taking it.
- (44) *Kaina bogwa eilau.*
 or finished he.has.taken
 Maybe he has taken it.

Two emphatics, *goli* 'indeed' and *wala* 'only', are consistent wanderers through the sentence, and any word in any sentence may be modified by these enclitics. Thus they appear regularly in VPs and as regularly elsewhere (*goli* has an emphasis rather similar to, or more forceful than, *wala*).

- (45) *Gala wala gagabila bivagi.*
 not only possible he.will.do
 It just **isn't** possible that he should do it.
- (46) *Gala gagabila wala bivagi.*
 not possible only he.will.do
 It isn't **possible** that he should do it.

³¹ We recognise *ikugwa* in this position as a result of foregrounding movement; as it is not marked with the incomplete *b-* it cannot be an occurrence of an adverbial with a modal function.

- (47) *Gala gagabila bivagi wala!*
 not possible he.will.do only
 He can't do that!

Sentence adverbials and emphatics may occur together.

- (48) *Tuvaila goli ililagi.*
 also indeed he.hearing
 And also he has been hearing about this.
- (49) *Ililoulasi deli wala.*
 they.walking with only
 They are only walking grouped together.

3.5 THE VERB WORD

We now turn from the consideration of the verb phrase to examine the verb word, which stands at the heart of the phrase and is the focus of the various modifications and qualifications made by the constituents of that phrase.

We have not however finished with the VP. It will be necessary to retrace our steps at least twice. Firstly, when we have considered the role of the completive prefix we will need to look back and consider the way the modal words (in the VP) and the completive marker (within the verb word) function together for precise time reference in the verb. Secondly, when the adverbial suffixes on the verb stem have been studied we will examine the overlap occurring between adverbial functions within the verb word and other adverbial functions in the whole VP.

The verb word may be rewritten in its most basic form as the verb stem plus an obligatory prefix which is the subject pronominal marker. This basic form of the verb is also a basic whole statement in Kiriwinan, as the obligatory subject reference (together with the optional components which give, where applicable, object reference) makes the verb word the "esthetically satisfying embodiment of a unified thought" (Sapir 1921:32) for the Kiriwinan.

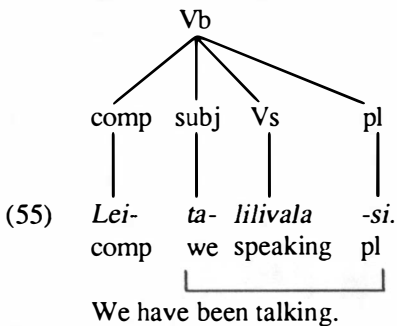
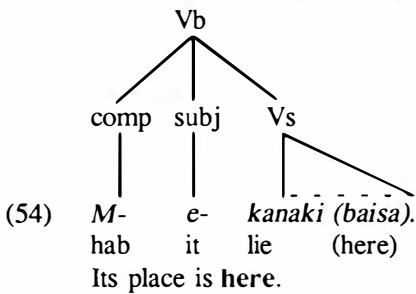
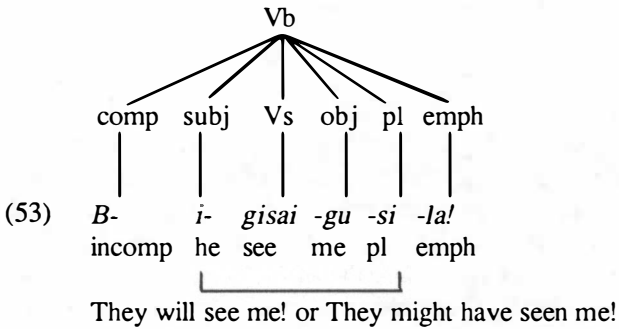
The verb stem may function without affixation, but in such usage we do not have a verb but a named activity – that is, a noun, usually of class II. When it is so used its most frequent form is that of an exclamation; as such the verbal noun is topic of its short sentence, with the burden of the sentence comment being borne by the clitics which attach to it.

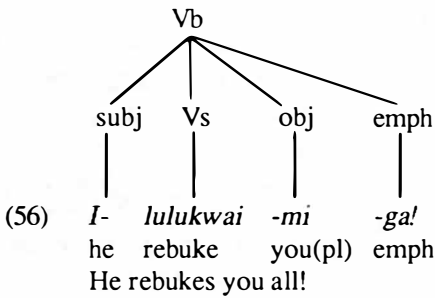
- (50) *Saina loula.*
 very walk.about
 What a lot of walking we've done.
- (51) *Saina kuna.*
 very rain
 There's been a lot of rain.
- (52) *Kada molusi!*
 our hunger
 How hungry we all are!

The verb word (Vb) may be rewritten in its fully expanded form with an optional completive prefix (comp) indicating that the verb action has been completed (*I-*), has not been

completed, (*b-*), or is habitual (*m-*). This is followed by an obligatory subject marker prefix (*subj*) which agrees with the subject as to person and number, followed by the verb stem (*Vs*) which, being potentially morphologically complex, is considered in detail in later rules. The verb stem is followed by an optional pronominal object marker suffix (*obj*), which gives reference only to human objects other than third person. This is followed by an optional plural indicator (*pl*), usually *-si*, which may refer either to the subject or to the object and therefore is an area of ambiguity within the verb word. Finally, there is the emphasising suffix (*emph*) which, being a potential suffix for any word in the sentence except the emphasising words, does not truly belong to the verb word but to the sentence.

R11 Vb → (comp) + subj + Vs + (obj) + (pl) [+ (emph)]





Each of these categories (completive, subject and object markers and plural) need now to be examined in closer detail.

3.5.1 COMPLETIVENESS IN THE VERB

First we need to note what the reference of the verb is when it is unmarked for completiveness. The verb in this form is best termed the simple verb form. When the verb is unmarked in this way the speaker is making a simple statement of the activity in which the subject referred to by the subject marker is or has been or will be involved. The speaker, using this simple form of the verb, is not looking at whether the action is currently going on or whether it has been completed, or whether it is a single or a repetitive action; these are specifically supplied by some means. With the simple verb form the speaker makes a simple unmodified statement which may be glossed 'man he work' or 'child he weep'. The context of the situation in which a simple verb is used must be inspected by hearers if they wish to infer any quality of temporality, completiveness or repetitiveness. In using the simple verb the speaker has considered any such reference to be irrelevant to his/her message.

When the verb is marked for completiveness, the speaker may choose one of three morphemes. The two most common are *b-* and *l-*, indicating that the action named is incomplete or complete respectively. The incomplete marker *b-* usually refers to future, but may just as clearly refer to a past 'event' that did not happen or to a hypothetical event. From the known occurrences of this morpheme, I am convinced that incompleteness rather than future time is in the speaker's mind, as the first concept always gives good sense to any utterance, while the second causes real confusion at times.

(57) *Magila bilagi si valam.*
 his.desire he.will.hear their weeping
 He was wanting to hear their dirges.³²

(58) *Avaka basikam?*
 what I.will.wear
 What shall I wear?

(59) *Yokomi bukulosi bukugisaisi.*
 you(pl) you.will.go you.will.see
 You may all go and see.

³² This was spoken by my informant to some inquirers several months after I had taken a tape-recording of dirge-singers at a mourning.

- (60) *Gala gagabila bima.*
 not possible he.will.come(past event)
 He couldn't come.

The completive marker *l-* always has clear reference to past time. This morpheme has an allomorphic zero form. All morphophonemic changes that occur on the junction of *l-* with the verb also apply for the zero morpheme, which could also be referred to as *absence of l-*. Thus the simple form *kuvagi* 'you do it' becomes *lokuvagi* or *okuvagi* 'you have done it' with *l-* or \emptyset respectively.

- (61) *Bwasa bogwa leila, lagaila eila Port Moresby.*
 Bwasa already he.has.gone today he.has.gone Port Moresby
 Bwasa has already left; today he has gone to Port Moresby.
- (62) *Avaka taitu leiwokuva ikaloubusi...*
 what year it.has.finished it.happen
 What happened last year...
- (63) *Mapaila lakaibiga baisa.*
 so I.said this
 So I have spoken thus. [reference to a completed statement]

The habitual marker *m-* is rare and shows a number of signs of being archaic. It indicates a state of events which has gone on applying for long time, and so must be seen as a form of completedness in the verb action.

An example of the archaic state of this morpheme is seen in its place in the conjunction *metoya* 'from'. This is clearly an old verb form, as in some limited contexts it is known to inflect as a verb. The first syllable, *me-*, properly applies to third person singular, but it usually holds this form regardless of the person reference of the words it links.

- (64) *Kupaisewa metoya om sikulu.*
 you.work from in.your school
 You worked at your school.
- (65) *Biwasisi metoya Kilivila.*
 they.will.obligate from Kilivila
 They will put themselves under an obligation towards Kilivila folk.

However, the following two forms of the above examples, drawn from text, would be equally acceptable, though seldom found:

Kupaisewa mokutoya om sikulu.
Biwasisi metoyasi Kilivila.

Other forms which preserve the habitual *m-* are found in words to do with the position things usually occupy, or the true dwelling place of a person.

- (66) *Mekanaki baisa.*
 hab.it.lie.to here
 Its position is here.
- (67) *Am mokutoyasi?* *Yakamaisi Kavataria.*
 query hab.you(pl).from we(excl) Kavataria
 Where is your village? We are Kavataria people.

Before leaving the subject of the completives we must note that certain combinations of completives show that some verbs in sequence have a dependent relationship. The sequence:

Vb ... Vb
 [+ b-] [- b-]
 [+ subject agreement]

always indicates a single statement of intention or an infinitive-type verb in the second verb. Thus we often hear:

- (68) *Bala apoula.*
 I.will.go I.net.fish
 I'm going fishing.
- (69) *Bitalosi tagisaisi gwadi.*
 we.will.go we.see child
 Let's go to see the child.

A past intention, usually unfulfilled, is expressed by the sequence:

Vb... Vb
 [- b-] [+ b-]
 [+ subject agreement]

The next example is a comment about an intention a man had entertained some months before speaking.

- (70) *Adoki balavi ulo kai.*
 I.thought I.will.throw.aside my firewood
 I thought that I would throw (some of this) aside for firewood.
- (71) *Bogwa eilosi bilivalasi sitana.*
 already they.have.gone they.will.speak a.little
 They have already gone away intending to talk for a while.

In contrast, the same verbs in sequence (both marked with incomplete) indicate a simple sequence, without suggesting any purposive link between them.

- (72) *Bala bapoula bakaimilavau.*
 I.will.go I.will.fish I.will.return
 I will go, do some fishing and return.

When the completive markers *l-*, \emptyset -, *b-* and *m-* join to a verb, certain morphophonemic conditions apply. These are set out in morphophonemic juncture rules 1-3:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{MR1} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} b- \\ l- \\ m \end{array} \right\} + i(\text{ta-}) \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} bi \\ lei \\ me \end{array} \right\} + (\text{ta-}) \\ \text{MR2} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} b- \\ l- \\ m- \end{array} \right\} + a(\text{ka-}) \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ba- \\ la- \\ ma- \end{array} \right\} + (\text{ka-}) \\ \text{MR3} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} b- \\ l- \\ m- \end{array} \right\} + ku \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} bu \\ lo \\ mo \end{array} \right\} + ku \end{array}$$

3.5.2 TIME REFERENCE

We have seen in our examination of the Kiriwinan verb to this point that there are three factors in the verb which help to establish time reference. No one factor is clearly intended by the Kiriwinan speaker as a label for categories of past, present or future reference. Instead there is a different sort of concern in relation to the time of an activity.

The first two factors are noted within rule 5 (3.4.3). The first of these, labelled *temp*, comprises two words, which have reference either to events close to the speaker's time (*bogwa* 'already, finished') or at some time merely other than the speaker's time, but not specific as to whether it is at a time near or far from the speaker's time (*igau* 'other time').

The second, labelled *time*, places the action in the remote past (e.g. *omitibogwa*), or at a time close to the speaker's time either in the past or in the future (*makateki*), or in the unknown future (temporal phrase *tuta bima*).

The third, which is within the verb word itself, is the completive marker (*b-* or *l*³³), which has just been studied.

Thus, while it is evident from a study of these three time categories that when the Kiriwinans wish to speak of time their major interests are in the near/remote and completive/incompletive aspects of the action, in the interplay of these three time functions within the verb they are able to give a considerable degree of temporal precision to their time references. We now examine some of the possible combinations of these time functions within the VP, limiting our reference to the combinations:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{bogwa} \\ \textit{igau} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{makateki} \\ \textit{omitibogwa} \\ \textit{tuta bima} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{b-} \\ \textit{l-} \end{array} \right\}$$

The time reference found in the Kiriwinan verb is set out in diagrammatic form in Figure 1 below. One of the main defects of this diagram is that it appears to isolate *b-* on the side of future only, whereas any action may be marked as incomplete by the use of *b-*, either in the past or in the future. Also it must be remembered that *b-* functions *outside* of time to refer to the hypothetical, the impossible, the non-event of the past, the conditional at any time, all of which are properly recognised by the Kiriwinan speaker as not completed, and are marked accordingly. This difficulty aside, the diagram may be seen as an aid to the respective time references of these time-function categories.

The temporals *bogwa* and *igau* may be seen as encompassing *slices* of the time scale, with *igau* referring to any time other than the time of the action, either past or future, and *bogwa* referring to a more limited slice, namely that part of the time scale which the speaker feels to be sufficiently close to his time of speaking to be precisely delineated. The past reference of *bogwa* approximates to the span of time referable by the completive *l-*, while its future reference is very limited, generally coming only to that part of the future close to the time of action which *makateki* refers to; on occasions it may give a more extended future reference. It is thus clear that *bogwa* and *igau* cannot give a past or future reference if they are used in isolation.

³³ We need not include here *m-*, which is rare, or \emptyset -, which is an allomorph of *l-*.

Future:

- (77) *Tuta bima bivagi.*
time it.will.come he.will.do.it
He will do it later on.
- (78) *Bogwa bivagi. Makateki bivagi.*
finish he.will.do.it just.now he.will.do.it
He's just about to do it now. [the two forms are synonymous]
- (79) *Igau bivagi.*
other.time he.will.do.it
He will do it some time in the future.

Ambiguous:

- (80) *Ivagi. Bivagi.*
He did/does/is doing it. He will/would/was to do it. etc.
- (81) *Igau!³⁴ Makateki!*
Another time! Just now!

Verb phrases with *igau*:

- (82) *Tommoya igau omitibogwa itavisi.*
old.men that.time long.ago they.carved.it
The people of olden times carved it long ago.
- (83) *Igau ilukwaiгу makwaina biga.*
that.time he.told.me that word
Some other time he told me that.
- (84) *Igau lakapugula yaegu...*
that.time I.unmarried I
When I was a young lady...
- (85) *Igau makateki lagisi.*
that.time just.now I.saw.(it)
It was only a moment ago I saw it.

Verb phrases with *bogwa*:

- (86) *E tutala bogwa bikaliga ilivala...*
well its.time finish he.will.die he.said
And when he was about to die, he said...
- (87) *Avaka bogwa leisikoma, bogwa goli eisikoma.*
what finish he.has.clothed finish indeed he.has.clothed
Whatever clothes he's put on, he has indeed put on.
- (88) *Kalilivala bogwa ikikau.*
we.speaking finish he.taking
While we were speaking he would already be taping it. [used in explanation of my tape-recording activity]

³⁴ This causes considerable confusion at times. As a retort it normally means 'Later on I'll do it.', but delivered with strong falling intonation on the last syllable it may mean 'I did it long ago'.

- (89) *Bogwa makateki goli basaiki.*
 finish just.now indeed I.will.give
 Look, I'm just about to give it to him.

3.5.3 SUBJECT PREFIXES

The second constituent of the verb word is the subject pronoun (see R11). The subject pronoun is obligatory if a verb stem is to function as a verb word. When considering this morpheme it is necessary also to consider the plural marker (included in R11 as a second-order suffix to the verb stem), as the plural marker may function with the subject pronoun as a single discontinuous morpheme (see Table 11).

A special gloss of the first person dual inclusive needs to be stated. Apart from its stated lexical gloss arising from its position in the formal paradigm, it may also be used as a *defocussing* form meaning 'anyone in general, but not you or I specifically'. Thus it is much the same as the English expressions 'it is fitting that...' or 'one should (do this)'. This Kiriwinan form has frequent use in public statements, to indicate the sort of action or attitude the speaker considers anyone should follow.

<i>a-lagi</i>	I hear
<i>ku-lagi</i>	you (sg) hear
<i>i-lagi</i>	he hears
<i>ta-lagi</i>	we (du.incl) hear
<i>ka-lagi</i>	we (du.excl) hear
<i>ta-lagai-si</i>	we (pl.incl) hear
<i>ka-lagai-si</i>	we (pl.excl) hear
<i>ku-lagai-si</i>	you (pl) hear
<i>i-lagai-si</i>	they hear

3.5.4 OBJECT SUFFIX

The presence of the personal pronominal suffix is obligatory whenever the final object of the sentence is first or second person human. In that case both the pronominal suffix and an object NP may appear, but while the object NP may be deleted, the pronominal suffix never is. For third person human objects (as for any object) the verb is unmarked for object reference.

TABLE 12: PARADIGM OF OBJECT PRONOMINAL MARKER	
<i>i-lagai-gu</i> <i>i-lagai-m</i> <i>i-lagi(matauna)</i>	he hears me he hears you (sg) he hears (that man)
<i>i-lagai-da</i> <i>i-lagai-ma</i>	he hears us (du.incl) he hears us (du.excl)
<i>i-lagai-da-si</i> <i>i-lagai-ma-si</i> <i>i-lagai-mi</i> <i>i-lagi(minasina)</i>	he hears us (pl.incl) he hears us (pl.excl) he hears you (pl) he hears (those women)

3.5.5 THE PLURAL MARKER

The place of the plural markers in the paradigms for both subject and object affixes needs attention. As they are required for both subject and object reference, in some cases where both subject and object are plural there is an area of ambiguity. A restatement of the paradigm with a plural subject will locate these areas.

TABLE 13: PARADIGM OF AMBIGUITY IN PLURAL REFERENCE	
$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} + \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right]$ <i>i-lagai-gu-si</i>	they hear me
$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} + \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right]$ <i>i-lagai-m-si</i>	they hear you (sg)
$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} - + \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right]$ <i>i-lagai-si(minana)</i>	they hear her (that woman)
$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} - +? \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right]$ <i>i-lagai-da-si</i> $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} +? \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right]$	they hear us (du.incl) he hears us (pl.incl) they hear us (pl.incl)
$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} +? \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right]$ <i>i-lagai-ma-si</i> $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} +? \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right]$	they hear us (du.excl) he hears us (pl.excl) they hear us (pl.excl)
<i>i-lagai-mi</i> (note <i>-si</i> lost)	they hear you (pl) he hears you (pl)
$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} + \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right]$ <i>i-lagai-si(minasina)</i>	they hear them (those women)

Table 13 shows that in some plural forms the formal occurrence of the plural marker *-si* causes ambiguity (marked by ?). There is no resolution of the ambiguity except by means of additional detail in the subject and object NPs.

Two other comments need to be made about the plural marker. First, it has different meanings in different environments. When it is part of the first person pronominal affixes it

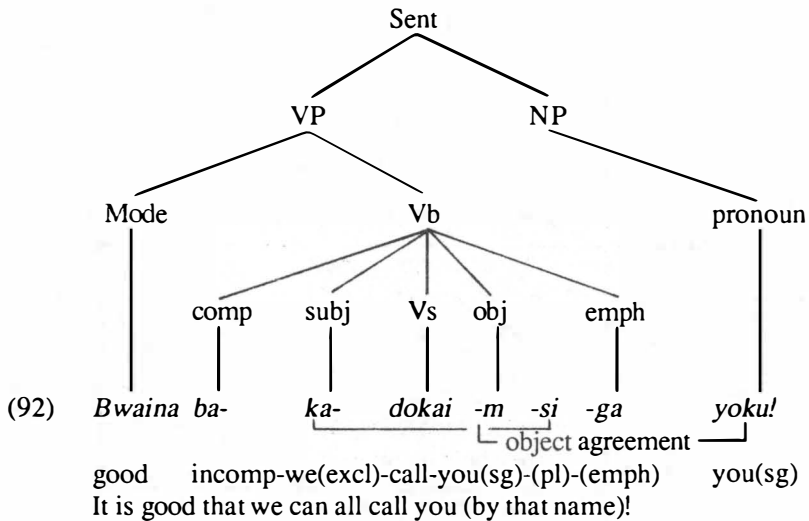
means plural in the sense of ‘more than two’, but when it is part of any other pronominal affix it means ‘more than one’.

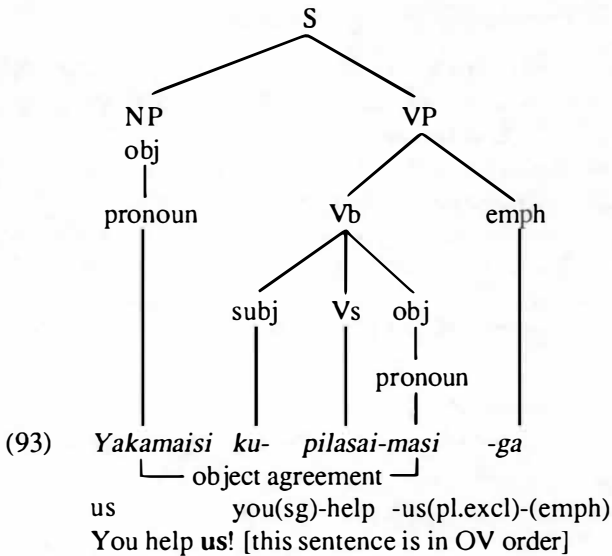
The second point is that whenever the second person plural object pronoun *-mi* appears, the plural marker *-si* is lost. Consequently further ambiguities may arise:

- (90) *ka-lagai-si* → *ka-lagai-mi*
 we-hear-(pl) we-(dual)-hear-you(pl)
 or we-(pl)-hear-you(pl)
- (91) *i-lagai-si* → *i-lagai-mi*
 they-hear-(pl) they-hear-you(pl)
 or he-hears-you(pl)

3.5.6 EMPHATIC SUFFIX – A SENTENCE-LEVEL ELEMENT

The final element in reference to the verb word in rule 11 is not strictly a verb word function (as indicated by the square brackets). The emphasising suffix may be suffixed to any word in any part of the sentence. It probably helps also to mark what the Kiriwinan speaker feels intuitively to be the terminating point of this complex bundle of morphemes we call the ‘verb word’. Thus we may use it here to terminate further discussion on the verb word. Two final examples of short sentences having verbs with terminating emphasis markers are given.





3.6 THE VERB STEM

The verb stem (Vs) may be rewritten as a verb root (VR) to which may be suffixed a small number of verb root adverbials (v.adv). In addition the verb root may undergo a process of reduplication (redup). This reduplication may be within the verb root or it may be within the verb root adverbial, however we never find both elements within the one verb reduplicated at the same time.

$$R12 \quad V_s \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} VR + (\text{redup}) + (\text{v.adv}) \\ VR + (\text{v.adv} + \text{redup}) \end{array} \right\}$$

3.6.1 VERB ROOT ADVERBIALS

Verb root adverbials consist of a small class of adverbials, attached to the verb root, which indicate a number of different limitations or some quality of the action of the verb. In fact many modifications occur within the verb root, and it is at times difficult to see whether we are looking at a verb root plus adverb or at a compound verb stem; the decision is often quite arbitrary. Here I have chosen and used as verb root adverbs those elements which do not function as verbs in their own right. A thorough study of verb stem formative processes, including a study of diachronic process, would enlarge this class of morphemes. The following, however, are those which function most frequently as verb root adverbials.

-bogwa	for the first time
-vau	again, repeatedly, anew
-bau	very well, thoroughly
-makavi	for no reason, to no purpose, in vain
-wokuva	only, to exclusion of other actions, single-mindedly
-pepuni	secretly
-gaga	for a long time, always
-vagasi	for a very long time, forever

Selectional restraints determine which verb roots occur with which adverbs.

There is some overlap of meaning between verb root adverbs, and adverbials which attach to the verb phrase, including sentence adverbials. Some comment has already been made (see 3.4.3.3 and 3.4.5) on the difference in role between modal adverbs proclitic to the verb word and adverbials that are placed in an enclitic position. Here however we may see that there is a form of adverbial modification, suffixed to the verb root, that is identical to the enclitic type of modification. Thus the Kiriwina speaker may express a similar modification of the verb action either by the adverb suffixed to the verb root or by the adverbial element enclitic to the verb. On occasions he may use a verb phrase which expresses both modifications together, perhaps in order to emphasise, or for the sheer love of alliterative speaking.

Thus we see utterances like the following pairs, which do not necessarily have exactly the same meaning but are like each other; in some contexts they could have the same semantic content.

<i>Ivigibogwi.</i>	<i>Ivagi sivatala.</i>	He does it first.
<i>Ivigivau.</i>	<i>Ivagi tuvaila.</i>	He does it again.
<i>Ivigibau.</i>	<i>Ivagi saina bwaina.</i>	He does it well.
<i>Ivigimakavi.</i>	<i>Ivagi inanota.</i>	He does it in vain.
<i>Isipwepuni.</i>	<i>Ikium isisu.</i>	He sits secretly.

Combinations of the two forms are not rare.

- (94) *Ivigibau saina bwaina goli.*
 he.does.well very well indeed
 He does it very well indeed.

3.6.2 REDUPLICATION IN THE VERB STEM

Reduplicative processes are widespread throughout Kiriwina speech. In addition to verb reduplication, reduplicative processes occur within the NP to indicate plurality or repetition.

3.6.2.1 THE ROLE OF REDUPLICATION

The usual function of reduplication in the verb stem is to indicate that the action of the verb is in progress or is being done repetitively and is neither a completed act nor a single unextendable act.

Different parts of the verb stem may be modified by reduplication, according to which part of the action the speaker wishes to indicate is in progress. Reduplication of both the verb root and its adverb never occurs together.³⁵

One part played by reduplication is in the time reference of the verb. It has no place in determining past or future, as speakers may state any activity as being in progress at any time. But when a verb is being used in its simple form (that is, unmarked by modal or completive reference) and speakers use the reduplicated form of the verb root, reference is

³⁵ However it is of interest to note that in the nearby Dobu language verb root and adverb may be reduplicated together, resulting in some very long words (for examples see Lawton 1971).

generally to an activity being performed as they speak. Thus we may recognise this use of the reduplicated simple verb as being closest to an unambiguous present tense in Kiriwinan.

This is not however an inflexible connotation; sometimes the Kiriwinan use of the reduplicative parallels the English use of a *rhetorical present* to make a narrated event vivid. Thus one Kiriwinan, describing my activity with a tape-recorder, used two successive reduplicated forms to describe what had taken place several months previously:

- (95) *Kalilivala bogwa ikikau.*
 we.speaking already he.taking
 While we were speaking he was already taping it.

Reduplication in the verb stem may also fulfil another role. The other meaning probably derives from the normal noun reduplicative process having the indication of plurality or of something being done many times. This verbal role of reduplication supplements the normal plural verb suffix when a great number of people are involved in doing some simple act which is therefore done many times over. On such occasions the overlap of reduplication and plural verb form serves to underline the frequency with which a thing is being done again and again – and the focus is not on an action in progress but on the plurality or repetitiveness of the action.

3.6.2.2 THE FORM OF REDUPLICATION

It is always the initial one or two syllables of the verb root or the adverb that undergo reduplication. I give here some examples which show how these syllables reduplicate, but do not attempt at this stage to define the phonetic components of the reduplicated elements.

Reduplication of one syllable:

<i>ilagi</i>	he hears	<i>ililagi</i>	he is hearing
<i>isaiki</i>	he gives	<i>isisaiki</i>	he is giving
<i>ivagi</i>	he does	<i>iuvagi</i>	he is doing
<i>iyosi</i>	he holds	<i>iiyosi</i>	he is holding (transitive)
<i>iyosa</i>	he holds	<i>iyayosa</i>	he is holding (intransitive)

Reduplication of two syllables:

<i>iboku</i>	he coughs	<i>ibukuboku</i>	he is coughing
<i>iyada</i>	he rubs	<i>iidayada</i>	he is rubbing
<i>ibasi</i>	he knocks	<i>ibisibasi</i>	he is knocking
<i>imeguva</i>	he magics	<i>imigameguva</i>	he is magicing

Reduplication of either verb root or adverbial:

<i>ipaisewa-vau</i>	he works again
<i>ipupaisewa-vau</i>	he is working again
<i>ipaisewa-wovau</i>	he works again and again
<i>ilivala-bogwa</i>	he speaks for the first time
<i>ililivala-bogwa</i>	he is speaking for the first time
<i>ilivala-bubogwa</i>	he speaks, being the first

<i>isila-makava</i>	he embarks for no reason
<i>isilasila-makava</i>	he is embarking for no reason
<i>isila-mmakava</i>	he embarks having no reason

The phonetic shape of these reduplications reveals a pattern which has too many inconsistencies to permit the formulation of a helpful set of morphophonemic rules; thus it is necessary to make the reduplicated form of each word a lexical item. However there is a pattern indicative of general tendencies, which it is helpful to tabulate in order to see the extent to which the reduplicative forms may be phonetically predictable. We will not, however, try to account for variations from the pattern.³⁶

Two forms of reduplication occur, the underlying shapes of which may be formulated as:

one-syllable reduplication – $C_1V_1 \rightarrow c_1v_1C_1V_1$

two-syllable reduplication – $C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow c_1v_1c_2v_2C_1V_1C_2V_2$

where the upper-case letters indicate the verb root and lower case the reduplicated element. It must be noted that these formulae are not an indication of phoneme content but only a statement about syllable patterns.

3.6.2.3 CONSONANT CHANGES IN REDUPLICATIVE PATTERNS

When C_1 is *w*, *v* or *y* there is fluctuation between the normal pattern noted above and the loss of c_1 . When c_1 is lost, then v_1 is high and assimilates in roundedness to the deleted consonant. Examples of this process are:

One-syllable reduplication:

<i>-yakaula</i>	praise	<i>-i-yakaula</i>	praising
<i>-vagi</i>	do	<i>-u-vagi</i>	doing

Two-syllable reduplication:

<i>-yada</i>	rub	<i>-ida-yada</i>	rubbing
<i>-wokuva</i>	finish	<i>-uku-wokuva</i>	finishing

In all other reduplications the consonants remain unchanged.

3.6.2.4 VOWEL CHANGES IN REDUPLICATIVE PATTERNS

The pattern of behaviour observable in two-syllable reduplication is set out in Table 14. This study was made on the basis of a limited number of cases (88) of two-syllable reduplications. The vertical component consists of the vowels of the simple verb stem, and the horizontal component consists of the vowels of the syllable produced by reduplication.

³⁶ Many of the variations from the pattern are either archaic forms or frozen morphemes which do not respond to synchronic morphophonemic processes.

TABLE 14: VOWEL CHANGES IN TWO-SYLLABLE REDUPLICATION						
v_1	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	
V_1	<i>a</i>	4		15		10
	<i>e</i>			6		3
	<i>i</i>			14		
	<i>o</i>				1	18
	<i>u</i>				2	31
v_2	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	
V_2	<i>a</i>	16		1	14	3
	<i>e</i>		1			
	<i>i</i>			17		2
	<i>o</i>				1	
	<i>u</i>				2	31

From the pattern of vowel change in Table 14 we may generalise by saying that in the two-syllable reduplications V_1 is reflected by v_1 as a high close vowel which assimilates in roundedness to V_1 where possible; and v_2 usually equals V_2 . The area of greatest fluctuation is where $v_1 = a$ or e , and $v_2 = a$.

Thus the pressure of the general pattern of this two-syllable reduplication is for c_1 , c_2 and v_2 to be the same as C_1 , C_2 and V_2 , and for v_1 to be a high close vowel articulated after the manner (roundedness) of V_1 .

The same general statement may be made for one-syllable reduplication, with the same limitations on c_1 as were set out for its counterpart in the two-syllable reduplication pattern.

There is also a limited area of vowel harmony operative in one-syllable reduplication, when the first syllable of the morpheme undergoing reduplication is *ka-*. The harmony is observed between the vowel of the verbal subject prefix and the reduplicated single syllable:

<i>akakamatula</i>	I am reporting
<i>kukukwau</i>	you are taking it
<i>ikikalawa</i>	he is reading it

There is a morphemic pressure which tends to determine the selection of one-syllable or two-syllable reduplicative patterns. The majority of the two-syllable reduplicating verbs are to be found in verbs of class I or in the verb-focus forms of class II verbs. Two-syllable reduplications are very rare in the remnant of the verb lexicon (object-focus class II verbs and all class III verbs). One of the distinguishing features of many of the verb-focus class II

verbs is that, in changing from verb focus to object focus, they abandon (if they have it) the two-syllable reduplication form and adopt instead a one-syllable reduplication pattern:

<i>iligalega</i>	he is listening
<i>ililagi</i>	he is hearing (it)
<i>isupusopu</i>	he is yam-planting
<i>isisapu</i>	he is planting yam (with yam name)

Generally, only verb roots of two syllables will have a two-syllable reduplication form. A number of trisyllabic verbs do in fact have a two-syllable reduplication form, but these are limited to words having the shape CVCi/u(C)a#. We have already noted that special considerations of stress placement apply to these forms (see SR2 in 2.3.4.2). For the purposes of reduplication they behave as two-syllable words. But there is an inconsistency, in that sometimes the second vowel and sometimes the third are the vowels which figure as v_2 in the reduplicated syllables:

<i>-uku.wokuva</i>	finishing	(where v_2 reflects V_2)
<i>-duma.damina-si</i>	perishing	(where v_2 reflects V_3)

There are also some cases where a single syllable in a verb root is marked by a two-syllable reduplication. These are always where V_1 is a diphthong. Diachronically this was a VV sequence, so we may understand this form of reduplication to reflect a historical two-syllable sequence in the verb stem:

<i>-duudeuya</i>	weeding (garden)
<i>-yuuyaula</i>	spinning (string, by rolling on thigh)
<i>-yuwoyoula</i>	tying (bundle)

Not all diphthongs take two-syllable reduplication. For example, three forms of one-syllable reduplication are found for one particular monosyllabic verb stem:

<i>-dou.dou/-do.dou/-di.dou</i>	calling
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When class II verb roots have a one-syllable reduplication pattern in the verb-focus form it is the object-focus reduplication pattern of that verb which is best describable by the general statement made above for $c_1v_1C_1V_1$. That is, it is generally a high close vowel which assimilates to the manner of articulation of V_1 when possible. But with class I verbs and class II verb-focus verbs the tendency is for the condition $v_1 = V_1$. The reason for this has partly to do with word stress patterns. In object-focus forms, v_1 is always the syllable before word stress, whereas in the verb-focus forms the reduplication (both two- and one-syllable patterns) carries a secondary stress prominence (see 2.3.5). This applies even when this causes two contiguous syllables to bear stress in one word.

3.7 THE VERB ROOT

We now turn to the most basic element of the verb – the verb root.

3.7.1 VERB ROOT FORMATIVE PROCESSES

Before considering the phrase rule which applies to the rewriting of verb roots, attention must be paid to the formative processes for all verb roots.

Kiriwina speakers have at their disposal a number of effective techniques and processes for forming verb roots from many different sources within the *bank* of Kiriwina language morphemes. If the Kiriwina speaker wishes to describe any action in a verb form, he is able to extract a component from any formal category his language has and convert it to a verb root. Many examples of his facility in adapting morphemes to his purpose are given below. Some of the processes are synchronically powerful, while others must be seen only as the means by which the language has come to its modern shape. However, whenever I used patterns I thought I saw, and tried to be innovative and compound my own verb roots, generally these were not acceptable. So it may be more accurate to regard these phenomena as patterns rather than as processes. Ten different formative processes follow here. Verb roots from all three verb classes may occur in each of the ten categories, but the processes are not sufficiently rigid to permit the formulation of rules for the combinations, or for the morphophonemic processes at work. Thus each verb must be regarded as a lexical entry, with the principles described below as a helpful aid to meaning content.

3.7.1.1 SIMPLE VERB ROOTS

Simple verb roots usually express an idea which is basic – a single, uncomplicated act.

<i>-la</i>	go (away from here)
<i>-wa</i>	go (away to there)
<i>-m</i>	move (somewhere)
<i>-ma</i>	come (to here)
<i>-sisu</i>	stop, stay
<i>-totu</i>	stand
<i>-yosi</i>	seize
<i>-naga</i>	choose

3.7.1.2 TWO VERB ROOTS COMBINED

Verb roots formed by combining two other verb roots express more complex activity.

<i>-doupela</i>	sail-cross	(<i>-dou</i>	sail	<i>-pela</i>	cross over)
<i>-kayalaguva</i>	swim-arrive	(<i>-kakaya</i>	swim	<i>-laguva</i>	arrive)
<i>-kainagi</i>	speak-choose	(<i>-kaibiga</i>	speak	<i>-naga</i>	choose)
<i>-biyagila</i>	draw-move	(<i>-bia</i>	pull out	<i>-gila</i>	pluck)

3.7.1.3 VERB ROOT PLUS NOUN

A verb root and a noun combined express an action implicating in some way the named object.

<i>-misimauna</i>	sleep sitting up	(<i>-masisi</i>	sleep	<i>mauna</i> (n ₂)	animal, bird)
<i>-luvatuta</i>	choose time for it	(<i>-lova</i>	throw out	<i>tuta</i> (n ₂)	time)
<i>-tumapola</i>	give assent	(<i>-tama</i>	say yes	<i>pola</i>	eyebrows)

3.7.1.4 VERB ROOT PLUS ADJECTIVE

A verb and an adjective can combine to form a verb root. This has semantic similarity to a verb root modified by a verb-root adverbial.

- <i>vilabwaila</i>	share equally	(- <i>vila</i> share	<i>bwaina</i> good)
- <i>kamgagi</i>	neglect someone	(- <i>kam</i> eat	<i>gaga</i> bad)
- <i>kulubweyani</i>	become bright red	(- <i>kulu</i> become intense	<i>bweyani</i> red colour
		– also used with other colours)	

3.7.1.5 VERB ROOT PLUS ANOTHER ELEMENT

A verb and some other particle can combine to form a verb root; the verb which is the source is recognisable, but the other particle does not have synchronic function independent of other morphemes.

- <i>kamgumogi</i>	pronounce badly	(- <i>kaibiga-</i> say	* <i>mgumogi</i> ³⁷)
- <i>bubuvatu</i>	cut square across	(- <i>bobu</i> cut	* <i>vatu</i> unrelated meaning)

3.7.1.6 CLASSIFIER PLUS VERB ROOT

- <i>pilibodi</i>	enclose, partition off		
	(<i>pili-</i> (Cl) part of s.th.	- <i>bodi</i>	hinder, close)
- <i>yaula</i>	spin string		
	(- <i>ya</i> (Cl) thin	- <i>uli</i>	be around s.th.)

3.7.1.7 VERBALISED NOUN

- <i>guyau</i>	rule as a chief
- <i>bagula</i>	work a garden

3.7.1.8 COMPOUND VERB ROOT

Compound nouns, noun phrases and nouns derived from verbs or some other source may become verb roots.

- <i>ninayuwa</i>	be in doubt (<i>nona</i> (n ₄) mind, idea, <i>yuwa</i> (num) two)
- <i>viloububu</i>	be abandoned (<i>valu</i> (n ₂) place, - <i>bubu</i> (vb ₁) be desolate)
- <i>tokwaraiwaga</i>	be in authority (<i>to-</i> person who, - <i>karaiwaga</i> (vb ₂) rule over; these become <i>tokwaraiwaga</i> (n ₂) 'ruler')
- <i>toveka</i>	become important (<i>to-</i> person who, - <i>veka</i> (adj ₁) big; these form <i>toveka</i> (n ₂) important person)
- <i>kalamimi</i>	dream and get guidance (- <i>mimi</i> (vb ₁) dream – verbal noun in the phrase <i>kala mimi</i> 'dream sent to him'; here the noun phrase becomes a verb stem)

³⁷ An informant suggested this is an imitation of a meaningless sound, thus suggesting an onomatopoeic origin; *meguva* 'magic' is another possible source, from the mumbling of the magician.

3.7.1.9 VERBALISED ADJECTIVE

<i>-duwosisia</i>	become straight
<i>-gasisi</i>	be fierce
<i>-kwaiveka</i>	become enlarged; swell up

3.7.1.10 PREFIX PLUS NOUN OR NP

-kabi 'do using instrument'

<i>-kavidakuna</i>	throw stones (<i>dakuna</i> 'stone')
<i>-kabikuliga</i>	steer canoe (<i>kuliga</i> 'steering paddle')

-mila 'become'

<i>-milamauna</i>	turn into an animal (<i>mauna</i> 'animal')
<i>-militomota</i>	become a person, human (<i>tomota</i> 'person') (used of the Incarnation)
<i>-milawaga</i>	become a canoe (<i>waga</i> 'canoe') (used of the transformation of a tree-trunk)

*-butu/-tubo*³⁸ 'do the same as, emulate' (synonyms)

<i>-butuvivila</i>	do things like a woman, be effeminate (of man) (<i>vivila</i> 'woman')
<i>-butudimdim</i>	do things in a European way (<i>dimdim</i> 'European')
<i>-tubotau</i>	be man-like (of a woman who fishes, gardens etc. like a man)

-katu- 'do indirectly' with locative noun phrase

<i>-katu-wa-keda</i>	set out on journey (<i>wa keda</i> 'on the road')
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-to- 'be person doing' with NP

<i>-to-kala-mimi</i>	be a dream interpreter (<i>kala mimi</i> 'his dream')
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3.7.2 THE VERB ROOT DEVELOPED

We begin here to study the verb root in its possible realisations.

The verb root (VR) may be rewritten as a class of verbs which occur obligatorily without a direct object NP. This class of intransitive verbs is designated class I verbs (vb_1). Class I verbs do not accept any modification. All other verb roots (VR_{other}) may be optionally prefixed with a class of verb root prefixes designated verbal referents ($vb.ref$), which refer to the instrumental, agentive or causative functions of the verb so marked.

$$R13 \quad VR \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} vb_1 \\ (vb.ref) + VR_{other} \end{array} \right\}$$

³⁸ One has been generated by metathesis from the other.

3.7.3 CLASS I VERBS

Class I verbs are true intransitive verbs; they cannot take a direct object. Any modification of the roots of this class of verbs causes them to move into another verb class; this is dealt with below under the appropriate rule (see R14 in 3.7.5). The action of the verb is the whole comment the speaker wishes to make on the subject or topic, and an object NP is therefore obligatorily absent. This is the smallest of the three verb classes in Kiriwina.

<i>-la</i>	go (from here) (no redup)
<i>-sisu</i>	stop, stay (no redup)
<i>-kenu</i>	lie down; <i>-kanukwenu</i> (redup)
<i>-beku</i>	sink and float submerged; <i>-bukubeku</i> (redup)
<i>-dadaimi</i>	rot and be useless; <i>-didadaimi</i> (redup)
<i>-gala</i>	emigrate, move to another village; <i>-gilagala</i> (redup)
<i>-kalimisimisi</i>	express disapproval (with lateral click); <i>-kikalimisimisi</i> (redup)
<i>-mova</i>	live; <i>-mwamova</i> (redup)

3.7.4 THE VERBAL REFERENTS WITH CLASS II AND CLASS III VERBS

Verb roots other than those belonging to class I are optionally marked with a verbal referent prefix. These verbal referents belong to a small class of prefixes indicating the means by which the verb action is carried out. Thus they may be seen as instrumental or agentive indicators, or as indicators of the manner in which the action is performed. Or they may indicate the degree of causation the actor is seen to have in effecting the action of the verb.

The prefixes are in some cases recognisable as verb roots, or as constituents of verb roots, which makes these forms similar to the verb roots formed by the formative process (3.6.1.2), for example *-kanu-* 'do by lying down' from *-kenu* 'lie down', and *-ta-* 'do with an instrument' from *-tavi* 'cut'. Others derive from nouns, for example *-mita-* 'do with the eyes' from *mata-* 'eye'. However I have separated these verbal referents from the root formative processes for a number of reasons. Firstly, they characterise verbs of classes II and III, their instrumental component separating them from class I verbs. Secondly, they function synchronically as an optional form of prefixing, whereas the verbs discussed under root formative processes are seen to be more rigid in their combinations and are better understood as the end results of a historical process of word formation. Thirdly, their large numbers make it convenient to consider them separately. So, although there may be some similarities between verbs formed by verbal referent prefixing and those studied under root formation processes, they are kept separate, and the existence of some overlap is acknowledged.

It has been stated above that while roots of class I verbs may accept modification from the verbal referent prefixes, this prefixation makes them ipso facto members of a different class of verbs.

The verbal referents can be grouped together, although there is some overlap between the groups.

Degree of causation or involvement linking actor to action:

1. *-yo-* do violently
2. *-ko-* do roughly
3. *-va-* do gently, intimately
4. *-katu-* do indirectly

Instrumental or agentive indicators – the means by which the action is done:

5. *-ta-* do with instrument - tool, body, speech
6. *-va* do with fire
7. *-dou-* do by calling out
8. *-sai* do by putting

Actions performed using different parts of the body:

9. *-vi-* do with arm actions
10. *-ka-* do using the mouth
11. *-mita-* do using the eyes
12. *-va-* do with foot action
13. *-ki-* do with the hands, vigorously
14. *-ko-* do with the hands, gently
15. *-gi-* do with the fingers

Actions performed using the whole body:

16. *-kanu-* do by lying down
17. *-kaya-* do by swimming
18. *-si-* do by sitting
19. *-to-* do by standing
20. *-lo-* do by walking

The gloss for each prefix must be recognised as only an indication of that which suits the majority of verbs so marked. There are some cases where one prefix, for example *va-*, marks more than one group of verbs. Thus it is necessary to make every case of a verb bearing one of these prefixes an entry in the lexicon.

3.7.4.1 VERBAL REFERENTS AND CAUSATION

We consider first the group of prefixes which mark the degree of causation or involvement between actor and action.

1. *-yo-* ‘do violently’ (cf. *-yosa* ‘hold, seize’)

These predominantly make words of negative or bad connotation:

<i>-yogagi</i>	do evil to
<i>-yogibului</i>	make angry
<i>-yogalaluma</i>	refuse to cooperate
<i>-yogwali</i>	profane, break (a taboo)
<i>-yogwegwesi</i>	persist in troubling
<i>-yokakapisi</i>	beg, beseech
<i>-yokavata</i>	seize (fugitive)
<i>-yomitali</i>	reveal, expose

<i>-yomadi</i>	waste
<i>-yosokana</i>	mock
<i>-yotutubwau</i>	tire s.o.
<i>-yowai</i>	fight with fists

There are, however, some which suggest good or positive qualities:

<i>-yomovi</i>	heal
<i>-yobwaina</i>	make happy by giving (cf. <i>-yebwaili</i> 'love')
<i>-yomsali</i>	make joyful

Yet others have no specific quality, good or bad, but the violent quality would be imparted to the verb through this prefix and contextual fitness:

<i>-yobali</i>	delay
<i>-yobutu</i>	scatter or disperse (e.g. by running into herd of pigs)
<i>-yopwatutu</i>	make wet
<i>-yosali</i>	stretch out (hand)
<i>-yovai</i>	bring about marriage union

This group is a fairly consistent one. A major component within the group of verbs formed is 'do something bad or unacceptable, violently'.

2. *-ko-* 'do roughly' (cf. *-kovi* 'break, smash')

There is not a great deal of difference between the *-yo* group and the *-ko* group. The main difference is probably in the fact that *-ko* marks verbs that are expressive of a rough violence to things rather than an evil violence to people. However this distinction is not always clear.

<i>-kobaigoguna</i>	run in a great hurry
<i>-kobolu</i>	break (net)
<i>-kodidaimi</i>	destroy, break up utterly
<i>-komikikina</i>	persuade (against one's will)
<i>-kominimani</i>	argue violently
<i>-kopwali</i>	injure
<i>-kosaikikina</i>	jostle people (in crowd)
<i>-kosomwaiga</i>	roll about, wriggle violently
<i>-kotataila</i>	drag away (end of rope, to straighten)
<i>-kotuni</i>	break (rope)
<i>-kovisuvi</i>	thrust it in; make one go in
<i>-kogiaki</i>	soil, spread (butter on bread, poison on food)
<i>-kopituki</i>	tie (to tree)

3. *-va* 'do gently' (cf. *-vagi* 'do', general word with no emphasis either on gentle or ungentle action)

At least three different categories of *-va/-vi-* referents may be distinguished:

- with class II verbs having a verb focus form prefixed with *-va-*, which changes in object focus to *-vi-*;
- with class III verbs prefixed with *-va-*;
- with class III verbs prefixed with *-vi-*.

We are dealing here with the first of these.

verb focus	object focus	
-vanumla	-vinumli	make wet (e.g. sponge, holding under water)
-vanunu	-vinunu	suckle
-vatusi	-vitusi	gaze at thoughtfully
-vayaula	-viyuwoli	kiss (parent to child)
-valili	-vilili	undress
-valulu	-vilulu	give birth do
-vamom	-vimom	give a drink
-vatowa	-vitau	make arrangements for; begin to do
-vatubwa	-vitubwi	rear; cause to grow (child)
-vaguli	-viguli	arouse from sleep
-vasosu	-visosu	be in close, intimate relationship
-vanoku	-vinaku	finish doing

At least two of the above (-vatowa,³⁹ -vanoku) seem to be connected more with the general force of -vagi than with gentleness; apart from these, the connotation of gentleness, tenderness or intimacy is well sustained. The gentleness implicit in -va- should make it clear that an act of rousing someone from sleep is a gentle, hesitant act – done roughly the person might awake before their spirit had returned from its dreamtime activities. Also the rearing of a child has for the Kiriwinan the sense of a gentle, pleasant activity. The feeling of intimacy running through many of these words must also be seen as part of the connotation of -va-. Other -va- groups are referred to below.

4. -katu- 'do indirectly'

The meaning most frequently found is that the actor is the indirect cause of the action, though sometimes there is the implication of direct and intentional action. An example is helpful, and we look at -butu 'scatter, disperse (of a school of fish when frightened etc.)'. Other verbal referents prefixed to this root give us -yobutu 'scatter them (by some violent action)' and -kobutu 'scatter, cause them to disperse (by pushing roughly into a herd of pigs)'. But -katubutu 'scatter them (by doing something which causes them to take fright)' would also be used of someone using a stick to scatter a herd of pigs. The stick is the direct cause, and the wielder of the stick is the indirect cause of the pigs dispersing. It is this element of indirect causation that has to be read into the list of examples.

This verbal referent is used with a very large number of verb roots; it probably has the highest frequency of use of all the verbal referent prefixes. The data given here are drawn from a list of some 200 verbs.

³⁹ This has no connection with its homophonous form -vatowa 'spear (s.o.)'.

<i>-katupatu</i>	applaud (by clapping hands)
<i>-katupewoli</i>	strengthen (as food strengthens the eater)
<i>-katupwani</i>	hide (i.e. put where s.th. conceals it)
<i>-katusisapi</i>	dust off (e.g. by bumping two books together)
<i>-katuvili</i>	turn it over (using stick etc.)
<i>-katuvivila</i>	rock the boat (by moving about)
<i>-katubaiasa</i>	prepare
<i>-katubodi</i>	close door (i.e. door blocks hole)
<i>-katubukoli</i>	cover food
<i>-katubuyavi</i>	wound (i.e. cause blood to flow)
<i>-katudidaimi</i>	destroy, abolish (e.g. destroy a house by felling the tree which is the direct cause)
<i>-katugogwau</i>	ring bell (beating it with stick)
<i>-katululuwai</i>	remind (gently, indirectly)
<i>-katumati</i>	kill (cause to die, e.g. by spear)
<i>-katumigileu</i>	cleanse (e.g. using water)

Some verbs, however, are not true to this general pattern of meaning:

<i>-katubili</i>	roll up (mat)
<i>-katubilibili</i>	roll (over and over)
<i>-katubau</i>	admire, praise
<i>-katulokwasi</i>	beckon

In a large body of data there are bound to be inconsistencies; however the verbs prefixed with *-katu-* are fairly consistent.

3.7.4.2 VERBAL REFERENTS AND INSTRUMENTALITY

We next consider the group of verbal referents which indicate the means by which an action is done.

5. *-ta-* 'do with an instrument, including the body and speech'

Verbs with this referent seem held together by a rather tenuous link, by regarding the body and the human voice on the same level as a hand-held tool – as an instrument to bring about the action of the verb. That this is justified may be confirmed by a study of the examples below. The first group is of those verbs which show a dependence on a hand-held tool or instrument. These suggest that the verbal referent *-ta-* may be cognate with *-tavi* 'cut'.

<i>-tabau</i>	carve beautifully
<i>-tagogula</i>	mix, stir (using stirrer)
<i>-takaiwa</i>	clear garden (using tools)
<i>-talibulabu</i>	wipe dry (using towel)
<i>-tamimisi</i>	cut up
<i>-tanevi</i>	sweep out
<i>-tavili</i>	measure out

Other examples include using parts of the body to effect the action of the verb and using the human voice as a 'stirring' instrument:

<i>-tabodi</i>	plug up (using hand or piece of wood as a plug to stop leak in canoe)
<i>-tageuna</i>	express decision (by jerking head)
<i>-tadoyai</i>	crane neck to see clearly
<i>-takumdu</i>	complain by grunts or grimaces
<i>-tamnabi</i>	tempt (either by words or bodily enticement)
<i>-tapopula</i>	do reverence (by bending body)
<i>-tabinaki</i>	accuse
<i>-takila</i>	speak evil of
<i>-takulukulu</i>	grumble

Other instrumental uses of *-ta-* include doing something by hand:

<i>-takoli</i>	give a return gift
<i>-talagila</i>	spill
<i>-tavilevi</i>	separate, divide into heaps

or using a canoe impelled by paddles:

<i>-talaguva</i>	arrive by (paddled) canoe
<i>-tapela</i>	cross over (using a paddled canoe)
<i>-tavina</i>	go on a tour (by using any vehicle)
<i>-tayumila</i>	return by (paddled) canoe

Thus although the single thread of meaning may seem at times to be tenuous, it is nonetheless to be traced through almost all these examples. By using something the actor acts and, except in the case of the voice (which is an audible tool), the actor is using something visible which is physically manipulated in some way to achieve the end desired, whether the physical act be the cutting of a knife, the thrusting of the hand into a hole or the dipping of a paddle into the sea.

6. *-va-* 'do by fire' (cf. *-vakati* 'kindle fire')

Three groups marked with *-va-* or *-vi-* were identified in 3. above. Within the second group (*-va-*) there are two categories which we may recognise. The first of these is looked at now. The identification 'do by fire' is a loose one, owing more to its possible verbal origin noted above than to a constancy of the element of fire in all verbs.

<i>-vakati</i>	kindle (fire)
<i>-vatula</i>	become cool
<i>-vakala</i>	put into sun to dry
<i>-vakamati</i>	sun causes it to die
<i>-vakanota</i>	make fire
<i>-vakagautu</i>	overcook; burn; toast
<i>-vakanunuva</i>	overshadow; cover
<i>-vakapula</i>	prepare (food for eating)
<i>-vakasau</i>	fill (cup, dish)
<i>-vakoma</i>	feed
<i>-vakalaga</i>	ask for or give food
<i>-vagogu</i>	put (liquid)
<i>-vaputuma</i>	annoint

The connection with fire would seem for this category to be a cooking fire, and much of this category is perhaps of a domestic connection, having to do with cooking, serving, feeding and so on. For the Kiriwinan these different elements are one category.

7. *-dou-* 'do by calling' (cf. *-dou* 'call; name')

This occurs on a small group of verbs. The slight difference in form between verbs formed with this prefix and the group of true compound verb stems formed with *-dou* and another element rather obscures the fact that this is a true verbal referent, as the voice is the instrument by which something is achieved.

<i>-doumamalu</i>	call to come quickly
<i>-doupela</i>	call across (i.e. repeat call when standing between caller and one called)
<i>-doukulaga</i>	shout loudly about s.th.
<i>-douyumila</i>	call s.o. back to you

8. *-sai/-se-* 'do by putting' (cf. *-saili* 'put')

This is used with another small group, but with consistent readings:

<i>-sebwaili</i>	put firmly
<i>-saiwau</i>	show how to do it (i.e. 'do by example')
<i>-sepituki</i>	join; unite; put so as to make one
<i>-sevatai</i>	oppose; fight against s.o.
<i>-sailova</i>	put it aside and so abandon it
<i>-saimatala</i>	put it in public view

3.7.4.3 VERBAL REFERENTS AND AGENTIVE INVOLVEMENT

We now come to a number of verbal referents which are more specific in referring to certain parts of the body as instruments of the action. There are seven in this group.

9. *-vi-* 'do with arm actions'

This is another of the *-va/-vi-* referents. There is a consistent connotation of actions being done by means of movement of the whole arm in lifting, putting, reaching and so on.

<i>-vidagu</i>	dip (e.g. paddle in water, sponge for soaking in water)
<i>-vilugi</i>	put in
<i>-visalili</i>	inter, bury
<i>-visaikoli</i>	measure (arm-length comparisons)
<i>-visikoma</i>	dress
<i>-visimalaula</i>	raise s.o. into a sitting position
<i>-visivila</i>	turn around s.o. sitting
<i>-visunupuloi</i>	throw out; eject
<i>-visuvi</i>	put s.o. in; cause s.o. to enter (door)

Another frequent component is that the action involves energetic or strong action.

10. *-ka*- 'do using the mouth' (cf. *-kawala* '(his) speech')

Some constructions refer to speaking:

<i>-kaninisi</i>	argue (noise of a large word)
<i>-kanagoa</i>	speak like s.o. mentally deficient
<i>-kamokwita</i>	speak the truth
<i>-kamatula</i>	declare openly, plainly
<i>-kaluvalova</i>	boast
<i>-kabwaili</i>	commend
<i>-kayoka</i>	talk, gossip idly
<i>-katotila</i>	promise
<i>-kasilam</i>	whisper

Others refer simply to things done by some mouth action, with no vocalising involved:

<i>-kaleleu</i>	hold in mouth
<i>-kayau</i>	yawn
<i>-kasumsam</i>	chew
<i>-kapuli</i>	spit out (e.g. fly in drink)
<i>-kanumosa</i>	lick
<i>-kamolu</i>	hunger; starve
<i>-kadaka</i>	be thirsty
<i>-kabubuna</i>	eat off the ground; graze

11. *-mita*- 'do using the eyes' (cf. *matila* 'eye')

There are two different kinds of focus in the 'eye' reference. The first indicates the eye of the actor:

<i>-mitabilibili</i>	look idly at
<i>-mitapoi</i>	blink
<i>-mitakipoki</i>	blink deliberately to convey message
<i>-mitailayala</i>	pass message, communicate using only eyes (e.g. point using eye motion)
<i>-mitagibugibu</i>	look with anger; have angry eyes
<i>-mitalala</i>	open eyes to look

The second indicates the eye of the beholder (i.e. things done in full view):

<i>-mitakwela</i>	be openly generous
<i>-mitugaga</i>	do evil
<i>-mituguguwa</i>	be greedy; hoard goods
<i>-mitukwaibwaila</i>	do good acts

12. *-va-* 'do with foot action; do while walking'

This is the last of the *-va-/-vi-* verbal referents. It is now clear that, although they have something in common as to morphemic shape, there is no element of common meaning to be found among them except the general meaning of instrumentality (which they share with all other verbal referents). This last group may indicate the foot being used as an instrument or the act of walking being involved.

<i>-vapala</i>	give way on track
<i>-vatutu</i>	trample, tread underfoot
<i>-vawalai</i>	go through the middle of
<i>-vaboda</i>	go and meet
<i>-vabusi</i>	come down; disembark
<i>-vakadi</i>	lead
<i>-vakapusii</i>	cause to stumble
<i>-vakium</i>	hide, cover secretly (using foot)
<i>-vakota</i>	anchor canoe (walk with stone on rope)
<i>-vakouli</i>	take someone
<i>-vala</i>	push with feet (as searching for shellfish)
<i>-vasigi</i>	elevate using foot; kick

13. *-ki-* 'do with hands, vigorously'

Some verbs marked with the verbal referent *-ki-* are the object-focus forms of *-ka-* marked verb roots (10.). The *-ki-* prefix shows hand actions, usually strong or vigorous.

<i>-kiwalai</i>	break in the middle
<i>-kiyayali</i>	bend s.th.
<i>-kiwisi</i>	wash face
<i>-kitaula</i>	touch (a forbidden thing)
<i>-kipoli</i>	squeeze, wring it out
<i>-kinunuma</i>	clench fish
<i>-kimimisi</i>	break into fragments (hands only used)
<i>-kimati</i>	kill (with bare hands)
<i>-kisilili</i>	drown (hold it under)
<i>-kilova</i>	let go, release
<i>-kididogi</i>	bend, flex into a bow shape

14. *-no-* 'do with hands, gently'

The verb roots marked with this verbal referent show a different quality of hand action from that seen in the group of *-ki-* marked verbs.

<i>-nobasi</i>	knock with hand; tickle, poke (using finger)
<i>-nobusobosa</i>	sob with no tears; hold oneself in check (hand over mouth?)
<i>-nokapisi</i>	have pity; help because of pity
<i>-nokubukubu</i>	be anxious; wonder at
<i>-nopipisi</i>	knock, tap (with hand)
<i>-novisi</i>	peel (banana)
<i>-notetila</i>	swim under water
<i>-nopaka</i>	be angry (of group of people)
<i>-nobutui</i>	strike with fist (friendly gesture)

There is an interesting feature of hand involvement here. While the hand is clearly involved in many of the words, other words refer to emotional scenes where the hands would wave about as part of the emotional expression but would accomplish nothing directly. Thus ineffectual hand action, or hand action with emotive force, is part of this group of words. The use of *-no-* for the action of swimming under water, where the viewer sees arms distorted and gesturing like those of the mourner or the angry person, indicates an interesting correlation of meaning, where the hands appear to do nothing effectual.

15. *-gi-* 'do using fingers' (cf. *-gini* 'paint, carve a design')

Here we have the common feature of indicating actions done by means of dextrous finger actions.

<i>-ginauli</i>	roll cigarette; prepare poisoned food by working at food preparation with poison under fingernails
<i>-gini</i>	paint or carve fine detail of design; write
<i>-gigi</i>	tighten belt
<i>-gimoni</i>	seduce (i.e. feel under skirt with fingers); extract using fingers (a delicate action)
<i>-gibilui</i>	push up
<i>-gibu</i>	poke finger (at eye)

3.7.4.4 VERBAL REFERENTS AND AGENT ACTION

The final group, five verbal referents, includes those which refer to the whole body of the actor being used to effect something. The selectional restraints on all five are very similar.

16. *-kanu-* 'do by lying down' (cf. *-kenu* 'lie down')

<i>-kanubodi</i>	hinder by lying in the way, block door by same means
<i>-kanubusi</i>	move down while in prone position
<i>-kanudali</i>	sprain muscle by lying in awkward position
<i>-kanudeli</i>	lie down with group
<i>-kanudidaimi</i>	smash s.th. by lying on it

17. *-kaya-* 'do by swimming' (cf. *-kakaya* 'swim')

<i>-kayapapila</i>	swim using float
<i>-kayadaguma</i>	accompany at sea (canoe)
<i>-kayabusi</i>	go swimming
<i>-kayadoum</i>	drown
<i>-kayagoli</i>	swim in a group
<i>-kayagegedu</i>	swim in a lewd fashion
<i>-kayalapula</i>	appear while swimming

18. *-si-* 'do by sitting or stopping in a place' (cf. *-sili* 'sit')

<i>-sikaka</i>	sit with legs spread apart
<i>-simata</i>	kill by sitting on it
<i>-sitanuwa</i>	tremble while in a sitting position
<i>-sitolu</i>	sit while standing (i.e. squat or 'hunker')
<i>-siula</i>	sit around (of a group)
<i>-sinetota</i>	crouch down

19. *-to-* 'do by standing' (cf. *-totu* 'stand up')

<i>-topepuni</i>	stand hidden
<i>-tom</i>	stand there
<i>-towalai</i>	stand amongst them
<i>-toboda</i>	stand in the way
<i>-tomadaili</i>	stand here with group

20. *-lo-* 'do by walking' (cf. *-loula* 'walk about')

<i>-lonanota</i>	walk and accomplish nothing
<i>-lomatala</i>	walk in full view
<i>-lodali</i>	sprain while walking
<i>-lobutu</i>	scatter by walking among
<i>-lobusi</i>	come down on foot

3.7.4.5 OTHER VERBAL REFERENT USAGE

On some occasions a verb root will have two verbal referent prefixes. There does not seem to be any priority of order involved; the speaker determines which element of meaning is to dominate the whole verb.

<i>-ko-vi-suvi</i>	roughly cause s.o. to enter; hustle s.o. in
<i>-vi-to-malaula</i>	lift s.o. to a standing position
<i>-si-va-duli</i>	be constantly with (as in marriage; a figurative expression for daily living as 'stay-walk-be-with')

Some examples of verb referents show that the prefix occurs with no verb root, but with a verb root adverbial attached. I do not think that this is a case of morpheme loss within the verb root but rather a survival of the verbal status of a morpheme now functioning (possibly in a shortened form) as a verbal prefix.

<i>-tabau</i>	carve well (cf. <i>-tavi</i> 'carve, cut')
<i>-katumkulovi</i>	finish (cf. <i>-katuvi</i> 'break' [intransitive])

-katukikita	press firmly (cf. -katupwi 'fold (mat)')
-sibogwa	exist before or first (cf. -sisu 'stop, stay')
-kabau	say plainly (cf. kaibiga 'speak')
-sipwepuni	sit hidden (cf. -sili 'sit')
-kanigaga	last forever (cf. -kanukwenu 'lie or stay there')

3.7.5 CLASS II VERBS

Other forms of the verb root may be rewritten as verbs of class II (vb₂), which are obligatorily marked for focus, or as verbs of class III (VR₃).

$$R14 \quad VR_{\text{other}} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} vb_2 + \text{focus} \\ VR_3 \end{array} \right\}$$

3.7.5.1 MARKED FOR FOCUS

A class of verb roots we call class II verbs is a large (probably the predominant) class of verbs. All verb roots of this class have obligatory marking either for verb focus (v.f) or for object focus (o.f). Verb focus forms indicate that the speaker has the action of the verb as the main focus of attention in the comment; object focus forms direct the attention of the hearers not to the verb but to the object or goal to which the action is directed. Thus verb focus forms generally do not have an object but object focus forms generally do have an object explicitly stated.

However the distinction is not an intransitive/transitive contrast, as verb focus forms may take an object. The speaker may for the sake of clarity state the object, but the use of the verb focus form indicates an emphasis on the action of the verb and not on the goal of that action. Conversely, or perversely, when a speaker uses the object focus form of the verb the focus of attention towards the object is so clear, the object under discussion being well known through contextual reference, that it is frequently deleted altogether.

Thus verb focus forms of this verb class need not have an explicit object but sometimes do, whereas object focus forms always clearly imply an object and so often do not state it.

Therefore it must be clearly stated that class II verbs are transitive verbs, but the obligatory focus constituent within the verb root makes either the action of the verb or its goal the main focus of attention for the sentence.

Example (96) shows a verb focus form with an object. Example (97) shows an object focus verb form with the object deleted.

- (96) *Natana biyayosasi.*
 one (animal) they.will.holding
 [+ v.f]
 They are holding on to it, this animal.

- (97) *E bitagigisi wala.*
 well we.will.seeing.(it) only
 Well, we should then see this thing we have spoken of.

3.7.5.2 VERB FOCUS AND OBJECT FOCUS IN THE VERB ROOT

I now consider the ways in which the verb roots of class II verbs manifest either the verb focus or the object focus form. The two different verb root forms which indicate focus are effected usually by changes in the vowels of the verb root, the consonants for the most part remaining unaltered. The stress placement is affected in some cases. The changes in two categories of verb roots are considered below – verb roots which are bisyllabic, and those roots of three or more syllables. There is also a group of verb roots which only manifest a formal change for focus in the reduplicated form of the verb root.

3.7.5.3 FOCUS IN VERB ROOTS OF THREE OR MORE SYLLABLES

Verb roots in this group manifest focus by means of changes in the last three syllables only of the verb root, and in the rules detailed for them only three syllables are indicated. For that reason I refer to them as the trisyllabic verb roots, to contrast them with the bisyllabic roots.

The trisyllabic verb roots are a group of considerable interest because of fairly consistent morphophonemic alternations taking place within them to serve the purposes of focus.

We are considering here verb roots that are of the phonetic shape detailed in stress rule 2 (see 2.3.4.2), namely roots that are either specifically:

$$\begin{array}{c} CVka \left\{ \frac{I}{n} \right\} a\# \\ \uparrow \\ [+stress] \end{array}$$

or more generally:

$$\begin{array}{c} C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3a\# \\ \uparrow \\ [+stress] \end{array}$$

All verbs of this shape change from verb focus to object focus by altering the root-final *a* to *i*. This has the effect of breaking the first condition of stress rule 2 (that is, that no morpheme boundary should occur within the environment of the rule, so that all object focus forms are therefore accented on the penultimate syllable).

Thus for these trisyllabic verb roots the change from verb focus to object focus may be expressed by:

$$\begin{array}{c} C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3a\# \\ \uparrow \\ [+stress] \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3i\# \\ \uparrow \\ [+stress] \end{array}$$

In the first-stated, more limited, environment there is no further change, so that (ignoring the stress alternation) we may simply state that:

$$CVka \left\{ \frac{I}{n} \right\} a\# \rightarrow CVka \left\{ \frac{I}{n} \right\} i\#$$

for example:

yo'sokana *yoso'kani*

In other verbs which follow the more general pattern other changes occur, which may be expressed:

$$C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3a\# \rightarrow C_1v_1C_2v_2C_3i\#$$

Conditions:

1. Stress moves to the penultimate syllable
2. V_2 is either *i* or *u*
3. v_1 is either *i* or *u*.

The morphophonemic rules MR4 and MR5 detailed below (see 3.7.5.4) state the phonetic environments in which v_1 becomes *i* or *u* in accordance with the above rule; and the rules MR6 and MR7 state the conditions under which v_2 becomes *i*, *a*, *o* or *u*.

Three-syllable roots which do not conform to the basic pattern set out in stress rule 2 do not follow the morphophonemic rules given above. A few examples will make this clear. However note that the change from root final vowel *a* to *i* is consistent.

-kokola	-kukoli	fear
-bolata	-buloti	foretell evil
-tagwala	-tugwali	agree
-kapogega	-kipugagi	open (mouth)
-lamadada	-lamidadi	all perish
-lumkola	-lumkoli	feel
-kowlolova	-koulovi	hate
-kamaiaaba	-kamiabi	respect

Some atypical three-syllable forms which do not conform to the general pattern of verb focus stems can be noted.

-katupasisi	-katupisii	peel off (outer layer)
-masisi	-misii	sleep
-kavasaki	-kavisaki	imitate, ape s.o.
-kiyayali	-kiiyali	bend it over
-takumdu	-takumdi	grimace

There are some verb roots where only the verbal referent prefix changes.

-valulu	-vilulu	give birth
-vanunu	-vinunu	suckle
-vayelu	-viyelu	investigate
-vamom	-vimom	give a drink

3.7.5.4 MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES FOR DETERMINING OBJECT FOCUS FORMS IN VERB ROOTS BEARING ANTEPENULTIMATE STRESS

Those verbs with antepenultimate stress are exclusively within the group of trisyllabic verb roots considered above (see 3.5.7.3).

In the examples which follow each rule the verb focus forms are given first and the syllables which demonstrate the change for that rule are in bold. The rules assume that V_1 and V_2 are known, and state the conditions that give rise to v_1 and v_2 .

MR4 $v_1 \rightarrow i/$ C_1 — C_2
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +ant \\ +cor \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ant \\ -cor \end{array} \right\}$

<i>-dodiga</i>	<i>-didagi</i>	heap up
<i>-sonukula</i>	<i>-senikuli</i>	count
<i>-yogalaluma</i>	<i>-yogililami</i>	refuse to do
<i>-motatina</i>	<i>-mtitani</i>	shake
<i>-kapakula</i>	<i>-kapikoli</i>	blame
<i>-kamatula</i>	<i>-kamtuli</i>	report
<i>-silapula</i>	<i>-silipuli</i>	slander

$$\text{MR5 } v_1 \rightarrow u / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C_1 \quad \text{---} \quad C_2 \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-ant} \\ \text{-cor} \end{array} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-ant} \\ \text{-cor} \end{array} \right\} \\ C_1 \quad \text{---} \quad C_2 \\ [+ant] \quad [+ant] \\ C_1 \quad \text{---} \quad C_2 \\ [-ant] \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +ant \\ +cor \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$C_1 \quad \text{---} \quad C_2 \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-ant} \\ \text{-cor} \end{array} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-ant} \\ \text{-cor} \end{array} \right\}$$

<i>-vilimgogula</i>	<i>-vilimguguli</i>	make heap of goods
<i>-gugula</i>	<i>-guguli</i>	assemble

$$C_1 \quad \text{---} \quad C_2 \\ [+ant] \quad [+ant]$$

<i>-vitoubobuta</i>	<i>-vitububoti</i>	foretell
<i>-komomla</i>	<i>-kommoli</i>	have close relationship
<i>-taimamila</i>	<i>-temmali</i>	respect

$$C_1 \quad \text{---} \quad C_2 \\ [-ant] \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +ant \\ +cor \end{array} \right\}$$

<i>-vigimkovila</i>	<i>-vigimkulov⁴⁰</i>	complete
<i>-dobula</i>	<i>-duboli</i>	fill in (hole)
<i>-siyumila</i>	<i>-siyumali</i>	move back sitting
<i>-katuloluta</i>	<i>-katululuti</i>	warn
<i>-valapula</i>	<i>-valupoli</i>	appear on foot

$$\text{MR6 } v_2 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} i / C_2 \quad \text{---} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-ant} \\ \text{-cor} \end{array} \right\} \\ a / C_2 \quad \text{---} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +ant \\ +cor \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

Condition: $V_2 = i$

⁴⁰ Note metathesis in this stem.

C₂ —
 { -ant }
 { -cor }

<i>-biyagila</i>	<i>-biigili</i>	draw out
<i>-gigila</i>	<i>-gigili</i>	laugh
<i>-sagali</i>	<i>-sigili</i>	exchange

C₂ —
 { +ant }
 { +cor }

<i>-siyumila</i>	<i>-siyumali</i>	move back sitting
<i>-kaidodiga</i>	<i>-kaididagi</i>	load canoe
<i>-motatina</i>	<i>-mtitani</i>	shake
<i>-dedila</i>	<i>-didali</i>	erect ceremonial fence

MR7 $v_2 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a / \text{ — } C_3 \\ \text{[-cor]} \\ \{ \begin{array}{l} o \\ u \end{array} \} / \text{ — } C_3 \\ \text{[+cor]} \end{array} \right\}$

Condition $V_2 = u$

— C₃
 [-cor]

<i>-yogaluluma</i>	<i>-yogililami</i>	refuse to do
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— C₃
 [+cor]

There is fluctuation here between the two manifestations of v_2 as either *o* or *u*. It will be seen from the two sets of examples below that the same or closely analogous phonetic environments may generate either, and there is no synchronic means of determining which may appear.

a) $v_2 = o$

<i>-lasikula</i>	<i>-lasikoli</i>	beach canoe
<i>-kapakula</i>	<i>-kapikoli</i>	blame
<i>-vilimgogula</i>	<i>-vilimgugoli</i>	make heap of goods
<i>-kabobuta</i>	<i>-kabuboti</i>	declare true
<i>-valapula</i>	<i>-valupoli</i>	appear on foot
<i>-dobula</i>	<i>-duboli</i>	fill hole

b) $v_2 = u$

<i>-silapula</i>	<i>-silipuli</i>	slander
<i>-kougugula</i>	<i>-kouguguli</i>	gather
<i>-sonukula</i>	<i>-senikuli</i>	count
<i>-katuloluta</i>	<i>-katululuti</i>	warn
<i>-kamatula</i>	<i>-kamituli</i>	report

There are a few exceptions to the above rules. For the sake of completeness they are given here.

The sequence *avi* is rigid, so that no change to the spelling takes place in verbs containing this sequence; thus:

-*bwa'kavila* -*boka'vili* pursue

Some forms having a syllable bounded on both sides by voiceless consonants lose the syllable altogether in the change from verb focus to object focus form. This however fluctuates, as the examples below show. The hypothetical complete form is included to show where loss has occurred.

-*kitotila* **-kitituli* -*kituli* promise
-*yosesila* **-yosisali* -*yosali* hold up

However the following example shows no loss:

-*wotetila* -*wotitali* serve

3.7.5.5 RULES FOR OBJECT FOCUS IN VERB ROOTS HAVING VOWEL CLUSTERS OR DIPHTHONGS

Verb roots of both two and three-or-more syllables are included here and in sections 3.7.5.7 and 3.7.5.8. When vowel clusters or diphthongs are the nuclei of syllables which reflect the change from verb focus to object focus, a number of regular changes may be seen.

Morphophonemic rules 8-11 state the conditions under which regular phonetic changes take place.

MR8 $ouCa\# \rightarrow uwoCi\#$

-*youla* -*yuwoli* tie with string

MR9 $auCa\# \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} awoCi\# / k____\# \\ uwoCi\# \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$

$auCa\# \rightarrow awoCi\# / k____\#$

-*sakaula* -*sakawoli* run
-*yakaula* -*yakawoli* praise

$auCa\# \rightarrow uwoCi\# \text{ elsewhere}$

-*vataula* -*vituwoli* walk with
-*kitaula* -*kituwoli* choose differently

The next four verbs are exceptions.

-*simalaula* -*similiwoli* sit upright
-*vakawala* -*vakawali* spy out
-*vaula* -*vali* plant (not yams)
-*yuweitala* -*yuweitali* jump in

MR10 *ewa#* → *au#*

- <i>sewa</i>	- <i>sau</i>	learn
- <i>paiewa</i>	- <i>paiaus</i>	work
- <i>lupasewa</i>	- <i>lupisau</i>	lift up
- <i>puiewa</i>	- <i>puisau</i>	spit out

MR11 *owa#* → *au#*

- <i>vatowa</i>	- <i>vitau</i>	spear
- <i>kavatowa</i>	- <i>kavitau</i>	hold in mouth

3.7.5.6 FOCUS IN THE BISYLLABIC VERB ROOTS

Verb roots of class II verbs which are of two syllables follow a different pattern of modification from verb focus to object focus forms. The general shape of the change is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{CVCa\#} \rightarrow \text{CVC}\left\{\begin{array}{c} i \\ u \end{array}\right\}\# \\ [+ \text{ v.f}] \quad \quad [+ \text{ o.f}] \end{array}$$

Morphophonemic rules 12-16 are the rules for determining object focus patterns in verbs of class II which have two syllable roots. They are not an exhaustive treatment of the specific changes which occur; however they do give an indication of the major pattern changes which take place and cover all but a few of the verbs. Also they help to show what may be expected to take place in verb roots which are compounded from two-syllable verb roots, a number of examples of which are included in the listings below. Rules 12 and 13 cover changes in the first syllable, and rules 14-16 indicate pattern changes in the second. The five rules must be applied in the order given.

MR12 *mwaCV#* → *moCV#*

- <i>gimwala</i>	- <i>gimoli</i>	transact
- <i>kamnomwana</i>	- <i>kamnumoni</i>	boast

MR13 *CeCV#* → *CaCV#*

- <i>bekwa</i>	- <i>baku</i>	bury
- <i>geda</i>	- <i>gadi</i>	bite; ache
- <i>lega</i>	- <i>lagi</i>	hear
- <i>beba</i>	- <i>babi</i>	pierce
- <i>yega</i>	- <i>yagi</i>	shake

$$\text{MR14 } \text{CVya\#} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{CVu\# / Ci\#} \\ \text{CVi\# elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{CVya\#} \rightarrow \text{CVu\# / Ci\#}$$

- <i>biya</i>	- <i>biu</i>	pull, push
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$$\text{CVya\#} \rightarrow \text{CVi\# elsewhere}$$

-guya	-gui	cut off
-kiuya	-kiui	pull off, pick at
-doya	-doi	drift

The MR14 examples show that a process of phonetic dissimilation has been operating. The vowel of the final syllable assimilates to the height of the vowel of the preceding syllable, but dissimilates to the opposite extreme as to roundedness.

MR15	CV# →	Cu#	
	↑	↑	
	[+round]	[-round]	
	-bekwa	-baku	bury
	-sipwa	-sipu	tie knot
	-ligabwa	-ligabu	pour

MR16	a# → i#		
	-yada	-yadi	rub to sharpen
	-yaima	-yaimi	patch hole
	-bwata	-bwati	net spawning fish
	-gisa	-gisi	see
	-vila	-vili	share out
	-kola	-koli	save
	-yosa	-yosi	seize
	-lupa	-lupi	lift
	-kula	-kuli	discover

There are a large number of verb roots which derive from two-syllable roots, and a few examples will show that these also conform generally to the changes noted in morphophonemic rules 12-16, for the last two syllables of such roots. But changes which occasionally take place further back in the roots also usually follow the general principles which these rules formalise.

-yamata	-yamati	look after
-kopwala	-kopwali	begin
-vapapala	-vapupali	turn aside
-vakeda	-vakadi	lead
-vageda	-vigadi	kindle fire
-kavila	-kavili	share
-taboda	-tabodi	stand in way
-silaboda	-silibodi	prevent, hinder
-siula	-siuli	sit surrounding

One two-syllable root does not act in accordance with the above rules, either in its basic root form or in the derived forms. It is simply noted here:

-lova	-lavi	throw out
-kilova	-kilavi	throw out by hand
-silova	-silavi	leave

3.7.5.7 FOCUS REVEALED IN REDUPLICATION

There are a few class II verbs which have identical forms in the basic root form for both verb focus and object focus, but reveal essentially different characteristics when the root has been modified by reduplication. The following list is fairly comprehensive.

basic root verb & object focus	reduplicated verb focus	reduplicated object focus	
-kuli	-kulikuli	-kukuli	chew, suck
-bweisi	-bwabweisi	-bubweisi	urinate
-kivi	-kivikivi	-kikivi	break
-bwaku	-bukubwaku	-bubwaku	hunt pigs
-dabwali	-didabwali	-didebali	fall down
-dali	(none)	-didali	sprain
-dani	-dinidani	-didani	squeeze
-bwau	-bobwau	-bubwau	drift (smoke)
-gabu	{ -gubugwabu } { -gibugabu }	-gigabu	burn
-gudu	-gudugudu	-gugudu	break off
-kili	-kilikili	-kikili	fetch water
-sapi	-sipisapi	-sisapi	brush off

3.7.5.8 FOCUS BY VOWEL AFFIXATION

Finally, a small number of verbs distinguish between verb focus and object focus by affixing the stem-final vowel *-i* to the verb focus form, so that there is no regular change taking place within the stem – only such as results from the adding of one vowel.

-kugwa	-kugwai	be first
-towala	-towalai	stand in the midst
-mitakwela	-mitakwai	be generous
-tapu	-tapoi	bruise, crush
-vava	-vavoi	trade fish
-laleia	-leilai	carve or paint design

3.7.6 CLASS III VERBS

3.7.6.1 CLASS III VERBS DEVELOPED

Class III verb roots may be rewritten as a group of verb roots which either state the verb action or relate the action directly to the goal or object without any change in root shape (and may optionally be marked with the dative suffix *-ki*). Also, verb roots of class I verbs (vb_1), and object focus forms of class II verb roots (vb_2 [+obj focus]) when marked with the dative suffix *-ki* become class III verbs (VR_3). In the case of the last two, the presence of the *-ki* suffix is obligatory for their membership in this verb class. The verbs which realise the syntactical feature of double object are marked with *-ki*; double object verbs are thus always class III verbs.

$$R15 \quad VR_3 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} vb_3 + (-ki) \\ vb_1 + -ki \\ vb_2 + -ki \\ [+obj \text{ focus}] \end{array} \right\}$$

Some examples of this verb class in unmodified form (that is, without the dative suffix) show some extremely limited or specialised verbs, which could occur only in a small number of contexts.

<i>-bani</i>	find
<i>-basi</i>	prune (yam shoots)
<i>-butu</i>	compose (song)
<i>-buyoyu</i>	forbid, prevent
<i>-dou</i>	call
<i>-dubumi</i>	believe
<i>-iku</i>	shake
<i>-kanini</i>	peel off using teeth
<i>-katupatu</i>	applaud (by clapping hands)
<i>-mtu</i>	rub
<i>-sagi</i>	put behind ear; put aside for later
<i>-tai</i>	coil up
<i>-tau</i>	find
<i>-ulaim</i>	open
<i>-veilau</i>	steal
<i>-waia</i>	slap, strike
<i>-wola</i>	give helpful advice
<i>-yagi</i>	blow on (of wind)
<i>-yomsoki</i>	make untidy

3.7.6.2 CLASS III VERBS AND THE DATIVE SUFFIX

The dative suffix *-ki* attaches optionally to the basic root forms of class III verbs. Where a class I verb root or the object focus form of a class II verb has been modified by the addition of *-ki*, this has the effect of turning it into a class III verb; the *-ki* suffix is an obligatory addition to what was formerly a class I or class II stem.

Three different groups may be distinguished among those verb stems modified by the *-ki* suffix (this grouping has nothing to do with the three origins of stems so modified as noted in the foregoing paragraph, but concerns the clearly different directions which *-ki* gives to the verb stem):

- a) those which take a double object
- b) those which take a single object
- c) those which accept the *-ki* suffix either with no change in meaning or to become emphatic forms of the unmodified verb.

The predominant function of *-ki* to be seen in the first two groups is deictic. As such it supplants the locating prepositions which commonly occur in certain prepositional phrases. These prepositions are *wa* or *o-* 'to, towards, at, near (with inanimate noun)' and *baisa* 'to,

towards, at, near (with animate noun)'. The following pairs of examples have identical meanings, each pair showing the locating preposition replaced by *-ki*.

- (98) *Ivagi baises matauna. Ivigaki matauna.*
 he.did.it to him he.did.it.to him
 He did it to him.
- (99) *Isuvi wa bwala. Isuki bwala.*
 he.entered into house he.entered.into house
 He went into the house.

When *-ki* is suffixed to verb roots, this must be seen as part of a diachronic process of verb stem formation, for the stems occurring with this suffix are usually so modified that their origins are a matter of conjecture only, the first part being identifiable as being formerly of another class. This is illustrated in the next example, where a verb root formerly of class I has accepted and been modified structurally by *-ki*.

- (100) *Ilivala baises minana. Iluki minana.*
 he.spoke to her he.spoke.to her
 He told her.

Each of these groups of verb roots modified by *-ki* is now considered.

3.7.6.2.1 DOUBLE OBJECT *-ki* VERBS

The double object verbs are all marked with *-ki*. Thus this double object function is limited to class III verbs. In the following examples I give first the verb root, then the verb root showing the extent of change which takes place. It will be seen that some verbs may occur with both direct and indirect objects, either inanimate or animate, while some occur with only an animate indirect object. All known double object verbs are included.

-dou (vb₃) 'call, name'; *-doki* 'consider, name'

- (101) *Bidoki makwaina la vavagi.*
 he.will.consider that his thing
 He will think of that as belonging to him.
- (102) *Bidokaigu tokwaraiwaga.*
 he.will.name.me ruler
 He will announce me to be in charge.

-vagi (vb₃) 'make, do'; *-vigaki* 'do to'

- (103) *Bavigaki miyana agu kwarekwa.*
 I.will.make.to that.thin my garment
 I'll make this my garment.
- (104) *Bavigakaim agu topilasi.*
 I.will.do.to.you my helper
 I will cause you to be my helper.

-*mai* (vb₃) 'bring'; -*miaki* 'bring to'

- (105) *Imiakaigusi kagu.*
 they.bring.to.me my.food
 They brought me my food.

-*vitali* (vb₃) 'proclaim'; -*vituloki* 'teach (proclaim to)'

- (106) *Ivitulokaidasi vavagi bidubadu.*
 they.teach.us thing many
 They taught us many things.

-*livala* (vb₃) 'say'; -*luki* 'say to, tell'

- (107) *Balukwaimi baisa.*
 I.will.tell.to.you(pl) this
 I'll tell you all this matter.

-*saili* (vb₃) 'put'; -*saiki* 'give' (i.e. 'put to')

- (108) *Isakaigu yena.*
 he.give.me fish
 He gave me a fish.

-*nagi* (vb₂) 'choose'; -*nigaki* 'choose'

- (109) *Leinigakaigusi guyau.*
 they.have.chosen.me chief
 They have chosen me to be chief.

-*woli* (vb₃) 'pay'; -*uliki* 'pay to'

- (110) *Bauliki mtona la wasi.*
 I.will.pay.to him his debt
 I will pay him what I owe him.

-*witali* (vb₂) 'send'; -*witaliki* 'send to'

- (111) *Lawitaliki mtona kalaga.*
 I.have.sent.to him his.snack
 I have sent him food to keep him going.

It is sometimes not easy to see the deictic function of the *-ki* marked verbs which take double objects. In most of them however the verb root as listed in the examples above may fulfil the same semantic role with the indirect object becoming a prepositional phrase.

When deletion processes operate on the above sentences it is always the indirect object which may be deleted; the direct object may never be deleted, as this makes the sentence unintelligible. Thus the true direction of the verb activity is towards the direct object.

3.7.6.2.2 CLASS I VERBS WITH *-ki* DATIVE

The second group of verbs with *-ki* accept only the direct object. In these verbs the *-ki* form of the stem may be replaced by the basic root form plus the prepositional noun phrase with *baisa* or *wa*.

-totu (vb₁) 'stand'; *-titoki* 'stand on, at'

- (112) *Metitoki koya. Metotu wa koya.*
 it.always.stand.on hill it.always.stand on hill
 It has always stood there on the hill.

-la (vb₁) 'go (from here)'; *-loki* 'go to'

- (113) *Baloki m bwala. Bala om bwala.*
 I.will.go.to your house I.will.go to.your house
 I will go to your house.

-busi (vb₁) 'descend'; *-bwiki* 'descend to'

- (114) *Sopi ibubwiki minana. Sopi ibubusi baisesa minana.*
 water it.dripping.to her water it.dripping to her
 The water was dripping onto her.

-vatai (vb₁) 'cry out angrily'; *-vitaki* 'argue with'

- (115) *Ivitaki gugwadi. Ivatai baisesa gugwadi.*
 he.argue.with children he.argue with children
 He argued with the children.

One verb of this group replaces a different preposition, *deli* 'in company with, by means of'.

-kasewa (vb₁) 'be full'; *-kasewoki* 'be full with'

- (116) *Bwaima ikasewoki kaula. Bwaima ikasewa deli kaula.*
 store it.full.with food store it.full with food
 The storehouse is full of yams.

3.7.6.2.3 VERBS WITH *-ki* EMPHATIC MARKER

Finally, we see the verb roots which accept the *-ki* suffix either with no modification in meaning or else with an emphatic force being added.

a) No modification

<i>-waia</i> (vb ₃)	<i>-waki</i>	strike, slap
<i>-wotitali</i> (vb ₂)	<i>-wotitaliki</i>	serve s.o.
<i>-sikaili</i> (vb ₃)	<i>-sikailiki</i>	sit on
<i>-taguli</i> (vb ₃)	<i>-taguliki</i>	mix together

b) Slight emphasis or slight meaning difference

<i>-bodi</i> (vb ₂)	suits	<i>-budoki</i>	suits well
<i>-tum</i> (vb ₃)	hold still	<i>-tumki</i>	hold down
<i>-kayau</i> (vb ₁)	yawn	<i>-kayoki</i>	blow on (breath)
<i>-sibwaila</i> (vb ₁)	well placed	<i>-sebuliki</i>	put straight
<i>-katuvi</i> (vb ₃)	divide them	<i>-katuviki</i> + number	divide into groups

3.7.7 JUNCTION PHENOMENA OF CLASS I, II AND III VERB SUFFIXES

Morphophonemic rules 17-29 are an ordered sequence of rules. There is, however, a morphemic constraint. Rules 17-22 apply only to class I verbs and to the verb focus forms of class II verbs. The remaining rules 23-29 apply to other verbs.

1. For verb stems of class I and class II (verb focus). The only suffix that concerns us in this set of rules is the plural marker *-si*. Where constraints apply to a rule they are appended immediately after the rule concerned. The symbol # here indicates root boundaries, in addition to its normal function.

MR17 $\#la\# + -si\# \rightarrow los\#\#$
eila he has gone *eilosi* they have gone

MR18 $\#\left\{\begin{smallmatrix} m \\ w \end{smallmatrix}\right\} a\# + -si\# \rightarrow \left\{\begin{smallmatrix} m \\ w \end{smallmatrix}\right\} aisi\#\#$

Condition:

This rule applies also to compound verb roots in which either *-ma* or *-wa* is the second verb root employed.

<i>kuma</i>	you(sg) came	<i>kumaisi</i>	they come
<i>ivisuvima</i>	he put it in here	<i>ivisuvimaisi</i>	they put it in here
<i>isiwa</i>	he sits there	<i>isiwaisi</i>	they sit there

MR19 $-m\# + -si\# \rightarrow \left\{\begin{smallmatrix} -msi\# \\ -mwaisi\# \end{smallmatrix}\right\}$

Condition:

Verb roots in the lexicon which terminate with *m* will need to have as additional lexical data whether the final consonant is diachronically **m* or **mw*, as the former occurs with *-si* as *-msi*, and the latter as *-mwaisi* (see p.27).

<i>imom</i>	he drinks	<i>imomsi</i>	they drink
<i>iligaim</i>	he rejects (it)	<i>iligaimwaisi</i>	they reject (it)

MR20 $\#sisu\# + -si\# \rightarrow -sisuaisi\#\#$

MR21 $\#sili\# + -si\# \rightarrow -silaisi\#\#$

MR22 $-CV\# + -CV\# \rightarrow CVCV\#\#$

<i>itotu</i>	he stands	<i>itotusi</i>	they stand
<i>ikanukwenu</i>	he lies down	<i>ikanukwenusi</i>	they lie down
<i>igala</i>	he migrates	<i>igalasi</i>	they migrate

2. For verb roots of object focus class II verbs and class III verbs. Here we are concerned with a number of possible suffixes, and so we generalise with a suffix formula of C V. The formulae may also be understood to apply to a root final *m*, which for the purposes of these formulae is to be understood as representing the historical form **mu*. Specific morpheme detail is given in the formulae in lower case.

MR23 $Caik\# + -CV \rightarrow CakaiCV\#$

<i>isaiki</i>	he gives	<i>isakaisi</i>	they give
<i>ipaiki</i>	he refuses	<i>ipakaisi</i>	they refuse

MR24 $Cai \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} m \\ l \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \# + -CV \rightarrow Cai \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} m \\ l \end{smallmatrix} \right\} iCV\#$

<i>idaili</i>	he accompanies	<i>idailisi</i>	they accompany
<i>ididaimi</i>	he destroys (s.th.)	<i>ididaimisi</i>	they destroy (s.th.)

MR25 $Cuki\# + -CV \rightarrow CukwaiCV\#$

<i>kuluki</i>	you(sg) tell	<i>kulukwaisi</i>	they tell
<i>basuki</i>	I go in	<i>bitasukwaisi</i>	we go in

MR26 $C \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} i \\ a \\ o \end{smallmatrix} \right\} C_{-coronal} V\# + -CV \rightarrow C \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} i \\ a \\ o \end{smallmatrix} \right\} CwaiCV\#$

<i>ibubwiki</i>	it dripped onto	<i>ibubwikwaisi</i>	they dripped onto
<i>isapu</i>	he yam plants	<i>isapwaisi</i>	they yam plant
<i>ibobu</i>	he cut	<i>ibobwaisi</i>	they cut
<i>igabu</i>	he roasts	<i>igabwaisi</i>	they roast

MR27 $C \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} i \\ a \\ u \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \# + -CV \rightarrow CaiCV\#$

<i>igisi</i>	he sees	<i>igisaisi</i>	they see
<i>isinudunudu</i>	he offends	<i>isinudunudaisi</i>	they offend
<i>basulu</i>	I will cook	<i>bakasulaisi</i>	we will cook
<i>ikovasuya</i>	he thrust it in	<i>ikovasuyaisi</i>	they thrust it in

MR28 $C V \# + -CV \rightarrow C \begin{array}{c} V \\ +diph \\ \uparrow \\ C \\ +assim \end{array} aiCV\#$

<i>isunupuloi</i>	he put it out	<i>isunupuloiyaisi</i>	they put it out
<i>ibututau</i>	she behaves like a man	<i>ibututauwaisi</i>	they behave like a man

Note: The feature C(+assim) indicates that these two diphthongs when occurring contiguously have placed between them a consonant which assimilates to the point and manner of articulation of the post-nuclear contour of the first diphthong.

MR29 $CV.V\# + -CV \rightarrow CV.aiCV\#$

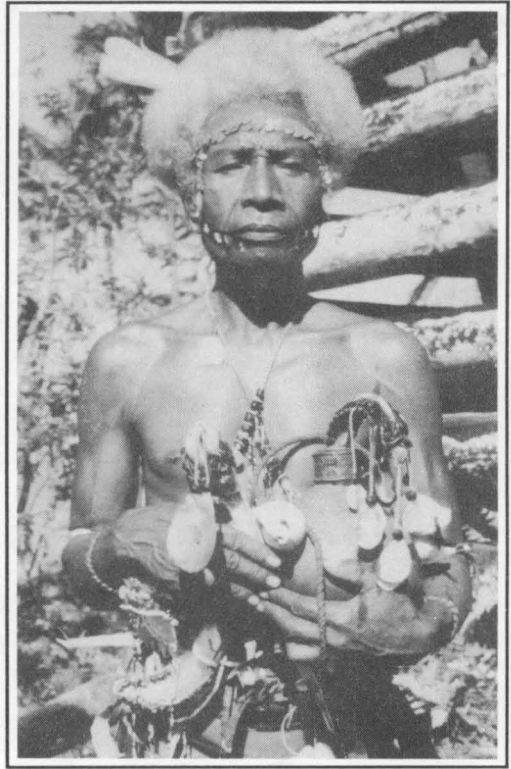
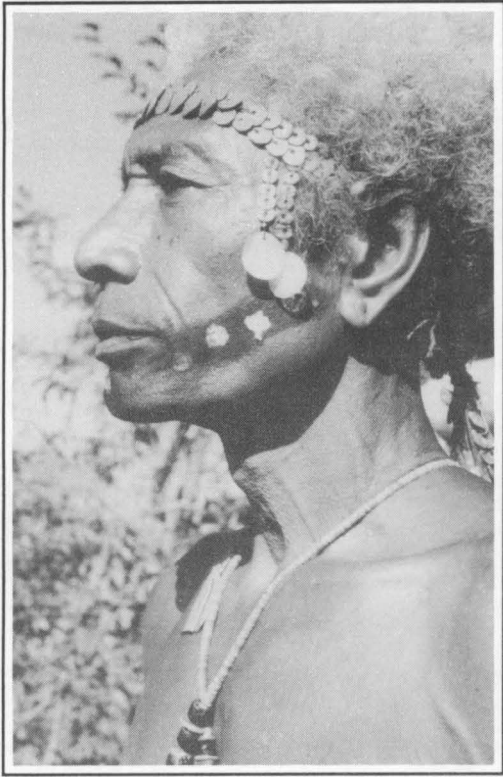
<i>imisii</i>	he sleeps with	<i>imisiaisi</i>	they sleep with
---------------	----------------	------------------	-----------------

3.8 THE VERB – SUMMARY

This study has traced the Kiriwinan verb down through its hierarchical manifestations. After seeing its place in the sentence and its possible solo function as a whole basic sentence, we considered the verb phrase, notably those constituents which modify and extend the verb in its role.

We then narrowed our field to consider the verb word itself, and saw the verb word's synthetic function, holding within itself an obligatory reference to the actor-subject and to an animate object. In its focus-directing role we saw how the verb word in itself carries far more than a merely *doing* function; it acts with deictic power in directing the hearer's attention to those constituents of the sentence uppermost in the speaker's mind. The same deictic role is seen in the dative suffix which effects a *take-over* of some nominal prepositions, retaining the direction component of the activity as part of the verbal role.

In the remarkably comprehensive set of verbal referents we see the instrumental, agentive and causative roles (which in many languages occupy a peripheral position in the sentence) held strongly in the control of the verb. Both the components of the action and the action's relationship to its source and direction are in Kiriwina both verb-centred and verb-directed.



TABALU CHIEF PULITALA

CHAPTER 4

FOREGROUNDING

It is somewhat venturesome and yet not an altogether unreasonable speculation that sees in word order and stress the primary methods for the expression of all syntactic relations and looks upon the present relational value of specific words and elements as but a secondary condition...

Sapir 1921:113

This chapter is a study of foregrounding techniques in Kiriwinan. We here examine acts of speech, understand their purposes and see how these purposes are fulfilled by the Kiriwinan speaker.

4.1 THE SPEECH ACT

We are dealing here with what Sapir (1921:32) calls the “primary functional units of speech”, that is to say, with the total utterance, made up of a number of words having formal relations within themselves and with other words but functioning in larger concatenations in conjunction with one another to form “the esthetically satisfying embodiment of a unified thought” (p.32). This embodiment into some sort of unity may be called an utterance, a statement, a sentence; the boundaries defined for these units may vary according to the extent of the thought involved.

Thus we need to see what, for a Kiriwinan, is undertaken in an act of speech before we may define more or less rigidly what is understood as a sentence.

Any act of speech in Kiriwinan may be performed to achieve one or more of a variety of ends. The communication of information is probably the major aim of the speaker, who may, however, seek to fulfil other intentions besides the communication of semantic content.

There is not infrequently evident a desire to communicate social well-being through speech, as when a group gossips together, seeking only to speak and to agree with any comment. Information may of course be volunteered and accepted, but this is not the speaker's main aim. At such times a speaker's utterance has an intonation akin to sung tones, and a cadence not heard in any other speech act.

Another sort of speech act is predominately emotive, in ritual expressions of grief, anger or fear.

Yet another is the communication of effective magic power by means of the spoken spell, when the communication is not from a speaker to a hearer, but from an animate entity to an inanimate one, the latter being believed capable of receiving an infusion of power by means of the former speaking a certain sequence of words.

Yet again, an act of speech may have as its primary aim the voicing of a sequence of words which the speaker likes to hear and believes others would like to hear. This is true not only of children at play or of sailors 'calling the wind', but any Kiriwinan speaker will embellish speech with redundancies, semantically unnecessary alliteration or other rhetorical devices, apparently for the sheer delight of the rhetoric itself.

Other speech acts clearly have as their aims the communicating of a number of different, hidden pieces of information within the one utterance, by means of uttering a sequence capable of receiving different word divisions or capable of being mis-heard. It is at this level that Kiriwinan humour operates at its most subtle level, and the foulest abuse may be hurled couched in mild or innocuous terms.⁴¹

All these different aims, and others, may be observed within the act of speech in Kiriwinan society, and any single act of speech may have blended within it a number of different aims, one of which may be primary.

4.2 THE SENTENCE AS THE UNIT OF COMMUNICATION

It is with the act of speech having the basic purpose of communicating information that we are concerned here. Such information is communicated in a series of functional units we call sentences, and the function of a number of sentences in sequence is to add meaning to previous units of meaning. While a total communication of information, or a single complex thought, may be made up of several sentences, yet each sentence is itself a unit of meaning within the total communication. So we may consider the message of each sentence as being a unit in itself. While each sentence may be made up of a number of words, yet, as Sapir (1921:35f.) says, "no matter how many of these qualifying elements [words or functional parts of words] are introduced, the sentence does not lose its feeling of unity".

4.2.1 THE SENTENCE AS A PHONOLOGICAL UNIT

Before we consider the communication of information by a sentence, it is necessary to recognise that any sentence is characterised by certain phonological features or, to use Trubetskoj's (1969:201ff.) terminology, 'prosodic oppositions'. For in studying methods of foregrounding we see that the opposing of certain prosodic features serves in a significant way to achieve particular emphases, or to characterise certain orderings, of constituents within the sentence.

The sentence in Kiriwinan has the distinctive features of sentence pause, sentence stress and sentence intonation (as named by Trubetskoj 1969). The last-named feature has the function of throwing sentence stress into greater prominence by emphasising its placement in the sentence within the boundaries of sentence-initial and sentence-final pause. The bearing

⁴¹ Rhetoric in any dialect except Kavataria is characterised by boisterous laughter at seemingly innocuous turns of expression. The comment *Gala, saina gegedu!* is an example of this 'double talk', having as its first and most obvious interpretation 'No, [our speech is] too clumsy [for public use]!', but having a second possible reading 'No, [our speech is] too sexy [to use for serious things]!' I only heard the former, but probably all Kiriwinans present heard and appreciated both. On another occasion a mildly abusive expression, *saina kaibakana kulula* 'he is very bald-headed', caused a major disruption because the recipient had (mis)interpreted it, probably with good reason, as *saina kaibogina kwila* 'his penis stinks greatly'.

that the interplay of these prosodic oppositions has on the study of foregrounding will be seen below.

4.2.2 A SET ORDER OF SENTENCE CONSTITUENTS?

We must now ask whether the Kiriwian sentence has a basic order of constituents which may be regarded as the means of communicating a piece of information unmarked by any special emphasis, or without any particular focus of attention directed to one constituent of the sentence.

That there is some form of Kiriwian that may be considered 'usual' or 'ordinary', which distinguishes it from other forms of speech, has been clearly implied by Malinowski (1935 vol II:222) when he speaks of the components of "weirdness, strangeness and unusualness" in another sort of speech act, the magic utterance. He goes on to say:

...there is a clear breach of continuity between magical and ordinary speech. Any sample of ordinary utterance or narrative I was always able to translate without any special difficulty...By the very structure and character of the formulae, the distinction (in magic text) is unmistakably marked.

Thus, with Malinowski's statements that structure is present⁴² and that ordinary speech unmarked by special features is normal spoken Kiriwian, it is difficult to understand why Lee (1949:404), drawing on her studies of Malinowski's Kiriwian texts, should say, "...we find that the words are presented discretely, without elements to show the relation of one word to the other". I find quite unacceptable Lee's assertion that "the language does not even express an object-to-object relationship, as ours does, when it relates grammatical subject to the object which is acted upon. In English, we express this relationship through word order...The Trobriander, on the other hand, merely expresses act and participants..." (p.404). The study made in this chapter of possible reordering of sentence constituents should bear out my criticism of her position.

Even considering the fact that reordering of sentence constituents is done to fulfil a particular purpose of the speaker, we will see that some orderings of the constituents are totally unacceptable and others are reluctantly agreed to by informants, who attach qualifications as to the circumstances under which dubious sentences might possibly be spoken. The very existence of unacceptable or marginally acceptable orderings within some sentences shows that Lee's view is not acceptable.

4.2.3 THE KIRIWIAN SENTENCE POTENTIALLY FLEXIBLE

The potentially flexible ordering within Kiriwian sentences becomes obvious when we look at (117) and (118) in close detail; it becomes clear that the freedom of word order that is possible for a Kiriwian speaker is in fact possible for the very reason that Lee denies has a place, namely that elements do exist, within words and phrases, which "show the relation of one word to the other" (Lee 1949:92).

In (117) the subject NP has plurality, and an obligatory plural reference in the verb must be made when the subject to which it refers is plural and animate. Thus if the constituent

⁴² See also Malinowski's (1935 vol II:30) reference to the "structure of sentences".

ordering 123 was rearranged as 321, 231 or 213, there would be no ambiguity, as the verb can only refer to the subject NP and not to the object NP. (I leave aside for the present the fact that such reorderings may not mean exactly the same as the original.)

- | | | | |
|-------|---|-------------------|-----------------|
| | 1 (subj NP) | 2 (VP) | 3 (obj NP) |
| (117) | <i>Mtosina toliwaga</i> | <i>bikauwaisi</i> | <i>kaiyala.</i> |
| | those chief | they.will.take | spear |
| | The Toliwaga chiefs will take their spears. | | |

The point I wish to make here is that there are elements to show the relationship of one word to another, and it is for this reason that freedom of ordering of sentence constituents is possible in Kiriwian. If however the sentence contained an object NP with plural human content, such as ‘the chiefs will take the children’, then such freedom of reordering would not be possible. A 231 order of constituents would only be made under certain circumstances and with a strongly marked intonational difference, while both 213 and 321 would be unacceptable, except perhaps in some context of questioning, and marked with suitable intonation.

The second sentence likewise has relational elements in the phrases.

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| | 1 (subj NP) | 2 (VP) | 3 (obj NP) |
| (118) | <i>Yaegu</i> | <i>gala</i> | <i>ayosi yena.</i> |
| | I | not | I.have fish |
| | I don't have any fish. | | |

Here the verbal subject marker, the prefix *a-*, is clearly first person singular and can in this sentence refer only to *yaegu* ‘I’. In addition the verb stem has a focus structure which points forward to an object either third person animate or to an inanimate object. Thus the ordering of the constituents of this sentence could acceptably be 321 or 231,⁴³ with different foregrounding or emphasis purposes being served by each reordering.

These two examples show that the degree of specific reference that is contained in the verb is one of the main reasons why freedom of ordering of sentence constituents is possible in Kiriwian. This freedom is fully exploited by the Kiriwian speaker – not however in a patternless jumble of words but with reorderings that in some way serve the speaker's ends. This same degree of specific verbal reference also gives part of the reason why deletion processes work so freely and unambiguously in Kiriwian syntax.

Kiriwian does have a basic unemphatic order of sentence constituents – SVO – varied only for the expression of a particular shade of meaning by the speaker. The Kiriwian language clearly demonstrates Sapir's (1921:111) statement that “the most fundamental and the most powerful of all relating methods is the method of order”. This basic unemphatic SVO sentence in Kiriwian does not aim to emphasise any one element, but presents a single homogeneous unit of information. Such a sentence consists of a topic for the subject, followed by a predicate which makes some comment on that topic. The sentence stress is borne within the predicate, and sharply falling intonation moves through, or follows, the syllable which bears the sentence stress.

A speaker may focus particular attention on one element within the statement by varying the order of constituents in some way. Such an emphasis does not do violence to the message of the sentence but slightly raises the relative importance of one constituent. The

⁴³ However, the order 213 in this sentence was labelled as bad by the informant.

most usual foregrounding of one constituent is to place it in sentence-initial position, and this has the effect of altering the position of sentence stress and consequently the intonation pattern. Other phonological features are also involved, such as devoicing or partial deletion accompanying the reordering process. The reordering may sometimes affect only part of a sentence constituent, so that one word is moved from its place in a phrase to a new position of isolation closer to sentence-initial position, giving very emphatic treatment to that part.

4.2.4 THE BASIC SVO SENTENCE

In spite of the assertions within this book and by other students of Kiriwinan that word order is very free, a protracted study of different styles of Kiriwinan text shows that by far the majority of sentences are ordered SVO.

The ordering with text sequence 3 in Appendix 1 supports this. Although much of the text is fragmented by pauses, fresh starts and vocative exclamations, this highly emotional text sequence gives a number of whole sentences. When such whole sentences occur, the following data are found. (Here I am only concerned with subject NPs, object NPs and verb phrases; I ignore peripheral sentence constituents.)

SVO	4
SV	2
VO	13
OV	3

An excerpt from text sequence 2 gives similar results. This text is an explanation of a well-known sport, much 'indigenised'. In the explanation the narrator assumed I knew nothing about it, and so he had to make a sequence of simple unambiguous statements; there are no emotional matters and little is of unusual emphasis. In a count of whole sentences the following orderings are seen.

SVO	3
SV	3
VO	5
OV	3

In text sequence 1, a speech where the orator was under considerable emotional stress due to a recent distribution of property after a funeral, the following slightly different count is seen.

SVO	5
SV	5
VO	4
VSO	2
VOS	1
VS	3
OV	1

In these three samples of text we see that the proportion of sentences with the basic order to those which have undergone reordering of some sort is:

emotional speech	19:3
unemphatic speech	11:3
very emotional speech	14:7

Thus the basic SVO order predominates. This is the order of constituents the Kiriwinan speaker uses to explain something without ambiguity. Also the introduction into a narrative of any new item which does not have enough contextual reference is made by using the basic order.

A further evidence of the unambiguity of SVO ordering is seen whenever a question is asked because the hearer has misunderstood a sentence due to some constituent reordering causing ambiguity. Such a question is answered in the clearest, simplest form – by using SVO ordering.

Thus, in summary, we may say that SVO is the basic unemphatic order of sentence constituents. This is well supported by the weight of textual evidence, and is the order speakers prefer to use when they want to make a clear, unambiguous statement of fact.

4.3 THE SENTENCE AND FOREGROUNDING

4.3.1 REORDERING

We now turn to the major section of the chapter, namely the possible reorderings of sentence constituents and the purposes fulfilled by such reordering.

4.3.1.1 NON-VERBAL SENTENCES

First we consider sentences which do not include a verb. There are two types: non-verbal sentences with two obligatory constituents, and non-verbal sentences with three obligatory constituents.

4.3.1.1.1 TWO-CONSTITUENT SENTENCES

Sentences containing two obligatory constituents have a subject NP as topic and an object NP as comment on that topic. The unemphatic basic order of these is:

subj NP	obj NP
1	2
	[+S.stress]

The typical intonation pattern is:



Foregrounding movement simply reverses the order of the two constituents:

1	2	→	2	1
	[+S.stress]		[+S.stress]	
<i>Uula</i>	<i>baisa.</i>		<i>Baisa</i>	<i>uula.</i>
reason	this		this	reason

There is also a difference in the intonation pattern. While the peak of sentence stress follows the foregrounded constituent to its new position, the subject NP in its new position at the termination of the sentence is not as strongly accented, so that foregrounding intonation must be drawn as:

B a i s a u u l a

This foregrounding intonation contour is characterised by a steadily falling pitch-and-loudness contour, the last syllable of the foregrounded element being the high point from which the syllables of constituent 1 descend, so that the latter part of constituent 1 may disappear altogether.

The following sentences are clearly equational or specifying types of sentences like 'They are chiefs' and 'This is not the reason', and qualifying sentences like 'This is not straight' and 'His speech is insulting'. The main purpose of all the examples in this chapter is to set out the constituents clearly so that movement of those constituents may be obvious.

	1 (subj NP)	2 (obj NP)
(119)	<i>Uula</i> reason	<i>baisa.</i> this
(120)	<i>Miyana</i> this	<i>kam kwaleko.</i> your garment
(121)	<i>Mtosina</i> those	<i>gweguya.</i> chiefs
(122)	<i>Mtona</i> he	<i>gala toliwaga.</i> not chief
(123)	<i>Makaiwena</i> that	<i>gala wala yagala.</i> not only its.name
(124)	<i>Nanogu</i> my.mind	<i>saina mwau.</i> very heavy
(125)	<i>Baisa</i> this	<i>gala duwosisia.</i> not straight
(126)	<i>Baisa</i> this	<i>bwaina.</i> good

These sentences are all acceptable in either order of constituents. It is essential however that the sentence stress and foregrounding intonation accompany the change in order; otherwise, in the case of the first four, constituent 2 becomes the new topic of the altered sentence. In the next four the reversing of the constituents without the characteristic foregrounding intonation gives a sentence which may be understood only with some reservations, as these are qualifying sentences, and the reversal without the new intonation contour makes them sound more like single NPs which lack proper sentence termination. Thus it may be seen that, even in the simplest form of sentence, complete freedom of

constituent ordering is not acceptable when prosodic oppositions are properly taken into account.

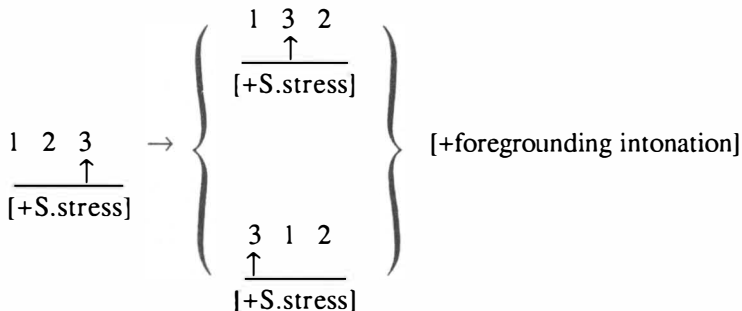
4.3.1.1.2 THREE-CONSTITUENT SENTENCES

The second type of non-verbal sentence has three obligatory constituents, for example:

	Subject	Predicate	
	1 (subj NP)	2 (pred NP ₁)	3 (pred NP ₂)
(127)	<i>Latugu</i>	<i>yagala</i>	<i>Deni.</i>
	my.son	his.name	Danny
	My son's name is Danny.		

In this type of sentence the first two constituents may be seen as what has elsewhere been analysed as a single complex NP. But in this sentence the parts function as separate constituents of the sentence, where *latugu* is the topic. The predicate which comments on that topic consists of two NPs, where NP₁ has the function of moving the mind of the hearer on from the named topic to the comment, the head constituent of which is NP₂.

Foregrounding movement in the three-constituent non-verbal sentence may be expressed:



This rule is not exhaustive, as other orderings of constituents may be made for foregrounding purposes, but as these affect the intonation contour in different ways, and some of them are context sensitive, it is best to examine the next set of examples. To appreciate foregrounding, we must recognise that any constituent may be moved closer to sentence-initial position, and that each move is accompanied by a modification to the sentence intonation contour, which may be affected by the position of sentence stress. Such movement, together with foregrounding intonation, is characteristic of sentences which have undergone foregrounding movement.

We now examine a number of examples. These are followed by a table in which informant reaction to various possible reorderings is tabulated.

	1	2	3	
(128)	<i>Kilivila</i>	<i>kala gaga</i>	<i>uula</i>	<i>yoku.</i>
	Kiriwina	its bad	reason	you
	You are the reason for Kiriwina's bad reputation.			

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|-------|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| (129) | <i>Baisa</i>
this
This behaviour isn't like Kiriwinan ways. | <i>gala makawala</i>
not like | <i>Kilivila kala kaisisu.</i>
Kiriwina its habits |
| (130) | <i>Baisa</i>
this
This isn't the way church people do it. | <i>gala</i>
not | <i>kedala misinari.</i>
his.path pastor |
| (131) | <i>Mtona</i>
he
He doesn't want to eat. | <i>gala magila</i>
not his.desire | <i>kaula.</i>
food |
| (132) | <i>Saina bidubadu tomota</i>
very many people
Lots of folk would like that. | <i>magisi</i>
their.desire | <i>makwaina.</i>
that |
| (133) | <i>Matausina</i>
they
They want that group to stay. | <i>magisi</i>
their.desire | <i>mabudona bisisu.</i>
that.group it.will.stay |
| (134) | <i>Buduyuwela</i>
second.group
The second group want the Government to stay. | <i>magisi</i>
their.desire | <i>gabemani bisisu.</i>
government it.will.stay |

It is clear from Table 15 that any variation of the order 123 was either accepted with qualification or rejected. In some cases the response indicates confusion, where the informant expressed dislike of the sentence, but indicated the context in which the order might possibly be understood. Some reorderings were rejected outright.


TABLE 15: CONSTITUENT REORDERING FOR NON-VERBAL THREE-CONSTITUENT SENTENCES						
	original	possible constituent ordering				
	123	132	213	231	312	321
127	√	*	v	v/?	v	v
128	√	v	v	v	v	v
129	√	v	v	v	v	v
130	√	v	*	v	*	v
131	√	v	v	v	v	v/?
132	√	v/?	x	v	v	v
133	√	*	?/x	v/?	?	?
134	√	*	x	v/?	?	?
√	<i>Bwaina!</i> 'Acceptable!'					
v	<i>Sitabwaina.</i> 'Qualified acceptance.'					
?	<i>Aiseki - kaina!</i> 'Doubtful!'					
x	<i>Sita gaga.</i> 'A bad sentence.'					
*	<i>Gala wala!</i> 'Unacceptable!'					

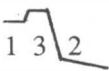
Sentence (127) had only one unacceptable reading. This arose because the constituents being single words would easily become a single complex NP; in the order 132 this did in

fact take place, so that the sentence sounded like the statement of a topic and we “wait to hear what he will say about it”.⁴⁴ Three other orderings of constituents were preferred, notably those which did not separate constituents 1 and 2. The order 231 ([+sentence stress] on 3) was acceptable only with an intonation contour which showed constituents 2 and 3 were being regarded as one constituent. Thus ‘The name **Danny** is (the name of) my son’.

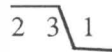
Examples (128) and (129) are equational statements, and any order of the three constituents gained (qualified) acceptance from the informant. Any movement of a constituent to a position close to sentence-initial served to give greater emphasis to that constituent. While sentence stress stayed on the head word of the comment any reordering of the constituents was accompanied by stronger stress being given to the moved constituent.

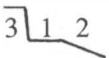
Specifically, the reorderings resulted in the following intonation contours, one of which showed a double peak of stress.

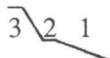
 1 2 3] (normal intonation for unemphatic sentence)

 1 3 2

 2 1 3

 2 3 1

 3 1 2

 3 2 1

The fact that (130) showed a rejection of any separation of constituents 2 and 3 probably indicates that these formed a single constituent in the mind of this informant. For each of the orderings 213 and 312 he did indicate that such sentences could be spoken and were meaningful, but that they were “different sentences” from the original form. Instead of saying ‘This is not fit for a pastor’ the different reading would be saying something like ‘Do not do this – it is what a pastor would do’; that is, it would become two consecutive sentences with considerable deletion which a context may make meaningful. The other three readings were acceptable, with the repositioning of sentence stress indicating that foregrounding movement had taken place.

Sentences (131) and (132) show a pattern of position of acceptable constituent ordering closely similar to (128) and (129). However there is something happening in (133) and (134) which gives us the first indication of a general principle applying to all sentences undergoing foregrounding movement. This is that speakers are reluctant to use foregrounding movement when the sentence constituent to be moved is large or complex. In both (133) and (134) the object NP is realised as an embedded sentence. If the embedded sentence in either example is replaced by an NP then the normal flexibility of foregrounding movement observed in most of the other sentences is quite acceptable. But the unwillingness of the informant to place a whole sentence at the beginning and to give the reconstituted sentence the characteristic foregrounding intonation contour resulted in the high level of unacceptability of any ordering except 123. Briefly stated, the informant was not happy with any reordering of constituents and only gave reluctant approval to some on the ground that

⁴⁴ The informant's own statement.

they could be used “to repeat a part of the sentence for someone who didn't hear it clearly”.⁴⁵ (For the same reason he did not accept a 213 reordering of constituents in (132); that is, the subject NP was large and so could not be easily or naturally repositioned.)

4.3.1.1.3 SUMMARY

We may here summarise what has emerged from the study of foregrounding movement in the non-verbal sentences.

1. The typical foregrounding movement is the reordering of the sentence constituents so that the unit to be foregrounded is placed closer to the sentence-initial position.
2. Sentence stress is still carried by the constituent which bore it in the unemphatic sentence, whether it is in a new position or not, and a characteristic foregrounding intonation contour is given to the sentence. Sometimes the shape of this contour indicates that the speaker has reassembled the constituents in some way so that in their new positions two constituents become one and so carry a single peak of stress.
3. The speaker is reluctant to use foregrounding movement where the constituent to be moved is disproportionately larger than the other sentence constituents.

4.3.1.2 VERBAL SENTENCES

The verbal sentence in its basic unemphatic form may be generally described as a sentence where the subject NP is the topic and the predicate is the comment on that topic.

4.3.1.2.1 TWO-CONSTITUENT SENTENCE

First we consider the verbal sentence with two obligatory constituents, that is the sentence containing a class one (intransitive) verb, as in the next example, where the verb is the comment and bears the main sentence stress.

	1 (subj NP)	2 (VP)
(135)	<i>Gweguya</i>	<i>isisuaisi.</i>
	chiefs	they.stay
	The chiefs are there.	

The same readiness to accept reordering of the two constituents was found with these sentences as with the two-constituent non-verbal sentences (4.4.1.1.1), with the same provision that the characteristic foregrounding intonation accompany the movement.

4.3.1.2.2 THREE-CONSTITUENT SENTENCE

The basic sentence with three constituents has a subject NP for topic in the sentence-initial position, followed by the predicate, which contains the comment on that topic. Within the predicate are the two other constituents which may undergo reordering – the verb and the object NP. Either of these may contain the syllable which bears the sentence stress, but the verb only bears it in the absence of the object NP (as with two constituents).

⁴⁵ A direct translation of an informant's comment.

The intonation contour that is characteristic of the unemphatic declarative sentence is seen in (136).

	1 (subj NP)	2 (VP)	3 (obj NP)
(136)	<i>Yakidasi</i>	<i>tasikamsi</i>	<i>dogadoga.</i>
	we	we.wear	chest.ornament

We proceed now to examine ten examples of this type of sentence, the degree of acceptability attached to each sentence being indicated in Table 16, which follows.

	1 (subj NP)	2 (VP)	3 (obj NP)
(137)	<i>Mtosina Kabisawari</i> those Kabisawari	<i>eitatavisi</i> they.have.cutting	<i>si keda.</i> their track
	The Kabisawari people have been keeping their roads in order.		
(138)	<i>Eneri Benaia</i> Henry Benaia	<i>bogwa isomatasi</i> already they.tire	<i>loula.</i> walking
	Henry and Benaia are tired of walking.		
(139)	<i>Toliguguwa</i> owner.things	<i>bikaimali</i> he.will.take.back	<i>la guguwa.</i> his things
	The owner will repossess his things.		
(140)	<i>Availa</i> who	<i>biyamati</i> he.will.watch	<i>valu?</i> village
	Who is going to look after the village?		
(141)	<i>Debida</i> David	<i>bogwa bibani</i> already he.will.find	<i>gwava biuwa.</i> guava it.will.fruit
	David will then discover that the guava tree is bearing fruit.		
(142)	<i>Yaegu</i> I	<i>bogwa lasaiki</i> already I.gave	<i>avaka.</i> what
	I've already given something.		
(143)	<i>Matausina</i> them	<i>itagwalasi</i> they.agreed	<i>kia bakabikoni e vavagi</i> key I.will.hold and thing <i>baisa bakau.</i> this I.will.take
	They agreed that I should have possession of the key and take this thing out.		
(144)	<i>Gweguya si</i> chief their <i>nanamsa doudoga</i> thought crooked	<i>gala biyogagaisi</i> not they.will.harm	<i>mtona.</i> him
	The bad intentions of the chiefs can't harm him.		
(145)	<i>Kaina latula kaina</i> or his.son or <i>vaiyola taitala</i> his.relative one.man	<i>itagwala</i> he.agreed	<i>makwaina guguwa</i> that possession <i>bisaili kala kwabu.</i> he.will.put his keepsake
	Either his son or his maternal relative (nephew) agreed to make that his keepsake.		

TABLE 16: CONSTITUENT REORDERING FOR VERBAL THREE-CONSTITUENT SENTENCES						
	original	possible constituent ordering				
	123	132	213	231	312	321
136	√	v	v	v	v	v
137	√	v	v	v	v	v
138	√	v	v/?	v	v/?	v
139	√	v	?	v	?	v
140	√	v	*	v	v	v
141	√	?	v	v	v	v
142	√	*	v	v	*	*
143	√	*	v	*	v/?	v
144	√	*	*	*	v/?	*
145	√	*	x	*	*	*

√	<i>Bwaina!</i> 'Acceptable!'
v	<i>Sitabwaina.</i> 'Qualified acceptance.'
?	<i>Aiseki - kaina!</i> 'Doubtful!'
x	<i>Sita gaga.</i> 'A bad sentence.'
*	<i>Gala wala!</i> 'Unacceptable!'

These are declarative sentences carrying the intonation pattern characteristic of that sentence type, with the exception of (140), which is a question and carries a question intonation contour.

We find that in these sentences some different things are happening when compared to the foregrounding movements that take place in three-constituent non-verbal sentences. In non-verbal sentences, constituents may be reconstituted by the speaker in the course of a foregrounding movement, so that the number of constituents reduces to two, and the resultant two-constituent sentence then behaves as similar two-constituent sentences have been observed to behave.

Here however the constituents of the verbal sentence do not so combine, and in consequence foregrounding movement is more clearly discernible as a movement from its basic unemphatic position towards the sentence-initial position, but with each constituent being clearly separated by the intonation contour. Thus the unit that has undergone foregrounding movement carries with it the sentence stress if it bore it in the unemphatic sentence. If it did not, then the sentence intonation pattern is not so clearly definable, and the various possible points of emphatic stress that mark such sentences convey a particular up-and-down cadence that is hard to give precise delineation to because of its variation.

Sentences (136) and (137) were acceptable to the informant in any possible ordering of constituents; the informant understood that constituent 1 of the basic sentence was the topic and constituent 3 the comment. In four of the five reorderings, constituent 3 remained at the point in the sentence marked by sentence stress and emphatic emphasis, so that the prosodic opposition between 123 order and the foregrounded sentence intonations of orderings 132, 312, 321 and 231 demonstrated that foregrounding movement had taken place. The ordering 213 had to display a double peak of intonation-plus-stress in order to be acceptable.

The acceptability of reordering of all possible shapes in these examples shows that for many sentences in Kiriwina it is possible to bring prominence to any constituent, or to more than one constituent, by means of moving the constituent or constituents away from the unemphatic position and closer to sentence-initial position. The reordering to 132 'We are *chest-ornament* wearing' gives slightly greater prominence to constituent 3, while 312 '*Chest-ornaments* we are wearing' gives it yet greater prominence. Then 231 '*Wearing chest-ornaments* are we' shows that the whole predicate has been brought to the foreground, and 321 '*Chest-ornaments wearing* we are' holds this focus on the total comment made by the predicate while heightening the foregrounding of constituent 3. Each such move is emphasised by a different sentence intonation contour.

So in these two examples we see every reordering of sentence constituents is made advisedly, a different force being given to the constituent which has been moved. So Sapir's (1921:110f) suggestion that "the most fundamental and the most powerful of all relating methods is the method of order" is demonstrated here.

A similar flexibility is seen in (138) and (139) except that, in each case, certain restrictions caused the concurrent placing of the subject and object NPs (213, 312) to introduce ambiguity or wrong readings into the sentence, which the foregrounding intonation did not appear to overrule successfully in the informant's mind. Whether or not such readings would be acceptable would depend on the extent of the contextual reference.

Sentence (140) is a different sentence type, being an information-seeking question marked with the intonation contour characteristic of that sentence type.

Availa biyamati valu?

The sentence is nonetheless receptive to a number of readings, but we find that the retention of information-seeking intonation plus the addition of foregrounding movement intonation frequently results in an intonation contour having two peaks, with a tendency to load the entire information-seeking intonation contour onto the question-marking word *availa*. Further, 213 was unhesitatingly rejected by the informant, as the sequence of words and an attempt to place the two stress peaks resulted in a totally wrong reading of the sentence.

Sentence (141) proved to be surprisingly flexible, even though one of the constituents undergoing movement is a sentence in its own right.

Sentences (142)-(145) give an adequate demonstration of the observation I have already made: that larger constituents do not easily or naturally accept foregrounding movement. The pattern revealed in Table 16 for these sentences shows clearly the restriction on movement of constituents. Sentence (145) has a complex NP in the subject position, plus an object NP which is realised as a clause that has itself undergone foregrounding movement. This sentence proved unacceptable to the informant in any order of constituents other than what is described as the basic unemphatic order – SVO.

4.3.1.2.3 FOUR-CONSTITUENT SENTENCE

Finally, we look briefly at sentences containing four constituents, namely, subject NP, verb, object NP and indirect object NP.

Four sentences were examined for all possible reorderings of the four sentence constituents. In general I failed to establish any reliable criteria for acceptable reordering of four-constituent sentences. Of the 96 possible reorderings, only 14 were acceptable to the informant, and some of these were somewhat laboured in the attempts to justify them. Therefore it is best simply to state that four-constituent sentences are much more rigid in their ordering and do not readily accept foregrounding movement. However, where co-occurrence restrictions do not prevent it, such movement does, rarely, take place; but generally a sentence with four obligatory constituents is preferred in the order of the basic unemphatic and therefore unambiguous sentence.

4.3.1.3 FOREGROUNDING PART OF A CONSTITUENT

The Kiriwinan speaker will on occasions move not a whole constituent but part of one constituent in order to give that part prominence. Sometimes this is done by moving the single word from its place in the phrase, and sometimes deletion processes accompany the movement. A detailed examination of this complex matter is not called for here. Such foregrounding movement, which may place part of an NP with a VP and vice versa, so as to give heightened emphasis to one small part which the speaker wishes to bring to the foreground of interest, is a regular feature of Kiriwinan speech.

4.3.1.4 A FINAL COMMENT

In concluding this whole consideration of foregrounding by reordering of sentence constituents, the following sums up what has arisen from the study of the various sentence types.

The reordering of sentence constituents is a powerful means of focussing attention on one part of a sentence. Foregrounding movement works in a regular fashion in that the constituent or part which is to receive greatest prominence is moved to a position at or closer to sentence-initial position. Such foregrounding movement is obligatorily accompanied by a foregrounded-sentence intonation contour, which gives greater phonetic prominence to the foregrounded element and depresses other parts of the sentence. Where possible this foregrounding intonation combines with the sentence stress to produce a single peak of prominence in the sentence, followed by a sharply falling contour over the balance of the sentence.

All movements of sentence constituents have significance in the minds of the speakers, who aim to focus attention on one constituent by means of the position they give it in the utterance and the intensity with which they mark it phonetically. This combination of word order and stress to render meaningful every nuance of a speaker's message is one of the most significant and sensitive areas of Kiriwinan speech.

4.3.2 THE SENTENCE AND EMPHATIC FORMS

In examining the processes of foregrounding we have seen that not all reordering is acceptable; some orders of constituents are ambiguous even though the speaker tries to overcome ambiguity with intonation. We must also see that the language has other means of emphasising than varying the order of sentence constituents. Thus we find that Kiriwinan

speech is marked by means of emphasis when reordering of constituents is not possible or is questionable. A speaker may emphasise a word where it stands in the sentence, by associating with one of three main emphasising strategies: the emphasising suffix (3.5), the enclitic emphasising word and the emphatic stress forms (4.3.1.2.2).

4.3.3 DELETION AS AN AID TO FOREGROUNDING

We have already noted that foregrounded sentence intonation may be accompanied by partial or total deletion of that part of the sentence which follows the peak of sentence stress (4.3.1.1) and that this deletion serves to bring greater prominence to what has been foregrounded.

The process of deletion also takes place within NPs and VPs, having the purpose of reducing or eliminating what is already clearly understood through contextual reference, in order to heighten the focus of attention on one particular element within that phrase. Such items deleted from a phrase will often include the head word, so that the remnant will be the one part of the phrase which contains the new information the speaker desires to introduce in that sentence.

Total deletion of the sentence topic through subject deletion is probably the most common regular deletion in Kiriwian sentences. This deletion may regularly take place because the presence of an explicit separate subject NP is not formally necessary to the sentence, as every verb has an obligatory subject-indicating prefix, which must agree with the subject in regard to number and person for animate subjects, and may also agree in number reference for inanimate subjects. Thus sequence 3 in Appendix 1 has thirteen sentences with only VO constituents (see 4.2.4). This is possible because prior contextual reference had specified the subject, so that repetition of the NP was redundant in the presence of the subject-indicating prefix on the verb. We have seen that larger sentences do not readily accept reordering of constituents, so it must be seen that this regular deletion is part of an emphasising technique, reducing the sentence to a unit which more readily accepts foregrounding by reordering.

Deletion of the entire object NP is also frequent in Kiriwian. The circumstances under which this takes place depend on the use of the object focus form of the class II verb, which focusses the hearer's attention on the object. The object becomes so clearly implied that the speaker does not need to make it explicit (see 3.7.5).

Deletion of part of an NP takes place wherever contextual reference specifies the part clearly enough. It is true that the reference of context is sometimes the "context of situation" that Malinowski (1923:312) refers to (see 1.5.1 for my comments on this), but this is a universal trait of language use when deictics or gestures relate the speaker to the real world, so that comments like '*This* is good but *that* is not' are acceptable to a hearer without further explication. So it must not be taken that this is a uniquely Kiriwian feature, as Malinowski appeared to consider it. What does however approach a uniquely Kiriwian language situation is the clear referential system which runs through Kiriwian NPs by means of classifiers. (The support which the classifiers give to deletion processes is discussed in section 5.3.8.)

Deletion processes, especially when semantically redundant parts of a constituent are deleted, aid the process of foregrounding movement. They pare the unwieldy elements from

a sentence constituent, so that what is left is much more likely to undergo foregrounding movement.

4.3.4 CONCLUSION

Sapir's (1921:113) speculation, used as the preface to this chapter, suggested that word order and stress could be considered the "primary methods for the expression of all syntactic relations". In our study of the importance of word order and sentence stress and their bearings on the Kiriwinan speakers' focus of interest and means of elevating the importance of parts of their utterances, we have seen this speculation given general support by the Kiriwinan language. The only addition we may need to make, in general terms, to Sapir's suggestion is that what he refers to as a "secondary condition" (the relational value of specific words and elements) is in fact part of the "primary method" of expressing syntactic relations in Kiriwinan. For deletions and reorderings alike are made possible because of the specific reference carried to other parts of the sentence by means of the highly synthetic Kiriwinan verb form and by the specifying morphemes in the NP.



Tavila peta? 'How many baskets of yams?'

CHAPTER 5

CLASSIFIERS

5.1 CURRENT LITERATURE

5.1.1 COGNITIVE ARRANGEMENTS

5.1.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The major difference between the world of objects in nature and objects modified by humans is that the former appear to be scattered about in a random fashion whereas the latter are arranged, related or associated in some way. Trees in a natural forest stand here and there, spaced in no regular fashion; there is no pattern of occurrence of the species beyond the natural selection of environmental suitability. Where the landscape is modified by humans we may find growing things arranged in a geometrical association of regular spacing and arranged open space, or plants associated on the basis of colour of foliage or flower, or trees of specific utility in one area and those of aesthetic worth in another, and so on. The landscape modified thus shows the human mind at work in the way different things have been associated, grouped or arranged.

This feature of cognitive arrangement of objects is the stamp which human minds put on their whole world, both in the way they order their own environment and in the way they signify their grouping or association of objects by means of speech. In the process of speaking of their world of objects, people classify entities in a way significant to them. They do this because, as Tyler suggests in his introduction to *Cognitive Anthropology* (1969), life in a world with no discernable pattern would be life without intelligence. In a world where each item was distinctive and unrelatable to other items, where in fact everything was *unique*, there would be no place for the mind to operate, as the function of intelligence is to identify, associate, recognise sameness and difference, and so on.

We classify because life in a world where nothing was the same would be intolerable. It is through naming and classification that the whole rich world of infinite variability shrinks to manipulable size and becomes bearable. (p.7)

The classes of objects which people identify are classes which are significant for them and do not necessarily reflect a reality which is universally identifiable. In practice, a culture or a language group consists of a group of people who share the same general classifications of their world of entities. The cognitive arrangements which they recognise and name are for the most part indicative of what that whole society or language group accepts as being *the same* in their cognitive world.

Thus we may speak of this cognitive process, which takes place in all languages, as *classification*, and the groups or classes which a language asserts to have cognitive identity, as *semantic domains*. Tyler (1969:8) defines the concept: "A semantic domain consists of a class of objects all of which share at least one feature in common which differentiates them from other semantic domains". Such a semantic domain may be the area of meaning covered by a single class of items or it may be the larger domain which incorporates several classes of items.

Different cultures approach the classification of their cognitive world in distinctive ways, using different semantic arrangements. This universal feature of differences between cultures is so prominent that Tyler adopts it as a means of defining the nature of the concept of *culture*. In reference to the field of study of the anthropologist he says (p.3), "The object of study is not material phenomena themselves, but the way they are organised in the minds of man...cultures are not material phenomena; they are cognitive organisations of material phenomena". Thus he is able to go on:

A culture consists of many semantic domains organised around numerous features of meaning, and no two cultures share the same set of semantic domains or features of meaning, nor do they share the same methods of organising these features. (p.11)

The semantic domain and its methods of organisation from the point of view of either the analyst or the culture thus must concern me briefly here. In particular, the cognitive arrangements termed *taxonomy* and *paradigm* are relevant to my discussion. Tyler speaks of taxonomic arrangements of things – classes of phenomena organised into larger groups "hierarchically arranged by a process of inclusion" (p.7), so that items may be uniquely located within a related structure of classes of items. He also speaks of paradigmatic arrangements where multiple features of different items intersect in such a way as to state different things about the same items.⁴⁶

A culture may in some cases use both taxonomic and paradigmatic arrangements to identify one group of items in different ways – the taxonomic to express dependence, so that sets of items are included within larger sets wholly dominating them, and the paradigmatic to tabulate features of items, so that certain features held by many items intersect in such a way as to describe by what feature one item differs from another. A taxonomy defines objects in terms of their dependence on, and inclusion in, other items; a paradigm defines objects in terms of the features or components which distinguish one object from other objects.

5.1.1.2 TAXONOMY AND PARADIGM IN FRAKE

Examples of both taxonomic and paradigmatic arrangements of entities are seen in Frake's (1961) *The diagnosis of disease among the Subanun of Mindanao*. Frake has arranged disease names in taxonomic sets where the items within a set contrast with one another,⁴⁷ and

⁴⁶ See for example Tyler's discussion of animals and the categories of maturity and sex (Tyler 1969:9f.).

⁴⁷ See Frake (1961:198), where "prodomes" and "terminal diagnostic categories" are arranged taxonomically in Figure 2.

the sets of disease names are named by a single disease term which is itself included in a superordinate set contrasting with it. His categories of superordinate disease terms he calls *prodomes* and the subordinate categories he labels *terminal diagnostic categories*.

In order to establish the disease name within the taxonomy, the Subanun applies a paradigmatic arrangement of diagnostic criteria as an examining tool. The enquirer looks at a set of symptoms, or in some cases more than one set, which may be minimally labelled by one of the 186 disease names or may be more extensively described by the sufferer. The description may include a number of features, such as “hurts, itches, throbs, burns, hard to breathe” (Frake 1961:203).⁴⁸

“The ‘real’ world of disease presents a continuum of symptomatic variation which does not always fit neatly into conceptual pigeonholes” (p.205). One disease may be uniquely describable by a single name or it may progress through several stages and be relabelled (often with disagreement over a change from one diagnosis to another, such as at what point a ‘sore’ becomes a ‘spreading sore’) or it may be given more than one name because of more general and more specific labels being used concurrently, as when a ‘rash’ may be specifically labelled ‘measles’ or ‘smallpox’. The application of these diagnostic criteria enables the Subanun to “define conceptually distinct, mutually exclusive categories at each level of contrast” (p.205). Their identification of “the same linguistic form [appearing] at different levels of contrast” (p.197) is also of interest here, as several examples of “multiple semantic uses of single linguistic forms” (p.198) having the similar feature of contrast at different levels are noted in my examination of Kiriwinan data.⁴⁹ Frake's use of both taxonomy and paradigm to describe disease categories is clear when he comments in his conclusion: “Conceptually the disease world...exhaustively divides into a set of mutually exclusive categories. Ideally every illness either fits into one category or is describable as a conjunction of several categories” (p.205).

5.1.1.3 LANGUAGE ANALYSIS AND COGNITIVE ARRANGEMENTS

Recognition of such arrangements of items within a language is not an assertion that people of any culture arrange their world with full cognitive appreciation of such semantic arrangements. Rather, language analysts study a language, and their analysis reveals cognitive arrangements which they describe as taxonomic or by means of a paradigm or by some other cognitive arrangement of data. It may be said however that these cognitive arrangements are linguistic evidence of classificatory processes at work within a culture.

In the following examination of one particular set of cognitive arrangements I am conscious of the difficulty involved in presenting an analysis of the semantic domains within that language as if they were categories psychologically significant for the native users of that language. In his article *Cognition and Componential Analysis – God's Truth or Hocus-Pocus?*, Robbins Burling (1964) is critical of this assertion which he detects in Frake's

⁴⁸ See also the paradigmatic contrasts tabulated in Figure 3 of Frake (1961:204).

⁴⁹ For example, see discussion of CI 1 $t\alpha_1$ - ‘human’ and CI 6 $t\alpha_2$ - ‘male human’ in 5.4.3.3.3, and suggestions on CI 91 *pila*- ‘part, picce’ in 5.4.4.3.5.

analysis. He asks (p.427), “Is [the linguist] discovering something about the language which is ‘out there’ waiting to be described and recorded or is he simply formulating a set of rules which somehow work?”. He suggests (pp.426f.) that even when the most thorough study takes into account “all aspects of behaviour, we may be able to narrow down the alternatives. I expect however that a large degree of indeterminacy will always remain”.

In organising the Kiriwinan classifiers into categories and attempting to specify the relationships between domains, my arrangement of material can only express my own Western culture and education. This is particularly so when, with no formal differences in functions and roles, I decide that one category is *partition* and another *arrangement* etc; here the various domains are interrelated on a basis of heuristic convenience, which must approach Burling’s “hocus-pocus” viewpoint. There is however a different standpoint involved in the description of semantic arrangements within a domain, for here we are able to see that Kiriwinan speakers have indicated by a morphemic label what is *the same* for them, and thus we are able to view which cognitive categories are “God’s truth”, or psychologically acceptable, for them.

5.1.2 WRITERS ON CLASSIFIERS

There is a considerable literature which testifies to the modern linguistic interest in the lexemes which are generally called *classifiers*. It is beyond the scope of this study to survey the progress of ideas on this theme from their beginnings up to modern times. (Such a survey could perhaps begin with Locke, continue with Humboldt and Malinowski, and go on through Sapir and Boas to Haas, Burling and Hla Pe to arrive at the most recent writers.) Instead I examine briefly the recent writings of Friedrich, Benton and Becker, who report on the classifiers of three distinct languages, Tarascan, Trukese and Burmese respectively. Then I consider two articles – Adams, Becker and Conklin (1975) and Allan (1977) – which make collective studies of a number of classifier languages. I also consider briefly Malinowski’s (1920) work on the “classificatory formatives” of Kiriwinan. Although this last does not fall within the period of the other writers, Malinowski’s conclusions have relevance for this study.

The reason behind my choice of these writers is that there is a measure of similarity between the systems they describe and the Kiriwinan classifier system, and I wish to draw attention at points within my study to the parallels which exist. Also, I use some of the insights of these writers to set up a coherent pattern of relationship and function within the Kiriwinan classifier group; for example, Allan’s (1977) study of the various categories of classifiers exhibits a number of close parallels to what I see as the system of Kiriwinan classifiers.

5.1.2.1 FRIEDRICH ON “SHAPE IN GRAMMAR”

Friedrich’s (1970) study *Shape in Grammar* is based on the Tarascan language in Mexico. His article deals with three elements within the language: numeral classifiers, classificatory verbs and locative suffixes. While he sees them as intersecting and interdependent, I wish to

comment only on his analysis of the numeral classifiers. Friedrich (p.381) records the existence of three classifiers which imply classes of things having “longish, flattish or roundish” visual shapes, having as their “more essential feature” the “saliency or emphasis of one, two or three dimensions”. These in turn form part of a larger interconnected system, which Friedrich (p.383) describes: “The crucial part of this article is the existence of a clear contrast between (1) a dimensionless set, (2) a dimensional set of masses and shapes, and (3) a speech-capable and apparently human set”. The dimensionless set consists of items such as wind, sickness and hunger, which are never classified. The dimensional set consists of objects of definite dimensions which are regularly classified by the three numeral classifiers, or of mass nouns which are normally identified by their containers. The human set may be classified under particular conditions.

Friedrich notes that the classifiers have an anaphoric function;⁵⁰ in answers to questions, the number-plus-classifier form functions as a grammatical substitute, referring backwards to the item which has been the subject of the question. In considering the meaning of the numeral classifiers, Friedrich comments that while in their anaphoric role they “mean the word they replace” (p.384), in their general classifying role they may indicate specific dimensions of things actually perceived, or they may indicate “shape as perceived in the context of a particular speech situation” (p.385). Thus their meaning is frequently dependent on situational context, either as to the word they may have replaced, or as to the type of dimension which is either directly or metaphorically attached to an item. “The usage”, comments Friedrich (p.386), “obviously depends on individual intelligence and character, and might well serve as an index in studies of personality and bilingualism”. Finally, he identifies similar patterns of shape as a semantic category in languages of North and South America, the Pacific (including Kiriwinan) and also Asian and African languages, and concludes that “the overt, obligatory morphology of perhaps the majority of the world’s languages functions partly to express categories of shape, and that such categories are probably universally present in the semantic substructure of all languages” (p.403).

5.1.2.2 BENTON ON TRUKESE

Benton’s (1968) study of a language of the Austronesian group, *Numeral and attributive classifiers in Trukese*, reveals a dual system of classification. It is not relevant to my study to present the system in full here, as the pattern of the two virtually autonomous classificatory systems which he describes (p.135) is not paralleled in Kiriwinan. I wish however to sketch in broad outline his analysis and conclusions on the Trukese numeral classifiers, as there are numerous similarities and helpful insights in his study.

Benton finds in the Trukese numeral system a pattern consisting of a numeral prefix which obligatorily occurs with a descriptive base. The descriptive base morphemes consist of some forms which he terms “true classifiers” (p.124) and a number of others. In order to analyse the classifier forms, he cites (p.115) the system described by Hla Pe for Burmese.

⁵⁰ See also Friedrich’s (1970:384) comment on grammatical substitution.

[Hla Pe] has analysed three distinct types of classificatory elements, which he calls CLASSIFIERS, REPEATERS and QUANTIFIERS. Classifiers he defines as words 'for an attribute of a specific object, some of which may have more than one.'...A repeater is diagnosed 'when a specific object itself (or part of it) is used as a numerative'...A quantifier 'concerns itself with the estimating of things by some sort of measure – size, extension, weight, amount, or number, especially ten or multiples of ten'.

Benton finds this insight applicable with some modification to Trukese.

In regard to the repeaters he finds it necessary to distinguish two types:⁵¹ the *overt* repeater which parallels the repeater as Hla Pe defines it, and the *covert* repeater which:

may be followed in the surface structure of the sentence by a completely different base...[but which] may always be followed by a noun with the same underlying form, and this construction may be assumed to be present in the deep structure even when...it does not actually appear in the surface representation of the phrase. (p.117f.)

(This category of covert repeater is examined, and Kiriwina examples given, in 5.3.5.1, in a study of its similarity to certain Kiriwina classifiers.) There may be cases when a repeater adds no semantic content to a phrase, as it "is of no special significance except that its presence is required by the structure of the Trukese numeral" (p.111). The distinction between overt and covert repeaters is however necessary, as a "more complex" relationship between noun and classifier (p.111) applies in the case of covert repeaters.

Thus Benton lists 100 classificatory bases, of which 13 are classifiers, 65 are repeaters (18 overt, 23 covert and 24 questionable) and 21 are quantifiers (pp.119-123).⁵² Although the number of true classifiers is minor, he comments that "the true classifiers...have as a group a much wider distribution than either the repeaters or the quantifiers" (p.137). In reference to the syntagmatic function of the classifiers, Benton notes the use of the numeral plus classifier as "the anaphoric representative of an NP, the remainder of which has been deleted because of prior reference in the conversational context" (p.107).

Benton employs the idea of the semantic domain in discussing the selection of classifiers: for his own purposes he qualifies the general usage of this concept: "I intend to use the concept of 'domain' to include groupings of classifiers marked explicitly for the same features, and which may or may not be used contrastively with the same noun" (p.136). Thus his modification of the domain concept would seem to include the possibility of a hierarchical relationship between groups of classifiers, with domains wholly included within superordinate domains, allowing contrastive features to be included within some domains.

Addressing himself to the meaning of the classificatory base, Benton sees the true classifier as being composed of a feature or group of features. "The numeral classificatory base generally seems to be concerned with the actual state of the item enumerated. The true

⁵¹ Benton notes that Hla Pe has a similar distinction between "explicit" and "implicit" repeaters in Burnese.

⁵² One form (**/mwck/*) is unlabelled.

classifiers may be separated into three semantic domains: shape, nature and generality” (p.237). A classifier thus specifies a “certain bundle of features” (p.138) in reference to any Trukese noun, while other classifiers may identify “other potential combinations” (p.138) of features for the same noun. While he is only considering the true classifiers at this point, Benton suggests that repeaters and quantifiers operate similarly in terms of bundles of features.

Contextual information is frequently necessary to elucidate meaning. Thus Benton suggests that each form has a characteristic or unmarked meaning, which “in another context” (p.111) may be differently labelled. Benton suggests, for example, that the wider context of an NP such as *ejon nuu* ‘one-ten coconut’ may designate that phrase as either ‘ten coconuts (fruit)’ or ‘ten coconut palms’ (p.110). The classifiers may make the “vague general meaning [of a word] specific” (p.142). Thus he quotes the Trukese example *mwoonu* ‘anything used to fix a leak’ which, according to which repeater is used with it, may be understood to mean “a leaf of coconut used for this purpose...a quantity of material (either thatch or roofing iron) for a portion of roof...or one of a series of leaves attached to a stick...” (p.142). Alternatively, they may by the association of a different bundle of features specify a different meaning, so that “a change in domain will also signal a change in meaning” (p.137). Benton uses as an example *suupwa* ‘tobacco’, which unmarked by a numeral classifier has the general meaning ‘tobacco’, but marked by various numeral classifiers may mean ‘a cigarette’, ‘a packet of cigarettes’ or ‘a cigarette butt’.

Concluding his study of the Trukese classifier system, Benton comments (p.142) on two features which have some bearing on the Kiriwina system – that is, the ready adaption of loan words and the function of the classifiers as metaphors. Benton sees in the Trukese classifiers a flexible means of reference which is readily able to adapt new words and concepts; loan words are readily assimilated into the system, though some fluctuate in position. Finally Benton notes the metaphorical adaptations of meaning by means of uncharacteristic classifier specifications which enable the speaker to express fine shades of meaning: “The classifiers of Trukese thus at the same time provide a means for ordering the universe, and a method for structuring concepts without multiplying vocabulary” (p.143).

5.1.2.3 BECKER ON BURMESE

In his study of the Burmese numeral classifier system, Becker (1975) reveals (as does Benton for Trukese) two separate classificatory systems at work. However, where Benton finds the Trukese systems to be largely autonomous, Becker finds that in Burmese the two systems are complementary. One system consists of a series of sets of items “sometimes obvious...sometimes more esoteric...[which] represent, taken together, a taxonomy of the phenomenological universe of the Burmese” (p.109). The second system, consisting of the Burmese classifier system (as discussed by Burling 1965 and Hla Pe 1965), Becker describes as a “second phenomenological universe” (p.110).

The first system is taxonomically based, and the items in it are easily discussed and understood. The second system, however, locates items relationally by paradigmatic association, but the classifiers which form the basis of the association often seem obscure

and are hard to discuss independent of their associated items. Of these two systems of classification, Becker notes (p.110): "certain semantic polarities appear over and over again...What is striking is that the same semantic polarities do not appear in both systems". Thus with each set being concerned with different semantic viewpoints, the two systems are complementary. This difference in semantic polarity Becker explains as the difference between the taxonomic system (the encyclopaedic sets) and the paradigmatic system (the numerative classifiers).

The taxonomies which determine the membership of the encyclopaedic sets are culturally predetermined; the more that "one learns to see things in a Burmese way" (p.110), the more the student of the language is able to view them with proper insight and appreciation. Each item listed within the hierarchical taxonomy has one place only which it may occupy in that system. The second, paradigmatic, system enables a noun to appear in a number of different places within the relational system, so that the speaker is able to speak of the same thing in several different ways. Thus the second system is open to inventiveness in the speaker's choice of words and to stylistic beauty in the associations made between items. It is this explication of the Burmese numerative classifiers as "a paradigm, in which items are located relationally" (p.111) which is the main burden of Becker's study and is the reason for its inclusion here.

Becker sees the use of the classifiers in Burmese as:

in part an art and not just a grammatical convention...The choice [of a classifier] depends on the universe of discourse. One might speak of a river in at least eight contexts...The classifier is, in part, an indication of the context in which one is speaking about something. (p.113)

Becker pays particular attention to the semantic specifications of different parts of the Burmese classifier system. He comments that quantifiers and classifiers, commonly considered discrete entities, may in reality only be "quantity and quality...polarities in a semantic continuum"; yet he sees evidence that the classifiers are in some respects semantically different from the quantifiers. He notes that while the quantifiers may be precisely translated into English, this is not the case with the classifiers.

Becker defines the true classifiers in Burmese as having a locative function, being explainable as "a locus on a conceptual map" (p.115), which is literally a "linguistic map of the world" (p.118). Animate beings, together with some secondarily associated items, are located in a succession of four orbits around the Buddha as centre. Beings are not necessarily fixed in one place in this system, but may move closer in or further out depending on the speech act being performed. The loci of inanimate objects are more complex, but are positioned in relation to the speaker:

The structure underlying classification starts with the self at the centre, divides that self into head and body, and then arranges objects at four distances from the self, associating them either with the head (metaphorically top, round) or with the body (metaphorically bottom, straight). (p.118)

This complex locative pattern is to be seen not as "an inductively derived taxonomy but [as] an applied metaphor" (p.118), applied as a paradigm to inanimate items. Items which

are placed at the same point in the system do not thus have features in common with one another which would mark them as belonging together for some discernable reason, nor is there anything which would show them as belonging in that place. The only thing they have in common is that some speakers have located them in that one place in relation to themselves; other speakers may relocate them, according as the metaphor of location serves their spoken message.

In conclusion Becker comments (p.120) that “the Burmese classifier system is coherent because it is based upon a single, elementary semantic dimension: deixis”. Speakers relate themselves to their universe of discourse, locating themselves in relation to other animate beings and locating the things they are speaking about in relation to themselves.

The Burmese classifier system has purpose because...it establishes in the surface structure of the language the universe of discourse (i.e. the sense in which someone is speaking of something) of a speech act, within a culturally shared image of nature. (p.121)

5.1.2.4 MALINOWSKI ON KIRIWINAN

I must include at this point a brief summary of Malinowski's (1920) work on the Kiriwina classifiers, *Classificatory particles in the language of Kiriwina*. This work was based on field studies made in 1915-1918, when his central interest was ethnological rather than linguistic. When writing it, he noted that he was not adequately equipped for linguistic observation because of the lack of a generally accepted theoretical basis to linguistic study. Malinowski comments (p.69) that “there can be no successful observation of facts without the guidance of a sound theory”, and thus he exemplifies in his own conclusions on classifiers how “a very characteristic and theoretically important phenomenon has fared badly, when treated on the foundation of insufficient theory” (p.70).

Malinowski suggests that the same lack of theory in part explains the deficiencies evident in the only grammar of Kiriwina available at the time, Rev. Samuel B. Fellows (1902) *Grammar of the Kiriwina Dialect*.⁵³ He concludes an examination of those deficiencies with:

So much on the score of criticism, which negatively shows us how lack of theoretical guidance and of realising the theoretical importance of linguistic phenomena must lead, and does lead, to blurred vision of facts. (p.72)

Malinowski refers to the Kiriwina classifiers as *classificatory particles*. Under this generic description he distinguishes three main functions, which he labels *classificatory*

⁵³ Malinowski's criticism of Fellows was tempered by his “admiration and indebtedness” (Malinowski 1920:70) for Fellows' work. Some of Malinowski's ‘corrections’ of Fellows' data were however wrong. Thus he says (1920:41), “It would appear to anyone who reads the Grammar that classifying formatives enter into the formation of numerals only”. But Fellows (1902:173) says, “The adjective follows the noun or pronominal particle which it qualifies”. Fellows also shows (p.174) the formation of the demonstratives (in spite of Malinowski's claim (1920:fn. to pp.65f.) to the contrary), giving paradigms of three forms using classifiers.

formatives, naming formatives (or *root-repeating formatives*) and formatives which “possess a pronounced nominal character” (p.59). I now look briefly at each of these terms.

The term *formative* is used by Malinowski as a shortened form of *class-formative* to indicate the function of a particle in any language in the process of forming or building words, and thereby creating a group of words in a language with an identical affix “characteristic of certain limited classes of words” (p.38) as certain kinship terms, diminutives and so on. He does not see this however as entailing “a general principle of classification” (p.38). His term “classificatory formative” specifically details those class formatives which by their use indicate “the degree of unity and consistency of those things of which they are the names, as determined by their natural position and shape, their proper motion, effects, relative strength, etc.” (p.38).⁵⁴ Elsewhere Malinowski refers to the classificatory formatives as “the real classifiers” (p.58).

Those which he refers to as *naming formatives* are the formatives which are limited in their use to a very small number of items, on occasions “restricted to one object only” (p.58). He says:

If we have a formative of a very narrow application and definite meaning...the resultant word will not possess any power to stamp the noun as belonging to any class, because it simply repeats the noun and adds nothing to its meaning...an extremely interesting phenomenon, but one which could not by any stretch of the imagination be called *classification*. Thus we may say that where both phonetically and semantically the formatives and the nominal root coincide, there we have a naming formative but not a classificatory one. (p.58)

There is no Kiriwian classifier with such a limited field of reference. Malinowski uses two examples which he asserts demonstrate this restriction: *kada-* ‘road’ and *sisi-* ‘branch’. Both of these however are readily shown to specify a small domain of items rather than a single item; *kada-* may specify not only *keda* ‘road’ but also the names of particular categories of tracks (e.g. with *kadaula* ‘main road’ – a compound noun, the particle *-ula* having no independent existence in this sense – and *kowalawa* ‘track from the beach’) or it may specify the sort of country to be crossed by someone (e.g. with *raibwaga* ‘stony country’ or *pwadidiweta* ‘swamp’). Metaphorically it is used to specify a way or method of doing anything, as in the phrase *ma-kada-na nanamsa* ‘that-road thought’ (i.e. ‘that way of doing something’). His second example, *sisi-*, may specify *sisila* ‘branch’ and a large number of items such as wood and names of trees; it may also specify part of a magic spell.

The formatives which Malinowski distinguishes apart from the naming formatives as those “which possess a pronounced nominal character” are those which “are as a rule used without the corresponding nouns” (p.59). That is to say, they may be used in isolation, or may specify only one noun (or a small number of nouns) with a different root from that of the classifier. He suggests that some of the words containing such classifiers must in reality be considered the basic noun; so that where for example the formative *sa-* ‘betel bunch’ is used in the phrase *sa-tala buwa* ‘betel.bunch-one betelnut’, then “*sa-tala* is the individualised,

⁵⁴ Malinowski is here quoting Torrend in relation to Bantu classes, as an example of the classifier role in language.

differentiated thing, whereas *buwa* is the generic expression...Thus in this case the grammatical relations between classificatory and naming word seem to be reversed" (p.60).

Malinowski enumerates only 42 *particles*, stating that "the list here given can be considered with this reservation as a complete enumeration and not as an exemplification only" (p.66).⁵⁵ He assembles these into eight groups, comprising the nature of things, bunches of fruit, parts of a divided whole, parts of an undivided whole, conglomerates, rows and heaps, baskets of yams (one only) and a measure of length (one only). He observes that "the fourteen particles of the first group possess in the most pronounced degree both the classificatory meaning and the grammatical function of a real word-formative" (p.62). He sees them as "the real classifiers" which "refer directly to the nature of things, which they express, and this group contains in itself a comprehensive classification of things" (p.46). He notes that "within this group the principles of classification are inconsistent and at cross-purposes with one another...several of the classes are not properly exclusive" (p.48) and also that "this direct classification [within Group I] could stand no logical test" (p.48). Within the other groups Malinowski sees the classifiers as being of a much more restricted nature, wherein is "emphasised one special point of view – usually very concrete and sometimes very narrow in connotation" (p.48). Within these groups he places those classifiers which he categorises either as naming formatives or as the formatives which are in his view substantival in character.

Malinowski comments also on the function of all the Kiriwinan classifiers, which are able to stand in isolation "as independent nominal expressions wherein the formative stands for the thing [naming or classifying it] and the root gives it an attribute" (p.62).

He sees the classifiers as being a heterogeneous group. Some of them classify words into semantic groups and so are in his view real classifiers. Others have a root-repeating role and are too limited in their reference to be regarded as classifying in the semantic sense. Yet others use the place of the noun, so that in some cases the word which contains the classifier becomes the substantive, and the noun is merely an attributive word.

Thus in Malinowski's examination of the Kiriwinan classifiers, written some fifty years before most of the works discussed in this chapter, we find a foreshadowing of the classifiers, repeaters and pronominals of the later writers. He also observes correctly the anaphoric role of the classifier in deletion processes. Finally, in his comments on classes "not properly exclusive" (p.46), he puts his finger on, without being able to name, the paradigmatic nature of the classifiers (which he clearly expected to form a taxonomy of the Kiriwinan world) to which Becker later drew attention.

5.1.2.5 ADAMS, BECKER AND CONKLIN – SAVOURING CLASSIFIERS

Two studies of classifiers, across the boundaries of a number of languages, must now be looked at. The first is the monograph of Adams, Becker and Conklin (1975) 'Savoring the differences among classifiers'. By studying classifier phenomena in a number of languages,

⁵⁵ His reservation (p.44) was "Most likely a few of the very obsolete ones escaped my attention". My own listing totals 147 lexical items.

they seek bases for comparison and contrast. A number of South-East Asian languages provide data on which are based some paradigmatic comparisons, and Thai, Vietnamese, Indonesian and Burmese are the data sources for some syntagmatic comparisons. I do not present their arguments in full, being concerned rather with drawing out features which parallel Kiriwinan phenomena. Among the paradigmatic comparisons of interest are comments on systems of classifiers, semantic domains, repeaters and numeral systems.

Two Indonesian languages are discussed as examples of the extension of referential role within languages. The first, Mori, is shown to have what appears more like a word list than a system, with little if any relation between the classifier forms. On the other hand, Palauan is quoted as an example of a language with a set of classifiers in which most concrete nouns are classified, with the whole set displaying an organisation of the classifiers in relation to one another. Animacy and shape are together important features of Palauan classification which with a number of mainland South-East Asian languages “have this hierarchical semantic structure of animacy vs inanimacy, and inanimacy elaborated along lines of shape as their central organising principle” (p.4).

Considering the different semantic fields which different languages specify by classifier reference, the authors note (p.4) a “tendency to proliferate classes for things one is particularly conscious of (or) particularly concerned with”, so that “in Oceanic languages, many classes are devoted to foods and the sets in which foods are expected to be arranged”. There is a tendency to have some classes of a general nature, and often there is a class for items not included in any other class. A frequent phenomenon is for “one noun to have more than one appropriate classifier” (p.5), so that the selection of a suitable classifier may be a matter of literary taste or personal inventiveness.

One feature of relevance to this study is noted by the authors as being of varying importance in a number of languages, namely the “use of a noun to classify itself...This phenomenon has been variously called self-classification, auto-classification and repeaters” (p.6). The true repeater is defined as the form which classifies itself and no other noun. Many languages however display a form analogous to the repeater, when a classifier repeats its own form and classifies other nouns as well.

In relation to numeral systems, many languages (e.g. Gilbertese and Palauan) attach classifiers only to small numbers, with the large round numbers being used without classifiers. The classifying of units of tens is noted as a feature of Oceanic languages, in some cases by means of special classifiers.

Under the general heading *syntagmatic comparisons*, Adams, Becker and Conklin include some consideration of a) enumeration, substitution, demonstratives and adjectives; b) nominalisation; and c) textual cohesion, register and style.

a) Enumeration is stated to be the “most central role” (p.8) of the classifier, which varies in usage from language to language. The use of the classifier as a nominal substitute is noted in all languages studied by the authors except Indonesian. Both Thai and Vietnamese use the classifier in conjunction with demonstratives and adjective constructions.

b) Thai and Vietnamese also feature classifier constructions which function as names and as nominalisers. The authors note that “the total meaning of the numeral phrase is a

combination of the meaning of the classifier and the classified noun” (p.13). When a classifier acts as a nominalising representative of one noun and is followed by a different noun, the phrase needs the semantic information of each in order to be understood. Thus *cai* when added to *nan* ‘foundation’ comes to mean ‘foundation as of a building’. The authors suggest that “this process might be analysed as a form of compounding rather than classification” (p.13).

c) The discourse function of the classifiers is mentioned, particularly in reference to Burmese, which “exploits the possibility of using more than one classifier with a single item extensively for textual cohesion” (p.13). Related to this would be the phenomenon, found in all four languages used for syntagmatic comparisons, of classifier usage differing with changes of style and register. Idiosyncratic usage of classifiers is noted, so that personal inventiveness in language use would be seen in a speaker's relative freedom in classifier usage. In Burmese and Vietnamese especially:

reclassing is an important literary device. Texts manipulate the choice of classifier to change the way they want the reader to regard something. Since the classifiers in these languages do add a great deal of semantic content to the noun phrase, the effect is quite profound. (p.14)

This flexibility of usage does not however occur in Indonesian.

5.1.2.6 ALLAN'S STUDY OF CLASSIFIERS

In concluding this section I outline the categories of classifiers identified by Allan (1977) in the latter part of his study *Classifiers*. What I have found of value is his section 5, *Categories of classification* (pp.297-306), most of which is paralleled by my own categorisation of classifier roles in Kiriwina; it was helpful in my own analysis to adopt some of the terms Allan used.

Allan names seven categories of classification, which indicates the breadth of the classifiers' roles in identifying meaning: i) material, ii) shape, iii) consistency, iv) size, v) location, vi) arrangement and vii) quanta. He observes (p.297) that “the seven categories intermesh; many classifiers combine two or more of them, and so are subject to componential analysis in terms of these categories and their respective subcategories”.

i) Within the category labelled *material* Allan places three subcategories: animacy, abstract and verbal nouns, and inanimacy. The three subcategories do not appear to be cohesive, and it is noted that he confesses that the label *material* is not an appropriate one, but “all classifiers which typically refer to the essence of the entities referred to by nouns are instances of this category” (p.299). Thus Allan's is a category of essence of entities, animate, abstracts, activities etc. His use of the term *essence* in relation to this category is perhaps unfortunate, as in general terms his second category, *shape*, may also be understood as part of the essence of an item. There is in fact some overlap between the first and the next two categories (as I

note below). It would have been better if his first category was defined in terms of the polarities of animacy and inanimacy.⁵⁶

Allan notes that the animate category varies greatly from language to language, but that humans are generally classified in some way distinct from other beings. The abstract and verbal nouns are rarely classified (though Allan discusses and dismisses action classifiers identified by Berlin for Tzeltal). The subcategory of inanimacy “covers a large number of classifiers” (p.300) and Allan names the one which classifies trees and wooden objects as the commonest. Also within this inanimate subcategory he includes the residue type of classifier which is “used of a large number of heterogeneous inanimate objects, some of which may be alternatively classified by some specialised classifiers” (p.300).

ii) Allan's second category, *shape*, “has three dimensional subcategories of long, flat, and round” or “saliently one-dimensional, two-dimensional and three-dimensional” (p.300). Tarascan (see 5.1.2.1) has shape as its only classificatory domain. Also included within this category are three subcategories of non-dimensional shape, which we may identify as *exterior curved shape* (heaps, protuberances etc.), *hollow shape* (bottle-like) and *annular shape* (entrances, holes etc.).

iii) His third category, *consistency*, has three subcategories labelled *flexible*, *hard or rigid* and *non-discrete*. Flexibility includes rope-like and fabric-like items. The *hard or rigid* subcategory may be labelled *stick-like* or *plank-like*. The non-discrete subcategory has a threefold division, to refer to tacky substances, liquids and aggregates. Allan may in fact feel that this non-discrete label has dubious independent identity as a subcategory, as “the three divisions of the non-discrete subcategory do not co-occur as separate classifiers in any of the languages for which I have data” (p.303).

Much of what is included in the categories of shape and consistency could be considered as part of the third (i.e. inanimate) subcategory of Allan's first group. Indeed, Allan has suggested this is the case in relation to trees and wooden objects, which may also be considered “long or saliently one-dimensional” (p.300). Perhaps an approach consistent with this overlap would be to regard inanimacy as a superordinate category having several subcategories including Allan's second and third categories, *shape* and *consistency*. It may be that Allan in fact feels that such a relationship, approaching a taxonomic dependence, is evident, since he says, “In the course of discussing other categories of classification, I shall demonstrate that material classification is the source of most if not all of them” (p.300).

iv) The category of *size* Allan notes as being confined to African languages, though it may co-occur as an additional component of the shape category in many other languages. This category has perhaps a somewhat unsteady place in Allan's system, being confined to occurrences in one part of the total language scene. In his description of the function of these classifiers he seems to be describing a substantive rather than a classifying feature. However he does not give enough data to enable me to comment further.

⁵⁶ Such a category label however may have made it necessary for abstracts and action classifiers to be placed in a separate category, unless they could be seen as related to animate function.

In summarising these categories Allan points out: "The first four categories of classification, i.e. the material and configurational categories, all refer to the salient inherent characteristics of entities as perceived in them or as imputed to them by the speaker" (p.303). He is conscious at this point in his analysis of passing from the classification of perceived characteristics to consider other categories which do not depend solely, if at all, on perception.

v) Allan's fifth category, *location*, may depend in some cases on the speaker's perception; it includes plots of land and canoe compartments. He notes that "the locational characteristics of some arrangement and quanta classifiers also indicate the existence of a location category" (p.303). Allan sees *arrangement* (and *quanta*) as not classifying entities according to inherent characteristics. As he considers that "a distinguishing feature of classifying languages is the classification of nouns according to the inherent characteristics to which they refer", these two categories "are therefore not confined to classifier languages" (p.304). Thus he gives examples from non-classifier languages such as English.

vi) Within his sixth category, *arrangement*, Allan suggests there are three kinds of classifiers. The first "are those which identify an object or objects in some specific and non-inherent configuration" (p.304), such as coils, folds, twists. He notes that "the evidence from English, Tzeltal and Kiriwina is that verbs are a productive source for this subcategory of arrangement classifiers" (p.305). The second consists of "those classifiers which identify an object or set of objects in a specific position" (p.305), which intersects with a locational component in some classifiers. Here are included rows, lines, bands, etc. The third subcategory "intersects with the quanta category...in those classifiers which identify objects in some kind of specific non-inherent distribution: I am thinking of classifiers like 'heap', 'clump', 'bunch' and 'herd'" (p.305).

vii) The last category is *quanta*. As befits the last category, a great number of subcategories are placed here by Allan. A major subcategory is that of grammatical number. Allan also lists categories of collection (cluster, crowd, pair), volume (handful, bucketful), instance classifiers ('a kind of'), partitives (quarter, piece) and a number of other quanta subcategory possibilities (e.g. dimension, weight, time). Within this large assembly of subcategories there is probably a taxonomy of superordinate categories which could have been stated (such as, perhaps, grammatical number, grouping, partition, non-material), with each containing subordinate categories of classification, some of the latter even coming from Allan's sixth category. However, beyond supposing some overlap, Allan does not suggest such an arrangement.

Allan makes a separate comment in relation to noun-free constructions. He speaks of the measure subcategory as producing a "noun-free quantifier construction" where "the quantifier will occur with the classifier alone" (p.306) and quotes examples from Thai and Kiriwina. He suggests that because they occur as adverbials of distance, duration etc. we may be able to consider them as part of verb constructions, not as occurring within the NP.

In concluding this survey of the various categories of classifiers, Allan comments that the similarities of classifier categories in many widely different languages and cultures show "the essential similarity of man's response to his environment", as it is clear that "classifiers

reflect perceptual groupings, and that reclassification can be used to indicate the speaker's evaluation of what he perceives as unusual" (p.307f.). Thus if we speak of the *meaning* of a classifier, we are saying that "it indicates the perceived characteristics of the entities that it classifies; in other words, classifiers are linguistic correlates to perception, and when the perception of a given object changes, the classifier may change concomitantly" (p.308). As human perceptions are generally similar, it is not surprising that the cognitive evaluation of what is seen should display a measure of similarity in all languages.

5.2 MORPHOLOGY

Throughout this section, when a classifier-plus-word combination is cited the classifier is in upper case (e.g. *maKAI**na*). If I feel that morpheme breaks help to explicate the word, they are indicated, as elsewhere, with hyphens (e.g. *ma-KAI-na*).

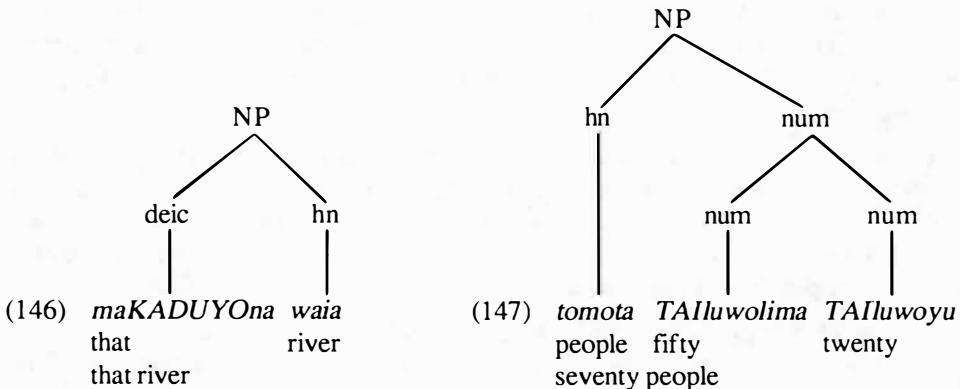
5.2.1 THE NOUN PHRASE

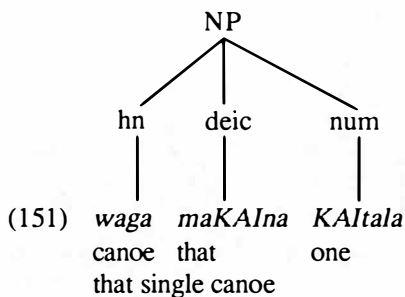
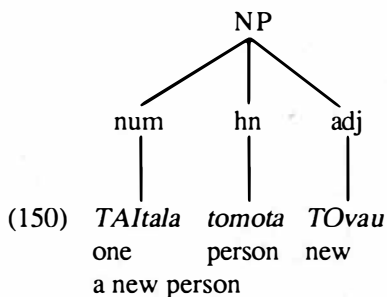
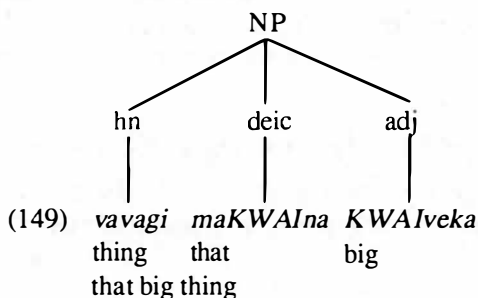
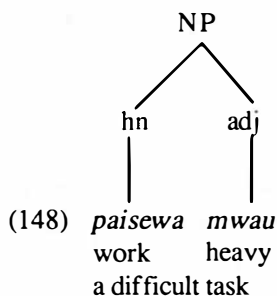
This section is concerned with the morphology of the Kiriwinan classifier, which appears only as a constituent of the NP. While the classifier is not an obligatory element in the basic NP (which consists of a noun), its presence is obligatory wherever the NP uses deictics, unit value numerals and certain adjectives.

The expanded NP consists of a head noun which may be modified by a deictic, a numeral and an adjective. It is rare to find an NP with all four of these constituents, although there is no restriction against such. A suitable structural formula is:

R16 NP → (head noun) (deictic) (number) (adjective)

When a noun is introduced as a theme in conversation, the order of NP constituents is as stated above. The order is significant only for the basic NP; otherwise the order of NP constituents is free, being subject only to the constituent which is semantically prominent being placed first. No attempt is made to state at this stage the morphological structure of the deictic, number or adjective elements.





Examples (146)-(151) show the head noun of an NP occurring in various combinations with the deictic, numeral and adjective constituents, as they were spoken in unsolicited text. In order to see the place of the classifier morpheme in each of these three modifying constituents within the NP, I now consider the morphology of each constituent.

5.2.2 THE DEICTIC WORD

The deictic in Kiriwinan is obligatorily affixed to a classifier. As all things referable to in conversation may be introduced by a deictic, the obligatory co-occurrence of deictic and classifier gives the most basic function of the classifier in Kiriwinan. Adams and Conklin (1973:8) suggest that enumeration is the “most central role” of the classifier in the languages they have studied (see 5.1.2.5) but, as will be seen below, the presence of the classifier is optional for the numbers above ten, whereas all occurrences of the deictic word in Kiriwinan ensure that the classifier is used. It thus appears that the deictic environment is the most central one for Kiriwinan classifiers.

I must note here that one locating word, *baisa* ‘this thing here, this item in plain view’, occurs with the obligatory absence of a classifier and may be used to replace the deictic word. With this solitary exception all deixis within the NP is made by means of the deictic-plus-classifier combination.

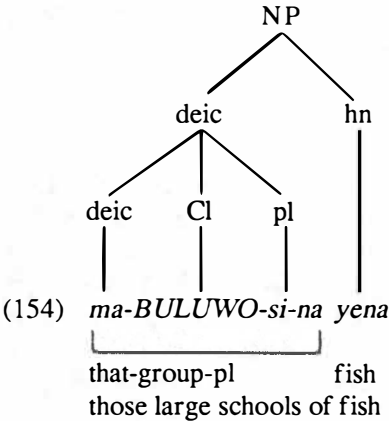
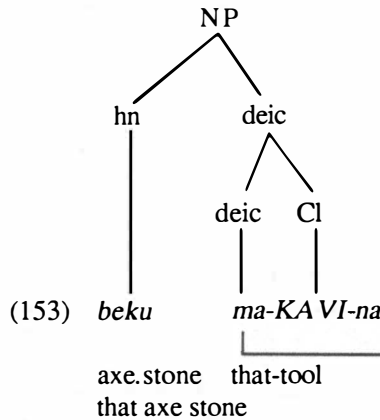
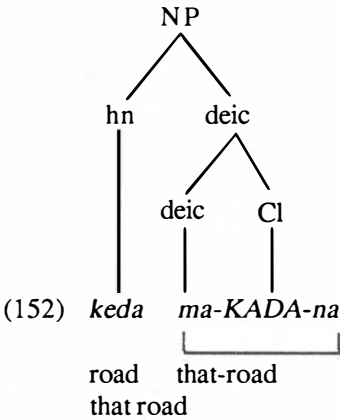
5.2.2.1 THE DEICTIC FORM

The deictic consists of the discontinuous morpheme *ma-...-na* which may only occur affixed to a classifier morpheme. The first part of this morpheme always occurs as a first order prefix to the classifier root. The second part may however occur as a third order suffix

to the classifier root, being displaced by either or both of the suffixes *-si-* 'plural' and *-we-* 'alternate reference'. This may be expressed as a formula:

$$R17 \quad \text{Deictic} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{baisa} \\ \textit{ma} + \text{Classifier} + (\textit{si}) + (\textit{we}) + \textit{na} + (\textit{emph}) \end{array} \right\}$$

Some examples of the NP using the deictic word are given below. The two elements of the discontinuous morpheme are connected here by a bar placed under the word.

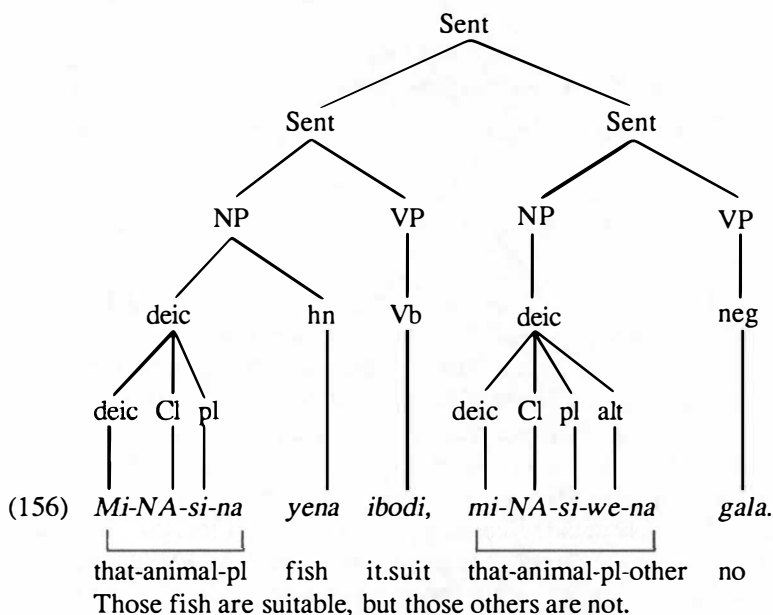
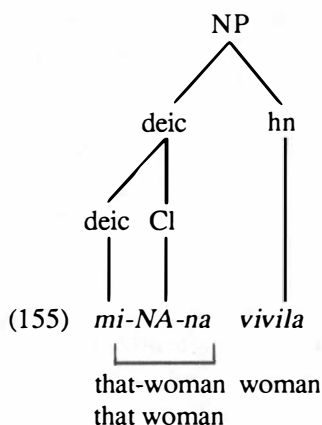


5.2.2.2 IRREGULAR DEICTIC FORMS

When the classifiers⁵⁷ Cl 2 *na₁*- 'non-human' (or Cl 7 *na₂*- 'female human') and Cl 4 *ya*- 'flexible, thin' are used, the deictic words only occur in the forms *miNAna* and *miYAna* respectively. The reason for this does not seem to be phonological, as identical phonetic environments at points of morpheme juncture do not change in this fashion. The reason may be hidden in historical morphophonemic processes. If for instance the morphological origin

⁵⁷ Each classifier when first cited in a section is identified by the number it bears in the lexicon in Appendix 2.

of *na-* 'female human' is the noun *ina-* 'mother' then a process such as *ma-INA-na* > *mi-NA-na* seems feasible. Two such words are in (155) and (156). Both of these classifiers have a high functional load, being two of the five Basic Property Specifiers (see 5.4.3.1).



The following five deictic-plus-classifier combinations occur in two forms in free fluctuation:

- | | | |
|--------|---------------|--|
| Cl 1 | <i>to-</i> | 'human': <i>maTOna/mTOna</i> 'that person' |
| Cl 9 | <i>kwela-</i> | 'pot-like': <i>maKWELAna/mKWELAna</i> 'that pot' |
| Cl 91 | <i>pila-</i> | 'part-piece' in the allomorphic form <i>pa-</i> : <i>maPAna/mPAna</i> 'that piece' |
| Cl 108 | <i>ta-</i> | 'basket': <i>maTAna/miTAna</i> 'that basketful' |
| Cl 117 | <i>mmo-</i> | 'conical bundle': <i>maMMOAna/mMMOAna</i> 'that bundle' |

The first three are used frequently; the last two, being concerned mainly with the specification of quantities of yams and taro, are of frequent occurrence in the culturally prominent times of food transactions. Thus all five frequently occur in both forms.

One isolated form seems to bring together the two normally discontinuous elements of the deictic morpheme, and to attach them as a single prefix to the classifier root. Both singular and plural forms occur. The alternate indicator *-we-* does not occur with this word. This irregular form is used only with the classifier Cl 5 *kwai-* 'thing', which as one of the five Basic Property Specifiers has a high functional load. The regular forms are followed by the irregular:

singular	<i>maKWAIna/manaKWA</i>	that thing
plural	<i>maKWAIsina/manaKWAIsi</i>	those things

Finally, one form has the plural marker attached either in the normal fashion or else as a prefix to the classifier, being the only instance known to me of the first part of the deictic morpheme being dislodged from its first order prefix position. It occurs only with Cl 18 *yam₁-* 'day', which is rarely used, either in its regular form or in the alternate form noted here:

singular	<i>maYAMna</i>	that day
plural	<i>ma-si-YAM-na/ma-YAM-si-na</i>	those days

Apart from these exceptions, all deictics function regularly using *ma...-na* as set out in 5.2.2.1.

5.2.3 THE NUMERAL WORD

The numeral system in Kiriwinan may be described as a mixed quinay-decimal system which lacks number morphemes for the numbers six to nine. Any number above five and below ten must be indicated by a sequence consisting of the word 'five' plus one other number word. The same principle applies between 50 and 100, 500 and 1,000, and 5,000 and 10,000, which is the upper limit of countable items in Kiriwinan. Thus the numbers 8, 80, 800 and 8,000 are represented by the number-word sequences 5-3, 50-30, 500-300 and 5,000-3,000 respectively. A specific number such as 78 is represented by a sequence of the four number words 50-20-5-3. Such detailed counting is common up to 100. Specific numbers in the hundreds and thousands however are usually stated only as whole hundreds or whole thousands. The formal structure of such a number as 6,879 is possible, and could be expressed by the sequence of eight number words 5,000-1,000-500-300-50-20-5-4. Educated Kiriwinans have insisted to me that they can in fact say and understand such numbers, but I consider that they are only indicating that the formal resources of the language permit such a sequence and that it could be understood. My own experience of such sequences is that they are understood only with difficulty and used only to translate complexities such as those which education in English has introduced to modern Kiriwinan society.

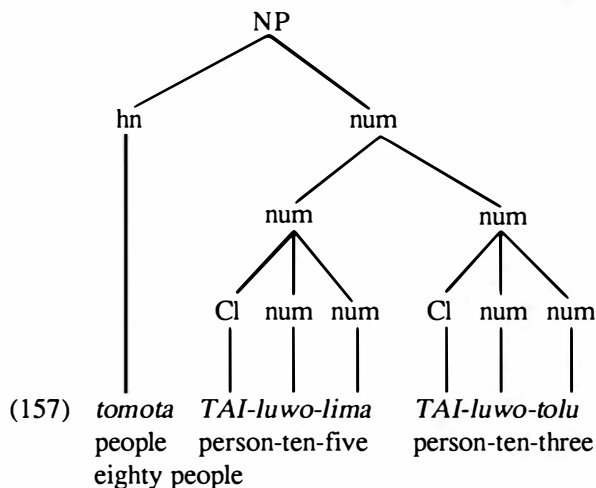
Classifiers occur obligatorily with the number morphemes ‘one’ to ‘five’ and optionally with number morphemes of ‘tens’, ‘hundreds’ and ‘thousands’.⁵⁸ The number morpheme is suffixed to the classifier root morpheme. The only apparent exception to the enumerating of items by means of classifier-plus-number is noted by Malinowski (1920:52): “basketfuls of yams are counted by using the numeral affixes only, bare of any classifying addition...the one case only where abstract numerals can be used in Kiriwinan”. It must be noted however that the deictic expression for ‘that (basket of yams)’ is regularly *miTAna*, and I have on occasions found *ta-* being used with the number words to count either single yams or baskets of yams. Thus, as we find *ta-* fluctuating with its absence in the numeral words, it is more reasonable in this case to postulate a zero morpheme as an allomorph of *ta-* for ‘yam, basket of yams’ and thus to assert a consistent pattern in all classifier-plus-number words.

The formal rule which is set here is only inclusive of numbers to 99. It must be assumed that the rule is extendable by another bracketed section of two number words plus optional classifier for each increase of power.

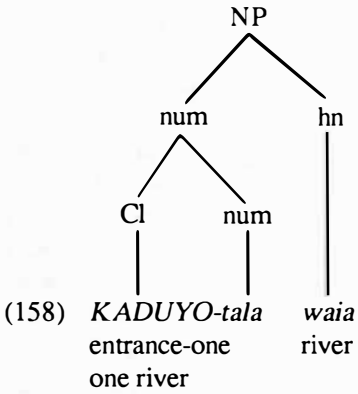
R18 number \rightarrow ((Cl)+num₄ (Cl)+num₃) (Cl+num₂ Cl+num₁)

Conditions:

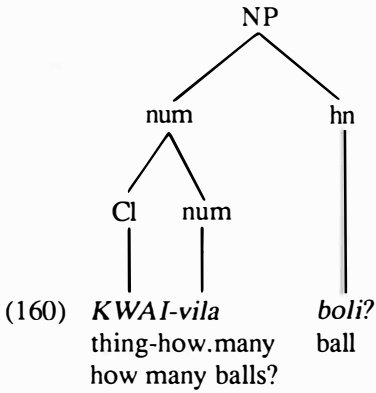
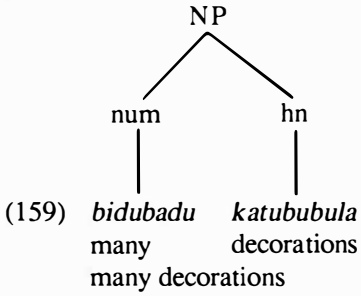
1. num₄ = 50 and num₂ = 5
2. when the tens are 50 or less, num₃ only occurs
3. when the units are 5 or less, num₁ only occurs



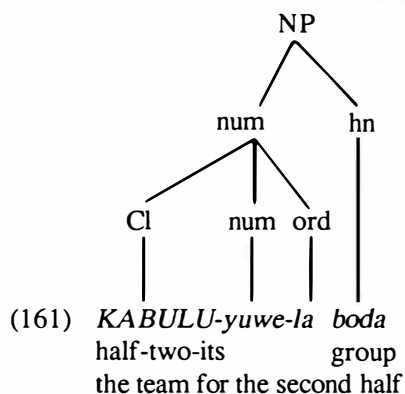
⁵⁸ Adams, Becker and Conklin (1973:8-9) note that this is a feature of Thai classification.



Other number-word considerations relevant here are that all words of indefinite number ('some', 'all', 'a few', 'many') occur with the obligatory absence of classifiers, with the sole exception of the interrogatory word of indefinite number -*vila* 'how many' which obligatorily occurs with the classifier.



Cardinal numbers are changed to ordinal by the addition of the suffix -*la*.



5.2.4 THE ADJECTIVE

The next constituent of the NP is the adjective. Here we find an interesting formal relationship between adjectives and classifiers which makes possible a three-way class division of adjectives.

Class 1 adjectives, numbering about ten, consist of those which are obligatorily affixed to the classifiers; some adjectives of this class express a plural form by stem reduplication. Class 2 adjectives, which form the largest class (about 30), are those which occur with a classifier optionally prefixed. Class 3 adjectives (14) are marked by the obligatory absence of classifiers. This is stated in rule 19:

$$\text{R19} \quad \text{Adj} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Cl} + \text{adj}_1 + (\text{pl}) \\ (\text{Cl}) + \text{adj}_2 \\ \text{adj}_3 \end{array} \right\}$$

Dixon (1977:31) suggests that the word class 'adjective' may be expressed as seven semantic types – dimension, physical property, colour, human propensity, age, value and speed. Five of these types are included within the three Kiriwinan adjective classes, colour and speed being the exceptions (colour is basically a noun, and speed is expressed by verbal constituents). These five semantic types form a useful indication of the semantic domains of the three classes of adjectives in Kiriwinan.

TABLE 17: SEMANTIC TYPES OF KIRIWINAN ADJECTIVES

Semantic types	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Physical property	beautiful-ugly male-female spotty shaggy	rough-smooth sharp-blunt crooked-straight wet-dry-slippery weak-strong green-mature unripe-ripe crunchy; fat	hard-soft (difficult-easy) heavy-light (impossible-possible) sweet-sour-bitter hot-cold (wanted-rejected)
Dimension	big-small (important- insignificant)	long-short wide-narrow thick-thin	
Age	new-old		
Value			good-bad true-false
Human propensity		generous-stingy meek, noisy; fierce; clumsy	

Table 17 sets out the distribution of these five semantic types throughout the Kiriwinan adjective classes. The tabulated adjectives are a fairly comprehensive statement of the whole word class. As a general rule age is confined to class 1 adjectives, human propensity (applicable to some animals as noted by Dixon) and dimension to class 2, and value to class 3 adjectives. Physical property adjectives are distributed evenly throughout all three classes. But two adjectives, the antonym pair 'big'-'small', do not fit into that general pattern. By their primary meaning of dimension they should be placed with class 2 adjectives, and by their secondary meaning specification of *important-insignificant* they belong with the value types in class 3. However, their formal dependence on the classifier places them firmly in class 1.

One further generalisation may be made. Class 1 adjectives generally indicate qualities which are permanent states, while class 2 adjectives indicate qualities which are temporary. Class 3 adjectives may not be described as either permanent or temporary states, the specifications which they make being subjective evaluations of items. (Some further discussion of adjectives, particularly in reference to their expression of meaning by means of semantic oppositions, can be seen in 5.4.5.1.)

Class 1 adjectives:

<i>NA-minabwaita</i> woman-beautiful beautiful (woman)	<i>NA-minibwaita</i> ⁵⁹ woman-beautiful(pl) beautiful (women)	<i>KWAI-vaka-veka</i> thing-pl-big big things
<i>GUDI-mtumwatu</i> child-shaggy tousle-headed (child)	<i>NA-tulutulu</i> animal-spotty spotty (fish, animal)	

Class 2 adjectives:

<i>kakalaia</i>	thin (unspecified)
<i>YA-kakalaia</i>	thin (flexible)
<i>NA-kakalaia</i>	thin (animal)

Class 3 adjectives:

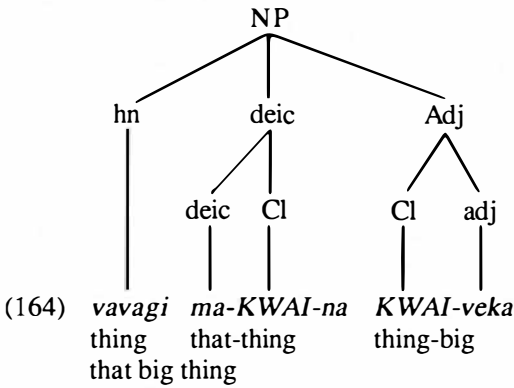
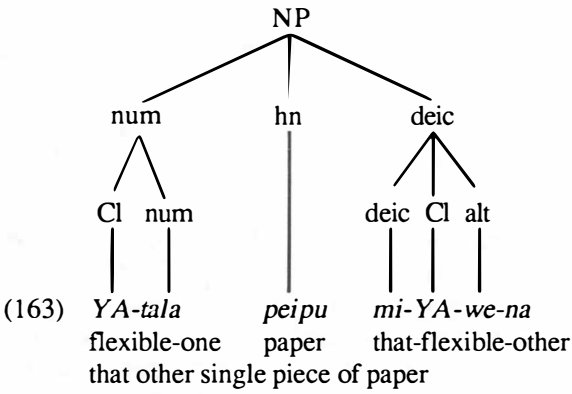
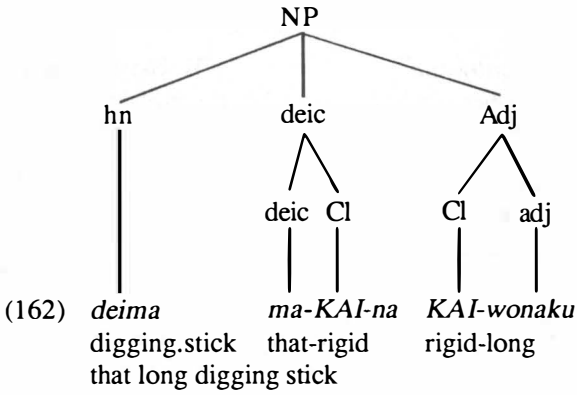
<i>bwaina</i>	good
<i>pwapwasa</i>	soft, easy
<i>simokainia</i>	sweet-tasting
<i>kasai</i>	hard, difficult

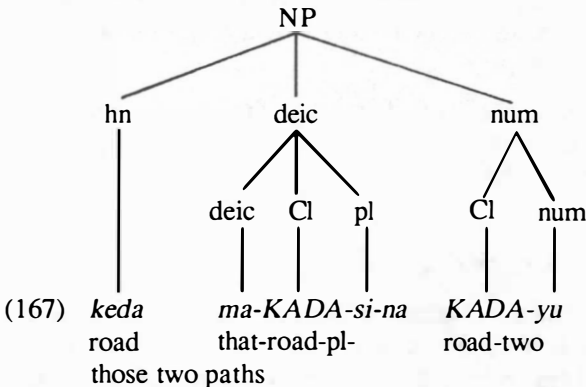
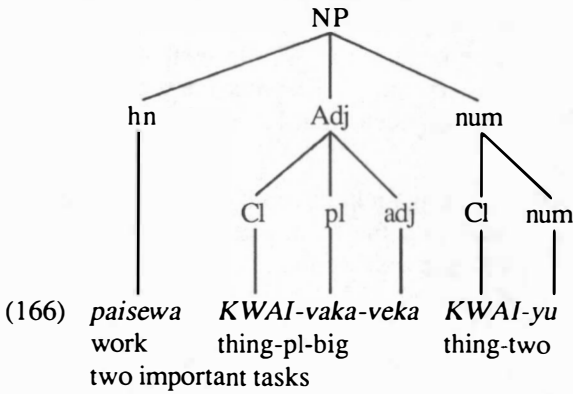
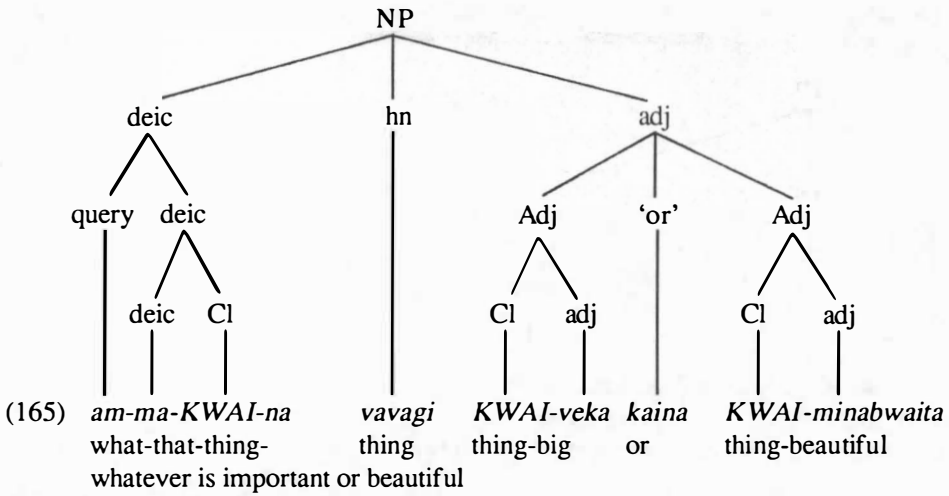
Apart from the adjectives which function within the above three classes in a dependent relationship with nouns, there is a large group of verb stems which function attributively, which would also have membership in the above classes if we were to consider them as adjectives. Also a number of colour terms exist which would be placed in classes 2 and 3 if they were considered adjectives. (There is some doubt as to whether they are adjectives, or nouns naming the raw materials for manufacturing the colour named.) However, it is not necessary to consider the detailed composition of these classes at this stage, as the adjectives listed as examples are sufficient for our purpose of observing the classifier-plus-adjective within the NP.

5.2.5 THE CLASSIFIER IN THE NOUN PHRASE

In the following examples of NPs, the deictic, adjective and numeral constituents are labelled, and the general principle of agreement between a noun and its classifier may be observed, the general pattern being only one classifier used with each deictic, adjective and numeral within a single NP. The word order only *appears* to be free (see 5.2.1).

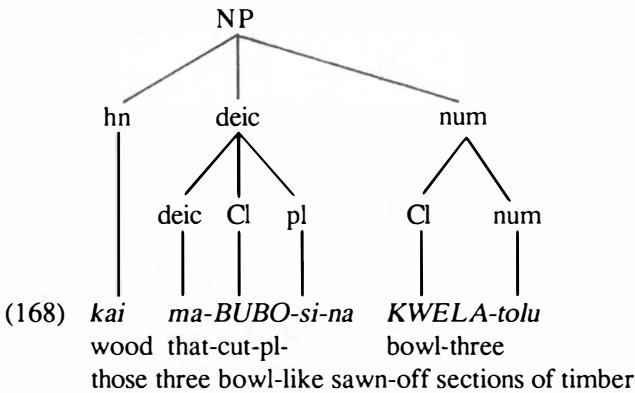
⁵⁹ This plural is effected by vowel change within the adjective stem.





There are however occasions when two different classifiers may be used within the one NP as different specifications of the one head noun. The next example is made possible by the speaker referring to one item in two completely different ways. First he refers to the rounds of timber obtained by transverse cutting, using Cl 73 *bubo-* 'cut across', and then he

refers to the possibility of their becoming wooden bowls and so specifies this using Cl 9 *kwela*- 'pot-like' as if it were already an accomplished fact.



It is seldom that all four constituents (head noun, deictic, numeral and adjective) occur in one NP, but a Kiriwinan will accept any such phrase with no confusion as to meaning. The examples given show common forms which have occurred as NPs in text, showing that phrases including three of the four constituents are common. Examples of a common NP type, the head noun with no other NP constituent co-occurring, have not been given for obvious reasons.

Example (168) shows a more complex NP containing multiple morphological application of different classifiers to one head noun, indicating the syntagmatic rather than the morphological function of the Kiriwinan classifiers (see next section).

5.3 CLASSIFIERS IN RELATION TO NOUNS

The previous section gives the morphological framework in which the Kiriwinan classifiers function within the NP. I now discuss how the classifiers relate to nouns, and some related syntagmatic functions.

Although this section is not primarily concerned with delineating the semantic role of the classifier, my first concern is some general observations of the types of semantic arrangements which Kiriwinan classifiers suggest.

5.3.1 CLASSIFIERS – FORMAL CONSTITUENTS OF NOUN PHRASES

Firstly, use of the classifier is not a precondition to the naming of items. The noun, as the head word in the NP, may function in isolation to identify any item, and (as has been seen from the morphology of numerals and adjectives) NPs including some modification may occur without a classifier being used.

However when the speaker has to relate or contrast items in some way, or to identify them without actually naming them, then classifiers are used. They occur obligatorily with deictics, some numerals and some adjectives, and optionally with some numerals and

adjectives, so that the reason for the use of a word containing a classifier morpheme has sometimes to be questioned. For example, in any number word it may be asked whether the classifier morpheme or the number morpheme is central in the speaker's mind. Has the classifier been used only because "its presence is required by the structure of the...numeral" (Benton 1968:111) or has the meaning reference of the classifier been the reason for the speaker's introduction of the word? The answer to such questions is inextricably bound up with the nature of the semantic categorisation which the classifier has introduced (see also 5.3.8 for the role of the classifier at discourse level).

5.3.2 CLASSIFIERS – LABELS FOR SEMANTIC DOMAINS

It is convenient to refer to the semantic features identified by the classifiers in terms of the familiar concept of the semantic domain. Tyler, in his introduction to *Cognitive Anthropology*, comments (1969:7-8):

It is our perception of similarities and differences together with a set of hierarchical cues that determine which things go together...Thus we subjectively group the phenomena of our perceptual world into named classes...A semantic domain consists of a class of objects all of which share at least one feature in common which differentiates them from other semantic domains.

The classifiers may be spoken of as the labels used by the Kiriwinan speakers to identify the semantic domains which are culturally or linguistically recognised as being in some way the same, so that items identified by any one classifier are thus shown to be recognised by a speaker as having some feature or features in common.

It would be possible, as Kay (1966:79) has suggested, to analyse a domain "with or without reference to the domains of meaning [and their component features] that underlie it". If I were to seek an analysis of the semantic domains of Kiriwinan identified by the classifiers, without reference to the elements of meaning which relate the various domains, then it would be sufficient simply to regard each classifier as a label and its area of reference as a domain in which a number of lexical items co-exist. This would not be a very profitable or helpful way of regarding the 147 Kiriwinan classifiers, as some domains would be found to have many hundreds of lexical items and others only two or three, while the implications of overlapping domains and the multiple membership of most lexical items in several domains would be unexamined.

Malinowski's examination of the Kiriwinan "classificatory formatives" was directed mainly along this line of examination, although he recognised that there were difficulties, so that a few among the total compass of classifiers could alone be labelled *true classifiers*, whereas others functioned in a way "which could not by any stretch of the term be called classification" (Malinowski 1920:58). He was also concerned because the inconsistencies between the formatives and what he regarded as the "principles of classification" resulted in a classification which "could stand no logical test", the more so as many of the classes were "not properly exclusive" (p.46).

5.3.3 TAXONOMY

It is clear that Malinowski would have liked to find in the classifiers a taxonomy of reference to the Kiriwinan world, with each item having membership exclusively in one class and a unique place in the total structure.

Some parts of the total body of Kiriwinan classifiers do in fact exhibit a structured relationship of inclusion which is taxonomic. In particular those classifiers which I identify as the five Basic Property Specifiers (see 5.4.3.1) do provide an imperfect taxonomy of reference to the world of items in the Kiriwinan world view. (For some of the taxonomic elements, particularly in relation to the classifiers functioning within the domain of human reference, see 5.4.3.1.1.) This however includes only a small part of the total body of Kiriwinan classifiers. While the use of a classifier in conjunction with a noun will *locate* that item precisely in relation to other items similarly specified, items are not for the most part uniquely located within a hierarchical arrangement or taxonomy of semantic reference.

An item may be specified by a number of classifiers, depending on the way in which a speaker is associating that item with other items. While there are some parts of the total corpus of classifiers which show a relationship of dependence and inclusion after the manner of a taxonomy, yet the overall pattern is one of multiple specification and flexibility of reference, rather than one of unique location.

5.3.4 PARADIGMATIC FUNCTION OF CLASSIFIERS

Becker (1975:111) notes in respect of Burmese classifiers that:

each numerative classifier is not independent of the others, nor is it derived inductively...The numerative classifier system, then, is not a folk taxonomy in which items are classified on the basis of objective features, but rather a system much more like a paradigm, in which items are located relationally.

Becker thus suggests that the paradigm rather than the taxonomy is a more helpful concept in an overall study of the Burmese classifiers, and the observations he makes in reference to Burmese may be seen to apply generally to the whole class of Kiriwinan classifiers.

In relation to Burmese, Becker observes (p.113), "One might speak of a river in at least eight contexts", so that for each context a different classifier labels the different way the speaker is speaking of the river – a place classified as other places, a concept classified as other concepts, a section classified as other sections, etc. Example (168) shows the same principle in operation in Kiriwinan – a piece of wood generally classified with other pieces of wood by means of Cl 3 *kai*- 'rigid, long' is first been spoken of as a piece obtained by the activity of cutting transversely by means of Cl 73 *bubo*- 'cut across' and then as a dish-like object by being classified by means of Cl 9 *kwela*- 'pot-like'. Thus the paradigms of transversely cut objects and disk-like objects show points of intersection for that speaker in relation to those pieces of wood.

One feature of the paradigmatic function of the Kiriwinan classifier is its frequent metaphorical use. Even though an item in most of its occurrences may stay within the

domain of one classifier, yet this never precludes some other classifier being applied as a vivid metaphor to that item, to show its possible association with other items not naturally associated with it.

For example, in translating the Gospel of John (Bible Society of Papua New Guinea 1979), I had to consider the use of expressions like 'the word', 'the way' and 'the true vine' as metaphors of the person or function of Jesus. In discussing this problem with my Kiriwinan colleagues I was informed that expressions like *Yesu maTAUna biga KWEkamokwita* 'Jesus that.person word thing.true' (John 1:1), *Yaegu keda maKADAna* 'I road that.road' (John 14:6) and *Yaegu maTAMna wainitoula* 'I that.sprouting vine.genuine' (John 15:1) constituted a clear use of the Kiriwinan words, and that such specifications by means of these classifiers (all of which were normally used for inanimate reference) could be acceptably applied as metaphors to an animate item. This was borne out for me on a later occasion when in a political discussion between Kiriwinans (when I was present) one speaker used the expression *nanamsa maKADAna* 'thinking that.way'. The noun *nanamsa* 'thinking, ideas' is normally included within the specificatory domain of Cl 5 *kwai*- 'thing', but on this occasion it was specified by Cl 54 *kada*- 'path', making 'path' into a metaphor for 'this way of thinking about something'.

Examples of the metaphorical use of Kiriwinan classifiers are given in section 5.4.5.4, where multiple specification of the same item by different classifiers introduces significant meaning change; speakers are able to use the classifier to show the semantic domains in which the item may, for them, conceivably lie. Becker (1975:118) comments in relation to Burmese that the complex locative pattern he reveals is best seen as "an applied metaphor" of relationship, where the natural or basic meaning for "head is to body" is applied metaphorically to things "located customarily at the same part in the system", although those things are not naturally or necessarily associated as the head is to the body. Allan (1977:296) also notes that the flexibility evident in the use of the classifiers may be described as metaphor or as innovation.

Situation context is frequently important in defining the function of the classifier. J. R. Firth (1957:118) concludes his study of Malinowski's linguistic contribution by saying, "his outstanding contribution to linguistics was his approach in terms of his general theory of speech functions in contexts of situation, to the problem of meaning". It was in his study of the classifiers that Malinowski (1935:35-36, 44-45, 51-52) especially invoked the importance of the "context of situation". He exploits fully the context of situation in elucidating meanings of some classifiers. In his conclusion to the paper on classificatory formatives Malinowski (1920:78) says:

The analysis of meaning again led us often to ethnographic description...we had to make excursions into ethnography, describe customs, and state social conditions. Thus linguistics without ethnography will fare as badly as ethnography would without the light thrown on it by language.

Friedrich (1970:384f.), in relation to Tarascan, notes that "patterns of paradigmatic replacement" may involve "the context of a particular speech situation, or class of such situations" which may affect the meaning of a classifier, and even "facetious or idiosyncratic usage" has to be taken into account. Other writers also draw attention to the essential

character of context for the determination of meaning (for Frake 1961⁶⁰ see 5.1.1.2; for Benton 1968 see 5.1.2.2; for Becker 1975 see 5.1.2.3).

The multiple specification which the Kiriwinan classifiers give, and the necessary use of contrastive contextual evidence to determine the extent of a semantic domain, show that the method used for identifying the meaning of the classifiers is not the locating of items within a taxonomy; rather it is a recognition of their paradigmatic function and of the rightful place items may have in a number of different domains. Thus for Kiriwinan, as for Burmese, the “choice of classifier...is dependent on the speech act one is performing” (Becker 1975:113).

While the isolation of a common meaning in a group of lexical items is the basic method followed in the examination of a semantic domain, this common meaning feature is also observed to be in itself a powerful semantic label which may be applied naturally, or componentially, or metaphorically as the specification of other items not regularly within that domain. (Examples of items being specified within a number of different domains for these sorts of reasons are given in 5.4.2.)

To illustrate, I give one fully extended example of the breadth of classifier reference which may be applied to one item. The lowly stick of tobacco has been in evidence in Kiriwinan society for about a hundred years and, because of its potential for division as well as for inclusion in various different groupings, it serves to illustrate the range of specifying powers of the classifiers in dividing and grouping. The detail of this potential is set out in Table 18.

We see three different sorts of specification set out there, to do with a) specification of the whole item, b) specification of ways in which it is grouped and c) ways in which it is divided.

a) There are four classifiers listed in the table which specify, in some way, the whole stick of tobacco:


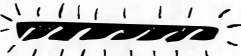

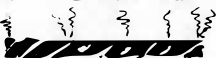




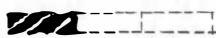
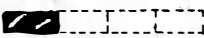

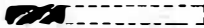




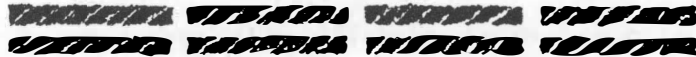

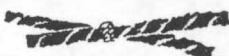

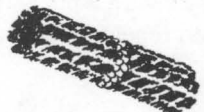
1. *KAItala tobaki* ‘one.rigid/long tobacco’ (Cl 3);
2. *maBUBULOna* ‘that which has been made’ (Cl 35);
3. *maBUKOna* ‘that.concealed by burying’ (Cl 36);
4. *maPWASAna* ‘that which is rotten and useless’ (Cl 43).

b) Then there are ten classifiers which specify the way a stick of tobacco may be divided. Three of these show how a part stick of tobacco may be specified without reference to its size:

5. *PILAtala tobaki* ‘one part stick’ (Cl 91) – does not refer to the size of the part, but specifies only that it has been divided;
6. *BUBOtaIa* ‘a part obtained by transverse cutting (e.g. with a knife)’ (Cl 73) – the specification is of the mode of division;
7. *VILItala* ‘one untwisted part of stick (of tobacco)’ (Cl 74) – again the specification is of the mode of division, that obtained by untwisting or unravelling one strand from the stick (which is formed like a rope by twisting together two approximately equal strands of tobacco fibres).

⁶⁰ Frake (1961:198) comments “Subanun disease terminology well illustrates the proviso...that the meaning of a linguistic form is a function of the total situation, linguistic and non-linguistic, in which the form is used”.

TABLE 18: 'HOW MANY SMOKES IN A STICK OF TOBACCO?'

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>KAl</i> tala "one rigid/long"
 | 2. <i>maBUBUL</i> Ona "that-made"
 |
| 3. <i>maBUK</i> Ona "that buried"
 | 4. <i>maPWAS</i> Ana "that-rotten"
 |
| 5. <i>PIL</i> Atala "piece-one"
 | 6. <i>BUB</i> Otala "cut across-one"
 |
| 7. <i>VIL</i> Itala "untwisted-one"
 | 8. <i>KABUL</i> Otala "half-one"
 |
| 9. <i>LAPOU</i> tala "third-one"
 | 10. <i>KATUP</i> Otala "quarter-one"
 |
| 11. <i>GUM</i> tala "small piece-one"
 | 12. <i>GIBU</i> tala "sufficient-one"
 |
| 13. <i>KUW</i> Otala "crumb-one"
 | 14. <i>maUTU</i> sina "those-scrap"
 |
| 15. <i>GUL</i> Otala "heap-one"
 | 16. <i>maKAP</i> Ona "that-parcel"
 |
| 17. <i>KAS</i> Ayu "line-two"
 | 18. <i>PUL</i> Itala "bunch-one"
 |
| 19. <i>UW</i> Otala "two bundle-one"
 | 20. <i>YULAI</i> tala "four bundle-one"
 |
| | 21. <i>IK</i> Atala "ten of yulai-one"
 |

Seven classifiers specify the size (more or less precisely) of the separated piece of tobacco in relation to the whole stick:

8. *KABULotala tobaki* 'one half stick of tobacco' (CI 89);
9. *LAPOUotala* 'one third stick of tobacco' (CI 75), usually, but see 10.;
10. *KATUPOotala* (CI 90) – may refer to a third or a quarter of a stick, usually half of 8. above;
11. *GUMtala* (CI 76) – half of either 9. or 10.;
12. *GIBUotala* (CI 77) – enough for one smoke of tobacco (usually as a cigarette rolled in newspaper). The actual quantity may be equal to 10. or 11. or even made up of a gathering of scraps as specified by 14.;
13. *KUWOotala* 'tiny speck or crumb, recognisable as tobacco but too small to bother about' (CI 78);
14. *maUTUSina tobaki* 'those scraps of tobacco' (CI 79) – refers to small pieces still worth keeping, such as the last remnants of one's pouch; on occasions refers to the scraps thrown away as rubbish.

c) Finally, seven classifiers refer to different groupings of sticks of tobacco:

15. *GULOotala* 'one heap of random size' (CI 101);
16. *maKAPONa tobaki* 'that parcel of sticks of tobacco' (CI 109);
17. *KASAYu tobaki* 'two lines of sticks of tobacco' (CI 133);
18. *PULItala tobaki* 'one bundle, about 2-6 sticks' (CI 136);
19. *UWOotala* 'a two-stick bundle of tobacco' (CI 138);
20. *YULAIotala* 'a four-stick bundle of tobacco' (CI 141);
21. *IKAtala* 'a bundle of ten of the *yulai*- bundles of tobacco' (CI 145).

5.3.5 REPEATERS

Next we look at the Kiriwinan classifiers which function in most of their occurrences like repeaters. That I cannot claim for them the status of true repeaters will be evident from a comparison of their role with that played by repeaters in other languages.

In his study of Trukese, Benton has found applicable the insights of Hla Pe's work in Burmese (see 5.1.2.2). Of special relevance here is Benton's definition of the repeater role in Trukese, where he states (1968:116) that "a repeater is a classificatory base having the same underlying phonological form as the noun it classifies, and which does not occur with nouns having different underlying forms". He specifically excludes from the repeater class those classifiers which "may occur with nouns other than" those which have the same underlying form (p.117). His distinction within the group of Trukese repeaters of one subgroup which he labels 'covert repeaters' (i.e. classifiers which "may always be followed by a noun with the same underlying form, to which a second noun is linked attributively" – p.118) provides us with a phenomenon parallel to some Kiriwinan classifiers. He illustrates (p.117) the covert repeaters with the following examples:

<i>e-pwopw</i>	<i>pwopwu-n</i>	<i>pwuna</i>	<i>e-pwopw</i>	<i>pwuna</i>
tuber	tuber	taro		
one tuber of taro			one tuber (of) taro	

which may be paralleled by such Kiriwinan examples as:

- (169) *maPONINAna ponana*
 that.hole hole
 that hole
- maPONINAna ponane-la waga*
 that.hole hole-its canoe
 that holed canoe
- maPONINAna waga*
 that.hole canoe
 that holed canoe
- (170) *maTAMna tam*
 that.sprout sprout
 that sprout
- maTAMna kala tam taitu*
 that.sprout its sprout *taitu.yam*
 that sprout of *taitu yam*
- maTAMna taitu*
 that.sprout *taitu.yam*
 that sprout of *taitu yam*

Thus if the category of covert repeaters suggested by Benton may be regarded as true repeaters, then in this sense I may claim that some Kiriwinan classifiers function as repeaters. However the relationship between nouns and this sort of classifier is, as Benton (1968:111) notes, "more complex" than that between nouns and classifiers which specify components. This greater complexity is to be seen in those classifiers with a morphological similarity to verbs, such as Cl 11 *tam-* 'sprout' and Cl 17 *lilou-* 'journey'.

The Activity Specifier classifiers (see 5.4.4.2) are morphologically related to verb forms and in their function this same complexity may be observed, when the classifier operates in a complex NP having a potential of dual specification, as in (169) and (170). It should be noted, in regard to this more complex relationship between some classifiers and nouns, that Adams, Becker and Conklin suggest the relationship to be more than merely classificatory. They note (1975:13) that, since the total meaning of a phrase is the meaning of a classifier and its noun, when a classifier acts as a nominalising representative of a noun and is then followed by a different noun, this is "a form of compounding rather than classification" (see 5.1.2.5).

5.3.6 NOUN-FREE CONSTRUCTIONS

I must now make brief reference to those subclassifiers which function, to use Allan's (1977:306) term, as "noun-free" constructions.

There are a number of classifiers in Kiriwina which function most frequently in NPs without any noun appearing at all. These include *kala-* 'passage of day', *bugi-* 'passage of night', *siva-* 'number of times doing something' and *uva-* 'span measure'. These classifiers may be a later stage in the historical development of those classifiers identified above as akin to Benton's "covert repeaters" in that the head noun, generally rendered redundant to some degree by the classifier, is in this case permanently deleted and never appears in a phrase with that classifier. Thus the classifier *kala-* 'day', which further specifies time reference within the domain of *kwai-* specification, is used as a noun-free classifier with a numeral, as in *KALA-yu* 'day-two' without either *yam* 'day' or *kalasia* 'sun' appearing in the phrase.

Allan (1977:307) suggests:

since all these noun-free constructions function as adverbials of distance, duration, frequency, etc., and since the function of adverbials is to modify verbs, it is reasonable to suppose that they are in-construction-with verbs, or else with the propositions in which the verbs are predicates, and not with nouns at all.

The Kiriwina example of a verb stem incorporating *kala-* 'passage of day' (see Appendix 3) gives some support to the suggestion made by Allan, as also do the use of *siva-* and *bugi-* in time-reference phrases. It must be noted however that there are still times when each of these is used as a classifier functioning as other classifiers within the NP.

5.3.7 SOME CLASSIFIERS ANALOGOUS TO REPEATERS

Other Kiriwina classifiers, in the majority of their occurrences, may be seen to specify the nouns of which they are the phonological counterparts. These classifiers may also occur alternatively with phonetically different nouns which have similar meanings to those which they generally repeat. Thus these classifiers may not be called repeaters, as Benton's "covert repeater" may be followed by the two nouns in a complex relationship, which is not the case here. Rather they are classifiers which act as labels for a more limited or more specific semantic domain, and confirm the suggestion of Adams, Becker and Conklin (1975:6) that a classifier analogous to the repeater, repeating its own form and others as well, is a feature of some classifier languages (see 5.1.2.5).

One example must be considered in reference to this classifier operating in a fashion analogous to the repeater. Although *maKUMLOna daram* 'that oven drum' or *maKUMLOna sitovi* 'that oven stove' are modern specifications of this classifier, such specifications as these are rare; that almost always encountered with the classifier *kumlo-* is *maKUMLOna kumkumla* 'that oven oven'. In studying the domains of the subclassifiers in section 5.4 several are noted which have extremely limited specification beyond their own phonological counterparts; Cl 15 *tuto-* 'time' is an example of a very limited domain, seldom specifying anything other than *tuta maTUTOna* 'time that time'. On the other hand Cl 7 *kwela-* 'pot' labels a larger domain, specifying its phonological counterpart in *maKWELAna*

kulia 'that pot pot' and also nouns such as *viga* 'cup' and *bolu* 'coconut-shell saucepan'. The difference between those classifiers which function almost exclusively in a fashion analogous to repeaters (merely reiterating their phonetically similar noun) and those which generally work in the same way but with a somewhat wider domain of reference, must be seen as one of degree, not as a sharply defined contrast between two different morpheme classes.

Allan (1977:295) speaks of classifiers like Benton's Trukese repeaters with some degree of puzzlement "that unique classifiers should exist, because they reduplicate in full the information carried by the associated noun". Allan quotes Kiriwian *sa-* 'bunches of betel-nut' (Cl 99) as an example of "unique classifiers". His information here is however in error, as this classifier does not in fact uniquely specify the entity 'bunch of betel-nut' (see 5.4.4.4.2); there is not in fact any noun form phonetically identical to the classifier *sa-*. It may be used with a number of nouns descriptive of a number of different types of betel-nut, or of betel-nut at different stages of maturity; in addition it may specify bunches of nuts that look like betel-nut but are inedible (e.g. *kimkimta* and *pulopola*). This classifier does however function as the classifier for 'bunch of betel-nut' more frequently than for any other item.

Allan's suggestion of a reason for such a limited specifying role is however manifestly applicable to the Kiriwian situation, as he says (p.295) the "objects denoted are prized possessions [in the community]". It is noted above that, when a society has a practical interest in precise information for some technical or specialist area of the culture, in that area there will be a proliferation of classifiers, and it is in such areas of precise delineation that the Kiriwian classifiers with a role analogous to the repeaters are found to occur most frequently.

It may be noted in reference to 'king yam', the cultural fulcrum of Kiriwian society, that Malinowski (1920:53-54) has pointed out the zero classifier morpheme operating only here in reference to yam statistics. What could well be pointed out in addition is the large number of classifiers employed specifically for the technical areas of yam culture: Cl 11-13 in reference to the growing vine; Cl 46-50 which generally apply to the yam garden divisions; and many others which specify special groupings, quanta etc.

5.3.8 CLASSIFIERS, DELETION AND DISCOURSE COHESION

There are no instances in Kiriwian of the unique association of a classifier and a noun. In view however of the large number of classifiers with limited domains having a function analogous to the repeaters, the question must still be asked as to what role is played by the use of such classifiers with such precise or limited specifications. Benton (1968:111) says in reference to Trukese that the "classifier simply 'reflects' certain features of the noun; and is of no special significance except that its presence is required by the structure of the Trukese numeral".

I note in 5.2 that the presence of Kiriwian classifiers is likewise obligatory if the deictic, some numerals and some adjectives are to have existence as words, and there are thus many

occasions where the classifier element within a word simply echoes the noun. This happens most frequently with those classifiers which function like repeaters.

<i>gwadi maGUDI</i> na	that child
<i>tuta maTUTO</i> na	that time
<i>NIGU</i> tala <i>nigwa</i>	one nest
<i>kova maKOVA</i> na	that fire

There is more than mere repetition here however. The functional value for the Kiriwinan speaker of the highly specific classifier is to be seen in its syntagmatic functions. For this repeating-type classifier introduces that measure of redundancy into the speaker's message which aids regular deletion processes within the NP so that the classifier morpheme remains embedded within some word as a fragmentary representation of the deleted head noun. This regular process of pronominalisation makes it easy for nouns to drop out of speech after their initial occurrence; once they have appeared and been associated with a classifier, they may disappear for the course of several sentences. The conversation of the speakers continues to make unambiguous reference to the deleted head noun by means of the classifier.⁶¹

It is important to observe this process of deletion within the NP, as the overall linguistic justification for the Kiriwinan classifier system is probably found here. Deletion without loss of meaning would be possible if a high proportion of redundancy was introduced by the speaker; because of the obligatory relationship between the classifier, and the elements of deixis, number and adjective, a great deal of redundancy is present in the NP. Thus deletion is aided and abetted by the classifiers; there is a cohesion of discourse effected by the classifier morpheme class in spite of an apparently reckless deletion of head nouns in many NPs.

The following sets of examples show deletion in the NP. They consist of sequences of NPs as they occurred within conversations; the subject matter involved a development of information about, or specification of, one head noun. There are seven sets, and some discussion on the classifiers follows each set. It would be tedious to give the entire context of each example, thus only the relevant phrases are given, and between them there could be one or more sentences.

- (171) *Kuvi taitu KWAIVakaveka...*
 yam.type yam.type thing.pl.big
 Those big *kuvi* and *taitu* yams...
- Igaugwa, kuvi maTAMna...*
 another.time yam.type that.sprout
 Well, later that shooting *kuvi* tuber...
- ...maTAMna...*
 that.sprout
 ...that sprouting *kuvi*... [head noun deleted]

⁶¹ This process of deletion is not however an automatic or obligatory process. For example, in the formal telling of a legend the whole NP (without head noun deletion) is generally used.

The Basic Property Specifier Cl 5 *kwai*- 'thing', used initially in reference to two different types of yams, has been replaced by Cl 12 *tam*- to specify one of the two yam types in particular, in a stage of early growth. When in the third phrase the head noun is deleted with the second classifier (*tam*-) being retained there is no impairment of meaning.

- (172) *Avai tuta buki bima...* *E maPILAna PILAkekita ima.*
 what time book it.will.come well that.flat flat.little it.came
 When the book comes... Then that little book came. [head noun deleted]

The classifier Cl 91 *pila*- 'anything laterally divided' has come to have the feature specification of 'flat' (as a split log), which is applied to the modern item 'book'. Here the context of situation rather than the co-occurrence of *pila* and *buki* has resulted in the unambiguous deletion of the head noun. No other noun was used between the two clauses, so there is no ambiguity of reference.

- (173) *Vai gala baka-koma-si.*
 stingray not we.will-eat-pl
 We don't eat stingray.
 ...*yena miNAna... miNAna yena...*
 fish that.animal that.animal fish
 ...that fish...that particular fish...
Gala gagabila baka-koma-si miNAna.
 not possible we.will-eat-pl that.animal
 We can't possibly eat that fish. [head noun deleted]

The Basic Property Specifier Cl 2 *na*₁- 'nonhuman' has broad reference, but with only one noun introduced there is no ambiguity. In this sequence, which covered 17 sentences, no other noun within the same domain was introduced and so deletion without ambiguity was possible, with *na*- referring only to 'stingray' throughout.

- (174) ...*si kaiboi...*
 their firewood
 ...their firewood...
si kaiboi BOvakaveka...
 their firewood cut.across.pl.big
 their cut pieces of firewood...
 ...*GULOveka...*
 heap.big
 ...a big heap of firewood [head noun deleted]
kaiboi maKAIIna...
 firewood that.rigid
 ...that stick of firewood...

A single bundle of firewood (straight things laid side by side and tied) would be specified by Cl 107 *luva*- 'tied bundle' but the speaker wished to specify that the gatherer was enthusiastic, so she used *bo*- (allomorph of Cl 73 *bubo*-) 'cut' to specify thick pieces of

timber which had to be cut. The classifier Cl 101 *gulo-* ‘heap’ would normally specify a randomly stacked heap of anything, but in this context the heap would be composed of bundles tossed on top of each other, a very big heap indeed. Finally the speaker wished to specify just one stick of wood and so she reinstated the head noun (deleted in the previous NP) and reclassified it with the Basic Property Specifier as a single item. It is important to note that the reclassification is done with the full NP incorporating the head noun so there is no ambiguity at any point.

(175) ...*valu maKWAIna tomota-la...*
 village that.thing people-its
 ...those villagers...

Bi-kasa-si KASAYu KASlwonaku sainela.
 they.will-line-pl line.two line.long very.much
 They will form two very long lines.

The classifier Cl 133 *kasa-* specifies anything in lines; as there is no other noun introduced between the classifier and the NP having ‘people’ as head noun it can only refer to lines of people. It is interesting to see here the morphological relationship between the classifier and the verb in the second clause; this is a good example of the more complex relationship where a classifier is compounding a verb phrase rather than classifying the noun.

(176) ...*kai maKAlna...*
 tree that.rigid
 ...that tree...

MaKAlna ibobu.
 that.rigid he.cut
 He cut the tree. [head noun deleted]

Ammakala maBUBOsina?
 what.about that.cut.pl
 What about those cut-off pieces of tree?

Ku-lopipili PILA-tala.
 you-roll part-one
 Roll one cut-off section of tree.

Any timber is specified by the Basic Property Specifier Cl 3 *kai-* ‘rigid/long’ but the full NP had first to be stated before the regular deletion took place. The classifiers which follow form an interesting sequence of classification by activity specification and partition specification of the same deleted head noun, and the whole sequence gives us an example of the aid which classifier reference gives to discourse cohesion.

(177) *Bi-kopwai-si tomata.*
 they.will-lift-pl corpse
 They will lift up the corpse.

Bi-kapolai-si tomata miNAna.
 they.will-enshroud-pl corpse that.nonhuman
 They will wrap the corpse in a shroud.

...uule-la mTOna tomata i-kaliga...
 reason-its that.human corpse he-die
 ...the reason why he died...

The regular specification of a corpse is by means of the Basic Property Specifier Cl 2 *na1-* 'nonhuman'. In this sequence there is no deletion of the head noun however as the speaker is making a significant reclassification and has to make it clear that the original head noun is the item referred to.

The seven sequences of text illustrate the processes of deletion in the NP as aided by the classifier (the processes of reclassification sometimes involving continued deletion and sometimes reinstatement of the head noun) and also the circumstances under which deletion could not take place. The place of the classifier is central in all such NP activity, aiding deletion, promoting the more specific delineation of the speaker's meaning and correlating all the processes of change within the NP in such a way as to structure the discourse in terms of the semantic domains it labels.

5.3.9 CLASSIFIERS – LINGUISTIC CORRELATES TO PERCEPTION

In concluding this section, a comment of Allan's is pertinent. Observing the broad similarities between noun classes in many languages he feels justified in asserting (1977:308) the:

essential similarity of man's response to his environment. There can be no doubt that classifiers reflect perceptual groupings, and that reclassification can be used to indicate the speaker's evaluation of what he perceives as unusual. To say that a classifier has meaning is to say that it indicates the perceived characteristics of the entities which it classifies; in other words, classifiers are linguistic correlates to perception.

5.4 THE CLASSIFIERS – SEMANTICS

5.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The classifier in Kiriwinan is a major formal manifestation of what Friedrich (1970:379) calls the "semantic substructure of language". My concern in this section is the semantic role of the Kiriwinan classifiers. By studying the semantic domain which each classifier delineates it is possible to determine the components of meaning which each classifier specifies, and the additional information which it is the function of some classifiers to add to the NP. Also a comparison of the various semantic domains provides interesting insights into the predominantly paradigmatic function of the structures and into the taxonomy of world-view reference which some classifiers provide.

Some of the similarities between the classifier roles which various modern writers have described and the role of the Kiriwinan classifiers have been noted already (5.2, 5.3) and further points of comparison and contrast are shown throughout this section.

It is clear from the study of NP deletion processes, coupled with the semantic continuity or cohesion which the classifier gives to discourse, that the major role of the classifier is semantic rather than syntactic. While on occasions the only reason a classifier appears is because of its obligatory relationship with deictics, some adjectives and numerals, in most instances the classifier specifies certain elements of components of items and so is used as a means of specific reference. The multiple specifications of one item by a large number of classifiers (see 5.2.4) shows not only that meaning may be precisely delineated by the use of one particular classifier but also that various different aspects or extensions or modifications of the meaning of an item are possible by varying the classifier specification. Thus by means of a close study of the whole class of morphemes which we call *classifiers* it is possible to state with some precision the semantic domains of the classifiers and to see the way in which they are organised as a class of morphemes or how they function together to describe the whole cognisable world of the Kiriwinan speaker.

Classifiers in Kiriwinan form a closed class, and all modern and introduced phenomena are easily and naturally specified by use of the classifiers which regularly function within the vocabulary of the Kiriwinan speaker. The 147 classifiers which are listed in this study, together with a number of allomorphic forms, constitute the entire range of reference of the Kiriwinan speaker who uses the Kavataria dialect. However different areas of expertise in different dialect areas of Kiriwina would furnish the researcher with additional forms or with different boundaries to the semantic domains.

It must be clearly stated at the outset that many of the classifiers listed here are rarely found. In all the taped and typed text in my possession probably only one third to one half of the lexical items I list do in fact occur, and among those which do occur in my data perhaps 15 or 20 stand out as having a functional load of about 95 percent of the total usage. The multiplicity of forms which are studied here have come to me because a number of informants with whom I worked recognised the interest this morpheme class held for me and responded in a characteristic fashion over several years by volunteering information about lexical items within this class. Thus I believe my listing of the classifiers is complete at 147, although with Malinowski (1920:44) I add, "most likely a few of the very obsolete areas escaped my attention".

Malinowski's list of "classificatory formatives" numbers only 42, which seems to be a surprising discrepancy when compared with the 147 in my data. It may be that his shorter time in Kiriwina, plus his absorption in a wide range of cultural interest, precluded his thorough investigation of this morpheme class.

The possibility of rapid language change cannot be completely ruled out; as Dixon (1982:233) notes:

A. Diller (p.c.) reports...the number of forms that can be used as classifiers in the traditional function of counting new-information items is constantly increasing; newspapers may now use five hundred or more classifiers whereas a generation ago there would have been less than half as many.

However the Kiriwinan scene is not one of rapid increase; during my eleven years' residence there I recorded the classifiers as a closed and stable class, and any attempts I made at innovation were steadfastly rejected by Kiriwinans. It is also important to record that loan words have not been permitted to function as classifiers; the only possibility offered as an exception to this (*maGIRISIna* 'that (grease – in reference to semen)',⁶² I believe, is an example of Kiriwinan humour exercised in its most frequent area, rather than an indication of a morpheme class open to innovation. Thus my explanation of the discrepancy between Malinowski's small amount of data and my larger amount is that his was defective, for reasons stated, and does not arise from a language-change situation.

The classifier is similar to what is described in other languages as the *numeral classifier* (e.g. Adams, Becker & Conklin; Friedrich; Allan). While in Kiriwinan it is an obligatory part of most numerals, it functions also as an obligatory part of the deictic and of some adjectives as well. Thus for Kiriwinan the term is, as Allan (1977:286) suggests for some other languages, "something of a misnomer". Therefore I use the simple term *classifier* through this work.

The method used for this study is to view collectively the lexical items which each classifier may specify and to contrast the semantic domains which are thus specified by the classifiers. Within each domain the aim is to identify the component or components of meaning the particular classifier is specifying.

5.4.2 THE CLASSIFIERS – TWO GROUPS

Kiriwinan classifiers refer comprehensively to the world of items, actions and thoughts which form the speaker's world-view; thus I use as a descriptive label of this cognitive world the term *speaker's world-view*. The 147 classifiers, which constitute the membership of the whole class, may be conveniently divided into two groups (see Figure 2).

The 34 classifiers in the first group specify whole items in terms of their features or properties. The speaker's entire world-view may be specified by this group of classifiers, insofar as the specification is of whole items or individual (i.e. ungrouped) items

(178) *waga KAI-tala*
canoe rigid-one
one canoe

The second group contains 113 classifiers which classify items in terms of some modification they have undergone. Modification of items is conveniently divisible into three categories, labelled *activity*, *partition* and *arrangement*.

⁶² This was reported to me orally by a European fieldworker in anthropology from UPNG (Kilivila dialect area).

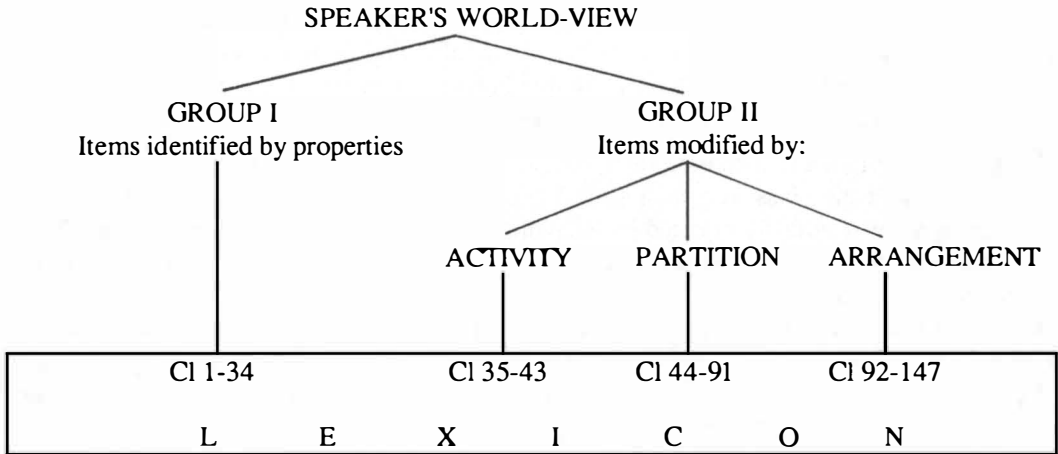


FIGURE 2: THE CLASSIFIER GROUPS

The category specifying activity modification contains 9 classifiers termed *activity specifiers*, as they specify actions which have been applied to, or which have affected, whole items.

(179) *waga maPONINAna*
 canoe that.holed
 that leaking canoe

The second category contains 48 classifiers which specify items in terms of their partition. Items are here identified when they have undergone partition into pieces or when their parts may be separately specifiable. Semantic incompatibility limits the partitive specification of some lexical items (e.g. many non-material wholes are not specifiable in terms of partition).

(180) *waga maKABULOna* *waga maBUBOna*
 canoe that.nose canoe that.cut.transversely
 that canoe prow that canoe cut apart

The third category has 56 classifiers which specify groups or arrangements of items. Items are here identified as semantic compatibility allows, in terms of the groups they may form or the positions they may occupy in relation to other whole items.

(181) *waga KASA-tala* *waga TUPILA-veka*
 canoe line-one canoe fleet-big
 a line of canoes a large fleet of canoes

This broad outline of the different sorts of classifier specification shows that we do not find in the whole group of classifiers a taxonomic order or reference frame which uniquely locates items, but we find a paradigm of reference which associates items by their state as a result of some activity, by their partition or by their arrangements into lines, groups, certain quanta etc. An imperfect taxonomic ordering of the world-view of items by means of the classifiers is found within the Group I classifiers, but a hierarchy of dependence and inclusion is clearly not the function of the whole morpheme class of classifiers. Rather they

are to be seen as a powerful means of specifying different things about the same items, using the domains of the classifiers either as a natural means of association of items or as a means of metaphorical attaching of components to items not normally so specified. These suggestions about the function of the classifiers are examined in detail as each group is considered.

In considering the groups of classifiers I endeavour to identify the semantic components which each specifies, and thus identify the domain of each classifier. Where one classifier adequately exemplifies several others the detailed examination of the one is taken as sufficient explication for others within that subgroup; otherwise each classifier is given individual treatment. The classifier is seen as a semantic label for a domain. The total inclusion of some domains within other larger domains will be seen, as the classifiers labelling those domains are found to function within the domain of another classifier. In this I am following Benton (1968:136), who says "I intend to use the concept of 'domain' to include groupings of classifiers marked explicitly for the same features, and which may or may not be used contrastively with the same noun".

In discussing meanings it is frequently necessary to study items within domains in terms of their particular cultural environment or context; as Friedrich (1970:379) points out, when areas of apparent polysemy and metaphor are "treated in terms of the culturally specific classes of contexts" this will "generally disambiguate their meaning". Thus sundry incursions into ethnosemantics are necessary.

5.4.3 GROUP I CLASSIFIERS

The Group I classifiers in Figure 2 consist of those which specify whole items, taking no account of the way they have been divided or arranged.

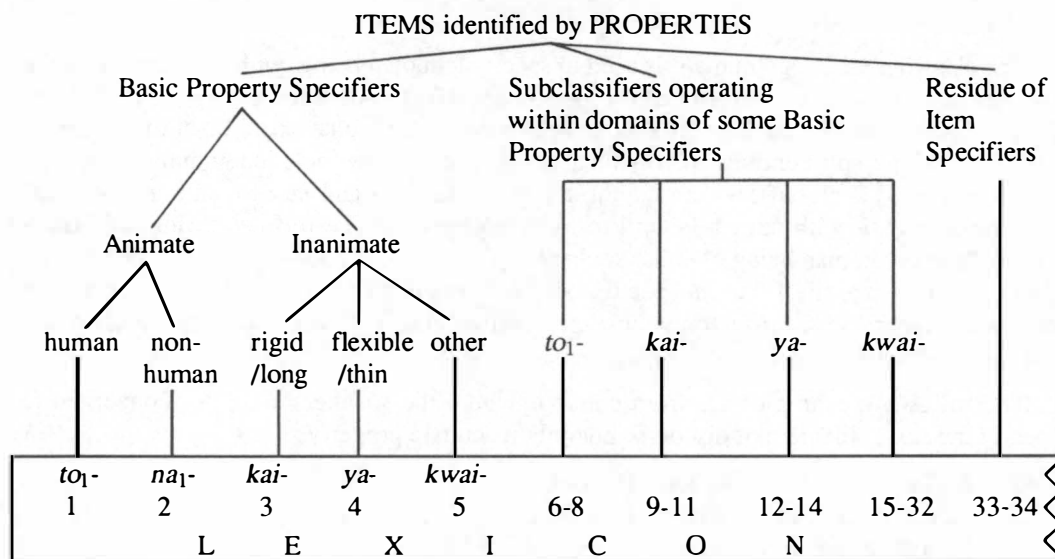


FIGURE 3: CLASSIFIERS WHICH SPECIFY WHOLE OR UNDIVIDED ITEMS

Figure 3 gives in tree form the full scope of this group. We have three categories shown. The first consists of 5 classifiers which give universal reference to the speaker's world-view of items both material and non-material; these are labelled *Basic Property Specifiers*. The second consists of 27 classifiers which operate within the domains of four of the 5 Basic Property Specifiers. The third category is a small residue of 2 item-specifying classifiers which do not operate within those four domains.

5.4.3.1 BASIC PROPERTY SPECIFIERS

The Basic Property Specifiers demand at this stage a large share of attention because of their virtually universal specification of whole items and because of the high frequency of their occurrence. Thus I give full attention to the five domains into which the cognisable world of the Kiriwinan speaker is divided by means of their specifying functions. They comprise a taxonomy of reference to all whole or ungrouped items in the speaker's world-view.

Cl 1	<i>to</i> ₁ -	human
Cl 2	<i>na</i> ₁ -	nonhuman
Cl 3	<i>kai</i> -	rigid/long
Cl 4	<i>ya</i> -	flexible/thin
Cl 5	<i>kwai</i> -	thing

The classifiers *to*₁- and *na*₁- specify the animate world and some related items. The classifiers *kai*-, *ya*- and *kwai*- specify the inanimate world. As each of these is considered I include comments on the subclassifiers which function within each domain.

5.4.3.1.1 *to*- HUMAN SPECIFICATION

The classifier Cl 1 *to*₁- 'human' is used to specify a human being, without committing the speaker as to the sex or maturity of the person specified. All titles and terms to do with people functioning in public office or people having particular skills or abilities are so specified. Major spirit entities and mythical beings are likewise included within this domain of reference. This classifier occurs in three forms – *to*-, *tau*- and *tai*-; *to*- and *tau*- are used with deictics, *tai*- with numerals, and *to*- with adjectives. The form *to*- originates from *tomota* 'person, human being of either sex' and *tau*- is from the noun *tau* 'adult male human'. Apart from its classifier use *tai*- occurs only in compound forms such as the exclusive reference numeral *kasi-tai-yu* 'only those-person-two', that is 'those two people and no-one else', which is used either of men or women.

The following examples are from contexts where the speakers were not concerned to specify the sex of the item of discourse but only its human property.

- (182) *Kaina TAI-tala tomota b-i-kaliga...*
 maybe person-one person FUT-he-die
 Perhaps one will die...

Here the speaker's concern is to speak of some death customs as they apply to everyone. The same speaker went on:

- (183) *Kidamwa TAI-tala makala ina-gu b-i-kaliga...*
 if person-one like mother-my FUT-he-die...
 If someone, for example my mother, should die...

It is clear that the speaker was thinking only of death as the theme of his statement so he used a random example, in this case a woman. In the next sentence he coupled his elder brother and his mother as examples, still using the same classifier to specify them.

A final example comes from an occasion when a group consisting of some men and a woman was specified.

- (184) *se-maiasi maTAUsina*
 friend-ourEXCL that.person.pl
 these friends of ours

The specification of a woman by to_1 - is rare; the situational context of such an utterance rarely occurs in such a way that it is necessary to make a generalised comment about people and to specify at the same time one person. However the above examples give a clear indication of the semantic domain of to_1 - as specifying human beings regardless of sex. The predominating role of this Basic Property Specifier is to classify items by reference to the inherent humanity which is their common property.

The specification of major spirit entities by to_1 - needs some attention. When a spirit is so specified the speaker is identifying that spirit as having the property of humanity or as behaving in a characteristically human way, which places it in the domain of human specification. This anthropomorphism of certain spirits occurs in the telling of legends, as for example when the Kavataria dialect speaker tells the story of Dokanikani, the cannibal monster.

- (185) *MaTAUna Dokanikani b-i-ma b-i-koma.*
 that.person Dokanikani FUT-he-come FUT-he-devour
 That Dokanikani will come and eat him.

In the Kavataria area the legendary figure is seen as a giant human and so acts in a human way; thus he is specified by means of the classifier to_1 - 'human'. Other dialect areas however specify Dokanikani as either a gigantic pig or some animal monster, and in those areas it is specified by the classifier na_1 - 'nonhuman'.

Three subclassifiers operate within the domain of the Basic Property Specifier to_1 -.

- | | | |
|------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| Cl 6 | <i>to_2-</i> | male human |
| Cl 7 | <i>na_2-</i> | female human |
| Cl 8 | <i>gudi-</i> | immature human (sex unspecified) |

By looking at the semantic components specified by these three, which give more precise specification of the properties of some items within the domain of to_1 -, we are able to observe the multiple specification which some items may have, by means of which one item may be identified by a number of different classifiers, according to which specific property of that

item is referred to by the speaker. Consideration of Cl 7 *na*₂- ‘female human’ must be made as a preamble to our consideration of its homophonous form, the Basic Property Specifier Cl 2 *na*₁- ‘nonhuman’.

These three form an interlocking hierarchy of reference to human beings, where *to*₂- and *na*₂- specify male or female humans of all ages, thus effecting a division of the domain of *to*₁- ‘human’, but *gudi*- comprises a category which divides the domains of *to*₂- and *na*₂-; the immaturity of items specified with *gudi*- is contrasted with that of other items within the discourse specified by either *to*₂- or *na*₂-. On occasions this feature ‘immature’ is used on a comparative level, as when an old man may refer to a middle-aged man as *maGUDI**na* ‘that child’ specifying thus the feature of ‘immature (compared to me)’. These three classifiers operating within the domain of *to*₁- ‘human’ do however function as a taxonomy of dependence, with the lower-placed items specified by *gudi*- being totally included within the hierarchically related forms *to*₂- and *na*₂-.

I now wish to offer justification for the setting up of two homophonous pairs: *to*₁- and *to*₂-, and *na*₁- and *na*₂-. The existence of homophonous classifier forms is noted by Allan (1977:291), who says, “it often turns out that semantically distinct classes have homophonous classifier forms”.

When Kiriwinans wish to specify the sex of a person they use Cl 6 *to*₂- ‘male human’ and Cl 7 *na*₂- ‘female human’. While these have the same phonetic shape as the Basic Property Specifiers *to*₁- and *na*₁-, contextual evidence shows that they are homophonous forms, for different semantic domains are involved.

- (186) *B-i-bodi TAI-tala NA-tana GUDI-tala.*
 FUT-it-suit man-one woman-one child-one
 This will benefit each man, woman and child.

Here the classificatory limitation of Cl 6 *to*₂- is evident, as the speaker wishes to make an overall reference to three elements he sees within human society. Clearly here *to*₂- is ‘male adult’ in contrast to *na*₂- ‘female adult’ and *gudi*- ‘child’. If we were to interpret this as Cl 1 *to*₁- ‘human being – sex unspecified’ this would be an unnatural interpretation which would completely upset the balance of the tripartite reference to the audience. This threefold reference to humans is statistically frequent, especially in hortatory style, as is the same sort of reference to groups of people using only the first two nouns. In each case the translation could reasonably be ‘everyone’ or ‘everyone here’. Thus examples like (186) are frequently found in text supplemented with the summary comment:

- (187) *B-i-bodai-dasi goli.*
 FUT-it-suit-usINCL indeed
 It will satisfy all of us.

To make the differences quite clear, (186), which states the specifying force of Cl 6 *to*₂- ‘male human’ and Cl 7 *na*₂- ‘female human’, may be contrasted with (188), which is an example of Cl 1 *to*₁- ‘human’ and Cl 2 *na*₁- ‘nonhuman’ in their normal specifying roles.

- (188) *maTAUsina tomota deli miNASina mauna*
 that.human.pl people with that.nonhuman.pl animal
 those people and animals

There is one further consideration of the use of *to*₂- and *na*₂- for specifying male and female. Such a sex specification is possible by the use of these classifiers only when applied to human beings or human terms within the domain of *to*₁-. The specifications for male and female as applied to items within the domains of all other Basic Property Specifiers is by use of the adjectives *-mwala* 'male' and *-vivila* 'female'.⁶³ Thus male and female pawpaw trees are specified by the adjectives *KAI-mwala* and *KAI-vivila* respectively; male and female pigs by *NA-mwala* and *NA-vivila*; and certain magic stones are sex-specified by the terms *KWAI-mwala* and *KWAI-vivila*. The forms **TOMwala* and **TOvivila* do not occur. Thus the different specification for male and female human by using the classificatory reference of *to*₂- and *na*₂- strengthens the case for the independent status of these two forms.

Another example demonstrates in a different way the sex-specification of Cl 6 *to*₂- 'male human'.

- (189) *Gwadi TAI-tala latu-gu.*
 child man-one offspring-my
 This boy is my son.

Here the sex-specification of Cl 6 *to*₂- 'male human' applied to the unmarked-for-sex nouns *gwadi* 'child' and *latu-* 'offspring' is clear. If the purpose of the speaker was merely to relate himself for his hearers' information to some sex-unspecified child, he would have used the classifier *gudi-* 'immature human', as in the next example.

- (190) *Litu-sia*⁶⁴ *GUDI-vaka-veka.*
 offspring-their child-pl-big
 Their children are grownups.

We have seen in (182)–(184) that the sex of the person or persons specified is not a significant part of the speaker's message, and so *to*₁- 'human' specified indiscriminately men and women. But in (186) and (189) the sex-specification is clear, so that Cl 6 *to*₂- 'male human' is established by contrast with the specifications of other classifiers in the context of the utterance. Thus the existence of the forms *to*₁- and *to*₂- is supported.

The two problems (the existence of both homophonous pairs, *to-* and *na-*) are interwoven, and we now look at data which bears on the status of both forms. The plural deictic form *ma-TAU-si-na* 'that-person-pl-(that)' may be used, as in (184), to specify a mixed group of men and women, but it may never be used for a group of people and animals; (188) makes this point clear. On the other hand, the deictic plural form *mi-NA-si-na* 'that-nonhuman-pl-(that)' is never used to specify a mixed group of women and animals, while it is regularly used to specify a group made up of different kinds of animals, or animals and birds.

⁶³ Related forms are the nouns *mwala* 'husband' and *vivila* 'woman'.

⁶⁴ *Litu-* is an allomorph of *latu-* which occurs with all plural suffixal forms.

- (191) *miNAna* *vivila* *deli* *miNAna* *bolodila*
 that.female.human woman with that.nonhuman wild.animal
 the woman and the wild animal
- (192) *miNAsina* *bulumakau* *deli* *bunukwa*
 that.nonhuman.pl cattle with pig
 those cattle and pigs

It is significant that the parts of the group in (191) have to be specified with separate deictics, Cl 7 *na*₂- and Cl 2 *na*₁- respectively. But in the case of the mixed group in the next example there is no difficulty about its specification with a single deictic.

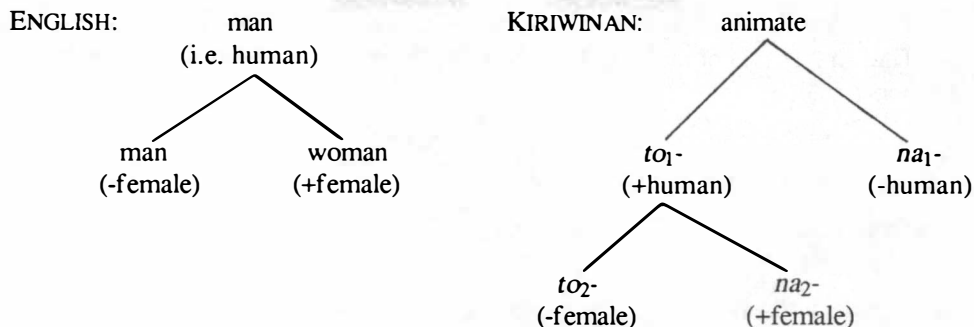
Malinowski (1920:45f.) in his study of the Kiriwinan “classificatory formatives” gives the gloss of *na*- as “persons of female sex; animals”⁶⁵ and this meaning has usually been adopted by other students of Kiriwinan culture. However the above examples have shown that Cl 6 *to*₂- and Cl 7 *na*₂- both stand in a relationship of dependence and inclusion within the domain of Cl 1 *to*₁- and that there are difficulties in the specification given by *na*- when women and animals form a mixed group. Thus I am led to the conclusion that *na*- specifies two different semantic domains.

Some other forms support this argument. When animals, usually specified by *na*₁-, are counted in groups of ten, the ten-groups may be specified by the classifier form Cl 143 *buluwo*- ‘ten-group (animals)’. Such a specification is never applied to the category of female human. Another example is seen in the use of an archaic classifier form *vi*- or *-i*- ‘female human’,⁶⁶ which in the deictics occasionally replaces *na*₂- in reference to female human. However the deictic *ma-VI-na* (or *ma-I-na*) is never used in reference to animals. If these different usages were plotted as two paradigms of the specification of female human and animal, then either *na*- would be seen as having two points of intersection, or the separate status of *na*₁- and *na*₂- would be set up for each paradigm. I believe that the evidence is strongly in support of different semantic domains for *na*₁- ‘animal’ and *na*₂- ‘female human’.

The relationship between *to*₁- and *to*₂- is perhaps better seen as being similar to that which Frake outlines for Subanun disease terminology, when he shows disease-name terms contrasting at different levels within a hierarchy. Specifically, he suggests (1961:195) the possibility that “one category totally includes another; it is superordinate and operates at a less specific *level of contrast*”. An example from Frake is the use of *nuka* both at the superordinate or “prodome” level as ‘skin disease’ and at the “terminal diagnostic category” as ‘eruption’ (p.198). A similar semantic contrast which closely parallels this may also be seen in English, which may be compared with Kiriwinan:

⁶⁵ See also p.68 where he cites the male and female distinction between animals.

⁶⁶ I include this form in my lexicon as an allomorph of *na*₂- but do not give it the status of a numbered classifier within the morpheme class.



The argument of symmetry within a pattern is also relevant. Symmetry in a pattern is not only a supportive datum for phonemic analysis (see Pike 1947:116f.) but must also be seen as having relevance in the consideration of semantic patterns. Thus Tyler's (1969:12) use of the "technique of *controlled eliciting*" is based on the assumption of symmetry and on an attempt to draw out the symmetry his informant recognises as valid. While it is true that the Kiriwinan domain of Cl 1 t_{01} - 'human' totally includes that of Cl 6 t_{02} - 'male human' yet the evidence cited which supports the separation of the domain of Cl 7 na_2 - 'female human' from Cl 2 na_1 - 'nonhuman' has also supported the separate domain of Cl 6 t_{02} - 'male human'. The evidence for symmetry of pattern in these two homophonous pairs of Kiriwinan classifiers is based on similarities and contrasts the Kiriwinan speaker sets up, and so may be offered as further support to the status of these four as two homophonous pairs.

Thus I conclude that the weight of evidence supports the separation of the forms t_{02} - 'male human' and na_2 - 'female human' as classifiers labelling semantic domains distinct from those of t_{01} - 'human' and na_1 - 'nonhuman'.

This study of the domain of the Basic Property Specifier t_{01} - 'human' with more precise specification of areas within its domain by means of t_{02} - 'male human', na_2 - 'female human' and *gudi*- 'immature human' has shown that Kiriwinan speakers recognise sameness within their world-view by means of the properties which the classifiers specify. Within the superordinate domain, items are associated on the basis of their humanity without reference to sex or maturity, or else they are given a more specific (or limited) reference by associating them within the subordinate domains. The subclassifiers are included within the domain of the Basic Property Specifier and specify some feature of the human entities – female or male, and immature. Membership within subordinate domains totally included within one superordinate domain is seen here. Whereas humanity per se may be specified only by Cl 1 t_{01} -, a man may be specified by Cl 1 t_{01} - 'human' and Cl 6 t_{02} - 'male human', a woman rarely by Cl 1 t_{01} - 'human' and regularly by Cl 7 na_2 - 'female human'; a child or immature adult may be specified as to the component of immaturity by Cl 8 *gudi*- 'immature human' or by t_{01} - 'human', t_{02} - 'male human' or na_2 - 'female human', according to contextual constraints. The classifier cannot be said to *modify* the item it specifies, in the sense of changing or limiting it; rather, the classifier isolates one property of the item it specifies and makes that property the basis of its grouping with other lexical items perceived as having the same property. The Kiriwinan speaker may use the Basic Property Specifier Cl 1 t_{01} - 'human' to specify all items within its domain or, for greater precision, may refer to smaller

sections of that domain by using the three which are totally included within the superordinate domain. Thus in this area of the classifiers there is clearly a taxonomic relationship between the classifiers.

5.4.3.1.2 *na*- NONHUMAN SPECIFICATION

The second Basic Property Specifier is Cl 2 *na*₁- 'nonhuman'.⁶⁷ Included within the domain of this classifier are:

- all animals, birds, fish, reptiles and insects (alive or dead);
- anything carved in the likeness of the human form;
- corpses;
- the spirits or ghosts of dead people, and some other spirits (those who dwell in rocks and trees);
- a certain type of oven-cooked food baked especially for consumption by spirits;
- all heavenly bodies (sun, moon, stars, meteors), and months.

This classifier alone of the five Basic Property Specifiers has no subclassifier operating within its domain, so no more precise specification of the whole items it specifies is possible.

- (193) *miNAsina mauna NA-yoyowa*
 that.animal.pl creature animal-flying
 those birds
- (194) *miNAna kwau*
 that.fish shark
 that shark
- (195) *tomata miNAna*
 corpse that.nonhuman
 that corpse

The gloss 'nonhuman' would serve as a specification for most of the items listed above as included in this semantic domain. Animal life in all its forms, and the world of spirit entities (notably the capricious and mischief-making beings who dwell in rocks, the tree-dwelling spirits who must be appeased when trees are felled and those who are called on when the wind direction needs to be changed) may all reasonably be specified as having the property of 'nonhuman'.

At first sight, however, corpses, carvings in human form, and heavenly bodies would seem to form a different group and would tempt the linguist to suppose further polysemy. But it is in the association of all three of these with the world of spirit beings that we find justification for their inclusion within the domain of *na*₁- 'nonhuman'.

The corpse has a powerful association for the first week after death tending towards actual identity with the *kosa* 'spirit of the newly dead'. For the Kiriwinan a corpse is no longer

⁶⁷ In the text examples quoted it is sometimes more helpful to give this classifier a gloss which approximates its meaning in that context, e.g. 'animal', 'fish'.

human but is by no means inanimate, as it has to be given proper reverence before burial and consulted after burial; dishonour or lack of due ceremony paid will inevitably bring down the *kosa* spirit in revenge or anger. The association of the corpse within the same semantic domain is thus a natural one. (A connective association between corpses and spirits is also noted below, in the discussion of *popula*.) Carved likenesses of human form are also not human, but magic and the use of carved likenesses of the human form have a number of close associations which could be exemplified.

Heavenly bodies have a number of connective associations through legend and some more direct associations which connect their movements with good or ill results for people – for example, the identification of the arc of a meteor with the nocturnal movements of the *mlukwausi* ‘ghoul spirit’ as it goes to find and ravage a victim (Malinowski 1922:241). Another connection may be identified in the association of the waning moon during *milamila* ‘(name of) month immediately following harvest and its feasting’ with the time of departure of spirits of ancestors from the village for the year (p.72). This association shows that the Kiriwinan speaker is able to attach the nonhuman property to the heavenly bodies.

Likewise, *popula* ‘food for spirit consumption’ (p.184) has a strong association with the spirit world and, although this item does not seem to the Western mind one a natural or easy association, is yet one which may be made, as this oven-cooked food made on the last day of the waning moon in *milamila* has that unique association of spirit-consumption, being placed outside during that night as a farewell feast for spirits due to return to their spirit village on that night for another year. Thus *popula* is given a regular place within the domain of *na₁*- ‘nonhuman’. A similar association may be observed for *tomata* ‘corpse’. Malinowski (p.242) refers to the corpse being used for food by the *mlukwausi* ‘ghoul spirit’. Thus a similar connection between spirits and either corpses or the specially baked spirit food strengthens the justification for the two being included within the domain of Cl 2 *na₁*- ‘nonhuman’.

The specification of *popula* ‘spirit-food’ and *tomata* ‘corpse’ along with other items, such as carvings in human form and heavenly bodies, within the ‘nonhuman’ domain of *na₁*- is not to be seen as the identification of a nonhuman property in them; rather the relationship is one of connection or tangential association. In this area of the Kiriwinan classifier system a taxonomic relationship between classifiers has been noted. However the different sort of connection which is involved here may be seen as an exception to this taxonomic pattern; instead of the componential or property classification of items, we find some which are regularly included within the domain because they are tangentially associated with the items naturally specified within the domain of *na₁*-.

Thus the semantic domain of the Basic Property Specifier Cl 2 *na₁*- ‘nonhuman’ is seen to be definable in terms of a specifiable property or a connection with items so specified. The Kiriwinan speaker identifies these items in terms of a feature which is considered to be held in common by all animal life except humans and some beings in the spirit world. The speaker connectively associates heavenly bodies, carved human likenesses, corpses and a certain food for spirit consumption as being within the same semantic domain. The paradigmatic nature of this part of the classificatory system is shown by the lack of any

subclassification for taxonomic ordering of the animal world and by the specification of a feature which may be applied to items either directly or by some association.

5.4.3.1.3 AN ANIMATE DOMAIN

A further comment is needed about the division between the domains of *to*₁- 'human' and *na*₁- 'nonhuman'. Some items normally specifiable in one of these domains may accept specification by the other. The movement which takes place between the two domains indicates that the speaker is able to consider the personification of a nonhuman item or to recognise in the spirit world some component within the spirit which makes possible its specification as 'human'. While this shows that there is some element common to the two domains, which justifies the higher common node of *animate* in the tree of Figure 3 above, yet it also gives an indication of the semantic contrast which each classifier is able to specify, so that the boundary between the two domains is sharp.

Some examples of this multiple specification help to clarify this. One speaker within the context of one speech act classified a corpse in two ways:

- (196) *miNA*_{na} *tomata*... *maTA*_U*na* *tomata*
 that.nonhuman corpse that.human corpse

He was speaking in the first case of a cadaver awaiting burial and so specified it as 'nonhuman'. In the second case he was speaking of a recently deceased person, discussing the reasons for death, and thought of the personality recently possessed by the corpse. But the same corpse was the item being differently specified in the utterance. In the first case he was referring to the corpse as nonhuman and in the second as human.

Another example is from a legend where a butterfly was specified once as human and at all other times as nonhuman:

- (197) *maTA*_U*na* *beba*... *miNA*_{na} *beba*
 that.human butterfly that.nonhuman butterfly

The context of the human categorisation was that the butterfly was engaged in the human activity of carving a canoe from a tree trunk, while the other occasions associated the butterfly either with flying or with lamenting the demise of his friend the louse.

A last example of multiple specification is seen in a speaker's general categorisation of dogs in the nonhuman domain and his specification of one dog within the human domain.

- (198) *miNA*_{na} *kaukwa*... *maTA*_U*na* *kaukwa*
 that.nonhuman dog that.human dog

The context of the reclassification was the speaker's normal world-view, in which dogs are regularly specified by Cl 2 *na*₁- 'nonhuman', coupled with his experience of one particular dog which behaved in many ways in a human fashion and was so treated by humans. Thus he specified that dog by attaching to it a classifier indicating the human property which he considered it possessed.

These two Basic Property Specifiers together specify the world of beings which the Kiriwinan speaker recognises as animate. The last three examples given above suggest that the two domains represent a larger single domain for the Kiriwinan. The multiple specification of some items by both *to*₁- and *na*₁- is to some measure prompted by this element of association which exists between the two domains. There is however no classifier or other lexeme which does duty as a label for this single larger category.

5.4.3.1.4 *kai*- 'RIGID/LONG' SPECIFICATION

Basic Property Specifiers 3-5 specify the inanimate world. As with the animate specifiers, these three represent a single large though unlabelled domain because of the amount of multiple specification which takes place (see 5.4.3.1.7).

The Basic Property Specifier Cl 3 *kai*- identifies the properties 'rigid/long' as the major specification of its domain. The identification which Malinowski (1920:45) makes for *kai*- as having reference to "trees and plants, wooden things, long objects" is not very wide of the mark except for his suggestion that a list of items rather than a set of properties is being identified. The most probable origin of the classifier is the noun *kai* 'tree, plant, wood', which engenders a ready association with the world of growing things. While I recognise that the feature *wooden* is frequently present in items specified by *kai*-, it is evident from this study of the domain of *kai*- that 'wooden' is not the dominating feature.

Included in the semantic domain specified by *kai*- are:

any growing tree, shrub or plant (including larger types of grass, fungi, flowers);

garden produce that is long (tapioca, cob of corn, whole bunch of bananas⁶⁸);

any item made from a single piece of wood (bowl, comb, spear, houseboard carving) or from several pieces of wood (canoe, the gable assembly of a house,⁶⁹ fire, flame, fireplace);

long rigid things (posts – wooden, cement, iron – crowbar, digging stick, feather, coconut leaves lashed into a long rigid bundle for a fishing torch – and by analogy all sources of light);

stick of tobacco; and stalactite in a cave.

In most of these the property of rigidity is evident. The rigidity of a flower, a stem of grass, a stick of tobacco or a feather may be considered open to question. These however are specified by *kai*- if they hold their rigid shape and do not sag or flop limply. Grasses that are thin and non-rigid are in fact specified by Cl 4 *ya*-, and only the mature or stick-like grasses are included within the domain of Cl 3 *kai*- 'rigid/long'.

Two related specifications are noteworthy as examples of connective association with items naturally specifiable by *kai*-. First, a fire and the tongues of flame in a blaze do not

⁶⁸ A hand of bananas is specified by Cl 95 *kila*- 'hand of bananas' and individual bananas by Cl 5 *kwai*- 'thing'.

⁶⁹ The whole house is specified by Cl 5 *kwai*- 'thing'.

have any property of rigidity and would perhaps have the formless and nonspecifiable quality which would associate them with many items, specified by Cl 5 *kwai*- 'thing'. But a fire is made from sticks of wood and so its classification is associated with the source of the fire rather than with the insubstantial physical properties of fire itself.

The second connective association is the specification of the light from a *kaitapa* 'fishing torch' by means of Cl 3 *kai*-; and thus by tangential association any source of light is similarly specified, whether a burning brand, a candle, hurricane lamp, battery-operated torch, the globe of the torch and any electric globe, whether illuminated or not.

Long rigid house-beams are typical of the regular specifying domain of *kai*-, with the basic 'rigid' feature being identified, and the property 'long' also in evidence:

- (199) *maKAI*na pou *KAI*-wonau
 that.rigid house.beam rigid-long
 that long house-beam

Most yams, while rigid, are not long and are specified by Cl 5 *kwai*- 'thing'. But one type of *kuvi* yam, besides being rigid, is also long, sometimes exceeding three metres, and this particular yam is regularly specified by Cl 3 *kai*-, in reference to its length-plus-rigidity:

- (200) *ma-KWAI*-si-na *kuvi*... *ma-KAI*-we-na *kuvipiti*
 that-thing-pl-(that) yam that-rigid-other-(that) Fiji.yam
 those *kuvi* yams... that other Fiji *kuvi* yam

The long Fiji *kuvi* yams were introduced to Kiriwina only about 1895, so the inclusion of the Fiji *kuvi* or '*kuvipiti*' in the specification of the classifiers is comparatively new. Allan (1977:290) comments that "the strongest evidence of semantic classification is the ability of native speakers to classify new objects consistently and easily on the basis of their observed characteristics". This particular facility in the Kiriwinan speaker is seen in both (200) and (202).

The next example of multiple classification further elucidates the nature of Cl 3 *kai*-specification. Fish are regularly specified by Cl 2 *na*₁- 'nonhuman'; certain fish however accept the classificatory label of *kai*-. When I questioned this apparently anomalous specification, my informant replied it was because "they go through the water like spears" (classified by *kai*-) – another example of classification by association. There are four fish so specified, all long thin fish like garfish or barracuda. In this example *topusa* is a mature form of *lova*:

- (201) *Kidamwa maKAI*na lova *NA*-veka *ta-doki maKAI*na *topusa*.
 if that.rigid lova animal-big we-call that.rigid *topusa*
 We call a mature *lova* by the name *topusa*.

Note that in this limited specification of certain fish with the property 'rigid/long' the normal *na*₁- 'nonhuman' specification is still present in the adjective, the associative *kai*- 'rigid/long' specification being present only in the deictic.

One final example shows the property of rigidity being specified in water, which is normally specified by Cl 5 *kwai*- 'thing'. This usage came about when two Kiriwinans

visiting Canberra saw for the first time a large vertical jet of water in a fountain. On first seeing the jet, and later in every reference to it, they both made the specification:

- (202) *maKAI*na *sopi*
 that.rigid water
 that water jet

Friedrich (1970:385), writing with particular reference to Tarascan language phenomena, commented that when “shape or the perception of it” changes then classification of the item may change, so that the “shape as perceived in the context of a particular speech situation” may involve the Tarascan speaker in the use of a different classifier. Examples (199)-(202) have shown that the different properties of items do on occasions involve the Kiriwinan speaker in a reclassification in order to specify that different property in relation to other items similarly marked.

Three subclassifiers operate within the domain of *kai-*. Unlike those which formed a fairly rigid taxonomy within, and including most of, the domain of Cl 1 *to*₁- ‘human’, the three item specifiers in this category are concerned with the more precise specification of a very small part of the total domain of Cl 3 *kai-*. The precision of their specification causes them to have very limited domains, so that they operate in a way that is analogous to a repeater.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------|---|
| Cl 9 | <i>kwela-</i> | ‘pot-like’ (cf. <i>kulia</i> ‘cooking pot’) |
| Cl 10 | <i>kova-</i> | ‘fire’ (cf. <i>kova</i> ‘fire’) |
| Cl 11 | <i>kabilikova-</i> | ‘fire, fireplace’ (cf. NP <i>kaba-la kova</i> place-its fire ‘fireplace’) |

Cl 9 *kwela-* has a wider domain than the others; it may specify any vessel with a wide-open mouth that will hold liquids (cup, bucket, pot, ladle etc.). An interesting secondary specification is of a mirror, through its connective association (based on perceptual similarity) with a vessel full of water.

The other two, *kova-* and *kabilikova-*, are limited to a fire (set and ready for burning; burning; or burnt out) or to a place where a fire has been burning. These may in fact be seen as being included within the general domain of *kai-* because of the connective association between the fire and the sticks of timber which produce it. It is however the flame which is specified, as much as the timber from which it is coming. The connection between the specification of fire and the general specification of any light source has been noted above; these are clearly examples of tangential association with other items having the property which the domain of Cl 3 *kai-* ‘rigid/long’ specifies.

Thus among the items specifiable within the domain of *kai-* there are very few which may be more precisely specified; such items as a pot or a fire may be generally specified by Cl 3 *kai-* ‘rigid/long’ or more precisely indicated by Cl 9 *kwela-* ‘pot-like’ or Cl 10 *kova-* ‘fire’ respectively. In their very limited roles of specifying a very small number of items these subclassifiers do little more than repeat the noun, so that a major part of their role seems to be to introduce a level of nominal redundancy into speech (see 5.3).

5.4.3.1.5 *ya-* 'FLEXIBLE/THIN' SPECIFICATION

Consideration of the fourth Basic Property Specifier Cl 4 *ya-* 'flexible/thin' reveals another domain where one property is specified as the concern of the speaker. The Basic Property Specifier *ya-* classifies items mainly in terms of their flexibility, though thinness is a secondary component, so that 'flexible/thin' is a more accurate statement of its specification.

Items specified by *ya-* include:

- anything thin or leaf-like (leaf, frond, a single piece of paper);
- anything string-like (rope, split cane, fishing-line, hair, creeper);
- anything flexible (canoe sail, garment, cloth, rubberband);
- anything round which has been hollowed out for a container (water-bottle made from a coconut, lime gourd, also coconut or gourd at any stage of development);
- a number of round fruits which soften when mature (breadfruit, pawpaw).

In most of these items the property of flexibility is evident. Of related interest here is the change in specification which takes place for a number of round fruits, which in their young state are specified by Cl 5 *kwai-* 'thing'. When they develop and become mature, and a measure of softness or flexibility in the skin is evident, a speaker then reclassifies them with Cl 4 *ya-*. Also small flexible blades of grass are specified by *ya-*, becoming specified by Cl 3 *kai-* 'rigid/long' when they mature into rigid sticks. (Larger types of grass, such as bamboo and sugarcane, are specified by Cl 3 *kai-* 'rigid/long' at all times.)

In regard to fruit, if we consider softness to be equatable with flexibility then their inclusion here is consistent. However two fruits, the coconut and the gourd, are specified by *ya-* at all stages of maturation, although they are flexible (i.e. soft-skinned) for only part of their growth period. It may be that this flexible specification does not come from the outer shell at all but is basically applied to the soft meat of the nut or gourd. The gourd or nut has to be picked and manufactured into the thin-walled vessel at a time when the flesh is soft enough or flexible enough to be extracted through the small hole which will later be the neck of the container. The specification of the outer shell by Cl 4 *ya-* 'flexible/thin', and consequently the continued specification of the thin-walled vessel by the same, would thus be based on a connective association with the soft flesh. Here then, although the property of flexibility is not permanently associated with these items, the secondary specification of 'thin' is clearly present.

However, when a coconut has a large part of the shell removed and is made into a cup or bowl it is specified by Cl 3 *kai-* 'rigid/long' or Cl 9 *kwela-* 'pot-like'. So it must be asked whether the roundness of the whole round item is part of the specifying function of Cl 4 *ya-* at a secondary level. This question is resolved in the negative when we consider the specification of any ball. When a pig is killed the bladder is blown up like a balloon and used by children for play. It is a thin-walled object, round and narrow-necked like a lime gourd or coconut water bottle. But it is only specified by Cl 5 *kwai-* 'thing', as are all modern footballs, cricket balls etc. The *ya-* specification of round thin-walled vessels in fact only

applies to something which is or was grown as a form of vegetable life. If roundness was a component of *ya-* we would expect balls to be so specified.

I conclude that the property which is predominant in the specification of Cl 4 *ya-* is the consistency label *flexible*; in addition to the flexibility component of fabrics and grasses the feature of thinness is strong, so that the glossing of *ya-* with 'flexible/thin' is fairly accurate. Flexibility is also seen to include the softness evident in fruit when it is mature and ready for use.

There are three classifiers giving more precise specification within the domain of Cl 4 *ya-* 'flexible/thin', and these are very limited in their domains of specification (as with those noted within the domain of Cl 3 *kai-* 'rigid/long').

Cl 12	<i>tam-</i>	'sprouting' (cf. <i>-tam</i> 'sprout, shoot')
Cl 13	<i>sobulo-</i>	'growing'
Cl 14	<i>sega-</i>	'branching'

All three have specific reference to the growth of the yam vine, where Cl 12 *tam-* specifies the first appearance of life, Cl 13 *sobulo-* indicates the growth of a single runner and Cl 14 *sega-* the branching and clustering growth of leaves, especially those which occur after the vine is pruned. A small segment of text is given next which sets out in full the explication of *sega-* given to me by an informant. The example is interesting also for the fact that three classifiers are used in the total explanation, all of which are among the rarer classifiers which occur during discussion of an area of technical expertise.

(203) *Taitu b-i-tam GILI-vasi, ta-kigudu GILI-tala wala b-i-susina.*
yam it-will-sprout tendril-four we-prune tendril-one only it-will-grow

B-i-susina o-tapwa-la SIVA-tala baises SEGA-tala.
it-will-grow at-side-its time-one this branch-one

The *taitu* yam may develop four tendrils in sprouting, and we prune this so only one tendril is left to grow. It grows out sideways, and each tendril we call one branch-tendrils.

Interest in the growing yam vine is of a high order in a culture which is built around use of the yam crop, and so the comment of Adams, Becker and Conklin (1975:4) that there is a "tendency to proliferate classes for things one is particularly...concerned with" is borne out by this highly specific degree of reference to the growth of the yam plant.

The domains of Cl 3 *kai-* 'rigid/long' and Cl 4 *ya-* 'flexible/thin' are thus specifications of certain physical properties of the items; in both cases the property of consistency predominates and there are indications of other secondary components, as seen by contrast with other classifiers (discussed further in 5.4.3.1.7).

5.4.3.1.6 *kwai-* 'THING' SPECIFICATION

I now consider the fifth Basic Property Specifier, Cl 5 *kwai-* 'thing'. The semantic domain of this classifier is very large and varied. Perhaps the best description is that it includes all items not specified by the first four. A good multipurpose gloss could be 'thing'

or more precisely ‘item not included in the domains of the other Basic Property Specifiers’. In any classification system which is all-inclusive, an *anything else* category is necessary if universality of specification is to be achieved. As the Kiriwinan classificatory system must (by reason of its obligatory morphological function within unit numerals, all deictics and certain adjectives) be able to classify all items, the classifier *kwai-* fills the need of an ‘anything else’ category. It must be remembered however that we are still only speaking of the specification of whole and individual items.

Included within the semantic domain of Cl 5 *kwai-* ‘thing’ are:

items of no clear shape, or round objects with no neck or mouth;

mass nouns (water, sand, rice, sugar, rock);

all seeds, small fruits and nuts, immature large fruits, most mature vegetable tubers if not growing;

complex objects made up of a number of different parts (house, necklace, a chain, sewn mats);

geographical and topographical features (island, mountain, swamp);

non-material entities (time words, personal experiences, abstract nouns, concepts, activities);

any unknown item, which may be initially specified by *kwai-* and then reclassified when known.

To try to isolate areas of common meaning in such complexity would be a difficult exercise. The first four Basic Property Specifiers are defined in terms of the major property each specifies – human, nonhuman, rigid/long and flexible/thin. The attaching of a major property label to Cl 5 *kwai-* is not possible in this way, but it is better to define the meaning of this last semantic domain in terms of its contrast with the other four as ‘properties other than these four’ (see 5.4.3.10).

We have seen that some items by changing in some way become involved in a shift from one semantic domain to another. The items in the domain of Cl 5 *kwai-* ‘thing’ are not exceptions to this pattern. For instance all seeds are specified by *kwai-*; when they begin to grow the speaker may wish to specify different properties of the changing item, so they may now be specified by Cl 3 *kai-* ‘rigid/long’ or Cl 4 *ya-* ‘flexible/thin’. Reclassification with the transition from unknown to known is a natural working-out of the system of classification in Kiriwina; remember that the speaker using the Basic Property Specifier is not really specifying items at all but the properties perceived in them.

The number of subclassifiers operating within the domain of *kwai-* is much larger than the number operating in other Basic Property Specifier domains. This points in part to the much greater diversity of this last domain, so that more specific reference is more frequently required.

The list of domains of the eighteen subclassifiers is of a somewhat heterogenous nature. Six have time reference:

- CI 15 *tuto-* 'time, occasion' (cf. *tuta* 'time')
 CI 16 *siva-* 'number of times doing something, going somewhere'
 CI 17 *lilou-* as CI 16 *siva-*, also 'journeys, walking or travelling on a vessel' (cf. *liloula* 'a walk')
 CI 18 *yam₁-* 'days, occasions' (cf. *yam* 'day')
 CI 19 *kala-* 'passage of day' (lapse of time) (cf. *kalasia* 'sun')
 CI 20 *bugi-* 'night' (refers to either night or next day) (cf. *bogi* 'night')

Two have reference to speech or the voice:

- CI 21 *biga-* 'word, statement, argument, public speech'
 (cf. *biga* 'word')
 CI 22 *kaiga-* 'voice; what the voice utters' (cf. *kaiga* 'voice')

Four others also have non-material specifications:

- CI 23 *ligila-* 'any corporate action (wealth exchange, a round of turns at doing something)'
 CI 24 *mweli₁-* 'practices; learning a skill (dancing, song) or sport' (cf. *-mweli* 'to practise')
 CI 25 *miga-* 'appearance of a thing; its kind or sort; face' (cf. *migi-* 'face')
 CI 26 *wouyo-* 'any new thing' (cf. *wo* 'Wow!')

In CI 23 the focus is on the completion of a whole series or block of related acts, as in a group of spear-throwing turns, then one of throwing-stick turns etc. In CI 26 the specification is not really of the thing but of the component of newness.

Four refer to objects important for various reasons in the village scene:

- CI 27 *kumlo-* 'oven' (cf. *kumkumla* 'ground oven')⁷⁰
 CI 28 *nigo-* 'nest or burrow of any wild creature' (cf. *nigwa* 'nest')
 CI 29 *kavi-* 'any sharp-edged tool (axe, knife, spoon etc.)' (cf. *kavi* 'stone axe blade')
 CI 30 *pwa-* 'excrement, bowel movement in a heap' (cf. *pwas_i* 'excrement')

There are two others:

- CI 31 *igi-* 'wind' (cf. *yagila* 'wind')
 CI 32 *vilo-* 'place' (cf. *valu* 'village, place')

The diversity of the semantic domains included within the general domain of *kwai-* emphasises the breadth of the general specification of this Basic Property Specifier. Items within its domain may be specified in a general way by *kwai-* or more precisely stated by one of the 18 subclassifiers listed above. The repeater-like element in these limited-reference subclassifiers becomes clearer when the closely cognate forms are examined. Although 14 of the 18 forms actually reiterate the noun they are most likely to specify, in every case there is more than one item which may be specified.

⁷⁰ The difference between this and CI 11 *kabilikova-* 'fireplace' is that in the fireplace the heat comes from sticks (classified by *kai-*) whereas here the heat source is stones (classified by *kwai-*).

Twelve subclassifiers operating within the domain of Cl 5 *kwai-* ‘thing’ specify non-material items, a specification which is made in general terms by *kwai-*. The six having temporal reference appear frequently in phrases with the deictic or numeral, functioning as time words. Some of them occur as noun-free constructions, which may indicate the end result of a historical process where the head noun has been totally lost by deletion due to the redundancy introduced by the classifier. Allan (1977) comments on this type of phenomenon as a feature of some classifier languages. However I must note that he cites *kala-* as an example of “noun-free quantifier constructions” (p.306). Although he stars the phrase **kala tala yam* (sic) ‘one day’ I have in fact recorded some occurrences for *kala-* in the deictic form attached to and specifying the noun *yam* ‘day’ as *maKALAnayam* ‘that whole day’.

One other time reference using one of these time-specifying classifiers is noted here. *Bugi-* may specify a night; or the 12-hour period of an entire night, and thus the day following, is in reality specified. This second specification is never used to specify the passage of only one night, so that **BUGI-tala* ‘night-one’ is never used for ‘tomorrow’. However such words as *BUGI-yu* ‘night-two’ (i.e. the day after tomorrow) and *BUGI-tolu* ‘night-three’ (i.e. two days after tomorrow) are regularly used. Malinowski considered this to be a special temporal device only and that *bugi-* was thus disqualified from classifier function.⁷¹ Yet I have recorded occurrences of the deictic using *bugi-* in reference to ‘that night’ and in adjectives such as *BUGI-veka* ‘night-big’ (i.e. late at night). I thus consider Cl 20 *bugi-* ‘night’ to be a true classifier, though with special temporal functions.

The classifier Cl 18 *yam₁-* ‘day’ is only used, as far as I have observed, as a noun-free construction, occurring only in deictic⁷² and numeral forms.

Two of these classifiers specifying non-material items specify in different ways the act of speech: Cl 21 *biga-* specifies ‘a word, a statement’, while Cl 22 *kaiga-* ‘the voice (which utters the words)’ may specify either the voice or the words uttered. The former is concerned with words as a cognitive message, the latter with words as a phonic phenomenon.

Four classifiers having non-material specification may be seen as specifiers of actions (Cl 23 *ligila-* ‘group action’, Cl 24 *mveli-* ‘practices’) or as specifiers of aspects of items (Cl 25 *miga-* ‘appearance’, Cl 26 *wouyo-* ‘newness’).

Of the six remaining, which specify various material items, four have very limited specification (Cl 27 *kumlo-* ‘oven’, Cl 28 *nigo-* ‘nest’, Cl 30 *pwa-* ‘excrement’, Cl 31 *igi-* ‘wind’) and the listing above is sufficient. One example will show that though of limited specification they are not in fact what Allan (1977:295) refers to as “unique classifiers”.

- (204) *KUMLO-bogwa pwaipwaia; KUMLO-vau daram.*
 oven-original earth oven-new drum
 The first ovens were earth; the ovens today are drums.

⁷¹ “As this is a very special use of the prefix *bogi-* [i.e. referring to coming days], I have not included it in our list” (Malinowski 1920:51). See also Allan’s comment on the adverbial function of some noun-free classifier forms (in 5.1.2.6); Allan would agree here with Malinowski’s decision not to include such a form with the classifiers, as he comments (1977:307) that “since the function of adverbials is to modify verbs” we are not dealing here with an NP phenomenon at all.

⁷² Note irregular deictic plural form in 5.2.3.

(This example is referred to in 5.3.7 where its operation, “analogous to a repeater” but not in fact a true repeater, is noted.)

Two others need further comment. One, Cl 32 *vilo-* ‘place’, is used only with adjectives. These *vilo-* forms are archaic and appear rarely, a fact which Malinowski writing over 50 years ago observed. He notes (1920:56) “I hardly ever heard the formative *vilo-* in use, though in direct answers to questions my informants would insist on its being the correct particle for village”.

The other is Cl 29 *kavi-* ‘sharp-edged tool’. Because of the weakness of the phoneme /v/ between /a/ and /i/ this often occurs as [‘ka.i], which is bisyllabic and not to be confused with the monosyllabic Cl 3 *kai-* ‘rigid/long’. This may specify any tool or utensil which has a sharp working edge, such as an axe, knife, adze, spoon or fork. The inclusion of ‘spoon’ in this domain is satisfactorily explained by the sharp-edged shell used for scooping and eating being the cultural equivalent of a modern spoon. The inclusion of ‘fork’ however is an example of connective association. In modern Kiriwina spoons and forks are, both perceptually and functionally, similar; the request *Kumai maKAVIna* ‘You give me that sharp-edged tool’ in the context of serving out food would receive a satisfactory physical response in the production of either utensil.

This subclassifier specifies a larger domain than many of those already observed, which usually repeat the noun they specify and little else besides; *kavi-* however specifies not only the tools and utensils of traditional Kiriwinan society but also the modern edged tools of Western origin. The tools of trade of the carpenter or mechanic are generally specifiable by Cl 5 *kwai-* ‘thing’; those among them having sharpened edges (e.g. saw, chisel, screwdriver and plane) may be more precisely specified by Cl 29 *kavi-* ‘sharp-edged tool’.

A general comment may be made in reference to the number of subclassifiers operating within the domain of Cl 5 *kwai-* ‘thing’. Where Cl 1 *to₁-* ‘human’, Cl 3 *kai-* ‘rigid/long’ and Cl 4 *ya-* ‘flexible/thin’ each have only three subclassifiers with more precise semantic specification operating within their domains, and Cl 2 *na₁-* ‘nonhuman’ admits no such subclassification, the domain of Cl 5 *kwai-* ‘thing’ has eighteen subclassifiers. The domains of the four other Basic Property Specifiers are fairly precise, their semantic labelling of items being a clear attribution of all items so labelled; this preciseness means there is little need for clearer delineation within those four domains by other classifiers having more limited domains. However when items are labelled Cl 5 *kwai-* ‘thing’ the specification places them in a semantic category which is very large and not so precise in terms of the feature(s) specified. Thus the domain of *kwai-* admits a far greater number of subclassifiers, which enables a speaker to give greater precision to the specification of items within that domain.

It is interesting to note that many of these subclassifiers specify non-material entities, and there is concern for precise temporal specification. The breadth of the total domain of the *kwai-* Basic Property Specifier is highlighted by the diversity of specification, having reference to cooking, hunting, working with tools, offensive garbage, sailing and locative reference, as well as non-material entities.

5.4.3.1.7 AN INANIMATE DOMAIN

Comment has been made on some shared features of the domains of Cl 1 *to*₁- 'human' and Cl 2 *na*₁- 'nonhuman' to justify the common superordinate property of *animate* (5.4.3.1.3). Here I am making a similar comment on the 'shared ground' between the domains of Cl 3 *kai*- 'rigid/long', Cl 4 *ya*- 'flexible/thin' and Cl 5 *kwai*- 'thing', together with some observations on their complementary functions. Thus I offer justification for the superordinate node of 'inanimate'.

Firstly, there is no single domain which separates the vegetable world into a classification of its own. Malinowski (1920:47) suggested that in fact the classifier *kai*- has this role. But we have seen that its domain includes all rigid vegetable life forms which are extended or long (e.g. trees, bamboo, bushes); *ya*- includes all vegetable life which is flexible, either long and thin (e.g. vines and tendrils) or thin and extended in two dimensions (e.g. leaves); and *kwai*- specifies some forms of vegetable life (e.g. seeds, some mature produce of the garden). We have noted that a seed (*maKWAIna*) may by entering a growing state be reclassified as flexible (*miYAna*) and when growth has matured be reclassified again as rigid (*maKAIna*).

Secondly an unknown item may start with Cl 5 *kwai*- 'thing' specification and be precisely placed when perceptually identified as to its physical components. Note that the initial specification of *kwai*- usually indicates that an initial decision has been made that the item is not in fact animate.

A third consideration has reference to the property specification of these three classifiers. With *kai*- and *ya*-, each has a property of consistency (rigid and flexible respectively) stated first, and a property based on shape (long, thin) stated second. In each case the type of consistency stated is one which is qualified by one type of shape, so that the pair of features – consistency, shape – for both need to be applied together. Thus *kai*- and *ya*- are semantically compounds of the two physical properties; however the physical property of consistency is to be understood as the primary one.

An examination of the items specified by Cl 5 *kwai*- 'thing' (or 'properties other than the first four Basic Property Specifiers') shows that consistency is the basic or primary specification of this Basic Property Specifier, in that *kwai*- may specify items that are 'rigid/other than long', 'flexible/other than thin' and 'not specifiable in terms of rigid or flexible consistency'. These three classifiers are complementary in their specification of consistency of inanimate items.

The secondary specifications of the three reveal complementation also. When they specify shape, Cl 3 *kai*- is primarily interested in items extended in one dimension (e.g. house post, spear, iron pipe, stalactite, concrete fence post); it may also specify things extended in two dimensions (e.g. flat assembly of a house gable, flat wooden platter). Cl 4 *ya*- specifies both one-dimensional and two-dimensional extended items (e.g. rope, wire, creeper tendrils, leaves or tree bark if flexible, woven material, dried mat-making grasses) and it may specify some three-dimensional items (e.g. gourds, coconuts, and soft mature fruits that are large and round). Cl 5 *kwai*- generally specifies three-dimensional items (e.g. stones, vegetable

produce, a whole house) and also some one-dimensional items (e.g. shell necklace) and two-dimensional items (mats, rain capes).

Another secondary specification of these three classifiers may be expressed in terms of their specification of simple and complex items which have been manufactured. Both *kai-* and *ya-* specify simple items: *kai-* specifies rigid/simple manufactured items (e.g. bowl, comb, canoe, gable of house, fishing torch made from coconut leaves, aeroplane); *ya-* specifies flexible/simple manufactured items (e.g. garment, sheet of paper, rope, gourd, water bottle). However *kwai-* specifies manufactured items (without regard for the rigidity or flexibility) which are complex (e.g. necklace, woven and sewn mats, iron chain, a whole house). The feature of complexity is a complexity which is perceptually clear, or culturally determined. Thus all the parts of the shell necklace would be appreciated in terms of the complex manufacturing processes known to be involved, whereas an aeroplane or an ocean liner would seem to be a simple vehicle and so its connection with and specification as a canoe (by *kai-*) would be natural.

Thus the complementary functions of the three classifiers, Cl 3 *kai-* 'rigid/long', Cl 4 *ya-* 'flexible/thin' and Cl 5 *kwai-* 'thing' are shown in their primary specification of consistency and in their secondary specifications of shape and complexity. The fact that none of these is applied to the animate items specified by Cl 1 *to₁-* 'human' and Cl 2 *na₁-* 'nonhuman' (except as metaphors) indicates that the five Basic Property Specifiers form two large semantic domains, one marked by perceptually determined physical properties of consistency, shape and complexity, which I have labelled *inanimate*, and the other not marked for consistency, shape or complexity, which I have labelled *animate*.

5.4.3.1.8 A WORLD-VIEW TAXONOMY

In his arrangement of classifier categories Allan (1977:303) separates his first four categories of material, shape, consistency and size into a major group which he labels "the material and configurational categories, (which) all refer to the salient inherent characteristics as perceived in them or imputed to them by the speaker". It is of interest that, with the exception of his size category, this major group is paralleled in Kiriwinan by the five Basic Property Specifiers, which have a strong pattern of property classification perceptually determined.

The relationship between the five Basic Property Specifiers presented above in tree form shows their semantic relationship in referring to the world-view of the Kiriwinan speaker. Adams, Becker and Conklin (1975:4) speak of some classifier systems which have a "hierarchical semantic structure of animacy vs. inanimacy, and inanimacy elaborated along lines of shape as their central organising principle". While their main interest was focussed on the "classification systems in Southeast Asia" (p.3) their comment may be seen to apply to the Kiriwinan classificatory system also. The Kiriwinan speaker's total world-view would seem to be dependent on a dichotomy of animacy (*to₁-* and *na₁-*) and inanimacy (*kai-*, *ya-* and *kwai-*). Animacy is divided in contrastive terms into human and nonhuman. Inanimacy forms a complementary set having as its basic determinata a group of consistency specifications – rigid, flexible and 'other' – and as some secondary specifications certain

shape features – long, thin and ‘other than long or thin’. The domain of items labelled ‘thing’ or ‘other’ is a large one and not as precise as the first four, so that its broad specification is subjected to a greater degree of subspecification than that evident in the others.

Thus the five Basic Property Specifiers form a close-knit group within the classifier system of Kiriwina, by means of which all items in the speaker’s cognitive world-view are meaningfully grouped, as they are counted, pointed at and qualified. Statistically the use of these five classifiers is higher than that of the other 142.

In the case of Cl 1 *to*₁- ‘human’ a reclassification of almost the whole domain is effected by the three subclassifiers, Cl 6 *to*₂- ‘male human’, Cl 7 *na*₂- ‘female human’ and Cl 8 *gudi*- ‘immature human’. On the other hand the domains of the other Basic Property Specifiers either are not subject to more precise specification, as with Cl 2 *na*₂- ‘nonhuman’, or have only a small part of their total domain which may be more precisely delineated by a subclassifier with a narrow domain of reference. For example, most items within the domain of *ya*- are specifiable only by *ya*-, and a very small number of items (i.e. things actively growing in the garden) accept more precise specification by means of the three subclassifiers operating within that domain (Cl 12 *tam*- ‘sprouting’, Cl 13 *sobulo*- ‘growing’ and Cl 14 *sega*- ‘branching’).

A complex semantic relationship exists between the subclassifiers which parallel the role of the covert repeaters (which Benton identifies for Trukese) and their nouns. Other subclassifiers reflect the role of the noun-free classifiers.

Malinowski’s comments (1920:58) in reference to the subclassifiers which have a role analogous to repeaters are worth mentioning. He carefully distinguishes between what he calls *true classifiers* and those which he terms *naming formatives*, which do not in his opinion classify. However it is my assertion that their function is still a classifying one, and that they differ only in degree from the classifiers with wide or general reference which I call *Basic Property Specifiers*. These latter specify a property (e.g. ‘human’, ‘rigid/long’), and the semantic compatibility of a large number of items with each property thus ensures a large domain for each. The subclassifiers, instead of specifying a property, specify an item as ‘pot-like’, ‘fire-like’, ‘road-like’ etc., and as only a small number of items are semantically compatible with such a specification the domain of each is a small one.

5.4.3.2 RESIDUE

We are left with a small residue of two classifiers which specify whole or individual items; they are:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------|--|
| Cl 33 | <i>iga</i> - | ‘name (given to person or thing)’ (cf. <i>yaga</i> - ‘name’) |
| Cl 34 | <i>kuno</i> - | ‘rain (shower, downpour etc.)’ (cf. <i>kuna</i> ‘rain’) |

Like the others within this first group, these two classifiers specify items as items, but they have the feature of not functioning within the domains of the Basic Property Specifiers. Instead they form two very small semantic domains separated from the others. In my field investigation I felt sure that the non-material specification of Cl 33 *iga*- ‘name’ should lie

within the larger domain of *kwai-*, where more precise specification of a similar nature is given by Cl 21 *biga-* 'word' or Cl 22 *kaiga-* 'voice'. However no informant would ever accept the classification of 'name' by *kwai-* and all insisted that *iga-* alone was acceptable. Likewise when I would have expected rain, a natural phenomenon, to accept the same classification as wind, tide and other natural forces, no informant would accept the *kwai-* specification. So neither of these can be regarded as an item modified by partition or by arrangement of items. There is no alternative but to see this remnant subgroup as specifying two very small, very limited, isolated semantic domains.

The separation of these two domains from the general and otherwise all-embracing world-view of the five domains marked by the Basic Property Specifiers warrants some comment in the nature of an ethnographic justification.

The magical significance of a person's name, and the power which possession of someone's name imparts (a belief common to many people in many different ages) is evident in Kiriwinan society. Most Kiriwinans will state their name when asked, but I have not infrequently embarrassed Kiriwinans from isolated villages by asking their names. On such occasions they would not speak their name aloud, as they did not want any ill-intentioned stranger to hear them say their own name and thus gain ability to work magic mischief against them. So they would answer my impolite query by whispering to a comrade who would then pass the name to me. When I had learnt better manners, when confronted by a stranger from some remote spot or outlying island I would casually enquire of his friend standing with him:

- (205) *Ami yaga-la so-m?*
 what name-his friend-your
 What's your friend's name?

It seems that the speaking of a name by someone else does not convey the same aura of menace that the direct pronouncing of one's own name does. When the significance of a person's name, and the fear associated with its declamation, are remembered, there is perhaps justification for a separate semantic domain labelled by the classifier Cl 33 *iga-*.

The other domain, Cl 34 *kuno-*, has a similar case which may be presented for it. In traditional ascription of powers to the various chiefly family lines of Kiriwina, the control of the seasons (and especially the bringing or withholding of rain and consequent control over gardening) is the particular preserve of the *Tabalu* chiefs, hierarchically the highest order of chiefs in Kiriwina. Their traditional powers also include the manipulation of the *bogau* 'death-bringing spirits' (who still claim their victims in Kiriwina) and the power over both life and death, and movement of the heavenly bodies. Why one of the *Tabalu*'s traditional powers should be distinguished with a separate semantic domain is not clear. It could be said that rain is more than a mere natural phenomenon for the Kiriwinan. It is more than the promise of a successful harvest; for Kiriwinans it means that the *Tabalu* chiefs and the *bogau* spirits are well-disposed to them or their village.

Thus in both cases (*iga-* and *kuno-*) there is some basis for separation of the two semantic domains; the elements of well-being through the intervention of magic and protection from the spirits are present in each.

5.4.3.3 CONCLUSION

I have shown that five of the classifiers in the first major group have a comprehensive reference to almost all items and entities in the speaker's cognitive world-view, insofar as reference is to whole and individual items. I have labelled those five *Basic Property Specifiers*, and their relationship to one another has been seen as a taxonomy of semantic structures which demonstrate significant categories of meaning recognised by the Kiriwinan speaker.

Within these domains we have also observed some subclassification, when other classifiers specify some items more precisely in terms of more limited properties, showing the paradigmatic function of the classifiers in multiple specification and reclassification.

Finally, there is a residue of two small domains each marked by features which relate to personal well-being through magic and spirit intervention.

The role of property specification is uppermost in this first major group. Although only five bear the label *Basic Property Specifier* these are statistically the ones most frequently used. The domains of the subclassifiers are more limited, but the specification of properties is still their function. The difference between the more general classifier (e.g. Cl 5 *kwai* 'thing') and the more specific (e.g. Cl 27 *kumlo* 'oven') is one of degree rather than of kind, and the phrase "polarities in a semantic continuum" (Becker 1975:114) may be applied to the extreme points. That properties rather than items are identified by these classifiers is clear from the flexibility of the system, which enables the speaker to identify a comment as being metaphorically applicable to an item even though the essential nature of the item would not admit such a property as its natural quality. Thus, even though a relationship of taxonomic dependency between most of these Group I classifiers is evident, the role of the item-specific classifiers is also paradigmatic (multiple specification of any one item being frequently possible).

The function of some of the more specific classifiers in a role analogous to the repeater-type classifiers of other languages, and the connection between this function and the deletion processes, point to an area of function of the classifiers on the higher discourse level, where the classifiers establish continuity through a pattern of semantic agreement across sentence boundaries. However this function is more clearly evident in the Group II classifiers, which are discussed next.

The question of whether meaning is added to an NP by the classifier has no single reply for all classifiers. In the natural specification of properties discussed above there is generally no addition of meaning. Rather there is a reiteration of one feature, so that redundancy and deletion become the characteristic pattern of such classifier usage. Where however the natural property of one item becomes a metaphorical or innovative view of another item, the classifier becomes the direct means of adding that meaning to an item not naturally so endowed. Also the complexity of phrases containing noun-free constructions shows that there has been direct addition of meaning to the NP so that it is necessary to investigate the pronominal role of some classifiers and the verb-like role of others in order to resolve the question of meaning addition (see 5.4.6.3).

5.4.4 GROUP II CLASSIFIERS

5.4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The classifiers of Group II all introduce some modification of the item, as distinct from those of Group I, which specify only items which are whole and ungrouped. Of the total 147 classifiers, only the 34 of Group I have to do with item specification. The remaining 113 however do not function as frequently in the language (with one or two exceptions which are noted below), as the demands of general conversation ensure more frequent occurrence of the five Basic Property Specifiers, and to a lesser degree the classifiers operating within their domains.

When introducing his last two categories of classifiers, “those of arrangement and quanta”, Allan (1977:304) points out that they “do not classify entities according to their inherent characteristics”. Allan's insight is generally borne out by these Group II classifiers, which specify items modified by activity, by partition or by arrangement. For the Kiriwinan speaker, when specifying the modification by partition of an item or the arrangement of items in groups or patterns, is no longer interested in the nature of an item but in the relationship that a specified item has with its source or with other items. Thus in partitive classification the location of the part within the larger whole item, or the proportion it has when compared to the original whole item, may be the chief concern of the speaker. Also, in the arrangement classifiers it will be seen that the collective arrangement of a number of items in different ways, plus the quantitative specification of some groups, may be the categorisation the speaker wishes to identify.

These Group II classifiers refer to a number of specialist areas in the culture, such as gardening, fishing and food exchange. Thus many of the classifiers in this section would be used only by specialists in reference to their specialities; the probability is that specialists in other areas would produce a number of different classifiers not encountered by the writer. The pattern of Kiriwinan culture is one of specialisation in various skills, either in food procurement or technical abilities (carving, ornament manufacture, shark hunting etc.). The Kavataria dialect is an area of gardening and fishing specialisation. Carving does not form a traditional part of their life, nor does the (now almost defunct) technical skill of manufacturing *kaloumwa* ‘spondylus shell discs’ for the highly prized ornaments. I would expect to find other classifiers in the dialects spoken by specialists in those areas. Adams, Becker and Conklin (1975:4) note with regard to South-East Asian languages that there is a “tendency to proliferate classes for things one is particularly conscious of, particularly concerned with”. This is attested in Kiriwinan classification; I have on occasions heard different Kavatarian speakers discussing with amusement the different classifier specifications made within other dialects.

The 113 classifiers in what I call Group II are divided into three categories. The first (with 9 members) deals with the modification of whole items by means of some activity; the second (48) deals with partitive specification; and the third (56), with specification of various arrangements of items.

5.4.4.2 ACTIVITY SPECIFIERS

In introducing this small category I must point out that activity specification as such is not limited to those classifiers which are included in this group. In fact it may be said in general terms that all three categories within Group II have as a major component of meaning the specification of an activity. In the second and third categories however it has been convenient to classify them on the basis of one particular activity predominating in their specification, that is by the activity of partition and the activity of arrangement. Those which have been put into this first category consist of the classifiers which merely indicate some activity other than partition or arrangement which has affected an item.

In the category of activity specifiers we find items specified by means of the activity which has been directed at them, or a state to which they have developed. Most of these are recognisable as related to verb root forms, and the verb-like function which they perform is to identify items by means of the action or state they have named.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|---|
| Cl 35 | <i>bubulo-</i> | ‘anything made, manufactured or created’; the specification is not so much of the object per se but of s.th. which has been made (cf. <i>-bubuli</i> ‘to make’) |
| Cl 36 | <i>buko₁-</i> | ‘anything buried’; the specification is of a buried item – for concealment (e.g. <i>buwa</i> ‘betel-nut’, <i>mwali</i> ‘armband’) or in order to mature (e.g. <i>natu</i> ‘a fruit’) (cf. <i>-baku</i> ‘to bury’) |
| Cl 37 | <i>bulu-</i> | ‘anything floating half-submerged’ |
| Cl 38 | <i>beku-</i> | ‘anything floating full of water’ (cf. <i>-beku</i> ‘to founder’ – of canoe which still floats though full of water) |
| Cl 39 | <i>gabu-</i> | ‘anything burning or burnt; batches of roasted food; place where fire has burnt body; fireplace’ (cf. <i>-gabu</i> ‘to burn’) |
| Cl 40 | <i>no-</i> | ‘anything used to strike person; the strikes or slaps themselves’ |
| Cl 41 | <i>nutu-</i> | ‘anything kneaded into ball’ (cf. <i>-nutu</i> ‘to knead (putty)’) |
| Cl 42 | <i>ponina-</i> | ‘anything punctured; the hole itself’ (cf. <i>-ponana</i> ‘to be punctured’) |
| Cl 43 | <i>pwasa-</i> | ‘anything rotten, soft, spoiled through decay or rust’ (cf. <i>-pwasa</i> ‘to rot’) |

The function of the activity classifiers in all five domains of the Basic Property Specifiers is effectively exemplified in Cl 42 *ponina-* ‘punctured’. For *ponina-* ‘that which has been punctured’ may specify a person (classified by *to₁-*) or an animal (*na₁-*) pierced by a spear; a canoe (*kai-*) holed on a reef; a leaf (*ya-*) pricked by a twig; and a football (*kwai-*) impaled on something. Also the puncture itself (*maPONINAna ponana* ‘that punctured puncture’) may be specifically referred to. The function of the classifier in effecting change or addition to meaning is evident here, for the item specified is an item which has been acted on in the

manner specified by the classifier. The relationship between classifier and classified is however much more complex than simple item specification.⁷³

The double potential in this subgroup of classifiers – of identifying an item acted on, and identifying the activity itself – is a very interesting feature. The following is an example of the direct specification of an activity:

- (206) *MaBUBULOna Popi, maBUBULOna Yunaited.*
 that.manufactured Catholic that.manufactured United.Church
 This chair is of Roman Catholic manufacture, but that one is of United Church
 manufacture. / This is how the Roman Catholics make things, and that is how the
 United Church makes them.

The specification of the activity is a specification like the repeater type of classifier, a mode of specification which has been shown as a feature of some classifiers operating within the domains of the Basic Property Specifiers. In so specifying the activity of manufacture above, the speaker is expressing his desire to highlight a salient quality which a particular craftsman has imparted. In such a specification there is not merely a repetition of a noun, but information about an item has been added to the NP, so that activity specification is itself a complex semantic feature.

5.4.4.3 PARTITIVE CLASSIFIERS

The second category of Group II classifiers I have labelled *partitive classifiers*. This group, which specifies the modification of items by partition, has a lexical membership of 48 morphemes, and is set out in Figure 4.

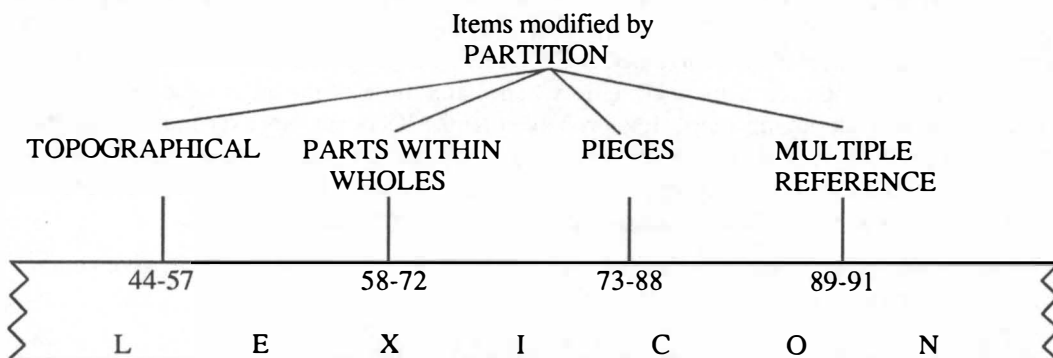


FIGURE 4: PARTITIVE CLASSIFIERS

The arrangement of material in this category is based on convenience. Fourteen classifiers identify various non-movable parts of the environment, either parts of the land, sea or sky, or divisions of gardening land.

⁷³ The nature of this greater complexity, together with an interesting parallel phenomenon noted by Benton in Trukese, can be seen in Benton's "covert repeater" and its Kiriwina parallel forms, in 5.3 above.

Fifteen classifiers identify moveable or non-material parts within wholes; these identify parts of trees, structures such as buildings or canoes, parts of the body and parts of non-material wholes. Both of these subcategories have in common the feature of identifying parts of larger wholes which are usually not able to be physically separated to form the separate parts named. Also, some classifiers within these subgroups function metaphorically to specify certain non-material entities, such as the specification of areas of authority or division of tasks.

The third subcategory consists of sixteen classifiers which specify the pieces into which some item has been divided; a quantitative component is evident in most of these. The classifiers of this group specify either pieces of anything or culturally acceptable portions of consumables.

Finally there is a subcategory of three classifiers having multiple reference, as they may specify topographical partition, parts within wholes and pieces.

5.4.4.3.1 TOPOGRAPHICAL REFERENCE

The fourteen partitive classifiers which have reference to parts of the land and sea environment are loosely labelled *topographical*. It should be noted that Allan (1977:303-4) does not treat such classifiers as having partitive reference but places them in his fifth category, *locational classifiers*. This would of course be a valid label for words which identify parts of the topography. Allan also comments that this category may depend to some extent on the speaker's perception. He has difficulty however in keeping his location category as a separate one (see 5.1.2.6(v)), some arrangement and quanta classifiers being strongly locational in their specification. It would be difficult to separate the locational component from the Kiriwinan partitive, arrangement and quantitative classifiers. A proliferation of classes is better avoided by recognising that a locative component is present in some partitive and arrangement classifiers, especially those of the latter which specify the configurational ordering of items. It is probable that the Kiriwinan speaker sees the "part of the whole (land or sea)" as being similarly specifiable to "part of the whole item", so it is more likely to be a natural category for the Kiriwinan speaker if the wider or more inclusive category of partitive specification is retained as a category in this analysis.

Eleven of the topographical classifiers refer to land divisions. Two of them give general reference to tracts of land.

- | | | |
|-------|----------------|---|
| Cl 44 | <i>udila-</i> | 'large tracts of virgin forest, old garden land, areas of swamp or of useless rocky country' (cf. <i>lawodila</i> 'the bush') |
| Cl 45 | <i>kubila-</i> | 'plots of land which are owned, identifiable by boundaries etc.' |

These two are not necessarily arranged in a hierarchy of size; it is usual for *UDILA-tala* 'tract-one' to be larger than *KUBILA-tala* 'plot-one'. But the real distinction between them is a different specification of the land, so that either may be used to specify the one area of land, with different meanings: *udila-* specifies a tract having some overall feature (rocky, swampy, cultivable etc.) and *kubila-* specifies an owned and locatable plot of land having a particular place name attached to it. The size specification of *kubila-* is not precise, as it may

specify either the *kwabila*- 'plot of land (5-10 hectares)' or the smaller *baleku* 'plot of land (about half a hectare)'.

Size specification is a clear component of the classifiers which specify divisions of a garden. The *bagula* 'garden plot' is specified by the Basic Property Specifier Cl 5 *kwai*- 'thing'; the six classifiers specifying garden divisions may be arranged in a hierarchy of size as a proportion of the whole *bagula* 'garden':

- | | | |
|-------|------------------|--|
| Cl 46 | <i>kalivisi-</i> | 'large garden division (<i>bagula</i> divided into 2 or 3)' |
| Cl 47 | <i>gubo-</i> | 'garden division (half <i>kalivisi-</i> division)' |
| Cl 48 | <i>vala-</i> | 'garden division (part of <i>gubo-</i> division)' |
| Cl 49 | <i>lupo-</i> | 'garden division (small)' |
| Cl 50 | <i>kadida-</i> | 'garden division (very small, width of a track)' (cf. <i>keda</i> 'track') |
| Cl 51 | <i>pulu-</i> | 'garden mound where one clump of things grows' |

The first five of these are also used as metaphors of the division of a total task into smaller parts to be shared by several workers.

Three classifiers refer to features in or near a village:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------|---|
| Cl 52 | <i>kalipo-</i> | 'section of a village; any part of the village having a specific purpose (e.g. site selected for meeting, place set aside for dancing)' |
| Cl 53 | <i>kailiku-</i> | 'part of the village' (similar specification to Cl 89 <i>kabulo-</i> , but seldom used) |
| Cl 54 | <i>kada-</i> | 'track' ⁷⁴ |

The final three classifiers in this section specify places in the sea, all in relation to fishing spots:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------|--|
| Cl 55 | <i>seuyo-</i> | 'lagoon area between reef and land; any fishing spot in lagoon' |
| Cl 56 | <i>soulo-</i> | 'any place in sea where fish live (group of rocks, coral outcrop, old drum, wreck etc.)' |
| Cl 57 | <i>lada-</i> | 'very small fishing spot (accessible from cliff-top); cluster of stars' |

The specification of precise spots in the sea is important for the Kiriwinan; in a society where traditional rights to fish in certain areas are jealously guarded, these sites may on occasions be the subject of bitter strife between village groups. The sites identified by these three classifiers are owned by village groups, and ownership of them is passed on in the same way that other property is. The apparently anomalous reference of *lada-* to 'a cluster of stars' is a reference to the twinkling points of phosphorescence seen in the water in the shadow of a cliff as fish dart in the water; thus the tangential connection of two dissimilar natural features results in their inclusion in this one semantic domain.

⁷⁴ Specification of a track by Cl 5 *kwai-* is a regular feature of the Kilivila dialect but is greeted with amusement within the Kavataria dialect area.

5.4.4.3.2 PARTS WITHIN WHOLES

There are fifteen classifiers in the *parts within wholes* subcategory. Three refer to parts of trees, seven to parts of buildings or constructions, three to parts of the body and two to parts of non-material wholes.

The first set has to do with parts of trees:

Cl 58	<i>sisi-</i>	'bough, twig, leaf, flower; division of magic spell' (cf. <i>sisila</i> 'branch')
Cl 59	<i>lila-</i>	'part of tree'
Cl 60	<i>lilivi-</i>	'forked stick, small section of branch'

These may be applied to the part whether or not it is still attached to the tree. The specification is not of an act of separating but is a specification of the part of the larger whole without reference to separation. Cl 58 also has a non-material specification, and may specify part of a magic spell.

Seven classifiers refer to parts of buildings or constructions:

Cl 61	<i>liku-</i>	'divisions within canoe; horizontal divisions within yam-house; divisions or areas of authority in place'
Cl 62	<i>lipu-</i>	'tiers or stages erecting <i>pwatai</i> ceremonial display basket; horizontal divisions within yam-house; one <i>kaivalapu</i> gable board'
Cl 63	<i>buliga-</i>	'storey or horizontal divisions in house; drawers or shelves in series; horizontal divisions in yam-house'
Cl 64	<i>kabisi-</i>	'sections, divisions or shelves in yam-house'
Cl 65	<i>livisi-</i>	'shelves, usually in house; drawers; divisions of yam-house, or contents of the division'
Cl 66	<i>tabudo-</i>	'room, divisions within house' (cf. <i>-taboda-</i> 'to divide using instrument')
Cl 67	<i>kaduyo-</i>	'entrance to place where people or animals go in or out (doorway, gateway, hole in ground or wall, reef entrance); narrow opening to large container (mouth of person, neck of bottle, hole for head in pullover); any hole in clothing'

These have some overlap in specialist areas of the culture. Five specify yam-house divisions. The yam is the fulcrum of Kiriwinan culture and so there is considerable pressure for specific reference in matters connected with the quantities of yams stored, and a regular extension of that specification is the specification of authority or community status as a result of having yams in store. It is significant that many classifiers used to specify yam-house storage only do so as their secondary specification; thus Cl 61 *liku-*, Cl 62 *lipu-*, Cl 63 *buliga-* and Cl 65 *livisi-* all have primary specifications which are their major functions, some of which have considerable social importance. Only one, Cl 64 *kabisi-*, has yam-house divisions as its only specification.

This specification of yam-house divisions shows that the Kiriwinan sees any division in any area as having equal force with the dividing of his most important cultural asset, namely

the division of his annual harvest with all that this implies in reference to social standing, payment of old obligations or incurring of new ones. It may be seen as a connective association, for example similar to that noted within the domains of *na*₁- (5.4.) and *kai*- (5.4.).

Three classifiers refer to parts of the body:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|--|
| Cl 68 | <i>moya-</i> | 'limb or digit still attached to body; position in family lineage' |
| Cl 69 | <i>kwaya-</i> | 'limb or digit severed from human body; limb attached to (but considered apart from) body – (only applies to human or animal limbs)' |
| Cl 70 | <i>yam</i> ₂ - | 'hand attached to body' |

Of these three, one in particular, Cl 69 *kwaya-*, is able to specify human limbs when separated; but generally the specification is the same as for parts of trees – the part is specified but the idea of separation is not. Cl 68 *moya-* has a non-material specification also; when attached to the names of fingers it may specify the position a person holds in a family (first-born etc.) or in a genealogy.

The last two classifiers are used to specify parts of non-material wholes:

- | | | |
|-------|----------------|--|
| Cl 71 | <i>nina-</i> | 'idea, thought; part of magic spell or song' (cf. <i>nona</i> 'idea') |
| Cl 72 | <i>mavila-</i> | 'verse or stanza of song, paragraph in chapter, part of magic formula; division of day marked by changing position of sun' |

Cl 71 *nina-* may specify either part of a magic spell or else a single idea or thought. To maintain this latter specification as being partitive one would need to recognise an idea as one element with a totality of someone's thoughts or comments. Cl 72 *mavila*⁷⁵ may specify any part of a non-material whole.

Reference needs to be made to the metaphorical extension of some of the partitive classifiers. These extensions to areas of authority or status are an interesting part of their general domains. A look at those classifiers which Kiriwinan speakers see as relevant to such extension is able to show us something of their view of the nature of that authority or status.

The classifier Cl 61 *liku-* 'canoe divisions' specifically identifies the places in a canoe occupied by the *toli-waga* 'owner-canoe', the *to-kabi-kuliga* 'person-doing-steering', the *to-kabi-yalumila* 'person-doing-bailing' etc. The *liku-* specification of these positions is extended to the offices of importance themselves, so that phrases such as *maLIKUna tokabikuliga* 'that position steersman' apply equally to the position within the canoe and to the level of authority the one having the right to sit there has, either in relation to his position in the canoe or in the village community.

⁷⁵ The deictic form using this classifier is *MAVILA-na*. The form *ma-MAVILA-na* is no longer used, but is still accepted by an informant if I volunteer it in this form.

It is particularly significant to note that none of the classifiers which specify separate pieces of whole items is used to specify authority in society, or social importance.⁷⁶ It is thus a definite component of the meaning of these partitive specifiers that the analogy of authority, rank or social standing may only be drawn by those classifiers which specify parts not separated from larger wholes.

It is possible that in this regular metaphorical application we may be able to claim that the Kiriwinan speaker sees authority or rank not as an isolated island in his community but as part of the society and ipso facto inseparable from it. This interpretation of the metaphorical extension of some partitive classifiers to the specification of authority is consistent with the Kiriwinan social order, where the power of the chief is recognised by, and functions in terms of, his generosity and his obligations within that total framework of reciprocating obligation, characteristic of Kiriwinan society.

5.4.4.3.3 PIECES

The third subcategory of partitive classifiers consists of those which specify actual partition of items into pieces or fragments. These do not have any metaphorical extension to the specification of the parts of non-material wholes. The sixteen classifiers consist of two which specify the mode of division, five which specify the size or proportions of the divided piece, three which refer to the butchering of a carcass and six specifying serves of food.

The two classifiers which specify the mode of divisions are similar to the activity specifiers:

Cl 73	<i>bubo-</i>	'anything cut across using knife, axe, saw etc.' (cf. <i>-bobu</i> 'to cut (using axe etc.)')
Cl 74	<i>vili-</i>	'piece obtained by being broken off with twisting motion; untwisted' (cf. <i>-vili</i> 'to unravel')

Examples of these classifiers are best given in the context of full sentences.

- (207) *Mimilisi ma-BUBO-si-na bogwa ikau.*
 some that-cut-pl- already he-take
 He has already taken some of those cut-off pieces.

The context was the cutting of a large diameter log with a chainsaw, which had been done by a trader wanting a large piece of wood for an engine base. Thus the pieces had been cut transversely using an instrument for the cutting.

An example of Cl 74 *vili-* is of a phrase plus a sentence:

- (208) ...*ma-VILI-si-na yuwoyoula...* *Kusakaigu VILI-tala wala.*
 that.untwisted.pl rope you.give.me untwisted-one only
 ...those pieces of unravelled rope... Give me one strand only.

⁷⁶ An exception is noted in the case of one of the 3 classifiers with multiple partitive reference, Cl 89 *kabulo-*. However its specification of authority division I take to be part of its 'part within whole' specification, which would be consistent with other 'part within whole' classifiers.

Here a rope is unravelled to provide cords for some lashings. This classifier is frequently applied to a stick of tobacco in two different ways: it may be untwisted like a rope into (two) separate strands, or the whole stick may be broken apart by a twisting motion when gripped between the fingertips.

There is a natural association between specification of an activity and verb-like functions (already noted with respect to the activity specifiers – 5.4.4.2). The verbal forms related to CI 73 and CI 74, specifying mode of division, support this association.

The use of classifiers to specify the activity of division in a certain way – by cutting transversely using an instrument, or by unravelling or twisting off – is a specification consistent with the role of activity specifiers like CI 42 *ponina-*. The partitive classifiers have the multiple specification of ‘a divided item’ plus ‘mode of division’. Thus there is a component of instrumentality introduced by means of these classifiers.

It is relevant to digress briefly here with a comment on instrumental reference. Instrumental NPs are extremely rare in Kiriwinan; in examining some 1,600 phrases I found only two having specific instrumental reference such as ‘with a hammer’, and these two may have occurred only as a concession to modern contact between Kiriwinan and English. For the Kiriwinan, instrumentality is generally indicated by a class of twenty verb-root prefixes which indicate the means by which the action of the verb is carried out (see 3.7.4). Thus they may be seen as instrumental or agentive indicators, or an indicator of the manner in which the action is performed, or the degree of causation the actor is seen to have in effecting the action of the verb.

These prefixes may be attached to other morphemes to form verbs with causative indicators built into the verb action:

<i>-yogagi</i>	‘to harm someone’ (<i>yo-</i> ‘do violently’, <i>gaga</i> ‘bad’)
<i>-vamom</i>	‘to give a drink to’ (<i>va-</i> ‘do gently’, <i>-mom</i> ‘to drink’)
<i>-katumati</i>	‘to kill (with instrument)’ (<i>katu-</i> ‘do indirectly’, <i>-mata</i> ‘to die’)
<i>-kimati</i>	‘to kill (using hands)’ (<i>ki-</i> ‘do with hands, vigorously’, <i>-mata</i> ‘to die’)

The main burden of instrumental reference in the language is borne within the verb phrase. Here however, in some of the activity specification, we see that part of the role of instrumental reference is borne by the verb-like specifiers of activities. Thus through these activity classifiers we have the intrusion of a verb-like function into the NP; and as the activity classifiers have verbal antecedents this gives a consistent pattern to Kiriwinan instrumental reference.

Five classifiers in this *pieces* subcategory have quantitative force, and some hierarchical arrangement may be discerned between them (two of the three classifiers from the *multiple reference* subgroup may be included in this hierarchical arrangement of size specification):

	<i>kabulo-</i>	‘half of anything’ (see CI 89)
CI 75	<i>lapou-</i>	‘piece smaller than <i>kabulo-</i> , either a third or a quarter of the whole piece’
	<i>katupo-</i>	‘half of <i>kabulo-</i> ’ (see CI 90)
CI 76	<i>gum-</i>	‘smaller piece, frequently half of <i>lapou-</i> ’

Cl 77	<i>gibu-</i>	'small piece, as <i>gum-</i> , but with additional component of 'enough' (e.g. a serve of food enough for a meal, a piece of tobacco enough for a smoke)'
Cl 78	<i>kuwo-</i>	'crumbs, fragments smaller than any above, but worth keeping (either food or tobacco)'
Cl 79	<i>utu-</i>	'scraps or crumbs to be discarded'

Three classifiers specify cuts of meat from a dismembered carcass; there is some size specification:

Cl 80	<i>kabila-</i>	'large portion of carcass'
Cl 81	<i>kipu-</i>	'piece of carcass, about half of <i>kabila-</i> , a mouthful of flesh'
Cl 82	<i>sisili-</i>	'small portion of carcass (may be same size as <i>kipu-</i> or smaller), usually cooked' (cf. <i>-sali</i> 'to divide or dismember')

It needs to be noted that Cl 81 *kipu-* is not as frequently used as Cl 82 *sisili-*, and because of the possible homonymy between them the latter seems to be replacing the former. The next example illustrates this, also justifying the multiple specification of *sisili-*:

(209) *Kabila-tala avaka bi-ta-sali sisili-tala sisili-tala.*
cut-one what will-we-divide small.cut-one small.cut-one

Sisili-tala kala bobu tuvaila sisili-tala sisili-tala.
small.cut-one its division too small.cut-one small.cut-one

If we cut a large joint of meat in half we call each piece *sisili-*. If we cut again the smaller piece we still call each of the smaller cuts *sisili-*.

Six classifiers have to do with the division of food and drink (in addition to Cl 81 *kipu-*, with its primary specification a cut of raw meat and secondarily a portion of cooked flesh served for eating). In this subgroup size specification does not predominate, except that there is a cultural concept involved in most of them as to the acceptable size of a serve or helping of food.

Cl 83	<i>kaya-</i>	'piece of mature food cut in halves' (Cl 91 <i>pila-</i> may be used in the same way to specify division into two equal parts)
Cl 84	<i>givi-</i>	'serve of cooked fish – as much as may be politely taken between thumb and two fingers'
Cl 85	<i>kununu-</i>	'serve of cooked greens'
Cl 86	<i>yivi-</i>	'serve of fragments of vegetable food; handful of small pieces'
Cl 87	<i>gini-</i>	'bite, mouthful of food' (cf. <i>-gani</i> 'to bite')
Cl 88	<i>kapu-</i> <i>kipu-</i>	'mouthful of drink; sip (often tasted then spat out)' 'mouthful of cooked flesh' (Cl 81)

In addition, Cl 76 *gum-* 'piece', Cl 77 *gibu-* 'enough (vegetable, fish etc.)' and Cl 78 *kuwo-* 'crumb, mouthful' may be used in reference to food served for eating. The classifiers in this section may have a suggestion of quantitative specification, but they have in addition a subjective or culture-specific connotation; in serving food the host may speak deprecatingly of a large helping served to a guest as *KUWO-tala wala* 'morsel-one only', while a guest

may politely refer to a small serve as *GIBU-veka* 'serve-large'. Likewise a discontented recipient of a share of tobacco may downgrade *GIBU-tala tobaki* 'adequate.piece-one tobacco' to the insulting level of *Ka, maKUWOSina!* 'See that.crumb.pl'.

5.4.4.3.4 MULTIPLE REFERENCE

The last subcategory of classifiers which modify items by partition consists of three having multiple reference. These three have a universal function of partitive reference in the sense that each may refer to the three subcategories of partitive reference: topographical, specification of parts within wholes, and pieces.

- Cl 89 *kabulo-* 'section; half' (cf. *kabulu-* 'nose')
 Cl 90 *katupo-* 'section, quarter' (cf. *katupwaila* 'section')
 Cl 91 *pila-* 'part, piece'

These three are frequently used because of their broad partitive reference; but of the three Cl 91 *pila-* has the highest functional load, with some interesting modern uses. As each of these classifiers follows a consistent pattern of multiple specification, I tabulate this in Table 19 (with the specification for each position in the paradigm indicated in broad outline only).

	Topographical	Part of whole	Pieces – specification of:	
			size	other (mode etc.)
Cl 89 <i>kabulo-</i>	part of village (section); area of authority	protuberance (knob, handle, nose); cape of land	half	fish cutlets (natural division)
Cl 90 <i>katupo-</i>	stages of a journey	part of long items (rope, sugarcane before cutting); temporal divisions	quarter	divide by breaking (functional division)
Cl 91 <i>pila-</i>	area (part of larger area)	side, end of s.th.; a part on one side (duplicated on the other)	piece	lateral division (equal parts)

The topographical function of Cl 89 *kabulo-* includes specification of part of a village as a 'section'. Some Kiriwinan villages are large, with populations approaching a thousand people. Although all the houses are built in close proximity to each other, certain areas or groups of families fall under the authority of one high-ranking person, even though there may be little sign of any physical boundary line. Thus *kabulo-* may specify one such area within a village. The specification may also extend metaphorically to the concept of an area of authority, either in the matter of choices for the collective work program of the section

specified or in other matters, such as authority over a team in a game and responsibility for food distribution.

The specification of *part of a whole* is made by *kabulo-* in reference to any protuberance of an object (e.g. the end of a piece of timber, the corners of a box or its handles, knobs). A person's nose is so specified, and 'cape, peninsula' is clearly a topographical application of the 'protuberance' feature.

When *kabulo-* is used to specify a piece of anything it has two possible uses. The most general is the quantitative specification of 'half' (included on p.211 in the list of quantity-specific partitive classifiers). Its second 'piece' reference is a specific reference to the transverse division of a large fish into a number of chunks; in this connection the classifier is non-specific as to the size of each chunk. In (210) a Kiriwina speaker refers to one such *kabulo-* section of a fish, referring also to the 'lateral division' specification of CI 91 *pila-*:

- (210) *KABULO-tala yena ta-tavi PILA-tala PILA-tala.*
 half-one fish we-cut piece-one piece-one
 We cut one piece of fish into two equal fillets.

Thus in all three specifications CI 89 *kabulo-* seems most readily to express the feature of natural physical division.

The second classifier in the group, CI 90 *katupo-*, has the general specification of functional division. Its topographical reference specifies the stages of a journey or the division of a track into stages of acceptable lengths between rests:

- (211) *Baisa b-i-la Obwelia KATUPO-vasi katupwaila, paila baisa*
 this will-it-go Obwelia stage-four stage for this
b-i-la-ga Kakabali - e Morobwaga, Lumwela, Obwelia.
 will-it-go-EMPH Kakabali - well Morobwaga Lumwela Obwelia
 From here to Obwelia is four stages, because from here to Kakabali is one stage, then Morobwaga, Lumwela and Obwelia.

Only Obwelia is the name of a village. The other names are places along the track marked by no feature other than being a traditional rest-point on the journey. Each stage is about 4 km. Thus the specification of *katupo-* is the marking of a length between two known points.

The *part of the whole* specification of *katupo-* is the length specification of part of a long item, such as a length of sugarcane between two nodes before it is cut off, and a part of a rope or fishing line.

A non-material application of the *part of the whole* specification of *katupo-* is its use to specify temporal divisions within a day. Traditional Kiriwina culture split the day into a number of sections marked by various regular points ('pregnant women walk safely') or positions of the sun in the sky ('sun turns over'), and the night by events which set the night in a pattern ('children asleep' etc.). The modern use of *katupo-* is to divide the day and night by specifying the hours of the clock. The regular specification of *katupo-* as an extent bounded by two points has left the modern Kiriwina speaker in no doubt as to its correct application to the time reference of Western culture.

Finally, the specification of pieces of an item by *katupo-* has a dual role. It may specify the mode of division by breaking an object into pieces; in this connection its morphological similarity with the verb *-tapu* 'to bruise, crush' indicates the possible origin of this specification. Its second specification is the quantity-specific 'quarter'.

The last of the classifiers having multiple reference, Cl 91 *pila-*, is one of the most frequently used classifiers in the language, having a functional load approaching that of a Basic Property Specifier.

Its topographical reference is in specifying any area of ground as part of a larger area, such as a part of a village, a whole village as part of a district and a whole district as part of an island.

The specification of *part of the whole* by *pila-* may be seen in its reference to a part of a house (e.g. one end of the floor area within the building). It may also specify a part of something which is capable of being, but has not yet been, divided. In this connection *pila-* may refer to one side of a canoe, the side of a person and other similar 'side of' specifications where the item is capable of being divided into two equal and symmetrical halves. It is perhaps a moot point whether this specification arises from its *part of the whole* specifying function or from its specification of equal lateral division. I am of the opinion that the basic component is the latter, and the component *side of something capable of equal lateral division* is a secondary specification.

A tangential association of the feature *separation into one of two proportionate parts* has been that *pila-* is used to specify the side of anything, whether or not it is separated from the whole, provided the side is one of two equal or proportionate parts. Thus the side of a whole canoe, the left or right (but not the back or front) sides of a person, and anything on the one side which is duplicated on the other side (e.g. hand, eye, ear, wing of a bird) is specified by *pila-*. When these items are separated from the body they are differently specified. However when a person has lost one of a pair of body members, such as an eye, it is the remaining part of the body which is referred to as *PILA-kesa* 'part-remnant', the person being described as *to-PILA-kesa* 'person-part-remnant' or as *maTAUna PILA-kesa mata-la* 'that.person part-remnant eye-his'.

The specification of whole items by *pila-* is mainly in certain modern specifications (as listed below). One apparently whole item specification which does not fit in with these is the traditional (i.e. not modern) specification of a whole song by *pila-*.⁷⁷ This is in accord with the *part of a larger whole* specification if a single song is seen as one of a cycle of songs. When Kiriwinans sing, one song is never performed in isolation from others. When either traditional or modern singing is done a group of people will usually go all night and past the next day's sunrise. Thus there is some justification for the specification arising from that of the *part of a whole* identified above.

As seen for Cl 89 *kabulo-* and Cl 90 *katupo-*, when we consider the specification of pieces by *pila-* a dual role may be seen – it may specify either a piece of anything without reference to size or it may refer to a thing divided equally by lateral division.

⁷⁷ See also Cl 71 *nina-* 'idca' and Cl 72 *mavila-* 'verse'.

The division into pieces without specification of size or proportion is used of a divided piece of food, or a piece of a stick of tobacco. The component of sharing out between a number of people may be specified by *pila-* and this may arise from the specification of division of an item into pieces.

Besides this indication of division without reference to size, there is a second specification of lateral division which is clearly a major feature; *pila-* may specify one side of anything which has been laterally divided into two equal parts, such as a fish divided into two halves down the backbone, a piece of wood split longitudinally or a carcass split down the backbone. The extension of splitting has introduced a number of connective associations which have interesting modern applications. Its specification of a log of wood split lengthways has led to the specification of flatness, so that it may specify any flat rigid thing (e.g. timber adzed or planed flat, carved houseboards, planks from a sawmill or any book, although individual pages are specified by Cl 4 *ya-* 'flexible').

It may be that the property of flatness is the basic one, with extension back to the thing split etc.; but against this is the over-bearing load of partitive specification generally displayed by *pila-*, which would not come so naturally from what we would have to consider as extensions of a Basic Property Specifier. Furthermore none of the Basic Property Specifiers extends to such a degree of multiple specification as would have to be stated for *pila-* under this analytical viewpoint. One would need to ask whether flatness was a basic component in a society which sees all of its raw materials for building *in the round* and where flatness has to be created by splitting or adzing. As the *flat* component is applied to a number of modern things (books, planks of timber etc.) and to many traditional things where flatness is created (canoe paddles, houseboards, gunwale boards etc.) I consider that for the Kiriwinan the component of flatness is seen not as basic but as a secondary quality arising from some activity. Thus it is more in keeping with the culture to regard flatness as arising from the splitting specification.

So we have seen that the classifier Cl 91 *pila-* is used to specify *part of a whole* in two senses, as well as to specify *piece* in two senses. Its *part of whole* may be *part of a larger whole*, which appears in its topographical reference, or *part not separated but duplicated on the other side*, which arises from its specification of something divided equally to form two proportionate parts. Its *piece* specification may be *piece (size unspecified)*, as when things are shared out (although the component of equality in the shares is seen) or *piece divided equally laterally*.

The general features of these three classifiers can be drawn together. The artificial nature of the division between *part of whole* and topographical categories is seen here in the blurred boundaries between the domains specified for these three. It is in fact better to consider them as having in general only the two broad categories of *part of whole* and *piece* specifications.

In the *part of whole* specification, Cl 89 *kabulo-* identifies the division which is clearly evident to the senses, or the points at which an item will naturally or easily separate; thus *natural physical division* may be its best label. Cl 90 *katupo-* on the other hand specifies functional division – that is, division at points not perceptually obvious but at which

something may be usefully divided to suit all needs (not the points of natural physical division). Cl 91 *pila-* generally expresses either mere division or else equilateral division.

These same features may be seen to carry through to the specification of *pieces*, where the *half* specification of Cl 89 *kabulo-* indicates the sort of division which anything semantically compatible with simple division is physically able to undergo, and the division of a fish into cutlets is physically predetermined by the position of joints between vertebrae. The functional division of Cl 90 *katupo-* is suggested by its specification of the mode of forcible division, so that an item is divided not where it separates easily but where the cultural context determines it *must* be divided. Finally Cl 91 *pila-* carries equilateral division into practice with split timber and the way a cooked fish symmetrically divides along the backbone.

Finally there is a suggestion that in the changing specifications of Cl 91 *pila-*, particularly in reference to modern items, there is evidence of a process of semantic change. Thus the partitive specification of lateral division which led to a secondary feature of 'flatness', a derived or manufactured feature in the Kiriwina of pre-Western contact, has come to have a primary specification of 'flat/thick' or 'rigid/flat', in reference to items seeming to occur *naturally* or without manufacture in modern Kiriwina. In its specification of *splitting laterally* it is really an activity specifier; however this specification has been extended to thick flat planks, books, thick pieces of flat steel, flat concrete slabs etc., so that in the modern scene the property of flatness rather than that of separation has become primary. Thus the partitive specification of Cl 91 *pila-* may very well have reached a point of change, where its secondary or tangential association of *flat separated pieces* has become an item specification, so that it could be included with the five Basic Property Specifiers because of its identification in modern Kiriwina of a new semantic domain marked by certain physical properties.

5.4.4.3.5 CONCLUSION

Firstly, we may not properly refer to the partitive classifiers as item specifiers. While there is a sense in which anything identified as part of, or formed by division of, a larger whole becomes and is identifiable as a new item, yet the use by a speaker of a classifier from this group does not specify the new entity as an item in isolation; what is specified is generally the original whole item modified by partition. This applies whether we are speaking of undivided parts of a larger whole or of pieces separated from a larger item. The domain of Cl 3 *kai-* 'rigid/long' may include reference to whole sticks of tobacco only; once a stick of tobacco is divided the remnant may be indicated only by classifiers which specify division. Merely the fact of division may be specified, or else the fact of division plus the mode of its division, or alternatively the fact of division plus the size of the divided piece. It is clear therefore that the relationship between the partitive specifiers and the noun is more complex than the pronominal role of the item specifiers.

The partitive classifiers may supplement the item specifiers by being used in context with them, and thus they add to the NP the meaning component of partition obligatorily, plus optionally the component of either the activity of division or the size of the piece. (Table

(18), giving inter alia possible divisions which may be applied to a stick of tobacco, shows how partitive specification may be applied to whole items.)

The multiple role of the activity specifier subgroup has been noted. We may note also that a similar sort of dual role is evident in these partitive classifiers which specify quanta (e.g. the repeater-like function of Cl 90 *katupo-* in (211)), and that, further, some hierarchy of size may be specifiable by some of them. The hierarchical arrangement may be seen in garden division classifiers, the size of cuts of meat from a carcase, the size of serves of food, and the general proportions of anything divided, from a half portion down to the useless crumb or scrap.

It should be noted that although these partitive classifiers do not have a basic role of item specification, yet by some extensions of the partitive reference, particularly in reference to modern or transcultural items, they do in some cases function as item specifiers. The broad function of the Cl 91 *pila-* 'part' illustrates this, with its very wide domain; and in its adaption to modern categories of specification it approaches in the partitive area the breadth of the Basic Property Specifier Cl 5 *kwai-* 'thing'.

Finally, there is the 'noun-free' function which is broadly in evidence throughout the partitive classifiers. Thus the classifiers which specify the activity of division may be used with the name of the activity, as in Cl 66 *tabudo-* 'room' in *maTABUDOna taboda* 'that division/wall', though its usual form is simply the noun-free phrase *maTABUDOna* 'that (room of a house)', there being no separate word for 'room'. In Cl 65 *livisi-* 'shelf', when used in reference to a shelf or drawer, is used as a noun-free expression *LIVISI-tala* 'shelf-one', as here again there is no noun for 'shelf'. In reference to the contents of a shelf it may be used with the name of the contents of the shelf, as in *maLIVISIna taitu* 'that shelf of *taitu* yams'. As multiple specification is a regular component of the partitive classifiers, such noun-free classifier use is the most usual way in which the partitive classifiers occur. A similar pattern is seen in the other Group II classifiers, where each classifier carries a potential of multiple specification.

In fact many of the classifiers included in the list of *partitive* classifiers can be seen as partitive in one of their specifications and arrangement-specific in the other, with the reverse being true of some in the *arrangement* classifier subgroup. Thus the partitive classifier Cl 65 *livisi-* 'shelf' is *partitive-specific* in reference to the shelf, but *arrangement-specific* in reference to the group of yams on the shelf. Likewise the arrangement classifiers Cl 113 *dodiga-* 'load' and Cl 114 *kaiyuvai-* 'layer' are *arrangement-specific* in reference to the things which constitute the load or layer, but may be *partitive-specific* in reference to the layer or load itself. In many instances besides those already cited it may be shown that the difference between a partition or an arrangement of items is merely that of extreme points of a semantic continuum, or different semantic polarities.⁷⁸ Thus much of the ordering of the classifier data within these subgroups of classifiers must be seen as an ordering of heuristic convenience, to enable a comprehensive study of the whole lexicon of classifiers.

⁷⁸ Becker has suggested that quality and quantity may likewise be regarded as extreme polarities of one concept rather than as different concepts. See my note on this in 5.1.2.3.

5.4.4.4 ARRANGEMENT CLASSIFIERS

The third subcategory of classifiers which modify items comprises 56 classifiers, which I label *arrangement* classifiers, specifying various groupings or arrangements of items. Each classifier in this subcategory has as its basic specification the plurality of the items it classifies.

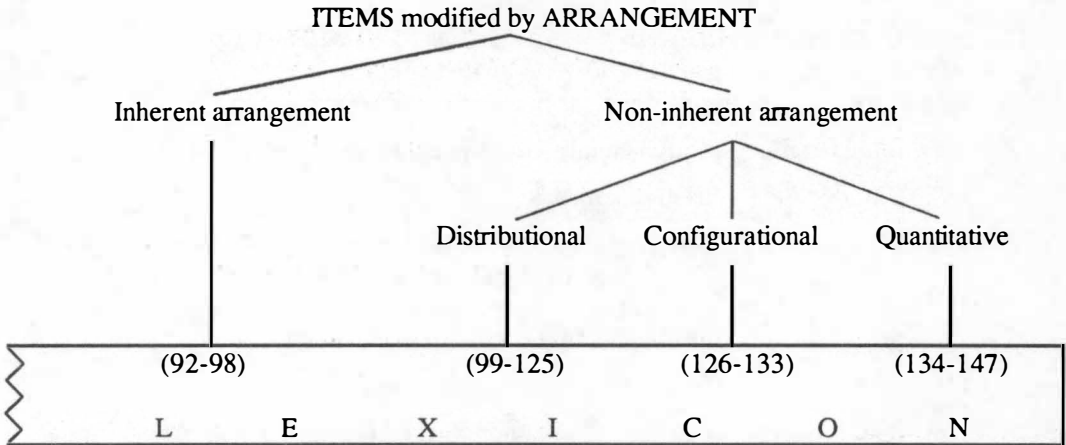


FIGURE 5: ARRANGEMENT CLASSIFIERS

There are 7 classifiers which specify classes of items which are inherently possible only as groups. The rest are not inherently grouped; these function in three ways. Firstly, 27 classifiers specify distributinal arrangements of items or groups of various kinds (e.g. heaps, bundles, crowds, loads). Then there are 8 classifiers which specify a configurational arrangement in coils, rolls or lines. Thirdly, 14 classifiers specify various quantitative arrangements.⁷⁹

5.4.4.4.1 INHERENT GROUPING

Of the seven classifiers which specify inherent arrangements of items, three specify social groups and four specify bunches or clusters of fruit, nuts etc.:

- CI 92 *tubo-* 'a generation, all the children born at one period; the people of one's own time (a loose indefinite group)'
- CI 93 *kumila-* 'clan group' (cf *kumila* 'clan group')
- CI 94 *dila-* 'family line; one family within the *kumila* group' (cf. *dala* 'family line')

These three serve to divide society in two directions. The classification of CI 92 *tubo-* is a stratification which cuts across all family lines and clans, dividing society into children,

⁷⁹ The terminology I use to label the subcategories of this third category is adapted from Allan's (1977:304-306) description of his last two categories of classification.

adults and old people. The other two, *dila-* and *kumila-*, comprise a division of society across the generation strata into four large groups called *kumila* ‘clan’, each clan having numerous different *dala* ‘family lines’. Both divisions are comprehensive, so that the pattern of horizontal (similar age groups) and vertical (across age groups) division which could be drawn would be an hierarchical taxonomy of reference similar in structure to that which was seen in reference to the domain of *to₁₋* (5.4.3.1.1).

- (212) *Mina Dobu KUMILA-vila yakidasi-ga KUMILA-vasi.*
 people Dobu clan-many(INDEF) we-EMPH clan-four
 Dobu people have a number of clans but we have only four.

The other four classifiers specify naturally occurring clusters of nuts and fruits:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|--|
| CI 95 | <i>kila-</i> | ‘hand of bananas’ |
| CI 96 | <i>buko₂₋</i> | ‘cluster of fruit on one stem, bunch of yams growing in one clump’; ‘cluster of egg cowrie shells on chief’s house-gable ornament’
(cf. <i>-bukula</i> ‘to bear (fruit) in clusters’) |
| CI 97 | <i>biko-</i> | ‘bunch of coconuts on one stem’ |
| CI 98 | <i>sa-</i> | ‘bunch of betel-nut or other edible nuts; bunch of nuts similar to betel-nut but inedible’ |

The multiple specification of *buko-* needs a comment. Three separate specifications have been noted:

- that which is buried (cf. *-baku* ‘to inter, bury’; see CI 36 *buko₁₋*);
- fruit borne in clusters (cf. *-bukula* ‘to bear in clusters’);
- egg cowrie shells made to form the *kapiwa* ‘chief’s gable ornament’ (cf. CI 134 *puli-* ‘bunch’).

The first two of these have caused me to postulate two homophonous but semantically distinct forms, *buko₁₋* and *buko₂₋*. There is an element of common meaning between the second and third specifications above, in that clusters of things are specified; but, in the case of all other ‘fruit in cluster’ classifiers listed here, the specification is only of inherently clustered things, which grow only in that way. I have not however set up a third homophonous form for *buko-* as this fluctuation observable within the domain of *buko₂₋* is in line with the general quality of flexibility of reference characteristic of the whole morpheme class, and is a further example of tangential association.

The flexible delineation of the boundaries of some domains, as seen here for *buko₂₋* (and as noted for CI 5 *kwai-* ‘thing’ and CI 91 *pila-* ‘part/piece’) is noted by Allan (1977:294-5) as characteristic of some areas within classifier languages: the “members which *seem* to have been arbitrarily assigned” to some classifier domains are typical of a system which “is clearly not too rigid, or else verbal play with classifiers would be impossible, and a competent native speaker would have more difficulty classifying new objects than he appears in fact to have”.

5.4.4.4.2 DISTRIBUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT

The first of the subcategories of non-inherent groups of items is the largest, with 27 classifiers specifying distributed arrangements of items. Allan (1977:305) speaks of these as “classifiers which identify objects in some kind of specific non-inherent distribution; I am thinking of classifiers like ‘heap’, ‘clump’, ‘bunch’ and ‘herd’”. Allan has in these words given a fair summary of the specification of these 27 Kiriwinan classifiers.

Six specify heaps, groups and crowds, with considerable synonymy between some:

- | | | |
|--------|----------------|---|
| Cl 99 | <i>budo-</i> | ‘group or crowd (people, animals, birds, fish)’ (domain wholly included within that of Cl 101 <i>gulo-</i>) (cf. <i>boda</i> ‘group’) |
| Cl 100 | <i>deli-</i> | ‘group on the move’ (cf. conj. <i>deli</i> ‘with’) |
| Cl 101 | <i>gulo-</i> | ‘group of people or animals; heap of random objects; bundle of fibres laid side by side but not tied together’ (has wider reference than Cl 99 <i>budo-</i>) |
| Cl 102 | <i>gugulo-</i> | ‘gathering of people, a meeting (with a purpose); heap of bundles of things’ (cf. <i>-gugula</i> ‘to meet together, assemble’) |
| Cl 103 | <i>yuwo-</i> | ‘group (people, animals), stationary or moving’ (more readily applicable to large groups) (cf. <i>yau</i> ‘group (people, animals)’) |
| Cl 104 | <i>tupila-</i> | ‘fleet or group of canoes; group of people travelling in one fleet’ (cf. <i>tupila</i> ‘fleet (of canoes)’) |

Eight specify bundles or parcels:

- | | | |
|--------|----------------|---|
| Cl 105 | <i>duli-</i> | ‘bundle of rolls, any bundle of two to six items; number of fruit borne on one stem’ (in some specifications synonymous with Cl 96 <i>buko₂₋</i>) (cf. <i>-duli</i> ‘to bear (fruit) in cluster’) |
| Cl 106 | <i>seluva-</i> | ‘bundle in process of being tied up’ |
| Cl 107 | <i>luva-</i> | ‘anything tied in bundle (sticks, stalks of spinach, sugarcane, flat dishes etc.)’ |
| Cl 108 | <i>ta-∅</i> | ‘baskets (full or empty); contents of basket’ (zero form used only with numerals; <i>ta-</i> rarely with numerals) ⁸⁰ |
| Cl 109 | <i>kapo-</i> | ‘bundles rolled up (usually small), parcels; bird's nest’ (cf. <i>-kapola</i> ‘to wrap up’) |
| Cl 110 | <i>kapuli-</i> | ‘group of parcels (or large parcel); cargo of goods on one trip; load of people on one run (canoe or truck)’ |
| Cl 111 | <i>luba-</i> | ‘large bundle of rolls (matting); parcels of taro pudding’ |

⁸⁰ Malinowski (1920:62) lists only the zero form. He did however note the existence of *ta-*, as he recorded its use within the deictic, although he appears to have misunderstood it. Also he wrongly criticised Fellows for identifying *TAYuwa* (Mal. *TAlua*) by its correct translation ‘two baskets’.

Cl 112 *mveli₂*- 'bundle of leaves used as poultice; poultice application'

Four specify loads, contents or layers:

Cl 113 *dodiga*- 'load, contents of load; contents of box or drawer'
(cf. *dodiga* 'load (canoe)')

Cl 114 *kaiyuvai*- 'layer of things in load of cargo; people tumbled together in game; group of things on shelf; layers of filth on body; strata in earth's crust (three recognised – earth, stone, rock); rows of items'

Cl 115 *pupai*- 'layers or strata of filth (body, village area); other specifications as for *kaiyuvai*-, but less commonly used' (cf. *popu* 'excreta, filth')

Cl 116 *keivala*- 'batch of things curing over fire or in sun'
(cf. *keivala* 'batch')

Note that Cl 110 *kapuli*- 'group of parcels' may also specify the general component of 'loads', similar to Cl 113 and Cl 114.

Five specify bundles or rolls:

Cl 117 *mmo*- 'bundles tied in conical shape, tops together (taro, maize, tomato bushes (with fruit), coconut leaves as torch for night fishing,⁸¹ growing sugarcane in clumps to promote long canes)
(cf. *mwam* 'bundle made by tying tops')

Cl 118 *sipu*- 'tangled line; nest' (cf. *-sipu* 'to tie knot')

Cl 119 *wela*- 'fish strung together, indefinite number but standard weight'⁸²

Cl 120 *kudu*- 'band or rope for skirtband (fibres laid parallel); roll of split creeper for lashing'⁸³

Cl 121 *suyo*- 'anything tied in bundle or strung together by having string passed through hole (fish, rolls of mat-making material, keys, armshells etc.)'

Finally, four specify groves, clumps or tufts:

Cl 122 *kapupu*- 'grove of standing trees; patch of scrub left after garden cleared; tuft of hair left on shaven head'

⁸¹ Also specifiable by Cl 3 *kai*- 'rigid/long'.

⁸² The *wela*- 'string of fish' category is probably the only example of weight specification among the classifiers. The weight is not specifically declared (there being no units of weight measure) but *wela*-strings are approximately three kilograms, being a standard trading unit in exchange for a six kilogram basket of yams.

⁸³ If *wali* 'cane (for lashing)' is laid in long straight bundles, unsplit and not coiled, it is specified by Cl 107 *luva*- 'tied bundle'.

- Cl 123 *lukuva-* 'groups of things growing together, tied at top or trellised together; long things (posts, canes) cut down and tied in long bundles; trellises'
- Cl 124 *poulo-* 'grove of trees; group of people; heaps of things gathered into group'
- Cl 125 *umila-* 'grove of trees of one kind, plantation'

Most of the 27 classifiers in this large subsection have a simple set of specifications, and many are parallel forms (e.g. Cl 99 *budo-*, Cl 101 *gulo-* and Cl 103 *yuwo-*; Cl 114 *kaiyuvai-* and Cl 115 *pupai-*; Cl 117 *mmo-* and Cl 123 *lukuva-*). Some have specifications which could place them in this subgroup or in another; for example Cl 120 *kudu-* specifies either rolls or a configuration of coils which could place it in the configurational subgroup. The difficulties of overlap and multiple specification are constant, and at times the placing of a classifier in one place or another is to be seen as merely arbitrary.

5.4.4.4.3 CONFIGURATIONAL ARRANGEMENT

The second subcategory of classifiers specifying non-inherent arrangement consists of eight which specify configurational detail. Allan (1977:304), speaking of this category, cites "those which identify an object or objects in some specific and non-inherent configuration". He also speaks of a second group: "classifiers which identify an object or set of objects in a specific position, thus intersecting with the category of location" (p.305). Allan includes both single and multiple items in each of these two categories; the single items which would fit his categories I have already dealt with under item specifiers or partitive classifiers, and his comments on the locative component evident in these has already been recognised as applicable to the Kiriwinan material. He also comments, specifically of Kiriwinan, and correctly, that "verbs are a productive source for this subcategory of arrangement classifiers" (p.305). (I have made this point when speaking of activity specifiers and of the classifiers specifying mode of division.) Here in this single group of configurational classifiers specifying groups of items we see that Allan's general remarks have direct support in the Kiriwinan data.

The eight configurational arrangement classifiers are in three groups. Four specify coils or coiled things:

- Cl 126 *tavi-* 'rope loosely coiled in hand' (cf. *-tavi* 'to coil it up')
- Cl 127 *kupa-* 'line in loose coils; serve of uncooked greens' (cf. adj₁ *-kukupa* 'short')
- Cl 128 *teni-* 'rope in tight coil or hank (elbow+hand used as form)'
- Cl 129 *katukuni-* 'rope or line wound onto reel; a turn in a coil' (cf. *-katukuni* 'to roll it up (using reel)')

Two specify rolls of flat things:

- CI 130 *bili-* 'mat-making or house-walling material in rolls; anything rolled up (paper, cloth, mat material, house-walling)'
- CI 131 *tabili-* 'mat-making or house-walling material in rolls; a rolled-up mat' (cf. *-katubili* 'to roll it up')

Of these two, CI 131 *tabili-* seems to be preferred for traditional rolls and CI 130 *bili-* for modern coils (e.g. paper, cloth, steel bands). There is however a large area of synonymy between the two.

Finally, two specify rows or lines of items:

- CI 132 *gili-* 'rows of discs sewn onto belt, headband etc.; bands or turns of woven armband; bands of decorative motifs in carved or woven designs; numbers of new shoots from growing yam'
- CI 133 *kasa-* 'line or row of things (books on shelf, line of song, sentence); things or people in row; bunch of keys on string (indefinite number)' (cf. *-kasa* 'to form a line (people)')

There is little to comment on in this subsection except to note that the domains of some of these classifiers are broader than just configurational arrangement, so that they could conceivably have membership in more than one category; for example, CI 133 *kasa-* 'line' in this subsection overlaps with CI 121 *suyo-* 'things strung through hole' in respect of keys on a string.

5.4.4.4.4 QUANTITATIVE CLASSIFIERS

As I have drawn extensive parallels between my groupings and Allan's suggested arrangement of classifier categories, I now note a difference between what he refers to (1977:306) as "the seventh and last category of classification: quanta" and those which I have called *quantitative* classifiers. In his last group Allan has included several subcategories such as value, partition, collection (bunch, cluster, crowd) which I have already grouped above. Those which he refers to as the *subcategory of grammatical number* are the ones which seem to be the closest parallel to my quantitative classifiers.

There are fourteen classifiers in this subsection.

Two have measurement classifications; the quantification of a group of items is the justification for placing them with the arrangement classifiers; they would probably occur more naturally with the partitive classifiers:

- CI 134 *uva-* 'span measure, about a fathom (outstretched arms); any item measured in spans (circumference of heap of yams,⁸⁴ *kuvipiti* 'long yams', fish)'

⁸⁴ The size of a large heap of yams may be specified by stating the length in *uva-* 'spans' of the *liba* 'encircling fence' placed around the base of the heap.

- Cl 135 *yuma-* ‘measure of length (fingertip of one hand to wrist of other arm, arms outstretched – about 15 cm shorter than *uva-tala* ‘span-one’); hand or arm (rarely)’ (cf. *yama-* ‘hand’)

It may be that the apparent multiple specification of Cl 135 *yuma-* arises from the stating of a unit of measure shorter by the length of one hand than the Cl 134 *uva-* ‘span’ measure. As a unit of measure it only appears with *-tala* ‘one’. The use of this classifier to specify ‘hand’ may in fact be an allomorph of Cl 70 *yam₂-* ‘hand’.

Two specify groups having reference to the number in the group, but the precise number is indefinite in each case:

- Cl 136 *puli-* ‘bunch (2-6 items) tied together; people tied or connected by holding hands in games; cluster of egg cowrie shells on chief’s gable ornament or any cluster of shells for dancing ornament; several fruit borne in cluster on one stem’ (note overlap with Cl 36 *buko₂-* ‘fruit cluster’ and Cl 105 *duli-* ‘bundle, cluster’)
- Cl 137 *katuluwo-* ‘large group (people, animals, things) – indefinite number in hundreds or thousands’ (cf. *lakatuluwo-* ‘thousands of’)

Four have reference to groups of two or four items, mostly marine items used in barter:

- Cl 138 *uwo-* ‘bundles of two items tied together’ (cf. *-yu* ‘two’)
- Cl 139 *kalo-* ‘bundles of two marine crustacea (crabs, crayfish) tied together’ (cf. *keli* ‘crustacean’)
- Cl 140 *kupo-* ‘string of two fish or other marine creatures (eels, octopus etc.)’
- Cl 141 *yulai-* ‘bundle of four things (food, other objects)’

An adequate free translation of these classifiers in counting is difficult, but is attempted in the following examples.

- (213) *KALO-tala NA-tana⁸⁵ lakum*
two.bundle-one animal-one crab
a pair of crabs plus another crab (i.e. three crabs)
- (214) *KUPO-tala kase-la yena*
two.string-one remnant-its fish
a pair of fish plus another fish (i.e. three fish)
- (215) *YULAI-tala UWO-tala luya*
four.bundle-one two.bundle-one coconut
a four-bundle plus a pair of coconuts (i.e. six coconuts)

Finally, six specify ten-groups, some of them with considerable complexity of specification which only the “context of situation” would reduce to a clear specification for that situation:

⁸⁵ *Tana* is an allomorph of *tala*, regularly used with Cl 2 and Cl 7, *na-*.

- CI 142 *kasila-* 'groups of ten wealth items (armshells, necklaces, dancing-plumes etc.)'
- CI 143 *buluwo-* 'groups of ten animals, birds, fish' (counting people using this classifier is considered a joke) (cf. *bolodila* 'wild animal', from *bunukwa* 'pig' and *lawodila* 'jungle')
- CI 144 *kaulo-* 'ten *wela-* strings of fish'
- CI 145 *ika-* 'tens of things (*kuvi* yams, skirts, coconuts etc.)'; special specifications: tens of CI 98 *sa-* 'bunches of nuts', tens of CI 141 *yulai-* 'four-bundles', tens of CI 120 *kudu-* 'bundles' and tens of CI 107 *luva-* 'bundles'
- CI 146 *kaluwo-* 'days in groups of ten' (cf. *KALA-luwo-tala* 'day-ten-one'); 'ten-groups of *kai-* specified items' (cf. CI 3 *kai-* 'rigid' and *luwo-* 'ten of')
- CI 147 *kwailuwo-* 'ten-groups of items' (regular specification of CI 5 *kwai-* 'thing' plus *-luwo-* 'tens of'); special specifications: tens of CI 140 *kupo-* 'strings of fish', tens of CI 141 *yulai-* 'four-bundles' and CI 95 *kila-* 'hand of bananas'

CI 146 *kaluwo-* only occurs with numerals. Notice that in reference to ten-groups of days both *kaluwo-* and the regular *KALA-luwo-* 'day-ten' occur; CI 147 *kwailuwo-* 'tens of items' may also specify days in groups of ten.

The following phrases show CI 143 *buluwo-* in context:

- (216) *miNASina NA-lima bunukwa...*
 that.animal.pl animal-five pig
 those five pigs...
- miNASina BULUWO-yu bunukwa*
 that.animal.pl ten.group-two pig
 those twenty pigs

The following phrases both indicate 'forty coconuts':

- (217) *YULAI-luwo-tala luya...*
 four.bundle-ten-one coconut
 ten four-bunches of coconuts...
- IKA-tala luya*
 ten.yulai-one coconut
 ten-fours of coconuts

Some general comments need to be made about the domains of reference of the fourteen forms of the quantitative classifiers.

The first two, specifying units of measurement, have a double specification similar to that which we have come to see as a general feature of the classifiers which modify items in some

way. Thus Cl 134 *uva-* 'span' may specify either the non-material concept of a span measurement or it may specify the item or items measured.

Those which specify a number in a group, plus the mode of putting them together, have more complex specifications, so that their use adds a great deal of information to the phrase. Thus Cl 140 *kupo-* specifies:

- a group of two items;
- that the two items are hung on a piece of string;
- that they are marine items.

Likewise Cl 142 *kasila-* has a triple specification:

- the items are ten in number;
- they must be items culturally accepted as 'wealth items';
- they are in a group only, not strung together.

Some of the ten-group specifiers are more complex. Thus Cl 144 *kaulo-* has a fivefold specification:

- the specification is of plural items;
- the items specified are fish;
- they must be strung together;
- each string contains the same quantity;
- they are placed together in groups of ten strings.

5.4.4.4.5 CONCLUSION

The complexity of the relationship between the classifiers and the items they identify is the major characteristic to be emphasised here. As the classifier may identify either the group it names or the items which have been so grouped, every NP which includes an arrangement classifier is semantically complex. Features of that relationship may be the complexities observed in noun-free constructions, activity specification and the repeater-like pronominal function. While such elements as these may be characteristic of the semantic features of any of the classifiers which modify items, here we find the additional component of plurality of the item specified. The quantitative complexity of some classifiers has been referred to, and that poses the question of whether in fact the arrangement classifiers take over the role of numbers and in some cases render them redundant. This question must be answered, firstly in reference to the specification of plurality and secondly in reference to the specification of explicit quanta.

The specification of plurality is not the monopoly of the number morphemes. Plurality may be specified by the verb in reference to either its subject or object NP, or it may be specified by some nouns and some adjectives which indicate plurality by a stem reduplicative process, or the deictic word may carry a plural-indicating infix. Thus specification of plurality is clearly a function which the Kiriwinan language is formally able to undertake in a number of different ways, so that the function of some classifiers in specifying plurality is part of a functional facility spread widely through the language.

The specification of explicit quanta by classifiers is however a role which is otherwise performed exclusively by the numeral, and this quantification role of some classifiers is an area of overlapping function with the numerals. This overlap is in certain groupings of twos, fours and tens (Cl 138-147). However this numbering specification is not an unmarked counting function of the classifiers to be applied to any countable items, and herein lies the difference in role between the quantity-specific classifiers and the number morphemes. Number morphemes are universally applicable to items semantically capable of being isolated as units and enumerated. The quantity-specific classifiers are semantically limited as to the items which may be enumerated by them. This limitation may be seen as culturally determined, so that a particular "contextual specification" (Malinowski 1935:37) is the environment in which this overlap of specific numbering roles occurs.

An examination of the domains of reference of the quantity-specific classifiers shows that the cultural environment in which the classifiers function to specify certain numbers is in the groupings of foodstuffs and items of cultural significance for wealth exchange, mortuary distributions etc. Because the exchange of wealth items, skirts, betel-nut and certain foods all have a part in the interplay of obligation and counter-obligation characteristic of Kiriwinan society, and because all such exchanges need to be remembered and responded to in similar proportions, the existence of culturally acceptable groupings of these items is necessary for the smooth functioning of Kiriwinan society. Thus, while there is overlap between numbers and quantity-specific classifiers, the classifiers can be seen to function for the labelling of these culturally determined groups of two, four and ten of certain items, and the regular number morphemes still function with those classifiers to count the groups they specify.

5.4.5 GENERAL COMMENTS

There are four questions which need to be examined briefly before we conclude. The first two involve the relationships of the roles of the classifiers with those of adjectives and of verbs. Then there are two areas in which classifiers associate items within domains which could not be said to be *natural* meanings: connective association and metaphors.

5.4.5.1 CLASSIFIER ROLE AND ADJECTIVE ROLE

The basic description of Group II classifiers is that they modify items. As it is the role of the adjective to modify nouns I now consider and compare the modifying functions of both classifiers and adjectives

Dixon (1977:31) notes that the only kinds of semantic opposition displayed by adjectives are antonymy and complementarity. The majority of Kiriwinan adjectives occur in antonym pairs (see 5.2.4), so that the modifying role of the adjectives is usually manifested in terms which may be contrasted with some antonymous form, for example, *bidubadu* 'thick', *kakalaia* 'thin'; *doudoga* 'crooked', *duwosisia* 'straight'; *-veka* 'big', *-kekita* 'small'; *-bogwa* 'old', *-vau* 'new'; *gagabila* 'light', *mwau* 'heavy'. There are also some sets of adjectives in a relationship of complementarity, for example, *simokainia* 'sweet', *pwayuyu* 'sour', *yayana* 'salty, bitter'; *manum* 'quiet', *minimani* 'noisy', *gasisi* 'fierce'; *-mwala* 'male', *-vivila*

'female'. The adjectives thus function in terms of semantic oppositions for the exercise of their modifying role, with the feature of semantic antonymy being most prominent.

Within the ranks of the Kiriwinan classifiers a relationship of complementarity is found in some areas, as in the set of terms for garden division (Cl 46-51) and the subclassification within the semantic domain of the first Basic Property Specifier, Cl 1 *tō*₁- 'human being'. Complementarity has also been noted as a feature of the inanimate Basic Property Specifiers.

The specification of antonymy however is not made by the classifiers, so that there is a clear contrast of roles here – the adjective may contrast items by antonymous modification and the classifier cannot.

Going on, we can recognise the basic difference between classifiers and adjectives. The role of adjectives is to establish the features of an item in terms which show its contrast with, and identification apart from, other items. Antonymy is a regular feature of the adjectival function, as a speaker by modifying items seeks to identify them by virtue of some feature such as 'long', 'thick', 'red', 'slippery' etc. Classifiers on the other hand do not establish the features which separate one item from another, but rather their role is to identify the things which items hold semantically in common, and by these means to group items in semantically distinct classes. Thus classifiers will mark an item as 'human', 'rigid', 'cut apart', 'bundled' etc. and by one such marking may identify an item as having that feature in common with other items, whereas adjectives may separate each item within a group marked by the one classifier by stamping it with some distinctive combination of features which identifies that item apart from all other similar items.

Dixon (1977:63) identifies the semantic role of the adjective:

Semantically, an adjective describes some important but noncriterial property of an object. That is, an adjectival description will serve to distinguish between two members of the same species, that are referred to by a single common noun.

Or, to rephrase the conclusion of his sentence as an appositive comment, "...referred to by a single common noun or classifier". Thus, as the role of the adjective in Kiriwinan is to establish the separate identity of an item, and that of the classifier is to group items by means of their similarities, the attachment of a modifying element which either separates items or groups items with others similarly endowed must be seen as two separate forms of modification running in two different directions, the one restrictive and the other inclusive.

5.4.5.2 CLASSIFIER ROLE AND VERB ROLE

A second question is the overlap between classifiers and verbs. Two areas have been noted above in which the classifier seems to adopt a verb-like role: in the specification of items which have been acted upon, and in the specification of instrumentality which is sometimes evident within the activity specifiers.

There is also a more general specification of activity involving items in the function of the Group II classifiers. It has been pointed out that all these classifiers (Cf. 35-147) specify actions – general activity, plus the specific actions of division and arranging – and so each

has a verb-like role. Among them there are many which are morphologically related to verb forms; for example Cl 73 *bubo-* 'cut across', Cl 74 *vili-* 'untwisted', Cl 102 *gugulo-* 'gathering', Cl 109 *kapo-* 'parcel', Cl 113 *dodiga-* 'load', Cl 118 *sipu-* 'tangle', Cl 126 *tavi-* 'loose coil', et al, are all the same as, or closely similar to, verb stems. This suggests that, just as many nouns are phonetically repeated in classifier forms with the role of semantic reiteration of the noun, in the same way many verb stems are made to function as classifiers in order that the semantic content of action (normally a verbal role) may be specified by such classifiers within the NP.

The noun-free constructions, as Allen (1977) has pointed out⁸⁶, are filling in many cases an adverbial role (confirmed as a feature of Kiriwinan by such examples as the adverbial role of *GILIVasi* – see example in 5.4.3.7).

This is also the case with many of those classifiers with a complex role which I suggest in section 5.3.5 are parallel forms to Benton's category of *covert repeaters*. There I show that such Kiriwinan repeaters may make a primary specification of an activity, plus a secondary specification of the item acted upon; as the activity name is usually deleted, the word-plus-classifier must in such cases be recognised as an anaphor of the verb.

Thus the anaphoric function of the classifiers, as seen in the noun-free constructions and the repeaters, applies to both noun-root and verb-root repetition. The classifier may stand in the place of either the noun or the verb because it is able to have the semantic content of either. It is able to render either a noun or a verb redundant, and because of this facility the classifier must be seen as a strong cohesive force between the sentences of a discourse, being able to specify either nominal or verbal meanings as the anaphor of either deleted form.

5.4.5.3 CLASSIFICATION BY CONNECTIVE ASSOCIATION

Within many domains which the classifiers serve to label there are items which obviously belong together, because they possess the feature of meaning identified by the classifier. Other items however seem, especially to a mind outside the Kiriwinan culture, to fit awkwardly or unnaturally and to have as their only apparent justification the fact that they are connected to some other item which is regularly and naturally specified by the classifier.

⁸⁶ Allan (1977:306-7): "It is reasonable to suppose that they are in-construction-with verbs...and not with nouns at all".

TABLE 20: EXAMPLES OF CONNECTIVE ASSOCIATION

		item	connected with	probable reason
1	Cl 2 <i>na</i> ₁	spirit food	spirits	functional necessity
2	Cl 3 <i>kai</i> -	fire, light, burn scar	wood	functional necessity
3	Cl 3 <i>kai</i> -	long fish	spear	similar appearance (moving through water)
4	Cl 5 <i>kwai</i> -	gourd, coconut	round soft fruits	similar shape
5	Cl 29 <i>kavi</i> -	fork	spoon	similar shape or function
6	Cl 57 <i>lada</i> -	star cluster	fishing spot	similar appearance
7	Cl 58 <i>sis</i> _i -	part of magic spell	part of tree	functional connection
8	Cl 61 <i>liku</i> - Cl 62 <i>lipu</i> - Cl 63 <i>buliga</i> - Cl 65 <i>livisi</i> -	yam-house divisions	construction divisions	similar function or shape
9	Cl 68 <i>moya</i> -	position in lineage	fingers on hand	similar appearance
10	Cl 96 <i>buko</i> ₂ -	shell ornament cluster	cluster of fruit	similar shape
11	Cl 122 <i>kapupu</i> -	tuft of hair	grove of trees	similar shape
12	Cl 127 <i>kupa</i> -	uncooked greens	coil of rope	similar shape

The twelve samples in Table 20 are taken selectively from all the main groups of classifiers. The element which is mostly in evidence is that of some sort of perceptual similarity, shown by examples 3-6 and 8-12. Two of these (5, 8) however may have a functional relationship, which is also the reason for the connective association in examples 1, 2 and 7.

Thus the connective association noted in some classifications of items arises either from a relationship of perceptually determinable similarity or from a functional relationship of some sort. In a few cases the connective association is more remote (as in the second and third items in example 2) and may be spoken of as tangential association.

5.4.5.4 CLASSIFIERS AS METAPHORS

While some of the connective associations may (rightly) be viewed as metaphors, I draw a distinction between those and the classifiers used metaphorically which are listed in Table 21. The connective associations are regularly used, and their positions within their domains are as regular as those which are naturally included there. On the other hand, metaphorical use of the classifiers involves an item in an unusual classification, even an unnatural one, for reasons given in the table, and so the classifications I refer to as metaphorical are not regular associations for any items.

TABLE 21: METAPHORS				
		normal specification	metaphorical specification	reason
1	Cl 1 <i>to</i> ₁ -	human	a dog	credited with human sagacity
2	Cl 1 <i>to</i> ₁ -	human	a butterfly	legendary figure acting in human way
3	Cl 143 <i>buluwo</i> -	tens of animals	people	counted thus as a joke
4	Cl 3 <i>kai</i> -	rigid/long	person	identified as stack of firewood because helpful to friends and useful to have around
5	Cl 5 <i>kwai</i> -	thing (house)	person	solidity of building as image of person's character
6	Cl 54 <i>kada</i> -	track	idea	identified as a way worth following
7	Cl 67 <i>kadyo</i> -	narrow neck to large container	person's mouth	person drinking too much identified with a bottle
8	Cl 109 <i>kapo</i> -	parcel	people	group joined in game
9	Cl 8 <i>gudi</i> -	human child	dinghy	small child following 'adult' trawler
10	Cl 70 <i>yam</i> ₂ -	hand joined to body	person helping	new helper praised for 'lending a hand'

None of these classifications may be seen as regular or natural associations. They are instead an indication of the inventiveness of a speaker or the fertility of imagination in language use, as by means of innovative reclassifications human properties may be attached

to nonhuman or inanimate items, or inanimate physical properties to people. Thus to call a woman 'a stack of firewood' was in context a high compliment;⁸⁷ to count a crowd in the way one counts animals borders on insult; to identify someone's mouth with the neck of a bottle is criticism; there is humour in the idea of a dinghy tied behind a trawler being specified as a child scurrying after an adult. It is in this area of language use that a speaker is able to show ideas by means of unusual classifier specification, or skills as an orator.

5.4.6 CONCLUSION

5.4.6.1 THE SEMANTIC ROLE OF KIRIWINAN CLASSIFIERS

This study of the semantic structures of the Kiriwinan language has shown the classifiers to be semantic labels which mark the items the Kiriwinan speaker regards as categories having some feature in common. The classifiers mark domains of meaning, some of which are very broad and generalised, others very narrow and restricted. Malinowski (1920:58) decided that only thirteen of his 42 Kiriwinan "classificatory formatives" were "real classifiers", each having the power of "both qualifying the noun with which it is used, and stamping it with the mark of a definite class". I however consider that all 147 lexemes which have been studied are rightly called classifiers, but that different amounts of meaning addition and some different functions characterise the whole class. All are rightly regarded as morphemes which serve to identify groups of items which the Kiriwinan speaker considers to have something in common, and these groups or domains have been seen to be related in different ways, some taxonomically with superordinate and subordinate relationships, and others paradigmatically, with overlapping areas and multiple application to the same items.

5.4.6.2 GROUP I AND GROUP II CLASSIFIERS COMPARED

I divide the classifiers into two groups, Group I being made up of those which refer to whole items or entities, and Group II, of those which modify items by partition, arrangement or some other activity. My arrangement of this material, though clearly inconvenient at points, nonetheless provides useful information on the classifiers, which may now be summarised.

The Group I classifiers classify items as they are observed, and thus depend on some perceptual or sensual summation made by the Kiriwinan mind. In this group therefore we find the five classifiers which specify almost the whole world of items in terms of various properties, some of them easily determined by general observation and others by closer examination. These five, called *Basic Property Specifiers*, together form a taxonomy of the Kiriwinan world-view, with a number of smaller, more restricted, subordinate domains being wholly included within them. This taxonomic world-view is based on a two-way division of animacy and inanimacy. Animacy is divided into two categories, human and nonhuman, and inanimacy is identified basically in terms of the property of consistency, with features of shape playing a secondary though important role. The specifiers of properties do

⁸⁷ See example (174), which was originally a metaphorical allusion to an enthusiastic worker.

not significantly add meaning to items, as their function is to identify what is there rather than to modify. This identification is of course a qualification of the noun it classifies, but the qualification is not the limiting role of an adjective, which marks that item with features it may have today but not tomorrow; the qualification is an inclusive one which identifies in that noun certain features which it possesses permanently in common with other nouns similarly classified.

While it may be said generally that Group I classifiers qualify items, the classifiers of Group II quantify them. This quantifying role however is still distinct from that of adjectives; that is, they do not subject items to a restrictive modification but they name inclusive quantifications which mark items as members of classes having semantic similarities. By means of these classifiers there is considerable meaning addition to the NP:

1. activity specifiers name the verb-like activity which has been carried out on an item;
2. partition classifiers obligatorily specify the fact of division and optionally add either the mode of division or the size of the divided piece;
3. arrangement classifiers obligatorily specify the fact of arrangement and add optionally the mode of arrangement, the constitution of the group named and some quantitative functions of the group.

While a taxonomic relationship is seen to apply to Group I classifiers, those of Group II are characterised by universal applicability wherever semantic compatibility to such partition, arrangement or other activity permits. They are in no way confined to the domains of the five Basic Property Specifiers and may thus be regarded as functioning paradigms of activity, division and arrangement. Because of the multiple classifications any one item may accept from them, we may see this paradigmatic role as indicating temporary classes, as distinct from the permanent or inherent classifications of the Group I property classifiers. The feature of cultural acceptability is a major one in the items specifiable by both groups of classifiers.

Thus in general terms it may be said that Group I classifiers qualify, while those of Group II quantify. Or it may be said that Group I classifiers indicate inherent classes while Group II classifiers indicate temporary classes.⁸⁸ A third generalisation would be that the Group I property classifiers specify observed items or entities which are unaffected by human action; this observed world constitutes the world-view of items related by the properties of animacy, consistency and size. On the other hand Group II classifiers specify the world of culturally determined entities, specifications which reflect human interaction with their world.

5.4.6.3 THE CLASSIFIERS AND MEANING ADDITION

The addition of meaning to the NP by means of the classifier has been seen to involve what is probably their most important role with the Kiriwinan language. While the Group I classifiers naming properties do not have a prominent role in meaning addition, they do have

⁸⁸ Both of these insights I owe to Denny (1976): quality/quantity (p.122) and inherent/temporary (p.123). The arrangement classifiers which I group as 'inherent' (5.4.4.4) would of course be exceptions to the latter generalisation.

the important function of reiteration of meaning, so that their pronominal function leads to a load of redundancy within the NP. Other classifiers, notably those with repeater-like roles and the noun-free classifiers, add meaning and thus complexity to the NP. This complexity may be in the introduction of instrumental and agentive functions (usually functions of the Kiriwinan verb phrase) or it may be in the form of the identification of a verb-like activity as the mark of a semantic class. Thus the presence of a classifier from Group II in an NP may represent a *sentence in miniature* within the NP. Because of the aid which this redundancy gives to deletion in Kiriwinan sentences the role of the classifier in maintaining discourse cohesion regardless of any deletions is probably the best answer to Denny's (1976:122) question "What are noun classifiers good for?"⁸⁹

Because of the pronominal and proverbial roles of the classifiers the process of deletion frequently results in a phrase remnant of one phonological word with a great deal of accumulated meaning drawn from the foregoing context of several sentences. Such fragmental phrases play an important role in the semantically conditioned movements of sentence constituents which characterise Kiriwinan sentences (5.2). A speaker gives semantic prominence to any sentence constituent by repositioning it at, or nearer to, the beginning of the utterance. This can be done more easily when the constituent being moved is morphologically small. Thus the classifier has the role, which is of basic importance to the Kiriwinan speaker, of encapsulating a great deal of meaning into one word, and thus enabling that word to move freely to any position the speaker wishes, to give it the semantic prominence desired. Thus by means of the classifier the speaker is able to ensure cohesion and clarity in spite of extensive deletion, and in speaking is able to order words with power and originality.

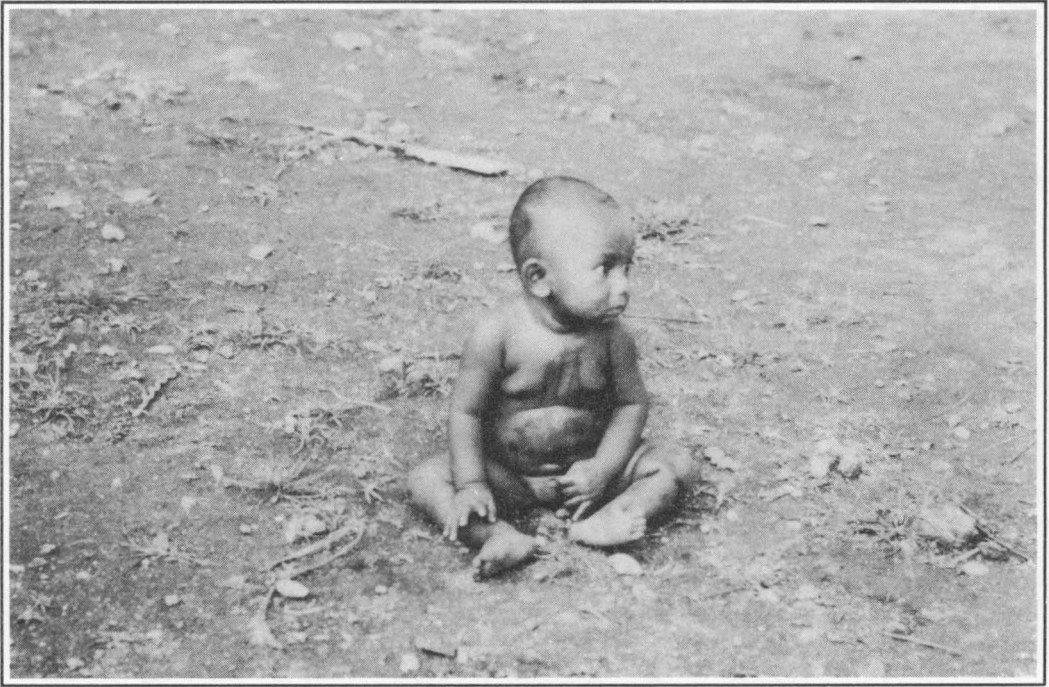
Some of the originality is in the effective use of classifiers either as metaphors or as a means of associating items. While innovative use of classifiers as metaphors is frequently made, the classifiers may only be drawn from the 147 which comprise the closed class, and all originality displayed is bounded by the limits of the class. All that appear as innovative classifications by means of connective associations are in reality classifications which are regularly made thus.

5.4.6.4 CONCLUDING COMMENT

Dixon (1977:66) says, and rightly, "A lot can be learnt concerning the speakers of a language and the kind of life they lead from a study of the language's semantic structures". This study of the semantic labels of Kiriwinan discourse has revealed a people who cognitively order their world in an all-embracing framework of semantic reference. Things are either animate or inanimate. In their animate world, spirits, humans and all forms of animal life interrelate. Their inanimate world is perceptually determinable by the properties of consistency and shape. They state the meaningfulness of their interaction with their cognitive world in terms of a wide range of semantic classes describing that interaction, so that these areas of "concentration of vocabulary indicate objects or phenomena that are focal points of

⁸⁹ The same question is echoed in Friedrich (1970:403).

the community's life" (Dixon 1977:66). Finally, in their extensive use of these semantic labels to promote word deletion, which itself makes their language a succinct and flexible tool, they reveal themselves as people who like to speak about their world and their interaction with it in a manner that is unambiguous, imaginative and effective.



APPENDIX 1

The sequences of text given here provide a sampling of various styles of Kiriwinan speech acts, the aim being to give a complete view of each social phenomenon recorded. They are all taped sequences which have been transcribed and later glossed with expert help.

The texts are unedited, except for the suppression of some names. The sentences are numbered in sequence.

SEQUENCE 1: *GUMA KWAIBWAGA* 'The man from Kwaibwaga'

This was a public speech given on the occasion of a wealth distribution at the conclusion of the official mourning period of a widow. The widow's husband was of the *Malasi* clan, which therefore had authority over her during her mourning. Now her own clan, *Lukulobuta*, had received suitable ceremonial payments from the *Malasi* relatives, and a leader of the *Lukulobuta*, a man from Kwaibwaga village, is summing up the situation publicly in this speech addressed to his own clanspeople.

1. *Ka, yuvisala goli minana nakakau.*
see her.mourning.distribution indeed that widow
Note that we have indeed conducted this widow's distribution marking the end of her mourning period.
2. *Malasi lagaila kala vigimkovila yakidasi goli gala bitapakasi kakau.*
Malasi today its conclusion we indeed not we.will.share widowhood
Today the responsibility of Malasi clan finishes; now we have no more widow's sharing to do.
3. *E bogwa takausa takalubaila.*
well already we.take we.fellowship
We have now taken our due and are on good terms.
4. *Yaegu Pulitala yamala.*
I Pulitala his.hand
I have taken what Pulitala gave.
5. *Kugibataulasi biwokuva olisala dabu*
you.feast.answer it.will.finish at.its.distribution skirts
agumwaguta bagibataula, Pulitala yamala lakau.
I.alone I.will.feast.answer Pulitala his.hand I.took
When you answer the skirt distribution with a feast, I will personally respond, for I have Pulitala's gift.

6. *Gala bukudokaisi oluwala baisa tuta bagibataula – gala.*
not you.will.think at centre this time I.will.answer – no
Don't think that I will give my feast-answer right now – no.
7. *Nakakau deli veyala bilisasi dabu, makwaina yam*
widow with her.relatives they.will.distribute skirts that day
bagibataula yaegula Pulitala kala.
I.will.bring I! Pulitala his.food
When the widow and her family have their skirt distribution, then I myself will respond and bring food for Pulitala.
8. *Lubaigu Pulitala yamala lakau.*
my.comrade Pulitala his.hand I.took
I have got what my comrade Pulitala gave me.
9. *Lubaigu Pulitala.*
my.comrade Pulitala
Pulitala is my close friend.
10. *Bogwa mesinaku agu livala.*
already it.finished my speaking
That's all I have to say.
11. *E kululuwaisiga bitayuvisasi yakidasi tokeula vaiguwa.*
and you.remember! we.will.distribute we people.bearing wealth.item
And all of you, remember that we who have taken wealth items will answer with a distribution.
12. *Yaegu bogwa lasaili ulo maka.*
I already I.put my mark
I have already stated the time to do it.
13. *Bilisa dabu Rita, yaegu babiloubusi bagibataula*
she.will.distribute skirts Rita I I.will.come I.will.bring
Pulitala kala.
Pulitala his.food
When Rita has her skirt distribution, I will come bringing the food for Pulitala.
14. *Ulo vaiguwa beku makavina.*
my wealth.item axe.stone that
My wealth item is that axe-stone.
15. *Kidamwa minana nakakau bikaliga, kwaitala silini babani*
if that widow she.will.die one shilling I.will.find
baulusi wala paila mtouna walakaiwa yaegu opwairpwaia.
I.will.pay only for that.man high I at.earth
If the widow dies, I will find some money for a token payment, because he has been generous and I niggardly.
16. *Eilavi giliwakuma, yaegu balavi silini wala.*
he.has.thrown find.axe.stone I I.will.throw shilling only
He has given me this fine axe-stone but I will give only some money.

17. *Mitaga baulusi wala, kakalubaila bogwa leivagi.*
 but I.will.token.pay only fellowshipping already he.has.done.it
 I will make just a token payment, for he has begun our close friendship.
18. *Bogwa mesinaku ulo bigatona yakidasi Lukulobuta.*
 already it.finished my speaking us Lukulobuta
 This is all I have to say concerning us Lukulobuta folk.
19. *E magigu kululuwaisi.*
 so my.desire you.remember
 So I want you to remember this.
20. *Lubaim lokukwau yamala kululuwaisi tuta oluvi.*
 your.comrade you.taking his.hand you.remember time after
 Remember later on that you have taken what your close friend has given you.
21. *Kabokaliga bukusaili lubaim wala.*
 thing.for.death you.will.put your.comrade only
 When a death comes, give a fitting answer to your comrade.

When the above speech concluded, the following two sentences were called out to the speaker by one of the listening *Lukulobuta* clan.

22. *Yaegu lalebu makwaina.*
 I I.stole that.thing
 I have stolen this thing.
23. *E lama atulotula karaiwaga.*
 so I.come I.waiting ruling
 So I have come here to see what your ruling is.

SEQUENCE 2: PESIANA

When I asked Pesiana to explain the local sport of *girikiti* 'cricket' for someone who had never seen it played in its Kiriwinan form, the text below was the result.

24. *Lagaila kwaiyu valu bigirikitisi.*
 today two village they.will.cricket
 Today two village groups will play cricket.
25. *Kwaitala Gumilababa, kwaiyuwela valu Yalaka.*
 one Gumilababa second village Yalaka
 One village is Gumilababa, the second Yalaka.
26. *Lagaila si tuta bigirikitisi.*
 today their time they.will.cricket
 Today is their appointed time to play cricket.
27. *Baisa makawala si bubunela - a - Kilivila ma bubunelasi komwaidona.*
 this like their custom er Kiriwina our custom all.it
 This is how they - or rather we - Kiriwinans usually play.
28. *Gala makawala dimdim.*
 not like Europeans
 We don't play it the way Europeans do.

29. *Yokomi tomota pikekita wala.*
 you(pl) people few only
 You have only a few people in each team.
30. *E yakamaisi tomota bivilasi makawala tailuwolima*
 well weEXCL people they.will.divide like man.ten.five
tailuwoyu, kaina tailuwolima tailuwotolu.
 man.ten.two or man.ten.five man.ten.three
 We however will divide the players into teams of seventy or eighty.
31. *Baisa paila kabulotala valu kwaitala, e kabuluyuwela kwaiyuwela*
 this for half.one village one and half.second second
valu bivilasi makawala sesia makawala sesia.
 village they.will.divide like their.friends like their.friends
 There will be a team for one village group and the second village group will divide their numbers like their opponents.
32. *Baisa bimwasawasi.*
 thus they.will.play
 This is how they will play.
33. *E tuta makwaina bivitouulasi mwasawa bikugwa*
 and time that they.will.begin game it.will.first
binagaisi kampaya.
 they.will.choose umpire
 And when they start playing they will first choose an umpire.
34. *Paila bikaraiwaga wiketi, kwaivila boli bilavaisi oluvi*
 for he.will.rule wicket how.many ball they.will.throw after
bikatumapu boli e tuwoli tomota bilovasi boli tuvaila.
 it.will.change ball and different people they.will.throw ball again
 He will have authority over the players, such as how many bowls in each over.
35. *Tuta makwaina taitala bikaliga e boda makwaina toyamata*
 time that one.man he.will.die well group that fielding
bikaiwosisi saina peula.
 they.will.dance very strong
 Whenever someone is out, then the team that is fielding will dance vigorously.
36. *Paila igau mi – si – kaiwosi bibowasi; koisalu*
 for that.time your their dance they.will.bodypaint coconut.shell
bigabwaisi bikumasi uwosi bwabwau.
 they.will.burn they.will.smear their.bodies black
 For before your – their – dance they will paint their bodies; they will smear their bodies with burnt coconut shell.
37. *Deli migisi bibowaisi deli pwaka.*
 with their.faces they.will.paint with lime
 Also they will paint their faces with lime.

38. *Sopi bivagaisi bipwatutu bikumasi.*
water they.will.make it.will.wet they.will.smear
They will wet the lime with water and smear it on.
39. *Baisa makawala bikaiwosisi tuta makwaina availa bikaliga.*
this like they.will.dance time that.thing who he.will.die
And this is how they will dance whenever a wicket falls.
40. *E kaliga biwokuva taitala tovau bisuvi paila biwai.*
and death it.will.finish one.man new he.will.enter for he.will.hit
After a wicket has fallen a new batsman will come in.
41. *E bikeitasi tuvaila okabasi ambaisa itotusi paila*
and they.will.return again to.their.place where they.stood for
biyamatasi boli makawala.
they.will.guard ball thus
The fielders will return again to their places on the field.
42. *E mwasawa makwaina availa bikaliga tomota komwaidona*
well game that who he.will.die people all
bimwasawasi bikaiwosisi.
they.will.play they.will.dance
In the game, when anyone is out, all the players will dance.
43. *Kaina taitala biwaia si boli bila walakaiwa*
or one.man he.will.hit their ball it.will.go high
bikanumosaisi; bikaiwosisi tuvaila bimwasawasi.
they.will.catch they.will.dance again they.will.play
For instance, a batsman may hit the ball high up and be caught; then they will dance
and afterwards go on playing.
44. *Bidubadu katububula vana dagula budokola rigariga bisikamsi*
many decoration armband.leaf feather body.paint riga.pollen they.will.wear
e bimwasawasi tuta makwaina paila mwasawa makwaina girikiti.
and they.will.play time that for game that cricket
Many ornaments such as leaves, feather, body paint and pollen will be worn while
they play cricket.
45. *E tuta makwaina bogwa biwokuva si mwasawa valu makwaina*
and time that already it.will.finish their game village that
eiwawaisi bogwa leiwokuva e kaiwosi kwaiveka bivagaisi.
they.have.batting already it.has.finished well dance big they.will.do
Then, when the game is finished, when the batsmen of one village are all out, they
will do the main dance.
46. *Bikasasi kasayu.*
they.will.line line.two
They will all line up into two lines.

47. *Kasiwonaku sainela.*
long.line very
Those lines are very long.
48. *E igau taitala bivitouula bivitau wosi komwaidona*
and when one.man he.will.begin he.will.commence song all
biwosisi bikaiwosisi bilosi ambaisa si kabosisu
they.will.sing they.will.dance they.will.go where their place
eisisuaisi.
they.have.stayed
Then when someone begins by leading the song, everyone will sing, and then dance back to the place where they were.
49. *E bogwa leiwokuva, tuwoli valu bivitouulasi biwaisi.*
and already it.has.finished different place they.will.begin they.will.bat
When this is finished, the other side will get ready to bat.
50. *Bibulamisi rigariga tuvaila budokola bulami biputumasi.*
they.will.oil riga.pollen also body.paint oil they.will.paint
They will anoint themselves, rub on pollen and paint, and smear themselves with oil.
51. *E taitala bikaraiwaga.*
and one.man he.will.rule
One man will be appointed captain.
52. *E bitodadelisi kasayu.*
and they.will.stand.together two.line
Then they will stand in two lines.
53. *E bikaiwosisi bilosi okabomwasawa.*
and they.will.dance they.will.go to.field
And they will dance out onto the playing field.
54. *Bikaiwosisi tuta biwokuva mwasawa bitabaisi ambaisa*
they.will.dance time it.will.finish game they.will.disperse where
ambaisa bitoulisi, e sesia biwaisi.
where they.will.stand and their.friends they.will.bat
After they have danced they will disperse to wherever their place is, and their opponents will begin to bat.
55. *Bikaliga, makawala wala mwasawa makwaina bogwa ikugwa ivagaisi.*
he.will.die thus only game that already it.first they.do.(it)
When anyone is out, it will be just like in the other innings.
56. *Sesia bivagaisi makawala.*
their.friends they.will.do thus
They will do just the same.
57. *Baisa.*
this
This is how it is.

58. *Paila si kailepi, gala makawala dimdim.*
for their bat not like European
Their bats are not like those used by Europeans.
59. *Si tatai ituwoli, e baises Kilivila si tatai ituwoli.*
their carving it.different and this Kiriwina their carving it.different
Their bats and Kiriwinan bats are made differently.
60. *Biteyasi biwokuva, kaina kelepila kaikekita wala mitaga*
they.will.carve it.will.finish maybe bat little only but
mebawa kaboyosi givala kaiwonaku.
it.will.much means.hold handle long
When they have done carving it, the hitting part may only be small, but it has a long handle.
61. *E igau kaipouula kelepila bitaponanaisi.*
and later wood.back bat we.will.hole
Then also we will drill holes into the back of the bat.
62. *Mimilisi tuta noku dai bogwa isulaisi vivila*
some time red.strands dye already they.cooked.it women
bikovisuyaisi bimidimidaisi.
they.will.put.through they.will.flag.decorate
Usually the women have prepared red-dyed tufts and they will put them on and decorate the bat with streamers.
63. *E paila kala gigisa makawala.*
and for its appearance thus
For this is how a bat should look.
64. *Bikumasi budokola bwabwau kaina pupwakau pwaka.*
they.will.paint paint black or white lime
They paint on either black or white paint.
65. *E baises kala gigisa makawala.*
and this its appearance thus
So it looks like this.
66. *Ituwoli wala.*
it.different only
It is a different bat.

SEQUENCE 3: *NATANA ITAKUMDU* 'A woman complains'

Here an elderly woman complained of the harsh and uncouth treatment she had received from her husband. Note occurrences of emphatic stress placement (see 2.3.4.4) occurring in this sequence; words which display this feature are marked for stress below.

67. *Paila uula kaula.*
for reason food
(The quarrel was) about food.

68. *I'kaibiga basulu.*
he.said I.will.cook
He told me to cook it.
69. *Yaegu aluki kagu kaula bogwa isisu bi'takamsi.*
I I.told my.word food already it.stop we.can.eat
I said to him, "It's already cooked, let's eat".
70. *Mitaga mtouna gala 'magila kaula – tapiokwa simsimwai.*
but that.man not his.desire food tapioca sweet.potato
But he didn't want that sort of food – tapioca or sweet potato.
71. *Ma'gila taitu.*
his.desire yam
He wanted *taitu* yams.
72. *E yaegu alivala kagu baisesa tuta gala bita'kamsi taitu – baisesa tuta*
and I I.spoke my.word this time not we.can.eat yam this time
simsimwai.
sweet.potato
So I spoke up and said, "At this time of year we can't have yams – this is the time for sweet potato".
73. *E iga ilukwaigu makwaina biga ikai'biga kawala,*
and after he.told.me that word he.said his.word
So then he spoke those words to me; he said,
74. *Baisesa leitala ovalu yoku kuisu, deli yaegu deli vivila vilesi*
this we.went village you you.stay with I with women women.of
valu mpana.
village that
"When we went to another village, while you stayed (in the house) I stayed with the women of that village."
75. *Kagu ki?*
my.word indeed
"Is that so?"
76. *E leitala mna ituwoli valu tatavi valu kwaivau yoku kuisu*
and we.went er different village we.cut village new you you.stay
yaegu deli vilesi mpana valu.
I with women.of that village
"And when we went to, er, a different place, to prepare a new village site, while you stayed alone I was with the women of that place."
77. *E yaegu vilesi valu ko'mwaidona vilesi valu okaikegu*
and I women.of village all women.of village at.my.foot
oyamagu akovasuya okasi vavagi.
at.my.hand I.thrust.in in.their thing
"Furthermore, I and all the village women – with the village women I thrust my feet and my hands into their thing."

78. *Baisa biga gaga eilivali.*
 this word bad he.has.spoken.it
 This last word he spoke was indecent.
79. *Ikaibiga oyamagu okaikegu akovasuya ouwosi.*
 he.said at.my.hand at.my.foot I.thrust.in into.their.bodies
 He said, "I thrust my hands and feet into their bodies".
80. *Baisa tonugana saina mwau nanogu.*
 this sir very heavy my.mind
 This, sir, made me greatly depressed.
81. *Baisa paila kunikoli yakamaisi bubunemasi.*
 this for you.know usEXCL our.behaviour
 For you know our customary behaviour.
82. *Kidamwa kaina bitavaipaka taitala tau bitavai*
 if perhaps we.will.divorce one man we.will.marry
ituwoli, e bitagigisi wala.
 it.different well we.will.see only
 If perhaps we divorce and I marry a different man, then we will watch (his
 behaviour).
83. *E kidamwa yakamaisi kaina makala yaegu.*
 and if weEXCL or like me
 So if we...or consider my case.
84. *Kugigisi ulo mwala bogwa ikaliga tomoya.*
 you.seeing my husband already he.died old.man
 Remember that my first husband died an old man.
85. *Igau matauwena ivaigu.*
 after that.man he.married.me
 Then *he* married me.
86. *La biga mwau baisa yaegu.*
 his word heavy to me
 He used foul language to speak to me.
87. *Olumolegu mmayuyu wala, mm*
 at.mycentre pain only ahh
 In my heart I experienced nothing but pain. Ahh!
88. *Baisa deli wala ulo 'valam, paila saina mwau la biga.*
 this with only my weeping for very heavy his word
 Because of this I cried a lot, because his language was really foul.
89. *Baisa lova silovala makala wiki komwai'dona baisa deli wala*
 this yesterday day.before like week all this with only
nanogu mwau sainela.
 my.mind heavy very.much
 So for the whole of this last week, every day I have been very, very downcast.

90. *Igau alivala luguta.*
another.time I.told my.brother
I already told my brother.
91. *I'kaibiga sitana magim bukukweiita Obulaku?*
he.said little your.desire you.will.return Obulaku
He said, "Do you want to return to Obulaku?"
92. *Kagu gala luguta pirisi.*
my.word no my.brother please
I answered, "Please, brother, no".
93. *I'kaibiga o kidamwa makala kuwokaia tonugana avaka nanom.*
he.said well if thus you.go.to sir what your.mind
He said, "Well, if that's the case, go to our minister and tell him what you think".
94. *Kulivala baises tonugana.*
you.speak to sir
"Speak to the minister."
95. *Tonugana bilagi.*
sir he.will.listen.to
Our minister will listen.
96. *Kidamwa bikatupoi kawala bogwa ilagi lumta kukwai'biga*
if he.will.query his.word already he.heard your.brother you.say
kawam bogwa.
your.word already
If he asks you, "Has your brother heard about this?" you say, "Yes, already".
97. *E lama baises balivala baises yoku bukulagi.*
and I.come here I.will.say to you you.will.hear.it
So I've come to tell you this.
98. *I'kaibiga gala ibodi 'nanola.*
he.said not it.befits his.mind
He said he is greatly displeased over this.
99. *Ikaibiga baises gala 'kedala totapwaroru.*
he.said this not his.path person.worship
He said this is not Christian behaviour.
100. *Baises 'yagala ovalu wala.*
this its.name in.village only
We call this village behaviour.
101. *I'kaibiga gala bibodi baises taitala totapwaroru*
he.said not it.will.befit this one.man person.worship
biluluki la kwava.
he.will.rebuke his wife
He said it is not fitting that a Christian should so rebuke his wife.

102. *Baisa tabu.*
this forbidden
This is forbidden.
103. *Baisa makawala bila wala ovalu.*
this like he.will.go only to.village
This means he should return to the village.
104. *Ikai'biga kuwokaia tonugana*
he.said you.go.to sir
He said, "Go to the minister".
105. *Avaka na'nola mitaga na'nogu makawala.*
what his.mind but my.mind thus
What he thinks is what I think.

SEQUENCE 4: *GIBULUWA* 'Anger'

106. *Ben ee! Kum tam talega karaiwaga.*
Ben hey you.come we.come we.hear ruling
Hey, Ben! Come with me so we can hear our orders.
107. *Avai karaiwaga?*
what ruling
What orders?
108. *Ka, talilivalasi: yoku saina todubakasala yoku.*
see we.saying you very proud.person you
Look, this is what we say: you are too high-and-mighty.
109. *E ulo paisewa imwau.*
well my work it.heavy
But I have a lot of work to do.
110. *Baisa uula gala magigu.*
this reason not my.desire
This is why I don't want to come.
111. *Kum, bitam.*
you.come we.will.go
Come on, let's go.
112. *Wa! E bogwa mokwita; yoku wala tokaliyeya yoku.*
ahh well already true you only bossy.person you
Ahh! Well it's true, then; you're very good at ordering people around.
113. *Kuma, tamokaia talagi avaka.*
you.come we.come.to we.listen.to what
Come on, we'll go and hear what's doing.
114. *Bwaina; bogwa latagwala.*
good already I.agreed
Okay; I'll come then.

SEQUENCE 5: *KUKONEBU* 'Story-telling'

Here a man tells an old story, and a child keeps on interrupting with questions. The story-teller is absorbed in his story and gets annoyed at the questions. This was enacted for me by Antonio Lubisa as the story-teller and Beniamina Siotamo as the child.

115. *Baisa tuta bakonebu.*
 this time I.will.story
 Now I'll tell a story.
116. *Konebu yee - kutu beba.*
 story here louse butterfly
 This is the story of the louse and the butterfly.
117. *Mesisikaisi Ku'mkwa.*
 they.always.dwelling Kumkwa
 They were living in Kumkwa.
118. *Si valu bilaloula Losuya mina Mlosaida si plantation*
 their place we.will.walk Losuya people Mlosaida their plantation
olumatala kaduyotala waia isisu.
 at.its.shore one.entrance inlet it.stays
 As we walk to Losuya (we will pass through) the Mlosaida plantation, on the seaward side of which there is an inlet of the sea, their dwelling place.
119. *Ikaibiga sola, Sogu, tatavi da waga bitala sitana*
 he.said his.friend my.friend we.cut our canoe we.will.go little
takawailuwa obolita.
 we.food.get at.sea
 One said to his friend, "My friend, let's make a canoe, then we can go and get some seafood".
120. *Avai waga biteyasi?*
 what canoe they.will.cut
 What timber will they use for their canoe? (child's question)
121. *Ikaibiga matauna beba biteyasi si waga kalala.*
 he.said that.man butterfly they.will.carve their canoe *kalala*
 The butterfly said they would use *kalala* timber to make their canoe.
122. *Wa! yumyam kalala tatavi tavigaki waga.*
 hey day.day *kalala* we.carve we.make canoe
 Wow! We would have to carve for a long time to make a canoe out of *kalala* wood.
123. *Avakago yakida taga tommoyala kasi kukonebula.*
 what! us.two but old.men! their storying!
 That may be so for us, but this is how the old men told it!
124. *E desi wala.*
 well stop only
 Okay, never mind.

125. *Isimwaisi itavisi.*
they.stay they.cut
They stayed there and made it.
126. *Itatavi ivinakwaisi, iviyuwolaisi iwokuva e iluvatutasi*
it.carving they.finish they.lash it.finish well they.decide.time
sosola, ikatubiasaisi kasi kuleya, eiyam kaukwau isilasi
with.friend they.prepare their food dawn morning they.embark
iluvabusisi bilosi ikalapisi.
they.begin they.will.go they.gather.oysters
They carved and lashed their canoe, and decided together what time they should go;
then they prepared their food for the journey, and next morning early they embarked
and began to go to gather oysters.
127. *Iulowolasi iulowolasi otapwala milaveta e ikabisaiki kutu*
they.paddle they.paddle at centre sea well he.break louse
piu, vvvv, vv!
break.wind
They paddled for a long time over the sea, and then the louse broke wind!
128. *Ivagi beba, Wa, avaka kuvagi?*
he.make butterfly hey what you.do
Said the butterfly, "Hey, what are you doing?"
129. *Kuvagi kubisibolu waga ayowa bukutomgwa.*
you.do you.spear.hole canoe I.fly you.will.stay.indeed
If you do that you'll blow a hole in the canoe, then I'll fly off and leave you here!"
130. *Kawalaga kutu, Wa, kuyowa bayowa.*
his.word! louse ahh you.fly I.will.fly
But the louse said, "Ahh, if you fly so will I".
131. *E itowadasi ivigivau tuvaila piu, vvvv, vv*
well they.go.there he.do.again again break.wind
They went on further, and once again the louse broke wind.
132. *Wo! Tosikileiwa yoku.*
hey repeating.person you
(Said the butterfly) "Hey, you never stop".
133. *Taga lalukwaim, kuyowa bayowa.*
but I.told.you you.fly I.will.fly
But (the louse replied), "I told you, if you fly, I'll fly".
134. *Ki, isingwa pinipanela minana kutu?*
question it.stop! its.wings that louse
Did that louse have wings? (child's question)
135. *Aisekila.*
who.knows
I don't know.

136. *Baisa kaina tomoya leiutuutu.*
this maybe old.man he.was.interpreting
Maybe that's the way our ancestors interpreted it.
137. *Momwailala itowadasi Utuyoyu itapelasi iwokaiasi Kalakalala.*
time! they.go.there Utuyoyu they.paddle.cross they.go.to Kalakalala
In a while they got to Utuyoyu, then paddled across to Kalakalala.
138. *E isaikiga kwaiveka iutubolu si waga.*
well he.give! big he.hole their canoe
But then the louse broke wind so strongly that he holed their canoe.
139. *Eivavagi minana beba ikatupapapa iyowa.*
he.was.doing.(it) that butterfly he.wing.spread he.fly
So the butterfly got ready, spread his wings and flew.
140. *Taga minana kutu?*
but that louse
But what about the louse? (child's question)
141. *O itopela itola omtokulolola.*
oh he.stand.cross he.stand on.his.eyelid
Oh, he went across and perched on his eyelid.
142. *Wo!*
gosh
Gosh!
143. *Iligaimwa si waga, iyowa beba,*
he.abandon their canoe he.fly butterfly

iyoyowa iyoyowa oBumapou, okaisili itopela, itola ikayoyu
he.flying he.flying to.Bumapou on.dead.tree he.stand.cross he.perch he.lament
Abandoning their canoe, the butterfly flew off; he flew and flew as far as Bumapou,
and went to a dead tree, where he perched and wailed for his friend.
144. *Igisiga si waga sosola kutu, a la kayoyu minana beba*
he.see! their canoe with.friend louse well his lament that butterfly

makawala.
thus
He saw their canoe and so did the louse, and the butterfly's lament was like this:
145. *O kapisila sogoo; minawena kutu ibubeuu deli ma waga.*
oh his.pity my.friend that louse he.sinking with our canoe
Alas for my friend; the louse has gone down with the canoe.
146. *Kaina bogwa eikomasi kwau – kaisekila.*
maybe already they.have.eaten shark who.knows
Probably sharks have already eaten him – who knows!
147. *Ivavagiga kutu, Wa, mayaegu goli.*
he.doing! louse hey with.me indeed
Then the louse spoke up, "Hey, I'm here with you".

148. *Omtokulolom latotu.*
on.your.eyelid I.stood
I perched on your eyelid.
149. *E iyosi igusi minana kutu, ikakupwana.*
well he.seized he.louse.eat that louse he.slurped
So he caught the louse and ate it, smacking his lips.

SEQUENCE 6: *NIGADA, KATUVAGWAGU* (a request and a speech)

150. *E kwaitala vavagi tuvaila.*
well one thing again
There's another thing.
151. *Yaegu magigu banigadaim.*
I my.desire I.will.request.from.you
I want to ask you for something.
152. *Bukuluki tomota biwokaiasi kali.*
you.will.tell people they.will.go.to fence
Tell the people to go and repair the fence.
153. *Ulo bagula bogwa ivinakwaisi bunukwa.*
my garden already they.finish pig
The pigs have despoiled my garden
154. *Bwaina.*
good
All right.
155. *E kudoki bukutagwala kaina gala?*
well you.think you.will.agree or not
Will you do it, or not?
156. *Gala bukuninayuwa gala; bagula da peulasi.*
not you.will.mind.two not garden our strength
Don't worry, our garden is our strength.
157. *O magigu ikoyavi bukukwatuvagwagu.*
well my.desire it.dusk you.will.exhort
Well then, I would like you to talk about it this evening.
158. *Bwaina.*
good
All right.
159. *E bogwa ikoyavi ila kabulutala ila kabuluyuwela.*
well already it.evening it.go half.one it.go half.second
In the evening this half and that half of the village assembled.
160. *Kulagaisi avaka balivala.*
you.hear what I.will.say
Listen to what I have to say.

161. *Gala goli avaka bigala, mitaga kamkwam ovalu, towa toma*
 not indeed what its.word but eating in.village move.here move.there
obolita, e sitana bilileiki uwomi paila valu
 on.sea well little it.will.anxious your.bodies for village
tabodala gala.
 its.blocking not
 I don't want to say much, but as you eat your food in the village and go here and there on the sea, perhaps you would be a little worried because there is not a fence in the village.
162. *Kali kali.*
 fence fence
 (I want to talk about) a fence.
163. *Bunukwa bogwa eisukwaisi bagula, eikamsowaisi bagula.*
 pig already they.have.entered.to garden they.have.eaten.destroy garden
 Pigs have got into the garden and rooted it all up.
164. *Mapaila nabwaia kala tau gadoi bikokeula, kala tau kalibala*
 so tomorrow its man post he.will.carry its man railing
bikokeula, kala tau wotunu biyuvayowa, yokomi kulosi kupolomdusi,
 he.will.carry its man vine he.will.get you you.go you.lash.fence
nani bitaboda, e bituli taigila, takawailuwasiga.
 quickly it.will.block well it.will.deaf ear we.grow.food.indeed
 So tomorrow some men can get posts, some rails, some can gather lashing vines, you people over there can go out and lash the fence together so that it will close the gap quickly, and then we can forget about it and get on with growing our food.
165. *Ouu, bogwa.*
 yes already
 Yes, we heard.
166. *Nabwaia wala bitalekusi bitalosi obuyagu.*
 tomorrow only we.will.get.ready we.will.go to.garden
 Tomorrow then we will prepare our things and go to the garden.

SEQUENCE 7: *LILIVALA WALA* (some talk)

This is a conversation initiated by Beniamina with Antonio on the occasion of working in the basement of a multistorey building.

167. *E sogu, makwaina bwala kala gigisa sita iyowa lopogu.*
 well my.friend that house its appearance little it.fly my.belly
 My friend, this building's appearance causes me some concern.
168. *Kudoki buligavila olakaiwa taligaiwaisi?*
 you.think storey.number above we.abandon
 How many storeys do you think are above us?

169. *Galaga bukulivala avaka makawalala iyowala lula.*
not! you.will.speak what like! it.fly! belly
You don't need to say anything; it certainly does cause anxiety.
170. *Eikaibigasi buligatolu.*
they.have.said storey.three
They told us three storeys.
171. *Buligatala opwaipwaia taliloulasi, e buligayuwela oluwala, baisaga*
storey.one on.earth we.walking well storey.second at.centre here!
olumolela pwaipwaia tasisuaisi, buligitolula.
in.middle earth we.stay storey.third
There is one storey at ground level, one in the middle and here down in the ground is the third storey.
172. *Ki baisa buligitolula olumo pwaipwaia baisa tasisuaisi?*
question this storey.third in.middle earth here we.stay
Are we here down in the earth in the *third* storey?
173. *Gala bukuninayuwa, olumolela pwaipwaia.*
not you.will.doubt at.middle earth
You may be quite certain, we are down in the earth.
174. *Taga ammakawala bivigakaisi ikailaisi ilosi kaliai bwala?*
but what.about they.will.make they.dig they.go build house
But how do they dig down and build a house?
175. *Mwada oyumasi; taga kululuwai bogwala kainum*
intention at.their.hands but you.remember already machine
eipupaisewa ikilikeli ilou.
it.was.working it.digging it.go
It should be done by hand; but you remember how machines do the digging down.

- R8 Time \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{adv.temp} \\ \text{NP.temp} \end{array} \right\}$ (p. 62)
- R9 deg \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (saina / _hw)(sainela / hw _) \\ \text{sup} / hw _ \\ \text{sita} / _hw \\ \text{sitana} \end{array} \right\}$ (p. 63)
- R10 Adv \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{adv} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{VP} \end{array} \right\}$ (p. 64)
- R11 Vb \rightarrow (comp) + subj + Vs + (obj) + (pl) [+ (emph)] (p. 67)
- R12 Vs \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VR} + (\text{redup}) + (\text{v.adv}) \\ \text{VR} + (\text{v.adv} + \text{redup}) \end{array} \right\}$ (p. 77)
- R13 VR \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vb}_1 \\ (\text{vb.ref}) + \text{VR}_{\text{other}} \end{array} \right\}$ (p. 85)
- R14 VR_{other} \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vb}_2 + \text{focus} \\ \text{VR}_3 \end{array} \right\}$ (p. 97)
- R15 VR₃ \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vb}_3 + (-ki) \\ \text{vb}_1 + -ki \\ \text{vb}_2 + -ki \\ [+obj \text{ focus}] \end{array} \right\}$ (p. 106)
- R16 NP \rightarrow (head noun) (deictic) (number) (adjective) (p. 150)
- R17 Deictic \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{baisa} \\ \text{ma} + \text{Classifier} + (\text{si}) + (\text{we}) + \text{na} + (\text{emph}) \end{array} \right\}$ (p. 152)

R18 number \rightarrow ((Cl)+num₄ (Cl)+num₃) (Cl+num₂ Cl+num₁) (p. 155)

Conditions:

1. num₄ = 50 and num₂ = 5
2. when the tens are 50 or less, num₃ only occurs
3. when the units are 5 or less, num₁ only occurs

R19 Adj \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Cl} + \text{adj}_1 + (\text{pl}) \\ (\text{Cl}) + \text{adj}_2 \\ \text{adj}_3 \end{array} \right\}$ (p. 157)

2. STRESS RULES

The stress rules state the conditions under which one syllable of each Kiriwina word receives the phonetic prominence of stress placement. The three rules must be applied in order.

SR1 $V \rightarrow$ $\left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ +\text{stress} \end{array} \right] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C_m\# \\ _ \# \end{array} \right\}$ (p.45)

Conditions:

1. Where V is word final it must be a diphthong.
2. Word emphasis may move this stress placement back one syllable.

SR2 $V_1 \rightarrow$ $\left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ +\text{stress} \end{array} \right] / C_CV_2(C)\#$ (p.48)

Conditions:

1. No morpheme boundary occurs within the environment of the rule.
2. If V₂ is a then the shape of the rule must be CVka $\left\{ \frac{1}{n} \right\} \#$; otherwise V₂ is i or u.
3. Word emphasis may move this stress placement forward one syllable.

SR3 $V_1 \rightarrow$ $\left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ +\text{stress} \end{array} \right] / (C)_(C)V_2\#$ (p.48)

Condition:

Word emphasis may move this stress placement back one syllable.

3. MORPHOPHONEMIC JUNCTURE RULES

Morphophonemic rules 1-3 apply to the verbal completive marker prefixes.

MR1 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} b- \\ l- \\ m \end{array} \right\} + i(\text{ta-}) \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} bi \\ lei \\ me \end{array} \right\} + (\text{ta-})$ (p. 70)

MR2 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} b- \\ l- \\ m- \end{array} \right\} + a(\text{ka-}) \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ba- \\ la- \\ ma- \end{array} \right\} + (\text{ka-})$ (p. 70)

$$\text{MR3} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} b- \\ l- \\ m- \end{array} \right\} + ku \quad \rightarrow \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} bu \\ lo \\ mo \end{array} \right\} + ku- \quad (\text{p. 70})$$

Morphophonemic rules 4-7 state the conditions determining object focus patterns in verbs having antepenultimate stress.

The change referred to on p.98, which states the predictable phonetic shape of the object focus forms of verbs which in their verb focus forms display antepenultimate stress. This was expressed as follows:

$$C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3a\# \rightarrow C_1v_1C_2v_2C_3i\#$$

Conditions:

1. Stress placement moves from the syllable C_1V_1 to syllable C_2v_2 .
2. V_2 is either *i* or *u*
3. v_1 is either *i* or *u*.

Different environments for V_2 and v_1 condition the selection of *i* or *u*. Morphophonemic rules 4-7 assume that V_1 and V_2 are known, and state the conditions that determine the selection of v_1 and v_2 .

$$\text{MR4} \quad v_1 \rightarrow i / \begin{array}{l} C_1 \quad _ \quad C_2 \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +ant \\ +cor \end{array} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ant \\ -cor \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \quad (\text{p.99})$$

$$\text{MR5} \quad v_1 \rightarrow u / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C_1 \quad _ \quad C_2 \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ant \\ -cor \end{array} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ant \\ -cor \end{array} \right\} \\ C_1 \quad _ \quad C_2 \\ [+ant] \quad [+ant] \\ C_1 \quad _ \quad C_2 \\ [-ant] \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +ant \\ +cor \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} \quad (\text{p.100})$$

$$\text{MR6} \quad v_2 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} i / C_2 \quad _ \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ant \\ -cor \end{array} \right\} \\ a / C_2 \quad _ \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +ant \\ +cor \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} \quad (\text{p.100})$$

Condition: $V_2 = i$

$$\text{MR7 } v_2 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a / \text{--- } C_3 \\ \quad \quad \quad [-\text{cor}] \\ \{ \begin{array}{l} o \\ u \end{array} \} / \text{--- } C_3 \\ \quad \quad \quad [+ \text{cor}] \end{array} \right\} \quad (\text{p.101})$$

Condition $V_2 = u$

Morphophonemic rules 8-11 state the conditions under which regular phonetic change takes place in the object focus forms of those verbs which exhibit regular penultimate stress, when the syllable sequences undergoing change contain vowel clusters or diphthongs.

$$\text{MR8 } ouCa\# \rightarrow uwoCi\# \quad (\text{p. 102})$$

$$\text{MR9 } auCa\# \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} awoCi\# / k_____\# \\ uwoCi\# \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\} \quad (\text{p. 102})$$

$$\text{MR10 } ewa\# \rightarrow au\# \quad (\text{p. 103})$$

$$\text{MR11 } owa\# \rightarrow au\# \quad (\text{p. 103})$$

The morphophonemic rules 12-16 indicate object focus patterns in verbs of class two which have two-syllable roots. These are not an exhaustive statement of all the changes which occur. They do however give an indication of the major pattern changes which take place. Also they help to show what may be expected in the verbs which are compounded from the two-syllable verb roots. Rules 12 and 13 indicate changes in the first syllable, and rules 14-16 show changes in the second syllable.

These five rules must be applied in order.

$$\text{MR12 } mwaCV\# \rightarrow moCV\# \quad (\text{p. 103})$$

$$\text{MR13 } CeCV\# \rightarrow CaCV\# \quad (\text{p. 103})$$

$$\text{MR14 } CVya\# \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} CVu\# / Ci_\# \\ CVi\# \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\} \quad (\text{p. 103})$$

$$\text{MR15 } \begin{array}{ccc} CV\# & \rightarrow & Cu\# \\ \uparrow & & \uparrow \\ [+round] & & [-round] \end{array} \quad (\text{p.104})$$

$$\text{MR16 } a\# \rightarrow i\# \quad (\text{p. 104})$$

Morphophonemic rules 17-29 state the junction phenomena of verb suffixes. They are an ordered sequence, but there is a morphemic constraint. Rules 17-22 must be applied only to class one verbs and to the verb focus forms of class two verbs. Then follow rules 23-29, which apply to other verbs.

Rules 17-22 apply to verb stems of class one and class two (verb focus) forms. The only suffix that concerns us in this set of rules is the plural marker *-si*. Where constraints apply to a rule they are appended immediately after the rule concerned. The symbol #, in addition to its normal function, here indicates also root boundaries.

MR17 #*la*# + *-si*# → *losi*# (p. 110)

MR18 # $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} m \\ w \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ *a*# + *-si*# → $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} m \\ w \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ *aisi*# (p.110)

Condition:

This rule applies also to compound verb roots in which either *-ma* or *-wa* is the second verb root employed.

MR19 *-m*# + *-si*# → $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} -msi \\ -mwaisi \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ (p. 110)

Condition:

Verb roots in the lexicon which terminate with *m* will need to have as additional lexical data whether the final consonant is diachronically **m* or **mw*, as the former occurs with *-si* as *-msi*, and the latter as *-mwaisi*.

MR20 #*sisu*# + *-si*# → *-sisuaisi*# (p. 110)

MR21 #*sili*# + *-si*# → *-silaisi*# (p. 110)

MR22 *-CV*# + *-CV*# → *CVCV*# (p. 110)

Rules 23-29 apply to verb roots of object focus class two verbs and all class three verbs. Here we are concerned with a number of possible suffixes, and so a generalised suffix formula of CV is used. These rules may also be understood to apply to a root final *m*, which is here to be understood as manifesting the diachronic form **mu*. Specific morpheme detail, as always, is given in lower case within the rules.

MR23 *Caik*# + *-CV* → *CakaiCV*# (p. 111)

MR24 *Cai* $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} m \\ l \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ *i*# + *-CV* → *Cai* $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} m \\ l \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ *iCV*# (p. 111)

MR25 $Cuki\# + -CV \rightarrow CukwaiCV\#$ (p. 111)

MR26 $C \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ a \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} \begin{matrix} C \\ -coronal \end{matrix} V\# + -CV \rightarrow C \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ a \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} CwaiCV\#$ (p. 111)

MR27 $C \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ a \\ u \end{matrix} \right\} \# + -CV \rightarrow CaiCV\#$ (p. 111)

MR28 $C \begin{matrix} V \\ +diph \end{matrix} \# + -CV \rightarrow C \begin{matrix} \underline{V} \\ +diph \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} C \\ +assim \end{matrix} aiCV\#$ (p. 111)

Note: The feature C(+assim) indicates that these two diphthongs when occurring contiguously have placed between them a consonant which assimilates to the point and manner of articulation of the post-nuclear contour of the first diphthong.

MR29 $CV.V\# + -CV \rightarrow CV.aiCV\#$ (p. 111)

APPENDIX 3

THE LEXICON OF KIRIWINAN CLASSIFIERS

1. A SEQUENTIAL LIST

The classifiers are listed here in the order that they are introduced in Chapter 5. Each bears the number by which it is identified there, these numbers being a convenient means of locating any classifier in its place. The subscript numbers identify homophonous forms. Glosses are in reduced form and must be taken only as convenient *labels*.

This list is followed by a comprehensive, alphabetically ordered list of all classifiers and their allomorphic forms.

GROUP I CLASSIFIERS – PROPERTY IDENTIFICATION

1. Basic Property Specifiers

Cl 1	<i>to</i> ₁ -	human
Cl 2	<i>na</i> ₁ -	nonhuman
Cl 3	<i>kai</i> -	rigid/long
Cl 4	<i>ya</i> -	flexible/thin
Cl 5	<i>kwai</i> -	thing

2. Subclassifiers

Cl 6	<i>to</i> ₂ -	male human
Cl 7	<i>na</i> ₂ -	female human
Cl 8	<i>gudi</i> -	immature human
Cl 9	<i>kwela</i> -	pot-like
Cl 10	<i>kova</i> -	fire
Cl 11	<i>kabilikova</i> -	fireplace
Cl 12	<i>tam</i> -	sprouting
Cl 13	<i>sobulo</i> -	growing
Cl 14	<i>sega</i> -	branching
Cl 15	<i>tuto</i> -	time
Cl 16	<i>siva</i> -	number of times
Cl 17	<i>lilou</i> -	journey
Cl 18	<i>yam</i> ₁ -	day
Cl 19	<i>kala</i> -	passage of day
Cl 20	<i>bugi</i> -	passage of night
Cl 21	<i>biga</i> -	word
Cl 22	<i>kaiga</i> -	voice
Cl 23	<i>ligila</i> -	group action

Cl 24	<i>mweli</i> ₁ -	practices
Cl 25	<i>miga-</i>	appearance
Cl 26	<i>wouyo-</i>	newness
Cl 27	<i>kumlo-</i>	oven
Cl 28	<i>nigo-</i>	nest
Cl 29	<i>kavi-</i>	tool
Cl 30	<i>pwa-</i>	excrement
Cl 31	<i>igi-</i>	wind
Cl 32	<i>vilo-</i>	place
3. Residue		
Cl 33	<i>iga-</i>	name
Cl 34	<i>kuno-</i>	rain

GROUP II CLASSIFIERS – MODIFICATION

1. By Activity

Cl 35	<i>bubulo-</i>	made
Cl 36	<i>buko</i> ₁ -	buried
Cl 37	<i>bulu-</i>	half-submerged
Cl 38	<i>beku-</i>	floating submerged
Cl 39	<i>gabu-</i>	burning
Cl 40	<i>no-</i>	blow
Cl 41	<i>nutu-</i>	kneaded
Cl 42	<i>ponina-</i>	punctured
Cl 43	<i>pwasa-</i>	rotten

2. By Partition

a) Topographical

Cl 44	<i>udila-</i>	land tract
Cl 45	<i>kubila-</i>	land plot
Cl 46	<i>kalivisi-</i>	large garden division
Cl 47	<i>gubo-</i>	garden division
Cl 48	<i>vala-</i>	small garden division
Cl 49	<i>lupo-</i>	smaller garden division
Cl 50	<i>kadida-</i>	very small garden division
Cl 51	<i>pulu-</i>	garden mound
Cl 52	<i>kalipo-</i>	site
Cl 53	<i>kailiku-</i>	section
Cl 54	<i>kada-</i>	track
Cl 55	<i>seuyo-</i>	lagoon
Cl 56	<i>soulo-</i>	fishing spot
Cl 57	<i>lada-</i>	small fishing spot

b) Parts within wholes

Cl 58	<i>sisi-</i>	bough
Cl 59	<i>lila-</i>	small bough
Cl 60	<i>lilivi-</i>	forked stick
Cl 61	<i>liku-</i>	canoe division
Cl 62	<i>lipu-</i>	tier
Cl 63	<i>buliga-</i>	storey
Cl 64	<i>kabisi-</i>	section
Cl 65	<i>livisi-</i>	shelf
Cl 66	<i>tabudo-</i>	room
Cl 67	<i>kaduyo-</i>	entrance
Cl 68	<i>moya-</i>	limb
Cl 69	<i>kwaya-</i>	severed limb
Cl 70	<i>yam₂-</i>	hand
Cl 71	<i>nina-</i>	idea
Cl 72	<i>mavila-</i>	verse

c) Pieces

Cl 73	<i>bubo-</i>	cut across
Cl 74	<i>vili-</i>	untwisted
Cl 75	<i>lapou-</i>	a third
Cl 76	<i>gum-</i>	small piece
Cl 77	<i>gibu-</i>	sufficient
Cl 78	<i>kuwo-</i>	crumb
Cl 79	<i>utu-</i>	scrap
Cl 80	<i>kabila-</i>	large cut of meat
Cl 81	<i>kipu-</i>	cut of meat
Cl 82	<i>sisili-</i>	cut of meat
Cl 83	<i>kaya-</i>	half piece of food
Cl 84	<i>givi-</i>	serve of fish
Cl 85	<i>kununu-</i>	serve of greens
Cl 86	<i>yivi-</i>	serve of food pieces
Cl 87	<i>gini-</i>	mouthful of food
Cl 88	<i>kapu-</i>	mouthful of drink

d) Multiple reference

Cl 89	<i>kabulo-</i>	section/half
Cl 90	<i>katupo-</i>	section/quarter
Cl 91	<i>pila-</i>	part/piece

3. By Arrangement

a) Inherent arrangement

Cl 92	<i>tubo-</i>	generation
Cl 93	<i>kumila-</i>	clan
Cl 94	<i>dila-</i>	family line
Cl 95	<i>kila-</i>	hand of bananas
Cl 96	<i>buko₂-</i>	fruit cluster

Cl 97	<i>biko-</i>	coconut bunch
Cl 98	<i>sa-</i>	nut bunch

b) Non-inherent arrangement

i) Distributional

Cl 99	<i>budo-</i>	group, crowd
Cl 100	<i>deli-</i>	group moving
Cl 101	<i>gulo-</i>	group, heap
Cl 102	<i>gugulo-</i>	gathering
Cl 103	<i>yuwo-</i>	group
Cl 104	<i>tupila-</i>	fleet
Cl 105	<i>duli-</i>	bundle, cluster
Cl 106	<i>seluva-</i>	bundle being tied
Cl 107	<i>luva-</i>	tied bundle
Cl 108	<i>ta-, Ø-</i>	basket, basketful
Cl 109	<i>kapo-</i>	parcel
Cl 110	<i>kapuli-</i>	group of parcels
Cl 111	<i>luba-</i>	bundle of rolls
Cl 112	<i>mweli₂-</i>	bundle of leaves
Cl 113	<i>dodiga-</i>	load
Cl 114	<i>kaiyuvai-</i>	layer
Cl 115	<i>pupai-</i>	layer of filth
Cl 116	<i>keivala-</i>	batch drying
Cl 117	<i>mmo-</i>	conical bundle
Cl 118	<i>sipu-</i>	tangle
Cl 119	<i>wela-</i>	fish (quantity)
Cl 120	<i>kudu-</i>	band of fibres
Cl 121	<i>suyo-</i>	things strung through hole
Cl 122	<i>kapupu-</i>	grove
Cl 123	<i>lukuva-</i>	growing bundle
Cl 124	<i>poulo-</i>	grove, group
Cl 125	<i>umila-</i>	grove (one species)

ii) Configurational

Cl 126	<i>tavi-</i>	loose coil
Cl 127	<i>kupa-</i>	loose coil
Cl 128	<i>teni-</i>	tight coil
Cl 129	<i>katukuni-</i>	reel
Cl 130	<i>bili-</i>	roll
Cl 131	<i>tabili-</i>	roll
Cl 132	<i>gili-</i>	row
Cl 133	<i>kasa-</i>	line

iii) Quantitative

Cl 134	<i>uva-</i>	span measure
Cl 135	<i>yuma-</i>	length
Cl 136	<i>puli-</i>	bunch (2-6)
Cl 137	<i>katuluwo-</i>	large group

Cl 138	<i>uwo-</i>	two-bundle
Cl 139	<i>kalo-</i>	two-bundle (crustacean)
Cl 140	<i>kupo-</i>	two-string
Cl 141	<i>yulai-</i>	four-bundle
Cl 142	<i>kasila-</i>	ten-group (wealth)
Cl 143	<i>buluwo-</i>	ten-group (animals)
Cl 144	<i>kaulo-</i>	ten-group (strings of fish)
Cl 145	<i>ika-</i>	tens of things
Cl 146	<i>kaluwo-</i>	ten days
Cl 147	<i>kwailuwo-</i>	tens of things

ALPHABETICAL LIST

This list gives all the classifiers that I have recorded in the Kavataria dialect, including all allomorphic forms, arranged alphabetically. Irregularities in phonological occurrence, limitations on syntactic performance and variations of semantic specification are stated, as well as illustrations of regular usage and examples which display relationships between classifiers.

For each entry, the order of information given (if available) is as follows:

1. Classifier (identifying number, position in system), gloss; for example, *buko*₁- (36, Group II: activity) 'burial'. Where the form listed is an allomorph, that form together with a gloss and reference to the basic classifier is listed; for example, *bo-* 'cut across' (see *bubo-*). The classifier entry is followed in the next line by a list of allomorphs plus any forms from other word classes which may be related to it, in brackets; for example, (also *buku-*; cf. verb *-beku* 'bury, inter dead');
2. Items which that classifier may specify;
3. A sample of nouns which may appear with the classifiers, introduced by 'used with';
4. Examples: Deictic (deic), Numerals (num), Adjectives (adj), any other more extensive example;
5. Any special notes or contrasting related specifications of other classifiers. Some comments on other dialects are included here;
6. Any listing by Malinowski of that classifier as one of his 42 classificatory formatives, introduced by Mal. There I follow Malinowski's spelling, and add any relevant comments he has made about that classifier (many of which are at variance with my analysis, but are included for contrast).

This lexicon must not be regarded as complete for the Kiriwina language. Any who investigate further need to remember that this is compiled from Kavataria dialect sources; additional information from other dialect areas would need to be noted as such.

beku- (38, Group II: activity) 'floating submerged'

(cf. verb *-beku* 'sink')

– That which has foundered and is floating full of water;

Used with *waga, kewou, masawa* etc.;

Examples: deic *maBEKUna kewou* 'that foundered fishing canoe'
 num *BEKUtaIa waga* 'one foundered canoe'
 adj *BEKUVau* 'a newly foundered thing'

biga- (21, Group I: subclassifier) 'word'

(cf. noun *biga* 'word')

– A word, a statement;

– A message, a public speech;

Used with *biga, nanamsa, kamatula, katuvagwagu* etc.;

Examples: deic *maBIGAna biga* 'that word'
 num *BIGAtala* 'one word'
 adj *BIGAveka* 'important words'

biko- (97, Group II: arrangement) 'coconut bunch'

– Bunch of coconuts produced on one stem;

Example: num *BIKOTALa luya = saleku-la luya*
 bunch.one coconut bunch-its coconut

bili- (130, Group II: arrangement) 'roll'

(cf. verb *-katubili* 'roll it up')

– Mat-making or house-walling material in rolls;

– Anything rolled up (e.g. paper, material);

Used with *moi, ninuva, kalekwa*;

Examples: deic *maBILINa peipu* 'that roll of paper'
 num *BILItala wala* 'only one roll'
 adj *BILIketa* 'a small roll'

bo- 'cut across' (see *bubo-*)

bubo- (73, Group II: partition) 'cut across'

(also *bubwa-*, *bo-*; cf. verb *-bobu* 'cut across')

– Anything cut transversely (e.g. log of wood, length of rope, iron bar) with knife, axe;

– A piece obtained by cutting transversely;

– Fish cut into sections;

– Half of s.th. obtained by transverse cut (rarely; see *kabulo-*);

Used with *kai, tanumnumta, wotunu, yena* etc.;

Examples: deic *maBUBONa* 'that cut log'
 num *BUBWAtolu* 'three pieces cut off'
 adj *BUBOveka* 'a big piece'

Note: *bubwa-* generally used with numerals.

Mal: *bubwa* 'parts cut off by transv. cutting; half'.

bubulo- (35, Group II: activity) 'made'

(also *bubula-*; cf. verb *-bubuli* 'make s.th.')

– Anything manufactured or created – really refers not to the object but to its making. Parts of things being made (e.g. framework of house, top of carving, rim of dish).

Whole objects usually in reference to imported things from other cultures;

Used with name of thing: *bwala, waga, doba* etc.;

Examples: deic *maBUBULOna* 'that manufactured item'
 num *BUBULotala* 'one manufactured item'
 adj *BUBULovau* 'a newly created thing'

bubwa- 'cut across' (see *bubo*-)

budo- (99, Group II: arrangement) 'group, crowd'

(cf. noun *boda* 'group, crowd')

– A group or crowd (people, animals, birds, fish);

Used with *tomota, mauna, yena* etc.;

Examples: deic *maBUDOna yena* 'that school of fish'
 num *BUDOtulu* 'three groups'
 adj *BUDOveka* 'a big group'

bugi- (20, Group I: subclassifier) 'passage of night'

(cf. noun *bogi* 'night')

– Night, either as completed unit of time (thus referring to next day) or as direct reference to one particular night;

Used with *bogi*, but generally used with numerals in isolation as temporal word;

Examples: deic *maBUGIna bogi* 'that night' (rare – usually *bogi maKWAIna*)
 num *BUGIyu* 'day after tomorrow' (lit. 'two nights')
 adj *BUGIveka* 'late in the night' (lit. 'big night')

Note: *BUGItala* is never used for 'tomorrow' (see time word *nabwaia*).

Mal: *bogi* "As this is a very special use of this prefix [i.e. referring to coming days] I have not included it...".

*buko*₁- (36, Group II: activity) 'buried'

(also *buku*-; cf. verb *-baku* 'bury, inter dead')

– Anything which is concealed by being buried, or buried in order to mature;

Used with name of buried object: *natu, buwa, kema, mwali, mani* etc.;

Examples: deic *maBUKOna buwa* 'that buried betel-nut'
 num *BUKUyuwela bekwa* 'a second buried axe-stone'
 adj *BUKOVau natu* 'a newly buried *natu* fruit'

*buko*₂- (96, Group II: arrangement) 'fruit cluster'

(cf. verb *-bukula* 'bear in clusters (fruit)')

– Bunch or cluster of fruit on same stem; also, when single clump of *taitu* yams lifted at harvest, and biggest and seed yams (*yagogu*) taken off, remnant referred to by this classifier;

– Egg cowries (*buna*) when tied into specific cluster used for chief's *kapiwa* 'gable ornament' (note that other items tied in clusters, e.g. lime gourds, are identified by Cl 105 *duli*-);

Used with fruit names etc.: *luya, seisuya, weiwa, natu, saida* etc.;

Examples: deic *maBUKOna saida* 'that cluster of nuts'
 num *kumai BUKOlima* 'bring five clusters'
 adj *BUKOVeka seisuya* 'a big cluster of berries'

Mal: *bukwa* 'bunches of coconuts'; "I never heard [it] in actual use".

buku- 'buried' (see *buko*₁-)

buliga- (63, Group II: partition) 'storey'

(cf. noun *bwala* 'house')

– Floor or storey of horizontal divisions in house; drawers or shelves in series;

– Horizontal divisions in food-house;

Used with *bwala*, *bwaima*, etc.;

Examples: deic *maBULIGAna kabosisu* 'that place to sit' (under the house)

num *BULIGAtolu bwala* 'a three-storey house'

adj *BULIGAvau* 'a new shelf'

Note: Although use in Kiriwinan with reference to houses is limited, it is immediately used by Kiriwinan travellers in reference to multistorey buildings in cities.

bulu- (37, Group II: activity) 'half-submerged'

(cf. verb *-sabwabula* 'sink with bubbling sound')

– Boat filling with water and floating half-submerged.

buluwo- (143, Group II: arrangement) 'ten-group (animals)'

(cf. noun *bunukwa* 'pig' and number *-luwo-* 'tens of')

– Tens of animals, fish, birds, etc.;

– Large group of animals etc.;

Used with name of group: *mauna*, *yena*, etc.;

Examples: deic *maBULUWOSina yena* 'those schools of fish'

num *miNASina BULUWOyu bunukwa* 'those twenty pigs'

(cf. *miNASina NALima bunukwa* 'those five pigs')

adj *BULUWOveka* 'many animals' (lit. 'ten.group-big')

Note: Ten or more female humans are indicated by *na-* plus *-luwo-*; the counting of groups of people (men and women together) is considered a joke if *buluwo-* is used.

dala- 'family line' (see *dila-*)

deli- (100, Group II: arrangement) 'group moving'

(cf. conjunction *deli* 'with' and noun *daili* 'company')

– Group on the move (e.g. people, animals, birds, fish);

Used with *tomota*, *mauna*, *yena*, etc.

Examples: deic *MaDELIna leimaisi*. 'That group has come.'

num *DELItala DELItinidesi* 'only one group'

adj *DELIVeka* 'a large company (going somewhere)'

dila- (94, Group II: arrangement) 'family line'

(also *dala-*, cf. noun *dala* 'family line')

– Family line (e.g. *tabalu*, *tudava*) within the *kumila* 'clan group'. May trace origins back to mythical time when forebears issued from the cave or hole which is the *bwala* 'mythical issuing-forth place' of that family line;

Used with *dala* and various family line names: *tabalu*, *mlobwaima*, *bwaitaitu* etc.;

Examples: deic *maDILAna dala* 'that family line'

num *DILAtala* 'one family line'

adj *DILAVeka* 'a large family group'

Note: The allomorph *dala-* is generally used with number morphemes; it may be substituted in the above examples, but *dila-* has the highest frequency of occurrence.

dodiga- (113, Group II: arrangement) 'load'

(cf. verb *-dodiga* 'load canoe')

– Contents of load carried by canoe, truck or any *waga* (usually goods, though people may be thus specified);

– Contents of box, basket, drawer;

– A meal being eaten (or 'loaded');

Used with *guguwa*, *vavagi* or with specific name of items loaded;

Examples: deic *Avaka maDODIGAna?* 'What have you got (e.g. in your basket)?'

num *DODIGAvila gugwadi?* 'How many children in that load (in truck, boat)?'

adj *DODIGAveka* 'a big load'

duli- (105, Group II: arrangement) 'bundle, cluster'

(cf. verbs *-duli* 'bear in clusters', *-saiduli* 'take handfuls of')

– Rolls of mat-making material tied together to form bundle of rolls;

– Several fruit borne in cluster on one stem;

– Bundle of 2-6 items of anything (including people tied together in a game);

Examples: deic *maDULIna moi* 'that bundle of rolls of mat-making material'

num *DULItala lemoni* 'one cluster of citrus fruit'

adj *DULIkekita wala* 'only a small cluster'

duyo- 'entrance' (see *kaduyo-*)

gabu- (39, Group II: activity) 'burning'

(also *gubu-* (2); cf. verb *-gabu* 'burn')

– Fireplace;

– Place where fire or sparks have burned body;

– Batch of roasted food;

Used with *kova*, *kai*, *pwanos*, *pwakova*, *kabwasi*, etc.;

Examples: deic *maGABUna kova* 'that fireplace'

num *GUBUyuwela baisesa* 'the second fire here'

adj *GUBUveka* 'a large batch (of roasted food)'

gibu- (77, Group II: partition) 'sufficient'

– Enough (tobacco for a smoke, food for a meal) – humble or respectful comment by host passing food to guest;

Examples: deic *maGIBUna yena* 'that piece of cooked fish'

num *GIBUta bibodi*. 'One serve is enough.'

adj *GIBUkekita* 'a small serve'

gili- (132, Group II: arrangement) 'row'

(cf. verb phrase *-giligili matila* 'eye deceived by great numbers of s.th.')

– Rows of spondylus shell discs (*kaloumwa*) sewn onto belt, headband etc.;

– Bands or turns of woven armbands or waistbands;

– Numbers of new shoots from growing yam seed (for classifiers of shoots see *sega-* and *tam-*);

– Bands of decoration in painted or carved design (e.g. *dodoleta* motif or the *kudula kaukwa* 'dog's teeth' motif – an informant likened these to a string-like decoration);

Used with *duriduri*, *wakala*, *saveva*, *kwasi* etc.;

Examples: deic *maGILIna* 'that band (of woven armlet)'
 num *GILItala duriduri* 'a one-row belt'
 adj *GILIwonaku, ka!* 'Look, a long row!'

Mal: *gili* "rows of spondylus shell discs on a belt".

gini- (87, Group II: partition) 'mouthful of food'
 (cf. verb *-gani* 'bite')

– As much food as may be bitten off in one mouthful;

Used with *kaula, kuvi, luya, yena* etc.;

Examples: deic *maGINIna kaula* 'that mouthful of food'
 num *GINItala* 'one bite'
 adj *GINIbogwa* 'the first bite'

givi- (84, Group II: partition) 'serve of fish'

– Small portion of cooked fish, half of 30cm fish; polite handful – as much as may be accommodated between thumb and two fingers, about 4 mouthfuls (large serve is *kabila-* specification);

– Fragments of cooked fish (may be humble reference by host presenting large serve as if only a fragment);

Used with *yena* and various fish names;

Examples: deic *maGIVIna yena* 'that fragment of fish'
 num *Kumai GIVIyuwela*. 'Give me a second serve.'
 adj *GIVIkekita wala* 'only a tiny bit'

gubo- (47, Group II: partition) 'garden division'

(also *gubu-* (1); cf. noun *gubu* 'plot in garden')

– Subdivision of garden; *KALIVISItala* divided into halves;

– Place where any food plant is growing;

– Small share allotted from total task;

Used with *bagula, paisewa* etc.;

Examples: deic *maGUBOna bagula* 'that garden subdivision'
 num *GUBUvasi* 'four subdivisions'
 adj *GUBUkekita yoku* 'a small job for you' (part of larger project)

gubu- (1) 'garden division' (see *gubo-*)

gubu- (2) 'burning' (see *gabu-*)

gudi- (8, Group I: subclassifier) 'immature human'

(cf. noun *gwadi* 'child')

– Child of either sex;

– Person being compared with older person;

Used with *gwadi, tau, latugu, molitomoya* etc.;

Examples: deic *maGUDI sina gugwadi* 'those children'
 num *Litugwa GUDItolu*. 'I have three young offspring.'
 adj *GUDIvau* 'a new child'

gugulo- (102, Group II: arrangement) 'gathering'

(cf. verb *-gugula* 'meet together (people)')

– Heap of anything; heap of bundles;

– Gathering of people; meeting;

Used with *gugula, tomota, kaula* etc.;

- Examples: deic *maGUGULOna vivila* 'that women's meeting'
 num *GUGULotala yoku, GUGULotala yae gu.* 'One heap for you
 and one for me.'
 adj *Baisa GUGULoveka.* 'Here is a big heap.'

guli- 'group, heap' (see *gulo-*)

- gulo-* (101, Group II: arrangement) 'group, heap'
 (also *guli-*; cf. adverb *gulinidesi* 'one group only')
 – Group of people, animals, captured fish;
 – Heap of anything (e.g. yams, fish, posts);
 – Bundle of fibres laid side by side not tied together, (see *kudu-*);
 Used with *tomota, mauna, kaula, kokola* etc.;;
 Examples: deic *maGULOna yena* 'that catch of fish'
 num *GULotala wala* 'only one heap'
 adj *GULovakaveka* 'very big heaps'
 Mal: *gula* "heaps (yams, shell and all other)".

- gum-* (76, Group II: partition) 'small piece'
 (cf. nouns *gum* 'end position (in line of dancers), *togum* 'taciturn or reticent person')
 – Fragment of tobacco cut from whole stick (half of *LAPOUtala*);
 – Fragment of sugarcane, woody part at node cut off and discarded or one node or
 short piece cut off for planting;
 Used with *tobaki, tou, tapiokwa* etc.;;
 Examples: deic *maGUMna tobaki* 'that fragment of tobacco'
 num *GUMvila magim?* 'How many bits do you want?'
 adj *GUMkekita* 'only a little bit'

-i- 'female human' (see *na₂-*)

- iga-* (33, Group I: residue) 'name'
 (also *igi-* (2); cf. noun *yaga-* 'name')
 – Name given to person or thing;
 Used with *yagala, igaula, ikavilevi* etc.
 Examples: deic *maIGAna yegila* 'that name'
 num *IGAtala* 'one name'
 adj *IGImigigaga* 'ugly names'

- igi-* (1) (31, Group I: subclassifier) 'wind'
 (cf. noun *yagila* 'wind')
 – Wind in general (e.g. breeze, gale);
 – Particular wind (e.g. *bolimila*);
 Used with *yagila, utuyagila, kwaibwaga, bolimila* etc.
 Examples: deic *maIGIna bolimila* 'that south-east wind'
 num *IGIyuwela* 'a second puff of wind'
 adj *IGIveka iuu.* 'A strong wind blew.'

igi- (2) 'name' (see *iga-*)

- ika-* (145, Group II: arrangement) 'tens of things'
 – Group of ten bundles of things (e.g. *kuvi* yams, skirts, bunches of betel-nut,
 coconuts);

– Special application to ten *yulai*- clusters of coconuts etc. so that *YULAIluwotala luya* = *IKAtala luya* = forty coconuts; ten *kudu*- bundles of string; ten *luva*- bundles; Used with name of thing bundled: *doba, luya, tou* etc.;

Examples: deic *maIKAsina* ‘those groups-of-ten bundles’
 num *IKAyuda* ‘twenty skirts’
 adj *IKAwovau* ‘new ten-bundle’

iwo- ‘group’ (see *yuwo*-)

kabila- (80, Group II: partition) ‘large cut of meat’

– Part of butchered carcass, dismembered body; cut of meat (e.g. pig, human, turtle);

– Large serve of meat, fish etc.;

Used with *bunukwa, wonu, yena* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKABILAna kwau* ‘that cut of shark’
 num *KABILAtala wonu* ‘one cut of turtle meat’
 adj *KABILAveka* ‘a large serve of meat’

kabilikova- (11, Group I: subclassifier) ‘fireplace’

(cf. noun phrase *kabala kova* lit. ‘its-seat fire’)

– Fireplace or any place a fire has been burning.

kabisi- (64, Group II: partition) ‘section’

(cf. noun *kabisivisi* ‘yam-house section’)

– Section, division or shelves in yam-house;

Used with *kabisivisi, livisi, kalitutila* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKABISIna kabisivisi* ‘that yam-house section’
 num *KABISItala kalitutila* ‘one division’
 adj *KABISiveka* ‘a big section (of yam-house)’

Mal: *kabisi* “compartments of a yam-house”.

kabulo- (89, Group II partition) ‘section/half’

(also *kabulu*-; cf. noun *kabulu*- ‘nose’)

– Section or ‘suburb’ of village under different authority for food distribution etc. (each such area bears different place name as well as considered within name of village as whole);

– General area of authority (e.g. parts of boat, teams in game);

– Protuberance, end of an object, corner;

– Cape or peninsula;

– Half of anything (e.g. stick of tobacco);

– Piece of fish, cutlet cut off from whole;

Used with *yena, valu, kabulula* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKABULOna yena* ‘that piece of fish’
 num *KABULUvasi* ‘four handles (on drawer)’
 adj *KABULOveka* ‘a big section’

Mal: *kabulo* “protuberances; ends of an object; all the parts that stick out and detach themselves from a whole forming ends or corners”.

kabulu- ‘section/half’ (see *kabulo*-)

kada- (54, Group II: partition) 'track'

(cf. noun *keda* 'track, road')

– Any track (foot or vehicular);

– Any method or way in which something is done;

Used with *keda* and with names of particular types of track: *kadaliya*, *kadavapwala*, *kadaula* etc. (these are nouns not adjectives, as the word particles without *kada* have no independent existence nor do they occur with other classifiers);

Examples: deic *maKADAna keda* 'that track'

si vavagi maKADAna 'their method'

num *KADAYu keda* 'two tracks'

KADAYuwela keda 'a second way of doing it'

adj *KADAbeyaya* 'a wide road'

Note: Cl 91 *pila-* may be used with *keda*, e.g. *maPILAna keda* 'that division track' where a track divides an area.

Mal: *kada* "roads".

kadida- (50, Group II: partition) 'very small garden division'

– Very small division of garden, width of a track (cf. *keda* 'track');

– Division of task between several workers;

Used with *lapoi*, *paisewa*, *vilavila* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKADIDAna lapoi* 'that garden division'

num *KADIDAYu wala* 'only two sections'

adj *KADIDAvau* 'a new division'

(see also example under *vala-* below)

kaduyo- (67, Group II: partition) 'entrance'

(also *duyo-*)

– Mouth or entrance where people or animals may go in and out (e.g. doorway, entrance, hole in ground or wall, pit, valley, reef entrance, hole into burrow or lair);

– Narrow opening to large container (e.g. mouth of person or animal, neck of bottle or gourd, hole for head in pullover; hole in clothing);

Used with *kabosuvi*, *yoyu*, *lulu*, *lukwava*, *yaguma*, *wodila* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKADUYOka kabosuvi* 'that entrance'

num *KADUYOyu* 'two gates'

adj *KADUYOmanabwaita* 'the decorated entrance'

Mal: *kaduyo* "rivers, creeks, sea passages".

kai- (3, Group I: Basic Property Specifier) 'rigid/long'

(cf. noun *kai* 'tree, plant, bush, wood')

– Any growing tree, shrub, plant, including flowers, fungi and larger grasses (smaller grasses specified by *ya-* or *tam-*);

– Some garden produce, especially those which reproduce by rhizome or thickening of stem, long *kuvipiti* yams (other yams specified by *kwai-*), sugarcane, whole bunch of bananas (hand and single bananas specified by *kila-* and *kwai-* respectively), shelled nut, cob of corn, stalk of spinach;

– Any item made from single piece of wood (e.g. bowl, digging stick, comb, spear, post, carvings not representing living creature – but see note below);

– Some things made from several pieces of wood, e.g. canoe, gable assembly of house (whole house specified by *kwai-*);

– Long rigid things (e.g. iron spear, concrete post, crowbar); feather, bundles of dry coconut leaf for fishing torch (and all lamps, electric globes); stick of tobacco; stalactite in cave;

– Fire, fireplace (see also *kova-*);

Used with names of plants: *uri*, *tapiokwa*, *bisia*, *leiya*, *unonu* etc.; a very wide domain;

Examples: deic *maKAIIna kai* ‘that tree’
 num *kokola KAIluwotala KAllima KAIyu* ‘seventeen posts’
 adj *KAIwonau* ‘long (housebeam)’

Notes: Carvings which may include representation of human or animal form but which have some function apart from the carved representation are referred to as *maKAIIna*; the figure that forms part of the whole carving is referred to as *minana* (see note on *kasa-*); some modern items are in this domain, e.g. *tekodo maKAIIna* ‘that tape-recorder’ because it has perceptual similarity to a box, and *KAIItala ki*, *KWAItala loki* ‘rigid-one key, thing-one lock’ which reflect the respective complexity of key and lock.

Mal: *kay* ‘trees and plants, wooden things; long objects’.

kaiga- (22, Group I: subclassifier) ‘voice’

(also *kaigi-*; cf. noun *kaiga-* ‘voice’)

– Sound of voice; what the voice utters;

Used with *kaigala*, *biga*, *butula* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKAIGAna butula* ‘sound of that voice’
 num *KAIGAtala KAIGItinidesi* ‘only one voice’
 adj *KAIGAveka* ‘a loud voice’

kaigi- ‘voice’ (see *kaiga-*)

kailiku- (1) (53, Group II: partition) ‘section’

– Part of village (seldom used, similar specification to *kabulo-*).

kailiku- (2) ‘canoe division’ (see *liku-*)

kaiyuvai- (114, Group II: arrangement) ‘layer’

(also *yuvai-*)

– Layers of things (bundle or bunch of goods lying together, as canoe has several heterogeneous strata of goods, to be unloaded layer by layer); people tumbled together in layers (as in soccer game);

– Groups of things lying on shelf or in drawer, one on top of another;

– Layers of filth on body (one wash takes off first layer etc.);

– Strata in earth (considered to be three – soil, stones and solid rock);

– Rows of things;

Used with *guguwa*, *peipu*, *gatu* etc.;

Examples: deic *maYUVAIna luya* ‘that layer of coconuts’
 num *YUVAIyuwela dakuna* ‘a second stratum of stones’
 adj *KAIYUVAIvau* ‘another layer’

kala- (19, Group I: subclassifier) ‘passage of day’

(cf. noun *kalasia* ‘sun’)

– Refers to passing of time or to number of days in block or period (really only functions as time word);

Used in noun-free constructions (does not attach to noun, except when in deictic attached to and specifying *yam* or similar time expression);

Examples: deic *maKALAna yam* 'that whole day'
 num *KALAtolu* 'three days'
 adj *KALAbobawa* 'many days'

Note: This classifier only, when attached to numeral, is used as a verb stem:

A-KALA-luwo-tala o-valu e l-a-ma.
 I-day-ten-one in-village well PERF-I-come
 I was ten days in the village before coming here.

Mal: *kala* "days".

kaliku- 'canoe divisions' (see *liku-*)

kalipo- (52, Group II: partition) 'site'

– Part of particular place (sections or 'suburbs' of village – whole village specified by *kwai-*, or by *maKALIPOna* in reference to being part of larger whole);
 – Part selected for particular purpose (e.g. place to meet, site of proposed building);

Used with *tumila*, *valu*, *baleku*, *katuposula* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKALIPOna katuposula* 'that meeting place'
 num *KALIPOvila* 'a number of (sites)'
 adj *KALIPOveka* 'a large section'

kalivisi- (46, Group II: partition) 'large garden division'

(also *kaluvisi-*)

– The *bagula* 'garden plot' divided into two or three parts;

Used with *bagula*, *buyagu* etc.:

Examples: deic *maKALIVISIna bagula* 'that divided garden'
 num *KALIVISItolu* 'three garden divisions'
 adj *KALIVISIwonaku* 'long-shaped garden division'

kalo- (139, Group II: arrangement) 'two-bundle (crustacean)'

– Bundle of two marine crustacea (e.g. crabs, crayfish);

Used with *kaimagu*, *lakum*, *keli*, *kuiga* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKALOna kuiga* 'that two-bundle of crayfish'
 num *KALotala NATana lakum* 'a two-bundle plus one of crabs (i.e. three crabs)'
 adj *KALObogwa* 'the first bundle (crustacea)'

Note: *KALOyu* is the same number of items as *YULAIitala*, the former used in preference to describe two of two-bundles, but the latter is permissible.

kaluku- 'canoe division' (see *liku-*)

kaluvisi- 'large garden division' (see *kalivisi-*)

kaluwo- (146, Group II: arrangement) 'ten-days'

(cf. Cl 19 *kala-* 'passage of days' and number *-luwo-* 'tens')

– Days in groups of ten (from Cl 19 *kala-* + *-luwo-*);

– Ten-groups of *kai-* items (from Cl 3 *kai-* + *-luwo-*);

Examples: num *KALUWOvasi* 'forty days'

Note: *KALUWOvasi* and *KALALUWOvasi* are both found, and in reference to days in groups of ten *kwai-* + *-luwo-* also occurs (see *kwailuwo-*).

kapo- (1) (109, Group II: arrangement) 'parcel'

(cf. noun *kapola* 'parcel')

– Bundles rolled up, wrapped (usually small) in leaves, paper etc.; packets;

– Nest of bird;

Used with name of items wrapped: *gayasu, bini, mona* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKAPOna kapola* 'that packet'

num *KAPOtala* 'one parcel of...'

adj *KAPOveka* 'a big parcel of...'

Mal: *kapwa* "bundles (wrapped up) – a general formative for wrappings".

kapo- (2) 'mouthful of drink' (see *kapu-*)

kapu- (88, Group II: partition) 'mouthful of drink'

(also *kapo-*; cf. verb *-kapuli* 'spit out')

– Mouthful of drink, sip (often to be tasted then spat out);

Used with *sopi, lubwau, bwaibwai, duwoyala, giu* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKAPUAna momom* 'that mouthful of drink'

num *KAPUtala imom*. 'He took a sip.'

adj *KAPUyayana* 'a bitter mouthful'

Note: *kapo-* is used only with numerals.

kapuli- (110, Group II: arrangement) 'group of parcels'

(cf. noun *kapola* 'parcel')

– Group of parcels;

– Cargo of goods taken in one trip; load of people in boat or truck;

Used with *kapola, paisewa* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKAPULIna* 'that group of parcels'

num *KAPULItala wala* 'only one group'

adj *KAPULIveka kapola* 'a big group of parcels'

kapupu- (122, Group II: arrangement) 'grove'

(cf. noun *kapupu* 'grove')

– Grove of standing trees; patch of scrub left after garden cleared;

– Tuft of hair left on head after head shaved;

Used with *kapupu, kulugu, kai, baleku* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKAPUPUna kai* 'that grove of timber'

num *KAPUPUtala kapupu* 'one grove of trees'

adj *KAPUPUbweyani kulugu* 'my tuft of red hair'

kasa- (133, Group II: arrangement) 'line'

(cf. verb *-kasa* 'form a line (people)')

– Line or row of things (e.g. books on shelf, things planted in row, people in line);
line of song; written sentence;

– Bunch of keys on string (indefinite number);

Used with *wosi, tomota, kai* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKASAna wosi* 'a line of that song'

num *KASAtala KASAtala* 'each row'

adj *KASAwana* 'a long line'

Note: This form appears to be used on occasions when in fact the plural of Cl 3 *kai-* is intended: *maKASana bani* may be translated as ‘that line of hooks’ or ‘those hooks’, because of confusion with *maKAIsina bani* which may be rendered in Kilivila dialect as *maKAsana bani*, *-sa-* being a dialect variation of the plural marker *-si-*.

Mal: *kasa* ‘rows (people in dance, houses in village, trees in plantation)’.

kasila- (142, Group II: arrangement) ‘ten-group (wealth)’

– Groups of ten wealth items;

Used with *mwali*, *bekwa*, *soulava*, *doga*, *buna*, *kulia*, *kwelamala*, *mmakata*, *saveva*, *kema*, *ligogu*, *bani* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKASILAna soulava* ‘that group of ten necklaces’
 num *KASILAYu* ‘twenty (of some wealth item)’
 adj *KASILAVau* ‘a newly assembled ten-group of...’

katukuni- (129, Group II: arrangement) ‘reel’

(cf. verb *-katukuni* ‘coil it up’)

– Rope or string rolled onto any reel or form;

– One turn in a roll of anything;

Used with *im*, *wotunu*, *yuwoyoula* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKATUKUNIna* ‘that reel of rope’
 num *KATUKUNItala* ‘one turn of string on a spool’
 adj *KATUKUNIveka wotunu* ‘a big spool of thread’

Note: When wound onto a reel or form, the coil may be specified by Cl 5 *kwai-*, which specifies the complex combination of reel plus rope rather than the coil itself.

katuluwo- (137, Group II: arrangement) ‘large group’

(cf. number *lakatuluwo-* ‘thousands of’)

– Group (things, animals, people) made up of very great number (not associated with definite numbers where number words *lakatu-* ‘hundreds of’ or *lakatuluwo-* ‘thousands of’ occur);

Examples: deic *MaKATULUWOna GULOvau i-kalisau GULObogwa*
 that.large.group group.new it-exceed group.old
 The new crowd is bigger than the earlier one.
 num *KATULUWOvila* ‘such a very large group’

Note: *katuluwo-* does not occur with adjectives – Cl 101 *gulo-* is used instead (see deictic example above).

katupo- (90, Group II: partition) ‘section/quarter’

(cf. noun *katupwaila* ‘section of anything’; verb *-katupwi* ‘fold (mat)’)

– Length of short walk or short track; distance between two resting places on journey;

– Short length of rope or string; length of sugarcane between two nodes; hank of twine (for fishing line);

– Broken-off piece of tobacco, approximately quarter of stick;

– Any part obtained by breaking from whole (emphasis on mode of division);

Used with *katupwaila*, *keda*, *tobaki*, *tou* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKATUPOna tobaki* ‘that short portion of tobacco’
 num *KATUPOtala keda* ‘one stage’
 adj *KATUPOkekita* ‘a short piece’

kaulo- (144, Group II: arrangement) 'ten-group (strings of fish)'

– Ten of *wela-* strings of fish;

Used with fish name.

kavi- (29, Group I: subclassifier) 'tool'

– Any cutting or sharp-edged tool (e.g. axe, knife, adze, spoon); fork, skewer;

Used with *bekwa*, *kema*, *ligisa*, *kaeki*, *ligogu* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKAVIna kema* 'that axe'

num *KAVItolu ligogu* 'three adzes'

adj *KAVIdoudoga* 'a crooked (axe stone)'

Note: Because of lenis quality of [v] this is often pronounced [ka.i] (two syllables), and so is easily confused with Cl 3 *kai-*.

Mal: *kavi* "stone blades; now by extension, steel blades".

kawo- 'crumb' (see *kuwo-*)

kaya- (83, Group II: partition) 'half (piece of food)'

– Piece of *KWAigeyata* 'mature food' cooked and cut in half;

Used with name of food cut;

Examples: deic *maKAYAna kagu* 'my piece of mature food'

num *KAYAy* 'two pieces of mature food'

adj *KAYAgeyata* 'the half-piece of mature food'

Note: Cl 91 *pila-* used in same sense of anything divided into two approximately equal parts.

keivala- (116, Group II: arrangement) 'batch drying'

(cf. noun *keivala* 'a batch' and verb *-vakali* 'sun-dry s.th.')

– Batch of fish, tray of copra, group of yams drying or smoking over fire, for storage;

Used with *yena*, *luya*, *kwita*, *bunukwa*, *gweigo* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKEIVALAna keivala* 'that batch'

num *KEIVALAy* *desi*. 'Two batches will do!'

adj *KEIVALAkekita kwita* 'a small tray of octopi'

kila- (95, Group II: arrangement) 'hand of bananas'

(also *kili-*)

– Hand of bananas (a single banana is specified by *kwai-*, a whole bunch by *kai-* and ten hands by *kwailuwo-*);

Used with *usi* and with names of different species of bananas, *siaina*, *kabulukusa* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKILAna usi* 'that hand of bananas'

num *Kumai KILAy* *kabulukusa*. 'Bring me two hands of *kabulukusa* bananas.'

adj *KILImonogu* 'a hand of ripe bananas'

Mal: *kila* "clusters (hands) of bananas".

kili- 'hand of bananas' (see *kila-*)

kipu- (81, Group II: partition) 'cut of meat'

– Piece of carcase (about half of piece specified by *kabila-*);

– Mouthful of flesh.

kova- (10, Group I: subclassifier) 'fire'

(cf. noun *kova* 'fire')

– Fire burning or heap of hot coals;

– Fireplace, place where fire has been;

Used with *kova*, *pwakova*, *pwanosi* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKOVAna kova* 'that fire'

num *KOVAtala 'baisa, KOVAtala bai'se*. 'One fire here, and one there.'

adj *KOVAtiganini* 'a fierce fire'

kovi- 'pot-like' (see *kwela-*)

Note: The forms *kovi-* and *kwavi-* used to be specifically Kavataria dialect, with [*'kwa.ɪ*] used in Kilivila dialect. Today these three forms are being supplanted by *kwela-*, now the most frequently used in all dialects (see note under *kwai-* (2)).

kubila- (45, Group II: partition) 'land plot'

(cf. noun *kwabila* 'tract of land (about 10 hectares)')

– Land measure, or plot of owned land with known boundaries;

– General reference to tract of country;

– Used synonymously with *pila-* in reference to village areas;

Used with *kwabila*, *baleku* and words which indicate topography: as *raibwaga*, *pasa* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKUBILAna kwabila* 'that large land plot'

num *KUBILAvila* 'indefinite number of large land units'

adj *KUBILAvaka* 'very large land unit (30 or more *baleku*)'

Mal: *kubila* "large land plots (ownership divisions)".

kudu- (120, Group II: arrangement) 'band of fibres'

– Band or rope of fibres made for top of skirt;

– Roll of lashing creeper;

Used with skirt names: *doba*, *seipwana*, *tagilikesa* etc.; and with names of creepers: *ita*, *wayugwa*, *wali*, *kaluma* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKUDUAna doba* 'that skirt waistband'

num *KUDUta* 'one waistband'

adj *KUDUKukupi wala* 'only a short waistband'

Note: If *wali* 'lashing creeper' is laid in straight bundles, unsplit and not coiled, it is specified by *luva-*, but if split and coiled it is specified by *kudu-*.

Mal: *kudu* "bundles of lashing creeper (*wayugwa*)".

kumila- (93, Group II: arrangement) 'clan'

(cf. noun *kumila* 'clan')

– Clan groups; village groups (Kavataria only):

Used with *kumila* and the four clan names;

Examples: deic *maKUMILAna Malasi* 'the Malasi clan'

num *Mina Dobu KUMILAvila yakidasi-ga KUMILAvasi*.
people Dobu clan.many we-EMPH clan.four
Dobu people have many clans but we have four.

adj *KUMILAvau Lukulobuta*. 'The Lukulobuta clan is a new one.'

kumlo- (27, Group I: subclassifier) 'oven'

(cf. noun *kumkumla* 'ground oven')

– Ground oven (hole scooped in earth, lined with hot stones);

Used with *kumkumla* and generally as noun-free construction;

Examples: deic *maKUMLOna kumkumla* 'that oven'
 num *KUMLOyuwela* 'a second oven'
 adj *KUMLOBogwa* 'the first-built oven'

kuno- (34, Group I: residue) 'rain'

(cf. verb *-kuna* 'rain')

– Rain (e.g. squall, shower, steady downpour);

Used with *kuna*, *bisibasi*, *sibosibula* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKUNOna kuna* 'that rain'
 num *KUNOyuwela* 'the second (shower)'
 adj *KUNOveka* 'heavy rain'

kununu- (85, Group II: partition) 'serve of greens'

– Serve of cooked greens;

– Number of strands or fibres laid together;

Used with *lokwai*, *wota*, *wotunu*, *bani*, *im* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKUNUNUna lokwai* 'that serve of greens'
 num *KUNUNUvila magim?* 'How many serves of greens do you want?'
 adj *gayasu KUNUNUveka* 'large serve of *gayasu*'

kupa- (127, Group II: arrangement) 'loose coil'

(also *kupu-*; cf. adj *-kukupi* 'short')

– Line rolled in loose bundles;

– Serve of greens (uncooked);

Used with *yuwoyoula*, *bani*, *wotunu*, *im*, *unonu* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKUPAsina waikwau* 'those rolls of fishing line'
 num *KUPUvasi* 'four coils of line'
 adj *KUPAwanau* 'long coils (i.e. coiled in long loops)'

kupo- (140, Group II: arrangement) 'two-string'

– String of two fish or other marine creatures (e.g. eels, octopi etc.);

Examples: deic *maKUPOna yena* 'that string of two fish'

num *KUPOTALa kase-la* 'three fish' (lit. 'two.string.one remnant-its')

adj *KUPOvau* 'newly strung string of two fish'

Note: Ten of *KUPOTALa* is *KWAILUWOTALa*; in Kaibwagina dialect *kupo-* is 'string of four'.

kupu- 'loose coil' (see *kupa-*)

kuwo- (78, Group II: partition) 'crumb'

(also *kawo-*)

– Mouthful or scrap of food; morsel;

– Plateful, serve of food for meal (respectful request by guest);

– Tiny object, speck of dust, piece of grit;

Used with *yena*, *kaula*, *msomsa*, *kanakenuva* etc.;

- Examples: deic *maKuwOna kamkwam* ‘that meal’
 num *KUWOtala yoku, KUWOtala yaegu*. ‘One morsel for you, and one for me.’
 adj *KUWOkekita wala* ‘only a small scrap’

kwai- (1) (5, Group I: Basic Property Specifier) ‘thing’

- Any object composed of number of different parts (e.g. house, necklace, box, chain, table, sewn mats – see note under *kai-*, detailing different complexity of key and lock);
- Objects of no clear shape, or round objects with no neck or mouth; mass nouns (e.g. stone, ball, pig bladder (used for football), water, sand, rice);
- Seeds (e.g. rice, maize); pearls; all nuts and small fruit, yams etc.;
- Some fruits are specified by *kwai-* when small and *ya-* when large (e.g. *momyeipu, pamkwena, meloni, lemoni, kum*. Two, *luya* and *yaguma*, are identified solely by *ya-*, maybe because used as lime pots, water-bottles etc. (i.e. thin-walled vessels) or because of the soft inner flesh);
- Abstract nouns; time and location words; geographical and topographical features; forces of nature; personal experiences and other words naming activities;
- Anything indefinite or unknown;

Used with names of objects: *soulava, lewa* etc.; and names of seeds and fruit: *saida, weiwa, natu, weisuya, pinati, simsimwai, taitu, kuvi* etc.;

- Examples: deic *maKWAI na vavagi* ‘that thing’
 num *KWAI luwoyu tebeli* ‘twenty tables’
 adj *bwala KWAI vakaveka* ‘big houses’

Note: This is a very large domain; it is difficult to establish any simple statements of the reference of this classifier. It classifies single items when ungrouped, undivided, passive and undescribed, and also the abstract and unknown. Kaibola village (within Kilivila dialect area) specifies the shark by *kwai-*; as their village speciality is shark fishing, there may be a parallel between their specification of the shark and the specification in other areas of the yam by *kwai*, both regarding shark or yam respectively as the staple food. There are two plural forms of the deictic – the regular *maKWAI sina* and *maKWAI sita*.

Mal: *kway* “Round bulky objects; stones; abstract nouns.” “It is used in all those cases where no other particle can be fitted in.” States of the weather – calm, wind, cold, heat, thunder etc. States of the body – sleep, disease, exhaustion, hunger, thirst, states of mind. He notes that it also refers to “mats which should be *ya-*”, and comments: “a clear case of expansion of one form at the expense of another”.

kwai- (2) ‘pot-like’ (see *kwela-*)

Note: This classifier is a sequence of two syllables *'kwa.i*, and is to be distinguished from the monosyllabic Cl 5 *kwai-* ‘thing’. The two forms are best distinguished in the deictic forms, which have penultimate stress: *ma.'KWAI.na dakuna* ‘that stone’ and *ma.KWA.'I.na kulia* ‘that cooking pot’.

kwailuwo- (147, Group II: arrangement) ‘tens of things’

(cf. Cl 5 *kwai-* and number *-luwo-* ‘tens of’)

- Ten *kupo-* specified strings of fish;
- Ten *yulai-* specified strings of anything;
- Ten *kila-* specified hands of bananas;

Note: This form is regularly *kwai-*, and in numeral uses counts tens of things normally specified by that classifier. The above are special classifications applied to some ten-groups (for ten *wela-* specified strings of fish see *kaulo-*).

kwavi- ‘pot-like’ (see *kwela-*)

kwaya- (69, Group II: partition) ‘severed limb’

(also *kweya-*; cf. noun *kwai* ‘foot, leg’)

– Limb (arm, leg, part of same) severed from body, or specified separately from rest of body;

Used with names of appendages severed;

Examples: deic *maKWAYAna kwai* ‘that foot’

maKWAYAsina kaikegu ‘both my feet’

num *KWEYAyu misikwaikwem* ‘two of your fingers’

adj *yamagu KWEYAkakata* ‘my right hand’

Note: When referring to a limb attached to the body, this classifier may specify either human or animal limbs; when a limb is severed from the body *kwaya-* may specify only human limbs.

Mal: *kwoya* ‘human and animal extremities (leg, arm); fingers of a hand’.

kwela- (9, Group I: subclassifier) ‘pot-like’

(also *kovi-*, *kwavi-*, *kwai-* (2)); cf. noun *kulia* ‘cooking pot’)

– Any vessel with wide-open mouth that will hold liquids (e.g. cup, bucket, pot, ladle);

– Mirror (as it appears to have wide open mouth and contain liquid);

Used with *kulia*, *viga*, *bolu*, *salibu* etc.;

Examples: deic *maKWELAsina kulia* ‘those clay pots’

num *KWELAlima KWELAtala viga* ‘six cups’

adj *KWELAwaga kulia* ‘a boat-shaped cooking pot’

Note: This morpheme has the highest frequency of occurrence; *kovi-*, *kwavi-* and *kwai-* (2) are passing out of use (see notes under *kovi-* and *kwai-* (2)).

Mal: *kwoyla* ‘clay pots’

kweya- ‘severed limb’ (see *kwaya-*)

lada- (57, Group II: partition) ‘small fishing spot’

– Very small fishing spot, accessible from cliff;

– Cluster of stars in sky (perceptual connection made with small fishing spot which, being generally overshadowed by rock formations, reveals presence of fish by flashing points of phosphorescence in fish-agitated water);

lapou- (75, Group II: partition) ‘a third of’

– Portion of s.th.; one third or one quarter (e.g. of stick of tobacco); half of *KABULotala* ‘half’ or third of *KAIItala* ‘whole stick’;

Used with *kai*, *tobaki*, *bagula*, *tou* etc.;

Examples: deic *maLAPOUNa tou* ‘that piece of sugarcane’

num *LAPOUtala yaegu* ‘a piece for me’

adj *LAPOUmwaidona* ‘the whole piece’

ligila- (23, Group I: subclassifier) 'group action'

(also *ligili-*)

– Group doing and completing some transaction;

– Round of turns at one activity (e.g. spear-throwing engaged in by group – focus on completion of whole group of acts, not on act of going to do something);

Used with *kula*, *wasi*, *pwapoula*, *mwasawa*, *lewa*, *kaiyala*, *vaiguwa* etc.;

Examples: deic *maLIGILAna vaiguwa* 'that transaction of wealth exchange'

num *LIGILItala* 'one turn' (e.g. at spear throwing)

adj *LIGILAVEka* 'an important transaction'

ligili- 'group action' (see *ligila-*)

liku- (61, Group II: partition) 'canoe division'

(also *luku-*, *kailiku-*, *kaliku-*, *kaluku-*; cf. noun *liku* 'transverse timbers in canoe outrigger platform')

– Divisions within canoe;

– Divisions or areas of authority within territory;

– Horizontal divisions within yam-house (i.e. the number of tiers of logs used in its construction):

Used with *liu*, *liku*, *bwaima* etc.;

Examples: deic *maLUKUna wa waga* 'that division in canoe'

num *LUKUtala liu* 'one canoe division'

adj *LIKUkekita* 'a small canoe division'

Note: There is free fluctuation between the various allomorphs.

Mal: *niku* "compartments of a canoe".

lila- (59, Group II: partition) 'small bough'

(cf. noun *lala* 'flower')

– Branch of tree, part of whole tree or cut off (= *maSISIna*);

– Leaf of tree (= *miYAna*);

Used with *kai-* and with name of tree: *meku*, *kaiseisa* etc.;

Examples: deic *MaLILAna yaegu maSISIna yoku*. 'That branch is mine and that is yours.'

num *LILAtala* 'one bough'

adj *LILAKekita* 'a small branch'

Mal: *lila* "forked branches; forked sticks".

lilivi- (60, Group II: partition) 'forked stick'

– Forked stick; small section of a branch (*sisi-* refers to whole branch with many forks);

Used with *kai*, *sisila* etc.;

Examples: deic *maLILIVIna* 'that forked stick'

num *LILIVivila?* 'How many forked sticks?'

adj *LILIVIVEka* 'a large forked stick'

lilou- (17, Group I: subclassifier) 'journey'

(cf. verb *-loula* 'walk about, go on journey')

– Journey, trip involving walking or travelling on vessel etc.;

– Number of times going somewhere;

– Number of times doing s.th.;

Used with *loula*, *kewa*, *titavina* etc. and with various activity names;

- Examples: deic *maLILOUNa* 'that time of journeying'
 num *LILOUvila dou?* 'How many times were you called?'
 adj *LILOUvau lagaila* 'another time to go today'

lipu- (62, Group II: partition) 'tier'

(cf. noun *kaivalapu* 'gable board (one of pair)')

– Tiers or stages in erecting *pwatai* 'ceremonial display basket' (first lot of upright sticks collectively *LIPUatala*, extension *LIPUyuwela*);

– Horizontal divisions in yam-house (i.e. number of tiers of logs used in its construction), rare use (see *liku-*);

– One *kaivalapu* 'gable board' (i.e. one of pair);

Used with *bwaima*, *kaivalapu*, *pwatai* etc.;

- Examples: deic *maLIPUNa kaivalapu* 'that single gable board'
 num *LIPUyuwela gelu* 'the second set of uprights (on *pwatai*)'
 adj *bwaima LIPUbobawa* 'a many-tiered yam-house'

livisi- (65, Group II: partition) 'shelf'

– Shelves, drawers, usually around house;

– Divisions in yam-house; contents of one division;

Used with *kabosisu*, *kai* etc. and names of things stored;

- Examples: deic *maLIVISIna taitu* 'that division of yams'
 num *LIVISItala* 'one shelf'
 adj *LIVISiwokuva* 'an empty (drawer, shelf)'

Note: For vertically positioned shelves see *buliga-*.

luba- (111, Group II: arrangement) 'bundle of rolls'

– Large bundles or rolls of anything (e.g. mats rolled up together);

– Parcels of taro pudding;

Used with *moi*, *mona*, *kapola* etc.;

- Examples: deic *maLUBAna kapola* 'that large parcel'
 num *Lamai LUBAtolu mona* 'I have brought three parcels of taro pudding.'
 adj *LUBAgagabila wala* 'only a light parcel'

luku- 'canoe divisions' (see *liku-*)

lukuva- (123, Group II: arrangement) 'growing bundle'

– Group of things growing, bundled together at top or trellised together on stick;

– Bundle of long things cut and tied (e.g. sugarcane, sticks for fence);

– Trellises;

Used with *tou*, *kavatam*, *kailuguvasi* etc. and names of things growing on trellises;

- Examples: deic *maLUKUVAna tou* 'that tied cluster of sugarcane'
 num *LUKUVAtala* 'one trellised plant bundle'
 adj *LUKUVAwonaku* 'a long trellis'

lupo- (49, Group II: partition) 'smaller garden division'

– Very small garden division;

Used with *bagula* etc.

luva- (107, Group II: arrangement) ‘tied bundle’

– Anything tied into bundle (e.g. straight items laid side by side and fastened with string, flat dishes tied together);

Used with *kai*, *kavatam*, *uri*, *unonu* etc.;

Examples: deic *maLUVAna unonu* ‘that bundle of spinach’
 num *LUVAtolu, ka!* ‘Look, three bundles!’
 adj *LUVAdoudoga* ‘a crooked bundle’

Mal: *Iuva* “wooden dishes”. [His specification is wrong here, as individually they are specified by *kai*-; only when tied together in a bundle are they correctly specified as *maSELUVAna kaboma* or *maLUVAna kaboma*.]

mavila- (72, Group II: partition) ‘verse’

(cf. verb *-vili* ‘divide, share’)

– Part of non-material whole (e.g. verse or stanza of song, paragraph in chapter, part of magic formula, division of day as marked by changing sun positions);

Used with *wosi*, *meguva*, *kaukwau*, *katupwaila* etc.;

Examples: deic *MAVILAna kaukwau* ‘early part of day’
 num *MAVILAtolu* ‘three verses of song’
 adj *MAVILaveka* ‘a big section’

Note: Deictic form **maMAVILAna* is archaic. Numeral form is used in modern Kiriwina to specify the hours of the day by the clock.

Mal: *mayla* “parts of a song; parts of a magical formula; verses or strophes”.

miga- (25, Group I: subclassifier) ‘appearance’

(also *migi-*; cf. noun *migi-* ‘face’)

– Appearance of s.th.; its kind, sort or type;

– Face of a person;

Used with *migila*, *gigisa* etc.:

Examples: deic *maMIGAna* ‘that face’
 num *Abani yena kasi gigisa MIGAtala wala.*
 I catch fish their appearance face.one only
 I caught only one sort of fish.
 adj *MIGAwelu* ‘different appearance’

Note: This is a very limited word; it is only used as a specifier in the words *MIGAtala*, *maMIGAna*, *MIGAwelu*, *MIGAtola* and *MIGItalei*.

migi- ‘appearance’ (see *miga-*)

mmo- (117, Group II: arrangement) ‘conical bundle’

(cf. noun *mwam* ‘bundle made by tying tops only’)

– Bundles of taro, maize; tomatoes if bunch of plants plus fruit tied at top;

– Torch of dry coconut leaves (also specified by *kai-*);

– Sugarcane still growing but tops tied together to promote long canes;

Used with *uri*, *maisi*, *tou*, *kaitapa* etc.;

Examples: deic *maMMOna uri* ‘that bundle of taro’
 num *MMOtaala mwam* ‘one bundle’
 adj *MMOveka* ‘a big bundle’

Note: Two deictic forms occur in singular (*maMMOna* and *mMMOna*) but only one in plural (*maMMOsina*).

Mal: *ummwa* “bundles of taro”.

moi- 'limb' (see *moya-*)

moya- (68, Group II: partition) 'limb'

(also *moi-*, *mweya-*; cf. noun stem element *moi-* used in reference to position in family or genealogy)

– Limb or digit still attached to body;

– Position in family line;

Used with name of limb;

Examples: deic *maMOYAna MOIkekita* 'that little finger'

num *MOYAtala kaikegu* 'my one leg'

adj *MOIkekita* 'the little finger'

Note: *MOYAtala* has the variant form *MOYATAtala*.

*mveli*₁- (24, Group I: subclassifier) 'practices'

(cf. verb *-mveli* 'practise anything')

– Number of times practising dance or song;

Used with *mveli*, *wosi*, *kaiwosi* etc.

*mveli*₂- (112, Group II: arrangement) 'bundle of leaves'

(cf. noun *mveli* 'poultice')

– Bundle of leaves heated and used as poultice with magic spell; any poultice;

– Number of poultice applications;

Used as noun-free construction, also with *mveli* and with name of type of leaf;

Examples: deic *maMWELIna* 'that poultice application'

num *MWELIyuwela* 'the second poultice'

adj *MWELIbogwa bwaina taga MWELIvau kaliga*.

poultice.first good but poultice.new death

He was all right at the first poultice application, but at the second he died.

mweya- 'limb' (see *moya-*)

*na*₁- (2, Group I: Basic Property Specifier) 'non-human'

– All animate beings except human (cf. *na*₂- 'female human');

– Heavenly bodies (sun, moon, stars, meteors);

– Human corpse;

– Carving in human likeness;

– Some spirits (dwellers in rocks and trees);

– Bundles of oven-cooked food of special sort (*popula* 'spirit food');

Used with very large number of words; a broad domain;

Examples: deic *tubukona miNAna* 'that month'

num *NAvasi bunukwa* 'four pigs'

adj *mauna NAbobawa* 'a great herd of animals'

Note: Animals in groups of ten are specified by *buluwo-* (but not female humans).

Four fish types (*lova*, *kumidu*, *mwala*, *kwaduva*) may be specified by *na*₁-

(adjectives and numerals) and *kai-* (deictics) because they "go through the water like spears".

Mal: *na* (also *i* and *iwe*) "persons of female sex; animals".

na₂- (7, Group I: subclassifier) 'female human'

(also *-i-* and *-vi-*; cf. *ina-* 'mother')

– Female human (adult or child);

Used with *vivila*, *vilakapugula* and names and titles borne by woman;

Examples: deic *miNAna gwadi* 'that female child'

num *NAvasi vivila* 'four women'

adj *NAkukupi miNAna* 'that short woman'

Note: *-i-* and *-vi-* are used in deictics only; they characterise the speech of old people and are seldom heard.

Mal: *na* (also *i* and *iwe*) "persons of female sex; animals".

-nakwa- 'thing'

Note: This form is used only in deictics as a substitute for *kwai-* (singular *maKWAIna/maNAKWA*, plural *maKWAI sina/maNAKWAI si*).

nigo- (28, Group I: subclassifier) 'nest'

(also *nigu-*; cf. noun *nigwa* 'nest')

– Bird's nest or nest made by small rodent;

Used with *nigwa* etc.:

Examples: deic *maNIGOna nigwa* 'that nest'

num *NIGUvasi* 'four nests'

adj *NIGUkikekita* 'small nests'

nigu- 'nest' (see *nigo-*)

niku- 'canoe division' (see *liku-* Malinowski note)

nina- (71, Group II: partition) 'idea'

(cf. noun *nona* 'mind')

– Part of song or magic spell;

– Idea, thought;

Used with *nanamsa*, *wosi*, *meguva* etc.;

Examples: deic *maNINAna wosi* 'that part of a song'

num *NINAtala* 'one verse'

adj *NINAvau* 'a new idea'

Note: Song is usually specified by *mavila-*.

Mal: *nina* "parts of a song; parts of a magical formula".

no- (40, Group II: activity) 'blow'

– Strikes or slaps, any blow used to punish, torment etc. anyone;

– Anything used to strike someone; person as agent of punishment;

Used with *lewa*, *waiya*, *kaitukwa*, *puluta* etc.;

Examples: deic *maNO na agu lewa* 'that rod for striking me'

num *Novila kam lewa* 'many blows for you'

adj *NOvakaveka* 'strong blows'

nutu- (41, Group II: activity) 'kneaded'

(cf. verb *-nutu* 'knead')

– Anything rubbed or kneaded into ball;

Used with *yekwesi*, *lala*, *mona*, *kaibasi* etc.;

Examples: deic *maNUTUna kaibasi* 'that putty (kneaded ready for use)
 num *NUTUyuwela* 'a second kneaded batch'
 adj *NUTUvau* 'recently kneaded'

Mal: *nutu* "corners of a garden". [This may be a dialect variation of either *utu-* or *luku-*; however I have no explanation of this form.]

-pa- 'part/piece' (see *pila-*)

pila- (91, Group II: partition) 'part/piece'

(also *-pa-*, *pili-*)

– Area of ground specified as being part of larger area, e.g. section as part of village, village as part of district, part of sports field;

– Side or end of house; part of floor area within house, especially one end set aside for some purpose;

– One side of s.th. capable of equilateral division (e.g. flank, or left or right side of person); any body part on one side, duplicated on opposite side (e.g. eye, ear, hand); bird's wing (*pinipane-la* 'wing-its') may be morphologically related to this classifier; person who has lost one member or bird with only one wing may be so identified by this classifier – see Note;

– Piece of s.th.; general reference without size specification (e.g. piece of fruit, nut, tobacco); s.th. shared out between many people (thus *pila-* may refer generally to parts obtained by transverse cutting (*bubo-*), twisting off (*vili-*), breaking (*katupo-*) etc.);

– Anything divided equally by lateral division into two symmetrical parts (e.g. whole fish or carcass divided down backbone, log split down centre to make two paddles, two gunwale boards, two gable boards);

– Thick flat things, primarily obtained by splitting or separating (as previous specification); in modern times generally applied to planks, thick sections of flat steel bar or plate, books (individual leaves specified by *ya-*), carved boards used to decorate house or canoe etc.;

– Whole song (probably the 'part' specification distinguishes one song from a series, as single song never sung in isolation);

Used with great number of items; a very wide domain of reference;

Examples: deic *maPILAna valu* 'that place'
 num *PILAlima kai* 'five planks of timber'
 adj *PILAkakata yamam* 'your right hand'

Note: *PILAKesa* specifies only one part left on a person (e.g. a one-eyed man is specified as *PILAKesa mata*). Both *pili-* and *pila-* are used with adjectives; *-pa-* is used only in deictics, where it is common (e.g. *mPAna valu* 'that village'). Direction specification: *PILiyavata PILibomatu PILIkwaibwaga* 'northwards, eastwards, westwards' was uttered in strong chanting voice (probably synonymous with English 'north, south, east and west (i.e. all around us)').

Mal: *pila* "parts of a whole; divisions; directions". "A natural component, not definitely severed."

pili- 'part/piece' (see *pila-*)

ponina- (42, Group II: activity) 'punctured'

(cf. verb *-ponana* 'be punctured')

– Hole in anything;

– Object with hole in it;

Used with *ponana*, *kabosuvi*, *waga*, *kaleko* etc.;

Examples: deic *maPONINAna viga* ‘that cup with a hole in it’
 num *PONINAYuwela* ‘a second puncture’
 adj *PONINAVEka* ‘a big hole’

poulo- (124, Group II: arrangement) ‘grove, group’

– Grove or group of trees;

– Group of people (indefinite number);

– Heaps gathered together;

Used with *kai*, *tomota* etc.;

Examples: deic *maPOULOna boda* ‘that group’
 num *POULotala* ‘one grove’
 adj *POULOveka* ‘a big (heap)’

puli- (136, Group II: arrangement) ‘bunch (2-6)’

– Bunch or bundle of two to six of anything (e.g. coconuts, beans, tomatoes, people in fun, tied together or joined by hand);

– Cluster of egg cowries tied together for dancing ornament or for chief’s gable ornament;

– Several fruit in cluster on one stem;

Used with *luya*, *buna*, *kapiwa* etc.;

Examples: deic *maPULIna weiwa* ‘that cluster of mangoes’
 num *Kumai PULItolu luya*. ‘Bring here three bundles of coconuts.’
 adj *PULIVakaveka* ‘large clusters’

pulu- (51, Group II: partition) ‘garden mound’

– Mound of earth in garden where one clump of vegetables (e.g. yam, sweet potato) planted;

Used with name of vegetable growing on mound;

Examples: deic *maPULUna simsimwai* ‘that mound of sweet potato’
 num *PULUvasi* ‘four mounds (planted up in garden)’
 adj *PULUwovau* ‘new mounds’

pupai- (115, Group II: arrangement) ‘layer of filth’

(cf. noun *popu* ‘excreta, filth’)

– Layers, strata of filth (on body, in house, in village) (synonymous with *kaiyuvai-*);

Used with *gatu*, *wawa*, *pwanosi* etc.;

Examples: deic *maPUPAIIna gatu* ‘that layer of filth’
 num *PUPAItolula* ‘the third stratum (of dirt)’
 adj *PUPAIbubogwa* ‘the former layers’

pwa- (30, Group I: subclassifier) ‘excrement’

(cf. noun *pwasi* ‘bowel movement in a heap’)

– Excrement, bowel movement in a heap;

Used with *popu*, *pwasi*, *lopou*, *wawa* etc.;

Examples: deic *maPWAna popu* ‘that excreta’
 num *PWAvila pwasi?* ‘How many heaps of excreta?’
 adj *PWAYu PWAvakaveka* ‘two big ones’

pwasa- (43, Group II: activity) ‘rotten’

(cf. verb *-pwasa* ‘be rotten; be soft’)

– Anything rotten, soft, spoiled through decay or rust;

Used with name of deteriorated item;

Examples: deic *maPWASAna weiwa* ‘that rotten mango’
 num *PWASAyuwela kuligaiwa*. ‘Throw away the second rotten one.’
 adj *PWASAwokuva* ‘completely rotten’

Note: While this usually specifies fruit that has spoilt, its specification of ‘soft’ is not of spoiling; a banana specified as *maPWASAna* indicates ‘ripe’ fruit – when spoiled it is *PWASAwokuva*.

sa- (98, Group II: arrangement) ‘nut-branch’

– Bunches of betel-nut or similar edible nuts;

– Bunches of fruit similar to betel-nut but inedible;

Used with edible nuts: *bokaiyala*, *boveka*, *buwa*, *botutu*; and with inedible nuts:

kikimta, *pulopola*;

Examples: deic *maSAna buwa* ‘that bunch of betel-nut’
 num *SAYu pulopola* ‘two bunches of *pulopola* nuts’
 adj *SAveka botutu* ‘a big bunch of *botutu* betel-nut’

Mal *sa* “bunches of betel nut”.

sega- (14, Group I: subclassifier) ‘branching’

– Cluster of *sobulo-* specified shoots; shoot of yam vine allowed to grow up stake and develop head of leaves;

– Tree with few leaves (through poor soil or dying);

– Tree with tiers or strata of leaf clumps (of large tree);

Used with *taitu*, *kuvi* and names of trees etc.;

Examples: deic *maSEGANa taitu* ‘that leafy yam shoot’
 num *SEGAtala wala bibodi*. ‘One shoot is enough.’
 adj *SEGAwonaku* ‘a long shoot’

seluva- (106, Group II: arrangement) ‘bundled being tied’

– Bundle in process of being tied up;

Used with names of items being bundled;

Examples: deic *maSELUVAna* ‘that group of things being bundled’
 num *SELUVAtala* ‘one bundle’
 adj *SELUVAwonaku* ‘a long bundle’

seuyo- (55, Group II: partition) ‘lagoon’

(cf. noun *seuya* ‘place where waves break’)

– Lagoon area between reef and land, fairly close to village;

– Fishing spot in lagoon;

Mal: *siwa* “sea portions (ownership divisions with reference to fishing rights)”.

si- Mal: *si* “small bits”. [Malinowski includes this in his list of “classificatory formatives” with such forms as *SiTana*, *SiYuwelo*, *SiTolula*. The last two are not in fact connected with the first, as my informants would not admit them, suggesting they had been confused with *SIVIYuwela* and *SIVITolula* (the phoneme *v* is very weak or lenis, especially when followed by *i*). So the sequence may be understood as *sitana*, *SIVIYuwelo*, *SIVITolula* ‘a bit, a second time (i.e. more, please), a third time (i.e. yet another bit)’. The other forms Malinowski quotes in support of this, which he

suggested indicated an inflecting of *sitana* (i.e. *sitagu*, *sitami*) were suggested as being confused with *sita agu* 'a bit of food for me' and *sita kami* 'a bit of food for you all'. Thus it seems that *si-* is not correctly included in the group of specifiers (cf. adverb *sitana*.)]

sipu- (118, Group II: arrangement) 'tangle'

(cf. verb *-sipu* 'tie (knot)')

– Tangled line, rope, string, net;

Used with *im*, *wotunu*, *yuwoyoula* etc.;

Examples: deic *maSIPUna* 'that tangle'
 num *SIPUta* 'one knot in the total tangle'
 adj *SIPUkekita* 'a tightly tangled rope'

sisi- (58, Group II: partition) 'bough'

(cf. noun *sisila* 'branch of tree')

– Branch, bough (on tree or cut off);

– Cut-off part of tree (e.g. bough, twig, leaf, flower);

– Division of magic spell;

Used with *kai*, *meguva* and names of trees;

Examples: deic *maSISIna kai* 'that branch'
 num *SISItala* 'one bough'
 adj *SISIkakita* 'a twig'

Mal: *sisi* "boughs".

sisili- (82, Group II: partition) 'cut of meat'

(cf. verb *-sali* 'divide, dismember')

– Piece of butchered animal, cut of meat (large or small, usually cooked);

Used with name of animal and with names of various cuts of meat (some 30 different cuts for a pig);

Examples: deic *maSISILIna bunukwa* 'that cut of pig flesh'
 num *SISILItala SISILItala* 'each cut of meat'
 adj *SISILIpwasa* 'a rotten cut of meat'

Note: *sisili-* cuts are any size below the major *kabila-* cuts.

siva- (16, Group I: subclassifier) 'number of times'

(also *sivi-*)

– Number of times doing s.th., going somewhere;

Used with name of activity: *kamkwam*, *loula*, *bigubagula* etc.;

Examples: deic *maSIVAna loula* 'the occasions of that journey'
 num *SIVAyu* 'twice'
 adj *SIVAbobawa* 'often'

Note: The form *sivi-* is only seen in the words *SIVIBidubadu* 'very often' and *SIVIBobawa* 'a great number of times' and *siva-* is also found with both of these.

Mal: *siva* "times".

sivi- 'number of times' (see *siva-*)

siwa- (see *seuyo-* note on Malinowski's usage)

siyo- 'things strung through hole' (see *suyo-*)

sobulo- (13, Group I: subclassifier) 'growing'

– Single growing shoot;

Used with name of growing thing.

soulo- (56, Group II: partition) 'fishing spot'

– Any place in sea where fish live (e.g. niggerhead, reef, group of rocks, sunken wreck, old drum);

Used with *vatu*, *lagula*, *lada*, *seuya* etc.;

Examples: deic *maSOULO* *na vat* 'that reef (good fishing)'

num *SOULO* *tolu* 'three fishing places'

adj *SOULO* *vau* 'a new spot'

Note: The form *kwai-* is an acceptable specification of generally acceptable fishing areas, but *soulo-* specifies one spot only (a fishing spot more than 20 km away may be specified by *kai-*).

suya- 'things strung through hole' (see *suyo-*)

suyo- (121, Group II: arrangement) 'things strung through hole'

(also *siyo-*, *suya-*)

– Things tied in a bundle or strung together by having a string passed through a hole (e.g. fish (indefinite number 2-6, but *suyo-* strings are approximately equal weight), rolls of *moi* bundled together, bunch of keys); bundles of *kuwa*, *mwali*, *soulava* tied with string;

Used with names of things strung together;

Examples: deic *maSUYO* *na moi* 'that bundle of rolls of mat-making material'

num *SIYO* *tala* 'one bundle'

adj *SUYO* *kekita* 'a small bundle'

ta- (108, Group II: arrangement) 'basket, basketful'

(also Ø)

– Basket (full or empty);

– Contents of a basket;

Used with basket names: *kauya*, *peta*, *pwatai*, *vataga* etc.; and names of things put in baskets;

Examples: deic *maTAna buwa* / *miTAna buwa* 'that basketful of betel-nut'

num *TAyuwela balsa* 'the second basket here'

yuwa peta 'two baskets (full or empty)'

adj *TAwokuva wala* 'only an empty basket'

Note: The zero form is only used with numerals and is only used for counting baskets. As the counting of the yam harvest is culturally of paramount importance, the presence of a zero morpheme to specify these central items is justified; however *ta-* may be used also in counting. The particular form 'ten full baskets' may be specified by either *TAluwotala* or *luwotala*, but 'ten empty baskets' may only be specified by *luwotala*.

Mal: "Numerals without a prefix are used to count baskets of yams. Basketfuls of yams are counted by using the numeral affixes only, bare of any classificatory addition. The whole social life of the native is bound up with systems of mutual payments; in which yam payments stand first and foremost." [He does not record *ta-* as a classifier.]

tabili- (131, Group II: arrangement) 'roll'

(cf. verb *-katubili* 'roll it up')

– Mat rolled up;

– Mat-making or house-walling material rolled or coiled;

Used with *moi*, *ninuva* etc.;

Examples: deic *maTABILIna moi* 'that rolled-up mat'

num *TABILIyu ninuva* 'two rolls of house-walling material'

adj *TABILIVakaveka* 'big coils'

tabudo- (66, Group II: partition) 'room'

(cf. verb *-taboda* 'divide using something')

– Room or division within house;

Used with *kabosisu*, *kabokakaya*, *kalitutila* etc.;

Examples: deic *maTABUDOna* 'that room'

num *TABUDOtala kabokakaya* 'one bathroom'

adj *TABUDOveka* 'a big room'

tai- (1) 'human; male human' (see *to₁-*, *to₂-*)

Mal: *tai* "human beings; males (used with numerals)".

tai- (2) 'loose coil' (see *tavi-*)

tam- (12, Group I: subclassifier) 'sprouting'

(cf. verb *-tam* 'sprout')

– New shoot (any tree); runner for creeper or vine (e.g. yam, sweet potato);

– Small grasses, creepers;

– Yam with growing shoot;

– Bunch or cluster of yams plus growing tops (as produced from one yam seed), now dug up and tied together;

– Number of times a tree may sprout new growth in any season (not the number of shoots it has);

Used with names of growing things;

Examples: deic *maTAMna kuvi* 'that growing *kuvi* yam'

num *TAMtala* 'one yam runner'

adj *TAMkekita* 'a small (creeper)'

tau- 'human; male human' (see *to₁-*, *to₂-*)

Mal: *tau* "human beings; males".

tavi- (126, Group II: arrangement) 'loose coil'

(also *tai-*; cf. verb *-tavi* 'coil it up')

– Rope loosely looped into coils held in hand;

Used with *im*, *wotunu*, *yuwoyoula* etc.;

Examples: deic *maTAVIna im* 'that coil of string'

num *TAVItolu* 'three loops of a coil'

adj *TAVIwonaku* 'a long coil (coil is long, not rope)'

teni- (128, Group II: arrangement) 'tight coil'

– Rope rolled into tight coil (around elbow and hand);

Used with *wotunu*, *im*, *yuwoyoula* etc.;

Examples: deic *maTENIna wotunu* ‘that line’
 num *TENItala* ‘one loop of the *teni-* type roll’
 adj *TENIveka* ‘a large coil; a roll of many coils’

*to*₁- (1, Group I: Basic Property Specifier) ‘human’

(also *tai-*, *tau-*; cf. nouns *tomota* ‘person’, *tau* ‘male adult’)

– Human being (any age or sex); person, people;

Used with *tomota*, *tau*, *gwadi* and all titles and terms pertaining to human roles;

Examples: deic *mTOna tomota / maTAUna tomota* ‘that person’
 num *TAlIuwotala TAlIyu tauwau* ‘twelve men’
 adj *gugwadi TOvakaveka* ‘big children’

Note: *tai-* (1) is used only with numerals; *to-* and *tau-* are both used with deictics; *to-* is used with adjectives. Other forms are *maTOna* with emphatic form *maTOWena*, and a more emphatic form *maTOWenala*.

Mal: *tau* ‘human beings; males’.

*to*₂- (6, Group I: subclassifier) ‘male human’

– Male human (child or adult).

tubo- (92, Group II: arrangement) ‘generation’

(also *tubu-*; cf. noun *tubwa* ‘generation’)

– All children born at one period; the people of my time (loose indefinite grouping);

Used with *tubwa*, *tomota*, *gugwadi* etc.;

Examples: deic *tubwa maTUBOna* ‘that generation’
 num *TUBUluwotala TUBUutala* ‘eleven generations’
 adj *TUBOvau* ‘new generation’

Also: *Latugu miNAna ikaloubusi, baisesa TUBUutala;*
 my.offspring girl she.appear this generation.one
miNAna bivilulu TUBUyuwela.

that.woman she.will.bear generation.second

When my daughter is born, that is one generation; she gives birth to a second generation.

Note: *tubu-* may be found both in numerals and adjectives.

tubu- ‘generation’ (see *tubo-*)

tupila- (104, Group II: arrangement) ‘fleet’

(cf. noun *tupila* ‘fleet’)

– Fleet of canoes or any vessels;

– People of village conveyed on one fleet of canoes;

Used with names of canoes: *kewou*, *nagega*, *masawa* etc.;

Examples: deic *maTUPILAna kewou* ‘that group of fishing canoes’
 num *TUPILAyuwela* ‘a second fleet’
 adj *TUPILAVEka* ‘very many canoes’

tuto- (15, Group I: subclassifier) ‘time’

(cf. noun *tuta* ‘time’)

– Times, occasions; number of times thing done or attempted;

Used with *tuta*, *kweluva* etc.;

- Examples: deic *tuta maTUTO*na ‘that time’
 num *TUTO*vila? ‘how often?’ (its only use)
 adj *tuta TUTO*vau ‘a new time’ (rare)

udi- ‘land tract’ (see *udila-*)

udila- (44, Group II: partition) ‘land tract’

(also *udi-*; cf. *lawodila* ‘virgin country, jungle’)

– Large tract of virgin forest or old garden land;

Used with *udila*, *raibwaga*, *dumia* etc.;

Examples: deic *maUDIL*Ana *udila* / *maUDIN*a *udila* ‘that tract of country’

num *UDIL*Atala ‘one tract’

adj *UDIP*itupitu ‘a rough (area)’

Note: *udi-* and *udila-* are generally interchangeable.

umila- (125, Group II: arrangement) ‘grove (one species)’

(cf. noun *umila* ‘grove’)

– Grove of trees of one sort (planted or self-sown);

Used with *umila*, *buwa*, *luya* etc.;

Examples: deic *maUMIL*Ana *weiwa* ‘that grove of mango trees’

num *UMIL*Ayuwela *meku* ‘the second plantation of *meku* trees’

adj *UMIL*Aveka *buwa* ‘a large grove of betel-nut palms’

utu- (79, Group II: partition) ‘scrap’

– Small pieces, fragments (of dirt, scraps, food etc);

Used with *kaula*, *pwaipwaia*, *kai* etc.;

Examples: deic *maUTU*na *yena* ‘that crumb of fish’

num *UTU*tana *wala* ‘only one piece’

adj *UTU*veka ‘a large piece’

Note: the forms *UTUtana* and *UTUtala* are both found.

Mal: *utu* “parts cut off; small particles”.

uva- (134, Group II: arrangement) ‘span measure’

– Span measure (fingertip to fingertip of outstretched arms, about a fathom);

– Measure applied to heap of yams by measuring circumference at base; length of the *liba* ‘encircling fence’ placed at base of such;

– Any items measured in spans;

Used with name of thing measured: *kuvi*, *waga* etc.;

Examples: deic *maUV*Ana *tokukupi* *maUV*Ana *towonaku*.

that.span man.short that.span man.tall

This is a short man's span measure, that is a tall man's.

num *UV*Atolu *liba* ‘a three-span heap’

adj *UV*Akukupi ‘a short span’

Note: Units of length (other than those referred to specifically by *UVA-*) are specified by using the morpheme naming the length, and not by any classifier. Thus an item shorter than *UVAtala* ‘one span’ could be named as *tomwaidogu* (literally ‘all of me’, specifically in length reference, the distance from fingertip of outstretched arm to centre of chest). So a yam length specified as *UVAtala tomwaidogu* would be one and a half spans, or about 255 cms in length.

Mal: *uwa* “lengths, the span of two extended arms from tip to tip”.

uwo- (138, Group II: arrangement) 'two-bundle'

(cf. number *-yuwa* 'two')

– Bundle of two coconuts, pawpaws etc. tied together;

Used with names of things bundled:

Examples: deic *maUWOSina luya* 'those two-bundles of coconuts'
 num *UWOYu* 'two two-bundles' (= one *yulai-* bundle)
 adj *UWOvau* 'a new two-bundle'

vala- (48, Group II: partition) 'small garden division'

cf. verb *-vili* 'share, divide it out')

– Small garden division (smaller than *gubu-*; cf. *kadida-*);

– Division of task between many helpers;

Used with *lapoi*, *paisewa* etc.;

Examples: deic *maVALAna lapoi* 'that garden division'
 num *VALAtala* 'one division'
 adj *VALAtala VALAkekita tadoki KADIDAtala*.
 division.one division.small we.call one.kadida
 We call a small *vala* division a *kadida* division.

-vi- 'female human' (see *na₂-*)

vili- (74 Group II: partition) 'untwisted'

(also *vivili-*; cf. verb *-vili* 'unravel')

– Piece obtained by untwisting or unravelling from whole (e.g. part of stick of tobacco, strand of rope); piece obtained from tobacco is usually half of *GUMtala*, but may be half of *KABULOtala*; with part of rope, *VILItala* may be any length);

Used with *tobaki*, *wotunu*, *yuwoyoula* etc.;

Examples: deic *maVILIsina yuwoyoula* 'those untwisted pieces of rope'
 num *VILItala tobaki* 'one scrap of tobacco'
 adj *VIVILIkita* 'a tiny untwisted piece'

Mal: *vili* "parts twisted off (with fingers)".

valo- (32, Group I: subclassifier) 'place'

(cf. noun *valu* 'place, village')

– Village, place, area;

Used with *valu* and place names;

Example: adj *valu VILOvakaveka* 'big villages, cities'

Note: it occurs only with adjectives and is rarely used.

Mal: *valo* "villages". "I hardly ever heard the formative *valo-* in use, though in direct answers to questions my informants would insist on its being the correct particle for village."

vivili- 'untwisted' (see *vili-*)

wela- (119, Group II: arrangement) 'fish (quantity)'

– Fish strung together (indefinite number, approximately equal quantity – 3 kg);

Used with names of fish;

Examples: deic *maWELAna yena* 'that string of fish'
 num *WELAy* 'two strings (of fish)'
 adj *WELAveka yoku* 'a big string (of fish) for you'

Mal: *oyla* “batch of fish”. “Fish tied up into batches to be used for *wasi*. Two such batches for one basket of food. (Each *oyla-* about 5 lb in weight).”

wouyo- (26, Group I: subclassifier) ‘newness’

(cf. exclamation *wo* ‘wow!’)

– Any new thing; newness as property of some item.

ya- (4, Group I: Basic Property Specifier) ‘flexible/ thin’

– Anything thin or leaf-like (e.g. leaf, garment, paper);

– Anything string-like (e.g. string, rope, twine, tendril, hair);

– Anything hollowed out to form thin-walled vessel or capable of being so treated (e.g. water bottle from coconut, whole coconut (young or mature), lime gourd); whole gourd before hollowing out and thus any gourd-like plant (e.g. pumpkin);

Used with large group of words;

Examples: deic *miYAna luya* ‘that coconut’

num *YAluwotala yaguma* ‘ten gourds’

adj *kalekwa YAkakalaia* ‘thin material’

Note: No ball is specified by *ya-* (see *kwai-*). Kuboma dialect speakers specify coconut by *na-*.

Mal: *ya* “leaves, fibres; objects made of leaf or fibre; flat and thin objects”.

yam₁- (18, Group I: subclassifier) ‘day’

(cf. noun *yam* ‘day’)

– A day; number of days;

Used only in noun-free constructions; very limited and rare; seldom appears other than by itself as query or comment;

Examples: deic *maYAMna* ‘that day’ (plural *masiYAMna*)

num *YAMyu* ‘two days’

yam₂- (70, Group II: partition) ‘hand’

(cf. noun *yamila* ‘a hand’)

– Hand still attached to body;

– Metaphorically, an assistant, one who ‘lends a hand’ (for this sense see *yuma-* adj example below)

yivi- (86, Group II: partition) ‘serve of food pieces’

– Serve of small chunks of consumables (e.g. potato chips, shrimps).

yulai- (141, Group II: arrangement) ‘four-bundle’

– Bundle of four things (e.g. coconuts, betel-nut, yams, shells);

Used with names of things grouped;

Examples: deic *maYULAI_{na} taitu* ‘that four-bundle of *taitu* yams’

num *YULAI_{itala} UWOTALA luya* ‘six coconuts’ (lit. ‘four.bundle two.bundle coconut’)

adj *YULAI_{ibogwa}* ‘the first four-bundle’

Note: Ten of *YULAI_{itala}* is *KWAILUWOTALA* ‘40 coconuts’.

Mal: *yuray* “bundles of four coconuts, four eggs, four water bottles, lime pots, four round objects”.

yuma- (135, Group II: arrangement) ‘length’

(cf. noun *yamila* ‘a hand’)

This may in fact not be synchronically functioning as a classifier in reference to

length (see my comment to that effect in notes on *uva-* above). It may be better to regard it as an allomorph of *yam₂* as I have suggested in the text (see p. 225). This needs further elucidation from field data.

– Measure of length, fingertips of one hand to wrist of other (about 14 cm shorter than *UVAtala*);

– Hand or arm (rare);

Used with name of thing measured;

Examples: deic *maYUMAna yamagu* ‘this is my hand (arm)’

num *YUMAtala* ‘one *yuma-* measure’ (seldom used with other than ‘one’)

adj *YUMAvau* ‘a new hand’ (referring to new helper) (see *yam₂-*)

Note: Unusual plural use of deictic *maYUMAsina yamagu* ‘these are my two hands’.

Use in reference to hand or arm is rare, and its similarity to *moya-* prompts conjecture that metathesis of the consonants of *yuma-* may have been the origin of *moya-*.

yuvai- ‘layer’ (see *kaiyuvai-*)

yuwo- (103, Group II: arrangement) ‘group’

(also *iwo-*; cf. noun *yau* ‘group (people, animals)’)

– Group of people, animals, fish; crowd, flock, school of moving fish;

Examples: deic *maYUWOna mauna* ‘that flock of animals’

num *YUWOtala* ‘one herd’

adj *YUWOkekita* ‘a small crowd’

Note: The form *YUWOveka* may indicate ‘a large group consisting of 20 or more *maBULUWOSina*’.

∅- (zero form) ‘basket, basketful’ (see *ta-*)

WORDLIST

LIST OF WORDS AND MORPHEMES OCCURRING IN THE TEXT

Where bound morphemes occur in the Kiriwinan, they are shown in word and in gloss by brackets, as 'so(la) – (his) friend'. Homophones are listed only once, with the word classes in brackets, and glosses for each word class separated by semicolon. As the hyphen applicable to a word class may thus not be written, it must be understood that the hyphen is always at the beginning of the verb stem and at the end of the classifier.

<i>a</i> (vb.subj)	I
<i>agu</i> (p.pron.poss.)	my
<i>agumwa(gu)ta</i> (p.pron)	(I) alone, (I) only
<i>aiseki</i> (excl)	who knows! Unknown to me.
<i>am</i> (interrog)	where? which?
<i>ambaisa</i> (interrog)	where (is it)?
<i>ammakawala</i> (interrog)	what about? why?
<i>availa</i> (interrog)	who?, someone
<i>avaka</i> (interrog)	what? which?, something, what thing.
<i>b-</i> (v.incompl)	Indicates irrealis state of action usually future reference but also with past or optative.
<i>-babi</i> (v o.f)	pierce s.th.
<i>bagula</i> (n, v v.f)	garden
<i>baisa</i> (deic)	this, that, here, there, thus. (This is only deictic used without Cl.; see <i>ma-...-na.</i>)
<i>-baku</i> (v o.f)	bury s.th.
<i>baleku</i> (n)	small plot of land c. half a hectare
<i>baloma</i> (n)	spirit (either of deceased, or inhabitants of trees, rocks, etc)
<i>-bani</i> (v)	find
<i>-basi</i> (v)	knock
<i>-bau</i> (v.adv.)	(do) well, thoroughly
<i>Bau</i> (n)	village name
<i>bawa</i> (n, v)	many (indef. number); be big (of crowd)
<i>beba</i> (n, v v.f)	butterfly; pierce
<i>beku</i> (n, v, Cl)	axe-stone (wealth item); sink and float submerged; floating submerged
<i>-bekwa</i> (v v.f)	bury
<i>-beu</i> (v)	sink
<i>-bi(aigu)</i> (v.o.f)	pull (me) along
<i>bidubadu</i> (num, adj)	many; thick
<i>biga</i> (n, Cl)	word, statement; word

<i>-bigatona</i> (v v.f)	speak, talk
<i>-biigili</i> (v o.f)	draw s.th. out
<i>biko-</i> (Cl)	bunch of coconuts
<i>bili-</i> (Cl)	roll
<i>biloma(la)</i> (n)	(his) spirit, soul
<i>bisibasi</i> (n)	shower, light rain
<i>-bisibolu</i> (v)	make a hole in s.th.
<i>-biu</i> (v o.f)	pull, push s.th.
<i>-biyagila</i> (v v.f)	draw out
<i>bobu</i> (n, v)	cut; cut transversely
<i>-bobuta</i> (v)	level (site)
<i>bobwailila</i> (n)	gift, act done in love
<i>-bodi</i> (md, v)	suits, befits, ought to, must, should; hinder, close off
<i>bogau</i> (n)	malignant spirit (responsible for death, invoked in death sorcery)
<i>bogi</i> (n)	night
<i>bogwa</i> (temp, v.adv)	already, finished; for the first time
<i>-boku</i> (v)	cough
<i>-bolasi</i> (v)	sneeze
<i>-bolata</i> (v v.f)	foretell evil
<i>boli</i> (n borrowed)	ball
<i>bolimila</i> (n, loc)	wind from south-east; south or south-east direction
<i>bolita</i> (n)	sea, open ocean
<i>bolodila</i> (n)	feral pig, any wild animal
<i>bolu</i> (n)	small vessel used for heating and drinking warm water especially during labour
<i>boma(la)</i> (n)	(its) forbiddenness (used as strong prohibition)
<i>-bomatu</i> (loc)	east
<i>bona(la)</i> (n)	(his) language, dialect
<i>bonara</i> (n)	house shelf
<i>botutu</i> (n)	betel-nut which is edible but intoxicates
<i>boveka</i> (n)	species of betel-nut
<i>-bowa</i> (v)	paint body
<i>bubo-</i> (Cl)	cut across
<i>-bubu</i> (v)	be desolate
<i>bubulo-</i> (Cl)	made
<i>bubune(la)</i> (n)	(his) custom, behaviour
<i>-bubuvatu</i> (v)	cut square across
<i>budo-</i> (Cl)	group, crowd
<i>-budoki</i> (v)	suits well
<i>budokola</i> (n)	body paint
<i>budu(yuwela)</i> (Cl)	(second) group
<i>bugi-</i> (Cl)	passage of night
<i>buki</i> (n borrowed)	book
<i>buko-</i> (Cl 1, Cl 2)	buried; fruit cluster
<i>-bukula</i> (v)	bear fruit in clusters or bunches
<i>bulami</i> (n, v)	scented oil (for body); oil the body (as for dancing)
<i>buliga-</i> (Cl)	storey in building

<i>-buloti</i> (v o.f)	foretell evil
<i>bulu-</i> (Cl)	half-submerged
<i>bulukwa</i> (n)	pig
<i>bulumakau</i> (n borrowed)	cattle
<i>buluva</i> (n)	rope tying door closed, lock
<i>buluwo-</i> (Cl)	ten group (animals)
<i>Bumapou</i> (n)	island name
<i>buneyova</i> (n)	chief's council house
<i>bunukwa</i> (n)	pig
<i>-butu</i> (v)	1. compose (song)
	2. do the same as (see next listed)
<i>-butu(dimdim)</i> (v)	do things in a (European) fashion
<i>butu(la)</i> (n)	(its) tune, sound
<i>-butu(vivila)</i> (v)	do things like (a woman)
<i>buwa</i> (n)	betel-nut (palm and nut)
<i>buyagu</i> (n)	garden area
<i>bwabwau</i> (n)	colour name – black
<i>bwaiwai</i> (n)	milk of green coconut
<i>bwaima</i> (n)	yam-house
<i>bwaina</i> (adj)	good
<i>Bwa.ina</i> (n)	man's name (vowel cluster, not diphthong)
<i>bwainigaga</i> (adj sup)	extremely good, very very well
<i>bwala</i> (n)	1. dwelling, any building
	2. location identified in myths as point from which <i>dala</i> originated
<i>Bwaitaitu</i> (n)	name of a chiefly <i>dala</i>
<i>-bwaku</i> (v)	pig-hunt
<i>Bwasa</i> (n)	man's name
<i>-bwata</i> (v v.f)	net spawning fish
<i>-bwati</i> (v o.f)	net spawning fish
<i>-bwau</i> (v)	drift, billow (of smoke)
<i>-bweisi</i> (v)	urinate
<i>bweyani</i> (n)	colour name – red
<i>-bwiki</i> (v)	drip onto s.th.
<i>bwita</i> (n)	octopus
<i>da</i> (p.pron.poss)	our (dual incl)
<i>-da</i> (vb.obj)	us (dual incl)
<i>da# ...-si</i> (p.pron.poss)	our (plural incl)
<i>-dabu</i> (n)	traditional skirt (Kilivila dialect)
<i>-dabwali</i> (v)	fall down
<i>-dadaimi</i> (v)	rot and be useless
<i>dagula</i> (n)	feather
<i>-daia</i> (p.pron.poss)	our (dual incl) (mothers etc)
<i>-daiasi</i> (p.pron.poss)	our (pl incl) (mothers etc)
<i>daka</i> (n)	dryness, thirst
<i>dakuna</i> (n)	stone
<i>dala</i> (n)	family line, sub-clan

-dali (v)	sprain
-damina (v)	perish
daram (n borrowed)	steel drum used for oven
-dasi (vb.obj, p.pron.poss)	us (pl incl); our (pl incl)
-dau (v)	call
-dedila (v v.f)	erect ceremonial fence
deli (Cl, S.adv)	group moving; with, and also
deima (n)	digging implement for weeding etc
desi (excl)	stop, enough, forget it
-deuya (v)	weed garden
-didagi (v o.f)	heap up (yams, goods)
-didali (v o.f)	erect ceremonial fence
dila- (Cl)	family line
dimdim (n)	white man, European
doba (n)	traditional skirt
Dobu (n)	place name
-dobula (v v.f)	fill in
-dodiga (v v.f)	make heap
dodoleta (n)	band of carved decoration (pattern of interlocking hooks)
dodiga- (Cl)	load
dogadoga (n)	pig's tusk ornament
Dokanikani (n)	name of mythical giant, any monster
-doki (v)	think, consider
-doi (v o.f)	(boat) brings s.th.
dori (n)	an insect name
-dou (v)	sail canoe
-dou (v, vb.ref)	call s.o.; do by calling out
-doudoga (adj)	crooked
-doukulaga (v)	shout loudly about s.th.
-doum (v)	all perish
-doumamu (v)	call to come quickly
-doupela (v)	1. call across, pass call along (when standing between caller and called) 2. sail across, cross over (by sea)
-dou(waigu) (v)	called (me)
-doyumila (v v.f)	call s.o. back
-doya (v v.f)	drift
dubakasala (n)	pride, big-headedness
dubilitakita (adj. sup)	intensely dark
-duboli (v o.f)	fill in (hole)
dubumi (n, v)	faith, belief; trust in
dudubila (n)	darkness
-duduli (v)	testicles move (of pig)
-duli (v, Cl)	bear in clusters (fruit); bundle, cluster
duliduli (n)	woven belt
dumdabogi (temp)	early dawn
dumia (n)	boggy area, swamp

<i>duriduri</i> (n)	woven belt
<i>duwosisia</i> (adj)	straight
<i>e</i> (excl, S.conj)	yes, that's so; and so (transition between two ideas)
<i>eimati</i> (temp)	about to, almost
<i>eiya</i> (n)	dawn (clear daylight)
<i>gabemani</i> (n borrowed)	government
- <i>gabu</i> (v, Cl)	burn; burning
- <i>gadi</i> (v o.f)	bite s.th.
<i>gadoi</i> (n)	post for fence
<i>gaga</i> (adj, adv.sup)	bad, unacceptable, wrong; very very
<i>gagabila</i> (adj)	easy, possible, light
<i>gai</i> (n)	a timber (ebony)
<i>gala</i> (neg, v)	no. not; migrate from another language area
- <i>gani</i> (v)	bite
<i>gasisi</i> (adj)	fierce, savage, spicy hot (food)
<i>gatu</i> (n)	body filth, grime
<i>Gawa</i> (n)	island name, dialect of Kiriwina
<i>gautu</i> (n)	food burnt, overcooked, toast
<i>gayasu</i> (n)	greens
- <i>geda</i> (v v.f)	bite
- <i>gegedu</i> (v)	be clumsy, inept, impolite, lewd
<i>gei</i> (n)	forked stick
<i>gelu</i> (n)	pole used in constructing <i>pwatai</i>
<i>genata</i> (adj)	cookable (vegetable)
- <i>gi-</i> (vb.ref)	do with fingers
- <i>gibataula</i> (v)	feast-answer, give a return feast
- <i>gibiluwi</i> (v)	push up
- <i>gibu</i> (v, Cl)	poke finger (at eye); sufficient
<i>gibuluwa</i> (n)	anger
- <i>gigi</i> (v)	tighten belt
- <i>gigila</i> (v v.f)	laugh
- <i>gigili</i> (v o.f)	laugh at s.o.
- <i>gila</i> (v)	pluck, pick out
<i>gili-</i> (Cl)	row of things
<i>giliwakuma</i> (n)	fine axe stone (wealth item)
- <i>gimoli</i> (v o.f)	buy, sell s.th.
- <i>gimoni</i> (v)	seduce (i.e. feel under skirt with fingers), extract using fingers (delicate action)
- <i>gimwala</i> (v v.f)	transact
- <i>ginauli</i> (v)	roll cigarette, prepare poisoned food by working at serving with poison under finger nails
- <i>gini</i> (v, Cl)	write, carve decoration; mouthful of food
<i>girikiti</i> (n, borrowed)	the game of cricket
- <i>gisi</i> (v)	see
<i>givala</i> (n)	handle
<i>givi-</i> (Cl)	serve of fish

<i>goli</i> (emph)	indeed, certainly
- <i>gu</i> (p.pron.poss)	my
<i>gubo-</i> (Cl)	garden division
<i>gudi-</i> (Cl)	immature human (non-sex-specific)
- <i>gudu</i> (v)	break off
- <i>gugula</i> (v v.f)	assemble
- <i>guguli</i> (v o.f)	assemble (them)
<i>gugulo-</i> (Cl)	gathering
(<i>gugulo</i>) <i>mbwaili(gu)</i> (n)	the (meeting I) love, (my) favourite (gathering)
<i>guguwa</i> (n)	goods, possessions
<i>gugwadi</i> (n)	children
- <i>gui</i> (v o.f)	cut s.th. off
- <i>gula</i> (v)	originate
(<i>guli</i>) <i>tinidesi</i> (n, v)	one (group) only; be unanimous, assemble in one group
<i>gulo-</i> (Cl)	group, heap
<i>gulogula</i> (n)	custom, traditional act
<i>gum</i> (n, Cl)	end position in line of dancers; small piece
<i>guma</i> (n)	man of, inhabitant of (+ village name)
<i>Gumagawa</i> (n)	man's name
<i>Gumilababa</i> (n)	village name
- <i>gusi</i> (v)	louse-eat
- <i>guya</i> (v v.f)	cut off
<i>guyau</i> (n)	chief
- <i>gwa</i> (p.pron.poss.pl; emph)	my (brothers); emphatic suffix
<i>gwadi</i> (n)	child
<i>gweguya</i> (n)	chiefs
<i>iga</i> (temp, Cl)	after, at another time (short form of <i>igau</i>); name
<i>igau</i> (temp)	at another time (past or future)
<i>igaula</i> (n)	name given at birth
<i>igi-</i> (Cl)	wind
<i>ika-</i> (Cl)	tens of things
- <i>iku</i> (v)	shake
<i>ilagoli</i> (S.conj)	however
<i>im</i> (n)	string
<i>ina(gwa)</i> (n)	(my) mother(s)
<i>ita</i> (n)	species of creeper used for lashing
<i>Iwa</i> (n)	name of island, dialect of Kiriwinan
<i>ka</i> (excl, vb.ref)	see!, behold!; do using mouth
<i>kaba(si)</i> (n)	(their) place
- <i>kabau</i> (v)	say plainly, well
- <i>kabidakuna</i> (v)	throw stones
- <i>kabikuliga</i> (v)	steer canoe
- <i>kabwaili</i> (v)	commend, speak kindly
- <i>kabikoni</i> (v)	hold, keep
<i>kabila-</i> (Cl)	large cut of meat

<i>kabilikova</i> (n, Cl)	fireplace; fireplace
<i>-kabisai</i> (v)	break wind, fart
<i>Kabisawari</i> (n)	place name
<i>kabisi-</i> (Cl)	section
<i>kabisivisi-</i> (n)	yam-house division
<i>kabitam</i> (n, v)	wisdom, craftsmanship; be wise, skilful
<i>-kabobuta</i> (v v.f)	declare true, affirm
<i>kabokaliga</i> (n)	instrument causing death, situation bringing death
<i>kabosuvi</i> (n)	entrance
<i>-kabuboti</i> (v o.f)	affirm s.th.
<i>-kabubuna</i> (v)	eat off the ground, graze
<i>kabulo-</i> (Cl)	suburb/half
<i>kabulukusa</i> (n)	species of banana (for eating uncooked)
<i>kabulu(la)</i> (n)	(his) nose, (its) protuberance, cape
<i>kada</i> (p.pron.poss, Cl)	our (dual incl); track
<i>kada # ...-si</i> (p.pron.poss)	our (pl incl)
<i>-kadaka</i> (v)	thirst
<i>kadaula</i> (n)	main road
<i>kadida-</i> (Cl)	very small garden division
<i>(kadu)wonaku</i> (adj)	a long (way)
<i>(kadu)wonou</i> (adj)	a long (way)
<i>kaduyo-</i> (Cl)	entrance
<i>ka(gu)</i> (n)	1. (my) food, (general reference to meal of yams) 2. (my) words (short form of <i>kawagu</i> , introduces quote of direct speech)
<i>kai</i> (n, Cl)	tree, plant, timber; long/rigid
<i>-kaibiga</i> (v)	say, declare
<i>kaiboi</i> (n)	gathered firewood
<i>(kai)bogina</i> (adj)	stinking (long/rigid thing)
<i>Kaibwagina</i> (n)	dialect of Kiriwinan
<i>-kaididagi</i> (v o.f)	load (goods) onto canoe
<i>-kaidodiga</i> (v v.f)	load canoe
<i>kaiga(la)</i> (n)	(his) voice
<i>kaike(gu)</i> (n)	(my) foot
<i>kailepi</i> (n)	cricket bat
<i>Kaileula</i> (n)	name of island; dialect of Kiriwinan
<i>-kaili</i> (v)	dig
<i>kailiku-</i> (Cl)	suburb/section
<i>kaimagu</i> (n)	crayfish
<i>-kaimali</i> (v)	return
<i>kaimapu(m)</i> (n)	(your) substitute
<i>-kaimilavau</i> (v)	return
<i>kaina</i> (S.conj)	or, maybe
<i>kaiyuvai-</i> (Cl)	layer
<i>-kainagi</i> (v)	speak carefully
<i>kainum</i> (n)	machine, engine
<i>kaipou(la)</i> (n)	(its) back
<i>kaiseki</i> (excl)	who knows! (as <i>aiseki</i>)

<i>kaisili</i> (n)	dead tree
<i>kaisisu</i> (n)	habit, habitation, daily concerns
<i>kaitapa</i> (n)	torch, especially fishing flare
<i>kaivalapu</i> (n)	gable board
- <i>kaiwosi</i> (v)	dance
<i>kaiyala</i> (n)	spear
<i>Kakabali</i> (n)	place name
<i>kakalaia</i> (adj)	thin
<i>kakau</i> (n)	widow/widower (non-specific as to sex)
- <i>kakaya</i> (v)	swim
<i>kala</i> (p.pron.poss, Cl)	his; passage of day
<i>kalaga</i> (n)	snack, small meal
<i>Kalakalala</i> (n)	place name
<i>kalala</i> (n)	species of tree
- <i>kalamimi</i> (v)	be guided by dream
- <i>kalapisi</i> (v)	gather oysters
<i>kalasia</i> (n)	sun
- <i>kalawa</i> (v)	read
- <i>kalawou</i> (v v.f)	despise, reject
- <i>kaleula</i> (v)	hold in mouth
<i>kali</i> (n)	fence
- <i>kaliai</i> (v)	build
<i>kaliba(la)</i> (n)	(its) railings
<i>kaliga</i> (n, v)	death; die, 'get out' (cricket)
- <i>kalimisimisi</i> (v)	express disapproval (giving lateral click)
<i>kalipo-</i> (Cl)	site
- <i>kalitavina</i> (v)	look about
<i>kalitutula</i> (n)	yam-house division
<i>kalivisi-</i> (Cl)	large garden division
<i>kalo-</i> (Cl)	two-bundle (crustacean)
- <i>kaloubusi</i> (v)	happen, transpire, come
<i>kaloumwa</i> (n)	shell used for <i>soulava</i> necklace
- <i>kalubaila</i> (v)	be friendly, have fellowship
<i>kalubikoya</i> (S.conj)	in the event that
<i>kaluma</i> (n)	species of creeper used for lashings
- <i>kaluvalova</i> (v)	boast
<i>kaluwo-</i> (Cl)	ten-days
- <i>kam</i> (v, p.pron.poss)	eat; your (sg)
<i>kama</i> (p.pron.poss)	our (dual excl)
<i>kama# ...-si</i> (p.pron.poss)	our (pl excl)
<i>kamaia</i> (n, v v.f)	respect; have respect
- <i>kamatula</i> (v v.f)	report, declare, make pronouncement
- <i>kamgagi</i> (v)	neglect s.o.
- <i>kamgumogi</i> (v)	pronounce badly
<i>kami</i> (p.pron.poss)	your (pl)
- <i>kamiabi</i> (v o.f)	respect s.o.
- <i>kamituli</i> (v o.f)	announce, report s.th.
- <i>kamnomwana</i> (v v.f)	boast

- <i>kamnumoni</i> (v o.f)	boast about s.th.
- <i>kamokwita</i> (v)	speak truth
- <i>kamolū</i> (v)	be hungry, starve
<i>kampaya</i> (n borrowed)	umpire
- <i>kamsowa</i> (v)	destroy, despoil (pigs in garden)
- <i>kanagowa</i> (v)	speak like s.o. mentally deficient
<i>kanakenuva</i> (n)	sand
- <i>kanaki</i> (v)	lie there
- <i>kanam</i> (v)	lie still
- <i>kanigaga</i> (v)	last forever, endure a long time
- <i>kaninisi</i> (v)	argue (noise of large crowd)
- <i>kanu-</i> (vb.ref)	do by or while lying down
- <i>kanubodi</i> (v)	hinder by lying in way, close doorway by lying across it
- <i>kanubusi</i> (v)	move along while in prone position
- <i>kanudali</i> (v)	sprain muscle by lying awkwardly
- <i>kanudeli</i> (v)	lie down with group
- <i>kanudidaimi</i> (v)	smash s.th. by lying on it
- <i>kanumosa</i> (v)	lick
- <i>kanumosi</i> (v)	catch (ball)
- <i>kapakula</i> (v v.f)	blame
<i>kapari</i> (n)	spider, spider-web
- <i>kapikoli</i> (v o.f)	blame s.o.
<i>kapisi(la)</i> (n)	(his) pity, plight, good fortune
<i>kapiwa</i> (n)	chief's gable ornament
<i>kapo-</i> (Cl)	parcel
- <i>kapogega</i> (v v.f)	mouth open
- <i>kapoli</i> (v o.f)	bundle, make parcel of s.th.
- <i>kapugula</i> (v)	be sexually active, be unmarried (of a woman)
<i>kapu-</i> (Cl)	mouthful of drink
- <i>kapuli</i> (v, Cl)	spit out (fly in drink); group of parcels
<i>kapupu</i> (n, Cl)	grove of trees; grove
<i>karaga</i> (n)	colourful parrot
<i>karaiwaga</i> (n, v)	authority, ruling power; rule, decide on issue, be in charge
- <i>kasa</i> (v, Cl)	form a line (people); line
<i>kasai</i> (adj)	difficult, hard, unjust
- <i>kasewa</i> (v)	be full
- <i>kasewoki</i> (v)	be filled with s.th.
<i>kasi</i> (p.pron.poss)	their
<i>kasila-</i> (Cl)	ten-group (wealth items)
- <i>kasilam</i> (v)	whisper
- <i>kasumsam</i> (v)	chew, eat noisily
<i>katitaikina</i> (loc)	near, almost, close to
- <i>katotila</i> (v)	promise
- <i>katu-</i> (vb.ref)	do indirectly, do using instrument
- <i>katubaiasa</i> (v v.f)	prepare
- <i>katubau</i> (v)	admire, praise

-katubili (v)	roll s.th. up (as mat)
-katubilibili (v)	roll over and over (body)
-katubodi (v)	close door (i.e. door blocks hole)
katububula (n)	decorations (worn on body)
-katubukoli (v)	cover (food etc)
-katubuyavi (v)	wound s.o., cause blood to flow
katubwabogwa (temp)	long long ago (in distant past)
-katudidaimi (v)	destroy, demolish (e.g. by felling a tree which then demolishes house)
-katugogwau (v)	ring bell (stick causes it to sound)
-katukuni (v, Cl)	roll it up (on reel); reel
-katulokwasi (v)	beckon
-katuloluta (v v.f)	warn
-katululuti (v o.f)	warn s.o.
-katululuwai (v)	cause to remember, bring to mind
katuluwo- (Cl)	large group
-katumapu (v)	change
-katumati (v)	kill (using instrument)
-katumigileu (v)	cleanse, cause to become clean
katumkovila (n)	conclusion, end of s.th.
-katumkulovi (v)	finish s.th.
-katupapapa (v)	spread wings (to fly)
-katupasisi (v v.f)	peel
-katupatu (v)	applaud, clap
-katupewoli (v)	strengthen (e.g. by eating)
-katupisisi (v o.f)	peel off (outer layer)
katupo- (Cl)	section/quarter
-katupoi (v)	question, ask
-katupwani (v)	hide, conceal (by covering)
-katusawasila (v)	clear throat, harrumph
-katusisapi (v)	dust off (with cloth, or by bumping together)
-katuvagwagu (v)	exhort, make speech
-katuvi (v)	divide (them)
-katuviki (v)	divide it into groups of (+ number)
-katuvili (v)	turn s.th. over (using stick etc)
-katuvivila (v)	rock boat (e.g. by moving around)
-kau (v)	take
kaukwa (n)	dog
kaukwau (n)	morning
kaula (n)	food (usually cooked yams)
kaulo- (Cl)	ten-groups (strings of fish)
-kavasaki (v)	imitate
kavatam (n)	garden stake
Kavataria (n)	1. name of major village 2. dialect of Kiriwinan (the one used as base of studies in this work)
kavi (n, Cl)	stone axe blade; tool
kavikavila (n)	flash of lightning

-kavila (v v.f)	share
-kavilavila (v)	criticise
kavilevi (n)	name given to child by father
-kavili (v o.f)	share s.th.
-kavinavina (v)	lament
-kavisaki (v o.f)	imitate, ape, mock at s.o.
kawa(la) (n)	(his) words (precedes quote of direct speech)
kawala (n)	pole for poling canoe in shallows
-kawailuwa (v)	food-gather
kaya- (Cl, vb.ref)	half piece of food; do by or while swimming
-kayabusi (v)	go swimming
-kayadaguma (v)	accompany at sea
-kayadoum (v)	drown
-kayagegedu (v)	swim in lewd fashion
-kayagoli (v)	swim in a group
-kayalaguva (v)	swim to
-kayalapula (v)	appear while swimming
-kayapapila (v)	swim using float
-kayau (v v.f)	yawn
-kayoka (v v.f)	talk, gossip
-kayoki (v o.f)	blow on s.th.
-kayoyu (v)	lament
-keda(la) (n)	(its) track, path
-keiita (v)	return
-keita (v)	have sex with, copulate (usually of animal)
keivala (n, Cl)	batch, lot; batch drying
-keiwala (v)	decide, plot against
keiyuna (n)	snake
-kekita (adj)	little
keli (n, v)	a crustacean; dig
kelili (n)	crab
kema (n)	axe (steel)
-kenu (v)	lie down
-keula (v)	carry
kewa(la) (n)	(its) journey
kewou (n)	small fishing canoe
ki (excl, vb.ref, v.dat)	is that so!, question introducer; do with hands, vigorously; to, at, on
kia (n borrowed)	key
-kididogi (v o.f)	bend, make s.th. crooked
-kiiyali (v o.f)	bend s.th. over
kikivisiga (temp)	day-break
kila- (Cl)	hand of bananas
-kilavi (v o.f)	throw s.th. out (hand action)
kileta (S.conj)	almost but not quite, if it hadn't been for s.o. (or for some happening) (Usually of a situation narrowly escaped)
-kili (v)	fetch water

<i>kilili</i> (n)	a cricket
<i>Kilivila</i> (n)	old name for Trobriand Islands, name of major dialect of Kiriwinan
<i>-kilova</i> (v v.f)	throw out, let go, release (hand action)
<i>-kimati</i> (v)	kill (using only hands)
<i>-kimimisi</i> (v)	break into fragments (hands only do it)
<i>-kimum</i> (v)	handle s.th. gently
<i>kimkimta</i> (n)	inedible betel-nut
<i>-kinini</i> (v)	pull apart
<i>-kinunuma</i> (v)	clench fist
<i>-kipoli</i> (v)	squeeze, wring out
<i>kipu-</i> (Cl)	cut of meat
<i>-kipugagi</i> (v o.f)	open mouth
<i>Kiriwina</i> (n)	name now generally used for Trobriand Islands (a corruption of Kilivila), the name of largest island in group
<i>-kisi</i> (v)	tear, rend apart
<i>-kisolili</i> (v)	drown s.th. (hold under water)
<i>-kitaula</i> (v v.f)	choose differently, touch (forbidden thing)
<i>Kitava</i> (n)	name of island, dialect of Kiriwinan
<i>-kitom</i> (v)	make s.th. stand still
<i>-kitomwa</i> (v)	make s.th. stand still (Kilivila dialect)
<i>-kitotila</i> (v v.f)	promise
<i>-kituli</i> (v o.f)	promise s.th.
<i>-kituwoli</i> (v o.f)	choose s.th. differently
<i>-kiui</i> (v o.f)	pull s.th. off, pick at s.th.
<i>-kium</i> (v)	be secretive
<i>-kiuya</i> (v v.f)	pull off, pick at
<i>-kivi</i> (v)	break
<i>-kiwalai</i> (v)	break in middle
<i>-kiwisi</i> (v)	wash face
<i>-kiyayali</i> (v v.f)	bend over
<i>kiyoka(la)</i> (n)	(its) nest
<i>-ko-</i> (vb.ref)	do roughly, do with hands gently
<i>-kobaigoguna</i> (v)	run in a great hurry
<i>-kobolu</i> (v)	net breaks
<i>-kodidaimi</i> (v)	destroy
<i>-kogiaki</i> (v)	soil s.th., spread (butter on bread, poison on food)
<i>-kosisuvi</i> (v)	put s.th. in
<i>-kokola</i> (v, n)	fear; post
<i>-kola</i> (v v.f)	save
<i>-koli</i> (v o.f)	save s.o.
<i>Koma</i> (n, v o.f)	village name; eat s.th.
<i>-komikikina</i> (v)	argue violently
<i>-kominimani</i> (v)	argue passionately
<i>-kommoli</i> (v o.f)	relate to s.o.
<i>-komomla</i> (v v.f)	have close relationship
<i>komwaido</i> (na) (n)	all (of it)

-konebu (v)	tell a story
koni (n)	1. a burden (being carried) 2. rights or privileges, especially of chief
-kopituki (v)	tie to s.th.
-kopwala (v v.f)	begin
-kopwali (v o.f)	1. begin s.th. 2. injure
koroba (n borrowed)	metal digging tool (crowbar), any piece of metal
kosa (n)	spirit of recently dead (within a week of death)
-kosaikikina (v)	jostle (in crowd)
-kosomwaiga (v)	roll about, wriggle violently
-kotataila (v)	drag away (as end of rope, to pull straight)
-kotuni (v)	break (rope)
-kougugula (v v.f)	gather
-kouguguli (v o.f)	gather s.th.
-koulovi (v o.f)	hate, reject s.o.
kova (n, Cl)	fire; fire
-kovasuya (v v.f)	thrust in, insert
-kovi (v)	break, smash
-kovisuvi (v o.f)	thrust s.th. in, make s.o. go in
kowalawa (n)	track up from shoreline
-kowolova (v v.f)	hate, revolt
koyavi (n)	evening
kubila- (Cl)	land plot
Kuboma (n)	dialect of Kiriwina
kubukwabuya (n)	collective term for the unmarried, youth
kudu- (Cl)	band of fibres
-kugwa (v v.f)	be first
-kugwai (v o.f)	go in front of s.o.
kuiga (n)	crayfish
kukonebu (n)	story (fictitious)
kula (n, v)	ceremonial trade in wealth items, especially <i>soulava</i> and <i>mwali</i> ; discover
kuleya (n)	food for journey
-kuli (v o.f)	1. discover s.th. 2. suck-chew (as for sugarcane!)
kulia (n)	cooking-pot (clay or aluminium)
kuliga (n)	steering paddle
-kulu (v)	become intense
-kulubweyani (v)	become bright red
kulu(la) (n)	(his) head hair
-kuma (v)	smear paint on
kumeu (v)	frog
kumidu (n)	species of fish
kumila (n, Cl)	clan; clan
kumkumla (n)	ground oven
Kumkwa (n)	place name
kumlo- (Cl)	oven

<i>kuna</i> (n, v)	rain; rain
<i>kuno-</i> (Cl)	rain
<i>kununu-</i> (Cl)	serve of greens
<i>kupa-</i> (Cl)	loose coil
<i>kupo-</i> (Cl)	two-string
<i>-kupwana</i> (v)	eat noisily
<i>kutu</i> (n)	louse
<i>kuvi</i> (n)	major group of yam types, important more for ceremonial than consumption (c.20 varieties)
<i>kuvipiti</i> (n)	species of <i>kuvi</i> yam originating in Fiji
<i>kuwo-</i> (Cl)	crumb
<i>kwabila</i> (n)	large plot of gardening land (5-10 hectares)
<i>-kwabu</i> (n)	keepsake
<i>kwabuya</i> (n)	unmarried person
<i>kwai</i> (n)	a foot (unpossessed form)
<i>kwai bwaga</i> (n, loc)	wind from west; west (direction)
<i>kwailuwo-</i> (Cl)	tens of things
<i>(kwai)vekagaga</i> (adj sup)	very big s.th. indeed
<i>-kwani</i> (md)	suits, befits, ought, must, should
<i>kwerekwa</i> (n borrowed)	cloth garment
<i>kwasi</i> (n)	body ornament
<i>kwau</i> (n)	shark
<i>kwava</i> (n)	wife
<i>kwaya-</i> (Cl)	severed limb
<i>kwela-</i> (Cl)	pot-like
<i>kwi(la)</i> (n)	(his) penis
<i>kwita</i> (n)	octopus
<i>l-</i> (v.compl)	second order v prefix, marks a completed action
<i>la</i> (p.pron.poss, v)	his, her, its; go
<i>Labai</i> (n)	village name
<i>lada-</i> (Cl)	small fishing spot
<i>lagaila</i> (temp)	today
<i>-lagi</i> (v o.f)	listen to, hear s.th.
<i>-laguva</i> (v)	arrive
<i>lakatu-</i> (num)	hundreds of
<i>lakatuluwo</i> (num)	thousands of
<i>lakum</i> (n)	crab
<i>lala</i> (n)	flower
<i>-laleia</i> (v v.f)	paint a design, decorate
<i>-lamadada</i> (v v.f)	persecute
<i>-lamidadi</i> (v o.f)	persecute s.o.
<i>lamila</i> (n)	outrigger
<i>lapoi</i> (n)	garden division
<i>lapou-</i> (Cl)	a third
<i>-lasikoli</i> (v o.f)	beach, pull along (canoe)
<i>-lasikula</i> (v v.f)	pull along (as canoe, log in water)
<i>latu(la)</i> (n)	(her, his, its) offspring

<i>-lau</i> (v)	take, go taking s.th.
<i>-lavi</i> (v o.f)	throw s.th. out
<i>lawodila</i> (n)	jungle, thick bush
<i>-lebu</i> (v)	rob, plunder (openly, by force)
<i>-lega</i> (v v.f)	listen
<i>-leiki</i> (v)	be anxious (with <i>wowo-</i>)
<i>-leilai</i> (v o.f)	paint design, carve motif, decorate
<i>leiya</i> (n)	1. fury, hot anger
	2. ginger (plant, and root used in magic)
<i>-leku</i> (v)	get ready to go
<i>lemoni</i> (n borrowed)	any citrus fruit
<i>-leusa</i> (v)	jump (for joy), start (with surprise)
<i>lewa</i> (n)	pig's bladder (used as football)
<i>liba</i> (n)	low fence encircling base of display heap of yams
<i>-ligabu</i> (v o.f)	pour s.th.
<i>-ligabwa</i> (v v.f)	pour
<i>-ligaim</i> (v)	abandon s.th.
<i>-ligaimwa</i> (v)	abandon s.th. (Kilivila dialect)
<i>ligila-</i> (Cl)	group action
<i>ligisa</i> (n)	adze
<i>liku-</i> (Cl)	division in canoe
<i>lila-</i> (Cl)	small bough
<i>liliu</i> (n)	legend
<i>lilivi-</i> (Cl)	forked stick
<i>lilou-</i> (Cl)	journey
<i>lipu-</i> (Cl)	tier
<i>-lisa</i> (v)	distribute (ceremonially)
<i>lisa(la)</i> (n)	(its) distribution
<i>-livala</i> (v)	speak, say
<i>-livilivau</i> (v)	repeat, say again
<i>livisi</i> (n, Cl)	yam-house division; shelf
<i>-lo-</i> (vb.ref)	do by walking
<i>-lobusi</i> (v)	walk down
<i>-lobutu</i> (v)	scatter, disperse by walking amongst
<i>-lodali</i> (v)	sprain while walking
<i>-loki</i> (v)	go to (place, person)
<i>lokwai</i> (n)	cooked greens
<i>-lomatala</i> (v)	walk in full view, walk in front
<i>-lonanota</i> (v)	walk in vain, walk and accomplish nothing
<i>lopo(gu)</i> (n)	(my) belly
<i>-lo(si)</i> (v)	(they) go (sg stem <i>-la</i>)
<i>Losuya</i> (n)	place name
<i>-lou</i> (v)	1. commit suicide
	2. go! (emph form of <i>-la</i>)
<i>-loula</i> (v)	walk along, go on journey
<i>-lova</i> (v v.f, n1, n2)	throw out
	1. yesterday
	2. species of garfish

<i>Luba</i> (n, Cl)	dialect of Kiriwinan; bundle of rolls
<i>lubai(gu)</i> (n)	(my) close friend, comrade, sweetheart
<i>lubulotoula</i> (temp)	midnight
<i>lubwau</i> (n)	soup
<i>lu(gu)ta</i> (n)	(my) opposite-sex sibling (penultimate stress)
<i>luguta</i> (n)	species of <i>kuvi</i> yam (antepenultimate stress)
<i>-luki</i> (v)	inform, say to s.o.
<i>lukosisiga</i> (n)	a clan name
<i>lukuba</i> (n)	a clan name
<i>lukulobuta</i> (n)	a clan name
<i>lukuva-</i> (Cl)	grove
<i>lukwava</i> (n)	gourd used as water bottle, any bottle
<i>lula</i> (n)	belly (unpossessed form)
<i>-luluki</i> (v)	rebuke
<i>-luluwai</i> (v)	remember
<i>lumata</i> (n)	shoreline
<i>-lumkola</i> (v v.f)	feel
<i>-lumkoli</i> (v o.f)	feel s.th.
<i>Lumwela</i> (n)	place name
<i>-lupa</i> (v v.f)	lift
<i>-lupasewa</i> (v v.f)	lift up
<i>-lupi</i> (v o.f)	lift s.th.
<i>-lupisau</i> (v o.f.)	lift s.th. up
<i>lupo-</i> (Cl)	smaller garden division
<i>luva-</i> (Cl)	tied bundle
<i>-luvabusi</i> (v)	begin journey
<i>-luvatuta</i> (v)	decide on time for s.th.
<i>-luwo-</i> (num)	tens of
<i>-luwolima</i> (num)	fifty
<i>-luwotala</i> (num)	ten
<i>-luwotolu</i> (num)	thirty
<i>-luwoyu</i> (num)	twenty
<i>luya</i> (n)	1. coconut (tree or nut) 2. village name
<i>m</i> (p.pron.poss, v)	your (sg); move, be at
<i>ma</i> (p.pron.poss, v)	our (1st p dual excl); come
<i>ma #...-si</i> (p.pron.poss)	our (1st p plural excl)
<i>magi(la)</i> (n)	(his) desire
<i>-maia</i> (p.pron.poss)	our (1st p dual excl, parents etc)
<i>-maiasi</i> (p.pron.poss)	our (1st p pl excl, parents etc)
<i>maisi</i> (n borrowed)	maize, corn
<i>maka</i> (n borrowed)	identifying mark
<i>ma(kai)na</i> (deic)	this, that (long rigid s.th.)
<i>makala</i> (Sa)	like, as
<i>makana</i> (Sa)	like, as
<i>makateki</i> (temp)	very soon, only just a moment (past or future)
<i>makati</i> (temp)	just now (past or future)

<i>-makavi</i> (v.adv)	in vain, for no reason, to no purpose
<i>makawala</i> (Sa)	thus, so, like, true
<i>ma(kwai)na</i> (deic)	this, that (thing of indef shape)
<i>malasi</i> (n)	a clan name
<i>-manabwaita</i> (adj)	beautiful
<i>manum</i> (adj, v v.f)	quiet; be gentle
<i>mapaila</i> (S.conj)	and so, therefore
<i>ma(pa)na</i> (deic)	this, that (piece)
<i>marakana</i> (n)	colour term – red
<i>masawa</i> (n)	ocean-going canoe
<i>-masi</i> (p.pron.poss)	our (1st p pl excl, brothers, etc)
<i>-masisi</i> (v v.f)	sleep
<i>-matowa</i> (v)	swear, speak abusively
<i>mauna</i> (n)	any animate being except human
<i>mauula</i> (S.conj)	so, and for this reason
<i>mavila-</i> (Cl)	verse (of hymn, spell)
<i>mayaegula</i> (p.pron)	I (very emph)
<i>-mayuyu</i> (v)	be in pain
<i>mbwaili(la)</i> (n)	(his) loved s.th., favourite
<i>mdowali</i> (n)	house fly
<i>meguva</i> (n)	magic (for garden, love, curing sickness), a spell
<i>meku</i> (n)	hardwood tree
<i>mesinaku</i> (S.conj, v)	this only, all except; it has finished (archaic verb form which no longer inflects)
<i>metoya</i> (loc)	from (archaic verb form which rarely inflects, but is generally used in this form for all applications)
<i>mi</i> (p.pron.poss)	your (pl)
<i>-mia</i> (p.pron.poss)	your (pl) relations
<i>-miaki</i> (v)	bring s.th. to
<i>midimidi</i> (n, v)	flag; decorate with flags or streamers
<i>miga-</i> (Cl)	appearance
<i>migila</i> (n)	the face (unpossessed form)
<i>migi(la)</i> (n)	(his) face
<i>migileu</i> (adj)	clean
<i>migi(si)</i> (n)	(their) faces
<i>-mila</i> (v)	become s.th.
<i>milamala</i> (n)	name of harvest month
<i>-mila(mauna)</i> (v)	become (an animal)
<i>milaveta</i> (n)	sea (a specific area), lake
<i>-mila(waga)</i> (v)	become (a canoe) (of tree)
<i>-mili</i> (v)	become s.th.
<i>-mili(tomota)</i> (v)	become (human)
<i>-mimi</i> (v, n)	dream; a dream
<i>mimili(si)</i> (num)	some of (them)
<i>mina</i> (n)	inhabitants of (+ place name), people of, people who
<i>-minabwaita</i> (adj)	beautiful
<i>-minibwaita</i> (adj)	beautiful (pl form)
<i>minimani</i> (adj)	forcefully, violently

- <i>misii</i> (v o.f)	sleep with (for sexual reasons, polite term)
- <i>misimauna</i> (v)	sleep sitting up
- <i>mita-</i> (vb.ref)	do using eyes
- <i>mitabilibili</i> (v)	look idly at
<i>mitaga</i> (S.conj; excl)	but; yes
- <i>mitagibugibu</i> (v)	look with anger, have angry eyes
- <i>mitailayala</i> (v)	pass message using only eyes (e.g. point by eye motion), look around (eyes only moving)
- <i>mitakipoki</i> (v)	blink deliberately to convey message
- <i>mitakwela</i> (v v.f)	be openly generous
- <i>mitalala</i> (v)	open eyes
- <i>mitapoi</i> (v)	blink
- <i>mitugaga</i> (v)	do evil
- <i>mituguguwa</i> (v)	be greedy, hoard goods
- <i>mitukwaii</i> (v o.f)	do s.o. a good deed
<i>mitukwaibwaila</i> (n, v)	righteousness; do good acts
<i>mkiuta</i> (n)	species of fish
<i>Mlobwaima</i> (n)	name of chiefly <i>dala</i>
<i>mlomwaluva</i> (n)	a red soil
<i>mlopu</i> (n)	cave
<i>Mlosaida</i> (n)	village name
<i>mlukwausi</i> (n)	ghoul-spirits, spirits which possess bodies of sleeping women who then are credited with performing malignant acts
<i>mmakata</i> (n)	dancing plumes
<i>mmayu</i> (n)	suffering
- <i>mmeikita</i> (adj)	selfish
<i>mmo-</i> (Cl)	conical bundles
<i>mmosila</i> (n)	shame, being ashamed
<i>mmwagawa</i> (adj)	loose (tooth)
<i>mna</i> (excl)	hesitation in speech flow ‘...er,...’
<i>mnumonu</i> (n)	grass
<i>moi</i> (n)	mat-making leaf
- <i>mokaia</i> (v)	come to s.o.
(<i>moku</i>) <i>toya</i> (<i>si</i>) (v)	(you pl) from (see note with <i>metoya</i>)
<i>mokwita</i> (n)	true
<i>molitomoya</i> (n)	eldest son
<i>molu</i> (n)	hunger
- <i>mom</i> (v)	drink
- <i>momkoli</i> (v)	taste by sipping
<i>momola</i> (n)	fat
<i>momona</i> (n)	semen
<i>momwaila</i> (temp)	soon, in a while
<i>momyeipu</i> (n)	pawpaw
<i>mona</i> (n)	taro pudding
<i>Morobwaga</i> (n)	place name
- <i>motatina</i> (v v.f)	shake, quiver
<i>mosila</i> (n)	shame

<i>-mota</i> (v, n)	gasp, groan, be inarticulate; hiccups
<i>-mova</i> (v)	live
<i>mowai</i> (n)	noise of crowd talking
<i>moya-</i> (Cl)	limb
<i>mseu</i> (n)	smoke
<i>msimwesi</i> (n)	species of grass
<i>mtitani</i> (v o.f)	shake s.th.
<i>mtomota</i> (adj)	dumb, with speech impediment
<i>mtokulolo(la)</i> (n)	(his) eyelid
<i>m(to)na</i> (deic)	this, that (man)
<i>m(to.si)na</i> (deic)	those (men, women)
<i>-mtu</i> (v)	rub
<i>mtumwatu</i> (adj)	shaggy
<i>mtuwetuwa</i> (n)	body ornament
<i>mwa</i> (excl, p.pron.poss.pl)	hey! (to male auditor); your (sg) relatives
<i>mwada</i> (S.conj)	with the intention that
<i>Mwaiisiga</i> (n)	man's name
<i>mwala</i> (n, adj)	husband; male (non-human)
<i>mwali</i> (n)	1. armshell made from large cone-shell, any modern plastic or metal bangle
	2. wealth item traded in <i>kula</i>
<i>mwaluva</i> (n)	species of inedible betel-nut
<i>mwam</i> (n)	conical bundle
<i>mwasa</i> (n)	game, fun
<i>mwau</i> (n)	heaviness, sadness, solemnity
<i>Mweiyua</i> (n)	place name
<i>-mweli</i> (v, cl1, cl2)	practise
	1. number of times practised
	2. bundle of leaves (poultice)
<i>-mwena</i> (v)	ascend
<i>Mwo</i> (n)	name of island
<i>Myuwa</i> (n)	Woodlark Island
<i>na-</i> (Cl)	1. non-human animate
	2. female human
<i>nabwaia</i> (n)	tomorrow
<i>-naga</i> (v v.f)	choose
<i>nagega</i> (n)	very large ocean-going canoe
<i>(na)kakau</i> (n)	widow
<i>(na)kubukwabuya</i> (n)	unmarried young (woman)
<i>Namakala</i> (n)	man's name
<i>(na)mbwaili(si)</i> (n)	the (animal they) love best, (their) pet
<i>nanakwa</i> (adv, v)	quickly; be quick
<i>-nanamsa</i> (v)	think about, meditate
<i>nani</i> (adv)	quickly (short form of <i>nanakwa</i>)
<i>nano(la)</i> (n)	(his, her) mind
<i>(na)tala</i> (num)	1. one (woman, animate being)
	2. one (non-human, animate being)

<i>natu</i> (n)	species of tree, its edible fruit
<i>(na)ula</i> (n)	adopted (girl)
<i>-nigadi</i> (v)	beg, beseech
<i>-nigaki</i> (v)	choose s.o
<i>nigo-</i> (Cl)	nest
<i>nigwa</i> (n)	nest
<i>-nikoli</i> (v)	know
<i>nina-</i> (Cl)	idea
<i>-ninayuwa</i> (v)	be of two minds, in doubt
<i>-(nini)tinidesi</i> (v)	be completely unanimous, of one (mind)
<i>ninuva</i> (n)	house-walling sago sheeting
<i>no-</i> (Cl)	blows
<i>-nobasi</i> (v)	tickle, poke (fingers), knock (hands)
<i>-nobusobosa</i> (v)	sob with no tears, hold self in check (hand over mouth)
<i>-nobutuwi</i> (v)	strike with fist (friendly gesture!)
<i>-nokapisi</i> (v)	have pity, help because of pity
<i>noku</i> (n)	red dye
<i>-nokubukubu</i> (v)	be anxious, worried, wonder at
<i>nona</i> (n)	mind (unpossessed form)
<i>-nopaka</i> (v)	be angry (group)
<i>-nopipisi</i> (v)	knock, tap (with hand)
<i>-notetila</i> (v)	swim under water
<i>-novisi</i> (v)	peel (banana)
<i>-nutu</i> (v, Cl)	knead (putty); kneaded
<i>nuya</i> (n)	coconut (tree or nut)
<i>o-</i> (loc)	at, near, by, from, with
<i>Obulaku</i> (n)	village name
<i>Obwelia</i> (n)	village name
<i>Okupukopu</i> (n)	village name
<i>olumoule(gu)</i> (loc)	inside (me), in (my) heart
<i>oluvi</i> (temp)	afterwards
<i>oluwala</i> (loc)	in the centre
<i>o(m)</i> (loc)	at (your sg)
<i>omitubogwa</i> (temp)	long ago
<i>Oyuveyova</i> (n)	village name
<i>paila</i> (S.conj)	for
<i>-paisau</i> (v o.f)	work at s.th.
<i>-paisewa</i> (v v.f)	work
<i>paka</i> (n)	celebration, feast, party
<i>pakala</i> (adj)	thirsty, dry
<i>pakula</i> (n)	blame
<i>pamkwena</i> (n borrowed)	pumpkin
<i>pasa</i> (n)	swamp
<i>pei(m)</i> (prep)	for (you sg)
<i>peipu</i> (n borrowed)	paper

<i>-pela</i> (v)	cross over
<i>pem</i> (n)	lameness
<i>-pepuni</i> (v.adv)	secretly
<i>peta</i> (n)	food basket
<i>peula</i> (adj, n, v)	strong; strength; be strong
<i>-peuloki</i> (v)	endure, be patient
<i>pikekita</i> (adj)	small, slender
<i>pila-</i> (Cl)	part, piece
<i>(pila)mbwaili(m)</i> (n)	(your sg) loved (piece), the (song you) love
<i>-pilasi</i> (v)	help
<i>-pilibodi</i> (v)	enclose, partition off
<i>pinipane(la)</i> (n)	(its) wings
<i>pirisi</i> (n borrowing)	please
<i>piu</i> (n)	fat
<i>pogi</i> (n)	jealousy
<i>-poiyai</i> (v o.f)	impale s.th.
<i>pokala</i> (n)	1. deception (penultimate stress) 2. tax (antepenultimate stress)
<i>pola</i> (n)	eyebrows
<i>-polilavakuya</i> (v)	lie pressed together
<i>-polomdu</i> (v)	lash (fence)
<i>ponana</i> (n)	hole
<i>-ponani</i> (v o.f)	make hole in s.th.
<i>ponina-</i> (Cl)	punctured
<i>Popi</i> (n borrowed)	name for Roman Catholics
<i>popu</i> (n)	excrement, filth, garbage
<i>popula</i> (n)	oven-cooked food for spirit consumption (usually tapioca)
<i>potukumwai(la)</i> (n)	(its) importance
<i>pou</i> (n)	house beam
<i>-poula</i> (v)	fish with nets (wading), tread around s.th.
<i>poulo-</i> (Cl)	grove, group
<i>-puisau</i> (v o.f)	spit s.th. out
<i>-puisewa</i> (v v.f)	spit out
<i>puli-</i> (Cl)	bunch (2-6 items)
<i>Pulitala</i> (n)	a man's name
<i>pulopola</i> (n)	an inedible betel-nut
<i>pulu-</i> (Cl)	garden mound
<i>puluta</i> (n)	wooden club
<i>pupai-</i> (Cl)	layer of filth
<i>pupwakau</i> (n)	colour term – white
<i>-putuma</i> (v)	paint (body)
<i>pwa-</i> (Cl)	excrement
<i>pwadidiweta</i> (n)	swamp, mud
<i>pwaiywaia</i> (n)	1. earth, world 2. soil, dirt, ground
<i>pwaka</i> (n)	lime
<i>pwakova</i> (n)	ashes

<i>pwanosi</i> (n)	charcoal
<i>-pwapwasa</i> (adj)	easy, light
<i>pwasa</i> (n, Cl)	softness, rottenness; rotten
<i>pwa(sia)</i> (n)	(their) bowel moment
<i>pwatai</i> (n)	large ceremonial display container
<i>-pwatutu</i> (v)	be wet
<i>pwayuyu</i> (adj)	sour
<i>raibwaga</i> (n)	rough stony country, country too stony for gardening
<i>rigariga</i> (n)	a shrub, the blossom of which is rubbed over oiled body for dancing adornment
<i>sa-</i> (Cl)	bunch of nuts
<i>-sabwabula</i> (v)	sink with bubbling sound
<i>-sagi</i> (v)	put behind ear, put aside for later
<i>-sai-</i> (vb.ref)	do by putting
<i>saida</i> (n)	edible nut
<i>-saiduli</i> (v)	take handfuls of
<i>-saiki</i> (v)	give s.th. to s.o.
<i>-saili</i> (v)	put, place
<i>-sailova</i> (v)	thrust aside, put down and abandon
<i>-saimatala</i> (v)	put in public view
<i>saina</i> (adv sup)	very
<i>sainela</i> (adv sup)	very very
<i>-saiwau</i> (v)	do by example, show how to do
<i>-sakaula</i> (v v.f)	run
<i>-sakawoli</i> (v o.f)	run s.th. (to s.o.), take s.th. running
<i>sa(la)</i> (n)	(his) friends, opponents, associates
<i>-sali</i> (v)	divide (meat from carcass)
<i>-sapi</i> (v)	brush off
<i>-sau</i> (v o.f)	learn s.th. (song, spell)
<i>saveva</i> (n)	headband of <i>kaloumwa</i> discs
<i>-sebuliki</i> (v)	put straight
<i>-sebwaili</i> (v)	put firmly
<i>sega-</i> (Cl)	branching
<i>seisuya</i> (n)	a fruit borne in clusters like grapes
<i>seluva-</i> (Cl)	bundle being tied
<i>-senikuli</i> (v o.f)	count
<i>-sepituki</i> (v)	join, unite
<i>se(sia)</i> (n)	(their) friends, opponents, etc. (see <i>so-</i>)
<i>seuya</i> (n)	place where waves break
<i>seuyo-</i> (Cl)	lagoon
<i>-sevatai</i> (v)	oppose, fight against
<i>-sewa</i> (v v.f)	learn
<i>-si</i> (pl, p.pron.poss, vb.ref)	plural marker; their; do by sitting
<i>-sia</i> (p.pron.poss)	their (sisters etc)
<i>siaina</i> (n borrowed)	species of sweet banana
<i>-sibogwa</i> (v)	exist beforehand, be there first

- <i>sibwabwaila</i> (v)	be well-placed, live happily
- <i>sibwaila</i> (v)	sit comfortably
- <i>sikaili</i> (v)	sit on s.th.
- <i>sikaka</i> (v)	sit with legs spread apart
- <i>sikam</i> (v v.f)	wear s.th., be dressed
- <i>sikilewa</i> (v)	persist in doing
- <i>sikoma</i> (v o.f)	wear s.th.
<i>sikulu</i> (n borrowed)	school
- <i>sila</i> (v)	embark, get in (vehicle)
- <i>silaboda</i> (v v.f)	hinder, stand in way
- <i>silapula</i> (v v.f)	slander
- <i>sili</i> (v)	sit
- <i>silibodi</i> (v o.f.)	prevent, hinder s.th.
<i>siligaga</i> (temp)	enduring for a long time
<i>silini</i> (n borrowed)	shilling, silver coin
- <i>silipuli</i> (v o.f)	slander s.o.
<i>silovala</i> (n)	day before yesterday
- <i>sim</i> (v)	sit still
- <i>simada</i> (v)	sit here
- <i>simalaula</i> (v v.f)	sit upright
- <i>simata</i> (v)	1. kill s.th. by sitting on it 2. sharpen
- <i>similiwoli</i> (v o.f.)	sit s.th. up
<i>simokainia</i> (adj)	sweet-tasting
<i>Simsimla</i> (n)	1. island name 2. dialect of Kiriwinan
<i>simsimwai</i> (n)	sweet potato
- <i>simwa</i> (v)	sit still (Kilivila dialect)
- <i>sinetota</i> (v)	crouch down
- <i>sipu</i> (v o.f., Cl)	tie s.th. up; tangle
- <i>sipwa</i> (v v.f)	tie knot
<i>sis-</i> (Cl)	bough
- <i>sisia</i> (v)	stay, put in a place
<i>sisi(la)</i> (n)	(its) branch
<i>sisili-</i> (Cl)	cut of meat
- <i>sisu</i> (v)	stop, stay, be somewhere
<i>sita</i> (deg)	some, a little (short form of <i>sitana</i>)
<i>sitana</i> (deg)	some, a little
- <i>sitatuva</i> (v)	tremble in sitting position
- <i>sitotu</i> (v)	sit-stand i.e. squat, hunker
- <i>siula</i> (v)	sit surrounding s.th.
- <i>siuwala</i> (v)	sit in middle of (group)
<i>siva-</i> (Cl)	number of times
<i>sivabidubadu</i> (num)	very frequently
- <i>sivaduli</i> (v)	be constantly with (as in marriage)
<i>sivavila</i> (num)	often, an indefinite number of times
- <i>siyumali</i> (v o.f)	move s.o. back while in sitting position
- <i>siyumila</i> (v v.f)	move back while sitting

<i>sobulo-</i> (Cl)	growing
<i>so(gu)</i> (n)	(my) friend, associate, opponent (does not imply friendship but association)
<i>-somata</i> (v)	be weary
<i>-sonukula</i> (v v.f)	count
<i>sopi</i> (n)	water
<i>-sopu</i> (v)	plant yams
<i>soulava</i> (n)	shell-disc necklace (wealth item)
<i>soulo-</i> (Cl)	fishing spot
<i>sova</i> (n)	incest
<i>-suki</i> (v)	go into
<i>-sulu</i> (v)	cook by boiling
<i>-susina</i> (v)	sprout, grow
<i>suyo-</i> (Cl)	things strung through hole
<i>ta-</i> (Cl, vb.ref)	basket; do with instrument
<i>-tabai</i> (v)	disperse
<i>Tabalu</i> (n)	the <i>dala</i> of the paramount chiefly family, a subclan of the <i>malasi</i>
<i>-tabau</i> (v)	carve beautifully
<i>tabili-</i> (Cl)	roll
<i>-tabinaki</i> (v)	accuse
<i>taboda</i> (n, v v.f)	a division, obstruction, fence; block the way
<i>-tabodi</i> (v o.f)	plug up, stop (leak)
<i>tabu</i> (prohib)	do not
<i>tabudo-</i> (Cl)	room
<i>-tadoyai</i> (v)	crane neck to see clearly
<i>taga</i> (S.conj, excl, prohib)	but; yes!; do not (in first two uses, a short form of <i>mitaga</i>)
<i>-tageuna</i> (v)	express decision or agreement (by upwards nod)
<i>-tagogula</i> (v v.f)	mix, stir
<i>-taguli</i> (v o.f)	mix (them) together
<i>-taguliki</i> (v o.f.)	mix (them) together
<i>-tagwala</i> (v v.f.)	agree
<i>-tai</i> (v, v o.f)	coil up; carve s.th.
<i>tai-</i> (Cl 1, 2)	1. human being (non-specific as to sex) 2. male adult
<i>taigila</i> (n)	ear (unpossessed form)
<i>tai mamila</i> (n, v v.f)	respect; have respect, honour
<i>taitu</i> (n)	1. staple yam (c. 15 varieties) 2. a year
<i>-takaiwa</i> (v)	clear garden area (with knife etc)
<i>-takila</i> (v)	speak evil of
<i>-takoli</i> (v)	give (return gift)
<i>-takulukulu</i> (v)	grumble
<i>-takumdu</i> (v)	complain by grimaces or grunts
<i>-tala</i> (num)	one
<i>-talagila</i> (v)	spill

- <i>talaguva</i> (v)	arrive by paddled canoe
- <i>talibulabu</i> (v)	wipe dry (with towel)
- <i>talo</i> (v)	farewell, say 'goodbye'
<i>tam</i> (n, v, Cl)	a sprout, new shoot; sprout, shoot out; sprouting
- <i>tama</i> (v)	agree, say 'yes'
<i>tama(ma)</i> (n)	(our (dual excl)) father
- <i>tamimisi</i> (v)	cut up
- <i>tamnabi</i> (v)	tempt
- <i>tanevi</i> (v)	sweep out
<i>tanumnumta</i> (n)	anything made of metal, metal itself
- <i>tapela</i> (v)	cross over (by paddled canoe)
<i>tapiokwa</i> (n borrowed)	tapioca
- <i>tapopula</i> (v)	do reverence (e.g. by stooping)
- <i>tapu</i> (v)	bruise, crush
<i>tapwa(la)</i> (n)	(its) side
<i>tapwaroru</i> (n)	a religious act (prayer, worship), the Christian faith
- <i>tau</i> (v, n, cl1, cl2)	finish s.th.; a man; a person (non-specific as to sex); a man (as distinct from woman)
<i>tauwau</i> (n)	men
- <i>tavi</i> (v o.f, Cl)	carve s.th.; loose coil
- <i>tavilevi</i> (v)	separate, divide into heaps
- <i>tavili</i> (v)	measure out
- <i>tavina</i> (v)	go on tour (any conveyance)
- <i>tayumila</i> (v v.f)	return (by canoe, paddled)
- <i>temmali</i> (v o.f)	respect s.o
<i>teni-</i> (Cl)	tight coil
- <i>teya</i> (v v.f)	carve
- <i>tinidesi</i> (num)	one only
- <i>titoki</i> (v)	stand on, stand at
- <i>to-</i> (vb.ref, Cl1, Cl2)	do by standing; human (non-specific as to sex); a man (as distinct from woman)
(<i>to</i>) <i>bakana</i> (adj)	bald-headed (man)
<i>tobaki</i> (n borrowed)	tobacco
- <i>toboda</i> (v)	stand in way
- <i>todadeli</i> (v)	be standing in a group
<i>togilagala</i> (n)	migrant
<i>togum</i> (n)	taciturn or reticent person
(<i>to</i>) <i>ikiiki</i> (adj)	thin (person)
<i>tokabikuliga</i> (n)	steersman
<i>tokabiyalumila</i> (n)	person bailing canoe
<i>tokai</i> (n)	commoner, person not of chiefly rank
(<i>to</i>) <i>kaliyeya</i> (n)	officious (person)
(<i>to</i>) <i>keula</i> (n)	(person) carrying
<i>tokinabogwa</i> (temp)	at the beginning of things, first before everything
(<i>to</i>) <i>kubukwabuya</i> (n)	an unmarried young (man)
<i>tokwaibwaga</i> (n)	inhabitant of Kwaibwaga village
- <i>tokwaraiwaga</i> (v, n)	be in authority; ruler, person in charge

- <i>tola</i> (v)	1. spear s.o 2. stand up
<i>toli-</i> (n)	owner of s.th., the one having authority over s.th.
<i>tolibwala</i> (n)	house owner
<i>Toliwaga</i> (n)	name of a chiefly <i>dala</i>
- <i>tom</i> (v)	stand there, stand still
- <i>toma</i> (v)	move here
- <i>tomadaili</i> (v)	stand here with group
<i>tomalasi</i> (n)	member of the <i>Malasi</i> clan
- <i>tomalaula</i> (v v.f)	stand erect
<i>tomata</i> (n)	corpse
<i>tombwaili(la)</i> (n)	(his, her) loved man, (his) favourite person
- <i>tomiliwoli</i> (v o.f.)	stand s.th. up
<i>tomitawasi</i> (n)	stranger
<i>tommoya</i> (n)	old men
<i>tomoya</i> (n)	old man, respected sir
(<i>to</i>) <i>mtomota</i> (n)	dumb (man)
- <i>tomwa</i> (v)	stand still (Kilivila dialect)
<i>tonugana</i> (n borrowed)	sir (Dobu language term borrowed, lit. 'person-first')
<i>tookooko</i> (n borrowed)	trader (origin unknown)
- <i>topela</i> (v)	cross over standing
- <i>topepula</i> (v)	be hidden in a standing position
<i>topusa</i> (n)	species of garfish
<i>tosikilewa</i> (n)	person who keeps on doing s.th.
- <i>totu</i> (v)	stand up
<i>tou</i> (n)	sugarcane
- <i>toula</i> (v, adv)	stand around s.th.; true, genuine
<i>toulatila</i> (n)	young man, sexually-active man
- <i>tova</i> (v v.f)	squeeze
- <i>toveka</i> (v, n)	become important; important person
- <i>towa</i> (v)	move there
- <i>towada</i> (v)	go there
- <i>towalai</i> (v o.f)	stand in centre of (group)
<i>towosi</i> (n)	magician, especially in garden magic
- <i>tubo</i> (v, Cl)	be like; generation
<i>tubu(mi)</i> (n)	(your pl) grandchild, grandparent
<i>tubwa</i> (n)	generation
<i>Tudava</i> (n)	name of a chiefly <i>dala</i> , a mythical giant-slaying hero
- <i>tugwali</i> (v o.f)	give s.th. up, surrender s.th.
<i>tula</i> (adj)	cool, chilly
- <i>tuli</i> (v)	be deaf (with <i>taigila</i>)
- <i>tulutulu</i> (adj)	spotty, dappled
- <i>tum</i> (v)	hold still
- <i>tumapola</i> (v)	give assent, agree by raising eyebrows
<i>tumila</i> (n)	foundation
- <i>tumki</i> (v)	hold s.th. down, fall on s.th.
<i>tupila-</i> (Cl)	fleet
<i>tuta</i> (n)	time

<i>tuto-</i> (Cl)	time
<i>tuvaila</i> (Sa)	also, as well as, again
<i>tuwa(la)</i> (n)	(his) elder same-sex sibling
<i>-tuwoli</i> (adv)	differently
<i>udila</i> (n, Cl)	virgin forest; land tract
<i>ula</i> (n, v)	adopted person; surround s.th.
<i>-ulaim</i> (v)	open s.th.
<i>-ulatila</i> (v)	be sexually active, be seeking a woman
<i>uli</i> (n)	taro (c. 30 varieties)
<i>uligova</i> (n)	crocodile
<i>-uliki</i> (v)	pay to s.o.
<i>ulo</i> (p.pron.poss)	my
<i>-ulusi</i> (v)	pay, give up
<i>uluulu</i> (n)	body-hair
<i>umila-</i> (Cl)	grove (one species)
<i>unonu</i> (n)	spinach plant
<i>unuunu</i> (n)	body-hair
<i>uri</i> (n)	taro (c. 30 varieties)
<i>urigova</i> (n)	crocodile
<i>utu-</i> (v, Cl)	state, interpret; scrap
<i>-utubolu</i> (v)	break hole in (canoe)
<i>utuyagila</i> (n)	storm
<i>Utuyoyu</i> (n)	place name
<i>-uu</i> (v)	wind blows
<i>uula</i> (n)	reason, root or base of tree, that on which s.th. stands
<i>uva-</i> (Cl)	span measure
<i>-uwa</i> (v)	bear fruit
<i>uwo-</i> (Cl)	two-bundle
<i>uwo(si)</i> (n)	(their) bodies (cf. <i>wowo-</i>)
<i>-va-</i> (vb.ref)	1. do gently, intimately 2. do with foot action 3. do with fire
<i>-vaboda</i> (v)	go and meet s.o.
<i>-vabodanim</i> (v)	come last (in a walking line)
<i>-vabusi</i> (v)	come down, disembark
<i>-vagasi</i> (v.adv)	for a very long time, forever
<i>-vageda</i> (v v.f.)	kindle fire
<i>-vagi</i> (v)	do
<i>-vagogu</i> (v)	put (liquid)
<i>-vaguli</i> (v v.f)	arouse from sleep
<i>-vai</i> (v o.f, n)	marry s.o.; stingray
<i>vaiguwa</i> (n)	wealth items
<i>-vaipaka</i> (v)	divorce
<i>vaiyo(la)</i> (n)	(his) maternal relative
<i>-vakadi</i> (v o.f)	lead s.o.
<i>-vakagautu</i> (v)	overcook, burn, toast

<i>vakaigaga</i> (temp)	a long time
- <i>vakala</i> (v)	put in sun to dry
- <i>vakalaga</i> (v)	ask for food, give food
- <i>vakam</i> (v)	feed s.o.
- <i>vakamati</i> (v)	sun dries s.th.
- <i>vakannota</i> (v)	make fire
- <i>vakannunuva</i> (v)	overshadow, cover
- <i>vakapula</i> (v)	prepare food (for eating)
- <i>vakapusii</i> (v)	cause s.o. to stumble
- <i>vakasau</i> (v)	fill s.th.
- <i>vakati</i> (v)	kindle fire
- <i>vakawala</i> (v v.f)	spy out
- <i>vakawali</i> (v o.f)	spy (place) out
- <i>vakeda</i> (v v.f)	lead, teach
- <i>vakium</i> (v)	use foot to hide, cover s.th.
- <i>vakota</i> (v)	anchor (canoe) (walk with stone on rope)
- <i>vakouli</i> (v)	take s.o.
<i>Vakuta</i> (n)	name of village
- <i>vala</i> (v, Cl, n)	push with feet (as in searching for shellfish in sand); small garden division; handle (adze, hammer)
- <i>valam</i> (v)	weep
- <i>vali</i> (v o.f)	plant s.th. (other than yams)
- <i>valili</i> (v v.f)	undress
<i>valu</i> (n)	place, village
- <i>valulu</i> (v v.f)	give birth
- <i>valupoli</i> (v o.f)	make s.o. appear on foot
- <i>vamom</i> (v v.f)	give a drink
<i>vana</i> (n)	leaf in armband
- <i>vanoku</i> (v v.f)	finish
- <i>vanumla</i> (v v.f)	make wet
- <i>vanunu</i> (v v.f)	suckle, give the breast
- <i>vapala</i> (v)	give way on track
- <i>vapapala</i> (v v.f)	turn aside
- <i>vapupoli</i> (v o.f)	turn s.th. aside
- <i>vaputuma</i> (v)	anoint
- <i>vasigi</i> (v)	elevate using foot, kick
- <i>vasilam</i> (v)	walk quietly
- <i>vasosu</i> (v v.f)	be in close relationship
<i>vataga</i> (n)	large woven basket
- <i>vatai</i> (v)	cry out angrily
- <i>vataula</i> (v v.f)	walk with
- <i>vatowa</i> (v v.f)	1. make arrangements 2. spear s.o.
<i>vatu</i> (n)	coral reef
- <i>vatubwi</i> (v v.f)	be child-rearing
- <i>vatula</i> (v)	become cool
- <i>vatusi</i> (v v.f)	gaze thoughtfully
- <i>vatutu</i> (v)	trample, tread under foot

-vau (v.adv; adj)	again, anew; new
-vaula (v v.f)	plant (other than yams)
vava (n)	fish exchange
vavagi (n)	thing (undefined)
-vawala (v)	go through the middle
-vayaula (v v.f)	kiss, embrace (nose against cheek)
-vayelu (v v.f)	investigate
-veka (adj)	big
-veilau (v)	steal, take by stealth
-vekagaga (adj)	very big
veya(la) (n)	(his) relative
-vi- (vb.ref)	do with arm actions
-vidagu (v)	dip (paddle into water etc.)
viga (n)	cup
-vigadi (v o.f)	kindle (fire)
vigimkovila (n)	end, conclusion
-vigi(vau)(v)	repeat action, do (again)
-viguli (v)	arouse s.o. from sleep
-vila (v v.f, num)	share; how many
-vilabwaila (v)	share equally
vilakapugula (n)	girl, young woman of age to marry
vilela (n)	a woman of (with place name)
-vili (v o.f, Cl)	share s.th.; untwisted
-vilili (v o.f)	strip s.th. off
-vilimgogula (v v.f)	make heap of goods
-vilimguguli (v o.f)	heap up s.th.
vilo- (Cl)	place
-vilugi (v)	put in
-vilulu (v o.f)	give birth to s.o.
-vimom (v o.f)	give s.o. a drink
-vinaku (v o.f)	finish doing s.th.
-vinumli (v o.f)	make s.th. wet
-vinunu (v o.f)	suckle s.o.
-visaikoli (v)	measure
-visalili (v)	inter, bury
-visikoma (v)	dress s.o.
-visimalaula (v v.f)	rise up into sitting position
-visivila (v)	turn round in sitting position
-visosu (v)	be in intimate relationship to
-visunupuloi (v)	throw s.th. out, eject s.th.
-visuvi (v)	put s.o in, cause to enter
-vitakaula (v)	answer
-vitaki (v)	argue with
-vitali (v)	proclaim
-vitau (v o.f)	begin (song), arrange for s.th.
-vitomalaula (v)	lift to a standing position
-vitoubobuta (v v.f)	foretell, prophesy
-vitoububu (v)	be abandoned

-vitouula (v v.f)	begin
-vitububoti (v o.f)	foretell s.th.
-vitubwi (v o.f)	rear (child), cause s.o. to grow
-vituloki (v)	teach
-vitusi (v o.f)	gaze at s.o. thoughtfully
-vituwoli (v o.f)	walk with s.o.
vivila (n, v, adj)	a woman; appear, come in sight; female (non-human)
-viyelu (v o.f)	investigate s.th.
-viyuwoli (v o.f)	lash (canoe)
-wa (v, loc, excl)	go away, go there; at, near, by, with, by means of; amazement, irritation – ‘gosh!’
-wai (v o.f, n)	slap, strike s.o.; centipede (see also wavi)
waia (n)	river, stream
waiya (v)	slap, strike
-wai(yaigu) (v)	hits, strikes (me)
wakala (n)	belt of <i>kaloumwa</i> shell discs
-waki (v)	stripe, slap at s.o.
wala (emph)	only
walakaiwa (loc)	above, high up
wali (n)	a cane used for lashing
-wasi (v, n)	borrow, permit to borrow; obligation incurred (as debt)
wavi (n)	centipede
wawa (n)	rubbish, filth, garbage
wayugwa (n)	type of creeper used for lashing
weiwa (n)	mango (tree, fruit)
wela- (Cl)	fish (quantity)
wiketi (n borrowed)	wicket (cricket)
wiki (n borrowed)	week
wo (excl)	amazement, wonder
wodila (n)	the mouth (unpossessed form)
-woi (v)	take s.th. to
-woiki (v)	take s.th. to there
-wokuva (v, v.adv)	be finished, at an end; only, single-mindedly, to exclusion of other motives
-wola (v, n)	paddle (canoe); good advice
-woli (v)	pay
wolu (n)	turtle
-wonaku (adj)	long
wonu (n)	turtle
woru (n borrowed)	hole dug for pit toilet
-wotetila (v v.f)	serve
-wotitali (v o.f)	serve s.o.
wotunu (n)	lashing vines
woula (n)	the body (unpossessed form)
wouyo- (Cl)	newness
-woye (v)	beat, strike (Kilivila dialect)

<i>ya-</i> (Cl)	thin, flexible
<i>-yabi</i> (v o.f)	expel, evict s.o.
<i>-yada</i> (v v.f)	rub
<i>yaegu</i> (p.pron)	I
<i>yaga(la)</i> (n)	(his) name
<i>-yagi</i> (v o.f, v)	shake s.th.; (wind) blows on s.th.
<i>yagila</i> (n)	wind
<i>yagogu</i> (n)	seed yams
<i>yaguma</i> (n)	lime gourd
<i>-yaima</i> (v v.f)	patch
<i>-yaimi</i> (v o.f)	patch s.th.
<i>-yakala</i> (v)	make judgement, declare judgement (in court of law)
<i>yakama</i> (p.pron)	us (dual excl)
<i>yakamaisi</i> (p.pron)	us (pl excl)
<i>-yakawoli</i> (v o.f)	praise s.o.
<i>-yakaula</i> (v v.f)	praise
<i>yakida</i> (p.pron)	us (dual incl)
<i>yakidasi</i> (p.pron)	us (pl excl)
<i>Yalaka</i> (n)	village name
<i>yam</i> (n, cl1, cl2)	day; day; the hand (unpossessed form)
<i>-yamata</i> (v v.f)	take care, look after
<i>-yamati</i> (v o.f)	watch over, take care of s.o.
<i>yamila</i> (n)	a hand (unpossessed form)
<i>-yaula</i> (v)	spin (string by rolling on thigh)
<i>yavata</i> (n, loc)	wind from north; north direction
<i>yau</i> (n)	group (people), flock (birds, animals)
<i>yayana</i> (adj)	salty
<i>-yebwaili</i> (v)	love, esteem highly
<i>-yega</i> (v v.f)	shake
<i>Yeiwau</i> (n)	name of Kiriwinan dialect
<i>yekwesi</i> (n)	leaf
<i>yena</i> (n)	generic term for fish
<i>yivi-</i> (Cl)	serve of food pieces
<i>-yo-</i> (vb.ref)	do violently
<i>-yoba</i> (v v.f, n)	expel; expulsion
<i>-yobali</i> (v)	delay
<i>-yobutu</i> (v)	scatter, disperse
<i>-yobwaina</i> (v)	make s.o. happy by giving s.th.
<i>-yogagi</i> (v)	do evil to
<i>-yogalaluma</i> (v v.f)	refuse to do
<i>-yogibuluwi</i> (v)	make angry
<i>-yogililami</i> (v o.f)	refuse s.o.
<i>-yogwali</i> (v)	profane, break taboo
<i>-yogwegwesi</i> (v o.f)	persist in troubling
<i>-yokakapisi</i> (v)	beg, beseech
<i>-yokavata</i> (v)	seize (fugitive)
<i>yokomi</i> (p.pron)	you (pl)
<i>yoku</i> (p.pron)	you (sg)

-yomadi (v)	waste (food, goods, time)
-yomitali (v)	reveal, expose
-yomovi (v)	heal
-yomsali (v)	make joyful
-yomsoki (v)	make untidy
-yopwatutu (v)	make wet
-yosa (v v.f)	hold
-yosali (v o.f)	stretch out (hand)
-yosesila (v v.f)	uphold
-yosi (v o.f)	hold, seize s.th.
-yotutubwau (v)	tire s.o.
-youla (v)	tie (bundle)
-youlapula (v)	appear, come into view
-yousokana (v v.f)	make joke, mock
-yovai (v)	bring about a marriage
-yowa (v)	fly
-yowai (v)	fight with fists, squabble
-yoyowa (adj)	flying
yoyu (n)	doorway
yulai- (Cl)	four-bundle
yuma- (Cl)	length
yuma(si) (n)	(their) hands
yumyam (temp)	many days, a long time
-yuvayova (v)	gather (materials)
yuvisa(la) (n)	(her) mourning distribution
yuviyavi (adj)	hot
-yu (num)	two
-yuweitali (v o.f)	jump in holding s.th.
-yuweitaula (v v.f)	jump in
yuwo- (Cl)	group
yuwoyoula (n)	a rope

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